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JOURNAL



a publication for the study of Tibet

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The Tibet Journal

A publication for the study of Tibet

Geshe Lhakdor Editor-in-Chief

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MANAGING EDITOR

Spring/Summer Vol. XLIII, No. 1, 2018

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Tibetan Psychic Traditions¹

S.M. Roney-Dougal

Introduction

This article describes the early stages of a research project in India with Tibetan meditation practitioners, looking at the relationship between meditation attainment and psychic awareness. As this is an overview to give a flavour of the psychic traditions of the culture, I shall mention several different traditions quite briefly, rather than give an in-depth account of any one of them. There is very little literature about Tibet's psychic traditions, so much of what follows is based on interviews with various people.

The Tibetan culture is renowned for its psychic practitioners, but there has been no scientific research into their practices. Tibetan traditions incorporate psi extensively, with three main areas that appear to have ancient origins:

- 1) The oldest Tibetan traditions are those of the oracles, which involves deity possession;
- 2) *Mo* divination, which often involves a Tibetan deity called Palden Lhamo;
- 3) and the mahasiddhis.

There are two areas of more recent beliefs that relate primarily to the monastic communities and derive directly from Buddhism: attainment of psychic abilities through Buddhist meditation practice, and a belief in consciously chosen reincarnation, resulting in tulkus who are identified using a variety of psychic practices.

Tibetan traditions are a unique mixture of original shamanic Bon practices, Buddhism, which came to Tibet about 1,300 years ago, and Indian Buddhist

^{1.} Deep gratitude to His Holiness the Dalai Lama for inspiring this project and to his secretary, Tenzin Geyche Tethong, for his support; to the Perrott-Warwick Fund and Bial Foundation (grant no. 64/04) for supporting this research; to Geshe Jampel Dakpa for all his help and for affiliating this project to Sarah College, Dharamsala; to Khangser Rinpoche for enabling the research to take place at Sera Jey monastic university, Bylakuppe; to Yaki Platt and Gen Andu for their excellent translator skills and unfailing good spirits; and last, but not least, to all those interviewed who gave of their time and wisdom.

tantric traditions, which came to Tibet about 1,000 years ago (Schlagintweit, 1999). The psychic aspects of Tibetan tradition primarily date from the pre-Buddhist shamanic period, though they are not inimical to Buddhism *per se* and so have been extensively incorporated by the monks into their practices. There are many different types of Buddhism, and that in Tibet is renowned for its inclusion and development of psychic abilities.

A. Belief

Every culture has its own world-view. Exploring a different culture can often shed light on our own belief systems and help us to see our own concepts. Beliefs are an intrinsic part of one's mental make-up determined to a great degree by the culture in which one grows up. We are, for the most part, completely unconscious of our belief systems until they are pointed out to us, or we go to a completely different culture where people hold very different beliefs.

Most Tibetan people accept the psychic as an every day part of life. An example of the place divination has in everyday life for Tibetans is their use of astrology. Their calendars specify more than a dozen different attributes of each day, e.g., whether or not it is auspicious to start a business, get married, hold a funeral or even to have a party!

1. The Tibetan Oracles

Tibetans have the tradition of oracles (*kuten*, which literally means medium). These mediums go into trance, becoming possessed by a deity, who then speaks through the medium giving advice and prophecy, which is used to make decisions by people at every level of society, e.g. Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government consult the Nechung Oracle, who is recognised as the state oracle. The oracle is held in high esteem as the following quote from the Dalai Lama shows:

For hundreds of years now, it has been traditional for the Dalai Lama, and the Government, to consult Nechung during the New Year festivals. In addition, he might well be called upon at other times if either have specific queries. I myself have dealings with him several times a year. This may sound far-fetched to twentieth century western readers. . . . But I do so for the simple reason that as I look back over the many occasions when I have asked questions of the oracle, on each one of them time has proved that his answer was correct. . . .

Surprising as it may seem, the oracle's replies to questions are

rarely vague. As in the case of my escape from Lhasa, he is often very specific. (Dalai Lama, 2002).

There are numerous oracles. Many monasteries will have their own resident oracle, who sometimes is a monk, as well as the more common village lay oracles.

The following information about oracles was given by Kirti Tsenshab Rinpoche (2005) in a series of private interviews. (see picture 1) Kirti Tsenshab Rinpoche was recommended as he was a great authority on tantric aspects of Tibetan Buddhism. I feel so grateful and blessed to have been able to spend time in his presence—a truly holy man.

There are two factors involved in an accurate prophecy: the ability of the medium and the faith of the participants. He considered faith to be very important, and likened this participation between the medium and the sitter to needing a crutch if you have a bad leg—to be effective in walking you need both. Many of the people I have spoken with have reiterated this point of the importance of faith. For example, Penor Rinpoche (2006), who is head of the Nyingma sect, said with regard to divination that the diviner must have complete faith in the deity, and the questioner must have complete faith in the diviner.

Thus, a medium requires complete faith in their abilities from the sitter, and as there are both good and fraudulent mediums, one must check their reliability over a long period in order to increase one's trust in them. He considered that it is essential to check in order to know whether the oracle's divination will be successful. He likened Buddhists to scientists in that they always check everything. He explained that if you have a precognition, you can increase the certainty of your experience by asking lots of other people what they think, and so check it out. He said to make ratings for everything, e.g., for a 3 or 6 month prophecy check the person who has given it: are they reliable? How do they express themselves? What are their qualifications? Education? The way they dress? Do they speak well? What is their credibility? In similar vein he says we must analyse everything. By analogy he said that someone can appear happy or sad, but this may just be the appearance. He was very firm that things of the senses can often deceive us, and that when we're sick our senses are faulty.

Kirti Tsenshabe Rinpoche also mentioned the Tibetan tantric teaching that an oracle becomes possessed by a deity because of the wind energy in their channels. This wind energy is conceived in a similar manner to prana of the Yogic tantric tradition, and the channels are equivalent to the nadis. He considers that some people have the ability to see the future because of past-

life karma, which is related to their wind energy. Many other people I spoke with have repeated this point.

2. Mo Divination

Far more common than the oracles is the practice of Mo divination. Nearly every monastery will have at least one lama who does Mo divination. There are also many lay village people who "do the Mo."

An article in a Tibetan magazine (*Cho Yang*) states that the purpose of performing divination is to look into a person's life situation in order to:

recommend how to respond or deal with it. Remedial action, in the form of rituals, evokes positive forces and can result in a change in the person's karma. When performing a divination, an individual is relying on the power vested in him by a particular deity. This power may have been acquired through a connection with the deity in a past life, and reinforced through retreats involving recitation of a mantra as many as one million times, identifying himself with the deity with clear concentration and the generation of divine pride. . . . The motivation for performing divination must be pure . . . the fundamental motive for engaging in the practice of divination should be to help sentient beings. (Tseten et al, 1995, p. 111-112)

This quote shows the typical Tibetan blending of shamanic with Buddhist beliefs. As in the beliefs about the oracle, connection with a deity is considered an essential part of the psychic act, and also there is mention of the Buddhist teachings of karma and altruistic motivation.

The *Cho Yang* journal article lists 11 different divination methods, some of which are mentioned below:

(i) Doughball divination is done by high lamas in order to help find an important reincarnation, which means it is used only rarely. The names of potential candidates are written on paper and then rolled into a ball of dough. All candidate names are in equal-sized balls, great care being taken to make sure that all the balls are identical. These balls are placed in a sealed bowl, which is put in front of a sacred object, such as a statue in a temple, and for three days monks remain in the temple reciting prayers day and night. On the fourth day the cover is removed and a high lama rolls the doughballs round in the bowl until one of them falls out. That is the ball containing the answer. I was told that, in the case of the latest Panchen Lama who has been imprisoned by the Chinese, this process was repeated three times, and each time the same name came up.

The most common forms of divination are Dice and Mala divination. In Mala divination the person holds the mala (a string of prayer beads) with the fingers of each hand holding a bead at random. The intervening beads are then counted out three at a time until one, two or three beads are left, this giving the outcome of the divination

In a similar manner, dice will be thrown, the diviner blowing on the dice before throwing. Normally three dice are used.

In the above two forms of divination, the advice is specified by books which tell you what the particular outcomes mean. For example, in general with the dice, odd numbers are auspicious whilst even numbers are inauspicious. With the mala the best outcome is three beads.

Whilst doughball, dice and *mala* divination rely on a "random" event having a meaningful relationship with the person's question (synchronicity), in the next most common forms of divination, direct clairvoyance is used.

(ii) Mirror divination is special to a protector deity known as Dorje (or Lhamo) Yudronma. The mirror is placed ceremonially and, as with the previous forms of *Mo*, rituals are performed. The diviner sees appearances, reflections of writings and letters from the deity. When I visited a lovely old Tibetan lady called Amathaba, (see picture 2) living in one of the Tibetan settlements in south India, she saw a misty dawn scene which gradually cleared, and interpreted this as there being an initial difficulty which would then get resolved. She recommended asking the local nuns to say special prayers, and to hang prayer flags to help overcome the obstacles. This is a very common practice.

She says it was a gift she was born with and which ran in the family, she being the seventh person in the family to have inherited this gift. In her case she uses three mirrors, placed upright in a bowl of rice. In two of them she sees the deities connected with the divination, and in the front mirror the actual reading. She is thought of very highly in the community and many people consult her.

In Thumb nail divination you look into the thumbnail and blow on it in order to receive the vision. When the *Mo* is done via mirror or thumbnail reading, the diviner will tend to see particular symbolic visions, which are then interpreted in the light of the querent's problem.

Also in this category come precognitive or clairvoyant dreams. Again, as with most Tibetan methods, these are related to a particular deity. Specific things are attributed to different symbols as in mirror divination (Tseten et al, 1995, p.114). I was told of a local woman who consulted a lama and was told by him to have a dream about her problem. The lama also noted their own dream that night. The two dreams were then compared and predictions made by the lama, which turned out to be correct. Kirti Tsenshab Rinpoche (2005)

corroborates this saying that prophecies can appear as visions in dreams, but considers this less reliable because not all dreams are prophetic, so one is never completely sure whether or not it is an accurately prophetic dream.

(iii) The next group of practices tend to be done by the querent themselves. Until 1959, 80% of Tibetans were semi-nomadic to varying degrees. Their practices are accordingly much simpler than the previous methods, and the information required is primarily whether or not it is auspicious to do a certain task.

Bootstrap divination is popular among nomads. The straps, which are wide pieces of webbing tape, are folded into squares and suddenly pulled apart. If they part easily, this is a positive sign—if they tangle, this is considered to be unlucky. Several people have mentioned this form of divination to me and it is apparently very popular in Tibet.

Tibetans commonly take note of omens such as certain birds being seen, overhearing certain music, or people saying auspicious words, which are all positive. There are numerous negative signs as well, such as the chatter of monkeys, or interestingly, having a black cat cross your path before you set out on a journey. Why a black cat should have this mystique both in Britain and Tibet is very strange!

Examining flames in a ritual fire or observing a butter lamp is also a form of divination. In this case one invokes the fire god and then observes the flame. Different types of flames mean different things.

In interviews with diviners, apart from the importance of faith, which is always mentioned, the other aspect that is considered absolutely vital is that of prayers to Buddha, or a protector deity, most commonly to Palden Lhamo, who is the main protector deity of Tibet and of divination. Dice and *mala* divination in particular are normally associated with the deity Palden Lhamo. All of the diviners I have spoken to have reiterated that they are not psychic, they are the channel for the deity who thereby through them controls the fall of the dice, or whatever method they use. They do not consider that they do anything other than mediate between the querent and the deity.

Kirti Tsenshab Rinpoche (2005) says that when you do the *Mo*, if your supplication to the deity is good, then you will have a good *Mo*. In general a good relation with the deity increases your ability. He also says that those who have good faith in Buddhism are better at doing the *Mo*, and in time their ability increases. It is also considered important that the diviner has purified their "energy" channels (Kirti Tsenshab, 2005; Topgyal, 2005). One Rinpoche I interviewed (Drakser, 2006) had undertaken three months of purification practices, chanting mantras specific to the deity, doing prostrations and pujas, before he was considered fit to practice *Mo* divination.

As can be seen from this list of different types of practices, divination

ranges from the most simple "good or bad luck" omens through to highly developed clairvoyant skills, and from practices that anyone can do to those normally performed only by monks.

3. Meditation

This aspect of Tibetan psychic tradition is the form most related to Buddhist teachings. In Buddhism there are two meditation disciplines: the shamatha discipline of one-pointed concentration and the vipassana discipline of contemplative insight. Developing shamatha (calm-abiding or mental quiescence) is considered to be an essential first step. Many traditional Mahayana and modern Tibetan Buddhist texts (e.g. Conze, 1990; *Lamrimpa*, 1995, p.63) relate meditation attainment to development of psychic powers, as do Yogic teachings.

It seems that this "clairvoyancy" is more akin to what in the West we would define as omniscience, rather than the clairvoyance we research in parapsychology, since the Buddhist clairvoyancy includes what we consider to be miraculous powers. Traditional Buddhist scriptures talk about the six superknowledges which you gain on attaining perfection of concentration, and make it very clear that practice of concentration meditation brings both enlightenment and psychic awareness, and that you cannot have one without the other.

In interviews with various monks, it was stressed over and over again that only a few people attain samadhi and clairvoyant abilities, and even then the clairvoyance is no more than 80% reliable. Omniscience arises only with full enlightenment. Not everyone who practices meditation will attain samadhi, so not everyone who practices meditation will become psychic. In other words:

- There is a genius for enlightenment;
- there is a genius for meditation;
- there is a genius for psychic awareness.

We can all learn anything but not everyone has a talent. Only a few have genius.

My recent research at a yoga ashram and with Tibetan Buddhist monks supports this teaching, in that those who had practised meditation for longer, in terms of decades of practice, do seem to show more reliable psychic awareness as measured by a picture test for precognition and clairvoyance. However, this research is still in the early stages, so it can at present only be considered that the teachings have been suggestively confirmed.²

The yoga studies have been published (Roney-Dougal & Solfvin, 2006) and the first Buddhist study has been presented at a conference and submitted to a journal, but is not yet published.

B. Warnings about Psi

It seems that most cultures have some sort of reservation around psychic phenomena. We find stories of psychic abilities being used for negative purposes in most cultures, and, in an apparent paradox, this is also prominent in Tibetan culture.

1. Fear of Sorcery

As already mentioned, Tibetan culture is still very close to its shamanic roots. Shamanic cultures accept the psychic as part and parcel of life (Eliade, 1923). What is very apparent in shamanic cultures is the awe and the fear that surround the psychic manifestations.

Demons, and the fear of them, are apparently very common in Tibet. For example, amongst the Tibetans, disease is often thought to be caused by a bad spirit (Jhongur, 2006). A story was told how someone fell ill when a tree in the garden was cut down, and this was related to the spirit of the tree. This is a classic shamanic belief. Sickness is often related to a sorcerer who sends the bad spirit, or hex, at someone's request. This is not to say that shamans only use their psychic abilities for negative purposes, but it is to say that they have been used sufficiently often in this way for people to develop a fear of the psychic. The well-known stories about Milarepa, who was said to have killed lots of people at a distance, exemplify the fear of "bad" magic and the belief that people can do such terrible acts.

In an interview with an astrologer (Jhongur, 2006), I was told that there is a belief in sickness resulting from people talking about the person ("mikhasuk"). This corresponds to the 'evil eye' in Western culture, and basically means harm due to excessive praise for any kind of success or accomplishment, such as owning a specially beautiful object, or a newly built house which has become talk of the town (Nyima, 2007). Very young children are felt to be prone to this and need special protection

There is also fear of a spirit called a "disa" (literally smell-eater), which is a kind of trapped spirit which runs after food and is supposed to be satisfied with the mere smell of the food placed for it (Nyima, 2007).

There is a belief in possession by a spirit that may be from a dead person or may come from someone who is still alive, often contained within an object that used to belong to that person. An amulet is an object worn around the neck as charm against evil or injury. It is always used for protection from unknown harm. One sort of amulet, called a "ga'u," is a small silver casket which will contain, relics, photos of holy people etc. Tibetans often carry a ga'u in their coat. And of course the usual of a man using a charm to make a young girl fall in love with him!

I found it very interesting that, in my interviews with Kirti Tsenshab Rinpoche (2005), he again and again reiterated the importance of Buddhism for creating a moral sphere within which one could use one's psychic abilities. In many ways Buddhism is being strongly affirmed in order to morally "move on" from some of the problems that one encounters within a shamanic culture.

Attracting Spirits

One fear is that if you talk about psychic phenomena you might attract a spirit to you, and that might not be beneficial. For example, there is a belief that if you are possessed by a spirit, as with the oracles, you yourself stop developing at the level of the spirit that possesses you—or you just stop developing per se.

Tibetans consider that all ghosts can harm us. There are many stories of a special sort of ghost they call "hungry ghosts," and of others who will lure you to your death. Kirti Tsenshab Rinpoche said to beware of obstacles from ghosts when doing the *Mo* divination. They, or other beings, can obstruct the ability and can harm us. He considers that we gain protection from praying to the protector deity at the onset of the divination, from positive karma and from merit (Kirti Tsenshab, 2005).

He also says that there are two directions for personal development—going into the unconscious and going for super-consciousness. Psi abilities are normally considered to be related to the former, e.g. oracular trance, dreams or hypnosis, and in spiritual development one is going for the latter. Spirit connection, as in mediumistic practice, is definitely connected with the unconscious aspect of consciousness.

For Tibetans this is a complex, paradoxical subject because as Buddhists, the high lamas do *Mo* divination on request by people, who come to them for a variety of reasons. They also do divination for the tulku identification. And there are many oracles, some of them official state oracles. So the practice of psi is everywhere. The need for protection is acknowledged, and the prevalence of fraudulent practitioners, but not a taboo on practising. My translators have all said that Tibetans are very comfortable with this apparent contradiction.

2. Detrimental Effects on One's Spiritual Development

Ego and Humility

The fear of an immoral use of psi is a very obvious surface fear; the fear of pride is a subtler level of fear. In the Indian subcontinent and amongst the Tibetan people it is considered wrong to pay any special attention to psi. Manifesting psychic abilities is thought to have detrimental effects on one's

spiritual development. It is stressed that having attained Enlightenment, one is no longer disturbed spiritually by attainment of psychic abilities, whereas, for unenlightened people, psychic abilities are seen as very tricky indeed, associated with deception, with glamour and with pride.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama, in his book *Freedom in Exile* (2002), expresses a wish for Western science to explore Tibetan psychic traditions. However, when I met Geshe Samten (2005), the director of Sarnath Institute, he told me that, whilst Tibet has a rich tradition of psychic abilities, even those with a reputation of psychic awareness would deny their abilities. He stated that it is taboo to say that you are psychic or to "show off" your abilities. There must be a genuine purpose for doing the psychic practice. Even to say one has reached a certain level of meditation is considered an obstruction on the path to enlightenment. Humility is considered essential for one's spiritual development. For example, the Dalai Lama repeatedly says that he is a simple monk and is not clairvoyant.

Confidentiality and Secrecy

There is a Tibetan tradition about not speaking of things because they are secret teachings. For example, the Dalai Lama writes of Herbert Benson's research (Benson et al, 1982) with Tum-mo meditators:

As a strong believer in the value of modern science, I decided to let him proceed, though not without some hesitation. I knew that many Tibetans were uneasy about the idea. They felt that the practices in question should be kept confidential because they derive from secret doctrines. (Dalai Lama, 2002, ch.12)

Tibetan monks and nuns who are working with techniques that are thought to be related to development of psychic awareness, make vows that they will not speak about their practice or reveal their capabilities. Practitioners take their vows first and then they do the study and practice.

This level of fear, that acknowledging one's psychic abilities, which are considered to manifest at one level of development on the path, is an obstacle to one's spiritual growth, is a quite subtle understanding of psi and its manifestation from which we could learn.

Power Corrupts

Another aspect of the fear of the psychic is the knowledge that power corrupts, and glamorous psychic abilities are seen as very powerful. In an

introduction by Francis Story to a book on early Buddhist Pali Canon, he says:

It is true that certain psychic faculties capable of a worldly application, such as the Dibba-cakkhu (clairvoyance), Dibbasota (clairaudience), Mano-Maya-Kaya (projection of the 'astral body') and other paranormal powers are developed in the course of Buddhist meditation. . . . The Buddha and the Arhats possessed such powers and when need arose they exercised them for the sake of the ignorant who demanded 'signs and wonders.' But in general the Buddha deplored their use, preferring to spread the Dhamma by the 'miracle of teaching' and the self-propagating power of truth. To those not yet fully emancipated from worldly delusion they can become attachment-forming faculties, and as such have to be guarded against and overcome in the struggle for Nibbanna. In the Buddhist view, one who embarks on concentration exercises to obtain supernormal powers (Iddhi) is doing so with the wrong intention and at great danger to himself. If all power corrupts, supernormal power can corrupt superlatively. (Mahathera, 1975, p.iv)

This is a very real fear and I am sure that most people can think of examples of this facet of human experience.

Fraud: Distinguishing Fact from Fantasy and the Problems of Attracting Glamour

One of the Buddhist precepts is not to claim to possess powers you do not have. Already noted above, in my discussions with Kirti Rinpoche (2005) were his frequent references to checking that the practitioner is not a charlatan, for example when talking about the oracles. He also said that it is most important to check the appearances of the psychic practitioner: don't be caught by appearances, see what is really being taught. He reiterated not to look at the outer appearance, and to check for the meaning. He used an analogy of a poem, and warned against being misled by beautiful words.

Why is it that we are so fascinated by psychic abilities? Why do we so easily venerate those who possess them? This is the root cause behind both the fraudulent pretence of psi and the ego glorification people experience when demonstrating psychic abilities.

Conclusion

I am aware that this is just a beginning, a first touch on the surface of a deep and complex culture and its traditional beliefs about the psychic realm. What I find really fascinating is His Holiness the Dalai Lama is encouraging scientific research into this topic. And he is doing this with full awareness of the difficulties:

I am well aware, however, of the danger of tying spiritual belief to any scientific system. . . . This is not to say that I consider things like the oracle and the ability of monks to survive nights spent out in freezing condition to be evidence of magical powers. Yet I cannot agree with our Chinese brothers and sisters, who hold that Tibetan acceptance of these phenomena is evidence of our backwardness and barbarity. Even from the most rigorous scientific viewpoint, this is not an objective attitude. At the same time, even if a principle is accepted, it does not mean that everything connected with it is valid. Great vigilance must be maintained at all times when dealing in areas about which we do not have great understanding. This, of course, is where science can help. After all, we consider things to be mysterious only when we do not understand them. Through mental training, we have developed techniques to do things which science cannot yet adequately explain. This, then, is the basis of the supposed 'magic and mystery' of Tibetan Buddhism. (Dalai Lama, 2002, pp. 230-243)

Ignorance is a major obstacle on the path. The scientific method has "truth" as its aim. Does a real and deep understanding of the process of psi enable one not to fall into the traps surrounding the development and use of psychic abilities? I think it does and I think that this is one of the best reasons for undertaking parapsychological research within the Tibetan culture.

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Revisiting Zorawar Singh Campaign in Tibet During 1841

Inderjeet Singh

This research paper, using Tibetans sources, examines General Zorawar Singh's background and his most celebrated but ill-fated campaign to Tibet in 1841, including the composition of the soldiers who accompanied the General and what become of them after the war. How did this invasion and subsequent treaty become important for the region? Finally how have we divided our history and icons? Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1786-1839) called his kingdom Sarkar Khalsa or Khalsa Sarkar. This terminology has been used to describe his kingdom in the paper.

Introduction

The Jammu & Kashmir Rifles, an infantry regiment of Indian army, celebrates 15th April every year as Zorawar Day to commemorate birth and success of the legendary commander who is considered as an architect of this regiment¹. The forerunner of the regiment was raised in 1821 by Gulab Singh Dogra, a key Hindu general of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of Punjab, Kashmir & Peshawar. The regiment takes recruits from the state of Jammu & Kashmir and neighbouring state of Himachal Pradesh.

Zorawar Singh is credited with the conquest of Ladakh (now part of Jammu & Kashmir state) in 1834, which was an independent state but culturally part of Tibetan Buddhism and also known as Little Tibet. He later led a successful campaign against Gilgit-Baltistan (now part of Pakistan administered Kashmir) in 1839/40. However he is mostly remembered for his daring campaign in Tibet in 1841 and enjoys an iconic status among Hindu Dogra community of Jammu region² (part of Jammu & Kashmir state) similar to what Hari Singh Nalwa enjoys among Sikhs.

Who was Zorawar Singh?

There is no consensus among historians about Zorawar Singh's place of birth. Major G. Carmichael Smyth, author of the book *A Reigning Family of Lahore*, says that he was a native of Kussal, near Riasi, in Jammu & Kashmir state.³ Hutchison and Vogel have stated that he was a native of Kahlur (Bilaspur) state, now in Himachal Pradesh.⁴ A modern writer Narsing

Das Nargis, on the basis of information supplied to him by a great grandson of Zorawar Singh, mentions in his book that Zorawar was born in a Rajput family about AD 1786 in the village of Ansora, in Kangra district.⁵

Brigadier Gurbachan Singh Bal in his book *Jarnail Zorawar Singh* has stated that he made enquiries with the Tehsildar of Riasi and the latter gave the same information as Nasing Das Nargis. Zorawar was the second son of Thakur Harjit Singh. His elder brother was Sardar Singh and younger brother was Dalip Singh.

Diwan Kirpa Ram who held an important position in the court of Maharaja Gulab Singh wrote a biography in 1850s on the premier called *Gulabnama*. In this account, Zorawar Singh is sometimes mentioned as 'Kahluria' i.e. native of Kahlur state which is consistent with Hutchison and Vogel's account. However all accounts agree that he joined the services of Gulab Singh and very soon became an important military commander.

Divided history

Gulab Singh had a humble beginning at Lahore but due to his bravery and military skills he was given Jammu as *jagir* and the title of Raja by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. His brother Dhyan Singh Dogra was the Prime Minister at Lahore and the third brother also held an important position in the court. Dhyan Singh's son Hira Singh Dogra was given the title of 'Farzan e Khas (favoured son)' and had a chair in the court unlike his father⁸. Giani Gian Singh in his book *Raj Khalsa* blames Dhyan Singh Dogra for withholding letters from Maharaja which were sent by Hari Singh Nalwa asking for reinforcements during the campaign of Jamrud (now in Pakistan–Afghanistan border) in 1837. Giani also states that Dhyan Singh Dogra sent soldiers who treacherously and fatally wounded Nalwa.⁹

Following the death of Maharaja, the three Dogra brothers at Lahore were running the government and were almost de-facto rulers. Dhyan Singh, his son and younger brother Suchet were involved in political intrigues and conspiracies which led to murder of Sikh rulers and princes. Hira Singh Dogra attacked his uncle Suchet Singh with an army. In the battle, Suchet Singh Dogra was killed. Later they were themselves killed along with Gulab Singh's son Udham Singh Dogra during the bloody and sad part of Punjab history.¹⁰

Harbans Singh in *Sikh Encyclopaedia* writes that Gulab Singh's intrigues against the Lahore government including grabbing the property of late Maharani Chand Kaur infuriated the Khalsa army that in 1845 a force 35,000 strong was sent against him to Jammu. He was brought to Lahore as a hostage and was allowed to return to Jammu as he agreed to pay a fine of 68 lakh rupees, with a promise of future good behaviour. Later Gulab Singh wrote and invited British East India Company to invade Punjab promising them of

his support in lieu of some territory. Subsequently he did not participate in the Anglo Sikh war but provided military intelligence to Brigadier Wheeler at Ludhiana. Nevertheless Gulab Singh was an able army general and he grabbed the opportunity to carve an independent kingdom for himself.¹¹

Due to the above, Sikhs blamed Dogras for betraying and subsequent loss of kingdom. This is only partially true. The biggest betrayal which cost Khalsa Sarkar dearly was when their commanders Tej Singh and Lal Singh betrayed during First Anglo Sikh war (1845-46) and were in constant contact with British. Their strategic withdrawal of armed forces gave British a huge edge in the war. There were not Dogras but Brahmins who converted and become Sikhs. Tej Singh was not even a Punjabi; he was a Brahmin from Meerut (now in Uttar Pradesh). The successors of Ranjit Singh also need to share the blame as they were not as able and astute as the late Maharaja. Their internal squabbling, political intrigues and mismanagement of armed forces that became too powerful is also to be blamed.¹²

Due to this discord between Sikhs and Dogras, *Gulabnama*, an important account on Dogras written as biography of Gulab Singh exalts him but ignored the Sikh contribution. Gulab Singh is portrayed as independent ruler during Ranjit Singh's reign which is far from truth. He became independent ruler in 1846 and the British bestowed upon him the title of Maharaja. Nevertheless it is remarkable that a person from humble origins with his grit and determination is able to form a kingdom for himself.

Sikhs are not at all mentioned in the above account in relation to Khalsa Sarkar's conquest of Ladakh, Gilgit-Baltistan & campaign of Tibet by Zorawar Singh. Instead it is portrayed as Gulab Singh Dogra's conquest and in passing it is mentioned that Gulab Singh was nominally under Khalsa Sarkar. The reality was that prior to 'his services to British', he was under Khalsa Sarkar and his title was 'Raja' but had some internal autonomy over Jammu region.

During the revolt of 1857, Maharaja Randhir Singh Dogra sent his troops to assist British in the siege of Delhi which was under the control of 'rebels'. Abdul Latif a resident of Delhi wrote a personal diary titled *1857 ka Tareekhi Roznamcha* during the siege of Delhi by the British in 1857. He hated rebels but his diary gives vital information. On 17th August 1857 he wrote "200 Sikhs sepoys belonging to the army of Jammu Raja came to join the rebel forces." Even till this time Dogra rulers had Sikhs in their army.¹³

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was a secular and had an eye for talent, his ministers and commanders were from Sikh, Hindu, Muslim and European Christian communities.

During his reign for 40 years from 1799-1839 not a single person was given capital punishment. Captain Leopold Von Orlich, a contemporary German

working in East India Company, in his book *Travels in India including Sinde & Punjab* pays his tribute to Ranjit Singh that he was "Porus of our days" and "In battle, he was always seen at the head of his troops, and foremost in combat; he twice crossed the Indus with his cavalry, in the very face of the enemy, and gained the victory. And by means of excessive liberality, he attached faithful servants and brave warriors to himself." ¹⁴

The Indian books on Zorawar Singh ignore the Tibetan sources which are important resource to understand the legendary campaign which defined and demarcated the border between India and Tibet (& China) in modern times.

Permission to invade Western Tibet Zorawar Singh was desirous of acquiring territory. Sohan Lal Suri who was a vakil or attorney at Lahore under Khalsa Sarkar wrote 5 volumes monumental work in Persian *Umdat ut Tawarikh* kept record of all important events in Lahore court. This work records that Zorawar Singh met Maharaja Ranjit Singh in village Jandiala Sher Khan in March 1836 and expressed his readiness to "kindle the fires of fighting" and "by the grace of ever triumphant glory of the Maharaja, he would take possession of it (Tibet)." The Maharaja politely declined him to undertake this adventure¹⁵.

Victor Jacquemont, a French botanist and geologist visited Lahore in March 1831 and later passed away in December 1832. His letters were latter published and gives an insight into inquisitive nature of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In one of his conversations with the French Botanist, Maharaja asks him about Tibet. The former told him of high altitude, cold weather, barren land and poor country. The Maharaja has been quoted that he will not bother to conquer a poor country. ¹⁶

Giani Gian Singh in his book *Raj Khalsa* mentions Zorawar Singh's visit at Lahore court following the victory over Ladakh in 1836. Zorawar was given honour and expensive 'saropa' among other gift. Zorawar again sort permission to attack Tibet and annex it to Khalsa Sarkar. The Maharaja said he was proud of brave generals like Zorawar but it was not the opportune time to invade Tibet.

The Maharaja had diplomatically declined a similar permission to the celebrated Sikh General Hari Singh Nawla when latter wanted to cross Kyber and attack Afghanistan. The astute Maharaja was well aware of the problems such an invasion may encounter as both these regions had a very difficult terrain and these countries were not rich in natural resources by any stretch of imagination. Zorawar had a better luck with Maharaja's successor Sher Singh who agreed with his proposal.

Campaign to Tibet 1841

Most modern Indian accounts state that Zorawar army consisted for Hindu Dogras and some Buddhist Ladakhis. However Tibetan sources clearly state that Zorawar Singh led a Sikh force during his campaigns in Ladakh and Tibet. The book *Tibet A Political History* by Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa is an important source which cannot be overlooked. The writer is considered an authority on Tibetan history and has written many books on Tibetan history and culture. Tsepon (1907-89) was a Tibetan nobleman, scholar and former Finance Minister of the government of Tibet.

Tsepon states that Zorawar Singh with Sikh and Ladakhi troops entered Tibet and fighting took place at Ngari Korsum in western Tibet between his army and a Tibetan force commanded by the generals, Dapon Shatra and Dapon Surkhang. Tsepon mentions that Zorawar Singh's predominantly Sikh forces defeated the ill-equipped Tibetans and advanced up to Taklakhar in Purang, Western Tibet.¹⁷

It is further mentioned that large scale Tibetan reinforcements were sent to western Tibet under the command of the council minister, Kalon Pallhun. The fighting lasted several months, and as winter approached, Kalon Pallhun intensified his efforts and succeeded in driving Zorawar Singh's troops out of Taklakhar, where the battle lasted five days. The author adds that heavy snow began to fall and the half-frozen Sikhs, unaccustomed to such conditions, were unable to prevent the Tibetans from descending upon them and fierce hand-to-hand combat ensued. Zorawar Singh was recognised by the platoon commander Migmar who hurled a spear at him brought him to ground and carried his head back to the Tibetan camp.

We are told that three thousand Sikhs were killed in the battle. Seven hundred Sikhs and two Ladakhi ministers were taken prisoner. The remainder of the defeated army fled towards Ladakh and was pursued by the Tibetans almost as far as Leh. The Tibetan finally halted at a place called Dumra, now called Nupra. After several months Raja Gulab Singh sent 8,000 Sikh reinforcements into Ladakh under the command of Dewan Hari Chand and Wazir Ratun. The Tibetan generals, Dapon Shatra and Dapon Surkhang, with approximately 60 troops, were captured and taken to Leh, the capital of Ladakh.

At Leh, the capital of Ladakh, the party was met by Kalon Pallhun's representative, who negotiated with Dewan Hari Chand. It was agreed, under a temporary treaty, that the Tibetan troops would be withdrawn from Dumra and that neither party would violate the other's territory. Those prisoners wishing to return to their own country would be allowed to do so. They agreed to draw up a more comprehensive treaty later on. The two Tibetan generals and the captured soldiers were repatriated.

Most interestingly the author mentions that 1/3 of the Sikh and Ladakhi prisoners elected to remain in Tibet. The Sikhs were resettled in the warmer regions of southern Tibet by the government and many of them married

Tibetan girls. The Sikhs are known to have introduced the cultivation of apricots, apples, grapes, and peaches into the country. Zorawar Singh's army had been well equipped with firearms and cannon, while the Tibetans were armed with swords, spears, bows, and a few primitive muskets brought from Mongolia. Tsepon says that Tibetans admitted that they owed victory to the heavy snowfall.¹⁷

How could Sikhs be led by a Dogra General?

The above account answered few questions but raised many more. Was it a usual practice for Khalsa Sarkar's Army to be led by a commander from different religion? Did the Tibetan confused Dogras with Sikhs? Did Chinese fought or assisted Tibetans in the war? If it had not snowed, would Zorawar Singh have won the battle? Lastly what became of these Sikhs who decided to stay in Tibet?

The book *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet* by Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, translated and annotated by Derek F. Maher provides the answer.

In relation to the 1834 Ladakh expedition of Zorawar Singh, Shakabpa states that the army was led by Hindu Officers and composed mainly of soldiers from Sikh faith. Tibetans were aware of difference between Hindu and Sikh religion. The author mentions that in 1841 the emboldened Zorawar Singh attacked Tibet itself with Sikhs and Ladakhi troops under his command.¹⁸

Alexander Cunningham in his book *Ladak, Physical, Statistical and Historical Notices of the Surrounding Countries* gives the names of 8 chief officers who led the 1834 campaign of Ladakh under Wazir Zorawar Singh, 6 of them are Hindus, one Muslim and Sikh each. The account of Ladakh campaign by Zorawar Singh in this book is based on Dogra Officer Basti Ram's recollections which were provided in 1847 at the request of Cunningham. ¹⁹ He does not comment on the composition of the army but this description of the officers is consistent with the Tibetan sources.

The book *The Indian Conquest of the Himalayan Territories* by Sukhdev Singh Charak, published in 1978, in appendix provides 'Minutes by Lt Governor TC Robertson at Meerut dated 28th September 1841' states "His (Zorawar Singh) part at that post (Tuklakote, Tibet) is understood to have been lately increased, but is not thought to exceed seven or eight hundred Sikhs with a rabble of some thousand Ladakhis". Charak has stated that these minutes are part of 'Secret proceeding of the foreign department, 11 October 1841, No. 50 – National Archives of India, New Delhi. ²⁰

Charak in his account has not mentioned Sikhs. Like other Indian authors, he states that Dogra and Ladakhi soldiers accompanied Zorawar Singh. It seems that appendices were added but Charak did not counter check them

with his account.

More surprisingly, he states that Sikhs were jealous of Dogras! At that time, Dhyan Singh was the Prime Minister at Lahore, Gulab Singh was key general and fighting at Afghan border, Suchet and Hira Singh Dogra held important positions in the Lahore Court. Gulab Singh was conferred the title of Raja of Jammu by the Maharaja who presided over the installation ceremony in Akhnur, near Jammu, on 16th June 1822.

Strangely in his book, Charak when quoting British accounts and reports, have added the word 'Dogra' in brackets next to Sikhs. Thus implying that they were Dogras not Sikhs but these British accounts mention Dogra as well. Using the same principle, I can imply that when Cunningham state 'Dogras' it should have been Sikhs! The British and Tibetan were well aware of the differences between Sikhs and Dogras.

Was it a usual practice for army to be led by a commander from different religion? A History of the Sikhs: From the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Sutlej – JD Cunningham written just after First Anglo Sikh war provides details of Khalsa Sarkar Army. Diwan Sawan Mall, Hindu Khatri, Governor of Multan had an infantry mainly consisting of Muslims and some Sikhs. Mian Prithi Singh, a Hindu held one of the artillery divisions which mainly consisted of Muslims. Diwan Ajudhia Prashad, a Hindu commanded infantry and cavalry divisions consisting of Sikh soldiers. Diwan Jodha Ram, a Hindu headed an infantry and cavalry divisions consisting of Sikh, Muslims and Hindu Dogras. There are numerous other examples where Sikh generals were leading a mixed regiment hence it is not out of ordinary for a Hindu Rajput (Zorawar Singh) to lead a regiment of Sikhs as they formed the majority of infantry & cavalry. The Muslims formed the majority in artillery divisions.²¹

In addition to British who were keeping tabs on the progress of Zorawar Singh, the newspapers 'Agra Akhbar' reported the 'encroachment of the Seikhs (Sikhs) upon the celestial empire continues'. It further stated that Zorawar Singh faced little resistance and Sikhs are 'virtual masters' of mountainous regions of Tibet, '1300 miles in length and proportionate breath'. This was also reported in many British newspapers and even in *The New York Herald* newspaper in January 1842.²²

Did Chinese fight or assist Tibetans in the war?

As per Tibetan sources, during the first Gurkha-Tibetan war (1788-89), the Chinese emperor sent military assistance to Tibet as an ally (or vassal state). Subsequently during the Tibetan Sikh war (1841-42) and the second Gurkha-Tibetan war (1855-56), China did not send military assistance or even general assistance such as weapons. The bodyguard of the Chinese Ambassador in

Lhasa did not exceed 100 during this time. The Manchu (Qing) government was unable to replace those who transferred or who became ill or died. The people of mixed Tibetan-Chinese heritage served in their place. It was time of tremendous difficulties for China as she was fighting the Opium War (1839-42) with Britain and France (1857-60). The Taiping Rebellion (1850-64) also occurred just after this period. Shakabpa rightly says that this it was tumultuous time in China.

Zorawar Singh lost due to snow and severe cold weather *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* by AH Francke, is based on all contemporary sources confirms that Tibetan assertion that Zorawar Singh's army was equipped with cannons and modern rifles. In contrast Tibetan army had one matchlock to ten soldiers. Even swords were rare and they relied on clubs, bows/arrows, and stone flinging.²³ The Tibetans admitted that they owed victory to the heavy snowfall. Alexander Cunningham has given graphic details about the ordeal of the Indian army. In May 1841 Zorawar with his 5,000 men entered Rudok and Garo which were won without striking a single blow.

On 7th November and 19th November, Zorawar Singh had sent small forces of 300 and 600 men respectively to oppose the advance of Tibetan who made good use of terrain and surrounded them and cut them to pieces. The two armies first met on the 10th December, and began a desultory fire at each other, which continued for three days. On the 12th December 1841 the great Zorawar Singh was killed.

The Khalsa Sarkar soldiers fought under very great disadvantages. The battle-field was more than 15,000 feet above the sea, and the time mid-winter, when even the day temperature never rises above the zero and the intense cold of night can only be borne by people well covered with sheepskins and surrounded by fires. Alexander records that for several nights the Indian troops had been exposed to all the bitterness of the climate. Many had lost the use of their fingers and toes and all were more or less frost-bitten. The only fuel procurable was the Tibetan furze, which yields much more smoke than fire and the more reckless soldiers had actually burned the stocks of their muskets to obtain a little temporary warmth. Alexander adds that on the last fatal day (12th December) not one-half of the men could handle their arms.

Strategic error & British advice

Zorawar received a communication from Alexander Cunningham (who was at Garhwal, now in Uttarakhand) who advised him to return back to Ladakh as winter was approaching. Brigadier Bal has severely criticised Cunningham's advice and laments that Zorawar agreed to it. In Brigadier Bal's view, Zorawar should have gone further to Brahmaputra valley where

temperature is much higher and he could have ran over Lhasa and stayed the winter in the capital with his army. The capital had numerous houses, fort, a palace and monasteries where his army could have stayed easily in warm conditions.

A cursory glance at the geography & temperature around Lhasa suggests that despite its high elevation, Lhasa has a monsoon-influenced warm-summer humid continental climate and the valley location protects the city from intense cold or heat and strong winds. The city gets plenty of sunshine and is sometimes called the "sunlit city" by Tibetans. Hence in the city of Lhasa, although the temperature does drop below freezing, the average mean temperature is higher than Western Tibet.²⁴

It seems bit odd that Zorawar Singh, a veteran of various expeditions in cold and mountainous countries was unaware of this fact. Especially as Zorawar harboured an ambition to win over Tibet for so long he would have planned it well.

By June 1841, Zorawar had won over Western Tibet and unfortunately he heeded to A Cunningham's advice and sent some of his army back to Ladakh along with his wife and while rest of the army halted in Western Tibet. This was a grave mistake and Zorawar had to pay it with his life. Brig Bal is of the opinion that it was sinister advice from the British as they did not wanted Zorawar to succeed in his mission, What became of these Sikhs who decided to stay in Tibet?

The book *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*" provides answer to this query. More than 200 Sikh soldiers (other account referred later mentions just over 100) elected to remain in Tibet where they settled in Lhasa, Yarlung, Chongye and other are in the South. Many of these soldiers married Tibetan women, adopted local customs and worked as butchers, cultivated fruit trees and performed other work. Tsepon adds that owning to their status as outsiders in Tibetan culture, many of them seem to have been identified with other marginalised people, a fact which may have contributed to their gradual conversion to Islam. They became known as the 'Singpa Khache' (sing pa kha che) people, a curious blending of names for Sikh and Islamic faiths. The Singpa Khaches came to be stalwarts of the Lhasa Islamic community and their status was legitimised by the fact that Singpa butchers were subsequently selected to provide meat for the table of the Dalai Lama. Tsepon states that there are many descendants of the Sikhs in the Lhokha region.

The book *The Indian Conquest of the Himalayan Territories* provides a translation of Persian letter dated 1st January 1857 regarding repatriation of 106 soldiers of General Zorawar Singh. The letter addressed to Maharaja

Gulab Singh mentions that 106 persons arrived in Kathmandu at the British resident but only 56 agreed to return back to Kashmir. The remaining flatly refused as they had married in Tibet and had families over there. This concurs with the Tibetan sources and another example of grey and complex human nature. Even after 15 years (war was in 1841/42) Gulab Singh was concerned about the soldiers (Sikhs and Ladakhis) who were left behind in Tibet. Charak has stated that this letter is preserved in the Government Archival Respiratory, Jammu Persian Records File No. 139, for the year 1855-57.

Reasons for invasion

Brig Bal wrote that Zorawar Singh was always desirous of winning new territory. In 1819 when Khalsa Sarkar won Kashmir from Afghans, the newly appointed Governor sent a message to the Ladakhi ruler to continue the annual tribute which they were paying to the Afghans. The Ladakhi readily obliged and they it was not until 1833 when they withheld the tribute, they gave a pretext for Zorawar to attack them. Raja Dhyan Singh Dogra was the Prime Minister at Lahore, impressed upon the Maharaja to let Zorawar Singh lead the campaign. The Maharaja accepted the proposal and asked the Kashmiri Governor not to interfere (who was also keen to attack Ladakh) and instructed Raja Gulab Singh Dogra to make arrangement to invade Ladakh. Zorawar Singh was given the task to lead the campaign.

Alliance of Khalsa Sarkar & Nepal

JD Cunningham has suggested Zorawar Singh also intended on monopolizing the trade in shawl-wool from Tibet to India. The British East India Company also feared an alliance between Sikhs and Nepal. By annexing western Tibet, the Khalsa Sarkar would have been neighbours with Nepal. The *Sikh Encyclopaedia* records Bhupal Singh, son of famous Gorkha general Amar Singh Thapa who became an officer in a battalion in the Sikh army under Frenchman, General Ventura returned to Nepal and was appointed to command a check post on the Indo Nepalese border. Two years later Bhupal Singh was selected to lead an embassy to Lahore. He left Kathmandu on June 1840, but the mission returned without transacting much business owing to the death in Lahore of crown Prince Nau Nihal Singh.

The Nepalese sent an emissary to Zorawar Singh when later was a Taklakot (Western Tibet). The emissary was well received by Zorawar Singh. Most interestingly, in January 1857, when 56 soldiers left in Tibet following the Tibetan-Sikh war of 1841 were repatriated back to India through Nepal, the Nepalese ruler at Kathmandu received these soldiers with honour and respect.

They were given silver medal of appreciation. One such medal was put on auction in London in 2015.²⁵

The medal have an inscription in Urdu and translation is as follows

(Presented to)

By the orders of Sri Maharajahiraja Surendra Vikram Shah Bahadur and Sri Jang Bahadur Rana Maharaja in Samvat 1912 (1855-56 CE), in war with Tibet secured the release of Khalsa soldiers from Jammu who were imprisoned for 15 years.

Following the victory of Nepal in the third Gurkha-Tibetan war in 1855, one of the clauses of the subsequent peace treaty signed in 1856 specified that the Khalsa Sarkar prisoners captured in 1841 be released. The clause was inserted at the request of the British acting on behalf of Gulab Singh Dogra, who was now their ally.

The question arises that why would the Nepalese ruler present these defeated and stranded soldiers from Khalsa Sarkar with medals? The inscription is self glorifying but these soldiers were also given robe of honours. It seems that the British suspicion was not unfounded that Khalsa Sarkar and Nepal had nefarious plan to form an alliance once they became neighbouring states following the conquest on Western Tibet. Although these soldiers failed to complete this goal but it seems that the Nepalese ruler recognised their difficult campaign and commended their efforts.

Obviously it was not done in so many words as Nepal was a British ally now.

Descendants of Zorawar Singh's soldiers in Darjeeling

Colonel (Retd) Sarabjit Singh told me that in 2002 when he was posted at Darjeeling (West Bengal) as Commandant GRD, GHOOM (Darjeeling) he met a descendant of the Sikh soldier of Zorawar Singh who stayed behind in Tibet. This person ran a shop in Chowrasta Bazar in Darjeeling informed him that his ancestors were Sikhs. Col Singh (with turban and beard) had been to the shop 3-4 times before and this Tibetan person volunteered this information. He told him that his ancestors were Sikh soldiers who went to Tibet with Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army but later were taken prisoners by the local Tibetan army. After the treaty, the Sikh army refused to take them back and these soldiers married local women and their descendants tried to embrace the Buddhist faith but were not accepted by the local Tibetan community. Then gradually these people converted to Islam, the only other religion in the region (This is confirmed in the Tibetan book *One Hundred Thousand Moons:*

An Advanced Political History of Tibet). Col Singh informed me that there would have been more descendants in Darjeeling.

Although this Muslim Tibetan gentleman with Sikh ancestry got one bit wrong i.e. Sikh army refused to accept back the prisoners of war, this account further strengthens the claim that Sikh soldiers accompanied Zorawar Singh.

Samadhi (Tomb) of Zorawar Singh

Both Hari Singh Nalwa and Zorawar Singh died while leading their armies in the battle. Their final resting places are out of bounds for most Indians and Sikhs. A humble room exists in Jamrud Fort to mark the last resting place of the great Sikh commander Nalwa. The fort which was constructed by Nalwa himself is at the entrance to the Khyber Pass, now in Pakistan. The Fort is under the control of Pakistani Army hence out of bounds for most civilians.

It is said that the Tibetans constructed a memorial in the shape of a *chorten* or *samadhi* (tomb) wherein the remains of the Zorawar Singh have been kept. The tomb is a mere heap of stones erected at a distance of a few kilometers from Burang town (also known as Purang) in Tibet Autonomous Region of China, in a secluded place. There is neither a concrete foundation nor brick walling has been done.

Indians who visit this area are quite aggrieved to see the state of the tomb of legendary general from their country. But is it Zorawar's tomb?

AH Francke in his book agrees with the famous mountaineer Dr TG Longstaff that the ruined tomb looks far too old to be Zorawar's grave. He connects the ruins with Muhammad Haidar Dughlat Beg, ruler of Kashmir and first cousin of Mughal Emperor Babur' failed Tibetan campaign of 1532 A.D.

Song of Zorawar's wife

During my research, I stumbled upon very intriguing passage. In the book *A History of Western Tibet: One of the Unknown Empires* by August Hermann Francke and published in 1907 contains a translation of Ladakhi folk song on Zorawar Singh.

Francke states that the Ladakhis sing a song of Zorawar's wife whom they believe to have accompanied her husband to Ladakh, and had to return alone across the Zoji Pass (between Srinagar & Leh). According to the author in this song Urdu words are 'mixed in a quaint war' with the Tibetan language.

I do not wish to eat bread received from the sinful northerners:

I do not wish to drink water received from the sinful northerners

Amidst the inhabitants of this land I have no friends and relations;

In the northern plain I have no brothers and friends.

In the place of friends and relations I had only Zorawar.

In the place of brothers and friends I had only Zorawar.

And it was only Zorawar who made me a despised widow.

And it was only Zorawar who made his queen a despised widow.

When arriving on the Zoji Pass, my fatherland can be seen.

When arriving on the Zoji Pass, Lahore and the Panjab can been seen.

Although I can see my fatherland, I shall not arrive there.

Although I can see my fatherland, Zorawar's queen will not arrive there. ²⁶

It is interesting to note that fatherland is used for Punjab and Lahore. The words like 'Mulkh', 'Watan' & 'Desh' are all masculine words for country. During the freedom struggle against British rule in the 20th century, the country was referred as motherland and depicted as lady in chains. Nevertheless this is a very fascinating poem. I wish we had the original Ladakhi poem so that it could be translated into Punjabi and Hindi languages.

Treaty

AH Francke in his book has stated that he studied the treaty signed between Khalsa Sarkar and Tibetans in 1842 but it was full of spelling and grammar mistakes. He even alleged that lot of interpolations have been done and hence it is not legible.

However we have a number of English translations available now, I have decided to include the one found in the book *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet.* The author Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa's stature, I believe overrides other translations (done by other Tibetans).

All treaties signed by Sikh chiefs and rulers since early eighteenth century was signed in the name of Khalsa Ji. Maharaja Sher Singh, the Khalsa Sarkar ruler is referred as Sri Maharajah Sahib. Gulab Singh is referred as Maharajah Sahib.

Interestingly the treaty states "Sri Maharajah Sahib and the Lama Guru of Lhasa will live together as members of the same household."

This treaty is in two parts

Sri Khalsa ji Apsarani Sri Maharajah; Lhasa representative Cabinet Minister Zurkhang; investigator Dapon Pelzhi, commander of forces; Balana, the representative of Gulam Kahandin; and the interpreter Amir Shah, have written this letter sitting together. We have agreed that we have no ill-feelings because of the past war. The two kings will henceforth remain friends forever. The relationship between Maharajah Gulab Singh of Kashmir and the Lama Guru of Tibet (Dalai Lama) is now established. The Maharajah Sahib, with God (Konchok)

as his witness, promises to recognise the ancient boundaries, which should be looked after by each side without resorting to warfare. When the descendants of the early kings, who fled from Ladakh to Tibet, now return, they will be restored to their former stations. The annual envoy from Ladakh to Tibet will not be stopped by Sri Maharajah. Trade between Ladakh and Tibet will continue as usual. Tibetan government traders coming into Ladakh will receive free transport and accommodation as before, and the Ladakhi envoy will, in turn, receive the same facilities in Lhasa. The Ladakhi will take an oath before God that they will not intrigue or create new troubles in Tibetan territory. We have agreed, with God as witness that Sri Maharajah Sahib and the Lama Guru of Lhasa will live together as members of the same household. We have written the above on the second of Assura, Sambhat 1899 (September 17, 1842)

Sealed by Wazir, Dewan, Balana, and Amir Shah

The Tibetan government deputies also present the deputies of the Ladakhis and the Sikhs with a sworn agreement, as follows

This agreement is made in the interests of the friendship between Lhasa authorities and Sri Maharajah Sahib and Maharaja Gulab Singh. On the thirteenth day of the eighth month of the Water-Tiger year (September 17, 1842), the Lhasa representative Cabinet Minister Zurkhangm investigator Dapon Plezhi, Sri Raja Sahib Dewan Hari Chand, and Wazir Ratun Sahib, the representative of Sri Maharajah Sahib, sat together amicably with the Three Precious Jewels (Konchok) as witness. This document has been drawn up to ensure the lasting friendship of the Tibetans and the Ladakhis. We have agreed not to harm each other in any way, and to look after the interests of our territories. We agree to continue trading in tea and cloth on the same terms as in the past, and we will not harm Ladakhi traders coming into Tibet. If any of our subjects stray into your country, they should not be protected.

We will forget past differences between the Lhasa authority and Sri Maharajah. The agreement arrived at today will remain firmly established forever. The Three Precious Jewels, Mount Kailash, Lake Manasarowar, and Khochak Jowo have been called as witness to this treaty.

Sealed by Cabinet Minister Zurkhang and Dapon Pelzhi

Conclusion

Almost 60 years later in 1903/04 Colonel Francis Younghusband led a successful British expedition to Tibet with Sikh & Gorkha soldiers. Time changes everything.

The rulers from these two communities just over a half a century ago were trying to form an alliance against British through Tibet were now in again in Tibet but as soldiers of British army. This ended the administrative control of China over Tibet but it also exposed the complete lack of modernisation of Tibetan army. Sadly Tibetan did not learn their lessons from history and they had still not embraced the modern military technology and regime when China invaded them in 1950.

The Ladakh & Tibetan campaign of Zorawar Singh and subsequent treaty has very important ramifications. It formed the basis of the McMohan Line, the border agreed by British India and Tibet in 1914. China disputes its legal status and on that basis has occupied the area of Aksai Chin which according to the McMohan Line belongs to India. The Sikh-Tibetan war of 1841/42 was fought without any involvement from China. Zorawar Singh is not seen as an aggressor by Tibetans but remembered in a more positive light as his campaign and the subsequent treaties between Tibetans and Khalsa Sarkar proves that Tibetans have at least a legitimate claim of sovereignty.

NK Sinha who wrote on Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the pre-partitioned India saw him as a national hero who won back Indian territories of Multan, Peshawar and Kashmir from Afghans.²⁷ As most of these territories are within Pakistan (except for part of Kashmir), Ranjit Singh is not seen in that light in India or Pakistan. Among the Zorawar Singh's conquest, only Ladakh remains with India. Gilgit-Baltistan is now part of Pakistan administered Kashmir. It seems with time we tend to interpret history in varied ways during different eras.

There are several books written by Indians of this region on Zorawar Singh surprisingly none of them looked into non-Dogra sources and failed to mention that he led Sikhs soldiers in his campaign to Ladakh and Tibet. Similarly they fail to mention that Zorawar Singh met Maharaja Ranjit Singh to seek his permission to invade Tibet in 1834 and again in 1836. One account which despite not using non-Dogra sources stands out is *Footprints in the Snow: On the Trial of Zorawar Singh* by Brigadier GD Bakshi, who later retired as Major General. It is an unbiased account where the author gives credit to Sikhs for revival of the martial spirit in the region and specifically acknowledges Maharaja Ranjit Singh as a ruler with a vision who modernised his army. He says, "The Dogras under Gulab Singh and Zorawar Singh were part of this Sikh military renaissance" 28

Finally it is time to rewrite the campaigns of General Zorawar Singh by

incorporating Tibetan and other non-Dogra sources. It is fascinating that a Rajput General led a predominately Sikh force in his legendary campaigns. Sadly we have divided our history and icons but historical facts should not be denied. It is disappointing that so many books have been written on Zorawar Singh and they have partially used Alexander Cunningham's account but failed to respond to the British allegation of his 'cruelty' and 'arrogance' which seem farfetched anyway. Let's celebrate and do not deny the common heritage which we share.

Notes

- 1. http://www.bharat-rakshak.com/ARMY/units/115-Jak-Rifles.html accessed on 15th October 2017
- 2. Dogra are the native people living in Dugger Desh (land of Dogra) in and around Jammu region. It is not specifically related to a caste. According to Sukhdev S Charak.
- 3. G. Carmichael Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore* (Calcutta,1847)
- 4. J Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States* (Lahore,1933)
- 5. Deewan Narsingdas Nargis, *Tarikh Dogra Desh Jammu wa Kashmir* (in Urdu) 1967
- 6. Brigadier Gurbachan Singh Bal, *Jarnail Zorawar Singh* (in Punjabi) (Patiala:Punjabi University, 1978)
- 7. Charak, Sukhdev Singh, *Gulabnama of Diwan Kirpa Ram: A History of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu & Kashmir*, translated from Persian & annotated (New Delhi: Light & Life Publishers, 1977)
- 8. Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs Vol V The Sikh Lion of Lahore Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal,1991)
- 9. Giani Gian Singh, Raj Khalsa (in Punjabi), 1882
- 10. Patwant Singh & Jyoti. M.Rai, *Empire of the Sikhs, The Life & Times of Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (New Delhi: Hay House, 2008)
- 11. Harbans Singh, *Sikh Encyclopaedia* (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1992-99)
- 12. Amarpal Singh, The First Anglo Sikh War, (Stroud: Amberley, 2012)
- 13. Abdul Latif, 1857 ka Tareekhee Roznamcha trans. Nizami, Khaleeque (Delhi: Nadwatul Mussanefeen, 1958) in Rebel Sikhs of 1857
- 14. Captain Leopold Von Orlich, Travels in India including Sinde & Punjab

- (In Germen), trans. Lloyd, H. Evans (London: Longmans, 1845)
- 15. Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat ut Twarikh* (Persian), trans. VS Suri (English), Chandigarh 1972-74
- Victor Jacquemont, Letters from India, 1829-1832, trans. by Catherine Alison Phillips, John Sidney Lethbridge & K. G. Lethbridge(London: Macmillan,1936)
- 17. Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (Yale: University Press, 1967)
- 18. Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, trans. Maher, Derek. F. (Brill, 2009) 576-77
- 19. Alexander Ladak Cunningham, *Physical, Statistical and Historical Notices of the Surrounding Countries* (London: Wm H Allen & Co., 1854)
- 20. Sukhdev Singh Charak, *The Indian Conquest of the Himalayan Territories Military Exploits of General Zorawar Singh* (Pathankot: Ajaya Prakashan, 1978)
- 21. J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs: From the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Sutlej (London: J Murray ,1853)
- 22. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030313/1842-01-17/ed-1/seq-2
- 23. A.H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* (London: Asian Educational Services, 1926)
- 24. https://www.travelchinaguide.com/climate/lhasa.htm
- 25. https://www.spink.com/press-releases/56-prisoners-released-from-tibet. aspx
- 26. August Hermann Francke, *A History of Western Tibet: One of the Unknown Empires* (London: Asian Educational Services, 1907)
- 27. N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh* (Calcutta, 1931)
- 28. Bakshi Brigadier G.D., Footprints in the Snow: On the Trial of Zorawar Singh (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers, 2002)

Ladakhi: An off Shoot of Classical Tibetan Language

Eshey Namgial

Origin of Spoken Ladakhi

Ladakhi language can be understood simply in terms of spoken and written language or classical Tibetan. The classical Tibetan is generally known as Bhoti in Ladakh and Yi-ge in Baltistan, where as spoken or colloquial Ladakhi is called *phal-skad*. Spoken Ladakhi is the mother tongue or first language of the people of Ladakh that identifies and designates certain group of people across the trans-Himalayan region. The spoken Ladakhi differs from colloquial Tibetan, and it does not exactly follow the Tibetan grammar system. It uses ample of archaic and classical Tibetan terms that are somehow lesser use in contemporary spoken Tibetan. Neither a Ladakhi can converse in Tibetan nor can a Tibetan in Ladakhi. Therefore, a Ladakhi can be bound up with the Tibetan people and its literature through learning classical Tibetan.

In Ladakh, both the Buddhist and Muslim communities communicate in native Ladakhi, though the latter one also follows Urdu language and uses Perso-Arabic script for writing. The spoken Ladakhi is not confined to Buddhist community only; it is used by Muslim and Christian communities as well in their day-to-day life from the time of their ancestors. Further, it also works as a bridge that connects different faith followers into one unit. Thus, it is essential to keep this native tongue as a living language because it is already classified as one of the vulnerable languages of India. It is important to be understood here that speaking Ladakhi never meant to be a Buddhist as a certain group of Tibetan people who preserve and speak fluent Tibetan is not Buddhist.

The most distinguished feature of spoken Ladakhi is that even an illiterate Ladakhi mother can teach her child quite many archaic and classical Tibetan vocabularies that exist in canonical and classical Tibetan texts without losing its original sound like *mol* (say), *mod po* (abundant of), *skyod* (come or go), *rings* (to be in a hurry), and *ston* (show). Hence, Bettina Zeisler in *On the Position of Ladakhi and Balti in the Tibetan Language Family* remarked that Balti and Ladakhi people take pride in the fact that their dialects represent the original language, as they pronounce most of the superscribed and suffixed consonants of the written language, which have become silent in most of other Tibetan varieties. Nevertheless, Tibetans consider Central Tibetan

pronunciation as standard, whereas Ladakhi and Balti are phonetically intact to the written Tibetan language. No doubt, the revival of Ladakhi and Balti pronunciation would resolve the difficulty in learning Tibetan specifically when it comes to written system. Due to decline in pronunciation, Tibetans and Himalayan people have to study text likes *Sdeb sbyor rin chen rgya mtsho* which teaches different meanings and spellings of the same sounding words before commencing the mainstream Tibetan literature study.

In general, Ladakhi has five regional dialects:

- 1. Stodpa or Upper Ladakh dialect
- 2. Sham or Lower Ladakh dialect
- 3. Nubra dialect
- 4. Zanskar dialect
- Leh dialect

These dialects differ slightly in phonology. Upper Ladakh that lies in the east of Leh called Stod is located in the higher altitude of Ladakh region, and inhabitants are called Stod pa. Stod pa dialect is spoken in Upshi, Sakti, Egu, Chushul, etc., and its boundaries extend up to the Tibetan region. Lower Ladakh is spoken in places like Khaltse, Tingmosgang, and Skyurbucan that lie in the north-west of Leh. The upper Ladakhi has more influence of the Central Tibetan due to having common border with Tibet and lower Ladakhi has impact of Balti. Nubra dialect is spoken in the north of Leh. Nubra variety also illustrates differences between its upper sub-variety and lower sub-variety. The lower sub-variety is more similar to Sham dialect whereas upper sub-variety is akin to Leh. Zangskar dialect is spoken all over Zangskar region that has more influence of Tibetan. Leh dialect is spoken in Central Ladakh and neighboring areas.

Dr. Sanykuta Kosahal in *Conversational Ladakhi* also categorized Ladakhi language in five dialects and she further stated that Leh dialect is standard one. However, here it seems that she referred it as standard because as Lhasa dialect of Tibetan, Leh dialect is more pervasive and understood by most of the people but from the phonological perspective, lower Ladakhi dialect or Sham dialect is more standard and refined as Balti. In this regard, G.A. Grierson also mentioned in *Linguistic Survey of India* that lower Ladakhi has preserved some old features that have been lost in the Leh dialect. He has given some comparative sound examples of these two regions, i.e. *sbyar-chas* (Lower Ladakh), *zhar-ches* (Leh) - to stick to; *thoras* (Lower Ladakh), *thore* (Leh) - tommorrow, clearly denote the sound variation of lower Ladakh to be more intact. He further classified Ladakhi language into three sub-dialects

based on A.H. Francke's work who had written a Grammar on Ladakhi.

- 1. The Sham dialect spoken from about Hanu in the west to a line mid way between Saspola and Basgo in the east;
- 2. The Leh dialect to the east of Sham, and stretching eastwards almost so far as Sheh;
- The Rong dialect to the east of the Leh dialect. The Zanskar variety agrees with Rong, only the north-western districts show traces of the Sham dialect.

Since few of researchers have done study on the spoken Ladakhi, it is hard to determine when and how spoken Ladakhi came into being. Many scholars have accepted it as a derivation of classical Tibetan but it can also be possible that classical Tibetan would be a cousin sister rather than a parent of spoken Ladakhi because spoken Ladakhi has a direct link to the archaic and classical Tibetan. Therefore, spoken Ladakhi needs to be study further in order to have an accurate conclusion. To understand archaic, old, classical, medieval and modern Tibetan, Stephen Hodge, in his book *Introduction to Classical Tibetan*, has distinguished it in five phases, which is easy to understand and reflects the development and evolution of Tibetan language and literature.

"We can perhaps distinguish five phases in the development of Tibetan-archaic, old, classical, medieval and modern Tibetan. Speculations about the nature of archaic Tibetan are the domain of scholars specializing in comparative linguistics. The introduction of a writing system and the first translation of Buddhist texts give rise to Old Tibetan, which was in use roughly from the seventh century to beginning of the ninth century CE. In 816 CE, during the reign of King Khri-lde Srong-btsan (Khri-srong Lde-btsan) literary Tibetan underwent a thorough reform aimed at standardizing the language and vocabulary of the translations being made from Indian texts, and this resulted in what we now call classical Tibetan. This became the language of Tibetan translation from Indic languages (mainly Sanskrit) of the Mahayana Buddhist canon, and also it was the idiom generally used by native Tibetans down to the present day when writing on religious, medical or historical subjects.

While classical Tibetan thus continued to occupy a position of preeminence, some writers during the medieval period were influenced by the colloquial language of the time. This style is characterized by a greater use of compound words, a simplification of the grammar often with omission of 'case' particles, and the introduction of words from the spoken language. In comparison with classical Tibetan, works written in this style are often fairly difficult to understand. When we enter the modern period, we find that this process has continued, giving rise to modern literary Tibetan which reflects even more the influence of spoken Tibetan."

In accordance with the historians and rock inscriptions in Ladakh they indicate that in the first century A.D. the Indian Brahmi alphabet used for Sanskrit entered the desserts of Western Tibet as the first script. It was followed by several other Indian scripts that have been found, dating from the beginning of our era down to the eleventh century. These scripts are Kharoshthi of the Kushana era; Brahmi of the Kushana era; Indian characters of the eighth or ninth and of the eleventh century. The most important alphabet was the Tibetan alphabet, which in its present form may have been introduced during the eighth or ninth century. However, here, except for the prevalence of classical Tibetan it is not mentioned when and how the spoken Ladakhi came into being. Hence, it is quite challenging to trace the origin of spoken Ladakhi.

Ladakhis have been preserving ancient form of Tibetan in their language. For example, a Tibetan would pronounce sgo (door) as go, but a Ladakhi would say sgo. Similarly while a Tibetan would pronounce skyobs (save) as kyob, a Ladakhi would say skyobs. It shows that spoken Ladakhi is much closer in pronouncing the written Tibetan. It is said that sound system of Tibetan language declined due to its immense development in the field of literature whereas it remains quite intact in Ladakhi and especially in Balti as these regions got lesser influence of literature. The most of the cluster sounds vanished already in the beginning of the ninth century in the central Tibetan dialects, as it can be inferred from the Chinese transliteration of Tibetan names. Due to this, during the reign of King Khri-srong Lde-btsan and Khri Ral-pa-can (beginning of 9th century) Tibetan language underwent a reformation where some of the ancient expressions (archaic and old terms) which were inconvenient for writing and reading exchanged with the classical Tibetan for a more convenient and readable. Therefore, the cluster sounds, which are so prominent and intact in Balti and Ladakhi, justify their presence in Western Tibet in a very early stage.

Loan Words in Ladakhi

There is no doubt that loaning word is a very common phenomenon and no language is entirely free of borrowed words (Jesperson, 1922). Formkin (2003) believes that borrowing words is important especially when the giving language adds new words or morphemes to the other language. The pronunciation of the borrowed item is often changed to fit the phonological system of the borrowing language. The borrowed word, of course, remains in the source language so there is no need for its return.

This convention happens when there is a close contract between cultures that lead to loaning words between languages. For example, Ladakh shared its border with Central Asian countries, Tibet, Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh. Throughout the time, neighboring regions have influenced Ladakh since it lies at the heart of Central Asia and India. The ancient traders and missionaries left huge imprint on Ladakhi language and culture that is reflected through many loan words which are being used in spoken Ladakhi Like thrul - egg (Kashmiri), handang - dumb (Kash), chanda - pocket (Kash), hati - shop (Panjabi), bishu - cat (Persian), surna - a musical instrument (Per), daman - drum (Persian), charog - shoe (Persian), chaqman - cloth (Pers), paney money (English), polo - polo (Eng), habsta - week (Urdu), boot - boot (Eng), thali - plate (Hin), jola -jola (Hin), Kurkum, saffron (Persion or Arabic), kabsha - shoe (Pers), and kham-bir - thick bread (Ar). These different loan words blended with spoken Ladakhi and entered as Ladakhi vocabulary. It is said that during Dogra invasion, Zowar Singh, who was one of the ministers of Jammu Raja Gulab Singh, was amazed to see different kinds of traders from various regions when he first reached Leh. Similarly, Tibetan language has also borrowed many Sanskrit words due to its close connection of translation work carried out from Sanskrit into Tibetan, e.g. maha, pandita, karma, padma, dharma, namo, kumut, gotam, pute, dukha, ali, kali, lostawa, utpal, tsandan, gesar, Anu, Senge, katora, tathagata, and mandala.

Diglossic Situation

The term diglossia defined as a situation in which two languages or two forms of a language are used under different conditions in community. The term and concept was expounded by Charles Fergusion in a classical article (1959, word). It further discusses that the speech community with diglossia has two related but clearly differentiated varieties with different names, which are often called the High and Low, and are functionally differentiated, each with its own spheres of usage, and hence their modes of acquisition are also different. The prestigious, highly codified high forms, need formal instruction or schooling, whereas Low varieties are acquired naturally as mother tongue. Therefore, it may be generalized classical Tibetan as of High variety where one has to learn and pursue formal instruction for writing and to access to the classical Tibetan literature, whereas spoken Ladakhi is of Low variety since it does not need any formal schooling or institutional learning. Both the classical Tibetan and spoken Ladakhi have very much close relation yet they possess distinct features. Ladakhis learn to read and write as well as perform rituals in classical Tibetan as their culture and religion are deeply influenced by Tibetan. In this perspective, it is suitable to term the classical Tibetan as a

second language, for it needs to learn in schools, institutions and monasteries in order to know the proper usage of grammatical system. Dr. Sanykuta Kosahal who has done research mainly on spoken Ladakhi language mentioned that, "when a person creates in himself the capability to communicate, verbally or in writing or both, through a language code other than his native language, it is termed as learning a second language." Therefore, people of Ladakh speak in Ladakhi and prefer to write in classical Tibetan, and both are given equal importance as the first one holds their ethnic identity and the latter for literary inspiration and knowledge.

Origin and Development of Classical Tibetan

The classical Tibetan language is recognized as Bhoti in Ladakh. Over the years, the term Bhoti is written in different forms i.e. Bodh-yig, Pod-yig, Bodhi and Yig-skat. They originated from the Tibetan term Bod-yig and their literal meaning remains same in spite of its different writing styles.

The appearance of Tibetan script in eighth or ninth century in Balu Khar inscriptions (about AD 800-1000. Text in Classical Language and Orthography) "phag gi lo la dkrib mal bzhngs so" have marked the spread of Classical Tibetan language in Ladakh. This period also concords with the reign of the great Tibetan King Khri-srong Lde-btsan, whose political power extended as far as China, Xinjiang, Western Tibet and Gilgit.

The actual Tibetan influence in Ladakh came with the first Ladakhi king Skyid-Ide Nyi-ma-mgon whose origin and lineage can be traced to the great kingdom of Tibet. In the tenth century, he became Ladakhi king wining the heart of Ladakhi people, and built his first palace in Shey village near Indus, which had not only brought the impact of classical Tibetan but also brought cultural and religious reformation in Ladakh. Later, in the eleventh century his grandson Yeshi Od who was the king of Guge, devoted his life for the Buddha Dharma and sent twenty-one young students to Kashmir in order to learn Buddhism. Among them, Lostawa Rin-chen bZang-po became a great scholar and laid the foundation of classical Tibetan and Buddhism in Ladakh. In this regard, Prof. 'Jam-dbyangs rGyal-mtshan mentioned, "In the eleventh century Lo-stwa-ba Rin-chen bZangpo constructed a monastic institution at Nyarma, and for the first time monks were given an opportunity to read and write Buddhism in classical Tibetan."

This trend was further accelerated by Zanskar Lotsawa 'Phags-pa Shes-rab who lived during the reign of Ladakhi King Bla-chen Byang-chub Sems-dpa' (A.D. 1075-1100). He also went to Kashmir to study Buddhism and dedicated his life in the development of classical Tibetan. He translated tantric treaties and commentaries of Vajrapani and Vaisravana (Nam-sras). He went to Tibet and

renovated some of fifteen temples in Lhasa and bSam-yas. Simultaneously, one of the Zanskar Lotsawa's disciples, Balti Lotsawa or Lati Lotsawa (translator) who also went to Tibet, became his student and built a temple at Skyormo-ling near Lhasa and he made a notable contribution in Ladakh as well.

Later, during the reign of king Lhachen Ngorub or Dngos-grub (1300-1325), the tradition of sending monks form Ladakh to Tibet initiated. A.H. Francke considered this arrangement was not only to finish the Bon religion that had been lingering on down to that time, it also meant an end of the ancient forms of Indian Buddhism that flourished from Kashmir. Therefore, Tibet became the learning center for monastic education. He further mentioned that inhabitants of Western Tibet have to be grateful to Tibetan Buddhism for one important acquisition, the art of reading and writing. Thus, during the reign of Ladakhi kings Tibetan Buddhism flourished in drips and drops and strengthen its position in Ladakh.

For the development of classical Tibetan, Ladakhi kings like Grags-pa 'Bum-lde (1400-1440) 'Jam-dyangs rNam-rgyal (1560-1590) and Seng-ge rNam-rgyal (1590-1620) had given their enormous contributions by inviting Tibetan Lama scholars and constructed many monasteries. The king Seng-ge rNam-rgyal under the guidance of Lama sTag-tshang Ras-pa sponsored and collected thirty-two people including dPon Nam-mkha' dPal-mgon from Sa-phud (Sabu) who wrote 110 Buddha's Vacanas (teachings) on dark blue paper with gold and silver ink, which is still preserved in Leh palace (Seng-ge mkhar). It is said, the standard of classical Tibetan was very high during that time, which can be recognized by the following stanzas written in a beautiful poetic way for the preface of Dpon Nam-mkha' dPalmgon son's work that has been preserved in Ego Gur-mgon in Ladakh.

द्युंच.कुरं.चुंद्रःच्युं.सर्ट्यःचुंच.लुं.चुंद्रःचुंश्। व्यास्त्राचतःकुं.नुंट्रःच.चुंदुःचुंकुं.चुंश्वःचुंश। कुंट्र:ट्रेट्ट्रःचुंदुःचुंकुं.चुंक्यःचुंश। सुं.कुंचा:बुंट्रःचुंद्रःचुंकुं.चुंक्यःचुंश।

Transliteration:

mu tig phreng ba'i mdangs 'phrog yi ge'i gzugs// mtshar du dngar 'di la dwags mkhas pa che// nam makha tshe ring pha bu'i gtso byas pa'i// dpon chen bcu phrag sum gyi ser rtsis bris//

Translation:

The beauty of scripts captivating the glow of garland pearls, And its perfected orders denoting the artistic skill of Ladakhi Namkha Tsering, the father and the son, including thirty artists, Have written with the golden paint.

Transliteration

sbyin bdag sku tshe sa ltar brtan pa dang// dpal 'byor chu ltar rgyas pa'i ba dan 'phyar// bsod nams me chen rtag tu 'bar ba yis// snyan grags rlung ltar khyab pa'i bkra shis shog//

Translation

As the Earth, may the patron's life be unchanged, And prosper the wealth as the flow of water. May your virtues of fire always be flaring, And as the wind, may spread your fame and name.

These are apparently enough evidences to know the standardization of classical Tibetan during the monarchical time, yet it is true that common people did not have the opportunity to study classical Tibetan such as in schools except learning by oneself from certain scholars and monasteries.

According to Shri. bSod-nams Phun-tshogs, from the fifteenth century onwards hand written bKa'-gyur (110 Buddha's Vacanas) were produced in Ladakh, and presently it preserves many hand written bKa 'gyur. Among them, the biggest one is in Zimskhang house, Hunder in Nubra that is written in precious elements like gold, silver, turquoise, coral, and pearl during the reign of Ladakhi king rNam-rgyal Rin-chen or Bhargan (1470-1500).

Thus, this indicates that Ladakhi kings and its people have deep faith and veneration towards Buddha-dharma and in the same way, Tibetan Lamas were never hesitant to provide their guidance in constructing monasteries and writing texts. Nevertheless, Ladakh faced several invasions from Khotan (10th century), Balti (17th century) and Dogra (1834), of which the Dogras not only plundered the Ladakhi treasures but also destroyed many scriptures

and monasteries that adversely affected the Ladakhi language, culture and religion.

After Dogra invasion, it seems there was a huge downfall in the reading and writing of classical Tibetan. Rahul Sankrityayan, an Indian scholar who visited Ladakh in 1935, in his book *Yatra Ke Panne* stated, "There are only two people, Yoseb Gergan and Nono Tshe-brtan Phun-tshogs, who understand Bhoti, among whom the first one is of 60 years old and now we can rely only on Nono Tshe-brtan Phun-tshogs." Therefore, Rahul composed classical Tibetan textbooks for classes 1st to 3rd edited by Srogpo Geshe Chos-grags. Later, Tshe-brtan Phun-tshogs also composed classical Tibetan textbooks from 1st to 5th classes."

Yoseb Gergan composed *La-dwags Rgyal-rabs* 'Chi-med-gter (History of Ladakh: An Unceasing Treasure) and wrote some classical books with the theme of Christianity in order to spread the Christianity in Ladakh. Simultaneously, bKa'-chen Yeshi Don-grub, who was a great scholar of his time, was a classical Tibetan Teacher during the government of Jammu Maharaja. Under the guidance of 19th Skushok Bakula, he and bSod-nams Tshe-brtan compiled and composed classical Tibetan textbooks from first standard to eighth.

Yongs-'zin dKon-mchog bSod-nams (1911-1987) composed *La-dwags kyi lo-rgyus sngar-gtam rol-mo'i sgra-dbyangs*, *La-dwags kyi lo-rgus sngar-gtam rna-ba'i bdud-rtsi* and *La-dwags kyi-lo-rgus pad-ma'i phreng-ba* in classical Tibetan. These historical books are now not available to the general readers as there is no restoration institution except for the Culture Academy of Jammu & Kashmir. Thus, these great personalities had given their contributions in the development of classical Tibetan in Ladakh and laid a new foundation for the people of Ladakh specifically for the young generation to study Tibetan literature.

The living scholar bKra-shis Rab-rgyas, who is one of the best students of Togpa Kachen Yeshi Dondrub, has not only composed a complete history entitled *History of Ladakh Called the Mirror Which Illuminates All of Ladakh* in classical Tibetan, but also brought his scholarly works by composing more than 200 Ladakhi folksongs, poetry, drama, etc. His excellent works have given a new phase in the language and culture of Ladakh. Besides, he published Newsletters in his early age i.e. *Yar-rgyas gong-'phel, Ladakh phonya* and *Rten-'brel gsar-'gyur* while working as a journalist in the Information Department in Ladakh. He said, "The main motive was to bring awareness among the people. There was no other medium at that time; Even AIR was not there. The newsletters highlighted the development activities in Ladakh in Bhoti Language." In a conversation with *Reach Ladakh Newsletter*, he was asked about his contribution to Buddha Dharma, and he replied, "When I was

the Personal Assistant of rGyal-sras Bakula, I gave him the idea that we should write a letter to the Government of India saying that we need a University for Buddhist studies in Ladakh. He accepted and wrote a letter to Pt. Nehru. And in a short span of time, Nehru called us to Delhi and asked us about the curriculum that would be taught in the proposed university. We told Nehru that medicine, science, philosophy, literature, poetry and astronomy were the subjects that could be taught. Nehru laughed and said, "It is not astronomy, it is astrology". And things started moving fast towards setting up of what is today known as CIBS (Central Institute of Buddhist Studies). That was my contribution to the Buddha Dharma." It is also important here to recognize the contribution and prompt response by the first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, for the preservation of Language and Culture of Ladakh.

Later in 1982, Shri bKra-shis Rab-rgyas, Prof. 'Jam-dbyangs rGyal-mthsan and Ven. Thub-bstan dPal-ldan voluntarily revised the early school textbooks and Shri Thub-bstan gZhan-phan published them for the younger generations in a more convenient way to study classical Tibetan. In addition to that, Prof. 'Jam-dbyangs rGyal-mtshan also simplified Tibetan Grammar keeping Ladakhi students in mind and composed a comprehensive Grammar Book called Brda-sprod Nor bu'i rgyan (The Jewel Ornament of Grammar) and many other excellent works including the History of Ladakhi Monasteries in classical Tibetan. He has given a distinctive impact on young generation in writing poetry and Drama while he was teaching at CIBS as a professor of Tibetan literature. Similarly, Ven. Thub-bstan dPaldan had given his notable contribution including his best book of the year, La-dwags Kyi Dus-ston. Thus, in the development and preservation of classical Tibetan, scholars like Prof. bLo-bzang 'Jam-dpal, Prof. bLo-bzang Tshe-dbang, Dr. Ngag-dbang Tshe-ring, Shri Ngag-dbang rGya-mtsho, Ven dKon-mchog Phan-bde, Ven. Chos-'phel bZod-pa, 'Jig-med rDor-rje, dGe-bshes bLo-bzang Tshul-khrims, Mr. 'Chi-med rNam-rgyal and many other renown persons have given their contributions to carry forward and strengthen the classical Tibetan in Ladakh. In this process, J & K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages (established in 1969), AIR Leh (in 1971) and Doordarshan Leh (Estab. in 2000) have been playing their significant role for the preservation and parallel enhancement of classical Tibetan and native Ladakhi langauges.

Apart from this, some native scholars, who wish to reach national and international audience as well as to acknowledge the importance and richness of language and culture of Ladakh, started writing in English. One of the renowned person is Abdul Ghani Sheikh whose book *Reflections on Ladakh*, *Tibet and Central Asia* not only sought the historical and cultural background of Ladakh but it touches links with the Central Asian Countries and Tibet. His

lifelong devotion and research draws a new outlook for the researchers and the general readers towards Ladakh. Similarly, *Ladakh Now and Then* by Zain-ul-Aabedin Aabedi and Ngawang Tsering Shagpo's *A Cultural History of Ladakh* are significant and channelized for larger readers to know about Ladakh and its language and culture. Dr. Sanyukta Koshal also worked on Ladakhi language and published *Ladakhi Phonetic Reader*, *Ladakhi Grammar*, *Socio-Linguistic Study of Ladakhi Language Variations* under the project of the Central Institute of Indian Languages for the study of various tribal languages and languages of minority. Further, this path was followed by Dr. dKon-mchog bKra-shis with his linguistic study on Ladakhi entitled *Polysemy in Ladakhi* (for Ph.D.) acknowledges the unique features of Ladakhi.

No doubt, the westerners beckoned over Ladakhi language at the very beginning. A. H. Francke had written the book *Ladakhi and Tibetan Grammar* and *Sketch of Ladakhi Grammar* and became the pioneer in doing linguistic analysis on language, history and archaeology of Ladakh. His work inspires many of us to look upon Ladakhi language. However, the first westerner who opened up Tibetan studies to westerners was none other than Csoma de Koros who studied under Lama Sangs-rgyas Phun-tshogs and Kun-dga' Chos-legs at Zangskar in Ladakh and dedicated his life on Tibetan Studies and thus became the founder of Tibetology. His great work *Tibetan Grammar and Tibetan-English Dictionary* was published in 1834 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Thereafter, many western researchers have deepened the study on Tibetan as well as Ladakhi culture and history.

In 1854, Alexander Cunningham published the first outline history of Ladakh called *Ladakh: Physical, Statistics and Historical.* H. A. Jaschke's *Classic-Tibetan English Dictionary* (published in 1881). Likewise, G.A. Grierson threw lights on different dialects in Ladakh in his book *Linguistic Survey of India.* At present time, scholar like John Bray, who has given many outputs on Ladakh and its language, was editor of the book *Ladakhi Histories: Local and Regional Perspectives* published by the Library of Tibetan Work and Archives, Dharamsala, has been associated with International Association for Ladakhi Studies. Similarly, Bettina Zeisler has given profound insights on Tibetan and Ladakhi languages in her paper entitled "On the Position of Ladakhi and Balti in the Tibetan Language Family". Thus, many western scholars have given their huge contributions in bringing classical and spoken Tibetan language in international front and center.

Conclusion

Thus, Ladakhi people have not only preserved their mother tongue as a mark of their indigenous identity but also keep keen interest in learning the Tibetan language, literature and Buddhism as their culture and religion has unbroken link with Tibet throughout the centuries.

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Web links:

http://www.reachladakh.com/in-conversation-with-tashi-rabgias

Religious Symbolism in Ladakh with Special Reference to Three Important Buddhist Symbols

Tashhi Lhundup

Abstract

This paper is a modest attempt to understand and conceptualize religious symbolism, its meaning, philosophy, and significance from sociological perspective. To show how Ladakhi society has evolved with their faith and symbols, three important Tibetan Buddhist symbols have been examined as a subject of the study. In doing so, it seeks to explore the relationship between faith, symbols and human experience. Finally, the paper will argue that symbols are one of the most fundamental aspect of human society which has an ability to represent the complex social reality and cultural consciousness which act as a trigger to remain people, in the culture, of its rules and beliefs. Overall my paper is an insightful account of the complex links between symbols, culture, and Ladakhi identity.

Key words: Symbols, Culture, Religious

Religious symbolism in Ladakh

In the study of the Ladakhi people's thoughts on religion, particularly Buddhism, we can categorise it into two aspects of religion in order to construct a method that is suitable for the study of the Ladakhi people's philosophy of religion. First, the experience of the relationship between individual and religion is called religious experience. Such experiences lead people to believe in or agree with religious concepts, and this we call faith. The second aspect of religion is symbols. In every religious tradition, symbols are used for expressing religious experiences. Human beings encounter numerous experiences, familiar ones being the experience of joy in the family when a new baby is born or the experience of sorrow when one's beloved departs. Further, we know the experiences of the feeling of being in love, as well as the experience of being hurt when the love is not returned. All these human experiences are experience of being mystified in a specific culture, by the theory of Karma, of being grateful for surviving a dreadful disease like cancer, and experience of practicing love and compassion and understanding Buddha's teachings. Such experiences symbolize a religious encounter. The religious experiences are expressed through various kind of rituals, myths, traditions and others symbolisms.

Hence, the usage of symbols in every religious tradition is to express the religious experience. No religion in the world exists without having symbols. Therefore, symbols are one of the most essential elements of religion, and it is also an important language to comprehend one's religious tradition. It can come as no surprise that people of Ladakh have various symbols of Tibetan Buddhist traditions because of the prevalence of Tantric form of religion. The Trans-Himalayan region is covered under the umbrella of Tibetan Buddhism, and their culture has been shaped by the indispensable existence of Buddhist symbols, values and ethics. In Ladakh these symbols are part of everyday life and significant among these are the veneration of Rinpoche or an incarnated Lama and the use of religious articles and various other symbolisms including devotional prayers. In order to distinguish the Ladakhi's understanding of religious thoughts, we need to comprehend the symbols that enfold Ladakhi religiosity. Therefore, in this paper modest attempt has been made to explore the three main religious symbols prevalent in Ladakh and the usage and meaning associated with these symbols.

What is a Symbol?

Symbol are not new, they have been in use since thousands of years. Symbols have been connecting people from generation to generation. They have also been very useful means in communicating and expressing particular experiences. They signify the importance of particular events, memories, good and bad luck etc. Symbol lacks the 'quality of conceptual clarity and specificity'. Rather, it has more of 'vagueness and ambiguity'. Nevertheless, the power of a symbol lies in its quality of abstractness. The gap of conceptual clarity is filled up by the power of its reminiscent authority. It is in this context that Ricoeur points out, "If no concept can exhaust the requirement of further thinking borne by symbols, this idea signifies only that no given categorization can embrace all the semantic possibilities of a symbol". Angobung (1995) recap this point by saying that symbols are opaque. It is difficult to understand what a symbol intends to signify, and hence, it is quite blurred for us what it really means due to this opacity, a symbol is unique and rich, in view of the fact that a symbol lacks its conceptual clarity. It is only due to this opacity, a symbol is seen to be a profound expression. Moreover, Ricoeur goes on to argue that a symbol is illustrated as having both 'semantic and non-semantic dimensions.'

The concept "symbol" brings together two dimensions, we might even say, two universes of discourse, one linguistic and other of a non-linguistic order. The linguistic character of symbols is attested to by the fact that it is indeed possible to construct as a semantics of symbols i.e., a theory that would account

for their structure in terms of meaning or signification. Thus we can speak of the symbol as having double meaning. But the non-linguistic dimension is just obvious as the linguistic one a symbol always refers its linguistic element to something else.

It is cleared from the above statements that symbol have two dimensions to be analyzed. One can comprehend symbol with linguistic analysis. And the other way to understand symbol is from the sign itself which resists the linguistic dimension. Thus, an important question can be drawn from these ambiguous characteristics of a symbol - 'how can one understand and interpret symbols?'

Symbols according to Hofestede's (2001) are words, discourses, nonverbal gestures, pictures and art forms that contain "often complex meanings recognized as such only by those who share the culture". The members of shared cultures are expected to understand the hidden meaning of the symbols which are very much prevalent in their everyday life. The human ability to create symbols makes human beings different from other beings. It is in this context Kramsh (1998) notes that the key significance of symbols is that it differentiates animals from humans, as the latter are able to use signs that mediate between the human and the animal world. Thus, the meaning of the symbols is neither instinctive nor automatic, for they are learned behaviour, and are in use when the members of a particular community can understand and interpret them in a common framework.

In some sense, symbol is the representation of "community's deeply rooted values, collective consciousness, mental programming, habitus and ideology". The word habitus was first coined by the French sociologist Bourdieu for the 'capacity of individuals to innovate cultural forms based on their personal histories and position' and this, then, in my mind, is the first theoretical attempt to recognize symbols and social reality without having adequate understanding about it. The arbitrary nature of symbols and the meanings associated with them is highlighted here, permitting the innovative capacity of symbols to be appreciated. With the help of Bourdieu's formulation of the term habitus, we are able 'to integrate and to transcend' the foremost close to the hidden meaning of the symbol.

Hence, symbols are the things which are means to cultivate cultural consciousness and act as a trigger to remind people in the culture, of its rules and beliefs.

Symbolism in Buddhism

Buddhist symbolism is some kind of a complex artistic representation, an outward gesture used as a sort of key to express the various hidden meaning of religious concepts, thoughts, and philosophy. The symbols represent the visual, auditory, and kinetic representations of religious ideas and events. It can actually transform the abstract concepts, thoughts, ideas and belief into tangible things that we can touch, see, hear, taste smell and understand. Symbolism brings more power to the abstractness of the religious philosophy which symbolizes through different objects.

Buddhism is very rich in terms of using symbols which in fact was developed even more by the additional symbols derived from the common Indian heritage. Buddhism has given a new interpretation to symbols suiting its principles. There are various commonly used symbols which were related to the life of the Buddha, like the pillar inscribed with the Buddha's teachings, stupas, and sculptures representing the Buddha's life. Others symbols include a lotus, footprints of the Buddha, bodhi tree, lions, mudras and deer. Amongst all, the Dhamma-cakka is the most significant symbol of the Buddha's life which represents the emblem of Buddhism. The very meaning of the wheel symbolizes the Buddha's turning the wheel of ultimate truth as well as his first sermon at Sarnath, and is commonly known as 'turning the wheel of dharma'. The wheel also stands for the endless cycle of samsara, or rebirth as well as the representation of Buddhist teachings. The wheel often has eight spokes which symbolize the Eightfold Noble Path set out by the Buddha in his teachings.

The use of symbolism in Tibetan form of Buddhism is even more prevalent. The best-known art forms and symbols in Tibetan Buddhism include *thangka* paintings, butter sculptures for ritual purposes, printed and sand mandalas, masks, prayer wheels, metal and woodcraft work, sculpture, and poetry which have immense artistic value. As artists have very limited space to innovate in the traditional sphere, one has to keep in mind to meet the idea behind the symbols which signify a lot more than mere art.

Symbolism in Ladakhi culture

It was in the seventh century that Tibet came into contact with Buddha's teachings from India. In Ladakh, Buddhism spread from two sides both from Tibet as well as from India and it got infused with the indigenous Bon (archaic) religion and its Shamanic practices. However, later Tibet became the epicenter of Buddhism which spread all over the Himalaya. Owing to the geographical location and historical background, the Tibetan arts, symbols, and iconography reflect the cultural infusion of Chinese, Bonpos, Nepalese, Mongols, and Indians. The symbolism in Ladakh is commonly known as *rtags* (sign, omen) and *rten-'brel*, the latter one embrace plethora of possible meanings and association. These words are very auspicious and sacred in Ladakh. The word *rten-'brel* constitutes two words *rten* and '*brel*.

the former meaning support and latter meaning dependence, conditionality. The very notion of Buddhist philosophical understanding of interdependency is expressed in this word. As all phenomena are interlinked with each other and dependent on each other in its cause and effect, nothing exists on its own, by its own power. From this very word we can understand that how much Buddhist symbols influenced Ladakhi culture. The understanding of the notion of the emptiness of inheritance/existence is an important feature of Buddhist teachings. The word rtendrel is not only used as a technical term in philosophical discussion but used in everyday conversation by common people. It generally means a fortunate chain of circumstances, a sign of good fortune to come, a good omen. The expression is also used with reference to particular symbols, objects, actions, pictures, or forms of expression which are more likely than other designated conditions related to desirable positive results.

The importance and meanings of three Buddhist symbols in Ladakh

Tibetan form of Buddhism prevails in Ladakh, which strikes outsiders as mysterious, stimulating, and certainly delightful. The religion permeates all facets of life in Ladakh and its symbols, including prayer flags, stupas, mantra wall, thangkas, and images, and the monasteries represent the religious and sacred landscape. There are various ways to understand the significance of Tibetan Buddhism in Ladakh. One imperative way to comprehend is through visualizing and understanding different symbols used in all religious institutions for performing prayers during the festivals and also on many other occasions. As mentioned earlier, there is a range of sacred symbols that people use and which influence their everyday life in Ladakh. However, my concern here is mainly to explore the three important symbols used in Ladakh which are

- The Wheel of Life (*srid-pa'i-'khor-lo*)
- The Prayer flags (dar-lcog)
- The Eight Auspicious Symbols (bkra-shis-rtags-brgyad)

The objective of the paper is an attempt to investigate these three symbols, their meanings, significance and influence on Ladakhi people's way of living.

Wheel of Life (Sanskrit: Samsara-cakka)

The origin of the symbol of Wheel of Life goes back to the time of the Buddha Siddartha Gautama who is also known as Buddha Shakyamuni. Buddha taught his doctrine according to the caliber of his discipline. He adopted simple yet very effective ways to deliver the teaching to his disciple and in doing so he adopted numerous symbols and corollary to making his teaching simpler and understandable. With the advent of Buddhist Tantra around 6th century AD a prosperity of new artwork and symbolism appeared, many of which later got incorporated into Tibetan Buddhism. Buddhism advocates numerous methods and techniques in order to guide the sentient beings to be liberated from Samsara.

Buddha Gautama is considered to have lived in the period approximately 563 BC, near Banaras in Northern India. The history of the Buddha's life was preserved both through oral and written traditions which passed on through teachers to disciples in an unbroken lineage to some period of time. Over the course of time, Buddhism evolved in different lineages and each preserved as well as propagated its own teachings. According to Buddhist texts, there was a king called Bimbisara who was a friend of the Buddha. Once he received a very precious gift from another king. Right after he received this precious gift, he thought a lot and hard about what would be the appropriate gift in return, because the one who had sent him a gift was very wealthy and rich, and would not be happy with any material goods in return. Hence, he consulted the Buddha, who designed the Wheel of Life, which encapsulated the primary and advanced teachings of Buddhism. When his friend king received the gift he was not only satisfied but also developed an immense devotion towards the Buddha. This, in turn, resulted in converting his whole kingdom to the spiritual path of Buddhism. In this way the Wheel of Life became symbolic and one of the most profound symbols of all the Buddhist teachings.

The symbol of Wheel of Life (Ladakhi: Srid-pa'i 'khor-lo) is considered as one of the most sacred Buddhist symbols in Ladakhi society. It illustrates the actual essence of Buddhist teachings. It is based on the Four Noble Truths taught by Buddha Shakyamuni, i.e, the truth of suffering, the truth of the origin of suffering, the truth of cessation and the truth of right path. The wheel is divided into six realms of existence which is further sub-divided into two types, as upper three parts known as fortunate beings and lower three parts called as unfortunates beings. When we glance at the symbol from the top in the clockwise direction, the upper three realms consists of the abode of gods called the sura in Sanskrit and lha in Ladakhi; the realm of demigods called the asura in Sanskrit and lha-ma-yin in Ladakhi who seek power and are always at war, and the human beings are called manushya in Sanskrit or mi in Ladakhi. The lower three realms belong to the animals called pashu in Sanskrit or dud-'gro in Ladakhi, Hungry ghosts called preta in Sanskrit an yi-dwags in Ladakhi, beings from hell, called maraca in Sanskrit and dmyal-ba in Ladakhi. A being can be born in any of these

realms depending on his Karma (deeds). Bodhisattvas are shown in each realm preaching and trying to free them from the bondage of suffering.

Three animals—black pig, green snake and red rooster are depicted in the centre of the Wheel, which represents the truth of the origin of suffering respectively. The black pig symbolizes ignorance, the green snake represents hatred, anger and the red rooster symbolizes desire and attachment. Delusion and karma (action) are shown as being the two causes of sufferings. The three animals symbolise delusion, and the next circle in the wheel which is equally divided into white and black parts represents karma. The whole point being, if we are able to abandon these three poisons (hatred, desire, and attachments) then only we can be liberated from the cycle of rebirth.

The narrow outermost circle shows symbolically the cycle of cause and effect through symbols which represent twelve links of dependent origination. The first one begins with ignorance, which is spiritual blindness, exemplified by a blind man with a stick, unable to find his way. This symbolizes as to how ignorance lead beings to desire and attachments. The second picture, shows a potter molding the pot which symbolizes as molding his own karma (deeds), commonly known as fate. The third symbol, a monkey looking out of a window, depicts the major consciousness due to which ignorant being sprung uncontrolled from one object to another. This is the only reason that Buddhist aims to understand the inner and outer phenomena with full control of consciousness.

The fourth picture shows a man rowing a boat and it symbolizes name and form, spiritual and physical energy, inseparably floating on the stream of life. The fifth symbol represents a prosperous-looking house with five windows and a door which symbolizes the five senses and the faculty of thinking, through our organs by which the outer world is perceived. The sixth, represent a man and women embracing each other which express the result of sensual perceptions. The seventh picture is depicted as an arrow piercing the eye which symbolizes the emotions. The eight shows a drunken man which illustrates desire, stimulated by perceptions and emotions and leading to so-called thirst for life. The ninth picture represents a man plucking fruits and this symbolizes sensual entanglement. The tenth, which is a pregnant woman, symbolizes the perception of a new life. The eleventh picture shows a woman giving birth to a child which represents a being born. Lastly, the twelfth one is shown with a corpse being carried to cremation representing old age and death, which symbolizes the inevitable end of all earthly existence.

As already mentioned above, the Wheel of Life is based on the Four Noble Truths, two of which, the truth of suffering and the truth of the origin of suffering are found inside the wheel. In order to understand these two, all this complex theory is portrayed. The symbols depicting the other Two Noble Truths are found outside the wheel which are, the symbol of white full moon, one which is right above the Wheel of Life which constitutes the third Noble Truth i.e. the truth of cessation and on the left is depicted the picture of the Buddha, pointing his finger out constitutes the Fourth Noble Truth i.e. the truth of right path.

Thus, according to the symbol of Wheel of Life, we will not be free from suffering and misery until we understand and implement the Four Noble Truths. The terrifying Yamantaka (the lord of death) holds the wheel under his teeth and hands which symbolize that we will be under the control of Yama unless and until we do not overcome with the three poisons. This is the only reason that the full moon and the Buddha are shown outside the wheel and not inside which symbolize that they are free from misery and delusion.

Looking at the Ladakhis' way of symbolizing the Wheel of Life it can be said that it occupies a very special and sacred place in Ladakh. The Wheel of Life can be usually found on the portico wall of the monasteries as well as in local houses depicting the cycle of existence in accordance with Buddhist thought, and expounding in detail the six realms, including the human realm that we are a part of. As we observed above, the six realms are graded on the basis of types and nature of suffering. This depends on one's own intentional deeds and becomes a part of the process leading to enlightenment. Thus, this symbol becomes a kind of instrument for Ladakhis' to find balance in one's life and to live according to the Buddha's teaching. It constantly reminds one to follow the path leading to the cessation of suffering.

Prayer flags

The second important symbol being used in Ladakh is the prayer flag. These flags are not just pretty pieces of colored cloth with funny writings on them. It is a long strip of cloth inscribed with ancient Buddhist mantras and symbols and can be seen everywhere in Ladakh, fluttering from poles or strings at the passes or crossroads, monasteries and from bridges. It is believed that these mantras and auspicious symbols inscribed on them have the power to produce a spiritual vibration which is carried by the wind blessing everyone it touches and causing the generation of more luck, prosperity, and harmony.

The prayer flag in Ladakh is known as dar-cog; *dar* means to increase life, fortune, health, and wealth, while *cog* means all sentient beings. The tradition of prayer flags dates back to thousands of years in India and to the shamanistic Bon tradition of pre-Buddhist Tibet, China, and Persia. The tradition has now reached the west as well and is rapidly gaining popularity. The very meaning of prayer flag, text and symbols are indeed based on the most profound

concepts of Tibetan Buddhist philosophy. As shamanistic Bonpo priest used solid colored cloth flags in healings ceremonies, perhaps with their magical symbols, to balance the elements both internally and externally. The five colors of prayer flags represent the five basic elements as yellow and earth, green - water red - fire, white - air, blue - space. Balancing these elements externally brings harmony to the environment, our physical body and mind.

Furthermore, color is also used as one of the most important means of the visualization of the forms of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and so on. If one knows the color of spiritual significance then he or she can understand what the representation of that color form is. In the Buddhist iconographies in the Himalayan region a range of colours are used: red, green, yellow, white, and black. The red color signifies love and compassion. If you see a red Buddha, Bodhisattva, etc, then you can be sure that they represent the Buddha-nature or the Buddha mind or enlightened being under the aspect of love and compassion. Green color represents peace, pacification, and salvation from danger. The yellow signifies richness, growth and prosperity, even worldly riches, of beauty and of maturation. The blue represents absolute knowledge, sunyata in Buddhist terminology. The color white represents purity, as in all traditions. Lastly, black colour symbolizes death and destruction, but more in a positive sense.

When there were occurrences of the natural disasters and disease Bonpos (in archaic religion) used the coloured flags to appease the local gods and spirits with rituals and offerings, this was the Bonpos' way of pacifying and invoking the blessing of the gods. But there is no evidence whether Bonpos ever wrote words on their flags. The history of a pre-Buddhist era has been preserved in oral and not written form. In fact, the very words "Bonpo" means "one who recites magical formulas" although, the flag was not inscribed by words but it is probable that they painted sacred symbols on them. Several symbols that we see these days on Buddhist prayer flags certainly have Bonpo origins, but their meaning now is enhanced with the deep importance of Vajrayana philosophy .

As Buddhism slowly assimilated into the Ladakhi way of life and reached its zenith in the nineteenth century when Padmasambhava, popularly known as Guru Rinpoche was requested to visit Tibet to pacify the spirit that caused diseases and natural disasters. It was during his time that Buddhism spread in Tibet once again. Some of the prayer flags that we see today were composed by Guru Rinpoche to control the forces causing diseases and destruction. Therefore, Tibetan version of prayer flags inscribed with written text and symbols were basically painted by hand, one at a time. Woodblocks, cautiously carved in mirror image relief, were first introduced in China in the fifteen century. The introduction of such design made it possible to replicate the same

design and they passed it from generation to generation.

The continuation of the designs of prayer flags was due to the fact that most of the designs were created by famous Buddhist masters. People afterward probably would never have thought of creating a new design. Therefore, the same basic designs continue till date. Another thing is, when China occupied Tibet, they destroyed almost everything associated with Tibetan culture and religion. They also imposed a restriction on prayer flags but could not totally put an end to it. We might never know how many traditional designs have been lost forever since the turmoil of China's cultural revolution. But, it was easy for them to preserve the woodblocks, rather than the clothes and paper prints which could easily be destroyed. Presently, most of the prayer flag designs are made in Nepal, Ladakh and mostly by the Tibetan refugees.

The text which we see on prayer flags are in Tibetan script (invented by Thonmi Sambhota) which are mostly mantras, sutras, and prayers. Mantras are considered as sacred words and primordial sound holding the essence of a divine being and control the invisible energy dimensions. Almost on all the prayers wheels, flags, walls and parchments, mantras or sacred texts are inscribed. Perhaps, the oldest Buddhist mantra still prevalent among the Tibetan in six-syllable mantra — OM MANI PADME HUM, the mantra of Avalokiteshvara, the Buddha of great compassion, and the mantra is printed on prayer flags, prayer wheels, stones and walls around the circumambulation paths of temples, monasteries, stupas, etc. This mantra sends blessings of compassion to six worldly realms (which we have discussed above).

Sutras are the writing styles based on the discussions and dialogues during the time of Shakyamuni Buddha. Most of the Sutras have long, medium and short versions. On the prayers flags, the short versions are used. For instance, one short forms of sutra we often see on prayer flag is dharani which contain magical formulas consisting of syllables with symbolic content. Sutras are the expression of Buddha's teachings or a particular state of mind. Gyaltsen Semo (Victory Banner) is comprised of various lines of dharani. The symbols inscribed on prayer flags are usually known as rlung-rta (Wind Horse) carrying the "wish-fulfilling jewel of enlightenment", bkra-shis-rtags-brgyad (The Eight Auspicious Symbols), rdo-rje (Vajra), the four dignities, mi-thun g.yul-gyal (the union of opposites), rgyal-srid-rnam-bdun (the seven precious possessions of monarch), and deities and enlightenments beings. They are most widespread symbols used on flags. Prayer flags can be erected vertically as well as horizontally. The vertically erected flag is called dar-chen and the horizontal one is called dar-lcog. The prayer flags typically come on ropes to be hung in horizontal display or printed on long narrow strips of cloth that are tried on vertical poles. Most of the dar-chen (horizontal) are

kept in front of main entrance of the houses, monasteries etc. And *dar-lcog* (vertical) are usually tied to the edge of a roof or strung between pools or trees, passes, bridges, mountains etc. One interesting thing is that prayer flags are the first symbol to identify the house of a Buddhist. Almost every Buddhist house will be seen as hanging prayers flags on their roof top. Vertical pole flag looks aesthetic and wonderful in a garden. For raising the prayer flags proper motivation is required. Calmness, love, compassion and the attitude of selflessness have to be cultivated, otherwise, a small and narrow (ego-centered) attitude will not benefit much. The attitude of 'May all beings everywhere receive benefit and find happiness' will carry the spiritual vibration to all sentient beings. The Ladakhi tradition considers prayers flags as very sacred and should be hence treated with respect. The flags must not be thrown on the ground.

These Buddhist symbols are sacred for the people of Ladakh, in fact, most of the symbols often give clues to hidden meanings behind the words. The above account is a very brief introduction to the common symbols which I came across. There are plenty of Buddhist sacred text which explains the meaning and definition of symbols and mantras in Tibetan script. Nevertheless, colored flags are more beautiful if we understand the actual meaning of the symbols and words. To me, the merit of putting prayer flags up for the benefit of other sentient beings is way too beautiful than mere colorful flags waving in the wind and the dancing of shadow and light. I think probably there is no simpler way to earn merit than putting up the prayer flags to bring peace, fortune, prosperity and harmony in this troubled world.

Eight auspicious symbols of Buddhism

Another important and common sacred symbol in Ladakh is the eight auspicious symbols of Buddhism. These symbols in Ladakh are popularly known as *bkra-bshis-rtags-brgyad* — *kra-bshis* means 'fortune' (auspicious), *rtags* means 'symbol', and *brgyad* means 'eight'. In Sanskrit, they are known as ashtamangala — *ashta* meaning 'eight' and *mangala* means 'auspicious'. These symbols are derived from Indian iconography and spread all over the Himalayan regions such as Tibet, Bhutan, Ladakh, and Nepal. The eight auspicious symbols are: 1) Right-Coiled White Conch Shell (*sankha*), 2) Precious Parasol (*chattra*), 3) Victory Banner (*dhvaja*), 4) Golden Fishes (*suvarnamatsya*), 5) Dharma Wheel (*dharmachakra*), 6) Endless Knot (*shrivasta*), 7) Lotus (*padma*), and 8) Treasure Vase (*kalasha*). Thus, it comes to light that these eight symbols represent the Buddha's body as quoted in the *Heap of Good Fortune Sutra* (Aryamangalakutanama-mahayanasutra), while addressing the Buddha:

Veneration to you with your head like a protecting parasol, With eyes like the precious golden fishes (even today a woman with beautiful eyes is known as 'minakshi,' meaning one with fish-like eyes) With neck like a precious, adorned vase of good fortune, With speech like a right-turning Dharma shell, With a mind infinite with wisdom like the never ending knot, With a tongue open like the auspicious pink lotus, With a body proclaiming triumph over the attacking armies of Mara, With feet that tread the path of dharma like the auspicious wheel.

Coming to the first, Parasol or Umbrella (*rin-chen-gdugs*) symbolizes the notion royalty and spiritual power, In Ladakh, rinpoches and top religious heads use silk parasols or umbrellas, which symbolize wisdom and the hanging skirt right above their heads while preaching, symbolizes the meaning of compassion.

Golden Fish (*ser-nya*) symbolizes luck and happiness in general. But in Buddhism, the connection is with those who practice Dharma who will not have fear in the ocean of suffering and can move freely like fish in the water. It also represents fertility and conjugal unity.

The Treasure Vase (*bum-pa*) The symbolic meaning of the pot is associated with the notion of storage and satisfaction of material desires. It has a large 'belly, narrow neck and large mouth' which represents the 'vase of inexhaustible treasure' available in Buddhist teachings. It also believed to attract wealth and bring peace, prosperity, and harmony to the surroundings. Hence, benefits to this world.

Lotus (*me-tog*) generally the lotus represents the symbol of love and purity. In Buddhism, it signifies the path and spirit of human beings. As the attractive and gorgeous flower peacefully rising from the darkest and muddiest of situation (*samsara*) bloom above the muddy water it appears clean on the surface (purification), turn into a majestic fragrant flower (enlightenment). The beautiful white blossom symbolizes purity, the darkest and muddiest of situation represents worldly existence, the rising above the muddy to clean water stands for the practice of Buddhist teachings which raise the mind above the worldly existence (renunciation of worldly life) and give rise to right thinking. And the initial blossom signifies purity hidden within the depths of the darkest and the potential for enlightenment. The full and open blossom symbolizes the full liberation from the darkest of *samsara*. Hence, the lotus signifies the Buddha nature and has very special place in the iconography of many Asian cultures.

Planting flowers in front of one's main entrance or window side is said to

bring more pleasant, harmonious and peaceful environment. When flowers blossom fully it signifies the coming of a happy occasion. When we cut the flower, we see nothing inside which signifies the wisdom of understanding emptiness.

White Conch Shell (*dung-dkar*) is considered as precious and a deep meaning is associated with it. It is considered as an emblem of 'power, authority and sovereignty'. The beautiful and melodious sound of the conch symbolizes the wide-spread of the Dharma, and whoever hear the melodious sound will be awakened from the deep slumber of ignorance to accomplish their liberation as well as for others' wellbeing. It also has the power to expel evils forces, turn away natural disasters and frighten away poisonous creatures.

However, in Ladakh and in Tibet they use only the rightly twisted conches for religious festivals and rituals. They believe that twisting echoes the celestial motion of the sun, the moon, the plants and the stars across the heavens. We can also recognize whether the shell is male or female, as the male shell is thicker than female. Most of the shells are found in the Indian Ocean.

Endless Knot (*dpal-be'u*) this is a symbol that has lines overlapped signifying the theory of Karma and its effects. The knot also represents that everything is interconnected, having no end and beginning which represents the Buddha's endless wisdom and compassion. Furthermore, it symbolizes the illusory character of time and long life.

Victory Banner (*rgyal-mtshan*): Every monastery is decorated with raising victory banner on the roof top with different sizes and shapes. It symbolizes Buddha's victory of teaching over human sufferings and negative forces which prevail in this world. It comes to fore that Buddha himself raised a victory banner on mount meru, which is believed to be the axis that supports the world. The significance of the symbols is the realization of Buddha's spiritual realization and discovery of ignorance as the biggest hindrance in the path of spiritual liberation.

The Dharma-Wheel (*chos-kyi 'khor-lo*) is commonly known as 'Golden Wheel' or 'Wheel of Law' which we discussed above in detail. It symbolizes Buddha's turning the Wheel of Dharma. It is the symbol which represents the Buddha's revealing of the Four Noble Truths - the truth of suffering, the truth of the origin of suffering, the truth of cessation, and the truth of right path. The wheel is also connected to the Eightfold Noble Path, i.e right view, right thought, right speech, right effort, right action, right concentration and right mindfulness. Thus, the mysterious 'Golden Wheel' symbolizes the achievement of the ultimate form of liberation, and it shows the way to achieve permanent happiness and to end all sufferings. It is believed that by keeping this magical wheel in one's house lasting happiness can be brought.

Conclusion

Symbols play a phenomenal role in understanding one's culture and asserting identity. It has an ability to describe the complex reality of the relationship between individual and sacred encounters. Although it lacks conceptual clarity and specificity because of its vagueness and ambiguity. However, it opens up a space for redescription of the reality. In fact, the very means of identifying religion is symbols. Hence, the usage of symbolism in every religious tradition is to express the religious experience, thought, and concepts. No religion in the world exists without having symbols. Therefore, symbols are one the significant elements of religion, and it is also an important language to understand one's religious tradition.

In the same way, symbolism plays an important role in representing Ladakhi Buddhist culture and establishing their identity. The symbol of the Wheel of Life, prayer flags, and the eight auspicious symbols are infused in the way of Ladakhi people's way of life. They have become a means to cultivate cultural consciousness and they act as a trigger to remind people of their cultural norms and beliefs. Thus, this symbol becomes a kind of instrument for Ladakhis to find balance in their life and to live according to the Buddha's teachings. It constantly reminds one to follow the path leading to the cessation of suffering.

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Was Nangma Stod gzhas invented by the Rdo ring PaNdita bstan 'dzin dpal 'byor and was Nangma present in the seventh century?

Tashi Tsering Josayma

वरः अन्तरः। र्क्षेत्रः मावश्यः मान्नेश्वः माश्चरः मान्ति । स्वत्यः प्रतिक्षः स्वतः प्रतिक्षः । स्वतः प्रतिक्षः निवयः प्रतिक्षः प्रतिक्षः मान्त्रः स्वतः प्रतिक्षः स्वतः प्रतिक्षः स्वतः प्रतिक्षः स्वतः प्रतिक्षः स्वतः प्रति

लुव. त.लु. वी | क्ट्रिंश. चंच्याका. सेका. प्र. चंट. टका. ह्यूंचा. ची | क्ट्रिंश ची. चार्च. प्र. चंट्रंट. त.लु. ह्यं मां प्रेम. ७१५४ सूर. संच्याका. प्रमान प्रमान

² क्रेंश दर्शन्यावया संदे द्वाद र्यूदा क्रेंद का र्वेना ग्राम्य ८६०

शुःस्ट्रियःस्रात्त्र्वाराखाम्। | १८ळ्सस्यास्रात्त्र्वाराखाम्। स्रात्त्राच्या । अवस्य । अवस्य । स्रात्यास्य । स्रात्यास्य । स्रात्यास्य ।

न्द्रवः चेन्द्रायम् । वेश्वास्य विश्वास्य विश

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³ ब्रू ईन् कुष र्न्स्य The Sungrab Nyamso Gyunpel Parkhang, Tibetan Craft COMMUNITY, Tashijong, 1971 र्नेन जुरुष ३,६

⁴ २०१ में ही: ब्रिंग प्रायत्स्रीं स्थित वर्षा ते क्षेत्र स्थित स्

पटा सम्ब्रेट्यान्ट्या १६५७ सम्ब्रेट्याचीश्चाम १६५७ सूचा चट्या २६० न्या स्रियान्या स्रियान्याची १६५० सम्ब्रेट्याचीश्चाम १६५० सूचा चट्या स्रियाची श्वाप्ता स्रियान्या स्रियान्या स्रियान्या स्रियाची स्रिय

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The Tibetan Muslims had already at that time been living in Lhasa and some other towns for several centuries. They were, as their Tibetan name suggests, mostly of Kashmiri origin. I know of only one brief and uninformative reference to their musical activities (Prince Peter, 1952:236). Whether the nangma songs were themselves to some extent of Kashmiri or other non-Tibetan origin is an interesting question. An argument in favor of foreign influences is that the songs are all in heptatonic modes, contrasting with the largely pentatonic, occasionally hexatonic nature of Tibetan folksong (Crossley-Holland 1967a, 1967b). However, while this perhaps suggests a link with art-music traditions outside Tibet, more specific relationships are hard to establish. As I mention below, the nature of the modes is suggestive of East Asia rather than Kashmir or India; and the rhythmic and formal organization of nangma has few resemblances to that typical of any of these areas, although reminiscent in some respects of Tibetan folk song. Whatever the historical origins of this form of music in Tibet, it has been thoroughly "Tibetanised." The present songs were quite

⁷ র্বিগালুহঝা ৫২

The term *nangma* is not in the Tibetan-English dictionaries of Jäschke (1881) or Sarat Chandra Das (1902), nor is it mentioned by Francke in his account of Tibetan music (1922) but these omissions are not surprising; neither Jäschke nor Francke ever went to Central Tibet, and Das was mostly concerned with the literary language. A recent Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary defines *nangma* simply as "a kind of dance from Central Tibet" (Dagyab 1966:361).

evidently composed in Tibet for the Tibetan texts they are now sung to or for other texts using the same standard Tibetan poetic forms.

Nadwi, Tibet and Tibetan Muslims বিশ্ব মন্ত্র বিশ্ব মন্ত্র মন্ত মন্ত্র মন্ত্র মন্ত্র মন্ত্র মন্ত্র মন্ত্র মন্ত্র মন্ত্র মন্ত্র

Songs of Lhasa, Geoffrey Samuel, Source: Ethnomusicology, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Sep., 1976), pp. 407–408; also see *ZLOS-GAR*, edited by Jamyang Norbu, Commemorative issue on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the founding of Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts (1959–84). Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, 1986, pp. 13–19.

¹⁰ শ'বালি'অশ'র্মা?

Dr. Abu Bakr Amir-uddin Nadwi, *Tibet and Tibetan Muslims*, (Translated from Urdu by Prof. Parmananda Sharma), Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamshala, 2004, pp. 59–60.

influence was the introduction in the third or fourth century A. D. of the transverse flute (gling bu), which came from Syria. Then, during the period of our great kings, or emperors (7th –9th centuries), there was a high degree of cultural development. The traditions of music in our monasteries were special, and were greatly influenced by India. Now, of course, most of this has been lost. For many centuries, Tibetans travelled to India to study religion and Indian culture. One of the greatest centers for travel and study was Srinagar, in Kashmir, to the west of Tibet. Many kinds of music came into Tibet from this direction. One of the most remarkable of these was the music performed by the gar pa of Lhasa." The state of the most of Course, we do play light classical music, called nang ma. Nang ma came originally from Kashmir and India, where they still call it naghma or natya. In Tibet, nang ma is light classical music with instruments, singing, and dancing. They base it on old classical songs, but change them so that they have special, very beautiful melodies. Then, in between the parts of the melody, they put some special elaborations." The state of the transverse fluence of the fourth of the strange of the strange of the melody, they put some special elaborations."

¹² ASIAN MUSIC, Volume x- 2...1979, Tibet Issue, Journal of the Society for Asian Music, New York, pp. 5–6.

¹³ ASIAN MUSIC, Volume x- 2...1979, Tibet Issue, Journal of the Society for Asian Music, New York, pp. 7–8.

¹⁴ Syria

¹⁵ Kashmir

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¹⁷ क्षेत्रा-सहर-प्रमान्त्रम् अध्यान्त्रम् विष्यान्त्रम् अध्यान्त्रम् अध्यान्त्रम्यम् अध्यान्त्रम् अध्यान्त्रम्

¹⁸ Afghanistan

¹⁹ હિલાનિટ ન સૂર્ય સુદ્રાયા સુદ્રાયા સૂર્ય નિર્દા ૧૯૧૯ (ત્રસ્ક્રેટ ૧૪ ૧૪ ૧૪) સૂર્યા ત્રાપ્ટ્ર સ્થાપ્ય સ્વાસ્ત્ર સુદ્રાયા સૂર્ય સુદ્ર માર્થ સ્થાપ્ય સ્વાસ્ત્ર સ્થાપ્ય સુદ્ર માર્થ સુદ્ર માર્ય સુદ્ર માર્થ સુદ્ર માર્ય સુદ્ર માર્થ સુદ્ર માર્ય સુદ્ર માર્થ સુદ્ર માર્થ સુદ્ર માર્થ સુદ્ર માર્થ સુદ્ર માર્થ સુદ

१८१८ क्रॅ-श्रावशान्तरःश्चीत्वाश्चित्रःश्चित्यःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्यःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्यःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्यःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्चित्रःश्च

१८६३ सूर.सेर.सेंच्याकानुचा, इका.स.चट्ट.बु.स्वा.कुर.खे.स्व.संट्र.संस्व.सांच्या. व्याप्त.संट्र.संस्व.सांच्या.संट्र.संस्व.संस्व.संद्र.संस्व.

²⁰ दरः संबेश पाने के प्रति का के प्रति का स्वाप्त के प्रति का स्वाप्त के प्रति के प

Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy ক্রমাণ বিস্থান্ত্র ব্যাহার্থ বিশ্ব বিশ্ব

The origins of *nang-ma* are unclear. Most Tibetan scholars usually place them in areas to the west of Tibet. as with *gar* and *stod-gzhas*. The name deriving from the Kashmiri *naghma*, meaning 'song'. Muslim musicians from Baltistan, Kashmir and Central Asia did play an important role in Lhasa. However, instruments such as the *yang-chen* (hammerdulcimer), the *ho-chin* and the *dal-chin* (fiddles) are borrowed and/or derived from China, though the melodic patterns appear to be predominantly Tibetan. The musical structures are reminiscent of those of the *gar-glu* but have different melodies. The Lhasa minister Doring Pandita (rDo-ring bsTan-'dzin dPal 'byor) is said to have brought a *yangqin* from China in 1793 and to have established an instrumental ensemble by putting it together with the lute,

flute and fiddle. He also introduced the Chinese *gongche* notation system (Tib, *kung-khre'i phu'u*), which was used until the 1950s.

The *nang-ma* skyid-sdug (the *nang ma* group of mutual support through good and bad times was the largest and most famous society performing *nang-ma* and Lhasa *töshe*) in Lhasa, coming into prominence at the beginning of the 20th century. It performed for a few government functions, such as official autumn picnics (fig. 15) and the Saga Dawa celebration held at the Lukhang, where it played on a boat in the middle of the lake. During the bathing festival, the society performed the *sa-gzhi las-mo*, a fixed set of *nang-ma* songs performed with special dances and costumes. The group comprised about 60 members, both men and women, including several aristocratic and merchant members and few Muslim performers of Ladakhi, Kashmiri and Hui origins. Only 12 were full-time professionals who acquired great popularity, for example Rabsel Abdul Rehmen, Bhayi Wali and bSodnams sKyid 'dzoms. A-JO RNAM-RGYAL, was the society's last teacher and most famous member, who renewed the genre by creating Lhasa *töshe*. The society was disbanded after his death in 1942."

²³ Henrion-Dourcy, Isabelle, 2001, "Tibet (III.3 Nangma)" in Stanley Sadie (ed.) The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol. XXV. London, Macmillan, 2001, pp. 452–454.

ल्ट्रंट्रश्चर्ट्ट्चायां श्री त्राच्यायां व्याप्त्राच्यायां व्याप्त्राच्यायाः व्याप्त्रच्यायाः व्याप्त्रच्यायाः व्याप्त्रच्यायाः व्याप्त्रच्यायाः व्याप्त्रच्यायाः व्याप्त्रच्यायाः व्याप्यायाः व्याप्त्रच्यायाः व्याप्त्रच्यायाः व्याप्त्रच्यायाः व्याप्त्यायाः व्याप्त्रच्यायाः व्याप्त्रच्यायः व्याप्त्रच्यायः व्याप्त्रच्यायः व्याप्त्रच्यायः व्याप्त्यायः व्याप्यायः व्याप्यायः व्याप्यायः व्याप्यायः व्याप्यायः व्याप्यायः व्याप्यायः व्याप्यायः व्याप

चीर्-चर-सूर्य-भ्रा-चेश्वान्ता चीर-चर-सूर-भ्रा-चेश्वान्ता चीर-चर-सूर-भ्रा-चेश्वान्तान्तान्त्राच्या क्षेत्रा-चर-ट्येश-चर्न्य-चर्न्य-चर्न्य-ट्य-ट्य-ट्य-प्रिश-कुर-स्-चर-सूर-च्या-चर-सूर-चिश-कुर-सुर-चिश-कुर-चिश-कुर-

चार्याकुर्याकुर्यंत्रर्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्याकुर्याच्यात्र्या

र्नेंद्र-दर्नेश्वर्षेषाः हें 'देर-धट्टें 'दृष्यक्षद्र प्रदेश प्रतित्र (1760–?) ग्रीशः श्रेष्टे ' १५०८ वेंद्र' ह्म. ९ स.चर.क्री.सू.क्रींश.त्र्विट.संदी ह्री.हर.संह्रे.धेर.क्षां बर.संसा ट्यांप.चंदी.चंदाश.संचयाक्री. त्तुदःतःत्रिंद्रःयःर्वेषःयेदःगृहयःश्चीःर्देषःर्ये। शेःविंद्रःयेःरेगृश्यःद्वेःश्चदःवदःगीःश्चरःयः²⁶ र्वेदःकः श्चर्कः महेशः यार्शेषाः महत्यः १३०१ मत्मार्थः यदः देदः देवः कः नदः वनशः मवशः वज्ञेषः नदेः श्चेरः र्दे 'नेरासङ्के' पृत्रे 'क्रुयाचर क्रेंन' कालाला १ २ ४६२ केंन क्रुयानु ताली ''ने विकास्त्रेयानु विक्रित प्राप्त म्चिर-५८। सर्रे-६२-५७ हते (श्रुहते) र्रेय-स्थानम्भय-हे-नमुःश्चेत (द्वेत) हे-५नर-मे-श्चेन्ट्रामा য়ৢঌ৽য়ৼৢৢৢৢয়ৼৼৼ৽ঀঀয়৾ঀয়য়ৣ৽য়ৢৼ৽য়ৢ৽ঀয়ৼয়ৼ৽ৼয়ৼ৽য়ৢৼ৽ঀয়৽ড়ৢয়৽য়ৣৼ৽ড়৽ঀয়৽ৼয়৽ নশ্লুর-দৃষ্ট-শন-দৌর্ম-স্কেনাম-শ্রু-মস্কের-দৃর্ম-শ্র-দের্দ্র-শের্মম-তর্ন-শের্মম-তর্ন-শের্মি-স্ক্রির-निवेनार्यापनास्थरानिहेरार्ने हे साबु निवेश्वी होत्रावनरानवे सक्तान्मेवे राष्ट्रीयावर्षिरासर्केनाः हु नामवाबिटा भुदारमाजीनावेनमानाविष्याचार्यानाव्यानावेनमान्त्रीयाचीर्याचीराभूताक्षीराभूताविष्याचीर्य शु:ब्रेन्-प्रते:र्र्स्-सळ्न-प्र-प्रक्थाने:र्रक्षा-प्रतिव्यक्षेत्रकाषान्यम्भून-प्राची सुप्रहेत्रमिनेशामवे प्राची श्रेन्।वरःक्रेबःर्सेशःन्तुशःगङ्गाःयम्।वरःन्तः। नर्मेबःग्वबशःन्तः। क्रेंनःब्रिसःन्तः। श्रेःब्रिश्यःयः वर्ग्रेट्यान्तरम् वर्ग्यन्तर्मेवानम्हत्वते। हिन्यम् वर्षान्तरम् वर्षः भूनः क्री वर्ष्युनः विवानन्या स्त्रुत् स्वः क्वें न्याया स्वरं देवा स्वरं त्रुः त्रुन् । स्वरं प्ययः स्वरं न्याया स्वरं न्याया स्वरं त्रुः त "सर्ने क्रिन्यं यान्त्रान्यक् राष्ट्रम् अक्रिन्यः अस्त्रान्यः स्त्रीत्रान्यान्यः स्त्रीत्रान्यः स्त्रीत्राः (स्त्रीत्राः)

²⁶ श्चरः सः मावदः विमा | विंदः व्यूट्यः से 'त्याद्यः प्रते 'श्चुद्यापदः | प्रमादः प्रते 'त्ये 'त्रवः स्थः ११०० चलनाया

²⁷ हैं 'देर-तड़े' हेवे 'क्यावरा चक्षेव 'वहेव' देवना वहेंरा के 'हिंब' के 'देवान' देवे 'श्रुव'।वर'। क्रेंद' का हिन् हिंदी 'स्वा' ग्रह्म

र्टा इर्नुयी मैं त्रक्रम्म (त्रक्रमः) मैं मा यावमास्यूयमास्ययः (यावपः) मूंदुःशीयामासूजा र्थे :बॅं 'नज्ञर'ने अ'बे 'यर'न' इसस्य हे 'यूर'म र्ड्डेवे' दे 'य' नुर'न' पर्'न' ने 'यूर' अनस्य सर्वेद 'कुय' <u> ननम्भनः अभः ग्रीः वहुं सः लन्यः सेनाः नीः नन्न रहेनः नक्षेत्रः क्षुनः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः वहेतः ग्रीः क्षितः गातः नम्रास्टस्यः ।</u> श्रेन्'सर्रायेंन्श्र'शुं वित्याम।"²⁸ वियान्ता "कुर्न्स्येर धेरामवे क्वानुस्यात्रात्रात्रीत्रात्रा <u>र्टा क्रथार्वोश्रान्त्रस्त्रां सुन्यायवे स्टार्वेट्या से स्ये से से मुल्लेया स्टान्ने या स्टान्ने या</u> सर्क्रवःसीयाः मूट्टर्न्यवः मृतियाः वयाः दरः वस्तर् र्टिः वस्तरी सेनयाः वयाः मीः यादीः सम्ययाः सु नसरसःग्री:न्द्र-ध्रेत-ध्रें बेहः।"29 बेस:न्द्र। "वेह:ग्रु: (1765) ह्य:न:नक्रु:मदे:क्रेस:नन्द्रकेत:क्रुस: ૄઙૺઃઽનવઃવર્ષેરઃ&ેંચઃફ્રેઃૅફચઃક્ષુનચઃઍર્વેફઃનૄઠઃ&ેફઃરેફૅફઃવર્ષેરઃફ્રૅફચઃઽવૅઘરઃફ્રૅનચ્છે. र्नुःकेनमःवयः नश्चरः नर्मः भेरःश्वेरः। (श्वेरमः) र्वे गवम। स्मर्रमः। दरःवस्म। दरःवस्म। रुरःक्वरः। ऄ॔ज़ॺॱऄ॒॔ढ़ॱॺॱय़ॗॸॱॻॖऀॱय़ॖढ़ॱॺॖॺॱऄॕज़ॺॱय़य़॓ॱॸऒ॔॔ॸॱय़ॺॱॺॾ॓*ॺ*ॱय़ॸॱॸक़ॗढ़ॱॸ॓ॗऻॱ^{᠈ॐ} १२७५ वॅर- "भ्रूनशयळंशशत्रुवाशत्रेयाकुट-५्रथःश्चे हे नगदिन्देव ठव ज्रूट-पङ्के ५ रटावश्ये निवेनार्थाः यूनार्थाः निर्मात् । यूनार्थाः यून र्सेचे.तक्का (क्का.) भुजःश्रंथी नुचःईची (हूंच.) थैटा, क्वी. मिंच.री क्वा.री भू. (मु.) सन्नी मैंट.नर સેંગ્રઅ'હ્યુવા'<u>ગુ</u>'સ્ટ્ર'ळेंग्रઅ'संदे'त्यस'र्स्ने'द्रस'र्येदेंद्र'संदे'र्देव'सेंदे'त्रे'त्र्ज्ञा'सप्रदर्धस'रा'देवा'ग्रुट'र्वेट' बर अर्बे प्रयत्स्व तुरास प्रदेसमा पर हैं सून ग्री केंगान सहन हैर।"31 वेस प्राप्त १ १ १ १ १ १ वेस "रैअ'नबैद'क्वेनअ'नर्भेर्द्र'न'द्या धुत्यःर्बेदः। दर्वेदि'म्द्रे'मिना'द्रअ'नअद्याग्चीः,तृद्रंभेद्रादयःयमिरः नक्षेत्रानान्ता कें मान्यार्थे मायार्थे नर्भेत्रायार्थे यात्राम्यार्थे यात्राप्तीयार्थे व्याप्तीयार्थे व्याप्तीयार्थे विश्वेष्ट अर्घेदःर्रे द्रशः दरे 'वादे दे वार्षेवा छट अयर्थेद दर्वेद अहंद 'वादर वी र्घेवा वा उट अद्दर्भ दर्भ ळेवान्दा भुदारुद्या स्थानानरुषानी पूर्विदानिर्धिना हुस्या गुराभुता भुता भुतानिरादि स्थानिराय हिना वादरःवीशःग्रुरःदवेवाशःवाददःवार्वेशशःईवादगारःश्चें।दरःदशरःश्चें। इःढरःश्वेवाशःववःक्षेशः न्मा नग्रमाञ्चनात्रुः धेरान्वे प्रते ग्रमाञ्ची नया में प्रीमान्ते न्मा ग्रमायन से न्मायन से नियम से नि

²⁸ ट्रें-इंटरसंड्रे-विरोह्मसम्बद्धाः क्रूंन्-छ। र्लेवाःबटकाः ५०८-६५

²⁹ र्हे 'देर'स्बे 'हते स्थानस् र्बेर्'का र्वेना ग्रास्था १०१

³⁰ र्ट्रे. इंट. स्ट्रे. वेद्रे. इस बर्ग क्रूं ट. की क्या गर्म अ

³¹ र्रे. इंट. राष्ट्रे. वेद. इस. बर्ग क्रूं र.का क्या चरमा १०००

र्वेचोश्रास्त्रे चिर्रास्त्रेश्वराष्ट्री क्षेत्र (इत्या) क्ष्याचारश्रानु सार्क्षेत्र स्रो क्षात्रेत्र विकासी व्यापन विष्यः (भ्रेन'वर्षुवः) ग्री:क्षून'र्से:र्सून'से:से:निर्मानहमा:निर्मा (हेन्) सू:न्रान्नवन:प्यास्यान ह् मन्य क्रिर मुश्य क्री हे दर दर । क्रिंस्य वर विदे क्रं दर। विद्यास्य विदेश क्रिंस क्रिंस क्रिंस विदेश ळंटः सरः श्वः दरः श्रें वाशः वतः क्रुशः श्वेरः । देवेः क्षेत्रः सदयः देटः बुदः दरः । मदः र्वेः श्वः वावश नियाना स्वापा कर्रा त्राप्त स्वापा त्री स्वापा स्वा র্ষিণার্ক্টব্যা"³³ উষাব্দা। १ এ এ १। १ এ এ १ वर्षे सः " এই শ্লবষা অবা অ্বরা অনুষ্ঠার বি তর শ্রী বিশ্বর नञ्जला हे नात्र में नारा सर्वे दाञ्चन राक्षे हे स्टार्टा के में में देवें दाख्य के स्टार्टी के स्टार्टी से स्टार्ट <u> नर्वो यः नर्वो यः नाध्यः मुखः नाहे यः केनः नुः वर्वे नः यो या वरः श्रे हे वः नेः नाु नः केनायः ग्रेः मुनः धेवः हवः</u> ૹૣ૾ૼૼૼ૱ૹૄ૾ૢૼ૮ઃવ૽ૺ૾૽૱૱ૡૺઽ૽ૹૼૺ૱ૡ૽ૺૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૺ૾ૹ૾૽૱૱૱૱૱ૹ૽૽ૺઌ૽ૹ૽૽૱ૹ૽૽ૺ૱ૹ૽૽ૼઌ૽ૹ૽૽ઌ૱૽ૹ૽ઌૺૹ૽ नानि भू रहे अप्यानि नाम स्वाप्त के अप्यानि स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्व प्रह्मिर्स्याल् मान्स्याने केंद्र प्रदान केंद्र केंद्र विश्वास केंद्र केंद्र मान्यान कर्या क्षेत्र प्रदान मान्य २८.। "सर्यःष्ठाभिवाङ्गरःषर्ग्वेषायायम्ब्रियःयरःचस्रीयःभूषाया । भ्रीयायरःपूर्यायदःश्चीःश्वयः (इता) द्याः चर्याः न्याः विष्याः विषयः क्रियः विषयः विषय ब्रुट्या^{,,35} वेयर्ट्स १७७५ वॅस "अयर्वस्तुर्धे" (ब्रु[,]?) येसर्ट्स प्रतुषायह्न र्हेद प्रवेद हे 'ફેન'સે 'ફેંવા'સુેન'ત્તંયઃનુ:અસઃવર,'વાફેસ:ગ્રીસ:નુસ:નુદે:નર્ધેર,'વવા;*ત્ત્રસ:ય:વો:વાનર-સૂેંરસેં: য়৾ঀ৾ঀয়৽য়ৢ৽ঀয়ঀয়৽য়৽য়ৣ৽য়য়ৣ৾ঽ৽য়৾ঀৣয়য়৽য়ৄঀ৾৽য়ৼ৾৻৽য়ৼ৾৻৽য়ৼ৾ৼ৽য়ৢঢ়য়৽ঢ়৽য়ৼ৾ৼ৽য়ৢয়য়৽য়৻ঀ৾য়৽ * इससायाः संदर्भन्ताः ने द्वानी वर्भस्यस्य स्थाने द्वानि स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने वीयानन्यते कु.ख्वायाची विन्यानेते स्थापकुरात्तु वार् हेन् पर्दे न्दा विवासवावी से सर्केन्स्र <u> २८। १७७६ वॅर. "२,४४,५४,४५७५४,५४,५५५,५५५ के.४,५५५ के.४,५५५</u> ग्रावृत्रः मी न्यायः स्वृतः हैं सद्यः से स्वायः से प्रवादित। या व्यायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वाय (सॅवा) वि'नवा अ'इंडे-सॅवास'ग्रे:केनस'नशुर्दा सेर'नस्नेर'। (स्नेरस') र्जे'वाबस। दर'वसुर।

³³ र्ट्रेन्ट्रन्द्रेन्द्रिस्य इस् र्रेट्र्न्स् र्स्त्राच्या १३०५

³⁴ हैं 'देर सहै निवे हमा में दिन की मिना वार मा ११३

३५ हें.ह्राराष्ट्रे.धेद्राध्यावर्ग क्रूर्यको सूचावर्ग ७५५

³⁶ ट्रे.इंट.सड्रे.धेद.क्ष.बर्ग क्रेंट.क्ष र्जूबा.बंटश. ४७७

नुरत्वनुर्सेवाशस्य स्थास्य स्थास्य स्थास्य स्थापन स्थापन स्थापन स्थापन स्थापन स्थापन स्थापन स्थापन स्थापन स्थाप *खुवार्चे*दःवड्याद्याद्वे वडदःवदे वयद्याग्चे तुन् श्वेदाद्वन्त्याग्चे द्यायाव्ये स्वर्ते स्वर्ते स्वर् <u> नर्जेल नहर नदे हिरासर लक्षा हुर नदे रेल केंद्रे हो ज्ञान क्रू कें नका नर ही कृष्ट के केंद्र</u> स्रायदायाः भ्रोतः तरः हो नः हे स्रा हे स्याद्धं स्यादाया विदेश विद्या । विद्या स्याधा । विद्या स्याधा । विद्या द्याः सर्केन् : इत्याः ग्री: ने : न्याः स्वाराः स्वाराः स्वाराः स्वाराः (श्वेर्द्यः) न्याः न्याः स्वराः स्वराः র্মীঝ'নরম'র্মীঝ'মার্মরম'মার্মর'র বিশ্বরাধিক বিশ্বরাধিক বিশ্বরাধিক বিশ্বরাধিক বিশ্বরাধিক বিশ্বরাধিক বিশ্বরাধিক र्केपायाः स्टर्स्स्यायाः स्टर्स्यायाः स्टर्भाः । स्टर्भाः । स्टर्भाः । स्टर्भाः स्टर्भाः स्टर्भाः सदिः स्ट्राः स बेदाया पावदापारावार्सेर्पायहराने केंचान्या कुराकेंश सेंपाया कुराकेंश हो। हेपा से प्राप्त श्चरःश्रावदःविरःहेर्। मुत्यःहेर्ख्यावया सर्विर्यःश्चेर्यः मुत्रः विराधिर्यः मित्रः विराधिर्यः विराधिरः विराधिर्यः विराधिरः विर रैपाश श्वः क्वेंपाश र्रातः । भ्रुपार्रेद प्दरे पादे ज्ञानाश राम्रह्म प्दिद के सेरा। के पहन क्या कुण। इस स नः सरसः श्रे : चरा व्यः भ्रुतसः क्रें : देरः वहसः दुरः दुरः दुः । दुः सरः सरसः दुरा क्रुत्रासः सँ वासः क्रु खुन्य हे हे ने क्री हुस्य प्रकृत सम्बद्धाया स्वीता महिना स्वीता स मुयासळत्रसर्वेत्रार्ये त्रासुरळ्याळे न्यसूर्या ग्रीसः (म्रीसः) देः नार्येना हानेयाळटा सम्बना स्रोतेः <u> नर्मेश मुन्तः सः सः सः सः स्वारा स्वारा न्वेश प्रान्तः । सुरा मुर्गेश मित्रा मुर्गा नस्रुश (वृशः मुः मित्र श</u> र्वे जावशा धुः सेंदे नशुः न: ५८: नरुसप्टर्स नशः नशः क्षेत्रः चेत्रः नदे नरः ५र्वे राः ^{४०} वेसः ५८। "भ्रानसः दन्य स्थान्य स र्श्रेष्मशःग्रुःर्श्यःवद्वःत्वरःग्रुश्यःयः"⁴¹ बेशःददः। १२१८ वॅरः "पदःब्रुःन्नुः (ग्लूः) द्वावःळ्यःरुः न्त्वार्याः अनुन्याः सर्वोद्याः नुन्याः न्याः वस्य अः उन् स्यष्टितः याचित्रयः क्रेतः विदेशे स्थान्याः नृत्याः नृहे नढुंद्र'न्य'सदे'प्पन'हे'नर्केन्'द्र्यक्षरानग्रान्वेश'द्रक्ष'देन्'व्य'सदद'न्देश'ग्री'क्षु'सूद्र'देवा'ग्पन्य'र्वे' नर्वे अरह्न्य मासुर त्यह र पुराया । "42 हे अरहर । १२१२ वेर. "म् महि (मू नहे) इर से मासुर कु:न्यनाः से:क्यं व्यवः त्र्यः।व्यतः देवे:केनःकुः यदः न्यः न्यः स्वयः देवे:सुः यत्रः देवे:सुः यत्रः देवे:सुः य

³⁷ र्हे. इंटर स्ट्रें हे दे इस सम् क्रेंट की स्वागिर्ध र ४०१

³⁸ र्हे. इंट. राष्ट्रे. वेद. इस. बर्ग क्रेंट. क्री क्री. यंटर

³⁹ र्हे. इंट. राष्ट्रे. वेद. इस. बर्ग क्रेंट. की क्या चरका अपर

⁴¹ र्हे. इट. राष्ट्रे. येषु. येषा अर्थे राष्ट्री स्वी स्वी ग्राचरमा अर्थे राष्ट्री

⁴² र्रें सेर सहे निवे हमा में निका में निवा निवा निवा स्था सहस

म्बिम्भावनुषातुः कुं प्येत्रः कुंत्राः ग्रीभावर्ज्ञिनः ननः नहेत्रः हैं सेटः त्रदार्विद्याः ग्रीः ग्लीदः कुदः नु कुं से स्वस्याः दशक्षेत्रार्खे । इत्या वित्रा केत्र क्षु स्थान न निर्मा सक्ष्य स्थानि स् नक्षात्र्या सेन्या विष्यान्य नमून्ये । अत्यान्य । अत्यान्य । अत्यान्य । अत्यान्य । अत्यान्य । अत्यान्य । अत्यान र्षायदःषः स्रुटः बिटः। यावतःषटः धः स्रे स्ययः ग्रीः स्रेटः (स्रेट्सः) ८८ः स्रे स्ययः ग्रीः र्त्रे व्ययः র্মীবাঝ'রবঝ'নথ,ট্রী'রব'র্ছর'র্'র্'র্রানিবরিম্বানর্ধম্মর্'র্মুর্মঝ'রম'রন্ধ্রীবাঝ'রবি'বালঝ' वार्त्ययः सक्त्यमा सेन् सम् स्वाप्ते क्रियः सम् स्वाप्ते स्वापते स्वाप्ते स्वापते स्वापत नन्द्रभाग्नी अप्रक्षेत्रप्रस्थात्रभाषाम् विदेशास्त्रम् । अप्रक्षेत्रभाग्नि । अस्ति नार्केत्यः क्षेत्रःत्यः अनिर्देन् अन्त्रेत्रः विनानि भूतः त्रदेतः क्षेत्रः केतः देनायः त्यः देन्यः वतः नारः देत्यः नः नार्हेतः विनशः मुश्रः ह्रिर्शः मुश्रः राक्ते विरः द्रान्य मुद्रः मुर्शः या नश्यश्रम् द्रायश्रम् विरः स्विरः स्विरः स्विर ळंऱॱनाशुस्रान्तीः नरःद्रभेगासः नर्भयः निहरः केंनाः यान्तीः निन्नाः धोतः विस्यानसूत्रः वेरः।" ** ?৶<< ૡ૾ૻૼૺૻ૽: "ૠૢૻૢૹ૽ૣૺૻૡૢ૽ૼૺૺૼૼૢૻઌ૽ૺૹૻૺૢ૽ૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૺ૾ઌ૽૽ૺૹઌૹ૽ૼૼૼ૱ૡઌૹ૽૽ૼઌૣ૽૱ૹ૽ૼઌૢૻ૽૱ૹૼઌ૿૽ૹ૽ૹ૽ૺૹ૽ૼ૱૽૽ૼૹ૽ઌ૽૽ૺ नान्द्र'न्न्न्थर्थारात्यास्रहेद्र'स्र प्रवेदिन् ईना नार्थेत्य क्रें 'न्द्र'नार्थेत्य कः (हः) वृत्रासहुना नार 'न्दर्ये नहरः। दे:हेश्यः नार्शेयः हः दरः। निष्यः यत्रश्यः नहरः सळ्सश्यः नरः नाहेश्यः सः न्युनः नश्रुद्धाः "46 विश्वः ५८। " " क्रेन्थापकरानानी गुन्दागहेरागहेग । ५५०१ कथार्ने न्यानागहेश र्वे (र्वे) नावशर्ने न्यान्तरक्रासम्बन्धाना नावश्य । भूर हेरा नावश्य । भ्रु हेरा नावश्य । भूर इ्राय्ययासेन्। पञ्च पञ्च पञ्चित्रासे मान्यास्य सुरा दुः से पादिया से स्वार्य प्राया स्वार्य । स्वार्य स्वार्य स बेश-५८। "मर-५र्थेब-र्रे-अर-अर्दे५-वनम्भ। में भ्रमामिन मिर-र्रेश-व-द्वीरअर-५८। मर-धुमः বক্ষা ট্রির ঝি'ব্রান্ম দ্বি প্র ক্রান্টবা ঐ ঐন্বর্ম নর্মন্বন্দ্র ন্দ্র নাম ক্রিম ন্দ্র নাম ক্রিম ন্দ্র নাম ক্র नार्षेत्र प्रदेश नम्भून त्याप्य नामा रहेना मान्य निष्य हुन सम्भागी स्थान स्थान स्थान स्थान स्थान स्थान स्थान स

⁴³ हैं:देर:संड्रे:मुवे:स्रथ:बर्। र्सूर:ळ। र्स्नि:ब्रर्थ: ८३१

^{44 -} ट्रॅ.इट.सङ्घे.धेद्र.क्ष्य.बर्ग क्रॅ्रेट.ष्ट्रा सूचा.बंटश. ८ जज

⁴⁵ ट्रें.इट.सड्डे.धेटु.इस.बर्ग क्रूंट.क्ष र्जूबा.बंटश. ८०

⁴⁶ ट्रें.इट.स्ट्रें.धेव.इस.बर्ग क्रूंट.क्रा क्या बारमा रूप

⁴⁷ हें.हर.सङ्गे.धयु.इस.घर। क्रेंट.क्ष क्री.चरश. ८१६

⁴⁸ ट्रे.इर.सड्रे.धेद्र.क्ष्य.धर् र्क्षेट्र.क्ष र्जूबी.बर्थ. ८६१

॰ भूद' ठेवा' तृ: क्रुर्थ 'वेट' । ^{१९१} 'बेश' ५८' । १२८१ वें रः "वाबुर' वी' नगाद र्ह्नेद'र्देश' सेनश सहं र'वा वेश नात्रशःर्तिः तत्रः होरः श्रेनाशः धायः श्रेः नार्तिः इना त्रस्यात्रस्य नार्त्यः नार्त्रः नार्वसः नवसः नवसः नार्त्यः होनाः होन्`हेश'यनुष्व'ॡ॔य'पर्ह्येन्'य'अ'बन्।''⁵⁰ हेश'न्म्'। "ने'क्श'श'नग्रश'पविन्'पश्रिश'ग्री'केम्श'स' न्सॅंद्र'निर्फ्ता'न्ना भ्रीन्'र्बेन्'हिथाची'निद्यां हुः हेन् र्खेन्'र्खेनीयाची'ह्र'नशुःन्ना धुवाकी से से से से नाव्याची नशु न न्दान्य स्थान्य सूर्य नशु या है। भ्री न में दारी दि ता व्याप्त से दे हि सानु से दानाव्य । मःश्चेताः ग्रुशः तर्नुनार्ने दः नवेदः नदेः नदः तर्वेदः। "⁵¹ वेशः नदः। "र्नेन् ने सः केदशः नदः त्यः तर्वे नाशः सः ८८। वर्षिटाची अञ्चलका हूटाचेलुयाचिवा स्थया रचा जवा प्रशःख्या खूरा सूर्य अञ्चल याचिरा वाश्वराची भ्रीःक्यार्ट्रः वाल्याः हे.लूट्राह्या । भ्रीट्राच्याः हिट्टावाश्वरः ट्राटा वायश्वरात्त्रं स्वरः हीटा वार्यश्वरः ॱढ़ॖॻऻ.ख़॒ॸ.ॳॾॣ॔ॹॴॱॻॖऀॴॱॱॻॎऀॴः) ॸ॔ॻऻढ़ॱक़ॣॕॳॱॷॕ॔.ॻऻॶॸॱॹॺॣ॒ॳॱॻॖऀॸ॔ॱक़ॹॻऀऄॱऄॣॸॴऻॱॴॺॱक़ॗॳॱॹॺॣ॒ॻऻ. श्रुयः देव र्वे क्वेदे प्यान हे । अप्ये द्वाय व्यव देव त्यान द्वा विक्वेदे प्यान त्या विक्वेदे प्यान त्या विक्वेदे प्यान त्या विक्वेदे प्यान त्या विक्वेद्व प्यान त्या विक्वेद्व प्यान त्या विक्वेद्व प्राप्त विक्वेद्व विक्वेद वि वार्देर-ब्रु-ब्रेट-ळं-व-शेवाश-सदय-देश-ग्री-रेय-शेंदे-त्री-त्रवा-य-सळेंवा-तु-सावश-विद-दुदश-बेद-ळे-व-বতমানর্বাব্রীলাবর্বাবনীচ্বাবন্দেশ অমানুবাবনী বিলারীনীরে ক্রান্ত্রাব্রাব্রাবিল सरः स्थितः भ्रीतः में रामे स्थान स्थितः स्थिति स्थितः स्यतः स्थितः स्यतः स्थितः ॱइतेॱवर्नेवः क्रेंअर्ने विंगापन्तुन् विंन्पारेवा । व्यनः स्टन्नेवा अहं वर्धेसः श्रुसः वयः सेन्यः क्रेंयः वा ૱ૹૢૡ੶૱૽૽ઽૹ૱ૹૹઌૣ૱ૹ૽ૢ૽ૺ૱ૣૢૻૢૢૢૢ૽૽૾ૢ૱ૢ૱ૹઌ૽ૼૺ૽ૡ૽ૼ૾ઌૢૻ૽૱ૹૢ૱ઌ૽૽૱ૹઌ૽૽ૺૡૹૣૡૹ૽ૼૡૡૢ૿ૣ૱ૢૼૺ<u>੶</u> વર્દેન્' ત્રમ્' શુશ્ર ભેન્'| 52 લેશ'ન્ન' ('ઢન' સિંદ્રશ' સું' ફે 'ફ્રાશ્ર ' શું' એન્' સેંન્') કો 'શે' ફ્રાશ્ય ' ॱॹॖॆॱॼॖॕॱज़ढ़ॺॱऄ॔ज़ॺॱॸऒ॔॔ॸॱय़ॺॱढ़ॖॎॸॱय़ॸॱॸॖ॔ॱढ़य़ज़ॺॱय़ॱॸॖ॔ॱॺॺॱऄॗ॔ढ़ॱॸॶॺॱॸॖ॓ऻॱ^{ऽऽ}॔ढ़॓ॺॱॸॸॱऻ॔ॱॱॸॆढ़॓ॱ स्ट हेत्र नाहत दर सदे पुता से 'से 'से दे 'ते निका की 'ते 'ते सुरान दर निका हो।" ⁵⁴ हे सादर । "सूरसर नयः र्रें क्टेंटः सः नृदः। वर्के सः इस्र सः इस्र द्वार नृद्वः सदे दिन् र्क्केंद्वः यसः धीदः विश्वः र्देयः स्रिये ही ह्वा

⁴⁹ र्ट्रे.इर.स्ट्रे.धेद्र.स्थावर् र्क्ट्रे.क् र्स्याचरा स्वाज्यरथा ८६६-८६म

²⁰ ट्रे.इट.सङ्घे.धेषु.क्साबर्ग क्रूंट.को जूबा.बट्या ९४०

²¹ र्रे. इंट. सङ्गे. थेव. क्या क्रेंट. की खूर्या खंटका ९४€

⁵³ र्रे.इंट.सङ्गे.धेद.क्य.बर् श्चेर.क्ष र्जूच.बंटश. ९९१

⁵⁴ र्हें सेर पट्टे पृते स्थापर अर्ग क्षेत्र का र्वेना चर्या अर्ग

ॱॿॣॱळॅ॔ज़ॺॱढ़ॹॖॸॱॸऻॕॖज़ॱॸड़ॖॸॱॸॱॸ॓ॱॸढ़ॏढ़ॱॸॖॱॺॕॸॱॸॎढ़ॱ*ॾ*ॱॺॱड़ॸॱड़॔ॱॺॱॸॺॱॸ॓॔ॱज़ऄ॔ज़ॱऄॗ॔ढ़ॱढ़ऻॕॗ॔ॸॱ <u> </u> ક્સઅ છે. કું તા. ધે. કું અ હતું મ. ક્સઅ જોમાં ક્ષે. તાર્કુ તા. કું. તાકુલ કમ-બું. તમરા તો. તાલુમ કું તે. કું લાવા છું. र्वोर् से 'से ब' हे ' (हे ५') हो ५' से '५६'। वाबद 'धर खु स' ही हो से 'वार से हिंचा स' व क्षुर 'बेट'। रेंबा ૹ૾ૼૡ૽ૺ૽ૢૺઃૹૣૢૢૣઌૢૻઌઌ૽ૻ૾ૢ૾૾ૢઌ૽૽ૣૻઌ૽૽ૡ૽ૺ૱ૹ૽ૺ૾ૹ૾ૢઌૹ૾ઌ૱૱ૹ૾ૄૼઌૹ૽ૼઌૢ૽૽ઌ૽ૺૺઌઌઌ૽૽ૺ૽૾ૺૢ૽ૢૹૣઌઌૡ૱ૡ૽ૢ૱ "नवा धुवा प्रसानु ते क्रिंट र्नु विदान करा कुवा विटानी निरामी स्वरास्त क्रिक्त सुन्त क्रिक्त स्वरास क्रिक्त स्व नने नम वर्श्वेम त्र अवना नाश्वर र्थेन भ्रम्य । ध्राय में नभ्य में न मुं धें में स्वर्ध में अर्थेन मान <u> रसना भे क्सम ग्री देनाम नमूर (मूर) वेंद्र मुक्त सम मुर दिवर दे नावेम काम ग्रीम मूर्</u> यदे में नृ:बुवा अर नर पर्वा माइअशादशासुवा बेद मुक्त महिवा में नृमें निस्ता स्राम्स खेबोबाकी क्रूंबाक्त्राच्या मिबादित त्याचा विष्याचा विष्या विष्या विष्या क्ष्या विष्या विषय विषय विषय विषय विषय *॔*ॸॸऻॱॱॱॸ॓ऀढ़ऀॱॴॸॱढ़ॖऀढ़ॱॻॖॸॱॿॴॱऄॗ॔ॸॱ॓ॾॕॴॱढ़ॕॱॴ॔ऒ॔ॴॱख़ॸॱॴॱॿॖऀॱख़ॖॴॴॻऄॖॱऄॣॕढ़ॱऄ॔ॱॿॸॱॿॖॴॱॸ॔ॸॱॿॼ॓ॴ नरःहेतःर्क्षे । व्राप्तः विदे हे । (हेन्) भ्राप्ता अळव व्यासिन भ्रमा । भ्रमा । मी से अर्केन् से मार्था । स्रमा सराचानभूत्।"⁵⁸ वेसान्दा। "न्देसार्जेनाचिनासळ्नाक्तान्तरासराचारे र्केटायन्सान्दावे। र्श्रे वार्या हेन :श्रुवे :ब्रिंस।" ⁵⁹ बेश :न्दा। "कु :ब्रूनः (1793) वात्रस :ब्रेवे :न्दाः ब्रियः वार्यनः केश :श्लीवर्थः ॅब्रिंग्रथःप्रदे:देरः पर्देर्; विश्वश्वः वर्त्वा श्रॅरः क्षेत्रः वर्त्तिकः पर्वतः वर्तरः। वर्तरः शुन्नाश्वः हेव वर्ते इशःम् अः स्टा वे अर। नगरः भ्राम्भ भ्राम्य विषयान्य विषयान्य विषयान्य विषयान्य विषयान्य विषयान्य विषयान्य विषया श्चै'सर्दुद्दर्-तु'न्याःविकाःधुद्दर्देदेःके।स्रु'सम्बद्धर्देन्देःनार्धिनाःद्दा। रदःनाबदःवर्द्वेवःळनाकाश्चेःवे।हेरः ৳৴ৼ৻ৠয়৸ৣৼ৸৻ৼঀৣৼ৻ড়ৣ৾৻য়ৣ৻য়ৢয়৻ড়য়৸৸৻ৼ৾ৼ৻ড়৾৻ৼ৵৻ড়ৣ৻য়ঀ৾৻ড়৻য়৻ড়৻ৼ৸৻ঀৼ৻ঀ৾৾৽৻য়৸৻ঀড়৻ ક્રદ્મ ' ફેર્નેર્ન ' સુવાયા શું ' દ્વાવ ' સૂંત ' ફ્રેમ્સ ' સુરસા સુરસા ' [™] ફેમ ' રું ' સુવાય સુરસા સુર સુરસા સ ৾ঀ৾৽ঀ৾৽ৼৼ৽৸ৼ৽ঀ৾৽য়৽ঀ৸৽৻ঀ৾৽ৼ৾ঀৼয়ঀয়৽ৼৼ৽য়৽৽য়ৼ৽ঀ৾৽য়ৢ৾৽ড়ৼ৽ড়ৼ৽ড়ৼ৽ড়ৼয়ৢ৽

⁵⁵ ट्रें-देर-सङ्घे.धेव.क्य.बर्ग श्चर.को सूचा.बंटश. गर.९-गर.ग

⁵⁶ ट्रेंस्ट्रस् हे पृते ह्या बर्ग श्रूट्रा की जीना बार गा १३६

⁵⁷ हैं देर राष्ट्रे निवे द्वा वर्ष श्रून का र्विन वर्ष १९०६

⁵⁸ र्हे. इंट. राष्ट्रे हिंदे इस घरा श्चर का र्विना ग्रारम १८१३

२० र्ट्रे.इंट.सङ्घे.धेद्र.इस.बर्ग श्चॅंट.क्षा र्जूचा.चंटस. ६८६

⁶⁰ ट्रे.इंट.सड्रे.धेषु.ध्यावर श्रीताची सूचा.चंटसा ६९०

વાશુસાનવાસેન્-નુ-લક્ષુત્ર-ફેવ ાક્કાનવાલને સુવે નેવાયાયા સેંદાવાબેયા વર્કેન્ડાના છે લેદાસૂન સેંદો *`*इस'ज़॒<स'सद'त। ॷज़ऻऀॸॕढ़ॱॸॕख़ॱऄ॔ढ़ॆॹॖज़ज़ॱॾॗॱॡॕज़ॺॱॸ॓ॱज़ॖढ़ॱज़ॸ॒ड़ॺॱढ़ॹॗॸॱॺॢढ़ॱढ़ऀॸॱऄढ़ॱॸॖॱॸॕॱ अळंरःळे न प्रत्न श्वरा दे श्वरायत प्रति । स्वरायत प्रति । स्वरायत स्वरायत । स्वराय <u>न्वीत्रयारुदामु अन्-नु वित्रवेरात्रा यदात्रस्यादिः वदात्रमु अन्-नु यदाकेदावेरात्र ने पिर्व</u>रा भूनःग्रह्मशःदर्केत्रःसुग्रह्मशःदर्शः न्युनः। ग्रन्दर्शःद्युनःश्चेतःश्चेतःश्चेतःश्चेतःस्याध्यः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः खुन्य क्रिया क्रिया विदान क्रिया के स्वाप्त क्रिया <u> देशह्रवार्वेद-तृष्ट्वीर-वेवाः द्वीद-र्वाचीयानश्चवः वर्षेद-लुयःग्रहः। देर-तृयः वेद-तृःयरवः देयः श्</u>व श्रुव दिर भ्रुव रहेना कुवे प्यव क्रिव दिर । वर्षे द भ्रीत महिर महिरा नहस्र राजित स्थान हिर से वार्षे वार्षे वार्षे हित्राष्ट्रसायत्रव्यात्रमा त्र्युत्या मुःहिः (हेन्) स्रूस्ट्रिवः स्रोदेः मुःसे मत्यावितः यवित्राके राकेन् हिनासहन् र्नेत'नबित'ने'न्या'वीथ'ङे' (ङेन्) श्रु'सर'नवे'क्षुन'र्से'न्न्। सन्यन्नेन:श्रुर'वी'ङव'प्यनेत्रा (प्रयात) <u> न्याद नने वर्ने न कुते न्याय वर्षे क</u>ुन मते के यावश के यावश की का की का के किया के कुन माने के प्राप्त की स् सळंत्रविंरः सुना मृत्र स्वर्वः नरः ग्रुमः सः नरुम। "²² विभः प्रः। "श्रुना रेंत्र व्यहेना हेत्रः न्त्र स्वर्भः ગ્રી:દવા:ફ્રુફ:ત્યા ફ્રાય:ફ્રે:ફ્રિંસ:સ:વાંકેવાય:ફ્રૉ:ક્રે:ફ્રે:સેટી લ્ય:ક્રે:ક્રે:ફ્રૉ:સ્નુ:લુય:દ્વા:ફ્રે:સેટી કેસ:વંદ્ર: न्ते :क्ष्रन्।"⁶³ बेश न्ता १ १ १ ६६। १ २ ६ २ व्य स्य स्तु : स्तु : सर्केना : मते : में द्वारा निकास के स्तु : स्तु : सर्केना : में स्तु : सर्केना : : सर् नकुर्।"⁶⁴ डेश.र्रर। ११०८ क्र्र. सदीःश्लेनशः केर्न्रिं।वुरादः श्लेरावाक्रं स्थाः क्रिंवायायाया ग्रथर भे मुँद बिरा हरे र्रे अर्दे अपर्वे यात्रा यथा कर्त भुर्ते हस्य यात्र अर्थे र मुँद खेर हिरा थू ૾ૡૼૼૼૼૼૼૹ੶ૡૢ૽ૹૐૼૼૼૼૹૢૻ૽૱ૹૼ૽૽ૹ૽૽૽૽ૹ૽૽ૺૹ૽૽૱ૹ૱૱૱૱૱૱ૺૡૼૺૹ૽૽૱૱૱૱૱૱૱ૺૡૼૺૺૺૺૼઌૺઌ૽૽૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱ૺૡૼૺૺૼૺૼઌ૽૽૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱ दशःसर्वे खुशःग्रे मुद्राळः नठशः त्तुः पशः नरः दुर्वे त्यः विरः । मरः र्वे :त्तुः गविशः दरः । सदयः मुत्राः हे : (हेर्) ब्रु'बे'त्रेर्'राज्ञंब'व्यवा बुवाबा (बुवा) र्राक्र्याबा (ब्रुवा) रेवाबादे'र्वे'तृत्वर्रा व्रु'वाह्य ब्रदःवीशःसर्क्षेत्रः पूर्वेत्रः ब्राह्मदः समायनः सर्वेदः विदः। " विशः दृदः। "यमः पर्वेदः पेशः पेदः पदिनः। गान्यान्यत्रम्ययाद्विपादेवाची मान्यान्येन। कुषाये विषायाची मायावी मायावी मायावी का के स्मार्था हि

eı ट्रे.ट्रट.सड्डे.ध्ट्र.इस्य.बर्ग श्चॅर.क्ष र्जूबा.बंटश. ६९७

⁶² र्ट्रे. इ. र. राष्ट्रे. पृते स्वाप्तर्भा श्चर्या श्चर्या मृत्या स्वाप्ता १०१४ -१०१४

⁶³ र्रे.इट.सड्टे.धेटु.क्स.बर्ग श्चॅर.क्षा सूचा.चंटश. १०२१

⁶⁴ र्रे.इट.सड्टे.धेटु.क्स.बर्ग श्चॅर.क्ष र्जुचा.चंट्य. ४०८७

⁶⁵ ट्रेंस्ट.सङ्घे.धेद.क्ष्मात्रम्। श्चर्यः क्ष्मिःचारमः १४५१

र्शक्ति संस्वायान्त्रे स्वायान्त्र स्वायान्त्य स्वायान्य स्वायाच्याच्यान्त्र स्वायान्त्र स्वायान्त्र स्वायान्त्र स्वायान्त्र स्वायान्त्र

ર્ફે : ત્રેર : ત્રું કે મા વર્ષ : ત્રું : ત્રેર : ત્રું કે મા વર્ષ : ત્રું કે મા વર્ષ

⁶⁶ र्ट्रे.इंट्र.सङ्घे.धेद्र.स्थ.सर् श्चर.क्ष र्जूबा.बंट्य. १४८ ग-१४८१

⁶⁷ र्रे. रेर पट्टे निवे दस्य पर । अर् का र्सेन ग्रास्य १३४३-१३४०

प्टीय १६१८ (३) यूर्र क्रिंप्श क्री. क्र्यां अप्याय्य स्थापिरा प्रेयां यार्थः ८८-९३ १. सुराराष्ट्रे पेषुः क्षात्रस्य स्थान्त्रा क्री. क्षित्रक्षा स्थाप्य स्थाप्य स्थापिरा प्रेयां स्थापि स्थापिया १८८ क्रिंप्स विष्य स्थापिता स्यापिता स्थापिता स्

स्वायः क्र्यां वावरः श्रावयः व्हारः क्षेत्वः वावरः यः यथः हें देरः यहे क्षेत्रः व्हारः व्हार्यः वावरः वावरः

र्हे 'देर-पट्टे प्रते क्रम वर वर द्वी कें १ १ ४ १५ कें र प्राप्त वर्ष शुम्र शुम्र है कें ख़ाय वेनम भ्रानम रुदरःसःग्रामसः भूनसः भ्रुःवनसः सुद्धःरनः यः मृद्धः दहेदः रचमा नससः समासः दसः में नः नवेसः . श्रूरकान्दरविषाः श्रूरकान्दर्शेषाः क्रेवर्गे ने वहते वात्ररः श्रूरका वादाधितः का वादका। श्लाविष्ठाः सुत्र-रनःपःनश्रृतःवहेंतः र्नमाःनश्रशःयमाशःग्रीःसुमाःरेनःत्रः। श्रृतःरमाःयःवह्माःस्वाःकेमाःस्त्रः देवापते क्वेप्त्रेप्त्र क्वेप्त्र प्रत्या क्वेप्त्र विद्या क्षेप्र क्वेप्त क्वेप्त क्वेप्त क्वेप्त क्षेप्त क्वेप ढ़ुवे:नश्रृद:नर्डेश| <u>हे</u>:नर्डुद:से:यवे:सन्।र:वनुस:सेंन्यशःशुर:वर्ड्ेद:स्रूरस:नामवःसन्।र्केट्:नर्गेट्र: नाबर वर्तन विवास स्ति । विवास स "र्हे 'देर' सङ्गे 'ह 'तश्रुद 'यहेंद 'द्राया यहेंहर' त्या वार्या ही या क्षुत्र केंद्र 'द्रावेंद्र या यहें र ત્રલે અઃ ગ્રીઅઃ તેંદ્ર-વાદઅઃ ૭૩٠ હૂઁદ્રઅઃ ગ્રીઃ ક્રાવ્યઃ અઃસુઃ અઃ તુઃ ૱દઃ અઃ દ્રદઃ સ્ટ્રેંદ્રઃ વાલઅઃ વાફે અઃ ગ્રીઃ ક્રાું ક્રવઃ દે निवदेशें मासराम्थरात्। (त्) निर्दासा वेश हे कें सामे दिया से प्राप्त के माहमान करा करा निर्माण करा निर्माण करा यन्त्र । र्हे :रेट :पङ्के :पृषे :बिय वाशुट : "रेट :न् अ र्वे - 'न् : अटव :रे अ : श्रु :श्रुव :रे वा कुवे :प्यव क्रेत्र-१८। वर्षेत्रभ्रेत्र-महेश्यानहरूषशात्रश्यान्त्रित्रश्चेत्राः सर्वे व्याप्तिन् भ्रोः क्रुत्र वहान्यायाः होन्कॅ'ते'कॅ'क्पम्राक्षिन्।" वेशमादेः "नेन्न्तुश्र" ते. १४८३-१९०८ नम्पार्मे,न्कॅ्शमा <u> २ त्यू अः ञ्चीताः त्रासः नृतुः अञ्चा भित्राः स्वर्धः स्वरं स्वर्धः स्वरं स</u> यर्हिट्सुअःधेद्र'सद्द्रस्य यहेद्र'स याद्रद्रद्र्येश

. सुद:रव:स:वश्रूद:प्रदेद:र्पया:प्रथा ग्रीशः र्हे:रेट:पङ्के:ह:पश्रूद:प्रदेद:र्पया:पर्हेर्ट्र;श्लू यानेवायाळं रात्रयाळे राधे कें. ४०० इंग्रार्थे रात्रवरा रात्राची वार्ये वार्ये वार्ये वार्ये वार्ये वार्ये वार्ये र्नाः, विवायने प्रतायक्ष्य प्रति हेन प्रति । वेरानि प्रति प्राप्ति । स्ति प्रति प्रति प्रति प्रति । स्ति प्रति ર્વે[અચ'વૃત્તિયાયઅ'શુવૃત્ત્રાચ'ત્રद':એ'ઍેન્'સ્રૂઅ'વ'ન્દ! નેચ'ગ્રુદ'એ'ಹેન્- "ન્ય'ને'ત્રઅ'વર્રાનુદ'ત્રદ'અ' <u> ५८. र्बू. ८. त्या प्रतिक क्षेत्र की प्रतिक क्षेत्र की प्रतिक क्षेत्र की प्रतिक की प्</u> मानासवाचन प्रत्यां भीता विद्यास्त्र क्षा स्वाप्त स्वाप् *दर्पावस्थात्वः स्थार्थे स्थार* विवाद्यान्यः स्थान्यः स्थान्यः स्थान्यः स्थान्यः स्थान्यः स्थान्यः स्थान्यः स्थान नर्हिन्यात्मा नेरानी प्रिन्त क्षेत्र सम्बद्ध रास्त्र देश क्षेत्र देश ने स्वाप्त का स्वाप्त का स्वाप्त का स्वाप . कें. < क्रेंस.क्र.स. ४६ म. क्य.स्यय. ४ श्चम.यंत्रांत्री. ४ श्रेंचाय.तवस.यं.स.स.स. क्रेंस.वावय.स. ·हेरटः रेन् र्जूलः बैटः शुरी रेवेशः वाद्रः वीः श्चैनः वद्धः दवाः चेशः सूर्यः साविशः याः कुः रेटः। रेशलः हेर्यः र्भाः मुन्तरुर्भाष्यम् १६५६ मेन्द्रित्यस्य न्द्रम् स्थित्यस्य नुद्रम् सूर्यः वद्यस्त्रम् न्द्रम् स्थितः १६५६ र्वेन्:कुथ:अ:ब्रु:अदे:हिय:विकेन्:सुर:५२:हित:ऍन्:संवेवा:फेदर्: "ब्रुवा:सर:५तुअ:वार्डः:हिय:५:५े: नशःग्रहः द्रनः व्रिनः क्रेदः र्वे: चृहः नदः" विश्वः सः श्रीषाश्चान्यः क्रियाश्चान्यः युवाशः व्यवदः नविश्वः से दर्वीशः सदे दिया हिं न हरास्या ही नगाय हिया सराही यही यहा सामाहर हो सामुहा में हिरामाश्रय हिंसा <u>त्रज्ञेवाःक्षेत्रवाताःवित्रवातीतःक्षेत्रक्षेत्रवात्तात्त्रवातात्त्राच्यात्त्रवातात्त्रवात्त्रवात्त्रवात्त्रा</u> ग्रे:म्यु नावशः र्रेयः न्युरशःग्रे:व्यें क्रुशः केवः सेवेः दरः सः न्याः क्रुवः व्युस्रशः न्रः। ग्रः क्रेंस। क्वेंसः चन्नि सर्देर-व-वानुस-व-विरुध-व ন:এইয়া

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योह्न्याश्चित्रं विश्वः स्वार्यः स्वारं स्वार्यः स्वारं स्वरं स्वरं

त्र के क्षान्त्र क्षित्र क्षित्र क्षित्र क्षित्र क्षित्र क्ष्य क्षित्र क्षित्

पत्तुर पर्से र स्रेन्य भूवर ग्रीय र्से र न पर्से र केद क्रुय सळद न ठया न व पर्छे य ग्री र नो सळद सर्दे द सर विनया सदु.ह्र्या.ह्र्याश्चरायदीशातात्वर्षशायारायर्चशायाराय्वेशायार्वेशायाराय्वेशायाराय्वेशायाराय्वेशायाराय्वेशायाराय्वेशायाराय्वेशायाराय्वेशायाराय्वेशायाराय्वेशायाराय्वेशायाराय्वेशायाराय्वेशायार्वेशायाय्वेशायाराय्वेशाय्वेशाय्वेशाय्वेशाय्वेशायाय्वेशायाय्वेशायाय्वेशाय्वेशायाय्वेशायाय्वेशायाय वज्ञवानाओन्। पराहेशासु पत्रुत्वसा गुनानु देवा विनायर गुराहेगा हेशान्या। १९०५ विनायह पादी । हि दैर पट्टे में हैं है पकर के देवि द्वा श्रूर द्वा अपन्दें अकर हैं है दे पद्देर व लेश हु न वल्या श्री।" लेश ५८१ वहेना हेत्र स्वावहीर मन्त्रुस में म्बन्य मी स्वावस्य हैं हेवे वहेर वहेर वहेस मान वा सूर्य की स्वावस मी श्चरायानत्वायारान्दा। वेदान्नी नहार्थेदाश्चारेवाची नश्चवावर्ष्ठयाश्चयाञ्च । हवायानी वहवायाचाहिया क्षे:हारवोवायेवायायम् प्रत्याक्षाः हिनादेवा स्त्राप्त स्त्र स्त्राप्त स्त्राप्त स्त्राप्त स्त्र स्त ॱॱॱॺॖॖॖॖॖॖॖॱॱऄॣॕॸॱॸॖज़ढ़ॱज़ढ़ऀॱज़ढ़ऀॱॸऀज़ॴॱॶऀॱॹॳॺॱज़ऒ॔ॸॱढ़ॺॳॱज़ॺॢढ़ॱढ़ॾॆढ़ॱॸॖज़ॺॱढ़ऄॗ॔ॾॱक़॓ॱॸऀॸॱॸॖॱ वर्त्र-, ततुः क्रूश्वां अत् र्श्वेश्वाः (श्रूशः) वश्वाः नेशः र्वाः वर्त्तेवः विदशः नवाः विवाः द्वशः व्याः वर्षे वर नदुःद्रानाः खूरः ऋषः भूनमः स्नः चुरः नदुः नद्वे सदे दरः नीः स्नः ह्युं मः देमः खूनमः छेः हः (1810) वरः ऋषः ह्वरः दर्भरः . તાલું ભારા દે. જ્ઞાવત તાલું . તર્ને . તાલું . જે . તાલું . લે . તાલું જે . તાલું . તાલું . તાલું . તાલું . ત नन्ना उना नी क्रेंब प्रथानने ब निवेद केंबा पर्विर निर्मेर निवेद निवास केंद्र है वा का सरान ही था सार देश हार नश्रुत्र पर्चे 'बसरा उद् 'वा प्रतः नदे 'बद् 'से 'वेश पर्दे 'द्वाद 'सूर्व 'वा रेवा 'यर 'शुरु 'वेवा' े वेश पा से वाश हैं 'देर' मंड्रे ५ न अर्भ न अर्थ न अर्थ न देव न न वा वर्धे के के के के कि वा का के कि का का कि वाबलस्यरूप्तेन्त्रीःवास्त्रभ्याकार्यः क्रुवाकार्यः क्रुवाकार्यक्षेत्रका स्वाःकृत्रत्यः क्रुवादेनः ३३ स्वाःकृतः क्रुवा कृं क्व दश क्वें न्या नक्केन्य। नेंद्र क्वें द्वे सहेंद्र निरा इस्सारा ना १०१३ सेंना नर्या ५०

कु'द्रवा'चकुर'र्नेर'र्-र-र-पंथेद'र्क्कर् दे रे चलेद'री'सर'र्-र-धेरःभरः। द्रवःकवार्थेवश्यश्रर्भयार्थेः नाबद र्ह्मेट र्ह्मेय सेटी कें सूर्य टियर अ. २४ . स. टट किया ह्या कुथ तुर्य तीया त्यांत्र सीट मी सिया अक्य सी सीय दरा श्रेरश्नराम्केशःमुःग्नरदरा दरःसदेःस्यःकःयदेःदरः (गञ्जेरः) विक्वःसरःसःस्या सक्रुचाः श्ले. इंटर-रेचे. स. क्ट्र अ. रेचेट्श में . अक्ट्रूपुः श्ले. ई. ही ट. रेटर जूचे . हां . वंदर विट. चीड़े अ. रेचर. त्यायानः हे केर सेंटानः ने भूनसाय मुखानवे सहन् ना सबर र्सेंटा यात्रहा के तसावीया सर्वे वा स्वर्धे त्यना'त्रश्र'चर-'द्रनाद'न'नोवेनाश'हे'®कुव'सर्केना'र्र्स'हेर्-'द्रस्ननाद'श्रेना'नीश'द्रवुश'श्लु'दर्वेर्-'त्रस्थ ૡઌૺ.ૡૺઙૢઌૺ૾ૢૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼ૾ૹ૾ૺઌૹ૽૽૾ૺઌૹૹૺ૱ૢ૿ૼૼૼૼૼૹ૾ૢૺૺૺ૾ઌ૿૽ૺઌૹ૽૽ૢૼઌ૱ૢઌ૱ઌ૽ૡૹઌૢ૽ઌૡૡૹ सवै:श्रेरः र्वेनाश्वःसवै:नत्नर्श्वेयः प्यरः प्येर्नः याः वेशः नरः। "प्यरः नर्हेनः द्ध्यः नावनः नविनायः नरः स.चु.र्कर.श्रटस.प्रुम.रेट.। य.रेवोश.ब्रुवोश.येश.रेर.यदु.वोषश.ट्रे.क.वि.क्रुदु.श्रेर.रेंदु.स्नैर.रें.येळे. म् विमानासुमासुमासुमानास्य (कवायोगः) वरस्यावेभारावेभारासेन्यस्य व। ययः केरः मुःगरः ५८: अः त्रवा प्रदीयः नदेः कः दशः क्षेद्रः दशः श्रुअः यः दी। तुशः रवशः नत्द्रः यदेः दरः ર્ફેક્ મત્રે ક્રુ નમ છે. શ્રેંગ નર્ધેક રું કે માં શ્રેવસા (રું કૂર્ા શ્રેવસા) નને નશ્રેક ગ્રુંગ લેચ છુ. નમાં સૂત્રે ક્રમ न्नरमा ३५ वर्षिन् मदे त्रान्य न्या केया महत्य स्थित हो निष्य प्रतिन स्थान स्थान स्थान स्थान स्थान स्थान स्थान क्कॅन|अ:दर:5्दर:दर:अ:५२:र्श्वेय:केद:र्रे:ऑ५:५५्न||क्कु:नर:५२:क्वु:ने:व्य||झ:ठ्व:५दुर:नद्ररअनेन: न्त्रेम । न्स्य स्प्रेट ह्यू सर्हेन्स सहेन (६५) या । इ.चु महेमायस से पन्म । में न सुवा महेन मी हे ही निधिर्यायपुरविर्यातीयात्राचादुवा विद्वायात्राक्त्यात्राक्त्यात्राच्यात्रात्रा विद्यास्यावीवायाः क्रिया सर-मुःवार-वर्ग-दर-वेर-व-वर्नेद-वः स्रोद-दश्य-सूत्रम् व्यः सः मूर्व-हिर-हिर-हिवः मुः स्वः द्वार-वर-*વહુ*.ૠૣૼૹૹૺ૱ૹૹૹ૽૽ૢૼઌ.ઌૹ.ઐૼ૱ૡૡૢઌૹ.ૡૣઌ૽ૣૣઌ૽૽ઌ૽ૡૢઌ૱ૡ૽ૢ૽૱ૡઌૢ૱ૹૢ૽ૢ૽૾ૢૡ૽૽૱ૹ૽૽ૢ૽૱ૺૹ૽ૼઌૺૹૢ૽૽૽૱૱૱૱૱૱ ~ मूर्य र.भ.के.स.कुर्य.सुदुःश्च-रेश.शे.कुं.शुर-अरशः क्रिशः क्वीं.शक्ष्यः श्वेशः सदुः सत्ताः रेयः श्वेसः श्वेताः लूरी શ્ચુેન સૂના ને અર્તે રાત્રા જ્ઞેરાવાનરા કે કોર્નોર્વેસ જ્ઞેરાવા લદ્દના અજ્ઞેરાવા સ્વાચાયા એ કાર્યાનો પ્રદ્યર શ્ચેન न्मा महेत्रः भ्रीमामी हेत्र प्रचेता मर्थेताः र्हेता विभामसम्पर्मातमामिकामसम्पर्माचेमसाप्रचीताः क्तु:अर्क्केश:ग्राम:र्श्वेद:विय:वश:र्रेय:र्थे:अविश्वःप:ग्:वे:५८८। ग्:वेंदे:तु:नग्र:वेश:दम:क्रे:नह्रव:र्थेग्वशः नर्भूर-दिन्त्वामश्यादर-हेश-र्रेव-ब्रेंद्र-भ्रु-वार्टर्य-भ्रूनश-वश्रुद्र-पदे-खुश-ग्रु-इस-दिगुर-क्रेर-वार्डवा-दु न-५८-५ ने यान्य में यान्य मित्र तु सर्वे मार्थे भूरि मात्र कें दे मान्य । दुश भ्रेश स्वाद्वर स्वाय ष्राप्तरात्ताः स्ट्रां देशः मेलः दरः चित्रराष्ट्रीयः स्ट्रायः स्ट्रायः स्ट्रायः स्ट्रायः स्ट्रायः स्ट्रायः स्ट

શુ. ત્રુવાયા શ્રૈ. ક્લા. લુવા તર્દયા વિદાય પ્રતાવેદ્વ. તાલુ તાલે પ્રાપ્ત ક્લા. ત્રુવા ત્રાદયા. ઋ ૐ ∽ જ પ્રથમ ત્રુદ્ધ ત્રુધા ત્રુદ્ધ ત્રુધા ત્રુદ્ધ ત્રુધા ત્રુદ્ધ ત્રુધા ત્રુદ્ધ ત્રુધા ત્રુદ્ધ ત્રુધા ત્રુ

त्योवा Cyclostyle श्रैशःश्चर्सूयोः यहार १०
इंद्र-यावशः प्रयोः विष्यः श्वेर्यः स्ट्रियः यहार प्रवास्त्र विष्यः विषयः विष्यः विषयः विषयः विषयः विष्यः विषयः विष्यः विषयः विषयः

१९+७० यटका.जवट.चीड्रच्या.वक्षा क्रि.संट.क्रिय.जवा श्राप्त.पेट.चय.टेट.क्र.ह्र्या Cholosiale श्रीय.श्रेय.स्या.चेट्य. श्रीट.चेट.क्षांच्या क्र.चध्य.क्ष्या.वक्षा च्री.संट.क्रिय.च्रीया (पड्या.) क्षांच्या ज्याया.श्रीय.ध्या.च्रीया.च्रीय.च्री

यल्यामाञ्चर्यं स्ट्रिक्तं क्ष्यां स्ट्रिक्तं मार्था देश द्वर्य स्त्रुत्वा १९९३ स्वा वारमः ८१ यल्यामा स्ट्रिक्त स्त्रुत्वा सुत्रुत्वा स्त्रुत्वा स्त्

⁷² वृट्-ग्रि:ब्रुंश:बट-श्रु:इत्य:हॅ-श्रुंट-श्रुंट-वर्ष्ट्रश| र्वृवा:बट्श: १५-१६

चन्नश्च स्वास्ताना विश्व स्वास्ता स्वास्त्र स्वास्त्र

মার্ম্বি, বালমার্মা বার্মারা স্থাবার্মারা Tibetan Classical Music & Notation, NANGMA TOESHEY & GHARLU, Vol. 2, (Dranyen Played by: Mr. Gonpo Dorjee, Musical Notation Transcribed by: Mr. Sonam Paljor & Mr. Gonpo Dorjee, Notation Checked by: Mr. Gonpo Dorjee & Mr. Losang Samten, Sang by: Mrs. Chime Youdon, Mrs. Tsultrim Dolma, Lyrics Checked by: Ven. Lobsang Gyatso la, Cover Designed by: Mr. Rabkar Wangchuk, Layout & Typesetting: Ms. Tsering Choedon) Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts, Dharamshala, 2002 প্রান্থ र्ने ५ मु । त्र अप के प्राप्त कर के कि प्र लूर.चूर.चर्षिर.ड्रिंश.चर.वश.रंशर.सेंब.र्षेश क्या.चरश. ७४१ चर्षेचेश क्या.चरश. ७-७५ वर.स.ह्रेर. नावशः में भूर। अवशः न्वरः न्वे तन्त्र प्रवेषः कुशः वन्यश्यम् भूषः वहस्य। र्वेषः वहस्यः १६ – ३१ क्षुः हवः नर्भेगमा र्जेग म्हारा ३१-३५ भ्रासून र्भेन। न्याधा हाना नवर में मार्चे ना नवर में मार्चे ना नवर ना नवसा निवास न ন্ত্রীঝা ৭০११ ঐন্স্রেম্বর্মনার বিশেষ্ট্রাস্করার স্থানার বিশ্বরাধি বিশ্বরাধি বিশ্বরাধি বিশ্বরাধি বিশ্বরাধি বিশ্বরাধি नाहत्र वान्य त्र नाव्य त्या विष्ट विष्ट्र विष्ट कार्य क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र विष्ट ราสูราสูารุสาราสิการาสิการาสิการาสิการาสิการาสิการาสิการาสิการาสิการาสิการาสิการาสิการาสิการาสิการาสิการาสิการ Editor: Tian Liantao, Xizang Rinmin Chuban She, 1997 ব্রিমানাই র্নিশ্রাহর্ম ২ - গ্রেমান রিকাল पाल्का केंग ३ ६ केंग ग्रह्मा १६६-१२६ वर अदे पाल्का केंग १२ पार्का Xizang Minjian Yingue. 1) Langma (1-37) 2) Duixie 3) Jiangzi Guoxie 4) Jiangzi Guoxie 5) Jiangzi Laxie 6) Jiangzi Laodong Haozi, Xizang Zizhi Qu Gewu Tuan Ziliao Shi, December, 1979. (র্নির্'র্মুন্ম'ন্মন্ম' हिंद-र्रेय-दब्दर्या १ दर:या १ र्स्नेद-वालया ५ मृय-हेरे-स्नेर-वालया 🗢 मृय-हेरे-कर-वालया (पहुनाय: नान्य।) ५ क्रुयः हेदेः यः नान्य। ६ क्रुयः हेदेः दयः हेतः यगः नान्य। वेदः रहः क्रूरः वेदः यः नार्यः हेदं नायः सदुःश्रीवाःक्वार्थाः १८७६ वृदुः ह्याः १२) स्वाःबारशः १-३ वरः बरः खदः खदः वावशः क्वेवाः नरः सुदुः क्वे Zhongguo yinye yanjiu suo bian [Chinese Music Studies Department], ed.: Xizang minjian gewu - duixie [Tibetan folk songs and dances- töshe] (Beijing, 1959, 2/1980); Zhongguo yinye yanjiu suo bian [Chinese Music Studies Department], ed.: Mizang gudian geu' – nangma [Tibetan ancient dances and song - nangma] (Beijing, 1960, 2/1980).

ब्रोग्रथःनसःन्दःर्ये। र्वेनाःधेनः ३६५ नत्ग्रथ।⁷⁴ वेशःसःन्दः। बःर्नेनःग्रीःनसःनेःदगःन्नदःर्ह्यः नबरःकुःसर्ढेदेःदर्नेःश्वरःदिष्ठयःनदेःर्रेयःहेन्र्हेन्यायःन्हेन्ग्ग्रेःह्वयःनुःनर्गेन्यन्नुःयुःवदेःर्वेयः नबरायशाञ्चेनाश्वानसानिकाम। विवाधेना १४० नव्याश। वेशासान्या। बार्नेराग्रीनदानेपना <u>ઽ૱૮૾ૹૣૼૼૼૼૼ૱૱૮૾ૹૢ૾ૹૡ૾ૻૼૡ૽ૺૡ૽૽ૺૢૹૣઌૡૡ૿ઌૻ૱ૡ૽ૺૠૼઌૡ૽૽ૺ૱ૢ૽ૢૼઌૢૹઌઌ૽ૼ૾ૼઌૹ૽ઌૡ૽ૼૡઌ૽૽ૺઌૡ૽ઌ</u> र्मेश्वास्त्रस्य स्त्रीम्थानस्य मुसुसाम। स्विमाय्येनः १०८ मह्मास्य। हेश्वास्त्रीः १८८१ मेन् ह्म ६ केंग ६ नर ग्री रूर हम। शे शेर भर्ग मुग हुन महें मार्क महें राये। देव उद हा नये हा सा ৼવા.રેવર:য়ৣ.ঀৢৢৢৢৼৼঀৣয়ড়ৣঀৢ৻য়৾ঽ৾য়ৣৼয়ৣঢ়৻য়য়ৼ৻ঽ৾৻ঀৗ৾৻য়ঢ়ৢ৻য়ৄয়৻ঀৢৢয়ৼ৻য়য়৻য়ৢয়ঀয়৻ঀয়৻ঀঀ৾য়য় सदे:दर्बेश:नवे:स:नव्याया रा र्वेगाव्येन: ३६० नव्याया⁷⁵ वेश:स:५८:। ब्रे.ब्रेट्:सरस: कुषाकुः अर्द्धे षा सर्द्द्र प्रवे। देव उठव स्वायवे द्वाया प्रवादित्व द्वाया प्रवादित हो स्वया स्वया प्रवादित स्वया बर-र्-गृ यिते में अपनार या मोना अपना स्वीत्र विष्य स्वीत नव्नामा वेम नर्मा मे भे भे न्या स्मान्य मुर्ग में सर्वे मा सहन मही देव उत्र स्मान से सार्या न्या न ૽ૣૢૼ[੶]ਜ਼ਫ਼ਜ਼੶ਜ਼ૢ੶ਸ਼ਫ਼૾ૺૼૡ૽૾ૢਫ਼੶ਫ਼ੑਸ਼੶ਖ਼ੑਜ਼ਖ਼ੑਖ਼੶ਸ਼ਜ਼੶ਜ਼ੑ੶ਗ਼ੵੑ੶ਜ਼ਫ਼੶ਜ਼ੑਖ਼੶ਜ਼ੑਜ਼ਖ਼੶ਜ਼ੑਸ਼ਜ਼ਖ਼੶ਜ਼ਖ਼੶ਜ਼ੵਜ਼ਖ਼੶ਜ਼ਫ਼ੑਖ਼੶ਜ਼ੑੑਗ਼੶ संचल्याका का र्वेपार्थेनः ३४३ चल्याका लेकासन्दर्भ सद्दर्गरः दहेवःसन्दरः क्षेपायारः ૻૼૡ੶**ૄ**੶૱ૹૄૼ૱ૠૢૼ૱ૠૢઌ૽૽ૼૡ૽ૺૡૢ૽ઌૡૹઽ૽૱ૢૢઌ૽૽૱૱ૡ૽ૼ૱ઌૡ૽ૺ૾ઌૢઌ૱૱૱ૡ૽૽૱૱ૢૺૺૺૺૺઌ૽૱ૺઌ૽૽ૺ૱ ग्री:ग्रांदाद्याय:प्रत्याय:र्या । श्रे:श्रेद:स्रद्य:कुर्य:कुर्य:केंस्य: १६६६ वॅद:सहंद। वेवा:श्रेव: ११० नत्वारु।⁷⁶ वेस्यःपः प्राप्तः वस्यः उप्याद्येतः पः त्वार्यः स्त्राः स्त्र नर्वेचे अःश्री जिम्चेजानः क्रन्यः नेवेटशः में अक्ष्यः १८८३ सूनः सै.नर्षं स्थानं स्थान्ते स्थान्ते स्थान्ते स्थान ᡏᢅᠲ᠆᠒᠗ᡷᠬ᠀ᠴᠽᠨᡍᡃᡪᢩᠬᡎᠵᠱ᠋᠇ᢒᢠᢅ᠇ᡆᢩᡖ᠆ᡃ᠍ᡃᡚᡃᢩᢡᢙ᠄ᢋᢍᡃ᠍᠍᠍ᠴ᠊᠊ᠬᡅᠳ᠗ᢩᢤ᠂ᢩᠫᡩ᠆ᠬᠵᡧ᠇ᢩᡖᢂ᠂ᢩᡖ᠂ᢂᢅᢅᡓᢂ सहर्-ता र्जेनाः स्७० नत्नाया। वियासार्-ता वस्याः विराधः साम्रीतः स्वाः निवाः स्वाः निवाः स्वाः निवाः स्वाः निवा ॱॻॖऀॱॾॣॖॱॸ<u>ॣॖ</u>ॻॖड़ॺॱढ़॓ॺॱॻॖॱॸॱॸढ़ॖॻॺॱऒ॔ऻॎढ़ॎॸऒ॔ॻॱॴॎॱॴॻऻॶढ़॓ॱय़ढ़ॱॸॸ॓ॱक़ॗॱॺळॕढ़॓ॱॺॗॆॸॱॻ॓ॱॷॻढ़॓ॱ नडुंद'रा'अ'रे'ख़न्य'रोद'अहे दे'दें'शे'न्द्र'रम्'न्नर'ख़ुद'मुन'न्र'कुर्यासम् श्रदःयाववःसः বর্ত্তর হবা ব্রহাই ইমা १ ୬ ५ ১ র্মি হরস্কমমানর পদ্মি হর্ম ব্রহমানু মর্ক্তীর বামান

⁷⁴ द्राताः धृतः दज्ञाराश्चरः राज्ञारः श्वरः श्वर

⁷⁶ स्रि.ब्र्.च.श्रमः विमः मितः स्वायः स्व

यवीचार्यः वीच्याः क्षेत्रच्यः क्षेत्रच्यः स्वात् स

मिलकूश. १९६७ सूर.शहरी क्ष जूचा चेट्या पश्चा रामशली मिलकूश. १९६७ सूर.शहरी क्ष जूचा चेट्या पश्चिमा यामशली मिलकूर प्रमुं स्वर्म मुन्न स्वर्म मुन्न स्वर्म मुन्न स्वर्म स्वरम स्वर्म स्वरम स्वर्म स्वर्म स्वरम स्

⁷⁸ नगृतःर्ह्मेद्र'नग्रथःसर्वेदःत्रश्चुर्रःसेद्रक्तुःसर्वेदःन्र्ह्मेथः (1890–1938) १९१४-१९३५ नरःसेःद्रोदेनोरःश्चरःभेदःनर्मेथः

⁷⁹ वत्यः क्रेसः १ २०१-१ २०५ वसः ग्रीः व्यवसः प्रते द्वारा वसः स्या

⁸⁰ র্ন-র্টুন্ম-য়-ন্মন্ম-ন্ন-মুব-দিন-। १৫৫০

त्यान्यान्यान्याः विचाः विचाः

क्री. मुंच्यां स्वायां विकास क्षेत्र स्वायां स्वायां

र्टा विटार्ट्स मुन्न स्क्रेंश (1653–1705) नग्नश्यस्य शास्त्र स्वास्त्र स्वा

⁸¹ द्रनु:सेन्'न्ने' द्ध्या हो स ह्रेन्स्प्या होन ३ ८ व ६

⁸⁵ अक्ट्रन् क्रीवर्ष व्यास्त्राच्या क्रिया क्रिया

यार ग्री इस्क्रिया इसका १६११ मिना यात्र वस्ति स्वामका मनर स्वर्भ र्से वा निर्मे प्रमान र्भाना यहाँ अपने के कि स्त्रीत नर्भूर-पशुर्या नर-रनुरा-पाउंट-रु-नती श्रुट-सर्दे-विस्थ-श्रुट-रुप-र्सेन्थ-ग्री-के-रुप्-पार्यस शुःनब्रह्मनः इसमः कुराविनः केन्द्रासेदेः भेष्टे निनेदेः वर्षेत्रः नासकेना वीप्तवादः भेन्द्रात्वा विवासः निन्न यथ। दे:बृद:बे:र्नेन:कुर:देर:यरः। ।तुर:न:ब्रेद:ग्री:र्वेनश:नविद:दर्। विश:५८ः। कर:५८:हुः र्<u>च</u>.भि.कक्क्र्य.त्यच्या । भ्रि.टेट.मुच.य.कापमात्मात्म्यत्वे । भ्रुम.टेट.भ्रे.च्य.भ्रे.च्य.म्य.स् कुरं.ग्री.ब्र्-र-रेटा अवयःप्रमायायुःभ्री.ब्र्.रच्या (टटा) ट्यांसीयोयाज्ञीयाञ्चियोयाञ्चेरयाशी.वर्रे.या.क्र्या 'ફેન'નલેવ.તા ક્ર્રેન્સ્વાકેજજ્ઞજ્ઞ. ગ્રુંજ્ય. શ્રુંચા.તપુ. લેજ્ય. ગ્રું. વેજા.તમ. તર્જીમ. વ. તરી ચેરી સવાજાના *ચે*. म । श्रुवमार्यसेटार्भ्रम्भायमा सुदान्यते श्रुप्त स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थान र्रेयासंदेःरेवासार्सवासाहे स्रेन् केवार्यन् मदे त्रमास्रकेवा मुःग्रुरामा ते स्रेन् सम्यारेसाङ्गरा नाशुस्रायार्चेन्ट्रेस्याक्त्याक्तीःनात्नःद्वेत्स्यासेन्ट्रस्यतेन्त्रस्यात्वाको वर्षेन्त्राया सेन्ट्रस्यात्वा <u>५८। नर्भेरः नशुस्र स्टानङ्गा ग्रीः त्रा नरा ग्रीः सेनाया या मुनाया नते राहेः नदेः नर्दर से से राग्री साम</u> बूरःश्चेर् र्हेर्पायनहराहे। ययवायी हिःगुःर्देवःश्चरा र्यावाहाती हैं यवदाह्मसम्पद्धेरायवे र्ह्रोया क्चै'अर्के'नर्केट्'हेर:दर्मुक'अर्द्य हेर्ब'शुंर्नेब'र्बे'न'अविश्व'र्व'के'पट'व्हेंर्च'र्वेट्रस्टि'र्र्ट्रन ৽ৡয়য়৽ঀ৾৾৾৽য়ৼ৾৽য়ৢ৾৽ৢয়য়৽য়৽য়৾ঀ৽য়৾ঀ৽য়৾ঀ৽য়ঢ়ৼয়৽ৼৼ৽য়য়ৣয়৽য়ঀ৽য়ৢয়৽য়ৢয়৽য়য়ৣয়৽ঢ়য়ৼ৽ঢ়য়৽য়ঢ়য়৽ *ज़ॖॱॿॖ॓*ॗऻढ़ॱॸ॓ऀॸॱॿॱढ़ॖॺॴढ़ॱॿॕज़ॱॸॸॱॸय़ॶॸॱॴॶख़ॱक़ॳॺॱय़ॱऄ॔ज़ॺॱॻॖऀॱॸॖ॔ॺॱज़ऻॆॸॕॸॱॸऻॎऄॱज़ ^{क्षु} नितः रेपार्थः रेपार्थः कुरः नरः पहिंदः नित्यः सेनर्थः स्वेर्यः नत्त्वः तस्य नकुदः नुः सेः स्थरः केतः कुः त्यश्चायतः क्रेन्द्रः विन्द्रः क्रिशः शुः सह्द्रः यदेः सर्हेः वाद्रनः (दनः) सनः वावाशः विदः। "83 वेशः <u>५८। "अर्केर पॅल मॅरिस इस महिस दस्य नहिस दर्द स्थ के तर्रे दि हिर द्वर महस्य स्थान</u> र्शः स्वायार्थात्राच्यारः क्षेत्रः हस्ययाः केतः चीः व्ययाः गुतः हुः क्षेत्रः वानः स्वयः वावतः स्वयः देवायाः हस्ययाः वा র্ষ্ট্রমাক্ত ক্রমানবি ব্ল্লিক্তেন্ত্রেমমার্থ্রী বামী বন্ধী বাদাব্দ। আআব্বান্বর্না স্ট্রী ক্রন্তের্নার্ম বিশ্বান इस'य'वरुर्य'दि'हेर्'र्र्र्य कुर्यासु'ळे'बेर'| कु'ह्ये' (1682) थेवि'वर्वा'क्स'य'विस्थ'ये'हें व्य'व'र्र् भूनसःसर्वेदःन्सःनःददेवेःब्रुवासः<u>हे</u> त्यःनहेदःर्सेन्।सन्दःनेसःनर्भेनःवासुसःन्दःवनसःसुःहुन्नः द्यान्त्र त्याच्या⁸⁴ क्वायार्थेदे स्थाक नाम्पर्यं ने नास्राहे उदार्या सुर्यं सुर्यं स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने

४६६५ .सूर्या चारका. ४ १९३ - श्रुया.लु.टे.सं.यपु.ट्याट.ह्रेशी कारका.क्येका.क्ये.शक्ष्रका.यश्च्यका व्यूटे.क्र्रिका.शु.ट्याटका.ट्या.श्रीय.विटा. क्रे.क्री

⁸⁴ देर:सर:त्य:द्वास:बेस:दञ्जे:चर:ग्रेट्रा

ૻૼૼૼૼૹॱૹ૾ૺૼॱૡ<u>ૺ</u>૽૾ૼૹॱઌૻૹ૽ૻ૽ૹ૽ૻૢૻઌૻ૽૱ૢૻઌૼૢ૽ૺ૽૽ૢ૽૱૽૱૱૽૽ૺૹ૽૽ૡ૽૽ૢૼૺૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૹ૾૽ઌ૽૽૱ૹ૽ૢ૾ૺઌૼૹ૽૽૱ૢ૽ૺઌ૽૽૱ઌ૽૽૱૱૱૱૱ <u> न्या केया प्रन्या नुस्य या वर्ष स्थे और व्यक्ष भ्रीया विषय स्थाप प्रमाण स्थाप स्थाप स्थाप स्थाप स्थाप स्थाप स</u>्थाप हैर-तासन्तर्भनास्त्रामातर्दिन। दुशायदेराञ्चानारःषाद्यमास्त्रत्याचारःस्त्रामारःस्त्रस्यानास्त्रमास्त्रमास्त्रमा *ऄॸॱ*ॸॕॖ॔॔॔॔॔ॺॴॸॣॖॖॖॖॖॖॸॖॱढ़ऀॸॱढ़ॖॖॎॱॸॷॣॴॸॱॸ॔ॸॱॶॖॸॱक़ॖॗॱॸॱऄॱख़ॸॱऄ॔ॺऻॴॸॕॴक़ढ़॓ॱॸ॓ॺऻॴॹॿज़ न्यात्याद्यसङ्क्तायदे त्यु हेदे त्यु दर्वे स्यानग्राध्येशान्या श्रमः श्रमः श्रमः श्रमः श्रमः श्रमः श्रमः श्रमः मन्त्रास्त्रिंक्षं महत्रा सःग्वान्तेः र्रेलाकायामहेत्रभ्रन्ध्वाहे स्रेन् विवानायास्त्रमहेत्रानान्त्रमान्त्रमः ৡৄ৾৾৻ঀয়ৼ৻য়ৄ৻ঀ৸৻য়ৢ৸৻ৼৢৼ৻৸৻ৼয়৸৻য়ৣ৻ৼ৻৸৻ঀৢ৸৻৴ঀৢ৻৴৻৸ৢ৸ৼ৻৸ৢ৸৸৻য়৻৸য়ঀঀঀ৸৻ৼ৾৻ঀৢঀ৻৸৻য়ৼ৻ नवे निरम्भात्त्रस्य निर्मात्रस्य । दे श्वेताने पृषे स्वास्त्रम्भात्रस्य हे स्वेतात्रस्य हे स्वेतात्रस्य हे निर्मा नतिदः वर्षः संभित्रः न्याः स्त्रीतः न्युतः नः सँगायः नद्यनः सदेः नारः र्रेतः सम्वरः नगः सूदः वर्षे देः रना हे यः इ.चोश्रेश.ज.वी.से.श.जरं.च.स्.च्.स्य.चरश.चम्.रटं.चर्ष.ङ.ट्रय.चचु.रटः। चेन्ध्य.मी.चश्ची.चश्ची.र्या नक्चर्यात्राम् म्यान्यात्राम् अस्य म्यान्यात्र्यात्र्यात्रम् । न्यान्यान्यात्रम् । न्यान्यान्यान्यात्रम् । न्यान्यान्यान्यान्यान्यात्रम् । तः हर्षेन् अँत्वार्यः क्षे: व्यार्थः देश्वास्यः व्याप्यः विष्यः विष्यः व्याप्यः व्याप्यः व्याप्यः व्याप्यः विष्यः विषयः व नद्धः ते नाशुस्र नद्दा नङ्क्षेत्र । नङ्गेत्र न्या हे न्या ने स्वतः न्या ने स्वतः न्या ने स्वतः निवतः । निवतः न क्षे'वर्देर'न'दर'नठशःग्रे'र्रे'ग्रदश'दर'| र्रेव'र्क्षेदे'रेन्।श'न|ब्रुव'यश'येन|श'नर'श्रुर'नदे'श्गद'र् ॸॖॾॣॱॸॱॾॣ॓ॱक़ॖॖॖॖॸॱॺॸॱॸ॓ॱक़ॖॆॸॱख़ॱक़ॖॖॸॱॻॖऀॱज़॒ॸॺॱॸॹॖॱज़ॖॱज़ॱॺॱक़ॹॖॸॱख़ॱऒ॔ज़ॺॱॾ॓ॱॾॣ॓ज़ॱॻॖॸॱज़ऻॗॗढ़ॸ शे.शे८.वंश.टर.भेश.कु.चंदु.रूजांश.शेंदु.शट.वी.चंग.धे.कवाश.चंदु.श्रुंव.बुंश.शंश.शें.ववीर. नवेःनात्तुनायःग्रेःसुःनहुत्रःहेःसदवःदेयःमःह्मस्याःस्ट्रिंनःग्रानायःमवेःसुन्।तुनायःसःस्ट्रिंसःवज्ञेदः गशुस्राची अन् स्वामाशुस्रान्दामहित्रासेन्यास्त्रसा सुदायहुना नी सुदानी नामान्यामा पान् हो नामानेन्या वाबदासेन्।सरावान्त्यार्क्षेत्रम्नायादे वीत्रियार्क्षेत्रस्य स्वायायने स्वेत्तर्तात्वेयाः वीत्राक्षेत्रम् केरगु"⁸⁵ वेशप्ररा

ત્રદ્ધા ગ્રીન મેથતા મુશ્ચા માર્જ્સ (1653–1705) \mathcal{D} મુશ્ચા માર્જ્સ મુશ્ચા માર્જ્સ મુશ્ચા માર્જ્સ માર્જસ માર્યસ માર્જસ માર્જસ

⁸⁵ श्रेमा'णेन्'इ'नवे'न्याद'र्श्नेद्रा र्वेम'ग्रन्थ' ४-€

र्म्लाकः नृतः र्ह्मेशानामः क्षुः स्वयः सरामा विद्यनः सूर्वा निर्देशः सूरा विदेशः विद्याना स्वर्णानियः । *ज़ॖॱ*য়*ॺॱ*ॸऀज़ॺॱख़॒ढ़॓ॱয়ৼৼয়ॱक़ॕॖॹॏॱৼৼॱৼৼॱৼॱॸॱॸॗॵॱफ़ॕॗढ़ॱख़ढ़ॱॿॕज़ॺॱय़ढ़॓ॱॿॣॗॱज़ॸऻ इस्रशाद्रशार्थेदान्यस्याप्यसान्वेदान्साव्यावदेःसर्वे स्रोत्राच्यास्य स्रोत्राकेसान्यस्य स्रोत्राच्यात्रस्य स्र र्गेट्-बुवा'वर्बिद'र्य'क्र्स्स्यर हेर्र-वर्डवा'यदे र्गेट्-बेर्-चुवायर प्र-ट्टा सून । सेटा वायवा क्रस्या ग्री: *'*ঀ৾৾ঀ|৾৾৾য়৾৾৾য়য়৽য়য়৾৽য়৾য়য়য়৽ৠৢয়৽ৢয়ৼয়৽ৠ৽ঢ়ঢ়ৼৼঢ়ৢয়য়৽য়য়৽য়য়৽য়য়৽ঀয়৽য়য়৽য়ৣৄঢ়ঀ৾য়ৢঢ় मुभ'वर'र्वे के'यथ'युव'दवर'वर'र्बेर'यदे 'वर्गेद'य'दर'र्केथ'र्वे अर्द्भेव केंश्केंद्र्य हुव'य्देव नुः ज्ञानाशास्त्रे त्यनम्भितः क्षेष्ठे । ज्ञानाः ज्ञाने । न्यानाः न्याने माने माने स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्ताः । ज्ञान नहनः बेदः प्रवे: न्नादः श्रृंदः भ्रान्यः नायम् वृद्धः नुः न्वेदयः यः श्रेशः हेन् ग्रीयः यो हिना दर्बेनः नयः वदः र्क्कें क्षेत्र हैं है : नर्ट् । पर्ट्य : देर्ट्य : शुः वेय : यर : य्रावाय : या वित्र : यह देव : यह देव : यह द इस्रथानी अन्हर्मान प्रतिर्धित क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र (स्रुट्र) विदेश्वेत्र न्यूत्र प्रति प्रवित्र विद्यापित तक्षर्यः (तक्षरः) सूर्यमान्य-रर्वीयुःसैरः (सैरमः) सैयमःसरःय। यविषःलरःयर्याःस्यः वीःसूर्यः मःक्तुत्यः सं र्देन् रठदः क्रीः श्रुश्चामित्वादः र्देन् रचन् रन्तुः त्याद्वर्यः यदे हिंगुश्चायः वर्हेन् यः न्याद्याद्वयः स्थायः । <u>ब्रे'</u>भ्रुःकॅर-दर्नेर्-प। हे'से'प्यश्रासर्वेद्वर्'र्से'हे'र्देर-श्रुर्यः (श्रुरः) न्पनःदरःनठशःन्तृत्यःनदेःक्वा याच्ची वात्रयाच्ची हाराच्चीरा स्थाने स्वाया प्राया प्रायाची वात्र वात्र वात्र वात्र वात्र वात्र वात्र वात्र वा यहेत् 'दर् श्रुव 'र्भूर् ना भ्रीद्रानिय मात्राम् वर्षा महामात्राम् वर्षा महामात्राम महामात्राम स्थानिय स्थानिय ऄ॔ॻऻॴॱॻऻढ़ॴॴॴॹॣढ़ऀॱॸॆॻऻॴज़ऀढ़ॱॸॖॱॴॸॱॻऻॱऻक़ॗॱऄ॔ॱॻॿॴॱॸॕॱॸॕॱॻऻॸढ़ॱड़ॸॴॱॸॖ॓ॱक़ॕॸॱॶॴॸॖॱॿ॓ॻॴॱ ৼ৻ঀ৾ড়ৄ৵৻ঀৣ৾৾৻ড়৾৽৽৻ৼৣ৻ৼ৻ঀ৽ঀ৾য়য়য়৻য়ৢয়৻য়য়৻ঀড়৻ঀড়৻ঀৢ৾৻য়৾ঀ৻ৼ৾য়য়৸৻৸৸ৄ৻৻ঢ়৾য়৸য়৻য়য়য়য়৻ शुः (वक्रसःनुः) श्रेटःर्ह्रवाशःबेशःटवाःक्वैदःनुःश्चेटःचःवनवाःस्ट्रिंदःश्चेटःश्चेःस्वेताशःवदःस्वेदःनठशःहिंदः ૹ૾ૺ[ૢ]ૹઽઌઃૹૢ૽ૼઽઃૹૢઌૢૻઌ૽ૹ૾ઌ૽૱૱૱ૢ૽ૼૹૣૻૼ૱૽૽ૢ૽ૹઽઌઌૹૻૢ૽૱૽૽ૢ૽૱ૹૢ૽૽૽૱ઌૹ૱૱ૢ૽ૹ *য়*ेष्ठियःसश्चारने प्यत्यः प्रतः हायाः वा श्वेषायः सम्रायः प्रवायः प्रवायः वित्यः सम्प्रायः वित्यः सम्प्रायः स् नकुरः (कुरः) रदःनठरुषः ह्रेन्यायद्वानुष्यःवेदः।"[%] वेषः त्वान्यः देवः रहिरुषः हेरः श्वः द्वार्यः न য়ৼয়৾৻য়৾৵ড়৻৻য়ৼড়ৢ৾ৼ৻য়৾ঀ৵৻ৼৼঀৼ৻য়ড়৻ৠৢ৾ৼ৻ড়ৢয়৾ঀ৻ঀয়৻৻৻ৼয়৻য়৸ড়৻

र्जूचांचट्या, गंजर-गंजन इंट्या:ब्रेचे प्रचया:क्षुंचट:ब्राइंट्ट्ड्या:बे.च.चर्षेचाया) सूट्राकूँट्या:ब्राट्या:ब्रेच्ट्राचटा। से.या ७६६० कूट:वर्ड्या:ब्रिट्-ब्रिट्यावेड्चा:क्षेचा:क्ष्या:चर्चा:वर्ट्याच्या:ब्राट्या:ब्रिट्-ब्राट्या:ब्राट्या:वर्ट्या:ब्रिट-ब्राट्या:ब्राट्या:वर्ट्या:ब्राट्या:ब्या:ब्राट्या:ब्राट्या:ब्राट्या:ब्राट्या:ब्राट्या:ब्राट्या:ब्राट्य:ब्राट्या:ब्राट्य

श्चरः र्श्नेद्र 'वयः ब्रें 'र्वेद 'र्बेट 'पर्म 'श्ने 'यळेद 'पर्मेश 'पर्के 'पर्नेद दे दे दे दे दे दिवस अपा वा क <u>_</u> न्यदःह्यस्यःत्यःश्रुदःक्वेनाःनीःर्क्केःदस्यःत्यःक्षेत्रःस्यःन्यत्वनाःष्ठस्यःनक्षेत्रःनाःसुनःभेनाःमःकुःसर्केः बेश'तु'न'नब्गुश'र्से| |बेश'सदस' "र्नेद'र्बे्र'कन'र्नेग्" हेश' १८४७-१७३८ नर'सहंर'रादे' दब्रेद-लेगः २२ नवुग्रयः सहयः हुः स्प्रांतः प्राः वनसः स्वाः न्यः स्टाः वनसः स्वाः प्राः स्वाः वि "भे मो जुरायदादे चेद कुर्यसर्दराष्ट्रदे क्षेत्र स्वरं क्षेत्र स्वरं क्षेत्र स्वरं स् इ.चटु.चर्टे.इं।. जुनाराजना स्टे.इंचा.के.लुना.सं.चना.सं.चटुचा.टे.। श्री.पटना.चीर बेशःशुः वानाशः सः स्था नाः नोः सः चारः भ्रूः स्थाने स्थाने विष्या मानि स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थान इ.स.स.कुर्यःश्रीष्टः योथेशः ये. (धर्षी.) मी हा.सर.भ्रीर.ये.पर्ययशः श्रूयोशः मूलः श्रू.रेटा, श्री.योमः यर्जूयः (र्वेदः) र्शेषायायर्केन् श्वेदायर्नेन् प्रिंदाख्या नगरार्थे द्वया ख्यानन्न सेवे नगराश्वेदायया हेः ष्परंत्रेर:न्'र्श्नेर:रम्भामक्ष्मः (स्रूमः) न:न्रः। स्रू:स्रात्य:न्रेनःस्रु:स्रोनःसर्द्धरमःनने:नःर्हेन।"87 हेमः "ૡૹૢૣ૽ૣૣૣ૽ૣૣૣૡૹૡૻૡૼ૾ઌૢૻૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૡૻ૱ૡ૱ૹૻૢૢૹૣ૽૱૱ૡ૽ૼૼૹૄ <u> २८.१ दसवाश सीजा विक्र सीवाश की गाँव वज्ञ राष्ट्र राष्ट्र सीवेर सीवेर सीवेर साम्राक्र सूर्य (चर्सूय) की स</u> भूतः क्षेत्रा तर्हेत् चुः सुत्रः सुभः क्षेत्रा भारा-प्रत्यक्षा सेत्रभाराम्। करः यत्रः भोरः सितः यह स्वापितः सुवा र् प्राचार्स्रवेश्चाया विकासायका "स्रावकान्त्रनार्ध्यमायन्त्रेश्चेत्रामार्द्धिन् न् रहेश वाङ्कराञ्चार्धिका यःक्टरःअग्रेयःनमुःन्दा मुन्यसःभ्रेटरतुःयःश्रेषायःर्धन्दिःहेव । नुयःग्रेवयः (यर्थेययः) यदः श्चः श्रुवः प्देनः श्च्रवाः स्वाः हे : इते प्देवाः हेवः श्चेंदः प्यः स्यः स्यः स्यः प्यः । (स्रस्र)), 88 विसः स्वायः

ત્રેવાના ત્રફેલ ત્રાસ્ત્રે લીના ત્રાલે ક્રિક્શ (1697–1740) 9 ત્રેત્ર લેંત્ર સાદ્દેન ત્રાસે ફેંદ્રે લેંત્ર સાદ્દેન ત્રાસે સાત્ર સાદ્દેન ત્રાસે સાત્ર સાત

⁸⁷ न्तुःसेन् च्रेशःसःर्वेनाः सेनः अर्ना

⁸⁸ द्रनु:स्रेट्-च्रैस:सर्वेज् स्ट्रेन: १०५१

८९ देयोत्तातह्रयंत्वात्वर्द्धहर्ताः विनिध्नतंत्रहेत् अभिभ्रत् क्ष्याः अधितात्वित्वर्धाः विन्यत्त्रहेत् स्वत्त्वर्धाः अभिभ्रत्याः स्वतः स

1294-1296 લશ્વાસશ્ચાર્શ "નાર્લેવ તું ક્ષાએ પ્રાંગ નાવસા કું પ્રાંગ સંદ્ર પ્રાંગ સ્ત્રે સ્ત્રા નાર્લે સ્ત્રા સ્

લયા "હિર્-ત્રમ-હ્રદ-ત્રી-ભૂતા (1697–1763) શ્રીશ્વ 9માં સ્ત્રમ સ્ત્રમ સ્ત્રમ શ્રીન્ય શ્રી ત્રામ શ્રીન્ય સ્ત્રમ સ્ત્રમ શ્રીન્ય (1689–1747) શ્રી શ્રીન્ય ત્રામ સ્ત્રમ સ્ત્રમ સ્ત્રમ સ્ત્રમ શ્રીન્ય સ્ત્રમ સ્

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त्यातः मृत्ये १९४७ . सूचा चर्यः ७३९ चर्षचाया । यापः मृत्ये १६४७ मृत्ये चर्यः १३९ चर्षचाया ।

DPAL MI'I DBAN PO'I RTOGS PA BRJOD PA 'JIG RTEN KUN TU DGA' BA'I GTAM, The biography of Pho-lha-nas Mi-dban Bsod-nams-stobs-rgyas by Mdo-mkhar Źabs-drun Tshe-rin-dban-rgyal, Reproduced from the manuscript preserved in the Stog Palace in Ladakh, VOLUME 1, Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, Darjeeling, 1974 বিষ্ণেশ্বর্ত্তর ভূমানির্বার্ত্তর প্রত্তর বিষ্ণার্ত্তর পূল্প সম্প্রত্তর স্থানির স্থানির

प्रायाः श्रीते 'त्वारः स्विदे हिंगाश्रायः प्राय्ति प्राप्ति प्रा

१० । १९८८ इ.रस.स.स.चूर.कु.लेस.द्रवा.सर.घर.घर.यस्य.ससूद.सदूरी क्रिया.बॅरस. ५३८ चर्वचार्या

वर्षा १०५ वर्षेया। वयमःदीरःष्ठः मुस्तियरःभिता जूःभिनःमुयःबुरः ४० सूर्ःभिन्तुः सहूर्।वरः। ॐस्यानाता ४०१८ जूताः वयमःदीरःष्ठः मुस्तियरःभिता जूःभिनःमुचान्त्रः ५० सूर्ःभिन्त्रः सही यम्बस्यान्त्रः स्थितः

<u> न्यार ब्रेन्य के सुरक्ष वर्षे न्द्रीन की कुष सेवे स्थान के स्ट न्य न्य के स्थान के किया के स्थान के स्थान के</u> त्। दरःसदे कुषः सं सङ्गदे रेवा सर्केर विषया सदे सम्बेद वया सूद र कुर कुर स्वार स्वार स्वार स्वार स्वार स्वार स · १५९१ में १४ दर्भ क्रुर्स्यरुष: ५८१ क्रुर्स्यरुष: ५८१ के १८१ वर्षे वर्ष: १८११ वर्ष: १८११ क्रुर्स्य वर्ष: १८११ <u> નિયાનુ નિયાનુ અર્જે : શુદ્રાન સાગુ અર્જી દારે અપના શું અપના વ્યાચા સ્નુન અપ્સુન અપશું ને 'નન' અપના ધુદ્રા</u> ब्रॅस्प्रस् अप्यहेंब्प्स्य इन्याध्वरम्य व्याप्स्य क्षिम्प्रस्य क्षिम्प्रस्य विष्ट्रम्प्रदायः विष्ट्रम्प्रस्य व <u> न्व्रम्याम् नेयामा यन्त्र न्यूमा यम्यामा व्यामा विष्ठा स्थान विष्ठा या विष्ठा विष्ठा या विष्ठ</u> मालेशमारी द्वीत्राचन्त्रामा गृत्रामालयाययेषा मन्त्रीत्। नेशायमाय दे पुषाया द्वीत् मिन्सी हिम् য়ৣ৾*ঌ*৽য়ৢ৽ৼৼ৽ঀ৾ঀ৾য়৽য়ৢ৽য়য়৽য়ৣৼ৽য়ৼ৽য়ৣ৾ৼ৽য়৾৽ৼয়৽য়৽য়ৢৼ৽য়ৢ৽৽য়ৢয়৽য়য়য়য়৾য়ঀয়৽য়৽ ८८.चर्षेय.थम.स्पृ.केट. (केटमा) केचमात्रन्यमायह्या.कचमा.कुचा.धे.क्रींस.चतुः ह्या.चीर. नःवःर्सेन्।यःमभःन्भःवन्य।"⁹² विभःन्नः। "श्लेभःनुवेःसर्केन्।मवेःहेवेःसक्तःभूतःस्नानुः ग्राम्यः राने हे कि से अनु नरान्ता वर्षे करान्ता वर्षे अपवे करावा से नाम सम्मानिक वि चुन् सेन् ग्री क्षु सा केद सें साने दे क्षें वासान क्षन मन चुसाने सह त क्षें वासा सु त शुर न ने क्षे चुदे वित्र अर्दे त्राचर पर्नु चुर्वे स्रूका कें।।"⁹³ विश्वान्ता। "वाब्र प्यान सम्बेर परि सुवा वरा वरा वरा वरा वरा व ब्रैट.डु.ल.क्यान्न.सदु.ध्री.के.यर.घेट.य.र्रटा। न्नैयान्न.ग्री.यीदु.इ.न्नैद्ध.पर्सेल.यर्भेट्र.सदु.र्यघटन्न.ह्येय. (क्षूत्र) सरःर्क्षेनासः नृत्र। क्रुनः नुः सः नृतः धृतः सदेः नृत्यः सः सः मानासः सः स्वरः स्वरः स्वरः स्वरः स्व वर्हेना'नीस'नभ्रुव'न'सम्रीद'सु'न्द'क्रमस'नीहेन'र्,श्चुर'नर'सेहेन'र'र्सेनस'वर्देन्'रसेटे'इस'वर्गुर' सबदः सुरुष्यान्य मुर्ने नः धीवा नः क्रिकः वे विदेशे द्वीता न्या निष्यान्य निष्यान्य निष्यान्य निष्यान्य निष्या होत्। त्वावःसन्यः र्श्वेतः सरः होतः त्वेदः सर्थः त्यारे विवायत्याः स्यायाः ^{१९४} वियः ततः। "ते द्यार नर्भें र-रे-सुवानाया सेदे-रावे करे सुर-रावे से स्वान प्रति से स्वान स्वान स्वान स्वान स्वान स्वान स्वान स्वान स यस-देवे हिस-त्नानेगस-हे हेद-विगान इन्निहेस ही नर-त्रस्य वैद-धेद न्यु गरान स्वी नहस

⁹² श्रे.न्वरःह्वीश्वराह्नी (न्यवःश्रेवे:न्वरःश्वेयःश्वेश्वरात्त्रस्य। श्रेश्वरःश्वःनेवाश्वर्तेःश्वेयःवरः। १९४१ विवा चःचलुवाशःश्वा) विवशःद्वरःक्वेःनेरःन्वरःश्वयःश्वेशःवङ्गश्य। श्रेश्वेदःश्वःनेवाशःन्वेःश्वेदःवरः। १९४१ विवाः चरशः १०९–११०

⁹³ श्रे.र्चरः ह्रेच्या नर्ह्न क्वा ज्यारकः ४४४

⁹⁴ क्षे:र्नराहेंग्रथ:नाहेंन्। र्वेन्।नारथ: ४४३-४४≈

म्चेर-विरा हेत्र-प्रस्कंत-पु:म्बु-न्नर-पर्मा गर-वश्चर-पर्वे-प्रगत-र्द्धेद-ग्रीश-पुश-पर्मश धर-देश શુંશ્વઃબુવાઃવસાનુ:લુનાશાનું:'ર્નેદ:'ર્નેદ:નાયશા હ્યુવાઃક્ષ્ટ:'ર્ફ્રેન:'ર્વેક:'શુંસ:નું:'નુવેનશા નેન ख्रायम्बर्शः क्रीःतमःम्बादः क्र्रेत् स्त्रुः वामः स्रियः क्रेंदिः क्रिंग्वरः स्त्रेतः क्रिंग्यः विश्वरः । "मे स्वर्धाः स्त्रेत् स्त्रेतः क्रिंग्यः विश्वरः । "मे स्वर्धाः स्त्रेत् स्त्रेतः स्त्रेते स्त्रेतः स् ૽ૼૼૼૼ午[૽]ૄ૽૾ૡૢ૽ૺૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼ૱૱ૹ૽ૻૼ૾ૹૣ૽ૣ૽ૢ૽૽ૹૢઌ૱ૹઌૻ૽૱ૹ૽ૻૺૹ૾ૢ૽ૺઌ૽૽ૢૼૹ૾ૢૺઌ૽ૼૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૡ૽૽ૡ૽૽૱૱ૹ૽ૹૺ यानी समा भ्रीता पुरान्या माने वार्या याने वार्या याने वार्या पुराने दे के मु समय प्रानी सम्बद्धित सम्भ्रेत नगुर-नर्गेद-स-क्कुक्रेर-मन्ध्रस-विदा मर्विद-तु-द्द-मर्विद-तु-स-तु-स्स-मेंद्र- (वेंस्प) क्कुद्र-पन्नर-वर्षिव तु साह्मस्राम भी हिवा हु सुराया सकर सूवा वी रे से सर्देव सर नगान वर्षे द श्ले दारा द **ౙఀ**ঀ৾৽৳৶৽য়ৢ৽য়৽য়৾ঀ৸৽ড়ৼ৽য়ঀৢঽ৽য়ৢ৾৽য়৾ঀ৸৽৻য়য়৸৽ৼৼ৽ড়য়ঌ৽ঀ৾৾৳ঀ৽৸ৼৼ৽য়ৣ৽ঀৼ৽য়ৣ৾৽ৼৼ৾ৼৼৼ৽৻ न्वादःवदेःन्वादःर्क्षेत्रःवःकेःन्वानःर्क्षेत्रःकेरः।"⁹⁷ बेशःन्दः। "क्षेत्रशतुःन्नरःवःववःयःन्दः। तुनःसेनः વાર્લે વ.વે.જા.જા.જા.જા.જો.વા.જા.જી.શું અ.જીવ.ના વાર. ત્રું અ.જીવ.ના ધજાજા.જી.જા.જી.ના છી.વા.છી.વા.છી.વા. र्नेट:इससःसु:ब्रु:वार:क्टे:बेटः। र्वे:वह्ट:व:दटः। व्विस:ब्री:धटःर्वेवा:वससःठट:दर:श्रु:ळॅवास:पदे: <u> के.कुंश.चेश.कुटा यशरश.रेंटे.कुंग्रेंचेंचेंटे.पधियोश.स.धूयोश.दू.शक्र्य.यय.विश.र्यशी यशी.</u> नवे:नेअ:न:कु:क्रेक्-वें:न्र-नठअ:हे:न्वे:क्रेट:श्रूरअ:न्ध्यःववेंर:क्रेंन्अ:न्र-नठअ:न:र्रःहेन्:ग्रे: ૽ૼૺૼ੶**ૢ**ૹ੶ਖ਼ૹ੶ૢૡ૽ૺ૽ૹ૽૽ૺ૱ૹૻ૽ૹ૱ૡ૽ૺૼ૾ૹૣૹ૱ઌ૽૽૱૱ૹ૽૽ૢૹ૽૽ૹ૽ૢ૽૱ૡૢ૱ૹૢૹ૽૽ૹ૽ૼૹૣૹઌ૽૽ૡ૽૽ૹ૽ૺ૱ૢ૽ૢ૱૱૽ૢ૽૱ नमःमेन्यार्थाः वियान्यर्थायाया हे सूमानश्चीमार्मे वियान्याः श्चीयात्रक्षेयार्थेमाश्ची विवाशनास्त्रमा नहुर-न-देवे-भ्रुब-भूर-भ्रेअ-५-स्थ-भ्रुप्तर-भ्रुप्तर-भ्रुप्त-भ्रेच-प्रदेश-मुक्त-भ्रुप्त-हे.स्रेट.ट्री इसम.क्ट.जिट.केस.ट.च.केंच.पर्येयायमायेस.जिट. (लट.) श्वेय.येम.केंच.प्रेटी.,,,, डेश-८८। "म्बर-८मा स्वर-१मा स्वर-१मा १५ हो इ.स.स्या ५८० मा १५ म इस्रायाञ्चार्केषास्राञ्चीदानाद्दा। "वेस्रायाञ्ची "वेस्रायाञ्चीदान्त्री हिंद्युदानी" विस्रायाञ्चीदान्त्री हिंद्युदानी

⁹⁵ क्षे:न्वरःहेंबाशःवहेंन्। र्वेवाःब्रस्थः ३३०-३३५

१६ क्षे:प्रवरः ह्रेंग्रथः वर्हेत्। र्वेग्:ग्रद्थः ३५३

⁹⁷ क्षे: ५नर: ह्रें न्या स्ट्रेंट्री स्ट्रेंन् स्वास्थः ४ वय-४ वय

⁹⁸ क्षे:न्वरःह्रॅग्रयःवर्हेन् र्ल्गःग्रन्थः ८३३

१९ क्षे:र्नरःहेंग्रयःनहेंन्। र्जेन्गःन्तरयः ८३४-८३८

¹⁰⁰ श्रु.रेयर.ध्रेयोश्व.यर्ड्रेरी श्रृयो.बॅरश. ८५६

वॉर्डें चेंद्र वानेवाश सद हे च त्या अर्केवा दशह गुद क्रीश वश्रेद प्राप्त चित्र वा स्वीत स्वाप्त स्वीत स्वाप्त स्वीत स्वाप्त स्वीत स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वापत स्वाप्त स्वापत ર્સેંદ સ્ટ્રે નાય નુ વર્ષેદ્દ ત્રય શું યા ટ્વેંદ્ર છે. વર્ષુ દાવસ નાદ વદે તુયાન વટા રેંદ્ર ના ત્રય દ્વારા માન્ क्चै।धॅल कॅ.चर्यार च.चर्याय हेत् न् .श्चल च.लट सक्चैत सदे चर न् .व.वहरू स्वेट । क्यु क्वर के हेन वहें र वे करावी वहुरावावा रखेश कुरार्श्वे रार्क्वे राष्ट्र हिरा। युः ब्रह्मा वारावश्चरावा रहा। वार्वे वातु वारावा इन्द्राञ्चन केना मुः वर्देन प्रवे द्वार वर्गुम केम प्यान क्षेत्र प्रवास प्रवास का का विकास विकास विकास विकास व ष्पनः हे 'न्यामया'नशु'नदे 'नर्गेन्'मः कुळे दार्थे 'अर्देद'मर-पत्' सहन् पदे 'चें 'ह्र-'न र्थे 'न्रा' त्रु 'ग्रर समिद्रः भ्रे वें न्रान्त्र न्रान्त्र वार्षिद्र त्रायदे स्वित्र वार्षा ग्रान्य स्वराप्त स्वराप्त स्वराप्त स्वराप रैवा'रेवा'र्वेर'र्वेर'वर'द्येन'डेर'।"¹⁰³ बेश'र्न्स। "देवे'क्रेब'र्बे'न्स। क्रे'स'वाबब'स'न्वा'रु'न्वाय' क्रॅ्रन क्रीक्रें माक्तुः केत्र में 'न्ट'। श्चु'गन्'न्ट'। हेन्'वर्हे :श्रॅग्शाहसाम खूं केंग्शाम वार्ये दश र्सेन् यात्री"¹⁰⁴ विश्वादम् "देवे हेत्रक्षे हेत् वर्षे हित्रक्षाया के वार्या विश्वाय विश्व *ૹૄ૾ૼૹ*૾ઌ૾ૺઽ૽ૹૢૣૻ૽ૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢઌ૽૱૽૱૽ૹૼૼૼૼૼૼૼઌૹૼૺૢઌૢ૱ૹ૾ૢૹ૽ૹ૽૽ૼઌૹઌ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૼૼૹૡૣ૽ૼૺૢઌ૱ઌૣ૿ૢ૽૱ बायां केंबा निक्षया द्या ने साविष्ट प्रथया उदाया हो स्था भी सा। प्रश्नित हो देश हो सा विष्ट हो हो हो है । सम्बद्धाः निवास नि रादः रचिर्या र्राः हे या शुः समुद्रायमुद्राया सुर्या द्वारा गावितः गावि गीवः गीवः गीवः स्थायरे गाया सो रायरः सक्ते सा ग्र-गुर-हेश-श्वा ।"106 वेश-श्वाशनाशवानायदिवे दरा दर-श्वे क्रूंन्य मृत्ये हुं शे व्रुव

¹⁰¹ श्र.रेयर.ह्रेयेश.यर्ड्री स्व्या.बंदश. ८९०-८९३

¹⁰² श्रे.रेयर.ह्रेयेश.यहूरी सूर्या.बंरश. ८६३

¹⁰³ श्रीन्तरहें वायानहें न विवासिया ५००

¹⁰⁴ क्षे.र्वर:ह्रेवाश्व:वर्ह्री ख्री.वर्श: ५०१

¹⁰⁵ क्षे:न्वरःह्रिंबाशःवर्हेन्। र्विवाःग्रन्थः ५०८-५० ॥

¹⁰⁶ क्षे.र्यटार्ह्मेयाश्वरहूरी सूचा.संरश. ५०३-५००

खु·कु·ते·बि·केद·खु·तेग्याबिःर्सुनःहु·तस्ति-तस्ति।यःरकेदया ञ्च-देग्रश-द्यदः द्युनासुत्र-व्हेंनायानर्सेन् त्रययान्यान्यानास्त्रीं नायात्रययान्यन्यस्य स्वास्तरम् कुषानदे स्वेया *ঀ৶६६–१৶६*२ বম:য়ৼ৾ৼ:৸৾৾৾য়৾ৄ । ৠ:२৾ঀৗয়:ঢ়ৗ৾ৠ৾ৼ:য়ৣ:৸য়৾ৼ:ৼঢ়ৢ৾য়:৸য়৾য়:য়ৼ:ॐয়:৸য়৾য় स्थाः स्रे स्रे ते स्थान्य स्थाने स्थ रेट:नगर हें द भुं विनय ग्री श्रम हुट या गर्डट दम विन प्रवेस स्वेम भूतमः (1775) इ.स.म. *चै*।'५चे'अळंद'अर्देद'सर'चाश्रव'चंदे'श्चर'र्-'खेवाश'श्लेश'क्देद''''''विदेर'र्-'ख्रुव'र्चे'कुश यसःवर्गेद्रायदेःसेवाःविवेवाः (वेवाः) वक्केःवःसेद्रायदेःःःः। यसः "ह्यद्रायस्वरुद्रनेक्केःसःद्र द्वेर-देवायान्त्रम्याः व्याद्याः क्रेयाः यदान्याः यदाः स्वाद्याः स्वाद्याः स्वाद्याः स्वाद्याः स्वाद्याः स्वाद (देवा) वाद्यशः कुः अर्केंदेः प्रश्चेदः चः प्रदेदः सप्तेः अविश्वः पादाः (विवाः) वाद्येवाः देशयेवाशः चन्तरः शुः वनेवान्त्रमञ्जूरार्केरार्ह्मित्। त्युर्न्यहर्षाः क्षेत्रेर्मान्तर्तुत्रात्मान्यानाः त्रुस्याने नवरार्वेदे र्वेर हिरायायायर्थेयायात्र्रात्त्र्यात्रुट्यायोत्। वाराग्रीतिवायार्थेयायायायाया याद्मश्रयाद्भी अदिः र्द्रियाद्भेन स्थाप्तराद्भीयानद्भीयान्त्रीयान्त्री क्रुन्स्यान्त्र। वीस्थान्ता हुंहे न्ता अविस्तः नेष्ठः नः नृतः । शुक्रः नृतः । तृक्ठः च्रेः व्याः अविश्वः विश्वः विष्वः विश्वः विश्वः विश्वः विश्वः विश्वः विश्वः विश्वः विश्वः विषः विश्वः श्चरः दर्भः वर्षेषः नरः अपिर्यः नरः (सः) द्वर्यया दे दे दरः दे द्वाः अर्केदः श्चेतः दुः श्चेरः वा वर्षेद्व। श्चः ह्वयः क़ॗॱॺळॅंदेॱ୴८ॱढ़॓ॸॱय़ॖऀढ़ॱय़ॱॺॕॱॹॺॱॺॗॱॸ्ॴॄॸॱज़॒ॴॺॱय़ॱऒ॔ॺॺॱऄऀ८ॱॸय़ढ़ॱॸॱढ़ॺॺॱढ़॓ॱॶॺॱॸॴ $|\hat{\mathbf{w}} - \mathbf{v}| = \mathbf{w} + \mathbf{v} + \mathbf$

¹⁰⁷ र्हें 'देर'मड्डे' हते 'क्र्य' बर्म क्रेंद'क किंग ग्रारक १९१०-१९४

त्तर्वा र्सूयाःनगरः ११६-११२) क्ष्याशःर्सूयःनगरःत्रद्वेस्रात्त्रभ्या क्षेत्रः १००१ व्यरःनेतःवाश्चयाशःर्स्याःसरःवश्चेतः (श्लेषः) विशःसःनवो जेवाशः

HISTORICAL RELICS OF TIBET, CHINA, PRECIOUS DEPOSITS, Volume One Prehistoric Age and Tubo Period, MORNING GLORY PUBLISHERS, Beijing, 2000 र्वृन् ग्रुम्झः १६६-१६५ वृद्धः वृद्धः "Genqia Musical Instrument, Tubo, music instrument, wood, overall height: 94.6cm. This is a bowed string instrument. Its shape resembles that of "Keng-chang" (a three-stringed plucked instrument) from the Western Regions, which indicates that there were exchanges between the two places in the Tubo period. A, D, and G are the tunes on the three strings. The upper part is the neck, and the sound box is supported by a stick. While performing, the player places the musical instrument on his left leg and holds the instrument's neck in his left hand. He plucks the strings with his fingers and holds the bow in his right hand. Genqia musical instrument, an essential instrument accompanying Tubo "Gar Dance," is still played today." ब्रेक्श न्याया ब्रुक्श न्याया ब्रुक्श न्याया व्यापाया करें प्राया करें व्यापाया करें व

यश्चित्रं शूचीश्वाचित्रं स्त्रीयात्रायदास्य स्टार्स्स्ट्रेन् यावश्वाच्यात्रेन् स्वाच्यात्रेन् स्वाच्यात्रेन्यात्यात्रेन्यात्रेन्यात्रेन्यात्य

य: र्र्यान्यत्वर्भेतः वदेः क्रिंग्वरे त्रवायः वद्यायः क्ष्यायः क्षयः वद्यायः व्यव्यायः व्यव्यायः व्यव्यायः व्य भ्रम्यः न्व्यायः वद्यायः व्यव्यायः व्यव्यायः क्षयः व्यव्यायः क्षयः व्यव्यायः व्यव्यायः व्यव्यायः व्यव्यायः व्य वद्यायः व्यव्यायः व्यव्यायः वित्यः वित्यः व्यव्यायः वित्यः व्यव्यायः व्यव्यायः व्यव्यायः व्यव्यायः वित्यः व्यव

डेसाम्मर्या दरासानेसाम देशाना स्वाप्त होती होता है स्वाप्त होती होता है से स्वाप्त होता है से स्वाप्त होता है स े बेयामदे के क्षिप्त होते होते के अपने के किया होते होते हैं के किया होते के किया होते के किया होता होते होता ह (१) त्र्र-क्रिंदशःश्चःद्रवाशःद्रीक्षःव्याव्याः व्याप्तः व्यापतः वयापतः वयाप कः नावः कवेः र्भूरः <<गुरः नेविः नारमः कुरः से : देनामः ग्रीः देवामः कवेः विः क्रुमः >> वरः देवे विद्राप्तरः र्भूरः र्थूरमः ग्रीः . क्षु. य. दरः माने या के स्थाप अपनिता दे दरः ने क्षेत्र हो हु साला माने हु हु साला सार हु हु है है है है है ह यदः रथः नृत्र्याः र्रेताः कदेः न्यायाने वा वी तियानर्गे न त्यन् वा ग्रामः। देव देः यदे विवा विन ति वयः वर्षे वा विन वि हेस्र सु.स्रे :दनादःदेनानेस्र ५ ह्न् : सहस्र नर्सेस्र ग्रीस र्स्य :कः ने :सॅन् ग्री : नस्र स्र विंन :सॅव :कंपीद :सुवः ग्रीस रिना ૹૡઃૐવાયાના કુદ્રત્વયા ગ્રીયા સુવયાવી વા 'દેદ' દેવેદ્ર સુદ્રદ્યા હુદ્યા કે ગ્રીદ્યા સુધ્યાનું અંદર ગોડ્યા ફિલા વાલફા प्रवे केन व्यक्ष क्षम् नुस्रम् क्षिन वान वी क्षिन नु ने सू स्वाक ने नु न स्क्षित सेन वा ने न नुका के ने निक्ष का दे'न्ज्रीय'निर्हेन्'बेन्'सावत्'सेन्। अन्'र्सेय'क्कुत्'यूत्र'मवे'र्सेय'सेवे'त्रे'त्र्वा'त्रन'र्नेन्'र्हेन्'(त्र्य'वेत'मवे'र्सेय' <u>न्द्ये न बिना भी व स्प्रेन ग्रामा ने वे ब्रम्ब व नाव क्रिन्यम् अन्तर स्व सुनानम् व स्व स्व स्व स्व स्व स्व स</u>्व <u> </u>વે 'સેવાયા સૈંદ' છી. ક્રું 'ક્રેલે' સ્વા કેંવા સે 'દ્રયદયા _{ક્}ર્સયા છે. ફિંદ' તું ક્રું 'ક્રેલાયા છે. ક્રું દેવાયા કેલે 'વાયા સે ક્યાં સે ક્યું' કે ક્યા કરે કે કે કે કે કે કે કેલા સે કેલા સ ૡ૱ૡૢૺઌૺ૽૽૽ૢ૾ઌૺૹઌઌઌૢૺઌ૾ૺ૾ઌ૽૽૽૽ૼૻ૱ઌ૽૽ૢૡૺૡઌૹૢ૽૽ૡૹઌૡ૽૽ૢ૽ૢૢ૽ૼઌ૾ૢૻઌ૾ૺઌઌઌઌ૽૽૽ૢ૾ઌઌ૽૽૱ઌૹ૽૽ૢ૽ઌૹ૽૽ૺૡૹઌૹ૽૽ૢ૽ઌૡ૽ૺૺ૾ૹ૽ૼ૱ . कुत्र कृतः दे । प्रश्र खेत्र से :श्रेन : यः ने ते :ततः क्षेत्र : लु. न वीं श्र :सक्तेश :ययः केये :यात्र न ने त नामया नामवः सम्प्राचित्रः के निर्मास्त्रः मुक्तान्त्रे निर्मान्त्रः स्थान्त्रः स्थान्त्रः स्थान्त्रः स्थान्त्र मुन्नामुः अर्केः) देन्ने में क्रेवे धेना करानाना नाम प्राप्त क्षेत्र क ५८। लट्फ्रियाचरमः १४ ४८। "ट्रक्क्माम्युम्मान्नुमान्न्यम्नपमान्नुमान्नपमान्नुमान्नपम्निमान्नपमान्नुमान्नपम्निम्नपमान्नपमान्नपम्नि <u> २८.चर्नेर.च.लुथ.थ.च.च.ची.क.लची.ल.२नु.शु.श्री.सूर.चनु.केशश.कची.नुष्ये.लूर.लर्ची</u> ।लू.कश.लूर.केंटश.ट्र.कूटुश. `र्वेना'या'बर्ळिंद'द'-(१'यद'बेर'न''द्रदा। नाद'खुनाबा'बेर'नवे' क्षु'सूद'खू'बर'खू'बर'ब'नार्नेनाबा'बेर'प'देना देन:श्रम:धेत्र'त्र'यर'र्से'त्वे'द्रवा'र्सेत्'र्धेन्'रेन्। वान्यप्ते'श्चु'श्चत्र'ह्नेर'य'वात्र'श्चवाश्चेन्यने'श्च'श्चर-र्धेन्यते'हुत् ङ्काः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः व्याप्तः विकाराम् विकारः क्षेत्रकाः क्षेत्रकाः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रकाः क्षेत्रकाः विकारकाः दे'याद्रवे'चबूर्याके न्वायर पार्वे यादे पदः तुयापारेद्र अपदारे विद्यास्तर मुद्र विद्यापारे प्रयासिक विद्यापार विद्या वयात्यः स्टर् स्रोदः सःवद्य देरः सदः दे स्मिन् स्वते द्वायाया यहवा वसः वर्षेतः क्विते क्वितः क्वितः ह्वाया से स ऍर-देर्। हेशःसःरार्क्वः मरःसदेः मदःभ्रवाशः हेरःसः ने स्वनाः सरः स्वाः द्वुदः प्यरः कें नाः कुषः कवाशः दशः सद्धेनाशः মান্ত্র্বা ক্রমান্ত্র্বাস্থা Tibetan Treasures, Selections of Musical Instruments and Stationery of Successive Dynasties, Morning Glory Publishers, Beijing, 2011 র্বিশ্রহর্ম (१) ব্রন্থ Genqia Musical Instrument, Tubo Period बेश'नात्र'ळना'नाडेना'नी'क्कुन'सर्त्र'र्केत'श्रूर'नासन्।

त्या बेशन्दरा "गुर्वाचीवाशाबुन्दसरादेवार्याके" (क्र्याच्चीराबुन्दसरादर्गेवासर्वेवाचाराद्वराक्चा सर्कें) सर्के वा वी भ्रावित्र श्री अप्तर्शे वा खेवा श्री वि प्रसे देव प्रस्थ प्रस्थ प्रस्थ प्रसे वा विकास सासुकासहेकायदे र्सेतार्के मत्वाका । द्रातारे नका गुक्ष हिना नद्राग् गुक्र सहित स्त्रा सामा स्त्रीत शुसाध्वासकेंवा वी विवसासन् देव में केंदे दुन हु। वुसास केंद्र मेंदे ख़ाइन केंद्र हुन हुन हमा ૬'ઌૹ'લુ'ૡ૽ૺૺ૱૽૽ૢ૽ૺ૽ૹ૾૽ૼ૽૽ૢૹ૽ૣૼૼ૱૽૽ૢ૽૽૽ઽૺૹ'શું૾ૹ૽ૼૼૢૼ૱૽૽૽૽ૢઽ૽ઌ૿૱ઌ૽૽૱ૹૡૢ૽ૺૺ૾૽ૹ૾૽ૡ૽૽૽ૹ૾૽ૡ૽૽૽ૹ૽૽ૡ૽૽૽૽ૹ૽૽ૡ૽ नाशुरायदारायोत् व्यार्केदिः ह्यायदारायोत् नार्वदारार्द्वे सदे ह्यायदारायोत् ने राम्यास्त्रायदा सःलुब्र.चम्.चन्त्रः वर्षाम् । वर्षाम्, वर्षाच्याः वर्षाम्, वर्षाः दशायनुवानम्भित्रान्तरे भ्रीत्। सामुनानेषा (हेशा) येनशान्। नायसामी नायसे में मेर्स केंशा व्या वर्ज्ञेषाः सुतिः रेशः शुः नवः सः श्रूरः वर्त्यवः दर्षे शः यरः त्रवः । देः यरः यरः नविः दर्गः वर्तुः वर्षुः न्ता करानन्त्रान्ता नामनार्विः संभूतान्त्रान्त्रान्तान्त्रान्त्यान्त्राप्त्रान्त्राप्त्रान्त्यान्त्रान्त्राप्त्रान्त्रान्त्राप्त्रान्त्रप्तित्र्यान्त्रप्तित्र ५८। क्रु.केब्र.चबेदे.त्वचनशःक्ष्यः५८। दे.चाशुश्रः५५्शःचदे.दे.चन्५५५८। शक्कें र्श्वेःचबेदे.चन्५५५। <u> दरा| मुबेरःमुखुःसरःमुखुःसःमुःनहस्रयःन्वदःदरः| खःदर्ज्ञेम्'मे'नहस्रयःन्वदःदरः| यःयः</u> दम्रे सेंदे चुर ह्वा सें नुसास सर र् पेंदायाना होना । दायास चुर दर्भे ना नी सुनास सुरायर स्पूर द्यायनुवादम्भानात्रे । वित्राचन्या वर्षे वास्त्राचित्रवाद्याच्यात्राच्यात्राच्यात्राच्यात्राच्यात्राच्यात्राच्य र्श्वे (भूता स्टाय हो अप्तर्वा) के अप्तरा अद्येत अर्के अर्थे स्टाय स्टाय स्टाय स्टाय स्टाय स्टाय स्टाय स्टाय स [म्री-द्रेयात्रान्ते,स्राना-दे,त्रा-दे,श्चन्त्रा-वर्त्वेत् । वि.स्. ५८८ मृत्यात्राप्तयात्रात्रयात्रात्रयात्रात्रयात्रात्रयात्रा लट्रियाः भविर्द्रास्य अत्राचा स्ट्रियाः भविर्द्रा । स्वर्द्रायाः स्वर्धाः स्वर्धाः स्वर्धाः स्वर्धाः स्वर्धाः शुःचुर्यात्ववायाः" वेयः नदः। यदः नश्चरः भ्रुः न्युः हे केतः भ्रुः नेवयः भ्रिः भ्रुदः ह्यः नश्चरः नग्नेयः पदिः लटःक्ट्रियम व्यः देवायः द्वटः ध्वताः सुत्रः क्ट्रियायः वर्षे द्वययः व्यवायः स्यायायः स्थित्ययः वर्षयः स्थः नर-कुयानवे सेशासहर नवे। यर सेंदानहें वे सर्कें नवर सेवास विवास के नवर र्क्केव'सदे'रदःसॅ'र्गाम्। ।स'र्वेस'सर्केव'र्'देरस'सूम'से'र्स्नेद्र्यम्। ।मर्न्'के'कन'र्हेद'ट्टेर' नुर-र्षेद्रश्रु:ब्रुवाश् । दे:क्रें:ब्रू:देवाश-र-इं:नृश्रःशःधरः। देवाशःवानुवाशःधरःक्रेंदेःवद्वःदग्नरः र्हें अर्था प्रति मुद्री विश्वास हो दे स्थ्वास स्वर्थ स्थल स्वर्थ स्वर्थ स्वर्थ स्वर्थ स्वर्थ स्वर्थ स्वर्थ स्वर इस्र सेर ५ वर्षेत्। । देश यायश । "कुर वह्ना यदे यहर से मर मे भ्रीत नुपत्तु र हेर । हे वर्षिर कंट साह्य क्र का सु नुरा है : इंटर देर विषय में । दिवे : के : यट दिन साहर में यो मार्से हिन्य :

र्ययाः संप्रुष्टः मैट-अरथा-४ट-सैं.बुका-बै:य-पर्वेयाका-सूर्व | सूर्या-बैर्याः ४००० (सूर्या-बैर्यः ४०००००) 111 कुं.टेसूप्र-बैं.मैं.दुष्ट; ब्रि.लहूप्र-यश्चियावा यट्रे.कुप्र-तत्त्रुप्र-जग-सूर्या-सप्र-क्ष्य-सूर्या-बैर्या-वर्ष्या-अर्था-०४४ वै:सूप्र-बैंट-अरथा-४ट-सैं.बुका-बै:य-पर्वेयावा-सूर्या | सूर्या-बैयः ४४४४०० -४४४४०० सूर्या-बर्या ०४४००४०

म् प्रस्ति स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वाप्त स्व

લમ્યાના ત્રાસ્ત્ર સ્ત્રાપ્ત સ્ત્ર સ્ત્રાપ્ત સ્ત્ર સ્ત્રાપ્ત સ્ત્ર સ્ત્રાપ્ત સ્ત્રાપ્ત સ્ત્રાપ્ત સ્ત્રાપ્ત સ્ત્રાપ્ત સ્ત્રાપ્ત સ્ત્રાપ્ત સ્ત્રાપ્ત સ્ત્રાપ્ત સ્ત્ર સ્ત્

स्वास्त्रेत्वे स्वम् स्वस्त्रा स्वस्त्रा स्वस्त्रे स्वस

¹¹³ સુદ: \mathbf{A} : \mathbf{A} :

¹¹⁴ वहुना त्रेश सूर्य स्ट्रम देन मत्रुन राज्ञे र्लेना महरू ४:५

¹¹⁵ वर्ष्टिया. मुश्रास्त्रमास्याया वर्षात्राम् वर्षाः १०:४

વધુ મું ત્રાપ્ત ત્ર ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત

चनावः नुस्कितः नुमस् क्षेत्रः व्यवः क्षेत्रः व्यवः क्षेत्रः कषेत्रः कष

¹¹⁶ विद्वान्त्रेशःश्रूषःश्रूरःदेवःवात्रुवाशःग्रेःर्वेवान्तरसः १९:५

११७ - दह्नियाः द्वेशः श्रूरः श्रूरः देवः वाह्यवाशः क्षेः भेवा वादशः १४:१४

व्यूरामान्यम् विवानयराभीत्वार १३ साक्ष्यां साक्ष्यां रूपार्धीं व्या १६११ व्यूमार्ह्मा सामान्या भ्रमभण्यक्षे प्रमानक्षेत्रपञ्चित्रसर्वेन । स्थान इसमायहाँ पञ्चान । स्थान । स्थान । स्थान । स्थान । स्थान । स्थ OF LHASA MEMORIES & A POEM IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER Composed by H. E. Shekarlingpa at Darjeeling in 1911, on the occasion of H.H. the 13th Dalai Lama's visit to India. (Third revised edition) Printed and published by G. THARCHIN, AT THE TIBET MIRROR PRESS, KALIMPONG. 1965 र्निना शहरा १ दहेते दराई श्चीरावेशासदे छन मुर्डिर श्चीरावेश श्चेश हिरा ग्चीश दिरा गुरा प्राप्त । प्राप्त श्ची र्ळें अ'वर्षित्र'ञ्ज्' अ'त्रुत् 'ज्ञु' नतुना अ'र्शे|| *MEMORIES OF LHASA*. COMPOSED BY H. E. SHELKARLINGPA, AT DARJEELING, IN 1910, 11. EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY THARCHIN. PRINTED BY THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND GUILD MISSION AT THE TIBETAN PRESS KALIMPONG. 1936 र्ने मृञ्जेन ३ न'वर'। "ठेंदे'ठेदे'तुदु'तुदु'दनद'क'र्ने'श्चेर'न्र'।" बेश'न्यश्रवा हे क्रेंश'न्छेश'नश्चेनश वेंर्'ब्रेंरश'र्सेन' युःकेदःसॅदिःर्स्त्र्यःगति। र्वेन्-रनःर्स्नेन्-र्यून्-शर्स्त्रानाविःविनःननेनःशुःध्वदःग्रीकःविनःननेनःसहन्। गर्छःयादाः र्हें अञ्चीनाः । नामाः वर्षेत्रः वर्षा भे सेनायः स्त्रेतः स्त्रः । ४००५ स्निनः चर्यः ५५७ दरः। "र्डेदे रेदे रेद वनवःकःर्हे क्षेत्रः न्दा। वेशः नामवा। वेदः ग्रेष्ठे नुभः ग्रेश्चनमा उत्स्वतः दन्नामः वेवः क्षेत्रः से वश्चरः सूत्रः नुनः ग्रे श्रुत प्रा हिंसा प्रसा भूम हिंदा वर्षा के प्रतर हसा मुला दर्श होया। विद् नी हिंसा देवा श्रु हया। १९६३ (५) ર્વેન્'ગ્રે'ર્ફેસ'રેવા'ક્રું'ફવા'ર્ફેસ'ક્રેવા'તુર્સાફેસ'ક્રેવા'ન્દ'-દ્વે'ક્રુઢ'દ્યર્સ'ન| ર્વેવા'ગ્રદસ' *૯૧–*୬૧ ॱॿॣॱॺॱॾॖॖॺॱॿॣॱॸ॒ॸॱॸ॓ढ़॓ॱॾॕॹॱय़ॱय़ॕॱॸॕ॒ॱॺॗॕॸऻॗॱॱॱय़ॶॺॱऄॺॱॼॖढ़॓ॱॸॸॱॺॾॕॸऻ*ॗ*ॱक़ॕॸॱॴढ़ॖॸऄॺॱॸऀॴॱॾॕॹॱॿॗऀॴॱॿ॓ॱऴऺढ़ॱ

दर-दिश्वम्यान्यां विद्याः स्वितः स्वितः स्वितः स्वाय्याः स्वित्यः स्वयः स्वितः स्वयः स्वितः स्वयः स्वितः स्वयः स्

चीरमाक्री, याच्याचान्त्र, स्वम्यान्त्र, स्वम्यान्यः स्वम्यान्यः स्वम्यान्त्र, स्वम्यः स्वम्यः स्वम्यः स्वम्यः स्व

द्रवाशायक्षा विश्वास्त्रात्त्रवा क्ष्यात्रक्षात्र विश्वास्त्र विश्वास्त विश्वास्त्र विश्वास्त विश्वास्त्र विश्वास्त्र विश्वास्त्र विश्वास्त्र विश्वास्त्र विश्वास्त्र विश्वास्त्र विश्वास्त विश्वास्त्र विश्वास्त्र विश्वास्त

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¹²⁰ ર્સેન્'ग्री'देवा'चादश'र्स'क्रुश'क्रुं'क्र'वर्ष्यश्य'र्स्यक्षेत्र'ख्रद'ख्रद'। वर्द्द्र'हेदश'वाद्गेश'या सेन्'द्रदः'र्स्कुदः'र्ख्य्य'क्ष्य'क्षेत्र'ख्र्य'याद्गेश'या

¹⁵¹ वर्ष्याय १-३ म स्यापित्य प्रसामक्ष्याय स्थापित्य स्यापित्य स्थापित्य स्यापित्य स्थापित्य स

स्र-रा (पा.कु.) क्रू-रावटाम्मैयार्यया र्या.स्यास्याम्या क्रा.ता क्री.वार्थराम्या स्थान्या क्रि.तास्या स्थान्या भूर-ता.सावसार्ययाच्यात्राच्यात्राच्यात्राच्याः र्यो.स्यास्याच्याः क्री.वार्श्वराम्बेयाः स्थान्याः स्थान्याः स्

- ४ (ब्र्या.वट.य.चूर.वेशम.र्टर.क्रिया श्री.वार.क्री.क्रि.शक्क्षा वृष्य.चेतु.ड्रवायामा ४८ श्र.द्रवायार्ट्य.श्रीय.वट.ा
- ત્ર કુવાનિયાન સુર્યા સુરા કુરા કુરા ત્રાહ્ય કુરા ત્રાહ્ય ત્રાહ્ય ત્રાહ્ય ત્રાહ્ય ત્રાહ્ય સુરા સુરા ત્રાહ્ય ત્રા ત્રાહ્ય ત્રાહ્ય ત્રા
- (३) सूचा चर्या ८६-४५
 (४) सूचा चर्या ८५ विष्या वराया वराया वर्षाया वराया वर्षाया वराया वर्षाया वराया वर्षाया वर्षाया वराया वर्षाया व
- विटार्चका बाहु, बाहु द्राचिका क्षेत्रका क्षेत
- ८) सूचा चार्या १५८ –१५६८० बूचा प्रदार्थ प्रम्य प्रदास्त्र प्रदास प्रदास्त्र प्रदास प्
- ત્ર્રેન્ છે. ક્રુશ્ચર્યા ક્ષેર્યા ૧૯૧૫ (૯) ત્રુવા ચારબા ૯૩–૧૯૯ ત્રુવા તાર્વરા પ્રદેશ ક્ષેર્યા ત્રુવા ક્ષેર્યા ૧૯૧૫ લ્લા ત્રુવા ક્ષેર્યા ત્રુવા ત્રુ
- १ ब्रिंग.वट.र्ट्र.क्रिशी क्रूंट.वाष्ट्रश.८४६-८८६ १ ब्रिंग.वट.र्ट्र.क्रिशी क्रूंट.वाष्ट्रश.८४६-८८६
- यदास्य स्वास्य स्वास्
- ३० बूच्यासर पश्र्म द्वार्य क्षेत्र क्

- 153 $-\frac{1}{2}$ ક્રિવ. શ્રીધ્ય. 22 ડેનું મેય. ક્રિય. છે. વ્રું. પ્રેશ્ના ક્રિય. પ્રિટ. પ્રજ્ઞા ક્રિય. પ્રિટ. શ્રી ક્રિય. શ્રીય. શ્રી ક્રિય. શ્રીય. શ

चवरःस्वशः वृद्धः चाहेशः वद्धः वह्यः द्वः भ्रोः व्ह्यः वह्यः व्याः स्वाः व्याः व्याः

वयः पाठुः पाठुं र प्रथा कृता ज्ञारा १४७-१८० वर कृताया सहस्रका पायदः सूर्य। वृषः पर्देश ४००८ (३) पाठुः पतायः हुसः सृपाः सः यः प्रचरः सूर्य स्त्रात्त्रे स्त्राः सृपाः स्वारः स्वारः स्वरः स

વ્યા મુખ્ય સુંત્ર ત્વર્ટ, લેશ, લિયા, લિયા, મુખ્ય દૂર્ય, મુખ્ય ત્વર્ય ત્વર્ય, સુંત્ર, ત્વર્ય, લેશ, લિયા, લિયા, મુખ્ય ત્વરા, સુંત્ર, ત્વર્ય, લેશ, લિયા, લેશ, લેશ, ત્વર્ય, ત્વર્ય, ત્

- 125 न्ने.पर्यं तर्वतः क्षेत्र। सूर्-क्रे.स्वान्चर्यासः क्षेत्रान्यस्यान्वेत्रः त्राच्यः स्वान्यः स्वान्यः स्वा स्वाप्तः न्ने.पर्वयः स्वापः सूर्वाः स्वापः स्वा
- 126 1950-1959
- चारका ७४ वकासकेसातचुना चूर्या सम्भिताचा योषका योट्टका सिखं के तच्ची स्थानचाट से ह्या ७६१३ (ऽ) से का स्पूर्या सकूट, हीय योट दूर्या चूर्ट प्रतः श्लिट हूरका साट क्ष्यां का शिव स्थानचाट से क्ष्यां ७६१३ (ऽ) से क्या स्पूर्या योषकार ४४

वार्डे के विस्ताविक स्त्री विकासी के प्राप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त 'वैर'] य' (र्ह्में नवर'र्देद'व्युव') वरुष'र्षेद्र'यदे 'सूवष'शु'दर'य'वर्सेंद्र' [र्सेंद्र'] ग्राव्यार'हे' अस्यान्यस्थान्येद्वः नृर्वेद्वस्यादे त्रमादाष्ट्वनः ने त्रन्दः विवार्षेवाः त्र्वः त्रव्यसः त्रुदः । विविध्यस्य विवार्षेवाः स्थान्यस्य । विविध्यस्य विवार्षेवाः स्थान्यस्य । विविध्यस्य । विविष्यस्य । विविध्यस्य । विविध्यस्य । विविष्यस्य । विषयस्य । विविष्यस्य । व बन्धः द्वीः व्यूनः युनः य्वीः सः नेत्। ५ न्यूः मः क्वें नः यानः स्वीः त्वे नः क्वें क्वाः यान्यः स्वाः से निक् <u> देवे स्ट्रेट तर सम्बर्धेट. [स्ट्रेट.] वालका ग्री त्याव त्यत्ति र क्रु. इ.च.वका लूट या स्ट्राया केवा लेव.</u> वयर र्स्चेनाश्वाचेनावश्वाचराय इसश्रा ह्ये क्रिंनाश्वरम् । क्रिंनाश्वरम् । वातुर प्राप्त । वातुर प्राप्त । हिन् यन्तर् मुख्येर्पन्य। महिकान्य में स्टिकानी मानवानी हिन्या है स्ट के तु कि स्वीकान के स्वाद हिन्स् स्ट क्षेत्र⁻क्षेत्रः नात्रत्रः नत्रत्रः (सन्। ग्राटः स्ह्रेयः सन्नुत्रः अत्। दें र पेटः पेतः त्रेत्रः त्रत्रः देशः नत्रत्रः ऍर्पर्यं विवास स्ट्रिं र्वे स्वादर सदे सुन् स्वाची से दे स्वास्त्र स्वास्त्र स्वास्त्र स्वास्त्र स्वास्त्र स्व वै'क्षुर-क्षुर-५८। ग्रम-र्ज्ञेम । बर-न-क्रुर-पं-स-महिंग्रस-ध्नम-र्थे५-स-रेन्। विंद-क्रे-नहर-द-प्रज्ञेम-नःवर्वावाया क्षेःक्रॅशनःक्रॅन्वाने बेर्श्यन्ते प्रत्या प्रत्याप्त प्रत्याप्त विश्वापी ग्राम्य नाम। हिन्दें स्रका क्रेन नारे निर्मा ग्रारान के भाषा हिन्दे राम हिन्दे स्था हिन्दे स्था हिन्दे स्टा के भाषा हिन्दे स्था हिन्दे स्था हिन्दे स्टा के भाषा हिन्दे स्था हिन्दे स्टा के भाषा हिन्दे स्था हिन्दे स्टा के भाषा हिन्दे स्था हिन्दे व्युवा । वर्षायाञ्चे 'बेवा वार्नेट पुरा वावर 'र्देव हे 'र्वे 'श्वाय । वर्षा ये दार पुरे य हे ये हे । अवस हे पुरा ८:र्के:र्नेन्-रूट-न्वर-रूट-वर्ड्न-धेन्-र्डट-वियायद्वियायद्वियायात्रहायायात्रहायायात्रहायायात्रहायायात्रहायाः अक्रवं प्रशासम्बद्धाः क्षेत्र प्रदेशमा विवासे दः श्रुवा अर्थे स्ट हिन ता अर्के व द्वर स्ट स्ट वेर १३ द्वरा नहर चित्र-रचित्रः भ्रवः भ्राचित्र चाराची निवाद क्षेत्रः चित्र चित्र क्षेत्रः चित्र ळद्-द्रवा-सदे-ळ-५१४-ळद्-झेद्र-वाद-सूर्र-प्यत्-झे-झू-अद-कुर-वी-ळ-दश-द-ळॅ-वार-स-इसश-द्रवा-स-<u> ५८.क.मुेब.लट.७हूँ श.स.लूरी</u> च.कू<u>र.बीच.बीच.बीच.की.सूच.कश.</u>चीब.स.चम्च. श्रूम:दे:द्रिंद्रामम:सेद्र:बुर्म द्रिम:दर्मनावर्मेद्र: [र्सूद्र] मान्य:ह्रेन्। संस्तेन:रेद्र अःगर्हेन्यश्चानः यान्वतः र्द्धेशः ने रहं अन्ते शः अवितः विवार्धः ने ने विवार्धः विवार नेनःवा क्षुःश्रुवःन्नः। र्कृःडेवा ध्रमःडेवःवःर्येवायःनःर्मेवःर्वेः ह्वययःग्रमःवादीःवयःनञ्चनःन्वेवियःनः यान्त्रिन्यभन्यायात्र सुरासुरानुरान्या र्वेतास्यायात्रिन्यभन्यायात्रात्रेत्रास्य सेत्रा र्रे हेन्स्य गुरु ह्वा तृ न्नेर वर्भेर कुवा पर वर्शे थे थेनि दे के पर वर्ग सक्स्य विवास है हिर क्वनः युः विस्तायानिकः र्श्वेका हे केवा अळवं विस्तायुना हुः संस्ता नीका श्वाका राक्षितः हुं र्श्वेनः र्श्वेनः सूनः स

^{128 1956} ही '' है अरक्ष यो अर्थ क्षेत्र स्ट्रिंस स्ट्रिं

यश्चयः तार्था र्ज्या स्ट्राचियः श्चर्या स्वाधाः स्वधाः स्वाधाः स्वधाः स्वधाः स्वाधाः स्वाधाः स्वाधाः स्वाधाः स्वाधाः

क्षेट्रा | श्रिक्कः क्रूट्र-ट्रिनः क्रिक्चे वाका क्षेत्रा | ट्रिट्रः क्षेत्रका क्ष्रिट्रं क्ष्रिट्रः | क्ष्रिट्रं क्ष्रिट्रं क्ष्रिट्रं वाक्ष्रित् क्ष्रिया | ट्रिट्रं क्ष्रिया विकाय क्ष्रिया | ट्रिट्रं क्ष्रिया क्ष्रिया

१६६८ सूर्या.चेटश. ४४.४-४४८ चूर्या.चूर्या.चैश.ट्रीट.चाबुषु.चैं.क.त्य.लूष्य.कैय.वट..वुश.ट्रूब..हुंचा.चेश.त्र। सृ.ट्र्याल.ट्रा. श्रीयावटा। ट्र्या.चिश.ट्रीट.चाबुषु.चैं.क.चरेशश.चश्चैयाशा १ श्रुषु.पट्र्ये.हुंच्छ. ४२ वा चूर्ट.ट्र.श्रीट.कूँटश.सृट. ट्रि.चोर.प.चेश.त्र.चुंचा.लूट.चोषश.क्षेत्र.रच्येश.ट्रुब.त्र.च्येश. १३-१६ चोषटर्ययश.चूर्ट.कुं.चोर.स्थे.सूचोश.जू.चैश.बुंचाश.यर्ज्ञचशा सूचा.चंचरश. १३-१६

क्ष्यित्वत् (तर्रा) चृत्राज्ञ्च क्षित्र विद्या क्षित्र क्षित्र क्ष्या क्षेत्र क्षेत्र

¹³⁰ ફ્રિંગ્સ્ટન ત્રફેત્ ત્રફેત્ ત્રફેત્ ત્રફેત્ ત્રફેત્ ત્રફેર્ય ત્રફેત્ ત્ર

¹³¹ हें सेर पड़े ५ नम्रुव पहें व र्नाया पर्ते स् (1760-?)

 $[\]frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1$

१३४ सुरः १२: हें हें कें ज़ुया (1881–1940)

¹³⁵র্ন র্ট্র্ন্ম ঊন্তর্কারা Tibetan Archives, 2013 (2) 17, Xizang Zizhiqu Danganju, Xizang ShanshuiYingwu Jigshu Youxion Gongsi. ঝুনরে। ঝুনতের ব্যুন্নের্ম্ম নুল্মর্ম (1919–1972)প্রন্ট্রি (1924) প্রি-র্ন্তর র্মমান্ট্রামার্কর ই নর্গান্দ্র্ম। ARISTOCRACY AND GOVERNMENT IN TIBET,1728-1959 BY LUCIANO PETECH, ROMA, ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMOORIENTE, 1973. ঝুনরে। ঝুনতের ব্যুন্নের্ম্ম ক্রিম্মান্ট্র্যুর্মের (1898–?)বেই ইম্মের্ম্ম ক্রিমের ক

³⁶ वियान्त्रान्तिका वृद्धा क्षेत्राचाविषा सिद्धा क्षेत्राचाविषा सिद्धा क्षेत्राचित्रा सिद्धा क्षेत्राचित्रा साम्रावा विवाद स्वाद्धा विद्धा क्षेत्राचित्र स्वाद्धा विद्धा क्षेत्राचाविष्ठ सिद्धा क्षेत्र सिद्धा कष्टि सिद्धा क्षेत्र सिद्धा क्षेत्र सिद्धा क्षेत्र सिद्धा क्षेत्र सिद्धा कष्टि सिद्धा क्षेत्र सिद्धा क्षेत्र सिद्धा क्षेत्र सिद्धा क्षेत्र सिद्धा क्षेत्र सिद्धा क्षेत्य सिद्धा क्षेत्र स

हुश्रासास् भिवान्त्राम् स्ट्रीस्ताः क्षेत्रास्त्राः स्ट्रीस्याः स्ट्रीयाः व्रस्ताः स्ट्रीयाः स्ट्रीयः स्ट्रीयः

हत् के से (४६०४) जूर तर्या बुंश चोशवा यहा स्वेत रिक्टिश जूर हिन्दी हुंश प्राचित्र के प्राचित्र

च मातः च स्ट्रास्त्र स्ट्रास्त्र स्वास्त्र स्

¹⁴⁰ WHO'S WHO IN TIBET, 1948. ब्रुन्दा इन्द्रांचा सन्द्राचा सेन्द्रांचा सेन्द्रांचा (c.1903-?)
भीत् ही (1924) भेन्द्रांच्य सम्बद्धा (1901-?)

¹⁴¹ WHO'S WHO IN TIBET, 1948. ब्रूम्'त्र् ब्रु'ब्रेन्स'नर्सेन्'त्रसम'ळे'में हा (c.1903-?)
श्रीट'त्रे' (1924) सेन्'त्र्द्रस्त्रसम'त्रे', सक्ति व्रिंग्नेन्'त्र ब्रु'ब्रेन्स'नर्सेन्'त्रसम'ळे'में हा (1901-?)

¹⁴² WHO'S WHO IN TIBET, 1948. क्ष्म्र'त् ब्रेश्कॅ्र्र'स्र'देव केत्र केंत्र'वसेवा (c.1908-?) बॅलाग्नर प्रश्नेत् त्रस्य न्राकुषा ग्री पासुर हें सार्धे पाया प्रश्नेपाया क्षु पाया ग्री क्षा स्राह्म केंद्रे केंद्र हें सार्थिया विशास पायाया

¹⁴³ WHO'S WHO IN TIBET, 1948. क्षून:त्र| र्देन:क्रुश:त्र:प:रत्ता:न्य:देन:तु। (c.1911-?)

^{145 -} ब्रॅन्ट्र-वर्ष्ट्य-देनट-ब्रैची... कुम.स.क्टरःस.ब्रुच्य.विट.सॅम.क्ट्र-वर्ष्ट्य.विट.सॅम. (1811–5) जवीम.स्टेर.वर्ट्य स्टेन्ट्र-वर्ष्ट्य-वर्ष्ट्य-देनट-ब्रैची... कुम.स.क्टरःस.ब्रुच्य.विट.संग्र.क्ट्य.वर्ष्ट्य.विट.संग्र.क्ट्य.वर्ष्ट्य.

¹⁴⁶ ব্রিম'ন্ন:'বর্ঝি,'ব্রমঝ'ন্ন'র্নুঝা (1922–28/01/2007)

¹⁴⁷ স্ক্র'ন্র'ব্রমশ'ন্নন'স্কুন্ম (1920–17/9/2002)

¹⁴⁸ **इ**.चे.ध.स.स्य.स्य.स्य.कंट्रेयम् (1930–1992)

¹⁴⁹ ह्य: मु: क्रें: न्यन: 'त्यु: नः सेन्। (1924-28/12/1995)

¹⁵¹ WHO'S WHO IN TIBET, 1948. क्षूम त्रा है विनर्भाम निमः हेत्र हैं है। (c.1918-?)

¹⁵² বন্দ্রেই বর্ষীশ্বদান্ত ইন্দ্রব্যাদর্শীন। (1924–10/7/1999)

¹⁵³ नर पर्के निवस में हैं हैं दें तुन्। (1932–27/1/1992)

¹⁵⁴ WHO'S WHO IN TIBET, 1948. क्षूम् त्रा श्लूत र्क्षून् मार्के न्नम् कुल में (c.1927-?)

है। 155 ४१ च्याक्षेत्रास्त्र स्वास्त्र स्वास्

¹⁵⁵ धुनाशः र्वे दश्चे भुनाशः नगः निशः है। (1928–2007)

¹⁵⁷ नाम: विस्थाहें त्यनाश्वासन्तर हैं हे मेना वहें ता विस्तान हिंदा हिंदिया हुन हुन्देश नदे हैं हे मेना वहें त 1983)]

१५८ - नमसःस्वि:समः वहेनमःसेन् स्तुःसः हो (१९२६ स्नु:पह्नसः)

¹²⁸ ट्यो. श्रुंट. श्रुंट. प्राप्त क्षेत्र तहें ब. श्रुंट. ये श्रुंट. ये श्रुंट. ये १००० स्वा चंट्य. ४०० वर्षियाय. श्रुंत्र स्वेत्र प्राप्त स्वेत्र स्वेत्र प्राप्त स्वेत्र स्

^{160 (1939} বছ্নেশ')

¹⁶¹ ब्रेदु:न्-र. दुन:नश्रूद:घर:म। (1904-23/5/1983) नेश:ह्य। १.८५३ ह्ये:ह्य: ५. र्नेन:ग्रुट्श: ४ अ

¹⁶³ र्नेन् ब्रेंन्स, क्षुं इत्य बिन पहुना १८८० (१) नार्डे प्याद हैंस श्रीना प्राप्त के नेन् ब्रेंन्स श्रीना स् बिन पहुना विन प्राप्त क्षानार्डे नाहेन्स द्वाया अप्याप क्षाना स्थाप स्थाप स्थाप स्थाप स्थाप स्थाप स्थाप स्थाप (1928–1990)

ज्येश ग्रिस्यापुं स्टायोश्रस्यक्ति। श्रःस्योश्रस्य श्रिस्यायाः १००० क्याः ग्रह्मः १००० श्रुष्वयशः श्रुप्तायरः ह्रे श्रेष्ठ्यात्यः देशः योश्रः श्रियः विद्यः श्रेष्यः विद्यः १००० क्याः श्रेष्यः विद्य

શ્રી ત્યમાનર્સી ક્રિસ્ટ્રિનામાર્સનામાગ્રી ફ્રિસ્ટ્રિસ્ટ્રિન્સેટ્રિનામાગ્રી ફ્રિસ્ક્રિમામક્રિસ્ટર્સેનામાનમા त्तुः वार-५८। भू: र्केटिः इसः घर। रेताः कः र्केवाशः रेवाः वातुरः श्चाः उत्यायः स्टः रावेदः श्ववाशः श्वरः केः याञ्चाल वि.म्. १८८१ व्यापाया वि. १ व त्यःर्श्वेनःर्श्वेनःप्रत्येत्यःगविनःश्चेनःसहनःर्श्वेः।विनान्तः। स्रेः इनाःस्वेदेः।वुनःसःननः। स्रेः तर्वेद। नादसः त्यम् र्स्त्रिम् अर्मेन अर्मेन अर्मेन अर्मेन अर्मेन अर्मेन अर्मेन अरम्भ अरम अरम्भ अर નશુઃ ಹઃ અફઅઃ તુનઃ ના बरः શ્રેઃ बरः અઃ શ્રેં 7: ના લ અઃ શ્રે 9: શૂના ર્સેં ના અઃ ગ્રેં કેં કેં નં ના ના ના ના ના इटा लट.सूर्यान्यायायायायाः कृ.ट्यूय.हू.ह्टारा.ट्या सुर.बूजावटा स्थटा स्था ध्रूर. बदा नेवादग्रस्त्रीदारार्थेवावाङ्गेराराविवाविवाविकान्वाकेर्यार्थे स्वास्त्रीयार्थे स्वास्त्राया ૽ૢ૱ૹ૽૾[ૢ]ઌૣઌૺઌ૱ઌૡ૽૽૱ૹૢ૽ૺઽઌ૽ૼઽૢૺ૾ૹૢ૽૱ૹ૽૱૱૱ૹૢ૽ૢ૾ૢ૽ૺૢૹૣઌૢઌ૽૽૽૽ૹ૽ૣ૾ઌૢઌૡૢૼઌૣ૾૱૽૽ૺૹ૽૱ૹૹૹૹૢ नु न्त्री नुस्रास्त्रसः १ म सः भगुतः विवेषास्य कृत्यः न्यनः स्याः सः केतः सेतिः सुः नुस्रः नंसः तस्य सः सः यहं वासः चुन थॅर्-ळॅर्। बर-अदे भ्रीर-धूना य र्वेर्-नाबुर-नार-यदे श्चेन यहंन अर्र-हें नाय यह नर्ये श्चेर् <u> अरशः मुश्रः मुः अर्द्धेदेः स्रमः मुः मितृरः मश्रः मुरः मश्रेशः अदेः दर्गे रशः देवः मितृरः महरः महरः महरः महर</u> १৫५৫ বস্বিস্ঠেস্উর্

क्र्य । म्थि श्री या श्री ट्रा या स्था विष्या प्रा श्री त्या विषया विषय

पूर्याचीयाकुन्यां सूच्याकुर्याचीर प्रकृता स्वारा प्रकृता स्वारा स्वारा स्वारा स्वारा सूच्या सूच्या

के. ३, १६०० (१६७४) सूर.सूर.र.संस. ध्या. ध्य. ध्या. ध्

्रम् त्राप्त क्षेत्र १९१० (१९१२) सर् नर्ने पुं सुरिया हिन् नर्थन क्षेत्र है । महिन स्वर् क्षेत्र क्षेत्र स्वर निर्मा स्वर् क्षेत्र स्वर निर्मा स्वर् क्षेत्र स्वर निर्मा स्वर् क्षेत्र स्वर निर्मा स्वर् क्षेत्र स्वर निर्मा स्वर निर्मा स्वर् क्षेत्र स्वर निर्मा स्वर निर्म

¹⁶⁴ Chiefs and Leading Families in Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet. Second Edition, Calcutta, Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1920 ब्रुन्दा श्रेन् प्राप्त हैं प्राप्त हैं है। (1882–?)

WHO'S WHO IN TIBET, Corrected to the Autumn of 1937, with a few subsequent additions up to February 1938, Calcutta, Government of India Press, 1938 ब्रुन्दा श्रेन्प्र अवस्त हैं है। (?–1933)

पर्वे निक्ता श्रेन्प्र अवस्त हैं निवास है हैं सिक्त हैं

¹⁶⁵ हे 'हें स-देश' सहं स्थान हैं प्रति स्थान स्

र्भ्रेंद्र'क्षे'ल्याश'सदे'ळेट्। टे'लेया'क्कु'यार-'ट्वीद'याल्ट-'र्श्याश'स'स्ट्वीत्य'स्डुट'हेद'यार्थेत्य'ट्-क्कु'यार-<u>ब्रह्मेनसःचत्न्वासःचत्र्वसःचूहःचेर्द्रहेर</u>चेर्द्रद्वरसःच्याह्यःच्याःच्याःच्याःच्याःच्याः नाशुद्रार्चेश्वात्वा क्रेश्वाकेरान्द्रेर्यान्यवे नात्वश्वात्वेना नाश्वराद्यान्यत्र न्यान्यत्वे नित्र नात्वर्यान्यत्वे नाश्वर्यान्यत्वे नाश्वर्यान्यत्वे नित्र नात्वर्यान्यत्वे नाश्वर्यान्यत्वे नाश्वर्यत्वे न लटा | श्रद्याः क्रुयाः चत्वायाः याः यदेन । १० क्रुयः द्वदः स्थेदः वत्वेदः वेदः द्वा । विदः सः सेवयः देवायः नात्र-१८८। दे.हेश.७ मुखासळेना नगायदेव मुसेन सुनि नज्ञाना सुना केत्र में प्राप्त स्थान क्षेत्रे पर्केन् द्रम्म गृत्ते प्राप्त के प्राप्त के कार्य प्राप्त के प्राप्त के प्राप्त के प्राप्त के प्राप्त क नक्षम्यान्तरे नावमान्त्रेमान्स्यान्तरमाने नात्रेमान्त्रमान्त्रेमान्त्रमान्त्रमान्त्रमान्त्रमान्त्रमान्त्रमान्त र्रे र्ब्रुवा वीश वार्षे व द्वारा । दर्वे श्रासदे वार्शे स वार्त् स्वे द्वारा । क्षा द्वादे र्ब्बे स्था शक्त सक ल.ह्यु.चजूर.वश्रम.क्रूंचया.भ्रीय.जयाया चजूर.वश्रम.क्रूंचया.भ्रीया.जयाया.वु.ल.ह्..क्रा.मीजा.मी.या. त्रशः श्रुतः पुरः। र्दे 'हेरः। दे 'सर 'श्रॅनाश'र्रेश'क' श्रुंत' श्रुंर खुश'रादे 'दने 'खुन' दन मासी ना पीता त्यादः ते : हे : वें : व्र : कें या था : शु : वें द : या त्र : या त्या दें द श : वें व्य : श्रू : वें व्य : ठवःविनाःग्रहः भेवः वर्तन् । दः दृहः । क्रेनाः नावे : इवः नावे वर्षः सह। नावे रः नातृहः श्वहः नी । सहे वरः कुत्रभूरःकुत्रः से र्हेन । भूरःकुत्रः वयः वि. तु. रू. । वि. व. व. भूरः वेरः र्ये रः ग्रीयः नारः वेरः । वि. व. वेरे र यश्रम, भूत्रम, भीत्र, जायाया विशासदा, क्रुया, यवर, में क्रुय, जर्मू स.ज. मूं या, विपास क्रुय, जर्म स.च. नवि'स'केत्र'सें'प्देनेते'सहंन्'प्देन्नेत्रस्य सामवेते'स'सम्मानुनास्य सिंग्स'केत् 'सेंप्स'स्य ह्यानासे मोने' वयानायायायात्राह्मद्भागुरादर्गासूयायाद्भा देःचलेदायार्द्भ्यामुखान्तुया १८८० सूनायाद्भागा सॅर'ॐभ्रुनर्यासर्वेद'पेट्'नर्वेद'र्देर'तु'ॐभ्रु'झेट' १० प'ळेद'र्दे'सर्ळेव'व्वसेर'व्वेस्टिव्स्टरवार्येत्य'क्तीः सहर् केत भ्रान्य नात्र केंगा नायर नहस्य राष्ट्र या देती गुण्ये नार्य कर खू नाहेगा गुभुन्य सर्वेदःस्वादःसर्द्वेश वित्वः उदःशुः वर्षेः वः स्वायः हे स्वस्यानस्य नसुन्यः पदे । विवादः देवः स्वेतः क्कॅंक्रियाम्बुबार्नेन्से र्हेना सम्मिनेमा हुन्मेल दया । या धुया र्सूनायदे यया या यहें द्या । वेशामवेदा ञ्जूयः विदेरः वरः क्रे क्वेंवा रेशः दे पद्रः विवा दरः | पक्षरः उदः विवृतः वद्रशः वद्रशः वरः व्युवा वाश्वरः पः इवाः यम्बर्भायम् वर्षात्राच्यात्राच्यात्रम् वर्षात्राचि स्थान्यम् स्थान्यस्य स्थान्यस्य स्थान्यस्य स्थान्यस्य स्थान श्चीत्रात्वा । यश्चेष्ठात्वाद्वात्त्रात्त्वात्त्वात्त्वात्त्रात्त्रात्त्वात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रात्त्र् भवतः स्वतः वित्रस्त्रः स्वतः स्व स्वतः स्व

. अर्हे इस क्रुय ने हे द क्रेस ख़ूर अदे दहा स क्रुट खून ने दने क्रुट दा वर्गे ख़िदा करा ख़ून अ नावरःभ्रेनमःवरःसदेःभ्रीरःस्नाप्रः। स्रामदेशसःस्रेनमःवर्षायःन्यः वर्षेषःनःन्रवरः वर्षायः वर्षेप्रयः नहेत्। स्र'अ'र्श्नेर्ह्रिर'त्रर'र्से स्र्र'त्रर'र्सेन्रेर'र्स्चित्र'र्सेन्स्यर्थ'न्त्रियान्यर्भेर'र्न्देन्यर्थेल। देवे भ्रम्भनर्थः भ्रुप्तेन्त्राक्ष्यः स्वाप्तान्त्रम् । भ्रम्भनर्थः स्वाप्तान्त्रभः स्वाप्तान्त्रम् । भ्रम्भन्यः स्व <u>| इस्राक्तित्रः सुर्भात्रात्र्या | स्थाप्त्राक्त्राक्त्राक्त्राक्ष्याक्त्राक्ष्या | स्थाप्ताक्ष्या | स्थाप्ता</u> ·वे'रा । वेशःश्रेंगशः ५८ः। ५वो : मतः । अः हैं : इसः क्वायः ग्रें : ५ शः भ्रतशः हुं तः कटः यः भ्रः श्ररः गवशः सः विनःश्रनःग्रवाशः इवः विवाशः नद्यनः (चिनः) ज्याशः यः चिनः यद्वेदः यद्यनः या विश्वनः श्लनः स्वा मदःर्त्रे म्युःग्विर्यात्यायायायाये ज्ञविर्यासाम्बर्यायायायायायायाय्यात्रीया विरामित्रायायायायायायायायायायायाय सिर्धिया त्यस्य स्र १ देव द्वरा त्याचा १ वि.सी. त्यस सम्स्य स्र प्रस्य स्याप स्र स्र र्रेना यस सर-सुर-तुः र्स्रेना स्राप्ता भिना सुर-सदे प्रमुद्र सामा स्राप्ता ४ ७ ७ जना यो छै जयाया 164 म स. २ या. या. या. या. या. या. १ की जिया ता. जे या. में या. या. वा. वा. वा. वा. वा. या. या. या. या. य क्वें:देर-पासुःर्श्वेद। १० षा:ठपा:पो:क्वं (वर्दे:हेशःर्ह्वेशः) ११ नर्शेद्:दयशःश्चेद:वर्द्देयश १४ वेर:श्चुः यम् । १२ व्राप्तर्माया के देरायर्के से १८८ है। १८८ है। द्वापित है। या है। या है। १५ द्वीया विरादित हो न र्के। १८ ञ्च विषामान्यायादे प्रमे मन् प्रमुद्धारम् । १४ प्रमानम् १४ प्रमानम् ।

Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy, WOMEN IN THE PERFORMING ARTS PORTRAITS OF SIX CONTEMPORARY SINGERS in JANET GYATSO, HANNA HAVNEVIK, editors, Women in Tibet, HURST & COMPANY, LONDON, 2005. 명치계 최기지지 및 제기지지 (c. 1912–1992) 대한 기본 제기지 및 제기지지 (SINGERS. 취지 지기지 (SINGERS.)

¹⁶⁷ জ'ভনা'ড়া'ল্ড'অনুসা Izzat Bibi (?-c.1954)

¹⁶⁸ WOMEN IN THE PERFORMING ARTS PORTRAITS OF SIX CONTEMPORARY SINGERS. सून् ज् जुना यो ज़ेना क्रेंबाजा (c. 1915–1992)

२० व्रथासद्यः यम् प्रवर्षः मतुनाशः व्यम् अते भुष्ते मृत्याः नीः व्यम् यो योत्रशः मात्रश्यः अत्यम् । । । । अस्य र्नेन् ग्री: अर्ने : ने अपने प्राप्त विवादिता है। अपने प्राप्त क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र सदः श्रुवाशास्त्रेत् । भूतः श्रुवासदे वावशासाञ्चनः स्वाधाः स्वाधाः स्वाधाः स्वाधाः स्वाधाः स्वाधाः स्वाधाः स्व अर्चे गर्वेद स्वार्ने वा ग्राया स्वार सूर रारा विदा ग्री अप्यत रहेत् और पर्ने ग्राया मुनारे अप्ता पारा द्वा क्वे। अन्यःन्भेतःक्रेन् क्विनःक्षेत्रायः बुद्धः । । वेनःवृतःयनः वेनाःनार्धेयः न्दः । । गुःगुःभनाःयनः र्नेनः वन जा जियःक्षानियारायेकाः (५८वाः) द्वेषात्त्रेया जियावि दुरःदृरायम्बाया वि कुःगरायारायः त्र्वा हिन्:ग्रे:अक्टे:व:क्ष्मावर्षेत्रा । चु:दवे:क्टे:व:माबद:हुद: । वुर:बुर:सदव:बुर:हिन्:व। । रमा: र्शेटः। | दर्वे श्रायते भ्रुवाश र्थे 'से त्या | वाशेस :बदश कु :बेनश सेन प्रमा | से 'दर्वे शाव के 'ब्लेट वादे। [बैट:शुदे:अर्वे :याविवाय:दट:| [बैट:शुदे:यय:क्यादट:या व्हिंवाय:देय:देट:वें विं श्वेतय:तववा |दे.र्थःह्र.जयाशःभिजःजयाश| ।श.यर्थयाशःसूयाःयहरःर्थशःरुया (यन्तरःसियाःह्र.जयाशःभिजः लवार्था) लावदार्से र्स्तापदार्से था । खुरवर्द्धवार्था बुरायर क्षुवापद्वा । वार्हेरास्यासास्त्री हासे रास्या [खुरु सेंदि सर्दे न ता ना ने ना सा है न ता है से हि ता स्वास कर स्वास है से स्वास है से स्वास है से स्वास है स नःभ्रुयःपर्या । गुं गुःर्सेन्द्रदेर^{।70} वर्हिनः नृतः । अः क्रेवः नृत्येवः सेवः स्वार्थः । वयः वृत्येः से हिवायदः जा । श्रमायद्वामार्युया दमार्यः दिया । श्रमारया प्रमायम् साम्यान्य । विषयः (द्वमाः) सूर्यामारयाविमाः *ঊবা'মন'৸ন'ঝ্'মন'ৠুন'বশ্ব'*রর'৸৸ৠ'ইথী

स्. क्रैंश क्रिंट दुश केथं ततु दुयो योषेश वियो जलट योड्र योश क्टिट्ट बैट हुं खेट हैं खेट दें सूट यं टेट । क्षेयो यर अंदि क्षेय क्षेयं त्या क्षेयं त्या विया जलट योड्र योश क्षेयं क्षेयं विया क्षेयं त्या क्षेयं क्षेयं त्या क्षेयं त्या क्षेयं क्षेयं क्षेयं त्या क्षेयं त्या क्षेयं त्या क्षेयं त्या क्षेयं क्षेयं क्षेयं क्षेयं क्षेयं क्षेयं क्षेयं त्या क्षेयं क्

¹⁶⁹ WOMEN IN THE PERFORMING ARTS PORTRAITS OF SIX CONTEMPORARY SINGERS. স্থুন'র| নাৰ্ক'অ'জ'ব্ল'অম্মা (c. 1911–1995)

¹⁷⁰ Good Morning

~क्किंत.क्य.र.क्रेंट.तु.रीश.शक्तशंश.की.कें.कूर्ट.रेट्टीय.विधिर.क्षे.क्य.ट्र.कवोश.संघ.₁₂₁ क्रीश.यट्र.क्षेंट. म्चीर-वार-जेर्-जी:प्राय-मेर्नर अं-अंक्रिम्यानर-पर-। मेर्-वावया ध्र-अंक्रेक्टेन्यवन-वात्र-पर-इस-वर्ग वावयः क्रेन्द्र-पावर्याया पावया (पावर्यायावया) स्ट्रिन्स्वि झुःयायावी पार्केन्द्रम्या यगुन्या बरायार्स्रेरायावया वानेयार्स्रेराप्याप्तया स्वारक्ष्यायायायायायायायायायायायायायाया गर्षेर.रेटा गर्षेर.पर्ध्य ।धीर.उत्पूरा यश्वरश्चाम्या इर.उतुर.रटायथर.राधियाःसेरशःक्ष्यः कर्-रे-रे-व्यानकृत-र्पर-व्यान्तिमा व्यान्तिमा विष्टान्यान्तिमा विष्टान्यान्तिमा विष्टान्यान्तिमा विष्टान्यान्तिमा लीलाः सैर्-अष्ट्र्याः सपुः राष्ट्राः सम्बदः रचाः सैर्-अन्। यरः वित्रः वरः यद्वेषाः से किः। वितः वरः अरः स्ट्रा য়ৢ৾৴৾য়৾৾৾য়৾য়৾ঀ৸ড়৾৻ৼয়ঀয়৻য়ৢ৻ঀ৾৾৾ঀৼয়ৣ৾ঀৼয়ৢয়ৼৢঀয়৻ড়ঌৼ৻ঀয়ৼ৻ঀ৻য়৾য়ৢঀৼঀ৾৻য়ৼ৾ঀৼৣ৾ঀৼৢয়ৼৢ৾য় क्वे'विवा'क्का'बा'का'वीर्हेवाका'दे'क्षेद्र'ञ्च'ञ्चर'द्ररः। वाञ्चेक्षभ्ववा'क्वे'ञ्च। क्वेंद्र'देवाका'ववा'द्रदःवठकादका नवार्स्रेव.बीवाश.ब्री.रेटा ग्रीट.वा.सूर्यात्राक्षी.कॅर.सूर्याक्षाटव.बट.रेट.क्षेत्र.ब्रींयात्रपात्राचीटावटाया.सुने र्त्रेच,रटा सै.चिथर.र्रहेय.र्ह्र्य.र्ह्र्य.र्ह्र्य.र्ह्य.प्रचानय.वर्षे.श्र.चियर.यर.भैर.र्नेट.र्ज्यूर.वच,हूच.यश्रात्वश श्च.क्षेत्रका.सर्ट्रन.क्षेत्र.बीर्ट्रन.ची.क्युं.चीर.सर्ट्याय.क्षेत्र.क्षेत्र.क्षेत्र.क्षेत्र.क्वेत्राका.चीर.क्ष याश्वरःगोर्नेन् याः अः याश्वरः केः इयाश्वरः श्रशः योर्नेन् अयेः श्र्येयः क्रुवः यज्ञनः कः विषा स्टान्यवेवः नृता ૹૢ૽ૺૺૺૺ૾ૹ૮ઌૺૹૹૹ૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૿૽ઌૺઌૺઌૹૹ૽ૺ૱૱ૢ૽ૺૹૹઌઌૹ૿૽ઌૺ૱ૡૹૡ૽ૺૺૺ૾ૺૺૺ૾ઌૺઌઌ૽ૹૢઌૺૡ૽ૺ૱ઌ૿૽ૺ૱ૢઌૢઌૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૹ व्यवेर प्राप्तर दर हर हेवा र्थेवा उंदर श्ला केवा अध्यास हर प्राप्त विवाय स्वाप्त विवाय स्वाप्त विवाय स्वाप्त व ननमः त्यत्रात्यः सुनमः १८५०।१८५१ र्वे स्वरं मुन्यरः तर्वे हिन्यरः हेरः छः नरा हिन्यो स्वरं से निवर्षः स्वरं स અમ:ભૂદ: ઋચજા. યાલિટ: યાવજા. થર્ચ સાચજા. વર્ષેય. જાયજા. કૃંત્રુવ. જાદ્દે - ઋચજા. થર. જા. કૃંટ. યાલજા. છી. दमाद्र'सिर'प्पर'र्वि'र्वे'ठम्'म्रर'र्सुम्'दर्वे'स्रर'त्रस्रस्राख'त्यम्बर'र्द्यो'म्रावद'स्याख'त्वे'त्वंद'म्बद'दर'यस रुंस (तुंस चेत्र मात्र साह्येत कृष्ट) याति स्वरे क त्र साक्ष प्रमान्य मार्ग से मार्ग से मार्ग साह्य साह स्वरं याबि क्रुक्ते निर्देश पर्धि नृत्र द्वा पर्वेद कंद सर्वेद स्मून पान देश पान कर के साम ज्ञान के दिन हो के साम्री नाल्र-दर्नोस्थरःस्था नाद्यःह्यःसुनायःनार्येनाद्यःविरःवर्त्तेनार्वेदःदर्देशः वेदःसःदेनायःदरःनठयः

¹⁷¹ त्रज्ञ श्रुं र्ज्जें केंद्र 'विने 'शेव' र्ज्जें कि Basil Gould धेश'न ने श्लें नुंश्लेन 'श्लें केंद्र 'विने से कि विकास कि स्थान के स्थान कि स्

ૡૢઃ૱ૡ૽ૺઃ૱ૻૹ૽ૢૼૢૼ૽ૹૢ૽ૺ૱ૹ૽ૢૺ૾ૹ૾ૢૢૺૢૼ૾ૹૣૣ૽ઌૢૻ૽૱ઌ૱૽૽ૹ૽૽ૡ૽ૺ૱૽ૹ૽૽ૡ૽૽૱ૹ૽૽ૺ૱ૹ૽૽૽ૹૢ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૡૹ૽ बरासराबुराळवाया वाबरार्देबायदी ळेंदिःश्वायाक्रीबार्षेवाचयार्वेदाक्रीःवाराद्राद्रायाया नामवार्चेन्स्मिक्केत्रस्यस्मिन्स्मि विक्रियाक्षेत्रिक्षित्त्वमार्विकेस्मिन्स्मिन्स्मिन्स्मिन्स्मिन्स् ર્ફ્સેન્ડ્સર્ટ્કેન્ડ્સ.લુંસ.છે| ૧ લૂં.સ.વ.કે.મું.સ.ર્નેન્ગોં.મું.કે.સે.ને|¹⁷² ૧ લૂં.સ.વ.કે.મું.નેવાસ.ન્લ. र्बेवायी ३ ब्रामामळेगार्चेराजनात्त्वाराजनातात्राचा 🗢 ब्रामामळेगार्चेरान्याचेरम्हो^{।73} ५ ब्रा र्भाषाके मार्चे राम् के राम् र्हेर-विर-क्विन-र्सेर-प्नर-क्विया ४ झ.स.वि.के.गाञ्चेर-तुर-सेर-चे-द्व-यनासा ६ झ.स.वि.के.गाञ्चेर-ष्मवान्तर्। 176 १० व्हासामाळे गाञ्चीराञ्चेताना नवार्यं विष्मा ११ व्हासामाळे गाञ्चीराभावस्य द्वारा न्दु:बेु:तु:प्यनाया १२ व्हु:यापळे:गार्चेुर:खे:ये:तु। १२ व्हु:यापळे:गार्चेुर:५:खे़्व:तु:पा १८ व्हु: ચાવઃ के : માર્જુ મર્ચો માનુ જુવા છે : કુમાં એવા વર્સે માત્રસ્થા *૧*૫ ક્રાયા વિજે : માર્જુ મર્ચે મર્સે માર્જી : कं यम् अर्थेन् अर्थः विष्युद्धः विष्यु अर्थः स्वः म्यः म्यः म्यः विष्यः स्वे वेदः श्रीः मृत्रः विषयः विषयः स् नात्रभःर्भून्।भःर्भ्रः क्रुयः क्रुयः क्रुं भ्रेंना अदेः नन्ना र्भूनः न्नो क्रुन्। क्रुं नेयः क्रः अविशः नः अनः न्यः न्यः न इया चिंद्र व्याविस्थाने से व्यवस्थान । श्रुवास नस्य निस्य निस्य निस्य निस्य हो । विस्य दूरा विस्य दूरा विस्य द सर्द्धरस्य त्रदःसदेः र्देत्य नात्रस्य सामस्य पात्र के तुद् सेद् स्यादेशस्य से तु त्यन्य मे क्रीसः नहस्रस्य नात्रस्य

¹⁷² Amiruddin (?– c.1964)

¹⁷³ Bai Wali

¹⁷⁴ স্থাত্মী:ম:শ্রুত্ম:ভীর:রমা

¹⁷⁵ Muheeudin

¹⁷⁶ স্বীস্বিশা Mohamad Iqbal or Bai Iqbal (?– c.1939)

र्वोदः प्रोवेदः वेदः श्रीः मानुदः त्वयः अयः श्रीः श्रुः स्मान्यः देवः स्मान्यः प्रवेदः विदः स्मान्यः प्रवेदः स શ્રેન વર્ષા ક્ષિત્ર છે. ત્વે તર્દુ થયા શ્રુ દે દં યવા શ્રેલ બન શ્રુવ વર્ષ વર્ષા ત્રાસ્થે વાન તા કે છે. વા શ્રેવ ॱड़ॖज़ॱॺॖज़ॱॹॖॱॸॕॱख़ॖज़ॱॸख़ढ़ॱक़ॖॖज़ॱय़ऀॱॺक़ॕज़ऻख़ॎॖॱढ़ॱज़ऀॱक़ॗॱज़ॸॱॸॕज़ॱक़ॱॸ॔ॸऻॱख़ॱऄॕढ़ॎ॓ॱॿॗॗॱॹज़ख़ॱॿॖज़ॴ . ब्रुट-५वो ब्वेट-स्ट-नब्वेब-वाशुट-नबट-इसः घर-प्रशूर-। ह्या-ज-उट-५वः ब्वेट-वा-वेब-परे-श्रुब-ध्रुवा-वर्ने र्ने प्पॅन पा प्रेस प्रमान क्रिया में प्रमान क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क देश'दर्वेद्'व्ववेवाय'सुद्'सुव्य'विक्य'वाद्यदःश्मवय'विंदःहवा'दर्वेव'व्येद्'द्र्य'सुद्द'वेव'द्र्य'द्र्येव'द्र्य' बेर-नगदन्तर्रेश-नगे-मद-प्पर-गद्य-हों-नश्याक्ष-। ग्राव्-विनश-विन-नुन-भ्रानेदि-विन्शन्तर ग्रम् १ ननम्बन्नम् वर्षेते अभाभावित नगाव नगार्वे न मार्मे हे हे ने बुन नमा १ अपमा निस् चुदेःश्वराञ्चःसाम्बान्बरःसञ्ज्ञः स्र्वराष्ट्रा ३ वडवः र्ज्ञियः वेदः विदः वदः श्वेदः वगादः र्ज्ञेदः वर्षः स्वायः न्नायर वि.सं.चेदु.संग्राकु.रेयर तर्चीर सुरी 🤝 तर्चीया बर योषु ग्राष्ट्रया सुरी पहुंच सीयर सिर्मे श्रेन'राः) क्रें:न्वरःक्तुयःर्ये। ५ थुन्यशःर्वेरःश्चे:भुन्यश्रान्यःभीशःर्दे:हे। ६ न्यनःसःहें:यन्यशःहें हे:रेनाः वहेंत्। य न्यमानुस्कुवाकेर्त्रेन्द्राञ्चराञ्चरान्नर्द्देन्त्त्। ४ हेर्वम्यम्याञ्चर्तनराकेर्देर्द्रान्यान्नो র্মুন:র্মু:নরন:নমুর:৫ইরা 🦚 শ্লু:ৰেনম:শ্লু:ಹ:অবাম:¹⁷⁷ র্মবাম:শ্রীম:ক্রু:বাম:রন:নডর:র্ট্র্যে:র্মন: यविर्न्तेश्रान्त्री स्वाप्तर्ष्ट्र्यायात्राद्धः स्वाप्तात्राचा वर्षेत्रः वर्षेत्रा वर्षेत्रः स्वाप्ता स्वाप्ता देशःबदःत्वादःवहेंदःदरः। क्षुःस्यःदेवःकःश्र्वाशःग्रेःद्वोःमदःग्रेःख्वाःयशःवनशःवुःशहंदःहेशः चबर पर्हे वा वादर प्रेंट पर्वे (ब्रिंट वाया अप्राम्भेंट वार देशदेश वाया श्री में है या वहर पर्वे वादर सावद देश सहें र प्ताय. बंद. श्री. वाकुवाया के त्राकुत के दूर हा स्टाय स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप

¹⁷⁷ Dra-nyen, Newsletter of the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts 8, 1 (1984) মুস্বা, শুন্ব স্থান্ত ব্যব্ধ (1916–1983)

खुर्यान्यस्य। वश्चराणेनायनेनयः श्चिम्यः श्चेना लुः यावनः प्यान्त्रः प्यान्यः यहेः त्यान्यः यहेन्द्रः त्यानः वहेन्द्रः वहेन्द्रः त्यानः वहेन्द्रः त्यानः वहेन्द्रः वहेन्द्रः

મૂં માત્રાના ત્રામાં કર્યા છે. મુન નર્સેન્ટ નિવાના ત્રામાં ત્રામાં મુન્ય ત્રામાં સ્વાના સ્વાના ત્રામાં સ્વાના ત્રામાં સ્વાના ત્રામાં સ્વાના સ્વાના ત્રામાં સ્વાના ત્રામાં સ્વાના ત્રામાં સ્વાના સ્વાના ત્રામાં સ્વાના ત્રામાં સ્વાના સ્

 $- \frac{1}{2} = \frac$

महिकाम। वदः अन्ते में दाया ही से वित्त सम्बन्धान स्वर्मा विकास विवास विवास विवास विवास विवास विवास विवास विवास

¹⁷⁸ वितरस्वर्थासेन् ग्रीः वासः स्त्रुः र्शेवाश्वरः स्त्रुशः स्त्रीवाशः वर्षेत्रशः विवाग्वरशः **१११-१३३**

Identifying Chandra Gomī, the author of the Rol mo'i bstan bcos blo gsal mgul rgyan and Dbyangs kyi bka'chab ब्रेश प्रति न्द्युन हिंस बुद दु ब्रेना कुवा क्षेत्रे सेन सेना प्रति केना शके द बेद सा १०० पा प्रति सा विद्युन सेना कुवा क्षेत्रे सेन सेना प्रति केना स्वार्थ कि प्रति स्वार्थ केना कि स्वार्थ केना कि प्रति स्वार्थ केना कि

्वर-विर-श्रम् अस्ति स्वर-श्रवे श्रु । वेश-वर्षे प्र-विर-श्रम् । विश्व-श्रम् । विश्व-श्रम् । विश्व-श्रम् । वेश-श्रम् विश्व-श्रम् । विश्व-श्रम् विश्व-श्रम् । विश्व-श्रम् विश्व-श्रम् । विश्व-श्रम् विश्व-श्रम् । विश्व-श्रम । विश्व-श्व-श्रम । विश्व-श्रम । विश्व-श्व-श्व-श्व-श्

व्रवान्त्रेश्चर्न्यः स्वर्ण्यः स्थून्यः (श्वरः) व्यक्षयः (श्वरः) व्यव्यव्यक्षः स्वरः स्वर

्र्यः श्रुषुः मश्रेषः मृक्षः श्रुः चोश्रजः श्रचीजः भ्रिषः दीटः शः श्रुः मणिदः स्वयः दुशः सः चाद्वेशः श्रुः श्र श्रुशः शः स्वयः मृत्यः चाबिटः वृषः तद्या। तटः वशः श्रयः श्रीषः बिश्वः वर्षा। ४००७ मृत्याः चारः ४४००० भ्रुषाशः श्रुं चीशः मश्रेच्याः चाबिटः वृषः विष्यः वर्षः श्रीयः श्रुष्यः मश्रुः वृष्यः श्रुष्यः मृत्यः विश्वः श्रुः स्वयः स्वयः स

स्वायदम्बुद्धन्यक्ष चुन्न स्वायस्य स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वयः स्ययः स्वयः स

181 वर्टः अतुः र्ज्ञ्चनाया ग्रुटः वृद्धिः र्ज्ञन्तः त्रितः स्वतः अवः क्रिनः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः केरः क्ष्रेतः स्वान्त्रः स्वान्त्रः स्वानः स्व रविद्यस्त्रीयाः स्वीत्त्राः स्वान्त्राः प्रमान्त्र स्वान्त्राः स्वान्त्रः स्वान्त्राः स्वान्त्रः स्वान्त्रः स्वान्त्रः स्वान्तः स्वान्त्र

यदुः यविष्टः सीयोशः श्रद्धः यश्चित्रशः स्ट्रिट्याः भ्रात्वः विश्वः द्वाः विश्वः विश्वः स्वतः यश्चित्रः स्वतः स्वत

¹⁸² वर्ट्सिट स्थाप्त क्षाप्त क्षाप्त

^[183] प्राप्त क्ष्या चर्त्र १८-१६ विद्या क्ष्या क्ष्या विद्या क्ष्या क्

देवा र्षा क्ष्मा अप्तान्त्रम्था स्थान्त्रम्था स्थान्त्रम्था स्थान्त्रम्था स्थान्त्रम्था स्थान्त्रम्था स्थान्त्रम्था स्थान्त्रम्था स्थान्त्रम्था स्थान्त्रम्था स्थान्त्रम्थाः स्थान्त्रम्थान्त्रम्थाः स्थान्त्रम्थाः स्थान्त्रम्थान्त्रम्थाः स्थान्त्रम्थाः स्थान्यः स्थान्त्रम्थाः स्थान्त्रम्

यहें से स्वक्षात्त्रीय के वी स्वाक्ष्य में स्वाक्ष में स्वाक्ष में स्वाक्ष में स्वाक्ष में स्वाक्ष्य में स्वाक्ष मे

क्रियामर श्रेवाबेट्य वह श्रूर्य प्रश्नेय वह स्वाविट स्वाविट सह यो मुल्य सह ते । वह र्श्वेर प्रविट प्रश्नेय प्र

स्यान्यास्य स्वायाः स्वयाः स्वयः स्वय

ને ખારા તું સાત્ર ત્રાચા ત્રાહ્યા ત્રાહ્ય ત્રાહ્યા ત્રાહ્ય ત્રાહ્યા ત્રાહ્યા ત્રાહ્યા ત્રાહ્ય ત્રાહ્યા ત્રાહ્ય ત્રાહ્ય

ज्.मैश.यर्रेश.योशज.र्नेत्री.स्.शे स्यो.संरश. ९१

¹⁸⁷ सॅर्जु र्स्वर्सेदेः नश्रुवः नर्द्धशः वाश्वरः ह्रेटः न्टः र्स्वः न्वट्यः धोवाः कवाशः र्धुवाशः नश्चेवाशाः र्श्ववः व्यव्यः १ स्वेः सक्तवः व्यव्यास्यः विश्वास्यः विश्वास्यः विश्वास्यः विश्वास्यः विश्वास्यः विश्वास्यः विश्वास्यः विश्वास्यः विश्व

શ્বर्रा श.के. यूर्ट, क्री. टेनु, श्रेय विट. वंश. टंनर्टा टंनर, झंटश, तांग्रेश, १००४ , जूर्या, चंटश, ५० यपु. ध्री. टंचेटश, बुंश, चे. य. यंखेताश, श्रुं। विषे. रय. त. यक्षेय. यहूं य. टंनता, यश्वश, क्रीश, हूं श. श्रुंचा, यक्षीश। श्रुंप्र, श्रायय, हूं, ट्रंटर, यहूं हें, यक्षेय, तहूं य. टंनराज, त्यूंप्ट, त्यावश, क्री. श्रुंक्ष, व्यूंप्त, क्रींया, यहीश, ट्रंप्त, यीथ १८८ व्यूंप्त, यावश, व्यूंक्ष्टराजी, तावल, सृष्ट, श्रूंचा, श्रुंब, श्रुंब, श्रुंब, यावल, त्यावश, त्यावश, त्यावश

नवः से दः भ्रेः निष्ठभः म। र्श्वेनः नः निष्ठः सः न्वनः भ्रेः विभः से दः नश्चिमः मुः नन् नः हे नः उदः विनाः नभनः नहस्यभः सहन्।

देशेन्-प्रमा "श्रूम-न्यूम-इस-महिम-इह्नाम् स्थितः (क्ष्र्येन) स्था-स्थानस्थानस्थानस्य विकानस्थानस्य स्थानस्थानस्य स्थानस्य स्य स्थानस्य स्

Ricardo O. Canzio, 1978. Sa-skya Pandita's "Treatise on music" and its relevance to present day liturgy. Ph. D., London: School of Oriental and African Studies; *THE MANDALA OF SOUND: CONCEPTS AND SOUND STRUCTURES IN TIBETAN RITUAL MUSIC* BY TERRY JAY ELLINGSON, A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Cognitive Anthropology and Buddhist Studies) at the UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON, 1979; Alice Egyed: Candragomin's Treatises on Music, a paper presented at 8th SEMINAR OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR TIBETAN STUDIES, BLOOMINGTON, 1998; *THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MUSIC IN A TIBETAN BUDDHIST MONASTIC TRADITION*, ALICE EGYED, A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Washington, 2000.

चर्षियोत्राज्ञ् | वूर्यः वर्षियः क्रूबः वियः वर्षाः स्वरः चर्षेष्यः विश्वः वर्षाः वर्ष्यः वर्षाः वर्ष्यः वर्षाः वर्ष्यः वर्षः वर्

वर्देवे वरासुरावर्देव चेर्या ४१ सहरावर्वा

યાલું અ.સૂર્યાલું અ.સ.લ્યાલું સ્ત્રાસ્ત્રાન્ય સ્ત્રાસ્ત્રામાં સ્ત્રાસ્ત્રાન્ય સ્ત્રાસ્ત્રામાં સ્ત્રાસ્ત્રાન્ય સ્ત્રાસ્ત્રામાં સ્ત્રાસ્ત્રાન્ય સ્ત્રાસ્ત્રામાં સ્ત્રામાં સ્ત્રામા સ્ત્રામાં સ્ત્રામાન સ્ત્રામાં સ્ત્રામાં સ્ત્રામાં સ્ત્રામાં સ્ત્રામાં સ્

पहीर्थाः त्रीयाः सूर्याश्चायायायाः वारावारः त्राप्ताः सूर्याः सूर्यः प्रमुखः प्रमुखः प्रमुखः व्यक्ष्यः सूर्यः सूर

यास्यासन्यायाः क्रितः विकासार् ने स्त्री विकास स्वास्यासन्य स्वास्यासन्य स्वास्यासन्य स्वास्य स्वास्य

हुन. १५ चर्षेचीश्राः वृच्यान्तर्मी । वृष्यान्तर्मे वृच्याः वृच्यः १५ वर्ष्यः वृच्यः वृच्याः वृच्यः वृच्याः वृच्याः वृच्याः वृच्याः वृच्याः वृच्याः वृच्याः वृच्यः वृच्याः वृच्याः वृच्यः वृच्यः

र्वेज:ग्रह्म १६:१५-२2:३

¹⁹² र्नेन्'ग्री:र्स्याक्तरे'ह्रस्यान्यरस्यासुरियाद्वेरास्यहेस्या स्वियान्यरसः ८८।८ गा५८

ग्रथम् क्रिस्त्रम् १८६० । १८६ हेद्राब्द्विम् स्ट्वीस्य स्थित्यः १८१२ स्वानास्य १८५४ । १८५३ स्वान्तिस्य स्वान्य ग्रथम् क्रिस्तरम् १८६० । १८६ हेद्राब्द्विम् स्ट्वीस्य स्वान्य स्थित्य स्वान्ति स्वान्य स्वान्य स्वान्य स्वान्य

ट्रेंड्रेट्रेन्था | पारेष्ट्रेच्ट्रिट्रत्यकाचीत्र स्वाचीत्र स्वचीत्र स्वाचीत्र स्वचीत्र स्वाचीत्र स्वाचीत्र स्वाचीत्र स्वाची

वेश्वास्त्रेश्वास्त्रम् । इत्यादर्ष्ट्रम् क्षेत्रः (क्षेत्रः) नक्ष्यम् । वेश्वास्त्रम् क्ष्यास्य क्ष्यास्य क्ष

यालब्दःसःश्री, , बुक्तःशूर्याकायाकाता घटःदी , ,मुक्तःमुचा,यानःदिघटका,यखु,जा.ब्रह्मे,यु,श्रु, (श्रुं,) स्का ।ज्याका,यनःश्लैस्का,धे,ट्रक्ते,सःभुधः घटःदी , ,मुक्तःमुचा,यानःदिघटका,यु,जा.ब्रह्मे,यु,श्रुं, स्का ।ज्याका,यनःश्लैस्का,धे,ट्रक्ते,सःभुधः बरःयामुक्तःयम्भिद्राया । दिघटका,ग्री,ययातःक्ष्यः (द्यानःक्ष्यः) यखेयाका, ।

यूट्-प्रभाग्यत्व असूच्-प्रम्थाः सूच्-प्रम्थाः सूच्-प्रम्थाः सूच-प्रम्थाः सूच-प्रम्थः सूच-प्रम्यः सूच-प्रम्थः सूच-प्रम्थः सूच

नइसमः) ग्राव सुद्धे से देनमा द्वे सुद्धावर १६४ में विष्या महत्य १००-११४ नर नठमायदर प्रवित्र सर्वा

र्यवरश्रास्त्रास्त्रस्याः स्रीयशः (स्रीयः) वोश्चायः (श्वायः) ध्रम्याः क्रीःस्याः स्वायः स्वयः स्वयः

¹⁹⁴ श्रूटःश्रूचर्याःग्रीःश्रदःट्याःग्रीःश्रवःद्वशःसरःर्ट्यःयःबेशःग्रुःचःचबुग्यशःश्र्वे। |ग्रदःश्रेगःग्रेशःद्विदशःदःषटःहः भ्रूष्टःश्रूचर्याःग्रीःश्रदःटयाःग्रिःश्रवदःद्वशःसरःर्ट्यःयःबेशःग्रुःचःचबुग्यशःश्र्वे। |ग्रदःश्रेगःग्रेशःद्वदशःदःषटःहः

¹⁹⁵ श्रूटःश्रूचयाःग्रीःश्रदःट्याःग्राट्याःस्याःस्यःस्यःसःस्यायःब्रेशःग्राचःचबुग्रयःङ्ग्री । । यानःभ्रेनाःभ्रेशःन्युट्यःसःप्यटःसः भ्रूटःश्रूचयाःग्रीःश्रदःट्याःग्राट्याःस्यायदःस्यःसःस्यायःब्रेशःग्राचःचबुग्रयःङ्ग्री । । यानःभ्रेनाःभ्रेशःन्युट्य

म्रीयकात्मीकृषाः इसकाः ग्रीः स्रवः स्वास्त्रं मिर्लेषाः भ्रेतः १०६४) – भ्रूषः स्रेत्रकाः ग्रीः स्रवः स्वास्त्रः स्वास्त्रः स्वासः विकान्तः यात्रः स्वासः स्वासः स्वासः स्वासः स्वासः स

त्। श्रि.चट-च्याकृशायद्वियाः क्वी.चटिश-ट्यशाः स्वेदाः स्कृषी ट्यकाः सटाट्यूचः सक्व्याः चिकाः सक्वरी (३१०० जूरः पटाः क्वशासह् ट.कृषं सुतुः स्वटः साट्यः मुटाः सटिक्कट् सा. ३९ यथीयाः साट्रे ट्याः च्वैटः ट्विट्यः सूर्यायाः स्वेदः सह्याः स्वेदः सह्याः स्वेदः सह्याः प्रवेदः सह्याः प्रवेदः सह्याः स्वेदः सह्याः स्वेदः सह्याः स्वेदः सह्याः स्वेदः सह्याः स्वेदः सह्याः स्वेदः सहयाः स्वेदः स्वेदः

यः मूट्टिंग्राक्षयः यः प्टटः श्रें रः बैटः पेंदरः। "ड्रेश्वः स्वें स्वें यः (श्रेंशः) यञ्ज्ञश्राः बेशः याश्वाः "क्ष्यः पर्चे रः श्रें प्राचीतः प्रवेटः पेंदरः। "ड्रेश्वः स्वें प्रवेशः स्वें याश्वाः विश्वः सः प्रें सः स्वाः श्रें प्रवेदः पर्चे रः श्रें प्रवेशः स्वेदः प्रवेदः। "ड्रेश्वः स्वें प्रवेशः। स्वें श्रेशः। यञ्ज्ञश्राः बेशः याश्वाः।

यहरा सर्मे दाषा से साव निया ग्री सा "र्से ना निर्मे दा उंदू भी स्थित में दिन निर्मे ता उंदू भी स्थित स्था में द मादर प्रतृ मा ग्री मा में दा मा स्था मा सुर हैं सा निर्मे सा ग्री सुन सुन सुन मा किंदू भी स्थी में सिर्मा मा सिर्मे सिर्मे

ब्रेश-सद्य-पश्चि-स्यान्त्र-स्यान्त्यान्त्यान्त्यान्त्यान्त्यान्त्यान्त्यान्त्यान्त्यान्त्यान्त्यान्त्यान्त्यान्त्यान्त्यान्त्

र्यश्चित्रम्भ्यात्ते स्त्रान्त्रम्भ्यात्त्रम्भ्यात्त्रम्भ्यात्त्रम्भ्यात्त्रम्भ्यात्त्रम्भ्यात्त्रम्भ्यात्त्रम्भयात्त्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्यम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्यम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्यम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्यस्यत्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयात्त्रम्भयत्त्रम्भयत्त्रम्भयत्त्रम्यत्त्यत्त्रम्भयत्त्रम्भयत्तत्त्रम्भयत्तत्त्रम्भयत्तत्त्रम्भयत्तत्

स् । ट्रि.लाट्सट्चट्टिटिट्स्ट्चर्ट्चर्याच्चान्याचे साम्रीट्यां निर्मानिक्चान्यानिक्चयान्यान्याचे स्थान्य विशान्य स्थान्य स्था

¹⁹⁸ ब्रु:ब्र:अंधे भ्रीशंदि : ग्री:क्यावर:क्रुआवा: वतुनाशः श्री| व्रिःसः १००० विद् ग्री:विं क्रुआक्राक्र व्यविष्याः वर्ष्ण्यायः वर्ष्णयः वर्ष्ण्यः वर्षः वर्ष्ण्यः वर्ष्ण्यः वर्ष्ण्यः वर्षः वर्यः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः व

¹⁹⁹ द्वा-द्वाप्तस्य स्वाप्तः द्वाप्तः द्वाप्तः विद्वाप्तः १००० विद्वः विदेशः द्वाप्तः १००० विद्वः विदेशः द्वाप्तः १००० विद्वः विदेशः द्वाप्तः १००० विद्वः विदेशः विद्वः विद्वः

बुश्यः क्ष्यां स्वास्त्र स्वस्त्र स्वास्त्र स

લું. અતે : શ્રુંન્ નાવઅ નિ નિ સ્વાયો ને તે : વિ ત્યા કે તે : વિ તે :

देश-व-वर्ष्ण-वर्षः वर्षः व द्रियः वर्षः वर्षः

त्रासंदेः स्रायम् सारा रहें के सारा स्ट्रास्त स्त्रा मान्य स्त्रा स्त्र स्त्रा स्त्रा स्त्रा स्त्रा स्त्रा स्त्रा स्त्रा स्त्रा स्त्रा

स्वृद्रम् ह्वेच क्वान क्

²⁰¹ বু: র্কুর্মর্মান্তর্মান্তর্মান্তর্মান্ত্

²⁰² नामर है र क्वित प्रत्ये स्वाधित स्वाधित प्रत्याम्य विश्व प्रत्याम्य प्रत्याम प्रत्याम्य प्रत्य प्रत्यम्य प्रत्याम्य प्रत्यम्य प

वृताल्वयायाय्वे स्थान्य द्वार्ट्स त्यू प्राप्त वृत्ता स्थान्य वृत्ता स्थान्य त्या स्थान्य स्याप स्थान्य स्थान

ন্ম ন্ট্রেম্ম ন্ত্রেম শ্রুম ব্রুম শ্রুম ব্রুম শ্রুম বর্তি কিম নির্মান বিজ্ঞান বিষয়ে (Reflections on Thang Stong rgyal po as the founder of the A Lce Lha mo tradition of Tibetan performing arts, 203 ব্রুম মের নির্মান বিশ্ব শিলারীয়, the famous Tibetan Yogatantra musicologist, Chandragomin or Zla ba dpal rin (b.circa 1375) from Zhwa lu, 204 was also very much a contemporary of our man. He authored a number of treatises related to music and dance. 205 ব্রুম মের্শ্রিম শ্রেম্ম

र्श्वेत्राश्चार्यः के के श्रामुत्यः श्रेः क्ष्यः स्वाप्तः श्रेः स्वाप्तः स्वाप्तः स्वाप्तः स्वाप्तः स्वापः स्व स्वापः स्

²⁰³ The Singing Mask, echoes of Tibetan opera, *Lungta*, no. 15, Winter 2001, Guest Editor: Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy, Amnye Machen Institute, Dharamshala, pp. 36–60.

On the evidence provided by a manuscript entitled *Stangs stabs kyi man ngag gar mkhan rnam par rol pa* (15 folios) that I received some fifteen years ago, it is not the well known Indian scholar Candragomin who should be considered as its author, as several great Tibetan savants of all periods and some Western scholars believed, but this Tibetan master, who was active at a temple known as Gser khang, as this Candragomin appears in documents originating from there (Blo gsal Bstan skyong of Ri sbug, *History of Zhwa lu*, Tashi Yangphel Tashigang, Leh, 1971, pp. 121–123). This assessment is to be credited to Bu byung dbang 'dus. See the text entitled *Rnga sbubs kyi rnam bzhag mdor bsdus dpal Zhwa lu's mkhas pa Tsan dra shris* (read Candragomin) mdzad pa bzhugs so, included in Bu byung dbang 'dus (ed.), *gSang rnying rgyan dang rol mo'i bstan bcos*, Gangs can rig mdzod n. 30, Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, Lha sa, 1996, pp. 357–359.

I am aware of at least the following titles: "Instructions on [the manner of] dancing with hand gestures" (stangs stabs kyi man ngag); "The art of [playing] the rol mo [cymbals]" (rol mo'i sgra thabs); "Instructions on the methods to beat the drum" (rnga thabs kyi man ngag); "The art of playing the cha lang [cymbals] (cha lang bkrol thabs); "The manual on melodies" (gsung dbyangs); "Categories of melodies" (dbyangs kyi bka' chab); "Instructions on playing the drum and the cymbals" (sbub kyi man ngag); and "The art of playing the sbub chal [cymbals]" (sbub chal bkrol lugs).

स्ट्रिंश्वरात्राच्चीश्रा, 200 वृश्यावश्वता स्ट्रिंश श्री स्ट्रिंग श्री स्ट्रिंश श्री स्ट्रिंग स्ट

रविस्थान्यस्थायात्वा विह्याहेषःस्थायात्वा विह्याहेषःस्थायात्वा विव्यास्थायात्वा विद्यास्थायात्वा विद्याहेषःस्थायात्वा विद्याहेषःस्थायात्वा विद्याहेषःस्थायात्वा विद्याहेषःस्थायात्वा विद्याहेषःस्थायात्वा विद्याहेषःस्थायात्वा विद्याहेषःस्थायात्वा विद्यावायात्वा विद्यायात्वा विद्यायात्वा

चन्ना । स्ट.मो.चवन्नास्त्रेच स्त्रेच स्त्रेच वित्रःस्त्रेच वित्रःस्त्रेच वित्रःस्त्रेच वित्रःस्त्रेच वित्रःस्य वित्रःस्त्रेच वित्रःस्त

स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वाप्त स्वाप्

মন্ধ্য মান্দ্র নির্দান ক্ষুব্র নাম্পুর নাম ক্ষুব্র নাম ক্ষুব্র

- १ न्यन्यायस्य द्विः भेटा ने हिन्याया स्वाप्त क्रिया स्वाप्त स्वाप्

²⁰⁷ प्रायाध्रदाबृत्युः परि प्रमुद्दाराया प्रायाप्य देवु के प्राये भ्री अप्तुः प्रश्ना स्वस्य ग्री ह्रा स्वस्य प्री ह्रा प्राया प्राय प्राया प्राय प्राया प्राया प्राया प्राया प्राया प्राया प्राया प्राया प्राय प्राय प्राया प्राय प्राया प्राया प्राय प

द्र न्ययावाखिरायायाः केवाची प्रमासक्ष्यायाः विष्याची विषयाः विषयः विष

१०११ ही:ह्ना च केंसा १० हेदासह्याह्यासाराह्यासाराह्यासारायानीसाके देरावीसाके दार् १८३८ व्य-अइन्यद्रमुर्चिन्येवाळ्यायायायायाच्यात्रम् "धेवाळ्यायूर्वेन्या हेन्'नन्न'नोश'ञ्जेश|"²⁰⁹ बेश'न्न'| ध्रृन्।खुन'ब्रग्श-द्वनश'तुन्'न्न-'ह्रश'क्रुव' (1571–1626) શુંશ. ૧૯૦૯ ત્ય્ર્-સદ્દન્યતું જ્યાવદ્વન્ટ્રિસ્ટ્રાયલેન્ટ્રાયલેન્યમાં "શુંશયું તથા કું છેન્ટ વર્ફેન્યતે યા र्वेत'त्। |देर'वदेर'धेर'हेंत'वेंर्याययापात्रयाचीःक| |हे'ठयार्चेयापात्रुर'वर्पेत्'पायय। |वेंवा ळॅंद्रॱळेंग्। में 'बॅद्र' म्रीअ' के 'बेग' म्रा"²¹⁰ वेश 'दर' | अर्दे 'अपर 'वित्रश' दुर' ळें 'देर' दवर मुख म्रीअ' १ २ २ २ वॅर्स सहर प्रते से प्रवर हैं गुर्या नहें र त्याया "प्रदे त ग्वर विग हिंग स्ट्रेंस केंग ग्वीय ग्वावत न्याः भर्योः र्केट्र स्थाः होन् न्दरः । यात्रवः यानुभः यायाशः स्केट् : हेन् : वेर्द्धः हेन्। यहर् अपः सुतः दुर सर्क्षेत्रप्रमेत्राची किंगाक्ष्मभाशुः योदान्दामस्त्रम् सोदासर्केनान्सदानम् सम्पन्न सामि <u> ইবাধাখি, জুপ, পূর্ণিধিকা শ্রী, সঞ্</u>থ, ইন্দেশ্রহম, সথ, হবা, নাসাস্থ<u>র্ম, গ্রুম, সং</u>ধ্যম, এই, নাস্থনস નર્ગોદ્ર'વ્યશ્ચ દેવા ઢેંદ્ર' શુઃ ઢેંઢા 'શ્વેદ' વિશ્વશ્ચ ' હતુ 'શું વુ વૃષ્ય 'શું સે ' વૃદ્દિ ' દ્વારે 'શુવ્ય' ખેતુ ' ખદ' ભારા દે ' દેવ' वयरः। विःश्रूनर्भःनर्जेः श्रूःन्यदःसयेः श्रुरः। विःयः ५दःसवदः र्षेटः र्नेवार्भः सेन्। ठेर्भःन्दः। श्रूरः सः र्नेनः

²⁰⁸ Work: WICZ1087 ImageGroup: 11CZ1467 वर्दे वे क्रुअः क्र्रेंद् हो द्रार्थे : क्र्यांनायः स्वाययः द्रवरः द्वो वर्द्धः स्वाययः वर्षाययः द्वारः द्वो वर्द्धः स्वाययः द्वारः द्वो वर्द्धः स्वाययः द्वारः वर्षे वर्

²⁰⁹ क्व-चॅर्-प्रेनाः करः केदः व्या प्रस्थाः वर्षे सः नज्ञरः चित्रः नज्ञ स्थाः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः व्याप न्यास्यः ६

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²¹¹ श्र.न्वराह्मेयायार्य्ह्न्। विवयाद्भराक्षेत्रेन्रान्वराक्ष्यायाः श्रीक्ष्यं श्रे.ह्यं श्रे.द्रवायान्त्रे श्लीव्याप्तात्त्रे श्लीव्यापत्त्रे श्लीव्यापत्ते श्लीव्यापत्त्रे श्लीव्यापत्ते श्लीव्यापत्ते श्लीव्यापत्त्रे श्लीव्यापत्ते श्लीव्यापत्ते श्लीव्यापत्ते श्लीव्यापत्ते श्लीव्यापत्ते श्लीवे श्लीव्यापत्ते श्लीवे श्ल

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²¹² नीश्रम हैस् क्षेत्र प्रस्था श्रेष्ठ पश्चा नाम्य उदासेना स्ट्री २० विन विस्य विन धीना प्रसे हैस् प्रेर श्रुव, विस्य १९९६ विन विस्य श्रेष्ठ पश्चा नाम्य उदासेना स्ट्री २० विन विस्य विस्य विस्य स्ट्री

Changes in Culture and Customs in the Diaspora Tibetan Community: the Hari Ornament of the Mother of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama

Lhamo Tso

Introduction

The word "culture" is derived from Latin and means cultivation of the soul and in this paper refers to expressive forms of religion, ritual, song and dance, food, clothing and architecture as found in social practices of human society. Tibetans developed a distinct culture under the geographic and climatic conditions on the Tibetan plateau. Professor Aditi Jha of the Foreign Language Department, Banaras Hindu University (BHU) beautifully expressed "Culture is externally expressed as clothing, food, ornaments and so on, while internally culture is personal identity, attitude, behavior, dignity, social norms and so forth..."² As we know, Tibetans are traditional and culturally unique people whose culture and customs developed in high altitudes of the land of snow. The specific focus of this paper is women's clothing. Tibetan women traditionally wear gowns called *chuba* (phyu pa), a sleeved robe that is wrapped around the body and tied at the waist, when they work or in the summer. Professor A.K. Joshi (Head of the Sociology Department, BHU) remarked that "Tibetans have lived in India for three generations but still have not removed their chuba; they are cultural people." Tibet is vast and traditionally divided politically into three provinces: Utsang (Dbus gtsang) in the centre and west of Tibet, Kham (Khams) in the southeastern part of Tibet, and Amdo (Amdo) in the northeastern part of Tibet. Gradually, cultural variation developed between the geographical regions of Tibet. Regarding women's dress, in U-tsang, women wear the patuk (Spa phrug) and pagor (Spa sgor) ornamented headdresses, and the pangden (Pang

A shorter Tibetan version of this article was presented at the 14th International Association of Tibetan Studies in Bergen University, Norway in June 2016. I am very much indebted to Tashi Tsering Josayma, Amnye Machen Institute, Dharamshala, for providing and directing me to the relevant sources and inspired me to publish this short paper. Thanks to Matthew Akester for reading my article and polishing my English.

Oral communication from Professor Aditi Jha of the Foreign Language Department, Banaras Hindu University (BHU), 2015.

Oral communication from Professor A.K. Joshi (Head of the Sociology Department, BHU, 2012.

gdan) or apron is worn as an ornament, and to keep the *chuba* clean. It is compulsory for married women in U-tsang to wear a *pangden*, and if a married woman loses her *pangden*, it is considered inauspicious. She will immediately look for it or perform some rituals to find it; otherwise it is believed that her husband will fall into difficulties.⁴ In the Tsongkha region of Amdo, hari⁵ is

Painting the Tibetan Plateau, Tibetan Regional Dress by Anne Jennings Brown, Tibet Relief Fund. London: (2018), pp.20-21 has a beautiful painting of a hari but this lacks descriptive information.

Gina Corrigan's beautiful book *Tibetan Dress in Amdo & Kham*, published by Hali Publications, London, 2017 unfortunately makes no mention of *hari* but in page 193 she has following sentences: "The present Dalai Lama's mother, living in a farming village near Kumbum Monastery, wore plait extensions which were described by her son Norbu as three colourful red ribbons on which she had silver coins, shells, coral and turquoise."

The beautifully and abundantly illustrated *Krung go'i bod rigs kyi rgyan gos, The Clothing & Ornaments of China's Tibetan Nationality*, published by Beijing Chubanshe and Xizang Rinmin Chubanshe, 2002 also has no photograph of women wearing *hari*.

Le Tibet D'Alexandra David-Neel, Librairie Plon, 1979, p. 51 has an old B/W photograph of an Amdo woman with her hari. There is no mention of who took the photograph or when, but Alexandra David-Neel (1868-1969) travelled in different regions of Tibet from 1910-1938.

After presenting my article at the 14th International Association of Tibetan Studies at Bergen University, Norway in June 2016, Rinchen Dolma, who is working in the Museum of China Tibetology Research Centre in Beijing asked me about the hari, I provided her with what little I know. In 2017 she wrote a paper on the topic of Qinghai Huangshui Basin's Tibetan Traditional Dress: Women Headdress of Six Ethnic Group of Kumbum (Sku'bum) Monastery (Qīnghǎi huáng shuǐ liúyù chuántŏng zàngzú fúshì xìliè (yī) tǎ ĕr sì liù zú fùnǔ tóushì) in Chinese https://kknews.cc/history/gb9p8ae.html

I am also sadly aware that in studying at Banaras Hindu University, I have no access to most of the books and journals published in Tibetan regions and PRC, either in Tibetan or Chinese. Therefore I have no means to check

Bod kyi bu mo, Phreng ring Rin chen sgrol ma, Ngag rgyun lo rgyus deb phreng 11, Library of Tibetan Works and Archves, Dharamshala, 2000, p. 172.

The "correct" Tibetan spelling of *hari* is not found in any of the available Tibetan-Tibetan Dictionaries and Lexicons. This maybe because it is a colloquial term in Tsongkha dialect. I contacted Amdo people from Tsongkha region and even they cannot agree on the spelling. I have simply adopted from the English spelling *hari* from the *Dalai Lama*, *my son: a mother's story*, *Diki Tsering*, edited and introduced by Khedroob Thondup, Virgin Publishing Ltd, London, 2000.

considered mandatory for a married woman. A married woman cannot remove her *hari* unless her husband passes away; without *hari* a woman even cannot enter her personal shrine and when women are working in the field under the hot sunlight. During the life time of the Great Mother, if a woman has not worn her *hari*, it is considered that she has not put on her clothes.

A tentative analysis of the name hari

The "correct" Tibetan spelling of *hari* is not found in any of the available Tibetan-Tibetan dictionaries and lexicons. This may be because it is a colloquial term in the Tsongkha dialect. I contacted several Amdo people from Tsongkha region and even they cannot agree on the spelling. It sounds like *hari*, *hare*, *huari*, *hali*, *ware*, *wari*, *Dba'ri* and *Dbal ras*. I have decided to use the English spelling *hari* as written in *The Dalai Lama*, *My son: a Mother's Story* by Diki Tsering. However, just from the pronunciation of the word *hari* we cannot understand what sort of ornament it is. For further research proposes I am keen to investigate several questions or analysis on the name of *hari*, because I cannot determine what it is exactly, and how to write the spelling. Many terms for ornaments are well known, such as earring, finger ring, necklace and *kyalong* (skra lung) - hair piece, all these we can understand what kind of jewel or ornament it is. Based on the colloquial term in the Tsongkha dialect and because the Great Mother says *hari*, I have drawn out a tentative analysis of name of *hari* in the following discussion.

Dpa'ris is an ornament of Tsongkha and similarly the name of the place of Tsongkha and therefore I am thinking it is possible the name of this ornament comes from the name of the place. As in Tibetan tradition, many people are named by place, for instance Je Tsongkhapa (Rje Tsong khapa). Therefore, Huari (Dpa'ri) and Hualung (Dpa'lung) both pronunciations are very close to hari. Huari is the bone or lineage of Hero, or the Land of Hero (Hualung). The local people say that Hualung is the village of Hero of Tibetan Kings from the 7th century. Huari and Hualung have two combinations - Hua and Ri; Hua

whether any studies have been conducted on Amdo jewellery and related paraphernalia, particularly on the *hari* of the Kumbum area. In 1998, Amdo scholar Gnya' gong dkon mchog tshe brtan read an interesting original paper entitled "Kha gya tsho drug gi skyes dman rnams kyi mgo rgyan co to skor gyi mtshams sbyor zhes pa'i gnad bsdus" at the 8th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington, July 1998. The temporary *co to* made to exhibit during his presentation was later donated to Latse Contemporary Tibetan Cultural Library in New York City and it is still preserved there. Oral communication from Tashi Tsering Josayma 2015.

means Hero, brave, best, courageous and fearless person. *Ri* means lineage, king, clean and family. On the similarities, *lung* also means land, hometown, village, land and place. *Hare* and *hari* are Sanskrit words, which mean Lion, the King of Forest or the King of the Animals' Kingdom. In Tibetan and similarly in a universal understanding, the Hero and the Lion, the king of the jungle, have similar qualities - both have courage and power to take another's life. When I conducted interviews with a very wise man in Tsongkha, Dr Sonam Tsering (Bsod nams tshe ring), he told me that *hari* was not originally an ornament for women, it was military equipment, thus there are reasons the name may come from the Sanskrit word *hari*.

The *hari* ornament's name also comes from *Dbal ras* if the spelling is written in *Dbal ras*. However, despite many enquiries, I have never seen any recorded spelling of *hari* spelled as *Dbal ras*.

The Figure of Hari

Hari is multi-coloured, and made with fine quality selected materials, particularly red cloth, and elaborately decorated with gold, silver and other precious stones. Hari is a women's back ornament, which P.T. Taklha says is from Tsongkha, even though we three regions of Tibet have similarity clothing, but Tsongkha women have an ornament, which is shaped like a bumpa carried on a women's back. Rich or royal families wear hari sewn with gold and silver ornament, the ordinary families wear hari with sewn on conch shells, they have two type of haris, one is prepared for daily use, as is sewn with 8 or 10 conch shells on the sides, but for special occasion a woman wears one sewn with 12 conch shells on the sides flaps of hari.

The *hari* has three parts: the middle is called *Takshar* (Stag shar). *Bumpa* pocket is called *gZhu-ma* as it has the shape of an ornamental vase. *Takshar* means young man, referring to a handsome and capable hero, and the side flaps are called *dashub* (mda' shub) or *dbal ras*, and *dashub* is the soldier's arrow quiver. The *hari* design is flanked on both sides by something called a *dashub* or *dbal ras*, *dbal* means sharp, cutting and powerful, and *ras* means cloth and cotton bags. Therefore it is the cotton bag of sharpener or cutter. The *hari* ornaments name also come from *dbal ras*. It is says in the early time the quality of *hari* made by leather, gradually it is made by cotton. These three multi-coloured cotton or leather strips covered with sewn on conch shell disk are back ornaments of Nomad women in northeast Tibet are similarly. But only the Tsongkha women's back ornaments are shaped like a *bumpa*. Which creates the illusion that the woman is carrying a *bumpa* vase on her back? The owners themselves embroidered it with beautiful red flowers and up until the

late 20th century, most Amdo Tsongkha women had weaving and sewing skills on their *hari* and other ornaments; make this a heritage passed from mothers to daughters, that they could draw on to produce the *hari*. *Hari* is worn from the shoulders, hung on the back and shell disks would reach almost to the ground behind the wearer. The end of the *hari* is made from the varicoloured cotton and velvet embroidered with red silk and gold thread decorate.

Lutsang Lobsang Gyatso (Klu tshang blo bzang rgya mtsho) (b.1970) wrote this description of the *hari* in 2004 "On the back [of the woman] is what is known as *Byang tse* or *hali*, whose shape resembles two crossed *poti* [books] with resplendent silver-studded conch strings. It was customary to attach on top of it a vase of a beautiful and appealing shape, embroidered with various motifs and hemmed with a red *cala* boundary."

Dr Sonam Tsering says in his hometown there are three different types of women's *haris*, these are '*chor-btags*, *bar-btags* and *lta-ltags* or *bartag-btags*. '*Chor-btags* is for parties or to celebrate special occasion and festivals. *Bar-btags* is worn generally in daily life. *Lta btags* or *bartag-btags* is worn when women are working, and it is made of leather quality, thus it is called *bartag-btags* and worn permanently.

The Origin of Worn Hari

Local people say that the *Bumpa* was fashionable during the time of Tsongkhapa's mother (Taklha, Vol.1 (2000, p.33). Je Tsongkhapa [Rje Tsong kha pa (1357-1419)] was the one of the greatest Tibetan Buddhist scholar and founder of the Gelug (Dge lugs) school of Tibetan Buddhism in the early 15th century. He was born in Tsongkha region and was therefore named Tsongkhapa: "pa" is a male pronoun for an individual. Most people believe that the *hari* ornament in Tsongkha originated during the lifetime of Tsongkhapa. According to oral stories of local people, Je Rinpoche's mother worn *hari*, therefore believed that *hari* may have been connected to the flourishing of Buddhist culture in Amdo.⁷

Great Mother said when the Communists conquered all of China and surrounding nations such as Tibet, Mongolia and East Turkestan, His Holiness the Dalai Lama and many of his subjects fled to India in March 1959 as refugees. Under the unique leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and with the support of the Government of India and international NGOs, the

Bod pa'i rgyan gos, Tibetan Traditional Dress, Mdo smad, deb phreng dang po, Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts, Dharamshala, 2004, p. 6-7.

⁷ *Mi tshe'i byung ba brjod pa*, Stag lha phun tshogs bkra shis, Bod kyi dpe mdzod khang, Dharamsala, 1995, vol.1 p. 33.

Tibetan Government in-Exile (TGiE) was established in 1959 in Mussoorie, and soon after shifted to Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh (then East Punjab). This government is now called the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) and functions as a democracy. This enforced exile has resulted in changes to women's clothing, for example, the *patuk* and *hari* are disappearing due to acculturation and an old culture adapted with a new culture or a new culture is replaced the old one. The *pangden* and *chuba*, however, are still desired and useful to Tibetan exiles in Indian, and even foreigners like to wear Lhasa *chuba* and *pangden*. This garment has kept up with the times and changing fashions, and *chubas* are not bulky, and cost about as much as *patuk* and *hari*.

The "Great/Royal Mother" of Tibet has been the title of the Dalai Lama's mother since the Great 5th Dalai Lama of the 17th century (1617-1682). The 14th Dalai Lama was born on July 6th, 1935 to a peasant family in Taktser (Stag mtsher)⁸ village in Amdo. When the 14th Dalai Lama was 4 years old he was found by Lhasa officials to be the reincarnation of the "Great" 13th Dalai Lama (1876-1933), and it was under these circumstances that an uneducated village woman officially became the Great Mother of Tibet. The Great Mother's name was Diki Tsering (Bde skyid tshe ring) (1901-1981). While she was young,

Also see 'Ju chen thub bstan gyi sku tshe'i lo rgyus, (Bka' blon khri zur

⁸ There are two prominent spellings; Stag mtsher the Tiger's lair and Stag 'tsher, the Tiger's roar. Less known, but still written, is Ltag mtsher meaning upper nomad encampment.

sde dge 'ju chen thub bstan rnam rgyal gyi sku tshe'i lo rgyus) deb dgu pa, Juchentsang White House, Chauntra, 2014, pp.249-250; Women of Tibet, Namgyal Lhamo Taklha, Songtsen Library, Dehra Dun, 2005, pp. 75-94; Rgyal yum chen mo bsod nams mtsho mo'i 'khrungs rnam mdor bsdus in Rigs slob dbu dge dampa mkhas dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum phyogs sgrig, rnam thar deb phreng drug pa, Rigs lam slob gnyer khang, Institute of Buddhist Dialectics, Dharamsala, 2003, pp. 231-243; Bod kyi dus chen, Festivals of Tibet, Skal bzang mkhas grub dang Chung tshe ring, Department of Education (CTA), Dharamsala, 2002, pp.36-38; DALAI LAMA, MY SON: A MOTHER'S STORY, DIKI TSERING, EDITED AND INTRODUCED BY KHEDROOB THONDUP, Virgin Publishing Ltd, London, 2000; Rgyal yum chen mo'i mdzad rnam lo rgyus mdor bsdus tsam brjod pa dad gus ratna 'dren pa'i shing rta by Dge 'dun sbyin pa in Za ma tog, Pustak 2, Tibet House, New Delhi, 1992 (?), pp.61-74; Rgyal yum chen mo'i mdzad rnam lo rgyus mdo tsam brjod pa dad gus ratna 'dren pa'i shing rta zhes bya ba bzhugs so// Mdo smad pa Dge 'dun sbyin pa, Central Executive Committee of Dhomay, Narthang Press, Dharamsala, No date, 16 pages; Rgyal yum dam pa'i bka' drin rjes dran, Stag lha phun tshogs bkra shis (ed.), Shes bya, 1982 (Information Office, of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Dharamsala) pp. 14-17; Encyclopaedia of women in India, Editor: B. K. Vashishta, Praveen

and before the Communist Chinese invasion of Tibet, the Tibetans, Chinese, Muslim, and Mongolian peoples of Amdo lived in relative harmony and peace. According to her biography, written by her granddaughter Yangzom Doma, (G.yang 'dzoms sgrol ma Tsha rong) (1950-1982) the Great Mother worried about how the culture she had grown up with was changing in her granddaughter's generation. These changes also affected the wearing of the *hari* the iconic back ornament of Tsongkha.

The *hari* is a unique ornament from the Tsongkha region of Amdo and its history can be traced back at least 500 years. It was not originally designed for women, but as military equipment. The Tsongkha area was on the border of China and Tibet and from the 7th century, the Tibetan kings dispatched military forces to defend this border region with China. By the 14th and 15th centuries, their descendants wanted to preserve their heroic memories of the past. As a result their military paraphernalia was transformed into women's ornaments and Tsongkha became known as "the Land of Heroes" or "Hero Villages."

In 1996, the *hari* received attention from the Tibetan and Himalayan art researcher Jane Casey Singer. She published a beautiful colour photograph of Gyalyum Chenmo and her elder daughter wearing elaborate *hari* in Lhasa in the mid 1940s. ¹¹ As is evident from the following quotations, the Gyalyum Chenmo valued the *hari* and it received numerous mentions in her biography. I will now cite all the available information relating to *hari* that was shared by Gyalyum Chenmo in her biography.

It is mentioned that her family visited Tashilhunpo (Bkra shis lhun po) monastery (built in 1447 by the 1st Dalai Lama) in Tsang in 1956. It further says "At Tashilunpo was a set of clothes that had belonged to Je Rinpoche (Rje rinpoche). It was made of creamy white kidskin – the hat, dress, even the socks were of leather. The dress had worn thin because, over the years, bits had been broken off by reverent worshippers. Tashilunpo also had the *hari* of Je Rinpoche's mother, as they were from Amdo. The *hari* looked strange to me, far broader, heavier and more cumbersome than modern *hari*." ¹²

encyclopaedia publications, New Delhi, 1976, p.24.

Oral communication from anonymous Tsongkha men, 2015.

¹¹ See Jane Casey Singer, *Gold Jewellery from Tibet and Nepal*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1996, p.47. Caption says: "The fourteenth Dalai Lama's mother and sister adorned in jewelry typical of eastern Tibet, ca. 1936-37. Photograph by Frederick Spencer Chapman." I believe this photograph is of Gyalyum Chenmo and her daughter Tshe ring Sgrol ma. It was taken in the mid 1940s, it is uncertain by whom.

¹² Dalai Lama, my son: a mother's story, Diki Tsering, p. 126.

Hari is Reflections of Sorrows and Happiness of Tsongkha women

Additionally, the Great Mother, discussed a variety of ornaments, but considered the *hari* as the most important for Tsongkha women. A Tsongkha woman's life started with *hari* and ended with it, as testified by photos of women of all ages. She narrates "After the Muslims left our area, the population was mostly local Tibetans and Chinese, with some tribal people – nomads who tended yaks and made cheese and butter. I still remember the differences between us, particularly in styles of dress. We Amdo Tibetans would wear our traditional *hari* (a vase-shaped back-dress studded with jewels, reaching to the waist)." ¹³

In the Tsongkha in the lifetime of Great Mother, *hari* is the reflections of sorrows and happiness of a woman, and a woman's life stages can indicates by the *hari* and on its ornament which embroidered by red and gold silk flowers.

Hari is Symbol of Marriage

Hari is the Symbol of Marriage and it can say symbol of man. But I have not seen research on the *hari*, according to my view from the name of *hari*, the main middle flap is called *Takshar*, it means handsome and capable man. During the marriage ceremony the middle flap should presented by the daughter's mother, sides flaps are presented by bridegroom's parents. There are several rule worn *hari* during the marriage ceremony. These I have cited from the Biography of Great Mother in this paper.

......"Jewellery was compulsory for adult women. We had to wear rings on all ten fingers. Our ears were pierced with two holes in each ear, one above the other. The lower hole was for the earring, about five inches in length, while the upper hole was for a smaller adornment. But the most important ornament was the *hari*. After I was married, I used to wear a *lenpai hari*, which had everything included in it, and also a *tangyo*, which was a belt attached to the *hari*. In addition to this, we wore the *jalong*, (skra lung) which was two flaps of cloth to tie the hair from the waist to the floor, decorated with silver, turquoise and coral. We also wore a *rawang*, a kind of cloak with two narrow flaps on either side and a broad flap in the centre. All these items were for married women only.

On rising in the morning, we immediately put on the *hari*. Without it, we were not allowed to enter our shrine room for prayer. A woman was not permitted to remove her *hari* in the presence of any elder, not even her father-in-law or mother-in-law."¹⁴

¹³ Dalai Lama, my son: a mother's story, Diki Tsering, p. 30.

¹⁴ Dalai Lama, my son: a mother's story, Diki Tsering, pp. 29-30.

......"When I was young, my clothes were about the same as those worn by the adults, except for the *hari*. Little girls had five braids in their hair – two small braids at the side and three at the back. The belts of our dresses were placed a little above the waist."¹⁵

......"Just before marriage, my in-laws presented me with about twenty items of clothing – dresses, shoes and *haris*. It was customary for the bride to wear the bridegroom's family's clothes when she left her natal home."¹⁶

....."On the evening before the wedding, my hair was washed and made up by a girl whose birth horoscope was in harmony with mine. I was born in the Iron Ox year, so the girl who washed and did my hair had to be born in a Dog, Bird, or Ox year. At this time all my female kin knotted my hair with black thread and refused to let my *hari* be tied, weeping in a show of grief. I was not permitted to come into contact with pregnant women or widows."¹⁷

... "The next day at about ten in the morning I was taken back to the groom's house, where another ceremony was performed. It was now time for me to formally don my *hari*, which I did outside the house. Though I had worn a *hari* to the groom's house, I was not permitted to fasten it properly, but had to wear it loose on both sides. After I was married, it was secured firmly around my waist. The *hari* consisted of three main pieces; two at the sides and one down the back. The groom's family sent me the two side flaps, and my mother provided the central flap. The flaps had wool strings attached to them to hold them together. This wool was now cut with a pair of scissors. The person who cut the wool had to have a horoscope that according with mine. This person was presented with a ceremonial scarf and a cup of wine, and was formally requested to snip the strings with scissors. This ceremony symbolized that I was now a married woman. I was now given my new name, Diki Tsering, by my mother-in-law's brother, Taktser Rinpoche (Stag mtsher rinpoche).

It was customary for the groom to remain hidden somewhere during this stage of the proceedings. People would go and call for him but would not be able to find him. I was kept waiting while everyone searched for him. When they finally found him, they begged him to come from his hiding place, pleading that I was very tired, since I had come from so far away. My husband finally came forth, and was presented with a ceremonial scarf. Only when my husband came out of his room was my *hari* finally secured. Only then did we set eyes on each other."

¹⁵ Dalai Lama, my son: a mother's story, Diki Tsering, p. 31.

¹⁶ Dalai Lama, my son: a mother's story, Diki Tsering, p. 51.

¹⁷ Dalai Lama, my son: a mother's story, Diki Tsering, p. 49.

^{5&}lt;sup>th</sup> Stag mtsher mkhan chen blo bzang tshul khrims 'jigs med rgya mtso (1856-1920/1922).

¹⁹ Dalai Lama, my son: a mother's story, Diki Tsering, pp. 53-54.

The sign of Sorrow of a woman express by the Hari

As previously mentioned *hari* is symbol of marriage but also the sign of sorrow of a woman is expressed by the *hari*, life is mixed happiness and sorrows, happiness of gathering family members, achievement, and good harvest; sorrow of lost one's dear and wealth; separate families. In Tsongkha society the funeral ceremony is heaven and the time of funeral is 1 year for elders, funeral time for a life partner is 3 to 6 years. For the funeral process one would wear old cloth and a white girdle and not wash one's hair for weeks and months. When her father in-laws passed away a woman should remove all the ornaments of the left flap of the *hari*; when her mother in-law passed away a woman should remove all the ornaments of the right flap of the *hari*; when either of her parents passed away, she should removed all the ornaments of the center flap of the *hari*; when her husband died, she should removed all the ornaments of both side flaps *and* she cannot wear the *hari* for three or six years for the sake of the funeral rites. Using these rules, I provide evidence that the *hari* is a significant symbol for the woman and her family.

In 1947, Gyalyum Chenmo's husband died in Lhasa and she carried out the age-old Amdo Kumbum (Sku 'bum) rites. "In accordance with the funeral rites, I removed all jewellery, hair ribbons and even my *hari*. From that day forward, out of respect for my husband, I wore my *hari* only on state occasions, and even then the brocade from the back flap was removed, as was the custom among Amdo women upon the death of their husbands."²⁰

According to the Great Mother's biography, on July 21st, 1939, the new 14th incarnation of the Dalai Lama and his escort party left for Lhasa from Taktser. She relates "Later we were met by Suthupa (Gsol thab pa) and Kungo Khenpo (Sku bcar spyi khyab mkhan po) at Wamathang (Dbu ma thang). Government officials came to Drichu ('dam?') and presented me with pearl and coral *patu*, the Lhasa women's headdress, and the brocade dresses and other accessories worn by the ladies of Lhasa. I refused to wear the *patu*. I said that I had worn my *hari* since I was sixteen and would not feel comfortable with the *patu*, which was too heavy. When we arrived at Reting monastery, we were welcomed by the regent Reting Rinpoche [Rwa sgreng rinpoche (1912-1947)], a young man in his thirties. (It was Reting who had seen a vision in a lake that led to the discovery of the fourteenth Dalai Lama.) He asked what I thought of the *patu*. When I told him I was going to keep on wearing my *hari*, he said it was very beautiful. He said that wearing one's traditional dress was an excellent idea, and that His Holiness's mother should be different. He was greatly taken with

²⁰ Dalai Lama, my son: a mother's story, Diki Tsering, p. 118.

my *hari*. When I told him that I had created the elaborate designs, he said that he would call on me in Lhasa and request me to embroider his Gelukpa monk's hat." The Regent agreed on the beauty of the *hari* ornament, and that the Dalai Lama's mother should be unique.

Many others including Tibetans and westerners have also commented on the Great Mother's distinctive dress and ornaments. Kheme Sonam Wangdu [Khe smad bsod nams dbang 'dus (1901-1972)], one of the two leading members of the search party reminisced in his account regarding Gyalyum Chenmo "During the three-day stay at Reting, the Reting Labrang (Rwa sgreng bla brang) extended warm hospitality to (the infant) His Holiness the Dalai Lama and entourage. The palace ordered and brought along complete sets of traditional (central) Tibetan dresses and ornaments, both elaborate and simple, which they gifted to His Holiness' parents and siblings. However, aside from inspecting the gift articles, both His Holiness's father and elder brother accepted only a traditional Tibetan robe made of soft brocade [mtshal (chi ma'i) phyu (pa)], and a multi-colored upper garment [Sgog rtse] and jacket [Sbyar sbyar]. In particular, His Holiness' mother did not change her dress and accessories. In retrospect, her demurral over changing her looks was a bold step in asserting her distinct identity and preventing it from being adulterated by and confused with those high and low."

Namgyal L. Taklha wrote following observations in her recent book. "When they arrived in Lhasa, the Dalai Lama's father wore his new 3rd rank government official's costume and was given the title of *Gung* ("Duke"). His mother (the *Gyalum* [sic] *Chemo*) wore her new *chupa* in the long-sleeved Amdo fashion, not the Lhasa costume with its colourful striped women's apron. Instead of the beautiful, ornate, gold and brocade ceremonial jewellery presented to her by the Tibetan government, she wore her own simple Amdo HARI, which was a vase-shaped padded felt decoration that was worn on her back like a back pack. Its embroidered shoulder straps were covered with seashells, silver plaques and coins. Her daughter, Tsering Dolma, who lived

²¹ Dalai Lama, my son: a mother's story, Diki Tsering, pp. 92-93.

²² Lhar bcas 'gro ba'i 'dren mchog Gong sa skyabs mgon rgyal dbang sku phreng bcu bzhi pa bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho chen po mchog thog mar rtsad dpyod ngos 'dzin gdan zhu ji ltar zhus skor rang myong ma bcos lhug par bkod pa'i bden gtam rna ba'i bdud rtsi, Tibetan Cultural Press, Dharamsala, 1968, p.109; Mdzad rnam rgya chen snying rje'i rol mtsho, Glegs bam gnyis pa, Nor gling mdzad rnam sde tshan nas rtsom sgrig dang Nor gling bod kyi rig gzhung gces skyong khang nas dpar skrun zhus, Norbu Lingka Institute, Sidhpur, 2009, p. 147; Bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs, Zhwa sgab pa dbang phyug bde ldan gyis sbyar ba'o, glegs bam gnyis pa, Ka blon sbug, Zhwa sgab shag, 1976, p. 363.

with her, later adopted Lhasa attire for daily wear, but she, too, wore her Amdo-style costume and jewels for formal occasions."²³

Sir Basil Gould, head of the British delegation at the enthronement ceremony of the 14th Dalai Lama in Lhasa in February 1940, noted Gyalyum Chenmo's attire. He wrote "The mother is identifiable in Lhasa as the one lady who dresses in the Amdo style and wears her hair in three plaits".²⁴

Her determination to maintain her Amdo culture was also commemorated more recently. On 5th March 1978, the birthday of Gyalyum Chenmo, TGiE passed an ordinance that henceforth exile Tibetans will celebrate it as Parents Day in the Tibetan calendar. The TGiE Education Department published a commemorative issue²⁵ for Tibetan Parents Day. It carries a message written and signed by the Gyalyum Chemo.²⁶ In the same volume, a short biography of Gyalyum Chenmo was written by Ven. Lobsang Gyatso [Blo bzang rgya mtsho (1928-1997)], principal of the Buddhist School of Dialectics (now called Institute of Buddhist Dialectics), McLeod Ganj. It says "... [Gyalyum Chenmo was] extremely modest, she always remained humble in her interactions with everyone, high or low, and made every effort to bring delight to others. She was good-natured and firm, as was evident from how she upheld the customs and values of her region by not changing her outward appearance. For example, during the formal celebration for according the honor and title of Gyalyum, the

²³ Costumes and Jewellery of Tibet, Namgyal L. Taklha, The Tibet Museum, Dharamshala, 2018, p. 73. In page 95, she writes, "In KUMBUM, women wore embroidered, vase-shaped back ornaments called HARI that had silver coins, sheshells and silver plaques sewn into them. These had shoulder straps and were worn like rucksacks." Furthermore in page 189 there are two entries "HARI: a jewel set worn on the back of the women from Thaktse, (sic) the birthplace of the 14th Dalai Lama" and "HARI: a vase-shaped back ornament covered with seashells, silver coins and plaques. Married women in the Thaktse, (sic) Kumbum region of Amdo wore it." It is still regrettable, as she was a daughter in-law of Gyalyum Chenmo and had ample and abundant time to discuss with Gyalyum Chenmo why she did not discard her hari in lieu of Lhasa fineries upon arrival in Lhasa in 1939.

²⁴ *Discovery, Recognition and Enthronement of the 14th Dalai Lama*, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamshala, 2000, p. 81.

²⁵ Bod rigs pha ma"i nyin mo, Bod rgyal lo 2105 phyi lo 1978 zla 3 tshes 5, Bod gzhung shes rig par khang du bskrun te bod kyi shes rig spyi khyab las khung nas 'grems spel zhus, Dharamsala, 1978.

²⁶ 'Rgyal yum chen mo'i gsung 'phrin', in *Bod rigs pha ma''i nyin mo, Bod rgyal lo 2105 phyi lo 1978 zla 3 tshes 5*, p. 4; Also see *Yum Tsho: Journal of Tibetan Women's Studies*, 1994, Vol. 2, No.1, Amnye Machen Institute, Dharamsala, pp. 6-7.

government presented her sets of splendid attire and ornaments of a noble lady, but she graciously declined them saying, "For me, an Amdo woman, Amdo dress (*hari*) works fine." She religiously wore her Amdo dress during ceremonies and festivals." Much later in life, Gyalyum Chenmo commented, "I'm sure that most of the women thought it a little odd that I wore the *hari*, though they did not say so. Lhasa was a fashionable society, and I must have seemed a little outdated. The wives of aristocrats and lay officials were very fashion-conscious, and seemed to be trying to outdo one another in their finery." Still she did not switch to Lhasa aristocracy fineries and this proves that she has strong character and right attitudes towards her proud Heritage.

As far as we know, Gyalyum Chenmo also wore her *hari* (How elaborate it was we have no means to check) during her visit to China in 1954-1955, and while in India for the Buddha Jayanti festivities in the winter of 1956 and spring of 1957.²⁹ In exile, the Great Mother probably wore her *hari* only on important occasions, like the first Kalachakra empowerment conferred outside of Tibet by H.H. the Dalai Lama in 21st to 23rd March 1970 in Dharamsala, or when TGiE celebrated the 2100th anniversary of the Tibetan kingdom on the 10th March 1973.³⁰

Her determination to maintain Tibetan culture has been recognized by the Tibetan exiles in numerous ways; on 6th July 1973 the Tibetan Youth Congress presented her with a silver-plated historical map of Tibet with the inscription "Bod kyi Ma" or "The Mother of Tibet" which expressed their gratitude to her. This memento once hung on the wall of Kashmir Cottage, the former residence of Gyalyum Chenmo in Dharamshala. 31

In 1976 Gyalyum Chenmo was given an entry in the *Encyclopedia of Women in India*³² by Praveen Encyclopedia Publications, New Delhi.³³

The Gangkyi Recreational Club initiated the "Gyalyum Chenmo gold cup"

²⁷ Rgyal yum chen mo bsod nams mtsho mo'i 'khrungs rnam mdor bsdus in Rigs slob dbu dge dampa mkhas dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum phyogs sgrig, rnam thar deb phreng drug pa, Rigs lam slob gnyer khang, Institute of Buddhist Dialectics, Dharamsala, 2003, pp. 231-243.

²⁸ Dalai Lama, My Son: a Mother's Story, Diki Tsering, p. 104.

Tsong kha Lhamo tshe ring gis brtsams, *Btsan rgol rgyal skyob*, Occupied Tibet Series, No.1. (Ed: Tashi Tsering) Amnye Machen Institute, Dharamsala, 1992, p. 193. Oral communication from Tashi Tsering Josayma, 2015.

³⁰ Oral communication from Tashi Tsering Josayma, 2015.

³¹ Oral communication from Tashi Tsering Josayma, 2015.

³² Encyclopedia of Women in India, Editor: B. K. Vashishta, Praveen encyclopedia publications, New Delhi,1976 p. 24.

³³ Oral communication from Tashi Tsering Josayma, 2015.

football tournament, and the first match was held at the Upper Tibetan Children's Village playground in October 1980. Later, it was renamed Gyalyum Chenmo Memorial (GCM) Gold Cup. This continues today and the 24th GCM Gold Cup tournament was played at the Tibetan refugee settlement in Bylekuppe, south India in April 2018.³⁴

On January 12th 1981, the Great Mother passed away at the age of $80.^{35}$

In 1995 the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts (TIPA) prepared a Mdo smad gser khri mga' gsol (Golden Throne celebration dance performed for the enthronement of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama in 1940) dance performance, and they chose an Amdo dance, wearing a portable copy of the Great Mother's *hari* ornament. TIPA asked the former surviving members of the Amdo Theatre Group ³⁶ (A mdo zlos gar tshogs pa) ³⁷ in Clement Town, Uttarakand to help make a temporary *hari* for the performance. ³⁸

In 1997, two movies on Tibet were released namely Seven Years in Tibet directed by Jean-Jacques Annaud and Kundun directed by Martin Scorsese. The role of the Great mother in Seven Years of Tibet was played by her daughter Jetsun Pema Gyalpo (b.1940) and in Kundun, it was played by the grand daughter Tenzin Choedon Gyalpo (Gyanagtshang) (b.1966). 39

As I have shown in this paper, the *hari* is an important ornament to the Tsongkha region. Je Tsongkhapa and His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama were both born in the region; hence their mothers were historically renowned mothers of Tibet. *Hari* is still worn in Tsongkha region, but not in the same manner as in the time of the Great Mother. Nowadays it is worn only on festivals and special occasions. In exile, Tsongkha people are a minority, and have no social occasions to wear it. Most probably an old elaborate *hari* of Gyalyum Chenmo brought to India in the 1950s is kept either in Gyalo Thondup's (Bka' khri zur pa rgya lo don 'grub) (b.1928) residence in Kalimpong, West Bengal, or by the daughter in-law of the Great Mother, Rinchen Khandro Choegyal (Bka' zur Rin chen mka' 'gro chos rgyal) (b.1946)] at Kashmir Cottage in Dharamshala. We

³⁴ Oral communication from Tashi Tsering Josayma, 2018.

^{35 &}quot;Tibet Has Lost its Mother: Mother of H.H. the Dalai Lama Dies in Dharamsala" in News Tibet, January-April 1981, Volume 16 No.1, The Office of Tibet, New York, NY, pp. 10-11; Shes bya issue no.1., 1981 (Information Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Dharamsala) pp. 3-5; "Great Mother" passes away, Tibetan Review, New Delhi January 1981, p. 7.

³⁶ Official name is Tibetan Historical and Cultural Drama Party.

³⁷ Official name is Bod kyi rgyal rabs rig gzhung zlos gar tshogs pa.

³⁸ Oral communication from Tashi Tsering Josayma, 2015.

³⁹ Oral communication from Tashi Tsering Josayma, 2015.

have no information as to how many *hari* Gyalyum Chenmo managed to bring to India during the escape from Lhasa on 17th March 1959.⁴⁰

Conclusion

Changes in culture and customs are often socially desirable and useful. No form of cultural change is necessarily unfavorable or favorable. They are often shed when no longer essential for survival. In traditional Tibetan society, animal skins (tiger, leopard, otter and fox) were considered ornaments and symbols of a luxurious life. The *hari*, *patuk* and *pangden* were considered expressions of social morality and obeisance. In Tsongkha, a woman not wearing her *hari* ornament was looked down upon by society for impropriety and her actions would bring dishonour to her elders and parents, as well as her husband. *Patuk* was the head ornament for ladies in central Tibetan society and it marks a woman's social position and morality, while the *pangden* follow similar rules as the *hari*. For long-term preservation and protection of Tibetan culture and customs, the primary step is to develop and innovate traditional clothing and ornamentation: culture should fulfill the desires and functional needs of a society.

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⁴⁰ Oral communication from Tashi Tsering Josayma, 2015.

⁴¹ See for more detailed discussion on this subject: Emily T. Yeh (2013). Blazing Pelts and Burning Passions: Nationalism, Cultural Politics, and Spectacular Decommodification in Tibet. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 72, pp. 319-344 doi:10.1017/S0021911812002227.

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The future Gyalyum Chenmo and her husband, the future Gyalyab, elder son Gyalo Thondup in Taktser Garba (labrang), Kumbum Monastery in 1936 (?). Gyalyum Chenmo is wearing *hari* for the formal family portrait.

Photograph after: https://hoavouu.com



Gyalyum Chenmo and her daughter Tshe ring sgrol ma wearing elaborate *hari* in Lhasa in mid 1940s. Photograph after: Jane Casey Singer, *Gold Jewellery from Tibet and Nepal*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1996.



Photograph of temporary portable *hari* made for the TIPA performers in 1995. Photo: Lhamo Tso, 2016.

Men-Tsee-Khang Celebrations on its 100th Anniversary A Report from Dharamsala, India

Barbara Gerke

It was a sunny spring day in 2016 in Dharamsala, in the north-western Indian state of Himachal Pradesh. Crowds of Tibetans were streaming to the Thekchen Chöling temple to find a space in the assembly to see His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama commemorate one hundred years of their Tibetan medical institute, called the Men-Tsee-Khang. Fifty-five years earlier, the Dalai Lama settled here with around 8,000 Tibetans in exile, fleeing Lhasa, where the Thirteenth Dalai Lama had first set up the Men-Tsee-Khang in 1916.



Jamyang Tashi, head of the Men-Tsee-Khang pharmacy, receives an award from the Fourteenth Dalai Lama during the Men-Tsee-Khang's centenary celebrations, Dharamsala, 23 March 2016 (photo courtesy Men-Tsee-Khang)

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The participation in the Men-Tsee-Khang centenary events and the writing of this report was generously supported by the Austrian FWF-funded Lise-Meitner senior research fellowship M1870-G28. I am grateful to the Men-Tsee-Khang for their continuous support of my research on Tibetan medicine.

In Dharamsala, in 1961, a small medical institute of Tibetan medicine (or Sowa Rigpa) was established to provide health care to Tibetans across the growing diaspora. From humble beginnings, the Men-Tsee-Khang has developed into the largest institute in the Tibetan diaspora, to date graduating about 263 Tibetan physicians and 47 astrologers, and catering to a large clientele of Tibetan, Indian, and foreign patients through their almost sixty branch clinics across India and abroad.

The Men-Tsee-Khang staff had been working long hours, each having dedicated one hundred hours of their salaries to raise more than 5.3 lakhs of rupees (approx. \$82,000) to co-sponsor this important event. Students had each donated one hundred hours of voluntary work. It signified not only the successful continuation of Tibetan culture in exile, but it also (re)established a strong historical link with Lhasa, the centre of Tibetan power since the seventeenth century and home to the first significant medical institutions of Tibet—the Men-Tsee-Khang (founded in 1916) and Chakpori Drophen Ling (founded in 1696, destroyed by the Chinese Red Guards in 1959).

The time had come to celebrate the Men-Tsee-Khang anniversary with cultural programmes and speeches by dignitaries in the presence of the Dalai Lama. The celebrations at Thekchen Chöling on March 23, 2016, were followed by an international conference event at the Men-Tsee-Khang the next day, and an internal meeting among physicians at the Men-Tsee-Khang on March 25. The first evening at the Men-Tsee-Khang offered a creative programme of songs and dances composed and choreographed by the medical students and Men-Tsee-Khang staff, taking place in a large tent that had ever been erected on Men-Tsee-Khang grounds. The mood was elevated and happy.

The celebrations at the Dalai Lama's temple were attended by large crowds of Tibetans, a group of foreigners, as well as three Indian government dignitaries, each of whom presented a short speech: Shri Thakur Singh Bharmori (Minister for Forests in the Himachal Government), Shri Karan Singh (Minister of AYUSH, the Department of Ayurveda, Yoga and Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha, Sowa Rigpa, and Homoeopathy, Government of India, under which Sowa Rigpa was officially recognized in 2010), and Shri Ravi Thakur (a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Lahauland Spiti). Also, the Russian member of Parliament, Irinchey Matkhanov, a member of the State Duma Committee on Health Protection was present. We witnessed a moving scene when the Dalai Lama personally honored Dr Yeshe Donden (born in 1927), his long-time personal physician who established his private

clinic in McLeod Ganj in 1979 after having served at the Men-Tsee-Khang during its first eighteen years of existence (from 1961-1979), and who at almost 90 years of age still sees patients. This honor spoke of many decades of hard workand dedication on many sides that has gone into firmly establishing Sowa Rigpa as a significant medical systemin India and beyond. Several other Men-Tsee-Khang physicians also received honors for their outstanding work, such as Dr Jamyang Tashi, head of pharmacy, for his processing of mercury into *tsotel*, the complex mercury sulfide powder added to many precious pills. Dr Jamyang Tashi directed the making of *tsotel* the three times that it was made at the Men-Tsee-Khang between 2008 and 2014, after receiving the transmission from Dr Tenzin Chödrak in 1998 and Dr Namgyal Tsering in 2001.

Tashi Tsering Phuri, the current director of the Men-Tsee-Khang, spoke on the history of Tibetan medicine, the situation of Tibetan medicine in exile, and the need for developing further cooperation with the Indian states across the Himalayan region to help source medicinal raw ingredients and support the development of Sowa Rigpa. During their speeches, the Indian dignitaries expressed their admiration for Tibetan medicine but Bharmori cautioned that any form of collaboration would have to take into account the preservation of the Himalayan flora and fauna.

In his speech, the Dalai Lama emphasized the multi-cultural aspects of Tibetan medicine and praised its ability in the past to absorb medical knowledge locally but also Ayurveda, Chinese, and Unani/Tibb medicine. He commented that "Regarding Sowa Rigpa, if a great conference could have been convened in the 8th century when facilities were so poor, today when we have facilities and opportunities we should be able to repeat it." He urged: "We should meet with practitioners of these traditions, discuss and exchange what we know. We shouldn't rely only on the Four Tantras, but should also take other findings into account." He then went on to stress the need for more preventive health care, especially in the Tibetan settlements, which show high rates of chronic illness and which could benefit from more public health outreach programs.

The Men-Tsee-Khang has since seriously taken up the issue of preventive health care and has organized several events such ashealth talks in Tibetan settlements, the "Healthy Body Healthy Mind" conference in Delhi in December 2016, and the publication of disease prevention handbooks, to raise awareness of how to prevent chronic conditions through life-style, including hygiene, diet, and exercise.

The international conference at the Men-Tsee-Khang on March 24, 2016,

was organized by the Research and Development Department, headed by Dr. Rigzin Sangmo, with the theme "Unlocking the Truth of Tibetan Medicine." Two hundred and fifteen participants from ten countries along with medical students, teachers and Men-Tsee-Khang physicians attended the ceremonies and five lectures at the TMAI college hall. Dr. Sangmo formulated one of the main aims as generating international collaboration for future research projects.

The director, Tashi Tsering Phuri, gave the welcome speech, in which he addressed the need for international exchange. Commenting on what His Holiness had voiced the day earlier, he suggest the organization of such conferences on an annual basis. The chief guest, the Tibetan Health Minister (Kalon) Dr. Tsering Wangchuk, pointed to the medical pluralism found in Tibetan communities. He noted that while biomedical and Sowa Rigpa medical health care is organized independently in the Tibetan communities, it has been the Tibetans themselves who have successfully benefited from combining both systems, which in itself suggests that a fruitful collaboration between the two systems is possible to meet today's public health needs.

The five international speakers presented short abstracts of their speeches, followed by the recitation of the Yuthok Prayer, a photo session, and lunch. The afternoon was dedicated to the five full-length presentations.

Dr. Sarah Sallon of the Hadassah Natural Medical Research Center in Israel, presented the outcome of a cross-sectional study on patients taking Tibetan medicine with and without refined mercury in the form of tsotel and other forms of processed cinnabar. The paper has since been published (Sallon et al. 2016) and "results suggest mercury containing Tibetan Medicine does not have appreciable adverse effects and may exert a possible beneficial effect on neurocognitive function." The improved neurocognitive function in Group 1 of the study was received with curiosity by Tibetan doctors, who later told me that this was surprising to them since tsotel is not added to specific pills to improve neurocognitive function but that its main aim is to strengthen the potency of the other ingredients in a formula. Sallon's study also measured the mean mercury level per precious pill and other Hg-containing Tibetan medicines, revealing large variables. Unfortunately, the actual chemical compositions of mercury in the sample pills could not be tested due to lack of funds. It would have allowed a clearer picture on the varying forms of Hg absorption. It remained open how much of the mercury found in the pills was actually bound to sulfur, and as such would be largely insoluble. Sallon

broadly concluded: "In the current study, Hg in TM [Tibetan medicine] was taken at doses far below those associated with HgS toxicity, while Hg in blood and urine (the latter detected in only 20% of patients) were well below international safety levels. These results tend to confirm the relatively poor gut absorption of Hg in TM and indicate a pattern of low grade chronic Hg exposure" (Sallon et al. 2016: 15). The presentation caused many discussions on standardization, contamination, and how to measure mercury levels in medicines and patients who take them.

The second lecture by Dr. Cecile Vennos of PADMA Ag, Switzerland (the only company manufacturing Tibetan medicines in the West), titled "From Medical Tradition to Traditional Medicine: A Tibetan Formula in the European Framework" summarized the legal and Good Manufacturing Practice (GMP) constraints under which Tibetan medicine can be produced and sold in Europe, where it is still not officially recognized. She also explained the two options of registering Tibetan medicine in Europe as either a medicine or a food supplement, highlighting the stark differencesin requirements that Tibetan medicines have to meet in Europe compared to India (see also Schwabl and Vennos 2015). She outlined the highly regulated environment for herbal products that need to be dealt with by giving the example of the Tibetan formula Sindu 5, produced in Switzerland as Padma Digestin, which took eight years of work and five boxes of paperwork to become a legallyrecognized medicine.

Dziugas Meskelevicius of Vilnius University, Lithuania, presented a pilot study of using two Tibetan medicines on cancer cell cultures, which he carried out in collaboration with the Men-Tee-Khang. His talk was titled "Traditional Tibetan Medicine as a Potential Source of Agents for the Treatment of Glioblastoma Multiforme: A Controlled, Cell Culture Based Pilot Study." Meskelevicius experimented with animal tumor cell cultures that "died" with the treatment of two Tibetan medicines usually used for cancer patients and provided by the Men-Tee-Khang. The mechanism of whether this happened through killing cancer cells directly or perhaps through increasing the immunity of patients to be able to attack cancer cells themselves could not be established. He clearly pointed out the shortcomings of this first study and suggested further improvements that could guide future research.

The Men-Tsee-Khang-trained physician Dr. Namgyal Qusar, who has established his own clinic, called Qusar Tibetan Healing Centre, in Sidhbari near Dharamsala, presented a study that he carried out with colleagues in Germany on the relationship between diet, overweight, and heart disease with 524 subjects. His presentation titled "Weight Reduction inPatients with Coronary Artery Disease: Comparison of Traditional Tibetan Medicine and Western Diet" suggested that a wholesome Tibetan diet was more effective in reducing both weight, BMI, and total cholesterol levels in patients suffering from coronary artery disease and metabolic syndrome.

Dr. Marie T. Nicolas, a French researcher and educationist, analyzed the different fields of knowledge involved when teaching "science" and compared these with Tibetan medical ways of imparting knowledge, which use allegorical medical trees as concept maps. During her talk she explored how Tibetan ways of learning are inclusive of intense listening, memorization, receiving lineage transmissions, and working within a Buddhist ethical code. Together, according to her,these elements contribute to Tibetan doctors synthesizing knowledge in a more holistic way.

To further celebrate the centennial anniversary and to spread Sowa Rigpa worldwide, the Men-Tsee-Khang also organized several Centenary Tours to South America, USA, Canada, Singapore, Australia, Taiwan, and several European countries, thus making the celebrations a global event. The events continued throughout 2016 and have also been carried over into 2017, to celebrate 101 years of Men-Tsee-Khang. As the director, Tashi Tsering Phuri, recently expressed during his speech at the 5th International Sorig Congress in Kathmandu in March 2017: "There is certainly no reason to be contended just with the Centenary Celebration, and not carry out Post Centenary Celebrations. For the year 2017, Men-Tsee-Khang will promote 101 Years as 'Men-Tsee-Khang Wellness Camps.'" Men-Tsee-Khang has already opened three wellness centers in India, offering Ku-Nye massage, steam baths, and other relaxing therapies, and is offering six-month training to become a "Sowa Rigpa therapist."

The direction the Men-Tsee-Khang is taking towards wellness and preventive health care brings to the forefront therapeutic methods available in Sowa Rigpa practice that are not so affected by the shortage of raw materials, mercury toxicity issues, or international GMP regulations, but can still contribute to wellbeing.

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Celebrating the Men-Tsee-Khang's 100th Anniversary*

12-13 September 2016 A Report from Lhasa

Stephan Kloos

Tibetan medicine, also known as Sowa Rigpa ("the science of healing"), boasts a recorded history of well over 1000 years, and constitutes one of Asia's great scholarly medical traditions. For centuries, it served a vast swath of Inner Asia and the Himalayas as the only professional, pharmaceutical health resource, providing effective care through a network of monasteries and local lineages of lay doctors. Since at least the late seventeenth century, however, Tibetan medicine's scholarly center was Lhasa with its elite institutions, the "Chagpori Drophen Ling" founded in 1696 and the "Men-Tsee-Khang" founded in 1916. While the Chagpori institute was destroyed by Chinese military during the Lhasa uprising in 1959, the Men-Tsee-Khang ("House of Medicine and Astrology") remains the most important and prestigious institution of Sowa Rigpa today. Its 100th year anniversary in 2016 thus marked an important event in the history of Tibetan medicine, which was taken not only as an occasion for celebration among its practitioners, but also as an opportunity to showcase Tibetan medicine's development to wider, international audiences.

There are two main establishments of the Men-Tsee-Khang today: the original one in Lhasa, commonly referred to as the "Lhasa Men-Tsee-Khang," and the exile institution in Dharamsala, known in Tibet as the "Indian Men-Tsee-Khang." The Lhasa Men-Tsee-Khang today boasts a new 500-bed hospital and a busy outpatient clinic in Lhasa's old town, together distributing

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the generous invitation by Lhasa Men-Tsee-Khang to attend this event, and the outstanding treatment I received as a guest there. In particular, I wish to thank Dr. Tenzin Lhundup for his untiring and kind assistance during my stay in Lhasa. The contents of the Chinese speeches reported here are derived from my notes of the official simultaneous translations provided by the organizers. Despite my best efforts, inaccuracies or misunderstandings are therefore possible, and should not be attributed to the speakers themselves. While fully funded by Lhasa Men-Tsee-Khang, my attendance at this conference was part of my ongoing European Research Council Starting Grant project RATIMED (www.ratimed.net).

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some 200 tons of medicines annually to mostly Tibetan patients. The Indian Men-Tsee-Khang, by contrast, is organized as a network of nearly 60 outpatient clinics across India and Nepal, and affiliate clinics in Russia, Europe and North America, distributing some 76 tons of medicines annually to over 600,000 mostly non-Tibetan patients. The Men-Tsee-Khang's centenary celebrations thus took place at two locations and three different events: in March 2016 in Dharamsala (see Barbara Gerke, this issue), and in August (see Katharina Sabernig, this issue) and September 2016 in Lhasa. While the August event in Lhasa was more international and academic, the one in September was the institute's actual celebration as well as a political event. This report is only concerned with the latter, which I attended upon the invitation of Lhasa Men-Tsee-Khang.



Internal centenary celebrations at the old Lhasa Men-Tsee-Khang, 12 September 2016 (Stephan Kloos 2016)

The Lhasa Men-Tsee-Khang's internal celebration took place on 12 September 2016, at the premises of the institute's historical building and courtyard. This was a relaxed all-day event, with all senior doctors and staff present, much incense burning, Khatag giving, and socializing, but no official speeches. The official "Celebrating Conference for the 100th Anniversary of the Lhasa Men-Tsee-Khang and First International Tibetan Medicine Forum"

was held the next day, 13 September, at the Intercontinental Lhasa Paradise, a new five-star hotel resort on Lhasa's eastern outskirts. Virtually all senior Tibetan medical practitioners, experts, and officials from all Tibetan regions of China had been invited to attend the event, which was presided over not only by the Men-Tsee-Khang's top leadership, but also the Chairman of the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) and a number of other high officials. The conference was organized in two sections, the first with speeches by high medical and political representatives, the second with presentations by invited Tibetan, Chinese, and international experts.

Mrs. Yeshi Yangzom (Yixi Yangzong), the executive vice-president (i.e. director) of the "Traditional Hospital of the TAR" opened the conference with an overview report on the development of Lhasa Men-Tsee-Khang over the past 100 years. According to her, the Men-Tsee-Khang began as a small institute established by Khyenrab Norbu in 1916, which "merged with the Chagpori institute during the democratic reforms in 1959." Since then, the Men-Tsee-Khang grew dramatically, from a single outpatient department with no beds to a large institution with 21 departments, 392 professional staff, 500 hospital beds, 340,000 outpatients per year, about 18 million CNY annual turnover, and over 300 million CNY in fixed assets. Men-Tsee-Khang's declared aim is to expand throughout China as well as globally.

Next, Mr. Yumba (Yinba), astrologer and vice-president of the Mentee-hang (i.e. deputy director), presented a project on collecting historical Tibetan medical and astrological texts. In 2014, with the consent of the TAR Chairman, plans were made to acquire old texts from all over Tibet, scan and digitalize them, and use them for research. So far, a total of 130 volumes could be collected from the Potala palace, Drepung monastery, and the public, 46 of which are on astrology, the rest on medicine. This will be the first time that these texts are published and made accessible to the public.

The third speaker was Mr. Lobsang Chanzom (Luosang Jiangcun), Chairman of TAR, who pointed out that the Men-Tsee-Khang has made great contributions to the preservation of ethnic culture, while also providing services to the people. According to him, Tibetan medicine is an essential part of traditional Chinese culture, and, thanks to "Tibet's peaceful liberation and democratic reforms," it is now available to all rather than just aristocrats, as was the case under feudal serfdom. Today, the Lhasa Men-Tsee-Khang has become one of the foremost ethnic hospitals in China, and is the largest of thirtyTibetan medical hospitals in the TAR. Over all, Tibetan medicine is

the most important health provider in the TAR, and China's 12th Five Year Plan allocates over 800 million CNY for its development. Lobsang Chanzom further pointed out that Tibetan medicine epitomizes the achievements of the Tibetans and the Chinese Communist Party, and has a huge untapped economic potential. There exists official consensus that it should be supported as a distinct industry, in order to protect Tibetan culture and promote Tibetan medicine corporations.

Mr. Wang Guoqiang, associate director of the National Health and Family Planning Commission and head of the State Administration of Traditional Chinese Medicine, argued that Tibetan medicine is developing fast in comparison to other ethnic medicines in China, but still lags behind in terms of fulfilling existing health needs. Its primary aims should therefore be to improve its services, strengthen the grassroots level, use modern technology and research to develop, and to achieve UNESCO recognition as an Intangible Cultural Heritage and Memory of the World for its future preservation.

After these four introductory speeches, the keynote speech section commenced with a presentation by Mr. Nyima Tsering (Nima Ciren), the Dean of the Tibetan Medical College in Lhasa, on innovation and development in Tibetan medicine. Then, each of the four international keynote speakers presented their papers in English (all other papers were presented in Chinese), with simultaneous translation provided via headsets. Saroj P. Dhital and Udaya Koirala from Nepal each spoke on (bio-)medical issues of the "One belt, one road" trans-Himalayan cooperation between China and Nepal. Ven. Damdinsuren Natsagdori, head of Manba Datsan Traditional Mongolian Hospital and Otoch Manramba University in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, gave a presentation on the history and development of traditional medicine in Mongolia, stressing Mongolia's unique contributions to Sowa Rigpa. Mrs. Phuntsog Wangmo, originally from Lhasa and now head of the Shang Shung International Institute for Tibetan Studies in Massachusetts, USA, gave a lengthy introduction of her institute and its activities. As the final keynote speaker, the author of this report (PI at the Austrian Academy of Sciences) gave an academic overview of Tibetan medical education outside China, that is, in India, Mongolia, Bhutan and Nepal, stressing the fact that Sowa Rigpa is firmly established far beyond Tibet.

After these international speakers, eight Tibetan doctors and researchers presented papers on a variety of topics, including the sustainable use of Tibetan materia medica, the standardization of Tibetan medicine, external

treatment technologies, pulse-purging therapy, cataract treatment, and purgative therapy for hepatitis. The conference ended with a Statement of the Lhasa Communiqué. After that, the political leaders and keynote speakers were given a tour of the Museum of History at the National Clinical Research Base of the new Men-Tsee-Khang hospital, followed by a dinner and a "Celebration Party for Lhasa Men-Tsee-Khang – using 100 years' inheritance to build up China Dream." This was an entertaining song-, dance-, comedy-and multimedia-show prepared and performed by Men-Tsee-Khang staff as well as professional singers and actors. Throughout, the entire 100 years' anniversary celebration and conference was covered by major Chinese TV channels (CCTV, Xizang TV, etc.), newspapers, and Internet blogs.

While the August conference in Lhasa (see Katharina Sabernig's report, this issue) was certainly more interesting in terms of international and scholarly exchange, the September event described here was mainly a political function and an internal celebration. As such, it was impressively organized, showcasing the sheer magnitude of development – in terms of public health infrastructure, political organization, industry, and research – of Tibetan medicine in China. A hundred years after the 13th Dalai Lama's attempts at introducing modern reforms to Tibet, which included the foundation of the Lhasa Men-Tsee-Khang and its subsequent steps in the direction of Tibetan public health care, it is clear that this legacy not only lives on, but actually thrives.

100th Anniversary Celebrations of the Men-Tsee-Khang & the Second Annual Conference of the Tibetan Medicine Committee of the World Federation of Chinese Medicine Societies, Lhasa, Tibet

20-22 August 2016

Katharina Sabernig

One hundred years ago (1916) the Lhasa Men-Tsee-Khang (Sman rtsis khang) was established as a patient-oriented institution in order to complement the traditional education at the Medical College on top of the Iron Hill (Lcags po ri). The celebration conference was organized in Lhasa by the Specialty Committee of Tibetan Medicine, which is part of the World Federation of Chinese Medicine Societies (WFCMS), and the Health Bureau of the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR). It was generously sponsored by the Men-Tsee-Khang and the Tibetan Medical Research Institute of the TAR.

An excursion to both the old and new institution of the Men-Tsee-Khang, the latter one consists of a hospital and a museum made up the framework program for foreign participants. The overall appearance revealed that today Tibetan medicine is aimed to be studied historically, clinically, and pharmacognostically in a complementary dialog with modern science as one part of the public health service. The Tibetan hospital shows a vivid combination of traditional and biomedical applications: moxibustion, bloodletting, cupping, and pharmaceutical applications on the traditional side and "Western" diagnostic tools such as blood samples, CT and X-ray

Aside from the generous institutional support approbated medical doctors, bureaucratic authorities, and students helped with official and spontaneous translations to facilitate international exchange. Rinchen Dondrup (Rin-chen-dongrub; Qinghai University, Xining and Vice President of WFCMS) worked tirelessly to organize travel documents and individual requirements of the international guests. He was generously assisted by Sienna Craig and Vincanne Adams.

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examinations as well as endoscopical and minor surgical interventions on the other. The Medical College also took the opportunity to invite the foreign guests present, Janet Gyatso, Fernand Meyer and Katharina Sabernig (the author of this report), to give guest lectures, which were attended by local scholars of Tibetan medicine and hundreds of students.



International participants and Men-Tsee-Khang staff in front of the institution's old building, 20 August 2016 (Katharina Sabernig 2016)

The high-ranking opening ceremony was commenced by the Vice Chairman of the TAR and other representatives of the TAR Government, the WFCMS, the TAR Health & Family planning committee and the director of the Men-Tsee-Khang. About 400 Tibetan medical practitioners and researchers participated, mostly dressed in traditional clothes. Twelve foreign academic researchers – eight from the USA and individuals from Canada, France, Norway and Austria – were invited to strengthen international academic exchange. These scholars represented different fields of Tibetan or complementary medical studies with the aim to develop Tibetan clinical practice in accordance with the unique Tibetan culture, language, and its historically grown theoretical concepts. Additionally, Professor Fernand Meyer was honorably acknowledged for his lifetime achievement. Chinese news media reported on the conference with many photos of the foreign guests.

The keynote speakers, presenting in Tibetan, Chinese, or English, presented on a broad range of historical and clinical topics that covered different traditional medical systems in China and among its minority populations. The English keynote speeches were fully translated into Tibetan while Tibetan and Chinese presentations where briefly summarized in English. Ten keynote speeches where held on the first day starting with Yixiyangzong (Yeshes-g.yang-vdzoms), executive president of the Lhasa Men-Tsee-Khang, who outlined major former developments over the past hundred years and future perspectives of the institution. This included a clear commitment to a complementary combination of traditional and biomedical service as an important and integrated factor of the TAR public health service. Janet Gyatso (Harvard University) discussed different forms of medical knowledge and social behavior in Tibetan medical paintings within their Buddhist context and their differences to classical Tibetan Buddhist paintings. Jianping Liu (Ligcanphin; Centre of Evidence Based Chinese Medicine at Beijing University of Chinese Medicine) introduced the approach of evidence-based medicine in traditional Chinese medicine (TCM), favoring the necessity of randomized clinical trials (RCT) to change from an experienced-based to an evidencebased medical approach. His statement included a discussion of the general conflict between the standardization and individualization of medical practice. Jigemeide (Vjigs-med; International Hospital of Mongolian Medicine in the Mongolian Autonomous Region [MAR]), spoke about the history of Mongolian medicine, including the early non-Tibetan aspects as well as the important period between the 16th and 20th century. He also noted the major influences of Tibetan texts, notably the pharmacological achievements of Jampel Dorjé (Vjam-dpal-rdo-rje) and his beautifully Illustrated Tibeto-Mongolian Materia Medica of Ayurveda. Gongjuewangdui (Go-vjo-dbangvdus; Traditional Medical College in Lhasa) who compiled the first modern dictionary of Tibetan medicine in the 1980s, explored the history of monastic medical schools and lineages in Tibet. His talk, which was also circulated in the form of a printed booklet, included the early history and formation period of the major commentaries. He also outlined the establishment of the Iron Hill Medical College and later medical institutions in the major monasteries of Labrang and Kumbum.

In the afternoon, the president of the WFCMS, Jiumei Phuntsok (Vjigsmed-phun-tshogs), spoke about the patenting of traditional medicines and the respective pharmaceutical industry. Vincanne Adams (University of California) reviewed the history of science in Tibet and Tibet in science. She began with statements of Gendun Choepel (Dge-vdun-chos-vphel) and of other Tibetan scholars living in the early twentieth century on the relation between

scientific versus traditional knowledge and finished with biomedical studies exploring the effect of meditation with the help of modern imaging techniques. Dujiang (To-cing; Guiyang University of TCM and president of Hmong (Miao) medicine for the China Minorities Medicine Association) presented on the current research status and prospects of Hmong medicine. His key point was that the industrial development of Miao pharmaceutical prescriptions in Guizhou province incorporated systematical and pharmacognostical research. Gaerko (Skal-kho; Aba Tibetan Hospital and Chengdu University of TCM) underlined the complexity of different forms of pharmacological potency of Tibetan medicine as described in classical Tibetan texts. The final keynote talk was given by Qianraoaosai (Mkhyen-rab-vod-gsal), President of Limai (Ris-med) Tibetan Hospital. He discussed the experiences of his project team in the treatment of AIDS with Tibetan medicine, including an analysis of the disease based on an interpretation of the human immunodeficiency virus from the Tibetan perspective. As the international delegation traveled back to their hotel at the end of the day, a beautiful rainbow appeared spanning from Potala Palace to Iron Hill, which was generally considered as an auspicious sign.

The following day was organized in four parallel-running panels, each with eight speakers of different languages; short summaries in English or Tibetan accompanied each talk. Sienna Craig (Dartmouth College) and Tawni Tidwell (Emory University) spoke in Tibetan, to the great joy of all participants. Each panel included international as well as Tibetan or Chinese speakers so as to enable academic exchange across language barriers. Each panel engaged a broad mixture of historical, philological, anthropological, and clinical or scientific studies. The final group discussions within individual panels demonstrated the importance of the Tibetan principle of seniority as well as status, and left time for deeper analysis of historical and future necessities. The closing meeting emphasized the successful organization of 100th Anniversary Celebrations of the Men-Tsee-Khang and it was clearly appreciated that the international and national research on Tibetan medicine is the sound basis for its future development.

Book Review

Mar pa's life seen through the prism of his many biographies: a review of Cécile Ducher's

Building a Tradition
The Lives of Mar-pa the Translator

Biblioteca Collectanea 5 Indus Verlag, Hamburg 2017 and

https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/view/subjects/12221.html

Cécile Ducher's book—a study of the life of a most famous bKa' brgyud pa master—is conceived as an insider examination of the century-old literature dedicated to him. The fact that the basics of Mar pa's life are not beyond variance has led Ducher to involve herself in this biographical material.

Her work on the biographies of Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros is outstanding. She has dealt with the corpus of Mar pa's biographies comparing each text word by word with all others. Her treatment of these *rnam thar-s* is literary-oriented in order to find paternity and filiation. Every page is a quest for the purpose and the outcome is a piece of literary exegesis.

Ducher treats the biographies of Mar pa as a wade through the ways biographers across the centuries wrote about him. It is how they tackled his personality, highlighting or downplayng episodes of his life or aspects of his character and practice. It is Mar pa the human and Mar pa the legend, so closely connected that the two sides are hard to disentangle.

She defines her style of work diachronic, for she stresses that it aims at analysing the evolution of the biographers' narrations of his life, to detect similarities or departing points. She traces the indebtness of biographies from others. Ducher rather more focuses on the narratives of Mar pa's life than his existence itself.

In the end, there is no marked evolution of Mar pa's personality. It is his biographers who like to see him from different angles. Eventually, Ducher ends up outlining the personality of Mar pa's biographers, too.

*rNam thar-*s are, more often than not, seen as exercises meant to celebrate the personality they deal with. The next step in this way of thinking is to consider these works as a mix of eulogism and actuality. The dogma that *rnam thar-*s are to be defined as hagiographies has buried them under a layer of stereotyped preconceptions and insignificance. Every biography is a hagiography in its own way. Even those which portray the subject of the work under a negative light, which hardly is the case of Tibetan *rnam thar-*s. They are, anyhow, a celebration of the concerned personality. Even more so when they are autobiographies.

To classify the *rnam thar*-s in such a dogmatic manner is reductive, for, even from the most canonical perspective, there are well known subcategories in the *rnam thar* genre. The biographies' different kinds (*phyi nang yang gsang*) lead to assessments of the concerned master's personality that are far from being unitary.

It is obvious to any reader that there are *rnam thar*-s without an iota that would contribute to go beyond common places about the personality they deal with and others which disclose details of remarkable importance, not found in other works. Reducing them under a single label seems to me that not enough of them has been read or that it has been done with preconceived eyes.

Especially in the case of the bKa' brgyud pa tradition, the differences of treatment induced by the fact that biographies are part of a *gSer phreng* or individual works should not be overlooked. Individual *rnam thar*-s are discretionary, biographies in *gSer phreng*-s are required. It is then not uncommon that individual biographies are written when the biographer has something to say, whereas in *gSer phreng*-s the biographer's work may be derivative.

One literary aspect of writing a *gSer phreng* that should be investigated is how the biographical accounts concerning the Indian masters who preceded Mar pa in the transmission line became available to the bKa' brgyud pa authors, especially in consideration of the use of a different language. One should find out whether they are based on accounts of the bKa' brgyud masters or on *lo tsa ba*'s work.

The procedure Ducher has adopted is a combination of approaches, the main one being textual cross-analysis but also historiography and paleography of the sources she considers. She does not focus on the typical approach to *rnam thar-s* that is exclusively biographical in the sense of extracting historical elements from a life account. The balance between this combination varies in conformity with the issue she deals with.

She works at correcting attributions of authorship, an oft-confused exercise among Tibetan authors who not always are reliable in their identifications. Ducher often weighs these clues by means of the inductive method, whereby

she comes up with hypotheses in terms of period, authorship and indebtness. Not always her inductive method is a proof per se but it is propedeutic to well argumented possibilities.

For instance, she attributes the biography of Mar pa in the *gSer phreng* entitled *bKa' brgyud kyi rnam thar chen mo rin po che'i gter mdzod dgod 'dod 'byung gnas* to Ri khrod dbang phyug (1181-1252), and those of other bKa' brgyud pa masters to Don mo ri pa rDo rje mdzes 'od. The matter is more complex, for it involves the biographies of bKa' brgyud practitioners from the sTod side, who cannot be neglected if one wishes to consider the entire spectrum of this work. It is remarkable, however, how her inductive method helps to dig deep into the relations of sources, separated from one another by a long span of time.

One of several virtues of Ducher's work are her cross-references of teachings and texts that were the intellectual property of masters of different periods and religious backgrounds so that they are slices of *gsan yig-s* that trespass the boundaries of time and scholastic limitations. A fitting example among several others is her reference to the 'Bri gung pa master Kun dga' rin chen (1475-1527), who was a holder of the literary transmission of teachings and documents going back to much older rNgog lineage members.

* * *

Ducher organises her work by means of the metaphor that the exercise of writing Mar pa's biographies in an evolutive form is like to building a house. But she does not neglect to classify them in chronological order. Her "foundations" are:

~ the biography by Ngam rdzong ston pa, the rNgog biographies, Mar pa's collected works in 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud chos mdzod chen mo and the biographies of the bKa' brgyud sNyan brgyud ("Oral Transmission") (p.46-84), which she considers as the main ones.

Those she calls minor "foundations" are (p.84-101):

 \sim the biographies attributed to sGam po pa, that by bla ma Zhang and the 'Brug pa gSer phreng.

The two blocks of these texts go back to the 11th-12th centuries. The successive biographies which she groups together under the definition "ground floor" (p.101-116) are:

~ the biographies written by Don mo ri pa, rGyal thang pa and U rgyan pa (13th century).

The biographies of the 14th-15th centuries are defined by her as the "walls":

- ~ the one found in *Deb ther dmar po*, the biography by Zhwa dmar mKha' spyod dbang po, bSod nams rgyal mtshan, two rNgog clan biographies, those by Kun dga' dpal 'byor, Mi bskyod rdo rje and 'Gos lo tsa ba in *Deb ther sngon po* (p.116-136).
- ~ The "roof" is the biography by gTsang smyon alone (16th century) (p.136-144).

Later developments she classifies outside her metaphor (p.145-168) are:

- ~ the biographies by rGod tshang ras pa, Kun dga' rin chen, dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba, and several others including those by Padma dkar po, Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, Tshe dbang nor bu and Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas.
- ~ they are followed by an interlocutory conclusion (p.168-171).

A new section (p.173-238) concerns:

- ~ Mar pa's songs;
- ~ Quotative verbs marking the author's presence in the biographies;
- ~ evolution of characters:

the central character:

Mar pa

Mar pa as an emanation

the practice of entering another body (grong 'jug)

Two secondary characters of importance:

Nāropā

gNyos lo tsa ba

Appendixes (p.241-306):

Appendix One ~ Ngam rdzong ston pa's biography of Mar pa (Tibetan text)

Appendix Two ~ Translation

Appendix Three ~ Translation of rNgog mDo sde's biography of Mar pa

Appendix Four ~ Chart of Mar pa's songs in the biographies

Appendix Five ~ Mar pa's dates

Bibliography (p.307-326)

(I would have seen an index as an appropriate support for such an important work).

Ducher opens her treatment with paragraphs dedicated to Mon rtse pa Kun dga' dpal (1407-1475)'s *gSer phreng*, a text never enough praised for its value. Mon rtse pa has used the biography of Mar pa, which Ducher holds as the earliest, without being the earliest composer of a *gSer phreng*. This "golden garland of texts" contains Mar pa's biography written by Ngam rdzong ston pa, given that the colophon of the work attributes it to Bho dhe ra dza, i.e. Byang chub rgyal mtshan aka Ngam rdzong ston pa.

With the help of Ngam rdzong ston pa's biography, Cécile Ducher traces the foundation of the *rnam thar*-s dedicated to him back to the accounts and songs Mar pa passed to rje btsun Mi la and Mar pa mGo g.yag. They gave this material to Ngam rdzong ston pa.

This is the most interesting period in the history of Mar pa's biographical tradition, the genesis of the image of the master that was transmitted to posterity along a series of works that span almost eight hundred years and continue to be penned at present.

In the colophon, Ngam rdzong ston pa adds that Mar pa gave excerpts of his life and songs, which contain traces of his experiences, to no one else than his disciples Mi la ras pa and Mar pa mGo legs (i.e.'Phan yul Mar pa mGo g.yag). Both being teachers of Ngam rdzong, they passed to him the material they had received. None of the two would have put it down in coherent form. Ngam rdzong ston pa's biography would be the earliest about the great *lo tsa ba*.

This could mean that the earliest biography of Mar pa—the one by Ngam rdzong ston pa—is not a direct transmission of his life, but filtered through rje btsun Mi la and mGo g.yag. One generation in Mar pa's transmission line of his life would have been skipped as much as the writing of a biography of him is concerned.

Mar pa's songs were the autobiographical material used by Ngam rdzong ston pa, but some parts of his biography are not traceable in them. Ducher thinks that they are derived from oral accounts.

She dedicates a section of her work to the issue of Mar pa's songs and stresses, besides what she considers was the transmission of this genre adopted by the lHo brag *lo tsa ba*, their limited popularity in comparison with those of his disciple rje btsun Mi la. She reiterates that they were an exercise aimed at summarising Mar pa's experiences during his travels to India for the sake of informing his students and not a poetic exercise about spiritual realisations as done by Mi la ras pa.

Lost are traces of a work by mGo g.yag on Mar pa's life and, therefore, it is beyond the present-day state of the art to elaborate on his contribution to the master's biographical corpus.

However, other signs, besides the missing material by mGo g.yag, may indicate that there was no interruption in the transmission of Mar pa's life accounts. Mar pa's transmission of teachings followed parallel lines. One was the line stemming from rje btsun Mi la; the other was that of the rNgog clan members.

rNgog gZhung pa Chos sdor was a most passionate disciple of Mar pa. Ducher discusses signs in a text in *Mar pa lo tsa ba'i gsung 'bum* that bears traces of authorship by rNgog gZhung pa Chos rdor, especially personal knowledge and songs like Mar pa's *mgur*-s. But she is prudential in her caveat to accept that the paternity of the work should be ascribed to rNgog gZhung pa.

Ducher says that only discernible sources for the biography that could be attributed to gZhung pa Chos rdor are the songs, those that Mar pa would have passed to rNgog mGo g.yag. Ducher also stresses that rNgog gZhung pa's work cites Mar pa's songs in extenso, literary material minimally found in Ngam rdzong ston pa's work. Moreover, Ngam rdzong ston pa's statement that he received biographical information on Mar pa from Mi la and mGo g.yag also rules out the possibility that he drew material from rNgog gZhung pa. It also means that there were two earliest lines of writing Mar pa's bio, one by Ngam rdzong ston pa, linked to Mi la and mGo g.yag, which was the later, and the other by rNgog gZhung pa, which was earlier.

A sign that hints of Mar pa's life became well known through rNgog gZhung pa's personal frequentation of the master is the famous episode whereby Mar pa says that receiving a horse as a gift is too little if it accompanies a request for teachings and it is too much if it is a simple present. Ducher quotes it herself—one of many indicators that her work is all-comprehensive—without singling out Mar pa's interlocutor. rNgog gZhung pa Chos rdor was the actor at play in this exchange with Mar pa. The attribution may have been filtered through literary channels, but no one else than gZhung pa must have heard those words of Mar pa.

Safer grounds are reached with the biography written by rNgog gZhung pa's son rNgog mDo sde. The rNgog biographical tradition has rNgog mDo sde as the master to whom a biography of Mar pa is attributed. The text acted as prototype for several other life stories of lHo brag Mar pa. mDo sde gives Mar pa's death to a bird year and names Mar pa's parents, a detail not appearing in the text attributed to rNgog gZhung pa. mDo sde's description of Mar pa's last journey to India to meet Nāropā is commonly found in later biographies. mDo sde's *rnam thar* is the earliest biography that documents the ties that linked Mar pa to Nāropā, the songs which proclaim the greatness of his own lineage and his skills in performing *grong 'jug*.

The biography also has peculiarities not found in later works. rNgog mDo

sde mentions Mar pa's meeting with A ti sha when Jo bo rje was in gTsang after his three years in mNga' ris skor gsum while the bKa' brgyud pa master was on his way to India.

After a little wondering about the line to be followed, Ducher concludes that the earliest *Mar pa'i rnam thar* was written by rNgog gZhung pa Chos rdor, on which the one by Ngam rdzong ston pa was based. It would, therefore, be the only *rnam thar* written by a direct disciple of Mar pa.

As for the biographies included in the collections of the bKa' brgyud Oral Transmission (*sNyan brgyud*), Ducher, basing herself on indirect clues, advocates the candidacy of Mar ston Tshul khrims 'byung gnas as the author of the root biography of Mar pa found in this group of texts. She rules out attribution to Ras chung pa rDo rje grags (1084-1161) or else, even less probably, his disciple Khyung tshang pa Ye shes bla ma (1115-1176), of whom Mar ston was a prominent student. In his work, Mar ston assigns a place of importance to gZhung pa and mGo g.yag, Mar pa's disciples, holders of biographical material about him.

An Indian source was the foremost credential to certify the reliability of teachings. This is well known and I don't need to elaborate on this. What I wish to stress is that the same approach must have been adopted among Tibetans themselves. Attributing paternity to a great Tibetan master rather than oneself, the actual author of a work, served the purpose to make the text authoritative. Paternity to Ras chung pa would make a text more important than attributing to Khyung tshang pa even less so to Mar ston.

Despite being recognised as an emanation body—Ducher provides statistical evidence in favour of the fact that that his biographers more commonly considered him Dombî Heruka's rebirth—the programmatic biographical record of a master's life since his birth and early years was not applied to Mar pa. The circumstances of his birth are not found in the earliest sources nor the name of his parents, and the year in which he was born is disputed. The foundation of the biographical material about IHo brag Mar pa and his pioneering contribution was the consequence of becoming a supreme master due to his learning and spiritual achievements, especially those in India.

The seal of secrecy about songs and biographies of the early Dwags po bKa' brgyud, stressed as typical by Ducher, may have induced some reluctance among his direct disciples to divulgate episodes and features of his personality. This added to the obscurity of Mar pa's life and gave the later biographers a margin of free literary choice to describe it.

Increased critical assessments in comparison with the earlier authors, less keen to weigh the reliability of the sources and the conflictuality of the biographies, were the consequence of the more wide-ranging material at the

later biographers' disposal. This gave way to a penchant for elaborating further the accounts of the previous works. Episodes in Mar pa's life, seen as more significant or closer to these authors' personal and religious frame of mind, were elaborated. Revisions of the same material led to points of divergence from the work of previous biographers.

Does Ducher exclusion of more recent biographies from her metaphor that the biographical corpus of Mar pa's life is like a house mean that the more recent additions did not change the substance of what one knows about the translator from lHo brag?

* * *

In the last part of her book Ducher deals with aspects of Mar pa's life and deeds without attempting to evaluate the reliability of the different versions of these episodes. She does not try to write one more biography of the translator from lHo brag, but she does not neglect to touch several interesting points about him.

One is that she discusses briefly the origin of the practice of religious songs among the Tibetans. To do so, Ducher's use of Ellingson 1079 PhD thesis *The Mandala of Sound* is a welcome choice. Ellingson's little known thesis still is a pioneering work that has few counterparts nowadays. Her skepticism about his contribution that songs were sung by religious masters in Tibet during *bstan pa snga dar* would need more in-depth research. Ducher's statement that Mar pa's songs are the earliest ones in Tibetan and not those from the 8th century is a prudential assessment. This applies to *bstan pa phyi dar smad lugs* but not to *stod lugs*, which had a thriving tradition of both religious and simply musical songs before Mar pa went to India.

She has a most interesting and rather long section dedicated to Mar pa's prowess to perform *grong 'jug*, the practice of entering/inhabiting another body. Given that *grong 'jug* was part of the doctrines of Nāropā, Ducher makes the significant point that, in the days of Mar pa, the Indian master's teachings were not yet canonically classified as six but in a plethora of variant numberings.

She cites sources that fix the etymology of *grong 'jug*, a literal translation from Sanskrit, which, in its full form, stands for *grong khyer 'jug pa* or "entering the town". The expression reflects the Sanskrit term *pura*, equally used to mean "town" and "body". Ngam rdzong ston pa says that Mar pa received these teachings from sPyi ther pa in the Kathmandu Valley; later authors link the transmission of the practice to Nāropā during Mar pa's last journey to India, which implies a chronological difference. bKa' brgyud pa authors of various periods (e.g. Ngam rdzong and gTsang smyon) say that

the tradition did not put down roots in Tibet owing to the premature death of Mar pa mDo sde. However, several Tibetan *bla ma*-s were experts of the practice, the most notable one being Karma Pakshi. Other non-Tibetan masters brought *grong 'jug* to the Land of Snows. One for sure was sMri ti's companion Phra la ring ba.

The circumstances surrounding Mar pa's journeys to India are emblematic for the major divergences among his biographers. The length of his sojourns in India vary and the sequence of Mar pa's meetings with his Indian teachers is far from being univocal. Especially where and when he met Nāropā is a subject of dispute. A group of sources opts for Mar pa meeting first his other master Jñānagarba and then Nāropā. Another point of divergence is how and when Mar pa interrupted his stay in India in order go back to Tibet and collect funds for his Indian studies.

One more literary dissimilarity is where Nāropā had his monastery, either at Phullahari in the Gangetic Plain or at Puśpahari in Kashmir. There is basic concordance among the biographers of different periods about the fact that when Mar pa returned to India for his last journey, Nāropā was not available to him, for he had retired to practise. Mar pa's quest for his *rtsa ba'i bla ma* resulted in meeting his various other teachers in a path of further purification that brought him to be worthy of seeing Nāropā again. This led him to have a visionary encounter with his master, a prerogative to reaching enlightenment.

Ducher ponders in detail the significance of Nāropā for Mar pa and his training. She concludes that, besides the facts concerning the *lo tsa ba* from lHo brag, another and no less important lesson is the symbolism that his life and deeds assumed. They became an exemplary case how to tackle the tenets and practice of the doctrine by all kinds of religious exponents across the centuries.

Besides lineal continuity—a must in the *gSer phreng* genre that made Mar pa's life an almost inescapable subject for the bKa' brgyud pa authors—his importance extends outside the bKa' brgyud pa ranks. Mar pa had a crucial role in the diffusion of the teachings not only per se, i.e. for his introduction of a new doctrinal wave from India. He was one of the masters who brought the great Buddhist tradition of contemporary India to Tibet that had gone lacking until him in dBus gTsang and lHo brag, unlike sTod mNga' ris skor gsum where great Indian masters were propagators of the doctrine. Mar pa and few others broke the impasse of *bstan pa phyi dar smad lugs*, reserved until then to the diffusion from Khams and A mdo, and focused on the training from India. He was the spiritual intermediary between great Indian masters and the beginning of the import of their religious material to Tibet.

Mar pa's life remains historically undefined on the issue of several important aspects, so that no sequential construction of his existence has taken place in the course of the centuries. The too many contrasting or obscure versions of episodes in his life do not help to reach a univocal assessment. Ducher has not neglected to detect facts but has not attempted to come to conclusions when her comparative approach could not establish reliability beyond doubt.

This is the case with Mar pa dates. Most biographers think that he lived for either eighty or eighty-eight years (with some marginal deviations from this calculation) and to have died in a bird year. There are several variants of Mar pa's dates because his death year is given in the duodenary cicle, which leads to chronological oscillations. Both absolute terms by looking into his own existence and external evidence, based on some of his contemporaries' lives, do not help. Despite propounding for the dates of *lHo rong chos 'byung* (b. 997-d. 1085), Ducher is non-committal and proposes that Mar pa was born around the millennium and died in the early to the mid 1080s.

With *Building a Tradition. The Lives of Mar-pa the Translator* Cécile Ducher has become part of the group of experts in textual analysis, a field of work that is becoming more frequented in the last several years. What differentiates Ducher (and a few others) from the rest is that she does not focus on a single text and then searches critically for others related to it. She deals with the whole spectrum of Mar pa's biographical corpus. An additional value to Ducher's work from the bibliographic viewpoint is the inclusion of textual rarities which have become available in the recent past. Unless new material will resurface in the foreseeable future, Ducher's book will remain the standard work for the study of Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros.

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