

Henry Lee Shuttleworth (1882–1960) and the History of Spiti

Yannick Laurent
(Wolfson College, Oxford)

To Anna Shuttleworth-Sellen

“The humblest of men, he did what he did because he believed it to be right, and not in order to be seen and applauded of men”¹

Lining up against a drystone wall, ten Buddhist monks look intensely – perhaps even worryingly – into the lens of the camera (fig.1). Behind them, the towering walls of Tengyu Monastery (*steng rgyud*) stand out from the barren landscape and snow-capped mountains. Taken in 1917/8, this iconic image is a testimony to the local heritage and regional history of Spiti. About half a century later, the impressive Sakya monastery was reduced to rubble by a terrible earthquake that hit the region in 1975. The site was soon abandoned and the monastery was rebuilt further up in the hinterland. Very little remains now of the imposing Sakya stronghold with its propitiatory tricolour walls.

The black and white print (below) was first published in India in 1920. Although uncredited, the photographer responsible for this image was Henry Lee Shuttleworth (1882–1960).² Between 1917 and

¹ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 4).

² *The Times of India Illustrated Weekly*, April 14, 1920, p.19. The black and white photograph was accompanied by the following caption: “A group of Sakya lamas before their isolated monastery at Tanggyud in Spiti. The present monastery was founded in its almost inaccessible position some two centuries ago after the more exposed older building had been burnt down by the Tso-po, the Mongol followers of King Galdan Tsiang, who was dreaded for his bravery and cruelty throughout Tibet, and the sight of whose body is even now considered to inspire the beholder with some of his valour. The name of the builder of the present foundation is recorded as Lobsan Chekep of Gongmig village in an old Tibetan book kept by the Head of the Establishment and shown to few outsiders. To the west the monastery looks down on the Spiti valley. To the north-east it faces the

1925, the British officer and orientalist spent most of his time documenting the Western Himalayas on behalf of the Indian Civil Service (ICS). Little is known, however, about Shuttleworth's scholarly contribution to the history of Spiti. In fact, modern scholarship has often overlooked the long and meandering history of this remote Buddhist valley, taking very little notice of Shuttleworth's legacy.



*Fig. 1 — Sakyapa monks in front of Tengyu Monastery, Spiti.
Photo: MssEur D722/29 photo 1119/4 0006 © British Library Board.*

This article thus attempts to present some of the most important discoveries made by the British polymath during his tenure as Assistant Commissioner of Kulu. It draws from a variety of sources, including the autobiography of his daughter Anna Shuttleworth, private correspondence, old book reviews and articles. Most importantly, I shall reproduce for the first time unpublished

sacred snowclad twin peaked mountain of Cho Cho Gang Milta, over 23,000 feet high".

documents written by or sent to Shuttleworth during his career or after his retirement from the ICS. Last but not least, the present study attempts to do justice to the great man's many accomplishments by offering an overview of Shuttleworth's life and ultimate journey to the East.

Henry Lee Shuttleworth's Life and Account

Setting the Scene

The Spiti Valley is a high mountain desert located in the Indian Himalayas. It lies in the north-eastern part of the State of Himachal Pradesh. The valley is flanked by the districts of Kinnaur in the south, Kulu in the west, and Ladakh in the north. In the east, Spiti shares a sensitive geo-political border with the Ngari Prefecture of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) in the People's Republic of China.

The Spiti Valley has a long and sparsely documented history. There is evidence that the region was incorporated into the expanding Tibetan Empire in the seventh and eighth century, leading to a gradual Tibetanization of its native inhabitants. Today, the people of Spiti speak a tonal Tibetan dialect related to the Western Tibetan group (i.e. Western Innovative Tibetan).³ It has yet preserved a few lexemes indicating that the Spiti Valley had once been within the influence of Shangshung (*zhang zhung*) culture. From the first millennium onwards, Spiti belonged to larger political entities and its socio-political and religious conditions have often been conflated with those of powerful states exerting control over the region (e.g. the kingdoms of Guge and Ladakh).

In his introduction to the history of Western Tibet, historian Luciano Petech expressed reservations about the historical analysis of border Himalayan polities recalling that "the smaller the unit, the less known is its history".⁴ Nowhere is that more evident than in Spiti, where a dearth of textual information and local evidence often militate against the identification of coherent periodic divisions; a difficulty already experienced by Shuttleworth in his endeavour to make sense of the Spitian past.

³ See Hein 2017 in the present volume.

⁴ Petech (1997: 229).

Following the annexation of Spiti and Lahul by British India in 1846, the ICS began to appoint officials to exercise control over their new Western Himalayan districts. In the settlement literature produced between 1840s and 1920s, Assistant Commissioners stationed in the valley of Kulu, in today's Himachal Pradesh, dutifully recorded every possible aspects of Spitian society during an annual visit to the remote Buddhist enclave. Their reports included a geographical description of the valley with general information about the local flora and fauna. They were often complemented by accounts written by other British officers, travellers, and natural scientists. Likewise, they detailed the social and religious lives of the people and their livelihood in the best manner possible. But most importantly, an increased knowledge of the traditional land tenure system facilitated the exploitation of local resources and the levying of taxes.

Members of the Indian Civil Service belonged to an intellectual elite, a ruling class produced by a conservative and often proselytistic Victorian society. They tended to embody conflicting ideologies; the civilizing imperialist on the one hand and the orientalist humanist on the other.⁵ Shuttleworth was certainly of the latter kind and his appointment as Assistant Commissioner in 1917 represents a turning point in the documentation of the Spiti Valley.



*Fig. 2 — Shuttleworth's party on the Kunzom Pass between Lahul and Spiti.
Photo: MssEur D722/30 photo 1119/5 0012 © British Library Board.*

Early Life and Career

Henry Lee Shuttleworth was born in Scotforth, Lancashire, City of Lancaster, England, on 14th May, 1882.⁶ He was the only son of

⁵ Dewey (1993).

⁶ For the main events and timeline of Shuttleworth's life; see Appendix 1.

George Edward Shuttleworth (1842–1928) and Edith Mary Hadwen (1857–1947). His father was a Fellow of King’s College London, a physician, and a pioneering child psychiatrist at the Royal Albert Asylum in Lancaster. His mother reputedly was a strong and independent woman whose eccentric character and leaning for billiard games were reportedly described in the local press.⁷

In the summer of 1896, the young Shuttleworth entered Shrewsbury School, a private and prestigious institution founded under King Edward VI in 1552. There, he received a formal and rigorous education in classics; rowed in the school 1st VIII crew; and acted as a House Scholar and a Praepostor. In his last year at Shrewsbury Shuttleworth already belonged to a young intellectual elite, reading in Classics Upper 6th under the headmaster and English scholar Henry Whitehead Moss (1841–1917).⁸

In 1901, Shuttleworth was accepted to the University of Oxford on an open exhibition, a scholarship awarded to the best and the brightest applicants. The matriculation photograph taken at Pembroke College in the Michaelmas Term of that year shows a calm, confident, and serious young man wearing rimless glasses (fig.3). He initially occupied a ground floor room in the Old Quad of Pembroke at a termly rent of £5.5s and, for his second and third years, a third floor room in Chapel Quad at a rent of £4.18s. During his time at Oxford, Shuttleworth deepened his knowledge of Greek and Latin literature, history and philosophy, and eventually obtained a second class degree in *Litterae Humaniores* on 21st October, 1905.⁹

While his future career at the ICS would lead him to the discovery of new cultural horizons, his fondness for the Ancient World accompanied him throughout his life, in particular his fascination with Alexander the Great. In the summer of 1958 Shuttleworth was still walking on the footsteps of the Macedonian prince. At the age of seventy-six the relentless classicist addressed the following lines to his wife from the Museum Library of Lahore:¹⁰

⁷ <http://www.thekingscandlesticks.com/webs/pedigrees/2401.html>. The author of this blog is a distant relative of the Shuttleworth family. He describes Edith as “an extroverted woman who was not happy in her marriage”.

⁸ I would like to express my gratitude to Robin Brooks-Smith, Taylor Librarian and Archivist at Shrewsbury School, for the above pieces of information.

⁹ I wish to thank Amanda Ingram, archivist at Pembroke College, for sharing this information along with the 1901 fresher’s photograph.

¹⁰ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009:142-144).

“My researches of Alexander the Great are going well ahead. [...] I am finding Tarn’s book on Alexandre’s travel full of minor mistakes [...] I can’t conceive how a Graeco-Macedonian army of some 35-40,000 men, mostly heavily armed infantry and only 500 cavalry marched from Taxila to the Beas in late May over rising rivers. [...] I think I’ve cleared up all the problems of the march which bothered Vincent Smith, Aurel Stein and many others. [...] I have, since I came here, been reliving those times of the Baktro-Greek Kingdoms.”



Fig. 3 — Shuttleworth’s Pembroke College fresher’s photograph, 1901 (2nd row, 2nd from right). Photo © by kind permission of the Master, Fellows and Scholars of Pembroke College, Oxford.

In 1905, however, and after several years of classical studies at Shrewsbury School and Pembroke College, the Oxonian eventually decided to join the ranks of the ‘Civilians’.

Upon his graduation Shuttleworth immediately entered the Indian

Civil Service at the London School of Oriental Studies.¹¹ For the following five years he studied the law, institutions, and revenue system of India. He read Indian history and learned the languages of the regions where he was to be assigned. As a result he rapidly became conversant in many languages and over his career come to know Modern Greek, Arabic, Urdu, Hindavi, as well as several Tibetan and Himalayan dialects. On 16th June, 1910, the freshly graduated Civilian was ready to go into the field. The new member of the ICS, however, wanted to become an archaeologist. With this intention in mind Shuttleworth asked to be transferred to the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), a request that was denied.¹² Instead, Shuttleworth was appointed Settlement Officer in Lower Kangra and set off for India in 1911.¹³ Unfortunately, information about his first encounter with the people of the Himalayan piedmont is hard to come by.

On leave Shuttleworth sailed back to England in 1915. On 14th April he attended his sister's wedding at St Peter Belize Park in London where he met Inez Esther Dorothea MacGillycuddy (1890–1977). The couple married shortly after, in August of the same year, and Mrs Shuttleworth accompanied her husband back to India (fig.4). It appears that Shuttleworth's wife quickly made a name for herself, both locally and back at home.

In 1917, Sir Michael Francis O'Dwyer (1864–1940), the then Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, appointed Shuttleworth Assistant Commissioner of Kulu, the gateway to Spiti. An anecdote recounts that one of the reasons for his appointment was the fact that the maiden name of Mrs Shuttleworth was MacGillycuddy. The Lieutenant Governor of Punjab reportedly declared, "I thought a young lady who at home was in the habit of running up MacGillycuddy's Reeks would equally be at home at 18,000 feet in

¹¹ In 1905 the study of Oriental languages and culture was split between University College London (UCL) and King's College London. The School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) was established in 1916, receiving an annual grant of £1,250 from the Government of India in recognition of the School's work training Indian Civil Service Probationers. My thanks are due to David Ogden, Corporate Records Manager and Archivist at SOAS, for the above information.

¹² Chetwode (1970: 123).

¹³ Shuttleworth first held the position of Assistant Settlement Officer in the city of Hoshiarpur in Punjab before being appointed Settlement Officer in Lower Kangra in 1912; see Dewey (1987: 102).

the Himalayas".¹⁴ Be it as it may, O'Dwyer was not proven wrong. From that time onwards Mrs Shuttleworth was to accompany her husband everywhere.



Fig. 4 — Shuttleworth's wedding photograph, St. Swithun's Church, Bournemouth, England, 1915. Photo: Edward Liveing Fenn © The King's Candlestick Family Tree.

A series of photographs indeed show Mrs Shuttleworth taking on the Himalayan range; riding her 'Terrifying' Tibetan horse named Jigjay (*jigs byed*); crossing glaciers on foot; or posing in front of a high altitude camp with porters and servants (fig.5-6). In 1922 *The Sunday Post* published an exclusive interview of her 'Adventures on the Roof of the World'.¹⁵ In it, Mrs Shuttleworth recalled their Biblical ascension across the mountains from the paradisiacal valley of Kulu to the forsaken land of Spiti:

"I sailed with my husband for India, where he held the position of District Officer in Kulu, one of the most beautiful provinces of British India. In Kulu you can grow any fruit you choose and every flower, and it seems to be a natural paradise. But my husband's duty took him to

¹⁴ Chetwode (1970: 2).

¹⁵ *The Sunday Post*, July 9, 1922, p.6.

the country across the mountains, where famine had caused an enormous amount of suffering and distress, and naturally I was anxious to accompany him. Quite apart from my desire to help in the work of relief, I was keen to go to Tibet the secret country so few white people have visited. [...] I felt just like someone out of the Bible", laughed Mrs Shuttleworth," for there we were, marching along with our sheep and goats, and horses, our servants, and baggage. [...] "Then we had a perfectly horrible time," said Mrs Shuttleworth. "We were overtaken by a terrible snowstorm, which almost blinded us. We fought on as long as we could, but at last were reduced to exhaustion, and had to call a halt. Here we waited till the storm ceased [...] at last we came to the real pass, the Pinla. This is 17,500 feet high. At this height the great Himalayas looked like little hills peeping out of the snow [...] we came to Muth, our first village in Tibet [...] I found that I was the first white woman that the villagers had seen". The travellers, however, could not linger in Muth, and three days further marching brought them to Dankbar, which is the capital of Spiti. Here they lived in a house for the first time since they left Kulu. It was a disused room in the old fort of Spiti, and it was on the roof of this fort that Mr Shuttleworth held his court, and distributed the fund allocated by the British Government for the alleviation of the distress caused by famine. Their journeyings were not at an end, however. Leaving Dankbar, they went to Rupshu, by way of the redoubtable Prang-la, 18,000 feet high, a pass never before traversed by a white woman, and by few white men [...]"



*Fig. 5 — Inez Esther Dorothea Shuttleworth crossing a glacier between Kulu and Spiti.
Photo: MssEur D722/29 photo 1119/4 0044 © British Library Board*



*Fig. 6 — Mrs Shuttleworth in front of her tent with porters and attendants, Western Himalayas.
Photo: MssEur D799/29 photo 1119/4 0016 © British Library Board.*

Exploration of the Western Himalayas (1917–1924)

Shuttleworth's first tenure as Assistant Commissioner lasted three years. He was then appointed again and resumed his functions at

Nagar in Kulu from 1923 to 1924. During these periods the classicist turned full orientalist developing a life-long passion for the local architecture of wood temples, various Himalayan dialects, and the *nāga* cult of Kulu. In a letter sent to his daughter Anna of 30th April, 1959, Shuttleworth aged seventy-six explained:¹⁶

“Perhaps you don’t know what I’m working on so here goes. All started long ago: Twenty-nine villages north of Sutlej River and south of Kashmir where there were Serpent Deities Naga – Devatas. Only four to five were known before I found them and the stories about one family of Nagas in north Kulu, the children of a Naga Raja and a Kulu girl; So far, in Kulu, the seven wood temples. I discovered three of the oldest form. I hope to do a monograph on these [...]; Three hill languages one not done in Linguistic survey of India. Two other languages had been wrongly placed.”



*Fig. 7 — Village of Kyibar and Shuttleworth’s camp pitched in the fields below, Spiti.
Photo: MssEur D722/30 photo 1119/5 0006 © British Library Board.*

Shuttleworth’s exploration of the Western Himalayas was further complemented by an intensive photographic documentation of the regions he visited. The travel writer Penelope Chetwode (1910–1986) recalled that, “Mr. Lee Shuttleworth always toured with his camera [...] at a time when the sketching phase was nearing its end and was being replaced by photography with those enormous plate cameras, each of which needed two porters”.¹⁷ Shuttleworth’s photographic work constitutes today one of the most important collections of images for the study of Ladakh, Zaskar, Lahaul, Kulu, and Spiti. These invaluable visual archives are nowadays divided between the British

¹⁶ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 155-156).

¹⁷ Chetwode (1970: 2).

Library and the Royal Geographical Society in London, the National Media Museum in Bradford, and other European institutions.¹⁸ They include stunning panoramic views of these regions (fig.2, 7, 8, 12, 13), photographs of Buddhist monuments and works of art (fig.9), images of local architecture and stone carvings, as well as many portraits of villagers, nomads, aristocrats, and religious figures (fig.10).



*Fig. 8 — Gelugpa monks and villagers assembled in front of Tabo Monastery, Spiti.
Photo: MssEur D722/30 photo 1119/5 0007 © British Library Board.*

It is also during those years that the Assistant Commissioner of Kulu undertook three different trips to Spiti in the summers of 1917, 1918, and 1924. His exploration of the border region followed up on a four-month archaeological survey conducted by August Hermann Francke (1870–1930) on behalf of the ASI in 1909. During his visits, Shuttleworth meticulously sorted out the masses of information recorded en route, or found in official reports and literature available at the time, often complementing Francke's contribution on the subject.¹⁹ Unlike the German missionary who mainly focused on

¹⁸ Dollfus (1999: 103-106). Some of his prints can also be found amongst the collections of The Ancient India and Iran Trust in Cambridge; see Salisbury (2004: 8); and at the Kern Institute in Leiden.

¹⁹ Shuttleworth noted how "Francke's archaeological and epigraphical finds were amazingly rich, especially at and near Tabo, but they were not extensive owing to his limited time, and ill health". In fact, the German scholar did not spend more than a fortnight in the Spiti Valley, from 25th July till 7th August; see Francke (1914: vi). Shuttleworth thus explained that he "made further archaeological or literary finds in this area at Lha-luñ, Drangkhar, Tabo, Mā-ñi etc., as well as in the other areas not visited by Francke, i.e. north-west of Khyibar and in Pin", specifying that "This was during the course of official tours between 1917-24, while leisure was limited, but when an endeavour was made to examine all temples or monuments, which might prove to be of archaeological interest. The results have been included in the Spiti village archaeological historical list together with previous material amounting to perhaps a quarter of the whole.

Ladakh, the British officer was determined to write a historical account of the Spiti Valley. His ambitious work was never completed and Shuttleworth's unfinished manuscript is currently in the national library of the United Kingdom.

Today, the British Library houses approximately thirty sets of documents relating to Shuttleworth's scholarly activities in the Western Himalayas. Their collection comprises of unpublished manuscripts and miscellaneous notes, original and translation of Tibetan inscriptions, private correspondence, reprints and proofs of reviews, as well as hundreds of black and white prints. Amongst these documents Shuttleworth's handwritten notes on the history of Spiti (MssEur722/25) have received scant attention. Christian Jahoda, however, has taken a pioneering interest in these notes. More specifically, the social anthropologist investigated the collaborative enterprise between Shuttleworth and Francke concerning volume four of *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*.²⁰ An exchange of correspondence between Shuttleworth and Harold Hargreaves (b. 1876), the then Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, is particularly informative in this regard (see Appendix 3).²¹ In a letter dated 23rd July, 1930, Hargreaves gave a progress report on the state of publication:

“Touching the printing of the Part IV of the *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* I note that you have completed your sections dealing with (1) Purig, (2) Zangs-kar, (3) Lahul, (4) Spiti, (5) Central Ladakh and that you have received the late Dr. Francke's material dealing with Nubra, Baltistan, Lower Ladakh, Kunawar and Guge but that Dr. Francke's material is scanty and will have to be worked up. [...] This will not be Part III of the *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* but Part IV, No. I being the Personal narratives, II – Chronicles, III – Inscriptions.”

While the first two volumes by Francke were published in 1914 and 1926 respectively, a corpus of inscriptions was omitted. Only in 2003 was a manuscript subsequently published, containing eighty-nine inscriptions collected by the Moravian scholar in 1905 and resurfaced

These lists and the present history are complementary to each other”; see Shuttleworth (MssEur.D722/25).

²⁰ Jahoda (2007).

²¹ Harold Hargreaves served as Director General from 1928 to 1931.

in the 1980s.²²



*Fig. 9 — Interior view of Gumrang Temple, Lahul.
Photo: MssEur D722/29 photo 1119/4 0055 © British Library Board.*

But after Francke's death in 1930, and for reasons that partly elude us today,²³ volume four of *Antiquity of Indian Tibet* never appeared and Shuttleworth's embryonic manuscript sank into oblivion. As for

²² Francke and Jina (2003). Photographic facsimiles of Francke's first and second 'Collection of Tibetan Historical Inscriptions on Rock and Stone from West Tibet' were also reproduced by Tobdan and Dorje (2008).

²³ Jahoda (2007: 381).

the section about Spiti, Jahoda concludes that, "Whether H.L. Shuttleworth's unpublished manuscript entitled 'History of Spiti' was planned as an integral part of *Antiquities*, Vol IV, or as a separate but complementary publication [...] is not clear. On the evidence of references found in the text it seems reasonable to conclude that he was working on this manuscript around 1932, and that he may have begun this work in the late 1920s".²⁴

Throughout their respective careers, Shuttleworth and Francke cultivated a sincere friendship and a reciprocal appreciation of their work. In 1929 Francke penned the preface to Shuttleworth's pioneering report on the temples of Lhalung (*lha lung*). Private correspondence also indicates that the two men were still in contact after Shuttleworth's retirement from the ICS (see Appendix 3). In 1939, the British orientalist participated in a collective work on the archaeological past of India. Reviewing Francke's contribution to the study of the Western Himalayas the author noted:²⁵

"The success of this tour in 1909 suggest the regret that the countries of Gu-ge, Lahul, Zangskar, Nubra and Baltistan also were not similarly surveyed and described in another book. But, as it is, Dr. Francke's two volumes, his *Personal Narrative* and *Chronicles*, published by the Archaeological Survey of India, together constitute the most important contribution that has yet appeared on the archaeology of Indian Tibet."

The History of Spiti

As we have seen above, Shuttleworth was determined to write a *History of Spiti* and his findings were substantial at the time.²⁶ Notwithstanding the incomplete state of the manuscript, his handwritten notes are still weighty for us today, particularly in light of other documents and letters from the British Library. Incidentally, his handwriting is "not always clear" and appears to have deterred

²⁴ Jahoda (2007: 368-369).

²⁵ Shuttleworth (1939: 192).

²⁶ In 1922, Hutchison and Vogel published a three-page long article under a similar title in which Shuttleworth's assistance was acknowledged; Hutchison and Vogel (1922a, 1922b: 162).

the few scholars who took in interest in them.²⁷ Their content, however, not only reveals the depth of Shuttleworth's erudition but also attest to his versatility as historian, linguist, and epigraphist.



Fig. 10 — Portrait of the 5th Kyabgon Taksang Rinpoche (c. 1884–1939), Hemis Monastery, Ladakh. Photo: MssEur D722/29 photo 1119/4 0031 © British Library Board.

The British explorer, among other things, was the first to investigate the etymology of 'Spiti'. In a public speech given at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society in London on 22nd of May, 1922, the speaker declared, "The name Spiti, pronounced there and in

²⁷ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 115). There are many instances in his handwritten notes when the order of letters in words is mixed up suggesting that Shuttleworth was perhaps subject to mild dyslexic dysgraphia.

Tibet as Piti, means the 'Middle Country' perhaps from its situation between Greater Tibet and Little or Western Tibet. The language is that of Central Tibet, but it has a few resemblances to the Tibetan of Lahul".²⁸ The reason why Shuttleworth came to the conclusion that Spiti meant 'Middle Country' is obscure. Regrettably, his early interpretation gradually forced its way into more popular publications of little scholarly significance up to the present days.²⁹ The origin of the word 'Spiti' was, however, further discussed in his handwritten notes, presumably at a later date. This time the author recorded the most common spellings found in Tibetan sources and concluded that the term was spelt "*Spyi-ti*, also *Spi-ti*, or *Pi-ti*, meaning *spyi* common or main, and *ti* water".³⁰ If the question about the meaning of the word 'Spiti' remains to be settled, there is reason to believe that the earliest nomenclature may well have designated the main water resource of the valley, the Spiti River itself.³¹

Early scholars did not focus on Spiti exclusively. They often included the small river valley into the broader historical context of West Tibet and Ladakh. For his part, Shuttleworth was the first to attempt a periodization of Spitian history. In his notes he organised the historical account into seven chapters, suggesting new periodizing criteria and chronological boundaries:

- ❖ Chapter One: General description and prehistory
- ❖ Chapter Two: Early history and contacts with Kulu
- ❖ Chapter Three: Spiti and Guge in the eleventh century
- ❖ Chapter Four: Spiti under Guge rule during the Ladakh Empire: religious changes
- ❖ Chapter Five: Spiti now separated from Guge is attached to Zangskar. After a short interval of Central Tibetan rule, it is restored to Ladakh
- ❖ Chapter Six: Spiti, now the south frontier province of Ladakh, becomes the prey of its Indian neighbours
- ❖ Chapter Seven: The last period of Ladakh rule after 1772

²⁸ Shuttleworth (1922).

²⁹ Kapadia (1989) and again (1999: 209). Also 'Middle Land'; see van Ham (2015: 18).

³⁰ For a review of the occurrences of the term 'Spiti' in Tibetan literary sources; see Shastri (2007) and Nyan Thar (2017) in the present volume. Environmentalist and historian Tashi Tsering notes the persistence of the syllable *ti* in the Spiti dialect with regard to terms pertaining to water, river, and irrigation system; see Tashi Tsering (2013: 526-527).

³¹ Laurent *forthcoming*.

The content and quality of each chapter is at variance and show different stages of completion. It generally transpires that his chronological command over the history of Spiti was limited. The British historian was nonetheless cognizant of some of the difficulties encountered during his research, which he summarized as follows:³²

“In the absence of any local annals, many gaps in the history of the valley still remain to be filled, despite the fact that within the last twenty-five years, A.H. Francke and two or three local officials or missionaries have brought to light much new material, literacy and otherwise, dating back to the eleventh century.”

³² Detailed bibliographical references were given by Shuttleworth in an appendix meant to accompany his section on Spiti, showing the rigor with which the orientalist conducted his research:

“The standard recent book of reference for general information on Spiti is the Punjab District Gazetteer vol. XXXA, Kangra District, Parts II, III and IV, 1917, Lahore, The Punjab Government Press 1918. We call it Kulu Gazetteer 1919 in the notes. Part IV deals with Spiti. It contains many facts reliable as regards the condition of Spiti at present and during British rule, in that it is based on official records, especially the land revenue assessment and settlement reports of Barnes, J. Lyall, Diack and Coldstream, checked and supplemented by the local knowledge and research of local officials, especially of its compiler, Mr. H. Tysan, Assistant Commissioner of Kulu 1914 to April 1919. The 1891 Settlement report of Sir James Lyall, who first brought to notice the exogamous ‘rus-pa’ system of Spiti, is a classic, as is Cunningham’s Ladak, which deals with Spiti as appended to Ladak till 1846. Other English accounts of visitors e.g. Trebeck and Gerard, and of officials e.g. Hay, Egerton and Harcourt will be noticed in later chapters. [...] Many Europeans have visited it since annexation, and its striking geological features, in the main Trias Cambrian, Silurian, Permian and Carboniferous, Jurassic and Cretaceous, with rich fossil beds, have been examined by several scientists, Stoliczka, Griesbach and notably H.H. Hayden. In Memoir of the Geological Survey of India, XXXVI, Part I, Calcutta, 1904, Hayden fully deals with the geology. In Burrard’s and Hayden’s ‘Sketch of the Geography of the Himalaya mountains and Tibet’ in four parts, (Calcutta 1907), mention of Spiti is also to be found. It is ornithology has been treated incidentally by Stoliczka and more fully by H. Whistler in the Ibis, Oct. 1923 pp. 611-629 [...]”.



Fig. 11 — House of a village headman, Mani, Spiti. This image was first published in *The Times of India Illustrated Weekly*, April 14, 1920, with the following caption: “This photo depicts a large house in Mani in the lower part of the Spiti Valley. It belongs to the Gatpo Chenmo, or ‘Great Headman’ of a group of villages. Above all the windows and below the roof is an ornamentation of red and yellow paint. Brushwood is used for supporting the earth roof, also decoratively above the doors, where its ends are cut off flush. Photo: MssEur D722/29 photo 1119/4 0004 © British Library Board.

Leaving no stone unturned the methodical civilian also conducted an ‘epigraphical survey’ during his second visit of the valley in July 1918. Shuttleworth stopped in many villages looking at ornate slates engraved with mantras and depictions of Buddhist deities forming long votive walls. In doing so, three stone inscriptions were notably recorded in Lower Mani (*mani ’og ma*) and in Dangkhar (*brag mkhar*) (fig.11).³³ These epigraphic documents of historic value were captured on paper and have been discussed in greater detail by the author elsewhere.³⁴ They are of significant interest as they provide the names of local donors and members of the nobility. Moreover, they refer to governors who administered Spiti on behalf of the kings of Guge and Ladakh, whose names make it possible to date the engraving of these votive slates.

³³ Shuttleworth (MssEur D722/8).

³⁴ Laurent (2017).



Fig. 12 — View of Dangkhar settlement, the ancient capital of Spiti.
Photo: D722/30 photo 1119/5 0009 © British Library Board.

On each of his visits Shuttleworth sojourned in Dangkhar where he held office on behalf of the British Raj. The old capital of the valley was established on a prominent spur overlooking the confluence of the Spiti and Pin rivers (fig. 12-13). The settlement consisted of a monastic complex, a village, and the district fort (*mkhar rdzong*) located on top of the ridge. As the seat of the local government and administrative centre of the valley, the study of the old capital is a key component for the understanding of Spitian history.³⁵ Within this context, the monastery at Dangkhar was an integral part of the historical, social, economic, and religious dynamics at work. Here again, Shuttleworth's documentation is particularly relevant:

"Lha-bla-ma Źi-ba-hod's name is inscribed on an old bronze image of Śākya-muni, also found by the writer in 1924 in the Lha-hod-pahi monastery at Drangkhar (Graṅmkhar). This name of the monastery – for it has others, such as La-sgo – as also that given above of the ruined temple at Skyibar, connects it with the Gu-ge royal line, if not with the lama-prince himself. A.H. Francke's conjectured connection with a later lama Zla-hod is scarcely reliable, as zla is locally pronounced as Da, never La."

An initial point to make about this passage is that it established the correct name of the monastery located in the capital Dangkhar. Shuttleworth's remark is far from being irrelevant since Francke's erroneous designation has often been repeated in later publications and even accepted by the current monastic community of Lago

³⁵ Laurent *forthcoming*.

Monastery. In fact, the name of the Gelupga monastery is recorded, with some spelling variants, in several diplomatic and legal documents from Spiti. For example, the monastic complex of the capital is once referred to as Lagope Monastery of Tharpa Ling (*la sgo dpe mgon thar pa gling*).³⁶ It is also worth noting that in the same document dated 1740 a passage echoes information found in the *Vaidūrya ser po* composed by Desi Sangyé Gyatso (*sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho*) (1653–1705). Both sources specify the Buddhist master Sangyé Özer from Rangrik (*rang rig pa sangs rgyas 'od zer*) in Spiti was responsible for setting up, or renovating perhaps, the monastery of Dangkhar at a date yet to be determined.³⁷

Whilst the founding history of Lago Monastery remains to be explained, the mysterious image discovered by Shuttleworth at Dangkhar in 1924 had a vastly different story. This spectacular bronze not only played hide and seek for almost a century, but its enigmatic inscription filled the mind of Shuttleworth for many years (fig.14). The earliest known photograph of this image was taken in 1993 when the statue was recorded under the Antiquities and Art Treasure Act of India due to its immense value and antiquity. In 2006, art historian Robert Linrothe took a glimpse at the metal sculpture but was not authorized to reproduce it.³⁸ It is only in 2010 that the present author was entrusted by the monks from Dangkhar with the study of their sacred image, a request completed two years later.³⁹



Fig. 13 — View of the junction between the Spiti and Pin rivers from the top of the district fort at Dangkhar, Spiti. Photo: D722/30 photo 1119/5 0009 © British Library Board.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ According to an oral tradition, Sangyé Özer from the village of Rangrik in Spiti also founded the temple of Kungri in the lateral valley of Pin. He is believed to have lived in the 14th century; see Bonnat 2017 in the present volume.

³⁸ Linrothe (2015: 4-5).

³⁹ Laurent (2013).

The Buddha from Dangkhar is in many ways one of the finest discoveries made in the field of Buddhist art and epigraphy for the cultural areas of Western Tibet and Greater Kashmir. We now know that the two inscriptions engraved on the lower part of the pedestal attest to the incredible journey of this image; produced in Gilgit in northern Pakistan in the eighth century, the statue was bestowed upon the royal monk from Guge, Lha lama Zhiwa Ö (*lha bla ma zhi ba 'od*) (1016–1111), about three hundred and fifty years later. Things were quite different then when Shuttleworth worked on the manuscript of his *History of Spiti* in the early 1930s. If the name of the Tibetan translator of royal descent had been easily identified, the main dedicatory inscription resisted easy decipherment.



Fig. 14 — Buddha from Dangkhar, 8th century, Gilgit, h.26cm.
Photo: the author, 2010. Retouching: Matt Lindén, 2012.

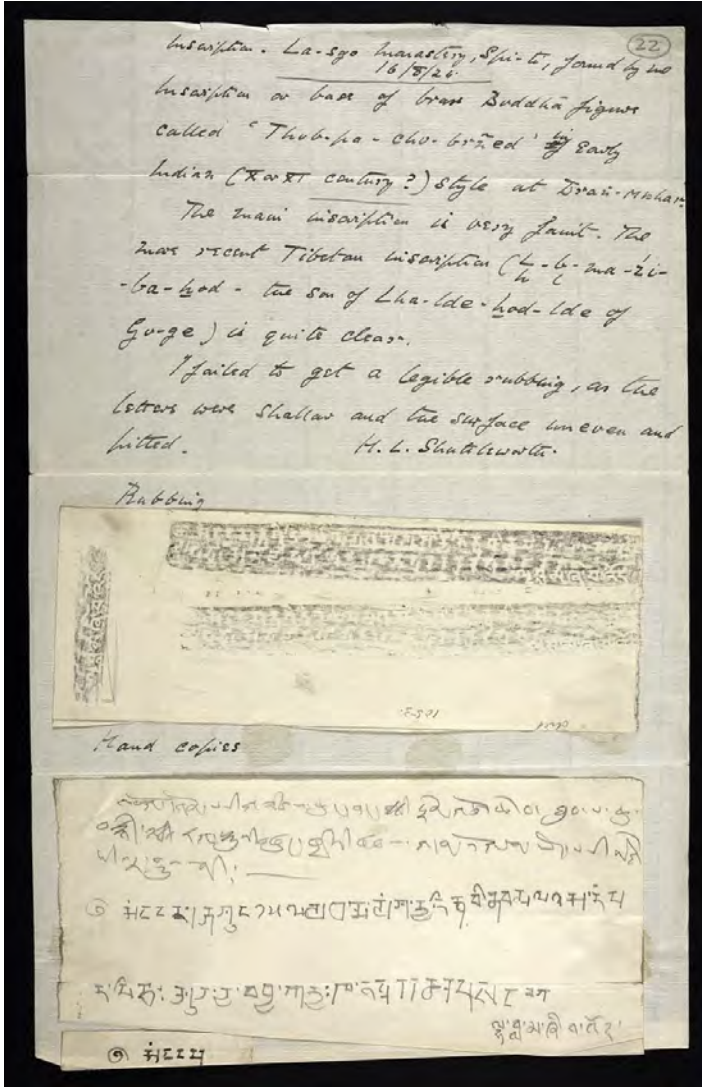


Fig. 15 — Rubbing of the inscription addressed to Prof W.F. Thomas in 1930.
 Photo: MssEur D722/3 f22r © British Library Board.

In the summer of 1930 Shuttleworth sought assistance from Frederik William Thomas (1867–1956), an English Indologist and Tibetologist who occupied the position of Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford between 1927 and 1937. Forwarding him a rubbing made in 1924 with a sketchy copy of the inscription (fig.15), Thomas wrote back on 6th August, 1930 (see Appendix 3):

"My dear Mr. Shuttleworth,

I am giving overleaf my reading of the inscription on the La-sgo monastery image. The rubbing is, as you say, too faint to allow more than a partial and in places not certain decipherment, and it seems hardly worthwhile to puzzle longer over the problem, which might perhaps be settled by a better imprint of the original. The inscription begins, as you will see, with a date (in an era not stated), and goes on to name the donor and perhaps to devise the merit of the gift and ask for blessing. I attached a query to every akṣara concerning which I am in doubt.

I also transliterate, as well as I can, the note in modern cursive Tibetan script, given, I suppose, by the person who made the unintelligible reading for you. But here also I am in doubt at some points.

Although incomplete Thomas's reading was beyond all expectations:
(Year sg?) Mārgaśīrṣa month, Bright fortnight, 15th lunar day. This donation of the Śākya monk Viṭhu (?) varman was set up (May it be well with all the world ??)

The Deva Blama (Lama)
Īi-ba-hod (Śāntiprabha)"

It has since been possible to translate the whole inscription and to establish the date of donation thanks to Professor Oskar von Hinüber.⁴⁰ Despite Thomas' scholarly intervention the inscription was not published and Shuttleworth never made more than a brief reference to the name of Zhiwa Ö being engraved "on an old brass Buddha image at Drañ-rtse monastery, Spiti", in an edited volume.⁴¹

Published in 1929, Shuttleworth's general account of the temples of Lhalung is the only written contribution to the local history of Spiti that we have for this period. The Assistant Commissioner visited the place for the first and only time a few days prior to making over charges to his successor in Kulu, and imminent return to England. On 18th August, 1924, accompanied by his wife and Joseph Gergan (1878–1946), the small expedition team walked the ten kilometres separating Dangkhar to the secluded village of Lhalung in the Lingti

⁴⁰ The inscription in proto-śāradā script reads as follows: "In the Year 88 [i.e. 712], on the 15th day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa. This is the pious gift by the Śākyabhikṣu Vikavarman together with his parents, the teachers and instructors. Together with the (Rādāhu)-Burusho Paphaṭona"; see Laurent (2013: 202).

⁴¹ Shuttleworth (1939: 189).

Valley. The time required to document the site was limited and the weather that day worked against it. The author of the report remembers the circumstances under which he carried out his work, almost apologetically.⁴²

“I did what I could in the few hours at my disposal to note down the main features, to take rough measurements, to sketch a ground plan and to use to the best advantages the only six quarter plate films that I had with me. [...] In these dimly lit old temples the identification of the numerous images and paintings is always difficult and uncertain. One’s time is often short and usually the local lamas and laymen can afford little help. [...] Unfortunately, early darkness owing to a storm in the afternoon and the exhaustion of my candles did not at my visit permit even a cursory examination of the subject-matter of these inscriptions.”

Notwithstanding these difficulties, Shuttleworth’s description covered the most essential aspects of the Serkhang (*gser khang*), providing his readers with a plan and additional photographs of the interior.⁴³ His analysis of architectural and architectonic features, wall-paintings and clay sculptures decorating the walls of the temple, led the orientalist to conclude that the edifice dated back to the eleventh century, in accordance with the local tradition that asserts the founding of the Serkhang to the Tibetan translator Rinchen Zangpo (*rin chen bzang po*) (958–1055). Nowadays, it is generally believed that the temple was erected sometime between the eleventh and mid-thirteenth century based on stylistic elements and palaeographical features observed in the founding inscription.⁴⁴ Located on the western wall next to the entrance door, the inscription was regrettably never fully studied by Shuttleworth. After his unsuccessful and “cursory examination”, the orientalist continued to urge Gergan by letters for a translation of the founding inscription (see Appendix 3).

Private correspondence exchanged between Shuttleworth and

⁴² Shuttleworth (1929).

⁴³ For a visual and architectural documentation of the Serkhang; see Auer 2017 in the present volume; and Neuwirth (2013: 284-299). For a high-resolution digital elevation model of its artistic decorations (LiDAR); see Applied Geosciences TU-Graz : <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HXvF9H895O8>.

⁴⁴ Tropper (2008: 8-13).

Gergan sheds light on the period following the officer's retirement from the ICS (fig.16). Nine letters reproduced hereafter (see Appendix 3) are informative with regard to Gergan's work and collaboration. In them, the Ladakhi scholar appears as a dedicated friend and committed informant, collecting Tibetan manuscripts and books on behalf of Shuttleworth. As a Christian convert, the member of the Moravian Church repeatedly discussed his translation of the Bible with great zeal. His translation activity also included Tibetan historical and religious works such as, for instance, the biography (*rnam thar*) of Lotsawa Rinchen Zangpo and the *Khache Phalu* (*kha che pha lu*), a short aphoristic text containing practical advice on living.⁴⁵ As we shall see the material, information, and issues discussed between the two men were soon to play an important role in Shuttleworth's employment at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.



Fig. 16 — Members of the Moravian Mission with Joseph Gergan and his wife seated in the middle, Kyelong, Lahul. Photo: MssEur D722/29 photo 1119/4 0050 © British Library Board.

Likewise, these letters offer a vivid picture of Himalayan life and turmoil. Some passages, for example, speak of flooding and washed away bridges, road accident, frostbite, and human casualty in the most dramatic cases. Among various types of information and

⁴⁵ Bommarito (2017).

anecdotes, Gergan described the arrival in Leh of one thousand five hundred hajjis (*hājī*) from Khotan on their way to Mecca, creating a temporary shortage in basic food in the capital of Ladakh in the winter of 1926. A recurrent topic of discussion was also the wellbeing of Galdan (*dga' ldan*), Shuttleworth's horse left under the care of his Ladakhi friend. Giving free rein to idle gossip, Gergan eventually vented his feelings about the famous Hungarian scholar Sándor Csoma de Körös (1784–1842). In a letter written in July, 1926, the Moravian Ladakhi reported the use of a Turkish pseudonym by Csoma to obtain treaties from a Buddhist scholar and thus preserve his reputation. The righteous missionary explained:⁴⁶

“Instead of his real name there is Skandhar Bheg or Bheg. As far as I can think this scholar Csoma was afraid to tell the Lama his own name and home, and he pretended to be a Turk [...] Csoma was a clever and learned man, but he did not feared to tell a lie to his kind teacher. It is a black spot above all his works.”

Retirement, Academic Career, and Last Journey to the East (1925–60)

Members of the Indian Civil Service were said to be heaven-born for the perks and advantages that came with the position in British Imperial India, and which somehow persisted once an ICS officer had retired. Yet, upon his return to England and retirement from the ICS in 1925, Shuttleworth continued to live simply, mostly dedicated to academic pursuits, and somewhat oblivious to family responsibilities. His daughter, Anna, born in 1927, remembers these days in her autobiography:⁴⁷

“When I was young, my mother and I lived in a variety of places, rooms and hotels in Hampstead, while my father stayed with his mother, who did not like my mother [...] Then we somehow got a third floor flat at 70B Belsize Park Gardens. My mother ruled the roost; my father camped in one large room and cooked for himself. I used to enjoy visiting him in his room, often fighting with him. He always won, of course! He left me presents in

⁴⁶ In 1824, Csoma requested the Zanskari abbot of Dzongkhul (*rdzong khul*), Künga Chölek (*kun dga' chos legs*), to compose treaties on Buddhism. For Csoma's use of a pseudonym and encounter with Künga Chölek; see Marczell (2011: 212-213).

⁴⁷ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 206, 208).

illuminated masks from Tibet. [...] My father did not communicate much with me, and always came too late to give me my Latin lessons and to discuss his life in India with me. He did not join us for more than a small part of our holidays in France [...] So when we moved to the Red House, Cavendish, my mother dominated the home, social life and garden, while my father, who had nothing to live for himself, retreated mostly to bed (or occasionally making bonfires). It was more or less impossible for me to talk to him except if Mama was away. So we did not discuss Noël or my marriage".⁴⁸

On a lighter note, she also recalls with some amusement the day her father became angry over the fate of old underwear:⁴⁹

"My father liked his very old clothes, and he had a chest of drawers full of ancient underwear, grey and full of holes. My mother and I decided all this was only fit for the dustbin. My father was furious when he came home because he had lost all his pants!"

We know only a little about what kept Shuttleworth busy and away from family life. Between 1936 and 1948 Shuttleworth became Additional Lecturer in Tibetan at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.⁵⁰ Due to his status and tenure no specific personal file was permanently retained. One can assume, however, that in addition to class preparation he continued working on historical and linguistic research. Among the different Himalayan dialects learnt in India, Shuttleworth was particularly interested in the study of the Tinan language – also known as Gondhla or Lahouli – benefitting from material sent by Gergan and others. Moreover, his language skills were appreciated at the highest possible level and the ex-officer is said to have "censored letters in many dialects and languages during the Second World War", presumably on behalf of the

⁴⁸ It would be ill-advised to draw a posteriori conclusions and to comment on Mrs Shuttleworth-Sellen's recollections. In a chapter dedicated to her relation with her parents, the acclaimed cellist aptly concludes, "I was lucky to have such great characters as my parents"; see Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 210).

⁴⁹ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 40).

⁵⁰ The main lecturers in Tibetan during Shuttleworth's tenure were Sir Edward Denison Ross (1871–1940) from 1936 to 1937; Ernest Julius Walter Simon (1893–1981) for the following academic year; and Yu Daoquan (1901–1992) from 1938 to 1948. I am indebted to David Ogden, Corporate Records Manager and Archivist at SOAS, for this clarification.

government.⁵¹

Shuttleworth, as we noted above, did not publish much during his life (see Appendix 2). In the relevant period of his employment at SOAS, however, the lecturer would seem to have become one of England's best specialists on the topics of Tibet, the Himalayas, and Buddhism. In a private letter sent to his wife at the end of his life, the scholar declared, "nobody has learned in Buddhism as myself! This, in all humility".⁵² Possible evidence of this is a series of ten book reviews published in various academic journals, in which Shuttleworth commented upon such works as W.Y. Evans-Wentz' *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, A. David-Neel's *My Journey to Lhasa*, C. Bell's *The Religion of Tibet*, or even Jäschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, to name just a few (see Appendix 2). Altogether, and with respect to his writing activity, Chetwode already lamented in 1972:⁵³

"As it is he only had the time to write the occasional article and his fund of knowledge must now be dug out of the learned periodicals of his time. He also wrote in a more popular vein in the *Times of India Illustrated Weekly*."

We know nothing of Shuttleworth's activities in the decade following his retirement from SOAS in 1948. Having spent a few years as a recluse, mainly in bed, Shuttleworth eventually decided to set off again in 1958. At the age of seventy-six, he embarked on his last journey, a solo trip to India. Resembling a premonitory vision, his daughter describes the moment of his departure at the train station:⁵⁴

"My father had just got his hat out of a box, and when I left the train at Manningtree he had a spider on his hat.

This was the last time I saw him."

From England Shuttleworth travelled to Greece and reached Lebanon in February 1958. Postcards and letters sent to his family throughout the trip allow us to get a sense of his impressions and travel experience. The exhilaration of the journey quickly sparked his enthusiasm. In Beirut, Shuttleworth met an international crowd composed of officials, expats, and old acquaintances. His gift for

⁵¹ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 117).

⁵² Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 161).

⁵³ Chetwode (1972: 123).

⁵⁴ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 118).

foreign languages immediately came in handy:⁵⁵

“My Arabic is coming back but I still tend to think in Greek. I am quite fluent again in Urdu and Indian, whom I talk with, won't believe I left India so long ago!”

From Beirut the experienced traveller continued to Iraq. At Basra, Shuttleworth boarded a ship and sailed down the Persian Gulf towards the port city of Karachi in Pakistan. By the end of May the British gentleman arrived in Lahore where he resumed his research on Alexander the Great. At the same time he could not help noticing the changes that had affected the Indian subcontinent since he left some thirty years earlier:⁵⁶

“The Museum Library is where I work, when it is not too hot to go the one and a half miles or so to get there. [...] I also use the British Council [...] How raw and ignorant these British Council officials are of local conditions. The USA experts, with a few exceptions, are outrageously arrogant and useless. The hotel won't have the USA Americans as they are noisy, drunken and offensive to other residents. [...] There is extreme bitterness here in every class against Pandit Nehru's methods in Kashmir and about the waters of Pakistani canals. [...] Dacoities and murders are reported daily. [...] The police seem ineffective or corrupt or probably both.”

Shuttleworth arrived in Delhi in October, 1958. Eagerly awaiting his pension payment, he was forced to borrow money with interest from the newly merged National Overseas and Grindlays Bank, thus blaming the inefficiency of the Government of India 'in all matters'. The ex-member of the Civil Service appears to have been torn between the fast changing and independent country and fond memories of his time in the British colony. As his daughter commented:⁵⁷

“Although he met old friends in India and Pakistan he was disappointed with the way local governments then worked, compared to his earlier time in India and Pakistan when the British ruled.”

Heading for the Himalayas, the British pensioner settled in Katrain, a

⁵⁵ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 130).

⁵⁶ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 140-141).

⁵⁷ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 139).

hill and trout fishing station in the forested valley of Kulu. Rekindling his passion for the hill people, their culture and history, he sojourned in Katrain intermittently from November 1958 to January 1959 and again from June to November. Travelling further north, Shuttleworth also reached Lahaul where he continued his work on the Tinan language for a few weeks. Likewise, the septuagenarian made short trips to cities like Delhi, Dehradun, and Hyderabad, visiting museums, local libraries, and archaeological services for his research, as well as meeting with old friends and colleagues. Of these visits he wrote to his wife:⁵⁸

“I have, both in Delhi, Lahore and Kangra, a great reputation as an archaeologist and linguist. But I think I have enough humility not to be proud!”

From February 1959 onwards, alarming news from Tibet reached the Indian subcontinent. In Delhi, Shuttleworth took note of divided political sympathies and ideological trends:⁵⁹

“The Delhi municipality is about two third reds. Pandit Nehru has played a dangerous game, the Russians and Chinese have got him on strings. So over Tibet, [Nehru] won’t offend China? The sympathy felt in India for Tibet and the Dalai Lama has been unexpectedly strong and meetings are being held everywhere (Hands off Tibet!).”

Shuttleworth’s concern quickly grew over the tragic events unfolding in Tibet. Following the uprising in the Tibetan capital, Lhasa, on 10th March, 1959, and the flight of the 14th Dalai Lama to India, political unrest erupted throughout the Tibetan plateau and the Himalayas. From Kulu Shuttleworth addressed a heartfelt plea to his wife in a letter of 28th September, 1959:⁶⁰

“Chinese troops now occupy three blocks of Ladakh: South of Pang-Gong Lake, some thirty miles deep from Khur-Nakole Fort; East of Hanle around Demchhok; An isolated Ladakhi island village about ten or fifteen miles in west Tibet (Nari-Khorsam) – Gartok and Rudok are full of Chinese troops, motors and metalled roads even in Ladakh, a short way, and made by forced labour. Please make this known to anyone of standing, MP’s, journalists

⁵⁸ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 155).

⁵⁹ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 152-153).

⁶⁰ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 161-162).

or orientalist. I have at least three independent and reliable sources of information – first hand. The above is authentic. Unless confronted by force, the Chinese won't budge for despite all Nehru's blah! The Chinese are also over the Indian frontier in Almora – Garwal, North East of Assam tribal tracts have cut off Bhutan's access to Sikkim, and old right of way through Tibetan territory. West Tibet wool still comes here, as I have seen. I talked to many traders on the road from western Tibet, but, Indian trade by Sikkim is at a standstill. Tibetans are still fighting in desperation as Chinese labour camps are like the Japanese and German [camps]. The central Congress government party has lost face over their Tibetan 'shilly-shallying'."

Shuttleworth's last message to his family is dated 8th February, 1960. In it, we learn of his aborted trip to Northeast India. With the intention to visit the Tibetan refugee camp at Tezpur and some tea estates near Kaziranga National Park in Assam, the seventy-eight year old traveller was stopped at Shillong in Meghalaya due to 'bad diarrhoea'. Abandoning his plans, Shuttleworth turned round and travelled back to Delhi. Shuttleworth never recovered and eventually passed away from complications on 28th February, 1960. Like many "distinguished servants of the old Indian Empire" Shuttleworth was buried in General Nicholson's cemetery in Old Delhi.⁶¹

Throughout his life and career the British gentleman shunned public honour and recognition, including a possible British knighthood. Mentioned in the dispatches of 1917 for "valuable services in India in connection with the war", his daughter believes that her father was offered the opportunity to be knighted but refused the honour.⁶² Art historian and archaeologist Charles Louis Fabri (1899–1968) probably offered the most vibrant portrait of the orientalist (fig.17). Accompanying him in his last days, Fabri had the difficult task of informing the family of Shuttleworth's passing. In a moving letter to Mrs Shuttleworth of 29th February, 1960, the long-time friend sorely concluded:⁶³

"I think I must add here a word, beyond mere

⁶¹ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 198).

⁶² Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 13).

⁶³ Shuttleworth and Sterner (2009: 199).

protestations of conventional sympathy. I felt very close to Lee, and look upon him as quite a remarkable person, with a flashingly brilliant brain. He was eccentric, odd, original, full of knowledge, precise and scholarly, and kept his wits about him even in this old age. I was extremely fond of him, and there is a great, sorry gap in me now that he is gone."

Henry Lee Shuttleworth's first visit to Spiti took place a century ago. For many years his contribution to the study of the river valley of Western Tibet has been somewhat forgotten, depriving modern scholarship from important information about the history of Spiti. In the rubble of European imperialism, recovering the past of distant countries and civilizations often starts at home, in the dusty archives of our forefathers. The British officer of the Indian Civil Service does not only deserve to be recognised for his efforts to write the first ever *History of Spiti* but also for the multifaceted figure that he was: a pioneering scholar, archaeologist, historian, linguist, Tibetan supporter, and talented photographer.



Fig. 17 — H.L. Shuttleworth (1882–1960) during his tenure as Assistant Commissioner of Kulu.
Photo: Betjamen collection © Ancient Iran and India Trust, Cambridge.

Acknowledgement

This paper is dedicated to Anna Shuttleworth-Sellen without whom much of the present research would not have been possible. I am immensely grateful to Mrs Shuttleworth-Sellen for granting me permission to study and publish her father's archives and photographs. I have done it with considerable care and dedication, realising that particular bonds transcended time and space. My gratitude also goes to Edward Fenn, the digital torchbearer of an illustrious family, for his assistance and patience. Many thanks to John Falconer and John O'Brian for their help and support during my time at the British Library. My gratitude to Samuel Cowan and Robert Sherman for their wise comments and suggestions. Thanks also to John Bray, Robin Brooks-Smith, Pascale Dollfus, Jonathan Guyon Le Bouffy, Amanda Ingram, David Ogden, and Christophe Roustan Delatour for their timely assistance.

Bibliography

- Bommarito, N. 2017. *The Khache Phalu: A Translation and Interpretation*. In *Revue d'Études Tibétaines*. 39, 60-132.
- Chetwode, P. 1972. *Kulu: The End of the Habitable World*. London: John Murray.
- Dewey, C. 1987. *A Handlist of the Settlement Literature of the Greater Punjab*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester.
- 1993. *Anglo-Indian Attitudes: The Mind of the Indian Civil Service*. London and Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press.
- Dollfus, P. 1999. *Photographic Archives in Paris and London*. In *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research*. 15/16, 103-106.
- Francke, A.H. and Jina, P.S. 2003. *First Collection of Tibetan Historical Inscriptions on Rock and Stone from Ladakh Himalaya*. India: Sri Satguru Publications.

- van Ham, P. 2015. *Tabo - Gods of Light: The Indo Tibetan Masterpiece*, Munich: Hirmer Publisher.
- Hutchinson, J. and Vogel, J.P. 1922a. History of Spiti. In *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*. 8, 159-161.
- 1922b. History of Lahul. In *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*. 8, 162-166.
- Jahoda, C. 2007. Archival exploration of Western Tibet or what remained of Francke's and Shuttleworth's Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Vol.IV? In B. Kellner et al (eds), *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ*. Papers dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the occasion of his 70th birthday. 361-394.
- Kapadia, H. 1989. Unknown Spiti: The Middle Country. In *The Himalayan Journal*. 44, 52-56.
- Kapadia, H. 1999. *Spiti: Adventures in the Trans-Himalaya*. New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company.
- Laurent, Y. (Lobsang Nyima) 2013. lHa bla ma Zhi ba 'od's Eighth Century Bronze from Gilgit. In *Revue d'Études Tibétaines*. 26, 195-214.
- 2017. On Maṇi and Epigraphy: Four Stones Inscriptions from Spiti. In *Revue d'Études Tibétaines*. 39, 229-265.
- Linrothe, R. 2014. *Collecting Paradise: Buddhist Art of Kashmir and its Legacy*. New York: Rubin Museum of Art. Evanston: Mary and Leigh Block Museum of Art, Northwestern University.
- Marczell, P.J. 2005. Csoma Körösi's Pseudonym. In J. Bray (ed.), *Ladakhi Histories: Local and regional Perspectives*. Leiden and Boston: Brill. 203-216.
- Neuwirth, H. (ed.) 2013. *The Ancient Monastic Complex of Dangkhar*. Graz: Verlag der Technischen Universtität Graz.

Petech, L. 1997. Western Tibet: Historical Introduction. In D.E. Klimburg-Salter (ed.), *Tabo. A Lamp for the Kingdom. Early Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Art in the Western Himalaya*. Milan: Skira, 229-255.

Salisbury, J. 2014. Focus on: Himalayan Collection. In *Indiran*, 9, 8.

Shastri, L. 2007. Ri bo gangs can pa'i rtsom rig nang spi ti dang ta po'i skor. In *gTam tshogs: Bod 'brel shes yon go rtogs gong spel ched*. 27 (2), 33–72.

Shuttleworth, A. and Sterner T. 2009. *Anna Shuttleworth*. Victoria: Trafford Publishing.

Shuttleworth, H.L. 1929. Lha-lun Temple, Spyi-ti. In *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*. 37, 1-7.

——— 1939. Indian Tibet. In Cumming, J. (ed.), *Revealing India's Past: A Co-operative Record of Archaeological Conservation and Exploration in India and Beyond by Twenty-two Authorities*, British, Indian and Continental. London: The India Society. 182-192.

——— Unpublished. MssEur. D722/8. British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers. London.

——— Unpublished. MssEur. D722/25. British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers. London.

Tashi Tsering 2013. On the Unknown History of a Himalayan Buddhist Enclave: Spiti Valley before the 10th Century. In Takeuchi, T. et al (eds), *Current Issues and Progress in Tibetan Studies, Proceedings of the Third International Seminar of Young Tibetologists*, Research Institute of Foreign Studies, Kobe City University of Foreign Studies. 523-551.

Tobdan and Chering Dorje. 2008. *Moravian Missionaries in Western Trans-Himalaya*, New Delhi: Kaveri Books.

Tropper, K. 2008. *The Founding Inscription in the gSer khañ of Lalung (Spiti, Himachal Pradesh)*, Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

APPENDIX ONE
Timeline

- 1882 Born in Scotforth, Lancaster on 14th May
- 1882 Baptised at St Thomas' Church, Lancaster, on 11th July
- 1896 Attended Shrewsbury School
- 1901 Registered at Pembroke College, University of Oxford
- 1905 Graduated from Oxford with a degree in *Litterae Humaniores*
- 1905 Enrolled at the London School of Oriental Studies
- 1910 Graduated from the Indian Civil Service on 16th June
- 1911 Posted in Hoshiarpur, Punjab
- 1912 Appointed Settlement Officer in Lower Kangra until 1915
- 1915 On leave. Married Inez Esther Dorothea MacGillycuddy in London
- 1917 Appointed Assistant Commissioner of Kulu until 1919
- 1917 First trip to the Spiti Valley
- 1918 Second trip to Spiti
- 1923 Second appointment as Assistant Commissioner of Kulu
- 1924 Last trip to Spiti
- 1925 Retired from the Indian Civil Service
- 1927 Birth of his daughter Anna
- 1936 Part-time lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
- 1948 Retired from SOAS
- 1958 Travelled to India via Greece, Lebanon, Iraq, and Pakistan
- 1960 Died in Delhi on 28th February



APPENDIX TWO
Shuttleworth's List of Publications

- 1922 "Border Countries of the Punjab Himalaya" in *The Geographical Journal*, vol. LX, no. 4, 241-268.

— “An Inscribed Mask discovered on the Occasion of the Bhunda Ceremony at Nirmand” in *Acta Orientalia*, vol.1, 224-229.

1923 “A Wool mart of the Indo-Tibetan borderland” in *The Geographical Review*, vol. XIII, 552-558.

1928 “The Tibetan Book of the Dead by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (review)” in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, University of London, vol. 4, no. 4, 845-852.

— “My Journey to Lhasa by Alexandra David-Neel (review)” in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol.60, no. 1, 160-163.

1929 “Lha-luñ Temple, Spyi-ti” in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no.37, 1-7.

— “Tibet’s Great Yogī Milarepa W. Y. Evans-Wentz (review)” in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, University of London, vol. 5, no. 3, 656-659.

— “The People of Tibet by Charles Bell (review)” in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 61, no.3, 644-648.

1931 “The Religion of Tibet by Charles Bell (review)” in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, University of London, vol. 6, no. 4, 1072-1074.

— “Trails to Inmost Asia by George N. Roerich (review)” in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, University of London, vol. 6, no. 4, 1074-1079.

1932 “Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology by Stuart F. Wolfenden (review)” in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 64, no. 2, 438-444.

— “The Religion of Tibet by Charles Bell (review)” in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol.64, no. 4, 1029-1031.

1934 “People of the Panjab Himalaya” in *Man*, vol. 34, 58-59.

— “Kumbum Dschamba Ling by Wilhelm Filchner (review)” in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, University of London, vol. 7, no. 2, 474-476.

1935 “Note on a Tibetan-English Dictionary” in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, vol. XXII, 285-287.

1938 “Minya Gongkar: Forschungsreise ins Hochgebirge von Chinesisch Tibet by Arnold Heim (review) in *Journal of Royal Central Asian Society*, vol. XXV, 317-319.

1939 “Indian Tibet” in Cumming, J. (ed.) *Revealing India's Past: A Co-operative Record of Archaeological Conservation and Exploration in India and Beyond by Twenty-two Authorities*, British, Indian and Continental, The India Society, London, 182-192.

1945 “Foreword” in *Exhibition of the Art of Tibet and Neighbouring Countries*, Berkeley Galleries, William F. C. Ohly, 20 Davis Street, W.I, London (December 1945 to January 1946).



APPENDIX THREE
Private Correspondence

Letter from J. P. Vogel (MssEur. D722/3, no.3)⁶⁴

Leiden, Sept. 12th, 1924
Noordeindsplein 4a

My dear Mr. Shuttleworth,

Please accept my best thanks for your two very welcome letters from Kulu, dated 4th June and 14th July. I ought to have acknowledged the before, but I was so busy writing my book on the Nāgas that I had little leisure for anything besides. The book is ready now (except the introduction) and I am taking it to London next week to hand it over to the publisher.

I am particularly grateful for the post of Kulu Nāgas which you kindly sent me. I have been able to utilize it for my book, namely for the concluding chapter which deals with modern Nāg worship in India. Of course I have not used by for all the material it contains. What strikes me as very peculiar, is that the annual mela of the various Nāg temples hardly ever coincides with the Nāga-panchamī of the plains the date of which is 5th bright Sāvan. But the melas are indicated by such names as phaglī (in Thāqun), birshu ([or] bishu), śagarī (or sairi) and kāhikā (or kaika). I have not been able to find much about these festivals, which would require a special study. Mr. Emerson speaks about them in the Kandī [sic.] Gazetteer, which contains some excellent accounts of local cults. I wonder whether he is going to publish a book on Himalayan religions.

I am very interested to hear that you have collected legends about the Kulu Nāgas.

I had typed copies made of your losts [sic.] of Kulu Nāgas and shall be very glad to send you one. But as you will be leaving India very soon and possibly it would not reach you there in time. I'll better address it to England as soon as I hear from you.

As to the Kulu masks inscription please don't send the copies to Leiden, but rather leave them with Dr. Hutchinson or with some officer of the Archl. Survey. I am afraid I shall not be able to deal with them; now do I know any one close. The truth is that these inscriptions are rather disappointing when I engaged a local man to

⁶⁴ Jean Philippe Vogel (1871–1958) worked for the Archaeological Survey of India between 1901 and 1914 and later became professor of Sanskrit at the University of Leiden.

copy them (if I remember rightly, he was a pandit from Kandi). I expected that those masks might be very ancient and possibly might throw light on the early rulers of Kulu before the Singh dynasty. But they turned out to be comparatively modern. To study them carefully would require much time and labour and I am somewhat doubtful whether the results to be gleaned would repay the trouble.

Wishing you both "bon voyage" with our kind regards to you and Mrs. Shuttleworth.

Yours Sincerely

Jean Vogel

Letter from Joseph Gergan (MssEur. D722/2, no.13)

Kyelang, 31st July 1925

My dear Mr. Shuttleworth,

In last autumn Gapel told me about the inscription of Kanika and I sent 2 letters to the Yeshernamrgyal in the early of last spring for the inscription. In the end of last month I left Kyelang for Zangskar, but at that time he was gone at Kargil for same case, so I gave a letter for him to his son Namrgyal for the same purpose.

I arrived back at Kyelang on the 28th instt. and I found that your letter was waiting for my arrival and by seeing your need of the inscription of Kanika I commenced to copy them first after my arrival and today I am sending it to Sir John Marshall, and I asked him to send it soon to you. I hope he will do so. There are 3 inscriptions in it two from kanika and from Moune [sic.] Gonpa. There were 108 lines on the wall of Kanika and 5 lines on the outer wall of it. There were 30 lines written on cloth on the wall of Mune Gonpa.

I think you will get soon your Spiti Thangkas from Munshi Chet Ram.

I did not translate the inscription of the Serkhang temple of Spiti.

I will come to meet you at Zangskar gladly in next year, if you can visit there. Please let me know in time about it. I am glad to hear your kind thought to help our Mission work in Ladakh.

I will keep Galdan gladly until your arrival in Western Tibet.

I have not got yet the saddle bags, which you kindly gave me with saddle.

I received your letters from Port-Said and answered them in last spring.

Mr. Peter leaving Kyelang for Leh on 21st Aug. Mr. and Mrs. Asboe are coming to fill his place from Ladakh.

I hope to be able to visit-Spiti in next Sept. via Baralatse, perhaps with Gapel. Mr. and Mrs. Aeber are going England to work there, I am really sorry for this departure from us.

I will send you copies of the Rgyalpo Yeshe Rnamrgyal to you at once when I get it from him. My wife and children send their salaams to you and Mrs. Shuttle.

With king regards.

Prinlas sends salaams to you. V. sincerely. J. Gergan

Letter from Joseph Gergan (MssEur. D722/2, no.2)

Kyelang, 26th November 1925

My dear Mr. Shuttleworth,

Many thanks are due to your very welcome letters of 16, 21, and 29th October 1925.

I am much thankful for your great kindness to take part in our time of difficulties, I will write to Chimed to tell you all about his case in detail, because I do not like to remember that matter again at this time, as the subject of your letter I noticed that you wrote us after getting a letter from one of our staff. That blow was so hard to me, that still I am unable to relate that story to any one of my dearest friend and even I did not wr[i]te to my own son Skyabsldan yet. I hope in future you will not remind me that horrible fact, though the best pon[y] also stumble, and the fall of Chimed is not an unusual fact, and I hope that terrible heart will make him better and stronger for his future life.

My wife thank to Mrs. Shuttleworth for her letter.

Today I am sending on your address the Linguistic Survey and other ordered Tibetan books. I could not spare more than 8 copies of Tibetan English Dictionary to you at this time, there is no copy of Jas' gramm[a]r lithographed at Kyelang. Please acknowledge by receipt of them.

At Kyelang I could procure the Khachhe-Phalu MS., but I hope to find it in Leh when I get there in next year.

The Rtsabrang Treaty of between Ladags and Khunu was written by an unlearned secretary, and therefor[e] it will be very difficult to translate into English to anyone, but I will try my best to translate it

in this month for published through you. I think it will take much of your time to translate it into a good English.

Commonly all write rdzong-khul [that is] the innermost-fort, but the scholar KundGa-Chhos-Legs writes rdzong-khul-naroi-phugmochhe in his book of replies to Alex. Csoma de Körös.

Many thanks for your kindness to send me the 2 photo (White devil & Mrs. Shuttleworth & me) both are very nice and clear. Today I got a letter from Chimed from Jammu of 19th instt. Soon he will be at Srinagar.

Still I use all my strength to translate the O.T. and today I got in the 34 chapter of Jerem[i]ah. After completing it I will rest some days and soon will commence to translate Ezekiel and so on till I can finish all the books of O.T. after that then I can use my time in other things in ease.

The inscriptions of Kanika and Serkhang are rather very difficult to translate. Therefore I could not promise yet with you whether I can [...] or not. As its sentences are so long as the train road.

With all good wishes ... yours sincerely. J. Gergan

Letter from Thakur Mangalchand (MssEur. D722/2, no.4-6)⁶⁵

Kyelang dated 19th December 1925

To H. L. Shuttleworth Esq., I.C.S

Dear Sir,

I received your kind letter of 15th October and 10th December. Many thanks for our photo which reached me in good condition. I was out of Lahoul I went down to Lahore in November and reach back in the beginning of this month. Thakur Abhai Chand went to join territorial force, till his arrival 2 posted as in charge.

If the Gartok post is vacant, then it is very kindness of yours to recommend me for that post. I never forget your kindness in my life. It is open to you that I know very well about Tibet [and] especially western Tibet. I was anxious for that post but I could not write to you before.

This year the postal communication is still continue being a dry season since long time.

⁶⁵ Thakur Mangalchand was the Wazir of Lahaul from 1921 until 1947. I would like to express my gratitude to Jonathan Guyon Le Bouffy for this information.

You asked about Chhimed Gergan the headmaster of Kyelang school, he went to join mashir-i-mals' office in Kashmir for he discharged his headmaster ship on his application. Rev. Peters transferred to Leh mission in his place Rev. Esbo appointed. Gergan Joseph is doing well.

I shall prepare a copy during this winter (the Tibetan gods' painters' book, with their measurements [*thig dpe*] so called thigpai) with the measurement book I will send Dechhog Khorlodoma's kilkhor.

You asked me how to prepare the painting paper the Jal thang [*zhal thang*] or [*thang sku*] made with Lattha cloth not with paper. First stretch (as Fig below) a required size of Lattha cloth with a needle. Latha cloth stretch in the centre of a four sided (square) thin window like pan, provided with rope.

Then apply pure glue (glue made by leather) the glue should be very thin, apply gently with a sable brush both side of the Lattha cloth. Before it is dry in the same time gently rub all over the both surfaces of the Lattha with glass ball or stone amber or can do with a smooth conch shell, when it is half dry. Now apply white clay (white painting colour prepared in Lahoul with hard white stone. There is deference with lime stone. The name of the stone called in Tibetan [and] Lahouli [*tsha dkar*] tsakar. Tsakar is found in Paralacha pass [and] in Spiti. The raw tsakar burnt in charcoal fire for a period of two hours, then become a very soft [and] white colour, now it is ready for painting. If it is not available you can get burnt lead ash it is as white as Tsakar.

Some copies of Geographical magazine for me [and] Th. Abhai Chand received with thanks in October last, for which I offered my thanks in that letter. I have done a mistake in your address except c/o Llyods' bank written c/o Kingking [and] co.

Hope the letter may reach you in good condition. Please let me know about that letter.

With my best wishes to Mam Sahiba,

Yours sincerely

Th. Mangalchand

Letter from Joseph Gergan (MssEur. D722/2, no.3)

Kyelang, 8th February 1926

My dear Mr Shuttleworth,

We had this year an unusual warm and snowless winter so now we arranged to send a special coolies to fetch our letters from Manali with them we sending our letters at there to be posted. The Kyelang post line was opened up to 31st Decr. 1925, still all the grounds are dry wit[h]out snow.

In my Christmas holidays I was able to translate the writing of Kanika, and herewith I am forwarding it to your address with the original transcriptions of them, and also the original letter of Yeshesnamrgyal with translation as his request. Yet I have not read any book about the king Kanika or Kaniska. Anyhow this stupa may be from his time; if I arrive in Zangskar then I like to enquire about this king and his information, if can be available there. I expect that you will please to receive the inscriptions of Mune, therefore also forwarding the translation of it with the copy of it. I have no[t] enough time to copy it therefore Gaphel helped me to copy it for you. I translated the biography of the celebrated Lotsawa Rinchen-bZangpo, with the inscription of Rtabo (Tabo) (parentheses his), Lhalung, and Alchi of Ladak, and I also added my own notes according them. Today I am also writing a letter at Lhasa to procure a detailed Biography of Rinchenzangpo, if possible to attain it.

Now the book of Jeremiah is completed and I commenced the Lamentation of Jeremiah in poetical (arrangement) (parenthesis his) Tibetan. In the middle of this month I will begin the book of Job, and after completing it I will revise it and Jeremiah and the Lamentation. By thus I shall be able to send them all to Dr. Francke in next summer. Before some few days I got a short manuscript with the title "Angyig-bDunchuoa" (Seventy Stanzas), which was imparted to the famous dGe-Shes-Potopa by dGeshes Kharagpa. We know that Potopa was a disciple of aBrom-Stonpa. In these days I am also translating it into English in order to learn the English language, in the evening instead of reading other books now I translate such books. By studying the "70 Stanzas" I noticed that the Kharagpa was really a learned and experienced in Buddhism and about the state of human spirit and hypocri[sy]. After accomplishing it I will try to begin some other Buddhists' philosophical books, as the "Dhoha mDzod", or the "Contracted pith according the path of Mahayana etc.", the Dhohas are rather difficult to translate or to express the actual meaning of it, all the Dhohas are not from one recluse, but several persons, as Saraha, Birwa, Tilli, Slob-dpon Nagpo, and Naropa etc. The later one composed at Domkar of Ladak, before King

Sengernamgyal.

I expect to get permi[ss]ion to go Ladak in this year, as I dwelled in Lahul six years instead of three. I could not get here books which I need, but in Ladak it is easier to get them.

Probably Revd. Cecil Biscoe may be on his way to Kashmir.

Please acknowledge by the receipt of the translation and inscriptions of Zangskar. Please let me know your idea about the "Sun Beauty".

We often remembering you and Mrs Shuttl. With Jus to you both.

Yours Sincerely

Joseph Gergan

Letter from Joseph Gergan reproduced by August H. Francke (MssEur. D722/2, no.8)

Joseph Gergan, Tibetan Pastor at Kyelang, writes under the 3rd April 1926:

In last summer I tried to find the Manuscript of Kunga-chos-legs of Rdzongskul, which was written in the reply of Csoma. I have a copy of it which I copied from the transcription of the Rirdzon Skushuk.

I can spare a copy of it to you, if you wanted. Csoma asked first how the world was created? How it stands now? How it shall be wasted? In these questions grouped all the Buddhism. At any rate Kungachoslegs was an able man. If I can get in Zangskar in this spring before my removal from Kyelang, then I will try to find out the original Manuscript in Rdonzskul. I have seen the biography of K. on my last visit there.

I have not yet heard from Mr. Shuttleworth. I desire to depart from Kyelang about the end of July or in the middle of August, according to the weather, sometimes in July the monsoon has not finished.

2nd July 1926

My Dear Shuttleworth,

I think the above lines taken from Joseph's letter, will be of the greatest interest to you. There are apparently two Mss. containing references to Csoma, 1) the questions of Csoma 2) the biography of his Tibetan friend [*kun dga' chos legs*]. Have you received my wife's postcard regarding the Kesar saga?

Yours sincerely

A.H. Francke

*Letter from Joseph Gergan (MssEur. D722/2, no.7)*Kyelang, 8th April 1926

My Dear Mr. Shuttleworth,

I hope you have got my Feb. letter and other documents. Now I am waiting to hear about them.

Will you kindly introduce me with Mr. John Norman [sic.]? First I thought not to write you at this time and I asked to introduce me with the above in the letter of Dr. Francke afterward I got a letter from Chimed, so I am writing you few lines for the present. My son Chimed desire very much to have a good post on Ladak side and if possible then in govt. not in the state. I hope you and Mr. Biscoe both will help him if he ask for such post. Without a strong recommendation he could not get a good post on Ladak side or in a cool country. Up to this time Galdan kept well. We are all well. Up to this time beside the O. Test. I translated the following pamphlets into English, (1) The Biography of Lotsawa Rinchen zangpo, (2) The abridged teaching on Mahayana, (3) The 70 stanzas, (4) I now commence to translate the 1000 proverbs of W. Himalaya. Today I am forwarding the 70 Stanzas to the office of archaeology of India, I hear that Sir John Marshall has left India for 7 months. I know he may be in the ship on the way of England.

The Eulogy of Kanika by now may be ready for print, yet I have not got the English trans. of Drimedkunldan. I got a letter from Mr Biscoe from the Red Sea, now he may be at Srinagar in his playing ground.

Chimed desire to have the post of Charar [sic.] Officer; if the President and Brit. J. Com. [sic.] be consented to offer it then it is not difficult. I hear that the present President Sir John Wood intend to take a tour in Ladak in next June.

If I can then I like to take a tour in Zangskar again as soon as the Shingkun pass open well enough. I am surprising for the name of Kanika, recently I found that a field possess also the name of Kaniska in the upper Kyelang. Have you the book of King Kaniska or Kanika? I commenced to collect and record all the customs of Bunan and Lahul, in that I found that Kaniska.

I hope you have got the parcel of books from Kyelang. Please let me know about your Galdan, whether to take at Leh or not. My wife and Sunkil [sic.] send their salams to you and Mrs Shuttleworth.

With kind regards.

Yours very sincerely,
J. Gergan

Letter from Joseph Gergan (MssEur. D722/2, no.10)

Kyelang, 5th June 1926

My dear Mr. Shuttleworth,

I am eagerly waiting for your answer for my former letters, and copies of inscriptions. As I have not got any letter after last December. Though you and Mrs. Shuttleworth both in sound health. I desire to leave Kyelang about in the beginning of next Aug. if the weather be convenient for my family.

I like to hear from you as soon as possible according Galdan, whether he [has] to go to Ladakh with me or some other place. Please let me know definitely soon.

In last April your former coo[k] Tondrup went Zangskar and unfortunately both his feet and hands were frozen on the pass of Singkun, probably now he may be at Spadum with his wife. I am really sorry for him, to be so impotent in his youth.

In next sept. Mr. Peter going on furlough and coming back again at Leh in next spring. P.W.D. and Th. Mangalchand both will commence to build up the new Tehsil and School of Kyelang.

In these days I am working day and night in the book of Job, and intend to accomplish the revising in next week, out I have to look again through all of it in order to make it in a better language and meter.

According the order of the Bible I revised it first and will revise the Jer. Afterwards. Perhaps at Leh. Now there are only 99 chapters in the Bible which are not translated yet in Tibetan. From last spring to this time I translated 99 chapters from the O.T. so I hope to accomplish the remaining 99 chap. Until 1928. I already got many information according the custom, feasts, New Year and Gregs (Sacred songs of Bunan) etc. etc. Perhaps I shall be able to accom – [sic.] it into the form of a book at Leh.

I am very glad to have Mr. Biscoe at Srin. With many jus to you and Mrs. Shuttle.

Yours very sincerely,
J. Gergan

Letter from Joseph Gergan (MssEur. D722/2, no.9)

Kyelang, [...]th June 1926

My Dear Mr. Shuttleworth,

Many thanks for your letter of 12th ultimo, which I got just now, and I like to answer at once. I am really very glad to hear your good news after a long time. It is also more wonderful that a field at upper Kyelang got the name KANISKA, it is annually in the time of New Year of Bunna they keep it as a holy place, and no one is allowed to go on it until the Thars (admission). Henceforth I will search his name in other places, in order to get more information to give light on his life, time, and works. I like to see your article on it. Kanika is the name of the STUPA and NOT the name of that monastery. I intend to leave for Zangskar as soon as I get coolies. Today I already sent the original copy of the "One Thousand Proverbs" with a rough English translation. In it contain 50 of Manchad and 34 of Bunand the rest of Tibetans. Altogether there are 1013 sayings in it. In this week I was able to complete the translation of JOB in metrical, there are 28600 syllables in it. Today I also posted it to Dr. Francke with the above one. I commenced to translate the proverbs of Solomon. I do not like to accept any remuneration from you, so why did you troubled to send Rs. 100/0/0. What shall I do with this amount?

Csoma asked these questions to Lama Kunga-Choslegs:

According the Buddhism how the world was created?

[According the Buddhism how the world] stand now?

[According the Buddhism how the world] will end? etc.

In them also have to mention according the teaching of Buddhism. So Kunga replied him written. In it instead of his real name there is Skandar-beg or Bheg. As far as I can think this scholar Csoma was afraid to tell the Lama his own name and home, and he pretended to be a Turk, and given a name which may seem as a Turk name. I think you know that the Turk use and add the Beg after their name, 2nd reason in that reply Kunga says thus: "who came from the land of Rum". Rum is same as to say western Turkistan. Csoma was a clever and learned man, but he did not feared to tell a lie to his kind Teacher. It is black spot above all his works. In last year I investigated about the original copy and handwriting of Kungachhoslegs, but any Lama of Rdongkhul was not able to tell anything about that MS. Probably that the original MS. was lost by lending some other Lama

of other place. So do not hope to get a copy or the original one from Zangskar. I have a copy of it, which I copied from the transcription of Rirdzong Skushog before many years. Still I have the copy of it, I can send you a copy of it, if you desire to have one.

At present Chimed accepted a post in the forest department for a time. And now he is on the way of Zangskar, and he intend to come and meet us at Kyelang. I desire to leave Kyelang about in the beginning of August but I have not decided definitely as yet. So please address letters at Leh, Ladakh, Kashmir.

I wrote a letter before few days to you in order to hear your good news.

The "Sun Beauty" is writ[t]en in Prayig and not in printing character so I will copy it when I get at Leh. Kyelang was a good place to work but at Leh I could not find much time as here, as I have there many friends.

My wife and daughter both remember you both often, and they send many jus to you and Mrs. Shuttleworth.

With salaams and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Thanks I have got the bags from Leh. Gapel sends his salams to you.

J. Gergan

Letter from Joseph Gergan (MssEur. D722/2, no.12)

Leh-Ladakh, 10th September] 1926

My dear Mr. Shuttleworth,

On 29th ultimo I safely arrived here in Leh, my wife and daughter came here after two days. On the 4th inst. Mr. Peter left Leh for his furlough, and on 9th Mr. Kunick went to climb Saser and other mountains with an English gentleman. He will be back here again before the end of this month. Now Galdan is quite strong and fat, grass is very expensive here at Leh, therefore I have sent it in a village to feed it there, and I desire to send it in Nubra before the end of Next October. By doing thus the feeding shall be cheaper. Just after my arrival I got one incomplete copy of Khache-Phalu, and I am searching to find another complete copy of it, in order to make it complete. It will be a good thing if you send me a copy of it, which is translated by Dr. John Vanman, then I compare it with these copies before sending it to you. I like to improve my English, but without

your help I can't do well, to learn more metaphysical terms. I must study such books in English, but I can't get a good book in our library, but I hope to study in such book when you be here.

In next week I will start to translate the remaining three books of the Bible. In the meanwhile I will copy the detail of Khache Phalu for you.

My son Skyabsldan intend to train in medical after his F.A.C. exam. but without Europe I do not see any other suitable place for him, there is a medical college in Lahore, but a Ladakhi could not bear the heat of it. So I do not know what to do, Lahore is too hot for him, and I have no money to send him to England. Still I do not wr[i]te to Mr. Biscoe about it, but I wrote concerning it to our Bishop Ward in a private letter before three months, yet I have not got any answer of it. Before a week I got a letter from Chimed, in which he mentions, that he did not got yet your registered letter. Because he is in Zangskar from last June. Now I am thinking to build a house in Leh in next spring, but everything is so dear here than before, so can't build a nice house. Whenever you come here I like to consult with you according several things.

We often remembering you both. Spaltrash and Prinlas are here at Leh, and they send salaams to you and Mrs. Shuttleworth.

With many salaams to you both from us.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Gergan

Letter from Joseph Gergan (MssEur. D722/2, no.11)

Leh, 11th December 1926

My dear Mr. Shuttleworth,

From July I have not got any letter from you, by this reason I am thinking you both than ever, please inform about the welfare of you both. I became more busy here than in Kyelang, because at present there is no other missionary except Mr and Mrs Kunick, Mr. Peter went for his furlough in last autumn, and Mr. and Mrs Burroughs also went home in last October according the order of Drs. So now Mr. Kunick have to do the work of them also. And above them he have to look after the hospital business. I am not quite sure that Mr. Peter be able to come back here in next spring, or not.

Chimed got your letters only at the end of last month, which you has

been sent through Revd. Biscoe; and Chimed posted all the letters at once. I also wrote a letter to Mr. Bisco to inform us his idea, but I have not heard yet from him. On 21st October (1926) the flood of Khomdan destro[yed] the suspension bridge, 13 men, fields, and several cattle of Nubra. And I hear that this flood damaged more in Balistan, and washed away the pal[a]ce of Keres (of Baltistan). The ex-king of Stog intend to make a big feast on 13th insst., in order to celebrate a Bangri (a fest for a new child).

I am trying my best to accomplish the translation of the whole Bible, and I think that in next year I shall be able to complete it, then I shall be free. I collected sufficient materials to write down a book regarding the Lahulis. Yet I was not able to find out a complete copy of Khache Phalu, but hope to find later on, as some friend of me wrote letters at Lhasa to seek and to send here a complete copy of it. Which begin with the story of Adam and Eve.

Galdan is quite well here, but he feel colder in Ladak, so I bought a felt coat for him. More than 1500 hajjis arrived here from Yark[a]nd in this autumn, and went to Mec[c]a, and still coming more. So the food stuff became dearer than before. I am learning to play chess.

Still we have a mild winter, and I like Ladak.

Please write me only a short note according your welfares.

With Jus from us all.

Yours sincerely,

J. Gergan

Letter from F. W. Thomas (MssEur. D722/3, no.6)

July 30. 1930

161, Woodstock Road, Oxford.

Just a line to say that I have found your letter and the rubbing and will try to do what I can with the aid of a glass. The Tibetan writing which you give seems to begin with [*'phog*] (or is this your *la sgo?*) [*dgon pa'i g.yims chung dbang rten gtsho*] (sic) [*che ba thub pa chu brnyed rag sku'i bzhur*] ([*bzhugs*]?) [*phyi'i*]. It mentions [*yi ge*] 'letters'. I hope to complete this. This Indian character seems to contain a date – I will try it with a glass.

Yours sincerely,

F.W. Thomas

Letter from F. W. Thomas (MssEur. D722/3, no.7)

August 6. 1930

161, Woodstock Road, Oxford

My dear Mr. Shuttleworth,

I am giving overleaf my reading of the inscription on the La-ngo monastery image. The rubbing is, as you say, too faint to allow more than a partial and in places not certain decipherment, and it seems hardly worthwhile to puzzle longer over the problem, which might perhaps be settled by a better imprint of the original. The inscription begins, as you will see, with a date (in an era not stated), and goes on to name the donor and perhaps to devise the merit of the gift and ask for blessing. I attached a query to every akṣara concerning which I am in doubt.

I also transliterate, as well as I can, the note in modern cursive Tibetan script, given, I suppose, by the person who made the unintelligible reading for you. But here also I am in doubt at some points.

Yours sincerely,

F.W. Thomas

P.S. I enclose the rubbing etc. with your note.

Tibetan note

[- *sgo dgon pa'i g.zims chung dbang rten gtsho che ba thub pa chu brnyer rag*] (brass) [*sku'i bzhung phyi'i zhabs gnas 'og n yod pa'i yi ge 'dra ba*]

(Sanskrit inscription)

(Year sg?) Mārgaśīrṣa month, Bright fortnight, 15th lunar day. This donation of the Śākya monk Viṭhu (?) varman was set up (May it be well with all the world ??)

The Deva Blama (Lama)

Īi-ba-hod (Śāntiprabha)

*Letter from H. G. Beasley (MssEur. D722/3, no.9)*⁶⁶

Cranmore Ethnographical Museum,
Walden Road, Chislehurst, Kent.
September 25th 1937

Dear Mr Shuttleworth,

You will perhaps recall that you visited here a couple of years ago when you kindly assisted on your photos. Since then the drawings have been loaned to the University Museum, Leiden, and the National Museum, Copenhagen, the British Museum also borrowed them but in the end found they did not have the necessary space for an altar. Since your visit I have added a few more images of good quality and withdrawn those which were not quite so good.

This year we have commenced the issue of a journal dealing with the outstanding specimens in this museum. This journal is issued free to some 250 Museums and Institutions and the 1st copy has been very well received. The second issue is in progress of publication and will appear this year. These issues each contain one article contributed by an expert on each of the localities in which this museum is interested – Tibet of course being one of these – I should therefore be very grateful if you could find time to write a short account of the wooden figure that you discovered near Kyelang and which has come here. I possess your original photo and could of course send you a good print of the one we have here. Since you were the discoverer of these two figures I do feel that the article should be written by you and I hope that you will find the time to do this for me.

Please convey my very kind regards to Mrs Shuttleworth.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely.

Harry G. Beasley

*Letter from W. R. Lamb (MssEur. D722/3, no.10)*⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Harry Geoffrey Beasley (1881–1939) was a British anthropologist, private collector, and museum curator. With his wife, he set up the Cranmore Ethnographical Museum in Chislehurst, Kent, in 1928.

⁶⁷ Sir Walter R. M. Lamb was appointed Secretary of the Royal Academy of Arts in 1913. He is the author of *The Royal Academy: A short History of its Foundation and Development* published in 1951.

Royal Academy of Arts, Piccadilly, London, W.1.
22nd June, 1939

Dear Sir,

The Royal Academy, with the assistance of a number of connoisseurs of Indian Art, is preparing for January – March, 1940, an Exhibition of the Art of the Indian Empire, French Indo-China, Netherlands India, Burma, Malaya, Siam, Afghanistan, Tibet and Nepal. The Chairman of the Executive Committee is Sir Edwin L. Lutyens, K.C.I.E., P.R.A., and Sir John Marshall, C.I.E., and Sir Richard Winstedt, K.B.E., C.M.G., are Vice-Chairmen.

The Committee will be much obliged if you will kindly consent to join the Selection Committee, as your knowledge and advice would be of great value for certain sections of the Exhibition.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

W. R. Lamb

Secretary

