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Rig Tshoel – Research Journal of the Royal Thimphu College is an open-access peer-reviewed journal intended to align with a key mission of Royal Thimphu College "to be a crucible of new ideas and knowledge that serves to enrich people's lives and enhance the welfare of society". The journal aims to issue at least once a year and invites contributions on a wide range of subjects. Authors are encouraged to develop their own scholarship in areas of general relevance to Bhutan, submit work that advances knowledge in their fields, and is written in a broadly accessible manner. High-quality original articles in English and Dzongkha including theoretical and empirical research, commentaries, editorials, and reviews are welcome.

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Editorial

I am pleased to present to you the fourth issue of Rig Tshoel: Research Journal of the Royal Thimphu College. Whereas the contributions to the first three issues were all researched and written by faculty of Royal Thimphu College, the call for submissions for this fourth issue was extended to all colleges in the country, as well as reached institutions abroad. The result was a very large number of submissions, more than we could reasonably handle and publish. We had to make some difficult decisions in what to track for peer-review and what to turn down immediately, and in what to finally accept for publication in this issue. We are very grateful to all those who submitted their work to this journal. What we offer you here is a selection of the best submissions we received, both from within and outside Bhutan.

We also witnessed a steep increase of articles in Dzongkha we received, and I am happy to say that this issue carries 7 articles written in English and 7 articles written in Dzongkha. I would like to express my gratitude to Lopen Sonam Tobgay, the Dzongkha editor of the journal, for successfully enlarging the scope of this journal for researchers writing in Dzongkha. The English and Dzongkha articles together engage a rich variety of topics, themes, and theories and I would like to encourage our readers to not just read the article that interests them the most, but to savour each one of the articles. I encourage them to do this, for they might encounter new ideas or find greener pastures for future research, ideas and pastures that they may not have been aware of so far.

This issue of Rig Tshoel opens with an article by Dawa Zangmo and carries the title: 'An Account of Historical Background and Significance of Chokhor Nyi Lhakhang in Punakha.' Dawa Zangmo discusses the historical, religious and cultural implications of the Chökhor Nyi Lhakhang in Punakha and calls for its preservation, and not just in the material sense of the term. Next we have an article by Choki Wangchuk titled: 'A Study on Historical Background and Authority Declination of Mongar Ngatshang Naktshang in Eastern Bhutan.' Choki Wangchuk presents a rich discussion of the Ngatshang Chokpa Naktshang in Mongar, focusing in particular on its historical and cultural legacy, and its political significance. Like the article by Dawa Zangmo, Choki Wangchuk makes an ardent call for the preservation of cultural heritage. The third article is by Karma Tshering Wangchuk and is titled: 'Bhutan, and India's Free Trade Agreement (FTA), and World Trade Organization (WTO): A Critical Appraisal.' This article offers a critical assessment of bilateral and international treaties, at once dealing with the past, present, and possible future scenarios.

The fourth article is by Olivier Afron and carries the title 'Buddhism and Digital Communication: connecting the Guru, the Master and the Disciple through Digital Tools.' Olivier Afron looks at how, amid the global pandemic, Buddhist networks, including prayer and the dissemination of knowledge, are progressively shifting online, now also manifesting through digital tools. The fifth article is by Shashik Silva and Nipunika O. Lecamwasam and is titled: 'Ideal vs Practice: Narratives on Clientelism, Democracy and Participation in Local Government Authorities in Sri Lanka.' This article explores the notion of participatory democracy in Sri

Lanka through a focus of public participation in Local Government Authorities (LGA). In particular, it explores what democratic participation actually means to local populations and how they engage themselves in political decision-making.

The next two articles engage English literature. The sixth article of this issue is by Paromita Manna and is titled: 'The Evolutionary Function of Illusion, Disillusionment and Reality in a Patriarchy in the Genesis of a New Self with Regard to Both Genders in Henrik Ibsen's A Doll's House.' Paromita Manna dissects and deconstructs the famous play 'A Doll's House' by Henrik Ibsen to discuss the intriguing relationship between illusion and reality. The sevent and final contribution in the English section is by Uttara Bisht and is titled: 'Representing the "self" in the Personal Writings of Virginia Woolf.' In this article, Uttara Bisht explores the idea of the 'self' through a comprehensive and critical reading of Virginia Woolf's diaries and letters, and engages this through the theorizing of Michel Foucault.

We now turn to the Dzongkha articles that feature in this issue. The first article is by Sonam Zangpo and Thubten Tshering and is titled 'ફ્રૅન્યુલે વર્ફેન્' અર્ક્સમ્યાનું ગુજા વર્કન્ ને વર્કો સ્થાયન વૃક્ષનું યો. The second article is by Sonam Zangpo and Leki Dorji with the title 'વર્ગા ત્રેયા સુન્ ફ્રૅન્ટ્યાવા થયા ફ્રેન્ટ્યાવા ક્રેલે વૃત્રેન ક્રુન્ટ્યાવા ક્રિયા ક્રેલે વૃત્રેન ક્રુન્ટ્યાન ક્રિયા ક્રિયા ક્રિયા ક્રિયા ક્રુપ્યાન ક્રિયા ક્રાય ક્રિયા ક્રિયા

Jelle J.P. Wouters Editor

An Account of Historical Background and Significance of Chokhor Nyi Lhakhang in Punakha

Dawa Zangmo¹

Abstract: Since its establishment, Chökhor Nyi Lhakhang has played an important role in the local culture of Punakha, Bhutan. It has served as a community temple for religious activity, for the living and the dead. However, the temple is struggling financially and from a lack of local participation, which is a common trend across Bhutan, marking a decline in traditional culture and knowledge. This article seeks to contribute to the preservation of Bhutan's fading local cultures by discussing the history and functions of the temple in the lives of its surrounding community.

Keywords - Temple, Gomo, Chöje, Lhakhang, Jamgön, Seula, chokhor, Punakha, Nyungne

Introduction

Chökhor Nyi Temple is located in Seula Village in Chubu Gewog², Punakha, Bhutan. The two-story temple faces the Punakha valley and was built in traditional Bhutanese architectural styles with extensive woodworks and masonry. Its main entrance is a wooden gate, which opens onto a stone courtyard that can accommodate 20 to 30 people. On one side of the courtyard, there is a latrine. Another gate leads inside the temple. On the ground floor, the temple has a living space for devotees. Concrete steps and a small wooden ladder lead to the top floor. On the right side of the wall, near the entrance, a faded mural of Guru Rinpoche can be seen. A room attached to the main temple on the left side is kept as a *lama*'s room (especially for rituals), and religious texts are kept on the sides of the principal statue. The shrine is old and housed in window-like structures, behind which are placed the main statue and shelves that hold faded Holy Scriptures. The temple also has an attached kitchen separated by a veranda.

According to Dargye, Sorensen & Tshering (2008), Chökhor (ﷺ Wyl. chos 'khor) means 'Wheel of Dharma,' and Nyi (གནིས།) is the number two (གནིས།; Wyl. gnyis) in Dzongkha. However, there is some confusion concerning the spelling of Nyi. According to Tshering (2002), the Nyi in this temple's name should be spelt nying (ﷺ Wyl. snying ·) which means 'heart', which would

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² A Gewog (block") a Bhutanese administrative unit comprised of a group of villages.

Even though the temple is relatively modest in size and historical significance, it has its own compelling story and plays an important role in the community. Therefore, it is imperative to document the temple for posterity before the sources of its oral history—village elders—pass away and leave the temple in obscurity. This is especially important because the younger generations are generally unaware of the temple's sacredness or why the temple has been important in many people's spiritual and cultural lives. Thus, if we first shine a small light on the temple, we may also create conditions for future researchers to study it in-depth and contribute to the knowledge of Bhutan's unique cultural sites.

This research entailed field visits to the temple, which includes direct observation and participant observation during the Nyungne as well as recording the oral testimonies of local informants, especially senior citizens, and referring to limited primary and secondary written sources related to the temple, such as the autobiography of Jamgön Ngawang Gyaltshen. (1647–1732), Play of the Omniscient: Life and Works of Jamgön Ngawang Gyaltshen. An Eminent 17th–18th Century Drukpa Master (Dargye, Sorensen & Tshering, 2008).

Historical Background and Significance of Chökhor Nyi Temple

The temple is built on a slope near the Namgyaltse Lhakhang,⁶ around 30 minutes' walk from Chökhor Dorjiden Monastery⁷ in Seula. It is not known why the Chökhor Nyi temple was built on that particular hill. However, some assert that the land in Seula belonged to the Jamgön lineage,

³ According to Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Buddha transmitted his teachings in three phases with different emphases: 1) The Four Noble Truths, 2) emptiness, 3) Buddha nature.

⁴ Dzong are large fortresses, which often double as monasteries.

⁵ Jamgon Ngawang Gyaltshen, regarded as am emanation of the Buddha *Maitreya*, was born in 1757 in Gon Amorimu (dgon a mo ri mu) to the *Obtsho* family. After Jamgon Ngwang Gyaltshen passed away in 1742, a *Jamgon* incarnation lineage would arise with Jamgon Yeshe Dorji (1757-1805). Jamgon Ngawang Gyaltshen's contributions in the field of arts, crafts, and ritual practices in Bhutan are considered to be of enormous importance even today.

⁶ Namgayltse Lhakhang was founded during the 14th and early 15th century by Jamyang Sonam Gyalpo, a member of the important aristocratic *Obtsho* family.

⁷ Chokhor Dorjiden Monastery was established by Jamgon Ngawang Gyeltsen in the year 1715.

which will be discussed below. With *Namgayaltse Temple* at the top of the mountain, there may have been geomantic or aesthetic reasons for building *Chökhor Nyi* on the slant of the same hill. However, Karma Tshering, ex-principal of Chökhor Dorjiden Monastery, affirms that when *Chökhor Nyi* was built, it was under the administration of *Namgyaltse* Temple (2002), although there is no documentary or archaeological evidence of when it was built, nor is it mentioned in any one of the biographies of the *Jamgöns*.

The temple's main relics⁸ are the organs of Chöje Ngawang Thinley, which are ensconced inside a statue of the renowned Bengali master, Jowo Jé Palden Atisha⁹ (Wyl. *Jo bo rje dpal ldan a* tisha, Skt. Atīśa Dīpamkara Śrījñāna) (982-1054). In a focus group discussion, some six interviewees expressed the shared belief that during the cremation of Chöje Ngawang Thinley, his heart, tongue, and eyes were not scorched. According to Karma Tshering (personal communication, February 2019), the present statue of Jowo Jé Palden Atisha contains the hair of Chöje Ngawang Thinley, imbuing the temple and statue with powerful blessings. An ex-monk of Chökhor Dorjiden Monastery, Sangay Tenzin (personal communication, April 29, 2021), claims that there were two main reasons for installing a statue of Jowo Jé Palden Atisha at the temple, despite Atisha not being a central figure in Bhutan's prevailing Drukpa Kagyu and Nyingma lineages. The first reason is that most of the studies and practices of Chöje Ngawang Thinley were based on the Kadam 10 (Wylie: bka'gdams pa) teachings established by Jowo Jé Palden Atisha. The second is that Jowo Jé Palden Atisha is believed to have been a previous incarnation of the aforementioned Jamgöns, although there seems to be no written source corroborating this. Even though the provenance of the relics cannot be confirmed, this is not uncommon; every temple has a relic that plays an important role in people's lives as the object of their veneration and spiritual aspirations. For example, in Taktse Lhakhang¹¹ in Trongsa, the main statue is of Jowo Shakyamuni with ornaments, which is considered to be very auspicious, as it is a kind of

⁸ Buddhist relics generally entail what remains after the human form has been destroyed and the material substrate has been purified by the funeral pyre. It also assumes that keeping and worshipping relics extends the presence of the deceased Germano & Trainor, 2012).

⁹ Jowo Jé Palden Atisha (982-1054) said to have introduced new traditions in Tibet; moreover, he founded the Kadam lineage and reformed Vajarayana Buddhism. Through his foremost disciple Dromtönpa, Atisha gave the teachings of the stages to the path to enlightenment, known in Tibetan as *lamrim*, which were passed down to subsequent generations, including to the great Je Tsongkhapa. Tsongkhapa's lam-rim texts, following the structure and content of Atisha's tradition, remain the cornerstone of Tibetan Buddhist teachings to this day. In the new millennium, Atisha's clear and practical methods are taught in places as diverse as India Europe, the US, and Australia (Atisha's Life Story, n.d)

¹⁰ The Kadam is an important lineage of Mahāyāna Buddhism brought to Tibet by Atisha. The name *kadam* suggests that "all the *ka*, or Buddha's teachings, are *dam*, or instructions, for helping an individual to become enlightened." The term evokes "the style of teaching that Atisha established in Tibet." The *pa* refers to a person who follows this style of practice (Dorji Gyeltshen, Personal Communication, April 25, 2021)

¹¹ Taktse Lhakhang is located at Taktse in Trongsa.

replica of the holy Shakyamuni statue in the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa, Tibet—established in the seventh century by the Emperor Songtsen Gampo. Trongsa people also call the Jowo Shakyamuni statue 'Jowo sthupa sJa Delma' because of a story that states that we can still feel warmth in the chest/heart of the statue. One of the distinctive features of the statue is believed to be that, on auspicious days, light shines from its heart like sun rays.

A *Seula* community focus group stated that the first temple was supposedly built by Chöje Ngawang Thinley (1712–1770). However, the temple was destroyed by a fire and supposedly renovated in 1943 in honour of another Chöje Ngawang Thinley (1916–1950) by Nep Dorji and his brother Richen, ¹² who belonged to the *Seula* Family/*Obtsho Chöje*¹³ (Karma Gyeltshen, personal communication, April 27, 2021).

It seems that succession in the 'Obtsho family initially followed the familiar 'uncle-nephew' arrangement to transmit their lineage of esoteric teachings. During these centuries, the founder's descendants and relatives intermarried locally, increasing the lands under their possession and systematically assuming the title of *chos-rje* (Ardussi, 1999). Dargye, Sorensen & Tshering (2008) affirm that Jamgön Ngawang Gyeltshen (1647–1732) is considered an emanation of Buddha Maitreya. The rebirth of Chöje Ngawang Thinley (1712–1770), who was the nephew of Jamgön Ngawang Gyaltshen, along with the reincarnation of Jamgön Ngawang Gyeltshen, occupied high positions of governance such as *Desi*¹⁴ and Je Khenpo in Bhutan. Following this pattern, since Chöje Ngwang Thinley (the earlier, *yama* 1712–1770), there have been seven Chöjes in the Obtsho family lineage. The present one is the seventh Chöje, Mipham Chokyi Nyinjed (b 1983–).

Chöje Ngwang Thinley (the latter, *chima* 1916–1950) became the 60th Je Khenpo¹⁵ of Bhutan at 25. Chöje Ngawang Thinley was born into the Obtsho¹⁶ family lineage of Amorimu in 1916. He studied under the supervision of Lopen Penjor, Tshenlob Ngodrub, Ridag Sizhi Namgyal (the 58th *Je Khenpo* [1927–1931]) and Kenchen Chokyi Wangchuk (the 59th Je Khenpo [1931–1940]). At 31, he resigned and went into an extended meditation retreat. He is the third reincarnation of Chöje Ngawang Thinley (1712–1770),¹⁷ who was also a nephew of Jamgön Ngawang Gyeltshen (1647–1732) (Dargye, Sorensen & Tshering, 2008).

¹² Both of these men were maternal uncles of the 3rd Jamgon Trulku Gyaltshen (1902-1926).

¹³ Chöje (chos rje) are religious aristocrats who control western Bhutan (Ardussi, 1999). There are two Chöje Ngwang Thinley (1712-1770) and Chöje Ngwang Thinley (the latter one, *chima*, 1916-1950). The first became the 11th Je Khenpo, Chöje Ngawang Thinley (1712-1770) from 1762 to 1769 and the latter one was enthroned as the 60th Je Khenpo from 1940 to 1946.

¹⁴ Desi was the title of the secular (administrative) head in Bhutan

 $^{^{15}}$ The seat of the Je Khenpo, is the head of Bhutan's Drukpa Kagyu lineage.

¹⁶ The Obtsho family draws its lineage to the first Desi of Bhutan, Tenzin Drugye (1591-1655). Later, a residence for lay relatives of the Obtsho *chos-rje was* established in the hamlet of Amorimu, located below the crest of a ridge several miles northwest of Seula (Dargye, Sorensen & Tshering, 2008).

¹⁷ Of these two Chöje Ngawang Thinleys, however, this temple is renovated in memory of the latter Chöje Ngawang Thinley (1916-1950) although the initial temple was built by Chöje Ngwang Thinley (1712-1770).

In addition to the principal statues and shrine objects associated with the figures above, there is a gold statue of *Damchen Gomo*, revered as a local deity of Seula and the principal guardian deity of the Jamgön lineage and familial relations. Damchen Gomo's main seat is Namgyaltse (Dargye, Sorensen & Tshering, 2008). There is an apocryphal custom, common throughout Bhutan, prohibiting women from touching or even coming near the golden statue of *Damchen Gomo*. The Deputy Chief Research Officer at the Royal Academy of Performing Arts, Kunzang Dorji, supposes that oral transmission has prohibited women from entering the inner sanctum (gyenkhang) housing the statue from generations past. He explains that the practice is not meant to discriminate against women but to maintain the sanctity of the gyenkhang and prevent the defilement of the deities in line with ancient Indian ideas about ritual purity. Based on these ritual customs, some monks assume that women carry certain impurities that demand their banishment from the *Gyenkhang*. Most significantly, it is presumed that if a woman is menstruating, entering the *Gyenkhang* would contaminate the shrine, displeasing the deities. Women under certain circumstances are alleged to outrage the deities so that they would stop protecting the country, resulting in natural catastrophes, disasters, and adversities (Dema, 2017).

Until recently, Chökhor Nyi Temple also housed a Zambala 18 statue and a Thutey Chorten 19 (Wyl. thugs rten mchod rten), a reliquary stupa built for the relic of Chöje Ngawang Thinley (1916–1950). However, these sacred objects have been brought with the owner to Yebesa village, mainly to ensure their security. The temple owner, Bokum, states that these relics are especially valued as they have been with the family for generations, protecting them against all adversities (personal communication, January 12, 2019).

Social and Cultural Functions

Currently, only morning and evening offerings are performed at the temple. Appeasement of the local protective deities and regular funerary and purificatory practices are not observed due to lack of manpower. Presently, the temple owns around 40 acres of land contributed by the devotees of *Jamgön* and *Chöje*. Just over 20 years ago, around eight households settled at Seula, supposedly brought by the previous *Jamgön* and *Chöje* to work on the aristocratic estates (Bokum, personal communication, January 12, 2019). However, there are only two households permanently living at *Seula* today, and these people have other options for funeral rite venues. However, earlier in its history, *Chökhor Nyi* Temple served as the main local community temple for rituals, especially for the dead.

Funerary and purificatory rites, historically, have been important to nearly all Buddhist communities. According to Buddhist doctrine, human beings take rebirth over an infinite

¹⁸ Zambala is commonly known as a deity of wealth and enrichment, it is believed that if anyone keeps a painting of Zambala in their home, they will be blessed with prosperity.

¹⁹Chortens, known as 'stupas', they are religious monuments housing relics of the Buddha or other enlightened saints.

number of lifetimes in the six realms of existence as gods, demi-gods, humans, animals, hungry ghosts, and hell-beings. Transmigration across realms depends on a being's actions and consequences, or karma, the doctrine of cause and effect (Obeyesekere 2006:1–2). Practitioners see the value of the rituals in their efficacy to purify enough karma to positively affect one's present life and ensure a human rebirth (Gutschow 1999; March 1979; Ortner 1978).

Every year in the seventh lunar month of the Bhutanese calendar, the host arranges a head monk and eight other monks to lead 16 days of *Nyungne* practice attended by 15 to 20 people from all over Punakha, Gasa, and Wangdue Phodrang Dzongkhags. The owner makes logistical arrangements, and the expenses of the *Nyungne* and temple are covered from the harvest of land owned in the name of *Chökhor Nyi* Temple. Wangchen Rinpoche (2009) explains that *Nyungne* is a profound practice involving keeping strict vows of silence and fasting for two-and-a-half-day cycles. Translated as 'abiding in the fast' or 'subsisting on little', *Nyungne* is said to be effective in healing illness, nurturing compassion, and purifying negative karma. The owner of the temple and its affiliates trust that hosting such a religious activity will purify their negativities and benefit all sentient beings.

Practitioners believe that offering a meal to a *Nyungne* practitioner is like offering a meal to an eighth-level bodhisattva—a deed that produces considerable merit. There is a general belief that if also believed that if one offers a meal to a *Nyungne* practitioner on the day the practice ends, the merit is equal to offering a meal to five hundred solitary realizers (*pratyekabuddhas*). The merit of offering a meal to someone who merely took the eight precepts is equivalent to making such an offering to an *arhat* (Wangchen, 2009, para.95). The *Nyungne* practices at the temple conclude with the rites commemorating Chöje Ngawang Thinley's *mah paranirva*na. ²⁰

Conclusion

There are many temples in Bhutan scattered around the countryside. The people have not documented or appreciated those temples because of accessibility issues and changing cultural priorities. Although these temples may not have great national or international significance, they are important for preserving and promoting the culture of that particular locality.

Chökhor Nyi Temple is one of those temples not accessible by a road that has played an important role in the functioning of its surrounding community. Only 20 years ago, funerary rites in and around Seula took place in the temple. However, it has become difficult for the private owners to maintain the temple and cover its expenses today, especially during the Nyungne. Furthermore, lately, the temple has been prone to bear attacks in which the door, ceiling, and windows have been damaged.

Before the senior citizens of *Seula* are all gone, there is a need to record their knowledge of such sites and the related cultural practices. They are the link that connects us to the past and the community's rich cultural history. Current trends indicate that younger generations of

 $^{^{20}}$ $Mah\bar{a}$ pranirv \bar{a} na ("Great Nirv \bar{a} na") refers to the anniversary of the passing away of an enlightened being.

Bhutanese do not have much knowledge about their culture and history because they live in an outwardly oriented virtual and technological world. Suppose such sacred and holy sites are not given historical and anthropological attention. In that case, there might come a time when all these will disappear, and there will be very few reference points of our history and culture.

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A Study on Historical Background and Authority Declination of Mongar Ngatshang Naktshang in Eastern Bhutan

Choki Wangchuk¹

Abstract: This article discusses the Ngatshang Chokpa Naktshang, the unique traditional three storied building at Chokpa village under Mongar Dzongkhag in eastern Bhutan. The Naktshang was the historical and culture legacy of 10th Zhongar Dzongpon Dasho Kunzang Wangdi. It also had political significance during the early 20th century that cannot be seen anymore. Upon close review, it is one of the historical sites which can be preserved and maintained as a cultural heritage due to its traditional architecture design and outlook. But it is still unknown in the history of Bhutan and even none of the researchers have attempted an in-depth study. Hence, this article explores the background history of Naktshang, its relation with noble family and declination of its authority based on the data collected through interviews and literature sources.

Keywords: Naktshang, noble family, authority, residence, property, power declination

Introduction

In Bhutan, scholars and historians have written extensively about higher ranking leaders such as Zhabdrung, Desi, Religious Abbots, Tertons and members of the royal family. However, the contributions made and roles of *Pon Nyikem* (those officials who earned the title of Dasho) have received significantly lesser scholarship. National literature reveals a trend in which scholars and researchers focus near exclusively on key leaders, allocating less importance to those serving under them. Because of this some of the historical, cultural, and political roles played by other officials remains unrecognized, including the Dzongpons of different Dzongkhags. Their contribution and role in shaping the nation make sense; it is comparable to the role served by some of the Desi due to their dedication, loyalty and effort they placed to shape the nation. Furthermore, they have left a significant legacy on historical, cultural and religious sites such as Ngatshang Chokpa Naktshang, Tsakaling Naktshang, Khalong Naktshang, Ngalhakhang

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Naktshang in Bumthang Chokhor Tey, Bartsham Naktshang in Tashigang and Tsakaling Naktshang at Mongar, which could be preserved and promoted as heritage sites.

The houses built by the Royal families as a side residence are known as palaces. The houses built by Noble family lineages and Dzongpons as their residence in the 19th and 20th century were known as Naktshang. Naktshang came into popularity during the reign of 2nd Druk Gyalpo Jigme Wangchuck. Among many historical and culture sites, Ngatshang Naktshang is one which was built by Zhongar Dzongpon Kunzang Wangdi in 1931 at Ngatshang Chokpa in Mongar. The Naktshang was beautifully designed and located in the village called Chokpa, adjacent to Ngatshang Primary school about 200 meters below the Trashigang-Mongar highway. However, the Naktshang remained unknown and unheard to most people in the country, as none of the researchers has explored it till date. As a result, the significance of the Naktshang was also left unknown. Thus, this study brings the Naktshang into purview by discussing its background history, its relation with other noble families, the authorities of Naktshang and the factors that led to decline authority in the late 20th century.



Figure 1.0 View of Ngatshang Chokpa Naktshang. Photo by Choki Wangchuk, 2020

Background history of Ngatshang Chokpa Naktshang

The history of Ngatshang Chokpa Naktshang dates back to the early 20th century. It was built during the reign of 2nd King Jigme Wangchuck. The former Gup, Ugyen Lhundup of Ngatshang, mentioned that Trongsa Poenlop Jigme Namgyal had sent Agay Dorji Penjore from Trongsa Jagitsawa as the Zhongar Dzongpon. The reason for appointing Dorji Penjore as the Zhongar

Dzongpon was because his forefathers had served the nation as key leaders (detailed later in the section on family lineages). During the reign of Trongsa Poenlop Jigme Namgyel, Kunzang, the grandfather of Dorji Penjore, had served as Dungsam border security official ((V)). Due to his loyalty and sincerity dedicated to his leader Jigme Namgyel, his son Henchung was appointed as Dronyer (chief protocol) under him at Trongsa Dzong. Henchung, the father of Dorji Penjore, has also served with the utmost loyalty and integrity and this entitled his son Dorji Penjore to be appointed as a Zhongar Dzongpon. Lopen Kizang Thinley (2009)² stated that Dorj Penjore was the ninth Zhongar Dzongpon. The idea or the strategy of appointing trusted person in vital posts, which was initiated and implemented by Zhabdrung, continued during the 19th and 20th century. Even today one can see Dorji's family lineages are still serving the nation as key leaders in various fields.

The early location of Ngatshang Chokpa Naktshang carries many historical significances. During the reign of ninth Zhongar Dzongpon Agay Dorji Penjore Dungsam Pemagatshsel was also under the jurisdiction of Zhongar Dzongpoen. To get himself a rest on the way and also to setup his side residence for his family, Nagtshang Chokpa was found the best place. Ngatshang Chokpa is placed where it was located on the way which connects Zhongar and Dungsam Pemagtsel. Another logic behind this location was that the richest and most powerful people among the Ngatshang community called Khochi Baila and Boga were residing nearby Chokpa village. They were probably the most influential persons in that particular community with a title of Khochi. On the other hand, the two Kochis had offered the land of Chokpa to him with the intention to develop a close relationship.

Right after their offering, Agay Dorji Penjore had built a small hut to prepare for shifting cultivation. However, the hut was destroyed by fire while burning the bushes in preparation for cultivation, which made him leave the place until his son took care of it. One narrative, however, holds that local people might have burned the hut intentionally because his presence was perceived to be a burden for people residing nearby in view of taxation. This made Dorji Penjore decide that Chokpa is not a favorable place for his family and he shifted to Batsakhar, building another temporary house that can be seen as ruined today. Batsakhar is located a few kilometers away from Chokpa which looks adjacent. Later, his son Kinzang Wangdi, who succeeded as tenth Zhongar Dzogpoen, built Naktshang there at Chokpa in 1931 as his side residence. Thus, he was credited for establishing Naktshang at Ngatshang Chokpa. According to Lam Kezang (oral communication, 2019) the head carpenter was a famous Zowo from Chaskhar, whose name was Zowo Dhaza. People from Serzhong, Gangmung, Balam, Themnangbi, Chaskhar, Thangrong, Ngatshang, Chali, and Tsakaling had contributed labor force to construct that Naktshang.

Ngatshang Chokpa can also be credited as one of the trade hubs for peoples in the east with Tibetan traders. There was an old trade route which connects Tibet and Samdrup Jongkhar. Samdrup Jongkhar was the trading center for eastern Bhutan from olden days and still people consider it as a trading center. If we trace the route travelled by Prince Tsangma during his exile

from Tibet to Bhutan passing Kurizampa to Sherizampa and then to Tashiyangtse, the same route became used by Tibetan traders and even the Bhutanese officials and traders, until the arrival of an open road connection. Just a few kilometers above the Sherizampa the Ngatshang Chokpa was located exactly on the way. Following the way, People from Tibet used to come for trade to exchange products made of copper and bronze. In addition, Chokpa is a place where Tibetan traders camped, and this can be added to the history of our trade relationship with Tibet. Imaeda (2013) states that until British trade with Bhutan in the 18th century, Bhutan had maintained close trade relations with Tibet. The role of two Khochis are again highlighted as a host for Tibetan traders. The Tibetan traders seem impressed by the beautiful environment with open fields and abundant availability of fresh water. Interestingly, even the name Chokpa is said to be derived from this trade in copper jerk which in Tsanglakha is termed as 'chok', or so said Ugyen Wangdi the Mang Ap of Ngatshang Gewog. However, during the 2nd National Research Seminar conducted at Taktse College in December 2020, Khenpo Nima Shar insisted that in Tibetan context Chokpa is referred to as residence, which is built with high storied on meadow surface. The origin of this word therefore requires further verification. Whatever it might be, both perspectives are linked with Tibetan traders and this concludes the derivation of its name as Chokpa.

At present, Naktshang can be seen as a three storied building, which was well designed with the toilet attached to every floor. Out of three, the top floor was used as the Alter (shrine room). The walls were beautifully decorated with mural paintings of Buddhist figures. Chugchi zhey (eleven head Buddha) was the main statue, with many other statues to the sides. People believed that anything belonging to Naktshang were well taken care of by local deities. Moreover, we can find an inner chapel (goenkhang), which was locked by late Zhongar Dzongpoen Kunzang Wangdi, and it is said that people still do not know what is there inside that goenkhang. Dzongpoen Kunzang Wangdi used to command to officials and people working under him from the second floor. The second floor consists of five compartments. It was used as a meeting hall, guest room, sitting room, bed room and his office. A very dark and fearful basement was used as store and also used as lock-up room. From this we understand that Naktshang was used not only as a side residence but also as administrative unit. Moreover, it has been used as the store where taxes collected from the people were kept and then sent to the government. We can still see the three big wooden boxes in the basement approximately 3 meter in length and 1.5 meter in height; those were used to store the agricultural products and collected cereal taxes from the people. On the right side, attached with the kitchen, there is a small house used for dyeing the thread. Now it has been converted to keep rice and maize grinding machine.

The authorities of Naktshang can be compared to landlords in past. This indeed suggests the existence of past feudalism. For instance, Dzongpon used to give his land to the people for share cropping that seems helpful to the tenants. However, people called for *wula* (labor contribution) carrying their own pack lunch to work for him seem unfair. Dzongpoen Kinzang Wangdi owned more than 50 acres of land, comprising of both wetland and dry-land after constructing Naktshang at Chokpa. Besides the hardship people faced during the construction of Naktshang,

people were enforced with *wula* (labor tax). According to Phuntsho (2013, p. 546) the taxation burden had become even worse with the labor tax. On the other hand, it was the only way to boost the economy of the nation during those days. People were charged different taxes beside labor tax according to what they produced. The agriculture works were carried out by the people of different villages. For instance, the paddy plantation work was carried out by the people of Chaskhar and maize plantation was carried out by the people of Themnangbi. Moreover, people of Serzhong and Ngatshang community were made to harvest the crops cultivated by the people of Chaskhar, and the people of Themnangbi. During his call upon labor contribution at least a minimum of 20 to 30 people used to gather according to Aum Yangki, one of my informants. In this case, people nearby operated as his servants. Those servants were coordinated by the different officials serving under him. Some of the posts serving under him were Zimnangpa (who was head official), Changarp (serving food and look after store), Kadrepa (advisor), Tshempoen (tailor), Ta sopa (who look after horses), Dungchapa (one who grinds the maize and rice), Thakhem (weave cloth for his family) and singer for entertainment. However, with the passage of time the power and authorities declined.

In the past Naktshang had been managed by Dasho Kinzang Wangdi. As per Jamtsho (2020, p. 63),³ his majesty the third king pursued significant social reforms which included the revising of taxation systems. Moreover, in 1953 His Majesty fixed the number of land holding to thirty acres and those indentured servants were freed with the aim of self-reliance. The landless people were provided with land and given the opportunity for resettlement (Dorji, 2008, p. 63). These led Dzongpon Kunzang Wangdi to release almost 30 acres of his land to those servants who served under him. As a result those servants had chosen for a new settlement except the family of Tsempon Rabgay who is still serving and caring the Naktshang as a caretaker. Further, his death in 1954 meant the collapse of the power of Ngatshang Naktshang. After his death, Ngatshang Khochi Baila and Boga cared for the Naktshang for almost a year. Thereafter, however, they left the Naktshang. During this course, it was taken care of by his brother-in-law Pema Tshewang from Jaray, Lhuntse. Outside works were taken care and coordinated by Tshempoen Rabgay, who is from Mongar Chali, He brought many other servants from Chali to work under Dasho Kinzang wangdi at Ngatshang. Moreover, he had served as attendant (garpa) under Dasho Zhongarpa Kinzang Wangdi. Later, after the death of Pema Tshewang, Tshempoen Rabjay who was the tailor (Tshempoen) of Dasho Zhongarpa Kunzang Wangdi continued to manage the Naktshang. Eventually, Sangay from Chali who was the grandson of Tshempoen was the next caretaker. However, Sangay died at a very young age. Currently, the Naktshang is taken care by Aum Yangki, wife of Sangay. Her family was shared five acres of land as an inducement. Her role is just to take care of the Naktshang. The land which belongs to Naktshang is now used for Hazelnut plantation for contact term of ten years. In the present, the Ngatshang can be seen

The Jagitsawa lineage and its relationship with Noble Families

Taktserla Chhoje

Chungkar Chhoje

According to Ugyen Lhundup (formal Gup of Ngatshang gewog) an oral accounts, the lineage of Taktserla Chhoje from Trongsa Jagitsawa in central Bhutan has brought the Naktshang at Ngatshang. He narrates that during the reign of second Druk Gyelpo Jigme Wangchuck, Agay Dorji Penjore from Trongsa was appointed as the Zhongar Dzongpoen. Later, he got married to a Tendrel Chezom who belongs to Chungkhar chhoje who is at Dungsam Pemagatsel and gave birth to five Children. They are Rigzin Dorji, Kunzang Wangdi, Tandin Jamtsho, Zangmo, and Dorji Tshomo. There he got misunderstanding with his wife's family and thought of building a side residence. During the time, Ngatshang Kochi Baila and Boga have invited him to Ngatshang saying that they have got plenty of land to build side residence said Ugyen Lhendup the formal Gup of Ngatshang gewog. There he acquired more than 50 acres of land. He has built a small hut as his side residence at Ngatshang Chokpa (where the Naktshang is presently located) which was later caught by the fire. His decision then got diverged to build his side residence at Batsakhar²¹ leaving the Chokpa. As per his decision, he built the side residence at Batsakhar and kept his second wife Aum Langamo from Bumthang. From Aum Langamo, they have four siblings. The residence was named as Baktsakhar Naktshang which can be seen as a ruin today. On the other hand, Kunzang Wangdi (1885-1954) who is second eldest son of Agay Dorji Penjore has later rebuilt his side residence at Chokpa in 1931 which is presently known as Naktshang. Kunzang Wangdi was popularly known as Dasho Zhongarpa to the people of Mongar district since he has served as Zhongar Dzongpon. His parents were Agay Dorji Penjore (formal Zhongar Dzongpon) and mother Tendrel Zangmo who is from Chungkhar, Pemagatshel.

⁴ Few Kilometre away from Ngatshang Chopa.

Buli Chhoje

According to Lam Kezang,⁵ during our oral conversation, Dorji Tshomo one of the daughters of Dzongpon Dorji Penjore was married to a Buli⁶ Trulku Khachab Namkha Dorji who was the incarnation of Yudrak Nyingpo born to the noble family of Bumthang Buli Chhoje. They gave birth to Zhenphel Drodul Dorji Tenzin in 1921 who succeeded as AjaLam.⁷ According to Rinzin Wangchuk (2004), the family of Buli Chhoje had a grave tragedy due to a matrimonial conflict with the Wangdichholingpa. They were sent on exile to Dungsam. However, a few years later, Buli Trulku managed to reach at Aja Nye due to his predestined destination. He was then widely known as Aja Lam. Knowing the fact that Aja is very cold in winter; he built a house in the lower base of Aja called Yarab for his family. He also came to be known as Yarab Lam. Later, his son Drodul Dorji Tenzin was married to a Pema Lhazom and gave birth to Lam Kezang Chhophel. In present days Khalong Naktshang is maintained and taken care by Lam Kezang.

Kurtoe Ney Chukpo

As mentioned by Palden Lhaden, ⁸ Zhongar Dzongpoen Kinzang Wangdi married his first wife Kencho Budar from Kurtoe Ney Chukpo and gave birth to two children. They are Choden and Gyaldron Thinley Dorji. There he has built another Naktshang beside Ngatshang Chokpa Naktshang which can be seen as ruined today. Later, his son Dasho Gyaldron Thinley got married to Karma Lhatsho of Bumthang Zangling Lama Clan and gave birth to Formal Prime Minister Jigme Yozer Thinley.

Jarey Zhelngo

According to the Dechen Zangmo, ⁹ Zhongar Dzongpon Kunzang Wangdi got married to a Kunzang Choden from Lhuntse Jarey Zhelngo and gave birth to six children after the death of his first wife Kencho Budar. They are Sonam Jamtsho, Sonam Youden (wife of formal Dasho Gunglen Lam Dorji) Kezang Dolma, Dechen Zangmo, Kelzang Jigme and Yangchen Lhamo. At present Dechen Zangmo is taking care of the Chungkhar Nagtsang. Dasho Kunzang Wangdi married third wife Dechen Dolma from the same family who was sister of second wife. She gave birth to two daughters namely Jigme Wangmo and Palden Lhaden. Jigme Wangmo got married

⁵ Chief Executive Officer at Agency for Promotion of Indigenous Crafts. Oral communication on wechat, 12/01/2020.

⁶ Buli is a name of a monastery at Bumthang Chumey.

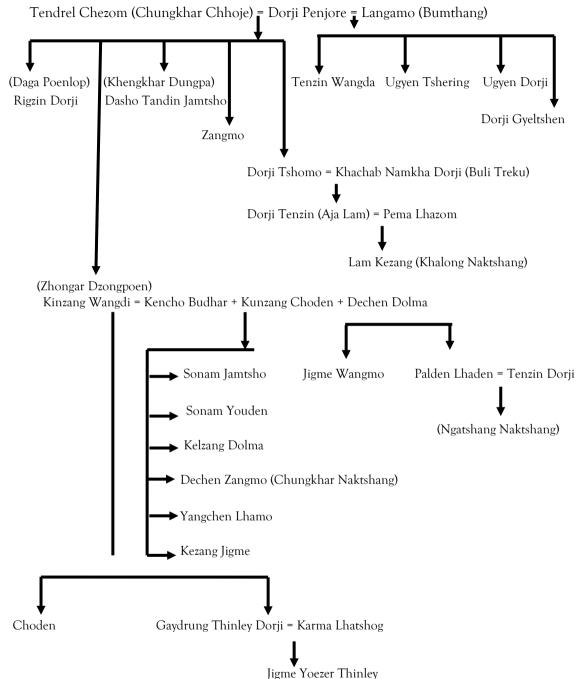
⁷ Aja is sacred site of Gura Padmasambhava. It is located at eastern Bhutan, Mongar.

⁸ Oral communication on 25/12/2019. Daughter of Dzongpon Kinzang Wangdi. She is the owner of Ngatshang Naktshang.

⁹ Oral conversation with daughter of Dzongpon Kinzang Wangdi on 25/12/2019. She is the owner of Chungkhar Naktshang.

to the Dasho Ompardan and settled presently at Semtokha Thimphu. Pelden Lhaden, elder sister married to Tenzin Dorji and also lives in Thimphu. However, the two sisters own the Naktshang.

Family Tree of Zhongar Dzongpoen Dorji Penjore



Conclusion

The history of Ngatshang Chokpa Naktshang traces its initial founder to the 10th Zhongar Dzongpon Kunzang Wangdi. He can be remembered in the history of Zhongar through the three traditional storied building. The Naktshang was used as tax stores, guest house and offices besides a side residence. People near by the Ngatshang community were burdened by taxes, especially the labor tax. The power of Naktshang was exercised almost for twenty five years after the establishment in 1931. However, with the passage of time, the authorities of Naktshang have declined following the reformation initiated in 1953 by the third Druk Gyalpo ligme Dorji Wangchuk. The social reform has largely affected the authorities of noble families and Naktshangs of the eastern and central Bhutan. On the other hand, people serving under the jurisdiction of noble families and Naktshangs were freed from the feudal system and they were blessed with free land for a new settlement which led to decline power and authority of noble families and Naktshangs in Bhutan. Currently Ngatshang Naktshang is owned by Palden Lhaden daughter of Kunzang Wangdi. Since Naktshang is privately owned, government support for preservation is deemed more complex. However, given the historical and cultural importance of this place, steps are recommended to prevent the Naktshang from reducing to a ruin.

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गुत्र'पवर'र्थेत'प्रमा (न्यर'वेरम'न्द'यः १००५ न्दा वेरम'ग्रेम'यः १०००) गर्वेद'सूर'र्हेट'न्दः सेर'सूर'र्हेट'ग्री'कगमः

८मा'त्वरःकु'अर्ढी (४०४०) श्रेःश्चेत्रःवहेम्बास्येत्रःकुत्यःकुत्यःकुत्यःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्यःकुत्रःकुत्यःकुत्रःकुत्यःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकुत्रःकित्रःकित्रःक्षित्रःक्रित्रःकित्रःकित्रःकित्रःक्षित्रःक्रित्रःक्रित्रःकित्रःकित्रःक्षित्रःकित्रःकित्रःक्रित्रःकित्रःकित्रःकित्रःकित्रःकित्रःकित्रःक द्युम्'में 'यम र्ख्या (१))५६ ८५। द्युम्' ५८:ई'अ'य' प्यूमें 'देन' द्विम' देम' मृत्रूट 'यम देस' क्षेत्र मु

Bhutan and India's Free Trade Agreement (FTA) and the World Trade Organization (WTO): A Critical Appraisal

Karma Tshering Wangchuk¹

ABSTRACT: Bhutan and India share a unique relationship, one that is grounded in enlightened leadership and stable governments. India helped to finance most of the development projects and investments in Bhutan, especially hydropower. In turn, most of the hydropower energy thus generated flows back to India's electricity grid, in the process benefitting both countries. A similar mutuality reveals in a range of other domains. The relationship formally began with the visit of Pandit Nehru to Bhutan in 1958. It flourished and strengthened in subsequent years and decades. The Free Trade Agreement (FTA) was entered into to reap the presumed benefits from free trade and commerce. Bhutan gains from this FTA since Bhutan has to import nearly everything from India and whatever Bhutan has for sale, India alone is sufficiently a big market for its products. This article will discuss the trade routes and FTA and Bhutan's attempt to join World Trade Organization (WTO), as well as refers to other developments in the region.

Key Words: Free Trade Agreement, World Trade Organization, land routes, imports, exports, SAARC, SAFTA, BIMSTEC, sanitary and phyto-sanitary standard SAARC, SAFTA

Introduction

Bhutan is one of the world's smallest countries; not in terms of size as there are many countries smaller in territory, but when measured by population. Bhutan is a so-called developing country, whose economy is largely based on forestry and agriculture, which continues to provide the main livelihood for more than 60% of the population (Khandu 2015). The rugged terrain and mountainous features make development activities difficult.

After the British left India, the enlightened leadership of Bhutan forged a new relationship with independent India. Just like the British Raj earlier, the newly independent India did not find Bhutan's external relations necessary as long as it was inward looking and isolated, which was the status quo for a long period. The basic framework guiding India and Bhutan's bilateral relations is the 1949 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. This treaty is characterized by mutual trust and understanding, with extensive cooperation in the field of economic development. The

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Free Trade Agreement was entered into in the year 1972 to reap trade benefits.

The Bhutanese economy is closely tied with the Indian economy. The industrial sector is technologically not fully developed, with most production being of the 'cottage type.' Most development projects rely on Indian migrant labor, especially in relation to infrastructure. Bhutan's hydropower and tourism potential are also key resources that drive the Bhutanese economy.

In recent decades, the country has made some progress in expanding the nation's production base and in improving social welfare. Model education, social, and environmental programmes are underway with support from multilateral development organizations. Each economic development plan and programme takes into account the government's desire to protect the country's environment and cultural traditions. As a case in point: the government, in its cautious expansion of the tourist sector, encourages visits by upscale, environmentally conscientious tourists, rather than allowing mass tourism, which is potentially ecologically and culturally destructive. At the same time, detailed controls and uncertain policies in such areas as industrial licensing, trader, labor and finance continue to impede foreign investment.

Among the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) countries, Bhutan is the only country with which India has a relatively stable relationship. India has funded many of the Five Year Plan development activities in Bhutan. Instead of bandwagoning with other neighbors, Bhutan decided to consolidate an exceptionally strong relation with India. This turn to India was no doubt in part informed by the Chinese annexation of Tibet. Over time, however, Bhutan also developed aspirations to join other international countries by joining the WTO.

The South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA) came into effect from 1 January 2006. The idea of free trade was proposed in 1995 and SAFTA was signed during the 12th SAARC Summit during which India promised to cut down customs tariff to 5% for items imported from other SAARC countries. Accordingly, developing countries - Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka were to slash down customs duties between 0% and 5% within seven years, while least developed countries like Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal and Maldives agreed to do the same in 10 years (Wangchuk, 2009).

Following this brief introduction, the remainder of this article attempts to explain the Free Trade Agreement between Bhutan and India and the important trade routes agreed by the two countries. Next, it briefly explain the analysis of some import and export trade figures and the significance of the FTA. Since most of Bhutan's neighbors are members of World Trade Organization, Bhutan has been attempting to join this organization as well, and on which I will offer some reflections. I will also briefly mention other developments of which Bhutan is now a part, especially in relation to the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC).

Free Trade Agreement between 2 countries - India and Bhutan

Druk Yul, the land of Thunder Dragon, better known to the outside world as Bhutan, occupying an area of 18,000 square miles in Eastern Himalayas, remained in self-imposed isolation for many centuries. This long period of isolation was partially abandoned during the reign of third monarch, King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk who was alarmed by the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1958 and its subsequent annexation, and the 1962 war between India and China. Since then, Bhutan has embarked upon on economic development plan in place of its earlier barter system, and has never looked back.

With the exposure to the outside world after 1960 the monarchy was forced to begin a process which might be called "defensive modernization". Prior to the visit of then Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru in 1958, only a few economic reforms were initiated. The first proper road was opened in 1960 to the capital, connecting Phuntsholing, a then small town near the Indian border, to Thimphu. Today, Bhutan is well connected with blacked topped road zigzagging across the country. Although many developed countries offered to help Bhutan in its economic development projects, Bhutan could not accept them because of certain treaties with India. The 1910 Anglo-Bhutanese Treaty and the 1949 Indo-Bhutan Treaty of Friendship gave the British Raj and later the Indian government the right to 'advise' on Bhutan's external affairs. Therefore, whatever economic reforms that has been undertaken till late 1970s was almost completely through Indian financial and technical aid. The deal struck between Bhutan and India, inter alia, was a guarantee of internal stability by Bhutan in return for massive development help from India (Perry 1989, 261).

China's assertive stance towards Bhutan prompted it to get away from its age old and long traditional and cultural association with Tibet and to draw closer to British India and subsequently to independent India. As early as in 1949, Bhutan signed the Treaty of Perpetual Peace and Friendship with India to avoid possible annexation by China, in the process, and in return, opening the development road maps for Bhutan and trade with the help of India (Ramachandran, 2017). The basic framework of India and Bhutan bilateral relations is the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation of 1949 between the two countries which was also followed by a trade agreement in 1972 – also characterized by close trust and understanding and extensive cooperation in the field of economic development and trade.

A free trade regime therefore exist between India and Bhutan. The India-Bhutan Trade and Commerce Agreement was renewed in March 1995 and is effective for a 10 year period from April 1995 to March 2005. The agreement was renewed in November 2016 (Chandra, 2019). The major items of export from Bhutan to India are electricity (from Chukha and Kurichhu Hydroelectric Project), cement, timber and wood products, minerals, cardamom, fruits products, potatoes, oranges and apples, raw silk and alcoholic beverages. Major exports from India to Bhutan are petroleum products, rice and, automobiles and spares, machinery and fabrics.

Trade Routes Identified

The Agreement on Trade and Commerce also provides for duty free transit of Bhutanese merchandise for trade with third countries. The 16 exit and entry points in India identified in the Protocol for Bhutan's third country trade are:

- 1. Jaigoan road route
- 2. Chamurchi road route
- 3. UltaPani road route
- 4. Hathisar (Gelegphug) road route
- 5. Darranaga road route
- 6. Calcutta (air route and sea route)
- 7. Haldia sea route
- 8. Dhubri (riverine route)
- 9. Raxaul (road & rail route)
- 10. Panitanki road route
- 11. Chakrabandh road route
- 12. New Delhi (air route)
- 13. Mumbai sea & air route
- 14. Chennai sea & air route
- 15. Phulbari road route
- 16. Dawki road route (Agreement on Trade, Commerce and Transit between the Royal Government of Bhutan and the Government of the Republic of India, 29 July 2006), and quite recently in 2021, another trade route was opened making it the 17th trade route
- 17. Pasakha it is the recent land route connecting to West Bengal which was opened to Jaigoan and Ahlay which will facilitate connections between India and Bhutan in times of crisis like Covid 19 (India-Bhutan open new trade route on 16 July 2020).

These are important trade routes opened up for Bhutan by India for trading for development of the country. These routes are crucial given that this is the only route through which Bhutan can connect through the outside world, given the absence of relations with China.

Import and Export Figures

India is Bhutan's largest trade partner. During the year 2001-2002, inclusive of electricity, Bhutan's export to India totaled Rs. 4.91 billion and constituted 94.5 % of its total export. Imports from India were of the order of Rs. 7.38 billion, constituting 78% of its total imports (India Bhutan relations, 2008).

Bhutan has an estimated hydropower potential of 30,000 MW (megawatt) and 120 TWh

(terawatt hour) mean annual energy generation indicating an average development potential of 781 kW (kilowatt) in a square kilometer of area (catchment). So far, 23,760 MW has been identified and assessed to be technically feasible. Only 1.6% of the potential is harnessed so far (Tshering and Tamang, 2004).

Before the 1980s, third country import and export was nonexistent in Bhutan. Indo-Bhutan Trade Treaty was signed in 1972. It is renewed every ten years and the last time renewed was in 2016. The statistics on import from and export to India are given below.

(In Millions of Nu/IRS)

Year	Import	Export	Trade Balance
1990-91	1254.92	1129.57	(-) 1253.5
1991-92	1814.14	1465.13	(-) 349.01
1992-93	2082.62	1522.18	(-) 564.08
1993-94	2065.90	1785.98	(-) 279.92
1994-95	2750.00	2088.00	(-) 662.03
1995-96	2856.41	2489.18	(-) 367.23
1996-97	2890.00	3220.00	(+) 330.00
1997-98	3450.00	4040.00	(+) 590.00
1998-99	3620.00	4180.00	(+) 560.00

Source: Indian government publications, 2005

Bhutan-India Trade Statistics (NU/Rupees in Billion)

Source: Royal Monetary Authority of Bhutan, 2008

Year	Import	Export
1994-95	2.22	2.05
1995-96	2.79	3.07
1996-97	3.06	3.22
1997-98	3.68	4.04
1998-99	4.91	4.18
1999-2000	6.06	4.71
2000-2001	7.38	4.91

(Bhutan news online, 2008)

But the trade has jumped by leaps and bounds in 2019. Import of ten top items amounted to Nu. 68,906,111,049 billion out of the total import of Nu. 69.112 billion. Total export for 2019 was worth Nu.47.487 billion. Balance of trade as thus deficit by Nu.21.625 billion in 2019. Trade deficit was projected to be Nu. 37 billion for 2019. Bhutan is thus trending to be net importer

(Bhutan Trade Statistics, 2019).

Borrowings from outside continue to be the main financing source for development activities, which are continuously increasing. Until June 2020, the outstanding external debt amount increased by 5.3% to US\$ 2872.15 million (Nu.213, 687.97 billion) of which 71.1% is in the form of Rupee debt and 28.9 percent is Convertible Currency (CC) debt. The current existence of peg arrangement (Bhutanese currency is equated with Indian currency, i.e 1:1) and the bigger portion of the total debt which is denominated in Indian Rupee (INR) has helped to cushion the impact of exchange rate shocks. Further, the INR debt has been spent much on the hydropower development, covering more than 86.2% and self-liquidating in nature in terms of payment.

Besides, the CC debts amounting to US\$ 830.76 million (Nu. 61,808.544 billion at Nu.74.40 exchange rate as of 10 March 2021 is 28.9% and it is concessional loans from multinational institutions and bilateral partners, which are subject to exchange rate risk impacting both the stock as well as debt servicing of CC debt. For example, with depreciation of exchange rate in June 2020, the cost of debt servicing increased by Nu. 239.97 million and the debt stock by Nu.5,490.50 million (RMA Annual Report 2020).

The government outstanding debt stock as on 30th June 2019 was Nu. 184,174.524 million (US\$ 2,662.059 million) which is about 100.57% of GDP. The Government Equity Holdings and Government Guarantees as on 30th June 2019 were Nu.107, 160.782 million and Nu.1, 979.508 million respectively (Annual Financial Statements of RGoB for the year ended 30 June 2019). Certainly Bhutan is importing more and trade balance is not in Bhutan's favour. It has to work hard and diversify with value added goods in the future to export more to gain the favorable balance of trade.

Significance of FTA and Clauses in the Articles

Based on the age old ties between India and Bhutan, and with the desire to strengthen them further, FTA was entered into to reap the benefits from the free trade and commerce. Bhutan stand to gain from this FTA since Bhutan has to import nearly everything from India, and whatever Bhutan has for sale, India alone is sufficient a big market for its products. Besides, Bhutan is the only country with which India has good and mutually beneficial relation compared to other SAARC countries. Article –VIII says Trade between India and Bhutan will continue to be transacted in Indian Rupees and Bhutanese Ngultrums. In this regard, since Bhutan's exports are mainly edible items which are tax exempted, Bhutan stands to gain by way of excise refund on whatever imports that is made from India. Excise refund also used to make up about almost 10% of the national revenue income of Bhutan. However, there is an inconsistency here. It often helps small countries to thrive as an independent country through trade but at the same time face adverse conditions in the globalized markets and makes it quite vulnerable to exogenous shocks.

Bhutan is a landlocked country and that will of course remain so, and continue to influence

its economic conditions. 79% of Bhutan's total imports come from India and 90% of its exports are made to India. In the foregone paragraphs, a small description and analysis of the balance of trade and increasing debts services were explained to augment the argument. Opening to other countries is possible by joining WTO. But is it really worth to join the big league of nations? It is my contention that WTO membership is highly recommended as it guarantees level playing field for every member country in the WTO.

Current Status of Bhutan's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO)

Bhutan developed aspirations to play equally important roles with other international countries by joining WTO. The process started in 1999 for Bhutan, when it applied for WTO membership. Since then, some legislative changes have been made in conformity with WTO norms.

The WTO has 164 members, including 36 Least Developed Countries (LDCs). At the end of 2017, 19 countries were at different stages and levels of negotiation for accession to WTO. Bhutan is currently one of the Observer States, meaning Bhutan has not become acceded member of WTO. Afghanistan became a member of WTO in 2016 (Press Release, Ministry of Economic Affairs, 2017). Bhutan also participated in the Enhanced Integrated Framework (EIP) High Level Dialogue to discuss and gain knowledge on market access opportunities and strengthening trade capacities of the LDCs.

Bhutan planned to join WTO by 2009

Bhutan planned to join WTO by 2009 by opening up 54 services and 5,820 goods for negotiations with 164 countries as potential trading partners.

Bhutanese key ministries representative officials were posted as a negotiating team at WTO headquarters in Geneva and doing preliminary study. It was expected that Bhutan would be able to join after the fifth working party meeting in 2009. The service sectors which were opened up were not expected to be uniform, which required Bhutanese partners to have maximum equity of 70 percent to a minimum of 49 percent. Besides it was necessary to register as Bhutanese company subject to prevailing domestic laws on labor, tax and applicable trade rules opening up only some portion (Bhutan Today, 7 June 2008). Bhutan would be allowed to impose maximum duty of 100 to 150 percent on all the non-agricultural and agricultural goods, and on sensitive products. However, once applied, the percentage cannot be applied higher than that. The average duty so far is 48.7 percent on Bhutanese agriculture products with the exception of red rice having a protective 100 percent maximum duty. The average duty rates is 26.3 percent for the non-agricultural items. The duty rates were originally higher but brought down to adjust and

accommodate with other countries' wishes. Becoming a member of WTO will open up the markets of other countries and so will have to open up the markets of Bhutan to other member countries of WTO, based on the principles of reciprocity and non-discrimination. In accordance with the Most Favored Nation (MFN) clause and single undertaking principle, Bhutan can enjoy the multilateral benefits without having to negotiate with one on one trade agreement with each member country. It will enable to initiate economic reforms – Bhutan has to make reforms that its laws and policies are in keeping with the WTO norms which are transparent and non-discriminatory and without vested interests.

USA had expressed interest in Bhutan's finance and energy sector, while China was willing to export some goods. Japan showed interest in establishing direct car showrooms and workshops and Canada in increasing days of business visa. The European Union (EU) expressed interest in Bhutan's services and goods. Bhutan's negotiating officials say that even other smaller countries have shown interest in trading. Any agreement to any one country in opening up services or goods will be applicable to all other countries as well. It is possible now to get foreign direct investments, capital, skills and transfer of technology to Bhutan, with a WTO tag guaranteeing that the country is safe and credible for any business. A major advantage is also that it will now be easier for the government and commercial sectors to look for markets in any of these countries for our export items like bio-food and handicrafts. However, the greater advantage for Bhutan would be a set of transparent strong domestic trading laws based on international trading laws to promote good governance and efficiency.

Apart from assistance from WTO, Bhutan as one of the least developed countries (LDCs) would also get some concessions, including tariff rates and the pace of opening up. Bhutan will graduate from LDC status in 2023. However, WTO confers Special and differential treatment for developing and least developed countries. WTO has over 150 provisions to safeguard against a wide range of concerns a developing country faces, like greater market access in agriculture and manufacturing and flexibility in meeting WTO commitments. It also includes greater opportunities for safeguarding measures to protect their economies and access to technical assistance and more time to meet WTO commitments. On the other hand, the unlimited exports from non-rupee countries will have an impact on trade balance and on Bhutan's limited foreign exchange reserves. Because of increased competition to domestic players, many smaller and weaker companies and competitors will have to shut down thus giving greater benefits and greater choices to the consumers. Trading laws once enacted cannot be easily changed with regard to market access of services and duty on goods leading to domestic policy inflexibility.

For this reason, Bhutan could face possible negative impacts in agriculture, as it is beset by poor technology, accessibility to outside world and marketing, thus making it tough and unfriendly to Bhutan's exports. However, Bhutan joining the WTO will be both an advantage and disadvantage when it comes to the disputes settlement mechanism, in the sense that Bhutan can take even big countries to court for unfair trade practices. Similarly, Bhutan can also be taken to international courts and penalized for barring anyone against WTO trade laws. Since Bhutan's application for membership, it has been making legislative changes in keeping with the WTO

regulations.

Bhutanese have to understand very well the agreements concerning sanitary and phytosanitary (SPS) issues with member countries of WTO, to avoid that sanitation and health issues are not misused to block trade. The other agreements like TRIPS (trade related aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) agreement to protect intellectual property rights and TBT (Technical Barriers to trade) are to make sure that duty on products are applied in a transparent manner and to ensure the standards of quality. Given all the complexities in becoming the WTO membership, Bhutan has stalled the process in becoming full membership since 2017. The final decision to join or not join WTO will lie in the hands of the National Assembly, who will take a vote on the issue after debating it in the National Assembly. As of now, the existing FTA between India and Bhutan is as good as regional trade benefitting both the parties which is also in keeping with the WTO norms.

Conclusion

Bhutan has tried hard to join the international community and the FTA and possible WTO membership is enabling this. The significance of being and becoming members of this organizations is made aware to the Bhutanese. If Bhutan does join the World Trade Organization, it is one of the major steps it will be taking in this century. To put this in perspective, Bhutan has been open to India but with WTO membership, it has more than 164 countries to contend with. Bhutan is not yet prepared in any sector starting from agriculture to industry.

Apart from far exporting to 164 countries, Bhutan already has a trade imbalance with India except in hydro power sector. The Ministry of Economic Affairs has also not done comprehensive survey on the impact of WTO on our services, jobs, industries, immigration, sovereignty of our laws, culture, environment and GNH and export potential. The only impact studies done are some power point presentations based more on international experiences to the conferences. However, Bhutan's FTA with India has made it possible to import everything through India without any tariffs and practically able to trade whatever Bhutan has for the sale. But joining the WTO will make Bhutan more open to the outside world and other countries. Therefore, Bhutan stands at a crossroad.

The Royal Government of Bhutan (RGoB) has stalled the process of joining the WTO as of now justifying that joining WTO will create one of the biggest constraints and obstructions to distract Bhutan from creating enabling and conducive conditions for Gross National Happiness (GNH). To plug into the system of globalization network with limited resources and expertise will be disadvantages to Bhutan which will be seen by WTO members as anti and irrational (Lamsang, 2017).

Given its size and immensity, India only can take the lead in transforming a grossly underperforming region like South Asia. The share of India in the total land area, population, and real GDP of South Asia in 2016 are 62%, 75% and 83% respectively. Two other countries are Bangladesh and Pakistan with shares in regional GDP of only 5.6% and 7.6% (Balakrishnan, April

2021). For this reason, a focus on India, rather than the WTO, could be deemed more beneficial. In the recent decisions of the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), two and a half years after the Kathmandu Summit, the grouping stands ready to move forward. BIMSTEC was established as grouping of four countries – India, Thailand, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka and later through Bangkok Declaration in 1997 to promote economic development, it was expanded to include Bhutan, Myanmar and Nepal.

The foreign ministers of the Member States cleared the draft for the BIMSTEC charter, recommending its early adoption. They authorized the rationalization of sectors and sub-sectors of activity, with each member-state serving as a lead for the assigned areas of special interest. They supported for the Master Plan for Transport Connectivity to be adopted at the next summit. Other preparations are completed for the signing of three agreements relating to mutual legal assistance in criminal matters, cooperation between diplomatic academies, and the establishment of a technology transfer facility in Colombo.

The recent deliberations however lack reference to the progress on the trade and economic dossier. The study in January 2018 of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry suggested that BIMSTEC urgently needed a comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (FTA) to be a real game changer. It should ideally cover trade in goods, services and investment, promote regulatory harmonization. It should also adopt policies that develop regional value chains and eliminate non-tariff barriers. There is a lack of enthusiasm to engage in the vibrant business communities of these seven countries, and to develop dialogue, transactions and further interactions. In this regard, BIMSTEC also remains a work in progress. More than 20 rounds of negotiations to operationalize the BIMSTEC Free Trade Area Framework Agreement which was signed in 2004 are yet to bear fruit.

However, notable achievements has been made in Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief and security that include cyber security, counterterrorism, and coastal security cooperation. Through constant focus and follow-up India has led, so much so, that some member-states have complained about the 'over-securitization' of BIMSTEC. But the trick to ensure balance is not to go slow on security, and to fast-track the pace of forging solid arrangements for economic cooperation. Correspondingly, while other national business chambers are yet to be optimally involved with the BIMSTEC project, the strategic and academic community has shown plenty of interest through the BIMSTEC Network of Policy Think Tanks and other fora (Bhatia 2021). Therefore, Bhutan's relations with India is always in the right direction through FTA but moving slower in joining WTO.

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Buddhism and Digital Communication:

Connecting the Guru, the Master and the Disciple through Digital tools

Olivier Arifon¹

Abstract: Guru Rinpoche (or Padmasambhava), a Tibetan figure from the 8th century, is important in Tibetan Buddhism. Today, his traces are still visible in the Himalayas in caves, dedicated spots, and monasteries. Nowadays, a practitioner could be in contact with this Guru through his master, himself holding the knowledge and the 'karmic' connection with this Guru. In Tibetan Buddhism, it is the dominant and everlasting method. Surprisingly - or logically - the link between the Guru (and one of them, Guru Rinpoche), the master (itself an emanation), and the disciple is now also possible with social media and digital tools. The use of digital tools gives indication on how people understand and are maintaining the link into an everyday practice. By examining the presence and the activities by the practitioners of Buddhism on digital tools, this article wants to examine the modalities of esoteric practices. Creating posts and photos may be a manner to express its devotion to the guru, a constitutive dimension of the relationship between a figure and practitioners. Moreover, with the 2020 lockdown, additional digital practice arises, such as online session with the master and mantra counter as performative action.

Introduction

From the master-disciple relationship's point of view, this article examines how digital tools and practices can prolong, replace, or affect relationship and connection. In other words, it explores the performativity of the master-disciple relationship, in Tibetan Buddhism adapted to the modalities of the digital technologies.

We summon three similar notions to question the effectiveness of online practices in the master-disciple relationship in Tibetan Buddhism, but we don't consider that these notions are identical term to term, avoiding a strict comparative approach. Coming from linguistics, performativity is said to be a verb whose enunciation amounts to realizing the action it expresses, for example, in the sentence *I swear it* (Antidote dictionary, 2021). By extension, it makes it

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possible to question the effectiveness of a practice, or how it can achieve the action to which it refers. In the religious sciences, 'symbolic effectiveness' raises the question of the action of the ritual when it takes place face-to-face and then online: 'In other words, do actors consider online practices and rituals to be "valid" as well as those carried out without Internet mediation?' (Duteil-Ogata, Jonveaux, 2020, 3).

Finally, Tibetan Buddhism develops practices with a performative character that rituals contribute to transforming the practitioner. The Buddhist vocabulary refers to 'skillful means (upaya)' as an act that works for the learning, understanding or achievement of a disciple. In his work on the representations of the world in Buddhist cosmology, Eric Huntington (2019) deals with the conception of the cosmos through writing, rituals, mandalas, and architectures. An argument on performativity irrigates this book, because according to Tibetan Buddhism, studying writing, practising a ritual, visualising a mandala, or strolling into a monastery lead to perceptible effects. 'Clearly cross magical thinking is intimately connected to the experience of sacred space. Like the meditations on the Tantric Mandala, movement throughout the architecture provides a transformative experience that ends with direct access to an enlightened Buddha at the centre of the cosmos' (Huntington, 2019, 225). Before testing the hypothesis of a performativity and a face-to-face transfer of the ritual to the online mode, a reflection on development of communication processes is necessary.

Tibetan Buddhism in its diffusion in the West, especially since the 1970s, evolves by encountering the communication technologies. Dapsance (2018) distinguishes three approaches represented by three authors. For David McMahan (in Dapsance, 2018), Buddhism once settled in the West emphasizes rationality and meditation instead of a specific practice based on texts. He uses three dense terms: 'detraditionalization', demythologisation and psychologisation. Donald Lopez (2003) considers that modern Buddhism is a new school, between West and Asia, an approach that provides a coherent framework for understanding the movements of this philosophy in the West. Finally, Jeff Wilson (in Dapsance, 2018) emphasizes the genealogy of the practice of meditation called 'mindfulness'. Theses authors interpret the transformation of Buddhism during its implantation in the West and its insertion in the digital sphere.

An aspect often linked with the presentation and diffusion of Buddhism, where analysis, fascination and testimonies are closely intertwined, approach of which Alexandra David-Neel (1999), is the illustrious representative. With Agniel (2018, 146) 'Orientalists brilliantly combine two ways of approaching Tibet: from the philosophical point of view, by presenting a dogmatic and rigorous Buddhism, and from the imaginary point of view, by relying on the myth of a magical and wonderful Tibet.' This approach has led to a relative confusion that contributes to the perception of Buddhism between science and magic, thus contributing to the definition of a religion known for its strong adaptive capacity to different type of contexts and of practitioners. This flexibility explains several contemporary approaches of Buddhism. Thus, supernatural dimensions, plasticity of reception and practice dominate Buddhism. Thanks to this plasticity, digital devices fit easily into this space.

In the widely discussed distinction by Christopher Helland between online religion and

religion online, let us address the link between religion and communication. Logically, the Internet is 'a place of creation and recreation of the contemporary religious sphere' Duteil-Ogata, F., Jonveaux, I., Kuczynski, L., Nizard, S., (2015, 26). Campbell (2012, 65) identifies five components briefly presented here: 'networked community, storied identities, shifting authority, convergent practice, multisite reality'. The notion of 'networked community' shows that practices emerge in a social sphere, the result of interactions themselves in a network. Sharapan (2018) provide an example of reorganization of Buddhism through online forums and online courses. The 'multiple identity' emphasizes that our identity in the twenty-first century consists of a set of elements and resources, a fragmented and multiple identity. Moreover, with networks, everyone is free to build an alternative and personalized faith.

The 'changing authority' explains the emergence of new religious actors in the digital world. Practitioners but not institutions emancipate from authority, itself a flexible concept in this branch of Buddhism. The 'convergence of practice' indicates that digital opens and channels both devices. Finally, it's easy to see that the digital allow a 'multisite reality', better a multiple reality, because different levels are connected between them. Gleig (2014) discusses the characteristics of Buddhism encountering technology. Buddhist geeks, as they called themselves, claim for a new approach of Buddhism by using communication tools with several arguments. They have a fundamental optimism about the impact of technology on Buddhism, which supports the democratisation of Buddhism, and argues that it allows a redefinition of the hierarchy. Such approach referred to 'DIY Buddhism 'consider communication tools to reducing the suffering whatever is the channel or the type of relation. Such vision appears to be a reinvention without filters helped by technology, a vision close to the one proposed by startups and their applications.

Master and Disciple in Tibetan Buddhism

Globally, currently two modes of transmission exist; an academic model, and a master-disciple relationship model. The first adapts to the standards of transmission of the 21st century and is in line with the broad tenets of modernity. The second respects traditional forms, here originating from Asia, especially Tibet. We don't have space here to detail the adaptations or permanence of these two models. The masters who came from Tibet and then India knew how to adapt (or not) to the expectations of the Westerners. At the same time, the formalization and popularization of Buddhist knowledge are shifting from a specialized model to a model of popularization. And communication tools contribute to this popularization and change of practice.

Homola (2013) describes the transmission from master to disciple through the construction of a privileged relationship, an oral and secret transmission and the risks and privileges of the master. We face the combination of traditional, modern processes or reconstruction dimensions of Tibetan Buddhism. In Tibetan Buddhism, to submit to the guru allows to build a framework and create a form of freedom beneficent for the structure and the quality of the master-disciple

relationship. In short, the framework gives the freedom to follow the teachings. The guru is somehow a bridge between the inside and the outside. The inside is us and our experiences, and the outside is someone who has the knowledge to evolve. In his work, Dzongsar Jamyang Khyentse and Saint Guily (2018, 121) list twenty-three qualities necessary to the master, such as open-minded, tolerant, scholar, humble, generous, not judging, etc.

The words of Geytrul Jigme Rinpoche, master of the RIPA lineage², are identical: the guru must develop devotion, without room for judgment. The disciple responding to a request of the guru manages to be closer to realization. It's in the unfolding of devotion and beyond doubt that blocks openness that the master-disciple bond reveals itself, lives itself and promotes the relationship. The disciple commits himself to the master to follow his instructions, and the master commits himself to accompany him until awakening.³ 'Thus, even more than the skillful means, devotion to the master is the crucial point of the Vajrayana and the Dzogchen, without which everything remains sterile. Far from being slavery, the relationship to the master is liberating, the latter being the catalyst of spiritual transformation' (Cornu, 2006, 361). In addition, the final stage is the fusion between master, guru, Buddha, and disciple, each being the other and vice versa, depending on the quality – or degree – of the realisation.

Having described the plasticity of Buddhism emphasized by communication tools and the strength of the link between master and disciple, we propose to explore several cases.

Performativity and Online Practices

Five modes using digital for practice and teaching stand out. For each of them, the performativity of the act and the nature of the master-disciple relationship arises. Tibetan Buddhism considers Guru Rinpoche (or Padmasambhava,) as the second Buddha, after the historical Buddha Sâkyamuni, the founder of Buddhism in the 5th century BC. Guru Rinpoche lived an intense life, and accounts of his life seemingly mix real facts and fantastic elements, as is usually the case with the life of the masters in the Tibetan tradition. For Cornu (2017, p. 46): 'Padmasambhava, whom all Tibetans name Guru Rinpoche, "The Precious Guru", is much more than the historical figure whose Tibetans agree to recognise the brief passage in Tibet in the eighth century [...] Isn't he considered the second Buddha, with the mission to teach Tantra? Padmasambhava is truly the living symbol of Tibetan Buddhism, the personification of the essential principle of the transmission of Tantric teachings and Dzogchen that is, the Master par excellence.'

Guru Rinpoche, whose biography lends itself to imagination and fantasy, allows many appropriations in terms of communication. Despite several biographies and accounts of the life and actions of Guru Rinpoche (Cornu, 1997, Dalton, 2004, Fremantle, Trungpa, Lati Rinbochay & Karma-glinpa, 1979, Gyatso, 1995), uncertainties about the master's life remain.

² "Ri" means mountain and "Pa" the one who dwells in it. Source : https://ripa-international.com/ripa-lineage, consulted Septembre 27, 2021.

³ Teaching, the Guru in Buddhism, RIPA Center, Switzerland, June 2017.

Tradition indicates that Guru Rinpoche incarnated himself in an eight-year-old child, on a lotus leaf floating on Lake Dhanakosha, in the kingdom of Oddiyana, located in the Swat Valley, near Peshawar, in the north of Pakistan. A limited number of authors propose Odisha in the east of India as a place of origin. Guru Rinpoche then travelled the Himalayan massif from east to west, without it being possible to establish a chronology of his journey. However, his tracks are observed in Tsopemaandin Nalanda (the Buddhist University), (India), Sikkim and Pharping (Nepal). It's also present in Bhutan and the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh. Padmasambhava remains, to this day, the central figures of Sikkim and the Kingdom of Bhutan. Places and traces relate to one or more episodes of spiritual practices or achievements specific to this Buddhist current. The comparative reading of the various biographies reveals that a founding episode, the construction of the monastery of Samye in 779 in Tibet and the struggles against demons obstructing it, is well documented. He is also the only one to have a date, articulated with the reign of Trisong Desten, monarch who invited Guru Rinpoche to Tibet. Guru Rinpoche is a legendary figure - monk, shaman, yogi, and scholar - who represents, through epic episodes, an ideal of enlightenment and, according to the unlinear understanding of time in the Tibetosphere, it's misleading to seek to establish a historical biography. For Cornu (1997, p. 54): '[Historical texts] are hagiography rather than reliable historical sources. It would be absurd to seek a coherent chronology of the events of Padmasambhava's life. Should we remember that this isn't the primary purpose of these inspired works, intended to inspire the faith with epic narrative rich in teachings?" Thus Cornu (1997) proposes the life of Guru Rinpoche in the form of versified episodes. Similarly Ngavang Zangpo (2007) exposes the biographical account on thirteen pages of verses.

Today, the traces of his presence and his passage are visible in the Himalayan massif: painting on the walls of the temples, paintings on silk (thangkas), prints in the rock, caves where the Guru meditated or practised, statues and temples dedicated. Beyond the character and myth, a central point of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition illuminates this article. Indeed, to receive help or simply to meet the master, it's enough to ask, because according to the conception of Tibetan Buddhism, this one is always among us: 'Those who know Padmasambhava know that the promise he made more than a thousand years ago is a living truth: I am never far from those who are inspired by faith, nor even from those who are deprived of it, although they do not see me. My children will always and forever be protected by my compassion' (Soygal Rinpoche, 2005, 273).

Several factors are favourable to an approach in communication: continuity of the presence/absence of the master, reality/mystery, rationality/affectivity. These factors form a favourable context for combining communication and religion and analysing the nature of the links between practitioners and disciples of a guru and a contemporary lama or Rinpoche. The importance of the figure of Guru Rinpoche explains the links between a guru, a master who is an emanation and disciples who have faith in the first two ones.

In this framework, we develop a discussion about the online presence of the guru and the role and place of information and communication technologies. Communication tools amplify the effects and social accounts managed in the name of the deity, Guru Rinpoche or

Padmasambhava exists under several approaches. In the first part of the analysis, this work presents the initiatives elaborated by devotees for connecting with guru Rinpoche's karmic presence. In the second part, it's about guru-devotee relationship, even if one guru, for example the head of RIPA lineage such as NamkarDrimed Rinpoche is an emanation of Guru Rinpoche.

An analysis conducted in 2019 reveals that Guru Rinpoche is present on three social media platforms: Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, with modest numbers of accounts for each of them. ⁴ The chosen corpus allows an analysis of the proposed speeches and the limits encountered (Schmidt, 2018).

Table 1 - Facebook, analysis as of February 11, 2019

Accounts of Guru	Journal	About	Friends	Photos	Mentio
Rinpoche					n 'I like'
1	Photos	Empty	0	No	
2	Photos	Empty	39	No	
3	Photos		0	Yes	Buddhist
					Dignitaries and
					Institutions
4	A candle	Empty	0	Candle	Miscellaneous
					news
5	A neutral background	Empty	0	Neutral Fund	
6	4 photos of a congress	Empty	0	Congress and	
	and friends in China			friends.	
7	Photos, videos	Since 2009, in	213k	Photos and	The page seems
		Treviso, Italy		content by	not maintained
				practitioners	for a moment;
					inscription is
					not possible.

Profiles with photos of individuals are excluded, considering that these accounts used, for their own reasons, the name of Guru Rinpoche or Padmasambhava. We get six accounts with an image of the Guru and photos and activities related to the Buddhist universe, without it being possible to identify links with a practice. For Facebook, the table shows a virtual absence and a trivialization of the use of one of the two names and associated iconography.

⁴ We consider the two names Guru Rinpoche and Padmasambhava to offer a better rendering of the digital presence. Videos and blogs also contain the names of Guru Rinpoche and Padmasambhava but are not included in the corpus.

Table 2: Instagram analysis as of February 10, 2019

Accounts Guru R: a fortnight Padmasambhava: about twenty	Publications	Subscribers	Subscriptions	Comments
Guru Rinpoche	74	96	261	Private account, in Spanish
#gururinpoche	14,513			Travel, master, and event photos
Gurupadmasambhava	10	160	10	Places and images of the master
Gururinpoche	6	114	10	Photos of the master with a series of 10 to 15 hashtags.
#gururinpocheday	278	0	0	Photos and images. Comments related to practise.
#Padmashambhava	8,212			Similar photos to #guru Rinpoche. Images of places, of the master, texts, and maxims. Identical author
Padmasambhavacentre	70	294	375	Images of the place and the master
Grupoestudiop admasambhava	25	35	40	Images of practitioners and announcements of events. Spanish Buddhist Center.
padmasambhava4959	29	3	2	Private account. On the day of the consultation, it is not possible to see the publications.
Padmasambhava	34	58	17	Master images and texts and maxims in Tibetan. In Russian

First, less than thirty-five accounts using one of the master's two names. Almost half of them are individuals who speak of activities not related to Buddhism and not the accounts of a centre or related to Dharma (in the Buddhist sense of Sakyamuni Buddha teaching). The examination of the contents reveals a 'classical' iconography linked to Padmasambhava, a mixture of images, photos of statues and places of the Himalayas, supplemented by announcements, or texts and maxims with spiritual content.

Table 3 - Twitter analysis as of February 27, 2019

Account Name	Tweets	Subscriptions	Subscribers	Creation dates and	Contents
				last tweet.	
				Location Reported	
@guru rinpoche	43	18	10	2010-2013	Links to articles and
			4	Everywhere	Facebook page
@TheGururinpoche	4703	974	0	2012-2018 Universe	Link to Facebook page
@gururinpoche108	234	294	28	2011In las tierras	Private account, in
			0	nevadas	Spanish.
@Gurupadma	6	18	79	2009 then inactive	Referral to a website
sambhava				Sikkim	

By excluding accounts that have the names of Guru Rinpoche or Padmasambhava in their contents, we get only four dedicated accounts, one of which is inactive. The content is either innocuous or links to Facebook pages.

The study of social networks dedicated to the digital presence of the master makes it possible to use the criteria set out by (Campbell, 2012). A community of practitioners, travellers and supporters occupy the digital space in connection with the master. This remains the same as many other digital communities (Mercier & Pignard-Cheynel, 2018). It is about affirming an identity by sharing links and visibility. That said, affirming identity and visibility through social media contribute to reevaluating the authority: individuals are free to challenge the dominant position hold by some hierarchy.

Indeed, Tibetan Buddhism is structured into four (plus one) schools or sects, each with a leader at its head, even as the Dalai Lama represents them all. Lineages exist within these schools, and these are essential because they explain the doctrinal connection and the associated practices. Each practitioner can 'choose' a lineage and, in it, a precise practice that suits him, according to the recommendations of his lama. The encounter between Buddhism and authority is thus fruitful: each practitioner can feel free to develop a digital presence of its choice, referring mostly to merits. Installing the master on the networks is a way to identify with him, to attract his benefits and to modify the religious hierarchies. Here, everyone is free to seize the master to give him the floor, out of a control by a lama or a contemporary Rinpoche.

However, the three social media are not very active. For the most part, it is to link to a site or page, or to publish photos. These are of two categories: the first includes photos of the master, maxims, and texts. In a way, Internet users give him the floor. The second are places that express the presence of the master in forms that are sometimes like the diaries and accounts of travel (Franceschi, 2013). Here the use is twofold: to show that the author has travelled these places and to transmit the benefits. In Tibetan Buddhism, acting in the service of the dharma is an act of practice. By transposition, this use of social media is, in a way, an act of practice. This may be the reason why Instagram dominates the corpus. It is easier to manipulate and promote images than to build a narrative and even more a coherent or relevant dialogue of the master using Facebook or Twitter. In other words, it is easier to mount the master and his places of

manifestation than to speak in his place. These images and rare texts finally tell an uncertain, magical, and ethereal story, in conformity with the story of the life of Guru Rinpoche presented above. This is one of the most visible limitations.

COVID Lockdowns and Online Mantras

During the 2020 lockdown, a centre had a proposal: 'to contribute to the anniversary of H.H. Karmapa on 26 June 2021, the Samyé Ling Centre in Brussels is organising a 24-hour session of accumulation of the mantra "Om mani padme Houng". We invite participants to recite the mantra in two ways: on the spot and on Zoom, April 24, and May 25. If not, you can do so at a time of your choosing. You can place the number of mantras recited on this link.'

The online mantra counter elaborated to indicate the number of mantras recited to deposit them on a web site is interesting. A link to a form allows each participant to add from home the number of mantras recited and thus contribute to the accumulation. This is also the support for remaining in contract with the master. The question of performativity is absent here, because only the number counts, as a sign of a contribution to the collective.

Practices dedicated to the 17th Gyalwang Karmapa Orgyen Trinle Dordje on the occasion of his 36th birthday

Lama Yeshe Losal Rinpoche has expressed the wish that a maximum of practices be accomplished for the long life and good health of the 17th Gyalwang Karmapa Orgyen Trinle Dorje and for the development of Dharma activities in generals

From Monday March 8 to the weekend of April 24/25 inclusive Three ways to participate



- Every morning and / or evening by participating in the rituals of Green Tara and Chenrezig via a dedicated Whatsapp group.
- By participating in the intensive 24-hour Chenrezig practice.
- By accumulating mantra recitations when possible and / or desired.

Between now and the celebration of the 36th anniversary of the Karampa in June 2021 - which could become a difficult year for him and strewn with obstacles - a practice group will meet every day via the internet (via the mobile application WhatsApp) until April 23, and on April 24 an intensive practice of Chenrezig will take place for 24 hours non-stop.

All participants are invited to count the number of mantras recited and to transmit the accumulated numbers:

- Via the online form provided for this purpose: <u>Click here to access the form</u>
- Or by sending an email <u>to secretanat@samve.be</u>
- Or by SMS to 0498 723 878

Figure 1: Print screen of the announcement of practices with the link to access the form.

Traditionally, the online teachings are identical to those delivered in a room. The master speaks, the disciples listen. Following a conference on YouTube is a mode that has become common for all access to knowledge. It is a passive and distance listening, here online religion.

On some occasions, Tibetan Buddhism practices a drupchö'is an elaborate way of doing a particular practice over several days and epitomizes the depth, power and precision of

Vajrayana'.⁵ Since 2020, Drupchö practice has been offered online by the Ripa Centre. Participants though Zoom can follow the practice realized in the centre, reciting texts, and carrying out student practices. The monks on the site perform the complex ritual proper to that ceremony.

Secrecy in digital age is also a point to consider. In that Centre, participants should have taken refuge to access online initiation, in a type of restricted access. Thus, the protection of secrecy, or at least the restriction of teaching, is maintained.

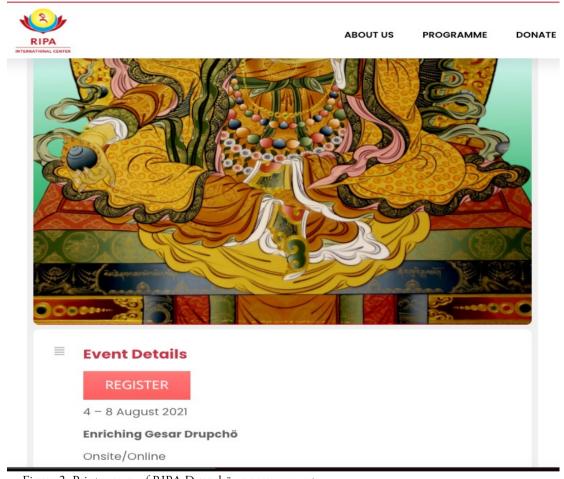


Figure 2: Print screen of RIPA Drupchö announcement

⁵ http://www.tibetanbuddhistencyclopedia.com/en, consulted June 25, 2021.

The transmission of an initiation is the fifth modality, being a more implicating practice in Tibetan Buddhism. The master is here supposed to transmits empowerment online, regarding it as one of the most transformative and effective rituals. This is the most complex point and discussions between teachers must take place. However, we do not know them. The question of performativity is total and arises in the following terms: what is the degree of efficiency for the practitioner installed behind his screen? The nature of the ritual, which is often long and complex, and the link between the master and the disciple are two important points.



Figure 3: YouTube print screen. Master delivering the lung (prana or qi) and the oral transmission (reading the text) of two terms during an online session.

Master, Disciple, Digital and Performativity

These five forms of digital practice lead to a unique question: what symbolic effectiveness or performativity in the master-disciple relationship? Two elements finally appear: 1) presence to the master, so the master-disciple relationship exists through the digital, and 2) importance of faith and devotion in the relationship master disciple of Tibetan Buddhism. If it is strong, sincere, and complete, performativity seems possible. However, this remains a matter of belief and commitment.

Table 4: Master Disciple Relationship

1	Accounts on social network	Voluntary link	Narcissism? Merit? ⁶
2	Mantra counter	Practical tool	Collective accumulation, merit
3	Teachings	Listen, passive	Presence at the master
4	Intensive ritual	Participation, active	Practice
5	Transmission	Participation, active	Practice

In cases 1 and 2, the disciple develops a movement towards the master without the master being informed. It is a free contribution, consistent with the logic of devotion proper to the master-disciple relationship of Tibetan Buddhism. In cases 3 to 5, the master accepts the use of digital, that is, a validation on his part of the tool and efficiency, even if the performativity isn't discussed, at least to our knowledge. It is possible to consider this as a modality of the dharma, as it must continue to rotate for the good of living beings. Pragmatically for one of the centres, it is also to ensure the continuity of resources since online practices pay off. Another center relies on the logic of giving, but without putting it forward, in line with the logic of Tibetan Buddhism. If the courses if 100% online, as is Tara Triple Excellence online meditation program (https://dharmasun.org/tte), it becomes a resource for the organization.

Table 5: Assumed or Proposed Effectiveness: From the Disciple to the Master

1	Accounts on social network	Effectiveness depends on the representation of the disciple
2	Mantra counter	Visualization of the disciple's efforts, devotion
3	Teachings	Listening, participation without travel
4	Intensive ritual	Isolated practice in a complex ritual, lack of group support in the implementation of the ritual
5	Transmission	Reception (isolated)

The relationship of master disciple is influenced by the uses of digital and this article shows how users translate their relationship to the Guru and master when they create and animate social media on his behalf. In everyday life, Tibetan Buddhism invokes and nourishes the presence of the teacher chosen by the practitioner in the form of visualization, considered as the heart of the practice. The use of digital can then be a form of presence/absence of the master, an exposure

⁶ One of the first actions that any Buddhist practitioner learns to develop is generosity because generosity breeds merits. It should be noted that this notion of merit is very important in Buddhism. On the whole it can be said that merits are beneficial, positive acts; it enables the disciple to build the necessary indispensable foundations that help him to progress on the path both morally and spiritually." Source: www.bouddhisme-france.org/archives/voix_bouddhistes/transcripts/010204_odon_vallet.htm, accessed 27 February 2019.

to his image and its benefits. As Tibetan Buddhism rely on devotion, creating an account, using a counter, following a teaching or initiation are ways to practice and accumulate merit for the practitioner.

Legitimation and credibility of the masters in such an unstable framework are important because limits of practices, ritual commitments and perceptions are blurring under the mix of online tools and developmental disciplines. This raise the question of the relation between the guru and the student. (Kon-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas &, Garry (1999) recommends that the student examine the teacher, then condenses the requirement of a Vajrayana master into six: unbroken lineage, samaya is unimpaired, conduct is in accord with the vows, pith instruction, scriptural knowledge, and compassion. Then, the author explains, thought a 10 items list that the master disciple relationship function in a two-way structure. Finally, in line with Kongtrul words', the student will experiment the concordance between the teaching and the rituals and his own experience according to the two-way communication doctrine. His faith relies on intelligence and experience, not blind adherence to doctrine. This reasoning appears as another manner to describe or to realize performativity.

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Ideal vs Practice: Narratives on Clientelism, Democracy and Participation in Local Government Authorities in Sri Lanka

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Abstract: This article expands our understanding of the notion of participatory democracy by presenting a case study of public participation in Local Government Authorities (LGA) in Sri Lanka. It analyses what participation means to local populations and how they engage in political decision-making to advance their socioeconomic conditions within and outside institutional architecture. It concludes that a normative, self-advancing local community is non-existent in Sri Lanka and participation within the spaces available in LGAs is most effectively felt by the local communities, when it is supplemented by clientelist networks.

Introduction

Democracy sets certain standards of deliberation and governance, which emphasize the inclusion of more public voices, directly or indirectly in decision-making, for greater representation and greater realization of multiple interests. However, evidence in established and emerging democracies suggests a situation where citizens' growing lack of enthusiasm to be part of politics actively prevails (Fuchs, 2006). From low voter turnouts at national elections to citizens' reluctance to participate in decision-making in Local Government Authorities (LGA), these reflect the friction between normative understandings of democracy and actual participation.

If theorizing happens concerning our ideal of democracy and therefore, no theory represents the actual situation, but what we must aspire for as a society, this article expands our understanding of local political participation by illuminating patronage politics and resultant versions of public participation to illustrate how the empirical bases measure against this ideal of democracy.

While many theoretical models exist concerning political participation, practical measures have also been introduced with these models in mind. Local Government (LG) is a crucial component of political participation in modern democracies. Theoretically, it increases mass participation in decision-making by taking democracy to the citizen's doorstep. However, variations exist in how citizens' local participation forms. Even in established Western

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democracies, there are multiple ways in which citizens engage in and outside institutional structures. This article examines realities specific to the Sri Lankan experience, largely relevant to developing societies.

We treat LG as local self-government by a community of citizens sharing common interests and histories (Ilbert, 1898) that incorporates locality-specific responses with some autonomy from the centre (Stoker, 1991). Moreover, local democracy denotes two meanings: First, direct and indirect measures that increase numerical participation of citizens locally (Barber, 2004; Roy, 2018); second, the degree of autonomy in influencing the decision-making process concerning local needs (Habermas, 1996). In Sri Lanka, numerous mechanisms, including appointing members to LGAs to participatory budgeting, participatory planning to public committees, and public galleries to *Praja Mandala* (citizens' forums), were introduced through government ordinances and interventions from non-governmental organizations to make local public participation more effective. However, as practice suggests, participation at the local level is considered most effective and meaningful when patronage networks lubricate these established institutional structures.

We use data gathered through 30 in-depth interviews conducted with elected members and staff of *Pradeshiya Sabhas*, ³ funders of LG projects, and LG capacity building trainers in the Kandy, Moneragala, and Anuradhapura districts from August to October 2019. Additionally, five Focus Group Discussions with 30 participants (two each for Anuradhapura and Moneragala districts and one for Kandy district) were conducted with community leaders and the public. We discuss the idea of participatory democracy from multiple theoretical perspectives and introduce LG as a means which furthers local participatory democracy. Next, the political architecture of public participation concerning LGAs in Sri Lanka is detailed. Finally, evidence gathered through multiple data collection methods shows how participation occurs on the ground largely from the clients' perspectives. This reality is compared with the normative understanding of democracy to highlight the chasm between imagined and lived experiences.

Participatory Democracy and LG

To realise the ideal of democracy, different strands of political theory ascertain the need for participatory democracy. Participation is the cornerstone of meaningful democracy. Ideas of such participation have ranged from minimalist procedural ones restricted to voting at elections to more substantive ideas of citizens engaging actively with political structures to influence decisions concerning themselves (See Torma, 1989; Pateman, 1970; Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997).

³ *Pradeshiya Sabhas*: local assemblies. These are the lowest level of the institutional hierarchy of Sri Lankan LG politics after municipal councils and urban councils, hereafter referred to as LGAs. Our article only reflects opinions aired at the LGA level and, occasionally, Divisional Secretariat (DS) level, the deconcentrated administration of the central government in the provinces.

Providing a critique of the democratic-elitist thesis, Pateman (1970) recognizes a more participatory understanding of democracy as contained in the ideas of classical theorists such as J.S. Mill and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. For Rousseau, participation went beyond an institutional set-up and embraced the idea of a self-governing society in which individuals share a high degree of connectedness with their society, and therefore are in a better position to accept collective decisions (Rousseau as summarized in Torma, 1989 and Pateman, 1970). Developing Rousseau's idea, Mill emphasized the importance of practising local democracy on a limited scale to practise it at a larger scale (Mill as summarized in Torma, 1989).

Concerning guild socialism at the workplace, Cole (1920, as summarized in Pateman, 1970), opines that will and not force must be the basis of social and political organization and self-government is attainable only when individuals can participate in collective decision-making in associations that are 'free to control their own affairs' (Cole as summarized in Pateman, 1970, p. 36). Cole stresses the importance of participation locally in all associations that concern an individual for the educative function of learning democracy.

Participatory democracy became prominent in the 1960s and '70s' terminology. Participatory democracy generally suggests that;

... Increasing participation in a range of institutions-such as workplaces, schools, neighborhoods, and city organizations-is likely to produce individuals with democratic dispositions. Such individuals would be more tolerant of difference, more sensitive to reciprocity, better able to engage in moral discourse and judgment, and more prone to examine their own preferences-all qualities conducive to the success of democracy as a way of making decisions (Warren, 1993, p. 209).

Succeeding this was a debate on deliberative democracy in the 1980s that suggests 'a decision-making procedure [that] is founded on the exchange of reasons and arguments and democratic in so far as it is inclusive (i.e., involves all those who are affected by a public issue and have 'a say' in it)' (Elster, 1998 as quoted in Floridia, 2013, p. 2).

For Barber (2004), participatory democracy is a 'strong democracy' that distinguishes itself from thin or representative democracy that does not involve the 'politics of zookeeping', i.e., a government assuming a protective role, guarding individuals' rights from one another. A strong democracy assumes a more positive picture of individuals not removed from their social milieu, with a desire for self-government with community interests in mind. It is characterized by political talk identifying common issues, political judgment for community approval for decisions that affect all, and political action involving monitoring by citizens even at the implementation stage (Barber, 1984 as summarized in Torma, 1989). Barber (2004) emphasises the importance of attaining these conditions at the local level to better practise civic competence.

Presenting a discursive model of democracy, Habermas (1985; 1989; 1996) does not consider democracy to be restricted to the institutional milieu; instead, it has a far greater function (communication). His deliberative democracy model is thus premised on a communicative

process of political opinion and will formation adequately institutionalized through law⁴ (Habermas as summarized in Vitale, 2006). Accordingly, the law should consider the informal flow of public opinion and what the institutions say. As opposed to coercive authority, a discretion-mediated consensus is the cornerstone of Habermas' idea of democracy. Such consensus is achieved through deliberations at the public sphere—a site for judgment and decision—separate from the institutions these judgments try to influence (Warren, 1993). Discourse, therefore, is vital for understanding as opposed to coordinating action. This goes beyond mere participation as expected in participatory democracy and also emphasizes the dialogical aspect. The public sphere is thus the site where individual autonomy and collective will converge (Warren, 1993).

Despite differences in origin, and participatory democracy's emphasis on direct models of participation in state and non-state structures, and deliberative democracy's emphasis on collective will formation through dialogue and communication and the subsequent institutionalization of same (Vitale, 2006), we treat these as forms of participatory democracy models. Both strands aim to increase citizens' meaningful participation in political processes, thereby democratising such processes to reflect the will of the concerned communities.

Chatterjee (2001), using India, highlights how the civil society in postcolonial states contain an element not captured by our traditional understanding of civil society based on 'equality, autonomy, freedom of entry and exit, contract, deliberative procedures of decision-making, recognized rights and duties of members, and other such principles' (p. 172). He terms this 'political society' (Chatterjee, 2001, p. 176), including groups who violate the law (squatters, defaulters of taxes, etc.) and continue to make claims on the developmental state's welfare as a matter of collective rights on behalf of the communities they represent. The state and non-governmental organizations treat these groups not as civil society but as groups eligible for welfare. Chatterjee (2001, p. 177) states:

The degree to which they will be so recognized depends entirely on the pressure they are able to exert on those state and non-state agencies through their strategic manoeuvres in political society - by making connections with other marginal groups, with more dominant groups, with political parties and leaders, etc. The effect of these strategic moves within political society is only conjunctural, and may increase or decrease or even vanish entirely if the strategic configuration of (usually) local political forces change.

Adopting an agnostic approach to politics that helps step beyond binaries⁵ associated with the traditional understanding of democracy, Roy (2018) considers myriad ways collective identities

⁴ The autonomous public sphere is hardly institutionalized through law. Habermas therefore, emphasizes the importance of political culture in attaining the autonomy of the public sphere (Fuchs, 2006).

⁵ Includes ideas such as citizenship and clientelism, improvement and preservation, modernity and tradition (Roy, 2018).

are formed and negotiated. Drawing insights from empirical studies that capture realities specific to this agnostic view in a broad spectrum of countries, 6 he concludes that the political negotiations of poor people are shaped by the spaces available, and the means they employ to advance their conditions are situated at the intersection of citizenship and clientelism. This is characterized by a quest to gain autonomy and an appeal to their stated custodians for support. Accordingly, even if said negotiations are remotely situated from the professed ideal of democracy, participation occurs organically and prudently, which assists these groups to further their interests maximally.

Using the local politics of Ghana as a case study, MacLean (2014) discusses how local conceptions of politics are dissimilar from normative theories but carry equal legitimacy given their everyday importance. The Ghanaian experience is evidence of a marriage between clientelism and democratic citizenship. These Ghanaian villagers find local-level politics mediated through the traditional workings of chieftains to be more effective compared to the institutions established by the state nationally. Auyero (1999) discusses how the urban poor in Buenos Aires' neighbourhoods use clientelist networks that, from the client's perspective, are not always favours done by the politician in anticipation of votes. Auyero (1999) explains how these exchanges are viewed in manifold ways (e.g., manipulation versus caring, interested action versus friendship) by the client and can contrast to the outsider's understanding of clientelism. Auyero (1999) concludes that conditions of destitution must be considered in any analysis of democratic participation.

Viewing patronage as an agent of political participation and social mobilization stemming from the inequalities persistent in South Asia, Piliavsky's (2014) edited volume considers patronage a way of life and a distinct form of exercising people's will as practised in South Asia. The volume does not treat patronage's content to be constant. Rather, patronage in South Asia is a process of continuous negotiations between ever-changing actors. Michelutti (2007), studying the Yadav caste in North India, discusses the idea of vernacularization of democratic politics, the manners in which local societies and their practices interpret democratic norms. Comaroff and Comaroff's (1997) account on Botswana's call for substantive democracy by returning to the traditionally conceived idea of 'public sphere' (agitation for a one-party system) also indicates the myriad different ways societies come to understand participation. Their non-adherence to political theory's idea of participation thus does not make them less important but expands our understanding of various ways in which democratic participation occurs.

Clientelism, as understood in conventional political theory, denotes an overwhelmingly negative understanding of democracy. It means 'the proffering of material goods in return for electoral support, where the criterion of distribution that the patron uses is simply: did you (will you) support me?' (Stokes, 2011, p. 649). Roniger and Eisenstadt (1984) describe political clientelism as a relationship characterized by vertical hierarchies between two parties that are unequal in power and includes exchanging resources for the promise of reciprocity of loyalty or

⁶ Including Robins (2008); Jansen (2014); MacLean (2014); Gutmann (2002); Auyero (1999).

solidarity. Landé (1983), considering variations that exist in relationships characterized as clientelist, acknowledges that such 'dyadic relationships play a significant part in the structures and processes of the politics of the developing nations and at least some part in strategically important sectors of the political systems of advanced industrial countries' (p. 450). Auyero (1999) enhances this picture by concluding that clients' views locally prove that political clientelism as traditionally understood in theory is an 'externalist and remote perspective' (p. 327) shrouding a host of cultural representations and lasting relations such practices forge.

Having established the normative fundamentals of participatory democracy and its emphasis on local practice and multiple different means used to achieve such participation, we now turn to one mechanism introduced at the local level to attain democratic goals, namely LG.⁷

LG comes to denote two ideas: 1. Delivery of services at the local level, and 2. Representation of local political will (Haqu, 2012). Stoker (1991),⁸ states that LG from a localist perspective is an attack on the arbitrary use of powers of the centre and aims to diffuse power by incorporating diverse responses that allow local choice attuned to local needs. Detailing issues on cross-national comparisons of LG, Ashford (1975) opines that if LG has a theory, its focus must be on the interdependence between 'local-national relative capacity to alter budgets and local-national relative to representativeness' (p. 103). For Gomme (1898, as reviewed by Ilbert, 1898), LG is essentially a sub-level of the government but is independent in the election of authority. Such authority is decided locally by communities that share common interests and histories. These definitions highlight four important elements of LG:

- 1. Priorities must be decided locally;
- 2. Priorities must reflect local needs;
- 3. Local communities are the most important actors; and
- 4. Certain autonomy from the centre is required for LG's effective functioning.

The discussion thus suggests that LG is supposed to be the sphere where local actors will decide local needs with some autonomy from the centre. The political architecture of LG in Sri Lanka is useful for understanding the mechanisms Sri Lanka has to achieve the goals of local participatory democracy.

Devolution and LG in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka has a long history of LG. However, the current framework in place that dictates the functioning of LGAs emerged from the 13th amendment to the constitution, primarily

⁷ Note that the article considers LG within a unitary framework, the most applicable to the Sri Lankan context.

⁸ Stoker (1991) discusses three other models of local government. Here, only the localist view will be detailed.

introduced to find a durable solution to the ethnic conflict. We will briefly sketch the political and institutional architecture that increases citizens' participation at the LGA level. The current LG system became a devolved subject falling under provincial councils due to the 13th amendment (Local Authorities, n.d.). Thus, a three-level government structure with the central government holding national legislative powers, 9 provincial councils holding regional powers, and LG (sub-divisions of local power within 25 districts) holding local powers exist. According to the State Ministry of Provincial Councils and Local Government Affairs, the 13th amendment tasked provincial councils with control and supervision of LGAs. Simultaneously, the central government retained powers related to formation, structure, and national policy on LGAs (Local Authorities, n.d.). The powers retained by the central government continue to give the central government dominance over matters concerning LG institutions. The constitution states that provincial councils can confer additional powers on LG but not take away their powers (CLGF, n.d.). However, there is no evidence of provincial councils conferring any additional power on LG institutions (Skanthakumar, 2018a). The current LG system has a three-tier structure with municipal councils, urban councils, and Pradeshiya Sabhas as the constituent parts. Sri Lanka has 24 municipal councils, 41 urban councils, and 276 Pradeshiya Sabhas 10 (CLGF, n.d.).

LG falls under the devolved subjects of provincial councils. In this article, devolved denotes a power-sharing arrangement where the constitution establishes powers of the centre and units, and the units exercise a certain amount of autonomy and independence devoid of direct control from the centre (Rondinelli, 1980 as summarized in Mahamamadachchi, 2011). This includes provincial councils and LG institutions. De-concentrated does not denote autonomy in decision-making; instead, it transfers implementation powers to central government agents stationed in the periphery and is appointed by the centre (Mahamamadachchi, 2011). DS serves this function that reflects a chain of command that originates from the central government in Colombo and goes down to the smallest units of administration known as *Grama Niladhari* (GN) divisions (Skanthakumar, 2018a).

Having discussed this constitutionally expected notion of the autonomy of LG institutions, we now consider areas that fall under *Pradeshiya Sabhas*. These include 'regulation, control and administration of all matters relating to public health, public utility services and public thoroughfares and generally with the protection and promotion of the comfort, convenience and welfare of the people and all amenities within such area' (Pradeshiya Sabhas Act, No. 15 of 1987). Additionally, certain development activities such as livelihood development programmes and entrepreneurship programmes are expected to be conducted by *Pradeshiya Sabhas* (Skanthakumar, 2018a). However, as Skanthakumar (2018a, p. 69) states, there is a 'deliberate policy of starving other tiers of government of revenues and making these tiers dependent on central government for their operations.' Additionally, 'central government agencies have, over the course of time, assumed responsibility for some local government functions' (Skanthakumar, 2018a, p. 69).

⁹ See Bandaranayake (1986) for the legal aspect that defines centre-LG relations of this devolution package.

¹⁰ See Pilapitiya (n.d.) for a detailed presentation on the structure of LG in Sri Lanka.

Peiris (2018), discussing non-participation at the LG level, details participatory governance enhancing initiatives introduced by non-governmental organizations to complement existing local mechanisms. These include 'forming Citizens Forums (CF's), training for in-house staff in capacity building—specifically developing alternative budget proposals and monitoring the Pradeshiya Sabha (PS) through the public gallery and standing committees—and petitioning' (p. 29). Despite the prevalence of many such initiatives, local participation is still largely limited to elections (Uyangoda, 2011). Peiris (2018) attributes this trend of decreasing local level participation to a lack of political discourse among citizens outside elections, the shrinking scope of LGAs through jurisdictional restrictions and thereby diminishing their capacity to deliver and legitimacy in the eyes of the citizens, institutional and political dominance of the centre, and the prevalence of patronage networks that make local politicians henchmen of national-level politicians and not true representatives of people (pp. 30-33). While acknowledging the merits of all these arguments, we now consider what participation means to the client locally.

Patronage Politics, LG, and Public Participation in Sri Lankan LGAs

Data for this article were collected between August and October 2019, a period reflective of a distinct experience at the national political level of Sri Lanka. This period was characterized by an episode of political power being divided between two parties: the United National Party (UNP) holding the power of the centre and the United People's Freedom Alliance (UPFA)¹¹ holding the power of the LGAs. This arrangement came with friction that impacted the type of democracy practised locally. The findings pertain to the meaning of democracy as it is reflected in deliberative and more participatory processes such as citizens' participation in budgeting and planning of LGA development projects and their involvement in LGA decision-making forums such as the *Praja Mandalas* (citizens' forums). LGAs as basic service providers of solid waste management, street lighting, etcetera were not considered in the analysis. The data reveals three main findings, each elaborated in more detail in the succeeding paragraphs.¹²

Other Players have replaced LGAs as Institutions of Local Democracy

The first major finding revealed that other players had replaced LGAs as the primary site of local democracy. There are multiple angles to this claim. First, while LGAs as institutions are supposed to be the conduit between state and local level politics, the role of the LGAs has been diluted during the period under investigation, since through formal and informal means, the central

¹¹ UPFA pledged its support to the Sri Lanka Podu Jana Peramuna (SLPP) headed by former president Mahinda Rajapaksa whose party won the presidential elections in November 2019. Accordingly, by November 2018, the SLPP had de-facto control over 2/3 of local councils (Skanthakumar, 2018b).

¹² Note that for anonymity, we will only be indicating the districts and not the specific names of LGAs and DSs within a particular district.

government exercised democracy at the doorstep, replacing the LGAs. Findings suggest increased, varied encroachment of LG by the centre, particularly when the ruling party loses LGA elections.

Regarding difficulties faced in implementing meaningful LG development projects, a project implementer/funder from the Moneragala district stated:

When the LGAs are run by a different party than the one that is in power at the centre, the centre becomes disinterested in the works of LGAs and channels insufficient funding for LGAs. The money generated through revenue by LGAs is meagre and therefore, talking about participation at the planning level is pointless in the absence of not having sufficient money to implement projects. Communities expect LGAs to implement development projects. (Implementer 1, Moneragala LGA 2)

This shows that LG, as practised in Sri Lanka, has little democratic deliberation unless the power of the centre and LGAs is held by one party. This is also a reflection of heavy control by the centre, which contrasts with the working definition we adopt: self-government with a certain amount of autonomy to decide local needs locally.

The centre also uses the DS, the non-elected permanent de-concentrated structure controlled by the centre, as a mediator to reach local level politics when powers of LGAs are not configured in their favour. An elected member of an LGA in Moneragala district stated:

Even though we have priority lists approved by the community, money for development projects comes through the DS office and often these are not reflective of what the priority list contains. Sometimes, the DS office implements projects that fall under our subject area and we don't intervene since it's less of a burden for us if they do work we are supposed to do. (Elected Member 1, Moneragala LGA 1)

An implementer from Moneragala raised concerns regarding the centre's encroachment of LG subject areas:

It is important that the DS and LGA collaborate. While the funding for projects are approved by the line ministries and the money comes through the DS, implementation lies with the relevant LGA which has locality specific knowledge which the DS might not possess. (Implementer 2, Moneragala LGA 2)

These opinions paint a negative picture regarding the functioning of LGAs against a heavy centralization backdrop where the centre is increasingly using other means to usurp LGA powers when they are not in favour of the ruling party. In such instances, the LGAs have little space to deliberate as institutions. Local needs thus become decided by and mediated through central

government institutions. The absence of an independent regional party structure is a crucial factor contributing to this situation. Against such a backdrop, national parties extend to the local level and are largely responsible for the centre's sway over the regions. However, within these spaces, instances remain where the local communities have met certain demands. For example, the short-term electoral mobilization strategies of presidents that promise village and skills development programmes. *Grama Shakthi* programme¹³ introduced by President Maithripala Sirisena reflects this. Despite knowing the programme would be short-lived and would end with the president's term, people enthusiastically engaged with it to receive the tangible benefits it offered. Furthermore, the central government acts to reinforce clientelism. An often-cited example is funding for projects reaching the DS offices and LGAs with a list of pre-determined beneficiaries generally selected by national-level politicians active in the area. A staff member from a DS office stated:

The funding generally comes with the names of the recipients attached. Names are already decided at the national level. Sometimes, these recipients don't actually have a need for the resource they get. Once for a livelihood development programme, it was decided to provide villagers with loans at concessionary rates to purchase cattle. Since we already had the lists, we did not do a survey of who is actually in need. One person whose name was on the list obtained the loan and purchased cattle from his own mother, got her to sign the papers and produced it to us. We knew what he did but these are anyway poor villagers and it was not within our control to interfere in the matter. (Staff 1, DS^{14})

Adding more evidence, a staff member of a DS office in Kandy stated:

Very often the ones who get benefits are not the ones in real need. For example, I've seen people who are from relatively well-off families getting disability benefits meant for the poor; and some who have less of a need for the *Samurdhi* welfare provision receive it when there are others who can actually benefit from it. (Staff 1, Kandy DS).

The second group of players that replaces the need for LGAs as institutions is individual politicians. First, practice locally, as revealed through the discussions, suggests that local level politicians are more attuned to local needs since their careers rest on their ability to deliver local needs and please local populations. Accordingly, an elected member of an LGA in Anuradhapura stated:

¹³ See http://www.budgetpromises.org/en/promise/grama-shakthi-and-poverty-eradication-programme-2 for aims and progress of the project as of December 2018.

¹⁴ Here, the district of the DS office is not disclosed for anonymity.

When we receive funding for development projects, we are pressurized in to equally distributing it among all members from all relevant wards¹⁵ that fall under the LGA. Once we received money to be used in a development project that addresses an immediate necessity of the LGA. We were badly in need of a proper drainage system. But members insisted that the money be used for building of roads as requested by their respective communities. Here too, the prudent thing would have been to build to completion whatever possible number of roads rather than investing the money equally among all wards. However, members insisted that they are all responsible to their individual wards and it will not receive a warm reception by the people if a road was built in one ward and not in theirs. So, we had to distribute the money equally and all members were only able to complete a stretch of 100 meters each in their respective wards which was actually not useful. But there's nothing we can do but to listen to people from our own wards. (Elected Member 1, Anuradhapura LGA 2)

This highlights several characteristics of democracy as practised at the LGA level in Sri Lanka. Even within LGAs, there exist multiple, often competing communities. Second, members of LGAs seem to be using development aid to appease their respective electorates even without a specifically beneficial function to the populations concerned. Here, participatory democracy exists in that people participate in conveying their demands to the concerned politicians. However, these demands seem to lack proper deliberation in that these do not reflect a community advancing the notion of using their agency to decide their priorities. Rather, there exists a notion to get whatever the others get, thus not utilizing the space for participatory planning to the fullest. Finally, the idea of participation is used to attain tangible benefits such as roads and infrastructure development, rather than for an educative purpose of democracy to create autonomous societies, as the participatory strand suggests. However, these needs are as valid as any 'educative purpose' of democracy. When you do not meet your basic needs, you naturally try to satisfy these before creating autonomous political societies as envisaged by theory. Creating such an autonomous political society can only be realized when everyone has had a chance to participate on equal terms.

The second aspect of politicians replacing LGAs as institutions is such replacement by ruling party parliamentarians of the central government who are also frequently party organizers. These parliamentarians have more capacity than LGAs as institutions and local politicians to deliver services and resources. These parliamentarians, however, deliver services in exchange for support for electoral mobilization. A capacity-building trainer from the Moneragala district stated that 'LGAs don't actually function as per the Act but according to the commands of the party organizers who are often times parliamentarians. Votes matter to them. So, they work' (Trainer 1, Moneragala LGA 2). According to an elected member of an LGA in Anuradhapura, 'I can

¹⁵ Wards are sub-units that fall under LGAs.

always talk to the minister if there is something our LGA needs but we can't do. The minister can always do' (Elected Member 1, Anuradhapura LGA 2).

These reflections suggest that clientelism as a form of political engagement engineered by the centre and individual politicians exists locally. Despite shortcomings of participation from a normative sense, these clientelist networks reinforce participation and result in rural populations receiving certain tangible benefits that advance their socio-economic status. These benefits are sometimes a reflection of individual and/or community-specific needs, as shown. Therefore, the engagement with clientelist networks also realises local needs (however, limited these may be). For politicians rendering personal support, votes matter. Therefore, the exchanges they extend come with the underlying assumption that the vote will be given in return for the service. However, as Chatterjee (2001) and Roy (2018) suggest, destitution and resultant conditions have made these local populations negotiate their demands in spaces available to help advance their circumstances. When democracy, as practised nationally, is plagued with many shortcomings and no meaningful autonomy given to LGAs, placing one's trust in the institutional architecture is not the most desirable political action these populations have. In such circumstances, they resort to clientelist means to achieve what normative democracy fails to give them.

Incentives for active Non-participation at Local Level Politics on the part of Citizens

The second major finding speaks to the point on the participation of citizens. The capacity building trainer from the Moneragala district stated that 'there is no need for participation from the side of the citizens beyond elections. They don't want to participate. There is no need for policies on their part. Votes can be collected even by distributing tin sheets' (Trainer 1, Moneragala LGA 2). This shows a general lack of interest on the part of the citizens to participate actively. However, a closer look at the phenomenon revealed through the data shows two aspects that might have resulted in this general lack of enthusiasm to participate.¹⁶

Most of the populations in these LGAs are rural populations, of whom a majority are daily wage labourers. For them, being physically a part of local deliberations entails an opportunity cost of letting go of their day's earnings. If there is no tangible benefit offered by attending such deliberations, they see no real purpose of such participation that is detrimental to their economic needs. The following two excerpts highlight this:

We once had a project that needed approval from a social audit committee formed by the population. The project expected them to monitor the construction work of a community development initiative. It was for their benefit. Most of them were daily wage labourers and had joined expecting an allowance. When they found out

¹⁶ Note that voter turnout at LG elections is generally satisfactory (Oberst, 2003) with a 70% turn out at February 2018 LG elections (Peiris, 2018). However, this enthusiasm to participate is not shown inbetween elections (Peiris, 2018, p. 31).

there was no allowance and it was voluntary, they started complaining saying that they lost their daily wages to be part of the project. (Staff 2, Moneragala LGA 1)

Knowledge and awareness about democracy are not viewed as benefits by the community. For them a benefit has to be tangible. If there is no tangible incentive, they are reluctant to attend awareness raising campaigns. Once we had a gender awareness raising campaign. Some asked, 'Isn't it better to plant banana trees using this money?' (Trainer 1, Moneragala LGA 1)

Furthermore, many locals fear active participation in the form of challenging one's local politician. Such challenging generally leads to acts of vengeance by the politicians. Therefore, most locals either do not participate or, if they do, tend to tow the way of the politicians, as seen below:

Most people seek the advice and guidance of LGA members of their respective areas in creating priority lists for the area. They don't usually want to bypass the politicians. (Staff 2, Anuradhapura LGA 1)

It's not the public that knows what they want but us. So, it's better if they let us decide on priorities for them. We know the best. (Member 1, Anuradhapura LGA 2)

No organization tries to implement projects without consulting local politicians. If they do, they know it's doomed to fail since the politicians will always disrupt those. (Staff 1, Moneragala LGA 2)

People are scared to bypass their politicians. They know it comes with repercussions. (Trainer 1, Moneragala LGA 1)

The Elusiveness of the idea of Community as Practised at the Local Level

The final major finding revolves around the concept of community as practised locally. Many definitions used in the article concerning local participatory democracy discuss a community with shared interests and histories (Ilbert, 1898) who cooperate to decide on (Habermas, 1996) local priorities (Stoker, 1991; Barber, 2004). Field data reveals that local community in Sri Lanka is elusive at best and parochial at worst. Regarding elusiveness, practice shows that communities do not decide on common objectives; rather, political and funding objectives decide who the community is. Thus, community changes. An example that speaks to this emerged from a Focus Group Discussion with community leaders and the public in an LGA in the Anuradhapura district concerning a water purification project. Most residents here are kidney patients and in dire need of clean drinking water. An international donor funded the project and required a Social Audit Committee (SAC) to monitor each stage of the project, from submitting the proposal to construction work to the post-evaluation phase. Initially, people formed a Community Based Organization (CBO) and were part of the SAC quite enthusiastically.

However, the project progressed in phases, with water supplied to a particular community section in each phase. The CBO was expected to function until the project reached completion,

with the entire population receiving drinking water. However, as it progressed, villagers started leaving the SAC when their respective areas received water. This made the project progress quite slowly, which shows that the boundaries of 'community' are extremely porous and largely coincide with material needs rather than any intrinsic affinity. The earlier example of villagers demanding incomplete roads for each ward, rather than seeing the completion of a couple of roads and waiting for the next round of funding for roads in their areas, also indicates this reality. This is also reflected in elected members of a particular LGA in the Moneragala district at the policy planning level. While these members are expected to act as a cohesive local body, they tend to prioritize ward specific demands that will win the support of their respective communities instead of adopting an integrated planning approach that will benefit the entire LGA.

Elected members give prominence to the proposals that come from their villages/wards in participatory planning thus neglecting the demands of the LGA as a whole. Because of this, a holistically beneficial plan never comes out. (Staff 2, Moneragala LGA 1)

Conclusion

We reviewed the literature on participatory and deliberative democracy and explored the importance of local implementation. In setting the theoretical framework, we identified variations in the practice of participatory and deliberative democracy, situating clientelism as a form of such participation largely prevalent in the developing world. How participation occurs at the LG level, an institutional and political space specifically created to advance local self-government by a community of citizens sharing common interests and histories was then explored.

Our findings reflect the Sri Lankan experience at the LGA level, demonstrating how citizens' participation at the LG level in Sri Lanka is characteristic of multiple deficiencies as understood in conventional literature on participatory democracy but also reflecting opportunities and spaces that advance citizens' participation and, thereby, autonomy. In other words, participation happens in different ways from our conventional understanding of participatory democracy. The three findings discussed highlight the embedded clientelism in LG politics in Sri Lanka, factors that encourage and constrain numerical and meaningful participation, respectively, at the community level and the non-existence of a fixed community that makes it problematic to attain certain participatory democracy goals on behalf of a community.

Despite the negative connotations associated with the idea of clientelism, the Sri Lankan experience, as revealed through the data, shows that the local institutional architecture yields meaningful results for generally rural/local communities when patronage networks supplement them. LG becomes meaningful for the citizens when they receive benefits to advance their socioeconomic conditions, be it the local politician or the central government. Reluctance to actively participate in LG politics reflects these constraining socio-economic structures and citizens'

reluctance to challenge the authority of local politicians who are the main political actors who provide them with their desired benefits, however insignificant it may seem to an outsider.

Such dependence on clientelist networks has also resulted in obstructing the development of a local normative community as envisioned in theory, an ideal the attainment of which for Sri Lanka depends on multiple factors ranging from meaningful devolution of power to battling socio-economic inequalities. However, within the existing structures, despite the normatively problematic inclinations the polity at the local level displays, rural communities have successfully navigated political configurations to realize their demands. The main contribution of this article is thus to present an alternative narrative of community participation from the perspectives of local communities or the clients and to appreciate different mediation and negotiation strategies employed by communities to navigate everyday politics in the spaces available to them.

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The Evolutionary Function of Illusion, Disillusionment and Reality in a Patriarchy in the Genesis of a New Self with Regard to Both Genders in Henrik Ibsen's A Doll's House.

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Abstract: Illusion and reality share an inextricable relationship in human life which is sometimes given to illusory ideas thereby creating a fantasy world in order to cope with the absurdity of life. But when this fantasy gets mingled with reality to a great degree, the difference between reality and illusion gets blurred. It is this disposition that often affects the entire personality of an individual and consequent decisions. Sometimes this illusory world becomes the foundation of survival and gradually pushes one to the edge of emotional collapse. However, when reality barges in, disillusionment results, and this make-believe world gets crumbled in no time. Henrik Ibsen is one such great dramatist whose works border on realistic issues like unequal partnership in marriage, role of women in marriage and motherhood, laws, materialism, ideas of manliness in relation to social reputation, and, most importantly, how an unexamined life is not worth living with the focus being primarily on the individual as the oppressor and the oppressed. However, he does not explicitly talk about these issues in his plays but makes his characters' actions stand as evidence regarding how an individual is capable of progress and can bring about social reformation. This article attempts to show how along with the politics of socio-cultural power structures, Ibsen delineates the problematic position of both genders in a patriarchy in his renowned play A Doll's House (1879), by juxtaposing illusion and reality which eventually pave the path for the disillusionment and evolution of both genders.

Keywords - Illusion, reality, disillusionment, individuality, oppression, self-realization, emancipation.

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Introduction

Henrik Ibsen's renowned play A *Doll's House*, published in 1879, with its rebelling unconventional content, succeeded in exposing the domestic politics of patriarchy and making society perceive that women's rights and human rights can never be segregated, for the former is an indispensable part of the latter. He also employed the themes of illusion and reality to bring about the disillusionment and the resultant awakening of individuals. The term 'illusion' here implies how an individual attempts to refrain from harsh reality and the pain of failures by resorting to self-concocted ideas. Through these ideas an individual seeks comfort and security, thereby being blind to 'reality' or the actual truth that lies underneath the veneer. In Ibsen's world, both genders struggle against power structures for their survival. It is evident that Ibsen not only spoke for women and endorsed the rights that were denied to them but also looked at the social issues from a humanistic perspective and considered the situation of men as well. These men functioned as the tools of patriarchy causing oppression to women and in the process also get victimized or oppressed.

As the play opens, the Helmer's bourgeois domestic life is exhibited and the interactions between Nora and Torvald seemingly appear to be very adorable and loving, although the addresses made by Torvald are imbued with his natural dominance.

HELMER: [in his study]. Is that my little sky-lark chirruping out there?

NORA: [busy opening some of the parcels] Yes, it is.

HELMER: Is that my little squirrel frisking about?

NORA: Yes! (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.3)

Through Nora's reciprocal gesture towards Torvald's demeaning addresses with utter joy and approval, at the very outset of the play, Ibsen portrays Nora's unquestioning demeanor exuding her complacency regarding her place in her marriage. It is from here that Nora's illusion is introduced, a world of her own where her husband is almost worshipped like a heroic figure. Nora's illusion is the result of her blind faith and love for Torvald and her inability to comprehend the patriarchal dominance in their marriage. Ibsen employs the innocence and metaphorical blindness of Nora to project how women's dependency on men invariably bestows a sense of superiority upon men like Torvald. The interactions between Nora and Torvald appear to be very casual and unusual and their behaviour towards each other does not appear to be normal. For instance, Nora's attitude towards Torvald is one of appeasement while Torvald's is that of condescending one. Just as she makes every little effort to appease her husband, Torvald too indulges in degrading Nora's personality as a woman at every step which is readily accepted by her to his delight. As a consequence, Nora's unflinching allegiance to Torvald only alleviates her dignity as a woman as well as an individual thereby making her powerless in this marriage of unequal power relations. Ibsen critiques this role of women in the Victorian society through Nora's character whose behaviour conforms to society's expectations at the beginning of the play. It needs to be noted that in a true relationship one would neither resort to appeasement nor seek satisfaction and superiority in patronizing one's mate. Ibsen, therefore, shows how Nora and

Torvald's treatment of each other is reflective of the deviant nature of their relationship where the husband fails to see his wife as his equal in terms of position and capability and the latter accepts this subordination without any dissent.

In Act I of the play, the dramatist focuses completely on the frivolous communication between the husband and wife highlighting the nature of their marital tie. Torvald is made to use words like 'spendthrift', 'sweet-tooth' and, 'pet' while addressing Nora because this makes him feel superior and satisfied considering her a child who needs constant guidance to be on the right path. Nora also appears to be quite glad with the kind of role she plays in the household, constantly being made to feel like the lady in distress and portrayed as someone who can never think of rebelling against or defying her husband's commands. He is not only found playfully reprimanding Nora for her spending habits but also speaking disrespectfully of her father:

HELMER: What a funny little one you are! Just like your father. Always on the look-out for money, wherever you can lay your hands on it; but as soon as you've got it, it just seems to slip through your fingers. (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.7)

Here, when Nora is also doubted by him for having eaten macaroons behind his back, she simply denies, which points out that her sworn obedience is a lie. She says:

NORA: [crosses to the table]. I would never dream of doing anything you didn't want me to. (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.7)

The underlying significance of this statement is realized as the play proceeds and Nora is seen to have committed actions much graver than eating sweets without the knowledge of Torvald. He nevertheless seems to believe in her words. Hence, it is quite clear that Nora and Torvald - both nurture illusory ideas concerning each other's obedience and commitment. In fact, it is this demeanour on their part that does not let them see through the reality of their situation.

In the following conversation between Nora and Mrs. Linde, the former's deepest secret and the greatest matter of pride and joy is brought to the surface. Nora raised a loan to save Torvald's life and she never felt that this action of hers would shatter all her beliefs. In other words, the illusions that she has been cultivating all these years of her marriage. She regarded it to be her foremost duty as a wife and therefore, did not think of the consequences of her action of forging the signature of her deceased father as a legal crime. It can be said that Nora was blindfolded when it came to Torvald and her fidelity towards him until the catastrophe occurred.

Nora's impression of Torvald is clouded to such an extent that despite knowing that "Torvald is a man with a good deal of pride- it would be terribly embarrassing and humiliating for him if he thought he owed anything to me. (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.17), she hardly realized the kind of impact it might have on him. Reality was before her, yet her fallacious nature drew the curtain over her eyes. However, her fear does not go unnoticed when she says "It would spoil everything between us; this happy home of ours would never be the same again." (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.17) The word 'happy' reveals here as quite ironic because so far she experienced a happy, unconflicting atmosphere in her house just because of her obedience and appeasement of her husband which she mistook for her secured marriage and Torvald's love for her.

Nora's uncritical satisfaction with everything in her life is, however, threatened with the appearance of Krogstad who, instead of asking for the borrowed money, blackmails her to influence her husband to let him keep his job at the bank, failing which he would expose her crime before Torvald. At this juncture, Ibsen has placed Nora and Krogstad on equal footing for committing an act of forgery. While Nora's social reputation is still safe, Krogstad is on the verge of losing everything. This compels him to make the most of the situation to climb up the social ladder and get back his lost station. In this context, it may be pointed out that social reputation played a very vital role in Victorian society. The value of an individual depended on his social reputation which ultimately privileged appearance over reality. The difference between Nora and Krogstad lies in their opinion about Torvald where the former is far from recognizing the real Torvald underneath while the latter, though an outsider, could see through his character so well that he is confident of compelling him to give in to his demands. It is his attachment with reality that does not let him entertain impractical thoughts or expect any 'miracle' to happen which would reverse the circumstance he is in.

Through the similar actions of Nora and Krogstad, Ibsen has pointed out how the power structures are responsible for creating chaos in one's life. If women had the right to raise a loan and did not require the consent of a male figure, Nora would not have needed her father's aid. Instead she could have managed everything on her own. This would not have landed her in such legal trouble. Moreover, if social reputation had not been prioritized to determine an individual's social value, Krogstad may not have adopted such unethical ways in his life. It cannot be denied that Krogstad did commit a crime which is not justifiable but had society given him a chance to rebuild his reputation, things may have turned in a better way. In this connection, it can be said how power structures are responsible for oppressing an individual and simultaneously making him emerge as an oppressor himself for the sake of his own interest. Thus, one's unfair doings could be the result of social compulsion to keep up the appearance in a society that, in general, looks down upon people who suffer from ill-repute without considering the matter on humanitarian grounds.

As Act I of the play nears its end, Nora's deliberate dependency on Torvald and her inability to be decisive even about trivial matters is revealed when she responds to Torvald's question and says:

HELMER: Aha! So my impulsive little woman is asking for somebody to come to her rescue, eh? NORA: Please, Torvald, I never get anywhere without your help (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.34)

Since the very beginning of the play, the interactions between them appear to be superficial, lacking the normal conjugal behaviour towards each other. As they speak, it seems as if Nora purposely presents herself as the meek and helpless woman to seek Torvald's attention and provide him with the opportunity to play the role of her rescuer which he would gladly accept to prove his masculinity. As readers we realize that Nora does have the capacity, courage and strength as a woman to make decisions in life. However, her propensity is to appease him and cling to her world of fancy where Torvald is none but her saviour, an emotional strategy to attain the feeling of safety and security.

In this regard, it would be justified to refer to the 'bear and squirrel game' in John Osborne's Look Back in Anger (2011), another famous realistic play, that focuses on the life and marital struggles of an intelligent and educated but disgruntled young man of working-class origin, Jimmy Porter, and his equally competent yet impassive upper-middle-class wife Alison. The bear and squirrel game, though of an adolescent nature, allows Jimmy and Alison to express their simplest affection for each other, which they fail to do in their conjugal life. They take resort to this game to escape from the harsh realities of life but this, too, loses its charm and purpose because the world of fantasy can only provide a temporary respite. Nevertheless, they do identify the issues responsible for all the vexation associated with their conjugal life, face the reality and reunite to start afresh.

Osborne, in his play, made it quite clear how genuine affection between two people, despite their class differences and frequent conflicts, can keep them coming back to each other. Their relationship was devoid of any illusion and superficiality which helped in sustaining their relationship. Even the harsh reality failed to keep them away from each other. The root of Jimmy's tirades and assaults towards Alison has been purely his unpleasant experience as a representative of the working class along with his grudge against the injustice inflicted upon them. It was not driven by any kind of traditional notions related to gender roles as the playwright does not miss to highlight the emotional side to his nature as well as his need to be understood by his wife with regard to his suffering. While the origin of Nora Helmer's suppression and the consequent failure of her marital life is caused due to her husband's stereotypical patriarchal dominance, selfishness and sense of superiority. Hence, it can be said that the relationship was toxic for Nora and it was essential for her to confront reality even though it meant the collapse of the wedlock. Therefore, reality should never be kept at bay for the sake of ephemeral solace since whether it is illusion or fancy, it would certainly collide with reality at one point and either strengthen or split apart everything.

In A Doll's House, it is explicit that Nora and Torvald have never been successful in knowing each other. They were completely oblivious of the true nature of their significant other. That Nora was always obedient to him made Torvald underestimate her individuality as well as her capabilities thus taking her for granted. Nora's self-built image of Torvald kept her from discerning the selfish, self-absorbed Torvald Helmer. In the initial part of the play, Nora appears to be quite satisfied and glad with Torvald's behaviour towards her for she loved to feel helpless, she enjoyed the feeling of being rescued by him and it is this notion that led her to expect a 'miracle' that will be brought about by him. It seems as if she needed reassurance and, therefore, indulged herself in these thoughts imagining him as the valiant, self-sacrificing man madly in love with her and this is evident in these lines:

NORA: You see Torvald is so terribly in love with me that he says he wants me all to himself.

HELMER: When it comes to the point, I've enough strength and enough courage, believe me, for whatever happens. You'll find I'm man enough to take everything on myself.

NORA: [in command of herself]. That is something you shall never do. (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.46)

Torvald here brags much about his strength, courage, and manliness which he eventually

contradicts with his insensitive words and selfish actions. By doing so he himself breaks the image that is the product of Nora's so long-held illusory ideas concerning his unquestionable love for her.

The following words spoken by Nora to Mrs. Linde exhibit her deep-seated confidence and faith in him which is the result of her lack of insight.

NORA: And if somebody else wanted to take it all upon himself, the whole blame, you understand....

NORA: Why should you? You see something miraculous is going to happen.

NORA: Yes, a miracle. But something so terrible as well, Kristine oh, it must never happen, not for anything. (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.58)

It may be pointed out that Krogstad's threat heightens Nora's illusory state and her survival begins to revolve around a 'miracle' that she whole-heartedly expects and is simultaneously terrified of. Although her affection, care, and concern for Torvald is, undoubtedly, indisputable, and she is apprehensive of any harm that may befall him, but somewhere she is harbouring this belief that Torvald's love for her would make him confront the situation with courage and save her from any danger provides her with an indescribable strength from within. Torvald is always there for her, it is this very conviction upon which her illusory world is built.

Nora has, indeed, been giving indulgence to inflated ideas about Torvald but it is also noticeable from her utterance at the end of Act II that she is no longer mentally fragile and is prepared to face the vicissitudes of her fortune. Here, when she responds to Torvald saying "Then you are free." (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.62), it sounds ambiguous. It may either imply Torvald being free of Krogstad's headache or being free of this wedlock. It also underlines a sense of impending disaster. Her conversation with Mrs. Linde reflects that she no longer wishes to manipulate the adverse situation to her advantage. Act II thus lays the foundation for the catastrophe as manifested in Nora's words when she says to Mrs.Linde:

NORA: You shouldn't have done that. You must let things take their course. Because really it's a case for rejoicing, waiting like this for the miracle. (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.62)

Act III begins with a conversation between Mrs. Linde and Krogstad which displays how different their relationship is from Nora and Torvald's. Mrs. Linde had to sacrifice her love for the sake of her domestic responsibility concerning her sick mother and young brothers, and she is too practical to nurture fanciful ideas. Similarly, Krogstad's miserable plight made him all the more realistic and he does not hesitate to accuse Mrs. Linde of discarding him for the sake of social elevation. Since their relationship is devoid of illusion, appeasement, and pretention, it ultimately enables them to accept each other the way they are and so they do not even undergo or suffer any disillusionment. Even their reunion is the outcome of their mutual decision which attests to their equal status in their relationship. In fact, despite Krogstad wanting to get his letter back from Torvald, Kristine necessitated the revelation of the secret by disrupting the course of events that would benefit Nora in the long run. She does what Nora should have done long back for herself. Mrs. Linde's pragmatic approach to deal with a life crisis is represented when she says to Krogstad:

MRS. LINDE:Helmer must know everything. This unhappy secret must come out. Those two must have

the whole thing out between them. All this secrecy and deception, it just can't go on. (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.68)

This sets the ground for Nora's eventual disillusionment, realization of her worth as an individual, and emergence as the New Woman.

(Brok, 2013, p. 219) states that "Hope is an important human experience. It gives us a reason for existence, a sense of, and anticipation for, the future, and a motivation to live out our ambitions and desires." This is rightly applicable to Nora's thoughts and expectations with regard to Torvald. Despite her precarious and threatened state, she always believed that her husband's love for her would one day result in the fulfilment of the 'miracle' that she has always been hoping for thus proving his unquestionable affection for her. Even after encountering Krogstad's threatening words, she continued to nurture the same hope as before that had provided her with a reason to live and be in wedlock. Nora's high held impression about her husband made her await an opportunity where she would live out her desire and emerge triumphant on account of her husband's valiant deeds. However, things do not turn up the way she has expected and Ibsen makes her witness the actual reality of her marriage.

In Act III, Ibsen exposes the truth that for Helmer love and desire rely on fantasy and that he pretends to be secretly in love with her in their relationship thus showing his preference of appearance over reality. His violent, unfeeling reaction towards Nora stands as evident to this. After the revelation of Nora's secret, Torvald's true comes to the surface and Nora comprehends the reality of her situation and says:

NORA: [looking fixedly at him, her face hardening]. Yes, now I'm really beginning to understand. (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.77)

Nora's disillusionment thus begins and for the first time, she notices how in an instance Torvald loses all his love and respect for her. His attitude is completely unforgiving which underscores the superficiality of their relationship. It comes as a major blow to Nora when he considers her true affection for him to be nothing but a weak excuse to defend herself. Torvald's self-centeredness and concern only for his own safety unmasks him thoroughly. His previous boasting to protect Nora from every calamity proves to be an empty gesture and instead, his crude selfishness becomes visible. As far as Nora is concerned, she silently and calmly listens to all his accusations. In this circumstance, Torvald still demands Nora's unshakeable allegiance to his commands asking her to keep up the appearance of their marital life for the sake of social respectability. No matter how disrespectfully he treats her, she must continue to obey him and conform to the role assigned to her by society through acceptance and appeasement of her husband. Not only does he disregard Nora's feelings, but also denies her the right to privacy when he prevents her from reading the letter sent by Krogstad.

HELMER: Give it to me. [He snatches the note and shuts the door.] Yes, it's from him. You can't have it. I want to read it myself. (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.79)

Helmer's change in behaviour once he becomes assured of his safety completes Nora's disillusionment. She sheds off the garb of the old Nora and speaks determinedly declaring her transformation as a woman. It is she who proposes that they should discuss the matter and also

asserts her place as an equal partner in the relationship demanding the same recognition from Torvald. Nora's realization regarding her treatment by the two male figures in her life namely her father and her husband, regarding how they overpowered and suppressed her individuality led to her awakening. She accuses both of them of having wronged her and not allowing her to become the person she wanted to be. She acknowledges the truth that her marriage did not change her designation as a 'doll'; she became Torvald's 'doll wife' as she was her father's 'doll child'. Surprisingly, Torvald's attributions are not confuted by Nora, instead her acceptability strengthens her resolve to educate herself on her own without any sort of assistance. To the Victorian audience, such an unconventional initiative taken by a woman was something unacceptable for women of that era were supposed to be the 'angel in the house'.

Ibsen used Nora's disillusioned state to convey how patriarchy subjugated and exploited women denying them their rights and deserving place in society. He projects how marriage functions as a patriarchal tool where equal partnership is denied to ensure the superiority of men. Nora thus serves as his mouthpiece and opens a new door for women when she utters:

NORA: If I'm ever to reach any understanding of myself and the things around me, I must learn to stand alone. That's why I can't stay here with you any longer. (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.83)

This statement made by Nora overturns the traditional notions related to gender roles upheld by society and marks the beginning of a new chapter in the life of a woman where she is no longer ready to accept her marital life as her only refuge and destination. Although she worshipped Torvald initially as a chivalrous figure, her epiphany concerning Torvald's nature and their marriage converts her definition of love and duty. Her decision to leave her home, her husband, and her children reveals how she has overcome the idea of a duty to others and focuses on herself.

"NORA: I have another duty equally sacred.

HELMER: You have not. What duty might that be? NORA: My duty to myself." (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.84)

Patriarchal pedagogy has made women believe that their sole duty and responsibility should be towards their bread provider, thus raising the man to a demi-god status where his words are pronouncements and therefore, cannot be defied. But when defiance results and women lend foremost importance to duties to themselves, the fabric of patriarchy gets disintegrated. Torvald Helmer is so attuned to Nora's subservience that he could never imagine that Nora would discard all her marital duties and choose to be dutiful only to herself and would hardly pay an ear to his dissuading words. He was, indeed, not ever prepared to experience such a repercussion since it does not befit patriarchy and that is what he has been also made to believe.

Through Nora Helmer's exemplary behaviour, Ibsen shows her uncustomary decision as a stepping stone to embarking on an unknown, unseen journey to 'try' to be an individual. She rejects the accepted notion of the time and prioritizes her individuality thereby showing how an individual can make progress and be instrumental in bringing about reforms in society. It is, however, irrefutable that Nora's orientation has actually made her perceive Torvald as the man who would always step forward and shoulder the blame to rescue her who is glad to projecting

herself as the 'damsel in distress' giving him the opportunity tu fulfil his role. This would not only make her perform her social role perfectly but also portray Torvald as the valorous man he is supposed to. Hence, patriarchal ideology that privileges men over women making them dominate is equally responsible for making women nurture such illusions with regard to the other gender.

HELMER: First and foremost, you are a wife and mother.

NORA: That I don't believe any more. I believe that first and foremost I am an individual, just as much as you are or at least I'm going to try to be. (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.84)

The old Nora is none but every woman who is a part and parcel of this social structure. In the play, Ibsen's attempt to make a married woman trample patriarchy for the sake of an independent existence and seeking answers to the questions that she had never contemplated or doubted before, was in itself ground-breaking. When Nora says that "...I'm going to try to be', it clearly underlines her consciousness about the uncertainty, that she may not have positive gain yet she is hopeful of her endeavours. Thus, she escapes from the place called 'home' that stifled her breath and inhibited the growth of her authentic Self.

Despite Nora wishing for a 'miracle' to end all her trouble, she did not become selfish and so also thought of ending her life to rescue Torvald. In this regard, it would be apt to glance at how these two characters looked upon marriage. For men like Torvald, marriage is synonymous with obedience, submissiveness to dominance, and a tool to keep up social appearance. He did not consider Nora his equal ever in the relationship and therefore, remained content with the notion that women like Nora cannot be decisive in life or raise their voice against any injustice by their male counterparts. They always need their man to decide things for them. While Nora's way of thinking and her decisions are governed by intense emotion where the well-being of her dear ones counted the most to her and therefore she could jeopardize anything, unlike Torvald.

Illusion or illusory ideas often tend to become an emotional support for human beings to combat the absurdity of life. The fear and insecurity of losing something might lie in their unconscious and thus they feed on such consoling illusions to calm down their perturbation. But reality is inevitable and results in disillusionment replacing blind emotionality with a rational line of thought. Illusions result in blindness and unnatural dependency or codependency that prevents an individual from getting out of the cocooned domestic life and this is indeed detrimental to one's intellectual growth and. Ibsen has wonderfully brought out how emotional fantasy can also lead to the repression of individuality and a false sense of security but once reality dawns, even the so long loved, trusted and respected man in the marital tie turns a 'stranger' and his house becomes nothing more than 'a strange man's room'.

NORA: [putting on her coat]. I can't spend a night in a strange man's room. (Mcfarlane, 2008, p. 87)

This utterance from Nora closes all doors of reconciliation and hope for Torvald. Her cold, indifferent attitude reflects her profound new-found convictions resulting from the discovery of the grim actualities related to her existence as a woman. Therefore, the illusion of love and marriage ends abruptly for both of them in their life where Nora refuses to play the 'skylark' anymore and withdraws her unrealistic belief and says:

NORA: ...Oh, Torvald, I don't believe in miracles any more. (Mcfarlane, 2008, p.88)

Ibsen has dexterously treated feminist issues with a humanistic approach perceiving women foremost as individuals and endorsing the legitimacy of their rights. Nora Helmer, the New Woman, is bestowed with the right to be her actual self and thus she steps outside the domestic confinement to seek an independent identity breaking herself free of all the ties that overshadowed her place in society as an individual. Her 'doll' identity as a playful commodity, a mere entertainer by Torvald simply did not let her assert her individuality and know her potential as a woman and what she was capable of. It is only when she refuses to perform the feminine role assigned to her by the patriarchal structure, her emergence occurs as the strong determined New Woman, all set to encounter the world without any male assistance.

Considering the role of patriarchy, it is necessary to figure out how this social structure victimizes men as well. By fitting in they become servile to the patriarchal doctrines. As social standing was prioritized above everything else, it gave rise to class distinctions which resulted in oppression. It is this social compulsion on men that makes them desperate to go to any length to preserve their social reputation and Krogstad is no exception in this regard. He does not suffer from any compunction while threatening Nora. Similarly, since social reputation was of utmost priority to Torvald, he was severe and unbending with anything that would degrade his status and so he preferred to keep up the appearance of a marriage that is devoid of love, trust, and respect. Undoubtedly, Torvald is a self-absorbed, domineering man but even he seems to suffer from certain social compulsions and obligations as a man.

Ibsen's attitude to both the genders bears impartiality and a humanistic treatment of their situation where although his focus is primarily on feminist issues, he is equally conscious of the fact that men are also not free of tribulations and oppression in a patriarchy which in turn perpetuates their oppressive behaviour towards the other gender to hold on to their social image of masculinity. Bell Hooks in the Introduction to Feminism is for everybody: Passionate Politics (2000, p. ix) has said, "Most men find it difficult to be patriarchs. Most men are disturbed by hatred and fear of women, by male violence against women, even the men who perpetuate this violence. But they fear letting go of the benefits. They are not certain what will happen to the world they know most intimately if patriarchy changes. So they find it easier to passively support male domination even when they know in their minds and hearts that it is wrong." This supports the notion that patriarchy causes oppression of men by making them perform the role of a dominant patriarch which makes them oppress women to retain their superior status in society. Nora's final words, undoubtedly, disillusion Torvald and make him give up his complacency with regard to her place in the marriage and realize his deficiencies as a husband and his responsibility for the failure of the relationship. Ibsen's humanistic approach makes us perceive the truth as to how patriarchal ideology makes men consider their dominance, suppression of women, both in private and public domain, as absolutely natural. It is this distorted patriarchal orientation that is the root of gender inequality. Hooks (2000) believes that men do have the capacity to change and grow and in Ibsen's play this is reflected at the end of the play through Torvald's emotional collapse where he is seen hoping for a 'miracle' that would bring Nora back to his life. Hence, Nora's own disillusionment eventually leads to Torvald's acquaintance with the reality of their marriage thereby making him also evolve as an individual.

Conclusion

To conclude, illusions are embraced by individuals irrespective of their gender and their preconceived notions pertaining to social institutions and the assigned gender roles get disillusioned with reality knocking at the door. Mrs. Linde and Krogstad empathize with each other's plight and Torvald accepts Nora's wishes and respects her ability to decide for herself while Nora embarks on a new journey of self-learning and self-discovery. Thus, illumination or self-realization commences for all concerning one's cognizance of life and most importantly, one's place and worthiness in society as an individual.

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Representing the 'Self' in the Personal Writings of Virginia Woolf

Uttara Bisht¹

Abstract: The paper explores the idea of the 'self' through a reading of Virginia Woolf's select diaries and letters. In order to examine the 'self', the paper reads three important works by French philosopher, Michel Foucault to arrive at an understanding of the self. The self, as one understands, is constructed through a constant engagement with oneself as well as through one's interactions with the others. The paper argues how the self of the author, Virginia Woolf is revealed through her practice of diary and letter writing (as Foucault says writing means to show oneself) which displays various facets of her character be it as a writer or a wife or a master to her servants.

Keywords - Self, personal writings, 'author-function', 'know yourself', 'founder of discursivity'

Around the 1920s when the idea of New Feminism was still taking shape in Britain, one of its most celebrated woman writers, Virginia Woolf had already entered the literary scene with the publication of her first novel *The Voyage Out* in 1915. The decade's end saw the publication of her feminist treatise *A Room of One's Own* (1929) and established her as a Feminist thinker of the twentieth century. Woolf's concerns may not be similar to those of the New Feminists but her idea behind writing to represent or to voice one's own views somehow make us see similarities in their disparate intentions: to shun the notions of superiority attributed to men, highlighting the differences and advocating equality and dignity.

Virginia Woolf left behind a voluminous and equally enthralling array of personal writings comprising of memoirs, diaries and letters revealing a completely different side of her personality. Through her writings, she emerges as a vociferous reader and writer, a distinct observer of men, manners and fashion, a benevolent critic and a vehement gossipmonger. At several instances, in her diaries, she mentions the idea behind diary-writing as not just a way to preserve memories of

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her life and herself but as a constant way of practicing the 'art of writing' itself. One would hardly doubt her meticulous and dedicated efforts towards maintaining these diaries which became crucial 'points of origin' for fiction-writing and through these engagements and associations between the 'self' and the others culminating in some of her best works. These diaries which she started maintaining before working on her fiction are thus, not just proofs of her popularity as a fiction writer, but present a form of narrative, a compilation of events of life that get voiced (verbalized) and transformed into different narrative forms. Referring to this form, in Volume 1 of her diary, she writes, "all writing even this unpremeditated scribbling has its form, which one learns" (304).

More than her fiction it is her personal writings which best represent the 'Self' for they are possibly the closest to truth about her life. So, without much contention, one can say that diary-writing is a personal act of writing that is in a sense more self-representational than any form of fiction for it is 'truth' as represented by the writer herself. Diary-writing, in the case of Woolf, was a personal act not intended for any audience other than the writer herself and with the purpose of keeping a record of her life and times but equally as an act of self-preservation. She took it up as an exercise to re-read and re-examine them, providing a stimulus to her fiction. Her letters which serve as 'personal' correspondences with relatives and friends are more obligatory in nature but equally important in trying to unravel the different selves that Woolf represents.

The paper through a reading of her select diaries and letters seeks to examine the notion of the 'Self' and how it gets constructed. How is the 'Self' produced in these personal writings? Can personal writings be seen as a medium of self-representation? Moreover, for a woman writer like Virginia Woolf how is the representation of the 'Self' important? Is there a fixed notion of the self or is it fragmentary? Can there be a feminist representation of the Self? The paper does not intend to arrive at any rigid definitions of the Self, on the contrary, it tries to explore some of the interesting ways through which Woolf, the woman-writer represents her 'Self' through her personal writings.

In the year 1982, French philosopher, Michel Foucault delivered the lecture *Technologies of the Self* at the University of Vermont focusing on the history of the development of the Self. The lecture focused on the development of the hermeneutics of the self through an analysis of the relation between care and self-knowledge. His aim was to study how the technology of self, which is one of the four techniques he defines, functioned in order to produce knowledge about the self. The technologies of the self are those "which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality (2). The 'Self' or 'Auto' which means 'same' also attached to the notion of identity is defined by the relation between two sets of ancient practices: "to take care of yourself" (epimeleisthai sautou) and the Delphic principle "know yourself" (gnothi seauton) found in the Greco-Roman and Christian traditions. The self is not something that can be possessed but it is something that is produced through various activities

that one undertakes. Self is at one level, related to one's identity, personality and being but, it is also a 'mirror to the soul'.

The basic idea behind defining the technology of the self is to explain how in order to take care of oneself one needs to occupy oneself with the 'self'. In simple terms, it means to engage with oneself through a self-examination leading to self-knowledge. Further, taking care of the selfgot linked to a constant writing activity and was seen as instrumental in producing the self. In this relation, Foucault writes, "Writing was also important in the culture of taking care of oneself. One of the main features of taking care involved taking notes on oneself to be reread, writing treatises and letters to friends to help them, and keeping notebooks in order to reactivate for oneself the truths one needed" (10-11). The self, he proclaims, is "something to write about, a theme or object (subject) of writing activity" (11). These letters and personal notebooks scribbled with details of everyday life describing "what you thought, what you felt" (12) were a form of introspection and analysis of the self, as well as an 'examination of conscience' (13). Leaving aside the moral and the ethical issues linked to the idea of the self, what becomes of utmost interest is the way the common and the ordinary plays a role in the construction of the self. Referring to an example of a letter exchanged between Roman emperor, Marcus Aurelius and his tutor, the Roman rhetorician, Marcus Cornelius Fronto, Foucault explains how these forms of personal writings constituting details of the everyday routine become a way of engaging with and exploring the self. To this he adds, "Attention was paid to nuances of life, mood, and reading, and the experience of oneself was intensified and widened by virtue of this act of writing" (11). It is in these 'nuances of life' explored through the 'act of writing' that the self is located.

Virginia Woolf started writing letters at the age of six and continued to write them till her death in 1941. The four thousand letters that survive mostly addressed to relatives and friends are casual in their content describing events and episodes that she was part of and the usual literary gossip that she wanted to share. For instance, a letter (no. 888) to her husband, Leonard appears something like, "...There is very little in the way of news. We fetched our milk, and Saxon carried it back, and then we settled down to gossip, in the usual minute way..." (193-194). In another letter (no. 905) to her sister, Vanessa, she writes, "I now begin another letter, partly that should I die tonight you may know that my last thoughts were of you. Nor that you care – but think of all the gossip you'd miss – yes, that touches the one sensitive spot" (213). It is in these sundry details that the self is experienced simply because "they are you – what you thought, what you felt" (12). It is through the exchanges between oneself and others about the experiences of life that the self gets defined.

In the lecture titled *Self Writing* Foucault explains how the letter as a form of personal writing produces the self in relation to others. This form of correspondence involves a dual function which has an effect on both: the one who addresses it as well as the one who receives it. He describes it as a 'face-to-face meeting' that not only "brings to us real traces, real evidence of an absent friend" but it offers "both a gaze that focuses on the addressee and (...) a way of offering oneself to his gaze by what one tells him about oneself" (216). The gaze that the letter offers is not aimed at an introspection of the self rather an opening or a revelation of oneself. For him,

"To write is thus to "show oneself," to project oneself into view, to make one's own face appear in the other's presence" (216). These personal writings must not be considered as intimate journals meant for confessing rather there whole aim should be "to capture the already-said, to collect what one has managed to hear or read, and for a purpose that is nothing less than the shaping of the self" (211). The narrative of the self, thus, is constructed mainly through the correspondences with others.

The diaries of Woolf bring before us two predominant selves of Woolf: one, as a woman and the other as a writer. The two selves often merge, but also collide and confront. Her diaries are interspersed with events mundane as well as uncommon, filled with conversations with friends discussing literature, visits to London, gossips about the servants, hunting for houses and describing days when she was confined to the bed because of her mental illness. Writing which she says, "gives me my proportions" (343) is a constant activity for her which she would take up almost daily until unless she was seriously ill or had visitors. Her fascination with a new pen and a bottle of ink that she mentions about often in her diaries provides her with the temptation to write meticulously each day. Each diary entry mentioning date and place are indications of the consistency in maintaining her entries. Importantly, these diaries mark the development of a writer who shares her anxieties, fears and jealousies. The Woolf that the readers already know about is a brilliant novelist, owner of the Hogarth Press, member of the Bloomsbury group and the Memoir club and the lover of Vita Sackville West. But the Woolf who was over conscious of her dress, constantly in confrontational mood with her servants, Lottie and Nelly, obsessed with buying new houses in search of a peaceful place to write, critical of both her relatives as well as her contemporaries be it Katherine Mansfield or James Joyce and someone who described her physical discomforts like menstrual cycle or copulation without inhibitions is unknown to most. Her self is, thus, not limited to the moments when she portrays her regular roles but in between these when she exhibits a completely different side of her personality.

While most of the moments described in these personal notebooks could be passed as uneventful, some stand out leaving an indelible effect on the readers' minds revealing fascinating aspects of her life. For instance, Woolf found it most difficult to shop for clothes as equally to spend time on dressing up for parties. She was a frequent party-goer but she could not visualize herself wasting time on dressing up. She found shopping tedious and boring and would buy her clothes from empty shops though paying more but saving her valuable time. In one of her diaries, she writes, "I dislike the sight of women shopping. They take it so seriously" (Vol. I, 8). She was critical of other women who dressed up badly but equally feared criticism because of her choice of clothes. In May 1928, when she received the Femina prize for her novel *To the Lighthouse* she recalls how she feared looking ugly in a cheap black dress. In her diary, she records, "Afterwards there was the horror of having looked ugly in cheap black clothes. I cannot control this complex" (Vol. III, 183). Dealing with this appearance-complex, in a letter (no. 923) to her sister, Vanessa, she writes, "...You know the horror of buying clothes, especially for one forced as I am to keep my underclothes pinned together by brooches...So it went on: I tried shop after shop...What a world we live in!" (232). She was even harsher on her own sex when she caricatured them for

their appearance and facial features while drawing their character sketches in her diaries. For instance, she describes Bowen Hawkesford, a neighbour from Rodmell as "...a cheap piece of crockery, for her nose reminds one of a tea pot spout; her mouth is like a slot in coarse china" (192). While describing Margaret Davies, General Secretary of the Women's Cooperative Guild, she observes, "...straggling wisps of hair; hats floppy & homemade; thick woolen stockings; black shoes, many wraps, shabby handbags, & shapelessness, & shabbiness, & dreariness & drabness unspeakable. A tragedy in its way" (Vol. III, 296-297). What clearly emerges out of the above descriptions is the fact that while she was dismissive of the idea of wasting time over outward physical appearance, she could not help but feel insecure about her own dressing style. Woolf was equally conscious of her rather abnormal height and skeleton-like appearance which made her quite unattractive among men. Even more intriguing is the fact that while she portrays herself more as a victim of women's fashion of the early modern period, she chooses the same lense to censure other women.

Virginia Woolf was often very blatant in her criticism of people especially from the lower classes. This discrimination often appears in her letters in form of her friction with her maid servants, Nelly and Lottie. She uses the harshest words possible to criticize them for lacking education and sophistication. In volume I of her diaries, she remarks, "Considering their unimportance they must be compared to flies in the eye for the discomfort they can produce in spite of being so small" (197). For Nelly, she says, "How can an uneducated woman let herself in, alone, into our lives? – what happens is that she becomes a mongrel; & and has no roots anywhere" (Vol. III, 220). Not only are the words like 'flies' or 'mongrel' used in relation to her servants quite demeaning, they even suggest at a form of class oppression which existed in the then modern English society. Throughout her life, Woolf was dependent on her servants and nurses for providing her with their valuable services not just at the time of her illness but also to facilitate her hours of reading and writing. While such unabashed comments on the servants stand out in demystifying the godly image of the author, it also reveals the writer's proclamation of truth about certain issues.

Woolf was unsparing in her censure of her contemporaries and her jealousy towards them also forms a part of her writings. Regarding James Joyce's novel *Ulysses*, Woolf wrote "...have been amused, stimulated, charmed, interested by the first 2 or 3 chapters – to the end of Cemetery scene; & then puzzled, bored, irritated, & disillusioned as by a queasy undergraduate scratching his pimples (Vol. II, 189). To dismiss the writings of another acclaimed writer in such a flippant manner shocks the readers but also re-establishes the earlier observation about how Woolf nonchalantly passed judgements.

One cannot possibly imagine how else Woolf could have filled the pages of her voluminous diaries and letters if it was not for the description of landscapes while moving in and out of London, portraits of her friends that often turned into caricatures, literary gossips that began as parties and ended as criticism-sessions, the visits made by friends despite her calling them 'disruptions' at work or through her frequent introduction to her fictional characters like Mrs. Dalloway or Septimus Smith to the readers. She could barely resist the temptation of showing

her creativity through presenting men and manners and in the course of it, revealing her own self. Thus, these personal notebooks become interesting precisely because they throw open to us the world that was inhabited by Woolf and in the process revealed her Self.

The paper began by suggesting that various forms of personal writings especially those meant for the self and not intended for others, seem to become a repository of truth made available by the writer himself/herself. But how much of the truth the writer has chosen to reveal can never be arrived at. A writer may well choose to hide those episodes of life that she associates with pain or a sense of guilt. In such a case, how does one reach the ultimate truth or is the need for truth secondary to the need for representing the self that may not be the true self. Woolf was criticized for her exaggerations about people's characters and at times, incidents. In her diary she admits, "the sad thing is that we daren't trust each other to read our books; they lie, like vast consciences, in our secret drawers" (95). Through our reading of her diaries, letters and memoir Moments of Being, it becomes clear that Woolf intentionally kept certain aspects of her personal life hidden from her readers. Woolf has consciously avoided giving detailed descriptions of her illnesses, her periods of rest cure, her problems with frigidity, and her loveless relationship with her husband, Leonard Woolf. It is debatable how these personal notebooks, especially her diaries and her memoir, make a distinction between the personal versus the public. Nevertheless, one understands that it is difficult to arrive at one true self of Woolf, rather the more one reads about her through her writings one comes to realise that the diverse selves are created and exhibited through observations, reactions, comments, appearances and criticism.

In his essay what is an Author? Foucault discusses the author-function wherein he talks about it as possessing the plurality of self, implying that the author has several selves. The author is the "founder of discursivity" or the "initiator of discursive practices" (310) as he establishes an endless possibility of discourse. Further, the author facilitates "the existence, circulation, and operation of certain discourses within society" (305). Foucault calls Marx and Freud as the "initiators of discursive practices" to reveal how they have not only made possible certain analogies that may help future texts but also exposed certain differences (310). Their texts have an "inaugurative value" (311) that leads to exploration of endless possible applications, statements or propositions. In this relation, Virginia Woolf as an author with the vast oeuvre displays what Foucault calls a "series of subjective positions" which open up the possibility of numerous discourses. She as an author gives the readers the opportunity to read her works as a political treatise or as contributing to Feminist or Psychoanalytical theory, a form of Biographical research or a case in Suicide Studies. Finally, one cannot neglect the fact that even after 80 years of Woolf's death, her works are not only integral in understanding some of the major Feminist debates but also have constantly engaged with the discourses of the postmodern literary world.

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नर्भेन् द्रसमानवर्भे व्युन नस्रद के र्रेट्य

नर्हेन्'सर्कस्यानेर'नर्हेन्'यदे'र्रम्यान्देन्'स्रीवस्यान्देन्'स्रीनस्यान्देन्'स्रीनस्यान्देन्'र्र् জ্ব-শন্মা त्यवेद'यर'र्देद'अर्ळअअ'ग्वेचेग'दर'र्वेग'येच'ग्नर'च्चेअ'चदे'अह्ग'त्थु'मुत्अ'ठेग'ग्वेग'यद'त्रवेद'हे'दच्चे' चर्त्र:५गाद:८०:दर्गा ॐaॱञ्च्रमाॱकै'न्र-ॱर्में 'च'पोक्'के' खु'न्गाय'न्य'यर्घेक्रम'षीक्र'यम्। ने'यर्गन्भ'पम्भ'यर्हेन्'य'रे'खु'मॐमा:Aन् ଵୖୣୣ୰୵ୡୖୖୢ୶୰୵ୣ୵୵୵ୡ୕ୢୖଵ୴୳୵୵ୠୖ୕ୄଽ୵୵ୡ୕୶୶୴ୄୖୢୄ୴୰ୡ୵୵ୡ୕୷୷୷୵ୢୢୢୣ୴୷ୖୡୣ୷ यम्बेर हे ख ने प्रमाणिय स्था ृ नगगः क्षेत्रा वर्गोन् कुरे क्षेत्रा क्रेंब्र क्षेत्र ৻ঀ৾ঀ৾৽৻ঽ৾য়৻ৼ৾ঀ৾ৼ৾ঀ৾৻ঀৢ৻ঀৢৼয়৻ঀৼ৾য়য়ঀয়৻ঀ৾য়৻৸য়ৼ৾ৢ৽ঀ৾ঀ৾৻ৢঢ়৽য়৻য়ৼ৻৸ঀ৾ৼ৾ৢঀঀ৻ৼ৾য়ঀ৻৸য়৻য়ৢয়৸ नसू'योद'न्दा र्हें स'रेग'नसुर'वेन'यन्द्र'दे'वेन'यर्हें य'यन्दर्'ये।

म् अर्थे किया नहें न्या करें न्या करें निर्मा के मान्यू निर्मा के मान्यू निर्मा निर्मा

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नर्हेर् दें दे रे अहुन नर्सूसर् सुनर्हेर् अर्ध्ययः ११८ क्रिया नर्दर् रे रिस्टी देनिया क्षेत्र सुर स्मिन सामत सर सर से सेरि रुष.पर्युगी

<u>ૄ૽ૺૡઌઽૡૻઌૹૠૢૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼઌઌૢ૱ૢૺૹ૾૽૱ઌૢઌ૽ૺૺ૱ઌઌૺૺૺૺઌ૱ઌૺૺૺૺઌૹૢઌૺ૱ૢઌૢ૱ઌ૱ઌૢ૱ૢૺ૱૱૱૱ઌૺ</u> कःर्कुःशुःगाविःगानुगशः ५८॥ *૾ૄૼ*દરાવતેઃઅવશાઅર્જેના નો સે 'દેંશ ર્તું' ૬ દરાનુ કેના વસ 'દ્દેશ ભારા 'દ્દો કેના' ભારા ના ત્રશ્ય સૂક્ 'વસૂ' येद'ययर'रे' विच'यर्ळेय'ययर'रे'र्थेरा

ઘદ્યા ૡું વર્ગે $\int \cdot \hat{\mathbf{q}} \cdot \hat{\mathbf$

र्डेबर्देग्यन्धुरःवैच

र्हेन् प्रायतः ने स्वर् प्रायतः प्

५गाय.रज.यर्या

च्याः भ्रेत्रा (य्राये) १८। श्चित्रा है त्यहेता स्वाप्ता स्वाप्ता

ଞ୍ଚି**ସ**.୯ଞ୍ଚୁଜ.କ୍ରି.କ୍ରିସ.୯ସିନ୍ଧା

पर्हेर् 'सर्कसम्'ग्री'र्गे'र्रेत्।

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यर्हेर्'सर्कसम्यार्चेर्'र्मे प्यतः सुरुष्

ড়ঀ। बेर पति में प्राधु राधु राधे तहिर अर्ध अराध प्राप्त पा कि वा कि ता कि त कि पार्ट र में कि कि ता कि

દ્વાયા છી. તાલું તાલું તાલું છે. તાલું તે પ્રાથ્થ જાતા તાલું તે પ્રાથ્થ જાતા તાલું તાલુ તાલું તાલું

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यस'यदी'यदी'दर्गेय'खेद'वेर'यम्द्रगा

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বর্ট্র্ব্ অর্ক্রঝ্যাশার্ক্র্র্র্ স্বন্ধাশ্রী দ্রুর্ স্বন্

शक्षश्वरान्तर्रात्त्री क्षिण्यर्थेच्या विद्या विद्या क्षिण्यर्थेच्या विद्या वि

स्टाचरुका-स्टु, तर्रीया-भ्रीका-त्वना-तर्नु, क्रीट-प्री, टुया-तका-वर्षका-सुनेना-तका नु, यट-प्री, शुन्त-भ्रीका-तका-याविय-प्री, दिव-प्री, त्विय-प्री, स्विय-प्री, स्

द्रेशःश्चेताः हे तर्मा (१६/०१/२०११) श्रेशः प्रमाणितः स्त्रीतः स्त्रीतः स्त्रीतः स्त्रीतः स्त्रीतः स्त्रीतः स्त स्वान्त्राच्यः व वर्षः "श्चेतः स्त्राच्यः स्त्राच्यः स्त्रीत् स्त्राच्यः स्त्राचः स्त्राचः स्त्राचः स्त्राचः स्त्राचः स्त्राच्यः स्त्राच्यः स्त्राचः स्त्राचः

म्बर्धाःचन्द्रन् चित्रः सम्बर्धः सम्बर्धः मुर्वे

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इै'च'चर्हेर्'यदे'स्रवद'सर'ग्रुडेग्'म्रा

द्वै'च'चर्हेर्'यदे'अद्यद'अर'गठेग'.4र्'अर्'हेर्'गदे'चर्'गबुर'गबर'य। (४००४ र्वेग'ग्रर्' ४१८) "गा वा र्ग'बिगा

श्रुवःक्षेत्राःवावायाचर्गान् कुःचर्हेन् यदेः अद्यदः अदः वार्वेवाः वन्

श्रद्भाति । प्रि.याञ्चयाः स्टी

दयन्भः प्रकाशकार्याः क्षृतः स्रावतः स्रमः या क्षेताः स्रमः स्राव्याः स्रमः स्राव्याः स्रमः स्राव्याः स्रमः स्र क्षेत्रः स्राप्तिः प्रकाशकारः स्रमः स

ञ्चु य केंग ५८ ५ माना केंग मी सबत सर माडेग भार

चुःळैगःळेगःर्श्चेग्रथःग्रीःस्रवतःस्रनःग्रचेगःम्ऽ।

वेॱक्रॅंब<u>ॱस</u>्वतः अवतः अरः ग्रुडेगः १८।

र्ब्वेदःळेग:५८:५वेंद्रःळेग:यघत:यर:गडेग:4८।

ङ्गी स्वाप्तस्याप्तचुत्त्पञ्जा के रेत्याच्छ्या सेवाप्ता स्वाप्ता स्वाप्ता स्वाप्ता प्रकार्या (४०७७ क्वाप्ता स्व चड्या चड्या चेवाप्तस्याप्तचुत्त्पञ्जा के रेत्याच्या सेवाप्ता सेवाप्ता सेवाप्ता स्वाप्ता स्वाप्ता स्वाप्ता स्वाप सेवाप्ता चड्याप्तियाप्ता सेवाप्ता सेवाप्ता सेवाप्ता सेवाप्ता सेवाप्ता सेवाप्ता स्वाप्ता स्वाप्ता स्वाप्ता सेवाप चर्-माबुर-माश्वर-प। (१००१ र्विम-मार्थ-१००१) वर-प्यु-पार-"र-प्यु-नि-सु-पो-भ-प्यर्थन-चर्रुम-क्षेत्र-क्षेत्र-क्षेत्-कष्टिन्-क्षेत्-कष्टिन्-क

বাইবি'মার্থমানার্থবি'মেরমানী'বেলীবানা

हे.जबे.वी इस्तर्, सूच्या क्रिस्था माना मुश्याय रहें ने अष्ट्राय प्रस्ति प्रस्

মইনা.শর্মী

५ देशःच्चै विच त्यर्क्षेयः दे प्यतः सुत्र प्यतः विच त्यर्क्षयः त्यतः दे प्यत्यत्यः सुत्र प्यतः सुत्र प्यतः सुत् प्यतः सुत्र प

नगदःइदः दगदः र्वेदा

क्या हेवा

द्वानानुतः अक्षं देश श्वेनाम् (५००५) म्यायदे मुक्या स्वान्य स

- মনমান্তুমার্ব্র ইন্দ্র ক্রম্বারা (২০৩৫) শ্বন্ধান্ত্র শ্বিশান্তর শ্বন্ধান্তর শ্বন্ধান্ত শ্বন্বান্ত শ্বন্ধান্ত শ্বন্ধান্ত শ্বন্ধান্ত শ্বন্ধান্ত শ্বন্ধান্ত শ্বন
- মন্মান্ত্রমার্ব্র ইন্ট্রান্ত্রের মান্ত্রমার্ব্র ইন্সান্তর্ভার্ন মন্মান্ত্রমার্ব্র ইন্সান্তর্ভার্ন χ মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্তর্ভার্ন মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্ত্রমার্বর মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্ত্রমার্ব্র মন্ত্রমার্বর মন্ত্রমান্তর মন্ত্রমার্বর মন্ত্রমার মন্ত্রমার্বর মন্ত্রমার্বর মন্ত্রমার মন্ত্রমার্বর মন্ত্রমার মন্ত্রমার মন্ত্রমার্বর মন্ত্রমার মন্ত্রমার
- মন্মাস্তুমার্ন্-ই'ই'ব্নজর্মা। (৭০৩২) ইন্সর্মান্দ্রমান্দ্রমান্ত্র
- నాలు కైలు క్రాంతు క్రాంతు క్రాంతు క్రాంతు క్రాంతు క్రాంతు క్రాంతులు క్రాం
- स्यामुर्थार्दे हो पश्च प्रदेश हो गुर्व प्रबर्धिय प्रश्चेत प्रश्चेत प्रश्चेत प्रदेश हेता (४०७०) में राम्य स्थान प्रश्चेत प्रय प्रश्चेत प्रश्चेत प्रश्चेत प्रश्चेत प्रश्चेत प्रश्चेत प्रश्च
- ची.रच.चम्या.वस्त्राचरा। सरका.मैश.मू.मं चक्रेय.वह्य.मू.मं वीया.चचर.वसुय.जना चक्रेय.वह्य.रचर.स्रीमी (४०७०) चर.मुआ.मूर.वर्ष.चर.मंबिरा। बूर.
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चग्रःभैशःस्र्रः हिरावग्राश्वगः स्रेरः ग्राधुशः स्रेतिः ग्रिवः स्रेतः प्रवन् । घरशः ग्रीः त्रां स्रुश

वर्षेत् द्रब्ययावबरायें। यथाश्चीतार्देही

त्तर्भः द्रवी तस्त्री द्रवि त्यत्र द्रे खेय तयर द्रे खेय तयर त्या वि स्व त्यत्र त्या तयर त्या वि स्व त्यत्र त्या त्या स्व त्य स्व त्या त्या स्व त्या त्या त्या त्या त्या त्या स्व त्य स्व त्या स्व त्या स्व त्या स्व त्या स्व त्या स्व त्या स्व त्या

मार्डें केमा यस र्थेया माने व र्भेंग हेव त्यंत्रेया सवत्या समाया ह्या

至到

पड़िब:क्रीं-ज़ी-निव:क्र्रेब:क्रिक्स क्रुव-त्या विकास क्रिवानिक क्रिक्स क्रिक्

৾ঀঀ৽৻৻৳ঀ৽৻ঀ৾ঀ৽৻ঀ৾ঀৼ৻ঀ৽য়ড়৽ৼ৾য়৽য়৽৸ৼ৽য়ৼ৽য়৽য়ৼ৽য়৾৽য়ৼ৽য়য়৽য়ৼ৽য়ৢ৾য়৽য়ৼ৽য়ৣ৾য়৽৻য়য়ৼ৽য়৾৽য়ড়৽য়৽৻য়ড়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽

क्रिंग:र्यग:पश्चर:बिपा

ल्ट्यामिश्वास्त्रम् अन्यास्त्रम् अन्यास्त्रम् अन्याद्वेषाः स्वित्त्रम् अन्याद्वेषाः स्वित्त्रम् अन्याद्वेषाः स्वित्त्रम् अन्याद्वेषाः स्वित्त्रम् अन्याद्वेषाः स्वित्त्रम् अन्याद्वेषाः स्वित्याम् अन्याद्वेषाः स्वित्त्रम् अन्याद्वेषाः स्वित्तः स्वित्त्रम् अन्याद्वेषाः स्वत्तः स्वित्त्रम् अन्याद्वेषाः स्वित्तः स्वत्तः स्वत्तः स्वित्तः स्वत्तः स्वतः स्वत्तः स्वत्तः स्वतः स्वत्तः स्वतः स्वत्तः स्वतः स

५.५८. Dorji (१००३) Sergamathang Kothkin and other Bhutanese Marriage Customs बेर के रुपा नियान हैं कि कि प्राचित कि प्रा

Chand (२००६) मैशः इसि प्यंत्रियः हिग्दिन् Brokpas बेर से दिन् सुमार्थः प्रक्रें न्याय्यः प्रक्रें न्याय्यः स्वर्धः स्वरं स्वर्धः स्वरं स्

ત્યર્થો ત્યર્થો ત્યર્થો

खेन.पक्रूज.मी.मीन.पर्चश्र<u>ी</u>

गाने द द र श्रीमा मी द में स्पादर स्था

बेर लिब स्था।

बेर स्था।

ग्रेवःर्श्वेरःग्रेःहेवःत्रवेताःसःन्द्वेःपतिःहेःसरःद्वेःस्टःहःस्य

द्रभायवाश्चीन्त्रात्मा विभावध्यायम् विभावध्यम् विभावस्यम् विभावध्यम् विभावध्यम्यम् विभावध्यम् विभावध्यम् विभावध्यम् विभावध्यम् विभावध्यम् विभावस

ष्ठित्रात्त्रं मी.स्थामिश्रेष् क्रीया.य-द्रात्त्र प्राप्त प्र प्राप्त प्राप्त प्राप्त प्राप्त प्राप्त प्राप्त प्राप्त प्राप्त

गहेदःक्ष्र्र्रः ग्रीः ग्रःक्ष्रीगा

श्नरःवयःर्थेणःधःगः देःत्रःयद्येथःहेःक्षेवयःदेःष्यरःगक्षेवःग्चैःहेवःयद्येथःपञ्चेत्रःयःक्षेत्रःयःचिरःणःवरःत्रःधःव स्थःपदःश्चयःत्र्येःचेरःप्यत्रःवेःयत्या

बेर-पर्गीर-रे-पर्गा

म्रुवा तथा न्यान्त्र स्थान्त्र स्थान्य स्थान्

તન્ટ્ર-ટ્રન્મ્-જીવ-જન્ના નસ્ત્રીન્યન્યું સ્ત્રન્યું સ્ત્રન્યું સ્ત્રન્ય સું સહેં ક્ષ્યું સહેં ક્ષ્યું સાથે સું સું તે સુ

स्नर यः सूर माश्रुवा ग्री तयाव त्युरा

इसायाब से देंसामा पायापायापायापायाप्याप्य द्वारा स्वापाय स्वाप्य स्वापाय स्वाप

त्रज्ञिला हे. त्रज्ञिक्षः क्र्रेस् अपे र. त्रस् में त्रज्ञेष . वृद्धः त्याव . विस् . व्हुं त्यावा . द्वीं त्यावे . विस् . व्हुं त्यावा . वृत्या . वृत्या

ब्रह्मत्र्वाम्बर्धेन् मुर्ने वास्त्राम्बर्गे वास्त्राम्बर्गे

सरावेचस्य न्दर्शा चर्त्या प्रति प्रति स्वाप्त स्वाप्त

गर्भेव पर्ने चर्म ग्री सु

 चर्त्र मुडेम्'ल्र्च र्क्ष लेग्ग मुद्द रहीं अश्वर श्री चर्त्र मुडेम्'ल्र्च र्क्ष लेग्ग मुद्द रहीं अश्वर श्री चर्त्र मुडेम्'ल्रच र्क्ष लेग्ग मुद्द रहीं अश्वर श्री

येवशःह्या

झेटार्स्चेनायाः ज्ञाताः प्रत्यात्रेन्यः स्टार्चेनया। स्राम्यत्रेनात्वर्द्धस्यायः र्वस्यत्वेनाः स्राह्मस्या। स्राम्यत्रेनाः स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्ताः स्वाप चरः र्श्वेषायान्वर्षः गाः प्यान्यस्य प्रदेशः विष्यान्यस्य प्रदेशः विषयः प्रदेशः विषयः

र्त्वार्स्धेन्यशृत्युःगुःस्ययःयःत्वेन्यःयःद्वेनश्वा त्युःन्युःन्यःद्वेश्वरःयःद्वयःद्वेन्यःयुःदुःदेन्॥ त्युःन्युःन्यःद्वयःद्वेन्यःयुःदुःद्वेनश्वा ୴ ऒॱॻऻङ्ग'तर्ह्सअस'स'स्याद्धस्यस'सा। ऒॱग्राङ्ग'तर्ह्सस्य स्याद्धस्य स्वाप्ते स्वापत

बेर प्रमुद्ध खेद प्रश्

नलेटशःह्या

ॸॖ॓ॸॱऄॗ॔ॻऻॺॱय़ॖॱग़ऻॖॱॶॖॖॖॖॖॖॖॻॵॾऀय़ॺॕक़ॺॱॺऻऻ ॱय़ॖॱॻऻऄॻऻॱय़ॎॾॕ॔॔॔॔॔ॺॺॱय़ॱॶ॔ॺॱढ़ॊॻऻॱय़ॖॱढ़ॖॱॸ॓ॸऻऻ ॱय़ॖॱॻऻऄॻऻॱढ़ॖॱय़ॱॶ॔ॺॱढ़ॊॻऻॱय़ढ़॓ॱढ़ॎॱॸ॓ॸॱय़ढ़ॊॸॺऻऻ यर खुँग्रायायर्ड् गृगुः खुवायायर्ड् व्याय्वेषायायर्ड् व्याय्वेषायर्थ्याय्वेषायर्थ्यः विष्यायर्थ्यः विष्यायर्थ्यः विष्यायर्थ्यः विष्यायर्थ्यः विष्यायर्थ्यः विष्यायर्थ्यः विष्यायर्थ्यः विष्याय्वेष्ट्यः विष्याय्वेष्ट्यः विष्याय्वेष्ट्यः विष्याय्वेष्ट्यः विष्यायः विषयः विषयः विष्यायः विषयः विषयः

ढ़ॕॺॱॾॖऀॺऻॴय़ॏ॔॔ऒ॔ॱज़ऀज़ॱज़ॹॕऀॳॾॴॴ य़ॏ॔ॱॺऻड़ॖॺऻॱॳड़ॣ॔ॹॴॸॱड़ॣॴख़ॖऻॴय़ॕॏख़ॎ॓॓ॾॗऻऻ फ़ऀ॔ॱॺऻड़ॖॺऻॱऄ॔॔ॹॷॴढ़ॹॴ धुत्यःगाःतर्देशस्यःसःसेःतर्देशसःसः॥ सेःग्रेनाःतर्देशसःयःर्दशःविगःसःवुःरेन्॥ सेःग्रेनाःवुःपःर्दशःविगःपवेन्सःरन्यवेन्सः

यर्चे्द्र-भत्रसम्बन्धःह्या

झे.चेड्रेचाय.से.ची.लीज.ज.से.पड्ड्यय.सी के.चेड्रचा.पड्ड्यय.त.द्या.खेचा.से.खे.प्र्यी होट.स्रुचाय.से.ची.लीज.ज.से.पड्ड्यय.सी यर र्खेग्नय पर्वत्रागु स्थाय यः पर्वत्र त्यर्हेश्ययः या। यर्वत्र ग्रुचेग त्यर्हेश्ययः यः र्वश्यः त्वेग पर्वतः तुः से द्या। यर्चतः ग्रुचेग तुः पर्वश्यः त्वेग स्थेययः हुः र्वेगा।

य़ॖ॔ॻॾॎऀॻॺॱय़ॖॖॱॻॖॱॶॺॱॺ॓ॱॺॖ॓ॺऻ य़ॖॱॻड़ऀॻॱय़ॾॕ॔ॺॺॱय़ॱड़॔ॺॱढ़ऀॻॱय़ॖॖॱढ़ॖॕॸऻ। य़ॖॱॻड़ऀॻऻॹॱय़ॖॱॻॖॱॶॺॱॺ॓ॱॿऀॻॱय़ॖॱढ़ॖ॔ॸऻ। धुवाःगुःतर्हेंश्रश्चःश्चाः श्चेःगडेगःतर्हेंश्रश्चःयःर्दशःदीगःश्चेःदुःसेन्॥ श्चेःगडेगःदुःपःर्दशःदीगःश्चेत्रशःहःर्मेगा

यात्रायात्त्वप्तः स्वर्तः स्वरं स्व

क्ष्रु:र्मेगा

য়ৢ৻ৼয়ৼ৾য়ৣঢ়৻য়ৣঀৼ৻ঀয়৻ৼৼৼয়ৢঀ৻ঀয়ৣৼ৻ৡঀ ৻ড়৻ৡ৻ৼৼয়ৢঀ৻ঀৼ৻য়৾৻ৡঀ৻য়৾৻ৼয়৾ঀয়য় ড়৻য়ৼ৻ঀৼ৻য়ড়য়৻ঀৼ৻য়৻ড়য়৻য়৻ য়ৼয়৻ৼঀ৸ৼ৻য়৻ড়ঀ৻য়য়ৢয়৻য়য়ৢয়৻

क्षु:र्मेगा

ध्युःर्मेगा

ष्ट्रे:र्नेगा

৴৸ঀ৻৴৴য়ৢ৾৽য়ৄৄ

 क्षे-हॅन्न-क्षेत्र-घ-त्यु-खु-र्खन-द्रमु-र्याः क्षे-हॅन्न-चत्र-क्ष-क्ष-द्र-क्ष-चन्द्र-क्ष-प्य-सु-क्षा देन-प-पन्ड्य-देन-द्रम-प-स-स्-क्ष-क्ष-व्या क्षु-र-प-पन्ड्य-देन-द्रम-प-स-स्-क्ष-क्ष-व्या

ऄॱॸॖॕॻॱऄॸॱॸॱग़ॖॱॶॱॾॕॻॱॸॖग़ॖॱॴ ऄॱॸॖॕॻॱॸॱॸॱऒॕॸॖॱऄॱख़ॖॖॱॴॱॶॴ ऒ॔ॸ॔ॴॱऄॖ॔ॸॱय़ॖॖॗॱवैॸॱॸॖऺॴॸॱॴॸॱॺॖऻऻ ॾॖऀॻॱय़ॱॹॖॖॖऀवैॸॱॸॖॴॸॱॸॱॼऀॸॴऄॴ

बेर-बे-तर्ने-तबेत-तित्रमायम-देश-यत्-र-यामीय-दुश-र्केन-दि-त्-तत्विय-हे-प्वतिश-र्स्नित-रेम्य-दि-त्-। ने-कें-हेत्य-पिय-तिन्-माल्त्-गा-यय-ह-कर-र्स्नेन-बे-र्स्-द-यह्न्य-अद्ग्निय-पिय-हेन-हे-र्स्-त-ति-त-। नेति-स्न्य-या-या-त्र्य-स्न्य-विव-र्स्चम्य-प्यत्-प्रति-प्र

यन् अते घर घर मी सु

 ब्रें ब्रिंग्ययम् अति घटः घटः यदः अते घटा। बिःगद्ग्ययः के अः भरः चतिः भरः यः च चटः॥ र्दे पुरुषयः गुत्रः यः खुनः यतिः पृरुषयः रेः च च टः॥

वटः ब्रेन्-अद्येत् म्यान्यत् स्वयः प्रदेशः क्षेत्रः कषेत्रः कषे

মহুদা'নমু

क्षेत्र-श्रीत्र-प्रावितः भ्रान्य-प्रवित्य-प्रावित्य-प्रवित्य-प्य-प्रवित्य-प्रवित्य-प्रवित्य-प्रवित्य-प्रवित्य-प्रवित्य-प्रवित्य-प्रवित्य-

यन् अति चन्यन् अति चन्या चेरायते सुन्येष्ठा स्वाप्ते सुन्येष्ठा स्वाप्ते स्वापते स्वाप्ते स्वाप्ते स्वाप्ते स्वाप्ते स्वाप्ते स्वापते स्वापते

चगाय:इैद:५गाय:क्रॅंस

क्या हेवा

गुरु पचर देतु प्रस्ता (२००५) हॅरायते केंग सहँदा विसःसुगा गे लेस मी

নমুর বেইর নমুর শা (৭০৩৬) क्ट्रें बेंद ন্ गे 'মুর 'ग্রামণ্ড प्रते 'মুম' র্ক্ত শ্বামণ্ড Bangalore: Gurudutt Printers

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यत्त्रेय.जन्मः भैजात्रक्या

ख्रुक्चम ।म्य-म. इष् क्रिण्याची अव्यत्येच ।जमा. ज्युच्चम. युच्चम । म्य-म. इष् क्रिण्याची अव्यत्यच्च क्रिण्याची अव्यत्यच्च क्रिण्याची अव्यत्यच्च क्रिण्याची अव्यत्यच्च क्रिण्याची अव्यत्यच्च क्रिण्याची अव्यत्यच्च क्रिण्याची अव्यत्यच क्रिण्याची क्रिण्याची अव्यत्यच क्रिण्याची अव्यत्यच क्रिण्याची अव्यत्यच क्रिण्याची क्रिण्याची अव्यत्यच क्रिण्याची क्रिण्या

विच पर्के वा ग्री में हों दा

णःतिःल्र-त्रद्वे,स्रिन्दःत्तरःत्राक्तःकृषाःलयाः जृष्यः त्रव्यः वे, अर्थः स्मरः लेशश्राक्ष्यः कृष्यः विश्वः व्यत् त्यत् । ज्यत् । ज्याः स्मरः लेशश्राक्षः व्यत् । ज्याः स्मरः विश्वः स्मरः स

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करा))
लट्ट स्थान स्थान

बैच'वर्क्सैय'द्रे'च

द्वै'य'गर्डैं'र्ये|

षद धनामी दी दा

- ७ क्रिंगाञ्चमात्ररम्परम्पः उदाः श्रीः भीतिः सद्यरः भिष्ठः श्रीः स्वरः स्वरः श्रीः स्वरः स

¹ क्चु-देअ'य'न्दुब्'क्चुं क्चेर'न्यन्द्र्य'चेर'न्वेद्र'न्य'स्रस्थ'क्चुस'न्द्र्य'देव'चेरस्थ'न्युअ'/क्चु'देअ'येन्वेन्य'येदेव'चेरस्थ'न्युब्य'क्चेद्र्य'चेत्र'क्षेद्र्य'क्षेद्र्य'चेत्र'क्षेद्र्यं क्षेत्र्य'क्षेद्र्यं क्षेत्र्य'क्षेत्र्यं क्षेत्र्यं क्षेत्र्यं क्षेत्र्यं क्षेत्रं क्षेत्

्य र्हेष् मुंग्रेक् मुंग्येष मुंग्येष

र्द्धें अ'नेषा' पश्चित्र' (Literatures Review)

देन् क्षेत्र प्यत्ता न्या मृत्या शुक्ष प्रमान्य क्षेत्र श्री क्षेत्र प्यत्त क्षेत्र स्था विद्या प्रमान्य क्षेत्र प्यत्त प्रमान्य क्षेत्र प्यत्त प्रमान्य क्षेत्र प्यत्त प्रमान्य क्षेत्र प्यत्त क्षेत्र प्रमान्य क्षेत्र प्यत्त क्षेत्र प्रमान्य क्षेत्र प्यत्त क्षेत्र प्रमान्य क्षेत्र प्रमान्य क्षेत्र प्रमान्य क्षेत्र प्यत्त क्षेत्र प्रमान्य क्षेत्र प्या क्षेत्र प्रमान्य क्षेत्र प्रमान्य क्षेत्र प्रमान्य क्षेत्र प्या क्षेत्र प्रमान्य क्षेत्र प्य

યાલેન્યાના વેરા ત્રિયાના ત્રામાન્ય સ્થેયાન સ્થેયાન સ્થાન સ્થાન

૫૭ુજા । "ਭੁ π .นाश्चर्यात्र्र, पर्चेशक्र, सैनकार्यर्ट, येट.जी.त्तर्यात्र, प्रक्ष्यात्र, प्रक्ष्यत्र, प्रक्ष्यत्र, प्रक्ष्यत्र,

सार्याः क्रियः प्रतिस्थाः स्थितः प्रतिस्थाः प्रतिस्याः प्रतिस्थाः प्रतिस्यः प्रतिस्थाः प्रतिस्थाः प्रतिस्यः प्रतिस्यः प्रतिस्यः प्रतिस्यः प्रतिस्यः प्रतिस्यः प्रतिस

ଜ୍ଞିସ:ସହୁଦ:ସସନ୍ଧ:ଜମ୍ମ

รุษาฐ์ทาดินรุษัราซิายนพาผมอนามาสรามานรุ้าผีทาชาฐ์าหูทาดิโ यริ ทิาทัาร์ สานขึ้นาดิโ ริ เนพาทัาร์ สารุนักาดิ รานหาทัาร์ สารุนักาดิโ รานพาทัาร์ สารุนักาดิโ รานพาทัาร์ สารุนักาดิโ รานพาทัาร์ สารุนักาดิโ รานพาทัาร์ สารุนักาดิโ รานพาทัาร์ สารุนักาดิโ รานพาทั่ง สารุนักาดิโ รานพาทั่ง สารุนักาดิโ รานพาทั่ง สารุนักาดิโ รานพาทั่ง สารุนักาดิโ รานพาทั่ง สารุนักาดิโ รานพาทั่ง สารุนักาดิโ รามหานพาหาย เพื่อให้ เพื่อให้

मंभितः (Bowen, 2009, p. 28) ग्रीकान्यां में विताय के प्रत्यां में प्रत्या प्रत्या प्रत्या प्रत्या प्रत्या प्रत्या प्रत्या प्रित्य प्रत्या प्रत्य प्रत्या प्रत्या प्रत्या प्रत्या प्रत्या प्रत्या प्रत्या प्रत्य प्रत्य प्रत्या प्रत्य प्रत

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Ethical Considerations শুবার্গ্রান্ত্র্বান্ত্র্বা

५र्मेशर्भेद्राम्बर्धाः चत्र्रा

थाक्षरान्त्रभ्यात्रीर में ने लूर् रात हुष राद राहूण चाल्ल प्रका में स्थार प्रह्म राय में सूचा ताला सूच राम राहू में राहू मे राहू में राहू

नेॱ**୴**नःत्व्वाःसुःतनन्।चःक्षेत्रःह्निः।वःर्वोनःत्वेत्यःक्षुत्रःर्क्षेण्या क.विच.क्रीश.स्च.जाश्र, अत्र. वीस्.वीस्त्र. के.लूर्यात्रा (१९६० र्विनाः ग्रन्था) "न्वरुषाः धूर्वाः अत्रायतः अन्याः विनायवारानाः गीर्याः स्थायः स्यायः स्थायः स्यायः स्थायः स तडें श्रेद 'तरुषा" बेर 'केंग 'श्रुषा' में 'श्रूपरूष' सु' मा 'मी 'श्रवत' श्र सु' केंग 'श्री 'श्रे 'दें में 'बेर 'पर्गेर 'दे 'तरुषा च्र-पी.प्यन्य-त्र-कुष्य-इन्य-भीजाप्यश्वनःत्र-(ज्रु-प्रीन) च्रुबान्तर-भी) च्रुबान्तर-कुर्बानी-सैचकारी-बान्य-वारीश-क्रुबानी चर्-अर्केंब्र-ह्रम्थ-१९-ऋँ-र-पन्-र-पा³ (४०७५ र्विम-ग्रन्थ-१।) यदी-ब्रद-श्-श्चे-रुद-गा-गा-व-मशुक्ष-ग्ची-अञ्चर-काःशुःर्विम-श्चे रक्षेताःमनः में भेर्द्रा ने ने प्रति । ने प्रति क्षेत्र क्षेत्र में प्रति क्षेत्र क्षे ह्मस्या । स्वरः चुरः मरः सरः सरः रेडा । "बेरः धुः मरः उतः चुः भोः गुः गाः गः मः गश्रुसः तरे : क्वेगः सरः स्वेः पर्वेः पर्वेदाः स्वेतसः क्वेंप्तहत्वात्वनशः इतः चेत्रः श्चानः क्षेः अर्कतः दर्देशः यहिषाशः क्षेत्रः स्वाप्यतः क्षेत्राः (४००० क्षेत्राः चारशः १८४) क्षेत्रः ययदः सुरः "ऀळॅंग्रयाचरुन्। सम्रतायाः केयाः वर्षात्र । अर्थ्याम्यतः इसाम्यत्यः अर्थः अर्थः । विद्याः वर्षायाः वर्षायाः वर्षायाः वर्षायाः । ৻ঀ৲ৢ৾৾ঀৢ৾ঀ৾৻ড়ৄ৴৻৸ৢ৾৾৾৾৾য়ৼ৻৸৽৸৽৸ৠয়৾য়ৢয়৽৸৲৽ড়ৢ৾৽য়ড়য়য়৽৻ড়৽ড়৾য়৽৸ৼ৽ড়য়৽৸ৼ৽ড়ৢ৽ড়৾৻ড়৾ৼয়৽৸য়৽৸ৼ৽ড়৾৻ৼয়৾ৼয়৾ৼয়৾ৼ म्बर्धरकाः हे त्यत्या

³ http://ti.zangdiyg.com/article/detail/id/12104.html বৃহত্যকর বিশ্বস্থিত বিশ্বস্থা বিশ্বস্থিত বিশ্বস্থিত বিশ্বস্থিত বিশ্বস্থিত বিশ্বস্থা ব

त्या.ची.श्रचतःश्च्या.सिट्.चुं.ट्यूं.तट्ट्रेश्चर्या.सिट्यूं.श्च्या.सिट.चुं.शुं.च्यूं.चुंट्यूं.श्च्या.सिट्यूं.शुंयूं.सिट्यू

ट्रेस्. केस. चर्ट्स क्षेत्रस्त क्षेत्रस्त

त्तर्ता । भट्न्प्ट्रियम्भ्यःश्वेःकुच्नःश्वरः। विद्रामश्वरमामश्वरम्भम्यःश्वमाःश्वेनाःम्टरमःश्वेःश्वेःभाविःस्यवरःसःशः विद्वाःमिट्रयाःस्यः । विद्वाःसिट्रयः । विद्वाःसिट्यः । विद्वाःसिट्

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यान्य ने ने ने स्वाम्या । , यद् तर्वाका क्रिस्ट स्वाम्या । , यद् तर्वाका क्रिस्ट स्वाम्या । , यद् तर्वाका क्रिस्ट स्वाम्या । व्याप्त क्रिस्ट स्वाम्या । व्याप्त क्रिस्ट स्वाम्या । व्याप्त क्रिस्ट स्वाम्या । व्याप्त स्वाम्या स्वाम्या । व्याप्त स्वाम्या स्वाम्या स्वाम्या स्वाम्या । व्याप्त स्वाम्या स्वाम्या स्वाम्या स्वाम्या स्वाम्या स्वाम्या स्वाम्या स्वाम्या । व्याप्त स्वाम्या । व्याप्त स्वाम्या । व्याप्त स्वाम्या । व्याप्त स्वाम्या स्वाम्या स्वाम्या स्वाम्या स्वाम्या स्वाम्या स्वाम्या स्वाम्या । व्याप्त स्वाम्या स

चर्णायः त्रश्चुरः द्रान्यः स्थाप्तः प्रश्चुरः याश्चुरः त्रयुव्यः र्क्षुः वृदः क्षेत्रं याः स्थाः स्थाः स्थाः स चर्णायः त्रश्चुरः द्रान्यः स्थाः द्रश्चुरः याश्चुरः त्रयुव्यः र्क्षुः वृदः क्षेत्रं याः स्थाः स्थाः स्थाः स्था

माशुरुषाओन्याः अर्दन्यम् हुर्यन्यते मालुरायाः केषायो दिनायो दिनायाः अत्यानु अधियाः अत्यानु स्वर्यायाः विष्याः व ભ્રું અ'ત્યમ'અતૈ'વगाद'त्र'चक्षुत'त्युर'र'चठअ'म्दि'त्य्वुग'गी'शुर्वअ'घर'त्यम'अ'दे'त्यअ'हे'अववत'खे'म्नथ' $_{\ell_1}$ 'य' नक्षेत्र यहित र्देत् सुन ५८ गात्र अखेत यन ५ गान छै गासुन यस्त्र स्तु त्र न्यु प्यन् के गासू गाम न यस्त्र स्तु अवतः अयु के गा . मृद्रायमा यो त्रायम स्थ्रे व्या स्थित । दे स्थर द्रायम स्थान में प्रमाद स्वरूप स्वरूप स्वरूप स्थापन स्थापन स ॱ"ॸॖय़ॖॸॱक़ॕऀॺऻॺॱख़ॺॱॺॺऻॱॸऻॿऀॱय़ॱॺॊ॔ॱऒॣ॔ॺॱॾऀॺऻॎॵ॔॔॔ॶॕॸॱड़ॖॱॿॖऺॺॱऄ॔ कुण'भेग ।" (र्भेग'ग्रान्थ'८ कुप'र्भेग ।) "तु'येग्रथ'ग्रैश'रे'पत्नैद'तु'ग्रीग ।ग्रे'ग्रुर'श्रदे'तु'र्ग ।पर'श्रदे'तु' <u> २</u>म । १९४८ - १९७८ - १९८५ - १८८५ - १८८५ - १८८५ - १८८५ - १८८५ - १८८५ - १८८५ - १८८५ - १८८५ - १८८५ -त्त्रेय । (र्सेयाःग्रथः ४क्कियःस्वर्य ।) पर्देशश्वरायः र्जूटश्वरत्नेय । (स्वाःग्रटशः ४००।) यटायमश्वरादे अहूर ३व विश . त्यं तर्द्याः चुते मुी-मी-क्रॅन्या-मा-क्रॅव डिम मिं-लॉब संसम्बन्धिम विंद् डित खेस सम्बन्धाः समानिक स्वापनिक स या । देव में के दे के के के के कि का विकास के विकास के विकास के सम्बन्ध के स्वास के सम्बन्ध के स्वास ४०६। र्ष्ट्राय:प्रेट:ल्या:३४:पर्स्न:प्रेम । (स्वा:बट्स:४०६क्वीय:स्वा ।) इर:क्वा:पर्रात्वा:प्रेस:प्रवा:प्रवा । अर्र्र जेब तहाय है। तर्गा

शायदे हुं - स्टार्क् मृ म्यूक्ट त्यच्या कुं त्युं क - यत्वया दे क्षुवा मान्य प्रचान के क्षुवा कायदे हुं - स्टार्क् मृ म्यूक्ट त्युं के न्यूक्ट त्यूं के न्यूं के

র্মুশ্বন্ধুশ্ব

^{4 &}lt;a href="http://ti.zangdiyg.com/article/detail/id/12104.html">http://ti.zangdiyg.com/article/detail/id/12104.html বৃহ থেক র্প্তর্

ૹૄું'અર્ઢ**ઠ' તર્ને' ભુ' ન** हे**ઠ' છે** 'જે 'જે સુવા' મૃત્યા ' રુઠ 'શું' અદ્યવ અ' ભુ' જેવા' ભૃત 'શું' કેવ' ભુ અ' એન્ 'કેર' આવશ્ય ' યા વા 'થી શ્ર યાસુદર્ભા તુવા વા તર્કન ''ચુત' 'ચુન' 'ચુન' 'ચું'ન 'વતું'ન 'વે' 'સૂંવા' તવન 'ને 'ભૂભ'ન 'જેવા ભાવન 'ચું' ભ્રાન 'સું' ભૂખ'ન 'જેવન 'સું' ભૂખ'ન 'સું' 'સું' ભૂખ'ન 'સું' 'સુ स्रायः संप्रुक्ति। स्वरः चे स्वरः स्वरं स्वरः स्वरः संप्रुक्ति स्वरः स तत्त्रुमानी'शुन्रुप्यावनान्याः हे'न्देव'ळेव'र्न्द्व'ब्रुप्याची'माशुन्यत्तुयान्नान्यावे अखेव'यञ्चान्यान्यां स्व ૡઽ૾ૺ૾ૡૢૼ૽૽૽૽ૺ૱ઽઌૢૺ૽ૡઌઽૢ૽ૻૢ૾ૢૢૢૼૼૡૹ૽૽ૢૻ૽ઌૹ૽૽ૹ૾ૢૹ૽ૻૹૢ૾ૢૼ૱ૹ૽ૻૹ૾૽ૹ૾૽ૹ૾૾ૹ૽૽ઌ૽ૺ૱ૹ૾૽૱ૹ૾૽૱૽ૹ૽૽૱ૹ૾૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽૱ૡ૾૽ૺઌૹ૽૽ૺઌ૱૽ૺ तवनः श्रेः र्षेद्यः अः गर्हेग्रयः यमः यो दः अः तवनः यसः र्षेद् स्त्रैः कैगः यसः स्रोतः रात्त्रम् । देः तयन् सः ययः महः यः कतः श्रीः यो तैः ૡઽ૾ૺ૾૽૱૽ૢ૱ૠૢૻૺૹ૾૽ૼૺૼૺૺૺૼૺૼૡૢૻૡૼઌૻૡ૽૽ૺ૱ૹૡૺૹઌૢૺૹ૾૽ઌ૿૽૱૽ઌ૽૽ૼૺ૾૱૾ૺઽૡૢૼ૱૱ૡઌૢ૱ઌૡૺ लुष्य:पुराःक्यायाः म्या <u> नुब्रह्म उत्रः बुन्य प्रतः हें हे मैश्रायम (१००५ विमा बर्म रह्न) "क्षेणस्य उत्रः मा सबर क्षेणः सन् रह्म। य</u> बेरासे एत्रे प्रा द्रम्यायर वें र्जूःचः (वें सेद्रा र्वेवा ग्रन्थः ५७।) वीशा "वार्डेद् सर्वस्था सम्रतः हेदः वा पी:सम्राप्ति विवासिदः स्थिताः स मिर्हेनाबायती ।" बेराक्षेनाबानवराणीः भूनबायानाबानाबानाबारा होता हो सामित्रा मिर्मा प्राप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्व त्वचःसरःचलगःभ्रेःर्देरःचःक्रुतःग्रुअशःभ्रेःर्शेरःतुग ।म्रारःयःठतःगीःधेःगुतिःअवतःअःधुःक्रेगःयनःधगायेतःतवचःर्तुवःतन् अस्त्रियः धुम् बेरः श्वमः श्वेतः त्रवनः ते अतः यरः द्वनः धुम् बेरः श्वमः श्वेतः त्रवनः दर्गेयः श्वेत्रः श्वेतः श्वः वर्गेदः त्रुः वर्गेदः देवः । नयु.चगोय.पर्क्यीन.ट.चक्रेष.परक्रीन। योशीट.पर्वेश.व्री.शहला.क्रेस.ट.घट.योन.पुरार्थ्याशानश

सह्या पश्ची

. दुरः भनः र्थेणश्रः शुः पर्गेन् रश्चेः नर्गे : बेरः र्थेन्शः यावशः र्थेन् र्थेन् रश्चेनः यावशः श्वेनः यावशः श्वेनः यावशः स्विनः यावशः स्विनः यावशः स्विनः यावशः स्विनः यावशः स्विनः यावशः स्विनः स्व त्यःर्सेम्बर्यः प्रदानित्यः स्वरः वितः स्वरः स ૽ૣૢૼ[੶]ઌૻૹ૾૽ૹ૽ૹૢઽૹઌ૽૾ૹ૽ઽૢ૱૽ૄૹૡૢૹૹૹૹ૱ઌૢ૱ઌ૱૱ૹૣ૽૱૱ઌ૽ૺ૾૽૱૽ૺ૱ઌઌૹઌ૱ઌ૽ૺૹ૽ૹ૽ૹૹ૽ૹૺ૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૽૽ૺૹૹૹ૽૽ૹઌઌઌ૽૽ૹઌઌઌ૽૽ૹઌઌઌ૽૽ૹૺઌ गशुरुषाने प्याना वित्र सुरायदी हुं मीया द्वें गया चरुत क्षेत्र या चैत्र मा मीया भद ग्री खुर दिन्य प्यया माहे या भद्र प्यानित स्था प्रान्ति । <u>बेरःगसुरसःगसुरस्रसःमुरसःठेगःसःगर्हेगसःठेगःस्रगःभ्रगःगःभ्रयसःसुःगःसवरःभरःवेःसेःर्भःवेःबेरःसःगसुरसःयस। दर्नः</u> ৻৻য়ৢ৴৻৻ৢ৻য়৾৾ৼ৻৻৻৻য়য়ঀ৾ৼ৻ৼ৾য়ঀ৽য়ঽঀ৾৽য়ৣ৽ৠয়য়৽৻৻৽য়৽য়৾৽য়ঀৼ৽ড়ৢ৾৽ড়ঀ৽ড়ৢ৾ৼয়ৼঢ়৽ড়য়৽৸ঀঢ়৽ঢ়ৼ৽ড়য়৽ড়ৢয়৽য়৽ৠয়য়য়৽৻৻৽ षेक्षायः क्षेत्रः याः योषाः स्वरः योषाः स्वरः 'त्रम्'राम्'रामुक्षात्रायक्षेत्रः (१०१६ पूर्वा मार्थः १८०) मुक्षःयानः स्वित्रायाः मार्याः अधारम् । विकासमार्थे ઽર્વોધઃસુઃવનઽઃર્બેઽધઃસઃર્ઠઽઃૹૈનાઃવરુઽઃૹ૾ૢૺઃૠૢવ૱ઃશુઃતવઽઃસુઽઃફે૱ઃનઽઃતર૾ઃસદઃભનાઃબેઢાઃતઘવઃઽવેૼઃૠદઃધઃરુઢ઼ૹ૽૾ઃએઃ . यद्रायमायोत्रायात्रयायम् पत्रवास्य पत्रीयदे । द्वाप्य एक्ष्य स्वाप्य प्रत्ये । स्वाप्य प्रत्य स्वाप्य प्रत्य અઘરઃજ્ઞેનાઃભુરઃગ્રુ | "કેરઃશ્રેઃαરેઃઽ્રા દ્રયાભાવરઃર્ભેઃકૂંઃવઃ (ર્ભેઃશ્રેર્ ર્ભેનાઃગ્રુદશ્રું નોશાઃનાર્કેરઃઅર્જઅશ્રાચઘરઃ हेत्रामाप्पे अन्नम् । किमा भून प्राणेमा अपमहिंगायायते। ।" बेस सी र्सु प्रायमार्मे प्राप्त स्थित से से से स्थान নশ.ধূমি

क्च्याहेदार्ये देव

ગુત્ર'ન=='ફ્રમ'ક્રુળ| (૧૯૨૫) દ્રવા'એવા'દવા'ર્સ્કુર'શે'ખદ'વશેવા'કેશ'મ'દ્દવા'દ્રશેલ'શેદ્ધ' વર્ષ્ય કેર્યા લેટના વેત્ર દ્રવાતા'કેત્ર'મફ્ર'વશ'લુદ'દ્રવાતા'શે'ધશ'ર્ફે' દ્રો (૧૦૦૧) લેવાત્ર'ન્યનુદ્રાર્થિત'દ્રવદ'નો'ત્રશેલ'ત્રફ્રદ'ર્સુ વદ્રેવત્ર'મદ્રે'નફ'ર્સુદ્ર'કેવા'વો'શેદ'રી વૃદ્ધ' સ્ત્ર'હિંદજાન્દર્વા હેવા'દ્રોને' હેવા'દ્રો' સુત્ર'વદ'!

प्रमुख'प्यचर'र्<u>र</u>्मेहो (४००५) श्चैष'योखेर-योङ्ग्य-पृष्ट्या क्षे:र्र्याम'र्रम्, श्चैष'ायर्।

यार्थ, संस्थित, प्रत्येत, श्रेय, श्र

अप्तर र्च र्द्ध्य विअय र्ह्स र्चेश (र्थ अर्।) तह्य हीर अर प्रीय अर्थ तहेते र्थ हुय प्रस्य प्राय स्वा हैय क्रिय क्र

Bowen, G. (2009). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method.

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तर्मुस्राम् मृत्युत्या सक्रम् (१०११) सुस्राह्मास्याग्री सारामीया पान्यान्य मिनाया महिनायते स्वीता सम्बन्धा समिनाय समिय

मुत्राग्रेण । केंशःर्श्वेन्'न्ये'मुत्रायरः।

র্মন:বেন্টে:মিন্টেশ্যন্ত্রা (২০০০) বান্ধান্তর অবার্শ্রিআরম্বরামের মার্ক্সিম-শ্রী স্ত্রীন:বাচ্চ্যাত্মিম-শ্রী মর্ব-শ্রেশ র্বি-শ্রিন্ধারী মিবান্ধান্তর আবার্শ্বর বিশ্বর বিশ্

इ.च.मैज.प्यायश्वात्रा (ज्ञु.मी) लु.मी.मु.सूज.सूच.चन्दी

हॅग'र्थे र्द्र'च'र्स्च 'सेब'र्र्नेब'र्र्चन (व्रॅं'बेर्न्।) नग'णेग'क्रेर'अर्थि'चर्सुब'र्यास्त्र्वें'स्व 'सेब'र्य 'सेब'र

न्याद्वरः चक्षुत्रद्वा (विंकोद्वा) धेः मेदिः चक्षद्वः याः आवशः यदिः त्वः क्वृत्वा कीः देयाः द्वे व्याद्वाः विवादः ।

र्केष'ग्रै'प्रज्ञूर'गृदश्व (18 cent) श्वे'र्वो'यगाद'प्रज्ञुरा प्रतुष'य'गा । (Vol. গ) श्वे'र्वो'र्धर'षर'केद'र्बे।

चक्रुद्र'यद्देद'र्द्देद'गुद'शुच'यदे'रेशे (र्थे'सेट्टा) ५थीथ'र्केना'र्दे'हे'यदेट'चये'श्चेद'चगाय'र्थे'र्थेये'र्केस'चन्द्री

হুরা (१৮৫২) র্বি-শ্রী-স্থা-স্ট্রের্ঝ-শার্ত্ত-ম্বা-অবেদ্র্গা-মবি-শ্রী-প্রি-শ্র-ম্ব-গার্থনা Tibetan Cultural Printing Press: র্বি-শার্ত-প্রথ-ম্বান্তনা ।

मञ्जाद्राप्तरायी (विजिन्ने) क्रुद्राश्चेरिक्षस्य पत्नवाप्तायस्य पति स्थित् । (Vol. 1) सूरस्य प्रदर्शने । (Vol. 1) सूरस्य प्रदर्शने । (Vol. 1) सूरस्य प्रदर्शने ।

य) शेर्खें दावी से मुश्राद्ये सुदाय रा

र्ह्म 'पबर' र्यया 'यूर 'पसूर 'यद्देर 'यर क्या (१०००) वें र 'ये पानी 'पर ह्यें र 'ये र सें अंदि 'सें अंदि र में

Ronald L. Jackson II, D. K., & Camara, S. (2007). What is Qualitative Research.

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चन्द्र-तः म्र्यान्त्र-स

इ.भेर.विज.भी (१७७०) ज्र. लुबा नर व्हेर कु. ज्रुप. क्रि.

सह्रह्म स्त्रित् सर्वत् सेन्। (स् सेन्।) कु देश या पत्तु कु केर प्याप में गर्था हूँ गर्था से स्वाप से स्वाप से

र्हेर-प्रामित्रप्रेय-प्रमेष-प्रमेष-प्रमेष (१०००) र्हेर-प्राम्स-प्रमेष-प्रमेष-प्रमेष-प्रमेष-प्रमेष-प्रमेष-प्रमेष

कः শ্বীদ: अर्केन: भवे: श्वें अः न्रम् जाः सुन्यः सिन्यः अर्नेनः पश्च्याः ।

यदे केंब कें सेंदा

त्यक्ष-द्वा विश्व प्रति क्ष्यात्व क्षयात्व क्ष

म्बर्कुम्मा अर्कुर्ना १ अयमा हेवा छे. मर्जुला याँ. मर्जुला म्. मेना १ वर्षा

~對打

ત્રલેન્સ ગ્રામસ ત્રિ. કર્માં સ્ત્રાન્સ કરાયું ત્ર કરા ક્રિયા માના કરાયું તરી ત્રામાં ત્રામ ત્રામાં ત્રામ ત્રામ ત્રામ ત્રામ ત્રામાં ત્રામા ત્રામા ત્રામા ત્રામા ત્રામાં ત્રામા ત્રામાં ત્રામાં ત્રામા ત્રામા ત્રામા ત્રામા ત

 \hat{g} : ત્રિંગ ત્રીને ત્ર્વા ત્રીના જીવા ત્રી ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપત્ર ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપ્ત ત્રાપત્ર ત્ર ત્રાપત્ર ત્રાપત્ર ત્રાપત્ર ત્રાપત્ર ત્રાપત્ર ત્રાપત્ર ત્રાપત્ર

अर्केन् प्यते कुच त्युद्य प्रदान प्रदेश के वार्ष विद्यान प्रदेश के विद्यान के विद्यान प्रदेश के विद्या

તાર્વર-તર્સ્તર વૃત્ત કૈયાન કૃતા અર્રના તા કૃષ્ઠ જે ત્વેરા ત્વેર ત્વેરા કૃષ્ણ વાર્ષા તાર્થર કૃષ્ણ વાર્ષા તાર્થર ત્વેરા કૃષ્ણ વાર્ષા તાર્થર તાર્થર તાર્થય તાર્થર તાર્થય તાર્થર તાર્થય તાર્થર તાર્થય તાર્

त्तु, मी.दी.दी. प्रचान मीश्रान्त अष्ट्रमी अप.देश. प्रचान मी. येट. हुय. त्यान मीश्रान्त मीश्रान मीश्रान मिश्रान मिश्रान

खुॱश्रे'क'सी्-'श्र'पन्'मी'वर'हेव'श्रे'गवर-'खुम'चेर'मव'र्मेश'र्द्ध'मीश'प्यन् 'ते'प्रुम्।

ૹદળ.વું.તર્યા જ્યુવસ.સું.ત્યાં ત્રાસ્ત્ર.સું.ત્યાં જ્યુવસ.સું.ત્યાં ત્રાસ્ત્ર.સું.ત્યાં ત્રાસ્ત્ર.સું.સું.ત્યાં ત્રાસ્ત્ર.સું.ત્યાં ત્રાસ્ત્ર.સું.સું.ત્યાં ત્રાસ્ત્ર.સું.ત્યાં ત્રાસ્ત્ર.સું.ત્યાં ત્રાસ્ત્ર.સું.ત્યાં ત્રાસ્તે.સું.ત્યાં ત્રાસ્ત્ર.સું.ત્યાં ત્રાસ્ત્ર.સુ

$$\begin{split} & \pi \hat{\mathbf{H}}^{-1} - \hat{\mathbf{H}}^{-1} \hat{\mathbf{H}}$$

યાલું તાલું તાલુ તાલું તાલુ

बर्केन्'यदे'चरुदःश्चेग्'न्ट'दर्गे'दग्डेब्

ૹાયદસાર્શ્વ, ટ્રાન્યાર્શ, જા. ત્રીકૃતા ત્રા ક્રીના ત્રા ક્રીના તારા ત્રી ત્રા ત્રા ત્રા ક્રીના ક્રીના ત્રા ક્રીના ક્રીના ક્રીના ત્રા ક્રીના ક્રીના ક્રીના ક્રીના ત્રા ક્રીના ક્રીના

અર્જેન્ ન્યતિઃ સ્રમઃ શ્રું પ્યાન્ડ ન્ડ સ્રમઃ શ્રું : મીશ્વઃ ન્ડ મીં તર્મા તરે મારા કરે ને તરા મીં તરા માં તરા મીં તરા મી તરા મીં તરા મી તરા મા મી તરા મ

ક્ષેન્યન્ય પૂર્વન્યું ત્રાન્યન્ય ત્રક્ષેત્ર ત્રાપ્ત્ર ત્રાન્યના ત્રું ત્રાન્ય ત્રાપ્ત્ર ત્રા ત્ર ત્રાપ્ત્ર ત્રા ત્ર ત્રાપ્ત્ર ત્રા ત્ર ત્રાપ્ત્ર ત્રાપ્ત્ર ત્રા ત્ર ત્રાપ્ત્ર ત્રા ત્રાપ્ત્ર ત્રાપ્ત

सर्केन् यदी प्यसः देसः न्देशः निहा

 $\hat{\xi}$, $\hat{\xi}$ ન્ત્રું ત્રાં ત્રાન્ડ ત્રિક્ષાનું ત્રાન્ડ ત્રન્તા ત્રું ત્રાન્ડ ત્રાનું ત્રાન્ડ ત્રાન્ડ ત્રાનું ત્રાને ત્રાન્ડ ત્રાનું ત્રાન્ડ ત્રાનું ત્રાને ત્રાન્ડ ત્રાનું ત્રાન્ડ ત્રાનું ત્રાન્ડ ત્રાનું ત્રાને ત્રાને ત્રાન્ડ ત્રાનું ત્રાન્ડ ત્રાને ત્રાન્ડ ત્રાને ત્રાન્ડ ત્રાને ત્ર

ત્રાં ક્રમાં છે. ત્રાં માત્રાને ત્રાં કેષ્ણ ત્રાં માત્રાને ત્રાં ક્રમાં છે. ત્રાં માત્રાને ત્રાં કેષ્ણ ત્રાં માત્રાને ત્રાં ક્રમાં છે. ત્રાં માત્રાને ત્રાં ક્રમાં છે. ત્રાં માત્રાને ત્રાં ક્રમાં કેષ્ણ ત્રાં માત્રાને ત્રાં ક્રમાં કેષ્ણ ત્રાં માત્રાને ત્રાં ક્રમાં ક્રમાં કેષ્ણ ત્રાં માત્રાને ત્રાં ક્રમાં કેષ્ણ ત્રાં માત્રાને ત્રાં ક્રમાં ક્રમા ક્રમાં ક્રમા ક્રમાં ક્રમા

યી. ત્રાષ્ટ્રને. ત્રાપ્તું. ક્રિસ. જ્વારા ક્રેસ. ત્રાપ્તું સામ. ત્રાપ્તું પ્રાપ્તું પ્રાપ્તું પ્રાપ્તું પ્રાપ્તું પ્રાપ્તું ક્રિસ. જ્વારા ત્રાપ્તું પ્રાપ્તું પ્રાપતું પ્રાપ્તું પ્રાપતું પ્રાપ્તું પ્રાપતું પ્રાપ્તું પ્રાપતું પ્રાપ્તું પ્રાપતું પ્રાપ્તું પ્રાપ્ત

अर्केन् प्यतै प्यसर्श्रेय प्रदेश सम्बन्ध प्रति प्रत

ૹ૾ૹૹ. ધુડુ. છું થે. ત્વાત્ કું સ્ત્રાત્વન કું . ત્વાન કું . ત્વાન

ચાળ-ત્રાફ્રેનાજા-ત્રન્ટને કું.લી.પ્રાન્ન = કું.સુંન્યલ્યાનું નાયત્રન્યું માં ત્રાન્યને કું.લેની માં ત્રાને કું.લેની માં ત્રાન્યને કું.લેની માં ત્રાને કું.લેની માં ત્

পর্টমা.শর্দ্ধী

લે. ત્યાં તાલું. તાલું. તાલું તાલુ

क्चुयःहेदः५येः व्री

सुत्र र्हें गुषारपायहुन्। (४००६) पूर्वित बिपायहिन स्थित Wayo, Wayo-Voices from the Past विसासु। प्रायायहुना बिपायहुना हो

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विस्यानुः थे खुः सुवाः र्सेवाः विद्यान्य विद्यान्य विद्यान्य विद्यान्य विद्यान्य विद्यान्य विद्यान्य विद्यान्य

ষ্ট্র-ইন্-র্ষ্ট্র্রিঅ'ঝ

ढ़ऀॸॱय़ढ़ॕ॔ॴॱॿॖऀॱॸड़ॖॸॱॸ्॔ॺऻॸग़ॖ॔ॸॱॾॣॱय़ॸऀॱॻऻढ़ऻॻॴॱऄॗॸॱॾॣ॓॔ॸॱॺॻऻॱॺॸॱऄॣ॔ॸॱॻॖ॓ॸ॔ॻॏढ़ॸॴॱय़ऀॱॻऻज़॔ॴज़ॴ दरः हुआः ग्रांरः प्रत्वीः श्राकाः प्रकारम् । व्याकाः विकार्यः प्रते । विकार्यः प्रते । विकार्यः विकारम् । विकार ୩ୡ୕୲୰୶ୡ୕ୣ୵୲୵ୣୖ୵୰୷୶ୣୠ୳ୠୄୢ୕୵ୖୣ୵୲ଊ୕୵୕୶୷୵୷୶ଽଌ୕୕୴୕ୡ୵୕୴୵ୢ୵୵ୣ୕୕ୡ୵ଌ୕ୡ୵୵ୣୖ୵୴ୖୄଌ୕୕୴ୄଊୢ୕୷୷୶୳୳ ट्रे.यचरस.लब.ब.यूर्य.लीब.चध्य.मु.योषका.घचका.जी.र्योर.ही.मु.च. चठतः<u>भ</u>्चेनाःमुचःघरसः दरःनार्सेलः।वःसुलःचतेः देसःय। मान्नतः, परः द्रगुरः भ्रुः तुः नार्सेलः ૹૹૄ્ટૺ.ૡ૾ૺઌ.ઌઌૢ_ૺ૮ૺઌૣૢૣૢૢઌ.ઌૡૣ૿.ઌૢૢૢૢૺ૱ઌઌ.ઌૣઌૺૺૺ૾ૹ૽ૼૺ૾ઌૹૺ.ઌઌ૾ૺ.ઌ૱૾ૢ૾ૺઌૢૢ_ૺઌ૱ઌૡ૿ૺૺૺૺૺૺૺ૾૱ઌૢ૱૱ઌૡૺૺ चतिः (पर: ५ ग् नः भ्रुं न भ्रेतः भ्रेः भेः भेः नेंद्रं ५ नः। गलतः पप: गप्पुर्यः ग्रेः प्रमानः में व्यान्ति । य सून् नसू यो त त्यन् नते । यन न्या न सून् म्या मर्थे या अर्केन् न्यो क नेव न सी अर्थ न से न्या । यस न सी सी सी स ૡૢૺઌ੶ૡૢ੶૬ૹૄઽ૽ૹૣ૽ઽ૾ૹ૾ૼ૱ઌ૱૾૽ૼ૱ૹ૽૽ૢ૽ૡૢઽૻ૱ૡ૽૽ૺૹ૽ૹ૽ૹ૽ૹ૽ૹ૱૱૱૽૽ૼ૱ૢઌ૱૽ૡ૽૽૱ૡ૱૽ૡૼ૱ মঝা

गर्डेंड्रा र्गुरःक्ष्री तें:रेगुरःक्क्षण वर्द्धुरःष्ट्रश्चा गर्स्रवःवर्षेत्रःचा वरुतःक्ष्मेगःक्वरःघा वर्धुरःचा

स्ताम. खुय: च्या विक्ता खुय: च्या विक्या खुय: च्या क्ष्या क्ष्या क्ष्या क्ष्या क्ष्या क्ष्या क्ष्या क्ष्या क्षया क्ष्या क्ष्या

दे.जश्च महेष्ट, हुं. ज्वापाद हुं चारा देते देते देते देते देता त्या स्थाप प्रमुख्य प्रमुख्य

ययर.धु.लुबा

<u> </u> ईब:मुब:पश्चर:बेच|

५ मुंद्र भ्रुं तद्दे तद्दु मृद्य तदे म्यू अर्थे म्यू व्यव्य क्षेत्र स्था विषय क्षेत्र स्था क्षेत्र स्या क्षेत्र स्था क्षेत

ભૂગાયમ: તું Reynolds (n.d, p.33) શૈયા મેં તું શૈયા મેં તું શૈયા માં તું પ્રાથમ માં તું પ્રાથમ

ગાલાના સુંત્રાસ્ત્રાસ્ત્રાના સુંત્રાસ્ત્રાના સુંત્રાના સુંત્રાના સુંત્રાસ્ત્રાના સુંત્રાસ્ત્રાસ્ત્રાના સુંત્રાસ્ત્રાસ્ત્રાસ્ત્રાસ્ત્રાના સુંત્રાસ્ત્રાસ

ત્વર્ડ.શ્રૅળ.તર્યાં (ત્વર.શ્રે.ક્રે.સનસ.રનર.ખ્.ક્રેશ.નર્યા.શ્રુંશ.૧૨.૧.ક્રેશ.નર્યા.સ્ત્ર.સ્તર.શ્રે.માં.સ્ત્ર.સ્ત્ર.સંત્ય.સંત્ર.સંત્ય.સંત્ર.સંત્ર.સંત્ર.સંત્ર.સંત્ર.સંત્ર.સંત્ર.સંત્ર.સંત્ર.સંત્ર.સંત

र्गीर.केंपु.पर्वैर.पिरश्रा

लुब्र-तथा।

कुब्र-तथा।

कुब्र-तथा।

कुब्र-तथा।

कुष्य-तथा।

कुष्

નૃ ત્યું- ત્યું- ત્યું- ત્યું ત્યુ

[ः] क्र्य-दुश्वःतुःत्वन् नः इवः नृतानः भ्रः ने न्त्वः संगीयः स्वयः स्व्याः स्वयः प्रमात्वः स्वयः निष्यः स्वयः स्व इक्ष्यः नुश्वः त्वाः विष्यः स्वयः स्वय

⁵ ผม पर्ये (द्रायम द्राप्त का का प्रमुद्ध के प्रमुद्ध के द्रा

⁶ ผลาฺษุสฺาริาล์ารุราจิาฮสุ

ਭુમ:લે.વધુ.સ્રેનબ.કે.ધૂ.કે.મીન:મૈળ.ફીશ.ને.કે.મોશેન્સ.ધેમી કિ.ધૂ.કે.મીન:મૈળ.ફીન.મજાવેષી જિમ્.મોથના.શુલુ.સૈનન્ય.નેન્યમૂથ.લે.ફીથ.મોથન. કિ.ધૂ.કે.મીન:મૈળ.ન.લે.મેજથ.મોથન. જિલ્લામાં જુવે.સેન્યસ્ટર્શ કિ.વં.કુંથ.મોથન.

|गા#:गાધુ:વોનાય:ર્ત્યુર:૧૬૧ |ઐતૈ:વાદ્યુય:વર:તર્શે:વ:કેંત્ય | |ઐ:વાર્યર:વતિ:વર્તિ;ય:ર્બેન| |વશ્વ-વર્દ્ધર:વી:વાર્તેન્:ય:ર્બેન્| |ભૂ:ગ્રેસ:સુર:ન્શ્ર-૧૨૬વા:વર્કેઅ:વવન્:ત્રે:કેવા:વય્યએન્| |વ્યવ:&:અન્વ:ન્ર-અનુર:વય્ય:એન્| |દ:ત્રે:એતૈ:વાદ્યુય:વર્સ્ય:વર્શે:વર્શે! ગ્રેસ:વર્શે! ગ્રેસ્યઅ:ન્:ગા#:વાદ્યુ:વોનાય:ગ્રીઅ:ને

ययर् खुःबुगा

त्तर्यस्त्रीयः स्त्रीयः स्त्र

⁷ तबुःश्वःत्रम् ग्रामः प्राम् प्रतः क्रुयः श्वेत्रः प्रवेतः करः सुः र्वेतः अतः स्था विश्वः स्थाः प्रामः स्थाः प्रवेतः स्थाः स्थाः स्थाः प्रवेतः स्थाः स्थ

[॰] करःसुर 'गुर्डे' भै'रे 'घर' ।यर 'चगाय' ने 'ख'र्र ग' बर्र पहर 'ब्रुग्य' ने 'प्रेर्भेय' पत्ने द'द' पर्वे 'भैदे' कर 'दरे 'तु 'र्मे स' खेदा

क्षात्रात्रीक्षाः क्षेत्रात्री तीरः क्रिणः क्षीत्रकात्रातुः क्षेत्रात्र ते त्यात्र त्यात्य त्यात्र त्यात्य त्यात्र त्यात्य त

५ गु८ ख़ुते ग्रेंब्य अर्के ५ ख़ु देश घ ५ ८ प ठत ख़ुवा सुन घटला

বহুব:শ্বীমা:শ্বীব:ন্বহুখা

२ मुद्दः मुद्दः मुद्दं त्या स्वर्यः प्रदे द्या त्यन् द्या क्षेत्रः त्या विद्या स्वर्यः प्रदे त्या स्वर्यः प्रदे त्या स्वरं त्या स्

चल्यानालुष्यःत्रम्।

चल्यानालुष्यःव्यानाल्यः।

चल्यानालुष्यःव्यानाल्यः।

चल्यानालुष्यःव्यानाल्यः।

चल्यानालुष्यः।

चल्यानालुष्यः।

चल्यानालुष्यः।

चल्यानाल्यः।

चल्यानालुष्यः।

चल्यानाल्यः।

चल्यान्यः।

चल्यानाल्यः।

चल्यान्यः।

चल्यान्

याह्रमाह्रमाहरूपायः तथाः चित्रः स्थाः विच्यः स्थाः विच्यः स्थाः स्याः स्थाः स्याः स्थाः स



<u>र्गीट झेतु गर्हेर थ</u>ा

মর্কুই.শবরশা

ત્રી.વે.સ્ત્રના શ્રુમ.લેમાં હામ ત્રા.લેમાં સાથે તે ત્રા.લે કેમાં સમત્રને ત્રા.લેમાં ત્રા.લેમાં સાથે ત્રા.લેમાં સ્થિયાની સ્થિયાની

ह्र्यश्लाष्ट्रं न्यान्त्रं त्यान्त्रं त्यान्त्यं त्यान्त्रं त्यान्त्यं त्यान्यं त्यान्यः त्यान्त्यः त्यान्त्यं त्याच्यान्त्यं त्याच्यान्यं त्याच्याः त्याच्यान्त्यः





प्त.श्रमा.मा३प्र.भ्रीट.झ्यान्त्रा

ষন্ম:শ্ৰী:হ:ক্ৰমা

ঀ৴৻ঀৠ৻৸য়য়৻য়য়৻য়য়৻য়ৢ৻৸য়৻ড়য়৻

चलुष दियां सूर्या प्राप्त स्वाप्त प्राप्त स्वाप्त स्व

५में य छोत्र यश्

झ.बार्श्रज.बी.द्रश्रमा

लै.प्रचील्यांस्ट्रायंत्राक्षांस्यचेटाः वृश्चेष्ठं तरिचा।
लै.प्रचील्यांस्ट्रायंत्राक्षांस्यचेटाः वृश्चेष्ठं तरिचा।
लै.प्रचील्यांस्ट्रायंत्राक्षांस्यचेटाः वृश्चेष्ठं तरिचा।
लै.प्रचील्यांस्ट्रायंत्राक्षांस्यचेटाः वृश्चेष्ठं विकास्यक्षयं चलेल्याल्यं त्राचील्यांस्य स्थान्य स्थान्य





<u>२ गुरःभ्रुः गर्सेत्यायः सुत्यः नत्ये हिसः सरः सः गोः सर्वेरः सूरः ।</u>

५ गुरः भेदः भरः भैरः गुरः कैंगशः गैः घरः धरः तस्रुरः पा

ट्टर्स, प्टे. ट्रिस, तीय. क्. कू. ट्र. चाहुस, जी. की. चाहुस, चा



<u>ॿॖ</u>ऀॴॱऄ॔ॴॱॺॎॸॱॸॖॹॖॸॷॸॷॴॖऒ॔ॸ॔ॱय़ॱॺॖ॔ॴॸढ़ॎऀॱॺऻऄ॔ॸॱॷॸॱ।

५ गुरःभ्रुःगर्बेलः।वःसुलः नतेः ५ वेषिकः यः ५ रः ५ क्षेणकः सुला

लवा.क्ट्रचाकाव.युंची श्रुचा.सूं.युंची क्षेत्र.सूं.सूंचा.सी.वा.युंची वका.वायका.चयाचा.युं.ला.सूंचाका.तुंचे स्वा.सूंचा.चश्ची.चश्

क्वियःश्रॅब्र्स्ञुर।

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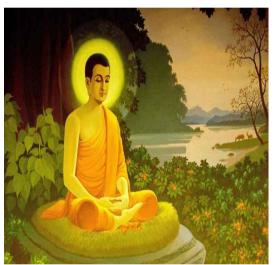
गर्डरःश्चर्यामध्याक्षेर्यराम्बुग्रम्रर्भ

षक्रु.श्रुषाः हे हि

वरःतुःगर्डरःश्चृतैःर्देदःचम्दःयःय।

गद्दराष्ट्री व्यव्यात्रिः महित्राष्ट्री व्यव्यात्रिः महित्राष्ट्री व्यव्यात्रिः महित्राष्ट्री व्यव्यात्रिः व्य





५८:यःगदशःग्रीःगर्डरःश्चा

ॱॾॖ॓ॱॹ॓तिःॱॹॖॕॺॱय़ॱॴॸॴॱक़ॗॴॱॻऄ॔ॴॴढ़ॸॱॿॖॏऻऻॿॴॱॺॴॴढ़ॸॱख़ॗ॓ॸऻज़ॕॴॸॱॴॸॱॴॹऀॸॴऻ ॱॿ॓ॱॹ॓ढ़ॎॱफ़॔ॹॱय़ॱॴॸॴॱक़ॗॴॱॻऄ॔ॴॱऄढ़ज़ॹॖऻऻॿॎॴॱॺॴॱॴड़॔ॸॱॺॗ॔ॱॸऻ॔ॺ॔ॸॱॵड़ॸॵॎऻ

सं. प्रथम ने त्याप न व्याप ने त्याप ने त





स्त्रप्तः स्वायः स्कृत्यायः स्कृत्यायः प्राययः नाययः स्कृत्यायः स्कृत्यायः स्कृत्यायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्व स्वायः स्वायः स्कृत्यायः स्कृत्यायः प्राययः नाययः स्वायः स्कृत्यायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स











ग्रिश्चन्यःम्बिश्चःग्रीःम्बर्दनःह्या

र्श्वेषअः योषः द्वेषः यः अरः स्वाकः स्वीदः स्वादः स्वीकः । विष्यः योष्यरः भ्रोः योषः स्वादः स्वादः स्वादः स्वा भ्रुष्यः स्वादः स्वादः स्वावः स्वादः स्वावः स्वादः स्वादः स्वादः स्वादः स्वादः स्वादः स्वादः स्वादः स्वादः स्व







મ્યું.ળ.પાક્ટ.લજા.છે.ત.લજૂટો.મેં ત્રે ત્રાજીટો મું.ળ.પાક્ટ.લજા.પોલય.ત્રે પ્રાયાન મું. ત્રામાં મું.ળ.પાક્ટ.લજા.પોલય.ત્રે પ્રાયાન મું. ત્રામાં મું.ળ.પાક્ટ.લજા.પોલય.ત્રે પ્રાયાન મું. ત્ર





यश्रिस्रामः श्रिक्षः ग्रीः यार्चरः ह्या

न्द्रभः सं द्वः प्रकाशः स्वाधः स्वधः स्वाधः स्वाधः स्वाधः स्वाधः स्वाधः स्वाधः स्वाधः स्वाधः स्वाधः

यीथ.क्रीश.क्येच.धे.चर्षीय.च.लुथी । श्र.ताद्य.ट्रेच.त.ज्ञेच्य.त्युंटे.चलुथी । स्र.त्य.क्षेच्य.ट्रेच्य.त्युंची । स्राच्य.क्षेचीश.ट्रेच्य.ज्ञेच्या.त्यो ।





বল্লীমান্যানী শার্থ সন্থ্রা

য়ৢॱॺॱॵॸॱॱॺ॓ॸॺॱॸॣॕॺॱॺॖऀॱक़ॹॖॱज़ॿ॓ॴ॒ऻॻऻॺॸॱॸॣॕॺॱफ़ॱॻऻॺॴॱक़ॖॖॻऻॱॺॖऀॱॵॸॱॸऀॱढ़ॣ॔ॸॱऻॎ ॹॖ







<u>য়৸৻৸৴য়ৢ৸</u>ঽৼয়ৢ

प्रथमः स्वीत्रात्मः साम्यात्मे स्वात्त्रः स्वेत्रः स्वेत्रः स्वेतः स्वेतः स्वेतः स्वेतः स्वेतः स्वेतः स्वेतः स स्वायः स्वायः साम्यात्मे साम्यात्मे स्वायः स्वेतः स्वेतः स्वेतः स्वेतः स्वेतः स्वेतः स्वेतः स्वेतः स्वेतः स्व







चार्चरःस्रुःसेन्दःमदेःचान्ननः ५८:स्रेःम्स्रम्भःत। ।गानः श्रीसःलेनःमत्त्रः विदःस्रुः नदेः नद्भः नद्भः । । ।गानः श्रीसः । ।





गक्षेत्रस्य क्रियाम्य स्य

गशुक्षःयः द्यो इःगल्द र्देदः दुः चर्के या

याद्र-(बुट-र्यान्तरःक्र्य-इययःक्ष्र्यन्यतः न्योया । व्याःक्ष्यः वर्षे त्ययः व्यव्यः वर्षः क्ष्यः वर्षः व्यान्य वर्षः विदः विदः न्यान्यतः क्ष्यः इययः क्ष्यया । वर्षः वियः वियः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्ष

क्च्यःहेदःन्येःकःन्न्यः देग्याः श्रीःर्घे।

- १ चनेसम्पर्तः श्वेराधेना ईसम्पर्धाः सर्वेतार्थः स्वास्त्रास्त्रास्त्रा
- र् ने श्वर-ह्रेर-जम्भूता र्ड्स-य-त्र-मावद-र्यः र्व्याप्तिममः र्स्तुः व्याप्तिममः स्वाप्तिमा

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ロ発的な.泊と」

યાત્રા. મુશ્યા. પ્રતા બીપવા. શ્રી. યુત્રા. ત્યાં શ્રી. શ્રી. શ્રી. યાત્રા. શ્રી. યાત્રા. યાત

बनॱॲंतिॱर्ने द'खु'तहुग्।र्कुष'कु'स्रद'स्रूष'यते' स्रव'लेश द्यु'नलुग्रश्र्रा

षक्रुंश्चेशर्ड्रहो

र्वेण'स्रर'न्गे'च'ग्लुर'ग्री'र्नेब'श्याचर'तु'न्गे'च'गलुर'गी'र्नेब'श्या

अर्केन्याचर्हेन्यान्याच्छ्यायरान्याच्छताचामाञ्जेषायय। न्याचेर्यायर्हेन्यराचर्हेन्याची

देन्द्रिन्द्रिन्द्रेस्यायान्त्र्रेत्यायान्त्रेत्यायाः । विष्याण्णीय्येत्यायान्त्रेत्याः वित्रः प्राप्ति । विष्याणीयात्रेत्यायाः वित्रः प्राप्ति । विष्यः । विष्यः प्राप्ति । विष्यः । विष्यः प्राप्ति । विष्यः ।

नरःरु:५मो:नःमाबुरःमी:र्देदःया

५८-च्या अञ्चलकी मृति त्युः सदस्य कुषा की यो भेषा ५८ क्या सु व्यव प्याप्ती

ব্র-শ্লব্রজান্তী স্ক্রিশ্বরাধ্য প্রত্য বর্ত্তর ব্যাস্ত্রী

इसः हैंग'र्र्र्र्य'क्षेत्र'सेस्सः ग्री:कुषः र्ये'स्। |यद्र'तकुर'यहगादाहगातुः स्याहेंग'गुद्र'व्यायदे। |

माष्ट्रैसंप्या सेससंस्वरमा रातुःसेससंग्रीः र्हेसंकुर् प्वरेगानेमासंकुर प्राप्तिसाय स्वरास्था स्वरास्य स्वरास्था स्व

क्रुंद्रिअ:चल्वेद:र्नु:खुंद्र्या क्रुंच्या क्रुंच्या क्रुंच्या क्रुंच्या चल्वेद:प्राप्त क्रुंच्या चल्वेद:प्राप्त क्रुंच्या क्

ख्रिया प्रमास्त्र स्थान्य मित्र स्थान्य स्थान

ત્વાના સુત્રાના ત્રુપાના સુત્રાના સુત્રાના સુંસાળ ત્રાના સુંસાળ ત્રુપાના સુંસાળ ત્રુપાન સુંસા સુંસાળ ત્રુપાના સુંસાળ ત્રુપાન

चर्डिशक्षाक्षित्राचित्रक्षित्रः क्षेत्रः कष्णेत्रः कष्णेत्रः

বম্প্রবশ্যী:ঠিশৃশাধ্য:বড্স্ বর্

मुखुअप्य बेबक्यम्परमिकासुव्यम्मरावादावाद्वीवाकार्द्धवासुद्धरासुद्वाप्यस्व

र्के बर्चेटबर उत् : श्री : भीत्र : श्री का निष्य : श्री दि : मिन्ने मात्र : श्री निष्य : मिन्ने स्वयः मित्र : मिन्ने स्वयः मित्र : स्वयः सित्र : सित्र :

ব্ৰ-শ্লব্ৰথন্ট্ৰীক্টশ্ৰথন্থ্যবন্ত্ৰ-মন্ত্ৰী

ૡ૬૫ા-બેશ-કુ.૧૫નીશ-કુ.ભુ.ત્યુત્પ-ત્ય-દ્વશ્ચનશા ફિંક-ત્યુ-પ્રોશ-ત્રુ-કુ.૧૫નુ-પ્રોય-પ્રોય-પ્રોય-પ્રોય-પ્રાય-પ્રાય - ત્રુપ્તાય-બેન-ફુ.૧૫નુ-ત્રુપ્તુ-ત્રુપ્તુ-પ્રોય-પ્રોય-પ્રાય-પ્રાયય-પ્રાયય-પ્રાયય-પ્રાયય-પ્રાયય-પ્રાયય-પ્રાયય-પ

चित्रम्। मृतिते मृत्रम् त्युम्य अर्थे र चित्र श्वे र पु र में मृत्ये विषय मुख्य स्थाने व स्थान स

देवायः बेदः श्रे त्यदे 'स्युयः इतः द्वाः वियायः बेदः श्रे दे 'स्युयः क्षेत्र। वियायः बेदः श्रे त्यदे 'स्युयः क्षेत्रः स्युयः कष्यः स्युयः स्युयः कष्यः स्युयः स्युयः स्युयः स्युयः स्युयः स्युयः स्युयः स्युयः स्युयः स्य

নম্প্রনশান্তী:ঠিল্মান্ড্র'নডব্'বী

र्म्यात्वह्रियः भ्रुष्टेश्वात्रायदे त्यात्रेश्वः स्वात्वात्व स्वात्वात्व स्वात्व स्वात्व

घ:सर:५गे:घ:सह्य:गे:र्नेद:या

द्यागायाः श्रीत्रायस्य स्वीत् स्वात्त्र स्वात्त

क्युयः हेव

- या. ह्रबान्तःकृषःत्र्युःक्ष्यः क्रिटःधःया
- वः व्रेगःकेदःर्यदेःकेदः र्श्वेदःदह्या
- गः वेगःयःकेदःर्येदेःर्केशः सर्देदःयःगुदःयहुशः
- ८। विग्'यःकेत्'र्येते'र्केशः ५वु'सदी'र्सूर।

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