Ideas of love in Thai tradition- reading heritage

ความคิดเรื่องความรักของคนไทย-จากการอ่านมรดกทางวัฒนธรรม

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Abstract

In recent years in Thailand and especially since 2006, the disputation and disharmony that traditionally characterizes the political sphere has spilled over into civil society, the very idea of the nation itself, religion and the monarchy. This flies against the ideology and rhetoric of love traditionally invoked to sanction social harmony and raises the question of how love is represented – and thereby reinforced and reproduced – in Thai heritage.

The study proceeded by critically surveying material mostly from Thai heritage which expresses or otherwise throws light on the dominant ideas of love of Thai people for house and home, places of worship, palaces, monuments, buildings, community and public spaces. These demanded an engagement with surveying sites, also treating stories, myths and monuments, interviews, participative observation and fieldwork.

From this process it was found that the inevitable juxtapositions of diverse images of love in Thailand highlight and throw into question various controversial and paradoxical themes that manifest in present Thai society in the issues of ideas of individual and familial love, the love of place or community, patriotism and love towards king.

บทคัดย่อ

ในหลายๆ ปีที่ผ่านมา โดยเฉพาะปี พ.ศ.2549 เกิดความขัดแย้งทางการเมืองซึ่งส่งผลกระทบไปในทุกพื้นที่ของสังคม ความคิดเกี่ยวกับชาติ, ศาสนาและพระมหากษัตริย์กลับไม่เป็นไปตามอุดมคติและตามความหมายอันเกี่ยวกับความรักในสังคมไทยจนทำให้เกิดคำถามว่า “ความรัก” ถูกน่าสนใจ-มีอิทธิพลและผลิตซ้ำผ่านมรดกทางวัฒนธรรมของไทยอย่างไร

การวิจัยดังนี้เป็นไปโดยการสำรวจมรดกทางวัฒนธรรมในสังคมไทยที่น่าสนใจ-มีอิทธิพลและความรักที่โดดเด่นที่ง้าวบ้าน, สถานที่ศักดิ์สิทธิ์, พระราชวัง, อนุสรณ์สถาน, สิ่งก่อสร้าง, ชุมชนและพื้นที่สาธารณะซึ่งจําเป็นต้อง

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Introduction

While love is a universal principle of humanity that conveys the feelings and actions of humans in various fields, it is always also to be seen in terms of its power for both creativity and destruction. Accordingly, the meaning of love at different levels varies in different societies and cultures, which can be interpreted in term of various aspects of love of capital – of economic capital (economic power and wealth), of social capital (power), of cultural capital (artistic creativity, knowledge). Economic capital, social capital and cultural capital are inevitably expressed, whether purposefully or subliminally, in the built environments and artistic production of a society. So, how are these differences in the manifestations of love in a society and in its component parts (racial, ethnic, religious) to be ‘read’ from its architecture, landscapes and its literary and artistic heritages?

Architecture and the cultural landscape, whether in dwelling space, places of worship, monuments or public spaces, in Thailand as elsewhere, are able to be seen as expressions of love at a variety of levels, also as expression of the social ‘management’ (celebration, suppression, censorship) of both love stories and the expression of ‘real’ love (erotic, romantic, platonic, altruistic) at individual, community and national levels. Architecture and landscape in Thailand conceal questions about the interpretation of love in its different aspects. The present paper will reflect on the topic of paradoxical interpretations of love in Thai architecture and cultural landscapes, which will benefit a developing understanding of both Thai cultural heritage and present dilemmas in the society through the study of architecture and landscape.

Materials and Methods

The research area covers Lanna (northern), eastern, north-eastern, southern and central regions of Thailand where there have been unique, distinctive expressions of love in their diverse architectural and cultural landscapes.

A diversity of cases was selected opportunistically – specifically because they were seen by the author to ‘tell a story’ about ideas of love as embedded in Thai built heritage. It
is contended that the relatively large number of these cases, from house and home, places of worship, palaces, monuments, buildings and public spaces, will dilute the inevitable effects of the author’s own preferences.

The detailed analyses of these cases are reported in Supatra (2014). For this research, a dialectical method, especially the reading of dialectical images (Buck-Morss, 1991), has been used in reading and understanding phenomena such as socio-political change, culture and religion, ritual and ceremonies, and economic conditions including globalization. The studies of such phenomena are highly interrelated so that it is difficult to separate them from each other.

Research methods were chosen so to try to describe, interpret and explain socio-political situations that possibly influence the ideologies of the idea of love through their architectural and cultural landscape expressions. Accordingly, useful data could be obtained from both primary and secondary sources. This research project is a descriptive-interpretive study, primarily based on documentary research but reinforced through direct fieldwork.

The process of analysis and synthesis was by connecting physical evidence and historical records associated with the idea of love in a Thai context and inferring the possible underlying meanings. Finally, interpretations of the ideas of love in aspects of individual-family, nation, religion and king, reflected from the architecture and cultural landscape of Thailand, as well as the changing ideas of love from past to present of Thai people, were considered.

At the level of methodology, the dissertation draws on the idea of dialectical images of Walter Benjamin (1978) that emphasizes the idea of image for critiquing the conventionally accepted or officially sanctioned story of history by reading the heritage from the image. Likewise notions of symbolic violence and symbolic capital are drawn from Pierre Bourdieu (1979). Textual analysis in the study led to the hypothesis that ideas of love in Buddhism can in some sense be equated with the notion of love in Deleuze’s terms (1983, 1994, 2002, 2004).

**Results**

For Buddhism, love includes those forms of love that are characterized by freedom. Love that involves clinging, lust, confusion, neediness, fear, or grasping to self would be seen as expressions of bondage and limitation. Love is also divided into three levels: love for oneself, love for others and universal love as that love which involves with enjoyment and affection. Love in Buddhism also resonates well with love in Deleuze’s terms, in the point of servitude and freedom, because if someone depends on love in the narrow aspect of Tanha, his or her lust is a state of bondage. But if someone releases oneself from Tanha and tries to
open mind and body by depersonalization and to engage in the Five Precepts for love of oneself, Six Disa for love for others and Brahmavihara for universal love, then from that process of Buddhist love comes the release of multiplicities from their servitude and then love will be “heavenly nuptials, multiplicities of multiplicities”.

As stated above, take the form of series of short essays that look for ‘meanings’ of love in Thai culture and tradition, that can be ‘read’ from the heritage of that culture. This present chapter will seek to interrogate expressions of love for the individual and the family; community; nation; loves of the King come into focus.

**Individual and family love and the destructive effect of tradition**

Individual and familial affection in Thailand is mostly separated from Buddhism but tied to questions of ethnicity, social structure and traditional beliefs, including the influence of Brahmanism. This is shown from many love myths that usually ended with tragedy if the loving couples came from different classes or had different economic status. The social structure of Thailand also makes it difficult for a couple to be truly independent in mate selection because it must be ‘right’ in the eyes of an adult or of ancestors who have passed away. Moreover, fulfillment in love often depends on the social relations between the families of the lovers. As well, there are the separated areas of the traditional northern house with the area for the spirits of the ancestors and then the areas of the other members of the present household and it is symbolically from the former that the parent will observe the younger couple who will accost each other. This means that the actions of a couple remain in the eyes of the ancestors even though it is true romantic love.

The more interesting idea relates to the expressions of love in the past which was related to the nexus of temple and home and the unfettered freedom to represent and interpret love. For love from the most basic level (erotic love) to the highest in the expression of mercy as love are depicted in murals of temples and folk literary works. But when love is associated with the reality of “the palace” and the idea of “the theatre state” in Thailand, a different dimension of ambiguity and drama can arise in various fields.

The juxtaposition of images in Thailand from the past with those of the present demonstrates the various controversial and paradoxical themes that haunt the present imagination. Such a case arises as Thai people pray for love at the “Trimurati God Statue” which, however, is located at the same place as Central World Mall, the ultimate commercial venue of Bangkok which represents late corporate capitalism. Nowadays, modern capitalist society dominates Thailand and accordingly the meaning of love in many places is subverted
to the needs of the tourism industry. Also, love of an individual or one’s family, which is the earthly realm of love, always bonds with death and tragic examples of romantic love in such cases as the mythical place of “Sam Muk Mountain and Bang Saen Beach” in Chonburi province, where there is expressed a view of the dark side of love as in the words of the Buddha, that “where there is love there is suffering” because love is “unstable” like everything on this planet. The other dimension of romantic love is like the divided areas of the northern traditional house which has an inner sanctuary, where the spirits of the ancestors abide. Whereas the courtship of the younger member may have escaped from the eyes of the parent and the spirits of their ancestors, even courting outside of the house is like bringing in the legendary Venus of ancient Greek myth, with erotic love elevated to the plateau where “Sinful passions cannot conceal it” (Buck-Morss, 1991: 161-164).

A most interesting case is the idolatry of Mae Nak (a ghost) in Wat Mahabut. The temple which is the symbol of her romantic love is very outstanding in Bangkok. It expresses the concept of the Baroque because it has the reality of death and destruction associated with the ideal of earthly love. The idolatry of Mae Nak is a manifestation of the erosion of the boundary between the highest plain of the spiritual with the lowest plain of the devil. It breaks down the differences.

Love of Community and the eroding effect of class

The subject of class in the social structure of Thailand and the diminished role of religion in the present age comes into high relief. Social class issues run, sometimes albeit subliminally, in stories such as “Lilit Phra Lor”, “Worship and prayer for love at Central World Mall”, “Queen Sunandha and King Rama V”, “Mae Nak of Khlong Phra Khanong Canal”. Though concerned variously with royalty and the world of the spirits, these are essentially tales told by the peasantry and the urban lower classes and, it seems, they are of sentimental or romantic concepts of love as told (though they may well refer to other understandings of love – again subliminally, as it were). They are also tales that are told in the present time and they reflect a present absence of a Buddhist idea of love as the release from sentiment.

Although Buddhism is the main religion and Thai is the major ethnicity in Thai society, there is diversity of ethnicity and religion. In the past, Thai society had community principles of "home", "temple" and "school" for linking everybody; moreover, a community in Thailand has a sub-culture in community-based conservatism by acculturation. By these means, communities could vigorously protect themselves from current capitalist intrusions such as at Wat Ket community of Chiang Mai which has relied on the cooperation between the
religious communities of Buddhist, Christian and Islamic culture for protecting local society from the influx of capitalism. Or, in the case of the restoration of the ancient Buddha image hall of Wat Pong Sanuk Temple, Lamphun province (northern region of Thailand), the villagers cooperated for restoration alongside academic support. Ultimately, it received the community prize for architectural heritage management from UNESCO.

An interesting case of transcending the religious beliefs of the community related to a Christian church almost 100 years old in Muang Chiang Rai, where members of the church concluded that they should get together and rebuild. But the community around the church, whose beliefs were in Buddhism but with ties to the area of the Christian church, made a report to the Department of Fine Arts and finally resolved that members of both the Christian church and the Buddhist community around church supported measures to restore the old church rather than rebuild.

The love of community often comes to the point of battle for preserving the community when there is an invasion or when people become aware of external threats. However, in the area of Bangkok, one confronts efforts to transform social space for the benefit of a few individuals or groups. In particular, this applies to the development of the area around the old town, although it was considered as a source of historical significance and defined in the town plan by a brown color symbol, signifying the conservation of cultural identity. But today, some areas are being pursued for demolition for the sake of a “beautiful landscape” for the tourism businesses. However, if the community is strong, it can protect the area of the community.

The love of place or community in Thai society from past to present has been eroded under the effects of capitalist modernization in Thailand. Although the original concept of "home", "temple" and "school" was to bring people together in a sense of, it is increasingly being split apart and disaggregated "home", "temple" and "school" rush to the imagined benefits of capitalism itself.

**Love of Nation and the poison of patriotism**

Patriotism in the case of Thai people is ambiguous because of ethnic diversify. The definition of "Nation" is still made and imposed by some people such as kings, nobles and the elite social class, causing the formation of a national mainstream of historical events related to those national elites and ignoring the secondary stream of other events and small groups of people in society whose interests have not often been discussed.
Nowhere is myth more vigorously mobilized in Thailand than around the motivating, legitimating triad of Nation, King, and Religion (King, 2011: xxvii-xxviii). Nowhere does allegory present more confrontingly than in the dialectical imagery of monuments to various ideas of Nation – these are invariably monuments to death and futility and, all too often, to the beguiling vision of ‘the Nation’ and its unrecognized contradictions. Therefore, the expression of heroic people from essentially small groups is creviced around the country.

Oral tradition and literature was one of the key tools for creating a national imagined community, like novels that grow up in the society itself and a history which is linked to various real individuals and locales. People came to imagine a vaster community that features the nature and power of the nation. The nation was an inspiration and became a destination for the hopes of the common people. Everybody could dream and imagine the morality of the nation, as common people could revere the nation and even challenge the merits of the old regime. In their eyes, the old regime was unpatriotic so they wanted to create a new national imagination, a new society and a new nation state which no longer needed a replica of the traditional image. Examples of these counter images arise in the story of Wat Si Roy Temple (400), Ang Thong Province (in the central part of Thailand), the White Pagoda of Chiang Mai (in the north of Thailand).

Nationalism can warp, whether in terms of the roots of fear and hatred towards others, or as nationalism oscillates towards racism; but the nation has also inspired the origins of patriotism and, most profoundly, of self-sacrificing patriotism (Pattaradechphaisarn, 2012). However, the love of nation is best aimed at the achievement of human rights and one needs to modify the understanding of nation to see that it is not divine or something sacred and to realize that national history could be contaminated. It is no surprise when the state has made a mistake; however, the state needs to be responsible and acknowledge that mistake. The state is still important as it enables people to live together in society with their aims and hopes. Therefore, the state must continue for the nation to exist and the nation must build justice and have a humanitarian dimension in the wider national assembly, which needs to be based in the love and mercy of Buddhist faith and necessarily to take the Five Precepts of Buddhism to lead to action (-samaṭan : Samatan), as well as the acceptance of decay, the crumbling of walls (Deleuze, 2002).

One needs to consider the ideal and motto of “Nation, Religion and Monarch” that King Rama VI created, albeit to extend the authority of the king by using religion as a tool to establish the legitimacy of the ruling class and to take possession of the definition of love of
nation. After the Siam government changed from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy in 1932, the elite in each period has determined the definition of the state so patriots through each period could turn to that definition for their legitimacy. Alternative definitions, arising from different ideas of society and democracy, have always been problematic and too often have been suppressed instead of being admitted to constructive discourse. It is this dilemma that is to be read from the heritage of ‘love of nation’. Thai society has failed to take the core of love in Buddhism to be a tool for fostering patriotism, as Buddhism is not only to be used as religious ritual.

Love of King and the poison of power

In a distinctive Thai manner, Thai people exhibit different forms of love towards each king. So they feel sympathy for King Taksin and respect for King Rama I as the founder of the Chakri dynasty but they have doubts regarding the political power of King Rama I, hence his legitimacy, which was taken from the hand of King Taksin. Love towards King Taksin of Field Marshal Plaek Phibunsongkhram, expressed by building a monument to King Taksin in Thonburi, has made many people interested in the personal stories and political history of King Taksin.

Presently, there have been debates and criticism in Thai society about aspects of the Chakri dynasty. The question brings about a crisis of faith in the Chakri dynasty. Some try to explain this by belief in Garma in Buddhism, since the founder of the Chakri dynasty hurt King Taksin and acted without mercy. But currently love of Thai people towards King Taksin has been used as a tool of anti-monarchy groups.

The idea of love of the King towards Thai people is represented by the leading role of the Thai Kings to lead the country to modernization. The best known modern king is King Rama V, referred to as "Phra Piya Maharat" which means the king who acquires the most favour of Thai people. The outstanding sign of modernized Siam was the image of Ratchadamnoen Avenue constructed by King Rama V.

An important aspect increasing the representation of the monarchy was the development projects of King Rama IX beginning in the year 1951, while the symbolic power of the government was greatly reduced. Ratchadamnoen Avenue reflects this phenomenon: there was an act for re-organizing the property of the Crown Property Bureau in December 1948, so that the Crown Property Bureau became independent and not under government management. In 2010 the power of the monarchy, especially in the Chakri Dynasty, was emphasized more with the creation of the Ratanakosin Exhibition Hall Building located on
Rachadamnoen Road (the Crown Property Bureau is the owner of Rattanakosin Exhibition Hall Building). This is to confirm the power and kindness of the kings of the Chakri dynasty to Thai citizens. Even though King Rama IX was promoted to be the main solver of Thailand’s difficulties, particularly in times of political crisis, the power of the Thai monarchy is challenged by new groups, notably corporate capitalists seeking to add more and more to their own power.

In the time before the Rattanakosin Exhibition Hall Building was built, Thai society had already experienced some issues relating to the Love of King in the context of political struggle with the decorations and insignia of King Rama IX, particularly displayed after the coup seizing power from former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra in 2006. The military gave a reason for their actions as being for protecting the monarchy, thereby causing the flow of counter sentiments to separate groups of Thai people by using the love of King Rama IX as a motive.

In the context of the present text, the point is that these contestations over love, power and monarchy have always been mediated through images – in the past landscapal and architectural, in more recent times through the photographic images variously of Rama IX (also Queen Sirikit) and Thaksin. Arguably only in the case of the King Taksin vis-à-vis King Rama I monuments do we find images that are mutually self-defining in their meanings (that is, dialectical images in the Benjaminian sense). In the present context (Yellow versus Red, PDRC versus Pheu Thai), the same image of King Rama IX will be used by both sides; instead the dialectical tension is in the meanings that will be attached to the monarch’s image – defensive loyalty in one case, ambivalence and ambiguity in the other – but with both sides declaring unbridled love for the monarchy and for the person of King Rama IX. The idea of dialectical image takes on a new sense, as does the idea of love of King.

A point to be made here is that the present paper is to be seen as an essay in the complexity of interpretation: by observing the way that images are being used by protagonists in a political conflict, one is led back to values and beliefs that underpin that conflict. Those values and beliefs will always relate to the complexities of sentiment – love of society itself, love of Nation (love of both the reality and the idea of Thailand – and they are not the same thing), love of King.
Conclusion

Love as detachment

The study of the idea of love in Thai heritage could be concluded with reference to concepts of Gilles Deleuze, Walter Benjamin and Pierre Bourdieu. In particular, there is the concept of juxtaposition, which reflects the placement of architectural heritage and cultural heritage associated with architecture.

Deleuze uses schizo as a philosophical concept and a way to cut off oneself from the world, making it possible to imagine in another way; that is, if we look at schizo in a positive way it becomes the subject human creativity; it is to be seen as a philosophical concept that extends the limits of life, making it possible to innovate and create a new concept (Massumi, 1992). Schizo-analysis unleashes the desire to be free of the unconscious. Liberation from the shackles of various mental prisons (circulations) becomes what Deleuze called the desiring machine (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983: 1-50); it is ready to produce a desire incessantly (the desiring-production) through the connection with things. In the case of the love of King Rama IX, it is easy for this to become the present task in Thailand – to free the monarch from the political ‘circulations’ in which his image has become entangled.

Benjamin suggests that violence is a source of law so he classified the types of violence through its law relationship into two types (Khampaibool, 2003: 104-105): first, a severe form of myth (Mythic violence) refers to violence that dominates a legal system until the law becomes an extension of violence, where many historical events are subjected by legal process to repeated violence many times. This is like the incidence of love in Thailand, which often ends in tragedy and death by referring to the peace of society. Secondly, divine violence overthrows the first violence, and this is a base of a changing social revolution. It can make a more righteous or changing relationship of law with the goal to create a new era and for the entire destruction of the old legal system, and thence to create a new regulation which aims for a justice ontology (Walter Benjamin, 1978: 300). An example might be the interpretation of the meaning of love in a new society in Thailand thereby to question the adaptation of the institutions of love in society like that of individual/family, nation, religion, community and the monarchy.

The concept of desiring of Deleuze is not a matter of “pleasure”, but rather the expression of the possibility of the production/building of identity, as in desiring the activities or actions of daily life. Desiring is presence or absence of a body without organs (the Body without Organs), so desire for Deleuze is the production/building of an endless space of
connections (a plane of immanence) and it is intangible. However, it depends on each connection; ultimately, desire is a matter of practices, and a matter of the outcome (effectuation) rather than a matter of satisfaction (Buchanan, 2011: 15-16). If we consider cultural heritage in everyday life, both tangible and intangible, desire is expressed as juxtaposition in the past such as in Buddhism and Hinduism together, or democracy with a monarchy, or romanticism with capitalism, etc.

If we consider the other side of desire in the forms outlined by Deleuze, it may be a way of finding a solution for the crisis of the love idea in Thai society in a transitional regime stage. The thought of Deleuze is another image of thought (Deleuze, 1994: 129-167), that is not looking for universal principles that explain everything, nor knowledge of some critical standpoint of moral superiority or a better society. Moreover, knowledge for Deleuze does not reinforce theory, whether it is criticism or a body of knowledge. However, knowledge in the form presented by Deleuze is capable to direct the person when faced with things suitable for the pursuit of superior social change in Thailand.

When we look back to the roots of Thai culture which were multiple, and if we use the religious ideas which have proved to offer universal truth for each cultural area, we would find the means to be adapted for curing the crisis in the present idea of love in Thailand. Especially the Five Precepts for love of oneself, Six Disa for love of others and Brahmavihara for universal love would be adapted to the review of the meaning and practice of love of individual/family, community, nation and monarchy. Such reform would unveil new things in Deleuze’s idea by abandoning the concept of substance (being) in favour of that of immanence (becoming) which corresponds with the belief in Buddhism. Thai society would have no shortage of love.

There is, however, another dimension to the question of love in Thai society: the culture is not singular but multiple; social origins in the form suggested in the writings of Pierre Bourdieu are multiple and there are likewise multiple forms of cultural capital. As Bourdieu (1979) argues, cultural capital is formed in one’s social origins, in one’s immersion in that total, imperceptible learning that is performed within the family and the most local community and that is ultimately grounded in the practice of love within the family and community. Cultural capital then, in turn, underlies one’s orientation to – love of – economic capital (the love of material wealth and its unscrupulous pursuit) and social capital (political power, the distorted love of nation, jingoism, and bigotry).
The distortion of cultural capital arises in the embrace of symbolic capital, in Bourdieu’s terms, which is achieved through symbolic violence – the imposition of categories of thought and perception upon dominated social agents who then take the social order to be just. Monuments, myths and prohibitions on thought – official heritage, in other words – will all become instruments of symbolic violence.

This project reported here has been about the dispelling of symbolic violence; in another sense, it has been about the elevation or freeing of love from its bounds in overblown passion and empty commitment, towards that unbounded love contemplated both in Buddhism and in the thought of Gilles Deleuze:

I no longer have any secrets, having lost my face, form, and matter. I am now no more than a line. I have become capable of loving, not with an abstract, universal love, but a love I shall choose, and that shall choose me, blindly, my double, just as selfless as I. One has been saved by and for love, by abandoning love and self. Now one is no more than an abstract line, like an arrow crossing the void, Absolute deterritorialization (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004: 220).

In spite of the principle of Buddhism, love is compassion, kindness and a Tisa 6 which are doctrine should be expanded upon, passed and transmitted to strengthen the love in every form, from personal to a wider society, for example, individual love, if had the interpretation of the meaning of the three marks of existences: Anicca (impermanence), Dukkha (suffering) and Anatta (non-self ,which coincides with the dissolution of their Deleuze mentioned above). Love is expressed through heritage may reduce emotional distress than it appears at presently that individual love must be taken into possession as a phenomenon of longing for love of the people through the use of the oath for love in many places, or to express the tragedy of unrequited love through monuments across the country.

Buddhism principles can strengthen to be love at the community, national through the decomposition identity, walls of difference of each group by the principle of compassion, mercy and Tisa 6 and the virtues for the monarchy as King Rama IX has already been accomplished it, so it was not surprising that we have often seen photos and images of King Rama IX in everywhere, from the luxurious areas to the decadent areas, an place of goodness to the area is vulnerable to doing something unethical, like the gambling, etc. these was the landscape of paradoxically and phenomenon of juxtaposition.

Other juxtaposition appearing through the heritage of love in Thailand was an attempt to bring together all the faith in Thailand: Buddhism, spiritual, Hinduism and modernization for mixing to be a place of love. It is therefore not surprising that the opposite
or conflicting thinks always appears in many heritage of Thailand, not even a heritage of love, leading to the conclusion of the idea of love of Thailand in every aspect whether a love of individual, familiar, communities, nation and monarchy very vague, perhaps because the people forget, ignore and do not try to use the core of the Buddhism for adapting the idea of love by seriously.

**Bibliography**


