



69. Scenes like these are not unusual in Rupshu, and on a hot day women often get together and while they talk occupy themselves with wool-oriented activities. The woman on the left is weaving, the one in the centre is carding her wool, and the one on the right is spinning.

while others hire out their horses or work as trekking guides. In 1995, Rupshu witnessed its first large-scale robbery at Thugje Gompa. Almost everything was stolen apart from the large silver butter lamps, which the Rupshupa feel were probably too big for the robbers to escape with easily. Some of them say that perhaps Rupshu was a safer place when it was a restricted area, and now they might have to post guards near their monastery and store-rooms similar to those kept to deter encroachers at Tso Kar.

The general consensus in Rupshu is that the introduction of the roads and vehicular transport has brought some of the greatest changes. "There was nothing here in the past, before the road and the car came," Tashi Targyas commented, "If we didn't have something then we just did without it." Tsewang Rigzin added that, "these days it is good, I can see everything - I can see you, the cars, tourists. Before, all I ever saw was the sheep and goats." Since Rupshu lies in the proximity of the Leh-Manali road, occasionally the Rupshupa hire trucks when they have to move camp. Four or five families get together and rent one truck, which they load with all their belongings (Plate 70). In addition, Rupshu has requested LNP to give them a truck so that they do not always have to rent one. Chatty observed that the shift from camel transport to truck transport among the Al-Fadl and Al-Hassanna Bedouin tribes meant that the traditional handicraft of rug-making is no longer practiced by the women, as the camel's hair, necessary for this craft, can no longer be obtained (1980: 88-92). In Rupshu this trend of hiring trucks could lead to a decline in the number of yaks, resulting in a lack of yak hair and wool for weaving, but it is too soon to say what the consequences will actually be.



70. The new way of moving home in Rupshu - by truck.

A major area of concern facing Rupshu is the emigration of Rupshupa to Leh. A joint report submitted by the Ethnographic Audio-Visual Archive (EAVA) and LNP states that over the last twenty years twenty-four families have left Rupshu permanently (1993: 6).¹ Government officials and members of the LBA want to reverse this tendency, and therefore have introduced schemes to raise the standard of living in Rupshu.² Those who have moved away to Leh during this time say that it was poverty that drove them there. Kunken Dorje, who came to Leh about ten years ago, remarked: "all the poor people have arrived here, all the rich people are still there." Sonam Dorje, who has been living in Leh for some fifteen years, felt the same as Kunken and said that it is only rich people with large herds of sheep and goats who can afford to live in Rupshu. However, wealth has not attracted everybody to Leh, and Tharchen maintains that though his brother and sister may have a better standard of living, he is happy where he is. At the same time most of those who left continue to maintain their links with family back in Rupshu and attend weddings or other festivals, but their children seldom do. Some of the richer families in Rupshu also send their children to school in Leh in the hope that they will get a better education than that available in Rupshu. The danger of this is that these children then rarely want to return to Rupshu. Skarma Targyas studies at the Mission School in Leh, and

¹ The term "family" can be somewhat misleading as it usually refers to a tent which may include a single couple or a family group of fifteen members. For example, only three tents left Rupshu between the years 1992 and 1993, but this included thirty-eight people.

² One of these is the Watershed Development Project, begun in 1996, of which Tharchen is the Chairman. It covers forty-eight villages in Ladakh, of which twelve are in Changthang. It is an integrated project, with the people directly involved to form their own schemes related to education, health care, and pasture development, amongst other things.

though he returns to Rupshu for a few days every now and then, he finds it hard to stay for longer periods. He once told me, "it's very dirty here [Rupshu]. I can't believe we live like this. I could never live here." Similar views are also echoed by teachers in Leh. Tharchen recounted the time a teacher at his son's school told him not to take Norbu home during his holidays as it was dirty in Rupshu. Thus, the future of Rupshu is cause for concern if this trend of emigration to Leh continues. Dr Mohammed Deen predicts that there may come a day when there are no tents on the Changthang, but ranches owned by wealthy Rupshupa or other Ladakhis, and even by the government. Ranch owners would employ a few Changpa to take care of the livestock. This would be an alternative to ensure the continuation and prosperity of Ladakh's pashmina goats. Chatty reports that many administrators have encouraged ranch/settlement schemes for nomadic pastoralists, operating under the idea that the productivity of the Western system of ranching far exceeds that of the traditional system (ibid: 81). However, she adds that in general these ranching schemes are economic failures. Kunken Dorje is more optimistic and does not foresee any such future for Rupshu:

"Why should the Rupshupa come to Leh? Just see what the price of pashmina is today? What the price of a sheep is? Why should they come here? I now think of going back to Rupshu?"

The trend throughout India, and one set by the government, has been to sedentarize nomads and semi-nomads, supposedly because of the need to undertake measures for their social and economic betterment. Bose reports that facilities by way of housing, agricultural land, credit, pedigree bulls, cattle-breeding farms and co-operatives have been offered to families willing to sedentarize (1975: 11). The

situation throughout the state of Jammu and Kashmir is similar, as Casimir and Rao have demonstrated in their study among the Bakrwal, a nomadic ethnic group that moves through the districts of Jammu and Kashmir (1985: 221). In other parts of the world, such as the Middle East and North Africa, the general consensus is that nomadic pastoralism is a major obstacle to social and economic development and administrators regard pastoral populations as sources of trouble, backward groups that stand in the way of national progress (Chatty 1980: 80). Thus, nomadic pastoralism has been reported to be in danger of disappearing as a way of life in most of the world because of the pressure to absorb pastoralists into the nonpastoral economy and deprive them of their former share of economic and political life (Galaty and Aronson 1981: 17). Goldstein and Beall report that this pessimistic description does not fit conditions in Tibet (1991: 105), and to a certain extent this is equally true of Rupshu. The main reason is that the nomads have no competitors for their land, because Changthang's severe environmental conditions preclude agriculture (ibid: 115). In other well-known traditional nomadic areas in South-West Asia farmers have encroached on nomadic pasture lands and, with the help of governments hostile to the nomadic way of life, driven the nomadic pastoralists into progressively more marginal lands, often forcing them to emigrate and take work in the non-pastoral economy (Goldstein and Beall 1990: 44).

At the same time, the concept of settlement along with maintaining pastoralism has been suggested to the Rupshupa by both government and non-government organisations in Ladakh. The two places proposed for this are Thugje and

Noruchen.³ LNP has proposed the latter as it has fields there where they are undertaking experiments for the cultivation of vegetables such as potatoes, onions, and white radish. LNP suggests that if these trials are successful then the Rupshupa might be settled near these fields.⁴ The Rupshupa have been told that once they settle they can have electricity, a regular bus service connecting Rupshu to Leh, and their own permanent school and medical dispensary. As yet none of this has been forced upon the Rupshupa, nor has settlement been made mandatory. The Rupshupa themselves appear unperturbed by these proposals, and their responses are noncommittal. The main reason behind this uncertainty in government planning is that the Rupshupa rear the pashmina goat, and pashmina remains the only product of any economic value that Ladakh produces, apart from tourism. In order to continue to produce pashmina of fine quality the Rupshupa have to graze their goats at high altitudes and keep them moving between grazing lands. "It is not the people the administration is interested in, but their goats!" Dr Mohammed Deen once told me.⁵ It is feared that if the Rupshupa settle, then the quality of their pashmina would

³ The Rupshupa are in favour of Thugje, because there is a spring there which yields water the whole year round. In addition, men and women who are too old or infirm to join in the seasonal migration live at Thugje. Noruchen only has a good supply of water during summer. As an alternative to Noruchen the Rupshupa have suggested Tasa Phug, which also has a spring.

⁴ In 1992 LNP managed to grow a few small vegetables, but they remarked that it had been very difficult. I heard that soon after that they stopped their trials of farming there.

⁵ Government officials and local leaders place a lot of importance on pashmina grown in Ladakh, but a point that is often overlooked is that Ladakh contributes only about 1% to the annual world production of pashmina. In contrast, Mongolia produces approximately 20%.

decrease.⁶ An alternative that has been suggested is that a segment of the population, perhaps the younger adults, move with the livestock while the rest remain in the settlement. This idea has been met with mixed reactions in Rupshu. While some are in favour of it, others are not agreeable as it would mean that families would split up and not see each other for parts of the year.

The notion of settlement amongst nomadic pastoralists is not new to Ladakh's Changthang, as Dainelli observed when he visited these areas in 1930:

"At the edge of Ladakh these Changpa, as all nomadic shepherds eventually do, ... have begun to settle and lead a stationary life. They have abandoned their tents and taken to living in houses" (1933: 257).

Aronson argues that nomadic pastoralists do sedentarize, even on their own, when circumstances make it viable, and that they have been settling themselves repeatedly throughout history (1980: 178). He concludes by stating that: "Nomads need not settle to change, but will settle if the move (to stop moving!) serves them well" (ibid: 184). Leshnik writes that "pastoral nomadism is a dynamic ecological adaption, with the relative degree of mobility involved being subject to change as the eco-system itself changes" (1975: xii). I suggest that while the Rupshupa have not taken a definite decision regarding settlement, they are talking about their future with this in mind. Tsering Langzom remarked that it might be nice to live in a house, and Tsering Phunsug commented that a school in one place would be good for their children.

⁶ The scene is similar in Tibet, where goat cashmere is a lucrative trade item and earns the TAR (Tibetan Autonomous Region) and China a substantial proportion of its foreign currency (Goldstein and Beall 1991: 115). Thus, pastureland is not being expropriated from the pastoralists, they are not being forced or induced to resettle, and nor are Tibetan or Chinese farmers being settled in nomad areas (ibid: 119).

However, responses vary and Tsering Namgyal felt that they did not have the resources to make houses as it required a lot of money. On the other hand, Tashi Targyas retorted that there was really nothing to think about and said:

“If you have sheep and goats then it’s good to live in a tent, and if you have a field then it’s good to live in a house. And where are our fields?”

A critical problem confronting Rupshu today is a depletion and over-all degradation of their pasturelands. One of the main reasons for this is an increase of pressure on their grazing grounds.⁷ The situation is similar throughout the state of Jammu and Kashmir, as Casimir and Rao report that all pasturelands are heavily overgrazed and threatened with erosion (1985: 228). The Rupshupa usually cite the entrance of Tibetan refugees with their livestock, who fled the Chinese occupation after 1959, as one of the major perpetrators of this increase.⁸ Rupshu is not an isolated case in this regard. Brower reports that according to some Sherpa, when the Tibetans came their sheep “ate the grass to the ground” (1991: 99). Conflict and hostility between the Rupshupa and Tibetans is apparent, but rarely voiced. Angchuk is more outspoken because he carries an ugly scar from a Tibetan’s dagger. He says

⁷ Overgrazing of pastures is an important factor in bringing about a marked change in the composition of the vegetation complex and leading to a shortage of pasture. “Palatable species are consumed and, in course of time, the pasture deteriorates due to the replacement of the palatable species by coarse herbs and grasses” (Rau 1981: 59). A botanist I met in Rupshu said that the present foliage showed that there were indications of deterioration of pasture (personal communication, Philippe Werner, August 1992).

⁸ They rarely mention that the cessation of their trading journeys with their livestock, which kept them away from Rupshu for at least six months in the year, also put pressure on Rupshu’s grazing lands.

that when a head count is taken of the Tibetans' livestock, in order for them to pay taxes to Rupshu, each family has only about thirty sheep and goat: "But after that they get some from here and some from there, and by the end they have a herd of five or six hundred sheep and goats, and they eat all our grass."⁹ The Rupshupa also claim that it is the Tibetans who own a larger number of pashmina goats and it is they, rather than the locals, who are profiting from the rise in prices. Pashmina traders generally agree with this and remark that it is the Tibetans who are making all the money. Hakim explained the contrast to me by stating: "There are a lot of four and five kilo people selling me pashmina among the locals, but the Tibetans they deal in lots of hundred kilos!" Tharchen also acknowledges this disparity, and I remember the time he once remarked, "if pashmina came out like wool then we would all be rich!"

Pasture development remains crucial to the Changthang, and it is a problem government officials in Ladakh are beginning to address. A similar problem is being faced in Tibet as well, and Clarke attributes it to a shortage of water (1988: 97). It is also said by some people in Leh that an increase in the population of marmots and wild ass have had a negative effect on the pasture. While the marmots burrow in the land and eat the roots of the grasses, the wild ass compete with the livestock for the

⁹ In a report on the special problems faced by Tibetan refugees in Jammu and Kashmir it is written: "as regards the problems of the pastoral scheme, the Bureau of Dalai Lama (BDL) was advised to restrict the number of animals with each TR [Tibetan Refugee] family to the ceiling prescribed by the State Government. This would resolve the grazing problem. Unless this was done, there would be continuous friction with the locals and no temporary solution would be effective" (Council for Home Affairs of H. H. the Dalai Lama 1986: 35). I was told that the prescribed ceiling was thirty head of sheep and goat, excluding the young, but my informants were not clear on this point.

same pasture. I am not in a position to make technical comments on the degradation of pasture or recommendations in the domain of grassland development, but this is an area that clearly deserves some major research effort in the future.

Throughout this thesis I have attempted to trace the place of wool and weaving in the lives of the Rupshupa by exploring a multitude of contexts within which wool-oriented activities take place. This began with the narrative on how and why the gods taught weaving there, and ended with the outward movement of fibres through trade. In the process I have endeavoured to portray and discuss various areas of life in Rupshu which have bearing on wool and weaving. These included livestock symbolism, gender relations, spatial and political organisation. This work is not an exhaustive account of Rupshu, and I have not, for instance included a detailed study of religious practices, kinship patterns, wedding rituals, and polyandry. At the same time space does not permit me even to cover all aspects of the tradition of weaving there. Thus, I have not focused in detail on individual designs, apart from that of the dice, woven by women in Rupshu. Further, other wool-related crafts such as felt-making, knitting, and tie-dying have not been described here.

In conclusion I offer a hypothetical construction of the changes that might occur to weaving practices in Rupshu if plans to establish a permanent settlement become a reality. If the Rupshupa do decide to have a fixed village space, perhaps with fields nearby, would the established gender roles in weaving be altered? Would this mean that the foot-loom might be introduced in Rupshu, and that the men there might start weaving the *snam-bu* as their counterparts do in the villages of Lower and

Central Ladakh? Would this mean that women would then have less to weave, or that they may stop weaving altogether? And what of the danger of their reverting to their primordial state of *bdud-mo*? At the same time, I recall Abi Yangzom's words on Duguma having only fifteen rows left to weave of her fabric, and when that is over the world will end. Four years have passed since she uttered those words, and Abi Yangzom is still busy weaving in Rupshu.

APPENDIX 1LIST OF LADAKHI PLACE NAMES¹

Changri	Byang-ri
Chumgo	Chum-do
Chupzang	Chub-zang
Chi	Ci-'i
Debring	Ldeb-ring
Duppock	Grup-phug
Gya	Gya
Hemis	He-mis
Kharchen	Khar-chen
Kharnak	Khar-gnag
Korzok	Dkor-zog
Leh	Gle
Mangsul	Mang-tshul
Meru	Me-ru
Nalbu Khar	Snal-pu Khar
Nang Jura	Nang Ju-ra
Norchen	Sngur-chen
Norchung	Sngur-chung
Noruchen	Nor-ru-chen
Pang	Pang

¹ All places can be found in Maps B and C.

Ponka Nugu	Pong-ka Nu-gu
Rigul	Ri-'ul
Rina	Ri-na
Rong	Rong
Rumtse	Rum-tse
Rupshu	Ru-shod
Rogchung	Rog-chung
Rogchen	Rog-chen
Serchu	Ser-chu
Tasa Phug	Ta-sa-phug
Tauseru	Gra-'u-seru
Thugje	Thugs-rje
Yauchen	Ya-'u-chen
Zara	Za-ra

APPENDIX 2PRIMARY INFORMANTS

This is arranged according to name, age, sex, profession, and language of communication. All ages are approximations. The Ladakhi spellings of names, except for Christian, Hindi, and Urdu, are given in brackets after the name. Where no date of interview is given after a name, these are informants with whom I was frequently in contact and did not conduct a structured interview.

KORZOK

Dechen Dolma (Bde-chen Sgrol-ma)

- 46 years, female, instructor at Handicrafts Centre (Nyoma). Language of Communication:¹ Hindi. Date of Interview:² 31 May 1993, and 27 July 1995.

Tsering Dorje (Tshe-ring Rdo-rje)

- 55 years, male, the last Rupshu Goba's brother. (L:) Hindi and Ladakhi. (D:) 31 May 1993, and 27 July 1995.

Nawang Pema (Ngag-dbang Pad-ma)

- 40 years, male, head lama of Korzok Gompa. (L:) Ladakhi. (D:) 1 July 1993, and 28 July 1995.

Phunsog Tashi (Phun-tshogs Bkra-shis)

- 70 years, male. (L:) Ladakhi. (D:) 31 May 1993

LEH

Mohammed Ramzan Abdu

- 50 years, male, pashmina trader. (L:) Urdu. (D:) 15 May 1993.

Usman Benares

- male, pashmina trader, (L:) Urdu. (D:) 23 August 1994.

Tashi Cho (Bkra-shis Cho)

- 45 years, female, former nurse with Leh Nutrition Project. (L:) English.

Dr Mohammed Deen Darokhan

- male, presently Director of Desert Development Board, Leh. Former Director of Sheep Husbandry Department, Leh. (L:) English. (D:) 21 August 1993.

¹ Hence forth referred to as (L:).

² Hence forth referred to as (D:).

Kunken Dorje (Kun-mkhyen Rdo-rje)

- 40 years, male, emigrated from Rupshu to Leh. (L:) Hindi and Ladakhi. (D:) 27 July 1995.

Sonam Dorje (Bsod-nams Rdo-rje)

- 41 years, male, emigrated from Rupshu to Leh. (L:) Hindi. (D:) 27 July 1995.

Tsering Dorje (Tshe-ring Rdo-rje)

- male, Assistant Commissioner of Leh District. (L:) English and Urdu. (D:) 18 May 1993.

David Gaphael

- 70 years, male, Superintendent of Handicrafts Industrial Co-operative Society (retired 1996). (L:) Urdu. (D:) 3 August 1995.

Abdul Hakim Ghani

- 50 years, male, pashmina trader. (L:) Urdu. (D:) 4 August 1995.

Tadbar Jolden

- male, Assistant Registrar Co-operatives, Leh. (L:) English and Urdu. (D:) 25 July 1995.

Mohammed Asghar Khalsawar

- 76 years, male, a former palace trader. (L:) Urdu. (D:) 10 May 1993.

Deen Khan

- male, works with Save the Children's Fund. (L:) English. (D:) 2 August 1994.

Dr O. N. Muku

- male, Director of Sheep Husbandry Department, Leh. (L:) English. (D:) 24 June 1993 and 24 July 1995.

Chemit Namgyal ('Chi-med Rnam-rgyal)

- male, Superintendent of Cottage Industries (also known as Handloom Development Department), Leh. (L:) Urdu. (D:) 7 April 1992.

Aba Palle (A-ba Pal-le)

- 73 years (died winter of 1995-96), male, trained as a weaver with Walter Asboe. Attended Sir J. J. School of Arts, Bombay, from 1956-59. On his return to Leh became head of Handicraft Industries. (L:) Ladakhi and Urdu. (D:) 2 and 3 August 1995.

Sonam Phunsog (Bsod-nams Phun-tshogs)

- 55 years, male, schoolteacher from Achinathang (worked in Kharnak from 1955-59). (L:) Urdu. (D:) 18 August 1993.

Tashi Rabgyas (Bkra-shis Rab-rgyas)

- 66 years, male, Ladakhi scholar. (L:) English. (D:) 30 June 1993.

Tsering Samphel (Tshe-ring Bsam-'phel)

- male, member of Congress I. (L:) English. (D:) 15 May 1993.

Tonyot Shah

- 86 years (died winter of 1992-93), male, trader and envoy on Ladakh's Lopchak mission to Tibet. (L:) Urdu. (D:) 7 April 1992.

Abdul Ghani Sheikh

- 55 years, male, Ladakhi scholar. (L:) Urdu.

Baba Siddique Benares

- 78 years, male, pashmina trader (formerly a palace trader). (L:) Urdu. (D:) 25 July 1995.

Topgyal Tsering (Stobs-rgyal Tshe-ring)

- male, Chief Representative of H. H. the Dalai Lama's Tibetan Government in Exile in Ladakh. (L:) English. (D:) 27 June 1993.

Ane Zilla (A-ne Zil-la)

- 70 years, female, worked at Walter Asboe's weaving centre. (L:) Urdu.

RUPSHU

Sonam Angchuk (Bsod-nams Dbang-phyug)

- 42 years, male. (L:) Hindi and Ladakhi.

Meme Sonam Angchuk (Me-me Bsod-nams Dbang-phyug)

- 65 years, male. (L:) Ladakhi. (D:) 13 October 1992.

Rinchen Angmo (Rin-chen Dbang-mo)

- 19 years, female. (L:) Ladakhi.

Nawang Chogyal (Ngag-dbang Chos-rgyal)

- 75 years, male. (L:) Ladakhi. (D:) 20 October 1992.

Tashi Dolma (Bkra-shis Grol-ma)

- 30 years, female. (L:) Ladakhi.

Gurmit Dorje ('Gyur-med Rdo-rje)

- 38 years, male, Rupshu's chief in 1993. (L:) Hindi and Ladakhi. (D:) 8 June 1993.

Nawang Dorje (Ngag-dbang Rdo-rje)

- 60 years, male, trader from Manali. (L:) Hindi. (D:) 15 August 1994.

- Tsering Langzom (Tshe-ring Lang-zhom)
- 26 years, female. (L:) Ladakhi.
- Sonam Lanze (Bsod-nams Sla-dze)
- 34 years, female. (L:) Ladakhi.
- Namgyal Lhamo (Rnam-rgyal Lha-mo)
- 25 years, female. (L:) Ladakhi.
- Tsewang Lhamo (Tshe-dbang Lha-mo)
- 28 years, female. (L:) Ladakhi.
- Kunzang Lhaskid (Kun-bzang Lha-skyid)
- 28 years, female, nun. (L:) Ladakhi.
- Tsering Namgyal (Tshe-ring Rnam-rgyal)
- 53 years, male. (L:) Ladakhi.
- Rinchen Norgey (Rin-chen Nor-rgyas)
- 17 years, male, lama. (L:) Ladakhi.
- Tsering Padon (Tshe-ring Pa-dron)
- 32 years, female. (L:) Ladakhi.
- Tsering Paljor (Tshe-ring Dpal-byor)
- 77 years (died winter of 1992-93), male. (L:) Ladakhi. (D:) 28 August 1992.
- Tsering Phunsog (Tshe-ring Phun-tshogs)
- 37 years, male. (L:) Ladakhi.
- Skarma Rangdol (Skar-ma Rang-'grol)
- 30 years, male. (L:) Hindi and Ladakhi.
- Tsewang Rigzin (Tshe-dbang Rig-'dzin)
- 45 years, male. (L:) Ladakhi.
- Sonam Rinchen (Bsod-nams Rin-chen)
- 58 years, male, renowned male weaver in Rupshu. (L:) Ladakhi. (D:) 23 October 1992.
- Tsering Sendup (Tshe-ring Bsan-'grub)
- 52 years, male, Tibetan. (L:) Tibetan. (D:) 12 October 1992.
- Nawang Skalzang (Ngag-dbang Skal-bzang)
- 33 years, male, vice-President of Buddhist Youth Society, Rupshu. (L:) Hindi and Ladakhi. (D:) 9 May 1993.

Nawang Tharchen (Ngag-dbang Dar-chen)

- 44 years, male. (L:) Hindi and Ladakhi.

Sonam Targyas (Bsod-nams Dar-rgyas)

- 70 years, male, from Kharnak. (L:) Ladakhi. (D:) 22 May 1993.

Tashi Targyas (Bkra-shis Dar-rgyas)

- 47 years, male. (L:) Hindi and Ladakhi.

Tashi Tondup (Bkra-shis Don-grub)

- 54 years, male. (L:) Ladakhi. (D:) 24 May 1993.

Angmo Tsering (Dbang-mo Tshe-ring)

- 71 years, female, (L:) Ladakhi. (D:) 21 July 1995.

Chemit Tsering ('Chi-med Tshe-ring)

- 30 years, female, renowned female weaver in Rupshu. (L:) Ladakhi. (D:) 20 October 1992.

Nawang Tsering (Ngag-dbang Tshe-ring)

- 35 years, male, trader from Manali - Nawang Dorje's nephew. (L:) Hindi.

Skarma Tsering (Skar-ma Tshe-ring)

- 27 years, male. (L:) Hindi and Ladakhi.

Abi Yangzom (A-bi Yang-'dzom)

- 74 years, female. (L:) Ladakhi.

Tashi Zangmo (Bkra-shis Bzang-mo)

- 48 years, female (L:) Ladakhi.

GLOSSARY

Entries in the Glossary are organised according to the English alphabet. Only Ladakhi terms relevant to the thesis appear here. All Ladakhi terms are transcribed according to the system prescribed by Wylie (1959), and the orthography is largely based on the work of Jaeschke (1987).

<u>LADAKHI</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>
<i>a-ba</i>	father
<i>a-bi</i>	grandmother
<i>a-jang</i>	uncle
<i>a-ma</i>	mother
<i>am-chi</i>	local doctor
<i>ba-gor</i>	container in which female spindle is turned
<i>ba-tshwa</i>	salt fed to livestock; carbonate of soda
' <i>bab</i>	tax paid on livestock
<i>bag-len</i>	wedding ceremony (Leh: <i>bag-ston</i>)
' <i>bag-pa</i>	polluting
<i>bag-thod</i>	long white cotton cloth draped over a bride's head
<i>bal</i>	sheep wool
<i>bal-shed</i>	wool cards
<i>bang-ma</i>	leftovers of barley beer
<i>bar-ba</i>	middle
<i>bar-btsan</i>	middle tier of world, inhabited by people and the <i>btsan</i>
<i>bdan-don</i>	old stories
<i>bdud-po, bdud-mo</i>	demon, demoness

<i>be-da</i>	low-caste, class of rambling minstrels
<i>bka'-blon</i>	prime minister
<i>bka'-'gyur</i>	Kanjur, first part of Tibetan canonical collection of Buddhist scriptures
<i>bla-brang-pa</i>	house of hereditary lamas
<i>bla-ma</i>	lama, monk
<i>blon-po</i>	minister (of government)
<i>brang-bal</i>	"chest wool", unshorn tuft of wool on chest of all livestock
<i>'bri-mo</i>	female yak
<i>'bring</i>	medium-size saddle-bag carried by sheep and goats
<i>bru-'u</i>	ball of wool
<i>bo-mo</i>	woman, female
<i>bstan-'gyur</i>	Tanjur, second part of Tibetan canonical collection of Buddhist scriptures
<i>btsan</i>	demonical deities
<i>btsod</i>	Tibetan antelope
<i>btsod-khul</i>	fibre from Tibetan antelope, also known as shatoosh
<i>btsog-po</i>	bad
<i>bu-tsha</i>	man, male
<i>bubs</i>	an entire length or piece of cloth
<i>byang</i>	north
<i>byang-thang</i>	Changthang, northern plateau
<i>byang-pa</i>	Changpa, Northerner

<i>cha-cho</i>	castration
<i>cha-ga</i>	piping or border on male and female robes
<i>chad-pa</i>	fine, penalty
<i>chal-li</i>	blanket woven by men using goat and/or yak hair
<i>'cham</i>	monastic dances
<i>chan-pa</i>	shears
<i>chang</i>	local beer, made from barley
<i>char-cung</i>	toggles
<i>chen</i>	big
<i>cho-lo</i>	dice (Tibetan: <i>sho</i>)
<i>chor-khang</i>	enclosure for lambs and kids
<i>chor-chor</i>	term for calling lambs and kids
<i>chor-rta</i>	horses that are not taxed
<i>chos-sdag</i>	altar
<i>chu</i>	water
<i>chu-ba</i>	Tibetan-style sleeveless robe
<i>chu-dpon</i>	head of each <i>chu-lag</i>
<i>chu-lag</i>	system of dividing men into four groups for the purpose of salt collecting
<i>chun-ma</i>	younger wife
<i>chung</i>	small
<i>chur-pe</i>	dry cheese
<i>da-sgal</i>	saddle-bag carried by yak
<i>'dabs-cis</i>	to card wool

<i>'dam-dbyug</i>	cleaning fibres by beating out the dirt
<i>dar-lcog</i>	prayer flags
<i>dbon-po</i>	astrologer
<i>dbyar-ka</i>	summer
<i>dgo-rong</i>	salt fed to livestock; mixture of sulphate of magnesium with a compound of soda
<i>dgon-pa</i>	monastery
<i>dgun-ka</i>	winter
<i>di-kam</i>	barren, unable to conceive
<i>dkar-po</i>	white
<i>dkor</i>	monastery's livestock
<i>dkor-pa</i>	those who attend to the monastery's livestock
<i>dmangs phal,</i> <i>or dmangs-rigs</i>	class of commoners
<i>dmar-mchod</i>	sacrifice
<i>dmar-po</i>	red
<i>dngul</i>	silver
<i>'do</i>	side (i.e. side of tent)
<i>don-bal</i>	wool left on back of livestock dedicated to the gods, <i>btsan</i> , and <i>klu</i>
<i>dra-cis</i>	to cut or shear
<i>dud-chung</i>	workers attached to monasteries or noble estates
<i>dug-mtsho</i>	salt water lake
<i>gcer-sgog</i>	naked
<i>glang-po-che</i>	elephant

<i>gle-'e</i>	pen for sheep and goats
<i>glu</i>	song
<i>gnag-po</i>	black
<i>gnyer-pa</i>	one who serves
<i>go-ba</i>	chief
<i>gog-kyor</i>	hearth
<i>gong-kar</i>	smoke-hole
<i>gong-ma</i>	upper
<i>gong-mo</i>	witch
<i>gos</i>	male robe
<i>gos-chen</i>	brocade
<i>gra-tser</i>	thin stick, pointed at one end, used to beat down individual warp threads in backstrap loom
<i>gral</i>	ranked seating arrangement
<i>gral-mgo</i>	uppermost seat
<i>gral-zug</i>	lowest seat
<i>gres-len</i>	Tibetan-style long-sleeved blouse
<i>grong</i>	tent made from goat and/or yak hair
<i>grong-ming</i>	house name
<i>gru-bzhi</i>	square
<i>gsar</i>	new
<i>gung-shing</i>	additional beam over which warp passes, in backstrap loom
<i>gur</i>	white tent, made from canvas
<i>g-yag</i>	yak

<i>g.yag-rdzi</i>	yak herder
<i>g.yas-skor</i>	clockwise
<i>gye-re</i>	a kind of sweet pea
<i>gyer-ka</i>	end portion of <i>snam-bu</i> woven in six, and not two, ply
<i>g.yon-skor</i>	anti-clockwise
<i>ja-ldong-mo</i>	butter-tea maker
<i>'jam-po</i>	good
<i>jar-kang</i>	pattern consisting of a single straight line
<i>jed-po</i>	snow leopard (Leh: <i>gcan</i>)
<i>jo-mo</i>	nun
<i>jus-legs</i>	term of greeting (i.e. hello, goodbye)
<i>ka</i>	tent pole (Leh: pillar)
<i>kha-btags</i>	ceremonial white scarf
<i>kha-cul</i>	Kashmir
<i>kha-'dzar</i>	tassels, fringe
<i>khab</i>	small woven woollen bag tied around stud ram
<i>khag-gnyis</i>	to divide or cut in two
<i>'khal-cis</i>	to spin
<i>kham-po</i>	brown
<i>khan-mjar</i>	sleeveless jacket worn over a woman's robe, (Leh: <i>stod-thung</i>)
<i>khang-pa</i>	house
<i>khel-ba</i>	ram
<i>kho-kho</i>	term to call a <i>'bri-mo</i> 's calf

<i>khog</i>	to tie or hold (i.e. the dog)
<i>khral</i>	tax
<i>khral-pa</i>	taxpayer
<i>khrel-ba</i>	shame
<i>khri-ma</i>	prayer beads
<i>'khrud-cis</i>	to wash
<i>khru-g-shed</i>	comb for napping woollen cloth
<i>khyi</i>	dog
<i>'khyig-cis</i>	to kill an animal by tying up its mouth and nostrils
<i>khyir-ku</i>	stone shelf inside tent, on the left and at the rear
<i>khyu-ba</i>	yak kept for mating
<i>klu</i>	spirits that inhabit the aquatic and subterranean worlds
<i>kod-se</i>	a type of dried herb that is used to flavour food, call it their "onion"
<i>kred</i>	comb used to remove pashmina
<i>kro-'o</i>	red tinge
<i>ku-lu</i>	yak wool
<i>kyir-kyir</i>	circle
<i>la</i>	mountain pass
<i>la-kung</i>	stone shelf inside tent, on the left and at the front
<i>lag-kyig</i>	small saddle-bag given to women at the time of their marriage
<i>lag-sden</i>	front or cloth beam in fixed-heddle loom
<i>lags-skyi</i>	counters used for playing game of dice

<i>las-ka</i>	work (Leh: <i>las</i>)
<i>lcang-ma</i>	willow
<i>le-na</i>	pashmina
<i>lha</i>	gods
<i>lha-mo</i>	goddess
<i>lha-tho</i>	shrine to the gods
<i>lha-yul</i>	uppermost tier of world, inhabited by the gods
<i>lham</i>	boots with leather soles and woollen uppers
<i>li</i>	thin
<i>ljang-khu</i>	green
<i>lo</i>	year
<i>lo-gsar</i>	New Year
<i>lu-gu</i>	lamb
<i>lug</i>	sheep
<i>lug-rdzi</i>	sheep herder
<i>lug-sgal</i>	saddle-bag carried by sheep and goats
<i>lung-ba</i>	valley
<i>lung-yen</i>	elders
<i>ma-gnyen</i>	mother's kin
<i>ma-khog</i>	pashmina not ready to be combed out
<i>ma-mo</i>	ewe
<i>ma-ni</i>	prayer
<i>ma-spun</i>	matri-fraternal group
<i>mar</i>	butter

<i>mchod-me</i>	butter lamp
<i>mchod-pa</i>	religious offerings made from butter and barley flour, or water and barley flour
<i>mda'-zar</i>	sacred arrow
<i>mdo</i>	lower
<i>mdun-ma</i>	meeting
<i>mdzo</i>	yak-cow cross
<i>mdzod</i>	place or room where goods are stored
<i>me-me</i>	grandfather, old man
<i>me-tam</i>	branding livestock with fire
<i>mgar-ba</i>	low-caste, class of blacksmiths
<i>mgo-ma</i>	upper
<i>mgon-po, mgon-mo</i>	yak, 'bri-mo dedicated to the gods
<i>mgug</i>	loop, made with rope
<i>mi</i>	man, person
<i>mi-bogs</i>	leasers of land
<i>mi-dmangs</i>	class of commoners
<i>mig</i>	eye
<i>mis-ga</i>	curse
<i>mkhar</i>	palace
<i>mo</i>	divination
<i>mon</i>	low-caste, class of musicians and carpenters
<i>mtho</i>	a span, distance stretching from extended thumb to top of middle finger

<i>mtshal-khang</i>	shrine where remains of dead are kept, separate ones exist for humans and livestock
<i>mtsho</i>	lake
<i>mug-se</i>	plant, found around Tso Kar, from which red dye is obtained
<i>nam-mkha'-shing</i>	beam supporting heddle rod in fixed-heddle loom
<i>nang</i>	inside
<i>nas</i>	barley grain
<i>neb-tu</i>	branding livestock with wool or thread
<i>nem-zen</i>	branding livestock by cutting or notching
<i>nor</i>	wealth
<i>nu-gu</i>	long wooden sticks used for beating dirt out of yak wool, and yak and goat hair
<i>nub</i>	west
<i>num-ba</i>	rectangular strip of cloth
<i>nya-ga</i>	scale, a stick calibrated with 27 lines totalling 5 kilograms
<i>nyin-sha</i>	first day's meat
<i>'o-ma</i>	milk
<i>'o-ma 'jo-cis</i>	to milk
<i>'or-len</i>	first part of move to a new camp
<i>pad-rag</i>	turquoise-studded head-dress
<i>pha-gnyen</i>	father's kin
<i>pha-ra</i>	male goat kept for breeding
<i>pha-spun</i>	patri-fraternal group

<i>pham</i>	machine-spun acrylic yarn or wool
<i>phang</i>	female spindle
<i>phi-rgyis</i>	small sacks woven by women for storing food
<i>phog-srod</i>	term used for ceremony marking inheritance of the big tent
<i>phra-mo</i>	thin
<i>phu</i>	upper part of valley
<i>phu-dung</i>	sleeve
<i>phu-'u</i>	pit in the ground for storing belongings
<i>phug-lha</i>	tutelary deity, also tent god (Leh: <i>pha-lha</i>)
<i>phur-sha</i>	warping pegs
<i>phyag-phyag-cis</i>	to wash woollen cloth to make it shrink
<i>phye</i>	barley flour
<i>phyi-ba</i>	marmot
<i>phying-pa</i>	handmade felt
<i>pu-co-cis</i>	to shear or cut raised fibres
<i>ra-ma</i>	goat, also female goat
<i>ra-po</i>	male goat
<i>ra-rdzi</i>	goat herder
<i>ra-yi</i>	beater, in the foot-loom
<i>rab</i>	large saddle-bag carried by sheep and goats
<i>ral</i>	goat hair
<i>rang-'thag</i>	hand mill
<i>rdzong-thag</i>	bride's dowry rope

<i>rdzong-yig</i>	collection list (usually of gifts received)
<i>re</i>	cotton cloth
<i>re-bo</i>	tent made from goat and/or yak hair
<i>re-pul</i>	enclosure for new-born kids
<i>re-so</i>	cotton cloth
<i>res</i>	portage and carriage obligations, or <i>corvée</i>
<i>rgad-po</i>	government official
<i>rgyal-po</i>	king
<i>rgyal-rigs</i>	class of royal families
<i>rgyal-tag</i>	loops, used to join tent roof
<i>rgyan-cha</i>	jewellery
<i>rgyel-'dag</i>	tension bands, reinforce joints in tent
<i>rgyu</i>	warp
<i>ri</i>	mountain
<i>ri-gu</i>	young goat, kid
<i>ri-mo</i>	design
<i>ri-ri</i>	term for calling yak and ' <i>bri-mo</i>
<i>rigs-ldan</i>	class of nobles
<i>ril-ma</i>	dried dung
<i>rin-po-che</i>	"precious jewel", reincarnate lama
<i>ring-po</i>	long
<i>rkang-tshes</i>	trousers
<i>rked-slog</i>	rectangular garment women wear around their lower back after they have had their first child

<i>rkun-ma</i>	thieves
<i>rkyang</i>	wild ass
<i>rlung-po</i>	wind
<i>ro-re</i>	death shroud
<i>rom-po</i>	fat, thick
<i>rong</i>	field or gorge (Leh: gorge)
<i>rta</i>	horse
<i>rta-bra</i>	saddle-bag carried by horses
<i>rta-rdzi</i>	horse herder
<i>rta-rngog</i>	horse hair
<i>rtsam-pa</i>	barley flour
<i>rtsid-pa</i>	yak hair
<i>rtsig-pa</i>	stone wall enclosure within which tent is put up
<i>ru</i>	bone
<i>ru-nol</i>	woven white strip that marks centre of rear wall of tent
<i>ru-po</i>	stud ram
<i>rug-cis</i>	to do pile weaving
<i>rui</i>	witch
<i>sa</i>	place, ground, earth
<i>sa-'thags</i>	fixed-heddle loom
<i>sa-mtshams</i>	boundary, border, frontier
<i>sa-rdo</i>	pile of stones marking a boundary
<i>sab-rgyed</i>	fixed-heddle rod in fixed-heddle loom

<i>sag-led</i>	machine-made felt
<i>sangs</i>	incense
<i>sba'-zar</i>	gift-giving ceremony
<i>sba'-zar kar-mkhan</i>	man who records gifts given at gift-giving ceremony
<i>sbas-ka</i>	central pillar
<i>sbas-lung</i>	hidden valley
<i>sbog</i>	cape
<i>sdag</i>	beater or sword, in backstrap and fixed-heddle looms
<i>sdeb-she</i>	to exchange labour or goods
<i>sdiḡ-pa</i>	sin
<i>sel-dud</i>	journey made to Tso Kar twice in a year to feed livestock salt
<i>ser</i>	gold
<i>ser-po</i>	yellow
<i>ser-thob</i>	hat made with gold thread
<i>ses-sdang</i>	area in centre of pen where new-born lambs are tied at night, kids may also be tied here
<i>sgam-ba</i>	box
<i>sgo</i>	door
<i>sgo-yol</i>	door flap
<i>sgu-rdo</i>	sling shot
<i>sha</i>	meat
<i>sha skam-po</i>	dry meat
<i>sha-tshong-pa</i>	butcher

<i>shad-cis</i>	to remove or comb out pashmina
<i>shag-ma ting-cis</i>	to cover the floor of the tent with small stones
<i>shang-lag</i>	male robe made from goat fleece
<i>shar</i>	east
<i>sher-cis</i>	to nape
<i>shig</i>	lice
<i>shing</i>	wood
<i>sho-gdan</i>	leather board for playing game of dice
<i>shor-song</i>	to have lost
<i>sing-cis</i>	to dehair (i.e. pashmina)
<i>sked</i>	backstrap or belt that attaches front beam to weaver in backstrap loom, also means row (i.e. of weaving)
<i>sked-rags</i>	belt worn around clothes
<i>sked-'thags</i>	backstrap or body-tensioned loom
<i>skra</i>	hair
<i>sku-drag</i>	class of nobles
<i>skud-pa</i>	thread
<i>sla-zar</i>	wool left hanging between hind legs of ram
<i>slam-mtsho</i>	fresh water lake
<i>slob-phrug</i>	student
<i>slog-pa</i>	goatskin worn by women on their back
<i>smon</i>	swear, curse
<i>smug-po</i>	maroon
<i>snam-bu</i>	woollen cloth, used for garments (Urdu: <i>pattu</i>)

<i>sne-do</i>	a single bag (i.e. of a saddle-bag)
<i>snes</i>	string heddles, in backstrap and fixed-heddle looms
<i>snes-nyug</i>	heddle rod, in backstrap loom
<i>sngo-rtswa</i>	new grass
<i>sngon-po</i>	blue
<i>sod-pa</i>	foot rest in backstrap loom, also small stones holding down front beam in fixed-heddle loom
<i>spun</i>	weft
<i>spyang-ku</i>	wild dog
<i>spyid-ka</i>	spring
<i>sril</i>	thin stick that keeps cross in the warp in place, in backstrap loom
<i>srin-mo</i>	female ghost
<i>srog</i>	thin metal rod around which warp threads are looped in fixed-heddle loom and tied in backstrap loom; also means life
<i>sru-nga</i>	religious thread
<i>srung-pa</i>	guards
<i>ston-ka</i>	autumn
<i>sul</i>	gathers on fabric
<i>sul-ma</i>	female dress
<i>sur-na</i>	"oboe", a wind instrument
<i>tar-non</i>	slip knot
<i>tar-thag</i>	rope
<i>thab</i>	stove

<i>thag-pa</i>	rope
<i>'thags</i>	weave, loom
<i>'thags-cha</i>	loom, parts of a loom and other tools for weaving
<i>'thags-'dren-cis</i>	to lay the warp
<i>'thags-ra</i>	rocks that hold rear beam in place in backstrap loom, and rocks that support beam from which fixed-heddle rod hangs in fixed-heddle loom
<i>'thags-rdzi</i>	weaver (Leh: <i>'thags-mkhan</i>)
<i>thal-ba</i>	mud
<i>thal-shing</i>	rear or warp beam in backstrap and fixed-heddle loom
<i>thang-ka</i>	silk scroll painting
<i>thi-ka</i>	ridge pole in tent
<i>thig-ma</i>	tie-dyed circles
<i>thing-thing</i>	appliqué band with a bell, worn around a horse's neck
<i>tho-gor</i>	twisted bundle of raw pashmina
<i>tho-lo</i>	term for calling ewes
<i>thob-song</i>	to have won
<i>thog</i>	roof
<i>thu-cis</i>	to twist or ply (female)
<i>thu-lu sbog</i>	cape made from sheepskin
<i>thug</i>	black yak tail hung outside tent
<i>thung</i>	time (i.e. first time)
<i>ti-pi</i>	hat

<i>ton-pa</i>	middle class
<i>tor-lo</i>	term for calling female goats
<i>tsa-ru</i>	curly wool
<i>tser</i>	temple - stick notched at each end, used as spacing device while weaving woollen cloth in backstrap loom
<i>tshang-'dur</i>	bags woven for a bride
<i>tshag</i>	red powder, mixed into a paste with water and used for marking livestock
<i>tsha-'u</i>	bag made of felt or woollen cloth, in which new-born babies are kept
<i>tshe-thar</i>	livestock dedicated to the gods, <i>btsan</i> , and <i>klu</i>
<i>'tshem-cis</i>	to stitch
<i>'tshem-mkhan,</i> or <i>'tshem-po-pa</i>	tailor
<i>tsher-sa</i>	area circumscribed by low stone wall around which tent is pitched
<i>tshi</i>	grease (in wool)
<i>tshi rgyab-cis</i>	to wash grease out of wool
<i>tshig-pa</i>	front or cloth beam in backstrap loom
<i>tsho</i>	livestock
<i>tshod-ma</i>	vegetables
<i>tshong-pa</i>	trader
<i>tshos</i>	colour, dye
<i>tshos-mkhan</i>	dyer
<i>tshwa</i>	salt
<i>tsug-gdan</i>	woollen rug or carpet

<i>tsug-dul</i>	blanket woven by women using sheep or yak wool
<i>tsug-lcags</i>	gauge or guide rod used in pile weaving
<i>tub-ci</i>	button
<i>'u-lu</i>	shed stick in backstrap loom
<i>'u-lag</i>	portage and carriage obligations, or <i>corvée</i>
<i>'ul-chen</i>	shed stick in fixed-heddle loom
<i>ya-'u</i>	new tent (not an inherited tent), usually tent of youngest son
<i>yar</i>	offering of butter
<i>yar-sdang</i>	enclosure for <i>'bri-mo</i> and new-born calf
<i>yo-sgar</i>	cape made from felt and lined with fleece from the kid
<i>yog-cis</i>	to twist (refers to twisting done by men)
<i>yog-klu</i>	lowest tier of the world, inhabited by the <i>klu</i>
<i>yog-shing</i>	male spindle
<i>yog-ma</i>	lower
<i>yol</i>	small saddle-bag carried by sheep and goats
<i>yud</i>	a pattern of identification men weave into their fabric
<i>yud-leb</i>	pattern consisting of a group of three stripes
<i>yud-lo</i>	spindle whorl
<i>yud-phang</i>	female spindle used for twisting or plying
<i>yul</i>	village
<i>yul-lha</i>	village deity
<i>yun-pu</i>	lamb's-wool

<i>zan</i>	food
<i>zhabs-bro</i>	song and dance
<i>zog</i>	place or room where goods are stored
<i>zu-ral</i>	slit on sides of garments
<i>zwa-tshod</i>	stinging nettle

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