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Since 1974, Ladakh (made up of Leh and Kargil districts) has been readily accessible for academic study. It has become the focus of scholarship in many disciplines including the fields of anthropology, sociology, art history, Buddhist studies, history, geography, environmental studies, ecology, medicine, agricultural studies, development studies, and so forth. After the first international colloquium was organised at Konstanz in 1981, there have been biennial colloquia in many European countries and in Ladakh. In 1987, the International Association for Ladakh Studies (IALS) was formed to establish contact and disseminate information and research findings among those interested in the study of Ladakh. Membership is open to all, by writing to the membership secretary or using Paypal through the IALS website.

Please go to: <http://www.ladakhstudies.org/membership.html>

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**INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LADAKH STUDIES
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Contents

From the editor, <i>Sunetro Ghosal</i>	2
From the secretary, <i>Sonam Wangchok</i>	3

ESSAYS

Interrogating the foundation myths of Ladakhi identity: Identity articulation and communal conflict in Ladakh <i>Shruti</i>	4
Tulku and deity assistants <i>Andrea Butcher</i>	16
Impacts of tourism on water resources in Leh town <i>Adris Akhtar and Daphne Gondhalekar</i>	25
Photo-essay: The Nono of Spiti in 1863 <i>John Bray</i>	38

BOOK REVIEWS

<i>Journal of a tour through Spiti to the frontier of Chinese Tibet</i> (2 nd ed) by Philip Henry Egerton: edited by Hugh Rayner and <i>Early Photographs of Ladakh</i> : edited by Hugh Rayner <i>John Bray</i>	40
<i>Himalayan languages and linguistics: Studies in phonology, semantics, morphology and syntax</i> Edited by Mark Turin and Bettina Zeisler <i>Patrick Kaplanian</i>	41
<i>The political ecology of road construction in Ladakh</i> by Jonathan Demenge <i>Patrick Kaplanian</i>	43
<i>Garsha, heart land of the Dakinis: A mirror into Lahaul, sacred time and space.</i> <i>Neil Howard</i>	45
<i>Ladakh on the crossroads of high Asia</i> (3 rd ed) by Janet Rizvi <i>Sunetro Ghosal</i>	46

IALS NOTES & OTHER

Report of 2013 Heidelberg Conference <i>Sonam Wangchok</i>	49
Biennial general meeting of the IALS <i>Sonam Wangchok</i>	54
Conference Report: IATS in Mongolia <i>John Bray</i>	56
Richard V. Lee (1937-2013) <i>Christopher Wahlfeld</i>	59
Ladakh Bibliography Supplement No. 24 <i>John Bray</i>	62

From the editor

This issue marks a change of guard at *Ladakh Studies*. The 'little red book' started life under the guidance of Henry Osmaston and steaded under the stewardship of Martijn van Beek. Having worked on the journal closely with Kim Gutschow over the last few years, I have been witness to her quiet diligence to widen its scope and institutionalise various systems. It now falls on my shoulders to build on their work and the support of contributors, past and present. Francesca Merritt and Gareth Wall are two other people who played a central role in the last few years to ensure that the journal was published and reached each of you. This issue also marks a change of guard on this front, with Andrea Butcher taking on their role. I look forward to working with each of you to ensure that *Ladakh Studies* continues to serve as a platform for debates, discussions and scholarship.

Building on past efforts, all submissions to the journal continue to go through a series of reviews. Each submission is first evaluated by the editorial team, who decide if it should be sent for further review. If yes, it is put through a double-blind review process, where neither author, nor reviewer is aware of the other's identity during the process. While this is time-consuming, it has contributed to improving the quality of published papers. For this, we owe gratitude to numerous individuals who invest time and effort to serve as reviewers and the patience and diligence of our contributors.

Similarly, we plan to continue publishing regularly, with plans to publish spring and autumn editions every year. This will mean that the journal is open for submissions all year round, to ensure we have a continuous cycle of articles in different stages of the review process and readiness for publishing. Unfortunately, this issue did not abide by this cycle due to computer issues that set it back by several weeks at a critical juncture.

Lastly, we plan to start a 'Letters' section to serve as a platform for debates and discussions on articles published in this journal and other relevant fora. However, the relevance and utility of this section will depend on each of you, who read and use this journal. The email and postal addresses are on the inside covers of this issue.

This issue includes three interesting essays dealing with very different issues. Shruti explores how Ladakhi identity has been articulated with social, political and economic implications. Her sharp analysis and critical arguments highlight some disturbing trends and ask some pertinent questions. Andrea Butcher explores the relationship between a *tulku* and a deity assistant. It provides some fascinating insights into Buddhist philosophy in the context of contemporary changes. Finally, Adris Akhtar and Daphne Gondhalekar's timely research provides a commentary on the under-studied linkages between tourism and water usage in Leh town. Their essay provides a stark, even if alarming, picture of the impacts of uncontrolled tourism in Leh town, which deserves more critical debate.

In addition, the issue also includes several other items that should interest members, including a photo essay by John Bray that takes us back to 19th century Spiti and a report of the Heidelberg conference by Sonam Wangchok.

Sunetro Ghosal

From the secretary

The 16th conference of the International Association for Ladakh Studies (IALS) was successfully organised by the Department of Geography, the Heidelberg Center for Environment (HCE) and the IALS at the South Asia Institute (SAI), Heidelberg University, Germany, from 17-20 April, 2013. I take this opportunity to welcome the new executive members, Andrea Butcher as treasurer/membership secretary, who succeeded Gareth Wall and Sunetro Ghosal, who succeeded Kim Gutschow as editor of *Ladakh Studies*. At the same time, I express gratitude to Kim Gutschow and Gareth Wall for their hard work and their many contributions to the Association. I also express gratitude to John Bray for continuing his service as president for a further two-year term, since there were no nominations to the vacant position of president from the wider membership in the biennial general meeting of the IALS, held during the conference.

With the enthusiastic and positive response from our Kargil members to host the 17th IALS conference in Kargil in 2015, John and I had a successful pre-preparatory visit to Kargil to meet local IALS members. Besides these meetings, we also participated in an interaction with students of the degree college, organised by Students' Educational Movement of Kargil (SEMOK). It was inspiring to see the enthusiasm of youth in Kargil for Ladakh studies. The students expressed their interest in research and writing, while also voicing the need for workshops on research methodologies and interactions with senior scholars and researchers. We agreed to organise such workshops in Kargil 2014 to encourage youth. We encourage IALS members to help us plan these workshops in Kargil to share research findings, methodologies and approaches with interested youth.

While it is too early to decide date, venue etc. for the conference, the host members tentatively suggested the month of July, 2015. It was also agreed that an organising committee will be formed as soon as possible as well as a committee to review the submitted abstracts. Please keep a close eye on the website for further developments in this direction.

Sonam Wangchok

Interrogating the foundation myths of Ladakhi identity: Identity articulation and communal conflict in Ladakh

—Shruti (Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Every ethno-national identity needs certain foundation myths to mobilise its masses, demarcate its boundary and create a nation for its people (Smith 1991). These foundation myths shape the politics of identity, legitimise certain claims and contestations, while displacing others in the process to create new conflicts in the region. This paper interrogates the foundation myths of the Ladakhi ethno-national identity,¹ and the various justifications that accompany them, in the light of historical events. It then explores the dominant patterns of intra-regional conflicts, to examine its relationship with the way Ladakhi identity has been conceptualised, with its demarcations and exclusions.

Foundation myths of Ladakhi identity

According to Smith (1992), nationalism provides the most compelling myth today as territory, ancestors and shared historical memories provide the basis of cohesion in a political community. The distinction between myth and history is often blurred, as the dramatic tales of the past are elaborated and interpreted by the intelligentsia, to serve as instruments to mobilise a politically passive community. These historical memories, tales and legends form the foundation myth of the community being mobilised. This process of mobilisation and articulation has various inherent conflicts that play out as the mobilisation of masses and articulation of identity progresses.

The distinct conceptualisation of Ladakhi identity can be said to have begun in the 1930s, when neo-Buddhists from Kashmir valley started to identify with the cause of Ladakh and its Buddhist traditions (Bertelsen 1996). However, the idea of a distinct identity in the local elite can be said to have taken roots in the 1940s, which coincided with the emergence of India as a nation-state. This observation is substantiated by the fact that the first public mention of a separate Ladakhi identity by a local leader was in 1949. Rigzin Namgyal Kalon,² the president of the Young Men's Buddhist Association, through a memorandum submitted to Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on 4th May, 1949 asserted that:

We are a separate nation by all the tests—race, language, religion, culture, determining nationality. The only link connecting us with the other people of the state being the bond of a common ruler. If the Indian National Congress could persuade itself to recognise the Muslims of India as a separate nation although they had so much in common with the other elements of the Indian population, the Government of India should have no hesitation in recognising what is patent and incontrovertible fact in our case (Madhok 1992: 1911).

¹ The term Ladakh has been prominently used in the struggle for greater autonomy that was primarily played out in Leh. Since the identity articulation insists on the use of the terms 'Ladakh' and 'Ladakhi', this has been retained in this paper. The analysis in paper confines itself to Leh district and does not include the conflicts and complexities of Kargil district.

² The Kalon family were the sponsors of the Hemis monastery, the richest monastery in the region and was even more influential than the royal family of Ladakh. Rigzin Kalon was one of the prominent figures of Ladakh at the time. Since 1930s, he was actively involved in the political organisation and activities of Young Mens' Buddhist Association and proceedings of various legislations passed by the *Praja Sabha* for Ladakh region (cf van Beek 1996, Kaul and Kaul 1992).

A similar assertion, closely following Kalon's representation in its tone, timing, content and audience, was Kushok Bakula's delegation to Prime Minister Nehru on 20 May 1949, which said:

[t]hough nostalgic longings for a political union with our Tibetan home are not altogether imperceptible among our people, India is still the idol of our hearts and only a forthright denial of our birthright by her will pull the weight the other way (Stobdan 1953, quoted in Bertelsen 1996: 165).

The tone and tenor of this demand persists even after the creation of the Hill Council, as seen in the October 2002 issue of *Ladags Melong*, focussing on the union territory status demand:

...this [separation of Ladakh from J&K] should have happened way back in 1947. The day J&K acceded to India, Ladakh should have sought to be a part of the Indian Union in its own right, as a nation...In other words, Ladakh was to J&K what India was to Britain: a nation unlawfully colonised with brute force, waiting to be freed. There is no justification to the continuity of J&K rule over Ladakh after the end of Jammu Raja's rule over J&K on 27th October 1947 (Wangchuk³ 2002: 10).

It further says:

Again, in 1956 when the states were being reorganised and the union territories were first formed, the centre should have made Ladakh a union territory, just as it made the tiny Lakshadweep a UT...But perhaps by that time this was already difficult due to the special status of J&K state under Article 370 of the Indian constitution. Otherwise Ladakh had all the right reasons to become a UT back then (Wangchuk 2002: 11).

These statements, even if separated by a gap of 55 years, are identical in the stand on the political status for Ladakh. They speak of Ladakh as a 'nation in its own right', and find the subordination to J&K illegitimate. Another claim is that Ladakh is a purely Buddhist domain⁴. These two major foundation myths can be identified in the above quotes, which also contain the strains of thought that have dominated the political struggle for autonomy since the 1940s. These statements have been selected for understanding the dynamics of Ladakhi politics as they are local perspectives, in contrast with the perspectives that outsiders use to make sense of local Ladakhi dynamics.⁵ In this paper, I discuss these foundation myths more closely to understand their political underpinnings.

³ Sonam Wangchuk is the former director of the NGO, SECMOL, which collaborated with the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council, Leh to reform the education system in the district. He was also a member of the advisory body for Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan of the Union government.

⁴ This assertion has been strongly contested by the other significant section of the population, the Muslims, and is discussed later in the article.

⁵ It can be argued that the author of the first two representations was Shridhar Kaul Dhullu, the neo-Buddhist Kashmiri mentor of the Buddhist leadership at that time. However, in the aftermath of Pakistani aggression, it is also plausible that the leadership's own views got appropriate wording by their mentor.

Ladakh: A Nation

The thought that nation is a construct, a self-perception of a people and the self-definition by a people leads to its political mobilisation (Anderson 1991; Smith 1992) holds sway in the literary circles. Smith (1992) further argues that in each case the intelligentsia attempts to provide new communal self-definitions and goals, and these often lead to a 'rediscovery' of its history. In constructing the communal self-definition for Ladakh, the intelligentsia picked up certain historical events to be glossed upon and eternalised as legends, while others remained dormant, devoid of political significance. The most significant source of Ladakhi history, *Ladavags rgyal-rabs*,⁶ a genealogy of the kings of Ladakh, which narrates the history of the kingdom of Ladakh from its inception as a distinct political entity around 950 CE, clearly describes it as a kingdom with dynasts and dynasties, which emerge and disappear. It describes Ladakh as a feudal polity, under the two prime dynasties that ruled Ladakh, till its annexation by the king of Jammu in 1834. A feudal structure existed under both dynasties, with local chiefs and princes coexisting with the monarch based in Shey, and later in Leh. There was infighting between the various chiefs and the monarch, which kept Ladakh perpetually weak and consolidation of the empire was never achieved (Petech 1939). There were invasions from outside, especially from Kashmir, Tibet, Central Asia and Turkestan. Most of these invasions were aimed at capturing the profits of the Kashmir-Yarkand trade route, on which Leh was a prominent centre, and also the lucrative Pashmina trade originating in western Tibet. The self-imposed moratorium on trade through Leh made the kingdom economically weak, even as weak and ineffective rulers left the actual running of the kingdom to the ministers. These factors meant that Ladakh was incapable of defending itself from the Dogra onslaught in 1834 (Rizvi 1983).

Thus, the documented history of Ladakh clearly indicates a political pattern that was common for this region in the Middle Ages, which was characterised by kingdoms, dynasts and dynasties along with religious empires. Each of these kingdoms had an expansionist foreign policy, which meant that the powerful rulers expanded their kingdoms to the extent they could. These were not nations attacking each other, as 'nation' is a modern construct, but a kingdom expanding its territories. This was also true for the invasion of Ladakh, as both parties were kingdoms in the description found in Petech (1939) and Rizvi (1983). As narrated by Rizvi (1983), Wazir Zorawar Singh's advance did not meet much popular resistance, rather at many places his advance was welcomed. They are also said to have the support of many chiefs and small rulers' en route to Leh. In fact, the "barbarous act of aggression" described by Wangchuk (2002) is narrated very differently by Rizvi (1983):

...the Dogras were allowed to advance, without meeting any real opposition, till they reached Sankhu, above Kargil on the Suru river, where a hastily raised defending force gave battle to the invaders. It was defeated, enabling Zorawar to proceed as far as Pashkyum. Now the winters were beginning to set in, and the Dogra general felt inclined to beat a strategic retreat. On the other hand, he had to have something to show his master for his four months' campaign; so he opened negotiations with the Ladakhi court, offering to withdraw on

⁶ Also called 'The Chronicle' in short, it has been translated in English by many writers such as Emil and Hermann V. Schlageveit (1866), Francke (1926), Petech (1939).

payment of an indemnity of 15,000 rupees. The Chronicle records that while the king and his ministers were on the whole inclined to take advantage of this offer, the queen showed more spirit (or a less realistic assessment of Zorawar's intentions), and as a result of her intervention, the Dogra envoys went back empty-handed. Again, we see the lack of any vestige of military instinct with which the Ladakhis might have successfully followed up the queen's political initiative. Zorawar prudently withdrew to Kartse, near Sankhu, to see the winter through; he was allowed to entrench himself, and the Ladakhis made no call on their most powerful ally—winter's numbing cold. They postponed an attack till early April, when heavy falls of snow hampered them as much as their enemies; were defeated with grievous loss; and found themselves harried and in retreat, with the Dogras at their heels, almost all the way to Leh. So complete was the failure of the Ladakhi 'army' to defend the country, that when the Dogras reached the Indus, they found envoys from the villages upstream—Saspol, Alchi' Likir and Neymo—bringing presents and prepared to do homage to Zorawar. At Basgo, the king himself came to meet the invader; and now had to agree to terms very much worse than those rejected at the queen's instance a few months earlier" (p. 62).

This description does not fit the "barbarous act of aggression" circulated by local leaders and intelligentsia. Here, the actual history was 'rediscovered' by the political elite and a legend crafted to mobilise people and craft a 'nation'.

The claim that Ladakh was never a part of J&K, but for the barbaric aggression on a peaceful nation by the Dogra army is also not substantiated by historical facts. The Kashmir connection of Ladakh, as suggested by the Chronicle, goes back to the ancient 'warrior king' Lalitaditya, who conquered Ladakh in 8th century CE. A Ladakhi prince, Rinchen Shah was the king of Kashmir from 1319 CE to 1324 CE. In the 15th century, Zain-ul-Abidin conquered Ladakh and made it a part of Kashmir. Maharaja Gulab Singh followed these prior conquests. This indicates that Ladakh was a kingdom, which saw many ups and downs and being a part of Kashmir was not a new phenomenon in its history.

The documented history and empirical facts show that the claims of "Nation-ness" for Ladakh are rather frail and must be understood not as a 'given' but as a result of processes unfolding immediately prior to their emergence. A closer study of the events of 1930s point towards a successful assimilation of Ladakhi elite in the political processes of the Kashmir *riyasat*, with the implementation of the Glancy Commission's recommendations to create the *Praja Sabha*.⁷ This participation was cut short by Partition and subsequent invasion. This period needs to be studied closely to understand the sudden and deep distrust of Kashmir and a claim of illegitimacy of J&K's authority over Ladakh by local leaders.

⁷ The Glancy Commission recommended administrative reforms in the 1930s, which included creation of a Constituent Assembly called *Praja Sabha*, in which two seats were reserved for representatives of Ladakh. These representatives utilised the opportunity, with guidance of their neo-Buddhist Kashmiri mentors, to get two acts passed: The Buddhists' Polyandrous Marriages Prohibition Act, *Samvat* 1998 (1941 A.D), and The Ladakh Buddhists Succession to Property Act, *Samvat* 2000 (1943 A.D). See Bertelsen (1996) for details.

This struggle for a separate identity and the emergence of a collective consciousness of being “a people”, and its political articulation needs to be carefully studied, possibly as a failure of the “Indian nation to effectively include within its body the whole of the demographic mass that it claims to represent” (Chatterjee 1993: 134). This failure of Ladakh to secure for itself the place of a “nation” does not imply that the struggle for autonomy and identity can be rubbished as “identity fetishism”⁸. Instead, Chatterjee (1993) argues that the continuity of cultural or ethnic identities is due to the “formation of a hegemonic ‘national culture’ [that] was necessarily built the privileging of an ‘essential tradition’, which in turn was defined by a system of exclusions”. In this context, Ladakh faced a double exclusion—from the Indian nation and also from *Kashmiriyat* or Kashmiri nationhood,⁹ leaving for it, a sense of dejection and a need to carve out an identity exclusively its own. The Ladakhi elite were witness to the vocabulary of “nation” being used (especially in the context of Kashmir) to justify claims of greater autonomy. This vocabulary was adopted by these elite to articulate the need for accommodation in the wider conceptualisation of ‘essential tradition’ and carve out a discourse of identity that included their own versions of exclusions¹⁰. Thus, the articulation of a distinct identity was a means to propound its uniqueness from *Kashmiriyat*, the hegemonic discourse of the state government, but also aspiring for a greater share of political power within Indian democracy, through an autonomous administrative apparatus for the region. To study the identity of Ladakh as exclusive from these wider moorings in which it is embedded and divorcing it from the wider political and developmental happenings of Kashmir would lead to a simplistic and superficial understanding.

It’s important that apart from the extracts used at the start of the paper, the “nationhood” of Ladakh has not found any other usage. The idea of “nation” was discreetly abandoned by the Ladakhi leadership as it attempted to engage with the Indian state. Perhaps, they recognised the uneasiness of the Indian leaders with the idea of a “nation” within Indian state immediately after independence and also their openness to “accommodation of differences”. This may have led them to change their stance to claim Ladakh as an integral part of India. Thus, the claims of ‘nationhood’ for Ladakh should be seen as a device and strategy to attain a political

⁸ van Beek (1996) calls the struggle for autonomy “identity fetishism”. His reading of Ladakhi identity comes across as an expression of essentially divisionist tendencies of micro minorities to justify their urge for power in terms of identity. He does look into the issues of discontent with policies and non-availability of venues and forums to participate in policies affecting a people and their role in shaping an identity, but treats them as administrative or developmental challenges. Further, the inherent ambiguities and exclusions also make him question the very conception of Ladakhi identity, leading to the conclusion that “Conceptions of justice and democracy are built on the principle of representation assuming a convergence between ‘identity’ and ‘rights’; both multiculturalism and racism are rooted in this misrecognition of the nature of being and belonging, effectively producing the very difference that is supposed to be represented, and instituting a logic of fragmentation without end” (p. 1).

⁹ The other significant region, Jammu, was very much a part of the ‘essential tradition’ of India, thus eliminating a sense of identity crisis there. The politics there was thus defined by the “regional imbalances” discourse, instead of an identity discourse.

¹⁰ The articulations of Ladakhi identity oscillated between an exclusively Buddhist identity (claims usually made for outside consumption) and an inclusive version that acknowledged the other communities as equally Ladakhi (usually meant for mixed audience within Ladakh). However, in the 1980s, the LBA adopted an aggressive and firm exclusivist stance on Ladakhi identity, making Ladakhi and Buddhist almost coterminous. This mobilised masses and sowed the seeds of conflict in the Ladakhi socio-political fabric as discussed later in this paper.

goal, rather than representing a ground reality. The latter would subvert an understanding of negotiations between societies and the state and their mutual interaction for greater power and legitimacy. However, this account fails to explain the exclusivity of this identity articulation and the prudence of courting conflict in the context of communal harmony that prevailed in Ladakh.

Ladakh: A Purely Buddhist Domain?

The foundation myth of Ladakh as a purely Buddhist domain needs to be evaluated critically. This articulation details the exclusions in the Ladakhi identity, as the intelligentsia gives its people a communal self-definition by demarcating boundaries. This has been simultaneously challenged by the other significant portion of the population—Ladakhi Muslims¹¹, which makes its investigation crucial. Let us begin by examining the official narrative on Ladakh.

Official Narrative

The earliest official account of Ladakh is by Cunningham (1854) who associated Ladakh with Buddhists:¹²

...inhabited by a peculiar race of people, who call themselves Bot-pa, who speak a peculiar language called Tibetan and profess the religion of Buddha, under a peculiar hierarchy of monks called lamas (p.18).

He gives the impression of a homogenous Ladakh as a purely Buddhist domain. In contrast, Fredrick Drew describes a more heterogeneous society, which he was able to recognise despite a shorter direct association with Ladakh than Cunningham. Drew speaks of “*Arghauns*”—the offsprings of Ladakhi alliances with non-Ladakhis, especially Kashmiris—and mentions races of Ladakh like ‘Champas’, ‘Ladakhi’, ‘Balti’, ‘Dard’ etc. (Drew 1875: 238).

Subsequent official publications like the *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh* and Ramsay’s *Western Tibet: A Practical Dictionary of Languages and Customs*, both published in 1890, describe Ladakh as comprising of a heterogeneous population and elaborate upon the differences within the two major religious groups. This difference is captured through the lens of caste, in accordance with the yardstick used for the rest of India, even though it did not fit well with the reality of the region. This introduction of caste in official discourse facilitated the acknowledgment of the differences within Buddhism in terms of various sects for the first time, rather than presenting Buddhism in Ladakh as a monolithic bloc.

¹¹ The demographic composition of Ladakh is such that Buddhists and Muslims account for equal proportions of the overall population, with Kargil district having a Muslim majority and Leh district having a Buddhist majority. The two districts still share a single seat in the parliament. The Kargili Buddhists and Leh Muslims strongly favour a single administrative unit, i.e., union territory for the entire region as this levels the balance in favour of the two minorities in the region.

¹² Cunningham was posted in Ladakh as a joint commissioner and was also a member of the survey of the border between Tibet and Ladakh in 1846-47. After Cunningham, Fredrick Drew greatly influenced the official perceptions. He was posted as the Wazir of Ladakh Wazarat in 1871 for a very short duration. Because of the offices they held, their accounts made a lasting impact on the official understanding and perceptions about Ladakh. According to van Beek (1996), Drew’s account provides the bulk of material for entries on Ladakh in the *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh* (1890).

After these initial official reports, the census articulated the official narratives of peoples and places. The 1901 Census was regarded as a detailed and rigorous exercise enumerating various communities in the area and classifying the population in terms of 'caste'; mentioning Islam as a major category of people. The 1911 Census also talks of the "*Mussalmans*" of Ladakh:

The Ladakh Mussalmans having lost all clue of their former social divisions have taken to the use of family names and geographical and occupational terms eg. Ahmadpa, Kirispa, Akhunpa and so forth, with the result that the list of their subdivisions has become bewilderingly long and no less than 1,200 such names were counted in *tehsil* Skardu alone (Census 1911: 206).

This observation is in line with the explanation that Islam spread though conversions under the influence of various saints who visited Ladakh. When people did convert, they adopted the core religious practices but retained others that did not clash with the basic tenets of the new religion. Thus, most of the Muslims retained the practice of family names as identification or in official sense, 'classifications'. Similarly, many traditions and daily practices are common for Buddhist and Muslim households, making Islam as much an ingredient of Ladakhi culture as Buddhism. This census also gives the numbers of various subgroups of both the religions:

...in table XIII the Mussulmans will be seen arranged in Part II under Arghun (1,517), Balti (72,439), Brukpa (8,890), Mangriks (62,892), Rigzang and Tarakchos(4,026) and the Buddhists under Lama (28) Mangriks (35,616)and Rigzang (862). Of Bedas only 5 bodhs and 219 Mohamedans could be distinguished (ibid).

Without dwelling on the details, the broad demographic numbers show a clear numerical majority of the Muslims, as Ladakh *Wazarat* at this time included the areas of Purig, Baltistan, etc., which were Muslim majority areas,¹³ Similarly, the 1921, 1931 and 1941 Censuses also speak of a heterogeneous Ladakhi population, which is retained in the post-independence period. For instance, the 1961 Census also reported the heterogeneity of the population of the region:

The 1961 Census data shows that the district is inhabited by Buddhists, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and Christians" (Census 1961: 3).

Thus, the official narrative since the time of Drew was very clear on the presence of various communities in Ladakh and the notion of a purely Buddhist realm never featured in its discourses on the region.

Academic Narrative:

Interestingly, many of the literary works on Ladakh do not speak of a heterogeneous society. Many writers presented Ladakh as a "Pristine Buddhist land" or a "Buddhist wonderland" (Kak, 1978). Scholars like Helena Norberg-Hodge (1991), Shridhar Kaul Dhullu (1992), Prem Singh Jina (2001), B.L. Kak (1978), Crook (1994) etc. use terms like 'Ladakhi' and 'Buddhist' interchangeably. These writers present an unquestioned monolithic narrative of Buddhism and the political process in the post-independence era. These narratives are curiously lop-sided especially since the data provided by

¹³ As a result of the disturbances of Partition, Baltistan and Gilgit came under Pakistani control.

the official discourse made it clear that Ladakh was not a purely Buddhist domain, with a sizeable population of Muslims. and numerically fewer Christians, also staking equal claim to “Ladakhi-ness”. Later, the tendency of Buddhist romanticism was criticised for its simplistic assumptions and a more comprehensive and complex reality are presented in the writings by Bray (1991, 2007), Srinivas (1991, 1993), Aggarwal (1993, 2004), van Beek (1996, 1997, 2001) and Bertelsen (1996, 1997). Bertelsen and van Beek (1995) strongly contest the tendency of looking at Ladakhi society and politics through the ‘given’ ‘frames’ of identification and representation:

...Ladakhi-ness and Ladakhi politics cannot be reduced to Buddhistness. Neither can some other ‘essential’ unity or homogeneity be imposed on the multiplicity of social, economic and political identification that one encounters in Ladakh (p. 57).

Thus, the conception of Ladakh as a purely Buddhist domain stands pretty much discredited. However, this perspective was selectively used as a justification to make exclusive claims for Buddhist/Ladakhi identity and the reversal in the academic trend resulted in a suspicion towards researchers¹⁴. However, as a foundational myth, the self-definition of identity by Ladakhi Buddhist elites drawing the boundaries of Ladakhi ethnic identity by denying almost 50 percent of its people¹⁵ any stake in the identity seems perplexing. Let us critically examine this self-definition.

Local perceptions and genesis of communal conflict

The perceptions amongst the locals on the identity issue are diverse and to talk of a unified uncontested perception is out of question, with splits occurring largely along communal lines.¹⁶ The Buddhist version, as the interviews with local Buddhists suggest, was influenced by the Kashmiri neo-Buddhist mentors who dominated and greatly influenced the political psyche of local Buddhists¹⁷ for more than two decades since their initial interaction in the 1930s. In their view, Ladakh was a “backward”, “marginalised”, “Buddhist” land that was unfairly dominated by Muslims¹⁸. This perception seems to have persisted and influenced the thinking of the local Buddhist leadership¹⁹. However, the levels of communal articulation could not be aggressively pursued due to the harmonious inter-communal relations that anchored the social

¹⁴ After the works of Bertelsen and van Beek, LBA does not provide researchers easy access to their library in Gompa Soma, Leh. They also seem to exercise greater caution during interviews.

¹⁵ Ladakh district with its two tehsils Leh and Kargil that had an almost equal proportion of Buddhist and Muslims, though Kargil Tehsil was Muslim majority and Leh was Buddhist majority (Kaul and Kaul 1992). The District was divided into two in 1979 along communal lines, by which time the processes of identity articulation had already started to exclude non-Buddhists.

¹⁶ This section is based on the interviews conducted during the period 2004 to 2012 with a cross section of local leaders as well as common people, both Buddhist and Muslim. Apart from the interviews, this section has been enriched by informal talks with friends, acquaintances, elders and leaders from various communities as well as pamphlets published by different groups on various occasions to justify their stands on the issue of identity.

¹⁷ For details of this interaction see Bertelsen 1996.

¹⁸ It seems strange that they feared the “domination” of the Muslims since the kingdom itself was under a Hindu Raja. Probably since the trade from Ladakh was dominated by Kashmiri Muslims and the Arghons, the perception of domination took shape.

¹⁹ Till 1989, this Buddhist version was primarily held by a small but influential, Leh-based elite who dominated the political scenario on behalf of the entire Buddhist community in Ladakh. For details of early political awakening among Buddhists, see Bertelsen (1996).

fabric of Ladakh. Thus, even though these ideas of an exclusive Buddhist domain were held privately and articulated within the community and for specific audiences, they were rarely expressed in an inter-community context. This changed in 1989, when extreme stands were aggressively pursued by local leaders and formed the basis of a struggle for union territory. This is clear from the oscillation between the inclusion-exclusion (primarily of Muslims) from the Ladakhi identity debates and the various representations and committees that were made to obtain greater concessions from the state government throughout the post-1950 period. In 1989, a vehement exclusion was framed as part of the struggle for union territory status, which was possibly inspired by the new “academic” literature and visitors, who hailed the ‘Buddhist-ness’ of Ladakh²⁰ and was used by local Buddhist leaders to justify their struggle. A minor sub-theme is the justification, expressed internally and also to outsiders, is the ‘foreign’ nature of Islam due to its relatively late appearance in Ladakh. This theme includes the imposition of Muslim rule as part of J&K state, which further strengthens the ‘illegitimacy’ of the state. Till 1989, this perception was largely restricted to certain sections of the elite in Leh, while the post-1989 generation inherited this polarised identity and believes it as a ‘fact’.

This is contested by the Muslims of Ladakh, who are divided into “Baltis” and “Arghons”, who have their own narratives of identity. The Baltis claim to be as indigenous to Ladakh as Buddhists, as they were locals who converted to Islam around the 16th century under the influence of various saints who visited the area. By virtue of this, they contest the “exclusively Buddhist” conception of Ladakh and Ladakhi identity and stake their own claims to it.

The Arghons, as discussed earlier, are largely the result of Kashmiri-Ladakhi alliances. Given the political and economic dominance of Kashmiris in the state, Arghons are reluctant to give up their connections with the valley entirely. The Buddhists often regard these connections as the source of the Arghon’s unchallenged economic supremacy in Ladakh, despite being a relatively small community. This makes the inclusion of Arghons in the larger Ladakhi fold difficult. The Arghons contest these claims and assert that their economic dominance is due to the business acumen and wealth of their forefathers²¹. Furthermore, they were “invited” by local kings, even before Ladakh was annexed by Jammu Raja, to perform trade-related duties for the king. Having settled down in Ladakh and adopted local traditions, language and culture for several generations, they claim to be as Ladakhi as anyone else²². In spite of these claims, the Arghons were the main target of the 1989 agitation, which was aimed at the state government, with the Arghons being treated as government agents in Ladakh.

These contesting versions of the perception of “Ladakhi” shows the weakness of the exclusively “Buddhist” Ladakh claim. Though locally, even after 1989 when this claim was at its strongest, the “Buddhist-Ladakh” version soon weaned out, with a few

²⁰ Many locals, both leaders and common Buddhists, used this romanticised academic strand to present their arguments favouring exclusive identity posturing as authentic and legitimate.

²¹ The Arghon leaders interviewed, strongly contested their economic supremacy as a fall out of Kashmiri political dominance in the post-independence era and claimed that their economic strength was a result of their trading heritage from pre-independence days.

²² This aspect was highlighted and stressed in various interviews, informal talks with friends, acquaintances, elders and leaders from the community.

proponents of this claim also accepting the “composite-ness” of Ladakh²³. So the claim of exclusive Buddhist domain, though repeatedly used as a justification, does not stand scrutiny. Thus, the term ‘Ladakhi’ has a very fluid nature, tending to change its meaning and implication according to the occasion, audience and intent of usage.

The use of these foundation myths in the articulation of Ladakhi identity remains perplexing in the realities of Ladakhi society. To understand why courting conflict appealed to the Ladakhi Buddhist elite, we need to approach this articulation from the need for creating an identity with its own exclusions. Here it is important to bear in mind the context in which the initial claims of distinct “Ladakhi-ness” are embedded, before critically analysing the exclusions it implied. A more detailed analysis of the political situation at the time of Partition, the delay in accession to India or Pakistan by the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, the resulting political flux in the territories followed by the invasion by Pakistan, could possibly unravel the roots of these exclusions in the Ladakhi identity. Whatever the reasons, the identity articulation in Ladakh was conceptualised to exclude a considerable section of its people, who in their turn staked their claim. This contestation has become an inherent part of the political process in the region.

Politics, conflicts and contestations

Intra-regional conflict in Ladakh has largely been along communal lines, as observed in the major incidents that resulted in a break-down of law and order—1969, 1989 and 2006.²⁴ These events were communal riots, which tore through Ladakh’s social fabric. This stands in sharp and uneasy contrast with 1949, when in the throes of Partition and invasion, Ladakh remained relatively peaceful. Norberg-hodge (1991) and Crook (1994) consider these changes to be a result of modernisation. However, their approach does not place these processes within their larger political context. In 1969, Ladakh witnessed its first communal strife, which began as a family dispute over property and escalated into a communal violence with Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA) targeting local Muslims and the state government with a single shot.

These events of 1969 set a precedent for using religion to arm-twist the state government for political concessions. However, it did not impact people or their social relations, as the events were localised in nature. It did, however, sow the seeds of communal disharmony, as it actively displaced the claims of local Muslims to the Ladakhi identity. This attempt failed as the political domain had a counter voice in the form of an inclusive, secular Congress B,²⁵ which distanced itself from

²³ At least two leaders of the 1989 agitation, Rigzin Jora and Rigzin Spalbar, in their interviews defined Ladakhi culture as “composite”.

²⁴ The sequence of events is based on the booklets published by Congress B faction and the Muslim Action Committee release. The perceptions of both the communities have been assessed through the interviews of leaders like Tsering Samphel, Pinto Nurboo, Rigzin Jora, Abdul Ghani Sheikh, Mohammad Shafi Lassu etc.

²⁵ The Congress in Ladakh was split between Congress A, led by Kushok Bakula and Congress B, which saw a host of leaders, who held the Kushok and the government in Srinagar equally responsible for the lack of development of Ladakh. In 1969, Congress B consciously kept away from the communal violence and condemned Congress A for using religion for political gains. Thus, those

the riots, exposing it as an essentially divisive political ploy of Congress A. These communal exclusions in Ladakhi identity were strategically played out in practice in 1989, which saw a more intense, long drawn and organised attempt to displace the claims of minorities.

The movement of 1989 is unique as it used a socio-religious organisation in the form of the LBA, rather than a political party, as the vehicle for political agitation, thus making the agitation for autonomy an exclusively Buddhist demand. As a counter to the social force of the LBA, a hastily organised and inherently divisive Ladakh Muslim Association (LMA) was created, but it was not strong enough to challenge the LBA.²⁶ By blurring the boundaries between socio-religion and politics, the LBA also effectively suppressed dissent by using traditional tools of imposing compliance, which are not considered valid or ethical in the political domain, with ease (Bray 2007). The essence of what transpired in 1989 was integral to the way identity was being conceptualised by certain groups in Ladakh, and its articulation needed an anatomic incursion of its social fabric, which for all practical purposes was composite in nature. The agitation of 1989 succeeded in tearing that composite fabric to allow exclusions and boundaries of newly conceptualised politico-ethnic Ladakhi identity to take root. This is substantiated by the communal clashes of 2006 and the growing distrust between communities, which were known for peaceful-coexistence till a few decades earlier. Any new beginning in the direction of conflict resolution in Ladakh, thus, needs to take a serious relook at the exclusions and boundaries that define the Ladakhi identity.

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opposed to this strategy found a secular forum to express their disapproval. For details see Kaul and Kaul (1992) and van Beek (1996).

²⁶ LMA was created for the very purpose of countering the LBA but deep sectarian divisions between the Baltis and Arghons ensured that it remained a weak Muslim counterpart of the Buddhist version.

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Tulku and deity assistants¹

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The reputation of Taklha Wangchuk—mountain god and protector for the Lalong region of Changthang—was bolstered following his prophecy (given through oracular possession in early 2010) of imminent disaster and the necessary ritual prescriptions required to ensure protection. Acting on the prophecy, Togdan Rinpoche, head of the Drigung Kagyu School of Tibetan Buddhism in Ladakh, performed the prescribed rituals. When the cloudburst occurred over Leh district in August 2010, the Lalong region was spared the floods and mudslides that devastated much of the region. As a result, Togdan Rinpoche's reputation as a ritual master was bolstered. That year, Taklha Wangchuk's festival at his pilgrimage site (Tarsang Karmo) saw a three-fold increase in pilgrims, who came to hear his prophecies and receive his blessing.² In this paper, I narrate the biographies of the current Togdan *tulku* and his deity assistant Taklha Wangchuk and discuss the significance of their relationship and activities for Ladakh, at a time when the region is experiencing greater climate instability and threats of military conflict along the disputed borders with Pakistan and China.

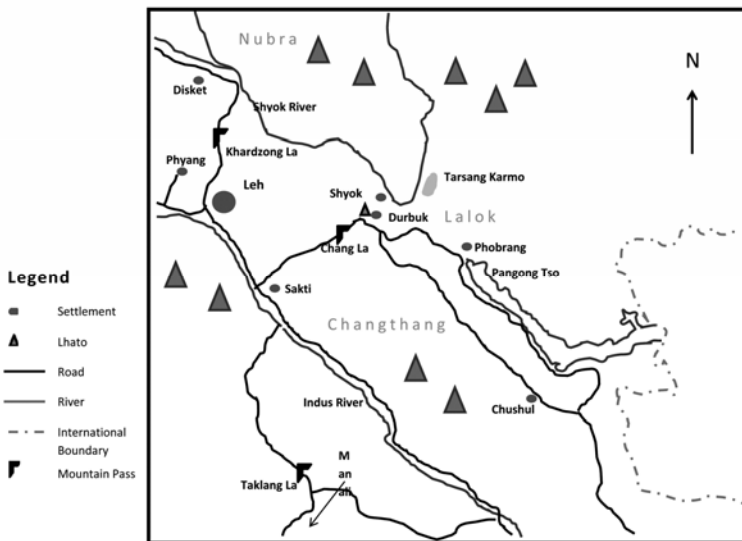


Figure 1: Map of Lalong, Changthang

¹ In this paper, I have transcribed indigenous terms according to Ladakhi pronunciation. I italicise nouns, but not personal names. Indigenous pronunciations are transcribed in the main body of text, with written transcription as Turrel Wylie's (1959) "A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription" *HJAS*, 22: 261-267 included as footnotes.

² Other explanations for the increase include the recent construction of a road by the army, accommodation offered by families in Shyok, and Togdan Rinpoche's long-life empowerments given at that time.

In Himalayan Buddhist sociology, one of the ways in which the concept of dependent origination, or *tendrel*,³ is expressed is the emergence of karmic links: for example, the karmic connection between *tulku* and territorial domains, *tulku* and specific protector deities, or *tulku* and revealed treasures (*terma*) (Mills 2003: 288; Samuel 1993: 447-449). The concept of *tendrel* is related to connections between local understandings of omens and karmic causality, which is central to both, the Buddhist concept of rebirth (Mills 2003: 288) and the reading of omens and forms of divination performed to produce favourable results (Samuel 1993: 191). The concept of *tendrel* is also linked to the discovery of hidden valleys (*beyul*⁴), linked historically to times of political upheaval (Samuel 2003:158; 295, 517). The biography and successes of Taklha Wangchuk—which includes the discovery of hidden valleys and successful prophecies at times of political and climatic instability—are linked to the current Togdan *tulku*,⁵ who has been instrumental in elevating the status of this village god. This paper explores whether the connection between Togdan Rinpoche, Taklha Wangchuk, and their protection of the Ladakhi landscape is an example of *tendrel*. I also suggest the possibility that, with the assistance of Togdan Rinpoche, Taklha Wangchuk is making the transition from a village god to a powerful local Drigung protector.⁶

Monastic and village oracles

Tulku are the human emanations of either celestial *bodhisattvas* or transcendent reincarnations of Buddhist teachers, and are respectfully referred to as *Rinpoche*.⁷ *Tulku* are often the temporal rulers of monasteries. Those involved in political affairs consult powerful worldly protectors affiliated with the monasteries, who assist the *tulku* in matters of political decision-making (Crook 1998: 26, Mills 2003: 241). Known as *Dharma* protectors (*choskyong*⁸) or as guardians (*srungma*⁹), the worldly protectors communicate by taking possession of *luyar*.¹⁰ bodies they borrow that have been trained to receive them. The terms *choskyong* and *srungma* also refer to transcendental Tantric deities. Transcendental deities are objects of refuge and should not be confused with worldly deities, who are still bound by the rules of karma and rebirth.

Monastery gods are “Buddhist” rather than Buddhas, worldly-beings converted by Guru Rinpoche in the eight century and oath-bound to protect the Buddhist doctrine. Monastery gods assist the monastic classes to control the lesser spirits and demons, and to maintain peace in the domain under the monastery’s protection. Once tamed, monastery protectors are housed in consecrated statues in the monastic protector

³ rten 'brel

⁴ sbas yul

⁵ sprul sku

⁶ The material for the paper is taken from informal discussions, interviews, and observations gathered whilst undertaking fieldwork in Ladakh in the winter of 2010-2011 for my PhD thesis. Whilst proving to be a significant component of a more general discussion related to development activity in the region, the subject under discussion was not the main focus of my ethnographic enquiry and I acknowledge in advance my lack of credentials in discussing such matters. Nor do I discuss the flood and its aftermath in any great detail, as this has already been undertaken elsewhere (Butcher 2013a).

⁷ rin po che

⁸ chos skyong

⁹ srung ma

¹⁰ lus gyar. Other names for vessels (and the gods that possess them) include *lha pa* and *lha mo*.

shrine, the *gonkhang*,¹¹ and daily prayers are offered as part of the cycle of prayers offered to a monastery's protectors (Mills 2009: 254). The assistance of monastery gods is required when identifying incarnate teachers affiliated to the monastery, who themselves turn to the gods for assistance in matters of politics and worldly concerns. The legitimacy and authority of monastic rulers is supported by the declarations and prophecies of affiliated gods (Mills 2003: 241). The most famous is the Nechung oracle, protector of the Dalai Lamas, who continues to participate in the state affairs for the exiled Tibetan democratic administration. In Ladakh, the monasteries of Thikse, Matho and Stok house monastery gods, who visit through their *luyar* during the annual monastic festivals (*cham*)¹² to give predictions for the year ahead. The most famous of these are the oracle pair at Matho monastery who, during the royal period, would foretell the future for the Ladakhi Kings (Crook 1998, Day 1989: 481). In some cases, as with the Matho pair (and the Nechung oracle), the vessels are selected by the possessing deity from the monastic congregation. In the case of Thikse, the deity selects from laymen who reside nearby. Monastic oracles go through a period of purification and meditation to prepare for reception of the deity, during which they must abstain from consuming any foods considered impure, to cleanse the body from inside. Sophie Day (1989: 479) argued that monastery oracles represent a successful conversion of regional gods, who are gradually incorporated into the monastic protector temples, which she interpreted as being representative of the victory of Buddhism in civilising the forces present in the territorial domain.

Village oracles also form part of the traditional healthcare system, diagnosing illness and performing cures, having the ability to ritually remove disease. As with monastic oracles, deities possessing village oracles are validated by *tulku* through a process of diagnosis and taming that involves expelling demonic spirits and purifying the vessel to receive the possessing deity (Crook 1998: 26, Day 1989: 286, Mills 2003: 245). Village gods are consulted throughout the year, and do not require elaborate preparation when requested. Village or regional gods are housed in *lhato*¹³, stone cairns in high places, for example on mountain paths or at the head of a village. They visit at New Year (*losar*)¹⁴ through their human vessels, who act as temporary homes, whilst their *lhato* are being cleaned. During this time they give predictions for the year ahead.

The biography of Togdan Rinpoche

The Togdan *tulku* are important *chosje*,¹⁵ or *Dharma* masters of the Drigung Kagyu lineage, believed to be the incarnation of the Indian Mahasiddha Hungchen Kara (Drigung Kagyu webpage¹⁶). The eighth Togdan *Tulku* was born in Ladakh, following which it was decided that his successors would be appointed as *chosje* for the region (ibid). The ninth and current Togdan *tulku* was born in 1938 in the village of Durbuk in Changthang, the high plateau in eastern Ladakh (see figure 1). Whilst still an

¹¹ mgon khang

¹² chams

¹³ lha tho

¹⁴ lo gsar

¹⁵ chos rje

¹⁶ <http://drikungkagyu.org/index.php/eminant-teachers-mainmenu-69/togden-rinpoche-mainmenu-71>, accessed 29/12/2012.

infant, his footprints (*jes*¹⁷) were burnt into a boulder upon which he was standing, a sign of his ability to tame the sentient forces and destructive influences at work in the landscape. In 1943, he was recognised by Chetsang Rinpoche, the spiritual head of the Drigung Kagyu school,¹⁸ as the ninth Togdan *tulku* and enthroned at Shachukul monastery in Changthang. He received a traditional monastic education at the Drigung monastery in central Tibet, returning in 1960, following the fourteenth Dalai Lama's flight into exile. Togdan Rinpoche was involved in Jammu & Kashmir's National Conference political party in the 1980s. He also led Ladakh's 1969 agitation for greater autonomy from Srinagar, when it is said he crumbled rocks into dust with his hands. He retired from politics in 2003, as the role of Ladakh's religious leaders in politics waned, to concentrate on his spiritual duties.

Togdan Rinpoche is a renowned powerful ritual specialist, believed to possess considerable Tantric abilities and skilled in the art of geomancy, or geographic divination. He is credited with the discovery of several sacred sites and the revelation of *terma*¹⁹ mind treasures, doctrinal teachings hidden in the minds of Tantric adepts known as *terton*²⁰ (treasure revealers) for revelation at the appropriate time (Singh Jina 2009: 213). Togdan Rinpoche operates a surgery at his home near Sabu, which people visit to request divination and explanations of health or financial concerns. He is regularly invited to preside over village or regional prayer festivals and ritual purification ceremonies. He identified both vessels (*luyar*) for the mountain deity, Taklha Wangchuk.

The biography of Taklha Wangchuk

Taklha Wangchuk is locally considered to be a worldly protector of the *gyalpo*,²¹ or kingly ancestral, class of deity. He was converted to Buddhism in the eight century by Guru Rinpoche, the Tantric adept who subdued the demonic forces antithetical to the Buddha's teachings, and invoked the mountain gods as *Dharma* protectors. In a personal interview, Togdan Rinpoche described how Taklha Wangchuk had made a vow to Guru Rinpoche, promising that so long as the Buddha's teachings remain in the world, Taklha Wangchuk would remain to protect them.

The contemporary biography of Taklha Wangchuk includes myths of events and prophecies, some of which Togdan Rinpoche and monks from Shachukul Monastery shared with me. The earliest report I received was the tale of the golden *dorje*.²² In 1895, Choekyi Loto Chungsang Rinpoche, a previous incarnation of the spiritual head of the Drigung Kagyu lineage, visited mount Kailash in western Tibet, where he was greeted by members of the Ladakhi royal family. Taklha Wangchuk is said to have accompanied the party and presented Choekyi Loto with a golden *dorje*, a ritual implement used in the performance of Tantric rites, which now sits in Drigung monastery in Tibet. Having offered the *dorje*, Taklha Wangchuk then received

¹⁷ rjes

¹⁸ The Drigung Kagyu school of Tibetan Buddhism has two spiritual leaders. Chetsang Rinpoche is the emanation of Avalokitesvara, the *bodhisattva* of compassion; whilst Chungsang Rinpoche is the emanation of Manjusri, the *bodhisattva* of wisdom. Chetsang resides in exile at the Drigung monastic complex in Dehra Dun.

¹⁹ gter ma

²⁰ gter ston

²¹ rgyal po

²² rdo rje

Tantric empowerments and teaching transmissions from the religious leader to allow him to protect the whole of Lalok. In 1978, Chetsang Rinpoche, the lineage head of the Drigung Kagyu lineage now residing in Dehra Dun, asked Taklha Wangchuk whether he would again meet with his counterpart, the Chungsang Rinpoche who remains in Tibet. Taklha Wangchuk replied to the high *tulku* that Chungsang Rinpoche would visit India and they would meet, although Chungsang Rinpoche would then return to Tibet. The prophecy was fulfilled in 1985 and again in 1992, when Chungsang Rinpoche was given permission to travel abroad. Most recently, in early 2010, Taklha Wangchuk warned residents of the Lalok region in Changthang that the local gods had become angry and volatile due to the presence of ritual and environmental pollution, and that disaster would befall the region unless the correct ritual prescriptions were performed, to remove pollution and restore proper order. Many Buddhist Ladakhis now believe that the disaster mentioned by Taklha Wangchuk was the 2010 cloudburst.

The Pure Hidden Land of Frozen Water

Togdan Rinpoche was said to be in his twenties when he recognised local man Sonam Thundup as the vessel, or *luyar*, for Taklha Wangchuk. Upon recognition, the mountain deity began to make regular contact through Sonam Thundup. Togdan Rinpoche and Taklha Wangchuk together discovered and opened the pilgrimage site at Tarsang Karmo.²³ I was told that Tarsang Karmo, or the *Pure Hidden Land of Frozen Water*,²⁴ is Taklha Wangchuk's *podrang*,²⁵ his palace located deep in the mountains near the village of Shyok. Now every autumn (on the fifteenth day of the ninth month of the Tibetan calendar) pilgrims head to Tarsang Karmo for the festival of Taklha Wangchuk, when the deity visits to offer blessings and give predictions for the year ahead. The site was described to me by Shachukul's monks as an abode of many deities and Buddhas, with naturally occurring statues of the Drigung protectors in the rock. Togdan Rinpoche described Tarsang Karmo as:

...a place where people can believe, and whenever people see this place it is really an attractive place, where people can become peaceful, and where people can believe that this is some area where gods stay.
(Interview Transcript, 18/05/2012)

A Shachukul monk working in the Srongsten library at Dehra Dun, seat of Chetsang Rinpoche's college in exile, gave me an unnamed word document. The document, describing the site of Tarsang Karmo, is in Tibetan, but I have attempted a rudimentary translation below:

There is a beautiful hidden place in the north-east direction, which before twenty years no one had knowledge of; a solitary valley with many rocky peaks, a place where various self-grown Buddhas arose. Thus, it is said that the precious realised protector [Togdan Rinpoche] and Taklha Wangchuk together discovered Tarsang Karmo. At the abode, the emanating protector of the Drigung bestowed his blessing, and now all the great ones make the difficult pilgrimage on foot to the hidden place, crossing the river. Successive pilgrims have accomplished this journey

²³ dar gsang dkar mo

²⁴ *Pure Hidden Land of Frozen Water* is my own translation. I would be grateful for any advice or clarification.

²⁵ pho drang

from Tibet making circumambulations of the site in the traditional way...Those who wish to experience Tarsang Karmo's powerful landscape can experience with the unsurpassed Lord of Refuge Rinpoche's guide...Behold the delightful, bountiful, beautiful landscape of Lalok, the great sacred dwelling that is endowed with unique qualities, this pilgrimage place [is the abode of] the unsurpassed great deity Taklha Wangchuk. (Unpublished Document)²⁶

The text makes reference to the presence of self-grown or primordial Buddhas, the original source of Buddhahood whose essence is *chinlab*,²⁷ a source of divine power found in the features of blessed landscapes. Sacred sites or hidden valleys (*beyul*) are sites whose patron spirits are believed to aid *tulku* in divining karmic currents or *tendrel* (Samuel 2003: 158). Discovered by treasure revealers (*terton*) such as Togdan Rinpoche, *beyul* are associated with:

...the cult of the "hidden valleys" of Padmasambhava [Guru Rinpoche], where the faithful will take refuge at times of future strife when contending with the enemies of the *Dharma*, and where they will find a land of peace and plenty...(Aris 1975: 56)

As stated in the introduction, discoveries of *beyul* are linked historically to times of political upheaval as places where one can retreat for spiritual practice (Samuel 2003: 158, 295, 517). Franz-Karl Ehrhard (1999) has examined the activities of incarnate rulers of the Nyingmapa Tibetan Buddhist school and their search for sacred lands "revealed" to them, through mind treasure texts between the seventeenth and twentieth century. Such attempts were in response to threats of foreign invasion along Tibet's borders. Their discovery was considered to be a demonstration of the ability of sacred teachers to connect with sources of blessing and tame the border demons who could bring destruction to the land of Tibet (Erhard 1999: 241). Tarsang Karmo was discovered at a time of turbulence in Ladakh, with the threat of war along the borders of both Pakistan and Chinese-occupied Tibet, and far-reaching political and material transformations in Ladakh itself. No reasons were given as to why such a place was discovered at that time, but it resonates with mythical stories regarding an era of demerit:

As the last days of this degenerate age approach, lamas who have the foreknowledge of (*ngo she khyen*) locate the doors of various hidden lands, joined by a select group of faithful Tibetans. In the *Beyul*, they will preserve the *Dharma* until the "doors reopen" to begin the next era. (Mumford 1989: 231)

Conversion to Drigung protector

What is intriguing about the relationship between Taklha Wangchuk and Togdan Rinpoche is that despite mythical stories surrounding the deity, it seems he has risen in significance with the birth and recognition of the current Togdan *tulku*. There is much uncertainty surrounding the stories; the golden *dorje* that sits in Drigung monastery is said to be from the Ngari region of Tibet, and the myth that it had been offered to Choekyi Loto by Taklha Wangchuk seems to be a recent one. When I

²⁶ Once again, I would welcome advice on the correct translation.

²⁷ byin rlabs

asked about previous vessels, respondents mentioned only the two vessels recognised by Togdan Rinpoche in the twentieth century. Taklha Wangchuk remains contained in his *lhato* at Durbuk and as of yet is unaffiliated with any monastery. His vessel is a local village man who endured a period of possession illness, rather than a monk or layman formally chosen through ceremony. Like other village oracles, he visits at New Year, whilst his *lhato* is being cleaned and gives predictions for the year ahead. Yet unlike ordinary village oracles, he is worshipped at a festival in the autumn at his sacred site, Tarsang Karmo. Before the festival, his current vessel, Konchok Dorje, undergoes a period of purification by spending a week in retreat and meditation with Togdan Rinpoche and the Shachukul monks, during which time Taklha Wangchuk is invited. Togdan Rinpoche explained thus:

Taklha Wangchuk is not like one where we ask and he comes in one day. The whole monk community of Changthang have to go for long prayer. And on that very special day he comes. He is invited. (Togdan Rinpoche, Interview Transcript, 03/12/2010)

In a later interview in 2012, Togdan Rinpoche explained that Taklha Wangchuk is not an ordinary village deity, being a protector of the same class of deity as the one that possesses the Nechung oracle.

When I asked Togdan Rinpoche to describe the nature of his relationship with Taklha Wangchuk, he replied that they were connected by place. Togdan Rinpoche was born near Durbuk, the site of Taklha Wangchuk's *lhato*, thus Taklha Wangchuk became Togdan Rinpoche's deity servant. As stated above, the presence of Togdan Rinpoche's footprints burned into a boulder is considered to be evidence of his subjugation of the sentient forces in the landscape, which would include Taklha Wangchuk. Since then, a historical narrative of the deity as a powerful worldly protector has emerged and a pilgrimage site has been discovered. His reverence is being elevated beyond that of a village god to a protector of the Drigung Kagyu teaching lineage. Such activity suggests that Taklha Wangchuk, under the guidance of the ninth Togdan *tulku* is making the conversion from regional protector to monastery protector as described by Day, representing a victory of Buddhism in civilising supernatural forces in the territorial domain.

As with the discovery of *beyul*, there is a precedent for elevating the status of worldly gods at times of transformation: for example, the establishment of Pehar (the possessing deity of the Nechung oracle) as Tibet's worldly protector, occurred during the fifth Dalai Lama's consolidation of the regions of central Tibet under his rule (Sorensen 2003: 128). Scholars of recent possession activity in Ladakh have recorded a recent increase in gods possessing bodies, sometimes interpreted locally as a means of combating the negative results of the contemporary situation (Day 1989: 268; Kressing 2003: 9).

The contemporary setting

Ladakh is currently experiencing a period of rapid and unprecedented transformation, from an agrarian society tied into relationships of patronage and ceremony, to being a part of a democratic nation-state with a modern market economy. The transformation is accompanied by international concerns of territorial insecurity, with Ladakh's position along disputed borders of Pakistan in the north and

Chinese-occupied Tibet in the east. There is also the politically and militarily unstable Kashmir valley to the west. Whilst threats of invasion are not new in Ladakh, the propensity for modern warfare to create widespread disaster is much greater. The security situation is compounded by the global threat of climate instability and local instances of natural disaster, the most foreboding sign being the August 2010 flood that devastated the region. There is also the occupation of Tibet by Chinese forces and the subsequent flight into exile of its monastic leaders, with which Ladakh's Buddhist monasteries were connected in a teacher-disciple relationship. This has led to fears for the survival of the Buddhist teachings. Thus, it is possible to speculate that currently, Ladakh's religious leaders are experiencing the need for spiritual regeneration, which I have explored more thoroughly elsewhere (Butcher: 2013b). Arguably, both Togdan Rinpoche and Taklha Wangchuk are attempting to provide spiritual regeneration through instances of geomantic and chthonic subjugation, and the discovery of sacred, hidden valleys. Could it be interpreted as *tendrel* that two powerful protectors, an incarnate Tantric specialist and powerful worldly deity, manifest together during a time of transformation and uncertainty to perform such activities?

I do not possess the expertise to answer the questions pertaining to the status and activities of the pairing. More systematic research needs to be undertaken to establish the historical precedence of geomantic subjugation and worldly deity protection in the region, and exactly how Ladakhi Buddhists perceive the partnership between Togdan Rinpoche and Taklha Wangchuk. However, since Togdan Rinpoche's recognition of Sonam Thundup as Taklha Wangchuk's *luyar* and their subsequent discovery of his sacred site at Tarsang Karmo, each has managed to bolster the reputation of the other and to reinforce local faith in Buddhist leaders to protect the landscape. Only time will tell the direction the relationship takes and the legacy it will leave.

Acknowledgements

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Impacts of tourism on water resources in Leh town

—Adris Akhtar and Daphne Gondhalekar (University of Bonn)

Ladakh was first opened to visitors in 1974. Since then tourism has established itself as the main driver of the economic growth that has played a dominant role in shaping the socio-economic fabric of Leh town. With continued local and central government efforts to increase the inflow of visitors, tourism is expected to maintain its central role in the socio-economic life of Ladakh. Leh town in particular, as the hub of the tourist industry in this region, is particularly exposed to the impacts of tourism—both negative and positive. In this paper, we discuss the impacts of tourism on the environment, in particular the water resources of Leh town. Due to its climatic conditions, Ladakh is often described as a cold desert (Bhasin 1992), which has implications on the question of water consumption in Leh town. Previous works have shown that tourism in general consumes a lot of natural resources, including water resources (cf Goessling et al. 2012, Hadjikakou et al. 2013, Nepal 2003).

In the case of Leh town, the literature focuses largely on economic impacts, while only briefly addressing the impact of tourism on the environment (cf Bhasin 1999, Pelliciardi 2013). A literature review revealed that research on Leh town is scarce, with research specifically investigating the impact of tourism on water resources being non-existent. The few works that address water resources management with special attention to Leh town are Tiwari and Gupta (2008) and Arya (2007). While the former describes the irrigation management system used in Leh town, the latter focuses on groundwater availability and its prospects for the future. In both papers, tourism is not part of the investigation. In the case of tourism research for Leh town, the literature review revealed a similar sobering result. While many publications are available on tourism in Ladakh, only a handful mention Leh town, and if so, only marginally (see Jina 1997, Dawa 2008, Sood 1990). The few publications that do discuss economic and general aspects of tourism in Leh town (cf Pelliciardi 2013, Eppler 1983, Dawa 2008), do not touch on water resources.

Leh town's water resources are utilised for two main activities: irrigation and supply to households (which includes hotels and guest houses). With negligible annual precipitation, irrigation depends on annual melt water originating from glaciers and snowfields located at the northern end of Leh town's watershed. For more details on the water supply for irrigation, see Tiwari and Gupta (2008).

In this paper, we focus on the water supply to households, hotels and guest houses, especially drinking water that is used for all domestic purposes including taking a shower, washing clothes, and cooking. Here, groundwater and not surface water is a major source of supply. Groundwater is extracted at the southern end of the watershed, lifted through a multi-level lifting scheme and finally distributed via a gravity-based pipe network. Groundwater from additional tube wells distributed by water tankers as well as public hand pumps and spring water augment this supply. Whereas households can access water either from tankers, public or in-compound stand posts in form of taps and hand pumps, the alternative is to own a private bore well. In the case of hotels and guest houses, water is accessed through an in-compound tap, a private bore well and in some cases through *raida* (individuals who supply spring water on push-carts).

The government's department of Public Health Engineering (PHE) looks after the drinking water supply and aims to supply 100 litres per capita per day (LPCD) to a projected population of 55,000 people in the next 20 years (LAHDC 2013a). If we assume the same amount of water supply per capita but for 45,671 inhabitants—the number of Leh town's official population in 2011 (Census of India 2011a)¹—PHE endeavours to supply 4.57 million LPCD. The number of local residents will only increase in the coming years as Leh town, being the only urban centre and the hub of tourism in Ladakh, attracts migrants from rural Ladakh and other parts of India (Goodall 2004). The rapid pace of urbanisation characterising many towns in India—Leh town is sometimes regarded as the fastest growing town in the country (Rieger-Jandl 2005: 214)—means that local water resources are under significant pressure.

The aim of our study is to address the existing knowledge gap by investigating the connection between tourism and water consumption in Leh town. By quantifying the water consumption of the main water-user groups (excluding the army due to lack of reliable data) in Leh town, we will highlight the dominant role tourism plays with regard to urban water resources and the need for further research in this field. In the next section, we explain the methods used for this research. We then discuss trends of tourism in Leh town before calculating water consumption as mean LPCD of both tourism and local households and finally providing a summary and potential outlook for these trends.

Methods

All data presented in this paper are based on field work carried out from July to September 2009. In this period, a total of 228 tourists, 102 hotel or guest house owners and 105 households were interviewed in Leh town. A mix of methods was applied to assess water-usage patterns and daily water consumption for these groups. Tourists were randomly selected (every third tourist) for a questionnaire survey at different times of the day at major tourist locations in Leh town (e.g. main market, Shanti Stupa).

Fieldwork included mapping all hotels and guest houses in Leh by walking every road and footpath in the town. Through this method a total of 228 accommodation units were mapped. A register published in 2006 by the Tourist Office, Leh lists 316 registered hotels and guest houses for Leh town. The discrepancy between our mapping and the official register can be explained by the lack of data management by the Tourist Office, as some listed facilities no longer exist.² Using the list provided by the Tourist Office, a disproportionately stratified sample of 96 hotels and guest houses were chosen. In order to include hotels and guest houses that had not been registered yet³ (i.e. were not listed on the official register), an additional 15 hotels and guest houses were selected randomly from the list of mapped accommodation units. Standard questionnaires were used to interview the hotel and guest house owners.

¹ The provisional 2011 census data claimed a population of 63,203 for Leh town (Census of India 2011b), which shows how unreliable population data for this region can be.

² The map of Leh Valley by Thoma and Passang (2004) shows a list of 255 hotels and guest houses.

³ In some cases, guest house owners officially register their establishment only after a certain number of tourists have stayed overnight.

A two-stage selection procedure was chosen to sample households. Leh town is divided into 21 non-overlapping administrative areas or wards. In the first stage, we focussed on all wards, while at the second stage five households from each ward were selected by a random walk. In the end, a total of 105 households were interviewed using a standard questionnaire.

Different methods were used to quantify the daily water consumption of hotels, guest houses and tourists, and compared with the water consumption of local households and individuals. In the case of households and hotels and guest houses, water is stored in water tanks with known water-holding capacity and refilling intervals, which were used to determine the mean daily water consumption. In order to determine the daily water consumption of tourists, a more elaborate method was designed. The answers given to a combination of questions determined water-usage habits and daily water consumption of a tourist during his or her stay in Leh town.⁴ A survey of the most common bucket sizes used in the showers of hotels and guest houses, together with an empirical shower head parameter, determined the amount of litres potentially used when taking a shower.⁵ In addition, expert interviews with government as well as community representatives, and secondary data collection were part of the field work. For spatial analysis free and open-source Geographic Information System (GIS) was used.

Tourism in Leh town

The introduction of tourism provided a new livelihood option for residents of Leh town. Over the last decades, this has been marked by a shift from agricultural activities, which was a major source of livelihood, to tertiary sector and services associated with the government and tourism (e.g. travel agency, guide, restaurant, guest house, hotel, taxi driver, etc.). These have become more attractive options for employment, especially amongst the younger generation of Leh town (Bhasin 1999).

At the same time—even though the number of annual tourist arrivals fluctuate—an overall positive trend over the past decades can be seen (fig. 1). From the first record of 527 tourist arrivals in 1974, the number has climbed to 178,970 in 2012 (Jammu and Kashmir Tourism Office Leh 2013). Whereas 500 foreign tourists and 27 domestic tourists visited Leh in 1974, these numbers increased to 38,510 and 140,460 respectively in 2012. Since 2008, the number of domestic tourist arrivals has surpassed the number of foreign tourists (fig. 1). If and how the differentiation of domestic and foreign tourists may influence water consumption in Leh town is discussed in section 4.

⁴ For instance, how many buckets the tourist uses for taking a shower and/ or how many minutes the tourist uses the shower head, how often the tourist takes a shower per day and week, how many litres the tourist drinks per day, how often the tourist uses a flush toilet per day, what medium the tourist uses for anal cleansing. The sum of these parameters was calculated in order to determine daily water consumption.

⁵ Eventually, a bucket with a water-holding capacity of 17 litres was chosen. The empirical shower head parameter included a measurement of the water flow coming out of shower heads from a representative number of hotels and guest houses, taking into account different factors influencing the water flow rate, i.e. diameter of pipes, length and slope of pipe between water tank and shower head, available water pressure from the water tank, number and size of holes in the shower head itself, etc.

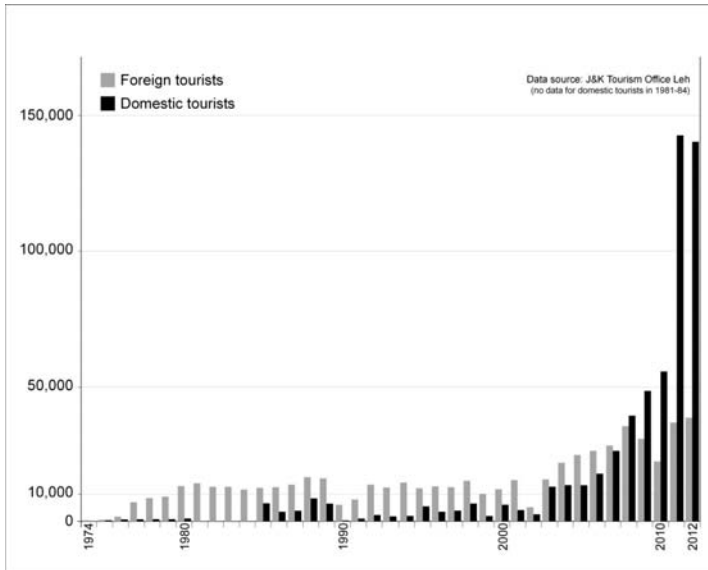


Fig. 1: Yearly tourist arrivals in Leh district from 1974 to 2012

In order to cater to these huge numbers of tourists, the number of hotels and guest houses in Leh town has increased steadily since 1974. There has been a dramatic shift from the improvised accommodations from the early days of tourism that consisted of spare rooms offered to tourists by prominent citizens (Nissel 1977) to a rapid growth in establishments ranging from simple guest houses to exclusive hotels. As indicated in the previous section, reliable and exact numbers for such establishments is difficult to estimate. Therefore, figures of guest houses and hotels based on our own mapping only are presented in this paper. In 1980, a total of 16 hotels and 11 guest houses were established (fig. 2). In 1990, a total of 33 hotels and 32 guest houses were established. In 2000, a total of 50 hotels and 70 guest houses were established. In 2009, a total of 80 hotels and 194 guest houses were established. A continuation of this trend can be seen with the estimate for 2012 being 118 hotels, 303 guest houses and 39 accommodation units under construction (Gondhalekar et al. 2013). This shows an increase of 150 percent since 2009 in the number of hotels and guest houses in Leh town.

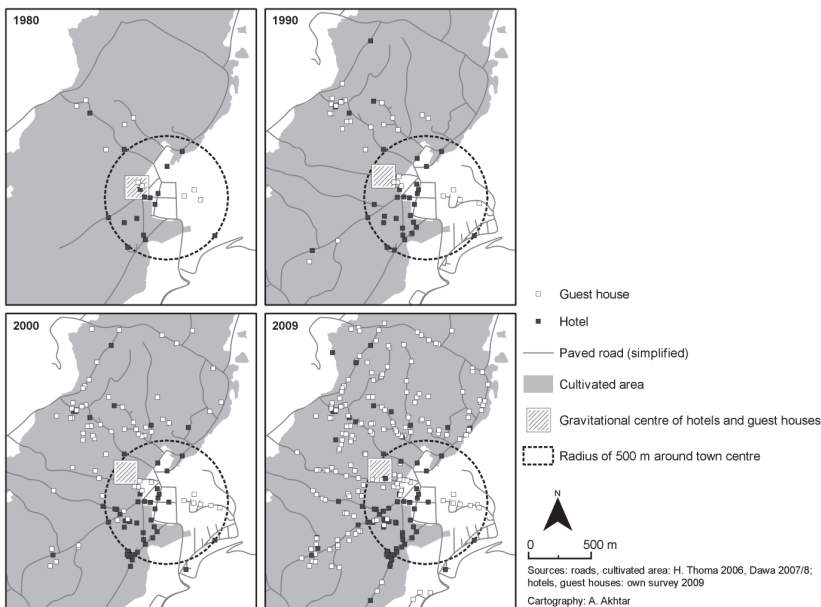


Fig. 2: Increase of hotels and guest houses in central part of Leh town

The 1990s witnessed a changing trend driven by the desire of local residents to participate in the highly profitable tourism sector. Families in Leh town increasingly started to convert their homes into guest houses and by the end of the 1990s, more guest houses than hotels were established (see year 2000 in fig. 2). The number of newly established hotels and guest houses in Leh town correspond with the increasing number of tourist arrivals. Besides the increase in numbers, a geographical shift also took place. Figure 2 shows the shifting centre of gravity of hotels and guest houses with reference to a radius of 500 metres around the town's centre located at the main market. It is visible that in the 1980s, the centre of gravity was located close to the main market. Over the course of time, this shifted in a north-western direction away from the main market and closer to the radius boundary. The ratio of hotels and guest houses located within the 500 metres radius to the total number of hotels and guest houses in the year 1980 was 67 percent, which decreased in 1990 to 52 percent, then decreased further in 2000 to 38 percent and was 27 percent in 2009. This shift in the centre of gravity and the decreasing ratio of hotels and guest houses located within the vicinity of the town's centre can be regarded as indicators of an urban sprawl described by Dawa (2008). This will mean that impacts of tourism are geographically not steady and areas further away from the town's centre are increasingly being impacted by tourism.

Water consumption of different water-user groups in Leh town

In this section, the water consumption of hotels and guest houses will be described, followed by that of tourists and finally of households.⁶ In the absence of a mechanised industry sector (e.g. coal mining, steel factories, etc.) and the transition from small-scale agricultural activities to the tertiary sector, tourism may be regarded as having a prominent share of overall water consumption in Leh town. In this section, tourism is represented by hotels, guest houses and tourists, while restaurants, souvenir shops and other associated establishments were not taken into consideration.

Figures 3-5 use box-plot diagrams to illustrate summary statistics of the daily water consumption for a range of different case combinations. The length of the grey box represents the inter-quartile range (i.e. the distance between the 25th and the 75th percentiles or covering 50 percent of the data), the black horizontal line within the grey box represents the median, the T-bars that extend below and above the boxes are minimum and maximum values respectively, the small circles denote outliers and the asterisks represent extreme outliers.

Hotels—generally having a higher bed capacity that is on average 35, compared to guest houses with an average of 18—consume more water than guest houses (fig. 3). We found that guest houses consume on average 1,976 litres per day. In contrast, hotels have a mean daily water consumption of 3,360 litres. In the past decades, showers and flush toilets were built after establishing the hotel or guest house and installation of these bathroom facilities at a later stage was not an uncommon practice. Moreover, the extension of hotels or guest houses through construction of additional rooms or buildings was taking place only on a small scale. However, it seems that this trend is changing and average water consumption may have increased quite significantly in the last few years: anecdotal evidence and field observations suggest that in the last two to three years, owners—especially for guest house—have upgraded their accommodation with attached bathrooms, wherever possible to provide more comfort to tourists.

⁶ Although tourists stay at hotels and guest houses and consume water there, for reasons of comparability and feasibility the following six water-user groups were differentiated: hotel, guest house, Ladakhi household, domestic tourist, foreign tourist, and Ladakhi person.

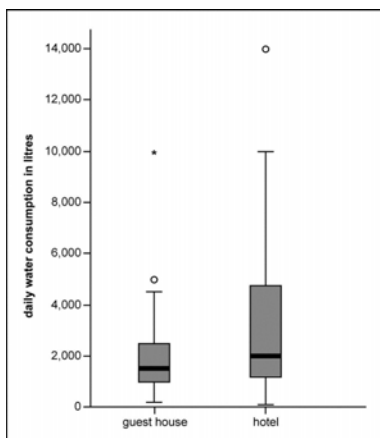


Fig. 3: Daily water consumption of hotels and guest houses in Leh town in 2009

Many hotels were found to have a daily water consumption of more than 4,000 litres. One establishment for example, with 34 double rooms, was found to consume a staggering 14,000 litres per day or 206 litres per bed. About half (51 percent) of the surveyed hotels and guest houses indicated that their water consumption had increased over the last few years, while only 4 percent reported a decrease.

Goering (1990: 20) wrote that '[m]any tourist facilities that attempt to maintain western standards end up making demands on scarce water resources that are far beyond what the community usually requires.' In case of Leh town, the prevalence of the flush toilet can be seen as such an attempt to maintain 'western standards'. Traditionally, only dry toilets (*chaksa*) were used in Leh town during summer and winter. However, the gathered data provide a different picture especially for hotels. Nearly half (47 percent) of the hotels do not possess a Ladakhi dry toilet, in contrast only 7 percent of guest houses did not have a functional dry toilet. While the majority of people living in Leh town still use a Ladakhi dry toilet—especially during winter when water pipes freeze and make it very difficult to maintain a functioning flush toilet—anecdotal evidence suggests that during the summer, the Ladakhi dry toilet is mostly used by the family owning the guest house or their staff. The tourist survey revealed that a mere 1 percent of the interviewed tourists admitted to having used a dry toilet during their stay in Leh town.

Looking at the individual scale, tourists present another important water user group especially during the summer season. Anecdotal evidence from hotel and guest house owners in Leh town suggested that domestic tourists on an average consume more water per capita per day than foreign tourists. In contrast to this statement, statistics show the mean daily water consumption of people living in living in countries such as Australia, Italy or France is double to quadruple the per capita water consumption of people living in India (FAO 2009). A study by Grenon and Batise (1989, here cited from Mieczkowski 1995) supplies data from the Mediterranean region, which revealed that daily water consumption of international tourists is higher than that of domestic tourists.

In order to assess the daily water consumption during their stay, 227 tourists were interviewed in Leh town in July and August 2009. Actions such as taking a shower and using the toilet have a significant impact on the daily water consumption of a tourist in Leh town. In terms of showering, the survey differentiates between tourists using a bucket and those using a shower head. The survey found that 18 percent of tourists always use a bucket for taking a shower, with a mean daily water consumption of 60 litres. Around 44 percent of tourists only use a shower head and their mean daily water consumption is 83 litres. The remaining 38 percent used a mixture of a bucket and a shower head, in which case an average was taken for water consumption using a bucket and shower. In figures 4 and 5, the mean daily water consumption of all tourists is presented. We found that the mean daily water consumption for tourists in Leh town was 76 litres, with a minimum of 20 litres and a maximum of 179 litres. Domestic tourists used on average 73 litres per day, compared to foreign tourists who consumed on average 77 litres per day. While not significantly different, this contradicts the perception of guest house and hotel owners that the average domestic tourists use more water than foreign tourists during their stay in Leh town.

Figure 4 shows the daily water consumption for tourists in comparison to the number of times a flush toilet or the Ladakhi dry toilet are used per day. Evidently, tourists who use a dry toilet or flush less often in a day, have significantly lower water consumption than those who use the flush toilet more often. Besides choosing between a flush and a dry toilet, the use of a bucket or a shower head plays a significant role in daily water consumption. Around 89 percent of domestic tourists and 47 percent of foreign tourists interviewed said they use a bucket. Figure 5 clearly shows that using a bucket for taking a shower can save a significant amount of water, compared to using the shower head. The large percent of domestic tourists who use a bucket can possibly provide one explanation for their lower water consumption as compared to foreign tourists.

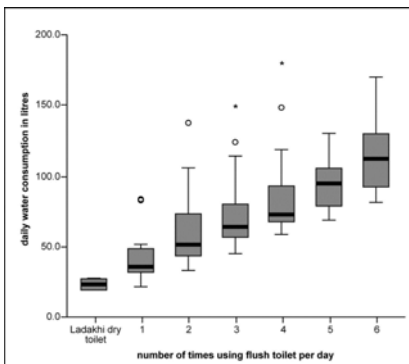


Fig. 4: Daily water consumption of tourists for using the toilet

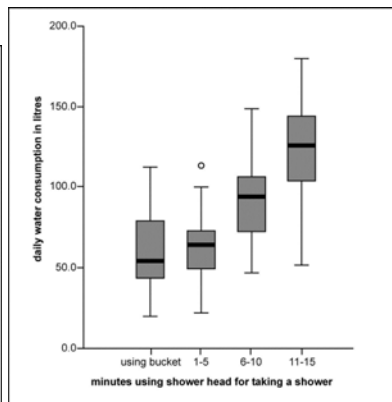


Fig. 5: Daily water consumption of tourists for taking a shower

Finally, households in Leh town represent another significant group in terms of water consumption as the local population has increased from 5,519 in 1971 to 28,639 in 2001 (LAHDC 2013b, Census of India 2001) and reached 45,671 in 2011 (Census of India 2011a). The Jammu and Kashmir Town Planning Organisation estimates that Leh town will reach a population of 54,000 by 2016 (Rieger-Jandl 2005). The water consumption of households (that are not part of a hotel or guest house) was differentiated between summer and winter months as there is a huge difference in water consumption for these two seasons. During winter, a household in Leh town consumes on average 56 litres per day, whereas in the summer the same household uses 84 litres per day. A mean daily per capita water consumption during summer of 21 litres was calculated by dividing the amount of water consumption of the household with the number of household members belonging to the interviewed household.

The tables in figures 6a and 6b compare mean daily water consumption (MDWC) of the previously described water-user groups. As the main tourist and water-intensive season lasts from May to October (180 days), it signifies the main water consumption period in Leh town of tourists and households and the water consumption for this period is presented in figures 6a and 6b. The second columns in both figures (mean daily water consumption in litres) show numbers generated by our survey. The third columns refer to numbers and statistical population derived from our own survey, that is mapping or from secondary data like the Census of India and Notified Area Committee (NAC) data. Both these data sources are used because of high data uncertainty regarding the actual population of Leh town: several interviewed stakeholders mentioned that the local population of the town in 2012 was possibly around 25,000, the official census shows a much higher population figure of over 45,000 and the NAC recorded over 17,000 persons living in Leh town. The fourth columns give the overall mean daily water consumption in litres for the respective statistical population. The last columns present the overall mean water consumption during the tourist season in litres whereas different time spans were taken into account: hotels and guest houses are mostly opened for six months in a year, the average foreign tourist stays for 13 days in Leh town, while a domestic tourist stays for 7 days.

While the MDWC for individual guest houses is much lower than individual hotels, the water consumption for guest houses collectively exceeds that of hotels because the former greatly outnumber the latter (refer section 1 above): figure 6a shows that the overall water consumption of guest houses during the tourist season is 1.4 times higher than that of hotels. Further, the overall water consumption during the tourist season of hotels and guesthouses combined is 1.1 times higher than local households, based on the 2011 official census data. If we however take the 2011 NAC data of 3,484 households in Leh town (NAC 2012), then households would be using only half the amount of water consumed by hotels and guest houses during tourist season. Furthermore, if we take the new number of 421 hotels and guest houses in 2012, their combined water consumption during the tourist season would be even higher, namely 179,137,440 litres or 1.7 times (considering Census of India data) and 3.1 times (considering NAC data) greater than all local households combined. In any case, it is found that hotels and guesthouses consume more water than local households during the tourist season in Leh town.

Figure 6b shows that whereas one domestic tourist consumes less water per day than one foreign tourist, when taking the statistical population into account, all domestic tourists consume significantly more water than all foreign tourists together: around 3.6 times as much on a daily basis and around twice as much when factoring in the average length of stay (refer to last column in fig. 6b). Comparing the overall MDWC of foreign and domestic tourists combined with the overall MDWC of Ladakhis shows that tourists consume 13.3 times (considering Census of India data) and 34.5 times (considering NAC data) more water than the entire local population. Over the time span of one tourist season, these numbers change and now foreign and domestic tourists combined use 1.6 times more (considering NAC data) but 0.6 times less (considering Census of India data) water than the entire local population. However, despite the data uncertainty, it can be said that overall tourists and hotels and guest houses are very significant water consumers in Leh town.

Water user group	Mean daily water consumption in litres	Numbers and statistical population in 2009*, 2011^	Overall mean daily water consumption in litres	Overall mean water consumption during tourist season in litres
Hotel	3,360	(own survey) 80*	268,800	(180 days) 48,384,000
Guest house	1,976	(own survey) 194*	383,344	(180 days) 69,001,920
Ladakhi household ⁷	84	(Census of India) 7,004^	588,336	(180 days) 105,900,480
Ladakhi household ⁷	84	(NAC) 3,848^	323,232	(180 days) 58,181,760

Fig. 6a: Water consumption for different water user groups in Leh town

Water user group	Mean daily water consumption in litres	Statistical population as of 2011	Overall mean daily water consumption in litres	Overall mean water consumption during tourist season in litres
Foreign tourist	77	(Tourism Office Leh) 36,662	2,822,974	(13 days) 36,698,662
Domestic tourist	73	(Tourism Office Leh) 142,829	10,426,517	(7 days) 72,985,619
Ladakhi person ⁷	21	(Census of India) 45,671	959,091	(180 days) 172,636,380
Ladakhi person ⁷	21	(NAC) 17,595	369,495	(180 days) 66,509,100

Fig. 6b: Water consumption for different water user groups in Leh town

⁷ Floating population such as summer migrants and army personnel are not included in this figure. Taking the floating population into account would result in overall higher water consumption. Bodhi (2008) lists at least 3,000 migrant workers for Leh town in 2008 and Rigzin estimated in 2005 the army personnel 'to be equivalent to one third of Ladakh's population' (here cited from Dame 2009).

Summary and outlook

This paper described different water-user groups in Leh town and quantified their daily water consumption. Quantifying the daily water consumption becomes an important task when trying to sustain an adequate water supply. The paper has shown that water user groups associated with tourism have a significant share in the daily water consumption of Leh town.

Steady flow of annual tourist arrivals and newly established hotels and guest houses together with a steady increase of local population over the last decades go hand in hand with increasing water consumption as well as an increase of per capita water demand due to changing water usage practices (e.g. introduction of washing machines). Comparing the envisaged daily supply by PHE mentioned at the beginning of this paper with the daily water consumption of the different water user groups altogether, it can be seen that during the tourist season in the summer months, PHE faces tremendous challenges to supply enough water for the town, even more so when one accounts for the floating segment of the population. In order to safeguard water resources from overexploitation in the semi-arid climate of Leh town and to guarantee sufficient water supply, long-term solutions aiming at reducing the per capita water demand will become increasingly important. While our study has investigated water consumption of tourism and hence impacts related to water quantity only, further study needs to be done in the field of impacts of tourism on water quality. For example, if and how tourism associated activities or tourism water usage practices may contribute to water pollution and deteriorating drinking water quality in Leh town.

Acknowledgements

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Photo essay: The Nono of Spiti in 1863

—John Bray



This photograph of the Nono (*No no*), the hereditary governor of Spiti, is one of several character portraits in Egerton's *Journal of a Tour through Spiti to the Frontier of Chinese Tibet*, recently republished by Hugh Rayner's Pagoda Tree Press (See book review on pages 40–41). Here he is shown with his wife and granddaughter. The other photos include two further images of the Nono with family members and associates.

This picture was taken in 1863, and the Nono looks as though he might be in his late 50s or early 60s. During the period when he had grown into adulthood, Spiti was still part of the kingdom of Ladakh. He would have lived through the Dogra wars (1834-1842) and the brief period of Dogra rule over Spiti, before the British claimed it in 1846. In this photograph, we see the face of one of the last surviving aristocrats of Ladakh's Namgyal dynasty.

After the British took over, Spiti was administered as part of Punjab, within the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of Kangra. However, at a local level, the region's traditional rulers continued to exercise considerable autonomy. As Egerton explains, the Nono acted as a one-man court who "decides all cases and disputes of every description". Previously, he had "supported his dignity" by collecting a grain tax. The British planned to abolish the tax and support the Nono with a fixed money allowance. However, he would remain the supreme local authority.

In keeping with his status, the Nono provided Egerton with local hospitality. For example, Egerton recorded that on 29 July 1863:

The Nono invited us to some horse races, and provided a number of ponies for us and our servants...The first thing our Spiti friends did was to seat themselves in a comfortable place, protected from the wind by a low wall and commenced drinking *châng*. The Nono and his immediate guests and retainers were served from a private vessel, resembling a huge brass teapot, whilst liquor for the *hoi polloi* was kept in a small mussuck (cured goat skin).

In the photograph, the Nono is wearing a simple homespun *goncha* and there is little to indicate his high status except, perhaps, his necklace and his wife's jewellery. He is looking at the camera a little quizzically, as though uncertain of its precise purpose. His wife manages a cautious smile. The little girl is holding on to her grandparents for protection: she stares at Egerton—and at us—with an expression of anxious astonishment.

BOOK REVIEWS

■ Philip Henry Egerton. *Journal of a Tour Through Spiti to the Frontier of Chinese Tibet*. 2nd ed. Edited with new introduction by Hugh A. Rayner. Bath: Pagoda Tree Press, 2011. 124 pp. illus. ISBN: 978-1-90-904289-69-2. £16 plus postage. Available via www.pagodatreepress.com

■ Hugh Rayner (Ed.) *Early Photographs of Ladakh*. Bath: Pagoda Tree Press, 2013. 105 pp. illus. ISBN: 978-1904289-68-5. £14 plus postage.

—John Bray

In recent years there has been greater awareness of the importance of early photographs, both for their aesthetic qualities and as a source of historical information. In these two books, Hugh Rayner has republished the first known photographs of Spiti and Ladakh, together with their accompanying texts.

Journal of a Tour describes a journey made between June and early September 1863 by Philip Henry Egerton, the deputy commissioner of Kangra. His travels took him from his base in Dharamsala, through Kulu and Lahul to Spiti to a point a few miles within the Tibetan frontier. The political context is that Spiti had fallen within the dominions of the king of Ladakh, until the Dogra conquest in the 1830s. Under the terms of the 1846 Treaty of Amritsar, Maharaja Gulab Singh was granted authority over the whole of Jammu and Kashmir, while Spiti was excluded and came under direct British rule. However, British officials visited the region only intermittently. Egerton's task was to assert British authority, and to investigate the possibility of improving trade relations with Tibet. He was accompanied by the Moravian missionary August Wilhelm Heyde, who served as an interpreter.

Egerton failed in his main objective. He sent a letter to the Garpon (governor of western Tibet) asking to meet him at the frontier with a view to setting up a commercial fair. However, the letter was returned with the seal unbroken. As Egerton put it, even the then British foreign minister Lord Russell "never received a more decisive checkmate to his diplomatic efforts than I did!" Despite this setback, Egerton managed to write an engaging account of his journey and the people he met, including the Nono (hereditary governor—see photo on page 38) of Spiti as well as monks, musicians and a wandering Muslim fakir from Surat.

The text is accompanied by 36 photographs. As Rayner explains in the introduction, Egerton used a 10x8 inch wet-collodion plate camera. Each photograph would have required a separate glass plate, and Egerton's equipment included a dark tent so that he could process the images straightaway. At one point in the text, he complains that the quality of the plates supplied by Messrs Lepage from Calcutta fell short of requirements, leading him to lose some of his best pictures. Even so, the landscapes and—still more the portraits—provide a very vivid impression of Spiti as it was a century and a half ago.

Early Photographs of Ladakh reproduces two further publications from the 1860s. The first is *From Simla through Ladac and Cashmere*, which was published by Captain Robert Melville Clarke in a limited Calcutta edition in 1862. The previous summer, Clarke had set out from Shimla along with five British friends. They were accompanied

by their servants, together with 35 Ladakhi porters recruited in Shimla, plus as many as 50 additional porters recruited from villages en route. The party travelled via Kulu, Lahul and Rupshu to Leh, which they reached four weeks later, and from there to Srinagar. The photographs represent Clarke's record of the journey.

Clarke's book contained 37 photographs of local landscapes, accompanied by short descriptive captions. The images of most interest to students of Ladakh are Nos 10-20. These show: the Baralacha pass; a nomad encampment in Rupshu, with the black tents of the nomads next to the white tents of the British travellers; two pictures of Gya; three of Leh; two of Lamayuru; and the Maitreya rock carving in Mulbek. Another member of the party, Lt Col Henry D'Oyley Torrens, wrote his own narrative: *Travels in Ladák, Tartary and Kashmir* (London, 1862). This is available via the Internet site www.archive.org and complements Clarke's images.

Clarke's three photographs of Leh show first the classic image of the palace as seen from the south of the town: this will perhaps be of most interest for what it shows of Leh Old Town below the palace walls. The second photograph was taken from the palace itself, looking in the reverse direction. The third shows the bazaar. In the foreground one can see what looks like a European figure carrying an umbrella, but there is no sign of the hustle and bustle that one associates with the bazaar today. The accompanying caption explains that "Although largely inhabited, the city wears an air of desertion, only dissipated by the occasional arrival of a caravan, which produces universal activity". In his own account, Torrens makes a similar observation, noting that a caravan from Yarkand was expected to arrive soon after their visit. Meanwhile, there was "as great a dearth of all stir or movement in the streets [of Leh] as in a city of the dead."

Finally, *Early Photographs of Ladakh* includes a third set of images taken in the same period. Captain H.H. Godwin-Austen of the Topographical Survey was assigned to Ladakh between 1862 and 1864, and took the opportunity to visit the Hemis festival. He subsequently published an article entitled "Description of a Mystic Play, as performed in Ladak, Zaskar, &c": this was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, accompanied by a set of ten photographs by his colleague Captain Alexander Brodie Melville. The photographs are reproduced here in the original sepia tone and show the dancers, drummers and trumpeters of Hemis.

Both books are published in a convenient paperback format, and are accompanied by additional background information on the original authors and photographers. Hugh Rayner has performed a valuable service to us all in making them more readily available.

■ ***Himalayan Languages and Linguistics. Studies in Phonology, Semantics, Morphology and Syntax.* Sous la direction de Mark Turin et Bettina Zeisler. Brill : Leyde, Boston. Collection «Brill's Tibetan Studies Library, Languages of the Greater Himalayan Region, 5/12 » – viii & 322 pages – 2011.**

—Patrick Kaplanian

English summary: *George van Driem's historical introduction to this book points out that four major language groups are represented in the Himalayan region: Indo-European, Tibeto-Burman, Austroasiatic and Dravidian. In this collection, one chapter focuses on three Dard dialects spoken in Pakistani Kashmir. All the other*

chapters are concerned with Tibeto-Burman languages, including Lepcha, Classical Tibetan, Newari, Kham Tibetan and Ladakhi. Bettina Zeisler's chapter on Ladakh distinguishes between the spoken languages of lower Ladakh (Shamskat) and upper Ladakh (Kenhat). As this example shows, linguistic and cultural patterns do not necessarily coincide. Readers will need to be familiar with technical linguistic terminology to make the most of this book. It is a challenging work which requires—and rewards—careful study.

Si l'Himalaya est incontestablement une entité géographique, le moins qu'on puisse dire c'est qu'il ne présente pas du tout d'unité linguistique. C'est ce que rappelle fort à propos George van Driem dans son chapitre historique et introductif : on ne compte pas moins de quatre groupes : indo-européen, tibéto-birman, austro-asiatique et dravidien, plus quelques isolats. S'appuyant sur une impressionnante bibliographie ce premier auteur met en parallèle les données archéologiques et génétiques et en conclut que le foyer original des Tibéto-Birmans se situe au nord-est du sous continent indien et celui des Austro-Asiatiques au milieu (au nord) de l'arc que constitue la côte de la baie du Bengale.

Mais si l'Himalaya ne présente pas de cohérence linguistique cet ouvrage en présente une, car toutes les contributions, sauf une, sont consacrées à des langues tibéto-birmanes. Cette seule exception est l'article de Khawaja Rehman sur trois parlers dardes de la vallée de Neelam au Cachemire pakistanais, à 75 km de Muzaffarabad, la capitale locale. On constate que le sujet d'un verbe au présent se met au nominatif et que le verbe s'accorde au sujet et que le sujet d'un verbe au passé se met à l'ergatif et que le verbe s'accorde à l'objet.

Sinon nous sommes dans le domaine tibéto-birman. Heleen Plaisir compare les différents systèmes de translittération du lepcha. Brandon Dotson propose une nouvelle traduction du mot du tibétain classique *khrin* par « judicial punishment ». Des catégories grammaticales aussi élémentaires que nom, verbe, adjectif sont-elles universelles ? On a longtemps pensé qu'il n'y avait pas d'adjectifs en néwari. Kazukuyi Kiryu les réhabilite.

On sait que dans nombre de langues tibéto-birmanes il existe ce phénomène appelé conjoint / disjoint. Grosso-modo cela veut dire que l'on peut, lorsque le sujet contrôle la situation, se permettre de dire quelque chose sur soi-même mais pas sur le destinataire : on ne peut que lui poser la question. Le phénomène est bien connu de ceux qui savent le ladakhi¹. « Je suis fatigué (je me sens fatigué) : *nga ngalte rak* » mais « es-tu fatigué ? (te sens-tu fatigué ?) *khyerang ngalte raga ?* » Sinon il faut employer *duk* : « *khyerang ngalte duk* : tu as l'air fatigué ». Ellen Bartee en donne de nombreux exemples en tibétain standard moderne. Mais, le long de la rivière Dongwan, dans le sud du Kham, un second critère vient parfois s'ajouter : celui de sujet ou d'objet animé ou inanimé. Ceci complique les choses mais finalement assez peu quand on compare avec le système verbal sampang (un parler kiranti, donc de l'est du Népal). On y trouve des formes intransitives, réflexives et transitives ; il

¹ Bettina Zeisler : *Relative tense and aspectual values in Tibetan Languages* (Mouton: Berlin, 2004). Les auxiliaires épistémiques sont traités dans les paragraphes II.2.5 pages 299-304 (en général) et III.2.6.1 p.650-657 ou 663 (avec les marques de distance) pour le ladakhi (le purik inclus). Voir aussi page 742 pour l'opposition entre le passé en -s et le passé en -s-pin.

existe un duel en plus du singulier et du pluriel et le duel et le pluriel ont des formes inclusives et exclusives. Mais, et c'est là que cela devient très compliqué, le verbe transitif s'accorde à la fois avec l'agent et le patient. Tout ceci est exprimé par un système de 11 préfixes ou suffixes. René Huysmans fait remonter tout cela à un modèle proto-kiranti.

Mais revenons au Kham. Sogpo fait partie d'un groupe de 24 villages (dans la région de Danba) dont le parler est étudié par Hiroyuki Suzuki. Ce parler présente un certain nombre de traits qui le distinguent du voisinage immédiat. Cela se produit assez souvent. Mais ce qui est étonnant c'est que ces traits le rapprochent de régions plus éloignées comme Zhongu et rGyalthang. On voit ainsi que la linguistique ne recoupe pas l'ethnologie, certains traits linguistiques unissant des peuples que les coutumes ou la géographie séparent ou vice-versa. C'est ce qui ressort aussi de l'article de Bettina Zeisler sur le Ladakh. L'auteur distingue deux grands dialectes : le premier couvre le Bas-Ladakh (Sham) et le Purik et le second le Haut-Ladakh et le Zanskar.

Un certain nombre de traits récurrents opposent le parler du Bas-Ladakh (*shamskat*) à celui du Haut-Ladakh (*kenhat*) tant sur le plan phonétique (fricatisation des doubles consonnes en même temps qu'elles ont tendance à se réduire à une consonne, premiers frémissements d'un système de tons, chute du -s final), grammatical (sujet de l'action à l'ergatif vs sujet de l'action au génitif), et sémantiques (beaucoup de mots ne se retrouvent pas d'une région à l'autre, ou alors avec un sens différent).

Or, la vallée de l'Indus, c'est-à-dire le Bas et le Haut-Ladakh, malgré d'incontestables différences de détail, forme une unité au plan ethnographique alors que les différences entre la vallée de l'Indus d'une part, le Purik et le Zanskar de l'autre, sont telles que certains (mais pas tous) considèrent le Purik comme une autre entité et d'autres (mais pas tous non plus) pensent de même pour le Zanskar. C'est un livre difficile, à lire lentement un crayon à la main. Et il faut bien connaître le jargon de la linguistique. Mais le jeu en vaut la chandelle.

■ **Jonathan Demenge. *The Political Ecology of Road Construction in Ladakh*. D.Phil in Development Studies, University of Sussex. April 2011. 330 pp.**
—Patrick Kaplanian

English summary: *At first sight, the study of roads might seem like a very narrow topic but, through the lens of road construction, the author provides us with a very complete portrait of contemporary Ladakh. He starts by examining Lingshed, which is three days' walk from a tarmac road, but nevertheless has extensive contacts with the outside world. Each year, the average Lingshed adult male spends some 70 days travelling to and from Khalsi and Leh. In Alchi and Domkhar roads have brought social and economic changes. However, the change is relative. Alchi villagers make no more journeys than their counterparts in Lingshed, but they spend less time doing so. A few dynamic individuals have launched commercial enterprises that might be described as 'capitalist', but they are a minority. The conclusion is that the isolated villages are less isolated than one might think. Equally, the villages served by motor roads are less integrated into the modern world than one might suppose. This is a very exciting thesis: academically rigorous and a pleasure to read.*

Les routes ! Voilà à première vue un sujet bien pointu et bien circonscrit. En réalité, à travers le prisme de la route, c'est un portrait très complet du Ladakh que l'auteur nous propose.

De l'indépendance à aujourd'hui un réseau tentaculaire s'est développé. La route a atteint Khalsi en 1960, Leh en 1962, Domkhar en 1967, Alchi en 1970, Padum et Chilling en 1980 et cela continue.

Pour mesurer l'impact de l'arrivée d'une route il fallait d'abord étudier un village qui en était éloigné : c'est Lingshed qui a été choisi. Ce village était, au moment de la rédaction de la thèse, situé à 92 km du ruban de goudron le plus proche ce qui, pour un Ladakhi, représente trois jours. Or, première constatation, l'absence de route n'arrête pas les Lingshedpa, les hommes du moins. Le nombre de déplacements qu'ils font est impressionnant. Rien que les voyages à Leh et à Khalsi représentent plus de 70 jours d'absence par individu et par an, sans compter les autres voyages (pp. 102-104). Ensuite, aussi isolé soit-il, Lingshed n'est pas un fossile, trace figée d'une époque révolue. Il faut compter avec l'aide alimentaire subventionnée par l'État, le passage des trekkers, etc. Les mœurs évoluent, les rapports entre les sexes se modifient, le costume change, le régime alimentaire aussi. Ainsi, loin d'être le témoin d'un lointain passé, Lingshed vit avec son temps. Pourtant ses habitants se sentent isolés. L'auteur montre alors que cet isolement est en fait une construction culturelle, artificielle, induite par d'autres, fonctionnaires ou étrangers (pp. 135-163).

Obtenir que la route passe par son village est toujours une bonne chose. Mais il y a parfois des sacrifiés qui voient leurs terres saccagées par le tracé de la route. L'auteur montre alors comment la pression sociale et le sens de l'intérêt général viennent à bout des réticences des sacrifiés. Il illustre ainsi les mécanismes mis à jour par Pirie².

Après quoi nous passons quelque temps sur un chantier à Chilling. Les ouvriers ne sont pas des Ladakhi mais des Népalais ou des Bihari. Sont décrites les conditions de vie très dures, la façon dont ces hommes très pauvres sont exploités et les dangers aussi (on compte de nombreux décès).

Restait à voir, pour boucler la boucle commencée à Lingshed, des villages au bord de la route et l'évolution qu'ils ont subie depuis l'arrivée de celle-ci. Sont choisis Domkhar, Skurbuchan, Saspol et surtout Alchi. Les résultats sont ambigus : la situation change et ne change pas.

La situation change : Alchi par exemple, au terminus d'une route, devient un cul-de-sac. On fait des allers-retours vers Saspol, Leh, Khalsi et tous les endroits desservis par la route, mais on ne se rend plus dans les villages qui ne sont accessibles qu'à pied (pp. 260-261). À Domkhar Dho la *gonpa* n'est plus fréquentée parce que pas desservie par la route. Beaucoup d'hommes vont chercher à Leh un travail salarié laissant les femmes au village se dépatouiller avec l'agriculture. La production change : on cherche plus les cultures qui rapportent du cash que celles tournées

² Fernanda Pirie, *Peace and Conflict in Ladakh. The Construction of a Fragile Web of Order* (Leyde: Brill, 2007).

vers l'autoconsommation. Les légumes remplacent l'orge. Le nombre d'animaux diminue puisqu'on n'en a plus besoin pour le transport. Du coup on manque d'engrais naturels et il faut acheter des engrais chimiques.

Mais tous ces changements sont relatifs. Les habitants d'Alchi ne se déplacent pas plus que ceux de Lingshed. Les déplacements prennent moins de temps mais il n'y en a pas plus pour autant (pp. 258-259). Quelques individus particulièrement dynamiques se sont lancés, grâce à la route, dans des entreprises qu'on pourrait qualifier de capitalistes. Demenge en donne les biographies (pp. 168-171 ; 268-282). Mais ce sont des exceptions. Une majorité continue à vivre de la terre complétant ses revenus insuffisants avec l'aide alimentaire subventionnée par l'État, des travaux d'artisanat ou des boulots salariés. La terre satisfait 69 % des besoins à Lingshed et 61 % à Alchi. La différence n'est pas énorme.

Conclusion les villages isolés sont moins isolés qu'on pourrait le penser et les villages desservis sont moins intégrés dans le monde moderne qu'on serait tenté de la croire *a priori*. La route accélère les processus de transformation mais ne les enclenche pas. C'est une thèse passionnante: Demenge a réussi l'exploit d'écrire un texte scientifique et rigoureux et en même temps agréable à lire.

■ ***Garsha, Heart Land of the Dakinis: A Mirror into Lahaul, Sacred Time and Space. Published by Young Drukpa Association Garsha (Lahaul), Keylong, 17532 Lahaul & Spiti, Himachal Pradesh, India. Drukpa Publications***
—Neil Howard

This fascinating book should be read by everybody with an interest in the history and traditions of Lahul (Tib. *Garsha*), of Ladakh and Drukpa Buddhism. It is primarily a guide to "the spiritual tradition of enlightened wisdom as it is still transmitted" in Lahul (page XV). The beauty of it is that everything is explained in a way which non-Buddhists, non-Tibetans and non-Indians can appreciate and yet will not be found inaccurate by those with a well-grounded understanding of that spiritual wisdom. It is a thorough, even profound, explanation of the sacred significance of Lahul written from the inside for the benefit of outsiders. It also includes several maps and numerous photos, including some of early low relief carvings probably known to only a few, even among specialists.

After the traditional preludes, there is a section entitled Welcome which provides an introductory pilgrim's (i.e. visitor's) spiritual perception of the sacred places of Lahul. This is a tantric land: Garsha Khandroling, Heart Land of the Dakinis, and it is important to visit the meditation places of the great practitioners of the past.

Chapter one presents what is known about the earliest history of Buddhism and spiritual life in Lahul. The central importance of the mountain Drilbu Ri is explained and its association with the great siddhas from Nagarjuna and Ganthapa to Taktang Repa—and most particularly Gyalwa Gotsangpa. That chapter also deals with major shrines dating back to Kashmir Buddhism and still attracting pilgrims (Buddhists and also Hindus): Phakpa (Triloknath); and the major tantric site of Maru (Udaipur) which is mentioned in ancient Kashmir Shaiva tantras of the 9th century, and this, I am told, substantiates the otherwise un-provable tradition that Indian siddhas visited the valley before Tibetan Buddhism came.

Chapter two covers the influence of Rinchen Zangpo and the Second Diffusion. Chapter three tells of the coming of the Drukpa and its prevalence in Lahul. Drukpa spiritual life and beliefs are explained but without intricate theology: this is a book for outsiders. Gyalwa Gotsangpa (1189-1258) is the most important personage here, first visiting Lahul in 1217; we are told about his life and miraculous deeds and introduced to his meditation cave and the hermitage built in his memory. The great Orgyenpa Rinchen Pal (1230-1309), disciple of Gotsangpa, stayed at Gandhola monastery on Drilbu Ri in 1254 during his pilgrimage to Uddyana.

Chapter four brings the story down to the present day. An important figure is Taksang Repa, later to become so prominent in the life of Ladakh, who spent year 1614-15 in Garsha during his pilgrimage to Uddyana, the last such pilgrimage ever made. His reincarnations all visit Lahul; and Gemur gumpa is particularly associated with him – a typical example of the past and the present existing together in the spiritual life of Lahul today. The 17th and 18th centuries were times of strong spiritual life here; and in the 19th century Tashi Tempel from Stakna led a spiritual renaissance of Drukpa belief in Lahul. Kardang now has great pre-eminence and Dzongkhul in Zanskar is restored to its former importance. This powerful yogic revival made Lahul in the 20th century, once again a magnet for practitioners from near and far.

Because I am an historian, the foregoing might have over-emphasised the historical narrative. The book so far is a spiritual guide. The real historical detail is in the 27 pages of Notes and Bibliography at the end of the book. And very good they are, too. For the modern scholar they will be invaluable because they bring together recent, wide-ranging, research, and local historical tradition, so that we no-longer must rely so much on A. H. Francke's work in the second volume of *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*. And the author/s display a healthy scepticism about the pronouncements of earlier 'experts': "most historians who cannot easily access the local tradition rely heavily on secondary literature, building upon mistakes when the original authors' hypothesis is wrong or outdated" (p.121) and "there is no indication, in ancient texts or in the oral tradition, of any single event connecting Lahaul with Guru Padmasambhava" (p.126) – read on!

So who wrote this book? There is no attribution on the title page and it is clear from the acknowledgements that many local historians and authorities on the Drukpa in Lahul contributed. But the Forward by H. H. The Gyalwang Drukpa and the Preface by H. E. Sey Rinpoche say it is the work of Tsunma Nawang Jinpa and Emi Drubten Gyatso. The first is also credited with the preparation of the text. She is a French woman and a personal pupil of The Gyalwang Drukpa and no doubt seeks no worldly fame on the title page. I believe *Garsha, Heart Land of the Dakinis* may be taken as authoritative. It is also very finely produced and highly recommended.

■ **Ladakh: Crossroads of High Asia, 3rd Edition by Janet Rizvi, 2012, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp. 310**
—Sunetro Ghosal

Ladakh: Crossroads of High Asia has been a popular book since it was first published in 1983. Each edition has provided a comprehensive overview of different facets of Ladakhi life, in a readable and accessible form. It draws on a range of texts,

experiences and observations of various scholars and travellers. The third edition, which is the focus of this review, follows the same overall structure with a few changes. The book starts with an overview of the physical landscape, approach routes and the natural history of the region. The next section dwells on the history of Ladakh over the last few centuries, especially political and trade relations. The third and last section focuses on the social life of Ladakh in the recent past and the challenges it faces in the present.

Like the previous editions, the third edition is also well-written, persuasive and up-to-date to the extent that it provides additional commentary on changes in the intervening periods, since the previous edition of 1996, and integrates new knowledge. For instance, the 2010 floods appear in several discussions including geology, climate change, history, architecture and social relations.

The strength of the book is the insights, descriptions and the attention it pays to various details when dwelling into different aspects of Ladakh, drawing on published literature and the author's personal experience. It is a valuable addition to the literature on Ladakh and its coverage of such a diversity of topics means it will appeal to a vast readership. The book is recommended not only as an introductory text but also as a reference that one can revisit to discover insights and nuances missed in earlier readings. It is written with a depth of feeling for the region and its people, which have been the hallmark of the author's body of work.

However, the book also retains some of the weaknesses of earlier editions. It has a tendency to over-simplify complex processes; which is an ever-present danger for an enterprise as ambitious as this book, given the the lack of clarity of several aspects of history and current issues of a region as vast and diverse as Ladakh. For instance, the chapter on biodiversity understates the complexity of human-nature interactions to paint a somewhat simplistic picture of ecological processes and the resulting challenges. Here, as in several other places the author justifies discussions based on vague justifications like 'recent research' and 'according to experts', without providing details of these works, which would have been helpful for readers interested in exploring these issues further. Similarly, the chapter on 'Change' takes on a very difficult challenge: making sense of a multi-layered process that moves in several directions simultaneously. While the author provides a good overview of these issues, the subsequent analysis is riddled with artificial dualisms (like western and non-western models of development) and simplistic, and possibly romanticised, assumptions of Ladakh. A more nuanced discussion would improve this section greatly, drawing especially on some of the recent scholarship on these issues. In this regard, the author seems to have chosen to discuss topics more generally, rather than dwelling on the complexity of specific issues.

Also, the book does have some strong leanings, which may or may not be shortcomings, depending one's persuasions and ideas of Ladakh. For instance, as with previous editions, this edition also has an overt focus on the area currently under Leh district, which resonates well with a popular perception of Ladakh. While this could be a result on the perceived readership of the book, the author does make token references to Kargil. This suggests that the author is aware that 'Ladakh' is not confined to Leh alone but has historically meant different things to different people.

Another aspect of the book that caught my attention was its strong Eurocentric worldview, especially in its descriptions (p. 185: 'as perfect as a Shakespeare sonnet') and measurements (football fields, the size of England, Belgium etc). While this does not take away from the quality of the discussions, this leaning is problematic to extent that these ideas and measurements are context specific. While these ideas have been accepted in general English literature, it draws a simplistic and uni-linear vision of the world that goes against the grain of the very diversity and richness that the author celebrates in her work. It also limits the accessibility of this text to different audiences, who may not be familiar with these contexts.

Overall, the book is important in providing a very readable and well-researched account of Ladakh, its history, geography, culture, diversity and current challenges. The book does suffer some shortcomings but otherwise remains a valuable source of information, commentary and insights into Ladakh, past and present.

IALS NOTES & NEWS

16th IALS Conference Report

—*Sonam Wangchok*

The 16th Conference of the International Association for Ladakh Studies (IALS) was held at the South Asia Institute (SAI), Heidelberg University, Germany, from 17-20. April 2013. The IALS conference was hosted for the first time by Heidelberg University. The conference organisers were the Department of Geography at SAI, the Heidelberg Center for Environment (HCE) and the IALS. The main theme of the conference was “Society and Environment in Ladakh: Historical Perspectives and Recent Dynamics” in which 60 scholars and scientists from around the world participated and presented papers on a range of topics including historical perspectives, political developments, cultural change, identity, art and architecture, Buddhist studies, climate change, water management and livelihoods. The Ladakhi participants included representatives of Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council, Leh, Sonam Norbu Memorial Hospital, local NGOs as well as independent Ladakhi scholars and a number of Ladakhi students from the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and Jammu University. A total of 87 members registered for the conference and attended the sessions. Most participants were accommodated in two neighbouring conference hotels, close to the old town of Heidelberg.

The inaugural session started with a welcome speech by Prof. Dr. Hans Harder, executive director of the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg University. This was followed by speeches by IALS president John Bray and conference convener Dr Juliane Dame. The presentations on Urban Development, Climate Change and Water Management, Political Change in a Borderland Region and Livelihood Strategies were covered in four sessions on the first day, which ended with an inspirational address from keynote speaker, Prof. Dr. Marcus Nüsser, head of the Department of Geography on “Landscape Changes on a Himalayan Scale”, followed by a reception at SAI.

The second day included sessions on Buddhist Studies, Historical Perspectives (1), Cultural Change, Identity and Belonging. The day ended with memorable field trips to Heidelberg and its surroundings. One group toured the city in a bus to see the historical places, especially its famous castle. The second group trekked along Philosopher’s way and through the forest to enjoy nature and scenic views of Heidelberg city and the river Neckar. They also visited a local ecological micro-brewery at Klosterhof Neuburg on the outskirts of Heidelberg, where they were given a short presentation on the process of brewing. Both groups then had dinner at the brewery’s restaurant.

The third day included sessions on Historical Perspectives (2), History of Art and Architecture (1&2) and Ladakh and its Neighbouring Mountain Regions. The biennial general meeting of the Association took place after the final session (See report on pages 54-55). The conference dinner with Asian food was held at SAI on the evening of 19th April. The sessions on the fourth day included Cultural Change and Contemporary Society, Health and Society and Language and Culture and was followed by the closing ceremony.

The IALS owes a great debt of gratitude to conference convener, Juliane Dame and her associates for the wonderful arrangements in Heidelberg that made the conference such a success. The Association is also grateful to all the presenters for their efforts and for adhering to allotted time limit. The Association also acknowledges the financial support granted by German Research Foundation, South Asia Institute and Heidelberg Center for the Environment, Heidelberg University. We hope to hold the IALS's 17th conference in Kargil in 2015.

List of papers presented

Session: Urban Development

Harjit Singh, JNU Delhi: Evolution & Growth of Himalayan Towns with Special Reference to Leh Town

Tashi Morup, Ladakh Arts and Media Organisation, Leh: Cultural Spaces of Old Town Leh and its Music Tradition

Vladimiro Pellicciardi, Federico Pulselli, University of Siena: Anthropic dynamics and resource flows in Leh District: an eMergy evaluation

Session: Climate Change and Water Management

Susanne Schmidt & Marcus Nüsser, Heidelberg University: Changes of high altitude glaciers in the Trans-Himalaya of Ladakh over the last five decades

Arjun Sharma: Contested framings of community based irrigation management in Zangskar and their impact on the Watershed Development Program

Mohammad Hasnain: Climate vulnerability and adaptation – a study of rural communities in Ladakh

Zuzana Chlumska et al., Institute of Botany, Trebon: Can plants grow higher?

Session: Political Change in a Borderland Region

Mona Bhan, DePauw University: Intimate Labor, National Fantasies: In Search of the Aryan Seed

Konchok Paldan, JNU: Borderland Nationalism, Economy and Identity: A Study of Turtuk Villages on Indo-Pak Border in Ladakh

Nawang Tsering Shakspo: Ladakh's Intrigue Politics and Divisional Status to the Region

Ajinath Chaudhuri, IRMA: Constitutional limits to Ladakhi Autonomy: How far can Ladakh go down the Autonomy Road?

Tsewang Rigzin, Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council, Leh: A Study on the Post Autonomous Hill Development Council era in Ladakh

Session: Livelihood Strategies and Development Perspectives

Walter Klemm: The Future of the Chang-pa, the Changthang Plateau and Ladakhi Pashmina

Stanzin Namgail, Jammu University: Power Structure and Change: A Study of Changpa Tribe of Kargyam belt of Ladakh

Blaise Humbert-Droz: Tourism and environmental degradation in Ladakh: a proposed plan of action to protect critical areas for natural resources, wildlife and local livelihoods

Andrea Butcher, University of Aberdeen: Ceremony and Development. Can ritual protection have significance for secular development?

Session: Buddhist Studies

Verena Ziegler, University of Vienna: The life of Buddha Śākyamuni in the Byams pa lhakhang of Basgo, Ladakh

Sonom Wangchok, Himalayan Cultural Heritage Foundation: Study of Komik Monastery and Its Religious Connection with Matho Monastery in Ladakh

Tanushree Biswas, Norwegian University for Science and Technology: Everyday Lives of Tibetan Buddhist Child-Monks in Ladakh

Petra Maurer, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: The life of the Yogi Ngawang Tshering

Session: Historical Perspectives (1)

Diana Lange, Leipzig University: Visual representation of Ladakh and Zanskar in the British Library's Wise Collection

Frank Seeliger, TH Wildau: Memoirs taken from the diary of a Moravian missionary's wife of everyday life in 19th century Lahoul

Judith Neeser, University of Bern: The Moravian Mission in the Western-Himalayas from 1898-1914: Social Identities and Intergroup Relations

John Bray: Heinrich August Jäschke: Pioneering Tibetologist and precursor of the IALS

Session: Cultural Change, Identity and Belonging

Elizabeth Williams-Ørberg, Aarhus University: "Living in Two Different Worlds": Negotiation of education, culture and religion among Ladakhi student migrants in India

Sumera Shafi, JNU: Faith Beyond Home: The Dynamics of Identity Formation Amongst the Ladakhi Muslim Students in Delhi

Bonnie O. Richard, University of California (LA): Childhoods at School: Negotiating Modernity, Social Change, and Identity in Ladakh

Radhika Gupta, Max Planck Institute: Mobile love: marriage practices in contemporary Kargil

Sophie Day, Goldsmiths College: Idioms of 'house society' in the Leh area

Session: Historical Perspectives (2)

Rafal Beszterda, Nicolaus Copernicus University: "Why should we be interested in going back to Himalayan trade?" Case study of Western Himalayan passes between India and Tibet (China)

Kyle Gardner, University of Chicago: On the Road: Environment, Trade and Empire in the Making of the Hindustan-Tibet Road

Christian Faggionato, University of Turin: The Dge-lugs-pa tradition in Nubra valley

Rigzin Chodon, JNU: 'La dvagsgyiagbar' (1904-1907): An assessment of the first monthly newspaper of Ladakh

Session: History of Art and Architecture (1)

Claudia Wrumnig, TU Graz: The culture of building in the Western Himalayas - Buddhist temples of the 11th to 13th centuries

Gerald Kozicz, TU Graz: The stupas of Matho

Laurianne Bruneau, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris: The rock stupa images from Ladakh: a typological and comparative study

Heinrich Pöll: A tree-of-life, an aquatic creature and other enigmatic motifs on early Ladakhi wood art – and what this tells us about art history

Session: History of Art and Architecture (2)

Reinhard Herdick: The architectural heritage of Lamayuru: a case study of the impact of modern social development and climate change

Quentin Devers, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes: Fortifications of Ladakh. An Archaeological Study

Nils Martin, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes: Which sources for the life of the Buddha in the LhaThoLhaKhang of Alchi?

John Harrison, Oxford University: Preliminary Investigations at SkurbuchanKhar

Rosario Rizzi, Stupa Onlus: Restoring old, holy stupa (chorten) in Ladakh

Session: Ladakh and its neighbouring mountain regions

Zainab Akther, JNU: The Kargil-Skardu Route: Implications of its Opening

Kulbushan Warikoo, JNU: Ladakh and Central Asia: The Buddhist Connection

Matthias Schmidt, University of Hannover: (Un)feasible developments and changing livelihood strategies in Baltistan

Dieter Schuh, Tibetinstitut: Recent and future research on Baltistan

Session: Cultural Change and Contemporary Society

Rinchan Purig, University of Karachi: A Divided Ladakhi Community

Pascal Dollfus, CNRS : Perceiving, Naming and Using Colours in Ladakh

Salomé Deboos, University of Strasbourg: Negotiating social peace: speeches among Padumpas

Monisha Ahmed: Contemporary Art in Ladakh – New Directions

Session: Health and Society

Jennifer Aengst, Portland State University: "Healthcare is worse now:"

Histories of Healthcare and Recent Politics in Ladakh

Iqbal Ahmad, SNMH Leh: High incidences of suicide in Leh district and remedial measures

Kim Gutschow, CEMIS, Göttingen & Williams College and Padma Dolma,

SNMH Leh: Abortion and Maternal Mortality in India and Ladakh: Policies, Practices, Semantics

Karola Wood, Ladakh-Hilfe: Change of Awareness of Disabilities in Ladakh due to increased medical intervention in urban and rural areas over the last 10 years

Session: Language and Culture

Kati Illmann, University Halle-Wittenberg: Imagining Ladakh: A discourse analytical approach to dynamics of constituting Ladakh in the context of an increasing tourism

Bettina Zeisler, Tübingen University: The dialect groups of Upper and Lower Ladakh. Apparent and less apparent differences

Rob Linrothe, Northwestern University: An Extraordinary Illustrated Manuscript in Kumik Village, Zangskar

Gulzar Hussain Munshi, Munshi Aziz Bhat Museum Kargil: Islamic influence and changing lingual mode of legal manuscript writing



Group photo of participants of the 16th IALS conference, Heidelberg.
Photo by Johannes Anhorn

Biennial General Meeting of the IALS, 19th April, 2013

—*Sonam Wangchok*

As usual, the biennial general meeting of the IALS was held during the conference. The agenda of the meeting was as follows:

1. The Executive and Advisory Committees

Earlier three members of the executive committee had announced plans to step down at Heidelberg. These were: John Bray who has been president for six years; Kim Gutschow who has served as editor for six years; and Gareth Wall who has been treasurer/membership Secretary for four years.

Since there were no nominations to the vacant position of president from the wider membership, the executive committee requested John Bray to continue his service for a further two-year term. The meeting ratified the immediate re-election of the sitting president a further two-year term.

The nomination of Andrea Butcher as treasurer/membership secretary to succeed Gareth Wall was ratified and applauded by the members. The nomination of Sunetro Ghosal to succeed Kim Gutschow as editor of *Ladakh Studies* was also confirmed and ratified. John Bray expressed gratitude to Kim Gutschow and Gareth Wall for their hard work and their many contributions to the Association.

Seb Mankelov, who is currently serving as IALS Webmaster, has announced plans to step down from this position after the next conference in 2015. The Association would welcome offers by volunteers to work with Seb on the website. The advisory committee continues unchanged.

2. Publications

John Bray outlined the current position regarding publications associated with the IALS. Three publications are currently under preparation:

- A volume on art and architecture is to be published by Brill (Netherlands) later in 2013. This draws on selected papers from the 13th, 14th and 15th conference.
- A collection of papers on contemporary Ladakh will shortly appear in *Himalaya* journal. This draws on contributions by IALS authors in recent conferences and also some new additions.
- Blaise Humbert-Droz is currently editing a volume on the environment, which draws on contributions from recent conferences, including the Heidelberg conference.

With regard to the Heidelberg conference:

- Rob Linrothe has kindly agreed to edit a 'volume' of selected papers from the art and architecture panels, to be published online by the *Revue des Études Tibétaines*.
- Petra Maurer has kindly agreed to coordinate a collection of papers on history and related subjects.

We would welcome suggestions by aspiring editors for other publications drawing on conference papers, for example on contemporary political and social developments. These could either be self-standing publications (if we can find the right publishers) or special editions of journals.

There is also the option of publishing selected papers in *Ladakh Studies*.

3. *The 2015 conference (17th IALS Conference)*

After several discussions with Kargil members, the executive members proposed Gulzar Hussain Munshi, supported by other Kargil members, host the 17th IALS conference in Kargil in 2015. The meeting supported the proposal. As regards the date of the conference, Gulzar proposed a meeting in Kargil on their return together with the IALS Secretary to fix the date, venue and other necessary arrangements.

Conference report: International Association of Tibetan Studies in Mongolia

—John Bray

The 13th International Association of Tibetan Studies (IATS) conference, which took place in Ulaanbaatar (Mongolia) from 21-27 July, presented new perspectives on the wider Tibetan cultural region, including Ladakh. The conference was an exciting experience, intellectually stimulating and pleasurable in almost every way.

The IATS is slightly older than the IALS: it traces its history back to a conference of young Tibetologists in Zürich, Switzerland in 1977, whereas the first 'Recent Research on Ladakh' seminar took place in Konstanz, Germany in 1981. Since then, the IATS has held conferences roughly every three years, compared with the IALS's biennial cycle. Previous events in the series have been in Europe, north America and Japan.



Photo 1: Conference participants after the inaugural session. *Photo by John Bray*

The most striking feature of the Ulaanbaatar conference was its size: there were some 500 participants from all over Europe, north America, Japan and India as well as Mongolia. However, there were some notable absentees too. Many of the Indian participants were unable to obtain funding. Even more poignantly, a large number of Tibetans from the People's Republic of China had been preparing to fly to Mongolia, only to be denied permission by the Chinese authorities at the last moment.

The panels included memorial sessions for our IALS colleague André Alexander (1964-2012); historian Luciano Petech (1914-2010) and Gene Smith (1936-2010), the leading American specialist on Tibetan religious texts. Other topics included regional panels on Bhutan/Sikkim, Kham and Amdo, as well as thematic discussions on climate change, the Gesar epic, medicine and astrology, Bon, Nyingma studies, Tibetan kingship, secularism, and much, else. The sheer number of papers meant that parallel sessions were inevitable. On some days there were as many as twelve sessions running simultaneously.

The Ladakh-related papers were scattered across several panels. In addition to a presentation on Leh Old Town by André Alexander's colleague Pimpim de Azevedo, they included papers on Ladakhi kinship terms by Patrick Kaplanian; the art of Tsatsapuri by Nils Martin; *amchi* medicine by Laurent Pordié; and an analysis of a Lamayuru *dkar chag* by Elena De Rossi Fillbeck. My own contribution on the British missionary Annie Taylor (1855-1922) was part of the Bhutan/Sikkim panel. Similarly, many other well-known IALS figures—including Bettina Zeisler, Isrun Engelhardt, Martin Mills, Fernanda Pirie and Reinhard Herdick—spoke on research topics whose geographical scope extended to other regions. A digital version of the programme is available on the IATS website (www.iats.info).

The conference's location in Ulaanbaatar gave it a distinctive flavour. The sessions took place in the National University of Mongolia. When I asked how to find the venue, I was told I could easily identify it by the statue of Choibalsan (1895-1952), often known as the 'Stalin of Mongolia', which guards the main entrance. Though nominally independent, for several decades Mongolia was part of the Soviet Union in all but name. Much of Ulaanbaatar's public architecture still has a distinctly Soviet flavour, but there is now a post-socialist overlay of not particularly attractive apartment blocks as well as tourist hotels and restaurants. The all-important informal meetings on the margins of the conference took place in Indian and Chinese restaurants—even a French bistro—as well as Mongolian ones.

India—specifically Ladakh—has made its own particular contribution to the new Ulaanbaatar. In 1989, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi appointed the 19th Kushok Bakula Rinpoche (1917-2003) to the post of Indian ambassador to Mongolia, his last major public appointment. He expected to serve for two years and ended up staying for a whole decade. By April 1990, the old communist system had collapsed, and the ideological vacuum was partially filled by a revival of interest in Buddhism. In 1992, Kushok Bakula started a school for young monks, and in 1999 he founded Pethub monastery, which is named after his home gonpa (also known as Spituk) in Ladakh. The Ulaanbaatar monastery now has some 40 resident monks, while others are studying in India.

We were able to witness some of this for ourselves as Kushok Bakula's former secretary Sonam Wangchuk Shakspo, generously arranged a reception at the Pethub. We could see and hear the young monks diligently performing their evening rituals, and inspect a photo exhibition of Kushok Bakula's life, including many images of his earlier career in Ladakh and Kashmir.



Photo 2: Sonam Wangchuk Shakspo explains the history of Pethub monastery.
Photo by John Bray

At the conference business meeting, members elected Tsering Shakya as the new IATS president. Tsering is a specialist in modern Tibetan history and currently based at the University of British Columbia, Canada. One of his first publications was an article on Ladakhi history, published in the *Tibetan Review* in 1982, and followed by a paper on the *phaspun* of Leh, co-authored with John Crook, which was part of the original *Recent Research on Ladakh* volume in 1983.

The next IATS conference will take place in 2016, possibly in Norway or France, and I would warmly encourage Ladakh scholars to attend. Ladakh's status as an intercultural crossroads means that a broader regional view makes it easier to understand both its interconnectedness and its distinctiveness. I am grateful to the IATS organisers—both international and, in this case, Mongolian—for their hard work in making such meetings possible.

At the same time, the IATS experience also makes me value the distinctive characteristics of the IALS even more. Our smaller size means that our conferences—hectic though they may seem at the time—are more manageable. We have been able to hold them more frequently, once every two years rather than three. Thanks to the generosity and hard work of our locally-based colleagues, we have now held six conferences in Ladakh itself, with a seventh envisaged for 2015. By contrast, the IATS has yet to hold a conference in Tibet and political sensitivities mean that this will not happen in the foreseeable future. There is a special place in the academic firmament for both associations. May they both flourish, side by side!

Richard V. Lee, 1937-2013

—Christopher Wahlfeld

A physician, professor, explorer, naturalist, historian, farmer, and beekeeper, Richard V. Lee was an individual of extraordinary vision, quality, and experience. As anyone who attended his lectures, or accompanied him on a medical expedition can attest, his immense breadth (and depth) of knowledge was equally matched by his *joie de vivre* and welcoming nature.



Dr. Richard V. Lee
Photo courtesy:
The Lee family

Born in Islip, New York on May 26th, 1937, Dick Lee was educated in public schools until age 14, at which point he attended private schools, including a year at the Loretto School in Scotland. Dick attended Yale University, where he earned his Bachelor of Science in 1960. He remained in New Haven to attend Yale University Medical School, where he was the recipient of the Ferris Prize in Anatomy and the Winternitz Pathology Prize. He graduated *cum laude* in 1964.

A professor of medicine, obstetrics and paediatrics at the State University of New York at Buffalo, with adjunct postings in the Department of Anthropology, and the Department of Social and Preventive Medicine, Dick Lee was, among many other things, a practicing physician, the medical director for Ecology and Environment, Inc., and a consultant in internal medicine to both the Buffalo Zoological Society and the New York Zoological Society in the Bronx.

“Doc Lee,” as he was known by so many students, colleagues, and friends, spent a lifetime exploring the boundaries and permeability of health and “illth.” Doc’s ability to seamlessly interweave conversations on health with knowledge of culture, history, music, art, literature, local flora and fauna, and evolutionary theory was enlightening, and a reminder that health (and life) does not take place in a vacuum. This comprehensive approach to medicine was summed up in a 2000 interview at the Baylor University Medical Center, where he stated, “I think doctoring is quintessential anthropology. We study humankind. I think that it is terribly important that we keep that in mind.”¹

A fellow of the Royal Geographic Society, and The Explorer’s Club, Doc Lee was at home in the world. Moving beyond the boundaries of his surroundings in western New York, he carried out research and consultation projects in Kenya, Brazil, Chile, China, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and northern India.

Celebrating 25 years of marriage, Dick and Susan Lee first trekked through the northern Himalayas with their sons, Matthew and Benjamin, in 1986. During that journey, a need for health assessments and medical care in the remote villages of the upper Indus river region was recognised. And so, with the encouragement of their guide and friend, Iqbal Kana, a medical expedition program was born.

¹ “Richard Vaile Lee, MD: a conversation with the editor.” Proc (Bayl Univ Med Cent). 2000 July; 13(3): 267–275. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1317055/>

Bringing together professors and students in medicine, anthropology, and public health, along with individuals from a wide variety of health care professions, and non-health related disciplines; Doc Lee made nine journeys to villages in Kashmir, Ladakh and the Zangskar between 1988 and 2004. The medical observations, and personal musings, from these travels were written up in various medical and academic journals, including several published in *Ladakh Studies*.

Traveling with Dr. Lee was a grand adventure, a constant education, and plain old good fun. On what turned out to be Doc Lee's final medical expedition to the remote corners of Ladakh in 2004, a small handful of professionals, and a lone graduate student (the author), were given special permissions to travel to the Hanle valley after being alerted to outbreaks of severe dysentery in the area. The journey proved fruitful, and was memorable for many reasons, not the least of which was the observation of several nesting pairs of black-necked crane (*Grus nigricollis*).

Ladakh held a special place in Doc Lee's world, a trait shared by members of this Association. His perpetual smile would always seem a bit bigger when he spoke of the landscape traversed, and the friendships forged in the region.

Dr. Richard Vaile Lee, MD, MACP, FRGS passed away on May 7th, 2013 at his home in Orchard Park, New York, aged 75. He will be greatly missed.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank Susan Lee, Howard Lippes, and Ann McElroy for their help filling in some of the missing pieces. Any errors or omissions in the writing are strictly the fault of the author.

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LADAKH BIBLIOGRAPHY SUPPLEMENT No 24

This supplement lists additions to updates in previous editions of *Ladakh Studies* and in *Bibliography of Ladakh* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1988). Please send new references and suggested annotations to John Bray: JNBray1957@yahoo.co.uk).

- Aengst, Jennifer. 2012. "The Politics of Fertility, Population and Pronatalism in Ladakh." *Himalaya* 32, Nos 1-2, pp. 23-34. ■ Examines the linkages between reproduction, politics and fertility. While, cultural pressures impact Muslim and Buddhist women in different ways, the growing politicisation of reproduction results in continued ethnic/religious conflict.
- Bärnreuther, Sandra. 2011. *Where Lhas Cannot See It. Geburt in Ladakh, ZwischenlokalenPraktiken, Biomedizin und Biopolitik*. Berliner Beiträge zur Ethnologie 27. Berlin: WeißenseeVerlag. 157 pp. ■ Discusses changing social patterns relating to childbirth in the light of new bio-medical practices. Draws on fieldwork in Kanji village in Leh district.
- Bellini, Chiara. 2009. *Dipintisvelati. Indagine storico-artistica su alcuni templi e stūpapocostudiati in Ladak (XIV-XVI secolo)*. Ph.D thesis. University of Turin. ■ Art-historical examination of paintings in: Nyarma, the Saspol caves, the temple complex of Tsatsapuri, the iconographic cycle of the *mgonkhang* of Spituk monastery, the Namgyal Tsemo in Leh, and the *mgonkhang* of Phyang.
- Blaikie, Calum. 2001. *Why do the Nomads Settle? Livelihoods, Sustainability and Rural Urban Migration among the Kharnak Community of the Chang-pa in Ladakh*. Unpublished M.Sc thesis. University of London. ■
- Blaikie, Calum. 2009. "Critically Endangered? Medicinal Plant Cultivation and the Reconfiguration of Sowa Rigpa in Ladakh." *Asian Medicine* 5, No. 2, pp. 243-270. ■ Examines the relationships developing between medicinal plant conservation and the Sowa Rigpa medical tradition in Ladakh.
- Bray, John. 2012. "Readings on Islam in Ladakh: Local, Regional and International Perspectives." *Himalaya* 32, Nos 1-2, pp. 13-20. ■ Argues that the history of Islam and Buddhism in Ladakh are interwoven, to the extent that one cannot interpret the region as a whole, without studying both. Offers a reading guide as a basis for further study.
- Deboos, Salomé. 2010. "Vivre ensemble dans un contexte pluriconfessionnel: fiction ouréalité? Le cas des Bouddhistes et Musulmans de Padum au Zanskar." In *Lectures du conflit. Concepts, méthodes, terrains*, pp. 77-93. Edited by Myriam Klinger & Sébastien Schehr. Strasbourg: Néothèque. ■ Introduces geography and economy and then discusses local concepts of community. Historically, Zangskarīs have tended to identify themselves primarily by their village and secondarily by their religious affiliation. Now the reverse is more likely to apply.

- Deboos, Salomé. 2012. "Consequences of Road Construction in Padum, Zangskar Valley, Northern Himalaya." In *Nature, Environment and Society*, pp. 211-220. Edited by Nicolas Lainé & T.B. Subba. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan. ■ The Buddhist and Muslim communities in Padum, the largest settlement in Zangskar, have historically lived well together. Discusses how far exogenous influences could change that relationship.
- Deboos, Salomé. 2012. "Nommer sa mere Ama ou Maā?" *Revue des Sciences Sociales* 48, pp. 84-92. ■ Discusses changes in the use of kinship terms since 2001 in Padum, Zangskar. Muslims are now more likely to use Urdu terms, and this is a marker of social identity.
- Deboos, Salomé. 2012. "Religious Fundamentalism in Zangskar, Indian Himalaya." *Himalaya* 32, Nos 1-2, pp.35-42. ■ Addresses the impact of fundamentalism on social regulation and communal negotiation through a discussion of different speech acts.
- Demenge, Jonathan. 2011. "Road Construction, Dependency and Exploitation." *Journal of Workplace Rights* 15, Nos. 3-4, pp. 303-326. ■ Explores the politics of road construction and its effects on migrant workers with reference to the Zangskar Highway, a 292 km-long trans-Himalayan road that has been under construction since 1971.
- Demenge, Jonathan. 2012. "The Road to Lingshed: Manufactured Isolation and Experienced Mobility in Ladakh." *Himalaya* 32, Nos 1-2, pp.51-60. ■ Examines Lingshed as a case study to explore the symbolic dimensions of roads in Ladakh.
- Dinnerstein, Noé. 2012. "*Ladakhi Lu*: Songs, Cultural Representation and Hybridity in Little Tibet." *Himalaya* 32, Nos 1-2, pp.73-84. ■ The 'hybridity' in Ladakhi music and song reflects a variety of cultural influences from neighbouring regions and, in recent times, from Nepali, Bollywood and Western popular music.
- Dollfus, Pascale. 2012. "Transformation Processes in Nomadic Pastoralism in Ladakh." *Himalaya* 32, Nos 1-2, pp.61- 72. ■ Outlines the history of nomadic pastoralism in Ladakh, and then examines the changes of the last 50 years, taking the nomadic community of Kharnak as a case study.
- Gupta, Radhika. 2012. "The Importance of Being Ladakhi: Affect and Artifice in Kargil." *Himalaya* 32, Nos 1-2, pp. 43-50. ■ Presents an ethnographic account of a journey shared with a group of cultural activists from Leh to Kargil. The conversations and debates on the journey shed insights into aspects of contemporary social politics in Kargil.
- gNas brtan tshul khirms rdo rje. 2009. *Tshul khirms nyi ma'i mam thar dad gsum nyin byed 'drenpa'i skya rens* [The biography of Tshul khirms nyi ma, the dawn that brings the sun of the three devotions]. 2 vols. Leh: Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages. 1019 pp. ■ Biography of Tshultrim Nyima (Tshul khirms nyi ma, 1796-1872, founder of Rizong monastery in Lower Ladakh and Samtanling in Nubra. Includes a summary by Nawang Tsering Shakspo on pp.iii-ix (in both volumes).

- Shawe, F.B. 1896. "Nine Centuries of Buddhism." *Missionary Review of the World* 19, pp. 253-255, pp. 326-332, pp. 416-421, pp. 513-517. ■ A polemical review of a *Buddhist Catechism* by Subhadra Bhikshu (Friedrich Zimmerman, 1852-1917) in the light of the author's experiences as a missionary in Ladakh.
- Smith, Sara H. 2009. "The Domestication of Geopolitics: Buddhist-Muslim Conflict and the Policing of Marriage and the Body in Ladakh, India." *Geopolitics* 14, No. 2, pp. 197-218. ■ Particularly since the 1980s, religious identity has taken on political meaning in Leh. Suggests that for Ladakhis political conflict is described in terms of bodies – that is, through discussions of who should or should not eat together, get married, or have children.
- Smith, Sara H. 2012. "Intimate Geopolitics: Religion, Marriage, and Reproductive Bodies in Leh, Ladakh." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 102, No.6, pp. 1511-1528. ■ Explores how personal choices on marriage and child-bearing are caught up in geopolitical projects and religious narratives in Leh. Draws on 17 months of fieldwork conducted between 2004 and 2010.
- Smith, Sara H. 2013. "In the Heart, There's Nothing': Unruly Youth, Generational Vertigo and Territory." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38, No.4, pp. 572–585. ■ Discusses the politicisation of religion and changing social practices as seen by young people in Leh. Presents the concept of "generational vertigo, a mixture of apprehension and anticipation regarding the future".

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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