INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LADAKH STUDIES

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EDITORIAL

Production of this issue of *Ladakh Studies* was delayed several times for a variety of reasons, but here is your Spring 2000 copy. I should add an apology to our South Asian members who only received their copies of *LS* 12 in June. In order to simplify logistics and to try and save on the production cost, we tried to have the reproduction of the South Asian members' copies handled in Delhi. Unfortunately, this turned out to be a less than smooth operation, causing a delay of several months in delivering the issue. We are now investigating alternatives and in the meantime have resumed producing the entire set of copies in Denmark.

The present volume is dedicated mostly to news, reviews, and a few shorter notices, but I am pleased that there is also an interesting report by Karin André and Thierry Dodin on their research in the archives of the Moravian mission.

Sadly, another important figure in Ladakh's Buddhist organisations, Sonam Stobdan Lachumir, passed away earlier this year. Sonam Stobdan Lachumir had a long and varied career in private and public service, and contributed in numerous ways to Buddhist organisations in Ladakh. Janet and Sayeed Rizvi, who knew him for decades in a variety of capacities, have contributed an obituary for him.

The news section covers events in Ladakh until the end of July, including the shooting incident at Rangdum gonpa and subsequent curfew at Leh. As we were going to press, there was flooding in the Indus valley, which was said to have claimed at least one life and to have caused considerable damage to houses and fields along the river. For example, almost the entire Tibetan settlement at Spituk was washed away. Local sources said the Indus was flowing as high as Thikse bridge! News reports on the flooding will be included in the autumn issue. Paradoxically, the Leh area has been facing water shortages due to scant snowfall during the past winter.

While we have some commitments for articles for the next issue, I would welcome your contributions, or suggestions for contributions. First hand reports on this summer's events in Ladakh would also be very welcome. I need to have articles no later than October 15, but please contact me in advance should you plan to submit something.

FROM THE HONORARY SECRETARY

I am writing this shortly after returning from the Netherlands, where I attended the Ninth Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies (IATS). I have written a conference report elsewhere in this newsletter. For me personally, the seminar was both a welcome break from everyday pressures, and a reminder of how much there is to do.

Leh conference proceedings

First on the list is the proceedings of the Ninth IALS conference in Leh in August 1999. Urgent family tasks blew me off course at the end of last year and the first six months of 2000. However, I am now resuming the task of editing the proceedings, and hope to be back on track soon. I am still waiting for some promised contributions, and I hope to have three or four additional papers from members who were unable to attend. Taken together, this should make a respectable volume, and I hope to sort out arrangements with publishers in the next three or four months.

Oxford conference in 2001

The next task is the preliminary organisation of the Tenth IALS conference, and the dates have now been confirmed for Friday 7th September to Monday 10th September 2001. Clare Harris has kindly arranged for the conference to be held in Mansfield College at Oxford University, I am conscious that this date is not ideal for everyone, but this is the most viable timing for our hosts. We will form a UK conference committee to work out further details, and there will be further information in the next Ladakh Studies. Meanwhile, please mark the date in your diaries.

I am very keen to include a comparative element in this conference and propose that it should have the theme 'Ladakh in regional perspective'. By its nature, our association focuses on local Ladakhi issues, but it is important to see what we can learn—and what we can contribute to—research conducted elsewhere in the region. I suggest that we can achieve a comparative perspective in three ways:

The most obvious is to encourage comparative papers where possible—e.g. 'Language debates in Ladakh and Bhutan'. In addition, we can invite selected representatives from other regions to contribute to panels on specific themes. For example, in panels on development or gender we could include three Ladakhi papers and one each on Himachal Pradesh and Baltistan. And it would be quite appropriate to include papers on Ladakh's links with its neighbours: e.g. 'Ladakh's trade links with Lahul and Spiti' or 'The

training of Ladakhi Buddhist monks in Tibet and South India'.

In making this proposal I have in mind both the conference itself, and the conference publication. The message from publishers is that general conference volumes are hard to sell, and they are therefore reluctant to take them on—or actively promote them—without extra subsidies. Reviewers make similar comments. I hope that a more focused approach — at least for this conference—will go some way to address this problem. Equally, I hope it allows for sufficient flexibility to address a variety of subjects, and I am keen to continue our tradition of providing an accessible forum for younger and less established scholars.

I am very pleased to report that the Michael Aris Memorial Trust for Tibetan and Himalayan Studies has promised us an initial grant towards the travel expenses of two South Asian scholars. I would welcome suggestions on additional sources of funds. In particular, members may have ideas

on ways of making our money stretch further by joining forces with other organisations or individuals

The Oxford conference committee will be responsible for making the final selection of participants subsidised by the IALS and our sponsors. The criteria will include: ability to contribute a paper of publishable standard, and relevance of the paper to the conference themes and panels. Subject to the availability of funds, we will want to strike a balance between encouraging new scholars who may not have had a chance to visit the West, and drawing on the expertise of established veterans.

I look forward to comments and suggestions on all these issues.

New edition of Ladakh bibliography

Finally, on a more personal note, I would welcome citations for the next edition of the Bibliography of Ladakh. This project also has been blown off course because of other pressures. I was both gratified and mildly embarrassed to find that, in a special brochure for the IATS conference, Orchid Press had predicted the bibliography's publication for the autumn of this year. I hope that 'autumn' is a flexible term, but plan to finish the updating in the course of the summer. So this is your last chance to double-check that your contributions to Ladakhi research are included in the next edition.

NEWS FROM LADAKH

With thanks to Abdul Ghani Sheikh for his CHECK

5000 LADAKHIS DEMONSTRATE IN SUPPORT OF KARMAPA

On January 22, more than 5,000 Buddhists rallied in Leh to urge the Indian government to grant political asylum to the 17th Karmapa. The 17th Karmapa Lama, the highest Tibetan lama whose authority is recognised by China, fled Lhasa and arrived in Dharamsala in India on January 5 after an arduous 1,400-km (875 mile) journey through the snowbound Himalayas. The 14-year-old Karmapa Lama created a religious and diplomatic storm when he arrived in Dharamsala, the Indian headquarters of the Dalai Lama, who runs a Tibetan government in exile from the Himalayan town.

The LBA, who organised the demonstration, said in a statement that a delegation of Ladakhis would soon meet Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in Delhi to press for the teenaged lama to be given asylum. "Our country stands for humanitarian values and ideals. Granting of asylum and hospitality...will stand with those lofty ideals of the country," Tsering Samphel, president of the Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA) was quoted as saying in a statement faxed to Reuters in Jammu, winter capital of the Jammu and Kashmir province.

ARMY PUT IN CHARGE OF TACKLING INSURGENCY IN KARGIL AND LEH

The Army has been put in total control of the recently-constituted Unified Headquarters at North of Zojila as part of the Centre's pro-active policy to be pursued in Jammu and Kashmir. The newly set up 14 Corps will now look entirely after the Drass, Mushkoh

Valley, Kargil, Chorbat La and Leh areas and will be responsible for tackling any insurgency activities from that front, official sources said here. Besides guarding the borders, 14 Corps, Commandered by Lt Gen A B Masih will also check cross border terrorism in a stretch from Ghumri to Siachen, they said. The 14 Corps will be responsible for correlating all intelligence reports and taking suitable action as and when necessary, the sources said.

MILLENNIUM LADAKH FESTIVAL TO REVIVE SILK ROUTE MEMORIES

The Millennium Ladakh Festival, originally scheduled for September 2000, will have cultural troupes from central Asian republics like Kyrghistan and Kazakhstan as star attractions. Their presence, according to minister of state for tourism Tsetan Namgial, will revive the memories of the Silk Route link that the central Asian countries had with Ladakh. He said the link was not based just on trade but on an ethnic and cultural affinity.

2,000 BUNKERS TO BE BUILT AT KARGIL

To protect civilian population from frequent heavy shelling by Pakistan, about 2,000 underground bunkers were to be constructed in Kargil town and nearby border villages by the end of 1999, according to official sources. While 100 community bunkers would be constructed in Kargil town itself, about 1000 would be built in border villages and over 20 for Government institutions, the sources said.

The Planning Commission had in June last year approved the release of Rs 4 crore as special central assistance under the Border Area Development programme for construction of bunkers during the 1999-2000 fiscal. About Rs 20,000 would be spent for building each family bunker, of

which Rs 15,000 was being given to the families and the remaining amount in form of corrogated sheets

The bunkers are part of a relief package for victims of border shelling in Jammu division and Kargil and Leh areas, which was approved by the Union Home Ministry and is currently being implemented. The package also includes free ration of nine kgs of foodgrains per month per person of families displaced due to shelling, a cash assistance of Rs 200 per month, free kerosene, fodder and medical treatment.

Until November, the Centre had provided the Jammu and Kashmir Government an advance of Rs 17 crore, including Rs 15 crore from National Defence Fund. Following the meeting of Kargil NGOs Coordination Committee with Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in November, the Prime Minister's Office released another Rs 7.8 crore from the fund last week.

KARGIL RELIEF PACKAGE TO COST Rs. 35 CRORE

In response to questions in the Lok Sabha on 21 December 1999, the Minister for Home Affairs, Mr L. K. Advani, said that no civilians residing in villages along the Line of Control (LoC) in Jammu and Kashmir were evacuated in the wake of heavy shelling by Pakistani forces during the last six months. Mr Advani added that about 3574 families from Kargil, 540 families from Leh and 20,000 families from Jammu got displaced earlier in the year by the Indo-Pakistan conflict in the Kargil sector.

Mr Vidyasagar Rao, the Minister of State for Home, said that the J&K Government had formulated a relief package for the displaced persons from Kargil and other areas, including free rations at the rate of 9kg of foodgrains per person of displaced families per month, cash assistance at the rate of Rs 200 per member of displaced families per month, free kerosene oil at the rate of 10 litres per displaced family per month, ex-gratia relief for loss of life at the rate of Rs 1 lakh per death case and relief for immovable property damaged at the rate of 50 per cent of the loss assessed of the immovable property subject to a ceiling of Rs 1 lakh per case and Rs 200 per month as rental for such families who are not in a position to go back to their homes due to continuous shelling.

The J&K Government has estimated an expenditure of Rs 35 crores on the relief package until May 2000. According to Mr Vidyasagar Rao, the Government of India had by the end of November already provided an advance of Rs 17 crores to the J&K Government. Mr Rao stated that steps had also been taken to give one-time relief for six months to displaced persons fron Kargil and Leh during the current winter season. The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) was said to have released Rs 7.80 crores (at the rate of Rs 1.30 crores per month) for the purpose. In all, the Government of India had thus far released Rs 24. 8 crores for the implementation of the relief package formulated by

the J&K Government.

J&K GOVERNMENT RESHUFFLED

On 13 December 1999 J&K Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah announced a reshuffle of the portfolios of his ministers. Several people were dropped, but for the Ladakhi ministers there were no such dramatic changes. Kushok Togdan Rinpoche will be Minister of State for Housing and Urban Development, while Qamar Ali Akhoon will share the portfolio of Minister of State for Works with Agha Sayeed Mehmood. Tsetan Namgyal will also continue as Minister of State, but will now be in charge of agriculture rather than tourism. The Chief Minister himself will continue to hold the cabinet portfolios of Home, General Administration, Planning, Power and Ladakh Affairs.

TUNNEL THROUGH ROHTANG PASS?

The Himachal Pradesh Assembly unanimous passed a resolution urging the Centre to start work on the tunnel under the Rohtang Pass in the next financial year, keeping in view the strategic importance of the Manali-Leh highway.

Replying to the discussion on the resolution, Mr P.K. Dhumal, the Chief Minister, said that the need for a tunnel under the high mountain pass, which remains covered with snow for a greater part of the year, had been felt for long but the Planning Commission had its reservations on account of the high cost of the project. However, the Kargil conflict had underlined its importance as an alternative route to the Leh-Srinagar road, which was within the firing range of the Pakistani artillery. Tunnels under the Rohtang and two more passes would help provide an all-weather link to Leh. He said he had already taken up the matter with the Prime Minister and Defence Minister, who were favourably inclined to the proposal. Mr Ram Lal Markanda, the Minister for Rural Development, said that as per the survey conducted by Konkon Railway Company, the total cost of the tunnel would be about Rs 499 crore and it could be completed within four to five years.

PLAN TO BUILD ALTERNATE ROAD TO KARGIL

The Border Roads Organisation (BRO) is planning to build an alternate road to Kargil bypassing the dangerous seven km stretch on the Srinagar-Leh highway that is inside the Pakistani firing range and often comes under heavy shelling from across the Line of Control (LoC). The road via Suru Valley is intended to make road traffic to Kargil "hundred per cent safe," according to Jammu and Kashmir Tourism Secretary Parvez Dewan. The decision follows the Government's intention to develop Kargil into a tourist place, particularly after last year's Kargil conflict. "After last year's war, Kargil has become a household word. It was, therefore, felt to cash in on the tourism potential of the place."

1999 POOR YEAR FOR TOURISM

While tourism to Kashmir valley had appeared to be recovering somewhat in recent years, the conflict along the Line of Control last spring has meant a considerable setback. According to official figures presented to the Minister of Tourism, Mr S.S. Slathia, 217,000 tourists visited the valley in 1999, but only 17,130 of those were foreigners. The tourism industry in Ladakh also had a bad year, with a mere 11,574 domestic and foreign tourists visiting the region.

CM VISITS CHANGTHANG

Leh, Feb 16: Chief Minister, Dr Farooq Abdullah today hoped that relations between India and China would improve further so that the pilgrimage route to Kailash Mansarovar via Changthang is thrown open. This, he said would provide ample opportunities for development of Ladakh region as a whole particularly Changthang. Addressing a public meeting at Nyoma today, Dr Abdullah said he has personally requested Prime Minister to take up the matter with Chinese Government for opening up of this route. He expressed hope that a decision in this regard would be taken soon.

Keeping in view the backwardness of the area, the Chief Minister stressed forproper education to the nomadic children so that educated youth could be provided employment adding that special care would be taken for absorbing educated nomadic youth in Government institutions.

Dr Abdullah said that Rajya Sabha member Mr Kushok Thiksay has made provision for seting up of a diesel generator set for power supply to Nyoma out of his area development fund and with installation of this power generating set, the power problem of the area will be solved. The Chief Minister stressed for proper development and promotion of local pashmina product and assured all possible help from the State Government for development of pashmina wool. He said the Wool Board will be directed to procure pashmina wool from Changthang to save pashmina growers from middle men and assured them that wool sharing machines will be procured by the Government for development of pashmina products.

Earlier, the Chief Minister visited Chushul and addressed a public meeting there. Referring to the problems and demands of the people of Chushul the Chief Minister announced that a diesel generating set would be installed this year. While referring to the problem of passenger bus service to Chushul, the Chief Minister promised to take up the matter with transport authorities at Leh so that bus service to Chushul is operated twice in a month during winter. Responding to other demands of the people, Dr Abdullah assured to provide solar lighting facility, creation of a special sub-division and posting of a treasury officer at Tangtse for speedy development of the area.

The Minister of State for Housing and Urban Development, Mr Kushok Togdan and Rajya Sabya Member, Mr Kushok Thiksay also addressed the public meeting at Nyoma and Chushul and appealed to the people to strengthen the hands of Dr Farooq Abdullah who is always keen for the betterment of the rural people of Ladakh.

NEW POWER GENERATION PROJECTS FOR LADAKH

Chief minister Farooq Abdullah assured the legislative assembly that he would take up with union power minister the issue of funding of two power projects, one each in Kargil and Leh districts of Ladakh. In reply to a question by Chering Dorjay, the power minister admitting low generation of electricity in Ladakh region, said Rs 480 crore were required to take up two power projects in Kargil and Leh districts.

If funds were made available, work on Chutak (18 MW) in Kargil and Nimo-Bazgo (30 MW) in Leh can be taken up. Rs 180 crore are needed to construct Chutak and Rs 300 crore for Nimo-Bazgo. To tide over the shortage of power in Ladakh region, Sanjak (1.26 MW), Marpacho (0.75 MW) and Haftal (1 MW) in Ladakh region and Igoo-Martselang (3 MW) and Dumkhar (2.25 MW) in Leh district are slated for commissioning during 2000-2001.

ZANSKARI GRIEVANCES

KARGIL, May 1: A Higher Secondary School (HSS) exists in the remote Zanskar area of Ladakh division but interestingly no lecturer is presently posted there. This was disclosed to the Chief Secretary, Mr Ashok Jaitly by a deputation of this remote and hilly region at Jammu. The HSS was opened in Zanskar about three years ago but no infrastructure was raised and the staff was never appointed by the Government.

The Higher Secondary remains non-functional despite the claims made by the Education Minister to revive the educational institutions in the J&K State, and no Minister from Dr Farooq Abdullah's cabinet has visited this area in last three and half years. Zanskar, with a population of about 15,000 in 25 villages and 74 hamlets, has

been neglected on all fronts. A large number of posts of teachers, medical employees are lying vacant. Science and Maths teachers are not available. Out of 25 villages only 4 of them have been covered under diesel-generator power supply. Solar light for the uncovered villages and hamlets is most essential. Mr Namgyal president of Zanskar Buddhists Association has urged upon the Chief Minister to send a sub-committee of the cabinet to redress the sufferings of the people of Zanskar.

J&K HIGH COURT BANS SHAHTOOSH TRADE

In a landmark victory for wildlife conservation in India, the Jammu and Kashmir High Court has issued a judgement prohibiting trade in shahtoosh in the state. A public interest petition was filed by the Wildlife Protection Society of India (WPSI) in May 1998 calling for a ban on the manufacture and sale of shahtoosh in Jammu and Kashmir. The fact that the trade was still permitted in J and K has been the single largest hurdle in the fight to save the endangered Tibetan antelope (or chiru), it said. The antelopes are slaughtered in thousands on the Tibetan plateau for collection of the precious wool, which is then smuggled to Srinagar, where its use is legal. Shahtoosh manufactures have recently received widespread attention in an effort to stamp out the trade WPSI said in a release today. Though the Tibetan antelope is include in Schedule I of the Central Government's Wildlife (Protection) Act, the law does not apply to the state of J and K. Apart from flouting national and international laws and conventions the court found that the shahtoosh trade was being carried out in contravention of the state's own Wildlife Act.

HOSTEL FOR KARGIL STUDENTS IN KASHMIR

Minister of State for Works, Qamar Ali Akhoon, announced on 16 May that a hostel for students from Kargil District will be built at the Government Degree College complex in Srinagar. The hostel will include 25 rooms, offering housing for 75 students. The project, which is expected to cost INR 1.14 crore is due to be completed within the current financial year.

KARGIL AIRSTRIP NEARING COMPLETION

The Kargil Airstrip is nearing completion at a cost of Rs 40 crores and will be made operational for landing by the end of September this year. The construction work of the Airstrip is carried out by the Border Roads Organisation in collaboration with Public Works Department, Kargil. The other civil works like construction of terminal building, control tower, housing colony, fire station and central heating system of the project is expected to cost Rs 8 crores.

The Minister of State for Works, Mr. Qamar Ali Akhoon, was informed of this today by the Beacon Authorities during his inspection of the Airstrip. The Minister on-the- spot advised the Beacon Authorities to extend the runway for landing of bigger aircrafts, keeping in view the long-standing demand of the people. The Beacon Authorities informed the Minister that the matter with regard to extension of runway has already been taken up with Government of India and this will further cost Rs 25 crores.

NO AGREEMENT ON USE OF LADAKH ROUTE

New Delhi, June 5: Union Home Minister L K Advani today said India had attempted to persuade China to allow the use of Ladakh route for the annual Kailash Mansarovar yatra but failed. "Kailash Mansarovar, which lies in Tibet, is witnessing an increasing traffic of pilgrims. We had tried to make China agree that the pilgrims use the Ladakh route," Advani told reporters here. However, there has been no agreement on this so far, he added while taking a view of a photo exhibition 'Indus in India' which coincided with the 'Sindhu Darshan' festival getting underway in Ladakh this week. The Ladakh route for Kailash Mansarovar is considered less hazardous and consumes less time than the current passage through Uttar Pradesh. The Jammu and Kashmir Government has

been pleading that the pilgrims be sent through Ladakh so that the tourism potential of the mountainous region could be exploited further.

KARGIL: CONSTRUCTION OF IRRIGATION CANAL BEGUN

On June 5, Minister of State for Works, Qamar Ali Akhoon, laid the foundation stone for the 30 kilometres long Wakha Irrigation Canal. Speaking on the occasion, he said the total cost of the canal would be 8.26 crores with ninety percent of the funds provided by NABARD and 10% by the State. After completion, the canal would provide irrigation to 1800 hectares of land, benefitting some 15000 people living in fifteen villages.

REPORTS ON THE AUTONOMY ISSUE

AUTONOMY REPORTS CREATE CONTROVERSY

The National Conference (NC) which contested the recently held Lok Sabha elections on the autonomy plank, however, failed to move the autonomy Bill in the winter session of the state assembly which concluded on Saturday. There was also no discussion on the autonomy report in the assembly and the council.

Chief minister and NC president Farooq Abdullah had made assurances during the election campaign and his son, Srinagar MP Omar Abdullah, had promised to get the autonomy bill tabled in the state legislature. The party's election manifesto also had talked of autonomy and promised power-sharing between Jammu, Srinagar and Ladakh on an equal basis, so that the three regions could take equal advantage of autonomy. "We will also find opportunities to transfer it to the sub-regions with their diversified linguistic, ethnic and cultural aspirations," the manifesto had said.

The state government had appointed a high-power committee on autonomy headed by former *sadar-e-riyasat*, Karan Singh, soon after Farooq Abdullah returned to power. However, Singh had resigned from the post and was replaced by PWD minister G. M. Shah, now acting chief minister. In the budget session of the state legislature, Mr Shah had submitted his report to the government. The report was expected to be discussed in the legislature during the winter session and a bill was promised to be introduced.

The NC changed its mind on the subject once it became a partner in the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance government. The BJP leaders from the state are opposed to the NC's demand for greater autonomy and do not appreciate the idea of autonomy on the pre-1953 pattern suggested by the NC. Once the elections were over and the new government came to power with one NC nominee in the Vajpayee cabinet, the subject of autonomy has became a non-issue for the NC.

An NC legislator from Anantnag said the autonomy issue was being discussed. The legislator said the Shah committee report was being discussed by the NC legislators district-wise. He claimed, the NC wanted a consensus to emerge on the subject. The report is being circulated to all the MPs and other state governments to find out their views. The chief minister is seeking the opinion of all national parties on the report, he said and admitted the whole process would take at least three to four more years. By that time the next assembly elections will be due.

LBA PROTESTS AUTONOMY REPORT

On 28 November 1999 the Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA) today held a protest rally against the proposed move of the State Government to table Autonomy Report in the Legislative Assembly during the forthcoming Session. The rally began from Chowkhang Vihara and thousands of LBA activists after passing through the main bazars of the city assembled at Polo Ground.

Speaking on the occasion , Mr T Samphel, president LBA cautioned the people against the "designs" of the Chief Minister Dr Farooq Abdullah in trying to implement the Autonomy report. He accused NC Government of hatching a conspiracy at enslaving the people of Ladakh and Jammu in the name of more autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir State. Mr Samphel said that the people of Ladakh, irrespective of their political affiliations have been opposing the move tooth and nail as any such move would further alienate the people from the nation.

The LBA chief declared that his party was not opposed to the Kashmiris' seeking more autonomy or pre-1953 position provided the same is extended to Kashmir valley only, which could be achieved if the state is bifurcated. Mr Samphel further said that if the autonomy issue for the entire state was taken up, then LBA and the people of Jammu will be forced to seek a separate state-hood. The LBA leader further said that if the Centre was forced to accord autonomy to the State under various compulsions, then it must be ensured that Ladakh and Jammu are separated from Kashmir valley.

Other prominent speakers included Norboo Gyaltson, Mrs Spalzes Angmo, Sonam Gonbo, and Ven. Lobzang Nyantak. They alleged that National Conference and militants were sharing common agenda of alienating the state from rest of the country. The leaders warned Centre to not to be so swayed by Farooq Abdullah's attitude and manner in which he talks as he was having dubious designs behind the state autonomy report. The demand of state government if fulfilled would lead to challenging unity and integrity of the nation.

The rally which passed through the main bazars of the city culminated at Polo ground where the demonstrators burnt the autonomy report amid shouting of slogans against Farooq Abdullah and his government. They threatened to intensify their agitation in case the government goes ahead with granting autonomy to the state.

The gathering ended with the burning of State Autonomy Report and raised slogans against Dr Farooq Abdullah. On the occasion, Mr Samphel appealed to the public to be ready for launching a struggle in support of their demands.

'AUTONOMY IS NOT SECESSION'

LEH, Feb 15: Chief Minister Dr Farooq Abdullah today said that India has always stood for cordial and friendly relations with all its neighbours ,particularly Pakistan in order to maintain peaceful atmosp-here in the sub-continent. He, however, regretted that Pakistan was not reciprocating in the same manner and had indulged in various Kargil like misadventures in past.

Inaugurating a newly created Rural Development Block at Kharu, about 35 kilometers from here, Dr Abdullah in his speech at a public gathering, said that the overtunes of peace by India should not be construed as our weakness." India is fully equipped to give a befitting reply if Pakistan again indulged in Kargil like misadventure", the Chief Minister said.

Dr Abdullah asserted that Prime Minister Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee has always extended his hand of friendship towards Pakistan, but it was unfortunate that they did not reciprocate to our friendship gesture and improve bilateral relations between the two countries. He cautioned the people of Ladakh and the Army against the evil designs of Pakistan Government, who he said, was

still aiding and abetting militancy to create disturbances in our State. He, however, maintained that India is well equipped to tackle Pak misadventures.

Referring to the State Autonomy Committee report, Dr Abdullah said that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and will remain the same in future also. "However, some political circles were creating misgivings about the Autonomy Report", the Chief Minister said, without naming any political party. He made it clear that the autonomy didn't mean secession from the country, but was aimed at strengthening the relations with the Centre and the rest of the nation.

Lauding the role of Ladakh Scouts during Kargil conflict, Dr Abdullah said that their sacrifices in defending the country's borders brought them laurels from the countrymen. He said that the nation was proud of these valiant and brave soldiers and will always remember their sacrifices.

He distributed an ex-gratia relief of Rs five lakh to the next of the kin of late Tsering Phuntsog of Ladakh Scouts who laid down his life during Kargil conflict. The Chief Minister also handed over orders of compassionate appointment in favour of the next of kin of seven deceased Army personnel of Leh district. On the occasion, he assured that Ice Hockey Stadium will be constructed at Leh to further promote winter sports in the region, which will also help boost tourism activities in the area.

Speaking on the occasion, Ch Mohd Ramzan, Minister for Agricul-ture, Rural Development and Cooper-atives said that additional funds to the tune of Rs 12 crore will be provided to Ladakh region under Desert Development Project, which will be spent in next five years. For imple-mentation of the Project, Leh district has been divided into 48 water sheds and in each shed, Rs 25 lakh will be spent. The Minister said that Fruit and vegetable Mandi will be established in Leh, for which land has been identified. He further said that projects worth Rs six crore have been submitted to the Centre for funding various schemes. The function was also addressed by Minister of State for Agriculture, Mr Tsetan Namgyal, Minister of State for Housing and Urban Development, Mr Kushak Togdan Rinpoche and Mr Thiksay Lama, Member of Parliament.

JOINT DEMAND FOR DIVISION OF J&K

Leaders of the Jammu Joint Students Front (JJFS), Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA) and Panun Kashmir, representing Dogras of Jammu, Buddhists of Ladakh, and Pandits of Kashmir, jointly raised a demand for division of the state into four parts: Jammu, Ladakh, and a bifurcation of Kashmir to create Panun Kashmir. The demand is seen as a response to the recommendation of the State Autonomy Panel for restoration of pre-1953 status to the State. This, it is feared, could have adverse affects on the minority communities of J&K.

LADAKHI BJP LEADER OPPOSES MORE AUTONOMY FOR J&K

Sonam Paljor, BJP leader from Ladakh said at a press conference in Jammu on February 3 that the people of Ladakh were opposed to granting greater autonomy to the state. He said the Chief Minister, Dr Farooq Abdullah, was trying to have a "mini country" within India and cautioned the Centre against this "nefarious" move.

He said by demanding greater autonomy for the state, the NC was trying to widen the wedge among the people of Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir. He said instead of autonomy the state should have regional councils for each of the provinces so that political power percolated to the people of all the three regions. He said the people of Ladakh would oppose tooth and nail any move aimed at granting greater autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir.

LBA ORGANISES PROTEST DEMONSTRATION

The Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA) organised yet another gigantic rally at Leh on March 16 to register its strong and intense protest against the National Conference Government's nefarious move to seek greater autonomy to J&K State. As per a release the rally was attended by more than 20,000 protestants which started as a huge procession from the Petrol Pump area in the out-skirts of the Leh town and after traversing a distance of four kilometers through Fort road and the main market culminated as a rally at the Polo ground. Addressing the rally, the leaders of the Ladakh Buddhist Association charged the Farooq Abdullah Government with hatching various conspirational designs of fomenting communal feelings among the people of the three district regions of the State. The issue of greater autonomy to the State is nothing but gradual secession of the State from the Indian Union which can't be acceptable to the people of Ladakh, Jammu and the Kashmiri Hindus who have been forced to leave their homes in the Valley living as refugees in their own country.

Addressing the rally, Mr Tsering Samphel, president, LBA Leh alleged that the NC Government's move of greater autonomy is a dangerous design to enslave the minorities of the State and smacks the conspiracy of annihilating the distinct ethnic identity of the people of Ladakh, by allured conversions and discriminatory attitude of the Government in various spheres like allotment of developmental funds to the region and discrimination in providing jobs to the unemployeed educated youth. He said that the present Government has the mandate to determine the destiny of the people of Kashmir only and has no right to force the so-called greater autonomy upon the people of Ladakh, Jammu and the migrant Kashmiri Hindus.

In the event of granting autonomy to the State, Mr Samphel said, the only alternative is the trifureation of the State, which constitude granting statehood to Jammu region and Union Territory status to the Ladakh. He further elaborated that with the consistent appeasement policy adopted by the Government of India, the unity and integrity of the nation is put to stake at the cost of the nationalist forces. So, the people of Ladakh and Jammu have now resolved to fight tooth and nail the nefarious designs of the State Government to divide the people of Ladakh on communal lines and the so called greater autonomy or Pre-53 position shall accrue at the cost of lives of the people of Ladakh and Jammu.

CENTRE READY TO DISCUSS TRIFURCATION: ADVANI

During his stay in Leh in connection with the Sindhu Darshan festival, Union Home Minister L K Advani indicatedon June 9 that the Government is ready to discuss even the issue of trifurcation of Jammu and Kashmir within the purview of the Constitution. "We can discuss anything only within the four corners of the Constitution," Mr Advani answered while asked for his views on trifurcation of the State as demanded by some groups. He was talking to mediapersons during his visit here to attend the three-day Sindhu festival. "We are ready to even talk to those who are unhappy with the Government's policies," he said.

Several political groups in the State, including the Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA), favour its trifurcation into Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh regions as a lasting political arrangement. Even some Hurriyat leaders have suggested division of the State. In a memorandum to Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who came here on Wednesday to inaugurate the Sindhu festival, the LBA protested against the State Autonomy report's recommendation of restoration of the pre-1953 position as a solution. The report was submitted a few months back

Mr Advani also said the Government is proposing to set up a high-level committee to consider inclusion of certain languages, including Bhutia (the language in Ladakh and some other regions) in the eighth schedule of the Constitution. "Similar demands have come also for Dogri and Rajasthani languages. Hence we propose that a committee of experts should look into it," he said. (UNI, 10/6/00)

Alienated Ladakhis call for division of J&K

LEH, June 11: Alarmed by the state autonomy report seeking restoration of the pre-1953 position in Jammu and Kashmir, a sizeable number of the majority Buddhist population in Ladakh region favours either trifurcation of the State or grant of union territory status.

The Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA), the main representative body of the people of the 'moonland', feels the state autonomy report, if implemented, would undermine the existence of Ladakh as a distinctive ethno-cultural identity. "Kashmiriyat is not a composite identity. It (the report) symbolises Kashmiri identity to the exclusion of the distinctive identities of Ladakh and Jammu," the LBA said in a memorandum to Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee when he flew down to inaugurate the Sindhu festival here on June 7. At the function, many Buddhist activists were seen wearing badges which read "we want it".

"The Government should appreciate the heterogenity of Jammu and Kashmir state," said LBA president Tsering Samphei. Mr Samphei said any political arrangement should take into account the aspirations of the people of all the three regions- Ladakh, Kashmir valley and Jammu. "We believe a lasting solution lies in trifurcation of the State," he said warning against the restoration of the pre-1953 position which, according to him, would amount to addressing the problems of the Valley to the detriment of Ladakh and Jammu regions.

The District Congress Committee (Leh) has also opposed the idea of restoration of the pre-1953 position as envisaged in the report of the State Government. "It must be done after separation of Ladakh and Jammu from the Valley. Otherwise, the problem that confronts the Valley will crop up in Ladakh," said former Union Minister and Congress leader P Namgyal and DCC president Norbo Gyalson in a memorandum to Union Home Minister L K Advani who was also here to attend the festival.

Before 1953, the State virtually enjoyed complete autonomy except in defence, finance, external affairs and communication which were taken care of by the Centre. The Governor was then called Sadar-i-Riyasat and the Chief Minister, Wazir-i-Azam. (PTI)

LADAKHIS PROTEST AGAINST AUTONOMY MOVE

LEH, June 19: Putting a major obstacle to Jammu and Kashmir Government's move for "greater autonomy" to the state, thousands of Ladakhis and several parties, including Farooq Abdullah's National Conference, today launched a week-long protest and demanded Union Territory (UT) status for the region.

Protesters, mostly Buddhists, including women and children, clad in traditional "Dongsa", staged a 10-km "Padyatra" as shutters at all shops and business establishment went down. Vehicular traffic went off the roads as demonstrators, carrying tri-colour flags, raised slogans against the autonomy package and Pakistan-sponsored terrorism frequently punctuating with one liners like "Bharat Mata Ki Jai".

Gey Lobzang Nyantak, president of youth wing of Ladakh Buddhists Association (LBA) under whose aegis the "black week" is being observed, threatened that "Ladakhis will be compelled to take AK-47" if the Government continued with its "step motherly" treatment against the region.

LBA president Tsering Samphel, in his address at the local polo ground, cautioned New Delhi and Srinagar that if the present trend continued, Ladakhis will not hesitate to knock the doors of United Nations and seek "mass asylum" especially for Buddhists "in any other country."

To much embarassment for ruling National Conference president Farooq Abdullah, the Leh district unit chief of the party Tseringe Norbu Lampa strongly opposed the autonomy package and announced his support to the cause of UT status. "We should forget party affiliation and join the movement. It is a genuine regional demand and all parties should favour it in a consensual manner,"

he said. Local Congress leader Md Yakub Bijjol, said "Farooq Abdullah should understand that first of all we are Ladakhis"

The legendary 84-year-old Kushuk Bakula, who first pioneered the movement against "Rule from Srinagar" said, "Ladakhis cannot accept the autonomy package or restoration of pre-1953 status." "It can come only on our dead bodies," Bakula, hailed here to the status of Lal Denga and a Phizo in North-East, said.

Reports of similar protests have come from block headquarters of Nyoma, Durbuk, Khaltsi and Padum. Even state unit of BJP is staging "week-long" dharna all over the State. BJP state unit secretary Spalzes Angmo said party's demand for roll-back of autonomy package "is not against party discipline." (PTI)

STOP PRESS STOP PRESS STOP PRESS

TENSION SIMMERS IN LADAKH AFTER KILLINGS

by MUZAMIL JALEEL

SRINAGAR, JULY 13 Comunal tension is brewing in Ladakh. There is an indefinite curfew imposed in Leh and the situation is tense in Zanskar after the killing of three monks by unidentified gunmen yesterday. ``We have imposed curfew in the Leh city as a precautionary measure early this morning," said Naveen Chowdhary, Deputy Commissioner, Leh. ``Twelve persons from both the communities have been put in preventive custody toavoid flaring up of violence," he said.

The trouble started with the derogatory remarks made by the vice-president of the Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA) Sonam Gombo on the holy Quran. Though LBA immediately regretted the remarks made by their senior office-bearer, that had hurt the sentiments of Muslims and issued a written apology, the feelings could not be assuaged. The Muslim community was demanding action against Gombo. ``It was a slip of the tongue but we have been apologising to avoid any trouble in the city," said Tsering Samphel, president, LBA. ``The vice-president was also asked to resign". However, as the situation was coming to normal in Leh, three monks were killed in Rangdum monastery near Pagdun, Zanskar in Kargil district.

Though the State Government revealed the killings were a militancy-related incident which have nothing to do with the communal tension in Leh, the LBA president Tsering Samphel claimed it to be a reaction to the happenings at Leh. ``We had apologised to our Muslim brethren and things were coming to normal but the reaction in Kargil have again flared up the tension," Samphel said. Refuting the State Government's claim that the monks were killed by militants, Samphel said that ``Militants have never operated in the area during the past 12 years so how is it possible they will come and strike today?" Minister of State for Works and NC legislator from Kargil, Qamar Ali Akhoon, claimed that the killing of monks had nothing to do with the Leh tension.``These are two different incidents. But there are forces who want to connect the two to drive a wedge between the two communities," he said. Another junior minister (Agriculture) from Ladakh Tsetat Namgyal blamed Congress for the communal friction in Leh. ``Whom has it hit anyway? There is a indefinite curfew in Leh and the peak tourism season is ruined," he said. Inspector General of Police, Kashmir range A.K. Bhan said that the police was inquiring into the incident. ``It seems to be a militant act," he said.

The communal tension in Ladakh has their roots in the return of National Conference rule to the State, when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah took over as Chief minister replacing Congress party's Syed Mir Qasim soon after Indira-Sheikh accord of 1975. The Buddhist-dominated Leh had accused the NC of being Kashmir-centric and discriminating against them. The Leh agitation for a

separation from Kashmir, seeking a UT status again resurfaced to counter the greater autonomy demand for the State by ruling NC. The National Conference, however, accuses Congress for the trouble in the Buddhist-dominated Leh. They say it is Congress which lost power in 1975 and instigated people to take to streets and sponsored communal elements. NC leader from Kargil, Akhoon claims the demand of Union Territory on communal lines is a Congress gameplan. `The Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA), which is at the forefront of the agitation, is nothing but a frontal group of Congress,' he adds.

KILLING OF 3 MONKS IN KARGIL: Neither reaction to sacrilege of Quran nor planned act of militants

From Masood Hussain

SRINAGAR, July 17: Killing of three monks on Tuesday outside the famous Rungdum monastery in Kargil was neither a reaction to the sacrilege of Quran at Leh nor a "planned act of militants", preliminary police investigations have revealed. The action has been a panic response to the monks high-pitch interaction with each other, which the fugitive mistook a "call for help". Police, however, continues to be clueless over the whereabouts of the group that kidnapped their co-traveller, a German trekker after de-boarding from the truck. The government has not sought the help of the army and the central security agencies, so far. Police, however, presumes the militants might have taken the "hostage" to Doda because the massive presence of the Amarnath Yatra related security forces in Pahalgam could prove a death-trap. No militant outfit has claimed the responsibility for either of the two incidents, so far.

Most of the calculations are based on what the truck driver Nazir Ahmad Bakhshi and four labourers of Nunar village told SOG Ganderbal and the two small contractors offered to the Kargil police. On July 13 evening, within 24 hours after the truck reached Nunar, police seized the vehicle (JK01A-2232), arrested the truck driver alongwith four local labourers who traveled right from Padum to Ganderbal in the vehicle. The kidnapping trekker Harfurth Rolf infact was revealed by them and later corroborated by the two contractors at Kargil.

As the police parties have returned from Padum, Rungdum and the deserted spot where the kidnapping took place, the actual details of the twin incidents have come to the fore. (Certain errors regarding the topography of the terrain also got corrected). The truck carrying the four Kashmiri labourers, two Kargil contractors, and the German national left Padam on Tuesday at 5 PM. While it approached the steep hike on the Panzela Pass over 14,000 Ft, a group of four militants forced it to stop. A nervous Bakhshi had no option but to get them in. As the vehicle crossed the pass and covered a total of 105 Kms from Padam, it came to a grinding halt outside the Rangdum monastery owing to the routine road blockade on the small culvert.

According to local residents, the culvert-blockade outside the Jolidok, a small village where over a score odd Buddhist households live, is a routine phenomenon. The monks, search every vehicle and do not permit transportation of cowdung and a particular bush-fuel, locally called Brauhsam. If somebody is found carrying either of the two, he has to pay a penalty. As the driver put on his siren, five monks came out of the monastery. "Four came down and one was at the steep. They insisted on the search and three militants who had come down refused. This continued for a couple of minutes triggering the intervention of the elderly Lama from the top. With a louder voice using the local dialect, he shouted to his fellow monks - do not insist, let them go, they are drankards", according to sources. It was at that time the militants directed the monks to line up, which they refused and fled, and resorted to firing killing three.

According to the witnesses, panic gripped the militant group fearing the senior Lama was seeking help from somebody. They came down, cleared the culvert and the truck moved on as it had to cover another 130 Kms to reach Kargil. In between lies the Kargil tourist resort Panikar,

around 60 Kms from the spot of the killing. As the truck crossed a bridge over the roaring Shapat stream, militants stopped the truck and left the vehicle along with the German. According to the driver, all others were photographed and their addresses were recorded and a stern threat was issued to them all not to go to the police. Within minutes, they disappeared in the area, where, according to a police a sheep-farm existed. "They left in so much of hurry that the German was not even given chance to take his sleeping bag, huge bag carrying his clothes and other things alongwith", police said, "beside a huge number of tissue papers the bag carries four English books also". The bag is lying with SOG Ganderbal. Police said the lobourers said the militants were talking in a mixture of Gujriand Urdu that prevented their actual identification. Claims made by the labourers that they were photographed and that the two contractors were looted is being verified by the police at Srinagar and Kargil. Bakhshi did not stop anywhere till he reached his Nunar home on July 12 evening. Since his registration number was recorded at all the check-points, his arrest came within 24 hours after his arrival. So was the case with four Nunner labourers who work in Padam area every summer. Glacier fed Shapat stream, at the foothills of the great Nun Kun, according to the experts offers the best exit-track. If you move right you are in Pahalagam and to left there is Kishtwar, they inform. Since all the Pahalgam peaks have massive security forces deployment because of Amarnath Yatra, police thinks militants might have taken the German to Kishtwar.

At Kargil, police is investigating the case from various angles. In 1998, two bovine traders of Tangole village in Panikar, were carrying seven lakh rupees and had gone to the mountains for procuring animals. They never returned. In fact when ministers Koushak Renpochhe and Chetan Namgyal and MP Gulam Hasan Khan went to the Rungdum monastery on July 14, they had to face a piqued situation when the relatives of the two blocked the road. Where are the two? Rungdum monks and the Gujjar Bakerwals are running a recurring dispute over the grazing rights. Monks assert the herds do exceed the permissible limit and infiltrate deep into protected areas. And the number of Gujjars and Bakerwals putting up in the area is estimated in hundreds. Monks have already conveyed to the high ups that they feel insecure. In that sprawling belt, the security forces have static presence at Panikar, 70 Kms from Kargil though reports of routine daily patrolling is not uncommon in the upper areas. Chances of erecting a police post for the summer months, Rangdum is cut off for six months from Kargil, are being considered in the monetary area.

GERMAN SHOT DEAD, THROWN DOWN GLACIER IN KASHMIR

By Yusuf Jameel Srinagar, July 25

German tourist Harfudh Rollf, waylaid by a group of heavily armed militants who killed three Buddhist monks at Rangdum in Ladakh's Suru valley on July 11, was shot dead by their ringleader the very next day. The killers abandoned his corpse on the shores of a mountain stream Kishan nullah - before melting away into the rocky terrain of neighbouring Doda district further east, investigations into the incident have revealed.

After the militants had withdrawn from the scene, a group of herdsmen, also forced to accompany the captors and the captive, were joined by others in lifting his body and tossing it down a glacier further up in the treacherous mountains. In this area, the rocky paths are strewn with huge boulders under which streams disappear only to resurface after a few miles, making it almost impossible to trace the body of the unfortunate trekker. The Gujjars, scared that they would be in trouble if the bullet-riddled body of a foreigner was found near their shacks, decided to do away with the corpse, the sources said. Soon after that, they moved out of the area along with their families, the sources added.

According to police investigations, four Buddhist monks had blocked the road at Rangdum on the fateful day. They forced the truck in which the three militants, the German tourist and some

locals were travelling along the Zanskar-Kargil road to stop. The lamas actually wanted to ensure that the vehicle, driven by a Kashmiri, was not carrying goods, including cowdung and timber. The monks have banned the transportation of such items to the predominantly Muslim Kargil district. There was an altercation between the lamas and the militants. In a panic reaction to the monks' calls for help, the militants opened fire, killing the three monks. The fourth jumped into a river and then swam to safety. After shooting the lamas, the militants asked the driver of the truck, Nazir Ahmed Bakshi, to drive off. Some 20 km down the road, they abandoned

the truck, taking the German Harfudh Rollf with them. Trekking further up, they stopped at the shack of one Bashir, apparently to seek his help. Since Bashir was not there, they took his domestic help, Riyaz, with them and then asked three other Gujjars - identified as Bashir Shah Wali, Daloo Bajwal and Qalam Din - to come along as well. All spent the night inside a sheep husbandry department woodshed and the next morning started trekking along the Kishan nullah towards a snow-covered peak beyond which lies Doda district.

However, in an area where the climbing is strenuous, the German picked up a fight with one of his abductors who started beating him up with a cane. Harfudh retaliated by kicking him down the track. Infuriated, the militants' ringleader shot him twice. He was killed instantly. It was after much persuasion that the militants allowed the Gujjars to return to their shacks. The sources said that on returning home, the Gujjars informed other community members and it was unanimously decided by them to get rid of Harfudh's body to escape the "wrath" of the police. Harfudh had entered Ladakh from Manali in Himachal Pradesh and, after trekking a few days in the high-altitude desert, checked into Hotel Ibex at Padam, the main town in Zanskar Valley, on July 8. Carrying passport number 4007889390 and Indian visa number C 715510, valid up to December 13, 2000, the German traveler checked out on the morning of July 11. His next destination was Kargil. He joined the vehicle near the town of Panzila. He was killed at about 4 pm on July 12, investigations have revealed. There has been no word on the abduction or the subsequent reported murder of the German tourist from any of the militant outfits active in Jammu and Kashmir. A team of German diplomats in India was recently here to verify the abduction of their fellow national.

MISSING GERMAN TOURIST'S BODY FOUND

Mukhtar Ahmad in Srinagar

The police has recovered the body of missing German tourist Harfurth Rolf from Nunkun range in Zanskar, Kargil district, a senior police officer confirmed. He said the body has been brought to Kargil. the body, he said, bore three bullet wounds. The officer said that militants who abducted the tourist near Raungdom after killing three Buddhist monks shot Rolf in the head and chest.

The body, he said, was later thrown in a drain in the Nunkun range. Local police, with the help of shepherds, had searched the area for days. No one has claimed responsibility for the killing. The body will be brought to Srinagar on Friday and handed over to German embassy officials.

Another German trekker had been shot dead a few days earlier near Manali:

German trekker identified

MANALI, July 14 — The German trekker who was shot dead yesterday has been identified as Jorg Weihrauch (26) of Augburg in Germany. Mr Adrian, his companion, who was brought here by a rescue team has been admitted to Lady Willingdon Hospital.

Meanwhile, a police party led by the DSP, has left for Chika and Balugera to search for the gunmen. Speaking to this correspondent, the injured German trekker said he and Jorg

Weihrauch, both school teachers in Germany, were going for a trek to Leh via the Manali-Hamta Pass and Chhatru route. He said the gunmen fired at their tent four times.

They both came out immediately but when they realised that they were being fired at, they ran in different directions. Jorg Weshruch was hit in his head and chest while Adrian was hit in both his legs. Later, he went back to the camping site and found Rs 14,000, two air tickets and passports missing. Mr Adrian said he could not understand the language being spoken by the gunmen but was sure they were speaking some Indian language.

The SP, Mr Anurag Garg, today visited Prini village, the starting point of the trekking route, along with a medical team and later visited Lady Willingdon Hospital to take the details of the incident. He said the German Embassy had also been informed about the incident. The police had been directed to set up nakas on all trekking routes leading to the Hamta Pass from Manali and Chhatru on the Manali-Kaza road. The district administration is trying to arrange a helicopter to lift the body of the deceased from Balugera.

NB. At the time of going to press in the first week of August, the political situation in Leh was calm. However, heavy rains were causing flooding in sone areas, including Chushot, while one woman was reported killed in a flashflood.

Thanks are due to Thierry Dodin, Louise Fournier, and Abdul Ghani Sheikh for providing news clippings and reports.

NEWS FROM MEMBERS

- * After passing the IAS examinations, *Dr Mohammed Deen Darokhan* has been posted as Deputy Commissioner, Kargil District.
- * Kristoffer Brix Bertelsen has taken up a position in the secretariat of the Danish Research Council for the Humanities in Copenhagen. His new office e-mail address is; kbb@forsk.dk
- * Kim Gutschow and Ashok Rai got married in June.

Congratulations and best wishes to them all.

SONAM STOBDAN LACHUMIR (1925 – 2000)

by Janet Rizvi

So they drop off, one by one; the last generation of elders to grow up in a Ladakh still strongly linked to the past and touched only lightly by the winds of change and modernization. They embodied the perceived qualities of that society: human warmth, straightforward dealings, tolerance and good humour. And, passionately attached to both Ladakh and the idea of Ladakh, they were only too happy to share their knowledge and experience with inquirers from outside. Sonam Norbu was the first to go, followed by Akhon Raza, Tonyot Shah, Akbar Ladakhi, Sonam Wangyal, Syed Ali Shah and now Sonam Stobdan Lachumir.

Abba Stobdan, as I knew him, was the most unassuming of men, yet the scope of his life's activity was extraordinary. Born in 1925 the eldest of a large family in Sheynam village, close to Leh, his involvement in various facets of public life spanned more than half a century. His school days coincided with the foundation of the Young Men's Buddhist Association, which later developed into the Ladakh Buddhist Association, and he was involved in its affairs right from the start. After his retirement, in the period 1982–85, he became Secretary, Administrator, vice-President and finally President of the LBA. Yet while he entertained strong feelings about Buddhism and about the importance of encouraging the use of classical Tibetan among Ladakhis, there was nothing excessive or militant about Abba Stobdan's convictions. His must always have been a voice for moderation and conciliation. His commitment to Buddhist-related causes was also reflected in the temporary job he took up after his retirement as Additional Administrative Officer in the Central Institute of Buddhist Studies, Choglamsar, in his vice-presidentship of the Mahabodhi Society, Dewachan, and in his involvement with the affairs of Matho Gompa.

After his graduation from the University of Kashmir, Sonam Stobdan worked for a year as private secretary-cum-interpreter to Kushok Bakula, then a Minister of State in the Jammu and Kashmir Government, and in 1953 he joined Government service. Although he had postings in the secretariat, where he was Under Secretary, Department of Agriculture, and elsewhere in the state, most of his career was spent in Ladakh. His last postings before retirement were Assistant Commissioner (Development) and Assistant Commissioner, Nyoma. S. S. Rizvi, Development Commissioner from 1976 to 1978, respected him enormously, both for the confidence he inspired that he would give of his best to complete whatever task he was entrusted with, and for his total and unimpeachable integrity, both financial and intellectual. He could be unfailingly relied on to give a completely honest opinion, regardless of what the superior officer might be supposed to want to hear. Not a high flyer, and in manner and style a complete contrast to his contemporary, the more flamboyant Akbar Ladakhi, he was nevertheless utterly dependable in both word and action.

The years after his retirement were no less active than those of his service. As well as his involvement in the LBA and related organizations, he was at different times secretary of the highly successful Bam-i-Duniya Consumers' Co-operative Society, Deputy Director of the Ladakh Ecological Development Group, and Chairperson of the Institute of Ladakh Studies. It was in this last capacity that I got to know him well, and to appreciate at first hand his qualities of sincerity, diligence and steadfastness. The creation of an infrastructure for the ILS has been almost entirely his work

All who knew and worked with Abba Stobdan will remember him as a truly good man, the strength of whose principles and the doggedness of whose devotion to duty in no way detracted from his gentleness and lovableness as a human being.

SEMINAR ON HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENT

Tibet Environment Network and the Ladakh Heart Foundation are organising a seminar in Leh from 17-20 September this year to discuss pressing health and environmental issues in the region and to identify practical and mutually agreeable solutions through the active participation of the local Ladakhi and Tibetan communities. The seminar, involving international experts and local scholars, will bring together government departments, NGOs and the general public. The seminar explicitly aims to draw up plans for concrete action with the participation of local people.

If you would like further information, or would like to make a donation towards the event, please contact:

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THE MORAVIAN ARCHIVE OF HERRNHUT AS A SOURCE FOR THE MODERN HISTORY OF LADAKH

Karin André and Thierry Dodin

A general assessment

The foundation of the Moravian archive dates back to 1722 when Count Zinzendorf gave refuge to Moravian exiles on his estate in Herrnhut, near Dresden. During the 1730s the Moravians started their first missionary operations in the West Indies, Greenland and North America (Lipps 1995). In the middle of the nineteenth century they settled down in the Indian Himalaya and built up stations in Kyelang (1856/57), Poo (1865-1923), Leh (1885), Shey (1893), Khalatse (1899), Simla (1899-1905) and Chini (1900-1906). The missionaries regulary sent reports about their work back home to the mission direction in Herrnhut. Thus the archive became a repository of information on the mission itself and the countries where it took place.

Under the heading "Asia, West Himalaya" the archive provides the reports dealing with the Himalayan mission in the period from 1851 to 1938. Most of the material is written in old german script (Sueterlin) and is divided into the following sections: Travel reports (1853-1900); station reports of Kyelang (1854-1937/38), Poo (1865-1923), Chini (1900-1907), Khalatse (1889-1908), Leh (1885-1937/38) and Simla (1899-1904); yearbooks Western Himalaya (1901-1939, a summary of reports from the different stations); records of the regular coordination conferences held by the missionaries; statistics; extracts from community records (Kirchenbuch); internal and external correspondence; negotiations with governmental authorities. In addition, papers and other personal effects left by the deceased missionaries Heyde, Jäschke, Ribbach and Reichelt are available at the archive.

This material was used by the Moravian Direction in Herrnhut as a source of information in particular for the Missionsblätter (a monthly mission magazine) which regularly reported on the

progress and circumstances of the missionary activities all over the world. However, since the Missionsblätter were primarily an instrument of self-representation towards a wider public, they do not cover the whole scope of information provided by the internal mission sources upon which they were based, but by nature only a selected and "filtered" part of it. Much the same can be stated about certain books on Ladakh published by former missionaries or writers from the wider Moravian community on Ladakh.

In the past, a large part of the published material has been used for scholarly purposes. Friedl (1984) for instance wrote an ethnography of Ladakh obviously on the basis of these publications. Bray (1983,1985 etc.) to a large extent also relied upon this published material, as well as manuscript sources in London, for his pioneering work on the history of the Moravian mission in Ladakh, except in the case of his recent article on the missionary Francke for which unpublished letters from Francke kept in Herrnhut were used (Bray 1999). It was also he who gave us the first hint on the existence of a much larger corpus of documents on missionary work in Ladakh. During different visits to the archive in the years 1994 and 1995 we had the occasion to view and assess both the great quantity and quality of the original material of the Moravian West Himalayan mission. Though it was not possible to screen the whole material, the evaluation of the probes revealed its high value in particular for two objects of research: 1. a detailed in-depth history of the moravian mission in Ladakh; 2. the social and cultural history of Ladakh in the last 150 years. The following is a concise report of our investigations illustrated by a few samples of the material.

The Moravian reports as a source for a history of the mission in Ladakh

As stated before, the general history of the Moravian Mission in Ladakh has been written by our colleague John Bray. His work reveals the development of the mission, its main events and protagonists, successes and failures. Building on this foundation, the analysis of the unfiltered material of the reports will go beyond this earlier work to provide a precise description of the evolutionary processes of the mission. Two main perspectives are to be taken into account: the inner history of the mission and its reception among the local population for both of which the reports provide a huge basis of primary data.

With regard to the internal history of the mission three aspects should be distinguished: the methods and strategies of the mission, the missionary community itself as well as the emergence of a local Christian community.

The Moravians envisaged christianization as an essentially personal process and therefore placed the individual at the forefront of their efforts (Lipps 1995: 22-23), at the same time, the strategies they developed were clearly intended to reach as many individuals as possible. The mission stations were established at the crossroads of caravan trade which enabled the missionaries to reach a great number of people from different regions. The missionaries strove to reach potential converts by regular evangelization tours, also to remote regions. The reports offer detailed information on these evangelization tours and point to the fact that discussions and individual talks with the locals were the main strategy in use. However, the missionaries also distributed Tibetan translations of the Gospel.

The main institutional pillars of the mission were the hospital and the schools. Before giving medical treatment the missionaries prayed and read extracts from the gospel in the hope of kindling the flame of faith within their patients. Nevertheless, their success with this strategy remained near zero (Peter 1911, Stieber 1913/14, Reeve & Stieber 1923). The mission schools installed very early in Kyelang, Leh and other places were the first institutions imparting "modern"-style education in Ladakh and other West-Himalayan regions. Their role in spreading Christianity was, however, of at least equal importance to the missionaries. This is apparent for instance in a quotation from the reports which, while acknowledging their vanishing influence as educational institutions at the beginning of the 20th century, adds, "and yet our schools are absolutely necessary for missionary work, because we gain influence on the youth and we spread the so much needed knowledge of

reading which enables us to evangelise with our scriptures" ["Und doch sind unsere Schulen absolut notwendig für die Missionsarbeit, denn durch sie gewinnen wir Einfluß auf die Jugend und wir verbreiten die so notwendige Kenntnis des Lesens, wodurch wir in Stand gesetzt werden, mit unseren Schriften evangelisierend zu wirken."] (Peter 1911).

When finally the emergence of government schools had made continuation of the Moravian schools increasingly superfluous, the missionaries shifted their effort on the so-called "Knitting School", with the idea of keeping the wider society in contact with the mission by providing a discreet (they refer to a "im Stillen betriebenen Gründung") and uncontroversial "good education" to young women of all religious communities (Asboe 1923; Peter 1911(c): 7; Peter 1933: 2). Besides knitting the curriculum included the singing of Christian hymns, listening to edifying stories from the Bible and learning by heart verses from the scriptures (Asboe 1937:1; Kunick 1922, Gergan 1930, 1934).

Though the Moravians considered the mission essentially as "God's Work" ("Werk Gottes"), it clearly was founded on a physically and sociologically distinctive community of Westerners, the institutional and human dimension of which is reflected in the Herrnhut documents. Though united by the common goal of spreading Christianity the missionaries were individuals (in fact mostly strong personalities) with their own affinities and enmities, strengths and shortcomings. An in-depth history of the mission has therefore to consider their internal interaction as much as their coping with the culturally alien environment, since both of these factors naturally conditioned the evolution of the mission

In particular the internal and external correspondance of the missionaries highlights this important aspect of the mission's history. Some long term clashes of personalities took on dimensions sufficiently alarming for the community to worry whether these negative examples might exert an evil influence on the Ladakhi Christians (Peter 1911). Also the conference reports of the regular meetings reflect such tensions and attempts to settle them. Their main topics, however, are internal discussions on proper strategies and methods of mission as well as administrative decisions for nearly one century of missionary work in the Western Himalaya. Thus, one of the topics discussed at the Western Himalaya Mission Conference of 1901 was the question whether the missionaries' wives should be given a right to vote in such meetings. The final decision accorded them no general right to vote but allowed them in special cases to take part in decision-making processes (Conference report July 2, 1901). Other important decisions like the installation of a Council of Elders ["Ältesten Rat"] (Boroughs 1914) or the foundation of a Co-operative Society for Christians (Heber 1923) were also adopted on such meetings. For the researcher the internal debates and the decision-making processes are as important as the decisions themselves in providing a detailed insight into the evolution of the mission in its full human dimension. They also reflect the perceptions and coping strategies of the missionaries in the Ladakhi environment they had come to reshape.

The progressive emergence of a Ladakhi Christian community is also highlighted by the Herrnhuter archival materials. Though the community remained very small in number, understanding its history is of great importance since it became disproportionally influencial and thus left traces on the further evolution of the wider Ladakhi society. The aim of the missionaries was to develop a self-sufficient community structured after the pattern of other Moravian communities all over the world (Lipps 1995), able to exist without the help of permanently residing European missionaries in Leh. Especially after the beginning of the twentieth century they started to devolve more responsibilities to the local converts and evangelists and installed in 1914 a Council of the Elders directly elected by the community (Boroughs 1914).

Compared with other missionaries, many Moravians regarded the local culture with a remarkable respect, but their overall assessment remained widely negative, particularly when it came to religion. Bishop La Trobe (1911) for instance comments on the motives of conversions of the Ladakhis as follows "It must be the love of hearts convinced by the Holy Spirit of their infinite

need of this Saviour. Well do I know how humanly impossible this is where Buddhism has blighted the land with moral lethargy and fatal indifference" (La Trobe May 25, 1911).

The missionaries lived in great anxiety that their few converts would eventually lapse from Christianity, surrounded as they were by an environment often labelled as "heathen" or "under the influence of Satan" (see for instance Heyde 1865: 1, Heber 1922-23, Kunnick 1928:2), and consequently tended to rule out central local traditions and patterns of behaviour. Christian women were for instance strongly discouraged from wearing the traditional headdress, the *perak* (Peter 1913, Kunick 1923). Visits to local festivities, which were mostly connected with religion, were banned. Even converts' interactions with their non-converted relatives were often regarded with suspicion (Peter 1911; Kunnick 1919-22). The converts were thus progressively isolated from their former social environment. In order to offer them new social bindings and enable them to earn their livelihood the missionaries provided them work in the mission stations as well as new earning opportunities which was often connected with economic uplift (Gergan 1933/34). That, however, isolated them further from their fellow Ladakhis. Thus, step by step, the new community cut iself off from the wider Ladakhi society on the basis of its religious otherness.

The success of this process is reflected in a statement extracted from the annual report of 1930 written by the Ladakhi evangelist Joseb Gergan,

"(...) the people in this place beeing sunk in deep superstition, do not recognize that they are sinners under the chastisement of God. Both lamas and laymen are in darkness. Suppose a Buddhist is asked wether he is sinful. Some would say 'I have done sin in killing bird and fish!' Or some say 'Till the present I have not taken the life of any animal, and therefore I am not a sinner.' Those who talk like this have the sense to know right from wrong. But lying, stealing, adultery, and selfishness, are not reckoned as great sins by them. ... Though they hear the Good News, yet they do not understand it" (Gergan 1930).

Finally, it should be noted that the missionaries also contributed to a negative perception of the Ladakhi Muslim population, at least among the converts. Francke for example expressed 1907 his reservation about territorial gains of the islamic population in Leh (Francke 1977110) and also Peter clearly rejected the interaction of Christian converts with Muslims, "It is not desirable for our Christians and still less for the mission if they roam for months in the company of Mohamedan servants" ["wünschenswert für unsere Christen und noch mehr für die Mission [. . .] ists nicht, wenn [sie] monatelang in Begleitung von mohamedanischen Dienern herumziehen"] (Peter 1912).

Though the reception of the mission was not always antagonistic, negative local reactions seem to have been repeatedly recorded in the reports. In Zanskar for instance the Ladakhi evangelist Brother Lobzang was expressively told, "You bring us white mans religion. It is no good for us we know, and we don't want it" (Kunick 1922). In Khalatse parents showed no interest in sending their children to the mission school or even forbade them to do so (Peter 1933/34). It is reported that the Ladakhi evangelist Brother Dewazung was physically threatened on a mission tour (Driver 1936/37). The missionaries regularly point to the fact that particularly the monasteries systematically undermined or even forcefully opposed their activities in the villages.

Beyond these clear examples of rejection, however, regular clashes of concepts of religion with the local population are reported. Thus for instance in Upper Hanu where Kunick was told in 1928, "We peasant people have no time to think of religion as you have; field work does not permit of it; that's why we must have somebody to perform religion for us!" (Kunick 1928). The lack of understanding of the Buddhists for the Christian permissive attitude towards the slaughtering of animals is often reported (thus for instance in Kunick 1930). The Herrnhuter reports therefore allow a precise description of the reception patterns of the mission by the Ladakhis.

The Herrnhut reports as a source for a social history of modern Ladakh

The time at which the Moravian missionaries started their evangelisation activities coincides with a turning point in the history of Ladakh, the loss of its political independence. The new power structures established by the Dogras and, even more important, the shift of orientation of Ladakh from Central Asia and the rest of the Tibetan world towards South Asia affected the Ladakhi society to an extent which goes far beyond mere political developments. The confrontation with new ideas and cultural innovations thus initiated processes of change which can be assumed as having influenced the further history of the Ladakhi society. Unfortunately the information at disposal for this decisive era in the social and cultural history of Ladakh is far from satisfactory. The travelogues and gazetteers reporting about that period provide only sporadic glimpses of life in Ladakh which cannot but be superficial (Moorcroft and Trebeck, Drew, Dainelli, Pallis, Prince Peter, etc.). Beyond that they often reflect more stereotypes and presumptions characteristic of the time (Zeitgeist) as well as a sense of exocticism designed to fire the imagination of the Western readers they had been written for, rather than valuable information on Ladakhi society. Works by Wahid Radhu and Hashmatullah Khan (Radhu 1981; Khan 1939) providing a more direct account of life in Ladakh. But while Radhu's main subject is less Ladakh itself than the Central Asian trade, Hashmatullah Khan's main focus is on local political history. Both concentrate almost exclusively on the Muslim communities. There are finally numerous documents related to Ladakh kept in the archives in Jammu and other places in India (thanks to Kristoffer Brix Bertelsen and Martijn van Beek for confirming the existence of this material). This material, however, being administrative material, cannot be expected to highlight much more than those aspects of Ladakhi society which the officials considered of interest.

The material kept in the Hernnhut archive, though, provides information on a broad scope. The Moravians were the only foreigners (British officials were there only in summer) residing permanently in Ladakh and certainly the only ones who systematically recorded the events and developments they had the opportunity to experience there. Some of them did this with a quasi-obsessive sense of details. By observing attentively the local society they intended to figure out which mission strategies would promise a lasting success. Beyond that, however, they hoped to raise both interest for Ladakh and understanding for the difficulties of their work there at the mission board of Herrnhut which increasingly urged them to produce significant success. What thus came out is an intimate portrayal of Ladakh and the Ladakhis, narratives of daily life a critical reading of which provides a unique source on the Ladakhi society in the time between Ladakh's loss of independence and the political awakening of the 1930s. The partial evaluation of the material which we were able to carry out during our visits to Herrnhut in 1994 and 1995 clearly points to that. A few examples will illustrate this.

On many occasions the Moravian reports give details on the political and administrative situation of Ladakh. They thus report that some of the Wazirs governing over Ladakh were Britishers, some of which they held in great esteem, due to their positive influence on the economic situation of the population. The limits of their power is, however, already noted in 1891, as these officials faced opposition from the side of the local population or the Dogra administration (or both) with providing the mission with a plot for the construction of a station. These "great difficulties" delayed the instalation of the Moravians in Leh considerably (N.N. 1891). In contrast, the administrators sent from Kashmir are on many occasion quoted as heavily oppressing the people ["Beamten des Kaschmir Staats [...], die das Volk schwer drückten"], a fact illustrated in numerous examples. For 1911 for example, the departure of a group of surveyors from the valley is mentioned as a great relief for the population, since for months they had been a "burden" for the country (Peter 1911: 4).

The continuous decline of the Central Asian trade and its consequences such as the decreasing purchasing power of money and increasing empoverishment is repeatedly reported, thus for instance in Leh for 1912-13 (Peter 1913: 4). At the ending point of the mission Asboe and Gergan take stock of this development by reporting that the volume of trade which 1920-21 was still 93 lakh Rupees, it had come down to 78,246 Rs. in 1939-40 (Asboe and Gergan 1939: 20). Although official sources

do provide more detailed and accurate information on this evolution, the comments in the Herrnhut reports highlight its impact on the people in their daily life.

Since education was one of the main preocupation of the Moravians, it is scarcely surprising that this topic is given particular attention in their reports. The annual report of the West-Himalayan mission province for 1909-10 already records Urdu, the language of the Dogra functionaries, as playing a more and more a dominant role in schools. Though the parents themselves in expectation of better opportunities for their children insisted on the importance of Urdu, the actual result was a desorientation of the students and an extremely weak general level of education (Peter 1911a: 3; Peter 1911b: 3), a complaint which shows that things have not evolved much in the last nine decades.

The Moravians observed the rival government education system closely and report meticulously the evolution of the general school situation in Ladakh. The starting phase was obviously a long and difficult one. At that time for instance teachers' salaries would be raised according to their personal success in increasing the number of students. While it seems that its religious nature greatly contributed to the final failure of the Mission school, government schools were more receptive to local sensitivities by including religious instruction in their curricula from an early period and providing both Muslim and Buddhist students with separate rooms for performing their prayers. Finally in the 1920s the government schools took up such a dominating position that the Moravians had to close down their boys' school, even though three decades after their creation the government schools were still handicapped by the lack of qualified teachers (Annual Report West Himalayan Province 1923; Asboe 1923; Burroughs 19147; Kunick 1922: 9; Kunick 1927; Leh School Report 1913-141; Peter 1934: 2).

The fate of the "knitting school" mentioned earlier is worth consideration. The "good education" it provided for young women shows an initialy wide appreciation of the population for this kind of British influence. In the early thirties, however, i.e. at the time of the political upheaval in the Kashmir Valley, orthodox views became perceptively popular also among Ladakhi Muslims and materialized in the opening of the first private Muslim school for boys in 1934 which clearly propagated a reformist Islam and put emphasis on the learning of Arabic. This was followed one year later by a school for girls. From that time on, Muslim girls were banned from attending the Christian "knitting school" (Asboe 19371). This is an interesting point since it shows that the refutation of Western models and the rise of presumably "Islamic" alternatives which had emerged in a long process in the plains was not only well-received in Ladakh, but quickly acquired impetus and even dominance there. It is particularly striking since Peter had remarked three decades earlier that Muslims were much keener than Buddhists on taking up Christian educational opportunities. Beyond that it reveals a growing differentiation process between the Muslim and Buddhist communities.

Though more discretely, alien influences are also detectable among the Buddhists. Thus the first contact between Ladakhi Buddhists and non-Ladakhi "neo-Buddhists" seems to date back to 1929-30 when American Buddhists installed "a kind of monastic Institution" (Peter 19303) in Kyelang which raised great consternation among the small local Christian community. Bishop Peter complains about the "power of agression" of this "counter attack" of Buddhism and wrote "We are certainly surrounded by the powers of darkness, and victory will not be ours if we do not walk carefully and prayerfully" (Peter 1930: 3). Although eventually this initiative turned out to be ephemeral, it was already followed 1932 by another attempt conducted by a Siamese said to be virulently anti-Christian, "a renegade from Roman Christianity" (Peter 1932: 4), to install a Buddhist mission with the aim of converting the locals to "true" Buddhism. This attempt, however, also was eventually disrupted since its initiator failed to learn the local language. (Peter 1932: 4) Step by step, a struggle for influence took place among the religious communities. After the visit of Anagarika Govinda and Rahul Sankrityayana to Ladakh in 1933, orthodox Muslim activists also attempted to organize the visit of a Western convert to Islam to Ladakh (Peter 1933: 3). Missionary

Peter deplored the "bad" influence of such visits on the local population and constated that it finally "fortunately did not come off". The Moravians, in any case, took up the challenge and invited an Indian Christian to Ladakh, but also that project failed to materialize (Peter 19333). In any case, the Moravians had always been very attentive for changes among the Buddhists and even attributed the changing hair fashion to the visit to Ladakh of an Arya Samaj preacher in summer 1926 (Kunick 1926: 4), although an adoption of the new Lhasa fashion sounds more likely. Another episode in the struggle for influence between the religious communities was the popular "Gospel Inn" of Leh which welcomed more than 4.000 guests alone in 1936 and by which the Moravians hoped to gain attention particularly of the travelling monks (Asboe and Gergan 1939 19-20). We might see here the prime mover behind similar "Pathashalas"-projects of the Buddhists which were to arise in the following decades.

Between the arrival and the departure of the Moravian missionaries Ladakh underwent drastic changes in the status quo. By the very nature of their work the missionaries have been both witnesses of and actors in the evolution of Ladakhi society in this critical period of reorientation between the Dogra invasion and the independence of India. Though, by nature, this short article could only provide a glimpse on the voluminous archival material preserved in Herrnhut, our investigations point to its remarkable value as a source for the modern history of the Ladakhi society as well as for an in-depth history of the Moravian mission. By that it enables us, last but not least, to retrace historically an interesting case of cultural encounter.

Acknowledgment

The authors are indebted to John Bray and Martijn van Beek for the reformulation of their text into correct English. The authors, however, are alone responsible for possibly left over mistakes as well as for all views expressed in the article. Also the Herrnhut staff should be acknowledged for its sense of cooperation, its competence and even its open enthousiasm.

Notes

- (1) Our investigations in Herrnhut owed much to the general presentations of the Himalaya resources available at Herrnhut published by Ingeborg Baldauf and Gudrun Meiers (Baldauf 1990; Meier 1993) as well as to the latter's personal advice in particular by a first visit to Dresden in 1993.
- (2) Archivals kept in Herrnhut are quoted in-text under author and year.

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LETTER

'SCHOLARLY, BUT READABLE'

Among the reviews of my first book, Ladakh, Crossroads of High Asia, this was the comment that perhaps pleased me the most. But hang on a minute. 'Scholarly but readable'—the assumption being that in the normal way of things the qualities of scholarliness and readableness are incompatible. Is this true? Unhapppily yes, only too often. Must it be true? I see not the faintest reason why. Should it be true? Emphatically not.

Scholarship may well be an end in itself; but it seems very clear to me that that end is only half achieved if it can't be communicated to an audience beyond that of the scholar's peers. As a historian I have been trained in a field that is mercifully free from the kind of technical terminology that appears to others as jargon. (And yet no-one can claim that this automatically makes all historical writing easy to read. It was probably for historians that the term 'dryasdust' was invented, conjuring up a picture of an elderly gent with dishevelled grey hair and thick spectacles poring over dusty tomes in a dusty library, and regurgitating his findings in language as grey and dusty as himself.)

Sure there is a place for technical language. Every academic discipline has evolved its own set of terms which represent in a kind of shorthand the concepts of their discipline, and which may not, and need not, be easily comprehensible to the lay reader. Scholars use this language in their own research, and in the journals and bulletins of their particular discipline, where they communicate with each other, and the non-specialist public are not involved. It is when such terms are bandied about for the dubious benefit of an audience or a readership that is not educated to understand their inwardness, and to translate them automatically, that they appear as jargon.

It follows that scholars communicating with an interdisciplinary audience / readership might well consider whether they ought not to make the effort to present their findings in language which will be understood without difficulty. If they can also manage to communicate some of the enjoyment and excitement they have derived from their research, so much the better. This seems to be relevant to a body like the IALS, whose membership is drawn from many different disciplines.

There was an incident at the last Colloquium (Leh, 1999) when one scholar, whose presentation had till that point been reasonably audience-friendly, took off into language which for many in the audience must have needed a lot of mental processing before it conveyed anything to them. He suddenly paused, gave a rueful smile and a half-apologetic shrug, and translated his meaning into perfectly plain English. This particular scholar certainly had no need to impress the IALS membership by using big words; his academic credentials are beyond question. So where was the need?

May I give a few examples of what I'm talking about, all taken from recent issues of RROL? Of course they're out of context, which exaggerates their jargon-like quality, but I suggest that while all of them have meaning for specialists, and would not be out of place in a specialized journal, they are not appropriate in a musti-disciplinary setting:

Contrary to Turner's theory that the liminal moment is temporarily and spatially opposed to the
normative and structural frames of society, I suggest that the exercise of liminality
simultaneously denies and affirms structure...Turner's definition of structure should be
distinguished from both British and French schools of structuralism. While the former considers
structure as an empirically observable uniformity of social relations, the latter defines structure

as a systemic arrangement between interchangeable terms whose universal grammar lie[s] undiscovered in the human mind

Comment: Apart from the fact that this really does need to be translated for the non-specialist to understand what's being said, there is a problem about quoting authorities peculiar to a particular discipline. Turner may well be a household word among the practitioners of this scholar's discipline, but the fact that his name appears in the bibliography doesn't necessarily mean that it conveys a lot to the rest of us.

• The Nubra valley is an ethnographic case of a polyglossic or heteroglossic situation.

Comment: Whoops! Quick, the dictionary!

 We must rid our social scientific practice of its positivist obsession with systems, models, structures, and give greater attention to diachronic processes.

Comment: I like it! I can actually understand what these big words mean, and I absolutely agree with the sentiment. Moreover, now I shall be able to call myself no longer a historian, but a 'student of diachronic processes'.

BALTIT FORT DOCUMENTATION CENTRE

With the inauguration of Baltit Fort (Hunza, Northern Areas, Pakistan) in September 1996, a separate section of the restored building - sponsored among others by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture and the Getty Foundation - has been reserved for a documentation and research centre to become a meeting place for academics. Scholars and other donors are invited to support the establishment of an international exchange of knowledge about the concerned mountain region in the Karakoram. The collection of research material, maps, articles, books, music recording, photographs, videos and films is coordinated by Prof. Dr. Hermann Kreutzmann.

For the initial phase it is attempted to collect the major publications in the fields of forestry, geology, ecology, physical and cultural geography, social anthropology, ethnography, language studies, folklore and folklife, popular literature and traveloguesas originals or if not available in form of photocopies. All donations are included in a database which is regularly updated and forms part of the catalogue on the Baltit Fort documentation centre:

http://www.uni-erlangen.de/geographie/hindukush/baltdon.html.

All researchers and authors who have worked in the wider area of the Karakoram, Hindukush and Western Himalayas are asked to contribute with copies of their publications. The documentation centre is aiming at providing research results in the area of research. The present stock of contributions which have been collected among German scientists working in the Karakoram forms an important data base for students of the region. It has been quite successful to provide those students who are studying in

different colleges and universities of Pakistan with scientific material. A growing number of local and regional future academics consult the library and documentation centre for their theses work and research papers. The presented books and articles are not available anywhere else in the country. Local scholars who are writing on the regional history are among other users of this documentation centre. Third in line are foreign scientists who _ while staying in Karimabad - can use a library with a dense collection reflecting the research work of more than a century.

To continue the build up of this documentation centre and to let it grow further contributions are welcome and needed. For easy communication please send the material to the following address from where all contributions are forwarded to the Baltit Fort Documentation Centre.

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CONFERENCE REPORT

NINTH IATS SEMINAR

The Ninth Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies (IATS) took place at Leiden University (Netherlands) between 24 and 30 June 2000. Leiden was a particularly pleasant place for such a conference: it is a mediaeval town which seems to have almost as many canals as streets. It is also the home of the International Institute of Asian Studies (IIAS), and the town has longstanding Asian connections, though more with Indonesia and Japan than with India and Tibet.

Like its predecessors in Graz (Austria) and Bloomington (US), the conference was very well attended. As IATS President Samten Karmay reminded us, the association has historically been particularly strong in classical Tibetan studies and philology, but the 300-odd papers included panels on art, anthropology and contemporary social developments, as well as history, philosophy, medicine and architecture.

On the first day of the conference, there was a Ladakh panel, and Nawang Tsering Shakspo presented the first paper—on the life of Geshe Ye shes Don grup (1897-1980) and his association with the Dutch scholar Johan van Manen. Ye shes Don grup was a Ladakhi monk, who was born in Stok and received his monastic education in Tashi Lhunpo. In the 1930s he decided to return to Ladakh, where he met the Italian professor Giuseppe Tucci. Tucci invited him to work in Italy, and he travelled as far as Calcutta before changing his mind. In Calcutta Ye shes Don grup met van Manen who was then secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Van Manen asked him to write his life history to date and his 400-page Tibetan manuscript was later transferred—together with van Manen's other papers to the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. The Dutch scholar Peter Richardus gave a summary of Ye shes Don grup's autobiography at the 5th IATS conference in Narita (Japan), and Nawang completed the story by discussing Ye shes Don grup's subsequent life history, and his role in the reaffirmation of Buddhism in Ladakh between the 1950s and 1980.

The other papers in the panel included a presentation by Peter Marczell on 'The "Mahakali" worship at Spituk Monastery and the Challenge of Syncretism in Ladakh'. Heinz Raether discussed 'The wall paintings of Guru Lhakhang at Phyang'; and Martijn van Beek reported on 'Lobbying Lamas: the Role of the Buddhist Clergy in Modern Ladakh Politics'.

While the Ladakh panel was under way, two related papers were presented at the session on 'Schools of Early Tibetan Art'. These were: Christian Luczanits and Gerald Kozicz on 'The Temple of Wanla in Ladakh/The Wanla bCu-gcig-zhal' and Christiane Papa-Kalantari on 'Textiles in a Buddhist Temple. The Ceiling Decorations of the Sum-tsek in Alchi'. Related presentations in other sessions included Thierry Dodin's discussion of the Ladakh Budh Vihar in Delhi, while Isabelle Riaboff, in a paper called 'How to be a Buddhist in a Hindu Land?', analysed cultural identity among Buddhists of Lahuli and Zangskari origin living on the Kishtiwar side of the Umasi-la.

Apart from the papers of direct Ladakhi interest, the conference also offered an opportunity to draw comparisons with other regions. For example, on the second day there was a panel of 12 papers on contemporary developments in Amdo. Despite the pressures towards Chinese cultural and political assimilation, there is a significant Tibetan-language publishing industry; and old pilgrimage routes have been revived. I was also pleased to renew contacts with scholars working on Bhutan. Among others, John Ardussi has been working on the life of Ngawang Gyaltsen, the Bhutanese lama who visited Ladakh in the early 18th century (see my joint paper with Chris Butters in the

Aarhus proceedings). Apparently, murals depicting the lama's travels in Ladakh used to exist in a Bhutanese temple, though it is uncertain whether these still survive.

Inevitably, these impressions reflect no more than a small sample of the richness and variety of the conference—and of Tibetan and Himalayan studies generally. The proceedings will in due course give a broader picture. Meanwhile, we have the next IATS seminar to look forward to: this will take place in Venice in 2003.

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

Zeisler, Bettina. *Relative tense and aspectual values in Tibetan languages. A comparative study.* PhD thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany, 1999. Pp. x+469 incl. figs.

Ladakhi and Balti are the only Tibetan languages that have grammaticalized the concept of *absolute tense*, i.e. the reference to an event with respect to the point of "here and now" of the utterance. The temporal and aspectual system of Ladakhi (the dialects of Leh, Sham and Purig) and Balti is compared diachronically with Old Tibetan (documented since the mid-7th century) and Classical Tibetan, and synchronically with "Lhasa", Kham and Amdo Tibetan.

The temporal and possible aspectual functions of the grammaticalized verb forms are described according to their usage in discourse. The underlying general function of the Tibetan verbal system is shown to be that of *relative tense*, i.e. the ordering of events as anterior, simultaneous, or posterior in relation to a contextually given time point which may or may not coincide with the time of communication. A special focus lies on the pragmatic and metaphorical use of temporal reference in narrations, and a typology of the motivations for the use of the Narrative Present in Tibetan languages is offered.

The thesis is arranged in four parts. The first part is concerned with the definition and delimitation of tense, aspect, and related concepts. The second part deals with general features of Tibetan and the Tibetan verbal system, and, in subsequent sections, with the temporal subsystem of Old and Classical Tibetan, "Lhasa", Kham, and Amdo Tibetan. The third part is solely concerned with Ladakhi and Balti. The language data is derived from text editions, such as the Lower Ladakhi version of the Kesar saga, as well as from fieldwork in the years 1994 and 1996. Accordingly, the temporal system can be described in great detail and in consideration of pragmatic features of discourse and narration. The fourth part compares the ancient and modern varieties with respect to their formal inventory, the functional oppositions of temporal (and aspectual) coding, and the narrative conventions, and proposes a hypothetical reconstruction of some developments from the undocumented proto-language to the stages of Old and Classical Tibetan as well as a sketch of the possible development of the modern vernaculars.

Beck, Sandra. *The Uncultivated Useful Plants of Ladakh: An Ethnobotanical Study*. Master's Thesis (Diplom), Dept. of Agriculture, International Rural Development and Environment Protection, University of Kassel, Germany, February 2000. Pp. 105. 17 tables, 71 figures, colour photographs of plants and the collection areas. Glossary of Ladakhi vegetable recipes and Ladakhi names. Index of 62 herbarium samples.

People in Ladakh, India, have always used wild plants, in their traditional diet as well as for their material and spiritual needs. Because of modernisation, a once self reliant society like the Ladakhi, is going to lose their traditional knowledge and will become increasingly dependent on external markets. Therefore there was an urgent need to collect as much data as possible on the availability and use of wild plants in Ladakh. The research was carried out in summer 1999.

This thesis is an ethnobotanical documentation of uncultivated useful plants in the Leh area. In order to develop a comprehensive overview, twenty-eight families in the villages of Matho, Saspol and Stagna were interviewed. A questionnaire was developed to analyse knowledge of useful wild plant species. Additionally, family structures and their correlation with attitudes towards collection were investigated.

The interviews provided the basic information for the collection of 62 plant species in the village areas as well as at their high pastures. These samples were used for herbarium identification. From the whole collection, 51 plant types are botanically described and a photo

documentation illustrates each species. One of the key purposes of the botanical section is the documentation of the traditional use of those plants in Ladakhi households and their place in Tibetan medicine.

The results of the questionnaire show that presently women and old people gather more than men and young people. These correlations between age, sex and collecting attitudes is visualised in different plates for each village. It was also found that households who spend a period of the summer season at the high pastures have a far more developed knowledge regarding the use of wild plants than families who do not go up to the Phu (high pastoral settlements).

Another important finding of this study is that 64% of the mentioned plant species are used for food. This corroborates that the diversity of the Ladakhi kitchen is based on 33 different uncultivated plants that were used traditionally in Ladakhi diet. The intensifying cultivation of crops has increased the quantity of vegetable consumption but not the diversity. In a group discussion, the Women's Alliance of Ladakh were asked to create a rank order for the non-cultivated food plants, and in an interview the Chief Amchi explained the role of the traditional kitchen from a medical perspective.

In terms of religious significance it becomes clear that especially the high alpine plants are still regularly used in established rituals. From a spiritual point of view, people believe that cultivation of these plants would lower their energetic value.

Fahlén, Susanne. "A Woman with Several Husbands Is Like a Blooming Flower": The Decline of Polyandry as an Indicator of Social Change in Ladakh. M.A. thesis, Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology, Uppsala University. May 2000. Pp. 81, 2 maps.

This thesis is based on literature studies and a minor field study conducted in Ladakh in June-August 1999. The thesis starts by discussing different theories concerning the causes of this form of marriage and also tries to illuminate the androcentric biases and lack of a feminine perspective within these theories. It then focuses on Ladakh, where polyandry used to be common. Its cause was generally understood to be social and economic factors, such as a wish to keep the household and landholdings intact over generations. In the past, people were dependent upon their land, and if the land were divided, it would become fragmented beyond the point where it could provide subsistence. In the course of the past century, the practice of polyandry has declined. By analysing Ladakhi women's attitudes towards marrying several husbands the essay illuminates four mechanisms underlying the decline: influences from outside attitudes; legislation against polyandry; state initiated economic change; and the expansion of formal education. These mechanisms have altered the factors that once served as causes for polyandry.

The social and economic changes due to these mechanisms have had disparate impact on men and women. Modernisation has altered gender roles and the division of labour. Men frequently earn cash by working away from the village. This situation has increased the labour burden for women, but it also appears that women have gained greater control over production and reproduction, since it is the women who manage both household and agriculture in the absence of their husbands. In a modern context, men and women are considered equal due to their possibilities to participate in public life, as well as equal access to employment and education. But it is shown in the thesis that rural women do not have the same access as men to the new opportunities brought about by the modernisation process. This appears to be caused by prevailing traditional attitudes towards what constitutes proper behaviour for women, such as the notion that a good woman should tend to the household and the family. Great importance is also attached to knowing traditional skills for a woman

What appears to be a clash between traditional values and new concepts can also be understood as women managing their roles in a changing society. By reinterpreting the value of traditional skills, rural women have found a way to express their own worth and cast themselves in a

role as preservers of culture. They reproduce their culture by teaching their children about Ladakhi traditions and customs. At the same time they encourage their children to achieve modern education. As a result, when boys and girls grow up they prefer wage employment to becoming farmers or traditional housewives, and polyandry is no longer seen as desirable, but is rather looked upon as a "bad habit".

BOOK REVIEWS

Peter Schwieger. Teilung und Reintegration des Königrichs von Ladakh im 18. Jahrhundert. Der Staatsvertrag zwischen Ladakh und Purig aus dem Jahr 1753. Monumenta Tibetica Historica. Abteilung III. Band 7. Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH, 1999. 269 pp.

In 1734 the kingdom of Ladakh split into two: Deskyong Namgyal (bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal), the older son of King Nyima Namgyal (Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal), inherited the main kingdom, centring on Leh; and Tashi Namgyal (bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal), Nyima Namgyal s younger son by his second wife Zizi Khatun inherited Purig. Deskyong Namgyal died in 1739, and his son Phuntsog Namgyal (Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal) succeeded him. However, despite - or because of - the close familial ties between the two rulers, relationships between them became strained. In 1752 the Dalai Lama sent Kathog Rigzin Tsewang Norbu (Kah-thog-rig- dzin Tshe-dbang-nor-bu) to mediate. He established himself in Hanle (Vam-le) in eastern Ladakh and, after some 17 months, helped negotiate a treaty between the two kingdoms. This book is a detailed account of the main sources of tension between Ladakh and Purig, and the manner in which they were resolved.

The book is based on two main sources: a manuscript in the collection of the late S.S. Gergan, which was photographed by Dieter Schuh in 1975; and a second manuscript from Mustang in Nepal. Supplementary sources include a biography of Tsewang Namgyal written in the early 19th century. Schwieger presents a detailed discussion of the historical context and the key issues at stake; a critical edition of the main text (in Roman script), noting the variants in the different manuscripts; and a German translation. The text and translation form the largest part of the work, and between them take up 150 A4 pages

At the most basic level, the text unveils a human drama of ambition, jealousy and hunger for power. We see the main protagonists through the eyes of Tsewang Norbu who -like a modern-day detective - faces the difficult task of unravelling a web of allegations and counter-allegations, rumour and counter-rumour. The main characters emerge as complex personalities, whose motives are subject to a variety of interpretations.

- Queen Zizi Khatun comes across as a strong-willed figure, whose ambitions in the 1730s laid
 the seeds for conflict 20 years later. She was a daughter of the ruler of Khapalu in Baltistan.
 Far from being a wicked stepmother, she seems to have been good to Deskyong Namgyal (her
 husband s son by his first wife). However, it was due to her influence that the kingdom was split
 so that her own son, Tashi Namgyal, could inherit Purig.
- King Phuntsog Namgyal is a wholly unsatisfactory ruler, with a childish disposition and a fierce
 attachment to his nurse, whom he has made pregnant. The King s abdication in favour of his son
 Tsewang Namgyal (Tshe-dbang-rnam-rgyal) was one of the main provisions of the eventual
 settlement.
- By contrast, Phuntsog Namgyal s brother Gyalsras Rinpoche (rGyal-sras-rin-po-che) is a much shrewder character. He is the older son and would have inherited the kingdom, had he not been dispatched to Hemis monastery - a fate he apparently regrets. He has a poor relationship with the King, but gets on well with the Queen, to the extent that there are rumours of a de facto polyandrous marriage between them. The Rinpoche became regent of Ladakh as a result of the Hanle settlement.

Tashi Namgyal presents himself as the injured party, claiming his rights and disclaiming any
malign intentions. However, he kept delaying his journey to Hanle to meet Tsewang Norbu, and
this was one of the main reasons why negotiations took so long.

At the centre of the story is Tsewang Norbu himself. He emerges as a wise and ultimately successful diplomat, but he would much rather be somewhere else. At the Dalai Lama s request, he has been diverted from what he regarded as his main task of restoring the Svayambhunath Stupa in Nepal. He had hoped that the negotiations would take three months: instead they took 17, and this is a severe test of patience, even for an advanced yogic practitioner.

In 1758, only some five years after the Hanle treaty, Tashi Namgyal died without issue, and Purig was again merged with Ladakh to form a single kingdom. To that extent the whole episode was something of a dead end in Ladakhi history. However, it sheds light on several broader themes that will be of interest to other Ladakh researchers. Here are some of them:

- At the root of the whole dispute is the question of inheritance. As Schwieger points out, there had been earlier splits in Western Tibetan kingdoms to accommodate younger sons. Nevertheless, there seems to have been a widely-held view that dividing the kingdom between sons was a mistake particularly since the King of Purig was apparently claiming a similar status to the King of Ladakh. A similar theme comes up in one of the sub-plots, involving a Kalon from Gya: he had used his influence to find land royal for his younger sons who might otherwise have entered a monastery, and this was considered to be an abuse of power. Schwieger draws attention to the links between his historical findings and and recent anthropological research on household structure and inheritance. This is a theme that would merit further exploration.
- A second issue is the relationship between Ladakh and its more powerful neighbours in Kashmir and Tibet. It seems that Kashmir had earlier sent its own mediators to Ladakh, but that these were brushed aside once it became clear that Tsewang Norbu was on his way. Tibet and Kashmir had a common interest in ensuring that the dispute did not disrupt the wool trade running through Ladakh. At the same time, the Dalai Lama had a broader religious concern to ensure that the dispute did not weaken the western defences of Buddhism. In Schwieger's analysis, the Dalai Lama was in a strong position to influence the two protagonists, but he could not simply dictate a solution. Hence the delicate mediating role of Tsewang Norbu.
- The text also gives an insight into the role of kings in Ladakh, and the balance of power between them and the aristocracy.

Schwieger has written three previous articles on the treaty negotiations. For the English-speaking reader, the most useful is the article in Recent Research on Ladakh 6 which gives a detailed summary of the main issues and developments in the negotiations. The article could therefore be used as a 'guide' to the main work. But a careful study of the full text is well worthwhile for the vivid insight it gives into Ladakhi life and politics two and a half centuries ago. Schwieger is to be congratulated for making the contents of this complex document available to a wider audience.

Perspectives on History and Change in the Karakoram, Hindukush, and Himalaya. Edited by Irmtraud Stellrecht and Matthias Winiger. Pakistan German Research Project Culture Area

Karakoram Scientific Studies. Vol. 3. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, xii, 509 pp., 18 graphs, 8 folding maps, 5 drawings, 11 b/w photos. DEM 68. ISBN 3-89645-153-7.

This volume evolved out of the Pakistan-German CAK project, and is one of the publications from the series that goes beyond Northern Pakistan to incorporate material on Ladakh and Garhwal, on Mustang and several other parts of Nepal, and even—in a comparative article—Northern Thailand. This particular collection follows from a workshop in which CAK researchers met with people associated with another project on "Settlement Processes and State Formation in the Tibetan Himalayas" which deals mostly with Nepal. In all there are 27 contributions from (predominantly) anthropologists and geographers, mostly German(-based) scholars except for two Swiss and one Pakistani (presumably, for he is remarkably absent from the "Notes on the Authors" that concludes the book). Given this large range of topical, disciplinary and regional foci, the following will single out a few of the contributions from this valuable and nicely produced publication.

The papers are grouped in five sections dealing with "Dynamics of Highland-Lowland Interaction - Past and Present", "Identity Formation in the Context of Change", "Environmental Resources -- Utilization and Present Exploitation", "Environment under Pressure – Strategies in the Context of Change", and finally "The Transformation of Himalayan Life Worlds". The first section contains a historical review of highland-lowland interactions by Irmtraud Stellrecht, a discussion of food security in the Northern Areas by Christoph Dittrich, a political economic analysis of agrarian change by Benno Pilardeaux, and a presentation on migration from Solu-Khumbu by Thomas Hoffman. Rainer Graafen looks at the trade through Mustang, while Christian Seeber discusses research on the history of state formation and settlement in the same region.

The next section starts with a strong contribution by Martin Sökefeld, who discusses unequivocalness and ambivalence in identifications. Drawing on his fieldwork in Gilgit, he takes his departure from Fredrik Barth's influential actor oriented understanding of identity and the work of Giddens and Bourdieu on structuration and reflexivity to argue that identity serves as a "frame of interpretation for the acting individual". As he notes, discourse *about* identity tends to be much clearer than what can be observed in social practice, and attempts to resolve this apparent 'contradiction' by arguing that actors "theorize" discursively in unambiguous, abstract, general identity categories, while in practice a "practical consciousness" allows people to identify in ways not necessarily in correspondence with what the theory (their own!) demands. His contribution elaborates with characteristic clarity and skill several of the empirical and theoretical issues Sökefeld dealt with in his thesis and several articles, most recently in *Current Anthropology* (vol. 40 no. 4). The distinction Sökefeld makes resolves, perhaps, the analytical tension between "theory" and "practice" with respect to identity/identification, but leaves to be understood the practical negotiation of this tension by individual actors.

In the next article, Andreas Dittman offers a brief discussion of the bazaars Northern Pakistan, a theme he had discussed more comprehensively in his contribution to *RROL7* (Dodin & Räther, eds., 1997). Johannes Löhr then offers a theoretically and ethnographically interesting discussion of oral history as social practice in Yasin Valley. Ulrike Müller-Böker analyzes Tharus and Pahariyas in Chitawan as a window on inter-ethnic relations in Nepal. Monika Krengel then takes us westward again for an interesting discussion of migration and identity in Kumaon. Next, Thierry Dodin is the sole discussant of things Ladakhi, offering an essay on two "transregional Buddhist organizations", the All India Frontier Buddhist Mahasabha and the Himalayan Buddhist Cultural Association. Dodin's account sheds light on the formation and activities of the organisations, focusing on the role of prominent members of the clergy, including Kushok Bakula, Lama Chospel Zotpa, and Lama Lobzang. Discussions of the activities and inclusion of the voices of activists would have been welcome, especially since the author mentions in his conclusion that "the actual work at the local level is conducted mainly by lay activists". In the conclusions, the author paints with a broad brush,

raising questions about his generalisations. For example, to argue that "modernism" or "modernistic attitudes" in the case of Tibetan Buddhism are "nothing but instruments for the sake of self-assertion and representation of own interest" (p. 210) strikes me as an overstatement considering the host of local reformist (including modernist) movements in Tibetan Buddhist regions. Perhaps the inclusion of lay perspectives would have helped to provide a more nuanced understanding. Despite these issues, this a welcome and valuable addition to the growing literature on Buddhist organisation in Ladakh. A brief discussion of Shi'i communities in Northern Pakistan by Andreas Dieck concludes this section of the volume.

The next section, on "Environmental Resources – Utilization and Present Exploitation" includes four articles on forest and pasture use by Jürgen Clemens and Marcus Nüsser, climate and vegetation by Thomas Cramer, road construction and its impact on the ecology of high altitude forests by Udo Schickhoff, and a comparative article on human impact on forest change in Nepal and Thailand by Dietrich Schmidt-Vogt. This is followed by a more anthropological and sociological section on "Environment under Pressure – Strategies in the Context of Change", with contributions on community forestry in Nepal by Klaus Seeland, on forest-related struggle in Garhwal by Antje Linkenbach, on the Annapurna Conservation Area Project by Susanne von der Heide, on coping strategies, memory, and natural disasters in Astor by Roland Hansen, and on complex communities and solidarity in Western Nepal by Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka.

The final section, "The Transformation of Himalayan 'Life Worlds'" opens with an interesting piece by Sabine Lentz on "British Officers, Kashmiri Officials and 'Customary Law'". Drawing on archival sources, Lentz takes her cue from a murder case in Gilgit in 1908 to discuss attitudes towards customary law during the colonial and post-colonial period, in order to arrive at an understanding of the persistence of "traditional" settlement of cases in the region. Other pieces in this section include a discussion of the changing position of women in Northern Pakistan by Hiltrud Herbers, a richly illustrated description of the *Marut* gold-washers near Chilas in the Indus valley by Muhammad Azam Chaudhary, and a piece on English loan words in Burushaski by Jürgen Frembgen. Claus Peter Zoller's interesting, ethnographically rich analysis of "Heroic Ballads and the Biography of a Woman: On Coping with Conflicts in the Western Garhwal Himalaya" concludes the volume. Unfortunately, there is no index.

While many individual pieces are significant contributions to their fields—I am obviously not qualified to judge this in quite a number of cases—the collection lacks theoretical or even thematic coherence. Regionally, geographically, culturally, the essays deal with very different places and people, and with only a few exceptions no explicit Himalayan-Karakorum or other comparative angle is pursued. In the foreword, the editors argue that "comparative high mountain research" as an independent and interdisciplinary field of study must be based on comparability, and that this in turn requires a careful reflection on opportunities and limitations of the different disciplines in terms of methods, data and their validity. While the rich variety of topics and regions means that almost any social scientist will find something of interest here, the book also serves as a reminder that geological features or institutional frameworks do not necessarily constitute meaningful sociological or anthropological coherence or comparability, while human-natural science cooperation is hardly in evidence in any of these essays. Upon reading this volume, I remain unconvinced of the viability, or for that matter desirability of an independent discipline of "montology", as it has been called by some.

In conclusion, despite this lack of cohesion and engagement across regions, themes, and disciplines, this volume—like several others in the series—includes a number of important contributions to our understanding of life in the Himalaya-Karakoram-Hindukush region, and as such should be of interest to most scholars working in these parts of the world.

Osada, Yukiyasu. *Mapping the Tibetan World: Ladakh & Zanskar*. First edition. Kotan Publishing, 1999. Pp. 41, numerous maps, four b&w photographs.

This is presumably the first travel guide on Ladakh available exclusively by electronic download from the internet. Translated from the Japanese, the Ladakh & Zangskar section are part of a larger series of texts that together comprise Mapping the Tibetan World, based on the original Tibet book published in Japan by Ryokojin. Each volume in the series can be purchased on-line at a cost of USD 7.95 at www.kotan.org. It is possible to download a partly "locked" version of the file in .pdf format. Provided one has installed Acrobat Reader (freely available on the web), one can browse parts of the guide. Upon payment (electronically, with a credit card), one receives an unlock code that gives access to the entire file. The process is really quite straightforward, requiring only basic computer skills.

A clear advantage of this form of publication, other than the sheer convenience of having direct access to the text from one's computer, is that it is easily updatable, so that one can be fairly sure that recent developments have been incorporated in the text. My review is based on the first edition, and the editors have informed me that this is currently being revised, so some of my comments may have been addressed in the new edition.

Among the strengths of this guide is its focus on the basics. For the average traveller to Leh who wants straightforward information on how to get there, how to get around, what to bring, where to go, and where to trek, this guide does a fine job of providing the bare necessities. It includes useful sections on Delhi and the approach from Manali, while the Srinagar route gets little mention—arguably not a serious problem considering the paucity of travellers from that side.

The section on Leh covers 30 pages and again gives the most important information in a no nonsense style. Only six guest houses are mentioned in the text, but the maps of Leh are excellent and identify a large number of additional places to stay, including most of the usual crop. As it says in the text, there are more than a hundred, making it difficult to choose. Similarly, only five restaurants find mention, but one of these was unknown to me. The very popular In-style German Bakery receives the shortest comment: "Full of tourists."

Although this guide is thin on background and minimalist in its supply of practical information, it has its strenghts. It is one of the few, perhaps the only contemporary guide that gives the dates of the main monastic festivals according to the Tibetan calendar, as well as the CE dates for 2000-2002. It provides ample maps, not overly detailed, but well-produced. It also includes (brief, of course) information on trips to Dha and Hanu, Nubra, and Rupshu. The section on Zanskar includes short descriptions of a number of the more popular treks: Padum-Darcha, Padum-Lamayur (via Zangla), and Padum to Kargil via Sani.

Apart from Ladakh and Zanskar, the guide also includes sections on Lahaul (2 pages), Spiti (3 pages, including a description of Tabo gonpa), Kinnaur and Shimla (3 pages and a map), and Dharamsala (3 pages). A short description of "Other areas settled by Tibetan Refugees in India" covers the main centres in Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, as well as in Karnataka. However, all these sections are very brief.

Overall, the information provided in this guide is accurate, but for the reader with a desire for background and alternatives, this is not the guide to acquire. Its minimal style (three lines each for Sankar and Tsemo Gonpa, Thikse and Hemis get a record eleven) will disappoint many. It would be nice if the practical information provided in this guide could be expanded in future editions, without necessarily giving up the basics-only approach. And while revising the text, it would be nice if some sections could be fixed so as not to give an impression that there are no Muslims in Ladakh, or that they are aliens to these parts.

Particularly for serious trekking, sightseeing, and background information, one really needs to bring an additional guide, such as the still unsurpassed DuMont Kunst- und Kulturreiseführer Ladakh. For trekking, Charlie Loram's remains the best English language guide, while Philippe Chabloz and Charles Genoud's French Ladakh-Zanskar (reviewed below) is unsurpassed as a

combined trekking and cultural guide. Nevertheless, if all one wants or needs is a short, bare-bones package of information, this is a sensible buy at a reasonable price, provided the exchange rate does not deteriorate further.

Ladakh-Zanskar. Espace et lumière des hautes vallées. Avec 19 itinéraires de trekking dans l'Himalaya indien. By Charles Genoud and Philippe Chabloz. 8th revised edition. Genève: Éditions Olizane, 1999. ISBN 2-99086-225-6. Pp. 314, glossary, index, numerous maps, illustrations, and photographs. Price: CHF 49.-/FF 175.

This updated and substantially revised edition of the leading French language guide to Ladakh has strengths not found in the existing English language guides, but disappoints on some counts. The respective strengths of its authors—Genoud is a scholar of Buddhism, while Chabloz is probably the most experienced and knowledgable trekker of Ladakh—are clearly discernible.

The book covers more topics than most guides, from geology and fauna to history, culture, and language, and does so in a concise format, yet without compromising the quality of the information provided, thereby preserving many of the strengths of the original guide, first published in 1982. Despite its length, the use of 'papier bible' as the cover says, assures great portability, making it feasible to carry the book even while trekking. The section on fauna includes images of different species of mountain goats and sheep, as well as the footprints of fox, dog, lynx, wolf and brown bear, as well as profiles of some birds of prey, as well as tips for spotting animals.

The discussions on economy and daily life are summary and provide a rather static and idealized picture of Ladakh as a place outside of history, ignoring just about every aspect of change over the past century and a half. In discussing the demography of the region, stability is stressed, while the rapid growth of the past sixty years is simply ignored. Discussion of recent socio-cultural and economic change is limited to a three-page box on "Ladakhi society between ancestral traditions and western values", written by Martine Dufour, who manages to lay out some of the main trends without giving in to excessive lamentations for the past or sheer depression about the future.

The discussion of Buddhist culture reflects Genoud's philological background in that he provides useful information on Buddhist philosophy, iconography, monastic discipline, and *cham*. Both here and in the section on language, however, a reader/user might also be interested in learning about Buddhist practice in Ladakh, about the contemporary state of monasteries, for example. As in the sections on economy, history, and society, one misses the kind of background information that would help a tourist make sense of the Ladakh that she will actually encounter on a visit.

In the sections on Ladakh and Zangskar the descriptions monasteries, including basic maps of the main buildings, are not as detailed as those in the DuMont guide, but offer a good compromise between that and the minimalist approach of most other guides on the market. The map of Leh town, however, is wholly inadequate: it is poorly produced and contains extremely little information. Any of the maps distributed freely in Leh, for example that of Gypsy's World which is based on the INTACH maps of the town, will be of infinitely more practical use than this one.

While the general part of the guide may need a complete rewriting from scratch, to break free from the mold of the original edition, the addition of the trekking section is excellent. This is essentially an updated version of a long out-of-print guide to trekking by Philippe Chabloz and Nanouche Crémieu, the Artou guide *Randonnée Ladakh-Zanskar*, published originally in 1985. Chabloz has corrected and maps and route descriptions, and added a number of new itineraries. While neither the maps nor the route descriptions are as detailed as those in Charlie Loram's guide (reviewed in *LS* 12), they will be quite sufficient for most people. Particularly the inclusion of treks in Rupshu is a strength of this publication.

The guide closes with a brief glossary of Tibetan and Sanskrit terms and French-English-Ladakhi-Hindi words and phrases. The inclusion of Hindi is a good idea, of course, and the guide is basic but adequate, especially since one can simply pick up Rebecca Norman's *Getting Started in Ladakhi* (Melong Publications) in Leh.

In conclusion, the strengths of this guide are its treatment of a broad range of fields, including geology and fauna, and the more scholarly grounding of its discussions of Buddhism and history. For some the absence of detailed practical information on hotels, restaurants, transport, etc., may be a problem, although the twelve pages of "renseignements pratiques" do provide the essential, including names of a few reliable travel agents in Europe and India, hotels and guesthouses in Ladakh. Chabloz' trekking guide remains a strong one, despite the emergence of a good, and in some aspects superior alternative in Charlie Loram's guide (Loram, Charlie. 1999. *Trekking in Ladakh; Includes Leh, Manali & Delhi*. Hindhead: Trailblazer Guides. ISBN 1-873756-30-5. www.trailblazer-guides.com). The most serious shortcoming of this guide—particularly since this guide does strive to provide solid background information—is the dearth of information on contemporary Ladakh.

For the tourist planning a trip to Ladakh, picking a guide will remain a question of weighing one's interests and needs. For those interested in art, architecture, and Buddhism, the DuMont guide (Keilhauer, Anneliese und Peter. *Ladakh und Zanskar: Lamaistische Klosterkultur zwichen Indien und Tibet.* Köln: DuMont Verlag, 1980) remains unsurpassed, but is unfortunately out of print (you may find a used copy through www.buecher.de); for minimalists, the India Travel Survival Kit (Lonely Planet) or Osada's web-published guide may suffice. For trekkers, the choice is difficult: Loram gives more detailed descriptions and more practical informatoin, while Genoud and Chabloz provide more background, cover more topics, and the trekking guide is indisputably excellent. And if you are planning to go trekking, be sure to check out the new Artou map, also published by Editions Olizane: Ladakh-Zanskar,1: 350 000. ISBN 2-88086-073-3. FF 67.- CHF 16.-

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LADAKH SUPPLEMENT NO. 10

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. E-mail: JNBray@aol.com).

- Abhedananda, Swami. 1987. Swami Abhedananda's Journey into Kashmir and Tibet. Calcutta:
 Ramakrishna Vedanta Math. 166, xxvii pp. Swami Abhedananda, who belonged to the
 Ramakrishna mission, visited Ladakh in 1922, and visited Hemis in search of the Tibetan life of
 Christ allegedly found by Nikolai Notovitch in the 1880s. This account is based on his diaries,
 and was written up initially in Bengali by one of his disciples.
- Ahm, Kirsten. 1999. Billeder af Himalaya. En analyse af rejselitteratur fra Tibet [Himalayan Images. An Analysis of Travel Accounts from Tibet]. M.A. thesis. University of Aarhus. 92 pp. Explores imaginations of Tibet and the Himalaya in late nineteenth century European travel writing.
- Bano, R (Ed. & Trans.) 1994. An Anonymous Manuscript, Ahwal-i-mulki Ladakh, 1841. Srinagar: Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir. xiii, 93 pp. Cited in Library of Congress catalogue.
- Bray, John. 1998. "The Contribution of the Moravian Mission to Tibetan Language and Literature." Lungta 11 (1998), pp. 4-8. Special issue on 'Christian Missionaries and Tibet'. Dharamsala: Amnye Machen Institute. ■ Discusses the work of H.A. Jaeschke, A. H. Francke, Joseph Gergan and Eliyah Tsetan Phuntsog.
- Bray, John. 1999. "August Hermann Francke's Letters from Ladakh 1896-1906. The Making of a Missionary Scholar." In *Studia Tibetica et Mongolica (Festschrift Manfred Taube)*, pp. 17-36. Edited by Helmut Eimer, Michael Hahn, Maria Schetelich and Peter Wyzlic. Indica et Tibetica. Vol. 34. Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag. Describes how Francke combined his missionary work with scholarly research. Draws on letters from Francke to Bishop Benjamin La Trobe in the Moravian Church archive in Herrnhut (Germany).
- van Beek, Martijn. 1999. "Hill Councils, Development, and Democracy: Assumptions and Experiences from Ladakh." *Alternatives: Social Transformation and Humane Governance* 24, pp. 435-459. A discussion of the early achievements and difficulties of the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council, with emphasis on development and democratisation.
- van Beek, Martijn. 1999. "Den 'hede' gamle Singh: modstridende fortolkninger af et fordrivelsesritual i Ladakh" ['Hot' Old Singh: conflicting interpretations of a rite of expulsion in Ladakh]. In *Menneskelivets mangfoldighed. Arkæologisk og antropolisk forskning på Moesgaard*, pp. 377-384. Edited by Ole Høiris, H.J. Madsen, T. Madsen, and J. Vellev. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press. ■An account of the author's research into Apo Garam Singh and different interpretations of its meaning in Ladakh.

- Carrington, Michael. 1999. "Tibet's Architectural Influences in Ladakh and Bhutan". *Tibetan Review* 24, No. 11, pp. 14-18. Discusses religious and secular architecture in both regions and compares local styles with Tibet.
- Chadha, S. K. 1989. "Ecological crisis in Himalaya a Case History of Ladakh Region of Jammu and Kashmir State." In *Environmental Holocaust in Himalaya*, pp. 219-229. Edited by S.K. Chadha. New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House. Discusses soil erosion, siltation, landslides and unstable slopes; then turns to problems of water management; faunal extinction; and tourism.
- Chibber, M.L. 1998. Pakistan's Criminal Folly in Kashmir. The Drama of Accession and Rescue of Ladakh. New Delhi: Manas Publications. 247 pp. An account of Pakistan's invasion of Ladakh and Baltistan in 1948. Draws on the reminiscences of three key Indian players: Brigadier Sher Jung Thapa; Col. Prithi Chand; and Col. Chhewang Rinchen.
- Clarke, R.T. 1904 Report on Ladakh Assessments by R.t. Clarke, Settlement Officer, Baltistan and Ladakh. n,p. n.d. 22 pp. Cited in Library of Congress catalogue.
- Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts. n.d. *Thangkas. An Exhibition of Buddhist Paintings from the Stok Palace Museum Ladakh*. New Delhi. 36 pp. Catalogue of 100 thangkas, with selected illustrations, showing the Jataka tales. Text by Dr Nawang Tsering.
- Jina, Prem Singh. 1999. "The Changpa of the Ladakh Himalayas: Some Observations on their Economy and Environment." *Nomadic Peoples* 3, No. 1, pp. 94-105. General survey of nomads in Changthang with observations on cultural change.
- Kalweit, Holger and Schenk, Amélie. 1995. "Der Doppelkörper als Grundlage der Trance in der tibetischen Psychologie." Curare. Zeitschrift für Ethnomedizin und transkulturelle Psychiatrie, pp. 467-495. Special edition on: "Sucht und veränderte Bewußtsein im Kulturvergleich". Proceedings of the 12th International Conference of the Society for Ethnomedicine. 1995. Munich. Discusses Tibetan interpretations of trance in the light of the Buddhist Trikaya 'three worlds model'.
- Khan, Kacho Sikandar. 1997. *Ladakh in the Mirror of her Folklore*. Kargil: Kacho Publishers. 255 pp. A 50-page introduction gives a general survey of Ladakhi folklore, particularly songs and legends. Main part consists of translations and Roman transliterations of 100 folk-songs.
- Klatt, Norbert. 1986. Jesus in Indien. Nikolaus Alexandrovitch Notovitchs "Unbekanntes Leben Jesu" und seine Indienreise. Orientierungen und Berichte Nr. 13. Stuttgart: EZW-Texte. 39 pp.

 Examines Notovitch's claim to have found a Tibetan life of Christ in Hemis monastery, and argues that it is a hoax. Includes extensive biographical information on Notovitch.
- Klatt, Norbert. 1988. Lebte Jesus in Indien? Eine religionsgeschichtliche Klärung. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag. 176 pp. A historical examination of theories that Jesus visited India before or after the crucifixion. Pp. 46-50 examine Notovitch's claim to have found a Tibetan Gospel in Hemis.
- Ladakh Prabha 3. 1985. Choglamsar: Central Institute of Buddhist Studies. Articles on Buddhist sects, Central Asian trade, foreign tourists and language.

- Ladakh Prabha 5. 1987. Articles include a discussion of the history of Buddhism by Nawang Tsering Shakspo; and a description of a painted scroll from the Pahadi school illustrating the Dogra invasion of Ladakh. This is now in Varanasi.
- Meier, Gudrun. 1999. "Drei Frauen im Himalaya Beruf und Berufung". *Unitas Fratrum* 45/46, pp. 145-151. Herrnhut. Discusses the lives of three Moravian missionary ladies who served in Lahul and Ladakh in the 19th and early 20th centuries: Maria Elisabeth Heyde, Anna Theodora Francke and Martha Pauline Lydia Kant.
- Michaud, Jean. 1995. "Frontier Minorities, Tourism and the State in Indian Himalaya and Northern Thailand." In *International Tourism. Identity and Change*, pp. 84-99. Edited by M.F.Lanfant, J.B.Allcock, E.M.Bruner. London: Sage, Studies in International Sociology. ■
- Michaud, Jean. 1996. "A Historical Account of Modern Social Change in Ladakh (Indian Kashmir) with Special Attention Paid to Tourism." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 37, Nos 3-4 pp. 286-300. The Hague: Brill. ■
- Michaud, Jean. 1997. "Tourisme et contrôle étatique dans les périphéries nationales. Études de cas chez des minorités montagnardes d'Inde et de Thaïlande." *Histoire et Anthropologie* 4, No. 2, pp.21-32. Reprinted in *Tourismes, Touristes, Sociétés*, pp. 289-314 Edited by F. Michel. Paris: l'Harmattan, Collection Tourismes et Sociétés. Strasbourg.
- Nawang Tsering Shakspo. 1999. "The Role of Incarnate Lamas in Buddhist Tradition: A Brief Survey of Bakula Rinpoche's Previous Incarnations." *Tibet Journal* 24, No 3, pp. 38-47. Similar to author's earlier article in *Recent Research on Ladakh* 7.
- Norman, Rebecca. 1994. *Getting Started in Ladakhi*. Leh: Melong Publications. 118 pp. Simple language guide for beginners.
- Sahni, K. 1989. "The Environmental set up of Ladakh Region of Jammu and Kashmir State in Western Himalaya." In *Environmental Holocaust in Himalaya*, pp.50-67. Edited by S.K. Chadha. New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House. ■
- Schenk, Amélie. 1993. "Inducing Trance: on the Training of Ladakhi Oracle Healers." In *Anthropology of Tibet and the Himalaya*. pp. 331-342. Ethnologische Schriften Zürich 12. Zürich: Ethnologische Museum. Discusses the recruitment and training of oracles, and the nature of trance.
- Schenk, Amélie. 1995. "Trance als Therapie. Bewußtseintransformation bei den Schamanen Kleintibets." Jahrbuch für Ethnomedizin und Bewußtseinsforschung 3, pp. 145-160. Special edition on Trance, Besessenheit, Therapie Heilrituale im Vergleich. Edited by Queckelberghe, van Renauld and Dagmar Eigner. Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung. Discusses therapeutic benefits of trance with reference to research in Ladakh.
- Schenk, Amélie. 1999. "Reise durch die Schamanenwelt". In Was ist ein Schamane? Schamanen, Heiler und Medizinleute im Spiegel westlichen Denkens, pp. 223-257. Edited by AmélieSchenk and Christian Rätsch. Curare. Zeitschrift für Ethnomedizin und transkulterelle Psychiatrie.

 Sonderband Nr. 13. Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung. Includes a section on the author's researches on oracles in Ladakh.

- Schwieger, Peter. 1999. Teilung und Reintrigration des Königreichs von Ladakh im 18. Jahrhundert. Der Staatsvertrag zwischen Ladakh und Purig aus dem Jahr 1753. Monumenta Tibetica Historica. Abteilung III. Band 7. Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag. 270 pp. In 1734 Purig was separated from the kingdom of Ladakh, and relations between the two territories became more and more strained. This book discusses the text and historical context of the 1753 treaty between them, which was brokered by a representative of the 7th Dalai Lama.
- Sh_r_za/Shes rab zom 20, Nos. 3-4. Leh, 1998. A special number on events in Ladakh during the 1948 war between India and Pakistan, including memoirs of Ladakhi soldiers.
- Tobden and Dorje, C. 1996. Historical Documents from Western Trans-Himalaya. Lahul, Zanskar and Ladakh. Delhi: Book India Publishing Co. 120 pp. The main sources are 3 pamphlets by A. H. Francke: Die historische und mythologische Errinerungen der Lahouler (1907), and his first and second collections of rock inscriptions in Ladakh. All the new material relates to Lahul: rock inscriptions; copies of certificates and testimonials to the Wazir of Lahul; and lha rabs story of the Gods.
- Torricelli, Fabrizio. 1994, "Some Notes on the Maitreya Image in Western Ladakh". *Tibet Journal* 19, No. 1, pp. 3-16. Discusses the philosophical and historical context of the Mulbekh image.
- Vohra, Rohit. 1999. "Tamgas and Inscriptions from Tangtse in Ladakh". In *Studia Tibetica et Mongolica (Festschrift Manfred Taube)*, pp. 279-304. Edited by Helmut Eimer, Michael Hahn, Maria Schetelich and Peter Wyzlic. Indica et Tibetica. Vol. 34. Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag. Analyses the ancient insignia inscribed on rocks in Tangtse. Includes 21 photographs.
- Zeisler, Bettina. 1994. "Ergativ, Passiv und Antipassiv. Entwicklungen im Tibetischen." Zentralasiatische Studien 24, pp. 45-78. ■ Theoretical article on Tibetan linguistics, including sections on Ladakhi colloquial.
- Zeisler, Bettina. 1998 (a). "Borrowed Language: the Impact of School Education and Mass Media in Ladakh (Jammu & Kashmir, India)." In *Bicultural Education in the North. Ways of Preserving and Enhancing Traditional Peoples' Languages and Traditional Knowledge*, pp. 229-252. Edited by Erich Kasten. New York/München/Berlin: Waxmann Münster. Discusses the influence of education and social change on modern Ladakhi speech, including the frequent adoption of Urdu and English loan words.
- Zeisler, Bettina 1998 (b). "The Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga and its Three Creators."

 Berliner Indologische Studien 11/12, pp. 289-296. The Moravian missionary A. H. Francke, who worked in Khalatse in the early 1900s, transcribed the Kesar Saga with the help of Konchok Tashi (the local story-teller) and Ishe Rigzin (a village scribe).
- Zeisler, Bettina. 1999. Relative Tense and Aspectual Values in Tibetan Languages. A Comparative Study. Ph.D. thesis. Freie Universität Berlin. x, 469 pp. A technical linguistic study comparing Ladakhi tense structure with Classical Tibetan, and Lhasa, Kham and Amdo Tibetan. Draws on written text as well as fieldwork.