Anthropological inquisitiveness has prompted the students of social change in contemporary societies to explore the realm of social change in medicine and tradition. The systems of health management have been prevalent in some form or the other from the beginning of civilisation. "Modern medicine has had a primarily biological orientation (Jaco, 1958), but basic concern with social and cultural aspects of the maintenance of health and the etiology of disease is deeply rooted in medical history" (Lieban, 1973).

Caudill’s (1953) paper on applied anthropology in medicine was a landmark in the history and development of medical anthropology. Prior to this certain important ethnographers (Rivers, 1924; Clements, 1932; Evans-Pritchard, 1937 and Gillin, 1948) had reviewed and described etiological beliefs in medical practices in simple societies. Since then a chronological growth has been observed with gradual incorporation of new ideas due to extensive research and analysis in the field of medical anthropology in subsequent years as provided by Polgar (1962), Scotch (1963) and Fabrega (1972). Ackerknecht (1947) commented that the causation of ailments is related to social factors only.

In simple society, people are convinced that disease and death reveal the role of enemies, and are punishment for violations of social norms and values (Evans-Pritchard 1937; Middleton and Winter, 1963 and Marwick, 1965). In such cases incidences of illness are attributed to human conduct. It is believed to be a manifestation of certain cultural factors and is regarded as pathogenic by the members of the society.
In this regard Whiting (1950), Swanson (1960) Leiban (1967) argue that medical anthropology, encompasses medical phenomena as well as social and cultural phenomena as both the factors are interrelated and illuminated by each other.

THE GENESIS OF GLOBAL HEALING MANAGEMENT

The studies related to health management all over the world conclude that illness and death, are common natural phenomena which affect all the human beings. Health management practices have been evolved by various societies indigenously.

The characteristics of traditional medicine are:

i) “The pattern of social institutions and cultural traditions that evolves from deliberate behaviour to enhance health” (Dunn, 1976).

ii) “Those beliefs and practices relating to disease which are the product of indigenous cultural development and are not explicitly derived from the conceptual framework of modern medicine” (Hughes, 1968).

The general statement regarding the causation of ailments as contributed by the scholars of traditional medicine, can be categorised into two basic units: “personalistic” and “naturalistic”.

“Personalistic explanations appear to predominate (although not to the exclusion of naturalistic explanations) in the traditional systems of such vast areas as Africa, preconquest America, Oceania and indigenous Siberia. They also underlie the more complex systems of contemporary China, South Asia, and Latin America. In contrast, naturalistic explanations (also not to the exclusion of personalistic causation) predominate in humoral pathology, Ayurveda, Unani, and traditional Chinese medicine. Homoeopathy concepts” (Foster and Anderson, 1978).
Tibetan medical system constitutes an important component of traditional system of medicine recognised all over the world. However it has not been adequately recognised in terms of its therapeutic attributes. It has remained confined in Tibet alone and barring stray effects on individual practitioners, it has not been able to occupy a position of significance.

It is important to note that the basic theories of Ayurveda in respect of human life embrace the process of origination in the nature and dynamic change of the universe. The knowledge of Astrology and the natural phenomena thus becomes allied to Ayurveda. In due course, Medical Astrology has developed as correlated subject in the realm of traditional medicine in India and her neighbouring areas. Besides the body, mind and soul, three biological elements “motion (vata), energy (pitta) and inertia (kapha); and the seven dhatu: body fluids (rasa), blood (rakta), muscular tissue (mamsa), adipose tissue (meda), bone tissue (asthi), nerve tissue and bone marrow (majja), and generative tissue including sperm and ovum (shukra)” maintain all the physiological processes in the human body (Kurup, 1983). Treatment of disease emphasizes on balancing of the above biological elements regulated by diet and other regimens. These fundamental principles of Ayurveda along with both personalistic and naturalistic explanations appear predominant in the traditional Tibetan medical system. The practitioners of traditional medicine stress on the moral and spiritual aspects of human beings which makes one’s life long and balanced in its external and internal aspects.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE TRADITIONAL TIBETAN HEALING MANAGEMENT

The worldview of basic concept of traditional medicine revolves around the basic body constituents of human body. The fundamental
concept of global healing management highlights the necessity of maintaining a balance state of biological elements through the regulation of diet and other regimes. Traditional Tibetan Buddhist medicine also supports the same tradition.

**Buddhist Medical Tradition in Tibet:** The diseases acquired by human beings from their primate ancestors persist in contemporary environment despite the biological, social and cultural evolution. The basic principle of the Tibetan Buddhist medicine is to maintain cosmic harmony in the human with surrounding natural environment including the psychological aspect of the individual. The traditional concepts of good health and longevity in Tibetan Buddhist medicine highlight three balanced physical factors or humours wind, bile, phlegm.

These three humours possess fifteen divisions, which exist in the body, maintain the functioning of the body, sustaining of the body, to promote the function by various means as required in every being. “Wind is of five types: life sustaining wind, ascending wind, pervasive wind (existing in all parts of the body), fire-accompanying (or digestive) wind, and downwards-voiding wind ..... bile is of five types: digestive bile, color or complexion regulating bile, determining bile, sight bile (which enables one to see), and complexion-clearing bile.

Phlegm is also of five types: supportive phlegm, decomposing phlegm, experiencing phlegm (that which experiences tastes), satisfying phlegm, and connective phlegm” (Donden, 1986).

The pervasive philosophy of Tibetan medicine is Buddhistic in nature. It relates the root cause of all the suffering to attachment, aversion, close mindedness of the individual. These factors can be physical or mental causing disorder of wind, bile and phlegm and disturb the other constituents of the body like the seven energies (nutritional essence, blood, flesh, fat tissue, bone tissue, bone marrow, sperm in male, ovum in female and the three excretion (stool, urine, sweat) (Dorjee and Richards, 1981).
In Tibet, the other prevalent method to save the sick person was to buy the animals like a goat or a sheep from the butcher tying a red ribbon around its neck so as to save its life from being slaughtered. The red ribbon prevents the animals from being captured (Tucci, 1967).

The ancient form of Tibetan medicine remained almost entirely excluded from modern influence in Tibet. Medicine and mysticism were intermingled in the Tibetan culture. The concept of illness was embodied entirely with religious convictions and a belief in magical rites together with the most advanced pharmacology imported from India, China and Iran. Various manuals, researches on medicine, the writings on medicine reached Tibet with sacred literature from India and China which suggest that the disease can be treated by means like the use of medicine, diet, behaviour pattern, bleeding, exorcisms, religious/magical rites or through the recitation of 'mantras' or phrases by the sick person or by the Lamas who invoke divine power on the patient as well as prescribe drugs, but psychological satisfaction is essential for the patients before any other method of cure is prescribed. Tibetan medicines and surgery are effective to a certain extent. The comprehensions of the sacred tests were immaterial to the patient but the right prayers with recitation of appropriate words, through the vibration in the air, evoke the divine power which helps in healing. Generally the monks from the monastery or the village were invited to recite the recommended medical texts, beside the sick person. The physician should posses the nature of Buddha. He should be capable of rendering wisdom and compassion to serve the physical, emotional and spiritual needs of the patients. He also provides the physical and mental support to the patients.
HISTORY OF TIBETAN MEDICINE

Many historical evidences support the existence of Tibetan medical system before Buddha's period. However, the historians predict that the science of healing, which is most ancient and the precious heritage of Tibet existed since 3000 years. According to Donden (1977), the history of Tibetan medicine goes back to the period of King Nyatri Tsenpo, the first king of Tibet. The first physician Gachibigchi was succeeded by Thonthogchi, later on by Yuthog Yontan Gonpo in Tibetan medical history. Subsequently, Yunthog Yontan Gonpo Younger and Yuthog Yontan Gonpo Elder contributed knowledge and practice to the system of healing. A lineage of five to thirteen generations of physicians was followed by them successively. Synthesised by other systems of healing, exploration of the new dimensions, innovations and progressive steps towards healing science were made during that period. Historical records reveal that Indian Tantric saint Padmasambhava was invited by King Trisong Detsen to Tibet, who delivered medical teachings on new types of ailments and the medicaments. A variety of Tantric meditational practices and Sadhanas were also added in his teachings for the healing purposes. The first monastery ‘Samye’ was built in Tibet to establish ‘Dharma’ according to the instruction of Padmasambhava (Clifford, 1984). During this period of time (C. 794 A.D.) the medical scholars from India, China, Persia, Nepal, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Sinkiang etc. were also invited and they had contributed their learning related to medicine (Finckh, 1988).

The translation of the traditional Tibetan medical text became transparent with the influence of pre-Buddhistic, Buddhistic, ancient Indian and Chinese medical concepts, because of their integrated relationship (Finckh, 1978). The systems of the pulse diagnosis, visual
diagnosis through the tongue and acupuncture were introduced from China. The advanced ancient Greek medical tradition from Persia was incorporated in the Tibetan medical system. The limited knowledge from abroad was also absorbed in the native healing culture in Tibet.

The science of medicine was not systematised in the pre-Buddhist Tibet. It is significant to note that Tibetans Welcomed Indian science of Medicine as analysed in Ayurveda after the introduction of Buddhism during its 'Early spread'. Vogel (1965) has commented that Sanskrit version of Asanga-Hrdaya Samhita (Indian Medical Text to Ayureveda) was translated into the Tibetan language by the Tibetan Scholars between (1013-1055 A.D.) and was incorporated in the Tanjur (Indo-Buddhist commentarial literature in Tibetan version (Vcgel, 1965).

It was documented that from the 7th century A.D. the Tibetan medical system passing through centuries, incorporated with various Asian medical system, emerged as one of the unique traditional system of medicine with strong background of Buddhist philosophy. It has embodied richest and extensive knowledge of human body, mind and spirit in the paradigm of holistic health system. In brief, the holistic approach encompasses fundamental principal, pharmacopedia etc. from its history.

**Medical Institute in Tibet:** In the history of Tibetan medical literature it is written that the first medical school was established in Tibet during the reign of Fifth Dalai Lama in the 17th century. The Dalai Lama with his associates took the initiative to build a medical institute – monastic complex in the capital of Tibet, Lhasa, on the mountaintop, known as chagpori (Iron mountain). It was popularly known as Mentsikhang among the Tibetans. In the beginning of 20th century, during the reign of the 13th Dalai Lama (1895 – 1933), another medical college known
as the ‘House of Medicine and Astronomy’ was established in Lhasa (Clifford, 1984). Besides the teachings and secret herbal treatment, medicines were made by the doctors in the form of pills. In Tibet, during summer, the physicians and medical students considering the properties of the ingredients collected herbs and the plants. Herbs, roots, plants and metals especially gold, silver, zinc, iron, mercury, various kinds of stones etc. were also imported from India, China and Tibet itself. There was no distinction between the physicians and the pharmacologists. All the aspects were ventured by both of them. As per instructions of the medical text, the medicines were made up with appropriate blessings and prayers. In the institute the physicians through a special rite, known as *Mendrub* (medicinal empowerment) induce curative power to medicinal ingredients. During these rites the monk physician empowered himself into a mechanical deity and blessed the medicaments, (Donden; Lobsang, 1980). In this process the mantras are intoned hundred times by them. According to their belief, the inanimate consecrated pills become animate (Donden, 1980). The patients were also instructed to follow the prayers during the intake of medicines (Tucci, 1967; Clifford, 1984 and Donden, 1986).

Tibetan Medical students of both the Medical Institutes followed a regular routine, combining prayers of the Bodhisatta of Wisdom and Manjushri with the recitation of special medical studies, which began at 3.0-0 a.m.

**Medical Education in Tibet:** In Tibet most of the medical students were monks. Generally the selected local candidates by the district authorities and the selected monks from each major monastery used to attend medical college in Tibet. Few candidates used to join in Astrological College in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, to become
On completion of the extremely arduous fourteen years course of fundamental studies the medical students appeared in the daily life of a Tibetan medical student, which started with the early morning prayers, study of medical and astronomical texts, calisthenics was scheduled at 6 a.m. Formal instructions were imparted again from 8 to 12 p.m., post lunch curriculum included study of body measurement, nerve and vein pathways and medicinal plants. After a break of two hours from 5 p.m., the second session in debate on astronomical and medical subjects commenced which lasted till 9 p.m. (Rechung, 1973). It was said that to be a master of medicine one needed thirty years. After qualifying the exams, the students were eligible to start practice in their country. Few monks returned to their parent monasteries to practice and rest of them had to stay at the Medical Institute to carry on the research work.

Rechung Rimpoche (1982) in his book, Tibetan Medicine, described people used to avail free treatment in the college of Medicine and Astronomy. He also added that in Tibet, the Government had sent their own doctors to treat the sick persons in the country districts. There were many private doctors, who never bothered to charge fees from patients. (Clifford, 1984).

**Tibetan Medical Texts and Teaching:** Tibetan system of medicine or the healing science is popularly known as ‘gso-wa-rig-pa’. The Tibetans claimed that the original teachings of medicine are rooted from Buddha in the manifestation of the ‘Medicinal Buddha’ (Tsarong, 1981). In Sanskrit the ‘Medicinal Buddha’ is known as (Bhaishaya guru), and its Tibetan terminology is **Sangs rgyas sman bla**. The teachings of Medicinal Buddha through his four lineages namely Amoghasiddhi, Akshobhya, Vairochana, Ratnasambhava (Donden, 1986) are still preserved in the ‘rgyud-bzhi’ or ‘four root Tantras’. The
Tibetan title of this work is “dDud-rtzi-sNying-po yan-lag brGyad-pa gSang-ba Man-ngag gi rGyud-bzhî”, and in Sanskrit it is known as “Amrta Astanga Guhyopadesa Tantra”. (Tsarong,1981). The original Sanskrit of this work was written probably in the 4th century A.D., during the reign of King Trisong Detsen (755-797 A.D.) and the text was translated in Tibetan by Vairochana (Rechung, 1973).

The eminent physician Elder Yuthog Yontan Gonpo (708-833 A.D.) was the founder of Tibetan medicine. The Elder Yuthog is said to have modified the Indian medical text with the addition of 18 supplements known as ‘rgyud-bzhi’. The Younger Yothog Yontan Gonpo most famous descendent has got the recognition in (1112-1203 A.D.) as the author of ‘rgyud-bzhi’ in its present form. The rgyud-bzhi is a dialogue between the Rishi ‘Rig-pa’ i Yeshes’ and Rishi ‘Yid-las-skye’ who were emanations of the Medicinal Buddha (Tsarong, 1981).

In the course of study, the medical students memorise the Root Tantras with six sections which include symptoms of ailments, methods of healing and the outlines of the topics of other three Tantras. The core of Tibetan medicine consists of three types of humours each having five specific functions to perform, any disturbance of these promote physical and mental disorders.

The second text, the Explanatory Tantra with thirty chapters, deals with the embryonic development, the nature of the foetus, birth etc. discussions on the function of wind, bile and phlegm on human body to maintain a good health and also the function of individuals’ elements. It also includes the signs and symptoms of death either due to disease or other reasons.

The third text, the Oral Instruction Tantra, includes fifteen main sections and ninety-two chapters. These sections deal with the symptoms, treatment, recommended diet, behaviour and medications
of the one hundred and one disorders due to imbalance of wind, bile, phlegm. In addition, the usage of accessory therapies are also mentioned in this text. This text is recommended as a reading to the medical student but is not for memorizing.

The twenty-five chapters of the last fourth Tantra describes the procedure of diagnosis (urine analysis, pulse reading), the preparation of medicaments, and its properties in the form of pills, powder, syrups, medicinal butters and other medications. Other chapters highlight the purgatives, emeties and the medications which subdue or destroy the disorders completely. The curative and preventive form of medication deals with moxabustion, acupuncture, surgery and others.

After completion of lessons in theory the doctor must be attached with the clinics to undergo practical training for several years. Through the practical experiences the doctor learns different diagnostic techniques. To diagnose the patient accurately a Tibetan doctor should follow the rules, mentioned in the medical text which includes:

i) Balanced diet, no sexual contact and no strenuous exercises, the day before the examination of the patient.

ii) To diagnose with six fingers, urine analysis and the interrogation with the patient, a Tibetan doctor should possess good health, (especially devoid of asthma, skin disease, nervousness etc.) and should be mentally balanced.

iii) The nature of a doctor is an important factor in diagnosis and explaining to the patient, which includes equal compassion for both the patients who are economically better off and the others, satisfaction or contentment, cultivative attitudes of love and patience on compassionate ground, the attitude of helping to all out of kindness (Khangkar, 1982).
According to the version of medical text, 424 ailments can be diagnosed by

I) Physical examination
II) Diagnosis by touch
III) Diagnosis by interrogation.

Tibetan doctors lay more emphasis on diagnosis by pulse and urine analysis. Generally left hand of the patient is used during the examination by the right hand of the doctor or it may be vice-versa. It is said that urine exhibits the internal state of any individual and for analysis, the first early morning urine is examined by the doctors.

**Contemporary status of Tibetan Buddhist Medicine:** The tradition of Tibetan Buddhist medical system that existed in Tibet was very different from the concept of Western medical system which includes X-rays, surgery, biochemical analysis in the laboratory. Despite prolonged contact with modern advanced technology in India, Tibetan medical system has exhibited no significant change in the traditional therapeutic management. The duration of medical course, procedure of examinations have persisted unchanged. The tradition of annual medicinal herbal collection on the mountain slopes by the students of Tibetan medicine is also maintained in India (Burrow; Hopkins; Dhonden and Dolma, 1982).

**MEDICAL FACILITIES IN THE STUDIED AREA**

**Dharamsala:**

In Dharamsala, apart from TMAI hospital with its branch clinics and the Tibetan Welfare Delek Hospital there was a District Hospital, a few private clinics which provide allopathic treatment in the vicinity of the sample population.

**Tibetan medical Centre:** For the preservation of existing ancient Tibetan Buddhist medicine a Tibetan Medical Centre was established
in Dharamsala in 1961 a School of Tibetan Medicine was started initially with fourteen students. In 1972 the numerical strength of students became sixteen, with a present roll of approximately five to ten students undergoing the medical course for seven years. After examinations the graduates start their professional career in various clinics/dispensaries or in hospitals of traditional Tibetan medicine located in various settlements in India. In 1975, a fifteen bedded hospital was started along with outdoor and indoor facilities. A research section on Tibetan medicine and astrology is a recent addition.

Apart from annual Tibetan almanac and horoscope publications the astrological calculation of different auspicious Tibetan festivals. As it was disclosed that the TMAI receives request for making horoscope with some nominal charges from far off places including non Tibetans. In the college rooms of Tibetan Medical Astro Institute some classes in progress were noticed. On the top floor of the same building was the research section of TMAI where a Professor of Family Medicine from United States of America namely Dr. Batchelor was engaged in a project, concerned with the effect of Tibetan Buddhist Medicine on hypertension. Some posters were made to create awareness amongst the common people about the factors leading to and the bad effects of hypertension. In fact self participation in the process of poster making helped them in finding proper terminology of some words in Hindi. Needless to say, the posters were made in Tibetan as well as in Hindi.

The pharmacy section capable of manufacturing traditional medicines from herbs, gems, minerals, animal extracts following traditional mode of preparation. Certain specific factors like the climate, the diet, and general health status of drugs. Contemporary well maintained museum of the Institute exhibits the same. Information
revealed that out of 1000 usually manufactured drugs only 200 are being manufactured in the Institute due to lack of appropriate raw materials, machineries, space and climatic variation. Most interesting part includes that 25 different ingredients are to be selected for a specific formula which are kneaded into paste and rolled into pills. Subsequently those polished pills are wrapped in silk and sealed and dispatched as prescribed medicaments. Sometimes 108 ingredients are required for certain pills.

The institute is run by a Governing Body under the patronage of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The authorities take all the important decisions and the Director deals with the daily affairs. Free treatment and diagnosis is provided to the destitute patients. The authorities spend more than thirty thousand rupees for the destitutes and needy patients. Financial assistance comes from German Catholic Organisation in West Germany through efforts of the Governing Body of the Institute (Tibetans in Exile, 1959 –1980).

Initially coarse powder is collected from the first grinder and finer form from the subsequent grinders. Then it is allowed to boil as per prescribed timings, and the juice extracted out of it. The juice is absorbed with fine powder and the pills are made in the machines. Pills are stored in different bags in quantum of 1000 and kept in separate shelves for disbursing to different TMAI clinics (23 TMAI clinics in India) and abroad by mail. Lack of manufacturing facilities in India brought about some compulsive changes in the method of making medicines.

**Tibetan Welfare Delek Hospital:** The hospital started as a small clinic under the patronage of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in 1971, and later on it became registered in 1978 as a charitable institution in Gangchen Kyishong (Dharamsala) in collaboration with Government of India. It
was also supported by the donations of foreign volunteer organisations. Being a private body, the financial assistance of the hospital was donations and on aid as received from India and Patients who could afford were required to pay a charge of Rs. 6/- per day. Gradual development of the hospital was exhibited though the addition of out-patient, in-patient service, maternity service and community programme. Moreover, the investigations like X-rays, blood culture, urine, sputum and stool culture is done by the technicians in the laboratory.

**Contemporary status**: It was disclosed that since 1979 out-patient services as provided by Delek Hospital include maternal and child care service, tuberculosis treatment programme and immunization through their clinics. Apart from these they provided preventive health education to ensure adequate nutrition, growth and immunisation.

As the main bulk of immigrant Tibetans in Dharamsala are residing at McLeod Ganj, so they receive health care services through Delek Community Health Centre at McLeod Ganj and Tibetan Children’s Village. It was reported that Delek’s Community Health Project provides facilities within a range of 13, 600 k.m. In addition, eye service from March, 1984, and the dental service from 1985 were introduced with aid from Germany and Australia, respectively. The administrator of Delek Hospital narrated that initially Tibetans could not avail treatment from the Government Hospital in the vicinity due to the language problem. As Tibetans in Dharamsala were mostly concentrated in McLeod Ganj, the hospital was established in that area to serve them as well as the local people of that area to serve them as well as the local people of Himachal Pradesh. Doctors and nurses including the foreigners serve the Delek Hospital provided a minimum pay of Rs. 800/- to 1300/- per month to the doctors. The
Plate 15: Tibetan Medical and Astro institute (TMAI), Dharamsala

Plate 16: A Tibetan Doctor taking weight of a child at TMAI, Dharamsala
Plate 17: An interview in progress at Kullu

Plate 18: Investigator with a Respondent (old lady) at Kullu
nominal charge of Rs. 5/- for medicine, Rs. 5/- for food and Rs. 3/- for bed per day was introduced few years back. Most of the Tibetans can hardly afford to pay the minimum charges.

The administrator of the hospital also commented that Indian doctors do not show interest in voluntary service in Delek Hospital, nor were they satisfied with the facilities provided by the hospital authority. On the other hand the foreigners were more interested in voluntary service. She added that young Tibetan patients were more in number than the old. Thus TMAI and Delek Hospital both are providing service to the Tibetans in order to achieve better health status. In case of dental problem, tuberculosis, cancer, accidents and other major disease TMAI referred the patients to Delek Hospital as it is better equipped with laboratory facilities, X-ray machines and the trained doctors in those fields.

A discourse with the renowned Tibetan medical practitioner Dr. (Mrs.) Damola revealed that traditional Tibetan medicine was not only favoured by Tibetans but by Indians and foreigners also. She maintained a collection of files exhibiting the names of different countries, written in block letters, in which letters from far off patients were also maintained. She also showed albums where the procedure of treatment was exhibited in coloured photographs. Dr. Damola had maintained a record of all the cancer patients who had come to her for treatment. Interestingly none of the pictures showed a patient in a cured state. The doctor lamented that most of the patients discontinued the treatment mid-way. She complained that the patients were not aware of the consequences of this abrupt discontinuation.

She also commented that most of the cancer patients visited her as a last resort when they got the ultimatum from allopathic practitioner. So it was not possible for her to always cure them. She
claimed that her expertise in Traditional Tibetan medicine is an inherited tradition from her forefathers. The diagnosis and prognosis of the patient was carried out by traditional method. It was noticed that she did not hesitate to condone consultation fee for the destitutes nor did she fail to scold a patient who showed poor compliance.

Information was collected from Tibetan Medical practitioners who were either employed in TMAI, or serving the people in private clinic.

In Tibet, apart from renowned medical college in Lhasa (discussed earlier) the imparting of knowledge of Tibetan medicine (astrology related to Buddhist philosophy in theory and practice was also provided to students of medicine at ‘Khangkar’ (White House) and at Tibetan Medical School of Kyidrong. In selection of medical profession as a career, personal interest plays a significant primary role in 20 per cent cases whereas others acquired it as a family tradition.

After completion of schooling period the doctors could opt for medical profession. In Tibet 80 percent of them had completed the schooling period either in monastery or in village schools. Whereas in India all of them took admission either in convent school or in a Tibetan School (CSTA).

Tibetan was the only medium of instruction in Tibet. The doctors had learnt English, Hindi and Tibetan in India. All the doctors in India had completed their course from TMAI, Dharamsala and most of them were serving in various TMAI clinics/hospitals in India for few years. All the doctors commented that the basic principles and the fundamentals of Tibetan Buddhist medicine were being maintained by them in India. It is disclosed that apart from Tibetan, 95 percent of Indian patients and even some foreigners attended the TMAI clinics, hospital or
private doctors practicing traditional Buddhist medicine based on their belief in its effectiveness. No specific identification in terms of social strata (high, low), types of occupation and (rural, urban) exposure were observed in the pattern of attendance of patients. Majority of the patients visiting these clinics were having chronic ailments. The doctors presumed that the attendance of patients is infrequent due to lack of awareness.

The doctors of TMAI clinics, Dharamsala claimed that irrespective of major and minor ailments 75 percent patients below 50 years of age got cured whereas those above the age of 50 the complete recovery was observed in 50 per cent cases. Cancer patients exhibited improvement in 80 per cent cases. The patients having epilepsy got cured completely in all cases except few who discontinued the treatment in between. Only 5 percent patients after getting treatment from TMAI, expired, because they had come at they terminal stage of their ailments.

Private practitioners in Dharamsala disclosed that cancer patients who had visited their clinic at terminal stage did not recover. Otherwise with the implication of traditional mode of therapy used in Tibetan Buddhist medicine such as massage, acupuncture, gold needle therapy, moxabustion all the patients with first and second stage of cancer got cured. It was recorded in the files of the clinic that 50 per cent throat cancer patients got cured with the treatment of Tibetan medicine. The doctor mentions that the patients having asthma, blood sugar, arthritis, gallstone, urinary stones, blood pressure, leukaemia show remarkable improvement in 75 per cent cases. The children below 12 years of age, who had constantly used spectacles since their childhood, showed improvement in vision. With treatment for six months, no spectacles were required. The doctors talked about sterility which, in their opinion, is the manifestation of
organic disease due to bad deeds of previous life. So it could get cured with the mantras and ritualistic therapy only. Four months treatment with oral medicines along with mantras of ‘Green Tara’ (the deity for fertility) can make women fertile. During a delivery the death of a mother of the baby was considered as a curse of angry deity. In the period of gestation common problems such as swelling of legs, high blood pressure, itching due to increased bilirubin was treated by the doctors with the Tibetan medicine in a mild dose.

In India the tradition of Tibetan medicine is being contributed among the disciplines that work sincerely with the private practitioners for couple of years. It was disclosed that apart from medical students at TMAI, fifty students (Tibetans, foreigners) were engaged in practical training under a renowned medical practitioner. The doctors opined that patients were prescribed mantras of medicinal Buddha with the medicaments which enhanced the longevity of the patients and promote good health.

In Kullu settlement there was no provision of medical facilities either from Tibetan Medical Institute or Delek Hospital in Dharamsala. The respondents have disclosed that they hardly visited district hospital which is far off from the settlement, but they often visited TCV school dispensary of Patlikuhal (on the Kullu-Manali main-road) and a small dispensary situated in the settlement of Patlikuhal and Fifteen Mile Camp. The dispensary was run by a health worker trained from Delek Hospital, Dharamsala.

It was informed that beside a clinic of TMAI, there was a dispensary at the Manali Day School which was being managed by community health workers as provided by Delek Hospital and it was being financed by the Council for Tibetan Education at Dharamsala. The community was served by private allopathic doctors and a private allopathic hospital.
A small TMAI clinic was seen at one end of Manali amidst apple orchards. The doctor was a nun, who had completed her graduation on Tibetan medicine from TMAI, Dharamsala. She was young, graceful and warm in her approach. During the discussion it was noticed that few Tibetan patients had come for treatment and she attended to them promptly.

THE ROLE OF TANTRIC RITUALS IN TIBETAN HEALING MANAGEMENT

During the reign of Trisong Detsen (since the 8th century onwards Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra, paramount important figures of Nyingma tradition have contributed to the knowledge of ‘Rasarnava-tantra’ (means the conception of ‘resayana’) and Tantric rituals for purifying the constitutional elements of the body) from Indian medical traditions (Walter, 1980). This concept is broadly known as Vajrayana therapeutic technique which means the “realizing Buddha-nature by identifying oneself with a deity have specific applications and forms related to medicine” (Clifford, 1984). The Tibetan transliteration of the word Vajrayana is Dorje theg-pa. The findings signify the concept of ‘bodhicitta’ ‘the attainment of the ultimate in a vajrayana system as well as physical immortality’ (Walter, 1980). Clifford has mentioned that spiritual or dharmic medicine (chos-sman), “Created in the tantric ritual is an essential component of the whole Tibetan medical system” (Clifford, 1984).

Clifford (1984) has enlisted some of the causation of ailments, symptoms and the mode of its treatment as mentioned below:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causation</th>
<th>Symptoms</th>
<th>Treatment pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Spiritual-bad</td>
<td>Not curable in regular</td>
<td>Religious rites for the sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karma of previous</td>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>person mantras and meditations by a Lama or the others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anc present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Evil spirits</td>
<td>Insanity and psychiatric problems</td>
<td>Religious rites of medicines, rituals and application of medicine oil, massage,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mantra, pills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Common ailments</td>
<td>Temporary duration</td>
<td>No need of any treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Self-terminating illness”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I) Bad food ii) Lack of sleep iii) Poisons intake iv) Behavioural disturbances, v) Effect of natural environment and the psychological phenomena</td>
<td>Imbalance of the humours</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Standard treatment by somatic Tibetan medicine which corroborates with the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>explanations of Tibetan Buddhist Medicine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The spiritual medicine is also designated as, “accomplishment medicine” (*sman-drub*), “ambrosia, Dutsi” (*bdud-rtsi*), “forms of the blessings” “radiant connection waves” (*byin-gyis-rlabs*) (Clifford, 1984).

“Sometimes the Dharma medicines made by great lamas are taken before death, during the process of dying, in order to affect the spiritual health of the consciousness at that most critical time” (Clifford,
1984) which affects the stages of rebirth. This tradition is applied especially at the moment of death. Usually the Lama or the spiritual healer prescribes pills, sprinkles drops of water on the patient. They can even cure the patient by touch. By hearing the mantra sounds either from the capable esoteric practitioner or an incarnate Lama a patient may be cured. There are instances of cure by seeing the efficient Lama in the meditative posture. The Lama transforms himself into the Buddha Medicine (Bhaisajya) deity through meditation and manifests Buddha-power for the healing of the human beings.

The Tantric ritual in healing management is also described by Stabelin (1976). He mentions that three kinds of medicine correspond to outer, inner and secret levels of disease. The outer one is a pill made of eight Ayurvedic ingredients charged with the blessing of the deity. The inner one is torma ritual offering cake, these torma are made in the shapes of ears, nose, etc. and they represent the body purified by the eight inner substances which promote bodily growth. The secret medicine is represented by eight sexual aspects of the subtle body, four from the male and four from the female (Clifford, 1984).

For the healing of others, traditional medical personnel visualize the ‘medicine mandala’ during their daily prayers in the morning. They visualize the outer world as the medicine mandala and compare oneself as the Medicine Buddha. According to their perception the practice purifies the outer world and the self, transforming them into ‘Buddha-nature’. “In this case, one is always generating the healing rays of the Medicine Buddha, always generating the best of one’s emotional and intellectual capacity as compassion and wisdom in their healing aspects. Realizing the whole of the outer world in its Buddha-nature, it all becomes medicine” (Clifford, 1984). The Vajrayana and Tantrayana path is referred by the scholars as the Mantrayana.
The Tradition of Tantric Healing Management with Mantras: The Tantric way of healing is related to the mantras, as a means of salvation. The practice of the recitation of mantras creates vibration in the body of the human beings as well as in the cosmic world. In Vajrayana tradition, the healing process can read just with the vibrational expression of the mystic syllables. Eliade has described the tantric rituals “a gnostic system, and an internationalized liturgy” (Clifford, 1984). By repeated practicing the mantras internal energy of the subtle body vibrates. The manifestation of the vibration is of Buddha-nature. According to the medical text in Vajrayana system, certain mantric syllabus reacts on particular points. Where the subtle veins cross each other, this vibration shows blockage and the flesh becomes stiff in the diseased body.

Depending on the nature of the ailments, various mantras are prescribed to tune the ‘Buddha-nature’. Mantras must be acquired through the initiation by the Lamas or by personal experience. One can learn them from the book also but the efficacy of the mantras is related to the empowerment of the individual who practices it. The mantra of the Medicine Buddha is applicable to all the diseases.

In case of the healing or mental disorders the vibrations of consciousness can be readjust through the mantras. Meditation, an advanced technique of healing, clears the cross points on the veins with the mantras and helps to cure the disease. Meditation is applicable to self-healing by strong power of meditation. Visualization of the special healing mantra in the form of a mantric or medicine mandala is also being practiced by the healers (Clifford, 1984). It is to be believed that the medicine mandala is encircled with the deities namely Sangye Menla (Tibetan name of Vaidurya), Tara, Manjushri, Vajrapani and Shakyamuni Buddha at the center, representing the eight Medicine Buddhas (Clifford, 1984).
The use of the precious jewels and gems in therapeutic management was prevalent till Vedic Period. It is documented that “three kinds of gems: gods’ gems, bodhisattvas’ gems, human’s gems” preserve the internal energy of the core in the patient’s body and mind. “The first are said to have the power to give rebirth in heavenly realms; the second, the power to “lift up dead men to nirvana” and to help people to understand Dharma; and the third, the power to counteract poisons, evil spirits, swellings, and fevers…”

In the Gyu-zhi gems are said to solve all the problems of the three humors that cause the 404 diseases and to afford protection from the 1,080 evil spirits. In terms of religion, the “three Jewels”, the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, are said to fulfil all desires of sentient beings and thus to be the “wish fulfilling gem” (Clifford, 1984).

The Tibetan faith healers wear the gems as a safeguard against the negative action, radiating from the patients. The precious relics either from Lord Buddha or from the great Lamas which are collected by the Tibetan healers in the form of little pearl like substance from ashes of the great Lamas after their cremation. Acupuncture, massage, breathing exercise are also prescribed by the Tibetan healers to promote the good health, to clear the internal channels of the human body and to strengthen the internal channels of the human body and to strengthen the life force of the individuals. They also use many kinds of amulets in the form of knotted cords, little package with special mantras blessed by the Tantric rituals, empowered with the mantras.

In this regard, Ven. Rechung Rinpoche has commented that the diversity of medical practice and theory synthesized with religion in the Tibetan medical system. The Tantric texts containing acquired traditional cultural activities, organised in the most sophisticated
Tibetan religious manner, can be utilised as the Tibetan art of healing. The art of practice of Tantric medicine is found in canonical tantric texts, ka-gyur and Tan-gyur.

Thus it can be concluded that the basic principle of the Tibetan medicine rests on various techniques to balance the state of mind of the healer. In the Tibetan view, the efficacy of the Tibetan medicine is related to the healing exercises i.e. the practice of the Tantric rituals, mantric rituals, visualization etc. of the Tibetan healer (Clifford, 1984).

**ASTROSCIENCE IN TIBETAN HEALING MANAGEMENT**

Bonpo manuscripts and records which support the prevalence of knowledge about the pre-Buddhist astrology and medicine in Tibet since the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. Though the Buddhist account are silent. The astrological tradition is said to be introduced in Zhang-Zhung (North-Western Tibet) by one of the eight sons of Lord Shenrab Miwo, founder of Bon, prior to the introduction of Kalachakra astrology in Tibet in 1027 A.D. The basic principles of astrology followed by the astrologers is not only to calculate the position of stars, planets, constellation etc. but also to forecast important eventualities like predict fortune and misfortune, ambitions and the span of one’s life. Beside them, it forecasts the state of health of an individual who are concerned about it. Horoscopes thus becomes the astrological record in respect of men and women to scrutiny the nature, know the duration of illness and to indicate the nature of possible remedies. The astrological calculations in Tibet have been utilised by Tibetan doctors and Tibetan healers as a forecasting measure of health preservation to nurture psychophysical approach of the people.

Bannerman et. al., (1983) estimates the relevance of Astroscience with traditional medicine of Tibet in the following:
“Another contribution that astrology offers to medical science is to provide a working knowledge about diseases that might strike an individual during a certain period of his life and to suggest methods by which he can strive to lessen the adverse effects if not altogether ward off the illness. Here astrology recommends the use of mantras. Astrological literature from ancient times is replete with references to this important aspect of mantra sastra. The afflictions (rishta yogas) merely indicate the deficiency of the requisite or normal energy-quantum and this can be compensated by mantras which are nothing but packets or bundles of adjusted forms of sound vibrations”.

In this regard Ekvall (1964) assimilates elements of the cosmic world with those of an individual on the earth. The Cosmics, according to the traditions China and Tibet, consists of five elements: (1), earth (sa) (ii) iron (lcags), (iii) water (chu), (iv) wood (shing), (v) fire (me). And twelve animals such as: (1) mouse, (2) ox, (3) tiger, (4) hare, (5) dragon, (6) serpent, (7) horse, (8) sheep, (9) monkey, (10) bird, (11) dog, (12) hog. A pair of animals (first one is male and second one is female) are combined with the above five elements in the astrological calculations (Waddell, 1967).

The perception of Ekvall (1967) regarding the healing science of Tibet supports that Tibetans include religion as a primary phenomenon in theory and in practice. The Tibetan physicians who are Lamas or monks have religious background. They refer to the horoscope of the individual to know the nature of the offending spirit along with the examination of pulse, tongue, eyes, urine and excreta. Regarding the treatment, they appease the spirit, with the offerings, ritual prayer, charms, amulets which are given to the sick persons to apply or to eat. Beside these, the Lama doctors prepare and administer herbal medicaments in the forms of pills and powder.
According to the astrological tradition the preparation of the medicines begin on the eighth day of the lunar month. The existing Tibetan Astroscience is the modified form of ancient Chinese astrological tradition according to the needs and customs of the Tibetans. Further analysis of the nature of elements and that of animals is made in the report of the respondent Dr. Dorjee of Dharamsala.

It can be concluded that the traditional Tibetan healing management revolves around a combination of spiritual healing and prescribed traditional Tibetan medicine to exhibit the full affect of the treatment.

COMMON MEDICAMENTS PREVALENT IN TIBET

The historical account reveals that in Tibet the monks were mostly engaged in making medicaments and pills at the medical colleges and earned money out of it without treating the patient personally. The Tibetans were more interested to procure charms, amulets and the other common medicaments (as mentioned below) from the spiritual faith healers than the available medicaments from the medical monasteries (Snellgrove and Richardson, 1968).

Common medications to cure all sorts of ailments include:

1. The excreta of H.H. the Dalai Lama and renowned incarnated Lamas in the form of pills.
2. Consumption of the urine of the young boys to increase the vigour and vitality amongst the old, and feeble men.
3. Morning and evening bath in the hot springs of mineral water.
5. The pills made of collected herbs, all kinds of drugs, roots, powders, plants from India, China and Tibet itself with appropriate blessings, Instruction followed by the patients mention the regular prayers prescribed with each dose (Tucci, 1967).
Contemporary status of Tibetan ritualistic therapy: The migrant Tibetan in all the settlements confessed that sickness was the causation by one of the five things: contaminated food, change of climate from high altitude and severe cold climate of Tibet to a warm and plain area in India, cursing angry deities, bad 'karmas' of the past lives and the effect of evil spirits. The common perception of the migrant Tibetans represented the evil spirits as demons or the unsatisfied soul of any deceased person and is the most common causation of most of the ailments and it can be treated only by the Tibetan traditional healers. It was also added by them that the treatment art of Tibetan traditional healers not only serves the purpose of discovering the causation of ailments but it asserts the specific location of ailments in the body of the sick person as well as discloses that how the evil sprits affects the individuals.

The interview with the practitioners of ritualistic therapy in Dharamsala highlighted that initially they consult the traditional medical texts which list 4040 diseases and their various symptoms. Some of the healers considered themselves efficient to diagnose the ailments through pulse and urine analysis, practise it on the sick person.

Dharamsala

Faith Healer: Lot of prayer flags in front of a house declared the Tibetans were more common than the other ailments. His perception towards epilepsy was 'karma' of previous life, effect of oracle and demon on the individual. He mentioned that mostly the patients were treated in allopathic hospital in Chandigarh, Delhi, and Bombay for two or three years and some of them have attended TMAI clinic, systems, then they had resorted to spiritual healing method. The mode of treatment will be projected from his narration below.
He prepared a special type of water to be prescribed in case of epileptic cases. It was observed that he spat with muttering of the mantras mixed with saffron into boiled water and preserves as medicaments in many glass bottles. He offered one bottle to an epileptic patient, and advised him to take a cup of that medicated water regularly in the early morning. It was noted that he blows air from the mouth on the patient. In addition he suggested them to swallow few papers, which were being inscribed with mantras and diagrams, three times a day with plain water. He charged five rupees on first visit per patient and advised the patient to continue treatment till he recovered. The diet restriction in epileptic cases as prescribed by him included avoidance of pork meat, onion, garlic, egg, sour and alcoholic drinks.

He treated the paralysis cases with the offerings of special mantras written in amulets. It was prescribed that the patients should wear the amulets on the upper arm or round the neck with coloured strings. The faith healer claimed that 75 per cent patients get cured with the treatment in case of epilepsy and paralysis except very old and aged patients.

Patients with mental disorder could be cured with the practice of mo (special healing). He used earthen balls in the practice of mo to find out the causative factors for all types of illness.

A peacock feather was waved by the faith healer on the patients especially in stroke and mental disorder cases.

A wooden stick was touched on the forehead of all the patients to convey his blessings. He declared that apart from the Tibetan monks he has two foreign disciples who had started meditation to attain the purified state.
The perception of common people in Dharamsala is that the faith healer could protect the environment also. During festives and other occasions he could control the rain.

It was noted that 5.1 per cent respondents consulted with the Lama (astrologer) in the monastery, but continued with the treatment prescribed by the faith healer for three to four years, who however demanded nominal charge.

It was observed in one of the settlements that in front of one household there was a pile of stones, about six inches in diameter, placed one on top of the other, just outside the outer doorway. The reason of it was asked to the family members of that household and it was disclosed that a member of that family has been suffering from serious ailment. The family members were not allowed to go inside the house because they believed that other evil spirits along with the intruder would enhance the seriousness of the ailments of sick person. It was added that these stones would be removed when the patient will be either cured or dead.

In India the role of astrology in Tibetan healing management would be projected from the discourse with a 60 years old professor in TMAI, Dharamsala, namely Dr. Pema. He has acquired the astrological tradition from his father after completion of his schooling period in Tibet where he had learnt Tibetan grammar and literature. He had visited Nepal to acquire more information on astrology from a well-known Lama and stayed there for three years. He had no degree in astrological science but he has become a renowned astrologer among the Tibetans.

He narrated that the astrological tradition reached Tibet from China in 7th century A.D. The first king of Tibet Songtsen Gampo, had sent emissaries to China to learn Chinese astrology. In Tibet the
Astrological tradition was influenced by Bon religion and Buddhism subsequently. *Nyingmapa* tradition of Buddhism modified the Chinese astrology to a certain extent. In 1027 A.D. Indian astrology also reached Tibet. It was introduced by Lama Khyenzo Dawa Yeshar who had visited India for couple of years and learnt the astrological science being practiced in India. With the historical upheavals, the astro-tradition in Tibet was influenced by Iranian and Mongolian traditions. Gradually an unique tradition of astrosceince evolved and got incorporated in Tibetan medical science which combined ancient medical ideologies and elemental properties of nature as available from earth, rocks, stones, herbs and so on.

The seasons, months, days of the year in Tibetan Calendar forecast the particular effect of the five elements and nature animals on the individual. Moreover, astrological prediction was followed by medical personnel's during collection of medicinal herbs, and preparation of medicaments. He added that in Tibetan medical science the astrology has no direct relation with disease but it was taught to the medical students to provide a thorough knowledge of five elements (earth, water, fire, wood and iron) and nature of twelve animals (dragon, sheep, here, horse, serpent, hog, monkey, bird, mouse, dog, ox, tiger) as they are related to the fundamental mode of diagnosis such as pulse diagnosis, urine analysis an so on.

**The role of Astrology on Mode of Diagnosis in Tibetan Healing Management:** The comments of the astrologer are as follows:

(a) **Urine analysis:** The doctors consider a diagramatic chart having nine numerical numbers which were introduced in the medical system from Chinese astrology. In addition, four wooden sticks were put on the urine pot in a criss-cross manner to make nine squares, as prescribed in the medical
test. Each square would represent the unique characteristics such as size of the bubbles, colour, nature, sediments of the urine of the patient.

(b) **Pulse diagnosis:** The calculation predicts the year of birth of the individual. The doctor considers the year of birth of a patient to know the particular element and nature of animals which is related to the nature of pulse of the patient.

He commented that nature of five elements are related to the nature of pulse such as:

- Wood element influences liver pulse
- Fire element influences heart pulse
- Iron element influences lung (wind) pulse
- Water element influences kidney pulse
- Earth element influences spleen pulse.

It was added that during the time of particular season such as ‘wood season’ an individual should possess liver pulse in a good state. Any abnormality in liver pulse was an indication to feel other pulse except liver pulse.

The calculation of season as exhibited in Tibetan Calendar includes:

- First trimester of the year reveals wood season
- Second trimester of the year reveals fire seasons
- Third trimester of the year reveals iron season
- Last trimester of the year reveals water season
- Besides these, last eighteen days of the trimester Would represent the earth season.
The five elements are related with the nature of animals as described below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Animals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Serpent, Horse, Sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron</td>
<td>Monkey, Bird, Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Hog, Mouse, Ox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Dragon, Sheep, Dog, Ox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>Tiger, Hare, Dragon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from urine analysis and pulse diagnosis the astrological calculations of the patient were considered by the doctors to predict the specific area of the body for the application of traditional mode of treatment such as moxabustion and blood letting.

(a) Birth: Tibetans did not maintain the details of their horoscope as prepared for special cases by the Astro-Institute, but invariably the various types of offerings to appease the angry deities or the nature such as stars, moon, planets and so on is still prevalent among the migrant Tibetans.

The astrologer commented that in India, most of the Tibetans are availing both the medical systems (i.e. Tibetan and allopathic) as both are accessible to them in contract to situation that existed in Tibet. Moreover, modern education, communication network has increased the overall health awareness of Tibetans. In spite of all these a number of immigrant Tibetans consult spiritual healers and the astrologer, who are still available in the community.

The interesting information on spiritual healing was brought forth in a prolonged discussion with the 63 years old Abbot of the Buddhist Dialectic School of studies Dharamsala. He obtained Geshe degree from Drepung monastery in Tibet and learnt the technique of spiritual healing from a teacher of that monastery. Being the head of the
Dialectic school he looked after the health aspect of the monks also. Initially he treated the monks by spiritual healing method. The patients who were not cured by his treatment were referred to either TMAI, Delek Hospital or District hospital for the diagnosis and treatment. He has treated a number of cases in the school having psychological disorders. The monks were detected with the symptoms of hallucination, bad dream, severe headache and so on. The Abbot commented that according to the tradition of spiritual healing one should consult the astrologer for divination prior to any treatment. In Tibet the astrologer (may be a lama or a commoner) practiced a traditional method commonly known as dice a tantric rite to expel the demon.

He further believes that the effect of Nagas (the deity with snake) on individual is harmful. He observed symptomatic improvement in monk patients by practicing extensive rituals for the day and night without any interval for at least ten days. To satisfy the deity he offered torma (an idol form) made of butter, flour or champa (dried barley).

In case of serious illnesses, it was suggested that he may consult incarnate Lamas, even H.H. the Dalai Lama for the spiritual healing. He believed that the ailments caused by evil forces, the effect of supernatural power (angry dities) ghosts, can not be cured either by traditional Tibetan Buddhist medicine or allopathic treatment. As perceived by him they can be cured only by performing rituals.

A discourse with a 60 years old cook of Tibetan Delek Hospital who was suffering from asthma for seven years revealed that he initially consulted the Lama in the monastery who advised him to arrange prayer money for the same. Then he shifted to allopathic medicine as an alternative resort. According to him, the causation of
ailment is the curse of angry deity and the wrath of God. He said initially he took Tibetan medicine from TMAI but he could not tolerate Tibetan medicine because it produced heat in the body.

**Kullu**

In case of pain in the knee joint one of the respondents who was a businessman aged 66 years initially visited local allopathic doctor and spent Rs. 200/- but he had no relief. Then he shifted to a spiritual healer in Dharamsala. The healer applied heat on the buttock and knee joint, charged nominally and got cured.

The causation of ailment as predicted by spiritual healer includes lung i.e. wind disorder. About 2.3 per cent epileptic causes, were treated by one of the renowned faith healer named Geshe Namgyal in Dharamsala. The perception of faith healer towards ailments include certain factors like curse of angry deity, lack of cleanliness, maintaining traditional food habit such as excessive drinking of *chhang* taking Indian and Tibetan tea too frequently. Some of the respondents and visited the faith healer for quite a number of times in a year with their 4 to 6 year old children. They did not consult any doctor of other medical system in this regard. They continued the treatment since the first attack suffered by the baby at the age of one year. The faith healer treated the patient by sprinkling water over the body of the patient with muttering of mantras and gave pills containing mantras written on a paper inside. The pills were made by the healer himself. A fee of rupees 5/- per visit was charged. In the long run when they were not satisfied with the treatment of spiritual healer they visited private practitioner of Tibetan medicine namely Damola of Dharamsala where they were treated free of cost for 2-3 years. With the medicine there is no attack till the date.
Manali

It was disclosed by the respondents that majority of them especially the older generation visited the monastery to consult the Lama, for the ailments. It was added that the Lama considered the horoscope of the sick person and made forecast on the modality of the treatment. The Lama often suggests prayers and mantras to the sick person. As a convention, the migrant Tibetans donate money to arrange prayer in the monastery especially for the chronic disease and for the ailments of the children. The monks of the monastery perform prayers throughout the day along with recitation of mantras sonorously.

It was observed that the monks used copper bells, conch, drums and the other traditional musical instruments during the prayer to appease the medicinal Buddha as well as to appease wrath of angry deities. In most of the households special offering (eatable items like Champa) were burnt to satisfy the different kinds of spirits, protectors and deities. Charms and amulets were also used as a protection by some of the respondents.

EMERGING SCENARIO:

The study has revealed that despite exposure to modernity, scientific advancement in technology, the immigrant Tibetans have not deviated to such an extent as to incorporate the modern ideologies in the traditional medical system. But the discourse with Tibetan medical practitioners at (TMAI clinics/hospital/private clinics) in the studied areas reveals that the doctors feel handicapped and cannot manage all types of ailments which are coming up in the host country:

The primary reasons are:
i) The medical herbs which they collect from the Himalayan slopes in India cannot be considered as effective as it was in Tibet, because of ecological variation.

ii) Non-availability of the medicinal herbs as used in the medicaments in Tibet.

iii) Lack of manufacturing facilities in India.

In India, to enhance the efficacy of Tibetan medicine and to exhibit its full impact on the medicaments the doctors prescribed both medicaments and the mantras to the patients whereas in Tibet they often prescribed mantras only. To supplement the lacunae as observed in India in traditional Tibetan healing management the authority structure of the Tibetans in exile have ventured to establish Tibetan Welfare Delek Hospital in Dharamsala.

It is important to note that Tibetan Buddhist medical practitioners, Emchi, in India advise the patient to avail the modern medical facilities such as various clinical investigations, surgery, mother child health care etc. Modern scientific equipments like stethoscope, sphygmomanometer are also used by them to combat against the ailments in the host country.

From the available information it can be concluded that in the ongoing process of change the tradition of Tibetan Buddhist medical system has not yet welcomed the total transformation of the same by losing its indigenous medical heritage. The Buddhist medical system has allowed to accommodate certain specific modern and scientific medical approaches from Western medical science to overcome the lacunae of Tibetan Buddhist medical system as coming up in the alien cultural set up.

The panoramic view of traditional socio-cultural institution and their contemporary manifestations suggest a transitional process
which explicates the paradoxical nature of change and continuity. Perservance of tradition in the face of compelling forces of modernism is classical example of theoretical stands which accepts tradition and modernism as coterminous process. It also challenges the orthodox stand taken by scholars defending paradigm of modernism which talks about elimination of tradition. Despite being under constant threat of rejection by the host community the migrant Tibetans in India have not rejected their identity. At the same time accommodation of transient values necessary for survival in a fast changing society speaks volumes about their ability to accommodate themselves in new cultural environments. A characteristic example of Tibetan's desire to retain their native tradition is found in the perservance of traditional system of Tibetan medicine. In the next chapter an effort is being made to explore the fabric of prevailing system of native medicine, the changes that may have occurred in this transition process and how a medical system is being made instrumental in this struggle for political recognition.