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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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JOHN BRAY

From the Editor

I present this issue with mixed feelings. It has been exciting to read the various submissions we received and the challenge of redesigning the journal. Unfortunately, we owe everyone an apology for missing our deadline for the issue. We are working on our systems and hope to publish the next issue in autumn as planned.

This issue is packed with an interesting mix of topics and discussions. The main article is an insightful comparison of irrigation management systems in Baltistan and Kargil, including discussions on changes in the last 100 years. It highlights the importance of political and social processes in the management of scarce resources, especially in the context of developmental and ecological change. Interestingly, some practices and systems remain unchanged, while other aspects have undergone varying degrees of change.

John Bray discusses a photograph of Leh Bazaar taken by British army officer Captain Robert Melville Clarke in 1861. It is interesting to note how different the Jama Masjid of 1861 is from the present structure. In addition, John also presents a translation and commentary of an incomplete note by A.H. Francke from the archives of the University of Leipzig. This issue also includes a report by Andrea Butcher on the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies (ANHS) conference held at Yale University in March 2014. Rachel Levy and Luke Fidler present a report on a workshop held at Northwestern University to debate the dates for the murals at Alchi Sumtsek. This issue also includes two book reviews and the bibliography supplement. The journal owes gratitude to the efforts of our contributors and reviewers, which allows us to publish such diversified works of critical scholarship.

The 17th IALS conference is approaching quickly and I direct your attention to the secretary note, where Sonam Wangchok provides an update on current preparations. He also mentions the efforts he and others are making to facilitate exchanges between young Ladakhi students and experienced researchers. This is a very commendable effort and hopefully, we can institutionalise such exchanges even beyond the conference to nurture interested students.

This issue also marks subtle changes in the general layout of the journal, to make it easier to access and use its contents. Here, the journal owes a special debt to Raul Anaya, whose expertise and patience have been critical to this process. We look forward to your responses, comments and suggestions on this issue and the evolution of the journal.

SUNETRO GHOSAL

From the Secretary

The most eventful season of the year has started in Ladakh, with the Parliamentary elections, followed by the Kalachakra initiation by H.H. the Dalai Lama from 3rd-13th July, 2014. This will soon be followed by the state assembly election in late autumn. Amidst all these activities, we continue preparations for the 17th IALS conference.

As previously announced, the 17th IALS conference will take place in Kargil in 2015. The date, venue etc. for the conference will be finalised in the next few months after discussions with host members from Kargil.

In the meantime, we plan to organise smaller workshops for students and local researchers in Kargil and Leh. Membership from local students and researchers has increased in recent years, who have expressed the need for workshops on research methodology and interactions with senior scholars and researchers. As a result, we are keen to provide a platform through which scholars visiting Ladakh over the summer, as well as local scholars, can share their experience and findings by delivering a lecture or participating in a workshop.

In the run-up to the conference, we would like to hold several such events in Leh and Kargil to encourage more local participation. Hence, if any scholars visiting Ladakh or local senior scholars who would like to contribute, please contact us as early as possible to help us plan accordingly.

With regard to the conference, we are in the process of forming a review committee, deciding on a central theme, drafting the formal call for abstracts etc. I will keep all of you updated with progress in due course.

SONAM WANGCHOK

Farmer-managed irrigation systems in Baltistan and Kargil

Joe Hill

University of Bonn

Abstract

Irrigation is an essential part of agricultural production in the valleys of Baltistan and Ladakh, as there is insufficient rainfall. In such farmer-managed irrigation systems, water-users' tasks include maintenance and operation of infrastructure, mobilisation and administration of resources, and building alliances with government and non-government agencies. Interventions by government and non-government agencies alter water-users' institutional arrangements, while studies highlight that such interventions should build on, rather than erode, existing arrangements. This paper presents case studies from two villages: Thurgu in Baltistan and Karchay Khar in Ladakh's Kargil. It first provides an overview of the current irrigation systems in these villages. It then compares water rights and customs recorded in the land revenue settlement re-assessments of the early 1910s, with current practices to highlight change and continuity over the past 100 years. It also presents an overview of irrigation development interventions in both villages, highlighting the agencies involved and their approaches. While these interventions do not directly interfere with irrigation institutions, they do have an indirect impact. It identifies areas for further research, including funds allocation systems and the impact of interventions on various social groups.

Irrigation water in the valleys of the Karakoram and trans-Himalayan regions is supplied by gravity-flow offtake systems developed to utilise river flow (river valley offtake systems), melt water from glaciers or snow fields, or spring water (slope offtake systems). Storage works (*zing*) are sometimes used to store water through the night for use the next day. Offtake systems are the commonest form of irrigation in mountain areas, characterised by their ability to deliver regular irrigation across a cropping season. An irrigation system includes the physical infrastructure (the water extraction technology, conveyance

channels, control and distribution technologies) and the social infrastructure, i.e. the rules and procedures that ensure the operation of technology and water delivery (Vincent 1995). Ambler (1989, in Vincent 1995: 36) proposes that ease or difficulty of conveyance, and adequacy or scarcity of water supply at key times in the cropping season, are useful factors to explain the necessity of different water management activities, presence of particular functionaries and use of certain technologies.

In farmer-managed irrigation systems, water-users carry out multiple tasks including establishment and enforcement of regulations (rules), distribution of water, operation of the hydraulic works, maintenance of infrastructure, mobilisation and administration of resources, and alliance-building and networking (Beccar et al 2002: 14). The rules, a combination of individual and collective rights and obligations, form the normative foundation for the collective management of irrigation systems. Beccar et al (2002: 3) define water-rights as “authorized demands to use (part of) a flow of water, including certain privileges, restrictions, obligations and sanctions accompanying this authorization.” Individual rights are derived from collective rights and duties vary with every irrigation system. They can depend not only on the fulfillment of obligations in the irrigation system but also on the performance of other collective tasks established by the community (Boelens, 1998: 87). Rights and obligations developed during the construction, use and maintenance of irrigation systems can be termed ‘hydraulic tenure’ arrangements. Hydraulic tenure implies that the normative and organisational arrangements for irrigation reflect the underlying property grid formed during initial construction (Coward 1986). So rights are the product of investments made during system construction and reproduced during maintenance activities. As a result, interventions—that reduce or modify maintenance obligations, for instance—by government and non-government agencies invariably alter water-users’ institutional arrangements. It is thus argued that external interventions can only succeed if they build on existing arrangements (Coward 1990, Vincent 1995).

This paper presents the findings of research conducted in 2013 in Baltistan and Ladakh. It focuses on historical and contemporary irrigation practices and interventions by government and non-government agencies. Little, if any, research has been conducted on both sides of the ‘Line of Control’ that divides India and Pakistan in this region (Figure 1). Besides geopolitics, Demenge et al (2013) note that the Ladakh region is the meeting point of two separate scholarly traditions—one focussed on the eastern Himalayas/Tibetan plateau and the Tibetan-Buddhist cultural sphere, while the other concentrates on the western Himalayas/Karakoram and Indo-Islamic world. As a result of these

divides, the development experiences of agencies on both sides have rarely been compared. While Baltistan and Kargil share similar socio-cultural and ecological characteristics, their political and administrative developments have taken different trajectories since 1947.

Brief history of the study region

From 1834 onwards, General Zorawar Singh led several expeditions against local chieftains in Baltistan and Ladakh. By 1840, the region was under the effective control of Raja Gulab Singh, who in 1946 assumed the title of Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir (Datta 1984: 30-58). By 1899, Baltistan, Ladakh and Gilgit Wazarat were merged to form a single ‘frontier district’ and in 1901 the district of Ladakh was established, incorporating Skardu, Kargil and Leh *tehsils* under the administration of a *Wazir-i-Wazarat* (governor) (Sheikh 2010: 166, Lawrence 2002 [1909]: 100-105, Dani 1989: 320)¹. Kargil *tehsil* was known as Purig prior to the twentieth century².

Land revenue settlements (called “regular settlements”) were completed in 1901 for a period of ten years by R.T. Clarke. Skardu’s re-assessment began in 1911 and was overseen by Thakar Singh, whose ‘Assessment Report of the Skardo Tahsil of the Ladakh District’ was published in 1913 (Singh 1913a). In Kargil, the re-assessment started in 1910 and is documented in four (untitled) volumes containing village data, currently stored in the Muhafiz Khana (archives/preservation office), Kargil (Singh 1910b)³. These settlements, following Baker (2003: 27), had the primary purpose of determining the nature of property rights in an area, identifying rights holders and establishing revenue rates and payment schedules⁴. Irrigation rights in each hamlet was also detailed in these revenue

¹ Gilgit *tehsil* was not included in Ladakh district.

² See Grist (1998: 13-19) for a discussion on the history of Purig.

³ The ‘Assessment Report of the Kargil Tehsil’, by Thakar Singh, dated August 1912, has yet to be located. It is not available at the British Library in London, the National Archives in Delhi, the Leh Archives (where staff said that all records related to Kargil were shifted to Kargil after bifurcation) or the Archives office, Kargil. A ‘Note on the Assessment Report’ was located in the Jammu Archives (MoJK 1912).

⁴ Ostensibly the settlements were “an exercise in elucidating and recording a region’s customs and laws relating to land rights, cultivation, and the distribution of agricultural surpluses”, however they “were heavily influenced by prevailing European social theories concerning private property, investment and productivity, anthropological theories about social evolution, and the successes and failures of prior settlements in other parts of India, all cloaked in the guise of debates about what constituted “local custom” (Baker 2003: 27).

records, compiled and maintained by a local government official called *patwari* (tax collector). The village record of rights (*Misl Haqiyat*) contain a section called the *Riwaj-i-Aabpashi* (irrigation customs), which indicates the *kuhls* (irrigation channels) in which a village has irrigation rights, and the nature of those rights (Coward 1990: 81)⁵. The *Riwaj-i-Aabpashi* for the study villages were obtained from the respective districts (Singh 1910a, Singh 1913c).

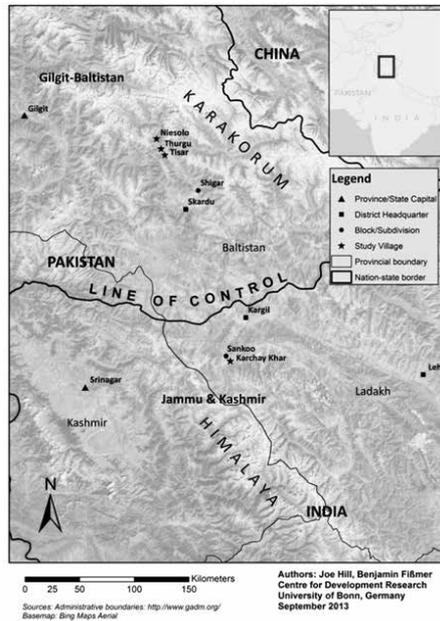


Figure 1: Map of Baltistan and Ladakh showing key places and research villages

At the time of independence from British rule, Jammu and Kashmir was effectively excluded from the partition agreement, leading Pakistan and India to fight a war over it (Grist 1998, 2008)⁶. As a result of this war, Ladakh Wazarat

⁵ The property and irrigation rights recorded during the settlements in Kangra district (present-day Himachal Pradesh), which became part of the administrative system for enforcement and adjudication, continued to influence irrigation up until the 1980s (Coward 1990: 87).

⁶ There have been further conflicts in 1965, 1971 and 1999—the latter known as the Kargil War.

and its people were divided by the Line of Control (Bouzas 2012). Thus, it takes a week to travel between Kargil and Skardu via Islamabad, Lahore, Amritsar and Srinagar, even though the distance between the two is only about 200 km (Figure 1). Today the name ‘Baltistan’ is used for the area under Pakistani control, including the districts of Skardu and Ghanche. Balti-speaking communities still live in Leh and Kargil districts, which are under Indian control (Magnusson 2011: 34, Magnusson 2006). In Kargil district’s Suru valley, the population speaks Purigi, a Tibetan-dialect related to Ladakhi and Balti. Purigi-speakers can be found across Kargil district and Baltistan. Like Balti, Purigi is nowadays written in the Urdu script.⁷

According to van Beek (1999: 442), Ladakh has been reduced to a state of dependence that “ironically, is partly attributable to government policies aimed at replicating nationalist projects of development in this rather different region [than the mainland], for example through the promotion of tourism, cash cropping, and modern education, and the concurrent undermining of local livelihoods by the provision of heavily subsidised agricultural inputs and rations of ‘essential commodities.’ The growth of waged employment and cash incomes in general is tied mostly to government jobs and the armed services, and through these agencies’ procurement of local agricultural produce...” On the Pakistani side of the Line of Control, this list would include the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) upon which, until recently, the “current welfare structure in Baltistan relies heavily” (Magnusson 2006: 198). In Zangskar, which falls in Kargil district, Mankelov (2005) shows that attempts to improve irrigation systems have been largely ineffectual, while at the same time traditional institutions are being undermined by a growing dependency on the government for funds, materials and labour. Others studies on irrigation in Ladakh and Baltistan have focussed on other aspects and rarely commented on the sustainability of contemporary irrigation interventions (see Labbal 2000, Schmid 2000, Schmidt 2004)⁸.

⁷ The Purigpa and the Balti are two of eight recognised ethnic groups given Scheduled Tribe status in Ladakh. According to Census data of 1986-1987, the Purigpa made up 69 percent of Kargil district’s population, and the Balti just 3 percent (van Beek 1997: 35).

⁸ Labbal (2000) details village-level irrigation management arrangements in Ladakh, showing that while landholding and social status are unequal, access to irrigation water is equitable; Schmid (2000) provides an account of a minority group’s unsuccessful legal attempts to gain access to water in Hunza, and Schmidt’s detailed work provides a superb overview of the institutions for natural resource management, including irrigation, in the Shigar valley.

Methods

Qualitative field research was undertaken from mid-April to early July in 2013. Following visits to several valleys in each district, villages were independently and purposively selected for intensive study. The selection was made keeping in mind the altitude, population size, and agricultural characteristics of villages identified in 2012 for research in Tajikistan's Pamir and Kyrgyzstan's Alai (Hill 2013), as well as previous research conducted in Shigar (Schmidt 2008) and Suru (Grist 2008). Thurgu is located in Tisar Union Council, in the Basha valley, upper Shigar valley, to the north of Skardu town (Figure 1). Karchay Khar⁹ is located in Sankoo Development Block¹⁰, which is south of Kargil town and midway up the Suru valley in Barsoo valley. Fieldwork was undertaken for about three weeks in Tisar Union Council, and three weeks in Karchay Khar Gram Panchayat¹¹. Assistants were hired locally and the research relied heavily on my mediocre command of Hindi and Urdu. Transect walks across villages and along channels, participatory mapping of irrigation systems and farmland, interviews, observation and other group participatory methods (e.g. ranking of seed varieties, timeline of the village and region's history, mapping of mobilities) were utilised. Local government officials, elected politicians and councillors, and NGO staff were interviewed, while hoteliers in Skardu, Shigar and Kargil provided key logistical support.

Thurgu village, Shigar valley, Baltistan

Thurgu village is located on the left bank of the Basha river, just across from Chutron, which is famous for its hot spring baths (Azhar-Hewitt 1998) and just a few kilometres upstream from where the Basha and Braldu valleys open out to form Shigar valley. A hundred years ago, at the time of Skardu's settlement officer Thakar Singh (1913a: 5-8) classified the *tehsil's* 199 villages (termed 'estates') into four classes according to climate, crops and fruits production. Singh placed Thurgu village in the third class category: where agriculture is more

⁹ The villagers requested that I write Karchay Khar, although their village name is officially written as Kartse Khar. For example, 'Karchay Khar' is written on the village's middle school's signboard.

¹⁰ In early 2014, it has been announced that Barsoo will itself become a Development Block.

¹¹ Union councils are the Pakistani equivalent to gram panchayats. Tisar Union Council comprises six revenue villages, whereas Karchay Khar Gram Panchayat contains only Karchay Khar revenue village. By Indian standards, gram panchayats in Kargil are unusually small. See Hill (2014: 24-25) for further information on union councils in Shigar valley/Baltistan.

difficult, fruit is poor and consumed at home, the estate is not easily accessible. Thurgu remains difficult to access: after a four-hour journey in a shared vehicle from Skardu to Chutron, four to five small bridges—often no more than logs fastened together with cloth and supported by rocks—must be crossed when travelling from Chutron to Thurgu on foot. The alternative route is via a road up the Basha’s left bank, whose construction began in 1998 (funded by AKRSP, later widened by the government); however very few vehicles use this road. The revenue village includes Thurgu, with about 85 households, and the hamlet Zing Zing, located about 1 km away with 8 households (see Photo 1). In 1913, Thurgu revenue village was recorded as having 52 hectares of land, with 28 hectares under cultivation (Singh 1913b). In 2013, the *patwari* was unable or unwilling to provide the latest data for Thurgu village’s irrigated area¹².



Photo 1: Thurgu (to the left) and Zing Zing (right), with the Basha River in the foreground

Thurgu’s irrigation systems

Thurgu Revenue Village has a complicated network of irrigation channels, which the locals refer to as *hrkong* (generally larger) or *hrka* (smaller). Figure 2 shows a map created with the help of villagers, images from Google Earth and transect

¹² For Niesolo Revenue Village, also in Tisar Union Council, the figures were available: the cultivated/irrigated area for had increased by 41% over the one hundred year period.

walks across the village. It shows one main stream (Urdu: *nalla*) called Lungma, which is fed by several springs, and from which at least eight irrigation channels (*hrkong*) are sourced. The topmost *hrkong* supplies water every four days to the hamlet Zing Zing (Maloni *hrkong* can be seen cutting across the mountainside in Photo 1). A smaller *hrkong* with its headwork also at the top of Lungma, known as Aga Khan pi *hrkong*, was created in 1996 by an AKRSP project. The village's most important irrigation channel is called Ghora Bloq pi *hrkong*. Every year, in the month of May, a group comprising one male representative from each household (regardless of their landholding size in the command area) trek up the mountainside, to camp for a night at a place known as Ghora Bloq (*bloq* is Balti for 'alpine pasture' (Schmidt 2004: 326)), situated at an altitude of 3,800m above mean sea level. The next day, working downwards towards the village, the group repair the channel, and 'bring water to the village'. Ghora Bloq pi *hrkong* irrigates all the farmland up to Lungma. Just before the *hrkong* reaches Lungma, it joins and supplies water to a *hrkong* called Hrkong Lungma, which in turn supplies water to Dukhzakhsi *hrka* and Skillma *hrka*. Besides the springs that feed Lungma, the village of Thurgu has an additional 10-15 springs (*chasma*, or in Balti *chumik*) that feed into larger *hrkong* or form the source of *hrka*. In addition to water received from Maloni *hrkong*, the hamlet Zing Zing relies on the limited water of several springs located in its main *nalla* (seen above Zing Zing in Photo 1), which is why it has four *zing* (storage reservoirs).

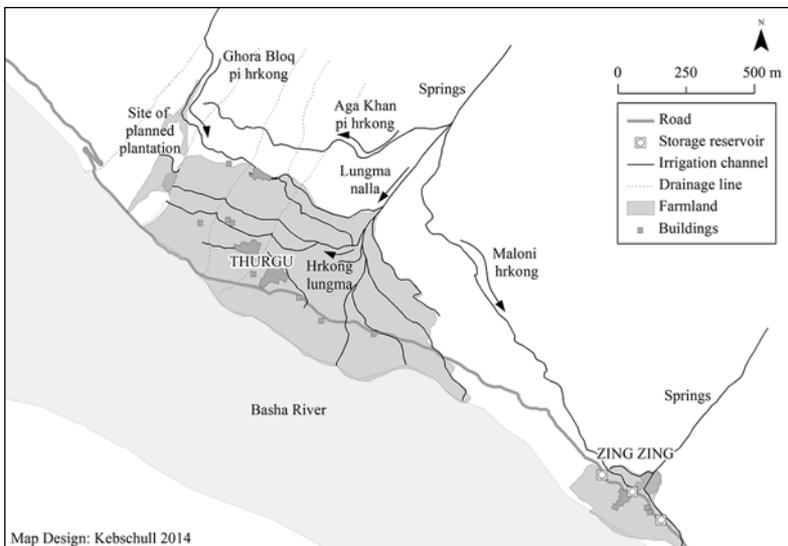


Figure 2: Map of Thurgu showing features mentioned in text

Irrigation rules over the past 100 years

A comparison of the irrigation customs recorded in the 1913 village record of rights with the present-day practices points to continuity and change. For instance, the penalty for not participating in the annual repair of Ghora Bloq pi hrkong was, and still is, one kg of *deshi* ghee per household. The 1913 record states that the supervisor or *hrkongpa* (also *hrkongstrunpa*) is selected annually by the villagers. In 2013, the *hrkongpa* was a 67-year-old man, who was performing the task for the second consecutive year. He said he was remunerated with 3 kg of barley or wheat by each household at the end of the season, totalling to about 240 kg grain (~80 households made the payment in 2012). This is the same rate per household recorded 100 years ago. However, it stated that the duty lasted 40 days, whereas in 2012 the *hrkongpa* worked for three months (the channel's importance and use has likely increased as the village has grown in size). For non-attendance at the annual cleaning of other *hrkong* or *hrka*, the penalty is recorded as one *seer* (kg) of wheat or barley per day of absence. Nowadays the penalty for non-attendance is disputed. *Tsharma* (elders) from Niesolo village said that several years ago such penalties were abandoned to maintain peace in the village. In Thurgu, some villagers claimed such penalties had been dropped, whereas others stated that the size of a fine depends on the wealth of a household, for example, Pakistani Rupees (PKR) 30 for a wealthier household and 1 kg barley grain for a poor household.

Irrigation development interventions in Thurgu

Irrigation interventions in Baltistan are undertaken by the Public Works Department (PWD), or funded through the Local Government and Rural Development (LG&RD) department, or the AKRSP. From 2003 to 2011, 122 projects were funded under the 'National Programme for Improvement of Watercourses' in Skardu district. Three of these 122 projects were completed in Tisar Union Council (UC), two in Chutron village, one in Tisar village, and none in the UC's other four villages¹³. It was not possible to verify the actual results of these interventions during field research. Until recently union councils had at their disposal funds provided by the LG&RD, however according to Tisar UC's ex-Chairman (2002-2007), the Government of Pakistan ended this system in 2009, when power was vested in the Deputy Commissioner (Skardu), Assistant Commissioner (Shigar) and *Tehsildar* (Shigar). Locals hope that

¹³ The amount spent on each projects was about PKR 260,000 (roughly Indian Rupees (INR) 180,000). A (labour equivalent) contribution of PKR 100,000 from villagers is listed for each of the projects.

Gilgit-Baltistan's upcoming local elections, scheduled for 2014, will return power to councillors. Regardless of who is in charge of spending, funding to union councils has continued. For June 2012-2013, the LG&RD allocated PKR 540,000¹⁴ to Tisar UC, to be spent on 15 projects: a community centre, repair of four irrigation channels, a road, eight protective bunds (against river erosion), and a water tank. Each of the irrigation channels will receive PKR 40,000¹⁵. Interviews with councillors in Tisar UC revealed that such allocations have been the norm over the past 10 years. As there are six villages in the UC with eight or so irrigation channels per village, funding comes infrequently to irrigation channels, especially in peripheral villages like Thurgu.

The AKRSP officially began work in Baltistan in 1986, and by 1990 village organisations (VOs) had been created in all of Shigar subdivision's 57 villages (Clemens 2000). Irrigation projects (construction and repair of channels) formed a major part of AKRSP's Productive Physical Infrastructure (PPI) programme. Fazlur-Rahman (2007: 338-339) analyses the PPI projects completed by VOs up to 2000, and finds that 85% of the 802 projects initiated in Baltistan were completed by 2000. About 54% of these projects were for irrigation (including 388 feeder channel/pipe irrigation, 30 storage reservoir, and 14 lift irrigation projects), and 26% for other water-related projects (i.e. 89 protective works, 78 boundary walls, 9 micro-hydel schemes and 33 water supply/delivery). Since 2000-2005, however, AKRSP has scaled back its agricultural support operations. Nevertheless under an Italian and Pakistani government funded programme named Social Economic Environment Development (SEED), four irrigation channel repair projects have targeted Tisar UC: two completed in Hamasil and Thurgu, and two (in Tisar revenue village) ongoing in spring 2013.

AKRSP have funded a total of four projects in Thurgu Revenue Village: in 1996 construction of a new irrigation channel and the repair of a *zing* in Zing Zing, from 1998 the construction of a link road, and in 2012 the repair of Thurgu's main irrigation system Ghora Bloq pi hrkong (under SEED)¹⁶. Field research revealed that the 1996 project (a channel created above Thurgu to irrigate a plantation) failed as villagers stopped maintaining it after a few years. The 2012 project renovated 3,500 feet of channel and included the construction of a 250

¹⁴ Roughly equal to INR 304,000, or EUR 4,200. According to xe.com, exchange rate was PKR/INR 0.56266 and PKR/EUR 0.00777 on 30.12.2012.

¹⁵ Roughly equal to INR 22,500.

¹⁶ AKRSP/SEED channelled PKR 666,288 (about INR 375,000) into this project, with PKR 222,058 listed as the community's (labour equivalent) contribution.

feet RCC tunnel. One of the village's two religious leaders (both sheikhs, each of whom leads a political party-based faction in the village) oversaw the project. He made the project application to AKRSP in 2012, after his party came to power in 2009 after 15 years in opposition. Only those male villagers supporting this sheikh participated in the paid renovation work to the irrigation channel; the remainder boycotted the work. By 2013 the renovation work appeared to have been completed to a high standard.

Karchay Khar village, Suru valley, Kargil

Karchay Khar village is located midway up the Suru valley, in a side valley known as Barsoo valley¹⁷. Connectivity to Kargil has improved significantly in recent years, with bus services from Barsoo valley to Kargil four times a day. Karchay Khar Revenue Village (and also a gram panchayat) comprises three hamlets/villages: Stiankung (25 households), Karchay Khar (~67 households), and Stakbourik (28 households). Karchay Khar hamlet is itself divided into four *mohalla*: three in the main village, the fourth (Richen) located below an area of farmland called Dambisthang (seen at the top-left of Photo 2). During Kargil's re-assessment in 1910, the *tehsil's* revenue villages were divided into four classes (as were the villages of Skardu *tehsil*). Karchay Khar Revenue Village was placed in the third class category (Singh 1910b)¹⁸. In 1910, the revenue village is recorded as having 144 hectares of land, including 47 hectares of cultivated land, while in 1901 the data shows 132 hectares of land of which 57 was cultivated (Singh 1910b). Karchay Khar has a rich history and many features: as one descends towards the village from the main road, down a steep and winding road that ends at a newly constructed bridge (seen in Photo 2), one passes a recently installed diesel generator, a seven-metre tall sculpture of the Buddha believed to date back to the seventh or eighth century CE (Abbasi 2012), a tourist bungalow (under construction in 2013) and a newly built primary school. There is also a fenced-off park that includes the tomb of Rygyal Khatoon¹⁹. The *khar* in the

¹⁷ The valley is also known as Kartse valley (Abbasi 2012) or Phoolungma valley (Pulumba Chu is the name given to the tributary of the Suru River in the Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladak in 1890 (1974)).

¹⁸ This is a little unclear. The Archives office (Muhafiz Khana), Kargil has four untitled books that contain the details of just 118 revenue villages. One book contains the details of 32 villages in the first class, one contains the details of 16 villages in the fourth class, and two books contain the details of 70 villages in the third class. The book containing the details of the villages of the second class appears to be missing.

¹⁹ Over 400 years ago, according to Francke (1999 [1907]: 92-93), the "Duke" of Khapulu, Ali Mir, married his daughter Rygyal Khatoon, to the Ladakhi (Buddhist) ruler Jamyang Namgyal.

village's name refers to the fort that was located on the huge rock towering above the main village.



Photo 2: Karchay Khar village on the left bank of the Barsoo River

Karchay Khar's irrigation systems

Karchay Khar's network of irrigation channels is more complex than the one in Thurgu. Irrigation channels are referred to as *yurba* (Purigi language) by villagers (larger irrigation channels are called *mayur*); however they are also referred to as *hrkong* or *hrka*. A map (Figure 3) created with villagers and adjusted following numerous transect walks through the village shows 16 *yurba* (however there are more). Several *yurba* are shared between villages, for example Braqjon *yurba* (at the top of Figure 3) that begins in Stiankung also irrigates land owned by a few of Karchay Khar's households. Another shared irrigation system is Thasgam *mayur*, which is a river valley offtake system that originates in Stiankung's territory, irrigates farmlands owned by Stiankung and Karchay Khar's households, but mainly serves the downstream Thasgam village. Karchay Khar itself has several important *yurba*. The oldest *yurba*²⁰ are likely to be those sourcing their water from Chogo Lungma, the village's largest and

²⁰ The maps that accompany the 1910 Jamabandi show Kharzong *yurba* and Richen *yurba*.

wettest *nalla*; these include Kharzong yurba, Richen yurba and Chakdochan yurba that serve the village's most productive fields. Other smaller *yurba* were probably developed at later periods, to serve areas of land known as *broq*²¹. On these lands, more often than not grass and lucerne (alfalfa) is grown. Bro Lungma (Dandikhor) yurba and Dambisthang yurba, the village's two longest *yurba*, were both built by villagers in the post-1947 period, without government support. Both source their water from Bro Lungma *nalla*. The Dambisthang yurba is designed to draw water from Barsoo river and does so when Bro Lungma dries up each year in June-July (see Figure 3).

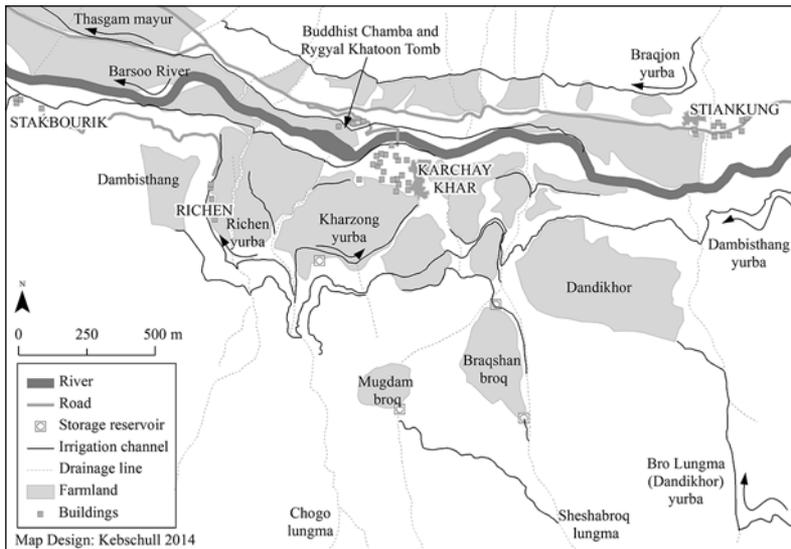


Figure 3: Map of Karchay Khar showing features mentioned in text

²¹ In Balti *bloq* is used (Schmidt 2004), whereas in Purigi *broq* is used. *Bloq* or *broq* can be non-irrigated pasture land or irrigated land (termed *ol*) reserved for the production of fodder. A slight differentiation can be found in the pronunciation of many key Balti and Purigi words, for example, wheat is *tro* and *cro* and buckwheat is *blo* and *bro*.

Irrigation rules over the past 100 years

Like Thurgu, irrigation water rights in Karchay Khar are attached to the water source (i.e. the *nalla*) and not the particular channel (i.e. the *yurba*). For example, Karchay Khar's oldest channels (Kharzong *yurba*, Richen *yurba*) source their water from Chogo Lungma (*nalla*). In the 1910 records, it is stated that in the first half of the agricultural year, when there is plentiful water supply, there are no water allocation rules. However, when the *nalla*'s water flow decreases a system of water distribution (*chures*, or *bari*) is implemented: 24 households share the stream's water over a 12-day cycle; two households per day. The household names were recorded in 1910 and this same system continues to be followed in 2013, though it has been adjusted informally to reflect demographic changes, land sales etc. There is also a *chures* for Sheshabroq Lungma, recorded in 1910 and followed in 2013. This *nalla* supplies water via small *yurba* to at least eight *broq* and two areas of *khet* (seen in Figure 3). About 60-70 years ago a huge landslide/landslip in Stiankung's main *nalla* shifted the course of Barsoo river, destroying hectares of agricultural land on both sides of the river (i.e. Karchay Khar and Stiankung). Several of Karchay Khar's families, with the help of other villagers, were subsequently able to develop a new *broq* (Mugdram *broq*) above the village because they were still entitled to their share of water from Sheshabroq Lungma.

Construction of the 7 km-long Dambisthang *yurba* began in 1951 and is said to have taken 18 years to complete, with little to no government support. The *yurba* was created by 36 households who also developed farmland at Dambisthang, which is said to have formally been a polo ground. The *yurba*'s system of water distribution (*chures*) reflects the contribution of labour during construction: there is a 12-day cycle, with three households having a share each day. Each year a watchman (*chustrunpa*) is selected to manage the *yurba*, for which he is remunerated 20 kg of wheat per household. In the 1970s, religious leaders are reported by Rizvi to be involved in village-level adjudication over irrigation systems (Rizvi, 1993). Similarly, in Karchay Khar, religious leaders are said to have been called upon to make and enforce rules pertaining to irrigation. In 2000, a meeting was held in Richen *mohalla*, above which Dambisthang *yurba* carries water to irrigate land at Dambisthang. It was decided that should the *yurba*'s water cause damage to the property of any of Richen's seven households, the costs will be borne by the irrigators. A document was created to this effect, and signed by all the *yurba*'s users.

After a 100 year gap, a second land settlement has begun in Kargil district, which promises to be a long drawn-out process. The *tehsil* office in Sankoo was established in 2007 with 36 villages under its jurisdiction. By summer 2013,

the settlement operations for Sankoo's five smaller villages were complete. The *tehsildar* estimated it would take 31 years to complete the settlement of the remaining villages.

Irrigation development interventions in Karchay Khar

Irrigation development interventions in the Suru valley are largely executed (or overseen) by the Public Works Department (PWD) and the Development Block. The Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council, Kargil²² or LAHDC, K annually creates and approves the district plan, which is funded by the J&K state. The formation of the LAHDC, K is said to have been a success, because funds are now reaching the entire population, including the smallest/remotest of hamlets. In 2011, INR 20 million²³, to be spent over a period of 10 years, was sanctioned by LAHDC, K for the improvement of Dambisthang pi yurba. According to the junior engineer in charge of this project, in the first year INR 2.5 million was spent on concrete lining and support treatment at the headwork, in 2012 about INR 0.55 million was spent on support work in three places between the headwork and village, and in 2013, a culvert was being constructed and repair work at Chogo Lungma was planned for the autumn.

Small sums are also allocated to various irrigation channels by MPs, MLAs, MLCs and councillors from their Constituency Development Funds, which are sanctioned by the Deputy Commissioner. The Gram Panchayat (GP) can decide and allocate small sums through its Community Development Fund, which are sanctioned by the Block Development Officer (BDO). The block also administers the centrally-funded National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS). Under NREGS, in 2011 Kharzong yurba, Richen yurba and Chakdochan yurba were repaired, and in 2012 and 2013, INR 160,000 was spent to improve channels and a bridlepath at Dandikhor (*ol*). When a section of Dambisthang pi yurba, close to where it crosses Chogo Lungma, collapsed in June 2013, the councillor visited the site and assisted the villagers to procure the necessary materials (wire mesh and piping) for its repair. The *sarpanch* (head of the GP) travelled with the councillor to Kargil where they met the Assistant Development Commissioner and Project Director of the District Rural Development Agency. The *sarpanch* collected ten 20-foot plastic pipes, the cost of which would come from flood management funds, and brought them back to the village. The

²² LAHDC, K was formed in 2003 and comprises locally-elected councillors and bureaucrats.

²³ Roughly equal to PKR 10,400,000, or EUR 310,000. According to xe.com, exchange rate was INR/PKR 1.92537 and INR/EUR 0.01543 on 02.07.2011.

sarpanch said they would receive the wire mesh when the BDO returned from Srinagar. Without using these materials however, on the fourth and fifth days after its collapse, the villagers repaired the section of *yurba* with remarkable skill and cooperation.

Discussion

Regardless of non-farm employment earnings, remittances and subsidies, the use and maintenance of irrigation systems remain crucial for villagers' subsistence needs and for the viability of their settlements. In both Baltistan and Kargil, some of the needs of government departments and the military are supported by these irrigation systems too (e.g. production and supply of fodder to the Department of Sheep Husbandry in Suru Valley²⁴). The literature suggests that external interventions only succeed when they build on existing social or institutional arrangements (e.g. Coward 1990). Mankelov (2005) shows that in Zangskar many irrigation interventions have been ineffectual and have undermined traditional institutions by increasing dependency on government schemes for funds, materials and labour. It is clear that support should be given to villagers; but it is also evident that it is not desirable that such support undermine local institutions.

Positively, this research shows that agencies do not appear to directly interfere with the traditional roles and responsibilities assigned to irrigation system functionaries, or with local rules of water distribution. Interventions appear to have reduced the number of days villagers spend on repairing channels and improving water supply. Since the 2011 repair work on Dambisthang *yurba*, its water users only have to spend 5-15 days per year cleaning and repairing the channel as compared to 15-30 days in the past. A junior engineer explained that if set correctly, concrete lining can have a lifespan of 50-75 years. Although there are allegations of misappropriation of funds, this project has not yet affected the channel's management. The repair of Ghora Bloq pi hrkong, likewise, appears to improve water supply. However this project was incoherent in at least three ways: it was funded by a non-government agency that claims to work in a participatory manner, though villagers seemed to regard it as a contractor-led project; the villagers link the project funding with the support of a political party due to which half the households did not participate in it; and thirdly, villagers

²⁴ Historically too: in 1917 Thakar Singh proposed several irrigation interventions as a way to increase crop and grass production, to reduce the cost of maintaining troops in Gilgit region (Singh 1917).

did not provide voluntary labour even though the NGO's project book claims they did. These issues are only problematic in as far as practice differs from discourse. What counts, however, is whether the project supports or interferes with local institutions. For the cases discussed in this paper, only time will tell. In both Thurgu and Karchay Khar, and indeed in Shigar and Suru valleys, irrigation system management is very much intertwined with local-level politics (which include political and religious groups). In Karchay Khar and the Suru valley, irrigation projects are explicitly contractor-led, while a good chunk of the overall funding is tied to political party affiliations. However, the LAHDC, K model appears to allow locally-elected councillors to play a significant role in planning. This potentially adds a degree of transparency to decision-making at the district level by allowing local priorities to be voiced. In Thurgu and the Shigar valley, by contrast, there appears to be less transparency in decision-making; especially since 2009 when power was returned to bureaucrats. Almost half of Thurgu's households chose not to participate in the 2012 AKRSP project due to their political party affiliation. In this case, it could be argued that the AKRSP project may exacerbate social divisions within the village. Yet it would be unfair to blame the AKRSP: one could equally blame the introduction of the democratic, multi-party political system to the valleys of Ladakh/Kargil and Baltistan for the creation of political factions in villages.

There are several questions that need to be researched further. How are funds allocated to irrigation systems within districts, UCs/GPs, and revenue villages? Do interventions improve access to water for all including the poorest, or do they improve some people's access at the expense of others? For example, over the past two decades a majority of irrigation projects in Tisar Union Council have been implemented in the two politically dominant villages (of Chutron and Tisar). This paper shows that the rules and rights recorded a hundred years ago continue to influence the management of irrigation systems, though with some modification. One further topic for research, therefore, would be to examine how water rights and customs are being documented and recorded in Kargil district's ongoing land settlement operations.

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Photo essay: Leh Bazaar and the Jama Masjid in 1861

John Bray

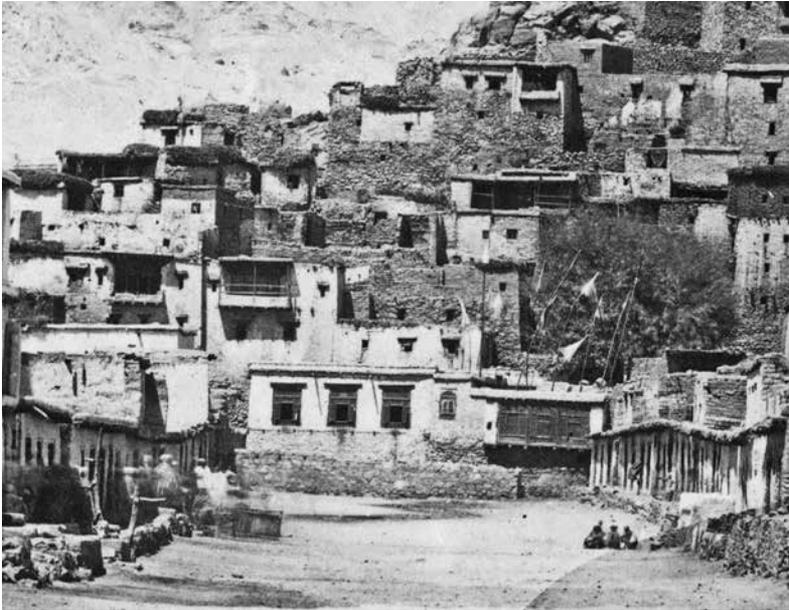


In the summer of 1861, the British army officer Captain Robert Melville Clarke set out on a trek from Shimla to Ladakh and on to Kashmir, together with five English companions and a large team of Ladakhi porters. Clarke was an enthusiastic amateur photographer and it is to him that we owe the first known photographs of Leh. As reported in the previous issue of *Ladakh Studies*, these photographs have recently been republished by Hugh Rayner (2013).

One of the most striking images shows Leh bazaar. From the direction of the shadows we can tell that the photograph must have been taken in the early

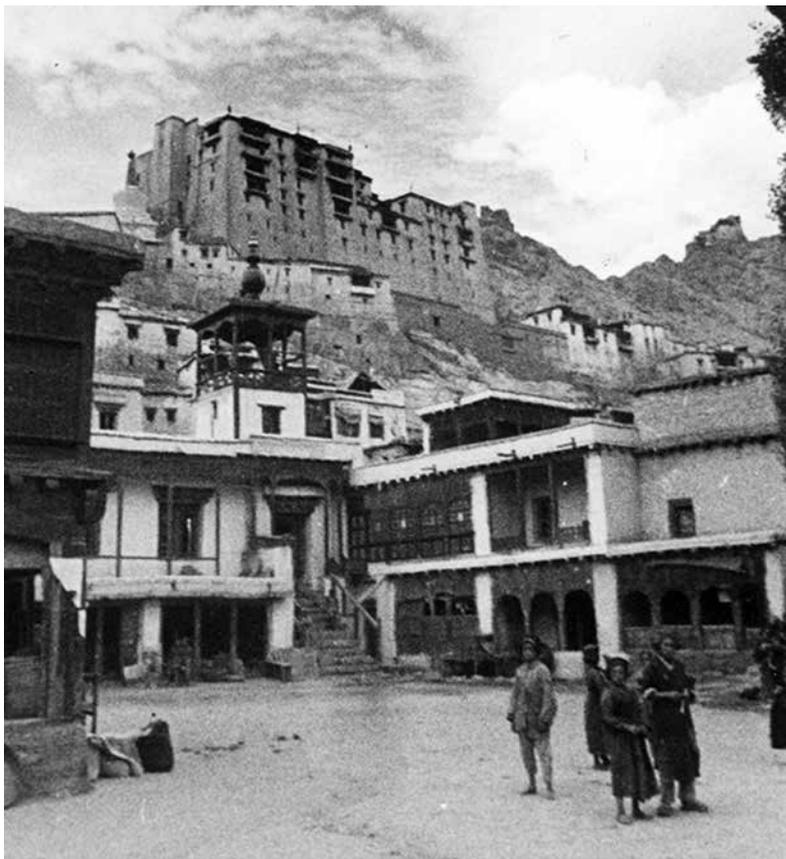
afternoon, and we know the approximate date: Clarke and his friends stayed in Leh for just three days, setting out for Kashmir on 21 August 1861.

At first sight, the scene looks very familiar: we can see the edge of the palace in the top right-hand corner, and of course the hills and mountains leading up to the Khardong-la in the background have not changed at all. However, on closer inspection the bazaar itself looks completely different.



The first point to strike one is how quiet it looks. Both Clarke and his friend Henry Torrens (1862) remarked on Leh's deserted appearance. It seems that a caravan from Yarkand was expected to arrive a few days later but in the meantime, according to Torrens, there was "about as great a dearth of all stir or movement in its streets as in a city of the dead".

Still, the bazaar is not wholly uninhabited. In the foreground, we can see a stout-looking Englishman—presumably one of Clarke's companions. He is wearing a solar topi and carrying an umbrella, no doubt to protect him from the sun rather



Leh mosque and palace in 1938, from a photograph by Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark. By courtesy of the Ethnographic Collections, National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.

than the rain. Looking a bit more closely, we can see a blurred sign of movement in front of the house to his right: evidently one of the Ladakhi inhabitants had been setting about his business without staying still for the camera. Further down the same side of the bazaar, four people are sitting in the road, chatting among themselves. On the opposite side, we can make out the blurred shapes of another group of people, some of whom seek to be wearing white turbans. Probably, they are Muslim merchants.

So, contrary to Torrens's remarks, there is some sign of movement. However, unlike in today's bazaar, no one looks particularly busy. Perhaps it was quite warm on that August afternoon, and there was no need for any vigorous activity. In addition to the lack of crowds or any sense of busyness, a further note of strangeness comes from the buildings. The houses to the left, look as though they might double as shops but they are only a single storey high. Looking down to the end of the bazaar, we can see that the street which now leads to State Bank of India and the Jokhang does not yet exist: it was not laid out until the beginning of the 20th century on the orders of the then British Joint Commissioner, Captain Trench.

However, the greatest surprise of all is the mosque, the Jama Masjid. I well remember the old Jama Masjid as it used to be when I myself first visited Leh in 1979. It was a simple two-storey structure in Central Asian style with a small tower at one end. I had always imagined that this earlier building—since replaced by a modern structure in Turco-Iranian style—was the original mosque, which was built by Sheikh Muhi ud-Din in 1666-1667. Now, looking at Clarke's photograph, my first thought was: "Where is the mosque? It isn't there! What happened?"

A closer examination of the photograph shows that there is a building on the site. It is marked by '*Alam*' flags, which Ladakhi Muslims sometimes offer in thanksgiving when their wishes are fulfilled (as can still be seen at the mosque in Shey). We can therefore be sure that it is indeed a mosque. However, it is a more modest building, apparently raised on a platform, but only one storey high. This too is in a Central Asian style, but more reminiscent of the early 17th century Masjid Sharif in the Tsa Soma garden opposite the Central Asian Museum. The Masjid Sharif is thought to be Leh's earliest mosque, and it is perhaps not surprising that—according to Clarke's photograph—the Jama Masjid was once built in a similar style.

From Clarke's photograph, we can clearly see that the old Jama Masjid as many of us remember it was not in fact the original building. As far as I know, the

earlier structure of the mosque as it existed until sometime in the 19th century is not widely known, and may have been completely forgotten. Clarke hardly saw himself as a scholar, but we are indebted to him for this important piece of documentation of the early history of Islam in Ladakh. **■**

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From the Archives: the Investiture of King Tsetan Namgyal in 1782

John Bray

In 1782, the nobles and officials of Ladakh forced King Tsewang Namgyal (Tshe dbang rnam rgyal) to abdicate, and installed his young son Tsetan Namgyal (Tshe brtan rnam rgyal) on the throne in his place. This event was the culmination of many years of misrule. In particular, the old King had developed a great passion for Central Asian horses, and had demanded high taxes to pay for them. Instead of listening to the advice of the nobles, who should have been his trusted ministers, he had turned to people they considered to be their social inferiors. Eventually, the situation became intolerable.

We know about this episode from the Ladakhi royal chronicle, the *La dvags rgyal rabs* (Francke 1926: 122-123), and from an account by Luciano Petech (1977: 115-118). Recently, I came across another document which—though incomplete—gives some further details.

The text is contained in a manuscript notebook by the Moravian missionary historian A.H. Francke, dated 1915. This was a difficult period in Francke's life. He had arrived in Leh in September the previous year, soon after the outbreak of the First World War. Since he was a German citizen, he was obliged to surrender to the British authorities and was confined in an internment camp in Ahmednagar until March 1916 when he was repatriated to Germany, via Holland. Despite his confinement, he was allowed to correspond with Joseph Gergan (then known as 'Joseph Tsetan') in Ladakh and with Sir John Marshall, the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) in Shimla. The notebook contains draft English translations and summaries of documents collected by Joseph: Francke presumably forwarded fair copies of the texts to Marshall. The original notebook is now in the archive of the University of Leipzig in Germany.¹

¹ We gratefully acknowledge the Univeristy's permission to transcribe the document here.

This particular text draws on a manuscript copy prepared by Joseph: it is a detailed summary rather than a full translation. I have not been able to trace the original text although, as might be expected, it seems that Gergan himself drew on it in his own history of Ladakh, *Bla dvags rgyal rabs 'chi med gter* (1976). Gergan's account in turn was one of Petech's sources.

The document evidently reflects a consensus view of the events that led to Tsewang Namgyal's abdication: it is signed by the leading ministers as well as representatives of the main monasteries and the Muslim trading community in Leh. Here, I reproduce Francke's notes as they appear in his notebook, except that I have replaced underlining with italics, and added a few explanatory footnotes.

The text

Investiture of Tshse brtan rnam rgyal

Introductory hymn

The reasons why it came to a revolution.

In consequences of the King's bad deeds in former births a certain *Mig za* (= Mirza) *malig*, presented a good horse from Turkestan (*Ti-bi-cag*) to King *Tshe-dbang-rnam rgyal*. As the King wished to get more of these horses, *Mig-za malig* brought one or two also in the following years. But *Mig-za malig* gained a bad influence over the King and the latter began to find pleasure in the religion of the outsiders (Mohammedans). He would no more listen to his ministers and subjects. Then *Kāma* (*Yid-bsrub*) entered the King's heart, and from *dKar rtse* the following musicians (*bhe-dkar*) arrived: *Nasi ali*, *Rahim-ali*, and *Bhi-bi* (their wife?) with their children (According to a note by *J.Thse-brtan*, they were brought by *dBang-rgyal* of Mulbe).

Costly presents were made to these musicians, among them a violin of gold and silver.² The *Bh-ibi* was taken to the castle as the King's wife.³ Low-caste people

² Francke (1921: 139) mentions that on what proved to be his final journey to Ladakh in 1914 he met a musician in Saspol named Mahmud Ali who had a silver fiddle inlaid with precious stones. One of the kings of Ladakh had given it as a present to Mahmud Ali's ancestor in recognition of his musical talents.

³ During this period the Kings of Ladakh commonly married Muslim princesses from neighbouring states. In this case, the marriage seems to have been considered unacceptable because of the *Bhi bi*'s social background rather than her religion.

received high rank and the noblemen were ordered to salute them humbly. Then *bKa-blon* minister *Kun-khyab* and *sKyid-don-grub*, Mayor of *Ting-sgang* were sent to the King to interfere. But all the noblemen were put into prison and fettered with iron. Fields and houses were robbed, the taxes increased. *Nasib Ali* was appointed as assistant to the [first] minister. The *Bhibi* was placed on a high throne in the [??] hall, and the nobility was forced to salute her humbly. At that occasion King *bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal* died (Was he killed in a revolution?).⁴

His daughter had a son called *Nyi-ma-rgyal-mtshan*. She ruled over *Burig*. *dBang rgyal* minister (of *Mulbe*) was her husband, but she died soon. Then he gathered all the wealth of King *bKra shis rnam rgyal*, and went off to *dBus-gtsang*.

The musicians (*Bhe-dkar*) stayed [at Leh] for three or four years, then a revolution took place (but not against the King's life) and *Nasib-ali* and the *Bhibi* were turned out.

In a council of ministers it was resolved to urge the King to retire to *Khrig-rtse* castle. On that occasion *bKa blon Bang rgyal* of *Mulbe* tried to seize *Bu-rig* and *Zangs-dkar*. But all his hopes were in vain, as the nobility tried again to [cause?] a reconciliation with the King. He was banished to *Byang-thang* (again a man was sent to call him back?).

All the new taxes should be abolished. Instead of lighting lamps in the temples, lights had been lit for the King's horses. This was to be altered. The subjects were again to be treated in a just manner. People who had beaten a royal horse had been punished by cutting off their hands. This was to be done no more. Ears were no more to be cut off. The punishment of [*Cud-bu* was to be abolished [a cruel mode of killing between twisted ropes]. No more women of low birth were to be made queen. Kashmiris, *Mons*, *Bhe-dkars*, *Dzoki* (*Yogis*), *Fakirs* and other beggars and astronomers were no more to be fed at [state] expense. The subjects were no more to be forced to do unnecessary work for the royal buildings.

A revolution against *dBang-rgyal* who took shelter at the *Theg-mchog* monastery⁵ is mentioned. Joseph notes in that connection that in the royal archives he has seen a document speaking of an attempt by the younger son (or brother?) of the King against the King's life. This was averted by the nobility.

⁴ *bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal* had been king of *Purig* which was temporarily separated from Ladakh in the mid-18th century. He seems to have died in 1758. See Schwieger (1996).

⁵ *Chemre* monastery.

Finally, it was resolved to give the government to *rGyal-sras-gzhon-nu* (prince the youth), apparently *Thse-brtan-rnam-rgyal*.

In the water-hare year (1782/1783 AD according to Joseph Thse-brtan), he was placed on the lion throne of Ladvags. Follow much good advice for a blessed rule: for instance capital punishment ought to be administered in such small quantities as gold is weighed. The taxes ought to be in proper proportion to the income.

King *Thse dbang rnam rgyal* should go to the *Theg-mchog* monastery and became a lama. Distribution of fields and other sources of income between the old and new King. Arrangements with regard to personal intercourse with the King. Only the high nobility should have access to the King. Other people must find a person from among them to become their spokesman.

Seals: On the top of the document: *sKyabs-mgon rGyal-sras* (saviour prince) *Ma 'apham-thse-dbang- 'aphrin-las-bstan- 'dzin* – and *Thse-brtan-rnam-rgyal*.

Below the document: the authorities of the following monasteries: *Hemis, Theg-mchog*. Minister *Thse-brtan-dpal- 'abyor, Nag-dbang*, of the other remaining ministers and nobility, of the district of Upper Ladakh, *bstod* of Lower Ladakh (Sham), the Jos (chiefs) and Wazirs of Burig, the *Nang-bso* etc of *IDum-ra*, the district of *Chor-sbad-gra-ma*.

Then a few lines in Persian, stating that the [Mohamedan] merchants of [of Leh] have taken notice of the above with their seal.

Additional text on reverse of document speaks of additions to the grant made to *Thse dbang-rnamrgyal?*]. Seals of monastery officials of *He-mis, Theg-mchog, Khrig-rtse, dPe-thub, Mang-spro, Stag-sna, sGang-sngon, Klu-khyil*.⁶ 卐

⁶ Hemis, Chemre, Thikse, Spituk, Matho, Stagna, Phyang and Likir

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Himalayan Studies Conference 2014

(Third Conference of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies)

Yale University, Connecticut, March 2014

Andrea Butcher

The 3rd Conference of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies (ANHS) was hosted by the Yale Himalaya Initiative. It was held at Yale's Luce Hall, in the New England university town of New Haven, Connecticut, from 14th to 16th March 2014. Originally established in 1971 as the Nepal Studies Association, the Association became the ANHS in 1999. This was in response to growing research and scholastic interest in the mountain region as a whole, and the ANHS' remit now encompasses the Himalayan, Karakoram, and Hindukush regions, as well as the adjacent mountain areas of high Asia. The Association publishes a biannual peer-reviewed journal and organises regular conferences for scholars of the Himalaya to showcase their work.

The 3rd ANHS conference was convened by Dr Mark Turin, Programme Director of the Yale Himalaya Initiative, and assisted by Sampada KC and the Conference Organising Committee. The conference successfully managed an ambitious schedule of 33 panels and six roundtables over three days, with as many as seven panels running simultaneously, and over 200 research scholars, health practitioners and artists presenting their work. Participants came from all over the Himalayan region, and beyond, including delegates from the UK, Europe, Asia and Australia, in addition to those from north America. In addition, the conference was broadcast live through Twitter feed, allowing scholars and professionals from across the globe to engage with the conference remotely as it was happening. The conference presentations were focused on a central theme of "communities", that is the dialogue within and between communities (social, religious, national and governmental) across the Himalayas. Panel themes covered a diversity of themes explored from interdisciplinary perspectives. These ranged from photography, religious and sacred landscapes, regional identities and citizenship, medicine (traditional and allopathic) through to questions of development and change. Questions of environmental and climate change, adaption to changing conditions, and livelihood sustainability were a prominent feature, either explicitly or indirectly, for a majority of panels and their presenters, indicating the urgent challenges that contemporary Himalayan

communities believe they face with changing environmental and climatic conditions.

The regions of Ladakh and Zangskar were represented by Rob Linrothe (North-Western University), Mona Bhan (DePau University), Jacqueline Fewkes (Florida Atlantic University), Rohit Singh (University of California), Melissa Kerin (Washington and Lee University), Carey Clouse (University of Massachusetts Amherst), Goswami Ganesh (Dutta Sanatan Dharma College) and me (Andrea Butcher, University of Exeter). The region of Spiti was represented by Patrick Sutherland (University of the Arts London). Rob Linrothe, Jacqueline Fewkes, and Mona Bhan each convened panels discussing Photography in the Field, the Himalayan Ummah, and Laboring [sic] in the Himalayas: A Critical Perspective.

The inaugural session began with a welcome speech given by Mark Turin, and ANHS President Mary Cameron. This was followed by the presentation of prizes honouring Barbara Brower, John Metz and Arjun Guneratne for their services to Himalayan Studies. This was followed by the first keynote; Francoise Robin, professor of Tibetan Language and Literature at the French institute ASIEs/Inalco (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris) gave a lecture discussing the increasing presence in Tibetan poetry and films of what appears to be the now disappearing herders' black tent. Hereafter followed the day's panel sessions (fourteen altogether) and concluded with a Nepalese feast and drinks reception in the evening.

Day Two hosted twelve panels over the course of three separate sessions, culminating in the second keynote, the screening of Tibetan film-maker Kesang Tseten's 2012 film *Who Will Be a Gurkha?*, in which he documents the annual gruelling recruitment process and personal narratives of the young Nepali men competing for one of the scarce, but highly coveted, places in the Brigade of Gurkhas, a special unit of the British Army. This was followed by drinks and a Chinese banquet in the evening; thus the regions of the Himalaya were well represented from a culinary, as well as a research, perspective. Day three hosted the final five panels in the morning, followed by the ANHS Members' Meeting over Lunch, and farewells.

Running in tandem to the conference was the photographic exhibition *Himalayan Journeys*, which showcased the work of award-winning photographer Kenneth Hanson. The exhibition displayed black-and-white images of the Kanchenjunga, Dhaulagiri, and inner Dolpo regions of Nepal, and the Karakoram of Pakistan. There was also a smaller exhibition of Hanson's colour images of the Pamirs and

the Tajik-Afghan border region. The exhibition was hosted by the New Haven Lawn Club, a ten-minute walk from Luce Hall. Conference attendees were also asked to consider the opening of a new exhibition at the Rubin Museum of Art located in the heart of Manhattan, a museum dedicated to the collection, display, and preservation of the art of the Himalayas and surrounding regions. The exhibition, entitled *Bodies in Balance: The Art of Tibetan Medicine*, is a comprehensive exhibition on the history, theory and practice of Tibetan medicine as disseminated through the visual arts. The museum was offering a complimentary tour for conference participants on the final day of proceedings. This exhibition accompanies the release of a book of the same title.

Whilst different from the IALS conference experience with many panels running simultaneously, there were also many similarities with the ANHS conference, especially in being relaxed, open and friendly, with early-career researchers mingling effortlessly with the many distinguished and accomplished scholars in attendance. The general agreement from veteran ANHS members seemed to be that the bar had been raised quite high. As with our own conferences, it provided an opportunity for scholars to meet old friends and new acquaintances, and discuss ongoing and future projects. Climate change and environmental sustainability were not the only key areas of overlap with IALS research; panels discussing issues of development and change, identity and belonging, material culture, and the right to cultural and language preservation were also dominant themes. For those interested in the kinds of discussions that took place, please follow this link for details of the conference panels: <http://hsc2014.commonswyale.edu/panels/>. As an interdisciplinary forum that aims to support the research of emerging and established scholars from the Himalayan region and beyond, the ANHS would welcome Ladakhi scholars, and scholars of Ladakh, at future conferences. This is an avenue for *Ladakh Studies* to consider when creating future research networks and partnerships. The date and venue for HSC4 is still under discussion.

The conference agenda was an ambitious one, and its successful execution was no doubt a result of the tireless efforts of Mark Turin and the Conference Organising Committee. The conference was sponsored by the Yale Himalaya Initiative, the South Asian Studies Council at Yale, the Council on East Asian Studies at Yale, Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, the Edward J. and Dorothy Clarke Kempf Memorial Fund, Whitney and Better MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies at Yale, and the Shelley and Donald Rubin Foundation. For further conference coverage, please visit the following webpage: <http://www.yale.edu/macmillan/southasia/nepalHimalaya2014.htm>. **IS**

Conference Report:

“The Date of the Alchi Sumtsek Murals: 11th or 13th Century?”

Rachel Q. Levy (Northwestern University) and
Luke A. Fidler (University of Chicago)

The date of the murals in the Sumtsek temple at Alchi, Ladakh, has vexed art historians and Tibetologists for decades. A recent workshop convened by Professor Robert Linrothe at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, aimed to survey key positions in the ongoing debate. Using evidence from inscriptions, epigraphy, style, lineage, architectural analysis, and cultural history, scholars from Europe and the United States presented their arguments over the course of a two-day event in early April 2014.

The workshop began with a welcome from Lisa Corrin, director of the Mary and Leigh Block Museum of Art. Corrin highlighted the collaborative relationship between the Block Museum and the Rubin Museum of Art, which will result in the exhibition “Collecting Paradise: Buddhist Art of Kashmir and Its Legacies.” Linrothe then surveyed the geography and historiography of Alchi, before outlining the stakes of dating the murals.

Amy Heller, Visiting Professor at the Center for Tibetan Studies, Sichuan University, Chengdu, and Research Collaborator with the Tibetan Studies unit of the Le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS, Paris), delivered the first paper. She marshalled arguments based on inscriptions, comparative visual evidence, carbon-14 dating, and Drigungpa reconsecration practices. Pointing to formal similarities between the Sumtsek murals and certain sculptures from the western Himalayan region, she posited an 11th to 12th century date for the Sumtsek.

Gerald Kozicz, of Graz University of Technology, outlined a relative chronology of Ladakhi architecture from the 11th to 14th centuries. Suggesting that the Sumtsek dates to the 11th or 12th century, he proposed that the temple’s ceiling likely collapsed in the 13th century. He argued that the need to renovate the space might account for puzzling disparities between the inscriptions and imagery.

Chiara Bellini, Research Fellow at the University of Bologna, also argued for an 11th century date. However, she suggested that the lineage panel may have been

added in the 16th century, as part of a restoration project. Her intriguing analysis highlighted the problems of over-painting in the space.

In the final paper of the first day, Christian Luczantis, Senior Curator of Himalayan Art at the Rubin Museum of Art, (he will join the School of Oriental and African Studies as David L. Snellgrove Senior Lecturer in Tibetan and Buddhist Art in September 2014) argued for a 13th century date. He placed the temple at a transitional moment in the establishment of the Drigung tradition in the region. In particular, he argued that the depiction of certain figures in the murals indicates a shift towards religious practices associated with the Drigungpa.

The second day of the workshop began with a paper by Philip Denwood, Emeritus Reader in Tibetan Studies in the University of London, Department of the History of Art and Archaeology, SOAS. Denwood, a key figure in Alchi scholarship since 1980, restated his arguments for an 11th century date. He based his analysis primarily on the evidence gleaned from a misspelled inscription on the lineage panel, and surveyed the religious and cultural history of the area in order to suggest how the murals might have come into being.

In the final paper, Linrothe presented a close visual analysis of the murals. Drawing on iconographic and stylistic evidence, he argued for a 13th century date. His presentation occasioned much debate about the working methods of artists in Ladakh and Kashmir, as well as the ways in which artists could have worked in the temple's space.

Although the workshop ultimately failed to reconcile the two sides of the debate, it facilitated a rich exchange of ideas and evidence. The discussion benefited from contributions by attendees from the Europe and the United States, especially photographer Jaroslav Poncar and Sonya Rhie Quintanilla (Cleveland Museum of Art). We are currently at work on a critical article which will discuss the issues raised in the workshop and their broader significance for the field of Tibetan art history; it is to be hoped that the workshop will spur further efforts to explore this productive site. **IS**

Announcement:

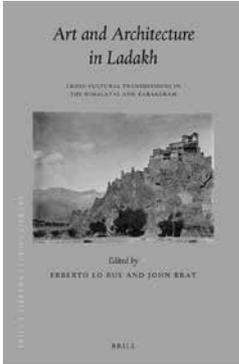
“Francke’s legacy: archaeological research in Ladakh, 100 years after”

This workshop aims at celebrating the centennial of two events related to August Hermann Francke’s archaeological activities in Ladakh. It was in 1914 that the first volume of Francke’s milestone publication *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, a narrative of a tour undertaken in 1909-10 for the Archaeological Survey of India, was published. That same year that Francke visited Ladakh for the last time, after a long and perilous journey throughout what was then Turkestan. In September 1914, he reached Leh from Khotan where he collected objects for the State Museum of Ethnography in Munich, in the frame of the great Central Asian expeditions.

This workshop, organised by the Indo-French Archaeological Mission in Ladakh, aims at celebrating the legacy of August Hermann Francke to archaeological research in Ladakh and presenting the latest contributions to the field. Anyone interested is welcome to attend.

Date and place: the workshop will take place in Leh (Ladakh) on Thursday 28th of August 2014. Please note that the venue of the workshop will be specified in August. For more details please contact Laurianne Bruneau at bruneaulaurianne@yahoo.com 

New IALS publication



We are pleased to announce the publication of *Art and Architecture in Ladakh. Cross-cultural Transmissions in the Himalayas and Karakoram*. Edited by Erberto Lo Bue and John Bray. Leiden: Brill.

The book consists of 17 research papers, mainly drawn from the 2007, 2009 and 2011 IALS conferences. Their topics range widely over time, from prehistoric rock art to mediaeval Buddhist stupas and wall paintings, as well as early modern castle architecture, the inter-regional trade in silk brocades, and the challenges of 21st century conservation. Taken together, these studies

complement each other to provide a detailed view of Ladakh's varied cultural inheritance in the light of the latest research.

The contributors include: Monisha Ahmed, Marjo Alafouzo, André Alexander, Chiara Bellini, Kristin Blancke, John Bray, Laurianne Bruneau, Andreas Catanese, Philip Denwood, Quentin Devers, Phuntsog Dorjay, Hubert Feiglstorfer, John Harrison, Neil and Kath Howard, Gerald Kozicz, Erberto Lo Bue, Filippo Lunardo, Kacho Mumtaz Ali Khan, Heinrich Poell, Tashi Ldawa Thsangspa and Martin Vernier. For further details of each paper please see the *Ladakh Bibliography Supplement* at the end of this edition of *Ladakh Studies*.

For information on how to order the book, please consult the Brill website at: www.brill.com/products/book/art-and-architecture-ladakh. The listed price is €149 or USD194. IALS members may apply for a 25% discount, valid until 31 December 2014. If you wish to make use of this offer, please send an e-mail to John Bray (JNBray1957@yahoo.co.uk) to request an application form. **IS**

Book Reviews



Counterinsurgency, democracy and the politics of identity in India: From warfare to welfare

by Mona Bhan, 2014, Routledge, p. 231

Sunetro Ghosal

The book *Counterinsurgency, democracy and the politics of identity in India: From warfare to welfare* provides a critical account of change in Ladakh though its specific focus is the Brogpa community in the aftermath of the Kargil war. Even though the book does discuss geopolitical processes, its main focus remains everyday events and changes experienced by Brogpas as they engage with different agents and actors. It draws on a longer history to dwell on the increased militarisation and changes in governance mechanisms in the area after the Kargil War in 1999. The book describes various social, economic, ecological and political opportunities and challenges faced by the Brogpa community and their engagement with discourses of nationalism and development. It also engages with discourses on counterinsurgency, especially in Kashmir valley, to analyse the role of the Indian Army in politics and governance.

The book starts by locating the Brogpas in Ladakhi society and exploring the multiple relations that bind them to various process and communities in the region. It then discusses their engagements with various governance mechanisms, especially the hill councils in Leh and Kargil, and the securitisation of development in Ladakh through the Indian Army's Operation Sadbhavna. The book's narrative weaves together specific events and experiences with more general theories, practices and contests. This provides insights into multi-layered processes of change and a critical commentary on theories of identity and politics, highlighting the role of power in interactions between the military and civil society along India's contested frontier with Pakistan.

One thing that stands out throughout the book is the author's efforts to engage with complexity when discussing narratives of change, identity, politics, military, development and governance. Brogpas are well-suited for such discussions,

as they inhabit multiple borderlands and help trace the strong undercurrents that shape discourses on identity, nation-building and development. These borderlands include ones between India-Pakistan, Leh-Kargil districts, Buddhist-Muslim communities and civilian-military domains. The everyday experiences that emerge from these interfaces are especially fascinating and make even the theoretical discussions in the book appealing and accessible.

Overall, the arguments are well-structured and systematic, which help the reader navigate and appreciate the complexity of the issues being discussed. It draws heavily on the ethnographic data collected by the author through extended stays in the area. The richness of the ethnographic material allows the author to navigate the multiple levels and time frames in her discussions. For instance, the book starts with a poignant account of the villagers' nonchalant response to artillery shelling, a few years after the end of hostilities between India and Pakistan. This response is in sharp contrast with the author, who responded with alarm to the same events. These contrasting responses serve as a starting point for discussions on disruption of lives and the normalisation of violence, which echo through the rest of book.

Similar discussions also deal with processes of change underway in the region and their impact on Brogpa communities. One such discussion is on the religion-based identity politics that has gained currency in Ladakh over the last few decades. Here the book describes the shift towards conservatism in the 1970s and 80s amongst Muslim communities in Kargil, which is reflected by a similar shift amongst the Buddhist communities, especially the urban elite in Leh. The book provides a vivid account of the impacts of these shifts on Brogpa identity, social relations and political engagements.

Such critical explorations of the interactions between multiple historical, political, ethnic, economic and developmental processes are characteristic of the book. The author exhibits considerable intellectual and literary skill to navigate this complexity and extract theoretical insights, while giving voice to different interests and actors. For instance, the conversations with different members of the Indian Army helps humanise this seemingly monolithic institution and highlight the plurality of interests and perceptions within it. Similarly, the author also describes different interpretations of history within and between different groups and agencies in the region to dwell on the contestations inherent in questions of identity in a society increasingly shaped by market forces.

The book is easy to read and engaging. It avoids jargon and provides sufficient discussion on the various concepts it uses. This makes it accessible to academics

and non-academics alike, who may be interested in Ladakh specifically or issues of identity and politics in general. It also builds its arguments with care and diligence, which allows readers to participate in the process of analysis, while attending to its weaknesses and strengths.

I recommend this book for several reasons. In addition to the ones already mentioned, I would add a few more: Firstly, the author brings a critical voice to the discussion, which constantly encourages questioning of assumptions. Secondly, its arguments and discussions provide a viable alternative to simplistic narratives and explanations that dominate these discourses. It is a significant contribution to the literature on social change, identity, military practices and development studies. It also makes an important contribution to the specific literature on the Brogpa, who have been objects of many popular tales and myths. Lastly, the book adds to a growing number of critical ethnographies that are centred on Ladakh but have a much wider significance. ■



Peace is Everybody's Business: Strategy for Conflict Prevention
by Arjun Ray, 2012, Sage Publications, p. 264

Muzaffar Hussain

Peace is Everybody's Business: Strategy for Conflict Prevention dwells on intra-state conflict in the 21st Century, challenges of alienation and non-violent alternatives to counter insurgency. The book argues for an alternate strategy to manage “alienated societies”, which are on the verge of insurgency, through “the effective use of soft power to win back estranged communities into the social and political (national) mainstream” (p. ix). Theoretically, it claims to reconcile two extreme positions that prioritise national security and human rights in dealing with alienation/insurgency. The book is highly prescriptive and combines anecdotes from the implementation of Operation Sadbhavna in Ladakh with theoretical models of peace-building. The author employs a two-dimensional

strategy: to argue for a new model of conflict prevention and peace-building, while also presenting Sadbhavna as a successful case study. To achieve this, the author first seeks to establish that Ladakh was on the brink of possible conflict—“incipient insurgency” and then argues that Sadbhavna successfully contained this threat.

The author locates this model in the global political context of the post-Cold War era, which he associates with a “culture of peace”. He argues that this “culture of peace” has ushered an “age of conflict prevention” (p. 57) but does not provide any supporting explanation for this transition. This context is important for the alternate model as it implies that conflict prevention is a defining feature of the post-Cold War period. However, in the absence of a discussion, the model’s integrity is dependent on the central assumption of an inescapable “age of conflict prevention”.

In this model, the author recommends a partnership between military, civilian institutions and the media. He devotes considerable space to outline rationalities of tasks for both military and the media. The strategy includes three key processes that “should include institutionalised systems of early warning, structural measures to address root causes of alienation and conflict, and mobilisation of political will” (p. 60). In this regard, Sadbhavna is presented as a case study where structural causes of conflict are addressed through a focus on human security and development. To his credit, Ray acknowledges the limits of this model, especially in cases where conflict and insurgency are not caused by poor governance and alienation.

As mentioned earlier, the backdrop for Sadbhavna is set by arguing that Ladakh was ripe for insurgency due to an assumed “alienation”, which is discussed at length through the book. Alienation is described as a “socio-psychological condition” that emerges “when one is not in charge of one’s life” (p. 15). Poverty, globalisation, culture and politics are identified as causes and forms of alienation. Special attention is devoted to political alienation caused by “lack of peace and failure of governance” (p. 14). Communities are thus excluded and “do not participate in the political life of state” and are “pushed out of the nation’s political mainstream or space” (p. 17). Even as the author identifies political alienation as the main cause of conflict, he provides no causal links between violence/insurgency and alienation, with explanations focussing on philosophy and human nature. For instance, political alienation is said to take away “human being’s desire to exercise social and political choice” leading to the “pain of rejection” (p. 17). This pain makes individuals “indifferent” and leads to a “defiance and culture of violence” (p. 17). This

transition is treated as a natural progression with little justification, explanation and conceptual clarity.

The author demonstrates political alienation in Ladakh by outlining gaps in governance and the state's failure to deliver. On governance, Ray asserts that there was "either too much of government or no government at all" (p. 61). Furthermore, the local administration is regarded as interventionist, rather than participative. Ray used examples from the education and health sector to substantiate his claim of governance failure. He identifies several problems in the education sector including shortage of teachers, teacher absenteeism and fear of shelling near the Line of Control with Pakistan. In the health sector, he identifies the absence of rural dispensaries, unavailability of doctors and medicines and the poor state of government health clinics.

In addition to the four forms of alienation, Ray discusses another one: "Muslim alienation". He seems to use 'Muslim alienation' and 'Islamic fundamentalism' interchangeably in the book. He links Muslim alienation to the absence of modernisation among Muslims and identifies religious schools (*madrassas*) as "the main obstacle to modernisation" (p. 35). This alienation is also linked with the perception of Islam by non-Muslims, characterised as "Islamophobia" or a general fear and suspicion of Muslims. This has created a gap between Muslims and non-Muslims leading to the exclusion of the former. However, Muslim alienation is not an immediate concern within the overall scheme of the book but used to link Ladakh with current global trends. Ray justifies this on the basis of general complaints made by specific individuals against the "Central government and army for doubting their loyalty for over 50 years" (p. 40) and resulting discriminatory practices. He further highlights that Muslims account for only 8 percent of the total strength of Ladakh Scouts regiment.

The remedy to this alienation is identified as Operation Sadbhavna. Through the broader discussion on alienation, Ray appears to suggest that Ladakh as a whole required a grievance redressal even though he locates this alienation only in one community. The book proceeds to categorically state that Sadbhavna was initiated to "win Muslims back into the nation's mainstream" (p. 41). He argues that Sadbhavna was not just a response to alienation, but to every possible developmental and governance issue in Ladakh. Discussions on Sadbhavna are spread across several chapters, including delivery of information technology and provision of educational and health-related facilities. Education and women empowerment have been portrayed as the best antidote to Muslim alienation. Ray argues that both programmes were pursued in the context of prevalent religious norms. Religious studies therefore became an important part of the

curriculum, ensuring further participation of clergy. Similarly, the project of women empowerment did not focus on “equality with men” but aimed at making women “better mothers and better wives” (p. 43).

Ray appears to argue that Sadbhavna fostered a culture of peace by transforming everyday life. Specifically, it is credited with having empowered citizens, widened choices, provided human security, made communities assertive for their rights and creating communal harmony in Ladakh. Ray first argues that Ladakh was characterised by “communal disharmony” and then credits the army for facilitating dialogues and cultural activities that led to communal harmony.

The “alternate strategy of conflict prevention” is a central feature of the book (and also appears in the title) and is realised in the form of Sadbhavna. For this, Ray makes every possible argument (only occasionally grounded in empirical evidence) to make his case. However, this enthusiasm is tinged by contradictions and exaggerations. For instance, he argues that modern education is an important response to Muslim alienation and fundamentalism, but in the global context observes that “educated Muslims are more detached” by their awareness of the general conditions of the community. Similarly, there are occasional exaggerations in his claims of Sadbhavna’s achievements and the conditions in Ladakh prior to it. A good example of this is the claim that co-education and communal harmony were virtually absent prior to Sadbhavna. Despite these missing links and exaggerations, the book does make an important contribution to literature on modern Ladakh and peace studies. ■

Ladakh Bibliography Supplement No 25

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).

Abbreviation

AAL. Lo Bue, Erberto & Bray, John (Eds.) 2014. Art and Architecture in Ladakh. Cross-Cultural Transmissions in the Himalayas and Karakoram. Leiden: Brill

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- Akhtar, Adris & Gondhalekar, Daphne. 2014. "Impacts of Tourism on Water Resources in Leh Town." *Ladakh Studies* 30, pp. 25-37. ■ Describes different water-user groups and quantifies their daily water consumption.
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- Bodhi, Sainkupar Rane. 2014. “Leh Ladakh, Tribal Peoples and Concomitant Social Realities: A Politico Historical Conspectus”. *Journal of Tribal Intellectual Collective India* 1, pp 5 to 23. ■ An overview of recent political and social developments.
- Bray, John. 2014. “The Lost Paintings of Kesar.” In *AAL*, pp. 298-313. ■ The paintings formerly existed at the house of the Kalon family in Changspa, now a suburb of Leh. Discusses drawings and photographs of the paintings made in the early 20th century.
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- Butcher, Andrea. 2013. "Tulku and Deity Assistants." *Ladakh Studies 30*, pp. 16-24. ■ Focuses on Taklha Wangchuk's relationship with Togdan Rinpoche, the head of the Drigung Kagyu school in Ladakh (see also previous article).
- Day, Sophie & Leizaola, Ricardo. 2012. "Picturing Ladakhi Nomads over the Span of a Generation." *Visual Anthropology Review 28*, pp 133–151. ■ Reflects on the contemporary significance of a set of photographs of Ladakhi nomads taken in the early 1980s. The images were 'repatriated' to Ladakh in 2009 and 2010 by which time many former pastoralists were working as labourers in Leh.
- Denwood, Philip. 2014. "The Dating of the Sumtsek Temple at Alchi." In *AAL*, pp. 159-166. ■ Reaffirms the author's thesis that the Sumtsek was built in the last third of the 11th century rather than the late 12th or early 13th century as proposed by the art historian Roger Goepfer.
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- Gondhalekar, Daphne et al. 2013. "Water-related Health Risks in Rapidly Developing Towns: the Potential of Integrated GIS-based Planning." *Water International 38*, No. 7, pp. 902-920. ■ Takes Leh as one of two case studies. Shows how a geographic information systems (GIS) tool can assist decision-making on water management.
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- Kozicz, Gerald. 2014. “The Chorten (*mChod rten*) with the Secret Chamber near Nyarma” In *AAL*, pp. 141-158. ■ Detailed description of the chorten, which is dated to the late 11th or 12th century. Proposes comparisons with related monuments in Alchi. Illustrated with photographs and drawings.
- Kunzes Angmo & Bhalla, T.C. 2014. “Preparation of Phabs – An Indigenous Starter Culture for Production of Traditional Alcoholic Beverage, Chhang, in Ladakh.” *Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge* 13, No. 2, pp. 347-351. ■ *Phabs* is an indigenous inoculum which is used for the fermentation of two traditional barley-based alcoholic beverages *chhang* and *arak*.
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- Namgyal Angmo. 2013. Modelling the Sustainability of Tourism in Leh, India, 'the Little Tibet': an Econometric Analysis. BA thesis. Colorado Springs: Colorado College: Faculty of the Department of Economics and Business. 66 pp. ■ Presents the results of a survey of tourist satisfaction, and discusses potential future trends for tourist arrivals.
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- Phuntsog Dorjay. 2014. "Embedded in Stone. Early Buddhist Rock Art of Ladakh." In *AAI*, pp. 35-67. ■ Documents rock carvings in the Kargil area and the Indus and Nubra valleys. Dates them to the period between the 8th and 11th centuries.
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- Satterfield, Lauren. 2009. Trailing the Snow Leopard: Sustainable Wildlife Conservation in Ladakh (India). Report Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for Tibetan and Himalayan Studies, SIT Study Abroad, Spring 2009. South Hadley, Massachusetts: Holyoke College. 72 pp. ■ Reviews conservation programmes led by the Department of Wildlife Protection of the Jammu and Kashmir Government, and the Snow Leopard Conservancy. Available on www.jkwildlife.com.
- Schmidt, Susanne & Nüsser, Marcus. 2012. "Changes of High Altitude Glaciers from 1969 to 2010 in the Trans-Himalayan Kang Yatze Massif, Ladakh, Northwest India." *Arctic, Antarctic, and Alpine Research* 44, No.1, pp. 107-121. ■ Uses satellite images to analyse changes in the area of 121 small glaciers and to measure the retreat of 60 cirque and valley glaciers between 1969 and 2010.

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- Tashi Ldawa Thsangspa. 2014. "Ancient Petroglyphs of Ladakh: New Discoveries and Documentation." In *AAL*, pp. 15-34. ■ Discusses prehistoric rock art in Ladakh, with sections on: masks and giants; human figures; animal representations; and signs and symbols. Illustrated with the author's photographs and tracings.
- Tsering Sonam. 2013. *Ajanta of Ladakh. Gon-Nila-Phuk Meditation Caves Saspol*. Leh: Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council. 345 pp. illus. ■ Introduces the cave paintings in Saspol and outlines proposals for a Ladakh Institute of Language, Fine Arts and Culture. Includes 130 pages of colour illustrations and sections in Hindi and Bodhi.
- Young Drukpa Association of Garsha. 2011. *Garsha, Heart Land of the Dakinis. A Mirror into Lahaul. Sacred Time and Space*. Keylong (Lahaul & Spiti). 158 pp. Illus. ■ A thoroughly researched spiritual and historical guide to Buddhist sacred sites in Lahul (Tib. Gar zha).

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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