

# तर्वेग्रामिण पह्यावर्ष्यालयाः स्ट्रिंग्राम् । म्यायार्थेन स्ट्रिंग्राम् स्ट्रिंग्राम् स्ट्रिंग्राम् ।



# विच पर्केष पुरुष देवा

पर्वेग्नेया.या.स्या.श्रु.व्यक्षः मैंय्येयः देवः पर्वेः र्वेत्यः स्वेयः खेताः वि

### Research Journal

Special Issue in commemoration of 50 years working to preserve Bhutanese Culture

Published by:
The Centre for History and Culture
Institute of Language and Culture Studies
Royal University of Bhutan

### बैच'तर्हेंब'रुष'रेच। देग'गबुरवर्षेदेशर्सेच'श्रीच श्रा हे र्येटम्बर

#### क्रिंभःश्चेषाःलुदान्य

र्गरःसुव रागवय

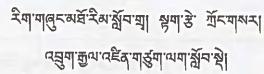
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 \* Matthew G. Robinson, English Lecturer, ILCS, Taktse

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क्.मू.मूं ४०१४







# विचायर्क्स्यानुषान्वा

#### Research Journal

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पत्त्रेणःश्वेट्त्त्भूभ्र-प्तपेट्ताः अर्ट्ट्राचर्ष्यः विष्णत्वा विष्णत्व विष्णत्व

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लकार्ती. मुं शानेश्वतालकान्येष्टें रेगे.शु.ची.शु.ची.सु.ची.श्री.चीश्वराची.लका वर् छेरवै। चलम्बाराश्चार्याची लक्षायु पहें दु त्या की इस सम्मेक्ष से त्या में इयम्बादी इस्रामेशन्त्रेत्रानहेत्रहे त्युराहे तर्मु प्रवासीय हो या बुवाया रह्मा प्रवास श्रीरमञ्जूमश्रदी। र्ख्रम्बर्ध्वस्थराग्री:सुर्च्यःपत्ने:सुंग्रुपःयःर्द्धःम्री:कःशुःसरम्ब्रुम्बर्चर् श्रीराचेराश्री सेस्या ग्री सुर्दे प्वति त्यु में है द्राप्त प्याप्त मुन्या से हा **ले.श्रु.च.ण्रय.त.कुय.वाञ्चवायाञ्चरतालयास्यरम्, क्षेवा.य.चर्षाल्य.** श्रीर चेर माशुर सका क्षेत्र। माञ्चमार चेर स्री माञ्चमार सुर सुर सुर स्री की देश स्थार सुरर्चे सुपार्च मुपार्च सुपार्च सुपार् वार्चियाकाकी.सेट्स्.जी.प्रशापिकासी.चपु.सू.चर्चेश.पचर.श्रु.श्रुवा.जा.स्वाकाता. श्चे अहेर्ज्या दी रेगायकी बेर में स लिया र्वरस्थारियारायसार्द्धरावाच्यरास्त्रक्षेष्टेशियार्द्धरावाचेरा कॅरपदी क्रून्य-पर्नेस्वाः श्रुं श्रे श्रायमः स्वायः श्रुं त्येतः स्वायः स्वयमः श्रेतः श्रेन्यः स्व श्रेद्य दी क्रणबाराक्षेत्रेर्न्र्र्न्त्र्तुत्र्त्त्र्र्त्वायबास्याक्ष्यः वरायेद्रायास्याचेरा येदग्य द्वी विद्यालका पहेंद्र देविका द्वरा श्वीदार्वीदार्वीदार्श्वीदार्श्वीदार्वीदार्वीदार्श्वीदार्श्वीदार्थीदार्वीदार्वीदार्वीदार्थीदार्वीदार श्रीन्यदी यादात श्रीद्राया द्वीत्वस्या मासुस्य त्यार्केन्या नायेदाया देशे देशे विष्यु नाये स्थायस्य श्रीद्रा मान्नेरास्त्रवाधिद्रा द्रवास द्वा वार द्वर वी त्युस त्येत हो त्यु स्वास द्वा वार हो । श्चेष् ज्ञम्बराने भी खे खे हो न मिने दी

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द्रग्नानिवेटब्रह्म्द्रभ्यःश्रीयःची श्रेणःचबटर्द्ग्रह्म जुर्गश्रयःची

ब्रेच । क्रमःश्रेचाःश्रेः नेमःचः व्यान्यः व्याः व्याव्यः व्याव्यः व्याव्यः व्याव्यः व्याव्यः व्याव्यः व्यावयः व्याव्यः व्याव्यः व्याव्यः व्याव्यः व्याव्यः व्याव्यः व्याव्यः

दे.जस.सूचित.की.सूचतन्त्री क्रि.जी.सूच्या.सू



सैया-वर्षण, येट्यास्य वर्ष्ट्रेय, योयट, मुस्य स्था मिस्य प्रिय प्र प्रिय प्रि

देव ब्राच्न क्ष्यां क्ष्यां

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सीयन्यन्तिन्त्रम्थाक्त्रम्थाक्त्रम्थाक्ष्याः स्वान्त्रम्थाक्ष्याः स्वान्त्रम्थाः स्वान्त्रम्यः स्वान्त्यः स्वान्त्रम्यः स्वान्

द्रभःश्रदिः तुस्र हेव प्ववर्षः र्वे पः श्रे र्श्वे च प्वतः प्वतः विष्णा प्रदेश विषणः विष्णः विष्णः विष्णः विषणः व

च्चैर.च.ज.स्वीश.तपु.सर्व.लूर्य.चलश.क्चैश.शु.खैट.त.लूर्य.चुर.वर्स्य.स्ये.चें.स्य.पेंस्य.पेंस्य.येथे । चुर.लूटश.श्रे.चोवीश.तपु.वोश.जश.जश.कुश.शु.खैटा.त.लूर्य.चुर.वर्स्य.स्ये.च्यं.स्य.पेंस्य.

#### कुवः विदशः द्ये देव

ब्रैदायःभृगुष्यःद्या र्देःहेःगुर्देदायदेःयदःर्यद्या वगादादशुरःर्स्स्वायदेःयद्या ब्रीट्यानेगुष्यःद्या द्यादेःयद्या वगादादशुरःर्स्स्वायदेःयद्या

# **५५ मते हुं अ मन्** न के विंदा

द्या.योथेटअस्.इम्. ज्यास.व्येट.ती च्यूर.येशस.इम्.ह्म ज्यास.व्येट.ती

इवा.ब्रेंट.क्री.अर्.सेंब.चीय.क्रब.त्य.चीया । इ.वाशेश.वीय.पर्टेश.चे.अर.श्रेट्ययापटी । इ.वाशेश.वीय.पर्टेश चि.अप्.देटश.अ.अह्य.अह्य.श्री । वावाय.ब्रेंट.क्रवाय.क्री.पर्टेश.वी.यं.पर्टेश ।

स्वानक्ष्याम् न्यात्रीयायत् स्वान्त्र स्वान्त्र स्वान्त्र स्वान्त्र स्वान्त्र स्वान्त्र स्वान्त्र स्वान्त्र स्व स्वान्त्र स्

**न्न्यन्न्यतेर्स्यदी** अर्देव्यागुवायहुकालकान्त्रावे तत्त्वयाते हेव चेन्यते त्वा कर्षेत्र प्राण्डे प्रत्या क्षेत्र प्राण्डे प्रत्या क्षेत्र प्रत्य क्षेत्र क्षेत्र प्रत्य क्षेत्र प्रत्य क्षेत्र क्षेत्र प्रत्य क्षेत्र क्य क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र

पड्डम्प्या स्वाप्तास्त्र विद्याप्ताः वस्र स्वाप्तास्त्र स्वाप्तास्त्र स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्तास्त्र स्वाप्तास्त्र स्वाप्तास्त्र स्वाप्तास्त्र स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्तास्त्र स्



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माष्ट्रिकास्यास्त्रिका हो। करका क्रुका व्याप्त द्वार्थित व्याप्त स्वरायका स्वरायका द्वार्थित व्याप्त व्यापत व्यापत्य व्यापत व्यापत्य व्यापत व्यापत्त व्यापत्य व्यापत्य व्यापत्त व्य

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अक्ष्यकेट्रेन्द्री रच.चक्षा.क्री.अर्ट्.जमा **२८.म.२८.मध्य.प्रश्चर.** यह्म.हेथ्.क्री.चर्मेच.चे.मट.जयर. अक्ष्यकेट्रेन्द्री रच.चक्षा.क्री.अर्ट्.जमा **२८.म.२८.मध्य.प्रश्चर.** यह्म.हेथ्.क्री.चर्मेच.चे.मट.जयर.

में मान्त्र वित्या के प्रति वित्य क

क्यास्याविकातान्त्रेत्रेत्रेत्वास्त्रे निर्मालेट्यात् निर्मालेट्यात्रे निर्मालेट्यात्रे स्वास्य स्वास

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त्रमायन्त्रमा स्वान्त्रम् स्वान्त्रम्यस्वन्त्रम्यस्वन्त्रम्यान्त्रम्यस्वन्त्रम्यस्वन्त्रम् स्वान्त्रम्यस्वान्त्रम्यस्वान्त्रम

सर्दर्यद्र | द्रमःस्त्रम्बन्धःस्मान्यःमुःस्र्रिक्रे



केशन् श्रेनामान्यम् । वर्षेतामान्यम् । वर्षेत्रम् वर्षाम् । न्गुयन्त्यायर्थयायायाविकायका न्दर्यायरमायहेवत्वकान्त्यायर्थयायादी वे हणः वर्षण वर्षेत्रः वर्षः केशः न श्रेषाशः वस्त्रः ने दिन्यः वर्षणः वर्षे ।

ग्रिक्षायाग्वदाक्कृत्वायहेदादवार्त्रा चर्डल चर्ने ज्ञास में विश्वर्षेया त्या पहेंद दश्यावायायस्वर्त्त्रात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र् त.वक्षा क्रूब.की.क्रूबबब.क्रेट.तर.क्ष.रेट. वर्ग्रेम्थाक्षेप्रम्यावर्ग्या सर्रेस्यम् स्रित्वयास्रिते गशुराधानम् विरादेशस्त्रेशानभ्रेतुरादे र् वर्डवायर्वे ।



वक्रयन्न्यतेषद्यंद्वते अर्रे यथा न्नयते यथा चुराक्षा क्रा वित्रं वित्र अर्केन् विभागमा मिथ.मू.भाषपातातस्र मे.हाता विभागानियः स्वेश्मार्यस्य स्वातुः स्थाति दिमा **ॴॳॕऻॖ**ढ़॔॔॓ॸॺॴॾॸॱॻख़ॕज़ॺॱॻॱॸॣ॔ॸऻॺढ़ॱॺॺॱॶॕढ़ॱॸॺऻॱॸॗॱऄॸ॔ॱॻॱऄ॔ॸ॔ॱॻॸॱॴॺऻॴऄ॔ॗॎ

### क्रियःसिदशर्मे ये

विच पर्केष रुष देय

इंद्रमण श्रुण देव में हो क्षेत्र ह्युव र्सेट में र्सेव पर्वे विद् झे. इ. तर्स्ट विश्व संस्थित है विश्व संस्था

# ब्रूनः र्क्षेवान्त्र अर्चेति अर्देशः ग्रीः त्युत्ति द्यान्ति न्द्र देवः हण्या माश्रुवा

श्रेण.चबर्ट्र.है। जुबेश.चर्चरे.नो द्रमामबिर:अस्.द्रभःसूट.मी

### बर्केर्'वर्हेर्।

के क्ष्र-संदेश मैंट.च.शचय.लम.वीयम.इंगु.र्ज्जायर.जमा रिथ.क्षेत्र.पर्ट्र.में.पचैट.चयु. मैं अष्ट्र.कुर्या अ.कर्मश्रत्में तयर.य.जग्रत्मिरश्रत्मत्री क्षि.कुर्मानर्थं, ग्री.रश्रत्मया मुरिकानेन । मेरम्नेर्नामान्त्रमान्त्राम् रिक्षेर रेश में देश में क यदेःब्रूट्र्य । यशःमुद्रायदःग्र्रिट्र्यश्चर्यः ग्री:इस्राम्बम्। पश्रुद्धा

विमार्स्व, रि.प.स्. मध्य, मुनायमायम् वास्य स्त्रम् स्त्रे से पर्दर महेर् सर से मार से पर स्वरूप रपु.पर्विताःकीलाष्ट्रत्रुष्ट्रियःसरकासीकात्रेशःतात्रीःसे.पुर्धःक्र्यूष्ट्राःभी.र्ट्शःग्रीकाःचेतन ग्रीमान्यम्माने त्वीयात्मेता स्वतः र्विमान्ने स्वतः मृ.नुव.नुब.न्तुव.प्तुव.प्तुव.प्तुव.प्तुव.सुव.सुव.स्तुव.सुव.स्तुव.सुव.सूव.सूव.सूव.प्तुव.प्तुव.प् नपुःमितायन जुरायह्यानि मीर्मात्तर द्वारा मित्र हिरासूष्र निष्य प्रति पर्यं विषय प्रति प्रति प्रति विषय विषय वि वसःशुः इसमः नियत् सहरमः श्रीरः श्रीनमः नियमः नियमः नियमः नियमः नियमः नियमः पर्ने सरस क्रिस र निरम्भेत से समार्थ देश त्र से साम्या हिस क्रिस क तचर्यासु ले चरे न्यात स्त्री र सु स्थाप र र चर्य मार्ट स्थापे र र स्थापे र स्थापे र र स्थापे र स्थापे र र स्थापे र स्थापे र स्थापे र र स्थापे र स्थ नपु.चर्म्,श्रेज.र्ट.र्ज्ञेष.तपु.र्टनज.र्जेष.पर्वेब.तर्ज्ञेब.त.ह्येब.राज्यका.कर्टाज्य.प्रेथ.तर्म्यमेण.वपु.मैज. विचा बेर स्प्रिस सु वाम्याय दि सुर सु म

वृ.ख्रियी

प्यन्तियुः व्यवस्थाः क्ष्यः क्ष्यः क्ष्यः क्ष्यः स्वयः स्वयः

### सर्भागीयमुत्तपुत्सन्त्रम् द्वान्यस्य विश्वस्थान्त्रम् विवायर्द्वयाययन्त्रम् स्यो मुनापुत्स

स्वाप्तान्त्रीयस्य प्राप्तान्त्रीयः स्वाप्तान्त्रीयस्य प्राप्तान्त्रीयस्य प्राप्तान्त्रम्यस्य प्राप्तान्त्रम्यस्य प्राप्तान्त्रम्यस्य प्राप्तान्त्रम्यस्य प्राप्तान्त्रम्यस्य स्वत्रम्यस्य स्वत्यस्य स्वत्रम्यस्य स्वत्यस्य स्यस्य स्वत्यस्य स्वत्यस्य स्वत्यस्य स्वत्यस्य स्वत्यस्य स्वत्यस्य



तत्तर्ते, मोबी द्वाप्त स्त्रीर त्राच के त्र स्वाप्त हो हो सार्य त्र स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वाप्त स्

क्षेच्यात्मक्षत्रः तचरम्कानीयः यक्षः श्रीस्काः हे त्रीकाः ताः चुरः खे त्रीः ख्री ख्री व्याः वित्रः क्षेत्रः वित्रः वित्र

#### त्वुत्त्वरम् (मर्देश सूर्। देशर्चे)

षत्त्रम् विद्यालयान्त्रहेष्यम् साम् स्यान्त्रम् साम् स्यान्त्रम् स्यान्त्रम्यान्त्रम् स्यान्त्रम् स्यान्यान्त्रम्यान्त्रम् स्यान्त्रम् स्यान्त्रम् स्यान्त्यम्यान्त्रम् स्यान्त्रम्यान्त्रम्यान्त्रम्यान्त्रम्यान्त्रम्यान्त्रम् स्यान्त्

[ 32 ]

मी मित्रा स्थानि । च्या स्थान

मिश्चर्यान्त्रियाः ।

मिश्चर्यान्त्रियः मिश्चर्याः मिश्वर्याः मिश्चर्याः मिश्वर्याः मिश्चर्याः मिश्चर्याः मिश्चर्याः मिश्चर्याः मिश्चर्याः मिश्चर्याः मिश्चर्याः मिश्चर्याः मिश्चर्याः मिश्वर्याः मिश्वर्यः मि

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### बर्साम्हर्रेर:रैब:म्रायन्दर्गायतम्

म्यान्त्रक्षाः स्वान्त्रक्षः स्वान्त्रम् स्वान्त्रम्यान्त्रम् स्वान्त्रम् स्वान्त्रम्यम्यम्यम्वन्त्रम् स्वान्त्रम् स्वान्त्रम् स्वान्त्रम्यम्यम्वन्त्रम् स्वान्त्रम् स्वान्त्

म् स्वास्त्र स्वास्त स्वास्त्र स्वस

### रेक्ष क्रियम्बर्धिया महत्त्र महित्र क्रियम्बर्धिया

तर्ने त्राच्या स्त्री। ध्राक्त्रं निर्माण प्याप्त स्त्री। ध्राक्त्रं स्वापः प्याप्त स्त्री। ध्राक्त्रं स्वापः प्राप्त स्वापः स्



हे.पर्वेच । लुकान्यभा जिकाक्क्चि-रेन्ट्बर्ट्यन्तुःलुकान्यभा श्री श्री श्री अर.पश्चिम अर.पश्चिम अर.पश्चिम अर.पश्चिम अर.पश्चिम

यार्ट्रेब,ज्ज्ञान्त्री। द्रेब,चम्चेत्र,चम्वेत्र,चम्येत्र,चम्वेत्य

मुक्ष-अजाः स्वीयाः च्यायाः स्वायाः स्व इ.इ.चान्नेच रिक्ष-अपः प्रकृतः स्वायः स्वयः स्वायः स्वायः स्वयः स्वय

वसायक्र्या.मी.८ रूपासीय.सूच.तपु.८ सूचाता.सूचाया.मा.सूचाया.मा.सूचाया.न्यं वर्षात्यक्र्या.मी.८ रूपासीय.सूचाया.सूचाया.सूचाया.सूचाया.सूचाया.सूचाया.सूचाया.सूचाया.सूचाया.सूचाया.सूच्याय.सूच्याय

बर्द्याग्रीमिर्द्र्वा

बर्देशग्री'द्रमेपा

श्चीयः यर्ष्यः ताः न्वान्तः विद्यान्तः विद्यान्तः विद्यान्तः विद्यान्तः विद्यान्तः विद्यान्तः विद्यान्तः विद्य श्चियः यर्ष्यः विद्यान्तः विद्यान्तः विद्यान्तः विद्यान्तः विद्यान्तः विद्यान्तः विद्यान्तः विद्यान्तः विद्यान

यर्षा चन्नदर्भ श्रेन्यन्त्र्यं श्रेन्यन्त्र्यं श्रेन्यन्त्र्यं विष्यः विषयः विष्यः विषयः विष्यः विष

बर्देशन्त्युत्रिः गैं में देवन्द्देवन्दः देवहम्बरम्बस्म

स्याग्नी,विश्वावाय क्रमानि स्थानि स्

त्ती श्रुश्चरत्रेट्यक्षेत्रात्त्वे स्वत्त्वे स्वत्त्व स्वत्त्रात्त्र स्वत्त्र स्वत्त्र स्वत्त्र स्वत्त्र स्वत् स्वत्य स्वत्त्र स्वत्त्य स्वत्त्र स्वत्त्र स्वत्त्र स्वत्त्र स्वत्त्य स्वत्त्य स्वत्त्र स्वत्त्र स्वत्त्य स्वत्त्य स्वत्त्र स्वत्त्र स्वत्त्य स्वत्त्र स

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अर्द्शः मुद्राः मुद्र

क्रियाव्यायावि क्रियास्त्रम् स्टूर्णयाच्येयाच्याया याचित्रक्रियः स्ट्रिय्येयास्यास्यास्य ब्रम्याया वरःश्रूरः मी क्रुवः श्रीवः प्रस्तः वर्षेवः प्रमुखः च्रीवः क्रम्यायाः वर्षः वर्षः देः रेः प्रतिवरः प्र पत्वप्यायदीसर्वेश्वर्स्यास्त्रिः वेश्वर्याचेरावास्त्रायद्वा

अर्देशयदीः वादाः कण्याः ग्रीः अर्थेद् स्तुः त्युः द्वीम्यानेः वादे द्वायतेः विद्याः स्त्रीत् । वादे मुै.र्क्यान्त्रे.मुक्तान्त्र्यान्त्रे.स्टर्ट्यावय.मु.र्ट्यः ह्यालय.क्याला.मात्र्यस्यत्रेस्याहरूवः ह्रथार्स्, वा.र.कैट.सुर.से.पड्रपु.रेशवा.रेसेट.की.स्वा.मु.वुष.मु.वुष.वीश.पण्या.यंत्र.रावेष्ट्र.ती.वार्ष्ट्र. घःचर्ह्मेग्'घतेःध्रेरःदुःगहरःव,व्याःध्येग्थःचर्ह्मेग्'घतेःअर्देशःबेरःगश्चरक्षाःवुग

**्र्र**्म क्रि.वाले.टवा.त्तु.पवीय.विर्वे स्थ.व्र्य.येव.र्वे व्यक्ष्य.को ट्रवेश.त्वे.व्रेथ.की स्रि.में.मेश.नपु.सू.वंश.रंग.त्यं.पुंथा.शंशशायवाता.तर.वेष.क्रीश.वर्थे.पुंर.प्रेप्टां मुन्या.सू.मा. पञ्चिः द्रशः मृत्रः द्राप्तः द्र्याः सर्वे शः चेरः मृश्युरशः स्वी

मिक्षयास्त्र्रसायक्ष्यमान्द्रस्थायान्द्रस्थायान्द्रस्थायान्द्रस्थायान्द्रस्थायान्द्रस्थायान्द्रस्थायान्द्रस्थाय इत्यात्वेर्यस्य अर्द्यः महित्यतः भ्रवयाधः त्यास्त्रेतः त्मुषाः पहत्यः त्यास्य स्वात्यः स्वत्यः स्वात्यः स्वात्य चर्चा देवारा चार्स अंदे ख्रिवा क्षेट अर्घट क्ष्मा मेरा मार्चा ची क्षे र छे। दे चार्ड स खे खे स्टार हे वारा मधीर्गीः र्स्ते रचे पठमाने मार्गे । दे साने मार्गे सामान विदा सुमाधीर सामे सामा वर्ष्ट्यायाम्बद्यासुरक्षे स्वेदायान्ता ने महिकासुरक्षे स्वेत्यायास्याहेम्यादाष्ट्रस्य स्वत्यास्य विस्तित्या वर्क्च वे नी के शक्रीं व र्ये द्या की व विं।

माद्रैसन्यःसर्देसन्यन्मानीः स्निन्द्रेन देणायःसर्देशन्यन्यानीः स्निन्द्रेनः चेनःसुद्रन्द्रमा सर्वरः वड्डा श्रुवःस्थःच्चेवःच्चेथःवज्ञवःयः ५८ःगश्रुवःवेषः ५र्षे । देःवःवेषः वःदेवःयः विवा ५८ः मः अर्देश पर्ना र्स्तुः श्रुत्र अ रहर्श्य त्र शे त्र र्वेत्। महिश्र मा अर्कर अ तर्दुः त्र अर्देश प्यश्र शे त्री चिश्रुयायात्रुत्रास्याचीत्राचीयायात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्रामुद्र्याच्युयात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्

**गशुक्रायाक्ष्र्रकागुःक्ष्रान्वेग्व।** कर्नेकागुःक्ष्रीत्वेश्वःचेरान्य्येरावक्ष्र्रकावक्ष्रवकाय। कर्नेकान्त्रः मुन्गीशद्रम्याने पर्यात यस्यात स्थानियात् स्थानियात् स्थानियाने स्थानियात् स्यात् स्थानियात् स्थानियात् स्थानियात् स्थानियात् स्थानियात् स्थात् स्थानियात् स्थात् स्थानियात् स्थात् स्थानियात् स्थानियात् स्थानियात् स्थानियात् स्थानियात् स्यात् त्र्राचर्भ्रम्भारा प्रमुचमा स्राप्त्राच्या वर्षे मार्च्या स्राप्त्राच्या स्राप्त्राच्या स्राप्त्राच्या मी क्षें खें न 'कु अर्थ म 'र्सु र भी 'तु न्या म 'या र्स द म्यद म 'या श ना दें द म के म 'खेदा द मेर द या नाम 'या है' **षट्रअन्यः क्विन् ग्रीयायने खिर्ड्डम् डेम् डेर्-सून में न्वुयः क्षेत्र दें॥** 

**क्ट्रियानमृत्रुवावाम्याम्याम्या** स्वास्त्राच्या स्वास्त्राच्या स्वास्त्र स दी विशवःश्वेटः हे ख्यायाक्षरं अरे प्वेदः विदेश हीं राया राया से प्रवास से प् म्रे'नम्नन'न्में ने'सेन्द्रम्याय'र्यंसेरीम्याय'न्सन्सेन्सेरसेर्म्यास्त्रम्यास्त्रम्यास्त्रम् र्वरम्बुरिन्द्रविश्वराधेर्त्रार्स्, स्रुं स्रुं हिर्मास्रे प्रुं पर्वे रेर्ट्य स्रुं स्रुं स्रुं त्युं प्राधित श्रे'त्शुय'य'श्रेद'र्दे॥

क्.मी.माष्ट्र.जी.रेट्र अ.माष्ट्र.जी.माष्ट्रमाष्ट्र.क्र्यामा.माष्ट्र.जी.जमानमेष.रे्य्र वि.मा.माष्ट्रमाष्ट्रमाष्ट्र 

माद्रिसम्यास्त्र्रस्यान्त्रम्यान्त्रात्मान्त्रम्यान्त्री सर्स्यान्त्रम्यात्त्रं स्टास्टार्स्यः स्टिमान्त्रम्यान्त्रम् सु मार्थिय द में । दे स मे ब द सर्दे पहर से मी सुय से सुय मेंदिर प र्योद पर मार्श्वर कर सी।

माश्रुवायाः व्यर्देशायश्रुवाया रत्यीः व्यायायायाः प्रत्यायाः व्यायाः व्यायः व्य इर.मेश्टरायरीय । लट.कुरामेखेट.क्.मु.यटारी लयाजयाक्र्यायासीलयाव्यायापूट्यी

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बैच वर्षेय रुष रेप

वर्षेत् देश-द्रम् १०१३

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त्त्रीत्व्यायर्थाः क्षेत्राचित्रात्त्री विद्यायर क्षेत्रात्त्रीत् विद्यायर प्रति क्षेत्रात्त्रीत् विद्यायर क्षेत्रात्त्र क्षेत्रात्त्रीत् विद्यायर क्षेत्र विद्यायर कष्णियर क्षेत्र विद्यायर क्षेत्र विद्यायर क्षेत्र विद्यायर क्षेत्र विद्यायर क्षेत्र विद्यायर क्षेत्र विद्यायर कष्णियर क्षेत्र विद्यायर कष्णियर कष्णियर क्षेत्र विद्यायर कष्णियर कष्णिय कष्णियर कष्णिय कष्णिय कष्णियर कष्णिय कष्णिय

बियायर्ह्मियानुया [ ३८ ] यर्ह्मियानुया १०११

चर्नाश्चरक्षरम्पन्ता वित्तं क्ष्मिक्षः वित्तं वित्तं

#### मुच सुरक्ष द्रभे देव

गोर्यायत्वेत्रस्त्राच्यां अर्द्रश्चाचीयायवित्रस्युव्याचीः स्रोत्ता नृत्यास्य चित्रस्य पुरस्य पुरस्य

पालुर-डेश-र्श्व-र्ध्व-र्ध्व-र्ध्व-र्ध्व-र्ध्व-र्ध्व-प्युक्त-र्ध्व-र्ध्व-प्युक्त-र्ध्व-र्ध्व-प्युक्त-र्ध्व-र्ध्व-प्युक्त-र्ध्व-र्य-र्व-र्य-र्ध-र्व-र्य-र्य-र्व-र्य-र्य-र्व-र्य-र्व-र्य-र्व-र्य-र्य-र्व-र्य-र्व-र्व

# नु: भरका ब्रह्म के से स्कुर के के स्कूर के विक्र के देश के देश के देश के स्कूर के कि स्कूर के कि स्कूर के कि स

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लाया स्वार्णा से ब्राव्या की स्त्रीय प्रत्या प्रत्या प्रत्या प्रत्या की स्वार्ण स्वा पर्याचिकाः क्ष्याः प्राच्यां प्राच्

ब्दिन्न दुन्यु म्रॉथिय अर्केन्सुय न्र्निय दिन्स विद्रस्य विद्रस्य विद्रस्य विद्रस्य विद्रस्य विद्रस्य विद्रस्य

यावयात्तर्याः स्वीत्राक्षः स्वीत्राक्षः स्वीत्राच्याः स्वीत्राच्याः स्वीत्राच्याः स्वात्राच्याः स्वात्याः स्वात्राच्याः स्वात्राच्याः स्वात्राच्याः स्वात्राच्याः स्वात्राच्याः स्वात्राच्याः स्वात्राच्याः स्वात्यः स्वात्राच्याः स्वात्यः स्वात्यः स्वात्यः स्वात्यः स्वात्यः स्वात्यः स्वात्यः स्वात

म्नास्त्रम् स्वास्त्रम् स्वास्त्रम्यस्त्रम्यस्त्रम् स्वास्त्रम् स्वास्त्रम् स्वास्त्रम् स्वास्त्रम् स्वास्त्रम् स्वास्त्रम्यस



यः स्वार्थः क्षेत्रः स्वार्थः स्वर्थः स्वार्थः स्वार्थः स्वरं स्वरं

तक्ष्णायन्द्रन्त्वा अव्यक्ष्या अव्यक्ष्या अव्यक्ष्या विष्या विषयः विषय

चाडुचा,लट्मेका,ध्रुच,भ्राचिश्व,क्ष्रीयात्रक्ष्यक्ष्य,च्राच्यात्रक्ष्य,च्राच्यात्रक्ष्य,च्राच्यात्रक्ष्य,च्राच्यात्रक्ष्य,च्राच्यात्रक्ष्य,च्राच्यात्रक्ष्य,च्राच्याः क्ष्रियः च्राच्याः व्याच्याः च्राच्याः व्याच्याः क्ष्रियः च्राच्याः क्ष्रियः च्राच्याः व्याच्याः च्राच्याः च्राचः च्राच्याः च्राचः च्रा

यद्यत्ताःश्चे.श्वय्वः हे.वेतः क्ष्. वीश्वाहरावः वा च्चरःश्चितः ख्वेदः व्यवाः विश्वयः विश्वयः विश्वयः विश्वयः व तथा वीशः क्षेणः विद्वयः विश्वयः व

ख्रवास्त्रम् अवस्त्रम् स्वाप्त्रम् स्वाप्त्रम्

### **बिर्.तर.१४४.१३.५५.५५.५५.१५.१५**

र्चर्रायसर्वमासर्वेद्यान्डेवा लिनसर्वुरान्देव र्चे के त्व्युवा क्वायान वर्ष्य क्वायते स्वाया स्व मुन्यः डेगःर्देन्स्प्रियः तथा रुषः र्द्धेन्दे सुः नुष्टेन्यु नुष्टेन्य निर्मा स्वर्थाः यदे लीर्मा द्वता रिका र पका पद्भी परिवार प्राप्त प्र प्राप्त प्राप्त प्राप्त प्राप्त प्राप्त प्राप्त प्राप्त प्राप्त प्राप्त प्राप खुर-पर्5-(पर्ने-धुग्रम: हे क्व-५-८ बुका-घा-ठव-ठेगा-छेव्या-घक्षेत्र हे ने प्राप्त प्राप्त पर्वे प्राप्त प्र पर्वेग.तपु.र्थम.शु.स्.मुम.र्थम.क्रे.सु.पहेष.ल्र.म.म.स्री ल.ज्.ममरत.ही.क्र.र्य.दिर. चर्नुन्न बुक्ष र्स्ट्रेचका स्वा उद्गन्त वुकाया उद्गर्वेद चर्ते रे चर्ते ने चर्ते हुन्ते । क्रिक्त विकार विका व्युद्र चर्त्र न्स्ते : से प्रमेश चर्मे व प्रमेश च प्रमेश

ट्रे.यचरस.जस.र.इस.घटस.त.सें.जिट्ह्रियास.ग्री.श्र.श्रर.ष्र्.मीस.स.य्रे.तर.जेट्ह्रियास.यावय. डुवी बिट्यर्टेर्.पर्.श्री.वश्व.मंडी.वहेव.हे.वांश्रव.वर.केव.ट्र.क्.म.कट्तर.स्यास.लुव.सन

हे.वीक्षतःसेताश्चार्यः वीताम्बेषः वर्षेत्रः यवर्ततः १९४.हीरः पर्वेवाः क्षेताववः र्यट् हो वाताः वितरः क्षिवासायर्ने निर्मे क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र त्या प्रमाणि स्वापि स्वापि स्वापि स्वापि स्वापि स **रटर्पट्रट्यर्वः भ्रे** ग्वसः र्येट् से 'ने वर्षः प्रेट्रं वर्षः वर्षः प्रेत्रः केत्रः स्त्रेतः स्त्रे चति चर्री दायस चहेत लेद चेर सुच लेद समा दायम सर तव द सु हि च द दि हैं ति र ह्नियान्त्रीत्रान्त्रम् म्यान्त्रात् क्री द्वात्रात्त्रम् म्यान्त्रम् स्थान्त्रम् स्थान्त्रम् स्थान्त्रम् ती.रेशवी.सी. विषयानर्वा.रेट.खु.तर्वा.सी.यहेष.शु.पी.खु.सी.सी.पत्र्य.रेष्.ता.सु.वा.सु.व वर्नम्यः बुः देवे देवे द्वारा ५५

लेबा.तर.री.चश्रेजाता.श.सूर्या.तर.री.श्रीर.पर्वेबा.मैजा.वच.ग्री.सूरावबा.कु.पी.बी.श.स्रर.रेरा हे. चर्नाः हुः हुः त्यु नर्ख्ये नरा कुः को स्वेर त्युः त्युः कु हुन् न निष्ठु व स्वाप्ता नरा तर्खे स्व हुन् र र मा हे न स चलियान्य. र्यात्तास्त्र. यास्तात्तर्वात्तात्त्र विद्युत्तर्त्वात्ता स्वात्तात्त्र स्वात्त्र स्वात्त्र स्वात्त्र वार्चिनायते प्रतीव न्वायर्के राखु प्रतीपम् अर्के वृत्या वृत्या अर्के नायने विषय स्वीता स्वीता

કુંનાલ-૮૮.શુંલ-લે.શુંલ-મુર્-ડ્વા-મુ.શુ-શુ-સ્વે-મુલ-લેળસ-લુધ-લથી भ्रः मर्थियः तर्ने चेंत्रः न गारः न र चेंत्रः त्वा मिंद्रेशः यथः चेंत्रः त्वा मीः श्रार्ट्यः सुः सुं न्दे खेतः यथा चेंत्रः द्याॱचेरःशेॱनेॱ**पटः**र्राःकुरश्रःश्चेगागद्यःश्चेदःरद्यःवरःकन्ःशेवःचवशःन्दःश्चेरेःवर्ळः वनशःग्रीःर्नेत्रःशुःश्रेअशःठत्रःन्यरःनश्रन्यन्।त्नन्।नेयहेषाःहेत्रःमतेःश्लेःशुःषाःवर्षेताःअर्केन्युताःहेः भैनश.पकूल.धु.जं.धैन.लुप.शबा

### बुरम्तुर्भ्यं मर्थेषा ग्री ग्रु से देरे देशमा

खुरमतुन्'झ'मर्थिय'क्चै'में'रेअ'न्टन्रे'ठे'क्वेबअ'म्डिम्'मे 'य्यारेअ'ने'यटन्टम'रट्डें'य'क्'यम् कुर्केन्दुनाने डेना तु नायुक्ष नाये के कि का मान्य के तु वा वा के कि कि नाये के कि नाये के कि कि कि कि कि कि कि गार्ने नामर खुर मतुन् लु पर पर्देशका छोद सका खुर मतुन लु देवे देवे तु हो के पका हु मा खुर मतुन ग्री-भारट.चगाया:ब्रेव्यायसाचरी,च.स्र-प्रस्तुंट.रंट्चक्स.मीया:श्रेमा:श्रेमारसाचटामातीसामी:अर्मा: जी.लूर्तत्राचायकामीजावावाजी.विसाक्षयाका

स.वार्थ.क्रिजा.व.व.जी.क्र्रेरत.क्रुवा.क्रिंट्यरें वि.चर्यरें चंदायबुटसा.लूर्तायपुरसक्र्रेर. सम्बद्धार्मित्रमदिः केंत्रमन्तुद्दार्क्षाः स्वतः विद्यान्ते विद्यान्ते विद्यान्ते विद्यान्ते । स्वतः स्वतः स्व त्युःक्रंमा महत्र्या छोत्र सम्म

ख्न.वार्ज्ञात्पद्वेतुःश्मनमःसम्। दर्मिटःकःवाःमःपद्द्वभाःक्षिवामःधुः ने,वामःभेषमःभेषमः। गारागीशाग्वाचरार्श्वेशायदीगाशाने र्श्वेदार्येद्रसासार्कदासमा प्रतिसामा गाल्वदास्यर के क्वार्तर तक्रमासविषाक्षीयान्यात्र्यम् । विष्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र ह्रॅंब्रयाक्षेत्रायम्। कॅ.मा.पर्ने.मह्मा.पर्मेस.कुमा.रे.म्.के.के.अ.मक्र्रेर.म.संजा.युप्त.योपामा.पर्ने.मरमा रमासर्गित्रपतिः त्वासार्वे मार्थिया विकायार्थिया तयन् विवसायसार्के मार्गित्रस्थित विकाय विकाय विकाय विकाय विकाय म.कुर्या.मी.प्र्या.पी.पट्या.की.लाया.रे अरता.रे.मीश.मालया.रे.पश्चरता.कुष्यःश्वरा मालीशायपुःमश.

C2

स्वान्य स्वान

यान्त्रः क्षेत्रः व्याप्तः व्यापः व्य

लक्षः मुक्षः तद्वीः सह्याः प्रश्वेतः श्री त्याः स्वाः स्व स्वाः स्व स्वाः स्व

#### द्युरम्तु राष्ट्र मार्थिया ग्री श्रीत स्वर्गा न्या मार्थिय वि

तम् सन्देश्वाक्ष्यां स्वान्त्राक्ष्यां स्वान्त्राच्यां स्वान्यां स्वान्त्राच्यां स्वान्यां स्वान्यां स्

बह्यान्सु नकुर्नेवा

स्रीयाः त्रीयः व्यान्त्रात्त्र व्यान्त्र व्यान्त्य व्यान्त्र व्यान्त्य व्यान्त्य व्यान्त्र व्यान्त्य व्यान्त्य व्यान्त्य व्यान्त्य व्यान्त्य व्यान्त्य व्यान्त्य व्यान्त्य व्यान्यः व्यान्यः व्यान्त्य व्यान्त्य व्यान्त्य व्यान्त्य व्यान्यः व्यान्यः व्यान्यः

द्यायते क्रिया श्री स्क्रीत द्वा प्रत्य स्वता वा त्या प्रत्य प्रत्य स्वता स्व

वैश्लिव्युत्। र्वेवः र्वेत्स्य त्युत्य प्रति न्वत्यो स्वयः मिश्वः वेश्वर्य स्वरः स्वरः त्ये स्वरः स्वरः त्ये स्वरः त्ये स्वरः त्ये स्वरः त्ये स्वरः त्ये स्वरः स्वरः स्वरः त्ये स्वरः स्

यास्त्याः स्रेत्राः त्रिः त्र्वे त्राः व्यायम् व्यायः त्राः व्यायः त्रिः त्राः व्यायः व्यायः व्यायः व्यायः व्य स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वयः व्यायः व्यः व्यायः व्य

यहेचन्नः बुं खेळ्या ॥

अह्मतः खें देळ्या क्षेत्रः त्यन्तः हुं न्यावेदः हुं न्यावेद

#### क्तुवः लुद्रश्रद्भे देवा

द्देश्यन्त्रभायम् देश्यत्यम् स्वेतः वर्षे विद्यान्त्यस्य वर्षे द्वात्यान्य स्वेतः वर्षे व



र्वे.लटक.घटचलिक.क्षेत्र

### शुक्षःस्ट्रपर्वायकवाचीःवें क्रुवार्ट्रितेत्सुटापुट्या

देवा.वाखिटजड्ड. मुच्या जुवाना त्या विकास स्थाप

#### **至新**打

खंडु.लुयी तिट्रम्झेथ.क्षेट्र.ट्रि.योखु.पर्द्र्योका.योषट्येयो । ट्रे.क्युं.ग्रांच्यःप्रच्यःप्रच्यःपर्द्र्यःप्रच्यःपर्द्र्यावाः तिट्रम्झेथ.क्षेट्र.ट्रि.योखु.पर्द्र्योका.योषट्येयो । ट्रे.क्युं.ग्रांच्यःप्रच्यःपर्व्यःय्वेषाःग्रेपः।वयः प्रट्यां.योपः चयकाःशें, प्रश्नीकाः प्रे.क्र्यां त्रां क्र्यां त्रां त्रियः व्यां त्रां त्रा

सर्यायर प्रमाण्यात्त्र स्त्राचित्र स्त्राचित्र स्त्राचित्र स्त्राचित्र प्रमाण्यात्र स्त्राचित्र स्त्राचित्र स् पक्ष प्रमाण्यात्र स्त्राचित्र स्त्र स्त्राचित्र स्त्र स

खेवा विकार्क्षणार्क्षः प्यत्यन् चित्रः विकार्क्षणाः विकार्क्षणाः विकार्क्षणाः विकार्क्षणाः विकार्क्षणाः विकार् विकार्क्षणाः विकार्क्षणाः विकार्क्षणाः विकार्क्षणाः विकार्क्षणाः विकार्क्षणाः विकार्क्षणाः विकार्क्षणाः विकार् विकार्क्षणाः विकार्क्षणाः विकार्वे विकार्क्षणाः विकार्क्षणाः विकार्क्षणाः विकार्क्षणाः विकार्वे विकार्क्षणाः प्यन् ने स्त्री विषय्यात् विषयः विष

चर्नस्य म्यूर्या वास्त्य स्त्री चर्न्न स्त्री चर्न्न स्त्री स्त्री चर्न्न स्त्री वास्त्र स्त्री चर्ने स्त्री चर्ने स्त्र स्त्र स्त्री चर्ने स्त्र स्त

श्रुवायुर्माणुशाळ्वाची के क्रुवायर् राम्यूया

चक्री-रेटहूर्यश्चरित्राक्त्री अक्टूर्र राय्यूर्य प्रचाय स्वर्य क्ष्या मोश्रम् राय्य स्वर्य स

र्मे ट्रेलट. धिंश.में.अष्ट्र.प्र्ट.प्रत्मेश.मेंशेटश.धु.सेंट.टे.यंचरे.च.कुर. इ.केंट्रमेश्नट.चंतु.पर्वेग. कुरायरी विषयास्यायात्रमासुराने कुंत्रसर विश्वरसर विश्वरस्य विश्वरस्य विश्वरस्थेत हे.ब्रिय.ताजयानध्ये.वीश्वरत्त्र च्राम्यत्त्रीय.रेश्र्मात्त्रिय्यायर्ग्यत्येत्वरत्त्रात्त्रेयात्रा हे.चर्चेय. म्रेप्त्वृग्ग्गेर्भुक्षःस्वकः यदाग्रक्षयाः सेर्प्त्यम् ग्रम्प्रम् वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः यः देवः सः कुरम्बरम्वरे त्व्वुगः सेर-दे पहुरुषः दः सुः त्रायशः म्युरस्व चेर कुंवः वैरे मीयः गश्चिरस्ट चेर प्रमण्य सुग्

४) श्रूरायबर बुराश्चिर में प्राये कु अर्ब प्रायः स्कृत्यायर प्रति विष्या होरायर प्रायः विष्य हेश्याम्बर्यादेशकः व्रिवयादः याकावदीक्यायाद्यः देवेः द्वयासुर्दे देदागावाचेरादः क्रुं.लट.श्रह्म.क्रुंश.क्री.लूट.शु.टे.प्वर.क्रुंट.तयु.श्रेंचश. इ.क्रेंट.यटू. क्र्या.शयु.र्श्वेंचे.जग्न.श्रन. व्ययानः भेटानेः स्वाप्तानायाने स्वाप्ताने स्वाप्ताने स्वाप्ताने स्वाप्ताने स्वाप्ताने स्वाप्ताने स्वाप्ताने स्व चमैचल.वेंच ट्रे.जल.इ.क्ट्ट्रे.ल.जर.क्वेलत.टे. ल.जर.क्वेल.तपु.सेंचल. सेट्रेट्र. ब्रेन्-मुपःपाययानहेतः न्देशःर्यन्। व्यन्तेनःश्रीनःश्रीयःर्ययःयन्त्रीनःश्रीःन्यनःश्रुवःयर्वनःम्हेगःन्श्रीः श्री त्रम्य स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थापत स्यापत स्थापत स्यापत स्थापत स्यापत स्थापत स्थापत स्थापत स्थापत स्थापत स्थापत स्थापत स्थापत स्य

लुष्-य-तर्वेग.मु.श्र्रीम.रचम.लट्मामण.मु.जूट.मेर.थे.प्यरेन.कुष. इ.क्ट्रियमर्स्य. तच्ना वेर दे अवर प्रवस्थ प्रति भ्रवस्थ सु सु स्था चर चेर चुर प्रदेश स्था प्रति । यमा ने मृष्टेशः ग्रीः नरावः खुन्यरः नुसः मा केमा खुम्यः ने पतुमा चेरः खुः वे खिवाः

न विकासर वर श्रीय देशी मध्य विरमाणर त्यासर मध्य ती. मू. मू. मुनमा क्षेत्र स.र. जभास्त्वार्थिकायर्नात्तः विश्ववार्याविषार्नावाज्यात्त्रे स्वापराजयास्त्रीः सेराकूर्यात्रात्वीः सर्वःजसन्दा मृद्धेसःमःतुसःमद्भुसामरःसुःवर्मेः सर्वःजसा देःससःम्बुसःमःवद्देःसावदः री.पर्की.धुपु.जन्न.संट्याश्वेत.लूरेत.जन्म.मैं.अक्षेत.टु.जी.चड्डेय.टु.योलेय.कु.श्वटलट्याश्वेत.

त्रदान्तर्यात्रात्र्यात्र्यात्रेयात्रेयात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्रात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्या ज्राम्याग्रीता सरम्बिश्यापहूरायातपुःर्सिया.पी.क्याया.पे.ज्राना.पाया श्रीयासर वृत्राच्या बिट्मी मा क्षुन् प्रमाने प्राप्तिया से प्रमानि प्राप्तिया स्त्रीय स्त् वर्नः गःर्स्वायह्रमा उवः चीः मासुस्रा स्रोवायमः स्वायह्रमा स्वोतायमः सुस्रायह्रमा स्वायम् स्वायह्रमा स्वायम् 'यद्याहेश'यह्नम्'ने'सीटम्बि'स्रिते'र्सम्'वर्मन्यायरने'स्रिस्त्रेति'र्स्वयाप्रदुम्साने'र्स्य् लटाय जन श्रीय तपु श्रीय मार्थ ने वा श्रीय दे दे हो से वा स्वी से से के के कि का मार्थ दे व्री का मार्जिन्यायकायहेदाक्षेदाचेरायम्नमारकेदायम्

गन्त्रअसुगान्त्रनःन्द्यानुदान्रहेत् ग्रीःव्यक्तुं स्वसूत्रा

श्रुवा:सर:रे.मर्व.याक्यायायहराम्बरः शुःश्चेश्यः रायश्वर्यः यादेगी देग्रयास्रक्तः चरे.अष्ट्र्ये.बुर्राक्षयं.स्टर्ल्य्यंशःच्यांचराजी. श्रुॅश स्रें य तिया विया हुया है ज़र विसालिय तथा ट्रे.लट.क्र्य.जट.चक्रेय.जय.चर्ग्रेट. रे.र्चेर्ज्ज.केर.देवु.चस्रैर.जस.रर.अधस. मन्द्रम् मार्यः १ सम् । यो वास्त्रः मार्यः बॅ्र-५-रे-बॅ्र-ग्यय खॅर्-द्ध तम्बर्भ हे चर्षे वेश नदुः श्रेचश श्रे. वोश्य तर्थि श्रे अ. र्ट्या र्वायतात्र्यां क्रुं मेशालया र्ट्या श्राम्बीम्बानिस्यास्य स्वाप्तियाः स्वाप्ति स्वापति स्वाप्ति स्वाप्ति स्वाप्ति स्वाप्ति स्वाप्ति स्वाप्ति स्वापति स्वापत भी.चरिजाचियु.पीट.चक्रेष्राजूरे.तर.चश्चेटना यन्त देशगुरसर्नेचर ७ देशी



चर्षेश्रम्पद्मभ्रवश्रम्परम्याश्रक्तान्त्रम् । स्वत्यम् विद्यस्य विद्यस्य स्वतः स्वत्यम् विद्यम् विद्यम् विद्यम्

र ट्रमुका टिका मेकट क्रियोक्षी पर्चिया मुक्तिक प्रतक्ष तार मेक्षण, क्षाप्तर्थी सूचा, व्यारक्ष. ३४४ १ टिक्क क्षिक्रम् १ टिक्क टिका मेकर क्षियोक्षी पर्चिया मुक्ति प्रतक्ष तार मेक्ष्य क्षाप्त मेक्ष्य विश्व वारक. ३०४

र्दे. इ.से.र.तपु.पत्रुका.क्.क्र्यंत्रालीजाजी.रे.र.मीका.पूर्यपु.क्षुय.तपु.चयापामी.रेनुप्रायायाचात्रीता न्वन्यत्मान्त्रेत्वात्मयाद्वर्याते,न्रात्मान्त्र्यात्मान्त्रात्मान्त्रात्मान्त्रात्मान्त्रात्मान्त्रात्मान्त्र र्गोमः क्षेत्रः मन्त्र

र्क्रुक्रि.ज्. १९९६ म्हिल.च.से. ४८ स्पर्यः स्था स्थ्रीय स्थ्रे पतिल । स्था ह्र सा हे स्र सा हे स्थर सा मार्थिया वर्ने पन्न प्राचन स्त्रे र्यो प्राचन वर्षे द्वाप प्राचन वर्षे अपन्य स्त्रे अपन्य स्त्रे अपने स्त्रे चक्कृद्र'यद्देव्'श्रे'त्व्रथःकु'अर्के'र्वि'र्दर'षीश्र'पद्गा'यद्देव्'र्वि'द्र'श्रद्धद्र'दे'श्रेश्वश'र्वेद्र'यदेव्य'द्र ७अस.त.माजूर-प्रेर.की.मू.वस.कु.कुँगमानार्ट्यूगमाकु.वनमार्ट्या खे.की.की.वटाउटी.कीजावनः वरासुःगहवासुवःग्रग्नागयाञ्च उवाः क्षेत्रःयया

भुःगन-ने'त्र-त्र-हेत्'W-: क्रिकेत्'र्ड-र्ड'र-ऑन्या'शकाने'गी'ग्राका शका हेर-पनुन'पञ्चेता'पते'भुः सुर-पतु ५ क्षे त्व विभाग-५ दासर्वी भागा-६ पर में देव हो कि से सुर-पी हो ता प्राप्त से साम कि साम कि साम कि साम क्री.अम्.रू.वा.रंटा वटाम्बा.मृ.स्र्रंतरान्त्रेत्रा सिवायातपु.स.वार्थर्ष्ये.लटक्षेत्रात्तरानी.ल्र्ता खेत्रसम् द्राचेत्राच्यूनम्बर्धयः द्रम्बः केत् चीः स्रच्याः सुद्रः वाः रायवाः येतः यवनः र्ववाययः · बादरर्दे.लूरे.शृक्षे.रेट्य.योयजा.मृ.शहजाक्षेयोव.ट्र.लूरेता.शुवी?

क्षे.षट्ट्रे.षट्जू.वक्षेट्र.वर्षुष्ट्रे.ट्रिश.क्षेद्र.वर्ड्ड.ब्रॅट्ट्रक्ट्र्या.वर्डे.ज.ज्याया.वर्षा.ब्रट्ट्या र्दे.लूरे-दिराजु.रेश.कु.तसेर.वाजूज.कु.सेनक.श्.३ेंद.वारक.वाश्वेश.टे.कुवी.ररे.य.वीर.तपु.सेर. मदिक्त्या कुर्यस्टिन्नर्पर्वयस्ति कुर्यस्यक्षित्राच्यात्रम् कुर्यस्यम् त.च ईष.च मुन्ना.पलट.मेश्रंभ.कु.मू.जभ.मेषट.चपु.भैचन्न.श्रं.भै.उक्तम.लट.केष.माटना.मेश्रंभ.क. र्रम्बर्द्र र्थेर्य क्षेत्र यथा

भु प्रकथा शु भूपया सु हिद्दा न्या प्रकाय प्रवाय गानित हे द्रा हिदा गहिया पर या पर गया मान ह्या दे'पत्रेद'केद'म्बुस'मर्संपठमा'खुर'ह्रसंगम्बुस'म्बे'तर्मिद्रत्पद्द्र्रे'म्ब्र्दर्रे स्प्रम र् देवःश्रेनमःश्रेमःस्मान्त्रेनमः स्रमान्द्रमः स्रमान्द्रमः स्रमान्द्रमः र्दे.लूर्तताक्षुषी श्री.तक्तार्ट्रे.क्.लट्यंत्रीया.मैजावन.पर्ट्यत्त्र्यूट्रेट्ट्यां वी.रट्यूप्रेयु.पर्यावर. ब्रे-१८-श्र-अम्बुद्य-पराष्ट्य-१र्केश्व-१८-१र्थे-१-परी-म्रीद्य-सा-उदा-उदा-उदा-उदा-प्रोद्य-पानुस्य-म्ची वर्षा नवर में लूर नपुर भी तक्षा लूर बार क्षा वर्ष प्राप्त साथ हो नार मी हो नार मी हो नार मी हो नार मी हो न यश्र-इ.म्ब्रिंश-इब्रा-चर्च्य-तक्त्र-तद्दी-श्रिद्र-पश्रा

#### वश्यतक्षानी पर्वेटामेटल

ख्यास्तरमी मान्द्रास्त कम्सायन नियस माद्रास्त्रीस र्स्ट्रिय प्राधुया स्विमा क्रिया हो ने देते स्था स्विमा त्र.चग्रुश्र.शुड्री ट्रेयु.स्रश्र.भावश.बीच.चट्र.चयु.ट्रनाज.पड्ड्रिमी ट्रेयु.स्रश.ध्र्याश.र्जय.ट्रनाज.र्जय. स्त्री देव:स्रमः त्राचाद्रद्रमः माद्रमः त्राचा चस्त्रद्रमादे द्रेसादे द्रेसादे द्रेसाद्रम् स्रम् पूर्वाच्यान्त्रीतिष्विदश्यवे रेपुत्रीयशामित्रात्रात्रात्रात्रात्रात्रात्र्यात्र्यात्रीत्राञ्चात्र्यात्रात्रात्र ल्रितःश्रुष्ट्रत्मश्री देःजश्राङ्ग्रीयाः वृष्ट्रत्माः वृष्ट्रत्माः वृष्ट्रत्माः वृष्ट्राः वृष्ट् चॅर्युः कॅशल् प्रस्चेत्र हे र्येग् चेंत्र प्रते स्नायश्रम्य प्रदेश सारे हो सार् खेता स्रायल मार्थिय स्ताय स्ताय क्षेत्रम्या देजसायहमार् विरमायाम्यामार्थहेर् देर्नायसार्यमा वेत्रसायमा प्रमेत्रामपुरे अ<sup>.</sup>चीश्वरत्यः गृत्तिः । त्रन्ते अर्थेन् केशः त्यन् । यन् । त्रने केशः त्रे केशः वेनः । त्रह्मः प्रमुक्तः वाष्ट्र णु.पाश्चरमास्या पह्मान्चरमायाम्यासार्यन् चेरायीयात्यासार्यन् चेरायीयात्यासार्यन् चेराया र्कूरकार्था तर्कु न्व्या स्वाप्तिन चेन्या स्वाप्तिन स्वाप्ति स्वाप्तिन स्वापति स्वाप्तिन स्वापति स्वापति स्वापिति स्वापिति स्वापति स्वापति स्वापति स्वापति स

ज़िंशःस्याःजःस्यान्यःनद्यः यःश्रीयः अरः स्वशः द्वेगः सहयाने केंगाल् विदय यश र्थेष मुंदि त्युग

रे.जब.दे.इ.जी.व्रेच.वे. ष्रिवः बेरः क्टेंब दे त्यन् भः र्म्या पर्य मीश मि रदे वर्षेर:५८:वडमःवयः



### शुक्षःस्ट्चर्वायकवाग्रीःखुन्क्रिंगःन्न्नेदीन्देवाचा

क्ती. ख्वीकात्त. निर्मा क्षेत्रात्त व्याप्त क्षेत्रात्त व्याप्त क्षेत्र क्षेत

स्व त्व स्व त्व स्व ति स्व ति

महिंदानुक्षान्त्रा विद्यान्त्रा विद्यान्त्रा विद्यान्त्र विद्यान्त्य विद्यान्त्य विद्यान्त्य विद्यान्त्य विद्यान्त्य विद्यान्य विद्यान्य विद्यान्त्य विद्यान्त विद्यान्त्य विद्यान्त्य वि

देतः अवरः नर्ष्वे नश्क्रीं त्वक्षः माद्र द्वा श्रुवः नर्षे वा स्व विषयः में देवः में द्वा श्रुवः विषयः स्व विषयः स्व

योज्ञयाक्षात्रम्भात्रेयात्म्यः निर्मार्ग्यात्म्यः विष्णः क्षेत्रात्मः विष्णः क्षेत्रात्मः विष्णः वि

श्रीयास्त्रमा निर्द्याम् मार्थ्या स्त्रोत्ता स्त्री स्त्रा स्त्रमा स्त्री स्त्रा स्त्रमा स्तरमा स्त्रमा स्त्र

तपु.क्षे.कृष्ट्र्ह्, इ.र्च्चा.प्रेट्वा क्षणःश्री.अर्ट्चा.तर्र्याचा.क्षेट्य.स्.श्री.श्री-रचापु.श्री

वर्डद्र'वक्षामुःचेदुदेशम्रह्मा

वर्षेष् सैट्रच में तु.मैण. त्यु वाष्ट्रण. वाष्ट्रच विषया तथा कृष्य अ. कट्सेट्रव क्रिंट्र विषया वर्ष

यदःह्याश्च श्री स्वाम्यस्य स्वाम्यस्यस्य स्वाम्यस्य स्वाम्यस्य स्वाम्यस्य स्वाम्यस्य स्वाम्यस्य स्

चार्थकात्रचन्त्रत्वा स्वाप्त्रक्षात्वः क्रुक्षाचार्ष्वः

जयः क्रम्यविष्ण्यम् विश्वास्त्रम् विश्वास्त्रम् विष्णः विषणः विष्णः विषणः विष्णः विष्ण



१८। बरावर्भेरावडेवा १वयावस्रिट्स्स्रियायार्स्टाचार्टा बराक्वावर्षावर्षेत्रं १८वरुषा र्बर.पर्वुष.पर्देण

नेविकायनेन्यत्वेत्वित्वक्षरायवारेक्षरायवारेक्षरायान्यक्षराय्वेत्वित्वित्ववित्ववित्ववित्व वहरायेदाद्यार्थेदा रेद्यास्यायक्ष्यायक्ष्यायम् यरादवेवाद्यावस्यावस्यात्रम् मिन.यंश.भी.टण ट्रे.यंथ.ल.चेंट.चधु.त्र्यः यत्रव.रेट.चक्य.वर्षेश.वर्थेट.खु.व.वर्षेश ट्वे.त्. पशित्र.क्ट.च.रेट.कर.क्वैत.र्थत्र.क्षेत्र.पत्रुंज.क्वी.खे.क्र.चश्चेज। टे.र्थत्र.क्षण.व.क्वेत.र्थत्र.क्षे.क्वैयनः तपु.वार.क्षेत्रश.क्ट्र.च.र्ट. शर.क्वित.वंश.खे.ब्र्यु.हेब्.पचुजा.वज्जी ट्रेब्श.र्वीर.वर्धेट.जुब. 

# पर्वत्रत्रक्रमःत्रदेशःमावसःमावदायमः द्र्यः प्रमावसः र्ह्ववा

स.विष्यःस्थान्त्रस्तिःस्त्रं तत्त्र्यः पश्चात्रम् त्यत्यः विष्यः विष्यः स्त्र्रम् विष्यः स्त्रिन् विष्यः क्र्र-क्रे.ल्र्-द्रिटा धिन्नःक्रि.अष्ट्र.च्रेन्नःबर्नेत्यःक्रेन्द्रःच्रीन्त्रःक्षेत्रःक्षेत्रःक्षेत्रःक्षेत्रः मुं.लूर्.जीवाश.चचर्यता अर्.चांश्वाचर्.चर. स.वावश.संव.इ.ह्र्याववावराजी.लूर् तपु. बु.वेज.के.वट्रट. ६.मु.ट्र्यूय.त.(लूट्य.च्यायायाजीताचयाक्रेर) ट्रेजयासीर.कुट्रेड्रीय.हु. न्नम्बिम्भुःवम्बम्यस्यस्यम्बम्यम् वर्षेन्यःबिद्यस्य नेःर्स्वःवस्यस्यस्यद्योत्तेः पर्श्वर.व.र्थेश.च.र्र.सूट्रहे.सूर्टत.ह्री.वचर्त.शुष्ट.तथा

# श्रुवास्त्रम्भेराम्ची पर्वत्त्वक्रयायु न् नायान् न्यीन क्रेवार्येन युग्वा

ब्रिच पर्केश रुषा देया

श्वाद्यर दुवावर्के न् दे दे दे वारवा मध्या द्या पड़े श्वर त्या की वारवा दे त्या त्या त्या त्या वि र्न्निमः श्चेत्राचन्ना अर्द्रार्ने र्येन्यन् केत्रामिक्षायान्त्रम् स्वास्त्रम् विस्तानिक्षायान्त्रे से स्वर् मीलातमार्थातमा स्वापा हो हो वार्या त्यार में स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वाप्त स् वर्ने वरः क्रैव ग्राश्व मी रेटम् ग्राम्य प्रति से स्वरं से से सं से मार मी साम्राव दिन से स्वरं से स्वरं से स अर्केन्यःक्षुवःन्र-र्खेण्यासुवान्ने र्वेन्यायार्कन्। व्हुणायरःनु पर्ववायक्षायन् अहवायाणाय्यवा चतुःश्रेचकारी. चीलेकाकी.शु.लूर्ट.क्र्ट्रे.क्रक्षेशाकी.वटार्यटायहू्ककाट्टे.श्री.वक्रशाट्टे.कर्टिचा.श.चर्नी.

र्द्धवानी न्यान मुंद्रीवायमान्या है सहयामालु दें स्पेन्या की दे प्यान मुक्ता दे ते क्रीया त्तराम्, तराम् क्ष्यास्त्रास्त्रास्त्रास्त्रास्त्रास्त्रास्त्रास्त्रास्त्रास्त्रास्त्रास्त्रास्त्रास्त्रास्त्र 

मिलिकावयुःमिकार्त्र्वान्त्रियाम् निकानश्चितामुन्यत्र्यात्र्यात्र्यान्त्रात्यान्त्रेयान्त्रात्यान्त्रेयान्त्रा र्नेश यद नम्बर मुका से खियाया लूर तीयोश की त्यार ता वर्ष तक्या रे देश राज्या वरःष्रणटाष्ट्रिषःभःष्रेयषाःचरःष्ट्ररःगःश्चिष्यःश्चेःर्ण्ऽ। देणटर्ट्राःच्यःग्चःवर्षःर्वःरास्त्रः मञ्जामान्द्रियः मान्द्रियः प्रत्यामान्यायः विष्यः स्त्राम् स्त्राम स्त्राम् स्त्राम्याम् स्त्राम् स्त् ल्येर.क्ष.रेट्र्स.ज्येर.ल्र्र.तपु.स्पु.अक्ष्य.ज्या.ख्रुय.च्यं त्यंत्र.तपेरत.ख्रुय.तथ

बुक्र:बुद्यर्वं तक्ष: देवी यव विव द्राद्य देवा

वर्ष्य.ट्रे.तीज.के.धु.वट्व.सूर्येव.तप्.ट्य.के.कुब.लुष्यालया वर्ष्ण.प्रकूट्रतेज.वप्.यर्घे.जय. मविकाः स्रोत्रकाः की स्वर्षेत्र स्वर्षेत्र स्वर्षेत्र स्वर्षे ने निष्य स्वर्षे स्वर्षेत्र स्वर्षे स्वर्षे स्वर न्सम्।त्रष्म् सःस्मान्त्रम् मुद्रान्द्रम् मार् र्भुवायतः न्याः सुर्ने त्यसः यहेदः हे माद्रीः यस्त्रीः तसुरायसः वर्ज्ञेग श्रे अस्त्र्वर्र्ध्वणयाययः कृषा हे न्यान्रर्ध्वणयः र्स्तुन्यते त्युः न्यतः व्याप्तात् व्याप्तात् व्याप्ता 

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हेना.धे.णुनेश कर.में.धैश.शे.प्यचन.धै.ण.स्वेशस्तु न्मेंबन्य ये भ र्येन्य खेत्।

क.षट्(क.द्?)मु.श्रूरा

ब्रेच.पक्रूण.रेश.रेग

सुक्षास्तरायुःषाः ब्रदाचेरातर्घेषः पूर्वाः पर्वे स्वर्वाः यद्व वर्ष्य.तक्षत्राम्.रट.४म्.मञ्जा.पी.जुर्न.तर्म.तक्षा.ही. देवायाची वर्त्यु खर्केर्य क्षेत्र उत् षावरदेन्त्रेम् नर्यु त्रत्यम् वर्ष्यः मी नर्यु प्यरः द्रुवर्द्रः स्वा नदीः स्ने नवा सु न् र म् मे नव् न् र में न र में व



बहुग'नश्र

तर्नत्व्रीक्, जी. सर्व्यक्ष्याक्षेत्र प्रक्षण प्रमेश्व प्रक्षित्र प्रक्षण प्रमेश्व प्रक्षण प्रमेश क्षेत्र प्रमेश क्षेत्र प्रक्षण प्रक्षण प्रमेश क्षेत्र प्रक्षण प्रमेश क्षेत्र प्रक्षण प्रक्र प्रक्षण प्रक्

त्रियान्त्री स्वर्ध्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्ध्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्ध्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्ध्य स्वर्ध्य स्वर्ध्य स्वर्य स्वयः स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वयः स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वयः स्

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मैय-विरक्ष-रेश-रेग

य्याः मृश्यः स्थाः व्यव्यायाः स्थाः स् भाष्ये स्थाः स्थाः

तृ: यद्याः चर्न् रसु: र्रेते क्षे क्षु की या विर्वे वा गायर यदे सुर



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# तृष्पत्यचन्द्रन्त्र्वेतिक्षेक्षं वीयार्थे र्वापायम्यम्पत्यस्त्रम् स्वापायस्य सर्वेत्

द्रमामलुद्धस्य म्हण्याम् स्वाप्त स्वाप

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त्यः वं त्यान्यान्यः पूर्वः स्त्रान्त्रान्यः विद्वः तयन् ने त्यून्यः त्यान्यः त्यान्त्रः विद्वः विदः विद्वः विद्व

स्वास्त्रण्ये स

ज्.रीयानीक्षण.षाष्ट्ररेसील.र्न्य्तानपुरमी

श्रम् द्रित्त्व्याम् विश्वान्यम् विष्याम् विषयाः विषयः विषय

निश्चेतिः नृष्णायशः सुर्याः व्याः विद्याः विद



स्यानकुः तुन्यान्त्रान्ते प्यान्यात् वृत्यान्त्र स्वान्य स्वा

तर्वकाकुःम्वीताववार्यन्त्रियं व्यव्याक्ष्याः अर्थाः व्यव्याक्ष्याः व्यव्याक्ष्यः व्यव्याः व्यव्यः व्यव्याः व्यव्यः व्यव्यः व्यव्यः व्यव्यवः व्यव्यः व्यव्यवः व्यवः व्यव्यः व्यव्यवः व्यव्यः व्यव्यः व्यवः व्यव्यवः व्यव्यवः व्यव्यः व्यव्यवः व्यवः व्

मीलालट क्षिट प्तरीट प्री मील्या असूर प्राप्त प्राप्त प्री से स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वाप्त स

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श्रार्चरार्ष्वं विर्चरिर्जी वास्ता अकूर्तिता वर्ष्ट्र मूर्या में वा विरमाण्य में ना

য়ःदेल्लाबिरावर् १ वे.जंस्त्राच्यात्र स्त्राच्यात्र स्त्राच्यात्र स्त्राच्यात्र स्त्राच्यात्र स्त्राच्यात्र स्त्राच्यात्र स्त्र स्त्राच्यात्र स्त्र स्

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इम्,श्रिच.खुर्थ.कथा

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गर्भेवासर्हेन्सुवा घटमा

क्री. ट्रेच.फी.सीज. इ.स.च. ट्रेट. क्री. क्री. च्राच्या क्री. ट्रेच. क्री. च्राच्या क्राच्या क्री. च्राच्या क्राच्या क्री. च्राच्या क्री. च्राच्या क्री. च्राच्या क्री. च्राच्या क्राच्या क्राच्या क्राच्या क्री. च्राच्या क्री. च्राच्या क्री. च्राच्या क्री. च्राच्

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तन्-र-न्-राम्डेम्-र्से-हे-अअ'मै-म्ब्रियःअर्के-र्भन्यायःमुन्-राम्डेव्-से-ने-म्ब्रिव्-व्-न्-र्म्-र-ने-न्-र्तप्रु.ग्रुश.म् अ.म्.स्नायास्य क्षेत्रस्य क्षेत्रस्य मायास्य न्यास्य क्षेत्रस्य क्षेत्रस्य क्ष्यास्य नम्मार्थायान्वेर्वाः नर्मे चेरायालु नर्डेद्रान्ययार्चे न्रान्यवर्थे ने मेथा थी ने मा खेदादा ग्रीमा ग्रीमा चन्तः बुद्याक्षेद्रः सम्या ने त्वन् सायमः न्यतः चे न्यन्य स्ति न्यत्वे ने स्ति स्ति स्ति स्ति स्ति स्ति स्ति स धीन् क्रेस-न्दन्न् ॲस नक्रीन्य छोत् समा

बिट.चर्टेरे.जी.भीचना.पश्चा.श्चर.खेषेत्रा.जना.येता.बींच.टे.टेग.शूरे.जर.वोश्जा.अशूरे.श्व.म.न् तर्सिण.रेग्त.क्षय.कथा वाज.सुरे.वाखेर.पत्रिज.की.पी.रेट.सुर.की.पी.वाज.कथ.पी.वाडेय.हे. मार्ज्ञा अकूर्त्रस्या चर्रित्र अकूर्यायर हुर्या स्त्र मार्थ्य स्त्र स् न्यतः र्वः न्यत्र्यः मीयः से र्वे सं ने त्युः स्वयः सुः मा के र मा त्यु म त्ये त्या स्वयः वर्त्त्रमायमाश्चीः द्यान् मीमार्याः हे स्यस्त्रम् द्याः स्वीमार्याः स्वीमार्याः स्वामार्यस्य चेरासुना चेरासुना चन्नम्भामासुताःबेद्यसायसान्नो चतिःसूर्या विःकेष्य सुन्द्रस्य मुन्द्रस्य सुतान्ने विद्यास्य सुन्दर्या स्व यम। योजास्त्रीर्श्वाट्यादेग्वेमावमास्त्रात्मात्रास्यायाः विमास्यास्यायाः विमास्यास्यायाः विषान्नित्राचलेव् प्रे वित्रविष्य में वित्रवार्ते वित् र्मत्र्य्मेषाम्बर्धरम्भः स्रीक्ष्यम्भः स्रीक्ष्यः स्रीक्षः स्याने स्रीक्षः स्रीक्षः स्रीक्षः स्रीक्षः स्रीक्षः र्ष्यमार्सः व्युत्रात्रः विषायो स्वार्धित । विषायाः विषायाः विष्याः विष्याः विष्याः विष्याः विषयः विषयः विषयः

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ण्.र्थान्यस्यात्रस्य अस्ति ने मी त्या प्रमान्य प्रमान्य प्रमान्य प्रमान्य प्रमान्य प्रमान्य प्रमान्य प्रमान्य प युग्य-५८। ययःरेअ-दरव्वेयःग्रेग्यःयःयन्-च-इद्येतःयःर्वन्यःर्वेन्।यःगर्वेन्यःव्युरःदेः ल्रिन्यतः सून् वायुषावतः म्वार्विषायाः त्युः हिवा वीषावः न्तरः त्यन्तरः सून्न्रायर् सून्याय इति णे.भ.कुवा.वभर् खूजातर्वेव रे.लर.जू.ये.व्याच्या.वकूरं.जया.र्यं वर्त्यवेजा.वर्ष्ट्रेवाया.वर् इसर्ह्मा:सेन्यते:स्वी:सेन्यनी:मेव्यन्द्रस्व:प्यस्यायस्यान्यन्यस्य नेत्रास्त्रम्यन्तिः रवःस्टर्तुशःर्द्धेन्।यरःकरःकुःवननःभःनत्ना गाूरःन्टरःवृ नेःयशःर्द्धन्यश्चेन्दर्शेःर्वेगःसूभः र.वा.कु.चेच-द्रेट.ज्ञवाबार्म्बा.मुं.ब.चें.भुं.ब.चरिवावाजा.मुट.मुं.देट.ब.ब.ब.च्या.कुवा.जया.मुं.वेर.टे. स्रम्भ मृतः क्षे स्रे या गृहर् गृष्यः स्रे रास्य ग्री साम्य स्रो साम्य स्रो साम्य स्रो साम्य स्रो साम्य स्रो स चतिःवनुचःचनुम्बा ष्यःह्माःवयःयद्यव्यं विःयेन्यवेः देन्यवः देव्यवः व्यव्यं विः वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे व चर्णायाने स्वास्त्र विषय क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र स्वास्त्र स्वास्त

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### **Examining Change in Jangbi Community**

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#### Introduction to the Study

The handful of Monpa communities in central Bhutan represent a fascinating cultural and linguistic isolate within Bhutan, with a unique historical and cultural background. Jangbi community, which is one of these communities, is among the many communities in the nation undergoing dramatic change at a rapid rate. Dema (2008) even reports that Monpas of Trongsa district may have now assimilated to the point that they are hardly distinct from other Bhutanese—and that these changes may even be welcomed by residents of these communities. The purpose of this study is to document the current changes and developments occurring in Jangbi community, and revisit the religious and cultural practices currently prevalent in the community in light of these changes. The perspectives of community members regarding these ongoing changes were sought, and will presented and reflected upon in this paper.

To gain insight into the current context of the village and the beliefs of villagers regarding change rapidly taking place, we visited Jangbi community and interviewed several key informants. For ethical reasons, we asked consent from the district, the local leader of the community, and each community member interviewed in advance of data collection, including permission to record the interviews. Willing interview informants included:

- Key religious leaders of the community, including the Lam and the Pawo
- A community elder, who is coordinator of the cane shoot business
- Community members, including cultural performers in the village and farmers
- A community member utilizing a traditional stretcher in front of the BHU
- The community Health Assistant at the Basic Health Unit (BHU)
- · School teachers
- One informant from the neighboring Wangling community

Upon completion of interviews, we transcribed interviews and analyzed data thematically according to the kind of change the informant discussed. This article is organized according to the major themes identified from interviews with our informants. The first section of the article aims to introduce the reader to Jangbi community with basic information from the literature and some supplementary information from our data. Discussion of major themes then begins with current religious practices and beliefs, and continues with consideration of the marriage system, education, health and other customs in the community, before arriving at concluding thoughts.

#### **Background**

Jangbi community, located in Langthil Gewog of Trongsa district, is a small, rural community situated a few hours walk from Tongtobi school, near Langthil village. While traffic to and from the community is mostly local, the village is increasingly frequented by tourists on package tours that wish to trek through the region. According to the latest statistics available at the community's Basic Health Unit, as of 2011 there were 304 people in 56 households among the 3 Monpa communities of Jangbi, Wangling and Phurzur. Despite the small size of the Monpa community in Bhutan, the community is widely believed to be historically and culturally significant. As a result, a number of studies have been done on Monpa communities, and Jangbi community in particular (see, e.g., Pommaret, 1994, 1999; van Driem, 2004; Giri, 2004; Chand, 2009).

The language is one of the "three gems" identified by the Dzongkha Development Commission, and is among the most endangered languages in the country (van Driem, 2004); notably, the language has been determined to be a unique subgroup within the Tibeto-Burman language family (van Driem, 2011). The Monpa of Jangbi are remarkably multilingual, though, and most community members seem fluent in several other languages aside from Black Mountain Mönpa, including Dzongkha, Khengkha, Lhotshamkha and Tshangla, among others. During data collection, researcher Tenzin Jamtsho noted that even elderly informants from the community had an impressive command of formal Dzongkha.

The historical context of the community is equally interesting. Monpas

may be among the first groups of Bhutanese people to inhabit the territory of Bhutan, and this is a belief widely held by Bhutanese (Pommaret, 1994). Recent scientific research may corroborate the same belief; Choden (2005, as cited in Chand, 2009: 27) reports that data from Professor Peter de Kniff's genetic research in Bhutan found that Black Mountain Monpas are carriers of genes for one of the two oldest populations in Bhutan, along with the Lhokpu people of Southwestern Bhutan (the study additionally found that these two old groups are distinct from one another). Another published theory on the origin of Monpa people (Francke, 1975, as cited in Chand, 2009) claims that Monpas are immigrants that came from the Indian plains. However, Pommaret (1994) points out that it's not easy to determine whether the Monpa are indigenous, or when they migrated to Bhutan (if they did in fact migrate into Bhutan), since no mention of their migration can be found in historical texts. Regardless of what the exact history and origins of Monpa people turns out to be, van Driem (2004, p. 294) and Pommaret (1994) rightly point out that Monpas may yet provide significant information about the history and origins of the nation and region in times to come.

In addition to the academic literature on the history and origins of Jangbi and Monpas of Bhutan, a rich body of oral history and local legends still exists in Jangbi. The local history of village settlement is quite a long story that the Lam of the village knows well, but is too long to be recounted in full here. Briefly, nine historical Monpa communities of the region are believed to originate from an interesting oral legend, in which nine siblings who migrated to the area each established a distinct community. The people of Jangbi are thought to be descendents of Pangzur, one of these nine communities, and the area of Jangbi is said to have been a winter residential area for the people Pangzur. There are two stories of how the community came to be named "Jangbi". In one story, a messenger traveling from Pangzur to Jangbi went missing, causing an argument among residents - the loss of this messenger, who was never found, resulted in the term "Jangbi" (jang meaning "lost" in Dzongkha) as a name for the community site. The second story recounts that when Padmasambhava passed through the region in the 8th century, he encountered a woman who told him she was searching for a bird that was lost. The place that this is said to have occurred, at which a flat rock is present, can still be seen near the bottom of the community today. In

this second story, the "lost" meaning carried by the village's name refers to the bird for which the woman was searching. There are accounts of oral history from Jangbi in the literature, including those of Giri (2004) and Ura (2005). These accounts will be joined by a forthcoming article written in Dzongkha, co-authored by the authors of this study and the Lam of Jangbi village.

### Religious Practices and Beliefs in the Community

People in Jangbi community have for a long time practiced Bon traditions, and before that performed certain animistic religious practices. Oral legend in the village cites the origin of Bon practices in the community to the community's own story of origins. The story says that the nine siblings, who founded the nine Monpa communities, were unable to cross a river and were assisted by Jayiwangchukma, a large local deity in the form of a snake. Afterwards, the siblings promised they would worship Jayiwangchukma as a protective deity. The rituals used today are described in the oral legend, and rituals are performed for Jayiwangchukma. In the literature, according to Hasrat (1980: 22), Lhase Tshangma, who is believed to be a devotee of Bonism, migrated to Jamkhar, Bumthang from Tibet, sent for exile by his followers. He then found the Khoche Penchen. It is believed that his followers increased in number in the district. Later, Lhase Tshangma's family is believed to have migrated to Trongsa district, in Nubji and Korphu, and founded the Bemjee Choeje and Gaga Choje to propagate the Bon tradition in the community. According to this account, Bonism may have thus developed in the community as a result of the efforts of Lhase Tshangma and his family members in the 7th century.

Whether Bonism dates to the time of Lhase Tshangma or earlier, Jangbi did not practice Buddhism until the 20th century. According to one informant, until 80 years ago community members did not practice any Buddhism at all and it was a purely Bon society. The informant explained that Buddhism probably first came to the community approximately 80 years ago, and 50 years ago the village was divided in opinion regarding Buddhist practices. To supplement his account of the village's religious history, the informant showed us a document, written in Choekye, in which two statements are made. The informant dated the document to approximately the 1960s or 1970s, and though we were permitted to see the document, permission was not granted to photograph it. One statement was written by a religious

master from Tibet, who visited the community. The statement says that the people of Jangbi community are not allowed to make animal sacrifices when they perform Bon rituals, and that they should use other means to make offering to local deities. The statement was meant to act as a written commitment to a new rule, and this was evidenced by seals of local leaders. The second statement on the document was issued by the District Court. Apparently, some villagers were not in full agreement over the statement on animal sacrifice, and this second statement sought to resolve the issue. The court's statement expressly ordered all Jangbi villagers to adhere to the first statement made in Dochoeling monastery, and included an official court seal. Although Buddhism had crept into the village at this point of time, clearly some community members were still reticent to abandon older traditions.

In the past, Jangbi did not have any temple or resident Buddhist religious master. When ritual performances, such as funerals, were required by villagers, people used to construct a temporary hut out of bamboo and tree leaves in an open space two to three days before the performances began. However, now the community has a temple, which was constructed in the 1980s. According to informants, the temple was constructed in 1986 under the coordination of a Buddhist master from the Kheng region. This Buddhist master was invited by the community to perform for Buddhist rituals in the past. It seems the master felt it necessary to construct one temple for the community to meet the religious needs of the community, and the temple continues to be used for religious purposes by the community. Now the community also has a resident religious master to lead Buddhist activities and teachings. The religious master is from the community, and his father was also a prominent religious figure before his death. The lama was the first in his community to have in-depth, long-term Buddhist monastic training, which he received in Trongsa Dzong and in Lobesa. After his training finished, he was requested by his community to return as their religious master, a position he took with the authority of the central monastic body.

With a temple and its own religious master, the demand for Buddhist practices are on the rise in the community. According to informants, most villagers now look to Buddhist traditions when they hope for sick people to recover, pray for the deceased, or pray for the wellbeing of the

people and the community. These Buddhist practices also vary according to different Buddhist traditions and sects, showing a diversity of beliefs and practices even within Buddhism in the community. Informants also say that there are also people of the community who still adhere to Bon practices, and who retain a strong and exclusive belief in Bonism.

Shamanism still exists in Jangbi and its surrounding communities. In Jangbi, Phurzur and Wangling communities, there are total of six shamanist practitioners: one in Jangbi, two in Wangling, and three in Phurzur. Among these six practitioners, informants note that Jangbi's is senior-most and most respected, and is often invited to all three communities to practice. The practitioner (or 'Pow'), who was also one of our informants, is 86 years old and has lost his vision. When he is invited to practice, he must be carried by his hosts or sponsors. The informant explained that he never studied his practices, and believes it to be an inherited form of practice. He began his practice at the age of 30, and has been actively practicing for 56 years. His mother was a practitioner and his uncle was also a famous practitioner in the past.

Shamanist practices have also undergone change in the community. One informant recounted that in the past the payment given for performances was the head of a slaughtered pig. If the sponsor of the practice did not have a pig, they would have to buy the pig from others or go into debt to meet the requirement. According to other informants, this custom affected development prospects for villagers. Villagers reportedly sought all of their help from these practitioners 40-50 years ago, and would make offerings whenever someone fell ill. They were poor to begin with, and additionally borrowed animals from nearby villages in order to meet requirements for offerings for their ill. Some informants estimated that one person may have sacrificed between 40-50 animals over the course of their life at this point of time. Informants claim they were never able to prosper under these conditions, because they went into debt and could never repay the large loans taken to complete religious practices. However, the practitioner says that people no longer offer a pig's head as payment, and instead offer other forms of compensation, such as money or rice.

The expressed direction of religious changes in the community show unity amongst informants. Informants, including both the Buddhist religious

master and the shamanist practitioner, say that community members are shifting towards Buddhism from Bonism, and that the change is a positive one. The shamanist says that the number of practices requested of him is declining yearly, and that he himself is not against this development - he supports the change and wishes the betterment of his community, which he feels would come from adoption of Buddhism. The local Buddhist master is working hard to make this transition happen in his community. He says that in order to accomplish this, he organizes Buddhist discourses and teachings, organizes and performs religious rituals during auspicious days in order to accumulate virtue and to create good karma in the community, and tries to influence community members to convert to Buddhism. According to the Lama, in the past people were not able to participate in and perform Buddhist religious practices, due to the lack of a resident master to explain the importance and significance of the practices. He takes the responsibility himself to raise awareness in the community. For example, he is attempting to influence change with a number of new ritual practices, which he attempts to organize collectively. For instance, he performs three kinds of rituals in each of the three communities alternatively. This year, the recitation of mantra for Avalokettesrava is organized in Wangling community; the recitation of mantra for Guru Padmasambhava is conducted in Jangbi community; and a feast offering ritual is in Phurzur community in turn. During these ritual performances, the Lama insists that the patrons be the people of the communities, and they do not accept donations from outside communities; the quantity of money given for donation is left at the donors' discretion.

The Lama is also attempting to influence practices for the annual ritual performances done in the village. People of the community reportedly follow Buddhist rituals during auspicious days, but also perform shamanistic practices for their annual ritual. The Lama of the community feels that it is not good for the community people to practice shamanism, and to tear down the practice, he has already introduced annual ritual performances according to Buddhist practices in five to six households. He plans to gradually spread this practice throughout the community. He feels that it is quite tricky to demolish existing practices within a short period of time. However, the Lama believes he receives support from community members because the present generation is against the cultural practices of their ancestors. He says these people feel that their practices

are being looked down upon by outsiders, and therefore want to bring change in the community in terms of any kind of practices that are not acknowledged or recognized by outsiders.

However, informants suggest that the people in the community still practicing non-Buddhist traditions feel unable to fully abandon these practices, because they feel that this is the culture and tradition that has come from their forefathers. People feel that if they completely abscond from this practice, they may experience negative implications on their livelihood. People believe that the deities they worship for Bon practices are the guardian deities of their parents, and in a way they feel they should never completely abandon these deities. A good example of this belief was recounted by the village Lama. He noted that even his father was both a Buddhist master and Bon practitioner of the community in the past. However, he feels his father was not able to bring much change to the community as people were more on the side of Bon practices at the time - and his father was one of the prominent Bon practitioners. His father became solely a practitioner of Buddhism and left Bon practices behind in the later part of his life. However, his father had a short life, and people say this early death might have been caused by the complete abandonment of Bon practices. The Lama expressed skepticism about this reason as a cause for his father's death, but the story represents what other villagers fear would to happen to them if they fully abandon the old ways.

#### **Marriage System**

Jangbi community has a traditional form of marriage, which has roots in oral history of the village. According to informants, the parents of the nine brothers that established the nine Monpa communities were children of the same parents. In retribution for the killing of their father at the hand of the gods, these siblings went to the heavens and received a dog, a stone mill of two parts and a sickle. In climbing down from heaven, they needed to use a vine, but they couldn't carry the stone mill parts. They took turns rolling one part of the mill down the vine to the earth, and once they arrived, they saw with surprise that the girl's mill part was on the ground and that her brother's mill part had come to rest perfectly on top, creating a complete mill. Incidentally, this is how the stone mills commonly found throughout Bhutan is said to have come into the world. The siblings interpreted this event as a sign that they should get married, and they went on to have nine

children together. The practice of 'knee marriage' (spu mo gi gnyen), or marriage within the Monpa community, is said to have originated from this story – first as marriage within a family and later within the community.

Traditional marriage customs in the village remained complex until recently. According to informants, in the past if a couple wished to be in a relationship, they would first inform their parents for permission. Before taking this step, the male suitor might unofficially visit the



female in her house at night. Once the relationship had come to the parents' attention, the groom would typically come to live with the bride's family. However, before this happens, the groom would normally live for three years at the residence of the bride's family, and attempt to impress them with high quality work and character. Before leaving to the bride's house, the groom's parents would have to ask permission from the bride's family, and provide a gift of eggs and a bottle of wine. Over the three years that the groom stays with the bride's family, the groom's family must give a total of nine gifts, which are meat offerings. On each of these nine occasions, the bride's parents invite people of the community as guests and host a party, with the offered meat served in the leaf of a tree and with local wine present (and, of course, informal conversation, singing and dancing).

When the couple had finished three years in the bride's family's house, there were preparations a procedures to follow in moving to the groom's house. The groom's parents have to prepare at least eight to nine large containers of local wine, and the meat of an entire cow or pig. The groom's father was to expected to meet the couple on their way to his house. From the bride's side a figure needed to carry a white flag in his right hand, leading the way to the groom's house by calling "come everybody, come, come." Others join the small procession a sing a song of glory and good fortune, and people on the bride's side of the family were expected to come prepared to eat a meal. When the bride and her group reached the groom's house, it is interesting to note that the groom's mother hid for

some time, and emerges in front of the bride and groom to welcome the bride once they are seated on the mat in her house.

After the couple's arrival, the celebration begins with a marchang ceremony, the offering of wine to local protective deities before they themselves drink. After that, tea is served to all. After the tea is served, the couple sits together on a single mat and prepares to get formally married, which is marked by the offering of scarves, first from their parents and followed by all the participants on the day of celebration. When scarves are offered, an eloquent male of the community is given the responsibility to be an orator and explain the significance and symbols of scarf and explain how the day is very auspicious. After finishing the scarf offerings, lunch is served. After the lunch, in front of all the people, whatever wealth the groom's family possesses is handed over to bride. The groom's parents do not leave even a single needle and thread in their hand. The agreement is made and signed according to the national law with some witnesses. In the agreement, whoever commits a mistake is liable to punishment, and tradition also explains that gradually people living in the same household have to move out find their own house to live and sustain their lives on their own.

At present, informants say that these customs are undergoing change. Young suitors are no longer confining themselves to the 'knee marriage' system, nor the requirements of traditional marriages. Many boys and girls reportedly look outside for partners. Some leave their home for marriage and others have brought spouses to the village. For those that get married within the community, they reportedly no longer follow past customs for their marriage. No time requirements are given to new couples and there are no restrictions given to new couples in terms of where the couple chooses to live. Some elder community members expressed the belief that drastic change, reportedly modernization, is being brought into the community with the change in marriage practices. Bringing grooms from different parts of the country to Jangbi has helped them change their behavior, mentality, and communication skills. In the past, it is believed that community members were not able to participate with the outside world. They lacked a guide to assist them in interpreting the outside world and following accordingly. However, the community is now gradually developing and increasingly participating in different programs and

activities. This change in local marriage customs, and the perceived link between marriage and exposure to the outside world, thus seem to be viewed positively by informants.

#### **Education and Health**

There have been sweeping changes in educational beliefs and opportunities for the community. Until the recent past, the only concept of erudition present in the village seemed to be that of those who possessed traditional knowledge, which had been passed down from ancestors of the community. Familiarity with plants and their many uses, as well as traditional resource management, are but examples of the depth of traditional knowledge in the community, which has been documented in Giri (2004). However, alongside national development initiatives there are new educational values entering the mindset of the community.

According to informants, people in the village did not seem to value monastic, secular or vocational education in the past, and nobody was sent to schools. Most community members were illiterate at this time. Neither secular or Buddhist education did not yet exist in the community, until a school was constructed in the community in 1996. Around that time, people started sending their children to schools, and started a trend that has continued to the present day. According to the information elicited from various informants within the community, only one person from the village, a female, has gained a college education so far. Four are currently studying in vocational tertiary institutions in Bhutan: three in Chumey Vocational Training Institute, Bumthang, and one in Trashiyangtse Buddhist Architecture School. These four students of vocational institutes reportedly completed class ten, but did not qualify to continue under government funding and were not able to financially support further study in private schools or colleges. Informants note that, in comparison with the past, people recognize the potential value of education, and parents are eager for their children to excel in school. Some parents reportedly seek help from other people to send their children to school, and some even take a loan from the bank to give education to their children. People in the community note that the literacy rate in the community has also increased.

Informants expressed different views on whether increased education for community members will result in lasting benefits for the community. Some people are skeptical whether their children are going to help the community after having studied; contrastingly, others expressed a positive feeling that their children are going to return or otherwise help the community. Some informants felt that educated children may not wish to return to their poor and undeveloped community. Some may feel embarrassed to say that he or she is from the community. Other informants trust that their offspring will come back to the village to help people there after having completed their education and gaining employment. Whatever new graduates may decide to do, parents and community members seem unified in advising their children to help them and the community to develop after having studied, and not to backbite and defame them when they are outside the community. Informants seem optimistic, overall, about their children and the potential of their future contributions, and only seem concerned about how these children will decide to use their potential.

In contrast to the changes taking place with education in the village, changes in health care choices appears to be moving at a much slower rate. Jangbi community has a Basic Health Unit (BHU), which is connected with the national health care system, and the BHU has one heath assistant who is resident throughout the year. The current health assistant in the village serves as the link between community members and national health care, with its hospitals, doctors and imported medicine. The health assistant resident in Jangbi is responsible for three communities: Jangbi, Wangling and Phurzur. Aside from caring for sick patients, the health assistant says he feels responsible to create awareness among community members of the benefits of national health care and the medicines available to them. He says that he often gives talks on this issue and tries to encourage community members to seek his help when they become ill.

However, the health assistant expressed that he finds it very difficult to serve community members, because villagers do not value the benefits of the services that he represents. The health assistant explained that, despite his best efforts, not many community members seem interested to seek his help. He noted that he rarely receives visits to the BHU from community members. At the current time, he says that the BHU is mostly utilized for very minor health issues, such as cuts or scrapes on the hands or feet

of patients. He reports that when community members fall seriously ill, they perform rituals, as advised by local Shaman leaders, rather than consulting the health assistant. These seriously ill patients are normally only treated with ritual performance and local remedies, and the health assistant feels he has largely failed thus far to impart any change in the mindset of community members in terms of their health care choices. Almost underscoring his point, upon leaving the BHU after a meeting with an informant, we saw villagers moving a patient who was becoming seriously ill out of the BHU on a traditional stretcher – they favored traditional ritual performances over keeping the sick family member in the BHU.

#### Dress, Food and Economy

Informants noted sharp changes in the dress, food and economic activities of the community. In the past, Monpa communities had traditional customs in regards to dress and food. Informants were able to show us the traditional dress for men and women, but admitted that nobody in the village wears it at present, though most people still walk barefoot. Some were even skeptical whether anyone in the village still knew how to create the traditional costume. Similarly, food habits seem to have changed, as well. People of the community used to fully depend on the forest for food in the past. According to Giri (2004), community members use more than eighty varieties of plants in the locality for food. Informants say that there is not a single person in the community who solely depends upon such foods today. Villagers now rely on cultivated foods, such as maize, rice, chilies and millet, for their livelihood, and no longer practice shifting cultivation as they did in the past. In Giri (2004) noted nearly ten years ago that villagers relied on wild tubers mainly during the food-scarce season, and also ate some during the abundant season. It appears that consumption of tubers has deceased further since then, and that villagers rely even more on harvested crops than previously.

Economically, Jangbi is experiencing a number of changes. With road access, villagers are able to participate in business with other communities and new markets. A trekking trail runs through the village, as well, giving the community exposure to tourists. Currently, the main business prevalent in the community is a cane shoot business. The business relies on a large amount of forest that is being cared for and preserved for growing cane

shoots. The money earned from selling cane shoots is saved in a bank account, which is in the name of the community. The coordinator of this project is a community elder, who remains actively engaged in related activities, which he states are aimed to promote the wellbeing of people in the community.

While the traditional bamboos crafts of the past represent the traditional income-generating activity for community members, one competing source of income is to produce cash crops such as oranges and, to a lesser extent, mangos. However, it now seems unlikely that traditional crafts will disappear altogether from the community. The Tarayana Foundation, an organization founded in 2003 by Her Majesty Ashi Dorji Wangmo Wangchuk to assist poor Bhutanese, has been actively engaged with economic projects in Jangbi community. For instance, Tarayana has helped Jangbi community members build new houses by distributing sheet metal, and petrol and diesel fuel to cut the trees and boulders needed as housing material. Tarayana has also sponsored Jangbi children to attend schools. Recently, the foundation also provided training to people in the area to assist basket and pot manufacturing skills, so that villagers can earn

income from these activities. In light of this economic attention being placed on the community, villagers will likely develop a variety of income-generating activities rather than replace older activities with newer ones.

#### Conclusion

There is no doubt that Jangbi community members, along with

their Monpa relatives in central Bhutan, comprise an important and unique aspect of national culture and history – and their age old customs, language and religious practices are undergoing rapid change. In terms of religious practices, indigenous and Bon beliefs seem to be giving way to Buddhism. However, though the gradual adoption of Buddhism may be inevitable, our data suggested that this adoption will occur on the communities own terms, especially as concerns non-Buddhist ritual performances. Health care preferences have changed little, despite the presence of a

BHU and a resident health assistant in the village. Marriage customs in the community have changed from marriage within families to within communities, and now to marriage with few restrictions. Villagers noted that marriage is one source of change in the community. Beliefs regarding education appear to have changed drastically over the past twenty years. Villagers now want their children to avail educational opportunities, and are now seeing for the first time members of the community to graduate from various institutions, from tertiary to monastic. Villagers expressed uncertainty about the nature of the impact these new graduates will have on the community. Dress, food and economic activities in the village have largely homogenized with national trends, save for the results of some conservation activities underway in the community.

In some ways, as Dema (2008) has claimed, the Monpa communities of the region have largely homogenized into the national culture. Outside visitors cannot see many differences between this community and others in the region, save some minor differences in beliefs and practices that lie under the surface. Informants believe that changes taking place are due to development activities in the country. People of the community are not very isolated anymore, and are now connected to the outside world with roads and other technology. People of the community desire changes at the personal and community levels.

Some changes occurring in the village have been rapid and, in some cases, alarming in nature. For example, informants shared an instance in which their community was asked to perform an item during the coronation of the His Majesty Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuk. Villagers were reportedly nervous about the performance, because they did not feel confident that they had a suitably traditional song and dance, nor were they confident that they could wear their traditional dress properly. In the end, informants say that they had to compose the melody and lyrics for the performance as nobody knew their original songs any longer. The loss of some knowledge and customs in the community, such as that of the above example, caused some informants to say they lament that the community has totally lost the culture and traditions inherited from their ancestors.

However, this study reveals that changes occurring in the village are not wholesale changes. While some aspects of village life continue to overhaul

traditional beliefs and practices at a rapid rate, other beliefs and practices in the village are shown to be resistant to change. Despite fervid efforts of the health assistant and the Lama in the village, villagers do not seem to be adopting major changes to their time-honored ritual practices. This is not to say that changes to health care and religious practices will never happen, but rather that Jangbi villagers are likely to develop a unique version of Buddhist practices that somehow incorporates older traditions. Similarly, despite some cultural casualties of rapid change occurring in the community, perhaps Jangbi will remain unique in its particular adaptation to changes underway, as community members strive to balance preservation of identity with modernization.

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### Healing of Fractures and Joint Disorders by a Local Healer

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My interest in local healing began last year when I fractured my leg playing football. I was admitted to the hospital for treatment, but while I was in the hospital I met a teacher from Sherubling High Secondary School, who suggested that rather than be treated in the hospital I should go to a local healer. Impressed by the results of the treatment I received, I decided to investigate this unique approach to healing, which is at risk of being lost. Training done in the practices of traditional medicine taking place in Bhutan is now general and standardized, and that some local healers with unique specialties may be under-represented or at risk of having their particular crafts lost over time. This study, a case study of one local healer in Trongsa, is one attempt to try to capture this unique local knowledge.

After providing background of local healing and my informant, a local traditional healer living in Trongsa district, I will share findings from data collected through interviews. I will generally discuss his approach to diagnosis, use of herbal substances in treatment and then the typical duration of his remedies.

### **Background of Traditional Medicine and the Informant**

In the past, Bhutanese had to face many difficulties crossing high passes on long treks to attend medical schools in Lhasa. Once they complete their training and came back to their respective places, these healers started to treat their patients, keeping in mind the holistic view of the body, treatments with plants and acupuncture, and also performing different rituals to diagnose and remove sicknesses. In our country traditional healers have different names: Pawo, Pamo, Terdag, Nyeljom, Lhapa, Jankhri, Bonpo, rKangTshigs Lag TshigsbZo Mi. Despite their different titles, their duties are similar to that of present day doctors.

Although these practices have been present in Bhutan for a long time, according to the Institute of Traditional Medicine Services (n.d.) these practices were officially recognized for the first time in Bhutan when His Majesty the third King, Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, established a traditional medicine section of the health care system in 1967. The Dechencholing

Dispensary was started not long after, in 1968. The institute also began general training of future traditional doctors, who diagnose their patient's diseases by checking a patient's pulse, urine, eyes and tongue, and interviewing them. The treatment they provide patients is done with the help of acupuncture and acupressure therapy that includes using the golden needle, herbal combinations, metal rods for applications of heat, and minor surgical interventions during Buddhist rituals. Other traditional ways to treat patient in Bhutan include nasal irrigation, bloodletting, massage and stone-heated baths. This medical institute of Bhutan is similar to the Mentsekhang, or the Medical Institute at Lhasa.

However, the general training received by students of the National Institute of Traditional Medicine is not the only knowledge of this kind that exists in Bhutan. For instance, there is Palden's (April 30, 2013) informant, Jagirman, 70, who lives in Choekhorling village under Sarpang dzongkhag. He is well-known for fixing broken and dislocated limbs of both humans and animals, and also treats ulcers, rabid dog bites and skin diseases among other conditions; he has been practicing for more than 55 years. Some Bhutanese also have unique knowledge of medicinal plants. For example, in central Bhutan, Monpa communities can recognize approximately 270 species of plants in their locality, and use more than thirty of these plant species medicinally (Giri, 2004).

My informant is also one of the rare practitioners still practicing today. Ap Sangay is from Haa, but is currently settled at Taktse under Trongsa dzongkhag with his family. He joined the army in the year 1971, when he was just 20 years old. After serving in the army for a period of 32 years, he resigned in 2003. He is at present 64 years old and well-known in Trongsa for his healing practices. He started learning this unique culture from 1967-1969, when he was only 18 years old, in Tibet. He was trained by rGyal-bShad Rin-Chen, who he met when he accompanied his father on a business trip to Tibet. He studied with this master for a year in Tibet, and was later trained under the same teacher for a year and a half in Haa. His teacher was a well-known Tibetan healer during those days. He was trained on healing of fractures and joint disorders using traditional methods (rKang-Tshigs Lag-Tshigs bZo-Ni).

Right after the completion of his training, he started healing some of the people in his neighborhood. Unfortunately, he could not continue his work because he was forced to join the army by his parents. While he was staying at Dechencholing army camp, he met Dungtsho Ladak Amchi, who was also a well-known healers during those days. From Dungtsho he learnt about the nerve positions in the body for a year, which gave him the chance to learn more about the subject. To date, he has treated almost 1500 patients with fractures and joint disorders, and almost 50 paralyzed patients. He is still actively practicing his craft, and is one of only a few traditional healers remaining in the district. He is well-known locally for his skill in this craft, and patients from other districts occasionally seek his services.

#### **Nerves**

The informant reports that whenever a patient comes to him, he always starts his treatment by diagnosing the condition. For diagnosis, he reports that he must see the position of the patient's nerves. He mainly does this in order to identify the problem or the illness, because he says he can can know what the actual problem is by seeing the position of the nerves. Then only he starts his treatment according to his diagnosis.

He general divides nerves in four categories: Khrag-rTsa, rLung-rTsa, Shed-rTsa and Srog-rTsa. The Khrag-rTsa nerve generally deals with

blood function in our body. If something goes wrong with this nerve there is a possible of dying even while standing. The rLung-rTsa nerve is responsible for swelling: if something happens wrong with this nerve then our body starts swelling. The Shed-rTsa nerve generally deals with strength. If something



happens wrong with this nerve then the person won't be able to catch a very light object also. He will not be able to walk and also he might get paralyzed. The Srog-rTsa nerve is the most important nerve of the four.

If any damage is done in this nerve then the person can die within a short period of time.

#### **Use of Medicinal Herbs**

While doing his treatment, the informant uses many locally found herbal plants which are of medicinal value, and also some local products. For example, the plant known as bTson-'Grus Shing is used both for fractures and joint disorders. He says it usually helps in joining fractured bones back together. Bam-Cha is also a plant used for both fractures and joint disorder. The informant explains that when we get fractures and joint disorders, water accumulates in-between bones, whereby our affected parts become swollen. Bam-Cha helps in decreasing swelling by drying the water in between the bones. gNya'-Shing mThudp is also used for fractures and joint disorders. It is considered as the optimal herbal medicine for joining the fractured bones. mKhan- Pa is used both for fractures and joint disorders to helps decreasing fever in a patient.

Tshad is also considered to be one of the best medicines to fix fractured bones, whether it is in a human or in an animal. For example, the informant explained that animals could walk again after a few days when treated with Tshad, and was able to see the rapid effects of the medicine when examining a deceased animal that had been treated with Tshad. dPyid-Zho is usually used for fractures, but there is also reportedly a side effect while using this medicine – the plant affects the vision of patients. To immobilize the affected body part, cotton, bamboo and De-Shog are used to make Tshab-Shing. Tshab-Shing has a similar function to that of plaster in modern medicine. The use of Tshab-Shing is considered compulsory if the fracture is on the thigh. Another practice of the informant is to prepare a hot herbal bath for patients, with a mixture of bTson-'Grus Shing, Bam-Cha and mKhan-Pa. He notes that this bath will keep the patient's body healthy and feeling very light.

He also uses ordinary household items in his practice. For instance, he considers salt as a universal material for his treatment. Salt is added to patient's herbal baths in order to reduce swelling and reduce build-up of fluid in joints. The informant also uses Pad-Kar Mar-Khu (Mustard Oil), and applies it on the patient before starting any kind of physical treatment. It is reportedly used to heat the affected parts of the body, so that

the patient will not experience much pain while he completes physical rectifications.

#### **Treatment Duration**

Regarding the treatment duration, the informant says his recommendations mainly depend on age. Between 1-8 years of age, it's easy to repair fractures and joint problems, and patients will also recover within a short period of time. Between 9-35 years of age, it's more difficult to repair these problems, and it will take a longer time to heal afterwards. However, if it is the case of total fracture he says it will take a minimum of 4 months from beginning to end. He notes that in some cases if the patient eats healthy food, does the treatment immediately, and has a good caretaker, then the patient may be cured before the given time. However, if the patient fails to do the treatment on time, and lacks healthy food and a caretaker then it might take longer than four months to recover. For those aged between 36-70 years of age, even if the treatment is done quickly and every step is taken to aid the recovery process, it will surely take a minimum of 8 months to be cured due to the maturity of the patient's bones and flesh.

Regarding joint disorders, the informants says there is more variation in recovery timing. He say it mainly depends on the patient's physical appearance. If the patient is overweight, then their injury will rapidly accumulate more Tshe-Cu 'Bab, or flesh that emerges from fluid in-between the portions of a joint – this will make recovery



take a longer time. In this case, there is also increased risk of future dislocation. However, if the patient is in good health and not overweight, then it recovery can finalize within a week.

#### Conclusion

The informant's treatment strategy is entirely based upon the concept of traditional healing. He starts his treatment by seeing the position of nerves and the age of the patient, and then proceeds in accordance with the diagnosis. During his treatment he uses local herbal plants as well as commonly available materials and household items. Many examples of happily recovered patients can be found in and around the informant's village in Trongsa, who gladly testify to the efficacy of his skills, which have an uncertain future.

A message of optimism comes through the narrative of this interviewee, who believes that there is still a future for this traditional practice. A recent trend seems to be emerging that is also encouraging. According to a Dzongkha Kuensel article (February 15, 2012), traditional treatment has increased as compare to that of modern treatment. Today many of the people in remote villages are entirely dependent on traditional treatment. However, though the informant communicates the values and benefits of his approach to healing, he also expresses his concerns regarding the lack of interest in people, especially youth, to preserve these practices. This concern was also noted in Palden's (April 30, 2013) Kuensel article, in which the informant laments that "no one else has expressed their interest, and I am afraid it would end with me."

In my own opinion, today people rely more on modern treatment to that of traditional treatment due to fear of acute and severe diseases. Because of increasing levels of education, the public prefers modern treatment as it is systematic, and may worry that traditional treatment can sometimes complicates their condition rather than resolve it. However, these theories of public preferences would need to be borne out through further study. Although the present study provides some interesting data, the topic is under-researched and under-represented in the literature, and merits further research to learn about unique practices still surviving throughout the country.

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### Re-evaluating the History of Gyelwa Lhanangpa

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#### Introduction

In this article, I am trying to bring to light contradictions that exist between what is written in the Phajo Drugom's biography and other historical accounts of Lhanangpa. I also refer to the Nyoerab selwe melong <sup>2</sup>as it gives information about the genealogy of Lhanangpa's lineage and some brief accounts of his life. Additionally, The History of Drikung will be considered, as Lhanangpa is considered one of the heart sons of the Drikung founder, Jigten Gonpo, and held an important position in the Drikung sect of the Kagyu lineage.

The history of the Kagyu sect (Kagyu Serthreng), when discussing Tsangpa Gyarey (1161-1211) (who prophecised the coming of Phajo Drugom Shigpo to Bhutan) and Onrey Darma Sengye (his master or root teacher), does not give any information about Phajo Drugom Shigpo. Someone by the name of Phajo is mentioned briefly in Tsangpa Gyarey's biography, but this refers to his pet dog, who did not eat for three days prior to his master's demise!

Finally, I also use other secondary sources and interviews conducted with a few scholars, who were familiar with relevant oral history. In investigating and comparing these sources, I will discuss briefly the following topics: the history of the Kagyu lineage, the history of Lhanangpa, and contradictions and clarifications.

#### Background

Gyelwa Lhanangpa Zijed Pel (1164-1224), also known as Nyoe Gyelwa Lhanangpa Sangay Rechen, was a disciple of Jigten Gonpo, who founded the Drikung sect. He was one of the earliest Tibetan saints to visit Bhutan and bless the region. When he came to Bhutan in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, he gained control over portions of the western region of the country. Later

For the readers' convenience, we use here only transcription and not the Wylie transliteration.

Sanga, Lam. (2000). 'Brug gi smyos rabs yang gsal me long (Clear Mirror of the Nyo Lineage of Bhutan), Thimphu: KMT.

his nephew Rinchen Gyalpo settled in Bhutan and his followers were known as the Lhapas.

Though Gyelwa Lhanangpa is famous, most Bhutanese still base their understanding of his history on Phajo Drugom Shigpo's biography. Yet a closer look at the literature and other sources reveal that misunderstandings about this figure persist. For example, when Phajo Drugom Shigpo (1184–1251) came to Bhutan in 1224 AD, the Lhapas had a conflict with him. As Aris (1974: 168-169) describes, "no account of their own view of their position has survived for the reason that they were proscribed during the time of the 1st Zhabsdrung," and the history of the Lhapas from this point in time onwards is thus only known from Phajo's own biography. For these reasons, clarifications on Lhanangpa history during this period of time are needed and will be sought in this article.

In the eight century when the king Sendarka (also known as Sindu Raja) of Bumthang lost his son Taglha Mebar in a fight against his rival Naoche, he mistreated his local deities, causing him to fall seriously sick. Guru Padmasambhava, who was then meditating in the cave called Halase/Maratika in Nepal, was invited to come cure his sickness. Tantric Buddhism then began to flourish in Bhutan after Padmasambava's arrival. After that, and before the Drukpas arrived in Bhutan in the early 13th century, there where other Buddhist figures who spread Buddhism in the area, then called Southern Monyul.

Gyelwa Lhanangpa was among these early figures. He came to Bhutan in 1194 and was believed to have gained a broad measure of control over Western Bhutan. He was a disciple of Jigten Gonpo (1143-1217), the founder of the important Drikung Kagyu School. However, after staying eleven years in Bhutan, he went back to Tibet and left his nephew Rinchen Gyalpo in his place. In the meantime, Phajo Drukgom arrived in Bhutan and started to spread the Drukpa Kagyu.

It is also important to know the origin of the Kagyu lineage in this discussion, as it will then become clear that both Lhanangpa and Drukpa lineages have common origins; both traditions germinate from the same

3 Aris, M. (1974). Bhutan: The early history of a Himalayan kingdom. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

seed, the Phagmodru Kagyu sect. If we understand the contexts of both, we can see how the misunderstandings and disputes arose between Gyelwa Lhanangpa and Phajo Drugom, or, as we will see is more likely, their followers. Nearly every Bhutanese historical text narrates the conflicts between these two sects or figures. Most historians seem to derive Gyelwa Lhanangpa's history from Phajo's biography. As Aris said, "The official view is totally coloured by the role given to the lHa-pa in the biography of Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po, a somewhat doubtful authority if we consider the story of its compilation".<sup>4</sup>

Regardless of how the dispute began, the rest of history after the conflict is fairly clear. The Lhapas suffered at the hands of Drukpas, and were totally uprooted in Zhabdrung's time in the 17th century. The Drukpa Kagyus went on to flourish.

#### Origin of Kagyu Lineage

The Kagyu sect of Tibetan Buddhism traces its origin from Choeku Dorji Chang, the Buddha Vajradhara who transmitted the teachings to the great Indian yogi Tilopa, one of the 84-maha siddhas of India, who lived in Northern India sometime around the 10th century A.D. His disciple Naropa then received his oral transmission. Naropa systematized the transmissions into the Six Yogas, which are considered central teachings of the Kagyu Lineage.

Naropa transmitted his knowledge to Marpa, the Tibetan translator who journeyed from Tibet to India in order to receive instructions and returned to Tibet and spread the teachings of the Dharma. Nyo Lotsawa Yonten Dragpa, the grandfather of Gyelwa Lhanangpa (who will be discussed in more detail below), was the travel companion of Marpa to India. He is known as the great translator of Nyo. Marpa's biography states that Yonten Drakpa, an old and rich man, took advantage of poor young Marpa; however, Khenpo Kencho Gyeltshen, in his Drikung history, disputes this, pointing out that these accounts are written by Marpa's faithful disciples to make their teacher seem superior to others<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Aris, M. (1974). Bhutan: The early history of a Himalayan kingdom. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

<sup>5</sup> Jamtsho, Kencho. (2004). 'Bri gung chos 'byung, Mirig dpe truen Khang, China, p. 320.

Milarepa, one of the Tibet's great yogis, became the student of Marpa. Milarepa, through years of hardship, received all the teachings that his master had received from Naropa and other masters. Milarepa practiced for many years in the total isolation of high mountain caves and mastered the transmissions that he had received. Through perseverance in the practice of Mahamudra and the Six Yogas of Naropa, he achieved profound realization of the ultimate nature of reality, and began to teach and became famous for his poetic songs.

Gampopa, also known as Dakpo Lhaje, carried on Milarepa's transmission. He was also a famous physician. He attained realization of ultimate reality under the guidance of Milarepa. He established monastic institutions, taught extensively and attracted many students. Gampopa also received teachings of Kadampa lineage of the great master Atisa. Later he fused the teachings of Marpa with teachings he had received in the Kadampa lineage. This lineage started by Gampopa was known as Dakpo Kagyu tradition.

The Dakpo Kagyu later developed into the Four Major and Eight Minor Kagyu sects. The four major sects were the Karma Kagyu, Phagmodru Kagyu, Barom Kagyu, and Tsalpa Kagyu. Karma Kagyu was founded by the first Karmapa, Duesum Khyenpa (1110-1193), who was one of the main students of Gampopa. Phagmodru Kagyu was founded by Phagmodru Dorje Gyalpo (1110-1170). Barom Darma Wangchuk founded the Barom Kagyu. All these three founders are the main disciples of Gampopa. The fourth major Kagyu lineage, called Tsalpa Kagyu, was founded by Lama Zhang, also known as Yudakpa Tsondu Dakpa (1123-1193). Unlike the other three founders, Lama Zhang's main teacher was Wangom Tsultrim Nyingpo, a student of Gampopa.

The eight sub-sects of Kagyu lineage are the Drikung Kagyu, the Drukpa Kagyu, the Yasang Kagyu, the Trophu Kagyu, the Shuksep Kagyu, the Yelpa Kagyu, the Martsang Kagyu and the Taklung Kagyu. All these sects derived from the Phagmodru Kagyu.

The Drukpa Kagyu sect is the linage of Drupchen Lingrepa Pema Dorje (112-1188), which was held and transmitted by Tsangpa Gyarey Yeshe Dorje who later gave the name Drukpa Kagyu to the lineage. After his

death, his nephew and chief disciple Sangye Oenrey (Dharma Singye) inherited the lineage. Phajo Drugom was not able to meet Tsangpa Gyarey, who passed away when Phajo was on his way from Kham to Central Tibet. Phajo then became a student of Oenrey, and became the first to introduce the teachings of Tsangpa Gyarey in Bhutan. This lineage was later adopted as the state religion of Bhutan, after Zhabdrung Ngagwang Namgyel (also a Drukpa lineage holder) brought the country under his control.

From this background, we can come to understand something important about the dispute between Gyelwa Lhanangpa and Phajo. We have already seen that Gyelwa Lhanangpa was the student of Jigten Gonpo. Jigten Gonpo, who founded the Drikung Kagyu, and Lingrepa, who is the root of Drukpa Kaygu, are both chief disciples of Phagmodru Dorje Gyalpo. This shows that both of their religious lineages, the Lhapa/Drikung Kagyu and the Drukpa Kagyu have a single root which began to flourish under Phagmodru Kagyu. The conflict between the two sects that arose later are thus purely from political causes and are not religious in nature.

### Brief History of Gyelwa Lhanangpa (1164-1224)

Gyelwa Lhanangpa was born in 1164 to Dragpa Pel of the Nyoe clan, and to Yongmo Pelka<sup>6</sup> in the year of wood male monkey year of the Buddhist calendar. From a young age, due to his charisma and glory, he was called Zijed Pal. His father was considered the reincarnation of the Indian religious king Ashoka and at that time was the lord of the Lhasa region. On the other hand, Gyelwa Lhanangpa was also considered the reincarnation of the Great Siddha of India known by the name Krishnacharya.<sup>7</sup>

Before he was born, one night, Lama Zhang woke his disciples in the middle of the night and asked them to set up an offering and said siddha Nagpo Chodpa was going to get in Yongmo Pelka's (Lhanangpa's mother) womb. He requested them to arrange a welcome ceremony. Later, Lama Zhang invited Nyo Drakpa Pel and his family to his monastery, where he arranged two thrones, one for the Drakpa Pel and other one for his son. Even though the father was the religious lord of Lhasa at the time, the higher throne was made for the son in recognition that the son would

<sup>6</sup> According to the brief biography of Lhanangpa called 'Bri gung chod pa 'Jig rten dgon po'i slob 'phrin las rang mnyam bchu gsum las dpal gNyos rgyal ba Lha nang pa'i rnam thar by Jana Baza. Songmo Pati, according to Lam Jamtsho's Sumthrang Denrab manuscript.

<sup>7</sup> Nagpo Chopa (Nag po spyod pa) in Tibetan.

be the reincarnation of a great yogi, who was of higher status than his father. Lama Zhang was thus the religious figure who identified him as a reincarnation of the great Indian siddha known as Nagpo Chodpa.8

From early childhood, Lhanangpa is known for his leadership abilities and wisdom. It is said that during his childhood games,

"Lhanangpa was the one to decide who would play elephant and who would play horse, who would play the minister of exterior, the minister of interior and the general. The other children could not play as they wished, but had to ask his permission first. He made up the rules of the games, and anyone who violated them would no longer be welcomed as his playmate. Clearly, this story is meant to display his born leadership abilities, but it equally conveys the sense of entitlement that often comes with privileged birth."9

Even though his father was one of the most powerful and wealthy men in U-Tsang (Central Tibet) in those times, he never intended to inherit his father's wealth or got attached to it. His father, Drakpa Pel, was not only wealthy but a religious person as well; he had the transmission of the special Guhyasamāja tantra lineage from his father (Lhanangpa's grandfather). As mentioned above, Nyo Lotsawa Yonten Drakpa (was the traveling companion of Marpa Lotsawa in India.

From the age of five he started receiving the initiations of the teachings related to his family lineage from his father. Gradually, he received different kinds of teachings from yeshe(I suppose Geshe) Purangpa, Denbagpa, Onpo Sherab Jungney, Rongka Jobum, La Toed Minkharpa and others as well. Later he heard about the famous Jigten Gonpo and he decided to detach himself from worldly attachments and commit his life to religion.

He sent back his wife, Lhachig Dechogma, who was at that time pregnant with his child to her family. He explained to her that the reason he was doing that was to sacrifice all he had in order to commit his life to

8 Nagpo Chodpa was one of the 108 Siddhas of India during the Buddha's time.

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religious activities. Dechogma agreed and returned back to her parents. When he informed his father about his intention to leave for the Drikung monastery, his father granted permission. At the age of nineteen he met Drikung Jigten Gonpo who was nothing less than the Buddha for him. After arriving at Drikung, it was said that Jigten Gonpo ordered him to go to another place to receive complete monk ordination, which he did in 1190. According to the Nyo Rab Yangsel Melong (NRYM), Gyelwa Lhanangpa received his complete monk ordination from Boelti Josey and Thagma Dorzhoen of Thagma Kachen.

Until the age of thirty-seven, he spent years in retreat at Mount Kailash (Ti se). It was also around this time that he performed several miracles. One miracle took place over the Lake Mapham (mtsho ma pham) - it was said that he went to visit the underwater palace of the naga king. His followers and the people around there saw him sitting cross-legged on the surface of the lake and walking to and fro over it. At that time he was offered a small stupa made from three different precious stones by the Naga king. This stupa was later handed over to his son when he prophesied him to go to the south. According to oral history, the lineage holder in Bumthang owned this stupa, until the first king Ugyen Wangchuk sent a letter to the family when the king was building the Kurje Lhakang, asking to offer the stupa as the mind support for the Guru statue. The Kasho (royal decree) is still with the family. Gyelwa Lhanangpa spent many more years in other secluded retreats. It was in Mount Kailash, where he earned his title "Lhanangpa".

After his retreats in Mount Kailash, he left to the south in 1194 AD. There is also evidence to suggest that he visited Bhutan for reasons other than to fulfill the prophecy. In the biography of Phajo Drugom Shigpo, called the current of Compassion<sup>10</sup>, in a footnote, it says at the early stage, according to the Kharag Nyo source, large domains of present-day Bhutan (lHo Kha zhi) were offered to the translator of Nyo Yonten Drakpa in the 10th century by the Indian teacher Aryadeva.

Accounts seem to disagree regarding how long he spent in Bhutan. In the same footnote mentioned above, it is said that he visited Drakar Dzumpa of Chelkha (Spyal-kha) in Paro arriving via Tsari where he initially

<sup>9</sup> See Martin, D. (2008). Nyo Gyelwa Lhanangpa Sanggye Rinchen. Accessed 15th October, 2013 from http://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Nyo-Gyelwa-Lhanangpa-Sanggye-Rinchen/2789. The same information can also be seen in the brief history of Lhanangpa written in Tibetan, by the author Janya Bazra.

sojourned for three years. He went to Tsari at the age of 27.11 Some other sources say eight or eleven years.

However he visited Bhutan in his thirties, and by the age of forty-nine he went to Dagla Gampo, the place/monastery of Gampopa in Southern Tibet, with his master Jigten Gonpo. Then Nyo Gyelwa Lhanangpa, Gar Dampa Choding and Palchen Choye (Nyo Gar Choe Sum), the three main disciples of Drikung Jigten Gonpo, went to Tsari Mountain and "opened" the hidden sacred place of Tsari by following the advice of their root teacher. So it seems most likely that he might have stayed in Bhutan between eight to eleven years. He started the Drikung school there and attracted many students.

Later his religious lineage, the Lhapa, remained influential for several centuries in Bhutan, forming a number of monasteries and gaining some control over the western region of the country. During Gyelwa Lhanangpa's lifetime, he was well known for his great brown sugar feasts (bur ston chen mo). He made several lavish sugar feasts in Drikung but the offerings also included much more than the sugar feast. He made such offerings seven times, six times before and once soon after the demise of Jigten Gonpo. In the last gathering it was said that around 55,525 followers of the Drikungpas were present for the feast. 12 In his History of Bhutan, Lam Pemala says that Lhanangpa imposed so much tax on people for these grand offerings, that the people of south suffered as a result.13 But in those days, dark brown cane sugar had to be imported from India.

There is no account that people at Lhanangpa's time went to India to import these goods.

He belonged to wealthy family. As his father's dying wish he even offered a skull cup, which belonged to Naropa and was considered as the most treasured possession of his family, to his teacher Jigten Gonpo. Moreover, soon after his father passed away, two of his half brothers and a number of other important members of his clan died. So most of his family's wealth

11 See Tshewang, Padma. (1994). 'Brug gi rgyal rabs gsal ba'i sgron. Thimphu: NLB.

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were offered to Drikung and Phagmodru<sup>14</sup>. This information could explain that all these grand offerings may not have come from Bhutan.

In Chelkha he had many disciples and sponsors who requested him to stay back as their teacher, but instead he returned to Tibet after spending a total of about 11 years, leaving his nephew Lhapa Rinchen Gyalpo as his representative. His nephew soon came into conflict with Phajo Drugom Shigpo. Therefore, towards the end of Lhanangpa's life, Rinchen Gyalpo wrote a letter expressing his concern to Lhanangpa, saying that he was challenged in spreading his teaching in Lhomon (Bhutan) by Phajo Drugom. Lhanangpa replied by saying not to worry much, and even though his teachings may not flourish in Lhomon, the rulers of the country would be from his lineage. 15 Corresponding to his date of birth in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Rabjung's wood monkey year of the Buddhist calendar, Gyelwa Lhanangpa also passed away in the wood monkey year of the 4th Rabjung, in the year 1224.16

#### Contradiction between Phajo and Lhanangpa

Most historians continue to misunderstand the dispute that arose between the Lhapas and Phajo Drugom, and falsely attribute the dispute to have begun with Gyelwa Lhanangpa: We would like to attempt to clarify the subject here.

The school or the tradition that Lhanangpa started in Paro was the Drikung Kaygyu, but after his name Lhanangpa his followers are known as Lhapas. In the biography of Phajo it is written that the Lhapa who resisted Phajo was Gyelwa Lhanangpa. Gyelwa Lhanangpa and Phajo could not have had a conflict with one another, as their dates simply don't match.

Numerous scholars claim different dates in Phajo's history. According to his biography, Phajo was born in 1208 (Male Earth Dragon) and passed away at the age of 68, which means 1275 AD. According to the 69th Je Khenpo Gedun Rinchen's history the Lho Druk Choejung, he was born in 1184 AD (Wood Snake) and passed away in 1251 AD. When Dr.

<sup>12</sup> See Martin, D. (2008). Nyo Gyelwa Lhanangpa Sanggye Rinchen. Accessed 15th October, 2013 from http://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Nyo-Gyelwa-Lhanangpa-Sanggye-Rinchen/2789

<sup>13</sup> See Tshewang, Padma. (1994). 'Brug gi rgyal rabs gsal ba'i sgron. Thimphu: NLB.

<sup>14</sup> Janya Bazra. (....). Lhanangpa's Namthar. Drikung Kagyu school: Sambotha Research Center.

<sup>15</sup> नर्ना केंग अंतर् तुः अर्नर जरा। सुवानर्ना कुर्वावशास्त्रित्। See Lam Jamtsho's Sumthrang Denrab unpublished manuscript.

<sup>16</sup> Lobzang, Dungkhar. (2004). Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo. Delhi: Sherig Parkhang, p. 937. However this information is same in all the references.

Yonten Dargye and P.K. Sorensen wrote the biography of Phajo Drugom, they relied on this latter date because there are also dates given by other scholars. The two authors said "It is more likely in or around 1184 A.D., as already suggested by a number of scholars".

If this is the case, it is 20 years after the birth of Gyelwa Lhanangpa, who was born in 1164. In 1191 Phajo was seven and started his study under Nyingma tradition, and at the age of 12 (in 1196), he met the Nyingma master Tharpalingpa from whom he got the name Dhondup Gyeltshen (some oral accounts say Tharpa Gyeltshen was the name given by Tharpalingpa). By that time, Lhanangpa was already at the age of 32. It was recorded that he had arrived in Bhutan in 1194 at the age of 30.

country would be linto has times If Lhanangpa stayed in Bhutan for 11 years, he had already spent 2 years in Bhutan, while Phajo was still with his Nyingma master. Lhanangpa returned back to Tibet after 1205 and he didn't stay 11 years at one stretch in Bhutan. We have also seen that he accompanied his master Jigten Gonpo to Daglha Gampo monastery in his forties.

Phajo was 33 years old when he met Sangay Onrey. He stayed 3½ years at Jekar and Longdol after his master's instructions. After receiving the Demchog (Samvara) Transmission of the Rechung tradition, he stayed 1 year in Gomo Terkhung. He then stayed for 3 years in Gargoe of Nyingro receiving the complete cycle of Zhi Je from Lama Nyangtoe Chenpo. In total he stayed 7 years, and finally Phajo was ordered by Sangay Onrey to go to the south.<sup>17</sup> By that time Phajo turns 40, and it would be in 1224 that he heads towards Bhutan. At this point in time, Gyelwa Lhanangpa turns 61 years of age - the age at which he died. Even if we put Phajo's arrival in 1222 or 1219, Gyelwa Lhanangpa's time in Bhutan does not match up. If Phajo arrived Bhutan in 1222, Gyelwa Lhanangpa was 58, and if it was in 1219, he was 55. Either way, he was elderly and already back to Tibet, where he spent his final years until his death in 1224. We know that when Gyelwa Lhanangpa's root guru, Jigten Gonpo, died in 1217, Gyelwa Lhanangpa was in Tibet, and there is no evidence so far to support any return trips to Bhutan after 1217.

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#### Conclusion

According to the documents and historical inquiry of this study it would appear that Aris, while right about the reasons for tensions between Lhapas and Phajo, was wrong about Gyelwa Lhanangpa's involvement in the start of the conflict. Aris concluded:

In Bhutanese tradition the lHa pa are depicted as the bane of the 'Brug-pa school which ultimately triumphed. The official view is totally coloured by the role given to the lHa-pa in the biography of Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po, a somewhat doubtful authority if we consider the story of it's compilation. It purports to have been written by Pha-jo's son Dam-pa (in the 12th century) and later rediscovered by Ngag-dbang bsTan-'dzin (son of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, 1455-1529) when he was fifty years old, i.e. in about 1580. The enemy is referred to as gNyoe or lHa-pa but he can probably be identified with rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa himself, as dates seem to fit. 18.1 mindry deals from many and the second summer delta many agencies.

However after a closer look into the documents and histories of the individual figures, the dates don't seem to fit. Gyelwa Lhanangpa had already left Bhutan by the time Phajo arrived.

Looking at this contradiction, the dispute between Phajo and the Lhapas does not seem likely to have originated with Gyelwa Lhanangpa himself. Some scholars think it could have been the Lhapa Rinchen Gyalpo, Lhanangpa's nephew, or possibly other lamas after Rinchen Gyalpo.

This conclusion may be accurate if we consider the information derived from Kharag gNyoe kyi gdung rabs khyad par 'phags pa: p42-51, which is given in the footnote of The Phajo's Biography: The authors discussed that if we date Phajo tentatively to 1184-1251 A.D., and his arrival in Lhomon to the mid- 1220, the skirmishes between Phajo and the Lhapas may date to approximately 1235-1245. The footnote also says that shortly after Lhanangpa passed away, Rinchen Gyalpo came to the Lhapa seat of Lhathel in 1227 and his abbacy lasted until 1231.19 There is thus some provision for further studies to identify the appropriate figure who disputed with Phajo.

<sup>17</sup> see Dargye and Sorensen (2001), biography of Pha 'brug sgom zhig po. pp. 11, 14 and 15.

<sup>18</sup> Aris, M. (1974). Bhutan: The early history of a Himalayan kingdom. Warminster: Aris & Phillips,

<sup>19</sup> see Dargye and Sorensen (2001), biography of Pha 'brug sgom zhig po. p. III (footnote)

Furthermore, many Bhutanese historians seem to have mistaken the Lhapa for Gyelwa Lhanangpa. Lhapa is a term given either to his followers or the sub-sect of Drikung established under his teaching named after him. In Polity of Kingship and Democracy, the author writes: "Lhapa (abbreviation of Lhanangpa)" Lhapa is not an abbreviation but a name of the Drikung sub-sect established by Gyelwa Lhanangpa that came to be known after his name, since he was its founder. At times his followers are known as Lhapa for being the follower of Lhanangpa or the practioners of Lhapa Kagyue teaching. Lhapa is an abbreviation of Lhanangpa, but many take it as a reference to Gyelwa Lhanangpa himself, which is incorrect in our view. It might be necessary to reassess this part of the history of Bhutan.

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<sup>20</sup> Kinga, Sonam (2009). Polity, Kingship and Democracy. A biography of the Bhutanese state. Thimphu: MoE, p. 47.

