

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LADAKH STUDIES

LADAKH STUDIES

– 12, Autumn 1999

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Production: Repro Afdeling, Faculty of Arts, Aarhus University

Layout: MvB

Support: Department of Ethnography and Social Anthropology, Aarhus University.

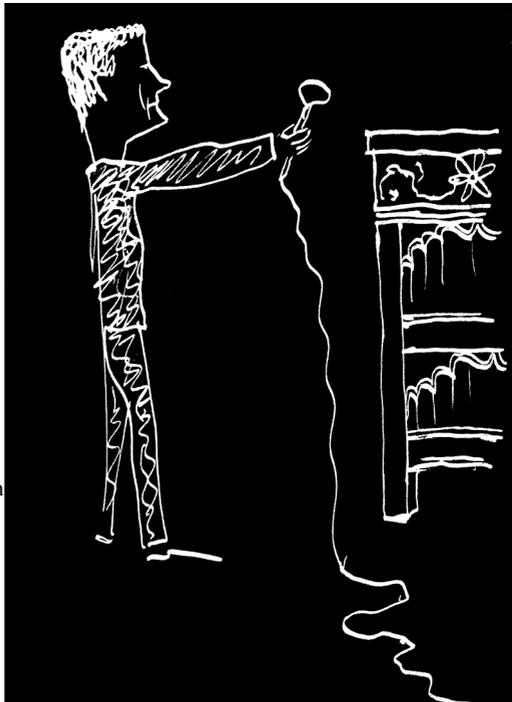
EDITORIAL

This issue of *Ladakh Studies* is, I hope you will agree, a substantial one in terms of size and the quality of contributions. Apart from the usual items of Ladakh-related news, there are reports on the recent Ninth Colloquium and the membership meeting of the IALS, two major articles, and a large issue of Bray's Bibliographic Update. Interspersed are smaller items, including an obituary for Michael Aris by Kim Gutschow.

Throughout this issue, you will find some line drawings of characters you may recognize. This artwork was produced by Niels Krag, a medical doctor from Denmark. Apart from being a medical man, Niels is an accomplished draughtsman and book illustrator, as these drawings attest. Niels and his anthropologist wife Kirsten Ahm travelled up to Leh from Karachi in their Citroën 2CV, accompanied by fellow Danes Hjalte Tin and Nina Rasmussen in *their* 2CV. I think—and they hope—that theirs were indeed the first 2CVs to make it up the Manali road. The journey reached its zenith a mere hundred-odd metres from the top of the Khardong La, where they were forced to turn back by the poor condition of the road.

During the recent Leh colloquium, a few changes were decided regarding the publication process for *Ladakh Studies*. Although we want to maintain the character of a newsletter with a relatively broad orientation and low threshold, we also feel it would be good to enhance the value of the publication process for authors by offering a review process, although not an anonymous one. In future, article manuscripts will be forwarded to one or more members of the advisory committee for comment. The exercise is primarily intended to help enhance the quality of articles published in *LS*. The review process is only for articles, not for other communications, such as research or news reports. Secondly, as of this issue “notes on contributors” will be published in the back of each issue.

As always, I would like to thank the contributors for making their work available to *LS*, making the publication worth reading as well as producing. And also as always, I would like to encourage all of you to submit material, whether articles or other kinds of reports, news and reviews. Deadline for the next issue is March 15.



FROM THE HONORARY SECRETARY

I look back at the August colloquium in Leh with enormous pleasure, and this is all the greater because of the uncertainties that surrounded our plans earlier in the summer. In May and June we had been watching anxiously as news of fighting and shelling came in from the Line of Control, and naturally were particularly concerned for our friends and colleagues in Kargil. In late June, during one of the tensest periods, the decision was taken to postpone the conference. Then, towards the end of July I received an early morning phone call with the news that the Leh committee was hoping to arrange a shorter seminar after all. And just a month later, we all gathered in Leh.

Everyone will have their own particular memories of the conference. For me one of the strongest impressions was a powerful sense of generational change. I missed many of older Ladakhi friends - people like Daniel Dana, Standzin Razu, Akbar Ladakhi and Syed Ali Shah, who alas are no longer with us. At the same time, I was delighted to meet some of my former pupils from the Moravian schools in Leh and Rajpur, who have now grown into successful young adults. And there were many other old friends, including one who made a special journey to the conference hall having heard extracts of the opening ceremonies on the local radio. The musicians at the inaugural ceremony and the presence of Queen Diskit Angmo added greatly to the opening session, and it was good to be able to honour our President, Henry Osmaston, with a copy of the Aarhus proceedings as well as *khatags* and *surna* music.

The speakers at the colloquium drew on a wide range of subjects, both historical and contemporary—and from a variety of disciplines. Although the problems earlier in the summer had disrupted the plans of some would-be participants from India and abroad, the shorter three-day event was eminently successful. We are very grateful to the organisers, especially Abdul Ghani Sheikh, Dr Nawang Tsering, Nawang Tsering Shakspo, Rev Elijah Gergan and David Sonam Dawa—and Francesca Merritt who contributes so much from both London and Leh. Among the best aspects of the colloquium were a number of presentations by younger contributors, and we trust that this is an auspicious augury for the future.

I am currently collecting papers from the conference participants. We have made preliminary enquiries from five publishers and hope to come to an appropriate arrangement early next year, once all the papers are in. We will keep you informed.

In late September, I visited Oxford for a memorial ‘celebration’ in honour of Michael Aris. As Kim Gutschow writes elsewhere in this issue, Michael’s scholarly interests initially focused on Bhutan but later extended right across to Ladakh and other parts of the Himalaya. The celebration was a moving combination of music, poetry readings and personal tributes from family, friends and colleagues. One of Michael’s main aims was to establish Oxford as a centre of Tibetan/Himalayan studies, and a trust set up in his memory has already raised enough money to finance a full-time lectureship from the end of next year.

Before he was taken ill, Michael had offered to lend his support to the projected IALS conference in Oxford in 2001. We will miss his presence and support, but it seems all the more important to press ahead with our original plans. Clare Harris, who is now based in Oxford, has begun to make enquiries on our behalf, and we will have more to report in the next issue of *Ladakh Studies*.

When military clashes in Ladakh subsided towards the end of July, the local IALS committee offered to go ahead with the Ninth Colloquium, the second IALS meeting to be held in Ladakh (the first was in 1993). Most foreign scholars who had indicated their interest in participating had not yet cancelled their travel plans, so a considerable number of local and international participants filed into the Moravian Mission School assembly hall for registration. Unfortunately but understandably there were no participants from Kargil and few from other parts of India, and a couple of papers had to be cancelled as the presenters did not make it to Leh after all. Despite the brief time for preparation, local organizers—in particular Abdul Ghani Sheikh, David Sonam Dawa, Revd Elijah Gergan, Dr Nawang Tsering, and Nawang Tsering Shakspo—had managed to make excellent arrangements for the meeting. In all, some seventy-five participants from nine countries, including Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Poland, Switzerland, the US, and UK took part in the meeting.

As usual, a wide range of topics was addressed in the presentations.

The inaugural ceremony, chaired by Spalzes Angmo, was graced by the presence of Diskit Angmo, Queen of Ladakh. After a word of welcome by Dr Nawang Tsering, John Bray formally released the volume of proceedings of the Eighth Colloquium held at Aarhus in 1997. Thanks to the efforts of the publisher and the carrying capacity of John Bray, a few pre-publication copies of the book reached Leh in time for the colloquium. The volume, entitled *Ladakh: Culture, History and Development between Himalaya and Karakoram* (Aarhus University Press 1999), is dedicated to founder and president of the IALS, Dr Henry Osmaston. First copies of the book were presented to the Queen and Henry Osmaston. After a vote of thanks by Revd Gergan, artists of All-India Radio, Leh, presented a colourful cultural show. Doordarshan Kashmir carried a brief report on the conference and opening ceremony the

next day.

After lunch, the academic programme began with a session on “Representing Ladakh in Local and Global Contexts”. John Bray presented a paper on an eighteenth century Bhutanese Lama’s visit to Ladakh. Martijn van Beek discussed the political, economic, and rhetorical marginalisation of Ladakh and local efforts to counter these, while Helena Norberg-Hodge shed light on the dangers of the global economy for Ladakh. The session concluded with a lively discussion. The final session of the day dealt with “Historical places” and included papers by Tashi IDawa Tshangspa on rock carvings. In the evening, Janet Rizvi of the Institute of Ladakh Studies presented a slide show of images of old Ladakh, mostly reproductions of photographs from rare travel books. The pictures of the old bazaar, the city gates and other landmarks elicited much interest and excitement among the spectators.

The second day began with a session on “Education in Ladakh”. After Prem Singh Jina’s discussion of the history of education in Ladakh,



Christian Heyde discussed the work of the early Moravians in this field, including his own great-grandfather, Revd. A.W. Heyde. Gabriele Reifenberg, drawing on archival sources, also discussed the Moravian contribution to education, in particular A.H. Francke’s views on schools in Ladakh. A session on “Ritual and Performance” included interesting contributions by Spalzes Angmo on “Losar Baks in Tang-tse”, by Sonam Phuntsog on Dard culture, and by Mipham Otsal on the state of contemporary theatre in Ladakh.

The first afternoon panel dealt with gender issues in Ladakh. Tashi Cho discussed the problems of women in Ladakh, Dolma Tsering talked about the Women’s Alliance (*ama’i tshogs pa*), and Sonam Dolma looked specifically at the central role of women in agriculture and its relation to sustainable development. Ravina Aggarwal offered a rich paper on the recovery of women’s voices in Ladakh, showing how these can be heard for example in songs. Finally, Kim Gutschow discussed the education of nuns in Zangskar.

For the final afternoon session, the entire colloquium was shifted to Ladakh Serai in Ayu, where we had been invited for tea by an apparent descendant of Zorawar Singh. The session took place in a willow grove accompanied by steadily increasing winds and rapidly dropping temperatures. Nevertheless, the audience was treated to a series of discourses on philosophy by Lobzang Tsewang, who compared the theories of streams of consciousness in Vasubandhu and Freud, and Tashi Stobdan who discussed the Gyajung Nagpo in Stok. In the evening there was another slide show, this time by Ajit Chaudhuri on the Changpa.

On Friday, the day began with a series of papers on “Modes of Livelihood”. Ajit Chaudhuri presented results of surveys conducted among the Changpa, focusing on survival strategies, and Toshihiro Tsukihara offered a paper on livestock and farming systems. The session then broadened the geographical scope of the seminar with

two papers on Kinnaur by Przemyslaw Hincza on pastoralism in Kinnaur, and by Rafal Beszterda on bee-keeping in the same region. Karin Helbig discussed the need for and potential contributions of a building centre for Ladakh. The next session focused on health. Dr. Tsering Norboo (physician) discussed a series of cases of high altitude cerebral oedema, and Cynthia Hunt delivered an impassioned plea for greater attention to health education in Ladakh. During the conference a poster prepared by Dr.

portable solar refrigeration medical technologies for

The afternoon contemporary issues with a Modernization and reported on his research fertilizers in Zangskar, and work on the impacts of formal membership meeting elsewhere). Henry speeches and the meeting thanks. A final paper Peter Marczell on

a speed-reading by Clare

the history of Kargil. Hans-Jürgen Trebst reviewed the controversies surrounding a gospel allegedly kept at Hemis monastery, Thierry Dodin addressed the problems of Ladakhi language standardisation. In the evening the participants gathered for a special screening arranged by

Niels Krag provided information on systems and other solar-powered remote areas.

continued this focus on session on the “Impact of Development”. Seb Mankelaw into the effects of modern chemical Vibha Krishen Sood presented her tourism in Ladakh. Subsequently, the of the IALS was held (see report Osmaston and John Bray gave short was concluded with a vote of session included a presentation by pseudonyms of Csoma de K_rös and Harris of Parvez Diwan’s paper on

Harris of Parvez Diwan’s paper on



Phuntsok Ladakhi of his film “Sonam Dolma”. A delicious dinner at the Monalisa Restaurant served as a joyous end to the conference programme.

On Saturday, the organizers arranged a guided tour of Shanti Stupa, the Mahabodhi Society’s compound in Choglamsar, and the royal palace at Stok. In the afternoon, finally, the Institute of Ladakh Studies had arranged a polo match in honour of the IALS. Henry Osmaston was guest of honour, a status marked by his casting of the ball to begin play and a chat with the players during the intermission, from which he was returned on horseback to his seat of honour.

As is customary, efforts are under way to publish most of the papers as a volume in the Recent Research on Ladakh series. John Bray and Dr Nawang Tsering will edit the proceedings. A publisher is being sought.



IALS BIENNIAL MEETING

The IALS biennial meeting was held on the afternoon of 27 August 1999 during a break in the Leh colloquium. Henry Osmaston (President), John Bray (Hon. Secretary) and Francesca Merritt (Hon. Treasurer) and Martijn van Beek (Hon. Editor) presented short reports on the past two years. Overall, the IALS is in good health. We have expanded our membership, and *Ladakh Studies* is now coming out twice a year. However, our finances remain tight since we depend exclusively on membership subscriptions for our income.

At the meeting we agreed that the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Editor (who had been elected for four-year terms at the Aarhus colloquium) should together operate as the Executive Committee of the Association. The Permanent Committee will now be known as the Advisory Committee, and we agreed to invite Monisha Ahmed, Nicky Grist and Clare Haris to join it. Among other functions, the Advisory Committee will serve as an editorial board to both *Ladakh Studies* and the conference proceedings: papers and articles submitted to these two publications will be subject to review by committee members according to their particular specialisations.

We decided to raise the membership fee for Indian and other South Asian members of the IALS to Rs 150 a year. The subscription for IALS members outside the region remains the same. The increased frequency of *Ladakh Studies* obviously adds to our costs, and it is therefore particularly important that members pay their subscriptions on time.

Thierry Dodin presented a short report on the IALS website (www.uni-bonn.de/centrasia/IALShome/html). We have already received several membership enquiries via the website. Members are encouraged to look at it; contribute to its contents; and recommend it to friends and colleagues interested in Ladakh.

The next biennial meeting will take place at the 10th IALS conference in 2001, and we are hoping to hold this in Oxford.

NEWS FROM LADAKH

A special thanks to Louise Fournier for forwarding a number of newspaper clippings.

NC RETAINS LADAKH PARLIAMENTARY SEAT

Despite fierce campaigning the Congress party has been unable to regain the Ladakh Lok Sabha seat it lost in 1998 to the National Conference party. But whereas in 1998 P.Namgyal was defeated by a landslide margin of 30,000 votes, Thupstan Chhewang lost to NC candidate Hassan Khan by a mere 2000 votes. NC ministers Togdan Rinpoche and Tsetan Namgyal, and MP (RS) Thikse Rinpoche sent their congratulations to the victor.

Turnout in Ladakh was low compared to previous years, with 68% polling in Leh town and 73% in Kargil town, although these are vastly better performances than in the Kashmir Valley where percentages were at all-time lows (e.g. 0.08% in Habakadal constituency in Srinagar).

Votes in the Ladakh region were split along communal lines. In Leh, Thupstan Chhewang polled 31,220 votes, but received only 7625 votes in Kargil. Ghulam Hasan Khan received 41,669 votes in Kargil, but only 7525 in Leh district. The BJP candidate, Sonam Paljor, received 5801 votes in the constituency, while Janata Dal (Secular) candidate Nasrullah garnered 4626 votes. Barring unforeseen developments, the next major event on the electoral calendar will be elections to the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council, Leh, to be held next year.

ARMY RAISES NEW CORPS FOR J&K

In the wake of the Kargil conflict, Army headquarters has embarked on a reorganisation of the defense arrangements in J&K, and particularly in the Ladakh region. Among the major initiatives is the creation of a new XIV Corps to be commanded by a lieutenant-general, comprising two divisions: the existing 3 Division based at Leh, and the 8 Mountain Division to be headquartered at Nimu. With a projected strength of 50,000 the two units are to guard both the disputed border with China and the Siachen and Kargil sectors.

Presently, Ladakh is defended by XV Corps, based at Srinagar, and this unit has expressed difficulties in also giving adequate attention to Ladakh, given problems of communication in the winter and the Corps preoccupation with its tasks in the Valley.
(based on newsreport in *ToI*, 28/8/99)

FOUR COMPANIES OF LADAKH SCOUTS TO BE RAISED

In recognition of the performance of the Ladakh Scouts during the Kargil conflict, the Government has sanctioned the raising of four companies from Dras, Kargil, Zangskar and Leh regions. The announcement, which marks the fulfillment of a longstanding demand from Kargil, was made at a ceremony where the Ladakh Scouts were honoured for their “extraordinary courage in evicting Pakistani intruders from Yaldor, Chorbat La and Turtuk sub-sectors.”

SINDHU DARSHAN ABHIYAN AT LEH

This summer the RSS and other Hindu organisations once again organised a pilgrimage to the Indus near Leh, attracting thousands of visitors from all over India. The event, which received widespread coverage in the Indian media—partly a consequence of the new attention Ladakh enjoys because of the Kargil conflict—drew rather mixed responses from the local population.

This year the end of the Sindhu Darshan Abhiyan coincided with a spell of particularly bad weather, resulting in a long string of cancelled flights as well as blocked roads. Many hundreds of Ladakhis and tourists competed with hundreds of yatris for the few seats on the first flights to

operate when the weather cleared. An additional burden was the presence of high-profile artists and musicians who had been flown in for a recording of Vande Mataram, to be broadcast on Independence Day.

While tempers routinely run high during these spells of bad weather—in the past tourists have organized demonstrations to demand to be flown out, and more than a few noses have been bloodied in scuffles at the airport—this time local tempers were frayed as many travel agents had clients stuck on both sides of the Himalayas, and one of the first flights that came in took only yatris and VIPs.

In general, local entrepreneurs argue that the event only brings additional burdens for Ladakh, while the yatris (pilgrims) do not contribute anything to the local economy. A “senior state official” was quoted as saying: “The whole event is stage-managed and lacks spontaneity. The government is subsidising the yatra heavily and we see no reason why we should suffer because of the yatris.” The Travel Agent Association of Ladakh put up a banner saying : “Don’t steal our flights”. Pilgrims are guests of the army, are housed and fed in the army compounds, and hence not a single paisa, locals insist, reaches local pockets.

KARGIL FESTIVAL CELEBRATED

Despite the hardships caused by the war, a three-day Kargil Festival was held from 10-12 September. According to a newsreport, “the festival was celebrated with great enthusiasm, zest and zeal across the district. The main functions during the festival included local cultural programmes depicting age-old traditions.” Specific events, such as archery competitions and polo matches were held at Mulbek, Trespon, Sanku, and Panikar.

NEW ROUTE TO LADAKH PROPOSED

LAHDC representatives and organisations such as the Travel Agents Association of Ladakh (TAAL) have renewed their efforts to convince the government of the need to open a third route between Ladakh and the rest of India. The issue was raised at several occasions and levels, including with the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister, and the Home Minister when they visited Ladakh.

Both the Srinagar and Manali routes remain vulnerable both for strategic and climatic reasons. The increase of army presence in Ladakh means that requirements of equipment, food, and other essential commodities will increase even further.

The LAHDC have suggested that a route through Spiti be opened across the Parang La. In order to connect the existing roads at Korzok in Rupshu and Khiber in Himachal Pradesh, only 80 kilometres of road would need to be built, most of it across relatively easy terrain.

In addition to strengthening the security of the region, such a road could provide an additional impetus to the general economic development of Rupshu and Central Ladakh, since this route would remain open all year.

NEW ROAD TO KARGIL

Work is said to have been speeded up to construct a 103 km alternate national highway from Dras to Kargil via Sanku. Construction of the road was begun last year. Although it will lengthen the distance from Dras to Kargil by some 40 kilometres, the route will make the Suru Valley much more accessible, and is expected to give a boost to tourism in the region.

The new route will be much less vulnerable to Pakistani shelling than the existing one, where three Pakistani posts can directly target the road. While the authorities suggest that the new road will be completely safe from attack, some dispute this claim and point out that stretches of the road close to Dras and Kargil will remain vulnerable. An additional problem is the fact that the road will be passable only for about four months, since it crosses the snowbound Umba La at over 14,000 feet.

Sources also disagree over the time it will take to complete the project. District officials expect completion by 2001, while a senior Himank officer expects that at least four seasons will be needed to do the job.

JAPANESE FILM FESTIVAL IN LEH

A week-long festival of Japanese films was launched on 17 October by the Japanese ambassador, Hiroshi Hirabayashi. The festival was organized jointly by the Namgyal Institute for Research on Ladakh Art and Culture (NIRLAC), the Japan Foundation and Film Societies of India. The people of Leh were reported to show keen interest in the festival.

RIGZIN ANGMO STRIKES AGAIN

ToI reports:

South Asian Federation Games women's champion Ringzen Angmo landed her third title in five years to claim the honours in the 17th Rath Indian Open marathon in New Delhi on 17 October. 30-year old Ringzen Angmo had it easy once she took the lead at the halfway mark and cantered home in 2 hours 50 minutes 7 seconds. The diminutive Angmo, a CRPF inspector hailing from Leh in Ladakh displayed tremendous stamina to win the year's third title after the February National Games and the SAF Games gold in Kathmandu on September 26 to be richer by Rs 50,000.

Angmo, who had run only the half marathon last year as she had not fully recovered after having a child, once again showed she was easily the best in the country and had finished over 14 minutes ahead of Chandra Chandel, the Punjab Police runner.

ANGMO FLAYS AAFI: Top woman marathon runner Rigzen Angmo said, on Sunday, apathy by the athletic federation was the main reason for Indian marathoners unable to make their impact at the international level. The 30-year-old SAF Games champion said "there is not much support from the federation (AAFI) for marathon runners". The diminutive CRPF inspector said it was lack of proper support and not talent that prevented Indian women from running under 2:40 which was a base required to even take on opposition abroad. Angmo, who has four international titles against her name said in fact she trained all by herself with little support from the AAFI. Angmo, whose tremendous reserves of stamina is largely owing to the fact that she hails from the altitude of Leh, Ladakh in the Himalayas, said "foreign coach is a must and if proper altitude training is given I can do much better". Scientific training is must for marathoners, but the athletic federation brought in foreign coaches only for track and field events, she added. Angmo won her third Rath marathon title and dominated despite running her second race just 21 days after winning at Kathmandu.

THE CONFLICT IN LADAKH: May-July 1999

A summary of news reports

Martijn van Beek

In May 1999 Kargil made its appearance in the headlines of global news media as heavy fighting erupted along the Line of Control. Initial reports suggested that a handful of 'intruders' had taken up positions at strategic spots overlooking the Leh-Srinagar road near Dras and Kargil, and the Indian army promised that it would just need a few days to evict them. However, in the course of a few days it became apparent that the scale of the incursion was much greater, and that the intruders were much better ensconced than expected.

The conflict erupted on May 9 when Pakistani artillery opened fire on Kargil and hit an ammunition dump. When troops then clashed with Pakistani intruders, it was initially thought that these had entered the region under the cover of the shelling. The confusion among the Indian authorities as to what was going on was expressed in Defense Minister George Fernandez' statement that no Indian defense post or any area of Indian territory had been captured (*KT* 14/5/99). As fighting intensified and more pockets of intruders were discovered, the military command sent in reinforcements—profiting from the early opening of the Zoji pass. On May 12, Pakistani artillery opened fire in Dras, incursions were discovered in the Batalik sector, and by May 17 sources were quoted that a "warlike situation" prevailed in the region, and thousands of people had begun to seek shelter in safer parts of the Suru valley and in Leh District. At the same time the Defense Minister announced that the intruders would be cleared out "within 48 hours."

In the midst of the operations, rumours began to circulate that the army had in fact been warned of the intrusions well in advance of the outbreak of fighting. Despite General Pal's claim that the army had picked up on the intrusion within forty-eight hours, it emerged that the intruders had in fact entered the area several months before. Reports to that effect were said to have been passed through the line of command, but failed to lead to any kind of action.

Meanwhile, as the magnitude of the incursion became clear and the Indian effort was stepped up accordingly, attempts were made to play down the situation. General Pal and government officials insisted that this was a "local situation" that would be dealt with locally. India now did begin to explicitly accuse the Pakistani army and intelligence of being behind the incursion, but at the same time sought to present itself as interested in de-escalation, not war. In the midst of all this, the Dalai Lama arrived in Leh for a two-week visit to Leh. On May 21, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee stepped up the diplomatic battle by insisting that Pakistan should abide by the Simla agreement and respect the border, while at the same time making it clear that "all necessary means" would be used to clear out the intruders. A day later, it was announced that an additional 10,000 troops would be sent to the region and that the Indian airforce had been put on alert. Pakistan responded by warning that its airforce was ready to meet any challenge.

On May 26, the next stage in escalation was reached when Indian combat aircraft carried out strikes along the LoC. Pakistan was quick to assert that some shells had landed on their side of the LoC and Brigadier Rashid Qureshi was reported as saying that "we reserve the right to retaliate and will defend every inch of our territory" (*The Nation*, 27 May 99). The next day, two Indian fighters were shot down under disputed circumstances, while the airforce continued to carry out strikes on position held by the intruders. Over the course of the next four weeks, thousands of Indian troops fought to reconquer the positions along the LoC. The number of casualties will probably never be known precisely, but the official Indian count on July 16 was 407 dead and allegedly 696 intruders were killed.

Indian success in clearing the region came quicker than expected when Pakistan's government called for the 'mujahideen' to withdraw. It is generally believed that considerable pressure from the US and other international powers was instrumental in bringing the Pakistani government to this

decision. Pakistan had quickly found itself on the defensive diplomatically, while militarily India also gradually regained the initiative. For one, India insisted that Pakistani regular troops, such as units of the Northern Light Infantry (NLI), were involved in the incursion, rather than mujahideen, as Pakistan maintained. On June 16, the US president, Bill Clinton, was reported to be calling on Pakistan to tell the intruders to withdraw, and urged Delhi and Islamabad to sit down to work for a negotiated settlement of the conflict. Russia followed with a similar demand, and the G-8, while avoiding mentioning any of the parties directly, also called for an immediate end to the fighting. A high level US delegation visited Pakistan soon after, reiterating the US demand.

By early July, fighting continued, but Indian troops were making steady progress in clearing positions, and a weekly bus service was reported to be operating on the Srinagar-Leh road again. On July 5, during a visit by Pakistani PM Nawaz Sharif to Washington, a joint statement was released that “concrete steps” would be taken to restore the LoC in accordance with the Simla Agreement. It was explained that this implied that this meant “militants” would be asked to withdraw. Finally, on July 11, the Pakistani Foreign Minister, Sartaj Aziz released a statement that “the mujahideen had decided to respond positively to the appeal for de-escalation in the Kargil sector ...” (BBC world service).

As anxiety over the outcome of the conflict began to subside, the Indian press began to focus more on the question of “intelligence failure”. The Hindustan Times reported that intruders had already been spotted and even filmed as early as 28 January (it may be recalled that snowfall was unusually late and light in Western Ladakh). More detailed reports, allegedly even mentioning the involvement of NLI troops, were reported to have been passed on to the Defense Minister himself in March when he visited Ladakh. *Frontline* published a long article detailing a list of alleged ‘bunglings’, and other media followed suit. At present, investigations into the origins of the crisis are continuing and an official commission of inquiry is expected to submit its report by December 15.

Apart from the immediate human casualties as a result of the fighting, the cost of the war has been enormous. Officially, forty villages were affected by the shelling. Thousands of people were displaced, many to return only to find their fields and houses destroyed. While major relief efforts have been initiated by the Indian government, there was considerable concern that the coming winter will prove to be extremely difficult for many people in the region. Meanwhile, intermittent fighting in Turtuk, Da, and other exposed areas has claimed additional civilian lives. Kargil town itself, of course, remains vulnerable to shelling from across the border. The measures to beef up defense in the region may contribute to securing the territorial integrity of this part of India, but can do little to alleviate the threat of shelling.

Ladakhis, both from Kargil and Leh, have played a significant role in the course of the fighting. The Ladakh Scouts have been singled out for much praise and as reported elsewhere, one Scout received a Mahavir Chakra. Less recognized in the media has been the logistical support from large numbers of volunteers who helped carry supplies up to advanced positions, and sometimes joined in the fighting. The LBA and its Youth Wing were involved in organising volunteers in Leh district. A less glorious moment was when the Youth Wing came out with a statement demanding the expulsion of refugees who had sought shelter in Leh. Thankfully, communal tension did not escalate further, although such incidents add grist to the mills of radical elements in both communities. The LBA also organized formal funeral processions for the more than thirty Ladakh Scouts who were killed during the conflict, and the LAHDC promised to provide special compensation packages for the next of kin, in addition to the relief payments of five lakhs from the State government.

MAHAVIR CHAKRA FOR LADAKH SCOUT

Several members of the Ladakh Scouts received high awards for the valour they displayed in the recent conflict. Major Sonam Wangchuk became the first Ladakhi since the late Col. Rinchen to receive this second highest medal, the Mahavir Chakra. Four other Scouts from Ladakh, two

posthumously, received Vir Chakras. Also in Ladakh itself festivities were organized to mark the occasion and honour the recipients.

SPECIAL REPORT

Two Thefts: Zangskar in the Summer of 1998

by Kim Gutschow

Two monastic institutions of Zangskar suffered crippling thefts in the summer of 1998. The nuns of Karsha (bCu gcig zhal bka' spyod sgrub gling) lost more roughly 1.5 Lakh rupees while the monks of Dzongkhul lost an entire wall of statues from one prayer room, which included more than 21 precious figures and ritual objects. These thefts were unprecedented and unexpected, and constitute the largest two thefts (in terms of cash and ritual objects) in Zangskar since Indian Independence.

When Padma Yangskyid, the head nun of Karsha's nunnery returned to her room in the early morning of July 29th, just a few days after the village monastery's annual Gustor festival, she was shocked to find the lock on her door broken and hanging askew. Once in her room, however, everything looked untouched. There was no sign of disturbance or hasty rummaging, and the key to her main box was in the mug on her mantelpiece, as it always was. When she unlocked her box, she found the telltale signs of the intruder—the bundle of cash which had been sent by Canadian sponsors and wrapped in a khatags was gone. She raised the alarm with her closest friends and a troop of nuns set off down the cliff to visit their former teacher at the nunnery, the Karsha Lonpo, who was not only the reigning aristocrat of the village, but also considered one of the fairest and wisest men in the valley. The Lonpo performed a divination, announcing that the thieves appeared to be two young men, but that it would be difficult to get the money back. He suggested that they try all the usual ritual channels and also seek out further divination, while telling them a short parable that the three men considered to be the greatest liars are the magician, the diviner, and the doctor. The nuns took his ritual advice and sent 100 Rs. and a large khatags to the protector deities at eight local temples—Karsha, Bardan, Sani, Stongde, Mune, Pipiting, Dzongkhul, and Rangdum. The nuns then proceeded to several oracles for further divination. A renowned Tibetan monk, Dragom Rinpoche, told them that the money had gone to the Southwest and asked if the head nun, Padma, had relatives who live nearby. A monk from Karsha, Ngawang, told them that it might be below the watchtower high above the monastery, while the Pishu oracle, a woman who is possessed by Paldan Lhamo, told them it might be below a red rock near the nunnery. As a result of the latter two divination, the nuns spent a good deal of their energies tearing up the hillside above the nunnery and monastery.

Some nine days after the theft, the first piece of evidence surfaced. Padma's younger brother had been seen with a US\$100 bill in Padum several weeks earlier, before the theft had even occurred. Padma at first denied that this could be true, but later admitted that she had indeed given her younger brother two hundred dollar bills (one in cash, one travelers check). He was supposed to take them to a monk known as Tashi in the village of Phye, upper Zangskar. Padma later explained that she had wanted to ascertain the worth of the two bills after a Tibetan monk who had been teaching Tantra at the monastery had asked her if he could exchange his cash for dollars before proceeding south for the winter. It later emerged that Padma's younger brother had taken the two \$100 bills to Padum, where he had proceeded to buy a pair of shoes costing a few hundred rupees using the dollar bills. The shopkeeper had refused to accept the bills, so the brother had gone to a local cafe known as the Changthang, where he exchanged one hundred dollars for Indian rupees. The brother had then proceeded with his new boots and the remaining bill (a traveler's check) to the village of Phye where he deposited the check with Tashi.

When a Karsha villager named Drogda Gyatso heard that Padma's younger brother had changed a dollar bill in Padum, he and Padma went to fetch the brother and bring him back to Karsha. Drogda

Gyatso himself had been under some suspicion because he knew Padma quite well and would have known where she kept her keys, while he had also been to Leh twice that year purchasing an unprecedented amount of supplies for his dry goods shop. Naturally everyone wondered how he had come up with the enormous sums needed to rent the trucks and buy the goods. Padma's brother and father were questioned by the village headman, in the privacy of the Padma's room at the nunnery. The headman's verdict was that her brother should repay the sum he had received when he changed the money and that Padma should be fined 500 rupees by the nun's assembly. Several nuns suspected some collusion between the headman and Padma's brother, since the headman was related to Padma's brother's wife. There was no further investigation by any authorities, as the nun's feared that their Geshe, an elderly Tibetan, and the elder nuns at the nunnery, would suffer abuse from the local police as happened at Dzongkhul. While the thief still walks free, the nuns are comforted by the fact that the thief will get his due in the next life and many more thereafter.

The second theft occurred at the remote Dzongkhul monastery which lies in a side valley off of Zangskar's northern valley (Stod) several hours walk from the nearest village. The theft occurred in early July just as I was leaving Zangskar with my mother and sister. Our jeep was stopped as was every other vehicle that day on the single road leading out of Zangskar, but after a perfunctory exchange in Ladakhi with the soldier who was managing the checkpoint, we were let off without a search. The statues could have easily been taken out by road, or else on foot over the Omasi La, which lies behind Dzongkhul at the far end of the small tributary stream that flows from the Omasi glacier past the monastery. While no suspects were apprehended, the police did conduct a thorough if brutal search for possible suspects and information. The police beat all of the monks who were present in the monastery on the day of the theft, reserving particularly vicious interrogation for the monk who lit the butter lamps (*sgo gnyer*), who was suspected of having colluded with the thieves. In any case, no evidence was ever brought against this unfortunate monk, who sunk into a deep depression and alcoholism before he was evacuated to Leh in January by helicopter, where he died shortly thereafter. The local Buddhists suspect several Muslims from Padum, who are rumored to have colluded with the police investigation, although they have not brought forth any evidence to support their case. As with the theft at the nunnery, the case remains unsolved at the time of writing.

NEWS FROM MEMBERS

- *Monisha Ahmed* and her husband have become the proud parents of a girl . . .
- *Pascale Dollfus* and the CNRS research group on the Himalaya (UPR 299) have shifted to a new address. See below for details.
- *Smriti Srinivas* has moved to the Division of Comparative Studies, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, USA as an Assistant Professor of Comparative/Cultural Studies of Religion. She began her appointment there on October 1, 1999. She was earlier at the University of Maryland, College Park, USA as a Mellon Fellow, Department of Sociology (1998-99) and a Rockefeller Fellow, Project on Cities and Urban Knowledges, New York University, USA (1997-98). She is currently completing her manuscript on Bangalore city entitled "Landscapes of Metropolitan Memory" (University of Minnesota Press, forthcoming). Her new address: Smriti Srinivas, Assistant Professor, Division of Comparative Studies in the Humanities, 308 Dulles Hall, 230 West 17th Avenue, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH 43210-1311. Tel: 614-292-0389. Fax: 614-292-6707. E-mail: srinivas.2@osu.edu
- Long-time member *Tim Mallon* has received a Ph.D. degree from Manchester Metropolitan University for his thesis on *The ecology and conservation of mountain ungulates in Ladakh, India*. The abstract can be found elsewhere in this newsletter.
- *Martin Sökefeld* has assumed a position as Assistant Professor at the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Hamburg, Germany. He is teaching general anthropology with regional focus on South Asia and has just embarked on a new research project on Alevi politics of identity in a transnational context.
- *Martijn van Beek* has been appointed as "lektor" (Associate Professor) at the Department of Ethnography and Social Anthropology at Aarhus University, Denmark.

EAST MEETS WEST?

The Centre of Oriental Studies of Lithuania would like to get in contact with those scholars who are working on the topic Cultural Connections and Synthesis of Cultures between the East (Asia, Africa, Oceania, European East) and the West. The aim is to find out whether there is a need felt for establishing a new International association in this field. For further information or for making suggestions, please contact:

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VOLUNTEERS WANTED LUNGNAK YOUTH ASSOCIATION SCHOOL, RERU

In an attempt to compensate for the inadequacies of state-provided education in Zanskar, The Lungnak Youth Association was formed in 1974 and it has built and opened a school in Reru village, named Jamyang Ling School. Its curriculum is based on The Tibetan Buddhist School System, as already established elsewhere, teaching Tibetan Buddhist culture as well as the standard secular school subjects. Considerable help has been received from a German organisation called Shambhala Gemeinnütziger Verein. There are now over 50 pupils and at least 4 teachers.

Volunteer English teachers are urgently needed during the summer months. The school needs *native* English speakers. Accommodation and food will be provided while volunteers are in the school, but volunteers must pay their own expenses to and from Zanskar. The journey into Zanskar can be made either via Manali and on foot from Darcha (about a week's walk), or from Leh by jeep (available through Lobsang Chosphe) via Kargil to Padum, sleeping overnight at Mulbekh to avoid a stay in Kargil.

Anybody interested should contact Lobsang Chosphe, Zanskar Tours and Trekking, PO Box 98, Manali, Distt. Kullu, HP pin 178131. He is a founder member of both the Lungnak Youth Association and the Jamyang Ling School Management Committee.

Neil Howard

MICHAEL ARIS, IN MEMORIAM

by Kim Gutschow

Fate and history never seem to work in orderly ways.
Timings are unpredictable and do not wait upon convenience . . .¹

When Michael Vaillancourt Aris wrote these prophetic words in his 1991 foreword to an edited collection of essays by and about his wife, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, he did not know that she would receive the Nobel Peace Prize a few months later, and scores of other awards and honorary degrees in the years that followed, which he and his sons were forced to accept on her behalf, as she remained a virtual prisoner in her own country. In the days and months preceding his untimely death on March 27th earlier this year, Michael and others on his behalf pleaded with various authorities that he be allowed to see his beloved Suu one more time, yet it was not to be. Although the Burmese government did issue its official condolences after his death, it failed to offer Michael the visa he so desperately desired, suggesting instead that Suu visit her husband and thereby leave her country and her people to whom she has been so bravely committed.

When Suu returned to Rangoon in April 1988 to nurse her dying mother, she became caught up in the pro-democracy struggle which would consume their lives and marriage over the next decade. As Michael wrote in his introduction to *Freedom From Fear*, "It was a quiet evening in Oxford, like many others, the last day of March 1988. Our sons were in bed and we were reading when the telephone rang. Suu picked up the phone to learn that her mother had suffered a severe stroke. She put the phone down at once and started to pack. I had a premonition that our lives would change forever." Over the next eleven years, Michael was only allowed to see Suu five times, yet he never regretted his promise to Suu that he would support her decision to return to Burma if and when her people needed her. His quiet fortitude and unflinching devotion to his wife and her cause are measures of his strength and compassion in the face of adversity. In public, he never responded to the crude denunciations which he and Suu suffered in Burma's state controlled press, but instead thanked the authorities for their courtesy in allowing him to visit his wife during her years of isolation.

Michael was born in Havana, Cuba to Josette, the Canadian Ambassador's daughter and John, an officer with the British Council. Both Michael and his twin brother, Anthony, who runs Serindia Books which published Goepper and Poncar's marvelous book on Alchi, were educated at Worth School in Sussex. Michael next studied Modern History at the University of Durham, where he first met Hugh Richardson, the last British representative in Tibet, when he invited him to speak on campus. Michael's next posting arose through his membership in the Junior subcommittee of the London Tibet Society, where he had met Marco Pallis. When the Queen of Bhutan asked Pallis to recommend a tutor for her children, Pallis suggested Michael, who jumped at the chance. Between

¹ *Freedom from Fear* (London: Penguin, 1991). I would like to thank Alexander Aris, Anthony Aris, John Bray, Philip Denwood, Clare Harris, Isabelle Onians, and Tadeusz Skorupski for their gracious assistance and thoughtful recollections.

1967 and 1973, Michael tutored the royal prince, who has since become king of Bhutan, while also heading up the Bhutanese government's translation department as he became fluent in the national dialect of Dzongkha.

Although they had first met in 1965 and maintained a courtship largely by mail, Michael and Suu were married in a simple Buddhist ceremony in 1972 in London. They lived in Bhutan until 1973, when they returned to England where Michael completed his doctorate in 1978 under David Snellgrove at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies. Michael was elected to be a Junior Research Fellow at St. John's College in 1976, a Research Fellow at Wolfson College in 1980, a Research Fellow at St. Antony's in 1989, and visiting professor at Harvard University from 1990-1992. During these years, Michael and Suu raised their two sons, Alexander (b. 1973) and Kim (b. 1977) mostly in Oxford. As a founding member of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, Michael hosted their second conference at St. John's College in Oxford in July of 1979, before he and Suu published the proceedings in honor of Hugh Richardson. Michael's published works, which range over Bhutanese and Tibetan history, include *Bhutan: The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom* (1979), *Views of Medieval Bhutan: the Diary of Samuel Davis 1783* (1982), *Sources for the History of Bhutan* (1986), *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: A Study of Pemalingpa (1450-1521) and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683-1706)* (1989), *The Raven Crown: the Origins of Buddhist Monarchy in Bhutan* (1994), and *'Jigs-med-gling-pa's 'Discourse on India' of 1789: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation* (1996). His most widely read work is the edited version of Suu's essays known as *Freedom From Fear*, which has been translated into 14 languages and carries introductions by Vaclav Havel and Desmond Tutu.

Michael's connection with Ladakh and Zangskar date back to his first visit in the late summer of 1976 with his wife and son, Alexander. After his family left, Michael stayed with David Sonam's family in Chanspa, where Tadeusz Skorupski was also staying as he prepared for an expedition to Zangskar. While traveling through Ladakh in the footsteps of his mentor, Marco Pallis, Michael met several prominent Ladakhi historians, including Thubstan Paldan, Tashi Rabgyas, and Ngawang Shaksपो. After he returned to Oxford, Michael translated Thubstan Paldan's *Brief Guide to the Buddhist Monasteries and Royal Castles of Ladakh* and added an introduction which has been omitted from the 1982 edition of that work. Michael's original introduction carries his trademark concern with the distinction between history and legend, which he so skillfully navigated through much of his later work. He notes, "I have not attempted to modify the chronology or tried to separate the historical from the legendary. To that end I have included no critical apparatus which would, in any case, have been out of place in a work of this sort." Michael's attempts to parse fact from fiction have earned him the distinction of being one of the only Western scholars to directly confront the historical legitimacy of the *gter ma* tradition, as Donald Lopez recently noted in his *Prisoners of Shangri La*.

Michael's interest in Ladakh continued as he invited a Ladakhi dance troop to perform at a 1986 conference on "Man and Nature in the Himalayas" which he organized at the Indian Institute for Advanced Studies in Simla. In his essay for the volume which arose out of that conference, *Himalayan Environment and Culture*, Michael explains why local perceptions and uses of the environment should be taken into account in the globalized endeavor of Himalayan conservation. He notes: "For while it is agreed that the outside world must now show a proper concern for the crisis since the Himalayan heritage, both natural and cultural, now forms part of the whole world's heritage, surely it is the feelings and aspirations of those who have actually lived there since time immemorial, and whose cultures are to a great extent the product of adaptation to the natural environment, which should take precedence over everyone else's?"

Before his death, Michael had agreed to be the patron for the next Ladakh Studies conference in Oxford. He was also working on the 19th century Wise manuscripts, a collection of water color paintings of Zangskar, Ladakh, and central Tibet. While the artist of these sketches remains anonymous, Michael felt fairly certain that they had been commissioned by Frederick Drew, based on the geological notations found in the drawings from the Zangskar valley. Michael had pursued the mystery of the Wise manuscripts in his characteristic dogged but understated manner. Each time we met in the last few years, he had more questions than I could answer, and each time, I promised to send him notes on what I could find. I now regret that I did not do more when I still had the chance.

THE DAY OF THE LION: Lamentation Rituals and Shia Identity in Ladakh

by David Pinault

1. Shia lamentation rituals and controversies concerning self-mortification practices

Among the best-known holydays in Shia Islam is the annual Muharram season commemorating the battlefield death of the Imam Husain, the Prophet Muhammad's grandson who was killed at Karbala in the seventh century of the common era. In this essay I will discuss another annual observance honoring Husain, but one that has received very little scholarly attention: the Day of the Lion. This essay will suggest how the rituals practiced during Muharram and the Day of the Lion serve to define Shia identity in Ladakh, taking into account attempts by the Iranian Islamic Republic to extend its influence in the region.

Students of Ladakhi culture will know that Leh Township, the capital of Leh District, has a diverse population of Buddhists, Sunnis and Shias². For decades the town has had an annual Muharram procession in which sponsorship and participation has traditionally been in the hands of local Shias. I became interested in Leh's Muharram procession several years ago because, beginning in 1989, with the start of the so-called Social Boycott directed by the Ladakh Buddhist Association against the town's Muslims, Sunnis began participating in the Muharram procession in large numbers. The reason for this joint Sunni-Shia participation is not hard to discern. As one Shia resident explained to me, "The Sunnis want to make a statement to the Buddhists: '*ham musulman log sab eik hein*: we Muslim folk are all one.' But that's not the way things really are. The Sunnis don't really like us."

And in fact that dislike goes back a long time in the town's history. "The Sunnis," one Shia acquaintance told me, "used to treat us as if they were the emperor Aurangzeb," —a ruler not known for his interfaith tolerance of diversity. According to Shia informants, the Sunnis of Leh in years past used to make fun of Muharram practices and throw stones at the procession; and on my third visit to Leh, in 1997, Shia friends took me to visit the Zangsty matam-serai, a secret meeting place, now in ruins, where the town's Shias used to meet for their Muharram gatherings, a cramped dark room, too small for more than twenty-five persons, where the town's Shias used to assemble in hiding, afraid to draw attention to themselves: a far cry from the very public processions of recent years, when Shias have grown in both confidence and numbers.

¹ For a recent survey of Ladakh's population see John Crook, "The Struggle for Political Representation in Ladakh," *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* 1 (1999), 137-160.

When I witnessed the town's Muharram liturgies in 1996 and 1997, I in fact saw both Shias and Sunnis in the procession, marching past silent Buddhist spectators; but the nature of Sunni and Shia participation differed sharply. The Shias clustered around Zuljenah, a riderless horse daubed with red paint symbolic of blood; the horse represents the steed once ridden in battle by Husain. For Shias Zuljenah is a stimulus to grief: when Husain's horse returned riderless from the battlefield, the women of Karbala knew that their Imam had died; when Zuljenah appears in the streets, women step forward with their children to touch the horse, and men and teenaged boys step forward to perform *matam*, gestures of grief ranging from chest-beating to *zanjir-zani*, self-flagellation with razors, whips, and chains.³

Matam is not unique to Ladakh. The practice of Muharram lamentation is discussed in a sixteenth-century Persian text, Husain Wa'iz al-Kashifi's *Rawza-ye shuhada'*, "The Garden of Martyrs," where Kashifi asserts that those who come together for Muharram lamentation are *muhibban-e Ahl-e bayt*, "Lovers of the household of the Prophet."⁴ I have argued elsewhere that at the level of popular piety Shias define themselves as those Muslims who excel beyond all others as lovers of the Prophet's family⁵. Hence the practice of *matam*, to show their grief for the suffering endured by the family they love.

In Leh as elsewhere in the Shia world, *matam* is accompanied by the emotional chanting of *nauhajaj* or lamentation poems. In Leh township, however, the Sunnis march separately, segregated from the Shias, and at some distance from the horse Zuljenah. The Sunnis do not chant *nauhas* as they march; instead at irregular intervals they simply shout *Allahu akbar*, a kind of non-denominational assertion of Islam, if you like, for the benefit of Buddhist bystanders. And the Sunnis most certainly do not perform *matam*, "because *matam*," as both Sunnis and Shias have told me in settings as far apart as Hyderabad, Darjeeling, and Ladakh, "is something only Shias do." Although this assertion might not be altogether accurate in practice, nevertheless it is true that in Leh township I encountered both Sunnis and Buddhists who expressed not only disapproval but revulsion at *matam*, especially the bloodier dimensions of the practice in terms of self-flagellation to the head, chest, and back, sometimes to the point where the flagellant requires hospitalization.

But what especially intrigued me was that in my visit during the Muharram season of 1997, I encountered a number of Shias in Leh township, especially maulvis and some officers of the Shia Anjuman-e Imamia, who likewise voiced disapproval of the practice. When I pressed them on the point, they told me that there had been a recent fatwa issued in Iran forbidding the more extreme forms of *matam*, and that if I wanted more information I should go to the Imam Khomeini Memorial

³² See David Pinault, *The Shiites: Ritual and Popular Piety in a Muslim Community* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), for further discussion of Muharram and Shia lamentation rituals.

⁴³ Husain Wa'iz al-Kashifi, *Rawza-ye shuhada'* (Teheran: Kitab-forushi islamiyah, 1979), p.12.

⁵⁴ Pinault, 119-120.

Trust in Kargil, a center for Shia *tabligh/da'wa* (“missionary”) activity located in western Ladakh near the Pakistani border or “Line of Control”.

In fact I did make it to Kargil and managed—with some persistence—to find the Imam Khomeini Memorial Trust. Once there, I interviewed Sheikh Anwar Husain Sharaf al-Din, a Ladakhi Shia maulvi currently enrolled in one of the seminaries in the Iranian city of Qom (informants told me there are dozens—if not hundreds—of other Ladakhi Shias also presently studying in Qom). Sheikh Anwar told me he was home for the holidays, spending Muharram preaching at matam-serais in Kargil and elsewhere in Ladakh.

When I interviewed Sheikh Anwar and his colleagues that day, they told me they were very familiar with the Iranian fatwa in question concerning matam, and that in fact they were trying to disseminate to their fellow Ladakhis what they had learned in Iran concerning the legal status of self-flagellation. They told me that they were trying to educate fellow Shias as to the harmful and forbidden qualities of *matam* on the basis of a fatwa, dated 7 Muharram 1415 (AD 1994), issued by Seyyed Ali Khamenei, successor to Ruhollah Khomeini as the present spiritual leader of Iran, in which Khamenei declared to be “unlawful and forbidden” all acts of matam performed in public involving the use of weapons to shed one’s blood. Ayatollah Khamenei’s primary concern was the harm that might befall the image of Shia Islam if outsiders saw Muharram mourners scourging themselves:

If the action of striking oneself with a weapon were actually carried out in private homes behind closed doors, then the harm coming from support for this practice would be solely a question of bodily injury. But when this action takes place before witnesses and in front of television cameras and the eyes of enemies and foreigners, and even before the eyes of our own young, at this point there is an additional harm that must be measured. It is not a question of individual or physical harm, but of great injuries linked to the reputation of Islam.⁶

In forbidding the public performance of bloody matam, Khamenei warned that “propagandists of the Satan of Imperialism” might point to this practice in order to “present both Islam and Shiism as an institution of superstition.”⁷

⁶⁵ Sayyid Ali Khamenei, *'Ashura: bayyanat-e rehbar-e mu'azzam-e inqilab-e islami wa-istifta'at-e ayyat-e 'uzam piramun 'azadari-ye 'ashura* (Qom: Daftar-e tablighat-e islami-ye hauzeh-ye 'ilmiah, 1994), p. 22.

⁷⁶ Khamenei, p.21.

Critics of *zanjiri-matam* seem to be attempting to reduce Shiism to a set of antiseptically logical propositions acceptable to all Muslims. I would speculate that such critics have been influenced by political strategies fostered by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini since the founding of the Islamic Republic, a policy known as *taqrib* (literally, “to bring near”), involving strategies oriented to the furthering of Sunni-Shia ideological rapprochement and tactical cooperation in the realm of international affairs.⁸

But back to my conversation in the Ladakhi town of Kargil with Sheikh Anwar, the Kargili Shia studying in the Iranian seminary at Qom. In our discussion Sheikh Anwar was careful not to question the sincerity of those flagellants who perform matam in hopes of earning intercessory merit. Nonetheless he made it clear that being an educated member of the Shia community entailed socially responsible behavior on the part of the individual: therefore one should not engage in actions (such as *zanjiri-matam*) for one’s private benefit (earning intercession from the Karbala Martyrs, etc.) if these actions risk harming the reputation of the Shia faith in the eyes of the outside world.

2. The Day of the Lion: Shia village rituals in Leh District

The political dimensions of Ladakh’s Muharram can be tested by comparing Leh’s Ashura procession with another Ladakhi Shia religious observance, called *Yawm-e Asad*, a Persian-Arabic term that means “the day of the Lion”, also referred to as *Dusra Muharram*, the “second” or “additional” Muharram. I witnessed this ritual for the first time during fieldwork in Ladakh this past summer, in July and August of 1999.

The date for the Day of the Lion is determined by the zodiacal calendar. It always takes place, I was told by Ladakhi Shia informants, under the *Borj-e Asad*, the constellation of Leo. Shia informants explained *Yawm-e Asad* to me as follows.

The Islamic calendar is lunar, and so holydays such as Muharram shift their date every year in relation to the solar calendar. Whenever Muharram occurs in winter (and in most years Ladakh’s Muharram falls during the *sardiyan*, the “cold days” that extend from October through early June), Ladakhis hold a second, additional, series of rituals to commemorate the death of Husain.

My informants all acknowledged that the Day of the Lion is largely confined to Ladakh (with one notable exception, to be discussed below). A “second Muharram”, so far as they knew, is never celebrated in other parts of the Shia world such as Iran, southern Iraq, or Lebanon. My informants were quick to justify this unusual Ladakhi practice.

The first thing I needed to know, they told me, was that the Imam Husain had died in the excruciating heat of mid-summer, under the zodiacal sign of Leo. Thus in the sixty-first year of the *hijrah*, when Husain died, the lunar month of Muharram coincided with the solar month of Leo. Thus the most appropriate commemorations of Husain’s death occur in those seasons when the weather is at its hottest.

Second, my informants said, I must bear in mind that Ladakh’s weather is very cold for most of the year. This means that Muharram in Ladakh usually occurs during the *sardiyan*; and it is

⁸⁷ For a discussion of Khomeinist policies concerning Shia-Sunni rapprochement, see Emmanuel Sivan, “Sunni Radicalism in the Middle East and the Iranian Revolution,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 21 (1989), 1-30.

impossible during the cold-weather season to convey fully to congregations the Karbala martyrs' sufferings under the desert sun or do justice to Husain's torments of thirst. Additionally, Ladakhi winters discourage many people from turning out to attend Muharram majalis and the public Zuljenah processions that take place outdoors on the street. Therefore, in those years when Muharram occurs in cold weather, a "second Muharram" is held in the summer, sometime during the zodiacal month of Leo. The date of the summertime *majlis* and procession is called *Yawm-e Asad*, the Day of the Lion.

Asad is a village rather than an urban observance. It is never celebrated in Leh township, the region's urban center and district capital. During Muharram villagers journey to the city of Leh for the big Zuljenah procession on Ashura; but in August the flow is in the other direction, as the residents of Leh come to the outlying villages for *Yawm-e Asad*. A kind of symmetry is established: the city is responsible for the universal and better-known observance of Muharram linked to the canonical Islamic calendar; the provincial outposts in the countryside observe the older, pre-Islamic, zodiacal calendar.

Not one but four Asad celebrations are held each year in the villages of Leh district, in sequence on successive Sundays throughout the month of Leo. Traditionally Chushot holds the first two Asad observances. It goes first, I was told, because of its prestige and antiquity as a site of Ladakhi Shia culture. Chushot is a large village comprising two parts, Yogma ("lower") and Gongma ("upper"), each with its own *matam-serai*. Of the two, Chushot Yogma is situated nearer Leh township, not far from the Choglamsar Bridge that spans the Indus River. Each year Chushot Yogma holds the first Asad observance, followed on subsequent weekends by Chushot Gongma, Phyang, and Thikse.

Regardless of venue, the order of liturgical events in this summertime liturgy is largely the same as it is on Ashura. A *majlis* or lamentation gathering takes place on Saturday night, called *Yawm-e Asad ka shab* or *Shab-e Asad* ("Lion's Eve"). On Sunday morning there begins another, longer, *majlis*, which includes a number of sermons and the performance of *nauhas*, chanted to the accompaniment of *matam*. *Yawm-e Asad* then concludes in the late afternoon or early evening with a Horse of Karbala procession.

"Why Sunday?" I asked. For pragmatic reasons, I learned: Asad is held then because more people are likely to be free from work on Sundays than any other day of the week. According to Seyyed Naqi Shah, principal of the Imamiyah Mission School in Chushot, it is important to schedule Asad to permit the greatest number of congregants to assemble so as to fulfill one of the most outstanding purposes of Asad: *tabligh* ("propagation of the faith" or "religious education"). "*Yawm-e Asad* is an opportunity," he said, "to gather many individuals while the weather is good and it's easy to travel. Then everyone, fathers, mothers, children, can learn about Husain's death and the significance of his sacrifice. It's also easier to bring in guest preachers from outside." He pointed out that this year one such guest preacher would come up from Dehra Dun, in Uttar Pradesh.

But this pragmatic flexibility in scheduling suggests the secondary status of *Yawm-e Asad* in comparison with Muharram. Ashura (often simply called "Muharram") is recognized as a holiday in India; Shias generally have no difficulty in taking the day off from work (and often the several preceding days leading up to Ashura) to attend *majalis* and processions.

Asad is different. In Leh township most non-Shias I asked, whether Buddhist or Sunni, had never heard of it. An exception is Ghulam Rasul Bailay, a Sunni Ladakhi from Leh, a newspaper journalist with considerable travel experience. He told me of Kargili Shia roadworkers in Leh who had baffled their Sunni foremen by asking for time off to go to the villages to perform *matam*.

"It was really quite funny," he reported. "The foremen said, 'But Muharram was months ago.' And the workers replied, 'Yes, but this is Asad,' and off they went." Given such potential for misunderstanding, my informants told me, it makes sense that the villages schedule the Day of the Lion for Sundays, when the fewest conflicts with work schedules will occur.

With few exceptions the only non-Shias in Leh township who knew of Asad were those select Sunni Muslims—a handful of preachers and scholars—who are given written invitations every year by the village organizing committees and are asked to offer a guest sermon. Interfaith gestures are much more characteristic of Ladakh's urban celebration of Muharram. In Leh township members of the Ladakh Buddhist Association are invited to attend the “funeral feast” in honor of Husain on the fourteenth of Muharram; and the Sunni Anjuman-e Mu'in-e Islam turns out in strength to join the Shia Zuljenah procession and shout *Allahu akbar* along the length of Leh's main bazaar. Sunnis do not march in the villages' Lion processions, I was told. They confine their show of pan-Islamic solidarity to downtown Leh, on Ashura, where they feel they will make the greatest impression. All of this suggests the provincial flavor of the Day of the Lion.

Earlier I mentioned the flexible quality of scheduling with regard to *Yawm-e Asad*. An example of this occurred in the summer of 1999, when I first witnessed the Day of the Lion. My 1999 visit coincided with the Kargil Crisis, when Pakistani soldiers and Pakistan-supported *mujahideen* crossed the Line of Control and threatened parts of western Ladakh and Kashmir. When I arrived in Leh in July I was informed by Shaikh Muhammad Ali Zubdavi, chief maulvi of Thikse, that the season's first Asad observance would be held on Sunday, August first. But then Chushot Yogma's planning committee postponed the event until the following weekend, August 8. The reason: a number of village Shias, I was told, were still away in the Kargil district, serving the army as porters in the war zone. The postponement allowed some of them to return home in time for Asad.

Worth noting here is one other datum concerning the geographic distribution of Asad observances. Seyyed Naqi Shah of Chushot informed me that the Day of the Lion is also held in parts of Kashmir, especially in Zadibal, a Shia neighborhood in Srinagar. As in Ladakh, Srinagar's Asad observances include a majlis and a Zuljenah procession. I expressed surprise at the latter, knowing that Muharram processions have been banned in Srinagar for years, due to pro-independence violence by militants. “Yes,” acknowledged Naqi Shah, “the Muharram Zuljenah *jalus* has been banned, because that always used to involve lakhs of people [hundreds of thousands]. But the Asad procession is smaller-scale and confined to a given locality.”⁹⁸

3. Recent interpretations of Khamenei's fatwa in Ladakh

I interviewed a number of Kargili Shias resident in Leh and learned that the Day of the Lion is also observed in Kargil district, but with the same town-country distinction found in Leh. That is, Muharram is observed in Kargil township, while Asad is celebrated in the villages.

⁹⁸ See also the newspaper article concerning Asad observances in Srinagar entitled “Religious Congregation Observed,” *Daily Excelsior* (Jammu), August 7, 1999.

Which leads me to an observation concerning *matam*, Shia identity, and self-flagellation politics in Ladakh. In Kargil township the two major Shia organizations at present are the “Islamiya School” and the Imam Khomeini Memorial Trust (often referred to by its acronym IKMT). In her dissertation on Muslim politics in Kargil district’s Suru Valley, Nicky Grist makes the following reference to these two groups: “The former [that is, the Islamiya School] has been in existence since the 1950s as a school of religious instruction for younger men, most of whom subsequently study at one of the Shi’ite centres in the Middle East. Nowadays it has an imposing building in Kargil’s main bazaar. The latter was started after the death of Ayatollah Khomeini as a social welfare organisation, and runs a chain of schools in and around Kargil town.”¹⁰

I had visited IKMT headquarters in Kargil in 1997 and was eager to learn more about the attitudes characterizing these two factions. The groups are well known in Leh district. During the summer of 1999 I gathered a number of anecdotes concerning them from local Shias and Sunnis, as well as Kargili Shias residing in Leh.

To illustrate how serious is the rivalry between IKMT and the Islamiya School, several informants mentioned an incident that occurred sometime in 1997 or 1998 (my sources could not agree on the date, but enough people mentioned it to me that I took the story seriously). It seems that Iran’s ambassador to India wanted to go to Kargil and address the town’s Shia community (this did not surprise me, given the numerous accounts I have heard of the Iranian government furnishing financial aid for Kargili Shias to study at Qom). But the ambassador had to abort his trip and leave Kargil in a hurry, because when he arrived street fighting broke out between adherents of IKMT and the Islamiya School. Each faction, it seems, had insisted that the ambassador come to its headquarters first to speak.

The Islamiya School is more attuned to traditional Shiism as practiced in Kargil, while IKMT prides itself on its orientation to the Iranian Islamic Republic. My informants characterized the Islamiya School as conservative, IKMT as relatively liberal (by “liberal” my informants meant: open to changes dictated by Iran’s religious authorities).

IKMT favors education for girls, I was told, and it also advocates *taqrib*: worldwide Sunni-Shia rapprochement. In this it reflects the legacy of the Ayatollah Khomeini, who sought to downplay Sunni-Shia differences as a way of building alliances with radical Sunni movements in the Middle East. Ghulam Rasul Bailay, the Sunni Ladakhi journalist mentioned above, told me of seeing wall posters on the streets of Kargil township that discussed Sunni-Shia differences with regard to the bodily gestures involved in *namaz* (ritual prayer). These posters, he said, emphasized that the differences involved are unimportant, given the larger issues facing global Islam.

Such ecumenism has met a stumbling block, however, in divergent Kargili interpretations of the Ayatollah Khamenei’s 1994 fatwa concerning bloody *matam*. The decree expressly forbade the public performance of *qameh-zadan*. This Persian term literally means “dagger-striking.” It is also understood by many Indian Shias to refer to a specific form of *matam* from among many: cutting one’s forehead with a knife (an action also referred to as *shamshir-zani*). The Islamiya School interprets *qameh-zadan* in this more restricted sense and therefore maintains that Khamenei’s fatwa forbids only the specific action of knife-cuts. Consequently, the Islamiya School says, the action of *zanjiri-matam* (striking oneself with a flail comprising several blades attached to chains) is not forbidden. And in fact I would say, based on my own observations of Ashura and *Yawm-e Asad*, that

¹⁰⁹ Nicola Grist, Local Politics in the Suru Valley of Northern India. (Goldsmiths College, University of London, Ph.D. thesis, 1998), p. 125.

zanjiri-matam is quite popular among Ladakhi Shias. Therefore, despite the 1994 decree, the Islamiya School continues to sponsor lamentation processions in which marchers perform flagellation with *zanjirs* and shed their blood.

IKMT, I was told by Shias in Leh, interprets Khamenei's fatwa more broadly. This organization understands *qameh-zadan* to refer to any action whatsoever of cutting oneself. Therefore the popular practice of *zanjiri-matam* is to be considered *haram* (legally forbidden). For this reason IKMT sponsors processions in which participants do nothing more severe than *hath ka matam* (bare-handed chest-beating).

In my own estimate IKMT is looking to the deeper meaning informing Khamenei's pronouncement. The ayatollah makes it clear that his worry is the damage done to Shia Islam's image abroad if non-Shias see marchers spilling their blood and harming themselves. Thus IKMT's Muharram processions conform to the spirit of *taqrib*: offering an image of Shiism calculated not to offend Sunni Muslims.

Ritual differences between IKMT and the Islamiya School reached a flash point in 1997, I was told, when each faction staged its own separate Muharram procession in the town of Kargil. IKMT marchers restricted themselves to chest-beating; Islamiya School loyalists scoured themselves bloody with *zanjirs*. Thereby each group proclaimed its adherence to a particular understanding of Shia Islam. When the two processions converged at the town's *qatl-gah* (literally the "killing-site", an open space where mourners gather on Ashura), fighting broke out between the two groups. Since then, I was told, the factions have avoided violent confrontations; but they continue to hold separate Muharram marches, in which each group manifests its own understanding of Khamenei's restrictions on matam: Islamiya School marchers use *zanjirs*, IKMT processionists limit themselves to bare-handed chest-strikes.

4. Conclusion. Self-mortification rituals and Shia identity in Ladakh

Despite criticism from ayatollahs, maulvis, and educated Shias alike, bloody matam continues to be popular in Ladakh. The reasons for this popularity involve factors not sufficiently taken into account by Shia reformers. Earlier I stated that at the popular level Shia communities tend to define themselves as those Muslims who excel beyond all others in their love for the Prophet's family. To engage in excessive and apparently irrational behavior, to hurt oneself physically through *zanjir-zani*, shows that one deserves to be ranked among the *muhibban-e Ahl-e bayt*, to borrow Kashifi's devotional phrase, "the lovers of the Prophet's family," those Muslims who merit Paradise through their lamentation. Thus Muharram self-mortification entails a demonstrative aspect directed to an audience within the Shia population: disregard for one's own safety validates one's claim to intimate self-abnegating love for the Prophet's family.

Again and again, in interviews with South Asian Muslims, not only in Ladakh, but also in Hyderabad, Lahore, Delhi, and Darjeeling, I have been told that matam is a practice that is primarily and characteristically Shia. Matam is something Shias do; and the bloodier forms of *matam*, *zanjir-zani* and the like, comprise *matam* par excellence. Thus as an outward-directed demonstration, bloody *matam* serves to demarcate forcefully Shia gatherings from non-Shia, whether Muslim or Buddhist, a practice that can be especially useful in a setting such as India, where Shias are a minority population within Islam, and where Muslims in turn are a minority who feel themselves surrounded by a majoritarian Buddhist or Hindu population.

In conclusion, what I have witnessed in recent years is an attempt by the higher levels of the Shia religious hierarchy to rein in the more controversial forms of Muharram ritual, motivated in part by issues involving the image of Shiism abroad and international rapprochement with non-Shia Muslim communities. But despite attempts by the Iranian clergy to curb *matam*, self-flagellation continues to be popular in part precisely because it is repugnant to some onlookers, precisely because it establishes distinctions and reinforces boundaries and discourages assimilation. At the

popular level bloody *matam* persists in Ladakhi towns like Leh precisely because such practices mark Shias as distinct from the Sunnis and Buddhists within their immediate environment. In its performative and demonstrative aspects, then, perhaps it can be said that all ritual, like politics, is local.

Acknowledgments

Funding for this research was provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Academy of Religion, and Santa Clara University. I thank the following individuals for their help and encouragement in my work: members of the International Association for Ladakh Studies, especially Abdul Ghani Sheikh, Nicky Grist, and Martijn van Beek; in Kargil, Sheikh Anwar Husain Sharaf al-Din, of the Imam Khomeini Memorial Trust; in Leh, Nasir Muhammad of Fantasy Adventures, Ghulam Rasul Bailay, and Ghulam Haider Stalampa; in Thikse, Shaikh Muhammad Ali Zubdavi; in Phyang, Shaikh Ghulam Hadi and Ghulam Reza Khangtakpa; and in Chushot, Seyyed Naqi Shah, of the Imamiyah Mission School.

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A SELF-RELIANT ECONOMY: The Role of Trade in Pre-Independence Ladakh

Janet Rizvi

In the pre-Independence era Ladakh's economy was completely self-reliant and, lacking the benefit of Government-sponsored 'development' programmes, paid its way without aid or subsidies. Indeed the *malia*, land revenue collected in cash, constituted a drain on its resources in favour of the State Government. One prerequisite for such economic independence was no doubt the absence of unmanageable population growth; this was achieved in the villages of Buddhist Ladakh by social and religious devices common to much of the Tibetan cultural area and the Himalaya, namely polyandry and inheritance by primogeniture, as well as the removal of a significant proportion of the population from the reproductive stakes by dedicating one child from each family to religion as a lama or a nun. Together these arrangements operated to prevent holdings being broken up into units too small to be worked economically; and also to prevent the population expanding beyond what the land—whether fields or pastures—could support (Crook and Crook 1994, 752, 754)¹. In 1947, of Ladakh's total area of about 98,000 square kilometres, only some 210 square kilometres—barely 0.2 per cent—were under crops, while the population was about 80,000 (76,000 by the Census of 1941), giving a density of a little less than 400 per square kilometre of cultivated land. Up to that time, Ladakh's fields supported not only its own inhabitants, but also a floating population of merchants trading between the Punjab and Sinkiang together with the staff and pack-horses of their caravans, and additionally an estimated 20,000 Chang-pa across the border in western Tibet.

Research from Moorcroft to Osmaston has established the excellence of Ladakhi agriculture (Moorcroft and Trebeck 1841, I, 280, 285; Osmaston 1994, 169, 189). But this was only the beginning of the story. Crop- and animal-husbandry was supplemented by a complex pattern of inter-regional trade in grain, dairy products, dried apricots, wool and salt from Tibet's salt-lakes, which spread the surpluses of particular areas and made up the deficits of others. Whatever essential commodities were imported—tea, wool and salt from Tibet, some coarse grains and small quantities of rice from Kashmir and Kishtwar—were paid for in the region's own produce, or by what its people earned as traders, transporters or migrant labourers. It was trade which added enough value to Ladakh's produce to make such imports possible at a time when there was no concept of subsidies.

Ladakh's inter-regional trade in subsistence and other commodities formed a continuum with similar trades carried on all along the great Himalayan divide. South-east to Bhutan and what is now Arunachal Pradesh, passes through the great range made possible a continual flow of salt and wool south from the Tibetan plateaux, and grain in the opposite direction. No community in Ladakh ever prospered from trade to the extent of Nepal's Sherpa and Thakali (Fuerer-Haimendorf 1988, 60,

¹A useful research project would be into patterns of landholding in the Suru valley and other Muslim regions of Ladakh, to establish how far unmanageable population-growth and the splitting of landholdings into uneconomic units as a result of dividing the inheritance among all the children of a family were avoided in the absence of polyandry and inheritance by primogeniture.

181–82). Nevertheless, I believe that the activities of the traders, particularly those from central Ladakh known as Shamma, were essential to Ladakh's economy, and were at least partly responsible for the modest degree of prosperity the region enjoyed, which was repeatedly remarked on by nineteenth-century travellers, especially in contrast with neighbouring Baltistan (see e.g. Duncan, 180).

In the Ladakh sector the trade in subsistence commodities was given a peculiar slant by the demand for pashm—the raw material of the shawl industry—from neighbouring Kashmir. Although it is only at the present day that the price paid for the raw material to the primary producers, the Chang-pa of the high-altitude pastures of Ladakh and Tibet, has begun to bear any relation to the value of the finished product, yet the trade in this sought-after fibre was of such importance as to have a decisive impact on Ladakh's history. Today there is a worldwide demand for pashm (known internationally as 'cashmere'), which is being met from Tibet, Sinkiang and Mongolia. But up to the latter part of the nineteenth century it was only in Kashmir that the skills to process it existed, and large-scale production was confined to western Tibet and the adjoining areas of south-east Ladakh. Thus Ladakh was the conduit on which Kashmir's shawl industry, which represented very big money indeed, was dependent for its supplies. From the Treaty of Tingmosgang in 1684, which gave Kashmir a monopoly of all the pashm produced both in Ladakh and over the border in western Tibet, to the extinction of Ladakh as an independent kingdom in 1834–42, the pashm trade was a major determinant of the region's political history (Rizvi 1999).

Yet paradoxically, critical though it was to Kashmir, to the majority of Ladakh's traders pashm was only one commodity among many. Those to whose commercial operation it was central were a caucus of Muslim merchants of originally Kashmiri descent, some of whom, the *khar-tsong*, were the agents of the kings of Ladakh or later, after 1846 when Ladakh was absorbed into the state of Jammu and Kashmir, of the Maharaja or the local Governor. Until well on into the nineteenth century the trade was exclusively in the hands of this group. It was not till about the time of the shawl industry's decline, after 1870, when pashm was ceasing to be a matter of such critical importance, that the Shamma, the peasant traders of the Indus valley villages, got in on the act. And even then, such were the traditional ties between the original monopolists and the Chang-pa of the Rudok district adjoining Ladakh, which had the best pashm-producing pastures, that in order to establish their trading contacts many of the Shamma had to travel way beyond—to Gertse, more than 400 kilometres east of Rudok—involving a three-month round trip every year.

From the perspective of today's economic realities, the profits they made from this enormous expenditure of time and effort seem very reasonable. One retired trader I spoke to, a very old man who worked the pashm circuit for some thirty years before Independence, remembered buying pashm in western Tibet at the rate of one rupee the seer (just under a kilogram), and selling it in Leh for Rs 3.5 to Rs 4 the seer. Another, younger, whose trading career spanned the period from Independence till the complete sealing of the border in the wake of the Sino-Indian war of 1962, recalls that the purchase price rose during that period from Rs 2 to Rs 6, and the selling price from Rs 5–6 to Rs 11. But in fact, though the sale in Leh—to the Tibet Baqals, yet another group of monopolists from Kashmir—was invariably for cash, the transaction with the Chang-pa herdspeople was more often a barter one, the rates being fixed with reference to the cash values of the commodities involved. The enormous premium on foodgrains in the high-altitude pastures where there was no possibility of cultivating cereals, is illustrated by the fact that in a normal year the Chang-pa of Gertse were willing to give one kilogram of pashm or two of sheep's wool for one kilogram of *ata* (whole-wheat flour) or *tsampa* (roast barley flour). This at a time—say the late 1940s—when *ata* could be bought in the villages near Leh at the rate of about eight to ten seers to the rupee.

Thus, in a manner unique (to my knowledge) in the Himalaya, in the Ladakh sector a high-value cash crop was for centuries integrated with the trade in subsistence commodities. But the subsistence trade went much beyond pashm. Let alone the relatively small number of substantial

merchants of the Leh area—preponderantly Muslims whose ancestors had been involved in the trade for generations—even the several hundred Shamma trekking with their strings of donkeys to Gertse or Gartok could come nowhere near satisfying western Tibet's need for foodgrains. And neither the Shamma on their annual cross-border trips, nor the Leh merchants, dealt in the Tibetan commodity which was crucial to the survival of the people and their livestock, not only in Ladakh but as far afield as Baltistan and Kashmir—namely salt.

Salt from the brackish lakes of southern Tibet was a staple of the trade in subsistence commodities all along the line of the Great Himalaya. In parts of Ladakh, so greatly was it valued that it became a currency for the purchase of other commodities like rice from Kashmir and dried apricots from Baltistan. Before the Shamma started going to western Tibet in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the bulk of the trade, it seems, was carried on by the Chang-pa themselves, who brought thousands upon thousands of their handsome big-boned sheep, *chang-luk*, laden with salt, and fanned out over a huge area of central Ladakh and Nubra, bartering their product for wheat and barley (Moorcroft MSS D245/41–2, 98; D261/69; D263/67). And even this century, until well after Independence, they came, fewer of them, but still in considerable numbers—an estimated 40,000 to 60,000 sheep, each carrying about 16 kilograms—and only as far as the Chemrey valley, just south of the Chang-la, where for several weeks it was like a great market, which drew villagers from all over central Ladakh, and as far as Purig and Baltistan, with grain from their fields to barter for Tibetan salt. The barter rate seems to have fluctuated, according to the relative supply of the two commodities, around 1:1 by volume, though wheat was at a premium, so that when the salt to barley ratio was 1:1, that of salt to wheat would be 5:4. In Leh, an entrepreneur could exchange salt bought at this rate for wheat at the rate of 5:5, a profit of 25 per cent. Sold for cash, the price of salt around the time of Independence fluctuated between three and six seer to the rupee. In Skardu the barter of salt for apricots seems to have been done not by volume but by weight, at an average rate of 1:1. But if best Baltistan apricots were taken to Chemrey, by either a man from Skardu peddling the produce of his own orchard, or one of the Shamma who had acquired them by way of trade, they fetched from the Chang-pa the much more favourable rate in salt of 1:1 by volume.

Tucked away on the northern flank of the Great Himalaya, Zanskar was right off the Chemrey circuit. The Zanskaris were supplied with salt by the Rupshu Chang-pa. Although there are salt lakes in Rupshu, till about 1960 the Chang-pa of the area got their supplies from particular lakes in western Tibet, involving every year a march of 16 to 18 days each way from their principal encampment of Debring, just south of the Chang-la². Twice a year they brought flocks of *chang-luk* sheep laden with salt by difficult routes through the mountains of the Zanskar range into Zanskar, where they bartered both the salt, and the wool from the sheep's backs, for the foodgrains they were unable to grow themselves. Many of the Zanskar villagers purchased more than they needed for their own consumption, carrying the balance on their own backs over the Umasi-la, a pass too difficult for laden animals, to Kishtwar, where they bartered it for rice and other commodities. Others resold their surplus to traders from the Suru Valley, who carried it either to Baltistan, or direct through the passes of the Great Himalaya to Kashmir.

Zanskar was surplus in dairy products as well as barley, and one of the most bizarre of the trades in subsistence commodities was that in butter with Leh. For obvious reasons, butter can be easily carried only in winter, the season during which Zanskar is virtually cut off from the world, all the passes being blocked by snow. The only way in or out is by the gorge of the Zanskar river, whose frozen waters form a precarious highway. But such was the preference in central Ladakh for local butter over that imported from the plains of India, that well into the 1980s it was worth the while of a number of Zanskari villagers to make the five- or six-day march down the river, sleeping

² For this information I am indebted to Monisha Ahmed

in caves en route, to sell butter—an estimated 4000 kilograms in 1977—and buy with the proceeds goods of daily use like tea, cooking-oil, spices and kerosene (Crowden 1994).

This necessarily abbreviated account may yet, I hope, give some indication of the complexity of the pattern of trade in subsistence commodities that was a critical factor in giving Ladakh economic independence. (Much more, in my opinion than the more famous and glamorous-seeming long-distance trades with Yarkand and with Lhasa.) For centuries the unceasing effort of generations of peasants and herdspeople—selling, buying and bartering their own and each other's produce, increasing its value by carrying it to where it was in short supply, which ipso facto means to where it would fetch them a reasonable profit, travelling literally hundreds of miles, themselves on foot and their merchandise loaded on sheep, horses or donkeys or sometimes on their own backs—breathed life into Ladakh's economy, lifting it just a fraction above the margin. Up to the middle of this century, the various trades survived political and other shifts, adapting and evolving according to circumstances. But between 1947 and 1960 they came to an abrupt end, as a result not of organic change within Ladakh's economic system, but of political upheavals in a wider world—the partition of India, and the communist revolution in China followed by the occupation of Tibet. Their demise, together with population-growth and the often inappropriate forms taken by Government-sponsored development programmes, spelt the end of the region's self-reliance, and the start of an era of dependence on outside economic forces over which Ladakh has no control.

This paper summarizes part of the author's *Trans-Himalayan Caravans: Merchant Princes and Peasant Traders in Ladakh*, published by Oxford University Press New Delhi.

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THE LITTLE TIBET JOURNAL

Mohammad Hasnain Sengge Tshering writes:

“We, members of the literary circle of Baltistan, are proud to announce the launching of the first ever local literary and research journal of West Tibet (i.e. Ladakh and Baltistan), entitled *The Little Tibet Journal*. This journal will cover the topics on tourism, conservation and preservation of flora & fauna, cultural, historical, linguistic and socio-economic aspects of Western Tibet, Karakorum-Himalayas region and Northern Areas of Pakistan. We envisage the journal as addressing multi-faceted themes concerning the region. In particular, the journal will contain research articles by renowned scholars and writers, both local and foreigners.

Such a journal will endeavour to portray a complete and balanced picture of the region. The editorial board of the journal will maintain the highest scholarly standards and ethics, particularly keeping in mind the journal's desired goal of promoting a deeper understanding of the region and the peace and harmony that accompanies such an understanding. We not only expect to achieve widespread readership in Pakistan but also hope to target International readers.

We invite you to contribute your literary services and provide articles in English, Tibetan or Urdu. We also encourage submissions of Balti poetry. The length of the articles should be limited to eight pages. The editorial board will also have the right to accept or reject any of the articles, to edit them and to publish them fully or partially.

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Articles would be preferred in diskette/hard copy or if through e-mail, then on mhst@hotmail.com
OR barbara@wol.net.pk

NEWS FROM THE INSTITUTE OF LADAKH STUDIES

The Institute of Ladakh Studies thanks the following members of the International Association for Ladakh Studies for their generous donation of books and articles for the Moorcroft Library: John Bray, Pascale Dollfus, Joseph Fox, Jean Michaud, Henry Osmaston, Mark Trewin, Rohit Vohra, and the editors of Recent Research on Ladakh nos. 7 and 8. We hope that their example will inspire other members to donate material.

We are also grateful to all who took out membership at the Ninth Colloquium, and are glad to report that these included several local scholars.

We're still struggling along with no more funds than we've been able to collect by way of subscriptions. But a grant-in-aid from the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council, Leh, is said to be in the pipeline; and as soon as we get our clearance from the Income Tax Department, I hope to start fundraising in earnest.

Janet Rizvi

Please note that the ILS is a separate initiative without formal links to the IALS. Its activities and aims are complementary to ours and we wish the Institute well. (Ed.)

EXHIBITION

LADAKH: Himalayan Photographs by Karl-Einar Löfqvist

14th October 1999 - end of January 2000

The Western Himalayan region of Ladakh has inspired the work of Swedish photographer Karl-Einar Löfqvist for over a decade.

This exhibition of stunning black and white photographs is the result of numerous journeys he has made to the region. The close relationships forged between the photographer and a number of individuals there have resulted in an intimate record of life in the homes, fields and monasteries of Ladakh.

Löfqvist's images reveal the interplay between the sacred and the secular, the rigours and beauty of a harsh environment and the sensibilities of a subtle observer of lives lived on the roof of the world.

Open Monday – Saturday 1.00 – 4.30 pm

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

Mallon, David P. *Ecology and Conservation of Mountain Ungulates in Ladakh, India.* Ph.D. thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 1998. Pp. x+212, incl. maps, figs.

Research was carried out in a 15,000 km² study area in central Ladakh, India. The study area is Transhimalayan in character with ecological affinities to Tibet and Central Asia. The main study species were Ladakh urial *Ovis vignei*, bharal *Pseudois nayaur* and Himalayan ibex *Capra sibirica*, with additional data collected on two species occurring marginally within the study area, argali *Ovis ammon* and kiang *Equus kiang*. Distributions were mapped in detail. Distribution of urial was restricted to a band along the Indus valley and its tributaries. Bharal and ibex were widely distributed and apparently share the study area. Bharal occur in the eastern part of the Zaskar Range and across the eastern plateau of Ladakh. Ibex occur mainly in the western part of the Zaskar range, along the northern slopes of the Himalayan range and the southern slopes of the Ladakh range. Argali and kiang occur across eastern Ladakh and just reach the eastern edge of the study area; both have occasionally established a presence farther west. Current estimated numbers in the study area were: 500-700 urial; 6,000-10,000 bharal, 3150-6150 ibex, <50 kiang and c.12 argali. Urial use even terrain between 3000-4250m and avoid areas with cliffs. Ibex and bharal both use altitudes up to 5000m and prefer broken, more rugged terrain which they use as escape cover. Discriminant function analysis showed a clear differentiation between urial habitat and that of ibex and bharal, but a substantial overlap in the habitat used by ibex and bharal. The habitat preferences recorded are similar to what is known of other Caprini species. The ungulate community consisted of three main species, each occupying separate parts of the study area. The abrupt boundary between the distributions of ibex and bharal was examined in the framework of parapatry theory. Conservation prospects for mountain ungulates in the study area are currently satisfactory.

Vibha Krishen Sood. *Development of Tourism and Its Impact on the Environment of Ladakh.* Ph.D. Thesis, University of Calcutta, 1998.

When the tourists and hosts come into contact, a distinct relationship develops and the process of interchange begins. Development of tourism is a function of congenial environment, stable political conditions, better original offer, and availability of basic infrastructure and facilities. The level of socio-cultural interaction and nature of contact situation between the tourists and hosts determines the degree of change. The volume of tourists, types of tourists, characteristics of tourists and the characteristics of the destination area influence this process of interaction. This study of tourism in Ladakh attempts to analyse this dynamic inter-relationship between the 'agents of change' and the 'sub-system' on which they impinge and thus the resulting impact. Ladakh is an arid mountainous region with harsh climatic conditions, low resilience, and 'encapsulated' environment but with subsistence agricultural economy and weak economic linkages. The locals have survived in such conditions primarily because they adapted themselves to the environment through prudent use of the scarce natural resources; peaceful and harmonious co-existence with each other and nature by following the policy of interdependence and mutual help. Sudden introduction of tourists in such a fragile system has definitely uplifted the economy but has to some extent disturbed the environmental and social balance of the region.

Lafrenz, Andrea. *Soil salinity in Ladakh - a potential problem for future agriculture.* Dissertation, Dept. of Geography-Geosciences, Univ. of Trier, Germany. Pp. 122, incl. maps, 16 colour pl., English text, German summary.

Increased salinity, decreased productivity and eventual sterilisation is a common sequence in irrigated soils, but in Ladakh it has hitherto been ignored as an actual or potential problem. However some agricultural soils in the Leh valley and particularly at Shey now show high concentrations of salt, mainly at the surface. At both sites this appears to be due partly to increased use of inorganic fertilisers and to insufficient leaching through the soil by rain and irrigation, but at Shey the main factor is a high water-table, due either to natural rise or to removal of the topsoil for brickmaking. This water evaporates from the surface and leaves a crust of salt. Farmers have noted recent reductions in yield and some fields have been abandoned. Remedies include using less fertiliser, lowering the watertable by drainage, and applying more irrigation water if drainage is adequate. It is important to encourage publicly both remedial and preventative measures. (summary by HAO)

Mankelov, J.S. *The introduction of modern chemical fertiliser to the Zanskar valley, Ladakh, and its effects on agricultural productivity, soil quality and Zanskari society.* B.Sc. Dissertation in Environmental Science and Anthropology, Oxford Brookes Univ. (Gypsy Lane, Headington, Oxford OX3 0BP) 1999. Pp. 73, 8 col.pl., maps, figs, data tables.

Traditional Ladakhi farming methods are capable of producing crop yields comparable to that of European intensive agricultural systems. As part of the modernisation of Ladakh modern chemical fertilisers are being applied to further increase yields. Environmentalists are concerned that this shift in farming practice will upset the areas ecological and social balance.

Fieldwork undertaken in summer 1998, in the village of Padum, Zanskar, investigated these concerns, focusing upon changes in society and the comparison of barley yields and soil quality between fields subject to either 'traditional' or 'modern' fertiliser. Social change and the need for modern fertiliser was investigated through interviews, and soil quality was assessed through analyses such as available plant nutrients and crop vigour observations. Crop yield was estimated with data from field sampling which indicated about 5 tonnes/ha, excellent yields and even higher than estimates of previous workers. The comparison of crop yield and soil quality between fields indicates little difference in either variable that is related directly to the respective fertiliser practice. Zanskaris however, spoke about an increase in soil hardness and the short term benefits of modern fertiliser. Fieldwork indicates that in Padum modern fertilisers are principally used to promote the growth of a taller crop. In Zanskar the crop stem is used to supplement supplies of winter fodder. By growing a taller crop, the Zanskaris are offsetting a fodder shortage resulting from increased land division, a problem associated with the declining practices of polyandry and primogeniture. Attention is also drawn to status and wealth in Padum and how the acquisition of modern fertiliser is potentially contributing to social division.

Copies of the thesis will be available at the libraries of OBU, SOAS, Institute of Ladakh Studies Leh, and Ladakh Ecological Development Group.

BOOK REVIEWS

***Bibliography – Northern Pakistan.* Edited by Irmtraud Stellrecht. Pakistan-German Research Project. Culture Area Karakorum Scientific Studies. Vol. 1. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 1998. 647 pp., map.**

This bibliography contains more than 4,000 entries covering the regions which now make up Pakistan's Northern Areas and parts of North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). It will be an essential research tool for scholars working on these areas, and for Ladakh specialists looking for comparative material on the regions to the west.

The bibliography stems from the joint German/Pakistani Culture Area Karakorum (CAK) project (Vols 5 and 8 of the project's publications were reviewed in *Ladakh Studies* 10 and 11 respectively). The project is interdisciplinary, and the main subjects covered include: physical geography, climatology, botany, human geography, social/cultural anthropology and philology, with additional contributions on archaeology and history. One of the strengths of the book is the inclusion of 'grey literature' published by government agencies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) such as the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP). It also includes travel accounts from the 19th and early 20th centuries, as well as more recent times. The book covers material published up to 1995, with the addition of publications by CAK contributors up to 1998.

The bibliography is arranged in alphabetical order of author, with additional thematic indexes arranged by region and by subject. Entries are confined to bibliographic details with cross-references to the thematic indexes, but no further annotations. The areas covered include nearby regions such as Ladakh, Afghanistan, and Uzbekistan as well as northern Pakistan. The bibliography cites material in most European languages, including Russian. However, it seems to be surprisingly short on material in Urdu or other regional languages. For example, I looked in vain for Abbas Kazmi's book on Balti folksongs, *Balti Lok Git* (Islamabad, 1985).

The sections on neighbouring regions do not aspire to be comprehensive, but there are some 200 entries listed under 'Ladakh' including several which—to his mixed delight and chagrin—were unfamiliar to this reviewer. Ladakh entries included a selection of articles from the first Recent Research on Ladakh conference in Konstanz (Sander and Kantowsky 1983) and the third in Herrnhut (Meier and Icke-Schwalbe 1990), but neither the second nor subsequent volumes.

In her introduction, Irmtraud Stellrecht mentions—with an unnecessary note of apology—some of the tribulations faced by compilers of bibliographies. The work tends to be regarded as a sideline of 'real' research, and it is therefore hard to find sufficient funding. Much as one tries to be comprehensive, there are always gaps in coverage. Subject indexes and varying conventions on the spelling of non-Western names present their own problems, and—she might have added—proof-reading is especially troublesome.

And yet there are many rewards. One of the greatest is serendipity—finding books and articles which you are not actively seeking, but which nonetheless open up new connections and directions of research. This book will open up many new avenues for all of us interested in the wider Western Himalaya/Karakorum region.

***Trekking in Ladakh. Includes Leh, Manali & Delhi.* By Charlie Loram. Second, revised and updated edition. Hindhead: Trailblazer Publications, 1999. Pp. 288, maps, figures, photographs, index. ISBN 1 873756 30 5. UKP 10.99; USD 16.95**

When it first appeared in 1996, Charlie Loram's guidebook partly filled the gap left in the English language market by the discontinuation of Lonely Planet's Travel Survival Kit (TSK) for Jammu, Kashmir & Ladakh. Although, as the title promises, this is primarily a trekking guide, the book also offers the necessary practical information about India, about how to get to Leh, and where to stay and eat along the way there. The format, in this sense, corresponds to the familiar TSK formula, but it avoids the typical TSK-speak and its "moments of unthinking racism" (see John Hutnyk's *The Rumour of Calcutta*. London: Zed Books 1996). Its information appears as accurate and up-to-date as one can expect—it includes a warning regarding the shelling of Kargil in 1999—its advice is generally sound, and its maps and route descriptions appear to be accurate and usable.

Rather than just judging the book's merits against my own standards, I decided to take the book along to Leh last summer and circulate it among some potential users. Not surprisingly, the milling (mulling?) crowds at the Oriental GH, in restaurants and cafés in Leh, invariably asked to see the book and wanted to buy a copy. Some copies of the first edition were still available in the bazaar, but a new edition of a guidebook never fails to attract the interest of the travelling tribe of Lonely Tony. People copied information, ran photocopies of the maps and route descriptions (violations of copyright, no doubt), and more than once I had considerable difficulty recovering my review copy. My "It is not available in the bazaar" triggered sullen looks in the faces of would-be trekkers and sight-seers. When Danish Kirsten, Niels, Nina and Hjalte arrived in their 2CVs, I lent them the book, as they were as suitable participants in a test of the book as one could wish for, except that they were not going trekking. Still, they (Kristen and Niels in particular) used the book for a few weeks and gave it a wholehearted 'thumbs-up'. My copy never made it out of Ladakh again, which reflects the intensity of local demand, I suppose.

Despite its obvious qualities, there are a few things to quarrel with about the book. Although the book does not suffer from pronounced Islamophobia, there is rather little information on trekking possibilities in Kargil district. Partly, I suspect, this reflects anxiety about the militancy in the Valley and even Jammu. "There is a serious risk to travellers' safety in these areas," Loram writes. Such warnings are sensible, and travel along the Kargil road has not been advisable in the past two years, but the extent of danger to travellers in Jammu and arguably Srinagar is perhaps somewhat overstated. There is a large area west of the Suru and Stod rivers where trekking routes do not pass through parts of J&K affected by the militancy, and one would hope for more attention for this part of Ladakh in a future edition.

With regard to practical trekking-related information, I wonder why the author has chosen not to give any names of trekking agencies in Leh. Of course, this is an unstable business, but as so much depends—according to this guide's own assessment—on finding a dependable local trekking agent, even just a list of agencies would have been useful. The omission is particularly odd as the author has no hesitation in giving a long list of agencies in Europe, the US and Australia who offer packages to Ladakh, and provides an extensive and useful list of guesthouses in Ladakh.

As to the trekking information, I asked 'Meme' Gilles Caron and Henk Thoma—two particularly experienced trekkers—for their judgement. Both thought the descriptions and estimations of walking times looked okay and that the maps—there are 67 of them—were accurate enough, e.g. in marking springs and other landmarks along the trails. As to the maps, I personally would prefer them all to be oriented in the same way; but admittedly, I have not walked with these maps, so might come around to liking its system of shifting orientation according to what direction is 'ahead'. Moreover, as the maps do not give much of an overall sense of the route, one would normally want to use the guide together with one of the better topographical maps of Ladakh. The

book closes with a series of appendices including useful and important advice on health and mountain safety.

With its overall emphasis on culturally and environmentally responsible tourism and wealth of constructive suggestions in this regard, its detailed descriptions of routes, and the concise but adequate sections with general and practical information about Ladakh and the principal stops along the way there, this is a highly recommendable guidebook, certainly the best available in English

***Ladakhi Kitchen [La-dwags-kyi-byang-sa]: Traditional and Modern Recipes from Ladakh.* Gabriele Reifenberg with Phuntsog Angmo Moljoks and Tsewang Dolma Lden. Leh: Melong Publications, 1998. USD 10, UKP 6, or INR 195 (profits to the Women's Alliance of Ladakh). Pp. 91, map, figures.**

This is an attractive, well laid-out and practical recipe book suitable for use by anyone who enjoys Ladakhi food and wants to make it at home. The book is a happy combination of social commentary and recipe book, well-illustrated with line-drawings and attended by occasional Ladakhi poems; it gives the name of each dish in Ladakhi and Western script along with a translation.

The choice of dishes laid out here is very wide, ranging from staples such as *tsampa* (ground roast barley), *zho* (yoghurt) and *tara* (buttermilk), to recipes for more complex dishes such as *rogan josh*. The context for each meal, which often details the origins of the dish and its ingredients, as well as the reasons for its development, is given a very personal touch by the author, whose pleasure in the research is clear: anecdotes of friends and occasions bring the meals to life. The methods she has been taught by patient local cooks are lovingly detailed, and attempting to reproduce the precise shape of noodles or steamed bread for each dish provides hours of amusement in the Western kitchen.

The book is very usable and many travellers to Ladakh will be delighted to reproduce old favourites like *then-thuk* and *mok-mok*, but Reifenberg does not limit herself to food of any one ethnic origin, and there are recipes from the Muslim communities of Ladakh, from Kashmir and Tibet, as well as modern forms of older traditional recipes. Reifenberg charts their development where she can through the introduction of non-native ingredients, though she also touches on the use of traditional ingredients, such as goat meat and milk from a yak that has just given birth (which readers may find difficult to come by in the average Western supermarket!). We particularly enjoyed the *skyu*—excellent for a winter's evening—and the Losar biscuits, which were enthusiastically devoured by our visitors (all in the spirit of scientific analysis, of course).

If we had any particular reservation, it lies in the present introduction, which covers the history of many of the ingredients involved in the book. Whilst this is certainly of interest to those with an eye for political economy, and is undoubtedly essential in understanding the shape of modern Ladakhi cuisine, much of the information is replicated alongside individual recipes, and with the concentrated history of all those ingredients it is perhaps a little dry when read together. What would perhaps be nice here in a second edition would be a section on Ladakhi etiquette, which would help those of us less familiar with Ladakh to feel that we were doing the whole thing properly!

As a whole, this is a very welcome work of cultural translation of the most enjoyable kind, attractively produced and well-written. We look forward to the sequel (if only because the one we have is now completely covered in noodle-dough!).

Note: The book is available from book sellers in Leh bazaar and from Melong Publications (SECMOL). A limited number of copies is available directly from the author:

Gabriele Reifenberg
5 Owlstone Road
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(ed.)

NEW BOOK

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- Appendices; Glossary; Bibliography; Index.

384 pp., 4 pages of colour plates, 4 maps, 35 photographs
Published by Oxford University Press (India)
September 1999
ISBN 0195648552
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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LADAKH SUPPLEMENT NO. 9

by John Bray

This is the latest in a series of supplements published in *Ladakh Studies* which lists additions to my *Bibliography of Ladakh* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1988). A new edition of the bibliography is currently in preparation, and this will be published by White Orchid Press, Bangkok.

Please send new references to John Bray, Central Lodge, 55 B Central Hill, Upper Norwood, London SE19 1BS, U.K. E-mail: miyoko@jblon.win-uk.net.

Abbreviation

RROL8. *Ladakh: Culture, History and Development, between Himalaya and Karakoram. Recent Research on Ladakh 8*. Edited by Martijn van Beek, Kristoffer Brix Bertelsen and Poul Pedersen. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1999.

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André, Karin. 1997. *Perzeptionen ethnischer Identität der Buddhisten und Moslems in Ladakh*. M.A. thesis (Magisterarbeit) in ethnology, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg. 144 pp. ■ Explores perceptions of ethnic identity of the Ladakhis and the connection between such perceptions and communal tensions between Buddhists and Muslims since the late 1960s. Draws on published and some unpublished sources, as well as interviews conducted in Leh in August 1995.

Beck, Sandra. 1998. *Vegetable Gardens in Ladakh: Traditions and changes in cropping patterns and vegetable crops of Ladakhi housegardens*. Project Report, Dept. of Plant Science, Kassel University. 18pp. 5 photos. ■ Compares vegetable gardens in fifteen villages, emphasising the recent increase in cashcrops near Leh, primarily the work of women. Demand from the army, immigrant officials and tourists has led to the replacement of less profitable traditional crops and the increasing use of artificial fertilisers.

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- Dollfus, Pascale. 1999. "Mountain Deities among the Nomadic Communities of Kharnak (Eastern Ladakh)." In *RROL8*, pp. 92-118. ■ Identifies the main local deities; the places where they are worshipped; and describes ceremonies to honour them.
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- Hamid, Abdul. 1998. *Ladakhi-English-Urdu Dictionary*. Leh: Melong Publishers. 406 pp. ■ The first 306 pages list Ladakhi words and their English and Urdu equivalents; the final hundred pages give English words, and the Ladakhi equivalents in Roman script.
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- Lo 'khor gyi deb* 20. 1995. ■ Articles on ancient monuments of Ladakh; protecting traditional culture; Ladakhi poetry; the culture of the Drogpa people; the life of Perang Raschen. Ldan-ma Sprulsku (a play); a report on cultural activities in Leh district.
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