



# エンスロンスンススンスタスンある」 FOR FREEDOM AND EQUALITY



#### <u> </u> इंश्रसच् व्यक्तन

ये इष्टि केंद्र ते दिस सार्थिय शहर केंद्र वास दहाँ दिन ती वर्ते दिन प्रदार हा अधिक कुला है। यह साम किया प्रदार Published by Tibetan Writers Abroad PEN Centre and Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy



#### Introduction

Drukar Gyal AKA Druklo (Pseudonym: Shokjang) is a 30 year-old writer and public intellectual from Labrang, Amdo, Tibet. He is a poet, lyricist, short story writer, translator and essayist. He has authored four books: A Courageous Path, The Might of the Pen, For Liberty I Have No Regrets and Rangdrol's Spirit. He graduated from the Northwest University for Nationalities in Lanzhou, People's Republic of China. He is married and has a four-year old son.





# ररः न्वरः न्रः वर् अकुष्ठाः केन्।

#### FOR FREEDOM AND EQUALITY

क्रिंग प्राप्ति विष्यश्रास्त्र

Published by Tibetan Writers Abroad PEN Centre and Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy र्ड्स याची

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Tibetan Writers Abroad PEN Centre

Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy

# エニュカニュニュニュニュ FOR FREEDOM AND EQUALITY

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#### Introduction

This bilingual book titled For Freedom and Equality is a collection of articles and poems written by imprisoned Tibetan writer Shokjang. In many of his writings, Shokjang had criticized, with reason and clarity, the repressive policies implemented by the Chinese government in Tibet. In an exceedingly oppressive environment where basic rights and fundamental freedoms are almost non-existent, Shokjang used the power of pen to express the aspirations of the Tibetan people and to depict the real situation in Tibet.

Drukar Gyal AKA Druklo (Pseudonym: Shokjang) is a 30 year-old writer and public intellectual from Labrang, Amdo, Tibet. He is a poet, lyricist, short story writer, translator and essayist. He has authored four books: *A Courageous Path, The Might of the Pen, For Liberty I Have No Regrets* and *Rangdrol's Spirit.* He graduated from the Northwest University for Nationalities in Lanzhou, People's Republic of China. He is married and has a four-year old son.

Solely for exercising the right to freedom of expression and thought, Shokjang was arbitrarily arrested once in 2010 and later in 2015. During the first arrest, he was detained incommunicado for a month in connection with his writings on the 2008 Tibetan uprising that appeared in the now-banned journal Shar Dungri.

In February 2016, almost a year after his arrest in March 2015, he was sentenced to three years in prison. But he asserted his innocence in a 12-page letter appealing against the three-year sentence, eloquently defending his right to free expression. Shokjang's story represents the widespread and systematic attack on freedom of expression, thought and information in Tibet since the 2008 uprising. It also highlights the fast shrinking space for Tibetan writers, intellectuals and artists to express, debate and dissent without fear.

Through this translated collection of Shokjang's writings, the Tibetan Writers Abroad PEN Centre and the Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy hope to draw widespread attention to the deteriorating state of freedom of expression and thought in Tibet. We believe fellow writers, artists and intellectuals in the world community would join us in amplifying our call for the release of all those who were jailed for merely exercising their right to freedom of expression in Tibet.

We would like to extend our special thanks to the continued support and solidarity from the PEN International and its numerous chapters. We consider it an immense gesture of support and solidarity for Shokjang and many others like him that this book is launched at the 82nd Congress of the PEN International Congress, held from 26 September to 2 October 2016 in Galicia (Spain).

### Contents

The Vulture (A Song)	.1
China is a Prison for Freedom	.3
Shokjang's Appeal Letter to Qinghai Higher People's Court	.6
To the Young Men of North West Nationalities University1	5
Between Shar Dungri and Waves of Disputes	8
Conflict and Resolution: A Response to Liu Junning2	20
Remembering the Panchen Lama, Not the 70000-Character Petition 2	27
A Mother From My Hometown Petitions The Government3	3
The Lies of Qinghai Television Tibetan Service3	37
Tonight, I am in the Grasslands of my Hometown4	<b>l</b> 2
Fire	14
Remembering a Special Friend on a Special Day4	<b>1</b> 5

# र्गार:कवा

र्नें हुन। रप्प सुत्य हु : वर्ष क्षेत्र।	51
यह केंद्र देद दें केंद्रद् थेया व्यव्यक्ति विषय विषय विषय विषय विषय विषय विषय विष	53
<u> </u>	61
कु'दबादि'रर'न्तर'बी'चार्डेद'सर'रेन्।	63
ૡ੶ૡૢૡ੶ૹ੶૱ૡ૽૾ૺ૱૱૽૽ૺ૱ૠ૾ૢ૽ૺઽૄ૱ૡૢૡ૱ઌૡ૽ઌ૾૱ઌ૽૽૱ૡૢ૱ૡૢૺૺૺૺૺ	68
र्वेज्ञवानेतुः स्टर्ट्य कर्षा परस्थे स्वाप्तिः अर्दे दः श्रुवावा तस्त्रे दः धिवा वास्तु अपा	73
রুব:ন্তু:হর্চ:বী:বাঝম:নু:র্ক্টম:ধ্রু:১ঝ:ধা	83
	88
इर्के ५र्थे। (सुर्केंग)	90
त्रवायाचान्द्रान्द्रसाया	92
र्बेन्थः भूटः वीः वेदः न्तृत्वाः धैः वो	100
હ્યે	110
अर्क्ट.र्जूब,चक्कब,प्दसुब,प्यर.ची,सूब।	111

### The Vulture (A Song)

The vulture, the vulture that freely hovers the sky Flies from the ledge of the cliff Upon the scratches of his bloody claws Moves with force the lonely wind

Oh vulture, oh vulture You fly for mountains of the High Plateau You fly for the truth of life You are the endless path of truth You are the inexpressible bravery of snowland

The vulture, the vulture that freely hovers the sky I am you and you, I

The vulture, the vulture that freely hovers the sky Flies from the ledge of the cliff Upon the scratches of his bloody claws

2 | For the value of freedom and equality

A pack of hungry wolves breathe

Oh vulture, oh vulture

You fly for the tale of yesterday

You fly for the freedom of today

You are the inexhaustible source of pride

You are the snowland's bravery that cannot be eulogized enough

The vulture, the vulture that freely hovers the sky

I am you and you, I

#### China is a Prison for Freedom

I have known singer Tashi Dhondup for quite a long time. Once when he came to Labrang, I was a secondary school student. At the time, I attended an evening concert organized by Hortsang Monlam and his friends. Since that concert, we have come to know each other well. He was not well known then. No one among my friends knew him. So I often talked about him.

Later, the second Tibetan Dunglen musical competition was held in Qinghai. As one of the contestants, he left quite an impression on the audience. He did not win the top prize. But I consider him a top Dunglen player mainly because he is genuinely passionate about Dunglen art. Later he produced a music album. This proved to be a turning point in his career -aclear indication that he had raised his profile in the eyes of the Tibetan people. Since then his popularity has skyrocketed. In 2008, he composed the song "In 1958" which shook the whole of Tibet. It is because of this song that the Chinese targeted him. A few weeks ago, I visited an Internet café. I found my friends had sent me some of his songs. One of them was called, "I Won't Regret Even If I Die." As I listened to this song, with cold heavy heart, I worried when he would be taken away from us. Today

when I visited the Internet café, I saw news of his arrest on the websites run from outside [of Tibet]. An enthusiastic Tibetan running dog had helped the authorities arrest him. As I read the news, I couldn't stop tears from wetting my cheeks.

Elsewhere in the news, I read about the case of jailed Chinese intellectual Liu Xiaobo and many other Chinese intellectuals clamoring for his release. But what about Tibetan intellectuals, who are they clamoring for? Are we all going to remain silent? These are the questions that stirred my heart.

Indeed, Tashi Dhondup was a singer with strong sense of justice. He sang songs that reflect the experiences and aspirations of ordinary citizens. Singers like him are rare in Tibet. Rarer still are those who celebrate such singers. His soul-stirring songs put to shame us young men who call themselves writers after publishing an article or two.

Yet it is also understandable that human beings cherish their lives the most. We can empathize with such sentiments. This is natural. My regret is we hardly have any educated folks who cherish justice more than their lives. Such people are rare like the proverbial "flower in the sky." Even if we assume China is blessed with such people, it is hard to see freedom blossoming in China. As such many will follow in the footsteps of Liu Xiaobo. We have an example in Gangnyi.

As a poet once said, "China is a prison for freedom." It is no surprise then that musicians like Tashi Dhondup could

not survive. Only in a free and open society can such a singer thrive. Honestly speaking, it is singers like Tashi Dhondup, not the Chinese Communist Party, who fulfill the aspirations of ordinary citizens.

Even if I have to sacrifice my life, spend years in the darkness of prison like Bawa Phuntsok Wangyal, I will never let the scale of justice tilt towards injustice. For the value of freedom and equality, I will remember and support able men and singers like Tashi Dhondup. Even if they eliminate all freedom lovers and those who care about ordinary citizens, I will tread this path happily and without any regrets.

In conclusion, that fact that Tashi Dhondup was arrested simply for stating that he missed his Lama exposes China's lie that it respects freedom of religion and works for public welfare. Tashi Dhondup is a Tibetan guy. It is my hope that sectarianminded lamas, two-faced young men and ignorant masses will stop ostracizing him by calling him "Mongolian guy". He should not be compared with people like Jangbu, who calls himself Mongolian, but loves to represent Tibet. We must cherish Tibetans like Tashi Dhondup. Furthermore, this unnecessary act of excluding and ostracizing people is something the Chinese government wants.

Written on the evening of 13 December 2009 at North West Nationalities University

# Shokjang's Appeal Letter to Qinghai Higher People's Court

To the Qinghai Higher People's Court,

My name is Drukar Gyal, or Druklo in short, and my penname is Shokjang. I come from Khagya village in Gengya area of Sangchu (Chinese: Xiahe) county, Kanlho [Gannan] prefecture. [2] On March 19, 2015, I was detained by Rebkong (Chinese: Tongren)[3] county Public Security, and held in the detention centre there from the 20th. On May 5, the formal announcement of my arrest came. On July 21, the Malho (Chinese: Huangnan) Prefecture Intermediate People's Court convened; I presented the defence that my actions were not illegal, and the court's deliberation was postponed for over seven months, until the second session on February 17 2016, which announced a sentence of three years imprisonment with two years suspension of political rights.

As I myself cannot accept this judgement, I have written this appeal to the provincial Higher Peoples Court, cherishing the hope of justice being done.

The Malho Peoples Court has condemned the matters I wrote

about as "inciting the splitting of the nation". The main points are (i) A composition about the freedom of religious belief posted on the internet; (ii) A written account of the events of March 16 (2015), when police and soldiers came to search my hotel room at gunpoint; [4] (iii) Reproducing a short section from the book 'The Division of Heaven and Earth' on the internet;[5] (iv) Sharing a news report that the Chinese government would hold talks with His Holiness the Dalai Lama on matters unrelated to Tibetan independence; (v) Reproducing on the internet an internal video clip of Chinese police beating ordinary Chinese people in the street; (vi) Having copies of six books, including 'Sky Burial' by Wang Lixiong, on my phone.[6]

Concerning the first four points, while I presented the case for my defence earlier, the present sentencing document rules that my arguments citing the constitution and so on are without foundation.

If even the provisions of the Chinese constitution are not valid arguments, I find the basis for the Intermediate People's Court's decision hard to understand. With the merest of hopes, I am restating my case that my actions were not illegal, along with an unreserved statement of my position, and request that you the provincial Higher Peoples Court give it full consideration.

1. Freedom of religious belief is an important right of citizens defined by the constitution. On the basis of this constitutional right, my composition expressed my view of the restrictions imposed by armed soldiers on the occasion of the 'flower offering' ceremony at Kumbum monastery,[7] and addressed my readers on awareness of the right to religious belief. Any citizen has the right to comment on developments in society according to legally guaranteed rights, while conveying awareness of the law to others is a responsibility. I have only exercised my right and responsibility according to the constitution, and made no mention of separatism etc. as they allege.

With regard to the overall relationship between religion and politics, I clearly wrote that I was expressing my opinions on the outcome of politics dictating to religion and the outcome of religious rights dictating politics; the former [is discussed] in the present composition, and the latter is still unwritten.

To put it straight, this was basically just a short piece that has nothing to do with a serious political allegation like "splitting the nation". The Malho Intermediate Peoples Court cited a fragment of what I wrote, "...this is not just trampling on the Tibetan people's right to freedom of religious belief, but on the right of the Chinese people as a whole to religious freedom", to accuse me of having a separatist attitude. If knowledgeable people were to examine this, would they not find it laughable? Not only did I not make even the slightest reference to separatism, my statement posits no distinction between the Chinese and Tibetan peoples. Their talk of separatism does not establish what is being separated from what.

At that time, the situation at the Kumbum Flower Offering ceremony [Monlam Chenmo, marked by a massive presence of armed troops] was widely discussed on the internet, with lots of devotees giving their opinions one after another, as you well know. After seeing these things, I simply wrote down what I thought, and the photos inserted in my text were entirely borrowed from others, none of them were taken by me. As someone staying in Labrang, my camera lens cannot reach Kumbum monastery, as any ordinary person would understand.

Further, straightforwardly writing down my view of the situation at that time is my right to written expression, a right enshrined in and protected by the constitution. If such situations in the cultural sphere turn into serious political issues, issues of national separatism, does that make visitors from both nationalities who post photos and other observations on the situation at Kumbum monastery on the internet into perpetrators of separatism? By this logic, only a minority of the general public would not be considered as separatists or instigators of separatism. Won't such extreme suspicion make for an authoritarian stranglehold? Doesn't it contradict the core socialist values of "freedom, democracy, equality, transparency, upholding law..." etc. being propagated by President Xi Jinping and others? Won't this apparent deliberate dereliction of the decisions of the top leadership be ridiculed by nations from the four corners of the world? Won't future generations be ashamed? I request the Higher Peoples Court to review this carefully.

2. On the evening of March 16 (2015) I was in a hotel in Rebkong [Tongren]. Late at night, two people wearing police uniform and army uniform and carrying guns came inside

saying they needed to search the place. When I asked them to show some documentary proof, they pointed their guns at me and loudly intimidated me. That was the first time I have experienced the terror of facing the barrel of a gun pointed at me. Such unspeakable, unimaginable intimidation embittered me towards the Rebkong security [forces]. Confronted with those, whether policemen or gangsters I knew not, I wrote that [account of events] in the hope of getting the protection of the security authorities and the public.

In case those searching me at gunpoint that night really were police and army personnel, is it not illegal to conduct a search without a warrant? The injured party here is myself, and the proper object of the court's protection is me. In case they were gangsters, I am even more so the injured party, and the one due to be protected by the court. However, quite unbelievably, the court instead accused me not only of inciting separatism, but of fabrication, saying "Results of police investigation confirm the use of fabrication and incitement to cause unrest" [quoted in Chinese]. As to whether my account is fabricated, take another look at the CCTV footage from that day, and it can be clearly seen.

The term 'instigatory' is a mystery. If one talks about instigating separatism, I have not written even a word of separatism, much less instigated it. If I write about an incident in which I suffered harm, and that becomes an unfounded accusation against me, and I write an appeal to the court about the incident, that does not make me a separatist. Helplessly

subject to a punishment that makes your flesh creep the more you think about it, I appeal to the Higher People's Court to look for the objective truth.

- 3. The short extract from 'The Division of Heaven and Earth' [a major contemporary work by the Tibetan author Shokdung] was copied by someone else and posted on the internet. In the course of my involvement with it, I wrote: "Look at this again and again, and think about it again and again" there. The reason for that is that I do not want to see any more of such tragic bloodshed. I will never fight to secure my own happiness through shedding the blood of others. China is a vast country with 56 different nationalities, and Tibetans are one of the largest minorities. I am a Chinese citizen, and as a Tibetan intellectual, I have to be concerned for the precious lives of my own kin. If doing so is called "instigating separatism", nothing is more laughable. I might joyfully and voluntarily serve my sentence, but I never want to be a person without regard for the lives of his brothers and sisters. Come to that, I would do the same for our Chinese brothers and sisters.
- 4. The news about the Chinese government talking with the Dalai Lama was an internal thing. I shared it from my friend's Weibo [Chinese social media] page. It is extraordinary that even sharing a piece of internal news can be illegal. Such negotiations have taken place in the past, and a few years ago some representatives of the Tibetan government [in exile][8] came to China to hold discussions. But the Malho Prefecture Peoples Court does not seem to understand that this has nothing

to do with state secrets and suchlike. Otherwise, there is no basis for such a decision. According to the Malho Prefecture Peoples Court's way of making judgements, not just I but the Chinese government has committed a serious crime, and internal news channels should just be closed. I appeal to the Higher Peoples Court to show some understanding.

- 5. The video clip is of a real life incident somewhere in the mainland. It got a very high number of hits. I also shared it from a Chinese friend's Weibo. The oppressed Chinese public sympathised with the suffering of the victims. As I said earlier, "I would do the same for our Chinese brothers and sisters". This has nothing whatever to do with so-called separatism, neither can it be construed as illegal. Without even looking into the content of this video clip, the Malho Prefecture Intermediate Peoples Court declared it to be Tibet-related, and landed the weighty accusation of instigating separatism on my little head, a weight I can hardly bear. I await exoneration by the Provincial Higher Peoples Court.
- 6. It is true that I have read books like Wang Lixiong's 'Sky Burial', but I have not quoted a word from such books, and certainly not passed them on to others. If 'Sky Burial' is a book that should not even be read, it is excellent that its author has been shown such leniency by the law. Such application of the law has all my respect. Writers like him should be cherished by the nation and the people. And yet, showing leniency to an author and then punishing his readers – under which point of law this is sanctioned, I really do not know. If my grasp of the law

is too poor, I do apologise, but otherwise, I appeal to the Higher Peoples Court to clearly distinguish such "One Country, Two Systems" practices.

There are further implications: for my friends even to say that they had seen the previous three posts on my Weibo page is counted as prime evidence of law-breaking. If even setting eyes on these things is going to be considered illegal, then not only all my writings, but everything down to the birds and the bees could be too. Which intelligent person can accept charges based on evidence 'ridiculed by people but tolerated by dogs'?

Another thing I don't understand is that they took away my iPhone5S, because they retrieved those posts through the phone. But if they had found those writings in my house, would they also confiscate the house and its contents?

They may be like 'an old mouth used to eating, and an old hand used to taking',[9] but I don't have that many benefactors, and trust that you, the Provincial Court, will not 'blow an ill wind into a poor man's tsampa bag'.[10]

Finally, I am a citizen of the People's Republic of China, my right to free expression and right to compose writings about my experiences are provided for by the constitution, but on account of my lack of familiarity with the law, I apologise if I have not expressed myself well, verbally and in written. Most of all, with my old mother and siblings looking at me with constant tears in their eyes, and my wife and children waiting for me every 14 | For the value of freedom and equality

second, I await a proper decision as swiftly as possible from the Higher Court.

Druklo, also known as Shokjang

24 February 2016

Source: https://www.savetibet.org/popular-tibetan-blogger-asserts-his-innocence-in-letter-from-prison/

# To the Young Men of North West Nationalities University

I was very happy to hear about your recent initiatives. I hope you all will continue working hard. Ever since we departed, I have been thinking about all of you, and I have never given up my hopes upon you. Compared to the past, the situation has now become far more urgent. This makes me a little sad. I understand the difficult situation you all are in, but this shouldn't make us complacent. Times are hard these days. We are proud of the North West Nationalities University. We in fact flaunt it as Tibet's Peking University. Indeed 'North West' is such a fine university. The sparks of our imagination flew out of this university. Our independent and self-reliant spine was nurtured in this university. Even today, I believe North West Nationalities University continues to nurture independent thinking. Whether this is true or not shall be made clear if we held our hands to our beating chest.

We all believe North West Nationalities University is such a special institution. It is unique, because of the publication of groundbreaking literary journals such as Shar Dung Ri [Eastern Conch Mountain] and Rangmoe Lengtek [Open Forum]. North West Nationalities University, therefore, is a special place. The fact that it has students like us makes it unique. This is the reason why North West Nationalities University is known as Tibet's

Peking University. This is something that we should never forget, and could never forget.

Right now, there are is an increasing number of people taking great interest in North West Nationalities University. But alas, what we see now is the hollowing of hope at North West Nationalities University; the erosion of trust at North West Nationalities University; the vanishing of pride at North West Nationalities University; and the loss voice and respect for freedom! When I witness such losses, an unbearable pain course through the depth of my heart, which is why I brought these issues to your notice, although no one will lend their ears to me now that I don't have the right to live in the university anymore.

At the North West Nationalities University, we have people who have sold their souls. We call them spies, because they give away all the secrets. They are spineless. Otherwise why would they murder their mothers and make a career out of it? But we are not like them. Since we are not like them, we should not target them. I have reflected deeply on this and I hope you all will. I have reached this precious conclusion after serious thinking. This may be too controversial a statement, but I feel simply filling up prisons with young men is not the only way to seek freedom.

The most precious freedom you have is the freedom of education. You all must seek this freedom vigorously. This is one freedom that you cannot give up. As for the standard of teaching, we all know how it is in this part of the world. You

must never compromise on this. Demanding excellence from your instructors does not make you a bad student. In fact, this is what makes a student good. Oftentimes, being too polite is bad. You must stand up for your rights.

A few days ago, I read a fine article by my friend Sangdhon on the freedom of teaching. He raised some key issues. Our students should follow in his footsteps. Similarly, I read an article by my friend Droe on the Nashon Sarpa [New Generation] website. I was really moved to see that you have published his works on this website. You also compared his poems to those by the talented Ju Kelsang. We need more poets like him and Ju Kelsang. I am not judging his poems by the standards set by Ju Kelsang. I am genuinely acknowledging his work. In fact, we need students who can surpass Ju Kelsang. Only then North West Nationalites University can have a new lease of life. No matter what happens, you must not despair, but with firm conviction continue to work hard. Although I have graduated from North West Nationalites University, my heart is always with this institution. Like an eagle, my soul hovers above and around this university. I have so many things to say, but let me conclude here. I wish you all the best.

### Between Shar Dungri and Waves of Disputes

As you all know, Shar Dungri [Eastern Conch Mountain] is being published by a group of students from the North West Nationalities University. Led by Mr. Gyadrol, the monks of Lutsang monastery are the ones who are churning out a wave of disputes. We have heard that they will keep churning out these disputes until Shar Dungri is disappeared from the scene. It shows clearly what the real nature of their debates is.

The journal of Shar Dungri critically examined the failings of our society. It reflected on the ongoing tragic fate of the Tibetan people. Since humans are the product of culture, Shar Dungri did a thorough investigation of our culture. The Tibetan people are seeking freedom, but the might of the Chinese is enormous. We have, as such, no choice but to pursue solitary yet independent lives. The waves of disputes, driven by prejudice and an authoritarian mindset, are deliberately provoking Shar Dungri. Concerned only about their bread and butter, they may be talking about six sentient beings, but in reality they can't even figure out the six million Tibetan people. As they are bound by age-old traditions, they are unable to find an independent path.

In 2008, when Tibetans and non-Tibetans rose up in an earthshaking uprising, Shar Dungri journal wrote essays in support of the protestors calling for freedom and democracy.

But where were those who churned out the waves of disputes? Since they have had no concern for mundane lives and have discarded human reason, they could not figure out our people. Perhaps they have given up worldly existence in favor of seeking the nature of ultimate Buddhahood by meditating upon the six sentient beings.

To be honest, Shar Dungri tried to impregnate a beautiful woman with a new consciousness, whereas those churning out waves of disputes bring out the image of someone infusing life into an old rotten corpse. This is what distances Shar Dungri from those who churn out waves of disputes.

# Conflict and Resolution: A Response to Liu Junning

The article, "Rethinking the Policy of Regional Ethnic Autonomy in Light of the Kunming Incident" by Liu Junning is undoubtedly a thoughtful piece, and likewise, the policies enunciated regarding ethnic autonomy are clearly different from that of Ma Rong's radical views. Although many intellectuals and educated individuals in Tibet are stunned by Liu's policy proposals, I think it is not really that inconceivable or undreamed of on mature reflection. My first reading of this article called to mind Ma Rong's essay and his views. As a regular reader of Liu's writings, I am aware that Liu's views on the ethnic autonomy policies are quite incompatible with that of Ma Rong. This is undeniably clear from reading their articles in a comparative manner. Recently, I have translated two articles proposing quite different views by Liu Junning and Wang Lixiong respectively. My sole objective was to present their contrasting views on the issue to the Tibetan public with the hope of stimulating some serious discussions, reflections and responses of critical and constructive commentary. As it calls for, I am going to share some thoughts as a reflection or response to Liu's piece, and I apologise for the much-delayed response.

Generally, I think the ethnic autonomy model of administration is not the cause of conflicts among nationalities in China. As Liu puts it, despite the fact that this model is a relic of the Soviet Union, employed by Stalin to achieve the ends of a totalitarian regime, it does not follow that it is the origin of conflict and consternation among nationalities in China. On the contrary, I think the model of ethnic autonomous administration would function more efficiently if it was based on the provincial administration of ethnic autonomy. As we all know, the recent years saw an upsurge in internal conflicts and disquiet in China, and I also think that the only way out to resolve these conflicts is the implementation of autonomous administration of provinces. This invites us to convert the existing ethnic autonomy model to autonomous provinces model. I think this is significant in terms of answering the problem of conflict and strife between nationalities in China.

In recent times, China saw a series of alarming ethnic frictions especially in the Tibetan and Uyghur regions as matters of pressing ethnic issues. These conflicts and contentions are not engendered by the system of the ethnic autonomous administration model, but are prompted by a historical consciousness. It is not easy to expunge a history of collective memory of these nationalities. Liu's suggestion for the deletion of the term "ethnicity" [Ch:民 族, minzu / nationality] is not just futile as a point of solution; it in fact might induce an unprecedented feeling of fear and threat to the existence of nationalities in the people who might see it as a final nail to the coffin of their ethnic group. As Liu acknowledges, the present government is striving hard to implement as well

as amplify the policy of mass migration of Chinese population to regions of autonomous ethnic provinces inhabited by ethnic minorities, and at the same time the government is also claiming to invest a lot in the preservation of language and culture of its ethnic minorities. One day, if the model of autonomous ethnic administration is utterly eliminated and when the question of "ethnicity/nationality" on the identity cards and personal documents are erased in a universal egalitarian manner, it is plausibly predictable that the unique cultures and traditions of ethnic minorities are doomed to be assimilated to the point of complete disappearance. When that happens, undoubtedly, it is going to leave an inconceivable wound of loss in the hearts and minds of all the ethnic minorities.

In reality, the current model of ethnic autonomous administration is merely a print on the paper. The true nature of "autonomous administration" of these autonomous nationalities could be seen from the number of government officials from the regions themselves in their own local governments. An essential component of the ethnic autonomy system is that the people of these nationalities exercise self-rule with a certain degree of independence from Beijing. And thus these nationalities can protect and preserve their language, culture, and religion. Today one of the most alarming concerns of the educated individuals of most ethnic minorities is the predicament of their language and culture with its fate nearing the precipice of extinction. If there is any veracity to Beijing's commitment to real autonomous administration of these nationalities, then the implementation of policies concerning the protection and preservation of language

and culture of ethnic minorities must be upheld seriously. On the contrary, if we blame all the internal conflicts and acts of hostility among ethnic groups on the system of ethnic autonomous administration, then as Wang Lixiong suggests, isn't it "the destruction of the ultimate armour of ethnic minorities?"

As a liberal, Liu Junning must appreciate the right to selfdetermination of the nationalities in China. Do we ever ask for the reasons why China deprives Tibet, Uyghur and others of this right? Let alone the question of right to self-determination, these minorities are dispossessed of their rights to protect and preserve their culture, language and religion. I find it disappointing to realize and reflect on why someone so progressive like Liu Junning manages to sweep these issues under the carpet. Recently, a Uyghur book dealer was persecuted for selling a large number of religious books, while Tibetans are prohibited to display photos of their most revered religious leader, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, in their own homes. These examples are illustrative of the status of our "rights" laid down in the administrative model of ethnic autonomy. In reality, we are dispossessed of these basic rights.

I have read Liu Junning's article, "Freedom of Association" which greatly influenced and stimulated me. In an attempt to introduce it to the Tibetan audience, I translated the piece into Tibetan. As Liu states in the article, freedom of association is an essential component of liberal democracy. The French political thinker, Alexis de Tocqueville, once remarked that the significance of freedom of association in American democracy is incomparable. The fact that there is no right to freedom of association in China seems to indicate that either we are illsuited and incompatible with freedom and democracy, or because we have this "special system" of ethnic autonomy. It is true that the general level of education of the populace in these regions is relatively low, but could this be a stumbling block for democracy? As Liu states, an independent democratic system will provide conditions for improving the general education of the masses. If this is so, then why are we stripped off our rights to protect and preserve our language and culture? And why are those who attempt to do so are persecuted? I think I understand what Liu is trying to say. We share the belief that a wellfunctioning system of autonomous administration of provinces, based on the fundamental ideals of human equality, can be established. I too detest these events of death and violence in China. I believe this is the mainstream opinion of Tibetans, and quite conceivably, it might also be the dominant public opinion of Uvghurs. However, to establish such a new administrative model, do we have to utterly liquidate the current system of ethnic autonomy? I think this is an irrevocable mistake. In this regard, I tend to agree with Wang Lixiong. Tibetans and Uyghurs have a very different concept of national consciousness and value system from their Chinese counterparts. The idea of destroying the system that supposedly sustains the distinctive cultural and ethnic characteristics of these nationalities in achieving the political purpose of assimilation overlooks some grave implications. First, as a result of differences in our individual values system, cultural conflicts and clashes are bound to prevail. Obviously, the attitudinal as well as differences

in lifestyle are quietly strikingly different.

In the last few decades, many Tibetans have been striving for either independence or autonomy, and this is clearly one of the most pressing internal problems of China today. As we all know, over a hundred Tibetans have sacrificed their lives for this cause. As an issue that arrested the world in complete shock, this is not an ordinary event in the history that easily bypasses the public memory in a short span of time. Even though the system of ethnic autonomy could be replaced by a federal system of autonomous administration of provinces, how could Tibetans simply erase this episode of historical resentment and rancour from their memory? However, Tibetans do not wish or aspire to create conflict and violence among nationalities in China; they solely aspire for an autonomous Tibetan nationality within China. I would hazard that the same applies to Uyghurs too. So, the strategy of annihilating the rights of nationalities is a seriously harmful and a thoughtless scheme. On the contrary, with the current model of autonomous nationalities as a basis, if a federal system of autonomous administration of provinces based on the principles of liberty and equality is established, which I think is feasible, internal conflicts between ethnic groups would simply subside and disappear.

Since the early 1980s, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been advocating for autonomy for Tibetans. One must appreciate that this is a resolution that is beneficial to both parties. I am aware that Liu Junning proposes a policy that claims to treat Han Chinese and other ethnic minorities equally in an effort to

establish an egalitarian Socialist society. However, there are a few risks with his proposal. First, many Tibetan intellectuals and educated individuals read his proposal as similar and/ or suggestive of Ma Rong's thoughts. This is detrimental to both sides, because this seems to support the idea that there is no difference of viewpoint on the issue between the Chinese intellectuals and the government. I think it is imperative that we reconsider Wang Lixiong's concerns on the matter. With the basic principles of liberty and equality at its foundation, we are all striving towards the project of creating an ideal socialist society for future. I write this reflection with the great concern that it would be extremely disappointing and remorseful if little differences of opinion and misunderstanding were to eventuate a departure between the Chinese and Tibetan intellectuals. Even though I am still left with a feeling of lacking or an inability to express some of my own views here, my pure intention and goodwill in writing this response should suffice.

Shokjang, June 7, 2014

Source: http://highpeakspureearth.com/2014/conflict-and-resolution-a-response-to-liu-junning-by-shokjang/

### Remembering the Panchen Lama, Not the 70000-Character Petition

Twenty-six years ago, I had a great lama known as "the Omniscient Scholar." His full name was Lobsang Trinley Lhundup Choekyi Gyaltsen. Tibetan people consider him as the moon shining high above their heads. It is impossible for an ordinary person like me to narrate the great deeds of the great lama. Is there any Tibetan whose heart will not be filled with pride and appreciation remembering just a fraction of his great legacy?

When Panchen Lama was twenty-one, the greedy and ruthless hands of red army oppressed Lhasa and forced our leader His Holiness the Dalai Lama into exile. As a result, the heavy responsibility of leading Tibetans in Tibet fell on his shoulders. The moment he heard the news of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's exile, he was plunged in deep sadness and prayed to Lord Buddha. Ever since His Holiness the Dalai Lama's exile, Panchen Lama had single-handedly and tirelessly worked for the welfare of the Tibetan people. He remained undeterred in his mission despite grave threats to his life. When I reflect on these achievements, I am unsure if my lifeless words do justice feel so humbled for attempting to write a few words in his memory.

Since I do not have the fortune to keep these cold words within myself, I have no choice but to present them to my readers.

It is said that Tibet has been blessed with many great scholars and noble beings. If this is true, Panchen Lama was the greatest and noblest among them. Is there any Tibetan whose eyes are not filled with tears of reverence thinking about his courage and contribution? It is a historical truth that his great deeds filled the hearts of six million Tibetans with deep inspiration and pride. Still today, Tibetans are eagerly waiting to see his true reincarnation. The reason Panchen Lama is celebrated most among all great the great and nobles beings is because he was like the full moon among the galaxy of stars. It has been twenty-six years since his death, and there is a reincarnation appointed by others in his name. Yet the question is why no one has accepted this reincarnation. Is this not because the heart of devout Tibetans are filled with strong emotions for him? Is this not due to the unbreakable bond between a guru and his disciples?

Of all the great deeds of Panchen Lama, today I want to write about his "70000-character" petition submitted to the Chinese leadership. This petition, written in Tibetan and Chinese, gives voice to the enormous tragedy borne by the Tibetan people inside Tibet. Named so for its length in Chinese characters, the 70000-character petition is the first historical account written by a prominent Tibetan lama on Chinese occupation from 1949 till 1962. It thus talks about how Tibetan people revolted against the Chinese occupation, how China branded this legitimate revolt as "rebellion" and crushed it by mass arrests and killings. Although no one can state definitively as to how many Tibetans were killed by the Chinese, Panchen Lama wrote that many people who have not participated in the revolt, or just happened to be at the site of revolt were accused of participating in the revolt and were falsely branded as counter-revolutionaries.

For instance, Panchen Lama wrote, "In many villages, except for old people, women and children, who cannot fight, most young and middle-aged Tibetans were arrested and imprisoned. With regard to the treatment of prisoners, the prison authorities showed no mercy and beat and tortured the prisoners. Many prisoners suffered untimely deaths. Prisoners who were old and infirm, those who were around the age of 50 and 60, were brutally subjected to hard labor."

The petition also exposed the hitherto unknown mass starvation that occurred in Tibet after the Chinese occupation. "In the past, although Tibet was a society ruled by dark and savage feudalism, there had never been such a shortage of grain. In particular, because Buddhism was widespread, all people, whether noble or humble, had the good habit of giving help to the poor, and so people could live solely by begging for food. A situation could not have arisen where people starved to death, and we have never heard of a situation where people starved to death," wrote Panchen Lama. This clearly shows what kind of "reforms" China implemented in Tibet. Instead of "economic prosperity" what the Chinese truly brought to Tibet was mass poverty and starvation.

As to the destruction of Tibet's religious culture, Panchen Lama wrote, "Buddhist statues were burned down and thrown into rivers ... Monasteries, temples, and mani-stones were trampled upon as if by mad elephants and destroyed. Precious items such as gold were removed from within the statues and looted. Buddhist scriptures and scroll paintings were desecrated, and deliberately used as soles for boots."

After the so-called "democratic reforms", only 70 monasteries were allowed to exist in Tibet. This means more than 97 percent of monasteries had disappeared, mostly due to the lack of monks and nuns. The destruction caused to Tibetan language at the time cannot be overstated. It was a time Tibet suffered extraordinary "beating, smashing, looting and burning", to quote a popular expression used by the Chinese government. Except for a few great men like the Panchen Lama, who had courage to speak plainly about Tibetan suffering? Just by looking at this petition, we feel in our hearts a profound sense of reverence for him.

Generally, every human being is believed to have a sense of justice. In reality, such people are rare. The fact that Tibetan people had a leader who never shied away from justice is a matter of great honour and pride for all of us. After witnessing the unbearable oppression of Tibetan people, Panchen Lama made the decision to submit the petition. His own tutor, bowing down on his knees, pleaded him not to submit it, saying it will threaten his precious life. But the great man was undeterred, thanks to his indomitable courage and sense of justice. As warned by his tutor, Panchen Lama was imprisoned in 1966, during which he

was subjected to 'struggle sessions' and torture. If we were to narrate his suffering in prison, it will be an ordeal. Like the epic of Ling Gesar it will take us days to complete.

After his release from prison on 10 October 1977, Panchen Lama began touring Tibetan areas in Kham. In his address to the Tibetan public, he urged them to preserve and promote Tibetan culture. He personally helped finance the building of schools, working day in and day out for [the welfare of the Tibetan people]. He remained true to his saying: "A hardworking and brave nationality shall have much love and respect for its religion and nationality. One could even sacrifice one's own life to protect the interests of both." Indeed, without fearing for his own life, he spent nine years and eight months in prison to protect Tibetan nationality and culture. How great and noble he was!

Panchen Lama worked hard to ensure regional autonomy. He travelled throughout the three provinces of Tibet, working hard to revive Tibetan language, religion and culture. He stressed upon the need to improve the state of education, which he considered the key to a nation's regeneration. He said, "A genuine regional autonomy is possible if a nationality is able to preserve its own character, if it is given the power to govern itself." His call for the use and development of Tibetan language in Tibetan autonomous areas demonstrates his acute and farsighted understanding of history and politics. It is for this reason that we need to talk about him over and again.

In the so-called Tibetan autonomous areas today, we hardly see Tibetan used as the standard official language. Enormous obstacles still remain in Tibetan primary, secondary and high schools, when it comes to using Tibetan as medium of instruction. Is this progress or backwardness? Today's spineless lamas and leaders have thrown their sense of justice to the wind and are concerned only about their personal glory and fame. Compared to them, Panchen Lama was indeed the moon among the stars, the brightest of them all. But how can I compare the great Panchen with these straw men? How can one compare the dogs with the lion?

True to his words, the late Panchen Lama left no legacy to bring shame to the Tibetan people. This is the primary reason why I remember him.

#### A Mother From My Hometown Petitions The Government

I am 58 years old. It seems these 58 years represent my whole life span. People call me "Fifty Eight". May be because I am a woman who survived 1958, or I am the only 58-year-old woman in our village. Our lama told me I am very fortunate. I also think so. Of course, it is my good fortune that everyone calls me "Fifty Eight".

Honestly speaking, there is another reason why people call me "Fifty Eight". Only a few old people from that era know it. Now that I am nearing my end, I don't see any reason to keep it secret. Nor do a senile woman like me expect any name or fame. Then I was an innocent child. In 1958, I was eight years old. My parents and others died in the events of 1958. Even now, I don't know why it happened. After that I was very afraid and found a way to avoid the same fate. The only way was to involve myself in 1958. To survive, I had to compromise, which led to the death of many of my compatriots. I had to commit inhumane acts. I feel ashamed now recounting my misdeeds. But if I don't make this confession, my nephews and nieces too might indulge in such acts. I was a group leader. I forced many to do hard labor and gave them very little food. As a result, many of them died of hunger and thirst. Their death made me happy; it reassured me of my chances of survival. I don't know if I should confess this, but I was a lustful woman. I loved monks. I disrobed many of them. I even used many cultural artifacts for manure. I have become senile now, so I don't remember everything. I pray for them every day in the hope of expiating my sins.

Thanks to able and intelligent leaders, I was finally awakened from my slumber. But everything is gone now, empty and rotten. I can save nothing. But I regularly pray to the gods to atone for my sins. You should do the same. And I again confess to the mistakes I made. Not confessing to your errors is wrong. We all are humans and we are bound to make mistakes. This is the law of nature.

More than that, what I am going to do is narrate my life story spanning the past 58 years. As I am a nomad woman raised on the High Plateau, facing the danger of freezing wind and snowstorms is common. But since I am used to it, I am not going to talk about it. What I want to talk about is issues related to our village. These are my final departing words to which the government should pay attention.

I am 58 years old. It won't be an exaggeration to say that my living condition is much better, compared to that in the past. But the overall living condition of our village hasn't improved. We have people who suffer from poverty and hunger. Although the government provides them with subsidies and food grains, they are not enough to sustain them even for a year. Government officials think this scheme is working. Particularly the leaders come here to provide the so-called subsidies, and then make propaganda videos on their visits. These videos are then shown to higher officials, who accept them without investigating if the claims made in the videos are really true. This makes me very angry.

To raise another issue, our village needs a good school. Education plays a crucial role in laying the foundation for a nation's development and progress. If children have the potential to build such a nation, children in our village also have the same potential. Therefore, we must have a good school. Moreover, education is not simply about the arbitrary instructions given by teachers. Teachers should be able to inspire their students and cultivate such qualities as pure loyalty for one's nation and fellow citizens. Without such qualities, there's no guarantee that [education] will not become harmful. A good school will produce students who will create a better world. They are like flowers that will add beauty to the global garden. Without a good school, our children shall become ignorant like me, who doesn't remember her past history. So I will make sure such a school is built before I die.

Moreover we need a noble leader out of these school children. He must lead our village with integrity. The leaders that visited us in the past did not speak our language. When they spoke, most of the villagers just gaped at them, wondering what they were talking about. This issue must be resolved. Finding a solution to this problem is key to genuine progress.

And it also does not go against the Mao Zedong and Marxist thought. But what could an old woman like me know about such highbrow doctrines! I owe all that I know about such things to past experiences of being exposed to constant sloganeering. If we could only implement these doctrines, I believe real progress could be made in our village. Our educated youth can work on building highways and railways. With their guidance, we can establish sound economic partnerships with other areas. This will greatly improve our economy and livelihood. Otherwise merely providing subsidies will not help.

Another serious matter that I have to bring to your notice is that some so-called Public Security officials raped my beautiful daughter. Her screams filled the whole valley but no one came to her rescue. I wonder if these rapists were really public security men. I appeal you to apprehend and bring them to justice.

I would like to express a personal wish. I am aware of my impending death and know that my nephews and nieces will survive me. I am confident they will settle down with their own families. But my concern is the ownership of my body after I die. I want no one but my family members to own my body. My wish is that my body should be placed high on a free, open and pure mound. This way my consciousness will find its way to its destination.

#### The Lies of Qinghai Television Tibetan Service

Qinghai Television Tibetan Service is one of the best television programmes in Tibetan broadcast in the Tibetan areas. It is at least the biggest television service in Amdo dialect in terms of its coverage and popularity. Many Tibetans in Amdo rely on the programme as a source of news and information, and keep themselves updated with current affairs, local and global, through its reports. Since it is a television programme in Tibetan with journalists and reporters who are Tibetan, the Tibetan public in Amdo has developed a deep sense of trust and confidence in the programme's reportage. The fact that the Tibetan public generally maintains an unquestionable trust and confidence in Qinghai TV Tibetan Service is a serious matter of consideration and reflection for the programme itself.

In recent years, there has been a lot of debate and discussions, complains and comments in relation to Qinghai TV Tibetan Service on both online and offline forums. To name a few examples of reports and advertisements that sparked these vexed debates are: the "Jin-Li Butter," "Hu-Ju Waist-Apron," "Melan-Kaplan Underwear," "Qinghai Tongda Hospital," and "Chang Cheng Hospital." These are a few cases of reports and advertisements

Qinghai TV Tibetan Service made and introduced questionable products and services to the Tibetan public in recent years. As noted, the Tibetan public, and especially in Amdo regions, place high regard and trust in this TV programme. When they saw and heard about the goods and services being advertised and recommended by the programme, they ran to consume those goods and services without much scrutiny, and consequently, many of them fell victim to life-threatening health conditions and complications.

I do not intend to discuss all the aforesaid cases [here], but rather an analysis of the case of the once-famous "Chang Cheng Hospital" in Qinghai. According to the report and advertisement made by Qinghai TV Tibetan Service, all the patients who were admitted to Chang Cheng Hospital were all restored to health and treated, and many patients who were declared terminal and untreatable in other hospitals were also cured at Chang Cheng. If this were really the case, why wouldn't the public rejoice, and why wouldn't they be satisfied.

Thus, many Tibetan patients who have already placed much trust and loyalty in Qinghai TV and many others flocked to Chang Cheng Hospital in Qinghai. Led by many patients who have been struggling against life-threatening diseases as well as other patients from near and afar, Chang Cheng Hospital was heavily crowded with people as the number of patients surged to a high record. Tibetans are still flocking to and clustering at Chang Cheng Hospital. If you live in Xining City (Capital of Qinghai Province), you can visit and observe the hospital

and you will then understand the situation. Contrary to their hopes and trust, instead of getting treated for their particular health problems, most of the patients have ended up contracting other diseases they did not come with at the hospital. It is a matter of life-threatening health conditions in certain cases. The controversy has now become quite known to many people, and Tibetans are also familiar with it. It must be noted that, contrary to what it is for and its claims, Chang Cheng Hospital caused serious harm, distress and danger to the health and well-being of many Tibetans, especially to patients from the Tso Ngon area (Qinghai). Despite all the trauma and tragedy, it is surprisingly unsettling and outrageous to see Qinghai TV turn a blind eye to this issue.

Since similar cases followed one after another in the recent years, there is now a catchphrase, in association with Qinghai TV Tibetan Service, passing around among Tibetans: "Alas, even Qinghai TV tells lies!" The implication of the statement is that even though they [Tibetans] are able to watch television with a skeptical and critical eye, they are still experiencing the forfeiture of their trust and confidence in Qinghai TV Tibetan Service with a great sense of loss. For years Tibetans have supported and placed absolute trust and confidence in the TV Programme, and quite naturally, it is a matter of great loss and regret for them.

Nonetheless, this is not the time for Qinghai TV to protect its public image; rather it is time they took responsibility for the life and health of thousands of people. I urge everyone to stop trusting Qinghai TV from now onwards. Whether one chooses to trust somebody or something or not is a right we all have, inalienable. More importantly, I implore everyone not to go to Chang Cheng Hospital. If you go to that hospital, instead of being cured, you might end up contracting other infectious diseases as a result of their careless and unhygienic medical practices. If you care and are concerned for your health and safety, you should not buy or consume goods and services introduced to you by those fraudulent advertisements or reports.

In principle, since this is a matter of human security, and since the state is entrusted with the responsibility of people's well-being, led by Qinghai TV, they should investigate this issue thoroughly. However, with a government that has forfeited all its sense of responsibilities for people's well-being and security, to place trust and confidence in the state is just like maintaining faith and loyalty in Qinghai TV. Therefore, do not put your hope in anyone. I say this genuinely as a matter of heartfelt concern.

In a free and democratic state, protection of human security and well-being of its citizens is the first priority, and as for a person, there is nothing more important than his/her own life. For a person who is deprived of his right to protection of life, he is impoverished of all other rights and freedoms. Chang Cheng Hospital caused great injury and threat to the well-being of many Tibetans, and individually or collectively, this is a very serious matter that requires thorough investigation and adjudication. For a government that turns a blind eye to such an urgent case, this is not just evidence to its forfeiture

of responsibility for human security of its citizens; it discloses the renunciation of its very existential essence. Since media, including newspapers, television and radio programs are supposed to represent the people; they should resist and be vigilant of tyranny and despotism, and should always protect and support the people. And that is what they are for. However, in this totalitarian state, media only represents and speaks for the government, not the people. Precisely for that reason, Qinghai TV Tibetan Program must represent and stand for the grievances of the people, and fight against darkness and repression. This is where the value of the program and its true service remain. If it fails and flounders on this task, and continues to participate in spreading such fraudulent advertisements and lies against the hope and trust of the Tibetan public, then we should all be aware of how menacingly dangerous this is.

Source: http://highpeakspureearth.com/2016/fire-and-the-lies-ofqinghai-television-tibetan-service-by-shokjang/

#### Tonight, I am in the Grasslands of my Hometown

After a heavy rainfall, I reach the grasslands of my hometown. Again, there is heavy rainfall; blocks of darkened clouds cover the grasslands of my hometown.

In the midst of this dense darkness, I am in a tin house. People call it a convenient house\*. The convenient house was built this year. This is the first time I am staying in a convenient house.

The tin house is like the multi-storied buildings in the city. There are few doors and windows; I cannot see the darkness outside through the curtains. I cannot even see the tiny light penetrating through the cracks in the darkness.

Suddenly, I miss the black tent of the past, recalling the bright stars that can be seen from the opening on the top of the tent. The bursting pristine stars that can seen by everyone, remembering the scattering stars falling into my eyes as a star or two fell through the opening on the top of the tent. I remember reciting Mani, as though a life was extinguished each time a meteor fell through space.

Now, I have arrived in my hometown on the grasslands, the place I am staying in is the tin house. From the tin house I cannot see the stars. Stars that had fallen into my eyes in the past, now shatter into the vast space.

July 2, 2014

\*In Tibetan the word used is tab de, meaning convenient, this may be the modern usage of the word for comfortable housing.

Source: http://highpeakspureearth.com/2014/tonight-i-am-in-thegrasslands-of-my-hometown-by-shokjang/

#### Fire

The crushing of testicles between two skies;

The instantaneous, cracking sound of a bomb blasting;

More wretched and impoverished of freedom than a moth;

Or the unbearable sight of a sunset's brightness;

Whether they are charging forward or backward,

They are all fires

And fire is empty, unoccupied.

28 November 2012

#### Remembering a Special Friend on a Special Day

By Theurang\*

Five years ago this morning, I was arrested, without warning or notice, along with this friend I am reminiscing about. We were taken to prison with black hoods covering our entire heads, our hands restrained in manacles, and we were consigned to small, narrow dungeons. He was consigned to the prison cell across from mine. I could catch sight of him every time they closed or opened his door, and he would also be staring at me every time he had the chance. I think he couldn't see me clearly, because he would raise his eyebrows and study me with an acute expression of care and close attention. I can still vividly call to mind the image of his piercing gaze and perceptive expression. Later, I wrote a letter to him while I was in prison wherein I recounted my feelings and impression of him from that period. At that time, I was behind bars, and I was utterly inundated by a sense of intense emotional vim and vigour. Today, yet again, after five years of that encounter, I revisit the experience through recollection. Today, I am outside, but I carry an undissolvable permafrost of memory from the prison – a memory forever arrested in the captivity of the cold.

I was detained in that prison for three days. Thrown into the prison cells facing one another, we kept staring at each other. Manacled in iron shackles, I perched on a chair for the entire three days. The nights were sleepless and the food unpalatable. It was no different for him. I was transferred to a different prison after the three days. While I was leaving, he did not notice. Hoping to catch sight of him, I looked back towards his dungeon a few times in vain. While leaving that dungeon, I lost a collection of invaluable books that they seized from my house when I was "arrested," and in that dungeon across from mine, I left behind a treasured a friend who was captured with me. Later, I was taken to Sichuan, and he remained in Lanzhou.

He is from Gengya, Labrang. His real name is Druklo. I am used to calling him "Old Man from Labrang," but he adopted the name "Shokjang." We were in the same class in college. Initially, we had some online exchanges of views and disagreements. Later, incidentally, we became roommates in college, and then and there, we became very close friends. We helped each other in our works and inspired and encouraged one another in our aspirations. Over the years, we remained friends loyal to each other through thick and thin. I truly hold this friendship in high regard. Shokjang is not only a principled and dependable person; he is also a young, intelligent and spirited mind imbued with many dreams and aspirations.

I missed my friend Shokjang while I was behind bars, and I wrote to him about my experience and feelings from there. Through a female friend of mine, he sent me a book. It was a

copy of Nelson Mandela's autobiography, and the accounts of Mandela's long struggle and experience behind the bars for 27 years hardened my conviction and courage to remain steadfast in those critical times. I am filled with gratitude for that book, and I am even more indebted to my friend Shokjang.

Today is April 6, 2015, and exactly five years ago, we were arrested and thrown behind bars by Chinese police. This day remains an unforgettable day in my life, because I reflect on and revisit the experience time and again. Contrary to the circumstances, it is neither a sense of animosity and outrage nor a feeling of regret and loss that keeps this memory alive. Today is the day I was criminalised for being a Tibetan even though I have never accepted myself as a criminal and considered the date a dark day in my life. But it is an unforgettable day for reasons my words fail to demonstrate.

I remember today from five years ago, I remember the very day, vividly. I remember my long hair sheared off my head. I remember my proud and spirited friend. Shokjang is always animated and enthusiastic. He is someone who never deters from expressing his views, and whose courage and aspiration for freedom is unwavering. He devotes his time and intellect in the fight against darkness and oppression. When a mind or voice like his is stifled and silenced for a time or forever, it is the unpropitious cloud of darkness and oppression that ushers a reign of terror in the land.

Oh, my friend.

48 | For the value of freedom and equality

Oh, son of the darkened Snowland.

April 6, 2015

Source: http://highpeakspureearth.com/2015/tashi-rabten-remembers-detained-writer-shokjang/

\*This letter was dedicated to Shokjang by his friend Theurang after Shokjang was arrested. Theurang was released in 2014 after serving four years.

## र्रेश्वेरा

यहेदद्या श्री. चहूर्र प्रत्य स्थान हुंचा यहे स्टिन्सी चिया तथा स्थान स्

यो.(ब्रि.म्. २०२० श्व. ३ वयायह्त्याच्यस्ययाक्षेत्राक्षेत्र. २०२० श्व. २ ) म्यावेश्याक्यी. श्व.(ब्रि.म्. २०२० श्व. ३ ) म्यावेश्याक्षि. श्व.यावेश्याक्षेत्र. यावेश्याक्षेत्र. यावेश्याक्षेत्य. यावेश्याक्षेत्र. यावेश्याक्षेत्र. यावेश्याक्षेत्र. यावेश्याक्याक्षेत्र. यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावेश्यावे

कुर्त्मी श्री मह्र्र्रस्ट्रियर बिकास्तर्भ स्थाने क्षेत्र स्थाने क्षेत्र स्थाने स्थाने

યનું ત્રું ત્યું ત્રું ત્રું ત્રું ત્રું ત્રું ત્રું

घर-८८:शर-वार्ड्ड, यसुज-भिय-क्रीयाचेश कर-वारा अपना सूच-विर-वार्ट्ड, यस्त्र मुस्य-त्राचा विराधिक स्थान ૱વાર્દ્ધવાયા વસુવાયા દ્વારા મેં છો કરેને સ્વકાસુર સેવા સુધા વાગો કરો કરો કે અમરા કરાયો . કેવાર્દ્ધવાયા વસુવાયા કરાયો કરાય र्विरःसुन् लेन द्रश्र रर्द्दर्भ र्यंदे विरःसुन हु रर्द्दर्भ राष्ट्र क्रूँद्रश्रावद क्रैंदि यश र्वा ૹ૽ૢૺઽ<sup>ૢ</sup>ૹૢઽૹઃઽૢઽૹ૽૽ૼઽૹ૾ૼૼૹ૾૽૱ૹૹઃૡઽૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૡઽૢૻ૱ૣૹૢ૾ૢ૽ૹ૽૽ઌ૾૽૱૽ૢ૾ઌ૾ૢૺ૱ૹૢ૾ૢ૽૱૽ૢૢ૽ૢ૾ૺ૱ૹૢ૽૱ૹ૾૽ૢૹ૱ૹ૽૽ૺ૱ૹ૱ૹ૽૽ૺૹ૽૽ૺૹ૽ <u>ર્</u>ફ્યાવદ્દ્વ ક્રેનિફ્રી ભૂતી જેવાતમને પદ્દશાસીન તૈયા ક્રીયા ક્રીયા ક્રિયા ક્રિયા ક્રીય ફ્રિયા ક્રિયા ક્રીય ફ્રિયા न्दुःदवेन्न्दरद्योधस्यःश्चेत्यःवःव्रवःयःव्युद्धयःदी क्षुःदयःवीःवर्ष्ट्वःदेवाःन्,स्यद्यःवर्षेद्धेदः વતૈઃર્ફેઅઃધઃધ૽<sup>™</sup>તેન્દ્રના તેન્દ્રાનુ તુવૈઃક્ષું વર્દ્દન્દ્રન્દ્રન્દ્ર તાવત દ્વારાનું તાવતા તેને તાનું તાનું તાનુ ञ्चासेन्द्रसाया देवा सार्देश विदेश होन्यों सेन्। वने धेश वर्द्ध ज्ञीत वने वे सामने सामने सामन नियरकी सुन्नु त्येवाबा सुन्धायत्वाया आवत्र इस्रबादसायार विरामुद्रस्थेत परा परान्तर नर ब्रूरवर्द्धवावहवावायासुरा ररान्वरामुखाद्युरहेव वनेदायामुखाद्युरहेवा

## रेंबुवा राषासुत्यासुवरावरासेना

स्रीत्। शक्रत्यक्षेत्रहेश लत्त्वस्रीत्रक्ष्यं श्रेष्यत्रहेश स्तियः वित्रहेश स्तियः क्ष्यं स्तियः स्

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 द्धार्याचकात्री क्षेत्रात्मक्ष्याः स्वार्थात्र्वाः स्वार्थाः स्वार्थाः स्वार्थाः स्वार्थाः स्वार्थाः स्वार्थाः स्वार्थाः स्वर्धाः स्वर्धः स्वरं स्व

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ञ्चः यानगादः देव उव नामाया खुया ग्रामा चर्चुव पुर्वे यो देव ना हेवा र्के क्षेत्रीया ধঝ'বঝ'বয়ৢৼঀৢ৾৾ঌ৽য়৾<sup>৽</sup>৸ৼঌ৽য়'ড়৾ৼৠৼৢঢ়ৼৄ৾৾ঢ়৾য়৾ড়৾ড়য়ড়ৢৼয়ৢৼয়ৼ৻ঽ৾৾৾ৼৢৼ৽ दे ((धेवाःतज्ञुःव्वेःवनुदःस)) वेषःयःधेद। ((धेवाःतज्ञुःव्वेःवनुदःस)) वेषःयःवने क्षेत्रेंदरवीशर्चेन्स्रीःविष्यःक्षेत्रः व्येदश्यः क्षेत्रः व्याक्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्र <u>ज़ॖॱॺॸॱढ़ॺॱक़ॗॱॸ॓॔ॸॱॵॺॱॸॆॺॺॱॺऻढ़ॆॺॱॻॖ</u>ॏॱॺॳॱढ़ॺॱक़ॗॱढ़ॺऻॱॺॏॱॺ॓॔ॸॎॱऀॳॱढ़ॺ॓॔ॸॎॱ *न्*यात्मःसुत्यःचतेःस्व्रुबःबुःबियाःधेदःबेटः। ह्यःचनुदःबेर्यःसदेःस्रेटःधेयाःनेःधटःकुः धेवा वी :बारका गा ख्रु र यह वाका या लेवा :धेवा यह तुवा वह वे वे र प्री: क्वा केवा हु जी ही ही । र्थेन्। नेःधेःदरःर्नेदःनेःवार्देःनेःक्तुःदवाःवीयःर्वेन्ग्वीःयःक्षःवर्ददःवत्रदःद्वयःयःदयः ક્<del>ર</del>ો'ર્સ`કુવાજું રે'વાજેશ'ઽ્વરાકુદ'વતે'ઽૄર્રેશ'ર્સેઽ્વાઢ્ય ક્ર્યાં હૃત્ય'.વ'ઋ઼વા'ર્સેઢ'તઽ્વા र्मेल द्वर्या में दर्श दे द्वर र्से द्वर्या की दे में ला दे ला की वर्ष की सहस्त्र्या बैरःतबुगान्नेषानम्बाषान्त्रीरः। किंद्धैषारेंकिवाबैरःतबुवाधरानसूर्वसर्वरः *ऄॱ*ॺॸॱऄ॔ॱढ़ॾॕढ़ॱॻॿॖॖॸॱॸॣॸॱॸॖॺॸॱॻऻऄ॔ॱॸॗॸॸढ़ॏॱॼ॒ॸॺॱॻऻॱढ़ॏॱॶॖॱॸॣॸॱॼऻॸॱॿॏॺॱ गुरः परः नवा वा हदः दवेव 'ठेवा से 'तुषः सेन्। यदः सेदः रेदः ये 'से स्थः से सासा होरः पर्धिय। सैयमा मुरापर्धिय। जरमा सीया नै. यर्के ने सूर्य निषम मुरासिया नै. पर्खे. क्रींटच। लटब ब्रेट्स्रॅंट विज. रे.चर्केंट बंबा प्रमुचया वेबा क्रूट वीलट च रहेश.

मुका चेराव बुवा यदे वुर्के वार्षे वाकार्षे द्वा देशका ग्राम्स्ट वका के वा विवादी के त्वा नियानियात्मा मुनियायात्मा स्थानियात्मा स्यानियात्मा स्थानियात्मा स्थानियात्म स्थानियात्मा स्थानि क्रेश्रास्ट्रीयम्बर्गास्ट्रि, अक्रान्त्रम् । "मून्स्रि, सर्ग्यु, बर्न्य, स्वर्ग्यस्य स्वर्ग्यस्य । स्वर् नुन्भेन्र्भेग्रथात्रवयात्रह्मानुन्भीः बुयायते देग्रथासुन्। याव्यायावेदासुन्दर य। नेप्पत्नेदायश्वसःभेषाञ्चराधराक्षेत्रायहिदायहरून्यार्वेदायह्याः हुषाः स्पिन्।" "नर्देंद्रावरस्यरक्षेनदेन्दरनर्देंद्रादह्या ग्रुष्यपदेनर्देद्राय द्रुष्यप्राण्ची दर्देन्दर ननेवर्रेवन्यभीवि नर्वेद्यं श्रुरनिर्म्यया होन्यया नर्वेद्या नेन्वा त्याया स क्षुरहे: सेन्यते: यहेवा यः सुत्यः न्यः केयः हुरः वारः वार्तेरः चलेवः र्धान। ..... वर्डेवः त्रपु:चार्चियायाःचाषु:बद्:दुर:प्रक्र:वर:श्वा:पपु:चर्ड्यःप:म्याःप्रांच्यायाः इसयाः यतरळेशःक्षुःचः १८:श्वाः पतेः ६०। र्हेत्यः द्वे १-१, तह्वाः वीदः स्पे १-४। से १। "हेशः नाशुरुषाःभैरा। नादषाःर्ह्याः नेपनाःनीः सनुदादषाः विराष्ट्रेनः वनषाः वनः दुः श्चनाःनुः बुरमित्रें क्रिंद्यायर विश्वेषा र्येद्यारेत्। देनिव्या विर्देत्त्वा मी सेटार् वेदायास्य ब्रसाचुरानते:ब्रब्साकर्षेम् वाकाः भूसाचीः सूचा नसूत्यान वेर्तर्, स्रो सुरास्य वि र्विरः वीश्रः भेरे देवे देवे रार्थे रश्च रश्च श्रुवः ववा र रः चगाश्वः चर्गे राक्कु रः वर्धे वः र चरः क्षु रः क्षे:क्षेु:र्क्षेन्यराभेना:धेदादतरातत्तु:रेन्ययारे:क्ष्ररार्गोदार्थरसेन। स्वनायरारु:दरा क्र्याञ्चेत्रास्त्रयानेदानु क्रुं क्रें तथा श्रासक्र्यान्स्र स्तु स्तु दार्द्य स्त्र स्त्र स्त्र स्त्र स्त्र स स्रिकामाञ्चीरावाप्रेरावा व्याचार्याच्या विषया वाचरात्रात्त्री स्त्रीराज्ञा विषया विषया विषया विषया विषया विषया वनबः तर्ह्वेरबः रेबः धेदः यः ५८। द्वेन् वा की वेनबः पते न्वाद्वा स्त्रीयः स्टियः

श्चेन्त्य। रार्क्ष्याणुरास्रात्यार्भेन्न्यान्त्रीयेन्यान्त्रात्यान्त्रीयार्भे स्थिन्येन्यत्रीया मुश्रम्बातरीय पर्राणवाराष्ट्रवामावायास्य स्वात्त्रम् मुप्तमामाबुरमीवा र्वर्न्यूरवाग्री:वर्द्व:वर"वर्डवाञ्चर"हुरः र्धर् डेवायान्त्रः वे र्धरवी:रेन्। विः र्द्धवाः र्क्षेत्। देवाग्रीयार्विः स्वयान्वर्षया भेटान स्वयान्य विद्यानित व यग्रेशःभूभाग्नीःस्वापस्थायवादविवार्रम्। स्वाप्ता स्र्वारेशः स्वाप्तास्याया रेवा वादरात्या वार्तेरावर्रेक्षा र्क्षवर्षा केदा वेदी हैं से सारा गादा वार्वे व क्रेब्र-देब्र-चेर्क्क्यायदीत्रुं राम्युद्याः व्याप्ति पारे १ "सुन्यायुद्याः सुवायाः हेब्र स्रेन्धरः वर्षेवार्यासान्दरसुरावश्चुराव। यायान्द्विवायाद्याविहेरावर्षेवान्दरावतुःश्चरः म्यायान्यसास्त्री रेस्रीयम्ब्रीन्दास्यायम्। साष्ट्रियम्बर्ग सक्र्यम्भायमः बूर-वार-वर-क्रीशः मुर-केद क्रिंदायशः नष्टेशः धः क्षेर-वार्तेर-वावेवाः चतरनः प्रः। त्रु'कुब'८८:त्रु'प्दर्। अर्केट्रहेब'ग्री'स'केते'म्बुट्य'मबुवा'इयय'म्बुय..... नगातःनष्ट्रदातशुराग्रीःमाशुराहेदार्श्वावासः क्रेतेः न्येः रेवावासुराह्याग्रीः श्रुः करः वेर्रिह्युर्नुकाःवेरा मरवर्द्धवाकान्नेः भुष्टर्न्रर्न्यः स्वस्र्राः सूक्षाः सर्वेतावर्वे विदे कुं.करनेर्धुरु"हेशःवेशात्रुव अन्यारेतेः नस्यान्हें नहेंशः श्वरावेरानतेः *৾*৾ৼ৵৽য়ৢ৽৾ঀ৾৴৻য়৽৴ৼ৽য়৾৴৽য়৻ড়য়৽ড়৾য়৽৸ড়ড়৽ড়৾৸৸য়৾য়৽য়৾৽য়ঢ়ৢয়৽য়ৢ৽ द्भवार्श्वरायवास्त्रेन्स्रववा न्वेवर्षे स्थेत्रेत्रेत्राच्यात्वर्यम् मी. कर्वा पनुत्रास्त्रवा र्दमः कुर्न्, द्वीदार्थेन्यन्न। नेन्यास्य केयर ख्रीय ख्रीदासे देश की विषा रयः दुःर्शेरः न्दार वर्षे । यत्रे दार्थे न स्त्रे स्वा स्तर्भा स्वा स्त्रे स्व स्व स्व स्व स्व स्व स्व स्व स्व वेर्र्स्हेर्यायार्हेरावर्डेयार्ट्ययेर्विराम्हरावादीयम्पर्यात्वेषायाः विवारेर्। स्नवयाः देशः बीका ग्राट्सी हो न्यति न्त्रा स्वार्म स्वार्थ स्वार्थ स्वार्थ स्वार्थ स्वार्थ स्वार्थ स्वार्थ स्वार्थ स्व मुर्च न स्वार्थ मान स्वार्थ स्वार्य स्वार्थ स्

ઌૻૻઽૡ૽૽ૣૼૹ૽ૺૡ૽૽ૺૼૺૡૺૺૹ૽ૢ૿ૼૹ૽૾૱ૹ૾૽ૢૹ૽૾ૹ૾૽ૺૹ૾ૺઌૺ૽૽ઌ૽૽ૡઌ૽૽ૡ૽ઌૢૼ૱ૢ૽ૼ૱ क्रेंबा-५८: धें५१देंबा-धाः बिया-दे५वें६। ५१व्रू-४व्यव-धाः बैन्वेब-मुः स्वानुः ५ गेंबा वारवाः गाःनेदानुःकुरायदेः स्टारेख्यात्यादिन्द्वेदात्त्वात्याः केदान्त्रीः क्षेत्रात्ताः विवार्वेदार्वेदानाः दे:रर:रेर्चर्स्रे:सर्वे;दवा:र्थेरर्याःग्री:वात्रे:पहेर्:रर:स्कुत्य:रेर्'खरः। वर्वेर्'रु नगातःनतःर्वन्द्रीतःस्वाःनस्वाःश्चीःनाद्रशःननःवदेःन्वाःसर्वेदःनसःविदःवीसः श्रेश्वराच्याः सन्देन् ग्रीशाः स्वर्षितः वर्ने हेन्द्रचे स्वर्णः वस्त्रश्वराधेन। सन्देने प्रेन्शः श्चेरक्षेत्रयातालुयायायायाचेरक्षु त्रव्ययाक्षेत्रयायात्रात्वेत्वायाया हेया शुःर्भः चरुतेः में दाकवाया केदार्भते भूवया श्री ह्या ह्या हिता वहाँदा हैदार्भा केया चार्यस्थायासूर। द्वीर्स्य १८६६स्र रावेदाकु दास्तु दालु तर्ने धीरमी वार्ची वार्चि वार्च वर्षुवार्ष्ठरत्ववर्ष्ट्रेर्प्रस्थवरःवार्षेर्प्वर्वेर्प्तुः सेर्प्यावहरा स्नवसारेरः सवरः चोर्डर्र्र्र्र्वचर्र्ड्र्र्व्चर्यार्द्वयाद्वयार्द्ध्याद्वर्याद्वर्याद्वयाद्वयाद्वर्याद्वयस्वरयाद्वयस्य ब्रुंदर्दरविद केदावः नवायानम् कुर्णेद्रयाद्या देवाणुद्र केद्र्या विवासीद ন্ব্ৰ

स्राक्तर्वी हिन्द्र्य मुन्द्र विद्नि होन्द्र्य निष्ण विषण विष्ण विषण विद्न्य विद्न्य के स्वाया स्वय

त्रतः मुंदावन्ति स्वादेश्या स्वाद्या स्वाद्य स्वाद्या स्

द्रम्भः दर्श्वेद्राचा व्याप्त्रित्री देन्या न्द्रवस्य के विष्ट्रवस्य के विष्ट्रव

र्यरम्बिशःम्बुर्द्धरायः मित्रः मित्र

## रार्ह्चिन्द्रन्द्राक्षुत्रः स्थित्

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म् नक्ष्यं देशः स्वान्त्रः स्वान्त्रः स्वान्त्रः स्वान्तः स्वान्तः स्वान्तः स्वान्तः स्वान्तः स्वान्तः स्वान्त स्वान्त्रः स्वान्तः स्वान्

त ब्रु:पेदःसूर्यः ह्यु:रेडेविया:पेदःदय रुष:वःर्रेवा:वोरःदुदःद रुरार्वेद्द्वरुद्ध्दरवीदःयःयश्राडेप्पदःश्रे:वेद्य

न दःस्र्रानेरधेशर्वेशर्सेर

८ न्यतःर्से
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यायात्राचन्त्री क्षेत्रं वित्रेराचन्यायाय विवाद्या विवाद विवाद

### कुः दवा दे रस्प्रयस्वी वर्डेदावस्ये १

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য়ु,च,चण,भेश,र्व, श्वच, र्रःभेश,वश्च,भ्रिः, श्वच, श्वच

हेशःशुःशर्केः भ्रेंदाद्वायायां निष्याः विष्याः विष्यः विष्याः विष्यः व

ૡૢૻૡૢૹૹૣ૱ૹ૽ૺૡૺ.ઌૡ:૬:ૹ૱ૣઌઌ:૬:ૹ૱ૢઌૢૡૡૢઌૺઌૺૹઌૹૢ૽ૣઌ૽ઌ<sup>ૹ૽</sup>ૺઌૢઌૢઌૢઌૢઌૢઌૺૢૺૹ૿૽ૺૺૺૺ र्भिः रामक्षुनुभी विश्वाते सुराये विषा सुरामश्चिन् भिन्या भिन्न भिन्न स्विता <u>। मु</u>द्भारायहेब ब्रथ मुद्भार्या योषार्ते स्टल्यस्त्र क्षेत्राषासुयः विवा मुत्त्व स्टिस् क्रैंदरेदीची चार त्यात्र स्वापुर र्जूबर देश स्टार्स स्वर देश मुच्ची माला स्वीका स्वीका स्वीका स्वीका स्वीका स किंते हुन्त्ये इत्वातः वसुरार्धेन। देवे बिश्चेन सुन्त्वर्धेन पानस्य दिन्ता रेन्त्याङ्गान्दर्वनान्दर्वन्यः यन्वाः श्रेयश्यव्यवाश्चर्ययः येतः यम्मः विद्यावयः विवाः रस्यान्दरस्यो स्राम्यानीयायार्श्ची स्रुद्धियार्भिरस्य । नेर्देरम् विद्या <u>ररः मुःदवाः वीकावद्यदः क्रिंदावः भेकाः भैदा मुिवाका छि: छे दा मुक्तरः द्वादा वदे वेदिकाः</u> क्ष्रम्बिदामन्यायी सक्तेसम्मरम्पन्यस्य सक्तेयादायम् । देवी से बिया मन्दर्भेषा यदेग्वदर्देवस्य रेत्।

 यः न्दरक्ष्यका के न्दर्यों को अध्या शुः श्री दासु राय हुत हों विषा यह या के श्री या या या न्दर्य के श्री या या

कुंश्चिश्वास्त्राच्ये प्रत्याचे । ब्रिक्षित्रायन्त्राचे । स्वाचित्रायन्त्राचे । स्वाचित्राचे । 

यी प्र्यस्य प्रेम्टर्ल्य द्वारा सालुया स्वारा प्रकार प्रमास्य प्रमास प्रमास्य प्रमा

सहनाः सब्दाल् कुः विनाः यातिसः स्टानीः क्षेत्रः स्त्रः क्षेत्रः स्त्रः विनाः स्त्रः स्त्रः स्त्रः स्त्रः स्त्र तर्वे । त्र दे । ह्रनाः ह्रनाः त्र न्य स्त्रः स्त्

याववरणराश्चित्राव्यक्तव्यक्ताव्यक्तव्यक्ताव्यक्ताव्यक्तव्यक्तिविष्यक्तिविष्यक्तिविष्यक्तिविष्यक्तिविष्यक्तिविष्यक्तिविष्यक्तिविष्यक्तिविष्यक्तिविष्यक्तिविष्यक्तिविष्यक्त

द्भवास्य मुडिल्ववा नवाय क्रुप्त हो नवाय क्षेत्र स्थाय है स्वास्य मुडिल्ववा स्वास्य क्षेत्र स्थाय स्

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### सःस्याः । सः विवा वी शः श्चेन्या बुरः यः सुयः यदेः श्लु र बु

न्द्रास्त्रस्ते त्रिक्ष्यः विवाद्यः विवादः व

यवुष्राक्चितुःवचष्रःभेषाःक्षेत्रव्धरः। देवेर्रास्यस्यक्चित्र्णेःक्षेत्रपुष्राधः नेरेन्। रयः स्टःक्रेन्यार्थेदायते केन्तुः स्टावी सुदान्ना सर्या लेवा प्रयन्थेनया ૱ૹ૾ૺૹૼૹઽૢઽઽૡૹૢઌઽઌૡ૽ૺ૱ૹૄૢ૽ૼઽૣૹૣૺૐૹ૱ૹૢઌૹૄ૽ઽ<sub>ૺ</sub>ૢઽૡૢઽૡૹ૽૽૽ૼૹ૽૽ૺ૱ वैवारेना धेवावाधमा वर्नेयामन्निन्दारतेर्क्तेर्चार्क्तेर्यावनेर्केष्परवर्नेम्बुग्वा देव के नर्भ सु सह देन में मिल है निक्ष में मिल है से हिन हो निक्ष में मिल है से हिन है से सि है से सि है से सि किंर्ट्सॅंस्रस्थार्क्केयार्के होर्नुन्तुः नकुनायाधीद्या केंद्रगणुरा। किंर्ट्सॅंस्या बर्बा कुरार्ड्सा जयाच्चित्रसार्श्चेदा। सरात्रात्वेयाः ह्रेयायाः ङ्ग्रीयाः ग्रीयाः वर्षेत्रत्वेयाः ग्रीदा। दायाः सर्ट्रुबरबर्ग्नर्ट्स:वीनावी:ब्रेंड्स:ब्रूबराबीनाचेनी नेप्परारायरामार्थेबराबी:यूर्यक्षेत्रायाः धोबा स्नन्यत्रनेयमन्दरसेवस्यानेवस्यन्ति धेरत्यन्यमुयवरस्यस्यन्तिन कवार्याञ्चेन्द्रवः विवारेन। स्यस्यभूवर्यानेसः व्यापः क्षेत्रः कृष्टरन्वायः वर्षाः स्या किंर्क्षःस्रद्भवेषाञ्चाःस्रम्भः स्वराधुदा। दत्तुद्भर्याः मालुदासद्भवेषाः सदामीःस्युदाः ह्य.शु:च्रियःक्वेर। रक्षःम्बर्भःर्रेदःस्वाःस्ररःचय। स्रेरःयःवाययःस्विवाःद्वः શ્રીક સે તર્નુ વાર્સેના વને નવા વો : કેન્ડુ ન સંક્રિક ફ્રિક સ્ટેંક સ્ટ્રીક પ્લેંના વર્શેન নন্দ্ৰমান্ত্ৰীন্দ্ৰীৰ জিন্

अञ्चे लिया प्येष प्रश्व के प्रविद्या के प्रविद्य के प्रश्व के प्र

द्रम्यायद्रस्तिः विक्रम्याः भेषाः भाष्यः भिष्याः स्त्राः स्त्

प्रथा निश्चान्त्रक्षेत्र्यन्त्र्वे वित्तर्भा क्षेत्र्यन्त्र्यक्षेत्र्यन्त्र्यक्षेत्र्यन्त्र्यक्षेत्र्यन्त्र्यक्षेत्र्यन्त्र्यक्षेत्र्यन्त्र्यक्षेत्र्यन्त्र्यक्षेत्र्यन्त्र्यक्षेत्र्यक्ष्यः वित्तर्यक्षः वित्तयः वित्तयः वित्तयः वित्तयः वित्तयः वित्तयः वित्तयः वित्तयः वित्तयः वित

यरविवानम्द्रा रहिरोष्ट्रेवरार्स्स्याः वृत्येवार्याः विवारेर्यायर प्रेविशक्षे

श्चीत्त्रणा स्वर्ण्यात्रस्थात्रे श्चीत्र क्षेत्र पुर्वण मुन्यस्य स्वर्णा स्वर्ण्य स्वर्ण स्वर्ण्य स्वर्ण स्वर्ण्य स्वर्ण स्वर्ण्य स्वर्ण्य स्वर्ण्य स्वर्ण्य स्वर्ण्य स्वर्ण्य स्वर्ण स्वर्ण्य स्वर्ण्य स्वर्ण्य स्वर्य स्वर्ण स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्ण्य स्वर्य स्वर्ण स्वर्ण स्वर्य स्वर्ण स्वर्ण स्वर्ण स्वर्ण

ठवाःचीःवःचार्लेबः नेशः र्ध्यवं उठवः देः न्वाःशः चहेबः वशः दर्धः यात्वुदः श्रसः प्रदेशः विश्वः यात्रः विश्वः य श्वां वाः ग्राह्मः वाः वाः विश्वः वाः विश्वः दर्धः विश्वः द्वाः वाः विश्वः यात्रः यात्य

द्रमुस्मिद्रार्द्देवस्य स्वत्य स्वत्

द्रांश्र-स्थान्त्र्वे स्क्री स्क्री से त्राविका स्वाप्त स्वाप

केश अद्यतः अह्वा ची ता केअश दी \_\_\_\_\_ र र र अे लिया धेदी

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स्ति क्षेट्र तह नाका क्षेट्र क्षेट्र

য়ঀঀয়ৢঀৢ৾৽ড়ৼড়য়য়৽ড়ৢয়৽য়ঀৢৼয়য়৸য়য়য়৾য়য়য়ড়৾য় য়ঀয়ঀৣ৽ড়ৼড়য়য়৽ড়ৢয়৽য়ঀৢৼয়য়৸য়য়য়৽ঢ়ৢ৾য় য়ঀয়য়ড়ৼড়ৼড়য়য়ড়৻ড়য়

च्यालयः श्रुं क्ष्यियः त्या निर्मास्त्री व्याप्तः विश्वास्त्री स्वाप्तः विश्वास्त्र स्वाप्तः स्वापतः स्वापत

श्चीर-द्र-त्यद्र-विश्वां वाका स्थानिका वाक्ष्यः स्थान्यः स्यान्यः स्थान्यः स्थानः स्थान्यः स्थानः स्थान्यः स्य

यार्सेश्वायते र्वेद् देवाशायेत्। हिंद् ग्रीशायात्राया द्वाया द्वाया क्वुत्यःनुःर्देश्रःक्वेनाःयतेः स्टानीः भ्रेःसेनाश्यः धीनाः भ्रेःसेनाश्यः वन्नेनेन्द्रभः प्यस्तिः यनेः *न्राचरन्त्राची* से चेवा वा की वा प्येद के वा प्याप्त प्रस्कृत की को स्वाप्त की की स्वाप्त की स्वाप र्नेदर्ान्वदर्शीः वेनः वरः वर्षेत्र देवारे वर्षेत्र देवर्ने दर्ग निरम्पतिः देवर्षेत्र विकास नारनी तर्दे त्यना नमुस्य तेर है। नर्ने र सुनाय पेर्ट्स है या से द दुन्य हर सम् न्धरःर्वःन्धरःर्वःन्वाःवीश्वःस्यन्वयःन्यन्तेत्रःत्रवेनःश्लन्धरःश्रेरःश्लेवाःवीदः क्रें.ब्रियाची से प्रें श्वीर दानर्झें दार्सरा हें या नरा क्रेया तर्जे वार विवास सर्हेंदा इस्क्रें श्रेंबा वी रेब घर बाब था रु से राग्नरा वि कें सार राय है स्वा सुर ही रावारा श्चरवर्षाचलुर्वेदर्यायर्वेषाञ्चरम्बर्दर्यान्यामीद्वर्यस्यराष्ट्रवर्षाक्राः देवः *न्*रा स्रम्बद्गन्यरथायरवर्द्धेन्यभ्रेन्त्रेन्यदेनन्द्रस्युग्वश्रम्भन्ङ्ग्रम्ब र्थेषाञ्चेरावार्वेन्यान्वान्वीःक्षेरावस्यातिवायायराष्ट्रयार्थेर। तर्देदीःवेन्त्री इ.फेर-र्बेचा-भैय-रेट-रंचा-जब-शैर-४-र्-फेर-एइचोब-भैय-रेट-खेर-झेट-सुर-र्वेर्देग्रवास्त्रेत्। हिंर्ग्रीकार्वेकार्वेद्य्याः क्षेर्द्याः वीत्रवासारीया वा

*५८*१ च५वाःवीकाःकेर्क्रेद्धःग्रीःवादकाःर्द्धःगःस्वाकाःस्वाःश्वेदाःक्षेदाःश्चेदाःल्या

स्रहासान्त्रम् स्राप्त्रम् स्राप्त्रम्यस्

त्राक्षेश्रश्याची त्रित्रे नृत्याचा श्रूश हेश ति ति त्रे श्रूश स्व त्र च सुवा त्र स्व त्र च सुवा त्र स्व त्र च सुवा त्र स्व त्र स्व त्र च सुवा त्र स्व त्र स्व त्र च सुवा त्र स्व त्र स्व त्र च स्व त्र च स्व त्र स्व स्व त्र स्व त्य त्र स्व त्र स्व

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न्तरः मृर्यः सुर्यः मृत्यं मृत्यः म्यायायः सुर्यः याद्यं मृत्यः मृत्यः

क्षाण्यास्त्रम् म्यान्त्रा वित्रक्षात्र्या क्षात्र्यात्रम् वित्रक्षात्र्यात्रम् वित्रक्षात्रम् वित्रक्षात्रम् व त्याका मह्त्यात्रम् वित्रक्षात्रम् वित्रक्षात्रम्यम् वित्रक्षात्रम् वित्रक्षात्रम् वित्रक्षात्रम् वित्रक्षात्रम् वित्रक्षात्रम् वित्रक्षात्रम् वित्रक्षात्रम् वित्रक्षात्रम् वित्र

र्करनु व्येतायते सूना तत्तुना रे ना है अ व्येत् प्यराने के विष्येत् से त्र दसः धरः रे निष्या नी सीर ही नका सारति व दसा तर्ना दिनी सारा तरी रर नेबार्ल्यक्रवा क्री: क्रेंग्नेबाहु खुटाळाटा। वाया हे प्रदार कवा याया राक्ति क्रा क्रा प्रवास चुते श्चेरमार्केन्यते सूना श्वेन्यायारके यह सेन्यते मेना र्येन्ड स्वेना र्येन्स्तु व। याताहे पर्दूरायप्तर्भरपेते द्वायम्यायामा में जिल्ला स्थानी स्थान इ.ज.के.ये.बुबा.लूरे.बैं.यी बाज.धे। ..... बाज.धे.ट.कूर.शट.कूबाय.कु.वट्रर्बेच. क्षुं गुषायत्रे नते कुं यत्रवार्त्ते सेग्डिंग र्थे न्कूं मा न्यमर्थे सेग्सेग स्वास्ति न्यतः वें न्यतः वें त्र ने न्या गुर रे रे चले व लिय मुर र र चलु न न वें वा वा वि र्कें रे रे र विवर्भेर भुष दश्वा र केंश च रे द खु च थ छी। स्न र करे विवा च हे र भेर यमभाव। क्रिन्यायस्वरायन्यस्य प्रमानस्य स्वरायम्यस्य स्वरायम्यस्य स्वरायम्यस्य स्वरायम्यस्य स्वरायम् लाम्प्रिलास्यम् सुःस्ट्रम्म। मृत्निः दशः स्ट्रम्स्य न्युरः पासे न्यतः न्यतः न्या नविदासुकार्केन्न छो। धोदाद्या

र्चेन्यर्भे त्यन्या ह्या ह्या द्या देव दे दे द्या यी सूर् सुरा द्वारा सी दर्भी त्या

अर-इ-क्वुना-डेअ-पते-पुर-क्रेन-क्रेन-क्रेन-क्रिन-क्रुन-क्रिय-क्रिय-क्रिय-क्रिय-क् बेरबायरेते:इ.क्वानी:केबाबर्वानते:वार्वातावी:क्वेरःके.सु:धेदायरःसूर्। *स* क्र्यन्तर्भवे द्राप्तर्भवे द्राप्ति स्थानिया स्थानिया स्थानिया स्थानिया है। *য়*ऀॱৼঀয়৽ঀ৾৾ঀ৾৽য়৾য়ৢয়৸ৼ৾৽য়ৢ৻ৢৠয়য়৽য়৽য়৾য়৾ৼ৾৽ড়৽য়ড়৾ৼৠৼ৸য়৸ঢ়৽য় कुते नमत्य तर्हे सने दें अप्ते हो ने हो अपता की सम्बद्ध की सम्बद्ध सम्बद्ध सम्बद्ध सम्बद्ध सम्बद्ध सम्बद्ध सम्बद्ध स क्रे। ५अर:पॅते:श्रे५:वालुर:वो:खव:चङ्मवाय:५र:वेद:हु:यर्द्धरय:वर्नुवा ५अर: ર્ધેતે શ્રેન વાલુ ન વોશ્વાન સ્ટ્રેતે ન વરાનું ગુન ર્વેત્રેન વર્ષા તે કેર શ્રેશ તાર્કા સામાનો ન खरः देशः अर्द्धदः सं न्य बुरः सं न्य कुषः निर्देशः खरः देशः निर्देशः सः स्वेदः स्थाः स्व चरकर ह्रीच चोद र्लर्ग्यार। सर क्रूचका ग्री तर्कु च चा तर्र लीद स्रोद सुर्के स्कुल सरयः योषायः क्रि. संबर्ध्यः देव्यः देव्यः स्वर्धः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वरः ढ़्रा २.के.चुरासरारात्रीरायसुरायोरारीयकेशाक्षराक्षराध्यास्थ्राध्या એક્:અાવ**ક**:કુર:કુર:વકુવા:એક્| તેં:ર્કેંત્રે:વાઅર:સુ:રે:વાકુેઅ:વેવા:વોઅ:ક્:કુર:ફે: न्वात्यत्वेदत्यदाक्षातुः रेवादेवार्त्वेवार्त्वेदायः अर्वेदत्दर्शेवार्यः हिन्द्वेत्य्वातुः र्यादुर्। मात्री राष्ट्रे शक्के स्मित्रमा मार्गे स्थाप्तर्मे स्थाप्तर्मे वार्मि स पहुचाराज्ञुराज्ञुराचारादरायर्त्यावर्तावर्ताः व्यःक्ष्यार्त्यस्य व्याप्तराज्ञेन्यः श्वरा ম'নহী'বৃহিষ'বাৰ্ষ'মৰ্ক্তম'ৰ্কিম'ৰ্

सरसरवीयार्के र्सेवान्सर्मे से त्यार्से इत्यार्मेन्सिक वर्षेत्य के देश

मल्बर्श्वेशः इंशःश्वरः महेर्द्रश्चः येदः प्रत्येशः के द्रायः महेष्यः प्रत्येशः के त्रायः विद्याः प्रत्येशः के त्रायः विद्याः विद्य

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अर्त्वरभाष्यस्य स्टिश्चेत्राचर्षेया के त्यारा स्टिश्च स्टिश्चेत्र स्टिश्च स्टिश्चेत्र स्टिश्चेत्य स्टिश्चेत्र स्टिश्चेत्य स्टिश्चेत्र स्टिश्चेत्र स्टिश्चेत्र स्टिश्चेत्र स्टिश्चेत्र स्ट

२४/ चरुतः चल्याः र्ष्यम् । भ्यातः चः भरः द्वीं चर्याः स्वरः स्वरः

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स्राप्तिन्त्राची स्टान्त्र प्राप्त स्त्रीय व्याप्त स्त्रीय व्याप्त स्त्री स्त्र स्त्री स्त्र स्त्री स्त्र स

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स्वित्वुरुप्तायम्भ। प्रमा न्यार्वेन्द्रीरावीः त्रीवार्याः हिन्द्रीयः स्रेस्य स्वाप्तायः विद्यार्थेन्द्रात्रायन्त्रीयः स्वाप्तायः स्वित्रात्रीयः स्वाप्तायः स्वापत्तायः स्वापत्

चन्त्राचीश्वर्यश्चर्यन्त्री हुनः चन्द्रस्त्राच्यः विद्याः या द्राव्याः विद्याः विद्यः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः

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*'*हिंद्रप्रदर्श्चेत्रासासाप्रवासायेवा प्येदायदे ह्वासासार्क्षत्र स्ट्रेन्सेदायप्र र्थेवा स्ट्रेन नेशकें हिन्दरक्षेत्रायायायवयानेनायेदायान्ययायम् ह्वयायायेद। यदा यञ्चितायम्पर्ति। सारम्यान्ते प्यारम्यास्यक्षेत्रान्तुः श्चुरमाने प्याने वा देश्र्रेतः नन्ना नेश र्रिनो र्केश है नाइनश न्यते रे हेर दश र्चेनश सरश र्नेद (हेर श्चेत्र), यन्त्रपातीः र्रेश्चर विनासर्वेट र्श्वटा। विश्वरर्श्चेत्र खिन् ग्री: रस्ट्निट र्स्नेट द्वार भूनः क्षः वार्थे बः र्यः देः तवायः चमनः यन् वार्वे विष्युक्षेत्रः विष्युक्षेत्रः विष्यः विषयः विषयः विषयः विषय यर-पु:र्वे:यर्:यः लेवा:यर्हेर्य:पूर्वेय:हे। देःस्ट्ररः द्वयः दःवले:दयः दुर्केय:देदः त्यचारा ग्रीका ख्रेका चते :बेब खें लेवा अर्घेट खेंट ख़े। देख हिन क्रेंका ख़ब स्वार्के हुस *ब्रे*टर्बयःर्क्सेन:अ:बिनाःनी:क्षुब:दना:अ:नादेट:वर्डेना:नुअ:द:देअ:द:अ:दोरुळेअ:क्तु: केद र्य लिया दर र्से या यहें द्रियों ने या या लिया ही दर्श्वर । हिंद् र्स्टिया सें या या देशे रेस क्षयःग्रीअत्यहःभ्रातःनवहःग्रीःर्क्षेत्रःस्त्यःतःतद्वद्यःत्वेद्वःग्रीयःतद्वादेवःग्रीदः त्रहेवा चुरु त्रत्व न्रेंश नेंद यदा दुः ठवा वी ह्यें न सा इसरा है ने तर हिवा यीदा र्देशहि। तहःस्रायान वराष्ट्रात्या सरातुः त्वुरात्वे रामा निवान निष्टे रामा वहःभ्रावानवस्त्राचन्त्रम्यम्यान्त्रम्यतःभ्रान्यस्ति। विद्वान्तिम् विदेशेतः ठमातुनः चुर्स्स् लेशायते र्श्वेन केतरो धीतायते नदाहमाशामा श्रीता धीता वदी वर्षाम्बर्धानम् निर्मान्त्रीत्रम् वर्षान्यात्रा तहः स्रायान वर्षः कर्मिन विवासी स्रोता यःधीद्

र्देद-रवाक्टिलेवाद्युर-प्यर-र्खिन्-रर-र्खे-धीन्-कन्-भी-प्रिन-हो। धीन्-कन्-ग्रीका

स्निन्द्रस्य स्वान्त्रस्य स्वा

बेशक्षां व्याया स्टूटिया विश्व स्तुर्या स्तुर्या स्तुर्या स्तुर्या ।

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ત્યુન્ય કુરની 2004 . 72 . 24 કે વ.સ.સી.મ.વશા

### व्यः केंद्रभें (शुः केंवा)

चःर्केन्धं रूप्त्वाःचेर्यः स्थ्रात्यः स्थ्राःचेत्रः क्षेत्रः व्यापन्यवाद्यः चेर्यः स्थाप्यः स्थ्राःचेत्रः स्थ्राःचे स्थ्राःचे स्थ्राःचे सन् नेश्वर्य स्तर्य स्तर्थ स्तर्य स्तर्थ स्तर्य स्

#### तवायाचार्द्रात्र्याया

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स्यर्वीश होन् में ईंश स्वेन ने अर्थेर अर्थेन स्था होन् न के शक्ती में अर्थे स्था होन् न के अर्थे में अर्थे स्था स्था होन् स्था होन स्था होन् स्था होन् स्था होन् स्था होन् स्था होन् स्था होन् स्था

स्वानानुकास्यान्त्वनाः निस्तुस्ति निर्मित्यस्य महास्वान्ति । स्वानान्ति स्वान्ति स्वान्ति स्वान्ति स्वान्ति स्व स्वान्ति । स्वान्ति स्वानि स्

म्निम् म्निम् प्रस्मित्रायकेष्ट्रायकेष्ट्रायकेष्ट्रायकेष्ट्रायकेष्ट्रायकेष्ट्राय भूरित्वयात्रवृत्याकुः ध्वेदाय। दाव्राचरातुः त्वेत्रात्रवाद्याः स्टाचराधरात्रवेदसाः न्दर्भालु खो खोद्दा ह्ये रादारदासूर दासी रेवा राजा विद्यार राज्जे रादे गुर वे विदेशी देवाबाचराची तवायाचदे तबुदानुबावाई चेंदरसर्वेदावी से द्वा छेट्यी बाजा बाजा करा संबर्ध्यवेषा रेकेर्याः मध्येषाची र्यरस्थायः स्रीयः वर्षेर्यस्या वर्षा वर्षा स्थाः नेवा प्येद पु : ह्वाब ग्रामा दे हे दे ग्राम के कि अप के वाक का का कि कि की कि य.प्र्रम्थ.परःश्रुरःजश्राधीयोशःश्रीश्रम्थःश्रीःपरःश्रुरःयोःपर्योःपर्द्याशाश्रमःश्रीरःयः ष्पनार्चे रेन्सूअ क्षे क्षेत्। युनर्के दन्तुव क्षे क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्ष ૹ૾૽ૠ૾૽ૼૹૹૹ૽૽ૡ૽ૼઽૹૠ૽ૼૹ૾ૢૢૼૺૼૼઽઌૹઌૢઌૹ૽૽૱૽ૺૹઽૹૹૄ૽ૠ૽ૼૹૢ૽ૢ૽ૼૼૼૼૼૼૼ૱૽૽ૺૡૡ૽ૼઌૹૹ <u> बुचा.में.बीर्रास्त्रेयाये अ.मे। र्राक्षेत्रविकात्रकाश्चार्यवायायाः </u> ড়৾৽বৼয়৾ঀয়৾৽য়৾৻৽ঽয়ৣ৾৽য়ৼ৸ঀৼৣয়য়৻৾৾৳ঀৼ৾ঀ৽য়৾৽য়৾ৼয়৽য়ৢয়ঀ

केर्स्ट्रेब। क्षेर्रियाकाणीयावर्द्रेवायकार्येन्द्रस्युःस्युर्स्यीयवर्द्र्येवाक्रिक्रिक्ष

क्रेर्ज्ञिकाक्रमाकार्येन्याचेन्। नेदिक्षीचेवाकार्याचेन्याचन्याच्या नश्चेन्यते स्वातन्त्रवासी वायो विकासा स्वीत्यम् नेवी विकासी स्वाया ॻॖऀॴॼॺॣॖॸॴय़ऄॱॴढ़ॸॱॸॣ॔ढ़ॱॿॖऀॴॱॸॗऻ*ऀ*ऒ॔ॱॿॕॗॴॱॻॖऀॱॸ॒ढ़ॱॴॱॸ॓ॱऄॗॸॱॻॾ॓ॸॱढ़ॾॖॴॱय़ॱ दे!प्रश्नार्सः विवासाधिदः द्या हिन्तीयः अः देवायः वेयापदे विवास सेटः र्वसः <u> अर्रायराष्ट्रियाययायदाराष्ट्ररार्थ्यायद्विरायायराबदी क्र</u>ियाःक्षे अर्थाययाञ्चेता ૹેઽઽઌૣૼૼૺ૽ૹૢૹ૽૽૽ૢ૿૾ૹૄૣઌૢૻ૽ઌૹૄઌ૾ૹ૾૽૽ઌ૽૽૱ઽઌૹ૾૽ૹ૾ૹઌઌઌ૽૽૽૽ૹ૾૽ઌ૽ૹૢઽૹ૽૽ઌ૽૽ૢૢૺઽૢ नदःर्यायास्त्रेन्। क्षेन्ग्रीयासिक्षाम्यायास्या न्यूरम् न्यूरम् ઌ૿૽ૢ૽૱ૡઌૻ૽*૽*ઌૹ૽૽૱ઌ૽ૢ૽૱ઌઌ૾ૢ૽ૹ૽ૺ૱ઌઌ૱૱૽૽ૢ૾ૺૺઌઌ૱ઌ૽૽૱ઌઌ૱ઌ૽૽૱ઌઌ૱ઌઌ૽૽ र्क्षे:ब्रेन्प्वेबर्यन्त्र्रा चन्याकुर्ये देवायाची देवायावयान्त्रम् प्रिया केंग्रा ઌૺૺચૺૹ.ૹ઼્ચૺૹ.ઌ.૨ૺૢૼૹ.ઌ૾ૺૺ૱ૺૹ.૱૽૽ૼૺૺૼૺૺૺ૾૱ૹ૽ૺૹૢ૽૽ૹૢ૾ૣ૾ૡૹ.ૹ૾૽ૼૺૺૺઌઌૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૡ૽૱ૢ૽ૺૺૺૺૺ૾૾ૺઌ૽ૢ૿ૡૺ यानेरेन्। द्रसालिया सीरेयायायार्थेन्यास्यानेन्यायार्थेन्याया ह्रे। व्याधारम्बारम्बेरान्यस्य स्थानाः स्वासार्थन्यस्य स्थानि । <u> রবার্বরার্থানার্শ্বরমধার্শ্বরমর্ক্তী</u> প্রধার্মনেরাজীর্বার্যরাপ্রান্থানার্শ্বর चर्या तीजा. म्रीश्रका. चीच्या. जीच्या का. क्र्या का. क्रया का. क्रया का. क्रया का. क्रया का. क्रया का. क्रया का षा.षाक्रीयोजा.बी.योषदा.पक्षी.स.रे.यार्डे का.पक्षी.स.स्.रा.स.स.स.रा.ची.की.तार्वा.वी. रत्तवाबातवार्षवास्त्रवा सैवबार्नम् चर्यास्त्रम्भार्यवासाम्भीत्रवासायर्थाः तपुःशुःरभरयात्त्रायाः गुःशुभयाः शुःश्चाः भेयाः तपुः भवतः शुः विवाः यद्वीदाक्तीः त्वीद ঘরহার্ক্সিঝামান্দর্বাঝার্মার্মার্মার্মার্মার

यते:र्सुत्यःदी राक्षःने:नवाःवी:वातुरःवी:तवादःतद्देदःश्चे:बूदे:वाःवारशःर्दशःयशः ग्रदःनार्यायाः विद्यवेदः सः धीराद्या । सः देनायायाः विद्याः पदः क्रींदः वियायः विद्यायाः चरुषासुः विस्र र्ह्युवाषा ग्रीः सेवाषा भीवा सेन्। नेषा सी सेवाषा वास नेस ग्राम स्वास त्यः से देश्वान्यते दस्री वाषा प्रवास्य प्रवास स्वीता स्वीता स्वीता स्वीता स्वीता स्वीता स्वीता स्वीता स्वीता स चर्याकुरास्री देवाया ग्री स्मर्याचा प्रदानाया के वार्यायाया स्वारा स्वारा स्वारा स्वारा स्वारा स्वारा स्वारा स ર્સ્યુવ:ર્વેવ:વવસ:વ્રેન્'ग्રે:ર્બેન્ નસ્યુ:ત્રાન્સ:કુન્સે:રેવાય:ग્રે:બેસ:સ્ત્રસે:સૂ:સન્ધ: क्र्यास्यम्बार्यम्बारायः कवाराहेवाः संदर्भन्ते स्याने देने । वायाने । युरान् बर्माया *৻*য়৽ড়৾ৼ৻৸য়৽ড়৾ৼৠ৾৾৽ৠ৾৻য়য়৽য়ৼয়৽ৡৼ৻য়৾৽ঽয়য়৽য়৸৽য়৽য়ৼয়ৼৼৠ৾ৼ৽য়৾ৼৼয়য়৽ৠ৾ৼ हुअःभैवाःभवाःवसूरःद्युवःयःचुरःद्वे। वादरःर्देदःयर्देश्ववाःचेरःयरःयदः र्वेज्ञराक्षेत्र में प्रेन्त्री मेन्स्स्रमा नेत्यस र्वेज्ञा स्री युन्त्रेति से मेनास त्याया प्रते बुराग्ची:ब्रु'तर्देव'र्धेर्'र्कर्नेअ:रेग्वायायार्वेरयार्र्स्स्रेरायात्रहेयार्क्ते। सरायी:बुरा लचार्यामुर्याचार्युद्धाः चार्याकुर्द्धाः देवार्यामु ॥ केराया चार्याः मुर्याया मु શુદાદ્યવ:દેવદાર્બેદઅ:શુ:વર્સુવ[અ:પ"અ:બેફ:ફઅ[

खेन्द्रेन्द्रः स्टान्यन्द्रेन्द्रः विवाधिता स्टान्यः स्ट

बिना नी शार्त रें के के श्वा वा का ग्री प्रशेष्ट अर के प्रशेष के का कि प्रशेष के का कि प्रशेष के का कि प्रशेष के का कि प्रशेष के कि कि प्रशेष के कि प्रोप के कि प्रशेष के कि प्रशेष के कि प्रशेष के कि प्रशेष के कि प्रोप के कि प्रशेष के कि प्रशेष के कि प्रशेष के कि प्रशेष के कि प्रोप के कि प्रशेष के कि प्रशेष के कि प्रशेष के कि प्रशेष के कि प्रोप के कि कि प्रशेष के कि प्रशेष के कि प्रशेष के कि प्रशेष के कि

नेप्तम्भवाषायाधीक्ष नेषायासः सङ्ग्रीत्स्ययाधीत्वातः । नश्चरक्षराधित। हेर्ग्चेशनाशुरशपाष्ट्ररात्र। र्वेनाञ्चेशपररात्वरादेशरात्तरा रश्ररम्याम्बर्ध्यः मुनास्त्रम्या द्वार्या ह्वार्या ह्वार्या ह्वार्या ह्वार्या स्वर्या स्वर्या स्वर्या स्वर्या *रर:* न्वर: ने: ख: देवे: न्यर: वार्केंद्र: न्वो: यर्कंद्र: न्वे: येन्डेवा: तु: व्यार: यर्जुवा देशक्षकें देंदिदेनम्यायादार्केदेशक्षक्षर्यम्याङ्ग्रीयाद्रद्राप्तराये क्षास्त्रेदायो र्कें राप्तरान्तरान्द्रप्तरायार्थे सामक्री सामक्री सामक्री स्त्राप्त स्त्राप्त स्त्राप्त स्त्राप्त स्त्राप्त स अर्विद्यःद्रः क्रींद्रः वेयापतेः दृशेन्यायात्रायाः श्रेत्रः हुवाः वेनाः वेद्रायाः प्रदेश्वाः यनेबन्हे। राक्केंद्रेन्सरकाद्वीरकात्त्रीनेकादकायमन्द्रा ह्युन्सरकात्त्रीन्येयाका बर्ने वेदानु न्यत। धेदादतर। तर्ने केन्न्यर या वेदे ते नामा कु राममार स रमा हुर्जीयाचिर्यासाक्षेत्राया प्रत्याचित्रायते प्रत्याचित्राया त्युनायाणीयान्याचेन् स्रोतियोगायान्याचेन्द्रास्याचेन्द्रम् सुनायास्याचेन्द्रस्य। नेया बर्स्कुरुअक्त्रस्य बर्स्स्की स्निर्धिय खेर्स्स्नुय छेर्स्य स्वेताता वर्ष्ट्या वारा वर्ष्ट्या શ્રીઅ શ્રિઅઅ ત્રનાય મુખ્યસૂત્ર નુષ્ઠા છે એ જીવન મોર્જિન પ્રાપ્તેના મેર્પ્યાન નુષ્ઠા

<u> હૈર્ન્યું અ નશુદઅના ને સદઅન્ક ર્ને હોલ્લેન</u> દઅગાર ક્રેને અને સંસેવદ *য়*ঀয়ॱড়ৢঀ৾৻য়৾৾৾য়ঀ৾ঀৼয়ড়য়৾৾য়ৢয়য়য়ৣ৾ৼড়ৼ৾৻য়য়৻য়ৼয়ৼ৾য়ৣ৾ৼয়য়৻ मान्दर्द्वाः अर्थेर्स्योः वर्देन्। वर्देद्वेः स्प्रस्त्रद्वः चतेः चेद्र्यः चीर्द्वाः चान्द्रवाः ૿૽ૡૺ<sub>ૡૺૺ</sub>ૡૢૺ૾ૡૢૻ૱ઌ૽૽ૼ૱૱ઌ૽૽ૢ૽ૺ૽૽૱૱૱ૡૢૼઌૺઌઌઌઌ૽૱૱૱ઌ૽ૼૢૺ लुषःषेतरः। रे.केंपुःजनाःजीयान्तर्भयानस्थानाःचन्नाः रमञ्जूमिन्नी त्यसासुन्नाका सोम्परमान्नी मुर्ने कार्या सेम्परमा स्वीति स्वीति स्वीति स्वीति स्वीति स्वीति स्वीति निक्नारानिका मुस्यमें दर्भेषारा सेद्द्रमा दर्शान्यसम्बद्धाः दर्शने दिन्द्वाः येवाबायाविवारेत्। देतेः क्रीरायासराया बुरायवाबाग्रीबावर्तेदाया देरारासरा धिन्तवन्धिन्। वेन्देवाबान्न्युः बुरादेवाबाग्रीः तनुः वेबात्वेदः सूरवान्दरेदः *घरा*श्चर्त्यःर्क्षरसम्बद्धाः देवाबाद्यराधे व्यासे त्यत्त्र । से देवाबा खरादि देवी देवी तासा त्युवाकासेन्यरम्बहरदकार्स्यसम्बद्धमान्यकेवायाम्बर्केकायतेन्वरम् महस्त्वा वाहेवाः *ॸॖॱढ़ॱॺॊ॔ॸॱढ़ॺॱॸॺॸॖॸ*ॱॸॿऀढ़ॱॼ॒ॸॺॱढ़ॖॸॱऄॱॸऀॺऻॺॱॸॺऻॱॺऻॿढ़ॱय़ॿॗॗॸॱॸॸढ़ड़॓ॺॱ त्रशुराग्रीका होना से दाग्री त्यसा दुर्धिन का से दाया न होना हु। की की देश हो है ૡ૽૽ૺૢ૾ૺૹ૽ૺૹ૽ૼૹ૽ૺૡ૽ૺ૾૽ૼૡ૽૽ૼૹૹૢઽૹઽૢઽૡૢ૽૾ૢ૽ૹઌ૽ૺ૾૽ૼ૱ૹૢઽૹ૽૽૾ૢ૽ૹૹ૽ૣૼ૱ૡૢૼૼ૱ૢૹ য়য়<sup>৽</sup>য়ড়ৼ৻ড়৾ৼ৸৻৻য়য়৽য়ৼৼয়ৢয়৸

र्वेन्द्रेग्रथः अरन्त्रां हेग् ग्वेश र्थेन्द्रं वहुः स्वावित्रेद्दन्तः स्वर्धः न्द्रः स्वर्धः स्वरं स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वरं स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वरं स्वरं

गुर्स्ने बरातुला ग्री त्वालाच र्क्तका के र्वेषा विचा बे तरी रेवाका रेत्। तरी તર્દઅ જ્ઞૈરઃર્બેરઅ જ અરાવરા છે રાયતે વાત્ર અ ર્ત્દુઅ તરે તે ' રું અ પ્યુત શુરા શુરા તરા यहिरमहेर्रुत्वें मलेवायाया अद्या यायाही अर्थेयायाया विस्थार से ઌ૱ૡૢ૽ઌ૾ૹ૽૽ઽૢૡ૱ૡ૽ૼૹ૽૽૽ૢ૽૱ૡૹ૽ૣૡ૿૽ઌ૱ૡઌ૽૽૱ૹ૾૱૽૿ઌ૱૽ૺ र्चर्से न्या वीयार्थे कुषा ग्री मायार्वेद यह है न्यहे न्ये न्या कुष्य की विर्देश वर्देन्यःनेश्चेद्यम् वेन्देवाशः स्टःवीः स्टःश्चेद्रायशासुवाशः भिवाः वर्द्धवाशः वर्देनः यर्ज्यरेत्। देवलेबर्तु धुःनुस्ययाग्रस्यहेर्त्ये श्रेर्त्या विर्केषाग्रस्रेस्य तर्देन् ग्री खेन्य रेन्। ने नवा के रेन्न व ग्री वेंच वस्केन्यर निर्मान विवय त्रभारत्रेषु त्रमार्थः विवासान्त्र वर्षा अस्ति। देत्यकार्स्य स्त्री दास्त्रे से स्वाकाः अ.ध्र्र-४.४८:भ्रेंदःभरःचार्षुप्रःचिशःतपुःप्रदःनेयरःनेयःयरः भ्रथेशःकेथःतपुःश्ररयः क्रुंदुःलसःस्यायाःभेवाःयर्द्धवायाद्ययायाद्युरःह्या तवायायासरार्याः विवारमावीरः वर्त्ते द्वारायराष्ट्रमा धरामहिमायम् द्वा तुषायमधार्मेदामदेशे समसामा ञ्जःयाद्यकानज्ञदा। वीराकार्यदायां केंस्राकेंस्यां नीकाग्राट्य रेनाकाकार्येटकार रार्सेंद्र क्षेरचरेत्। नेवर्या दर्वेदेरस्कुयःग्वद्यस्यस्यस्येदयस्रस्यवद्यविद्या *ৼঀ*৾৻ড়ৼৼঢ়ড়ড়ঀ৾৻য়ৢয়ৼয়৾য়য়ড়৾য়ড়য়ৢঢ়ৢ৻ড়৾য়ঢ়ঢ়ঢ়৾ঢ়ড়৾ঢ়য়য়ঢ়ঢ়ড়৾ৼ৸

नेश लुध्ययत्। क्रेयायऱ्यायाचीयाल्ट्यायाची टाक्ष्य्याचीकाचीकाच्यायाची अभ्यायद्वायाची अभ्यायद्वाय

ला रेक्ट्रिय्वेशक्षे ह्यां अपिक्षा मेहेला मेहेला मात्रे स्वाला मार्च द्वा के म्यान स्वाला स्

मु:सेति:मेशःर्धेद्रःइदः नद्याबुदः याद्गेशः खुदः स्रोतः देशः यतः देशः यायाः स्रोतः स्र

2014.06.07३ व में प्रमान

#### र्वेगश्रः भूरकी में रजातुना धी मो

मकूर्र्वेष्वेष्ट्रेष्ट् त्रज्ञुनान्त्राम्यकुषायस्य त्रज्ञुनार्ये । वेस्य वेस्य विवादा स्वर्थे । याद्रा शुतुःबिरक्रेदःगादार्भ्रे खुयः नशरक्ष्र्रेहरम् वाष्ट्राख्यार्क्षे वार्षः स्रो स्रो स्री स्री म्.उ०७० मृतुः इ. र तपुः क्रूबः ७६ द्वेर द्वा म्ह्र्यः है। यद्वा वाद्वर वार्यीः पहूर्याचर्यस्य भूरत कूरा. कूरा. ३० कुराचारमा नुपुः हो सीरायर री.चगाचा करावेशा हुै.ज्. २०७५ ज्रुंदु बयः ५ रादः क्रूयः ५ क्रेबः ट्रूयः श्रुंद्रह्यः चबुरः वाययः नर्नमञ्जूनवार वर्षेत्रचुरा चुःर्यः २०१५ र्यतः त्र पतः २१ हेरसर्द्वे त्याः शु.रभरमामुभमायराष्ट्रमामुभमाराष्ट्रमामाभूर। रमाप्रसम्। मुमाराष्ट्रममा त्याताः श्रेषः तत्रः द्याः श्रेताः द्यस्यायः व्याताः स्यात्रः स्यात्रः स्यात्रः स्यात्रः स्यात्रः स्यात्रः स्य म्रि.ट्र्यरेथ.केंबा.वेश.हंशा ही.म्. ५००९ मृत्यु म. ५ तपु.मूश. १५ केंब्र.सहूर. ૡૢઌઃઽૹ૽૽ઽઽ૾૱ૹ૽૽ઽૢ૱ઽઌ૽ૹ૽૽૱ઌઌઽૹ૽૽ૢઌૹૹૹૹ૽૽૱ઌઌઌૢ૾ઌઌ૽૽ૼઌઌ૽૽ૺ नुषानग्वानर्रेदायह्वार्भाग्वासुसान्दा भेग्वादेशास्त्रमञ्जेनर्वेन वदाञ्चरसा নত্তরবারকর্বভিয়ন্রস্থাবারক। ইর্মান্টাভ্রেমকরেইবারেরকরেইর क्रिंस् भ्रेम्द्र अर्देश येदाये द्वार क्रिंस् क्रिंस् क्रिंस् क्रिंस क्रिंस क्रिंस क्रिंस क्रिंस क्रिंस क्रिंस *न्सर्याद्येस्यात्वःवानुवाःधेःवोःदर्देवेषाने*। क्वुःदवसःइरःवाववाःदेरःवदेःदेः

বাষ্ট্রবাথা বভ্রমার্ট্র

२) क्ष्यास्तर्भावित्वे << श्वाक्त्रं >> क्ष्यायान्तर्भावित्वे << श्वाक्त्रं >> क्ष्यायान्तरः वित्वे << श्वाक्त्रं >> क्ष्यायान्तरः वित्वे << श्वाक्त्रं वित्वे <> श्वाक्त्रं वित्वे <> श्वाक्ष्रं वित्वे <> श्वाक्ष्रं वित्वे <> श्वाक्ष्रं वित्वे <> श्वाक्ष्यं <> श्वाक्ष्यं <> श्वाक्ष्यं वित्वे वित

याद्वर् द्रिक्ष्यः अप्ति व्याद्वर् व्याद्वर् द्रिक्ष्यः स्ट्रिक्ष्यः स्ट्रिक्ष्यः स्ट्रिक्ष्यः स्ट्रिक्षः स्ट्रिक्

विश्वश्वास्त्रम् अन्तर्भ विषयः विश्वश्व विश्व विश्

र्रे केंबास्वाबर्न्द्रिंबर्न्द्रिंग्युर्नेत्रे << इ. ह्विस्व>> शु निष्यंत्रचेत्रः चुर्यायते : श्रुः न्यर्या ग्रुः विचायर निष्यः केषा विचायर निष्यः विचायर निष्यः विचायर निष्यः व <u> चैशः र्रेअः तुः सः विभ्रशः ग्रीभः गानुभः त्येयः ग्रुशः धरे वे वा वरः वरे के त्यावी राग्रुशः नी</u> श्री.पर्यंश.क्री.श.प्रेच.शक्र्य.शहरा.श्रीचन्न.शक्रूच.क्र.क्र्यचानातपु.रंशच.शर.क्री.रंश. <u> </u> इवात्यः स्टबीःक्षेः र्क्ष्यः वर्द्देन्यः नृदा क्रें अः खुवायः नृनुक्षयः स्टान् वरः वीः क्रुवः नेयायरीकेरास्यानीम्मानायायस्य नवात्यारीक्षित्रक्षान्यस्य ही नुस्रस्य Aेवा प्येद प्राये क्षा विस्रका ग्री विष्य वहा सूर ही केंवा का ग्री खूर रहें का का निवास की की चर्हेर्-श्रेल-कुं दे र्श्वर्र्श्वर्र्य रस्प्तर्य विश्वर्य होत्र नेयान्यायावदायार्रेश्चिन्छेन्द्रेर्त्याययादारेन। नयासाद्येयवास्या र्वेदः घटः दृष्ये अत्यवादाया । यो देवेदायों अत्यवादाया । विक्षेत्रः यम दृष्ये । विक्षेत्रः यम दृष्ये । वि:ब्रथःर्स्यव्यः देश्वः प्यस्त्रोद्धः प्रदान्त्रवा व्यः क्रवः स्त्रीत् द्रयः क्रवः स्त्रीत् द्रयः क्र्यास्यायाः ही स्थित्रात्रायायाया हिनायाः हो। क्रा स्थित् ही स्वा स्थितायाः श्चेरःवार्द्रराज्ञ्यायदेःसहवाःतत्र्यार्राराहेषाःस्वायाः क्षेराञ्चेरः चार्रुचा चित्रासद्या अह्वा अद्यक्षा तार्रास्त्री प्रचार्स् तार्म् ह्रिन् क्षु प्रवेश वित्रा वार्या ૽૽ૼૻ૱ૢ૽ૹ૽ઌ૽ૼ૱ઌૺ૾ૹૼૹ૱ૢ૾૽૱ૢૹઌ૽ૢ૿૽૾ૢૹ૾ૹ૱ૢ૾૽૽૱ૺ૾૽*૽૽ૢૼૹઌ૽૽૽૽*ૺૺઌ૾ૺ૱ૹ૽૽ૺૹ૽૽ૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૹઌ૽

र्धेन्। मार्थायार्वेरामम्ना दनेदे हेिरामम्यान्ध्रीयाम्बर्धाः अश्वा अक्षुत्रावनावावय अ लेशायतेःकनःश्वेन्ग्रीःलुः संकेरार्यः नेमायवेषानः ૄ૱ૡઽૹૢૺ૾ૺૺૺ૾૾ૠ૾ૢૢૼૼૼૼૼ૾ૡ૿ઌ*૾*ૡ૽ૢૻૺ૱ૢ૱ૹૢ૱ઌૡ૿ૹૹ૾૽ૡઽૡૢ૱૱ૹ૱ ".... दर्ने वे चे द्राक्षेत्र के अप्यान अप्तर्से अप्यान प्रमान विकास करा विक र्देवा यहेरा यह राय रेदा अधाराते स्मार्क तुमा विवा दर्या द्याराया मुलावया ावःचलःक्चेःनबस्यःक्ष्यःतर्नुवाःसरःक्षेत्रःतर्नुवासःक्षयःतर्नुवा नसस्यःवेतःनवाः बीखाचत्रुखादात्रदेदानीदातुः दुर्वोदार्चो चालीबाखारेदाद्या ८ द्यातदेदावाच्या *बेबाचते:बुरार्डबाप्परः*ब्रेट्यर्थर्यस्यावत्। कुःर्वेद्यव्वेबायःपद्वेत्रः यरमिवीमिक्सिम् सुराद्यास्य स्त्रीराधिन्द्याः विक्रियाम् स्त्रीमा स्त्रीमा स्त्रीमा विक्रा चरलकारचेलाचराचर्र्यस्याक्ष्यातक्ष्ण स्निचकानेतेत्रः वेचा मुख्याचीः भ्र. प्रेचा अष्ट्रत्यतः चोष्यः स्थ्रियः चीषा व्यवस्थः विष्णः विषणः विष्णः विषणः विष्णः *अरः वीशः शॅर्ः श्रेदः स्थाः द्वाः विश्वः द्वाः विश्वः विश्वः विश्वः द्वाः वरः यरः विश्वः विश्वः विश्वः विश्वः व* लाचक्षेत्राङ्ग्याचे द्रवापराची प्रवास क्षिता होत्राया स्वीता वरावर्ष्ण वरावर्षा न्वार्वःवावराग्रीःवराष्ट्रेरायशञ्चरयायानास्वायया। ररावीयायरानुःवहवा यःग्रहेगःग्रुरःसेन्। केंर्निःङ्गः<u>न</u>्नरनुःर्सेन्यदेःसेःबेगःग्रेसःस्त्रेनःस् नम्दर्ग रसः स्नानसः देवः नादसः र्ह्यः र्ह्यः दुः द्वीर्यः हेः रस्नीः वृः र्ह्यः नार्सरः वेरः वर्द्देन्य देन्दि र्रेक्ष वर्षे प्रत्वे प्रत्य वर्षे वर्षे वर्ष वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे

*য়ु*ॱॸॸॖढ़ॱढ़ॸ॓ॸॱॿॖॺॱॸॖॆॱढ़ॺऻढ़ॱॷॗॸॱॺॺऻॱॿ॓ॺॱॿॖॺॱफ़॔ॸ॔ॱय़ॱॸ॓ॸऻ॒ॱॿॗॗऀॸॱॸॸॖॸॱॿॊॱ रैवा वाद्य वित्र वित्र राष्ट्री सूर्र र्सुय वर्दे वर्द विवार्ट द्वा के वर्द कर से दृष्टी सूर र्क्त,रे.बैर.धे। क्रीलावयावायलालास्रीलाधुरावेरातपुःचोषलाक्तारीलक्षेतारी તર્માન કુંચાયા સાંત્રા ત્રાં કાર્યા છે. ત્રાં ત્રાં ત્રાં ત્રાં કુંચા ત્રાં કુંચા ત્રાં ત્રાં કુંચા કુ <u> छात्वमुर्रास्य। दर्नेष्ट्ररादेवायाययारेन्द्राताच्रयायान्यान्यासुराचेन्</u> षायब.री.शु.पर्कीर.यपु.श्री.रशरकाःथैर.कूर्ययरीयो.तको ईश.र्ट्रयो.चल.र्याकाः यदेः र्श्वेर्यायदिषः स्रोरामार्केरणीः सुर्यायदेश्वेषा स्रोतिकार्या वरिकेरणीयः वि *बैशक्षेद्रा*सेदार्सेम्। श्रीसामाहदायने या स्वाप्येदान सुरासीदायते । "ररा न्यरा। रमरमामु परं मधेमा रेटायावया होममामुटा .... मूर्यामा मी.ही. वस्रा नमस्यविद्यां निर्मास्य विद्या व नते<sup>:</sup>वादशःर्स्ताः तर्ने तर्न राष्ट्रेवाशः नबिते स्तितः त्वानाशः त्रिः स्ति स्ति। रवशःहेशःसःनवाःवीशःसेःखेयःयस। छेन्सर्वेःरेसःसेःनसरशःखेसशःवरः वीर्षान सुर्द्दिन सुवार्षा याविवा यावर रेर्या था

यन्तरतिः क्षेरन्तु नर्ज्ज्वाकाः हे स्नून्यकेर अर्घन्यं क्षा हिना होन्। क्षे अर्थनेतः वित्तर्तिः क्षेत्रः त्रा वित्र स्वा क्षेत्रः वित्तर्ति । व्यक्ष्यः यात्रः त्रा वित्रः वित्तर्ति । व्यक्ष्यः यात्रः त्रा वित्रः वित्तर्ति । व्यक्ष्यः यात्रः वित्तर्ति । वित्र वित्र वित्र वित्तर्ति । वित्र वित्

अनेताः तुरः सराया गृहन् धादे । तहे गृषाः श्लुमाः नेतर् । देशः हे गृष्टाः स्वरं साधाः । अनेताः । लुरी श्चित्रयश्चराह्र्र्यायश्चर्यात्रयः यहुवायाः स्टूरानेताः यहेवाययः रयाः देवा र्वेरको परेतहवारात्यात्रावर राष्ट्ररायाधीत्। वेदार्हेवाया रहत्ववार्सेवारा वारा ઌ૿૱૱૾૽ૺઌૺૹૻઌ૽૽૱૽૽ૡૹ૽૽ૼૹ૽૽૽૽ૢ૽ૡ૽ૼ૱૱ૹઌઌ૽૽૱૽૽ૺ૱૽ૢ૽ૹ૾૽૱૱૽૽ૺૹ૾૽ૺ૱ૹ૽૽૱ न्दःश्चे क्रिन्या क्षेत्रःश्चेत्रः व्यवस्थान्य स्थाने व्यवस्थाने स्थाने स्थ <u> </u> इवान्त्रभेरान्तेर्थायवरहेवरहेवायान्यर्थास्य स्थानेस्याधेवरहे। विस्रयासुवासा *ॱ*ढ़ॣय़ॹॸॣय़ॸॱऄॺॱऄॸॖॱय़य़ॹढ़ढ़ॱय़ॱॻऄॗ॔ॺऻॱॻऄॖय़ऄॖॸॖय़ॱॿॎॖ॓॔॔॔ॹॴज़ॺऻॴय़॓ड़य़ॴ मोर्दे न वेत्र से सूर रे देश विस्र न विदेश न विदेश के वित ने'न्या'दया'र्क्ष्यां अप्योदार्के। स्त्रया'तृ'यार्देन्'वेचर्याक्षे'स्व'न्येन्'या द्विसर्यायनः मु.र्श्वर.घे.र.रुरी लुब.रपटा यमभ.लीय.जम.पर्यय.प.खुवा.जी खुमम. षरचीयरायावाच्यायाम् सूरर्श्चरहोर्स्यवदालेयायदेन्द्रेयासेरालेवाचन्वया यम्भावत्। र्वित्वुराद्यार्वेदाववावीयाम्यत्रेत्रम्भवान्द्रवेदाहेवायतेः तकरक्षात्वेच प्रमेरायकार् देशने विद्या प्रस्मि हैं देश की नुसरका नुस्रका सुन भ्रुःगिवि रः नश्चुर तर्गा प्रथा इस्र गार्थे ते नश्चर तर्मे गर्भ स्वर तर्मे गर्भ स्वर प्र भुत्यःर्श्वेरःवी:स्टन्वबिदाठदःसेन्। <u>र</u>

上述內容將我軍警例行檢查歪曲成製造民眾恐慌的原因,存在較強的捏造、煽動性質。

लेशरशस्त्रमर्वे व्यक्ष्यस्य स्त्रम्य स

बेरदा रशायान्त्रशाक्षीः क्षेतान्त्रराज्यसम्बद्धाः स्वर्थाः स्वर्याः स्वर्थाः स्वर्याः स्वर्याः स्वर्याः स्वर्याः स्वर्याः स्वर्याः स्वर्थाः स्वर्याः स्वर्य

दशः स्वात्वनानी नाव्यास्याया वित्रसर्वे नाव्यास्य विषया विकास विवास विव

क्रें स्वीवाक्षात्रमुवाक्ष्मी स्थाने अध्यक्ष्म स्वीवाक्ष स्वाविक्ष स्वीवाक्ष स्वाविक्ष स्वाविक्

चि.केच.लुरी व्याचिर्श्वायर्र्सी वार्यःमी.प्रचायाःसीराधिराधियःच्याःची.कुर्स्सीयाःसार्यःसीयः की.लुर्यःची। सामरायेशःसीराधिराधियःसीयःसीयःसीयःसीयःसीयः

गुरःर्वे श्वेर्माबुरः र्रामेर्श्यासक्रिमा र्राम्य स्वित् स्वाप्ति । *पते* वाश्वरत्र बुर-देशे दरासुर्य दशः वाहरायः बीवा । दशः ग्राट-र्योवाशः रे बीवा वीः। यरःक्रेंदरजवायकुर्देश्वस्त्रीयविषातात्त्रेत्। वरायिषात्वात्रायिक्रात्त्रेत्रा भ्रुजान्तरः र्क्रेबाकन्णारः द्वाया श्रीराञ्चे। स्वायाया व्यापार्वे बातुः विदान वा *ঀঢ়ৼঀ*ঀৼ৾ৼ৾৶ঀ৻য়ৢৼঀ৾৽ৢঀৼড়ৢ৻৸ৼৢ৽ঀ৾ৼ৻ঀয়৽৸ঀৼ৾৾৻৻য়৾ৢয়৽য়৾৻৸ড়ৢয়৽৸য়৻ त्दर्भेत्रमुत्यावनःग्रीःनाबरानःर्खेनाबःन्दरवित्यानःश्चेःष्यरक्षेत्रसःस्र्वेद्वात्यस्यः। न्सर्याद्वीस्यात्वराषीयान् वीराधित्यात्व ने सीदाद्व वना वार्षेत्रप्रदेश र्दरनते:र्वे से न क्रुल्य सर्दे त्या स्वार्के विकास क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र स्वार्के स्वार्के स्वार्के स्वार्के ब्रेन्स्रस्यास्रम्यनाम्बर्म्युव्यार्के। विर्वेर्स्यम्यात्रम् युन्वेर्स्यन्यात्रम् ग्रीरःक्ष्यकाः क्रेत्रेः चेकाः केकाः यक्ष्यां कार्यकाः विकासीः विकासीः विकासिकाः विकासिकाः विकासिकाः विकासिकाः ग्रम्ब्रेमान्द्रम्वेषायते र्क्नानु त्वाप्या हिन्सर्वे स्था से न्यान्य हिस्सर्वे स्था से स्था हिस्सर्वे स्था से দেশ্বীঝাপ্তুৰাঝানঝঝানঞ্জীঝার্ইবাঝা

स्.धुचा.चु.स्ट्रेस्थ.जबा.च्यैट्यसे राधिशासालुची चेश्राईराश्चीराधास्याची. क्या.प्रेरी चर्षेरे.चसेराकु.चर्याक्र्ये.श्वरालची रायात्रासी.प्रचायाच्याया. म्रे चर्थेय.वीरानुचु.यराज्यायाजी.याक्राचा.चु.स्.वयाचीराच्याया देशकास्त्रम्भानित्वात्त्रम्भान्त्यम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्भान्त्रम्यम्यम्यम्यम्यम्यम्यम्यम्भवन्त्रम्यस्यम्यम्यस्यम्यम्यस्यम्यस्यम्यस्यम्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस

न्दुरलु नर्वे अप्यायने वर्ष अर्थे न्द्री वें वा अर्थे ववा अर्थे न्द्रव वर्ष क्रॅ्ररागशाम्राम् मे मे से सिराम श्रीया या मेरित हो साम मेरित हो से साम स्थान से सिराम से सिराम से सिराम से सि **धेदायदेग्चनेदान्यराधरान्यामे ग्राकाशुम्बर्गादनुम** नेपन्यामेवासर्वेरा ब्रुटिन र्या क्रीया द्वीयया तयाया पुरत्ये द्वा द्वा द्वीया पा द्वाया व्याप्त द्वा द्वा *'*ট্টঝ'রর্বাঝ'দ্রী'বব্রব্ধন্ধন্ধুন্ধ'ন্বা'ঝ'র্ব্লি'ঞ্র'গ্রেলিবা'ন্ন'ঐর'ট্টনা लर्न् भ्रे.मूं.य.बुवा.मा प्र्यूक्तरप्रायासरागी.सी. 28 बुवा.मीराचीबीरायबुका. विश्वास्त्री देवे कुष्यक्षित्री विद्या है देव विष्याम्य विश्वास्त्रीय विश्वास्त्रीय विश्वास्त्रीय विश्वास्त्रीय धोदायनुमा मायाने। दये बेदार्स्ट्रिया ने स्मा छिया छी माद्रवर्षामा मी सि हिमा दवा <u>क्रे</u>र्यः प्रेक्षः क्रें। दर्वः त्वराष्ट्रिक्षः रायाः न्यव्ययः प्राप्यः विद्यत्वेषाः च्रेर्क्तः क्षेः धेदा *क्रेर्*पःधेदार्ढे। दतेःवरःद्विक्षःरुःवन्। दरन्वरुषःपःधरःवतुरःवतेषःद्वेदः कुं छा धोदी विः क्रें रावः क्षदः यः वः स्वरा राद्या स्वरायः योदः स्वरायं राज्यः। राया "श्रुवाया" वार्हेराचेरायवेषाचे सेराया हिर्विराक्रेवाद्यस्यायरावीया *न्*त्र्यःर्वतेष्ठ्रस्यः त्वृत्राः त्यः तर्वे स्र्वेते त्र्यः त्रुतः स्रीत्वाः परस्य त्रित्रस्य होत्रा

 चर्मार्चर्स्य मुन्य प्रिन्यम् हिन्सर्वे रेस्य हिस्स्य म्यान्य स्थित । हिन्सर्वे रेस्य हिस्स्य म्यान्य स्थित । हिन्सर्वे रेस्य स्थित । हिन्सर्वे रेस्य हिस्स्य । हिन्स्य हिस्स्य हिस्स्य । हिन्स्य हिस्स्य हिस्स्य हिस्स्य । हिन्स्य हिस्स्य हिस्य हिस्स्य हिस्स

बेशतत्त्रुवार्भेतसार्वेवाशासूरानु तर्वेन्यशासुरा।

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ह्ये।

द्यास्यायतः वाष्ट्रेशः ग्रीः वस्तु स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्व त्रव्यः स्वर्धः स्वर्यः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्यः स्वर्धः स्वर्यः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्यः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्यः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्धः स्वर्यः स्वर्यः स्वर्धः स्वर्यः स्वर्यः स्वर्यः स्वर्यः स्वर्यः स्वर्यः स्वर्यः स्वर्यः स्वर्य

2012/11/24

## सकू.र्जूब.चक्रेब.पत्तुब.प्यर.यी.स्बी

सन्त्राक्षःक्रंक्ष्यं क्षाः अक्टू.क्र्रंब्यम्थेष्यः सुर्वे विष्यः याः सुन्द्रक्षः व्यक्षः स्वान्त्रः स्वान्त्र स्वान्त्रः स्वान्त्रः सुन्द्रः स्वान्त्रः सुन्द्रः स र्द्धश्चर्याः चल्लिन्द्रम् वात्रम् व्याप्त्रम् व्याप्त्रम् व्याप्त्रम् व्याप्त्रम् व्याप्त्रम् व्याप्त्रम् व्य विद्या अवस्त्रभः त्याप्त्रम् विद्याप्त्रम् विद्याप्त्रम्

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यह्नद्रायद्वीद्रान्द्राक्तुं व क्वाकानेवार्स्वाकादे से स्वास्त्र के स

म्याक्ष्रीं स्वार्थिया है स्वार्थिया विष्या के स्वार्थिय स्वार्थिय स्वार्थिय स्वार्थिय स्वार्थिय स्वार्थिय स्व स्वार्थिय स्वार्य स्वार्य स्वार्थिय स्वार्थिय स्वार्य स्वार्थिय स्वार्थिय स्वार्थिय स्वार्थिय स्वार्थिय

2012/4/5

## PEN



With friend Theuran

## हेंबाय ये देशेंद्र

소설리, 신비조, 튄다, 이외, 에시 र्वाय:यह्नवा:स्(श्विव:श्वरःयः ब्रायाकर) शुर्ज्यास्थास्थर तपुरम्स्यैर्धिः वरमाधिता बी ह्र्या त.स्.ध्रेच.लुबी फ्र्ट.बु.श्रब.रच. रेरा चेष्याञ्च्या सर्धरावश्यः उद्यासम्बद्धियाः स्विद्याः सः सः स्वत्। सः र्बु:च:५६१ ५५५:चर्डू५:क्रूब:धवाः उद्ये खेल अवदाविया ग्राम्ये दे यर.प्र.च्रथात्रात्माची.श्रीर.श्रृंचया रेटा श्रि.बी.दु.ब्रेंचश्री प्रटारेचर. नी:स्वर्रानु:रायार्क्के प्रवर्तिन्द्रयेन। यदः म्ल.श्रीर.श्रूंचश.श्र्यश.र्नेच.चध्र. हुमार्ल्स प्रत्येषिय विस्त्राम्यामा श्रीय:क्रेब:बबा:सहरहीब:हर। ज्.व. चर्ष-ज-स्र्य-ततु-दीकानाः ध्वान्ताः काः स.लर.लुच.उर्च

