Local Deities, Lamas, and Festivals: Experiencing the Sentient Beings of Manang Valley, Nepal

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Introduction

In October 2023, I spent one week in Manang Valley, Nepal. Locals call upper Manang "Nyeshang"[1] after the Tibetan land of Shang, where their ancestors migrated from hundreds of years ago (Messerschmidt, Gurung, and Klatzel 2004). As one of many communities of Himalayan peoples heavily influenced by Tibetan culture, Nyeshangpa[2] express Tibetan Buddhism and culture in their daily lives and experiences of the landscape.

As a study-abroad college student from the United States seeking to learn from Tibetan and Himalayan people, I took notes on conversations with residents through both structured and unstructured interviews and engaged in participant observation alongside my local co-researchers and friends. In this work, I present what people shared with me about their experiences, weaving together strands of knowledge I find most relevant.

I present an introduction to the importance of various spirits and local deities to Tibetan and Himalayan culture by describing the diverse meanings of certain places in Manang. I include several stories of illness and misfortune attributed to human pollution in places where spirits dwell. I examine memories of a previously celebrated local festival and a current Buddhist prayer service in response to a Nepali Hindu festival. I explore how people use smoke, blood, and other offerings to maintain good relations with spirits and local deities. These stories, both ancient and modern, illustrate the impermanence of culture and religion, as well as how landscapes become places of spiritual significance.

As you read, I invite you to notice how people experience the landscape from various points of view, rooted in both everyday experience and passed-down tradition.

[1] Manang is a district in Nepal. In this paper, I refer to 'Nyeshang' and 'upper Manang' as interchangeable terms. I refer to the village from which the district and valley names are derived as 'Manang village'. Lower Manang is downriver, toward the southeast of upper Manang.

[2] 'Nyeshangpa' refers to people from Nyeshang.

Consider the process of continuity and change. Manang is a place of many meanings —far more than I can capture in this brief publication. I extend my gratitude to my Nyeshangpa hosts and co- researchers for teaching me about their home. Any mistakes are my own.

Local Deities

In an anthropological text called *Spirits in a Material World: The Mythological Origin and Evolution of Worldly Gods in Tibet*, author Cornelia Cooley describes the vast variety of invisible spirits that dwell in mountains, rocks, trees, lakes, and "just about any conceivable object" according to both the Bön and Buddhist religious traditions of Tibet (Cooley n.d., 1). These spirits include gods, demigods, hungry-ghosts, animals, and hell beings who live within the cyclic existence of samsara (depicted on the next page). This means that, like human beings, these spirits are considered worldly beings unlike the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who have reached a high level of spiritual attainment (Cooley n.d., 1) (Tori 2016, 22).

Certain spirits, or local deities, have a long history with Buddhist masters such as Buddha Shakyamuni and Padmasambhava, who Tibetan Buddhists revere as profound teachers. Padmasambhava and subsequent Buddhist masters instilled the drive to work toward freedom from cyclic existence to end the suffering of all sentient beings in specific local deities (Cooley n.d.). Thus, many local deities are Buddhist practitioners or protectors of Buddhism.

Image 1. This is the Wheel of Life painted at Manang village Gompa. It shows the six types of sentient beings including gods, demigods, humans, animals, hungry-ghosts, and hell-beings that exist within cyclic existence or samsara. It shows how beings' ignorant actions produce birth, death, and rebirth. It is used for Buddhist teachings. Photo by author.

In practice, people can make offerings to these Buddhist, dharma-protecting local deities or regular, mundane spirits through juniper incense offerings called *sang* and vocalized prayers that might ask for fulfillment of worldly desires like wealth, health, and protection from famine, floods, or other dangers (Cooley n.d., 32). Some very skilled Buddhist practitioners can even make local deities into protector spirits of *Gompa*, or monasteries.

At Braka Gompa in Manang, I spoke with the keeper of the monastery who told me that every day, he burns juniper leaves for the local deities living in and around the monastery. It is especially powerful to offer smoke on the eighth, tenth, fifteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirtieth days of the Tibetan lunar calendar. He described the fifteenth, the full moon, as the most auspicious or beneficial (Interview with Karma Chiling Gurung on 10/25/23). Many Himalayan and Tibetan people make incense offerings to spirits and local deities while praying for the well being of all sentient beings. These offerings produce good karma or merit.

Nyeshangpa Experiencing *Lu* and Other Local Deities

One type of local deity is called *lu* in Tibetan (Sanskrit: *nāga*). They are snake-like and invisible to the human eye. If one makes offerings to them, they offer benefits such as wealth, good weather, or protection from harm. However, if one pollutes their space, one will come down with a sickness or be the victim of some other negative event. As we hiked around Nyeshang Valley, my friends Karma Wangyal and Jamyang Gurung told me every time we walked past a tree that people would likely consider a *lu* dwelling place. From my experience on these walks through the valley, they are usually large juniper trees or other especially pristine locations.[3] Here are some photographic examples:

[3] In many parts of Tibet and the Himalayas, the ground floor of houses contain rocks where *lu* dwell, so it is not only 'natural' features like trees or springs that house *lu* spirits.

Image 2. The tree on the left is near Braka Gompa. The caretaker of this monastery told me that every monastery has *lu* near it, so they burn juniper leaves as an offering every morning (Interview with Karma Chiling Gurung on 10/25/23). Photos by author.

I met Jamyang and Karma through the study abroad program SIT Nepal: Tibetan and Himalayan Peoples. They were formally tasked with assisting me and ten fellow students to learn about Manang, though we quickly moved beyond the formality through conversation, hiking, eating, and drinking. After sharing a hearty gallon of home-brewed *chang*[4] and beating their new American friends 5 to 4 in a backyard football match, Karma and Jamyang were more than willing to help me learn more about *lu* spirits. By sharing their experiences and translating interviews with community members, they helped me gather data during my visit to the valley.

During the 2020 Euro World Cup that took place in the summer of 2021, several young men gathered in a house at the center of Manang village to watch the football match. Having played a four-on-four match with some Nyeshangpa boys myself, I know they are big fans of the sport. In the middle of the Euro Cup game, after relieving himself outside the house, one 18-year-old boy was sure to return as quickly as possible so that he would not miss more than a minute of the match. Unfortunately for him, he urinated near the large juniper tree that is the home of a *lu* spirit. As a result, he developed a mouth infection and was unable to enjoy the mutton dinner at the boys' Euro Cup Final watch party a few

[4] '*Chang*' is an alcoholic beverage made from fermented barley or rice.

days later (Interview with Karma Wangyal on 10/23/23).

Image 3. This is the tree where the unfortunate 18-year-old urinated. It is also where Manang village residents meet on horseback before heading to the annual horse race festival, and it is the home of a *lu* spirit. Photo by author.

During my week of research in Manang Valley, this was only one of the stories I heard of illness that people experienced because they "disturbed" the place where *lu* live (Interview with Karma Wangyal 10/23/23). In all the interviews I conducted about *lu* in Nyeshang, my interlocutors attributed the most likely cause of the illness, or other negative experience, to their mistreatment of certain landscape features like large trees or lakes. The accumulation of many negative experiences following pollution of these specific spaces is what leads people to know that they are *lu* spirit places.

My friend Jamyang reported that he once tied his horse around a large juniper tree after a morning ride. After untying his horse and returning home in the evening, he noticed rashes all over his body. He told his mom, and she identified the rash as the result of a *lu*. The next day, his mom went to that same juniper tree and offered *sang* incense with *sur*, which is a mixture of ghee, butter, sugar, *tsampa*,[5] and sometimes honey (Interview with Karma Chiling Gurung on 10/25/23). After three to four days, Jamyang's rash healed (Interview with Jamyang Gurung 10/25/23).

[5] Tsampa is roasted barley flour, a staple of Tibetan and Himalayan cuisine.

In the northern region of Manang lies a village called Nar. Sangmo Choden went with her friend to collect dried cow dung, a common fuel gathered in preparation for winter. About one hour from Nar, her friend had to pee and went near the river to do her business. Later that day, they returned to the village, and Sangmo's friend came down with a high fever and cough. They brought her to one of the local leaders, a Buddhist Lama. He told the family that a *lu* had "caught" her. The girl's family and the Lama then went to the place where she peed by the river and burned sang and sur while saying prayers (*puja*[6]). Within one hour, Sangmo's friend began to feel better (Interview with Sangmo Choden 10/24/23).

In each of these three stories, young people from Manang get sick after polluting a water source or old tree, and their elders ascribe the disease to the disturbance of the *lu*, or the *lu*'s act of *nyoba,* meaning "look upon" (Interview with Pasang Norbu on 10/25/23). In each case, the person's sickness results from doing something that makes a clean place dirty. I tell these stories to show that people believe in the existence of local deities such as *lu* because of the accumulation of direct experience of such events happening. The social relationships between and among human and other-than-human beings demand attention. Tantric practitioners have developed the technology of incense and other offering ceremonies to respond to humans' experiences of local deities hurting or disturbing them. To prevent local deities from disrupting human life, people recognize specific locations where *lu* reside, allowing them to respect the inter-being relationship by not polluting the space through chopping, urination, or other sorts of disturbance.

There is another type of local deity called *lha* which can be translated as "gods." *Lha* usually live near the tops of mountains or in the sky (Cooley n.d., 15). Although the people who told me the next story consider the deity to be a *lu*, another person I interviewed said it is also possible that this deity could have been a *lha*.

At over 15,000 feet elevation, there are no trees around Ice Lake, only bushes. However, one elder at Potso Gompa told me that, a long time ago, he saw a vision of upright juniper trees in the reflection of Ice Lake (Interview with Sonam Tsering and Kunga at Potso Gompa on 10/25/23). Some people I

[6] '*Puja*' is a Nepali word that refers to religious ceremonies. My interlocutors used the word as a general term, referring to diverse ceremonies as *puja*.

interviewed told me that others had seen villages, complete with monks and buildings, and, on a separate occasion, cut wood arranged in stacked patterns in the reflections on the lake. One elder said that it is unlikely one could see images in the lake anymore because there are lots of tourists who swim in the lake (Interview with Pasang Norbu on 10/25/23). I interpret that he was referring to the spiritual pollution that swimming in the lake causes, rather than the physical turbulence of swimming in the water.

However, it is not just tourists who swim in the lake. Seven boys and a dog from Manang went to Ice Lake for a camping trip while home from their schools in the capital city of Kathmandu due to COVID-19 in 2020.[7] On the four-hour walk to the lake, they came across a yak that was killed by a snow leopard. Upon reaching the lake, they met some local nomads and told them about their downed yak, resulting in multiple days of feasting for the seven boys. In addition to trading *dri*[8] milk for canned food, the nomads offered the boys a share of yak meat. Over the next 7 days, the boys partied and collected shrubs near the lake to fuel their fires.

Despite breaking other customary rules about keeping the lake clean of parties and pollutants, for six days they did not swim in the lake because of fear derived from the stories of its sacredness. However, on the sixth day, the son of the local nomads told them he had gone swimming in the lake before, and they could probably do the same and be alright. They swam in the lake on the sixth day. That night, it rained especially hard, and the water pierced their tents soaking all of their blankets. On the seventh day, they swam in the lake once again, and Tenzin stepped on something sharp in the mud and hurt his foot. The boys had lunch with the nomads and descended back to their villages in the valley below. Karma developed a rash all over his body. The best yak in Jamyang's family herd died in a raging flood. Aman, the best footballer[9] among them, broke his leg a few weeks after swimming in the lake. Someone robbed Rapte's home within a few days. One boy who swam faced no apparent consequences. Another who did not swim did not face difficulties either (Interview with Karma Wangyal on 10/23/23).

It is often true that places of spiritual significance also provide important

[7] The year 2020 was 2078 in the Nepali calendar and 2147 in the Tibetan calendar

[8] '*Dri*' is the Tibetan word for a female yak

[9] Soccer player

ecosystem services. Ice Lake, located above the village of Braka, is the water source for Braka, Mungzi village, and a retirement community at Potso Gompa. Mungzi also gets water from a more famous sacred site where 11th-century Buddhist yogi Jetsun Milarepa meditated, made water spring from rock, and taught Buddhism to a hunter, a dog, and a deer. A man from Mungzi told me that Ice Lake and Milarepa Cave both have *lha* (interview with Karma Chiling Gurung on 10/25/23). Protecting spiritual places like these water sources from pollution or disturbance keeps water safe for use. Respecting traditional spirit locations maintains clean sources of drinking water and excrement-free public spaces for people in Manang.

However, the explicit reason people do not disturb these places is because they have experienced themselves or have heard of community members experiencing illness or misfortune after polluting the spirits' homes. These stories reveal how belief in the existence of mundane spirits and local deities comes from direct experience of such things happening. Places of spiritual significance arise from social experiences in the landscape which demand that humans respect those places. By recognizing the impact of diverse beings on the human community, Nyeshangpa also recognize humanity's role in the well-being of other-than-humans. Maintaining balanced, reciprocal relationships with the diverse spirits of the land often involves making various types of offerings to local deities. In the next section, I expand on the role of Buddhist Lamas as the tantric practitioners who lead the community in these ceremonies.

Animal Sacrifice and Buddhism

In some of the *lu* and *lha* stories in the previous section, negative consequences from offending spirits and local deities are treated with incense offering ceremonies. Another type of offering people use in relationships between humans and local deities is animal sacrifice. In Hyolmo, another ethnic Tibetan Himalayan community in Nepal, scholar Davide Torri describes how skilled Buddhist Lamas have recently convinced popular Bönpo shamans to stop their practice of animal sacrifice[10] in their health practices that mediate between local deities and humans. The Lamas claim animal sacrifice produces negative karma for all parties involved, including humans, animals, gods, and spirits

[10] Animal sacrifices refer to ritual killings of animals for propitiating local deities. Discouraging animal sacrifices does not refer to advice on diet. In the past and today, many Tibetan and Himalayan people eat meat regularly.

(Tori 2016, 22). Torri interprets shamans' "reasoned rejection" of animal sacrifice following the advice of the Lamas as "a relevant part of Hyolmo identity-building process" as ethical Buddhist practitioners (Torri 2016 34). Lamas are key actors in convincing people to stop animal sacrifice practice in Manang as well.

The Stories and Customs of Manang compiled by Messerschmidt, Gurung, and Klatzel tells a history with a similar theme to that of Hyolmo, yet there is noticeably more aggressive action on the part of the Lama:

"...Many generations ago a Buddhist Lama from Ghyaru became enraged with the people practicing Shamanism in the area. No matter how much he tried, he could not get them to stop sacrificing animals. With no other option, he forced them out of upper Manang to live further down the Marshyangdi Khola [River] in lower Manang and Lamjung District" (Messerschmidt, Gurung, and Klatzel 2004, 15).

In lower Manang, I spoke with a woman named Rubina Gurung and her acquaintances in Chame village about her husband's part-time job as a *jhakri*, which is Nepali for shamans of both Hindu and Buddhist backgrounds. Rubina shared that, although her husband does not and never did perform animal sacrifice in his healing rituals like some other *jhakri*, he does use eggs. The whole group laughed when she said that she knew not what for. In that same conversation, a man named Tsering Namgyal shared that people in the community usually prefer a Buddhist Lama as their spiritual mediator rather than a *jhakri*, and the others in the group agreed (Interview with Rubina Gurung, Tsering Namgyal, and Asa on 10/20/23).

Scholarship on *jhakri* in Nepal notes the common practice of animal sacrifice in other parts of Nepal (Sidky 2010). My interpretation is that perhaps the Buddhist influence on this specific *jhakri* tradition has kept animal sacrifice out of the practice, using eggs as a substitute for a blood offering. Rubina also mentioned that her husband uses *mala*, *phurba*, a bell, and Buddhist texts in his practice, suggesting that he comes from a Buddhist *jhakri* tradition rather than some others in Nepal. Evidence from this conversation in lower Manang may suggest that the history of discouraging animal sacrifice in human relations with local deities and other spirits continues today.

I also sought evidence of this cultural divide over animal sacrifice that Torri describes in Hyolmo in upper Manang. In his 1990 article titled *The Drums of Nyishang: Rituals and Political Centralization*, scholar Philippe Sagant describes *Paten*, a festival that

used to take place in Nyeshang (upper Manang) for one week every three years. Among other activities like ritual dancing, social dancing, feasting, and incense offering, the festival included sacrificing goats to Dorje Legpa, the Buddhist protector deity of Braka Gompa (Sagant 1990,10, footnote 33). Describing the Paten festival, Sagant states that the Nyeshangpa sacrificed the last goats in 1961 at a "["red stone"] at the base of an old juniper" (Sagant 1990, 12). Over the next 50 years, they held Paten several more times, using goat hair trimmings instead of a whole goat. Since then, the festival slowly faded in importance. People no longer celebrate this centuries-old tradition. However, they did not stop the festival because they stopped sacrificing goats.

Image 5. This is a depiction of the protector deity of Braka Gompa. When I spoke with the caretaker of Braka Gompa, he called the protector deity *Tamding* meaning "horse body." Perhaps Tamding is a colloquial term for Dorje Legpa. However, I am not certain of this. Photo by author.

Sagant reasons that people stopped performing Paten for political reasons:

"When the consensus [surrounding Nyishang's traditional institutions among the nine villages] disappeared and the social and political order was brutally attacked, including with weapons over the last particularly turbulent thirty years in Nyishang, [the Paten festival] also disappeared and the institutions collapsed. In

1977, Nyishang agreed to introduce the Nepalese municipalities" (Sagant 1990, 18).

The people I interviewed cited additional reasons why they no longer celebrate Paten. Manang is located in the Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP) and is part of the famous Annapurna circuit trek that supports the tourism industry in Manang. Elder Sonam Tsering mentioned to me that the ACAP used to help fund the Paten festival, likely to encourage cultural tourism. Later, the ACAP removed financial support for the festival, so now the community does not have enough money to perform the festival[11] (Interview with Sonam Tsering and Kunga on 10/25/23). Tashi Drolma, an elder living in Humde village, told me that another reason they are no longer celebrating Paten is because it requires members of specific families to play central roles in the Paten dances and performances. Now, most of those families live in Kathmandu for much of the year (Interview with Tashi Drolma and Dolkar Gurung on 10/22/23). I interpret that a combination of a lack of political importance of the festival after the intensification of Nepalese authority, lack of funding, and outmigration to Kathmandu and abroad for education and work all contributed to the end of Paten. The political relations between Nyeshang and the Nepalese state are beyond the scope of this paper.

However, I attribute the cessation of animal sacrifice in Paten to the choice of the Nyeshangpa to follow the advice of the reincarnate Lama at Portoche Gompa in Ngawal village. In my interview with elders Sonam Tsering and Kunga, they said the people used to call that specific Lama a *khaba,* or king, because he had so many followers and supporters. Growing up in Braka village, studying in the nearby Nubri Valley region, and taking up residence in Ngawal village, he was a respected local leader who advised the people to stop sacrificing goats to the local deity called Dorje Legpa during the Paten festival for the benefit of all sentient beings. Despite being less politically important after the 1970s, Paten would continue for another 50 years or so after the final sacrifice in 1961. I interpret the halt of animal sacrifice in Paten as part of the thousands-year history of Buddhist Lamas discouraging animal sacrifice in human relations with local deities.

The choices of Himalayan peoples in Manang and Hyolmo to stop their animal sacrifices in the 20th and 21st centuries mirror ancient Tibetan history. The 33rd King of Tibet, Songtsen Gampo, founder of the Tibetan Empire in the 7th century, made "conversion to Buddhism compulsory in Tibet" and made animal sacrifices illegal (Cooley n.d.,10). This act caused turmoil with the other, non-Buddhist religion at the time[12] where animal

[11] The establishment of conservation areas and national parks is implicated in increasing Nepalese territorialization of local and Indigenous community lands in Nepal. This has major effects on the cultures and livelihoods of Himalayan communities.

[12] The modern institutional religion of Bön traces its roots to the pre-Buddhist state religion of Tibetan kings.

sacrifice to local deities was the norm. By the time of the 38th King of Tibet, Tri Songdetsen, the foreign Indian religion of Buddhism angered the local deities, so the king invited the tantric Buddhist master Padmasambhava, revered as Guru Rinpoche, to Tibet to deal with this matter in the 8th century. Scholar of Tibet Matthew Kapstein describes the history:

"... the legendary accounts of Padmasambhava's role in the conversion of Tibet to Buddhism place particular emphasis upon his subjugation of the local divinities, converting them to serve as sworn protectors of the Buddha's way. Historical and anthropological research show later Tibetan Buddhist masters as regularly assuming Padmasambhava's role in this respect, ensuring that relations with the protectors are mediated, whenever possible, in accord with accepted Buddhist norms. In effect, this meant that sacrifice was replaced with various types of substitutional offerings" (Kapstein 2006, 207).

This history continues in upper and lower Manang, where the Paten festival goat sacrifice was replaced with goat hair, and the *jhakri* uses eggs (for what exact ends his wife is not certain). It seems that discontinuing animal sacrifice during Paten in upper Manang, *jhakri* practice in lower Manang, and Bönpo shamanism in Hyolmo exemplify a more recent version of Songtsen Gampo, Tri Songdetsen, and Guru Rinpoche's spiritual war on animal sacrifice.

Buddhists in Manang conducted a series of prayers for Hindus and the animals that Hindus sacrificed to the gods in the Nepali holiday feast called *Dashain* while I was in Manang. At this *Dashain Mani puja* at the Manang village Gompa, I asked elders Langu Gurung and Ngawang Gurung what they were praying for. They told me that the *puja* was for the people committing sinful sacrifice and for the souls of the animals they were killing. Apparently, the *Dashain Mani puja* is very popular across Nepal, as some Buddhists cringe at the thought of animal sacrifice on such a wide scale (Interview with Langu Gurung and Ngawang Gurung on 10/24/23).

The elders also shared that on the eighth, tenth, fifteenth, twenty-third, twenty-fifth, and thirtieth days of the Tibetan calendar, they themselves refrain from eating meat. However, just twenty minutes later a younger man named Tenzin told me at a different location that his body comes first when it comes to religious meat-eating prohibitions[13] (Interview with Tenzin on 10/24/23). Tenzin's comment shows the agency of individual community members. Tibetan and

However, scholars call the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet the '"nameless religion'" as there is evidence of a complex process of integration with Buddhism and Bön. Today, Tibetan Bönpo and Buddhist practitioners engage in ritual relationships with many local deities tied to specific landscape features in a way that shows some continuity with ancient Tibetan society (Kapstein 2006, 46).

[13] The ban on animal sacrifice does not apply to diet. There is a separate discourse around meat-eating in Buddhist communities that is mostly unrelated to animal sacrifice.

Himalayan Buddhists, while sharing similar cultural traditions, also have diverse views and expressions.

In Manang, there is a history of animal sacrifice and a tradition of praying for other communities' sins of committing animal sacrifice. Wisdom tells me that Nyeshangpa were not more or less Buddhist before or after 1961, the date of the last goat offering to Dorje Legpa. It seems that the first of the three marks of existence in Buddhist philosophy holds true: everything composed of parts, including Buddhist traditions, is impermanent.

These stories showcase the leadership of Lamas in human relations with spirits and local deities. Despite constant change, Tibetan and Himalayan history shows continuity through local deities and spirits who are beings that, like humans, can help or hurt others, convert to Buddhism, and be a part of the social fabric of diverse communities.

Conclusion

Practitioners of Tibetan and Himalayan traditions understand the world as full of visible and invisible beings that have the possibility of freeing themselves from suffering. Ceremonies for managing relationships between humans and other beings are led by Lamas, monks, or other leaders, sometimes involving offerings such as juniper incense smoke or a substitute for a sacrificed animal.[14] People understand these ceremonies as critical for maintaining balance in the community. Although there is incredible diversity across the communities and histories of the Tibetan Plateau and the Himalayas, it is a landscape that is full of evidence of relationships between humans and the environment filled with local deities.

I weave stories of *lu* spirits, Bönpo shamans, *jhakri*, the Paten festival, histories of Buddhist masters in Manang and Tibet, and the *Dashain Mani puja* to tell a story of how connections between people, landscapes, and deities are dynamically interrelated. Accumulated personal experiences of illness or misfortune after disturbing a *lu* area produce a landscape of protected trees, springs, and lakes. Lamas are key leaders in these human-environment relationships. As traditions are reshaped in the present through social processes, spaces on the landscape become places of cultural significance.

There is more to these stories that I do not have the knowledge or ability to present in this article. This is not a comprehensive work; rather, my goal is to briefly showcase the complexity of religion, culture, and landscape in Manang. Thank you to my co-researchers, translators, and friends Jamyang and Karma and everyone that helped me learn about Nepal, Tibet, and Manang.

[14] I am not an expert on Buddhist philosophy or ceremonies and they are certainly more complex than I can express in this publication.

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List of Interviews (Chronological Order):

1. Rubina Gurung, Tsering Namgyal, and Asa — 5:30 PM, October 20, 2023
2. Tashi Drolma and Dolkar Gurung — 4:00 PM, October 22, 2023
3. Karma Wangyal — 10:30 PM, October 23, 2023
4. Langu Gurung and Ngawang Gurung — 12:15 PM, October 24, 2023
5. Tenzin — 12:35 PM, October 24, 2023
6. Sangmo Choden — 1:57 PM, October 24, 2023
7. Karma Chiling Gurung — 10:45 AM, October 25, 2023
8. Jamyang Gurung — 3:30 PM, October 25, 2023
9. Sonam Tsering and Kunga — 3:00 PM, October 25, 2023
10. Pasang Norbu — 8:30 PM, October 25, 2023