Recent Research on Ladakh

History, Culture, Sociology, Ecology

Proceedings of a Conference held at the Universität Konstanz, 23 – 26 November 1981

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Weltforum Verlag
München · Köln · London
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PREFACE

It was certainly a beneficial chain of interdependence that gave rise to our International Workshop "Recent Research on Ladakh", held at the University of Constance from 23rd to 26th November 1981. Field work on family structures in the Wania area had brought us into contact with young colleagues who had done or were doing research in Ladakh. It soon became evident, however, that not "field work" and its "results" but a common outlook was the real driving force that had led us to meet in a unique atmosphere of sharing of time and knowledge.

The news about our workshop spread quickly with the result that we were offered four more contributions afterwards - the articles by John Bray, Walter A. Frank, Teering Nupu and Jean-Pierre Rigal - to be included in this book. It has, thereby, grown into a documentation on the work of those young scholars who, after the re-opening of Ladakh, went into a region where typical patterns of Tibeto-Buddhist cultural tradition can still be studied.

Though this collection of essays can certainly not convey the atmosphere of our meetings we are convinced that readers will see for themselves the commitment that went into each of these pieces of "scholarly argumentation": all the participants in our discussions were fully aware of the dilemma: that the unique experience they gained in Ladakh through living with its people needed to be transcribed into western forms of "knowing accordingly".

Our western objectivity is exactly what Buddhists call "sunyadha", an explanation of realities according to certain sense data matched with a set of mental formations called theories. This kind of "objective science" is for as the tool with which the human mind tries to shape matter. Thus only those aspects of reality matter to us which can answer accordingly, i.e. according to our dualistic world view of man against nature. To be or not to be is for us the question; hence we cannot imagine a thought without a thinker, a deed without a doer. Brought up in the boxes of rectangular thinking in alternatives of "yes" or "no" we have extreme difficulty in even vaguely grasping the symbols of a
circular world-view of conditioned genesis in which every "now" is understood as a flux of momentary change in an endless stream of coming and re-becoming. The first of a series of limericks that came up during our discussion could testify to its self-critical atmosphere:

There was once a German in Wanda counting the families’ number.
Why do you try?
Was the Lama’s reply, it’s all your conceptual blunder.

Besides the sharing of time and knowledge our meeting was also a unique experience in sharing of resources. Though a subsidy from the "Gesellschaft der Freunde und Förderer der Universität Konstanz" made the arrangements for board and lodging easier, the main part of the overall expenses was met by the participants themselves, who gratefully acknowledged the assistance that Margarete Nold and Waltraud Ernst gave to the conference. We, moreover, profited from the skills of various specialists, of which the following three should at least be mentioned: Helga Fendrich developed rough sketches into drawings; Helmi Leitl typed our manuscripts ready for off-set print; and Clemens Jürgenmeyer processed all these materials carefully into the final shape of a book.

On behalf of the contributors we would like to thank all the above and hope that the end-product merits the attention they gave to it.

Konstanz / München
November 1982

Delise Kamrowsky
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KESAR LING NORBU DADUL
Tsering Mutup

INTRODUCTION

Ladakh, situated in the Himalayas, is one of the coldest regions in the world. During the long winter, which lasts a good six months of the year, the road over the Zoji La becomes impassable due to heavy snowfall, and Ladakh is cut off from the rest of India. The fields are frozen at this time of year which means that for 80% of the population who work on the land, there is very little to do. On cold winter evenings therefore, people gather round the kitchen hearth, often joined by friends, neighbours and relatives as well, and tell stories. Without exception all stories are told in winter, not only because there is no farmwork, but also because there is a prohibition on telling them in summer, after the earth has become alive with plant and animal life. Were the creatures in the ground to hear the stories, they would think that they were unawake, that the people wanted the winter to stay for good, which would surely be very shameful.

There are many different kinds of stories: some are fairly short, but others - like Kesär - are epics which take several days to be told. The storytelling itself is an art which only few individuals - men or women - acquire. The stories are passed down from generation to generation, and are learned by heart. The storytelling itself takes a fairly specific form, in which rhythm and occasionally rhyme, and the odd stanza which is sung, make it distinct from colloquial Ladakhi. The tradition is an oral one, and the myths are seldom written. Though several written versions of the Kesär story are known to exist in Ladakhi, no-one is allowed to use them. The story-teller himself does not consciously improvise, though several versions of most stories can usually be found in most areas.

Out of all these stories, the story of Kesär - sometimes called Gyalam Kesär, sometimes Ling Norbu Dadul - is particularly popular and famous. This myth is not peculiar to Ladakh, but can be found, and has also been extensively recorded in various parts of Central Asia, notably Tibet and Mongolia. In Ladakh it is said to appear in 18 versions, Ling Chogsbyat.
However, it is unclear whether these are in fact variations on the same theme, or merely different episodes in the Kesar epic as a whole.

One should bear in mind that it is more than a story or a myth, for it is also the history of a particular king or culture hero, from whom the Ladakhi monarchy is somewhat thought to be descended, and of his conquests of the neighbouring states and tribesmen. This is why, when discussing the subject with other Ladakhi or Tibetans, we find that there is a place called Khammar where Kesar is supposed to have been born; Kesar Khang, a small monastery in Tibet which houses statues of the culture hero, his wife and the Linggar warriors, as well as an assortment of his swords, bows and arrows. Furthermore, Kesar is also said to have travelled widely in Ladakh. In Zanskar his footsteps, in Sham the stone on which he sat, the stone under which he kept his famous three-cornered knife, and his horse stables, have been found. Many of his wife's possessions; her handloom, basket, and ornaments, are also thought to be kept in Ladakh.

Depending largely on region and who one is talking to, the three main place names which appear in the text - Linggar, Dudyul and Horyul - are given concrete geographical reference, e.g. Kham or Chang Thang in Tibet, Varlam or alternatively Baltistan and Lahul. However, it should be remembered that the story encompasses the entire spectrum of Buddhist cosmology; the deities of Stangla, and the demons of Yolku with their magical powers play a very important part in the myth. Between the two is Parlam, the world of human beings, where the main events of the narrative take place. Yet Parlam constitutes only one level of the fantastic world that Kesar inhabits.

This version of the story was narrated by my father, who learnt it from a Chomo in Thikse. Translated verbatim, it is over 100 pages long. For the purpose of this collection I have abridged it to the present length. I have tried to keep the storyline intact, but several of the episodes have been shortened, repetition eliminated, and many of the lengthy indigenous names of characters and ritual objects, which would require further explanation, omitted. Thus in the oral version whoever the hero is about to embark on one of his journeys, all the magical equipment that distinguished him as Kesar, is enumerated in full. I have done so here only on the first occasion, and without giving the full names of each object.

Although the written version does not hold quite the enchantment of the spoken, which manages to keep a captive audience seated round the kitchen hearth for many a cold winter night, I hope the reader will find some interest in this popular Ladakhi story which starts as follows.

Kesar Ling Norbu Dadhul

THE KINGDOM OF LINGRAR IS FOUNDED FROM THE CHILDREN OF PALAKSYES

There was once a man called Palakskyes, and his wife Machushin, who were childless. The divine Memi Loboni Sergu told Palakskyes that he would have a child only if he took 18 wives, all born in the Tiger Year, 17 were found, but the 18th had to be a blacksmith's daughter.

One of the girls gave birth to a bundle of wool, and when the bemused Palakskyes returned to the diviner, he was told a child would be found inside it. This was Paley Godpo, who would become a great hero. The second girl gave birth to a saddle, and the child inside it was called Gani Goabo. The third girl gave birth to an eagle, and the child it contained was called Shaktuk Traseya. The fourth girl gave birth to a bunch of grass, and the child it contained was called Spamo Hasuk. The diviner said they would all become great heroes. Then one girl gave birth to some tripe.

Palakskyes, this time too ashamed to visit the diviner, prepared to throw it away. But a voice from the tripe pleaded with him, and said that were a cowherd to find it, he would say shameful things. So the father decided to throw it away in the mountains, when the voice said that a shepherd might find it, and say shameful things. So he threw the tripe in a rocky place, and from the pieces a child emerged. It was called Tusam Dumba, and taken home.

When the children grew up, they decided to found their own kingdom. They needed a leader, and Paley Godpo sought the advice of a lama, who said they would find one among the 3 sons of Angbo Gabsi house, in Stangla. Being the eldest, Paley Godpo set off for that place disguised as a Changpa, with spindle and sling. He came to a mountain, and from the black side emerged a black duck yak; from the white side emerged a white yak, and the two fought all day. So Paley Godpo took out his good sling with the 3 white threads from his mother's time, and the 3 black once from his father's time, killed the black yak, and put the white one in a pit with water and grass. He then returned to Linggar, recounted his exploits, and said he would go to Stangla the next day.

Meanwhile, the father from Angbo Gabsi house, came to Linggar in search of his yak. Paley Godpo told him that the white yak was safely hidden, and would be returned only on condition that one of his sons came as leader to Linggar. The father was upset, and when he got back to Stangla, refused to eat or drink. The eldest son asked why he was not eating, but after hearing the story of the yak refused to go to Linggar as leader, saying he would rather stay and fold his father's bed each day. The second son also refused, and claimed he would rather stay and clean cups and plates for the rest of his life. But the youngest son agreed to go if his father would then eat...
and drink, and get back the white yak. So they got back the yak, but the father was still reluctant to send his favourite son, Tundup. He sent his son hunting, and whoever failed to catch anything, would have to go to Lingar. Tundup shot animals, but his brothers stole his catch. On hearing what had happened, the father made them compete in archery. As Tundup’s arrow fell shortest, he was sent to Lingar.

Tundup said that were he to go to Parsam, first he would have to die. So he instructed that all his things: cup, coat, waistband, sword, knife, cup, tsampa bowl, arrow, bow, horse (who appears hereafter as Thuru Shangjung), dog, purse, phas-tsho, and lhur-po (who appears in the story as Ane Kurman Gyamo), be given to the monks, so that he could get them back in Parsam.

With a lump of bolok in one hand, and a cow’s leg in the other, he rode off on a white goat. He came to the red rocks where he made offerings to the gods, and asked for their protection. At the summit of the red rocks, the goat leaped across to the next peak and fell. Tundup’s body turned to stone, only to be reborn as the bird, Serja Marpo.

Paley Gedpo, who had gone off in quest of their leader, met with the red Serja fighting with a black Serja, which he, Paley Gedpo, killed. He returned to Lingar followed by the red Serja, which settled in a corner of the country. But when it refused to speak Shkuntuk Trasgya killed the bird, and its soul went to the sky, whether it fell as a hurdlestone which was eaten by Magokzamo – a woman sitting outside the palace who then became pregnant. A voice from within her, told her to build a house of pearls, sticks, tsampa and butter at the bottom of the village. But after she did so, the voice said that since only animals were born there she had to build the house in a valley between the 3 mountains. But only deer were born there, so she went to the fields, and then the stony place where quails were born, and then to the forest where hares were born. Finally the voice told her to go to her mother’s house and to give birth there, having shut all the windows and doors, made a marzan, and placed an arrow on the white carpet. But she was too tired to do the last. She gave birth to a white shawl which flew to Stangla, a blue turquoise which went to Yoklu, yellow gold which went to Parsam, a pigeon, a deer, a snake, a hare, a bird, and, lastly, to Tutu Staragak – the man with the huge body and head, the thick neck and thin limbs – whom she fed with bad tsampa, and covered with stones.

One day her sister Makartigmo brought a marzan, and asked after Tutu Staragak, who she took from beneath the stones, removing the bad tsampa from his mouth. She told Magokzamo never to give him away, so he would become a great man (Kesar). Nevertheless, she gave him away to 3 men who took him to the place between the 3 mountains and tied his limbs to three cornered knaves, pouring boiling water in his mouth, and setting fire to his heart. When she heard what had happened, Makartigmo rushed off, found the child, and was distraught at his sorry state. But Tutu Staragak told her that the way he was tied signified that he would rule the four corners of the land; the boiling water signified the good tea that he would always be given; and the fire, good luck. He uttered the words OM-AM-HOM-PHAT, broke free, and set fire to the 3 men.

He was given the new name of Moyan Shantuk, and told to stay in that country where Yapstanba was king. He was looked up to by all, as they realised he must be a special person.

MOYAN SHANTUK MARRIES YAPSTANBA’S DAUGHTER

One day Moyan Shantuk was working with the women and he dug up a tsampa as large as a yak’s head, which always grew back when he bit it. Yapstanba’s daughter bit it too, but it failed to grow back. So she invited Moyan Shantuk to a picnic at the palace the following day. He found the palace doors bolted, but managed to get in all the same, and in various ways he shamed the ladies of the palace. The next day, a competition was held for the princess to choose a husband. Moyan Shantuk took part, and only he was able to finish the 100 pots of barley, 100 goats, and 100 khal of tsampa that were placed before the young men as a test. Only he was able to cure the 100 goatskins, and only he was able to pick up the tin of mustard seeds scattered on the ground with the point of his arrow, while riding on horseback.

In spite of this, the princess was reluctant to accept the results of the competition, so finally all the men paraded before her in their finery, and she was to pick out her favourite. She didn’t the one on the white horse for it was sthasta, nor the one on the blue horse for it was lhusa, but she caught the rider on the horse with the sun on its left side, and the moon on its right, who was none other than Moyan Shantuk.

He prepared for the wedding, and the princess – who had no name – asked Moyan Shantuk to give her one. He suggested three which were unsuitable, but eventually she agreed to be called Youngala-zi pey Yongags Dolma, Ksellasses Pey Kunzes Dolma (however, in the story she is known as Druguma).

MOYAN SHANTUK KILLS CHASONMIGMAR THE BIRD

Of all the heroes of the time; men who could drink the sea; and men who could take mountains in their hand, the spiritual power of Moyan Shantuk was the greatest, so he was chosen as leader of the old people. When Chasonmig-
mar the giant bird was about to put Lingar in darkness by flying in front of the sun, the heroes sent a spy to see how Moyan Shantuk would advice the old people. When he told the old people to collect wood, they collected water instead; when he told them to collect wood, they collected water; and when he told them to put their best clothes, they put on their worst; and when he told them to put on their oldest, they donned their finest. But the heroes did otherwise, and were caught out each time; they arrived with their best clothes in a forest of horns; they arrived in tattered rags as guests of the king and suffered great shame.

The next day, Moyan Shantuk told the old people that the heroes would kill Chassominjmar in the west, whilst they would kill ordinary birds in the east. The heroes went to the west, but the bird was in the east, where Moyan Shantuk left the old people far behind, and went to kill Chassominjmar alone.

Moyan Shantuk possessed 3500 magical arrows with 3 names. He threatened to make a weaver's reed from the pieces if they didn't work, a weaver's t cradle from the bow, weaver's sap from his thumb, and an offering from his shoulder, if they didn't work properly. He shot 3 arrows and killed Chassominjmar, who fell slowly to the ground, catching his claw on the horse as he fell.

Now Chassominjmar was special, gold was his back, turquoise his eyes, and iron his nails. Outstretched his skin covered the whole of Lingar, folded. It could be held in one hand. Moyan Shantuk took all these things and won on his way. Meanwhile, the heroes took all the feathers, and claimed they had killed the bird. Then Moyan Shantuk embarrassed them by giving gold to every goldsmith, turquoise to every woman, iron to every blacksmith, and the skin to the king of Lingar. Having given all these things away, he went home to live with his wife.

Moyan Shantuk is Made Leader, and King, of Ling

One day, Moyan Shantuk threw a bloodied quartz next to a dog, and the people of Ling, believing her hero dead, asked Druguma to bring him back in 7 days. So she went to Makartiemo, who sent her to Magokzamo, who sent her to the top of the mountain. There she found Kesar and Thuru Skangjung - the horse with the sun on one side and the moon on the other -in a hole in Chassogormo, the piece of dung. Kesar with all his possessions, realized that Druguma, his wife, was looking at him. So he came to her in the form of Moyan Shantuk and said he was tame. Wherupon she put him on her back and carried him home. The heroes of Lingar then accepted him as their leader.

Another king in that place pretended to be Kesar, for it was known that the great Kesar had been born. When he heard about this, Kesar went to see him, but the king hid under a pile of sheep droppings in shame, and refused to come out. Kesar slashed open his backbone, after which the people of Ling crowned him king, and he ruled wisely for a year.

After one year, Kesar went into meditation, preparing a chopda as big as a mountain, and a water offering as big as a sea. During that time, his Ihamo searched Stangla, Tolhu, and Parsam for intrigues against him. In Dudyul she found the giant Dut reading his books which said that the signs for Kesar, the Dut, Druguma, and the Dut's wife in that year, were iron, wood, water, and fire respectively. Since iron cuts wood, and water puts out fire, Kesar would be the stronger. But the next year, the signs would be wood, iron, fire and water, and fortunes would be reversed. The Ihamo told Kesar that this meant the Dut would be attacking Lingar the following year, and he would therefore have to leave. So Kesar emerged from meditation in a week, taking barley and chang, and all his things with him. In his place he left Paumalamstan his son, to look after Ling, and Palei Godpo, Goba Putsa, and Gani Gomba the warriors, to look after everything else, for as long as 9 years. In vain Druguma begged him to stay.

The Journey to Dudyul, and the Defeat of the Giant Dut

Kesar leapt on his horse and galloped away. Ane Kurman Gyamo tested his bravery by scaring him with the sounds of dogs and dead men. Twice Kesar shot the dzomo that gored Thuru Skangjung, but the third time, Ane Kurman Gyamo appeared. She gave him a whale shell of chang, and a morsel of chopda, and told him to follow the fox that had appeared, everywhere. After he was filled with the food, and drunk with the chang, Kesar turned into a Druba and met Druguma who was looking for him. He stuck his knife in the earth and a huge lake sprang up, he shot his arrow in the ground and it became a tree. Then he told her the valley was Dudulng, the lake Dudhso, the tree Ducharang, while he was the lama of Dudyul. Weeping, she cast off all her clothes for they had been made in Kesar's time. He took pity on her, told her who he really was, and said he would soon return.

Kesar and Thuru Skangjung then followed the fox into a hole in the ground, where they were seen by the warriors of Hor, on their way to invade Ling. But all they found when they searched, was Kesar's arrow, for he had managed to escape. He knew that the Hor were about to invade, but the Ihamo had said he should not return to Ling, come what may. So he swore to take revenge later.
Then Kesar made an offering of a white goat to the white Iható, a red goat to the red Iható, and a blue goat to the blue Iható. But the fox urinated on the black Iható, so he made no offerings there.

Then they met the giant Dut sentry, a yaksherder who declared he would eat both Kesar and the horse. Kesar managed to kill him. Then they came across a Dut horserunner, who suffered the same fate. Later they met a cowherdess, and Kesar, still disguised as a Druba, gave her news of Kesar’s death, and the invasion of Lingar. She wept bitterly, for she was his relative, whereupon he was moved, and revealed his identity. She was overjoyed and brought him a white, a red, and a blue sheep, but as they resembled his Stangla thaluk, Parsam isannuk and Yokhlu ibuyuk, he prevented her from killing them. Instead he ate the black sheep that she brought. He asked for information about Dudyul, and was told about the 7 soldiers guarding each of the 7 gates, the 7 barking dogs, the 7 lamás, and the 7 tigers, all of whom would appear dangerous, although they were unreal.

Kesar reached the palace, and sang at the east, south, north and west gates. No-one replied, so he kicked in the door, and as the cowherdess had said, found the soldiers, dogs, lamás, and tigers barring his way. He shot arrows in the air, and walked by them for they were only dummies.

When he came to the thick gate that never opened, the Dut’s wife threw him a spindle of turquoise and gold, with which he walked through, proving he was Kesar. She fed and cared for him well, for she wanted to keep him as a husband. In one pocket Kesar kept 7 shells, and in the other 7 bone dice, which he transformed into 7 men and women who dug 18 holes in the ground in one of which he hid. Then he stayed with the Dut’s wife, and after some time they had a daughter.

Some time later the Dut got up from his rest to sharpen his teeth, and the ground shook as he walked. Terrified, Kesar hid with his horse in the hole, which the Dut’s wife covered with a stone slab and a pot of chya. The Dut, smelling the signs of man and horse, asked for his books. His wife wished him harm, and brought them only after having placed them under her feet, and burnt incense of dog excrement. Not believing what he read, the Dut threw them away, and proceeded to eat 100 khasi of paba, and 100 of garlic. Then he fell asleep for a year, for he was tired, and his wife rode up and down his body on Tharu Skaangju. Kesar did so too, and cut one of the Dut’s 9 souls. The Dut thought he’d been bitten by a snake and went back to sleep. But Kesar kept cutting until only 2 souls remained, when upon the Dut woke up in pain, and asked who he was. Kesar said he came from Stangla, then he said Yokhlu, and finally Parsam. He said he was Paley Godpo, but each time the Dut said that no-one from there could kill him, and each time he tried to get up, he fell down because of his wounds. When Kesar revealed his true identity, the Dut acknowledged defeat, but begged to be killed with the sword, not the knife. Just then, Ane Kerman Gyaumo appeared, and said that the Dut would be quickly retourned if he did so. So Kesar used the knife to cut off the Dut’s head, which fell into the hole, and was still. The body was thrown in the river, and a chor ten made from the fat. In 7 days the chor ten began to shake, so it too was destroyed.

Kesar then stayed with Zaymo, the wife of the Dut, and forgot about the people of Lingar.

The Invasion of Lingar by HOR

During Kesar’s absence, Hor Kugar Gyalpo decided to look for a wife. So he instructed the crows to find him one, which, having done, they could eat the horse he’d killed. They scoured Stangla and Yokhlu, and found no-one suitable. But in Lingar in Parsam, they found a woman whose husband and horse were away, who was just right. So they told their king who prepared to invade Lingar.

Meanwhile, Druguuma dreamt that she was swept away by a flood, that Pumatamsan was shot by an arrow, and that his legs were broken by a falling rock. Paley Godpo, divined from this that the Hor people would invade, so he made the sky dark. The Lingar heroes then cut off all the horses tails, and the men’s eft ears, in the Hor camp. Although it was still dark, the Hor managed to reach Lingar with the help of Abi Tramonlashan. They washed in the Omei Zingbo, and fed Mutik Chumpo to their horses. When they surrounded Ling, Paley Godpo went and asked Pumatamsan to help. So he rode into battle and killed many Hor, without being wounded himself. Then Abi Tramonlashan disguised as a beggar, went to see Druguuma at the palace, and by praising Pumatamsan’s bravery, discovered the secret of his strength, which she told the Hor. That evening, when Pumatamsan was washing in the water mill, one of the Hor shot him under the armpit. Pumatamsan was only slightly wounded, and little by little the arrow came out until only the tip remained. But on the 7th day he was shot again and died.

When the warriors came to take Druguuma she refused to go, and asked for a palace of sheep droppings which took them a year to complete. When they returned, they took her servant by mistake, and had to come back yet again. They found Druguuma under a pot in the stables. This time she asked for a Dong; and it took them 3 years to find one the right size. Then she asked for a wolf which took 3 years to find, and finally, the bird Senjeuk, which also took 3 years to find. When they returned, Druguuma had run out of things to ask for, so they took her with them, and she became the wife of Hor Kugar.
BAD NEWS FROM LINGAR, AND KESAR'S JOURNEY TO HORYUL

When Kesar had been gone several years, the people of Ling sent Serja the bird to find him. When they went to Dudyul, Kesar recognized the Ling's birds and put out a black carpet and a white one; meat of a slaughtered animal and that of an animal which had died naturally, kolak of so and kolak of barley. If they brought good news, the birds would land on the black carpet and sit on the white; taste the meat of the slaughtered animal and eat the other; taste the kolak of so and eat the one of barley. When they did the reverse, he knew the news was bad. They left a letter which described the destruction inflicted on Lingar by the people of Hor, who had pulled down prayer flags, taken Druguma, killed Pumal'amisan, washed in the Milk Sea, fed special grass to their horses, and used the Ling mountain to load their slings.

Distressed, Kesar set off to find Thuru Skangjung, but Zaymo went instead. Twice she tore up her shoes and returned empty handed, so Kesar went the third time. He followed the Horse's dung until he found a fresh patch, and came upon Thuru Skangjung at the top of the mountain. Kesar told him the news, but the horse had already been to Lingar and seen these terrible things. Where had Kesar been sleeping all this time? The horse was hungry and thin, and complained that Zaymo ill-treated him, whereas Druguma had always cared for him well. Angered, Kesar took out his sling and threatened to kill the horse, which hid and was only slightly grazed. But on seeing his sorge, Kesar was filled with remorse. With the knife from the horse's left ear, and the medicine from his right, he cleaned him. They returned to the palace together, and when Zaymo oiled his tail and mane, he agreed to take her too. Kesar asked for all his things, but Zaymo said she'd given the cap to a beggar, the clothes to a mendicant, the sword to a gara, and the knife to a butcher. Whereupon Thuru Skangjung kicked in the side of the wooden room where she'd hidden them all.

Kesar, Zaymo and the daughter, all got onto Thuru Skangjung and rote until they came to the middle of a lake where the horse backed, flinging his master to one side, and the two women to the other. Zaymo killed her daughter, threw the top half to Kesar, and ate the bottom half herself. Kesar made a funeral pyre, wept bitterly, and left Zaymo behind.

Then he met with a dwarf, and they played dice together until Kesar lost all his possessions, including Druguma and Ling. Then, on An Kurman Gyamlu's advice, he played with Druguma's dice, staking his right ribs, and this time he won. So the dwarf pledged to help him on his journey, bringing 3 years supply of tsampa and meat, and 1 of chang. Together they reached the clustering rocks which the dwarf kept open with his stick, together they came to the great lake which they sailed across in the dwarf's hat, and together they came to the place of Brung which Kesar and the horse traversed in his pocket. Together they met the giant dong which Kesar was unable to shoot, because it appeared as Paley Godpo, Gazi Gonbo, and Gonba Putsa. But the dwarf scolded him so, that when it appeared as Spamo Haktuk, Kesar wasn't deceived, and killed it. Together they came to the Red Mountain, the last obstacle, where human sacrifice had to be made. Kesar then killed the dwarf.

Kesar looked down from the pass and saw cloud over Ling which he blew away; to Horyul he threw his spirit, making every house crack. Druguma heard this and knew who it was. Then Kesar wrote a letter to Ling Serja, which he sent with the horse, asking for 3 men to come and assist him in the conquest of Hor.

Then he reached mount Masalsalikongka, Asalsalikongka, and Shangmodullikongka, whither he looked down the Horyul. Thrice he shook his beard, then nodded his head, and thrice he shook his finger.

KESAR COMES TO HORYUL AND BECOMES A BLACKSMITH'S SON

Kesar then came to a spring, where he met Garmo Nimey Chorol, who recognized him by the mark on his chest, though he was still disguised as a Druba. Then Hor Kugar's servant came to fetch water, and Kesar, refusing to get out of her way, threw his shoes and cup in the water. So she stepped over him, and when she swallowed a little of her water offering, made him vomit. But Nimey Chorol walked around him in the correct manner, and let him drink her water offering. When Druguma heard the story, she took the servant to find out who the stranger was. Finally she came herself with some thupsa for him. He drank it, and even though it was poisoned, came to no harm, for he had prayed previously. Then he said he was a Druba from Dudyul who had come in search of his lost Drugma, who had given birth. If possible he would take her back, otherwise he would kill her and sell her. Shamed, for she knew he was referring to her, Druguma turned into a pigeon and flew back to the palace.

So Kesar went to the palace and danced a Druba's dance with Druguma which greatly pleased Hor Kugar, who offered his guest good tsampa. Kesar emptied the entire storeroom into his little bag. The next day he returned disguised as a Tibetan merchant with his wares, and pastured his horses in the king's fields. When the king's manager came to collect payment, Kesar replied that when the Hor invaded Lingar, he had provided food and clothes for a whole army of people and horses, which was still unpaid for. The manager reported this to the king, and Druguma told him that Kesar had arrived.

The Hor prepared for war, and Druguma, who was general, called everyone up to fight. But during the night there was heavy snowfall, and by the
morning, there was nothing in the field but a pile of leaves, which Ga Ra Hemi's kicked. In the middle he found a small child, who said he was the blacksmith's last child who had died. The king said that if that was really the case, then the child would go to his home. Ga Ra Hemi went home to find the child already there. The child was asked to recognize its parents among 100 garas and garmo, and name all his father's tools, which, with the help of Ane Karman Gyamo, he did. The only tool he couldn't find was the Garas's golden hammer, which had been lost in the war against Lingar. The child was then acknowledged as the Gara's son, taken home, and given the name of Thubthangnyeth.

Meanwhile, Thuru Skangjung with the letter, reached Lingar at night, and was too scared to land. When he did, the people saw that the letter was written in the language that only Spamo Hastuk - the shimo - could understand. She was an eater of men, and feared by all, but eventually Gani Gonbo who knew her well, went to her house. By mistake he ate a piece of regurgitated meat and had to vomit. She agreed to read the letter, so they went to the palace together. On her instructions, various rituals were performed, after which she proceeded to read the letter in which Kesar told of the killing of the Hut, and the journey to Horyul, and asked for 3 men to meet him there. If they failed to conquer Hor, help would have to be sought from the kings of Stangla, Yokchu and Pamsam. Spamo Hastuk was put in charge of all the arrangements, and she summoned everyone with horses. Then it was decided that Paley Godpo, Gani Gonbo, and Gomba Putsa, were to go to Lingar. The horses were brought from the mountain, and the 3 warriors parfied themselves and the lhu.

Finally, Agi Loba Karpo advised them never to sleep on the journey, and never to get angry or behave incorrectly in foreign lands.

In Horyul, Ga Ra Hemi's son (Kesar), and daughter had gone to find charcoal. When Kesar cut off the donkey's hooves, the girl ran back to tell their father, who was furious. Yet he found his son working hard, so he scolded the girl. The next day Kesar burned Hor Kugar's lhato to make charcoal. The same thing happened, and again the blacksmith found his son working hard and the lhato unharmed. The third day, Kesar fed the donkeys with the king's grain. Again the blacksmith found the story was untrue, and beat the girl.

One day Hor Kugar arranged a competition for all the warriors and Ga Ra Hemi told his son to stay at home and nail shoes. But he was soon at the palace with the nails in his pocket. The king overheard him begging to try and lift the huge boulder, and told him to go ahead. Kesar asked if they would have to pay if it broke. The king said not, so he prayed to the gods, lifted the rock, and threw it. One of the pieces flew and hit the king on the head. Thubthangnyeth apologized, wiped the blood from the king's forehead, and went home.

Next day he was supposed to stay at home and look after the gold for Drag ama's kettle. Yet he came to the palace with the house on his back, and managed to make a bow out of a huge tree trunk. This time the string flew round the king's neck, so he rushed to unite it. The third day Ga Ra Hemi tied 7 fierce dogs to the door, so his son would stay at home. Yet again he arrived at the palace, having choked them with clay. He alone managed to mount and ride Stargut - the horse from Lingar, which then died.

Next day the king heard from the vorder guard that the people of Ling were about to attack. So he decided to put Ga Ra Hemi's son in command, and gave him the title of Gartuk Singhe. In vain the blacksmith begged him not to. Gartuk Singhe prepared to go, and asked to be accompanied by a warrior who could drink the sea, one who could pick up a mountain, and one who could take a donig by the horn. The king sent all the supplies, his own horse, and the 3 warriors, who Kesar killed on the way.

Alone on the mountain top he sighted the Lingar army led by Yapstanbu and followed by many of the heroes of Ling, including one who could hear, and one who could see very far. They were able to hear and see a man with a horse, and prepared to attack him. So Gartuk Singhe fled to Stangla, where he was attacked with a spear, whence to Yokchu, where he was attacked with a bow and arrow, and thence to Pamsam where he encountered Spamo Hastuk riding Thuru Skangjung, who recognized his master. Gartuk Singhe then revealed his identity and told the warriors that since they were now out of danger, they could go back home, leaving him and the 3 phaspuns to fight the Hor.

Then he rode back to Horyul where he told the king that the Lingar army had attacked, killing the 3 warriors, and wounding his horse. He was praised for his bravery.

THE 3 PHASPUN JOURNEY TO HORYUL, AND THE CONQUEST OF HOR

The 3 phaspuns now began their journey from Lingar. Soon Paley Godpo felt tired, and stopped to rest. When he got up, he came across several wild asses, 7 wolves, and 3 vultures, and he raced with each of these until they were neck and neck. Then he found the other 2, who scolded him for forgetting the words of Agi Loba Karpo.

Gani Gonbo felt tired next, and he stopped at the place between the 3 valleys at nightfall, where he heard the sound of dead people, dogs, running water, and rolling dung. A Dzomo came, and he shot it twice with his magical arrows, but the third time, Ane Kuman Gyamo came and praised his courage.
When they reached the long tunnel made dark by the people of Hor, only Gompa Putsa stayed awake. He heard the sounds of dogs and men, so he used weed seeds for chodpa, and prayed for daylight. Where upon daylight came, and he woke up the others who praised him and gave him a kutag.

When they came to the end of their supplies they climbed to the top of the mountain to see which place was nearest. In the sun there was darkness and cloud, but Hor yul in the west was clear, so they headed in that direction. Like his father, Gompa Putsa was able to see a house behind a piece of paper at 18 days' distance. Now he could see a glacier, a white pile of dog bones, a heap of coral, and a mountain of charcoal. Gani Gonbo, who had been to Hor yul before, said that the first was the Hor palace, the second, the jail with a very sharp stone on the roof, the charcoal was Gara Hemia's house where Kesar was eating low caste food, and wearing low caste clothes, while the coral was the meditation room of Hor.

They journeyed on, till they came to a spring where Paley Godpo made tea, without offering to the gods. Garmo Nimey Chorol, who saw this, said that he would go to hell, wherever he threatened to kill her with his knife. She was furious, and informed him that if she said HOM, the sound would go to Stangia, Yolku, and Parsam, whereas if she said PHAT, he would die. Whereupon she said PHAT, and he died. Realising that she must have killed him, the other two said this as a very bad precedent for the whole world. So she said HOM, he blinded his eyes, came back to life, and apologised to Garmo Nimey Chorol. He was then elected for forgetting the advice of Agu Liba Karpo.

On they rode, until they reached the bridge leading to Hor. The king, standing on the roof with Sheshupulatar, his son, saw them approaching, and declared that the first man would be his footman, the second his manager, and the third his supplier; while the first horse was for riding, the second a bhastra, and the third for business. But Droguma also saw the Linga pass on approaching, and explained to the king who they really were.

Gompa Putsa was about to shoot an arrow, when Droguma pushed the ring inside. Then, donning ordinary clothes, she went to greet the men from Linga, with a pot of chang in each hand. She told them of her ill fortune, and said that the people of Hor had stolen her clothes and her peyra.

She asked for news of Yabsetana, her father, and Yumchoron, her mother, and they told her that he had been killed and his body hung into the street, while she had been a beggar for 3 years. As for Kurbok Lama, he would throw a storm as big as a horse in the morning, one as big as a yak in the evening, and one as big as a sheep at midday, saying that these were the heads of Hor Kugar, Droguma, and Sheshupulatar. They kicked over her pot of chang, and the ground split where it fell because of the poison it contained. Aahamed, Droguma turned into a pigeon, and flew away.

Gani Gonbo then instructed Hor Kugar to make a tarchen, on which he was to place an earring, a large needle, a small needle, grains, pulses, and mustard seed, and finally a single horsehair which he would split with Tar-nyak-gyu-shak, his arrow. The king jeered, but Droguma pushed him inside and prepared these things herself. Gani Gonbo shot his magical arrow, which split the hair, hit a corner of the palace, and knocked it down.

He was praised by the others, and given a kutag. Now, only Paley Godpo was without one, and he was full of shame. So he collected 60 sacks full of dung, and told the others to assume he was dead by the time it was burnt. In the meantime he would fight Hor Kugar, and try to return.

He went to the palace and told his magical arrow to go to Hor Kugar's house, pierce his soul, and return with a drop of blood from his heart, a piece of flesh from the heart of Sheshupulatar, and a strand of Droguma's hair. So as not to be seen, the arrow was to fly in the sky by night, and underground by day. At the palace, a birth ceremony for Sheshupulatar was being held, and the arrow, passing by the throne, went and hit the huge dranges. The king remarked that a stranger's arrow must surely bring good fortune, and said that it should be made the arrow of the lha and the lha. But Droguma was afe, for she realised it was a Limgar arrow. Then the arrow began to shake, and went and lodged itself in the main beam of the palace - mar-muang - the very soul of Hor Kugar. The tip was cold like spring water, and the tail was hot like fire.

The top half of Hor Kugar's body became hot like fire, and the bottom half cold like spring water. He cried out for Gartuk Singe to come quick with tongue, rope, bellowing, hammer, and bag, but he came very slowly. The arrow shook in recognition of Kesar, who told it to be still. Pretending to remove it, he hammered the arrow further in, pushed it with the longs, placed embers on the beam, and blew until they glowed. The king screamed in agony. Finally he used a bag to cover the arrow, and pushed as hard as he could. He told the king to be brave, and to pray for Hor Kugar to swim with his legs in blood and body in fire; for Sheshupulatar to swim in a bath of blood; for Droguma to hear the sound of her own body circumambulating her soul; for the Hor tradition to end; and for that of the blacksmith's to reign for many an age. Droguma prayed to her own lha, Khandaoma.

Sheshupulatar pulled out the arrow, and Hor Kugar, relieved to see it was a stranger's, said it should be placed at the head of all the other arrows. But the Limgar arrow fought all night, and left them in pieces. Droguma heard the commotion and opened the door, whereupon the arrow escaped with a strand of her hair, a drop of Hor Kugar's blood, and a piece of his son's heart.

It was getting very late, and Paley Godpo, worried that the arrow might come and shoot him, hid behind a rock. The arrow, also worried that his
master might break him, hid inside the quiver. Here Paley Godpo found him with the hair, flesh and blood. The other 2 heroes were about to burn the last piece of dung, when Paley Godpo returned with the good news, and was given a huge katag. Then Paley Godpo went and found Kesar, in full dress, in the Gara house. When he bowed down before him, Kesar told him not to, for he had eaten Gara food, were Gara clothes, and married a Gara woman. So Paley Godpo bowed down to all his possessions instead, and the others did so too.

Chang was prepared in a neighbour’s house, and a party held for the 3 phashun. When they were all drunk, Kesar said that he had left Lingar, Druguma, and Puslamitee in the charge of Paley Godpo; he had left Choryiri, the mountain, Mutik Chumpo, the grass, and Omei Zingbo, the Milk Sea, in the care of Gani Gongo; while Goba Putsa was left to look after Ribong Karmo the hare, Cheosyal Godpo the bird, and Shawa Ridags the deer. If all these things were safe, then all well and good, they would be richly rewarded. But if not, then he wanted their blood in compensation, and would not accept gifts of food, and offerings instead. The 3 phashun then declared they would find another leader, whereupon Kesar became so angry that he threw the turquoise, gold, and shell fishes, causing a flood which swept them away. But when An Kurman Gyamo intervened, he threw the turquoise, gold, and shell hooks, which stopped the flood. Then the heroes came back, and apologised.

At that time, 2 Hor warriors went to the king and called him a fool, for still he failed to understand that Thumbookhangyeyth was none other than Kesar. They told him to return Druguma. However the king refused, and called them cowards.

All these same, he called Thumbookhangyeyth and asked if he was Kesar. The Gara’s son laughed, described the Kesar’s fabulous clothing, and said that the next day, together, they would see what the real Kesar looked like. An KURMAN brought back all Kesar’s clothing and possessions which had been in her care, and at sunrise Paley Godpo, dressed up as Kesar, and riding Tharu Skangjun with the sun on one side and the moon on the other, scattered mustard seeds on the ground, and picked them up with the point of his arrow.

Hor Kugar then believed that Kesar had come prepared for war, so Druguma called everyone up to fight. Next day, thousands of people with bows and arrows surrounded the house where the Lingar heroes slept. Paley Godpo, who had slept very well that night, demanded thugpa when he was woken up. Then he proceeded to ask for paba, and a kettle of good tea. The others, by this stage fearing for their lives, were furious, but prepared these things all the same. They were far too scared to eat themselves. When he had eaten, Paley Godpo told the one to run to the east, and the other to the west, whilst he was to fight the Hor alone. He got on his horse, and killed all the Hor, except for Shangjun Maro who fled to the east. There Goba Putsa slashed him in two with his sword.

Later, the king instructed Gara Hemis and his son to make nails for horse’s shoes. But the son made a metal box instead. He climbed inside, and was able to see Lhuyul, and Miyul. Gara Hemis begged to see too, though he was warned that once inside the box, he wouldn’t be able to get out. He sat inside and Thumbookhangyeyth locked the box, and put it on the fire. The blacksmith shouted to be let out, until suddenly, he realised who his son was, and agreed to help him. He made a stake and a chain long enough to stretch from the top to the bottom of the palace. Kesar, in full dress, took this to the palace the next day. He planned the stake in the ground, threw the chain over the roof, and climbed up into Shestupylator’s bedroom, where he picked him up with a needle. When the boy cried, the king said he could have the gold mill in the east room, the silver mill in the west room, the shell mill in the north room, or the turquoise mill in the south room.

Then he lit a match, and saw Kesar. He pleaded for his life, and told Kesar that he could take Druguma back. But Kesar reminded him of the destruction of Lingar, and the killing of Puslamitee, saying that he had to do the same. Druguma threw iron balls mixed with flour at their feet, and said that both men meant the same to her; for one she had married, and the other had fathered her son.

An Kurman Gyamo then appeared in the form of a bird, and caused Hor Kugar to slip on the balls. He said that in the east he had 100 yaks and dissinos: in the west 100 stallions and mares; in the north 100 sheep and goats; and in the same in the south. In the east room of the palace the mill produced gold tsampa; in the west room the mill produced silver tsampa; the mill of the north room produced shell tsampa; and the one in the south room produced turquoise tsampa. If he was going to be killed, Kesar could take half of all these riches for himself, and spend the other half on his funeral.

So Kesar prepared to kill him, and Hor Kugar begged him to use the sword and not the knife. He was about to do so, when An Kurman Gyamo appeared and said that if the sword were used then Hor Kugar would simply come back and take revenge the next day.

Kesar killed him with the knife, threw the pieces to the wind and water, and made a huge step from the fat. But when it began to shake the next day, they destroyed it, and threw it to the wind and water also. Then Kesar destroyed all the king’s possessions, took Druguma, and started the journey home.

When they reached the huge dry plain, Druguma was thirsty, and had to drink the water that Kesar carried in his shoes. Then Kesar turned back, for he had forgotten something in Horyul. Druguma, who knew that only her son was left there, begged him not to kill Shestupylator, and made him leave all his weapons behind, except for the string of his bow.
Kesar called to Shephupulater, who was too busy preparing to avenge the death of his father to come out of the palace. Only when he heard there was a message from his mother, did he put his head out of the window, whereupon Kesar strangled him with the bow string. He cut off his head, covered it with paymar, and returned to Drugma. Hungry, she began eating the paymar until she came to the head of her son. She wept bitterly and scolded Kesar for breaking his promise. However, she hadn't sworn on the bowstring.

Back in Lingar, Drugma was given the hardest work to do. Finally, she broke down one day, and said that she had not gone willingly to Horyul. 3 years from Kesar's departure had passed by the time the Hor invaded Lingar, and Kesar had not returned. When they came to get her, she had asked for the steep-dung palace, and the Dong, and 9 years had passed. She had asked for the wolf and the wild ass, and 15 years passed. Finally she had asked for Shingty the bird, and 18 years passed. Still there was no sign of Kesar. Where had been sleeping all this time? Then she had been taken to Horyul, against her will.

On hearing all this, Kesar was filled with remorse, and took her back to the palace where she was restored to her rightful position.

GLOSSARY

Stangla: the Buddhist world is divided into three levels. This is the highest level, inhabited by deities.
Chang-pa: An inhabitant of the Chang-Thang plains. Mostly refers to nomads.
Dut: all bad things are associated with evil, and demons. The path that Kesar eventually kills, is the evil character of the myth.
Lingar: Kesar's kingdom, which is situated in Parsam.
Parsam: The middle world, which is inhabited by human beings.
Phag-liha: The protective deity of a phags-pa social group.
Lha-mo: A protective goddess.
Kolak: A common Ladakhi food consisting of a dough made from tsampa, roasted barley flour, mixed with tea or tara, yogurt
Mar-zan: Offerings such as rice, sugar, etc., made on the occasion of birth.
Yok-liha: The underworld, inhabited by the lha.

Kesar Ling Norbu Dadul

tro-ma: Root crop, which is dug up from the ground, and eaten raw.
khal: A unit of weight, used especially for barley.
Iha-sta: Horse of the lha, the deities which inhabit Stangla.
Iha-si: Horse of the lha, deities which inhabit Yoklu.
Echod-pa: A religious offering which is made of kolak, coloured red, and covered with butter.
Dudyul: The land of the wicked Dut, situated in Parsam.
Druba: A wandering hermit who begs for alms.
Hor: The people of Horyul, possibly Yarkand, who invade Lingar, the country of Kesar.
Iha-to: The shrine where a protective deity, or lha, is housed.
Omey Zingbo: Lit. Milk Sea.
Matik Chumpo: Lit. Pearl Grass.
Dong: A wild yak, much larger then the domesticated animal.
Sentek: A kind of bird.
So: Husked barley, considered inferior to the normal variety.
Masalsalikongka, Asalsalikongka, Shangmodulikongka: 3 mountain peaks.
Thug-pa: Ladakhi soup.
Dre-mo: Female yak.
Gara; Garmo: Blacksmith; blacksmith's wife.
Shin-mo: Man-eating demoness.
Gartuk Singhe: Name given to Kesar, Lit. lion-hearted son of a blacksmith.
Pha-apu: Social grouping.
Kata: White scarf offered as a sign of respect.
Storma: A structure made of dough, thrown away to get rid of all evil.
Tarchen: A large tsampa cake made on the occasion of marriages and birth ceremonies.
Mep-dung: The main beam which supports the roof in any room.
pa-bi: Common Ladhaki food made from tsampa, mixed with boiling water.
mi-yul: All of mankind, all the lands inhabited by men.
pe-mar: Kolak made with tea, butter and sugar.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY AND ICONOGRAPHY OF BAKULA
Sjoerd-Jan de Vries

The following paper is not meant as an independent paper, but more as an attempt to show what kind of results can be made with and around material, collected during my research in Ladakh.

In 1976 I drew up an inventory of bSam-dkar dgon-psa, a small Dge-lugs-pa monastery, some miles north of Leh. I intended to make this inventory as complete as possible, outside and inside, so I made exact measurements, plans, drawings and photographs of the whole complex, the different buildings, the lay-out, etc., with the accent on the lha-khah, the main building, where the essential religious rooms are situated and which—of course—is the most important of the whole complex. Of the inside I made plans, lists, descriptions, etc., of the rooms, the furniture, the mural paintings, the thangkas, the statues, the ritual objects, the costumes, books, and so on. All this was more or less intended as a test case, to see if it was possible to make such an inventory, and that was the main-reason why I chose bSam-dkar dgon-psa, since it is small, but at the same time complete monastery, which could be surveyed by one person within a reasonable period of time.

I think that this kind of survey is quite important and necessary for the study of Tibetan art and culture, because this at last can give a good idea how exactly a monastery is formed and what it contains on objects and icons. In this form it can serve as a base for future research, in combination with the available knowledge.

Also we need a complete inventory to know exactly what is in a monastery, in case of restoration, documentation, or—unfortunately—in case of theft.

Finally the last reason is that—to my knowledge and amazement—this kind of survey has never been done before in this way, with the intention to be complete.

Eventually we should have to make such an inventory in combination with other monasteries, if possible with all the monasteries available, and not only the ones that are important for artistorical or historical reasons, but also the smaller.
King Grags-'bum-ide as a dGe-lugs-pa-monastery, to serve as a base for the further development of that order over Ladakh. Quickly this new order was the most important one in Ladakh, but only for about one-hundred-fifty years. Around the end of the 16th century the 'Brug-pa-suborder of the Bka'-brgyud-pa-sect became more and more strong and after the decline of the Tibetan power - because of the Dzungar and Chinese occupation of Tibet in the first half of the 17th century - the Ladakhi king saw his chance to become more independent of Tibet and made strong ties with the 'Brug-pa-bka'-brgyud-pa-order and with the motherland of that order, Budan.

However, after the war between Tibet and Budan, on which occasion Ladakh chose the side of Budan, and the consequent war between Tibet and Ladakh (1680-1685), the supremacy of the Yellow Church was again established.

Soon after the Dorga-wars, which ended the power of the Ladakhi Royal Dynasty in 1844, the dGe-lugs-pa-order could manifest itself in total as the supreme order in Ladakh. This may be the reason why in 1860 a new incantation-lineage was established in dPe-thub-monastery, in the person of an incarnation of the Arhat Bakula, one of the sixteen original followers of the Buddha. Why this exactly happened is still rather unknown. KAPLANIAN3 gives a folk-story that the former incarnations were headlamba at gYun-drub-dgon-pa (Lamayuru-monastery) and that by mistake the new-born incarnation was brought to gYun-drub-dgon-pa but to dPe-thub. That this installation of such an important incarnation coincides in some way in time - with the new religious-political climate in Ladakh in that period, might not be an accident.

Moreover, in a short while - all in the third quarter of the 19th century - three daughter-monasteries were founded from dPe-thub, all by the first dPe-thub-incarnation of Bakula. These three monasteries were most probably by purpose all placed around Leh, to make a not misunderstandable show of power of the dGe-lugs-pa-order: bsKal-idan spyi-skyobs gling at bSms-dkar was founded north of Leh, bKra-bis dge-bral-monastery at Sa-phud east of Leh, and Gur-phug-monastery at sTok south of Leh, on the other side of the Indus - notabene near the Royal summer palace, which served after the downfall of the rNam-rgyal-dynasty as the permanent residence of the Royal Family.

At present the second dPe-thub-incarnation of Bakula is head of this monastic family, which consist nowadays of about 176 monks4. He is the 29th in succession in the total incantation lineage. Apart from the first one, the Arhat Bakula, and the two last ones, the two dPe-thub-incarnations, we know almost nothing about the incarnations in-between. At the moment there

2) Most of the historical information from: Pehet, The Kingdom of Ladakh (see note 1), p. 76, 85-88, 156-159, etc.
are only two items that could help with the identification of the different figures:

1. In dPe-thub the whole lineage of incarnations is twice depicted on two large mural paintings, one in the old assembly hall (‘du-khag ’ri-tha-pa) and one in the new assembly hall (‘du-khag so-ma). Plate I shows the painting in the old assembly hall, which was painted by the famous Ladakhi painter tSho-rig was-due in 1973. The present-day sku-gdog Be-kula is depicted in the centre, above him the Arhat Bakula, being the first of this lineage. At the right and the left are painted the 18 different incarnations, in three rows, of which the bottom ones are not painted on the wall, but on canvas. Several figures are depicted with their names and numbers of their place in the lineage, but this is not sufficient to identify them. Some figures have distinct features: One has his right hand in his ear, like Mi-la ras-pa; another has the head of a horse protruding from his head and might have some relationship with Hayagriva (rTa-mgrin); some figures are dressed in royal clothes, some are depicted as Mahasiddha’s, while the others are dressed in monastic clothes of different orders.

2. Fortunately we have a tibetan text, which is a prayer to sku-gdog Be-kula. This text contains a list of the series of incarnations, with their names and a short description. This text has not yet been fully translated or analyzed, but in due time it will be possible, maybe with the help of sku-gdog Be-kula himself, to identify and place the different incarnations. Some runarks can already be made on this list: Not the Arhat Bakula is listed here as the first of the lineage, but sNa-ba mtha-yas, the Dhyuk-Buddha Amithaba (Od-dpag-med). Thus in this case the Arhat Bakula is considered as an emanation of the Dhyāni-Buddha Amithābha. As the tenth in the list is Rin-chhen bsah-po, the famous Lotsava and founder of many monasteries and temples in Ladakh, like A-tel chos-bskor.

Comparing the list with the mural-painting in dPe-thub, we meet one problem: The series in dPe-thub starts with the Arhat Be-kula and gives all together 29 figures; the list starts with sNa-ba mtha-yas, but gives also 29 names. We must conclude, that the list does not mention one person, who is depicted on the mural painting.

The Arhat Bakula (see plate 2)

The “first” of the incarnation-lineage belongs to the group of the sixteen Arhats or Shaviras, the followers of the Buddha, who had as task to spread

5) the title of this text is: Bla-ma Ma-ni bha-dra-t’u thugs kyi sras-mchog Blo-bshad Ye-shes bSton pa’i rgyal-mtshan dpal bshad-po’i rTogs-brjod gsol-debs Bla-ma’i bya-lrabs myur-Jug bsam-phel bshad-po’i rgyal-po.

the Doctrine of Buddhism over the world. This group is mostly depicted together with the later additions (Bzah-la) and Darmatā (Dharma-tā-la). About Be-kula, who became a disciple of the Buddha when he was 60 years old, the information is given, that he went to the mythical land of Uttarakuru (Byah-aggra mi-rnam) and that he dwelt for a long time in the Western Himalayas. He is always depicted with a mongoose (Nakula) in his left arm, who is vomiting jewels, as a symbol for Be-kula’s wish to stop all poverty for mankind. In connection with this animal the Arhat is sometimes called Nakula or the other way around: he was originally called Nakula and got because of his name the mongoose as his attribute. This mongoose and its symbolism of wealth indicates a relationship with the God of Wealth Jamshāla (Jam-bha-la), who has also as attribute a mongoose under his left arm. Moreover, Jamshāla is identical with Kubera, and this God is in early Buddhist mythology considered as the King of Uttarakuru. This relationship can be traced further to Vaśravana (rNam-thos sras), who is a form of Jamshāla as a Lokesvara, a Guardian of one of the four directions. Vaśravana in the Guardian of the north, and this again in the same direction where Uttarakuru is considered to be. So between Be-kula on one side, and Jamshāla/Kubera and Vaśravana on the other side we have two characteristics in common, the nakula and the northern direction, two things, that might be important in connection with the iconography of the Be-kula.

The first dPe-thub-Bakula (see plate 3)

About this 19th. incarnation we do not have much information. He was born in 1860 as the son of the Queen of Bzah-la, a small petty-kingdom in 2Bzah-dkar. His religious name was Blo-bshad bstan-pa’i rgyal-mtshan. He died in 1917. He founded the three daughter-monasteries and was already more or less politically engaged.

6) for instance: Olschak, B. C. and Geshé Thupten Wangyal, Mystik und Kunst Alt Tibets, Bern–Stuttgart 1979, p.160. Waddell, L., A., Buddhism or Lamaism of Tibet, Delhi 1974 (repr.)
8) Haddad, J.K., Early Buddhist Mythology, Delhi 1977, p.3.
The second dPe-thub-Bakula 10 (see plate 4)

The present-day incarnation, the 20th, in succession, was born and found as an incarnation in 1918, as the second son of the rGYal-po of Ma-spro. His mother came from gZhabs-dkar and through her he is a full nephew of the late Bakula, his predecessor. His official name is Nang-dbsas blo-bzans thub-bstan mchog-nor. In 1924, when he was five years old, he was installed as head of dPe-thub and was brought to bSam-dkar to live. This is because his predecessor, the founder of bSam-dkar always had preferred this monastery as residence above dPe-thub. In bSam-dkar he got his education, from a certain Mme Blo-bzans for his normal, and from the sras rin-po-che from Ri-rjon monastery for his spiritual education 11. At the age of sixteen, in 1935 he went for higher education to 'Bras-sprul, to which monastery especially the monks from dPe-thub and Kla-'byul went to study. Here he got his dge-lugs-pa degree and afterwards he went back to Ladakh and was in function as head of dPe-thub and its daughter-monasteries. After independence he got involved in politics, first in the Parliament of Jammu and Kashmir, later for several years as representative for Ladakh in the National Parliament in New Delhi.

REPRESENTATIONS OF BAKULA

In the Gur-phug monastery at Stok is in the 'du-kha-n a mural painting, depicting the present-day Dalai-Lama, the Panchen-Lama and sku-gtogs. Bakula (see plate 5). Here one can see how nowadays the Bakula is depicted: he is dressed in the monastic clothes of the Dge-lugs-pa order, with a red hand in vitarka-mudrā and his left hand in dhvāna-mudrā, holding a Che-bhum (Che-dpas-ma) as a ritual vase, associated with Amītābha (Che-dpal-ma), the Buddha of Infinite Life. He doesn't hold anymore the mongoose, the special attribute of the Arhat Bakula. The Che-bhum in his hand might have a relationship with the fact that the Arhat Bakula is considered as an emanation of the Buddha Amitābha, of whom Amītābha is considered as a special form. In the dPe-thub-pa patrul 10)


11) This Bra-srin-po-Khe was the second in succession; the third one, the present-day incarnation happens to be also a nephew of the former dPe-thub Bakula. Francke, A. H., Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Part II (see footnote 9), p. 163–166.

thub-paintings one can see that many of the incarnations have the right hand in vitarka-mudrā and that, except of the Arhat, none holds a mongoose. Only two incarnations however, the central Bakula and his predecessor, hold the Che-bhum as attribute.

In the rGza-s contemplating a statue of bSam-dkar monastery is a statue (see plate 6) generally placed, that is considered by the monks as a representation of Coṅ-kha-pa, but looking closer at the mudrā's one can see that his right hand is in vitarka-mudrā and his left hand, under the drupon, is in dhvāna-mudrā. So most probably this statue is a representation of Con-kha-pa, who is mostly depicted with different mudrā's, but of Bakula. A similar statue is in the gzims-chen-chen-mo of the same monastery (see plate 7), but in this case I was told by the different monks that this statue represents definitely the former sgu-gtogs Bakula. Likewise is the famous Bakula statue in the old 'du-kha-n in dPe-thub (see plate 8), in which is said that the soul of the former Bakula is embodied. So we have three identical statues, of which two are considered as representations of the Bakula, more precisely of the former Bakula, and one is considered as a representation of Con-kha-pa. However, we can safely assume that all of them represent the Bakula, but, apart from the statue in dPe-thub, it is not clear if they represent only the former - historical - Bakula, or more the Bakula in general.

ALLUSIONS TO BAKULA

Applying factual information to the different icons, in research of a possible influence of Bakula, will prove rather difficult, because there is - as said before - still little known about this kind of possible influence. The examples I give below are only tentative.

Looking for allusions to the Bakula - restricted to bSam-dkar monastery - the first discovery is that they are found only in the private rooms (gzims-chen) of sku-gtogs Bakula. This is quite logical, because in these rooms he can-par-excellence apply a 'personal touch'.

- Thangka in the gzims-chen ka-gtig-ma (see plate 9) This thangka depicts Shambhala, the mystical Kingdom, which is thought to be situated somewhere north, "behind the snow-mountains" 12. Different kind of guidebooks exist, with vague descriptions of the journey to this Kingdom, which is considered as a Paradise. It is situated in the same direction as Uttaralpur, the land where the Arhat Bakula is supposed to live. Sometimes it is even considered to be Uttaralpur. Therefore this painting might

well allude to the Arhat Bakula, showing the land where he could be considered to dwell.

- Thangka in the gzims-chun chen-mo (see plate 16)
  In the centre is depicted Vaśravana on a white snowlion, in which Dharmapāla-form he is called rNam-sras ser-chen. Around him are eight different manifestations on horses, called the raTsa-bdag-brgyad, the eight Horse-masters. In the different rooms of the gzims-chuṅa are several thangkas and statues depicting Jambhala and Vaśravana in different forms. Between the Arhat Bakula and these deities is a clear relationship, so we might consider this group of icons as an allusion to this relationship.

- Thangka in the gzims-chun chen-mo (see plate 11)
  In the centre of this thangka is the Buddha Śākyamuni, around him the group of the sixteen Arhats, together with Hye Shang and Dharmaratna. Below we see the four Lokapāla, who are generally depicted with the Arhats. That the Arhat Bakula has a prominent place in this thangka, right above the Buddha, is not the important thing: when we compare this thangka with other ones of the same type, we see that this place is generally reserved for Bakula. More important is, that this thangka is very prominently placed above the throne of sku-gFileg Bakula, which might indicate his factual Arhatship.

ZU DEN HINTERGRÜNDE DER PARTEINAHME LADAKH'S FÜR BRUTAN IM KRIEG GEGEN LHASA

Dieter Schuh


Ich kann dennoch nicht die Aussicht von D. Snellgrove teilen, der durch das Anthropologen, der über den tibetischen Kulturkreis arbeitet, gleichsam eine tibetologische Ausbildung verordnen möchte, wenn er schreibt:

"Thus a good knowledge of what has been written in the major European languages about the history, religion, folk-law etc. of the people in whom he is interested, would seem to be his next important qualification. Ideally he should be able to check his findings against indigenous documentary and literary material where such exists."

Ich meine vielmehr ausdrücklich den, der philologischer, literaturhistorischer und historischer Forschung, daß solche ein Kurzlehrgang angesichts der Vielfalt der literarischen Kulturzeugnisse und der Komplexität zuwiesender Methodik, Spezialkenntnisse und Erfahrungen zumeist nur zu pseudowissen-

schaftlichem Nachzählen von angeblichen Fakten zur Geschichte oder zur Entwicklung der Sozialstruktur etc. führt. Damit sei angedeutet, was ich im Miteinander der genannten, methodisch wenigstens wie synkroon und diakrone Sprachanalyse unterschiedlichen Disziplinen für wichtiger halte, nämlich eine strenge transparente Beschränkung auf die eigene Methodik und eine grundlegende Kenntnis der Verfahrensweise des jeweiligen Außen.


14) G. Rergan herausgegebenen, tibetischsprachigen Geschichte Ladakhs" ein-
mal abkehrt, wohl kaum die Rede sein. Selbst die Annahme, dieser Gelehrte stamme aus Bhutan, ist durch nichts belegt. Schließlich sei hier noch der Reisebericht von A. und P. Kellhauer angeregt, deren Bericht über Tag-sna verschiedene Informationen zusammenzuschneiden und zu einem überregionale Fantasiegeleide zusammenzumischen.


Zunächst möchte ich zu Tag-sna feststellen, daß die Vielzahl der Nachrichten über die Gründung dieses Klostern nur einen Bericht, nämlich, daß wir über die Gründung keine verlässlichen Nachrichten haben. Dieser Wissensstand wird sich erst dann ändern, wenn hierzu historisch verlässliche Quellen aufgefundet werden.


Diese Flucht hatte nicht nur letztendlich die Etablierung von Bhutan als besonderer politischer Einheit zur Folge, sie führte auch zur Spaltung der Mittleren 'Brug-pa-Schule in einen südlichen Zweig (lho-'brug), zu dem primäre Bhutan und Rva-luh gehörte, und einen nördlichen Zweig, der sich um den genannten dPag-bsam dban-po und seine Nachfolger als 'Brug-chos bildete.


"The occasional cause of the war was supplied by Lho 'Brug (Bhutan), which had a quarrel with Lhasa; the king of Ladakh, as a supporter of any branch of the 'Brug-pa sect, 'sent a letter to Tibet saying that he would help the 'Brug-pa ruler of Bhutan'."


17) L. Potech: op.cit., Amn. 2, S. 34.


"He achieved the gradual conversion of the royal house to the Rva-lub branch of the 'Brug-pa sect."

Klosters 'Bar-gdan weiter nachzugehen. Hierzu gibt Y. Gergan einen weiteren differenzierten Bericht.20


Vergleichbar hiermit ist der Bericht von Thupstan Paldan,27 der ebenfalls die Gründung des Klosters 'Bar-gdan durch bDe-ba rgya-mcho erwähnt und bemerkt, daß seit dieser Zeit etwa 460 Jahre vergangen seien, was bedeutete, daß 'Bar-gdan um 1570 gegründet worden wäre. Thupstan Paldan erwähnt ebenfalls ein auf dem Bergspitze Thar-la gelegenes kleines Kloster, das vor der Gründung des neuen, festungsartigen Klosters 'Bar-gdan existiert haben muß. Von diesem Thar-la ['thar-tha-thal-la'] -Kloster, dem Vorläufer des heutigen 'Bar-gdan, finden sich auch heute noch Maurierhinterreste.28


23) H. Hirschberg: op. cit., ANN.6, S. 244.

setzung aller drei genannten Dokumente noch in diesem Jahr von mir veröffentlicht werden, kann ich mich hier auf eine zusammenfassende Wiedergabe des Thomson, was sich in diesen Dokumenten zur Gründung des Thar-la-Klosters findet.


Zur Abschätzung der Quellenwerte der beiden hier ausgewerteten Phug-thal-Dokumente sei zunächst angemerkt, dass es sich bei beiden Texten um historiographische Berichte handelt, über deren Abfassungszeitpunkt wir nur sagen können, dass sie gegen Ende oder nach der Regierungszeit des Königs 'Jam-dbyangs rnam-rgyal (nach Petech34 ca. 1595-1616) abgefasst worden sind. Da dieser König in beiden Dokumenten als Herrscher erwähnt wird, ist seine Regierungszeit ein Termin post quem für die Abfassung dieser Quellen. Es ist von daher mehr als wahrscheinlich, dass zwischen der Erstellung dieser Quellen und den geschilderten Ereignissen fünfzig Jahre und mehr liegen. Daneben ist es auffällig, dass insbesondere die


Königin von Zahs-dkar, die die 'Brug-pa-Schule favorisiert haben soll, in den beiden Dokumenten mit verschiedenem Namen erwähnt wird. Schließlich ist auch über den genannten König bisher nichts bekannt geworden. Die Akzeptierung der Darlegungen der beiden Phug-thal-Dokumente als historisch zuverlässig bedarf deshalb wenigstens der Verifizierung eines wichtigen Teils der geschilderten Ereignisse durch eine andere, unabhängige Quelle. Als eine solche sei hier die Autobiographie des 'brug-chen Padma dkar-po (1527-1592) zu Rate gezogen,35 aus der die frühen Beziehungen zwischen dem Königshaus von Zahs-dkar und der 'Brug-pa-Schule ebenfalls belegt werden können. So lesen wir in dieser Autobiographie (Bl. 82r-2a) folgenden Bericht über ein Ereignis, das um 1557 stattgefunden haben muß:


Wenden wir uns nun den Verhältnissen in Ladakh gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts zu, so kann man anhand von tibetischen und ladakischen Originalquellen


Das Anwesen und die Bedeutung der sich gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts of-

fendar abnehmenden Verbindung zwischen der 'Brug-pa-Schule von Rva-luṅ und dem ladakischen Herrscherhaus ist aber aus einer anderen Gruppe von Quellen ersichtlich, die für die Geschichtsforschung generell von besonde-

rer Bedeutung ist. Ich meine damit den historischen Bericht über die Ereignisse, die von den Ereignissen und Gründe für den Vollzug des durch


Urkunden enthalten häufig in einer Narratio einen historischen Bericht über

die Ereignisse, die als Voraussetzungen und Gründe für den Vollzug des durch die jeweilige Urkunde attestierten Rechtsanliegen angesehen wur-

den. Der historische Quellenwert solcher Berichte ist deshalb als besonders hoch einzuschätzen, weil damit unmittelbare Geschichtszeugen vorliegen.

Unter den Urkunden, die ich im Jahre 1978 in Kashmir aus der Sammlung

36) dpal 'brug-pa thams bsdod mchog-pa' chen po rnam par thar pa rgyun mcho lha bsdyod chos sas cbrlo pa dad bskal rna rabs. Blockdruck, 74 Bl., Teil Kha 1a der gesammelten Werke des 'brug-pa Padma dkar-po.
37) Bk. 8v des Ann. 38 zitierten Werkes.

Gegen zu späteren Veröffentlichungen verfilmte, befindet sich auch ein Dokument, welches für die hier behandelte Problematik von besonderer Bedeu-

zung ist. Es handelt sich um eine während der Regierungszeit des Königs Ni-ma rnam-rgyal angefertigte, zudem belegbaren Kopie einer Gruppe von Herrscherurkunden, deren Atome auf Veranlassung des Königs Se-ge rnam-rgyal angefertigt wurde.

Zunächst kann man den Zellen 15-16 dieses Dokuments entnehmen, daß schon die 'Jam-dbyangs rnam-rgyal und das 'Brug-pa-Kloster von Rva-luṅ in dem Verhältnis Gabenherz-Opferpriester standen und daß daraus Gründungs-

zeugen von Klöstern dieser Schule und Schenkungen von Ländereien im Herrschafts-


Während der Regierungszeit des Königs Se-ge rnam-rgyal war er dann der chos-rje s-Mu-rje-wa, der den Einfluß dieser Schule in Ladakh festigen und stärken konnte. Hierzu lesen wir in dem besagten Dokument fol-

genden:


gütern die in den oberen, unteren und mittleren Gebieten gelegenen Einrichtungen, d.s. Haupt- und Nebenkläuser, gewährt worden.

Se-ge rnam-par rgyal-pa die Güter als Zeugen anzugeben, legten der oben erwähnten Schwierigkeiten gahr-dkar Ti-se nicht schadet und solange der See Ma-pham-pa nicht austrocknet, wollen wir). Opfer-

träger und Gabenherz, sowie) Wohlerzogen in einem zusammenzufassen und der eine für die Angelegenheiten des anderen das Rechte) um und das Unrecht) unterlassen!" Als Folge dieser Eideablösung wird von den gebotenen Absichten waren ältere und neuere Herrscherurkunden sukzessiv ge-

währt ...

Es muß zwar zweifelhaft angenommen werden, daß sich der nördliche tibet-

ische Zweig der 'Brug-pa-Schule aufgrund der Aktivitäten des Tag-chen rnam-pa als die dominierende Schule nach dem Tod des s-Mu-rje-wa am Hof der ladakischen Könige durchsetzte38, doch war es dies

offenkundig nicht nacheilend auf die Einrichtungen und Besitztümer der städtischen ‘Brug-pa-Schule aus, da eine der Urkunden an eines Sammeldokuments die enge Verbindung zwischen dem Herrscherhaus und der Schule von Rva-lun für die Herrschaftszeit von bDe-lidan rnam-rgyal ausdrücklich erweist. Diese Urkunde, deren Urheber bDe-lidan rnam-rgyal ist, enthält namentlich folgende Aussage:


Daß das Kloster sTag-snas auch unter bDe-lidan rnam-rgyal tatsächlich als die städtische ‘Brug-pa-Schule zugeordnet blieb, belegt die ebenfalls mit dem vorliegenden Dokument attestierte Übergabe von Ländereien an das Kloster sTag-snas, die in Anwesenheit eines Vertreter des Zabs-drung rin-po-che, also des weltlichen und geistlichen Oberhauptes von Bhutans, vollzogen wurde.


HISTORY OF THE DARDS AND THE CONCEPT OF MINABO TRADITIONS AMONG THE BUDDHIST DARDS IN LADAKH

Rokiti Vohra

In this paper two aspects have been projected. Firstly the recording of the available literary and epigraphic evidence which provides us some idea of the role played by the Dards in antiquity. The second aspect is a combination of pre-Buddhist sites associated with Gesar, the historical aspect of the Buddhist Dards and their socio-religious organisation.

The villages of the Buddhist ‘Brug-pa’ Dards are situated along the river Indus prior to the later’s entry into Baltistan. Today the Buddhist Dards are administratively separated into the Leh Tehsil and the Karig Tekshel resulting in Buddhist influences in the earlier and Muslim teachers in the latter, bringing about changes among the growing generation.

Field research was for the first time conducted during the month of January 1971 when the entire region is covered in snow. This mid-winter period was the most appropriate occasion as the villagers were not busy with work and had ample time to talk to a stranger. The route of approach during the visit was to follow the road along the river Indus from K’a-la-rise. The second visit was during the spring and summer months of 1980 and the route taken was from (the opposite direction) Karigl over the Hambling-La to Baltistan (see p. 86). After an overnight stay at Baltarak I proceeded to the village mDra. On the previous day a message had been sent to the Go-pa (village headman) Tsawang rNam-rgyal of Gyal-do-pa house. However upon my arrival at mDra I found the village almost deserted and the few women whom I met did not speak any Urdu. It is mostly the men who are to some extent conversant in Urdu and Ladakhi while the women speak the Dardic dialect locally known as ‘Brug-real. I was later informed that all villagers were assembled at the hamlet Samid for the celebration of Yuto-graf for an elderly woman who had turned 72 years old. After waiting for several hours I was finally conducted to Samid where I was delighted to meet among the other friends the most affectionate and kind friend Tsawang rNam-rgyal. I suddenly felt at home and thus began my second journey into the life-style of the ‘Brug-pa’ Dard way of life.

The Dardic ethnic population inhabiting the Jammu and Kashmir State in India are located in three distinct areas. All these groups have been influenced by
cultural and religious influences of their neighbouring regions. Even within this broad grouping there are a number of factors which prohibit any of these areas being called a homogeneous unity. Considering the state of research at present we may broadly define these areas as follows:

a) The Sinha-speaking Dard living along the Kishanganga river. This group, from the source of the river up to the point where it enters Pakistan, is locally distinguished as the Gurni valley and the Tidel valley. Both parts have been influenced by Kashmiri traits but in Gurni can be said to exist a greater part of this ethnic-cultural mingling of influences. Tidel valley due to its geographical location has remained poorer materially as well as in having contact with the outside world. The ridge of Hab-Khatan can be said to mark the dividing point of these two parts and a journey through the area brings out concrete reflections as to Tidel being the preserver of their traditions. The local people claim to have migrated from Yengestan (‘Land of the Free’ or ‘Land of the Lustless’). It is however clear that the settlements of the Dard in this area are ancient though later migrants have, through history, come and settled here at different times.

b) Sinha dialect of the Dardic language is also spoken at Dras, Kharbu and along the tributaries of Dras river which defines the Shingo-Shigar area (through which flow the tributaries of the same name).

c) There exists the Dardic enclave extending from Marol in Baltistan and up the river Indus right up to the easternmost extension of this ethnic stock living in villages up the Hanu ravine. It is with this latter group of Buddhist Dard villages that we will be concerned with in this paper. During the reign of Jam-pyeni-rNam-rgyal the border between Ladakh and Baltistan was delineated. This officially divided the people of one ethnic group under the respective two different kingdoms. It however did not change much for the Dards and they continued marriage alliances and the normal intercourse was maintained. Even today there are Muslim villages on the Indian side of the border but marriage alliances have been discontinued since the Muli people forbade them to marry with Dards who had converted to Buddhism. What is distinctive about the Buddhist Dards is the fact that they are the ones who have preserved through oral tradition a vast amount of songs and folklore which they inherited from the Minaro. The centers of these traditions lie in mDa and Gurkum.

The Buddhist Dard villages lie in north-west Ladakh with Gurgurdo as the westernmost extension with a mixed Buddhist and Muslim population.

1) Jettmar, K., Die Religionen des Hindukush. (Die Religionen der Menschheit, Bd.4), Stuttgart 1975, p.189.

2) Stierer, D. C., Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India. Delhi, 1980, p. 25; also see note 4.

ETHNO-HISTORY OF THE DARDAS

The Himalayas in the north-western parts formed an interesting junction of features contributing to its importance, during the 19th and 20th centuries, as an area unknown. An unknown void, the knowledge of its geo-physical complex came to attain a nodal interest, for those who were aware that historical information could lead to transformation in our knowledge of the past civilizations. The area to demarcate as far as the Daradic ethnic group is concerned lie immediately south-east of the Hindukush mountains following an easterly extension of inaccessible valleys along the Karakoram range and the upper reaches of river Indus within Ladakh.

Information on the Dardas is available to us from classical Greek and ancient Indian Sanskrit literature. During the 19th century and mainly after the 1950's ethnographical work brought to light, among other things, a great deal of epigraphic material.

The order of the grouping of the various tribes as recorded in literary texts leads one to surmise that a changing ethnic situation characterized the knowledge of the authors.

Herodotus providing a list of the ethnic groups in the seventh satrapy (Gandhara) of the Achaemenian empire includes the Daradas as equally subject to tribute. The epigraphic records of the Achaemenian rulers do not, however, mention the Daradas specifically and classified them with the seventh satrapy in which, according to Herodotus there is the mention of Zadinene among other people of different extraction or may be also related ethnic entities.

During the time of Alexander’s invasion of North-Western India the ethnic situation had changed. Curtius in relating the campaign of Alexander writes about his invasion of the Deccan (Darada) country after having crossed the river Chauspes which has been identified with Kanwar river. Alexander upon entering the Darada country found that the inhabitants had deserted their settlements and fled for safety to the trackless recesses of their mountain forests. Curtius and Justin, the Roman historians, write that Alexander after the events at Nysa marched into the country of Deccana, thus we see in a place independent of Gandhara and the river Kanwar formed the boundary.

The Greek authors relate the story of the big ants which make their dwellings underground, digging out the sand for the collection of which the Indians come to the place with their sacks. These they fill and ride away with great speed in fear of being chased by the ants who are swifter than all other creatures.

In the Mahabharata there are several references to the Daradas. We are told about the tribute of gold, a boon of the Pipalada ants, brought by the tribes residing between Mt. Meru and Mt. Mandara, to the rajavaya of Yudhishthira. Among the numerous tribes bringing tribute the Daradas are also mentioned.


7) Tucci, 1977 (see note 3), p. 16; for Justin (see note 6), p. 189.


12) Bühler, G., The Laws of Manu (Manusmriti), Delhi, 1886/reprint 1964, X, 43–44; Agrawala, V. S., India as described by Manu, Varanasi, 1978, p. 5.

13) Agrawala, V. S., India as known to Pana, Lucknow, 1955, p. 62 and 67.

14) Ibid., p. 43.
listed with a number of other ethnic groups in the Yambana Purana as being inhabitants of Uttarapatha Janapada. The river Sindhu (Indus) flows through the region inhabited by the Dardas. In the Maha Purana we are informed that the river Sindhu rising from the snows of Kailasa in Tibet and then flowing north-west for about half its length, it then reaches the Dardasa country in N.W. of Kashmir. In the Yambana Purana the Dardas are listed among the outside inhbiited territories. They are listed with Kambojas, Barabara, Anga-
lukika, Cina and Tusara, all dwellers of Uttarapatha Janapada. The Vinya, Brahmanas, Markandaya and Yambana Puranas all associate the Dardasa with the Kambojas. In the Brihatsamhita and Markandaya Purana the Dardasa are grouped with the Abhstara and Tangas. Elsewhere in the Maha Purana it is stated that the Dardasa were killed by Pramati in the Sanhita-period of the Kali age of the Svanathavatyaavasantara. The Padma, Markandaya, Vinya, Brahmanas and Yambana Puranas also associate Dardasa with the Kashmiras. Statements from the Puranas are to be found in the Brahmanas attesting to their antiquity. Mahabharata has used the term Purana to mean stories about Devas and Siddhas. F. E. Furtwangler remarks that the Bhagavata Purana was the source from which Mataya, Vinya and Brahmanas got their accounts and these were slokas in literary Prakrit recited by bards and minstrels which got written down after the 7th century A.D.

M. Sylvain Levi in his article 'Pour l'Histoire du Ramayana' examines the geographical and ethnic content of several editions of the Ramayana. He comes to the conclusion that it represents one of the earliest ethnical situa-

cion of Indra. The Dardasa appear listed with the inhabitants of the North. In the text of the Ramayana we also find the episode about the 'Cow of Plenty' and the dispute over possessing her between the owner, the sage Vasishtha and Prince Vidyasena. This episode is common to the Mahabharata and we are told how the Cow of Plenty in her rage created from the various parts of her body a host of war-inducing armies of foreign people. Among the ethnic groups mentioned are the Paharasa, Yavanasa, Kamboja, Dardasa, Bahlisa, Saka and Tulchara. S. Levi on the basis of the desolate situation of the North postulates that when a war going out of Asia found a region inhabited by the ydhvriti, another by the Grecians, a third by the Parthians and another by the Turks, he could not have travelled much earlier than the 2nd century B.C. nor later than 1st century A.D.

In conformance of S. Levi's conclusion regarding the dating of the ethnic situation in the north it can be further added that it agrees with evidence from the Mahabharata as the story of the dispute over the 'Cow of Plenty' reveals.

The Suddhamasmyupasthama Sutra, which was translated into Chinese (619 A.D.) and developed into an amplified version, is the point of being nuclear, is a part of the Canonical sutra on meditation exercises called Samyupasthana, in full Satipathana (Siddh. Nikaya XXII: Mahasatipathana, Majjika X: Satipathana). The above sutra has also been translated into Tibetan and forms the mdo section of the Kshay-yur (ksh-
yur). The last of the seven parts of the sutra contains a descriptive geographical content of four islands (Pali: Dvipa) or four continents surrounding Mt. Meru. The last of the four islands, i.e. the North contains a list of ethnic groups among whom are the Dardasa.

Among the documents of Indian Buddhism found in Central Asia we find that the Mahayana school had gained influence in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Lalitavistara translated by Janayupas (587 A.D.), though there exist other translations as well, places the script of the Khayya (or Khaya-Chou-la-Kasghar) between that of the Dardasa (Dardasa lpl) on the one side and the Chinese on the other.

Another Sutra rich in geographical information is the Candra arbarba sutra translated in 666 A.D. by Narendranayas who was from Udyana. At

16) Kanswala, S. G., Cultural History from the Matya Purana, Baroda, 1964, p. 318 (121.46).
20) Kanswala, S. G., 1964 (see note 15), 144.37.
the beginning of the XVII chapter the Bhagvat addresses all gods to protect the Law in their respective districts as in the times past of the Budhas. Here we find among others the territory of the Daradas. Later while enumerating the names and qualities of the various protecting deities we find the region of the Daradas protected by: The Gandharva Pi-p' o-ta-li, the Yaksha Road-protector, yellow beard. Brave strong; the Nagaraja Po-t' o Peacock feather; the Goddess of Deliverance—Birth and Mauli;[28] Following the protecting deities comes an account of Astrological geography. Providing the tutelary role of the Nakastras (Chap. XVIII) in protecting the various kingdoms and their prosperity. The first Nakatra Citra guards 12 kingdoms among which is also the kingdom of the Daradas (Chinese: T'ao-lo-t' o-98). As to the controversy which arose regarding the language in which the doctrine of the Buddha is to be imparted it was decided that the Buddha had wanted the Law to be taught in the language of the local people. The first of the three translations of the Chandragarbha sutra was done in 263 A.D. and provides the grouping of the races in the following order: 'Cina, Caka, Yavana, Darada, Madava, Khasa, Tukhara'. The same theme is taken up in one of the sutras of the Raimukuta collection: The Tathagatagarbha sutra. The first translation done by Tchou Fa-hou in the year 280 A.D. provides a list of people of Central Asia and then mentions the territory of the Daradas (Chinese: T'ao-lo-t' o) lying on the frontier of north-western India and shows us the knowledge of Chinese geography in those days.[30] Further we are told that the Buddha wove with joy emitted rays which lit up all the four regions of the world and innumerable: hundreds of thousands of Budhas manifested themselves. In the territory of the Daradas 15 Budhas are said to have manifested themselves. In this enumeration what is interesting is that the enumeration of the regions represents the itinerary of the route through which Buddhism travelled to Central Asia and China passing through the Indus territory over the Pamirs.[31] In the collection of the Tibetan scriptures Kan-gyur (bka'h - 'gyur) we find Daradas as mentioned as Darata along with a number of other ethnic groups (Caka, Pahlava, Tukhara, Yavana, Kambaja, Kapha, Huns, Cina and Urup) some of them being mythological and imaginary.[32] Varahimbra, the astronomer from Avanti, flourished during the first half of the 6th century.

39) ibid., 268.
40) ibid., 268-287.
41) ibid., 267-284.

A.D., One of his works, the Brihat Samhita provides us notice of the Daradas, though the references are made to them with regards to the effects of the planetary positions there are geographical details given in chapter XIV. The geographical information as Varahimbra mentions is taken from his predecessor Para-sara and is therefore older. Bharata Varaha as the center is surrounded by nine regions of the earth and the Daradas are described as located together with the Kashmirs, Kutas, Abhisarasa, etc.[33] The enumeration of the Daradas as an ethnic group in antiquity is available from the numerous sources above mentioned and show a changing ethnic situation in the region up to the early centuries of the Christian era. The extention of the Dardas in Ladakh is a question which A. H. Francke dealt with and further recollection of their songs was undertaken during the field research in 1989. The songs and certain other traditional Saga partially translated reveal elements which deny any simplistic explanation. These traditions were inherited from the Minaro, the predecessors of the present village inhabitants, and contain words like Sandali wood (Chamlian) and animals like the Elephant which give us an indication that these were adopted in ancient times when perhaps Buddhist missionaries travelled through the area.

The Minaro and the present inhabitants migrated from Gilgit and it is not difficult to see that they brought these ideas with them. Gilgit also lay at the crossing of the road between India and Central Asia.

L. Petech proposes that the earliest population of Ladakh was composed of the Dardas, here a certain differentiation is necessary[34], and goes further to state that the references to the Dardas in the earliest period stands a good chance of covering Ladakh as well[35].

Epigraphic evidence partially examined can provide better insight for the ancient period.

The Kharosti inscription of Uvima Kavvhasa (Wima Kavvhasa) found near K'a-la-rise bridge on the Indus provides us with notice that the region was

within the sphere of influence of the Kushan empire. Several other Kharoshthi and Brahmi inscriptions mostly found near K’u-la are records of the Kushan period and extend into the Gupta time—sphere of influence. The appearance of the honorific title ‘Sri’ is by itself a noteworthy proof of the fact that these epigraphic evidences cannot be viewed in isolation. Finds of great many more such inscriptions from Gilgit region at Alam bridge and other locations, only some of which have been examined so far, provide ample material for the reconstruction of the history of the region during the early half of the first millennium A.D. Prof. Jettmar who has been occupied in systematically recording not only the inscriptions but also other rock carvings has collected inscriptions in scripts from the Han period and extending over the first millennium A.D. A similar effort is necessary for Ladakh. So much is certain that, before and up to the time of Ni-ma-mgon, influences of Tibetan colonization resulted in the use of the Tibetan b u r n e d alphabet in the inscriptions carrying the honorific title ‘Sri’. Here we must also recognize the influence of Kashmiri Buddhism as is evidenced by the Sharada inscriptions at Dras and at the monastery in Cliff 40 and other Sharada inscriptions which are mixed with the Tibetan alphabet.

Coming back to the vexed question of the Dardas as an ethnic entity we can begin with the evidence of the Kharoshthi 41 inscription at Alam bridge (5.7), engraved at the foot of the rock in two horizontal lines and tells us of a ‘Darad Darap’ (Darada raja) dated to between the late 2nd and the late 4th century A.D. Here it is not out of place to postulate the existence of a Dardic kingdom. A wide and extensive territorial control is however questionable. Even if its


37) Fusman, G., Inscriptions de Gilgit, in: Bulletin de l’ École Française d’ Études de l’Extrême-Orient, Tome LXV, Fascicule 1, Paris, 1978, p. 1–64, these two groups of inscriptions gathered since the German Hindukush expedition of 1955 in N. Pakistan and subsequently by Fusman. A systematic recording of the entire complex was carried out by the 1981–82 expeditions under the guidance of Prof. K. Jettmar

38) An examination of the artistic style of the rock sculptures at Mubkec, Sod, Gilgit and Baniyan on the one hand and those at Dras and Zanskar on the other needs to be done. These show influences from Gupta period to the time of Kashmiri Buddhism (8th to the 12th–13th centuries).

39) Francke, A. H., 1907 (see note 36), p. 592, Table B, No.7 and 9, also see p. 592, Table I, No. 7.


40a) Francke, A. H., 1907 (see note 36), p. 592


existence is postulated then over a short period of time when a charismatic ruler who could have united the smaller chieftains and/or village republics into a state with a centralised organisation in its early stages of development. The mountainous terrain and inaccessible ruins and valleys with centrifugal developments would be characterised by fissionary tendencies. The process of fission and fusion would therefore be inherent. Thus democratic and egalitarian grass-root level village organisation characterised by frequent movements and hence short household lineages could appear widespread. These could over long periods of stability develop into an autocratic phase with internal complexity of lineages and the formation of classes. These latter ‘autocratic’ structures could give rise to chieftainship. The evidence of Gilgit, Hunza and Baltistan (Shigar, Khaplu, Skardu etc.) on the one hand and the chieftains of Pukrush show us the practicality of posing such an hypothesis.

It is however further that a rich and literary evidence on the Dardas which will occupy us in the following pages.

The historical work Kuhana’s Rajatarangini provides evidence on the Dardas. The earliest evidence comes from the reign of King Mihirakula when the country had lost its religion; vulgarity and evil prevailed causing the Dardas and other tribes to invade Kashmir. Mihirakula could possibly have been a Hephthalite. Lalitaditya Muktapada (p. 720, 725–755 A.D.) after his conquests of India set forth to the north where he subdued the Kambojas, Tukhrans, Bhatus but his prestige could not break the constant use of wine among the Dardas like the rising sun in the morning the irascibility of the medicinal herbs in the caves’ (Taranga IV, 169). Lalitaditya’s conquest of the Dardas and the Bhatus (Tibetans) at this time shows that they were neighbours. The 8th century saw the Tibetan expansion over Ladakh pushing further westwards. The Tibetans had introduced regular administration in 662 A.D. and a rebellion in 677 apparently met with no success. In 719 a census was taken and in 724 the administration was reorganised. At this time existed the King of Great P’o-i (Baltistan) who in 696 sent a messenger to the Chinese court and in 717 received a Chinese brevet which was in 729 renewed upon his successor. The term P’o-i used by the Chinese annals is rendered as Bolor in the works of Islamic authors.

42) Kuhana’s Rajatarangini, translated by R. S. Pandit. Sahitya Academy, Reprint 1977. New Delhi. All references in the text are from this translation and are given in text.


Bolor consisted of two parts and the Tibetan expansion and conquest of Great Bolor (Balistan) resulting in the King of the area fleeing to Little Bolor (Gilgit and possibly Yasin). The pilgrim Hui-ch’ao tells us that the common people and the nobility remained behind in Great Bolor whose style of dressing, customs, food and language were the same as that of the people of Little Bolor.\(^{46}\) Under the rule of Lalatadiya many Viharas and Stupas were built.\(^{47}\) The names of the kings of Great Bolor are Indian and go to show strong cultural influences from India, through Kashmir or Gilgit (whose King was originally from Great-Bolor according to Hui-ch’ao) or both.

During this period the region was under strong Buddhist influences for we find the area Gilgit-Yasin-Panjul where finds establishing these influences have been made. The find of Gilgit Mās at Nauwar (approximately 2 miles west of Gilgit) and the Hatun inscription provide evidence of Indian names and appear related. Without going into details one can take the names. The Gilgit Mās mentions the ruler “Striveda Shahi Surendra Vikramaditya Nanda” who gifted one of the Mas for religious merit.\(^{48}\) Manuscripts excavated by Peniel M. Kaul from the name stupa has the fragment of Mahamahyuni which mentions the name of “Shashamahal Patolasahi Shahi-Sri-Nava-Surendradityanaidive” and then in the Hatun inscription the name of the king is “Parshabhataraka Maharajadhira Paramesvar Patoladeva-Shahi-Sri-Nava-Surendraditya Nandideva”.\(^{49}\) These names are similar to those of the King of Great Bolor Su-lo-lo-d’o-e-chih to which Chavannes suggests the original as Surendraditya. This according to Tucci is philologically difficult to accept as the Chinese seems to be based on the Pechit original Surendrate(s)e.\(^{50}\) The Tibetans succeeded in bringing Little Bolor also under their control and furthermore expanded their dominions up to the Kunar valley, i.e., Upper Chitral.\(^{51}\) These rulers were mostly probably Dard, at least the Patola Shahi dynasty, who were deprived of their territorial possessions due to the westward expansion of the Tibetans. The occupation of Balistan and Gilgit region by the Tibetans did not prevent the descendants of the Dard rulers from occupying the narrow valleys south of the river Indus and along the Kishanganga river. The northern gate to Kashmir was a source of constant danger to the rulers of Kashmir and Chinese travellers provide us mention of this route. Hui-ch’ao’s description of the early quarter of the 8th century tells us that in seven days journey from Kashmir one arrives at Little Bolor.\(^{52}\) Similarly Ou-K’ng reached Kashmir in 759 A.D., and provides us notice of the routes leading out of Kashmir among which he mentions the route over the Kishangang river into Po-i (Great Bolor).\(^{53}\)

In the Islamic author’s work, Hudud-al-’Alam writing during the late 10th century, we find the mention of Baluchistan-Shahi who mostly likely by this time had gained independence of Tibetan control as the empire of the latter by this time had disintegrated. In the Rajatarangini the last reference to the Daradas is during the reign of Lailatadiya Muktapida (mid-8th century) after which we hear nothing of them until the 10th century, during the reign of Shakhmarvaran who died 902 A.D., where his position is illustrated by Kalhana by means of an analogy and the Daradas are mentioned. Speaking of the ruler of Kashmir, he writes: “Between the chiefs of the Daradas and the Turks he, who was placed beside them was called the white bull, was like Aryavarta between the Himalaya and the Vindhya” (Rajatarangini, 132-135). The correspondence of the inscription in the Rajatarangini as regards references to the Daradas and the continued rule of the Tibetans in Balistan and Gilgit is significant. The decline of the Tibetan power in the region brought the role of the Daradas once again to the forefront and the frequency of references increases. During the reign of Sambharamara (1003-1026 A.D.) due to the incompetence of the ministers and the lassiness of the King some Daradas became overbearing. This comment is made as if the Daradas were a part of the government or employees of them as are mentioned along with government clerks and the Damaras (landed gentry or feudal barons) (Rajatarangini VII, 119). During the reign of Anakma (1029-1063 A.D.), the ruler of the Daradas, Acalamalanga, was invited by some of the Damaras, and supported by seven Meecha chiefs invaded Kashmir but due to its unfortunate attempt failed. The proud Rudrapala ( descendant of the Hindu Shahis in service of the King of Kashmir) presented the severed head of the Dard ruler "with the oozing blood washed by the Umpaid utensil of the pearls of the crest ornaments" to his sovereign (Rajatarangini VII, 166-176).\(^{51}\)
The period which found King Harsha on the throne is full of a struggle for kingship. Vijayamalla escaped to the land of the Daradas whose city lay concealed in the hills. There he was welcomed by the Darada ruler Vidyadhara Shahi. He spent the cold season in the city of the Daradas but even then, having surmounted the perils, the proud prince lost his life in his tent during a blizzard (Taranga-VII, 900-916). The appearance of the Shahi title in the Dard ruler’s name is noteworthy and could relate either to his descent from the 8th century Patala Shahi dynasty or to a contemporary connection with the Hindu Shahi rulers who had contracted marriage alliances with the rulers in Kashmir as well as with the Khasas of Lohara who ruled over Kashmir from 1003-1171 A.D. 55 The Daradas not only offered refuge to rival princes but were themselves a power to be reckoned with and were a source of constant danger to whoever ruled in Kashmir. The warden of the frontier controlling the route over the Kishanganga river was an important man and a trusted of the King. This is clearly brought out when the Prince of Kashmir attempted to take possession of the Dagdhangrat fort of the Daradas, the latter had with increased strength occupied many villages in the realm (Taranga-VII, 1168-1189).

Many of the sites, the Darada fort and other camping grounds, have been identified by A. Stein in his ‘Maps of Ancient Kashmir and Srinagar’. 56 This clearly brings out the fact Darapurs of the Rajatarangini must have been located on the Kishanganga river. That the region was controlled by the Daradas is evident from the Puranic list of people where Darapuri is mentioned as located on the upper Kishanganga river.57 Ahirur’s note written about the first half of the 11th century delimited the route to Bolgar. A two days journey from the basin of Kashmir the towns are Awarra (explained as the old name of Astor), Shiltas (Chilas), and Gilgit, the region has the king named ‘Barzahab’. This king is most likely identical with Shulzian-Shah mentioned three-quarters of a century earlier, Kashmir suffered much from the raids of these tribes.58

Following the death of King Harsha, Uccala (1101-1111 A.D.) ascended the throne but his brother Susula took refuge in the country of the Dards. The Uccala party of this rebellious party took the assistance of the Dard ruler Jagaddala (Taranga-VIII, 188-215). King Susula returned to Kashmir after the death of his brother and ascended the throne. His long refuge in the Darada


country and his friendship to them was attested in his reception of the Dard ruler Manadara who had come to seek audience (Taranga-VIII, 514).

The internal conditions of the kingdom of the Daradas is related to us during the reign of King Jayasimha (1125-1149 A.D.). At this time the Raj of the Daradas, Yasodhara, passed away and his minister took control of the inner conflict by usurping the power on behalf of the young Prince, Viddanasha, the Dard minister, married the widow of the dead king and became the virtual ruler. His claim was contested by another of the Daradas ministers named Paryuka who summoned help from Kashmir. The dead king had rendered great services to the Kashmiri throne, even though he was only a border chief. The Kashmiri forces which came to assist were unsuccessful in capturing the Dard fortress and Kalhana describes the situation with the help of an analogy thus: “Immature persons could not seize the government of the Daradas which had fallen into internal dissection, as a tree which having fallen through a landslide on the bank cannot be carried away by a feeble current of water where in it is lying”. The contesting minister Paryuka who was susceptible to bribes concluded peace with Viddanasha, thus restoring the Darada kingdom to internal calm. Viddanasha however harboured a grudge against the King of Kashmir and tried to incite rebellion. At this time many Darnaras (Barons, Landed gentry) had formed marriage relationships with the councillors of the Daradas. The rebellion in Kashmir incited by the Daradas continued to cause internal discord for a long time. For even after the initial initiators of the rebellion were removed the struggle continued under others until the Darada Chief finally withdrew by concluding peace with the king (Taranga-VIII, 2494-2532).

Approximately at this time the descendents of Ni-ma-mgon had under Lha-čen Upalpa occupied a considerable portion of Upper Lahul and had made incursions into Baltistan. However it is possible that at K’a-la-r-tse a Dard colony existed. They had their castle about a mile above the present village along the stream. The ruins of the castle can still be seen as well as the canal which watered the fields. The castle is known as Broggwi inKhar and resembles the enclosed fortification at the village mula. Lha-čen Neg-lug is supposed to have built a castle at K’a-la-r-tse59. However it is possible to say that a large portion of Purg was still inhabited by Dards. All the evidence taken from the Rajatarangini (footnotes are cited along with the texts) particularly the events taken from Taranga-VIII are reliable and provide in considerable detail as they took place during the life time of Kalhana. H. Goetz remarks that the high reliability of the historiography is mainly attached to the Taranga’s IV-VIII concerned with the history of Kashmir from the Later 7th century to the 12th century. For here Kalhana was able to draw upon still extant reliable records and especially the experience of his father

and his uncle both prominent figures at the court of King Harsha. Further notice about the Dards comes from the Muslim period of the history of Kashmir. Sultan Shamsud-din (1339-42 A.D.) in order to keep feudal chiefs under control raised two families to prominence one of them the Chaks who had migrated to Kashmir from Dardadesa in the reign of Shahbuda under their leader Lankan Chak. Following the conquests of Mira and Inger, the nephew of Babur, the Chaks suffered considerably. But under Duali Chak began the rise to power of the Chaks in the valley. In 1561 Ghazi Shah Chak ascended the throne of Kashmir and the dynasty lasted until 1556 when they were brought into the claws of the mighty Moghin Empire. The Chaks were Dards, who later came to serve the Moghuls, and even today the entire Kishanganga valley and the ravines are marked by the names of the various Chak rulers. In fact the ridge, which divides Gurez from the more ancient and poorer part Tului, along the Kishangan Valley river is called Hab Khatun the Queen of the Dard ruler Yusuf Shah Chak.

**PURIG AND THE SITES ASSOCIATED WITH GESAR**

It is related in the Chronicles (rgyal rabs) of Ladakh that at the time of Śi-ma-mgon. Upper Ladakh (Mar-yul) was held by the descendants of Gesar, while Lower Ladakh (Smad-rnam) was split up into small independent principalities. In this case Purig stands a good chance of having been included in Lower Ladakh. The Gesar epic is not only a mythological saga which contains elements of the pre-Buddhist religion of Ladakh but is even today a living force among the inhabitants of Purig. There are a number of sites associated with Gesar which were reported by A.H. Francke. These places are Nature-phenomena and make their presence felt amidst the desert surroundings. They evoke an awe inspiring identity that man can have with the fashioning of nature, beauty which is almost spiritual. In the course of my field research among the Ngag-pa Dards I was shown several other sites associated with Gesar rgyal-po. A list of these sites shows the

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61) Hasn, M., Kashmir under the Sultans, Iran Society, Calcutta 1952, p. 46.
These sites are accompanied by rock carvings and inscriptions. Site 'e' and 'f' have alphabets in an undeciphered script while the drawings in the near from 'd' show signs of fertility cult worship. The site 'e' also shows signs of the worship of the fertility cult as well as the drawing of a Svanitsa. Site 'g' was reported about by Francke and his reading of the inscription shows it to belong to oldest Tibetan inscriptions which has a mixed script represented by a period of transition from the Indian to Tibetan script. The inscription however is a sign of worship of the spot for the birth of a child. A fresh reading of the same inscription was made by Prof. Sagaster and he is given along with the footnote 70. He remarks that the mention of the elements Water and Earth and if 'mare'-represents Fire which should fit then it is a form of local worship which is practised at the spot which is associated with Cesar. Other spots mentioned above which were reported by Francke are similarly spots where the locals come with their prayers.

**HISTORY OF PURIG - RELATIVE TO THE 'BROG-PA DARD COLONY**

The notice by A. Csoma de Körös published in 1832 provides us the first information on Hom-Do-Gar-Kum when he tells us about the Minaro. He writes, 'The chiefs of Minaro, Hazara, and are the heads of some predatory tribes. In the several defiles of the south, in the neighbourhood of Baltistan, there live some predatory tribes, among whom the most notorious are the Dardu people' 72. It is rather unfortunate that he does not provide the source of his information. Francke notes that these people call themselves Minaro 73.

According to my own inquiries the inhabitants claimed to have inherited the Minaro traditions. The Minaro buried their dead with jewellery and the dead person's personal belongings. During the funeral of a Minaro a house from Gar-Kum informed me that his brother while digging the foundations of his new house he found red beads and pieces of jewellery. The 'Brog-Do-Dard woman forbid their children from approaching the graves of the Minaro. They relate that their chiefs Gh Singé and Gapo had to kill many Minaro and only later peace was restored. They later married the Minaro women and have inherited the Minaro traditions. The Bro-Do festival is one such tradition and the lengthy songs that they sing during the many days of these celebrations are songs that the Minaro have also sung and are learned today through oral repetition. The present inhabitants do not talk with any disdain about the Minaro and along

who abide their time in the valley pasture grounds with their livestock. Sultan of Chogo-lag-pa house in mDga' informed me that 'Brog-pa villages are also Achiwa-thang, Skarshi-lakan, and along the upper reaches of Dhamkhar stream also live 'Brog-pa, as well as Sapsa, Basgo, Zingmo-Nimu and zgo. It is evident that here we must begin to distinguish between the 'Brog-pa Dards and the 'Brog-pa who culturally are no different from the Ladakhi's. The 'Brog-pa Dards are an endogenous group and as an inherent characteristic, they have avoided outside contact. This is the result of a socio-religious belief system that has its basis in the concept of pollution. Under such circumstances, they never found the need to identify themselves with a particular name and even today, they do not call themselves 'Brog-pa but when asked to identify themselves take the name of their village. Linguistically they are speakers of the Dardic dialect which they call Brog-skad-ni and a partial analysis of their vocabulary has shown identity with Shina as well as certain words which resemble other dialects of the Dardic group.

As far as the use of the terminology Dard is for these people it appears as the most appropriate one in the face of the evidence presented in the historical section. Prof. K. Jettmar in his paper "Kafiren, Nurtanini, Darden: Zur Klärung des Begriffsystems" argue in favour of the acceptance of this term.

The traditions of the 'Brog-pa Dard migration from Gilgit are related in detail in another publication. There are several places related in the area surrounding Gilgit from where the ancestors of the present inhabitants of the 'Brog-pa Dard villages migrated. According to Tashi-skid-dpal, of Golo-pa house in Garku, the mDga'-Ranu people came from Gilgit, the mBu-don people from Garku and Darchiks came from Ghanzum Gilgit. There are also several other names of localities which he enumerated and there is an indication that there were several waves of these migrations during the time when Gil Singh and Guppo consolidated their position. Names of other localities are Gilgit Dushkam; Gilgit Gshumal; Gilgit Sugarmen; Gilgit Phasatanja; and it becomes difficult to determine the exactness of reports. Further research is expected to be conducted on this and other aspects of their traditions.

Their conversion to Buddhism occurred as a slow process and as yet this process is going on but the question is whether the 'Brog-pa Dards will ever totally discard their ancient beliefs even though people are superficially accepting of the Buddhist faith. All Buddhism has been able to accomplish concretely is to fill the invite which existed, e.g., to provide an elaborate prayer ritual for birth, marriage and death ceremonies. When R.B. Shaw visited these villages in the last quarter of the 19th century he was informed about the goddess Srit-na-mo a lha (Sring-mo a lha) and later the lama from Skarshi-lakan confirmed that Buddhism had only been introduced 12 to 15 years ago. At present there is a lama in mDga' from Wa-tol-pa house and prior to him there was only one more and he was from Phor-ka-pa house. G. Dainelli who during his visit in 1913-1914 sketched an elaborate diagram of mBu-go-ma, records that his inquiries about whether the Dards were Buddhist received negative responses.

Culturally, it is the villages along the Hanu ravine which have mostly adopted the Ladakhi cultural influences. The wars with Baltistan made it evident and the Ladakhi troops camped in the neighbourhood of the villages of Hanu ravine. The individus gorge between mBu-Garku-Batalik is so narrow that it barely permitted a foot path used only by the 'Brog-pa Dards who carried on trade between Karu and Leh. An inscription (F. 69) dated 1729 commemorates the roadwork between A-chi-na-tan (Achinathang) and Hanu. Pechec remarks that these were perhaps intended to facilitate military traffic towards the Balti border. The route through the Hanu ravine and then over the Chorbat-La was most suitable for military traffic and it was even possible for several victories over the chief in Baltistan.

SOCIIO-RELIGIOUS ORGANISATION

The family is the most elementary group in socialization and an important category in the social organization of the village. The village is constituted of a number of self-sufficient family units. Each family has a house-name and it is an important criterion as a person within the village, as well as within the wider context of the region occupied by the Buddhist Dards is identified by his house-name. His personal name is used within the house by the family members and among the members of the village who belong to the same generation. Every house-name (in 'Brog-skad: Chos-viol) has a particular status within the village and among the Dards as a community. Therefore, a person from a different village will be called by his house-name and to which will be attached.

80) Dainelli, G., Le condizioni della genti (1913-1914), Serie II, 9, Bologna 1925, p. 84.
81) Pechec, L., 1977 (note 35), p. 82.
82) Ibid., p. 91-93.
the name of his village. The house-name is primarily determined by the place of residence. Though it is primarily an agnostic kinship unit it recruits affinal members also. Thus in marrying spouses discard their natal house-name and take on the name of their husband's house. Succession to the head of the household status of a house is generally and preferably through a lineally descended male heir. In a family there are only daughters born then a son-in-law is accepted (Tib: Mag-pa; 'Bro-g- skad: Baru) who will carry the spouse's house-name. Incase of the situation where a family has no children the village members will assist in the adoption of a son or sons. Thus kindred (consanguineous), if they have gone as Baru (out of local residence) or have been adopted into another house, have no way of retaining agnostic kinship ties. Descent and consanguinity are of less relevance in relation to the principle of residence. A joint family having a common house-name is a descent group being synonymous with residence.

The basic living space in a 'Bro-g-pa house is the main room around which are constructed the store room and the sheds of their livestock. The hearth is central to their life at home. One end of the hearth faces the wall and in between the two is placed the Sna-bdag. It is representative of the household god and a binding force for the members living in the same house. It was brought down from the mountains by the founding father. No outsider is allowed to touch it and not even to come near it. This is in suspicion of the danger of pollution affecting the success and fertility of the household. Even stepping over the chimney on the roof can have similar consequences. A girl once married must similarly remain a stranger to the Sna-bdag of her natal home and moreover she may not enter the livestock shed of her natal home in fear of it affecting the fertility of the herd adversely. At the other end of the hearth and in the corner of the room is the main pillar (Thub); also called Bruska which holds a special significance. It is usually the only pillar upon which carvings are engraved. It is inside a hollow of the Thub that in times past they stored their precious possessions.

A seating arrangement is observed around the hearth which deserves notice. When standing at the central pillar and looking upon the hearth, the right side is for the men and the left for the women. On the right side and closest to the Sna-bdag will sit the household head and following him in descending order his younger brothers. Similarly on the left side sits the eldest wife and following her the other women of the house. Incase the wife is young and has only recently come to her affinal home then it is usually be mother of the household head who occupies the place on the left side at the head of the women of the house. If one of the sisters who is married out, comes to her natal home, i.e., to help during the cultivation season, then she will sit next to the central pillar. The children and the grand parents also sit around the central pillar.

The eldest son inherits all the property and all children born in the house are his children even if the genetic father is a younger brother. The eldest brother takes care of the organisation of the household responsibilities delegating the different tasks to the younger brothers. Marriages practiced reveal a dominant tendency towards monogamy, though polyandry, polygyny and group-marriage are also seen represented in the genealogical recordings extending over seven generations. However splitting up of the lineage does not occur and the same house-name continues with the eldest son inheriting the role of the household head. Thus the house-name goes through mutations and in each generation a new lineally descended heir takes on the role of the household head.

The 'Bro-g-pa Dard villages had remained independent and self-sufficient until the 1970's in the history of the region. Even when they accepted the supremacy of the Ladakhi rgyal-pa they continued to live by adherence to their ancient traditions. These show the conspicuous absence of an overarching political order regulating their village life. For the smooth functioning of their village life adherence to certain ancient traditions is taken for granted. These traditions are even today represented in the hereditary occupational status of certain families. The basic idea behind these traditions was the provision of social sanctions to the idea of an official who begins irrigation, ploughing and sowing every season and an official who is responsible for servicing the village deity during the celebration of certain festivals.

Evidence of similar traditions, preserved in certain cases only partially, is available from the ethnic groups living in the region of Gilgit, Hunza and Baltistan. A prohibition it is said existed in the past which disallowed

83) Snoy, Peter, Bagrot, Eine dardische Talortschicht im Karakorum, Graz/Austria, 1975. The report of an hereditary Priest was given to Snoy by an informant in Massingot (p. 49) whose function was nothing to do with the Deyal (Shaman, one who communicates with the fairies). Similarly in the village mDa the Lha-bdag who is responsible for servicing the deities is different from the Lha-bab (who communicates with the supernatural powers) who is said to have in the past performed the role of the Shaman. Similarly all irrigation work is at the beginning of the season begun by the oldest from a specific family (Lha-bdag household) if the crop is to be a successful one. Examples of the still existent use were found by P. Snoy in the villages, Sinakar, Datuchi, Bulchi, Taisot, and Dao (p. 94-96); also see Muller-Stellrecht, I., Feste in Dardistan, Frankfurt am Main, 1973. In her work there are further details regarding the function of beginning Irrigation and Ploughing during each season being assigned to a particular family. This family has a sort of religious sanction and conducts the first ritual operations on behalf of the villagers. Only following this can the villagers begin their ploughing and irrigation work. This ritual later adapted by the King or local Chief is certain areas who performed the ritual ceremony in company with the hereditary family. The story of the arrogant King of Hunza who disregarded this ancient practice and later repented as the crop failed. He was forced to undo his wrong act by bringing back one son belonging to the Thdpkian clan who had escaped death as his mother was still pregnant when she had gone to Piskar village in Nagar white in
strangers from entering the village, if an outsider wished to meet someone in the village he would have to shout from the road the person's name. A basis for such conduct was the principle of pollution. Similarly during trading expeditions the 'Brog-pa Dards took their rations of Satu (roasted barley flour) with them and upon returning they were to finish the rations or else give them away. They could not bring these rations back and moreover were only then allowed into the house when they had cleansed and purified themselves with the smoke of Juniper ('Brog-skad. Chigl. Tib. Shug-pa) leaves.

Traditional mode of village organisation was observed in the village mDa in times past. This manner of the division of the village into three sections was also represented in their settlement pattern. My inquiries revealed that these three sections were operative in their communal habitation in mDa fort. There were three levels into which the inhabitants were divided: Dzon-skot, the uppermost level; Dzon-skil, the middle level; and Dzon-yag, the lowest level. The habitation in the fort consisted of a number of rooms arranged in two and three stories. There was a common passage of entry and exit, as if under one roof, the entire construction resembling a labyrinth. There existed an underground tunnel leading up to the mDa nullah (stream) from which water supply was ensured in case of the fort being besieged. The fort had three gateways, the first two made of wood, the third and outermost door was made of iron (probably strengthened with iron supports). The livestock were also kept inside the fort and incase of an attack a signal cry would assemble the entire village into the fort.

Each section was an unit and participated as a whole in the village life. Contributions during the celebrations of a festival were brought by each of these sections as a collectivity. The partial remnants of this latter tradition are still preserved and operative even today. In mDa during the New Year festival (lo-gsar) on the second day in the evening (called Tsharhas) all members of the village collect together in accordance with the section to which they belong and only then proceed with pinewood torches to the celebration grounds. Similarly at the time of the festival 'Khadas-khal' (when the threshing of the new crop takes place) there is a feast given each year by one of the sections as a collectivity and in rotation the other sections take their turn.

... her absence all the members of her family were killed (p. 61-62). Further examples from Gilgit, Yasin, Panyal and other areas in Baltistan are available in the work: Francke, A.H., Archaeology in Western-Tibet, Khatlas, in: Indian Archaeology, Bombay, Sept. 1906, p. 239-340; Francke, A.H., Tibetan Documents from Chinese Turkestan, in: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, January 1914, p. 44 and 52, in this article Francke tells us about the title 'Zhag-pon' who is responsible for regulating the water resources for irrigating the fields. The appearance of the title in these ancient documents is noteworthy.

R.B. Shaw writing in 1873 provides the names of seven ancestors from whom...
the present inhabitants are descended. He further attributes to them a differentiation based on casets. These remarks provoked me to make inquiries and was informed that three of these names of ancestors were the names of phi-spun groupings. Another two were identified by an elderly man with the remark that these two groups had also existed in the past but due to the disintegration of the number of families they had themselves amalgamated with the other groups.

The village of mDau and its extension of four hamlets, Lasleimane, Byemun, Baladet, and Sadiq are inhabited by 35 households who are divided up into seven phi-spun groupings. There is also one house of the blacksmith whose father came and settled in miDa but is not included in any of the phi-spun groupings and lives in the old house belonging to Milu-su-pa and in exchange for this he repairs the cultivation tools free of change.

The following are the names of the phi-spun groupings:
1) La-lu-she, there are six households in this group. Identified with Lalebo as given by Shaw.
2) Matibo, there are eight houses in this group.
3) D'akur, there are four houses in this group. Identified with Dakre of Shaw's list.
4) No IV, no name provided. There are four houses in this group.
5) No V, no name provided. There are four houses in this group.
6) Dibo, there are four houses in this list. This name is identical with Dibo of Shaw's list.
7) Barash, there are five households in this group.

The members of each phi-spun group reciprocate help during birth, marriage and death ceremonies. At the birth of a child (birth = Kael) a one month period of pollution is observed. During this period (Shambak) the house is tabooed and no villager is to visit the house. Though the members of the phi-spun are allowed to pay a visit after the first seven to ten days are past. During this visit they refrain from taking any food or drink in the house where the birth has occurred. During the marriage celebrations after the family members and the mother's brother in the phi-spun members who play the most prominent role. Upon a death occurring in the house the phi-spun members are informed immediately. It is they who arrange for the requisite ceremonies and it is only the phi-spun members who carry the body for cremation which the family members are not to witness. The pollution period for the partner of the dead person lasts for one year. In the above respects the duties of reciprocity entrusted upon the members of the phi-spun are same as those existant in Ladiak.

Intra-marriage within the phi-spun groupings is practised as is true in the case of Ladiak. Genealogical data from mDau was collected for seven generations back, counting as the first generation the children of today some of whom are married and have children recently born. Depending on the data of six generations which is almost complete with a few exceptions, there exist fourteen instances of intra-phi-spun marriages with an even generational distribution. Adoption from within the same phi-spun is also taken recourse. There exists one Lha-tbo on Sandi (ung-pa stream) which belongs to the phi-spun grouping d'Takure and where the members worship the deity d'Takure Lha-mo. Aside from this array instance no other phi-spun group has a Lha-tho. However the Brog-pa Darda construct Lha-tho's for other reasons, for example, protection against diseases and ill-luck or for the fertility and prosperity of the household. These are kept on high rocky ground and on house roof tops where there is no danger of pollution. Along with these Lha-tho's Chillgi (Jamper) leaves and goat horns are also kept.

Each of the phi-spun groupings have a common 'Munul' where ancestral worship is performed. On several of the festive occasions offerings are brought to the Munul of one's phi-spun and prayers offered. The Mamani festival held towards the end of december when a great festivity occurs at the Munul of each phi-spun. Special dishes are prepared and taken to the Munul (a crevice in the rock) with burning Chillgi (Jamper) leaves an offering is made and then amidst the singing of songs each phi-spun partakes in feasting separately. This brings out the great importance attached to ancestor worship as it represents the family authority and reverence extended into the supernatural realm. Upon the death of a person (except for children whose bodies are buried) one of the phi-spun members after the cremation takes out a piece of the cremation bone with ashes. These are kept in the dead persons house for four days after which deposited at the Munul. Lighting of a lamp and inserting Chillgi sticks into the crevice in the rock end the mourning period for the family of the dead person.

In the village organization certain rules have traditionally associated the office of the Lha-bdag (Offical) with a particular house-name. Lha-bdag, though an official of the village but with whose functions is associated a certain socio-religious association. The duties enshrined in person of the Lha-bdag are hereditarily inherited by the eldest son in each succeeding generation. There are three Lha-bdag in a village. There is the Lha-bdag responsible for the irrigation works. The construction of a new canal and the repair work on the old canals at the beginning of the season each year is undertaken after he has offered salt and prayers on behalf of the village to the deity Gang-si-Lha-mo. He then opens the water canal and first waters the field following which the villagers can begin irrigation work. These celebrations are called Buaz. Similarly there is a Lha-bdag for cultivation. He ploughs the first three furrows in the field and then sows the first grain. The entire ceremony is accompanied by an elaborate ritual and lengthy festive celebrations.

The taking care of worship and servicing of the village deity is also performed by a Lha-bdag whose office is inherited by the eldest son of the Gangel-depa house in mDau who belongs to La-lu-she phi-spun. From within the same
pha-spun there are two houses who are assigned the role of the 2nd and the 3rd substituting Lha-bdag’s. All the Lha-bdag’s belong to different pha-spun groupings. The need for a second and a third substitute arises during the period of pollution. For instance, in case of birth in the house of the officiating Lha-bdag he is not permitted to perform his duties for one month. In case of death the prohibited period extends for one year and therefore the second and the third who are from the same pha-spun can take on the duties.

In Garkun the Chalo-pa pha-spun is responsible for beginning the irrigation every season and the Bhus-pa pha-spun for starting the cultivation work in the village. The Lha-bdag for beginning the ceremonies of religious nature in Garkun comes from Golo-pa house and is substituted by Gamo-pa as the second Lha-bdag and Gyut-lundrup-pa as the third. All three houses belong to Soma-pa pha-spun.

The bonds in the community of the Brog-pa Dards are strongest at the level of the village. Most marital alliances are contracted within the village. Though during each season there are quite a few cases when marriages with other Buddhist Dard villages are contracted. These Buddhist Dard villages also define the outer limits of exogamy.

Beyond the village level the tribe of the Brog-pa Dards as an ethnic unity gather together only during the three yearly Bom-ns festivals when it gives them an occasion to remember their Minaro traditions.

The Bom-na festival, also known as Chang-po-shruba, took place in 1961 in mid-October, (an invitation received which I was very cordial and to decline due to unavoidable circumstances) and is supposed to last over several days. The celebrations carry on over-night with the constant drinking of chang (Burley Beer). The songs sung are long epic form retellings and are recited over several days. I was able to record a few of the smaller songs in praise of their deity and others about the route of their migration. The latter song relates about a dice game in which Maeho Nakron, Hari Lo and Tumruk Cho chief are involved. Tumruk is the name of a stream which takes its origin in the heights of Haramosh Range and joins the river Indus at Byichu. After the decision of this game the losing party departs to the east. The festival takes place one year in Garkun, then the next year in mDsa, following which there is one year gap and then the cycle is resumed. During this festival all surrounding villages of the Brog-pa Buddhist Dards assemble to go for the festivities. This event brings out a characteristic which distinguishes them from the Muslim Dard villages which lie further down from Batalkik to Marol along the river Indus.

CONCLUSION

The ‘Dards’ as an historical entity are traceable far into historical antiquity. Their continued existence into the present can be accounted for by linguistic research. The area inhabited by the Dards classified linguistically is very large extending from the Hindu Kush mountains in the west to the Dards of Ladakh and in the south along the Kishanganga river. This territorial definition is inexact inasmuch that it is not exclusively inhabited by the Dardic linguistic group.

The Buddhist Dards of Ladakh form an ethnic entity. Their traditions show a capacity to adapt themselves to new influences yet retaining their belief system within whose framework an adjustment is arrived at. The logic of rationality determining the continued existence of their beliefs can be seen in their social organization and religious system which have absorbed Tibetan and Buddhist ideas. Ethnicity is only one of the possible forms of defining status which stays in contrast to all other possible forms of gaining status. These status differentials are the result of the existing stratification structures as are seen to exist among the Shina-speaking Dards (Castes: Shiki, Yeshkun, Kamis and Dom). To this can be added the occupational and other status groups like the Guushar, Buno and Acher. Very little information is available on the linguistically grouped Dard population. Moreover an analysis of the theme inter-ethnic relationship between the Dardic group as well as between the latter and the neighbouring population of different ethnic identity is necessary. Until such research is systematically conducted no definitive answer to the linguistically grouped Dardic population is possible.

The Muslim Dards from Marol in Baltistan to the Buddhist Dards in Ladakh formed a contiguous line along the Indus. They were split up during the 17th century when the border between Ladakh and Baltistan was demarcated at Gurugurdo. The Buddhist Brog-pa Dard villages have once again, in the last few years, been subject to an arbitrary jurisdictional division as subjects of Leh and Kargil Tehsil. This has had the most obvious result that in Hanu and mDsa villages a Buddhist teacher instructs in Ladakhi while in Garkun and Darchikoo a Muslim school master is employed. The fact that their traditional heritage will soon become lost amidst the new changes is great. Today their villages are not far from Leh with the weekly transport service giving them access to ideas coming from all over the world to Ladakh. New products are being sold at the shops in mDsa which are purchased or bartered for in Leh. Until now the only cloth they used to wear was their home spun wollem cloth while the generation of their elders still wear sheep skin jackets. The fur of the sheep skins keeps them very warm and they keep these jackets on during the summer as well. Once the fur wears off a new one is put on top without discarding the older jacket. An old man in Hanu Goma very enthusiastically showed me four such worn out sheep skin jackets under the new one which had been made that year.
A recording of their grammar and vocabulary by a linguist is essential. Their constant interaction with the outside world in Ladakhi and Urdu is resulting in changes whereby the younger generation does not understand their own traditional songs fully. A 'Brok-skad Phonetic Reader' prepared by N. Ramesh under the auspices of the Central Institute of Indian Languages in Mysore provides a good beginning. Teaching of their mother tongue ('Brok-skad') in their schools is essential and the above work provides the options of using the Devanagari and the Urdu script.

Such an approach is essential for a positive adjustment of the Buddhist 'Brokpa' Dards within the multi-ethnic character of the Indian sub-continent.
The Arhat Bakula, the first of the lineage, on a mural-painting in bSam-dkar.
Two photographs of the present-day Baha'i as a young boy, made around 1955.

A mural painting in a T.T. monastery, depicting the present-day Baha'i,
Farrakan-Lawn and Bahia.
A statue of Bakula (7) in the ren-kho of hSam-dkar.

A statue of Bakula in the geims-chur chen-mo of hSam-dkar.
A statue of Rolpa in the old assembly-hall of dPe-thub.

A thangka depicting Shambala, the mystical kingdom of the North. bSam-dkar.
A thangka depicting Vaiśravana, together with the eight Horse-masters (Ḍra-bdag-brgyud), bsam-dkar.

A thangka depicting Buddha Śākyamuni, together with the 18 Arhats and the 4 Lokapāla, bsam-dkar.
Upper part of the ritual arrow (*mda’ dar*). Oat dust which has been collected on the way between the house of the bride and the house of the bridegroom.

The leader of the *nya pa*, called *bkra shis pa*, with the ritual arrow (*mda’ dar*).
One can clearly recognize its stupa-like structure.
THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN LADAKH:
THE FIRST FORTY YEARS 1885-1925

John Bray

THE BACKGROUND OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH

The Moravian Church is better known in Germany as 'Die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine'. It was originally founded in Bohemia under the name 'Unitas Fratrum' but nearly stamped out in the Thirty Years War. In 1722 a group of protestant refugees from Moravia (Mähren) founded the town of Herrnhut on the estate of Count Nikolaus von Zinzendorf and the church was renewed under his leadership. Because he was ecumenical in outlook he allowed only a few Moravian settlements to be founded in Europe and North America. He wished the Moravians to cooperate with other churches and not to compete with them. Their distinctiveness did not lie in any unique Moravian doctrine but rather in a tradition of strict spiritual discipline and an emphasis on the value of productive work, education and scholarship. Above all they were known for their foreign missions. The first Moravian missionaries left Herrnhut for the West Indies in 1732. By 1896 140 home congregations in Europe and North America supported 400 missionaries scattered all over the world.1

THE FOUNDING OF THE HIMALAYA MISSION

The first Moravian missionaries to reach Ladakh were Eduard Pagell and Wilhelm Heyde. In the summer of 1855 they made a reconnaissance journey through Zanskar to Leh and the Tibetan border. Their ultimate aim was to start a mission to the Mongols but they were turned back from the Tibetan border three times and the Maharaja of Kashmir would not allow them to settle in Ladakh. So in 1856 they founded a mission station in Kyelang, Lehoul, which

1) Missionsblatt der Brüdergemeine, January, 1896.
Is a fortnight's march to the south of Ladakh. In 1865 a second station was started at Poo on the upper Sutlej near the Tibetan border.

The Leh mission was not founded until 1885 but in the thirty years before that the Moravians had kept up a steady contact with Ladakh. In 1857 the new Superintendent of the Mission, Heinrich August Jaeschke, spent three months at Sisk near Leh and there began his pioneering research into Tibetan. He already knew fourteen languages before he came to India and kept a regular diary in seven of them. Later he translated most of the New Testament into Tibetan and produced a series of linguistic works culminating in his Tibetan-English dictionary published in 1881. However it was not Jaeschke but Heyde who visited Ladakh most often. He visited the area almost every year on preaching tours until the mid-1880s when he grew too old to travel comfortably.

At the same time many Ladakhis visited Kyelang either as traders or as refugees. On their first visit to Ladakh in 1855 Heyde and Pagell noted that whole villages with up to thirty houses were deserted. Their inhabitants had fled to Lahoul because of the high taxes imposed by the Kashmiri government. Among these Ladakhi refugees were the first converts of the mission, Nicodemus Sonam Stobgyes and his son Samuel Jolden, who were baptised in 1860. Almost all of the early converts were Ladakhi; as late as 1889 there was only one non-Ladakhi in the Kyelang congregation. One possible reason for this was that local people were more vulnerable to communal pressure not to become Christians.

However not all of these Ladakhis wished to remain in Kyelang. Indeed by 1882 two Christian families had already returned to their homeland. The missionaries wished to continue to exercise pastoral care over them and they had long wanted to start a mission at Leh because of its importance as a large trade centre with thousands of merchants passing through every year. In 1884 the Maharajah at last gave them permission to stay in Leh - but only after their request was personally supported by the British Viceroy.

Outline History of the Leh Mission

In 1885 F. Reddeloh arrived as the first resident missionary and was allowed to stay in the former meteorological observatory. Over the next five years rapid progress was made. The small church was built in 1886. In January 1887 Reddeloh started a small school and in April Dr. Karl Marx arrived to take over the hospital and clinic which were partly sponsored by the British government. However the mission was struck a severe blow in 1891 when Marx and Reddeloh died of typhus within a few days of each other.

The mission narrowly survived with the help of Becker Shawe, an English Moravian who nearly died of typhus himself, and Julius Weber who came from Poo as soon as he heard of the tragedy. In 1894 S. H. Ribbeck came to Leh from Kyelang and in 1896 A.H. Francke arrived straight from Germany. No suitable doctor was found until 1897 when Dr. Earnest Shawe came. His wife died of typhus within a year and he himself in 1907.

Nevertheless by 1899 the mission had recovered sufficiently to be able to consider further expansion. In that year a daughter station was started at Kheisal (Kholisi), three days journey from Leh on the road to Stringer. The first missionary there was A.H. Francke and he was assisted by the evangelist Chompel who had been a monk in the great Tibetan monastery of Tashi Lhunpo.

At the outbreak of war in 1914 the German missionaries Reichel from Kalatae, Schnebel from Kyelang and Francke were interned as enemy aliens. In 1916 they were repatriated in an exchange of prisoners. Even after the end of the war no German missionary was allowed to serve in British territory. Fortunately by 1914 Swiss and British citizens were already serving at Leh - F. Peter, H. Kunick the Drs. Reber (both husband and wife being medically qualified), F. Burroughs and two unmarried English women, Ada Moore and Hannah Britill.

In 1920 Bishop Ward made a formal visitation to Leh from London. He expressed the hope that the Ladakhi church would soon become self-dependent and ordained the first two Ladakhi pastors, Josef Gergan and Dewayang Dama, as a decisive step in that direction.
METHODS OF EVANGELISM

As Christian missionaries the Moravians came to Loh primarily in order to preach the Gospel. On occasion they actually preached in Loh bazaar. More frequently they preached in church - and not only to the converted. In the 1880s and early 1890s a large proportion of the Sunday congregation consisted of non-christians. On Friday evenings there was a special 'Heidelberg' meeting, a meeting specifically for non-christians when slides illustrating Bible stories were projected by a magic lantern (lantern magic). No doubt the slides had some impact but the audience was not always impressed. In Zanaskar the local inhabitants thought the fair-skinned pictures of Christ looked like a low-caste Kashmiri.

Every summer the missionaries made preaching tours to outlying areas including Zanaskar, Nabrun, Rupshu and as far east as the Ponggog Lake. From the 1890s onwards they were assisted by Ladakhi evangelists some of whom later went as far as Rudok in western Tibet. The missionaries were aware that this sort of contact was relatively superficial but spoke of scattering the seed of the Gospel over a wide area in the hope that even a few seeds might germinate.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

To reinforce the spoken word a wide variety of Christian literature was produced. From the beginning it was decided to write this in literary Tibetan, which differs from the spoken languages of Ladakh and Lhodrub but is understood over a wider area. Much of this literature - especially tracts, hymns and short works like church histories - was printed on the mission's own lithographic presses at Kyelang and Loh.

Jaschke began work on the Tibetan Bible, translating the whole of the New Testament except Hebrews. He was succeeded by Redslob who was assisted by two high-ranking Tibetan brothers. The younger brother, Nathaniel Zodpa Gyalyen was baptised by Pagell in Poo in 1872. The elder, Gergen Sonam Wangyal, was the teacher of the Panchen Lama, according to family tradition, but fled to Nubra following a political intrigue in Lhasa. He was never baptised but moved to Loh to help Redslob in his translation work and to teach in the mission school.

from 1886 to 1902 Heyde worked on a revision of the Tibetan New Testament with a team of scholars in Darjeeling. Having finished his work he returned to Germany five years after he had left it. His two surviving sons were there to meet him. The elder had not seen him for thirty-five years. Meanwhile in Loh a committee of Europeans and Ladakhis continued work on the Old Testament. Among them was A. H. Francocw who also produced versions of St. Mark's Gospel in Ladakhi and in the Lhobi dialects of Bumoo, Tisan and Manchad.

In 1919 Joseph Gorgon began to translate the remaining books of the Old Testament, a task which became his life's work. The complete Tibetan Bible was not finally published until nearly thirty years later in 1948.

OTHER LITERARY WORK

Marx was the first of the Moravians to take up the study of Ladakhi history and published three Ladakhi Chronicles. His lead was followed by Francocw who published his History of Western Tibet in 1907. He also wrote over sixty learned articles on Ladakhi language, legends, songs, rock carvings and archaeology. In 1894 he started the first Ladakhi newspaper, the Ladakhi News. Between fifty and a hundred copies were produced on the mission press and widely distributed every month. The paper was in three sections: news, a serialised story and a Christian exposition of a Ladakhi proverb. At this time the hottest news was the Yungnah Expedition to Lhassa and there was much discussion whether Tibetan soldiers wearing protective amulets had really proved vulnerable to British bullets or not.

In 1908 Francocw had to return to Germany because of his wife's ill-health but he came back the following year to undertake a survey of the Indo-Tibetan borderland under the auspices of the Archaeological Survey of India. In 1914 he made a second journey to study languages and collect artifacts for a museum in Munich. This time he travelled by land across Russia, Sinkiang and the Kashgar area.

21) Missionblatt, July, 1903.
22) Times (London) obituary, quoted in Moravian Missions, April 1930, p. 28.
23) Published posthumously as 'Three Documents relating to the History of Ladakh'. In: Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1891, 1894, 1902.
26) The results of the survey were published in Antiquities of Indian Tibet (2 vols.). Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1914, 1926.
MEDICAL WORK

Dr. Karl Marx was the first fully trained missionary doctor. The hospital was in a compound next to the Church. In 1889 its patients consisted of 39 Ladakhi, 27 Balti, 8 from Purig, 4 Yarkandis, 2 from Rupshu and Zanskar and one patient each from Tibet, Jampa, Bagzl and Irdax. In later years the number of patients increased but the variety of background is representative. The mission doctors also treated a large number of outpatients. In 1917, for instance, there were 7, 126 cases. In the summer they undertook medical tours to remote areas to perform cataract operations and give whatever medical aid they could.

Many of the women of Leh, particularly the Muslims from Yarkand, lived a very restricted life at home. The mission wives and unmarried women workers formed the Zenama mission to bring medical help to them. In 1858 between eighty and ninety houses were visited. The Zenama mission also had a social role. People were glad to have a visitor to talk to and discussed many topics - such as the merits of different varieties of soap, the differences between Ladakhi and German cooking and the beauty of Germany. Sometimes the conversation also turned to religious topics. The mission women were naturally glad to tell Bible stories.

The Moravian Church 1885-1925

SCHOOLS

In all Moravian missions the schools played an important role. In Leh in 1889 there was no government school so the Kashmiri governor, Radha Kishan, issued an edict that every family with more than one child was to send a pupil to the mission school. This caused much consternation. There were rumours that the children would be carried off to England and made into Christians. The missionaries themselves were somewhat alarmed and doubted whether they could cope with the expected influx of children. Nevertheless they mustered a distinguished staff consisting of Karl Marx himself, missionary Schwabe, Gergan, Samuel Joldan (then postmaster of Ladakh), and the British Joint Commissioner's munshee (scribe). They offered a syllabus of Tibetan, Urdu, English, Geography, Nature Study, Arithmetic and half an hour's voluntary Bible study.

In the event Radha Kishan's edict was not rigorously enforced and the number on the school role settled to a comfortable thirty pupils. By 1901 the total number of pupils on the rolls of Moravian schools in the Himalayas (including Kyelang and Poo) had risen to its highest total of 275. In Ladakh this figure would have included a new school at Scey, another at Kaltai and a Muslim school at Leh which was supervised by the mission.

Despite this high figure it appears that the advantages of education were not widely recognised. In Kaltai Franchise went personally from house to house expanding the merits of education. He was rewarded with only a handful of pupils with an age range from six to sixty. Families usually only sent their children to school for a few months in winter if at all. In summer they were expected to work by shepherding goats. The Moravians did fare better than a rival Roman Catholic school at Leh which had to close down in 1892 because parents demanded payment for providing pupils.

In Leh in 1911 the roll at the mission school had fallen because a government school had been opened. The pupils included two adults - village headmen from Lidir and Pungsong - who wanted to learn Urdu in order to carry out government business. This underlines an important point: that those who did obtain a good education at the mission school were more likely to obtain prestigious government jobs. They were also more likely to be members of the small Christian community. An example of this trend is another younger pupil who was on the roll in 1911. Chimed Gergan, son of Josef Gergan, went on to study at the Tyndale Biscoe school in Srinagar and enter government service. His career was cut short when he was murdered in Zanskar in 1926.

32) Missionshatt, 1890, p. 48 ff.
33) Missionshatt, 1890, p. 48 ff.
34) Periodicals Accounts, 1901.
35) Missionshatt, February, 1902.
36) Missionshatt, March, 1893.
37) Missionshatt, April, 1911.
belief in a personal God—and he was writing about baptized Christians. 40.

For the missionaries a prerequisite for salvation was the recognition of one's own sinfulness. For the Buddhist the most serious sin was the taking of life, including animal life. Devout Buddhists were surprised that the Moravians did not appreciate this. 41.

In 1868 missionary Hettansch on a preaching tour in Zanzibar was told: "We pray more than you." 42. The famous mantra "Om mani padme Om" is forever on the devout Buddhist's lips so he had to agree but added "but we pray from the heart." For the Moravian the reciting of mantras was too mechanical.

The same criticism was made of Buddhist ceremonies in which the scriptures are commonly read at great speed in the belief that the words themselves bring blessing. The reading is not therefore intended for the edification of the listener who may well not understand at all. Clearly the Moravian approach to scripture was very different.

Books themselves or mantras wrapped up in a cloth to make an amulet were similarly thought to bring blessings and to protect their bearers against evil. One Buddhist wanted to use a Christian tract in this way. On hearing from the missionary that it could not be used in this way he decided to burn it; he had no further use for it.

Often the missionaries' message was greeted with indifference because all religions were the same or even because Buddha had also died on the cross for all mankind. 43. Another common response was that religion was the professional concern of the monastic. In 1859 a friendly monk said of the Gospel, "Vulgar people cannot understand this. They are as vile as oxen." 44. The vulgar people agreed in almost the same words: "We are as stupid as oxen. That is the lama's business." 45.

Those who were attracted to Christianity often had to face opposition from their families. An example of this was Stolgens from Kusate who was baptized in 1906. 46. His mother tried to dissuade him with tears and his brothers with threats. If he became a Christian his family would be shamed. Shortly afterwards his brothers came to dance at a local festival but were not allowed to because they were Klither (Christian). This was a great insult and in the fight that followed one young man nearly had his skull smashed by a huge stone. The missionary was called to succour him. In becoming a Christian Stolgens lost his house, land, and even his wife.

38) Moravian Missions, February, 1924.
40) Missionblatt, 1885, p. 71 ff.
41) Missionblatt, May, 1898.
42) Missionblatt, December, 1908.
43) Missionblatt, April, 1900.
45) Missionblatt, May, 1896.
46) Missionblatt, January, 1905.
The attitude of the monks towards Christianity varied. Sometimes there were friendly discussions and Tsogph, a hermit near Kafir, actively exhorted people to hear the wise words of the missionary. But hostility was not uncommon. In 1894 when Fr. Pontog of Leh was baptised he and his family were ostracised by order of the Skushog. Franchise remarked that many were deterred from changing their faith because they would have to repudiate their heavy debts to the monasteries at once if they did so.

The missionaries themselves imposed high standards on would-be converts. Before baptism each candidate had to undergo a long period of instruction to prove his sincerity. In 1900 the eccentric Skushog of Thikse came seeking baptism. He had only been identified as Skushog in his teens and was not therefore accustomed to the idea of living in a monastery. Not long after being installed in Thikse he left the monastery and sought baptism at Leh but although a converted Skushog would have been a boost to the mission he was asked to wait. It was thought he hoped to gain favours from the British government if he were Christian. However he became impatient and left Leh, eventually returning to Tibet.

In the face of all these obstacles, the few who did become Christians were usually men who had had long contact with the missionaries. Some had actually been working for them. Already in 1889 27 out of 42 Christians in Kyelang were children. By the beginning of the twentieth century the most common way of becoming a Christian was to be born into a Christian family.

**CONCLUSION**

The date 1925 is a convenient date from which to assess Moravian beginnings in Ladakh rather than a decisive turning point. By that year the missionaries had been active in Ladakh for seventy years and resident in Leh for forty. There, as in Europe, they had made important contributions in education, scholarship and even farming and newspapers. They were in the vanguard of the changes brought by increasing contact with western culture. Yet in their main aim of working towards a Christian Ladakh they had clearly had little success. The small Ladakhi Christian community did have two pastors, a council of elders and even a handful of lay evangelists. In many ways it resembled its Moravian prototype in Europe with the same belief in education and German hymn tunes as well as a tendency to produce Moravian family dynasties. Like the Moravians in Europe they were something of an elite - but a vulnerable elite, overshadowed by the non-Christian majority and still dependent on western missionaries. Christianity was still essentially a foreign religion.

47) Missionsblatt, May, 1912.
48) Missionsblatt, July, 1894.
49) Moravian Missions, 1905, p. 119.
50) Moravian Missions, June, 1920. Also A.R. and K.M. Heber, La Hima-
QUELQUES ASPECTS DU MYTHE ET DES STRUCTURES MENTALES AU LADAKH

Patrick Kaplan

LE MYTHE

Voici deux nouvelles versions résumées du mythe de peuplement du Ladakh.
La première raconte qu'un grand lac recouvrît le pays. Les habitants ri-a-po-dhe arriva d'Inde à travers le Cachemire et le Zanaskar. Là, il monta sur un bateau. Au-dessus de Spituk le bateau se heurta à un rocher. Il dit alors qu'il y aurait une importante gompa à cet endroit. Beaucoup d'années plus tard cette gompa fut construite sur une colline.

"Trois hommes virent de Giling Dasa (Gilgit - Shigar) pour chasser. Ils trouvèrent un endroit agréable avec de l'herbe et de l'eau. Sur leur tête ils avaient de l'orge. Ils décidèrent de planter cet orge. Ils revinrent plus tard et trouvèrent de bonnes récoltes. Ils se dirent: "Comment cet orge n'a-t-il pu si bien pousser? Il n'y avait rien ni personne pour en prendre soin!" Et ils appelèrent l'endroit Htsa, dérivé de handa. handa signifie spontané, qui marche sans le moindre aide. Ils revinrent et s'installèrent là. Leurs noms étaient Gale, Dalo et Mato². Ils plantèrent des arbres fruitiers, con-

1) Les lignes qui suivent sont une reprise de la première partie des "conclusions et hypothèses" (pp. 279-289) de mon ouvrage Les Ladakhis du Cachemire, Paris 1981. Après un nouveau séjour à Leh, j'ai pu vérifier certaines de ces hypothèses et les développer, d'autres ont été par contre complètement abandonnées. Les références à cet ouvrage sont données entre parenthèses. Je conseille au lecteur de relier le chapitre X "la religion populaire" où il trouvera une définition des chan, tano, goamoh, basu, lha, lhu, qui n'est pas redonnée ici par manque de place.

1) La première version du mythe donné ici, provient d'une conversation avec Sonam Gergan, prêtre du Ria-po-dhe de Phyang. Elle a été recueillie sur le terrain en compagnie de N. GRIST. La deuxième version provient d'un manuscrit du même SONAM GERGAN traduit par les soins de L. MAHUIZIER.

2) D'après l'informateur, ces noms n'ont pas de sens, ce dont je doute fortement.
struixirent des maisons. Tout le monde en entendit parler et les gens affluirent de tous côtés. Il en vit tant qu'en appela le pays méka yul (mi- məpə-yul - le pays avec beaucoup de gens). En particulier des gens vinrent de Yarkand où ils ne se plaignaient pas. Ils s'installèrent à Gerken. Parmi eux une mère avec 7 fils et une fille. Les 7 frères fondaient un nouveau village l'actuel Dartsika qu'ils appelèrent à l'époque Tanaki (tənək, terrasse et rətəkə-pə, mar érigé), ici mar de soutènement des terrasses).

"Tous ces gens au début vivaient avec les 1ha : ils avaient tout mais leur esprit devint mauvais, et ils se séparèrent des 1ha."

"Ils devinrent pauvres, si pauvres qu'ils n'avaient pas de mouton (rentək). Ils devaient écraser le grain sur des rochers. À Da on peut encore voir aujourd'hui la pierre sur laquelle ils l'écrasèrent!"

"Ils commencèrent à se disputer. Ils n'aimaient pas l'endroit, les récoltes étaient mauvaises. Quelqu'un dit : "Arrêtons de vous disputer, je vais lancer une flèche, et, où qu'elle tombe, nous enverrons vive là!" La flèche tomba en haut d'un canal d'irrigation (yara). A cause de la flèche (da) le village fut appelé Da."

"Da, Hanu, Gerken, Dartsik sont les quatre villes originales du pays. Il devint fertile et un équilibre fut atteint."

Nous pouvons ainsi confirmer l'hypothèse selon laquelle ce mythe n'est pas un simple mythe de pêle-mêle du Ladakh, mais en réalité un mythe d'origine de la condition humaine. Le récit remonte à l'âge d'or, lequel n'est pas seulement une société d'abondance où la terre donne spontanément des biens sans souche mais encore une période où dieux et hommes vivaient ensemble. Les trois premiers hommes sont des chasseurs éduqués par la spontanéité de la terre. Ce qui confirme deux fois l'absence d'agriculture à cette époque.

Par ailleurs, comme je l'ai déjà expliqué plus en détail, les hommes sont aussi des planteurs d'où la présence de grains dans leur chapeaux. Il n'y a pas encore de femme, métaphore de la terre, et l'homme naît directement de cette terre.

Le paradoxe du mythe est qu'à l'abondance succède la plus totale pénurie. Cette pénurie est marquée par l'absence du rentək qui semble être l'élément civilisateur par excellence. Le nom devient en même temps l'épithète de tous les échanges et l'encadrement du feu. Prométhée qui n'a rien d'aucun dans une société où l'on consomme l'orge, certes cuite, mais sous forme de farine. Il y a une grosse différence entre la fondation de Hans par des chasseurs homme-plante et celle de Da par des hommes misérables qui ne connaissent même pas le principal outil civilisateur qui est le rentək. Les premiers trouvent une société d'abondance, les seconds furent une société de misère. L'histoire navigue entre deux extrêmes : la société quasi-divine des 1ha et la misère d'un monde

sauvage "sans foi ni loi", la culture pure et la nature. Un équilibre n'est atteint entre ces deux extrêmes qu'après la fondation de Da.

C'est la flèche lancée à Da qui est le véritable médiateur entre ces deux extrêmes qui sont le monde des 1ha et le monde sauvage. La flèche est un instrument civilisateur comme le rentək ou la charrue. Nous savons d'ailleurs que flèche et charrette sont analogues et qu'il ne paraît pas absurde de comparer le lancer de la flèche à Da (comme à Chilling) à un premier effort, à un saka. On comprend alors mieux pourquoi, à l'occasion du saka, un naṣπə tient une flèche dans la main, la pointe dirigée vers le bas. Nous avons là un exemple de rapport mythe-rêve. En fait dans le saka, le labourage est représenté à la fois métaphoriquement et métonymiquement :

- métaphoriquement dans le rite du naṣπə tenant une flèche dans la main - métonymiquement dans le rite du premier labour proprement dit.

Dans le mythe par contre, métaphore et métonymie sont confondues dans la mesure où la flèche se flèche effectivement dans le sol. Il est intéressant de constater cette séparation des deux figures rhétoriques lorsque l'on passe du mythe au rite. Deux choses à préciser, une sur le rite, l'autre sur le mythe.

Le rite il faut noter qu'à l'occasion de ce même saka, on rappelle solennellement les rôles du panak et du roṣak (p. 260-262) comme si c'était bien elles qui réglementaient le milieu dans la culture humaine à mi-chemin entre les 1ha et le monde sauvage. Hypothèse qu'il faudra approfondir. Mais j'ai déjà établi une comparaison entre ces formes particulières de pollution et celles des beda (p. 262) d'une part, et démontré d'autre part que les beda sont à la limite nature-culture (p. 186-187). Tout se passe comme si les parents du nouveau-né comme le conjoint d'un décédé sont retournés à l'état sauvage et de ce point de vue mettent en danger la société fondée sur l'agriculture.

Sur le mythe, un détail frappant n'a pas encore été analysé. Pourquoi la flèche tombe-t-elle en tête d'un casul ? Le yara est aussi indispensable à l'agriculture, à la transformation de la nature. Au Ladakh les champs sont exclusivement arrosés par l'irrigation. Le yara entre dans la même série des éléments civilisateurs que le rentək, la charrue, la flèche. Mais il y a plus : la flèche, corps en bois et pointe en fer, ne peut-elle pas être assimilée à tous les outils qui pénètrent la terre y compris ceux qui servent à creuser un canal ? Tous ces outils durs, nous le savons, utilisés par les hommes.

En attendant, nous avons demandé à notre interlocuteur de nous décrire ce


p. 285-286 ; précisons que l'anex de la charrette s'appelle naṣπə.


"Le Bima6 remonte à cette époque. Il y avait beaucoup de sortes (riks) de gens mélangés. Chaque race essayait de dominer les autres. Tout le monde déchirait et le pays devenait mawyl."

A y regarder de plus près, l'opposition entre le point de départ idéal et le point d'arrivée défavorable, ne reste que tendance qui prolonge sa place du strict point de vue de l'absence. La religion de la deuxième période est le shamanisme, c'est-à-dire si les dieux sont absents, on n'en cherche pas moins à établir le contact directement avec eux plutôt que par le biais du culte qui serait une véritable appropriation de leur absence (et qui n'apparaît vraisemblablement qu'après le laisser de la flèche à Da). A la présence des lahs correspond la présence de dieux sans nombre à leur absence correspond la pénurie.

Mais si les deux époques s'opposent de façon très nette, elles ont aussi des points communs. Il n'y a pas plus de lois chez les hommes plantés du départ que chez leurs successeurs. C'est la surpopulation qui provoque la pénurie, laquelle provoque la guerre fratricide, fait apparaître la nécessité de lois et met en évidence la méchanceté des hommes. Il n'est plus que de lois de sauvages et de divines, extrêmes entre lesquels navigue le mythe. Le premier parce que si les hommes sont au contact avec les lahs, ils n'en sont pas moins plantés, le second, parce que toujours en contact avec le shaman, le monde des dieux, par le biais du shamanisme.

Si c'est la pénurie qui a provoqué ce revers, ensuite, finalement partiel, de situation on comprend mieux l'importance des lahs liés à la fertilité dans les représentations mentales des Ladakhis.

Le passage de cette vie sauvage à l'agriculture marque donc non seulement un éloignement des hommes de la terre, puisqu'ils ne sont plus plantés que métaphoriquement mais un éloignement définitif des lahs, parce que le culte est institué à la place du shamanisme ou d'un contact encore plus direct.

7) Autrement dit la hiérarchie sociale n'était pas stable.

La situation de départ n'était pas tenable car on ne peut être à la fois plante et lahs, entièrement nature et entièrement culture. On voit donc bien que le mythe est un opérateur logique mettant en place des symboles et des figures rhétoriques qui permettent à la société de fonctionner.

Le monde des lahs devient alors disjoint de celui des hommes, les deux sont donc en rapport métaphorique que j'ai déjà mentionné (p. 212); et les hommes communiquent désormais avec les lahs, sous la forme d'une métaphore qui est l'image, la représentation. Mais il faut se garder de schématiser à l'excès: la communication directe existe toujours shamanisme, sans; (inquisition) ne fait que pour mieux mettre en évidence l'absence des lahs.


"En ce temps là le Ladakh était un lac immense et rien d'autre et Nyima Kunga alla sur ce lac à l'aide d'un petit bateau et le transforma en montagnes et terres cultivables. D'ailleurs, de nos jours, il existe toujours du côté du monastère de Spituk un lieu qui porte le nom du passage de cet éditeur. C'est ce que l'on peut lire encore de nos jours dans les textes anciens."

"Par la suite, la région se peupla de nomades. Le nombre de ces nomades augmenta très vite. L'origine de ces nomades dit-on viendrait d'une race dite Jungle."

"Trois hommes en effet, issus de cette origine, vinrent dans ce pays apportant chacun dans un chapeau un grain d'orge. Tous trois les plantèrent puis reprirent ensuite chez eux. Puis un jour Calo, Mako et Dele, c'était leur nom, revinrent tous trois sur les lieux et constatèrent avec étonnement que les graines avaient donné des fruits 'sans engrais et sans effort l'orge poussa, s'exclamèrent-ils'. La région porte encore de nos jours le nom de hambah miis qui donne des fruits miis extraordinaires (hambah) 7).

"Par la suite, ils plantèrent toutes sortes de graines qui toutes donnèrent des fruits. La région se peupla de plus en plus d'un deuxième nom: mawyl (de mawyo: beaucoup et yul région) qui apparaît par la suite".

"L'histoire de ces trois hommes, on la retrouve encore dans les chants et contes de ces anciens nomades8. De nombreuses années après, les gens se regroupèrent et formèrent trois régions bien différentes et distinctes: - le haut - le bas - le milieu."

8) Il s'agit des dahnau.
"Le pays fut ainsi divisé. Chaque région ou province possédait son propre chef ou seigneur et les seigneurs ne passaient leur temps qu'à agrandir leur domaine et il n'y avait guère de roi. Les gens se nourrissaient d'orge, de navets, de râmps et de différentes sortes d'herbe. Les années passèrent sans aucune religion."

"Cependant, une des trois régions racontait-on presque un moulin à manivelle pour moudre le grain et l'autre une grande poêle pour griller les graisses. Les deux choses étaient indispensables pour la subsistance de l'un ou de l'autre région et on procédait à un échange des ustensiles à mi-chemin."

"Bien des années après, une religion chamanique appelée baba sani, prit naissance dans la région."

"On célébrait un dieu en lui faisant des offrandes d'animaux, chèvre, mouton, tout en incitant le nom des morts. Le jour de l'an portait également le nom de baba, les gens à cette époque là portaient des peaux d'animaux en guise de vêtements et ne déplaçaient de région en région en chantant et en dansant. Les premiers habitants sont présents cette fois-ci comme nomades et non comme chasseurs. Une fois de plus, on pense au beda, la dernière phrase du texte transcrit ici renforce cette comparaison. "Les gens se déplaçaient de région en région en chantant et en dansant." C'est la définition même des beda.

Deux hypothèses se renforcent ainsi réciproquement. Le premier qui fait des beda des "sauvages" à la limite nature/culture la seconde qui fait de l'âge d'or aussi une période de sauvagerie.

Une deuxième différence intéressante avec la version précédente est la présence de deux éléments civilisateurs: le moulin et la poêle. Ceci ne contredit pas ce qui précède mais le développe: le passage de la nature à la culture est celui du cru au cult et du non-moulin au moulin, ce qui est bien le cas de la tsampa. On peut se demander pourquoi ce ché du deux instruments civilisateurs, pourquoi ces deux là (en dehors de la référence à la tsampa) viennent-ils apparemment à deux groupes différents? Les deux éléments manquent mais on ne peut s'empêcher de penser que traditionnellement la ménagère était un métier masculin et que la cuisson est toujours liée au rossso des femmes. Il est probable qu'un mythe plus complet fonderait non seulement l'agriculture mais encore le mariage, les échanges et les règles de la division du travail entre les sexes.

LA TECHNOLOGIE

L'importance accordée au moulin dans le mythe nous amené tout naturellement à nous interroger sur la technologie. J'avais déjà établi un certain nombre de correspondances. L'opposition bois/fer, que l'on trouve dans la charre, dans

la flèche recouvre une opposition féminin/masculin (pp. 286-287) ou plus précisément l'opposition entre les objets et outils qui sont munis d'une terminaison métallique et ceux qui ne le sont pas comme le phên.

Tout ce qui relève de la pénétration (acte sexuel, labourage, voire couture) est du rossso des hommes. A cette liste Bia Bois a ajouté l'épargement des animaux et la coupe du bois comme activité proprement masculine. Les objets qui servent à pénétrer sont munis d'une terminaison métallique.

Tout ce qui relève du pressage est du rossso des femmes: pressage de l'huile de colza, des noyaux d'abricots. C'est dans cette catégorie qu'il faut mettre la truite.

Les complications viennent d'actions qui sont aussi bien masculines que féminines. C'est le cas du filage puisqu'il existe des fuseaux pour hommes et d'autres pour femmes (pp.75-76) voir dessin). Pourtant si quelque la forme de ces objets soit différente, leur façon de fonctionner ne l'est pas.

Le skuru, fuseau masculin, est utilisé de la même façon que le sutophi ou le lagzut, fuseau féminin. De même, la différence est faible entre le mode d'emploi du yaksin simple bâton cylindrique non mentionné sur le dessin) et le phên, fuseau des femmes.

On ne peut résoudre la difficulté qu'en abandonnant l'observation directe pour cerner les images métales qui se cachent derrière les objets. Le skuru d'abord est composé de deux parties: l'axe s'appelle la flèche, corps de la flèche) et le volant en forme de croix à okpa (allure, emponçage). En d'autres termes, et cela même s'il n'a pas nécessairement de terminaison métallique (il est parfaitement formé) le skuru fait bien partie de la série des outils masculins dont le prototype est la flèche.

Par ailleurs, les mots sutophi et lagzut (jakpa main) contiennent la racine žfi qui désigne l'action de frotter entre les peumes de la main. On retrouve bien la notion de pressage. skuru est par contre dérivé de skor, facilitif de hor tourner. Dans skgor il y a l'idée de mettre en mouvement non pas par frottement mais par entraînement: une manivelle, une roue, une hélice sont tous perçus comme étant mis en mouvement par la main, le moteur, le vent, l'eau etc.

Le skuru est aussi un outil mais non un outil qui sert à pénétrer mais à mettre en mouvement. Ce sont les alies (okpa) du volant qui servent à mettre en mouvement. S'il est analogue à la flèche en tant qu'outil, la pointe n'en est pas moins inutile car c'est l'axe qui est cette fête et l'élément principal.

Il faut donc ici on veut y inclure le skuru, généraliser la notion d'outil masculin. Il est composé d'une partie qui travaille, qui pénètre le sol ou qui fait tourner la laine sur elle-même et d'une partie intermédiaire qui communique le mouvement de l'homme à la partie qui travaille. C'est le manche ou les alies du skuru. D'une façon générale les outils procèdent d'une médiateur..."
DIFFERENTS TYPES DE FUSEAUX (thulstâ)

A: fuseau simple (phaâ) pour le fil de trame (spun)
B: réceptacle (phasocc ou bagor) sur lequel on pose le fuseau. Modèle en palpe de noyaux d'abricots.
C: fuseau (laghit ou zutphan) pour le fil de chaîne (gyu) obtenu en refilant deux fils de trame ensemble et muni d'une fusaille amovible.
D: skuru utilisé par les hommes pour filer le poil de yak (kulu). Il est muni d'une fusaille en forme de croix (sokpa), attachée au bas de l'axe (da).

LE MOULIN (rentak)

A: sâfile (ltya)
B: meule
C: meule dormant (ou meule gisante)
D: sok
E: skrun
F: sokpa
G: phââ
H: bagor
tion entre celui qui manipule et la partie qui travaille alors que dans le cas des outils féminins, le contact est direct. L’écrasement à l’aide d’une pierre sur un mortier ne saurait constituer une exception. La pierre du mortier prolonge le mouvement de la main, il ne se transforme pas.

On retrouve encore l’opposition entre rapport direct et rapport médialisé que nous avions déjà mis en évidence au sujet des mots des gara (*1). Il n’est pas possible pour le moment de pouvoir pousser plus loin la comparaison, mais il semble de plus que cette opposition médialisée/non médialisé revêt une importance considérable car elle est liée à la technologie, à l’opposition masculin/féminin et à celle entre mon et gara.

La médialisation correspond à la métaphorisation c’est-à-dire à la mise en place de la civilisation, médiation entre l’homme et l’outillage, médiation entre homme et femme. Le *rentak* procède d’un double mouvement : il y a d’une part la mise en mouvement médialisée par le choc de l’eau sur les hachoirs et d’autre part l’écrasement même de la farine entre les deux pierres ; or, l’écrasement, nous l’avons vu, est à connotation féminine. Il n’est donc pas étonnant que l’on trouve dans le *rentak* une combinaison des pièces qui constituent le phà (phas + bagor) et de celles qui constituent le *skuru* (*skur* + *sokpa*), voir le schéma ci-joint. Le *rentak* est donc une combinaison des deux fuseaux masculin et féminin, et fonctionne en combinant les deux opérations de mise en mouvement médialisée et d’écrasement non médialisé. Ceci explique son choix dans le mythe, comme représentation de la civilisation par excellence.

Deux termes ont cependant attiré mon attention dans le descriptif du *rentak*.

Le premier est le mot *gok* qui désigne l’axe de métal qui joint le *skuru* à la meule et l’entraîne dans le mouvement. Il serait appelé ainsi car cette pièce peut se casser ce qui signifie l’arrêt de mort du moulin et aussi danger que la pierre fiche le camp brutalement. Le second est le mot *itya* qui signifie nombril, et j’ai partiellement porté le nombril à propos du *dadar* et des rituels de naissance (p.226). Le *itya* désigne selon les uns la pièce de fer horizontale qui est articulée au *gok* verticalement et s’emboîte dans la pierre de meule horizontale afin de l’entraîner dans son mouvement et, selon d’autres, l’espace entre les deux pierres dans lequel le grain pénètre pour être écrasé et communiqué à la civilité.

Le *penis* et la *parole*

Le seul acte sexuel est bien entendu un acte direct et non médialisé, ce qui signifie que parce qu’il sert de base aux autres métaphores que sont le laborage et le liser l’âme, le *penis* pénètre la femme est l’équivalent direct du soc pénètre la terre ou de la pointe de la flèche pénétrant la même terre. Simplement il n’y a pas l’intermédiaire que constitue le corps de la flèche ou de la chariote. On peut alors se demander pourquoi c’est un *penis* (et (*ce*) qui est accroché aux nouvelles maisons pour laisser entre les *mikha*. Il y a tout lieu de croire que les *mikha*, la parole jalousie, sont de connotation féminine et que par conséquent, le sexe masculin s’oppose à la parole (médiatisée) féminine.

On exemple nous permettra de douter cette hypothèse : les *manmo*. Nous savons que les *manmo*, ces femmes très belles qui vivent avec les thés, accordent beaucoup de chances aux hommes qui partent à la pêcherie et aux femmes qui savent se taire et s’abstinent de faire des commentaires sur leur beauté. Il y a bien une opposition voire une incompatibilité, entre la pénétration sexuelle masculine et la parole féminine. Les *manmo* et les *mikha* sont des femmes, mais les hommes ne parlent pas leur visage en n’est invisible, mais que ce type de comportement est considéré, c’est-à-dire considéré, comme féminin.

On se rappellera aussi que l’on chasse les *mikha* avec des grumes d’orge que l’on jette dans tous les coins de la maison. Or nous savons bien l’analogy entre les grains et le sperme. On voit bien que non plus que ce soit un l’homme masculin qui chasse les *gomo* du corps des possédés (p.224-225). La possession même, qui est le plus souvent le fait des femmes qu’ils éditent les *dop*, ce qui concerne que par le passage de la parole de l’un dans la bouche de l’autre (p.216). Mais que la parole s’oppose au sexe ou au sexe représentation symbolique de la science masculine implique qu’elle s’oppose tout simplement à la fertilité. Ce qui se confirme en étudiant un troisième type d’êtres féminins, en l’occurrence les *timo* ; nous savons qu’à petite personne qui se surpasse dans des circonstances où elles ne peuvent se défendre elle promet l’abondance (sous forme de lait) et le silence s’engage à garder le silence, silence corollaire de cette abondance.

Reste le *balu*. Chacun d’eux lui aussi la parole a une très grande importance, car c’est grâce à lui qu’il se peut à comprendre le bon et le malheur. On constate que c’est toujours à la femme qu’il le reproche, et ce au moment des travaux c’est-à-dire quand l’homme est aux champs et la femme à la maison, au moment où il y a disjonction entre les deux, au moment où l’homme est dans une relation métaphorique avec la terre et non une relation réelle avec la femme, au moment où si j’ose le dire, le pénis de l’homme est absent. D’un côté, le *balu* est un être à connotation féminine, d’abord parce qu’il est très travailleur, et c’est aussi le principal critère de choix des épouses, et qui apporte abondance et richesse, ensuite parce qu’il est rusé de par la parole. Mais dans l’histoire que j’ai racontée le *balu*
s’applique sur des ordres de l’homme pour récupérer son baton et son couvre-chef (p. 260).

On voit donc comment la parole masculine s’oppose à la parole féminine. La première est une parole d’autorité (cf. l’ordre que donne wang Kongt’ai à la gôhô de se retirer du corps qu’elle occupe), garantie de l’ordre établi. La seconde est une parole perverse, dangereuse, destructrice qui remet en question l’ordre établi et surtout les échanges.

On ne s’étonnera donc pas que ces êtres, tîmo mangeuse de viande crue, manno qui vivent au milieu des ibex, soient liés quelque part à la sauvagerie. La remise en question des échanges, dont la parole est un élément fondamental, implique un refus de la civilisation. Nous connaissons déjà ce rapport entre sauvagerie et féminité à travers les chân et il se confirme ici que l’homme, maître de la métaphore, est le garant de la civilisation et que la femme représente toujours une tendance de retour à la sauvagerie des premiers temps.

L’intérieur et l’extérieur

L’activité culturelle par excellence de la femme est la cuisine. C’est le passage du cru au cuit. En voici deux exemples:

- on peut organiser des fêtes de tir à l’arc dans le but d’améliorer les récoltes mais elles peuvent être remplacées par une grande soupe collective. A une activité masculine dédiée correspond donc une activité féminine dédiée.
  
- dans le rituel du changement du hâto à Chilling, une coordination rigoureuse est solennellement mise au point entre le changement du hâto par les hommes dehors sur le toit et l’introduction du pain dans le feu par la femme restée dedans (p. 268). Il est évident que ces deux activités opposent des actions féminines habituelles, et des actions masculines dédiées. Ces actions sont compatibles voire simultanées pour coordonner un moment que hommes et femmes sont dans des espaces différents. Elles ne le sont parfois plus dès que hommes et femmes sont dans le même espace. Ainsi les femmes ne peuvent pas filer

11) Ainsi dans une anecdote qu’on m’a racontée, une simple servante régait en fait en manger sur la famille qu’elle était condamnée servir. Elle refusait souvent de prêter ou de donner tel ou tel objet aux voisines. Elle fut puisée successivement par quatre femmes victimes de ses refus et en fait jalouses de son ascendant acquis sur la maison qui l’abritait. On voit ainsi que non seulement un refus des règles de l’échange mais encore une remise en cause de la hiérarchie sociale établie, peut amener l’intervention des gôhô.

pendant les fêtes de tir à l’arc et, à l’occasion du losar, les deux actions de filer et de tuer le singe doivent être considérées comme successives et comme simultanées. Ainsi, hommes et femmes ne sont compatibles dans le même temps que s’ils sont dans des espaces (topologiques) différents et ne sont compatibles dans le même espace que s’ils sont dans des temps successifs (p. 265). Il en est de même en ce qui concerne la technologie. Le langui ou rot totn est utilisé plus volontiers à l’extérieur tandis que le phân est utilisé plus volontiers à l’intérieur. Il en est peut-être de même du yoshka et du aku.

De plus, le port du pe sak est strictement obligatoire à l’extérieur et encore plus lorsqu’on traverse un ruisseau. A l’intérieur c’est moins grave quoique discuté que jadis le port du pe sak était strict qu’on le gardait même pour dormir. Lorsque la femme est cédée, il n’y a pas de danger. La sauvagerie de la femme ne risque d’apparaître que lorsque elle est cédée (chân, tîmo, jêmo, manno). Et cette sauvagerie est toujours ambiguë (la beauté des chân de face, la beauté des jêmo, la beauté des manno; ces dernières sont sauvages puisque vivant au milieu des ibex, mais dans leur contexte les ibex autour d’elles sont des animaux domestiques). C’est que, comme l’indique le mythe, la sauvagerie est liée à l’âge d’or d’avant les maisons. Il n’y a donc rien de surprenant que certaines de ces femmes sauvages soient aussi, dans certaines circonstances dispensaires de richesses.

La femme est à la fois issue des lhu et métaphore de la terre. D’où toute son ambiguïté. Il y a donc danger de confusion dans un rapport de contiguïté. Lorsque elle est cédée, en contact avec la terre, elle doit à tout prix s’en distinguer. D’où la nécessité de la rapprocher le plus possible de son modèle sauvage et culturel: les lhu. La terre est l’image-mère de la femme, les lhu en sont l’image-culte prise dans les paradigmes sauvages.

Mais elle est aussi à la fois à l’image d’une lhamo et d’une lhamo, et ceci puis de la même façon. À l’image d’une lhamo, belle, elle est à nouveau proche de la sauvagerie (chân, jêmo) car l’aspect divin est ambigu et dangereux. Il nous rapproche de l’âge d’or et de son ambiguïté. Pure nature et pure culture se rejoignent, nous le savons déjà. La femme lhamo s’oppose aussi bien à la femme – lhamo qu’à la femme – terre. Dans le cas de la femme lhamo (c’est-à-dire de la femme) il s’agit de la façon dont elle est habillée, de tout son attribut qui est nécessairement culturel. C’est la culture qui la fait lhamo.

On ne s’étonnera pas, donc de ce que:

a) la société originelle de l’âge d’or est exclusivement masculine, l’âge d’or n’est que le refus que dans les femmes.

b) la période d’avant la fondation de Ds est une période de sauvagerie car la femme est là. Comme il l’avait déjà suggéré, l’apparition de la femme nécessite l’apparition de l’agriculture c’est-à-dire, en fait, l’apparition de toute la culture.
A l'intérieur, sans contact avec la terre, dans la maison qui est elle-même culture, la femme n'est pas dangereuse. Elle s'y consacre à la cuisine, activité féminine et culturelle par excellence. On retrouve ici les degrés d'éloignement déjà démontrés dans le chapitre XI "L'espace le corps, la maison": la maison, le mur même est un degré d'éloignement d'avec la nature.

Ceci explique peut-être le bagor, cet objet étrange sur lequel on pose le phaön. Alors qu'à l'extérieur la fileuse utilise plus volontiers de la laine qui n'a pas de contact avec le sol, à l'intérieur, le bagor met un degré d'éloignement d'avec la nature de sol.\(^{12}\)

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12) Mr. Corneille Jost à qui j'ai soumis ce texte me précise que l'amara est un Polygonum, plante de la famille du taraxacum dont les graines très petites ont été utilisées comme aliments et préparées de la même façon que l'orge (en amapa); on en parle dans les mythes tibétains. Je le remercie de cette précision et de quelques corrections fort utiles. Par ailleurs Mr. M. ARIS et Mr. C. FURER-HAMENDORF me signalent des mythes proches du mythe mentionné en début d'article au Bhoutan et au Népal respectivement.

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THE COSMIC CENTRE
IN THE LADAKHI MARRIAGE RITUAL

Martin Brauen

Many books and articles have been written about tantric-Buddhist rites and meditations. A major category of these rites, which we will call "middle-rites", are practices in which the meditator endeavours to become one with the centre of the cosmos. In this short article I want to show that many popular religious rites also treat of restoring the cosmic order by returning to the cosmic centre. The particular conception of the cosmos and the middle-rites connected with it is thus viewed here as not exclusively a tantric thought but is considered in a wider setting.

We start by examining a few essential ritual objects that we often find in Ladakhi popular rites: the arrow (mañ dar), the meal-mountain (braṅ rgyas) and the so-called tho, a typical heap of stones. In doing this, we will not only consider the exterior form of these objects, but we will try to learn more about their use, their meaning and their function.

In order to introduce the theme simply and to describe specifically the similarity between tantric and popular rites, it is necessary to recall some facts already known. For example we must note the structure of a thāṅ-ka that is usually strongly symmetrical and focused on the centre. In the centre of a thāṅ-ka there usually sits the divinity whom the meditator joins. The meditator himself becomes the divinity sitting in the centre.

Mandalas, in which the importance of the centre is much more evident than in the usual thāṅ-ka, are also very typical meditation and identification-objects. Mandalas are psychograms as well as cosmograms. They are aids for the meditator, guiding him step by step to the centre, to his own as well as to the cosmic centre. By meditating on such mandalas the 'cosmic' order is restored, harmony is created and finally, reaching the centre, the meditating person is himself becoming the absolute.

In what follows I will confine myself to one complex of popular-religious rites of Ladakh, the west-tibetan wedding ceremonies.
The most important requisit during the Ladakhi wedding ceremony is an arrow (ma n dar), carried round by wedding-assistants (Ro psa). If this arrow (see plate 12) were to be described in a catalogue it might be as follows: Arrow, draped with a scarf bringing good luck, five different coloured cloths, a little round mirror, a ring and the heel-bone of a sheep or a goat. A box filled up with barley-corncorns serves as stand for the arrow.1 Such a description does not say much about the deeper significance, the symbolism of that arrow. But what is it's significance?

An old Ladakhi wedding song may help us to find an answer. In this song the feathers on the extreme end of the arrow are compared with three golden ears, the cloths with a rainbow and the barley-corncorns in the box with the stars.2 It is easy to recognise the division into three world-spheres of the arrow and its box. The three feathers represent the ears, which symbolise the element earth. The five cloths stand for the rainbow, which is filling the space between earth and heaven. The barley-corncorns finally are the stars, which symbolise the heaven.

The idea that the ritual arrow is connecting earth and heaven, is much more evident in another text in which we hear, that the gods saw the growing of the first knot of the bamboo cane, that the klu (water-creatures) saw the growth of the second one and that finally the human beings saw how the third knot came into being.3 This text also says, that the ritual arrow symbolises the axis between the under-, middle- and upper-world, this means of the whole universe.

We know from the ethnographic literature that mythological tales often mention a tree, around which the whole cosmos unfolds, and which combines heaven with earth. We may ask if the Ladakhi also have the idea of such a universal tree and if so whether there exists a relation or even an identity between this tree and the ritual arrow.

If we read the Ladakhi marriage songs - mainly the old ones - we can indeed notice that in some of them a mythological tree is mentioned. If we analyse these songs and if we compare them, we may describe the tree in the following way:

It has a certain number of branches - the number varies between 3 to 7 branches according to the song - and on each one a bird sits in a nest brooding on an egg. Each branch with the according bird and egg has its own colour and to each branch a cardinal point of the compass is assigned.4

A song describes very clearly the central location of the tree. We can sum-

1) Francke 1923, p. 65
2) Francke's marriage song 47 (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin); Hibsch 1945, p. 68
3) See note 254 in Braun 1980
4) Francke's marriage song 58 (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin)
5) Francke's marriage song 38 (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin)
or at least threatened mythological order. By repeating these songs the threatened order can be reestablished. In order to reach this goal the songs are using a very central symbol, the symbol of the universal tree. It is — as we have seen — the centre of the cosmos and represents as such the cosmic order. The world tree, and with it also the centre of the world, is not only brought to mind through words, but it is really present in the rite in form of the above mentioned ritual arrow which has the same symbolism. Carrying always the arrow around and singing the songs, the bearer carries the axis mundi, the world-tree i.e. the centre of the cosmos (see plate 13). In this way the centre of the cosmos is always in the centre of the actual ceremony, the marriage rite itself. Cosmos centre and ritual-centre coincide, are one and the same.

The Marriage Place

1 = 'bran rgyas
2 = big beer-jar
3 = seats for guests
4 = seats for nyo pa
5 = direction of the dance

6) The ritual importance of the cosmological centre is also shown in a forthcoming book on the ethnography of rGyal tshan (Changtien) by Claudio Curioni (in cooperation with Tashi Wangyal and C.P. Gyaltset Rinpoche).

7) See Braun 1980, p. 67-68.

8) Though there is no identity between mount Meru and Bodh Gaya both places are considered as centre of the universe.
Ladakhi Marriage Ritual

Singing this and similar tho-songs the universe once again is brought into that point where the wedding-ceremony happens. The ritual place becomes the universe, in whose centre stands the tho of the thousand worlds: the King-mountain Meru. And - as we have seen - exactly the same happens while using the ritual arrow and the meal-mountain brah rgyas: the re-location of the cosmos-centre at the very place of the ritual happening.

All three ritual objects which play such an important role in the Ladakhi-ceremonies are cosmic- and middle symbols. But they are also objects of brief duration made for one singular use, for the present, not for the future. They are destroyed after the ritual. In one case (brah rgyas) it is even distributed to the people and eaten by them.

In this respect the objects of the popular religion differ from most ritual objects of the Tibetan tantrism well-known in the West. Even so we overlook the fact that there are ritual objects made for one occasion's use in Tibetan tantrism, too. I would like to remind you of the giom na, butter-offerings and a certain category of Manjulas. We overlook this fact probably because here in the West we collect only stable things, as unstable things do not normally have any commercial value.

I imagine also that the deities were in remote ages made for one particular occasion and that, after it, they were destroyed. In remote ages it may have been that the creator of the ritual picture and the one who used it in the ritual were one and the same person. This linkage is I think very essential for every living ritual and has survived in the Tibetan popular religion even more than in the so called "Hochreligion".

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9) Twcut 1966, p. 94-95, 111-112
10) See Braun 1980, p. 71-72
11) See Francke's marriage song 29 (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin)
12) A similar but less elaborated symbolism can be seen in the time of threshing when one forms a heap of threshold grain and puts on the ground around

... this heap in each of the four cardinal directions a bag. The mountain is - as is said in a song - mount Meru, the four bags are the four main continents.
EXPERIENCES IN HEMIS GONPA

Josef Bachhofer

I did not do any scientific field work in Ladakh. So whatever I will say about monastic life, I will relate in a very personal way. I want to title my report "Experiences in Hemis Gonpa", because from the eight months I have been in Ladakh, four were spent in the Drukpa Kargyupa monastery Hemis.

Hemis gonpa is a rather unusual monastery. Not only is it one of the biggest and most famous in Ladakh, it has also been a rather long time without spiritual guidance. This is due to the fact, that the abbot of Hemis and trulku of Stagtsang Repa is being held by the Chinese since 1959. He was studying in Tibet, but being a native Tibetan he was not allowed to leave the country again. Since then it was not possible to get him released and there are conflicting rumours as to whether he is alive or not.

In 1975, the 12 year old Duk Chen Rinpoche, head of the Drukpa Kagyu sect was installed as provisional abbot in Hemis. Perhaps, among other things, to prevent the further decriment of the monastic discipline. He came with his teacher Dungse Rinpoche from their home monastery in Darjeeling. They are both Tibetans. One can imagine, that in almost 20 years without spiritual guidance the discipline in Hemis was not at its best.

In the following I will talk a little about my thoughts and feelings, in an attempt to describe the preoccupation of an European mind (mine) in the approach to an unfamiliar culture.

In 1976 I came for the first time to Hemis and lived in a place called Tottokhang, outside of the monastery walls, which was used before to house the guests of the gonpa. Very early on I discovered that the kitchen was the most comfortable place and the cook a very good companion, although neither he could speak English nor Ladakhi. Later I helped him with his kitchenwork, making and watching the fire and preparing the food. The latter was not so difficult, as we ate tsampa with salt tea for breakfast, tsampa with some vegetables for lunch and tsampa in a soup for dinner.
When his friend from the village came up with the firewood for the four-flamed clay stove, he would produce a brass jug full of chang, which he refilled from time to time from a huge, dirty plastic canister. We would then sit and drink for half the night.

So my first impressions of monastic life were not quite as I thought they would be. Nevertheless it made it easy for me to feel comfortable. But it also showed me that there was a gap between my idea of monastic and religious life and the very human and complex forms I was to discover during my stay in Hemis. First of all, I was rather disappointed to see that not all of the monks were seriously and diligently striving for salvation and undistracted by profane things. But I found them to possess the usual likes and dislikes, quarrels and intrigues. I thought I would find in the monastery a bastion of meditation and spirituality, but then it appeared to me more like a huge housing community with a religious background.

I think I was, and probably am, one of those not so few Europeans, who bring their Christian-Jewish idea of good and bad into every approach-idealistic and uncompromising while assessing facts. When I look at books and films about Ladakh and its monasteries, I often find either enthusiastic descriptions of the spiritually and goodness, or opinions like those of Sven Hedin, who thinks that the monks are the parasites of the society. The following informations and stories may help to avoid such extreme positions, at least as far as I think is concerned. Therefore I will also have to give some examples which may sound rather negative.

One thing that I noticed was the rather tense atmosphere which existed between the resident Ladakhi monks and those from Tibet and Bhutan, who came with Dungsay and Duk Chen Rinpoche and displayed more discipline than the Ladakhis. Dungsay Rinpoche brought back to Hemis a new quality of spirituality. Even if they liked the two Rinpoches one could easily feel the mistrust towards the Tibetan and Bhutanese, who thought they were interfering with their accepted way of living. One must also state that the Tibetan sometimes behaved in an arrogant way and so the two groups hardly ever mixed. The following story will give an idea of the official social life in the gompas and its rules. I will call it "the introduction of a novice to life in the monastery".

One evening, shortly after an Australian friend of mine took the vows of a getul or novice and changed his dress to monk robes, we were invited to join a meeting of some monks. There we found an illustrious circle including the tshag-dzod or manager, the old khampo or abbot and some of the older higher ranking Hemis monks sitting around a big chang pot. Of course none of the Tibetans or Bhutanese were present.

Sitting on different size cushions, according to their rank (the less noble monks to the left of the nobler ones), we were heartily welcomed and given very low cushions at the end of the row. First, a monk asked the tshag-dzod to drink his chang and then refilled his cup with a big brass scoop. He then went to the khampo, asked him to drink and again refilled his cup. Each monk drank only after having been requested to do so and could only drink again when the whole round was through.

When it was our turn my friend politely refused, taking serious his vow not to drink alcohol. It seemed that everybody was waiting for this moment. Now they all began to encourage him: "take, take some, go on, have some ..." He refused again, pretending to have a bad stomach, but this only reinforced the attempt to make him drink. Slowly I realized what it was all about: It was hardly imaginable that a novice and moreover a foreigner could take his vow more serious than all the dignitaries of the gompa. As it happened, little breaches of the rule did occur rather often, it could hardly be kept secret in the monastery (if they ever want to keep it secret). The novice, whether he wanted it or not, had to empty his cup. His brave step was received with great joy and laughter.

I do not for a moment want to give the impression, that Hemis is a fallen monastery full of drunkards, even if there are a few. Some members of the circle were spiritually highly developed people and it is important to keep in mind that for Ladakhis the profane and the sacred are not divided to such an extent as in European cultures. I think Ladakhis can distinguish very well between spiritually developedamas and the mass of monks, but no Ladakhi would consider the role of the latter less important, knowing very well the social function they have (but they would never talk about it like this). Not only do they embody the good conscience of the community by doing prayers for the welfare of all beings, they also give them spiritual support throughout their lives and play a not too small functional role.

The country has a very limited area under cultivation. This can only be changed with great difficulties and with the help of complicated irrigation systems. It is also evident that the land in its present state can not feed an unlimited number of families.

There have always been some social factors which have prevented the subdivision of the land between many heirs. To some degree it might have been the polyandry, another and very modern one, the migration to jobs that are non-dependent on agriculture, like going to the army, joining the civil service or earning a living through tourism. One very old social factor has always been to send the youngest sons to a monastery. Sometimes also daughters, but generally daughters will stay in their family houses as nuns.) So, besides the monastery's great importance as the cultural and spiritual centre of the community, it is also of great value, being a sort of collecting pot for undesired family founders.

I think it is still a well functioning symbiosis between monks and laymen, which helps to protect the community from spiritual and material impoverishment, even if nowadays they face great changes, especially through migration.
and also through the decrease in the number of people entering the monastery.

The following passage I will dedicate to Duk Chen and Dungsay Rinpoche and their significance in Hemis. As I mentioned above Duk Chen Rinpoche was installed as provisional head of Hemis Gompa in 1756. Up to then only temporary visits gave a certain support to the monks. Through his own authority Dungsay Rinpoche had far more influence in the daily monastic life than Duk Chen Rinpoche who was still learning under the wise guidance of his teacher. Duk Chen was perhaps also too young for the diplomatic "Raeson" he would need to deal effectively with the Hemis monks. His presence there was enough to have good influence on them. His primary duty was to represent and give blessings and because of his kindness everybody liked him.

Dungsay Rinpoche revived the importance of the collective morning prayers and the get-togethers for special puja, which sometimes lasted up to 40 days. I heard of monks who did not like the new discipline introduced by Dungsay Rinpoche. But through his balanced and discrete activity tension was soon relieved. In any case, collective prayers are not as much in practice here as in other monasteries. Some of the sixty to eighty resident monks are hardly ever to be seen. They do their prayers as well as their cooking in their own cells. Rinpoche hardly ever gave strict orders, but gave good examples and showed the way in which things were to be done, as for example in the following case:

Hemis, like many monasteries in Ladakh is threatened by dilapidation. The northern part of the construction with the Zabhang or elegant temple was in disastrous condition, but the Hemis manager of those days did not spend any of the monastery's rather high income on the preservation of the site; income that accrued through farm rent, a camping ground, offerings and through the sale of wood and barley. So Dungsay Rinpoche using the money of the Drukpa sect and offerings to his person organized the reconstruction of the temple and the whole site. Maybe that helped to give the monks a renewed sense of responsibility. In any case, the following year the old manager was not reelected and the new one took greater care of the reservation.

(Several years later a new and manager was elected by the monks.)

To understand this, one should know that the two Rinpoches have almost no direct influence on the management, although Duk Chen is the provisional head. He could use his influence, but if he were to do so, it could create tension with the native Hemis monks, which of course, he tries to prevent.

Rinpoche's fine and practical teachings became apparent to me in a personal encounter I had with him. Most of my time at Hemis and also on a trek with Dungsay Rinpoche to Markha, was occupied taking photographs of mural paintings, statues and thangkas. This was only possible through the very kind support of Dungsay Rinpoche, who helped me in every way. For the taking of the photographs we prepared Rinpoche's audience-room with

white sheets so that it looked just like a studio. There were thangkas hanging on every wall, which had to be rolled out. The light had to be arranged and all the images had to be described and listed. Once, when we almost got confused, Rinpoche stepped out of his private room and smiling, viewed our activities with interest. He stood before the thangka I was about to photograph and made the threefold prostration.

He could not have demonstrated to us in a more striking and discrete manner, that we were not dealing with just any object, but that we should assume an attitude befitting the holiness and the meaning of these pictures. Occupation with one object cannot be divided from its spiritual background and its meaning. It was a good lesson for a European used to parting himself from the subject he wishes to explore or wants to work with.

One problem, which not only Hemis has to face is the negative side of tourism. A particular threat to the monasteries is the greed of foreigners for thangkas, statues and ritual objects, which should preferably be old and used. Because of this greed and the willingness of the foreigners to pay almost every price for such pieces, some Ladakhi, laymen as well as monks, are misled into stealing them from temples and monasteries. As a result, whole sections of temples had to be closed to foreigners as well as Ladakhi or put under glass to prevent theft; a very unpleasant phenomenon for a country in which theft from monasteries has only be known to occur through invading troops. A few years ago, Dungsay Rinpoche and other Ladakh lamas in cooperation with the local authorities, began also to photograph and catalogue the statues and thangkas.

Breaking a heavy stone plate which was painted with a mahasiddha out of a wall in the courtyard of Hemis, was not so much trouble for one tourist who then put it in a bag and brought it to his tourist bus. In this case, the watchfulness of a novice, who discovered the theft in time, ensured that the plate did not disappear for ever. The tourist was discovered in the bus with the plate and handeled over to the police in Leh. In the same year however a richly decorated throne disappeared from the roof of the monastery.

Through the publication of our works as scientists, tour-guides, and as in my case as a photographer we have all helped to arouse the interest of people in our own countries for the culture, religion and geography of Ladakh and thus helped to increase the number of tourists and the number of problems which accompany them. Each of us has the responsibility of preventing negative developments in this area. This can be done in various ways, as for example by a careful approach to scientific work or by the thoughtful guidance of tourists in this area.

The growing influence of western ideas and technologies in Ladakh is inevitable, though I think that this need not necessarily be destructive. Our task should be to ensure that the faults and development-mistakes, which we have experienced in our own societies do not take place here.
CELIBACY, RELIGION AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY
IN A MONASTIC COMMUNITY OF LADAKH

Ann Grimshaw

This paper sets out to show the central position of the body, specifically the celibate body, in the cosmology and economy of a Mahayana Buddhist society in the Himalayas. A brief outline of the historical and doctrinal emergence of the body and the idea of its power will serve as a background to present day practice. If celibacy in a symbolic sense overcomes and unites its opposites (wisdom/compassion - male/female), its functioning in society does the reverse by its creating distinction and separation. The celibate institution, the monastery, creates and organises other social categories around itself by establishing two sets of oppositions - celibacy/marriage (which is expressed in the distinction between village and monastery) and male/female celibacy (expressed in the separation between monastery and nunneries). An examination of the economy will reveal the focal position of the monastery and its organisation of these groups in production, distribution, exchange and reproduction. It is further able to express these distinctions and their relations in terms of material goods. The continuity and reproduction of the celibate ideal paradoxically hinges upon women in two senses - materially, in that they produce goods for exchange and physiologically they produce labour for the economy and religion.

Gautama, the historical Buddha, having attained Enlightenment under the Bodhi tree five centuries before the Christian era, sent forth into the world his newly gathered disciples with the following exhortation:

I am delivered from all fetters, human and divine. You too, O monks, are freed from the same fetters. Go forth and wander everywhere, out of compassion for the world and for the welfare of gods and men. Go forth, one by one, in different directions. Preach the doctrine (Dharma) salutary in its beginning, middle and end, in its spirit (artha) and in its letter (vijñāna). Proclaim a life of perfect restraint, chastity and celibacy (brahmacharīyam). I will go also to preach this doctrine.

(Maha-vagga, I ii.1)
I wish to examine in this paper the implications of this doctrine as practiced in a present-day Himalayan society where the ideal of celibacy has come to occupy the centre of a powerful cosmological system at the same time as it is the nucleus of the politico-economic order. Celibacy focuses upon the human body and the body articulates these two domains — the symbolic and the practical. But if it succeed in overcoming the dualities and distinctions in its cosmology, it assumes power in its practice as an institution by creating and distinguishing itself from other social groups. Not only does celibacy demand its converse, marriage — indeed a particular form of marriage, but it further must create a category of celibate individuals who may be opposed to the monas-

try in terms of their sex. Celibacy defines itself as an institution in the practical realm of social life by creating along one axis the opposition of marriage with its own renunciation of sexual activity and along a second axis its differentiation from a group of women bound by the same abstinence. By carving out these distinctions and operating with them the monastery, which we will consider in Laddak, situates itself at the centre of an economy which guarantees the reproduction of its material, political and symbolic authority.

In order to understand the central position which the celibate body as an institution and a ritual state here occupies it is important to highlight the changes in the doctrine and practice of the religion which brought such values to the fore. Power in this symbolic world of Mahayana Buddhism rather than stemming from a mysterious external or sacred source, any 'other' world inaccessible to all but those specially elected, came to be located internally and within the human body.

Man is at the centre of the cosmology which operates upon a distinction between the ordinary state of all sentient beings samsara, and the achievement of Perfection Bliss known as nirvana. The state of samsara, binding all creatures to the cycle of perpetual rebirth, functions on the principle of cause and effect whereby actions of merit or demerit influence future fortunes, but it is a law ascertaining the potentiality of human action. Man is able to manipulate a principle of cause and effect that he has come to know and bear on the form of future events since no event is determined by past actions that its effects cannot be modified. The historical Buddha achieved Enlightenment in this world and through his own human efforts.

However as a result of important doctrinal developments some five hundred years or so after the sage's death, the subtleties of which cannot be discussed here¹, the Mahayana tradition enhanced, and shifted slightly, this centrality of man through its evolution of a symbolic system that conflated the realms of samsara and nirvana into a single totality. A spatial metaphor, the mandala, was substituted for the previously temporal axis of the religion which still persists in the Hinayana societies of south east Asia.

¹) For a fuller account of the evolution of the Buddhist doctrine see Conze 1951; Marti 1965; Snellgrove 1957 and Tucci 1961 and 1962.

The incipient divergence between the two schools has been traced to the problem of materialism confronting the system of Buddhist philosophy, that is, two planes of existence were conceived, both of which had equal reality — phenomenal existence, samsara, where everything is conditioned and nirvana, that region which is unconditioned. Between the two there could be no logical connection. The earlier schools of Buddhist thinking while rejecting any reality of a substance or soul, did assert the reality of the separate fluctuating elements. The later phases of doctrinal development, which include the evolution of the Mahayana school, deny also the reality of these elements. The original distinction of samsara and nirvana on the basis of whether they were conditioned or not was replaced by the conception of them as essentially identical, both became parts of a common mystery.

The effects of this philosophical shift from pluralism to absolutism were refracted throughout the developing body of Mahayana practice not least beginning with a new conception of the Buddha whereby he came to be a phenomenon of cosmic manifestation rather than of historical appearance. As distinct from the Hinayana experience where the Buddha appears as a historical figure and progresses along the temporal axis before disappearing into the inexpressible region of nirvana, the Mahayana schools established the Buddha as a mediating point between the Absolute and phenomenal beings. Specifically the concept of a bodhisattva acts as a focus of intersection and a person attaining perfection continues to take rebirth in the human world, to subject himself to the limitations of existence and the human body in order to show others the way to salvation.

Thus in the doctrine of Mahayana Buddhism and as a result of its subsequent development in particular social contexts, the human rebirth situation and the human body came to possess tremendous ritual potential. Celibacy comes to mean more than purely an escape from attachments and the pains held therein which bond the human to the cycle of rebirth, but it forms part of a series of practices which consciously manipulate sexual fluids for ritual ends. The body and its sexual attributes are no longer something from which to escape or renounce but they become that very area for ritual attention.

However, if the human celibate body occupies a key place in the cosmology and ritual of a Mahayana Buddhist society its centrality is no less marked in its operation as an institution in the political and economic domain. Indeed the insistence of the physical presence of this celibate body at the moments of production, distribution, exchange and reproduction is both a symbolic representation and a real statement of power relations within the community.

The development of a corporate status for the monastic community within the historical emergence of the religion held important consequences for the Central Asian area since such organisations increasingly assumed temporal power².

²) Dutt 1960 and 1962 sketches the evolution of the monastic ideal within the
In particular, these institutions founded upon and consolidated by vows of sexual abstinence possessed the manpower, organisation, political alignment and spiritual legitimation to capture the control of economic activity. They organised other social groups around themselves to guarantee the reproduction of such a hegemony.

A description of the system focusing upon Rizong monastery in Ladakh will highlight this role of the celibate body as a corporation in the economy and the means by which it defines and links surrounding social categories to the necessities of its temporal and spiritual continuity.

The area to be discussed is Ladakh, a part of the Central Asian plateau - a vast region of rocky desert lying at an altitude of between 12 and 14,000 feet about sea level. The landscape is bare, bleak and mountainsous - the only relief from the desert are clusters of struggling vegetation which indicate the widely dispersed human settlements. Precipitation is extremely low, probably not more than three inches in a year, most of which falls as snow, and thus most villages are heavily dependent upon irrigation for the cultivation of their fields. But this is problematic since in Ladakh there are in effect only two seasons - winter and summer - with the former being as extreme in its cold as the latter in its heat. The change from summer to winter and vice versa is abrupt and absolute. The winter lasts from October to April or May during which time the use of water both for irrigation and as a source of power is impossible due to the freezing of the water channels. Corresponding to such a marked climatic division is a division in the economy with the winter period being primarily concerned with wool - its cleaning, carding, spinning and finally weaving, whilst the summer period sees work concentrated in the fields where crops of barley, buckwheat, apples, apricots and walnuts are cultivated during these all too short months. Towards the end of each major season there is a tremendous flurry of activity by all the social groups involved - monks, nuns and laypeople, to finish the tasks before the absolute transformation of the economy.

Due to these climatic and geographical restrictions the central input to the economy and production is human labour power - the importance of this is reflected in all areas of the society, production and reproduction in an economic sense as well as in terms of the necessities of the Buddhist religion. Human power is both the foundation of the cosmology and the economy in the society which we will examine.

Against this briefly sketched background the community focusing upon Rizong groups consists of three major social groups - the monks, nuns and laypeople.

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Buddhist tradition and notes the importance of its development of a corporate status. See also Ling 1973 and Tucci 1970.

3) The material for this study was collected over a two year fieldwork period in India.
They are in a conceptual sense and to reality involved in a triangular relationship, with the monastery geographically located at the apex. Between all the three dispersed settlements (farms, people, goods and ceremonies) move. More loosely attached to this inner triangle are a number of other settlements which insert themselves in these areas of movement only at particular points - for example to provide goods on occasions rather than the whole rhythm of life being in harmony with that stemming from the monastic community (see map).

Rizong monastery, consisting of a group of between twenty and thirty celibate men (a permanent group who entered the religion at the age of about six years and took vows binding them for life) was founded in the early nineteenth century by a wealthy merchant from Saspol (a small village in the Indus Valley some twelve miles away which is still linked economically to Rizong) and his reincarnation is one of the present abots. The majority of the monks originate from the attached settlements which continue to provide goods and services to their spiritual centre.

In the narrow river valley flowing east - west below the monastery lies the monastery which consists of seven or eight celibate women (who had been donated by their parents at an early age and had taken formal vows) and a couple of informally celibate women who received food from the monastery, working and abstaining from sexual relations in return. The monastery kept a sizeable flock of sheep, goats and cattle for the monastery in addition to a series of irrigated fields on which a number of vegetable and grain crops are raised. The orchard of fruit, apples, apricots and walnuts, covers an extensive area around the monastery buildings. This settlement is the primary site of economic production for the monastery and it can be quite markedly distinguished from the material relationship of the village to the monastery due to practical and symbolic values stemming from the centrality of celibacy.

The village attached to Rizong gompa is located in the same river valley some three or four miles to the east of the monastery. It possesses about sixteen households consisting of eight khan chen and eight khan gyu which clustered tightly together in the midst of the cultivated area. There are a small temple maintained by two village cho mo and who prepare food in its vast kitchen on the occasions of ceremonies performed by monks visiting from Rizong. The lay population of the settlement work their own fields though they share certain pieces of capital equipment, such as irrigation channels or ploughs, and keep sheep, goats and cattle. The men of the village provide labour for the monastery and are often away from their homes in this connection for up to one month at a particular time.

Although the monastery is distinctively apart in its spiritual orientations and physical location, it remains the focus and origin of all economic activity. It functions as an essential element in the various components of the economy by co-ordinating the different spheres in addition to the monks being involved (in certain cases, manually and in others in a symbolic sense) in a number of these parts (see diagrams 1 and 2).
To begin first of all with production. Before we consider the intervention of the category of monks in the various aspects of production, it is important to recognise their role as straightforward producers of goods and their visible presence to the different locations of economic activity during the year is particularly striking. Not only do they produce meditation or cashmere in Leh, make up their own monastic robes and even the special religious hats to be worn by nuns, the monks are, further, to be seen in the vegetable fields and orchards as well as in the nursery compound sorting apricot stones and dyeing cloth during the distinct phases of the annual productive cycle. On each occasion of economic activity destined for the monastic community the monks are present preparing and serving food to the work parties involved either nuns or (men or both). It is an interesting inversion whereby monks receive and are dependent upon the supply of raw food from the labour of others, and yet return it to the latter on such occasions of future labour often with added luxury goods acquired through trade or cash purchase.

The monks are always physically present, if not actually involved in the instances of production and at every stage of the annual economic cycle - the monks are simply there. This “presence” of the monks is a subtle indication of their power, not only in terms of their internal role in the processes of production, i.e. that they produce and control the key points in production, for example, the supply of raw materials, labour - its coordination and supervision, but further from their position as celibate men in a religious system.

The success of any productive enterprise is not dependent upon the haphazard disposition of goods or deities that exist in a world above or separate from that in which man and his daily toil are situated and whose favourable influence may be the intermediary action of celibate men in the form of offerings, requests and promises. Rather the success of any venture is fundamentally dependent upon the relative balance between positive and negative karma, a principal which situates man in the controlling position of his fate. Karma may be manipulated, transferred, enhanced and transformed between its conception and maturation, and monks through their celibacy are best able to act on existing balances. Power and merit are transferred from the religious sphere to the area of agricultural production through the medium of the celibate body. Such transferences may be differentiated in terms of the degree of formality which surrounds it on a particular occasion - from just the presence of a single monk in the orchard to a highly elaborate ritual performance with a distinct beginning, end, structure and area of sacred space.

However, if celibacy establishes itself at the centre of production in the Ladakhi community under consideration it no less assumes control of the spheres of distribution and exchange. The realms of circulating goods are a means to define the nature of the groups involved and the form of their relationship. Further the quality of the produce has an important bearing upon the relationships it permits, establishes or confirms between the giver and receiver, and it is a significant factor in the ability to forge new economic links outside of the immediate areas of economic production.

The whole sphere of distribution (as opposed to exchange which constitutes only a small part of it) involves a series of decisions concerning the movement of goods, labour and capital - and in the Ladakhi case strongly establishes a redistributive network rather than a series of horizontal relations. Decisions must be made concerning the allocation of parts of the surplus to be used in the reproduction of the productive units, to support non-producers (the sick, elderly and children) and to ensure the reproduction of the social organisation dominated by the religious structure. The monastic community takes these decisions being the pivot of the economic and social system and aware of the mechanisms ensuring both the reproduction of the economy and its articulation with an elaborate religious institution. These different necessities establish different and not necessarily interchangeable areas within which goods may confront one another, though their allocation to the separate spheres is largely determined by the monastic community through whom all produce must initially flow.

This dominance of the celibate community and its activity of creating social groups to ensure the continuity of its power and participation may be seen in the areas of immediate and delayed redistribution as well as in the realms of exchange.

Immediate redistribution concerns perishable food-stuffs, apples or vegetables for example, and may actually involve their movement from the site of production to the monastery and back again to the nursery, but more often the whole process takes place metaphorically (almost by default) at the site of production where both the man and monks are present. What seems to be a straightforward horizontal movement of surplus goods from the hands of the man to the monks is, at the symbolic level, circular with all the produce moving first to the apex of the system, to the monastery (which selects the best and largest apples) before turning over the remainder to the man for their subsistence - the goods may never actually move in the process. Such a redistribution of produce is immediately symbolic of their interdependence and relative positions within the community yet its purpose remains restricted to ensuring the subsistence of producers in the here and now rather than a guarantee of the reproduction of the system over time.

Delayed redistribution, however, involves a different category of goods and social relationships and here the movement is more gradual, being spread over considerable periods of time, setting up long term relationships and taking place within the monastery itself. Although this category is much more concerned with the assurance of continuity, with the reproduction of the productive system and its social relations, two separable classes of goods constitute this sphere of movement. The first relates to the redistribution of the factors of production (raw wool, seeds, implements and time) whilst the
second group ensures the continuity of social relations thereby entailed or necessitated and expresses them. And further this domain of delayed redistribution is importantly articulated with the highly specialised and restricted realm of exchange (see diagram 3).

Although the two classes of goods forming the realm of delayed redistribution are durable and indicative of long term social relations, the second category, the luxury items (sugar, cooking oil etc.) serve only to highlight the latter rather than assuming responsibility something which they are in any case unable to do for the continuity of celibate domination (as do the factors of production which form the other part of this circuit). In spite of the fact that through these goods the monastic community is able to define and express the social groups, luxury goods have an additional symbolic value over these asymmetries - they have the power to symbolise exclusion, to underline the fact that they originate from an area that is outside of the society and from a closed arena, involving peculiar commodities like money and restricted transactions for the elite.

Although exchange forms only a fraction of the total distributive system and involves only a tiny minority of the population, the monastic, its symbolic value is enormous and its potential wealth inscrutable. Both the form of goods exchanged in this sphere and the social relationships thereby established are radically different from transactions carried on elsewhere in the economy under consideration. The realm of exchange is only open to the monastic community which possesses the surplus to be marketed, the trade links over long distances and the manpower and knowledge to participate in it fully. Cash acquired (and increasingly supplemented by tourist gifts) is not ploughed back into the economy to enhance production but rather is the means to purchase luxury goods that command that huge symbolic value mentioned above and whose controlled release into the community accentuates those inequalities.

Colhacy as a corporate institution intervenes directly in all areas of economic activity in the community under consideration, but it must be a highly active agent in order to maintain this position. Indeed the monastery is so central to the rhythm of economic life that its orientations must be as temporal as they are spiritual.

Finally it is important to examine the question of the reproduction of such a monastic system and the mechanisms by which it ensures its continuity. Paradoxically, the perpetuity of the celibate organisation of Rizong hinges upon women in two senses. Firstly, it is dependent upon the material production of women who create goods for exchange which thereby regenerate the economic cycle. Secondly, women as reproducers in a physiological sense provide manpower for the economy and the religion. But women have continually presented themselves as a problem to the Buddhist religion. The following conversation reported between Gautama and his disciple Ananda most aptly illustrates this:

When Ananda first asked: "How are we monks to behave when we see women?" Gautama replied: "Don't see them." - "But if we should see them, what are we to do?" - "Don't speak to them." - "But if they speak to us, what then?" - "Let your thoughts be fixed in deep meditation."

(Sati upathapabba, Maha-satin V.33, from Eliot, C. 1880)

The solution to this problem has been for the male celibate order at Rizong to differentiate women into two separate categories - each of which makes an individual contribution to the continuity of the monastic system. Thus, economic production and biological reproduction are spatially and temporally distinct, and must be so kept.

Production (and consequently, material reproduction) remains largely confined to the nunnery where celibacy amongst the women has a meaning different from that of the monastery, and it represents a secondary development that responds to the needs of male sexual abstinence as a principle. Female monasticism emerged much later in the history of Buddhism and the celibacy of their members possesses little ritual status.
The nunneries in the centre of economic production in the society since its total activity is directed only towards the monastic community and it is the least drain upon the latter's resources. This group of celibate women form the most productive sector of the society because their celibacy minimizes their material needs and the two central factors in production, time and labour power, can be wholly devoted to this economic activity. However, although they remain central to the productive process because of the primacy of their human power rather than their ability to set some mechanized system into operation, they have nonetheless renounced any further generation of their key value by this very celibacy. And this celibacy is demanded by the religion and its economy. By the fact of their centrality in the economy, the nuns are drawn into the closest contact with the monastic community while the need to permit controlled femininity in an ideal sense (certain female duties and symbols) cannot permit the physical presence of women to threaten the reproduction of the religious system as emanating from a group of male custodians.

However, if production is being carried out here, the guarantee of its continuity lies elsewhere, and we must look to a distinctly different sphere to discover these mechanisms of reproduction.

In marked contrast to the situation prevailing in the nunneries where goods and services tend to be predominantly unidirectional, in the main village attached to the monastery time and produce are constantly being juggled between the different areas of economic activity in an effort to ensure the continuity of a productive system, a religious structure and their fundamental component - human power. This continuity, further, must be established and maintained in separate locations, the village and the monastery, and again as at the nunneries, women are the central features in this continuity. The processes of physiological reproduction form the essence of the whole system under consideration because they provide manpower for the religion and the economy. Women, in the village are the producers of the producers and assume a primary value in their capacities for human reproduction rather than economic production, since inevitable dependencies and drains upon economic resources result from this role. Indeed it is interesting to note that in this context the village is under considerably more pressure to provide its own daily subsistence than is the nunneries which tend to receive much of this sustenance through the process of redistribution.

And it is here that not only the institution of marriage itself is to be seen as intimately linked to the possibilities of monastic continuity, but, furthermore, that polyandrous marriage is a response to the demands of a society founded upon celibate domination.

On the one hand, in an area of difficult climate and terrain, a community both producing for itself and to support a large monastic population must conserve village holdings from fragmentation at death or marriage and from the stresses of population pressure. However, on the other hand with limited mechanism
Peter, Prince of Greece and Denmark H. R. H.: A Study of Polyandry. The Hague 1963


PROTOCOL OF A SPONTANEOUS PARA-NORMAL HEALING IN LADAKH

Walter A. Frank

In connection with the Epics Research Project, Special Research Programme (SFB 12), of the Seminar for Central Asian Culture and Languages, University of Bonn, I spent a few months in Ladakh in winter 1981, recording singers of the Gesar epic. Trapped by snow and nasty weather conditions in Srinagar, Kashmir, for almost three weeks, I caught a cold, which developed into a serious bronchitis within short. The infection proved resistant against sulfonamides and even antibiotics, and instead developed a rather regular rhythm of weakness and fever in periods of about three and a half days, thus showing a regular pattern of the production of new virus generations. I had treatment by a western doctor, who's hope it was, that the high altitude dry air may do good as soon as we would be able to fly into Ladakh. Finally, one brave Indian Airlines' Captain took the risk to fly a full B-727 through snow storm over the Himalayan chains into Leh valley, and indeed, there was a slight improvement of my bronchitis during the first days. But soon, the viruses had adjusted to the new conditions too, and the old cycle of feeling better, feeling weak, getting temperature, was fully restored, with even graver drops between relative well-being and feeling miserable. Another western trained doctor was consulted, who prescribed the hardest antibiotic in the market, Ampicillin, in the highest dose advisable, three times one gramme per day. It did not impress the viruses at all, but killed all the intestinal flora, just producing additional trouble.

One of the less important points in the research programme was, to tape, film, and photograph an oracle lady in Saba, just seven kilometers east of Leh. The colleague, from whom actually I had taken over this journey for technical reasons, Dieter Schuh, had visited this lady previously and given me a good description of the rites and procedures undertaken by the 'Lhanno', as these oracle ladies are called locally. They are supposed to be possessed by a goddess during their trance stage. The healings, which they perform regularly, are supposed to take place by sucking out the 'evil' at the solar plexus of the patient, spitting it out as a black stuff. For the sucking they
use partly their bare lips, partly a copper pipe of approximate pencil size. Thus, I was well prepared for what was to come, when I finally decided to bring my bronchitis to the Sabu Lhamo after all western medical arts had failed.

Sabu, once a royal place with castle and even a Buddhist academy, now is a small village, with some ruins of the former castle above in the rocks. The small gompas is mainly deserted, since there are no resident monks there, but it is maintained from the near Tíkse gompas on demand. The small house of the Lhamo is located some hundred yards aside of the main village within a wide field of boulders. We were heartily welcomed and the usual tea was offered. But the Lhamo was not prepared to make a healing session, as she felt not well herself, and wanted to attend to the - western style - hospital in Lob before taking up healing again. Yet, she obviously seemed how particularly miserable I felt this morning, and suddenly she murmured: 'the God comes, the God comes ...', rolled her eyes, and fell stiff and trembling. Her two daughters, an early and a late teen, who obviously are her attendants in her rites, quickly brought the ritual gowns, dressed her hastily, and the Lhamo knelt down in front of her altar, starting her chanting, before even the crown had been fixed on her head. Although the song-sang was in an unnatural, high-pitched voice, her trance was obviously genuine, as I am well acquainted with hypnotic states since many years.

With me were my colleagues Peter Zündorf, University of Bonn, Sabine Huth, film editor of the West German Broadcasting Corp. (WDR) from Cologne, my Ladakhi assistant (Christian) and the driver (Mulem). While the Lhamo still was in her rites, and myself photographing and talking to Miss Huth, sitting besides me on the sofa, I suddenly realized, that my bronchitis had totally vanished, and even all the annoying noise within my bronchial tubes had dissolved within a twinkle. I told it - very surprised myself - to my company, and Miss Huth, a hard-boiled disbeliever in ES, laughed and remarked: 'I give you three days for self-fulfilling prophecy'. As I hardly could believe myself, I replied, that I too would give myself three days for self-fulfilling prophecy, which is a well-known effect in psychology. During all this, the Lhamo continued her rites, and only a considerable time after the actual healing had taken place, she waved me to her in front of the altar, to perform some rites with me, and only finally started the sucking with her lips at my solar plexus. She did a hard job and it was rather painful, leaving a punch of about 4 cm in diameter and even a blood-filled blister. As I had expected this method, I carefully observed her, to find out, from where she might draw the black stuff she spit out afterwards. Yet, there was no trick involved as far as could be conacted, particularly, as she always raised her mouth thoroughly with clear water - which came out clear afterwards - between all the four suckings, each of them nevertheless producing the black stuff she spit into a copper bowl on the floor.

The news of the Lhamo healing again spread quickly, and some other customers arrived during my treatment, whom she treated after finishing with me. Finally she ceased sucking from my solar plexus, this time by means of the mentioned copper pipe. But now, hardly my black stuff appeared, although it could have been easily hidden in the pipe. About the whole performance there was not the least show effects - as I could observe at the performance of her teacher weeks later - but the whole procedure was conducted in a very serious, yet ineffective, practical manner. - After leaving the Lhamo, not only there was no trace left of my five weeks old bronchitis, but all my energy was completely restored. On the way down to the Lhamo's house, I had blessed and graved like an old steam engine, out of breath, croaching on soft legs and snapping for air through the muses-narrowed inhalatory tracts, with hardly sufficient energy to move, but afterwards we went immediately up to the gompas and even further up to the ruins of the castle, and I jumped about like a young goat, not sensing any deficit of oxygen or energy.

The Lhamo of Sabu is not an isolated case. Lhas and Lahmow, also called 'oracles' by the locales, are to be found all over Ladakh. Indeed, later on got the opportunity, to spend a whole day with the former teacher of the Sabu lady, the Oracle of Tíkse, who was practising in three different places this day, so I was able to photograph and tape him all along. Furthermore, the phenomenon of 'spirit healing' is not only practised in Ladakh, but found all over Asia, Australia, Africa, Latin America and the Red Indian's North America, i.e. all the non-industrialized societies, and also in the developed areas of so-called third world countries. And even in our western society it was quite common until about a hundred years ago and it still is in some remote areas.

Thus, it seems to be a common human heritage from times before mankind was spread over so wide parts of the globe. Notably, the principles of selecting persons for this task, are quite similar all over the earth, and even the rites themselves show a surprising resemblance in their basic structures. Regarding all this, it is an astonishing fact, that professional anthropologists yet paid so little serious attention to these phenomena, and if they did, they did it in a somewhat arrogant, 'superiority'-biased way, describing the rites, but denying their effectiveness. - 'If facts are but facts, but facts!', as Shakespeare put it ironically, or Beciold Brecht, a bit less elegant: 'Theory and facts should always be in accord - if they aren't, the worse for the facts!'

Unlike facts, theories have been changing all the times throughout the history of philosophy and science, whenever the paradigms they were based on, had to be changed by the force of some disturbing facts. It is high time, that our presently still ruling mechanistic-reductionistic-dualistic paradigm should undergo some change to a wider, more holistic outlook, as modern physics is approaching since the beginning of this century; but this fundamental change has not reached the social sciences and humanities yet. Perhaps, this well documented and easily to analyse case may help to open the minds of anthropologists in such scientifically highly significant facts like spiritual healing.
SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN LADAKH: 
Upper Estates and Low-castes

Ferry Erdmann

INTRODUCTION

By Social Stratification is meant how society is divided into hierarchically ordered layers. In Ladakh the population is categorized into a very large "common" layer, and very small upper and lower layers. These last two will be dealt with here.

There are several problems encountered when studying the social aspects of Ladakh. In the first place we have a general lack of reliable data in terms of measurements and surveys. Most of the material is composed of stories and inferences based on conversations and interviews haphazardly conducted with interpreters during rather short periods of fieldwork. Secondly, there are many local variations in this sparsely inhabited and mountainous area. Settlements are often very isolated. Finally, on a most general level, we are dealing with categories which are unavoidably dependent social phenomena themselves. They are used as explanatory "schemes" or "pictures" of social life, but not to be confused with the infinitely more varied and dynamic reality at which they point. In this light I am compelled to limit the scope of this treatise. It must be seen as a mere preliminary exploration of the subject.

I have confined myself to "Ladakh proper", the central part of what used to be the kingdom of Ladakh. It can roughly be described as the contemporary Indian part of the Indus Valley. Within this area I have further confined myself to the

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4) With due thanks to Tia van Houten, Martin Braun, Reinhardt Sander, Nanging Taering, Thubten Palden, the late S.S. Gergen, Tashi Rabgys, Sonam Solding.

Iuy-Buddhist majority within the more sedentary village communities 2.
The categories used by most Ladakhis are taken as point of departure. In turn, Western sources of information have been invaluable in probing the complexities and developments of these categories.

TRADITIONAL CATEGORIES IN OUTLINE

Today the stars are shining in the sky,
Today the sunrays are moving the earth,
Today the bla-ma and the three jewels are high,
Today the king's helmet is high,
Today the minister's courage is high,
Today the parents are on best agreement,
Today the people are happy.

(fragment of a wedding song) 3

Thou host of the heavens, come to the fight,
And Wangpo Gyagshin be at thy head!
Thou host of the earth, come to the fight,
And mother Skyabchen be at thy head!
Thou host of the waters, come to the fight,
And water-king Ljagpo be at thy head!
At the head of the heroes of Ling, Palle must stride!
At the head of the women of Ling, Asting must ride!
At the head of the Lamas of Ling, Tseg must ride!
At the head of the Mons of Ling, Penag must stride!
At the head of the smiths of Ling, Karog shall ride!
At the head of the Bhedas of Ling, Kangzungs shall stride?
You boys who know how to use the sling, go to the war.
You girls who know how to use the spindle, go to the war!
Whoever can provide for himself, let him do so:
Whoever cannot, let him be provided for at the castle of Ling!
Whoever has a horse of his own, let him bring it.

Whoever has none, let him get one at the castle of Ling!
March off then towards the land of Hor,
And the king shall march in front of you all!

("Call to the Arms", from the "Kesar" epic) 4

As can be seen from these two examples, the oral tradition in Ladakhi folklore already shows the most important divisions of society.

In a more specific and systematic way, the social layers are arranged in the scheme of fig. 1, drawn from interview material. It gives a fourfold division: rgyal-rigs (= royalty), sku-drag (= nobility), dmaas-rigs (= commoners), and rigs-lan (= outcastes). The distinction between rgyal-rigs and sku-drag is justified n.o. by historical reasons, but nowadays the royal families are mostly counted as a sub-category among the sku-drag aristocracy.

The repeatedly appearing word "rigs" means in Ladakh: caste, class or rank 5. For family, lineage, birth, or descent, "rus-pa" and its honorific equivalents "sku-run" and "sku-drun" are used 6. "Rus" d.o.: bone, according to Brauen and oral information from the late S.S. Gergon, must be understood in connection with the old Tibetan idea that bones are inherited from the father and flesh from the mother 7. None of my local informants knew of this however 8.

These concepts refer to the social status not only of individual persons, but of their whole extended family or household. Most important here is that status is a matter of family or birth, or, to put it in our sociological jargon, "ascription" instead of personal achievement. The terms "family" or "household" must be understood in the context of typical customs such as monasticism, adelpic polygamy, primogeniture, and the special housing system. Basically the whole family can be divided into separate households. The main, often polyandrous household occupies the biggest house (khan-chen). Some

3) No specific attention is given to the monastic population. I have excluded the musalmans, the nomads of the eastern plains, Tibetan refugees and other "foreigners" from consideration. Thus the social structure described is that of, roughly half of the population of the modern district of Ladakh (the total number of native inhabitants being estimated at 125 000).


9) To the terms: gna (p. 25, p. 25, p. 25).

10) They are used to indicate people one should not marry, comparable with out blood-relatives. Cf. Jäschke, H.A., A Tibetan-English Dictionary (see footnote 9), p. 111, 193.
Figure 1: Traditional Strata

**RGYAL-RIGS**: (royalty)
- rgyal-po: (king)
- jo: (lord)

**SKU-DRAG**: (nobility; lit.: "body noble")
also: - rigs-lcen, rigs-chen, drag-rigs: (upper, noble class)
- rgs-pa mtho-po, sku-rgs, sku-drus: (of high family)
  (opposite: rgs-pa dma'-mo)
- bka'-bjon: (prime minister)
- bjon-po: (minister, governor)

**DMANS-RIGS**: (commoners; lit.: "common class")
also: - mi-dmans, dmans-dpal: (common class)
- thon-po: (ploughman, farmer)

**RIGS-NAN**: (unclean, low, or outcast; lit.: "class mean or bad")
also: gdo-lpa
- mgar-ba: (blacksmith)
- Mon: (carpenter–musician)
- Be-dal: (rumbling minstrel, musician)

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9) Braun, M., Fest in Ladakh (see footnote 3), p. 15, already published basically the same scheme, which is also presented in: Kaplanian, P., Les Ladakh du Cachemire (see footnote 9), p. 171, 174, 188.

10) Class in this paper is not used in its Marxist or sociological sense, but more commonly as more or less synonymous with stratum.

grandparents and unmarried women sometimes live in smaller, secondary houses (khan-chun, khan-bu, khan-nu). All of them resort under the same house-name, which is comparable to our family name. Families remain relatively small and stable, living on the same undivided plot of land. Depending on economic conditions, younger brothers might start a separate family of their own and assume a new house-name, but formerly this happened in very exceptional cases only.

When the ideal of patrilocality at marriage is followed, the position in the stratification can be said to be inherited from one's father. In my estimation, 30 to 40 percent are temporary exceptions, due mainly to nonilocality in case of absence of grown-up male heirs.

In number the aristocracy and low-castes are represented more or less equally. Together they make up some 5% of their village population at most. Since we find them in the larger villages only, they form an even smaller part of the total population.

**ARISTOCRACY: KINGS (RGYAL-RIGS) AND OFFICIALS (SKU-DRAG)**

A more complicated picture

In the summer of 1981 some Ladakhi scholars helped me to compile the list of upper-class families shown in fig. 2. It implies a much more complicated picture than the neat divisions of the outline in fig. 1. Especially the large number of other titles is noteworthy. In my opinion an approach in terms of political history is necessary to understand the various subdivisions of the aristocracy of Ladakh.

**Historical sketch**

Not much is known of the ancient history of Ladakh. In the tenth century a first Tibetan dynasty is said to have started its rule. Now and then it must have extended the dominion into neighboring areas. In the long run a more or less loose union of principalities came into being. It was in the sixteenth...

### Figure 2: List of Aristocratic Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>ṛgyal-po</th>
<th>jo</th>
<th>bka'-blon</th>
<th>blan-po</th>
<th>others</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mulbek</td>
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<td>lważir</td>
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<td>Wakaña</td>
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<td>*</td>
<td>lważir</td>
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<td>Heňašot</td>
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<td>Lamayuru</td>
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<td>*</td>
<td>1lazedar</td>
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<td>Ḍaṇa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khalsi</td>
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<td>Thia</td>
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<td>Taru</td>
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<td>*</td>
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<td>Špītuken</td>
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<td>She</td>
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<td>Stok</td>
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<td>Matho</td>
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<td>Mariselaṅg</td>
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<td>Sakti</td>
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<td>Igu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gya</td>
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</table>

|          |          | 9 | 9 | 10 |

12) The list was compiled with the help of Ladakhi informants in Leh, who spoke from their memories. No doubt some families were forgotten. Especially some newly established younger brothers are not yet well known separately. On the other hand, some families that have died out do appear in the list, marked with "*".

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Upper Estates and Low-castes

The territory that the related ṛ Nam-ṛgyal dynasty came to power. It reigned continuously until the Dgra-waṅ (1334-42), when the country lost its independence. Under this ṛ Nam-ṛgyal dynasty, more of the history and life of Ladakh was documented, especially since under the famous Seṅ-ge ṛ Nam-ṛgyal. Ladakh for a short time became the center of a Western-Himalayan empire.

We are told of a mildly despotic government. The ruler bore the title of "ṛgyal-po" (=king) or more formally "ṛgyal-po chen-po" (=great king) or "chos-ṛgyal chen-po" (=great king ruling in accordance with the law or religion). While culturally dependent on Central Tibet, the political organization differed greatly from that of Lhasa under the Dalai Lama’s. Ladakh had a lama monarchical in which the clergy, however respected and influential, held no administrative office at all. In fact it resembled the ancient Tibetan monarchical of the so-called "Yar-las" kings. The chronicles of Ladakh trace the descent of their dynasties from this direction and it is suggested that some institutions survive from those days.

The government was in the hands of hereditary officials and some local chiefs. These had their own districts where they collected revenue, administered justice, and had military duties. Ideally the king’s councillors and officials consisted of three grades. The third and lowest of those was a selection from the village elders (rgza-mi or rgyad-pa). Every village was administered by five to seven chosen elders. One of these was the village headman (go-ba, groṅ-pon, or mi-pon), a function which sometimes passed from father to son. All of the village elders were commoners, whereas those in the second and first grades were ranked as sku-drag. They were the hereditary local and regional governors (blan-po), from whose ranks up to four could be selected into the highest grade of minister (bka'-blon). One of them became the bka'-blon of Ladakh. This was the prime minister and actual leader of the daily conduct of affairs, resorting immediately under the king. The latter in many cases lived a life of leisure. The choice of the bka'-blon was determined either by royal favor or by greater popularity and superior abilities. The title was hereditary, but the office not automatically so. Possession however gave one a firm grasp of power that the office was actually also retained in the family for several generations.

The territory of “Ladakh proper” should be distinguished from that of the feudal chiefs to the outlying regions. They are the descendants of old families ruling in the semi-independent principalities. At the end of the kingdom there were eight of them left, all theoretically entitled ṛgyal-po, but often called jo (=lord).”

13) According to Peeteh, L., The kingdom of Ladakh (see footnote 11), p. 155: "They were the four Muslim chiefs of Padkyun (in Purig), 820d (in Purig), Sura and Dras; usually they were styled jo, a title typical for these regions; then the king of Zanskar, the only one for whom the royal title was normally employed; the No-no of Spiti; the chief of Nabra; and the chief of
Most of the territory of "Ladakh proper" was divided into small districts under blon-po and bka'-blon officials. In the middle of the eighteenth century there seem to have been twenty-seven districts. The highest official under the blon-po was the na-nso. Each larger district had one of these special revenue officers, who were to provide food and supplies to the royal court.

Several lesser local titles could also be carried by dmams-rigs officials. Among those mentioned, the lo-go-che, the ton-spon, and the ge-ra-pa had functions which have not become clear to me. Others were the lha-rdag (temple guard) and the mkhar-dpon (master of the castle). A mkhar-dpon was found in Leh, and also several in more outlying fortifications, where they checked the power of the local chiefs. These titles were hereditary, and, when carried by a dmams-rigs official, served to lift his family just above the general common level. In a similar way, some religious specialists such as lha-rje or am-chi (Tibetan-Buddhist herb doctor), the sa-pa (astrologer), and lha-pa (oracle) also provided means to a higher status.

To complete our list of officials, the special salaried dignitaries residing in Leh itself should be mentioned. The phyug-mchod (treasurer or head of the finance ministry) was nearest to the prime minister in power and responsible for tax collection, supervising a.o. the na-nso. The chief judge (gga-gsa-dpon) and his magistrates (khri-ma-dpon) took care of the administration of justice. Finally a general (dmug-dpon) led the army in the field. These functions were generally fulfilled by the nobility. Especially the generals came from royal or bka'-blon families. Court-officials such as the chamberlain (gzi-ma-dpon) and a master of the horse (ga-gsa-rca-rjig) were probably dmams-rigs.

It must be emphasized that the division between aristocrats and commoners has never been clear-cut. If there were no sku-drags in a village, some outstanding dmams-rigs house would hold a leading position. Again, within the dmams-rigs layer, there are so many hierarchical divisions that many families could be ranked in an exact position above and below other ones.

...rGya, who was the only one situated within Ladakh proper. The latter's usual title was jo, but, perhaps in remembrance of an earlier independent position, he was sometimes called 'king of Upper Ladakh' (srid rgyal-po). "
Cf. also Franzbecher, A.H., Antiquities of Indian Tibet: The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles. 1927, reprinted New Delhi: Chauk, 1972, p. 94.
Carrasco, P., Land and Polity in Tibet (see footnote 1), p. 102, adds from the Chronicles: a rgyal-po of Mulbe and a Muslim chief in bChus-sod. He has overlooked the "He-nams-sku rulers" of Franzbecher, A.H., The Antiquities of Indian Tibet (see this footnote above), p. 121, 122, 225, 227.

In Zanskar I found that still today two separate rgyal-po families are recognized: one in Padum, the other in Zangla.

Apart from the high governmental and court officials in Leh who received salaries, most payment of office was by assignment of usufruct rights over estates (bar-lrig). To put it differently, regional and sometimes local government was paid by directly giving away the source of state-wealth itself; the land, including livestock and inhabitants. Thus office-holding sku-drag could in many cases no longer be distinguished from petty kings. In more than one case the titles rgyal-po, jo, bka'-blon, and blon-po are all applied to one and the same person.

Ladakh in the royal period differed from Central Tibet in more than one respect. We have mentioned the fact that Ladakh was a hereditary monarchy as opposed to a theocracy. Another difference was the lack of bureaucracy in Ladakh. We can with some provisos speak of a feudal structure. Officialdom was limited in number. There were no formal training of officials, no fixed scale of promotion, no tie-definition in period of tenure. Office-holding was not far separated from hereditary local rule and ownership of the means of production.

In the Dogra-wars Ladakh became subject to a Dogra-raj. He had extended his domains north and westward and loosened them from the Sikh empire of those days. This situation remained largely unaltered, even under British indirect rule, up to the time of accelerated change after 1947. What the socio-political structure of Ladakh was exactly like in those early colonial times might be looked for in the archives in Leh, Srinagar, Jammu, New Delhi and London. The old European accounts included in my bibliography here give no more than a very fragmented picture.

All agree that the formal property of the La-dvags rGyals-po was reduced to an estate (dga-stu) in Stok. Cunningham in 1855 mentions five regular "thansadars" in the districts Ladakh, Zanskar, Kargil, Dras, and Nubra, while Dogra troops six- to eight hundred men strong, were stationed in various garrisons. Moreover in his own words:
Many people grumble; but dissatisfaction is principally confined to the upper classes, who have lost all their power; (…) To the lower classes the change in government has in some respects been a very decided benefit: for although they pay now directly a larger amount than formerly to the state, yet indirectly they pay a less sum, as there is now only one duty throughout the country, in place of numerous charges which were formerly exacted by all the district Kalties and petty Gyalpos.

15) Cf. Cunningham, A., Ladakh (see footnote 11), p. 272, 273, 282, 283; also
In 1938 Prince Peter noted the Dogra title "Wazir i Wazarat". It was held by officials who supervised the Central-Asian trade in Baltistan. There were also the three tēhsīls (regional subdivisions) of Ladakh, each headed by a "tēhīlīdīr", who was assisted by "naib-tehīlīdīr". The latter titles survive even today. Under them resorted the office of the "zēhīlīdīr", "lūm bādrī"; and "kāzdrārī". Ak

Apparently salaried officials, now paid directly in rupees by the Dogra regime, had taken the places of the noblemen in government. From the appearance of some of their titles in the given list of today's aristocracy (fig. 2), we may tentatively conclude that some of them were held by Ladakhis. Prince Peter remarks:

(...) the ancient Ladakhi political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all powers, and only survived because of the prestige it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. 17

In Ribbouch's dramatized biography of a Ladakhi of 1940, the old political organization survives mainly as a pecking order of social status, which was revived especially in those days at national ceremonies at the royal court.

Indeed, it may not be incorrect to state that the noble categories of the royal period survived partly as to express national pride during conditions of what I would call "colonialism in isolation". Later will be shown what happened after 1947, when the Indian Democratic Union and the Jammu and Kashmir state governments came to open and develop Ladakh.

Social Behavior and Mobility

Social status is expressed in many aspects of behavior. There are a lot of more or less subtle non-verbal and paralinguistic nuances in posture, mimic, and gesture, and in volume, rhythm, and pitch of speech. Social hierarchy is most obvious in titles of reference and address. The sku-drag rank highest, after the rin-po-che and scholarly bī-sma, the leaders of religious and monastic organization. They are addressed with words such as "Ga-ga", "No-no", "Se-sma", and "Cho-cho". 18 The honorific language is elas-


17) Ibid.

18) Ga-ga is used to address older noblemen, no-no for a noble young man (nowadays for any younger man or brother). A high sku-drag lady is called: se-sma, while cho-cho is used for a lower lady, but not an ordinary farmer's wife.

In the reciprocal system of giving and receiving, the nobles especially in death ceremonies, the noble houses did not belong to particularbcu-chogs or gner-pa groups, nor even to pha-spun until fairly recently. I was told that formerly special monks were delegated to take care of the spiritual fortune of the ga-ma-khān. In the former ceremonial life of the nobility, the relation to the common people is uncertain. Some people told me that the whole village used to be ready for the ceremonial upkeep of the nobles. According to another source, the particular monastery they were linked with was responsible for this. Others stated that sku-drag houses helped each other in the disposing disposal of the dead. Nowadays generally the pha-spun families of the dman-rigs, though they still have their own lak-tho as seat of a personal house-god.

Although membership of the nobility is basically determined by birth, "in matter of rū-pa", their ranks are not by far as closed as those of the rigs. 19


20) In case of death the closest family members of the deceased are considered to be polluted and subjected to other taboos. Pha-spun members help to take care of the elaborate ceremonies and the disposal of the corpse.


21) Breuer, ibid., p. 29, 30, found in Leh-ārea bcu-chogs: groups of originally ten (but often more) houses, sharing duties for village ceremonies. In Sabu this type of group exists where the cem-bcu ceremony (at the tenth of each month). There the group consists of five houses and is called: gner-pa (= managing).
The division between rig-s-nan and d-mans-rigs is far more sharp than that between the latter and the sku-drag. This rigidity is due to the ideas of impurity and pollution (= chip) connected with the low-castes. For most people this has developed into a real feeling. Contact with the rig-s-nan is carefully avoided. No one takes food or drinks prepared by them or with their utensils. Nobody would sleep in their bedding, wear their clothes, or have any sexual relations with them. Breaking the taboo would amount to downfall into their ranks.

Within the low-caste stratum, three hierarchically ordered groups are distinguished. Their members are not apt to agree on this ranking at the bottom of society, and avoid each other in much the same way that others avoid them. These three, strictly endogamous, "caste-like" groups are, from high to low: the mgar-ba, the Mon, and the Be-da.

Blacksmiths (mgar-ba)

The mgar-ba, the bia-ma and the am-chi; all three—
Much cursed, these three men,
No alternative for these three men,
Needed by everybody, these three men.

(Amith's poem)

Although not everybody agreed, my most trustworthy informant confirmed that the mgar-ba is a real Ladakhi, while the Mon and the Be-da are considered more or less strangers. Unlike the Be-da, the mgar-ba as well as the Mon "belong" to a village, i.e. they own land, houses and livestock just as other villagers, with whom they have special relations involving definite rights and obligations. The smith manufactures ploughshares, arrowheads, knives, sethens, axes, and swords, and mainly repairs the cups, and tea and chang pots made by the famous gser-mgar (= goldsmiths)

23) Tashi Rabgya gave me his sociological interpretation in this context: Many sku-drag today lack the economic and political basis of their superior position and feel threatened by powerful d-mans-rigs houses. They often give their children in marriage as a protective strategy. It involves both alliance and mobility.


26) The poem was told by Sabu (Ayu) mgar-ba and translated by Nawang Tsering, who improvised the following phonetic rendering: "gar lama larje sum
siam-sa phogpe misum
mestshab meph pe misum
kuula gospe misum."
of Chiling, and all kinds of other pots and pans, nowadays industrial products imported from other parts of India. He also has ritual tasks at transition rites in the lives of individuals, the family, and the village as a whole. At childbirth, for example, it is the duty of the mgar-ba to provide a small arrow and bow if the baby is a boy, and iron bracelets if it is a girl. At the end of the year (Lo-gar) he visits all the families of his clients to present them with a needle. Sometimes, it is said, he also provides iron points for the arrows which are to be put in the lhun-ho’s at the renewal ceremony, for which the Mon make the shafts. Others, however, maintain that for this purpose no iron-tipped arrows are used.

For all these services the mgar-ba is not paid directly. When he works in a client’s house or delivers his products, he may receive some food. Villagers in general care somehow for their mgar-ba. He in turn is proud of his profession (as in the smith’s poem above) and, until recently, accepted the low esteem and discriminating treatment quietly. At harvest time, however, he goes and collects one backpack (khur) of grain from every house. It is no wonder that here too, social status and economic position often diverge.

Discrimination of the blacksmithe as an impure low-caste is a phenomenon we find all over the Tibetan world. Some possible explanations for it are given below (see “Further Discussion”).

Mon: carpenter-musician from the south

Investigating this group of people is much more difficult, because intercourse with them is much more avoided than in the case of the mgar-ba. From their side too the Mon that I met refused to talk about their social position and their specific status.

We find them specialized in woodwork and music-making as well, but it is unclear which is more important. Dman-s rigs too become carpenters nowadays (see “Changes since 1947”). Moreover, on private occasions and, for example, in Zanskari where Mon and Be-das are absent, commoners also play the drums with agility and pleasure.

27) Rauher-Schweizer, H., Der Schmied und sein Handwerk im traditionellen Tibet. Rikon, Zürich: Ospesula Tibetana, 1976, p. 85, gives a special hierarchy within the smith-castes from ironsmith to goldsmith. This does not hold for Ladakh. There only the ironsmiths are a low caste. Gold, copper and silver materials are worked by the gser-mgar of Chiling. This is a village of a few families, specialized in this craft. They are of Nepali origin, rich and well-respected, and they intermarry freely with dman-s rigs from elsewhere.


The Mon’s function in rituals is music-making. At the lhato ceremonies, before which they must purify themselves by ritual washing and several abstractions, they also bring the arrowshaft. Other occasions for their music are transition ceremonies, parades, and the heralding of high visitors.

As music-makers the Mon can be distinguished from the Be-da only by their long-standing relationship with the village families. Like the mgar-ba they own houses, land, and livestock in the village. Payment in kind is ample.

There are several stories and myths about the relative status of the mgar-ba and the Mon. In one it is said that the dispute over prevalence once was solved by shooting an arrow. Since the arrow hit the woods before the arrowshaft, the mgar-ba ranked higher. A similar idea is that the Mon’s profession is both mediating and therefore inferior to the mgar-ba’s work which touches its purpose or target directly. Finally, the Mon must be inferior because they cannot start his woodwork without the products of the mgar-ba.

An old question is the origin of the Mon. “Mon” is a common Tibetan term for people from the southern Himalayan slopes and foothills. It may be interesting to note that woods are rather abundant and carpentry and hunting more common in those areas. The word can be used generally for Hindu strangers coming from the south. In Ladakh, people “from Spiti and Lahul side”, and in Lahul, people from Kulu are called Mon.

It is uncertain not only from where, but also when they came. Francke considers them to be the first settlers and missionaries of Buddhism in Ladakh. He puts their arrival at least as far back as the first century A.D., but can admittedly only conjecture from findings of old ruins and graves commonly attributed to the Mon. Gergan and Hasenfeld do not reject this view, but emphasize the “Aryan features” and special language of the Mon. They are very definite in their opinion that these people are not from Kashmir.

Petech, on the other hand, finds in Dainelli’s skull-measurements reason enough to refute Francke’s view. For the time being, perhaps we do best to believe the idea held by most Ladakhis that the Mon were invited by the kings to come make music and maybe bring wood and woodworking skills.

Be-da: rambling minstrel

Again various interpretations are given of what are the distinguishing characteristics of this lowest and most outcast group. Most people know that they do not own land. They ramble around in tents, begging and making music here and there. (Similar outcast groups of more or less the same name are reported in other areas in the Western Himalayas.) Several times I was incorrectly informed that the Be-da play flute, while the Mon play drums. The Mon are Buddhists, and the Be-da Muslims, others said. From many more, however, I heard that there are Be-da Buddhists as well. Also, the Be-da should be professional minstrels, whereas for the Mon, music-making is just an additional task. This may not be incorrect in many cases today. Kaplandas, however, maintains the opposite:

The Mon and gara have a function. The beda don’t. They are beggars who sing most of the time. But their song serves absolutely no purpose. (...) It is the payment they receive is only pure charity and it is hardly possible to speak of the exchange of a service for food or money.

The matter is further complicated by some special cases. Braunen found a Be-da blacksmith-musician in Leh, as well as some who were said to have become Mon by settlement in a village and obtaining land. This possibility was disputed by most Ladakhi. Nevertheless, in Phyang I found a Be-da who had settled on monastery land, endowed in return for musical services. Also, in Sabu (Yugnos) a Be-da soldier was allowed to build a house on some communally-owned land.

Like the Mon, the origin of the Be-da is enveloped in a cloud of legends. An old king had three sons. The first became king of Ladakh, the second of Gu-ge and Pu-rang, or even Lhasa. The third one split off from his family to become the name “Be-da”, from “pte-ces” (= to separate from). He moved often and ended up reigning over Labul, Spiti, and Zanskar. A related story recounts that the three sons quarreled after the death of their father. One of them forsook his rights and lost all his possessions. A different legend tells of a queen who was having an affair with the most eminent blond-po. The king caught them and sent them both away to be beggars.

While the Mon are originally strangers, having been conquered by Tibetan immigrants, or having arrived later, the Be-da seem to have become strangers by their loss of property and wandering life. Typical is the royal descent of the Be-da in these stories. Some say that they are the descendants of criminals who were convicted to exile. There is also the story of the queen-mother of Sen-gge Namgyal, who is said to have brought Be-da minstrels along from Baltistan.

During my own interviews it was clear that the pollution concept, the avoidance behavior, and the taboo on even speaking about the subject were largely responsible for the ignorance of ordinary Ladakhi about these low-castes. Several developments have surely complicated the matter. But there is another point which made this type of research, especially that concerning social stratification, difficult. It is the fact that most village people are not accustomed to thinking in such abstract categories or speaking on such a general level. It is enough for them to be able to recognize a person as member of this or that family, without defining the kind as such. As a rule they found this kind of discussion utterly ridiculous.

Further discussion

We found at the bottom of Ladakhi society three layers of a caste-like nature. In spite of the unsolved question of the origins of the Mon and Be-da and the disagreement concerning the exact definition of these groups, boundaries are very certain. The picture here is much less ambiguous than that of the upper "estates", and corresponds neatly to the outline. Notions of impurity, exclusion and consequently endogamy make sharp and strict divisions. Social mobility until recently was totally absent.

Many people wonder how this is possible in a Buddhist society. Buddhism after all has its great development as a reaction against the Brahmanist caste system. Here we must keep in mind that in Ladakh such a caste system only exists among minor groups. On the other hand, in Buddhist societies, the literal and concrete interpretation of the doctrine of rebirth has always provided religious justification for social inequality. In Ladakh, members of the low castes are admitted to temples and shrines, but excluded from entering monastic orders or joining religious brotherhood relationships.

35) Cf. K. Marx’ comments in Francke, A.H., Antiquités of Indian Tibet (see footnote 10), p. 100.
39) Rauter-Schweizer, H., Der Schmiede und sein Handwerk in traditionellem Tibet (see footnote 9), p. 70-75, refers to one of the Vīśṇu-rules, by which people of low birth are forbidden to take the vows.
40) A more practical explanation is that the feeling of impurity is so strong, that avoidance would be maintained within the monastery, making communal life impossible.
In a similar context, the prohibition against killing living beings may form a reason for social degradation. In the sparsely arable Tibetan environment, necessary proteins and nutrients must in part be obtained from animal food. It is the mgar-ba who manufacture the knives and weaponry for hunt or slaughter: enough transgression perhaps to justify their low position.

It is important here to mention that Buddhism, however important, is only one part of the religious life and worldview of the Ladakh. It dominates ideas of life and death, and it has gradually monopolized religious institutions. Still, older animist conceptions of nature persist: waterspirits (tha) and soil-protectors are residing in the netherworld, fierce beasts (+ mighty ones) rage through the middle region, just above the earth; and in the heavenly upper world the gods (tha) have their origins. See the fragment of the "Kesar" epic in the first chapter. In addition there are deities seated in mountains, rocks, passes, and trees. Villages and monasteries have their protective deities, as well as pha-sap groups, and in some cases, demons and persons. These deities can be aroused or enraged for a lot of reasons, and they can be manipulated by numerous magical rituals.

Here again, we find religious grounds for the degradation of the mgar-ba.

There is, for example, a type of god localized in the heart, the thab-ba, who is said to be sensitive to the impurity of the mgar-ba. It is also suggested that the ill-regard of the mgar-ba has to do with the disturbance of the spirits of the earth. Not only is mining taboo in the Tibetan world, but the mgar-ba use metal to make ploughs and scythes.

In my opinion the Mon can analogously be held responsible for angering the spirits with their woodwork. In Ladakh trees are precious and considered to be abodes of gods. In the case of the Be-da and perhaps the Mon, immigration and strangeness may be the most obvious explanations for low social position.

Kaplanian puts it all together in a beautiful "structurists" scheme. He argues that the whole hierarchy of "rgyal-pa, sku-drag, dmangs-ri/...

... Cf. Braune, M., Festes in Ladakh (see footnote 3), p. 31. As for phapsum, as far as I know, mgar-ba and Mon have their own, spread over several villages. In this respect I have no information about the Be-da.


Tibetan smiths have a common protective deity, an emanation of Dorje Legs-pa, who was also mentioned to me as the god of a blacksmith phas-pa in Ladakh. Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, R.de, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, G. Pouillon, 1966, re-edited Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlaganstalt, 1975, p. 153-169.

mgar-ba, Mon, Be-da" can be conceived as three pairs of opposites, ranging between the poles of culture and nature. From one point of view we could say that everything is defined by taking its relation to the king as the ultimate creation of culture. It is as if his decree determines all places occupied in a hierarchy of distance to his presence at the top. On the same continent, the layers vary in their proximity to the earth. The king in his high dwelling and the intermediate holders of government offices are followed by the common ploughmen. Further down, we have the mgar-ba, who manufacture ploughshares and arrowheads, the Mon, who make the intermediate wooden products and music, and finally the free rambling Be-da, living life most naturally, detached from landed property and cultivation.

In my opinion this type of analysis too clearly reflects the theorist's mental need of order. Though appealing as an artful outline of reality, it too easily by-passes categorical complications and historical development. I would prefer a more general hypothesis: the upper layers of Ladakh society can be said to have been formed in feudalism and its shift to more bureaucratic colonialism; the lower castes probably resulted from ethnic pluralism, and the transition from hunting and nomadic communities to more agrarian settlements.

CHANGES SINCE 1947

In the 1940s Ladakh lost its independence to the Dgras kingdom. The former government of the rgyal-rigs and sku-drag was replaced by a loosely woven web of new officials, who were bureaucratic and backed by a few military garrisons. The old leaders kept up their highly respected status as a sort of national symbol. The connections with the outside world, always few and difficult, remained the same. This situation underwent great changes after 1947.

In that year India became independent and the partition of Pakistan was realized. Kashmir became the major bone of contention in the endless Indo-Pakistani disputes which ensued. Both states were taken over by Pakistan.

During the fifties the Chinese infiltrated, and, in 1962, occupied Tibet. In 1962 they occupied the northeastern part of Ladakh for the construction of strategic roads.

Today Ladakh has become the geographic crosspoint of Indo-Soviet and Sino-Pakistani relations. In the sparsely inhabited borderlands, Indian troops are likely to number up to half of the local population.

India closed the Ladakhi borders, leaving only the south and west open. The

caravan-trade which had flourished in all directions was now limited to routes to Kashmir and other parts of India. Continuous military transport necessitated the start of military air-services and the building of the Srinagar-Leh road, completed in 1962. With this began the opening of Ladakh.

In addition, the Indian government started internal development projects in agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation, power supply, communication, medical care, education, and tourism. Industrial products were introduced. The more accessible parts of Ladakh have gradually been incorporated into the Indian cash-economy. The monopoly of Buddhist monasticism on education was broken by Indian government schools. After 1974, tourists were admitted, and at the end of 1976, a more or less regular civil air-service was started between Srinagar and Leh. Now, even in wintertime when the passes west- and southwestern are blocked, isolation has become a thing of the past.

After the Dogra was the nobility lost their office, their actual political power, and much of their land rights. As a result there were a number of cases in which position in the traditional hierarchy no longer corresponded to wealth and economic power. Under the Indian government, more and poorer sku-drags families have come into existence. The reasons for this recent development are somewhat complex. Family fragmentation may play a greater role than land reform.

In 1950, the "big landed estate abolition act" was promulgated, and in 1953 and 1978, further limits to holdings were issued. Even after implementation, however, most of the great old sku-drags houses still hold much more than the official maxima of respectively 25 or 12.5 acres.42

More important perhaps is the splitting off of the sku-drags younger brothers to form separate families. This phenomenon, formerly exceptional, has recently become common. "Indian" ideas, laws of equal inheritance for all brothers and the abolition of "the ugly system of plurality of husbands" seem to have had their influence.43 Even more basic in the line of changes are the decline of Lamaism and the increase in professional possibilities. Numerous new jobs in government services or in the tourist business provide the younger brothers with a means of independence from the family and its resources of

land and livestock. Formerly they were limited to either monkhood or becoming a second husband. Now, in more and more cases, they settle into secondary houses with their own nuclear families, or take an entirely neolocal residence: for example, in or near Leh.44

Though difficult to establish exactly, it is very certain that the traditional Ladakhi way of thought and evaluation is changing rapidly. The manner in which people are categorized hierarchically is no exception in this process. Modern education, new bureaucratic government office-holding, and success in business are all becoming more important than rues-pas. "Today making money means becoming a sku-drang," I was told. Modern, educated people consider Ladakhi part of India. They develop ideals of democracy and socialism. As Kagyu points out:

Many Ladakhis stand up against the old social system. In allusion to rues-pas, there is a saying that, if one has long bones without other real qualities, let one crush and swallow them.46

Actually, deferential behavior towards the aristocracy is still commonly observed. Because of what remains of their wealth, honor and status, they have better chances of higher education and better jobs. The modern achievement-based hierarchy thus reflects the traditional strata, but change is unmistakably taking place.

At the bottom of the scale, marked differences persist between the recent ideal of social equality and actual behavior. The rigs-nan are still considered unclean and treated accordingly. Communality and intermarriage are still carefully avoided. But here too some beginnings of change can be found.

The import of industrial goods has forced changes in the professional life of the mgar-ba and the mon. Moreover, with the rising demands for house-builders, many mon have left the music-making to the Be-da, in order to devote themselves entirely to carpentry and construction work. Many commoines too have recently entered this trade.

Although definitely discriminated against at schools, some young rigs-nans have acquired enough education to work in government services or other new professions. Among these are house-builder, soldier, engineer, taxidriver, busdriver, owner of trucks and hotels, watchman, and school servant.46 The


employment policy of the democratic Indian national government and Jammu and Kashmir state government does not take the traditional Ladakhi stratification into account. This has inevitably created some new and sometimes conflicting social relations.

I knew, for example, a d-ma-n-rig young man born in Hemis-chuk-pa-chak. He had studied in Srinagar together with the son of the Mon family of his village. They became close friends. Upon their return home however, the Mon, who had become engineer, could not enter the d-ma-n-rig's home without being treated as impure, to the great embarrassment of his friend. Braun and Kaplanian relate similar cases. Rigs-na-n are of a higher education or profession can be well-respected anywhere except in their native community. As a result they stay away, some finally preferring to leave Ladak altogether.47

The following quote nicely illustrates the scope of the changes:

The son of a Ladakhi-Buddhist blacksmith has gone to the village school. He learned Urdu and found out that the new "good principles of India" open the world to the capable, regardless of their descent. He has heard about Kashmir and seen the vehicles coming from there. While his father had taken over his father's profession and status, he now becomes busdriver. The land which his folks (erin) doesn't interest him. As a driver he earns enough to occupy a house in Leh. He doesn't mind anymore about spiritually favorable days for risky enterprises. The timetable dictates the time to travel. And he, son of a mgar-ba rigs-na-n are steering the engine, in which maybe rigs-l-dam (sko-drag) but certainly dmang-rigs are sitting, who have to trust his arts and must follow his orders on the way.48

In keeping with the social changes, new rules of social behavior have developed. If necessary, the rigs-na-n must warn others of their presence. On the other hand, refusal of food and drinks offered is likely to indicate that one suspects the host to be unclean. There is a taboo regarding allusion to the low-castes and their status. According to Kaplanian this is a recent development. When one knows someone to be rigs-na-n, it is usual to simply avoid him, fudging ignorance of the fact towards others. In my own experience it was impossible even to use the words "mgar-ba", "Mon" or "Bde-da" respectively in their presence.49 Interviewing them on their own special po-

49) I was instructed by my interpreter, before starting our interviews to use "gag-sek" (hand-wisdom), instead of "mgar-ba"; and also to avoid "Mona".


sition was equally impossible. Apparently it would have forced them to openly acknowledge their low status.50

To summarize we can say that in 1947, after a period of colonialism in isolation under the Dogra regime, Ladakh was taken over by the Jammu and Kashmir state as part of the Indian Union. Being a border area of extreme strategic importance, Ladakh was opened and developed. The resources of the nobility were further fragmented by land reforms and changes in family structure. A new hierarchy based on achievement and success undermines their traditional status.

The low-castes have also begun to experience changes in status. Although caste-divisions are still very sharp and strict at village level, there are new opportunities for escape and mobility.

The ascertainment-based stratification in terms of estates and castes cannot adequately deal with new professional, educational, and other possibilities of achieving status. Its remnants may linger, but the foundation is disappearing in the rapid process of contemporary change.

GLOSSARY

Most terms in this glossary are Tibetan or Ladakhi, transcribed or transliterated in several ways. English technical terms are indicated by: "e".

Other terms originate from oriental languages like Phrali, Dogri and Sanskrit. They are all indicated by: "i".

Adelphic polyandry: e: system of (marriage-)alliances between a woman and two or more men, who are each other's brothers

am-chi: Tibet-Buddhist herb doctor (see ha-rje)

bar-lig: usufruct right over an estate

be-n: mighty one, demon of the middle world

beu-chogs: ceremonal group of originally ten houses

Bde-da: rambling and begging minstrels

Bhe-da: (prime) minister

bka'-blo: spiritual master (nowadays used deferentially for all monks; see lama)

Bla-ma:
blon-po: governor, minister
bogs: backdress of women
ces-bon: ceremony at the 30th of each month
chen: home-brewed beer
chen-po: great one
chos-rgyal: "ruling in accordance with the religious law"
chos-spun: religious brotherhood
commensality: e. "eating and drinking together"
dmsg-dpon: general
dmans-dpal: commoners
dmans-rigs: general
drag-rigs: upper class, aristocracy
drag-se: office title
Dog ra: 1. people from the foothills south of Ladakh, speaking Dogri
endogamy: e. system of marriage within one's own group
ga-ga: title, addressing an older nobleman
ga-ga-rca-ji: master of the house
gara: smith (see mgar-ba)
gdol-pa: out-caste (see rigs-pan)
gerapa: particular aristocratic family from Gera
guen: kinsmen, relatives
gser-pa: managing one (used for particular, ceremonial group)
go-ba: village headmen (see mi-dpon and gron-dpon)
gron-dpon: village headmen (see mi-dpon and go-ba)
gsags-dpon: chief judge
gser-mgar: goldsmith
gyalpo: king (see rgyal-po)
gzims-dpon: chamberlain
gzims-khan: upper class house
hypergamy: jagdr
kahlon:
kaedar: Kesar:
khun-bu:
khan-chen:
khan-chun:
khan-nu:
khur:
klu:
La-dvags:
lsangs-see:
lama:
lha:
lha-pa:
lha-rje:
lha-rje:
Ling:
log-pa:
lo-gsar:
lum-badar:
ma:
mgar-ba:
mi-dmans:
mgair-dpon:
ghkar-dpon:
man: 1.
nai-b-tehsildar: vice-tehsildar, office title since the Dogra's
upper estates and low-castes 163
identity
prive minister (see bka'-blon)
prive office title
mythical king of Ling, hero of the epic, ancestor of local kings
small house (see khang-chung and -nu)
big house, bearing the house-family-name
small house (see khang-bu and -nu)
small house (see khang-bu and -chung)
backload
waterspirit
Ladakh (possibly: land of passes)
hand-wisdom (honorary epithet of the mgar-ba)
spiritual master (nowadays used deferentially for all monks; see bla-ma)
god
god-man, oracle
Tibeto-Buddhist herb doctor (see am-chi)
seat of a god, altar
mythical land of Kesar
sheepskin backdress of women
now-year
1. Dogra-office title
mother- prefix
smith (see gara)
commoners (see dmans-rigs, dmans-dpal)
village headmen (see go-ba, gron-dpon)
palace master
carpenter-musician from the south
Name of the second "Tibetan" dynasty of kings of Ladakh
financial officer, supplying the royal court
e. taking residence, separated from the families of both marriage partners
title, addressing a younger nobleman (nowadays used for any younger man, brother)
astrologer, magician (possibly: Bon-priest)
e. taking residence at the place of the husband’s family
(father-prefix)
ceremonial brotherhood in rel. to birth-, marriage- and esp. death-ceremonies
to separate (also dbyed-contains)
treasurer
system of (marriage-)alleiances between a woman and two or more men
system of inheritance, in which the eldest (son) is the only heir
i. king
elder
elder
king (see gyal-po)
royal stratum, royal "estate"
thread, lineage (sutra)
stratum, layer (also: family, lineage; sort, class, species)
upper class, aristocracy (see drag-rigs, sku-drag, rigs-ldan)
" low-caste (see gdol-pa)
precious one, title of incarnate lama’s
bone; family, lineage, birth, descent
of high family
of low family
title of a high noble lady
1. Large religious sect, centred in Punjab
"body noble", nobility, aristocracy (see drag-rigs, rigs-ldan, rigs-chen)
family, lineage (honific)
family
i. subdistrict
i. governor of a tehsil, office title since the Dogra’s
hearth-god
i. Dogra-title of the governor
pollution, impurity
ploughman, ordinary farmer
lower office title
lower office title
e. taking residence at the wife’s place
1. Buddhist monk’s rules and vows, Buddhist morality
i. Dogra-general
i. Dogra-governor-general
native valley in Central-Tibet of the ancient Tibetan dynasty
i. Dogra-office title (see zelidar)
i. probably the same as zelidar
CHILLING, UN VILLAGE DU LADAKH
Contribution à l'anthropologie d'un village de culture tibétaine lamaïste

Jean-Pierre Rigal


Astrologue, orfèvre (le meilleur du Ladakh), érudit, sans avoir jamais subi aucune éducation de type indien ou occidental, Tsatan Wangbo est l'exemple remarquable de "l'intellectuel", dépositaire d'un savoir et d'une mémoire collectifs, que pouvait créer une société bien ancrée dans sa tradition, comme l'était le Ladakh encore récemment.

Chilling est le lieu originaire de Tsatan Wangbo; c'est le seul village du Ladakh qui pratique un artisanat noble et estimé : le travail du métal.

Le fait que les habitants se disent d'origine étrangère, Newari, et le traduisent par des traditions religieuses différentes, ne fait que renforcer l'intérêt que présente le village.

Les séjours sur place révèlèrent un remarquable maintien des traditions de la culture bouddhiste lamaïste ladakhtie, souvent perdues ailleurs, et une communauté d'une cohésion exemplaire. La présence d'éléments étrangers (hindous) ne change rien à cette cohésion.

LE VILLAGE

1. CRITÈRES DU CHOIX

3 raisons ont présidé au choix de Chilling comme objet d'étude.

- Sa situation est relativement isolée.
- C'est un village d'artisans.
- Les habitants sont d'origine Newar.
1. Situation
Elle est originale, décrite des grands axes de communication au Ladakh. Ceux-ci sont en effet:
- La route qui va du Cachemire au Ladakh, puis se prolonge vers l’est, en longeant l’Indus pendant 150 km.
- La vallée de Nubra au nord.
- Les vallées de la Suru et du Zanskar au sud.
Ces axes de communication constituent les grands foyers de peuplement, isolés par les montagnes.

Chilling s’apparente à aucun d’entre eux. Son accès est difficile: deux jours de marche à partir de Nyemo, à 30 km de Leh. Sur un mauvais chemin, difficile pour les animaux, on doit longuer le fleuve Zanskar, qu’il faut ensuite traverser sur un petit charriot, penché à un cable.

Chilling est une fin de piste; on ne peut pas continuer le chemin le long du Zanskar, dont la vallée devient trop escarpée.

Les autres accès sont également malaisés: plusieurs jours de marche, avec des cols élevés, si l’on suit les vallées les plus proches où se trouvent les villages voisins.

Le problème se pose donc: pourquoi cette situation difficile, surtout pour un village spécialisé dans un artisanat, donc ayant des problèmes de commercialisation? La réponse est donnée plus loin dans la légende de fondation du village.

2. Spécialisation artisanale
C’est le seul village ladakhi où toute la population mâle s’est spécialisée dans le travail du métal. Cette activité est très prestigieuse au Ladakh, et les objets produits très recherchés.
Les habitants de Chilling bénéficient d’un grand prestige social. On les nomme ser-gar, ceux qui travaillent l’or (ser), qu’un ils travaillent surtout le cuivre et l’argent. Pour rester proche de l’étymologie, nous traduirons ser-gar par orfèvre.

3. Origine Newar
Cette information fut apportée au début de l’enquête par Tswatan Kuqgo. Elle était corroborée par divers documents, des décrets royaux essentiellement, relatifs à des donations de terres ou à des conflits de propriété. Ces documents montrent que les ser-gar avaient un statut privilégié par rapport aux autres catégories de la population ladakhi, entre autres, ils étaient exemptés d’impôts.

II. Description
1. Situation

Chilling est situé au confluent du fleuve Zanskar, qui se jette dans l’Indus à 40 km au nord, et d’un torrent nommé Chilling tokpo (tokpo: torrent). Ces deux cours d’eau constituent deux côtés d’un triangle, dont le troisième est formé par une crête rocheuse.

La majeure partie de Chilling est incluse dans ce triangle. A sa pointe se trouve le monastère. Puis les champs s’étendent en pente douce vers le Zanskar; par contre la limite avec le torrent est beaucoup plus abrupte.

Le sol de Chilling est considéré comme fertile; le rendement est relativement élevé: pour 2 kg de semences, 4 kg de récoltes. Les champs sont irrigués par des canaux, alimentés par le torrent. L’eau est captée assez loin dans la montagne.

2. Eléments constitutifs de l’urbanisme
Les maisons sont réparties dans les champs sans cohésion apparente. Chacune est formée d’un petit groupe de bâtiments à fonctions agricoles diverses.

Il y a aujourd’hui quatre maisons ou khampa (maison principale). Ce sont:
- Chilling Yurgampa (Chilling du bas).
- Chilling Gonmampa ("Chilling du haut").
- Çikampa ("le premier").
- Gacinta ("maison de Galiso").

Il y a également deux maisons abandonnées: Tokpama et Parmpama.

Actuallement une partie des bâtiments de cette dernière maison constitue une "khancun" (petite maison) et est occupée par deux vieillards. Près de Čikpapa se trouve un bâtiment appelé khar galapa, qui sert actuellement d'école et a logé l'instituteur (originnaire d'un autre village et changé tous les trois ans).

Le monastère, habité par un moine, domine quelque peu le village. Ce n'est en fait qu'une salle de prières, un hall ouvert, et quelques pièces utilisées par le moine. Il est rattaché à la secte "Bouddha rouges". Dugpa Kargya, et dépend du monastère d'Hémsa qui nomme le moine koumier, c'est-à-dire responsable de l'entretien du monastère, et devient aussi assurer diverses fonctions religieuses dans le village. Le koumier reste en fonction trois ans puis est remplacé.

Autre élément d'urbanisme, les rentak, moulins à eau. Ils sont situés à l'extérieur du village, sur un torrent. Trois maisons en ont un: Chilling Goama, Chilling Yugma et Gaciupa. La quatrième maison utilise ceux des autres, sans avoir à fournir de contrepartie (contrairement au cas général où il faut fournir une contrepartie en farine).

3. Urbanisme religieux

En dehors du monastère, existent de nombreuses constructions à fonction religieuse, qu'on retrouve dans tout village ladakh. Dominant le village, sur la crête qui est le sanctuaire, on trouve:  
- Le yul-lhato, autel de la divinité protectrice du village qui est la déesse "la aspect couronnée", Palchen Lhama.
- A côté se trouve un cakhan, chorten dans lequel on dépose les ca-ca, petits cônes d'argile et de cendres des défunts, de grands drapeaux de prières tarchen et une estrade destinée à recevoir les grands maitres lamaiques, Rinpoche, lors de leurs visites au village.

Un peu en avant de cet alignement, sur une petite butte, se trouve un gros mandor, cube rouge surmonté d'une pointe destinée à boire les can, esprits maléfiques.

En arrière de la crête, dans un petit vallon, se trouvent les rumkhan, cubes de maçonnerie dans lesquels on brûle les défunts. Chaque famille a le sien.

Le long des voies d'accès au village, on rencontre de grands murs couverts de mante, pierres gravées de formules mantraiques, et des alignements de chortens. À l'intérieur du village, on trouve aussi de nombreux chortens, dont trois sont particulièrement importants. En effet, les habitants pensent qu'ils ont été construits par Lotsawa Rinchen Zampo, moine tibétain auprès de qui attribue cette construction ancienne au Ladakh, celle-ci en acquérant une sacrification d'autant plus forte.

Le village est en forme de triangle, ce qui est de mauvaise augure. Pour conjurer ce fait, Rinchen Zampo construit un chorten à chaque coin. Le plus important contiendrait des statues, et avant la construction du Gongpa (monastère), chaque cérémonie importante du village s'y déroulait.

ELEMENTS HISTORIQUES

Chilling est un des rares villages de Ladakh dont les habitants racontent l'origine. Il est un fait que les mythes d'origine sont rares au Ladakh. De même qu'il est exceptionnel que les informateurs puissent remonter loin dans leur généalogie, et à ce point de vue Chilling est tout à fait remarquable, de même ils n'ont pas d'histoire à raconter sur l'origine de leur village. Némoïnas N. Grits et P. Kaplanian¹ ont trouvé une légende de l'origine du village de Gongpa. D'après cette légende, le village était à l'origine triangulaire parce qu'il avait été peuplé par des habitants de toute la terre et reflétait donc tout ce qui vit sous le ciel. Le ciel était symbolisé par un triangle. Il est remarquable que, dans les deux mythes d'origine, on retrouve le triangle, quoiqu'avec des significations bien différentes.)

Ce mythe d'origine est corroboré par divers documents, décrets royaux qui stipulent bien la spécificité du statut des habitants de Chilling. Nous allons d'abord examiner la légende de la fondation de Chilling, telle qu'elle est au Ladakh et nous a été contée.

I. Éléments légendaires et semi-légendaires

Les habitants de Chilling (que nous appellerons Chilling-pass) ne peuvent donner de date précise à leur venue au Ladakh.

Un roi fit venir un certain nombre "d'artisans du métal" du Népal, probablement deux générations avant le grand roi Singe Namgyal (1500-1620). Certaines

repartirent au Népal. Le fondateur de Chilling, Meme Benta et sa compagne Abi Benzhang Ski, acceptèrent la proposition du roi de s'établir au Ladakh. Meme Benta se mit alors à chercher un site favorable: il fallait que le sol soit propice aux cultures, mais aussi qu'on y trouve du métal (en l'occurrence du cuivre) et également du bois. Le Zanskar a tiré son nom de Zans, cuivre, aussi Meme Benta se mit-il à chercher ses aliments, le fleuve ayant la réputation de contenir du cuivre. Après maints essais, il vint à Chilling, où le sol était bon (car il avait déjà été cultivé comme nous le verrons ensuite). Le Zanskar y trouvait du cuivre. Il y avait aussi beaucoup de bois. Pour prendre une décision finale, il décida de procéder par mélange. Il s'ensuivit que devait trouver le site favorable en jetant une flèche (das) du haut de la montagne nommé aujourd'hui Ri Tompo, qui fait face à Chilling, de l'autre côté du Zanskar. Il jeta plusieurs flèches dans différentes directions. Toutes furent perdues, sauf une qu'on retrouva au site actuel de Chilling. Effectivement, tout ce qui était nécessaire au travail des ser-gar était présent: le métal, le bois, le charbon, les pierres pour marteler. Meme Benta et Abi Benzhang Ski s'établirent donc à Chilling, avec l'accord du roi. Les habitants actuels sont leurs descendants.

Occupation antérieure de Chilling:
Quand on leur demanda la signification du nom de leur village, les habitants répondent que Chilling vient de Sikpa, qui signifie "intérieur au bouddhisme", et en général musulman. En voici la raison: Chilling fut occupé initialement par des musulmans, qui se seraient établis sur divers sites le long du fleuve Zanskar. Mais la déesse Palden Lhamo, protectrice du village, installée à Chilling depuis fort longtemps, était mécontente de ne recevoir aucun respect des habitants. Aussi elle envoya des serpents qui firent systématiquement tous les enfants. (Aujourd'hui encore on trouve de nombreux serpents à Chilling. Ils sont évidemment très respectés, étant considérés comme des tha, esprits de la fertilité, équivalents des Nagas hindous). Les musulmans désespérés firent appel à leurs plus hautes autorités religieuses, ainsi qu'à des grands lamas tibétains. La réponse fut que "seuls des gens mandant le métal" (les ser-gar) pouvaient s'établir à Chilling. Les musulmans du-devont donc partir.
On peut voir aujourd'hui deux champs où se trouveraient les tombes de ces habitants musulmans originels. Il y aurait vingt tombes, prouve que cette occupation aurait duré au maximum trois générations.

II. Preuves historiques
Les habitants de Chilling, et surtout Tsatan Wangbo, qui est l'astrologue du village et peut être considéré comme le dépositaire de sa "mémoire" collective, possèdent plusieurs copies ou originaux de dôrettes royaux, qui dans l'ensemble, datent du début du XVIIème siècle.

Ce sont souvent des décisions réglant des contestations à propos de propriétés, ou des actes de donations. On peut en retirer les faits suivants:
- La statue de Mailrnya du monastère de Basgo fut construite par les habitants de Chilling (les enfants de Meme Benta sous le règne de Singge Namgyal (1590-1636)).
- La grande statue (gûno singe) du Buddha qui se trouve au monastère de Shey, que le roi Deldan Namgyal (1629-1645) fit ériger pour honorer la mémoire de son père, Singge Namgyal, fut construite par un maître d'œuvre venu spécialement du Népal: Sponsen Palbo Sangye Zergyal Bumpa, et cinq ser-gar de Chilling: Palden Tsering, Gyatso, Gomani, Dewa Tsering et Nagpuri. En ce qui concerne les quatre premiers, on retrouve sûrement leur trace à Chilling, certains étant même à l'origine du nom actuel des maisons; ainsi Gyatso est le fondateur de Gac IPA. Cette liste d'artisans est également donnée par l'inscription figurant au pied de la statue de Shey.

On peut également supposer que les ser-gar de Chilling ont également participé à la construction des grands chortens couverts d'argent du monastère d'Hemis, et à l'édification de la grande statue de Padmasambhava du monastère de Chimre, ces deux monastères ayant été construits sous le règne de Singge Namgyal, en donation à son gur, le grand lama Dukpa-Kargyupa. Stakya Sang Rinpoche.

Pour finir, disons que l'origine népalaise des habitants de Chilling est un fait totalement admis dans la mémoire populaire ladakhie, et qu'en trois ans, nous n'avons rencontré personne pour l'informer.

ECONOMIE DU VILLAGE
Il y a évidemment deux activités économiques principales:
- L'activité artistique du travail du métal;
- L'activité agricole.

I. Le travail du métal
1. La production
Quiconque se rend au Ladakh est frappé par la beauté des ustensiles de cuisine, qui sont rangés sur un présentoir (lans) sur le mur attenant au foyer: les pots à bière (cêp-kya), les théières (tâgu), les lauches (thamu) sont en cuivre martelé, souvent décorés d'argent, et constituent la richesse et la fierté d'une maison ladakhie. (Peut-être hélas faudrait-il bientôt mettre cette affirmation au passé, l'avidité des touristes et l'abondance de leurs dollars
Chilling

moines se rendent d'abord à Chilling pour contacter le ou les artisans de leur choix. Ceux-ci se rendent alors au monastère, où ils demeurent plusieurs mois, surtout pendant la belle saison. La nécessité d'effectuer à la même période les travaux des champs renforce peut-être la tendance au maintien de la polyandrie.

Le travail se pratiquait au repoussé: on fabrique d'abord un moule en cire, et on martèle le cuivre chaud par dessus. Les statues ne sont que recouvertes de cuivre. Les sér-gar ne fondent pas le bronze, à la différence des artisans Newari.

Le style est similaire à celui du Tibet.

Le métier a apparu de père à enfants mâles. Parfois autrefois, un fils était "sacrifié" et envoyé garder les troupeaux dans la montagne, sans pouvoir apprendre, ainsi Tashi Tendup, de Chikspa, qui quitta Chilling pour créer une nouvelle maison à 20 km de là.

II. Activités agricoles

1. Production

Comme pratiquement tous les villages du Ladakh, Chilling est auto-suffisant.

Les cultures sont à 80 % du blé, 20 % de l'orge, des pois, de la moutarde. Il n'y a qu'une récolte par an, ce qui classe le terroir dans une bonne catégorie, mais pas la meilleure (Murh et Saspot ont deux récoltes).

Chaque maison possède un petit potager et des arbres fruitiers: pommières, abricotiers et même des noyers (dans l'huile est très demandée pour les lampes à huile).

Tsetan Wangbo estimait sa production annuelle de grains à 3 200 kg, estimation difficile à contrôler.

C'est une maison de moyenne importance, Chilling Goma et Chilling Yuga étaient plus riches, et Chikspa plus modeste.

2. Le bétail

Au recensement officiel, aucune maison de Chilling ne disait avoir de vaches. Nous nous baserons sur les déclarations de Tsetan Wangbo:

- 2 à 3 dizos laboureurs
- 5 à 6 vaches laitières
- 30 vaches et dixmos
- 30 à 40 moutons et chèvres
- 2 ânes

Ces chiffres sont une bonne moyenne: certaines maisons ont plus de dizos et parfois des chevaux.
Le bétail n’est jamais vendu. Chilling étant riche, on mange fréquemment de la viande, surtout en période de fête.
Point à noter: les Chilling-pas doivent acheter leur lait à l’extérieur dans les villages de Shingo et Markha, où il y a beaucoup de yakos. Cette laitue est tissée par un artisan extérieur lui aussi au village, qui vient de Sundah ou de Shiku et qui amène son métier avec lui.
En résumé, les habitants de Chilling produisent suffisamment pour leur consommation, mais n’ont aucun surplus commercialisable, à la différence des autres villages riches du Ladak.
Ce surplus provient de la production artisanale, qui en fait, par contre, un village extrêmement riche, peut-être le plus riche.

ORGANISATION SOCIALE ET CLANIQUE

Chilling est un des villages du Ladak qui présente la plus forte cohésion. On est frappé, quand on y fait un séjour, par le peu d’éléments étrangers à la culture tibétaine lamaïsante. Nous ne parlons pas, pour le moment, des éléments Newari et Hindous bien intégrés à l’ensemble.

Comme nous l’avons écrit plus haut, nous avions choisi Chilling à cause de son isolement et nous avions cru y voir les raisons du maintien solide des traditions encore vivantes.
Or, force nous a été de constater que les Chilling-pas ne sont en fait que relativement isolés. A deux jours de Leh, ils savent parfaitement ce qui s’y passe et s’y rendent fréquemment.
Nous devons donc chercher ailleurs que dans l’isolement géographique les raisons du maintien des structures traditionnelles, qui, dans bien d’autres villages perdent de leur force, surtout chez les jeunes.
Nous allons donc étudier ces différentes institutions.

I. Le phaspan

Rappelons tout d’abord que le phaspan est l’association de plusieurs maisons, qui peuvent appartenir à des villages différents, mais n’ont pas de lien de parenté. Son but est de fournir une entrée à ses membres dans les grandes circonstances de la vie: les naissances, les mariages, les décès. L’exemple le plus classique du fonctionnement du phaspan est lors d’un décès: les membres de la famille du défunt ne s’occupent de rien. Ce sont les membres du phaspan qui préviennent les ismas, se chargent de l’organisation des funérailles.

Le phaspan est donc la structure sociale qui, au Ladak, s’apparente le plus au clan. Comme tout clan, le phaspan a une divinité tutélaire qui l’appelle le phaz-pha (pha: divinité).
Chilling présente diverses particularités sur ce plan: Toutes les maisons appartiennent au même phaspan. De même les habitants de Chilling qui se sont expatriés dans les villages proches, Shiku, Kayu et Sundah, essentiellement, ont continué leurs activités d’orfèvre, appartenant au même phaspan, de même la famille du Chimre ser-gar, orfèvre attaché au monastère de Chimre, appartient à ce phaspan.
Il apparaît évident que l’élément déterminant pour l’appartenance au phaspan est le travail du métal, ce qui confirme bien l’idée d’une origine commune aux Chilling-pas, dirigeants au Ladak.

En effet, le phaz-pha, divinité du phaspan, se nomme Mahadeva; sa parère est Gauri Ma. La similitude entre Shiva et Parvati est évidemment frappante. Il existe dans le cotkhan (chapelle) de la maison Gacinpa, une thanka (peinture) représentant Mahadeva. Il a un trident dans une main, un sexe en érection dans l’autre, tous éléments se rapportant aussi à Shiva.

Dans la mythologie boudhiste lamaïsante, Mahadeva est une des divinités qui, avec les Brahma...les grands dieux du Pantheon hindou, virinent défier le Bouddha, après son illumination, et furent vaincus dans le concours de prodiges qui s’envisuait. Mahadeva c’est un parfait Bouddha et n’est pas encore réalisé.

A notre connaissance, Chilling est le seul village au Ladak ne comprenant qu’un seul phaspan, et où la divinité tutélaire du phaspan est une divinité directement émancipée à l’hindouisme.

Autre fait corroborant cette origine étrangère des Chilling-pas: il existe une famille à Leh, qu’on appelle Leh ser-gar, et qui, bien qu’avant abandonné le travail du métal, conserve le mémoire de son origine népalaise, et de ses liens avec Chilling. Ses divinités tutélaires sont Mahadeva et Cokdak Ländna, divinité fort proche de Ganesh hindou (Ländna veut dire nés d’éléphants).

Teetan Wangbo nous a déclaré que si Mahadeva, ni Cokdak Ländna ne sont de parfaits Bouddhas (comme tous les phaz-pha du Ladak). Ils appartiennent au monde des Hha, des Dieux dont Mahadeva est le chef, ce monde représenté en haut de la "Rune de la Vie". Ils sont toujours soumis au Karma, à la loi de la transmigration.

Mahadeva est un dieu terrible. Aussi Chilling reste-t-il le seul village ladakhi où chaque maison sacrifie une chèvre sur l’autel de Mahadeva, le jour du nouvel an. D’autre part, traditionnellement, les ser-gar ne devaient pas manger de
vitande de vache. Cette prescription s’est répandue, mais celui qui l’enfreint ne peut approcher de la chapelle familiale.

Ces éléments similaires aux traditions hindoues, particulièrement à celles de la vallée de Katmandou, semblent bien confirmer l’origine newari des habitants de Chilling. Ceux-ci seraient importés, lors de leur venue au Ladakh, un certain nombre de divinités et de pratiques religieuses, qu’ils ont intégrées au système local. (C’est d’ailleurs une constante du Bouddhisme lamiste d’intégrer des éléments extérieurs en leur donnant une couleur classique. Les ser-gar disent : "Nous étions bouddhistes avant de venir au Ladakh, mais nous deviendrons Mahasvacou").

Le fait que le village entier, ainsi que les "expatriés" appartiennent au même phaspa et que la divinité tutélaire soit aussi spécifique est une des originalités de Chilling.

II. LA FAMILLE

D’après les autorités indiennes, la polyandrie aurait pratiquement disparu du Ladakh. Elle a d’ailleurs été interdite par deux lois. Dans les fêtes des études récentes montrent que la polyandrie est bien vivante (Cf. les études de N. Grist); probablement 50 % de la population bouddhiste continue de la pratiquer (voir les travaux de l’équipe de Cambridge).

Dans le cas de Chilling, nous arrivons à 100 %. Plusieurs hommes devant parfois s’absenter pour de longues périodes, pour travailler dans les monastères, la présence d’un deuxième homme est considérée comme nécessaire aux travaux des champs.

Dans chaque maison, la maîtresse de maison est mariée à plusieurs frères. Le frère de Tsatsan Wangbo, Tashi Rabgyes, a le même âge que leur fille, qui l’appelle A-ha, père.


Ils vivent dans des bâtiments différents. Cependant les enfants des deux épouses acceptent indifféremment les deux frères comme père.

Dernier point : traditionnellement au Ladakh, quand le fils aîné se marie et à un fils, ses parents quittent la maison familiale (kha ha pha) pour se retirer.

Dans une petite maison (kha ha pha) où ils conservent le quart de la propriété familiale. Ainsi Mme Tsawang Rabgyes, mère de Tsatsan Wangbo, vit dans la kha ha pha appelée Baro tian. Mais là encore, rien ne se passe conventionnellement, car il vit avec Urgyan Zagmo, la tante d’Isho Namgyal, "chef de famille" de la maison Chilling Yugmapa.

On le vole, les structures familiales obéissent à des règles souples qui doivent créer l’harmonie parmi les membres de la communauté, et non leur imposer des décisions qui leur répugnent.


Les Chilling-on expliquent que chaque région du Ladakh a ses coutumes propres, et qu’une jeune fille originaire de la vallée de l’Indus aurait beaucoup de mal à s’intégrer à Chilling.

Chilling est peut-être l’un des villages qui respecte encore l’exogamie du phaspa.

RITUEUX

Le village traduit bien sûr sa cohésion et sa spécificité essentiellement dans les fêtes. Ces fêtes sont nombreuses, et elles rythment la vie des Chilling-ons. La plupart d’entre elles existent dans tous les villages ladhakis, mais sont rarement célébrées de façon aussi traditionnelle qu’à Chilling.

Toute fête est bien sûr d’abord une célébration religieuse, comprenant divers rites et cérémonies qu’on effectue dans chaque Chokha (chapelle) et pour lesquels on fait appel au lama local, ou même à d’autres lamas ici qui collaborent : il faut les nourrir, les remercier..., mais Chilling est riche et peut se permettre ce luxe.

Mais la fête est surtout l’occasion pour tout le village de se réunir, bien manger et boire, danser et s’amuser. Élément primordial dans toute festivité au Ladakh (et au Tibet), le champa, bière d’orge fermentée, coule particulièrement à flot à Chilling. Tout le village se réunit successivement dans chacune des maisons, dont les propriétaires mettront un point d’honneur à bien servir les convives.

Dans le cas du Nouvel An, losar, on arrive dans la dernière maison vers quatre heures du matin, dans un état d'ébriété très vancé. Mais même alors, il faudra boire, et encore boire. Tout casse de sobriété est un affront envers l'hôte.


Les enfants sont intégrés tout petits aux activités du village, et, plus tard, apparemment, n'éprouvent pas le désir de "partir à la ville" comme dans tant d'autres endroits.


De nombreux adultes jouent, souvent les envies de chacun, et aucune connotation péjorative ne subsiste.

Chilling est le village qui a conservé les fêtes dans leurs formes les plus classiques et qui les traditions restent les plus vivantes. Outre le losar nous étudierons trois fêtes ultérieurement.

Le Premier Labour : saka
Le Manchissement des Chortens : napé-cébu
La fête de la moisson : skunsal
Ces quatre fêtes sont les plus importantes à Chilling.

La fête de la moisson, skunsal, se déroule dans tout le Ladak. À Chilling, la maison la plus importante, Chilling Yurga, qui est la maison "originelle" de Mme Banta, le fondateur, célèbre cette fête de façon spectaculaire.

À l'origine, une légende qui veut qu'un gâteau d'offrande et d'exorcisme, torma, soit fait par les lamas, puis détruit simultanément, avec la participation de tout le village, pour étouffer les influences néfastes pour le futur proche.

Les deux autres fêtes sont des fêtes traditionnelles au Ladak. Elles sont des jalons importants dans le cycle des saisons.

En résumé, nous pouvons dire qu'une communauté très réduite une quarantaine

3) Quelques détails ont été déjà tirés par P. Kaplan, à qui j'avais prête mes notes, aux chapitres XIII et XIV de son ouvrage.
THREE GENERATIONS IN THE WANLA VALLEY

Reinhard Sander

SYNOPSIS

In this article I confine myself to reporting on the nucleus of my extended study of the relationship between the social order and generative structure in Ladakh. While the complete study deals with general socio-demographic questions in the context of the 'rationality' in traditional societies in coping with environmental restraints, the present abstract discusses the results of a field study in eleven villages situated in the valleys of the Wanla River and its tributaries. The genealogies of three generations of 65 Buddhist families were traced in order to contrast the empirically 'real' patterns of marriage with those stereotyped in the (older) literature on Ladakh and, further, to assess the often assumed effects of polyandry on population growth. It is clear that assembling data on a sampling of only 574 persons to ascertain 'general patterns of marriage and fertility' is problematical. However, a few conclusions good enough to demystify some institutions of the Tibeto-buddhist family system may be drawn. Indeed, approximately one third of the marriages are polyandrous, without variation throughout the generations. Yet we also find a low rate of polygynous marriages in the first and second generation. The predominating type of marriage, however, is monogamy, mainly due to the demographic structure of the offspring, with a slight increase in monogamous marriages by choice. Rather as an incidental result, a significantly low number of female off-spring is documented in the genealogies; some hypotheses are offered regarding this. Finally, the extremely low rate of male and female within each generation is surprising when seen against the background of the 'relevant' literature.

INTRODUCTION

In reading about Ladakh, the stereotype contention that 'polyandry functions as a check on population growth' is evident, particularly in older publica-

which first guide one during the 'armchair'-phase of field exploration. Meanwhile, as shown in this volume, a far more subtle perception, which even includes a certain scepticism towards one's own 'reconstruction' of an alien society's reality, has taken the place of simply schematic interpretations of social institutions.

Working theoretically on the inherent 'rationality' of the social order in traditional societies with regard to demographic structure, optimally adapted to restraints defined by the natural environment or, respectively, its social interpretation, the myth of the Ladakhi/Tibetan polyandry became of particular interest to me. According to the perspective in a 'social demography', individual fertility and consequently the population growth is to a remarkable extent rather the result of social conditions than a purely natural event. No doubt the reproduction of individuals is directed by the values and norms of their particular social system which also regulates the patterns of marriage. Thus regarded, Ladakh obtains the status of a test-case for general sociological reflection.

At first glance, the statement that polyandry checks the growth of population seems logical. The construction of a comparative model of the two pure types of polygamous alliances leads indeed to the same conclusion (see figure 1):

![Figure 1: Reproduction in Polygynous vs. Polyandrous Alliances](image)

- **TYPE A**
  - polygynous marriage system

- **TYPE B**
  - polyandrous marriage system

3) The first official census was made in 1873.

Preliminary to Ladakh, TYPE A represents the Muslim type of alliance and TYPE B the Buddhist type, both excluding the complexity of the social reality which is the sense of building models. So, the 'ideal type' of Buddhist family shows a reproductive development completely different from the Muslim family, if the number (2) and the sex (male) of the children per woman and all other conditions are assumed equal in both cases, as demonstrated in the model.

POPULATION GROWTH AS DOCUMENTED IN THE CENSUS OF INDIA

The first step is to attempt a quick verification of the model's statement by an analysis of the data in the Census of India (see figure 2).

Compared to the population growth during the past seven decades in India as a whole (+ 130 %) or in the entire Jammu and Kashmir State (+ 118 %), Ladakh shows in fact a significantly low population growth of only + 66 % during the last 70 years.

Yet, beyond this and above all, our attention is drawn to the population growth of the two major religious groups in Ladakh. Looking at the 'pure facts' as presented in the Census volumes, no religiously determined population growth is recognizable (see figure 2).

We could then close the discussion on different fertility rates of Buddhists and Muslims, presumably due to different customs, if we regarded statistics as an adequate instrument as such to reflect or even explain 'social reality'. Indeed, a more detailed analysis opens other perspectives. First, the Census commissioners' comments to the tables in the Census volumes point out a number of problems in counting the Ladakhi population. The most serious bias is caused by the frequent change in the boundaries of Ladakh during the 'Dogra rule' and even after. Thus the Census data collected between 1901 and 1951 have been adjusted by the Census authorities in Delhi and Srinagar to the jurisdiction of 1961. Moreover, the remaining dubious data further decrease in value for our topic because certain parts of Ladakh, especially those northwest of the Dras River (Bashistan), whose boundaries were redefined several times before 'independence' or, respectively, lost during the wars with Pakistan, are traditionally populated with Muslim tribes. On the other hand, the Buddhist population 'increased' from the end of the 1960s onward by about 4,000 refugees from Tibet who were resettled in Ladakh. Of other politically induced migration into India or, respectively, Pakistan, i.e. of Buddhists settling north or Muslims living south of the Cease Fire Line, no data have been published.
An obvious problem is, of course, the census-taking itself. Aside from the difficulties in employing reliable officers in general, Ladakh's topography may seduce even an honest man to ask an informant rather than to trek to the last remote village to complete the census form there. Considering the average Ladakhi's aversion to an 'official' who may be a camouflaged tax-collector, the 'willful' feeding of the census-taker with wrong information is highly predictable.

There are two more sources for a census bias 'Ladakhi-style': One lies most probably in the census forms which are standardized to obtain comparable data from all of India. Regional peculiarities may thus slip through the net of the questionnaire. To give an example: In Ladakh it is not easy to recognize by casual inspection what a house in the sense of a residence is, as we find here houses for different purposes (k'haang gyu/k'haang chen), sometimes combined in one building, sometimes spread out but still belonging to one residence. Most of the buildings are somewhat habitable, although some are occasionally left temporarily unoccupied. (These considerations help to explain a remarkable difference between the number of houses and households in the Wanza area collected by me in 1977 and that collected by the Census officers in 1971. Furthermore, the differences in those two 'micro-censuses' prove the partial inadequacy of the assumed census categories to the varying conditions of regional cultures.)

The other problem to be mentioned is the delicate political (and military) position of Ladakh. Due to the claims of both legal successors of British India on Ladakh, census figures on religious groups are a sensitive issue. As is well known, the legitimacy for declaring certain regions (especially in the Jammu and Kashmir State) 'legally' as part of Pakistan is derived from the Muslim portion of the population. So regarded, it would not meet the demands of a "raison d'être" for India, to concede a considerable Muslim majority - if there would be any.

Therefore, some particular conditions seriously restrict the use of the Census documents for our topic. Neither the 'reliability' nor the 'validity' of the published population sheets seem to be sufficient to provide more than a rough basis from which to derive tentative statements.

THE FIELD STUDY

The second approach to the subject of my research was a field study to collect data about variables which are not covered by the Census of India. First of all it was necessary to establish the empirically occurring marriage patterns.

Three Generations in the Wanza Valley

After exploratory interviews in Leh and Temisgam, we settled in August/September 1977 in the Wanza area. The decision for this particular 'field' was determined by our set of conditions, i.e.: semi-remote, distant urban agglomerations, no connecting roads, Buddhist population. The Wanza area consists of 11 villages. The Wanza River gives the area its name, although 5 villages are situated in the valleys of tributaries (see map of Wanza area, below).

4) I was accompanied by my wife, Brigitte, and Tsering Wangdu Ochungphey, a teacher from Brag, who translated the interviews and, moreover, accompanied us as guide and true friend.

5) A village named Wanza, as often shown on maps and mentioned in newly published guidebooks on Ladakh, actually does not exist. According to the descriptions and location on the maps, it is "man tesha" which is mistakenly named Wanza.
My sample comprises all 65 households in these eleven villages. More conventionally, a household can be defined as the social and economic unit which utilizes resources (land, cattle) in common, living in a common residence, which may consist of several buildings where family members live continuously or occasionally (an absence may be due to trading, military service etc.). The resident family usually consists of several nuclear families of different generations.

Rather than use this 'technical' definition with all its imponderabilities of neutrality, I prefer the Ladakhi interpretation of a household. In their view, all those persons (and their goods) belong to one household who worship the same 'Iha'7 (which they have in common with their 'pha spum') and who use the same of their 'house' (which may in fact mean several buildings) as their family name. The Ladakhi definition excludes any differentiation between household and family, building and residence. All these terms simply represent different aspects of the complex socio-economic system 'family'.

Using this simpler, nevertheless more precise definition leads to an evident discrepancy as the other problems discussed so far, when my data are compared with the results of the official census which is guided by other definitions (see Table 1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Macrocensus of the Wana area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Census of India 1971 &amp; 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>own census</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households in the Wana area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 k 'hang chen ('big houses')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 k 'hang sgyu ('small houses')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 deserted buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhabitants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>509 (65 persons were said to be family members living permanently elsewhere as monks/nuns or mag bu/bag ma)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


7) 'Iha' could be translated as 'house-god', simplifying its complex meaning. A sophisticated discussion is found in Braun, Martin: Feste in Ladakh, Graz 1980.

8) 'Pha spum' could be explained as a ritual corporation of classified 'father-brothers', which comprises a few families who worship the same 'Iha' and who are bound by some ritual duties to each other. See also: Braun 1980 (Note 7).


10) See: Crook's contribution to this volume.

from this population I traced then the genealogies through three generations. Reading these genealogies one by one, some perhaps surprising facts can be detected:

1. Obviously the reproduction rate is astonishingly low in general, at least in the first generation (grandparents), but the parents' generation (the second) shows a rather low average fertility rate too. Since a much higher frequency of births is probable, the infant and child mortality must have been extraordinarily high.

2. We count an extremely low rate of female offspring (135) compared with the male (241). Does this mean an unbalanced sex ratio (for which we do not find any evidence in the Census of India tables)? On second thought, some other hypotheses can be proposed, if we do not regard this figure as a negligible, purely incidental difference:

a) the survey was run in a slipshod manner, or the methods (interviews, translated by an Ladakhi-English interpreter) were not adequate to the topic;

b) male offspring are so highly valued that girls are not considered worth mentioning in answer to the question: "How many children do you have?" and consequently 'bug ma'-daughters would be forgotten;

c) is there differing treatment of sons and daughters in infancy in the distribution of food, affection, care etc., to the extent that survival chances are influenced?

Actually I am not able to give a clear answer to any one of these questions. However, since hypothesis c) seems most unlikely in a Buddhist society and hypothesis a) loses significance since John Crook's data10 show a similar asymmetry, hypothesis b) is the most probable.

3. The patterns of marriage in which I was primarily interested represent a broad variety of alliances as well as the treatment of inheritance matters. The genealogies demonstrate first of all the flexibility with which Ladakhi react to periods of relative affluence by splitting up families when resources are sufficient. During times of shortage the families follow the 'monomarital' pattern. I am well aware of the extremely problematic aggregation of this material into general patterns, especially since one of my most important experiences was learning of socially accepted possibilities of family formation which go far beyond our simple principles. Yet, in order to form a summary it seems necessary to deal with frequency rates as summarized in Table 2.

The table shows relatively constant patterns of marriage. For the number of monogamous marriages it is necessary to clarify whether or not a decision for polygamy was at all possible.
It may be important to stress the dynamic character of multi-partner alliances. Polyandrous or polygynous alliances are often based on monogamous marriages in which additional partners may participate informally, especially in the fraternal/sororal type of multi-partner alliance. In the Warna area polyandrous marriages seemed to be mostly of this informal type.

4. One of the genealogies demonstrates the institution of a 'be skal' (betrothed son), not mentioned in the literature so far. In that particular case a 'mag ba' (bridegroom) was adopted by his parents-in-law, because they were so happy about their daughter's husband, as they explained it to me. Indeed, the bridegroom had extraordinary qualities. He was a well-known poet and storyteller. Moreover, Tashi Namgyal (his name) was the first-born and thus legal heir of his family's property. Due to his love for Lhak 'Gyi, who was herself a sole heir, he renounced his rights to his younger brother and went as 'mag ba' into the house of his wife. The adoption raised his status in the family above the usual position of a 'mag ba'. A Ladakhi love-story? In any case, another example of the wide variety of alliance-formation within the social order - but apparently a rare case.

5. Being prepared by the relevant literature, I was expecting a considerably high quota of monks and nuns in each family, if not the legendary number of 'one son from each family'. Yet my sample clearly shows only 5 monks and 7 nuns in the first generation, 4 monks and 3 nuns in the second, and only 2 nuns in the third generation, while no child in the fourth generation was dedicated to the monastic life. Now, in my interpretation, the extremely high number of monks mentioned in the older publications represents a myth rather than reality. Obviously an economic system such as the Ladakhi requires hands for farming and irrigation, herding, storing fuel, trading and crafts, so that the number of monks, who are mostly excluded from such 'profane' activities, would be limited primarily by economic necessity. The Warna case gives evidence for this, as the low number of monastic personnel was apparently connected with the shortage of labourers. Nowadays, of course, the monastic career has to compete with attractive jobs, offered mainly by the Indian Army, which is a further economic argument.

To condense my major perceptions from the field study in the Warna area and further visits to Ladakh in 1976 and 1980, I will risk a general statement: The 'polyandrous' as well as the 'monastic' society as described in the literature has never existed as such. Both social institutions' dimensions were exaggerated due to their 'exotic' character in the ethnocentric perspective of Western observers. Of course social change has to be taken into consideration. Certain modifications of traditional patterns will in fact be induced by recent developments in Ladakh. Yet it is good to keep in mind that the Ladakhi society never remained static or 'timeless', as history proves.

DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS

Coming back to the actual intention of the research, the results have to be put into relation to demographic questions. We learned, properly, that polyandry was - at least in the Warna area - never the predominating type of alliance during the last three generations. Then, we see an extremely low rate of monks and nuns who should live a celibate life. These two factors, though, are not heavily enough loaded to work as effective checks on population growth, as was always assumed. In my sample only 12 women and 9 men are (more or less) excepted by the polyandrous and monastic system from parenthood. Moreover, it is not assessable to what extent those unmarried men and women, staying in their families' households or in monasteries and convents, really practice celibacy. (One nun, for example, lives with an illegitimate son.)

Aside from the fact that Buddhist women who are not matchable with Buddhist partners due to the polyandrous system often join Muslim families, some of them may have illegitimate children from casual lovers. Clerical celibacy is, in my opinion, at any rate to a considerable extent a myth, due to a misunderstanding of the monastic institution from the Western point of view. As a matter of fact celibacy, particularly when practiced by monks, is highly valued in Buddhist society. Yet it is also within the social norm to join a monastery at the end of a 'fruitful' life (as we see even from the example of the Buddha Shakyamuni) or to become 'fruitful' after an early period of religious vocation. Besides those socially accepted outlets, only few monasteries in Ladakh maintain strict discipline in this particular regard. Two of the religious orders, the 'nyattra pa' and the 'drug pa', even permit their monks marital relations simultaneously with their religious rules.

It seems definite that neither polyandry nor the Ladakhi monastic system can act effectively as population checks when practiced leniently and on a small
scale as observed in my study. Three other factors in population growth have not been mentioned so far, as no reliable data can be presented. For two of them, child or infant mortality and male potency or female fertility, the genealogies give indirect hints by the fact of rather low reproduction rates. On the average, in each monogamous nuclear family, only 2.20 children are found, while polyandrous alliances show an average of 2.17 children, and polygynous alliances have 2.28 children. While the family structures do not differ significantly, we observe a strong increase in the reproduction rate from the first (133) to the second generation (207). However, this difference is most likely biased by "forgotten" family members of the first generation, who may have died early or moved away. As the majority of women in the third generation is still quite young, a count of 45 children seems to be "realistic".

A third factor in population growth, migration, seems to play a negligible role in the Ladakhi Buddhist society. Those men or women who cannot marry due to their economic dependence on the family's resources, which are in the hands of the (first-born male) heirs, are not forced to leave the district or country if they cannot be paired with heirs of other families. The traditional social order provides an acknowledged place for them, either as co-partners in the alliance of the heir or in the form of a prestigious monastic career. (Muslim Ladakhi are more often compelled to work outside the family's property as the amount of land per heir shrinks from generation to generation, due to their system of equal shares for each son.)

In conclusion, I would consider the Ladakhi Buddhist's rules and variations in marriage patterns as being determined by the principle of an optimal use of resources on the level of the individual family. Each nuclear family then, whatever form the alliance takes, has the aim of having as many children as possible, since agriculture requires many hands and experience teaches that few offspring survive their first years.

According to the particular demographical and economical situation given for each generation, the socially possible variations in family structure allow a most flexible response. To this extent the Ladakhi types of alliance possess the potential for achieving an 'equilibrium' between population size and available resources. Yet surely polyandry as such cannot be judged as a check on population growth. Polyandry is just one functional aspect among others in a social system of high complexity which is primarily devised to cope with a difficult natural environment through a social order variable enough to adjust to changing circumstances. This major principle is basically realized with the social regulation of the access to the institution of marriage by distributing inheritances dependent on relative influence or shortage.

SIX FAMILIES OF LEH

J.H. Crook and T. Shakya

This paper is dedicated to the memory of Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark.

INTRODUCTION

In 1908, Prince Peter of Greece (1903), perhaps the first qualified social anthropologist to travel in Tibet and Ladakh, made a detailed study of the structure of a number of households in Ladakh with the intention of unravelling the details of Tibetan polyandry.

Six of some eleven of his chosen families inhabited farms just outside the small capital town of Leh. They were chosen because of the occurrence of polyandry in them and although they do not represent a carefully selected 'representative' sample they are not likely to be typical households of Ladakh near Leh at that time. Indeed they show a close resemblance to the present day households of the rural village of Stongde in Zanskar, Ladakh, studied by ourselves and colleagues in 1990 (Crook, in press).  

**+** This study forms part of a research project in Ladakh financed by the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation. In Leh we were greatly assisted by Tashi Rabgyas, Thubten Paldan and Ngawang Tsewang all of whom contribute so admirably to the cultural renaissance now established there. We are also grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Krishna Sakai and family in New Delhi who once again provided comfort and support during our passage through the city. For research discussion we are grateful to Dr. Harjit Singh of St. Jwari-ribah Nehru University, New Delhi and Helena Norberg-Hodge. Finally without the kindness of our six families in Leh and their willingness to share their lives with us we would have gotten nowhere, to them all we owe our deepest thanks.

**1** We began studies of village-monastery life in Zanskar in 1988 and at that time Tashi Rabgyas, Indian Government Officer in Leh and a member of our research team, was asked whether, he could identify the families studied by Prince Peter in the Leh area. Most were familiar to him and one con-
This paper summarises the results of our detailed repetition of Prince Peter’s study of these six families. While this is in no sense a statistical survey of a population we believe a direct comparison between the Prince’s findings in 1936 and our own provides a useful account of social change in Ladakh in recent years.

THE CITY OF LEH AND ITS SURROUNDING FARMS

The river Indus flows west out of Tibet and through Ladakh before turning south in what is now Pakistan. Crossing Ladakh the long almost straight valley is wide, arid, largely barren and with little agriculture supported by the waters of the river itself. In this montane desert water descending from glacial ice or springs lying in the flanking mountains forms streams which have created wide alluvial fans. These fans gradually absorb the moisture so that the streams rarely reach the river bed itself. The flanking mountains are thus dissected by a series of valleys of varying width with residual promontories of rugged height between them. Not all of these valleys contain running streams at the present time, but where they do, the water provides the basic necessity for agricultural practices based on irrigation of the surface of the alluvium.

The present capital of Ladakh lies on an alluvial fan on the northern side of the river. The settlement was apparently established by King Tashi Namgyal in the early 16th century, although there may have been one here before this first recorded date. A small spring flows from the western side of the promontory on which the first castle was built and originally provided ample water for the first settlement of the small town, placed round the waterhead. The first houses were constructed here on the site of the present day village of Chubî (Seligrove and Skorupski, 1977). Ruins of the foundations of ancient buildings and a carved stone dating from the pre-Tibetan bamboo culture of Ladakh still testify to the antiquity of this site. The valley below it became known as Leh (Sleol), a word meaning mud or cultivatable soil and this term became the name of the town which gradually grew up around the grand castle constructed by King Sengye Namgyal in the late 16th century. The caravan track from Kashmir came in from the west so that the 19th century town of the post Dogra conquest and subsequent British supervision grew up centred upon a fine market place below the castle where this road terminated. The twisting streets of the old town lie behind the Mosque is the market place and extend around the southern and western faces of the hill below the castle.

Towards the east the city faces an arid waterless desert but on the west side the water from above Chubî allows extensive cultivation with many terraces, field works and a complex irrigation system regulated from the Gompas village at the head of the valley. This alluvium does not extend as far as the river Indus for the stream fades out in desert short of the Spituk Monastery situated on a rock above the river.

In 1936 the inhabitants of Leh comprised the few aristocratic land-owners remaining from the days of Ladakh’s independence prior the Dogra conquest. Ladakh merchants mostly engaged in the sale of local goods and basic commerce in the market place, a small but flourishing Muslim community mostly engaged in the monetarily driven caravan trade, a supporting services and labouring community, monks from local monasteries near the towns and farmers coming and going with their wares and implements. There was a small Kashmir government administration, a British representative and a missionary hospital from which the early studies of Ladakhi culture had emanated (Francke 1914). By 1961 following the war of independent India with both its Pakistanin and Chinese neighbours the town had become the centre of a rigorous military complex complete with a good airport, extensive camps and other military facilities, an elaborating infra-structure of communications, educational, medical, public security and administrative services and the proliferating expansion of mini-hotels catering for a massive influx of tourists every summer.

The families selected by Prince Peter’s informant and interpreter Tseten Phuntsok (later to become Teusdar of Ladakh in 1947) belonged to the land-owning farming class, traditional rural families living around the original town and who provided its main sustenance. All owned fields and houses in the rich central land of the valley or at Chubî where one residence lay just off the agricultural land at the base of the promontory (Gad, p.m.p.). They were selected because Tseten Phuntsok knew them to contain a polyandrous marital unit. Polyandry was a very common marital practice at that time and stated to be the preferred one. There was thus nothing exceptional in these households and they were probably chosen simply because Tseten Phuntsok knew them well or through relatives. Repeatedly in 1980 and 1981 we got to know people by similar means.

In the 1960’s the assessment of revenue was based upon the ‘holding or the house (zhing kham) … allotted by the state and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible for the payment of the tax’. Prince Peter goes on to say that these state allotments were held in perpetuity and if any part is sold that too was also sold in perpetuity. Neither tenant nor subtenant could be evicted. In addition to these tenancies “without occupation” there were tenancies “without occupation” which were time limited and where tenants could be evicted by the owner. Tenancy with occupation was hereditary and included inheritance by descent through the female hierarchy in the absence of a male. Traditionally barley, wheat, peas, beans were the principal spring crops and buckwheat, millet and turnips were grown in autumn. Today there is a rich variety of fresh vegetables available throughout the summer which find a ready sale in the large city market place. Dzo, cattle and...
pains are kept, although to a reduced degree today, and grazed on the high pastures.

The system of inheritance of these farms in 1938 was exceedingly ancient and based in principle upon the laws of land tenure given by the Tibetan King Songste Gampo. They are framed especially to preserve the farming plot of land and house as an intact unit from generation to generation. Originally every plot was supposed to be the same size and by implication sufficiently big to support a family in each generation. The plot could neither bought nor sold, must be transmitted in its entirety through the eldest son or, failing a son, the daughter. The other sons got no separate inheritance but polyandrous marriage allowed a group of brothers to operate the same farm though sharing a common wife. The rule of primogeniture with polyandry prevented the reduction in size of holdings to non-agriculturally economic units as a result of subdivision between offspring in successive generations. The extent of polyandry and the precise details of inheritance depended upon the numbers and the sex of offspring in successive generations. In the event of there being no son the headman or the headwoman together with her sister took a 'maggan' husband in marriage. The property then vested in their sons in the next generation; a process whereby the familial descent was maintained.

The majority of households comprised a five-member extended family. The head of the household lived with his family in the K'hang-chen (big house) while other buildings or sets of rooms within the same building were allotted as K'hang-ju (sometimes called K'hang-ju) as in Zanskar, both terms meaning small house) to other groups of relatives, the most important being the old parents of the present head. Headship was transmitted from eldest brother to his eldest son on the latter's marriage or at least as soon as a child was born to the young couple. This of course meant that households and indeed whole communities were led by young vigorous men. Retirement came beneficially early in Ladakh.

The above account describes the traditional Ladakhi system of land tenure and inheritance and we have noted its Tibetan style and origin. In remote parts of Ladakh, such as Zanskar it is still in operation today. Since Indian independence new laws have become applicable in Ladakh. Polyandry is no longer a legal form and the death of a landowner his sons and daughters have the right to claim a share of the property. Due to low incomes little tax is paid to the government. These changes have had far reaching effects on the lives of the Ladakhi people and upon their attitudes to their social customs. These will be discussed at the end of our presentation. The integrity of the old system in 1938 can be judged from Prince Peter's statement that his informants told him that ninety per cent of families lived in polyandry although there was a growing tendency to feel that this form of marriage was undesirable, a feeling especially common among the wealthier or more travelled citizens who had been to India.

In 1938 the capital of Ladakh was a large village of some 2,377 inhabitants of whom 1,287 were Ladakhi Buddhists. In 1977 Leh was described as a small town of 8,500 people (Sam, Okt and Hassain 1977). Today it must be considerably larger, perhaps 10,000 in winter and with a great influx in summer.

THE 1981 STUDY OF SIX HOUSEHOLDS NEAR LEH

Prince Peter studied some eleven households in Ladakh; six of them being particularly similar in type and located close together on the rich agricultural land just outside Leh. In this section we compare numerous features of these families as Prince Peter found them and as we know them from our visits in July and August 1981. Prince Peter's work was totally qualitative, he made no arithmetic summary of his findings so that we have gathered our figures from a careful examination of his genealogies and his text. A major defect in his work was a failure to collect the ages of the people placed on his family trees. In some cases we can guess the approximate age. In going through his accounts of these families with our informants we found only a few errors in Prince Peter's data and one or two disagreements that may be due to genuine misunderstandings or to a drift in names or family recollection with the passage of years. We know little about Prince Peter's methods. They were undoubtably casual and we know little about the linguistic competence of his informant in English nor whether Prince Peter could handle the language adequately himself at that time.

Our method was to obtain an introduction and then to visit the house in the company of a friend of the family. To this end we were most grateful to two monks of Zanskar Gompa who accompanied us on different occasions. As they spoke Tibetan as well as Ladakhi we were able to check all matters of discussion carefully; T.S., speaking Tibetan but not fully conversant with the Ladakhi dialect. In one or two houses a young person could speak good English. We were liberally entertained to tea and biscuits and our 'interviews' took the following form. After preliminary greetings we produced Prince Peter's genealogy and a lively discussion, often amid considerable enthusiasm, developed as old names were remembered and stories told. We then carried out a more formal enquiry about the entire genealogy and the living members of the family. This resulted in our up-dated family trees and lists of household members according to domestic location, age, sex and occupational history. Finally we asked questions relating to social change in Ladakh and the way of life in the family had altered since Prince Peter's time. Everyone called him "Peter Sahib" - the name Peter being given a German pronunciation, and many were the stories about him (see below). Each household visit took about two hours and usually included a tour of the dwelling. In one case (Gad.gu.pu) the informant visited us at our lodgings in Chubi for the interview.
The actual dwellings had remained almost unchanged since 1938; the only clear improvements being the glazing of key windows, the addition of sun-rooms on the top storey and a greater degree of interior decoration. Most of these dwellings consist of one front yard from which a door opens to a passage with shelves on either side and sometimes a great musty in front to guard the entrance. A staircase in the passage leads up to the first floor where the main rooms are situated and then to a second floor where the family gathers in summer. Prince Peter’s descriptions of houses were quite recognizable and sometimes our discussion seems to have taken place in the very same rooms in which he had been entertained over 40 years ago. The large kitchens are beautifully equipped with brasseware and fine stoves with chimneys and the buddhist chapels (Iha-khang) often hold beautiful and valuable family treasures. These families, in spite of their simple agricultural life, are well off materially and spiritually when compared to most of Asia. In one or two houses it was entertaining to find a student’s room complete with western posters, team photographs, sports award, cassettes of Indian film music, Soviet propaganda and English text books; all the hallmarks of a middle class, or "standard man" as a young Ladakaki postgraduate described it.

**HOUSEHOLD SIZE, AGE DISTRIBUTION AND SEX RATIO**

Table 1 lists the sizes of the households in 1938 and 1961. These numbers include names of people living in the K’hang-chens or K’hang-gyus but no additional members, sisters, uncles, brothers or aunts, who may be listed in the genealogy but living with other families. Individuals only temporarily absent and whose home remains in the household are included.

The overall mean % increase in household habitations between these dates is 52 %. The average household size in 1938 was 11.5 persons and this had climbed to 17.5 persons by 1961. In parallel with these increases the numbers of K’hang-gyu per house has risen in three cases, remained steady in one and dropped in two others - the mean number showing an increase. This is especially apparent (2 to 3) in the Ma-ne household which is now the largest family with 23 people, an increase of 109 % on the 11 who lived here in 1938.

If we consider the numbers of household inhabitants in K’hang-chens and K’hang-gyus in 1938 and 1961 we again see an increase in both cases (Table 2). However the % of total household increase in the K’hang-gyu is about 13, whereas in the K’hang-chen there is a loss of 19 %. These figures result from changed allocations in the household. K’hang-gyu now hold over 50 % of household members whereas in 1938 they held only 37 % at most.

By comparison K’hang-chens now hold about 52 % whereas in 1938 they had 65 % of the total. In other words the overall increase in household inhabitants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Household sizes and % increase 1938-1961 together with number of K’hang-gyu per family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Household Name</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tok. tok.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsang. bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go. bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. Ldne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ged. pa. pa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mean</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*See discussion of household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: % of household inhabitants occupying K’hang-chens and K’hang-gyus in 1938 and 1961</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1938</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K’hang-chens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K’hang-gyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K’hang-gyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This increased figure and changed distribution represents the effect of the approaching arrival of a baby in the Tsang-bl household in 1938 as recorded by Prince Peter,

has been accommodated by increasing numbers in the K’hang-gyu. The ceiling on numbers in the K’hang-chens is reached when the nuclear family of the household head is complete with only a few additional members occasionally added. Increases in individuals of other relationship to the head are accommodated in existing K’hang-gyu or by creating new ones.
Figure 1 represents the age distribution of the living members of the six households for whom ages were obtainable (46 males, 38 female). There is a striking imbalance in the sex ratio in favour of males (1:0.86) in spite of the fact that women, as is usual, live rather longer than men. If we take the total number of persons mentioned in each genealogy (excepting the initial line which is commonly very limited in information) a similar disparity appears (1:0.86 Table 3). If then we look at each ten year age cohort in Figure 1 the disparity persists; although in the survivors of the 1940s, from which period few children appear to have survived, there are more girls than boys. The sex ratio of those surviving from populations existing 40 years ago thus shows least tilt against women but otherwise it seems omnipresent. The structure of Figure 1 suggests that the population increased particularly strongly between 10-20 years ago and again between 40 and 50 years ago.

The fact of persistent imbalance in sex ratio calls for an explanation. Even though we must admit that a mere 6 families may not be representative of the Ladakhi population, we are none the less considering a total of some 209 persons over several generations.

FIGURE 1: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PRESENT HOUSEHOLDS OF KNOWN AGE FROM SIX FAMILIES OF Leh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55++</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In 5 of 6 families sex ratios are in favour of males. Overall ratio 1:0.86

+) First line of each genealogy is not included.

++) There were also four unsexed children.

There are 3 hypotheses which might explain the results: I) that emigration of women to a greater extent than men might have occurred; II) that women are underreported by our informants and III) that females are numerically less frequent in our families either because of a differential sex ratio at birth or a higher infant mortality of females.

Excluding the first incomplete line of each genealogy we find a total of 116 named reproductive individuals and co-residential spouses in these households. Of these named individuals some women leave for other households as wives, some enter the household as wives, some go and come or come and go. Of the men some leave to become magga husbands in other houses. The few monks retain some residential rights. In Table 4 the relative numbers of mobile versus static persons per household is shown.

Clearly as many women are entering these genealogies as wives as those women leaving the families to marry elsewhere. In addition about 1/5 of males also leave their natal homes either as magga husbands or monks. The explanation based on differential emigration thus cannot hold since women who leave are replaced in marital exchange. The degree of polyandry in these families does not seem to affect these results except in certain generations of some families.

Under-reporting of families is a possibility. One family of 6 was said to have resulted from a woman who gave birth to 12 babies. Unreported babies are possible and more baby girls might have gone unreported than baby boys. However it seems very unlikely that adult survivors were under-reported. Ladakhi memory is generally full, reliable and honest and we feel sure that there was no conscious repression of information in our encounters with these families.

It does seem therefore that the numerical discrepancy may arise either because there is an actual difference in the sex ratio at birth or because of a higher female infant mortality. Either factor may become slightly more apparent in large families. If differential mortality is the case, whatever
Table 4: Mobility of Individuals* in Genealogies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Name</th>
<th>Total of named individuals</th>
<th>No women leaving (returning)</th>
<th>No women entering (leaving)</th>
<th>No Magpas leaving (entering)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tok. Tok.</td>
<td>men/12/ 12 - 24</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6 (1)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>women/12 7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ts. bi</td>
<td>7/ 7 - 14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma. he</td>
<td>7/ 11 - 18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go. ba</td>
<td>11/ 11 - 29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gid. Man</td>
<td>6/ 12 - 18</td>
<td>7 (1)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gad. pa. pa</td>
<td>11/ 11 - 23</td>
<td>6 (1)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54/ 62</td>
<td>30 (2)</td>
<td>29 (1)</td>
<td>10 (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Reproductive adults who are named and their residential spouses. Magpas's wives or non-residential sister's husbands not included.

The processes account for the difference is not conclusively known. The ethics of Ladakhis are based on a Buddhist respect for life and while sexual equality is not a pronounced feature of this society, there is no noticeable disrespect for baby girls nor prejudice against them. Most women are forthright in their views and occupy important roles in household, farming and market life. The possibility of a genuine sex ratio difference at birth therefore remains. Should this become a demonstrable fact it follows that explanations of polyandry must also take it into account.

**HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION, KINSHIP AND DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENT**

It seems that the most useful way to attempt an appreciation of the social organisation of the Ladakhi household is with reference to the relationships between members and the head of the household. The traditional head of house is the eldest brother of the current reproductively active generation. He is he who is responsible for both the internal regulations and the external relations of the family. Traditionally it was also he who held the responsibility of the tenancy obligations and any taxation due from the estate. A man acquires this responsibility if he is the eldest brother, or an only son. He also inherits it whether or not he has older living sisters. If however there are no sons in a family then the eldest sister becomes the hoirress and marries with an incoming magpa husband is arranged. The magpa does not however have either the privileges or responsibilities of a 'bag-on'a husband.

The responsibilities and privileges are acquired when the man marries. This is a very significant family event because in the traditional home it signals the moment when the main accommodation - the K'hang-chon or 'big house' - becomes exclusively his residence and except under unusual circumstances both parents and siblings move out to live in subsidiary accommodation, K'hang-γu. The household thus pivots around the figure of the household head and the pattern of residence and Kin is best understood by reference to him.

In Tables 5 and 6 the organisational structure of the six households in 1938 and 1961 is shown. In 1938 all K'hang-chon centred upon a wife and her husbands. Of the six K'hang-chon families three were bhangar, two triandrous and one triandrous. The extent of polyandry is thus manifested. In Table 6 the marriage type of all marriages (i.e. of parents, uncles and aunts and siblings) in the six households is shown. Of 10 marriages 10 were polyandrous and 6 marriages monogamous signifying a 60% polyandry rate overall.

In the K'hang-chon the only other residents at this time were the children of the spouse group. Family sizes at the time of Prince Peter's visit are shown in Table 6 together with the completed family sizes from all families in the six households (N = 16) based upon our genealogies of 1938. The total number of children in the six households from completed families was 79 giving a mean value of 13.2 children per household, and 4.9 per family. Of these families the triandrous showed a value of 9 (N = 1), the triandrous a mean of 4.7 (N = 3), bhangar - 4.8 (N = 6) and monogamous 4.6 (N = 6).

There appears to be a trend to increasing family size with the number of male spouses per marriage (polyandry K = 5.2, monogamy 4.6), but on these small samples no significant differences between marriage types were detectable. Yet this impression is enhanced when the K = 3 for 9 monogamous families completed more recently is considered.

Comparing these data of 1938 with information in 1961 we find that the total number of families (i.e. married persons with or without children) is now 26 - an increase of 9 or over 60%. This increase correlates with both the total increase in household membership and a major shift from polyandry to monogamy. In 1961 four of 25 marriages or 16% were polyandrous whereas in 1938 ten of sixteen marriages or 63 per cent had been so. Furthermore of the four 1938 polyandrous marriages one reached the level of triandry whereas in 1961 40% of such marriages had more than two husbands, one having as many as
Table 5: Household members: sex distribution and marital type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. 1938</th>
<th>TT</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>Th</th>
<th>GB</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>GPP</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males/females per household</td>
<td>9/5</td>
<td>5/3</td>
<td>5/5</td>
<td>5/6</td>
<td>5/6</td>
<td>8/6</td>
<td>37/29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital type:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1:0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetrandrous</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triandrous</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biaudrous</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monogamous</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Marriages in households</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Family size in relation to marriage type of 1938. (If family size was not completed in 1938 bracketed figures show the completed size as revealed in 1981 genealogies)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of marriage</th>
<th>TT</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>Th</th>
<th>GB</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>GPP</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tetrandry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9 (2)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triandry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5 (3)</td>
<td>5 (6)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 (4.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biaudry</td>
<td>2.2 (7)</td>
<td>3 (4)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7 (4.6)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6 (4.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monogamy</td>
<td>2.5 (6)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6 (6.9)</td>
<td>6 (4.6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total families</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16 (9.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In years following 1938 the following families were also completed: a bigamous family of 7 (i.e., magpa with 2 wives yielding 6 and 1 respectively), 9 monogamous families with 2×5, 2×4, 2×3, 2, 1 and 0 children (X = 3).

Six Families of Leh

four brothers as a co-spoise team. Focusing again only on the K'hang-chen families we find that whereas all were polyandrous in 1938 none are so today.

Kin living in the household may be categorised as to their relationship to the K'hang-chen owner or family head. In 1938 only one owner's sister lived in a K'hang-chen in addition to the K'hang-chen family members. In the K'hang-gyu we were found all other kin including grandparents, parents, sibs or half sibs with/without spouses. In 1981 there was a considerable number of grandchildren as well as married children living in the K'hang-chen and in Cid-ladan three great-grandchildren were present. In the K'hang-gyu the following categories of kin were found: uncles and aunts (with/without spouses), their children i.e., cousins to the head of house, the cousins' children, brothers and sisters (with/without spouses) and their children (i.e., nephews/nieces) and these nephews/nieces' offspring. There is thus a considerable increase in the categories of kinship present in the K'hang-gyu between 1938-1981 (Table 7).

Table 7: Incidence of Kin-categories in K'hang-gyu of 6 families in 1938 and 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin to Household head</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1981</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grandparent</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle/Aunt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brothers (+ spouse)</td>
<td>3 (6)</td>
<td>15 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters (+ spouse)</td>
<td>3 (6)</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nieces/Nephews</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children of Nieces/Nephews</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total persons</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reason for these changes in K'hang-chen and K'hang-gyu occupancy hinges on a shift in the duration of tenure of the family head as the prime occupant of the K'hang-chen. Traditionally the eldest son becomes K'hang-chen head as soon as he marries or has a child in wedlock. The ages of assuming these responsibilities are thus low. Unfortunately Prince Peter did not obtain precise details of the ages of the family members but from a careful reading of his text it is reasonable to suppose that of the six heads in 1938 one was in his twenties, two in the early thirties, two in the late thirties and one over forty. This compares interestingly with the ages of K'hang-chen heads in the still traditional village of stong-de in Zhungar in 1980 (Table 8). Of these 52% were below 35 years and 78% under 40. Compared with these
figures from traditional households in 1981 K'hang-chen heads ages in Leh were 79, 76, 68, 64, 49 and 43—all well over forty heretofore and four of the six over fifty. Ages of various kin categories to these heads are shown in Figure 2. It is clear that what has happened in Leh recently is that the length of tenure of the K'hang-chen by the incumbent male has been increased with a correspondingly long delay in the transfer of K'hang-chen occupancy to his eldest son and spouse. Indeed this may no longer occur until the death of the old man.

Table 8: Ages of K'hang-chen heads in twenty-seven houses of the village of Tsong-de, Zanskar in 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>No. of Heads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-50</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-45</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-40</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-25</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This delay in transfer means that the head of family continues on in the K'hang-chen after his son has married so that grandchildren begin appearing as members of this new extended familial unit. Furthermore, the delay in occurrence of polyandry means that there will be a tendency for brothers to move out either to marriage into another family or into the K'hang-gyu with an incoming spouse. Nephews and nieces will be predictably common in the K'hang-gyu for the same reasons. Parental influence is extended with lengthening time in the main household and fraternal cooperation is reduced. The age of the leadership has also greatly increased and the influence of younger men presumably becomes less apparent in the family than formerly. The increase in uncles/aunts and cousins is due to the separation of older brothers. The lack of parents of owners in the K'hang-gyu arises likewise from their increased tenure of the K'hang-chen.

It is clear that the contemporary function of the K'hang-gyu is no longer to receive old parents and other residues of the preceding reproductive generation. It is rather to provide houses for siblings of the household head who is no longer a head of house in the original sense but rather occupies an almost titular position by virtue of age and unbroken K'hang-chen occupancy.

In the present houses the three oldest heads (aged 79, 76 and 65) are essentially retired farmers, the management of the estate devolves on one of the sons. Two
sons are 35 and 44 years old respectively and perform the majority of the functions of the original head of house. In Tsang-hi the 47 year old son is a carpenter and the farm is now run by the 22 year old grandson. All of them live in the K'hang-chen. In one other case (Ge-ba house) the old grandfather likewise a resident in the K'hang-chen, had only died a little before our visit, in January 1981 (see genealogy) at the age of 84. The present head of house, now 43, had acted as estate manager up to his death.

These role changes in the household are linked with the appearance in Ladakh of gainful employment as a possible alternative to self-sufficient family agriculture. In 1983 all males were involved in farming the estate. By 1981 a considerable diversity of alternatives had become available; the actual listing of the gainful employment of 28 males is shown in Table 9. Only 18 (64%) are agriculturists today although one other who is a traditional amchi (doctor) is also much concerned with his land. Of the remaining 10 men, seven are in either the army or police, two are teachers, two clerks and one a professional civil engineer. There are two students undertaking higher education at a university and a college in Kashmir. Of the twenty boys of school age a considerable proportion may well be able to undertake higher education given the opportunity to do so. Amongst women there is much less sign of changes in traditional activity, and divorcees still return to the natal house to live with the

brothers.

Women have always played a major role in farming, animal husbandry and in marketing vegetable produce in the Leh market. With many men now in non-agricultural employment women's role in agriculture is more important than ever. However in Leh a number of young women are being employed as nurses, medical auxiliaries, in restaurants, in management and in government service. In our particular families only one professional woman, a nurse is found.

In 1938 Prince Peter recorded one monk in the Gadpa pa pa household and another in the Shing-Kang-pa household (not followed up in 1981). These Leh households cannot thus be considered very religious. They went in for quite considerable polyandry, perhaps as an alternative to placing younger brothers in monasteries. In Zanskars households in 1980 we recorded a greater tendency for young sons to enter monasteries than is shown in these rather 'urban' farming families of Leh. In 1981 only one elderly monk was recorded in our households; the eminent Lobin of Spituk Monastery, Lolung Tsepal of Tok-Tok house who had trained in Buddhist philosophy at the Tashi Lhumpo gelsang monastery at Shigatse in Tibet prior to 1959. He had attained the professorial rank of 'Kha-chen', a title equivalent to the better known doctorate or 'geche' from the Lhasa monasteries of the same sect. While he retains a foothold in a Khang-gya of his natal home he also has rooms in his monastery.

**Family Changes in the Light of Current Law**

In 1938 the marital system still expressed the traditional Tibetan law of household tenure and inheritance. After Indian independence new laws came into force and two points from these affect the life of Ladakhi householders. Polyandry is no longer a legal form of marriage and on the death of a landowner his property may be divided up between his offspring. While established family arrangements are not threatened by these provisions, young people are now subscribing to them so that the traditional polyandrous domain is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. The condition observed in our six families is thus a transitional phase with the changes as yet far from established.

The changes by which the head of a house no longer relinquishes his accommodation to his eldest son but retains a titular position as head of an estate managed by a son in a household of several reproductive family units, are all in a direction that conforms with the new legal marriage code. The separate families of the estate can in principle make a claim to part of it to form a separate unit just as the old man now claims the right to retain his accommodation until death. The present situation is thus in part a consequence of demographic changes involving an increase in family size, in part a result of changing roles in the family linked to new ways of gainful employment in a cash

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Table 9: Occupation in six families of Leh, 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmer (partly retired)</td>
<td>Elderly lady</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amchi (landowner)</td>
<td>Housewife (house, farm, marketing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-op manager</td>
<td>House help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Engineer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher*</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student at College</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preschool</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 63 Total: 43

*1) Indo-Tibetan Border Force and Ladakhi Scouts

**2) One was an instructor in Physical Education
economy rather than within subsistence agriculture, and in part a reflection of a new legal situation which produces a greater flexibility in household structuring. It also reflects changes in the general direction of less extended, more "nuclear" and monogamous families favoured by the contemporary Indian "middle class" and bureaucratic value system.

VALUES AND ATTITUDES OF LEH AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES

During our visits to the six households we attempted to elicit comment upon the present state of Ladakh, comparisons with the past, especially with reference to the time of Prince Peter's visit, and any reminiscences of interest. Several comments were of general interest concerning the social changes currently underway in Ladakh.

Polyandry, marriage and inheritance

In 1938 Prince Peter found himself closely questioned by old Lobsang Tok. Tok, the eldest father of the Tok. Tok household at that time. Prince Peter recalls:

"Lobsang Tok. Tok. complained bitterly of the 'immorality' of young people in Leh. He said that polyandry was no longer desired by the younger generation, and that this was all due to outside influence from Indian and Turki traders from Sinking, and from European missionaries and travellers who were perpetually speaking against the time-honoured custom of polyandrous matrimony such as Ladakhi and Tibetans had always practised, and were introducing the 'bad habit' of monogamous marriage. He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without being polyandrous. It seemed to him incomprehensible that one could stay rich while dividing up the family property with each monogamous marriage, as we do in our countries. It would be impossible to do this in Ladakh, he said, because there would never be enough to go round, and everybody would quickly be reduced to famine."

I must say that Lobsang Tok. Tok.'s question took me by surprise. In those days I had given no thought to this problem and it had never occurred to me that this might appear extraordinary to people living in polyandry. So I said that, now that I came to think of it, it was no doubt true that things were not the same with us. When we married I said, each of us goes off with his wife and tries to fend for himself and build up a family life based on his own earnings. Of course, it meant tapping new sources of production, but then we did move away and were continually starting new enterprises in new places in order to be able to live.

Lobsang agreed that it would not be possible to do otherwise if one did not live in polyandry on the same piece of land, in the same household, generation after generation, without dividing it up. He had noticed, he said, that those Ladakhi who were converts to Mohammedanism did the same as we did; they ceased, overnight, to be polyandrous, and divided up the property immediately they got married. The result was that there was not enough to go round for all of them. The eldest brother remained on the best part of the land, and the others had to move away. They had to look for work, often as landless labourers, which was most depressing. He had noticed, too, that some of them even went further afield, and travelled all the way to Burma to work in the ruby mines there. Obviously, he concluded, they did so just as Europeans had to do, because they were monogamous, and even, in some cases, polygamous (polygynous).

Lobsang Tok. Tok. was a little while after this long discourse (which Nensee-Pheen translated for me) and I sat cross-legged opposite him, a cup of tea in my hand, looking at his heavy, mongolid frame and face (upon which some hair did, nevertheless, grow), and wondering who was doing the work—work, he or I. Then he said something again to my interpreter and shortly afterwards I heard in English what it was that he had said. It was that he could not grasp why Europeans had colonised throughout the world, why they came to India and even to Ladakh. It was obvious because, with the family system that they had, they did not have enough to live at home, and the fact that they did not practise polyandry led them to go overseas to seek a livelihood—like the Moslem Ladakhi who went to Burma. I was, I confess, considerably impressed by the old man's perspicacity. It was also a lesson to me, and showed me better than anything else what circumstances were like in this area of Tibetan culture, and how polyandry was connected, or appeared to be, with the economic necessities of the environment." (Peter of Greece, pp. 361)

This passage is of great interest. Not only does it show how an anthropologist of that period could be surprised by evidence of intelligence and insight in an experienced representative of a distant culture but it also reveals the depth of social perception certainly not uncommon among agriculturalists of this landed class. Lobsang Tok. Tok. argues most clearly for the principle of estate conservation through primogeniture without property division. To him polyandry was essential for wealth and was therefore morally responsible. Although Prince Peter did not explore this with him we may assume that he was arguing that wealth arises from the provision of co-operative fraternal labour on an estate inherited intact down the generations. The rapid division of the estate with monogamous marriage would lead to smaller and smaller parcels of land which would soon diminish to a size incapable of supporting a family.

It was therefore most intriguing to take up this same subject again in 1981. In conversation with our informant from the Gad girls' household we were told that, whereas in the previous generation all four brothers had worked the same estate, nowadays the land was divided between three brothers, of whom the eldest, the amchi living in the Khangchen, owned slightly more. The
others had sufficient land on which to build a house and a field for growing food. Whereas the four former “fathers” had lived with a wife in common, each of the present generation of brothers was married separately and had children. Furthermore, all brothers had had army careers, thus earning money from outside. The second brother, Phuntog Lobsang, was still in the Indo-Tibetan Border Force and his younger brother, Lobsang Ljigtsen, was a former Ladakhi Scout, now a P.W.D. clerk. Phuntog Wangdu, the oldest, had also had ten years in the army and had presumably “retired” to the land on the death of the last father of the preceding generation. The family had a traditional medical practice in addition to working the estate.

Phuntog Wangdu told us that, although the younger brothers are still described as living in K’bang-gyu, and he is still registered as owning the family land as eldest brother, the three families are today in effect quite independent units, matrilineally and with respect to house and field ownership. He argued that people would not marry polyandrously today and that they “would be ashamed” of such a marriage. He argued that the “improved” (i.e. cash based) economy and new educational opportunities leading to occupational choice rendered polyandry inessential.

In other houses people agreed also that, while the division of land meant that before long many a plot would not be large enough for agriculture, this was not necessarily harmful since the owner could build a house on his holding and get a job to maintain himself and his family.

We suggested to them that the carrying capacity of Leh in terms of employment might eventually be exceeded and that families without land would then soon be in poor shape. The point was well taken but our respondents seemed confident that higher education would allow their children access to India where employment could be found. We were told that even a job as a cookie at 30 Rupees a day was quite sufficient if you also had a house. Indeed, we lodged in a house in Chahub where the householder worked in an army canton all day while his wife looked after both field and, together with the help of the older children, the baby and toddler of the family.

In another conversation it was suggested that, although brothers may take their separate plots and live as functionally independent families, it was open to them to remain as a group farming the family land collaboratively. In this case the estate would remain intact, although the brothers were now married separately. There seemed to be no reason why such an arrangement could not be legally stabilised. At the present time, however, few arrangements of any type are tightly formalised. There are a variety of arrangements mutually agreed in a peaceful fashion among relatives with little legal involvement or recourse to litigation. With pressure on land around Leh developing rapidly as hotels and other constructions are built this equitable and casual climate of relationships may not, however, endure.

**General Comments and reminiscences**

Everyone seemed to agree that their families had increased both in size and wealth over the past forty years. Not only had harvests been good but the crops had improved through fertilisation and other modernisations of farming practices. The development of job opportunities was quite new. In the past families with several brothers often sent one or more to the monasteries as monks. This is rare today since brothers have equal rights to a plot of family land and can obtain both education and jobs.

Old Sonam Thupten of Od, who said that in the old time money was used very little and there were no proper banks. In the last ten years the new road from Srinagar has caused the market place to develop greatly. In “Peter Sahib’s time” there were only a few shops open in winter. In those days the law was administered by the state government very harshly. People could be chained up for very small offences and Srinagar was too far away for an appeal to be worthwhile. Kashmir state officials prior to India independence were very domineering, especially the patwa. If a dispute over land records occurred there was no redress from the government. Today the law is understood and proper processes are provided.

Sonam Thupten, now 75 but hale, hearty and clear of thought, remembered Peter Sahib very well. The whole family was in Ladakh for a long time, he told us. Peter Sahib spoke Ladakh (Tibetan?) and was well liked since he participated in many Ladakhi activities and liked children. Peter Sahib played polo with the British representative in Leh and there was a great interest in horses among everyone. Of course in those days (and up until the last decade) there were no roads or vehicles so a good horse was highly prized. Peter Sahib had had a good horse but Sonam Thupten had been more careful. The two of them arranged a race along the whole length of the market place. This was a treasured moment because Sonam Thupten had won and Peter Sahib been considerably put out.

In the TukTok house we were told that the old man, Lobsang TokTok, who had discussed points of social custom so well had become a close friend of the Prince. He had trained as an optician and Prince Peter had given him the necessary instruments. Lobsang had accompanied Prince Peter to Lhasa and assisted him greatly there. We were left with the impression that Prince Peter had been well loved by his Ladakhi friends. He would have been well pleased to have heard the way they spoke so warmly of him.

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2) The establishment of private schools in Leh in which the instruction is in both Tibetan and English is beginning to provide exactly the linguistic advantages required.
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REPRODUCTION OR RETREAT:

THE POSITION OF BUDDHIST WOMEN IN LADAKH

Hia Raś

The subject of my paper is the position of women and more in particular the religious ideas about womanhood in a Buddhist society. During three periods of fieldwork I lived with a Buddhist family, the oldest daughter of which was my interpreter. The area of research was a Buddhist community of some 260 people divided over 27, sometimes widely scattered households in a village not far from Thiksey.

I spent a great deal of time in the kitchens of the various houses, the centres of family life. Owing to the great hospitality of the people, attended with the serving of large meals, these visits often took quite some time, but they offered an excellent opportunity to exchange views with the residents, first of all with the women, and to observe the domestic scene.

The limited scope of this paper does not permit me to deal with all aspects of the subject and I shall therefore confine myself to the most relevant factors: those in connection with the household. For in Ladakh a household is at once the main social unit and the centre of a woman's life. It consists of a group of usually kindred people, who occupy a common house, who possess a certain quantity of land, the products of which they jointly consume, and who have a specific relationship with their housegod. The household can be considered a unit on the residential, the economic and the religious level. I shall go into these three aspects respectively.\(^1\)

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\(^1\) This being my first paper in English on my fieldwork in Ladakh, I should like to take the opportunity to thank Dr. S. T. Phuntog for his support and kind interest in my arrival in Leh. My thanks are also due to my interpreter Phuntog Aogmo with whom I worked in the first stage of my research, and to my interpreter Diskit Chosdol and her family for their help and great hospitality. I am also grateful to the women of the village, who invariably honoured my visits with generous helpings of butter tea, enduring my insatiable insatiable inquisitiveness with a smile. I shall not easily for-
RESIDENTIAL ASPECTS

Already at the first visit to the households one is aware of the large number of people that belong to each individual household; ten is no exception, as it is common for several generations to live together. Each house has a name of its own and in many cases the house-name may also be the name of the master of the house. In one case, the name of the house might be considered to be the name of that part of a lineage functioning as a household-group. The fact is, however, that people may marry either virilocally or unilocally.

Usually only one child will have the opportunity to marry in its parental house; occasionally, of course, when the parental household has adequate land, a second child will be given the same opportunity. Other children may marry into either a religious or a marriage group. Parents prefer one to all of their eldest son as a bride, if they do not have any sons. In practice this is always possible, because there might be no son, or owing to the fact that there is too great a disparity in age between the daughter and the brother, or when a son does not wish to marry, or cannot do so, because he wants to go into the merchant. In fact, a marriage should be virilocally, but in the village I researched, five percent of the marriages were unilocally.

On balance, the position of the woman in unilocally marriages is better than the position of the woman in virilocally. The majority of women who married virilocally said they had been very unhappy and been feeling insecure for a long time after their marriage and my observations have shown that they will keep more in the background and will not much participate in discussions, as compared with the women who had stayed in their parental house.

A woman who has married virilocally is not, however, bound to unconditional obedience to her mother-in-law. Besides, a mother-in-law will gradually withdraw from keeping house after the arrival of her daughter-in-law. Married women will usually withdraw from keeping house after the arrival of their mother-in-law. Married women will usually withdraw from keeping house after the arrival of their mother-in-law. Consequently, the household the children are going to belong to is determined by the place of residence, not by kinship. The children of a woman who stays in her parental house will belong to her household, whereas the children of a woman who has married virilocally will belong to the household of her mother-in-law.

The majority of marriages in the village I researched was monogamous, but

... get their warm friendship. Furthermore, my thanks are due to C. Groote, who has translated this paper from the Dutch.

I did find two cases of fraternal polyandry, which however were unilocally. The reason given for these marriages was the need for an additional male hand in the household. I also found a few cases of levirate, where a woman has married her deceased husband's younger brother.2

Marriage is first and foremost seen as an agreement between households instead of between two individual people. Accordingly it is in first place the parents (and often the mother's brother) who will select a suitable partner. It is difficult enough, though, to make a match even if either the boy or the girl has explicitly disapproved of the choice the parents made. I was told, however, that a refusal is more likely to be accepted from a boy than from a girl.

To a certain extent all adult members of the household concerned have a say in the matter of deciding on an intended marriage. For entering into the household of one's parents-in-law means getting involved with all its members.

The various forms of marriage and the uncertain factors, such as the duration of life and the number of children, make that households vary widely in their composition. The number of generations per household ranges from two to four. Two couples of the same generation may be found living together when two children of one and the same household marry in their parental house. Apart from this, most households will often include unmarried men or women of various generations.

Households composed of more generations have a tendency to break up into smaller units, in the sense that part of the group withdraws into a separate part of the house, or moves into another house. More often than not it is the older generation that will separate itself from the nucleus of the son's or daughter's family, but a brother or a sister may likewise leave to live on their own.

Each part of a broken-up household will have its own kitchen, which is essential, considering that the kitchen is the social centre of a household, where women spend the greater part of their lives, where meals are taken together, where evenings are spent and friends and relations received (unless the guestroom is used for special occasions or for special friends).

2) Polyandry and levirate are, under certain circumstances, looked upon as justifiable relationships, but people took a negative attitude towards the two cases of polygynous relations which I found. In these cases a married man has entered into a relationship with a woman of a near-by household. Because both relationships had been crowned with offspring, the women concerned were indeed regarded as second wife. For the household of the man this relationship was, however, an economic disadvantage. The woman, with her children, continues to belong to her parental household and does not contribute anything to the husband's household, whereas the husband does have to support her with money, clothing and the like.
Residential breaking-up is a change for the better for the position of a woman, for the simple reason that now her own nuclear family instead of the whole household will be the centre of her activities.

People say that it is up to the members of a household whether or not to break up the residential unit and it can therefore be assumed that the longings of young women for a more autonomous life may be one of the reasons for a residential division.

Characteristically, when a household breaks up as a residential unit, the economic and religious unit will remain unchanged.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

In spite of the fact that nowadays many households have one or more members in regular work, agriculture and dairy-farming are yet the main means of subsistence. The yield of agriculture and dairy-farming is for the joint consumption of all members of a household group and most of what members may have earned in permanent or temporary work is handed over to the household as well.

The house, much of the household effects and property like land, cattle, a mill or a timber-yard for the supply of firewood are not owned by members individually but by the household as a unit. Producing food and the care and maintenance of property are a collective responsibility.

Although land, livestock and housing are for joint use, each household does have its own, who is in charge of its management, who takes responsibility for all matters concerning inheritance and who will furthermore be assessed in person for the half-yearly tax on crops that the household is due. Although as a principle, all adult members share in the responsibilities of their household, it is yet the owner himself who, on behalf of the household as a whole, takes the final decision in intended transactions of selling and purchasing, who controls receipts and expenditures and who is ultimately held responsible for the other members.

I should mention however, that the position of the female owner is slightly different from that of a male one. In the village of my research, nine out of the twenty-seven households had female ownership and in all of them a fair share of responsibility was put on the husband. For a woman is considered unsuited to representing a household in public. Thus, for instance, female owners cannot attend the meetings of the villagers, where local authorities (variably men, by the way) are selected, disputes are settled and matters of common interest are discussed. An exception may be made in the odd case of a household without a single male member.

Ownership is also important in matters of inheritance. Management of the household and its common property will pass to the owner's child, son or daughter, that is the first to marry in the parental house. Therefore the nuclear family of the owner is the nucleus proper of the household.

The time for handing over the management of the household will largely depend on whether or not it is going to break up as a residential unit. If, after the marriage of their son or daughter, the parents are moving to a separate house, the younger generation will practically at the same time come into the ownership of the household, whereas if a household continues to function as a residential unit, the present owner will more gradually hand over his responsibilities. The breaking up of a residential unit may lead to a division of the economic unit as well. This will in particular be the case if it is the sibling, instead of the parents, who is going to move into a separate house. In such a case all of the property of the household will be divided and each part of the broken-up household will have land and a name of its own. In four households I was told that they had recently come into being in this way.

Apart from that, not all property is part of a collective ownership. Clothing, jewelry and wedding-p dân, such as domestic utensils and household effects, for example, are considered private property, which is subject to inheritance rules that are different from those that apply to common property. At a person's death a part of his personal belongings is auctioned, the proceeds going to the monks who officiated at the cremation. The monks in turn will give part of it to their monastery.

Of all personal property, however, the per an is treated differently. This traditional head-gear of the women is a headdress that passes from mother to oldest daughter, regardless whether or not the daughter is leaving her parental house after marriage. Thus a per an is frequently changing households, representing the status of the matrilateral line of kinship rather than the wealth of a household. Beautiful specimens may be found in poorer houses, while a well-to-do household may go without one.

The prosperity of the household is still largely dependent on the size and quality of its holding. Food producing is a collective responsibility, but that does not alter the fact that there is a certain division of work, particularly between the sexes.

The seasonal cycle starts in the spring with the repair of the dykes and canals surrounding the fields, in which both men and women partake. Women are not allowed to plough the fields. Instead, using wooden stakes they go hitting the clouds to fine pieces to cover the sowings. They will be assisted by men who
are not busy ploughing. Sowing may be done by men as well as women, as goes for cultivating the fields. Any member of the household that has time to spare will be watering the fields, and during the harvest everyone who possibly can will be working in the fields, the men cutting grass and grain and the women and girls gathering it and carrying it home in huge bundles.threshing is not exclusively for men or women. A vegetable garden is usually tended by a woman, but I did see men work in them. Men and women join in treading live-stock, but women have usually to collect dung and to lay it out to dry. Milking is also the work of women, but they shall not slaughter cattle. Nor shall women in spring fell trees for fire-wood.

Except for slaughtering cattle, ploughing the fields and felling trees, there is no rigid division of labour between the sexes. Thus one may sometimes find a woman at work with a reaping-hook or a man Bundling up grass or flake. Constructural work, like building houses, on the other hand, is almost exclusively a man’s job. If a woman is seen at all carrying out such work, she will mostly be of a comparatively poor household, where she has to help with carrying jobs. Carpentry and masonry are a man’s job.

Activities that are either constructive or directly productive in nature, and that could be called reproductive, mainly fall within the province of women. Preparing meals is one of them and the most time-consuming of a woman’s duties. Only if the worst comes to the worst will a man take charge of the kitchen-range. Water and fire-wood are as a rule fetched by women, although this is not considered their specific job. Cleaning the house and toilet, cleaning out stables and surely doing the washing are usually done by women as well. The same goes for that other time-absorbing task of looking after the children. Although a husband will help his wife in this respect, the ultimate responsibility rests with the wife.

Most of the work of the men is in summer, whereas the specific duties of women go on summer and winter. That is the main reason why men as well as women concede that women have to work hardest. Handicraft, like spinning wool and similar activities that take place mostly in winter, are done by women and men more or less to the same degree.

The villagers give various reasons for the division of labour, for example they say that the work of men is more strenuous and that men are physically more suited to it. It is, as a matter of fact, hard to tell how strenuous work actually is, but in comparison it would appear that men need more muscular strength of the arms and women do mainly carrying jobs.

Another and more interesting reason given for the system of division of labour is that women are of a different disposition. A woman is in the first place seen as a mother, born to giving birth and caring for others that is. They are said to have an innate interest in children and the only place where they really feel at ease would be the kitchen. Both men and women are of opinion that women are shy and lack self-confidence, that they don’t know how to undertake any-

thing and have to be guided by other people, their husband, parents or brother. Thus it is also believed that a woman can only have insight in matters domestic, while men have a better judgement in all other fields.

The qualities attributed to women, serving to explain their state of dependence, are at the same time normative. A woman that does not answer these standards is easily accused of having a bad character.

The three taboos mentioned before, concerning ploughing, slaughtering cattle and felling trees are given an explanation of a different nature altogether. Violation in this respect would enrage the gods and land a woman and her family in disaster. It is worth to note that these activities are at the basis of the three pillars that support the economy of a household, namely agriculture, dairy-farming and fuel-supply. Being excluded from these activities, women are more dependent on men for the supply of food and moreover this dependence is symbolically emphasized by religious sanctioning. There are, however, still other religious conceptions essential in describing the position of women.

RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

A study of their religious way of thinking shows that the villagers have several goals in mind. Each person has the ultimate aim of delivering himself from the cycle of birth or, anyway of reincarnation into a better life. But if one is to be delivered, life itself is necessary and in order to live the patronage and cooperation of several deities is indispensable. A large part of their religious practice aims at placating the gods and establishing good relations with them. Generally speaking, two forms of religious practice can be distinguished, the one aiming at deliverance, the other regarding the gods, each with its specific implication for the position of Buddhist women.

As deliverance is the ultimate goal, so withdrawal from worldly life and entering into religion is the highest norm. Thus, for a man to go into a monastery is a positive act, whether he be sent by his parents or be acting on his own free will. Monks are superior to the laity and one would expect the same principle to apply to women. There are, however, conspicuously fewer nuns than monks. Not all religious houses will admit women to their order and even those that do, as for instance the monastery of Thikse, have considerably more monks than nuns.

In the monastic order itself nuns are inferior to monks. They have to do the most strenuous work, they hardly partake in the religious practices of their religious house and what is more, unlike monks, they are not allowed to officiate at ceremonies in the households and the villages that have ties with their
monastery. It appeared that the nuns I met had entered a convent not so much on account of a positive decision, but to redeem a vow, as made for instance in connection with a serious illness.

The villagers assume an ambivalent attitude towards nuns. On the one hand, devotion to religion is to be considered in a positive sense, but on the other hand, no one of the women I met, not even the older ones, aspired to entering a monastery. Children will sometimes use the word nun as an abusive word.

In the summary to my paper I shall go farther into the possible reason for this ambivalence.

Nearly all women and most men live secular all their life and try indeed to observe the Buddhist commandments as best as they can and to have their good intentions, in which they are encouraged by religious activities. Saying prayers, in whatever form is playing an essential role in the life of both sexes, and in doing so a person hopes to acquire as much merit as possible with a view to being delivered. But in this respect men are in a more favourable position than women. By the nature of their activities women have less opportunity to withdraw themselves from domestic matters and to spend time for praying.

As mentioned before, another aspect of their religious practice aims at establishing a favourable relation with the gods. This is important not only for people personally, but for each household as a social unit, as well as for the village as a religious community. Accordingly, in spring all the village will partake in performing a ritual in honour of the village-god, who owns the land, where he also has his shrine. Each household will say its prayers to this god in the various phases of the seasonal cycle, for instance in the spring when felling trees and in the summer when harvesting. Rituals will also be performed for lower ranking divinities, like Lu.

But the housegod is all important to a household. Each household has a housegod of its own, which may be male or female, but at the same time each housegod will be the patron of a number of households, which together make up a Pha-spun. As a unit under its housegod the Pha-spun is mainly active in matters of ritual assistance in times of crisis, but in day-to-day life each household is a separate unit under its own housegod. The cooperation of the

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4) A woman may become a "Lhama", the female opposite of the "Lhaba": but few women aspire to it, however. Apart from this a Shama may build as good a reputation as a Lhaba.

5) As membership of a household is determined by residential factors, the same applies to the membership of a Pha-spun. Therefore, in my view, it is better to define a Pha-spun in terms of relations between households instead of relations between individuals.

6) It is true that a housegod is called Pha-lha or Phe-lha, meaning Pha-spun-god, when talked about in general sense, but talking of their own housegod or that of another household, people will say "our" god, housegod as a reward for the religious obligations, and his punishment in the form of illness or disaster, when duties are not fulfilled satisfactorily, are due to the household concerned only and not to other households of the Pha-spun.

The housegod is involved in everything that goes on in the household. He will guide the members in whatever they might undertake, having the power to make them either fail or succeed. People as well as animals are protected by the housegod against evil from the outside, like demons and the evil eye; he may come to their assistance in case of illness and he will keep an eye on the composition of the household-group.

Entering a household, either by birth or marriage is not valid until extensive rituals have been performed during which the new member will be presented to the housegod and put under his patronage. At a person's death, or when a member of a household wants to leave, either to marry or to go on a journey, the housegod has to be informed and be asked to bestow his blessing on it.

A man or a woman who has married into another household is put under the patronage of the housegod of that household. In most cases, men and women marrying into another household are going to belong to another Pha-spun.

The consequence, as far as women are concerned is that they will no longer be allowed to enter the house-temple of their parental house. As opposed to men, who may enter all house-temples, women can only enter the house-temples of the Pha-spun to which their household belongs. Should a woman act in defiance of this ruling, her lot will certainly be illness and possibly death. Some women even admitted that they were afraid of the fury of the gods to such an extent that they rather did not enter any house-temple but their own.

Not only are men and women in a different relation to their housegod, they also have differing relationships with all divinities. Divinities are more dangerous to women, because they are sooner infuriated by a woman than a man. A major part in this respect is played by the fact that a woman is thought of as being less pure than a man, for a woman, unlike a man, is going through a period of impurity each time she is having her menstru.

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7) It is interesting to note in this respect that women differ in opinion from men as to the residence of the housegod. According to the men, the housegod lives in only one of the houses of the Pha-spun, to be more precise, in a separate shrine on its roof, but the women are convinced that their housegod resides in their house-temple. This might be an indication that women more so than men are convinced of the bond between their household and its housegod. It might implicate that although women use the same symbols as men do, the former apply a different meaning to them.
too are attended with impurity, and whatever the case may be, all of a household are concerned in it, but with child-birth mother and child are at the center of impurity.

All women stated that menstruation was experienced as a real problem of womanhood, first of all because of the physical inconveniences that go with it, particularly in winter when it is almost impossible to wash oneself, and secondly, because the common view that menstruation is a manifestation of impurity gives them a sense of insecurity, above all before men.

Actual taboos, however, apply only in relation to the gods and the sacred places. During her menses a woman can perform all religious activities, as long as she does not enter a monastery or temple, including her own house-temple, and she can go about her domestic activities, like doing the cooking and going into the fields as normal. There is no purification once the menses are over and a woman can enter her house-temple again without further ado.

Menstruation is inherent in womanhood, but a girl will not come to full womanhood until she has borne a child. All women said they were wanting or had been wanting to have children. A woman who cannot have a baby is pitied, yet some women would ask for means of birth-control, because having too many children is experienced as a great inconvenience. Contraceptives, like the pill and the intra-uterine device in use in the West, are hardly known in Ladakh. Negative results experienced by some women have put off others. For the time being women will resort to traditional methods like taking medicinal herbs or wearing an amulet, but despite these precautions most women have many children.

Child-birth is a risky affair. In the beginning mother and child are easily taken ill, not only because of their physical condition, but also because childbirth is attended with impurity. This impurity sets in when the umbilical cord is being cut and from then on till the moment the state of impurity will be lifted, certain taboos have to be observed. If such taboos be disregarded, the fury of the gods might well turn to the mother and her child as the originators of the impurity. There are no taboos to be observed by a woman when she is expecting. She can go on doing her work as usual and she does not have to change her diet, although, she is well-advised to take nourishing food, with a high percentage of fat.

After the baby has been born the mother is not allowed to leave her house, usually for a month, since her going into the fields might incense the gods. She shall not enter her house-temple for the same period and that goes for the child as well, but, unlike the mother the child shall not leave the house until such time as will be determined by a person skilled in astrology.

The father of a newborn is also liable to impurity, be it to a lesser degree. Before the umbilical cord is going to be cut, the father will be asked whether he wants to leave the house or to stay. If he chooses to stay, he shall not leave the house for a week, if he chooses to leave the house, or if he should have been away already, he shall not enter the house for a week. In either case the father will not be allowed to enter a monastery for a month.

People under the patronage of a housegod other than that of the mother may be affected by the impurity. They shall not touch the baby, the mother or any of her household effects, for those are impure like herself and so it is feared that alien gods might demonstrate their fury. Only Pha-span members are free to move about the house during the period of impurity.

Lifting the state of impurity is a gradual process attended with festivals. During the first festival, a week after the baby was born, the impurity of the father is lifted. The celebration proper is usually a month after the day of birth and on this occasion the impurity of the child, the mother and her household effects will be lifted, the child will be ritually taken into the household and be put under the patronage of the housegod.

It would appear that more extensive taboos apply to child-birth than to menstruation, not only in terms of duration but also in the sense that more than one person is involved. Child-birth is attended with a higher degree of impurity than menstrual bleeding. This, in my view, is not because it is thought that bleeding at child-birth is more impure than menstrual bleeding, I found that the idea of blood as a factor of impurity was associated by women with menstruation only. They experience this kind of impurity as something personal and they will conceal it as much as they can. With child-birth, impurity is much more conspicuous and concerning for example also the father, who has not touched my blood at all, for the simple reason that men shall not be present when a child is born.

My interpretation of the difference between both forms of impurity is, that, although both menstruation and child-birth are experienced as a disturbance of the orderly way of life, the former is just a disturbance of an order on the personal level, whereas the latter is one on the more wider level of the household. The child, the parents and all of the household find themselves in a state of transition. As for the child it means beginning a new life, being taken into a certain social group and entering into a relationship with a specific housegod; the parents and the other members of the household enter into a relationship with a new being.

As said before, death too causes a transitional situation involving impurity, but this concerns women and men in the same degree. Menstruation and child-birth make that women are more involved in impurity than men. Starting from the principle that maintaining an orderly way of life will please the gods, the difference between the position of men and women in their relation to the gods is self-evident. Phenomena of disturbing the orderly way of life are considered characteristic of womanhood.
SUMMARY: THE BUDDHIST WOMEN'S DILEMMA

The position of Buddhist women in Ladakh in the residential and economic sphere seems to compare favourably with, for example, the position of Muslim or Hindu women, especially if one considers the unworldly married women. Nevertheless, it is clear that they are in many respects dependent on and subordinated to the men.

A woman is first and foremost seen as a potential mother, and the reproducing function of women is emphasized in the opinion about their personality as well as in the ideas about impurity. Impurity, lack of confidence, dependence and a delicate relation with the gods, and as a result the prohibition to perform certain important agricultural tasks, are negative aspects of womanhood. These aspects are not only normative, because a woman that will not or cannot fulfill her reproducing functions is looked upon as bad or pitiful.

Although deliverance is the ultimate goal for both men and women, we have also seen that nuns are held in great respect at all, neither by secular people nor in a religious house. In my opinion this is caused by the fact that the reproductive functions of women are at variance with the requirements to be met for her deliverance. A woman owes her value to her birth-giving ability, a nun has denied herself this value and, in a sense she is seen as a less successful woman.

Wholehearted devotion to religion is normative for men, not only in the sense that the choice of going into a monastery is invariably seen in a positive sense, but also in the sense that laymen are expected - and given the opportunity - to devote a great deal of time on religious activities, much more so than women.

The emphasis on the reproducing functions of women as normative together with the emphasis on the aim of deliverance are at the root of a basic dilemma in the life of these Buddhist women. They cannot meet at once the demand of reproducing and the contradictory demand of retreating from worldly life, whereby birth reproduction and retreat should be understood in two senses.

For reproduction means not only to give birth, but also to fulfill the reproductive tasks in the household, whereas retreat means to withdraw into a monastery or a nursery, as well as to withdraw momentarily from the household to spend time on religious activities.

Whatever a woman chooses, she will always be lacking. And what is more, giving birth and menstruation as phenomena of the reproducing ability of women, have their negative aspect in that they cause impurity. Women owe their value to their birth-giving and caring qualities, but these put them at once in a position of subordination and dependence, thus of lesser value, with respect to men. It should be no surprise that I was told by many women that a woman will not attain deliverance until she has been born as a man, and
MAN AND HIS NATURAL ENVIRONMENT IN LADAKH

Ulrich Gruber

The approach to Ladakh as the country of our interest presents a great variety as can be experienced especially during the symposium about recent research on Ladakh at the University of Konstanz held in November, 1981. My own approach is that of a naturalist combined with a deep interest in what is called the "Tibetan culture" and in the people of Central Asia. In my brief contribution I shall not report about new and exciting results of research, but I want to show how in Ladakh human life is settled in its natural surroundings.

In Ladakh with its inaccessible mountains, its lonely and hidden valleys, its desert landscape and its extremely rough climate nature rules all expressions of human life. Man in his entire living habits is directly influenced by the surrounding natural conditions. He has to live in harmony with nature if he wants to exist at all in this landscape.

Take only the access to this country on the border of Central Asia which in any way is most difficult. Roads are rare in Ladakh. In fact, there is only one single metalled road leading from India-Kashmir to the centre of the country around the capital Leh: a road which serves as supplying arterial road for the Indian Army, for the Indian administration and for the people of Ladakh. Of course, in recent days it serves also increasing tourism. The other, unmetalled motor-road from the Kulu valley via Lahaul and the Baralacha La is nearly unused and can be neglected. Besides the few motor-roads there are only caravan tracks - where yaks and even sheeps are used for transport with sacks full of grain, wool and salt -, paths from village to village and routes to the high pastures.

The climate of Ladakh is determined by two seasons: a short and in spite of the mainly high altitudes rather warm summer and an extremely cold, long lasting winter. Snowfall can be heavy and all life seems to have grown stiff. The people protect themselves against the inclemency of the weather by the construction of their houses, which especially in Zanskar resemble true canals. In these climatically rougher parts of the country people can overcome the chill of winter only by withdrawing themselves into the souterrain of their homes, where they live together with their animals, with a weak dung
fire and scarce food and by listening to the endless legends of story-tellers.

But man is dependent on the climate also in respect of his basic life supply. This means that agriculture is carried out in a system of river oases such as we meet with in the upper Indus river valley near Leh, Tikse or Aholi. The green colour of the irrigated fields ends as if cut off by a knife at the bordering desert ground. All life in this high mountain desert depends on water. If a water supplying brook dries up - as we sometimes recognize for instance in Zanskar - the people of a hamlet have to leave their houses and their fields lay barren.

Ladakh is a country without original, primary forests. Only in Zanskar there might have been in former days loose stocks of juniper trees, indented occasionally by single trees such as above Phuktal Gompa. The wild growing willows and tamarisks along the river beds only grow as shrubs. All other trees are planted, as a rule around human settlements. Apart from fruit trees they belong to two species namely poplars and willows.

The human colonisation of this desert-like country is weak. The population density depends on the possibility of food supply. Only the richer regions at lower altitudes such as the Nubra valley and the middle Indus area around Stakpoor and Kalaikar offer better life conditions and should be excluded here. However, in certain remote regions - as for instance Zanskar again - there is produced just that amount of food necessary for the nourishment of the local people. Any increase of the population number or additional demand by travelling tourists causes problems. Even in the richer area round the capital Leh the population increase, caused by the Indian military and the Indian administration, can only be mastered through additional supply of food and goods from outside, mainly from Kashmir. These circumstances suggest that the population rate should be kept balanced. We don't know much about the regulators of birth-control in this region, but the phenomenon of fewer births among the people of high mountain areas in Central Asia (f.i. Tibet) and among the Sherpas in Nepal is known. Perhaps the rough climate is one of the factors of this phenomenon, perhaps also the monasteries of Tibetan Buddhism skim off the surplus of propagating males and finally it seems evident that the polyandric matrimony exerts a distinct influence.

The basic system of living and supply in Ladakh is agriculture. The countrymen are still self-dependent concerning food, clothing or even implements of daily life. They cultivate their fields with very traditional, conservative methods. The field produces are considerably low - with exception of the already mentioned areas of Nubra and the middle Indus situated at lower altitudes with a far milder climate. The crops consist mainly of barley, wheat and bearded wheat, buckwheat at climatically milder places, peas especially supplying a basic food-stuff in Zanskar, radishes and fruit-trees such as the famous apricots in Aholi and Stakpoor, walnuts, apples and mulberries in Nubra.

Besides cultivation of field-products farming concentrates on breeding and using animals. The most important domestic animal of Ladakh is the yak, the long-haired, humpbacked cattle of Central Asia - which is used for many different purposes such as transport of goods, riding, working in the fields or producing milk, meat and wool. Other important husbandry animals are sheep and Ladakhi domestic goats, which seem to have their next freereliving relatives in the Markhor, a wild goat occurring in mountain habitats from western Ladakh through North-Pakistan on to North-Afghanistan. The drilled horns of the males prove this relationship. The hair of this goat's undercoat yields the basic material for the famous Kashmir wool. Finally we have to mention the breeding of horses, the main transport in Central Asia before the construction of motorroads and still nowadays important for human locomotion. The most famous horse-breeding is found in Zanskar; the ponies of this area are considered the strongest of the whole region and most able to offer resistance to extreme weather-conditions. This ability has been proved for instance by Sven Hedin in his famous book about his travels through the Transhimalayas.

But the inhabitants of Ladakh not only live in close connexion with plants and animals used by husbandry; moreover, they are surrounded by freereliving animals and wild plants which likewise take part in human life space. The big, free living mammals of Ladakh - the so-called game animals - are very difficult to detect and watch. There are bharal (also called bluebuck), wild sheep, ibex with its mythological meaning, wild ass or Kiang, Tibetan antelope, brown bear and lynx. They all inhabit the high pastures and the rocky regions just below the summer-snowline; only occasionally during very strong winter days some of them descend downhill to the neighbourhood of human settlements, as it is reported about ibex in Zanskar at Karsha or Linchao. The most impressive species, however, is the king of Central Asian mammals: the snow leopard. This lonely predator of the vast high mountain ranges hunts on bharal, ibex, marmots or snow cocks and it seems to be closer related to house-cats than to the true leopards. It rarely does harm to flocks of domestic cattle, but nevertheless is pursued by local farmers. I only met once with a skin of a killed specimen, hanging on a housewall in Zanskar. This roughly stuffed skin indicates the threatening of all game animals in this region, that means hunting by local people (mainly non-Buddhists), by Indian Army members and by foreign tourist hunters. All the big mammals among the freereliving animals of Central Asia have to be put on a red list of endangered animals.

The world of birds is rich in Ladakh. On the moist plains along the rivers we find many waders such as the famous "lichki", on the slopes and pastures we can watch rosefinches, snowfinches or snow cocks. Among the birds of prey we are impressed by the huge bearded vulture, which usually preys on marmots and mouseshaves. In the rocky valleys of Zanskar and higher Ladakh the characteristic bird is the rock-pigeon, which occurs in considerable flocks on the fields as well as on the neighboring rocky slopes. Lower vertebrates are represented by a number of reptile species. There is the Himalayan agama...
which lives on rocks and in stone-walls along the roads. In the rocky, desertlike surroundings of monasteries such as Gyantse Gumpa one can meet with the ground-dwelling agama, a small and strange-looking reptile, or with the Central-Asian desert-gecko, a characteristic lizard of deserts with the ability of storing fat in its tail. Finally there lives in the outskirts of gardens, meadows and orchards the Ladakh-skink, a slender lizard with its tail easily breaking off. It is a true inhabitant of Ladakh, restricted mainly to this country, and as an adaptation to the short activity period during summer it gives birth to living youngs instead of laying eggs as usual for reptiles.

The wild plants grow to a certain density on all the high mountain pastures, where they are used for cattle-grazing. Here they produce - besides the nutritious grasses and herbs - a number of well known alpine flowers such as Gentian, Edelweiss or Pedicularis. These alitudes, between 4,000 and 5,000 meters, are also the home region of the famous Blue Poppy (genus Meconopsis), the romantic flower of the Himalayas. When we descend from the pastures and reach back to the proportionally lower, desertlike areas still we meet with sporadic wild plants. Here they are mainly thorny bushes such as roses or white and violet flowering Capparis. Some of the bushes are of importance for man, as we can experience from the rope-bridges in Zanskar. This traditional type of hanging bridges is still constructed and its armthick ropes are produced from a honeysuckle (genus Lonicera) which grows in considerable numbers in the surrounding area. During my journey through Zanskar I investigated thoroughly the material of the rope-bridges and recognized that it belonged to the genus Lonicera (Honeysuckle) and not to willows or birches as often mentioned in books about this area. A further complex of using wild-growing plants is to collect official herbs for medical treatment. As an example for these herbs I came across during my Zanskar-journey with Ephedra griffithii, a gymnosperm tiny bush with special relationship to the African Welwitschia. Ladakh and especially Zanskar is famous for its abundance of official herbs, and the Tibetan medical practitioners (the so-called Amchoos) of this region visit the higher parts of the country every summer for their plant collecting work.

Ladakh and Central Asia in common have been visited by European scientific naturalists already since more than hundred years. One of these famous travellers was the Austrian-German Dr. Ferdinand Stoliczka, who carried out essential studies on the nature of this region and who died in Ladakh on the 19th of June, 1874. Many scientific names of plants and animals, as well as a stone obelisk near Leh with an inscription arranged by the former Government of India remind of this meritorious naturalist.

Finally, it is necessary to pay attention to another field of nature: Geology. The stones' formations in Ladakh show a great variety, but so far they are very weakly explored. There are crystalline stones and limestone and there are even eruptive formations. A number of metals and minerals are to be found such as copper, gold (especially in the Shyok river basin), garnets, feldspar, bauxite, sulphur, magnesia or rock-salt. Usable for human purposes, for instance production of pottery, are the rich occurrences of clay. The most impressive clay depositions are those in the surroundings of Lamayuru. Very few of the geological formations in Ladakh are used by man. A peculiar layer from rocks is a sort of bluemen (so-called earth-pitch) which is used by Amchoos for the purpose of medical treatment. As far as gold occurs on the surface of earth it has always been collected by special gold-collectors.

It is perhaps one of the mysteries of history that Central-Asian Buddhism has survived just in this remote, inaccessible country with its high mountain deserts and its rough climate. According to the teachings of Lord Buddha man should live in harmony with his natural environment: The people of Ladakh correspond with their surrounding nature - a landscape full of loess-covered mountains, where the rivers are still allowed to flow as they want - and they fill their natural environment with spiritual beings, with gods, demons and fairies.

List of scientific names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Name</th>
<th>Scientific Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bharal (or blue sheep)</td>
<td>Pseudois nayaur</td>
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<tr>
<td>bearded vulture</td>
<td>Gyps bengalus</td>
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<tr>
<td>brown bear</td>
<td>Ursus arctos isabellinus</td>
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<tr>
<td>desert-gecko</td>
<td>Cnemaspis fuliginosa</td>
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<td>Agama himalayana</td>
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<td>ibex</td>
<td>Capra ibex</td>
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<td>Ladakh-skink</td>
<td>Heterodon struthersi</td>
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<td>mouhabit</td>
<td>Octonina roylei</td>
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<td>rock pigeons</td>
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<td>roselinck</td>
<td>Carpodacus erythrinus</td>
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<tr>
<td>snowcock</td>
<td>Tetraogallus himalayensis</td>
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LANDWIRTSCHAFT, VIEHZUCHT UND HANDWERK IN ZANGLA

Wolfgang Friedl

Das ehemals berühmte Königreich Zangla, heute ein kleiner Ort am Ende des Talkeises von Padum, erscheint mir als der geeignetste Ort, die ökonomischen Gegebenheiten dieses Gebietes zu studieren, denn die Ortschaft liegt etwa abseits der oft begangenen Route von Padum nach Manki, auf der früher etliche Karawassen Handelsgüter ins Zanskarthal brachten.

Zangla besteht aus 36 Häusern, einer kleinen Schule, einem Nonnenkloster und dem "Königspalast". Die von Zangwa Singh zerstörte Hochburg überbrückt das Dorf und ist bis auf eine Kapelle dem weiteren Verfall preisgegeben.


Der Hauptlebensunterhalt der Bevölkerung ist der Ackernbau, daneben Viehzucht und in einigen wenigen Fällen auch noch etwas Handwerk. Hierbei ist aber zu bedenken, daß die Handwerker in Zangla ihre Tätigkeit nur als Nebenerwerb betreiben und keiner von ihnen seinen Lebensunterhalt allein aus den Erträgen seiner Kunstfertigkeit bestreiten könnte.


In den folgenden Seiten versuche ich, diesem Jahresablauf nach der Art der Tätigkeiten getreu darzustellen und damit einen Überblick über die wirtschaftliche Organisation eines Dorfes im Zanskarthal zu geben.

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FRÜHLJAHR

Mit dem Beginn der Schneeschmelze, etwa Ende Mai, werden die ersten Flecken für eine gute Ernte abgehalten. Da nun entleert jede Familie die Felder, um den Boden zu düngen. Mit dieser Maßnahme wird eine Verlängerung der schneefreien Zeit und damit der Reifestag für das Getreide um etwa drei Wochen erreicht.

Die Säen werden erst, nachdem ein opa, d.h. ein Mann, der sich auf die Ernte beschäftigt, einen dafür günstigen Tag festgestellt hat. Ein Mönch wird, bevor die gesamte Familie auf die Felder begibt, ins Haus gehoben, wo er einige Gebete spricht, torma aus Esampas und das Saatgut segnet. Anschließend begleiten sich alle Familienangehörigen auf ein Feld, wo abwechselnd einige Gebete gesprochen werden und das Feld einmal umkreist wird.

Das älteste männliche Familienmitglied spannt dann die Yake oder Dos vor, und während der Mönch noch wie vor Gebeten brennt, steht er die erste Pflanze. Von den torma bekommt jeder der Anwesenden einen Tupfen

ERLÄUTERUNGEN ZUM DIAGRAM

Ich versuche in diesem Diagramm, die zeitliche Abfolge der verschiedenen Aktivitäten während eines Jahres darzustellen, dabei aber sowohl das Klima als auch die geschätzte Beteiligung der Bevölkerung zu beachten.

1. Religiöse Feiern (schraffiert):
Hohepunkt ist das Neujahrsfest Ende Februar, dann die verschiedenen puja und das Blumenfest in Sans, zu dem etliche Leute von weiteren Orten kommen.

2. Ackerbau (graubraun schraffiert):
Beginn der Tätigkeiten mit der Ernte der Fruchtengruben ca. Anfang Mai; Sait, bei der alle Familienmitglieder teilnehmen; Bewässerung; ab Mitte September die Ernte, bei der wiederum alle verfügbaren Arbeitskräfte eingesetzt werden.

3. Viehzucht (fein schraffiert):
Sie stellt nach einem wichtigen Teil des Lebensunterhaltes der Bevölkerung dar, beschäftigt aber nur einen geringen Teil der Menschen.

4. Handwerk (grau):
auf die Stirn gestreift, ebenso die vor den Pflug gespannten Tiere. Anschließend sitzt der Familienvorstand (wenn dieser nicht anwesend ist, übernimmt diese Arbeit ein neuer männlicher Verwandter) über das ganze Feld und pflegt dann die Saat ein, während die Frauen die Erde mit Glühbrömmen zerkleinern und glattstreichen.


Nach der Saat kommt die Familie zusammen und begeht den Tag "feierlich", d.h. sie sitzen zusammen und trinken Teefang. Die restlichen Felder werden erst in den darauffolgenden Tagen bestellt.


Treten Versickerungen des Feldbesitzes und damit ein erhöhter Wasserbedarf während der Sommermonate auf, so hat der betroffene Bauer alle anderen einzuladen, seine Bitte nach mehr Wasser vorzustellen und bei positiver Beanstandung seines Ansuchens alle anwesenden Landwirte zu einem "Test" einzuladen.


In Zangla übernehmen die Bauern die Weiterverteilung auf ihre Felder selbst.

Landwirtschaft, Viehzucht und Handwerk in Zangla

was wiederum eine Kontrolle des tawap ermöglicht. Gegen Ende des Frühjahrs versammeln die Bauern eine gemeinsame Lesung von religiösen Texten inmitten der Felder. Hierzu laden sie auch Mönche aus dem Kloster Kar-scha ein, die die Zeremonie leiten und für ihre Tätigkeit Geld und Naturalien erhalten.

Handwerkliche Aktivitäten

Sobald der Schnee soweit weggeschmolzen ist, daß die Haustiere im Freien gehalten werden können, beginnt man mit der Schur. Dabei wird die lange Wolle der Yaks und Dzes zuerst vom Rücken, und erst später, wenn der Boden nicht mehr gefroren ist, auch von der Bauchseite entfernt. Vermeint mit der Wolle der Kael, die nicht geschalten, sondern nur ausgezepelt wird, spinnen ausschließlich die Männer diese Wolle (siehe Abbildung 1 und 2).

Abb. 1: churu, Männerspinnewirtel  Abb. 2: palpi, Knoten des Wollvorrats


Die während der Wintermonate von den Frauen gesponnene Wolle wird durch
spezielle Gestelle, die am Dach der Häuser befestigt sind, gezogen und noch-
mals fest verdreht. Dadurch werden die Fäden besonders dicht und fest, was
sich auch in der Qualität der im Zwitscher gewebten Stoffe zeigt. Der
nyambu, so wird der fertig gewebte Stoff genannt, erscheint in Lein den
doppelten Preis als ein in Laldah gewebter (siehe Abbildung 3 und 4).

Geweht wird von "Spezialisten", die ihren Webstuhl im Frühling an einer son-
nigen Stelle aufbauen, wo sie nach der Saat die von den Kunden bereitgestellte
Wolle verarbeiten. Die vorher mit einem Webstuhl mit vier Fächern aus-
ipment hat er, steht auf einem endlosen Ruten und einer einfachen Span-
verrichtung. Die Fäden werden immer doppelt und in Abständen verarbeitet.
Die Breite der erzeugten Stoffe beträgt maximal 50 cm, ihre Länge ungefähr
15 Meter. Diese Abmessungen entsprechen einem nyambu, der Maßgebend
für eine fertiggestellte Stoffhahn. Der fertiggestellte Stoff wird drei Tage lang in kaltem
Wasser gewaschen, wobei sich seine Breite und Länge um etwa ein Drittel redu-
ziert. Das Endprodukt darf bei guter Qualität nicht ausfransen, wenn es quer
ten Fäden durchgeschnitten wird (siehe Abbildung 5).

Gefärbt werden die Fäden, indem sie in einer Lösung aus Blauherbszwischen
und roter Erde, die im Nebbatal gefunden wird, getaucht werden. In dieser
Fritte bleiben sie 24 Stunden liegen, werden ausgewaschen und in der Sonne
getrocknet. Leider setzen sich chemische Farben inner mehr durch, so daß
die Farbe mit Naturfarben zu Färben schon bald in Vergessenheit geraten wird.

SOMMER

Während der Monate Juli und August, die in Zangla als Sommer bezeichnet
werden, ist es die Aufgabe der Frauen, das Umbraut zwischen den Getreide-
halmen auszuräumen, die Erde aufzudiepen und für die nächsten Bewässerung
vorzubereiten.

Wenn die Haine vor der Reife stehen, veranstaltet das Dorf abermals eine
puja, bei der von jedes Haus ein Loszahlen der einige Seiten eines religiö-
sen Textes (laut Informanten des Kangsat) lesen muß. Die Frauen bereiten
Batterien und mit Tschuqferment gebräute Brute vor, die an alle Anwesen-
den verteilt werden. Die bei der puja getrocknete Masse werden für ihre
Gebete mit T scrapped und einer Goldprobe von etwa 10 Rupias enthaut. Tschuq
wird während dieser Zeremonie nicht getrunken

In diesen Zeitraum fällt auch die letzte Herstellung von Tszampa, die bis
nach der Ernte reichen muß.
Viehsucht


Für verunglückte Tiere muß der Hirte keinen Schadenersatz leisten, soll aber, wenn es irgendwie möglich ist, das Fleisch verwerten und an den Besitzer des Tieres abliefern.

In praktisch jedem größeren Dorf hält man einen Zuchtflecken, der bei einem Bauern eingestellt ist, von diesem aber nie zur Arbeit herangezogen wird. Als Unterkunftsmittel erhält er für jede dieser Rallen zugeführte Kuh ca. ein Kilogramm Dauer.

Für die im Dorf verbleibenden Tiere wird ebenfalls ein Hirte angestellt, der darauf achtet, daß diese nicht in die Felder gehen. Der Lrampa erhält eine Belohnung für jedes Tier, das er während des Sommers beaufsichtigt (je weis 10 Rupien pro Esel, Pferd oder Yak, 5 Rupien für jedes Lamm oder jede Ziege).


Nach zwei bis drei Wochen kehrt der Mann mit seinen jungen Wölfe wieder ins Dorf zurück, wo er mit dem Getreide, das er erhalten hat, ein größeres Fest veranstaltet.

Landwirtschaft, Viehzucht und Handwerk in Zanga

Bandwerk


In die Sommermonate fällt auch die Tätigkeit des einzigen Töpfers im Zanka-Tal. Er lebt in der kleinen Ortschaft Chillingkait und ist im ganzen Tal ein bekannter Mann. Von einigen meiner Informanten wurde er sogar als Künstler bezeichnet. Interessanterweise arbeitet er nur auf Bestellung und auch nur gegen Barzahlung. Seine Arbeitsweise ist eine ethnographisch interessante Mischung aus "paddle and anvil" Technik und Töpferzelle, bei der er das Werkstück auf einer großen Negativform langsam dreht und dabei hochzieht (zu Abbildung 6, 7, 8 und 9).


Das einzige Objekt, das ich von diesem Töpfer erwerben konnte, war eine Tasse, in der traditionellen Form gefertigt und mit einer dünnen Glasur versehen. Eine Untersuchung ergab, daß es sich dabei um zerstoßenes Steinsalz handelt, das als Brei aufgetragen und danach oberflächen gebrannt wurde.

Die Verbreitung von Töpferwaren im Zanka-Tal ist nicht groß, im Umkreis eines Tagesmärchens fanden sich in fast jedem Haus irgendwelche Töpferzeugen, in weiter entfernten Orten (2 bis 3 Tagesmärchen) ist das Vorkommen von idiosynkratisch praktisch nicht mehr feststellbar.
HERBST


Die Ähren werden in Zangla nicht geschnitten, sondern aus dem Boden gerissen, die an den Wurzeln haftende Erde wird ausgesäubert und die Ähren zu Garben gebunden. Der Sinn dieser Erntemethode liegt in der geringen Erdefeuchtigkeit, die eine Flüssigkeit der Wurzeln nicht zuläßt. Der Boden würde schon nach kurzer Zeit zu locker werden, damit verbunden wäre eine noch viel stärkere Erosion durch Wind und Wasser.


Dieser Saatgutausch unterliegt keinen festen Regeln; ich konnte aber feststellen, daß die Auswahl der Ortschaften, mit denen getauscht wird, durch verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen mit Zangla bestimmt ist.


In den kleinen Gärtchen innerhalb des Dorfes baut man weißer Rettich, Labuk, an, der mit Samen den Blütern an der Luft getrocknet, im Winter als Gemüse sehr geschätzt wird.

Das Grund- und zugleich Hauptnahrungsmittel Tsampa stellt man in Zangla.
und auch im realen Tanzakartal immer in größeren Mengen her. Drei bis vier Mal pro Jahr wird die dazu bestimmte Gerste geröstet und anschließend in einer kleinen Wassermühle gemahlen. Mehrere Familien teilen sich die Instandhaltung einer solchen Mühle und haben damit auch das Nutzungsrecht. Professionelle Müller, wie sie in Ladaži gibt, sind in Zangla unbekannt (siehe Abbildung 10).

Abb. 10: rantak, Mühle, Querschnitt

1 tukar lung, Aufstellung
2 tukar, Getreiderivierer
3 schingchén, Rinne
4 taktar, Vibrator
5 rantakphu, Oberer Mühlstein
6 rantakma, Fixer Mühlstein
7 los, Wasserversorgung
8 rantakphu, Mühlrad
9 shokphu, Schaufeln
10 pang, Achse
11 pagar, Widerlager der Achse

Landwirtschaft, Viehzucht und Handwerk in Zangla

Viehzucht

Nach den Erntearbeiten werden die von den Hochweiden gehaltenen Tiere wieder hinaufgetrieben, wo sie bis zum Winternachbruch bleiben.

Handwerk

Nach der Ernte, wenn die bäuerlichen Aktivitäten auf ein Minimum reduziert sind, gehen die "Baurehandwerker" ihren Berufs nach. Die Schmiede beginnen die Aufträge, die sie während der Erntezzeit entstanden haben, zu erledigen, die Tischler verarbeiten das Holz, das mit Lastwagen aus Kargil gekommen ist und mit Pferden von Tungri nach Zangla gebracht wurde.


Die Schmiede in Zangla haben zwar einen speziellen Status, sind aber viel stärker in die Dorfgemeinschaft integriert als es z. B. in Leh der Fall ist. Sie heizen innerhalb ihrer Schicht, und so kommt es, daß infolge dieser Gruppenendogamie alle Schmiede im Tanzakartal irgendwie miteinander verwandt sind.

Von der Bevölkerung werden sie als garra bezeichnet, was sowohl wie Schmied bedeutet, jedoch niemals als mok oder bedha. Ein Schmied, dessen handwerkliche Fähigkeit besonders hoch ist, wird gerne als sar gar bezeichnet, was übersetzt sowohl wie Goldschmied bedeutet. Dabei bearbeitet der "Goldschmied" genauso wie alle anderen hauptsächlich Eisen. Wenn er sich schon mit edleren Metallen beschäftigt, so meistens mit Silber, das er immer noch aus alten britisch-indischen Silberreliquen gewinnt. Er schmückt diese Goldstücker ein, hämert sie zu dünnen Blechen und stickt daraus mit einer groben Punze tropfenförmige Telle, die, miteinander verlöck, einfache Halsketten ergeben.

WINTER

Ackerbau

Noch vor den tiefen Frösten sperren die Bauern die Zuflüsse zu den Bewässerungsanlagen, damit das Eis die Erdwälle und das Sammelbecken nicht zer sprengen kann. Instandhaltungsarbeiten an diversen Ackerbaugeräten werden erledigt, aber sonst ruht die Arbeit der Bauern.

Viehzucht:

Sobald die Temperaturen unter dem Gefrierpunkt liegen, werden die Tiere von den Höhenwiesen ins Tal getrieben und verbleiben noch einige Wochen, genauer bis zu den ersten Schneefällen, im Freien. Sie grasen die letzten Halme der abgeernteten Felder ab und düngen dabei den Boden.

Abb. 13: Winterküche
Der erste Schnee ist das Zeichen, die Haustiere in die Ställe zu bringen, gleichzeitig damit ziehen die Familien in die Winterkichen, die immer neben dem Schaf- und Ziegenstall liegen. Die Körpewärme des Viehs ist, abgesehen von einem kleinen Dampfer, auf dem der ungänzliche Rattan-tee warm gehalten wird, die einzige Heizung während der Wintermonate (siehe Abbildung 13).

Handwerk

Solange die Außentemperaturen noch nicht zu weit unter den Gefrierpunkt gefallen sind, arbeiten alle Handwerker während der wärmeren Tagesstunden im Freien. Während der Monate Dezember bis Februar ruht praktisch jede Arbeit.

Wenn um Mitte Dezember der Zanskarfluß zugefroren ist, unternehmen eilliche Landleute gemeinsam längere Handelsreisen von Zangla nach Leh, denn durch den zugefrorenen Fluß errichten sie sich ungefähr 8 bis 10 Tagesmärkte. Sie wandern dann bis zur Mündung des Zanskar in den Indus und können von diesem Punkt die restlichen 25 Kilometer mit dem Bus zurücklegen. Dieser Weg ist im Sommer ungünstiger, da die Schlichtheit des Zanskar zwischen den Orten Hanuputan und Chilling keine Möglichkeit zum Anlegen eines Wagens bietet.

Soziale Aktivitäten

Die Zeit vom Ende der Erste bis zu den ersten schweren Schneefällen verwenden die Bewohner des Zanskartales, um Hochzeiten abzuhalten. Die durchschnittliche Dauer eines solchen Festes beträgt drei Tage, und wenn die Braut von weither geholt werden muß, so kommt er öfter vor, daß sich eine Hochzeit über zwei Wochen erstreckt.


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IMPACT OF TOURISM ON LEH AND SURROUNDINGS

Peter Eppler

INTRODUCTION

Relations between Ladakh and the outside world had been steadily deteriorating ever since the partition of India in 1947. When Chinese troops marched into Sinkiang in 1949 and sealed the common border with Ladakh, Central Asian trade via Kargil and Leh became a thing of the past. In the wake of Chinese aggression in Ladakh in 1962, relations with Tibet were severed, as well. Only the bond with India, the mother country, became stronger; this could be seen in the reinforced presence of Indian troops in the area as well as in the construction of the strategically important road between Srinagar and Leh.

Our accidental picture of this remote region became more and more complete starting with the first accounts of Herodots about gold digging ants up into our time through scholars and adventurers. International tourism, however, was only possible after 1974, at which time the Central Government in Delhi opened the restricted area of Ladakh to foreigners. This action was caused by repeated petitions of Mir Qasim, then Chief Minister of Kashmir. The Ladakhis must certainly have been astonished at the rapidly rising rate of tourism that immediately set in.

Table 1: Tourists arriving in Leh

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
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<td>1980</td>
<td>4580</td>
<td>7150</td>
<td>10000</td>
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In 1976 I travelled for the first time as an individual tourist to Ladakh and then as a cultural guide for four groups from 1978 until 1981. After a short field research in Leh during 1978, I spent four weeks in the summer of 1979 trying
to form a more complete picture of the impact of tourism on Leh and the surrounding countryside. The following report is, however, the result of my personal view rather than an exact study of tourism.

ECONOMIC CHANGES AND INFLUENCES

Economic situation

The generally accepted argument in favour of tourism is the assertion that visitors bring their hard earned money to developing countries to spend it there, thus contributing to an economic boom in these countries.

Already in 1976, the 6,170 inhabitants of the capital Leh found it difficult to accommodate visitors in the summer months. The fields around Leh were suddenly transformed into building sites, and in many homes, rooms were set aside for the tourists. By 1978, there were already 65 registered hotels and hostels. However, the number of organized groups, in comparison with individual tourism, became greater and greater, so that the capacity of hotels with an adequate standard of comfort is even today too low during the season.

In 1978, the 15 largest hotels, with one exception, belonged to Ladakhis. In 10 cases the management was in their hands, while the remaining 5 were run by outsiders. The personnel is drawn more and more from Kashmir, Nepal, and from the ranks of Tibetan refugees, who in contrast to local employees, have already had some experience of hotel work. The smaller hotels and hostels are owned, without exception, by locals who usually run them as a family business.

Modern appliances and to a large degree the furniture and fittings for the hotels have to be imported. The Kashmir government gives its financial support for the construction of new industries and hotels, although larger projects seem to have priority.

The hotel kitchens and small tourist restaurants which are often run by Tibetans, use mainly imported food from Kashmir. For meat they rely on the supply from Changthang or on products from Kashmir. Farmers in the area of Leh are now growing more vegetables, which, together with the local food grains, they now can sell at higher prices than before.

The material gain of selling entrance tickets by the monasteries and the two royal palaces, which are the most important cultural attractions of the country, is quite obvious. In 1878, standard prices were introduced as a result of a decision made by the Ladakh Gompa Association: at the present one pays Rs. 10.- entrance fee to the larger monasteries and Rs. 5.- to the smaller monasteries. According to unanimous information from the monasteries of Hemis, Tiksey and Phyang, the profits are used for the maintenance and renovation of their buildings and temples as well as the construction of new temples.

In Leh not only the shops in the bazaar but also the souvenirs trade profits from the tourism. For the summer season Kashmiri and Tibetan vendors come to the capital. Ladakhi vendors are in the minority. The Kashmiris do business in rented shops while the Tibetans usually spread out their goods in the street. After the latter had gradually taken over the entire sidewalks of the bazaar, the authorities had to displace them in 1979 to a new site next to the vegetable market.

Most of the souvenirs are not manufactured in Ladakh but in Kashmir, Northern India and Nepal, since the local artists and craftsmen are not able to produce enough goods to satisfy the demand. The State Handicraft Centre in Leh seems to lack in experience: their products do not yet correspond enough with Western demand and taste.

As transport is concerned, one has to depend on buses of the Jammu and Kashmir Transport Corporation or on Indian Airlines, except for a few taxis and jeeps. In 1978 the airline route Srinagar-Leh was opened with two flights per week. During winter this is the only possibility to reach Ladakh, although there are very few tourists at that time of the year due to the cold climate. Since the road from Srinagar to Leh is closed from the end of October until June due to heavy snow conditions, tourism is limited mainly to the summer months. This has a negative effect on utilization and profitability of the tourist industry as well as on the income of the employees.

Summary and presentation of problems

As a result of building activities, expanding hotel business, restaurants, food-production, renovation and building of temples, manufacturing arts and handicrafts, local travel agencies, tourist guiding, new shops, development and expansion of institutions (such as the Tourist Office and the Indian Airlines office), new taxis and jeeps - only to name the most important - new sources of income and jobs have been created which totally, or at least partially, depend on tourism. The young Ladakhis who have studied in India and Kashmir are particularly apt to take on jobs due to the above described activities.

On an economic level, Ladakh as an almost completely isolated border region of India was only able to deal in a limited way with the demands of the new developments; it therefore depends on help and imports from the outside, which causes a loss of capital, whereby the monasteries are the exception.
Most profits generated from trips to Ladakh flow into the pockets of airlines, transport companies, foreign tour operators and Indian travel agencies in Delhi and Srinagar. Even souvenirs are usually imported. One can only comfort oneself with the thought that at least a small part of the money remains in the country and is contributing to a useful development mainly of Leh and the surrounding area.

However, in this connection it cannot be denied that the already high inflation rate throughout India goes up even more in tourist areas such as Ladakh. Through this increased cost of living, people not profiting directly from tourism are being placed at a disadvantage. In addition, tourism propagates the Western way of life, consumer needs and behavioural patterns which are only accessible to the privileged upper class. Thus, under the influence of an increasing money economy and a desire for profit, the present social structure becomes affected and the gap between the social classes is widening.

Solutions and proposals

In Ladakh, efforts are already being made to deal with tourism in a better way through planning, training and improvements of the infrastructure. The official Tourist Office in Leh is besides information also responsible for planning. Its 5-year plan is first discussed by the Development Commissioner and the other Department Commissioners before being forwarded to Srinagar for approval by the Ministry for Ladakh Affairs, which in turn is subordinate to the State Government.

For the near future, plans have been made for the financing and execution of various projects such as consultancy services, promotional tours and training for Tourist Office employees, training of travel and trekking guides and hotel employees. The possibility to increase winter tourism is also under study.

New artists and handicraft workers are being trained at the Handicraft Centre, but it might also be useful to operate its own shop in the bazaar to increase sales.

Western travel agencies should be expected to cooperate with local travel agencies. In addition, it would be desirable that the tourists themselves would choose to buy local products.

Conclusion

In addition to the limited independence in view of the economic development - as it has been shown above on the subject of tourism - Ladakh as a district of the Indian Jammu and Kashmir State has also limited freedom on the political level. This can be seen in Ladakh's dependence of central institutions and the long decision-making processes. Particularly the Buddhists part of the population is dissatisfied since its interests are not sufficiently represented by the government in Srinagar. A dominant tendency in the Buddhist homeland has developed to campaign for the grant of Union Territory status to Ladakh.

In general, the beginning of a positive development should usually consist in deciding one's own development goals, in finding the way oneself and in checking out which possibilities are available to reach these goals. This model of independent development is often given the name of self-reliance. Self-reliance depends on a certain measure of independence and can be considered a prerequisite for the capacity to deal with many varying economic, political, and cultural tendencies. From this point of view it should always be possible to check if development is detrimental to independence or if it helps to strengthen it.

IMPACT OF TOURISM ON THE SOCIO-CULTURAL STRUCTURE

Reasons for tourism

Why do more and more people leave the "first world" each year in order to spend their holidays in "backward regions"? In the Western industrial nations, progress and growth have become ends in themselves; they no longer adapt to primary human needs, but rather to the wishes of a consumer society that needs to devour more and more in order to survive. This inflated entity has taken on self-destructive dimensions and has created an ever-increasing feeling of saturation.

On the search for the antithesis to our industrialized world, more and more individual and group travellers seek out so-called backward and undeveloped regions, without necessarily having a conscious awareness of their feeling of saturation or desire to find something else.

In the West, religion, knowledge and emotions are sold and consumed just like material goods, so that inflation and saturation are to be found in the realms of faith, spirit, and feeling, as well. With increasing conformity of the people and their values, whereby the latter have become shallow and boring, a desire has developed to make up for these losses through incorporation of foreign values. It is the irony of fate, however, that tourists on the search for new values are incapable of ridding themselves of their inherent consumer attitude. It seems to me that the responsibility, or lack of it, for this state of affairs lies with the scholars, journalists, travel agents and guides, and the tourists themselves. The host countries have more important things to deal with than being used by the "first world" as a giant therapy room or playground.
Appearance and effects of tourism

The tourist can find out a great deal about Ladakh before going there thanks to reports, recent scientific research and guide-books. And yet the country itself is often nothing more than one of many exotic attractions the traveller wants to grasp with his camera - his "third eye" - without really understanding it.

Besides the study of available literature, the influence of travel agencies and guides is also responsible for the degree of understanding a tourist can reach. As already mentioned, travel agencies from Srinagar primarily employ Kashmiri Muslims as local guides, who are not familiar with the culture of Ladakh.

Western tour guides should also be expected to have a certain interest and loyalty towards the country if any kind of learning and understanding is to come about in a tourist group.

Understanding the country is not only made difficult by often insufficient tour guidance and because of language barrier, it is further impeded by the usual attitude of hasty sightseeing which is in marked contrast to the quiet Gospar and the peaceful mentality of the Ladakhis. Usually, contacts are limited to nervous photographing in the Gompas and of local people who receive sweets, ballpoint pens, rupees, etc. in exchange.

The effects of tourism on the population are strongest in Leh, since it has not been possible to decentralize tourism due to a lacking infrastructure and because the city is the most important starting-point for further excursions. The camping grounds along the Srinagar-Leh road are quite isolated, and contacts are usually limited to visits from curious children living nearby. The dilemma between tourism and tradition can be seen most clearly in the younger generation in Leh, yet the "good old days" have not been forgotten and Ladakhis in general have remained rooted in their tradition. Thus, foreign influence is largely external; for example, many young people dress in Western style and some have taken up cigarette smoking - whereby it should be noted that there has rarely been a place where this vice was less widespread than in the Buddhist part of Ladakh.

It has also been observed in many other tourist areas that foreign influence often aids the process to diminish local culture. Due to the sale of tickets and the setting-up of signs with regulations for tourists, the Gompas have become more like museums, and even more so because few Lamas are present during the summer months.

At religious feasts such as the very popular Hemis feast that takes place in the summer, paying foreigners are given priority and local pilgrims often do not have enough room. Sometimes Lamas also show tourists, paying an additional fee, particularly rare or beautiful thangkas, statues, or ritual objects. Discrimination against local people at feasts and the Lamas’ business activities have led to a decrease in confidence and respect. Faulty behaviour of the tourists, such as inappropriate clothing or lack in religious respect, have even made a negative impression on Ladakhis normally not having any contact with tourists.

The influx of new ideas and new possibilities to earn money have created a recruiting problem for the Gompas - additionally, more and more Lamas are leaving the monasteries. The nun and oracle from Skara had the following to say on this subject: "Maybe they would like to say that there is no wheel of life and no hell, and try to enjoy life".

The international art business has degraded religious objects to mere wares for sale. In the Tibetan cultural area, art has never been sold or especially produced for sale. Here in the West, objects of religious art are most often appreciated purely for aesthetic and material reasons, however for the Buddhist they are objects of worship and it is a source of religious merit to have sacred art made.

Loudly, in 1977 the government had lists made of cultural treasures in Ladakh, and the sale of religious antiques was forbidden. What may not be sold is often stolen and probably no monastery has remained unsearched. Many objects must now be hidden away in a safe place. It is hard to say how many of the thieves are tourists and how many goods are smuggled out of Ladakh to be sold to art dealers whose customers, in turn, are again tourists or foreign merchants.

Lamas and laymen alike are even disturbed by the fact that street vendors and shopkeepers offer new religious objects for sale. That is why the Buddhist Association of Ladakh forbade this kind of business in 1978 after complaints were registered even by H.H. the Dalai Lama. In addition to the usual curios, the thangkas, statues and other ritual objects that can now be found are practically all new and mass-produced; Tibetans and Kashmiris bring them into Ladakh and sell them somewhat more discreetly than before.

A Tibetan woman once answered the typical tourist request "How much?" with: "Do you mean how much money or how much old?" The present popularity of antiques has now reached almost irrational proportions in the Western world, which may well have to do with the superficial and inflated values now reigning here and which are also expressed in our art. Authentic art-lovers should recognize how important it is to support real contemporary art so that it may survive. Low-quality modern mass products and a high demand for antiques (and the ensuing cultural robbery) are, at present, highly detrimental to the development of contemporary art.

Proposals

It is clear that Western tour operators ought to prefer using local travel agents, for without good organization and a local guide from Ladakh, various mistakes
simply cannot be avoided. In addition, Western tourist guides should not be afraid of making unpopular decisions when they contribute to a greater respect and understanding of the country and its inhabitants.

Before the journey, the group of tourists should be sent a reading list and should participate in a pre-tour information meeting where "do's" and "don'ts" can be discussed.

Neither the visitors nor the host-country profit from an overloaded programme. If the tourist wants more than a superficial impression, he or she has to make the step from an extensive to an intensive trip, from stress to relaxation, from sight-seeing madness to observation and reflection, from arrogance to discussion, from seeing with the camera to looking with his or her own eyes.

In the largest and most popular monasteries it would be helpful if the tourists could, at certain times, hear lectures on Buddhism, monastic life and the history of the place they are visiting. Printed brochures would also be helpful. This would be just as important as showing all the temples, if the visitor's interest in Lamaism and art would allow self-presentation and explanation of the religious beliefs. Visiting times could be limited to prevent a disturbance of the normal daily routine. On feast days, local people would have preference, or the monasteries could be closed to tourists entirely.

Antique religious objects are protected by law against export and sale; however, special notices and regular baggage controls on leaving the country could serve as an extra deterreer. Newly-made thangkas, statues and ritual objects are still being sold by merchants, so more frequent controls would also be necessary here.

Conclusions

It can be said that consumer madness, destruction of the environment and ethnic chauvinism have an effect on tourist mentality. If you take a closer look, you will see these same influences symbolized by the cook, the maids and the pig on the Tibetan wheat of life as representing greed, hate and delusion. Yet an absolute refusal of tourism would be an illusion, too, for extreme attitudes never really help in facing reality, but certainly a change in attitude is called for.

In addition to self-reliance, self-confidence as postulated by Tashi Rabgias should be the Ladakhi's watchword in determining their own path to a positive form of development: "Mahayana means large-hearted. If we develop self-confidence here, we can acquire the courage of fearlessness from external objects. So in these days Muryul (Ladakh) is becoming famous in the world. Here, too, the people are moving towards development of the modern era without any doubt or suspicion. Tourism is also playing its friendly role in the development. Now at this juncture, the Mahayana teaching and scientific knowledge should combine for the benefit of humanity. There is no reason why these two should not combine, for in both reasons is accepted. It is proper and justified that reason should go with reason. If these two go together, we can do whatever we like, and all will feel happy about it."2

A POEM

Tashi Rabgias, Leh

The ice of winter melted,
the summer season reached;
from the moist soil and manure
all sorts of plants grow.
The iron chain of slavery has broken,
hands and feet turned healthy;
Motherland India, full of resources,
making all sorts of development.
The darkness of ignorance has disappeared,
a light of knowledge has appeared;
students going to schools
learn all sorts of subjects.
The time of science has come,
technology has progressed;
in the new modern era
we see all sorts of things.
Iron bridges were set up,
electric lamps were built;
during the time of Sonam Tsepho
all sorts of achievements were made.
The foreign guests
and friends from the Country India;
in these days at great Leh,
all sorts of people meet.


3) From the Ladakhi original translated by the poet himself.
Sweet oranges,
sour tomatoes;
nowadays all the people
can get all sorts of food.

Sweet Lipton tea,
churned gurpur tea;
these days all men and women
take all sorts of drinks.

Modern dress in summer,
Ladakhi dress in winter;
nowadays the people here
wear all sorts of clothes.

The Academy of Culture was set up;
they pay the fee in cash;
so that authors of these days
utter all sorts of words.

Peace of Tashi has flourished,
intellect of mind has widened -
while at his leisure
writes all sorts of compositions.

UNSCIENTIFIC OBSERVATIONS
Helena Norberg-Hodge / John Page

Ladakh is currently witnessing fundamental change. Centuries-old traditions are being replaced by the mass Western culture. The Ladakhis are not in a position to be able to make informed judgements about the changes that are coming in from outside, and are being gradually overrun by them. This paper outlines these changes, and defines some of the principles which need to be borne in mind if Ladakh is not to follow in the footsteps of so many traditional cultures, and be trampled to pieces by the process of global homogenisation.

This paper is going to be somewhat different from the others in the book. It will not be a detailed academic analysis of facts and figures, nor will there be a long string of references at the end of it. Rather than narrowing in on any one element of Ladakhi culture, it will instead take a more general look at issues that cannot be so easily scientifically monitored: the value of traditions; attitudes; drifts of change; the future. Observations will not be based exclusively on formal research, but on the experience of seven years' close contact with the Ladakhi people.

Its purpose is different, too. If the outside world continues to exert the same influence as it does now, it will only be a matter of a few years before the Ladakh which we know and love will be destroyed. Research papers will be talking about a culture that was; monasteries and frescoes will be nothing more than dead relics of the past. It is happening already; but for the moment at least, the basic foundations remain. Of course, Ladakh must change; it would be unrealistic and romantic to think otherwise. But can anyone be happy to think that change has to mean the sort of social and environmental disorder which we are now facing in the West? Is it not worth stepping back occasionally from the minutiae of our studies, to consider how Ladakh could develop more positively?

Imagine two small farming villages somewhere, set either side of a lake. Life may not be easy, but it is peaceful, and the people are contented: working the land, shepherding the animals. Everything that the villagers need, they provide for themselves: in their own way, at their own pace. Then, one of the villages is connected by road. And the people from the other village watch what happens. No longer do the people across the lake grow potatoes, or peas.
No longer do they keep sheep or goats. Just wheat, and more wheat. Great lorries come to pick the wheat up, and take it away. And the same giant lorries bring back potatoes, and peas, and milk: because now the villagers don't have their own. And every year, the price of all these things goes up and up, while the quality goes down. And even though the price of wheat also sometimes rises, the villagers can never be sure that it will, and are under constant pressure. They never relax, and they don't seem to enjoy life any more. It doesn't make much sense to the people across the lake, and when their turn comes to have a road, they say, 'no, thank you'.

The Ladakhis are not fortunate enough to have had the benefit of such experience, and cannot be expected to make informed judgements about the new issues which are now coming their way. However much they may be worried by the changes they are witnessing, they have no basis for comparison. We, on the other hand, have seen the effects of 'progress', and in retrospect are able to recognise some of its shortcomings.

What should we do? Should we stand with arms folded, as the Ladakhis head off down a path which we know to be riddled with hidden pitfalls? Should we remain silent when we see housewives in Leh baking their bread on sheets of highly toxic asbestos? Or when we watch young mothers seduced by the multinational into feeding their babies wholly inadequate powdered substitutes for their own breast milk? Or when population, once so finely controlled, shows signs of increasing beyond the capacity of the land? If the people of Ladakh mean anything more to us than statistical samples, it seems that we should share with them what we have learned from our experience. That would not be 'meddling in other people's affairs', but a matter of common decency. Especially for those of us who have spent time in Ladakh, as uninvited guests of the Ladakhi people.

We would be losing a lot if the Ladakhi culture were to disappear. As a symbol of the relentless homogenisation of all human life on the planet, it would be sad enough; particularly at a stage when the dominant cultural influence of the West is exposing itself to such widespread doubt. But equally disturbing would be the loss of those particular traditions which make Ladakh special. As you look across the seemingly endless corrugations of rock, acres and snow, so barren that hardly the slightest shrub breaks the wilderness, it is difficult to imagine how life of any sort is possible here. Yet not only has the Ladakhi culture managed to survive over the centuries, but it has actually flourished. In one of the highest, coldest and driest lands on earth, a people has prospered. Not according to such meaningless paper yardsticks as Gross National Product or Average Yearly Income, but according to reality. There is no poverty in the traditional village, and the people are quite healthy and strong. Houses are often palatial, with little distinction between rich and poor. There is no crime: in fact, aggression of any sort is almost non-existent. And, perhaps most importantly, the people are almost constantly smiling. Although it is quite unacceptable to the Western mind to take such subjective and unsubstantiable observations, the Ladakhis are remarkably happy.

If we look first at how they have traditionally treated their natural environment, we see that they have made extremely few resources stretch a very long way. From what we know, Ladakh has always been a desert: it has not, like some other areas of the world, been turned into a desert by the manipulations of Man. A very fine balance has been struck, and maintained. The land is used to the absolute utmost, but no further. There is no waste. Everything is recycled, including human rubbish, so as to provide for the needs of the earth. Nothing is used wantonly or negligently. Trees, for instance, are not logged for firewood, but carefully preserved for essential construction purposes. Nature is not abused. On the contrary, the worship of the 'glu', or spirits of the earth, demonstrates a real respect for all life, and a recognition that Man is a part of, rather than master of, the natural world.

In the traditional framework, the farmer's conscious understanding of his life was never tested. He ploughed his fields and harvested his crops as his father and grandfather had before him, and never needed to question why it was that the traditions he practised had ever taken root. He benefited from the wisdom of the past, without ever having to know how or why. But now he needs to know why. All of a sudden, his traditional practices are being challenged by new, modern ways, and he needs to have answers to questions which he has never before considered. Without those answers, without the experience which would enable him to find them, he has no reason to resist all the tempting offers which the modern world makes him. He has seen tourists from foreign lands living in Ladakh like kings: loaded down with cameras and tape-recorders, and apparently able to spend their entire lives at leisure. He can have no idea that, for all but the two or three weeks a year which they have as 'holidays', they are in fact working much longer hours than he is to make a living. He has no cause to doubt that the modern way is better.

And so, if he is told that imported chemical fertilisers will increase his crop yields and decrease the number of hours he needs to put into the land, he will grab them willingly. He can never be expected to know that, in the years to come, the subsidised rate at which he is now buying them will probably no longer be available, and that his fields, which have always been so healthy, will be crying out for the vital nutrients which the chemicals do not provide. He may well be persuaded, too, that it is just not worth all the time and trouble to use everything so sparingly, as he has in the past. Frugality simply cannot be tolerated in a throw-away society, and when he looks at Leh, the metropolitan and focus of modern influence, he will see a life of increasing carelessness and waste.

His social values are also being fundamentally eroded, and his links with the community weakened. Traditionally, the scale of village life has allowed for a high level of social and political cohesion. The units have been small, and every individual has played an integral part. Moreover, it is a 'synergistic'
society. One person's gain is not another person's loss, since the goals of every individual within the community are mutually compatible. Cooperation has thrived, rather than competition. Side by side with a rugged independence, made possible by a high degree of self-sufficiency on both village and household levels, has been a strong sense of community, as well as certain formal demonstrations of mutual aid. Small scale has also allowed for an enviable social harmony. Even in such critical operations as the sharing of water for irrigation, in which friction of some sort might be expected, disputes are extremely rare. And those arguments which do break out are settled face to face within the community. Justice is not entrusted to some unknown, and unconcerned, official elsewhere although this too is changing, as the law courts of Leh exercise ever greater authority, but to one fellow villagers.

Politically, the traditional village functions very democratically. According to Western theory, perhaps, the village is not a democracy at all, since the ability to influence policy is not given to individuals, but to households, or groups of households. But in effect, the position of the individual is extremely strong. Compare the political strength of a traditional village with that of an inhabitant of Leh. Although the village does not have an individual vote in the running of his village's affairs, he is able to exercise far greater control over them. He is closer to the political machinery of his community, and in living with people whose interests are essentially the same as his own. When he speaks, his fellow villagers will listen to him. By contrast, in the modern setting, the people are detached from the decision-makers, and competition has ensured that everyone's interests are different. Even with the technical right to vote, the individual's power is extremely limited.

The modernising influence is undermining the intimacy of village life, and gradually replacing it with the sort of uneasy anonymity that is found in such an extreme form in the West. In Leh, cooperation is now rare, and the extended family is almost the exception, rather than the rule. Crime, a concept unknown in the traditional village, is coming to be a problem. There is no longer the time, nor the incentive, to be very concerned by the needs of one's neighbours. Each man has to look after himself. Many new institutions promote values that are quite incompatible with traditional beliefs. Young men in the army learn how to fight and kill: concepts completely at odds with their Buddhist faith. The highly competitive and lucrative tourist industry encourages - even demands - a ruthless aggression. Schools implicitly teach children that their culture is 'primitive', no good. The cinema shows films of mindless violence. No wonder that so many Ladakhis - young and old - shake their heads at what they see happening to their culture. It is an all too familiar path that Ladakh is following.

A change in traditional values necessarily involves a shift in world view. In Ladakh's case, the world view, which is essentially Buddhist - or, more loosely, 'Eastern' - is diametrically opposed to that of the mass Western culture by which it is being increasingly influenced. Yet, ironically enough, the further the West pursues its own world view, the nearer it comes to realising that the Eastern view corresponds more closely with reality. Rendered in its crudest form, the West tends to think in absolutes, while the East thinks in terms of relativity. Buddhist teachings seem to indicate that the world is not made up of separate and static matter, or 'building blocks', but is rather an infinitely interwoven and endless web, in constant flux and change. Nothing 'is', in the sense that nothing can be isolated and held still. In recent years, Western physicists have come to almost identical conclusions. In the course of dividing 'matter' into ever smaller particles for more minute examination, there comes a point where no further division is possible. A very dramatic change takes place. Particles cease to be particles, but become fields of energy, continuous. They can no longer be planed down; they are no longer independent entities.

Although it is in the process of invalidizing itself, the 'building block' world view still prevails in the West, and is an integral part of the development package which Ladakh, in common with many other developing areas of the world, is now receiving. When viewed from a very narrow perspective, the technological achievements which have been realised under its influence are impressive. And very seductive. But those achievements bring with them a whole arsenal of hidden weapons, whose full force we are only now beginning to understand. Environmental disaster, severe health hazards, and the greatly increased likelihood of war, to name just a few of them. It is not the sort of fate which anyone who cares for Ladakh could possibly want for it.

Now, instead, can Ladakh develop without thereby being destroyed? The subtitle of E. F. Schumacher's seminal work, 'Small is Beautiful', is 'A study of economics as if people mattered'. It is precisely this factor - a consideration of the real needs of the people - that is so missing from the conventional 'bigger and faster is better' approach to development, and which is so crucial if any sort of positive change is to be effected in Ladakh. It may seem an absurdly obvious starting-point, but it is one that is consistently overlooked. Development should not be, as it were, some thing, to be dumped on a people's doorstep; but rather, a gradual and organic process evolving from within.

Stage one, then, is to give the Ladakhis the opportunity, as far as is possible, to control their own future, with the minimum of outside interference. Ideally, that would mean no outside interference at all. But that is no longer possible: for twenty years now, external influence has been an undeniable fact. The best that can be done at this stage is to put the people in the position of being able to exercise a choice, so that they are not forced to accept the conventional, and ultimately destructive, options. It is by no means enough merely to find fault in the changes that are currently occurring. What is required is that viable alternatives are presented: alternatives that could lead to a healthy and sustainable future.
As a general principle, the alternatives should seek to build on traditional Ladakhi wisdom: encouraging, rather than denying, the application of that intuitive understanding which has been gained, and tested, over the centuries. It can only be right that the lessons which the Ladakhis have so painstakingly learned about life in their very special environment should play an integral part in their future development. Not only that, but the people themselves should determine the sort of changes they want, and why. As soon as development is imposed, it becomes not only valueless, but positively destructive. On the other hand, if it stays within the control of the people for whom it is intended, it can gradually evolve with them, as an unbroken extension of their living culture.

Conventional development practices rely heavily on imported skills and resources: encouraging a financial dependence on outside markets over which the developing area has no control. In the typical situation, a relationship is very soon created whereby one party is able to virtually dictate the future of the other. In order to prevent this from happening in Ladakh, the people should be shown alternatives that make use instead of local resources and local skills. The goal should not necessarily be total self-sufficiency: whether or not that is desirable, it is almost certainly impracticable. But the emphasis should be one that encourages what the Ladakhis already have, rather than unquestioningly bringing in resources, technologies and expertise from outside.

From a strictly economic viewpoint, much of what that emphasis implies makes little sense. But from a more human perspective - and remember again those words, "as if people mattered" - it is more likely to lead towards a future that satisfies real needs. Better use a wooden water wheel that occasionally needs repairing or replacing, than a cast-iron one for which you have to sell your freedom!

Specifically, it would be in the Ladakhis' long-term interests to think in terms of renewable energy sources, like the sun and the wind, instead of the use of imported fossil fuels. Houses could be heated by passive solar techniques, one of which has already been demonstrated. The wind could be harnessed to provide electricity. Water mills could be improved, to generate power for lighting. In the field of medicine, greater encouragement could be given to the practice of traditional Tibetan methods. Education could be given a more Ladakhi bias, emphasizing Ladakhi values, and encouraging children to use their mother tongue.

There are real alternatives. If only the great development machine - and that ultimately means all of us, tourists and researchers included - would stop for a moment, and see what it was in the process of crushing to death, might it not be possible for this culture to survive? Or are we just going to shrug our shoulders, and say that Ladakh's destruction is inevitable, a foregone conclusion?
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