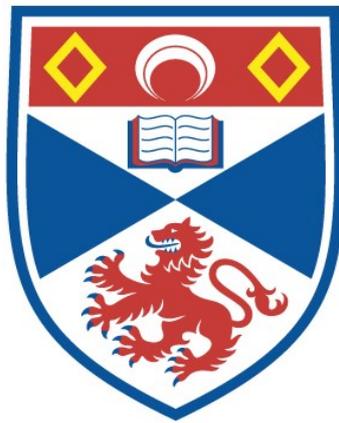


**"OTHERS BEFORE SELF" : TIBETAN PEDAGOGY AND
CHILDREARING IN A TIBETAN CHILDREN'S VILLAGE IN
THE INDIAN HIMALAYA**

Katarzyna Byłów-Antkowiak

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



2017

**Full metadata for this item is available in St Andrews Research
Repository
at:**

<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:

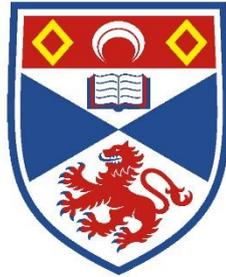
<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/11352>

This item is protected by original copyright

“Others Before Self”:

Tibetan Pedagogy and Childrearing in a Tibetan Children’s
Village in the Indian Himalaya

Katarzyna Byłów-Antkowiak



University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD at the
Department of Social Anthropology, School of Philosophical,
Anthropological and Film Studies, University of St Andrews

July 2016

University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

14 March 2012
 Katarzyna Bylow-Antkowiak
 Department of Social Anthropology

Dear Katarzyna

Thank you for submitting your ethical application, which was considered at the Social Anthropology Ethics Committee meeting on 14 March 2012 when the following documents were reviewed:

1. Ethical Application Form
2. Participant Information Sheet
3. Consent Form
4. Debriefing Form
5. Letter to Parents/children/headteacher
6. PVG clearance/DBS

The Social Anthropology Ethics Committee has been delegated to act on behalf of the University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) and has granted this application ethical approval. The particulars relating to the approved project are as follows -

Approval Code:	SA8550	Approved on:	14/3/12	Approval Expiry:	13/3/15
Project Title:	"Come to learn, go to serve" - Tibetan cosmologies, specialist knowledge and modern schooling at the Tibetan Children's Village (TCV) in India				
Researcher(s):	Katarzyna Bylow-Antkowiak				
Supervisor(s):	Professor Christina Toren				

Approval is awarded for three years. Projects which have not commenced within two years of approval must be re-submitted for review by your School Ethics Committee. If you are unable to complete your research within the 3 three year approval period, you are required to write to your School Ethics Committee Convener to request a discretionary extension of no greater than 6 months or to re-apply if directed to do so, and you should inform your School Ethics Committee when your project reaches completion.

If you make any changes to the project outlined in your approved ethical application form, you should inform your supervisor and seek advice on the ethical implications of those changes from the School Ethics Convener who may advise you to complete and submit an ethical amendment form for review.

Any adverse incident which occurs during the course of conducting your research must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee who will advise you on the appropriate action to be taken.

Approval is given on the understanding that you conduct your research as outlined in your application and in compliance with UTREC Guidelines and Policies (<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/guidelinespolicies/>). You are also advised to ensure that you procure and handle your research data within the provisions of the Data Provision Act 1998 and in accordance with any conditions of funding incumbent upon you.

Yours sincerely

Convener of the School Ethics Committee
 cc Supervisor

Social Anthropology Ethics Committee

Department of Social Anthropology, University of St Andrews, 71 North Street, St Andrews, Fife, KY16 9AL,
 Tel: (01334) 462977 Email: socanthadmin@st-andrews.ac.uk

1. Candidate's declarations:

I, Katarzyna Byłów-Antkowiak hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately **74 500** words in length, has been written by me, and that it is the record of work carried out by me, or principally by myself in collaboration with others as acknowledged, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2010 and as a candidate for the degree of **PhD Social Anthropology** in September 2010; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2010 and 2016 (part-time).

Date signature of candidate

2. Supervisor's declaration:

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of **PhD Social Anthropology** in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date signature of supervisor

3. Permission for publication: (to be signed by both candidate and supervisor)

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and the abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker, that my thesis will be electronically accessible for personal or research use unless exempt by award of an embargo as requested below, and that the library has the right to migrate my thesis into new electronic forms as required to ensure continued access to the thesis. I have obtained any third-party copyright permissions that may be required in order to allow such access and migration, or have requested the appropriate embargo below.

The following is an agreed request by candidate and supervisor regarding the publication of this thesis:

PRINTED COPY

a) No embargo on print copy

ELECTRONIC COPY

a) No embargo on electronic copy

Date signature of candidate signature of supervisor

“OTHERS BEFORE SELF” – TIBETAN PEDAGOGY AND CHILDREARING IN A TIBETAN CHILDREN’S VILLAGE IN THE INDIAN HIMALAYA

SUMMARY OF THE THESIS

This anthropological study examines ontogeny of ideas about self and others and approaches human capacity for intersubjectivity as emergent in the course of life, by looking at how it is shaped through mediation of the world by others and by processes at the group level. The empirical focus is the ecology of concepts used by Tibetan children and adults in their daily life in a Tibetan residential school in India, where people’s conduct and children’s upbringing and schooling are informed by the Tibetan and Buddhist models and theories of self, mind, learning, causation and history. The aim of this study is to identify - through a close ethnographic description and analysis - the core aspects of learning as conceptualized and lived experience within contemporary Tibetan Buddhist education system, derived from one of the oldest wisdom traditions in the world and crystallizing within a modern nation-state Asia. Tibetan Children’s Villages (TCV) was one of the first Tibetan school networks aiming to provide formal lay education for children that sprang up in exile following the fourteenth Dalai Lama’s flight to India in 1959.

Chapter 1 outlines the theoretical and methodological aspects of the study and sets forth the research agenda that shaped the study design and kinds of engagement that were possible with the study participants and the field. A short description of the geographical and climate conditions in the field site is complemented by a snapshot of the social topography of the direct neighbourhood of the school, where fieldwork was conducted over 11 months (February – December) in 2013 and 3 months (June – September) in 2014. A brief review of debates and sources from different bodies of anthropological literature bearing on the ethnographic material has been added to clarify the orientation of the analysis and the research findings.

Chapter 2 explores the phenomenon of Tibetan lay education in exile and the concept of education that developed as a result of a shift from monastic centres of learning towards contemporary Tibetan lay schools in India. Through an ethnographic exploration of the theoretical model of learning and pedagogical devices such as Tibetan debate, the chapter shows the mind as the locus of schooling practices. It also demonstrates how, through daily ritual practices and debate, this becomes a lived experience in a contemporary Tibetan school in the Indian Himalaya. The chapter discusses ethnographic categories of mind, mind stream and mental karmic imprints, based on interviews focusing on the Tibetan policy document detailing education strategy and goals. These are shown to be informed by Tibetan Buddhist theory of learning and an understanding of the inner subjective experience as the source of knowing. To contextualize the understanding of mind in a contemporary Tibetan school in India, the chapter provides an ethnographic description and analysis of the Tibetan dialectical debate (*riglam*) classes in TCV. *Riglam* is an ancient debating tradition developed in India and preserved and further developed in Tibet and Tibetan monasteries and now also in schools in exile.

Chapter 3 is an exploration of the ethnographic category of ‘history’ in the school. ‘History’ is shown to emerge out of the continuum of time – the un-tensed present. Drawing on the notion of the mind imprints, patterning and habituation, and the imagery of the seed, coming ‘alive’ and bearing fruit in the right circumstances, the chapter describes how the making of ‘history’ is inscribed in the bodies of TCV inhabitants through daily bodily practices - bodily discipline, or conduct (*chöpa*).

Chapter 4 focuses on TCV as a place and on the embeddedness of TCV within other places. Through the discussion of the use of space and space-enabled operations, such as e.g. spatio-temporally co-located sport games, the chapter outlines conceptualisation of a TCV-place as expressed through the idioms of ‘floating’ and ‘going out of bounds’. This also leads to a discussion of transgressions involving the use of electronic devices, tattoos and hairstyles, leaving

school, and the discourse and practices around the concept of ‘pure Tibetans’. The ethnographic material highlighting an ontogenesis of space opens the way to discuss the embodied practice of interdependence among TCV inhabitants, the practice that challenges the usefulness of analytical categories of ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ for an anthropological analysis of the experience of growing up and living in TCV.

Chapters 5 and 6 look closely at the idea of others being essential in the ontogenesis of beings. Chapter 5 is based on examples of teasing and games that involve directing attention of infants and children to other people, and bringing other people’s ‘gaze’ (seeing you) to bear on the decisions made for self. In this way it draws an outline of a particular kind of pedagogic effort directed at infants and toddlers, and traces this pedagogy in other, later stages of the schooling experience in TCV.

Chapter 6 focuses specifically on grammatical constructions that seemed to be salient in the interactions between TCV inhabitants (adults and children). These included: 1) addressee-bound verb use, and, specifically, I-for-you inversion in questions; 2) the use of honorific forms for others (multiplicity and gradation of terms) and its proscription for self-referential statements; 3) evidentiality markers denoting direct or indirect experience and the salience of personal connection to the subject/object/action. Such ethnographic exploration of the perspective inversion in everyday language use and everyday interactions leads to the review of some tacit assumptions about the ‘subject’ in subjectivity and intersubjectivity used as heuristic devices. The chapter also explores the utility, feasibility and implications of including the dialogical dimension of being in the anthropological inquiry.

The conclusion of the thesis focuses on the question of intersubjectivity not as given, but as ‘teased out’ and formed through practices involving both the constitution of self and the simultaneous and inevitable constitution of others. It also posits the necessity of ethnographic exploration of different practices that might be involved in bringing forth intersubjectivity, and questions about the resulting ‘intersubjectivities’. Discussion of different aspects of the experience of living and growing up in a TCV campus developed in the previous chapters, i.e. the theory of learning and understanding of “mind”, inner subjective experience and karmic imprints; discipline and temporal frameworks predicated on the ideas of karmic causation; dependent arising; training of awareness, attention and ethical judgement and the ideas of self, leads to a particular reading of the TCV slogan “Others Before Self”. The analysis, which starts with an exploration of the ideology of education expressed through a policy document building upon particular Buddhist premises, is thus brought full circle, with lived Buddhist experience animating the ubiquitous TCV formula for a human being.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research would not have been possible without the goodwill, trust and support of many people whose names I cannot even hope to properly acknowledge. The sense of indebtedness and gratitude for the homes, in all possible senses of the term, provided for me and my family during the years that led to the completion of this thesis in India, Scotland and Poland is overwhelming, and I can only hope that I will one day be able to return some of the kindness I received from my extended family, friends, mentors and colleagues.

I would like to express my gratitude to the Department of Social Anthropology, University of St Andrews for kindly granting the fee waiver that made the PhD study possible, to the Gibson-Sykora Endowment Fund for providing generous funding for the pre-field years (2010-2012), and to the Russell Trust whose Trustees provided funds for the second and crucial trip to the fieldsite in the summer of 2014.

The research conducted in the Tibetan Children's Village and the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives was possible due to the kind support of Mr Chhime Rigzing-la (the Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama), Geshe Lhakdor-la (LTWA) and the TCV authorities: Gyen Sonam Dolkar-la, Gyen Tsewang Yeshe-la, Gyen Thupten Dorjee-la, Gyen Phuntsok Namgyal-la, Gyen Ngodup Wangdue-la, Gyen Lekshe-la, Gyen Pema Yangdon-la (EDRC); Gyen Namdol Tashi-la and Gyen Kalsang Choedon Sharling-la. I remain deeply grateful for their trust, assistance and insights. I very much appreciated help from TCV Headmasters: Gyen Ngawang Lhamo-la, Gyen Sonam Wangdue-la, Gyen Chophel-la, Gyen Dhondup Gyalpo-la, Gyen Tenzin Choephel-la and their staff and students, who have patiently answered my questions and provided ways in which I could inobtrusively participate in the life of their school sections. I also thank Gyen Ngawang Choedon-la and her staff in Baby Home: Ama Dolkar-la, Ama Nyima Dolma-la, Ama Pemba-la, Ama Migmar-la, Ama Tashi-la, Ama Yangchen-la, Ama Wangmo-la, Ama Tsering Youdon-la and their families for their patience, guidance, good humor and friendship. Your children will always be in my heart and I hope I will be able to watch them grow and be happy. The students Migmar Tsomo-la and Tamzing Wangmo-la, as well as trainee Mother Rigzin-la were wonderful interpreters and guides in my conversations with aspiring, active and retired TCV Home Mothers, whose dedication and skills I came to value deeply. I am grateful for their hospitality and for the glimpses of the *khyimsang* life it afforded me. I would also like

to extend my heartfelt gratitude to Gyen Pema Dolma-la, Gyen Tsering Palmo-la, Gyen Pema Khado-la, Gyen Phurbu Dolma-la, Norbu-la, Jigme-la Gyen Kalsang Wangdue-la, Geshe Aten-la, Geshe Rabten-la, Mr Tashi Tsering-la (Amnye Machen Institute), Mr Lhasang Tsering-la, Dr Chok Tenzin Monlam-la (LTWA), and Ms Liz MacGarvey. Without their friendship and support I would surely not have achieved much understanding of what was important in a Tibetan school. I and my family remain forever amazed and grateful for the wonderful gift of friendship and hearth offered by the family of Romita (Banu) and Vishal Thapa, their wonderful daughter Vridhi (*didi*), their relatives and friends, and all our neighbours in Dal Lake and Totarani. Special thanks are due to the children of TCV who very generously extended their friendship and trust and let me into their lives: Pema Dorjee, Chhime, both TenTashis, Thuktsel, Ösel, Tenzin Namdrol (*bu* and *bhumo*), Yeshe, Kalsang, Drishti, Dorden, Khungyap, Yangchen, Pelki, Nyudon, Tsepel, Choezom, TsenLhamo, Lobsang, Pasang, Metok, Jampa, Jayang, Wangyal, Ngawang Tseten, Pema Lhamo, Nyima Lhamo, Choeyang, TenTsering, and many others.

In Scotland, the Department of Social Anthropology in St Andrews has been a nurturing and inspiring place, and this study and my own understanding have greatly benefitted from insights and comments from members of the faculty and my fellow postgraduate students. I would particularly like to thank the convenors of the pre-field and post-field writing-up seminars: Professor Roy Dilley, Professor Peter Gow, Professor Nigel Rapport, Dr Adam Reed and Dr Huon Wardle, for setting the challenges and providing the tools to face them; the convenors of the Collaborative Anthropology Research Group: Dr Stephanie Bunn, Dr Paloma Gay y Blasco, and Dr Stavroula Pipyrou, for channelling creative energies; Dr Mette High, Dr Christos Lynteris, Dr Stan Frankland and Dr Mattia Fumanti, for inspiring talks and advice. Mrs Mhairi Aitkenhead, Mrs Lisa Neilson and Mrs Linda Stein from the Departmental office have been wonderfully patient and helpful even in the midst of the worst of storms. Dr Mark Harris and Dr Stephanie Bunn have provided precious feedback on my research proposal. Professor Peter Gow has kindly shared his books on Tibet and has always been a source of inspiration. Trust and support showed by Professor Mario Aguilar from the Centre for the Study of Religion and Politics, School of Divinity, opened all the doors and made the fieldwork feasible, while his comments and encouragement aided my analysis and prompted important directions of inquiry. My deepest gratitude goes

to Professor Christina Toren, the supervisor of this thesis, who established the basis, irrevocably shaped my ethnographic sensitivities, patiently read and commented on drafts of the chapters and, crucially, provided intellectual breathing space for my own coming of age as a researcher and an anthropologist.

My peers and friends have been meticulous and insightful readers and discussants and I owe special thanks to Anna Gustafsson, Łukasz Krokoszyński, Karolina Kuberska, Margaret Loney, Linda Scott, Edwin Jones, Tomi Bartole, Victor Cova, Phil Kao, Máire Ní Mhórdha, Emilia Skrzypek, Jonathan Alderman, Shuhua Chen, Lauren McGough, Arran Calvert, Andreza de Souza Santos, Lisa Grund, Panas Karampampas, Sara Friend, Laura Obermuller, Liz Hurst, Adom Philogene Heron, and many others. I owe you more than I can mention here.

Finally, I would like to express my love and gratitude to my parents Malgorzata and Jan Byłów and my adopted parent Urszula Antkowiak, who remain the rock on which I can build and rely. I thank my brother Andrzej for being there when I could not, and for being such a wonderful uncle. Our friends Jacek, Mirek and Dorota visited our home in the Himalaya and provided a much needed connection to our other homeland, I feel privileged to have them in my life. My beloved husband Maciek Antkowiak and our daughter Lena shared the journey and the adventure throughout and have always been my light, my love and my compass.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY OF THE THESIS	9
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	11
TABLE OF CONTENTS	15
TABLE OF FIGURES	18
NOTES ON PRONUNCIATION OF TIBETAN TERMS	19
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	23
THE STYLE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL REASONING AND ITS IMPLICATIONS	23
THE FIELD, OPENINGS AND CLOSURES.....	25
NOTES ON THEORETICAL APPROACH AND RELEVANT LITERATURE.....	34
SUMMARY OF CONTENTS AND METHODS.....	44
CHAPTER 2 THEORY OF LEARNING AND CONDITIONING	51
SCHOOLING	54
EXPLANATION OF KEY TERMS	59
RIGLAM – THE PATH OF THE MIND.....	71
REFOCUSING SCHOOLING.....	76
CHAPTER 3 HISTORY THROUGH BODIES	81
BODIES.....	83
HOMES.....	86
MOTHER	93
SCHOOL	96
COLLECTIVE KARMIC PROJECT	99
HISTORY THROUGH BODIES.....	104
CHAPTER 4 FLOATING THROUGH, GOING OUT OF BOUNDS	107
FLOATING	109
DEPENDENT ARISING	114
AN ONTOGENY OF ‘SPACE’	115
STREAMS	121
OUT OF BOUNDS.....	122
PURE TIBETAN.....	125
INSIDE AND OUTSIDE	127
CHAPTER 5 TEASING AND TEASING OUT – EARLY YEARS EDUCATION IN THREE POISONS	133
CONDITIONS OF PEDAGOGY	136

THE THREE POISONS.....	150
IMPERMANENCE	158
THE MEANS AND AIMS OF PEDAGOGY.....	159
KARMA, HAPPINESS AND GOOD LIFE	164
CHAPTER 6 ME AND YOU	169
TURNING TABLES	174
DIALOGUE AND THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL INHERITANCE	185
SOCIALITY.....	191
CHAPTER 7 EPILOGUE:	197
OTHERS BEFORE SELF	197
THE HISTORICAL CONSTITUTION OF INTERSUBJECTIVITY.....	201
THE DYAD	202
ILLUSTRATIONS.....	209
APPENDIX I TIBETAN SCHOOLS IN EXILE AT A GLANCE.....	219
THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION	219
TCV SCHOOLS.....	220
MUSSOORIE HOMES – TIBETAN HOMES FOUNDATION.....	221
SNOW LION FOUNDATION SCHOOLS (NEPAL).....	222
SAMBHOTA TIBETAN SCHOOLS SOCIETY.....	223
CENTRAL TIBETAN SCHOOLS ADMINISTRATION (CTSA)	224
CURRICULUM	225
FUNDING.....	225
APPENDIX II OVERVIEW OF TIBETAN CHILDREN’S VILLAGES ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND TCV BRANCHES.....	229
RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS.....	230
DAY SCHOOLS.....	235
VOCATIONAL TRAINING CENTRES.....	236
THE DALAI LAMA HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTE	237
TCV YOUTH HOSTELS.....	237
OUTREACH PROGRAMME	239
APPENDIX III BASIC EDUCATION POLICY FOR TIBETANS IN EXILE (2004)	241
BASIC EDUCATION POLICY FOR TIBETANS IN EXILE - TIBETAN VERSION	241
BASIC EDUCATION POLICY FOR TIBETANS IN EXILE - ENGLISH TRANSLATION FROM TIBETAN.....	255
APPENDIX IV SAMPLE DEBATE ON COLOURS.....	269

APPENDIX V TCV HOME.....	273
APPENDIX VI CALISTHENICS EXCERCISE.....	277
APPENDIX VII LANGRI THANGPA'S EIGHT VERSES OF MIND TRAINING	279
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	281

TABLE OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1 LOCATION OF THE FIELDSITE AT THE FOOTHILLS OF THE DHAULADAR RANGE IN KANGRA DISTRICT, HIMACHAL PRADESH, INDIA.	21
FIGURE 2 “OTHERS BEFORE SELF” (W. RANG LAS GZHAN GCES) IN THE TIBETAN CHILDREN’S VILLAGE EMBLEM.....	197
FIGURE 3 TCV BROCHURE.	209
FIGURE 4 TIBETAN SCHOOLS IN INDIA, NEPAL AND BUTHAN.	209
FIGURE 5 EXPERIMENTAL CLASSES OF DORRIS MURRAY, IN REPORT OF THE TIBETAN REFUGEE CHILDREN’S NURSERY IN DHARAMSALA 1964 – 1968.....	210
FIGURE 6 TCV <i>KHYIMSTANG</i> , RESIDENTIAL HOME FOR GIRLS AND BOYS AGED C. 5-15, MANAGED BY A HOME MOTHER.	210
FIGURE 7 OPEN KITCHEN IN ONE OF THE NEWLY BUILT HOMES.	211
FIGURE 8 HALL IN ONE OF TCV HOMES.....	211
FIGURE 9 ALTAR IN ONE OF TCV HOMES.	212
FIGURE 10 ALTAR AND OFFERING BOWLS IN A TCV HOME.	212
FIGURE 11 KITCHEN DUTY IN A TCV HOME.	213
FIGURE 12 SECTION ON NUTRITION IN THE TCV MOTHER TRAINING CENTRE HANDBOOK.	213
FIGURE 13 TCV OFFICIAL STAFF/STUDENT CALENDAR, DISPLAYING THE INDIAN (GREGORIAN) CALENDAR DATES AND TIBETAN CALENDAR DAYS – HERE THE TIBETAN 3RD MONTH STARTED ON 11TH OF APRIL. NOTE SCHOOL DAYS HANDWRITTEN OVER THE WEEKS.	214
FIGURE 14 PRACTICING CALISTHENICS DURING PE CLASS. MIDDLE AND SENIOR SECTIONS.....	214
FIGURE 15 MORNING ASSEMBLY, SENIOR SECTION.....	215
FIGURE 16 STUDENT BODY FORMATION DURING TCV ANNIVERSARY.....	215
FIGURE 17 WHICH IS WHERE IN TCV - MAP OF THE TCV CAMPUS WHERE FIELDWORK WAS CONDUCTED IN 2013-14, EXCLUDING THE SCHOOL HEALTH AND HANDICRAFT CENTRE CAMPUS A SHORT WALK AWAY. SOURCE: HTTP://MIDDLESECTION.ORG/SITEMAP.SHTML, ACCESSED ON 28.03.2014.	216
FIGURE 18 MAP OF THE CAMPUS PAINTED ON A WALL CLOSE TO THE VILLAGE OFFICE, 2013.....	216
FIGURE 19 THE WHEEL OF LIFE IN A TCV SCHOOL TEMPLE, SEPTEMBER 2013. FOT. KBA	217
FIGURE 20 CHILD IN TCV UNIFORM WEARING BLESSING IN A METAL CONTAINER. FOT. KBA.....	217
FIGURE 21 SEVEN OUT OF EIGHT VERSES OF THE LANGRI THANGPA MIND TRAINING (LOJONG TSI GYEMA) IN THE TCV HOME MOTHER HANDBOOK. THE EIGHTH VERSE AND COLOPHON WERE PRINTED ON THE NEXT PAGE.....	279

NOTES ON PRONUNCIATION OF TIBETAN TERMS

Tibetan terms and sentences quoted in this study are both transcribed phonetically, according to their local enunciation, and transliterated according to the widely used Wylie (1959) system of Tibetan transliteration. Transliteration is necessary to disambiguate the terms, but will offer the reader little help as to the pronunciation of Tibetan syllables and words. To render Tibetan words in romanized form according to their pronunciation I follow the Tibetan and Himalayan Library's (THL) Simplified Phonetic Transcription of Standard Tibetan by David Germano and Nicolas Tournadre (2010, <http://www.thlib.org>). I would like to draw the reader's attention to the aspiration/non-aspiration (the aspiration signalled by addition of *h* to the consonant) of Tibetan consonants as being a more marked aspect than the consonants' voicing (e.g. the difference between sounds *p* and *b* seemed to be of lesser importance for disambiguation of terms than the difference between *pa* and *pha*).

The Thirty Consonants of Tibetan:

			
k	kh	g	ng
			
ch	ch	j	ny
			
t	t	d	n
			
p	p	b	m
			
ts	ts	dz	w
			
zh	z	a (Wylie = ')	y
			
r	l	sh	s
			
h	a		

The Four Vowels



The approximate pronunciation of the four vowels is as follows: *a* = vowel in “hut”; *i* = vowel in “hit” or “reel”; *e* = vowel in “say” or “help”; and *o* = vowel in “note.”

The THL Simplified Phonetic system, in contrast to Wylie, drops all Tibetan letters *not* pronounced in a given syllable. This includes the superscribed consonants *r*, *l*, and *s*; the prefixes *g*, *d*, *b*, *m*, and *ʼ*; the suffixes *d*, *ʼ*, and *s*; and the post-suffixes *s* and *d*. A prefix, superscript, subscript, or suffix may influence the pronunciation of the vowel or root consonant and thereby affect the phonetic rendering of the Tibetan term. Since the THL Simplified Phonetic rendering of a word represents only its pronunciation in Standard Tibetan, I took liberty to stray away from it in cases where the speaker’s pronunciation was markedly different. Also, although in speech the suffixes *r* and *l* are generally replaced by a lengthening of the preceding vowel (rendered as e.g. *a:* in this study), the THL phonetic transcription scheme retains them because they are still audible if a speaker is enunciating clearly.

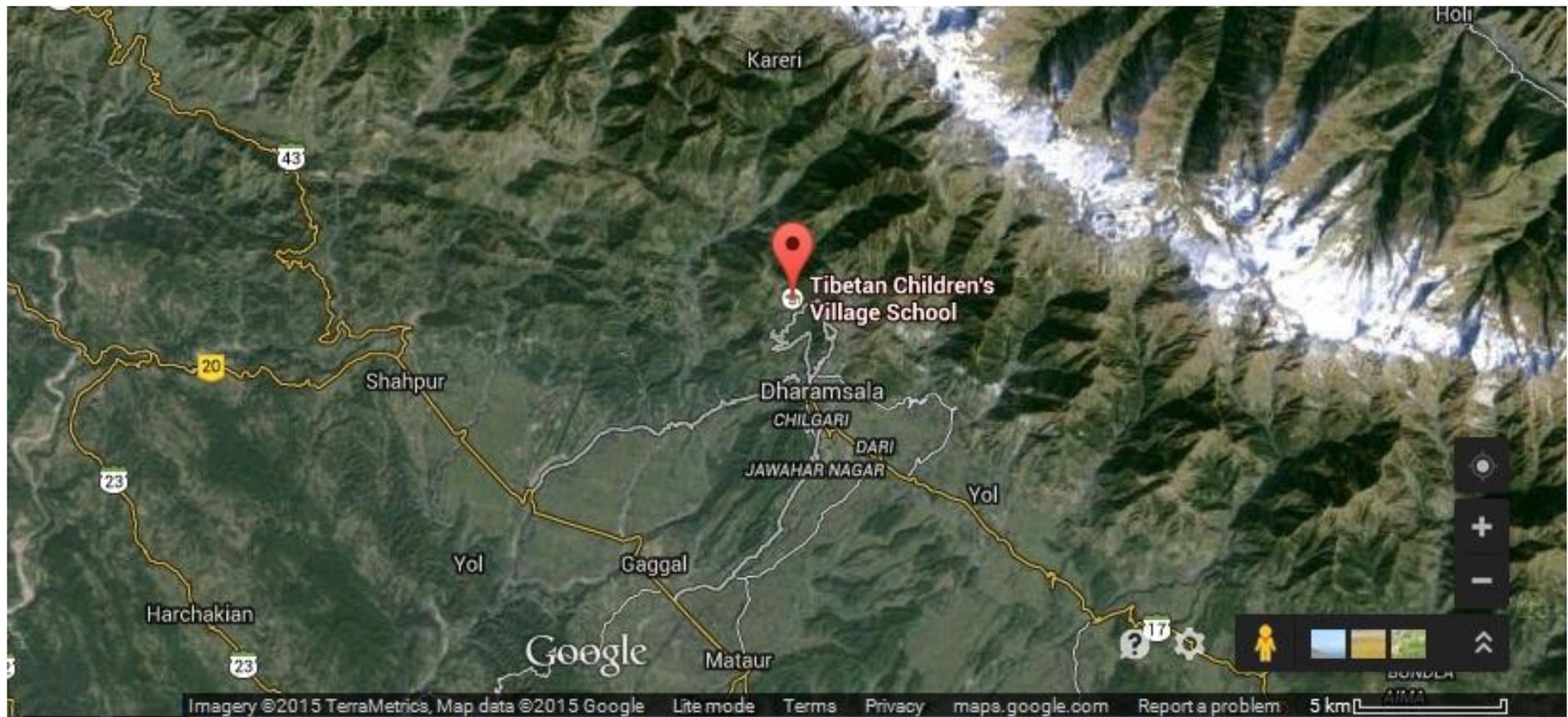


Figure 1 Location of the fieldsite at the foothills of the Dhauladar range in Kangra district, Himachal Pradesh, India.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

THE STYLE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL REASONING AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

In her essay “Sharing, Stealing and Borrowing Simultaneously” (2011), Professor Marilyn Strathern showed that concepts can form distinct constellations, and that this has important implications for different styles of anthropological reasoning. These styles are said to be based on the ways in which observers are grouping the concepts they use. Strathern’s reflection was spurred by a comparison between the ways in which individual ownership and possession seemed to be approached by different actors in two schools – the famous child democracy Summerhill School in England, and the Xavier High School on Chuuk (Micronesia) run by American Jesuits. It was in the latter that the emergence of the concept of ‘Xavier borrowing’ activated seemingly contradictory notions of sharing, stealing and borrowing - thus challenging and blurring the lines of ‘owning’. ‘Xavier borrowing’ opened a way for a particular style of anthropological reasoning, one that will be crucial for this thesis. As Strathern noted, ‘Xavier borrowing’ can be analysed as an invention that “played off different conceptual worlds against each other” (Strathern 2011:35). These were said to encompass but also to lie beyond the school. An important thing to note is that ‘Xavier borrowing’ was not just a mediating strategy; neither of these ‘worlds’, i.e. the one in which borrowing could be translated into the protocols of private property, or in which it stood for the norms of ‘collective living’, existed quite as teachers and students in the school described them. Borrowing as the common ‘shadow’ of both stealing (of property deemed private) and sharing (of goods in communal living) created an opportunity for students and teachers “to hold at bay the totalizing displacement” (*ibid.*) of any of these meanings – the school inhabitants did not have to choose between them. Instead, each could “be displaced by, be shadowed by, what went on in the school” (*ibid.*). As a constellation of concepts – concepts made to work together and bear on each other in people’s experience, and emerging as a constellation from ethnographic data - ‘Xavier borrowing’ enabled a particular style of anthropological reasoning, the style that strongly resonated with my own ethnographic experience of a Tibetan residential school in India.

Just like Meenakshi Thapan's study set in the Rishi Valley School run by the Krishnamurti Foundation in southern India (Thapan 2006), this thesis aims to understand a Tibetan residential school in India as a socio-cultural phenomenon through an interpretive effort. Such interpretive understanding (Weber 2009 [1920]) is based on a premise that actions are always social, in that by virtue of meaning attached to them by the people who are acting, they are informed by the behaviour of others and thus gain specific orientation - 'the subjective meaning-complex of action' (Weber 2009 [1920]:101). As in Thapan's study, my concern is with 'the world of everyday life' (Thapan 2006:221), which is intersubjective from the outset, experienced and interpreted by each one of us and by others (Schutz 1970:163). As in Véronique Bénéï's *Schooling Passions*, I feel there is a need to pay attention to 'the complexities of vernacular realities' (Bénéï 2008:6).

Even though this study was set in a school, deemed to be a quintessential site of establishing and re-affirming relations of power and control by the State, my notes, observations and analysis seem to indicate that people I describe in this thesis lived by constellations of concepts that made their school a vernacular reality. It was decidedly not just a privileged site for testing projects of citizenship (Bénéï 2005:10) or for the expression of competing and conflicting visions of modernity (*ibid.*), or the place where moral discourses (Bourdieu 1977), state-centred strategies of social control (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) and crucial tools for safeguarding the viability of the state (Bénéï 2005: 10) played against each other. In acknowledging this, I concur with a much larger view of the 'educational processes' presented by Véronique Bénéï (2005) in the introduction to her edited volume on education and nationalism in Europe, South Asia and China. Such processes, taking place at different levels within societies (M Hammersley 1986; M Hammersley 2015; F. W. Lutz 1986), are deemed to be imbued with particularisms, feeding as they are on emotions and memories (Bénéï 2005:24).

This thesis is, undoubtedly, a space of contestation. I have had to learn to engage with many narratives and moral discourses that encompassed but went beyond its scope. Its focus and the location of the field site, the origins and life histories of the majority of the research participants, and the topics which have come to the fore in the course of the analysis of ethnographic material, all activate wider and diverse contexts and a potential for reflection

based on disparate bodies of anthropological literature. These different contextual layers could be seen as being superimposed on one another: the history of the Tibetan Children’s Village as an institution formed in the 1960s in India (Bangsbo 2008; Liu 2015; Nowak 1984; Pema 2004; Rigzin 2004), in the Kangra valley of Himachal Pradesh (Parry 1979); the Indian post-independence search for modernity and ‘history’ (see Dumont 1970); discourses and practices of educational regimes in India (Chopra and Jeffery 2005), within which the new Tibetan educational paradigm crystallized; the colonial history and inheritance of the British hill stations in the Indian Himalaya (Bear 2005), mission schools that proliferated there, and the stories and imagined futures of the Tibetan elites who were schooled there before 1959 (Pema 1997; Taring 1970); the history of Tibetan administration in Tibet and in exile (Shakya 1999; Lixiong and Shakya 2009; Richardson 1984; Richardson 1998); and the history and narratives of often excruciating escape from Tibet and the suffering that has befallen each of the three generations of Tibetan refugees; the Buddhist philosophy that has shaped the experience of exiles; and last, but by no means the least, the current and historical paradigms of institutionalized childhood that find their expression in the phenomenon of mass schooling. As in Stanley Mumford’s ethnography of a Tibetan and a Gurung village in Gyasumdo in northern Nepal (Mumford 1989), where historically and ideologically distinct ‘layers’ were shown to influence each other through a continuous temporal process of dialogue, in my ethnographic ‘field’, these different layers were also, without any doubt, in a relationship of “inter-illumination” (Bakhtin 1981:12)

This thesis will, therefore, out of necessity, be an exercise in excision, and some of the contexts and bodies of literature relating to them will have to be given only cursory treatment. Hopefully, the results of an analysis guided by the principle of ethnographic theorisation will justify the omissions and leave space for further elaboration of certain aspects of analysis, afforded by certain kinds of data, in the future.

THE FIELD, OPENINGS AND CLOSURES

The Kangra valley in the northern Indian state of Himachal Pradesh, where this study was conducted, has been eloquently described in Jonathan Parry’s *Caste and Kinship in Kangra* (Parry

1979). My own field site is located to the north of Palampur, where Parry conducted his fieldwork in 1966-1968, high on the slopes of the same Dhauladhar range that he saw from his field sites in Chadhiar and Khera. Parry's description of the hill country to the north of the Punjab plains still resonates with my own experience of staying there over 14 months, spread between January –December 2013 and June - September 2014.

The Tibetan Children's Village (hereafter TCV) campus where most of the ethnographic material for this study was collected, is one of two TCV schools located nearest McLeod Ganj hamlet, above the district headquarters town Dharamsala. The "micro-climate" of the area, with great elevation differences between peaks, hillsides and valleys, made the vicinity of McLeod Ganj very diverse.¹ There was commonly a significant difference in temperatures throughout the day, depending on elevation or the particular area, and its exposure to sunshine. Living on the slopes of Dhauladhar means chilly autumn (October – December), snowfall in winter (January – March), hot and sunny spring (April-June) and extremely humid and rainy summer (July-September), when temperatures drop due to a clogging mass of rolling monsoon clouds trapped by the high mountain ranges. Dharamkot, Naddi Village and Dal Lake were usually 2-4C colder than the McLeod Ganj main market area. The Main Temple area in McLeod Ganj was usually 1-2C warmer than the market and the Tibetan Library (LTWA), government campus and Men-tsee-khang (Tibetan medical centre) a 10-minute drive (or 30-minute walk) down the road were 1-2C warmer, with the upper part of Dharamsala and its Kotwali bazaar further 1-2C up the scale. A shopping trip from Dal Lake down to Dharamsala was thus an experiential testament to a quite radical disjuncture of lifestyles of the people living in the area.

The three of the most elevated locations mentioned above formed the most immediate environment of the school. Dharamkot is a village connected to the TCV campus by a forest path, and a popular outing place for TCV students and staff, providing scenic views over

¹ Throughout the fieldwork in 2013 and 2014, the work carried out tirelessly by the local volunteer meteorologist (known as the WeatherGeek) proved to be an extremely reliable source of information about the microclimate of the area that set physical boundaries to the study. The following description of the weather conditions has therefore been adapted from this local source. Source: mcleodganj-weathergeek.blogspot.co.uk; last accessed on 12.05.2016

snow-capped peaks of the Dhauladhar and an astonishing selection of open air cafes, catering mostly for Israeli backpackers. A trail to the very popular Triund pass, which my adult friends from TCV seemed to visit at least twice a year, starts there. The TCV campus is located directly above the scenic Dal Lake, a popular spot attracting tens of visitors daily, mostly tourists on short holidays from the neighbouring state of Punjab. Dal Lake has a small shop and restaurant complex, two or three tea and snack stalls, a paved walking path surrounding the lake, a Hindu temple and two separate shrines at the opposite ends of the lake. At the time of my fieldwork, the temple was used for daily worship and the shrines for periodical religious observances and accompanying communal feasts of two distinct communities living in direct vicinity – the Nepali-speaking descendants of the Gorkha regiments that had stationed in the area for several generations, and the local Gaddis². There were three separate clusters of homes in the immediate vicinity of the Dal Lake. The predominantly Nepali-speaking Dal Lake and Totarani, connected by a narrow path, and a cluster of Gaddi-owned homes at the Dal Lake itself. Some of the homes and flats were rented to Tibetan families who had a connection with the school, but were not entitled to staff quarters within the campus.

The Naddi village, up a winding road from Dal Lake, was home to a Gaddi shepherds community living in two storey, brightly painted mud walled and slate roofed houses, and a large cluster of hotels, holiday rooms, flats and restaurants catering for mostly Indian tourists. It was also a seat of the International Sahaja Public School³ and an NGO⁴ attracting international volunteers to work with women in Naddi (a recent 2011 census showed a considerable proportion of ‘scheduled tribe’ and ‘scheduled caste’ households in Naddi⁵). There seemed to be no contact between people from these two organisations and the Tibetan

² For descriptions of Gaddi communities in Kangra see e.g. the brilliant work of Anja Wagner (A. Wagner 2012) and earlier work by Kriti Kapila (Kapila 2004) and Peter Phillimore (Phillimore 1991)

³ Shri Mataji’s English-medium school for the young yogis. According to the school’s website: “The International Sahaja Public School was started in 1990 with twenty children from Europe, India and Australia. This was in response to the desire of the children and their parents for an education in an atmosphere of purity away from the increasing turbulence of modern society.” The School starts with Class 1 and prepares students for the Class 10 and Class 12 Indian Certificate of Secondary Education [ICSE/ISC]. (<http://www.isps.edu.in/> last accessed on 20th May 2016)

⁴ <http://educare.in/himachalpradesh/>

⁵ Source: <http://www.census2011.co.in/data/village/9499-naddi-himachal-pradesh.html>; accessed on 12.05.2016

‘society’ living in the Tibetan Children’s Village, apart from sporadic and fleeting meetings in the only ‘corner’ shop in the direct vicinity of Dal lake (Naddi had a much bigger selection of shops and restaurants). A small Indian government school in Totarani catered for local students from nearby hamlets, while another school was located down the road, in Forsythe Ganj. Some children from the Dal Lake attended the prestigious Sacred Heart Catholic day school in lower Dharamsala, c. 14 kilometres away. McLeod Ganj, a busy Tibetan hub and a residence of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, had a Tibetan kindergarten (day care), day school for Classes 1–5 (for 180 students, administered by TCV) and two bigger residential Tibetan schools, called Upper and Lower TCV.

The inhabitants of the Tibetan Children’s Village where I conducted fieldwork were mostly Tibetan Buddhists living in India as long-term first, second and third generation refugees. The Village was a solution to the need for shelter and education for Tibetan children whose parents left Tibet after the Chinese People’s Liberation Army had marched into Tibet to claim it as an integral part of the China’s ‘Motherland’ (Shakya 1999). Tsering Shakya, one of the most prominent contemporary Tibetan historians, begins his account of a history of modern Tibet at the time of the withdrawal of the British from the region in 1947, and the emergence of the new Republic of India. This and the defeat and withdrawal of the Japanese troops from mainland Asia combined with the rise of the Communist regime in China, were to have a profound impact on the traditional balance of power and the emergence of a new order in Asia. The history of modern Tibet has hence been defined by attempts to maintain her independent status and its international recognition in the new regional order (*ibid*). The Tibetan question has been redefined over time, which manifested in the scaling down of Dalai Lama’s postulates in his annual statements issued as part of the commemoration of the Lhasa Uprising (10th of March)⁶. Historians of the period seem to agree that the time immediately preceding the PLA invasion in Tibet proved to be defining: between 1913 and 1947 there would have been real scope for Tibet to have emerged as a ‘nation state’, “*provided the ruling élite*

⁶ These changed from a call for a plebiscite to determine the status of Tibet in the 1960 and 1970, to the central concern with the social and economic welfare of the Tibetans in Tibet, the ‘five-point speech’ proposal of 1987 and the “Strasbourg proposal” of 1988 (Shakya 1999:375, 415, 423).

had had the foresight and willingness to adapt to the changes in the larger world.” (Shakya 1999:5). The decision to keep Tibet isolated from what was happening in Asia at that time effectively prevented Tibet from developing institutions such as print capitalism (Anderson 2006), a census, army and schools, which could have led to the development of a modern nationalism and its international recognition (Dreyfus 2005: 10, note 21).

Following the Tibetan encounter with the UN in 1950, Tibetan leaders began to realize that they would be forced to argue their case according to the standards set by the narrative of a nation-state Asia. To gain recognition and support, Tibet had to prove that she had, in fact, been a 'state' – “with a permanent population, a defined territory, government, and the capacity to enter into relations with other states” (Kolås 1996:59). The path from 'permanent population' has lead directly to 'nationhood', especially since the religious identification forming the basis for the differentiation between Tibetans as ‘the insiders’ (*nang pa*) and the others as ‘outsiders’ (*phyi pa*) (Shakya 1999: 210, Kolås 1996:53, 61) seemed to have been less relevant in international debates. Still, if 'nationalism', by definition, must be secular, “the case of Tibetan 'nationalism' may prove to be an aberration” (Kolås 1996:52).

Indeed, the system devised by Tibetan élites in exile may seem self-contradictory, when analyzed in terms of democratic principles of modern governance and separation of powers. Georges Dreyfus (2005) commenting on the 14th Dalai Lama’s apparently modernist approach to community administration and the formation of Tibetan nationalism, saw more of an eclecticism than modernity (Dreyfus 2005:6). Dreyfus posited a profound impact of Indian public figures on the young Dalai Lama in the 1950s: “Nehru made an obvious impression, but probably more important were other less famous figures (such as the then-President of India Rajendra Prasad, Jayaprakash Narayan, Acharya Tulsi, etc.) (...) they showed him through their own versions of modernism (Hindu or Jain) how one could be a religious person and yet a full participant in the modern world.” (Dreyfus 2005:7)

Crucially, the beginning of exile was also marked by the invention of a system of universal education with new parameters of participation, including lay community and all economic backgrounds (Samdhong 2004; Pema 1997; Taring 1970; Liu 2015; Lempert 2012). The Tibetan Mahayana Buddhist doctrine had been brought to bear on the methods and

curriculum – with the development of the first educational printing press, teaching materials, and school etiquette supervised by monastics. The teaching profession as separate from government job or monastic ordination has emerged gradually in exile. The event of exile also seemed to have prompted a reflection on the past and future, both posited within Buddhist systems of karmic causation and interdependence (see *Chapters 3 and 5), on the way re-scaling and tying individual karmic projects of each student to the overarching karmic project of Tibetan people (Lempert 2012).

Once in India, the refugees became part of a vortex of changes that swept through newly reformed nation-state Asia after the withdrawal from the region of the colonial power and its administration⁷. Over the decades, the Tibetan Children's Villages as an institution, and as a place where childcare and teaching were the focus of reflexive attention, have engaged with the discourses of Indian modernity (Chatterjee and Riley 2001; R. Chopra and Jeffery 2005; Bénéï 2008; V. Beni 2005; Thapan 2006; Thapan 2005; MacDougall 2005, see also *Chapter 3), based on particular, and dynamically evolving concepts of family, parental investment, (over)population, prosperity and progress. TCV teaches India's Central Board of Secondary Education curriculum and participates in their exam scheme, giving students access to Indian colleges and universities. The Tibetan regimes of power and authority, with their specifically directed flows (Mills 2003) - re-created as Tibetan administration-in-exile, Tibetan Medical Institute, and Tibetan schools, have for the past six decades been juxtaposed with the Indian state apparatus supervising the refugees' affairs and the Indian government-run Central

⁷ To cite just a few sources documenting these changes: (Goldstein 1975 wrote about the Tibetan diasporic ethnogenesis in the context of resource competition in south India; Shakya 1999 and Richardson 1998 both documented the diplomatic efforts of Tibetan elites in India and elsewhere; Lopez 2012 addressed the western imaginary of Tibetan *shangri-la* and its impact on Tibetan diaspora; Mills 2012 provided historical context for Tibetan self-immolations; Childs 2008 examined fertility transitions in the Tibetan diaspora, and Childs and Barkin 2006 documented the policies of pronatalism and ethnic endogamy promoted by the Tibetan administration in exile; Magnusson, Nagarajao, and Childs 2008 offered an account of the early stages of Tibetan refugee settlements in India; Chen 2012 described the sedentary exilic experience of 'India-born' Tibetan refugees; Liu 2011 documented the exilic experience of a Tibetan Bonpo community; Hess 2006 explored the concepts of statelessness, citizenship and nationalist activism among Tibetan refugees in India and the US; Lau 2010 analyzed the impact of Indian popular films and television on the Tibetan diasporic aesthetics and practices of love, romance and marriage; Prost 2006 provided an analysis of the informal refugee economy based on the notion of 'sponsorship', while Rolfe 2008 traced the impact of the changing Indian narrative relating to refugees on the Tibetan diaspora).

Schools for Tibetans (CST⁸). Within the crystallizing Asia of nation states, the Tibetan exiles joined in the effort to claim ‘nation-hood’ based on ethnicity and self-determination (Kolas 1996; Rolfe 2008; Tsundue, n.d.; Chen 2012; Frechette 2007; McGranahan 2005; Falcone and Wangchuk 2008; Geoffrey 2015; Magnusson, Nagarajarao, and Childs 2008; Ekvall 1964; Bloch 2008).

Tibetan Children’s Villages are run as a charitable organisation relying on donations both from within and from without the Tibetan diaspora. Tibetan administrators, teachers and Home Mothers are keenly aware of the expectations and assumptions held by foreign donors as to the proper running of educational and childcare institutions. They engage with the manifestations of foreign ways of thinking about children, nutrition, health, hygiene etc. on a daily basis, working with, and sometimes around them. They participate in the charity model that is based on mutual performance of expectations, resting on implicit and sometimes contradictory ideas about suffering, merit and obligations (Adams 2001; Prost 2006). During my fieldwork, I often felt at risk of ‘falling’ into the category of a foreign ‘sponsor’ (Tib. *jinda*, W. sbyin bdag). In fact, I was often asked if, or it was assumed by children and adults that I was, in fact, a sponsor of people I happened to be spending time with. The Tibetan term *jinda* can be used for any sort of benefactor and Tibetans are often *jinda* themselves, especially if they contributed more than a fair share to the preparations and funding of religious events or festivities. However, the Tibetan schools in India and Nepal as a charity-based model seem to have created a distinct notion of a foreign sponsor-beneficiary relationship.

The benefactors’ engagement in the Village affairs and the ways in which they could or could not participate in the life there – being part of the charity ‘game’ - formed a fascinating, but analytically distinct domain. My own engagement and disengagement with the ‘sponsor ethos’ modified the field. It defined the areas that were accessible for me as a researcher. This domain

⁸ In 2014 the Central Tibetan Administration in exile took over the management of the CST schools. In total, the Department of Education currently oversees 73 Tibetan schools – excluding the pre-primary sections and private schools – in India and Nepal under different autonomous administrative bodies. There are around 24,000 students and 2,200 staff members in these schools. Autonomous school administrative bodies include: Central Tibetan Schools Administration (28 schools), Tibetan Children’s Villages (18 schools), Tibetan Homes Foundation (3 schools), Sambhota Tibetan Schools Society (12 schools), and Snow Lion Foundation (12 schools). Source: <http://tibet.net/education/>

thus had been rendered distinct by the particular process of ethnographic inquiry. A focus on the benefactor-beneficiary relationship in TCV would probably have resulted in a different thesis, based on very different material, with openings and closures, or parts voiced and silenced according to the charity model at play itself. My interest, however, lies elsewhere, in the exploration of human ontogeny and the intersubjective relations that inform it, prompted by what I came to understand to be a specifically TCVian ethos. To investigate it I needed access that was not shaped by European or American agendas underlying childcare. Therefore, even though I recognize the significance of the sponsors' engagement in the daily running of the school, I am not in a position, given the material that I collected, to make any significant contribution to the theorisation of charity-based care, or the meanings that arise in the institutional model of charity-based intervention.

In my daily life in TCV I encountered sponsors and potential sponsors on a daily basis. Groups of foreign visitors, predominantly from Korea, Japan, Europe and North America often visited the campus, strolled the school grounds, popped into classrooms and never missed the Baby Home. In the Baby Home, the visitors were usually taken on a tour of children's bedrooms and Home facilities and, if children were not at school, spent some time taking pictures, exchanging smiles and cuddles. The Home Mother Training Centre and Baby Home were decorated with posters about healthy nutrition, and foreign doctors and other specialists were often providing training sessions on their respective areas of expertise. Foreign sponsors sometimes visited their sponsored children, bringing gifts and snacks, or sent clothes and toys, and children were expected to write letters to their sponsor, to show gratitude and foster this long-term engagement. Each residential Home on the campus was built using foreign donation and many carried a commemorative board naming the benefactor. As a fieldworker I had to carefully avoid situations that would place me firmly within the sponsor-beneficiary paradigm, as this would bar access to the aspects of everyday life I came to understand as particularly significant, such as e.g. the teasing games and pedagogic effort deployed in crisis situations. At times, my participant observation had to remain passive, as it were, in situations when asking for a commentary on what was going on would have resulted in suspicion and withdrawal, i.e. by bringing in the foreign, 'sponsor' sensibility to bear on everyday situations.

In some parts of this thesis this may be felt as an absence – a lack of other voices that could validate my own observations. I have tried to address this issue by clearly demarcating ethnographic descriptions made in the field, and by carefully recording and rendering offhand comments or unprompted descriptions of such situations made by research participants.

I should clarify that during my fieldwork I was primarily, but not exclusively, an academic, a wife and a mother, with each of these roles coming to the fore at different moments. As an academic, I gained entry into the school due to kind support and recommendation of Professor Mario Aguilar, from the School of Divinity at the University of St Andrews. Professor Aguilar has for years conducted part of his immensely varied research at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives in Dharamsala and with the Office of His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama. I have no doubt that without his trust and help and very generous and kind assistance from both these institutions, this study would not have been possible. The fact that St Andrews was once a home to Hugh Richardson, a distinguished scholar of Tibet, may also have played a role, albeit this has never been mentioned to me directly. The TCV authorities granted me access to their campus, staff and students on the provision that my work will have purely academic purpose. As there was an open position for a science teacher in the Senior Section, which at that time could not be filled by a Tibetan teacher, the school has accepted an offer of volunteer teaching by my husband, a research fellow at the University of St Andrews, with a PhD in Physics. At the school staff's suggestion, my 6-year-old daughter joined the Infant Section as a fee-paying TCV student. She was thrilled to receive two sets of school uniforms – the everyday blue trousers, chequered shirt and green blazer, and an ankle-long green Tibetan *chupa* dress to be worn on Wednesdays⁹. My family accompanied me in the field throughout 2013, working and attending school for the full school year (March –

⁹ Following the PRC authorities' crackdown on the Tibetan areas in TAR in 2008, Tibetans in exile embraced a strategic nonviolent resistance, e.g. by observing the so called White Wednesdays – *Lbakar* (lhag dkar), days considered to be auspicious for the Dalai Lama (*soul days* - bla gza'). On Wednesdays people pledge to boycott goods made in China, eat Tibetan food, or only vegetarian food, speak pure Tibetan and wear Tibetan dress. In Tibetan schools in India, wearing school *chuba* dress (gender specific) on Wednesdays was a requirement. Source: lhakar.org, last accessed on 25 May 2016; Imogen Clark, personal communication.

December 2013). I returned to the field alone for further three months the following summer, when academic and school duties in Scotland prevented them from joining me.

All of the above conditions, locations, the events and the agendas, symbols, ideology and constellations of concepts bear on the life in the Village where I conducted fieldwork. The constellations of concepts that were used by TCV inhabitants were, however, part of the daily school life and of “what went on in the school”. In this thesis, I will look at what went on in the Village and look for specifically TCVian constellations of concepts that may play very different parts in different constellations beyond the school.

NOTES ON THEORETICAL APPROACH AND RELEVANT LITERATURE

PURITY AND EXILE

Liisa Malkki (1995) reminded us, following Mary Douglas’s classic *Purity and Danger* (1966), that the defilement of exile was only possible within specific system of symbolic ordering of reality. Prost (2006), writing on the contemporary forms of sponsorship of Tibetan refugees by Westerners and Tibetan ‘informal refugee economy’ in Dharamsala, stresses the perceived need and efforts to actively sustain the ‘authenticity’ of Tibetan lifestyles in exile: “The Tibetan nationalist discourse stressing the preservation of the Tibetan heritage on one hand, and the western cultural investment in Buddhism, on the other, happily coincide in awarding high symbolic currency to the preservation of ‘authentic’ (largely Buddhist) Tibetan lifestyles.” (Prost 2006: 241). Lau (2009) argues that India as the main host country to Tibetan exiles, and the hub of Tibetan administration-in-exile, provides a contradictory ‘present home’ crucial for the understanding of Tibetans in India (Lau 2009:88, cf. Hess 2009 for the radically different ‘melting into’ strategy of the Tibetan “immigrant ambassadors” in the U.S and Canada). Indians represented as radically ‘other’ become a backdrop for the construction of Tibetan diasporic identity (Lau 2009:82), and the fear of becoming Indian, ‘the other’ - a manifestation of muted diasporic violence in the Tibetan representational climate of non-violence. Lau presents fear as the central factor – with elders and youths voicing their sense of loss of cultural knowledge, and the fact that the younger generations no longer know what their grandparents

knew as a matter of course, as a threat of cultural extinction (Lau 2009:84). Fears of harming Tibet, the Tibetan cause, or one's own trajectory as a Tibetan, raised by challenges to the dominant representations of Tibetan "nation" in the diaspora, are also highlighted in both Lau's article on the representations of Indians as 'others' and in McGranahan's study of the community of Tibetan Khampa resistance fighters in Nepal (McGranahan 2005:576, Lau 2009:87)

Fears of becoming Indian, of losing 'authenticity', translated into 'ethnicity', become substantiated within the government's policy-making. Childs and Barkin (2006) reveal the existence of an active pro-nation policy implemented by the Tibetan Government-in-Exile through the use of visual education materials on health issues, prepared and distributed by the Central Tibetan Administration in Tibetan refugee settlements in India and Nepal during the 1990s. By employing the storybook aesthetic, the materials managed to exert a covertly hegemonic authority to promote the pronatalism and ethnic endogamy as the means to stem the perceived threat to the existence of Tibetans as a distinct ethnic group. Despite the messages, both verbal and visual, stressing the importance of the family planning and the negative implications of overpopulation, in booklets and brochures addressed to children and adults the images tend to depict families with more children than are necessary to numerically replace the parents (Childs and Barkin 2006:39; cf Chatterjee and Riley 2001, Indian national agenda aims to reduce population by promoting a two-children family model). Thus, Tibetan agenda seemed to promote population growth in response to the estimates that the Chinese occupation of Tibet resulted in 1.2 million deaths, amounting to roughly one-sixth of the Tibetan population. These, although contested by some scholars (Grinfeld 1987 and French 2003 in Childs&Barkin 2006: 40), were enshrined as an inconvertible truth in exile discourse along with the portrayal of Tibetans as an ethnic group threatened with extinction. Ethnic endogamy was also promoted e.g. by placing the problem of AIDS and HIV infection within the context of ostensibly legitimate relationships with Westerners (and not Indians), depicted as dangerous disease carriers and a threat to the maintenance of Tibetan ethnic purity. The CTA's official line to uphold Tibetan identity among exiles was implemented by discouraging social contacts with Indians and Westerners (Childs&Barkin 2006:46).

Magnusson, Nagarajarao and Childs (2008) admit that the research on Tibetan refugee settlements has up to date focused on the ‘uprootedness’ and the process of adaptation (Magnusson & Nagarajarao & Childs 2008:3). Following Goldstein, they argue that the refugees in the beginning of their settlement in India could hardly be called a homogenous national community, and that unity was only fostered later, through various adaptive strategies employed by the administration that was to grow out of the Private Office of the Dalai Lama (Magnusson, Nagarajarao & Childs 2008:6). They also point to the fact that large officially administered settlements initially suffered from management problems and lack of involvement from the refugees, and that small handicraft settlements in the Himalayan foothills were deemed more successful in terms of ‘rehabilitation’ of refugees (Magnusson, Nagarajarao & Childs 2008:6). The relocation of the Tibetans into larger settlements served several purposes: it was a means to further rural development in India, it took some tension off the border, and it made the refugees easier to monitor, control, and register (cf Malkki’s ‘device of power’, Malkki 1995a:498). The picture of life in a specific settlement in the south of India, as reconstructed from the archives explored by Magnusson, Nagarajarao and Childs, suggests that Tibetans living in exile didn’t perceive or grasp the idea behind the refugee settlement camps as the instrument of control. Indeed, Tibetan refugees felt free to join the Tibetan communities throughout India, seeking the best possible conditions to live, through constant, uncontrolled movement without travel permits between settlements (Magnusson, Nagarajarao & Childs 2008:15). Local markets were stimulated by the arrival of new population and financial aid for the “deserving poor”, but refugees also quickly became local competing entrepreneurs (Magnusson, Nagarajarao & Childs 2008:18, cf. Goldstein 1978). Prost (2006) duly noted that not all Tibetans living in India do in fact have refugee status as many of the second and third generation exiles have not been granted it. Prost focused on the growth of informal economic exchanges within the refugee community, along with the ensuing transformation of symbolic capital, i.e. particular dispositions and characteristics of individuals. These come to validate their status as ‘Tibetan refugees’, and make them worthy recipients for financial sponsorship in the eyes of foreign donors, conditioned by two salient characterisations of Tibetan exiles: religiosity and refugeehood (Prost 2006:236). During my

fieldwork I also noted a generalised discomfort with the idea of ‘rich refugees’ – which confirmed what Prost found, i.e. that both foreigners and local Indians try to maintain the purity of the category ‘refugee’, and to preserve it from the pollution of materialistic concerns. Ella Rolfe argued that there indeed exists an ‘unofficial, unacknowledged and uncodified’ and thus flexible and evolving refugee ‘script’ in India that is noticeable in the ways Tibetans are treated by public administration (Rolfe 2008:255). Being India’s first experience of a large group of refugees who did not claim to be ‘Indian’, the rapid and sustained influx of Tibetans proved significant in shaping, developing and challenging Indian ideas of ‘refugees’ formed during partition in 1947 (Rolfe 2008:256). India’s treatment of refugees relies on no formal refugee law, and the country remains hostile to international involvement in refugee matters (Rolfe 2008:257, also Mishra 2014). However, Rolfe notes that Tibetans’ initial reception was mediated through ideas of ‘hospitality’, and also, due to 1947 partition experience, the notions of ‘neighbour-refugee’ and ‘refugee as kin’ (Rolfe 2008:259). The position of Tibetans in India is best captured in the conjunction between Indian discourses of ‘refugees’ and ‘minorities’ and that this may explain changes in their treatment (Rolfe 2008:266).

McGranahan (2005), in her study of the dissenting voices of the Tibetan exile community, noted that the shared identity as refugee did not always cancel the power of local, tribal, and sectarian identities that have long played a divisive role in the Tibetan world (McGranahan 2005:573). This could be explained by what Malkki shows in *Purity and Exile* (1995) - that displacement may give rise to different forms of liminality – different conceptualizations of ‘home’, history and different stance towards the category ‘refugee’, its appropriation or rejection. Hess (2009) called this ‘diaspora consciousness’ (Hess 2009:6) and suggested that ‘diaspora thinking’ may provide a rewarding area of study as “it creates a powerful narrative of connectedness without always resorting to the territoriality of nationalisms” (ibid). Creating space for diverse models for thinking through subjectivity (Shukla 2001:555), diaspora approach relies on an imaginary as central to the way diasporic experience is articulated, within and outside of actual communities, and therefore the language of displacement, or settlement, should not dominate an understanding of the diaspora experience.

As always, the Other is the necessary condition for particular kinds of self-reflection. Peter Bishop (1989) and Donald Lopez (1998) both explored the issue of the place of Tibet in Western imagination, and the play of opposites (Lopez 1998) that has been developing in the context of global discourses of democracy, human rights and environmentalism (Huber 1997). The Dalai Lama's doctrines of 'nonviolence' and 'democratization' can be seen as examples of rhetorical positioning dependent on such bifurcated images of 'Tibet-as-Utopia' and 'Tibet-as-victim'. Hess asserts that these images influence the Tibetans' experience of exile, especially in the West, and may be used by Tibetans to their advantage. At the same time Tibetans "speak back" to them, creating new images of themselves for both others and themselves (Hess 2009:3). Victimization, however, is only one aspect of the emerging diaspora, co-existing with more diffuse motivations, such as the attempt to raise the political profile of Tibetans internationally (Hess 2009:5). Tibetan education in exile seems to be a powerful tool in this endeavour, thus creating sometimes uneasy balance between exposure to foreign scrutiny and the need to self-regulate based on internal insight of Tibetan exiles.

EDUCATIONAL REGIMES

Apart from the monograph by Nowak (1986), which explored the historical, political and social conditions underlying the emergence of the Tibetan youth culture in exile, its leading metaphors and its role in the wider 'refugee' context, schooling in the Tibetan diaspora has also been given some attention in specific chapters in Diehl 2002, Childs G., Barkin. 2006, Prost 2008, Lau 2009, Liu 2011, MacPherson 2011 (for studies of monastic education in Tibetan Buddhist tradition see Dreyfus 2003, Lempert 2012, MacPherson 2000).

Working ethnographically with people within a school immediately brings forward the problem of the Durkheimian, externally observable social reality, i.e. school as an institution is believed to exist independently of individual participants and to regulate their behaviour through endorsement and enforcement of a set of explicit and implicit norms (Thapan 2006; Gellner 2015; Gellner and Hirsch 2001). The Tibetan Children's Village that was home to this study seemed to exist on many planes that will be discussed in the following chapters. By

allowing the ethnography to coalesce into forms of description that render these planes accessible to the reader, I wanted to avoid pre-empting the structural approach to TCV as an institutional being. The following chapters thus discuss the horizons, boundaries, Home and classroom time, discipline, modes and channels of action, bodily practices, uniforms and prescriptions that constituted the schooling experience in TCV. In this way, I believe that my description manages to capture the Village and school as a system, but always emerging from somebody's point of view, somebody's experience. The ongoing dialogue between the Village inhabitants is purposefully the main focus of this study, which aims to explore how people constitute 'things' through their history of engagement and relationships with others.

Meenakshi Thapan (2006) in her classic study of the Rishi Valley School in Andhra Pradesh, mentioned above, insightfully noted that the active participants in the institutional 'system' are bound to have different motivations, goals, values, attitudes and ways of acting that influence their mutual interaction (Thapan 2006:220). In this study, I am concerned with how these diverse motivations, goals, attitudes and values come to be microhistorically constituted in a Tibetan residential school in India. The 'Village' is thus, from an outset, not a backdrop against which we can see an individual forming her or himself over time through re-action and interaction. In the thesis, the reader will undoubtedly notice the author's resistance to placing the TCV in the wider 'contexts' of nationalism, Tibetan culture, or the State. This resistance comes from the theoretical understanding of this residential school as a lived reality *for* the research participants. Since my aim was to attend to the ontogenetic aspect of the schooling experience, the scope of the study was necessarily restricted to the world that was directly perceptible to the school inhabitants.

There is no denying that the network of Tibetan Children's Villages is part and needs to engage with a broader set of educational regimes in contemporary India (R. Chopra and Jeffery 2005; Subrahmanian 2005; Mohammad-Arif 2005; Bear 2005; Bénéï 2005; V. Benei 2005; Bénéï 2008; Balagopalan 2005; D. MacDougall 2005; Vaughier-Chatterjee 2005; Winkelmann 2005; Thapan 2005; Rampal 2005; Parry 2005; R. Chopra 2005; Rigzin 2004; Pema 2004; Samdhong 2004). As showed by Lave (1988, 1996) learning - inherent in all human activities - cannot be conceived of as *sui generis*, but as a socially constituted practice of "learning", done by

“learners” in a particular, often institutionalised setting. Ethnographic studies of schooling (cited above) show a vast degree of variation of notions and systems of education¹⁰. Schools appear to be constantly open and in dialogue with other institutions and society at large. What takes place within schools both reflects and informs wider conceptions and debates.

A wider-reaching vision, perhaps further removed from the particular field that spurred this analysis, would (and indeed has, in many other studies of the Tibetan diaspora, see above) reveal the echoes, implications and the positioning of TCV and the TCVian education within a greater scheme of things. Just recently, in March 2016, one of the school boys, Dorjee Tsering set himself on fire in an act of self-immolation – an act which had for many years been known to Tibetan children schooled in India as ‘fire sacrifice’ and ‘martyrdom’. His fatally burned body was solemnly received by Tibetans staying in Dharamsala and in McLeod Ganj, among whom were many of my friends - teachers, Home Mothers and students from TCV. This coincided with the peak of the political campaign for the 2016 Tibetan *Sikyong* election, which was said to constitute the final departure from the ideal of the *Swaraj*-based Tibetan self-rule in exile¹¹. In *Chapters 3 and 4, I describe the school anniversary and graduation ceremonies and the display of national and religious symbols, including symbols of Tibetan martyrdom that were an inherent and prominent part of such events in the school life. My aim, however, was to attend to what these displays and symbols were in the ‘Village’, the place where different values, expectations, narratives and ideologies were meeting, but in which they were also ‘learned’, i.e. microhistorically constituted (Toren 1990) by people who lived their lives within TCV.

¹⁰ Bunn (Bunn 2010) provides an illuminating case of anthropological education in UK schools and notes that in teaching anthropology, education and anthropological fieldwork are indeed indistinguishable in certain aspects – the apprenticeship in fieldwork being a close analogy to apprenticeship in methods of *learning* particular subjects such as e.g. anthropology.

¹¹ Samdhong Rinpoche, the first elected head of Tibetan government-in-exile was reported by the *Times of India* as saying: “I didn’t cast my vote as the exiled government was based on the principles of Swaraj of [Mahatma] Gandhi Ji. It didn’t involve competition or opposition. But, nowadays, representatives are involved in opposing each other through their individual campaigns. Therefore, I think, the exiled government is not heading in the right direction.” (source: <https://www.tibetsun.com/news/2016/03/21/first-elected-head-boycotts-exile-tibet-govt-election>, accessed on 22.03.2016)

CHILDREN

Any given concept of education, learning and teaching seems to be inevitably based on the socially agreed idea of what a person is to become - the idea of the self and of what it means to be a human being (Howell 1988: 147, also Schieffelin 1986: 167 and Morton 1988:70). An analysis of the lives of children staying in TCV and of spontaneous interactions between children and their caregivers was thus bound to reveal basic implicit concepts shared by the group (Briggs 1998, Howell 1988:152, Schieffelin 1986, Schieffelin 2007).

Allison James (1995) provides a good overview of the debate about the social construction of childhood from the late 1970s onwards, and the rationale and consequences of conceptual separation of children from the adult world and the institutionalization of 'childhood' (see also Chopra and Jeffery 2005; Sykes 2003, James and Prout 1997, Jenks 1996; Bunge 2003; Goodwin-Gill and Cohn. 1994; Scheper-Hughes and Sargent 1995; Stephens, Sharon 1995; Wall 2004; Gupta 2005; Korbin 2003; Steedman 1990, Hendrick 2001). However, thinking through the idea of childhood or children offers a challenge to anthropological and social theory more broadly, since it tends to radically denaturalize these categories through exploring the social meanings of childhood in different societies (cf Bunn 2010 for a brief overview of child-centred educational theory and practice in UK schools from 1960s onwards, and the inclusion of children as active social agents in e.g. 'children's geographies' – a method that consists in eliciting children's points of view on research topics). The ethics and politics of research with children have been particularly usefully explored by Wendy Ewald (Ewald, Weinberg, and Stahel 2000) and Carolyn Steedman (Steedman 1982).

James (1995) also notes the significance of the embodiment of the idea of 'the child' by children themselves (James 1995: 60- 62). She notes that the recognition and evaluation of 'difference' on which this is predicated occurs through reflexive interpretation by children of the gap between their selves ('I') and their selves as objects (me) under the scrutiny of others - gazing, expressing opinion about and adopting attitudes towards them (James 1995:63). Similarly, Ochs and Kremer-Sadlik (E. Ochs and Kremer-Sadlik 2007) note the scarcity of research on the enactment of morality through family interactions and the ways in which children are apprenticed into moral life worlds (p.5) and point to the need to articulate morality

as a family practice (notable exceptions being Briggs 1979; E. Ochs 1988; Schieffelin 1986; Merleau-Ponty 1964). They problematize the linear trajectories of moral development (Piaget 1965; Piaget 1997; Kohlberg 1984) and note the significance of the cultivation of awareness as a critical focus of what they call ‘moral socialization’ (p 7). Ways in which awareness is ‘teased out’ from Tibetan infants will be discussed in detail in *Chapter 5, based on a closer look at seemingly trivial, spontaneous behaviour of both adult caregivers and peers (cf Briggs, 1979, 1998). Even though the Village’s spatio-temporal organization facilitated the notional separation of people into different age groups, it has always been assumed that such an *a priori* theoretical separation would render the resulting analysis inadequate (Morton 1996:5).

Alma Gottlieb (2004), embarking on a description of the “seemingly commonsensical realm of infant care” (Gottlieb 2004: xvii), observed that common sense in this case cannot be but a deeply culturally constructed artifice. Toren (2001) discussed ethnocentricity of the natural science model of mind and thus of developmental psychology, directly concerned with childhood. Her close observation of the Fijian childhood experiences of learning what it is to be *madua*, i.e. an embodied knowledge of it, reveals the tacit assumptions of the knowledge in the body, inherent in most psychological models of child cognitive development (Toren 2001:168), such as e.g. the image of the child as a locus of insatiable demands, including the demand for more and more knowledge (*ibid*). The belief in the need to provide a child with a multitude of stimuli does not, however, seem to be shared by other groups (see e.g. Howell 1988 work with the Chewong, whose children have few toys, shared by both girls and boys, don’t play competitive games and are not usually praised for achieving control over objects). Both Briggs (1979, 1970) and Toren (2001, 2006) noted that admitting children as fully-fledged participants of an ethnographic study means that attention needs to be paid to knowledge that is not yet explicit, or not yet easily rendered in language (Toren 2001:167). Both also stressed that such knowledge may just be a visceral experience - a kind of knowledge that is never given a name, never made explicit, but made in the course of ‘dramas’ or ‘interrogations’ that the adults use to teach or ‘cause thought’ (Briggs 1998:5) in children.

The results of paying such attention to the historically motivated meaning-making and its implications prove rewarding. Gow (2000, 1989) showed how the notion of *samenchi* - the

lonely self among the Piro of eastern Peru, and the nature of *nsbinikan-chi* – compassion, the affective precondition of social life, enable the understanding of the essence of kinship ties between Piro children and other members of the group. Only then it is possible to grasp the complementarity of ‘perverse’ earth-eating by children, and the Piro sociality embedded in a particular kind of subsistence economy. MacDougall (2006), on the other hand, noted the interesting and revealing omissions of the intellectual life of children and their capacity for abstract thought and moral judgement in the anthropological literature (“Perhaps adults feel that to reveal this side of children is to render them unchildlike and less worthy of sympathy?” MacDougall 2006:76). Children’s games and verses, studied by Iona and Peter Opie were an early example of the distinctive ‘cultures of childhood’, where children were being socialized by other children (in MacDougal 2006: 78) Schools, on the other hand, are said to be childhood writ large, and yet they are in many ways the antithesis of childhood, being the most formalized means by which adults control children and seek to shape them into adults (*ibid*).

In Tibetan Buddhist setting, the concept of reincarnation provides an interesting challenge to the naturalized models of such reproduction. Diemberger (2007) noted that reincarnation, which is a return of an identical individuality, may stand in contradiction to the Buddhist rebirth according to the laws of karma. Empson (2007) observed that in Mongolia, a child with specific birthmarks born to a neighbouring household may be given to the previous family when recognised as a reincarnation of their son. Ideas of reincarnation thus relate to practices of “adoption”, manifested e.g. transfer of a child to a religious community when they are recognised as a reincarnation of a high lama - *tulku* (sprul sku). According to Diemberger’s historical reconstruction of the life story of the 15th century Tibetan princess and incarnation of the deity Dorje Phagmo (2007:245), the Tibetan ideas of reincarnation implied the actual transfer of parental rights and obligations. Children’s memories were believed to reflect experiences of their previous life and played a part in underpinning a particular form of relationship based on the idea of reincarnation. Such relational forms, which seemed to merge different rebirth eschatologies, were said to accord with some popular Tibetan practices: “*The transfer of a spiritual principle seems to provide an idiom of relatedness that is an alternative to and might override that of the transmission of bodily substances from parents to children through conventional notions of*

'bone' and 'blood'" (Diemberger 2007: 248). The karmic metaphysics underpinning Tibetan early-years pedagogy, resulting in such contradictions or adjustments, will be discussed in *Chapter 5.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS AND METHODS

In *The Story of Lynx* Claude Lévi-Strauss declared that the dynamism of some societies comes from the play of reciprocity and hierarchy, and is only possible through a state of alternating disequilibrium. In a note, he illustrated this with a reference to a rite of the rope-pull among the inhabitants of the Ryukyu archipelago¹²:

“One of these [moieties] was linked with the east, with men, and with the profane world, while the other was linked with the west, with women and with the sacred. In the political and social orders, superiority belonged to the masculine principle, while in the religious orders, it belonged to the feminine principle. In the villages I visited, the rite of the rope-pull, in the course of which the moieties opposed each other, gave rise to ambiguous feelings. The superiority of the eastern camp was recognized, but the victory of the western camp was considered beneficial to human fertility and the prosperity of the fields.” (Lévi-Strauss 1995:237)

As it happens, the rope-pull was a constant feature of many social events and merry-making that followed them in the Tibetan Children’s Village where the ethnographic material for this thesis was collected. At the time of the fieldwork it was just another competition, marking a special day festivities, but in the course of the analysis, it proved to be the playful ritual that revealed the parts to the ‘game’, the disequilibrium, reciprocity and hierarchy.

During the annual Spring Fete celebrations, during Staff Day and Children’s Day, the rope connected teachers and students; the office staff and Home Mothers; the Head Office of the TCV network and the Village Office of the particular ‘Village’; school classes and school

¹² He described this in more detail in (Lévi-Strauss, c. 1987. *Hérodote En Mer de Chine. Poikilia. Études Offertes à Jean-Pierre Vernant*. Paris: École des hautes études en sciences sociales).

batches. Women and men were variously united and divided by the rope-pull, which thus evidenced or set up categories, configurations, and scale of phenomena unfurling before my eyes.

The thesis will proceed by a series of close-ups, moving between categories, configurations and scales as they reveal themselves with the progressive movement of narrative vision. I will start with description of TCV as an organization with a distinct educational agenda (*Chapter 2) and then focus on the bodies in Homes and classrooms, and the actions accomplished through them (*Chapter 3). In *Chapter 4 I will take a closer look at the surfaces of the campus and the types of ‘movement’ made possible by and in TCV, while in *Chapter 5 the focus will narrow down on Baby Home, which sets out the horizon for some of the infants living in TCV. In the microcosm of the Baby Home I will close-up again on everyday dyadic situations, in order to explore specific kinds of intersubjective operations and shaping of awareness prompted by the salience of perspectival shifts and evidentiality in Tibetan language (*Chapter 6). The understanding of public nonreality (*Chapter 2) that shot through the schooling agenda will thus find its ‘organic’ manifestation in the consistent effort at blurring the boundaries of self and other (*Chapter 7), a mere appearance of duality borne out of karmically impelled awareness, a “defilement of the substratum of Emptiness” (Beyer 1988:95).

From the outset of the study, my understanding of the situations I was to observe followed the paths blazed for social anthropology by Christina Toren’s model of self-organizing principle in human ontogenesis (Toren 2014a, 2014b, 2011, 2009, 2007, 2000, 1999, 1993, 1990). The Introduction to her *Making Sense of Hierarchy* contains a passage that explains and prompts a particular approach to ethnographic inquiry adopted here:

“(…) my work rests on the assumption that human sociality is innate. I hold that human cognition is inherently social – meaning cannot be made in isolation, it requires others in order to be brought into being. We cannot even conceive of human beings without at the same time situating them in some history – real or imagined – and history is, of course, the artefact of our sociality.” (Toren 1990: 4)

In looking at a Tibetan Children’s Village I will thus keep in mind that children who are growing up within it are not learning aspects of their ‘culture’. ‘Culture’ as a ‘system of

meanings' can only be a (useful) abstraction¹³, but the meanings that give rise to a 'culture' are necessarily made by living persons who invest behaviour, objects, images etc. with such meanings (*ibid.*). The fact that meanings are made to appear, or that they become consensual is due to interpersonal processes informing personal experience¹⁴ – “a kind of ‘microhistory’ that situates each one of us within a certain sociocultural history” (Toren 1990:5). My focus on children as well as adults is, therefore, informed by the understanding of intersubjectively constituted personal experience, a microhistory that leads us to make meanings recognizable and communicable to others. At the same time, my approach cannot rely on the notion of developmental stages and their timely or anomalous achievement in children. Even though I usually consider the age of a child to be an important piece of information in any given situation, and I therefore provide this information in my ethnographic vignettes and analysis, this is done to achieve a certain longitudinal depth of the material at hand, and to enable spatiotemporal tracing of a particular child's history. In my analysis, the child's age in TCV reflects their experience of institutional trajectory (e.g. mornings spent in Baby Home early on in life, and in the classrooms and the libraries of the Infant Section, Junior, Middle and Senior Sections; or residence in Baby Home, followed by that in one of residential Homes and, later, in Girls or Boys Hostels), their 'horizons' of possible action in the world (see *Chapter 4), and the history of their relations with others - seniors, peers and juniors.

I concur with a view that (contra earlier stage-based models of Freud and Piaget) this model supports a more layered model of senses of self, and of self-with-other “in which both of these are present at every phase of growth, and develop simultaneously in relation to each other, so that, for example, when language and verbal skills begin to develop, it opens up a radically new domain of relatedness to others and of self-reflexivity, and also new kinds of gaps between

¹³ “Certainly, persons embody aspects of a culture, but what constitutes ‘a culture’ is itself the abstracted product of the manifold products of persons in social relations with one another and does not even come into existence except in books like this one.” (Toren 1990:5)

¹⁴ Toren thus defines cognitive development – not as a “neatly defined process or set of processes that end at some point in adolescence” (Toren 1990:5), but as “a series of constructive processes that continue throughout the course of life, their culture-specific products to be founded upon innate discriminations and elaborated, brought into being, in relations with others who are themselves making culture-specific meanings out of their own experience.” (*ibid.*)

self and other, and between different aspects of the experience of self” (Rumsey 2003:174, see also Stern 1985). This understanding has, without doubt, influenced what I could and did see during my fieldwork in TCV Homes, classrooms, and especially in the Baby Home for children up to the age of 5. In the last two chapters of the thesis, on the basis of the ethnographic material from TCV, I present an argument that leads me to question some tacit assumptions relating to the anthropology’s object of inquiry¹⁵. Witnessing the dialogical ontogeny of children in the Baby Home through language and extra-linguistic interaction, brings me back to the dialogical critique of anthropology by Denis Tedlock and Bruce Mannheim (Tedlock and Mannheim 1995). However, while their edited volume (*The Dialogic Emergence of Culture*) highlights the need to recognize the dialogical production of anthropological knowledge itself, and to acknowledge the multiplicity of voices that come together in the ethnographic endeavour, my own preoccupation lies with the ‘ethnographic vision’ and the emergence of our object of inquiry. It is thus not so much the epistemological status of ethnographic writing that is the focus of my final argument, but what, as anthropologists, we are able, or willing to see and include in our ethnographic projects. Like Tedlock and Mannheim I am concerned with method, but played on a different plane – not the anthropological capturing of ‘culture’ (cf Pels 2014¹⁶ for a recent critique), but the ethnographic capturing of interaction. In *Chapter 2 of the thesis I offer a multiple and dialogical reading/interpretation of the policy document which thus reveals itself as the gateway to different layers of understanding of Tibetan

¹⁵ I see these tacit assumptions as ‘inherited’ by anthropology. They are made manifest in other fields, see e.g. Charles Taylor’s philosophical account of the development of the modern notion of self, spurred by its disengagement from the cosmic order of meaning from the 18th century onwards, the subject since turning inwards and to inner-life as the source of meaning making (C. Taylor 1989); self-reflexive capacities becoming central to meaning making (Giddens 1991); the narrative paradigms of identity theories in psychology (McAdams, Josselson, and Lieblich 2006) and the reverberations of post-modern multiplicity, fragmentation and de-centering of selves (e.g. Gergen’s “multiphrenia”, Gergen 1991) in pastoral care theories and practice (Zock 2011). My concern with the anthropological assumptions behind ‘intersubjectivity’ is thus part of the overarching anxiety, as expressed by Hetty Zock: “in our time the seminal importance of the self as the unified core of meaning-making is simultaneously emphasized and contested.” (Zock 2011:166)

¹⁶ Pels analyses the place of intersubjective exchanges in the long-term history of anthropology and argues, contra Tedlock and Mannheim, that the ‘romantic’ ideal of a dyad of interchanges between researcher and researched cannot, in fact, capture what anthropology is about, i.e. “an expertise about cultural classification that cannot be divorced from the asymmetrical breaks with everyday perceptions provided by ethnographic methodology” (Pels 2014:211).

educational practice. But it is the final two chapters that bring forth into view the methodologically important plane I wish to highlight – the dyad.

While dyadic relationships have long been visible in ethnographic vignettes, the dyad has rarely received analytical attention in anthropological analysis that still tends to focus either on an (in)dividual or a society/group/community/culture (Gellner 2015). Among others, Gregory Bateson's *Naven* (G. Bateson 1958) is a brilliant early example of the dyadic aspect of human behaviour, impossible to ignore in ethnographic encounter, coming to the fore in anthropological analysis. Piers Vitebsky's *Dialogues with the Dead* (1993) blazed the trail for the ethnographic and analytical attention to dialogue as “a mutual quest for awareness about the other person's state of mind” and “the medium through which each person's being is constantly moulded” (Vitebsky 1993:5). The Sora personhood, described in *The Dialogues*, is both shaped and ethnographically retrieved through the dialogues between the Sora mourners and their dead¹⁷, and proves to be a “hard-won and always provisional achievement” (Vitebsky 1993:9), far from a kind of bounded being commonly imagined in much of the scientific discourse, which reaches the height of its individuation as it grows and matures and is then annihilated by death. Rather, the growth and maturation have to be seen as an increasing involvement with other persons and in relationships that bear upon the being in increasingly complex ways (*ibid*). Dialogues with the dead poignantly show the person as “a confluence which comes together only on the basis of its relationship to other beings who are themselves equally changing” (Vitebsky 1993:46) and as an entity that can both act and be engaged beyond the ontologically pivotal moment of death.

Similarly, in the passage from Christina Toren's *Making Sense of Hierarchy* (1990) quoted above, the other appears to be indispensable in human ontogenesis, i.e. in the microhistory of a person's experience (‘cognitive development’), which is understood to be inherently social (Toren 1990:4). Forms of social relations are said to enter into all activity of the ‘thinking self’

¹⁷ In his later publications relating to the Sora of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh in eastern India (Vitebsky 2008; Vitebsky 2015), Vitebsky describes the trajectory, causes and effects of the loss of the capacity to engage the Sora dead in dialogues, prompted by conversion of their descendants away from the Sora animism and into Baptist and Catholic Christianity and Hinduism.

(Toren 1990:225), which reveals itself to be a locus of social relations constituted in and through that activity. In *Chapters 5 and 6 I ethnographically explore some of such constitutive activities and their implications for both our understanding of Tibetan pedagogy and childrearing, and of the methods anthropologists use to capture their object of inquiry.

As Christina Toren remarked, what is constitutive for children, for adults becomes expressive (Toren 1990:228). In the epilogue of the thesis, I will revisit the specifically TCVian pedagogy through its premises expressed in imagery, mottoes, and other symbolic representations present on the campus. Analysis of selected situations presented in preceding chapters will by then have built the grounds on which I will be able to discuss the ubiquitous TCV emblem ‘Others Before Self’ – a formula for (an ideal of) being. Ideally, I would hope for the effect to approach what Leoshko (2001) described as Kipling’s way of using the image of the Buddhist Wheel of Life (*Bhāvacakra*) in his novel *Kim* - where inclusion of the image as the crucial element in the protagonist’s understanding of dependent origination allowed Kipling to convey the *effect* of understanding the image itself. It is my sincere wish, that the ‘Others Before Self’ formula conveys to the reader a glimpse of the contemporary Tibetan childrearing and educational doctrine and practice.

CHAPTER 2 THEORY OF LEARNING AND CONDITIONING

In 1959, when Tibetans first arrived in exile, a variety of terms evolved that were translations from English into Tibetan, such as *shes rig* for education. (...) Previously, the term *shes rig* in the Tibetan language referred to mind or awareness. To say that someone possesses “a brilliant *shes rig*” is a common and widely accepted expression.

Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche, *Basic Education Policy for Tibetans in Exile* (BEP 2004:49)

This chapter outlines the history and agendas of contemporary Tibetan lay schooling system that has emerged in exile. Initially, I will focus on the Tibetan concept of ‘education’ (Tib. *she rig*, W. *shes rig/she yon*, W. *shes yon*¹⁸) as evidenced in the discourses and practices of schooling that developed as a result of a shift from monastic centres of learning towards contemporary non-monastic Tibetan schools in India. Through an ethnographic exploration of the theory of learning and pedagogical devices such as Tibetan debate, the chapter will show that the mind, an ethnographic category here, is the locus of attention of the schooling practices. It will also demonstrate how, through daily ritual practices and debate, the ‘path of the mind’ (Tib. *riglam*, W. *rigs lam*) becomes a lived experience in a Tibetan Children’s Village in the Indian Himalaya. Through a discussion of ‘mind’, mind stream, mental karmic imprints and an understanding of the inner subjective experience as the source of knowing, all of them elicited during interviews focusing on a contemporary Tibetan policy document, I will outline the theory and model of learning underlying the pedagogical choices and schooling agenda in TCV. The model will then be shown in practice, through an ethnographic description of the Tibetan dialectical debate (Tib. *tsodpa*, W. *rtsod pa*, glossed as *riglam* by research participants) as taught and used in TCV.

Riglam is an ancient debating tradition developed in India and preserved and elaborated in Tibetan monastic institutions. Lempert (Lempert 2012) has shown the Tibetan debate to be an important tool that had been rescaled into a more expansive diasporic pedagogy. In 2013 and 2014, while conducting fieldwork in one of TCV schools, I had the privilege to witness a budding experiment in teaching ‘modern’ subjects in the debating mode, so far

¹⁸ All Tibetan terms are given in italics in their phonemic transcription, while for the purposes of disambiguation, their spelling is provided in non-italicized font according to the commonly used Wylie transliteration method as in Wylie, Turrell (1959). A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 22, (Dec., 1959), pp. 261-267.

reserved for philosophical matters. In this chapter I will thus also describe a *riglam*-mode mathematics class in the lower secondary section (Middle Section) of the school, in the hope of bringing this novel use of debate to the attention of scholars interested in Tibetan dialectics.

The quote at the beginning of this chapter comes from the Basic Education Policy for Tibetans in Exile (BEP 2004) adopted by the Tibetan Central Administration in India (CTA) in 2004. It points to a crucial moment in Tibetan history. Following a massive exodus from Tibet in 1959 – the year of the Lhasa Uprising (10th of March 1959) - after which Tibetan leader the fourteenth Dalai Lama fled to India - the Tibetan administration in exile, generously assisted by their Indian hosts, set up several residential and day schools. Their aim was to “impart standard modern and traditional education to young Tibetans” (BEP 2004:51). Even though Tibet was known as a centre of great scholarship and philosophical traditions, there was no structure there that could serve as a model for mass schooling of children and young people¹⁹. The beginning of exile thus also marked a beginning of the Tibetan universal lay schooling project.

Review of Tibetan memoirs dating back to pre-1959, and interviews with people who were schooled in “old” Tibet, shows that lay educational institutions that existed in Tibet prior to the PLA’s entry into the country in 1950 had a very private character and were usually run by a sole teacher. Most teachers were government officials in their primary occupation, running the school in their spare time and for the benefit of others. Children were either day scholars, or - in case of schools run by family members – came to stay with the teacher’s family. The teacher did not work for a salary, although he and his family received gifts, e.g. on the occasion of the student joining the school, and on numerous later occasions. The gifts were offered as tokens of gratitude. Two such establishments and the pedagogy and relationships that formed within them, especially that between a student and a teacher, have been described in the autobiographies of two Tibetan noble ladies, Mrs Jetsun Pema (Pema

¹⁹ Samdhong Rinpoche offers a useful reminder of the informal ways in which education was imparted in Tibet prior to 1950s: “The system of informal education, as well as the system of transmission of knowledge as an inheritance, played a most important role for the people of Tibet in the past, more so than formal educational institutions. This system was deeply rooted in the spiritual relationship between teacher and disciple, which makes the education holistic and unfragmented. By passing down the knowledge through the lineage, the system of informal education has been preserved.”(Samdhong 2004:468)

1997) and Mrs Rinchen Dolma Taring (Taring 1970), who became the leaders of the new education paradigm in exile.²⁰ Only the children of noble and well-to-do families, destined to run the family's financial affairs or work as government officials, could benefit from this kind of education. Those less fortunate had the possibility to pursue education in monasteries, where they usually learned to read and write before embarking on ritual, religious and philosophical studies.

Professionalization of teaching and the emergence of a teacher as a salaried job happened in India, over the last fifty years. Inevitably, it has brought an overhaul of expectations and practices involved in the teacher-student relationship. Students in the Tibetan school where I conducted fieldwork still literally showered their teachers with expressions of gratitude in the form of thank you cards and small gifts. When asked about their teachers, students always first praised them for their selflessness and dedication. However, this did not prevent the invention and circulation of teacher's nicknames, (some of which were less than flattering), which usually picked up on a particular situation from the history of teacher-students relations, a favourite saying or a personal trait. Nicknames, I was told, were a common practice, and a particular domain of children. I later learned that the practice extended much further and was the domain of nearly everyone (see *Chapter 5).

Teaching still tends to be thought of in terms of service to the community and future generations, a noble activity generating good karma. The particular theory and model of learning at work in Tibetan educational institutions, both monastic and lay, focus on students' mind and as such, teaching is a deeply ethical endeavour. After a brief discussion of the history of formal education of Tibetan children in exile, I will return to the discussion of this primary locus of pedagogic attention and effort.

²⁰ Jetsun Pema, the younger sister of the fourteenth Dalai Lama, was entrusted with running and became long-time President of the Tibetan Children Villages network (TCV) in India; Rinchen Dolma Taring and her husband were the founders of the Tibetan Homes Foundation network (THF) in India. I also note, with great pleasure, the Polish connection in case of both organizations. According to the fourteenth Dalai Lama and Mrs Taring, the Tibetan Homes Foundation was started at the suggestion and under the guidance of a Polish Hindu Maurycy Frydman-Mor, known as *Swami Bharatananda*, a close disciple of Mahatma Gandhi and a friend of the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru (<https://www.tibetsun.com/news/2012/09/17/tibetan-homes-foundation-celebrates-50th-anniversary>; last accessed on the 23 May 2016). The introduction of the Montessori method in TCV is attributed to the influence of a Polish theosophist Wanda Dynowska, also known as Umadevi (Pema 1997, senior TCV staff members, personal communication).

SCHOOLING

Anthropological research on learning and schooling (most notably Willis 1981; Borofsky 1987; Stafford 2006; Evans 2006; Bénéï 2008; Bénéï 2005) shows that education as such is not a universal, or even discrete category – an attempt to conceptualize it inevitably embeds it in other, not easily-definable areas of social life such as religion, kinship or economics. A quick review of ethnographic studies of schooling shows a vast degree of variation of concepts, agendas and organization of education. Schools appear to be constantly open and in dialogue with other institutions and society at large and what takes place within schools is said to both reflect and inform wider ideologies and debates (Bénéï 2005; Bénéï 2008; C. Jenks 1998; Kessen 1983; Prakash and Biswal 2008; Srivastava 1998; Thapan 2006). Bearing this in mind, it is also true that formal education in India has roots in its long tradition of schooling and its indigenous systems of knowledge, both predating the arrival of the British and negotiated during the colonial years (Basu 1982; Bénéï 2008; Crook 1996; Kumar 1991). The current system, known as ‘10+2+3’, dating back to the National Policy of 1966 (Bénéï 2008:275, note 10), is in force in most Indian states. Students start school at the age of around 6 and after 10 years of schooling (divided evenly between primary and lower secondary section) they have an opportunity to sit their Secondary School Certificate exams (SSC). The +2 years of junior college lead to a Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC) and can be followed by a further 3 years of Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science. Tibetan schools in exile follow a similar pattern. In TCV, children begin school at the age of 3 to 5 in the Infant Section (kindergarten), and the next 10 years are divided between Junior (primary), Middle (lower secondary) and two first years of Senior (upper secondary) sections. The Central Board of Secondary Education exams were an important event in Class X (SSC) and XII (HSC) (Pema 2004; Rigzin 2004; Mishra 2014).

Mallica Mishra’s recent study of the Tibetan education system in India (Mishra 2014) offers a useful compilation of statistical data based on records and publications of the Central Tibetan Administration, dating back to 2004. More recent data on the number of students attending Tibetan schools in India, Nepal and Bhutan, divided by the type of establishment, umbrella organisation and the nature of the central administration’s engagement, can be found in Appendix I. Mishra’s study is a sociological exploration of educational experiences

of Tibetan refugees in India. It focuses on the nature of access that Tibetan refugees have to school, the categories of schools and social background of students, the use of Tibetan and English language and textbooks, curriculum and pedagogy in different schools, and the school ethos. It is based on policy documents and official reports, and on in-depth interviews with a number of Tibetan students in Delhi, conducted in 2005-2007. Mishra looks at Tibetan education in India from a particular vantage point, that of the concept of 'refugeeism' (Chhodak 1981; Lippert 1999; Mishra 2014; Saklani 1984). This usefully places the history of the mass exodus of Tibetans to India in the context of the independent India's history of migration movements, starting with the partition of India in 1947, which brought approximately 1.2 million people from Pakistan, an influx of more than 10 million refugees from former East Pakistan in the early 1970s, and of Sri Lankan Tamils in the 1980s, most of them still living in 115 refugee camps (Mishra 2014). India does not have a legal framework or mechanism designed exclusively for refugees, and it has not yet ratified or acceded to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (Rolfe 2008). Its legal obligation to protect refugees is based on the customary international law and Indian laws²¹. As such, the country adopted varying differential and preferential treatment of migrants, based on their country of origin and India's broader foreign policy interests (Mishra 2014). The Government of India currently recognizes and provides assistance to Tibetans, Sri Lankans and Chakmas from Bangladesh, but not to Afghans, Iranians, Iraqis, Sudanese and other groups, although they were permitted to remain in the country for protracted periods of time (*ibid*). Thus, India has allowed the UNHCR to provide protection to these groups, adopting 'a laissez faire approach unless and until it is necessary to intervene' (Raj 1999:84; also Annexure 2 in Mishra 2014).

It is perhaps important to note that those living in Tibetan settlements created after 1959 are not the only Tibetans in India. As Melvin Goldstein points out, in the 19th and early 20th century the British India incorporated Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Ladakh, Lahul, Tawang and other areas inhabited by indigenous Tibetan populations²² (Goldstein 1975). The number of Tibetans who had moved to India since 1959 was most recently (in 2009)

²¹ Mishra 2014 provides details of the legal stance of the Indian state in Annexure 2.1

²² Most of them belong to and enjoy protection as the scheduled castes or tribes according to the Indian Constitution.

estimated at 128,014, with the following world-wide distribution: India 94,203; Nepal 13,514; Bhutan 1,298; and rest of the world 18,999²³. The history of presence of Tibetan groups on the Indian territory may have paved the way for their recognition and the significant leeway that has been granted to the newly arrived Tibetan ‘refugees’ in organizing and managing their own affairs.

Following the fourteenth Dalai Lama’s final arrival in India in 1959, the first Tibetan school networks based on the ideas of formal lay education for children sprang up in exile. One of these were the Tibetan Children’s Villages (TCV). TCV occupies a unique position in the history and contemporary politics of the Tibetan diaspora. Created just a few months after the first Tibetan refugees reached India, the Nursery for Tibetan Refugee Children, as it was initially known, was run first by the elder and then the younger sister of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, who himself took residence in a nearby hamlet of McLeod Ganj. Over the years, the site accommodated an ever increasing number of Tibetan children, brought there by the Tibetan government representatives, the displaced villages’ headmen and destitute parents. The road construction camps in the north and the jungle clearing settlements in the south, where the majority of Tibetans worked after coming to India, were judged inappropriate, and indeed often lethal, for young children. Bringing children to the Nursery meant giving them a chance to survive but also to receive ‘education’. As the situation of Tibetans in India gradually improved, education became the primary mission of the Nursery, which in the meantime became a fully-fledged school. Nowadays, TCV is an iconic institution of the Tibetan exile community. Overall, TCV schools provide services to over 16,000 children in eight residential schools and four day schools in different parts of India, three Vocational Training Centres, the Dalai Lama Institute for Higher Education in Bangalore, and Tibetan Youth Hostels catering for TCV students in four major Indian cities (see Appendix II). It was TCV as an institution that shaped, together with the Tibetan Homes Foundation in Mussoorie, and the network of

²³ Source: Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile 2009, by Planning Commission of Central Tibetan Administration, 2010, <http://tibet.net/about-cta/tibet-in-exile/> last accessed on 23 May 2016. Cf estimate by UNHCR, 2009 Global Trends: 145,150 world-wide with the following distribution: India 101,242; Nepal 16,313 [20,000 at the end of 2009]; Bhutan 1,883; and rest of the world 25,712; according to the Office of the CTA’s Planning Commission’s projected population in 2007, based on the annual percentage growth rate. Source: www.tibet.net accessed on 21 October 2010.

Indian government-sponsored Central Schools for Tibetans, the first ever Tibetan system and curriculum of universal education.

The Tibetan Children's Village where this study is set remains the primary destination for orphans from within the Tibetan diaspora in India and Nepal, and for the so called "new arrivals" from Tibet. The site houses a Baby Home for orphans and semi-orphans aged 0-5, and forty two Homes for children aged 5-15 (approximately twenty children per Home, where girls and boys of different ages live together with a foster mother). The four Sections of the school provide education for ages 3-5 (Infant Section), 5-10 (Junior Section), 11-13 (Middle Section) and 14-18 (Senior Section). The Infant and Junior sections teach in Tibetan medium and follow the TCV-designed curriculum. The Middle and Senior Sections operate according to the standards Indian Central Board of Secondary Education, with English as the medium of instruction and Indian NCERT curriculum²⁴. From 1970s, TCV has been using the Montessori Education System for the Infant Section, and its teachers regularly take part in workshops by the International Montessori Association. The extended campus also hosts the TCV Head Office, TCV (Foster) Mother Training Centre and TCV Educational Development and Resource Centre²⁵, as well as a Health Centre²⁶. In August 2013, according to official estimates, the Village where I worked housed 1743 students, 251 staff members (teachers, Home Mothers, cooks, peons and administrative staff) as well as many retired staff members. More than 1600 students lived in residential Homes and Hostels on the campus and more than a hundred, especially the younger ones, stayed with their parents in TCV staff quarters on the campus, or commuted to school by bus from lower Dharamsala and McLeod Ganj. Most of the students were Tibetan, but quite a few Gaddi and 'Nepali' children from nearby hamlets also attended the school. During my fieldwork all the Home Mothers and teachers were Tibetan, apart from one Indian teacher (teaching English) and my husband, a Polish national, who volunteered to help with teaching science.

²⁴ http://www.ncert.nic.in/rightside/links/nc_framework.html

²⁵ The EDRC was responsible for design, preparation and revision of specifically Tibetan curriculum for the younger children, including teaching aids and textbooks. During my second summer on the campus, in 2014 I learned that the EDRC was to be disbanded and its functions absorbed by other departments in TCV and in the Department of Education, CTA.

²⁶ A two-storey building including out-patient clinic and a hospital ward for TB patients.

The school Sections had computer labs, science labs, an English language lab, and new music rooms for each section. Shared spaces included a big soccer ground and basket ground, the Cultural, Junior and Senior Library, two big prayer-cum-assembly halls and a small temple, located at the highest point on the slope. Teachers mostly stayed on the campus, in the staff quarters.

Each class had its own classroom, if only for a year. All the subjects, apart from computers, music and physical education took place there. The teachers' rooms were located on the upper storeys of school buildings, which I took to be an expression of school hierarchy. Students were responsible for all classroom equipment and had to pay for any damaged furniture at the end of the school year from their class funds. The classrooms were equipped with blackboards and desks. Each had a small altar, a set of brooms for sweeping the concrete floor, and walls plastered with home-made posters representing chunks of the curriculum. The school periods lasted for an hour and there were two breaks – for morning tea and for lunch.

As mentioned above, children in the Infant and Junior Section were taught in Tibetan as medium of instruction and following the TCV designed curriculum and in Middle and Senior Sections instruction was in English/Tibetan. The core curriculum subjects included science (physics, biology and chemistry), maths, English, Tibetan, Tibetan and Indian history, social science, sports, music and debate. Each student was issued with a set of textbooks at the beginning of each year and they usually kept them inside their classroom desks. At the end of each of the two terms in the school year cycle, students sat exams. Class 10 and 12 sat the all India CBSE exams that were marked outside the school, with the results being included on the final certificate used for college or university entry applications.

Almost all of the above were attributes of a comfortably familiar contemporary schooling phenomenon. And yet, I wish to show that the underlying philosophical tradition of thought – the particular model of learning and ideas about mind at work in classrooms, as well as ways of thinking about intelligence, aptitude, talent or memory, make these familiar attributes combine into a specific and unfamiliar universe that extends well beyond TCV campus 'bounds'.

EXPLANATION OF KEY TERMS

At the beginning of my fieldwork, Dr Chok Tenzin Monlam from the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives kindly provided me with a green booklet - the *Basic Education Policy for Tibetans in Exile* (BEP 2004; hereafter BEP²⁷) – indicating it was my reference text for understanding Tibetan education in India. The text was in Tibetan and English but the two versions were separate, so I asked Geshe Aten from TCV for an explanation of key terms from specific sections of the text. During our meeting, Geshe Aten read the Tibetan text and explained the meaning of passages in English, without referring to the English text. Our conversation was recorded and parts of the transcript form a basis for ethnographic analysis in this chapter.

Geshe Aten was a long time teacher and a learned monk. I addressed him as *Gyenla* – a honorific Tibetan form for a teacher or a senior official. In the Senior Section he was in charge of teaching Tibetan history and language. He was the eldest of the four religious instructors in the school. He earned his *geshe*²⁸ *lharampa* degree – the equivalent of a doctorate in Buddhist philosophy - in the Drepung (Geluk) monastic college in India. The course of study for the title of *geshe* in the Gelukpa²⁹ tradition usually extends to twelve – forty years and includes a thorough study of the "Collected Topics" which are preliminary to the syllabus proper, and comprise definitions (*Dü-ra*), ways of knowing (*Lo-rig*) and ways of reasoning (*Tag-rig*) (Dhargyey 1996:ix). Among the five main subjects of further study *geshe* candidates learn about the perfection of discriminating awareness (Skt. *Prajñāpāramitā*), the middle way (Skt. *mādhyamaka*), the validities or the study of logic, of the mind and the theory of learning (Skt. *Pramāna*); laws of conduct (Skt. *Vinaya*) and general knowledge – the study of metaphysics and cosmology (Skt. *Abhidharma*) (*ibid*). The *lharampa* is the highest degree a *geshe* can be awarded (Dhargyey 1996; Lempert 2012). These qualifications meant that Geshe Aten was well versed in the Tibetan philosophical tradition inscribed in the text of the policy by its author – a learned monk himself.

²⁷ See Appendix III for text of the policy in Tibetan and English.

²⁸ (Tib. dge bshes)

²⁹ One of four major sects – traditions in Tibetan Buddhism; the leader of the Geluk tradition is the Dalai Lama.

The text of the BEP is a result of an extensive collaboration and consultations among Tibetan intellectuals and policymakers. The first draft was prepared by a committee of Tibetans intellectuals and education practitioners – both monastic and lay³⁰. *Kashag* – the Tibetan cabinet of ministers - prepared a second draft using the work of the drafting committee and many rounds of consultations. The authors claim to have sought advice not only from Tibetan stakeholders and public, but also from “Indian scholars distinguished in the fields of traditional and modern education” and “modern international academicians” (BEP 2004: 55). The Preface to the *Basic Education Policy* was written by Professor Samdhong Rinpoche (Samdhong Lobsang Tenzin). A learned incarnate lama³¹ and an education practitioner, he was the Prime Minister of the *Kashag* at that time. It is quite safe to assume that Samdhong Rinpoche was the driving force of the policy and its openly reformist tone.

The conversation between Geshe Aten and me on a rainy afternoon in October 2013 was thus a case of a three-layered reading effort. Samdhong Rinpoche’s reading of the Tibetan philosophy, reaching back in history, to its Indian sources and reaching forth in time, to its current and future meaning and application in the modern education paradigm, was the first of these layers. The second emerged during our conversation in a bustling teachers’ room of the TCV Senior Section, with Geshe Aten – a learned monk and an experienced teacher, drawing on both his scholarship and pedagogic experience to translate and explain key concepts used in the text and, as so often in Tibetan oral transmission of texts, the passages’ underlying meaning. The third layer was to take shape later, with my own effort to render analytical the ideas about mind that I learned about from my teacher and from the galaxy of data gathered during the ethnographic study in the school. This reading effort has also been shaped in important ways by the need to translate the results into the language

³⁰ BEP lists the following committee members: Ven. Karma Gelek Yuthok, Education Secretary, central Tibetan Administration of H.H. the Dalai Lama (CTA), Dr. B.Tsering Yeshe, former TCV teacher, Mr Ngawang Dorjee, Director, Educational Development and Research Centre, TCV, Ven. Lobsang Rinchen, Lecturer, Institute of Buddhist Dialectics and Mr Chung Tsering, Research Officer, Department of Education, CTA (BEP 2004: 54).

³¹ Incarnate lamas or *tulkus* (*sprul-sku*) are recognized reincarnations of highly developed Buddhist monks who, through control over their own death process, are able to indicate the place of birth, name etc. of their next incarnation. Children recognized as incarnate lamas very early on undergo rigorous training in the monasteries, so as to be able to eventually take over the responsibilities of their previous incarnations. The institution of incarnate lamas thus maintains continuity of spiritual lineages and succession in those monastic traditions that require monks to be chaste. The Tibetan word *rinpoche* lit. “the precious one” may be an indication of the *tulku* status of a monk or a honorific form of address used for a respected Buddhist master (Mills 2003: 266-278).

of contemporary academia. This chapter is thus also an attempt at documenting this multiple reading process in which philosophy, religion and politics are all-pervading.

THE SEQUENCE OF LEARNING

BEP, Chapter II: The meaning of education

2.2 Education is not to be recognized as merely grasping what is heard from others. Instead, it is to be recognized as realisation of what is heard through the power of self-confirmation and actualisation of what is realised through persistent contemplation. It is, thus, a process of learning through hearing from others, self-investigation and persistent contemplation. (BEP 2004: 60)

The above passage describes a tripartite division of learning into consecutive stages which Geshe Aten explained as follows:

Q: Gyenla, can I ask about hearing? It is mentioned in Chapter II, point 2. 2.

Geshe Aten: [reads the relevant part of the text in Tibetan] So, this is the definition of education. In Tibetan it says that education is not simply what you receive from [the] other. Apart from what you receive from the other you have to experiment... to research. You have to research yourself to find if what they said is right – and by doing that you are fulfilled. Once one is satisfied with that - that is real education. *Gom*³² actually means to meditate. So there are three things – first we have to hear from someone. Second, we have to do research, and third, we have to think about it, not only once but many times. Hearing – research – whatever you found out you have to think more about it.

Q: And the word for research is ‘*Gom*’?

GA: No, no, not ‘*Gom*’. First, hearing is *thoba*³³. *Sherig thoba* – we have to hear this something from somebody else. Then you have to think again and again – that one is *samba*³⁴. *Samba* is actually a sort of research.

The Tibetan version of para 2.2. (BEP 2004: 20) uses the phrases: *sheng le tho ba*³⁵– lit. hearing from others. The self–confirmation and self-investigation are given as English

³² (goms)

³³ (thos pa)

³⁴ (bsam pa)

³⁵ (gzhan las thos pa)

translations of the phrase *rang top-gi sam-pa*³⁶ – with the literal meaning³⁷: self – strength/power of thought/idea/thinking. If we look at other collocations of the last term *samba* we see it can be used to mean e.g. mental labour, ideology, expectation, opinion, evil thought, or something unthinkable. In all of these collocations it seems to connote thinking understood as a volitional process – thus “realisation” and “investigation” in the English version.

GA: Ultimately it is *gomba*³⁸ – for that very subject we have to think again – and by doing *gomba* the knowledge becomes very familiar to us. He [the author of BEP] explains: ‘*rang*’ – it is self-research, ‘*rang*’ means self. For whatever you find, you have to think about it again. So, it is *thoba*, *samba* and *gomba*. The shorter version is *tho-sam-gom sum*³⁹ [lit. “hearing, contemplating and meditating are three”]. Three stages – to hear – do research – and then just to concentrate on this very subject. I think this is very important, for students – these three should go together.

The term *gompā* is indeed a nominalisation of the verb (*goms*) meaning “to get used to; to be deft at something”. The third and final stage of the learning sequence means the appropriation of the known thing, familiarizing yourself with it to make it your own. It is noteworthy that the stress is again on practice – the familiarity comes about with a repeated thinking about the object – meditation – or thinking it through. It is again a volitional activity and the result can be achieved only through the practice of thinking through the same subject again and again⁴⁰. The focus here is on the mind and the student who is the place and instrument of practice, not on its object – knowledge (of or about something).

The three stages of learning are first mentioned in the Preface to the *Basic Education Policy* by Samdhong Rinpoche, who refers to “the sequence of learning” in Buddhism as

³⁶ (*rang stobs kyis bsam pas*)

³⁷ Translation and transliteration of Tibetan terms by the author, on the basis of Goldstein’s *English-Tibetan Dictionary of Modern Tibetan* (1984, LTWA: Dharamsala), his *The New Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*, (Berkeley: 2001); Palden Tashi’s *Tibetan-English Dictionary (Bod dbyin tshig mdsod)* (Gansu: 1999) and C.A. Bell’s *English-Tibetan Colloquial Dictionary* (1920).

³⁸ (*goms pa*)

³⁹ (*thos bsam sgom gsum*) – hearing, contemplating and meditating. *Sum* (*gsum*) means “three” in Tibetan. The full verses: (*thos pas sgro 'dogs bcad pa*), (*bsam pas rnam par nges pa*), (*sgom pas gtan la dbab pa*) come from *Sbeja Dzo (Treasury of Knowledge)*, Chapter 1.1, Vol. 1, by Jamgön Kongtrül (1813 – 1899).

⁴⁰ In the interview Geshe Aten also explained: “The knowledge should become familiar to us. That is actually a method by which we learn religion”. *Audio-recorded interview, TCV, Senior Section, 11.10.2013*.

expounded by Vasubandhu: “Hearing and thinking while abiding in discipline certainly lead to meditative contemplation” (BEP 2004:51), firmly placing the doctrine in the identifiable textual source⁴¹ from an old Buddhist master. The representation of learning as a three-stage process is frequently made in the literature on Tibetan monastic education. In his *Brief History of The Buddhist School of Dialectics* (L. Gyatso 1978) Venerable Lobsang Gyatso explains the practice:

We are a group of people who, by the path of logic and scriptural quotations analyse (by refutation of wrong ideas, establishment of what is valid and abandonment of misunderstanding) or observe (by the process of listening to teaching, thinking about the meaning and contemplating it) the entire body of work based on Buddhist teaching about the basis, path and result. (Lobsang Gyatso, 1978:15)

We see that the teacher - the one who brings to our attention the existence of something - triggers the sequence of learning by providing the thing the student can hear (or read). The rest depends entirely on the students, who have to decide if the thing introduced to them is in fact true, i.e. have to test what they have heard themselves. If it proves true, only they can make it their own by thinking about it again and again.

In another formulation of the model of learning, Samdhong Rinpoche says: “Whatever is learned from books or a teacher, or from any other means, is borrowed knowledge.” (Samdhong 2004:461) At this first stage, it is not reliable knowledge, unless and until its validity is confirmed as one contemplates upon it, analyses it, and arrives at a realisation from self-examination. Such contemplation, analysis and self-examination will bring about “a self-realisation that has the authenticity of self-knowledge” (*ibid*), the second stage of learning, which needs to be followed by the concentrated meditation upon such knowledge, which will “gradually provide the direct perception of truth” (*ibid*). Such perception results in “mind that evolves through true education” (*ibid*), a truly educated mind that does “not know the boundaries between the self and others” (*ibid*), and that will not make a person violent. Such “method and orientation of the teaching-learning process” is thus important for teaching non-violence, i.e. morals and ethics (Samdhong 2004: 462).

⁴¹ Abhidharmakośa (Treasury of Higher Learning, Tib. Chos mngon pa'i mdzod) by Vasubandhu (4th to 5th century C.E.).

MEMORY – INSTINCT – IMPRINT - DISPOSITION

As it turns out, what one has learned before, including things learned and made one's own in previous lives, can be carried forward to one's future lives. This is possible through an imprint in the mind – a *pakcha*⁴².

Q: Gyenla, when I started working with little children here I noticed teachers were putting a lot of stress on hearing. I did not realise it was the first stage. And somebody also mentioned '*pakcha*'. What is it?

GA: *Pakcha* is some sort of memory, I think. Some sort of power. I have an example: when a mother gives birth to a child – a baby, even new-born animals get up and they know where to get milk within few minutes– even though no-one taught them. Now, we are going to the previous life, maybe then in their mind this sort of action is imprinted – from previous life. They have done it and now they understand - that is '*pakcha*'. Another example – some young children would kill everything and some would say “no no, don't kill it” – nobody taught this to them but they do it voluntarily. Again that is on the basis of previous life. That is '*pakcha*'.

In another interview, an experienced lay teacher who first told me about *pakcha*, explained that the fact that some children are quick in learning stems from their experience in previous lives – they have known the subject before. From the examples given, we could infer that the term *pakcha* covers, at least partly, the semantic fields of the English terms *instinct*, *disposition* and *talent*. In his eloquent study of ritual practices connected with the goddess Tārā, Stephen Beyer mentions a kind of competence that is able to continue over more than one lifetime:

“I once asked a highly placed incarnate lama if he could really visualize the subtle deities. He replied that, roughly and in a general way, he could; but he added that the Toden rinpoche (the head of all the yogins), with more than fifty years of practice in visualization, could picture these deities in perfect detail and keep track of them all at once. (...) An incarnate lama, too, is expected to have spent at least one of his past lives in this constant practice and, in his present life, to have the **karmic equivalent of what we would call an innate talent for visualisation.**” (Beyer 1988: 75, emphasis added)

⁴² (*bag chags*) – cf *vāsanā* (Skt.) - habitual tendencies or dispositions; often used synonymously with *bija* (Skt. 'seed')

During the course of my fieldwork I also heard the term used in situations when someone expected a particular experience they have had to form a good *pakcha* – for both this and future lives. In this way, dreaming about one’s death, or having a near-death experience, was considered beneficial, in that it added this particular *pakcha* to one’s pool of power. Such near-death experience would prepare a person for the actual death, when they would know what to do, and would not be confused.

A brief literature review of sources on Tibetan embryology (Doden 1980; Doden 1986; Khangkar 2009; N. Dakpa 1993) shows that *pakcha* is the ‘technical’ explanation of how the law of *karma* operates through countless rebirths. One of the first of 12 interdependent causes⁴³ as taught by Buddha Shakyamuni and depicted in the ‘Wheel of Life’ (Tib. *srid pa ‘khor lo*) is ignorance⁴⁴. The causes bring all kinds of actions, and the Tibetan Buddhist philosophy and medicine recognise the element of ‘creation of action or creative impulse’⁴⁵. Following this creative impulse, positive and negative actions create an imprint – *pakcha* – on the consciousness, described by the term *namsbé*⁴⁶ (Drakpa 1993:84-85). *Namsbé* is said to correspond to the subtle consciousness and the very essence of life (*ibid*), which accompanies the individuality through all its existence and plays an important role at the moments of death and of conception of sentient beings. It is the last component to leave the dying body and the one that precedes the conception in the intermediate state⁴⁷, from which it is projected by the force of *karma* (*las*). Once positive and negative actions have been imprinted on that consciousness, it takes their imprint from one life to another (*ibid*). What appeared as *pakcha* in the previous part of the explanation reappeared under a different name in the course of the interview, when we talked about different terms used in relation to ‘mind’.

VOCABULARY OF THE MIND

Q: Gyenla, when people talk about learning they use [the terms] ‘*rigpa*’ and ‘*shepa*’...

⁴³ (*rten ‘brel yan lag bcu gnis*)

⁴⁴ (*ma rig-pa*) ‘*Ma*’ is a negative particle in Tibetan and *rigpa* refers to mind or consciousness.

⁴⁵ (‘*du byed kyi las*) - (*las*) – is karma, or action, see *Chapter 7

⁴⁶ (*rnam shes*)

⁴⁷ (*bar do*)

GA: ... And 'lo'. There are three things: *lo*; *rigpa*, *shepa*. Actually, it's the same meaning with different words. *Lo*: means *rigpa*, *rigpa* means *shepa*. *Lo*: - *rig* - *she sum* (lit. *lo*;, *rig*, *she* are three). Either [of them] you call intelligence: *lo*;, *rigpa* or *shepa* - [repeats the formula] *lo*: - *rig* - *she sum*. In one word, what you call 'lo:' [GA pauses]... *rigpa*, *shepa*, *sem*. Actually, 'sem' is another word and means consciousness. We have body and mind - mind actually is consciousness. So it is the same meaning - *lo*;, *rigpa*, *shepa* and consciousness. [Pauses] Actually 'lo:' is all consciousness. There are many different kinds of consciousness. Maybe we can differentiate according to the time - at night and in deep sleep - consciousness is not completely there, it is the sub-consciousness stage. *Rigpa*, *lo*: are all there. One can say - sleeping period consciousness, waking consciousness, yesterday consciousness, today's consciousness, former life consciousness, this life consciousness... One consciousness - 'rigpa' or consciousness - is when we are born from our mother. At that time, there is one consciousness. And another consciousness, some new consciousness, like when we have not yet learned alphabet - / *ka*, *kha ga nga*⁴⁸ / - at that time you are ignorant about this. So, later, if someone has taught you this and you've learned, we know at least there is alphabet, by knowing alphabet, knowing consciousness *rigpa*. From the very beginning, some sort of *rigpa* is there. And another *rigpa* is whatever we gain by learning something. In Tibetan we say '*kye top kyi rigpa*'⁴⁹ and '*chang top kyi rigpa*'⁵⁰. '*Kye top-kyi rigpa*' means something we know without learning from anybody, we know ourselves. '*Chang top-kyi rigpa*' means something we learn from someone.

As we see, *lo*;, *rig-pa*, *she-pa* can all be used to mean intelligence, consciousness and by extension - mind. I also heard all three translated together as awareness. *Rig-pa* can also be used to refer to science of or study of particular field, such as "science of healing"⁵¹. I would argue that it may also refer to knowledge and logic, with *rig-lam* used to mean Tibetan debate governed by the rules of logic (in *rig-pa*, *pa* is a nominalising particle whereas in *rig-lam*, *lam* refers to "path"). *Kye top-kyi rig-pa* or something known without learning from anybody, lit. "*rig-pa* from the birth" adds to the pool of knowledge we may have accumulated from previous imprints or *pakcha*. *She-pa* was explained to me by another

⁴⁸ The first four letters of Tibetan alphabet, equivalent to the English ABC.

⁴⁹ (skye stops kyi' rig pa)

⁵⁰ (spyang stops kyi' rig pa)

⁵¹ (gso dpyad sman gyi rig pa) See (Samten 2005:5).

prominent Tibetan scholar, and *Geshe* degree holder, as cognizance, the ‘name of the mind’⁵². The term is used in the name of the consciousness in the intermediate state between death and the next life, discussed above (*rnam shes*). *Sem* can also be used to talk about mind and it means – consciousness. Consciousness in Tibetan allows for plural ending – there are indeed many different kinds of consciousness, or consciousness aspects that all have to come together for an instance of cognition to take place. *A Compendium of the Ways of Knowing* (Dhargyey 1996), the text used for the second preparatory class (*lo-rig*) for the *geshe* education, lists the following phenomena having qualities of consciousness:

With primary consciousness you are aware merely of the fundamental data of a sight, sound and so forth. With secondary mental faculties, you become aware of distinctions in objects, make judgements about them, react to them and so forth. With awareness of consciousness you know that you have been conscious of something and you experience this in the sense of witnessing it. (Dhargyey 1996:2)

In his explanation, Geshe Aten repeats: *lo-rig-she sum* - “*lo-rig-she* are the three”, resorting to a common Tibetan mnemonic technique – vocalised enumeration of terms, each providing different collocation potential and grasping different aspect of the phenomenon in question. The underlying meaning is the same – and presents the *signifié* as multi-layered and multi-dimensional.

TIBETAN INNER SCIENCE

At some point during our meeting I asked Geshe Aten about “Valid Cognition” and the “Tibetan Inner Science” referred to in Chapter 6 points 6.5 and 6.6. of the English translation of the *Basic Education Policy*:

6.5 Inherent to traditional as well as modern learning, is the content meaning and the vehicle that conveys it. As proficiency in the vehicle of speech is gained with the study of language and proficiency in content meaning is gained with the study of *Valid Cognition* (*pramana*), the Tibetan language and *Valid Cognition* shall be taught with special emphasis at the basic school level. (BEP, 2004: 65)

6.6 In order to empower students to investigate and reflect on obscure phenomena and to develop confidence in presenting their findings after investigation before the world’s

⁵² Geshe Lhakdor, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, (19.09.2013, pers. comm.)

scholars, the process of learning by *hearing* and *thinking* as indicated by *Tibetan Inner Science* shall be widely introduced and promoted. (*ibid*)

GA: So here, they took this from the Tibetan Buddhist text – we have two [types of things]: *ko gyur* and *ngu gyur*. *Ko gyur* is something that is there, but we cannot see it with the naked eye. *Ngu gyur* means [that] which we can see and feel – something very solid. So here [GA reads in Tibetan] – yes, so here we can use scientific means. For example, to understand a disease. With *ngu gyur* there is no need to reason, everyone can see that thing. But with the previous life – we cannot see [it] so we have to reason. For invisible things we have to reason, to give proper reason. For visible thing- there is no need for that. So the invisible thing – we have to hear [about it] from somebody. They will give the reason [why it exists]. And then we have to use these three methods [i.e. hearing, testing, meditating], to see if they have given proper reason – we have to see if that thing is there.

The next example brought by Geshe Aten offered an explanation of the model in which the mind continues throughout many lifetimes:

GA: For today's scientists to show [that we had] previous life, we [would] have to prove it with very solid evidence. But from our perspective, we have inner science – we are mostly relying on our mind. So, the continuity of mind... We have two – body and mind. Ultimately, the cause of the body is a parent gene. Mind is different. From the Buddhist point of view, the causes of body and mind are quite different because the result is different. The body has colour, shape and weight. In mind – there is no colour, no shape. The properties are different. So body and mind are different. All their properties are different, so the causes must be different. Seeds... – we can say causes are seeds. The seed of a banana cannot produce an apple. That is why the cause of mind must be mind, not something that has very different properties, something solid. We have *kyu*⁵³ here - seeds. We humans – we come from our mother, the seed of the body is the parent gene, but the parent gene cannot produce both body and mind. That is why the seed of mind must be mind – previous mind.⁵⁴

⁵³ (rgyu). Cf the distinction between causes (rgyu) and secondary causes of development of the foetus (rkyen) in (N. Dakpa 1993). These two systems of causality will be discussed further in *Chapters 3 and 5.

⁵⁴ The same explanation was offered to TCV students during the annual teaching and initiation conferred by the Dalai Lama on the campus on 27-28 June 2013. On the occasion, students received oral transmission of the text distributed to them in print under the title *Opening the Eye of the New Awareness* by the fourteenth Dalai Lama (T. Gyatso 2013: 17-18 for relevant passage).

At that point in our conversation I also asked about the relation of the inner science to valid cognition. Geshe Aten explained that it was ‘the power of knowing something’, or *tsema rigpa* in Tibetan: “Knowing something without doing research and experimenting – reasoning – that is not valid knowledge. If one has some knowledge, some understanding, and then experiments with it, that knowledge would be ‘*tsema rigpa*’. It should be taught up to the senior classes [in school].”⁵⁵

In his *Education for Non-Violence* (Samdhong 2004), Samdhong Rinpoche identified subjects that needed to be emphasised in order to achieve education in non-violence at a national level. He singled out traditional Indian logic, and especially Buddhist logic, as a particularly deserving subject to be taught at all levels as a way to make a person’s temperament “rational and reasonable” (Samdhong 2004:463)⁵⁶. The subjects addressing ethics and morals (such as equality between beings, compassion, caring, tolerance, forgiveness, patience, generosity, service, selflessness and sacrifice) could draw from religious canons or ethical teachings, but crucially, “everything should be based on reasoning, not on faith or commandments” (*ibid*). The teaching methods should encourage “free and unconditional thinking power of the learners” (*ibid*) – to dispel the conditioning of the learner’s mind and “awaken their power of discrimination and reasoning” (*ibid*).

It is useful, at this junction, to pause for a moment to take a closer look at the ‘body of knowledge’ that is usually an important element of the educational puzzle, the communication and imparting of which is many schools’ proclaimed *raison d’être*. Buddhist cosmological categories have already been shown to influence Tibetans’ understandings of the nature and practice of the criminal and civil law in Tibet and in exile (French 1995). In the schooling context, the ontological status of the world to be known and skills to be mastered seem to be an important factor influencing both curriculum and pedagogy. This status could perhaps be illuminated by a passage from Stephan Beyer’s meticulous study of

⁵⁵ Audio-recorded interview with senior TCV teacher, Geshe Aten, Senior Section, 11.10.2013.

⁵⁶ Note the argument made by Michael Lempert in his PhD dissertation (2004), where he shows the debater’s demeanor to be a prime resource for the cross-modal enactment of a cultural ideology of rationality. Lempert showed that in discourses delivered by the Dalai Lama and other Tibetan public figures “reason” has become a characterological attribute of the ideal diasporic subject and it is through the exercise of reason (and through the study of Buddhist philosophy), that Tibetan refugees are to withstand the “corrosive pluralism of exile”. Debate (*rtsod pa*), and its forms of intellectual demeanor have thus become an analogy for the cultivation of a political subjectivity (Lempert 2004).

Tibetan ritual practices (Beyer 1988) among Tibetan refugees in the Indian hill-station Dalhousie, Himachal Pradesh:

“The most authoritative description of the appearance of the world from primordial Emptiness is found in a short text called *On Distinguishing the Extremes from the Middle*, written by Maitreia and/ Asanga and commented upon by Asanga’s half brother Vasubhandu. Here, the process by which the phenomenal world evolves as perception or awareness from the seeds planted by karma is called *abhūtaparikalpa* – literally, the ‘contraction of a nonreality’ or, less literally, the ‘imposition of false constructs’. (Beyer 1988:94-5)

According to Vasubandhu, says Beyer, in order to construct a nonreality awareness needs to be construed as being bifurcated into a subject and an object, but when freed from these imposed constructs the same nonreality is Emptiness (Beyer 1988:95). The imposition of constructs is, as discussed earlier, a result of causes – ‘seeds’ in the karmic continuum of the “underlying awareness”, from which they ripen into awareness and become perceptions in nonreality⁵⁷. Thus nonreality exists, “since it occurs”, however, it “nonexists as a duality” (*ibid*). The so-called Middle Way⁵⁸ is a recognition that everything is determined to be “neither one-sidedly real nor one-sidedly unreal” (*ibid*). Importantly, it is within the realm of nonreality that a living being with its self comes in contact with an external object and the sense-data it supplies (Beyer 1988:97) – the exact ontological domain to which the body of knowledge referred to in school textbooks belongs.

Samdhong Rinpoche stated clearly (Samdhong 2004:469) that the Tibetan formal education system, now in exile, but with a view of the future in Tibet, must be based on a policy of “equality, genuine democracy, protection of ecology and the environment, self-sufficiency,

⁵⁷ Beyer locates the source text to be *Lankavatāra Sūtra* [X.871] (in Beyer 1988:96). Beyer also explains, again following Vasubandhu, that awareness results in appearances, and thus external objects, living beings, self and sense data – the grasped and the grasped.

⁵⁸ “Middle Way” (Tib. dbu ma’i lam), it should be noted, is also the name of a policy promoted by the CTA, following guidance by the Dalai Lama, according to which the Tibetans in exile call for a meaningful autonomy, and not independence of Tibet within PRC. In the summer of 2014, on the occasion of the launch of an international awareness campaign “UMAYLAM: Middle Way Approach” by the Tibetan executive, an official brochure detailing the policy was distributed in Tibetan schools in India. Tibetan independence activist, Jamyang Norbu addressed naming the policy after a famous philosophical tenet as follows: “Tibetans, and indeed, almost all those who have been raised Buddhist, are conditioned to accept the Middle Way as infallible and perfect. Naming the policy of surrendering Tibetan sovereignty to Communist China the “Middle Way” was a stroke of genius.” <http://www.jamyangnorbu.com/blog/2011/01/30/not-the-buddhas-middle-way/> (accessed on 25 May 2016).

contentment and , above all, non-competitiveness”(*ibid*). The curricula should concentrate on respect for others, respect for all religions and refraining from economic exploitation of sentient beings. Within the agenda of “education for non-violence” scientific education should be limited to the basic minimal requirements and offset by instruction in morals and ethics⁵⁹, to avoid the misuse of science and technology for exploitation and violence (*ibid*).

The fact that the power of discrimination takes precedence over an ultimately public-nonreality of modern curriculum subjects, might explain the emphasis placed on the practice of *riglam* – a subject and method of instruction that is, to my knowledge, unique and specific to the Tibetan educational milieu.

RIGLAM – THE PATH OF THE MIND

The term *riglam* is made of the now familiar *rig* (rig) and *lam* (lam) – path, and literally means “the path of *rig-pa*”. It is the Tibetan term that was used for Tibetan dialectical debate in TCV (*riglam* class). Debate has been practiced in Buddhist monastic colleges and now, increasingly, in Tibetan schools in exile. Although *riglam* was very prominent in the first schools for Tibetans established in India, because the majority of the first teachers were learned monks, the practice gradually declined and eventually disappeared from the exile Tibetan curriculum. It was re-introduced into schools a few years ago, on the suggestion of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

In a recent article on the Tibetan debate as practiced in contemporary monastic centres in India, Michael Lempert (2012) noted that the debate has been “rescaled” within the Tibetan exile project of making educated persons as a way to “stabilize” diasporic subjects against the challenges of exile. According to Lempert, the debate has become a distinctly diasporic pedagogy (Lempert 2012: 152).

Basic Education Policy (2004) refers to *riglam* where the Tibetan term (rigs lam) is translated as “science of valid cognition”:

⁵⁹ This seemed, indeed, often the case. My husband, a non-Tibetan science teacher, somewhat anxious and planning his classes with an eye on the approaching CBSE exam, brought to my attention the fact that prayer sessions very frequently took precedence over Science classes.

The ability to penetrate deeply into subjects and into the nature of phenomena through independent investigation and search, without blindly following the word of others, can be developed from the study of *Science of Valid Cognition*. The teaching of this subject up to Class XII with special stress shall therefore be recognized as one of the most important directives. (BEP 2004: 66-67, Chapter VIII: Subjects of Study, Sec. B)

There exists an extensive literature on the Tibetan debate in the monastic context. Based on substantial academic research and personal experience, various authors⁶⁰ have discussed both the practicalities of debate as practiced in the monasteries and the premises and rules of Tibetan logic. As this is way beyond the scope of this chapter, and since by trying to summarize this vast area of study I would surely do injustice to the rich and subtle work of other authors, I will only discuss *riglam* as taught and practiced by TCV students.

THE PRACTICE OF RIGLAM

According to Geshe Lhakdor, the director of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, the primary purpose of *riglam* is to form an inquisitive mind, capable of asking and answering questions by using logic and consistency. The mind is to become “like a rock that is able to sustain an iron pole” – the main and vital structure of a Tibetan tent. The beginning of the path is said to be difficult – in order for the people to start debating, they have to be taught rules, such as the admissible forms of questions and answers⁶¹, which will structure the pursuit. But once they have learned this, these people will learn other things by themselves, and that is the real point. *Riglam* is therefore a tool employed for the second stage of the learning sequence – the examination of the thing that has been heard from others.

Riglam is very much a group exercise. It takes at least two people, working as a team, to test a new bit of knowledge before it can be said to be real and made familiar through *gompa* -

⁶⁰To name just a few: (J. Cabezón 1994; Dreyfus 2003; Goldberg 1985; Lempert 2012; MacPherson 2000; Perdue 1992; Tilleman 1999)

⁶¹ Each question must end in one of four admissible ways, with: 1) *thal* (*thal*) – consequence, “it follows that”, 2) *chir* (*phyir*) – showing a reason, “because of”, 3) *te* (*ste*) – demanding a reason, and 4) *chö chen* (*chos can*) – “the subject” (subject in syllogism). The answerer is also constrained by four admissible kinds of response: 1) *dö* (*dod*) – affirmation, „I accept that” 2) *ta ma dru* (*rtags ma grub*) – incorrect reason, “the reason is not established”, 3) *kyap pa ma chung* (*khyab pa ma byung*) – the thesis not following from the reason, non-pervasion, and 4) *che:chir* (*ci'i phyir*) – demanding a reason for the thesis, „why?” (Samdhong 1999:291).

repeated thinking about it or meditation. If the debate is between a teacher and a student, the two will work to improve the mind of the student. But more often than not, the debate is between peers working in pairs or in groups. In the school where I worked, the teacher often divided the class into two halves, assigning each their respective roles, that of a Defender who sits and gives answers, and of the Challenger who stands and asks questions.

In the monastic context, the debate usually takes place outside, in the debating yard. The defenders sit on the ground, looking at the challengers who stand in front of them. According to standardized rules, the challenger keeps moving, and each question ends with a loud clap of the challenger's right hand meeting an extended left hand just in front of the defender's face or by their ear. As they clap their hands, the challengers also stamp their left foot, making a step towards the seated defender. An important fact is that the debaters must depend on their memorization of the points of doctrine, such as definitions, illustrations and texts, and on their understanding gained from instruction and study. At the opening of a session of debate, the standing challenger claps his hands together and recites the seed syllable of Manjushri, "*Dbib*". Manjushri, the manifestation of the wisdom of all the Buddhas, is considered to be the special deity of debate.

In the classroom, during *riglam* class, the students may remain seated while debating with their teacher, but they still clap their hands and stamp their feet if they are the ones who ask questions. The teacher answers the questions standing in front of the class. When the teacher asks questions, he (the debate teacher was a monk) is moving about, walking between rows of desk, keeping eye-contact with students. When the class is divided in halves, the Challengers stand up and face the Defenders.

The body is visibly engaged in the process of debate, the hands work with the mind and codified gestures constitute the grammar of the body that converges with the grammar of the speech to lead mind in its work. The immediate satisfaction and pleasure that comes from the debate is also channelled through the body. The concluding gesture of the debate – the final loud clap and stamping of the foot with '*tsa-sung!*' (lit. it is finished) is joyfully repeated several times and in class always seemed to be the favourite part of the exercise. '*tsa-sung!*' marks a winning moment because the defenders have been led to contradict themselves – therefore they must have provided a wrong reason (see Appendix IV for sample debate on colours). They have to go back and debate it again, to realise that they

have answered wrongly, when, why and what the right answer is. The involvement of the body and speech in the process of reasoning is perceived as beneficial for student's health, concentration, memory, and is said to allow for a fair assessment of their skill during examinations (Samdhong 1999:292-3).

Geshe Rabten, a monk and the *riglam* instructor in the Middle Section of the school, told me he first made sure his students knew the grammar of the debate, knew the rules of the method (as above). Next, he made them differentiate and make their definitions right – GR: *How many are included [in the category]? What is not included?* He then asked them to debate “for meanings”. Common traditional topic of debates are: colors, established bases, identifying isolate, opposite from being-something and opposite-from-not being something, causes and effects, generalities and instances. For the students to really know what is the meaning of eg. “force” – the pull and push on an object – their reasoning must be perfect. They may debate “sound” by first differentiating between speech or clapping of hands – man made sounds vs natural sounds, such as the sound of rain. They divide the types to delineate the boundaries of the phenomenon in question, as in: *“What is the meaning of “student”? Is it someone who goes to school? So is the teacher also a student? No? Why, the teacher also goes to school! So, this meaning of “student” was not correct.”* The students may already know who a student is, but now they must strive to find the correct ‘meaning’. They move from intuitive understanding to understanding the properties of the thing – which is considered higher, advanced form of understanding. In this way they fine-tune their grasp of phenomena and the world.

Geshe Rabten remembered that in his monastery, Drepung, renowned for its debating practice, the students were often given only very brief introduction to new topics. They would use their common sense, references to books and background knowledge as the basis for their answers, trying to achieve a sophisticated understanding of the matter in question through debate. Even if neither the challenger nor the defender knew the topic well and a wrong answer was accepted, it would surely be corrected at some point in the future, during other debates that would inevitably steer onto the same topic. Any given debate must thus be seen as part of a larger context of previous and future debates in which any given student engages.

According to Geshe Lhakdor from the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, if *riglam* is used in the learning process, the quality of knowledge is improved since everything a person knows will stand reasoning. On the other hand, if what was heard does not stand the reasoning, the students will pay no attention to it. Therefore it is possible to hold debates on anything, not only on traditional philosophical topics. In the TCV Middle Section, all subjects taught in the last period every day, be it English, Maths, Science or History, were taught in the *riglam* mode. The students went out of their classrooms and sat in pairs either on the platforms between classrooms or outside, in the school yard. Some classes split in two and held group debates. The teachers usually sat or stood nearby, providing new content or correcting the content used by the students in the course of a debate. A maths class in *riglam* mode in Class 8 was a particularly illuminating experience⁶². Both the teacher and students seemed keen to use *riglam* as a meaningful pedagogic method. The topic to be debated was prime numbers. The teacher started by providing definition and short explanation, noting the aspects she wished to highlight on the blackboard, while students copied them in their notebooks. Then the teacher engaged the whole class in a debate where she was the challenger and the students the defenders. This first attempt was a ‘dry run’ of a debate, the point being the rehearsal of premises and definitions. The teacher asked a series of questions, each time making a clap characteristic of the Tibetan debate: What is a prime number? What are the divisors of a prime number? Is seven a prime number? Is six a prime number? Can a prime number be divided by two? (yes, if the prime number in question is two), etc. The students replied in unison, and acting as a group seemed to make the exercise more likely to succeed, as chances were there would always be someone to initiate a correct answer. In the next stage, the class was divided into groups of 3-4 students and a play-off style debating contest ensued. The benefit of being in the final pair was also a disadvantage, as the losing party were to have the privilege of sweeping the classroom at the end of the period. Perhaps in line with Samdhong Rinpoche’s admonitions on non-competitiveness of true education, the winning team (girls) stayed on to help the runners-up (boys) – if only to continue the heated argument about numbers and logical reasoning.

⁶² Audio recordings made on 13.08.2014 in Class 8P, Middle Section, during math period with Mrs Tashi Tsomo-la.

Each week, during the morning assembly, one class would go to the front of the assembly and present a debate. These would have been rehearsed to ensure the quality of the argument, so that the debate could benefit the audience. Tibetan schools held internal *riglam* contests and sent their best debaters to competitions held between different Tibetan school networks. Both the competition and performance elements were considered to be important motivational factors that enhanced learning. However, I was also told on several occasions, that *riglam's* ugly side came with these particular characteristics. Fierce competition between schools and reputation that depended on the debaters' performance was said to make some teachers teach tricks rather than real debating skills. As much as puns and plays on words were appreciated for their entertaining aspect, they made the real testing of knowledge impossible and thus could defeat the purpose of debating.

REFOCUSING SCHOOLING

Within Tibetan monasteries *riglam*, the path of logic, has long been used as a tool for the second stage in the sequence of learning and, as such, a means to test the validity of reasons given, the boundaries of phenomena and their interrelations. It has also been used to train the discerning capacities of the person - their mind and its different faculties. Applied in a contemporary Tibetan school in India to non-traditional subjects it provides a link between a distinctly Tibetan “inner science” – science of and by the mind – and the many domains of science as included in the contemporary school curriculum. At the same time it creates a very tangible link between schools and other sections of Tibetan society. *Riglam* teachers in Tibetan schools tend to be monks who have studied in the great monastic colleges recreated in exile. Lay Tibetan teachers, with degrees from Indian universities and often partly trained abroad, in US, Asia and Europe, are now learning to use *riglam* as pedagogic device and strategy.

I have been told that some Indian schools expressed their interest in learning the technique from Tibetan teachers and students. The debate as a method, which developed and flourished in the centres of learning in ancient India, and which has then been adopted and adapted by the Tibetan Buddhist scholars in the monasteries, may now be coming back to where it was born. On its way, it may contribute to refocusing the exile educational project in line with an agenda defined in the *Basic Education Policy*:

Students must be enabled to fully awaken their discriminative faculty of mind to be able to distinguish right from wrong. This would empower them: to be confident to make decision with freedom of thought and action; to be self-reliant in livelihood, i.e. to live without depending on or exploiting others thereby ensuring their freedom of livelihood by right means. (BEP 2004: 63).

In the teaching conferred on TCV students in June 2013, the Dalai Lama stressed that we were approaching the time within the five thousand-year cycle of the teachings of Buddha Sakyamuni (the fourth Buddha of this era), when observance of ethics (Tib. *tshul grims*; Skt. *sīla*) will be the only remaining practice of *dharmā*⁶³ (T. Gyatso 2013:9). The ultimate aim of education - Geshe Aten confirmed as he translated the Tibetan text in Chapter V of the *Basic Policy* – is for the students to train their minds, so as to be able to differentiate between right and wrong. By knowing this, their ignorance dispelled, the students' will surely make good decisions and their actions will bring desirable results. In the end, the stated aim might seem modest – earning one's livelihood without violating others is considered to be a good enough challenge. Training the mind in critical and rigorous consideration of statements, categories and phenomena, achieved when students practice new Tibetan debate, provides a way to include ethics as an inherent aspect of the modern curriculum.

Samdhong Rinpoche (2004) described the vision of a non-violent society that is to be established as soon as Tibet obtains genuine autonomy and the freedom to shape its own affairs. In order to create such a society, it is believed that the education system needs to be oriented towards imparting non-violence as an integral part of instruction (Samdhong 2004:455). However, Samdhong Rinpoche also remarked that, since the concept of violence is diverse, the concept of non-violence also needs to be seen as such (*ibid*). He traced the roots of the Buddhist teaching on non-violence – *ahimsa* - to the Vedic times and described its limited scope (e.g. excluding religious wars, elimination of evil forces, self-defence and defence of weaker beings). Both Jain and Buddhist traditions, as expressed in the teachings of Mahavira and Gautama Buddha respectively, prohibited any kind of

⁶³ (chos) – the path of Buddhist teachings

violence, including that done in the defence of religion or the self (Samdhong 2004:456)⁶⁴. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's *satyagraha* is for Samdhong Rinpoche the most perfect form of non-violent resistance, combining the ancient Indian tradition of non-violence and the non-violent civil disobedience movement given prominence by e.g. David Thoreau. Tibet's commitment to non-violence and the Dalai Lama's teaching on non-violent action is most similar to such a Gandhian thought and practice, with non-violence being the 'conviction and the object of faith' for people of Tibet (Samdhong 2004:459):

“According to Buddhist teachings, violence means any action or cause of action that (1) derives from negative emotions such as hate, greed or ignorance⁶⁵; and (2) results directly or indirectly in immediate or subsequent harm to any other living being. Non-violence does not mean simply absence of violence or remaining inactive. Non-violence is the wilful restraint from violent action and springs from positive emotions such as compassion, kindness and wisdom. Therefore, the cultivation of a compassionate, non-violent attitude in a person's heart and mind is the key to non-violent action. Such cultivation of attitudes requires lifelong education, training and practice.” (*ibid*)

Almost every Tibetan classroom that I visited in the course of my study had a picture of *Jam-päl yang* (Tib. ‘jam dpal yang, Skt. *Manjusri/Manjughosha*), the Bodhisattva of wisdom, displayed on a small altar. The deity is usually depicted sitting cross-legged on a giant lotus flower, its body adorned with jewels and face bearing an expression of calm concentration. Two attributes of *Jam-päl yang* are a book in its left hand and a flaming sword held high in its right hand. With the sword, *Jam-päl yang* has the power to dispel dark clouds of ignorance and reveal wisdom that already resides in the mind⁶⁶. Each morning, all Tibetan students start their school day with an invocation and homage to the deity - the text they would have learned when they started the school at the age of 3 and recited every day since. Every morning, one student from each class, including the pre-primary Infant Section, fetches fresh water and pours it as an offering to the deity on the classroom altar.

⁶⁴ The difference between the two philosophies of non-violence were to lie in the Buddha's emphasis on the intention and mindset and Mahavira's on action (preventing even inadvertent violence) (Samdhong 2004).

⁶⁵ I would like to direct the reader's attention to this threefold distinction, which will be further discussed in *Chapter 5.

⁶⁶ The wisdom is obscured by bad or confused thoughts, disturbing attitudes and emotions (see the “Praise to Manjugosha” in *Daily Recitations* (2007), LTWA: Dharamsala, pp 6-9)

The school temple displays a big mural painting of the *shyi-ne*⁶⁷ path, a demonstration of the stages of taming the mind. The mind is represented as a black wild elephant in the beginning, and as a peaceful white elephant obediently serving as a ride to its robe-clad master towards the end of the path. Younger children spend lots of time examining and discussing the mural, with the older ones (aged 10-15) often explaining it to their juniors. Class 1 (aged six) goes to the temple for a lesson on the temple murals as part of their Tibetan language course. The children come across the same representation in their textbooks or in the school hall. The imagery of the mural, Manjusri depictions and deity's morning invocations and offerings seem to consistently draw the students' attention to the mind as the locus of school-related practices. This seems to be at odds with the quantifiable "substance" theory of knowledge associated with modern educational practice. The discussion in this chapter of specific aspects of the *Basic Education Policy*, as understood by an educational practitioner, aimed to demonstrate that daily ritual practices, described above, are in fact expressive of the underlying conceptualisation of the processes at work in the school.

⁶⁷ (zhi-gnas, Skt. śamatha)

CHAPTER 3 HISTORY THROUGH BODIES

This chapter is an ethnographic exploration of two Tibetan concepts: *lapcha* (Wylie: bslab bya⁶⁸) – advice, and *chöpa* (W. spyod pa) – conduct/discipline. Both emerged as significant in my interactions and interviews with children and Home Parents in TCV. The following excerpts from an interview with very experienced (over 20 years of service) retired TCV *Amala* and *Pala* (Tib. honorific for ‘mother’ and ‘father’, here residential Home matron and her husband) mark the ethnographic moment when the significance of advice and discipline had become apparent. On a foggy July morning during my second summer in TCV, with the Himalayan monsoon in full swing, I came down the forest path, through the Indian military base and into the Handicraft Centre campus. *Amala* and *Pala* had retired nine years before and they now lived in the Home for retired staff, with other Home Mothers, in a comfortable dry flat with a common hall area, in close vicinity to the TCV Health Centre. They had kindly agreed to talk to me about their experience with raising TCV children in a *khyimtsang*, one of the school’s residential homes. Throughout our conversation, they stressed the value of advice (*lapcha*, Wylie: bslab bya) in dealing with children⁶⁹:

Pala (Home Father): Difficult part of the job? Difficult part, first of all, the children should become good persons...

Amala (Home Mother): *Lopchong ma che...* [Tib. (when they are) not studying...]

Pala: ...These children are the generation of future seeds of Tibet. So...

Amala: *Chöpa yakpo che tang lopchong yakpo che...* [Tib. having good conduct/discipline and studying well].

Pala: Sometimes they do not study well, they are not getting good education. Sometimes they behave in mischievous [way]. It makes us very sad, it is very bad for them – it is a loss

⁶⁸ To comply with the established convention and disambiguate Tibetan words, all Tibetan terms are given in italics in their phonetic transcription while their spelling is provided in parentheses or in footnotes according to the Wylie transliteration method; cf. Wylie, Turrell (1959). A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 22, (Dec., 1959), pp. 261-267.

⁶⁹ Interview with Upper TCV Home 22 retired Home Mother and her husband, Upper TCV campus, 30th July 2014 - transcript of excerpts from audio recording. Interview was conducted in English and Tibetan. Translation and transliteration of Tibetan terms by the author, on the basis of Goldstein’s *English-Tibetan Dictionary of Modern Tibetan* (1984, LTWA: Dharamsala), his *The New Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*, (Berkeley: 2001); P. Tashi’s *Tibetan-English Dictionary (Bod dbyin tshig mdsod)* (Gansu: 1999) and C.A. Bell’s *English-Tibetan Colloquial Dictionary* (1920).

for their lives. So, we were giving them good advice, how to eat, how to think, how to behave, how to study - helping with full effort and energy. But sometimes some children do not obey our advice, our direction – there would be some difficulties then. (...)

Amala: *Chöpa yakpo che*. [Tib. lit. Do *chöpa* well (be well-behaved)].

KBA⁷⁰: *Chöpa?*

Pala: Discipline. *Chöpa*⁷¹ means – discipline.

Amala : Discipline and being good.

KBA[probing]: And discipline is getting up early, keeping clean, talking *shesa* [Tib. honorific language]?

Pala [cryptic answer]: No... If there is a tree, there are leaves and branches – the main thing is to have a good quality of mind, to be a valuable person. That is the main *lapcha* [Tib. advice] – be a valuable person... In Tibetan there is a proverb: “*sa lug do: lug dro lug sum...*” (Tib. The three: the manner of eating, the manner of sitting, the manner of walking...)

Amala [finishes]: ...*din chen pamé lapcha yin*⁷².” (Tib. ... this is the parents’ advice).

Pala: If you go like this [gestures a robust torso movement] – it’s not good. You should be going like a cat, very politely. And how to eat – when eating with open mouth, throwing food like this [gestures away with his hand], that’s not good. And how to sit – when there is a family, father will sit first, then mother, then older children, then younger children, all in order. In *khyimsang*⁷³ as well – we teach the children to sit according to the ages and [school] classes.

In this chapter, using excerpts from interviews, notes and video material documenting bodily practices in TCV Homes, classrooms and common areas, I will demonstrate how the primordial parental duty to advise and teach children ‘how to eat, how to sit(reside⁷⁴), how to walk(related to others/work etc)’ (Chonjore and Abinanti 2003:7), where ‘parent’

⁷⁰ KBA – Katarzyna Byłów-Antkowiak, the author.

⁷¹ W. spyod pa

⁷² Tibetan word for advice is *lapcha* (W. bslab bya) and giving advice is *lapcha gyap*. Honorific: *kalop* (W. bka’ slob).

⁷³ Tib. family home, here residential Home in a Tibetan Children’s Village campus.

⁷⁴ Tsetan Chonjore in his *Colloquial Tibetan* glossed the proverb as follows: *za lugs bsdod lugs ‘gro lugs gsum/ Drin can pha ma’i bslab bya yin* – „It is through the kindness of our parents that we are advised on the following three modes: the manner in which to eat, sit (reside) and walk (related to others/work, etc.) (Chonjore and Abinanti 2003:7).

can be inflected as spiritual practitioner (*lama*), mother/father (*pama*) and teacher (*gyenla*), leads to the inscription and expression of discipline, protocol and etiquette of and through the bodies of TCV inhabitants. I will show how the proper way to do things has been embodied in the differently structured ways in which life in the TCV residential Homes and in TCV school sections is organized. I will then discuss the authority that enables both bodily discipline and the spatiotemporal structure of Homes and schools. This authority, I will argue, is primarily concerned with the karmic dimension of being. The second part of this chapter will focus on history understood as the actualisation of karmic potential – imprints, patterning and habituation - the understanding which makes TCV children into ‘future seeds of Tibet’. I will also discuss the temporal frame that such a concept evokes. The discussion in the concluding part of the chapter will thus lead from bodies and history to time in TCV.

BODIES

In the Tibetan Buddhist art of healing, the body is considered to be one of the three channels for action, one of the three ‘doors’. During one casual lunchtime conversation with a teacher and a former monk in the TCV staff mess, I asked why he thought it was important for people to come together and pray aloud. My question indirectly referred to the ‘door of voice’ and that was what *Gyen-la* (honorific for teacher) decided to pick up on:

Gyen-la: *Go-sum* – three doors. It is because things that come out of them – action – can be speech and thinking or attitude. But I personally don’t believe you have to say mantras – thinking is more important.⁷⁵

In Tibetan medicine, the origin, composition and function of the three doors of body, voice and mind are explained as follows:

“The human body begins as an aggregate of humours and organic components based on the energy of the elements, while the “door” of the voice, not having been formed by the humours and organic components, exists directly on the base of the energy of the elements. (...) However, if we have a problem connected with the door of the voice, that is, with the condition of the elements or of energy, or also in particular with the door of the mind, the extremely hidden nature of the problem is such that it is difficult to understand how to

⁷⁵ Conversation on 23th July 2014, TCV Staff Mess, recorded in field notes

confront the problem (...) the body is an aggregate of humours and organic components and is a physical support for the other two doors of voice and mind which depend upon it; the three doors of body, voice and mind exist in a relationship of reciprocal dependence.” (C. N. Norbu 2008:113)

In this section, I want to argue that within TCV Homes and schools, environments shaped by historically and geographically distinct agendas, the ‘door of the body’ is one of the main channels used to influence and regulate the ‘mind-stream’ of children growing up in a Tibetan Children’s Village, making them into ‘future seeds of Tibet’. The meaning and implications of this term and concept will be the focal point of second part of this chapter. Here, through semantic analysis of the terms used by Home Mothers to describe their practices focused on the children’s conduct/behaviour/discipline – *chöpa*, and through description of classroom behaviour, I would like to draw out the ways of thinking about actions accomplished within and through the body.

Field notes: 23th July 2014

KBA: Gyen-la, what is Tibetan word for “naughty”?

Teacher: *dri-nye-po* (W. sgrig nyes po).

The teacher asks 5 year old Yeshe, who is sitting with us at the table, having her lunch, if she is *dri-nye-po* and she shakes her head - no.

KB: And [the term] *duk-cha* (W. Sdug chag)?

Teacher: No, it is “bad”, better not to use [it]. (KB But I have heard Home Mothers use it and I have heard it frequently in Baby Home).⁷⁶

The Tibetan phrase *dri-nye-po* (W. Sgrig nyes po) is composed of two parts, having the following collocative potential: the first part, *dri* (W. Sgrig) – ‘to arrange/put something in order, in line’, ‘to queue’; it can produce the term *Sgrig khrims* – (monastic) ‘discipline’ (lit. code of the order), and *Sgrig lam* – ‘rule’ (lit. the path of order, orderly path). The second part, *nye-po*, is adjectival form of *nye-pa* (W. nyes pa) – ‘sin, crime, wrongdoing, guilt’. ‘Naughty’ – *dri nye-po* (W. sgrig nyes po) then could literally be translated as ‘wrong/guilty-order/arrangement’.

⁷⁶ Conversation on 23th July 2014, TCV Staff Mess, recorded in field notes.

In the interview cited earlier, the Home Parents translated the English term ‘naughty’ as – *dukcha* (W. Sdug chag) and *chöpa nyepo* (W. spyod pa nyes po). The Home Mother consistently used the term *chöpa* (W. spyod pa – dict. conduct, behaviour), which she and her husband also translated as ‘discipline’ – something leading one to having a good mind and to being a valuable person (above). Tibetan dictionaries allow both terms to stand in a collocation: *chöpa dukcha* (W. spyod pa sdug chag) – ‘terrible behaviour’.

There are, I believe, semantic connections that can be traced between the ‘wrong/guilty order’, ‘wrong/guilty conduct’ - ‘naughtiness’ on the one hand (something that in a TCV Home would result in scolding or punishment) and ‘conduct’ explained as ‘discipline’, on the other. ‘Discipline’ is further inflected into the right way of eating, sitting, walking and talking. It is something having a direct impact on the person’s disposition (being a valuable person, having a good ‘mind’). This, I would suggest, reveals an overarching notion of propriety and self-discipline that is expected of a human being, and that needs to be channelled via action accomplished through and by the body.

Explaining the effectiveness of daily prayers and religious instruction in TCV Homes, Mrs Kalsang Sharling, one of the most senior TCV staff members and Head of the TCV Mother Training Centre said:

Mothers receive religious education during training. They have a choice of prayers. It is not compulsory to recite some and not others. If a Mother knows about a particular prayer and it is part of her practice, she would teach that to children (...) There are three stages⁷⁷, if the children learn about it now, through hearing from Mothers and others and then repeat it daily, even though they do not understand the concepts, later they will understand it and practice⁷⁸.

As in the model of learning discussed in the last chapter, where the repeated thinking and concentration on a given ‘truth’ constitutes the final stage, leading to an inner subjective experience of the ‘truth’ in question, here the repeated, daily bodily and verbal practices (body posture during prayer and offerings, prostrations in front of the deities on the altar, vibration produced by joint recitation and felt through the body, mantra and text

⁷⁷ Reference to three stages in the Tibetan Buddhist model of learning, discussed in *Chapter 2.

⁷⁸ Conversation with Mrs Kalsang Sharling-la, MTC, July 2014, recorded in fieldnotes.

recitation⁷⁹) eventually lead to an inner subjective experience of the practice's meaning and, over time, to its fruition – bringing the desired results. In the following part of this section, I will show what bodily practices in Home and school might form purposeful 'action' channelled through the 'door of the body'.

HOMES

TCV residential Homes, *khyimstang*⁸⁰, emerged gradually - out of necessity, out of available options and influences and, finally, through careful planning by administrators of the Tibetan Nursery that was to expand into TCV network of campuses in different parts of India. The core infrastructure was developed on the basis of existing English wooden bungalows in the upper parts of hills looming over the then sleepy town of Dharamsala. A senior staff member described this development as follows:

Gyen Phuntsok Namgyal⁸¹: Dekyi Tsering Hall [that now stands] opposite the round building was built in the late seventies, when the Egerton Hall had been dismantled. The local name for Egerton Hall was the "fishery", because it was the residence of the head of the Indian Fishery Department. It was very big, and could house many offices and storage rooms. We used it as classrooms, child dormitories, staff room and library. (...) Sambhota schools? They came later, they only have dormitories. TCV concept followed SOS Children's Villages. We wanted home atmosphere – with foster home for them [children], not dormitories, but with parents – *pala*, *amala*. The salary was not great, but they worked out of commitment. They were given living quarters, common kitchen. Parental role here is greater than the role as a teacher – teacher is an adult, friend, family member.

Lhasang Tshering, Tibetan activist and writer, who served as both Deputy Village Director and Principal in Upper TCV from 1976 till 1982, explained the Home system as follows:

We followed SOS pattern - Homes. In 1963 Mr Taring set it up in Mussoorie⁸², [the rule] that children should be in home situation, with *pala* and *amala* who would be less of an

⁷⁹ It is worth to note that Tibetan Buddhist mantras are composed of syllables that can at best be related to Sanskrit and Pali words and meanings, and cannot be directly interpreted in vernacular Tibetan.

⁸⁰ (W. khyim tshang)

⁸¹ Interview with the senior TCV staff member and Village Director, Mr Phuntsok Namgyal-la, the 8th of October 2013, TCV Head Office. Interview was conducted in English and audio recorded.

⁸² Tibetan Home Foundation - THF, a Tibetan educational charity run parallel to TCV.

authority. It was important to have an adult around, [someone] who could be referred to with confidence, in a more human relationship. Semi-orphans were raised as brothers and sisters. Jetsun Pema-la was taking it from the emotional, psychological perspective. To have adults who are not authority, with whom you can discuss a problem. Jetsun Pema-la made an effort to remove the distance – with children and with staff members. We introduced SOS system with the help from volunteers.⁸³

Mrs Jetsun Pema, the younger sister of HH the 14th Dalai Lama, took over the management of the then Tibetan Nursery in the mid-1960. She was herself educated in the Catholic mission Loreto schools in Kalimpong and Darjeeling in India. She later stayed in Switzerland, where some of her European school friends from Loreto lived. Jetsun Pema-la was seemingly open to suggestions from overseas friends, and she solicited their help with nursing, construction and funding (Pema 1997).

The model of Children's Villages based on foster mothers running family homes was designed by SOS Kinderdorf in Austria in the aftermath of WWII. The first Children Villages were set up in Austria (1949) and then France, Germany and Italy. They were introduced in Korea and India in 1963, at the time where the overflowing Tibetan nurseries needed a more long-term perspective. Among the volunteers mentioned above, there were British nurses sent by the Save the Children Fund, Swiss Red Cross doctors, Indian nursing sisters, a volunteer teacher sent by Civil Service International (Ms Doris Murray, Fig. 3) and other Europeans and Americans who contributed ideas about modern (60s) hygiene, nutrition and education⁸⁴. These ideas and rules enforced on the time and space organization of TCV Homes by the SCF nurses, described in their detailed reports, proved a lasting presence. The British and Indian nurses had been trained in tropical nursing according to current understanding of standards of hygiene and nutrition – with the underlying principles of separation and sequencing. They introduced a twice-weekly system

⁸³ Interview with Mr Lhasang Tshering-la, McLeod Ganj, the 9th of October 2013. Interview was conducted in English and audio recorded.

⁸⁴ Copies of reports of SCF nurses Miss Juliet Maskell and Miss Iris Betts (Mr Phuntsok Namgyal's personal archive); Jetsun Pema (Principal). 1968. *Report of the Tibetan Refugee Children's Nursery in Dharamsala 1964 – 1968* (Amnye Machen Tashi Tsering's personal archive); *The Story of the Education of Tibetan Refugee Children in India* (1964). Ed. Sham Narayan, Tibetan Schools Society, New Delhi (Government of India, Ministry of Education). Zodiac Press, Delhi 6 (Tashi Tsering's archive); Murphy, Dervla. 1966. *Tibetan Footbold*. Pan Books Ltd: London; Norbu Chhophel. 2009. *A Short Autobiographical Account of Norbu Chhophel (b. 1939) Witness of a Bitter Sweet Samsaric Life (mthong myong mi tshe'i lo rgyus mngar skyur bro ldan)*. Tibetan Literature Series, No 13. Amnye Machen Institute: Dharamshala.

of baths that is still in use today, head shaving to fight head lice and the ubiquitous roll numbers and medical record cards.

Regardless of the origin of sequencing, everyday life in TCV residential Homes is subject to strict daily routine. Even though Mothers were said to have discretion as to the running of their individual Homes, the daily routine in *khyimtsang* showed a great deal of homogeneity. Everyday life in TCV residential Homes is subject to daily routine, shaped by the campus infrastructure, the Village and school policies and timetables and the Home Mother's preferences. The majority of Home Mothers nowadays would have received extensive training and instruction on domestic science, nutrition, hygiene and developmental psychology during workshops for experienced Home Mothers, and during a year-long theoretical and practical course for aspiring matrons. After successfully finishing the course, the new Mother is likely to be 'floating' for some time (this will be discussed in *Chapter 4), before she settles in her own TCV Home.

NEST - NEXUS

Homes in TCV usually have a plaque in English commemorating their foundation. Some, apart from the number, have a nickname and an official name. Baby Home has routinely been called 'Baby Room', and before that was also known as 'Little Norway', since it was founded by a grant from a Norwegian organization. 'Home 10' is one of the buildings which also sport a plaque in Tibetan – and a Tibetan name: *Chokhor gyal* (W. chos 'khor rgyal). In everyday practice Home 10, as any other Home, is referred to as *Khyimtsang chu-ba*⁸⁵. In 2013-14 there were nominally 42 Homes on the campus, but in fact some of them were closed, either temporarily or permanently⁸⁶. *Khyimtsang* are two storey buildings, made of stone, concrete, wood and corrugated iron roof (see Fig. 4). Each *khyimtsang* has a hall,

⁸⁵ Tibetan cardinal number – 10th

⁸⁶ I have conducted interviews with twenty eight *khyimtsang* Home Mothers (and sometimes Fathers), both active and retired, who usually also offered to take me on a tour of their *khyimtsang*. The remaining Homes were either closed – for reconstruction or due to dwindling numbers of children - or the Home Mother was unavailable (on leave or unwilling to engage in a formal interview). In some of the Homes I only paid one visit during my fieldwork, as I had no connection with the people living there. I regularly visited seven Homes and both of girls' hostels on the campus. I also had a chance to visit Homes in two other TCV branches, including the Home for children with special needs. All of the interviews were audio-recorded. They were usually conducted in Tibetan and English, with the help of an interpreter. Two of the interpreters were Senior girls living on the campus in Residential Homes and one was a young Home Mother-in training.

a storage room, two big bedrooms for girls and boys, Home Mother's quarters, kitchen and bathrooms (Fig.5-9). Homes also have courtyards, terraces and sometimes gardens⁸⁷.

The term *pö khyim* (W. bod khyim, lit. Tibetan family), has consistently been used in Tibetan language publications referring to TCV⁸⁸. *Tsang* (W. tshang), the second part of the term used for residential Home, means nest, household or family. *Mi tsang* is family, people of the household. *Khyim ming* is family name and *khyim rgyud* - family lineage. Within the Tibetan diaspora, where the overwhelming majority of children attend either schools managed by TCV, the Tibetan Homes Foundation (THF), or the Central Schools for Tibetans (CST), this 'family lineage' is often highlighted, as in case of a poster for a new Tibetan movie, pasted all over the Tibetan hub McLeod Ganj in the summer of 2014, where the director's credentials included a mention "*ex-CST Shimla*".

The terms of address used in Homes reflect Tibetan kinship terms and structures, where age/experience seniority is the deciding factor. Children living in the same Home address each other as *acha* (older sister), *chocho* (older brother) and *pu/pumo* (younger boy/girl) respectively. They call their Home Mother *amala*, using the honorific particle -la, which can be omitted when addressing older children. The Home Mother's husband is addressed as *pala*, honorific for 'father' and their adult children are *acha* (*la* Hon.) and *chocho* (*cho-la* Hon.). Any visiting Home Mother is called *amala*, although other women are most often called *acha*. Visiting men who are not Home fathers, are called *aku* - paternal uncle (with the term *ashang* - maternal uncle being reserved for MB). Very old people are addressed as *mola* and *po(po)la* - honorific for grandmother and grandfather. Teachers and senior staff, both men and women, were always addressed as *gyenla* - teacher (Hon., non-honorific *gegen* could only be used in their absence). Monks and nuns of all ages were respectfully called *kusho-la* (Hon. monk) and *ani-la* (Hon.nun). All visiting older Tibetan girls and boys were *acha* and *chocho* (older sister, older brother), even if they were strangers (e.g. prefects from other Tibetan schools on a study visit). *Amala* and *Pala* usually address Home children by

⁸⁷ For an interested reader I include, in Appendix V, the edited account of an interview with a Home Mother and a visit in the *khyimtsang* I got to know quite well (fieldnotes, 2013). The sample is representative of the routines and relationships in a TCV Home, managed by an experienced *Amala*. It is narrated from the perspective of a Home child, Home Mother and a visitor (the author).

⁸⁸ Such as the TCV annual magazine *Losel Melong* (blo gsal me long) published in Tibetan and English.

their given names. In some Homes, *amala* and *pala* made a point of always adding the honorific particle “-la” to the names of all children, regardless of age. This was ‘talking *shesa*’ – politely, and was considered more refined (as a custom identified with the Tibetan capital Lhasa, almost completely absent in e.g. Amdo⁸⁹).

As a foreigner, I was at first excluded from this terminological system. In the Baby Home, where I conducted participant observation of the youngest TCV children, due to the children’s young age the staff/child ratio was higher than in other Homes. 19–25 children aged 0,5 – 5 lived there with seven Home Mothers (called *Ayahs*⁹⁰ in the school official payroll records). As there were more than one, all Mothers were addressed by their title – *ama*, followed by their name and the honorific particle –la (as in *Ama Drolkar-la*). Some weeks after I had started working there, I was allowed to actually share manual work of Baby Home’s Mothers. My ‘Home kinship’ position was then revealed to me one evening when, as I was leaving, Ama Drolkar-la urged the children nearby to say “bye”: *bye-las, acha Kasia-la*. I was *acha* – older sister, I did share *amala*’s work, but not *amala*’s responsibility.

On another day, I was told that the birth mother of one of the Baby Home girls, four-and-a-half year-old Özer-la, was in TCV to visit her two daughters and that she had seen the girl in Baby Home the day before. The lady lived and worked in Goa, in the south of India, and could only visit her children once or twice a year. Home Mothers told me that during the visit to the region she was staying with Dolma – one of TCV staff members. Mothers explained that the ladies were from the same Home - *khyimtsang*, so they knew each other well. When I asked Özer about her mum, she first made sure which mother I had in mind: *Ama-la? Ama? Ama Yangzom?* (Mother (Hon.)? Mother? Mother Yangzom?).

The multiplicity of the term’s referents was possible as *amala* is used “for someone who cares for us and is looking after us. It is like a social mother⁹¹”. The use of *amala* for a lady implies a respectful attitude. *Amala* is also an official title. As Mrs Kalsang Sharling explained: “Jetsun Pema-la would be called “daughter of a noble family”, or “His Holiness sister”, not “*gyen-la*” (Hon. Teacher). When she became a minister in the Government we called

⁸⁹ Dr Chok Tenzin Monlam, personal communication. LTWA, May 2013.

⁹⁰ “Helper” in Hindi.

⁹¹ Mrs Kalsang Sharling, head of TCV Mother Training Centre.

her *Kasur*. And then she was awarded the title of “Mother of all Tibet”, as expression of our gratitude – then everyone could call her “*Amala*”⁹². The Tibetan particle *ma* (W.ma) – means “root” or “base” (Chotsho 2014:229) and the syllable *a* added to *ma* indicates dearness and gratitude (*ibid*)⁹³. When talking about Home Mothers in TCV, the Village Director Gyen Phuntsok Namgyal stressed their seniority and experience: “H20 has the oldest Home Mother. Home 1 Amala has been here since 64’. Home 10 is also a very experienced one”. The MTC booklet ends with a section in which 10 retired Home Mothers, in the chapter titled *Pö khyim-gi ma tsab*⁹⁴– substitute mothers of Tibetan family - share their *nyong tsor*⁹⁵– experience. When a trainee Home Mother offered to help me with an interview in the retired staff Home, I learned that giving *lapcha* – advice, based on one’s experience, or otherwise true life story (heard or lived), was an obligatory element of an encounter between young and retired Home Mothers.

Amala is the central figure of the nexus of relations that is constituted in and through a Home. She is the only parent recognized by the administration – only Home Mothers, and not Fathers, are on TCV payroll. With the *Amala* at its centre, a TCV *khyimstang* is set up by and through her. At the same time, extended interviews with Home Mothers and Home survey in the campus showed a consistent pattern of space and time organization to which children’s bodies were subject in Homes. Home was the locus of bodily and body-related ritualized practices, involving prayers and offerings, food preparation and communal eating, baths, cleaning, studying and sleeping routines.

Each morning children got up around 5:30 a.m. and swept the entire surface of the Home and its adjacent concrete courtyard. They used sweeping brooms made of flexible young branches, usually short and requiring bending, crouching or squatting. These are commonly used throughout India – by women, sweeping their houses and courtyards first thing in the

⁹² Interview with Mrs Kalsang Choedon Sharling-la, Mother Training Centre, 11th November 2013. Interview was conducted in English and audio recorded.

⁹³ Chotsho (2014) and other authors in the volume *Feminine Wisdom*, published by LTWA, also discuss the use of pejorative and demeaning lexical items in reference to women in Tibetan; (see also J. Gyatso and Havnevik 2005). The subject never cropped up in my conversations with Home Mothers, students or teachers in TCV, therefore I do not discuss it in the chapter.

⁹⁴ (W. bod khyim gyi ma tshab)

⁹⁵ (W.myong tshor)

morning. The morning prayers at Home were short and involved joint recitation or incantation of a prayer/instruction chosen by the Home Mother. The children knew it by heart and the recitation was usually fast and fluent. All meals were taken in the Home's multi-purpose hall, with low and narrow wooden tables and benches arranged in a U-shape along the walls. The sitting arrangement was pre-established, and food was served by *Amala*, with help from the children on 'kitchen duty'. After breakfast (bread, milk tea and sometimes eggs or leftover vegetables from dinner), Home children got dressed in their school uniforms – blue trousers, chequered blue and white shirts and dark green or grey pullovers worn by both girls and boys (grey pullovers distinguished Middle Section students – Class VI to VIII – from other Sections). Before children left the Home, the Mother examined their appearance – the uniform, hair, hands, and nails. At 6:30 children were expected to report in one of the two school halls for morning prayer and by 7am, they started a 1,5-hour self-study period in their classrooms. The school assemblies, separate for each Section, brought the pupils together in the school yards at 8:30 am. Classes started at 9am and continued till 3pm (Infant, Junior) and 4 pm (Middle, Senior).

Back at Home, children washed their clothes, had baths (in the courtyard in the summer and for younger children), cleaned the bathrooms and helped in the kitchen on specific days of the week, usually working in teams of two while doing the chores. A team would be sent to the main kitchen store for provisions, and older boys or girls had to periodically exchange the empty metal gas cylinders. A team of younger children was in charge of taking the trash bin to the recycling point. After dinner, children had another self-study period and then, between 8 and 11 pm they went to bed – according to their age.

In contrast to the TCV school, which follows a six-day cycle, the routines in TCV Homes followed the seven day cycle, with specific weekdays designated for baths and clothes washing. Home Mothers' day off was on Thursdays. The weather dictated the frequency of other chores – thick blankets and all clothes were put outside in the sun whenever possible, especially during the rainy season. The net of relations extended from Home to the centres of campus life – Village Office, carpenters' workshop, Village storeroom and dispensary; to other Homes – through relatives and friends; to four school sections and to the wider community outside, both lay and monastic, Tibetan and foreign (sponsors).

Homes needed to be maintained, through prayers, cleaning, repairs and daily routine in a structured effort at disciplining the environment and the bodies.

Even though such description seems to lend itself easily to a Foucauldian analysis, I would like to point to the fact that the specificity of the temporal framework involved and of the role assigned to a ‘Mother’ provide a much more interesting analytical possibility. The character and purpose of this disciplined structure does not appear to be the result of ideology enforced through administration. The Tibetan ideal of motherly love is inextricably tied to the Buddhist philosophical perspective on relationships that obtain between sentient beings:

“The flow of compassion from a great heart/ is impartial towards all sentient beings,
Like a mother’s towards her only child./ It is thus praiseworthy to appreciate a mother’s
love⁹⁶.” (Rikya Rinpoche 2010:13)

This compassionate, selfless love seems to be the source and basis of the authority that makes the structured disciplining of ‘the door of body’ possible. Discipline – *chöpa* (conduct) is action accomplished **through** the body on the minds of children out of compassionate selfless concern with the karmic consequences of (harmful) action **of** their body, voice or mind. It is action with the karmic perspective in mind. Such karmic metaphysics will be further explored in the context of teasing games played with the youngest children. Here I wish to point out this important underpinning of control and authority in a TCV *khymtsang*.

MOTHER

TCV’s geographical and historical location in the Indian modern nation-state made it necessary for Home Mother as an ‘institution’ to relate to the Indian ‘modern’ ideal of enlightened motherhood, with mother’s role conceived of as serving her family through making well-informed, science-based choices (Chatterjee and Riley 2001). Such a relation undeniably exists. Mrs Kelsang Sharling, the Head of the TCV Mother Training Centre

⁹⁶ mother’s love – W. ma-yi brtse bar. Religious verse by Rikya Rinpoche.

told me: “*Ama* Jetsun Pema-la once said: We should train all the Tibetan women. Mother is the pillar of a society”.

As a realisation of this idea, TCV adopted a policy of training all employed Home Mothers through regular workshops⁹⁷ and devising a formal training curriculum for aspiring Home Mothers. The ubiquitous Mother Training Centre Handbook⁹⁸ starts with a section on religious instruction in the Homes (pp 1-17) – including texts of suggested prayers and the interpretation of basic Buddhist precepts, the explanation and procedure to follow for daily prayer and water offering, butter lamp offering and prostrations. This is followed by explanation of Home etiquette relating to common meals and the use of honorific language, i.e. politeness (pp. 18 -21). The next section addresses the role of *amala* as the child’s “first teacher”⁹⁹ (p.24). This leads to the discussion of 1) hygiene: regular baths, hair combing, appropriate, clean clothing and bed sheets, importance of physical exercise, cleaning the Home compound and visits to the school dispensary; 2) nutrition: proper storage and preparation of food, food waste management, “functions of food” (p. 72) and nutritional value of different foodstuffs, the role of vitamins and possible effects of vitamin deficiencies, junk food (Fig. 10); 3) childcare (p.89): parenting methods and stages of human development (infant – child – adolescent), counselling – with a specific focus on physical abuse.

References listed (without dates) on the last page of the MTC Handbook (2010) consist of Tibetan and Indian sources, including: *Nutrition and Dietetics* by Dr Shubhanni A Joshi, *Text Book of Home Science* by Premlata Mullick, *Developmental Psychology* by Dr Vatsyayan and *Modern Child Psychology* by Tarachand.

⁹⁷ For example, in August 2013 the Mother Training Centre organized ‘Save Food, Hate Waste’ workshop, which subsequently took place in all the other Villages. In spring 2014 the workshops were to focus on growing organic vegetables in gardens adjacent to Homes, and the MTC consulted experts at the agricultural university in Palampur on the best practice for local climate and soil types. During my second summer in TCV I, indeed, saw many new cultivated plots.

⁹⁸ *Phru gur gches skyong dgos pa'i lam ston lag deb.* (2010) TCV Head Office: Dharamsala. The handbook version in use during fieldwork in 2013-14 featured on its cover a black & white photograph of the founder of the Tibetan nursery, the Dalai Lama’s older sister Mrs. Tsering Dolma Takla, in conversation with a two-three year-old child.

⁹⁹ Tib. *puḡu gegen tangpo* (W. phru gu'i dge rgan dang po). Please note the use of non-honorific term for ‘teacher’ – it would be inappropriate for Mothers to refer to themselves with the honorific term *gyenla*.

Nilanjana Chatterjee and Nancy Riley (2001), discussing the history and rationale of fertility politics in late colonial and post-colonial India, the period coinciding with the emergence of TCV Home Mother ‘project’, trace the genealogy of the modern Indian ‘enlightened motherhood’ ideal in the search for a distinct, Indian ‘modernity’, premised on social and spiritual development, realised through education, responsibility, but also through modesty, and selfless dedication of mothers. Parenthood is here linked to a ‘total package of modernity’:

“Reason and agency, planning, male familial responsibility, female literacy, higher age at marriage, an absence of son preference, and perception of children as costs or investments are all presented as aspects of a total package of modernity that is directly indexed through material prosperity.” (Chatterjee and Riley 2001:835).

It is likely, I think, that the TCV Home Mother ‘project’ - channelled through the *khyimtsang*, the Village, and the Mother Training Centre curriculum, training agenda and publications - may also be partly predicated upon this Indian ‘modernity package’. I see material and social status as the main common dimension here. Home Mothers frequently mentioned their successful children - Home alumni in medical and engineering schools or living abroad. However, while the Indian population control and parenting policy have been shown to be rooted in the ‘modern’ ideas of population as a resource, and family household as part and parcel of the state apparatus of this resource management, the shift that might have occurred in the perception of children as investment within the Tibetan diaspora could stem from a very different motivation and have different goals. One of my Tibetan friends once told me that her three children were her ‘pension fund’, and that was why she was ready to invest so much money, energy, time and effort to secure their material and spiritual well-being. If children in TCV were ‘future seeds of Tibet’, this investment was not only made on the family or individual ‘society¹⁰⁰’ level, but – given the imagery of ‘seed’ in Buddhist philosophy - within a special time-frame and not necessarily within the society’s organizational framework. This re-scaling, however, was made much more explicit in the context of TCV schools than in TCV Homes.

¹⁰⁰ My Tibetan friends used the English word ‘society’ to describe groups of people clustered around specific institutions of the exile community. TCV was one such society, another being e.g. the Tibetan government complex (Gangchen Kyishong) and the Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute (Men-Tsee-Khang).

SCHOOL

From the very beginning of my fieldwork I was repeatedly told of a Tibetan saying – that one should always show respect and listen/obey one’s spiritual guide (*lama*), one’s parents (*pa-ma*, *lit. father-mother*) and one’s teacher (*gyen-la*), in this, apparently significant, order. TCV Home Mothers’ influence becomes markedly less significant as soon as children begin their school day.

As mentioned before, even though Homes operate on the basis of a weekly, 7-day cycle, TCV school Sections follow a distinct calendar, based on an unbroken six day cycle. The idea is to prevent missing particular school days. The school cycle that starts on Monday (Day 1) will finish next Monday (Day 6), with Tuesday being next Day 1. Classes on Saturdays are in the morning only, so Saturdays are excluded from the cycle and have a separate timetable (Fig.11).

Different time-streams mark one of many inevitable tensions between Homes and school. As part of one *lapcha* - advice exercise in the Junior Section, one of the teachers told his Class V students: “You need to go to the library! The Home Mother will be preventing you and asking you to do work in the *khyimtsang* – somehow you have to make excuses with the *Amala* and have to go to the library. But don’t blame others – oh, my *Amala* told me to stay at Home and do this or that, or our library is very far. These are lame excuses. Our brains are full of tricks, I know that. When I was little I made excuses to go and I went.”¹⁰¹

The school’s formal organization, including layout, timetables and elements of classroom and teachers’ room etiquette have already been described in *Chapter 2. Here, I would therefore focus on the distinct features that help to contextualize the notion of ‘future seeds of Tibet’.

I was told by one of the teachers, herself educated in a catholic mission school in India, that TCV classroom etiquette, e.g. standing up and formal greeting and farewell to a teacher, and temporal organization followed closely the mission school model. As in Tibet there were no lay educational institutions comparable to large scale Tibetan school campuses in India now, there are reasons to believe that the mission schools in the

¹⁰¹ This particular session, lasting about fifteen minutes, was, possibly for my benefit, delivered entirely in English.

Himalayan hill stations of Darjeeling and Kalimpong, where Tibetan elites educated their sons and sometimes daughters¹⁰² (Tseyang 2014:80-1), formed a basis for imagining a new Tibetan education paradigm. The hill stations themselves, and their prestigious schools in particular, were places of colonial separation of European families and their children from the dangers of hot and humid Indian plains (Sacareau 2007). The locations were usually chosen for their climate, crisp fresh air scented by deodar trees, making them more suitable for the ‘European constitution’, protecting the colonizers from the ‘polluting influences’ of teeming Indian cities and their inhabitants (Bear 1994; Bear 2005; Sacareau 2007). TCV may have a similar, sheltering function. The student body’s organization into classes, Sections, streams, and finally into alumni ‘batches’, encourages a kind of affiliation (and separation) and the sense of lineage that is often emphasized (e.g. through TCV-Confessions webpage, or “ex-CST-Shimla” mention as credentials).

Within the campus, the school offers yet another structure, superimposed on the Homes - Houses. They featured prominently during annual school events based on inter-House competition. I was told that the idea came from Mr Lhasang Tsering – a long term assistant to Mrs Jetsun Pema and Principal of one of TCV schools. One of senior TCV staff members told me about the beginnings of Houses:

“I was actually a House Master when I came here as a college graduate. We had just started them then. We started all the games – we didn’t know a thing about them and had to study rule books and adapt them – e.g. for basketball. For athletics as well – disciplines appropriate for Junior Section, Middle Section, Senior Section - we referred to many schools to make out differences in classifications. That is how it took life. (...) Competition is a means of giving confidence, you do your best. It causes emotional alertness, does not allow you to relax. Prepares children for life – life is competition. During my time [as House Master] we drew lots for division of tasks. The House Master then had to get the best from the community to mentor children. The students were allotted to one of the

¹⁰² Jangngopa Tseyang (2014) mentions four boys (known as Rugby Boys) from aristocratic families who were sent to study in England in 1912, following an order from the thirteenth Dalai Lama. The move was said to have very slight impact on education in Tibet. Later, Tibetan government sent a group of boys to study in India, after which aristocratic families started sending their children privately to boarding schools in India. The first Tibetan girl to be sent there (in 1922 to Queen’s Hill, formerly Mount Hermon school in Darjeeling) was a 12 year-old Rinchen Dolma (Tsarong family) – the founder and General Secretary of the Tibetan Homes Foundation in Mussoorie (1962) (Tseyang 2014:83; Taring 1970). Tseyang claims that between 1922 and 1950 about twenty girls from upper-class and aristocratic families were sent to India for education.

Houses from Class 4. Staff members were also allotted to Houses – we had basket league, football league. Many co-workers were there on the basket or football court after office [time]– it was all very lively. Senior staff and teachers had to demonstrate, debate about how to do things, try it, and only then the children got to do it – first without competition. (...) The House Masters had a month to prepare for cultural competition [one of school year highlights] between the Houses. Back then, we depended a lot on professionals – I can't sing or dance so well. So we had to convince [other] staff members, be resourceful. It also created a sense of affiliation. You take pride in your work. The House Masters did not receive any extra allowance for that work at my time. It was extra work and sometimes we were putting in our own pocket money. Today it is difficult to find House Masters – we have to do it by roster [rotation] and had to make it compulsory for at least 2 years. The initial energy is not there.”¹⁰³

Houses offer a different, re-scaled potential for affiliation to a larger entity, where children from forty two Homes become competitors from four Houses. The daily school prayers and assemblies were time-places that brought students together in yet different ways. Each Section started their day in a separate location, marking their school-time territory. The students formed rows of Classes and rectangles of Sections, supervised by section prefects – orderly and self-disciplined. This reached its apogee during the annual school anniversary celebrations, when the Middle and Senior Sections came together to present – literally ‘offer’ (*pu*)– a ‘calisthenics exercise’¹⁰⁴, Swedish gymnastics¹⁰⁵ formation of 600 people in synchronized movement. Daily morning practice continued for weeks before the Anniversary celebrations (Appendix VI contains an excerpt from fieldnotes with accompanying photographs and diagrams). Once again, I understand that the kind of authority that made such discipline possible was respect and appreciation for teachers, and in the case of the TCV Anniversary, respect for the guest of honour His Holiness the Karmapa, the *lama*¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰³ Audio-recorded interview with senior staff member, TCV October 2013.

¹⁰⁴ W. slob phrug rnam nas lus rtsam gzhigs ‘bul zhu rgyu

¹⁰⁵ Cf Per Henrik Ling’s idea of ‘Swedish’ gymnastics for e.g. schools, workplaces and the military – group exercises having aesthetic, pedagogic, military and medical goals.

¹⁰⁶ Spiritual practitioner, here the highest rank incarnate lama from Karma Kagyu Tibetan Buddhist tradition.

The discourse of propriety and self-discipline at Homes (*lapcha* – advice), structured bodily practices, where propriety is also stressed during prayers, meals, cooking, cleaning or sleeping, organization of time and space that subjects the bodies to a seemingly relentless routine in Homes, and formation of classes, batches and bigger collective entities (and the aesthetics of calisthenics exercise) in school, clearly show the body as one of the main channels for action in the formation of human beings in TCV. In the next part of this chapter I will show that, as in the case of Tibetan dialectical debate classes, with the body as an important vehicle and channel of inner subjective experience equated to ‘wisdom’, the effort focusing on bodies in the environment of TCV Homes and schools ties and re-scales the individual karmic project of any given TCV child to a collective karmic project of the Tibetan exile diaspora.

COLLECTIVE KARMIC PROJECT

The event of exile has brought Tibetan society, its elites and its commoners, into the newly post-colonial, independent India. The large scale schooling arrangements that Tibetans set up there arose within the web of influences stemming from the ‘biopolitics of racial rule’ (Stoler 1995:45) both in the former colonies and in Europe. Save the Children Fund nurses and Swiss Red Cross doctors volunteering in TCV brought in understandings of hygiene, cleanliness, and nutrition very much informed by their contemporary understanding of tropical diseases. The independent India’s administration upheld the separation epitomized by prestigious hill station schools. Early accounts of Tibetans coming into exile in India often stressed the lethal effect of higher temperatures and humidity of the Indian valleys and plains – resounding the colonial imagery of the tropics. Time spent in exile has brought about the discourse focusing on ‘pure Tibetan’ lifestyle, language, and ‘ethnic’ endogamy (Childs 2008; Magnusson, Nagarajarao, and Childs 2008). The mixed marriage, often perceived as mixing Tibetan and foreign blood, is still a hotly debated issue today, especially on the internet fora, including the many TCV Confessions facebook pages. The rhetoric of cultural genocide and cultural survival pervades Tibetan exile politics and leaks into the school environment through political speeches (including *lapcha/kalop* - advice) by the invited prominent guests at events and celebrations that mark the yearly school cycle. But the Tibetan take on the biopolitics of racial rule seems to have a twist. Its most significant implication is a subtle perspectival nuance, revealing the time-scale of history as

conceptualized and taught to TCV children. TCV children become carriers of history that can, through them, be shaped and controlled in specific, un-tensed ways. To explain this, I will focus on the expression used by the Home Father quoted at the beginning of the chapter, and an oft-used slogan, according to which TCV students¹⁰⁷ are ‘future seeds of Tibet’¹⁰⁸.

Tibetan Buddhist mind stream imagery, again, offers a way in:

“In its rejection of the notion of self, Buddhism is radical.(...) Buddhism does not consider the root cause of our problems to be an external agent of this life, but rather an internal agent developed over many lifetimes – the habitual tendencies of our own mind. Parenting and environment, of course, play a significant role in making us the people we are today, but Buddhism looks further.” (Tsering 2006:2-3)

The timescale that we are interested in here is, as we see, much longer than individual life. The mind stream of any given person flows through the lineage of reincarnations, and this fluid way of inhabiting means passing through spaces and times, and bodies, collecting mental imprints (*paḥcha*) in one’s endless mind stream, bound in the samsaric circle of countless births and deaths. Mental events, described as wisdom minds or deluded minds in the Abhidharma texts by Vasubandhu and Asanga, bring forth their verbal and physical manifestations and the “habitual thought patterns that lead either to wisdom and peace or to delusion and suffering.” (Tsering 2006:7). Vajrayana texts of esoteric branch of Tibetan Buddhist teachings explain mental events on ‘conscious and unconscious levels’ and what can be accomplished while awake, asleep, dreaming and during the process of death, when the mind moves from this life to the next (*ibid.*)

The seed (W. *son rtsa*) imagery invokes causes discussed in *Chapter 2 in relation to the origin of mind and body. Tibetan theories of lineage (*rgyud*) allow for continuity that is not directly predicated on material substance and yet can be traced through material ‘incarnations’. The ‘transmission’ of Buddhist teachings requires a living master in possession of wisdom (born out of inner subjective experience) in direct physical contact with their disciples. There is a lot to be learned from scriptures, but they do not seem to

¹⁰⁷ The slogan seems to apply to all students in Tibetan schools in exile.

¹⁰⁸ *Ma’ong pö-kyi sontsa* – the seeds of future Tibet. *Sontsa*, W. *son rtsa*, meaning ‘seeds for sowing’.

replace ‘oral transmission’ – through the door of voice and body (hearing). As mentioned in the last chapter, during his teaching and empowerment session in TCV in June 2013, His Holiness the Dalai Lama made a point of reading aloud the text of his *Opening the Eye of New Awareness* (at an exorbitant speed), even though he had explained its meaning earlier, and the text was made available to the public in print for the occasion.

Significantly, if personhood is attached to mind, as the continuing aspect, and not to the body – the transitory vessel, TCV children would be persons that continue through time, through re-incarnation¹⁰⁹. The question, then, is – what kind of history would such persons have? What kind of history would a collective of *nang-mi* (Tib. lit. inside-people – Tibetan Buddhists) have, and how would it manifest itself in their daily lives?

HISTORY CLASS

During a history period in Class 6 (Middle Section) the teacher read from the brown Tibetan Reader VI. Students had their textbook open on the desks and followed the text. Then the teacher re-told the story, making gestures and frequently checking if the children understand what he had just said. He has previously written some difficult words on the blackboard. After class, I asked him about the text they discussed:

Teacher: Today, I explained just one paragraph [p. 34], the words are quite high [register] for them.

KBA: Difficult because they are old?

T: No, not old. High register.

KBA: Like shesa [honorific speech]?

T: Yes. We have history – royal history of Tibet – we had 32 empires and today we talked about the twenty-first [King Langdarma]. I have to write all those difficult words and explain them. At their level, they would not understand. Second part of the textbook is philosophy.

KB: Sutras?

¹⁰⁹ I would like to thank Professor Mario Aguilar for bringing this to my attention. (Prof. M. Aguilar, St Andrews, personal communication)

T: No, the life of the Buddha.¹¹⁰

The *Tibetan Reader VI* used during history periods in Class VI in the TCV's Middle Section, was, as its Tibetan title stated, *Rgyal rabs chos 'byung* – one of royal genealogical works and works of combined nature devoted to the exposition of history and religion (Vostrikov 2013; Martin 1997; Sorensen 2015). Buddhist teaching expressed through the life story of Buddha Shakyamuni in a history reader for class 6 can be explained by the analogous notion of religious and political system of rule – *chos nyitrel* – where, by the process of State unification under the 5th Dalai Lama, the practice of faith, the philosophical system and the way of life in the context of Buddhism in Asia was established as political structure, resulting in an inextricable unity of religion and politics¹¹¹ that is still being taught to children today in TCV. Indeed, it can be argued that no division of religion and politics is needed, as both are actualised through reincarnation (of the Dalai Lamas and other powerful religious and aristocratic lineages).

In terms of the temporal framework such “history” invoked, it is important to note that people across incarnations maintain personal connections and thus the history is very much a “living past”. I take this formulation from Michael Aris, who in his Preface to Dan Martin's *Tibetan Histories*, remarked that Tibetans maintained “a high level of historical consciousness and a deep sense of the vitality of the living past” (Martin 1997:9). Vitality of the living past also means a particular way of narrating history to students. Jamyang Norbu, a prominent Tibetan intellectual, wrote about the way Tibetan history was taught by Tsepon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa, a traditional historian and the author of *An Advanced Political History of Tibet* (Shakabpa 2010):

“In 1985 Shakabpa gave a lengthy series of lectures at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (LTWA) at Dharamshala. For about two months, from March 22 to May 18 he lectured daily, probably from nine to three (four?) pm, five days a week. It wasn't really a lecture series in the Western academic sense but more of an expository teaching, of the kind that Tibetan lamas give to their follower, where using a Buddhist work, say *Nagarjuna's Commentary on Bodhicitta (jangchup semdrel)*, the lama will read passages from the text and then

¹¹⁰ Field notes and audio recording of the history period, VI B, Upper TCV Middle Section, 17th September 2013.

¹¹¹ Prof. Mario Aguilar, seminar notes. CSRP Seminar, School of Divinity, University of St Andrews, October 2014 (cf Kolas 1996)

launch into lengthy explanations. I don't know of any lama who has done this for approximately 250 near-continuous hours as Shakabpa did in Dharamshala. He read passages from his *Advanced History* and then analyzed and expounded on the events and personalities at length, and explained his source materials. He also went into lengthy discussions on controversies and even associated gossip and rumors, which he could not have included in his book. Unlike religious teachings, Shakabpa also took questions, first thing in the morning, on what he had discussed the previous day. It was all wonderfully fascinating stuff.”(J. Norbu 2011)¹¹²

The gossip and rumors may well have been important since, as has been mentioned above, people across their lifetimes are believed to maintain personal connections with each other, and this is often used to explain particular happenings: a meeting, mutual attraction and friendship¹¹³, and kinship ties in the current lifetime, e.g. the baby is said to have had karmic connections with her parents if she was able to be born through their union (Brown, Farwell, and Nyerongsha 2008).

During my fieldwork, a series of bad events occasioned prayers for ‘luck’¹¹⁴, but also, primarily, revealed a default on the part of those involved. When a dangerous fire broke out in one of the retired staff quarters, apparently due to faulty use of a gas cylinder, shortly before a major civic disruption occurred in one of the school sections, which was then followed by the death of one of the retired staff, people looked for signs of ‘inauspiciousness’. A Tibetan friend from the school, staff member, told me that according to the Tibetan calendar it was to be a bad month, very inauspicious, and that it found confirmation in the ‘scandal’, the fire and the untimely death. The demerit had to be countered, and as a counter measure, all TCV staff in all the TCV schools were expected to attend collective prayers. Prayer sessions spun over several days, and were held in the afternoon, after work. Students did their part in the morning and evening. The number and length of required sessions was calculated, so as to cover the prescribed ‘15 *lakh* of mantras’

¹¹² Excerpt from an entry of Jamyang Norbu's *Shadow Tibet* blog, dated 6.12.2011: “Shakabpa and the awakening of Tibetan history”. Source: <http://www.jamyangnorbu.com/blog/2011/12/06/shakabpa-and-the-awakening-of-tibetan-history/> (accessed on 18.12.2014)

¹¹³ The existence of possible connections in past lives has been suggested to me by Tibetan friends, especially after I came back to be fieldsite in 2014. Also, Home Mothers, teachers and students sometimes remarked that their “luck” in meeting kind people in life was due to accumulated ‘good karma’ in previous lifetimes.

¹¹⁴ Different systems of causal concepts and their relationship with ‘luck’ will be discussed further in *Chapter 5.

(15x100,000). When asked what occasioned the need for such collective effort, the school staff members explained: “Because so many bad things happened recently here”.

At personal level, recent health issues, sometimes accompanied by other personal problems – money problems, malicious gossip, falling out with a friend - would spark a similar impulse. A trusted lama’s advice would be sought and the suggested mantras, prayers, services and empowerments arranged.

Prayers for ‘luck’ could also have a pre-emptive effect. The school authorities consult the Main Temple on an annual basis and ask for divination for the year¹¹⁵, making sure all the necessary steps are taken to grant the wellbeing of students and staff and the smooth running of the institution. I understand divination here as a way to see the future through the present – to see what prayers need to be done *now*. A Tibetan friend performing a complex set of rituals over a number of weeks due to health problems explained that the aim was to ‘clear’ the future. Present *karma*, then, is the future.

Taking the above into consideration I would like to posit the problem of history as that of collective karma, revealed through the collective effort to ‘purify’ the ‘future’. In exile politics, talking of school children as of ‘future seeds of Tibet’ marks a temporal and not a structural re-scaling¹¹⁶. Collective karma would be both history and future – a continuum.

HISTORY THROUGH BODIES

In this chapter I showed how history is made through bodies of persons variously embodying a continuum of time, through countless rebirths and incarnations. Now, since history and future had been tied together through karma, it would also make more sense to think about the ‘door of body, voice and mind’ not as a ‘door’ *to*, but as a door *through which* – history is lived¹¹⁷ and future is actualised in the present.

In their introduction to *Ethnographies of Historicity*, Hirsch and Stewart demonstrate history to be a distinctly ‘Western’ invention:

¹¹⁵ Senior Section Head and teachers, personal communication.

¹¹⁶ Cf the re-scaling of pedagogical project through *riglam*, and Tibetan dialectic debate becoming the ‘pedagogy of the diaspora’ in M. Lempert 2012, as discussed in *Chapter 2.

¹¹⁷ I am grateful to Professor Christina Toren for pointing to me this connection.

“The standard acceptance of history in Western societies is as a factual representation (usually written) of the past, intentionally researched and composed according to rational principles. Alongside—perhaps beneath—this set of suppositions lies the naturalized assumption that “history” belongs to the domain of the past. The past is separate from the present and this separation allows the recognition of history as an object. History is over and done with—gone forever. Is “history” in this sense a universal category? Almost certainly not; for one thing, it barely emerged in the West two centuries ago.” (Stewart and Hirsch 2005:263)

Indeed, history seems to bear on the present in a contemporary Tibetan school in ways that are much more lived than a history that is “over and done with” would allow. Through contextualization of the ethnographic category of ‘history’, for example in *W. rgyal rabs chos ‘byung* used as history textbook in the contemporary Tibetan school in India, I wanted to show how ‘history’ emerges out of the continuum of time and is actualised in the present.

I am following here the trail set by Nancy Munn who in her critical essay “The Cultural Anthropology of Time” (Munn 1992) postulated a theoretical examination of sociocultural processes through which temporality is constructed. I therefore looked at concrete, temporalizing practices that bring forth an embodied experience of time, both conscious and tacit¹¹⁸. Hodges in ‘Rethinking Time’s Arrow’ (Hodges 2008:400) pointed out that in recent theoretical analysis in anthropology, time has come to the fore in the guise of the somewhat hazy notion of time as ‘flow’, or ‘flux’. In my understanding, the ethnographic material presented in this chapter challenges the “tacit unspecified temporal ontology” that Hodges (2008:402) writes about. The “root vocabulary of process, flow or flux” (*ibid*) does not seem to resonate with the ethnographic categories of ‘doors’, ‘karma’ and ‘history’ in TCV:

Fluid time, as we can term it, is inherent in current theoretical models as the (chiefly metaphorical) motor facilitating the ongoing reproduction and modification of social life,

¹¹⁸ It is important to note a further elaboration of this postulate by Hodges: “So the precise task then becomes to elide the marginal disciplinary status of the anthropology of time, arguing on the basis of an explicit temporal ontology for the centrality of integrated discussion of lived time and historical process to all social analysis; and ultimately, perhaps, for the need to imagine sociality in terms of different/ciation.(...) one must definitively collapse any discrete notion of ‘lived time’, or ‘temporality’, into an inclusive notion of sociality conceived as an emergent element of *la durée* – that is to say sociality would be melded with a dynamic, regrounded notion of lived time.” (Hodges 2008:415)

and is a constituent component of many varied forms of social analysis broadly treating of ‘historical’, ‘processual’, ‘political economic’, or ‘practice-based’ approaches. (Hodges 2008:402)

TCV time, however, may not fit in with such approaches, as Tibetan Buddhist impermanence seems to ‘happen’ in un-tensed present¹¹⁹. In the regional literature, making of Tibetan ‘history’ through arrested and released stories has, so far, been addressed by Carole McGranahan (McGranahan 2005; McGranahan 2010), and in work focussing on *terma* (hidden treasure) writings – revelations when time is ripe. Drawing on the notion of mind imprints, patterning or habituation, and the imagery of the seed (*sonrtsa*), coming ‘alive’ and bearing fruit in the right circumstances, I showed how this ‘ripening’ is the making of ‘history’ and how it is inscribed on the bodies of TCV inhabitants through daily bodily practices - bodily discipline, or conduct (*chöpa*). To think about history in Tibetan school we have to move back and forth – looking for seeds planted long ago that brought about particular present (‘past’) and seeds to be planted now to make/clear/control our present in the next incarnation (‘future’). History is thus actualised as present – a continuum of present, always in the making.

¹¹⁹ (cf Gell’s B-series model in Gell 1992)

CHAPTER 4 FLOATING THROUGH, GOING OUT OF BOUNDS

I was told that the water supply for the TCV campus where I worked was designed by Gyen Tenzin-la from Ladakh. Gyen Phuntsok Namgyal made a gesture of a semi-circle pointing to the mountains surrounding the campus and said: “He went everywhere around here and looked for a good source of water. He made many prayers and so we have water now”, he smiled¹²⁰. I visited Gyen Tenzin-la in November 2013, in his staff quarters in the retired staff Home within the nearby TCV Handicraft campus. He told me he was 89 and that he ‘had 48 years of service’ in total – 15 in Upper TCV, 15 in TCV Ladakh, 3 in TCV Suja and, after he had retired from TCV in 1990, another 15 years as the keeper of the palace that the Ladakhi people offered to His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama. In TCV he had worked as the head cook for the first 3 years and then as Tibetan staff and secretary in TCV Office. He also taught reading to adults and children. In 1962 he became a monk. In 2013 he was still travelling extensively, and had, in fact, just returned from Ladakh, where he was watching over the preparations for *Kalachakra* teachings that were to be conferred by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in July 2014.

When I went to see Gyen Tenzin-la, he confirmed the story about water supply – there had been no water on the campus when he moved here in 1960 with the first batch of 51 children brought to Dharamsala by the Tibetan headman Thubten Ningjee¹²¹. The bungalows built on the spot by the British - Kishor Nivas and Egerton Hall - had to have water fetched from the streams in Bhagsu and in Naddi a few kilometres away. Dal Lake, by the present campus gate, had always dried up periodically, and was not a reliable water source.

Water for the rapidly growing number of children and their carers had to be found in the mountains above the then Tibetan Nursery. In 1966-67 all staff and students carried up pipes and joined them, to direct water from a snow-line source to the first tap in the main square of the campus. The oldest Home Mothers had told me that fetching water from that tap was hard work. Later on, all newly built residential Homes had been connected to

¹²⁰ Field notes, 08.10.2013.

¹²¹ Interview with Gyen Tenzin-la, 30.11.2013.

the water supply grid – “the best in the area” – Gen Tenzin-la beamed from his monk’s sitting bed.

Around that time during fieldwork I started to see TCV¹²² as a place within a place, or rather - places. It draws resources and supplies from the mountains surrounding the Village, and from markets located down the slopes of the Himalayan Dhauladhar range, in the Dharamsala area. Sometimes, local shepherds with their flocks of goats and cows pass through the school grounds. The Village is guarded against earthquakes and landslides by Buddhist *stupas* discreetly demarcating the area of Buddhist influence and interests. A small Tibetan hermitage looks down upon the campus from a slope right above the Senior Section grounds and above the ‘Camp’ – small houses for eldest retired staff members. The hermitage is wrapped in layer upon layer of Tibetan prayer flags, and every year before Losar (Tibetan New Year, usually in February - March) and during the particularly auspicious month of *Saka-dawa* (roughly May-June, specific dates are determined according to the Tibetan lunar calendar) older students from the school climb the steep hill to tie new strings of prayers flags there and high up on another hill overlooking the campus, above the holy Hindu Dal Lake.

In this chapter I delineate my understanding of TCV as a place, and the embeddedness of TCV within other places, as it developed during my ethnographic observation of life on the campus and beyond. Through the discussion of the use of space and space-enabled operations, such as e.g. spatiotemporally co-located sports games, I will look for the conceptualisation of a TCV-place as expressed through the idioms of ‘floating’ and ‘going out of bounds’. This will also lead to a discussion of transgressions, which reflect restrictions on the use of electronic devices, tattoos, hairstyles and unauthorized outings in force on the campus, as well as the discourse and practices around the concept of ‘pure Tibetan’. Through ethnographic material showing an ontogeny of space, I will open the way to discuss the embodied practice of interdependence among TCV inhabitants, the practice that challenges the usefulness of analytical categories of ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ for the anthropological analysis of the experience of growing up and living in TCV.

¹²² By TCV in this chapter I will refer to the particular campus where I did my fieldwork in 2013-2014.

FLOATING

In *Chapter 3 I described TCV residential Homes in which children live from age 6 to c.14-15. Children have an allocated bed¹²³ and locker or metal trunk for their belongings, and they eat using the shared plates, bowls, cups and cutlery from the Home kitchen. It dawned on me one time when I was helping with dishwashing in Baby Home, that these sturdy utensils had been used by generations of TCV children, and so were the trunks and beds. People passed through Homes, and for some children, their schooling trajectory took them from Baby Home to Home, to Hostel and possibly, depending on the chosen ‘stream’¹²⁴ of study, to a Home/hostel in another TCV campus. This analytical idea of ‘floating’ - through bodily vessels, through Homes and classrooms¹²⁵ - could be found in the imagery of ‘floating’ used explicitly in relation to a particular status of some of the TCV Home Mothers¹²⁶. When an *Amala* ‘gets’ her Home, she is no longer floating. She may not have been ‘floating’ at all, especially if she is one of the old Mothers. Women working in TCV residential Homes are officially recognized either as ‘Home Mothers’ or as ‘Ayahs’. The ‘Ayah’ category¹²⁷ comprises *Amalas* working in the Baby Home and in the Heath Centre, i.e. where more than one *Amala* take care of the children in a given setting. ‘Home Mothers’ tend to be solely responsible for the *khyimsang* (Home) – either permanently or temporarily, and the latter are in conversations referred to as ‘floating’. A ‘floating’ Home Mother is recognized as member of staff and is called on to substitute a Home Mother who may be ill or on leave. She is then to move into the absent Home Mother’s quarters in the particular *khyimsang* and take up all Home Mother’s duties. When not assigned to a Home, ‘floating’ Home Mothers live in their own quarters on or outside the campus and can be called upon to perform specific tasks in the TCV kitchen, store-rooms, or during school functions. Many TCV *Amalas* went through the ‘floating’ stage – for a few years after joining the TCV, or when their Home had been closed, e.g. due to a smaller number of children or

¹²³ Many Home Mothers mentioned that in the past, when the number of children far exceeded the capacities of TCV Homes, children were sharing beds, with e.g. older girls sleeping with much younger girls and boys.

¹²⁴ The English word ‘stream’, adopted from the English-medium Indian secondary education discourse, was commonly used in everyday conversations in Tibetan.

¹²⁵ Each class moved to a new classroom every year. In e.g. the Middle Section, this also meant ascending the floors of the building. The teachers’ room were usually located on the top floor.

¹²⁶ As with ‘stream’, English-derived term ‘floating Amala’ was commonly used in everyday exchanges in Tibetan.

¹²⁷ *Ayah* is a Hindi word meaning nanny or helper.

construction work in the building. In recent years, the majority of new Home Mothers, who had successfully completed one year compulsory residential training within the Mother Training Centre, have been employed as ‘floating’ Mothers, waiting for their permanent Home in one of TCV network campuses.

When assigned to a Home, ‘floating’ Home Mothers have their day off on Thursdays, just like permanent Home Mothers. Note, again, that the ‘Home’ time is here only loosely related to the ‘school’ time – a Thursday may fall on any of the 1 – 6 days of the school timetable. During their day off *Amalas* stop being anchored to the Homes – they usually go out to McLeod Ganj to eat out, do shopping and visit friends and relatives.

A ‘floating’ *Amala* is then intermittently anchored to work spaces and quarters in which she lives – that is how she ‘floats’ through them. Her time schedule is also anchored to particular activities and particular periods of being attached to a Home and being ‘Home-less’. Her situation within TCV highlights both the spatial and temporal dimensions to ‘floating’.

CO-LOCATION

In *Chapter 3 I also described Home-*kehyimsang* as a nexus of relationships standing in a binary opposition to classroom. Here, I would like to see *kehyimsang* as places within the campus, standing side by side with other places, such as staff quarters (different category of ‘home’), hostels, libraries and sports- and playgrounds – places buzzing with life during ‘Home-time’.

During my fieldwork in 2013 and 2014, I came across two graphic representations of the campus in the TCV. One was a map on the webpage of the Middle Section (Fig.15). The other was conveniently painted on a wall just off the main road leading up to the Village Office (Fig. 16)¹²⁸. Both these representations closely resemble the maps made by an American friend of the school using satellite navigation techniques¹²⁹. Both show Homes, school buildings and halls, offices and staff quarters scattered on the campus. The location of particular buildings and functions have been largely dictated by the topography of the

¹²⁸ In September – October 2013, in preparation for the 53rd TCV Anniversary celebrations, this map was painted over and replaced with verses of Lord Buddha’s teachings.

¹²⁹ Files dated 2003 and 2008 respectively, personal communication.

area, with the football and basketball grounds being the only larger flat surfaces on the campus, which itself spans at least two steep slopes and a hill in-between them. The campus was growing from the core marked by the existing post-British structures, along with the increasing number of inhabitants and according to the changing purposes of TCV (nursery and orphanage transforming into residential school). The Homes, staff quarters and classrooms, coinciding in the first crowded buildings available on the spot, became gradually separated, but remain intertwined. A decision, made much later¹³⁰, to separate older students from the younger ones, and – by the same token – senior girls from senior boys, resulted in polarizing the campus. The senior girls' hostels (Home 1, Old Girls' Hostel and New Girl's Hostel) are located very close to the Village and Head Offices, between the basket ground and staff quarters, providing ample opportunity to keep an eye (many staff eyes) on the girls. To get to their classrooms, the senior girls cross the Infant Section, Junior Section and Middle Section 'territory' and while doing so, they interact with younger children. The senior boys, on the other hand, have mostly¹³¹ been housed in places that separate them from younger children and senior girls – on the outskirts of the campus overlooking Dal Lake, next to the New Hall¹³², with staff quarters located conveniently close to be able to assist the senior-most students should the need arise, but not close enough to inconvenience the staff members. Younger senior boys Homes were directly overlooked by balconies of some staff quarters, in very close proximity. The location of hostels also prevented boys from crossing paths with Infant and Junior students. The football ground was their 'territory' during after-school hours, in the Home-time. I was told that the girls were much more bound to the Homes, with Home Mothers keeping older girls within the Home grounds¹³³. The boys were said to enjoy much more freedom of movement.

All of the campus may be said to be a residential area, where *kyimtsang* coincide with staff quarters. In the past, some of the staff quarters shared bathrooms with Homes. At the time of fieldwork, the after-school or holiday Home-time was marked by different activities and

¹³⁰ Interview with Mr Phuntsok Namgyal, TCV senior staff member, 08.10.2013.

¹³¹ Except younger Senior boys living in Home 30.

¹³² New Hall is used for morning prayer by the Senior Section and for official functions.

¹³³ Focus group discussions with Senior girls on 08.10.2013 and 16.11.2014 (Home1, Class X), 29.09.2013 and 05.10.2013 (OGH, Class XI and XII), 22.08.2013, 28.08.2013 and 08.10.2013 (NGH, Class XI and XII).

different clothes. Students changed from their school uniforms into colourful cotton t-shirts and shorts or leggings. The teachers and staff also changed – from a prescribed *chupa* dress for women into T-shirts and leggings or jeans, and from men’s office wear - smart shirt, trousers and jacket into comfortable trekking suit or jeans and a T-shirt. Holidays and afternoon time in the spaces used for work and school were marked by casual dress-code, regardless of rank or age. The space, diffracted into co-located official and casual spaces, was in this sense ‘time-shared’. The basketball ground, used by Infant and Junior Section students during school hours, in the afternoons became the sports ground for senior boys and male staff members (unless Senior Section girls’ basket representation was having their training there). Senior girls and women staff could be seen sitting on the concrete steps surrounding the area, watching the games and keeping an eye on the life unfurling along the main artery of the campus. The area could be easily supervised from the ‘SC’ – Staff Club premises, usually a man-only area with board-games, smoking room and tea counter. Breaks during school hours and in the afternoons also saw the school’s canteen and tuck shop come alive. The canteen served simple hot meals, usually *chowmein* fried noodles, and *paranthas* - Indian stuffed bread, made on the spot by a Gaddi¹³⁴ woman from a nearby village. The tuck shop offered packed savoury snacks (bags of crisps, cheese balls) and sweets (chocolate bars, candy), bottled water and fizzy drinks. Getting food from both of these places required skill and knowledge of rules, which I will discuss in more detail later. The timing of the breaks in different school sections made it possible for younger children to buy their mid-morning snack, if they had money, before senior students, better equipped and with longer practice of catching the shop or canteen *chocho*’s¹³⁵ attention, took over.

The use of campus space was thus, in practice, very much gendered and, for children, patterned according to seniority. Some of the rules were explicitly stated, as in the case of the use of school’s four libraries (Infant, Junior, Middle/Senior and the Cultural library with Tibetan-only sources). Some, as e.g. the gendered use of the Staff Club premises were a matter of custom. But yet another feature of both school hours and the Home-time life

¹³⁴ The Gaddis were known as shepherds, although many now have moved to other occupations. The majority live in the Chamba and Kangra valleys of Himachal Pradesh, India. I cite relevant literature on Gaddi communities in *Chapter 1.

¹³⁵ Tibetan kinship term usually used for ‘older brother’.

on the campus became clear as I watched games played on the Senior Section football ground:

FIELDNOTES:

SATURDAY 04.05.2013

Afternoon – as we come back from our walk along the path to Tushita (we met three XI or XII class boys on the path, possibly sneaking out illegally) at 4:30 pm we hear voices singing in Tibetan in the Middle Section. In the MS courtyard several children are playing small Tibetan lute¹³⁶. On the football ground in front of the Senior Section, around a hundred boys of different ages are playing to eight different goals – sometimes two games are played in the same area. Boys play with their peers of the same age.

FRIDAY 01.11.2013

10:10 – 11:30 am – SPORTS – SOCCER GROUND

I observe the Senior Section soccer ground from above, sitting on the steps leading to the classes. I sit on the steps in the sun, a few metres from where Middle Section students are having a skipping test as part of their PE class. The children and teacher can see me but I am not part of the activities. Soon, a school dog comes to sniff me and then lies down at my feet and falls asleep.

There are always 2 PE classes running simultaneously in the soccer ground – Senior and Middle Section's, with two teachers. During Senior's tea break, before the end of the Middle Section's period, students from other classes cross the ground on their way to the tuck shop and canteen stands. All of these coincide - the same space sees different activities at the same time. Groups of students are engaged in different activities in the same space and time – they mix without blending.

The co-location aspect of things – activities, situations and people 'floating' through spaces and past each other has gradually emerged as a consistent feature of TCV spaces:

FIELDNOTES:

WEDNESDAY 06.11.2013

11:30 am EVS Class 1D [Environment and social]

¹³⁶ (*dranyen*, W. sgra brnyan)

When students copy from the blackboard, the teacher comes to sit on one of the low wooden chairs on the side of the classroom – not in front of them. The door is left open and so is the balcony (sliding door). It has a high wooden grille but it does not reach the roof on the balcony. The classroom is open – it would be difficult to tell inside from outside as both cold air, sounds and, during the monsoon, clouds can float right through the classroom.

These three excerpts from my fieldnotes mark ethnographic moments through which I gradually became aware that what I had so far had dubbed ‘floating’, ‘co-location’ and ‘time-share’ of space was an embodied expression of yet another mode of being, predicated upon the practice of interdependence.

DEPENDENT ARISING

The mode of being made available for the TCV inhabitants does not seem to be based on the boundedness of the campus as a ‘physical space’. The very concept of physical space may be a flawed analytical device here, given the premises of an important and widely taught Buddhist doctrine of dependent arising:

“Against the Nyāya ontology of substance, Buddhists adopt an ontology of evanescent phenomena-events in which material objects are made of infinitesimal temporal parts in constant transformation. A jar, for example, being an aggregate of evanescent atomic constituent-events, is itself momentary (*kṣaṇika*, *skad cig ma*). (...) According to this view, the world is not made of enduring substances with changing qualities. Rather, change itself is the essence of reality. (...) Reality is made only of events that flash in and out of existence. Every real happening in the universe is due to the arising and disappearing of countless events that cause it. Even the continuity of things is due to successive phenomena-events that closely resemble each other. (...) Change is provided for in that the new thing comes into existence not only through the causal power of its chief cause but also through the influence of the entire causal complex. Nothing has causal power in isolation. This is the doctrine of dependent arising (*pratītyasamutpāda*, *rten ‘byung*), a venerable doctrine in the history of Buddhist thought.” (Dreyfus 1997:60-61)

Could, therefore, the ‘space’ of the campus be properly understood as a complex of ‘evanescent phenomena-events’? Could it reveal itself to TCV inhabitants as such? In the next section of this chapter, I will look at the ethnographic material that, for me, proved revealing in tracing both an ontogeny of ‘space’ for a child growing up within TCV and the

possible consequences of a particular ‘boundedness’ of a TCV campus as expressed through the idioms of transgressions, ‘going out of bounds’ and, finally, ‘pure Tibetan’.

AN ONTOGENY OF ‘SPACE’

In his *Anyone: The Cosmopolitan Subject of Anthropology* (2012) Nigel Rapport persuasively argues for the anthropological admissibility of the type of ‘evidence’ I will be using in this part of the chapter:

“If experience, the *qualia* of consciousness, are individual to Anyone, and environments of the life-world come to be fashioned as part of his or her personal phenomenology, then how is this to be accommodated conceptually and discursively?(...) The subjective phenomenology of human life may be evidenced insofar as it manifests itself in individual intentionalities – lifestyles and choices – and also in the body of Anyone. Consciousness, body and environment form an individual whole for each human being, and the truth of Anyone’s interpretation and experiencing of the world(s) which they construe and inhabit may be accessible by way of subtle readings of bodily expressions as well as from Anyone’s own introspective and autobiographical accounts.” (Rapport 2012:125)

Here, I will draw from two ethnographic ‘moments’ focussed on Pema Dorjee, a 6 year-old boy, growing up as an orphan in TCV. I will attempt a ‘subtle reading’ of his autobiographical account, made of pictures he took and pictures of him that were taken (when the camera was wrestled out of his hands) during Thursday outings with his ‘big sisters’ – he was then still a ‘Baby Home child’. I will then use my fieldnotes to make an attempt at reading Pema Dorjee’s bodily expressions when we met a few months later at the school’s tuck shop, after his transition to one of the *kyimtsang*, and the Time and Space revolution that came with it. By drawing on these two accounts, Pema Dorjee’s and mine, I will try to access the ‘truth’¹³⁷ of the boy’s interpretation and experiencing of the world – TCV campus in all its expanding capacity. I borrow my analytical metaphor of ‘horizon’ from Jean Briggs’ study of an Utku family’s expanding and contracting world¹³⁸.

By attending to the ‘relationship of mutuality’ between the boy and his environment, where “Consciousness is fundamental to behaviour, and behaviour is an extension into an

¹³⁷ In the meaning that Rapport ascribes to it in his chapter “Personal Truth as Physical Environment” (Rapport 2012:134-140)

¹³⁸ And the expanding ‘horizon’ of the Utku child Saraak from Briggs’ study (Briggs 1970:164-5)

environment with which living beings maintain a relationship of mutuality” (Rapport 2012:136), my intention is to show the way in which Pema Dorjee was ‘making’ space through his behaviour, and how the space was ‘making’ Pema Dorjee through his potential for action within it.

Let me first, however, introduce the analytical concept of familiar and unfamiliar spaces and expanding horizons through a different ethnographic moment I shared with one of Pema Dorjee’s former Baby Home co-residents:

FIELDNOTES:

MONDAY 16.09.2013

As I walk to the Middle Section I meet little TseLhamo-la (aged five and a half¹³⁹, ex-Baby Home, now in Home 11) coming back from the Dispensary. She is wearing a cooling band on her forehead – she has fever and was told to go back to her *khyimtsang*. It is school time and the *khyimtsang* is closed, *Amala* is gone, and there is no one around in either H11 or H12. A big dog is sleeping in his open booth and TseLhamo makes sure we don’t wake him up. I open the *khyimtsang* door – it was bolted but not locked - and we see a small sleeping dog on the bench in the hall. TseLhamo gestures to me not to enter and bolts the door again. We sit outside for a bit, waiting for the *Amala*, and at 1:30 pm we start walking to the Middle Section (I had been invited to watch the last period – Tibetan debate class). When we pass by the dispensary TseLhamo starts asking me – *kaba dro-ge? Where are we going?* I say *Middle section – Pugu chenpo-gi loptra* (big children’ school). When we reach the gate near the soccer ground TseLhamo stops, tugs at my hand and tells me *nga she-gi yó*¹⁴⁰ – *I am afraid*. I walk her back to the basket court near her Infant Section class.

As an Infant Section child, the girl has seldom been in the parts of the campus beyond the school’s dispensary, her previous residence and her present Home and school Section with their adjacent common spaces. She was afraid to go into the more unfamiliar parts, the spaces where older children studied and played. They were yet beyond her ‘horizon’. In the next section, I will illustrate how the analytical concept of a ‘horizon’ can be used to provide an insight into the experience of growing up as a TCV child.

¹³⁹ Age provided by the author in ethnographic vignettes and analysis is based on the person’s date of birth (as in their medical record: day/month/year) and follows European reckoning, according to which the child is born in her ‘zero’ year. Tibetan newborns are considered to be aged ‘one’.

¹⁴⁰ (W.zhed)

A few months into my fieldwork in the TCV Baby Home I suggested children take pictures with my automatic camera. I wanted all the children to have a go at it and it was agreed that each day after school a different child would get to play with the camera. It had quickly become a treat and as we did not have a fixed schedule of who was to take pictures when, it was frequently used as an incentive for good behaviour. Pema Dorjee was taking pictures on two occasions, on 02.05.2013 and on 14.06.2013. He was also frequently ‘caught’ by the camera used by his Baby Home mates.

On the first of those dates the boy did not leave the Baby Home. His folder contains 242 pictures: close-ups of other Baby Home children and of Senior students visiting on that day, ‘older sisters and brothers’ (*acha* and *chocho*). Pictures feature one of the Baby Home Mothers bringing the afternoon snack (slices of bread and milk) and Pema Dorjee himself shooting a ‘selfie’ in the mirror. They catch many details of Baby Home different rooms and textures – door hinges and cracks in concrete floors, Tibetan letters pasted on the wall, sinks and colourful floor mats in the bathroom, stripy bed linen in the children’s bedroom and the home-made colourful cards pasted on each bed (each is worthy of a snapshot) with the photograph of a child, their name, date of birth and, in parentheses, their roll number. Pema Dorjee also took care to photograph the courtyard, focusing on the youngest Baby Home child’s pram, okra slices drying in the sun, the tree in the middle, children drinking water, Amala distributing paper and crayons to the children and on the Baby Home iron gate (usually flung open).

His photo day in June fell on an outing day, when the boy could spend an afternoon with his *acha* outside the Baby Home. The first picture shows a smiling Senior girl looking down at the camera and the second - the gate to the Baby Home. Next we see Pema Dorjee with his head on the *acha*’s lap, sitting on the concrete steps surrounding the school’s basket ground. A game is in progress, part of the Himachal TCV girls’ basket tournament, and the boy is surrounded by a colourful crowd of Senior girls and boys cheering for their team. The pictures that follow show Pema Dorjee hugged by his big ‘sister’, her hugging another younger girl, her kissing Pema Dorjee on his head, him trying to get away – half-wrinkled, half-smiling. He is then visibly bored, spread over his *acha*’s lap, rubbing his eyes. The girl is checking his ears as he is looking away, at the girls’ hostel. The old scars on his forehead and on and near his nose are clearly visible in the close-ups of his face for which he poses. The last few pictures have been taken by the boy himself, back in Baby Home dining hall,

from his spot by one of the tables. Children prayed, they then had rice and cabbage stew for dinner, and Ama Tashi had had a small accident - her bandaged swollen foot is in the centre of one of the shots.

The basket ground was not the place where Pema Dorjee would hang around at that time in his life in TCV. He would be passing through it several times a day, escorted to his Infant Section classroom by one of the Baby Home Mothers. His days would be pretty structured and unfurl between the round classroom and Baby Home where he had all his meals. As one of the older children he was already allowed to go and play with his pals and classmates from the neighbouring Home 5, just off the gate to the Baby Home. He would sometimes go on an outing with the Baby Home Mothers and children – to feed fish in the Dal Lake, or, once or twice a year, spend a day in the swimming pool down in Dharamsala. As an orphan, he did not go out and spend short summer and long winter holidays with his relatives in other parts of India, Nepal or Bhutan. The Baby Home building and courtyard, the path to his classroom, to the temple and down to the Dal Lake would mark the limits of his horizon in May and June 2013.

FIELDNOTES

TUESDAY 13.08.2013

FEEDING FRENZY OR CATCH THE EYE IN THE TUCK SHOP

Children are literally swarming in front of the tuck shop, run by a young man wearing nice, fashionable glasses. He is serving the children and it looks like a fitness exercise - he grabs at the puffed packs of crisps or biscuits and throws them to the children in the first row. No line, no queue. Behind the swarming group in front there is a row of older children (Senior students) – they stand motionless, arms folded, watching the buying frenzy. They are waiting for their reps down by the counter to get the food. Lena and I go down the steps to join the buyers. The older children are buying in bulk, 4-6 packs of crisps and cheese balls. (...) It is difficult to stand in one place as children are pushing towards the front line. Younger children (including Pema Dorjee and two other children from the Infant section) don't seem to get any preferential treatment, they have to stand the pressure from the children coming from the sides, push forward and try to reach the front desk. I need around 15 minutes to figure out how to buy anything. I am trying to catch the seller's eye, but in vain. The trick is to lay the money on the table and say what you want (quite loudly). The man will pick up the stuff you want, and only look at you to collect the money

or give back the change. He needs to move quickly, bending, turning, throwing. He smiles when he happens to lose his rhythm. Children address him as *chocho* (older brother), sparing the honorific particle *-la*. (...) I admire younger children's determination and stamina, to stand here in the middle of a feeding frenzy in this rough looking crowd. My 6-year old daughter Lena is not backing out either, she's right there with me. Pema Dorjee looks very proud of himself – 10 rupees in his hand, pushing forward, and then going away slowly, with his own pack of crisps – his own choice, for once, at the time of his choosing. He seems glad to be out of Baby Home. I realize that my standing there, patiently waiting my turn was actually against the rules of the place – I was doing nothing, so nothing happened. When I get the money on the counter I finally catch the eye of the man and ask for two bags of cheese balls. I get them immediately.

Pema Dorjee's 'horizon' had indeed undergone a significant change between June and August 2013. He was able to feel comfortable in spaces previously inaccessible to him, and to hone skills such as stamina, reflex, recognition of the purchasing power of money. He also had to manage relationships within much larger and diverse group of people. The horizon in question was clearly not only expanding space, but also expanding possibilities, skills and relations – potential for action. With Pema Dorjee's transition to a *khyimtsang* sometime around July 2013, a major Time and Space revolution occurred in the boy's life. No longer bound to return to Baby Home immediately after school, with a little money in his pocket, he was left to freely enjoy the familiar and to explore the unfamiliar chunks of the campus, learning rules and skill required to participate in these 'spaces'. An expanding horizon, accessible through expanding consciousness and translated into different kinds of behaviour, was indeed Pema Dorjee's making the school campus for himself and being made by it through the boy's growing potential for action within it.

Food and money seemed to be the locus of attention in these early horizon expansions. Another boy from Baby Home, where I have never seen children handling money, was already aware of the value of money and its purchasing power when I recorded the following situation, 4 months after his transition to a *khyimstang*:

FIELDNOTES

FRIDAY 06.12.2013

During snack break in the Infant Section I sit upstairs, facing the basket court. The Canadian born girl Chugyi (H16) comes to sit by me and Lena. She has brought two freshly

baked rolls packed in a newspaper. Girls from her Home come to exchange their crisps for a bit of the roll. Chugyi now seems to know the value of the roll. She shares it with some girls, refuses to share with a girl who offers crisps that Chugyi does not want. She shares with TseLhamo, even though she has nothing to share back. When Namdrol (boy, H8, ex-Baby Home) comes with an extended hand, asking for a bit of the roll without offering anything, Chugyi makes an abrupt gesture of refusal – hiding the roll by putting it close to her stomach, saying “no!”[EN]. Namdrol is visibly disappointed, but accepts that and still hangs around. When girls start to talk about the price of the rolls he nods his head and confirms: *Kurma nga! (5 Rs per piece)*.

Just as in Pema Dorjee’s case, the expanding available space and routes gave children growing up in TCV access to different kinds of relationships, predicated on the value, exchange and friendship (alliance).

FIELDNOTES:

TUESDAY 12.11.2013

TEA BREAK in front of 1D

I sit with children playing in front of the doorway to their class – their territory. Boys are kicking small ball on the little platform to the right of the door. A group of girls (Tibetan only, the Indian girl Kanika is not with them) – make a picnic on the platform directly next to the door. Someone has brought a *parantha* and a burger (sold in canteen) and the girls place it on the floor and put other pieces of *nyemba* (snack) around. It seems as though only those who have something – a pack of crisps etc. can join. The girls (aged 8-9) form a small closed circle, with some sitting and some standing up so the space is also closed from above. I have brought a pack of Marie biscuits and now open them. Before I do that, I am offered chips from two or three open bags. Each time I refuse, saying that I am full. Eventually I end up with a cookie and a piece of potato crisp in my hand - two different children just place them in my hand. It is sharing for taste, not because of hunger. I open my bag and say *nya (take some)*, to the children standing closest, then to others. They each take one, but we do not form a group. Some come back and stand near and I extend my pack to them again. Biscuits do not seem to be the favourite *nyemba* here. Spicy food, chilli coated crisps and cheese balls are much more popular. Then a small girl from H5, a quite recent arrival from Nepal, comes along and when I extend the bag to her, she takes it whole, with all 4 remaining biscuits inside.

As the above examples demonstrate, children's potential for action and decision making changed with their growing autonomy¹⁴¹ and knowledgeability, and these were inextricably linked with their access to new 'spaces'.

STREAMS

The imagery of 'floating' in the case of Amala is reflected in another term from the 'riverine' repertoire – 'streams'. Both involve a particular way of attending to the world – an 'operation', at once put forward into space (the world) and enabled by the space (Rapport 2012:139-140). In Class X of the Senior Section, students who wish to continue their education in the 10+2 model need to make a choice of 'stream' for the additional 2 years of study. The available Science, Arts and Commerce streams take them to different locations in India as different TCV campuses specialize in different '+2 streams'. It is the moment of a major re-shuffling: of theoretical interests, of Home and school routines, of friendships¹⁴².

Very young children experience 'streams' as much viscerally as their older TCV co-residents. The two Senior girls' hostels are situated immediately behind the Junior Section basket ground. To reach the 'old hostel' the girls need to take the stairs leading off the basket ground and through the Infant Section courtyard. As the mass movements of the student body are dictated by break and class time, Class XI and XII girls form an irregular but steady 'stream' passing through the busy school yard, teeming with 3-5 and 6-10 year-old children enjoying the final part of their lunch break. The girls often catch a specific child and somehow forcefully cuddle them, because they are 'so cute'. Otherness is appealing, and so is 'innocence'. Younger children could count on some snacks and a little money from the Senior girls. As mentioned earlier, the Senior boys' hostel, located on the other, far flung side of the campus – ensured the boys separation from the younger children.

As I showed in this section, through the changing use of space children in TCV get access and are initiated into the multiple relationships that are played out within their expanding

¹⁴¹ See also *Chapter 5 for teasing games in Baby Home used as a pedagogical device to tease out autonomy and independent judgement.

¹⁴² Senior boys (Class XI) focus group discussion, Alexander Home, 09.07.2014.

horizons. In a sense, space *is* these relationships, and the possibilities they bring, the skills they require.

Within the ‘TCV place’ its inhabitants constantly engage in the practice of interdependence, being with it, and with others in it, in a constant relation of mutuality, which makes thinking in terms of ‘space’ alone insufficient for understanding the kind of engagement between children growing up in TCV and their environment. As demonstrated, TCV is not just a multi-layered, complex structure (as the term ‘organization’ may suggest) – but it can as usefully be analysed in terms of ‘streams’ and ‘horizons’. Spatial and temporal dimensions reveal themselves as means of merely analytical separation, giving little insight into the operations involved in and potentiality e.g. of streams of Senior girls crossing Infant and Junior Section school yards, of practices of separation (Senior boys leaving *khyimtsang* for hostels), of younger boys encroaching on and tolerated in the Senior boys territory during football games, or of timeshare of the school’s tuckshop - the living, unruly, yet organized and purposeful (routine) movements and circulation within the body of the Village. The body, which keeps expanding over time, for each child growing up and living in TCV.

OUT OF BOUNDS

There was an official gate to the TCV down by the Dal Lake, and another road, just next to it led to the other part of the campus, by the Senior boys’ hostel, staff quarters and the New Hall. The gate by the Dal Lake, an iron grill, was closed at night, so no cars could drive in unless the gatekeeper was woken up and unlocked it. Pedestrians could use an open narrow passage to the side of the gate. There was no gate guarding the other road. There was also nothing that could set a specific visible boundary of the campus on the slopes of the hills looming over the Senior Section and the Camp. The only visibly distinct feature were the forest paths leading off the campus to the nearby villages and hamlets. These paths and passages in the fence that run through the slope below the Village were sometimes ‘guarded’ by members of TCV staff on duty. Teachers took turns at having an eye on the paths in the afternoons and on the weekends and holidays.

FIELDNOTES

FRIDAY 11.10.2013

A Senior Section teacher wants to speak to the [school] captain – yesterday she saw the prefect boys (including the captain) in the ‘Dolma’ restaurant by the Dal Lake. They were

out of bounds and it was quite late – she tells them that something could have happened to them. They excuse themselves saying they were hungry and profited from their right to be outside to check if other students were not going out of bounds. They apologize (the captain lowers his head). The teacher tells them it is unfair – other students may also be hungry but have no possibility to go to ‘Dolma’. She accepts their apologies and is not going to refer them to the ‘advisory team’ – the disciplinarians. The teacher tells me later she felt it was not safe for the boys to be out of school so late.

‘Dolma’ restaurant was a small place by the school gate serving inexpensive Tibetan fare - *momo* dumplings and *thukpa* soup. The unmarried teachers and staff usually ate their dinners there. Food and snacks were the main attraction of going out of bounds (another being video games at the village ‘cyber’ [cafe]) and children tried to sneak out to buy sweets or crisps in the local ‘Sonu shop’ or *paranbas* and *momo* in the street stalls by the lake. Going out of bounds was sometimes forced by older children and constituted a form of bullying – younger children were made to go out of bounds during the day, under the threat of being beaten up, to buy snacks for their older *achas* and *chochos* (older sisters and brothers). A strict Amala could, however, prevent such bullying¹⁴³.

The stalls by the lake were also staff’s favourite spot for leisurely tea in the afternoons and on the weekends. In conversations with staff, going ‘out of bounds’¹⁴⁴ to buy snacks was reprehensible as a matter of principle. Such conversations then often steered towards the use of mobile phones by the students. Staff and especially older students were often ‘friends’ on social networking sites such as Facebook, and it was relatively easy to track an ‘illegal’ smartphone user through comments posted in the evenings, when students were supposed to be in Homes where the use of electronic devices and the Internet was not allowed. The possibility to track the offenders was usually not pursued but the common rationale behind the prohibitions, as expressed by the staff, was that some students were very poor, just coming from Tibet, so it was better if no-one could use expensive gadgets. Another form of disciplining was the requirement to wear the school uniform appropriately in school-time and during outings. A proper uniform consisted of a unisex set of blue trousers and blue chequered shirt with an optional school blazer in dark green. Since the

¹⁴³ Focus group discussion with Senior boys, 15.07.2014.

¹⁴⁴ ‘Out of bounds’ was another English term used in Tibetan conversations without translation.

introduction of *lbakar* Wednesdays (lit. ‘white Wednesday’), when Tibetans in exile were encouraged to wear traditional Tibetan clothes – a *chuba*, the Wednesday uniform for all students was ankle-long green *chupa* dress and white blouse for girls and grey wrapped male *chupa* worn with a red belt over the school trousers for the boys. Dirty or inappropriate uniform resulted in punishment (e.g. scolding, cleaning duty) administered by either teachers or school prefects. The uniform extended over to the student’s bodies. Girls’ hair, if long, had to be ponytailed or pleated and bound with a white elastic band, available from the school store. Boys’ hair had to be short and there were regular haircut checks after morning assemblies. The boys who allowed their hair to grow too long were either sent to the hairdresser’s cubicle (manned periodically by an Indian barber) or their hair was cut on the spot, with scissors, by the disciplinarian teacher. Most older boys styled their hair and tended to immediately grow them out during long winter holidays and when they finished school. Nails had to be clipped and hands reasonably clean. No tattoos were allowed, but Senior students did sometimes sport home-made (pen ink applied to a shallow cut on the skin) or professional tattoos on the more covered parts of their bodies. Professional tattoos were very much in fashion among older youth and there was enough demand for tattoos from both Tibetans and foreigners to keep three tattoo parlours in McLoad Ganj up and running.

Despite engaging in the constant game of ‘going out of bounds’ and being caught or not, some Senior students told me that discipline, such as clean and proper uniforms, was a good thing, as it showed school’s dignity. Commenting on the proscriptions concerning hair, tattoos and electronic gadgets, they said that students could easily get distracted, that discipline helped them focus more, and that it was important.

FIELDNOTES

SENIOR SECTION BOYS FOCUS GROUP , CLASS XI (moved to the campus in March 2014 from other TCV schools), 09.07.2014¹⁴⁵

Boys: In Pokhara (another Tibetan school) when we smoked we got a warning for the first time, then each time we had to pay 500 rupees [equivalent of roughly 5 GBP, a plate of Tibetan meat dumplings in ‘Dolma’ was c. 50 rupees] – this money was used at the end for

¹⁴⁵ The focus group discussions were held in English and Tibetan, I have edited the answers in the excerpt above to give them more clarity in English.

edibles [snack]. We gathered 25 000 rupees in this way, also from mobile [fines] – each time 1000 Rs fine. I paid 4000 in mobile fines, but there was nothing to do, so if I got bored I listened to music and I got caught.

KB: But in [TCV] Selaqui it is possible to have laptops etc?

Boys: In [TCV] Chauntra it is not allowed. In Selaqui – they are allowed to have an i-pod, mp3, mp4 players. All students there study too much, so they have to relax. They cannot have mobiles though.

KB: What is the penalty for a mobile phone here?

Boys: Amala fines Rs500, the school Rs1000. If you are caught three times Amala would give your mobile to the discipline teacher – math teachers [names]. But discipline is very good for children, they are then not easily spoiled.

KB: And going out of bounds?

Boys: Yeah, the forest path, to Dharamkot. In Pokhara we went out to watch football matches. We didn't get caught. We went 3 times, with no penalty. We were a little bit lucky.

Prohibitions concerning movement, mobile phones, an unlimited access to the Internet, computer games, tattoos and hairstyles encompassed things and behaviours available both 'outside' and 'after' TCV. They were often mentioned in nostalgic accounts of the school life on the social media platforms (e.g. *TCV Confessions* Facebook pages).

PURE TIBETAN

The discourse around the concept of 'pure Tibetan' has been the subject of much heated debate within the Tibetan diaspora and outside, stirring arguments about racial prejudice, and about exclusive nationalism among Tibetan exiles¹⁴⁶. Here, however, I wish to address it from the point of view afforded by the ethnographic material I gathered during my fieldwork in TCV in 2013 and over the summer 2014. In the interviews I conducted with Home Mothers in the course of 2013, the notion of 'pure Tibetan' was almost exclusively used to refer to proper Tibetan language and register. *Amalas* who were born and grew up in the south-eastern Tibetan region of Kham or in Darjeeling in the Indian state of West Bengal reminisced that when they first arrived in India and in TCV, they could not speak

¹⁴⁶ See e.g. Lhakar Diaries blog entry "Speak Tibetan, Stupid": Concepts of Pure Tibetan & the Politics of Belonging' (30 April, 2014); Source: <http://lhakardiaries.com/2014/04/30/speak-tibetan-stupid-concepts-of-pure-tibetan-the-politics-of-belonging/> (accessed on 18.03.2015); (Yeh and Lama 2006; Chen 2012)

‘pure Tibetan’ – the way most of the people in TCV spoke. The dialect used by the majority of exiled Tibetans who settled in and near Dharamsala was the central U-Tsang province or Lhasa dialect, with their particular emphasis on the honorific forms of language (in both vocabulary and grammar), quite unknown or rarely used in other Tibetan regions. Similarly, growing up in a linguistically diverse but predominantly Nepali-speaking Darjeeling was also a drawback and could result in a diminished competence in speaking ‘pure Tibetan’¹⁴⁷.

When I asked why were children sometimes shy when they had to volunteer to ask a question during teaching sessions with senior religious and political figures visiting the school, I was told that students didn’t feel they could speak Tibetan well enough. The issue of language and lack of competence in speaking and writing Tibetan was also the most common feature in people’s conversations about students arriving from abroad for the ‘Summer Camp’ programme run by TCV. Tibetan children living abroad, of Tibetan or mixed parentage, were actively encouraged to speak Tibetan and sometimes admonished for their inability to ‘catch up’ fast enough¹⁴⁸.

In my understanding, living abroad seemed to be the biggest threat, with the whole of Summer Camp curriculum designed to counter or remedy the loss of ‘purity’. Intensive classes in Buddhist philosophy (why and how to pray, prostrate, make offerings etc.), Tibetan language (vocabulary and proper forms of address), Tibetan customs (including a ‘mock’ *Losar* – New Year celebrations), combined with lectures on the history of Tibet and structure and functioning of the Tibetan administration in exile, extracurricular Tibetan cooking classes, Tibetan massage and extra tuition in Tibetan language formed the core of learning, and were supported by audiences and blessings from the most senior Tibetan religious figures – e.g. HH the Dalai Lama, HH the Karmapa and meetings with government officials.

But Summer Camp students were, first and foremost, in danger of being brought up outside of a ‘society’ – any Tibetan society. The TCV Home Mothers, teachers and staff often referred to TCV ‘society’ as contrasted to Tibetan societies of Men-tsee-khang

¹⁴⁷ E.g. Interviews with Home Mothers of H5, H32 and H16, September and October 2013.

¹⁴⁸ Just two months after my own daughter, of Polish parents and brought up in Scotland, joined TCV Infant Section, there was a clear expectation that she should be able to understand simple questions and answer in Tibetan. The same expectation extended to local Indian children.

(Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute), Delek Hospital or ‘Gankyi’ – the campus of Tibetan administration in exile. People felt good in a given society, i.e. had relatives or other connections there, had someone to ask for help or advice, liked the ‘atmosphere’ of the place and decided to stay and set up families in it. In the case of Summer Camp students and in accordance with the theory of dependent-arising – living in a differently (non-Tibetan) populated world brought about a very different constitution and a consequential loss of ‘purity’ – something that I see as relating to the discipline/conduct (*chöpa*) discussed in *Chapter 3. Gyen Tenzin-la explained it to me in our conversation about the history of TCV¹⁴⁹: “There was one mother who came from Tibet – she said ‘I came to India to bring my daughter so that she can study – even though Chinese may torture me’. She said that if her child went to a Chinese school, her mind and religion would be Chinese, not Tibetan. This Amala said she came to India to give her daughter education. Many students were sent to India like this.”

INSIDE AND OUTSIDE

Given the boundedness of the campus, its tangible limits in the form of gates, sometimes fences, but mostly ‘check points’ guarded by designated staff, seem to suggest that the analytical categories of ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ could be usefully employed to talk about the use of space in TCV. After all, we seem to think in these terms if we are to think about self. As George Steiner wrote in his *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*:

“To experience difference, to feel the characteristic resistance and “materiality” of that which differs, is to re-experience identity. One’s own space is mapped by what lies outside, it derives coherence, tactile configuration from the pressure of the external.” (Steiner 1998 [1975]:381)

However, the analysis of the ethnographic material reveals that the boundedness of the campus is also expressed through the proscriptions (however challenged) regulating the use of mobile phones and other electronic devices, hairstyles, bodily modifications. Uniforms and hairstyles are markers that maintain the boundedness of TCV ‘society’, when its members join in the ebb and flow of other entities – the Tibetan hamlet of McLeod

¹⁴⁹ Interview on 30.11.2013

Ganj, the market town of Dharamsala, the metropolis of Delhi, of Dehradun, Bangalore, Varanasi or Kathmandu.

But does such boundedness of the campus, embodied and expressed in ways I recounted in this chapter, make it into an enclosed environment, where being ‘inside’ or ‘outside’ play a pivotal role in determining one’s position vis-a-vis the school as an organization and an institution? I find Deleuze’s paper ‘Postscript on the Societies of Control’ (Deleuze 1992) particularly helpful in thinking about TCV, as it contextualizes the ‘environments of enclosure’ (Deleuze 1992:3) and problematizes the stability of both the environment itself and of the anthropological analysis predicated on the notion of school as ‘space’. It also offers an example of an alternative way of thinking in terms of ‘orders’. Deleuze draws on Foucault when making a distinction between societies of sovereignty, disciplinary societies, and the new societies of control¹⁵⁰:

“Foucault located the disciplinary societies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; they reach their height at the outset of the twentieth. They initiate the organization of vast spaces of enclosure. The individual never ceases passing from one closed environment to another, each having its own laws: first, the family; then the school ("you are no longer in your family"); then the barracks ("you are no longer at school"); then the factory; from time to time the hospital; possibly the prison, the preeminent instance of the enclosed environment.” (Deleuze 1992:3)

TCV children tend to know their roll numbers, introduced by British nurses and volunteers in the 1960s, by heart. They use them for disambiguation of names in interactions with teachers, Health Centre staff and Head and Village office employees. The numbers, as Deleuze notes for disciplinary societies, reflect the polarity of individuating and massing practices in the school:

The disciplinary societies have two poles: the signature that designates the individual, and the number or administrative numeration that indicates his or her position within a mass. This is because the disciplines never saw any incompatibility between these two, and because at the same time power individualizes and masses together, that is, constitutes

¹⁵⁰ cf Liisa Malkki’s seminal contribution to Refugee Studies and the understanding of ‘the national order of things’ (Malkki 1995; Malkki 2012)

those over whom it exercises power into a body and molds the individuality of each member of that body. (Deleuze 1997:5)

On the other hand, the ‘perpetual training’¹⁵¹, stemming from control exercised through modulation rather than moulding, has made its way into TCV through the CBSE orchestrated idea of a ‘continuous assessment’ of students, partly replacing exams. According to Deleuze’s analysis, as the new order is taking over, with discipline mutating into control¹⁵² as the underlying principle, the ‘enclosed environments’ undergo crisis, “a generalized crisis in relation to all the environments of enclosure-prison, hospital, factory, school, family” (*ibid*). Enclosures are moulds, Deleuze claims, but controls are a modulation (Deleuze 1992:4). If enclosures are like “distinct castings”, controls produce “a self-deforming cast that will continuously change from one moment to the other” (*ibid*).

I find ‘orders’ useful to think with, as they point to operations and relationships that a given environment (or ‘society’) enables, and which in turn, shape this environment (‘society’). In thinking about TCV as a place, I looked at the imagery of space and the operations and relationships that floating, streams and expanding horizons enabled. The historical perspective adopted by Deleuze serves as a timely reminder that ‘orders’ come into being, overlap and eventually vanish. This, consequently, renders the analysis of what *is* fundamentally insufficient, unless we understand that history is lived, and that the lived past evinces itself in the lived present¹⁵³. I thus find it particularly valuable to focus on the way in which space, or time (see *Chapter 3) come into being for and in particular people, what operations they enable and how this is achieved through relationships.

¹⁵¹ “Indeed, just as the corporation replaces the factory, perpetual training tends to replace the school, and continuous control to replace the examination”. (Deleuze 1992:5)

¹⁵² “Control” is the name Burroughs proposes as a term for the new monster, one that Foucault recognizes as our immediate future. Paul Virilio also is continually analyzing the ultrarapid forms of free-floating control that replaced the old disciplines operating in the time frame of a closed system.’ (Deleuze 1992:3-4)

¹⁵³ Here, again, I am grateful to Professor Toren for making this connection, and for pointing out to me that an understanding of intersubjectivity as historically constituted inevitably entails just this kind of focus on particular ontogenies.

‘Inside’ and ‘outside’ as categories of primarily spatial analysis are clearly not sufficient, considering the enskillment in the practices¹⁵⁴ of interconnectedness in which the school inhabitants engage.

TCV is a powerful presence – and growing up within TCV has far reaching consequences. But these, again, cannot be comprehended separately, without paying attention to the particular boundedness of the campus and to its embeddedness in other entities. At some point in a TCV inhabitant’s life, inevitably, TCV must be ‘transcended’. The act of transcendence is also revelatory:

“To become aware of and to recognize identity in its wider meanings, the household [TCV] must be transcended. Only after a child perceives the world beyond its household can the latter be apprehended as providing the child with its essential identity. This echoes Levi-Strauss’s notion (1968:51) that the elementary forms of human kinship lie not in the isolated family but in the relations between several.” (Telban 1998:56)

Leaving school is clearly an important moment for both TCV and students. The graduation ceremonies and meals see the graduating students as guest of honour, celebrated by the teachers, Home Mothers, staff and younger students, who decorate venues, arrange seating, invite guests and serve food during the ceremony. The mood at graduation is that of celebration, apprehension and, above all, anticipation. In 2013, when I witnessed Class XII graduation, the walls of a graduation ‘zone’ set up under a big decorative canopy on the TCV basket ground were decorated with letters to the graduates from the younger students, best wishes, maxims, final advice – almost all in English, India’s pan-national language. At the gate to the zone, there was a large poster with three silhouettes in black (with caps and in robes), and red knee-high flames painted at the bottom – a clear reference to Tibetan self-immolating ‘martyrs’.

Freed from the constraints of analytical distinction between spatial and temporal dimension of a particular mode of being, the understanding of the practice of interdependence, predicated on the Buddhist doctrine of dependent arising, and embodied by the TCV inhabitants, allows me to imagine what it might mean to finish school and go

¹⁵⁴ Hodges (Hodges 2008) usefully pointed out that ‘practices’ as an analytical concept are themselves grounded in the ‘arrow of time’ paradigm. I use the term here as I have shown the trajectory of expanding horizons that enable the practice of interdependence for a child growing up in a TCV campus.

‘out of bounds’ forever. Following the imagery of ‘floating through’, such ‘going out of bounds’ reveals itself as an expanding horizon, enabling TCV graduates to join in the streams and flows of a much larger ‘body’, and other ‘bodies’ in which it may be embedded. Some of these graduates will come back, to live and work in TCV as staff, sometimes in the same Homes and classrooms they floated through during their school years. They will then, perhaps, see themselves in the youngsters seated in front of them in neat rows of desks or in *khyimsang* children washing their school uniforms on a Saturday afternoon. They will possibly see themselves in their elders, senior and retired teachers and Home Mothers and will join in the flow of advice, as spiritual practitioners (*lama*), teachers (*Gyenla*) or parents (*pama*) – by virtue of being part of the entire causal complex, the evanescent phenomena-events, made of infinitesimal temporal parts in constant transformation.

CHAPTER 5 TEASING AND TEASING OUT – EARLY YEARS EDUCATION IN THREE POISONS

A small, white-walled temple discreetly marks the centre and the highest ground of the TCV campus I described in the last chapter. Walking up the steps leading to the temple door, one cannot overlook a big mural painting of the Wheel of Life (*Skt. Bhavachakra, Tib. srid pa'i 'khor lo*). The painting, one of the most common images in Tibetan Buddhist temples, represents the Lord of Death, holding a big wheel made of concentric circles, said to be a complete presentation of *samsāra* (cyclic existence) and *nirvana* (passage to emptiness). The innermost circle contains images of three animals, standing for three poisonous delusions: attachment – (bird - desire), aversion (snake - anger/hatred) and ignorance (pig - confusion). Geshe Palden Dakpa in his short *The Symbolic Meaning of Bhavachakra (Wheel of Life)* gives the following explanation of the inner circle imagery¹⁵⁵:

Among the three animals portrayed in the innermost circle, the bird represents attachment, the snake represents hatred and the pig represents ignorance. Regarding the image of the bird, it is stated that the image of a pigeon should be used. The reason is that pigeons are extremely desirous and indulge in sexual intercourse many times every day. (...) Snakes are aggressive and angry and are unpleasant and frightening to behold. (...) the pig is well-known for being ignorant of what is clean and what is dirty. It is known for its stupidity, being fooled into thinking that the butcher is someone who extends care and loving-kindness to it, when actually they desire to take the pig's life. (...) The first two (attachment and desire) are eaten by ignorance. (Geshe Palden Dakpa 2011:7-10)

Children growing up in the temple's shadow, on the Tibetan residential school campus, seem to learn about the three poisons and their effect in a variety of ways. In this chapter I will show that one of the earliest ways in which knowledge about this element of the Buddhist doctrine is communicated is through various forms of what I collectively came to understand as “teasing”¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵⁵ For an interesting history and review of scholarship on the Tibetan Buddhist Wheel of Life see Janice Leoshko (Leoshko 2001), especially pp. 66 – 75. Lichter and Epstein (1983:234), in their description of the Wheel of Life refer to the three central animal representations as “three cardinal modes of sin”, namely: lust, ignorance and anger.

¹⁵⁶ Tibetan terms for such practices will be discussed later in this chapter.

Jean Briggs (Briggs 1979) and Bambi Schieffelin (Schieffelin 1986) both paid attention to playful teasing and the role it plays in childrearing in their respective ethnographies of the Utku/the Qipi and the Kaluli. Briggs focused on playfulness, which manifested in small, spontaneous dramas and fantasies commonly viewed as “teasing” and “joking” (Briggs 1979:47, note 3). She was interested in aspects of emotional structure that were created by playful interactions, especially those played by adults or older children in relationships with young children and infants. In her analysis of teasing among the Utku and the Qipi she noted: “The point here is that such games create sensitivities, which, both in childhood and in later life, make it extremely important to be right in one’s interpretations of other people’s meanings.” (Briggs 1979:11). These sensitivities are, according to Briggs, created not only by the substantive content of the games, but also by their complexity – “the mixture of seriousness and pretense in their meanings, which makes it difficult to be absolutely sure that one is right in one’s interpretation of the other’s feelings” (*ibid*)¹⁵⁷. Schieffelin (Schieffelin 1986), in her account of the Kaluli teasing and shaming, looked at spontaneous interactions between Kaluli caregivers and their young children. She discovered that the teasing conveyed the group’s implicit understanding that children need to be able to negotiate that what constitutes entitlement, access and ownership (Schieffelin 1986:173): “For the Kaluli, teasing and shaming are systematically part of interactions with children, and as such, they operate on many levels (...) and are expressed both verbally and non-verbally. They are used to teach children how to be part of the Kaluli society, to include them rather than set them apart.” (Schieffelin 1986:179) Importantly, Schieffelin showed that verbal provocation and teasing interactions helped create basis for, and make salient, specific emotional responses to grief that have been documented for adults (Schieffelin 1986:171).

For the purposes of this chapter, it is also important to note the observations made by Elinor Ochs and Carolina Izquierdo (Elinor Ochs and Izquierdo 2009), who highlighted that social responsiveness of children seems to involve prosocial dispositions and behaviours - an attunement to others’ needs. They also noted that rudiments of moral responsibility lie in practices that organize children’s attention through orientation of

¹⁵⁷ For Utku, one of the resulting sensitivities is ‘a fear of being scolded’ (Briggs 1979:11).

bodies and senses to the social world, and that in some communities, young children have been shown to be corporeally oriented to pay close attention to persons and the tasks they perform, with such a ‘bystander orientation’ thought to be necessary for assuming responsibility for these tasks. This chapter will present an ethnographic case of similar, if differently oriented, results of the playful and (purposefully) interpretatively problematic interactions between Tibetan adult caregivers and children and between peers in a Tibetan school.

In TCV “teasing” is done first by adults and then by the peers. It seems to accompany people throughout their whole life on the campus, whether they leave it as teenagers or stay on as adult staff members. Babies are teased about things that seem important – significant others, body, being orphaned etc. I would argue that instances of teasing in early childhood are not meant as adult or child entertainment. A constant feature present in all teasing, jokes and pranks played around Baby Home, where the youngest TCV children live up to the age of 5, is that they make other people or self stand out from the background, become salient. Teasing and pranks are thus vectors of a particular kind of sociality.

In this chapter I will discuss instances where teasing a baby could be regarded as cultivating their attention¹⁵⁸. This attention would be specifically centred on other people or self. In cases where attention was drawn to self, I suggest that teasing was methodically used to build up resilience and educate emotions such as desire or anger, as in instances where teasing encouraged patience or, subversively, an excess of anger. Teasing, joking and tricks were thought of and used as pedagogical devices and admissible childrearing practices. They aimed to tease out ignorance, desire, repulsion/anger, in an attempt to clear what is perceived as obstacles and lead to independence and correct judgement.

I will also show how other people and self, made salient through the effort to educate or tease out attention, become part of a reflexive, educative, self-control mechanism. Both here and in *Chapter 6 I will discuss the means by which others are co-opted into helping one to behave properly, through proper understanding (seeing) the workings of potentially

¹⁵⁸ Jean Briggs also noticed that the teasing dramas played with children among the Utku and the Qipi tended to selectively focus the child’s attention, by pointing out to events that were important and how they should be interpreted. Such dramas thus not only expressed the ‘plots’ of life, but also helped to create them, by arousing in children the emotions that made them experience everyday life in a quite specific way (Briggs 1979:22).

disruptive emotions (poisons) such as anger (aversion), desire (attachment) and ignorance. In this chapter I will thus attempt to start sketching some possible trajectories of intersubjectivity, by attending to the (co)constitution of the subjects – self and other - that participate in it.

CONDITIONS OF PEDAGOGY

ATTENTION

FIELD NOTES:

TCV, VIDEO RECORDING AT LUNCHTIME, BABY HOME, 13.06.2013

Once the prayers and invocations have been recited and food served and put on the tables, the children, aged 2-5, politely say thank you (*thugche nang*) and pick up their spoons. The head Mother of Baby Home is seated cross-legged on the floor, with a big metal pot and ladle in front of her, waiting for the children to come for second helpings. Baby Thutsel, a boy aged 11 months, has been placed next to her. He is not walking yet but is free to move around sliding on his belly. The boy moves closer to the big metal pot and starts playing with the handle, not touching the hot metal sides of the pot. As the Mother is waiting, she can give him her full attention. She lowers her face towards his and flashes a big, exaggerated smile. She addresses him in a high-pitched melodious voice, drawing out the vowels: *Tuunktsel-laaa* (-la being the honorific particle). The boy raises his head and for a moment reciprocates the smile and attention. He then moves to the other side of the pot and starts playing with the metal pot cover on the floor. Turning towards the window, the Mother exclaims: *Nyimdrol-la! Nyimdrol!*, pretending to call Thutsel's favourite (Baby Home) Mother. Ama Nyimdrol is off-duty today, and all the staff and older children know she will not show up in Baby Home. Immediately after calling out, the Mother turns to see Thutsel's reaction. He is alert. The Mother encourages him to call out himself: *Thutsel-la, Nyimdrol-la las!* (*Thutsel (Hon.), call Nyimdrol (Hon.)!*). There are two reasons why the idea that Thutsel should call his favourite mother is futile: Ama Nyimdrol is not here and Thutsel cannot speak yet¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁹ Names of research participants have been changed.

The baby's being teased about his favourite Mother in her absence was quite common in his interactions with adults. These not always necessitated participation or an audience of other adults. During lunch break described above, all the Mothers present and most of the older children sitting by the tables were watching the situation unfold, without intervening. On this and similar occasions the adults looked at each other and smiled or discreetly pointed to the baby with their chins, letting others know there was something going on.

Over the course of my fieldwork in Baby Home I also recorded the following situations in my video files and field notes:

FIELD NOTES:

TCV, BABY HOME, 05.05 2013

We play with baby Thutsel-la and just two other toddler girls in the Baby playroom, on a huge thick blanket spread on the floor, where the baby can move a lot. I see Ama Nyimdrol kiss the boy on his forehead and nose – he squints with pleasure, I am sure he can feel her body warmth as she is very close, bending over him. The boy gets lots of affection from all the Mothers, but Ama Nyimdrol seems to be his primary care giver. Later, I learn that she has been assigned to take care of the youngest Baby Home child. The manager of Baby Home told me: *In this way he can have one Amala (tib. Mother), and it is good for him.* Another Home Mother, comes into the room and starts calling out Thutsel, but does not lean over him or get so close – she tickles his soles and teases him with silly questions in an exaggerated husky voice.

The boy had been brought to Baby Home when he was 4-months-old, and had been there for six months when I recorded the above situation in my field notes. By that time, the Mothers noticed that Thutsel had become very attached to Ama Nyimdrol. He wanted her to be around and was crying whenever she went out of sight. On another day, during afternoon nap time and on his favourite mother's day off, I saw another Mother teasing the boy that Ama Nyimdrol was passing by – behind him. It was just the three of us in the room. When she caught my eye she pointed to him and explained that whenever she said that Nyimdrol had just been here he always turned around to see.

The alertness to people and people's actions was checked repeatedly and consistently. One rainy morning some time later another Baby Home Mother placed her head next to baby Thutsel's when he slumped on the floor, resting. When the boy lifted his head she gave

him a huge grin and burst in laughter. She took out her mobile phone and started playing music, Tibetan and Hindi pop songs. Smiling, she then swiftly dropped the phone into Thutsel's hood. Other Mothers sitting in the room watched in amusement as Thutsel was trying to figure out what was going on. He was fully alert, had noticed the sound and they nodded approvingly. The phone, still playing music, remained in the baby's hood long after the joke between adults had faded away.

Admonitions about not listening to others or not paying attention were part of everyday life at school for older children. They were the subject of endless stream of 'advice' (both honorific *kalop* and ordinary *lapcha*) from school and Village authorities, teachers, lamas or invited guests. The importance of *thoba* - hearing (from others) has already been discussed in *Chapter 2, where I showed its integral place as the first necessary stage in the Buddhist model of learning, aiming to create an inner subjective experience constituting valid knowledge or wisdom. In Baby Home, as I followed the daily lives of the TCV's youngest inhabitants and their caregivers, I realised that the basic premises of the model were also underpinning everyday childcare practices of 'ordinary folk'.

Developing hearing faculty and alertness to stimuli coming from other people was considered very important. On another day, a (birth) mother of one of Baby Home children called Ama Yangchen' mobile to talk to her daughter. Ama Yangchen called out for the girl, but while she was waiting for her to come, she put the phone to baby Thutsel's ear for a short while and then resumed conversation with the girl's mother. Training in attention to visual and aural stimuli was thus part of very early human interaction. The training, however, also conveyed much subtler messages and seemed to promote much more nuanced attitudes in babies and young children.

During my work in Baby Home I frequently saw and heard Mothers playfully pretend to hit Thutsel – they usually gave a loud slap near his face or ear, and made a scary face but then immediately started laughing, their faces now with a friendly smile. He always smiled back at them. One day, one of the most senior Mothers, was pretending to throw a plastic bag at Thutsel – everybody laughed with delight when he had the reflex of closing his eyes and then smiled when nothing hit him. Sometimes Mothers would give a sharp barking sound in the direction of Thutsel – again playfully. He seemed to adore that. He was never

scolded. A slightly older girl, Pelkyi-la, who was then nearly two, enjoyed some of such attention, but much less often. She was sometimes told off, but still very infrequently.

A year later, one of Baby Home girls, who was then almost five offered me a clue as to the potential meaning of the above episode:

FIELDNOTES

TCV, BABY HOME, 05.07.2014.

Ösel-la (born in Oct 2009) is holding a soft elastic string and pretends to lash at me with it. She explains that the game is about not closing one's eyes. Being brave. The string cannot hit me as it is very soft. We take turns at lashing the string at each other to check if we are sufficiently brave (or knowledgeable that nothing bad can happen).

Considering the frequency and consistency of such interactions with the youngest infant and between older children I want to argue that they constituted a socially accepted and applied method of purposeful teasing out of attention and alertness for others, and secondly, of introducing the expectation of correct judgment. Let us first attend to the first of these aspects. Very young children were actively encouraged to see other people and to pay attention to them. For babies loud claps, calls, smiles and teasing were believed to make people, not objects or patterns, stand out from the background of the incessant flow of stimuli.

Evan Thompson's chapter "The Phenomenological Connection" of his *Mind in Life* (Thompson 2007) perhaps offers a clue to understanding the significance of this kind of practice directed at very young children. Thompson describes the phenomenological notion of 'passive genesis', in which "the lived body constitutes itself and its surrounding environment through the involuntary formation of habits, motor patterns, associations, dispositions, motivations, emotions and memories." (Thompson 2007:30) The key point here, it seems, is the use of the term 'involuntary', as it activates the phenomenological understandings of intentionality and their ramifications. Thompson discusses intentionality earlier in his chapter:

"Phenomenologists distinguish different types of intentionality. In a narrow sense, they define intentionality as object-directedness. In a broader sense, they define it as openness

to the world or what is “other” (‘alterity’). In either case, the emphasis is on denying that consciousness is self-enclosed.” (Thompson 2007:22)

Interestingly, the kind of intentionality that is relevant for “passive synthesis” in experience is the broader sense of an openness to the world “in the bodily form of an implicit sensibility or sentience that does not have any clear subject – object structure” (Thompson 2007:30). It seems to me very important that intentionality at this level is said to function anonymously, involuntarily, spontaneously, and receptively (*ibid*). It also seems very significant that passive genesis on the part of the Baby Home infant was accompanied by such intensive and concerted, as it were, efforts on the part of the boy’s caregivers.

The concept of receptiveness deserves further examination in the context of its phenomenological use. It seems to be understood as the first or lowest, most primitive type of intentional activity, where we respond to or pay attention to that which is affecting us passively. “Thus, even receptivity understood as a mere ‘I notice’ presupposes a prior affection.” (Zahavi 1999:116) This, as Thompson notes, means that “whatever comes into relief in experience must have already been affecting us and must have some kind of “affective force” or “affective allure” in relation to our attention and motivations”. (Thompson 2007:30) The ‘given’, which is anything that succeeds in attracting and gaining our attention and which, as such, appears to object-directed consciousness, thus emerges (dynamically and teleologically, *ibid*) in relation to the ‘pregiven’ that has this affective allure without our turning attention to it. To put it differently and point at the ramifications, Thompson writes:

“Object-directed intentional experiences emerge out of the background of a precognitive “operative intentionality” (Merleau-Ponty 1962:xviii) that involves a dynamic interplay of affective sensibility, motivation, and attention. This affectively “saturated intentionality” (Steinbock 1999) provides our primordial openness to the world.” (Thompson 2007:30)

Such explanation is framed within his description of the theoretical stance of genetic phenomenology (Thompson 2007:17), concerned with how intentional structures and objects emerge through time and with the ways in which certain types of experience motivate later and more complex types, e.g. how implicit and pre-reflective experiences motivate attentive and reflective ones. Experience is understood to have a sedimented structure and its accrual occurs through the lived body and time-consciousness (cf the idea

of development as microhistorical in Toren 1990; and the phenomenological version of it in Toren 1999; anthropological ramifications of such understanding of human ontogeny are discussed in Toren 2000; Toren 2014). It is within the genetic phenomenology that passive and active genesis are distinguished: “In active genesis subjects play an active and deliberate, productive role in the constitution of objects” (Thompson 2007:29), with the products of active genesis being e.g. tools, artworks, scientific theories, experimental interventions, logical judgements or mathematical propositions. As Thompson notes, active genesis “always presupposes a passivity by which one is *affected* beforehand” (*ibid*, original emphasis). Passivity here refers, again, to the state of being involuntarily affected or influenced by a given thing, especially on an aesthetic level (as in Greek *aesthesis* - sense perception) through perception and felt experience of something attractive or unattractive (cf. desire and aversion specifically targeted in the Tibetan ‘folk’ theories of childrearing, see below).

But genetic phenomenology also brings with it a specific way of understanding and thinking about the conscious subject, the problem I briefly mentioned before in relation to the preconditions of intersubjectivity as a hermeneutic device (note 15 in *Chapter 1). From a genetic phenomenological standpoint, Thompson notes, the ego/I is no more “an “empty pole” of selfhood in experience but a concrete subject having habits, interests, convictions and capabilities” (Thompson 2007:29) that result from the accumulated – sedimented – experience. The subject here needs to be seen as having a “life”, i.e. as formed by its individual history (cf. microhistory in Toren 2014), “as a living bodily subject of experience (*Leib*), and as belonging to an intersubjective ‘life-world’ (*Lebenswelt*)” (Thompson 2007:29).¹⁶⁰

If teasing out alertness to others was part of the practice concerned (in both narrow and broad sense of phenomenological ‘intentionality’) with the passive genesis of experience,

¹⁶⁰ Note an argument made in the field of psychology for the innate intersubjectivity/primary intersubjectivity displayed by infants (Trevvarthen 1979, 1998, 1993, 1995, Braten 1998). Colwyn Trevvarthen (1998) summed up this claim as follows: “(...) a child is born with motives to find and use the motives of other persons in ‘conversational’ negotiation of purposes, emotions, expressions and meaning. The efficiency of sympathetic engagement between persons signals the ability of each to ‘model’ or ‘mirror’ the motivations and purposes of companions, immediately. It requires a ‘virtual other’ representation of the kind that Bråten (1988, 1992) has described. Infants evidently have it.” (Trevvarthen 1998:16). For an outline of the history and use of “intersubjectivity” in developmental research see (Trevvarthen and Aitken 2001).

another part of this practice in Baby Home seemed to target the ‘subject’. Apart from developing alertness and awareness of others, the babies’ attention, again through teasing, was also methodically directed at their own selves. The aim, on most occasions that I recorded, seemed to have been to elicit a neutral response and develop a resilience and independence that would become indispensable later in life. Jokes and teasing have been a constant feature in the Baby Home and generally on the campus. During the course of my fieldwork in the Baby Home, I witnessed countless instances of teasing among adults, Baby Home Mothers, Mothers from other Homes and Mothers’ family members – husbands, daughters and sons, friends working elsewhere on the campus, including me. The subject matter of jokes and affectionate (W. gces ming, lit. loving/affectionate name) or malicious nicknames (W. ming ‘dogs, lit. attached/pegged name)¹⁶¹ could be one’s marital status, body (being fat or thin, wrinkled, skin shade, body posture), one’s partners, children getting attached to one etc. The nicknames used by teenagers were e.g. big lips, curly hair, chicken - for a skin hue like that of a chicken meat when you fry it (this nickname was used for a particularly fair skinned boy; the same characteristic prompted his other nickname “Edward” – after the fair-skinned protagonist in the popular vampire saga *Twilight* based on novels by Stephenie Meyer).

INTERVIEW NOTES, TCV, July 2014¹⁶²:

TCV staff member: “There are also bad names, like *mi-chung* – dwarf, given to someone who didn’t grow. They are bad as they are hurting. My oldest son has a friend and they gave him such a name and kept using it. I told him to stop using it as it is bad. Jampa-la [three-year-old boy], you know some people have runny noses, so he is sometimes called – *naptsi-ra!* Runny-nose. My son’s friend had nickname – *naptu* – *runny nose*. It is bad name, even if children don’t feel it is bad. But it is hurting. Not real name, Dawa, or Tsering. I remember, when I was in school, you know, my parents died when I was five and sometimes in a fight, children would call me *pala shin-du* – “you’re father is dead”. Or, because I came from Nepal by train, they would call “your mother was killed under a train”.

¹⁶¹ Nickname: W. ming ‘dogs: ‘dogs = to tie, to fasten, to attach, ming = name; W. gces ming: gces = to love, to have affection for (Goldstein, Shelling, and Surkhang 2001)

¹⁶² A verbatim quote from shorthand notes taken during the interview. The conversation was conducted in English, the habitual language we used with this participant, who, due to her education, felt comfortable and insisted on using English with me.

I remember that! So I tell others not to use such names. But sometimes, when I am angry or tired, I also call *chim-shi-ra!* – *peepee-in-the-pants!* to a child who always wet their pants.

Teasing and joking were called *tsemo* (W. rtsed mo), which means play, recreation, and also functions as a verb: to play a game, to play around. In their *Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan* Goldstein, Shelling and Surkhang (Goldstein, Shelling, and Surkhang 2001), however, suggest another term for the playing, fooling, joking around and laughing: rsted zhor dgod zhor, lit. “game on the side, laugh on the side” (zhor meaning “coincidental”). I was told that in the Homes, boys tended to tease boys and girls to tease girls, but sometimes they also quarrelled/talked back to each other.

There seemed to be a fine line between playful teasing, Tib. *tsemo*, and bullying in the Homes. Bullying was called *nyapchu* (W. snyad bcos) and could mean either a peer pressure or bullying by older “brothers and sisters” in a Home, who would e.g. take snacks from younger children, give them nicknames, or make younger children risk going out of bounds to buy them snacks (although I was told that the money for snacks would usually be provided by the *chochos* and *achas*). A strict Amala could prevent bullying, while also enforcing *kushap* (W. gus zhabs), i.e. respect based on age seniority. When I specifically asked about a difference between teasing and bullying, I was told of another term *nyetsewa*, a nominalisation of the verb *nyetse tse* (W. brnyas rtsed rtse) – to tease or to make fun of someone. Without elicitation, however, people referred to the situations I use as illustration in this chapter with the term *tsemo* – joking or playing. And one had to grow a somewhat thick skin to be able to cope with all the joking that was going on in the community.

CAUSE AND EFFECT

During my fieldwork I came to understand that resilience and independence were valued and cultivated capacities in the Village. Tibetan scriptures and both religious and lay authorities frequently stress the lack of external frame of reference for moral issues. Apart from the pretty deterministic cause and effect mechanism influencing one’s present and future lives (the understanding of *karmic* consequences of every action), there is no other higher instance that could be leaned on for judgement. Resilience and independence are to be encouraged and not curtailed, as lack of them would make a person weaker, dependent on other people’s judgements and decisions, which in the overall picture would be a

delusion. In fights between children, such as the one I describe below, the victim would therefore often be offered no or little consolation:

FIELDNOTES

BABY HOME, May 2013:

I see that the new older girl, TenLhamo, around 5, who has just joined Baby Home is often hitting baby Chukyi and Pelkyi (both around 2). At one point as we sit outside, baby Chukyi comes near when TenLhamo is sitting on my lap. The baby accidentally steps on the girl's foot. TenLhamo kicks the baby and then pushes her. One of Baby Home Mothers is looking on, but says nothing. When she meets my eye she shakes her head slightly and says "This one is so naughty". Still she does not intervene.

In fights, the one who is hitting needs to realise the consequences and as a child, needs to be protected from bad deeds – reasoned with. The one that was hit is offered no or little consolation as it could boost their ego and make them weaker and dependent on others¹⁶³. When I asked one of the Infant Section teachers about children fighting and lack of consolation, she told me she always first asked who had done what and why the hitting had started. The child who is crying might have done something to start the anger and so they faced the consequences. They needed to realise that if they do something like this in the future, they would face these consequences. She said a teacher's role was helping the children realise this.

Fieldwork in Baby Home gave me the opportunity to record situations in which very young children, yet unable to speak, seemed to be offered a similar kind of instruction. One day during morning tea-time, baby Thutsel who was sitting in his pram leaned towards Ama Dolma and started to suck her exposed forearm. Dolma laughed and showed other Mothers that Thutsel was trying to bite her. She put her arm nearer so that he could bite (he had barely any teeth then). When he lifted his head, she gave him a mock slow-motion punch. She smiled all the time but her fist gently dug into the baby's tummy. She then brought forward her arm again, so that the boy could try to bite her again, and again, with

¹⁶³ This was first brought to my attention during an inspiring conversation with George and Christina Halkias (McLeod Ganj, April 2013).

a half fierce/half laughing face she gave him the mock punch. He would experience the same cause-and-effect whenever he would bite, scratch or hit any of the children in the future, when he was older. There seemed to be no need to explain that as the effect was self-manifesting. This might explain why the adults, both Mothers in Baby Home and teachers in the Infant Section of the school, usually did not intervene in children's fights, and very seldom tried to intervene in conflicts as the following vignettes show:

FIELDNOTES, BABY HOME, April 2013: Two boys in Baby Home are fighting over bread – the one who is grabbing it from another is causing crying, then gets hit and cries in his turn. Mothers eventually ask “*kandes?*” - what's going on? (Tib. ga ‘dras se, lit. “how?”) but do not adjudicate on the matter.

Very young children were not expected to know about this basic karmic mechanism. The consequences for them were sometimes spontaneously “suspended”:

FIELDNOTES, BABY HOME, May 2013: Baby Pekyi (two-years old) has just painfully squeezed Lobsang Pema's cheek – children point this out to Ama Nyimdrol. We see the situation as if in a still frame – Lobsang Pema (one of older girls, 5) is sitting still, with face twisted in pain (and maybe from injustice) and Pelkyi is standing next to her, still holding the girl's cheek between her thumb and index finger. They both look at us. Ama Nyimdrol gasps and taps me on the side to make sure I notice the scene. She expresses her disapproval, but does not move or call Pelkyi. Lobsang Pema, who I know would normally just hit or scratch back, does not reciprocate – Pelkyi is a baby. Pelkyi is lifted and carried out by another older girl – but she bites her cheek as the older girl carries her. Ama Nyimdrol points this again to me, gasping. Again, Pekyi is not scolded.

BABY HOME, May 2013: I see repeatedly that the new girl TenLhamo is hitting babies. She has not yet been playing with older children but has been taking things from 2-year-old Chukyi and Pelkyi. They cry and try to hit her, she hits them back. It is slow motion fighting, with long breaks in-between hits (over face, head and shoulders). The breaks seem to be for figuring out if you want to hit back/again/ or withdraw. For considering the consequences and pay-offs. Cause and effect. Mothers don't interfere. I have not seen them scolding TenLhamo yet. The girl has just been brought to Baby Home and I think Mothers are trying to figure her out.

Lichter and Epstein (1983) offer an interesting analysis of the significance of karma and karmic causation in Tibetan notions of good life. They base their analysis on ethnographic

research conducted in the 1970 in Tsum (northern Nepal) and with Tibetan refugees in India. They point to the distinction between the laity's Buddhism (W. 'jigs rten pa'i chos – sponsor's path) and clergy's Buddhism (W. chos-pa'i chos – religious practitioner's path) and to the insistence, in the former, on the need to learn karmic ethics, i.e. how to tell virtue (dge ba) from sin (sdig pa) (Lichter and Epstein 1983:224). Karma is said to be the “most general overarching systems of ethical causation”, “something like a general law” (*ibid*). It is said to produce happiness from good actions and unhappiness from bad ones (Lichter and Epstein 1983:232). The Tibetan term for karma is *la* (W. las) or *la-kyu-dra* (W. las rgyu 'bras). The former term means action, deed and work, and by extension also: result, fruit, merit and karma. The longer expression incorporates two other words – *kyu* (W. rgyu) – cause or seed and (W.'bras) – result, outcome or fruit. In *Chapter 2 I discussed the notion of *rgyu* as ‘seed’ in the Tibetan Buddhist conceptualisation of knowledge and learning. In terms of karma seen as “hypothetical story with a moral” (Lichter and Epstein 1983:232), the actions that are karmically significant are either beneficial - leading to happiness (glossed by them as “virtues”, Tib. dge ba) or detrimental – leading to unhappiness (“sins”, Tib. sdig pa). As Lichter and Epstein rightfully note, a catalogue of beneficial acts includes abstaining from sin but also many diverse “formalities”, i.e. “counting beads, circumambulation of holy sites, prostrations, spinning prayer wheels, erecting prayer flags, obtaining blessings, muttering prayers and sacred formulae, sponsoring ceremonies, dispensing charity and alms, and venerating Buddha, Dharma, and Samgha” (*ibid*). These, in addition to abstaining from sinful actions, are needed to counterbalance the innumerable unavoidable and unintentional sins committed during everyday existence, e.g. destruction of life in soil cultivation, suffering of domestic animals, the suffering caused by production and transport of goods and people.

One of available (in both TCV libraries and Tibetan bookstores in nearby McLeod Ganj) descriptions of the direct yogic experience of a journey to non-human realms depicted in the Wheel of Life, accomplished by an early 20th century Tibetan *delog* (yogin/yogini capable of travelling to different realms of existence), contains a tale of the Lord of Death exacting punishments for the evil deeds committed by the deceased who were reborn in his realm (hell). All the deeds of the preceding lifetime are clearly reflected in the mirror of karma,

ensuring that no tampering with the inexorable law of karma is possible (Delog Dawa Drolma 2001:41-42, see also Lichter and Epstein 1983).

It is worth mentioning here the role of the deities that are worshipped and propitiated daily in the TCV Homes and classrooms. The deities, seen as *bodhisattvas* (see Beyer 1988), need to be asked to stay among people to guide and protect them from people's own harmful decisions and accumulation of bad deeds and karma. Propitiating the deities constitutes in itself a good deed (and imprint) and good, counterbalancing karmic influence.

Good conduct can thus be achieved through discipline (*chöpa*, correct conduct, see * Chapter 3), meditative and tantric practice, guidance from the deities and their blessings (*chinlab*, W. byin rlabs). The blessings come in the form of empowered substances, such as food, drink and other substances used during ceremonies in the temple or touched by an enlightened being (e.g. respected reincarnate lama). People in TCV also actively sought and shared the blessed red barley grains of *Nechung cha ne* (W. Gnas chung phyag nas) from the temple of the Tibet's protective deity gNas chung (Shen-yu 2010; Ellingson 1998), and the medicinal *mani rilbu* pills from another guardian Palden Lhamo. These could be ingested or worn as amulets, and indeed, most children in TCV, especially toddlers, wore blessed threads and/or plastic or metal containers encapsulating blessed substances on a daily basis (Fig.18). Toddlers tended to wear rather substantial bundles of these on thick silk or woollen strings hung over their shoulder and neck for safety. When sleeping, these bundles would be hung on the bedpost, near the child's head.

Sacred substances (pills, grains, scrolls, amulets) and prayers performed by lamas could protect people from spirit attacks (e.g. an unwanted possession by a spirit fended off with several grains of *Nechung chag ne*¹⁶⁴; spirit voices in a Home exorcised by a prayer by HH the Dalai Lama¹⁶⁵). The school temple housed the deities of the Tibetan monastic pantheon – the enlightened teacher Guru Padmasambhava, the protectors Nechung (W. gNas chung, the deity was sheltered from view by a thick muslin veil), and fierce Palden Lhamo, the wisdom deity *Manjushri*, Buddha Sakyamuni, the compassionate Avalokiteśvara and the

¹⁶⁴ Multiple accounts of a specific event that occurred in the main temple in McLeod Ganj, recorded in fieldnotes, August 2014.

¹⁶⁵ Interview with older children in one of TCV Homes, fieldnotes October 2013.

multi-eyed goddess Tārā. The nature of the intervention of divinities in the human world has been brilliantly described by Stephan Beyer, in his erudite *Magic and Ritual in Tibet: The Cult of Tārā* (1988), where he noted the impersonal quality of Tibetan deities, including Tārā, ever present in lives of TCV inhabitants:

“Yet in their [Tibetan Buddhists] devotion lies one of the basic paradoxes of the Tibetan religion: in spite of her close touch with the lives of her people, Tārā shares in the essential nature of the deities of the monastic cult. She, too, is basically alien to the human experience, ultimately “other”, without personality, appearing and dispensing her miraculous favors as unapproachable and impersonal light. She, too, is a cosmic force which may be manipulated by an expert in her ritual or may be directed to one’s own benefit by the recitation of her mantra, the sonic reverberation of her power.” (Beyer 1988:64)

As mentioned before (*Chapter 3), expert manipulation of deities’ as cosmic powers has been sought by both school authorities, e.g. through annual divination held for the school and annual teaching and empowerment sessions by high Buddhist lamas, and by inhabitants of the campus, through private ceremonies commissioned for residential Homes and staff quarters. In their discussion of efforts to reconcile the doctrine of karma and supernaturalism manifested in Tibetan daily life, Lichter and Epstein (1983) offer a persuasive explanation based on the distinction between the *kyu* (W. rgyu) as karmic causes extending across lifetimes and the *kyen* (W. rkyen) as actions in supernatural causation, limited to the present lifetime, impacting on other beings connected with the actor. The two classes of actions are said to belong to two different but analogous “systems of causal concepts” (Lichter and Epstein 1983:240), prompting further distinctions¹⁶⁶ between e.g.

¹⁶⁶ Lichter and Epstein offer an excellent comparative analysis, which I quote here to allow the reader to check if my understanding of the target of the pedagogic practice is plausible: “Where faith in and prayer to an abstract sort of god (*dkon-mchog*) has effect in the karmic system, in *rkyen* all manners of spooks, demons and chthonic monsters have a hand. (...) *Rlung-rta* is said to be either high or low, unlike *bsod-nams* which can accumulate (*bsags*) or be exhausted (*skam-pa*, literally “dry up”). This idiom for *rlung-rta* is not doubt related to the physical forms the thing takes, such as small flags or scraps of paper imprinted with prayers and mystical formulae set to fly high above the settlements or cast upon the mountain breezes in hopes that they will be carried as high as possible – thereby elevating one’s luck. (...) *rlung-rta* can be forecast year by year and can undergo cyclic alterations, unlike *bsod-nams*, which is linear and cumulative. Like *bsod-nams*, it summarizes all the events and prospects of a particular career at a particular time. Very often the difference between *bsod-nams* and *rlung-rta* can be and is ignored, but at other times it can be quite important. (...) When a person dies, the question arises whether it was a result of low *rlung-rta* or simply a timely function of the deceased person’s karma. If the former, then the survivors are in jeopardy because causes are afoot that can affect them as well as the deceased. If divination reveals that the victim’s karma had simply been used up, then that is a

the concepts of *sonam* (W. bsod nam) – “the accumulated karmic merit of a soul’s career” and *lung ta* (W. rlung rta) – “the state of a person’s worldly luck” (*ibid*). It is the *lung ta*¹⁶⁷ that seems to be targeted by the ‘formalities’ among beneficial acts. However, pedagogic practice discussed in this chapter, seems to be oriented towards karmic causes and effects (rgyu ‘bras), and the karmic merit (bsod nam).

DIRECT EXPERIENCE

Punishment, or some other rather unpleasant ordeal, like teasing, may have another facet – they bring about personal experience. The value attached to personal experience is manifest in the common use of evidentially-inflected verb forms in everyday conversations in Tibetan. I first realised this emphasis in Baby Home, where very young children were getting their first taste of Indian spicy snacks:

FIELDNOTES, BABY HOME, May 2013: A few days ago I saw Ama Dolma give the girl Namdrol a bit of an extremely spicy chilli biscuit brought by somebody from Delhi and prized by all the adults in Baby Home. The biscuit was offered after the girl picked up something from the kitchen floor and put it in her mouth. *Punishment!* (EN) Ama Dolma said in English, laughing. The girl was surprised with the taste but then put another bit in her mouth.

BABY HOME, May 2013: During lunch Ama Dolma puts some of the very spicy biscuits on the adults’ plates. A bit later, Ama Nyimdrol’s husband who joined us for lunch, shares his biscuits with two boys, just putting them on the boys’ plates. The children try and after a few seconds suck in the air to cool their mouth, just like adults who seem to take pleasure in very spicy food. After the first piece one of the boys looks at me and the man hesitatingly, but puts another piece in his mouth. The other boy (5), who goes out with his father almost every month during the “second Saturday” family outings, sucks in the air, smiles and says *shimbu du!* - [(it) is delicious!]. Adults laugh.

Obviously, in the matters of taste, the boy’s choice of verb was the evidential form *du* of the verb “to be”, used when the knowledge about the subject comes from personal

matter of each person’s own soul, and normal funerary observances are equal to the situation.” (Lichter and Epstein 1983:240)

¹⁶⁷ This theme was further developed by Giovanni da Col (da Col 2007), who wrote about Tibetan economy of merit and fortune and the resulting ‘evenemental perception’, where perspectives are also points of view on one’s karmic continuum – a view from *somnben*.

experience. Had he opted for the verb form “*re*” it would be apparent that what he said was common, general knowledge, something he learned from others and never experienced himself.

It is worth noting that the story of a yogic journey into the non-human realms I mentioned earlier, in line with the Tibetan attention to the aspect of evidentiality in knowledge, is also rendered in the form of an account of a direct experience of a witness, and emphasizes the inevitability of the karmic consequences of the deeds committed during the present and previous lifetimes. The only way these can be changed in through the dispelling of ignorance and the ensuing good conduct – through the doors of body, speech and mind.

THE THREE POISONS

Above, I discussed the conditions for a pedagogy targeting understandings, habits and outcomes within a karmic system of causation. Karma, however, is inscrutable, and, as Lichter and Epstein note in their contribution to the volume on anthropological inquiry into karma (1983), given the notorious human inability to see the future, complacency as to one’s prospects is dangerous (Lichter and Epstein 1983:237). This is clearly communicated by depictions of the gory torments and dire sufferings of beings who were reborn in one of Tibetan cold or hot hells – due to deeds committed out of three defilements (poisons).

FIELDNOTES, Dharamsala, May 2013:

I ask a Tibetan scholar about the gory stories and pictures in Tibetan children’s books and he tells me it is not a problem. Children should learn how it is. This teaches them good behaviour. He then tells me that someone has just uploaded a youtube video of the six realms of Buddhist hell and that he watched it with his six year old son. He was glad the boy saw it – it will convince him to do good. When he himself was a child in his village in Tibet, three days trek from the Nepali border, his parents used to tell him never to go near the precipices, saying “The devil will pull you down from the cliff edge”. *“I don’t know if there is a devil pulling people down or not, my parents probably believed it, but it stopped us from going near the edge anyway. (...) Actually, we don’t know that the spirits and ghosts exist, but we don’t know either that they don’t exist. So I think we Buddhists are closer to the truth, believing there are many spirits and ghosts out there.”*

IGNORANCE

Lichter and Epstein (1983) note a popular parable, various versions of which were also frequently told to children in TCV. In the tale, a Buddhist saint, on seeing a householder holding a boy on his lap while eating a fish and throwing a stone at a dog gnawing at the fish bones, declares that the fish, in its previous life, was the householder's father, the dog his mother and the child his worst enemy now wishing revenge (fieldnotes, also Lichter and Epstein 1983:234). Karmic seeds and their results may be too distant for sentient beings to grasp and yet the karmic prospects are vital for one's current and future lives and thus the issue of ignorance attracts a good deal of pedagogic attention.

Moreover, any given act (*W. las*) is a cause (*W. rgyu*) of multiple results (*W. 'bras*), with *rgyu* being a necessary substantive cause – seed - but with many special conditions contributing to and influencing its specific fruition. Therefore, “each event of a person's life has its whole complex history and that any little thing could have changed it” (Lichter and Epstein 1983:237). This is also significant in the light of the Buddhist doctrine of dependent arising, where sentient beings are conceptualised as evanescent phenomena-events arising from multiple, cooperating and sometimes co-dependent causes (see further discussion in *Chapter 4).

Another important aspect of this Buddhist philosophical view, and one particularly salient for the anthropological inquiry into possible kinds of personhood, is that the understanding of karma, predicated on the notion of causes (seeds) bringing results (fruit), brings forth the idea of actions (*W. las*) providing identity of each stream of cause and effect “which within a lifetime is an individual and across lifetimes allows people to identify with the supposed fates of their souls in other existences” (Lichter and Epstein 1983:236). Leaving the samsaric cycle of recurring re-births thus marks an end to a person – the mindstream continuing through different incarnations. Such a cessation is said to only be possible after the last karmic cause-result has been exhausted (cf. the Theravadin notion of *Saṅkhāra*

(Pali; Skt. *saṃskāra*), glossed as 'that which has been put together' and 'that which puts together'¹⁶⁸)

The question which sparked my discussion with a Tibetan scholar (above) arose as I was browsing through the printed materials made available to children aged 3-5 and 5-10 in the TCV's Infant Section and the Junior Section's libraries:

FIELDNOTES

INFANT SECTION LIBRARY, reading period, March 2013

As children assemble puzzles on small tables in the middle of the library room, I go through some Tibetan books on the shelves. The library must have been arranged specifically for 3-5 year-olds as only they have access to it. I take a book with only a little bit of text in it (in early-age reading Tibetan *ume* script) and big pictures telling the story. They show people in Tibetan dress - a young boy is fighting a hairy demon-man and rescues a princess – at the end of the book he cuts a magic tree and when he comes back home and opens the door he is horrified (and so am I) to see a pile of severed human heads with bloody eyes tumbling down on him. On the next page, his princess wife standing behind him is also headless, with blood dripping from her neck. In another book a wolf eats up lambs only to have his own belly cut open, with the picture showing blood streaming out from the character's corpse.

In the Junior Section library and in the Cultural library shared between Junior and Middle Sections (children aged 10 - 13/15) I also found numerous Tibetan and English-language versions of the many tales of *Aku Thonba* (W. *A khu bstan pa*) – the Tibetan bawdy and enlightened trickster, said to be an emanation of Avalokiteśvara, the bodhisattva of compassion (Deleg, Tashi, and Stuart 1999). His tricks and traps, often painful and cruel, but always targeting people's vices, were said to be lessons in good behaviour and therefore to be suitable for children to read. The use of poignant and shocking storytelling and depictions to teach morals, again, shows the value attached to direct experience, that should ideally be strong enough to leave a lasting imprint in the student's mindstream (cf discussion of *pakcha*, W. *bag chags*, in *Chapter 2).

¹⁶⁸ N. Ross Reat provides the following clues to a literal translation of the Pali term *saṃkhāra*: it is to be composed of the root verb 'to make' and the prefix 'well/completely' (Reat 1990:320).

DESIRE

Judith Butler in her *Subjects of Desire* tells us: “Desire is *intentional* in that it is always desire *of* or *for* a given object or Other, but it is also *reflexive* in the sense that desire is a modality in which the subject is both discovered and enhanced” (Butler 1987:25). Right after, Butler adds: “The conditions that give rise to desire, the metaphysics of internal relations, are at the same time what desire seeks to articulate, render explicit, so that desire is a tacit pursuit of metaphysical knowledge, the human way that such knowledge “speaks”.’ (*ibid*). At the same time, desire and aversion, both discussed in this section, are said to stem from our “deeper and more fundamental openness to the world (...) an openness to being sensuously affected and solicited by the world through the medium of our living body, and responding by attraction or repulsion” (Thompson 2007:29-30; for an existential analysis of such openness see Rapport 2004). As an anthropologist I need to attend to the fact that the forms of desire and aversion are constituted in specific intersubjective relations with others, and as such they take on particular historical shapes.

In this section, I focus on the ways in which the conditions that gave rise to desire were being shaped in a TCV Baby Home, the Infant classroom and later in school life of TCV children. I recognise that shaping these conditions required attention and effort on the part of care-givers and peers and that as such, these conditions were subject to a specific pedagogy. On the other hand, I don’t consider this perspective as nullifying Judith Butler’s stance on the reflexive aspect of desire – the desire in Baby House, being shaped in particular ways, did reveal and articulate the conditions that gave rise to it, and as such, provided an excellent insight into the anthropologically intriguing issues of the social world of sentient beings in which TCV children were growing up.

During morning break, when the older children were in school, the Mothers usually had their breakfast, sitting in a circle in the Baby Home courtyard. It was the time of the day when they could pay more attention to the youngest children in their care, toddlers. One day I recorded the following situation:

FIELDNOTES

TCV, BABY HOME, 21.06.2013

Baby Pelkyi has been crying (enraged) over something the boy TenTashi took from her. Ama Dolma calls Baby Pelkyi and extends a hand with a piece of sweet TCV bread – a treat, as it is a full slice. The girl comes nearer and is told to sit by Ama Dolma. Then Ama Dolma pretends to give Pelkyi the bread but at the last moment she withdraws her hand and puts the bread back on the plate. She does not look at Pelkyi and joins in the conversation with other Mothers. The girl patiently waits to be given the bread, but when Ama Dolma only pretends to give her the slice for the third time Pelkyi starts to cry. Ama Dolma puts the bread back on the plate. Pelkyi is crying. After a few seconds Ama Dolma soothingly says *ya ya ya* to the girl and gives her a tiny bit of bread. Pelkyi continues crying. Ama Dolma tears a larger bit (almost half of the slice) and puts it in Pelkyi's hand saying *Konta, konta (Sorry!)*. I watch mesmerized, but nobody else seems to be paying attention. Am I justified in thinking that the point was not to make a child unhappy, but to train self-control and resilience to obstacles?

A few weeks later, during another tea break I saw the same Mother give some of her bread to baby Pelkyi when she came to stand close to where the Mother was sitting. As usual, the Mothers had formed a circle in the courtyard, to enjoy their afternoon snack and conversation. As Ama Dolma gave Pelkyi a piece of her bread she pulled the girl closer and hugged her. She then pointed to the gate saying *Pelkyi-la amala pheap-sung! [Pelkyi (Hon.) mother has come!]*. Pelkyi did not seem to react, she was standing peacefully there, having her bread. The teasing was done without a smile and not for the other Amalas' benefit – again, no one seemed to be paying attention. Ama Dolma then let Pelkyi drink sweet tea from her own cup, which I knew was a sign of affection and care.

AVERSION/ANGER

Teasing was also often an integral part of another very direct experience – a fit of anger. As part of their strategy for dealing with a child throwing a tantrum, adults often used teasing and mocking to amplify negative emotions. Teasing out anger, with encouragement of excess and escalation were part of a more commonly used strategy. In May 2013, while copying the boy Ngawang's pictures from the Baby Home camera I discovered a 5 minute movie made by one of the Mothers, in which she was teasing Ösel. The girl (who was then almost four), was sitting in the Baby Home courtyard screaming, enraged. When I asked about it later, I was told that Ösel had been naughty as she peed in her pants while playing

and then did not want to either accept punishment or to apologise to the Home Mother who had to change and wash her clothes.

VIDEO RECORDING: BABY HOME, May 2013

Ösel is sitting on the concrete bench in the Baby Home courtyard, the baby Home Mother placed her in the centre of the frame. She is recording the scene openly, being active participant, talking to the girl as the scene unfolds. The girl has been screaming for full 5 minutes of the recording, she is visibly exhausted near the end. She stomps her feet and flails her arms, as if hitting someone, uncoordinated movement. She seems to pretend she's spitting (but does not). She never stands up, though. At some point she bends over and bites her own leg, which is greeted with exclamations of horrified amazement by the adults observing the scene. The girl screams again, furious. Throughout, the Mother keeps a running commentary on her behaviour and teases her to do more, to escalate: “ningjele!” [nice! (ironic)], “ama!” [oh, mother!], “WOW!” “jump, jump!”. The Mother also calls other Mothers to come and see the scene. At one point she intones a song the children have been learning at school – pretending Ösel is singing. Then she exclaims Pö rangzen! (Free Tibet!). [which is a common joke about a child's misplaced zeal]. Making fun. Tiring out. Asking others to witness and comment on the girl's behaviour.

The camera, in my understanding, was used to encourage reflexivity as the recording was to be shown to Ösel later. The Mother also included me, and my gaze, even though I was not present, by saying: *Kasia-la thukche-las!* “Say thank you to Kasia (Hon.)!” (I donated the camera) and right after that *Nantsö pugu nyingjele* (*Our children are so nice [ironic]*), this is accompanied by a hand presentation gesture. The video ended abruptly – the girl finally got tired, exclaimed *konta!* [*sorry!*], to which the Mother made an approving sound and turned the camera off.

Another experienced Home Mother taking care of children aged 5-15 in one of TCV residential Homes, told me that she also used this strategy with the youngest boy in the Home, Namdrol: “Namdrol-la [Hon.], when he came here he was sometimes getting angry [*lung lang* (W. *rlung langs*)], he would throw things and shout. At that time I let other

children imitate him, so that he could see how it looks. One child would do the same to show him, and after that he changed his habit.”¹⁶⁹

Emotions, as Vitebsky (1993:8) following Lutz (1988) reminds us, are seeing things in certain ways, i.e. patterned ways of seeing. The Home Mother used the term *lung-lang* [Wylie: *rlung langs*] to speak of the boy’s tantrums. The term *lung* (Wylie: *rlung*) can mean anger or wind, one of the three main elements in the humoral concept of the body balance in Tibetan medicine and a class of depression-like disorders connected with it. *Rlung langs* means “to get angry”, and *rlung ston/rlung bstan* - to show anger. *Rlung rkyal* means “short-tempered” and *rlung skran* designates a tumor caused by *rlung* disease.¹⁷⁰ But the term has also positive connotations, referring to the mythical Tibetan wind horse (*rlung rta*) which is typically depicted on Tibetan prayer flags as a porter of personal luck and fortune (see Lichter and Epstein’s discussion of the *rlung rta* (1983) above).

Bringing the gaze of others upon the raging child’s gaze, now obscured by acute and potentially harmful emotion (aversion/anger) is encouraging reflexivity between others and self, the ultimate judge. It is by looking at others look at self, that the nature of the defilement (poison) is revealed to the awareness¹⁷¹. But for it to be possible, the others must have become salient and their point of view worthy enough to be considered.

Alan Rumsey in his “Language, desire, and the ontogenesis of intersubjectivity” (Rumsey 2003) suggested that the roots of intersubjectivity may lay in the interplay of desire and recognition. In his investigation into the language-grounded ontogenesis of intersubjectivity, he postulates not only the inclusion of person markers and systems of spatio-temporal deixis associated with the person categories (following Benveniste 1971 and Hanks 1990) but also what he calls a ‘space of desire’: “in which speech-act participants

¹⁶⁹ Transcript of the English consecutive interpretation of a tape-recorded interview with one of TCV Home Mothers, August 2014. Interviews with Home Mothers were conducted in Tibetan and the analysis follows both Tibetan and English version of the responses.

¹⁷⁰ (Terms and translation after Goldstein, Shelling, and Surkhang 2001; and Chonjore and Abinanti 2003)

¹⁷¹ Martin Buber’s distinction between ‘primary words’ of I-Thou and I-It (Buber 2013:3), understood as signifying not things but intimate relationships (ibid), may offer an interesting possibility of capturing the nature of transformation of the I of the I-Thou relationship into the I of the I-It one. In situations described in the vignettes, I understand the transforming I in question to be that of the person called in to witness the fit of anger, which incapacitates the angry person’s ability to form the I-Thou relationship (primary word which “can only be spoken with the whole being”) and forces her into the I-It one (which “can never be spoken with the whole being.” (ibid)).

bump up against each other's wants and work to place them in relation to their own" (Rumsey 2003:183). Rumsey's argument is based on material derived from the socio-linguistic analysis of toddler and adult verbal exchanges, but, to my mind, it also sheds some light on the 'proto-conversation' (M. C. Bateson 1979) behavior I have described here. Via comparative language-acquisition material (toddler-adult exchanges in Japanese, Spanish, Catalan and Ku Waru) Rumsey suggests that children tend to master the imperative before they do personal pronouns, and that the linguistic categories of person and modality are closely connected within a reversible figure-ground relationship or 'perspective swapping' (Rumsey 2003:169). An important point made by Rumsey is that a child's subjectivity is being actively shaped through interactions with others:

"Whether, how, and to what extent Laplin or any other 15 month old Ku Waru child actually takes up and participates in these complex voicings of subjectivity and desire is a moot point. In line 16 Laplin does repeat the imperative form *wa* from the preceding utterance as I have pointed out. Has he thereby taken up his interlocutor's gambit and reanimated that imagined directive to Mawa in his own voice? That way of putting the question is, I submit, putting the cart before the horse: it is through interactions of this kind that infants are bootstrapped into learning what it is to issue a directive, and to have a position from which to reanimate the talk of others. By the end of their second year though, most Ku Waru children are engaging in dialogue which leaves little doubt that they have learned these lessons well." (Rumsey 2003:183)

Even more importantly, Rumsey concludes that through the children's engagement in such interaction routines, they learn what it is to want (or not want) something so specific, and sometimes so remote from the here and now as the thing they are being prompted to propose (or to ignore). These children, as he observes, will then come to take up as their own the style of personal interaction which is being modelled for them in such interactions and which they will come to feel in their bones as an aspect of their own self (Rumsey 2003:184). Ethnographic material from TCV, and especially from the Baby Home, which has been the focal point of this chapter, brings into the picture other types of interaction between children and between children and their carers, that may have an analogous 'bootstrapping' function, and that may be crucial to what the children will come to feel as their own – styles of interaction, subjectivities and, as I will argue in the following chapter, intersubjectivities.

IMPERMANENCE

Lichter and Epstein (1983) argue that in accepting the idea of the karmic law (causation), Tibetan Buddhists accept a specific idea of human happiness and the means of striving for it: “Yet they believe that the goods of the world are impermanent, that the impermanence of happiness is not only its limit but its negation, and that it is their need for the world that causes their unhappiness.” (Lichter and Epstein 1983:225)

As in the description of the core of the Wheel of Life representation, the desire/aversion and anger are really ultimately expressions of ignorance – an obscured state of mind making it attend to reality as if forms and appearances were stable and trustworthy. In *Chapter 4 I discussed the dependent arising of phenomena and how it played out in the daily school and after-school life. Here, I would like to illustrate ways in which impermanence of forms and appearances was made evident in Home and classroom activities in which the youngest children engaged. I see the practice of transient inhabiting of campus spaces and objects (beds, kitchen utensils, storage trunks and shelves), expressed by the metaphors of floating or streams (see *Chapter 4) as complementing the early-years education of desire, through waiting and not wanting badly. Impermanence was also constantly played out in youngest classrooms as the following examples demonstrate:

FIELDNOTES, TCV INFANT SECTION, March 2013: Yesterday in the library some children – those not able to read yet - were given wooden jigsaw puzzles. As soon as they finished they called the teacher. If two children finished at the same time, the teacher simply switched the puzzles – demolishing them as soon as they were completed. The children did not seem to mind.

(...) During playtime, I watch two children building with plastic building blocks. Yangchen, a girl from Baby Home and a staff-child boy are playing peacefully next to each other. There are just the two of them in the area and they have not been fighting at all. The girl is constructing a sort of platform with walls, the boy – a high tower. He now reaches for one of the walls of the girl’s platform and takes it. Yangchen has apparently just finished with her construction and she does not seem to mind him disassemble it at all. She takes a different toy within her reach.

Even though the children’s work (e.g. posters, short essays, artwork) were displayed in Infant, Junior and Middle Section classrooms – the Senior Section classroom décor being

a more self-conscious expression of the given class's stance (with visible emphasis on e.g. aesthetic, patriotic or scientific themes) – these were discarded after the end of each year. In everyday practice, the inherent impermanence of forms was thus part of classroom experience. I do not attempt to claim that Tibetan classrooms were by any means exceptional in this respect. I do, however, think it is worth noting that a casual way of approaching forms (creations) in a classroom may constitute a significant and meaningful direct experience for children. The degree to which such experience may be salient, and therefore significant and meaningful, will be related to the way in which it feeds into other salient and systematically (if done purposefully) occurring experiences, such as make-believe games, training in waiting, teasing out alertness and resilience etc.

THE MEANS AND AIMS OF PEDAGOGY

I would now like to turn to the means and aims of a pedagogy whose conditions and core assumptions were presented above. I want to argue that correct judgement was a main aim of many child-directed practices in TCV and that it was achieved through training in a particular idiom of intelligence – a life-long practice of joking, teasing and teasing out¹⁷², the groundwork for which seemed to be laid out in early make-believe games adults played with children. Let me now trace back this line of thinking by illustrating these three elements with ethnographic examples.

MAKE-BELIEVE GAMES

As mentioned above, I have been told on several occasions, by teachers, Home Mothers and parents (e.g. a Tibetan scholar quoted above), that the sometimes shockingly gory pictures in the children's books published by the official Tibetan press in exile had the value of showing the children "how it really is" – an image that is true to life, fostering proper understanding of the worlds' inner workings. However, despite the value ascribed to honesty, the representations of the world by adults to children were often purposefully misleading. On several occasions I saw teachers pretending they were going to call the child's parents or relatives when the child had been naughty. One of the teachers used such a make believe game when a boy could not stop weeping despite being hugged and cuddled;

¹⁷² The ironic distance described so compellingly in Lichter and Epstein (1983) seems to be another 'side' of this pedagogic stance.

another teacher - when a boy had been pushing someone in the group when they sat inside the circle and were meant to listen to the lesson. On both occasions teachers took out their phones from their pockets and pretended to call a number. One of the teachers also carried out a reassuring make-believe conversation on her phone, saying that the boy she was calling about had indeed been very good and not crying at all. The other teacher stopped short of “talking” on the phone when the child corrected his behaviour.

In Baby Home, such games were used by adults to gently elicit information from children or, interestingly, to offer them consolation through make-believe (fake) avenging of the injustice. This instance of consolation to the victim, quite unusual, may have been motivated by the recent arrival of the participating children – they were still in the early stages of settling into the new environment when the following situations happened:

FIELDNOTES, BABY HOME, May 2013: In the morning, when the older children are in school, we spread a big blanket on the floor of the courtyard and the newly arrived girl and boy are allowed to play with plenty of toys. Ama Nyimdrol brings out an old telephone (unplugged) and tells the new girl to call her mother (a sly way to learn about the child’s family!). The girl brings the receiver to her ear and then she shakes her head – *mindu* – she does not hear anything (evidential form of the verb to be – indication of personal experience). Ama Nyimdrol says, *du, du*, and tells the girl to say she is in India and is doing well (*kyakar la yo, debo yin*). The girl says this after Ama Nyimdrol into the receiver. It is all done good-naturedly, and the Mothers do not let the game reveal itself.

The younger boy (Jayang, 3), the girl’s companion, gets jealous and angry – he wants the phone. He throws a big piece of plastic building block so that it hits the back of the girl’s head really hard. The girl is crying loudly. Ama Dolma approaches and asks what happened. I show her the big block, she sees that the girl is holding her head. She bends over the boy and claps above his head and then slaps his hand (lightly), the boy starts crying with his head thrown back. Ama Dolma turns to the girl. Ama Nyimdrol comes and pats the boy gently on the cheek, consoling him, she takes him inside soothingly saying *sbö, sbö* (“there, there”). In the meantime, Ama Dolma consoles the crying girl, who is still sitting with her back to the boy (who is no longer there). She pats her face and tells her to spit in her palm. She then pretends to throw the spit in the direction of the boy, with a clap. She says that he has now been punished. Little Tashi is standing in the back and at that moment he says

mare, mare! – telling Ama Dolma that she missed the boy because he is no longer there (which she knows). She turns to me laughing, and explains Tashi gave away her ruse.

As mentioned above, in the Village libraries, among piles of children’s books published in Tibetan, children could find several different versions of illustrated collections of stories of *Aku Tonba*¹⁷³. *Aku* in Tibetan means “paternal uncle” and is freely used to refer to any young man, just as *acha* [older sister] is used to refer to any young (younger or same age as self) woman. Uncle Tonba is a well known and loved mythical Tibetan trickster. Playing funny, nasty and mostly bawdy tricks on people, he “cures” them from ignorance and its derivatives: pride, greed, conceit etc. As such, I was told, he is considered to be an emanation of the Bodhisattva of compassion, an enlightened being. Tricking thus becomes one of the skilful means of teaching the Buddhist values. Resisting being tricked necessitates independent thinking and fostering correct views resulting in correct actions. Together with teasing and mocking, it thus constitutes an idiom of intelligence and a means to self-safeguard moral conduct.

THE IDIOM OF INTELLIGENCE

As Baby Home babies grow up, their horizons expand beyond the Baby Home boundaries (see *Chapter 4). When they move to a regular Home, and grow from the youngest to be the oldest child, and later, when they move to either girls’ or boys’ hostel as rookies again on their way to become seniors, they are constantly teased – by adults and by peers. I see teasing in its different forms and guises - i.e. doing something that in fact means the opposite, and offering it without commentary – as part of an idiom of intelligence within the reflexive impulse formed between self and others. In teasing, the others’ gaze helps one to see and correct oneself, to change one’s habits. The following examples show how this worked for older students:

FIELDNOTES

TCV ANNIVERSARY, ATHLETIC MEETING, October 2013: during the boys’ race the runner representing the Yellow House finishes very late, trailing half of the lap behind the others. On his way to the finish line he is seriously urged by the House Master to run

¹⁷³ (a khu ston pa)

faster. When he crosses the last line the Reds and Greens (and his own House-mates Yellows) clap for him. He smiles – probably realising they do it with derision.

The Red House have the school prefect boy in their team – he is the best runner. He is very self-confident and after another successful race, when all the other runners lose their breath on the final few meters, he has enough stamina and verve to do more – he salutes his House while reaching the finish line first. They cheer for him, although he later tends to sit alone – boasting is indecent. Later, when a much younger Indian boy (from Class 6) from the Red House finishes his race first – he does the same gesture – and everyone laugh and cheer for him. He is too young to do it seriously, or to be taken seriously. However, when another Senior boy from the Red House starts the 1500m race by running too fast for the first two laps and makes a salute, the Reds react by shouting – *winner, winner!*, which to me sounds like jeering.

TCV MIDDLE SECTION IDOL CONTEST, September 2013: One of the contestants is clearly overdoing her act singing a Tibetan pop song in a shrill coquettish voice. The Senior students gathered in the big hall as a voting audience start cheering for her madly, to the extent that it starts sounding like a threat. The teenagers look at each other and exchange knowing smiles. One of the teachers later tells me she thought they didn't like the girl, making sure I understood the message.

Apart from resilience, teased out early on in life (see above) and intelligence, an effective use and resistance to tricks and jokes required the capacity to make independent decisions. Judgement and decision-making were therefore crucial and, as the following section will demonstrate, the space for it was made, and expectations for it extended even to babies.

JUDGEMENT

Sometime in August, after I moved on to another “unit” in the village and have become a visitor rather than a fixture in Baby Home, I met two Baby Home Mothers with the 2,5 year-old boy, Jayang, a newcomer. We have met in June, when he arrived and we spend some two weeks living side by side in Baby Home. Now, when we met outside the Infant Section classroom, the Mothers asked me to take the boy back to Baby Home: “*Shö las, Kasia la!*” (*Kasia, tell him “come”!*). I said encouragingly: *Jayang-la, shö!*, extending my hand, but the boy stayed put. He looked at me for a while and then turned towards the Mothers who pretended to be going in another direction. He decided to go with them. The Mothers

smiled at him and then at me. I was left with an impression that I have just been part of an exercise in independent decision-making.

By then I had witnessed similar trust shown to children as young as 1-2 year old, with similarly positive results and a display of self-control, several times during my fieldwork:

FIELDNOTES, TCV BABY HOME, June 2013: Ama Dolma is kneeling on the floor in the Baby playroom, bent over a large piece of cotton material. She has just taken measure for a dress. Now she is drawing on the material, which has been folded in half. Big and heavy scissors lie on the cloth. I come in with baby Pelkyi to put on her nappy. After she's been changed, Pelkyi goes to Ama Dolma and steps on the material. Ama Dolma lets a short sharp cry and the girl steps back and picks up a piece of paper and a pen lying on the floor. Ama Dolma has been writing measurements on the paper. She now takes it from Pelkyi, tears off a small post-it card with the measurement results and gives the rest back to the girl. Pelkyi sits down, close to Ama Dolma and her material and starts to draw on the paper. Dolma does not mind, as long as no one is moving the material she's trying to cut into a correct shape. She thinks about it and calculates in her head, drawing lines with a small piece of soap. Pelkyi is not restrained in her movements, she does not need to be moved to a different place and given baby stuff to do. She can be trusted not to cause trouble once she has been told she should not step on or move the material.

Early training in independent and responsible decision-making may lead adults trust even very young children once they have been told about the options, causes and effects in a given situation:

FIELDNOTES, BABY HOME, August 2013: Ama Migmar has brought Baby Thutsel to the Infant Section when she came to pick the children up after school. We both happen to be early and wait outside the classroom. The boy has just turned 13-months and he can stand on his feet but prefers to move on all fours. There is a small dog outside the class, waiting for one of the girls. Thutsel is mesmerized by the animal and starts to crawl in his direction. I squat down to hold the boy but Ama Migmar tells me to let him go. We watch him approach the dog. When he's just two metres away, Thutsel turns towards us and looks at his Baby Home Mother (one of 7), who nods her head and says *Khya-di dro, ani khya-di* [clapping gesture]! – “Go to this dog, and the dog will go [snap]!”. The boy turns towards the dog and looks at him intently for what to me seems like an eternity, but is probably just a few seconds. He's not moving any closer. The dog is sitting still, watching the boy.

The dog must have been one of the TCV dogs, born and bred. Ama Migmar could reasonably assume that the dog, having grown up among children, would probably not bite the boy. Still, she let the baby boy experience decision-making, learning about cause and effect and trusting a senior person's advice. The pedagogic strategy evidenced in the last vignette shows reliance on the independence of judgement in even very young babies. This is based on the belief that the children are able to muster attention to both recognize their carers and pay attention to them - this is ensured by early attention training. Secondly, babies have learned to trust other people's advice through repeated experience of the cause and effect mechanism that the carers ensure manifests itself in baby's daily life. And finally, babies themselves can, in some instances, be trusted to show correct judgement and control desire/fascination/aversion.

KARMA, HAPPINESS AND GOOD LIFE

“Considering how anthropologists like to approach things, it is no surprise that they have concentrated on ameliorative ritual and merit-making without investigating ethnographically those concepts of the good life and happiness which allegedly motivate such activities.” (Lichter and Epstein 1983: 223)

Lichter and Epstein (1983) see Tibetan notions of happiness and good life as marked with a “certain ironic distance” stemming from an understanding that suffering¹⁷⁴ arises from aspects and causes of happiness itself (Lichter and Epstein 1983:226). The term commonly used for pleasure, happiness or enjoyment in TCV is *kyipo* (W. skyid po), and it usually refers to the state of having good food and clothes, being in good health, being with friends and, as both material from TCV and that collected by Lichter and Epstein show – the pleasures of conversation and commensality (Lichter and Epstein 1983:229), which make human life so special in comparison to that of beings in other karmic realms - mute animals, suffering hell beings, ever hungry and thirsty *pretas*, jealous demi-gods and sterile and inert gods.

¹⁷⁴ Suffering (Tib. sdug bsngal) is the subject of the first of the Buddha's Four Noble Truths, with the three root sufferings being: the Suffering of Suffering (W. sdug bsngal gyi sdug bsngal), the Suffering of Change (W. 'gyur ba'I sdug bsngal) and Conditioned Suffering (W. 'du byed kyi sdug bsngal) (Lichter and Epstein 1983:226 also note 4 on p. 226)

In *Chapters [3] and [4] I discussed the issue of authority exercised over the bodies of TCV inhabitants through discipline (*chöpa*, W. *spyod pa*), understood as correct conduct. In a passage in *Chapter 3, I brought forward an analysis of discipline through the notions of naughtiness and bad temper used by TCV Home Mothers and teachers, where ‘naughty’ – *dri nye-po* (W. *sgrig nyes po*) would literally be translated as ‘wrong/guilty-order/arrangement’. Here I would like to draw on the ethnographic material hinting at the limits of the authority and responsibility expressed in the idiom of discipline and located within the karmic causation with which the practices described so far in this chapter seemed to be primarily concerned.

During the period of my intensive participant observation in the Baby Home (between March and August 2013), I witnessed a considerable attention and pedagogic effort focusing on a particular boy. By then, Tashi developed a reputation as the Baby Home troublemaker, with his misdemeanours punctuating almost every day. Baby Home staff response to the “chocolate tin crisis” was revealing in terms of the ideas about patterns of behaviour. Faced with the escalation of the problem, the staff eventually resorted to a policy of no-action. The Head Mother of the Baby Home explained the decision to me by saying that such consistent bad behaviour was beyond their pedagogic reach – it could not be “corrected”. In my understanding, she expressed a ‘parent’s’ helplessness at the fact of the bad/guilty order/arrangement – *chöpa dukcha* (W. *spyod pa sdug chag*) – ‘terrible behaviour’ and failure or limit of the discipline that could be channelled through and by the body (cf *Chapter [3]).

FIELD NOTES, BABY HOME, June 2013:

Tashi (four years old) has been naughty recently – on two consecutive days he made *baka* (*po*) in between beds in the bedroom upstairs, where he sleeps. He is told to apologise to the Mother who had to clean up (*Amala konta-las!*) and Mothers look at him without smiling, concerned. He does not apologize and so does not get the snack at 11 nor the afternoon treat (bread with chocolate spread). In the late afternoon children call Mothers into the TV room - they have discovered that Tashi had made a ladder out of the plastic stools and climbed onto the shelf (at the height of c 160 cm), opened a new chocolate powder box, pierced the lid and ate 1/3 of the powder inside. He is now standing in the middle of the courtyard, with chocolate smeared on his face and jumper. The Mothers are really concerned, they gasp, but do not scold him. Later, as the children sit at their tables

for dinner and start reciting their prayers, and Mothers bring in a big steaming pot of *thukpa* giving out a delicious smell, Ama Dolma picks Tashi, lifts him onto a high shelf and leaves him there. He will not get any food tonight. He will watch from above as others get to eat their noodles. Tashi begins to sob, Mothers and children look at him seriously and go about their business as usual. Ama Dolma tells the girl who has been entrusted with the camera today to make a picture of Tashi crying. Mothers tease him that he should be careful about the *tsi tsi* (mice) who like to run on the shelf. After dinner Ama Dolma tells me Tashi was left in the room on his own, and that is why his head went thinking about mischief.

Again, the camera was brought in as substitute or magnification of the gaze of others to encourage reflexivity. What was more interesting about the above situation, however, was its resolution. The next morning I saw Tashi eating chocolate bar with other Baby Home children as they went out to school in the morning. He had apologized and was “rehabilitated”. He also got snacks later and food with everybody. But as we walked back to Baby Home together, Ama Nyimdrol remarked that Tashi has recently been very naughty. All the staff in Baby Home seemed concerned about the difficult period the boy was going through and he was being watched and his behaviour commented on among adults in both Baby Home and his Infant Section classroom. As the situation was escalating, the senior staff members eventually made the decision to let the boy be and advised all the Mothers in Baby Home not to pay attention to his wrongdoings and not to punish him anymore. I was told there was a concern that the boy will become fixed in his bad ways and that he will ‘be spoilt’ (EN) beyond remedy.

Tashi’s quick rehabilitation may be understood in the light of another situation, concerning a much older boy in distress. The 17 year-old Jamyang, a former student of the Baby Home manager was brought to Baby Home from another TCV centre in Dehradun for holidays. The boy had a congenital disease that made him paralysed. His position had to be changed regularly in order to maintain good circulation and breathing. However, Jamyang could talk and was mentally fit. He could move his fingers slightly, so as to grasp a mobile phone, but could not move his head or body. He needed to be fed. I was told that the previous year the boy also came to stay in Baby Home, but that he eventually spent his holidays in the school’s hospital ward (he had been using bad language so could not stay in Baby Home with children). This year, on the day of his arrival, he announced that he did not want to come. The boy and Baby Home mothers assisting him on the journey finally arrived late at

night and the other Mothers stayed up to greet them. As the boy did not want to stay, after a flurry of phone calls it was later decided that he would be moved to the TCV Centre for Special Education in Chauntra, a two-and-a-half-hour drive from the TCV. All Mothers were aware that the boy's disease kills people in their teens. One later told me: "*He has now a year or two. It is a happy life – they just need to be happy. And he is not happy [here], so what can we do?*" As the fourteen Dalai Lama frequently stressed, the purpose of one's life is to avoid suffering and be happy. In the absence of an external judge, and with limited (as based on delusion) responsibility of others for one's behaviour and the others' limited capacity to correct one's wrong actions, both boys were ultimately left to their own choices and devices.

I came to see the early-years education in three poisons or defilements¹⁷⁵ of attachment, aversion/anger and ignorance as aiming to constitute the basis for independent moral judgement in the world where beings are implicated in the laws of karma but where these work pretty mechanistically and without an external judge or 'God's eye': "As Dharmaraja [Lord of Death] and his minions demonstrate again and again, no lies or pretences mitigate one's karma. One's life passes before one's eyes with every good and bad deed clearly delineated; karmic results arise accordingly." (Chagdud Tulku Rinpoche in Delog Dawa Drolma 2001:xii; cf Lichter and Epstein 1983: 235¹⁷⁶)

The ironic stance on happiness and unhappiness that Lichter and Epstein describe (1983) seemed to find expression in the attentive and vigilant pedagogic surrender I witnessed in Baby Home and in the moments where life was being markedly light – instances of good life. I find Lichter and Epstein's take on the Tibetan laypeople's notion of karma (vs the monastics views on it) and the ironic distance towards happiness it creates illuminating. But the material from TCV hints at yet another dimension of these 'folk' understandings – the co-opting of others in the effort to attain proper judgement and accumulation of

¹⁷⁵ See Lichter and Epstein 1983 for the discussion of the analogous notions of sin and pollution within two distinct systems of causation in Tibetan understanding of suffering and misfortune.

¹⁷⁶ Lichter and Epstein (1983) evoke a description of the Dharmaraja's court where the white and black pebbles symbolising good and bad deeds of the deceased are measured on the scales. The result of weighing may influence the next rebirth, but the good and bad deeds do not cancel each other out. Rather, their karmic consequences will manifest themselves in future lifetimes, and will have to be lived through.

good karma. In the next chapter, I will discuss the intricacies of such co-opting made available in the Tibetan language and in rules of polite talk and behaviour.

CHAPTER 6 ME AND YOU

“Now the meaning of the mantra has been explained in terms of the three Gates of Deliverance; but it is also explained as the “mantra of the three diamonds.” OM is the diamond of Body, and “the essence which is the diamond of the knowledge of Emptiness” indicates the Diamond of Mind – there is no difficulty with this. But the reason for classifying “I am...” as the Diamond of Speech is that the “self,” having no concrete referent, is only a verbal designation.” (Tsong kha pa¹⁷⁷, in Beyer 1988:36)

In *Chapter 5 I have started to build an argument, which in the present chapter will lead me to discuss subjects in an anthropological understanding of intersubjectivity. In her “Intersubjectivity as Epistemology” Christina Toren wrote: “it is the very specificity of intersubjective relations between particular persons that make them a proper focus for an anthropologist’s attention” (Toren 2009:130). Intersubjectivity, she notes, is central to anthropology as an epistemological project (*ibid*). In *I and Thou* (Buber 2013 [1937]) Martin Buber wrote about the ‘interpenetration’ of the perspectives of people involved in any interpersonal relationship, necessary for them to be capable of adopting the perspective of the other (Habermas 2015:11). Jürgen Habermas (Habermas 2015), in his exposition of Buber’s philosophy of dialogue, contrasts Buber’s approach with the mentalistic argument, according to which realising a relation between a first and a second person presupposes that the subject – capable of using ‘I’ – has already differentiated herself from another subject. This act of differentiation is possible due to “an antecedent epistemic relationship to self” (Habermas 2015:14) – the perception and identification of self as subject. For Buber, however, human beings are not primarily subject of cognition that first relate to themselves reflexively through self-objectification, but practical beings who need to enter into interpersonal relationships in order to “cope, through cooperation, with the contingencies of the objective world.” (*ibid*). People’s lives are said to be performed in the ‘triadic communicative relationship’ between a first and a second person communication about objects in the world. The phenomenon of self-consciousness is thus derived from dialogue, from ‘sharing in being’, where the subject becomes aware of herself performatively in an interpersonal relationship, by adopting the perspective of the other

¹⁷⁷ Tsong kha pa, *Sngags-rim chen-po*, P.6210, vol.161, 193.5.6.-194.3.2, in *Collected Works*, WA 129a - 130b.

towards self (Habermas 2015:15). Both Buber and Beata Stawarska (Stawarska 2009), on whose insights relating to dialogical phenomenology I will draw in the present chapter, postulate an egalitarian status of participants in a dialogue, and accept general existential premises (openness) of the subjects submitting themselves to the conditions of dialogue (language and communication). To an anthropologist, however, these are primarily ethnographic questions¹⁷⁸. I also realize that, since it was in the course of the analysis that the methodological problem of the assumptions underpinning the ethnographic vision (persons as subjects in inter-subjective relationships with each other) revealed itself, this thesis may provide only a partial answer to these questions, which would need to be further pursued through rigorous ethnographic engagement. The point I wish to make is that, as ethnographers and anthropologists, we can learn a great deal about the nature of the historical process of intersubjectively constituting oneself as subject in dialogue with others.

Work by Christina Toren (Toren 2014b, 2014a, 2011, 2009, 2007, Toren 2000, Toren, 1999, 1990, 1993) has cleared the way for the anthropological understanding of human organisms as actively constituting themselves, both in physical substance and structure (physical substrata of consciousness), and in what cognitivists would call ‘cognitive domains’ (Thompson and Stapleton 2009), and what to anthropologists is known as belief, worldview, being-in-the-world or webs of significance (or, indeed, culture). Since the notion of any sort of knowledge-, language-, or cultural ‘transmission’ has thus been rendered clearly inadequate in terms of understanding human engagement with our environment, we now can see the object of our inquiry as self-creating, self-organising beings, constituting the world as they are constituted by it - by living.

Recent developments of the enactive approach in cognitive science, concerned with cognition as grounded in the sense-making activity of autonomous agents - “beings that actively generate and sustain themselves, and thereby enact or bring forth their own

¹⁷⁸ As in Vitebsky (1993), where ethnographic method revealed the implications of the fact that dialogues between Sora mourners and their *sonum* (dead, glossed as Memories) were encounters of two persons within the flow of time - encounters which enabled a transference of perspectives in a relationship that was not complementary (simultaneous perceptions) but successive (where perceptions take place in succession): “The event which is perceived the second time [illness or particular kind of death] is a repetition of the previous event, but the first sufferer’s subjective perception has been transferred to you. Your present state is now the outcome not of your own, but of your attacker’s [*sonum*’s] past.” (Vitebsky 1993:202)

domains of meaning and value” (Thompson and Stapleton 2009; see also Maturana and Varela 1991), have demonstrated that the autonomy of such self-sustaining agents (“systems”) may not be predicated on their spatial boundedness. The self-producing autonomy known as *autopoiesis* (Maturana and Varela 1980; Varela, Maturana, and Uribe 1974), characteristic of living organisms, is important for the present discussion as it also marks a new phase of the systems theory, the most novel point of which is conceptualization of the autopoietic system and its borders (Ishii 2012). By virtue of this new understanding, the autopoietic self is considered to emerge through its movements, creating the borders of self and non-self¹⁷⁹.

In the present chapter, using an ethnographic account of the conditions of dialogue (language and communication) in TCV, I would like to critically engage with the premises that make us look at or beyond the individual person. *Chapter 5, in which I mentioned the phenomenologically-driven understanding of our openness to the world (Thompson 2007; Zahavi 2001) sets the scene for my present argument. Looking at Thutsel, an infant boy growing up in Baby Home, where I did a substantial part of my fieldwork, and at his older peers in the TCV Baby Home, Infant Section and beyond, I have noticed how a particular effort was put into the teasing out of attention to other people. I then drew on the findings of genetic epistemology to shed some light on the ethnographic material collected in TCV, through the understanding of passive vs active genesis and the particular understanding of the constitution of a subject (Thompson 2007).

Here I need to mention another non-anthropologist whose work paves the way for a particular understanding of the ethnographic material at hand. Based on his extensive work with infants, Colwyn Trevarthen, who from the 1970s studied video recordings of baby-mother interactions, famously noted: “Watching and listening to infants and toddlers I have come to the view that being part of culture is a need human beings are born with – that culture, whatever its contents, is a natural function” (Colwyn Trevarthen 1995:5). The emphasis Trevarthen seems to put on the concept of culture (explained as a medium, analogous to water for fish and air for birds), in fact may relate to the need for being with

¹⁷⁹ Ishii (Ishii 2012) describes the contribution of the Japanese intellectual tradition to developing the theory by linking it to German natural philosophy and Deleuzian concepts such as intensity and difference.

others. The next quote, in my understanding, captures the reasons and motivation behind human openness to others, and points to the need of looking at human behaviour at a scale bigger than individual and smaller than a group (i.e. a dyad¹⁸⁰):

“The essential motivation is one that strives to comprehend the world by sharing experiences and purposes with other minds, that makes evaluations of reality, not as a scientist is trained to do by experimenting to eliminate differences of understanding so reality can be exposed free of human attitudes and emotions, but in active negotiation of creative imaginings that *are valued for their human-made unreality*.”(Trevarthen 1995:5, emphasis added)

In the previous chapter, I also referred to the work of Alan Rumsey (2003) in tracing the intersubjective significance of early-age expressions of desire (mood and modality). Here, I would like to draw on another aspect of Rumsey’s argument, based on the observations of the pronominal constitution of a “subject” by the linguist Émile Benveniste. In the chapter “Subjectivity in Language” of his *Problems in General Linguistics* (1971 [1966]), Benveniste noted: “It is in and through the language that man constitutes himself as a *subject*, because language alone establishes the concept of “ego” in reality, in *its* reality which is that of the being.”(Benveniste 1971:224, original emphasis). For Benveniste subjectivity is a fundamental property of language emerging in the beings (*ibid*), as the echoed capacity of the speakers to posit themselves as a “subject”:

“Ego” is he who *says* “ego”. That is where we see the foundation of “subjectivity” which is determined by the linguistic status of “person”. Consciousness of self is only possible if it is experienced by contrast. I use *I* only when I am speaking to someone who will be a *you* in my address. It is this condition of dialogue that is constitutive of *person*, for it implies that reciprocally *I* becomes *you* in the address of the one who in his turn designates himself as *I*. (Benveniste 1971:224-225, emphasis added)

¹⁸⁰ I would like to thank Professor María Teresa Miró of la Universidad de La Laguna for bringing to my attention Colwyn Trevarthen’s seminal research on the infant-mother dyadic exchanges (Trevvarthen 1979, 1993, 1998; Trevvarthen and Aitken 2001; Aitken and Trevvarthen 1997).

It is thus the linguistic category of *person*, which in every language provides means by which ego and alter are indexically¹⁸¹ referred to in discourse that is said to be the basis of intersubjectivity (Rumsey 2003:169).

On the other hand, Alan Rumsey offers a poignant critique of the restrictiveness of Benveniste's view, and postulates that subjectivity, at least in language, rests on at least one other set of linguistic categories – mood and modality – “through which expressions of desire are indexically grounded even in the absence of explicit reference to the subject to whom it is to be attributed: the speaker” (*ibid*). Rumsey recognizes, however, that the biggest mistake of Benveniste was seeing subjectivity as grounded in any one area of grammar. Instead, he says, it may be more accurate to see different sets of functionally interrelated grammatical categories as playing a leading role in the shaping of subjectivity, and intersubjectivity, of the discourse participants.

In my presentation in the previous chapter I reversed the chronological sequence of Rumsey's argument, and proposed to start looking at intersubjectivity by an ethnographic exploration of the ontogenesis of a subject and desire/aversion/anger among children growing up in TCV. Here, I want to focus on the rules and actual use of Tibetan language. However, Tibetan pronouns, the markers *par excellence* of the linguistic category of person, do not convey the most interesting phenomenon of Tibetan grammar in this respect. In order to trace *person*, I also need to attend to other indexical dimensions¹⁸² along which different kinds of perspective swapping or perspective positing happened in everyday interactions of TCV inhabitants.

The issues I will explore in this chapter can be captured by the grammatical and semantic categories of question formation, use of honorific and non-honorific forms and the markers of evidentiality. However, to emphasise that I do not wish to treat language as if it were a separate domain of activity and to demonstrate the embeddedness of language

¹⁸¹ I understand this relationship as that modelled by the index-signs in the semiotic theory of Charles Saunders Peirce (in his sign-type trichotomy of icons, indices and symbols).

¹⁸² E.g. Vitebsky's analysis of the Sora dialogues with their dead revealed the significance of the aspects of patient and agent, conveyed by the sequential and gradual use of verbs enabling specific grammatical constructions: active (transitive and intransitive), middle (intransitive and grammatically enabling mutual identification, double patient) and passive (impersonal, where no patient can be specified; or passive, where an agent can be specified – revealed – through dialogue).

forms in anthropological investigation of behaviour, I need to start with one more vignette from my field notes. In my understanding, it highlights the link that exists between the pedagogical effort, consisting e.g. in teasing games played with children in a TCV Home, and the capacities of perceiving and co-opting others in the co-constitution of the self (the shaping of intersubjectivity/-ties) that find their manifestation in language.

TURNING TABLES

Tibetan grammar requires speakers asking questions to use the verb, evidentiality markers and honorific forms (never used for oneself) that can then immediately and without transformation be used by their interlocutors. It thus forces the speakers to reflect on the situation from the other's perspective. The strength of the reflexive impulse became apparent on one winter afternoon in Baby Home:

FIELDNOTES, TCV BABY HOME, December 2013: In the afternoon I pop in for a visit to the Baby Home. The children are drawing in the courtyard, according to the weekly schedule. I sit among them and chat to children and the Home Mother who is handing out paper and crayons from a big plastic box. Tashi (4,5 years) puts his plastic stool – now turned a drawing table – near me, in the middle of the group, and crouches next to it. He tells me he will draw *kbang –ri* (“snow mountains”). He asks me which colours to use, I gesture that it is up to him. He picks a colour up and confirms with me that it is ok. *Ri* (mountain, in black) + *nyingma* (sun, in yellow) + *kbang* (snow, in silver crayon). He draws a mountain (sharp, craggy edges) very close to the bottom of the page and the sun down below them. Only after he draws *mi – a person* and I ask him to draw *shamo – a hat* (I point to the small square he drew below the little man and ask *Di kbare- re? Shamo kawa-du? - “What’s this? Where is the hat?”*), I realise that the whole picture is being drawn upside down. He drew from my perspective – substituting his bottom of the page for my top.

Even though I have recorded just one instance of such perspective shift in drawing (and I have not had the opportunity to design a task that could confirm that it constituted a pattern in children's behaviour in TCV) I find it significant and revealing. Tashi's case has already been described in the previous chapter, where I noted that during the first period of my intensive participant observation in the Baby Home (between March and August 2013), I witnessed considerable attention and pedagogic effort focusing on the boy.

In the drawing case, the boy had spontaneously extended and shared the drawing situation with me, even though I had not made any attempt to join in the activity, apart from sitting among children who were drawing each on a separate make-shift desks (stools), using separate pieces of paper and a set of crayons they each chose and kept by their desk. Tashi actively engaged my attention and subjectivity by drawing the sun, mountains and the little person on his picture upside-down, i.e. from my perspective. In this way, he may have also expressed his respect towards me, a friendly adult and a foreigner, by engaging in the perspective shift and offering the drawing for me to see instantly¹⁸³. This significant aspect of Tibetan sociality will be discussed in more detail in this chapter.

Perspective inversion

The analysis of pronoun and verb usage is especially important as these two grammatical categories are inextricably tied to the framework anthropologists use to address the problem of person and as such, may dictate the ways in which we are willing, or able, to see others as persons. Here I suggest we should pay attention to the actual use of language in the daily interactions between children as peers and between children and their minders, with the prescriptive grammar rules seen only as a background for elucidation of the internal logic of the Tibetan language treated as a system.

When describing Tibetan grammar I will mostly use the textbook published in English and Tibetan by the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives in Dharamsala, located very close to my field site, within the Tibetan hub of McLeod Ganj. *Colloquial Tibetan: A Textbook of the Lhasa Dialect* (Chonjore and Abinanti 2003) has proved extremely helpful in clarifying the subtleties of the variety of Tibetan used by most people in TCV. Even though its title indicates focus on the central Tibetan variety from Tibet's capital city, it seemed to mirror accurately the everyday language spoken by teachers, Home Mothers and children in TCV¹⁸⁴.

¹⁸³ This was suggested by Professor David Germano, personal communication, August 2015.

¹⁸⁴ Even though Chonjore's textbook reflected the spoken variety of Tibetan language used by the Tibetan participants in this study, and proved to be of much more practical use in the field than the better known, monumental *Manual of Standard Tibetan: Language and Civilization* by Nicolas Tournadre and Sangda Dorje (Tournadre and Rdo-Rje 2003), I will also use the latter to elaborate on some of the aspects of the Tibetan grammar.

In their textbook Tsetan Chonjore and Andrea Abinanti (2003) explain the basic rule of question formation in spoken Tibetan by splitting the possible questions into three categories, depending on the “person of the subject in the question-answer pairs” (p. 24): 1) question in the 2nd person/answer in the 1st person; 2) question in the 1st person/answer in the 2nd person; 3) question in the 3rd person/answer in the 3rd person. Let us look at examples of all three types:

Q: “Who are you?” *Khyerang su: yin?*¹⁸⁵

A: “I am Tashi.” *Nga Tashi yin.*¹⁸⁶

The verb “to be” in question is given in the form used for 1st person singular/plural in affirmative sentences - (*yin*). The same verb form can then be used immediately by the addressee of the question – in his affirmative “I am Tashi.”

Q: “Who am I? Do you know me?” *Nga su re? Ngo she-gi du-gue?*¹⁸⁷

A: “You are Tashi.” *Khyerang Tashi-la re.*¹⁸⁸

Even though the subject of the question is 1st person singular, the verb “to be” is in the form normally used for 2nd and 3rd persons in affirmative sentences. The second question uses the attestative verb form *du*, indicating the expectation that the speaker has first-hand knowledge of the thing that is being talked about (see modes of evidentiality below). The addressee, again, is able to use the verb form provided in the question for his answer. The honorific particle *-la* is added to the name.

Q: “Who is he?” *Khong su re?*¹⁸⁹

A: “He is Dawa.” *Khong Dawa-la re.*¹⁹⁰

The verb “to be” can be used in the same form for both question and answer.

¹⁸⁵ (W. khyed rang su yin?)

¹⁸⁶ (W. nga bkra shis yin)

¹⁸⁷ (W. nga su yin? Ngo shes kyi ‘dug gas?)

¹⁸⁸ (W. khyed rang bkra shis lags red)

¹⁸⁹ (W. Khong su red?)

¹⁹⁰ (W. Khong zla ba lags red)

Just as in the example of Tashi drawing the snow-capped mountains, here again the tables keep turning, even in most basic and colloquial interactions, because the form of the factive verb used in the question always anticipates the form of the factive verb used in the answer. Such perspective switching was an obligatory element of question-making and as such, had to be mastered early in life. Children practiced this in their everyday interactions with peers and adults, but it was also a subject of formal instruction in the first years of school life, in both Infant (ages 3-5) and Junior (ages 6 – 11) Sections.

Honorific and non-honorific forms

Discussing the basic Tibetan pronouns Chonjore and Abinanti (2003) state unequivocally:

“Although there is a distinction between honorific and non-honorific forms with second and third person pronouns, this distinction does not occur in the case of first person pronouns. There are no first person honorific pronouns because one does not use an honorific form for oneself. Gender distinctions are made only in the third person non-honorific form. Though it is correct to use the non-honorific pronouns [khyod rang] when talking to a second person and [kho] or [mo] when talking about a third person, one will find that if respect is given to the addressee i.e. [khyed rang/khong], their response will be reciprocal.”(Chonjore and Abinanti 2003:7)

Politeness, evidenced in offering the verb form to the addressee for them to be able to use it immediately in their answer does not preclude the necessity of other labour-intensive transformations on the part of the addressee. The most frequent polite question “Are you well? (How are you?)” in Tibetan includes the verb form for the 1st person that can be ‘recycled’ by the addressee, but it also obligatorily uses the honorific form of the noun “body” – *kusu* (W. sku gzugs). The addressee cannot possibly use this honorific form in their self-referential answer. They need to use another form of the “body” – *sukpo* (W. gzugs po). In other polite question-answer exchanges, the same honorific-related obligations may extend not only to nouns, but also to verbs (e.g. in the very polite version¹⁹¹ of the question about somebody’s name).

¹⁹¹ (Tournadre and Rdo-Rje 2003:446-449) offers a concise account of Tibetan honorific register (*shesa*), including examples of different types or degrees of honorific forms.

It should be noted here that Tibetan dialects vary considerably, to the extent of mutual incomprehensibility. For example, one of the pronounced differences between two major dialects – that of the U-Tsang and the Amdo provinces, that was pointed out to me repeatedly during my fieldwork, was their radically different approach to the use of honorifics. In the continuum of the degrees of polite talk (Tib. *shesa*), people from Amdo were held to be almost completely ignorant of the use of elaborate polite language forms, including different noun, pronoun and verb forms as well as different grammatical structures for expressions performing the (different degrees of) humilific/ordinary¹⁹² (self-referential) or honorific (referring to the addressee) functions. People hailing from Lhasa, the main city of U-Tsang and the centre of administrative power in the pre-1959 Tibet, were considered to be *shesa* experts.

In previous chapters I have already mentioned that the polite and respectful particle *la* (W. *lags*) was frequently used between adults and children in TCV Homes and classrooms. In Baby Home, as a rule, all the children were addressed with their proper names followed by this honorific particle and the manager told me it was a conscious decision and deliberate effort on the part of Home Mothers. In conversations between Mothers the particle *la!* used as a polite acknowledgement that one has been addressed and is willing to engage in further interaction was often colloquially pronounced: *lo:!* (W. *glo'o*). In some Homes the Mothers used polite language when talking about their daily routine, e.g. using the honorific noun form for “food” (*shela* W. *zhal lag*, Hon. vs. *kala*, W. *kha lag*). Honorific noun-forms were always used when offering food and drink to guests. When the same food was served to the hosts, or among close friends the non-honorific nouns were preferred. When children in Baby Home were urged to wash their hands, the Mothers tended to use the honorific form of the noun “hand” *cha(k)* (W. *phyag*, vs. *lakpa* W. *lak pa*). The politeness expressed through dyadic honorific – non-honorific noun and verb forms was thus very much part of the fabric of daily life for children and adults in TCV. It was not a distinct domain reserved for special occasions. Correct understanding and use of honorifics was an important part of linguistic competence and older students were often shy to speak to e.g.

¹⁹² (Tib. *kha kyuma*, *skad dkyu ma*)

high-rank Tibetan guests in school, worrying that they would not be able to use honorific register well-enough.

Evidentiality

Evidentiality is said to be grammatically encoded in all modern Tibetan vernaculars, but with different degrees of complexity (Zeisler 2000; Davis, Potts, and Speas 2007; Garfield, Speas, and Villiers 2013; Koring and De Mulder 2014). Since Tibetan evidentials are distinctive forms of the copula (auxiliary verb), and a form of the copula or verb of existence is the main verb of most Tibetan sentences, evidentiality choices have to be made with virtually every Tibetan assertion or question (de Villiers et al. 2009:32). The modes of evidentiality in Tibetan grammar manifest themselves mainly through the use of attestative or non-attestative forms of auxiliary verbs. Combinations of these can indicate a different source of the knowledge ascribed or claimed by the speaker. The verbs signal categories of evidential reckoning, they indicate direct (first-hand) or indirect knowledge of the speaker. Tournadre and Dorje (2003) capture the attestative evidential modes under the rubric *mediatory* (mood): “Mediatory moods are conveyed by auxiliary verbs (or copulas) and have the role of specifying the source of information that provides the authority for the speaker’s statement.” (Tournadre and Rdo-Rje 2003: 491, see also pp. 110 - 111; 164 -169). They distinguish four basic moods: egophoric, testimonial, assertive and inferential.

The assertive mood (expressed through the auxiliary verbs *re* or *yo:re*) conveys the message that is considered to be a general truth and to be certain. The speaker is also making it clear that they have not personally witnessed what they are saying. The testimonial or “sensorial” verb form *du* is reserved for things that the speaker has personally observed – the evidence here is derived from the senses: sight, hearing, taste, touch (e.g. pain) etc. The egophoric mood expresses personal knowledge or intention of the speaker. It is conveyed by the auxiliary verbs associated with the 1st person only (*yin, yö, chung, -nyong, go*), which can be the subject, object or complement of a given sentence – it thus marks a special personal connection or emphasis. The inferential mood is reserved for conclusions or inferences

drawn from the traces or the present results of the past actions – still treated as definitely factual¹⁹³.

Garfield, Speas, and Villiers (2013), commenting on the Lhasa dialect, see the Tibetan evidential system as comprising three categories: direct evidence, indirect evidence and ego evidence (immediate reflexive knowledge). They claim that evidence is not a semantic primitive and that what evidentials encode is not only evidence type or information source, but relations between situations (Garfield, Speas, and Villiers 2013). It is perhaps important to note that the classical literary Tibetan does not normally represent evidentiality, and the evidential system of the modern literary language is significantly less rich than that of spoken dialects (*ibid*).

The most intriguing feature of the attestative auxiliary verb pairs of *yö* (W. yod) and *du* (W. ‘dug), and *yin* (W. yin) and *re* (W. red) is their capacity for perspective marking. Their use makes it clear that there is an attestative personal or impersonal evidential relationship on the part of the speaker (in affirmatives) or the addressee (in questions) and that often it is this relationship that takes centre stage in the given utterance. Let us consider two examples:

“There are two letters for me today” *dering nga(r) yige nyi du*.¹⁹⁴

The 1st person is here accompanied by the verb form *du*, instead of personal verb *yö*. This shifts the emphasis from the subject “I” to the object “two letters”.

You had a good pair of binoculars. [as I recall] *Khyerang-la kyang shel yakpo-chi yö*.¹⁹⁵

Here, the 2nd person pronoun is accompanied by the personal verb *yö*, associated with the 1st person, which means that the speaker wishes to emphasise personally recalling the event, their personal association with the topic of conversation. The emphasis on the perspective and its shifts thus reveals itself as an important and salient feature of Tibetan language. Let

¹⁹³ For an overview of evidentiality markers in different Tibetan languages see (Zeisler 2000)

¹⁹⁴ (W. de ring ngar yi ge gnyis ‘dug)

¹⁹⁵ (W. khyed rang la rkyang shel yag po cig yod) Both examples used by Chonjore and Abinanti (Chonjore and Abinanti 2003:129)

us consider one more example from the brilliantly un-systematic but uncannily accurate *Colloquial Tibetan*:

“From the Tibetan perspective, when one is retelling a dream, the use of the personal pronoun [nga] ‘I’ does not refer to *oneself*, but it refers to the [nga] ‘I’ in the *dream*. Understanding this point of view, one sees how the pronoun [nga] ‘I’ actually represents a third person, not a first person in such contexts. The same holds true when talking about oneself in a picture or on the radio/TV.” (Chonjore and Abinanti 2003:130)

As Franz Boas famously stated (1938): “the grammatical pattern of a language (as opposed to its lexical stock) determines those aspects of each experience that must be experienced in the given language.” (Boas 1938: 127 in Severi 2014). Tibetan speakers in TCV were clearly forced to attend to the evidentiality aspect of the things they wished to communicate. The use of evidential moods and the auxiliary verbs that conveyed them – the multitude of perspectival shifts and subtleties of personal stance or distance they carried seemed to be as revealing of the subject, subjectivity and intersubjectivity as the pronoun-based or deictic indexical relationships discussed earlier.

FIELDNOTES, TCV Middle Section, November 2013:

10:30am. 8G have finished their PE period outside but as Sonam, the “scout” they send to check whether the teacher is in the class, shouted through the window “Gyenla mindu!” - “The teacher is not here” [use of evidential auxiliary verb *du*+Neg, meaning “I have seen it myself”], they stay on the football ground – sitting on the step on the opposite side, chatting, reading books etc. After some time Sonam calls out from the classroom window: Eight G *tsintra yar pe shö!* – 8G come (up) to class!

FIELDNOTES, Baby Home, July 2014:

On my short visit to Baby Home I play with Pelkyi-la [now three and a half]. A week ago I initiated a game with Thutsel and Pelkyi – they give me imaginary food and I say *thukchenang* - “thank you” and pretend to eat it. Then I exclaim *ka tsapo!* “my mouth is hot!/It is spicy!”, and suck in the air as if I ate something hot and they offer me (invisible) water, which I again politely accept. I had the impression that they were both a bit surprised with the game at first, but now Pelkyi-la initiates it herself, even though we have not played it for a few days. Today, another small girl, Choeyang-la joins us. Pelkyi actually starts with

saying *nga Ama Drolkar jin* “I am Mother Drolkar”, repeating it when she sees me. A boy, Karma Pema Dorjee-la denies: *ma re! ma re! Pelky re!* “You are not, you are not! You are Pelkyi!”. I smile and ask if Pelkyi is indeed Ama Drolkar and she confirms and then switches on to the imaginary food game. She even prompts me *ka tsapo du!* “mouth is hot!” (evidential du, direct experience). Choeyang is offering me invisible momo dumplings – I ask *shimbu du-ge?* “Are they delicious?” (implying direct experience) and she says *shimbu yo-re!* “They are delicious”. But then she corrects herself using another evidential verb: *shimbu-du!*

FIELDNOTES, TCV, October 2013:

When I go back home via the steps near White House I am stopped by Nyudon-la – ex-Baby Home girl who has moved to the new Home a few months ago. We play with my ring – one of us hides it in one of closed fists and the other has to guess where it is. I initiate the game. Nyudon-la uses the verb *yör* (yo-re) – a non-attestative form (vs attestative du) – when she playfully asks me *kawa yör?* “Where is it?”. She knows I cannot know where the ring is – I am only guessing. She is nearly 5. She just laughs when she cannot guess where the ring is when it is her turn.

De Villiers et al. (2009) described the challenges that evidential system in Tibetan presents to the development of language competency for Tibetan-speaking children. The team looked at the children’s understanding of the syntactic and semantic properties of evidentials, and their competence in the point-of-view shift required for the use of evidentials in questions (de Villiers et al. 2009: 29). Evidentiality markers in Tibetan follow the perspective-shift rule that has been discussed above for question and answer exchanges¹⁹⁶. When an evidential is used in a question, there is a point-of view shift from speaker to listener. In a question, the speaker anticipates the use of the evidential by their interlocutor - the evidential that one presumes to be honest (felicitous) given the interlocutor’s epistemic state (i.e. expectation as to the availability of the evidence, the form in which the evidence presents itself to the addressee). When the question contains an evidential that does not correspond to the addressee’s type of evidence, they must respond

¹⁹⁶ In fact, I find it difficult to distinguish two separate rules in this operation as the verb choice for questions and answers is based on their evidential ‘load’.

by using the correct evidential in reply, otherwise the answer would be considered incorrect and unacceptable (de Villiers et al. 2009:34-35).

When analyzing the conditions that make it possible for children to grasp evidential moods in Tibetan, de Villiers et al. note:

“*dug* [verb form indicating direct evidence] does not carry the information that the subject under discussion is currently visible to both speaker and hearer, but rather that the speaker has (perhaps in the past) direct perceptual evidence for what she says. As a result sometimes the speaker uses *dug* when the subject matter of the sentence is not perceptually available to the child, or fails to use *dug* when the evidence is in plain sight to the child but not to the speaker. To achieve mastery, the child must attend to what a speaker can see or could have seen. This information is what is pertinent to the meaning of *dug*, and not the child’s own perceptual access, or speaker certainty or uncertainty.”(de Villiers et al. 2009:35-36)¹⁹⁷.

What follows is that in order to understand *dug* as a direct evidential, children have to grasp it as part of a system of evidentials encoding source information. They also have to contrast its meaning with that of other evidentials, e.g. the inferential or indirect evidentials. This means that children need to represent quite a substantial portion of their language’s evidential system, because without the contrast between “correlative members of the system” (*ibid*) the correct meaning of the evidential cannot be grasped.

Based on a series of task-based experiments designed to test different age-groups of Tibetan children, de Villiers et al. (2009) conclude that the full system of contrastive evidentials is not available to them until quite late, long after the preschool years. They found that Tibetan children aged six to ten took evidential morphemes not to be deniable, that is, not contributing to the truth value of the sentence, but at the same time that these children were not led by the evidential posed in a question, but based their answers on their own judgment of the situation presented in the task. The tasks also showed that children in this age range were competent in inference tasks that involved an assessment of what

¹⁹⁷ The paper also includes detailed account of a series of connected experimental studies testing the children’s ability to understand and use evidentials. The studies were carried out in a Tibetan primary school in a Tibetan settlement in Mundgod, India, i.e. in a linguistic situation resembling that of the present study participants (where Tibetan coincided with Hindi, English and other Indian local languages). De Villiers et al. follow the developmental paradigm of language acquisition, detailing the sequence of stages involved in developing listener’s and speaker’s linguistic competence.

people can know in a situation. Quite crucially for the present analysis, de Villiers et al. concluded: “The fact that this system is not mature until around ten years of age and the fact that inference is a general-purpose capacity together suggest that the mastery of evidentials does not develop simply through linguistic maturation but recruits cognitive resources *from outside the linguistic module.*” (de Villiers et al. 2009:44, emphasis added)

The ubiquity of all of the ‘table-turning’ linguistic operations in daily life suggests that the constitution of a subject, the topic that I started to develop in the previous chapter, occurs through and along these dynamic shifts of perspective. The philosopher Beata Stawarska (2009) persuasively made a case for such polycentric perspectival configuration of experience situated within the shared world, highlighting the importance of a joint analysis of the interrelated notions of person and special deixis (e.g. speech dependency on “I” – “you” pronouns and “here”-“there” demonstratives).

The quote from the famous 15th century Tibetan scholar Tsong kha pa, the founder of the Geluk tradition of Tibetan Buddhism (headed by the Dalai Lama), explaining the need to classify “I am...” as the Diamond of Speech in the quote opening this chapter¹⁹⁸ (because of a recognition that the “self,” having no concrete referent, is merely a verbal designation) suggests that such an approach may not be alien to the Tibetan Buddhist thinking. The Buddhist teaching of Śāntideva (*Compendium of Trainings*) pushes this point further, postulating the rejection of a categorical distinction between self and other as being radically different and understanding that self and other are mutually dependent:

By becoming accustomed to the equality of self and other,

the spirit of enlightenment becomes firm.

Self and other are interdependent.

Like this side and the other side of a river, they are false.

The other bank is not in itself “other”;

In relation to someone else it is “this bank.”

¹⁹⁸ cf *Chapter 3 for explanation of the doors of the body, speech and mind.

Similarly, “self” does not exist in its one right;

In relation to someone else it is “other.”

(Śāntideva *Śikṣā-samuccaya*¹⁹⁹ in Tsongkhapa 2004:54)

Tsong kha pa, commenting on this passage reaffirms this radical, discursive and dialogical stance, by stating that self and other are “merely posited in relation to a particular reference point and do not essentially exist.” (Tsongkhapa 2004:54)

DIALOGUE AND THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL INHERITANCE

What makes it important to scrutinize the phenomenological inheritance of anthropological take on intersubjectivity in the present case is a pivotal issue of consciousness, and its representation as self. The ethnographic material from TCV includes explicit and implicit claims and clues about mind (an ethnographic category, *Chapter 2) as “mindstream”, capable of transcending bodies as incarnations, and of accumulating imprints (*pakcha*). The Buddhist view in the background is that of a stream or string of mental states succeeding one another, and of self as an illusion that can be experientially grasped and thus transcended (cf. *samatha*, the *botthisattva* ideal). Such view is akin to that of Hume’s conception of the mind as “successive perceptions” lacking any centralized core self (Hume 1967 [1739] in Stawarska 2009:40).

But the project of transcendental intersubjectivity – initiated by Husserl and backed by much of the phenomenological thought ever since, consisted in looking for phenomenological evidence and ways of validating the transcendental *I*. It would be useful, therefore, to make explicit some of the tacit assumptions about the features of *I*, as they were recently explored by the dialogical tradition in philosophy and phenomenology.

This extended quote from Beata Stawarska’s *Between You and I: Dialogical Phenomenology* (2009)²⁰⁰ perfectly summarizes the rationale behind paying special attention to the use of

¹⁹⁹ Vaidya, P.L. 1961. *Śikṣā-samuccaya*. Darbhanga:Mithila Institute (p. 191)

²⁰⁰ Stawarska (2009) offers a nuanced and thorough examination of the underlying agendas that shaped Kantian and, notably, Husserlian take on pure consciousness, the shift towards the nominalized use of the Latin-derived *ego*, the *I* used as a substantive and thus a label for transcendental subjectivity and the arising of the transcendental, individuated subject in phenomenology. In her critique of the ‘ego-centric’ tradition in phenomenology she draws on e.g. Derrida (1973), Gurwitsch (1979), Strawson (1958) and Wittgenstein (1960).

pronouns and their related verb forms in the ethnographic material collected from children in TCV:

“Consider that first- and second-personal pronouns differ pragmatically from nouns, even though it may seem *prima facie* that *pro-nouns* are mere substitutes for nouns (...). “I” and “you” enact the speaker and the addressee roles in discourse, that is, they do not simply name extradiscursive entities but introduce discursive participants for the first time. Once the shift from the ordinary language to *transcendentalese* occurs, this original pronominal function of indicating the speaker (and the addressee) becomes overshadowed. Specifically, the word “I” gets construed as a label for a stable referent, typically, although not necessarily, an ineffable mentalistic subject. To use Husserl’s categories, an essentially *subjective and occasional* expression gets misconstrued as an *objective* one. As a result the “I”/”ego” ceases to be regarded within its native communicative ground and appears rather as a label for a discourse-neutral referent.” (Stawarska 2009: 22-23; original emphasis)

Stawarska (2009) noted that phenomenological approaches (and an egocentric tradition in classical phenomenology) “had neglected to explore in sufficient depth the communicative structure of experience, in particular the phenomenological importance of the addressee, the inseparability of *I* and *You*, and the nature of alternation between them” (Stawarska 2009:ix). She suggested that the I-you connectedness extends beyond discursive experience, and encapsulates the “deep dialogical dimension of meaning in prelinguistic and extralinguistic life” (*ibid*). Stawarska also pointed to the individualist bias in classical phenomenology, privileging first-person subjectivity “over against communal relationality”, which caused it to neglect the I-you connectedness (Stawarska 2009: ix - x). The reduction to “the I” produced a novel conception of the person as a repository of inner private events accessible by means of first-person insight. Such understanding of personhood, modelled on the ideal of apodictic knowledge gained via intuitive insight was to lead to an exclusion of second-person relatedness, and a forgetting of the inseparability of *I* and *you* (Stawarska 2011: 4).

Radical solitude

Alfred Schutz, commenting on Husserl’s theory of the Other (Schutz 1973:194-197) notes that for Husserl the problem of the Other could only be explained as a relationship between

transcendental subjects, assuming the plurality of transcendental egos in an intermonadic universe. The Other here is not experienced “in the modus of self-giving but by permanent reference to my objectified I within my primordial sphere (...) my appresentation indicates that his body is always in the center of *his* absolute “Here”, whereas his “Here” remains for me always a “There”. (...) From the appresentation of the other I, starting from the Other’s body, I arrive by additional appresentations, by empathy (*Einfuehlung*) to the grasping of the Other’s mental and psychical life of a higher order.” (Schutz 1973:196) Ortega y Gasset (Ortega y Gasset 1957) is even more radical, stating that the I finds its reality in its immanence – the radical solitude of I’s personal life, with the Other’s human life being only hypothetical, a second-degree reality. The Other’s appresented I is a “*quasi*-I, transcending my own and merely com-present but never present to me” (Ortega y Gasset 1957 in Schutz 1973:143). Therefore, in spite of the common environment established by the Other’s capacity to co-respond with the personal I, the Other’s reality remains inaccessible, and the common world in which they live is neither’s (*ibid*).

Discussing the possibility of an intersubjective validation of the objective world in Husserl’s writings, Dan Zahavi (Zahavi 2001) distinguishes between the actual experience of others and an intersubjective openness of subjectivity itself. He argues that the transcendental intersubjectivity precedes the experience of others and belongs to the *a priori* structure of subjectivity (Zahavi 2001 in Stawarska 2009:33). The possibility of more than one I is therefore a necessity, “for it is only in inter-subjectivity that this I is constitutively functioning I, i.e. a transcendental I” (Zahavi 2001:65). Therefore, as Stawarska notes, for Zahavi subjectivity *is* intersubjectivity (exhibited within subjectivity). This primary intersubjectivity, as exhibited in individual life of consciousness, is only accessible through an interrogation of first person experience.

But it is important to note that, even though language does not seem to be part of the phenomenological inquiry into the transcendental intersubjectivity (it has to be conducted through phenomenological reduction), the substantive “I” used as a label of transcendental subjectivity seems to be a special grammatical case. It is not subject to declination and thus the grammatical categories of *number*, *case* and *gender* do not apply to it. Examining the grammar of the transcendental ego and the philosophical implications of bracketing these categories off in the transcendental domain reveals serious implications for the

philosophical and anthropological understanding of personhood. Stawarska (2009:29) notes the far-reaching consequences of bracketing of *number*. Even though the pronoun “I” usually has a plural form (or the multiplicity of plural forms, e.g. in PNG – dual), the transcendental *I* is construed as absolutely unique (a nonnumerical singular – Lat. *Singularia tantum*) and is not meaningfully multipliable. This, again, “places the “I” within a posture of radical solitude” (Stawarska 2009:29).

Moreover, the exclusion of the possibility of case declination for an “indeclinable I” (Stawarska 2009:31), i.e. if only nominative case “I” is applicable to the transcendental *I* cast as *singularia tantum*, it is merely one’s own (mine) personal perspective that can be deployed in the transcendental field: “This transcendental intersubjectivity exists purely in me, the meditating ego” (Schutz 1973:126). The ramifications are serious:

“Grammatically, the nominative “I” can function as a subject and not as an object of a verb. It can occupy a preverbal but not a post-verbal position. Philosophically, the *I* is defined in terms of world-constituting activity, and not in terms of activity directed upon it by others. To be constituted by others, to be on the recipient side of action, the subject would have to reverse into an object, yet such a reversal is precluded by the confinement of the first-person pronoun to the nominative role.” (Stawarska 2009: 31-32)

However, in her *On Being a Child*, Allison James interprets the children’s recognition and use of the idea of difference as a feature of their developing self-awareness (James 1995:63). It is to arise out of the distinctions children make daily between self and others and lead to a consciousness of the self, and possibly to a shameful self-consciousness that occurs through a reflexive interpretation by the child of the gap between the self of the child (“I”) and the self as an object (“me”) upon which other people gaze and about which they express opinions or adopt attitudes (*ibid*). In *Chapter 5 I showed how the presence of other persons was indispensable for the constitution of good judgement, and good person. In what way, however, would the gaze of others²⁰¹ work on a phenomenological subject construed in *singularia tantum*?

²⁰¹ Or, for that matter, a camera’s gaze – e.g. when camera was used as a proxy during Ösel’s fit of anger (see *Chapter 5).

Beata Stawarska noted the important ‘social-scaffolding’ – the monitoring, interpreting and influencing of the infants’ sense of self by their significant others (e.g. the parents typically echoing the syllabic sounds made by the infant but not the involuntary physiological sounds):

“It is a site in which organic *self-awareness* and *being addressed* by others in the context of the shared world intersect and intertwine with such promiscuity that no inner private realm could be neatly separated from the outer public world, and no purely mental self could be effectively severed from the mundane materiality of communication. No basis for a purely mentalistic self as the locus of internal awareness remains in the perspective that takes embodiment and interpersonal address seriously. Consequently, no basis for a mentalistic construal of the first-person stance remains either. Insofar as self-awareness and addressability interrelate in the child’s early experience, a copresence of the first- and second-person stances is evidenced from the start. This copresence accounts for what otherwise remains a perennial puzzle: the child’s entry into the social field of language.”
(Stawarska 2009:133-134)

On the other end of the life trajectory, Piers Vitebsky, in his longitudinal engagement with the Sora in Orissa, India (Vitebsky 1993; 2008; 2015), showed how the young Sora were ‘forgetting’ their dead, with whom their parents used to talk through shamans (both women and men), bringing them to engage in and to negotiate through elaborate dialogues. The animist Sora were interested in the perception of persons as patients, as they were slipping from life to death, in order to elicit the agent (causality) of what constituted an ‘attack’ on the living by their *sonum* (dead, Memories). But when the dead person gradually became an agent (using active verbs in dialogues with the living mourners), people’s attention was already focusing on perceptions of the *sonum*’s new victims, who themselves became the new perceiving subject (Vitebsky 2015)²⁰². The dialogues enabled a series of subtle perspectival shifts engaging the subjectivities of persons on both sides of the ontological status threshold marked by death. The newly Baptist young Sora in Vitebsky’s follow-up study (2015) refuse to talk to the dead or feed them, leaving their parents afraid to die for fear of neglect. Vitebsky observed how a young Sora’s struggles to be or to become a

²⁰² I am grateful to Professor Vitebsky for kindly sharing the manuscript of his yet unpublished *Loving and Forgetting: Changing Forms of Loss and Redemption in Tribal India* (2015).

certain kind of person, and to deal with changes in loving and forgetting, were revealed through extraordinary fleeting moments of verbal inarticulacy. Such untypical moments, as Vitebsky demonstrates, can be revealing, as they point to “a tectonic shift in the relationship between a person’s past and his or her future”. (Vitebsky 2008:243) It is worth noting, therefore, that the first and second person’s orientation, and the mutual attendance on one another is thus not set in stone in early childhood, but is contingent upon the conditions of dialogue.

In the previous chapters (see *Chapter 4) I already made an ethnographic case for the dependent arising as the way in which reality was understood by people in TCV. It was based on the understanding of a multiplicity of causes and conditions that give rise to particular configurations of phenomena, including people²⁰³.

The problem of plurality

Capturing the phenomenological reality of social life, the relational fabric of a life shared with others cannot be achieved by merely multiplying beings construed philosophically and grammatically as nonnumerical singulars (Stawarska 2009:30, following Schutz 1967 and Merleau-Ponty 1994). Commenting on the idea that more than one *I* is necessary (Zahavi 2001:65, as discussed above), Stawarska noted that, in pronominal terms, a *we* may not result from just a collective of *Is*. Following the findings of an ordinary day-to-day language-interaction analysis, she argued that the first person plural (*we*) arises not from the multiplication of the referents of the pronoun “I”, but that it is predicated on I-you relatedness. In assessing Zahavi’s take on transcendental community of *Is*, Stawarska noted: “Yet, there is no room for a transcendental *you*, and henceforth the passage from I-subject to we-community is blocked” (Stawarska 2009:34).

The language game (Wittgenstein 1972) thus reveals itself as a crucial constitutive factor of much of classical phenomenological analysis. If the chief purpose of language is naming or labelling, the pronoun “I” is a label for the self. Multiplying the labels should result in a set

²⁰³ Note Max Scheler’s phenomenologically informed theory of mind as pure actuality and Person as a self-constituted integration of acts. For Scheler, even other people are not objectifiable in so far as their Persons are in question. Being merely the locus of acts the totality of which co-determines each single act, a Person is accessible only for another Person by co-achieving these acts, by thinking with, feeling with, willing with the Other. (Scheler 1928. *Stellung des Menschen im Kosmos*, p.58 ff, Darmstadt in Schutz 1973: 153)

containing many selves – an operation made possible by language, even though in transcendental phenomenology language is perceived as extrinsic to its own method (Stawarska 2009:75). Emancipation from language seems impossible, and the unexamined preconceptions about characteristics of lexical items and the relationships in which they stand through grammar are bound to bear on the phenomenological inquiry. Mutual coexistence requires the I-you relation rather than the lone “I” to provide the building block of sociality and the starting point of analysis for any social theory. As Stawarska, following Buber, poignantly remarks: “There is no I as such, but I exists necessarily in relation.” (Stawarska 2009:75)

SOCIALITY

Following the phenomenologically-driven anthropological approach to human autopoiesis (Toren 1999; Toren 2012) based on the model developed by Maturana and Varela (1972, 1988) and recently elaborated by e.g. Thompson (2001, 2007, see also Thompson & Varela 2001), I understand living organisms to be autonomous self-organizing systems, emerging through their being (microhistorically) in envioning world that, in the case of humans, is a peopled world. As shown above, alterity has long been the object of the phenomenological inquiry into the human experience (e.g. Merleau-Ponty 1964, 1975 [1951], and recent refocusing on dialogical phenomenology in Stawarska 2009, Thompson 2001, 2007; Zahavi 1997, 2001). Drawing from the European phenomenological thought, in *Visible and Invisible* (1964) Merleau-Ponty persuasively argued that it was the presence and perception of the (perceiving) Other that take us out from within ourselves and into the world.

Therefore, it is the Other that makes the outside world empirically available to the Self, and establishes (and thus co-constitutes) the Self as separate from the world (for a psychological approach see Trevarthen 1993). Seeing the Other makes the differentiation between self and outside world possible, the differentiation which by the same token enables sociality (for pertinent anthropological examples see discussion of the ritual of the umbilical cord cutting in Gow 1997, and the cosmogonic myth of the Iqwaye in Mimica 1991).

By attending to the microhistorical constitution of other and self among children and adults in TCV, I focused on the part of the intersubjective trajectory that in Tibetan Buddhist

esoteric tradition can be reversed (see e.g. Beyer 1988). The return to the Buddha nature, achieved through the dissolution of the self (as separate from the world) and the extinguishing of all past conditioning (see ideas of karmic causation in *Chapter 5) is, in fact the reversal of sociality, the unseeing of the Other. This, in Tibetan Buddhist view is understood to be an achievable state, which is manifested in the incarnated enlightened beings and bodhisattvas.

Intersubjectivity has been shown (Bloch 2007; Depraz 2001; Merleau-Ponty 1964, 1975 [1951]; Toren 1993, 2000, 2014) to be a fundamental condition of human sociality, and the intersubjective aspect of our co-constitution as human beings has emerged as an important and worthwhile area of interest (see e.g. Arisaka 2001; Depraz 2001; Rumsay 2010; Steinbock 2001; Thompson 2001; Wallace 2001; Zahavi, 1997, 2001).

In *The Story of Lynx* (1995) Claude Lévi-Strauss made a hypothesis about “openness to the Other” (*Ouverture à l’Autre*, p. xvii):

“At the end of the preceding chapter I formulated a problem: a large part of the mythology of the Indians of Oregon and of British Columbia is made up of borrowings from French-Canadian folklore. However, this mythology shows itself to be solidly organized, as if in its initial state it had had omissions, empty spaces, while it was awaiting, so to speak, external contributions that would fill them and only thank to which its structure could be completed.”(Lévi-Strauss 1995: 220)

In my view, since mythology has been shown to be manifestation of patterns of thought, Lévi-Strauss’s observation may, by a valid analogy, be applied to human intersubjectivity in its initial state – with empty spaces awaiting contribution to make it dialogically completed.

The obligatory perspective inversion in even the basic questions and more elaborate inversion operations required in *shesa* – polite talk, as well as competency related to evidential moods all point to the significance of the I-you connectedness in Tibetan language. The fact that children from a very young age engage in these operations on the

pre-linguistic²⁰⁴ and linguistic level leads me to think that they may constitute significant factors in the emergence of these children's intersubjectivity.

I understand intersubjectivity here not as a means of validation of the world – a substitute for 'objective' in the post-relativist paradigm; nor as something akin to an 'instinct' that makes us recognize other humans as humans and other animals as sentient beings. Danziger (Danziger 2006) sees a possibility that some levels of intersubjective orientation might be more vulnerable to cultural modification than others. In a later paper (Danziger 2013), she notes that there is a degree of interactional variation across different groups of people pertaining to the "domain²⁰⁵ most globally characterized as 'intersubjectivity'" (Danziger 2013:260) and that "the kinds of intersubjectivity which may have played a role in the evolution of human sociality cannot necessarily be identified by reading directly from what is most familiar in scholar's own cultures of upbringing." (Danziger 2013:252). Rather, self-other orientations can be demonstrated to be differentially marked, elaborated or suppressed, in what Hollan and Throop call "an intersubjective field" (Hollan and Throop 2011)²⁰⁶. In this analysis, I am interested in intersubjectivity as an ethnographic object of inquiry. So far, I have argued for the need to see beyond the transcendental solitary subject of phenomenological inheritance. Instead, I suggested that it may be worthwhile to exercise our methodological 'ace in the sleeve', the suspension of disbelief, and to attend to the dialogical aspect of being without pre-empting the entities that we could thus analytically see.

Empathy and intersubjectivity

In one of the quotes from Alfred Schutz above, where he discusses phenomenology's solution to the problem of the Other, empathy (*Einfuehlung*) is mentioned as one of the operations leading the ego to the grasping of the Other's mental and psychical life (Schutz 1973:196). Empathy is thus another term that has been used for the 'table-turning'

²⁰⁴ As shown in *Chapter 5.

²⁰⁵ I note that the use of the term 'domain', implying reification, and thus separateness and boundedness of intersubjective engagement may be problematic.

²⁰⁶ Jeanette Mageo, in the same volume, writes about the origin of such orientations in the visceral relations she characterizes as "skinship and gazeship" (Mageo 2011)

operations involving self and other. It has been recognized as one of the conditions of possibility of sociality itself:

“In empathy, we substitute ourselves for the others. In sympathy, we substitute others for ourselves. To know what it would be like if I were the other person is empathy. To know what it would be like to be that other person is sympathy” (Wispé 1986: 318 in Bubandt and Willerslev, 2015).

As a Polish linguist born under the “social-democracy” regime, I know that the English terms ‘empathy’ and ‘sympathy’ denote historically-specific set of capacities, possible acts and operations. These, as ethnographic studies clearly demonstrate, vary considerably, both in scope and in their ontogeny. A brilliant ethnographic exploration of teasing and joking in Jean Briggs’ study of Utku and Qipi (Briggs 1979) is a case in point. Briggs showed that the ‘deposit of doubt’ (Briggs 1979:11) laid by the teasing games played with children, resulted in very specific capacity for feeling:

“In later life, on occasions both playful and serious, these doubts – in the form of “hurt feelings” or acute sensitivity to the possibility of a slight – are elicited by the tiniest of looks, words, or actions, which would be unnoticed by a person with less highly developed vulnerabilities.” (Briggs 1979:12)²⁰⁷

Vitebsky (1993), following Carrithers, sees empathy as depending on narrativity – the understanding by which people “perceive any given action not only as a response to the immediate circumstances or current imputed mental state of an interlocutor or of oneself but also as part of an unfolding story.”(Carrithers 1990:269) – a far richer understanding of ‘new deeds and changing attitudes’ (*ibid*), way beyond the mental state of the moment (Vitebsky 1993:8-9). The feelings thus have not just immediate present, but also a past and a future (*ibid*). The story in narrativity seems to point to the microhistory of intersubjective relations that constitute participants in dialogues.

I am aware that substituting ‘intersubjectivity’, which belongs very much within specific kinds of philosophical, psychological and anthropological parlance (with its meaning mutating while the term is crossing the disciplinary boundaries), for empathy does not solve

²⁰⁷ In her earlier study among the Utku, Briggs discussed doubts concerning one’s ‘lovability’ and the ways in which they emerged, were handled and communicated as well as their behavioural and motivational effects (Briggs 1970).

that problem. However, intersubjectivity as a term allows for certain experiments that render it much more useful as a heuristic device. A closer look at ‘inter’ and ‘subjective’ may lead us to explore the tacit assumptions we may be making about the subject. Here I refer to the need for ‘boundedness’ and ‘separateness’ that I put under scrutiny earlier in this chapter. The commonsensical idea that the *inter-* only makes sense *between* subjects appears to be superimposed on yet another set of ideas that make the self-containment of consciousness - of the (transcendental) subjectivity - a necessity, resulting in the notion of the social world as an additive plurality of transcendental subjects (see Stawarska 2009:21-22).

Evan Thompson in an introduction to his *Between Ourselves* (2001), titled “Empathy and Consciousness” points to some significant and revealing weak points in the simulation-theory of empathy, which begins from the individual self and works outwards to other selves through the mechanism of mimicry and imaginative projection. These mechanisms, however, cannot account for the openness of the self to the other:

Mimicry and the imaginative transposition of oneself to the place of the other are no doubt elements of empathy, but they are founded on more fundamental pre-reflective couplings of self and other at the level of the lived body: it is the passive (not voluntarily initiated), pre-reflective experience of the other as an embodied being like oneself that sets the stage, as it were, for mimicry and the more elaborate mental act of imaginative self-transposal. (Thompson 2001:12; cf Trevarthen 1979, 1993)

In contrast to empathy, the possibility of the term *intersubjectivity* carrying a plural makes it amenable to a subtle and rigorous analysis of sociality (socialities) and its (their) microhistorical roots and ontogenetic processes involved. Intersubjectivities in plural mean opening a potential of different ways of co-constitution of Self and Other, ways in which Self takes Other into itself, and ways in which Other makes its way into Self – both rotating in an endless dance of dialogical turn-taking. Used as a heuristic device, such historically constituted intersubjectivity also makes it possible to see beyond the person as an individual and the society as a structure. I suggest that it may be a useful way in which we may quit ‘the game of perpetual unseeing of either the individuals or societies which they form’ by focusing on either (see Gellner 2015 in the *Introduction).

Outside anthropology's bedrock, Buber, Stawarska and Bachtin all pointed to the need to acknowledge and inquire into different dimensions of dialogue, understood as the foundation of human existential experience (Habermas 2015), and to see the implications of such an ontological and epistemological stance – with interaction, communication and language preceding the self-awareness that was said to be the foundation of the existential being of a subject in much of the phenomenological tradition. Responding to their plea, in the last few chapters I attended to the microhistorical ontogenetic aspects of the constitution of time, space and finally self and others in everyday life of TCV children. In previous chapters I also brought to the fore and suggested connections between ideas having enough currency in the daily life in a Tibetan residential school to influence the daily childrearing and schooling practices and the general ways in which people living in the TCV campus in India go about their lives. Through an ethnographic focus on dialogical aspect of relationships in daily interactions between people who grow up to share perceptions and understandings, I wished to take a closer look at the intersubjective aspect of not only learning but also of being. In the concluding chapter of the thesis, on the basis of the ethnographic and theoretical engagement with ontogenetic aspect of daily practices discussed in earlier chapters, I will attend to the TCV's (ideal) formula for being.

CHAPTER 7 EPILOGUE:

OTHERS BEFORE SELF

From the ethnographic material collected in a contemporary Tibetan Buddhist school in exile, I have teased out the strands revealing and illustrating the basic conditions underlying the TCV project. I started the exploration of the Tibetan Children's Village with an analysis of ideas about learning as expressed through an education policy document by the Tibetan government-in-exile (*Chapter 2). Let me finish it with a brief discussion of the ubiquitous TCV emblem – a formula for (an ideal of) being.



Figure 2 “Others before Self” (*W. rang las gzhän gces*) in the Tibetan Children's Village emblem

The *Others Before Self* emblem appears on all TCV publications, online and printed; it figures prominently on the covers of TCV teaching materials and on every student's notebooks. It has been painted over walls of the TCV campuses. It is a constant reminder of the desired result of the TCV project. The TCV logo features stylised characters of a girl, a boy and a plant from the distinctive emblem of SOS Children's Villages, but in TCV emblem children appear to wear Tibetan dress. The Tibetan inscription above is mirrored in the English transcription below the figures. Even though the SOS Children's Villages emblem is in blue and white, the TCV version is in dark green framed with yellow, associated with water and earth in Tibetan iconography, and reflected in the TCV uniforms. As so many times in this work, ethnography

brings me back to the Buddhist philosophy, testifying to the strength of a worldview's influence over the forms seemingly familiar to the European eye. I have shown how the contemporary school's philosophy and theoretical models of learning and teaching, its spatiotemporal layout, agenda, pedagogies and schooling rituals – at first so familiar that we could easily mistake them for our own (and therefore imply that they have been imported from elsewhere), in fact rest on very specific forms of awareness and particular configurations of appearances constituting the perceived reality. Therefore, throughout this thesis I have resisted applying the European sociological models based on observation of schooling and 'socialisation', famously pinned down in the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault²⁰⁸, to the ethnographic data from my field. I admit that the ideas about patterning, habituation and discipline may have lent themselves elegantly to an analysis in terms set for Europeans, but I am convinced that such an analysis would necessarily lead me away from the *experience* of discipline, patterning and habituation in a contemporary Tibetan school in India.

Instead, I suggest that the way to understanding these 'constellations of concepts' (Strathern 2011) is through their explications from the field itself and through ethnographic theorization. As it happens, the Tibetan 'societies' in exile have had at their disposal very sophisticated models of learning, mind, consciousness, temporality etc., which, as I have demonstrated, they applied in their effort to create a new form of childrearing practice, based on the concept of schooling. The *Others Before Self* emblem is a testament to this.

The concept of "Others Before Self" (W. rang las gzhan gces) brings together and activates: *rang* – "self" in the context of *las* – both as a verb ("to do, to work, to build") and as a noun ("action/karma"), and *gzhan* – "other" with *gces*, which means "to love, to take care, to consider highly, to value". The literal translation could then be: self – do (karmic action) [is] - other – love and appreciate. In view of the features of Tibetan childrearing practice and Tibetan grammar, the slogan seems to refer to a particular operation, i.e. the perspective inversion famously elaborated on by the founding father of the Gelukpa school of Tibetan Buddhism,

²⁰⁸ Note Ann Laura Stoler's work on the colonial lacunae in Foucault's treatment of bourgeois bodies (Stoler 1995)

Tsong kha pa. In the section “Exchanging Self and Other” (based on the teachings of the Indian master Śāntideva) of his *Lam rim Chen mo* teachings, Tsong kha pa offers the following interpretation and commentary:

“2’ The ability to exchange self and other if you accustom yourself to the thought of doing so

Take the example of your enemy becoming a friend. At first, when you heard even the name of your enemy, fear arose. Later you were reconciled and became such close friends that when this new friend was absent you were very unhappy. This reversal resulted from familiarizing your mind with a new attitude. So likewise, if you become habituated to viewing yourself as you presently view others [with an attitude of neglect] and to viewing others as you presently view yourself [with a cherishing attitude], you will exchange self and other. *Engaging the Bodhisattva Deeds*²⁰⁹ says:

Do not turn away from this difficulty.

Although you were frightened upon hearing someone’s name,

Now, due to the power of conditioning,

You dislike that person’s absence.

And also:

It is not difficult to consider my body

With the perspective I have toward another’s body.” (Tsongkhapa 2004:52)

The Mother Training Centre handbook for Home Mothers, which was the basis for the year-long training course designed for aspiring Mothers, included an interesting text in its opening section on religious education (*chö*, W. chos): the *Eight Verses on Mind Training (Lojong-tsi gyema)*—said to be one of the first indigenous Tibetan works on the altruistic ideal of cherishing the welfare of others (Jinpa 2011:103). This short text in eight stanzas instructs spiritual aspirants to transform their habitual self-centredness into a standpoint from which it is possible to view

²⁰⁹ (*Bodhisattva-caryāvatāra*, 8.119, 8.112 cd, Bhattacharaya, V. 1960. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society; in Tsongkhapa 2004:258)

others with a sense of deep gratitude – as ‘supreme’ beings or ‘mothers’ (see Appendix VII²¹⁰). The instruction was clearly important for childrearing practice, as it was the third of 6 spiritual prayers and observances listed in Home Mother Handbook. Still, *Lojong-tsi-gyema* is said to be clearly out of intellectual reach (‘they won’t understand it’) of small children, and yet some Home Mothers and staff in the Village make a choice to teach and recite the instruction with children as young as 3-5. In this thesis, I wanted to trace the spatio-temporal conditions and understandings that made such a choice possible. Drawing on the Tibetan notion of *pakcha*, the imprint, patterning or habituation, and the imagery of the seed (*sonrtsa*), coming ‘alive’ and bearing fruit in the right circumstances, I showed how the pedagogical horizon of expectations and tools used to realize them can rely on some of the students’ capabilities (hearing, memory), while acknowledging inadequacy of their other characteristics (understanding, predicated upon age).

It is noteworthy that the Village motto and emblem, the Tibetan Buddhist teachings that were made available to the Village inhabitants and the Tibetan language variety used there (*Chapter 6) offered guidance in which the conditioning of self and social relations can be enacted. An ethnographic exploration of Tibetan Buddhist theory of learning diffracted into three stages, comprising the revelation of truth (‘hearing from another’, *thos ba/thoba*), testing of truth (self-investigation and self-confirmation, *bsam pa/samba*, through e.g. debate) and interiorizing the truth (as an inner subjective experience achieved through ‘meditation’, *goms pa/komba*), shows the mind - as an ethnographic category - to be the locus of attention of the schooling practices. Tibetan theories of lineage (W. *rgyud*) allow for continuity that is not directly predicated on material substance and yet can be traced through material ‘incarnations’. The ‘transmission’ of Buddhist teachings requires a living master in possession of wisdom (born out of inner subjective experience) in direct physical contact with their disciples. There is a lot to be learned from scriptures, but they do not seem to replace ‘oral transmission’ – through the door of voice and body (hearing). Following the Tibetan theory of learning - where the repeated

²¹⁰ A more detailed discussion of the text, the text itself and its translation, as well as its rendering in the TCV Mother Handbook can be found in Appendix VII.

thinking and concentration on a given ‘truth’ constitutes the final stage of the process, leading to an inner subjective experience of the ‘truth’ in question - in TCV the repeated, daily bodily and verbal practices (body posture during prayer and offerings, prostrations in front of the deities on the altar, vibration produced by joint recitation and felt through the body, mantra and text recitation) eventually were to lead to an inner subjective experience of the practice’s meaning and, over time, to its fruition – bringing the desired results.

If personhood is attached to mind, as the continuing aspect, and not to the body – the transitory vessel, children growing up in TCV were persons that continue through time, through re-incarnation. Their capacities and inclinations carried through *pakcha* imprints on their minds and manifesting in observable behaviour, played out in a much larger *temporal* perspective, transcending the current lifetime. The implications of such a perspective for pedagogical practice are paramount. Since history is made through bodies of persons variously embodying a continuum of time, through countless rebirths and incarnations, and since it is tied to the future through karmic imprints, it becomes useful to think about the ‘door of body, voice and mind’ not as a ‘door’ *to*, but as a door *through which* – future is actualised in the present.

On the basis of the understanding of different aspects of the experience of living and growing up in a TCV campus, developed in the previous chapters - i.e. the theory of learning and understanding of “mind”, inner subjective experience and karmic imprints; discipline and temporal frameworks predicated on the ideas of karmic causation; dependent arising; training of awareness, attention and ethical judgement and the ideas of self - I suggest a particular reading of the TCV formula for ideal of being, “Others Before Self”, predicated on intersubjectivity that has been trained so as to enable (an ideal of) an exchange of self for other.

THE HISTORICAL CONSTITUTION OF INTERSUBJECTIVITY

In conclusion of the thesis I would then like to ask if we can think of intersubjectivity not as given, but as ‘teased out’ and formed through practices involving both the constitution of self and the simultaneous and inevitable constitution of others. A critical examination of intersubjectivity from the perspective of ontogenesis of ideas about self and the (peopled)

world, reveals its microhistorical dimension (Toren 1999; Toren 2009). Intersubjectivity is thus not an instinct, but a temporal process, and, perhaps more importantly, a capacity that is susceptible of assuming different forms and that, seemingly, needs training through particular kinds of interaction with the others.

I also posit the necessity of ethnographic exploration of different practices that might be involved in bringing forth intersubjectivity, and ask what the resulting ‘intersubjectivities’ might be. In Chapters 5 and 6, guided by a focus on human ontogenesis, I discussed ethnographic material that showed others as being essential in the ontogeny of beings in a TCV Baby Home and in the TCV “society”. The phenomenological concept of passive genesis revealed the openness to the world from which attention to others needed to be purposefully teased out. This was, inevitably, done in specific ways that shaped and scaffolded the kinds of attention that will become “felt in one’s bones” (Rumsey 2003) as one’s own, conditioning and patterning subjectivities and intersubjectivities of people involved in interaction - people who will then walk, talk, sit, gaze, joke, want, not want, be angry and love in very specific ways.

THE DYAD

Through ethnographic exploration of the pedagogy and the use of language in my fieldsite, I also had a chance to reconsider some tacit assumptions about the “subject” in intersubjectivity and the methods of looking at human behaviour used in social and cultural anthropology. I discussed the need, utility, feasibility and implications of including the dialogical dimension of being in the anthropological inquiry.

In line with the premises of dialogical phenomenology, I looked for a way in which I could capture and explain the ethnographic fact of people being present in each other’s lives, daily routines, language and, above all, experience. The understanding of living organisms as autonomous, self-creating and self-organising, brought me to question the methodological validity of (a possibly naïvely hegemonic²¹¹) dependence upon individuality and plurality in the anthropological study of human ontogenesis and, inevitably, the methodological choices we

²¹¹ See (Wagner 1991:159-160)

make in the field. By attending to the individual and a group/society as two discrete parameters in our potential scaling of ethnographic vision, we may be missing an important entity that could only manifest itself if we look at the dialogical dimension of human reality. Such entity, I would like to tentatively suggest, could possibly prove to be were the autonomous self-creating and self-organizing living can best manifest itself as an object of inquiry.

I do not consider myself to be by any means original in noticing the significance of alterity in the mutual co-constitution of self and other. Persons have long been deemed to be capable of different forms of dividuality: permeability – through substance-coded exchanges (Marriott 1976 in Fowler 2004), or partibility (Marilyn Strathern 1988). It was demonstrated that persons were scalable, as in Roy Wagner’s “fractal person” (R. Wagner 1991), and distributable (Gell 1998)²¹². In my analysis, however, I wished to attend not to the transactions mediated by objects that extended the person beyond individual bodies, but to the ‘empty slots’, as it were, that needed to be filled by other within self. The legendary Uncle Thonpa - a primordial teasing Other filling in gaps in awareness, is a case in point.

Stanley Mumford in his take on Mikhail Bakhtin’s model of dialogical interaction developed within literary criticism studies, put forward a postulate for ethnographic practice that acknowledges the “relational psychology” implicit in this model (Mumford 1989:13). His methodological stance is evident in his ethnography of the Tibetan and Gurung villages in Gyasumdo in northern Tibet (*The Himalayan Dialogue*, 1989). If the idea is a “live event” (Bakhtin 1984:88) that occurs “at a point of dialogic meeting between two or several consciousnesses” (*ibid*), it seems clear to Mumford that “consciousness is always co-consciousness” and that the self can never be finalized, but that it is always drawn into the “intersubjective communion between consciounesses” (Mumford 1989:14). However, this intersubjective communion is said to happen through the internalization of voices of others – the voices that then become part of an internal dialogue within each consciousness – “an

²¹² For a historical overview of alternative technologies in configuring personhood see Chris Fowler’s *The Archeology of Personhood* (Fowler 2004). Also note Jadran Mimica’s concern with the adequacy of anthropological constructions of ‘dividual’ and ‘distributed person’ for illuminating the constitutive–constructive dynamics of the human psyche and lived embodiment (Mimica 2009).

argument within the self” (*ibid*). The ethnographic material from Tibetan Children’s Village seemed to have pulled my analysis in a similar direction. It is not the voices, though, that I see as coming into the self, with the resulting narrative within and about the self, but a complex set of capacities that make the others and self available to each other in the first place.

The idea of “constitutive alterity” that originated from anthropological work carried out in Amazonia (e.g. Erikson 1986; Castro 1992; Viveiros de Castro 1998; Taylor 2007; Vilaça 2015; see also Gow 1997) seems to be closer to the dialogically-informed ethnography I propose. It rested on the structuralist heritage – the “*ouverture à l’Autre*” proposed by Claude Lévi-Strauss (Lévi-Strauss 1995) - and put emphasis on the assimilation of the Other as a mode of social reproduction (Taylor 2007). Anne-Christine Taylor (2007) offers an interesting ethnographic theory where social reproduction and the creation of proper Jivaroan selfhood is linked to a structural relation with internal enemy partners. Becoming another kind of “Other” is an unwanted metamorphosis of personhood, enabling new form of selfhood that involves alternate regimes of identity and historicity, a model that “ultimately rests on a single variation within a restricted domain, in a context of shared cultural premises about modes of relating to non-selves.” (Taylor 2007: 134 -135, emphasis added)

The style of anthropological reasoning I applied to the ethnographic material in this thesis is, no doubt, itself historically situated, and belongs to a narrative of ‘postmodern’ reflexive awareness. It is characterized by an attempt at a critical re-assessment (deconstruction) of models and languages that claim to encompass all human experience or to neutralize it – a sign, according to Mumford, of de-centring and absorbing of ‘individually sealed off destinies’ into the historical process (Mumford 1989:17, see also Toren 1990). My own history of engagement with anthropological ways of thinking, made manifest in this thesis, is without question in line with a certain post-ideological trend that Mumford, following Bakhtin, eloquently described: “Identity does not collapse into a primitive or biological reduction (...) but rather, as Bakhtin argues, we gain an identity of ‘becoming’ in a world already filled with traces of ideological debris. (...) The unbounded self and the unfinished culture emerge as an identity of *betweenness*” (Mumford 1989:17) – or as Bakhtin called it – *inter-illumination*. (Bakhtin 1981: 12)

By postulating a more dialogically-informed approach to ethnographic data and anthropological analysis I also acknowledge and partake in the sense of urgency of dialogue that Beata Stawarska so poignantly conveyed in *Between You and I*:

“This urgency of dialogue is also of a profoundly philosophical nature, and it responds to the limitations of the philosophical worldview of modernity and idealism, which is predicated on the sufficiency and sovereignty of the universal subject, who builds all-encompassing systems of knowledge and neglects the ethically and politically pregnant questions of mutual coexistence between individuals in peaceful communities. This critique and the urgency to reformulate the question of sociality in a nonsubjectivist manner applies equally well to the egocentric tradition in philosophy and psychology.”(Stawarska 2009:135)

Given the recent surge in anthropological studies of ethics (e.g. Das 2010; Keane 2010; Lambek 2010; Laidlaw 2007, 2010; Rumsey 2010, Sidnell 2010), I am convinced that this critique and urgency applies to social anthropology as well. By adding to the pool of available comparative material in the field of Buddhist Studies, studies of education, schooling and childrearing, I wished to contribute to a dialogically-informed account of human ontogenesis and sociality. Such an account, fuelled by the inductive and ethnographically-driven methodology of social and cultural anthropology and its empirical grounding can, I believe, form a significant contribution to the new ‘multidiscipline of dialogic phenomenology’ (Stawarska 2009:135). Working inductively from the collected ethnographic material, I posit that the question of how the dialogue is established, how intersubjectivity is constituted and what kinds of intersubjectivity may arise is indeed an ethnographic one. In this thesis, following the research agenda developed by Professor Toren, I aimed to address this question through the focus on an ontogenesis of ideas held by Tibetans living in a Tibetan Children’s Village in the foothills of the Indian Himalaya. The very young ones, figuring out a world peopled by their pets, peers and caregivers as they went through daily life (‘learning’), have taught me what was constitutive of meanings they seemed to be making. The older ones, by offering themselves to the young ones (‘teaching’), showed what was expressive of such meanings (Toren 1990:228). Therefore, through engagement with TCV inhabitants I grew to feel the effect of the ‘Others Before Self’ formula as both constitutive and expressive. I hope

the analysis presented in this thesis, likewise, enabled the reader to feel the effect of what might be involved in contemporary Tibetan childrearing and educational doctrine and practice.

ILLUSTRATIONS

TCV and its Branch Facilities :

- Children's Villages 5
- Residential Schools 7
- Day Schools 6
- Croche & Day Care Centers 9
- Vocational Training Centers 4
- Youth Hostels 3
- Old People's Hostels 3

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO SPONSOR A CHILD OR HELP TCV?

- Every child of your money goes to raise a child - to educate, to nurture, to love.
- You get to 100 times satisfaction of raising a child - being a parent, an educator, to give in a far away country.
- Your money goes to save a people and to reduce their local dependence.
- You get personal and financial responsibility.
- As a sponsor you will trace the case history of your child - photos and other information about the child's progress from time to time.
- Education for each TCV child will be their right and their future, health and happiness in the Village.

Tibetan Children's Villages India

HEAD OFFICE:
Tibetan Children's Villages
Dehra Dun, India - 247216
Distt. Nainital, U.P., India
Ph: (91) 01 892 221 545, 22 0557
Fax: (91) 01 892 221 070
E-mail: head@tcvindia.org, info@tcvindia.org

Please issue all cheques in favour of
TIBETAN CHILDREN'S VILLAGES
in Branch Accounts directly to
American Express Bank, Himalayan House,
Connaught Place, New Delhi - 110001 India.
Account No.: C-310 500 792

Figure 3 TCV brochure.



Figure 4 Tibetan schools in India, Nepal and Bhutan.

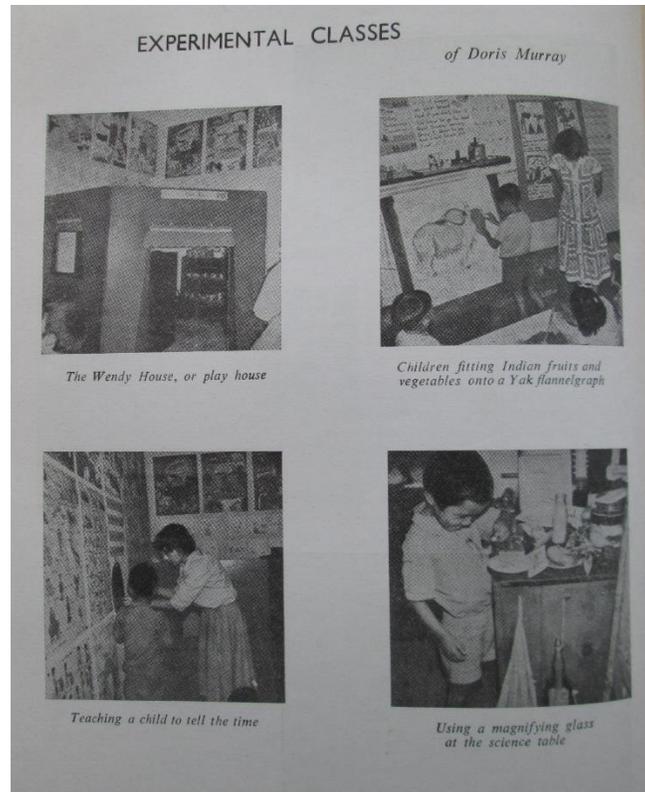


Figure 5 Experimental classes of Dorris Murray, in Report of the Tibetan Refugee Children's Nursery in Dharamsala 1964 – 1968.



Figure 6 TCV *khyimstang*, residential Home for girls and boys aged c. 5-15, managed by a Home Mother.



Figure 7 Open kitchen in one of the newly built Homes.



Figure 8 Hall in one of TCV Homes.

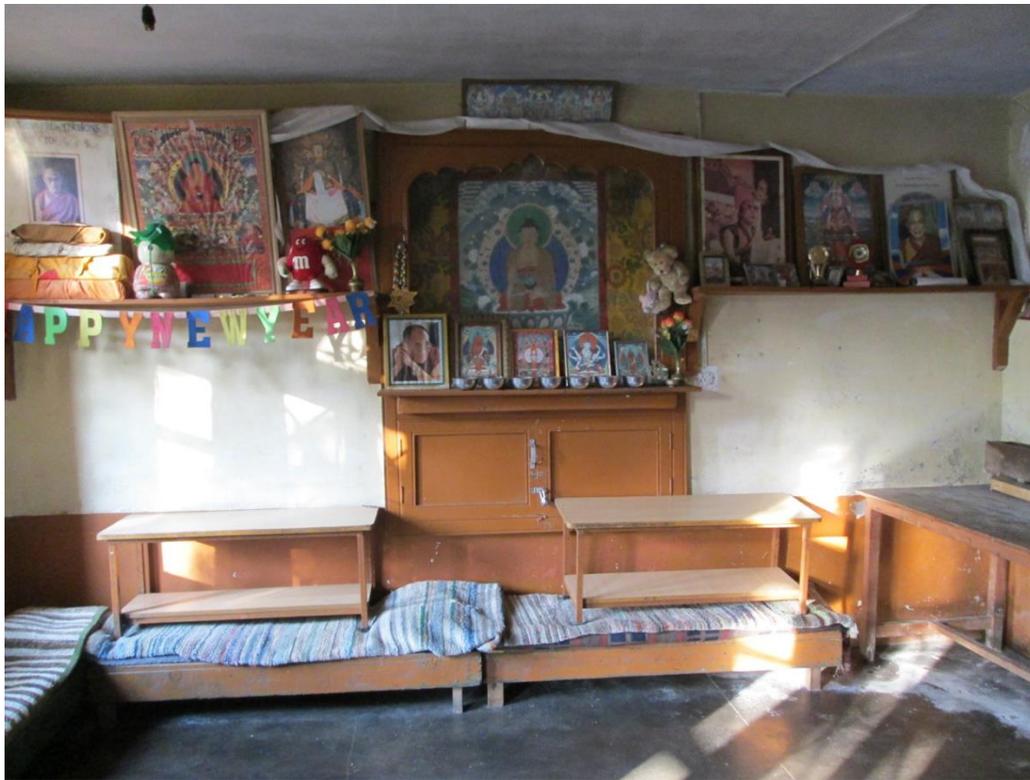


Figure 9 Altar in one of TCV Homes.



Figure 10 Altar and offering bowls in a TCV Home.

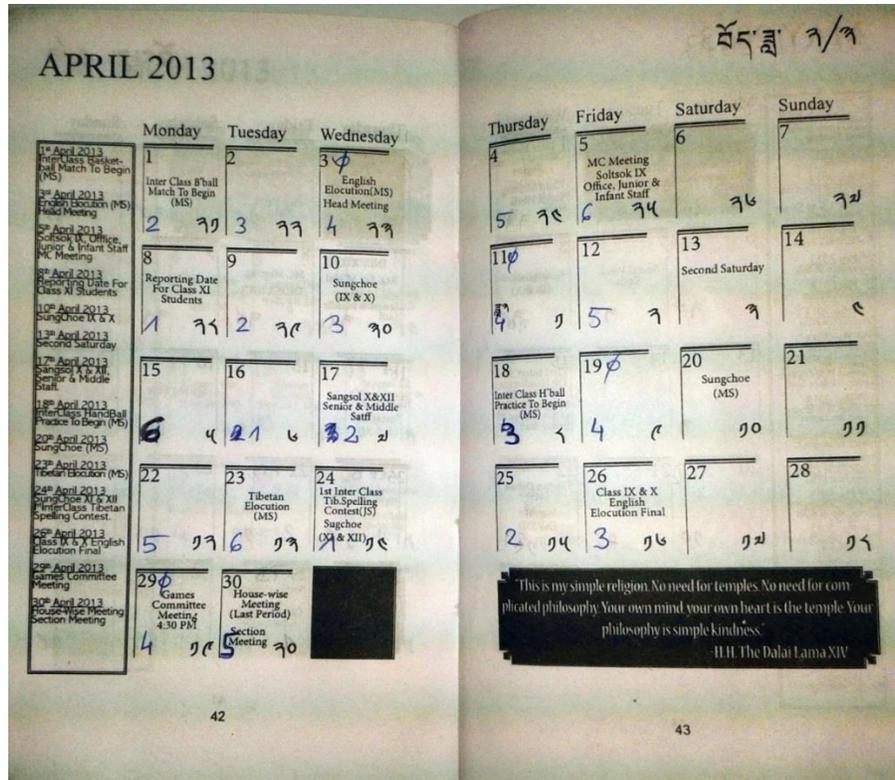


Figure 13 TCV official staff/student calendar, displaying the Indian (Gregorian) calendar dates and Tibetan calendar days – here the Tibetan 3rd month started on 11th of April. Note school days handwritten over the weeks.



Figure 14 Practicing calisthenics during PE class. Middle and Senior Sections.



Figure 15 Morning assembly, Senior Section.



Figure 16 Student body formation during TCV Anniversary.

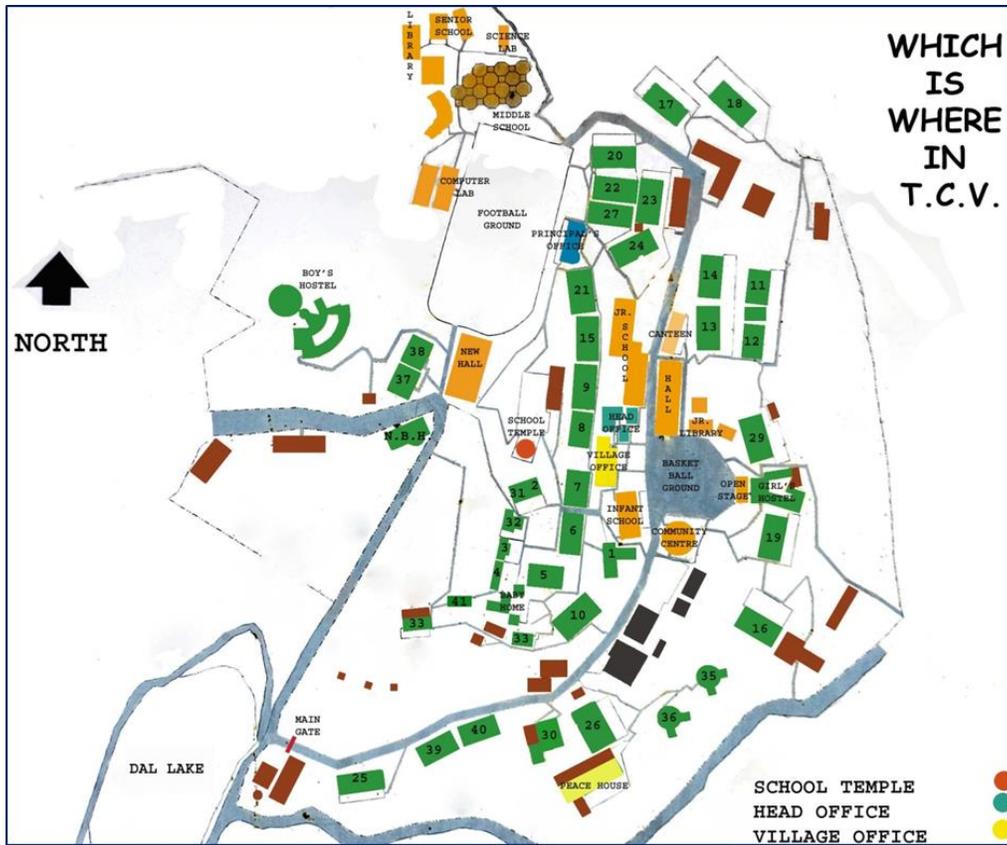


Figure 17 Which is where in TCV - map of the TCV campus where fieldwork was conducted in 2013-14, excluding the school Health and Handicraft Centre campus a short walk away. Source: <http://middlesection.org/sitemap.shtml>, accessed on 28.03.2014.



Figure 18 Map of the campus painted on a wall close to the Village Office, 2013.



Figure 19 The Wheel of Life in a TCV school temple, September 2013. Fot. KBA



Figure 20 Child in TCV uniform wearing blessing in a metal container. Fot. KBA

APPENDIX I TIBETAN SCHOOLS IN EXILE AT A GLANCE

THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Tibetan schools in exile: in India, Nepal and Bhutan now fall under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education, one of the seven main departments of the executive organ of the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) based in Dharamsala, India.

The DoE was established in 1960 to look after the educational affairs of the Tibetan administration and community in exile. After coming into exile in 1959, His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama had given top priority to education and requested the then Indian Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to establish separate schools for Tibetan refugee children. The DoE has two official websites: the CTA's <http://tibet.net/education/> (in English, Tibetan and Chinese) and a dedicated education site www.sherig.org (in Tibetan and English).

The Department of Education performs the following functions:

- to initiate and monitor necessary changes in teaching methodology in schools,
- to run teacher education and in-service teacher training programs,
- to provide policy and administrative direction and guidance to schools,
- to develop and review school curricula, textbooks and other materials,
- to provide guidance and counseling to students, teachers and parents,
- to raise and provide scholarships for school and university education,
- to co-ordinate sponsorship program for orphans and other needy children,
- to develop, translate and publish children's books and periodicals,
- to provide grants to schools and autonomous school bodies,
- to convene conferences and seminars on education,
- to recruit students for overseas study programs,
- to co-ordinate teacher and student exchange programs,
- to review and evaluate the standard of learning in schools,
- and to award prizes and certificates to meritorious students and teachers.

The DoE leadership:

Kalons:

Mr. Woser Gyelsten Kundeling (March 4, 1960 – September 1964)

Mr. Tsering Gonpo Jangtsang (September 1964 – July 10, 1966)

Mr. Jigme Sumtsen Wangpo Taring (January 1968 – May 1973)

Mr. Thupten Ningee (December 1973 – February 2, 1980)

Mr. Juchen Thupten Namgyal (August 24, 1980 – January 1985) and (September 1987 – November 1988)

Mr. Tenzin Geyche Tethong (November 1985- September 1990)

Mr. Tashi Wangdi (November 1988- May 1990)

Mrs. Jetsun Pema (May 17, 1990 – July 1993)

Mrs. Rinchen Khando Choegyal (July 1993 – September 2001)

Mr. Thupten Lungrig (September 5, 2001 – August 14, 2006) and (October 5, 2006 – May 29, 2011)

Kalon Tripa Dr. Lobsang Sangay (September 19, 2011 – September 16, 2014)

Mr. Ngodup Tsering (September 17, 2014 – **present**)

Secretaries:

Mr. Lobsang T. Rikha (1976 – 1982)

Mr. Raptan Chazotsang (1982 – 1991)

Mrs. Yangkyi Samkhar (1991 – 1993)

Mr. Tsering Wangyal (1993 – 1995) and (1999 – 2000)

Mr. Ngodup Tsering (1991 – 1999)

Mr. Tsering Dhundup (March 20, 2000 – April 9, 2002)

Ven. Karma Gelek Yuthog (April 10, 2002 – February 2012)

Mr. Ngodup Tsering (April 2, 2012 – September 15, 2014)

Mr. Topgyal Tsering (2013 – **present**)

Mr. Ngawang Rabgyal (2014 – **present**)²¹³

The Department of Education currently oversees 73 Tibetan schools – excluding the pre-primary sections and private schools – in India and Nepal under different autonomous administrative bodies. There are around 24,000 students and 2,200 staff members in these schools. The autonomous school administrative bodies include: Central Tibetan Schools Administration (28 schools), Tibetan Children’s Villages (18 schools), Tibetan Homes Foundation (3 schools), Sambhota Tibetan Schools Society (12 schools), and Snow Lion Foundation (12 schools). In 2014, all Central School for Tibetans (CST), under the management of the Central Tibetan Schools Administration, Government of India, were transferred to the Central Tibetan Administration.

OVERVIEW OF SCHOOLS

TCV SCHOOLS

Following the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1950 and His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s flight to India, it was quickly apparent that one of the most critical needs of Tibetan refugees was finding a means to care for the many children who had been orphaned or separated from their families during the arduous escape from their homeland. His Holiness promptly recognised that the future of Tibet and its people depended upon the younger generation. With this in mind and out of concern for the miserable conditions under which so many children were suffering, His Holiness proposed that a centre for destitute children be established in Dharamsala.

On 17 May 1960, fifty-one children arrived from the road construction camps in Jammu, ill and malnourished. Mrs. Tsering Dolma Takla, the elder sister of His Holiness, volunteered to look after them. Initially these children were assigned to members of the Dalai Lama’s entourage, but before long the Government of India offered its assistance, renting Conium House to accommodate all the children together. At that time, the centre was under the name “Nursery for Tibetan Refugee Children.”

Originally, the Nursery for Tibetan Refugee Children provided only the basic care for children. When they reached the age of eight, they were sent to other residential schools established by the Government of India. But eventually this arrangement could not be continued, as all the residential schools became filled to capacity. This left the Nursery to find a solution to problem of overcrowding. Thanks to the foresight and courage of Mrs. Jetsun Pema, the then Director, it was decided that the Nursery had to grow and expand despite many apparent obstacles.

A massive reorganization plan was set into motion. This included seeking help from private donors and international aid organizations. A period of hectic construction work ensued to provide for more houses and classrooms for children. The Nursery slowly took the shape of a small village with its own school and homes. This Children’s village is what we called today as the Upper TCV School at Dharamsala.

From its humble beginning, Tibetan Children’s Village has today become a thriving, integrated educational community for destitute Tibetan children in exile, as well as for hundreds of those escaping from Tibet every year. It has established branches in India extending from Ladakh in the North to Bylakuppe in South, with over 16,726 children under its care.

Forty nine years is not a short period in anyone’s life and certainly not in the life of TCV. Tibetan Children’s Village realizes the enormous responsibility it bears for the destiny of our Tibetan

²¹³ Source: <http://tibet.net/education/>, last accessed on 20th May 2016.

children and for the goodwill of the thousands of its donors and friends around the world who have sustained it through all these years. Today, we are proud to see young people from our villages serving the Tibetan community in different capacities and, at the same time, accept that there are a few children who have not fared so well. In this respect, extensive efforts are being made to further improve the lives of our children, bearing in mind the lessons and shortcomings we have experienced in the past. Though much has been achieved, we still have a long way to go in fulfilling our aims and objectives of providing the children under our care with the necessary resources and the opportunities to develop their abilities to the fullest. As has been highlighted by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in his message on our 35th Anniversary; “the future direction of our programme will be in the field of further education in specialised studies to meet the human resource needs of the community during our period in exile and more importantly when the time comes for us to go back to our homeland...” We shall endeavour further to improve the quality of our children’s education and their cultural and social upbringing without necessarily sacrificing the simplicity of our exile life-style.²¹⁴

TCV Branches

TCV School Upper Dharamsala

TCV School Bylakyppe

TCV School Ladakh

TCV School Suja

TCV School Gopalpur

TCV School Lower Dharamsala

TCV School Chauntra

TCV School Selakui

MUSSOORIE HOMES – TIBETAN HOMES FOUNDATION

Tibetan Homes Foundation (THF) is a registered charitable institute dedicated to working for the care of orphan, semi orphan and destitute Tibetan refugee children. More than five decades have gone by since its small beginning in November 1962 at Mussoorie by His Holiness Tenzin Gyatso the XIVth Dalai Lama.

The foundation of this organization is a testimony of the killings and mass destruction of a nation called Tibet in 1950s. It is also referred to as one of the horrifying human tragedies of the last century in this part of the world. The Chinese initially entered Tibet in the disguise of friendly neighbors willing to assist in bringing prosperity and development to the nation and then like a wicked wolf created situations to force Tibetans to sign a seventeen point agreement to which the Tibetans had to bow as no other countries came to their rescue.

For eight years, the Chinese cleverly had their soldiers advance into the country with the aim of annexing Tibet as part of China. During the same period the Tibetan people and their government left no stone unturned to buy peace with the Chinese but failed due to the Chinese high handedness. This was the most agonizing and helpless situation ever faced by Tibet in her history. In March 1959, a major uprising took place and the Tibetan people, monks, nuns and children took to the street revolting against the Chinese. The Chinese soldiers then plundered, brutally murdered and robbed the defenseless Tibetan people. Thousands of Tibetans were killed and so were hundreds of monasteries and temples looted.

The Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1959 led His Holiness the Dalai Lama (temporal and spiritual leader) to flee his homeland and take refuge in India. Hundreds and thousands of Tibetan families with their children also followed the leader. The path of escape into India was not easy for the

²¹⁴ Source: <http://sherig.org/en/schools/tcv-schools/> (last accessed on 20 May 2016).

Tibetan families with their belongings and children, trekking over the snow mountain for weeks and months facing snow blizzard, starvation and the fear of the Chinese soldiers. The refugees arrived in India exhausted and sick.

At the Indian border the Indian Government welcomed the Tibetan leader and his followers providing a huge relief for the Tibetan people who then spread around the border areas and worked at all kinds of jobs for their living. In the early years, most of the Tibetan families worked with the PWD (Public Works Department) as manual labourers assisting in the construction of roads. Then the Prime Minister of India, Late Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru provided His Holiness a permanent residential place to stay in Mussoorie.

The house where His Holiness lived initially in early sixties still stands at Happy valley and is known as the Birla House. A huge number of Tibetan families followed the leader to Mussoorie and the condition of the Tibetan refugees at that particular time was pathetic. The harsh journey from Tibet led to the death of many Tibetan families, which in turn left a huge number of orphaned children. The first concerns of His Holiness were to provide basic needs such as food, clothe and shelter for the hundreds of orphan, semi-orphans and destitute Tibetan children and than think of their future. His Holiness then stressed the need to set up homes for these children where- by they would be provided with a normal upbringing based on the Pestalozzi village at Trogen in Switzerland and thus Tibetan Homes Foundation was born in November 1962 with three homes and seventy-five children. The three homes were purchased with donations made by His Holiness.

Branches of THF:

THF, Mussoorie

THF, Rajpur

*THF, Rishikesb*²¹⁵

SNOW LION FOUNDATION SCHOOLS (NEPAL)

Snow Lion Foundation was established in 1972 by the Swiss Association for Technical Assistance, SATA, (now Swiss Development Cooperation, SDC/N) to look after the health, education and social welfare of the Tibetan refugees in Nepal. Run by a secretariat of five full-time staff, the Foundation is governed by a seven member Executive Committee who meets every three to four months, and approves all matters concerning policy and finance. The Foundation's General Assembly consists of 16 member delegates, meets once every year within three months after the annual closing of accounts in mid July. The 13 schools located in Nepal have more autonomy. In case of financial need, these schools have recourse to the DOE. The DOE provides support and guidance to the Tibetan students from Nepal who come to India to either complete their schooling or to pursue higher education. Tibetan Schools various levels are spread across all the Tibetan Settlements in India, Nepal and Bhutan. Since Nepal has the largest concentration of Tibetan refugees outside India, the Department of Education, Dharamsala has accordingly facilitated the opening of a sizeable number of primary and middle schools to provide education opportunity to Tibetans living in the settlements or in the remote regions of Nepal. However these schools being mostly up to primary or middle level, were therefore unable to provide continued higher education. As a result, the children were presented with no option other than to attend Tibetan schools in India, for the reason that other High Schools in Kathmandu do not offer instructions for the Tibetan language.²¹⁶

Snow Lion Foundation Schools:

²¹⁵ Source: <http://sherig.org/en/schools/mussoorie-homes/> (last accessed on 20 May 2016).

²¹⁶ <http://sherig.org/en/schools/snowlion-foundation/> (last accessed on 20 May 2016).

1. Namgyal Higher secondary School
2. Songtsen Bhrikuti Boarding High School
3. Atisha School
4. Namgyal Middle School
5. Sharmey Wangphel Tibetan School
6. Manjushree Paljorling School
7. SOS Hermann Gmeiner School Pokhara, Nepal
8. Tashi Palkiel School
9. Lekshedh Tsal School
10. Walung Day School
11. Chialsa Tibetan School
12. Shree Saraswati School
13. Dorpatan Day School

SAMBHOTA TIBETAN SCHOOLS SOCIETY

There are Tibetan settlements, which are remote and far flung from the mainstream Tibetan community. Many Tibetans have also resettled to small towns as they provided better opportunity for their livelihood. Children of such parents were deprived of school to learn Tibetan language and familiarize themselves with Tibetan culture. Tibetan local bodies, in such places, have started schools on their own initiative. However, they failed to maintain the initial zeal and tempo to run and manage them. The schools were handed over to the Department of Education (DoE) for their sustenance and management. Over the years, the number of such schools, which were directly managed by the DOE steadily increased to 19 at the time of formation of Sambhota Tibetan Schools Society. The DOE is the apex body which has the mandate to give guidance and oversee the education of the entire Tibetan community in exile. Managing a group of schools directly by the DOE has led to misunderstanding among a section of the public as well as compromising its core responsibility. The DOE, after consultation with the Kashag and many experts, issued a five-point guidelines on 16th May 1999 for starting a new organization that would manage the schools which were erstwhile managed directly by the DoE. For this purpose a Governing Body was constituted which has the following members:

Chairman:Kalon for Education, Department of Education, CTA,
 Vice Chairman:Secretary, Department of Education, CTA, Dharamsala.
 Member:President, Tibetan Children's Village, Head Office,
 Member:General Secretary, Tibetan Homes Foundation, Happy valley Mussoorie.
 Member:Director, Library of Tibetan Works & Archives,
 Member:Director, EDRC, Dharamsala Cantt.
 Member Secretary: Director, Sambhota Tibetan Schools Society.

On 16th June, 1999, exactly one month after the issuance of the five-point directive guidelines by the DOE, the Head office of the SAMBHOTA TIBETAN SCHOOLS SOCIETY was formally established to provide education, facility, administrative guidance etc. to the schools which were then incorporated as member schools. After assessing economic viability and feasibility of the schools some of them were closed down and students of such schools were admitted in other schools. Today there are 12 schools which are under the organization.²¹⁷

STS SCHOOLS
 STS, Paonta Sahib
 STS, Chauntra

²¹⁷ Source: <http://sherig.org/en/schools/sts-schools/> (last accessed on 20 May 2016).

STS, Dekyiling
 STS, Gangtok
 STS, Shillong
 STS, Pokhriabong
 Mewoen Petoen school
 STS, Puruwala
 STS, Manali
 STS, Bir
 SMS, Gangkyi
 Sherab Gatsal Lobling (TTS)

CENTRAL TIBETAN SCHOOLS ADMINISTRATION (CTSA)

At the request of H.H the Dalai Lama, the Government of India, in 1961, established the Tibetan Schools Society (now called Central Tibetan Schools Administration), an autonomous body regulated by the Indian Ministry of Human Resource Development, to manage and assist schools in India for the education of the children of Tibetan refugees.

The Governing Body of the Central Tibetan Schools Administration (CTSA), which is its main administrative authority is chaired by the Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, GOI. Its members consists of four Indians (two representatives of the Ministry of External Affairs; one representative of the Ministry of Home Affairs; and the Secretary of CTSA) and four Tibetans (Education Minister, Education Secretary, the Representative at the Bureau of His Holiness The Dalai Lama, New Delhi; and the Director of the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Varanasi).

There are 28 CTSA schools whose enrolment is currently 9,991 students. Six of these schools (CST Mussoorie; CST Shimla; CST Dalhousie; CST Darjeeling, CST, Mundgod and CST Kalimpong) that in addition to day scholars provide hostel and boarding facilities to a total of about 1,700 students are known as residential schools. The remaining 22 schools that do not have such facilities are known as day schools. All services in the day schools are provided free of cost. The CTSA also provides full school fees for about 360 boarders in the residential schools; school fees for the remaining 1,350 boarders are paid through the DOList of CTSA Schools

CTSA Schools:

- 1 CST Chowkur
- 2 CST Mundgod, Branch I
- 3 CST Mundgod, Camp # 6
- 4 CST Mundgod
- 5 CST Bylakuppe
- 6 CST CVP Bylakuppe
- 7 CST Golledhala
- 8 CST Kailashpura
- 9 CST Arlikumari
- 10 CST Gurupura
- 11 CST Kollegal
- 12 CST Lobersing
- 13 CST Mahendragada
- 14 CST Chandragiri
- 15 CST Darjeeling
- 16 CST Sonada
- 17 CST Kalimpong
- 18 CST Ravangla
- 19 CST Miao

20	CST Tenzingaon
21	CST Tezu
22	CST Mainpat
23	CST Bhandara
24	CST Dholanji
25	CST Dalhousie
26	CST Shimla
27	CST Herbertpur
28	CST Mussoorie
29	CST Chauntra
30	CST Paonta Sahib

In addition, the CTSA also runs 45 Pre-Primary schools.²¹⁸

CURRICULUM

In 2004 the CTA framed a **‘Basic Education Policy for Tibetans in Exile’** in 2004 for implementation by the Department of Education and different school bodies. The Tibetan schools have their entire Tibetan language Textbook for all grades developed and printed by the Department. For up to class V all non-language textbooks are developed and printed by the Department and its affiliate bodies. For Grades VI onwards the syllabus prescribed by the NCERT for all Indian schools is followed in Tibetan schools based in India while the host nations syllabus is followed in Nepal and Bhutan.

FUNDING

The Department of Education is a registered organization. TCEWF stand for Tibetan Children’s Educational and Welfare Fund, which is the registered society of the Department of Education under the following:

The societies registration act of 1860.

The Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act.

The certificate of Importer-Exporter.

Funds are channeled by the following banks:

United Commercial Bank (UCO)

State Bank of India (SBI)²¹⁹

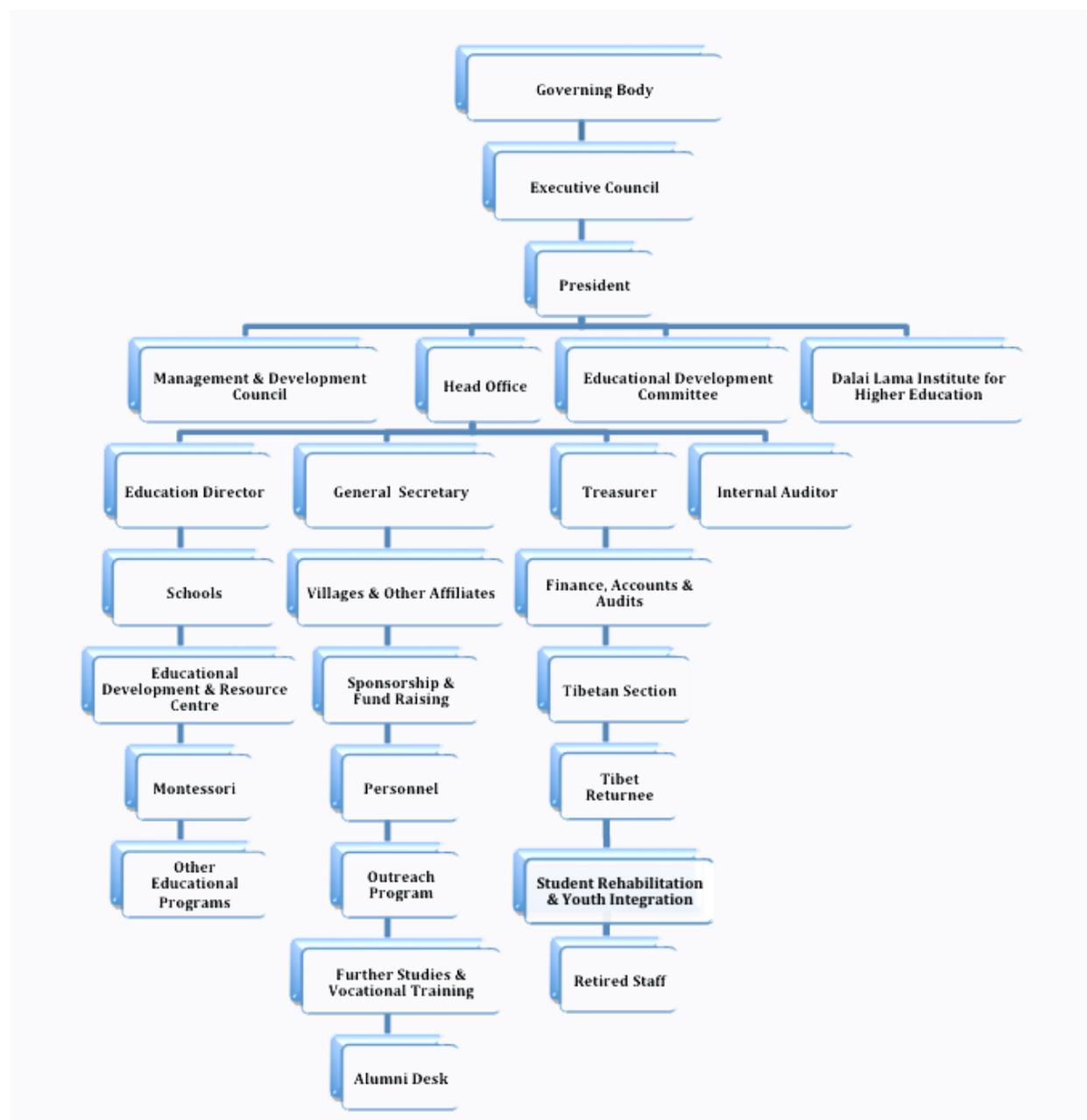
LITERACY RATES: The literacy rate of Tibetans in exile is estimated at 82.4 % as per the 2009 Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile undertaken by Planning Commission of Central Tibetan Administration.²²⁰

²¹⁸ Source: <http://shering.org/en/schools/ctsa-schools/> (last accessed on 20 May 2016).

²¹⁹ Source: <http://tibet.net/education/>, last accessed on 20th May 2016.

²²⁰ Source: <http://tibet.net/education/>, last accessed on 20th May 2016.

APPENDIX II OVERVIEW OF TIBETAN CHILDREN'S VILLAGES ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND TCV BRANCHES²²¹



²²¹ Adapted from the official webpages of Tibetan Children's Villages: <http://www.tcv.org.in/> (last accessed on 24 May 2016).

RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS

TCV Upper Dharamsala

Following the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1950 and His Holiness the Dalai Lama's flight to India, it was quickly apparent that one of the most critical needs of Tibetan refugees was finding a means to care for the many children who had been orphaned or separated from their families during the arduous escape from their homeland. His Holiness promptly recognised that the future of Tibet and its people depended upon the younger generation. With this in mind and out of concern for the miserable conditions under which so many children were suffering, His Holiness proposed that a centre for destitute children be established in Dharamsala. On **17 May 1960**, fifty-one children arrived from the road construction camps in Jammu, ill and malnourished. Mrs. Tsering Dolma Takla, the elder sister of His Holiness, volunteered to look after them. Initially these children were assigned to members of the Dalai Lama's entourage, but before long the Government of India offered its assistance, renting Conium House to accommodate all the children together. At that time, the centre was under the name "Nursery for Tibetan Refugee Children." Originally, the Nursery for Tibetan Refugee Children provided only the basic care for children. When they reached the age of eight, they were sent to other residential schools established by the Government of India. But eventually this arrangement could not be continued, as all the residential schools became filled to capacity. This left the Nursery to find a solution to problem of overcrowding. Thanks to the foresight and courage of Mrs. Jetsun Pema, the then Director, it was decided that the Nursery had to grow and expand despite many apparent obstacles. A massive reorganization plan was set into motion. This included seeking help from private donors and international aid organizations. A period of hectic construction work ensued to provide for more houses and classrooms for children. The Nursery slowly took the shape of a small village with its own school and homes. This Children's village is what we called today as the Upper TCV School at Dharamsala.

Numerical data as of August 2013

Boys	(Boarders):	867
Girls	(Boarders):	767
-		
Boys	(Dayscholars):	62
Girls (Dayscholars):		47
Total:		1743
Staff:		251

TCV Summer School Program

The aim of the TCV Summer School Program in Upper TCV is to enable Tibetan children living abroad to join TCV Summer Camp to learn Tibetan language, culture, history and basic principles of Buddhism. The students has an opportunity to experience first hand the Tibetan exile community in India through visits and interaction with TCV children. The overall aim is to enable the children to get a feel of the Tibetan spirit of maintaining their identity in exile and a better sense of understanding and appreciation of the Tibetan cause and aspirations.

TCV Bylakuppe

The largest concentration of Tibetan refugees is in South India, spread throughout five settlements. A growing population and increasing number of destitute families moving into the settlements from

other places had put heavy demands for more schools, particularly day-care centres, that would take care of children while parents toil on farms.

The SOS Tibetan Children's Village at Bylakuppe was opened in 1981 on sixteen acres of land donated by the settlement. After a great deal of planning and work, an idyllic children's village was created. Currently, the village has 29 homes, two hostels and complete facilities for education through class twelve. Beside this village, TCV runs ten day care centres for the benefit of the Tibetan settlers around the Bylakuppe and Hunsur areas. TCV's commitment in the South India has solved many pressing needs of the people and has contributed a great deal towards the development of the community.

Numerical data as of August, 2013

Boys	(Boarders):	594
Girls	(Boarders):	614
-		
Boys	(Dayscholars):	5
Girls (Dayscholars):		13
Total:		1226
Staff:		181

TCV Chauntra

TCV Patlikuhl school in the Kulu Valley was started on a temporary basis by the Tibetans at the road work camps in the early 1970s. But because of its proximity to the River Beas, the school faced constant danger of flooding during the monsoon season. In 1995, it was completely flooded for days. Therefore, children and staff had to be temporarily evacuated on safer grounds, but there was already much damage to the school buildings and other properties.

Because of this constant danger, it was felt best to relocate and rebuild the school in some other place. With availability of 14.5 acres of land on purchase in the Tibetan settlement of Chauntra, plans were drawn up in 2001 for building of this new school. In the May of 2004 the children actually moved from Patlikuhl to the new school and the formal inauguration was held on 21st November 2004 by His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama in the presence of some of the sponsors who contributed in the construction of the project.

Numerical data as of August 2013

Boys	(Boarders):	483
Girls	(Boarders):	385
-		
Boys	(Dayscholars):	2
Girls (Dayscholars):		1
Total:		871
Staff:		95

TCV Gopalpur

The intense overcrowding problem in all villages and schools coupled with the constant arrival of children from Tibet necessitated a new village in the early 90's for a long term solution. With the acceptance and support from SOS Kinderdorf International, construction work began on a war footing. The children for this village were housed temporarily at TCV,(Bir). The number of children quickly increased and soon became quite unmanageable. Hence, makeshift, temporary accommodation and schooling had to be started early on even in the mist of its construction.

Thus, SOS Tibetan Children's Village at Gopalpur formally became operational in 1997. Spread over a thirty-acre estate in lush green environment with a majestic mountain backdrop, it is now home for the many children coming across the border. Currently there are now 1271 children. It is a self-contained, children's community with 32 homes, a medical centre and the hostels for the boys and the girls. This project is funded by the Schweizer Freunde Der SOS-Kinderdöfer. While the attached school complex is built with funding support from Stiftelsen SOS-Barnebyer -Norge.

Numerical data as of August 2013

Boys	(Boarders):	521
Girls	(Boarders):	593
-		
Boys	(Dayscholars):	3
Girls (Dayscholars):		2
Total:		1119
Staff:		137

TCV Ladakh

The Tibetan Settlement in Ladakh in the 70's was the most remote and least developed of all the Tibetan communities in exile. Nomadic refugee camps were scattered all along this Indo-Tibet border region where communication and physical contacts were almost entirely cut off from the rest of Tibetans in India. His Holiness was deeply concerned about their future, particularly the fate of the children. In order to alleviate their poor condition, a plan was implemented to provide education and introduce sustainable development programmes in that region.

With initial seed money of Rs.10,000 from His Holiness The XIV Dalai Lama and land donated by the local Indian government, TCV set out to build a children's village near Leh, Ladakh in 1975. Today TCV Ladakh is a thriving SOS Village with its own school and other facilities. The school includes classes from pre-school through grade ten, after which students can join other TCV branches for further education. Out of 24 children's homes or Khimtsangs, seven are allotted to destitute Ladakhi children.

Besides the main SOS Village at Choglamsar, there are now seven schools, three in Jangthang and one handicraft cum vocational training centre, one agro-nomadic farm and one old people's home. Nicknamed "oasis in the desert," TCV Ladakh has become the pride of the region, serving both the Tibetan and Ladakhi communities in the best tradition of universal responsibility and care.

Numerical Data (August, 2013)

Choglamsar Main School

Boys	(Boarders):	465
Girls	(Boarders):	479
-		
Boys	(Dayscholars):	196
Girls (Dayscholars):		179
Staff:		175

Nyuma Branch

Boys:		38
Girls:		37
Staff:		9

Sumdho

Boys:	Branch	School
		23

Girls:		20
Staff: 7		
Hanley	Branch	School
Boys:		86
Girls:		81
Staff: 27		

TCV Lower Dharamsala

Lower TCV was established at a time when Upper Tibetan Children's Village was undergoing its worst period of overcrowding. Because of the liberalisation policy adopted by the Chinese in response to the international condemnation of its human rights records, the 1980's saw a mass escape of people from Tibet. A large section of them were children who needed instant care and rehabilitation. It was once again TCV which assumed the responsibility of looking after them. With initial seed money of one lakh rupees donated by the His Holiness and much of the remainder coming from Herman Gmeiner Fonds Deutschland, TCV carried out the construction of a new school at a poultry farm it owned.

The school was opened in 1984. Initially only 100 newcomer children from Tibet were housed there. Later as the situation changed and other TCV branches could absorb more children from Tibet, Lower TCV was completely turned into a residential school, with the aim of meeting the pressing needs for educational facilities for children of parents who could afford school fees. The school was expanded and upgraded with facilities through class ten. Today, Lower TCV has 632 children under its care. Over the years the school has developed into one of the best residential schools in exile solely financed by Tibetan parents.

Numerical Data (as of 31/03/2013)

Boys	(Boarders):	277
Girls	(Boarders):	262
-		
Boys	(Dayscholars):	39
Girls (Dayscholars):		42
Staff: 71		

TCV Selakui

After having obtained the necessary approval from the State Authorities and forming a construction team, work started in August 2001. The school which has a capacity for 500 children is located in the vicinity of some of the best schools in India thereby have some apparent advantages.

As originally planned admission to this school is based selectively on merit and open to Tibetan students from different schools in exile. Mr. Duke Tsering, a former student of TCV, Dharamsala who was a senior teacher was appointed as its first Headmaster. In early 2004, recruitment of necessary teachers and administrative co-workers was completed. After selection criteria and process of conducting special entrance tests were worked out, 198 students from class V-VII within TCV schools joined their new school on 1st July 2004. Beginning from class VI it has up to class VIII at present and the school will gradually be upgraded to Senior Secondary level. Without the trust and continued support of our friends we would not have achieved this ambitious project of giving some of the academically gifted children this special opportunity.

Numerical Data (August, 2013)

Boys	(Boarders):	170
Girls		(Boarders): 240
-		
Boys		(Dayscholars): 0
Girls (Dayscholars):		0
Total:		410
Staff:		55

TCV Suja

Following the Chinese limited liberalisation policy of the 1980s, Tibetans by the thousands crossed over to India to seek freedom from suppression and persecution. Among the escapees there was a sizable number of illiterate young adults who needed help in education as well as eventual integration into society. The Cabinet Secretariat of the Tibetan Administration (Kashag) founded an adult education school in 1986 at Bir - 75km from Dharamsala. It was named New Tibetan School, and there were 68 students who lived and studied in rental houses there. Later in 1990, the Kashag entrusted the responsibility of running the school to TCV, as it had the required experience and capacity to do so. At the time of TCV's takeover, there were already 322 young adults with many joining day by day. When the school was in its early development, there was neither proper curriculum, nor adequate infrastructure. For TCV, it was a moment of great challenge. Everything had to be reorganised and restructured in a systematic manner, keeping in mind the unique needs of adult newcomer students. New policy guidelines were worked out with the aim of standardising the education and opening other options and opportunities for further education and training. In spite of considerable struggles in the efforts to create a new kind of school within the TCV system, Bir school eventually came out a success.

The successful handling of the adult school at Bir led to another development in TCV's continual efforts in combating the overcrowding problems. SOS Kinderdorf International agreed to fund the establishment of a completely new SOS Village at Bir. A plot of seven acres of land was bought around the TCV Bir School, and hectic construction of the Children's Village was undertaken. A first batch of 27 children from Tibet arrived even when the Village was not formally opened. Temporary arrangements were made for them. As the major part of the construction was completed in 1994 and the required infrastructures created, a fresh batch of 303 children from Tibet joined the Village. Since the number of people escaping ruthless Chinese suppression increased, the number of helpless children coming to TCV virtually turned into a flood in 1995.

Presently, the village has twelve children's homes with an average of 30 to 40 children living in each home or Khimtsang. Every effort is being made by the TCV administration to reduce the pressures of overcrowding. In the field of education, the Village has complete facilities for students through the primary level. After that, children will join other TCV branches.

Numerical Data (31/03/2013)

Boys	(Boarders):	702
Girls		(Boarders): 704
-		
Boys		(Dayscholars): 0
Girls (Dayscholars):		4
Total:		1410
Staff :		150

DAY SCHOOLS

Day School Mcleod Ganj

Dharamsala being the seat of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government in exile, it has a sizeable number of Tibetan population concentrated mainly in McLeod Ganj area. In 1966, Mr. Chokteng Kalsang, a retired Tibetan government civil service staff (tsidrung) started a day school on a small plot of land owned by TCV as it was difficult for the younger children to walk the distance to the main TCV school. Later in 1972, TCV took over the responsibility of running the school.

Today, the school has the capacity for 180 children from classes from I to V and thereafter the children attends the main TCV school for continuation of their schooling as day scholars.

Numerical Data (31/3/2013)

Students: **150**

Staff: **13**

Day School Ladakh

The Tibetan settlement in Leh known as "Sonamling" has 9 different camps scattered along the Indus River. Since it was difficult for smaller children to attend the main school located in the Children's Village in Choglamsar, Creche centers and Day Schools in the camps were set up in 1976. Today, the Agling Day School has classes from Pre-Primary to V, while the Choglam and Menlha Day Schools have up to class III. These schools have a total capacity for around 400 children.

Numerical Data (31/3/2013)

Menlha	Day	School:
Students:		110
Staff: 7		
Choglam	Day	School:
Students:		47
Staff: 7		
Agling	Day	School:
Students:		174
Staff: 26		

Day School Kullu

In the early 60s and 70s there were a large number of Tibetan refugees living in the Kully Valley engaged in road construction works. Gradually majority of them left for re-settlement in South India.

However, a small population of Tibetan refugee continued to live around the town of Kullu and for their children's education a Day School was built in 1977. The school still continues to function up to class II with capacity for around 30 children. After completing class II, parents have the choice of sending their children to other Tibetan schools.

Numerical Data (31/3/2013)

Students:

17

Staff: **2**

Day School Delhi

This school is the latest addition into the TCV family. There is a sizeable number of Tibetans living in the New Aruna Nagar, Majnu-ka-Tilla on the banks of the river Jamuna. The community was running the school with the management committee and receiving grant-in-aid from the Central Tibetan Schools Administration (CTSA), New Delhi.

With TCV's experience, the parents, camp leader and the concerned authorities approached TCV to takeover the school. This was obliged with effect from 2nd October 2009.

Numerical Data (August 2013)

Boys	(Boarders):	0
Girls	(Boarders):	0
-		
Boys	(Dayscholars):	36
Girls (Dayscholars):		37
Total:		73
Staff: 13		

VOCATIONAL TRAINING CENTRES

TCV Vocational Training Centre, Selakui

With the ever increasing number of students graduating out of Tibetan school system in India, it was clear that not everyone pursue higher academic studies in colleges and universities. On the other hand, there is always the need for skilled workforce. The VTC thus provides this opportunity for TCV school graduates who are less academically gifted but has the potentials to excel in a range of technical skills in various trades so that they can serve in different industries, community centres in India or abroad and even set up their own business entrepreneurship and generate self-employment. The Center stretches over 65 acres of land and built with support of the SOS Kinderdorf International in August 2000. Today, it provides training in technical trades such as Motor Mechanic, Wireman/Electrician, Carpentry, Service Trades such as hair and skin care, hair dresser and spa therapist, professional computer application and front office combined with secretarial practice and hotel trades such as house keeping, food and beverage service, food production, bakery and confectionary. After their training, every effort is made for their placement within and outside the Tibetan community in their respective field of trade. Encouragement and support is also given for self-employment and entrepreneurship.

Numerical Data (31/3/2013)

Students: **143**

Staff: **23**

Vocational Training Centre, Patlikuhl

The preservation and promotion of Tibetan art and craft being equally important. TCV founded Vocational Training Centers initially in Dharamsala, Ladakh and Bir. With the TCV Patlikuhl school having been relocated at TCV Chauntra, the existing infrastructure were made available to start a combined Vocational Training Centre at Patlikuhl focussing on traditional Tibetan Thangka Painting and Tailoring unit in 2004.

Numerical Data (31/3/2013)

Students:
Staff: **20**

Vocational Training Centre, Dharamsala

TCV Handicraft Cum Vocational Training Centre is a non-profit organisation based in Upper Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh. The Centre's campus is adjacent to the Upper TCV and its Health Centre.

Numerical Data (31/3/2013)

Students: **10**

Staff: **5**

THE DALAI LAMA HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTE

The Institute is a part of the Tibetan Children's Village (TCV), an integrated charitable organization for child care and educational services. True to its initial vision, as set forth by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the mission of TCV is to ensure that all children under its care receive a sound education and a firm cultural identity, so they can become self-reliant and contributing members of the community and the world at large. Over the years, TCV has grown into the largest autonomous educational body in the Tibetan community in exile. In several significant ways, TCV has set the pace and tempo of school management, and has consistently worked hard to improve the quality and scope of education at the higher level. The Dalai Lama Institute for Higher Education, Bangalore, is TCV's newest educational endeavor, and one of the most significant projects ever undertaken by TCV.

Numerical Data (August 2013)

Students

Boys: **132**

Girls: **82**

Staff: **50**

Further Studies

TCV provides studentships and assistance to its graduates through its Higher Studies Scholarship Programs. TCV schools offer career information service and guidance to students seeking college admissions and is tracking their progress through the Scholarship Program Offices. In the academic year 2011-2012 a total number of 1815 students were assisted through the programs in various fields of higher studies or training.

TCV YOUTH HOSTELS

Youth Hostel, Delhi

University of Delhi attracts every year a large number of students for admission into its different colleges and the Tibetan students are no exception. Even though students manage to get college admission but finding proper accommodation is a big problem because most of the colleges have only

a limited number of hostel facilities. Thus the need for a separate hostel for Tibetan students to solve only their accommodation problems but more importantly to provide a continued conducive Tibetan environment so nurtured in our schools and also serve as a forum for interaction with other students of Delhi University on various Tibetan issues. The hostel was built on a 2 acres of land purchase from the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) on perpetual lease and funded by the SOS Kinderdorf International. It was inaugurated and blessed by His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama on March 16th, 1991, in the presence of Mr. Helmut Kutin, Mr. Rabi Ray, honorable Lok Sabha Speaker and other officials.

Numerical Data (31/3/2013)

Students:

230

Staff: **8**

Youth Hostel, Chandigarh

Numerical Data (31/3/2013): n.d.

Youth Hostel, Bangalore

Since the majority of the Tibetans in exile live in the southern state of Karnataka, there is a large number of school graduates seeking admission in different colleges in Bangalore University. In 1993, TCV started a provisional hostel in a rented house with support from Mrs. Imtraut Wager, German Aid to Tibetans (GAT). Later on with the funding support from the European Union a land was purchased and the present youth hostel was built with the capacity to accommodate around 200 students and also an office for the south zone Coordinating Officer of the Tibetan settlements.

Numerical Data (August, 2013)

Boys:

104

Girls: **126**

Staff: **6**

Youth Hostel, Mundgod

The Central School for Tibetans in Doeguling Tibetan settlement, Mundgod, is the only school in the south that has all the 3 streams (Science, Commerce and Arts) and Vocational stream at the Senior Secondary level which attracts many children to the school. But the existing hostel is unable to provide accommodation for all children seeking admission. On the other hand, since there are parents moving out of the settlements especially during the winter months for petty business, children are left under the care of their grand parents or with neighbors. As a result, there is lack of proper guidance and supervision of the children in their self studies and home assignments. This often leads to poor performance at the school.

Therefore, the Mundgod hostel was built to cater to the above needs and particularly those under the OUTREACH PROGRAM who form the neediest cases in the settlements. This was made possible through the generous funding support of the Autonomous Provinz Bozen/Bolzano, Italy and inaugurated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in the presence of the President of South Tyrol Dr. Luis Durnwalder on 10th January 2008. The hostel can accommodate around 200 students.

Numerical Data (31/3/2013)

Students: **112**

Staff: **2**

OUTREACH PROGRAMME

Day-care centers in the settlements, hostels, care centres for the elderly, support to children with parents in the form of stipends.

“Though we receive many requests for the admission of children into our villages and schools, we realize the pivotal importance of child-care and love that only parents can give. Therefore, it is crucial to support the parents of children by way of paying stipends to them and encouraging them to keep their children with them. This is working very well. Today, under this program, we are assisting 2,258 children who live with their parents in the different settlements and Tibetan communities in India, Nepal and Bhutan. Just like all the children living in our various villages and schools, all these children are also sponsored and we make sure that there is a good relationship between the sponsors and their sponsored child. We are planning to strengthen this stipend program in the years to come so that children learn Tibetan family values besides getting an education.”

(Source: <http://www.tcv.org.in/content/outreach-programme>, last accessed on 24 May 2016)

ཕྱི་ལོ་བརྒྱ་ཕྱུག་བུ་ལོ་ནང་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་རིག་པ་ཡར་རྒྱས་བྱུང་བ་ནས་ བཟུང་འདས་པའི་ལོ་ ༡༩༠༠ ཚམས་ཀྱི་རིང་བོད་ནི་འཇིག་རྟེན་འདྲིའི་མི་རིགས་ ཡོངས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་རབས་སུ་མར་མ་ གྲགས་ཤིང་། ལུས་ཀྱང་འགྲན་དུ་མེད་པའི་རིག་གནས་སྤྱི་དང་། ལྷན་པར་ནང་དོན་རིག་པའི་ཡར་རྒྱས་དང་དར་ལྷབ་ཀྱི་བཞི་ གནས་ཆེ་ཤོས་སུ་གྱུར་ཏེ། སྐྱ་རྒྱུར་དང་རྩོམ་རིག་གི་ལག་རྒྱུས་ཆེན་བཞག་ཡོད་ཅིང་། མང་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་མཁས་པའི་སྐྱེ་བོ་བསྐྱེད་ལས་འདས་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ཡོད། བོད་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་ཡིག་གི་འབྲེལ་དང་། མཁས་པའི་གྲངས་དང་སྤྱི་ཚད་བཅས་ལ་གཞིགས་ན་བོད་མི་ཡོངས་ལ་ཤེས་ཡོན་སློབ་སྦྱོན་ གི་ལམ་སོལ་རྒྱ་ལྷབ་ཏུ་ཡོད་པ་ལྟ་ བུར་མངོན་ཡང་། དོན་དུ་གཞུང་དང་སྤྱི་གཞི་འཛུགས་སོགས་ཀྱི་དོན་ནས་ན་གཞོན་ཡོངས་ལ་སློབ་སྦྱོང་གི་ གོ་སྐབས་སྦྱོང་བའི་སློབ་གྲྭ་སོགས་མེད་པ་མ་ཟད། གཞུང་ གི་དོན་ནས་ཡུལ་མིའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་སློབ་སྦྱོང་གི་སྲིད་བྱུས་སམ་འཆར་གཞི་ནི་ མིང་ཚམས་ཡང་མ་གྲགས། གཙོ་ཆེར་གྲྭ་བཅུན་ཐུགས་གསུམ་གྱི་ཚོས་ལྷེ་ལག་དང་། མཁྱེན་ ཡོན་ཅན་གྱི་སེར་སྐྱ་མང་བོའི་དྲིན་ལས་ཤེས་ཡོན་དོན་གཉེར་ཅན་རྣམས་ལ་ སློབ་སྦྱོང་གི་གོ་སྐབས་མ་ཐོབ་པའང་མེད། དབྱིག་གཉེན་གྱིས། ཚུལ་གནས་ཐོས་དང་ བསམ་ཐུན་པས། སློམ་པ་ལ་ནི་རབ་ཏུ་སྦྱོར། ཞེས་བསྟན་པ་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་གོ་རིམ་དང་མཚུངས་པའི་སློབ་སྦྱོང་གི་ལམ་སོལ་མང་དུ་ བྱུང་བ་ཞིག་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ནང་ རང་གཤམ་སུ་གནས་མོད། ཨ་རུའི་བུས། ཇི་ལྟར་འཇིག་རྟེན་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས། ལུང་པོ་ལམས་དང་སྐྱེ་མཚེད་དང་། ལྷུ་མཐའ་གཞན་ཡང་ཡོད་ན་ཡང་། རང་ ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ནི་མི་ཤེས་བཞིན། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་སྦྱོང་གི་སྲིད་བྱུས་སམ་ལམ་སོལ་འདི་ཡིན་ཞེས་ གསལ་སྟོན་བྱས་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་སམ་ཡིག་ཆ་མི་ རྟེན་ཅིང་། ཉེ་བའི་ལོ་ངོ་བརྒྱ་ཕྱུག་ལ་ཤས་ནང་རུབ་སློང་ནས་དར་ཞིང་ཤར་རུབ་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་གྲུ་པས་ མོ་ཆེར་ལྷབ་བརྒྱུ་ལུ་སོང་བའི་དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་ལག་ དང་དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་སློབ་ སྦྱོང་གི་ལམ་སོལ་གཉིས་ཀ་གངས་རིས་བསྐྱར་བའི་སྦྱོང་སུ་ཕྱི་ལོ་བརྒྱ་ཕྱུག་ཉི་ ལུ་པའི་ཕྱིད་ཀྱི་བར་དྲི་མ་ཚམས་ཡང་མ་སྐྱབས་པར་གནས་ ལུབ་བྱུང་ཡོད། དེའི་དགོ་སྟོན་ནི་སྐྱེ་བོ་སོ་སོའི་མཐོང་ཚུལ་བསམ་ཚུལ་ལྟར་སྤྲོ་ཚོགས་ཡོད་མོད། འདིར་དབྱེད་པ་སྐབས་སུ་མ་བབས།

ནི་ བར་སྐབས།

ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༥༡ ལོར་དུས་འགྲུལ་མི་བཟང་པའི་དབང་གིས་བོད་ཀྱི་རྗེ་འབངས་འབྲུམ་ལ་ཉེ་བ་ཁྲིམ་མཚོས་ རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ལག་ཏུ་བཅོན་བྱོལ་དུ་ཡོང་དགོས་བྱུང་བའི་ སྐབས་བོད་རིགས་ན་གཞོན་རྣམས་ལ་ དང་རབས་དང་སོལ་རྒྱན་རྒྱུ་དུ་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་སློབ་སྦྱོང་ཚད་ལྡན་ཞིག་ སྦྱོང་རྒྱའི་ཆེད་སྤྱི་ནོར་ལ་གོངས་ལ་སྐབས་ མགོན་ཆེན་པོའི་ཐབས་མཁས་ཀྱི་མཛད་ བྱས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བཅོན་བྱོལ་བོད་མིའི་གཞི་རིམ་གྱི་གཏན་ཉེན་སློབ་གྲྭ་ལག་མང་ གསར་འཛུགས་ལུབ་བྱུང་། སྐབས་ དེར་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་གནས་བབས་གང་ཅིའི་ཆ་ནས་གནས་ཡུལ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་སོ་སོའི་སློབ་ སྦྱོང་གི་ལམ་སོལ་དང་སློམ་གཞི་ལ་མ་བརྟེན་ ཐབས་མེད་བྱུང་ཡོད་ནའང་། སློམ་ གཞི་དེའི་ནང་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་སྤེལ་འཛུགས་སློབ་ཚན་དུ་ཚུད་ལུབ་པ་མ་ཟད། དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་སློམ་གཞི་དང་མཐུན་པའི་སློབ་དེབ་གསར་ བསྐྱུགས་དང་། དགོ་ཤོན་འོས་སྦྱོང་སོགས་གནས་དུས་དང་བསྟུན་པའི་ལས་དོན་མང་པོ་བརྒྱུས་ཏེ་གྲུབ་ འབྲས་སྐབས་ཆེན་ཐོན་ཡོད། རིམ་བཞིན་བཅོན་བྱོལ་ བོད་མིའི་སློབ་གྲྭ་ལག་བརྟེན་སྤོང་སྤེལ་ཚུགས་བྱུང་བ་དང་ བསྟུན་བོད་མིའི་འབྲས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་དམིགས་ཡུལ་དང་དགོས་མཁོར་འཚུམས་པའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་ སློབ་སྦྱོང་གི་ ལམ་སོལ་ཚད་ལྡན་ཞིག་བསྐྱུན་རྒྱ་དགོས་གལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་ཡང་། ཐོག་མའི་རྩ་དུག་གི་དུས་སྐབས་སུ་གཞན་གཡར་བྱས་པའི་ལམ་སོལ་ཆུ་དན་ལམ་ཤོར་ལྟ་བུ་ གོམས་ གཤིས་སུ་འཛུགས་ཏེ་དེ་ལས་གཞན་པའི་ལམ་སོལ་ཞིག་བསམ་ཞིབ་ལག་བསྟར་བྱ་དགོས་ མཐོང་མ་ལུབ་པའམ། མཐོང་ཡང་བྱེད་མ་ཐོད་པའི་དབང་གིས་མི་ལོ་ བརྒྱ་ཕྱུག་ལ་ཤས་དེ་ལྟར་འདས། ལ་གོང་ས་ལ་སྐབས་མགོན་ཆེན་པོས་དུས་གསུམ་གསལ་གཞིགས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་སློབ་ནན་བསྟན་གནང་ འབྲས་སུ་བོད་ལུག་ཁྲིམ་ཐེས་ གཞི་རིམ་འཛིན་གྲྭ་དང་པོ་ནས་ཐུ་པའི་བར་སློབ་ སྦྱོང་གི་སྐད་ཡིག་བོད་སྐད་དུ་བསྒྱུར་བའི་སྐབས་ཆེའི་བྱ་བ་ཞིག་བསྐྱབས་ལུབ་པ་ བྱུང་ཡང་། ཕྱི་ནང་གི་འགལ་ རྒྱན་དུ་མའི་དབང་གིས་འཛིན་རིམ་དུག་པ་ཡན་སློབ་སྦྱོང་གི་ བརྒྱུད་ལམ་གཞན་སྐད་ལ་བརྟེན་དགོས་པའི་ཉམ་ངའི་གནས་ལས་ད་ལྟའང་གོལ་མ་ལུབ། བོད་དུ་ རྒྱ་དམར་གྱིས་བཅོན་གཞོན་དང་། བཅོན་བྱོལ་དུ་བོད་མིས་རང་འདོད་ཀྱིས་བོད་མིའི་སྐད་ཡིག་གི་རང་དབང་ཕལ་ཆེར་ཤོར་ ཟེན། དེ་ཚམས་མ་ཟད་བོད་མི་རིགས་ ཀྱི་བྱུང་རབས་སུ་མ་གྲགས་པའི་ན་གཞོན་ལས་མེད་ཅེས་པའི་ སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དཀའ་སྟོན་གསར་པ་ཞིག་ད་བར་ལག་བསྟར་བྱས་པའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་སློབ་ སྦྱོང་གི་ལམ་ སོལ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བསྐྱུན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། དེའི་སེལ་ཐབས་དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་ནས་མི་རྟེན། ད་བར་སློབ་ལུག་སྤོང་བརྒྱལ་བ་ཞིག་གཞི་རིམ་སློབ་གྲྭ་ལག་ནས་ཐོན་ ཟེན་ཡང་། དེང་རབས་དང་སོལ་རྒྱན་རིག་གནས་གང་གི་ཐོག་ཏུ་གཞེངས་ཐོན་གྱི་མཁས་དབང་གྲགས་ ཅན་འདི་ཐོན་དོས་འཛིན་དཀའ་བ་མ་ཟད། རིག་གཞུང་

གི་ཤེས་ཚད་དང་བསམ་སྦྱོར་གང་གི་ཆ་ནས་བོད་མིའི་ལྷན་འདུན་བོད་དོན་ བདེན་མཐའ་གསལ་ཐབས་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་དང་དོན་འཛིན་སྲུང་སྐྱོབ་ཀྱི་
 ལས་དོན་ཚད་མེད་དུ་མི་བྱུང་ པའི་གཟུང་གནས་རང་དབང་གི་རྣམ་དཔྱད་བསྐྱུར་རྒྱུར་ད་ལྟའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་སློབ་སྦྱོང་ གི་ལམ་སྲོལ་འདི་ལྟར་ཐོག་ཤིང་ཤིང་གི་ཤེས་
 རྟོགས་བོད་མིའི་སློབ་སྦྱོང་དང་འབྲེལ་ ཡོད་མི་སྣ་མི་ཉུང་བ་ཞིག་ལ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་སྐབས་བཅུ་གཅིག་པའི་བོད་མི་མང་ སྤྱི་འབྲུལ་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༩༧
 ལོར་བཅའ་བྱུང་བོད་མིའི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་གཞུང་གི་ རྩ་བའི་བྱེད་སློབ་ལམ་སློབ་ནང་“ཤེས་ཡོན་སློབ་སློབ་ཡར་རྒྱས་གཏོང་
 ཐབས་སུ་དོན་ དམ་བོད་ཀྱི་གཞི་རྒྱུ་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་འཚམས་པའི་ཤེས་རིག་གི་སྲིད་བྱས་ཡང་དག་ཅིག་ བཟོ་རྒྱུ་” ཞེས་གསལ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། གཅིག་ཏུ་ཡང་དག་
 པའི་ཐབས་ལམ་གཞན་གང་ཡིན་གསལ་རྟོགས་མེད་པ་དང་། ལྷག་པར་ན་གཞོན་ཚོར་སློབ་སྦྱོང་སྦྱོང་པའི་དགོས་དམིགས་ནི་རང་གི་འཚོ་ཐབས་སུ་ གཞི་གཞུང་གི་
 འཚོ་སྤྱོད་ཉལ་གཅིག་ཡིན་པར་ཨ་འཐབས་སུ་འཛིན་པའི་དབང་གིས་ད་ལྟའི་ལམ་ སྲོལ་ལ་འགྲུལ་བ་ལྟར་མོ་ཙམ་བཏང་ཆོ་འབྱུང་འགྲུལ་མཐོ་སློབ་དང་གཞི་གཞུང་གི་
 གོ་ སྐབས་ལ་གཞོད་དོགས་ཀྱི་འཛིགས་སྐྱོང་ཁོ་ནས་བསམ་དཔྱད་མ་རུས་པར་རེ་ཞིག་ནར་འགྲུངས་ དང་། ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༩༧ ལོར་ཤེས་ཡོན་སྲིད་བྱས་ཟེན་བྲིས་ཚོགས་
 རྒྱུ་ཞིག་ཟུར་བཅུགས་ཀྱིས་ ༢༠༠༡ ཕྱི་ཟླ་ ༤ པའི་ནང་བཅའ་བྱུང་བོད་མིའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་སྲིད་བྱས་ཞེས་པའི་ཟེན་བྲིས་ཤིག་བཟོ་ འགོད་གནང་འདུག་ཀྱང་། དེ་ནི་
 ད་ཡོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་གཞིར་ཟུར་རྒྱུ་ལེགས་བཅོས་ཙམ་ལས་གསར་བཅུའི་རྣམ་པ་མ་ མངོན།

ལ ༥ གླེ

ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༢ ཕྱི་ཟླ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༢་ལ་ བར་རྒྱ་སར་ཤེས་རིག་ཚོགས་ཚེན་བཞེ་བ་བསྐོར་ཚོགས་སྐབས་ཁོ་བོས་བཀའ་ཤག་གི་ཤེས་ ཡོན་སྲིད་བྱས་སྐོར་བསམ་ཚུལ་ཇི་
 ཡོད་གསལ་བཤད་ལྷན་པར་བཤོ་སྐྱོང་དང་དྲི་བ་ དྲིས་ལན་ཞིབ་རྒྱས་བྱུང་ཇི་ཚོགས་ལེབས་པ་ཡོངས་ནས་བསམ་ཚུལ་དེར་སྤྱི་མོས་ རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་བྱུང་། གསལ་བཤད་
 དེའི་ནང་ཚོས་ལྷན་པར་བསྐྱུར་པའི་ནང་དོན་རིག་པའི་རྒྱང་གཞིའི་ཐོག ལགོང་ས་ལ་སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཆེན་པོས་འདས་པའི་ལོ་ངོ་བཅུ་དྲུག་བཞེ་སྤྱི་གཞི་
 འཛིག་ཉེན་ སྤྱི་དང་། ལྷན་པར་བོད་མིའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་སྐོར་བཀའ་སློབ་ལྟ་ཇི་སྤྱི་ལེབས་པ་རྣམས་སྤོང་དོན་ དུ་བཟུང་། བདག་ཉིད་ཆེན་པོ་གཞི་དང་། ར་
 སེར་དུ་ཐུག་ཀྱང་། ཨ་རབ་ལྷན་པར་ ཇི་རྒྱུ་ཀྱི་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་སྐོར་གྱི་དགོངས་ཚུལ་ནས་ལེགས་ཆ་སྐྱབས་ ཨ་རི་སོགས་ལུ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་གྲུ་ལག་ནས་ཆེས་དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་
 སློབ་སྦྱོང་ལྟ་ མོར་སོན་ཇི་སྤོང་སྐྱོན་གནས་མཐོང་སྤེ་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་ལ་ལྷན་པར་ལེགས་པའི་ན་གཞོན་མང་ པའི་བར་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཚོད་བཟུང་ལས་འགུལ་ལག་གིས་ཟུར་བཅུན་ཉེ་
 མ་འོངས་བོད་དུ་ འཚོ་བ་མེད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཤིག་སྐྱུར་པའི་ཐབས་སུ་འགོ་དངས་པའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་ ལམ་སྲོལ་ བོད་མིའི་དོན་དམ་གྱི་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་འཚམས་པ་
 ཞིག་ཡོང་བ་ལ་ཡན་ལག་གང་དང་གང་ཚང་ དགོས་པའི་སྐོར་སྤྱི་སྐྱོར་རགས་པ་ཞིག་ལྷན་ཡོད། དེར་མོས་མཐུན་བྱུང་དོན་བཞིན་ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༣ ནང་ཤེས་རིག་
 དུང་ཆེ་གཡུ་ཐོག་གཞུང་དགོ་ལེགས་ཀྱིས་གཙོ་སྐྱོང་འོག་བོད་ལྷན་པར་ ཟུར་འོག་འོར་བུ་མོ་ཚོ་རིང་ཡེ་ཤེས། བོད་ལྷན་ཤེས་ཡོན་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་སྤེ་ཚོན་གྱི་འགན་འཛིན་
 དག་དབང་དོ་ཇེ། རིགས་སློབ་དགོ་ཀན་སློ་བཟང་རིན་ཆེན། ཤེས་རིག་ལས་ཁུངས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་ཉམས་ཞིབ་ལས་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཚོ་རིང་བཅས་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་ ཤེས་ཡོན་
 སྲིད་བྱས་ཟེན་བྲིས་ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་ཆེད་འཇུགས་བྱས་ཉེ་ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་གི་ཟེན་ བྲིས་དང་བོ་འགོད་འབྲུལ་བྱུང་བར་བཀའ་ཤག་གིས་ཚོག་དོན་ཡོངས་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ནན་
 ཉན་ དང་འབྲེལ་ཟེན་བྲིས་གཉིས་པ་གཏན་འབེབས་ཀྱིས་བཅའ་བྱུང་བོད་མིའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་སྤེ་ ཚོན་ལག་དང་། མཁས་པ་ལག་བཅས་ལ་དགོངས་འཆར་སྤེ་རྒྱ་བྱུང་
 འབྲེམས་སྤེལ་དང་། ཕྱི་ནང་མང་ཚོགས་ཡོངས་ཀྱིས་མཁྱེན་རྟོགས་སྤེ་ད་རྒྱའི་བརྒྱུད་ལམ་ཐོག་བཞག་པ་ བཅས་ནས་དགོངས་འཆར་གང་འབྱོར་ཤེས་ལས་ནས་
 ཕྱོགས་བཟོམས་ཀྱིས་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་རྣམས་ལ་ ལྷན་པར་འབྲུལ་དང་། ༢༠༠༤ ཕྱི་ཟླ་དང་བོར་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་དང་། དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་ལམ་སྲོལ་ལ་མཁས་པའི་མཁས་
 དབང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཤོ་སྐྱོང་ཚོགས་འདུ་དང་། ༢༠༠༤ ཕྱི་ཟླ་ ༢ པའི་ནང་དེ་ཉུར་དུ་བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་དང་ཤེས་ཡོན་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་མི་སྣའི་བཤོ་ སྐྱོང་ཚོགས་འདུ་
 གཉིས་བསྐོར་ཚོགས་བྱས་ཉེ་སྲིད་བྱས་ཟེན་བྲིས་གཉིས་པ་དང་། དགོངས་འཆར་འབྱོར་ལག་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་བཤོ་སྐྱོང་ཟབ་རྒྱས་བྱས་ཇི་སྤེ། དེ་དག་ཏུ་བྱུང་བའི་གལ་
 ཆའི་དགོངས་འཆར་ལག་ཕྱོགས་བཟོམས་ཀྱིས་ཟེན་བྲིས་ཚོགས་ རྒྱུ་གི་རགས་ཟེན་གསུམ་པར་སྤེར་ཡང་བཀའ་ཤག་གིས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་དང་འབྲེལ་ ༢༠༠༤ ཕྱི་ཟླ་
 ༤ པའི་ནང་དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་མཁས་པའི་བཤོ་སྐྱོང་ཚོགས་འདུ་ཞིག་ལགོང་ས་ལ་སྐྱབས་མགོན་ ཆེན་པོས་དབུ་འབྱེད་ལམ་སློབ་དང་རྒྱགས་གནང་སྤེ་སྐབས་དེར་བྱུང་
 པའི་དགོངས་འཆར་ ལག་ནས་ཀྱང་ལེགས་ཆ་སྐྱབས་ཁོ་ནས་སྐྱོང་ཉེ་ཤེས་ཡོན་སྲིད་བྱས་ཡིག་ཆ་གཏན་འབེབས་ཀྱིས་ སྤྱི་ཚོར་ལགོང་ས་ལ་སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཆེན་པོར་

ལྷན་ཁྲུང་བསྟར་ཞིང་། ༢༠༠༥ ཟ෍་ཟ෍་ ༧ རྩེ་སྐབས་བཟུ་གསུམ་པའི་སྤྱི་འཕུལ་ཚོགས་དྲུས་བརྒྱུད་པར་གཏན་འབེབས་གནང་སྟངས་འབྲེལ་ལམ་ལྷན་ཁྲུང་ལམ་སྤྱི་ཡོངས་
 བཏོ་སྤོང་དང་། ཚོགས་ཚུང་ཆ་བཏོས་ཀྱིས་བསྟར་ཞིབ། ཚོགས་ཚུང་ལག་གི་གྲུབ་དོན་སྟུན་ཐོ་ལ་མཐའ་མའི་སྤྱི་ཡོངས་བཏོ་སྤོང་གིས་དོན་ཚན་ རེ་བྱང་ཐོག་མོས་
 ཤོག་བསུ་བཞེས་མཐའ་བཟོ་བཅོས་གོས་འཆར་ཐོན་པ་རྣམས་བཟོ་བཅོས་ གནང་རྗེས་སྤྱི་མོས་ཀྱིས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པའི་གལ་ཆེད་སྤྱི་ལྷན་གྱི་ཚུ་འཛིན་ཡིག་ཆ་
 འདི་བསྟུན་ཐུབ་པ་ཅི་དེང་རབས་བོད་མིའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་བྱུང་རབས་ནང་གལ་གནད་ཆེ་ བའི་མཚམས་ཉུགས་ཤིག་ཡིན། སྤྱི་སོལ་ལྷན་ན་འཛིན་སྟོང་གི་ལས་དོན་
 དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་སྤྱི་ལྷན་གྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་ འདི་རིགས་གོས་ཚོགས་སུ་སྟུན་སྟོན་དང་ལམ་སྟོན་ལྷན་ཚུ་ཚམ་ལས། བྱིམས་སྤྱིག་ལྷན་དོན་ཚན་རེ་རེ་བཞིན་ནག་པོ་འབྲུ་
 བཤེར་གྱིས་བཏོ་སྤོང་དང་གཏན་ འབེབས་གནང་དགོས་མ་མཚེས་མོད། ཟེན་བྱིས་ཐོག་བཏོ་སྤོང་སྐབས་མཁས་པའི་འདུན་སར་གཏོགས་པའི་མཁས་དབང་རེ་བྱང་
 གིས་སྤྱི་ལྷན་འདི་བཞིན་གོས་ཚོགས་ལྷན་ལྷན་ཞིག་ནས་བཀག་མ་ཐུབ་ན་འབྲུང་འབྱུར་ བོད་མིའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་མདུན་ལམ་ལ་གནོད་ཚབས་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོང་བའི་ཉེན་
 བརྟེན་གཏོང་ཚུལ་ ཐོས་སྐབས་ལ་མཚན་ཞིང་ཡི་སྤྱོད་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་། གོས་ལ་མི་དབང་བ་ཞིག་གིས་གོང་སྟོས་ལྷན་བརྗོད་ཀྱང་མ་འཚམས་པ་མེད་ཅུང་། འདུན་སར་
 ལྷན་དངས་པའི་གོས་ལ་དབང་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རང་གི་དགོངས་ཚུལ་རྣམས་རིགས་ བའི་སྤྱུབ་བྱེད་དང་བཅས་འདུན་སར་མ་གསུངས་པར་སྟོག་ནས་གཞན་དག་
 བད་པའི་ངང་ཚུལ་ འདི་ལ་རབས་གྱི་བྱ་བར་གཏོགས་མིན་མ་འཚམས་ཞིང་། ཨ་བྱ་ཉལ་པོས། གཏམ་རྣམས་བྲག་ཅ་ལྷ་བྱར་རྒྱལ་བས་གསུངས། །ད་ནི་བྲག་ཅ་ལས་
 ཀྱང་ཡང་ཅ་སྟེ། །ལ་དང་དོན་དུ་མི་མཚུངས་བྲག་ཅའི་གཏམ། །སྤྱི་ཚོག་བྲག་ཅ་འདི་ལ་སྤྱན་པ་སྟེད། །ཅེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྷགས་མད་སྟུང་པ་བྱུང་། རྟེན་དམ་ལམ་
 ལོངས་གྱི་ཉུམས་ལེན་དམན་ཅུང་། རྟེན་དམ་གོགས་འཆར་དུ་སོང་སྟེ་སྤྱི་ལྷན་འདིའི་གཞི་རིམ་གྱི་ལྷ་གྲུབ་གང་ ལའང་མ་རེག་པར་འབྲོས་ལག་རེ་བྱང་ལ་བཅོས་
 སྤྱིག་མཛོད་ཚམ་རེ་བྱས་ཏེ་ཟེན་བྱིས་སུ་ གང་འཁོད་ལྷན་གོས་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་དགོངས་མཐུན་གཏན་འབེབས་གནང་བ་འདིས་མང་གཙོའི་རིང་ ལྷགས་ལ་ངེས་པ་
 བསྟར་དུ་རྟེན་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་།

ཕལ་ ལྷགས་རེ།

སྤྱི་ལྷན་དང་ལམ་སོལ་བཟང་པོ་ཇི་འདྲ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཅུང་དོས་དོན་མང་ཚོགས་སུ་ལག་ བསྟར་ཐུབ་མིན་དང་། ལམ་སྟོང་ཡོང་མིན་ནི་བྱི་ནང་གི་མཐུན་རྟེན་དུ་མ་
 ཞིག་ཚོགས་པ་ལ་རག་ལུས་གཤིས། སྤྱི་ལྷན་ལག་བསྟར་ཐུབ་པའི་ཐ་ཚོག་བསྟུགས་མི་རུས་མོད། བོད་རིགས་ཡོངས་ལ་འཕུལ་ལུག་ཀུན་དགའི་ལམ་བཟང་ཞིག་
 ཡོད་བཞིན་དུ་བསམ་བརྗོད་མ་ རུས་པར་བཟང་པ་ཅི་དམ་པའི་སྟོད་པར་མ་མཐོང་བས་སྤྱི་བརྟོལ་བསྟེད་པ་ལགས་ཤིང་། རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་མི་ཚའི་ནང་འབྲས་བཟང་
 མཐོང་མ་ཐུབ་ཀྱང་། བྱང་རབས་ལ་འགན་མ་ལྷན་བའི་གནོད་ཉེས་མེད་ཚམ་བྱུང་བས་ཚེས། གཟུ་བོར་གནས་པའི་སྟོ་ལུན་དེང་རབས་ཤན་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་མ་བསྟང་
 པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱོགས་ རེ་བ་དང་རགས་པ་རེ་ཚམ་མ་ཡིན་པར་ཡིག་ཆ་འདིའི་ཡོངས་སུ་ཚོགས་པའི་བརྗོད་བྱ་ལ་ ཡང་དག་པའི་རིགས་པས་ལེགས་པར་དབྱེད་ན་
 ཡིད་ཆེས་ཁོང་ནས་འཇུག་པའི་ངེས་ཤེས་ཤིག་ རྟེན་པར་ཐེ་མི་ཚོམ་ཞིང་། མདོ་དོན་རང་ལྷ་བྲལ་བའི་གཞན་ཟེར་རྗེས་འབྲངས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལེགས་སོ་ཐོབ་མིན་ཇི་
 ལྷན་ཡང་རང་ལྟའི་རིགས་ལ་མངོན་ཞེན་འདོར་མ་པོད་པ་བདག་གིས་རང་རུས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ལྷ་ ཅུང་ཟད་འབྲུབ་སྟུང་སྟོ་བ་སེམ།

ཕལ་ རྩོན་བཟ།

ཁོ་བོར་གནད་དེང་གི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་ལམ་སོལ་ལག་ལ་ཅུང་ཟད་དཔྱད་པའི་རྣམ་དཔྱད་ དང་གོ་སྐབས་གང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རྩོན་ལས་རྟེད་པའི་ཡབ་རྗེ་ཚོས་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ།
 ལ་གོང་ས་ལ་སྐབས་མགོན་རྒྱལ་བའི་དབང་པོ་མཚོག་གིས་ཤེས་ཡོན་སྤྱི་ལྷན་འདིའི་ཟེན་ བྱིས་དང་། བཏོ་སྤོང་གི་ལས་རིམ་གྱི་ཐོག་མཐའ་བར་གསུམ་དུ་བརྗེ་བ་
 ཆེན་པོས་ལམ་སྟོན་ཡང་ཡང་ གནང་བའི་བཀའ་རྩོན་གྱི་ཕུང་པོ་ནི་བྱང་ཚུབ་མ་ཐོབ་གྱི་བར་དུ་གཞལ་བར་མི་རུས། སྤྱི་ལྷན་གྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་འདིའི་ཟེན་བྱིས་ཐུ་
 འཁོད་པ་པོ་རྣམས་དང་། ལེགས་སྤེལ་ཉེས་འགོག་གི་དགོངས་འཆར་གནང་མཁན་རྣམ་པ། ལྷག་པར་ཁོ་བོའི་རྣམ་རྟོག་གི་ཡོ་ལང་དེ་དག་གི་འཕེལ་རིམ་ལ་ཚུལ་
 ལུན་རྣམ་དཔྱད་ ཀྱིས་ཕན་གོགས་རྒྱན་རིང་གནང་བའི་འཕགས་ལུལ་གྱི་དམ་དབང་མི་ལུང་བ་ཞིག་བཞུགས་ པ་དེ་དག་གི་བྱས་པ་དེན་དུ་ཚོར།

ཕལ་ མཐའ་དོན།

ས་གནས་འགོ་འདྲིན་ལས་ཁང་ལག་ས་གནས་གོས་ཚོགས་ལག་རྒྱ་གར་དང་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ཡུལ་ལག་ཏུ་བཞུགས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་སྐྱེར་ལག་གཞུང་འབྲེལ་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཚོགས་པ་ལག་གཅིག་བཅས་ལ་འབྲེམས་སྤེལ་དང་། འོན་ཀྱང་ཅན་གྱི་ཕྱི་ནང་མང་ཚོགས་སྤྱི་བྱིངས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རྟོགས་སྤེལ་ཤེས་རིག་ལས་ཁུངས་ཀྱི་དྲ་རྒྱའི་ནང་སྲིད་བྱས་ཟིན་གྱིས་ཡིག་ཆ་བོད་དབྱིན་གཉིས་ཐོག་བཞག་པའི་སློ་ནས་ཁྲུབ་འབྲེམས་རྒྱ་གར་ཆེ་བྱས།

༧ ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༤ ལྷ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༡༥ རང་རྒྱུད་ཤེས་རིག་ལས་ཁུངས་ཀྱིས་གོང་དུ་ཡིག་ཆ་འབྲེམས་སྤེལ་སོང་ཡུལ་ཚོགས་སྐྱེར་ལག་ནས་བསམ་ཚུལ་ཇི་འབྱོར་ཕྱོགས་བསྐྱོམས་བྱས་ཏེ་བཀའ་ཤག་དང་། ཟིན་བྲིས་ཚོགས་རྒྱུད། བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་པའི་བཏོ་སྐྱོང་ཚོགས་འདུ་བཅས་སུ་ལུས།

༡༠ ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༤ ལྷ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༡༢ རས་ ༡༧ བར་ལྷོ་ལིར་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་མཁས་པའི་བཏོ་སྐྱོང་ཚོགས་འདུ་དང་། ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༤ ལྷ་ ༢ ཚེས་ ༡ རས་ ༤ བར་ཏེ་ར་ཏུན་དུ་བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་དང་ཤེས་ཡོན་འདོན་སྐྱོང་མི་སྣའི་བཏོ་སྐྱོང་ཚོགས་འདུ་གཉིས་སྐོང་འཚོགས་བྱས་པའི་གཙོ་སྐྱོང་དུ་བཀའ་སློན་གྱི་བཏོ་སྐྱོང་དང་ཚོས་ཤེས་བཀའ་དང་ཚོས་ཤེས་བཀའ་སློན་རྣམས་གཉིས་དོ་སྤོངས་གནང་སྟེ་ཤེས་ཡོན་སྲིད་བྱས་ཀྱི་དོ་སྐྱོང་དང་། སྲིད་བྱས་རགས་ཟིན་གྱི་ནང་དོན་སྤྱི་དང་། རྩེ་བྲག་གཞི་རིམ་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་སྐོར་གཞི་དང་། ལམ་སྲོལ། རྒྱུད་བྱའི་སློབ་ཚན་བཅས་དོན་ཚན་གསུམ་ཐོག་བཏོ་སྐྱོང་ཟབ་སློན་བྱུང་།

༡༡ ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༤ ལྷ་ ༤ རང་སྲིད་བྱས་ཟིན་གྱིས་ཚོགས་རྒྱུད་གིས་གོང་གསལ་མཁས་པའི་ཚོགས་འདུ་ལག་གཉིས་ལས་ཁུངས་འདུ་བའི་ལམ་སློན་དང་མང་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་བསམ་ཚུལ་ཕྱོགས་བསྐྱོམས་བཅས་ལ་བསམ་གཞིགས་ཀྱིས་རགས་ཟིན་གཉིས་པའི་ནང་དོན་ལག་ལ་སློན་འཕྲིད་དང་བཏོ་སྐྱོང་བྱ་སློབ་ཇི་ཡོད་བྱས་ཏེ། སྲིད་བྱས་ཀྱི་རགས་ཟིན་གསུམ་པ་བཀའ་ཤག་ཏུ་ལུས།

༡༢ ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༤ ལྷ་ ༦ རང་བཀའ་ཤག་གིས་རགས་ཟིན་གསུམ་པར་བཀའ་བཅོས་གནང་འོས་གནང་ཐོག་སྲིད་བྱས་རགས་ཟིན་གྱི་དབྱིན་བསྐྱར་ལ་བསྐྱར་ཞིབ་དང་ལེགས་བཅོས་གནང་སློབ་ལག་གནང་།

༡༣ ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༤ ལྷ་ ༦ ཚེས་ ༢༤ རས་ ༢༧ བར་བཞུགས་སྐྱོ་རམ་ས་ལར་དང་རབས་ཀྱི་མཁས་པའི་བཏོ་སྐྱོང་ཚོགས་འདུ་ཞིག་སྐོང་འཚོགས་བྱས་པའི་སར་ཤེས་ཡོན་སྲིད་བྱས་ཀྱི་རགས་ཟིན་གསུམ་པ་འབྲེམས་སྤེལ་བྱས་ཏེ། བཏོ་སྐྱོང་ཚོགས་འདུ་ལྷ་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་ལྷ་ར་དོ་སྐྱོང་དང་བཏོ་སྐྱོང་གི་ལས་རིམ་ཟབ་སློན་བྱུང་། ལྷ་ག་པར་ཚོགས་འདུ་གསུམ་པ་འདྲིའི་འགོ་འཇུགས་སྤྱི་ལོ་ལ་ལོང་ས་ལ་སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཆེན་པོ་མཚོག་དབུ་བཞུགས་ཐོག་ཐོག་ཆེན་ཚོས་སྐྱོང་པོ་བྱང་དུ་བསྐྱབས་ཤིང་། སྐབས་དེར་ཤེས་ཡོན་སྲིད་བྱས་བཏོ་སྐྱོང་གྱི་ལས་གཞིའི་དོ་སྐྱོང་གསུང་བཤད་དང་། ལ་ལོང་ས་ལ་སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཆེན་པོ་མཚོག་ནས་ལམ་སློན་བཀའ་སློབ། བཏོ་སྐྱོང་གནད་བསྐྱབས་བཅས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་ལ་བཟང་བྱུང་།

༡༤ ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༤ ལྷ་ ༧ རང་བཀའ་ཤག་གིས་གོང་གསལ་མཁས་པའི་བཏོ་སྐྱོང་ཚོགས་འདུ་གསུམ་པའི་ཐོག་བྱུང་བའི་ལམ་སློན་དང་དགོངས་ཚུལ་ལག་ལ་དགོངས་དབྱེད་ཀྱིས་རགས་ཟིན་གསུམ་པར་བསྐྱར་ཞིབ་ཡང་ཞིབ་དང་འབྲེལ་སློན་འཕྲིད་དང་བཏོ་སྐྱོང་གནང་སློབ་ཇི་ཡོད་གནང་སྟེ། སྲིད་བྱས་ཀྱི་རགས་ཟིན་མཐའ་མ་གཏན་འཁེལ་གནང་།

༡༥ ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༤ ལྷ་ ༧ ཚེས་ ༢༧ རྩེ་བྲག་ཤག་གིས་བཅོན་བྱོལ་བོད་མིའི་གཞི་རིམ་གྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་སྲིད་བྱས་ཀྱི་ཟིན་གྱིས་མཐའ་མ་གཏན་འབེབས་གནང་སྟེ། ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༤ ལྷ་ ༧ རང་སྐབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་པའི་སྤྱི་འཐུས་གོས་ཚོགས་ཚོགས་དུས་བརྒྱུད་པའི་ཐོག་འབྲེམས་འབྲེལ་གནང་བར་སྤྱི་འཐུས་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ནས་བཏོ་སྐྱོང་ཞིབ་རྒྱས་དང་བཅས་སློན་འཕྲིད་ཅུང་ཟད་གནང་སྟེ་སྤྱི་མོས་ཐོག་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ་བཅས།

བཅོན་བྱོལ་བོད་མིའི་གཞི་རིམ་གྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་སྲིད་བྱས།

དང་པོ། སློབ་སྐྱོང་།

༡། བཅོན་བྱོལ་བོད་མིའི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་དོན་ཚན་བཅུ་བདུན་པའི་ནང་གསལ་ ༢ པར། “ཤེས་ཡོན་སློབ་སློན་ཡར་རྒྱས་གཏོང་བཅས་སུ་དོན་དམ་བོད་ཀྱི་གཞི་རྩའི་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་འཚོམས་པའི་ཤེས་རིག་གི་སྲིད་བྱས་ཡང་དག་ཅིག་བཏོ་སྐྱོང་”ཞེས་གཞུང་གི་ཅུ་པའི་བྱེད་སློབ་ལམ་སློན་དུ་གསལ་ཡང་། ད་བར་དེ་ལྟར་སྲིད་བྱས་

བཟོ་གྲུབ་མེད་པར་བརྟེན། ད་ཆ་བཙན་བྱོལ་བོད་མིའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་གནས་སྐབས་ལ་བསྐྱར་ཞིབ་ཐོག ད་ལྟོ་བཙན་བྱོལ་བོད་མིའི་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་འཚམས་ཤིང་།
འབྲུང་འབྲུར་ཚོལ་གསུམ་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པའི་རང་སྲིད་རང་སྲོང་གི་གནས་བབས་བྱུང་། རྒྱལ་མ་འོངས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་སྲིད་བྱུས་ཀྱི་གཞི་རྒྱུན་འོས་པའི་བཙན་
བྱོལ་བོད་མིའི་གཞི་རིམ་གྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་སྲིད་བྱུས་ཤིག་གཏན་འབེབས་བྱ་རྒྱུ་དུས་ཀྱི་དགོས་མཁོར་མཐོང་།

གཉིས་པ། ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་ངོ་བོ།

༡༧ ཤེས་ཡོན་ཞེས་པ་ཕྱིའི་ཡུལ་ལ་གོ་རྒྱ་གཙོད་པ་དང་། རང་གི་ཤེས་པའི་རུས་པ་སང་སྲིད་རྫོགས་གསུམ་བྱེད་པའི་མིའི་ཤེས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ ཏན་ཞིག་ལ་ངོས་
འཛིན་བྱ་རྒྱ།

༡༨ ཤེས་ཡོན་ཞེས་པ་གཞན་ལས་ཐོས་པའི་དོན་འཛིན་པ་ཙམ་ལ་མི་འཛིན་པར། ཐོས་པའི་དོན་ལ་རང་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་བསམ་པས་ངེས་པ་རྟེན་པ་དང་། བསམ་པའི་
དོན་ལ་ཡང་ཡང་གོམས་པས་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པར་བྱེད་པ་སྟེ། གཞན་ལས་ཐོས་པ་དང་། རང་གིས་དབྱེད་པ། དེ་ལ་ཡང་ཡང་གོམས་པ་གསུམ་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཞིག་ལ་ངོས་
འཛིན་བྱ་རྒྱ།

༡༩ ཤེས་ཡོན་ཞེས་པ་ཚོས་རབ་ཏུ་རྣམ་པར་འབྱེད་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་དང་། སེམས་རྒྱུད་རབ་ཏུ་ཞི་བར་བྱེད་པའི་ཐབས་ཚུལ་གཉིས་པན་རྒྱུན་ལྷན་དུ་འབྲེལ་བའི་
ཡོན་ཏན་ལྷན་པར་བ་ཞིག་ལ་ངོས་འཛིན་བྱ་རྒྱ།

༢༠ ཤེས་ཡོན་ཞེས་པ་སྤྱི་སྤེར་གྱི་ཚུལ་མེན་བྱ་སྲོད་བཟང་སྲོད་དུ་སྐྱར་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ནང་གི་འཕྲུལ་རིག་གཙོ་བོ་ཞིག་ལ་ངོས་འཛིན་བྱ་རྒྱ།

༢༡ ཤེས་ཡོན་ཞེས་པ་རང་གི་འཚོ་བ་དང་མི་ཚོ་སྟེལ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ལམ་ཙམ་ཞིག་ཏུ་མི་ འཛིན་པར། རང་གཞན་གཉིས་ཀའི་འཕམ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་པན་བདེ་སྐྱབ་བྱེད་
དང་། ལྷན་པར་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ལྷན་དང་པན་བདེ་སྐྱབ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ལམ་ཞིག་ཏུ་ངོས་ འཛིན་བྱ་རྒྱ།

༢༢ ཤེས་ཡོན་ཞེས་པ་མི་འདོད་པའི་སྤྱུག་བཟུལ་དང་དེའི་རྒྱ་ངོས་བཟུང་ཞིང་སྦོང་བ་ དང་། འདོད་པའི་བདེ་བ་དང་དེའི་རྒྱ་ངོས་བཟུང་ཞིང་སྐྱབ་པ་སྟེ། ལྷན་
དོར་གྱི་གནས་ལ་འཇུག་ཐོག་བྱེད་པའི་རུས་པ་ཞིག་ལ་ངོས་འཛིན་བྱ་རྒྱ།

གསུམ་པ། ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་དགོས་པ།

༡༧ རྒྱུར་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་དགོས་པ།

༡༧ ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་དགོས་པ་ནི་མིའི་ལྷན་ཚོས་ཤེས་རབ་དང་བྱམས་བཟེ། དེ་དག་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་བཟང་པོའི་ལྷ་སྲོད། གསར་གཏོད་རྒྱ་ཚལ་བཅས་ཀྱི་རུས་པ་རྣམས་
སང་ཅིང་གོང་ནས་གོང་དུ་འབེལ་བར་བྱེད་ པ་དང་།

༡༨ མིའི་ནང་གི་ཤེས་པའི་རུས་པ་རྣམས་རྣམ་པར་སྲོད་ཞིང་། ཤེས་བྱ་དང་སྤང་དོར་གྱི་གནས་ལ་དབྱེད་པ་ཡང་དག་དང་གཞན་དྲིང་མི་འཛོག་པའི་སློ་ནས་
འཇུག་པའི་རུས་པ་སྟེར་བ་དང་། དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་གང་ཟག་སོ་སོའི་འཕམ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་མདུན་མ་ཙམ་མ་ཟད། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དང་མི་རིགས། འཛིག་རྟེན་སྤྱིའི་ཙེ་དོན་
ཆེན་པོ་རྣམས་སྐྱབ་རུས་པར་བྱེད་པ།

༡༩ རང་གི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དང་ཡུལ་མི་གཉིས་ཀ་གཞན་གྱི་རོགས་སྐྱོར་ལ་བརྟེན་མི་དགོས་པར་རང་ ཀྱང་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དང་མི་རིགས། འཛིག་རྟེན་སྤྱིའི་ཙེ་དོན་
དང་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་མཛོན་འདོད་ རྐྱབ་པའི་རུས་པ་སྐྱབ་པར་བྱེད་པ་བཅས་ཡིན།

༢༠ ལྷན་བྱེད་བོད་མིའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་དགོས་པ།

༢༠ འཛིག་རྟེན་སྤྱི་ཡོངས་ལ་བོད་མིའི་ངོས་ནས་འཁྲི་བའི་ལས་འགན་ནི། བོད་ཀྱི་སྤུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་རིག་གཞུང་དང་ལེགས་བྱང་གི་ལྷན་ཞོར་བཟང་པོ་སྟེ།
འགོ་སྤྱི་ལ་པན་པ་རྣམས་ཡུལ་དུས་གནས་སྐབས་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་རྒྱུན་འཛིན་དང་ལྷན་བྲེལ་ ལུས་པ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་དང་། ལྷོང་ས་ལ་སྐྱབས་མགོན་སྤྱི་ལྷན་བཅུ་བཞི་པ་ཆེན་

པོ་མཚོག་གི་དགོངས་གཞི་ལྟར་འཇིག་ རྟེན་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་དོན་ཚེན་ལྟར་དུ་འཁྲུང་བའི་སྐྱེ་བས་མ་རྒྱུ་ཚེར་བསྐྱུན་སྤེལ་ལྟར་ བ་བྱ་རྒྱ་ཡིན་པས། དེ་དག་བསྐྱུབ་ལྟར་བ་
བྱ་རྒྱ།

༣༥ བོད་མིའི་ལྷན་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱབ་བྱ་ནི། ཚོལ་གསུམ་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པའི་བོད་ཡུལ་འཚོ་མེད་ཞི་བའི་བསྐྱེ་གནས་སུ་བསྐྱར་ རྒྱ་དང་། བོད་མིའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་འཚོ་མེད་
ཞི་བའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་བསྐྱར་རྒྱ། མི་རིགས་གཞན་ལ་འཚོ་བ་མེད་པ་དང་བྱམས་བཅའི་ལམ་གྱི་སྐྱོ་འབྲིང་བྱ་རྒྱུ་བཅས་ ཡིན་པས། བསྐྱབ་བྱ་དེ་དག་གི་ལམ་ལྷོགས་
དང་ཐབས་བྱས་ཚང་ལ་མ་ཞོར་བ་རྟོགས་ལྟར་བ་བྱ་ རྒྱ།

༣༦ བོད་ནི་འཛམ་གླིང་ས་ཡི་ཡང་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཆགས་ཤིང་། དེའི་རང་བྱུང་འབྱུང་བའི་ཁམས་ཀྱི་གཏེར་མཛོད་རྣམས་འཛམ་གླིང་སྤྱི་དང་བྱེ་བག་ ཨེ་ཤ་ཡའི་རྒྱལ་
ཁབ་ཁག་གི་བདེ་དོན་ལ་འབྲེལ་སྤོངས་ཆེ་བས། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོར་ཡུག་སྤུང་སྐྱོབ་བྱ་རྒྱུའི་བོད་མིའི་རྩ་དོན་བསྐྱབ་ལུས་བ་བྱ་ རྒྱ།

༣༧ བོད་མིའི་ཚབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་རྩ་དོན་ཚོལ་གསུམ་བོད་རིགས་ཡོངས་ལ་ཆེག་སྦྱིལ་དང་། རང་དབང་། མང་གཞི། འཕྲིན་གྱི་དབང་འཛིན། འཚོ་བ་མེད་པ། དང་
བདེན་བཅས་ཀྱི་ལེ་ཤན་བསྐྱབ་དགོས་པའི་དོན་གནད་རྣམས་བོད་མི་རྣམས་ལ་ཞུ་བ་ལྟར་ཐབས་ ཚད་ཀྱིས་གོ་རྟོགས་དང་ཉམས་ལེན་ལྟར་བ་བྱ་རྒྱ།

༣༨ བོད་མིའི་དབལ་འབྲོར་གྱི་ལམ་སྲོལ་ཡང་གོང་དུ་བཀོད་པའི་རྩ་དོན་སྣང་བོ་ལག་དང་ མི་འགལ་བར་དར་ཁྲབ་ཆེ་བའི་མ་རྩ་དང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་རིང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་
མཐའ་གཉིས་སྤོང་ ཞིང་། འདོད་བསོད་དང་ངལ་དུ་བ་ཀྱི་མཐའ་གཉིས་སྤོང་བ། ལོག་པའི་འཚོ་བར་མི་བརྟེན་པ། རང་ཁ་རང་གསོ་ལྟར་བ་བཅས་ཀྱི་ལམ་སྲོལ་
ཡང་དག་ཐོག་འགོ་ལྟར་བ་བྱ་རྒྱ།

བཞི་པ། ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་དོན་འཛིན།

༡༥ བོད་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་ཤེས་ཡོན།

སྐབས་འདིའི་“སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་”ཞེས་པ་གནའ་རབས་ནས་གོམས་གཤེས་སུ་འཇགས་པའི་རྒྱུན་ ཡོད་ཚམ་ཐམས་ཚད་མིན་པར། འབྲུང་ཁྲུངས་ཡང་དག་ལས་
བྱུང་བ་དང་། བརྒྱུད་པ་བར་མ་ཚད་དུ་གནས་པ། རིགས་པ་ཡང་དག་ལ་བརྟེན་པ་སྟེ་ཁྲུང་ཚོས་གསུམ་ལྡན་དང་། དུས་དང་གནས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་འགྲུར་འགྲོས་ལ་མི་
སྟོན་པར་ཉག་ཏུ་ཕན་བདེའི་འབྲུང་གནས་ ལུ་གནས་པའི་རིག་པའི་རྒྱུད་ཅིག་ལ་གོ་དགོས།

༤༡ བོད་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་འབྲུང་ཁྲུངས་གཙོ་བོ་གཡུང་དྭང་བོན་དང་ནང་པ་ སངས་རྒྱལ་པའི་རིང་ལུགས་གཉིས་ཡིན་པས། དེ་དག་ནས་གསུངས་པའི་
ནང་དོན་རིག་པའི་གཞི་ལམ་འབྲས་གསུམ་དང་སྐྱོ་སྐྱོང་གསུམ་ བེ་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་ཤེས་ཡོན་གཙོ་ཆེ་བ་དེ་ཡིན།

༤༢ བོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་དང་། ཚད་མ། བཟོ་གསོ་བ་བཅས་རིག་གནས་བཞི་ཡན་ལག་དང་བཅས་པའང་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་རིག་གནས་ཡིན།
༤༣ ཤེས་ཡོན་དེ་དག་གི་བརྒྱུད་ལམ་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་ཡིག་ནི། དར་འཕེལ་གྱི་དུས་ཡུན་རིང་ཡང་འགྲུར་འགྲོས་ལྱང་བ། བརྗོད་དོན་སྟོན་པའི་ལུས་པ་ཆེ་བ། སྐྱེ་ཡིག་
གཞན་གྱི་ནང་དུ་ཡོད་དཀའ་བའི་ཆེས་གཏིང་ཟབ་ཀྱི་རིག་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་མང་ བོད་བསྐྱེ་གནས་སུ་ལྷུང་བ་མ་ཟད། བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་ཀུན་གྱི་ཚད་ལུས་ལྡན་
པའི་གཞི་རྟེན་གཅིག་ལྟར་ཡིན།

༡༦ དང་རབས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན།

༤༤ དང་རབས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་ནི། སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་ལྟར་ཚོས་ལུགས་སམ་གནའ་བོའི་རིག་གཞུང་གང་ཅུང་གི་ འབྲུང་ཁྲུངས་ལ་བརྟེན་པ་མ་ཡིན་པར། ཉེ་
བའི་དུས་རབས་ནང་སྐྱེ་བོ་རང་བཞིན་པས་གཙོ་བོ་མངོན་གྱི་ཤེས་བྱའི་གནས་ལ་ དཔྱད་པ་དང་ཚོད་བརྟ་བྱས་པ་ལས་བྱུང་ཞིང་། རིམ་པས་གོང་འཕེལ་དང་
དར་རྒྱས་བྱེད་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན།

༤༥ གཙོ་ཆེ་བའི་དབང་དུ་བྱས་ན་ཚན་རིག་དང་། དེ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་འཕུལ་རིག་ རྩིས་རིག་ སྤྱི་ཚོགས་དང་དཔལ་འབྲོར་རིག་པ། འཛིན་སྐྱོང་རིག་པ། འཚར་
འགོད་རིག་པ། གཞན་ཡང་སྐྱེ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཚན་རིག་གི་མིང་གིས་བཏགས་པ་པལ་མོ་ཆེ་བཅས་པ་རྣམས་དང་རབས་ ཀྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་རིག་གནས་ཡིན།

ཇ་པ། ཤེས་ཡོན་སློབ་སྦྱང་སྦྱོང་བའི་དམིགས་ལུལ།

༥༡༡ སློབ་སྤྲུལ་རྣམས་རང་རང་གི་རྣམ་འབྲེད་གྱི་ཤེས་རབ་ཡོངས་སུ་སང་དེ་རྒྱང་དོར་གྱི་ གནས་ལ་རང་སློབས་ཀྱིས་ལེགས་ཤེས་འབྲེད་རུས་པ་དང་། དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་
ནས་ཐག་གཅོད་བྱེད་རུས་པའི་བསམ་སྦྱོང་གྱི་རང་དབང་དང་། འཚོ་བ་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་འཚམས་པའི་ཐོག་གཞན་ཁོ་ནར་བརྟེན་པའམ་གཞན་ལ་བཤུ་གཞོག་བྱེད་
མ་དགོས་པར། རང་གི་འབད་ཚོལ་གྱིས་བསྐྱབས་པའི་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་གྱི་སློབ་ལུང་དག་པར་འཚོ་རུས་ པའི་འཚོ་བའི་རང་དབང་། འཚོ་མེད་ཞི་བའི་ཐབས་ལམ་ལ་
བརྟེན་ནས་རང་དང་རང་གི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་རང་དབང་སྤང་། སློབ་བྱེད་རུས་པའི་སྤང་སློབ་གྱི་རང་དབང་བཅས་“རང་དབང་”དང་།

༥༡༢ རང་ལས་གཞན་གཅེས་པར་བབྱང་ལྟེ་གཞན་གྱི་དོན་དུ་རང་ཉེད་སློབ་བཏང་ནས་སྤི་ལྷ་སྐྱབ་རུས་པའི་“གཞན་ཕན།”

༥༡༣ འབྲུང་འབྲུར་མི་རབས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚེད་ཁོར་ཡུག་དང་ཐོན་ཁུངས་ལ་གཞོན་སྦྱོར་མི་ གཏོང་བར་ས་ཡི་གོང་བུ་འདི་ཞི་བདེ་རྒྱུན་གནས་སྤུབ་པ་དང་། རང་གི་
ཕ་མེས་ནས་བྱུང་བའི་རིག་གཞུང་བཟང་པོ་རྣམས་བརྟུང་འཛིན་བྱེད་རུས་པའི་“རྒྱན་འཛིན།”

༥༡༤ འཛིག་རྟེན་སྤྱིའི་ཕན་བདེ་དང་འབྲེལ་ཞིང་ཡུལ་དུས་ཀྱི་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་འཚམས་པའི་ ལྷ་སྤུབ་དང་ལམ་ལུགས། དངོས་པོ། ལས་འགུལ་སོགས་གསར་གཏོང་
བྱེད་རུས་པའི་“གསར་གཏོང་”བཅས་བཞི་དང་ལྔ་ན་པའི་ཡུལ་མི་བསྐྱར་རྒྱ་དེ་ཡིན།

དུག་པ། ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་ལམ་སློབ།

༥༡༧ བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་རྒྱན་གྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གཙོ་བོ་དང་། དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་དའི་དགོས་ཤེས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་རྒྱར་བབྱང་བའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་ལམ་ སློབ་ལག་བཟང་བྱ་རྒྱ།

༥༡༨ ཤེས་ཡོན་སློབ་སླེལ་གྱི་ལམ་དོན་ནང་དགོ་ཆུན་ལས་གལ་གནད་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་མེད་གཤིས། དགོ་ཆུན་དབུས་སུ་བཞག་པའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་ལམ་སློབ་དེ་གཟུང་རྒྱ།

༥༡༩ འོན་ཀྱང་དགོ་ཆུན་གྱིས་སློབ་སྤྲུལ་ལ་དངོས་སུ་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་སྐབས་སློབ་སྤྲུལ་དབུས་སུ་བཞག་པའི་ཐབས་ཚུལ་གཟུང་དགོས།

༥༡༤ སློབ་རྒྱན་གྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གཙོ་བོར་འཛིན་པའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་ལམ་སློབ་ནང་། སློབ་རྒྱན་གྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གང་དུ་གནས་པའི་སྐད་ཡིག་དེ་ཉེད་ཤེས་ཡོན་སྤྱིའི་སློབ་ སྦྱོར་
བརྟུང་ལམ་དུ་བབྱང་འོས་ལྟར། བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་སློབ་ཁང་ལག་ཏུ་སྦྱོར་འགོ་ནས་ཆེས་མཐོའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་སློབ་རིམ་ བར་སློབ་སྦྱོར་བརྟུང་ལམ་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་
སོག་རིམ་བཞིན་རྒྱར་ཐབས་བྱ་རྒྱ།

༥༡༥ སློབ་རྒྱན་དང་དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གང་ཡིན་ཅུང་བརྗོད་བྱ་རྒྱུ་དེ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་བདག་ ཉེད་དུ་གནས་ཤིང་། རྗོད་བྱེད་ཚིག་གི་འབྲུལ་པ་སེལ་བྱེད་སྐད་ཡིག་གི་
རྣམ་གཞག་དང་བརྗོད་བྱ་དོན་ གྱི་འབྲུལ་པ་སེལ་བྱེད་ཚད་མ་རིག་པ་གཉིས་སུ་ངེས་གཤིས། གཞི་རིམ་སློབ་གྲུའི་གནས་སྐབས་སུ་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་དང་ཚད་མ་
རིག་པ་གཉིས་གལ་ ཆེར་བབྱང་ལྟེ་སློབ་སྦྱོར་བྱ་རྒྱ།

༥༡༦ སློབ་གྲུ་ཤེས་བྱའི་གནས་ལ་དབྱེད་སློབས་ཀྱིས་འཇུག་རུས་པ་དང་། དབྱེད་མཐར་ཐོབ་པའི་བྱུང་དོན་རྣམས་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་མཁས་པ་སྤྱིའི་མདུན་སར་འཛོག་
སྤུབ་ པའི་གདེང་སློབས་རྟེན་སྦྱང། བོད་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་རིག་པ་ནས་བྱུང་བའི་ཐོས་བསམ་བྱེད་ཚུལ་གྱི་ཐབས་ལམ་རྣམས་རྒྱ་ ཆེར་སློབ་སླེལ་བྱ་རྒྱ།

༥༡༧ སློབ་སྤྲུལ་རྣམས་སློབ་འགྲོའི་སློབ་གྲུའི་སྐབས་ཉེད་ནས་བསམ་པ་དང་ཀུན་སྦྱོང་ བཟང་པོར་འཚོས་ཐབས་སུ། དགོ་ཆུན་གྱི་ཁྱད་ཚིག་དང་བྱེད་སློ། སློབ་ཚན་
འགོད་སྤྲུལ་བྱེད་ཚུགས། སློབ་འཁྲིད་གྱི་ཐབས་བྱས་བཅས་པ་དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་ལམ་སློབ་ཁོ་ནར་བརྟེན་པ་མ་ཡིན་ པར། བོད་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་རིག་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་དང་
ལྷ་སྤུབ་ལ་ཁུངས་འཛིན་བྱས་ཏེ་གཙོ་བོ་ དེ་དག་དང་མཐུན་པ་བྱ་རྒྱ།

༥༡༨ ཤེས་ཡོན་སློབ་སྦྱོར་པ་རྣམས་འཚོ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ལས་དོན་ཕ་མེས་ཀྱི་ལས་རིགས་སམ་རང་འདོད་ ཀྱི་ལས་རིགས་གང་ལའང་ཐོགས་མེད་དུ་འཇུག་རུས་པ་དགོས་
པ་ལས། སློབ་སྦྱོར་ལས་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་ཤིག་མི་འབྱུང་བའི་ལམ་སློབ་ཚད་ལྡན་གཏོང་རྒྱ། བཅས།

བདུན་པ། གཞི་རིམ་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་སློབ་གཞི།

༡། ཤེས་ཡོན་ནི་ཆུ་གཞོན་ཚང་མས་ངི་སྲིད་འཚོ་བའི་བར་སློབ་སྦྱོང་དང་ཉམས་ལེན་བྱ་ དགོས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པས། སློམ་གཞི་ཡོད་པ་དང་མེད་པའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་
སློབ་སྦྱོང་གི་ལམ་སྲོལ་གཉིས་ལས་བྱི་མ་ གཙོ་ཆེར་གཟུང་ཟུ།

༡༢ འོན་ཀྱང་དང་གི་སྐབས་འདྲིར་སློམ་གཞི་ལྡན་པའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་ལམ་སྲོལ་ཞིག་དགོས་ གལ་ཆེ་བར་གྱུར་ལྷབས། གཞུང་གིས་ལུལ་མི་སྐྱེ་ལ་ཁྱབ་པའི་སློམ་གཞི་
ཞིག་ཤེས་ཡོན་སྲིད་བྱས་ཀྱི་ཆ་ཤས་ སུ་གཏན་འབབས་ལམ་སློན་བྱ་དགོས།

༡༣ དགོན་སྡེ་དང་ཚོས་སྐར་སོགས་སྲོལ་རྒྱན་ནང་དོན་རིག་པ་གཙོ་བོར་བཟུང་བའི་ཤེས་ ཡོན་གྱི་བསྐྱེ་གནས་རྣམས་སུ་གཞུང་གིས་གཏན་ལ་པབ་པའི་སློམ་
གཞིས་ཁྱབ་མི་དགོས་ ཀྱང་། ཚོས་སྡེ་དེ་དག་དང་གཞན་ཡང་བོད་མི་སྤྱི་སྤྱོད་ཀྱིས་གཞི་རིམ་སློབ་བྱ་བུར་ འཇུགས་བྱུང་ཚེ། དེ་དག་ལ་བཅན་བྱོལ་གཞུང་གི་དོས་
འཛིན་དགོས་ན་སྤྱི་འཇུག་གཞི་དང་མཐུན་པ་ དགོས་ཟུ།

༡༤ གཞི་རིམ་སློབ་བྱའི་ལམ་ལུགས་སློམ་གཞི་ནི། ལོ་གསུམ་ལུན་ཅན་གྱི་སློན་འགྲོ་དང་། དེ་རྗེས་ལོ་ལྔའི་ལུན་ཅན་གྱི་གཞི་རིམ་འོག་མ་འཛིན་གྲ་ལ་བར། དེ་
རྗེས་ལོ་གསུམ་ལུན་ཅན་གྱི་གཞི་རིམ་བར་མ་འཛིན་གྲ་བརྒྱད་པ་བར། དེ་རྗེས་ལོ་བཞིའི་ལུན་ཅན་གྱི་གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མ་འཛིན་གྲ་བརྒྱུ་གཉིས་བར་བཅས་རིམ་ པ་
བཞིའི་བདག་ཉིད་ཅན་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཞིང་། ལོ་གསུམ་གྱི་སློན་འགྲོའི་འཛིན་བྱའི་ལམ་སྲོལ་བོད་མིར་འཚམས་པ་ཞིག་གསར་གཏོད་ མ་བྱུང་བར་མོན་ཏེ་སོ་རིའི་ལམ་
ལུགས་ལག་བརྟུར་བྱ་ཟུ།

༡༥ གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མའི་འཛིན་གྲ་བརྒྱུ་པ་ཐོན་པ་དང་གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མར་སུ་མཐུང་འཇུག་གམ་ ལས་རིགས་སློབ་བྱར་འཇུག་རང་མོས་དང་ཤེས་ཚད་གྱི་ཆ་རྒྱུན་
གཞི་བཟུང་ཐག་གཅོད་བྱ་ ཟུ་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མའི་འཛིན་གྲ་བརྒྱུ་གཉིས་པ་ཐོན་རྗེས་སུ་འདོད་བབས་དང་ བསྐྱུ་ལས་རིགས་སློབ་སྦྱོང་དུ་
འགྲོ་བྱའི་གོ་སྐབས་འབྱེད་ཟུ།

བརྒྱུད་པ། ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་སློབ་ཚན།

གཏེ བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག

༡། རིག་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་གང་དུ་གནས་པའི་རྟེན་གཞི་དང་། དེར་འཇུག་པའི་སློ་གཉིས་ཀ་སྐད་ཡིག་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་གཞག་ཉིད་ཡིན་པས། བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་
གི་བརྗོད་སློབ་རིག་པ་དང་། ཚོས་རིག་བཅས་སློན་འགྲོ་ནས་བཟུང་གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མ་བར་སློབ་ཚན་གྱི་གཙོ་བོར་གཞག་ དགོས།

ལེ ཚད་མ་རིག་པ།

༡། ཤེས་བྱའི་གནས་གང་ལའང་གཞན་ཟེར་རྗེས་འབྲངས་མ་ཡིན་པར་རང་སློབས་ཀྱིས་བརྟག་དབྱེད་ དང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་པའི་རུས་པ་རིགས་ལམ་ལས་བྱུང་བ་
ཡིན་པས། ཚད་མ་རིག་པའི་རྣམ་གཞག་གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མ་བར་ཚུལ་དུ་བཏོན་ཏེ་བསྐྱབ་ཟུ་གལ་ཆེ་ ཤོས་ཤིག་ལ་དོས་འཛིན་བྱ་ཟུ།

གཏེ སྐད་ཡིག་དང་ཚད་མ་རིག་པ་གཞན།

༡། གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མའི་འཛིན་གྲ་བརྒྱུ་པ་ཐོན་སྐབས་རང་སྐད་ལས་གཞན་པའི་བྱི་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ སྐད་ཡིག་གང་ཡང་ཅུང་བ་ཞིག་ལ་བྱང་ཚུབ་པ་དང་། སྐད་ཡིག་
གསུམ་པ་ཞིག་འབྲི་སློག་འཕེར་དེས་བཅས་བསྐྱབ་དགོས་པའི་སྐད་ཡིག་གསུམ་ ལན་གྱི་སྲིད་བྱས་འཛིན་ཟུ་དང་། སྐད་ཡིག་གཉིས་པ། ཟུ་དཀར་ནག་གི་སྐད་དང་།
དབྱིན་སྐད། ཨི་སི་པེ་ནི་ཤིའི་སྐད་བཞི་གང་ཅུང་ཞིག་གང་མ་ཟུ་དང་། མཐུན་རྒྱུན་འཛོམས་ན་འདམ་ག་མང་དུ་གཏོང་དགོས། གནས་སྐབས་སློབ་སློན་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་
ལམ་ཆ་ཚད་བོད་སྐད་དུ་བསྐྱར་མ་བྱུབ་པའི་བར། སྐད་ཡིག་གཉིས་པ་དབྱིན་སྐད་མི་གཟུང་མཐུ་མེད་ལ་བརྟེན་གོང་གསལ་སྐད་ཡིག་གཉིས་ པའི་འདམ་གའི་སྲིད་
བྱས་ལག་བརྟུར་མ་བྱུབ་ཀྱང་། ལུགས་དམིགས་དེ་འདྲ་ཞིག་ད་ལྟ་ནས་གཟུང་ཟུ། སྐད་ཡིག་གསུམ་པ་སློབ་བྱ་གང་དུ་ཡོད་པའི་ས་ཁུལ་དའི་སྐད་ཡིག་སློབ་སློན་བྱ་
ཟུ་དང་། གནས་ལུལ་ས་ཁུལ་གྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་བོད་སྐད་དམ། སྐད་ཡིག་གཉིས་པ་དེ་ཡིན་ན་དགོས་མཐོ་ཆེ་པའི་སྐད་ཡིག་གཞན་ཞིག་བསྐྱབ་ཟུ།

༡༢ སློན་འགྲོ་དང་གཞི་རིམ་འོག་མའི་འཛིན་གྲ་གསུམ་པའི་བར་བོད་སྐད་ལས་གཞན་པའི་ སྐད་ཡིག་སློབ་སློན་ལྟ་ཞོག་ སྐད་ཡིག་གཞན་གྱི་མིང་ཚིག་དང་སྐྱ་

གཞན་སོགས་ཀྱང་བོད་རྒྱུད་མི་བྱེད་པ་གཙོ་བོ་འདོན་བྱ་དགོས་ཤིང་། གཞི་རིམ་འོག་མའི་འཛིན་གྲུབ་འཕེལ་བ་ནས་རྒྱ་ཡིག་གཞིས་པ་དང་། གཞི་རིམ་བར་མའི་
འཛིན་གྲུབ་པ་ནས་རྒྱ་ཡིག་གསུམ་པའི་སློབ་སྦྱོར་འགོ་འཇུགས་ བྱ་རྒྱུ།
༥༥ དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་ཚད་མ་རིག་པ་དང་། ཚོད་ལྷོད་ཐབས་ལམ། རྒྱ་ཚོགས་ཚན་རིག་རྣམས་སུ་དར་བའི་གྲུབ་མཐའི་རྣམ་གཞག་ དེ་བྱུང་རིག་པའི་བརྟག་ཐབས་
བཅས་ཀྱང་རྒྱས་བཟུས་འཚམས་པ་རེ་གཞི་རིམ་བར་མའི་ སློབ་ཚན་དུ་གཞག་རྒྱུ།

དེ་བཞོན་རིག་པ།

༥༦ གཞི་རིམ་བར་མ་དང་གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མ་གཞིས་ཀའི་ནང་འཚོ་བ་མེད་ཅིང་ཁོར་ལུག་ལ་མི་ གཞོན་པ་དང་། རྒྱན་གནས་ཐུབ་པའི་བཞོན་རིག་གང་ཡང་ཅུང་བ་
ཞིག་དེས་ཅན་གྱི་སློབ་ཚན་དུ་འཛོགས་ དགོས་པ་དང་། དེའི་ཚེད་བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་རྒྱན་གྱི་བཞོན་རིག་ལག་དང་། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་སློབ་རྒྱན་གྱི་བཞོན་རིག་ལག་ གོང་གསལ་གྱི་
ཁྱད་ཚེས་རྣམས་ཚང་བའི་དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་བཞོན་རིག་ཚུང་ལག་སོགས་འོས་ཤིང་ འཚམས་པའི་བཞོན་རིག་རྣམ་གྲངས་མི་ཉུང་བ་ཞིག་གཞི་རིམ་སློབ་གྲྭ་ལག་དུ་བསྐྱབ་
རྒྱུ་ དང་། མཐུན་རྒྱུན་འཛུམས་ཤིང་སློབ་སྦྱོར་གི་འདོད་ཚུལ་བྱུང་ན། བཞོན་རིག་གང་འོས་ཀྱི་སློབ་ཚན་གཞི་རིམ་འོག་མའི་ནང་དུ་འདུག་ཚེག་ དེ་བཞིན་སློབ་
སྦྱོར་སོ་སོའི་ཁམས་ཚུལ་དང་བསྟུན་པའི་བཞོན་རིག་དང་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ རིག་གནས་གཞན་དག་བཅས་ཀྱི་འཛོན་ཆེམ་ཁྱད་རྒྱུད་བྱུང་བུ་ལུ་གྱི་སློབ་ཚན་ཅི་རིགས་ ཀྱང་
གཞག་ཚོགས་

༥༧ གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མའི་འཛིན་གྲུབ་བཅས་པ་དང་བཅུ་གཞིས་པ་སོ་སོ་ཐོན་རྒྱུ་ འཇུག་ཞུགས་བྱ་ལུ་གྱི་ལས་རིགས་སློབ་གྲྭ་ལག་མང་ཆེད་འཇུགས་བྱ་རྒྱུ་དང་།
ལས་རིགས་སློབ་གྲྭ་དེ་ཚོའི་ནང་བོད་ཀྱི་བཞོན་རིག་ལག་ཤེས་ལག་དང་། དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་བཞོན་རིག་རྒྱ་ཚོགས་གཙོ་བོར་སློབ་སྦྱོར་ཐོག་བོད་རྒྱ་དང་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ གཞན་
གཅིག་ཀྱང་འོས་འཚམས་བསྐྱབ་རྒྱུ།

ཅེ་ཚན་རིག་དང་རྒྱ་ཆུལ།

༥༨ གཞི་རིམ་བར་མའི་བར་སྐྱེར་བཏང་ཚན་རིག་གི་དོ་སྦྱོད་དང་། རྒྱ་ཚོགས་ཚན་རིག་ དེ་བྱུང་རིག་པ། རྒྱ་ཚོགས་ཚན་རིག་དང་རྒྱ་ཆུལ་གྱི་སློབ་རྒྱུད་དགོས་
མཁོ་ལྡན་པ་རྣམས་རྒྱས་ བཟུས་འཚམས་པ་རེ་གཞི་རིམ་དགོས་།

ཆེ་ རྒྱུ་ཀྱི་རིག་པ།

༥༩ རྒྱུ་ཀྱི་རིག་པ་ལྷོ་མའི་ཚོད་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་། ལྷག་པར་ཚན་རིག་གི་སློབ་རྒྱུད་ལ་ཉེ་བར་མཁོ་བས་དེང་རབས་རྒྱུ་ཀྱི་སློབ་ཚན་ལྡང་ དེས་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་
བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་རྒྱུན་རྒྱུ་ཀྱི་རིག་གི་སློབ་འགྲུའི་དོ་སྦྱོད་ཀྱང་སློབ་ཚན་ དུ་གཞག་དགོས་།

ཇེ་ འཚོ་བ་མེད་པ་དང་མང་གཙོའི་རྩ་གྲུབ།

༦༠ གཞི་རིམ་གོང་འོག་བར་གསུམ་དུ་སོ་སོའི་གོ་སློབས་དང་མཐུན་པར་འཚོ་བ་མེད་པ་དང་ མང་གཙོའི་རྩ་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་ཕན་ཡོན་དང་། བསྐྱབ་བྱ། ལག་ལེན། ལོ་
རྒྱས་བཅས་རྒྱས་བཟུས་འཚམས་པ་རེ་སློབ་ཚན་དུ་གཞག་དགོས་།

ཉེ་ བཟང་རྒྱུད།

༦༡ བཟང་རྒྱུད་ནི་སློབ་ཚན་གྱེ་བྲག་པ་གཅིག་གི་ཚུལ་དུ་བྱུང་སློབ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་མ་ཡིན་པར་ རྒྱུར་ཤེས་ཡོན་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ལས་དོན་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་དང་། ལྷག་པར་
འཛིན་གྲུབ་ནང་སློབ་འབྲིད་བྱ་རྒྱུའི་སློབ་ཚན་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་ཀྱི་སྦྱིང་ དོན་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཞིག་བྱ་རྒྱུ་གལ་གནད་ཆེ་བ་ཡིན། དོན་ཀྱང་ཚེས་ལུགས་ལག་གི་ལ་རབས་
བཟང་རྒྱུད་སྦོན་པའི་གཞུང་དང་། ཚོས་མཐུན་གྱི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད། ལུགས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས། གནའ་དེང་གི་རྒྱུས་བྱ་དམ་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སོགས་ཀྱང་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་སློབ་ཚན་
ཅི་རིགས་ པའི་སློབ་དེབ་བམ་བྱུར་རྒྱན་གྱི་སློབ་དེབ་ནང་གཞག་དགོས་།

ཉེ ལུས་ཚལ་དང་ཅེད་མོ།

༤༡༨ གཞི་རིམ་སློབ་སྦྱོང་དུ་ཡོད་པའི་སློབ་ཕྱག་རྣམས་ནི་ལུས་སེམས་འཚར་ལོང་བྱེད་ བཞིན་པའི་ན་གཞོན་ཡིན་ལྟ་བུ། ཤེས་ཡོན་དང་མཉམ་དུ་འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་
 དང་གཙུག་ལྷན་ ལུས་སློབ་འཚར་ལོང་ལ་སྤྲོད་པའི་ལུས་ཀྱི་ཚལ་སྦྱོང་ལ་སློབ་ཚན་གཞན་དང་མཚུངས་ པའི་དོ་སྣང་དང་དུས་ཚོད་སྦྱོང་དགོས་ཤིང་། བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་
 རྒྱུན་གྱི་ལུས་སྦྱོང་རྣམས་ལ་འདྲ་མེན་ལག་དང་། རྣལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་ལུས་གནད་བཅོས་ཚུལ་(ཡོག)དབུགས་སྦྱོང་(སྤྲུལ་ལྡན)སོགས་ཀྱི་ སྦྱོང་བཅའ་དགོས་པའི་ཐོག
 འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་ལ་སྤྲོད་པའི་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་སྤྲོད་བཅོས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ལྷུས་རིགས་དང་། སྤྲོད་མཉེ ལྷུག་པ་སོགས་ཀྱང་གཞི་རིམ་འོག་མ་ནས་འགོ་འཇུགས་དགོས།
 ལུས་སྦྱོང་གི་ཐབས་ལམ་གཙོ་བོ་ལས་ཚུལ་དང་འགོ་འཇུག་གི་གོ་སྐབས་ངེས་ཅན་རྒྱུན་ གན་གྱི་དུས་ཚོད་རེའུ་མིག་ནང་ཚུད་དགོས། སློབ་ཕྱག་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བག་
 ཡངས་དང་སྦྱོ་གསེང་སྤང་ཅེད་འཛིན་རིགས་ཀྱང་སློབ་ཚན་ དུ་འཛོག་དགོས་པ་དང་། དེའང་གནའ་རབས་བོད་མིའི་གོམས་གཤེས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་ཅེད་རིགས་
 རྣམས་གཙོ་འདོན་ཐོག དེད་དུས་ཀྱི་ཅེད་རིགས་ཀྱང་བསྐབ་རྒྱ། །

ཐེ གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མའི་སློབ་ཚན།

༤༡༩ རྒྱུ་འབྲེལ་གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མ་ལོ་བཞིའི་ཡུན་ཅན་གྱི་ནང་གནས་སྐབས་གནས་ལུས་རྒྱལ་ ཁབ་ཀྱི་གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མའི་རྒྱགས་སྦྱོང་གི་སློབ་ཚན་ཆ་ཚང་གཞག་
 དགོས་སློབ་མེད་ ཐོག ཚན་རིག་དང་། དེ་ལས་གཞན་པའི་ཕྱི་ཚན་དབྱེ་བའི་རྗེས་སུ་འདྲ། ཕྱི་ཚན་ཚང་མར་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་དང་། ཚང་མ་རིག་པའི་སློབ་ཚན་
 ངེས་པར་གཞག་དགོས།

དགུ་པ། སློབ་ཚན་འཚར་གཞི་དང་སློབ་དུས།

༥༡༡ གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མ་བར་གྱི་སློབ་ཚན་དང་ལས་རིམ་གྱི་ནང་དོན་རྣམས་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་སྲིད་ ལུས་གཞི་བཟུང་གོ་རིམ་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་མཐར་ཆགས་སུ་འགོད་སྲིད་གི་
 གང་ཐབས་དགོས་རྒྱ། དེའི་ཅེད་དུ་གཅིག་ལྷུང་གི་སློབ་འཁྲིད་ཅ་འཛིན་ལས་རིམ་བཟོ་འགོད་ཚོགས་རྒྱུང་ ཞིག་ཅེད་འཇུགས་བྱ་རྒྱ།

བཅུ་པ། རྒྱགས་སྦྱོང་།

༦༠༡ རྒྱ་ཚོད་གཉིས་གསུམ་གྱི་དུས་ལུན་ནང་སློབ་ཕྱག་གི་ཤེས་ཚད་ཚང་འཇུག་བྱེད་པའི་ད་ ལྟའི་རྒྱགས་སྦྱོང་གི་ལམ་སློབ་བཞག་སྟེ་འཛིན་རིམ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་བར་
 དེད་ལུགས་ ཀྱི་རྒྱགས་སྦྱོང་བྱར་དུ་མ་དགོས་པར་ཕྱ་གུའི་རྒྱན་སྦྱོང་དང་འཛིན་གྱའི་ནང་ གི་དྲི་བ་དྲིས་ལན། རྒྱུན་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་གོ་རྟོགས་དང་ལག་བརྟར་གྱི་ལུས་པ་
 ལ་ཉམས་ཞིབ་རྒྱུན་སྲིད་གི་ལམ་ རས་འཛིན་གྲ་གོང་མར་འཕོ་འོས་མིན་དགོ་ཆེན་རྣམས་གོ་བསྐྱར་གྱིས་ཐག་གཅོད་བྱ། རྒྱ འོན་ཀྱང་གནས་སྐབས་དུས་ལུན་གང་
 འཚམས་བར་ད་ལུས་བཞིན་འདྲི་རྒྱགས་བརྒྱ་ཆ་ ༥༠ ཡོད་པ་བྱ་རྒྱ། གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མའི་འཛིན་གྲ་རྣམས་སུ་འང་གནས་ལུས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱགས་སྦྱོང་དུ་ ལུགས་
 དགོས་རིགས་མ་གཏོགས། སློབ་གྲའི་ནང་གི་སློབ་ཕྱག་གི་ཤེས་ཚད་ཚང་འཇུག་བྱེད་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ལམ་སློབ་ཚད་ལན་ གསར་གཏོད་བྱ་རྒྱ།

བཅུ་གཅིག་པ། དགོ་ཆེན།

༧༡༡ མི་རིགས་དང་རྒྱུ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་འབྱུར་གནས་བབས་ཤེས་ཡོན་ལ་རག་ལུས་ཤིང་། ཤེས་ཡོན་བཟང་ཞན་དགོ་ཆེན་ལ་རག་ལུས་པས། དགོ་ཆེན་ནི་རྒྱུ་
 ཚོགས་ནང་གལ་གནད་ཆེ་ཤོས་ཡིན་ལྟ་བུ། མི་གཤེས་དང་སྦྱོང་ལམ་ལེགས་ཤོས། ཤེས་ཡོན་གནས་ཚད་བཟང་ཤོས་རྣམས་དགོ་ཆེན་གྱི་ལས་སློབ་འཇུག་ཐབས་བྱ་
 རྒྱ་དང་། དགོ་ཆེན་གྱི་ཆེ་མཐོང་དང་མཐུན་རྒྱུན་བཟང་བོ་ཡོང་ཐབས་སུ་བྲིམས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཆ་ རྒྱུན་བསྐྱར་དགོས།
 ༧༡༢ རྒྱུ་ཚོགས་ཞབས་ཞུ་བའི་ནང་ཤེས་ཡོན་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ལས་བྱེད་པའི་སྲིད་གུལ་བྱར་ དབྱེ་དགོས་པ་དང་། ལས་ཚན་དའི་གནས་རིམ་དང་མཚན་མཐོང་
 ལས་ཚན་གཞན་ལས་ཞུ་བར་དུ་འཕགས་པ་དགོས།

1713 དགེ་ཀན་རྣམས་ཕྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་ཤེས་ཚད་དང་ཉམས་སྤོང་རྣམས་དང་རབས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་ རིག་པའི་གཞུང་ནས་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར་དང་། རང་གི་མཚན་ཉིད་
བསམ་པའི་འཁྲུང་སོ་སོགས་བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་རྒྱུན་རིག་པའི་གཞུང་ནས་ བྱུང་བ་ལྟར་ཕྱི་ནང་གཉིས་ཀའི་མཚན་ཉིད་ཚང་བའི་དགེ་ཀན་གང་མང་རྒྱུན་ལྡན་དུ་ རྒྱུན་
ཐུབ་པའི་ལས་གཞི་གསར་འགོད་བྱ་རྒྱུ།

1714 དགེ་ཀན་རྣམས་མི་ཚེ་གང་པོར་སློབ་པ་ལ་བརྩོན་པ་དང་། སློབ་སྟོན་གྱི་ལས་འགན་ལ་གཅིག་ཏུ་འབྲངས་པ་ཞིག་དགོས་པས་དེའི་མཐུན་རྐྱེན་ བསྐྱར་རྒྱུ།
1715 སློབ་འགྲོ་ནས་གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མའི་བར་གྱི་དགེ་ཀན་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་དགེ་ཀན་འོས་སྤོང་ ཐོན་པ་ཤ་ལྷག་དགོས་ཤིང་། འོས་སྤོང་དེའང་དང་རབས་པའི་སློབ་
ཚན་དང་སློབ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་སློབ་སྟོན་ཁོ་ན་མ་ཡིན་ པར། སློབ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་གཞུང་ལུགས་ནས་བྱུང་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་གྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་དང་། ཡོངས་འཛིན་གྱི་ཡོན་ཏན།
སློབ་མ་སྤོང་ཐབས་ཀྱི་མན་དག བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཅས་ཀྱང་དེས་པར་སློབ་སྟོན་བྱ་རྒྱུ།

1716 དགེ་ཀན་རྣམས་ལ་ཕྱི་ནང་གཉིས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་འོས་སྤོང་སྤོང་ཚད་བོད་ཀྱི་དགེ་ཀན་འོས་སྤོང་གི་ལས་གཞི་འགོ་འཇུགས་བྱ་རྒྱུ།

1717 དགེ་ཀན་རྣམས་དགེ་ཀན་གྱི་མཐོ་སློབ་གང་ཅུང་དུ་སློབ་གཉེན་བྱེད་རིང་། དུས་ལུག་དེས་ཅན་ཞིག་རིང་སློབ་སྟོན་གྱི་ལག་ལེན་དམར་འབྲིང་བསྐྱར་བའི་
ཉམས་སྤོང་ གསལ་རྒྱ་གལ་ཆེ་ཡིན་པར་དོས་འཛིན་བྱ་རྒྱུ།

1718 དགེ་ཀན་གྱི་སྤུས་ཚད་ཐོག་བཏང་འཛིན་ཚད་ལྡན་ཡོང་སྲིད་འོས་ཚོས་ཀུན་ཚང་གི་གསར་ འཇུག་དགེ་ཀན་རྣམས་དང་། དགེ་ཀན་གྱི་ལས་ཁུར་བྱེད་
བཞིན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་བཅོམ་བྱོལ་བོད་མིའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་ལྷན་ ཚོགས་ནས་ལོ་ལྷ་རེའི་དུས་ལུག་ཅན་གྱི་དགེ་ཀན་ལས་སྐོར་ལུགས་ཚོགས་པའི་ལག་འཁྲུང་ ལུ་དགོས་པ་
བཟོ་རྒྱུ། ལོ་ལྷ་རེའི་མཚམས་སུ་ལག་འཁྲུང་ལེན་བྱེད་པར་དུས་ལུག་དེའི་ནང་རང་གི་ཁྱད་ ལས་གོང་འཕེལ་གཏོང་བའི་ཟབ་སྤོང་གསར་པ་གངས་ཚད་དེས་
ཅན་རེ་འགྲིམས་དགོས་པའི་ཆ་ རྒྱུན་གཏོད་རྒྱུ།

1719 དགེ་ཀན་འདེམས་སྐྱོང་དང་། ལྷ་ཕོགས་མཐུན་རྐྱེན། གནས་སྤར་གནས་སྤོ། རྒྱུན་འཕམ་ལས་འགན། སྤྲིག་ལམ་ཀུན་སྤོང་། བདེ་དོན་ལྷ་རྟོག་གྲུབ་འབྲས་ཞིབ་
བཤེར་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་དང་སྤྲིག་གཞི་ཞིབ་གསལ་བཟོ་ རྒྱུ།

1720 དགེ་ཀན་རྣམས་ནི་མི་རིགས་སྤྱིའི་སྣ་འབྲིང་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་འཇུགས་སྐྱུན་བྱེད་པོ་ཡིན་པས། དགེ་ཀན་གྱི་བསམ་སློབ་རང་དབང་དང་། རྣམ་དཔྱོད་
འཕེལ་རྒྱས། གསར་གཏོད་སྐྱུ་རྩལ་བཅས་འགོག་མེད་དུ་འཕེལ་སྐབས་པའི་ཁོར་ལུག་དང་མཐུན་རྐྱེན་ བསྐྱར་རྒྱུ།

1721 དགེ་ཀན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསུམ་གྱི་བཟང་སྤོང་ཚད་མཐོ་མིག་དབེར་འོས་པ་དང་སློབ་ སྤུས་རྣམས་ལ་ཤན་ཤུགས་བཟང་པོ་འདེབས་སྐབས་པ་དགོས་པས། ཀུན་
སྤོང་མི་ལེགས་པ་རྣམས་ཤེས་ཚད་བཟང་ཡང་དགེ་ཀན་གྱི་ལས་སྐོར་མི་འཇུག་པའི་ ཆ་རྒྱུན་གཏོད་རྒྱུ།

1722 སློབ་འགྲོའི་འཛིན་གྲུའི་སློབ་སྤོང་གི་གལ་འགངས་དང་དགོས་མཁོ་གཞི་བཟུང་། དགེ་ཀན་གྱི་ལས་རོགས་སུ་འཛིན་རིམ་བཅུ་གཉིས་པ་ཐོན་པ་གང་ཞིག་
འོས་སྤོང་ཐོན་པ་ རེ་བསྐོ་གཞུག་བྱ་རྒྱུ་དང་། སློབ་འགྲོའི་དགེ་ཀན་དང་དེའི་ལས་རོགས་རྣམས་བུད་མེད་ཡིན་དགོས་པར་གཙོ་འདོན་ བྱ་རྒྱུ། སློབ་འགྲོ་དང་གཞི་
རིམ་འོག་མའི་དགེ་ཀན་རྣམས་ཉེ་བའི་གཞུག་ལག་རབ་འབྲམས་པའི་ ཤེས་ཚད་ཐོག་དགེ་ཀན་འོས་སྤོང་ཡོད་པ་དགོས་ཤིང་། དེ་དག་གི་སྤོང་ཕོགས་དང་མཐུན་
རྐྱེན་ལག་ཀྱང་གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མའི་དགེ་ཀན་དང་གཅིག་ མཚུངས་དགོས་པ་བཟོ་རྒྱུ།

བཅུ་གཉིས་པ། འཛིན་སྤོང་།

1723 བཅོམ་བྱོལ་བོད་མིའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་སློབ་སྤོང་གི་དགོས་དམིགས་དང་། སློབ་གཞི། སློབ་ཚན། རྒྱགས་སྤོང་། དགེ་ཀན། འཛིན་སྤོང་བཅས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་སྤྲིད་བྱས་དང་།
དེ་དག་ལག་བསྟར་བྱེད་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ལམ་སྟོན་བཅས་བཅོམ་བྱོལ་གཞུང་གིས་དུས་ནས་དུས་ སུ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ་ལྟར་བཅོམ་བྱོལ་གཞུང་གིས་དོས་འཛིན་ཡོད་པའི་
བོད་མིའི་སློབ་གྲྭ་ ཡོངས་ཀྱིས་གཅིག་གྲུབ་དུ་ལག་བསྟར་དགོས་པ་ཡིན།

1724 བཅོམ་བྱོལ་བོད་གཞུང་གི་ཤེས་རིག་ལས་ཁུངས་ནི་བཅོམ་བྱོལ་བོད་མིའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་དང་ འབྲེལ་བའི་སྤྱི་ཁྱབ་འཛིན་སྤོང་གི་སྤྲིག་འཇུགས་མཐོ་ཤོས་དེ་ཡིན་
པ་དང་། བཅོམ་བྱོལ་གཞུང་གིས་དུས་ནས་དུས་སུ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་སྤྲིད་བྱས་རྣམས་ ཤེས་རིག་ལས་ཁུངས་ཀྱིས་ཐད་ཀར་རམ་གཅོ་ཆེར་རང་སྤོང་

སློབ་འཇུག་ལག་བརྒྱུད་ལག་བརྒྱུད་བྱ་བ།

༡༢༩ སློབ་གྲྭ་ལོ་ལོ་ནི་ནང་གི་འཛིན་སྲོང་པལ་ཆེ་བ་ས་ཁུལ་སོ་སོའི་སློབ་འཇུག་གི་ཀྲིས་བྱེད་པ་མ་གཏོགས། གཞུང་དམ་དབུས་ཀྱི་སློབ་འཇུག་ལ་བརྟེན་ལྷོས་མི་དགོས་པ་གཙོ་བོ་ཡིན་པ་བྱ་བ།

༡༣༠ ཤེས་ཡོན་ཐོག་བཅོམ་བྱོལ་གཞུང་ལ་སློབ་སྟོན་འབྲུལ་རྒྱ་དང་། སྤྱི་བྱས་ལག་བརྒྱུད་སྐབས་བཏང་འཛིན་ལྷ་རྟོག་སློབ་གྲྭ་ལག་གི་བཅའ་སློབ་དང་། འགོ་ལུགས། སློབ་ཚན་གོ་སློབ་དང་། སློབ་དེབ་འབྲི་ཚོམ། རྒྱལ་སློབ་ལམ་སློབ་བཅས་ལ་རྟོག་ཞིབ་ཀྱིས་དོས་འཛིན་དང་ཚོགས་མཆན་སློབ་རྒྱ། སློབ་འགྲོ་དང་གཞི་རིམ་གོང་ལོག་གི་སློབ་ཁང་ཚང་མར་ཞིབ་འཇུག་དང་དོས་འཛིན་སློབ་རྒྱ། དགོ་ཆུན་རྣམས་ལ་དགོ་ཆུན་ལས་སྐོར་ལུགས་ཚོགས་པའི་ལག་འཁྱེད་སློབ་རྒྱ་སོགས་གཞི་རིམ་ཤེས་ཡོན་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ལས་དོན་ཡོངས་ལ་ལྷ་རྟོག་བཏང་འཛིན་བྱེད་པའི་བཅོམ་བྱོལ་བོད་མིའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཤིག་གཏན་འཇགས་བསྐོ་འཇུགས་བྱ་བ།

༡༣༡ དགོ་ཆུན་ལོས་སློབ་གི་ལམ་སློབ་དང་། སློབ་གྲྭ་ལག་གི་སློབ་ཚན་དང་སློབ་དེབ། སློབ་སྟོན་ལམ་སློབ། སློབ་སྟོན་གྱི་ཆ་རྒྱུན་གཞུན་དག་བཅས་འཆར་འགོད་བྱེད་མཁན་མཁས་པའི་ཚོགས་རྒྱུང་དང་། ལས་དོན་ལྗེ་ཚོན་ལག་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་འཚམས་པར་དུས་ནས་དུས་སུ་འགོད་སློབ་བྱ་བ།

༡༣༢ རང་སློང་དང་སློབ་གྲྭ་སློབ་ཁང་བདག་གཉེར་བྱས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་བཅོམ་བྱོལ་གཞུང་གི་དོས་འཛིན་ལུ་ལེན་བྱེད་ཚོགས་པ་དང་། དེའི་ཚེད་དོས་འཛིན་བྱེད་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཆ་རྒྱུན་དང་སློབ་གཞི་ཤེས་རིག་ལས་ཁུངས་ནས་གཏན་འབེབས་བྱ་བ།

༡༣༣ གཞུང་འབྲེལ་དོས་འཛིན་ཡོད་པའི་སློབ་ཁང་ཚང་མས་སློབ་གཞི་དང་དེས་ཅན་གྱི་སློབ་ཚན་རྣམས་སྤྱི་བྱས་འདོད་དང་མཐུན་པ་བྱ་དགོས་ཀྱང་། བཅོམ་བྱོལ་བའི་ལག་ལེན་བརྒྱུད་ཚོགས་རང་སློང་དམ་སློབ་བདག་གི་སློབ་ཁང་སོ་སོས་གཏན་འབེབས་བྱེད་ཚོགས།

བརྒྱ་གསུམ་པ། ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་ཐོབ་ཐང་།

༡༣༤ གཞི་རིམ་ཤེས་ཡོན།

༡༣༤༡ བོད་ཀྱི་ལུལ་མི་ཡིན་པ་དང་། ལུལ་མིའི་ལས་འགན་རྒྱུ་མཁན་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཕྱིན་ལེར་རྒྱ་དང་། སོ་མོ། རིགས་ཅུས། ཚོས་ལུགས། ལུང་ཚན། དབུས་ལྷུག་གི་དབྱེ་བ་མེད་པར་གཞི་རིམ་འཛིན་གྲྭ་བརྒྱུད་ཤེས་པ་བར་གྱི་སློབ་སློབ་གི་ཐོབ་ཐང་ཡོད་ཅིང་། དེ་བར་སློབ་སྟོན་སློབ་ཡོན་འབྲུལ་མི་དགོས།

༡༣༤༢ བོད་རིགས་པ་མ་ལུས་ཀྱང་རང་གི་སྤུ་སྤུ་རང་ལོ་དུག་ནས་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སློབ་གྲྭ་མ་གཏང་བར་བཞག་མི་ཚོགས་སུ་གྱུ་རྣམས་པ་མ་དང་མཉམ་གཤིབས་ཀྱིས་པ་མ་དང་སྤུ་སྤུ་འབྲེལ་ལམ་བཟང་གནས་ཚེད་རྒྱུང་དུས་སུ་གཏན་སློབ་ཏུ་འཇུག་མི་དགོས་པ་གཙོ་བོ་བྱེད་བྱ་བ།

༡༣༤༣ འཛིན་རིམ་བརྒྱུད་པ་མ་ཐོན་གོང་སློབ་སློབ་རྒྱུན་འཁྱོངས་མ་ལུགས་པར་བར་མཚམས་ལུས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་འཛིན་རིམ་བརྒྱུད་པ་བར་སློབ་གྲྭ་བསྐྱར་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་སློབ་སློབ་མཐའ་འཁྱོལ་བྱེད་པའི་གོ་སྐབས་སློབ་རྒྱ།

༡༣༤༤ གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མའི་འཛིན་གྲྭ་བརྒྱུད་པ་ཐོན་རྗེས་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་དགོ་ཆུན་གྱི་སྟོན་ཐོ་དང་རྒྱལ་སློབ་ཀྱི་གྲུབ་འབྲས། སློབ་སྤྱུག་རང་གི་དོན་གཉེར་དང་རིགས་སློབ་བཅས་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ནན་ཏན་གྱིས་ཤེས་ཡོན་ཐོག་སྤྱུགས་པའི་ཡོད་དེས་རྣམས་མ་གཏོགས་གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མར་ལུ་མཐུད་སློབ་འཇུག་མི་དགོས་པ་གཙོ་བོ་ཡིན་པ་བྱ་བ།

༡༣༤༥ འཛིན་རིམ་བརྒྱུད་པ་ཐོན་པའི་སློབ་སྤྱུག་བྱིངས་རང་རང་གི་འདོད་ཚོས་དང་འཚམས་པའི་ལས་རིགས་སློབ་བརྒྱུད་ལོ་གཉིས་རིང་བྱེད་ཚོགས་པ་དང་། དེ་དག་གི་ནང་འཛིན་རིམ་བརྒྱུད་པ་ཐོན་པ་ཡོངས་རྒྱུགས་འཇུག་ལུགས་བྱ་རྒྱུའི་ཐོབ་ཐང་ཡོད།

ལེ་ རང་སྤྱོད་གི་ལམ་ནས་སློབ་སྦྱོང་།

༡༣༤ གཞི་རིམ་གོང་མར་ལུ་མཐུང་མ་ཚུད་པའི་སློབ་སྤྱོད་རྣམས་ལས་རིགས་སློབ་སྦྱོང་གྲེང་ བཞིན་པའི་སྐབས་སམ། དེའི་རྗེས་སུ་འང་རང་སྤྱོད་གི་ལམ་ནས་གཞི་
རིམ་གོང་མའི་སློབ་སྦྱོང་གྲེང་ཚོགས་པ་ དང་། དེའི་ཚེད་ཏུ་དགོས་ངེས་ཀྱི་ཆ་རྒྱུན་ངེས་པར་ཏུ་བསྐྱུན་དགོས།

གཞི་ དམིགས་བསལ་དགོས་མཁོ་ཅན་གྱི་སློབ་སྤྱོད་

༡༣༥ དམིགས་བསལ་དགོས་མཁོ་ཅན་གྱི་སློབ་སྤྱོད་རྣམས་གང་ལུ་ལྷུ་ཡོངས་སློབ་གྲྭ་ལག་ གི་ནང་ཏུ་སློབ་སྤྱོད་གཞན་དང་མཉམ་སློབ་སྦྱོང་སློབ་རྒྱུའི་ཐབས་
ཤེས་བྱེད་དགོས་ པ་དང་། དེའི་ཚེད་གཞི་རིམ་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཚང་མའི་ནང་དམིགས་བསལ་དགོས་མཁོ་ཅན་གྱི་སློབ་སྤྱོད་ རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚེད་སློབ་སྦྱོང་གི་མཐུན་རྒྱུ་ཆ་
ཚང་འཛོམས་དགོས་པ་མ་ཟད། སློབ་དགེ་རྣམས་ལ་འང་ལུས་སེམས་གཉིས་ཐང་ནས་དམིགས་བསལ་དགོས་མཁོ་ཅན་གྱི་སློབ་ སྤྱོད་རྣམས་ལ་སློབ་སྦྱོང་སློབ་རྒྱུ་
ཀྱི་ཟབ་སྦྱོང་ཚད་ལྡན་ངེས་པར་ཏུ་སྦྱོང་ དགོས།

༡༣༦ ལུས་སེམས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གནས་བབས་ཀྱི་ཆ་རྒྱུ་ཡོངས་སློབ་གྲྭའི་ནང་འཇུག་གནས་ལུ་ ཐབས་གཏུན་ནས་བཟུང་བའི་དམིགས་བསལ་དགོས་མཁོ་ཅན་གྱི་
སློབ་སྤྱོད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚེད། དགོས་མཁོའི་མཐུན་རྒྱུ་ཆ་ཚང་ཡོད་པའི་སློབ་གྲྭ་རེ་བུར་བུར་འཇུགས་དགོས་པ་དང་། སློབ་གྲྭ་དེ་དག་གི་ནང་དམིགས་བསལ་སྦྱོང་
བརྗེས་མཐར་ཕྱིན་ཡོད་པའི་དགེ་ཆུན་དང་ ལས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་མཐུན་རྒྱུ་ཆ་བསྐྱུན་དགོས། ལུ་བརྒྱུགས་སློབ་གྲྭ་ལག་ཏུ་ཡོད་པའི་དམིགས་བསལ་དགོས་མཁོ་ཅན་གྱི་
སློབ་སྤྱོད་ རྣམས་ཀྱི་ངོ་སོའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་དང་ནང་མི་མཉམ་ཏུ་འབྲེལ་ལམ་མ་ཚད་པར་རྒྱུན་གནས་ ལུ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ཆ་རྒྱུན་བཟོ་དགོས།

བརྒྱ་བཞི་པ། བར་བཀལ་གྱི་ཆ་རྒྱུན།

༡༣༧ སྤྱི་བྱས་གསར་པའི་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་འཚོམས་པའི་དགེ་ཆུན་དང་ལས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་མཐུན་ རྒྱུན་སྤྱོད་ལུ་རྒྱུན་ཐབས་མེད་པས། གོང་ཏུ་སློབ་པའི་སྤྱི་བྱས་
རྣམས་ཆ་ཚང་ལག་བསྟར་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཏུ་སྤུལ་གང་འཚོམས་ འགོར་རྒྱ་གཞོན་མི་ཟ་བས། སྤྱི་བྱས་འདི་གཏུན་འབེབས་བྱས་པ་ནས་བཟུང་ལུགས་དམིགས་སྤྱི་བྱས་
འདི་དག་གི་ ཐོག་ཏུ་རིམ་བསྐྱོད་ལུ་ཐབས་སུ་ད་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ལམ་སོལ་ལ་འཚར་གཞི་དང་ལྡན་པའི་ འགྲུར་བ་རིམ་གཏོང་གྲེང་ལྷོགས་དང་། སྤྱི་བྱས་ལག་བསྟར་
བྱེད་ལྷོགས་ཀྱི་ལས་གཞི་ངེས་ཅན་ཞིག་བསྐྱིག་དགོས།

༡༣༨ དཔེ་རྟོན་དང་ཉམས་གསོག་སྤྱི་བྱས་འདི་རྒྱ་འཛིན་ལག་ལེན་བྱ་ལུ་སློབ་ཁང་གསར་པ་གཅིག་གཉིས་ཤིག་གང་ལུ་འགོ་འཇུགས་ལུ་བ་བྱ་རྒྱ།
༡༣༩ འབྲུང་འགྲུར་དགེ་ཆུན་གྱི་དམིགས་སློབ་འདེམས་སྐྱོག་དང་། དེ་དག་གི་ཚེད་གཏོང་ཟབ་ཀྱི་འོས་སྦྱོང་ལས་གཞི་འགོ་འཇུགས། སློབ་ཚན་དང་། སློབ་དཔེ། སློབ་
རྟོན་གྱི་ཆ་རྒྱུན་གཞན་བཅས་གོ་སྐྱོག་བྱེད་པོ་ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་ཞིག་ལུ་འཇུགས་ ལུ་རྒྱ་བཅས་ཀྱི་ལས་དོན་ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༥ ནང་འགོ་འཇུགས་ལུ་བ་བྱ་རྒྱ།

བཙོ་ལྔ་པ། བསྐྱར་ཞིབ།

༡༤༠ སྤྱི་བྱས་ལག་བསྟར་བྱ་རྒྱའི་ལས་རིམ་རྣམས་ཚད་ལྡན་དང་རྒྱལ་མཐུན་བྱུང་མེན་ཏུས་ ལས་ཏུས་སུ་ཤེས་རིག་ལས་ཁུངས་ཀྱིས་ཚེད་བསྐྱོས་མཁས་པའི་
ཚོགས་རྒྱུང་གིས་བསྐྱར་ཞིབ་ བྱེད་དགོས།

༡༤༡ སྤྱི་བྱས་འདིའི་དོན་ཚན་ལག་ལ་དགོས་གསལ་ནམ་བུ་ཏུ་བསྐྱར་ཞིབ་ཚོགས་པ་ཡིན། །

|

**BASIC EDUCATION POLICY FOR TIBETANS IN EXILE - ENGLISH
TRANSLATION FROM TIBETAN**

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1. Article 17 (2) of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile, under Directive Principles states: “Towards enhancing the imparting of education, an ideal education policy meeting the real basic needs of Tibet shall be formulated.” As no such policy has yet been formulated, it is felt that the time is ripe to review the current situation of education of Tibetans in exile and to resolve upon a basic education policy that is better suited to the current needs of the Tibetans in exile and that may serve as a basis for the education policy of Tibet in future when a self-governing status is attained for the whole of the three Cholkhas²²² of Tibet.

CHAPTER II: THE MEANING OF EDUCATION

2.1 Education is to be recognised as a human quality that enables understanding of external objects and phenomena, and that leads to the awakening, maturing and completion of the potential of the inner consciousness.

2.2 Education is not to be recognised as merely grasping what is heard from others. Instead, it is to be recognised as realisation of what is heard through the power of self-confirmation and actualisation of what is realised through persistent contemplation. It is, thus, a process of learning through hearing from others, self-investigation and persistent contemplation.

2.3 Education is to be recognised as a unique inner quality in which the discriminative wisdom and mind-pacifying techniques are conjoined into close partnership.

2.4 Education is to be recognised as a key inner technology that transforms social and personal actions into wholesome deeds.

2.5 Education is not to be recognised merely as a means of livelihood. Instead it is to be recognised as a means of achieving temporary as well as long-term welfare for the self and others. In particular, it is to be recognised as a vehicle of social welfare and service.

2.6 Education is about recognising the undesired suffering and abandoning its cause; and recognising the desired happiness and engaging in practice of its cause. It is, thus, to be recognised as a means towards engaging in desirable actions and avoiding undesirable actions.

CHAPTER III: THE PURPOSE OF EDUCATION

A The Purpose of Education in General

²²² The three historical regions of Tibet: U-Tsang, Dotod (Kham) and Domed (Amdo); popularly referred to as: U-Tsang, the Cholkha of Dharma; Dotod, the Cholkha of Man; and Domed, the Cholkha of Horse.

3.1 The general purpose of education is to awaken and develop the human qualities of wisdom, loving kindness and compassion; their dependent virtues of right view and conduct; and the art of creativity and innovation.

3.2 To refine human perceptions and sensitivities and to initiate independent and valid investigation into phenomenal and ethical spheres, thus enabling the accomplishment of personal, national and universal goals;

3.3 To empower people and nation to become self-reliant, i.e. without the need to depend on the assistance and support of others; and to generate patriotic and dedicated persons and other resources for achieving the cherished goals of the society and nation.

B Education for Tibetan People in Particular

3.4 A responsibility the Tibetan people have towards the world community is to preserve and promote the unique wealth of Tibetan culture and traditions, which are of great value to the whole of humanity, through all times and circumstances. Another responsibility the Tibetan people have to the world is to promote and widely propagate the noble principle of Universal Responsibility as introduced and initiated by His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama. These responsibilities are to be fulfilled.

3.5 The ultimate goal of the Tibetan people is to transform the whole of the three Cholkhas of Tibet into a zone of non-violence (ahimsa) and peace; to transform Tibetan society into a non-violent society; and to lead other peoples onto the path of non-violence and compassion. Thus, the Tibetan people must be made capable of correctly and fully understanding the direction, path and means to this goal.

3.6 Tibet is situated on the roof of the world and her wealth of natural resources has a close bearing on the well-being of all Asian nations and the world at large. Thus, it is of paramount importance that the Tibetan people should be able to preserve the natural environment of Tibet.

3.7 A political goal of the Tibetan people is to instill in all Tibetan races of the three Cholkhas the principles of unity, freedom, democracy, rule of law, non-violence, truth and justice. It must be ensured that all Tibetans irrespective of their age properly understand and live by these principles.

3.8 The Tibetan system of economy must also be in accordance with the aforesaid fundamental principles. The Tibetan people must therefore avoid: the two widespread extremes of capitalism and socialism; the two livelihood extremes of luxuriance and destitution; and reliance on wrong means of livelihood²²³. A system ensuring self-sufficiency and right means of livelihood must therefore be followed.

²²³ Earning living through means not in accordance with ethical and spiritual principles.

CHAPTER IV: SOURCES OF LEARNING

A Traditional²²⁴ Tibetan Education

4.1 The principal sources of the traditional Tibetan education are the traditions of Yungdrung Bon²²⁵ and Buddhadharma²²⁶. Hence, base, path and result, and view, practice and discipline of the inner science contained in these traditions form the core of Tibetan traditional education.

4.2 The four other Tibetan sciences of Language, Valid Cognition²²⁷, Art and Medicine together with their branches, which have been highly influenced by Bon and Dharma, are also subjects of traditional Tibetan learning.

4.3 The Tibetan Language, which is the medium of these traditional studies, despite its long period of development has undergone very few changes. It holds great potency to communicate intended meaning. It is a great store-house of many profound sciences and arts difficult to be found in other languages. It is, in fact, the only standard base of all Tibetan studies.

B Modern Education

4.4 Modern Education, unlike traditional Tibetan education, does not trace its origin to a religious or ancient cultural source. It, instead, is a system that was begun and developed in recent centuries by human beings through investigation and experimentation, primarily, on external objects and phenomena. It developed further and was spread more widely in the course of time.

4.5 Modern Education primarily includes the study of science and technology, mathematics, social sciences, economics, management and planning, and most arts subjects which fall under the category name of "science".

CHAPTER V: THE AIM OF GIVING EDUCATION

5.1 Students must be enabled to fully awaken their discriminative faculty of mind to be able to distinguish right from wrong. This would empower them: to be confident to make decision with freedom of thought and action; to be self-reliant in livelihood, i.e. to live without depending on or exploiting others thereby ensuring their

²²⁴ "Tradition" must not be understood as any custom merely perpetuated for a long time. It instead must be understood as a continuum of wisdom or science: (i) originated from a valid source; (ii) passed down through an unbroken lineage; and (iii) supported by valid reasoning. Additionally, it must be an everlasting source of benefit and happiness independent of changes of time and circumstance.

²²⁵ The earliest native religion of Tibet founded by Shenrab Miwo of Shangshung, the western region of ancient Tibet; more popularly called simply 'Bon'.

²²⁶ The doctrine and teaching of the Buddha Shakyamuni (623 B.C.-544 B.C.)

²²⁷ Traditional science of logical reasoning originated from India.

freedom of livelihood by right means; to be able to protect the freedom of the individual and community by non-violence thereby ensuring the freedom of security. This constitutes the principle of “freedom”.

5.2 By embracing other beings as more precious than the self and sacrificing the self for the service and welfare of other persons, the noble spirit of altruism is to be generated and established. This constitutes the principle of “altruism”.

5.3 For the sake of future generations, the environment and natural resources must be conserved for the peaceful sustenance of this planet, and people must be empowered to uphold their ancestral cultural heritage. This ability to preserve culture and environment constitutes the principle of “upholding the heritage”.

5.4 In relation to the general well-being of the world and in accordance with the needs of time and place, we must be able to introduce new principles, systems, objects, movements and so forth. This constitutes the principle of “innovation”. Raising citizens to be endowed with these four stated qualities shall be the aim of giving education.

CHAPTER VI: SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

6.1 A system of education having traditional Tibetan education as its core and modern education as its essential co-partner shall be implemented.

6.2 As nothing is more important than the teacher in the work of imparting education, a teacher-centred education system shall be followed.

6.3 However, when teachers actually undertake the work of teaching, the student-centred methodology shall be followed.

6.4 In an education system having traditional education as its core, it is appropriate to have the medium in which the traditional learning abides as the medium of instruction for general education. Hence, efforts shall be made to gradually convert the medium of instruction in all Tibetan institutions of learning from the pre-primary level up to the highest research study level, into Tibetan language.

6.5 Inherent to traditional as well as modern learning, is the content meaning and the vehicle that conveys it. As proficiency in the vehicle of speech is gained with the study of language and proficiency in content meaning is gained with the study of Valid Cognition (*pramana*), the Tibetan language and Valid Cognition shall be taught with special emphasis at the basic school level.

6.6 In order to empower students to investigate and reflect on obscure phenomena and to develop confidence in presenting their findings after investigation before the world's scholars, the process of learning by hearing and thinking as indicated by Tibetan Inner Science shall be widely introduced and promoted.

6.7 In order to instill into pupils the principles of wholesome thought and conduct from the pre-primary school level, the quality and role of teachers, formation of school curriculum, and methodology of teaching shall be framed mainly in accordance with the traditional Tibetan principles and sciences, rather than the modern system.

6.8 A standard system of education, in which school and university graduates can freely follow their family occupations or start a new occupation of their choice, shall be introduced. This will help prevent the situation of producing large flocks of unemployed graduates.

CHAPTER VII: THE STRUCTURE OF BASIC EDUCATION

7.1 Education is a life-long process to be pursued and practised by persons of all ages. Of the two systems of education: formal and non-formal, primary importance shall be given to the latter.

7.2 Nevertheless, since formal education has become important and necessary in the present day, the Administration shall frame a general structure covering all citizens as part of the education policy and issue directives accordingly.

7.3 The monastic centres and other institutions of traditional learning shall not come under the purview of the structure framed by the Administration. However, if such institutions and other societies or individuals establish schools for general basic education and desire recognition from the Tibetan Administration in exile, they must conform to the general structure.

7.4 The structure of the basic education shall comprise of a four-level school system: (1) three-year pre-primary school; (2) five-year primary school up to the fifth class; (3) three-year middle school up to the eighth class; and (4) four-year secondary school up to the twelfth class. Until a new system suitable for Tibetans is introduced for the three-year pre-primary level, the Montessori system shall be followed.

7.5 The pursuit of further secondary school education or vocational studies after graduating from Class X shall be decided by individual choice and prescribed academic requirements. Likewise, after graduating from Class XII, opportunities for the pursuit of vocational studies by choice shall be made available.

CHAPTER VIII: SUBJECTS OF STUDY

A. Tibetan Language

8.1 The studies of language and grammar being the basis of, and gateway to, any learning, the Tibetan language, grammar and literature shall be the main subject of study from the pre-primary level to Class XII.

B. Science of Valid Cognition

8.2 The ability to penetrate deeply into subjects and into the nature of phenomena through independent investigation and search, without blindly following the word of others, can be developed from the study of Science of Valid Cognition. The teaching of this subject up to Class XII with special stress shall therefore be recognised as one of the most important directives.

C. Other Languages & Valid Cognition Sciences

8.3 A three-language policy shall be adopted. Besides the primary mother-tongue language, a student should be fully proficient in any one foreign language and acquire a working knowledge of reading and writing in a third language after graduating from Class X. A second language may be chosen from among the four languages of Hindi, Chinese, English and Spanish. Depending on the availability of facilities more choices may be given. However, until such time when the medium of instruction is fully converted to the mother tongue, English will remain by necessity the second language. Hence the above stated choice of the second language cannot be implemented immediately, but such a long-term aim should be established now. The third language will be the language of the region where the school is located. If the regional language is Tibetan or the second language, any other essential language may be chosen in their place.

8.4 From the pre-primary level and up to Class III, no other language besides Tibetan shall be taught. Even the teaching of terms in, and songs of, other language should be avoided. The teaching of second and third languages shall be started from Class IV and Class VI respectively.

8.5 Suitable introductory studies of: the modern sciences of logical reasoning; experimental methodology; tenets or theories of the social sciences; and the investigative methodologies used in the study of history shall be included within the curriculum of the middle school (Class VI - VIII).

D. Art & Crafts

8.6 The study of any sustainable art or craft of a non-violent and environmentally friendly nature shall be made compulsory at both the levels of middle school (Class VI to VIII) and secondary school (Class IX to XII). For this purpose, a variety of traditional art and crafts of Tibetan and Indian origin and, to a lesser extent, certain modern art and crafts - suitable to our situation and qualifying the above characteristics - shall be taught in the schools. Depending on the availability of facilities and the interest of students, the study of a suitable art or craft may be included within the curriculum of the primary school level also. Similarly, for development of special talents and skills in art and crafts, language and other studies, suitable subjects of study may also be included in the curriculum according to the interest and mental disposition of the students

8.7 Several vocational schools shall be established for the admission of students who have graduated from Class X and Class XII. Besides the main training courses of Tibetan art and crafts, and various modern art and crafts,

the Tibetan language and another additional language shall also be taught in these schools up to an appropriate level.

E. Science & Humanities

8.8 The introduction of general science; social sciences; history; sciences of mind; and other subjects of science and arts that are necessary shall be included in the study curriculum of the middle school (Class VI to VIII) for a length of time, and up to a level suitable for this stage.

F. Mathematics

8.9 Since study of mathematics is both useful in general life and essential for the study of science, adequate study of modern mathematics and an elementary introduction to traditional Tibetan mathematics shall be included in the school curriculum.

G. Principles of Non-Violence and Democracy

8.10 The study of the value, teachings, practices and histories of the principles of nonviolence and democracy shall be suitably included within the study curricula of all three levels of school - primary, middle and secondary - in accordance with the degree of understanding of students at those levels.

H. Moral Conduct

8.11 Morality is not to be taught as a separate subject. Instead it is of vital importance to closely connect it to the central theme of all educational activities and especially all subjects of study to be taught in the classroom. However, excerpts from religious sources on morality; stories and tales on spiritual themes; traditional writings on social or secular ethics; and biographies of ancient and contemporary great personalities should be included within the content of school textbooks or supplementary reading.

I. Physical Exercise & Sports

8.12 Since school students are undergoing both physical and mental growth, it is important to dedicate equal attention and time to their health, hygiene and physical training and to their academic curriculum. Training in various forms of Tibetan traditional physical exercise; physical training of yoga; breathing exercises of pranayama and so forth should be given. Additionally, natural health treatments such as baths, massage, lotion application and so forth should be introduced from the primary school level. Similarly, manual work and walking being principal modes of physical exercise, a definite period of time should be allotted for them within the regular timetable. For diversion and recreation of students, games and sports shall also be included in the curriculum. Whilst attaching more importance to the traditional Tibetan games and sports, training in contemporary games and sports shall also be given.

J. Subjects of Study for Secondary School

8.13 In the common four-year study curriculum, it is necessary for the time being to retain all subjects of study prescribed for Class X and Class XII Examinations of the host country. Even after division of classes into science and other streams, Tibetan language and Science of Valid Cognition must continue to be included in the curriculum as compulsory subjects for all streams and classes of this level.

CHAPTER IX: SYLLABI & DURATION

9.1 Curricula and syllabi for all classes up to Class XII shall be prepared in the order and inter-related manner as required by the Basic Education Policy. For that purpose a special committee shall be established to prepare the Common School Curricula and Syllabi.

CHAPTER X: EXAMINATIONS

10.1 The present system of evaluation by means of a two or three hour examination shall be discarded. Promotion of students to the next class, up to Class VIII, shall be done, not on the basis of the present system of examination, but rather on the basis of the collective decision of concerned teachers through an overall assessment of student's regular conduct, level of understanding, practical skill and classroom participation. However, for the time being and until further review, the system of written examinations may continue with a 50 percent share of the overall evaluation. A new system of evaluation shall also be introduced to estimate the standard of learning for the classes of the secondary school, with the exception of those who are required to sit Board Examinations of the host country.

CHAPTER XI: TEACHERS

11.1 The future of any society rests on the quality of education provided, and the quality of education in turn depends on the quality of the teachers. Thus, teachers being the most important persons in society, great effort shall be made to recruit persons of highest character and learning to the profession. Legal provisions shall be put in place to ensure that due recognition and commensurate benefits are given to teachers.

11.2 Within the public service cadres, a separate cadre for persons in educational service shall be created. Rank and honour of this service division shall be superior to those of all other public service divisions.

11.3 Teachers should possess the general qualities of knowledge and experience as indicated by the contemporary educational system and inner qualities such as motivation and moral attitude as indicated by the traditional Tibetan sources. New schemes shall be devised and established to cultivate as many qualified teachers as possible on a regular basis.

11.4 Teachers must follow a life-long learning career and remain fully committed to the teaching profession. Resources towards the fulfillment of these conditions shall be provided.

11.5 All teachers employed at pre-primary to secondary school levels must have successfully undergone teacher training courses. The training should not only be on contemporary subjects and teaching methodology but also contain instructions on the qualities and characteristics that behoove a teacher and methods of cultivation of pupils as given in the traditional sources. History of traditional Tibetan education shall also be included in the training course.

11.6 In order to train teachers in contemporary as well as traditional teaching courses, a scheme for training Tibetan teachers shall be implemented.

11.7 Clinical teaching practice for trainees for a definite period of time at any college or other teaching institution shall be recognised as a vital and important part of the training course.

11.8 In order to maintain proper scrutiny over the quality of teachers, it shall be made mandatory for both qualified teacher-candidates and currently employed teachers to receive a five-year teaching license from the Tibetan Council of Education. This license must be renewed every five years. During that period, it shall be required for teachers to complete a certain number of in-service training courses enhancing professional development as a pre-requisite for renewal of the teaching license.

11.9 Comprehensive rules and regulations governing recruitment, salary and benefits, promotion and transfer, regular and additional duties, code of conduct, welfare and accountability shall be framed.

11.10 Teachers being leaders of people and nation building, adequate facilities and an environment conducive to their unobstructed development in freedom of thought, power of intellect and spirit of innovation, must be provided.

11.11 Teachers are to be role models in character for students and should be able to instill wholesome qualities into their students. For this reason, policy shall be framed against the recruitment of persons with low moral character as teachers, even if they possess high academic qualifications.

11.12 Based on the importance and need of pre-primary learning, a Class XII graduate with requisite training shall be appointed as assistant teacher for each of the pre-primary classes. Priority shall be given to female candidates for the posts of pre-primary teacher and assistant. The pre-primary and primary teachers should possess the minimum qualification of a Bachelor Degree and must have completed a teacher education course. Their salary and benefits shall be same as those of teachers of the secondary school level.

CHAPTER XII: ADMINISTRATION

12.1 All Tibetan schools in exile are required to uniformly implement the policies and directive guidelines on policies as and when framed by the Tibetan Administration in exile with respect to aims and objectives, structure, curriculum, evaluation, teacher and management of education.

12.2 The Department of Education, CTA is the highest central administrative authority in the affairs of education of Tibetans in exile. It shall implement the education policies as and when framed by the Central Tibetan Administration either directly, or principally through the medium of autonomous organisations.

12.3 It is emphasised that the internal management of schools shall be done principally by the local organisations and that the schools do not depend or rely on the Central Administration or their own central organisations in that matter.

12.4 To advise the Tibetan administration in exile on education policy; to monitor implementation of the education policy; to grant recognition and approval to rules and regulations, curriculum, textbook composition and examination system of all Tibetan schools in exile after necessary inspection; to grant recognition to all schools including pre-primary schools after necessary inspection; to issue and renew teaching licenses; and to monitor and oversee educational affairs as a whole, a permanent body 'The Education Council of Tibetans in Exile' shall be established.

12.5 For the construction of plans on teacher education system; school curriculum and text books; teaching methodology; and other teaching resources, committees and task forces of scholars and experts shall be established and appointed as necessary from time to time.

12.6 Autonomous and private schools may seek and receive recognition for their schools from the Central Tibetan Administration. The Department of Education shall lay down provisions and frame regulations for granting recognition to such schools.

12.7 All schools recognised by the Central Tibetan Administration shall abide by the provisions of structure and mandatory curriculum as framed by this policy. However, the autonomous and private schools may decide independently as to how the details of the policy are implemented.

CHAPTER XIII: RIGHT TO EDUCATION

A. Basic Education

13.1 All Tibetan citizens performing citizen's duties shall have the right to basic education up to Class XII free of tuition fee and without any discrimination on the basis of sex, race, religion, place of origin, being rich or poor, being ordained or lay.

13.2 No Tibetan parent shall have the power to prevent a child between the ages of 6 and 16 years of age from attending school. In order to maintain good relationship between parents and children, special emphasis shall be laid on children staying with their parents and on not admitting young children to boarding schools.

13.3 In order to facilitate the completion of studies up to Class X by all children, opportunity for re-admission to school shall be given to the students who were obliged to leave their schools before finishing Class X.

13.4 Only those Class X graduates with promising academic records - to be determined by a thorough assessment of teacher's evaluation report, examination results and interest and intelligence of individual students – shall be admitted to the secondary school education.

13.5 The remaining Class X graduates may be allowed to pursue vocational training courses for two years according to their wish. All Class X graduates shall have right to follow these training courses.

B. Education through Self-Learning

13.6 Students who have failed admission to the secondary school after Class X can however continue the secondary school studies through self-learning during or after their vocational training. Necessary provisions for such modes of learning shall be made.

C. Students with Special Needs

13.7 Best efforts shall be made to educate students with special needs in regular schools together with other students. All schools must therefore make provision for all necessary facilities to meet the needs of such students. Teachers must also be provided with standard in-service training both physically and mentally for education of students with special needs.

13.8 One or two special schools with complete facilities shall be separately established for the students who cannot be admitted in regular schools due to serious physical and/or mental disabilities. These schools shall be equipped with teachers and staffs who are fully trained in special education. Provisions shall be made for students in these separately established schools to maintain close contact with their family and community.

CHAPTER XIV: INTERIM PROVISION

14.1 It is difficult to immediately accomplish the provision of all teaching and nonteaching personnel as required by the new policy. For this reason, there is no doubt that the complete implementation of the above stated policies will take a considerable period of time. Therefore, to the end of achieving the ultimate aims of these policies in a gradual manner, a definite action plan shall be drawn after adoption of this policy in order to effect organised and gradual changes in the existing system and to implement the new policy.

14.2 To serve as model and for gathering experience, one or two new schools shall be opened as soon as possible wherein the provisions of the new education policy shall be fully implemented.

14.3 A committee shall be established for the functions of: selection of teacher candidates; conception of training schemes for such candidates; prescription of curricula and text books; and the drawing up of other academic plans. The above work plans (mentioned in this chapter) shall be started within the calendar year of 2005.

CHAPTER XV: REVIEW

15.1 A committee of scholars and experts, to be appointed by the Department of Education, shall periodically review and reevaluate the plan of action for implementing the policy.

15.2 Articles of this policy may be reviewed whenever necessary.

NOTE: This document has been originally prepared in the Tibetan language using several technical terms and styles of traditional composition. Great effort has been made in this translation to communicate the full and correct content-meaning of the original document. However, in the event of any doubt or difference in interpretation, the Tibetan version of interpretation shall be regarded final.

APPENDIX IV SAMPLE DEBATE ON COLOURS

The information and textual rendering of a sample debate on colours in this Appendix has been reproduced and adapted from *Debate Notes*, a document made available on-line by the Drepung Gomang Monastic College (<http://www.gomang.org/>)

At the opening of a session of debate, the standing Challenger claps his hands together and recites the seed syllable of Manjushri, “*Dhib*”. Manjushri is the manifestation of the wisdom of all the Buddhas and, as such, is the special deity of debate.

Hand gestures

When the Challenger first puts his question to the sitting Defender, his right hand is held above the shoulder at the level of his head and the left hand is stretched forward with the palm turned upward. At the end of his statement, the Challenger punctuates by loudly clapping together his hands and simultaneously stomping his left foot. Then he immediately draws back his right hand with the palm held upward and at the same time, holds forth his left hand with the palm turned downward. This motion of drawing back and clapping is done with the flow of a dancer’s movements.

Holding forth the left hand after clapping symbolizes closing the door to rebirth in the helpless state of cyclic existence. The drawing back and upraising of the right hand symbolizes one’s will to raise all sentient beings up out of cyclic existence and to establish them in the omniscience of Buddhahood. The left hand represents wisdom—the actual antidote to cyclic existence. The right hand represents method—the altruistic intention to become enlightened, motivated by great love and compassion for all sentient beings. The clap represents a union of method and wisdom. In dependence on the union of method and wisdom, one is able to attain Buddhahood.

Topics

In Collected Topics Class (logic) students usually debate the following topics:

- A. Colors
- B. Established Bases
- C. Identifying Isolate
- D. Opposite from Being-Something and Opposite-From-Not Being Something
- E. The Introductory [Presentation of] Causes and Effects
- F. Generalities and Instances
- G. Substantial Phenomena and Isolate Phenomena

As the monk continues his studies, his debate topics will concern the issues he is studying in his respective classes: *Prajnaparamita*, *Madhyamaka*, *Vinaya*, and *Abidharmakoshai*

Sample Debate on “Colors”—a beginner-level debate for a young adept learning logic:

(C = Challenger, D=Defender)

A “hypothetical defender” has said: Whatever is a color is necessarily red,” and, as an exercise, the present Defender is trying to defend this absurd position. The Challenger is exposing this misconception, this “wrong view.” He begins with a question.

- C: *Dhīh!* The subject, in just the way [Manjushri debated]. Is whatever is a color necessarily red?
 D: I accept [that whatever is a color is necessarily red].
 C: It follows that whatever is a color is necessarily red.
 D: I accept it.
 C: It [absurdly] follows that the subject, the color of a white religious conch, is red.
 D: Why [is the color a white religious conch red]?
 C: Because of being a color. You asserted the pervasion [that whatever is a color is necessarily red].
 D: The reason [that the color of a white religious conch is a color] is not established.
 C: It follows that the subject, the color of a white religious conch, is a color because of being white.
 D: The reason [that the color of a white religious conch is white] is not established.
 C: It follows that the subject, the color of a white religious conch, is white because of being one with the color of a white religious conch.
 D: I accept that the color of a white religious conch is white.
 C: It follows that the subject, the color of a white religious conch, is a color.
 D: I accept it.
 C: It follows that the subject, the color of a white religious conch, is red because of being a color.
 D: I accept that the color of a white religious conch is red.
 C: It follows that the subject, the color of a white religious conch, is not red because of being white.
 D: There is no pervasion [i.e., even though the color of a white religious conch is white, it is not the case that whatever is white is necessarily not red.]
 C: It follows that whatever is white is necessarily not red because a common locus of the two, white and red, does not exist.
 D: The reason [that a common locus of the two, white and red, does not exist] is not established.
 C: It follows that a common locus of the two, white and red, does not exist because those two are mutually exclusive.
 D: I accept that a common locus of the two, white and red, does not exist.
 C: It follows that whatever is white is necessarily not red.
 D: I accept it.
 C: It follows that the subject, the color of a white religious conch, is not red.
 D: I accept it.
 C: It follows that the subject, the color of a white religious conch, is red because of being a color.
 D: There is no pervasion [i.e., even though the color of a white religious conch is a color, it is not the case that whatever is a color is necessarily red].
 C: It follows that whatever is a color is not necessarily red.
 D: I accept it.
C. [Your] basic thesis is finished!
 The Challenger shouts “finished!” three times. Also, when saying “finished!” the Challenger does not clap his hands as usual but slaps the right hand with palm upraised into the left palm.

Practice of Debate

A monk hears teachings on topics of debate; then he reads the texts, memorizes the definitions and divisions; and then on his own, thinks about the meaning of what he is studying and meditates

(analytical meditation) on its implications. After this preparation, he is able to debate the topic with others. He puts forth his own view or understanding of a point of doctrine, and others raise objections to that view. Similarly, one raises objections to others' interpretations or understandings. Although the monk may become very excited and object vigorously and vehemently to the views of his opponent in a debate, the purpose for his debate is not to defeat and embarrass an opponent, thereby gaining some victory for himself; rather, the purpose is to help the opponent overcome his wrong view.

Course of Study

The monks practicing debate study within a well-developed system beginning with basic logic and working up to the great texts of India, both the sutras and commentaries. Monks studying in the colleges of the Gelugpa Sect work toward the *Geshe* degree. In order to attain this, a monk must pass through a rigorous program of studies consisting of fifteen or possibly sixteen classes, some lasting for two years each.

1. Collected Topics of Valid Cognition (three classes)—the Introductory, Middling, and Greater Paths of Reasoning. (*Parana*)
2. Perfection of Wisdom (five classes). (*Prajnaparamita*)
3. Middle Way (two classes). (*Madhyamaka*)
4. Discipline (two classes). (*Vinaya*)
5. Treasury of Knowledge (two classes). (*Abhidharmakosha*)

Beyond these classes devoted to particular topics, there are two retainer classes, *Kar-um* and *Hla-ram*, in which the monks engage in lengthy review prior to their examinations for the degree of *Geshe*. All told, a monk typically studies from twenty-two to twenty-six years to achieve this degree.

APPENDIX V TCV HOME

FIELD NOTES, TCV HOME SURVEY, SATURDAY 21.09.2013

16:00, HOME [X]

HOME [X]²²⁸ is where Migmar [my interpreter] lives. She wants us to do a long interview with her Amala, as she is “very old” and has a lot of stories to tell. Amala seems a bit annoyed with children – it has just started raining and she needs to remind some of them to pick up their laundry from the lines outside. We sit in the corner of the hall, next to an open window. The door to the hall remains open and the khyimtsang children come to listen to our conversation. At one point a boy from the monks’ khyimtsang (in lay clothes) comes in and hands an envelope to Amala. He has received it from sponsors and wants to give it to Amala. He is her relative. Amala opens the decorative envelope and finds two banknotes – 1 unit of Korean currency each. Later, another khyimtsang boy comes in with a bag of *kaptse* – from the Dalai Lama’s temple – the army *puja*. Migmar explains that Amala has donated some money for the service and that the *kaptse* she received have been blessed. Amala offers some to Migmar and me – we each take one bit and eat (you don’t refuse a blessing). I record our conversation and make notes. I stop the recorder once, when Amala needs to go outside to settle something. She returns quickly. Throughout the interview, Migmar offers additional explanation and sometimes explains things herself – e.g. the daily routine. Amala then listens and nods.

AMALA’S STORY: Amala was born in Tibet, in a village in U-Tsang, close to Lhasa. Her father passed away and she arrived in India with her mother and younger sister when she was 13 or 15. Amala’s younger sister used to be HOME[Y] Amala, she passed away last year. They arrived in Nepal after a month journey and then were transferred to Delhi, where an officer (Indian, translated by a Tibetan) told them to go to work in Kullu-Manali. Around 100 people were sent there. She worked at road construction with her mother. Her mother earned Rs 4 and she Rs 1.50. She could not study. When her mother died they were sent to McLeod Ganj. The Department of Education had a pillar for measuring height, Amala was a bit too tall and she was not accepted in school. An official promised to send her to the Vocational Centre to learn craft but unfortunately he passed away before she could go, so she was left with nothing. Then she worked in Jetsun Pema’s [The Dalai Lama’s sister] place and her younger sister was sent to school in Mussoorie – Tibetan Homes [THF]. Amala stayed in TCV [3] and worked in Baby Home and a bit in Jetsun Pema’s place for 14 years. She was then given Home [X] and she’s been working and living here for around 30 years. All in all, she has been in TCV [3] for 44 years. She says she was 23 when she started and is now 66. She was not one of the first Mothers – the first Amalas now live in the camp [retired staff quarters above Senior Section compound]. At first Amala worked in Baby Home – it used to be in the spot where H26 is now (close to the Peace House). She also taught ka kha gha nga [alphabet] and abc in Montessori class – it was then in the Peace House. It was for small children and there was an ingee [foreign] teacher from America there. Amala was taught Tibetan letters by a monk that used to come and teach them in Jetsun Pema’s place. She learned by writing on the chalked board and on the ground [method used in pre-59’ Tibet]. She learned English abc from small children. They had not been trained like Amalas nowadays, they received one month training though. KB: Why is this year’s batch of trainee amalas so small? AMALA: In the past, after receiving the whole year of training a lot of them found good work in foreign countries and they left. There are not so many khyimtsang now and enough amalas. Only 3 or 4 floating amala in TCV [3]. [‘floating Mothers’ live on TCV campus and are staff members, but

²²⁸ The House number, names of TCV campuses and personal names have been changed.

are not assigned to specific Homes. They are sent as temporary replacement if a Home Mothers is ill or on leave.]

HOME'S HISTORY: There were no khyimtsang in the beginning. Just one house with 3 rooms standing on the spot this khyimtsang is now (HOME [X]). It was HOME [X] size. Then they built H1 and H2, then H3 and H4 – they are like a military camp, stuck together. Then H5 and H6. The Homes down the slope are the recent ones.

HOME [X] is quite old, there were 2 Amalas here before. One went to a new [Tibetan] settlement in Karnataka and then passed away [Karnataka is in the south, and was long considered too hot and thus, too dangerous for Tibetan constitution]. The other one has retired and stays in a room in the old people's home near menkhang [hospital, TCV Heath Centre]. Amala is old and wants to retire as well. Every year, they get a paper to sign and they have to indicate the number of years they will be working. This year, Amala wrote: 1 year. She is waiting for the room in the old people's home, but there are none free now. They need to build a new one. [laughs]. She feels quite tired and with the hardships suffered in their youth, lack of good food etc, their generation is quite weak and fragile.

TINTIN HOUSE, next to Baby Home and right above HOME [X], was for boys only, as there were only two rooms – 1 hall and 1 room. A few years ago it was closed and now there is a Baby crèche there [separate from Baby Home, a day nursery for staff babies; a boy who's been listening to our conversation now says that he's from TinTin house]. From the beginning there were usually girls and boys in one khyimtsang, staying in one house with a room for girls and another for boys. Then Ama Jetsun Pema-la decided boys in Class 9 should move to a hostel. Girls were to move when in Class 10. The girls were helping more with small children, they washed clothes and slept with the young children who were sometimes afraid to sleep alone. Ama Jetsun Pema-la used to come to the Homes when she was working in the TCV [3]. Now she has retired so she does not come anymore.

FAMILY: Amala's husband passed away 7 years ago. She has two sons – one works in TCV [1], the other one here – in the Peace House. He is dealing with foreigners and is very good at Internet. The younger son studied in TCV [3] till class 10, for class 11 and 12 he moved to TCV [2] and then to Delhi, to study IT. He still lives in HOME [X] – he has his own quarters here. Older son works in TCV [1], is married to a music teacher there and has two children – a boy and a girl. His wife sings very well. The boys [Amala's sons] stayed in the boys' room in khyimtsang, the older one even stayed in the girls' room when he was little – for 5 years. They were not proud [i.e. feeling entitled]. Amala's husband worked as cook in the school kitchen, when he retired he used to help in the school temple. They met in TCV [3] and fell in love, it was a love marriage. They didn't ask anyone – neither of them had parents. Amala's younger sister, Pema-la, also married for love, her husband works in Gangchen Kyishong [govt complex]. She did not ask her older sister, just got married. Pema-la had been in Tibetan Homes [THF] in Musoorie till class 8. Then she came to TCV [3]. She worked in Baby Home and then moved to her own khyimtsang. In the beginning the Amalas had to work very hard, there were no facilities. They earned Rs5 per month, but the staff here were very friendly towards each other, everyone helped everyone. In the 1970' and 80' Amalas had a hard time, the facilities were not good, little salary, no washing machines, so a lot of hand washing had to be done. Lots of work. Now the facilities are good, the food is good. New Amalas are lucky, they don't have that much work.

ON RESPONSIBILITY: When children make a mistake – it is ok, they are children. So they should not be punished too hard. Migmar-la: If we are late, we have to pay some money.

HOME CHILDREN: Now there are 19 children in HOME [X]. It used to be 50-40 in the past. They had to sleep two in one bed. Now, the Chinese blocked the borders and the new [Tibetan] Prime Minister decided that more schools should be opened in small settlements, so that the children can stay with their families and attend as day scholars. There are 7 Boys and 12 girls here now. Only two 'senior' ones, from class 8 [Migmar] and Class 7 - another girl, she is taking part in the MS Idol contest

today, so is not here. For kitchen duty we have 6 pairs in rotation, 2 girls or 2 boys. So, everyone has kitchen duty once a week, but the days may change.

DAILY ROUTINE [explained by Migmar]: Amala gets up at 5 am and she prepares breakfast – tea and bread. Then she wakes the children. We pray for 25 minutes – two prayers 1) for the wellbeing of all sentient beings and 2) to Jambeyang [Manjusri – bodhisattva of wisdom]. Then we meditate for two minutes. Amala has taught us to close our eyes and visualise a deity like White Tara while thinking how lucky we are to be born and to have another day, and then to wish happiness to all living organisms. Gen Kalsang-la [Head of the Mother Training Centre] told Amalas last year [at a workshop] that it would be good for the children to meditate so Amala has introduced it. After that, we have breakfast. After breakfast children on rotation wash the dishes, 1 dusts, 1 cleans the toilets, 1 girl sweeps the floor in the girls’ room and 1 boy in the boys’ room. The rest is divided into group A and B, A sweep the floors inside and B – outside. Amala give us 15 minutes for ourselves before going to school so that we can prepare.

Only small children come Home for school break at 11. They have some tsampa or porridge in Amala’s room. They used to get fruit from the store room, but now Amala is giving them fruit after lunch. For lunch we usually have dal [lentil stew] and rice, or rajma [red bean stew]. Sometimes some vegetables. We do not eat meat. We were told that it was very expensive and that the store is not going to buy it. Then we pledged not to eat meat for His Holiness’ health and wellbeing. We do not have the sponsors who could donate meat as in Baby Home. They are small and need it, we are older. We have lunch at 1:15. We wash dishes and clean up, then we go back to school.

After class we used to have tea time. But now the store does not give out [additional] milk, so no tea time now. Small children go to the library. Sometimes we have to peel potatoes and cut vegetables for dinner – helping children on kitchen duty. At 5:30 we pray and at 6 pm we have dinner. On Saturday there is no prayer. After dinner boys and small children play outside and we girls, we stay in and pray or read or just talk. Between 7 and 8:30 pm we study and at 9pm the lights are off. Amala keeps the lights on in the dining room. And the doors to the rooms remain open.

On Saturday after class we wash clothes (uniform, so that it dries before Monday) and wash our body. Then we make thukpa/thentuk [noodle soup, children’ favourite] for dinner and watch TV. The TV set is locked in a small wooden box in the dining hall and brought into the hall on Saturdays. Boys like watching fighting and girls want to watch Bollywood movies and dancing so we often fight.

On Sunday we clean and then have free time. Amala thinks children should sometimes be free to do what they want. Amala’s free time? Amala likes listening to the news and saying om-manis [mantra]. When children leave for school in the morning, Amala is free till 11 when she starts cooking lunch – dal and rice. She also has free Thursdays. She is friends with [neighbouring] Home 1 Amala, so they often visit each other.

PARENTS, RELATIVES: On 2nd Saturday 8 children go out with parents. They are mostly from McLeod. Amala does not know them well, she does not like to talk much. For winter holiday last year 3 children stayed in the school – as Amala had an operation in Chandigarh, they had to move to H23. When Amala came back from hospital, she took them in to HOME [X], to stay with her. In the winter the children who stay in khyimtsang cook in their own kitchen [Other Homes may decide to use the communal TCV staff kitchen facilities – with Mothers joining up in cooking].

HOME REPAIRS: If something needs to be done, the Amala first needs to go to the carpenters – they come and then inform the Village Office. Home [X] was repainted 7 years ago. Many years ago, when Jetsun Pema was still here, she decided to extend the hall. We have 5 window panes quota per year, if we break more we need to pay from our own money.

ANIMALS: We had a rabbit, sheep, 5 hens and 5 dogs. Now there is only one hen and one dog. We don’t eat the hens, they were laying eggs. We took them to Tsuklakhang [the Dalai Lama’s temple in the nearby McLeod Ganj] and gave them to His Holiness’ cook.

After we finish the interview, Migmar takes me to the big chest in the hall and shows me Amala's pictures with children – some are very old, in black and white. Migmar: *“Amala used to be slim, but after she had children air entered her body and she was big from then on”*. Everything in the hall was arranged by the Amala – the pictures of His Holiness and Jetsun Pema-la, His Holiness' Mother and his older sister. The big framed picture of boys from khyimtsang against the blue sky was taken by Amala's son.

In the adjacent room there are storage boxes – metal and cardboard. A beautiful altar with a glass cabinet and an old Tibetan *thanka* scroll on the side. The frame with pictures of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, HH the previous Panchen lama, HH Karmapa, HH Sakya on another wall, above another cabinet. Migmar says she makes water offerings here every morning. KB: *You seem to pray a lot?* Migmar: *But when I do the offering, I do it for everyone in the Home, so I have to pray with all my heart... The Dalai Lama came to this Home. Amala always says that this room is special because His Holiness was praying here. There were spirits here [laughs], like ghosts. [laughs]. There were many British here before, occupying, and many people died. So when people went to sleep here, they were hearing voices, strange things. But Amala says that it all stopped after the Dalai Lama [had] prayed here.*

The Home kitchen is made of two rooms, *en enfilade*. The first one is Amala's kitchen, there is a working space and a gas cylinder. Big storage pots for flour and rice are arranged on the shelf. The next part is children's kitchen. There are two big gas cylinders and two big wooden chopping boards. A window looks out onto the Home courtyard, and boys on kitchen duty today are talking to children outside. *Thukpa* [noodle soup] is ready in the pot – it will be served shortly. Migmar: *We make thukpa on Saturdays and Tuesdays. When girls cook the food is good and just 2 people are in the kitchen. But when the boys cook, they always ask everyone to help and in the end there is no cook [laughs]*. I look at the huge and heavy storage pots and think about the big bags of vegetables that need to be carried from the Village storeroom. KB: *You have to carry all this yourselves?* Migmar: *Yes, the boys are good at it.* KB: *Do you sometimes exchange – carrying stuff for cleaning or something like that?* Migmar: *No, in our khyimtsang, we are not very friendly with each other. The boys are strange. Even the young ones, they begin to act strange. We think it is because of the weather [laughs]*. KB: *Someone told me it happens that children abuse each other, take each other's money...* Migmar: *Yes, there were things like this. When I was little we had many achas [older girls] and they were very strict. So, I thought: when I am older, I will not be like that. Now in the girls' room everyone can be free, we are as if of the same age. In the past, we had one girl who was ...wealthy, and very fashionable. But now, fortunately, everyone is very simple and we get along well. We also had a lot of older boys who were very naughty, but now they left [to hostel].*

Amala's son's quarters are marked by a door curtain next to the kitchen. As I leave the khyimtsang, he comes home. He is an adult man, he makes his way quickly through the hall and goes to his room. As he passes by, he smiles to Migmar and touches her arm so that she lets him pass.

BATHROOM: A long tiled sink with 2 or 3 taps. Two toilets – separate cabins with closed doors [Baby Home toilets are open]. A shower room with a small electric boiler. Migmar: *This is our bathroom. It is not bad but we have to hide because of the window. Look, there is a path there and one can see clearly [what's inside] from above. Sometimes the boys are peering from up there [Migmar points to a crack above the door]. They climb on the sink outside and then twist to look through this [crack]. My friend was caught like that recently. At night, when we go to take a shower we switch off the lights, so that no one can see, but the younger girls are afraid then.*

Migmar does not live with any other classmate. She can visit friends in other khyimtsang. Migmar: *Our Amala is not strict like other amalas. She thinks we should have freedom. I think it is good, because if you are strict, then children are afraid and they don't want to come back to the Home. Sometimes she scolds us, but I think she is a very good amala.*

Amala and Migmar suggest I eat some thukpa, which really smells nice. All children are getting ready to eat. The pot has been brought from the kitchen and an older girl ladles steaming thukpa with home made pasta into metal bowls. Another child takes the bowls to the low tables where others are waiting. They will wait till all are served before they start eating. I politely refuse (I have dinner at home) and leave.

APPENDIX VI CALISTHENICS EXERCISE

NOTE: Students were required to attend daily morning practice before TCV Anniversary celebrations in 2013. During the celebrations, Middle and Senior Section students came together to ‘offer’ a calisthenics exercise (gymnastics exercise formation of 600 people in synchronized movement) to the attending distinguished high lama and the audience.

FIELDNOTES: MONDAY 14.10.2013

6:30 am MORNING CALISTHENICS PRACTICE [PIC, VIDEO]

All students of MS and SS except for Class XI assemble in the soccer ground to practice marching and pattern formation routine before TCV anniversary on Wednesday next week.

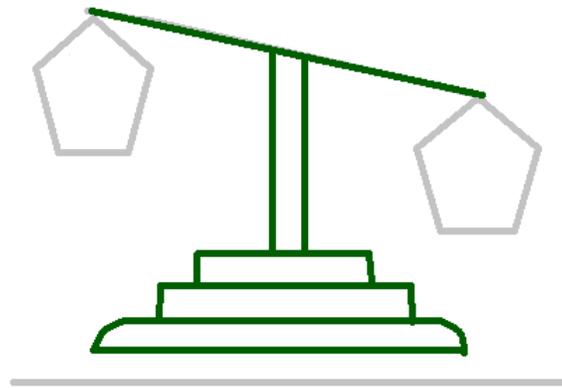
First, all children are standing in regular rows and lines (grid) and do a moves routine, standing. The oldest PE teacher is beating the drum on the balcony of the Principal’s office, overseeing the soccer ground. Two other PE teachers (also men) – from MS and JS are on the ground among students. They carry notepads and move children around to stand in straight lines or form correct shapes. There are white complex lines drawn with white powder on the mud ground - letters and shapes for orientation. Above the soccer ground, next to the Principal’s terrace there is a band of children with Tibetan lutes, flutes and microphone. They accompany the drum and play popular tunes when students on the ground have to wait for the teachers to arrange others into letters. Sometimes, separate formations (part of the scales or a letter) burst into a song – lyrics of what the band is playing for them. Teachers tolerate that. When the oldest PE teachers beats drum faster the children start to run to their next positions – they form:

WE SALUTE OUR (in an arch)
MARTYRS



The letters are more visible when they are told to sit down. Then the PE teacher beats the drum again and they do the moves routine sitting – arms stretched out, bending head front and back. They sit closely together, almost touching, girls and boys forming separate letters. MS and SS students also separate.

Next formation (running to new positions) is an image of scales:



Green uniforms – SS (girls forming the base, boys the pole and the arm), grey blouses – MS (boys forming left scale, girls – right, boys and girls together in a line underneath)



Students keep marching in one place when they reach their position. The sun appears from behind the mountains at c 7:30 and till then it is quite chilly, so maybe they do so to warm up. Maybe not.
Third formation: SPREAD LOVE (MS) / AND (SS) / COMPASSION (girls from SS and MS)

7 am girls and boys from Class XI, exempt from the practice as they will be doing opera during the Anniversary, are passing above the soccer ground on their way to New Hall for the prayer. At 7:25 they can be seen going to the school for self-study. The rest of students continue the practice till c. 7:40.

APPENDIX VII LANGRI THANGPA'S EIGHT VERSES OF MIND TRAINING

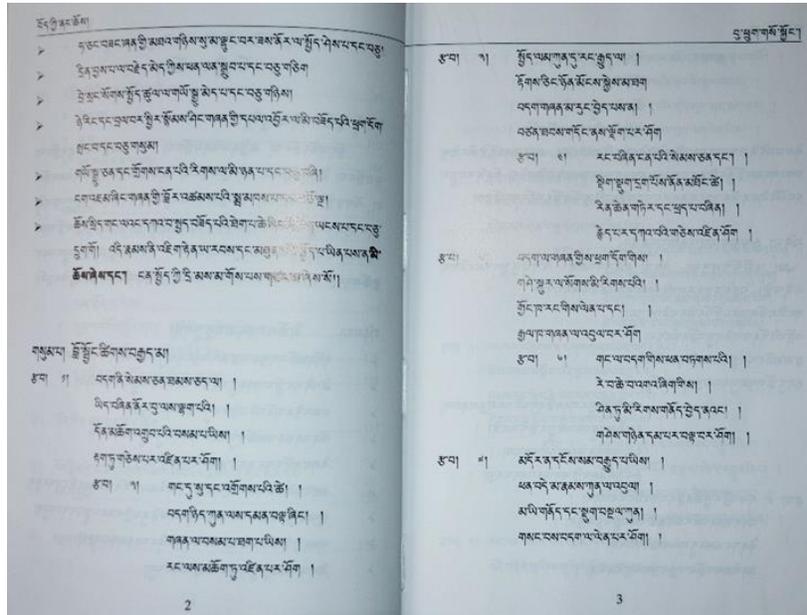


Figure 21 Seven out of Eight Verses of the Langri Thangpa mind training (*lojong tsi gyema*) in the TCV Home Mother handbook. The eighth verse and colophon were printed on the next page.

An excellent lucid translation of the *Eight Verses of Mind Training* and its commentary attributed to master Chekawa Yeshé Dorjé were provided by Thubten Jinpa in his recently published collection *Essential Mind Training* (2011). The volume includes two versions of the eight verses, the ‘original’ as embedded in Chekawa’s commentary, were each stanza ends with the phrase “I will train myself to” – being thus a vow to practice (Jinpa 2011:104), and the revised text where this phrase has been changed to “May I” (*ibid*) – transforming the verses into a prayer of aspiration. The original was composed by Langri Thangpa (1054 – 1123), a disciple of the Kadam master Potowa Rinchen San (1031 – 1105) and the change is said to have been introduced in the 12th century by Sanchenpa (Jinpa 2011:105). The commentary locates the *Eight Verses* in the context of the Indian Buddhist texts: Śāntideva’s *Guide to the Bodhisattva’s Way of Life* and Nāgārjuna’s *Precious Garland*.

Explaining the effectiveness of daily prayers and religious instruction in TCV Homes, a senior TCV staff member and Head of the TCV Mother Training Centre said: “Mothers receive religious education during training. They have a choice of prayers. It is not compulsory to recite some and not others. If a Mother knows about a particular prayer and it is part of her practice, she would teach that to children. (...) *Lojong tsi gyema* is not a prayer, it is an instruction. There are 3 stages [cf three stages in the Tibetan Buddhist theory of learning, *Chapter 2], if the children learn about it now, through hearing from

Mothers and others and then repeat it daily, even though they do not understand the concepts, later they will understand it and practice.”²²⁹

The first stanza of the text describes how to transform habitual self-centredness into a perspective where welfare of others is valued and cherished; the second stanza provides an instruction on how to achieve such a standpoint - by adopting an appropriate outlook towards others and self, avoiding to view others as in any way inferior; the third stanza tells the aspirant how to deal with habitual afflictive states of mind through ‘probing the mind’; stanzas 4, 5 and 6 discuss dealing with particular types of people – of unpleasant character, afflicted with negativity, wrongdoers or people who disappoint us; stanza 7 reiterates the key principle – transformation of thoughts, attitudes and behaviour through a contemplative practice also known as *tonglen* – giving (happiness) and taking (suffering); in stanza 8 it is stated that the above exercises should be grounded in an understanding of reality and that their aim is to eliminate clinging and liberation of the aspirant.

The stanzas that appear to be particularly relevant for the purposes of the discussion of perspective inversion and the use of honorific forms in language are:

“2

Whenever I interact with others,
I will view myself as inferior to all,
and I will train myself
to hold others as superior from the depths of my heart.”

(Jinpa 2011:107, also note an alternative version using the phrase "May I" on page 109)

“7

In brief, I will train myself to offer benefit and joy
To all my mothers, both directly and indirectly,
And respectfully take upon myself
All the hurts and pains of my mothers.”

(Jinpa 2011:108, also p. 110)

²²⁹ Conversation in MTC, recorded in notes, July 2014.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, V. 2001. 'The Sacred in the Scientific: Ambiguous Practices of Science in Tibetan Medicine.' *Cultural Anthropology* : *Journal of the Society for Cultural Anthropology* 16 (4): 542–75. doi:doi:10.1525/can.2001.16.4.542.
- Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, New York: Verso Books.
- Bakhtin, M. 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by MM Bakhtin*. Edited by M. Holquist and C. Emerson. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- . 1984. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Edited by Caryl Emerson. Theory and. University of Minnesota Press.
- Balagopalan, S. 2005. 'An Ideal School and the Schooled Ideal: Education at the Margins.' In *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*, pp.83-98., edited by R. Chopra and P. Jeffery, 83–98. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Bangsbo, Ellen. 2008. 'Schooling for Knowledge and Cultural Survival: Tibetan Community Schools in Nomadic Herding Areas'. *Educational Review* 60 (1): 69–84. doi:10.1080/00131910701794598.
- Basu, Aparna. 1982. *Essays in the History of Indian Education*. New Delhi: Concept.
- Bateson, Gregory. 1958. *Naven: A Survey of the Problems Suggested by a Composite Picture of a Culture of a New Guinea Tribe Drawn from Three Points of View*. 2nd editio. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Bateson, M.C. 1979. 'The Epigenesis of Conversational Interaction: A Personal Account of Research Development.' In *Before Speech: The Beginning of Human Communication*., edited by M Bullowa, 63–77. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Bear, Laura. 1994. 'Miscegenations of Modernity: Constructing European Respectability and Race in the Indian Railway Colony, 1857-1931'. *Women's History Review* 3 (4): 531–48. doi:10.1080/09612029400200131.
- . 2005. 'School Stories and Internal Frontiers: Tracing the Domestic Life of Anglo-Indian Citizens'. In *Manufacturing Citizenship*, edited by Veronica Benei, 236–61. London: Routledge.
- Benei, V. 2005. 'Serving the Nation: Gender and Family Values in Military Schools'. In *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*, edited by Radhika Chopra and Patricia Jeffery, 141–59. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Bénéï, Véronique. 2005. *Manufacturing Citizenship : Education and Nationalism in Europe, South Asia and China*. London, New York: Routledge.
- . 2008. *Schooling Passions: Nation, History, and Language in Contemporary Western India*. Stanford University Press.
- Benveniste, Emile. 1971. *Problems in General Linguistics*. Coral Gables: University of Miami Press.
- BEP. 2004. 'Basic Education Policy for Tibetans in Exile.' Dharamsala.
- Beyer, Stephan. 1988. *Magic and Ritual in Tibet: The Cult of Tara*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Bloch, N. 2008. 'The Young Tibetan Exile Today: A Democrat, Environmentalist, Vegetarian? Globalization and Negotiating Identity in the Situation of Displacement'. In *Exploring Home, Neighbouring and Distant Cultures*, edited by Lech Mróz and Aleksander Posern-Zieliński. nstytut Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Borofsky, R. 1987. *Making History: Pukapukan and Anthropological Constructions of Knowledge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre., and J.C. Passeron. 1990. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage.
- Briggs, J. L. 1970. *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family*. Harvard University Press.
- . 1979. 'Aspects of Inuit Value Socialization'. *Musée National de l'Homme. Collection Mercure. Division d'Ethnologie. Service Canadien d'Ethnologie. Dossier Ottawa*, no. 56: 1–63.
- Brown, A.M., E. Farwell, and D. Nyerongsha. 2008. *Tibetan Art of Parenting: From Before Conception Through Early Childhood*. Somerville: Wisdom Publications.
- Buber, M. 2013. *I and Thou*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Bunn, Stephanie. 2010. 'From Enskillment to Houses of Learning'. *Anthropology in Action* 17 (2&3): 44–59.
- Butler, Judith. 1987. *Subjects of Desire: Hegelian Reflections in Twentieth-Century France*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Cabezón, J. 1994. 'Buddhism and Language: A Study of Indo-Tibetan Scholasticism'. In *Toward a Comparative Philosophy of Religions*, edited by F. E. Reynolds and D. Tracy. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Carrithers, M. 1990. 'Is Anthropology Art or Science?' *Current Anthropology* 31 (3): 162–282.
- Castro, Eduardo Viveiros de. 1992. *From the Enemy's Point of View: Humanity and Divinity in an Amazonian Society*. University of Chicago Press.
- Chatterjee, N., and N.E. Riley. 2001. 'Planning an Indian Modernity: The Gendered Politics of Fertility Control'. *Signs* 26 (3): 811–45.
- Chen, Susan T. 2012. 'When "exile" Becomes Sedentary: On the Quotidian Experiences of "India-Born" Tibetans in Dharamsala, North India'. *Asian Ethnicity* 13 (3): 263–86. doi:10.1080/14631369.2012.630568.

- Chhodak, T. 1981. 'Education of Tibetan Refugees: Characteristics and Conditions of Learning Environments in Selected Tibetan Schools in India.' University of Massachusetts.
- Childs, Geoff. 2008. 'Tibetan Fertility Transitions: Comparisons with Europe, China, and India'. Edited by José I. Cabezón and David Germano. *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no. 4. Tibetan and Himalayan Library (THL).
- Childs, Geoff, and Gareth Barkin. 2006. 'Reproducing Identity' 22 (2): 34–52.
- Chonjore, Tsetan, and Andrea Abinanti. 2003. *Colloquial Tibetan: A Textbook of the Lhasa Dialect*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- Chopra, R. 2005. 'Sisters and Brothers: Schooling, Family and Migration'. In *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*, edited by Radhika Chopra and Patricia Jeffery, 299–315. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Chopra, R., and P. Jeffery. 2005. *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*. Edited by Radhika Chopra and Patricia Jeffery. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Chotsho, Tsering. 2014. 'A Drop from an Ocean: The Status of Women in Tibetan Society'. In *Feminine Wisdom: Collection of Articles on Tibetan Women*, 229–38. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- Crook, Nigel ed. 1996. *The Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia: Essays in Education, Religion, History and Politics*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- da Col, Giovanni. 2007. 'The View from Somewhen: Events, Bodies and the Perspective of Fortune around Khawa Karpo, a Tibetan Sacred Mountain in Yunnan Province'. *Inner Asia* 9 (2). Brill: 215–35. doi:10.1163/146481707793646548.
- Dakpa, Geshe Palden. 2011. *The Symbolic Meaning of Bhavachakra (Wheel of Life)*. Leh, Ladakh: Pathub Khangstan Education Society.
- Dakpa, Ngawang. 1993. 'Certain Problems of Embriology According to Tibetan Medical Tradition'. *Bulletin of Tibetology* 1 (5): 82–95.
- Danziger, E. 2006. 'The Thought That Counts: Interactional Consequences of Variation in Cultural Theories of Meaning'. In *Roots of Human Sociality: Culture, Cognition and Interaction*, edited by N. Enfield and S. Levison, 259–78. Oxford: Berg.
- . 2013. 'Conventional Wisdom: Imagination, Obedience and Intersubjectivity'. *Language & Communication* 33 (3): 251–62. doi:10.1016/j.langcom.2013.06.002.
- Davis, Christopher, Christopher Potts, and Margaret Speas. 2007. 'The Pragmatic Values of Evidential Sentences'. *Proceedings of SALT*, no. 1976: 71–88. doi:10.1162/jinh.2007.37.3.487.
- de Villiers, Jill G, Jay Garfield, Harper Gernet-Girard, Tom Roeper, and Margaret Speas. 2009. 'Evidentials in Tibetan: Acquisition, Semantics, and Cognitive Development'. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development* 2009 (125): 29–47. doi:10.1002/cd.248.
- Deleg, Kunchog, Palden Tashi, and Kevin Stuart. 1999. 'Tibetan Tricksters'. *Asian Folklore Studies* 58 (1): 5–30.
- Deleuze, Gilles. 1992. 'Postscript on the Societies of Control'. *October* 59 (1): 3–7. doi:10.2307/778828.
- Derrida, J. 1973. *Speech and Phenomena and Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Dhargyey, Geshe Ngawang. 1996. *A Compendium of the Ways of Knowing (Blo-Rigs-Kyi Sdom-Tsig Blang-Dor Gsal-Ba'i Me-Long)*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- Diemberger, Hildegard. 2007. *When a Woman Becomes a Religious Dynasty the Samding Dorje Phagmo of Tibet*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Doden, Yeshi. 1980. 'Embriology in Tibetan Medicine'. *Tibetan Medicine* 1: 43–48.
- . 1986. *Health Through Balance: An Introduction to Tibetan Medicine*. Edited by Jeffrey Hopkins. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Dreyfus, George. 1997. *Recognizing Reality: Dharmakīrti's Philosophy and Its Tibetan Interpretations*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications.
- . 2003. *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of A Buddhist Monk*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Drolma, Dawa Delog. 2001. *Delog: Journey to Realms Beyond Death*. Varanasi: Pilgrims Publishing.
- Dumont, L. 1970. *Religion, Politics and History in India : Collected Papers in Indian Sociology*. Paris/ La Haye: Mouton Editeur.
- Ekvall, Robert B. 1964. 'Law and the Individual Among the Tibetan Nomads'. *American Anthropologist* 66: 1110–15.
- Ellingson, Ter. 1998. 'Arrow and Mirror: Interactive Consciousness, Ethnography, and the Tibetan State Oracle's Trance'. *Anthropology and Humanism* 23 (1): 51–76. doi:10.1525/ahu.1998.23.1.51.
- Empson, R. 2007. 'Enlivened Memories: Recalling Absence and Loss in Mongolia'. In *IGhosts of Memory: Essays on Remembrance and Relatedness*, edited by J Carsten and J Carsten. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Erikson, Philippe. 1986. 'Altérité, tatouage et anthropophagie chez les Pano : la belliqueuse quête du soi'. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 72 (1). Persée - Portail des revues scientifiques en SHS: 185–210. doi:10.3406/jsa.1986.1003.
- Evans, Gillian. 2006. *Educational Failure and Working Class White Children in Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ewald, W, A Weinberg, and U Stahel. 2000. *Secret Games: Collaborative Works with Children 1969-1999*. Scalo.
- Falcone, Jessica, and Tsering Wangchuk. 2008. "'We're Not Home": Tibetan Refugees in India in the Twenty-First

- Century' 7 (3): 164–99. doi:10.1080/14736480802261459.
- Fowler, Chris. 2004. *The Archaeology of Personhood: An Anthropological Approach*. London: Routledge.
- Frechette, Ann. 2007. 'Democracy and Democratization among Tibetans in Exile'. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 66 (1): 97. doi:10.1017/S0021911807000022.
- French, Rebecca Redwood. 1995. *The Golden Yoke: The Legal Cosmology of Buddhist Tibet*. Boston: Snow Lion.
- Garfield, Jay, Peggy Speas, and Jill De Villiers. 2013. 'Direct Evidentials, Case, Tense and Aspect in Tibetan'. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 31 (August): 517–61.
- Gell, Alfred. 1992. *The Anthropology of Time: Cultural Constructions of Temporal Maps and Images*. Berg.
- . 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Clarendon Press.
- Gellner, David. 2015. 'Schools as Organizations : On the Question of Value Consensus'. *AOTC, Issue 12* 12 (January): 1–16.
- Gellner, David, and Eric Hirsch, eds. 2001. *Inside Organizations: Anthropologists at Work*. Oxford: Berg.
- Geoffrey, Samuel. 2015. "'Zomia": New Constructions of the South Asian Highlans and Their Tibetan Implications'. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 37: 221–49.
- Gergen, Kenneth. 1991. *The Saturated Self : Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life*. [New York]: Basic Books.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity : Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Goldberg, Margaret Ellen. 1985. *Argumentation and Understanding: A Study of Tibetan Religious Debate*. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press.
- Goldstein, M. 1975. 'Ethnogenesis and Resource Competition Among Tibetan Refugees in South India'. In *Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies*, edited by L. Despres, Paris, 159–86. Mouton/The Hague.
- Goldstein, M., T. N. Shelling, and J. T. Surkhang, eds. 2001. *Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gow, Peter. 1989. 'The Perverse Child : Desire in a Native Amazonian Subsistence Economy'. *Man: New Series* 24 (4): 567–82.
- . 1997. 'Kinship as Human Consciousness: The Piro Case'. *MANA* 3 (2): 39–65.
- . 2000. 'Helpless - the Affective Preconditions of Piro Social Life'. In *The Anthropology of Love and Anger: The Aesthetics of Conviviality in Native Amazonia*, edited by Joanna Overing and Allan Passes, 46–63. London: Routledge.
- Gurwitsch, A. 1979. *Human Encounters in the Social World*. Duquesne: Duquesne University Press.
- Gyatso, Janet, and Hanna Havnevik, eds. 2005. *Women in Tibet*. London: Hurst & Company.
- Gyatso, Lobsang. 1978. *Brief History of The Buddhist School of Dialectics*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- Gyatso, Tenzin. 2013. *Opeing the Eye of the New Awareness (Legs Bshad Blo Gsar Mig 'Byed)*. Delhi: Sherig Parkhang Trust.
- Habermas, J. 2015. 'A Philosophy of Dialogue'. In *Dialogue as a Trans-Disciplinary Concept: Martin Buber's Philosophy of Dialogue and Its Contemporary Reception*, edited by Paul Mendez-Flohr, 7–20. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Hammersley, M. 1986. 'Some Reflexions Upon the Macro-Micro Problem in the Sociology of Education?'. In *Controversies in Classroom Research*, edited by M. Hammersley, 176–86. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- . 2015. 'From Ethnography To Theory: A Programme and Paradigm in the Sociology of Education'. *Sociology* 19 (2): 244–59. doi:10.1177/0038038585019002007.
- Hanks, W.F. 1990. *Referential Practice: Language and Lived Space Among the Maya*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hess, Julia Meredith. 2006. 'Statelessness and the State: Tibetans, Citizenship, and Nationalist Activism in a Transnational World?'. *International Migration* 44 (1). Blackwell Publishing Ltd: 79–103. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2006.00356.x.
- Hodges, Matt. 2008. 'Rethinking Time ' S Arrow of Time' 8 (4): 399–429.
- Hollan, D., and C. J. Throop. 2011. 'The Anthropology of Empathy: Introduction'. In *The Anthropology of Empathy: Experiencing the Lives of Others in Pacific Societies*, edited by D. Hollan and C. J. Throop, 1–24. Berghahn Books.
- Huber, T. 1997. 'Green Tibetans: A Brief Social History.' In *Tibetan Culture in the Diaspora: Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, edited by FJ Korom, 103–19. Wien: Verlag Der Osterreichischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften.
- Ishii, Miho. 2012. 'Acting with Things: Self-Poiesis, Actuality, and Contingency in the Formation of Divine Worlds'. *HAAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 2 (2): 371–88.
- James, Allison. 1995. 'On Being a Child: The Self, the Group and the Category'. In *Questions of Consciousness, ASA Monographs 33*, edited by Nigel Rapport and Anthony Cohen, 60–76. London: Routledge.
- Jenks, C. 1998. 'Constituting Childhood. In . Ed. Chris Jenks. Chapter 1, Pp. 1 – 31. London; Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage'. In *Core Sociological Dichotomies*, edited by Chris Jenks, 1–31. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Jinpa, Thubten. 2011. *Essential Mind Training*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Kapila, K. 2004. 'Conjugating Marriage: State Legislation and Gaddi Kinship'. *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 38 (3): 379–409. doi:10.1177/006996670403800304.
- Kessen, W. 1983. 'The Child and Other Cultural Inventions.' In *The Child and Other Cultural Inventions*, edited by F. Kessel

- and A. Siegel. Praeger Publishers.
- Khangkar, Lobsang Dolma. 2009. *Lectures on Tibetan Medicine*. Edited by K. Dhondup. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- Kohlberg, Lawrence. 1984. *Essays on Moral Development: The Psychology of Moral Development (Vol. 2)*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Kolas, a. 1996. 'Tibetan Nationalism: The Politics of Religion'. *Journal of Peace Research* 33 (1): 51–66. doi:10.1177/0022343396033001004.
- Koring, L, and H De Mulder. 2014. 'Understanding Different Sources of Information: The Acquisition of Evidentiality*'. *Journal of Child Language*, 947–68. doi:10.1017/S030500091400052X.
- Kumar, Krishna. 1991. *Political Agenda of Education. A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Lau, Timm. 2010. 'The Hindi Film's Romance and Tibetan Notions of Harmony: Emotional Attachments and Personal Identity in the Tibetan Diaspora in India'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 (6): 967–87. doi:10.1080/13691831003643389.
- Lempert, Michael. 2004. 'The Uncivil Poetics of Reason: Buddhist Debate and Demeanor in The Tibetan Diaspora.' University of Pennsylvania.
- . 2012. 'Interaction Rescaled: How Monastic Debate Became a Diasporic Pedagogy'. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 43 (2): 138–56. doi:10.1111/j.1548-1492.2012.01166.x.
- Leoshko, Janice. 2001. 'What Is in Kim? Rudyard Kipling and Tibetan Buddhist Tradition'. *South Asia Research* 21 (1): 55–75.
- Levi-Strauss, C. 1987. *Herodote En Mer de Chine. Poikilia. Études Offertes À Jean-Pierre Vernant*. Paris: École des hautes études en sciences sociales.
- Lévy-Strauss, Claude. 1995. *The Story of Lynx*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lichter, David, and Lawrence Epstein. 1983. 'Irony in Tibetan Notion of the Good Life'. In *Karma: An Anthropological Inquiry*, edited by Charles F. Keyes and E. Valentine Daniel, 223–60. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lippert, R. 1999. 'Governing Refugees: The Relevance of Governmentality to Understanding the International Refugee Regime.' *Alternatives* 24: 295–398.
- Liu, Yu-Shan. 2011. 'Being Bonpo in the Tibetan Community in Exile'. The University of Edinburgh.
- . 2015. 'Schooling and Politics: Textbooks and National Identity in the Tibetan Schools in India'. *Contemporary South Asia* 23 (4). Routledge: 456–78. doi:10.1080/09584935.2015.1090949.
- Lixiong, Wang, and Tsering Shakya. 2009. *The Struggle for Tibet*. London, New York: Verso.
- Lopez, D. 2012. *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lutz, C. 1988. *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and Their Challenge to Western Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lutz, F.W. 1986. 'Ethnography: The Holistic Approach to Understanding Schooling'. In *Controversies in Classroom Research*, edited by Martyn Hammersley, 107–19. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- MacDougall, D. 2005. 'Doon School Aesthetics'. In *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*, edited by Radhika Chopra and Patricia Jeffery, 121–40. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- MacDougall, David. 2006. *The Corporeal Image : Film, Ethnography, and the Senses*. Princeton University Press.
- MacPherson, S. 2000. 'A Path of Learning: Indo-Tibetan Buddhism as Education', no. April.
- Mageo, J. 2011. 'Empathy and "As If" Attachment in Samoa'. In *The Anthropology of Empathy: Experiencing the Lives of Others in Pacific Societies*, edited by D. Hollan and C. J. Throop, 69–95. Berghahn Books.
- Magnusson, Jan, Subramanya Nagarajarao, and Geoff Childs. 2008. 'South Indian Tibetans: Development Dynamics in the Early Stages of the Tibetan Refugee Settlement Lugs Zung Bsam Grub Gling, Bylakuppe'. *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no. 4.
- Malkki, L. 1995. 'Refugees and Exile: From "Refugee Studies" to the National Order of Things'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 495–523.
- . 2012. *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*. University of Chicago Press.
- Marriott, McKim. 1976. 'Hindu Transactions: Diversity without Dualism.' In *Transaction and Meaning: Directions in the Anthropology of Exchange and Symbolic Behavior*, edited by Bruce Kapferer, 109–42. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.
- Martin, Dan. 1997. *Tibetan Histories: A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works*. Serindia Publications, Inc.
- Maturana, H., and F. Varela. 1980. *Autopoiesis and Cognition*. Vol. 42. Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. doi:10.1007/978-94-009-8947-4.
- . 1991. *Autopoiesis and Cognition: The Realization of the Living*. Springer Science & Business Media.
- McAdams, Dan, R. Josselson, and A. Lieblich. 2006. *Identity and Story : Creating Self in Narrative*. Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

- McGranahan, Carole. 2005. 'Truth, Fear, and Lies: Exile Politics and Arrested Histories of the Tibetan Resistance'. *Cultural Anthropology* 20 (4): 570–600. doi:10.1525/can.2005.20.4.570.
- . 2010. *Arrested Histories: Tibet, the CIA, and Memories of a Forgotten War*. Duke University Press.
- Merleau-Ponty, M. 1964. 'Les Relations Avec Autrui Chez L'enfant. / Inter-Personal Relationships in the Child.' *Bulletin de Psychologie* 18 (20): 295–336.
- Mills, Martin A. 2012. "' Self-Immolations Amongst Tibetans , Notes on a Briefing Paper'.
- Mills, Martin A. 2003. *Identity, Ritual and State in Tibetan Buddhism: The Foundations of Authority in Gelukpa Monasticism*. Vol. 5. Routledge.
- Mimica, Jadran. 2009. 'Phenomenological Psychoanalysis: The Epistemology of Ethnographic Field Research'. *Social Analysis* 53 (2): 40–59. doi:10.3167/sa.2009.530203.
- Mishra, Mallica. 2014. *Tibetan Refugees in India: Education, Culture and Growing Up in Exile*. Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan.
- Mohammad-Arif, Aminah. 2005. 'Textbooks, Nationalism and History Writing in India and Pakistan'. In *Manufacturing Citizenship*, edited by V. Beni, 143–69. London: Routledge.
- Mumford, S. 1989. *Himalayan Dialogue: Tibetan Lamas and Gurung Shamans in Nepal*. Madison, Wisconsin, and London: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Munn, N. 1992. 'The Cultural Anthropology of Time: A Critical Essay'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21 (1): 93–123. doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.21.1.93.
- Norbu, Chögyal Namkhai. 2008. *Birth and Life and Death According to Tibetan Medicine and the Dzogchen Teachings (Skeye Zhing 'tsho La 'chi Ba)*. Arcidosso: Italy: Shang Shung Institute.
- Norbu, Jamyang. 2011. 'SHAKABPA AND THE AWAKENING OF TIBETAN HISTORY'. *Shadow Tibet*. <http://www.jamyangnorbu.com/blog/2011/12/06/shakabpa-and-the-awakening-of-tibetan-history/>.
- Nowak, M. 1984. *Tibetan Refugees: Youth and the New Generation of Meaning*. Rutgers University Press.
- Ochs, E. 1988. *Culture and Language Development: Language Acquisition and Language Socialization in a Samoan Village*. CUP Archive.
- Ochs, E., and T. Kremer-Sadlik. 2007. 'Introduction: Morality as Family Practice'. *Discourse & Society* 18 (1): 5–10. doi:10.1177/0957926507069451.
- Ochs, Elinor, and Carolina Izquierdo. 2009. 'Responsibility in Childhood: Three Developmental Trajectories'. *Ethos* 37 (4): 391–413. doi:10.1111/j.1548-1352.2009.01066.x.
- Ortega y Gasset, Jose. 1957. *Man and People*. New York: W W Norton & Co.
- Parry, Jonathan. 1979. *Caste and Kinship in Kangra*. London, Henley and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- . 2005. 'Changing Childhoods in Industrial Chhattisgarh'. In *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*, edited by Radhika Chopra and Patricia Jeffery, 276–98. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Pels, Peter. 2014. 'After Objectivity An Historical Approach to the Intersubjective'. *Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 4 (1): 211–36. doi:10.14318/hau4.1.009.
- Pema, Jetsun. 1997. *Tibet: My Story, an Autobiography*. Element Books.
- . 2004. 'Caring for the Weakest: The Children's Villages'. In *Exile as Challenge: The Tibetan Diaspora*, edited by Dagmar Bernstorff and Hubertus Von Welck, 279–94. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Perdue, Daniel. 1992. *Debate in Tibetan Buddhism*. New York: Snow Lion Publications.
- Phillimore, Peter. 1991. 'Unmarried Women of the Dhaula Dhar: Celibacy and Social Control in Northwest India'. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 47 (3): 331–50.
- Piaget, Jean. 1965. 'The Stages of the Intellectual Development of the Child'. In *Educational Psychology in Context: Readings for Future Teachers*, 98–106.
- . 1997. *The Moral Judgement of the Child*. Simon and Schuster.
- Prakash, V., and K. Biswal. 2008. *Perspectives on Education and Development: Revisiting Education Commission and After*. Delhi: Shipra Publications.
- Prost, Audrey. 2006. 'The Problem with "Rich Refugees" Sponsorship, Capital, and the Informal Economy of Tibetan Refugees'. *Modern Asian Studies* 40 (1): 233–53. doi:10.1017/S0026749X06001983.
- Raj, S. 1999. 'Refugee Policies of the United States and India and Their Position in the International Refugee Protection Regime: A Comparative Study'. *Bulletin on IHL and Refugee Law* 4 (1): 79–89.
- Rampal, Anita. 2005. "'Revaluating" Education'. In *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*, edited by Radhika Chopra and Patricia Jeffery, 237–55. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Rapport, Nigel. 2004. 'Envisioned, Intentioned: A Painter Informs an Anthropologist About Social Relations'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 10 (4): 861–81. doi:10.2307/3803858.
- . 2012. *Anyone: The Cosmopolitan Subject of Anthropology*. Berghahn Books.
- Reat, R. 1990. *The Origins of Indian Psychology*. Jain Publishing Company.
- Richardson, Hugh. 1984. *Tibet and Its History (Second Edition)*. Boston: Shambhala.
- . 1998. *High Peaks, Pure Earth: Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture*. London: Serindia Publications.

- Rigzin, Tsepa. 2004. 'The Tibetan Schools in the Diaspora'. In *Exile as Challenge: The Tibetan Diaspora*, edited by Dagmar Bernstorff and Hubertus Von Welck, 266–78. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Rinpoche, Rikya. 2010. *Advice on Repaying the Kindness of Parents*. Zamatok Library.
- Rolfe, E. 2008. 'Refugee, Minority, Citizen, Threat: Tibetans and the Indian Refugee Script'. *South Asia Research* 28 (3): 253–83. doi:10.1177/026272800802800302.
- Rumsey, Alan. 2003. 'Language, Desire, and the Ontogenesis of Intersubjectivity'. *Language and Communication* 23 (2): 169–87. doi:10.1016/S0271-5309(02)00042-3.
- Sacareau, I. 2007. 'Himalayan Hill Stations from the British Raj to Indian Tourism'. *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research* 31 (Spring 2007): 30–45.
- Saklani, G. 1984. *The Uprooted Tibetans in India: A Sociological Study of Continuity and Change*. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications.
- Samdhong, Rinpoche. 1999. 'Tibetan Debate: A Dialectic Process of Disputation and Its Tradition'. In *Selected Writings and Speeches: A Collection of Selected Writings and Speeches on Buddhism and Tibetan Culture by Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche*. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.
- . 2004. 'Education for Non-Violence'. In *Exile as Challenge: The Tibetan Diaspora*, edited by Dagmar Bernstorff and Hubertus Von Welck, 454–70. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Samten, Muge. 2005. *A History of Traditional Fields of Learning (Bod Du Rig Gnas Dar Tshul Mdor Bsadus Bshad Pa)*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- Schieffelin, Bambi B. 1986. 'Teasing and Shaming in Kaluli Children's Interactions'. In *Language Socialization Across Cultures*, edited by Bambi B. Schieffelin and Elinor Ochs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schutz, Alfred. 1967. *The Phenomenology of the Social World*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- . 1970. *Alfred Schutz on Phenomenology and Social Relations*. University of Chicago Press.
- . 1973. *Collected Papers: The Problem of Social Reality*. Edited by Maurice Natanson. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Severi, Carlo. 2014. 'Transmutating Beings: A Proposal for an Anthropology of Thought'. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 4 (2): 41–71. doi:10.14318/hau4.2.003.
- Shakabpa, Wangchuk Deden. 2010. *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*. Leiden: Brill Tibetan Studies Library.
- Shakya, T. 1999. *The Dragon in The Land of Snows: A History of Modern Tibet Since 1947*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Shen-yu, Lin. 2010. 'Pehar: A Historical Survey'. *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 3 (19): 5–26.
- Sorensen, Per K. 2015. 'The Development and Formation of Religious Historiography in Tibet'. In *History and Religion: Narrating a Religious Past*, edited by Otto Bernd-Christian, Susanne Rau, and Jörg Rüpke, 151–64. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Srivastava, S. 1998. *Constructing Post-Colonial India : National Character and the Doon School*. London: Routledge.
- Stafford, C. 2006. *The Roads of Chinese Childhood: Learning and Identification in Angang*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stawarska, Beata. 2009. *Between You and I: Dialogical Phenomenology*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Steedman, Carolyn. 1982. *The Tidy House : Little Girls Writing*. Virago.
- Steiner, George. 1998. *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*. Oxford University Press.
- Stewart, Cw, and E Hirsch. 2005. 'Introduction: Ethnographies of Historicity'. *History and Anthropology* 16 (3): 37–41. doi:10.1080/02757200500219289.
- Stoler, Anne Laura. 1995. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and The Colonial Order of Things*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Strathern, Marilyn. 1988. *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia*. University of California Press.
- Strathern, Marilyn. 2011. 'Sharing, Stealing and Borrowing Simultaneously'. In *Ownership and Appropriation*, edited by Veronica Strang and Mark Busse, 23–42. Oxford: Berg.
- Strawson, P. F. 1958. 'Persons'. In *Minnesota Studies in the Philosophy of Science*, edited by H Feigl, M Scriven, and G Maxwell, 2:330–53. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Subrahmanian, R. 2005. 'Education Exclusion and the Developmental State'. In *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*, edited by R. Chopra and P. Jeffery, 62–82. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Sykes, K. 2003. 'The Ethnography of Children's and Youth's Work in the Age of Capitalist Restructuring'. *Critique of Anthropology* Vol 23 (1): 5–16.
- Taring, R.D. 1970. *Daughter of Tibet: The Autobiography of Rinchen Dolma Taring*. London: Camelot Press Ltd.
- Taylor, A.C. 2007. 'Sick of History: Contrasting Regimes of Historicity in the Upper Amazon'. In *Time and Memory in Indigenous Amazonia: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Carlos Fausto and Michael Heckenberger, 133–68. Gainesville: University Press Florida.
- Taylor, Charles. 1989. *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Tedlock, Dennis, and Bruce Mannheim, eds. 1995. *The Dialogic Emergence of Culture*. Vol. 1. University of Illinois Press.
- Telban, Borut. 1998. *Dancing Through Time: A Sepik Cosmology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Thapan, Meenakshi. 2005. 'Cultures of Adolescence: Educationally Disadvantaged Young Women in an Urban Slum'. In *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*, edited by Radhika Chopra and Patricia Jeffery, 216–34. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- . 2006. *Life at School: An Ethnographic Study (1991)*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Thompson, Evan. 2001. 'Empathy and Consciousness'. In *Between Ourselves: Second Person Issues in The Study of Consciousness*, edited by Evan Thompson, 1–32. Thorverton: Imprint Academic.
- . 2007. *Mind in Life: Biology, Phenomenology and the Sciences of Mind*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Thompson, Evan, and Mog Stapleton. 2009. 'Making Sense of Sense Making: Reflections on Enactive and Extended Mind Theories'. *Topoi* 28: 23–30.
- Tillemann, Tom. 1999. *Scripture, Logic, Language: Essays on Dharmakīrti and His Tibetan Successors*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Toren, C. 1999. *Mind, Materiality, and History : Explorations in Fijian Ethnography*. London, New York: Routledge.
- . 2009. 'Intersubjectivity as Epistemology'. *Social Analysis* 53 (2): 130–46. doi:10.3167/sa.2009.530208.
- . 2012. 'Anthropology and Psychology'. In *The SAGE Handbook of Social Anthropology, Vol.1*, edited by R. Fardon, O. Harris, T. Marchand, C. Shore, V. Strang, R. Wilson, and M. Nuttall, 27–41. Los Angeles.
- Toren, Christina. 1990. *Making Sense of Hierarchy: Cognition as Social Process in Fiji*. LSE Monogr. London & Atlantic Highlands, NJ: The Athlone Press.
- . 1993. 'Making History : The Significance of Childhood Cognition for a Comparative Anthropology of Mind'. *Man: New Series* 28 (3): 461–478. doi:10.2307/2804235.
- . 1999. 'Compassion for One Another: Constituting Kinship as Intentionality in Fiji'. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 5 (2): 265–80. doi:10.2307/2660697.
- . 2000. 'Mind and Inter-Subjectivity: An Anthropological Perspective'. *Journal of Intelligent Systems* 10 (1).
- . 2001. 'The Child in Mind'. In *The Debated Mind: Evolutionary Psychology versus Ethnography*, edited by Harvey Whitehouse, 155–80. Oxford: Berg.
- . 2006. 'The Effectiveness of Ritual'. In *The Anthropology of Christianity*, edited by Fenella Cannell, 185–210. Duke University Press.
- . 2007. 'An Anthropology of Human Development : What Difference Does It Make ?' In *A Dynamic Systems Approach to the Life Sciences*, edited by Ian Fogel and Stuart Shanker, 104–11. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2011. 'The Stuff of Imagination: What We Can Learn from Fijian Children's Ideas About Their Lives as Adults'. *Social Analysis* 55 (1): 23–47. doi:10.3167/sa.2011.550102.
- . 2014a. 'Imagining the World That Warrants Our Imagination: The Revelation of Ontogeny'. *Sociality: New Directions* 30 (1): 43–60. doi:10.3167/ca.2012010101.
- . 2014b. 'What Is a Schema ?' *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 4 (3): 401–9.
- Tournadre, Nicolas, and Rdo-Rje. 2003. *Manual of Standard Tibetan: Language and Civilization : Introduction to Standard Tibetan (Spoken and Written) Followed by an Appendix on Classical Literary Tibetan*. Snow Lion Publications.
- Trevarthen, Colwyn. 1979. 'Communication and Cooperation in Early Infancy: A Description of Primary Intersubjectivity'. In *Before Speech: The Beginning of Human Communication*, edited by M. Bullowa, 321–48. London: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1993. 'The Self Born in Intersubjectivity: The Psychology of an Infant Communicating'. In *The Perceived Self: Ecological and Interpersonal Sources of Self-Knowledge*, edited by U Neisser, 121–73. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1995. 'The Child's Need to Learn a Culture'. *Children & Society* 9 (1): 5–19.
- . 1998. 'The Concept and Foundation of Infant Intersubjectivity'. In *Intersubjective Communication and Emotion in Early Ontogeny*, edited by Stein Braten, 15–46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trevarthen, Colwyn, and Kenneth J Aitken. 2001. 'Infant Intersubjectivity : Research , Theory , and Clinical Applications' 42 (1): 3–48.
- Tsering, Geshe Tashi. 2006. *Buddhist Psychology*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Tseyang, Jangngopa. 2014. 'Traditional Tibetan Education and Tibetan Women'. In *Feminine Wisdom: Collection of Articles on Tibetan Women*, 79–84. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- Tsongkhapa. 2004. *The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment: Lam Rim Chen Mo, Volume Two*. Edited by Joshua W.C. Cutler and Guy Newland. Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications.
- Tsundue, Tenzin. n.d. *Essays on the Tibetan Freedom Struggle*.
- Varela, F.G., H.R. Maturana, and R. Uribe. 1974. 'Autopoiesis: The Organization of Living Systems, Its Characterization and a Model'. *Biosystems* 5 (4): 187–96. doi:10.1016/0303-2647(74)90031-8.
- Vaughier-Chatterjee, A. 2005. 'Plural Society and Schooling: Urdu-Medium Schools in Delhi'. In *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*, edited by R. Chopra and P. Jeffery, 99–118. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Vilaça, Aparecida. 2015. 'Dividualism and Individualism in Indigenous Christianity: A Debate Seen from Amazonia'.

- HAA: *Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 5 (1): 197. doi:10.14318/hau5.1.010.
- Vitebsky, Piers. 1993. *Dialogues with the Dead The Discussion of Mortality among the Sora of Eastern India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2008. 'Loving and Forgetting: Moments of Inarticulacy in Tribal India'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14 (2): 243–61. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9655.2008.00500.x.
- . 2015. *Loving and Forgetting: Changing Forms of Loss and Redemption in Tribal India (Manuscript Submitted for Publication)*. nd: nd.
- Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. 1998. 'Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism'. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 4 (3): 469–88.
- Vostrikov, A.I. 2013. *Tibetan Historical Literature*. Vol. 5. Routledge.
- Wagner, Anja. 2012. "'This Is How We Joke": Towards an Appreciation of Alternative Values in Performances of Gender Irony among the Gaddi of Himachal'. *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research* 41: 100–119.
- Wagner, Roy. 1991. 'The Fractal Person'. In *Big Men and Great Men: Personifications of Power in Melanesia*, edited by Marilyn Strathern and Maurice Godelier, 159–73. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weber, Max. 2009. *The Theory Of Social And Economic Organization*. Vol. 24. Simon and Schuster.
- Willis, Paul E. 1981. *Learning to Labor : How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. Columbia University Press.
- Winkelmann, M. 2005. 'Everyday Life in a Girls' Madrasah in Delhi'. In *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*, edited by Radhika Chopra and Patricia Jeffery, 160–77. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Wittgenstein, L. 1960. *The Blue and Brown Books*. New York: Harper.
- . 1972. *Philosophical Investigations*. Blackwell.
- Yeh, E. T., and K. T. Lama. 2006. 'Hip-Hop Gangsta or Most Deserving of Victims? Transnational Migrant Identities and the Paradox of Tibetan Racialization in the USA'. *Environment and Planning A* 38 (5): 809.
- Zahavi, D. 1999. *Self-Awareness and Alterity: A Phenomenological Investigation*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- . 2001. *Husserl and Transcendental Intersubjectivity*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Zeisler, Bettina. 2000. 'Narrative Conventions in Tibetan Languages: The Issue of Mirativity'. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*.
- Zock, Hetty. 2011. 'The Existential Self in a Culture of Multiplicity: Hubert Hermans's Theory of the Dialogical Self'. In *In Search of Self: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Personhood*, edited by J. Wentzel van Huyssteen and Erik P. Wiebe, 163–81. Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing.