The Bulletin of Tiberology seeks to serve the specialist as well as the general reader with an interest in the field of study. The motif portraying the Stupa on the mountains suggests the dimensions of the field.
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Kangchedzönga: 
Secular and Buddhist perceptions of the mountain deity 
of Sikkim among the Lhapos

— Anna Baliki Denjongpa

One day, my teacher Lopen Dugyal¹ mentioned that there are many more spirits and deities inhabiting the environment in Sikkim than there are human beings. Indeed, nearly every mountain, hilltop, prominent rock, mountain pass, crevasse, valley, old tree, lake, river and stream seems to be the abode of some supernatural being. The mountain deity inhabiting the peak of Mount Kangchedzönga (gang chen misdod lingo)² is considered to be their chief and his worship is an important aspect of rituals everywhere among Sikkimese Buddhists. The deity, usually simply referred to as Dö-ga, can be invoked in various capacities and rituals held in his honour may take many forms. This multiplicity of identities not only helped create a national symbol among a complex multi-ethnic society when Sikkim was still an independent kingdom³ but as we will see, still serves to unite all levels of ritual tendencies within the Lhopo community.

The political dimension of mountain deities in terms of nation's identity in Tibet has been discussed by Steven Karmay and Dö-ga is no exception in this respect. Karmay distinguishes between two types of mountain cults. The first is the secular and unwritten tradition of the laymen whereby the mountain deity is the object of propi-

1. The descendants of the Tibetan immigrants who came to Sikkim in different waves from the 17th century onwards and established the kingdom to the 17th called themselves Lhapos (the po people from the South) but are generally referred to as Bhutias, Sikkimese or even Denjongpas. The term 'Bhutia' however is misleading as it can refer to any Buddhist highlander of Tibetan origin living in the Himalayas, and the term 'Sikkimese' may lead to confusion considering that the Lhapos are now a minority in the state. Consequently, I will hereafter refer to them as Lhapos which seem to be the term that they themselves prefer.

2. Dugyal Acharya Bhutia was simultaneously my teacher, informant, research assistant, translator and friend during the whole period of fieldwork research carried out in his village of Tenzingkhum.

3. It should be pointed out that although Sikkimese do worship Kangchedzönga, they do not worship the mountain itself but the deity who inhabits that mountain.

4. Kang means now, chen means peak, -dzönga is the suffix and apö means five.

5. The Kingdom of Sikkim was a protectorate of the British Government from 1910 until 1947. It was integrated into the Union of India and became its 22nd State in 1975.
tiation for mundane pursuits by the local people. It is "a survival of the ancient traditions which the spread of Buddhism never usually effaced. Indeed, it is deeply rooted and more marked among Tibetan communities in the border areas, where the Bon religion is often, dominant and where encounters with people of different cultures who display their own national aggressivity are a daily experience" (1998 [1994]: 419). The second type are the mountains which are the object of veneration and pilgrimage in a Buddhist sense, not just by local people but from people coming from other parts of the country because they are considered to have been the dwelling places of early saints where terma (ger ma) treasures have been found or may still be hidden. Usually, mountain deities will not be the object of both cults but those that are, seem to have recently been included in the Buddhist pantheon (1998 [1996]: 432-3).

Both cults, or at least some of their aspects, still seem to exist among the Lhops. Aspects of Dzo-nga and other Sikkimese mountain deities that do not originate from the monastic establishment are generally ignored in favour of Buddhist identities that have been promoted, for political and other reasons, by Tibetan and Sikkimese lamas since the 17th century. However, secular aspects of the mountain deities are still prevalent in some Lhopo village rituals such as Tingchim. While the shamans (see below) in Tingchim will invoke Dzo-nga as a pholu (pho lha, father god or lineage protector) following the secular tradition of mountain deities, the village lamas will usually, although not exclusively, invoke him as a high Buddhist deity. I argue that, at least until recently, this divergence of opinion was not a source of conflict between lamas and shamans within the village but a source of unity which found its best expression in the performance of rituals where all ritual specialists jointly officiated and invoked Dzo-nga for the welfare of the community.

It should be stressed that unless otherwise specified, all the material

6. For the Nyinjongpas, ter or ter ma are spiritual treasures, sometimes objects such as image but usually texts attributed to Guru Rinpoche who hid them so as to be later physically discovered or revealed in other ways by Buddhist practitioners called stum (ger stam).

7. Tingchim is an agricultural village of 54 households. Lhops household is located in Sikkim’s North District (the district does not include the former Nepalese population). The village lies on the eastern bank of the river Tista at an altitude of 1800 meters, half way between Phodong monastery and Namgen, the North District headquarters.
presented here applies to Tingchhim village and is not intended to be representative of the Lhopo community of Sikkim as a whole. Variations in ritual procedures, terminology and other aspects of culture between Lhopo villages and areas within Sikkim can be significant from a Sikkimese viewpoint.

The ritual specialists of Tingchhim village

Rituals are today performed in Tingchhim by three types of ritual specialists: 1. The non-celibate village lamas (Kargyu and Nyinagmar); 2. The paso (gyap la) and the rengjung (real lama), the male and female shamans of the Lhopes; and 3. The lama-ko longthing (bon dan), a speci

8. After several visits to Sikkim, I returned in October 1993 to carry out fieldwork research in Tingchhim proper between June 1994 and December 1995 with two additional fieldtrips to the village in May and December 1996. The research results are available in my doctoral dissertation: Buddhism and Shamanism in Village Sikkim (SOAS, 2003). The research on which this article and the dissertation are based was generously funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Frederick William Memorial Fund, Cambridge, and the Additional Fieldwork Award, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. This essay was written in 1999 while in residence in Kathmandu. I am indebted to Charles Ramsey for encouraging me to write on the subject of Sikkim's sacred landscape and to Lionel Caplan for his much appreciated comments on an earlier draft.

9. Strictly speaking, the use of the term 'lama' in this context is incorrect as this term is normally reserved for particularly learned Buddhist ritual specialists. Two terms are normally used in the village: an initiated lama will be called a tanpo tshogs (rua po lama) or simply a tanpo; i.e. a lama who has passed the discipline of the Lungta rül in now a full member of the lama-vicininity of his village. Before his initiation, a student is referred to by the term dgon, or a man of Dharma (chok po). I have nevertheless kept the use of the term lama or lama-mong to refer to the village's tsepo and shigo because of its widely accepted use in English publications.

10. Bonpo is the Sikkimese pronunciation of the word spelled - bon bo - possibly a short form and a reversal of the Tibetan words - sambod - 'the monk who is a part of bon'. However, for Tingchhim villagers, bonpo simply means 'the one who can recite the oral texts of bon'. Longthing is a term borrowed from the Lepcha language which is often used to refer to the members of the Lhoops who are thought to act like the longthing, the male ritual specialist of the Lepchas. According to Jeth (1976: 359), "in an established Lepcha word for lama, See Mawwaring (1978: 265) and one may consider the possibility of a connection with the Tibetan term bon'.
cialist who performs the offering rituals for the supernatural beings of the locality. The pasuo and the nejum specialize in maintaining good relations with the phoita motha (po cha ma cha, father god-mother god), the Lhopo' ancestral deities and lineage protectors through possession and offering rituals while the bönchen bôngshing, who never gets possessed, maintains good relations with the ambiguous supernatural beings who inhabit the local territory*. On very rare occasions, he may still do so through the offering of an animal sacrifice11.

All ritual specialists usually officiate independently, but sometimes jointly or successively, so as to serve the villagers’ ritual needs. In addition to their regular annual rituals, the pasuo, nejum and bönchen bôngshing as well as the village lamas will all regularly be called in separately to officiate in village houses in order to divine the cause of illness and perform curing rituals so as to appease the offended local supernatural beings thought to be responsible for the patient’s suffering. To accomplish this, the pasuo, the nejum and the bönchen bôngshing will draw their ritual powers and protection from the phoita motha, while the village lamas will draw theirs from the supra-worldly deities of Tibetan Buddhism. Tingchim villages collectively refer to the ritual knowledge of the pasuo, nejum, and bönchen bôngshing as bön (bon). What they call bön has probably little relation with the Bön religion of pre-Buddhist Tibet and certainly no relation with the tradition of the modern Tibetan Bonpo monasteries. In Tingchim, the term bön refers to specific oral ritual texts that are chanted and considered to be the core of the bön specialists’

11. Explaining the different categories of supernatural beings who inhabit or travel through the landscape from the viewpoint of Tingchim villagers as well as their relation with them would go beyond the limits of this essay. Among these are the deg之一 (sde 'brug) eight categories of spirits, particularly la, ren uni- di (ka, boom and badora), the la ren or spirit of the mountain pass (la boom) and the apo apo (a po a apo), orte Lepcha supernatural beings that have been adopted by the Lhpos. Unlike the lineage’s ancestral deities or phoita motha who may also have their abide within the local territory, these local supernatural beings are considered wild as only partly tamed and for this reason are considered ambiguous. In Tingchim, they are referred to as po po (gong po) as a group, those who cause obstructions, damage or trouble. In this article, I will simply refer to them as the local supernatural beings.

12. The bönchen bôngshing’s role in Tingchim is reminiscent of that of the la bon of the Khumins in Khati, Nepal, a priest specialized in the worship of clan and land deities (Diersberger 1997), the lha bon of Baragon in southern Mustang and that of the apa (a po) in central Tibet who are equally responsible for the propitiation of local gods and the making of ‘not’ offerings (Ramírez 1996, 1998 and Ramírez, in press).
ritual knowledge. It may also refer to knowledge that has been imparted directly from the supernatural entity during possession rituals in case of the paowo or neyum, or through inspirational dreams in the case of the khoten bongtshang.15 Samtil has suggested that "While there are some grounds for using the term Bon for the early religion of Tibet (...) there are few for applying it to the cults of the local gods and spirits as they exist today, and I shall avoid using Bon to refer to this contemporary 'folk religion'" (1993: 12). Although I agree with Samtil as well as with Per Kvaerne who adds that the ancient Bon religion was neither animistic nor shamanistic (1998: 60), I will nevertheless use the term Bon to refer to the tradition of the Ngagpa of Tingchim's 'folk religion' (Tiucci 1980), 'nameless religion' (Stein 1972) or 'pagas tradition' (Ramble 1998: 124) since this is the term that is used by the villagers themselves. However, bön as practised in Tingchim should not be perceived as the survival of an archaic form of pre-Buddhist ritual practice but as a living tradition concerned with this-worldly matters in terms of health and fertility which has evolved in interaction with Buddhism and the ritual specialists of the neighboring ethnic communities such as the Lepchas, the Limbus and the Bhutaneses.

The lack of anthropological literature based on fieldwork research among the Lhopos has contributed to them being perhaps misrepresented through the writings of Tibetan lamas and other Buddhist elite or indirectly, through the publication of a series of monographs that focused exclusively on the Lepchas (Gore 1987 [1938], Morris 1998, Siger 1967, Foning 1987) on the relation between the Bhutias (Lhopos) and the Lepchas centered around the monastery (Chie Nakane 1966), or more recently, on the socio-politics of the state and its history (Sasnet 1974, Sinha 1975, Post 1978). This lacuna has contributed to maintain an image of the Lhopo as a Buddhist population that arrived, built monasteries and converted the indigenous population. But what these writings tend to do, is omit to acknowledge the existence of the commoner Lhapa villagers who didn't belong to the Sikimmese Buddhist and aristocratic elite14 and had a very limited understanding of Buddhism. Until recently some of

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13 "This local definition of bön is similar to the probable etymology suggested by Durrenb ergen when referring to the Bu bon, a ritual specialist of Bhombu not far from Sikkim in eastern Nepal. In this case bon is thought to mean 'to pray, to chant' (Durrenb ergen 1989: 426).
14 A discussion about the different Sikkimese clans and lineages, their origins and status is given in my dissertation, Buddhism and Shamanism in Village Sikkim (2002).
these Lhopsos lived of herding, hunting, gathering and slash and burn cultivation, in some cases side by side with the Lepchas in villages far removed from the six premier monasteries of the state 15 and the Palace which were the centres of religious and to some extent, political power.

Tingchim was such a village where until the end of the 19th century, every patriarch lineage had its own pawa or nejum responsible for the lineage and its household’s rituals needs. Although villagers considered themselves Buddhists, there were no lamas in Tingchim and people were dependent on the pawa, the nejum, the bëïben bungshing and an ambiguous specialist called nagdhong (ngags ‘chang) 16 who all officiated at the rituals performed either for the benefit of the individual, the household, the lineage or the village. Buddhism was primarily confined to the important monasteries, their surrounding villages, the capital and the Palace. Tingchim lay on the northern edge of the Phodong ‘parish’, the closest monastery 17 that also acted as the centre of local administration and tax collection, and where no men from Tingchim were lamas. Located some fifteen kilometres south of the village, the monastery was visited only once a year by Tingchim villagers on the occasion of the exorcistic rituals and annual cham (‘cham) dances held just before Losung, the Sikkimese farmer’s new year. Buddhism then gradually took over as the main ritual practice of the village in three distinctive phases. First, the Lachen Gomchens encouraged two or three aspiring lamas to undertake meditation retreats in the 1910s. By the 1920s, there were seven of them who performed rituals such as funerals for the benefit of individuals while all household, lineage and community rituals were still in the hands of the bëïn specialists. The second phase was marked by the passage of Sakyamuni Tshoda who stopped in Tingchim at the end of the

15. The most important monasteries of Sikkim are Pemayangtse, Tashiding and Phensang for the Nyingmapa, and Rumtek (not to be confused with the Karmapa’s Dharma Chakra Centre), Ralang and Phodong for the Kagyupa. The premier monastery in Pemayangtse as it was responsible for the performance of the royal rituals and annual monastic cham (‘cham) dances performed at the Palace’s chapel.

16. The nagdhong or “the holder of tantra knowledge” was a ritual specialist thought to have mastered Buddhism’s tantric powers as well as the ritual skills of the bëïben bungshing and the pawa that did not require possession.

17. Phodong monastery, the first to be built in the North District, was established as late as 1740, a whole century after the foundation of Sikkim as a Buddhist kingdom.
1920s to help take control of an epidemic in the village. As part of this remedy, the Sakya Lama instructed the village lamas to perform the annual Buddhist rituals on a regular basis within the village’s prayer hall which since the construction of Tingchim’s first prayer hall at the end of the 19th century had been the meeting place for the older women of the village to pray. Lamas received training from the Phodong monastery on how to perform these rituals and from that point Buddhism stopped being individualistic and became an occupation of the community where the villagers’ participation, both in presence and in contributions, was required. During the third Buddhist phase, which was initiated by the arrival of Tibetan monks in Sikkim following the Chinese takeover of their country in 1959, the transformation of the village’s ritual practice continued following the influence of the 16th Karmapa who tried to eliminate the practice of animal sacrifice. Buddhism effectively took over from bön as the community’s official ritual practice when in the early 1960s, the annual mong chu (mang gathering method offering) village ritual, which required the sacrificial offering of an ox, was abandoned and replaced by the Bumkor (bum tser), a community ritual whereby the Buddhist scriptures are taken out of the village’s prayer hall to bless the village houses, as the village’s most important ritual of the year.

Gradually, Buddhism timidly imposed itself and came out as the better and most prestigious ritual practice while still accommodating bön and without even openly trying or succeeding to eliminate the practice of bön is its totality. The Lacken Gomchen’s, the Sakya Lama’s and the 16th Karmapa’s efforts were all directed at specific aspects of bön such as possession rituals or animal sacrifice without trying to eliminate the ritual complex as a whole. The 16th Karmapa is even said to have encouraged the Tingchim Lhopos to maintain their ritual offerings in honour of their phunts molmas or ancestral deities. Today, the village lamas, the paons, the nejum and the bönchen khangthing are thought to generally get on and work together for the welfare of the people. We will see that this tolerated coexistence finds its best expression in the annual Chirim (jyid rim, general ritual), where lamas and bönchen khangthing momentarily officiate together.

ii. Before the early 1960s when the practice was abandoned following the influence of the 16th Karmapa who provided a substitute Buddhist ritual for Tingchim villagers, up to 60 even a year were sacrificed as part of curing and other rituals. The practice has since been somewhat restricted, and chickens and goats are now very occasionally sacrificed with the hope of saving the life of dangerously ill relatives.
within the precinct of the village's prayer hall. Their tolerated co-existence also found expression in the past during state rituals performed at the Palace's chapel (gsung lag khang) at Gangtok.

2. Dzö nga as a secular mountain deity

Although Dzö nga, as a well subdued protector is no longer thought to be inflicting suffering on human beings, keeping good relations with him, as much for the bön as for the Buddhist specialists is considered important. As the head of all supernatural beings of the land, if properly propitiated, Dzö nga can help keep malevolent forces under control. Thus, all will perform regular rituals aimed at maintaining good relations with the mountain deity so that he may later be invoked in time of need. But depending on the particular altar, Dzö nga will either be included among and invoked along with the Buddhist deities of the lamas on the nevel (gnas god)\(^{19}\) and other ritual altars, or will be included as a secular mountain deity among the phol ha molha of the pawa, the nejum and the bönben bungthang. Kangchendzönga as pholha has a number of identities; he is considered the chief of all local supernatural beings of Sikkim, the owner of the land (gekti bdag)\(^{20}\), the warrior god or dahlha (dge dka la) of the Sikkimese people, the witness deity and, among certain lineages, the provider of sons. He is among the most important pholha on the altar and manifests himself during possession rituals as a powerful and protective landlord. Dzö nga also has a number of Buddhist identities that are discussed in section 5 below.

The pholha molha can be divided into two general categories. The first are indigenous pre-Buddhist supernatural beings such as Dzö nga as well as bön and Buddhist religious figures who act as lineage protectors. The second category are male and female ancestors of the same patrilineage or, in some cases, legendary characters who, for reasons usually difficult to trace, came to be worshipped as 'ancestors'. The first category of lineage protectors, with a few exceptions, are more or less shared by all Tingphüm lineages and are associated with different localities, either in

\(^{19}\) The nevel (offering to powerful sacred places) is an offering ritual to Kangchendzönga and all the deities of the land. The ritual is a celebration of Sikkim as a sacred hidden land.

\(^{20}\) Samten Karmay translates gekti bdag as 'owner of the base' (1998 [1996]: 432).
Yarlung, Chumbi, Ha or Sikkim. On the other hand, the second group of *phodba motha* consists of real or fictitious ancestors and vary from one patrilineage to another. These ancestors are said to reside in the *bön* paradise called *rigdzin* or *rig dzin gnat* for men and *merog padma žing* or *merog padma gling* for women, both located at Ne Dorje Ku, a sacred location between Ha and Chumbi. All *pawo* and *nejum*, along with other villagers who have distinguished themselves through their kindness, wisdom, wealth or power, are said to gain access to these paradises after death. It is from these places that they later communicate with their descendents, giving them general advice and predictions, through the medium of the *pawo* and *nejum* during possession rituals.

The powers the *phodba motha* are propitiated for and can bless their descendents with are the ability to provide sons and good harvests, to overcome in case of illness, to predict obstacles and misfortunes, to create a platform for discussion and arbitration in case of quarrels and to protect members from curses (*byad kha*). These favours are indirectly implied through various rituals during which the *phodba motha* are first invited and introduced to the audience, then spoiled with their favourite offerings. Later, they may be thanked once these blessings have been conferred.

Although perceived differently, we will see that Dzü-nga remains a common denominator, or a meeting ground of their respective pantheons, of Tungchin's *bön* and Buddhist ritual specialists and the recitation of the *khlen* (*kha len*), their common ritual practice. The *khlen* and its structure are the base of all *bön* offering rituals. Countless versions of these invocations are in existence and are chanted at various ritual occasions in honour of the protectors of the country, the ancestral deities, or the supernatural beings of the local territory. They may be chanted by the lama, the *pawo*, the *nejum*, the *bön Kern tongchog* or even by some village elders, not only in village houses but also at the village prayer halls, the monasteries and until recently, at the Palace. Although these recitations are considered a *bön* tradition, some *khlen* have been written down and included in Buddhist rituals. They always have four sections: purification, invitation, offering and dismissal.

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21. This first group of lineage protectors (*phda ba*) as found in Tungchin may vary considerably from those of other Lhops lineages in Sikkim. Among other descent groups, Dzü-nga may not be given the importance he is given in Tungchin and no *sermo* may be specifically dedicated to him on the altar.

22. *Khlen* (*kha len*) and its homologous form *shdlen* (*zhul len*) mean 'expressing' or 'addressing'.
3. Dzø-nga as phötha in the rituals of the Lhopos of Tzinghim village

The most common regular rituals in honour of the phötha mölba are the bi-annual harvest rituals held at btsas (bye rsi), the summer harvest of rice, and at mazi (nag rsi), the winter harvest of wheat. These are performed in every single Tzinghim household without exception. During btsas and mazi, the phötha mölba are offered the first fruit of the harvest as a bi-annual recognition, honouring and thanking them for their help and protection which ensure the prosperity and continuity of the lineage. These harvest offerings are the only recurring occasion where rituals are held successively by all three ritual specialists: the pano, the bden bongdang and the lama. The pano will make harvest offerings to the phötha mölba; the bden bongdang to the ajo argy (a jo, a nü)25, Lepcha supernaturals that have been adopted by the Lhopos; and the lama will perform a ritual offering célec kongga (bkang go)24 in honour of Kabur Kangsen - the tsen (tswa) of the snows - a feared and untamed mountain deity who is considered to be the owner of all the harvest rituals in Tzinghim.

A pano is not the mouthpiece of a specific deity such as the prestigious Tibetan oracles who act as the exclusive medium to powerful protectors such as Pobar (Prince Peter 1979). Although a pano has a tutelary deity who will assist him in his duties, he is there for all the phötha mölba and local supernatural beings, so all may have the chance to use him as a medium so as to interact with the villagers and ask for and obtain the recognition or the offerings they crave. A genuine pano is thus chosen as their servant by a consensus of all supernatural beings involved. Unlike Latsakh and among other Tibetan speaking people23, the lamas are not consulted nor play any role in the identification, initiation, training or performances of the Sikkimese panos, and Sikkim appears to be a rare case where the monks' and monasteries' influence on the pano's ritual practice has been minimal.

23. Ajo means great-father and argy great-grandmother. Both terms are borrowed and adapted from the Lepcha language.
24. Bkang means to fulfill and go means to refill or replenish. Together bkang go means to replenish (make offerings) until satisfied.
25. For the influence of the Bonic establishment on the medium of Tibetan speaking people, the assimilation or eradication of their practice see Day 1990 for Latsakh, Ornes (1999) for the Sherpas and Bergin (1976) for pano among Tibetan refugees.
The paus is usually the first to perform his part of the harvest rituals called lha chok (lha mkhor). Before the bsist or nats ritual can start, the paus will prepare the rice torma depicting the phodba motha of this particular household which always include Drö-nga, and display the appropriate offerings. All the rituals performed by the bon ritual specialists are based on the khlen or ritual text that will be chanted during the performance. Whether they include trances or not, or whether they are dedicated to the phodba motha, the ajo amgo or other local supernatural beings, the basic structure of the rituals remains more or less the same. In brief, the performance has four parts: first, there is a short purification of the ritual specialist himself, followed by the song bon (buang bon) which is a larger purification of the location and the offerings through the burning of incense. The core section is the actual invitation called den ji (dgen brang). Here the phodba motha and local supernatural beings are individually praised and invited to leave their abode in order to come and bless every single offering displayed for the occasion. This is when the attributes and powers of each are revealed or reminded to present villagers and when the paus would get possessed if he was officiating. When addressing the audience through the medium of the paus, the phodba motha will usually express their pleasure over witnessing the performance of the ritual held in their honour, and may offer some prediction or advice for the general welfare of the household or the health of one of its member. Each share of the display of grain, flowers, butter lamps and chang is then individually offered to each during the szi bul (tsvi 'bul). The lineage protectors and other beings are then given a farewell called shakti (brgyud kyi) and are asked not to bring any disease to the people living upstairs or to the cows staying downstairs, nor to provoke fires in the summer and floods during the rains.

The paus's ritual offering is followed by that of the khlen kongthang for the ajo amgo and other local supernatural beings such as the woman of the house’s particular protector (shang lha). It may also happen that the woman of the house has a particular protector (shang lha) dedicated to her and all the protective lands deities (yu lha ge 'bchag) of the lineage or family, to my knowledge, will always at least be invoked in the khrims.

16. As previously mentioned, Drö-nga may not have a torma specifically dedicated to him as a phodba among other lho or descent group elsewhere in Sikkim. He may be included in a general torma dedicated to all the protective lands deities (yu lha ge 'bchag) of the lineage or family, to my knowledge, will always at least be invoked in the khrims.

17. A bride will be followed to her new home by a protector called shang lha who comes from her ahang (a shang) or maternal uncle’s house. A girl’s maternal uncle may have more long term responsibilities towards his sister’s daughter than towards his own daughter.
pen that the bónhen longthing will himself perform the pawa’s as well as his part of the ritual if it so happens that the household does not require the mediumship services of the pawa at this particular moment. Most anyo live in the attic of the Lhепo houses where they are made offerings of grains and ornaments. They are regarded as the protector of the house, its food stores, animals and material possessions. One particular anyo is the owner of the cardamom plant, the cash crop of the Lhепos, and is given an offering ritual in the fields before the harvest is taken away from her. These ajo anyo are still considered partly untamed and the bónhen longthing may invoke his own pholha molha including Dobaga for protection while dealing with their darker side. Their state of semi-wildness is shared by a long list of supernatural beings who inhabit the local territory and who are thought to provoke illness and misfortune if offended by the presence of pollution (getib) generated by certain human actions such as quarrelling between relatives, lying, destroying particular objects of nature or burning meat. They are made offerings as part of a bargain contract with the hope to appease them through flattery by pretending to elevate them into the ranks of the ancestral deities. Thus, the ajo anyo are honoured at harvest rituals as protectors and providers, and are each represented on the altar, not by rice torne aligned on a wooden plateau as in the case of the pholha molha but by miniature bamboo pots with straw similar to the ones used to drink chang. These pots are filled with fermented grains, wrapped in a piece of banana leaf and decorated with butter in the same way as the Lepchas do”. In front of each pot or ajo anyo are displayed specific offerings according to each ajo anyo’s taste. These offerings are displayed on a square piece of banana leaf and offered to the ajo anyo by the chanting of a second khetem where each ajo anyo and other local supernatural beings is individually invoked and invited to receive his share of the offerings. The altar and the offering for the ajo anyo will be laid slightly lower than that of the pholha molha.

The pawa and the bónhen longthing’s performances are followed by that of the village lama. The harvest kongpo ritual is only held in honour of the troublesome mountain deity Kabu Kangten in the many Tingchim households where he was sent to create problems by an unscrupulous ritual specialist a few decades ago. He is given a harvest ritual in the same way that the ajo anyo are honoured with the hope to

18 The Lepchas and the Limbus erect similar altars (Gorer 1987 [1938] and Sagar 1996: 378).
time them through flattery by pretending to elevate them into the ranks of the ancestral deities. Rituals held for partly tamed supernaturals are always meant as a bargain contract. But in the case of Kabur Kangsen, not only is he given the honours of a pseudo-phulha as the owner of the harvests, he is also treated as a pseudo-Buddhist deity and given an entire Buddhist ritual by a village lama. In theory, while performing the kung-ri the lama first invokes the high Buddhist deities presiding over the ritual so that they may help him remind Kabur Kangsen of his submission vows to Guru Rinpoche and thus return him on the right path of the Dharma. But in the second part of the ritual, as a precaution, the feared Kangsen is offered little pieces of meat on the altar and the khelem, which is fundamentally a bon oral tradition, is chanted by the lama in addition to the written ritual text. The khelem will invoke a list of over twenty local supernatural beings starting with Dzö-nga as the chief of all supernatural beings of the land, coming down the mountain towards the village including Kabur Kangsen and finishing with those who inhabit the house. These are followed by the invocation of a list of twelve previous bon ritual specialists of the village. After the oral khelem, the ritual text is resumed with the dagrel-seryl (dar brag rgyal gyur skyes, libation) and the tuog-chogyel (togs chog lugs) offering. In this case, it may be unclear whether Dzö-nga is invoked as a Buddhist or as a secular mountain deity, a differentiation which probably depends on the inclination of the lama holding the ritual. Considering that Dzö-nga is neither represented by a torma on the kung-ri altar nor is he invoked by the written text as he will be in the lama’s nest (see below), it is reasonable to believe that he is here invoked as a secular mountain deity and head of all the supernatural beings of the land during the oral khelem.

These harvest offerings are mainly a formality, a thank you ritual for the new harvest where the phulha maöha, the afö amö and Kabur Kangses are offered some freshly harvested grains by chanting the khelem. Their main purpose is to maintain good relations with them so they don’t withdraw their protection but keep dispensing their blessings. While the harvest rituals are the only regular events where the phulha maöha and Dzö-nga as a secular mountain deity are invoked, many other rituals which I list below are held in extraordinary circumstances.

One of the most important moment of a wedding is the chanting of the khelem when the phulha maöha invites the phulha maöha (which always includes Dzö-nga) of both the bride and the groom to witness and legitimise the alliance. The union of husband and wife
may only gain recognition once the khaden has been pronounced. After
the birth of a first son, an important offering ritual is held by the pawa
or the khenchen lama in honour of Masong (ma snyan khyung dzo) and
the other pho tabs of the paraglene. The head and back leg of an ox are
offered to give thanks for this first son who will now perpetuate the lin-
eage. Masong, the most important pho tab or lineage protector in
Tingchhim, is a mountain deity residing on the mountain range separat-
ing the Bhutanese Valley of Ha and the Tibetan Valley of Chumbi close
to Sikkin. The help of Dzo-nga, along with that of the other pho tabs
mola, may also be invoked in case of serious illness, in resolving dis-
putes among kin members, in sitting as a supernatural judge, in helping
liberate the kidnapped soul of dead relatives (gshin dde), for protection
before going to war (dgra dka’), when apologizing after destroying objects
of nature, and when seeking protection from curses. The Seung
Gomchen (se byang gsum shen, high protector great practitioner), the
most enigmatic lama in Tingchhim, has no other responsibility but that
of controlling the weather and protecting the ripening crops of thirteen
surrounding villages against hail, something he has been doing for twen-
ty-five years. For this purpose, he invokes the help of a number of deities
including Kangekendongka in helping him control those supernatural
beings responsible for rain and hail.

But the pho tabs mola are given their greatest honour during the
pawa's initiation ritual and annual retreat called tson ched (thams can
ched) when the pho tabs mola are made to interact with their descend-
ants through the medium of possession over a period of four days.
During these séances, villagers receive advice and predictions regarding
the cause of illness, upcoming obstacles or proper behaviour. During the
tson ched that I attended in 1994, Dzo-nga was as his consort
addressed the audience a number of times, first to introduce himself
and then to join in on a debate which was taking place between a lama in
the audience and the pho tabs mola over the merit and demerit of
bön versus Buddhism. Addressing a lama who was the first to have
recently returned to the village with the Acharya (MA) Buddhist
degree, Dzo-nga as a pho tabs told him "not to break his vows" which in
this context means that he shouldn't lose faith in him by rejecting
these trance sessions as phoney, or at best, as a lower form of religion
compared to the high Buddhism which he had been studying. This

29. For Tingchhim villagers, the pho tabs Masong is the main provider of icon while for
some Sikkinese, this role is fulfilled by Dzo-nga (see below).
couldn't have been a better example to illustrate how, at the village level, Dzö-nga has maintained his identity as a pholu or secular mountain deity.

4 Dzö-nga as witness deity

Sikkim's history relates that in the 15th century, Kye Bumna (gyud 'bum gags), the Tibetan ancestor of the Sikkimese king or Chogyal (chos rgyal)30 who was then ruling in the neighbouring Chumbi Valley, came to Sikkim with his wife in search of the Lepcha patriarch and bungshing Thokong Tek. The couple was childless and requested the Lepcha bungshing to perform a ritual where Dzö-nga was invoked so that they may be blessed with a male descendent31. Upon their return to Chumbi, the couple had three sons who later became the ancestors of a number of Lhopo lineages, including that of the Sikkimese royal family. For this reason, it is said that Dzö-nga came to be regarded among some Lhapos in Sikkim as a pholu, or male ancestral deity who may bless the patri-lineages with male descendants32.

When Kye Bumna and his wife later returned to Sikkim to express their gratitude and perform a thanksgiving ritual for their sons, a blood brotherhood was sworn between the Tibetan Kye Bumna and the Lepcha Thokong Tek where the local deities of Sikkim were invoked to witness their alliance and many animals were sacrificed in order to cement the alliance (see Namgyal 1908: 18). This is how Dzö-nga later came to be worshipped and invoked as a witness deity during the national Buddhist ritual of Pang Lha hotel (pa'ng lha gnod, offering to the witness deity) held at the Palace's chapel at Gongtok by the Penmayangtse lamas, when dignitaries and representatives took a solemn oath in the presence of the protective deities of Sikkim, to serve the country. This 15th century ritu-

30. Chogyal (Dharmaraja) or the king who rules according to the Dharma, is the title of the Sikkimese kings. It was temporarily replaced by the title of Maharaja when Sikkim became a British protectorate and later reinstated during the reign of late Chogyal Padme Thondup Namgyal.
31. The annual worship of Dzö-nga was of course celebrated by the Lepchas long before the arrival of the Tibetans.
32. In Tingpham, although Dzö-nga is regarded as an important pholu, it is still Mepong (me snye spungs) Bon, the mountain deity of the inhabitants of the valleys of Ha and Chumbi where the Lhapos resided before coming to Sikkim, who is regarded as the chief provider of sons.
al of blood brotherhood performed between the Lhapos and the Lepchas is considered to have been the first Pang Lhabsol. However, lamas who dislike animal sacrifice, usually advocate that the first Pang Lhabsol had been performed in the 17th century by Lhatun Namka Jigme (1597-1650), the chief propagator of Buddhism to Sikkim, when he performed a thanksgiving ritual for his safe journey across the Himalayas as related by Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1966: 402). This divergence of opinion is a direct reflection of the gradual change of identity, from pholha to Buddhist deity, Kangchenjanga had been undergoing.

This change of identity becomes particularly evident during Pang Lhabsol’s panjel (spang chenpo) victory cham where Dzö-ngag lay warrior-dancers praise the winner deity and invoke him as their Buddhist warrior god (sgrags lha), celebrating the subjugation of enemies. But in this case, the meaning of enemy is particularly intended as the enemy of the Dharma and the monasteries, and consequently, the enemies of the Buddhist kingdom and its righteous administration. Indeed, it is mentioned in the novel (I:55-58), that Jigme Pamo (1682-1712), the third incarnation of Lhatun Namka Jigme, reminded Dzö-ngag of his oath taken before Guru Rinpoche that he would prevent enemies from entering Sikkim, particularly anyone who came here with the intention of changing the structure of the administration as it had been established by the three lamas who consecrated the first Chogyal at Yuksum in 1642 and set the borders of the new kingdom. For this reason, some say that Dzö-ngag no longer be invoked for personal gain but only for the welfare and prosperity of the Buddhist kingdom. But this was not always so. Not too long ago, the warrior dance would still be performed by lay dancers in Tinchum on other occasions than Pang Lhabsol where Dzö-ngag was invoked as a secular mountain deity. And Waddell equally mentions that Dzö-ngag is worshiped by all the laity once at least during the year for overcoming their individual enemies. Usually the whole village in concert celebrates this worship: the men carrying swords and shields, and they dance and leap about, concluding with a great shout of victory (1854: 354).

Karmay mentions that “By the mountain cult I mean particularly the secular worship of the mountain deity (yul lha, gshis ldan), who is usually depicted in the style of a traditional warrior and is worshipped as an

33. This chen was designed by the third Chogyal, Chagdor Namgyal (1606-1737) when he established the Pemayangtse monastery upon his return from Tibet.
34. Some argue that the Tibetan year actually corresponds to 1642 or even 1648.
ancestor or an ancestral deity for protection” (1998 [1994]: 426). Dzö-nga’s identities as lineage protector or ancestral deity (pha lha), related to fertility of the lineages and the fields, owner of the land, personal warrior and witness deity as well as other secular representations among the Lhpos are today easily overshadowed by his Buddhist aspects which will be discussed below and which were promoted by Lhatšun Namkha Jigme, the 17th century Tibetan Nyima rinpoché who opened the gate to the brgyud (shar yul) or hidden land of Sikkim where he is considered to have been the chief propagator of Buddhism.

5. Kangchenzhönga becomes a Buddhist mountain deity

As in Tibet, Guru Rinpoche is said to have tamed all the supernatural beings of the land during his eighth century visit to Sikkim and to have bound them through solemn oath into being protectors of the faith and to refrain from causing harm to sentient beings. By this act, and by having hidden spiritual treasures (spu) to be discovered in later times, Guru Rinpoche is seen as having brought Buddhism and a civilized way of life. But depending on the context and the person’s point of view, the taming of these waevolent beings can either be read as a metaphor for the taming of the mind, of society, of the environment or even of the country (Otter 1978: 99, Samuel 1993: 220). Indeed, Karmay has mentioned that “The subjugation of the spiritual inhabitants of the country is an extremely important part of the process in the Buddhist conversion of the people who believed in their existence. It was mainly for the need to create a sacred environment in accordance with Buddhist ideals of the universe” (1998 [1996]: 446). Although converted to Buddhism in the eighth century, it is only from the 14th that Dzö-nga’s identity as a defender of the faith and keeper of treasures was promoted by Terton Rigzin Gödon (1337-1409). And it is only in the 17th century, following Lhatshun Namkha Jigmê’s visit to Sikkim, that Dzö-nga became the object of the second cult previously mentioned within Sikkim, when mountains are the object of veneration and pilgrimage in a Buddhist sense because they are considered to have been the dwelling places of early saints where treasures have been found or may still be hidden (p.432-3).

Rigzin Gödon is thought to have been the first high lama to visit Sikkim where he is said to have meditated and discovered powerful sacred sites and spiritual treasures, including a prophetic text about the
hidden land of Sikkim. He is said to have made his discovery known in Tibet by attaching letters to the necks of vultures (Namgyal 1908: 13). He built Sikkim's first known 14th century monastery at Pawo Hünti, a hill top between Yuksam and Silno in West Sikkim of which only the ruins can still be seen today. Although he was the first Tibetan lama known to have come to Sikkim, his visit did not result in the establishment of a major lineage based on the transmission of a particular teaching. Nor did it result in the establishment of a political entity. For these reasons, it is Lhasün Namke Jigme (1597-1650), the Tibetan Drogchen master referred to as Lhasün Chenpo who is instead regarded as the chief propagator of Buddhism in Sikkim.

When Drö-ngag was subdued by Guru Rinpoche and appointed keeper of the land and its treasures, he was not to let anyone enter and discover Sikkim's sacred sites and spiritual treasures unless this person was the right one to further the intentions of Guru Rinpoche. When Lhasün Chenpo arrived from Tibet, it is said that Drö-ngag first greeted him before appearing to him in the form of a white goose and giving him the permission to open the gate to the hidden land. In his welcoming discourse, Drö-ngag revealed the various places of sacred nature and old people believe this to have been where the neli ritual was composed (Namgyal 1908: 25). The neli is a celebration of Sikkim as a hidden land of dharma and an offering ritual to Kangchenjungka and all the deities of the land. It is one of the most important and most often performed rituals in Sikkim, as much in the monasteries as in the villages' prayer halls and private houses. When Lhasün Chenpo arrived in Yuksam from the north, he met with Kathog Ngigzin Chenpo and Nadak Sempa Chenpo, two great Tibetan Nyimgma lamas who had entered Sikkim respectively from the western and southern gates. Together, they founded the kingdom and enthroned Phantog Namgyl of Gangtok as Chogyal or king who rules according to the Dharma, thus

35. The treasure text discovered by Tenzin Rigzin Gölsem is called 'The Prophetic Mirror of Sikkim' ('Rma sbon gyi bra bstan pa'i bka’i me long) and is concerned with Guru Rinpoche's predictions about the establishment of Sikkim.

36. With the exception of the lamas of Tashiding and Sinm monasteries who still today, follow the teachings brought to Sikkim by Rigzin Gölsem (khyung ger shes rgyud).

37. The kingdom of Sikkim was established by learned Nyimgma lamas who fled the religious war between the Gelugpa on the one hand, and the King of Thang and the Kagruppas on the other which led to the rise to power of the Gelukpa and the unification of Tibet.
entrusting him with both temporal and spiritual powers.

Lhatšün Chempa discovered many texts but is especially remembered for his teaching and empowerment of the rig 'dzin rtags sgrub. According to this text (E.51b) 31, Dzö-nga may be invoked as either of the following three aspects which are said to have been ascribed to him by Guru Rinpoche: 1. as ha stong (bka' stong) or the one who faithfully carries out the orders of Guru Rinpoche and who has promised to protect the words of the Buddha; 2. as the owner of the sacred locations, the local territory and the spiritual treasures as well as the five treasures (mdadsug lnga, see below) hidden within his peaks (gnay yul gter gn bdag); and 3. as an emanation of the king of the north or god of wealth (rgyal chen nmam thos ston), red in colour, wearing an armlet, riding a snow lion and carrying precious stones, a spear, a turban shaped hat and a banner of victory over his head symbolising eternal victory over the evil forces. The god of wealth is his highest manifestation and in this capacity, Dzö-nga is considered a ye shes lha (ye shes lha), a supra-worldly deity of the Buddhist pantheon as opposed to a deity of the impermanent world (jig rten gyi lha). According to the same rig 'dzin text (E.52), Dzö-nga has three manifestations: outer, inner and secret. As his outer manifestation, he is half-lha half-ten and has the capacity of conquer them all (phugs las lha bstan). As his inner manifestation, he is a great monk who has taken lay man's vows and resembles a disciple of Sakyamuni Buddha with a bowl and a walking stick (nang las sprul la'i dge bzhin). As his secret manifestation, Dzö-nga is the king of nöjin (glang ba gnod stiin rgyal po nmam thos ston) by the name of nmam thos ston or god of wealth.

31. The main offering rituals to Dzö-nga are given in the rtags sgrub chos as well as in the nying ma. However, descriptions of Dzö-nga are available from much earlier sources and were reproduced in later texts. According to Lha Tshering of Tashiding, Khengpo of the Sikkim Institute of Higher Nyenma Studies at Gangtok, the best descriptions of Dzö-nga are given in the bla ma mdzongs thu lung bstan bka' brgbu ma, a text ascribed to Guru Rinpoche and revealed in the 14th century by Tenzin Sangay Lingpa (1450-1996).

32. According to Dr Ripging Ngdup Dokhampa of the Namgal Institute of Tibetanology, to mention the significance of only a few of Dzö-nga's attributes and costume, the banner of victory fluttering over his head (dramdum) and the spear signify eternal victory over the evil forces, the gems symbolise which brings all that one wishes for, and his red colour symbolises loving attachment of sentient beings with sublime feeling of compassion (Pang Lhabsol, souvenir 1989, Sikkim Tribal Youth Association page 6-9).
Another important text known as the 'hidden land of rice's guide book to sacred places'⁴⁰ (chos yul 'bras mo lngongs kyi gnas yig), is a more recent compilation based on some three earlier texts⁴¹ prepared by Jigme Pawo. These texts give descriptions of Demojong, the area directly to the south and surrounding Mount Kangchendzonga in West Sikkim which has the highest concentration of powerful sacred sites and hidden treasures within Sikkim. Demojong is described as a paradise on earth with an abundance of fruit, vegetables and self growing crops, and clues are given in the text on how to reach Beyul Demoshong (chos yul 'bras mo gshogs)⁴², the elusive hidden land, the entry of which is located somewhere within Demojong. It is said that in the upper part of Demojong lives the mountain deity Kangchendzonga, who like a king sitting on a throne, is the owner and protector of the land, its people, its powerful sacred sites and spiritual treasures. Kangchendzonga's five peaks are the repository of five treasures: the first contains salt, the second gold and turquoise, the third Dharma scriptures and other precious objects capable of increasing one's wealth, the fourth contains arms and the fifth medicine and different types of seeds. It is believed that all these treasures will be made available to the Sikkimese people in times of need. The centre of Demojong is Drakar Tashiding (Lung skor lha brwa shi sgongs) where Guru Rinpoche is said to have given many teachings. In the four cardinal directions of Tashiding are four miraculous caves where one can attain extraordinary powers. In the east is shar tshok bda' phub (shar phyang shas phug), the hidden cave of the east; in the south is khandro sang phub (mchab 'gro gyung phug), the womb of the celestial female deity; in the west is rgyan dchen phub (b o rgyan sde chen)⁴³ and in the north is rgyan gser phub (b o rgyan brgyud phug).  

⁴⁰ A nying (gnas yig) or guide book gives descriptions of the powerful sacred sites as well as clues to the hidden treasures.  

⁴¹ According to Khempo Lha Tsering, the chos yul 'bras mo lngongs kyi gnas yig has been compiled from the following main sources: 1. Terstein Ngönnyen Grolö's 14th century prophetic text ('bras lngongs lung brtan gsal ba' rdo rje), 2. a text discovered by Terstein Sangay Lingpa in the 14th century (kha ma lngongs 'dua lung brtan bu' bgyas mtho); and 3. a later guide book discovered by a lama who never came to Sikkim by the name of Terstein Dzog Choekyi Lingpa of Doma Gön (ma de mong dgon) monastery in Khum who had been the first incarnation of present Yangthang Rinpoche of West Sikkim.  

⁴² 'gshogs' as in Demoshong means valley of rolling hills, while 'lngongs' as in Demojong means land or country. While Demojong is the heart of historical Sikkim, located around and below Mount Kangchendzonga, Demoshong remains a true hidden land. Some people are said to have caught glimpses of it through an opening in the rock while travelling through the mountains although the entry could never be found again.
phug), the cave of great happiness; and in the north is lhari rinchen nyjung phug (lha ri rin chen nyjung phug), the cave of god’s precious heart. Nearby, the plateau of Tuksum where the first Chogyal was crowned just below Kangshendriga, is considered to be a natural altar in front of the sacred mountains, caves, lakes and rivers where ritual offerings can be made. All of these locations are today pilgrimage destinations for all Sikkimese Buddhists.

Sikkim was and in many ways still regarded by its Buddhist inhabitants as a sacred hidden land or brpad. The following words of Tertön Dorje Lingpa (1346-1425) and Tertön Rama Lingpa (1425-1478) quoted from the History of Sikkim summarize how most Lhapos still think of their country’s potential. Tertön Dorje Lingpa described Sikkim as “a veritable paradise on earth, created by a miraculous supernatural power into a vast and magnificent palace where everything calculated to produce beauty and grandeur have been provided on the grandest imaginable scale” (Ngamgyal 1908: 9). The History of Sikkim also tells us that the land was initially blessed by Chintamani and Indra, followed in the eighth century by Guru Rinpoche who “exercised the land of all evil spirits, and rid it of all obstacles that would tend to obstruct or disturb the course of devotional practices” (Ngamgyal 1908: 10). Prothetical books were compiled and hidden by him in rocks so as to be re-discovered in later times. Treasures were hidden in one hundred and eight secret mines and stores to render this land productive, healthy and harmonious as well as to facilitate the spread of the Dharma. Tertön Rama Lingpa qualifies Sikkim as “the best of all the sacred places of pilgrimage as it will come to be resorted to in the end of the evil times (...) everyone assembled to bless this sacred land: they took possession of it, blessed it and sewed all kinds of seeds in it. Then they hid treasures, appointed keepers and uttered hundred prayers (...). Every cliff, peak, cave and hilltop has been consecrated for devotional purposes. Persons who practise devotion in any of these blessed places are sure to attain siddhi power and the highest knowledge and perfection temporally and spiritually” (Ngamgyal 1908: 10-11). The History of Sikkim adds that of all brpad, Sikkim is said to be the most sacred and sanctified, the king of all sacred places equaling paradise itself. Sikkim is described as the land of medicinal herbs and curative waters as well as a golden trough where anything

43. There is a number of curative hot springs (tsho-ri) in Sikkim all recommended for bone and skin disorders although each is said to have additional specific curative properties.
one wishes to sow will grow. It is mentioned that people who come here will not suffer incurable diseases and will not feel hungry as there are 105 different kinds of fruit and 360 types of edible plants. It is added that in Sikkim, wisdom, love, kindness and compassion grow spontaneously within oneself.

One cannot help but think that such descriptions of Sikkim as a treasure house could have been written as an encouragement for Tibetan people to come and settle, perhaps in order to populate these empty hills on the unprotected borders of Tibet. There are many legends regarding the existence of similar beyul across the Himalayas and Tibet, and Samuel (1985: 317) has pointed out that in the Nyenang tradition, beyul had been "set aside by Guru Rinpoche as a refuge to be discovered at an appropriate time in a rather similar way to the discovery of the terma texts (...). Some of these beyul were quiet refuges set aside for meditation but others, like Sikkim and Penaköd, were places where lay people could settle to escape political turmoil". Indeed, many Tibetans are thought to have taken refuge and migrated to Sikkim as a result of the religious wars of the 17th century.

6. Dzö-nga and the rituals of the village lamas

The ritual, which is the Buddhist ritual of the land par excellence, is a celebration of Sikkim as a beyul and an offering ritual to Dzö-nga as the greatest deity of Beryl Demlöng. It is one of the most important and most often performed rituals in Sikkim, as much in the Nyenang monasteries as in the villages’ prayer halls and private houses. There are different versions of this ritual in existence and the lengthiest and most orthodox will be performed by the lamas of Penkyaunting monastery, Sikkim’s premier monastery. An important difference between this lengthier version and the shorter one as performed in Tinchim, is the fact that its kākhen has been standardised and put down in written form thus giving it a aura of sanctity and orthodoxy.

Whenever the lamas of Tinchim gather at the village’s prayer hall in order to celebrate the important days of the Tibetan Buddhist calendar, the ritual will be performed at some point during the morning session, whatever main ritual text is also being read on that day. In such case, two alaks, each with their respective set of terma will be prepared; the higher one for the Buddhist deities of the main ritual and a lower
smaller one for Drö-nga and the other deities of the nesol. It will only be performed on its own within the prayer hall when someone from the village returns from an important pilgrimage in order to apologize to the deities of the land, in case any polluting or disturbing actions may have been performed by the pilgrim while visiting powerful sacred places. The nesol will be performed in private houses whenever lamas are called to hold a major ritual, for example at weddings, as part of the rituals performed during funerals, when a new house has been completed (khyim gao bsha sths), or whenever a household wishes to offer a norgi ritual during the winter for its general welfare and prosperity. But usually, the nesol is performed on its own in private houses as a shapton (shash khris), when someone is sick and a rical specialist has recommended it as a cure. In such cases, the khulen will specifically invoke, in addition to Drö-nga and the usual supernatural beings of the land, the entity that has been identified as the cause of the ailment, and little pieces of meat previously obtained from the butcher will be presented on the altar.

In the household performance of the nesol, the top shelf of the altar will have the usual Buddhist deities lama, yidam and khandro (bla ma yi dlam mkha’ gn) presiding over the ritual. On the next lower shelf are a row of ten smaller torma representing the Dharma protectors and the higher territorial deities of Sikkim such as Drö-nga who do not reside near Tzingtrim but, for the most part, have their abode in the sacred area of Denujong in West Sikkim. On the left of these ten torma are the sershong, (shes ring mchel lugs) the five celestial female deities. In a third lower row in front of them are twenty smaller torma representing various general categories of local supernaturals including one for Ajo Dongbong, the legendary Ledpa bongthong and interestingly, another torma for all previous nangshong of the village who best symbolize the result of the encounter between lama and Buddhism at the village level. Looking at the nesol altar and its inherent hierarchy, the top row represents the tantric deities who stand for Buddhism’s highest and purest form which from the villagers’ point of view is best understood and dealt with by the learned lamas of the monasteries and the Tibetan rinpoches. The second row of

11 A shapton is a general term used to refer to any ritual performed in order to strengthen the life force of a person.

12 A lama. Guru Rinpoché dispenses blessings as yidam. Guru Drubpo (go rphan po) dispenses prayers; see as khandro, Dung Dongma (sde dpal ma) gives protection. These manifestations of Guru Rinpoché are represented on both, Nyinma and Kagyu altars in the rituals of village lamas in Sikkim.
torpa for the local deities and protectors of Sikkim as a whole are associ-
ated with the village lamas since they are the most important and tangible
high deities of the land from a Sikkimese village's perspective. The lowest
row representing the worldly and ambivalent local supernaturals, from the
villagers' point of view, are still the domain of the bön ritual specialists who
are themselves present on the altar.

But it is in the Chirim ritual which used to be held in Tingchim until
1994 on the occasion of Pang Lhabsol, that the relation between bön and
Buddhism in the village has perhaps found its best expression. The
Chirim is the only annual ritual where momentarily, the bönten bongthi-
ing and the village lamas jointly participate in the performance of a com-
munity ritual within the village's prayer hall. First, in front of the prayer
hall and with the help of villagers, the bönten bongthing builds a long
frame of bamboo on which a series of at least six sets of offerings are laid
out, each for a particular group or individual ayo ampo and other super-
natural beings of the land with the usual offerings of grain, flowers and
eggs. Inside the prayer hall, the lamas perform the nechgin at the appro-
riate moment, the lamas call the bönchen bongthing inside the prayer hall
so that he personally chants the oral chilen section of the tenor for Dzo-
nga and all other higher deities of the land, after which the bönchen
bongthing returns outside to perform his own offering and chilen for all
the ayo ampo and other less important supernatural beings not specifica-
ly covered by the tenor. While the lamas invoked the higher supernatu-
ral beings of the land and the bönchen bongthing the lower ones, it is con-
sidered the bönchen bongthings duty to send them all back home, and
especially send back the troublesome ones after making them promise
not to come back to create obstacles for villagers until they are called
again next year to receive their new offerings. The bamboo frame cov-
ered with offerings is then taken to the lake and a village feast follows at
the prayer hall. Today, the Chirim ritual is still occasionally held, not as
a regular annual ritual at Pang Lhabsol, but as a community shapten
whenever a number of villagers suffer of dysentery during the monsoon.

7. Dzo-nga and the state rituals

The combined participation of both bön and Buddhist ritual specialists
must have found local expression in many similar ways throughout
Sikkim. In Tingchim, the pawo and the bönchen bongthing regularly per-
form together while the village lama sometimes joins in when his par-
nicipation is required in the performance of complex eating rituals. The following example, illustrating the tolerance and respect the Chogyals showed towards the 

bon ritual specialists within their Buddhist kingdom, may be interpreted in different ways. Some believe that expressions of this amicable co-existence were encouraged by the Chogyals as a diplomatic measure to encourage the happy co-existence of the Lhaspos and the Lepchas, and the Chogyals' popularity. I believe that, at least in the early days, these were more the expression of a 

laster-faire attitude and of the true nature and belief of the Lhaspos, which the Chogyals themselves were not exempted from.

During the time of the Kingdom and apparently until the late 1980s, some 

bon ritual specialists were invited to discreetly participate at the following state functions and officiate at certain personal rituals of the royal household which were described to me by Captain Yongga who had been one of Chogol Palden Thondup Namgyal's last ADC. On the occasion of the harvest rituals for the Chogyal's fields a Lepcha 

bongthong would come to the Palace and offer a khelma for the aje asey and local supernatural beings who inhabit the area of the Chogyal's farmer palace at Rabdentse as well as of the current Palace at Gangtok. The royal household's 

pholu moita were made offerings to on a separate occasion by Jowo Bönpo from Nako-Chonglung village whose family responsibility it has been for generations. Jowo Bönpo's ritual performance was held around the time of the kagye cham (sha' breg ng thong) dances held at the Palace's chapel just before Losung, the Sikkimese farmer's new year 46. In addition to the offering ritual for the royal family's ancestral deities, Jowo Bönpo also performed two additional rituals 47 following written 

bon texts. Around the same time, before the kagye cham began, in a little room next to the Palace's chapel, a Lepcha bongthong would discreetly hold an offering ritual, it is said hopefully without the Lepcha Nyangma lama taking notice as they would probably object to its performance. In its khele, the Lepcha bongthong made offerings to the

46. For a description of these cham dances see Nibalski-Wajdowicz (1979: 24-6).
47. The first ritual is called yangga (gang breg) and is held with the purpose of increasing a person's or a household's yang, the element which is thought to be beneficial for the production of wealth, children, animals, house, etc. The second is called stum (stum man), a ritual performed to suppress the arising of negative forces. I was told that only Jowo Bönpo of Nako-Chonglung village and late Bönpo Lharchips of Kyasing village would perform these rituals following 

bon texts in Sikkim, these rituals being performed by Buddhist lamas in all other villages.
Lepcha ancestor Tekong Tek and his wife including Dzoonga and all the local supernatural beings of the land*

Pang Lhabul was the most important ritual of Sikkim held at the Palace's chapel and simultaneously in every monastery and village prayer hall throughout the kingdom. Pang Lhabul was the national ritual of the land, held at the end of the monsoon in early September, the main day falling on the 15th of the 7th month of the lunar calendar. This was the occasion when the royal family and the Phodge mi ne lha sik gel mo sde, the traditional council of the monk body and the nyi body, which consisted of the abbots of the monasteries, the landlord: (kazi), the ministers, the main appointment holders and the representatives of the people, would renew their vows to serve the country. On the first floor of the Palace's chapel, on the morning of the 15th, a senior monk of Pemayangtse monastery would first invoke Dzoonga and all the deities of the land to stand as witnesses. During this kher-lam which also invoked the previous Chogyals and named the sacred locations of Sikkim, an apology was made for deeds done against the plants, the streams, the rivers and the rocks and a request made for freedom from obstacles, diseases, famine and war, for the protection of the royal family, and for the people and the land to be graced with wealth, good harvest and timely rainfall. The assembly then took the vow, in the presence of the protective deities of Sikkim, to carry out the intentions of the four lamas who founded the kingdom at Yuksum and not to do anything against the interest of the country or its righteous administration. As we have seen, Pang Lhabul was also a celebration of the blood brotherhood which was sworn between Khye Bumsa, the ancestor of the Chogyals and the Lepcha chief Tekong Tek in the 13th century; where Dzoonga was for the first time invoked to witness their alliance. A finely dressed woman then held the chhoang of which a few drops were sprinkled on the altar, the members of the royal family and the pungpo dancers after which members of the royal family offered silk scarves to the life-size effigies of Dzoonga and Yapdi (rak bjud), the guardians of Sikkim's southern gate. The pungpo dancers then sprinkled some rice in the air and left followed by the assembly. This ceremony was followed by the pungpo and the monastic cham dances which have been described by Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1976: 19-24, 1991: 402-3). The pungpo is essentially a victory dance,
where lay men carrying sword and shield, praise the witness deity and invoke Dzö-nga as their warrior god while celebrating the subjugation of enemies. It was followed by a series of cham danced by the Pemayangtse lamas wearing elaborate brocade dresses and masks with Dzö-nga and Yapdú as the central deities to make appearances. A red and a black horse dedicated respectively to Dzö-nga and Yapdú participated in the cham; never ridden by anyone throughout the year, these horses are said to suddenly grow restless at a precise moment during the rituals as if mounted by the deities. While the rituals were being held at the Palace’s chapel a Lepcha longtshing would perform a ritual for Yapdú at his abode above the Tsesta, south of present day Sikkim. In the evening, the dignitaries and representatives who participated in the morning oath-taking session, assembled again at the Palace ground for the annual chanting of the national anthem.

In Tinchim, as in many other Sikkimese villages, Pang Lhabsol was observed by first sending offerings of chang or grain to the Chogyal through their representative which was to be part of the nag for the rituals at the Palace’s chapel that were going to involve a large number of lamas over several days. In exchange, the representative was fed and sent back with a maund (40 kg) of salt for the village. Offerings were also sent to the Phodong monastery where rituals were being held. Back home in the village, Pang Lhabsol was celebrated at the prayer hall with the lamas’ and the bönpo longtshing’s performance of the Cuntim. Although villagers usually did not attend the rituals in Gangtok, the sending of their representative with an offering of grain, the receipt of the salt for the village from the Palace and their own simultaneous performance of the naed in honour of Dzö-nga, Yapdú and all the deities of Sikkim, effectively linked Tinchim to the Palace, the ladd and all other Sikkimese villages through the performance of a national ritual. In this way, Dzö-nga played an important role as a national symbol and it is said that all ethnic communities, whatever their origins and whether Hindu or Buddhist, used to recognise and worship Kanghendzonga if they considered themselves first and foremost as Sikkimese.

In the early days of fieldwork in Tinchim, I expected to witness a lama-shaman encounter similar to that described by Mumford whereby the traditions of the Gurung shamans and Tibetan lamas in Gyasmo

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49. This partial description of the Pang Lhabsol ritual is based on a few people’s recollection of the events as they remembered them. The main contributions are from T.S. Gyalsey and Captain S. Yongda.
were interacting as rival regimes (1989: 10). However, such confronta-
tion in Tingchim did not present itself and instead, the ritual coopera-
tion between lamas and shamans unfolded as a well integrated ritual
complex. Although each ritual tradition in Tingchim, in theory, corre-
sponds to a particular ritual field dominated by a specific altar and spe-
cialist performing distinct ritual offerings, these are not to be regarded as
separate belief systems and practices. Rather they should be perceived as
complementary elements that have moulded each other throughout decades
if not centuries of interaction. Any bon or Buddhist aspect of this pan-
themon may be invoked in the process of village ritual life, usually inde-
dependently but sometimes through regular and curing rituals that require
various levels of cooperation such as in the Chirim. Rivalries are rare
and, until recently, not explicitly between bon and Buddhism since at the
village level, all equally recognise the pantheon of the other while being
fundamentally Buddhists. The chanting of the khenrim remains the ritual
performance shared by all which best symbolises this creative encounter.
And whether performed by the lamas as part of the nesel, by the pawa
for the phöltsa maña or by the bönchen bungthang for the sjo anga and
other ambiguous supernatural beings inhabiting the territory, the kholen
will be chanted to please or appease the deities of the land and seek the
protective blessings of Kangchenzhonka.

8. Conclusion: The progressive influence of high Buddhism

For the Lhopos, although Dzö-nga's Buddhist identity was revealed
and promoted by Lhasuön Chenpo in the 17th century, the mountain deity
did not shed his secular identities immediately. The taming has been a
slow process and Tingchim villagers still annually sacrificed an ox for
Dzö-nga and all the local supernatural beings of Sikkim until the early
1960s. Nesbisky-Wojkowicz also quotes a Sikkimese source as saying "If...
danger from tigers arises, then this is magic due to the dissatisfaction of
mo Dzod lega stag rlee"). Sacrifice a white yak. If no white yak is available,
then make an offer as a substitute the image of a white yak made of but-
ter and long like an arrow" (1976: 20). These examples suggest that, in

50. For a discussion about the lama-shaman relation in Tingchim and the views of
other authors on the subject in the context of other Tibetan cultural regions see
51. Dzö-nga is often referred to as Dzö-nga sde or (tse mo) or tiger peak.
the eyes of the Lhopos, Dzö-nga retained the ambivalent character of an untamed mountain deity for much longer than it is suggested in the scriptures. But today, the sining process seems just about complete. Although Dzö-nga’s secular identities are still honoured by the village lamas in Tingchim, he is never found to be at the root of someone’s illness or misfortune and blood will no longer be offered to him directly. Nevertheless, the debate over his identities is still ongoing. When discussing these with a rinpoche in Gangtok, he thought it impossible for Dzö-nga to take possession of the pawa in Tingchim and address the audience. In his eyes, as god of wealth, Dzö-nga was too high a Buddhist deity and could not possibly descend from his heavenly abode upon the body of a village pawa. The rinpoche concluded that the possessing entity had to be an imposter.

Similar ideas are slowly finding their way back to the village as the lama-students return to the village after studying under the supervision of Tibetan rinpoches and knowledgeable lamas who established educational institutions or found employment in Sikkim following the taking over of Tibet in 1959. As the well educated lama-students take the place of their fathers in the ritual hierarchy of the village and the bbow ritual specialists pass away, so are their rituals being forgotten, and with them, the identities of the phoiba moltha and the supernatural beings of the land including that of Kangchedzong. And so it would seem that Karmay’s observation that usually, mountain deities were not the object of both secular and Buddhist cults, has gradually taken place in Sikkim. From ambivalent phoiba, Dzö-nga progressively became a Buddhist deity. Thus, following his 17th century conversion, Dzö-nga’s warrior aspect as a phoiba seems to have simply been gradually reoriented, from defending the person, the lineage and the territory against worldly enemies, towards defending the Dharma, the monasteries and Sikkim as a newly established Buddhist kingdom against potentially untamed subjects of the king. And his qualities as a worldly provider of grains and male descendents, replaced as a provider of Buddhist scriptures and other spiritual treasures.

More recently, Dzö-nga seems to have found new protective roles on Sikkim’s ritual platform of the 1990s. Now a minority in their ex-Kingdom, the Lhopos are increasingly being faced with threats to the survival of their language, culture, and economic and political rights. These threats have led to the need to assert their unity and original Sikkimese,
or 'sons of the soil' identity which has found perfect expression in the worship of the deities of the land and its sacred locations. Such rituals clearly highlight the Lhopo's ancient relation with the land and effectively distinguish them from Tibetans and people of Nepalese origin who, as recent immigrants and uprooted people do not recognise these supernatural beings. The monasteries, the spiritual treasures, the sacred sites and their rituals are the only thing left to the Lhopo which confers on them a sense of identity and a locus for their past history.

In this context, Buddhist rituals in honour of territorial deities have undergone a certain revival among politically conscious Lhopo lamas. The best example is that of the lamas of Pemayangsetse monasteries, who in 1994, took it upon themselves to resume, within the precinct of their own monastery, the performance of the Pang Lhabso ritual which had been suspended some years before at the Palace's chapel. More recently, preserving the sacred sites and spiritual treasures located at the heart of Demojong was the object of a campaign against the construction of a 30-megawatt hydro-electric power station to be built on the sacred Ratshong Chu river at Yakaun in West Sikkim (Schaefer 1995). The newel specifically mentions not to destroy hills, rocks and cliffs within Demojong and the sound of the blasting of the dynamite at the project site had a powerful psychological impact on the Lhopo; it was as if the deities' abodes were crumbling to pieces. In this case, the preservation of Demojong became a rallying issue for the Lhopo community to unite and wake up to the fact that they were losing their identity and strength as a community because of personal financial and other political interests. During the campaign, the newel ritual, held in honour of Kangchendzonga and all other supernatural beings of the land was repeatedly performed in many houses throughout Sikkim. The rituals were held in an effort to appease the deities following the destruction of the sacred land or with the hope of invoking Kangchendzonga's blessings for the success of the campaign.
Bibliography


* in 1971, Dusho Temzin Dorje (Dregs shos bstan ’dul sn bo rje) informed Michael Aris about the existence of two exceptional Bhumaran Mon historical texts which he later gave to him. They are:

1. Sa skyang rgyal pa'i pgal ngas rabs byung bsungs dang dang byi mi rabs chad zhub nges par gsal ba'di sgron me, written in 1728 by Wajinda, a monk from the Byar clan, dbu can manuscript, 54 folios.

2. Dpal Brag par lung la'i dgang broskus bzhes bstan pa'i ring lug. Lhos mon ba'is kha las ngyi ma skar phyogs ra byung bsungs rgyal pa le rgya gal ba'di me long, unsigned, but most probably written by the same author, dbu can manuscript, 24 folios.

In 1979, Michael Aris published these two historical works along with their English translations and appended them as a microfiche copy to his book, Bhutan: The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom, Aris & Phillips, Warminster, London, 1979, (for
detailed information regarding the manuscripts, please see pp.xxii-xxix).


In 1984, Dasho Tenzin Dorje published the former manuscript under the title Bed i.e. menga’ budag Khris vel pa con gzi kyi bzhed (Lha rnas gnam ma’i phang, budag phel rabs dang, tert kyi mi rabs mchod khrungs le rgyas gsal ba’i sgron me zhes bya ba ba bshugs so in modern book form, no publication data, 102 pages), basing himself, as he says in the colophon, on two other hand-written versions that he collated and compiled.

Dasho Tenzin Dorje also wrote the following articles:


d. 1. (Cover title) “Brug shes phyogs pa’i gnyen lam brti stangs dang bkra shis gsang phyogs byi ‘brug pa gnyen sp rigs, sbyor bya nyal lo rgyus mchod bodu dus’i] gling bu gnyis bya ba bshugs so (A slightly longer title runs: “Brug shes phyogs pa’i gnyen lam brti stangs dang bkra shis gsang phyogs byi ‘brug pa gnyen sp rigs, sbyor bya nyal lo rgyus mchod bodu na gshon phyo mta’i ba’i dparyod du gnyis pa’i gnyis dri za’i gling bu gnyis bya ba bshugs so”), pp.1-53.

d. 2. “Brug pa’i rgya’ chos ngyor tu srong ba’i gnyis ngor rnam par ’dum shor bshugs so”, pp.14-64.

d. 3. “Skya lnga dang yon nang chags rabs lo rgyus smra ba’i lo’od pa’i ba rgyan bshugs”, pp.65-72.

There is no publication information on the latter booklet. This too was published sometime in the mid-1980’s in Bhutan.

e. Lha ’Brug smas gnyen chos idam stong gi skos yol khang dang grubs gnyen bsha’d phyogs rnam ma’i gnyas zig dang lo rgyus gang gnyes phyogs bodu dud pa’i ngyi ma lharm pa’i skyes rong shkar po, (A Collection of Rare and Nisteres Unknown Guide Books and Account of 24 Sacred Sites and Hidden Places of the Bhutan and Men Tsawang Areal), collected and edited by Dasho Tenzin Dorje, no publication data, 341 pages.
1. “Bum thang lha’i sbas yul gis bkod pa me tog skyed ’shat”, written by Tshe pa mchog gi rnal ‘byor ba Drii med ‘od zer in stong ma lugs, pp.5-23.

2. “Shas yul skyed mo ljongs Bham ga byang gi gnas yig”, Rig ’dzin. ‘Jigs med gling pa babs byugur las thon pa’n. pp.23-25.


4. “Bum thang sblo gsang ge rd gon gi gnas yig nyung ngag babs pa don gis stong po”, Chos ba’i rdo rgyal blo kham gser bond Rin chen gling par gnas kyi ngo spred mthabs, Rdo rgi gling sprul ming pa engags ban Kham pa gser Yong grol gyis shar bris, pp.31-46.


7. “Klong gsal las Shas yul mikan pa ljongs kyi gnas yig Pad ma gling pa’i gser ma”, pp.73-103.


10. “Shas yul seng ge rd gon gi gnas bshad”, pp.147-166.


17. “Mon sra gser chu mo phu’i gnas yig las can dad pa’, snye ma, rig ’dzin gser stod
18. Sphyi ‘du-mdan kha’i gnas yig’,” pp.210-211.
24. “Shas yul A brgya lung gi gnas yig mthong la kun grol dang lung byed”, Gter stod O sgrub gling pa shes sprots la’i brag yas kyi stas bco lugs la gter nas dam sngags pa’, pp.270-274.

I bought these publications in Dpe mudr kuns phun mtsho’i shis chu chad thong khang, Thimphu, when I was attending the funeral of Snyab tshul. (Gol go sbyed byun Rinpoche 1990-1991) in Thang mong lha’i rgya’i stobs. Sa makalu mudr men, Pano (Bhutan) in November 1992.

There should be more articles and monographs written by Dasha Tenzin Dorje, but these are not accessible to me at the moment. We are reproducing Dasha Tenzin Dorje’s article entitled ‘‘Brug sde-rje phyag pa’i sman lam bris snying dang tshas shis sngang kyi ’brug pa gyur snying gyen byar’i tris tshol la ngas mchog stobs na gshungs pho’i mo’i nas’i ba’i gnyed du gser pa’i gyen sbyor ni’i’ gnas yig la’i byas la bshags so’.” “Marriage Customs and Practices of the lha’i rgya’i Gang snyens Nasad (’brug sde-rje) of tshas sngang (Eastern Bhutan)” with permission of the author for a few reasons. Its prose is of high quality with particular attention to ethnographic details. Despite being so wonderfully written, it is not well known to the Bhutanese scholars and their students as well as to the Western Tibetologists. It thus deserves more attention.

Tashi Tsering
ফুলভর্ণ ও ফুলার দুটি বীজ পাওয়া যায়।

১. ফুলভর্ণ বীজ: ফুলভর্ণ বাদামী আদি আকারের বীজ যেটি পাটিয়ে পত্রগুলি প্রস্তুত করতে পারে। এটি চুলের আকারের বীজ হিসেবে বিবেচিত হয়।

২. ফুলার বীজ: ফুলার বীজ ধূসর আকারের বীজ যেটি প্রায় শুদ্ধ পাতা প্রস্তুত করতে পারে।

ফুলার বীজ দুটি বীজের মধ্যে অনেক ধরণের পাতা প্রস্তুত করতে পারে।

নীলকন্ঠ: নীলকন্ঠ বীজ পাটি প্রায় সাদা বাদামী আকারের বীজ।
কৃত্তির মন্ত্রণালয়খাতে শিশ কর্তৃক নয়নের স্বরূপ পরবর্তীতে শিক্ষার্থী মন্ত্রণালয়ের কার্যক্রম সমাপ্তি। জ্ঞানের মাধ্যমে শিক্ষার্থীর কার্যক্রম সমাপ্তি করা সম্ভব নয়। এখানে প্রধানতঃ শিক্ষার্থীর স্বাক্ষর কর্তৃক জ্ঞানের মাধ্যমে শিক্ষার্থীর কার্যক্রম সমাপ্তি করা যেতে পারে। এই উদ্দেশ্যে শিক্ষার্থীর স্বাক্ষর কর্তৃক জ্ঞানের মাধ্যমে শিক্ষার্থীর কার্যক্রম সমাপ্তি করা যেতে পারে।

কেবলমাত্র শিক্ষার্থীর স্বাক্ষর কর্তৃক জ্ঞানের মাধ্যমে শিক্ষার্থীর কার্যক্রম সমাপ্তি করা যেতে পারে। এই উদ্দেশ্যে শিক্ষার্থীর স্বাক্ষর কর্তৃক জ্ঞানের মাধ্যমে শিক্ষার্থীর কার্যক্রম সমাপ্তি করা যেতে পারে।

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ཤུགས་བཤིས་བཏབ, རླུང་བཞིན་ལ་གདུགས་སོགས་བཀོད་པས་ལ་བཤད་པ་མེད། རླུང་བཞིན་ལ་གད་པ་བཅས་པའི་བཤད་པ་བཅས་པའི་གདུགས་སོགས་བཀོད་པས་ལ་ཤུགས་བཤིས་བཤིས་བཏབ། རླུང་བཞིན་ལ་གད་པ་བཅས་པའི་བཤད་པ་བཅས་པའི་གདུགས་སོགས་བཀོད་པས་ལ་ཤུགས་བཤིས་བཤིས་བཏབ་པོ་ཡི་བཤད་པ་བཅས་པའི་བཤད་པ་བཅས་པའི་གདུགས་སོགས་བཀོད་པས་ལ་ཤུགས་བཤིས་བཤིས་བཏབ་པོ་ཡི་བཤད་པ་བཅས་པའི་བཤད་པ་བཅས་པའི་གདུགས་སོགས་བཀོད་པས་ལ་ཤུགས་བཤིས་བཤིས་བཏབ

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ལུགས་ལྷུན་ཐོབ་པ་དང་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་སྐུ་སྐུ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་པ་མེད་པ་བཤད་pb
নেতারা গুরুসাহী সাহায্যে সাহায্য করতে সিদ্ধ হয়ে লেখনায় পত্র লিখে দিচ্ছেন হীরকুণ্ডা শিক্ষাগৃহের সহায়। তাদের প্রাচীন ধরনের লিখন এসব পত্র দেওয়া হয় নেতাদের সাহায্যে সাহায্য করতে সিদ্ধ হয়ে লেখনায় পত্র লিখে দিচ্ছেন হীরকুণ্ডা শিক্ষাগৃহের সহায়।

নেতাদের প্রিয় মাঝে একবার সাহায্য করতে সিদ্ধ হয়ে লেখনায় পত্র লিখে দিচ্ছেন হীরকুণ্ডা শিক্ষাগৃহের সহায়। তাদের প্রাচীন ধরনের লিখন এসব পত্র দেওয়া হয় নেতাদের সাহায্যে সাহায্য করতে সিদ্ধ হয়ে লেখনায় পত্র লিখে দিচ্ছেন হীরকুণ্ডা শিক্ষাগৃহের সহায়।

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যাতে তিনি স্বাভাবিক হলে তার চরিত্রের উন্নতি হবে না। তার চরিত্রের উন্নতির জন্য তিনি ব্যবস্থা করেন যা তাকে অনন্যতা ও পরিবর্তনশীলতার সাথে পূর্বের প্রস্তাবিত সম্পর্কে তদানীন্তন স্বাভাবিক হয়ে উঠতে পারে।

যাতে তাকে অনন্যতা ও পরিবর্তনশীলতা অনেক সময়ের জন্য তার চরিত্রের উন্নতি হবে না, তার চরিত্রের উন্নতির জন্য তিনি যে স্বাভাবিকতা ও পরিবর্তনশীলতা তাকে প্রদান করেন তা তার চরিত্রের উন্নতির জন্য যতই বড় সুযোগ হয়ে থাকে তাতে কিছু পাবেন না।

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যাতে তাকে অনন্যতা ও পরিবর্তনশীলতা তার চরিত্রের উন্নতির জন্য তার চরিত্রের উন্নতির জন্য তিনি যে স্বাভাবিকতা ও পরিবর্তনশীলতা তাকে প্রদান করেন তা তার চরিত্রের উন্নতির জন্য যতই বড় সুযোগ হয়ে থাকে তাতে কিছু পাবেন না।

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যাতে তাকে অনন্যতা ও পরিবর্তনশীলতা তার চরিত্রের উন্নতির জন্য তার চরিত্রের উন্নতির জন্য তিনি যে স্বাভাবিকতা ও পরিবর্তনশীলতা তাকে প্রদান করেন তা তার চরিত্রের উন্নতির জন্য যতই বড় সুযোগ হয়ে থাকে তাতে কিছু পাবেন না।

যাতে তাকে অনন্যতা ও পরিবর্তনশীলতা তার চরিত্রের উন্নতির জন্য তার চরিত্রের উন্নতির জন্য তিনি যে স্বাভাবিকতা ও পরিবর্তনশীলতা তাকে প্রদান করেন তা তার চরিত্রের উন্নতির জন্য যতই বড় সুযোগ হয়ে থাকে তাতে কিছু পাবেন না।
আস কোন গভীর আসাম পৃথিবীর ফুলতে জীবন। পৃথিবীর ন্যায় আমার চরম হয় কোন গভীর অমৃতবালা আর শুভ হয় কে রয়েছে নিখুঁজ আমাকে কি জানি কে কেন করতে পারে মাঝে মাঝে এই কোন গভীর আসাম পৃথিবীর ফুলতে জীবন।

কালমায় কোন বন্ধন যুগায় পৃথিবীর জীবন আর আমার আমাকে আমার জীবন আমার জীবন আমার জীবন।

দুঃখ কেন কেন আমার জীবন কেন কেন আমার জীবন কেন কেন আমার জীবন কেন কেন আমার জীবন।

যে কখন কখন আমি জীবনের ফুল ফুল ফুল ফুল জীবনের ফুল ফুল ফুল ফুল জীবনের ফুল ফুল ফুল ফুল জীবনের ফুল ফুল ফুল ফুল 


defined boundaries.

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हे कृपया विश्वास करा की तुम्हाला ह्या दाखिला तपासणींनी ह्या प्रकारे स्वास्थ्य संबंधी पत्ता तपासणींच्या म्हणजेच अधिक माहिती साजरी करण्यासाठी ग्रामपंचायताच्या कार्यालयात जावा लागेल. इतर दिशेने उपलब्ध म्हटलेली अन्य माहितीही तपासणींच्या म्हणजेच अधिक माहिती साजरी करण्यासाठी राज्यपालाच्या भवनात आपल्यासाठी मिळव्या जावा लागेल. तपासणींच्या म्हणजेच अधिक माहिती साजरी करण्यासाठी ज्याच्यासाठी तुम्ही स्वत: जाऊ लागू इतर दिशेने उपलब्ध माहितीही तपासणींच्या म्हणजेच अधिक माहिती साजरी करण्यासाठी राज्यपालाच्या भवनात आपल्यासाठी मिळव्या जावा लागेल.
গুরুদেব কৃপাজন আমরে ভক্তি হিসাবে এখন চরিত্র করিলে কেবল জন আমার, নয়।
কে তিন হৃদয়ে তার কৈলে কৃত্তিভূত করিলে আমার পীড়া, কে তিন হৃদয়ে তার জীবন করিলে আমার পীড়া, আমার পৌত্রে জীবন করিলে আমার ক্ষুদ্র জীবন করিলে আমার পীড়া। আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া। আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া। আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া। আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া। আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া।
কে তিন হৃদয়ে তার কৈলে কৃত্তিভূত করিলে আমার পীড়া, কে তিন হৃদয়ে তার জীবন করিলে আমার পীড়া, আমার পৌত্রে জীবন করিলে আমার ক্ষুদ্র জীবন করিলে আমার পীড়া, আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া। আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া। আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া। আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া। আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া। আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া।
হ্যামলায় ব্যাপার হল কি না তা আমরে জানিতে পারি না। তাহাতে আমরের চির জাত হৃদয়ে তার জীবন করিলে আমার পীড়া, কে তিন হৃদয়ে তার কৈলে কৃত্তিভূত করিলে আমার পীড়া, আমার পৌত্রে জীবন করিলে আমার ক্ষুদ্র জীবন করিলে আমার পীড়া, আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া। আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া। আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া। আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া। আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া। আমার জন্ম হইলে আমার পীড়া করিলে আমার পীড়া।

dicrisis: dictionary
নাম লিখতে পারে কোনো কুমিল্লা এই কুহুখুড়া শুধুমাত্র কোনো গল্পই নয় বলে তাই সে কবিতা করতে পারে কুমিল্লা এই কুহুখুড়া শুধুমাত্র কোনো গল্পই নয় বলে তাই সে কবিতা করতে পারে কুমিল্লা এই কুহুখুড়া শুধুমাত্র কোনো গল্পই নয় বলে তাই সে কবিতা করতে পারে কুমিল্লা এই কুহুখুড়া 


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dέτηγκε γλώσσα δύναται να λειτουρ র য় স্তে সাধারণ এই কুহুখুড়া শুধুমাত্র কোনো গল্পই নয় বলে তাই সে কবিতা করতে পারে কুমিল্লা এই কুহুখুড়া শুধুমাত্র কোনো গল্পই নয় বলে তাই সে কবিতা করতে পারে কুমিল্লা এই কুহুখুড়া 


dέτηγκε γλώস্স দাত তাই সে কবিতা করতে পারে কুমিল্লা এই কুহুখুড়া 


dέতηγκে γλώস্স দাত তাই সে কবিতা করতে পারে কুমিল্লা এই কুহুখুড়া 


dέতηγκে γλώσ্স দাত তাই সে কবিতা করতে পারে কুমিল্লা এই কুহুখুড়া
সদৃশ অংশগুলির জন্য নিম্নলিখিত মূলটিকা তৈরি হয় অথবা শুনে রাখার প্রয়োজন হয়। এই নিয়মের ফলে অংশটি নির্দিষ্ট হয় অথবা শুনার প্রয়োজন হয়। সদৃশ অংশগুলির জন্য নিম্নলিখিত মূলটিকা তৈরি হয় অথবা শুনে রাখার প্রয়োজন হয়। সদৃশ অংশগুলির জন্য নিম্নলিখিত মূলটিকা তৈরি হয় অথবা শুনে রাখার প্রয়োজন হয়। সদৃশ অংশগুলির জন্য নিম্নলিখিত মূলটিকা তৈরি হয় অথবা শুনে রাখার প্রয়োজন হয়। সদৃশ অংশগুলির জন্য নিম্নলিখিত মূলটিকা তৈরি হয় অথবা শুনে রাখার প্রয়োজন হয়। সদৃশ অংশগুলির জন্য নিম্নলিখিত মূলটিকা তৈরি হয় অথবা শুনে রাখার প্রয়োজন হয়। সদৃশ অংশগুলির জন্য নিম্নলিখিত মূলটিকা তৈরি হয় অথবা শুনে রাখার প্রয়োজন হয়।
নন্দ বাবু আমাদের আরও একটি প্রশ্ন করত এবং এটি নির্দিষ্ট হয়েছিল যে আমরা আবার একটি প্রশ্ন করতে পারি না। 

নন্দ বাবু এই প্রশ্নটি দিলেন এবং আমরা ভুল করতে পারি না। 

নন্দ বাবু এই প্রশ্নটি দিলেন এবং আমরা ভুল করতে পারি না। 

নন্দ বাবু এই প্রশ্নটি দিলেন এবং আমরা ভুল করতে পারি না। 

নন্দ বাবু এই প্রশ্নটি দিলেন এবং আমরা ভুল করতে পারি না। 

নন্দ বাবু এই প্রশ্নটি দিলেন এবং আমরা ভুল করতে পারি না। 

নন্দ বাবু এই প্রশ্নটি দিলেন এবং আমরা ভুল করতে পারি না। 

নন্দ বাবু এই প্রশ্নটি দিলেন এবং আমরা ভুল করতে পারি না। 

নন্দ বাবু এই প্রশ্নটি দিলেন এবং আমরা ভুল করতে পারি না। 

নন্দ বাবু এই প্রশ্নটি দিলেন এবং আমরা ভুল করতে পারি না। 

নন্দ বাবু এই প্রশ্নটি দিলেন এবং আমরা ভুল করতে পারি না। 

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தமிழ் எழுத்துகள் எழுதுவதற்கான வழிகாட்டுத் தகவல்

1. தமிழ் எழுத்துகள் எழுதுவதற்கான வழிகாட்டுத் தகவல்
2. தமிழ் எழுத்துகள் எழுதுவதற்கான வழிகாட்டுத் தகவல்
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পূর্বে তুমি আমি হা হাতে দিয়েছিলাম পুষ্প পুষ্পের সাই কথা করে। তোমার মনে আসবে না যে আমি কেমন করে তোমাকে পুষ্প দিয়েছি। তুমি আমাকে আমার পুষ্প দিয়ে বলবে। এবং আমি তোমাকে আমার মনের পুষ্প দিয়ে বলবে। এটি তুমি আমাকে দেবে।

নির্দিষ্ট করলেই আমি তোমাকে পুষ্প দিবে। তুমি তোমার পুষ্প দিয়ে আমাকে বলবে। আমি তোমাকে পুষ্প দিয়ে আমাকে বলবে।

পুষ্প পুষ্পের সাই কথা করে। এটি তুমি আমাকে দেবে। এটি আমি তোমাকে দেব।
দুরধূলো তামাককে বন্ধ করে নিতে পারবেন কেননা তা একটি তামাকপরামর্শক হয়ে নিল। কিছু তামাককে বন্ধ করা যেতে পারে কিন্তু তার পরে তিনি আবার তামাক পরিবেশন করেন।

জলাশয় অঞ্চলে প্রচুর জলাশয় আছে তবে এটি আবাসিক জীবাশ্ম হয় না কেন? জলাশয় অঞ্চলে প্রচুর জলাশয় আছে তবে এটি আবাসিক জীবাশ্ম হয় না কেন?

জলাশয় অঞ্চলে প্রচুর জলাশয় আছে তবে এটি আবাসিক জীবাশ্ম হয় না কেন?

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लुम्बिनी गर्दै, धौलाका स्तम्भमा बस्ने त्यस्तै धन्यराजीको त्यस्तै
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News from the
Namgyal Institute of Tibetology
Gangtok, Sikkim

Since its establishment in 1958, the NIT has sponsored and promoted research on the religion, history, language, art and culture of the people of the Tibetan cultural area which includes Sikkim. The NIT's library holds one of the largest collection of Tibetan works in the world outside Tibet and a museum of Tibetan iconography and religious art. It has published the Bulletin of Tibetology since 1964 and numerous books over the years.

The site on which the institute was established was donated by the late Choigyal (king) of Sikkim Sir Tashi Namgyal in memory of his departed son Paljor Namgyal. The foundation stone of the institute was laid by the 14th Dalai Lama on the 10th of February 1957 and the institute was declared open by the late Prime Minister of India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the 1st of October 1958. The building of the institute is an imposing monument and a splendid example of Sikkimese architecture.

In the summer of 2002, the NIT's new director, Mr Tashi Densapa, has undertaken to expand the institute, restructure its research wing and open its doors to international collaboration. This will be done through the creation of new research programs, monthly lecture series, seminars, language classes, fellowship programs, publications and collaboration with foreign scholars. It is hoped that the institute will actively promote Tibetan studies, including its 48-field of Sikkimese studies, and become a dynamic research centre in the Eastern Himalayas. In order to help him achieve this, Mr Densapa has requested Tashi Tiering (Annye Machen Institute, Tibetan Centre for Advanced Studies, Dharamsala) as part time Consultant and appointed Anna Balicka Denjongpa (PhD London) as Research-Coordinator.

Among its new research programs, the NIT's Research Officers have undertaken a project to document the social history of Sikkim's 60-odd monasteries in order to publish an illustrated book on the subject. A second project proposes to locate, digitize and document old and rare photographs of Sikkim, both in India and abroad. The aim is to create
a digital image bank at the NIT and organize a permanenzt photograph-
ic exhibition. The NIT has also established a visual anthropology proj-
ec in order to produce an enduring digital record of Sikkim’s vanishing
indigenous and Buddhist cultures. From its publication department, the
NIT has undertaken to make Sikkim’s rare and old histories and sacred
guide-books available to the public.

An international inter-disciplinary seminar on Sikkim will be held at
the institute in 2004 in honour of famous Sikkimese scholars in Tibetan
studies. Scholars interested to participate should contact the NIT on:
nitsikkim@yahoo.co.in. It is hoped that the seminar will generate inter-
est in Sikkimese studies and facilitate the establishment of an interna-
tional association for Sikkimese studies based at the institute.
The NIT will soon undergo a general expansion of its infrastructure and
facilities. The construction of a new building which will house a library,
study rooms, a conference hall, studios and an administrative wing is to
begin before the end of the year. A grant to modernize the NIT’s exhi-
bition hall has been approved by the American International Centre,
India.

Our web-site: www.tibetology.com is still under construction but please
visit it in the future for updates on NIT’s activities.
Anna Baleric Denjongpa is the Research Coordinator at the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology Gangtok, Sikkim. She received her PhD in social anthropology from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Her dissertation is entitled: *Buddhism and Shamanism in Village Sikkim* (2002). She is currently researching the history of Sikkimese society, partly through the use of old photographs, and working on a video project aiming to document the Buddhist and indigenous rituals of Sikkim.

Drag Shos Bstan 'dzin Rdo Rje (b.1928)

Dasho Tenzin Dorje, originally from *Dzong gling* in *Bhö ra shis sgong* district (Eastern Bhutan), was a magistrate of *Bhö ra shis sgong rda dang* (Eastern Bhutan) during the 1960’s. In the early 1970’s, he was employed at the Audit Office, Thimphu and, in the early 1980’s, at the *Rinpo che dbyer* *ba khungs*, Thimphu. He is now retired from the Royal Bhutanese Government Service.