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CONFERENCE DIGEST

Please address your questions and information about meetings of interest to the Nepal Studies Association's Conference Coordinator:

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ANNUAL CONFERENCES CALENDAR

CONFERENCE	APPROXIMATE DATES	ABSTRACT DEADLINE
American Academy of Religion	Weekend before Thanksgiving	1 March
American Anthropological Association	Early December	1 April
Association of American Geographers	Early April	1 September
Association for Asian Studies	Early April	1 August
South Asian Conference	3rd Weekend October	15 May

We ask scholars who plan to present papers or organize panels for conferences to notify HRB sufficiently early to allow us to include your plans in the HRB.

CONFERENCE PAPER ABSTRACTS

Annual Meeting, American Academy of Religion

John Powers
Australian National University

Human Rights and Cultural Values: The Political Philosophies of the Dalai Lama and the People's Republic of China

The primary focus of this paper will be the philosophical disagreement between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government on the issue of the universality

of human rights. The Chinese authorities contend that the notion of "human rights" is a creation of Western governments and an instrument by which they attempt to foist their culture-specific values on other countries. Deng Xiaoping has stated that a government's primary duty is to provide food and other basic necessities for its people and that Western ideas of "human rights" are inappropriate in an Asian context. This notion has also been endorsed by Western political leaders, including

President Bill Clinton, but the paper will contend that the moral philosophies of Buddhism and Confucianism—the two most historically important pan-Asian systems of moral philosophy— provide significant grounds for conclusions similar to those outlined in the United Nations' "Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

The Dalai Lama, one of the most prominent contemporary Asian religious figures, contends that the Universal Declaration outlines universal principles applicable to all cultures, Asian and Western. My paper will examine the document in light of the competing claims of both sides, and will discuss how their respective positions reflect their philosophical and religious assumptions and political statuses. The key question will be the issue of whether or not these "universal principles" are in fact universal or only culture-specific.

Todd T. Lewis, Presiding
College of the Holy Cross

Review of Civilized Shamans: *Buddhism in Tibetan Societies* by Geoffrey Samuel

Panelists:

Donald Lopez, University of Michigan
Richard Kohn, University of California, Berkeley
Roger Jackson, Carleton College
Per Kvaerne, University of Oslo

Employing anthropological research, historical inquiry, and textual interpretation, Geoffrey Samuel's *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993) represents a landmark study in the field of Tibetan and Himalayan studies. This work explores the relationship between Tibet's social and political institutions and the emergence of new forms of consciousness that characterize Tibetan Buddhist spirituality. Samuel argues that Buddhism in Tibetan societies was shaped by the development of two related complexes: one ordered by monastic lamas and yogins in pursuit of enlightenment, and the other associated with shamans whose practice met the pragmatic needs of lay householders. Scholars from the disciplines of history, textual study, and anthropology will assess this important work. Afterwards, the author will respond to their critiques and there will be an open discussion.

Reginald Ray
University of Colorado

Ethics in Vajrayana Buddhism

This paper addresses the role of ethics in Vajrayana Buddhism in both its classical Indian formulation and in Tibet. In Western treatments of Tantric Buddhism, ethics are typically either not treated at all, because they are thought not to be important to the tradition, or they are epitomized as "antinomian," again giving the

impression that ethics in any ordinary or conventional sense are absent from the Vajrayana. In fact, ethics are crucial to Tantric Buddhism in India and an accurate assessment of their precise role is essential to any correct understanding of this tradition. This paper will lay out the essential problematic that must inform any attempt to understand Vajrayana ethics. Throughout this discussion, an attempt will be made to set the Vajrayana treatment of ethics in relation to the larger world of Buddhist ethical traditions of which it was indubitably a part.

Ronald M. Davidson
Fairfield University

Conflicted Lineage and the Sa-Skya Short Transmission

The competition for authoritative voice within the Lam-bras systems of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Tibet has been obscured by two historical accidents: the eclipse of alternate lineages by the official sanction of the 'Khon house during the Sa-skya Century of Tibetan history and the loss of most of their records concomitant with their loss of patronage. Yet the ability of the 'Khon-lugs of Lam-'bras to position itself as one of the preeminent systems of spirituality in Asia was largely dependent on the development of a mythic contextualization of certain visionary pronouncements of Sa-chen Kun-dga' snying-po (1092-1158). Two visionary events in Sa-chen's life are cited in the later literature as having overwhelming significance—the appearance and teaching by Manjusri in his youth and the appearance and teaching by Virupa in his later life. While the former is identified as an alternative form of the basic Mahayana teaching (lam-rim), the latter represented to the Sa-skya an entirely new model of "short transmission" (nye-brgyud) which circumvented problems associated with some of the earlier masters.

David Germano
University of Virginia

The sNying Thig Traditions of Vimalamitra

The Great Perfection (*rDzogs Chen*) traditions in Tibetan Buddhism transformed radically during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries via a series of "treasures" (*gTer Ma*), works claiming to be rediscoveries of ancient texts. The most important created the Seminal Heart (*sNying Thig*) movement: *The Seventeen Tantras* and *The Seminal Heart of Vimalamitra*. They constitute arguably the first truly innovative Tibetan reinterpretation of Buddhist tantra. The latter purports to be a collection of treatises authored by pre-ninth century Indian figures and is quite heterogeneous. Presumably it was composed by various authors over many decades and only gradually codified into its present form. This paper will constitute analyze its overall structure, content of individual texts, gestalts of authors, major themes, internal tensions and other issues. Such analysis is vital for any progress in sorting

out the phases and factions involved in the development of this critical tantric tradition.

Janet Gyatso
Amherst College

The Heart Sphere of the Dakinis: The Place of the Female in Tibetan Myth

The earliest Buddhist "Treasure" scriptures in Tibet are the 11th century "Heart Sphere" (*snying-thig*) teachings attributed to the Indian monk Vimalamitra. Two centuries later, a version of this important meditative system was attributed instead to Padmasambhava, the lay Indian master credited with introducing tantric Buddhism to Tibet. This latter version was entitled "Heart Sphere of the Dakinis" (*mKha' 'gro snying thig*). In this presentation I will ponder why the female angel/trickster/buddha figure of the *dakini* was highlighted in this title, and what special role, if any, she is given in its chapters. In any event, it is clear that the Padmasambhava's tantric teachings in Tibet is cast as a queen/dakini, "given" by the Tibetan king to Padmasambhava to serve as his consort in sexual yoga. My larger intent in this paper is to begin to ask what the dakini symbolized to the Tibetans as they constructed the myth of their national identity in the Treasure literature.

Matthew Kapstein
Columbia University

Inverting the Empire: The Reinvention of Tibet's Past in Early *Gter-ma* Literature

The "rediscovered" teachings and scriptures of the 11th-14th centuries included substantial accounts of the history of the old Tibetan empire (7th-9th centuries), or aspects thereof. The *gter-ma* literature thus effected at one and the same time a recovery of ancient tradition and a profound transformation of knowledge of the past, that accorded with post-imperial actualities. In the present short paper specific examples are provided to demonstrate the manner in which this process of recovery-cum-transformation may have operated. In

particular, we shall examine some of the historical narratives that were elaborated in connection with the development of the meditational systems of the *Rdzogs-chen snying-thig*, codified in the 14th century by Klong-chen Rab'byams-pa.

Donald S. Lopez, Jr
University of Michigan

Tantra: The Definition Problem

The term "tantra" has proven to be remarkably resistant to definition throughout the history of the study of Asian religions. The moment that "tantra" is allowed to float free as an abstract noun, signifying anything more than a text in whose title the term "tantra" appears, a host of problems are encountered. This paper examines some of the ways in which the term "tantra" has been employed (both by traditional exegetes and by modern scholars), before proceeding to suggest a variety of strategies whereby the term might be delimited. One apparent route is to eschew definition altogether, regarding tantra instead as the undifferentiated substratum of Indian culture underlying all forms of Indian religiosity and manifesting itself overtly at certain key junctures in the development of Hindu and Buddhist traditions. Other strategies include polythetic classification, seeing tantra as a "supplement," as a "placeholder," and as "a floating signifier".

Charles D. Orzech
University of North Carolina, Greensboro

Studying Tantric Traditions: Indigenous Terminology and Scholarly Categories

The creation and deployment of taxonomies—both within Tantric traditions and in scholarly accounts of Tantric traditions—is at the heart of "tantric" discourse. The four pre-circulated papers examine what we might call taxonomic anomalies and the responses to them within the contexts of Bhagavata religion, of Tibetan and modern reflection on the *Heart Sutra*, of Tibetan imperial interests, and of Japanese Zen and Esoteric lineages. Two respondents will lead the discussions.

Annual Meeting, American Anthropological Association

Vincanne Adams
Princeton University

Speaking Nepalese Truth to Medical Power

This paper explores the specificity of universalist claims to truth by way of a study of biomedically-trained Nepalese professionals in the 1990 Nepali democratic revolution. Health professionals in Nepal invoked biomedical truth claims in order to instigate and sustain a revolution which would unseat their Hindu

King, eradicate cultural obstacles to development, and eventually lead to the establishment of a multiparty democratic government that would, because organized scientifically, "usher" in modernity for the masses. This essay explores the implications of these activities as an example of the localization of biomedical practice in a region of export. It explores the problems these professionals faced, in 1993, reconciling the contradictions of their desires, whereas they attempted to transcend cultural-historical formations constituted as the breeding grounds of "corruption" and "political

exploitation," the act of politicizing their medical practices in fact opened them up to and made visible the cultural and historical specificity of their practices in Nepal. A study of their universalisms reveals how Nepalese subjectivity persistently unseats and challenges the cogency of universalist claims. The situated subjectivity of Nepalese physicians also poses difficult challenges to the ethnographer who desires to acknowledge and attend to the political dreams of these activists (which are contingent on notions of objective truth) while also acknowledging their equally strong desires for a distinctive national identity, their own positions of social privilege, the specificity of their practices of truth, and the truth their practices offer to "Western" centers of medical knowledge (all of which foreground cultural contingency).

Laura M. Ahearn
University of Michigan

Altering Agency: Changing Conceptions of Agentive Forces in Marriage Among Magars in Nepal

In this paper I explore how Magars in a Nepali village are changing the ways in which they allocate causality or responsibility in their narratives of marriage. As other papers on this panel demonstrate, agency may be a feature of a collectivity instead of a single human being, or alternatively, it may be exercised by part of an individual whose subjectivity is fragmented and who may not even view herself as an agent. The approach of this paper is to ask a slightly different question: where do the people themselves locate agency? Increasingly, instead of identifying a supra-individual karma as an agentive force in marriage, Junigau villagers are espousing a more individualistic notion of agency. Drawing on narratives of capture marriage, arranged marriage, and elopement, I argue that it is important to attend to local conceptions of agency, particularly when they are in the process of transformation. It is equally important to locate these discourses on agency within the broader social, political, economic, and ethnographic contexts in which the narrators frame their remarks at given historical moments. In so doing, we can avoid the assumption that agency is synonymous with resistance and possessed solely by individuals, asking instead why people may choose to avow or eschew agency of varying types, depending on the situations in which they find themselves.

Mary Des Chene
Bryn Mawr College

Going Public: Auto-Ethnography as Critique of the State of the Nation in Nepal

Since the 1990 People's Movement, public-sphere debate in Nepal has been transformed; previously debarred subjects are now daily fare. One topic vigorously debated is the place of ethnic minorities

within Nepal. Hinduism, Monarchy and Nepali language as the elements that constitute the nation are constructs challenged by those who find themselves unrepresented. One site of challenge is a new genre of "ethnic magazines," produced by marginalized groups. I examine magazines produced by and about Gurung (Tamu) people, one such minority group. All ethnographic writing about Gurungs, including my own, has agreed that Gurungs are, locally, strikingly self-conscious about the organization of their society and their cultural distinctiveness. The ethnic magazines attempt to forge a wider community consciousness, and to examine relations between Gurungs and the Nepali state. For their Gurung audience these magazines invite self re- education: who has said what about us? What do we think of it? What do we know about our history and society? For a "Nepali" audience (particularly caste Hindus whose practices have been taken as normative for Nepal), they additionally situate Gurungs in the public-sphere, and Gurung social practices on a par with others. This deployment of auto-ethnography (in articles about religion, origins, language) revises previous understanding of Nepal as a nation, arguing for a more inclusive national polity. The radical challenge of the ethnic magazines is that they do not merely call for inclusion in current structures, but for reassessment of assumptions about Nepali society that inform current law, education, and social privilege.

William F. Fisher
Harvard University

The Politics of Identity in Contemporary Nepal

This paper examines the changing significance of ethnic identities for minority groups in Nepal since the "restoration" of democracy in 1990 and the increasing volatility of identity politics in Nepal. It focuses on the strategies of the Janajati Mahasangh (Nepal Federation of Nationalities), a federation formed in 1990 of twenty-two separate ethnic associations. As this federation and its member associations negotiate identities and political agendas, they turn both inward, to rework notions of history, cultural continuities, and modernization through counter-histories and inventive revitalizations, and outward, in an attempt to create a national ethnic majority of former ethnic minorities and to establish transnational linkages. Some strategies of the Mahasangh -- establishing ties with human rights activists and indigenous groups around the world and explicitly drawing attention to similarities between their struggle and struggles in Eastern Europe, in the former Soviet Union, and elsewhere, for instance -- consciously draw on contemporary global developments and networks and attest to the growing importance of ethnic nationalist movements in the transformation of national and global civil society.

Jana Lucrecia Fortier
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Simple Labor Reciprocity Ain't So Simple: Western Science, Women, and the Study of Work Strategies

During fieldwork in the Himalayas, one work strategy which struck me as essential to labor intensive wet rice farming was simple labor reciprocity (SLR). Although often described by anthropologists referring to management of wet rice systems, SLR is seldom analyzed. Why are labor dynamics of SLR marginalized in agricultural-intensive societies? Why is wage labor theoretically privileged over nonwage work? Partly, Western scientific theoretical frameworks essentialize, reduce, and separate economic features rather than elaborating socio-economic behavior into more fluid interactive paradigms. Further, theoretical marginalization of nonwaged work strategies is influenced by androcentric research biases. Since women's work strategies are only beginning to become an object of scientific interest, many informal nonwaged work strategies are poorly understood.

Related to the general mystification of this form of exchange, researchers frequently equate simple labor reciprocity with equal exchange. Anthropologists even advocate SLR as an egalitarian countermeasure to exploitative wage labor. Assumptions of SLR as socially symmetrical incorrectly situate reciprocity in an evolutionary framework which idealizes reciprocity as a previous form of exchange more symbolically "pure" than market-driven capitalist economies. Using video stills from Himalayan fieldwork, I show that SLR is only one facet of a greater set of work strategies which are frequently asymmetrical.

I conclude that to speak of distinct market-based and simple reciprocity exchange relations can oversimplify a

more complex ecosystem. Scientific, evolutionary models of exchange which exclude gendered realities and which are based on the progression of societal use of reciprocity, redistribution, and finally market-based exchange obscures our understanding of these exchange strategies.

Shubhra Gururani
Syracuse University

Rethinking Resistance: The Politics of Gender and Space in a Central Himalayan Village

How are women's worlds concretized in everyday lived social spaces? Do women in patriarchy, as has been argued by contemporary feminist scholarship, resist structures of authority and control? The increasing focus on resistance among tribals and peasants as the "weapon of the weak" has led to advancing the same framework to the understanding of gender. By looking at Pahari women's everyday activity, this paper aims to illustrate how women do not always challenge and resist male dominated discourse, but assert their femaleness by confronting the realities of their lives. My contention is that we need to redefine resistance in the context of gender and explore how gender relations are shaped by categories of caste, class, and age intersecting the wider social and political relations. Based on examples from my fieldwork in a village in the Kumaon Himalayas in India, I show how in a conservative male-dominated Brahmin community, women construct 'wild spaces' like forests and fields as 'female spaces' which are female in form and content but may not necessarily be seen as spaces of dissent. Finally, I argue that the tendency to attribute enclaves of autonomy to women is reflective of our middle-class, Western-influenced positionality.

Annual Meeting, Association of American Geographers

Piers Blaikie
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Science, Governance and Market in the Blue Corner versus Folk Knowledge, Custom and Autarky in the Green Corner—An Everyday Tag Team Contest in Environmental Policy Making within the Development Industry

Environmental policy making is faced with interesting contradictions between post-structuralist, pluralist and interactionist social science, and objectivist and positivist social and natural science. More recent insights from the sociology of scientific knowledge and political ecology are helpful as critique, but for a more

modest, practical and reformist agenda (how can we do better from tomorrow?), some of these contradictions have to be faced. Recent ways out of these have been developed from neo-liberal and neo-populist development paradigms—better natural science research, better governance, and the neo-liberal market approaches in the blue corner, and folk/local knowledge, local custom and autarky in the green corner, both set up a stylized contest. Two case studies (biodiversity in Cameroon and terrace design in the Nepal Himalaya) show that these choices are only clear to those who do not have to make them. While there are indeed choices, they often are not between overdifferentiated and stylized alternatives.

Keywords: Environment, Political Ecology, Policy, development, biodiversity, Cameroon, Himalaya

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As a Friend to the Children, Commend Me the Yak

Yak are the backbone of pastoral economies within highland Central Asia. They provide butter, milk, hair, dung, traction, transport, meat, and wealth for a diverse array of groups from the southern Himalaya to Lake Baikal, though they are probably identified particularly with Tibet and its periphery. Yak are integrated into systems ranging from fully nomadic enterprises to highly sedentarized stockyard production. Perhaps most interesting and unusual are systems which maintain yak in combination with other bovines, drawing on the yak's unique genetic endowments to produce hybrids genetically tailored to the conditions of particular environments and specialized markets. Beyond their utility for pastoral peoples, yak have a place in literature, art, folklore—and in an emerging high-status exotic livestock market. Yak are becoming the potbellied pigs of the very, very rich, and you, too, may acquire your very own "Royal Tibetan Yak" calf for \$10,000.

Keyword: Yaks, pastoralism, exotic pets.

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Environmental Crisis and Development Discourse in the Nepal Himalaya

Erik Eckholm is attributed with having popularized a theory of environmental crisis in the Nepal Himalaya. In his treatise *Losing Ground* (1976), he links population growth to recent upland deforestation and soil erosion, which are presumed to cause downstream flooding and silting. A historiography of this theory reveals that understandings of the nature and extent of environmental degradation have shifted as the historical political context has evolved. Since the mid 1980's, several studies have contested the veracity of Eckholm's theory. Criticisms are of three orders: a) data used to support the theory were sparse, unreliable, and impressionistic; b) the underlying causes of environmental degradation are more complex and of longer duration than the theory suggests; and c) the theory has been used to support interventions such as reforestation projects, technology introductions, and policy reforms, that are at best ineffective, and at worst wrest control from local resource users. A particularly instructive example was the creation of Sagarmatha National Park, which put further pressure on the very resource base the Park was intended to preserve and thereby intensified conflicts over resources. Nevertheless, contending understandings of the causes of and solutions for environmental degradation have become embedded in discourses on conservation, regional relations and economic development. Thus, on-

the-ground facts about environmental deterioration have become subordinate to the broader debates on sustainable development and the politics of resource use.

Keyword: environmental degradation, development discourse, Nepal.

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Portering Relations and Transcultural Interaction in Northern Pakistan

Pakistan's Karakoram mountains are often described as among the world's highest and least accessible. Yet since the mid 19th century, Karakoram communities have had regular visits from European 'adventurers'. To this day many foreign visitors to the Karakoram seek experiences that cannot be found in the main towns. To a large extent, these visitors rely on local porters to transport them and their possessions through rugged and roadless terrain, and to the tops of mountains. For much of the history of European and pre-European contact portering arrangements were mainly subsidiary to traditional *corvée* obligations to local chiefs. Throughout the 20th century a more autonomous economy of portering emerged, which nevertheless retains elements of its origins in *corvée* labour.

This paper discusses some preliminary results of an ongoing research project which is motivated by a conviction that portering relations have significantly shaped—perhaps dominated—transcultural (insider/outsider) interaction in the Karakoram region. This is especially true of the British period, but also of times before and since. Our main goal is to demonstrate how contact structured by portering relations has shaped transcultural interactions in the Karakoram region, historically and presently, and to describe the geographical constitution of those interactions. By transcultural interactions we mean the material relations of contact, and the ideological representations, or discursive formations, that each group takes away from an interaction and brings to subsequent interactions.

This research has the potential to contribute a theoretically informed and empirically based geography of contemporary transcultural relations and transcultural discourses in 'the contact zone.' While studies outside of the discipline are frequently implicitly geographical, our study will make explicit the geographical constitution of these relations and discourses.

Keyword: transcultural interaction, Pakistan-Karakoram, labour relations.

John J. Metz

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The Landscape Mosaic of the Southeastern Flank of Dhaulagiri Himal, Nepal.

A complex of forest vegetation, modified by the subsistence activities of a dense human population, covers the southeast flank of Dhaulagiri Himal, Nepal. This study used ordination and non-subjective classification techniques to classify 80 1/10 ha stands and to relate the vegetation mosaic to environment and to human use. The landscape consists of 4 intergrading elevational bands. Human action has completely transformed the lowest level, from 1600 to 2500 m, into agricultural fields and forests-degraded-to-shrublands.

The band from 2500 to 3000 m is covered with broadleaf evergreen forests, dominated by species from the Fagaceae, Lauraceae, and Symplocaceae; these forests divide into 3 major "types," which differentiate by altitude, moisture gradient, and human degradation. The third level is also forested and extends from 3000 to 3600 m. In the lower elevations *Abies spectabilis* is the most important species; on mesic sites around 3000 m it associates with *Rhododendron barbatum*, and *Acer campbelli*, while at higher elevations it moves to more southerly aspects and is joined by *Rhododendron arboreum*.

From 3350 to 3600 m *Betula utilis*, *Rhododendron campanulatum*, and *Sorbus spp.* form woodlands on northerly aspects, but the south facing sites are covered with herbaceous pastures, created from the pre-settlement Juniper woodlands by the annual burning of livestock herders. The fourth band is above treeline; on sites protected from fire, *Rhododendron campanulatum* forms dense shrublands to 3800 m, while other sites are covered with herbaceous alpine pastures. With no human presence, the *Abies-Rhododendron* forests appear to reproduce after catastrophic disturbance, but little is known about the presettlement dynamics of the other forests. Human use of all the vegetation is intense and is transforming forests into lower statured, less biologically diverse communities.

Keyword: biogeography, forests, Himalaya.

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Ecotourism as Rural Development in Nepal: The Annapurna Conservation Area Project

A growing body of literature treats ecotourism as a promising strategy for providing sustainable development. The main benefit of ecotourism is its potential for providing needed capital for local and

national economies without exceeding ecological or cultural carrying capacities. These basic premises were used by the World Wildlife Fund and Nepal's King Mahendra Trust for Nature Conservation, when planning the 1000 square mile Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP).

This paper examines the effects of independent and

Keyword: Nepal, ecotourism, trekking.

John F. Shroder, Jr. and Michael P. Bishop

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Jay Quade and William Phillips

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Denudation by Himalayan Glaciers

Thermobarometric and geochronologic work by others has shown rapid uplift and unroofing of the Nanga Parbat massif (8125m) along peripheral faults that have accelerated through the Quaternary to over 5 mm/yr, perhaps to more than twice that rate. Rapid rates of denudation at Nanga Parbat have even been cited as the cause of decompression melting, injection of leucogranites, and high grade metamorphism. Although gravity faulting is commonly cited as a chief agent of tectonic denudation elsewhere in the Himalaya, no evidence of such tectonic unroofing is known for Nanga Parbat. Instead, slope failure, glacier, and river erosion are the chief denudation agents. In the Astor valley, which transects the entire massif from south to north, episodic catastrophic flood flushing of sediment occurred from impounded lake breakouts through massive glacier and slope failure dams. In addition, outburst floods from blocked subglacial drainages are now known to have contributed to highly efficient transfer of glacier sediment for removal by rivers. Our new discoveries of high altitude moraines (Y4250m) of Pleistocene age across the north face of Nanga Parbat show an approximately eight-fold increase in glacier widths and depths over present conditions.

Because measured present-day glacial denudation rates are close to balancing uplift rates, the eight-fold increase of Pleistocene ice is viewed as more than adequate to unroof Nanga Parbat in the Quaternary, in spite of concomitant depression of cold-based and protective ice at that time. The great massif of Nanga Parbat is viewed as surviving rapid denudation only as a knife-edged ridge above an altitude of approximately 5000m through protection by cold-based ice.

Keyword: Himalaya, glacier, denudation.

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The Greening of the Himalayas? Exploring Global Vegetation Index 1982-90

Deforestation reports conjure an imaginary of denuded Himalayas. Recent documentations of localized landscape recovery with trees suggest a regional scale of Himalayan greening. Is this hypothesis supported by time series data of weekly Global Vegetation Index (GVI)? In this paper, I note an increasing trend in GVI over 1982-90. This trend remains robust even when distortions due to inter-satellite Advanced Very High Resolution Radiometer (AVHRR) sensors have been removed by limiting observations to NOAA-9 satellite sensors, for July 1985 to October 1988. Further, the GVI-increase trend is strongest for the remote northwest Himalayan Middle Mountains while none of the other, more accessible subregions of the Himalayas register organized trekking tourism in the Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA) after ten years of ACAP management. Observation and surveys of tourists, lodge owners, and villagers were conducted to determine economic benefits, environmental consequences, and motivation of trekkers in Nepal. Results include that organized group treks provide a greater amount of income for Nepal and businesses in Kathmandu but offer little to local economies. Independent trekkers leave a much larger amount of capital in local economies but leave less in the national economy. Independent trekking is no more harmful to the environment than group trekking. Environmentally, fuelwood has reached such critical levels in some regions that Juniper bushes are cut and the roots burned as fuel. Lodges continue to burn fuelwood for cooking and heating while locals are forced to search further afield and to cut living trees. Tourist have indicated that they are willing to share in the cost of correcting

environmental problems and paying for alternative fuel supplies.any negative trends. While principal components analysis with ground-based georeferencing with GPS systems may help disaggregate and verify the sources of variations affecting GVI, my preliminary explorations do not allow me to reject the contention that the Himalayas may be greening at a regional scale.

Keyword: Himalayan Environment, Remote Sensing, Global Vegetation Index.

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Regional Assessment of Nature-Society Change in the Himalaya

Primary results of research on the regional patterns of environmental change in the Himalaya are summarized in the paper. The macro and micro data sets are merged in a spatial-historical framework to explain patterns of change across the Himalayan region between the bends of the Indus and the Brahmaputra Rivers.

The paper reports on regional trends in land cover change linked to demographic and socio-economic factors. Through a series of choropleth maps significant regional changes linking demographic, environmental and infrastructural shifts over the past century are shown. The research reveals a great deal of regional variations in changes in nature-society relations throughout the Himalaya.

Annual Meeting, Association for Asian Studies

Todd T. Lewis
College of the Holy Cross

The Himalayan Region as a Dual Frontier

Societies and cultures of the Himalayan region have been shaped by long-standing connections to India and to Sino-Tibetan civilizations. Scholarship often describes the Himalayas, defining a "dual frontier," a periphery region that retains archaic socio-cultural characteristics that no longer exist in the former "culture hearth" areas. This can be documented through the history of state formation, trade, migration, and culture. The diffusion of art and architecture as well as the traditions of Hinduism and Buddhism extant across the 1,500-mile mountainous region provide strong frontier case studies. To chart the larger pattern of this relationship, the poster will utilize maps, photographs, and text in outline form. It will draw upon the co-author's *Syllabus of Himalayan History, Anthropology,*

and Religion (published by the AAS) while also indicating the problematic assumptions involved in adopting this historical paradigm for the post-modern period.

Dan Cozort
Dickinson College

The Sand Mandala of Vajrabhairava

Mandalas are potent symbols in tantric Buddhism. Principally, they serve as templates for the unique tantric practice of "deity yoga" in which practitioners imagine themselves as Buddhas in special *sambhogakaya*-form and the aspects of the mandala as their the palace and grounds. But they also symbolize the entirety of the cosmos and are associated with Mt. Meru, the lotus, the stupa, the subtle body, the elements, etc., making them pan-Buddhist symbols.

The mandala of the Buddha Vajrabhairava is one often executed in sand. It is very intricate and often takes several weeks to execute. Relying upon textual and oral explanations of monks of the Tibetan Gelukba (*dge lugs pa*) order, in which the deity yoga of Vajrabhairava has particular importance, the poster will explicate in detail the elements of the mandala, using drawings and photos of a 1995 construction. It will explore the correspondences between the form of the mandala and its symbolic associations. It will also place the process of mandala creation in the context of the special training of monks of Namgyal Monastery, who created the mandala depicted, and describe how the mandala might be used in relation to a *sadhana* (practice manual). It will also raise questions such as whether or not the mandala-makers can be called "artists."

Bronwen Bledsoe
University of Chicago

Urban Space and Social Place: Buddhists in a Medieval City of the Kathmandu Valley

Where major religions live side by side, their relations are articulated in topographical space, societal place and ritual action. In the Kathmandu Valley in late medieval times, Newar Mahayana/Vajrayana Buddhism and its practitioners were formally encompassed by a complex form of theistic state religion. Hindu rulers recentered the ancient cities around new monumental palace squares, but—contrary to the suppositions of most scholarship—Buddhists seem not to have found themselves overly constrained by the encompassing order. Rather, flourishing on the international trade ensured by the king's 'protection,' they remade their world at home, elaborating spaces already defined as Buddhist (*viharas*), and reworking rituals performed in these spaces to make real their own comprehensive ordering of society.

For example, the distinctively Newar *samyak dana*, ('giving in the proper manner' such as that performed at Hiranyavarna Mahavihara in 1659 C.E.) significantly reworked the traditional flow of largesse. It condensed the worlds of the Buddhas into the space of a single courtyard, and it encompassed the entire social order—including the royal-cum-divine Mala king—in a 'proper' Buddhist action. Buddhist and theist maps of urban space and social place were not congruent, but they were regularly made to converge to constitute a single Newar world.

Organizer and Chair: Heather Hindeman
University of Chicago

Discussant: David Gellner
Brunel University

"Authentic" Buddhism in Hindu Nepal

Nepal is often described, by travelers and scholars alike, to be a country of diverse religious practices and a site of Shangri-La. Buddhism is believed to be born in

the Himalayan foothills. People travel from afar as pilgrims and as religious scholars to experience Nepal as the cradle of Buddhist history. Yet, the country's legal constitution proclaims it to be a solely Hindu nation. This panel addresses some of the ways in which Buddhists and those interested in Buddhism strive to explore the Buddhist identities of Nepal.

Laura Kunreuther discusses the first scholarly research of Buddhism in Nepal, conducted by a British resident, Brian Hodgson, as a major influence in the writing of a Western-style history of Nepal. Lauren Leve discusses a recent movement among some wealthy Newar Buddhists, who are (re)inventing a Buddhist history and identity. Heather Hindman explores one particularly contentious site for Buddhist identity, the birthplace of the Buddha, and how this site is implicated within regional political conflicts and national Buddhist conversations. Peter Moran likewise focuses on a single site, a large stupa in the Katmandu Valley and its relation to local and global pilgrimage discourses.

Each presenter undertakes a significant issue confronting Buddhism in Nepal in its historical context. While addressing disparate topics, by examining the historical construction of the Hindu-Buddhist relationship in Nepal and confronting the issue of Buddhism in Hindu Nepal the panel hopes to shed light on the many practices which sculpt ideas of national and religious authenticity.

Laura Kunreuther
University of Michigan

Secret Sources: B. H. Hodgson's Collections and the Making of Nepalese History

When Brian Hodgson arrived in Nepal in 1821 to begin his imperial tenure as British Resident, he was also in search of scientific facts. Living high above Katmandu in a forested abode, the Resident was expected to remain a distant but friendly spectator, whose duties were restricted to reporting the main events and tendencies in Nepal. As a privileged observer, the Resident had the opportunity to unveil Nepal to curious Westerners, long barred from the country. Hodgson began to collect, categorize and classify his newfound facts, distributing them around the world. Nepal's grandest secret was Northern Buddhism, which became the focus of Hodgson's attention. He employed several native scholars, who transcribed, cataloged, and translated the manuscripts that had been secreted away in Buddhist monasteries.

The intimate and secluded relationship between Hodgson and his pandits, based on the elucidation of sacred texts, gave his research the status of a revealed historical truth about the religion and political past of Nepal. On the eve of political crisis, the British Governor-General removed Hodgson from the country. But as he stated later in a letter to his wife, he had most wanted to fulfill his "long-cherished ambition of writing

that History of Nepal for which I have been collecting materials during half my life." This work of collecting cultural data, carried out by an officially apolitical representative, was itself politics of a high order. Hodgson's collections about Nepali Buddhism became the very stuff as later histories of Nepal were made of. This paper is about the role of Hodgson's scholarship in the creation of Nepali history, both by the diplomats who succeeded him and by the Newaris with whom he worked.

Lauren Leve
Department of State, Washington DC

Buddhist Identity in a Hindu Nation: The Struggle Over Secularism in Post-1990 Nepal

Religious identity has taken on new significance in the contested nation of Nepal. By examining contemporary Buddhist resistance to Nepal's national Hindu identity and the corresponding bid to constitutionally redefine Nepal as a secular state, this paper will explore Buddhism as an oppositional identity in 20th century Nepal, the political, material and symbolic stakes of Hindu nationalism, and the ambiguities of identity-as-lived for Nepali Buddhists today.

from the time of its 18th century creation. Since the popular uprising in 1990 which brought down the reigning political system, however, the legal-religious identity of the nation has become a topic of debate. Buddhists, led by a group of Theravada monks and Kathmandu Valley Newars, have organized marches, public meetings, and a host of publications to promote state secularism. But Buddhism has not traditionally been an oppositional identity in the Nepalese context and many involved in the movement admit private ambivalence. The same people who agree that the Hindu kingdom is a violation of Buddhist rights also feel attached to a religious national identity and to the idea of the Hindu King as the symbolic head of the nation.

This politics of contradiction speaks to how identity is manipulated, negotiated and experienced in contemporary Nepal, where people move through spheres of action that carry different, and often incommensurable, discourses. A look at Buddhist efforts and apprehensions surrounding identity and secularism reveals a struggle of identities, histories, and power that makes up nation-making in modern Nepal.

Heather Hindman
University of Chicago

Touring Lumbini: On Buddhist Centers and National Margins

Nepal has long been a site of religious mystery and interest for scholars from the West. In the past century, Nepal has sought to turn its image as Shangri-La into economic success. National claims to Hindu statehood, a desire for the western tourist and beliefs about the

nature of knowledge all meet and conflict in discussion about where Gautama Buddha was born.

The location of the sage's birth lies in the ancient land ruled by the father of Siddhartha, which probably crosses the current border of Nepal and India. Yet, in the present era in which a major tourist site can dramatically alter the economy of a small country like Nepal, the two nations find it vital to fix the location of the birth on one side of the border or the other.

The continuing conflict between India and Nepal is played out in this debate. Nepal uses claims to scientific proof and archaeological discourse to fix the location where the garden of Lumbini is currently located. Tourism literature, science and national politics all play a role in contestations at the locations of the birth site. Thus, the attempt is made to promote Lumbini as a site of world Buddhism, with Nepal reaping the economic benefits, while still maintaining Nepal's legal status as a Hindu nation. Yet this geographical conflict brings to the fore more general issues about the growing importance of trans-national Buddhist organizations and economic imbalances that are pertinent to many situations.

Peter Moran
University of Washington

"Not a Tourist": Space and Identity at a Buddhist Pilgrimage Site in Nepal

Centered around the Stupa from which it takes its name, the community of Bodhanath has changed dramatically in the last thirty years. Once a very small agricultural village on the outskirts of Kathmandu, primarily inhabited by Tamang people, it has since become a Tibetan "boom town" marked by an abundance of Buddhist monasteries, carpet factories, and shops selling Tibetan curios. The Stupa itself has long been—and continues to be—a pilgrimage site for Himalayan Buddhists; at the same time, Bodhanath has become the locus of larger transnational movements: Western Buddhists come here on pilgrimage; Tibetan lamas depart for teaching tours to Hong Kong, Taiwan and California; and Kathmandu tour buses deliver camera and dollar laden tourists to the Stupa.

This paper explores how Bodhanath has become a space in which Tibetans are representing themselves in part through the commodities they sell to Westerners in search of different experiences of Tibetan authenticity. This search arises from the western conception of Tibetans as an essentially religious people. Building upon Appadurai's notion of the global ethnoscape and McCannell's critique of the tourist gaze, I argue that questions of representation, visibility and desire are central to the encounter between Tibetans and Western travelers. Dichotomies such as "tourist" and "pilgrim," "East" and "West," "authentic" and "fabricated" are both replicated and subverted by the constitution of Bodhanath as a site for local representations and global consumption.

Bernardo A. Michael
University of Hawai'i, Manoa

State Formation and the Poetics of Space: "Nepal" in 1816

This paper seeks to understand the trajectory the process of state formation took in Nepal, especially at that critical juncture when at the turn of the nineteenth century, the expanding little kingdom of Gorkha in the central hills of Nepal established control over the Kathmandu valley, and then expanding westwards and eastwards found itself confronting the British (East India Company) on their southern flanks. It can be argued that this encounter brought into focus conflicting conceptions of space, which resulted in the dominance of the European version of a country's space being a bounded, objective entity capable of representation on a map. The result was the creation of a new form of knowledge, the "Geo-Body," a process initiated in Nepal by 1816. This was to have implications for the directions the process of state formation was to take in "Nepal," not withstanding the fact that, like Siam in Southeast Asia, she remained an independent country throughout the colonial period.

Gautam N. Yadama
Washington University, St. Louis

Bhutan's Forest Policies and their Role in Promoting Indigenous Forest Management

The Royal Government of Bhutan (RGOB) has long recognized the need to pursue social and economic development of its people through policies that are ecologically sustainable. RGOB has recently undertaken social forestry to sustainably manage community forests for the social and economic development of its people. Under the *community forests model*, the forest department identifies a traditionally utilized forest land unit (TUFLU) and entrusts the responsibility for managing the forest to local village user groups. The goal is to foster sustainable use of forests for social and economic development of the people by encouraging local initiatives to manage traditionally used forests. This

paper will outline some of the shifts in the way Bhutan's forest policies integrate the needs of rural poor from the Forest Act of 1969 to the most recent Forest and Nature Conservation Act of 1993.

This paper will then discuss some of the implications of forest policies for indigenous forest management institutions. Implications of forest policies and other demographic changes on indigenous forest management institutions will be illustrated using data from three villages in Bhutan. Rapid rural appraisal data from Dawakha and Gubji-Mindagang villages in Punakha Dzongkhag (district). and Radhi Pangthang village in Tashigang Dzongkhag will illustrate how the incentives for people to manage community forests on their own initiative vary. The paper will end with a concluding section on how forest policies promoting local institutions are critical for both sustainable development of rural people and biodiversity conservation in a country such as Bhutan.

*Field work in the villages of Punakha Dzongkhag was conducted by Ugen Norbu and Kin Gyeltshen of the Social Forestry Extension Unit of the Forestry Services Division of the Royal Government of Bhutan.

Rebecca R. French
East-West Center

Refiguring Tibetan Indigeneity: Self, Space, and Law

The Tibetan Buddhist Cosmology has a pre-figured notion of space/place and landscape that replicates the microcosm of the self and the macrocosm of the universe. At the same time, this is replicated and refigured in social practices and social relations. These cosmological notions of place and landscape will be examined in light of the spatial arrangements of law courtrooms both prior to 1959 and in the 1990s. The work of Arjun Appadurai and LeGoff will be used to explicate this historical refiguring of indigenous cultural space and ritual. Transformations in Tibetan notions of indigeneity under Chinese rule will be examined in light of spatial and cosmological refiguring. The interactions of self identity, national identity, and legal status will call into question notions of indigeneity, locality, and spatiality.

25th Annual Conference on South Asia, Madison Wisconsin

Mark Baker
University of North Carolina-Asheville

Mistaken Rights: The Effects of Colonial Redefinitions of Property in Kangra on Resource Use, Access and Control

When the British assumed control of the Trans-Sutlej states, in the mid 1800s, they initiated a set of dramatic changes in property rights and the nature of the state's interest in property. The first revenue settlement of Kangra hill state in 1850 employed models of land tenure and property rights derived from the plains where

the settlement officers were trained. Because pre-colonial property rights in hill areas significantly differed from those on the plains, the result was an unintended "revolution" in property rights in Kangra. Examples included the creation of village common property (shamilat) whose ownership rights were vested in landowning families, and the temporary abdication by the colonial state of property rights in the extensive forests of Kangra. This paper examines how the colonial redefinition of property influenced access to and control over cultivated and uncultivated lands among different socio-economic groups, as well as the administration's interest in irrigation and forests. I show the administration's objective of revenue maximization resulted in quite different policies regarding water and forests; in the former subsidies and other forms of support were provided, in the latter state control was reasserted.

Trevel Balsler
Ohio State University

An Iconographic Analysis of the Shrine Facade at Uku Baha

This paper will examine the iconography of the south wall or shrine facade of Uku Baha in Patan. Since the shrine facade is the devotional focal point of the baha, a detailed analysis can reveal much about the symbolic function of the monument as a whole. Because the field of Nepalese art history is at a very early stage, the conclusions reached in this paper must be largely speculative. Nevertheless, I will argue that there is a fairly coherent iconographic program that demonstrates the complete process of enlightenment as it is understood in Newar Buddhism. In particular there is an explicit reference to the Buddhological understanding of the three "bodies," or kayas, of the Buddha: Nirmanakaya, Sambhogakaya, and Dharmakaya. The metal sculptures placed along the wall of the shrine facade represent various Bodhisattvas who manifest the Nirmanakaya, or "Transformation Body," while the Jina Buddhas on the first level of struts manifest the Sambhogakaya, or "Bliss Body". I will also discuss the yogic and cosmological symbolism that is found on the shrine facade, including the concept of Mount Meru and the sun/moon symbols.

In addition, this paper will grapple with some of the problems of identifying which mandala might be represented in the iconography of a baha. Very rarely do the sculptures adhere to the standard texts, such as the Nispannayogavali and the Sadhanamala. In the strut figures of Uku Baha, there are features of at least two distinct mandalas: the Dharmadhatu Vagisvara Mandala and the Vajradhatu Mandala. Is there a deliberate conflation of mandalas in Newar Buddhism, or is this evidence of an entirely different tradition unknown to scholars?

In short, it is clear that Uku Baha contains a highly complex and fully developed symbolic system that

attempts to communicate some of the central notions of Newar Buddhism.

Dina Bangdel
Ohio State University

Dharmadhatu Mandala Iconography at Kwa Baha

One of the major artistic themes found in many Buddhist bahas of the Kathmandu Valley is the Mandala of Dharmadhatu Vagisvara Manjughosa. This iconographic theme emerges time and again in the baha context: as complete mandalas in the courtyard, as strut figures supporting the shrine facade, or as part of the torana iconography over the shrine door. The preeminence of this iconographic theme suggests its significance in Newar Buddhism.

In the Newar Buddhist context, the central deity of the Mandala— Dharmadhatu Vagisvara Manjughosa—is identified with the Swayambhu Mahacaitya. The little-known connection between the Stupa and the Mandala appears to be the underlying basis of Newar Buddhism, and this relationship is expressed symbolically through complex iconographic programs in the vast number of Buddhist monuments in the Kathmandu Valley. The focus of my paper is to analyze the iconography of the Dharmadhatu Mandala, as it appears in Kwa Baha, Patan, and to examine how the symbolism of the Mandala defines and reiterates its identification with Swayambhu Mahacaitya.

Katheryn Besio
University of Hawaii-Manoa

Keep the Home Fires Burning: Colonial and Postcolonial Representations of Reproductive Labor in the Himalayas

The richly geographic travel writing of colonial women played an integral role in empire formation. It delivered to metropolitan areas images of the "exotic" Other, aiding in the formation of colonial categories. The images found in these writings reinforced imperial notions of class, race, and gender superiority. While these women's writings reflect dominant masculine colonial discourses, they also resist those discourses in ways that vary significantly. In this paper I examine the intersection of feminist and colonial discourses within the context of Western explorations of the Himalayas. I look at the writings of Fanny Bullock Workman, Ella Maillart, and Jennifer Bourdillon, paying close attention to their representations of Himalayan women and their reproductive labours, as well as to the children of those women. I argue that these female authors fashion themselves as "moderns" vis a vis their representations of working women and children, thus aligning themselves with colonial authority. Despite sharing an authorial position, the writings do not conform to a coherent "discourse of difference", but reflect the writers' particular geographies and imaginings of the work spaces of non-Western women and children.

John and Naomi Bishop
UCLA

Himalayan Herders

HIMALAYAN HERDERS is an ethnographic portrait of the village of Melemchi in Yolmo (Helambu) between 1971 and 1993. Melemchi residents are agropastoralists living at 8,500 feet altitude in east-central Nepal. They herd cow-yak hybrids called *zomo*, for butter production. The film includes scenes of subsistence activities, Buddhist and shamanic rituals (including the most important Yolmo Buddhist festival, Nara), a funeral, a capture wedding, and interviews with residents about important issues facing the village today: the increase in circular migration to India for wage labor, the incorporation of the village into the Langtang National Park, their hopes and concerns for the future of Melemchi, and the changes they have seen in their lives. Based on a twenty-five year association with the village, the film is a document of culture change and stability in contemporary Nepal.

Bronwen Bledsoe
University of Chicago

Constructing Kingdoms: the Unity of Difference in the Kathmandu Valley

This asks the questions, "what makes a *desh*? How in the Kathmandu Valley did architecture help constitute the unity and difference between the three Malla Kingdoms? And what role did architecture play in reconfiguring space and populace in the ancient Kathmandu Valley?"

David Butz
Brock University

Kenneth I. MacDonald
University of Toronto

Serving Sahibs with Pony and Pen: The Discursive Uses of "Native Authenticity"

In 1923 Ghulam Rassul Galwan, erstwhile caravan *bashi*, published "Servant of Sahibs: A Book to be Read Aloud", an autobiographical account of his service with various English and American travellers. For two of Rassul's employers, James Barrett who initiated and edited the project, and Francis Younghusband who wrote the book's introduction, the autobiography authentically represents Himalayan natives' views of their work, their world, and especially their White employers. According to Younghusband's introduction the book allowed readers to "see [natives'] ways of looking at things, and looking at us, and we understand them better and find they are after all not so very different from what we were as boys"; he is especially relieved to learn that "most wonderful of all, they are full of gratitude to their employer when they leave his service". Clearly, for its sponsors, the appeal (and value) of Rassul's account lay in its legitimation of sahibs' self-representations. An examination of the book's content, and the conditions of

its production, allows us to deconstruct its "native authenticity", and to situate the text as a carefully crafted (and edited) public transcript, the main purpose of which was to legitimise and naturalise colonial labour relations.

Coralynn Davis
University of Michigan

Cross-Purposes of "Sisterhood": Solidarity and Fictive Kinship at a Women's Development Project in Nepal

In the Terai region of Nepal, overlapping caste and ethnic systems intersect with economic and educational stratification to produce configurations of positionality vis-a-vis the machinations of modernization and development. Relationships of village women of the Terai to their country's modernization and development most often have been mediated through male kin and other village men. At the Janakpur Women's Development Center (JWDC) in the Terai town of Janakpur, a group of local women of various caste, class and ethnic backgrounds are now intensely encountering "development" first hand through their participation as JWDC craft producers and management personnel. One of JWDC's express and primary goals is "women's empowerment", and considerable time and effort is devoted to encouraging a consciousness and activation of unity and solidarity among employees. In this paper, I explore the problematic of group identification and solidarity among women involved in this development project. I analyze the manipulation of tropes of "sisterhood" by parties differently invested and positioned in the project - from international funders to planners to management to craft producers. Women draw on both (Western) feminist-inspired and local fictive kinship usages of "sisterhood" in efforts to align themselves in relations to others in the project and to development and modernization discourses generally. I argue that these usages at once reflect aspirations of gender identity and solidarity across class, caste and ethnicity, and also point to deep ambivalences about such a project.

Kathleen Gallagher
Harvard University

Origins and Processes: An Investigation into the Causes of Squatter Settlements in Nepal

In the past five years alone the estimated number of squatter settlements in the Kathmandu Valley has risen from sixteen to over fifty, with a commensurate increase from a few hundred to several thousand in the squatter population itself. This paper is a small portion of research conducted between 1987 and 1992 investigating both contemporary as well as historical causes of squatting in the Kathmandu Valley.

An examination of Kathmandu's past illustrates how the groundwork for the proliferation of squatter

settlements was inadvertently being laid long before the actual appearance of any settlement by a historical shift in the form and function of a traditional 'Hindu' city. An analysis of contemporary factors indicates that in addition to poverty and socioeconomic considerations, other forces are contributing to the incidence of squatting in the valley. Powerful networks control the distribution of land and housing in Kathmandu, and accessibility to these networks is determined through financial (i.e. bribery) and personal channels (i.e. the presence of kinsmen, friends from one's birthplace, etc. within the said network).

Ironically, many of the most marginalized households that really do lack land and shelter cannot afford to squat, a situation exacerbated by recent political changes in which nominally 'democratic' forms of governance continue to be characterized by clientelism and other vestiges of Nepal's past.

Vinay Gidwani
University of California-Berkeley

Elements for a Dialectical Theory of Agrarian and Ecological Change

I will attempt to re-think the 'society-nature' dialectic. Existing social science approaches, visible in the work of various geographers, human and political ecologists, ecological feminists, and some historians, fall short in their efforts to model the dialectic. They either continue to treat 'society' and 'nature' as interacting but exclusive domains, else remain mired in a static and often reified account of 'society' and 'nature', or lapse into teleological narratives about the dialectic. This paper will suggest that the physical landscape is socially constituted at one level but displays at other levels logic capable of reconstituting social relations. The landscape, at once produced and the basis for production, of livelihoods and cultural worlds needs analysis at various scales and locations like households, villages, markets, regions, states, and world-systems. Analytic registers have to span and interrogate categories like class, caste, age, gender and ethnicity, to understand the embodied histories of situated agents. This paper, drawing on my research in Gujerat and points from other papers in the panel, will make a plea for dissolving recurrent antinomies between material-ideal, nature-culture, base-superstructure, being-consciousness in the human sciences through careful attention to the experienced history of subjects and places in India.

Janice M. Glowski
Ohio State University

The Goddess Kumari: Structural Hints of Religious Identity

For centuries, inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal have worshipped young girls as the goddess Kumari. Like the *yoginis* of the Valley, Kumari is worshipped in various contexts by followers of several

religious paths (*marga*), such as *Buddhamarga*, *Sivamarga*, and *Saktimarga*. Scholarship, such as that of Michael Allen, John Locke, and Mary Slusser, that examines Kumari worship practices and the bahas that house these deities has brought forth interesting questions regarding the "religious identity" (i.e. Buddhist or Hindu) of the goddess Kumari.

This paper explores the "religious identity" of Kumari by examining the overall structure and iconography of Kumari Baha, the home of the Royal Kumari located in Nepal's capital city, Kathmandu. The various iconographic themes present on the structuralism serve not only to generate a sacred abode for the goddess, but like other religious structures in the Valley, provides clues that lead to a greater understanding of the goddess' identity.

Gregory P. Grieve
University of Chicago

A Dilemma of Dogmas: (Re)Constructing An Authentic Temple

This paper uses the reconstruction of the Cyasilin Mandap in Bhaktapur to explore the interaction between development and traditional culture. It concentrates on the contention and ultimate compromise between the Western architects' and the local artisans' understanding of authenticity. The 'Dilemma of Dogmas' revolves around four gray steel pillars which are visible just beneath the Mandap's second level.

Kimber A Haddix
University of California at Davis

"Excess Women": The Family, Marriage, and Work Fates of Unwed Women in Tibetan Polyandrous Villages of Humla, Nepal

Life experiences of Tibetan women in polyandrous communities of the Nepalese Himalaya vary dramatically depending on whether or not they marry. This presentation describes how factors such as wealth, sibling set configuration, number of fathers, and personal choice can affect whether or not a woman marries in these communities. Attention will also be focused upon the drastic differences between the lives of unmarried women in two separate valleys of Humla. Though both valleys are peopled by polyandrous Tibetans, variation on the basis of attitudes toward illegitimate children and monastic opportunities for women cause unmarried women to experience life in very different ways

Carol Henderson
Columbia University

Claiming Common Property in the Mountains and in the Deserts: The Experience of Intermediate Level Organizations in India

Interest in common property regimes in India features three ecosystems, desert, mountain, and coastal maritime environments. Key issues include: the delineation of resource use rights, conflicts arising from competing claims on resources, sustainable development (including co-management strategies), community development, women's issues, and global-local linkages. This paper compares the historical ecology of intermediate level organizations related to common property management in these environments, with respect to the articulation of common property users with different scale organizations and units. Their cultural construction as claimants within diverse hierarchies, and operational outcomes as organizational forms, may reflect parameters of (a) interaction with higher-level organizational units and (b) aspects related to the nature of the resource environment.

Heather Hindman
University of Chicago

The Quest for Shangri-La

This paper explores the visual imagery which frames Western perceptions of Nepal. It argues that the 'tourist' - both of the armchair variety and the actual traveler - are given genres through which to construct the *experience* of Nepal. It demonstrates how this exotic 'Nepal' is constructed through the images that adorn travel brochures and coffee table books. It is within this framework that the quest for Shangri-La begins.

John C Huntington
Ohio State University

Buddhist Iconography in Licchavi Sculpture

The Licchavi period (ca. 300-879) of Nepalese Art produced considerable numbers of spectacular Buddhist art. Our archive of Nepalese Buddhist Art in the Huntington Archive contains 245 photographs of approximately 100 individual objects almost all of which are still to be found in the Bahals and at the major religious sites of the Kathmandu Valley (but not necessarily in their original context. A detailed survey of this material reveals a number of significant iconographic considerations from which one may derive the basic nature of Newar Buddhism of the period. There were "cults" of the following methodologies:

- 1) The Swayambhu Mahacaitya
- 2) The Buddhas of the past
- 3) The future Buddha Maitreya
- 4) The Jina/Dhyana Buddhas based on the Vairocana cycle as it is still practiced in Nepal to the present day
- 5) Avalokitesvara in his Padmapani form
- 6) The standard four Bodhisattvas of Maitreya, Vajrapani, Avalokitesvara and Mawusri.

One may also conclude, based on the presence of Tantric symbols and representations of Tantric ritual paraphernalia, that Tantric practices were present from at least the sixth century on.

Barbara Johnson
Smithsonian Institution

Birth in a Newar Village (video)

During 1978 and 1980, as a filmmaker for the Smithsonian Institution's Human Studies Film Center, Barbara Johnson lived in a Jyapu village in Nepal's Kathmandu valley. The resulting 50 hours of research film are part of the collection of the Human Studies Film Archives. In this edited film of a birth with traditional birth attendant, the Newari dialogue is translated with English subtitles and narrated by the filmmaker. The film shows the social setting of a traditional Newari birth, the role of the traditional birth attendant or midwife, food and religious customs, and discussion of changes being introduced from the West.

Todd Lewis
College of the Holy Cross

The Newar Buddhist Samyaka Festival, 1993

In 1993, Samyaka, the greatest Buddhist festival, was held in Kathmandu City. This celebration is likely a descendant from the ancient Pancavarsika, a patronage festival of India and Central Asia. The Newar Samyaka has become the occasion for the display of some of the most magnificent Mahayana Buddhist icons produced in the Himalayan region. The film focuses on the major events and the proceedings of one family which brings its Dipamkara image. The film also intercuts interviews to note the changes in Samyaka instituted after the democratic revolution of 1990: the Prime Minister attended, the narration of the royal ceremonies specifically praised King Birendra for supporting multi-party democracy, and at the end the King plunged into the crowd to see the Dipamkara Buddhas, the alms distribution, and other icons.

Mark Liechty
University of California-Santa Barbara

Peripheral Visions: Mediated Modernity in Kathmandu, Nepal

For people on the Third World periphery the meaning of modernity is tied up in tightly interwoven experiences of time and space, change and movement. In Nepal the state's rhetoric of development simultaneously privileges an imagined future modernity (at the expense of an imagined past tradition), and, by accepting the mantle of "undevelopment" for itself, locates modernity in distant, foreign, "developed" places. Commercial mass media are quick to fill the image spaces of a modernity that is constructed as distant in both time and space. Envisioning modernity, people dream of "commodity futures", worlds of goods

from the other time/space of the modern world. But this "other world" is not simply "the West". Nepali images of modernity are also "Eastern", arriving via East Asian martial arts films and fashion magazines. In this paper I describe how for many Nepalis modernity is something that radiates from center to periphery--distant modern future to local contemporary past--seeming to arrive pre-imagined, if not literally pre-packaged.

Nancy J. Malville
University of Colorado-Boulder

Commercial Portage in the Middle Hills of Eastern Nepal

Because of the mountainous terrain, the Middle Hills region of Nepal is one of the few places in the world where most goods are still transported on the human back. Commercial porters, who conduct their own trade or are hired by hill shopkeepers to transport goods from the roadhead make their own decisions regarding load weight and pace. Adult male commercial porters commonly carry loads in the range of 70 to 80 kilograms, some in excess of 110 kilograms, using a specialized carrying technique unique to this region of Nepal. By contrast, the typical loads carried for domestic purposes are in the range of 40 to 50 kilograms. Trekking porters, who are paid by the day, carry even smaller loads, about 30 to 40 kilograms, but must maintain a faster pace and walk longer distances each day. In recent years competition from mules and Soviet cargo helicopters has deprived porters of loads and has diverted an important source of income away from the local village economy.

This paper examines the portage of commercial loads along the three major trade routes of eastern Nepal: 1) Jiri-Namche; 2) Katari-Okhaldhunga-Namche; and 3) Hile-Tumlingtar-Namche. We have documented the load-carrying activities of 695 porters along these three routes, interviewing them, and measuring stature, body mass, load weight, and heart rate of some. Individuals travelling together are usually friends or relatives from the same village who employ cooperative strategies to cope with the uncertainties of long-distance travel.

Natalie Marsh
Ohio State University

Musya Bahal and Kwa Bahal in Kathmandu

The bahal structures of Nepal are of great significance to the religious life of the Buddhist practitioners of all of Nepal. This is evidenced by the number of bahals of all sizes throughout the country, as well as the elaborate artistic patronage bestowed upon each site. Musya Baha, though a modest structure, provides a unique opportunity to view one of the last remaining examples of the early architecture of the baha. Musya Baha is a branch of Kwa Baha in Kathmandu and is located down the street from another

similar early baha, Chusya Baha. Musya's architectural elements consist of strut figures, courtyard sculptures, wall paintings, a single caitya, and toranas. Through iconographic, textual and inscriptional analysis the iconographic program of Musya Bahal will reveal the use of the mandala as its basis. The building's significance as a sacred space is inevitably linked to this physical and conceptual convention, which is in turn based on the concept of Mt. Meru. At this point, evidence suggests the Dharmadhatu Vagisvara Manjugosa mandala is the primary structural guide to Musya, with the possible conflation of this Vairocana cycle mandala and an Aksobhya cycle mandala. In addition, the iconographic elements of Kwa Baha in Kathmandu will be used in this analysis.

Kim Masteller
Ohio State University

Defining the Goddess of the Hills: Sacred Space of Vajrayogini at Sankhu, Nepal

Perched upon the eastern rim of the valley, the Vajrayogini temple complex at Sankhu is one of the oldest and most important centers of Shakta worship in the Kathmandu Valley. Passing a sacrificial shrine and several ancient rock cut monuments, visitors to Sankhu recognize the sacred space of the goddess on as soon as they begin the ascent to the temple. The courtyard itself contains two main religious structures, a three-story Vajrayogini temple and a two-story enshrined stupa.

The goal of this paper is to provide an analysis of the imagery present in the structures and courtyard of Sankhu's Vajrayogini temple. From this study, it may be possible to address the relationship between the two structures at Sankhu, relationships between Sankhu and other goddess sites throughout the valley, and the importance of the goddess Vajrayogini in Nepalese Tantric traditions.

John Metz
Northern Kentucky University

The Road to Development? Motor Roads as Vehicles of Capitalist Expansion

A motor road has recently penetrated the mid-Kali Gandaki valley. As Allan has noted, accessibility by road will alter the lives of most inhabitants of the region. My discussion will consider some of these changes, but focus on their impact on the poorer members of society. What is the effect the road will have on porters or on the women who used to operate the "bhatts" of the old trails? Who will benefit most from the decreasing cost of manufactured goods? What changes in agricultural production systems might we expect? How are family labor allocation decisions likely to be changed? Will these roads bring new resources and opportunities into the region or will they carry the wealth and most vital laborers out? What can be done to make road access improve the welfare of the poor?

Peter Moran
University of Washington

Talking About Monks: Discourses of Tradition and Productivity

Tibetan Buddhist monks and monasticism itself provide fertile ground for comments on - and contestations of - tradition, normative values and productivity. During several years of fieldwork in Kathmandu, Nepal, I heard varied and contradictory opinions from lay and monastic Tibetans, as well as Western Buddhists, concerning the ordained Sangha. This paper examines these comments with an eye to the larger discourses of which they are a part, in particular how they represent the monk's life and work by reference to varied notions of "productivity" or "productive labor". I also explore the role of western discourses of monasticism and Tibetan Buddhism in shaping Western conceptions of Tibetan monks in Kathmandu. How has the monastic life been (mis)understood? Further, how have contemporary Tibetan perceptions of monasticism been shaped by the intersection of "tradition" and "modernity" in the context of exile? I propose that for many Western Buddhist travellers and Tibetans in Kathmandu, monks are the embodiment of Tibetan "culture" par excellence, precisely due to the unique conditions of exile and the increasingly high visibility of Tibet in the transnational landscape.

David Pinault
Loyola University

Muharram Rituals and Communal Identity among the Shi'a Population of Leh Township, Ladakh

This paper will examine the ways in which the annual Muharram rituals celebrated in Leh Township, Ladakh (Jammu and Kashmir) have functioned in recent years to mediate communal relations among the Shi'a, Sunni, and Buddhist populations of the region. I will draw on my personal observations from fieldwork done in Leh during the 1995 and 1996 Muharram seasons, recording what I myself witnessed and describing the interviews I had with Leh's residents from among both the Muslim and non-Muslim populations. Relatively little has been published to date on the Shi'a communities of eastern Ladakh or on Shi'a-Buddhist relations there; but I will sketch the political background to present-day communal relations in Leh, making use of the very recent analyses undertaken by van Beek, Bertelsen, and Crossette with regard to the controversial "social boycott" that gripped Leh from 1989 to 1992.

The origin of Leh's communal problems can be traced back to the 1830s, when the independent Buddhist kingdom of Ladakh was conquered by the Dogra forces of the Raja of Jammu. Subsequently, during the paramountcy of the British Raj, Ladakh was made part of the 'native state' of Jammu and Kashmir. As

Crossette pointed out in a recent publication, this has meant that since Indian Independence, Ladakhi Buddhists have come to be a "minority within a minority", ruled from Muslim-majority Srinagar, which in turn is administered by Hindu-majority Delhi. Van Beek and Bertelsen have described how Ladakhi aspirations for autonomy from Jammu and Kashmir came to be communalised, with the implicit equation: Ladakhi equals Buddhist, thereby leaving out of consideration long-term Muslim residents of Ladakh. Communal tensions rose during the 1970s and 1980s as Ladakh was gradually opened to tourism and increasing numbers of Kashmiri Muslim entrepreneurs arrived to develop Leh Township's hotel business and other tourist-related trades. Matters came to a head in 1989, when communal riots broke out in Leh; thereafter the Ladakh Buddhist Association declared a "social boycott" against Muslims resident in Leh; Buddhists were to avoid both business and social contacts with Leh's Muslims.

My paper will investigate how communal tensions have affected Leh's annual Muharram observances. According to my informants in Leh, until 1989 very few Sunnis participated in the 'Ashura *jalus*' (the public procession held in honor of the Karbala Martyrs); but with the imposition of the "social boycott" Sunnis joined the *jalus* in vastly increased numbers. Nevertheless, in part because of a history of Sunni-Shi'a tension within the local Muslim population, Leh's Sunnis have insisted on participating in Muharram in a way that distinguishes them from their Shi'a neighbors (the differences in ritual performance are concerned partly with *matam*, i.e., gestures of mourning and self-mortification). Since the end of the social boycott in 1992, Sunni-Shi'a collaboration in Muharram has continued; but I was impressed to see, during my fieldwork in 1995, that Leh's Shi'as have begun inviting members of the Ladakh Buddhist Association to their Muharram *majalis* (lamentation-assemblies). My paper, then, will discuss the various ways in which Leh's Muharram rituals function: as a means of self-definition and reconciliation both within the Muslim population and across the boundaries of Muslim-Buddhist communitarianism. I will conclude with some comparative notes, drawing on my earlier Muharram fieldwork in Hyderabad and Darjeeling to discuss the fluidity of religious ritual as a marker and definer of communal identity.

W. Dennis Pontius
University of Michigan

The Social Consequences of Political Organization in a Satellite Community of Kathmandu, Nepal During the Rana Period

In this paper I will consider the political organization of a village located in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal, as it existed during the Rana period between 1850 and 1951. I will outline how local political authority backed by the state was controlled,

utilized and maintained by certain villagers through forms of micro-management not seen in other parts of Nepal and how this supported social relations between villagers. Here, I will detail the experience of a village located on the outskirts of Kathmandu controlled by Tamangs, a particularly exploited minority living in close proximity to the national capital. Rules outlining regular and periodic labor service as well as many religious practices originated with the central government and were organized by leaders in each section of the village. The authority of these leaders was backed by the central government and enforced through control over access to certain lands vested in these political leaders. In some cases the power of these local political leaders was further reinforced by their activities as ritual practitioners within the village. During the period under consideration here the village had several leaders, each of whom was responsible for the organization of one of four sections of the village containing between 10 and 25 households. This paper examines the consequences of this management system for villagers and how it differed from political systems described in other parts of Nepal.

Katharine N. Rankin
Cornell University

Investments in People: Financial Regulation at State & Local Levels in Nepal

This paper investigates the articulation of local cultural forms with global economic processes through a study of financial market regulation in Nepal. Specifically, the paper considers how cultural values that regulate investments in Nepalese communities are both framed by and shape possibilities for state-level economic restructuring. Nepal initiated economic reforms in the mid-1980s to meet conditionalities on borrowing from the international Monetary Fund and World Bank. My research analyzes efforts on the part of Nepalese planners to maintain elements of regulated equity in the finance sector -- such as preferential credit schemes -- in spite of these macroeconomic changes. In evaluating the capacity of the Nepalese state to develop national economic policies in the face of global economic integration, I consider the political strategies state planners have pursued vis a vis donors imposing conditionalities. The paper then evaluates the ways in which the *local* capacity of communities to regulate their own economies outside the purview of market rules can inform planners in regulating social investments through financial market rules. Focusing on a Newar town in the Kathmandu Valley, my research considers a particularly Newar view of capital, in which material wealth acquires value only upon investment in social relationships, and the strategies that women and others in subordinate positions pursue to accumulate capital through social investments. The paper ultimately considers how Newar valuations of commerce that link economic pursuits with responsibility to kin and community might guide

planners in developing ethical principles and long-term approaches for a national path to economic adjustment.

Anindya Saha
Cornell University

Local, Relational: The Articulation of Levels of Governance for Environmental Sustainability: The Case of Forestry in India

The emphasis on local level management as the best method of solving common-pool renewable resource problems is on the way to becoming a new orthodoxy. Taking the case of forest policy in India as an example, this paper will examine the limits of this consensus. Changes in patterns of local resource use will be linked to differentiation processes which reflect much larger economy-wide changes. From this, it will be argued that the right level to which decentralization may be successfully carried through is not a transhistorical feature, as the abstract critique of 'statism' would have it, but rather itself depends crucially on the type of larger processes underway. Theoretical pointers will be drawn from the literature on optimal jurisdiction in public economics, as well as from alternative frameworks that stress specifically political institutions and the incentives they produce. Conclusions will be drawn about the appropriate reallocation of responsibility between local, state and national levels for sustainable forest use, and the necessary creation of new (non-local) institutions for such a reallocation.

Mohan N. Shrestha
Bowling Green State University

Employment Structure of Urban Population in Nepal

With an increase in population size and density, an urban settlement becomes not only a center of commercial and industrial development, but also a hearth of innovation, and political and cultural changes in the country. The number of urban centers and the percentage of urban population in Nepal have increased significantly within the last four decades. However, many of these urban centers still have rural characteristics. The majority of the people in these cities are engaged in primary activities and personal services. These cities have not yet played any significant role in bringing about expected changes in the country's physical, social, economic and political structures.

The main purpose of this paper is to analyze the employment structure of urban population in all the urban centers designated as municipal areas in the 1991 census. These urban centers will, then, be classified into various categories according to their employment structures, and their location and distribution will be examined.

Nanda R. Shrestha
Florida A & M University

In Search of Paradise in Hell: A Saga of New Lahures from Nepal

"Lahure" is a generic Nepali term that is commonly used to characterize somebody who serves in the foreign army. It is also used to describe those who go to foreign countries in search of jobs, both menial and non-menial. Historically, India has been the most common destination for Nepalese lahures. But, in the past 15 years or so, Nepalese youths have been, in increasing numbers, going to other countries such as Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, the Persian Gulf countries, Brunei, European countries, and others. The increasing capitalist influence has intensified this trend. What is notable about this new trend or about these new lahures is that most are relatively educated and generally come from well-to-do families. Furthermore, while they would not even pick a broom to clean their rooms back in Nepal, they are willing to work under the most humiliating and degraded conditions and be treated like stray dogs in their destination countries. This paper will discuss some of these issues in the context of capitalist influence that seems to have penetrated virtually every corner of Nepal.

Subir Sinha
University of Vermont

Accumulation, Legitimation, and the Question of the Commons: Rethinking Van Panchayats in the U.P. Himalayas

Over the last ten years, a new comparative political economy of resource use has been generated by those who identify their theoretical approach as 'new institutionalism'. Originally a critique of Garrett Hardin's 'tragedy of the commons' framework, these theorists now argue that common property is a cornerstone of a policy of 'sustainable resource use', and that local users are capable, by themselves, of innovating resource use institutions based upon cooperation and restraint.

In a paradoxical way, this attribution of near complete power and capacity to local users does not consider the wider political economy within which local users and local resources are located. Local capacity is limited because local factors do not always cause the depletion of the commons. Within the larger projects of capital accumulation from all 'sectors of the economy' to achieve national development, and then to legitimate that development through administrative measures through redistributive programs, local communities are placed in asymmetrical relations with the state and market forces, among others. Local level institutional innovation, such as the creation of van panchayats, must address the issue of asymmetry .

I will make the argument, with reference to the Garhwal region of the U.P. Himalayas, that closer

articulation between village forests and national capital accumulation led to the depletion of the commons; likewise, the 'community' as a pre-constituted springboard for collective action was ruptured by a number of challenges to its authority emanating from the spread of the developmentalist state. I will show that social movements such as Chipko posed specific challenges to processes of accumulation and legitimation, and played the key role in reconstituting van panchayats (forest councils).

K. Sivaramakrishnan
Yale University

Agrarian Change and the Shifting Locus of Governance in the Forest-Field Mosaic of Southwest Bengal, 1880s-1920s

Histories of forest degradation in India have generally argued that deforestation followed colonial destruction of existing local institutions through which village communities had traditionally managed forests in their vicinity as common property resources. Making forests state property had thus converted them into open access resources in the absence of effective state control of forests. The history of forest management in southwest Bengal does not lend itself easily to this explanation. During the last hundred years, the dry deciduous sal *shorea robusta* forests of southwest Bengal have witnessed a complex transformation of layered property and access rights, currently being redefined under a scheme called Joint Forest Management (JFM). This paper will examine one period of rapid change in forest rights, at the turn of the century. It will argue that understanding these changes and the conflicts they sparked requires a nested analysis of agrarian and forest transformations because at the heart of the contested redefinition of rights in land was a re-imagining of landscapes, resulting in the creation of separate domains of agriculture and forestry in southwest Bengal by the early twentieth century.

Robert H. Stoddard
University of Nebraska

Sovereignty of a Small State: The Case of Bhutan

Major goals of governmental policies in Bhutan are the preservation of the natural environment and the retention of Bhutanese cultural traditions. The first is illustrated by the designation of natural preserves, restrictions on logging, and limits placed on the annual number of tourists permitted into the country.

Attempts to preserve the Bhutanese way of life include requirements for wearing the national dress, building codes that maintain traditional architecture, prohibition against television, limitations on tourists, and policies aimed at assimilating ethnic minorities, especially Nepalis.

The degree to which these policies aimed at the preservation of Bhutanese culture are, and will be,

successful is more difficult to assess than policies relating to the natural environment. Can a small country effectively exercise complete control over its territory and inhabitants? Considerable uncertainty concerns relations between the Bhutanese government and Nepalis, many of whom have fled as refugees. Uncertainty also arises about the extent that traditional Bhutanese beliefs and behavior will survive worldwide intrusions by global media and marketing firms.

Seira Tamang
American University

Dynamics of Political Space in Nepal

Since 1990 democracy has been heralded as the promise of reason, equality and representation in Nepal. Governments have been voted in and out, and Nepal has even been in the anomalous position of having a communist government at the helm of the "only Hindu kingdom in the world." But how is the political society of Nepal being constituted? This paper seeks to explore how political space is negotiated in Nepal in the late 20th century and the nature of civil society evolving in the space between formal political institutions and the private realm of the economy and the household of a heterogeneous population. It is argued that the enticing nature of the label 'democracy' obscures the social tensions and the socially institutionalized practices which serve to structure emerging societal duties and obligations in a manner which leaves intact the very class, ethnic and gender inequalities that the democratic movement sought to dismantle. The continued hegemony of pre-1990 norms and values has meant that under the guise of real and progressive 'democratic' innovations, only nominal changes have been and continue to be possible.

Martijn Van Beek
Aarnus University

True Patriots - Justifying Autonomy for Ladakh

Writings on Indian nationalism have tended to silence the voices of people on the margins of the Indian state. While contemporary efforts to recognize and represent 'subaltern' groups have perhaps been successful in complementing the narrative of nationalism, they tend to do so firmly from *within* an unproblematized discursive frame of 'Indianness'; in other words, the nation may be fragmented, but they are *Indian* fragments.

In this paper, an effort is made to show how Indian independence, Indian citizenship, and Indian discourses of nationalism and development were read, interpreted, and negotiated in Ladakh. The paper will show how official, academic and popular imaginings of Ladakh were constitutive of the very 'backwardness' of Ladakh that in turn could be and was used by Ladakhi political leaders to make and justify demands for regional autonomy.

Ladakh's Autonomous Hill District Development Council could be granted in 1995, and indeed celebrated by 'India', precisely because Ladakhi leaders presented and justified their demands for autonomy within the normative, indeed hegemonic, discursive frames of (Indian) patriotism, citizenship, and development. As such, the Indianization of 'other' (fragmented) fragments is an important constituent of the possibility to imagine an *Indian* nation.

Anu Vedagiri
Ohio State University

Minnath and the Cult of Avalokitesvara

The temple of Minnath in Patan, Nepal, with its complex iconography portrays the interaction between Tantric Buddhism and Hinduism, principally Saivism. Although commonly known as Minnath (a variation of Matsyendranath), the principle deity of the temple, Lokeshvara is a term that denotes both Siva as the Lord of the World and Avalokitesvara. In the many forms of Avalokitesvara worshipped in Nepal, the Saivite borrowings are quite obvious. According to John K. Locke the deity Matsyendranath is worshipped as Siva, Vishnu, Sakti etc., in agreement to the devotion of each devotee.

The intricate sculptural program at the temple, Minnath poses a variety of problems that are difficult to comprehend, largely due to the earthquake in 1934. However, a close study of the figures indicates an obvious juxtapositioning of both Hindu and Buddhist faiths. The focus of this paper is to discuss the ways in which the sacred and the ritual space is defined by the structure and its translation as understood by the followers of each faith.

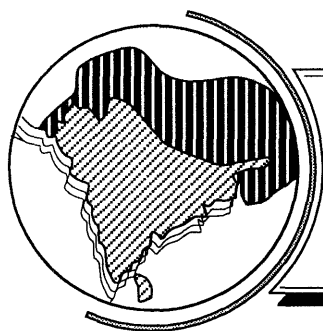
Liz Wilson
Miami University

Dead Men Walking: The Anomalous Undead in the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal

In a tale oft told by the sixteenth-century Tibetan historian Taranatha, the tongue of a zombie (Tibetan, ro-langs; Sanskrit, vetAla) or reanimated corpse turns into a magical sword when grasped by the teeth of a fearless sorcerer's apprentice. As a creature who is dead and yet alive, a being who belongs to the world of the departed and yet rises up to interact with the living, the vetAla is a highly anomalous being. Such ambivalence is not unusual in the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal, where the dead live on in the social practices of the living through particularly vivid forms of ritual identification and substitution and the undead serve as cognitive "thresholds" hold apart what social practice has joined together. Often encountered in cremation grounds where the world of the living meets that of the dead, such ghoulish beings may be recognized by certain uncanny or anomalous features. One must be particularly on guard at moments of juncture and conjunction, when antipodal realities merge together,

when day and night are glimpsed together as at twilight. Thus travelers are warned to be particularly alert at dawn and dusk for those creatures that prey on the living tend to come out at the junctures between day and night. Among the supernatural beings who haunt the Kathmandu valley, most are said to frequent places of passage—corners, crossroads, and places where paths lead off in several different directions. The ghoulish creatures that bridge the gap between the living and the dead in Nepal thrive in such zones of conjunction and transition, preying on travelers who are in transit from one location to another. But these denizens of the postmortem demi-monde also stand guard over places of passage in ways that benefit the living and it is this thresholding function. The power of these ambivalent beings is frequently invoked and exploited for the sake of the living in domestic and temple settings in the Kathmandu valley, where Buddhists and Hindus share a symbolic and ritual repertoire that includes the veneration and propitiation of the undead. Newari Buddhists drive specially consecrated iron nails through the threshold of their homes each year in an attempt to keep the undead being who guards the domestic threshold fixed in its (literally) liminal place—the

border-zone between inside and outside, private and public, domestic and civic. Like their Buddhist neighbors, Hindus in Nepal also utilize the powers of the undead for protective purposes. Those who worship Shiva venerate a golden corpse-icon that lays prone and still just outside the entrance of several Shaiva temples in the Kathmandu valley, a corpse that is ready to rise up against the bhutas, pretas, and other liminal beings whose presence within Shiva's temples would constitute a sacrilege—even for this death-dealing god of destruction who has among his attendants many such undead beings. Such beings are not only useful as guardians of the threshold that separates the sacred from the profane at the place of their conjunction; they also serve a useful cognitive function: underscoring the categorical differences between the living and the dead, they keep these two realms cognitively separate by incarnating their conjunction (through their freakish confections of aliveness and deadness). Thus the undead perform a valuable classificatory service: they serve to underscore the categorical differences between the living and the dead by constituting freakish exceptions to the rule that the dead do not rise again.



11th Himalaya - Karakorum - Tibet Workshop

Flagstaff, Arizona (U.S.A.), 1996

Organizers: Allison Macfarlane, Rasoul B. Sorkhabi, and Jay Quade

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Metamorphic Evolution of the Main Central Thrust Zones Around the Kishtwar and Kulu Windows, NW Indian Himalaya P, T and Ar-Ar Data

Manickavasagam, R. M.; Jain, A.K.; and Singh, S.

P-T Constraints Across the MCT in Parts of Kashmir and Their Significance to Inverted Metamorphism

Session IV: Posters (all regions)

Ali, Fayaz; Khan, Inayatullah; and Ahmad, Diyar
Significance of Megascopic Shear Zones in the Pre-Cambrian Limestone Belt Around Ganghar and Attock-Cherat Ranges, NW Himalayas, Pakistan

Bendick, Rebecca; Bilham, Roger; and Vita-Tinzi, Claudio
Collision-Induced Buckling of the Malabar Coast of India?

Blume, Frederick; Bilham, Roger; Denham, N. Lin; and Mishra, Kamal N.

From Mt. Everest to India: Geodetic Remeasurements in Nepal, 1995

Carosi, R.; Musumeci, G.; and Pertusati, P.C.

Late Tectonic Structures in the Higher Himalayan Crystallines of Kumbu Himal, Eastern Nepal

Carosi, R.; Musumeci, G.; and Pertusati, P.C.

Southward Extensional Tectonics and Dikes Emplacement in the High Himalayan Crystallines of the Everest Region

- Chaudhry, Muhammad N.; Ghazanfar, Munir; and Spencer, David A.
Evidence for Pre-Mesozoic Affinity of the Karakoram Himalaya to the Indian Plate, Northern Pakistan
- Chen, Wang-Ping; Chen, Chu-Yung; and Nabelek, John L.
Lithospheric-scale Mountain Building Along the Himalaya
- Corfield, Richard I.
Preliminary Observations on the Structure of the Spontang Ophiolite and the Northern Indian Margin Shelf Sediments Lying Structurally Below. Zaskar Mountains, N.W. India
- DeCelles, P.G.; Gehrels, G.E.; Kapp, P.A.; Quade, J.; and Ojha, T.P.
Modal Petrographic and Detrital Zircon Provenance Data From Siwaliks and Dumri Sandstones, Western and Central Nepal
- Ghazanfar, Munir, and Chaudhry, Muhammad N.
Structure and Tectonic Style in Sedimentary Lesser Himalaya, South Hazara, Northern Pakistan
- Hussain, S. Shahid and Dawood, Hamid
Beryl Mineralization of Higher Himalayas and its Implications on Emerald Mineralization in Pakistan
- Idylhim GPS Team (P. LeFort presenting)
IDLHIM GPS 95: A Global Positioning System Network In Western Nepal
- Jadoon, Ishtiaq and Helmcke, D.
LANDSAT TM and Spot Image Interpretation of an Active Fault System in Central Sulaiman Lobe, Pakistan
- Jain, A. K.; Manickavasagam, R. M.; Singh, S.; and Patel, R. C.
Deformation, Ductile Shearing and the Main Central Thrust in Parts of NW-Himalaya, SE-Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh
- Khattak, Mohammad U.K.; Shervais, John W.; and Stakes, Debra S.
Counter-Clockwise P-T-T Paths in Garnets from the Nanga Parbat-Haramosh Massif and the Ladakh Island Arc Terrane, Northern Pakistan
- Liu, Guanghua
Formation of the Late Tertiary Faulted Basins of Yunnan
- Makovsky, Yizhaq; Klemperer, Simon L.; and Ratschbacher, Lothar
Mid-crustal Reflector Truncating the India-Asia Suture and Magma Beneath the Tibetan Rift System from Wide-Angle Seismic Data of Project Indepth
- Manickavasagam, R. M.; Jain, A.K.; and Singh, S.,
Thermo-Metamorphic Evolution of the Higher Himalayan Crystallines in Parts of SE Kashmir, Himachal and Garwal Himalaya
- Marty, Bernard; France-Lanord; Gajurel, Ananta; Mural, Reto; Vuataz, Francois; and LeFort, Patrick
CO₂ and Helium in Mineral Springs of Nepal and Mustang: a Study of Volatile Release Processes During the Himalayan Tectonics
- Mugnier, J.L.; Huyghe, P.; Leturmy, P.; and Delcaillau, B.
Plio-Quaternary Increase of Sediment Supply in Synorogenic Basins of Himalayas: Tectonic Control of Climatic Effect
- Murphy, M.A.; Yin, AN; Harrison, T.M.; Durr, S.B.; Chen, Z.; Wang, X.; Zhou, X.; Ryerson, F.J.; and Kidd, W.S.F.
Significant Crustal Shortening in the Lhasa Block (Southern Tibet) Predates the Indo-Asian Collision
- Rumelhart, Peter E.; Yin, An; Ryerson, F.J.; Qiang, Zhou Xian; Qing, Zhang; and Feng, Wang Xiao
Stratigraphic, Structural, and Geomorphological Constraints on the Evolution of the Nan Shan Thrust Belt, Northern Tibetan Plateau
- Ruppel, C.D.
Thermal Modelling of Transition Zone Crust Based on INDEPTH Geometrical Constraints
- Searle, Mike; Stephenson, Ben; McCarron, Joe; and Hassall, Ollie
Structure of the North Indian Tethyan Plate Margin along the Zaskar River Profile
- Shah, Mohammad Tahir and Shervais, John W.
Mafic Volcanism and the Petrologic Evolution of the Dir-Utror Meta Volcanic Sequence, Kohistan Arc Terrane, Northern Pakistan
- Singh, Sandeep and Jain, A. K.
Geological Evidences for Paleoseismic Events along Kauik-Cahngo Fault Zone, Sutlej-Spiti Valleys, Himalachal Pradesh
- Spencer, D.A.
The Upper Kaghan Nappe (NW Himalaya, Pakistan): A Regional Synopsis
- Spencer, D.A.
"Collapse Folding" as a Mechanism of Explaining the Early Ductile Extension along the Indus Suture and the Subsequent Exhumation of the Himalayan Eclogites (Upper Kaghan, Pakistan)
- Spencer, D.A.
Structural Geology of the Upper Kaghan Nappe, NW Himalayas, Pakistan
- Uhlir, C.F. and Schramm, J. M.
The Giant Gully of Jarlang Within the Deposit of a Landslide (Ganesh Himal, Central Nepal)

Special Session 3: Extensional Tectonics in a Compressional Orogenic System

Hauck, Michael L.; Nelson, K.D.; Brown, Larry D.; Changde, Wu; Kuo, John T.; and Wenjin, Zhao

Indepth Reflection Profiles in the Central Himalaya: Normal Faults, Thrust Ramp, and Basement Dome

Harrison, T. Mark; Ryerson, F.J.; McKeegan, K.D.; LeFort, P.; and Yin, An

The Pb Monazite Ages of Himalayan Metamorphic and Leucogranitic Rocks: Constraints on the Timing of Inverted Metamorphism and Slip on the MCT and STD

Hodges, K.; Bowring, S.; Hawkins, D.; Davidek, K.

The Age of the Rongbuk Granite and Qomolangma Detachment, Mount Everest Region, Southern Tibet

Godin, Laurent; Brown, Richard L.; and Hanmer, Simon

Ductile Deformation Along the Annapurna Detachment Fault, Kali Gandaki, Central Nepal

Yin, A.; Murphy, M.; Harrison, T.M.; Tyerson, J.F.; Zhengle, Chen; Feng, Wang Xiao; Qiang, Zhou Xian,

Miocene Evolution of the Kailas Thrust and Gurla Mandhata Detachment Fault, Western Tibet: Implications for the Displacement History of the Karakorum Fault System

Hubbard, Mary; Molnar, Peter; Kalvoda, Jan; and Hodges, Kip

Cooling History of the Makalu Massif: Product of Weathering or Tectonic Exhumation?

Jain, A. K.; Manickavasagam, R. M.; Singh, S.; and Patel, R. C.

Extensional Tectonics and Exhumation of the Himalayan Metamorphic Belt; Structural Evidence from SE Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh

Hoke, L.; Lamb, S.; and Hilton, D.R.

Helium Isotope Results from the Tibetan Plateau - A Tool for Understanding Active Mantle Processes Beneath Southern Tibet

Session V: Higher Himalayan Crystalline Terrain

DeSigoyer, J.; Guillot, J.; Lardeaux, S.; and Mascle, J. M.

HP-LT Metabasalts and Metapelites in the Himalayan Belt (Tso Moriri, NW Ladakh)

Guillot, S.; Allemand, P.; LeFort, P.; Cosca, M.; Lardeaux, J.M.; and DeSigoyer, J.

Metamorphic Evolutions in the Himalayan Belt Related to the Counterclockwise Rotation of India

Walker, J. D.

Structure of the High Himalayan Slab in NW Lahaul and Se Zaskar

Thakur, V. C.; Rawat, B.; Jaffaruddin, K.; and Dhoundial, K.

Structural Framework, Deformation and Metamorphism of Higher Himalaya Crystallines in Chenab Valley, Kashmir Himalaya

Dipietro, Joseph A.; Pogue, Kevin R.; Hussain, Ahmad; and Ahmad, Ershad

Precambrian Rock of the Black Mountains NW Himalaya, Pakistan

Singh, Sandeep; Jain, A. K.; Gee, D. G.; Claesson, S.; Manickavasagam, R. M.; and Andreasson, P. G.

Tectonometamorphic and Geochronological Constraints on the Higher Himalayan Crystallines (HHC), Sutlej Valley and Chor Mountain Area, NW Himalaya, India

Session VI: Tibet and the Trans-Himalaya

Miller, Christine; Schuster, R.; Klötzli, U.; Mair, V.; Frank, W.; and Purtscheller, F.

Miocene Ultrapotassic Volcanic Rocks From Southwestern Tibet

Gnos, Edwin; Immenhauser, Adrian; and Peters, Tjerk

Late Cretaceous/Early Tertiary Convergence Between the Indian, Arabian and Eurasian Plates Recorded in Ophiolites and Related Sediments

Liu, Guanghua

Jurassic Sedimentation in the Tethyan Himalayas

Sinha, A. K.; Rai, H.; Upadhyay, R.; and Chandra, R.,

A Geological Traverse Through the Collision Zone of the Indian and Asian Plates and Accreted Karakorum Terrane

Kong, X., Yin, A. and Harrison, T. M.

Geodynamic Implications of a Late Cenozoic Kinematic Reconstruction of Asia During the Indo-Asian Collision: a Thin-Shell Finite-Element Model

Hildebrand, Peter R.,

The Structure, Metamorphism and Magmatism Observed in a Transect Through the Hindu Kush, Northwest Pakistan

Sullivan, Michael W.; Saunders, Andrew D.; Windley, Brian F.

The Petrology and Geochemistry of the Utror and Shamran Volcanic Formations, Kohistan, NW, Pakistan

Ryerson, F.J.; Harrison, R. Mark; Yin, An; Murphy, Michael

The Gangdese and Renbu-Zendong Thrust Systems: Lateral Extent and Slip History

Gao Rui and Wu Gongjian

**Lithosphere Structure and Geodynamic
Model of Golmundejin B. Geoscience
Transect in Northern Tibet**

Hughes, Nigel C. and Jell, Peter A.

**Himalayan Cambrian Trilobites:
Implications for Stratigraphy and
Tectonics**

Spencer, D.A. and Sorkhabi, R. B., presentation of:

**The Himalayan Network (HimNet), Himalayan
Notes, Himalayan - Karakoram- Tibet
Workshops and a Suggestion for Establishing
an International Society of Himalayan
Geoscientists**

FUTURE CONFERENCES

XII Himalaya-Karakorum-Tibet Workshop Roma, 16 -18 April 1997

Where and when. Following the decision taken in Flagstaff during the XI HKT Workshop, we are glad to announce that the XII HKT Workshop will be held in Roma (Italy), from Wednesday 16th to Friday 18th April 1997.

The Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei will host us in Via della Lungara 10, in the Palazzo Corsini, an ancient patrician house not far from the Vatican State. The Accademia and the participants to the HKT Workshop have pleasure to honour Ardito Desio, for the centennial of his birth.

We, the Organizing Committee, invite you to take part and we extend you our warmest welcome.

Oral Presentation. Authors will have 15 minutes to present their papers followed by 5 minutes for discussion. Extended time for discussion will be provided at the end of each session. In order to allow a larger participation, only one oral presentation for speaker should be accepted. English is the working language.

Poster. Presentation of posters is strongly encouraged. Time will be dedicated specifically for their presentation and discussion will be reserved.

Sessions. The HKT Workshop should focus about a limited number of topics, including:

- Stratigraphy and paleontology of Tethyan sediments. c
- Syntaxis areas and surroundings.
- Deep crustal structure in Himalaya and Karakorum.
- Geochronology and isotope geology.
- Advances in HKT regional mapping.
- Extensional tectonics.
- Evolution of Tertiary foreland and hinterland basins.
- Plio-Pleistocene uplift, erosion and exhumation rates.
- Environmental geology and hazards.

Abstracts. The dead-line for submitting abstracts is the 10th of February 1997. Abstracts should be submitted in clean hard copy and on a DOS diskette form using Word for Windows. They should not exceed 2 pages, including references written according to Elsevier format. Drawings in clean hard copy are accepted.

Registration. The registration fee is set at about 100-150 USD, payable directly at the registration desk in Rome.

Accommodation. Accademia dei Lincei is downtown. Hotels in the center of Rome are expensive and is not easy to find rooms at the last minute. We are thus reserving a number of rooms in hotels not far from the Accademia, in order to keep prices as low as possible; you will be requested to book your own room after having received all necessary details with the second circular.

Organizing Committee:

Maurizio Gaetani, Università di Milano
Annibale Mottana, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma
Lucia Angiolini, Università di Milano
Marco Balini, Università di Milano

Eduardo Garzanti, Università di Milano
Alda Nicora, Università di Milano
Andrea Zanchi, Università di Milano

Address.

XII HKT
Dipartimento Scienze della Terra
Via Mangiagalli 34
20133 Milano (Italy).
Fax: 39-2-70638261
E-mail: hktw@e35.gp.terra.unimi.it

**International Conference on Anthropology And Sociology Of Nepal:
Cultures, Societies, Development And Ecology
16-19 March, 1997**

The Sociological/Anthropological Society of Nepal (SASON) and the Department of Sociology/ Anthropology, Tribhuvan University are asking for paper submission for the above conference to be held in Kathmandu, Nepal, 16-19 March, 1997. Interested researchers, students and professionals with Nepal experience are invited to participate in the conference. Abstracts of papers for the conference should be received by 30 October, 1996. The deadline for submission of papers is 15 January 1997. If you have suggestions for Special Sessions, send details on topics and potential participants. More information will be mailed to you after we receive your abstracts. Send abstracts and papers (with your full address) to:

Dr. Ram Bahadur Chhetri, President, SASON
P.O. Box 6017
Kathmandu, Nepal
Fax: 977-1-.535269
Email: human@ecology.wlink.com.np
(Please use Email to send abstracts only.)

CALL FOR PAPERS
3rd Himalayan Languages Symposium
Parasession: Language and Culture in the Himalayan Context
July 18-20, 1996
University of California, Santa Barbara

Papers for the General Session may present the results of scholarly research on any subject pertaining to Himalayan languages and Himalayan language communities. Possible topics include:

- * Descriptions of previously undescribed languages
- * Linguistic analyses of phonetic, phonological and grammatical systems
- * Comparative studies and historical reconstruction
- * Himalayan languages in theoretical and typological perspective
- * Discourse and grammar
- * Sociolinguistics
- * Historical and archaeological finds relating to the prehistory of Himalayan language communities

Papers for the Parasession on Language and Culture in the Himalayan Context may be on any subject pertaining to language communities of the greater Himalayan area. Possible topics include:

- * Evidentiality, discourse, and cultural practices
- * Honorific systems
- * Kinship systems
- * Ritual language
- * Deictic and directional systems in geographical and cultural space
- * Language contact and multilingualism
- * Orality and literacy
- * Language maintenance, shift and preservation
- * Language policy

A proposal has been made to include a panel discussion relating to the topic of language endangerment and preservation. Anyone interested in participating in such a panel should contact Carol Genetti as soon as possible.

About the Symposium

The Himalayan Language Symposium is designed to be a global forum where scholars can share the fruits of their research with others working on related issues in the same geographic area. The term "Himalayan" is used in the panoramic sense, to include Nuristan, Baltistan and the Burushaski speaking area in the west, and northern Burma and Sichuan in the east. The Tibetan Plateau is included in the north, and in the south the area covered includes the Himalayan foothills, the Terai, the Meghalaya and the hill tracts geophysically related to the Himalayas, e.g. Nagaland and Manipur. The term "language" was chosen as opposed to "linguistics" to purposely broaden the scope of the symposium beyond linguistics proper, so as to allow those working in kindred disciplines, such as archaeology, history, philology, and anthropology, to present their research pertaining to Himalayan languages and language communities. The special Parasession on Language and Culture in the Himalayan Context constitutes a deliberate effort to expand the scope of the Symposium in this way.

About the 3rd HLS

This year's conference will be held at the University of California, on the Santa Barbara campus. Santa Barbara is located about 100 miles north of Los Angeles on the beautiful California coast. Participants housed in dormitories on campus will be within walking distance of the beach, an excellent place for sunbathing, swimming, and surfing. Information on accommodations and transportation will be included with the second circular.

Abstracts

Abstracts should be limited to one page, with text in a space no larger than 6 X 8 inches, including the title and the name and institution of the scholar. Accepted abstracts will be bound into a booklet and distributed at the conference, so please adhere to the size guidelines. Deadline for abstracts is February 14, 1997. They should be sent to the organizing committee at the address below.

For More Information

If you require additional information about the 3rd Himalayan Languages Symposium, or if you would like your name to be added to the mailing list, please contact:

Organizing Committee	e-mail: hls@vowel.ucsb.edu
Himalayan Languages Symposium	phone: (805) 893-3574
Department of Linguistics	fax: (805) 893-7769
University of California	
Santa Barbara, CA 93106	
USA	

Information is also available on our web page: <http://vowel.ucsb.edu/hls>

Deadline for Abstracts: February 14, 1997