

Peter Aufschnaiter, the Making of a Topographer of Tibet ‘on the Way’, with Notes on a *lam yig* from Western Tibet, 1944

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Introduction: Peter Aufschnaiter’s topographical interests and legacy

The most well-known photographs of Peter Aufschnaiter in Tibet show him with a theodolite, a surveying instrument he must have been familiar with since his student days in Munich. He used it in Lhasa from 1946 to 1950 for various tasks. These images are part of a small number of photographs taken of him in Tibet, often showing him alone—presumably at his own request. Only a few photos depict him with other people, either at official or private meetings, sometimes with Tibetan officials or nobility, and at other times with representatives of foreign states.

Earlier, during his escape to Tibet and Lhasa (April 1944 to January 1946), one of his most important “companions” was a compass (provided by Heinrich Harrer), which allowed him to take bearings, determine his location, and mark places and elevations on maps. The sketch maps he drew of the escape route and selected regions are clear evidence of this topographical and cartographical interest, as are his works in Lhasa: in 1946, he worked on irrigation canals for the gardens (*gling ka*) of Tibetan nobles, and from 1947 onward, as a salaried Tibetan government official of the fifth rank, he undertook the creation of a city map of Lhasa as a basis for installing electrical lines. He also planned a flood protection dam for Norbu Lingka, the Dalai Lama’s summer residence, in spring 1948, and from September 1948, he worked on the canal for a new power plant.

It is known that Peter Aufschnaiter was employed as a Gazetted Officer in the Military Survey Department at the Indian Army Headquarters in New Delhi from January 1, 1953, to July 31, 1956—presumably to create a topographical map of Tibet (Mailänder and Kompatscher 2019: 388). His topographical interests continued during his later employment at the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) as an Agricultural Officer (from 1957). His res-

idence in Kathmandu during the 1960s was sparsely furnished; according to eyewitnesses, “maps were lying around everywhere. Particularly impressive was the huge altimeter, commonly referred to as ‘Aufschnaiter’s cooking pot,’ which was smiled at just as indulgently as at its owner’s enthusiasm for topographical disputes. ‘Nothing could excite Peter Aufschnaiter more than a discussion about maps, borders, and elevation data—a field of his particular expertise’” (*ibid.*: 330; transl. CJ).

This article focuses on the development of Peter Aufschnaiter’s topographical and cartographic interests in 1944, when—thanks in no small part to his acquired knowledge of the Tibetan language and script, as well as his analysis of available map material—he succeeded in escaping to Tibet and Lhasa from the British internment camp of Premnagar near Dehra Dun. It is the result of preliminary research into selected documents from Peter Aufschnaiter’s estate kept to a large degree by the Ethnographic Museum at the University of Zurich (hereinafter referred to as VMZ).

Studying the scientific Tibet legacy of Peter Aufschnaiter (1899–1973) is an arduous and laborious task given the amount of materials—diaries, manuscripts (in particular a substantial book manuscript about Tibet), documents, texts (in German, English and partly in Tibetan), correspondence (in German, English, French, Tibetan, and Italian), visual materials (photographs, sketches of maps, drawings), collected religious items and other objects—and partly also the difficulties in deciphering the handwriting, including Gabelsberger shorthand script.¹ It may be for this reason that much of his Tibet-related legacy has so far remained largely unknown, little researched and little published.² With minor exceptions, it has stayed in the shadows as was also true of himself.³

¹ Since 2022 the author of this contribution has carried out the research project “Peter Aufschnaiter’s scientific Tibet legacy” (funded by the Austrian Science Fund / FWF Grant P35249), focusing mainly on textual, inscriptional, visual, ethnographic, and art historical materials, with Claudia C. Aufschnaiter and Tsering Drongshar, in addition Mathias Fermer, Christiane Kalantari, Patrick Sutherland, Gabi Tautscher, Lobsang Yongdan, and Guntram Hazod, who was involved at the beginning of this undertaking, and in cooperation with the VMZ. An annotated four-volume edition is planned to be published to make this large body of materials accessible.

² Notable exceptions are publications in German, such as Brauen 1983 (English version Brauen 2002), Richtsfeld 2006, Mailänder and Kompatscher 2019, and Flitsch, Powroznik and Wernsdörfer 2018, a catalogue (with separate German and English editions) of the 2018/19 exhibition “Encountering – Retracing – Mapping: The Ethnographic Legacy of Heinrich Harrer and Peter Aufschnaiter” at the Ethnographic Museum at the University of Zurich where a large share of Peter Aufschnaiter’s legacy is kept.

³ Fresh light was shed on Peter Aufschnaiter’s biography by Mailänder and Kompatscher 2019, with selected transcripts of his diaries and letters. See also Jahoda 2023.

Biographical background: Education, expeditions, and path to internment

Peter Aufschnaiter was a man of many different talents and competencies. He grew up in Kitzbühel (Tyrol, Austria), attended the secondary school in nearby Kufstein, which emphasised science, maths and modern languages, and developed a strong passion for mountaineering and skiing from teenage days. After army service for the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the First Austrian Republic (1917–1919), he studied agriculture at the Technical University of Munich (1921–1927), which included courses in botany, animal husbandry, soil science, accounting, mechanical and construction engineering, surveying and mapping. His language proficiencies by this time included Italian, English, and French, to which were added Hindi, Nepali, Farsi, Russian, and—latest by 1931—Tibetan.⁴

His socialisation as a teenager in the Austrian *Deutscher Turner-Bund* (German [-speaking] Gymnastics Association) in Kitzbühel, whose political orientation was not only decidedly antisemitic but also strictly Greater German (“stramm großdeutsch”, Mailänder and Kompatscher 2019: 16), seems to have prepared the ideological ground for joining the Academic Climbing Club (ACC), Munich, an organisa-

⁴ In a letter to a friend in Kitzbühel written on 29 Aug. 1931 at Camp VII during the second Kangchenjunga (Gangs can mdzod lnga) expedition, he notes: “With great effort, I personally dragged a small bag full of books all the way here. Among them is a Tibetan grammar book. Tenchadar, our cook, gives me lessons when I am here. He owns some sacred scriptures, which I occasionally read along with. At first, I could only say very simple things [...]. Now I have already made quite good progress in this difficult but extremely interesting language.” (City Archive Kitzbühel: StaK/Auf/81; “Mit vieler Mühe habe ich ein Säckchen voll Bücher eigenhändig bis hie[r]her geschleppt. Darunter auch eine tibetanische Grammatik, Tenchadar, unser Koch, gibt mir Unterricht, wenn ich hier bin. Er hat einige heilige Schriften, in denen ich manchmal mitlese. Anfangs konnte ich nur ganz einfache Dinge sagen [...]. Jetzt habe ich schon ganz schöne Fortschritte in dieser schwierigen[,] aber überaus interessanten Sprache gemacht.”).

It is not known which Tibetan dictionary he referred to. In the City Archive Kitzbühel, two undated Tibetan notebooks used by Peter Aufschnaiter are kept (shelf nos. StaK/285; StaK/286) which contain words, phrases, and sentences in Tibetan *dbu med* script (StaK/285 mainly in *tshugs*, StaK/286 partly in *tshugs*, partly in *tshugs ma 'khyug*), with German or English translation and partly renderings of phonetic pronunciation of the Tibetan. One of the sources for this was Charles Bell's *Grammar of Colloquial Tibetan* (published in 1919 in second edition). According to a few diary entries, for example, from November and December 1944, he carried a copy of Bell's *English-Tibetan Colloquial Dictionary* (Bell 1920) with him to Tibet on the escape from the Internment Camp of Premnagar near Dehra Dun (now Dehradun) in April 1944. Another source seems to have been *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language* by Alexander Csoma de Kőrös (see Mathias Fermer, forthcoming).

tion characterised by a strong national-conservative orientation, whose members were exclusively male academics.⁵

In 1929, when prospects for making a living in Germany and Austria were dim, Peter Aufschnaiter, who had just registered for an immigration visa to the USA,⁶ received an invitation from Dr. Paul Bauer to join the ACC Kangchenjunga expedition under his leadership, which, despite missing the desired goal of reaching the peak in this year as well as in 1931 during the second “German attack”,⁷ marked the beginning of a decisive turn in Peter Aufschnaiter’s further life (see also Mailänder and Kompatscher 2019: 44). The participation in this high-altitude expedition (not least because of his knowledge of foreign languages) and the stay on the borderlands of British India (Sikkim) provided him with a deep experience of the Himalayas and a lasting vision of the Tibetan Plateau. It was also instructive in demonstrating to him through the example of Paul Bauer, who became his closest friend until the end of his life, that the dedicated practice of a systematic methodological approach in the pursuit of such an ambitious goal like climbing the unscaled Kangchenjunga, required the thorough study of all relevant written sources; cartographic, photographic, and visual materials; languages; local habits; technical instruments etc.

With the invitation of the members of the 1929 German Kangchenjunga expedition to the recently founded Himalayan Club in Calcutta (see Bauer 1930; Mason 1930: 192) began Peter Aufschnaiter’s acquaintance with leading British mountaineers of this club and the Alpine Club, which over the years developed into a long-lasting friendship with Kenneth Mason (1887–1976; editor of the *Himalayan Journal* 1928–1945, Lt.-Col. in the British military and Intelligence Officer, who became the first statutory professor of Geography at the University of Oxford in 1932)⁸ and Lt.-Col. Harry Walter Tobin (1879–1957, vice-president of the Himalayan Club, at times also editor of the *Himalayan Journal* and Honorary Secretary of the Royal Central Asian Society; from 1951 also external honorary member of the ACC in Munich). As their correspondence tells us, Aufschnaiter met Tobin, who often came to Germany before 1938, in the early 1930s in Tyrol and later, in 1938, five years after he had become a member of the NSDAP and two years after having taken up the position of executive secretary (*Geschäftsführer*) of the

⁵ As of Dec. 1, 1938, among 275 members no woman was listed in any of its categories (honorary, local and external). See Akademischer Alpenverein München 1938: 41ff.

⁶ See City Archive Kitzbühel: STaK/AUF/278.

⁷ See Paul Bauer’s *Im Kampf um den Himalaja: Der erste deutsche Angriff auf den Kangchendzönga*, 1929 (Bauer 1931), which earned him an Olympic gold medal in the free arts literature competition at the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

⁸ See The Royal Geographical Society 1976.

Himalaya Foundation, also with Mason in Oxford, mainly in preparation for the exploratory mission to Nanga Parbat to be led by Peter Aufschnaiter in the following year. Seemingly through Mason's intervention, this expedition, which started from Munich in April 1939 with the full support of Nazi authorities and related media coverage (including by himself; see Aufschnaiter 1939), at a time when political turbulences caused by Nazi Germany—the annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland—foreshadowed the coming war, received permission from the British authorities in India to enter the country and proceed to the desired Nanga Parbat (Ellsworth 2020: 225).

Kenneth Mason, Harry Walter Tobin and a few others remained in contact with Peter Aufschnaiter via go-betweens during the first two years of his internment that began on 3 Sept 1939 (see also Kopp 2014), took care of his wellbeing via the camp's commandant, and sent him Christmas parcels. Vice-versa, Peter Aufschnaiter asked them for newly published books and journal issues on the Himalayas. While learning, practicing, and improving languages had been among his main activities in the internment camps of Ahmednagar and Deolali, starting with the transfer to the internment camp of Premnagar near Dehradun in October 1941, a growing interest in cartographic materials of the wider region, in particular also Tibet, contained in the above-mentioned sources, is notable. Not least because of his studies of these sources, partly enabled through the contacts with his British friends, he developed a generally increased orientation towards English-language publications and also improved his English in this way.⁹

The knowledge of surveying ("Vermessungswesen") acquired during his academic study—the precise determination of the geographical location and elevation of places, mountains, rivers, etc., on topographical sketches and maps, as well as their correct labelling—had been a matter of some importance to him at least since his participation in the Kangchenjunga expeditions of 1929 and 1931, and even more so as the person responsible for the Nanga Parbat reconnaissance expedition in

⁹ "One good thing you seem to be getting out of your stay in India – your English is improving. Your letter was faultless. I dare say your Hindustani is improving too [...]" (Letter by Thomas Anthony Brocklebank to Peter Aufschnaiter, 21.02.1940; VMZ, S/I/009/18). Brocklebank (1908–1984) participated in the British Mount Everest Expedition of 1933 and worked as a language teacher at Eton from 1936 to 1959; see <https://www.sdnq.org.uk/former-editors/thomas-anthony-brocklebank-1908-1984/> and <http://www.alpinwiki.at/portal/navigation/erst-besteiger/erstbesteigerdetail.php?erstbesteiger=47430>). They knew each other from the time of Peter Aufschnaiter's visit to England in autumn 1938 and had done a tour together to the Trattenbach Alm in Jochberg near Kitzbühel sometime in the 1930s (Letter Brocklebank to Aufschnaiter, 18.11.1939; VMZ, S/I/009/18).

1939. This interest intensified during the time of internment in particular in preparation for the escape to Tibet from at least around October 1942.¹⁰

Peter Aufschnaiter was certainly highly acquainted with the use of maps as a mountaineer since at least his membership with the ACC, later as participant on expeditions to the Himalayas and as leader of the Nanga Parbat reconnaissance expedition in 1939. After he had been transferred to the internment camp of Premnagar at Dehradun (located in the foothills of the Himalayas ca. 650 m above sea-level), he, like all internees, was allowed to make excursions on parole upon application on the condition not to talk to anybody, not to use any means of transport, not to escape and to return to the camp by sunset (Mailänder und Kompatscher 2019: 116). This gave him the opportunity to reach higher places from where he could see the snow mountains of the Himalayas and find out the distance he could cover on such a day. Once he had decided to escape, he began to hide foodstuff, etc. in places on the intended route, which he had surveyed during these excursions. He started to compile sketch maps of the area to the northeast of Dehradun and also of areas of Western Tibet, even of areas in Tibet, from maps available to him, for example, as illustrations in a number of books and journals he had ordered just for this purpose: "In the spring of 1943, a man came to me one morning and after a few digressions he came out with the fact that he wanted a map, a map of Tibet. In the barracks at Dehra Dun I had a "bunk", a shed on the veranda that was open to the outside. The whole world knew that I spent a lot of time there drawing maps, enlargements with additions from various sources."¹¹

¹⁰ Beside the examples of Paul Bauer and Kenneth Mason, both representatives of state-financed institutions, who were praised by him as "visionary pioneers" and provided helpful although perhaps not entirely altruistic guidance in his life, his preparation for the escape to Tibet, also necessitated by the given circumstances, seems to have been inspired by a different approach, such as exemplified by and described in Eric Shipton's *Blank on the Map* (Shipton 1938), an account of an expedition to the Karakorum Range in 1937 used by Peter Aufschnaiter in the internment camp (whose copy is kept in a private archive in Germany). As demonstrated by Tom G. Longstaff in his foreword (Longstaff 1938), due to the unknown terrain reconnoitred by him, Shipton was to be seen not only as a mountaineer but also as an explorer and surveyor. His approach, including the use of newly developed instruments (such as a phototheodolite) and the topographic map published at the end of the volume revealed key methodological aspects and substantive results of this expedition. Another aspect highlighted by Longstaff was the departure from the concept of (nation-)state-organised and -funded expeditions toward one where individual personal qualification rather than quantitative criteria were emphasised as decisive criteria.

¹¹ Peter Aufschnaiter: *Book Manuscript*, Chapter 3, p. 1 (private archive, translation from German by Claudia C. Aufschnaiter). The manuscript quoted was written by Peter Aufschnaiter many years later, certainly after his stay in Tibet, thus reflecting a retrospective view.

The escape to Tibet: Route, challenges, and initial encounters

During his first (failed) attempt to escape (together with Father Karl Calenberg) which lasted from June 24 until July 27, 1943, he had brought a map with him, which they lost on the second day, “a loss that we deeply felt later on”,¹² a mistake he did not repeat on the occasion of the second, successful attempt which began on 29 April 1944. Due to various references in his diaries, it can be concluded that he brought along more than one map (not available in his legacy) he had seemingly drawn himself, respectively copied from various maps available to him in the internment camp.

Regarding the route from the camp to the Tibetan border he noted on May 1, 1944: “I had meticulously copied the outermost [*Transcript*, p. 8: “NE”, northeastern] corner of the Dehradun map (scale 1 inch : 1 mile), including contour lines and all details, so we were very well informed about the terrain.”¹³ As they walked mostly in the night, in order not to be captured, this map with all its topographical details and a person familiar with the use of such a map like Peter Aufschnaiter, the leader of the small group,¹⁴ was critical.

¹² Diary entry 25 June 1943 (VMZ S/I/009/01/01): “ein Verlust, der uns später sehr fühlbar wurde”.

¹³ Diary entry 1 May 1944 (VMZ S/I/009/01/02): “Ich hatte von der DD. Karte 1 inch : 1 mile das äusserste [*Transcript*, p. 8: „NE“] Eck mit Schichtlinien und allem genauestens kopiert, sodass wir hier über das Gelände sehr gut Bescheid wussten.” (transcription of original shorthand by Claudia C. Aufschnaiter). The meaning of “DD [Dehradun] map” is not entirely clear. It certainly refers to a printed map available to him in the internment camp of Dehradun and of a map of the area around Dehradun. As Dehradun was also the headquarter of the Survey of India (see Dean 2019: 112), it can be assumed that the map referred to by him was a map produced by the Survey of India not far from the internment camp. Judging from an additional note in his *Transcript* (p. 7), dating certainly from a much later time where he referred to this map as “the 1:64,000 map of Dehra Dun for this area” (“1:64.000 Karte von Dehra Dun für dieses Gebiet”) it seems to be most probable that he copied the Map Sheet *Dehra Dūn and Surrounding Country* (scale 1 inch : 1 mile, gridded, 2nd edition) published by the Survey of India in 1937 (see also Survey of India 1945: 25).

¹⁴ In fact, by the end of April 1944, seven internees had come together “who wanted to attempt an escape as a group, using the same route that Calenberg and I had taken the previous year.” (Peter Aufschnaiter: *Book Manuscript*, VMZ S/I/009/09/03, chapter “Captivity”, p. 9; translation CJ).

These included, alongside Peter Aufschnaiter, Bruno Treipl, Hans Kopp, Friedel Sattler, and Heinrich Harrer (as well as two others who had different plans). While Harrer went alone along the same route until the Tibetan border, Peter Aufschnaiter was the leader of the group of four. Treipl, Sattler (who gave up the escape on May 10), and Kopp (who brought with him the experience of a previous escape attempt) relied on his expertise in language, mountaineering, and topography, despite his somewhat brusque manner. Aufschnaiter always led the

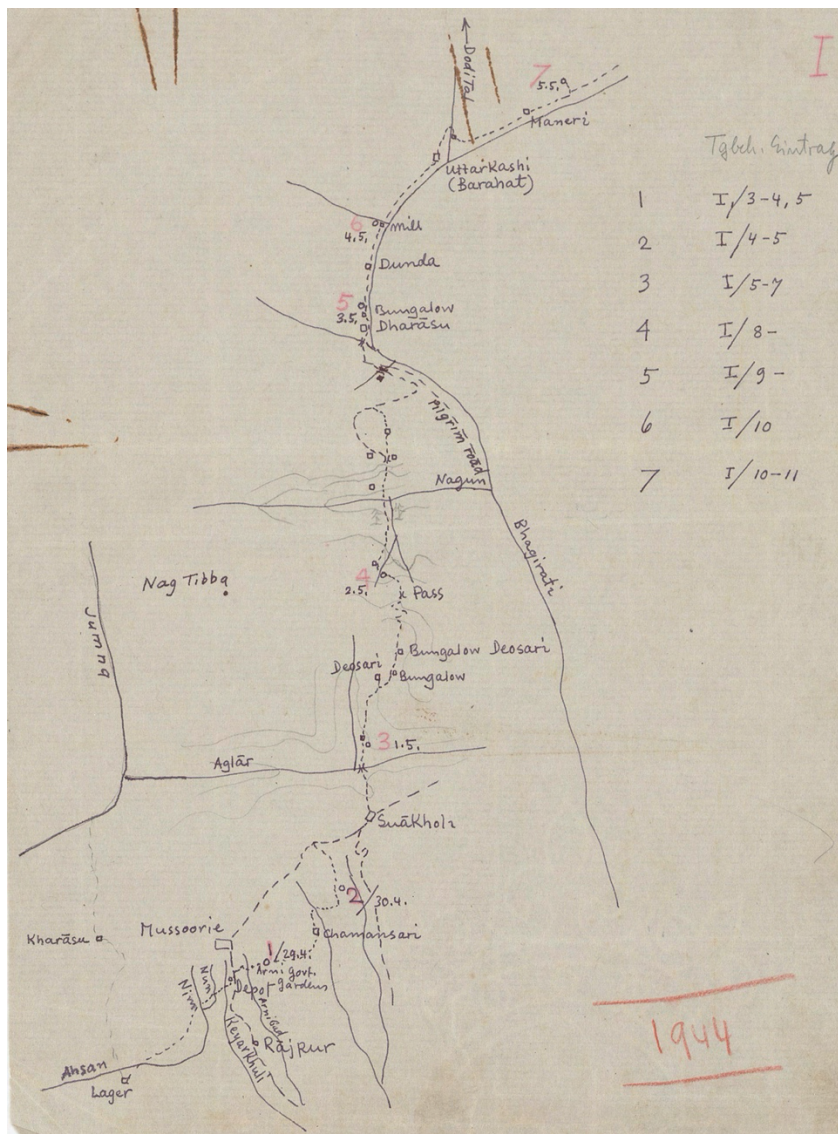


Figure 1: Sketch map "Premnagar – Maneri" drawn by Peter Aufschnaiter (ca. 1944–46), 22.6 x 17.6 cm (VMZ S/I/009/A1). The spelling of place names reflects those on the Map Sheet Dehra Dūn and Surrounding Country (scale 1 inch : 1 mile, gridded, 2nd edition) published by the Survey of India in 1937.

Without much contact with any locals or previous firsthand knowledge of any of the places, rivers, mountains, passes, etc. on the

way, determined the route and pace, and urged the others to observe local customs, for example, by appeasing the local deities (Sattler 1956: 27, 47).

way, Aufschnaiter's diary is full of such names (taken from his map), with indications of altitude, distance, and other details, including occasional references to people they met, for example, "Bhotias",¹⁵ and finally at Nelang close to the Tibetan border, also two Tibetans, with whom he exchanged his first Tibetan words on this "journey".¹⁶ Perhaps due to this, even before reaching Tibetan territory he began to use in his diary Tibetan terms with reference to places, in particular "Drok", Tibetan *'brog* (*sa*), a walled campsite used by nomads (*'brog pa*) or traders.¹⁷ After passing "Pulum sumdo",¹⁸ they proceeded in the direction of Tholing (mTho gling, etc.) via Puling La (sPu gling Pass), Puling (sPu gling), Duzhang (rDo gsham) with its monastery,¹⁹ and Part(e)yuk, a place with only one inhabitant.²⁰

After staying three days at Tholing, holding ongoing discussions and negotiations with the abbot about where to proceed, the monastery's property manager ("Chhandzö", *phyag mdzod*) and store-room keeper ("Nyerpa", *gnyer pa*), and the local village headman

¹⁵ This name (also Bhotiya, etc.) was used by the authorities in British India for various population groups speaking Tibeto-Burman languages in present-day Uttarakhand, who were, among other things, engaged in trade with Tibet and lower-lying regions. See, for example, Bergmann 2016 and Willis Oko 2019.

¹⁶ Diary entry, 9 May 1944. It is clear from his notes that he could converse with locals in Hindi and also in Tibetan.

¹⁷ His remark on the first such instance (12 May 1944), "this place certainly has a name as caravan stop" (*Transcript*, p. 21; "der Platz hat sicher einen Namen als Karawanenhaltestelle"), is noteworthy in that it shows how important it was to him to record the names of places—of any kind and size, including campsites—and, as far as possible, in such a form of writing which followed their pronunciation and spelling in Tibetan, as he seems to have learned from Bell's *Grammar of Colloquial Tibetan*. Recording place names was likely related to his passion for maps, but it went far beyond that. He often included the nature and purpose of their use, their frequency at certain times, and not least their inhabitants or (semi-)nomadic users—that is, the broader economic, social, religious, ethnic, and temporal context. This stands in contrast to the vast majority of similar reports of stays in the Himalayas and Tibet during the first, and often still the second, half of the 20th century. This is one of the reasons why his records are of great scholarly significance.

¹⁸ sPu gling g/sum m/do, at that time a camping ground (see Map Sheet NH 44-1), in the 1980s the name of the first place on the current Tibetan side of the border (see *Sa bkra* 1981).

¹⁹ For an account of this monastery (rDo gsham mug mkhar dgon), probably the only one available, see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2006: 202.

²⁰ Not identified so far. Diary entry 23 May 1944, recording a conversation with an elderly woman near "[...] a rock pinnacle with caves [...]. The place is called Partyuk [*Transcript*, p. 25: "Parteyuk"; Route sketch map, Figure 2: "Barteyuk"]. Tholing is close by. She has no milk to sell. When asked: How many inhabitants? 'One'." (VMZ S/I/009/01/02: "[...] eine Felszinne mit Höhlen [...]. Der Ort heisst Partyuk. Tholing sei nahe. Milch hat sie keine zu verkaufen. Auf die Frage[,] wieviele Einwohner: einer!"; translation from German by Claudia C. Aufschnaiter).

("Gowa", 'go ba), they were told by the abbot, who declared to have no power to let them proceed further to the east, to go to Shangtse and meet the Dzongpön (*rdzong dpon*, the district officer and government official in charge). Peter Aufschnaiter's description of this encounter demonstrates his not purely escape-driven strong interest in and understanding of the workings of the Tibetan administrative system and accurate familiarity with the different functions of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, his competence in the spoken and written Tibetan language, Tibetan nomenclature and pronunciation, how ably and quickly he seems to have adopted local habits, and the enormous degree of detail of information contained in his entries:

"Wednesday, May 24 [1944]. In the morning, I go to the monastery to see the abbot. He is about 40 years old, does not appear spiritual, and, as soon becomes clear, is all the more interested in material things. He wants nothing to do with our plan to continue eastward, saying the route is bad, with deep rivers. When he travels east, he goes via Gartok.²¹ He wants to buy my gold bracelet, which he heard about from the Chhandzö. He offers me pastries made from wheat flour, baked in butter, and sweetened tea. He owns several rifles and revolvers. [...]

Thursday, May 25. The Chhandzö tells me that all four of us should go together to Shangtse.²² I should buy a *khata*²³—he happened to find the word in the dictionary: *a-she* (second-best quality, scarf)²⁴—it costs 10 rupees. With it, I would gain much with the Lama. The Lama-Radza,²⁵ as he is called, is indeed very friendly when I visit him, but he says he has no authority to let us continue eastward. His task is prayer; worldly power lies with the Garpöns²⁶ in Gartok. They are *lampa*.²⁷ I should present a

²¹ Tibetan sGar thog. The locally used term was sGar dbyar sa, meaning the upstream, higher summer residence of sGar (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2006: 76).

²² Tibetan Shang rtse (Vitali 1999: 10, *passim*; Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2006: 173).

²³ *kha btags*, ceremonial scarf.

²⁴ *a she* (*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* 1985: 3130).

²⁵ Aufschnaiter refers to the abbot (*mkan po*) also as Lama (*bla ma*) and Lama-Radza (*bla ma ra' dza/rāja*), literally "Lama-King." The latter designation seems to stem from a local's comment (see diary entry from 27 May 1944) about the Lama's position on the abbot's throne of Tholing Monastery (cf. Vitali 1999: 55).

²⁶ Tibetan *sgar dpon*, the "lords" of sGar, referring to the two highest administrative officials responsible for Western Tibet (mNga' ris) under the Dalai Lama's government at the time. The place name sGar is actually an abbreviation of *dmag sgar*, meaning army camp, which was used in the 17th century by the Tibetan military leader/general (*dpon chen po*) dGa' ldan tshe dbang during the war against the Kingdom of Ladakh (1679–1683) (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2006: 76).

²⁷ Possibly also read as "Lampa" in the original German version. In the *Transcript* (p. 26), "Lamipa" appears, undoubtedly referring to *lam yig pa*, literally "those who

khata; they would issue me a letter if I also give them a gift. I had written a letter to the Lama,²⁸ which he hides. He promises to send a letter with me for the Dzongpön in Shangtse. In the monastery kitchen, there are enormous kettles in large ovens. These Lamas eat well; they use butter without concern for quantity.

Friday, May 26. In the morning, I go again to the Lama. He is determined to have my bracelet, offering 180 in old silver rupees. He brings out a precision scale and determines the exact weight. He had written the letter and sent it."²⁹

It is noteworthy that here, as in other places in Western Tibet, Indian rupees were the currency used by Peter Aufschnaiter, as well as by the Tibetan population and officials, rather than Tibetan money in coin or paper form.³⁰

From Tholing to Shangtse they were provided by the abbot of Tholing with a donkey and a drover to take care of their luggage (and make sure they would go in the desired direction). At Shangtse, the Dzongpön rejected their wish to turn to the north (in the direction of Garthok) and ordered them to head for Shipki on the border of British India, accompanied by the Pömpo (*dpon po*, lord, chief official) of Rongchung, at that time an administrative district composed of a number of villages along the upper reaches of the Glang chen kha 'babs (Sutlej) River.

Upon arrival at Namgya (gNam skya),³¹ the first village in "India"—actually in Upper Kinnaur (Khu nu) in the Kingdom of Bashahr, a protectorate of British India—Harrer and Kopp, without further notice, went their own way while Aufschnaiter and Treipl went on to Pooh (sPu). After a few days, Aufschnaiter turned again to the north in the direction of Spiti (sPyi ti, etc.) while Treipl gave up and

issue *lam yig*," a travel document or official letter from the Tibetan government, usually granting permission to use transport services provided by the tax-paying population (*khral pa*), as was later granted to Aufschnaiter, Harrer, and Kopp (see below).

²⁸ See Diary No. 2, 29.7.–21.1.1945 (VMZ S/I/009/01/02, p. 19) for the letter written in Tibetan *dbu med* (*tshugs ma 'khyug*) script: "To His Excellency, the Lama Rājā of Tholing" (*sku gzhogs mthos gling bla ma ra' ja' [rājā] drung du*), signed 'Peter Aufschnaiter Thuling [sic!], May 25, 1944'."

²⁹ See Appendix I for the original version in German.

³⁰ Based on observations by Charles Bell, Kalsang Norbu Gurung recently pointed out that in Tibet, the *srang* appeared in documents as a unit of currency years before the first coinage in 1908, but that at that time—and even later—it often served merely as an accounting currency (appearing in documents), while in practice, payments could be made in other currencies or even in kind (Gurung 2018: 231).

³¹ Tibetan spelling based on information by bDe chen lhun grub, Tabo, Spiti valley (personal communication 12 Oct. 2025).

was brought back from Shimla to the internment camp (see also von Reden and Croston 2007: 67–70).

Peter Aufschnaiter's diary entries in Pooh mention the name Tucci (who had passed through there in 1931 and 1933; see Nalesini 2008) without further explanation, making it clear that Peter Aufschnaiter was already familiar with the name and the work of the Italian tibetologist, who had conducted research expeditions in various regions of historical Western Tibet in the 1930s—including Spiti and Upper Kinnaur, as well as the very areas of Western Tibet that Peter Aufschnaiter was now targeting.³² In fact, the maps in books published by Giuseppe Tucci in the 1930s, partly in collaboration with Eugenio Ghersi, seem to have been among the sources of topographical information that Peter Aufschnaiter used directly or via copies—this is at least suggested by the spelling of place names used by Peter Aufschnaiter in his diaries and sketch maps.³³ With the exception of Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po's *mNga' ris chos 'byung* (2006), based upon a

³² See, for example, Tucci 1936 (a copy of this work annotated by Peter Aufschnaiter is held in his posthumous library), Tucci 1937, and Tucci and Ghersi 1934. Peter Aufschnaiter's knowledge about Giuseppe Tucci and his works certainly also benefited from his acquaintance with Luciano Petech (the well-known historian of Tibet and disciple of Tucci), whom he had met in the internment camp at Premnagar (see De Rossi Filibeck and Bray 2011: 8), and it is possible that Aufschnaiter received one or more of Giuseppe Tucci's works from Petech, from whom he received his doctoral dissertation (Petech 1939)—as evidenced by a copy bearing a handwritten German dedication to Peter Aufschnaiter: "Dedicated warmly to a comrade in captivity and Tibetan studies, Premnagar, behind the wire" ("Kamerad in Gefangenschaft und tibetischen Studien herzlich gewidmet, Premnagar, hinter'm Draht"; personal communication from Anna Bechteler, 13.09.2022). In 1973, obviously just before his *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet, 1728–1059* went to print, Luciano Petech added "To my Peter!" (as Peter Aufschnaiter was called by his closest companions) as a lasting dedication to his "comrade".

Aufschnaiter and Tucci later met in person in Lhasa (1948), where they spoke Italian with each other, and Tucci was deeply impressed by Aufschnaiter's knowledge of Tibetan. See also Tucci 1976.

³³ A number of Tucci's books were published with maps. The earliest among them which might have been of interest and known to Peter Aufschnaiter is the map contained in Tucci 1933 (related to his 1931 expedition). This covers more or less the whole area of Peter Aufschnaiter's escape route from near Dehradun up to mTsho Ma 'pham. In certain areas it is not very detailed and the spellings of the names do not agree in various cases with the ones used by Aufschnaiter. The likeliest candidates used by Peter Aufschnaiter are the maps related to the 1933 expedition contained in Tucci and Ghersi 1934 (and in its English version, Tucci and Ghersi 1935), Tucci 1935 and, related to the 1935 expedition, Tucci 1937. It is known that Giuseppe Tucci, like Peter Aufschnaiter a few years later, used maps of the Survey of India during his expeditions of 1931 and 1933 (see Nalesini 2008: 83). Tucci's repeated claims that "the maps of the Survey of India often proved outdated and rarely useful" (*ibid.*: 85) can be taken as evidence that despite their shortcomings he did use these maps in the absence of a better alternative.

survey of around eighty places and sites all over mNga' ris, there are until now very few written sources for some of the regions to the north of the Spiti Valley up to Garthok.

Other sources used by Peter Aufschnaiter likely included maps found in the works of Sven Hedin, who had travelled and explored these regions in 1907.³⁴ Peter Aufschnaiter was apparently unfamiliar with the works and research expeditions of August Hermann Francke in this area (see, e.g., Francke 1914). Even the presence of Moravian missionaries in Upper Kinnaur—where they operated a mission station in Pooh from 1865 to 1924 (see, for example, Bray 1992)—was apparently unknown to him.

It is currently unclear which map series from the Survey of India he had access to for this region. Some of these maps, such as Map Sheet *Western Tibet* (1941 edition), were subject to strict restrictions for non-military users at the time. For the area around mTsho Ma 'pham (Lake Manasarovar) and Gangs Ti se (Mount Kailas) as well as Garhwal, he had studied and copied maps from works by Svāmī Pranavānanda, which had been published in India by 1941 at the latest and were therefore accessible to him without major difficulties.³⁵

³⁴ See Hedin 2002 (1913). As stated later by Peter Aufschnaiter in a letter to Sven Hedin dated 8 September 1947, he was familiar with Hedin's *Transhimalaja* from his time in secondary school: "As a student in secondary school, one of the first books I ever read was your then newly published *Transhimalaja*." ("Als Schüler am Gymnasium war eines der ersten Bücher, das ich überhaupt las, Ihr damals gerade herausgekommenes *Transhimalaja*."; VMZ S/1/009/15/4).

³⁵ Answering a letter by one Asphandiar D. Moddie, who had read Peter Aufschnaiter's account of his "epic journey" in the *Himalayan Journal* (Aufschnaiter 1948), he wrote on 6 Nov. 1949: "It may interest you that I have got some very valuable assistance, in the preparation of the maps for our journey, from your country man Swami Pranavanda [sic!], although not known to him. I had seen an advertisement of his book "A Pilgrim's Guide to the Holy Kailas and Manasarowar" and suspecting that it might contain maps I ordered it hoping that owing to its innocent title it might escape the attention of the censor of the internment camp in Dehra Dun. And so it happened that I got some important additions for our map not only for Tibet but also for Garhwal." (VMZ S/1/009/12/8).

Svāmī Pranavānanda (1896–1941) was an Indian yogi who visited the region around Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarovar from Garhwal in the years 1928, 1936/37, 1938, 1939, and 1940. Several books were published about these journeys: *Om: Pilgrim's Guide to the Holy Kailas and Manasarovar* (1938); *Exploration in Tibet* (1939), a copy of which from Peter Aufschnaiter's library is held at the Ethnographic Museum at the University of Zurich.

The full title of the "1938" book is: *Om: Pilgrim's Guide to the Holy Kailas and Manasarovar, Containing Elaborate Descriptions of 11 Routes to the Holy Kailas and Manasarovar and also to the "Sources of the Four Great Rivers" of this Region as well as the Pindari Glacier with 90 Illustrations and 5 Maps and Notes on Important Places with All Particulars Required by Pilgrims and Tourists*, published at Allahabad by Rai Sahib Ram Dayal Agarwala according to the imprint. In the "Foreword" (p. ii) of this work, written by S. Raju, lectures held between 1939 and 1941 about these

Equipped with his copies of these maps, Peter Aufschnaiter started from Pooh on 18 June 1944, accompanied by a young local guide from the village (replaced after a few days by another one), with the declared goal of going to Le (Leh), the capital of Ladakh. In fact, his real plan according to a note in his diary (26 June), was to reach Trashigang (bKra shis sgang) on the Seng ge kha 'babs (Indus) and proceed on the 'North Route' (that is, via the Northern Plateau, Byang thang) towards Central Tibet and Lhasa, thereby evading major places in order not be detected. The further route led him first back to Namgya, on to Gyemor,³⁶ Nako (gNas sgo), Chango (lCang), Zangzam (Zang zam),³⁷ Kyurik/Kyürik (Khu rig), Tshurip (mTsho rub), passing near Totsho (mDo mtsho), on to Jampa/Jamba (Zam pa), Nagün (Nags kun), Sumgyil (gSum dkyil), Dündün (mDun mdun), Lhatseri (La rtse ri), Sumlakar (gSum mkhar), Largyab (La rgyab), Budbud La (Bod pa'i la), Takum La (lTa gum la),³⁸ and eventually via some more small places to Trashigang (bKra shis sgang, written by him in Tibetan 'khyug yig script) (28 June 1944).

On the way, most probably helped by his guide, he recorded information on these places based to a large degree on exchange with various locals. Information such as the number of houses, and yak and sheep kept, as well as social nomenclature, but also on specific economic activities (such as yoghurt production, hunting, transport of wood for construction purposes, yak caravans transporting wool bales), and other observations (occurrence of flowers, weather phenomena, etc.). From Trashigang, where he was refused purchase of any foodstuff—like Kopp and Harrer, who had arrived there a few

journeys are also mentioned. Furthermore, in his own preface (pp. v–vi), the author refers to his stays in Western Tibet in 1939 and 1940, making it unclear when exactly the book was printed—though almost certainly by 1941 at the latest, which would have allowed Peter Aufschnaiter to order it from the internment camp in Dehradun.

³⁶ "Gyemor lies high up on the slope. Just one or two houses, a small pond with green grass and trees—a magnificent spot on earth. About 200 meters higher lies Trashigang [i.e., Khu nu bKra shis sgang]." The local Tibetan name of this place is rGyas mur (information by bDe chen lhun grub, Tabo, Spiti valley, personal communication Oct. 12, 2025), a place whose existence and name are not known from any other written source or map, except Peter Aufschnaiter's route sketch map from ca. 1944–1946.

³⁷ Undoubtedly the 'Zangzam bridge' referred to by Francke (1914: 35) (*zam pa*, Tibetan for bridge), not mentioned by anyone else. From there, he turned to the north, leaving Spiti in the direction of (Byang) bKra shis sgang on the Indus.

³⁸ The spelling of names is rendered as in Peter Aufschnaiter's diary/late sketch map, the Tibetan spelling in parenthesis according to bDe chen lhun grub, personal communication Oct. 12, 2025. For the Tibetan spelling of some of them, see also Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2006: 271, 275.



Figure 2: Sketch map “Raksha – Takum La” drawn by Peter Aufschnaiter (ca. 1944–1946), ca. 24.8 x 30.4 cm (VMZ S/I/009/A6, recto). The spelling of place names is largely identical with those used by Giuseppe Tucci in his publications between 1934 and 1937.

days before him—Aufschnaiter, again preceded by the two others,³⁹ headed on toward Gargülsa (sGar dgun sa), rightly referred to by him as the “winter residence” of the highest Tibetan officials in charge of Western Tibet, and arrived at “Gartok” (as it was often found on maps despite the common local designation sGar dbyar sa) on 4 July 1944.

“Tuesday, July 4. [...] There are areas here where airplanes could easily land.⁴⁰ In Gartok, I head straight for Harrer’s tent

³⁹ As described by Kopp, at sGar dgon sa he and Harrer were offered a “lamiak” (this is, *lam yig*) to Lhasa by a young Tibetan, in exchange for a watch. “He also showed us a written document; but as neither of us could read the Tibetan script we resisted the temptation, [...]. Once more we greatly missed Aufschnaiter with his knowledge of language and its script”. (Kopp 1957: 119).

⁴⁰ A prophetic statement which became true in 2010 when Ali Kunsha (Ngari Günsa, Tibetan mNga' ris dGun sa) Airport at 4,274 m altitude above sea-level started operating (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ngari_Gunsa_Airport; last access 05.11.2025).

and pitch my own tent nearby, on a kind of peninsula. In Gartoks,⁴¹ there are the two houses of Uko Kongma and Uko Okma,⁴² as well as a few other houses and tents, and a small monastery.⁴³ H. and K.⁴⁴ spend the afternoon at Uko Ok's. The Kong is currently on a pilgrimage to Kang Rimpoche.⁴⁵ The Ok is very friendly. Both are thrilled by the delicacies offered to them there—Zho,⁴⁶ and especially fine Tsampa.⁴⁷

Wednesday, July 5. In the morning, I go to see the Ok. However, he is not particularly friendly. The woman present seems nervous; she would like to have medicine. The house is rather sparsely furnished.

Thursday, July 6 – Tuesday, July 11. Between July 6 and 11, we make several visits to Uko Kongma, who returned from his

⁴¹ Possibly rendering sGar thogs, an uncommon spelling of this place.

⁴² These two designations correspond to the Tibetan *dbu gur gong ma* and *dbu gur 'og ma*, where *dbu gur* is the honorific form of *gur*, meaning 'tent'—a term used for the tents of high-ranking individuals, in this case specifically the two highest officials of the province mNga' ris (*gong ma*, "the upper", and *'og ma*, "the lower, lesser"), whose title was sTod mNga' ris sgar dpon (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2006: 76), literally (and historically) "military commander of Western Tibet" or "governor general" (Travers 2011: 171). Later, the administrative structure of mNga' ris skor gsum, consisting of two General Governors (*dbu gur gong 'og*, "Upper and Lower Tent"), four districts (*rdzong bzhi*), and six governors (*dpon drug*), was established, with the highest authorities being the *dbu gur gong 'og* or two *spyi khyab* (gZhung Karma rgyal mtshan 1996: 41; see also *ibid.*: 38–56). Like almost all lay officials (*drung 'khor*) of the dGa' ldan pho brang government of the Dalai Lama, they were aristocrats (*sger pa*) by social status. See, among others, Goldstein 1968, Travers 2011 and 2012.

⁴³ Tucci and Ghersi (1935: 144), who visited this place eleven years before Peter Aufschnaiter, described it as follows: "There are only two houses, in which live the *Garpön*, and some huts for servants; then a certain number, somewhat fluctuating, of tents—great tents of black wool in which the merchants live." Except for the "small monastery," this description roughly matches that of Peter Aufschnaiter's and Sven Hedin's observations in 1907: "It is a village of the simplest kind, some white and black tents besides several modest huts." (Hedin 1913: 32); "One day I betook myself to the small temple of Gartok, the Gar-yarsa-gompa, a cloister with eight monks under the control of Tashi-gang." (*ibid.*: 34). The depiction of this place on the drawings of the so-called Wise Collection from around 1857/58 shows three separate buildings, one of which is two-storied and another with a three-part structure on the roof, presumably indicating the seat of protective deities, seven black-hair tents, and a square compound with two gates (British Library, Add. Or. 3015; see also Lange 2020: 295). All sources since the mid-19th century confirm that the two highest officials resided in houses and that the original military purpose of the location and its officials had shifted to administrative-economic functions, with the military aspect preserved only in the titles.

⁴⁴ Aufschnaiter's usual abbreviation in the diary for Harrer and Kopp.

⁴⁵ Tibetan Gangs Rin po che (literally "noble snow mountain"); in the *Transcript* (p. 46) referred to as "Kailas".

⁴⁶ Tibetan *zho*, yoghurt.

⁴⁷ Tibetan *rtsam pa*, roasted barley flour.

pilgrimage on July 7. As he arrived on a beautiful horse, wearing a pointed hat,⁴⁸ he cast a friendly glance toward us. On July 8,⁴⁹ during our first visit, he received us very warmly—about 35 years old, very likeable, with a regular face and courteous manners.⁵⁰ He invites me, likely because I'm older, to sit at the same level as himself. We are served milk tea and pastries, and as at great meals, Gyathu.⁵¹ He is very interested in everything, though he knows little about the world, yet he expresses sympathy toward Germany. He met the Schäfer people in Lhasa, whom he liked very much—tall men with strong beards, he says, who drank a lot. He is also nationalistic⁵² and aware of the loss

⁴⁸ This seems to refer to a hat (*zhwa mo lcags mda'*) worn by high-ranking officials during the time of the dGa' ldan Pho brang government in summer.

⁴⁹ From this very day dates a memorandum sent by the "Under the Secretary to the Government of India in the External Affairs Department to the Political Officer in Sikkim" (Sir Basil Gould) regarding the "Escape of German internees from the Premnagar Internee Camp at Dehra Dun", presented and discussed in detail together with further administrative reports, involving the British Trade Agency in Gartok, by John Bray (2021). These reports (together with others not yet studied) throw new light on the interests and activities of British Indian administrative officials, political representatives as well intelligence officers vis-à-vis Tibet and the escapees who were all quite well informed about the escapees' route but did not succeed in taking effective action. From one of these records (Government of India, External Affairs Department, N.E.F. Branch, File No. 10(23)_NEF/47, No. A/309/1087, 19 July 1947, kept in the National Archives of India) information about the belongings of Peter Aufschnaiter in the Internment Camp as per 14 July 1947, is available in some detail. They included among others "16 maps - mostly 'home-made' and a few school atlases" and "29 exercise books - notes on study of languages", all described as "quite innocuous".

⁵⁰ As analysed by Melvyn Goldstein (1968) and more recently by Alice Travers (e.g., Travers 2011 and 2012), most officials of the dGa' ldan pho brang government of the Dalai Lama were of aristocratic descent. In the case of lay officials (*drung 'khor*), this was almost without exception, and members of the aristocracy held estates in exchange for which they were obliged to perform official duties. The role of the *sgar dpon* in Western Tibet was exceptional in that both positions were held by (aristocratic) lay officials belonging to the fifth rank (Goldstein 1968: 35). In a recent study of the Tibetan aristocracy around 1830, Dieter Schuh estimates their number at at least 1,000 families with more than 6,000 members (cf. Schuh 2024: 256).

⁵¹ Tibetan *rgya thug*, a soup dish with long, thin noodles in the Chinese style. Charles Bell reported that in the 1920s, Chinese dishes were highly popular among aristocrats in Lhasa and formed a significant part of their lifestyle: "M., being exceptionally addicted to good living, would have four or five courses in the Chinese style; rice or vermicelli with soup; [...] These Chinese meals are expensive; those who are economical take ordinary Tibetan food." (Bell 1928: 96). This corresponds to Peter Aufschnaiter's phrase "as at great meals." According to Bell's account of Tibetan eating habits in Lhasa, it was defined as: "It may be served with minced meat, spices, and thin strips of dough, and is then known as 'Chinese soup' [*rgya thug*]." (*ibid.*: 222).

⁵² It is unclear whether Peter Aufschnaiter's comparative characterisation "also nationalistic" refers to the "Schäfer people" (the "German Tibet Expedition [led

of Tibetan territories. The room he lives in is bright and friendly, beautifully furnished. In the centre of one wall is a kind of throne, above which hangs the appointment certificate written in U-tshen⁵³ on yellow silk, bearing the seal of the Depazhung.⁵⁴

Regarding our further plans, various suggestions are made. On the first day, the Kong tells us that after consulting with his colleague, he will make a proposal the next day. The proposal is that we could go to Kang Rimpoche and then return to Ladakh. At one point, the idea arises to telegraph to Lhasa via Leh. We visit almost daily. He has a very kind wife with such perfect teeth that one might think they are false due to their regularity. He also has a son with long hair who writes beautifully and helps with documents. The Nyerpa, an old man who sells us food, is also very benevolent towards us. H. buys a wool blanket, Tsudru.⁵⁵ For shoe purchases, the Nyerpa brings a dozen or more pairs, but they are all very small (K. lost a shoe while crossing a stream, after H. had bought a nice pair of size 10 shoes in Shipki; H. gave him his own left shoe and wore Persian fabric shoes himself). Eventually, my suggestion to go to Nepal is accepted. The territory of the Ukokongma's province extends east to Nakchak,⁵⁶ and he could provide us with a *lamyig* up to that point (due to the feudal-medieval organisation of Tibetan administration, there are no strict borders, so some rights overlap—for example, the Gyabna Pömpo⁵⁷ is in some respects subordinate to the Kong, in others independent, and in some matters responsible to the Saka Dzongpön).⁵⁸ He searches my dictionary for words, and when he finds the word for “to swear an oath,” he repeatedly insists that we swear to leave Tibetan territory and go to Nepal, otherwise he would be punished—with the characteristic gesture of throat-slitting using the right

by] Ernst Schäfer”, financed and carried out by order of the “Institute der Forschungsgemeinschaft Deutsches Ahnenerbe”, an SS organisation founded in 1935 by Heinrich Himmler) or also, or primarily, to his own views. On this organisation and *Sturmbannführer* Ernst Schäfer, one of its leading members, see Mierau 2006.

⁵³ Tibetan *dbu can*, a script used in block prints or later printed works, literally “(letters) with a head(line).”

⁵⁴ sDe pa gzhung, Tibetan name for the Dalai Lama's government, identical with dGa' ldan pho brang, literally “Ganden Palace,” the name of the religious-administrative seat of the Dalai Lama in the Drepung ('Bras spungs) Monastery until the move to the Potala Palace in the late 1640s (see <https://texts.mandala.library.virginia.edu/text/introduction-ganden-palace-polity>; last access 10.09. 2025).

⁵⁵ Tibetan *gtsugs phrug*, “a type of shaggy woolen bedding/blanket” (Goldstein et al. 2001: 852).

⁵⁶ Nag chag.

⁵⁷ rGyab nag *dpon po*.

⁵⁸ Sa dga' *rdzong dpon*.

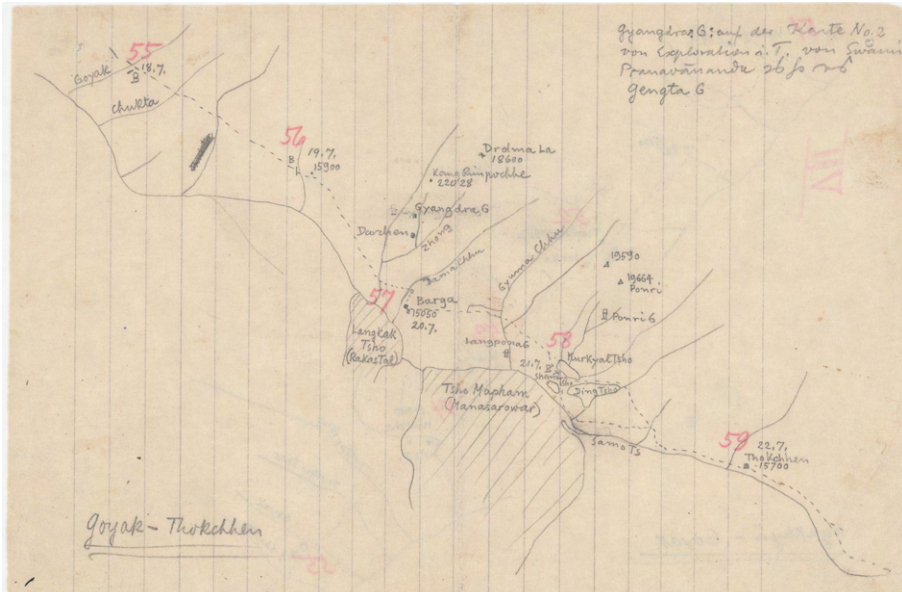


Figure 4: Sketch map “Goyak – Thokchhen” drawn by Peter Aufschnaiter (ca. 1944–1946), ca. 17 x 22.4 cm (VMZ S/I/009/A8, verso); spelling of places partly derived from those in the lam yig.

July 12. A good part of the day is spent writing letters, especially to the Depazhung, which is wrapped in red cloth. Also to the Gyabna Dzongpön.⁶¹ They give us a sack of Tsampa, meat, and butter.⁶² We receive a *lamyig* [travel permit],⁶³ listing the following places: rña-k’yud, ser-sog, mon-tshe, bar-dgā, thog-c’en, lhod-luñ, sram-tshañ, gru-gsum, rgyab-nak, skra-bdun.⁶⁴ (Orally, Uko Ok mentioned: Thoghchhen, Nyoktse, Kungyü, Dün La, Tramalung (=Tralung), Hramtdsang Tazam, Nakchak (2 passes), Druksum Tazam, Gyabna Dzong, Damrab.)⁶⁵ A man

explicitly to the “address” of the *sgar dpon ’og* his comment can perhaps be understood as referring to the person any writing should be sent to care of, presumably rather a *phyag mdzod* with the family name Rab khang pa than the other way round.

⁶¹ District governor (*rdzong dpon*) of the rGyab nag district, perhaps identical with the aforementioned rGyab nag *dpon po*.

⁶² Obviously, without any need of payment contrary to what was already customary for foreign travellers by this time (see Arslan 2023: 170).

⁶³ On the *lam yig*, see the section below and Figures 5 and 6.

⁶⁴ In the document, the following Tibetan spellings appear: rNga khyud, Ser sog, Mon tshe (now usually Mon tsher), Bar dga’, Thog chen, lHod lung, Sram tshang, Gru gsum, rGyab nag (VMZ S/I/008/025/78).

⁶⁵ The Tibetan spellings of these places are Nyog rtse, Gung rgyud, Thun/mDun la, Gra (ma) lung; Sram tshang *rta zam*, the postal station (*rta zam*, cf. Jäschke 1871: 216) of Sram tshang (for the postal station system, see e.g., Maurer 2019), Nag chag,

familiar with these regions was also consulted. A file was created under the title: *sbyar man gsum skor sñan 'adzin*.⁶⁶ Incidentally, there was also a plan to write to Lhasa, and we were to wait here for three months or longer in the meantime. So we finally found a good reception in Tibet, thanks to the kind nature of one man, Salungpa Kusho,⁶⁷ for the Ok alone would surely not have decided in this way. We bid a heartfelt farewell to the high lords.⁶⁸ K. had repaired the Kong's telescope by soldering it."⁶⁹

The lam yig document: Analysis and context

The above-mentioned *lam yig* is an example of an official travel document issued by the dGa' ldan pho brang government of the Dalai Lama. As Saadet Arslan has recently pointed out in an instructive overview of this type of document, this is "an official paper granting privileges to designated people" (Arslan 2023: 155), which was issued by different authorities of the Tibetan state, beside the Dalai Lama, the Council of Ministers (*bka' shag*) and Ambans (the Qing imperial residents in Tibet), also subordinate governmental offices and departments and their incumbent representatives, such as the *sgar dpon gong* of mNga' ris. Also foreigners were among the recipients of such *lam yig* in that they could serve as an entry visa to Tibet (Wylie 1968: 150). The *lam yig* issued to Peter Aufschnaiter, Heinrich Harrer and Hans Kopp by the mNga' ris skor gsum sPyi 'doms lhan khang, that is, by order of the higher (*dbu gur gong ma*) of the two sTod *sgar dpon*, which carries the designation *lag 'khyer* ("passport, permit, certificate"),⁷⁰ is therefore not exceptional although they were already within Tibetan territory. It was of a limited temporary nature and solely granted for the specific purpose of travelling from sGar dbyar

Gru gsum *rta zam*, rGyab nag *rdzong* (fortress or seat of the district administration of rGyab nag), Dam rab (spelling based on personal information by Tsering Drongshar, in addition *Sa bkra* 1981).

⁶⁶ "Memorandum (*snyan 'dzin*) about the three Germans (*sbyar man* for '*jar man*)."

⁶⁷ "His Excellency (*sku zhabs / gzhogs*) Sa lung pa."

⁶⁸ In his article in the *Himalayan Journal*, Peter Aufschnaiter summarised the stay at Gartok and the issuing of the *lam yig* very briefly, rephrasing the free provisions given for the next few stops of the diary entry into "welcome presents": At "Gartok [...] negotiations began in a friendly atmosphere. The Garpöns agreed to provide us with a *lamyig* (passport) to the border of the district of Gyabnak, where we were to turn south for Nepal, and also surprised us with welcome presents of dried meat, [t]sampa, and butter. We had to wait eleven days in Gartok before we set off on 14th July accompanied by a servant and three baggage yaks." (Aufschnaiter 1948: 116).

⁶⁹ See Appendix II for the original version in German.

⁷⁰ The term pass(port) is used in Harrer's account (Harrer 1952: 42–43).

sa to the rGyab nag District and leaving Tibet from there for Nepal (Bal yul) via Mustang (Glo bo).

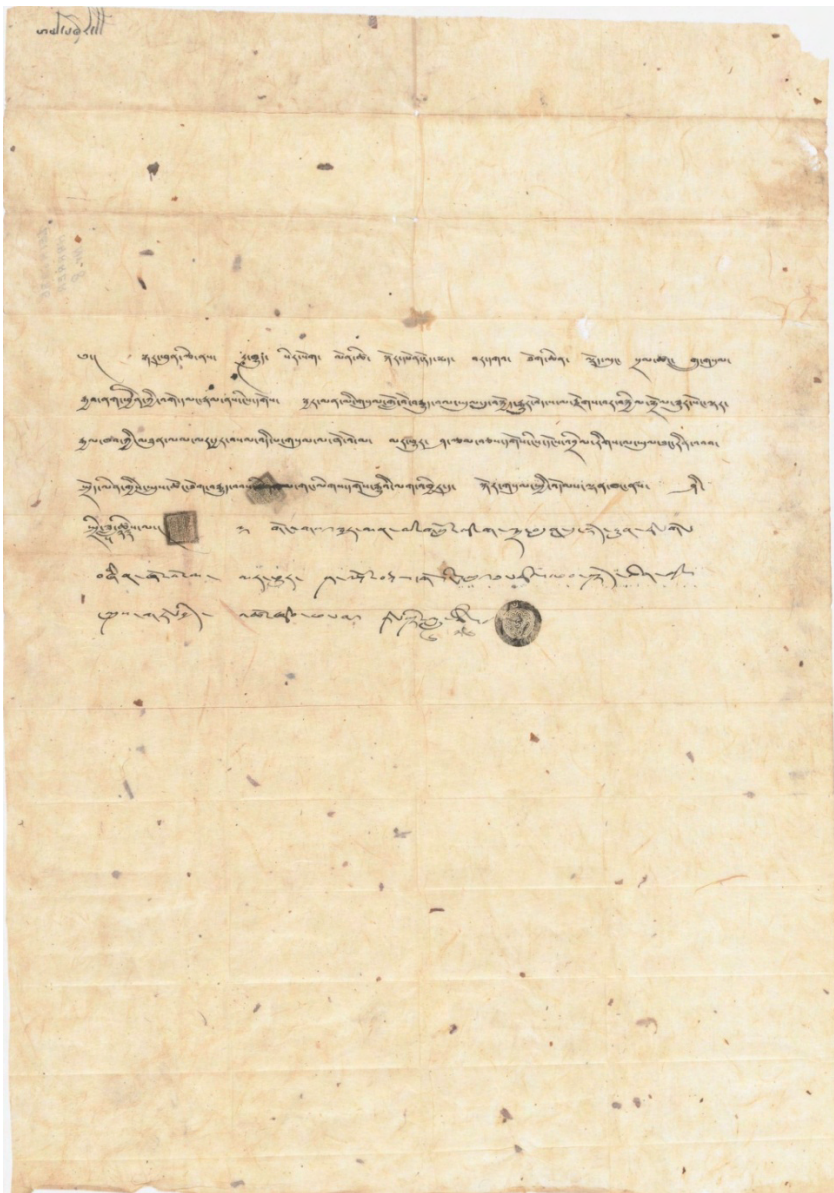


Figure 5: Travel document (lam yig) – designated passport (lag 'khyer) – issued to Peter Aufschnaiter, Heinrich Harrer and Hans Kopp on 13 July 1944 by the mNga' ris skor gsum sPyi 'doms lhan khang by order of the sTod mNga' ris sgar dpon gong Sa lung pa (VMZ S/I/008/025/78, recto), ca. 65.5 x 45.5 cm.

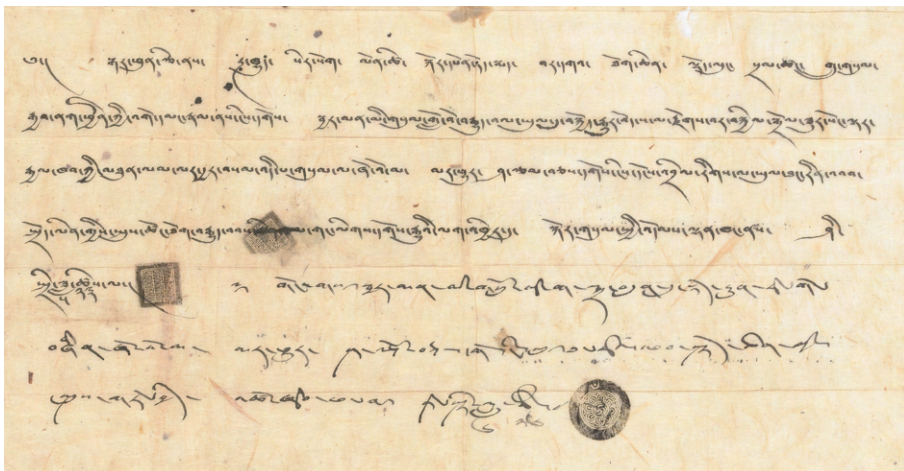


Figure 6: Detail of Figure 5 (VMZ S/I/008/025/78, recto).

External description

The document, written on Tibetan paper (*bod shog*), is approximately 45.5 cm wide and 65.5 cm long. Centred text block: approx. 7.5 x 35 cm. Right edge: ca. 2.5 cm. Top margin: 18 cm. Left border: ca. 2 cm. Lower edge: 30 cm.⁷¹ Folded first from bottom to top 12 times (resulting in 13 wraps) and then the right and left sides, three times vertically (writing *lag 'khyer* on the right side);⁷² *tshugs* (lines 1–5) and *'khyug* (lines 5–7) handwriting, using black ink (*snag tsha*) and bamboo pen (*si smyug*).

Transcription of the document

Front side (VMZ S/I/008/025/78, recto)

[line 1] @/ *sgar phun rtse nas/ rnga khyud/ ser sog/ mon tshe/ skor dpon stod smad/ bar dga'/ thog chen/ lhod lung/ sram tshang/ gru gsum/* [line 2] *rgyab nag phyin kyi 'go dmang [dmangs] rnam [rnams] nas nges dgos/ sbyar [(')jar] man mi gsum glo bo brgyud bal yul du bskyod rgyur bod sa ma rdzogs bar bskyel sgrol zur song ltar/* [line 3] *rgyal khab kyi mthun lam lar*

⁷¹ Some of the measurements are close to that of “Lam yig n°2” in Arslan 2023: 180f., the length (64 cm) and lower edge (30 cm) are even identical, indicating a certain standardisation of paper size and writing area.

⁷² The lower border is possibly damaged or partly missing; cf. “Lam yig n°2” in Arslan (2023: 180), folded 14 times. When official documents were sent back and forth within Tibet, there were significant differences in paper size, the amount of blank space at the beginning of the writing, and the number of folds and wraps, depending on the recipient's rank. For example, there were three-folds and two-folds, and nine, seven, or five wraps, indicating differences in rank. See Nor rgyas nang pa dbang 'dus tshe ring 1990: 3–8.

rgyar bsam 'di pa gsum la zho 'o ma/ mar phyur/ sha rtsam bcas dgos nges
 dngos 'brel rigs la yul thang rin 'bab [line 4] sprod len gyis spus tshong thog
 brgyud babs len [seal]⁷³ lam gang legs dgos rgyu'i lag 'khyer du/ skor gsum
 spyi 'doms lhan khang nas/ shi spre [shing spre] zla 5 tshes 23 la/ [seal] @
 gong gsal jar man gyi mi gsum 'di ga skra bdun du sdod rgyun ring/ gong
 [line 6] bzhin zho 'o ma/ mar phyur/ sha rtsam bcas dgos nges yul thang rin
 'bab sprod chen [len] gyis [line 7] spus gtong byed/ 'tsho zhib khang nas/
 shing spre zla 6 tshes 26 la/ [seal]⁷⁴



Figure 7: Seal of the sTod sgar dpon / mNga' ris skor gsum sPyi 'doms lhan khang
 (VMZ S/I/008/025/78, recto).

Reverse side (VMZ S/I/008/025/78, verso), lower left corner (turning
 over the front side upside down)

lag 'khyer

Translation

From sGar Phun rtse:⁷⁵ To be noted by the upper and lower district

⁷³ This square seal (ca. 1.8 x 1.8 cm) in 'Phags pa or *hor yig* script, which is identical to the one on the next line at the end of the protocol, belongs to the mNga' ris skor gsum sPyi 'doms lhan khang, "General Office" or "Chief Council" in charge of mNga' ris skor gsum, that is, "The Three Circles of Western Tibet", historically relating to different areas. According to Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, after the 17th century, this relates to Ru thog, Gu ge, and sPu rang (see Jahoda 2021: 79). See Schuh (2018: 327) and Schuh and Bertsch (2023: 565) for an illustration of this seal (presumably from 1920) with the inscription "stod sgar dpon gyi las tham rgyal lo" ("Official seal of the sTod sgar dpon. Victory!").

⁷⁴ This round seal (approx. 2.5 cm in diameter) features an eight-petalled lotus flower (*me tog pad ma*) motif, with a right-turning swastika (*g.yung drung nang skor*) at the centre, and topped by a sun and moon (*nyi zla*) motif.

⁷⁵ The name of the residence of the sgar dpon, in full sGar phun tshogs rtse (Tshe ring chos 'phel 2016: 161, *passim*).

officials at rNga khyud, Ser sog, Mon tshe, [and] all the leaders and common people of Bar dga', Thog chen, lHod lung, Sram tshang, Gru gsum, [and] rGyab nag. Three German persons travel via Mustang to Nepal. Because of this, as long as they are on the territory of Tibet, according to the respectful custom of amicable relationships between (our) countries, these three [persons] must be provided substantially with whatever is necessary in terms of yoghurt, milk, butter, cheese, meat [and] tsampa, (which) are to be sold at local prices and costs, have to be of good quality and be delivered according to the permit. [Issued] by the [mNga' ris] skor gsum sPyi 'doms lhan khang,⁷⁶ on the 23rd day of the fifth month of the Wood-Ape year.⁷⁷

During the stay of the above-mentioned three German persons at sKra bdun, as before, yoghurt, milk, butter, cheese, meat [and] tsampa are to be delivered at local prices and costs.⁷⁸ [Issued] by the 'Tsho zhib khang,⁷⁹ on the 26th day of the sixth month of the Wood-Ape year.⁸⁰

Cartographic contributions: Sketch maps and archival insights

The pencil sketch maps of his escape route from Dehradun to Tradün (bKra bdun [(rtse)], where Peter Aufschnaiter arrived on 13 August 1944 with his German refugee companions, count 74 stations. Based on comparative analysis of the paper and writing utensils used (pencil, partly ink) as well as the written information on them, they seem to have been drawn by him at the earliest at Tradün (where he stayed until 17 December 1944). The sketch of Map Sheet "I"⁸¹ (Figure 1) as well as those of Map Sheets II–V (up to stop 41) are all done with ink and numbered with Roman numerals in red colour pencil on clean greyish paper. Map Sheet I has a few additional references to his diaries written with pencil, for example, (stop) 1, (Diary No.) I, (pp.) 3–

⁷⁶ The "General Office" or "Chief Council" (of mNga' ris skor gsum) represented by the *sgar dpon*.

⁷⁷ 13 July 1944.

⁷⁸ Or *yul srol*, customary "local rate" (Arslan 2023: 170).

⁷⁹ "Office looking after the 'life' (livelihood) of people", seemingly a government office locally in charge (under the power of the sPyi 'doms lhan khang) of guaranteeing or overseeing support for passport bearers, among others.

⁸⁰ 14 August 1944.

⁸¹ The Roman numerals on these sheets are not running numbers as might be understood from examples I–V with empty reverse sides but seem to have been meant by him as referring to sheets (similar to the Tibetan folio system) or "plates" showing sketches of maps on "a / verso" and "b / reverse" sides. This is evident in the case of Map Sheets VI–VIII, with sketches also drawn on the reverse sides, however without showing a numeral.

4, 5.⁸² The comparative preliminary analysis of his style of handwriting, use of ink and colour pencil, system of numbering and paginating his diaries suggests that the sketches with these features were most probably not done by him before the arrival in Lhasa, perhaps around mid-1947. They were based on earlier sketches, such as the example of Figure 2 shows ("Raksha bis [to] Takum La", which resulted in the "clean" version comprising parts of Map Sheet IV and all of Map Sheet V). This basic sketch was made on a yellowish, slightly worn and folded paper (with the sketch map of "Nelang – Raksha" on its reverse side for economic reasons), such as he could have brought along or gotten hold of on the way. The drawing only by pencil and the numbering of stops added with red pencil, obviously done after having arrived at a major break (where a retrospective overview was possible), suggest that this may have been created in this form at the earliest during the four-month-stay at Tradün. Fittingly, Figure 1 does not have any indications of the altitude of the places, while Figure 2 has a few (Sumeru Monastery, 2 June 1944, 10,275 feet; Shipki La, 15,400; [Khu nu] Trashigang, 17,845), obviously based on bearings made with the help of Harrer's compass. After the separation from Harrer and Kopp in mid-June 1944 near Namgya, the next information on the altitude of a place is at Gartok (Garyarsa; sGar dbyar sa), 15,100 (see Figure 3), after rejoining there with Harrer and Kopp (stop 50, 4–13 July 1944).

Like that of Figure 2, the sketch maps of the further route (which will be discussed in greater detail in the planned edition of Peter Aufschnaiter's legacy), are done on face and reverse sides of sheets, lined and slightly over A5 size (17 x 22.4 cm). They comprise the stops 42–45 (Map Sheet VI, recto: "Takum La – Trashigang"); 45–50 (Map Sheet VI, verso: "Trashigang – Ngakyü",⁸³ 51–55 (Map Sheet VII, recto: "Ngakhyü – Goyak"); 55–59 (Map Sheet VII verso: "Goyak – Thokchen", see Figure 4);⁸⁴ 59–66 (Map Sheet VIII, recto: "Thokchen

⁸² This is evidence for the essential importance the diaries had for him as basic first-hand sources for the elaboration of maps and papers at various later points of time.

⁸³ With a footnote near stop 43 "Biwak" (bivouac) (26.6.1944) in shorthand, "meeting K. and H." ("Zusammentreffen mit K. [Kopp] und H. [Harrer]"; transcription by Claudia C. Aufschnaiter).

⁸⁴ With a note on the upper right corner: "Gyangdra G[ompa]: on the Map No. 2 of Exploration in Tibet by Swami Pranavānanda the monastery reads Gengta G[ompa]" ("Gyangdra G: auf der Karte No. 2 von Exploration i. T. von Swami Pranavānanda heißt das Kloster Gengta G"; transcription by Claudia C. Aufschnaiter).

– Hramtshang”),⁸⁵ and 66–74 (Map Sheet VIII, verso: “Hramtshang – Tradün”).⁸⁶

The symbolic features on these sketch maps include signs (as was the convention in maps of this time) for named places/settlements, mountain peaks, passes, as well as, less conventional, but increasingly from Gartok onward, separate signs for Buddhist monasteries (see, for example, Figure 3, “the small monastery” at sGar dbyar sa referred to in his diary entry, or Figure 4, monastic sites to the north of mTsho Ma ‘pham). In addition, a ‘Tibetanisation’ is notable in the labelling of topographic features, for example, the use of La (*la*) instead of pass (see Figure 4) and Ri (*ri*) instead of peak (or simply giving a local Tibetan name, such as “Kang Rimpochhe” for Mount Kailas), also “Tz” for *rta zam* station, and in particular for waterbodies, in the use of Tsho (*mtsho*) instead of Lake, and by differentiating the designation of watercourses according to local habits, for example, through reference to (main) rivers by “Ts” (*gtsang po*), to tributary rivers by “Chhu” (*chu*), and to (unnamed) rivulets by “Trokpo” (*grog po*).

On some sketch maps, individual labels were retraced in ink, meaning they were made more visible or even added at a later point—based on comparison with the diary. For example, on Map Sheet VI, recto, the dates of individual stations were apparently added; on Map Sheet VI, verso, the date of the stay in Gartok (Garyarsa) was written more clearly (and the earlier version apparently erased), and “Zhingkar Lake (salty) [salzig]” was added. In other words, the maps were minimally revised at a somewhat later stage (or stages) and brought into a kind of final form as much as time and necessity allowed or demanded. This approach was also typical for Peter Aufschnaiter when drafting documents such as letters, as well as manuscripts.

The “final” version (such as Figures 1, 3 and 4)—mainly revised on the basis of the diaries and occasionally supplemented with additional information—served as a valid reference, which could in turn form the basis for further elaboration. Like the drawings of settlements, monasteries and other religious buildings, mountains, glaciers, plants, and

⁸⁵ With two footnotes, no. 1 “Viewpoint Mountain” (“Aussichtsberg”), a mountain with a grand view of the Himalayas (as mentioned in the diary on 30 July 1944). To the south of the “Viewpoint Mountain”, the map shows three mountain peaks, two with their altitude, seemingly based on bearing measurements by Peter Aufschnaiter (Chemayungdrung 21,431 feet; Kubi Kangri 22,032 feet). The second footnote reads “Here we met a Gyabnak Nyerpa” (“Hier trafen wir einen Gyabnak Nyerpa”; transcription from shorthand by Claudia C. Aufschnaiter) as recorded in the diary entry.

⁸⁶ With a note on the lower left corner: “The area between Gyapnak [rGyab nag] and Thogchhen [Thog chen] is called Bongpa. The Gyapnak Pömpo [rGyab nag *dpon po*] is called Bong pa Chikyap [’Brong pa *spyi khab*].”; “Das Gebiet zw. Gyapnak und Thokchhen heisst Bongpa. Der Gyapnak Pömpo heisst Bongpa Chikyap.”)

further topographic works he made on the way and during his ten-month-stay at Kyirong (sKyī/d g/rong) in 1945, not to mention his photographs (from around May 1950), all information in these various media was interwoven in some way and often linked through written notes and sometimes numbered cross-references.⁸⁷ Following a pre-considered system, now and then readapted by Aufschnaiter, together with further materials produced and collected over time, they formed a kind of interconnected archival universe when he left Tibet on 22 January 1952.

Appendix I: Diary Entries 24 – 26 May 1944 (German)

“Mi. 24. Mai. Vormittag gehe ich ins Kloster zum Abt. Er ist etwa 40, sieht nicht vergeistigt aus und ist[,] wie sich bald zeigt[,] umso mehr an materiellen Dingen interessiert. Er will nichts davon wissen[,] dass wir nach O weitergehen, der Weg sei schlecht[,] mit tiefen Flüssen. Wenn er nach O geht, dann über Gartok. Er will mein goldenes Armband kaufen, von dem er durch den Chhandzö gehört habe, er bietet mir Gebäck aus Weizenmehl[,] in Butter gebacken[,] und gezuckerten Tee an. Er hat mehrere Gewehre und Revolver. [...]

Do. 25. Mai. Der Chhandzö sagt mir, dass wir alle 4 zusammen nach Shangtse gehen sollen. Ich solle einen Khata kaufen, das Wort hierfür hatte er zufällig im Wörterbuch gefunden a-she (second best quality, scarf), es koste 10 Rs. Damit würde ich beim Lama viel erreichen. Der Lama-Radza, wie er genannt wird, ist in der Tat sehr freundlich als ich zu ihm komme, aber für den Osten habe er keine Ermächtigung[,] uns weiter gehen zu lassen. Seine Aufgabe sei Beten, die weltliche Macht hätten die Garpöns in Gartok, sie seien lampa, ich soll einen Khata darbieten, sie würden mir einen Brief ausstellen, wenn ich ihnen noch ein Geschenk übergebe. Ich hatte einen Brief an den Lama geschrieben, den er versteckt. Er verspricht mir einen Brief für den Dzongpön in Shangtse mitzugeben. In der Klosterküche sind gewaltige Kessel, in grossen Öfen. Diese Lamas essen gut, Butter spielt keine Rolle[,] wieviel sie verbrauchen.

Fr. 26. Mai. Morgens gehe ich nochmals zum Lama. Er will unbedingt mein Armband haben, bietet 180.- in alten Silberrupees, er zog eine Feinwaage hervor und stellte genau das Gewicht fest. Den

⁸⁷ Cf. also Martina Wernsdörfer's finding "that Aufschnaiter did not think in isolated work units, but understood his work as an ongoing process of stages, each building on one another, and further that, in this process, drawing and photography represented equivalent, interwoven and complementary media." (Wernsdörfer 2018: 158–159).

Brief hatte er geschrieben und abgesandt." (VMZ S/I/009/01/02; transcription by Claudia C. Aufschnaiter).

Appendix II: Diary Entries 4 – 12 July 1944 (German)

"Hier sind Flächen vorhanden[,] auf denen Flugzeuge ohne weiteres landen könnten. In Gartok gehe ich gleich auf das Zelt Harrers zu und schlage dort mein Zelt auf, auf einer Art Halbinsel. In Gartoks sind die beiden Häuser des Uko Kongma und Uko Okma, ausserdem noch ein paar Häuser und Zelte, sowie ein kleines Kloster. H. und K. sind bis Nachmittag beim Uko Ok. Der Kong ist zur Zeit auf Wallfahrt am Kang rimpochhe. Der Ok ist sehr freundlich. Die beiden sind begeistert von den Genüssen[,] die ihnen dort aufgewartet wurden, Zho, besonders feiner Tsampa.

Mi. 5.7. Vormittag gehe ich zum Ok. Er ist aber nicht besonders freundlich. Die Frau[,] die hier ist macht[,] einen nervösen Eindruck, sie möchte gerne Medizinen haben. Das Haus ist ziemlich dürftig eingerichtet.

Do. 6.7.–11.7. In der Zeit vom 6.–11.7. machten wir mehrere Besuche beim Uko Kongma, der am 7.7. von der Wallfahrt zurückkam. Schon als er auf dem schönen Pferd ankam, mit dem spitzen Hut, warf er einen freundlichen Blick zu uns rüber. Als wir am 8.7. einen ersten Besuch bei ihm machen[,] empfing er uns überaus freundlich, ca. 35 Jahre, sehr symp.[,] regelmässiges Gesicht, verbindliche Manieren. Er lädt mich, wohl weil ich älter bin, ein[,] auf derselben Höhe zu sitzen wie er selbst. Wir bekommen Milchtee und Gepäck [sic], sowie wie bei grossen Essen[,] Gyathu. Er ist an allem sehr interessiert, von der Welt weiss er nicht viel, doch steht er Deutschland mit Sympathie gegenüber. Er hat die Schäferleute in Lhasa getroffen, die ihm sehr gut gefallen haben, grosse Leute mit starken Bärten, sagt er, die sehr viel getrunken haben. Er ist auch nationalistisch und ist sich des Verlustes tib. Gebiete bewusst. Der Raum[,] in dem er wohnt[,] ist hell und freundlich, sehr schön eingerichtet. In der Mitte der einen Wand ist eine Art Thron, über dem die Bestallungsurkunde [Blatt 16, verso; pagina 34] auf gelber Seide in U-tshen geschrieben ist, mit dem Siegel des Depazhung.

Bezüglich unserer weiteren Pläne werden verschiedene Vorschläge vorgebracht. Am ersten Tag sagt uns der Kong zu, dass er uns nach Beratung mit seinem Kollegen morgen einen Vorschlag machen würde. Dieser Vorschlag lautete, dass wir zum Kang-Rimpoche gehen könnten und dann nach Ladak[h] zurückkehren sollen, dann taucht einmal der Gedanke auf[,] über Le nach Lhasa zu telegraphieren. Wir gehen fast jeden Tag hin. Er hat eine sehr nette Frau, die so schöne

Zähne [hat], dass man wegen ihrer Regelmässigkeit denkt, sie seien falsch. Dann hat er einen Sohn mit langen Haaren, der sehr schön schreiben kann und Dokumente schreiben hilft. Uns gegenüber sehr wohlwollend ist auch der Nyerpa, ein alter Mann, der uns Lebensmittel verkauft. H. kauft eine Wolldecke, Tsudru, für Schuhkauf bringt der Nyerpa ein Dtzd. oder mehr Paare, die jedoch alle sehr klein sind, (K. hat bei einem Bachübergang einen Schuh verloren, nachdem H. ein paar schöne Schuhe No 10 in Shipki gekauft hatte; H. gab ihm seinen eigenen linken Schuh und ging selbst mit persischen Stoffschuhen). Angenommen wurde schliesslich ein Vorschlag von mir, dass wir nach Nepal gehen könnten. Das Gebiet der Provinz des Ukokongma reicht im Osten bis Nakchak, bis dahin könnte er uns einen lamyig geben (infolge der feudal-mittelalterl. Organisation der tib. Verwaltung ist es in Wirklichkeit so[,]) dass keine scharfen Grenzen sind, sodass manche Rechte übergreifen, z.B. untersteht der Gyabna Pömpo in manchem dem Kong, in manchem ist selbstständig, in manchem ist er dem Saka Dzongpön verantwortlich). Er sucht in meinem Wörterbuch nach Wörtern, als er das Wort für Eid leisten findet, weist er immer wieder darauf hin, wir sollten schwören, dass wir tib. Gebiet verlassen und nach Nepal gehen, denn sonst würde er bestraft[,]) mit der charakteristischen Bewegung des Halsabhackens mit der rechten Hand. Der Kong ist hier offenbar der Pömpo und der Ok ist nicht viel mehr als sein Sekretär; wenn beide anwesend sind, lädt der Kong den Ok immer ein auf gleicher Höhe zu sitzen, was letzterer jedoch ablehnt. Der Kong ist aus einer erstklassigen Lhasafamilie, sgar dpön goñ sa luñ pa; die Adresse des Ok lautet sgar dpön 'og shon luñ phyag mdzod rab khañ pa (phyag mdzod ist der Familienname).

Am 12. Juli vergeht ein gut Teil des Tages mit Schreiben von Briefen, vor allem an den Depazhung, der in roten Stoff eingewickelt wird. Dann an den Gyabna Dzongpön.

Die beiden geben uns einen Sack Tsampa, Fleisch, Butter. Wir erhalten einen lamyig[,]) in dem folgende Orte genannt sind: rña-k'yud, ser-sog, mon-tshe, bar-dgā, thog-c'en, lhod-luñ, sram-tshañ, gru-gsum, rgyab-nak, skra-bdun (mündlich nannte der Uko Ok folgende Orte: Thogchhen, Nyoktse, Kungyü, Dün La, Tramalung (=Tralung), Hramtdsang Tazam (13), Nakchak (2 Pässe), Druksum Tazam, Gyabna Dzong, Damrab. Es ist auch ein Mann zu Rate gezogen worden, der diese Gegenden gut kennt. Es ist ein Akt angelegt unter dem Titel: sbyar man gsum skor sñan 'adzin. Übrigens war auch einmal ein Plan aufgetaucht[,]) nach Lhasa zu schreiben, und wir sollten in der Zwischenzeit, 3 Monate oder länger, hier warten. So hatten wir nun also doch endlich eine gute Aufnahme in [Blatt 17, recto; pagina 35] Tibet gefunden, dank der guten Art eines Mannes,

des Salungpa Kusho, denn der Ok allein hätte sicher nicht in diesem Sinne entschieden. Wir verabschieden uns herzlich von den hohen Herren. K. hatte dem Kong ein Fernrohr gerichtet durch Löten.” (VMZ S/I/009/01/02; transcription by Claudia C. Aufschnaiter).

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