CHAPTER-III
TRADITION AND CHANGE
IN THE TIBETAN
SOCIO-CULTURAL
INSTITUTIONS
The processes of social transformation have been recognised the world over the domain of anthropological investigation. As compared to communities which are settled at one place for generations, the processes of social transformation are expected to become rampant in migrant groups and communities. The objective of this study as mentioned earlier, is to explore the magnitude and ramification of this processes among the migrant Tibetans who are regarded as political refugees by the Indian Government. Socially distinctive groups such as this, with a defined political identity, is under dual pressure of maintaining its ethnic identity, separate political character while adjusting and accommodating itself to the larger cultural milieu of the alien society in which it is rehabilitating itself. In this chapter an attempt is being made to analyse the traditional socio-cultural institutions of the migrant Tibetans and to comprehend the changes that are going on within this group after migration to India.

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

The very basic unit of any social structure is its household complex. Through the available documents and information gathered from the respondents, an attempt has been made to exhibit the traditional and contemporary structure of immigrant Tibetan households. Since the reports are subjective about the structure of Tibetan
households in Tibet, a scrutiny is required in this regard.

On the basis of qualitative and quantitative information it could be inferred that the institution of family both as a polygamous as well as the monogamous unit existed in Tibet prior to Chinese invasion. The family structure was always related to property. It was reported by various authors that the polygamous family structure was maintained by the government taxpayers because polyandrous marriage system was unique to them. The monogamous family structure was prevalent mostly among the private taxpayers, tenants, craftsmen and hired men who followed the monogamous marriage (Dargyay, 1982). The Tibetan practice of marriage has been discussed in this thesis while discussing rituals, ceremonies and social institutions.

The literature reveals forms of family structure which existed side by side in Tibet, include the extended families (Aziz, 1969) or "large family" (mi tshang cheba), the nuclear family (Aziz, 1978), "small family" (mi tshang chung ngu).

The Tibetan family is of a unique significance. The Tibetans whether a semisettled agricultural class or pastoral group lived almost the whole of their life in a family where religion was the crux of family organisation. The eminent Tibetologist, R.A. Stein described that the Tibetan society was based on "the coexistence of two principles which are both interdependent and antagonistic: egalitarian joint ownership and hierarchy" (Stein, 1972). A
Tibetan household in Tibet was comprised of family structure in which three generations lived under the same roof. They shared their kitchen and economic resources. Hindu joint family makes coterminus to as commonly observed in India.

The existence of conjugal family consisting of husband, wife or any one of them and their offsprings and joint family which includes any other type of family excepting the above mentioned conjugal type was common in Tibet. Information from all the four Tibetan settlements revealed that the incidence of larger size joint families which included not only the inlaws but the members of distant kin, even the servants also was a common family norm in traditional Tibetan society. Intrafamilial conflicts were a common occurrence of these households. Saklani (1984) also talks about the changing family pattern from Tibet to India. In Tibet the family was either joint or conjugal but in India it often became conjugal. However, out of 220 households studied in the present context, none was to be found joint. Settlementwise description of total sample population follows:

Living Style: Continuity and Change

Dharamsala

The sample revealed that 75 per cent households were living in less than approximately 500 square feet surface area whereas 13.75 percent of the households are availing surface area of ranging between 1000 and 2000 square feet.
The material for household construction used included bricks, mud and cement, and the roofs of the households were mostly made of sheets of tin and wood. The material used for construction included mud by 22.5 per cent and bricks and cement was used by 55 per cent households. What was more striking from the living condition and hygienic point of view was that out of the total sample 100 households i.e. 62.5 per cent of the household comprising of 1-5 members who lived in two-roomed accommodation had no kitchen space (Table 3:1). Even out of those two rooms one room was exclusively reserved for prayers and rituals. The members of households, living in a compound, shared a common water tap and a common toilet.

It was observed that 10 households, i.e. 6.25 per cent having 2-3 members had a larger 3 to 5 roomed accommodation including drawing room and prayer room with a separate kitchen. They afforded cemented roof and could maintain a pet and a kitchen garden as they had extra space. But they also shared a common toilet and water tap.

Kulu

Majority of the households, i.e. 90 per cent had surface area of 200-500 sq. feet approximately. Seventy per cent of the construction of the households were made of stone and mud with a roof of slate or tin.

Most significant criteria pertinent to socio-economic condition and status of hygiene was that 70 per
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Informants</th>
<th>Households</th>
<th>No. of households</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>522</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>7 (41.66%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(30%)</td>
<td>(45%)</td>
<td>(11.25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(13.75%)</td>
<td>(55%)</td>
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<td>(22.5%)</td>
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<td>(31.25%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(90%)</td>
<td>(10%)</td>
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<td>24</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(16.67%)</td>
<td>(83.83%)</td>
<td>(33.33%)</td>
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<td>(16.67%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8 (41.66%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOLANJI</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1 (05%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(70%)</td>
<td>(30%)</td>
<td>(70%)</td>
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<td>(20%)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4 (20%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9 (20%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cent households had double roomed accommodation of which one was a small prayer room. Each of these household comprised of 5-7 members (Table 3:1). No separate space for kitchen space was observed in 90 per cent households. Open air defaecation and bathing in river was common to all of them. Agricultural land, space for kitchen garden did not exist in the sample population. As an exception, one household, having 4 members, could afford to build a house made of wood in more than 600 sq. ft. surface area with a division of 3 bed rooms and one prayer room, a separate kitchen. The facility of water supply and electricity was also availed by the members of that particular household.

**Manali**

In the sample population 4 households, i.e. 16.67 per cent had surface area of less than 200 sq. ft. approximately and the material used for the construction of houses included stones and mud. Remaining 83.33 per cent household had surface area between 200-500 sq. ft. Brick was common material used in all of them (Table 3:1). Most of the households were white washed and the roofs were made of either tin or wood.

Most striking feature about living condition and hygiene was that 2-4 members of household lived in a two-roomed accommodation with a division of one bed room and one small prayer room in case of 45.8 per cent households whereas 5-7 membered household had three roomed
accommodation and in case of 3 households, 8 members availed a four roomed accommodation. Except 6 households rest of the households shared a common water tap for drinking. For washing clothes and bathing the river water was the only source. No space for agriculture, even for kitchen garden, existed in the sample population.

DOLANJI

In the sample population 70 per cent households were availing surface area between 200-500 sq. feet approximately. The construction material of these households included brick and mud. Rest 30 per cent households reside in a surface area of more than 600 sq. ft. approximately. Brick and cement were used only by 20 per cent households and rest 10 per cent had houses made of stones and mud.

The incidence of 4 roomed accommodation with a division of 3 bed rooms, one prayer room and a separate kitchen for 7 membered household was observed in 45 per cent households and 10 per cent households had a division of 4 bed rooms, one prayer room with a separate kitchen meant for 9 members. In contrast, 5 per cent households comprising of 4 members lived in single room accommodation with no kitchen (Table 3:1).

Open air defaecation was practised by all of them. Water supply from single source through a pipe line was shared by most of the households excepting 2 who enjoyed separate water supply and electricity facility. Amongst
total households, 35 per cent maintained agriculture (wheat and maize), cattle and open space for kitchen garden. Overall structure of households at Dolanji settlement exhibited better socio-economic condition.

It can be concluded that except a small number, i.e. 5-10 percent of the sample population, rest had inadequate access to basic living facilities like electricity, drinking water, toilets around their house. Majority of the other households in all the settlements belonged to low socio-economic status except Dolanji, where comparatively better socio-economic condition prevailed. What was most significant in all the four settlements with respect to the above mentioned parameters was the poor state of hygiene, insufficient water supply, scarcity of living space, no electricity, lack of toilets facilities etc. Most of them complained about their deteriorating living standards. They felt that they lived better in Tibet but were unable to maintain the same comforts in India.

Traditional family structure, despite degenerating living conditions, has not undergone any fundamental change. Most of them said that the norms of patrilineage followed in Tibet were still being maintained in India. Economic stress has compelled them to live in nuclear-conjugal families but the parental authority was still respected. The role of father was not considered autocratic by any of them and they all talked about collective decisions which were taken
mostly on the basis of consensus. The structure of household, (if at all) has changed, not because of design but due to compulsion. Other cultural traits have been subjected to similar constraints.

Socio-Economic Condition

Depending upon the economic status of the family most of the households consisted of a set of prayer room and a bedroom. A separate drawing room was possessed by very few. Common furniture were maintained by them ranging between few chairs to well decorated beds having costly carpets on them.

The separate kitchen or a small kitchen space was usually congested with the utensils either hanging or kept in shelves. A hollow bamboo container with a stirrer for making Tibetan tea was commonly seen in the kitchen. The dried twigs of trees, fire wood or cow dung cakes were used as fuel in most of the households though the use of LPG cooking gas was also noticed in a few households.

Chinese potteries painted with traditional art, large sized flasks exhibit in the wooden almirahs were observed in the households having better economic condition. Prayer room was decorated with an altar having images or sculptures of the deities made of copper and other costly metals. The photograph of His Holiness the Dalai Lama was preserved on the altar along with the others deities in all
the households including the Bonpos. Multiple metal bowls filled with water, were placed in front of the deities. Instead of traditional butter lamp electric lamps were used on the alter as an alternative means. Traditional Tibetan Agarbati was preferred by all the Tibetans in India. The beds rooms are usually packed with tin trunks (large metal box), clothes, sewing machine and other usable things leaving little space for mobility.

In this context an important parameter i.e. the system of education that had its origin since the beginning of civilisation of the native Tibetans is being subjected to influences and inferences of modern scientific education needs detail analysis.
The origin of Tibetan language and writing holds a debatable issue. The ancient manuscripts and historical records talk about the (Mar script) of Zhangzhung (Western part of Tibet) as the original source of the Tibetan writing system. The Tibetans used (Mar script) presumably during and before the reign of King Nyatri Tsenpo (500 B.C) (Festival of Tibet 1990). Bon historical records mention that "During the reign of the twenty-eighth King, Lhatotori (4th century AD), the first Buddhist scriptures appeared in Tibet" (Batchelor, 1987). It can be added that the first King of Yarlung dynasty Songtsen Gampo (C. 527 - 650 A.D.) sent one of his ministers named Thon-mi-Sambhota in 632 AD to India who adapted Indian Sanskrit script. He modified and improved the Tibetan ancient grammatical rules and writing system to translate Buddhist literature (Festival of Tibet, 1990 and Zwalf 1981).

Traditional education (Roreich, 1976) was co-opted with the religious teachings of Buddhism. As per Buddhist philosophy, worldly wisdom evolves from unenlightened bodily senses which is represented as 'Samsaric' and other higher forms of wisdom was rooted from internal world of individual pertaining to 'nirvanic'. The essence of traditional education was intricated with spiritual devotion rather than wealth, fame and political expediency.

Education in Tibet was aimed to achieve life long
religious sub-ordination, man's deeds and goals to win over the internal, invisible truth, dedicating his whole life to achieve nirvana (Gyatsho, 1986). In Tibet the traditional system emphasised more on the written text. At the primary level, students were taught to read and write Tibetan language. Subsequently scriptures were memorised by heart, by the monks and the general students. At the advanced stage monks and other students participated in dialectical discussions with their teachers regularly. The same system was followed in examinations, which were held twice a month to evaluate the hand writing of the students followed by a grading system. The traditional educational system focused on philosophy and religion without incorporating any science subjects, which sufficed the needs of the Tibetans, as they were secluded from the rest of the world (Tibetans in Exile, 1959-1969). Tibetans had no experience of graded series of text books to instruct the students on the subjects of religion and traditional culture which constituted part of their traditional system of education (Nowak, 1984).

Educational system of Tibet was classified in the following divisions such as:

1. Tze or peak school
2. Yig-tsang or ecclesiastical school
3. Tzi-tr'ug-pa or administrative training school
4. Chag-po-ri or medical centre
5. Ae-pa-k'ang and the private schools of Lhasa (Dorjee, 1977).
As described by Dorjee common students were occasionally admitted to the peak school as it was basically meant for the government employees of monk cadre. Besides handwriting U-med, "Lanza (Gupta script), Wo-dr'u (Wo-dru), Hor (Hor) (Mongolian) and Ch'ag Lo-tza-wa (Chag Lo-tza-ba) scripts" (Dorjee, 1977) along with Tibetan orthography grammar, literature, ecclesiastical or temporal treatises were also taught. Conventional uniform worn by the students included, hand woven dress of red colour "(pu-t'ug mar-tso Ch'u-ba, pu-phrug dmar-tsos phyu-ba)". (Dorjee, 1977) a Mongolian type hat of red colour, Sog-Zha, boots Zon-pa and a separate pocket attached to the waist by a red belt to keep a pen. Subsequent Yig-tsang and Tzi-tr'ug-pa schools were established in Tibet to prepare the graduates Tze or peak school to serve in the administrative posts sanctioned by His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Chag-po-ri or medical centre which was situated on Lha-ri meaning abode hill of Chag-na Dor-je was established by His Holiness the Fifth Dalai Lama and would be described separately in the chapter of traditional Tibetan medicine. The residential private schools were mostly in Lhasa which accommodated desirous students. The admission function consisted of offering a scarf and gifts to the Principal. The teachers were regarded as the 'source of knowledge'. The inauguration of academic session was celebrated as an auspicious day with serving tea, bread, butter, sweetened.
rice, first to the teacher and then to the students. Routine life of the students used to start with the recitation of religious texts at 4.15 a.m. The classes with memorised recitations of grammar and spellings started at 8.30 a.m. with a lunch break and concluded at 7 p.m. with the evening prayer. In winter, the schedule of timings were from 4.45 a.m. to 6.30 p.m. Different styles and standards of Tibetan writing systems were taught in Schools maintaining a class system. The wooden slate commonly known as jang-shing was used in Tibet upon which handwriting was practised. The ink was used and for the jang shing was popularly known as ch'ur'k'u mug-tzi. In Tibet the ink was made either from milk or from a solution of burnt wheat. The colour used to be dark brown or black. Sometimes a little sugar was added in the solution to enhance its darkness. Other kind of ink which was made from a mixture of grinded roots of a tree with gum and sugar was employed on papers. Bamboo pens were written in capital letters of Tibetan scripts and for small letters thicker portion of bamboo as a pen si-nyug were used. A sharp knife served as a sharpner.

In Tibet higher studies had limited number of students who aspired for administrative jobs. Majority of the students left the school after five to six years of study which was then sufficient to maintain their daily living. Generally temporal and ecclesiastical aspects of knowledge was provided to the students. The system of promotion to a higher class and tuition fees did not exist.
Farewell ceremony was maintained by the teachers on the school-leaving day as a symbol of blessing to the departing students to build future lives of their own and was observed by offering Tibetan tea and sweetened rice to both the teachers and students. The practice of giving ceremonial scarf to the students was maintained by the teachers. Students with better economic background offered financial donations to their school (Dorjee, 1977).

The monks received elementary education in the well organised educational residential institutions commonly known as monasteries gon-pa. Universities also accommodated distinguished scholars from foreign lands and commoners. No restrictions for admission were maintained. Besides religious thought, culture, intellectual development of individual, literature, grammar, medicine, engraving, traditional art were also taught. Specialisation in magical rites and rituals related to the cure of ailments, to drive away the evil spirits and to control the supernatural forces were also taught to those monks who were interested in these dimensions. It was also disclosed that a group of monks were provided military training to serve the sentinel duties in the monasteries as well as national militia for the country. The publications of the monasteries were followed by the traditional block-print technique. Apart from few general schools the monasteries held the basic unit of providing education on general religious and vocational
ground (Stein, 1972). More than 3000 monasteries were scattered all over Tibet, with well-equipped and organised library at a pivotal position in the centres of learning. As a convention, full set of sacred Tibetan scriptures Kanjur and Tanjur were preserved in the library with a great variety of original books in Tibetology.

The examinations in the monasteries were conducted orally to test the knowledge of the candidates on Buddhist scriptures and philosophy. Proficiency in religious debate was also examined. As a rule all the monks including H.H. the Dalai Lama had to qualify in monastic examinations.

Changing Profile in Education

General information obtained from published materials on Tibetan education in India revealed that in all the Tibetan Schools, syllabus of Central Board of Secondary Education was followed. Basic medium of instruction was English, Tibetan and Hindi being taught as additional subjects with a division of primary and secondary education which constitutes Senior Secondary School '10+2' system. Beside the compulsory subject, students were encouraged to enroll in other curriculum including Tibetan music, dance, art, handicraft considered as extracurricular activities.

Introduction of modern class room instruction, series of textbooks to provide instruction about traditional
culture, history, religion in Tibetan language starting from primary school level exhibits a radical departure from the traditional educational system though it emphasised on retaining traditional mode of written language. Moreover modern education system promotes more intra-community cohesiveness and strengthens Tibetan identity among the youths in exile. The phonetic structure of the Tibetan dialect which is spoken in all schools and well understood by the Tibetans in exile, existed in Tibet during seventh and eighth centuries. Though it has evolved considerably but it retained the originality of U province (Central Tibet). Considering the regional differences, the Lhasa (Central Tibetan) dialect is commonly followed by all the immigrant Tibetans to retain their cultural identity.

Contemporary Status of Education

Since 1960 it was envisioned that both modern and traditional elements should be imparted to the students in a strict Tibetan environment through the medium of education. In framing the educational system, efforts were made to incorporate modern methods which would provide them a basic principle of modern education for sustenance in the foreign and dynamic world as well as to retain Tibetan identity based on religio-cultural traditions. With the traditional teaching of Tibetan language, philosophy, literature on religion and culture the students were being provided modern
education on professional subjects like medicine, technology, engineering, law and the other skills (Nowak, 1984) to promote a competitive attitude among the Tibetan youths.

To maintain Tibetan culture alive the Council for Tibetan Education which was one of the major Departments of His Holiness the Dalai Lama Government in Exile was established in 1960. In 1961 the Central Tibetan Schools Administration was evolved with the collaboration of the Ministry of Education of the Government of India. First seven residential schools were established by the Tibetan Schools Society to accommodate the immigrant children whose parents were engaged in work on roadside construction, or were too destitute to provide proper maintenance to their children. Many of them were scattered and settled in different parts of India (Annexure IIIA & IIIB). Later on, day schools were also established.

It was reported that H.H. the Dalai Lama and his subordinates took the initiative to take care of the orphans and destitute children who had survived. To promote the education of the torch bearer of traditional culture and ethnic unity the first school was established in Mussoorie, Uttar Pradesh in the month of March, 1960 and a nursery which later on became the Tibetan Children's Village in Dharamsala in 1963 the Tibetan Homes Foundation in Mussoorie was the models for others.

In addition, there was a provision for enrolment in
Indian or foreign Universities for higher studies. In 1969, an institute was established in Varanasi, North India for higher Tibetan studies. To encourage research work, Library for Tibetan Works and Archives was established in Dharamsala in 1971 to utilise Tibetan manuscripts, literature as a source for research materials. A Tibetan Medical Institute was also established in Dharamsala to train the students in traditional Tibetan medicine (Michael, 1986).

These were implemented energetically to ensure the continuous viability of Tibetan culture and promote various aspects of traditional Tibetan ideology. An attempt was also made at the same time to incorporate new ideas and enculturate thought process which make the system competent enough to combat with emerging problems.

In present study, increasing trend of literacy was observed among the Tibetan youths in India (Table 3:2). One can justifiably interpret this change to the fact that since the very first year of migration to India, top priority was provided to the educational system of the younger generation for achieving various interrelated goals. It was found that the Tibetans above 30 years of age have learnt colloquial English or Hindi and other regional languages to communicate with the non-Tibetans especially for trade, occupational needs and daily necessities.

In Dharamsala, in few cases both the sexes acquired
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Population below 30 years of age</th>
<th>Population above 30 years of age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Lit.%</td>
<td>Male Lit.%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharamsala</td>
<td>71.42%</td>
<td>73.69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulu</td>
<td>81.81%</td>
<td>88.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manali</td>
<td>84.1%</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolanji</td>
<td>91.93%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lit. = Literacy
higher education. After completion of graduation from Indian colleges they were engaged in the jobs either in the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives or in the office of Youth Congress. Some of them had completed postgraduation and learnt foreign language and were planning to go abroad for better employment opportunities. Few were continuing postgraduation through correspondence courses in Indian University along with their jobs. The commonly preferred subject is English. As commented by Tibetan youths the necessity for education was basically for a better job facility which did not exist in Tibet.

The change in literacy status amongst immigrant Tibetans before and after Chinese invasion is projected in (Table3:2). Primary information as collected from the sample population revealed that each household comprised of minimum four to five children. Parents were mostly engaged in making both ends meet and they could hardly spare time to look after their children. As a convention all the parents desired to send their children at the age of 6 either to school or to monastery where besides education other basic facilities were available for the children.

Monastic Education

It was observed that two groups of students of different age groups were the inmates of the monastery. Children below 15 years of age were mostly either orphans or the children of destitutes parents. Generally after
completion of initial education up to middle school level the children got admission in monastery but the orphans and poor children are accommodated at an early stage where besides religious text and Tibetan language they were taught English, Mathematics, Science, Hindi and other compulsory subjects. After completion of the schooling they had option either to serve the monastery or to start their own livelihood.

Those belonging to age group of 17 to 40 years and who decided to be a monk for the rest of the life, need to take the vows of monkhood as a norm. They continued their further studies on astronomy, medicine, Tibetan grammar, traditional art, painting, art of making stupas, mandalas along with lessons in Buddhist, philosophy. Exception was observed in Bonpo monastery, where the monks were taught Bonpo religions texts instead of Buddhist philosophy as a convention. The duration of stay was minimum eight years and at the end of it the monks achieved highest degree known as Geshe degree after qualifying the traditional examination.

It was stated that the qualified monks (Geshe holders) could either join other monasteries or could take up profession like teaching or serve the same monastery. The monks of Bonpo monastery at Dolanji informed that they were allowed to join other branches of Bonpo monastery elsewhere in India or in neighbouring countries e.g. Nepal. In fact a
good number of Bonpos had joined other Bonpo monasteries in Pokhar area of Nepal, Sikkim and Dehradun (UP) etc.

Emerging Scenario of Education in Exile

The study carried out in four settlements of Himachal Pradesh revealed a low literacy status among the immigrant Tibetans who were born in Tibet i.e. before Chinese invasion (Table 3:2). Attributable cause lies in the fact that Tibet was secluded from rest of the world for several centuries. Tibetans there, were more busy in earning their livelihood rather than spending time on educating themselves. Majority of them were engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry where education played no significant role. Except for the monasteries no formal schooling system existed.

Contrarily, In India attraction for the schools exists as they provide free text books, exercise books, stationary items, medical facilities for minor ailments. Mid-day meals are also offered in day schools from the allotted fund of Central Tibetan School Administration through the organisation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, New Delhi. Nominal 0.50 paise is charged from all the students to provide all the amenities. Besides sports and physical developments, the students are encouraged to do gardening, and asked to develop kitchen gardens (Table 3:3).

As an incentive to pursue higher studies, the
TABLE 3: FORMAL EDUCATION STATUS OF SAMPLE POPULATION

<table>
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<th>Age group</th>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Primary School</th>
<th>Middle School</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 6 yrs</td>
<td>Dharamsala</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kulu</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manali</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dolanji</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 yrs</td>
<td>Dharamsala</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manali</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dolanji</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20 yrs</td>
<td>Dharamsala</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kulu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manali</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dolanji</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30 yrs</td>
<td>Dharamsala</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kulu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manali</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dolanji</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40 yrs</td>
<td>Dharamsala</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kulu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manali</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dolanji</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SETTLEMENT</td>
<td>Dharamsala</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kulu</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WISE TOTAL</td>
<td>Manali</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dolanji</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Central Tibetan School Administration provide 15 scholarships which includes total maintenance expenditure inclusive of food, clothes, stationary, books etc. A provision for postgraduation and vocational training is also maintained by Council for Tibetan Education, Tibetan Children's Village and Tibetan Homes Foundation. In addition, Tibetan students are provided reserved seats in the professional spheres as sanctioned by the Ministry of Education, Government of India (Tibetan Education: 25 years in Exile 1960-1984).

The concluding interpretation go far beyond the potential key symbols regarding transmission of traditional values. The opinion and comments of younger generation and the officials of the Council for Tibetan Education highlight the relation of ideological explanation of the Tibetan Buddhist doctrine with education. As perceived by them education could provide rationalism with contentment and renunciation which would eliminate the sufferings of individuals and the superstition with appropriate religious connotations. The addition of mandatory cocurricular activity as well as the vocational orientation as implemented in the formal schooling would be associated with economic and practical concern for livelihood of the students after completion of their high school.

To keep alive the tradition and traditional culture in the educational system the school students are taught the essential teachings of Lord Buddha which encouraged humanism
not only for the Tibetans but for the whole world. The traditional system of education for its sustenance has accepted international funding. The implementation of international consciousness in Tibetan educational system has established since their migration to India. Many children in the Tibetan schools are availing foreign sponsorship toward their education through regular correspondence. The contacts with relief agencies, volunteers and other foreign administrative pursuits foster a global consciousness, transcending both ethnic and national boundaries among the youths.
ECONOMY IN THE TIBETAN SOCIETY

Traditional:

Available literature suggest that the basic structure of Tibetan society exhibits five major divisions, namely, nobles or aristocrates, clergy, traders, herders and peasants.

Historical records reveal that the land was owned by the state which provides a large section to the nobles or aristocrates and to monasteries. A system of obligation connected with land tenure was prevalent. The revenues, either in kinds or by service, were returned by the nobles to the state. As a rule the nobles served as officials to the government. Gradually they acquired rights on the property and consequently these rights became hereditary. They could also maintain certain properties, obtained from other landlords. It was mentioned that the monasteries owned larger properties than the nobles. The revenues were returned by the monastic authority for performing prayers and rites for the welfare of the state.

The peasants and tenants who had to cultivate the granted farmland of nobles or aristocrates and monasteries might hold a stretch of land as a support of their own households. They rendered their service to the noble landlords either in kind or made available the services of a member of their households to the landlords. The other members of the peasant households were free to run their own business or to undertake any other job. There were
peasants on the large estates who availed small amount of land directly from the government. Considering the merits and demerits of the ancient social system, contemporary, H.H. the Dalai Lama and his advisors (Tibetan Cabinet) planned to reform Tibetan economy before 1959 though it was not possible to implement it due to Chinese invasion in Tibet.

Tibetan monastic economy was enriched with its enormous property which was used for the upliftment of monasteries and the respective inmates. It was reported that (Harrer, 1956) the monasteries availed the offerings from the followers and governments which include yaks, sheep, goats, silver coins, butter, statues, icons, relics, lumps of gold, silver, costly metals, precious stones, gems and others. This wealth did not serve the needs of common Tibetans except a grant for occasional loans and advances.

The majority of the common people, mi-sers, in town or urban areas were involved with the trade caravans to maintain a link between rural-urban set ups, steppe nomads and agricultural communities. Beyond these it helped the Tibetans to communicate with other Himalayan countries especially with India and China (Michael, 1986).

Generally the traders and private entreprenuers the economically active groups in town were designated as tsong-pa in the villages and in nomadic arena they were called tral-pa, and du-chung respectively. It was reported
that tral-pa constituted more than half of the rural population. As an obligation these groups of people render their service to the monastic authority, aristocrats and the estates belonging to the government by cultivating their land and tending their herds. In return for their services they were allowed to stay in the communities. The sons of tral-pa inherited their own land from father in succession but the restriction of selling their land was imposed on them.

The du-chung were the landless labourers and mostly they preferred business such as trade or transport. They moved frequently and participated in other economic pursuits. The existence of numerically same number of du-chung were observed in town or urban areas also (Michael, 1986).

On the basis of lease system the land was offered to the landless labourers by the beneficiaries. Due to some unrecorded reason the population growth in Tibet during this period was static. There was surplus land available and therefore there was no conflict between the various segments of population over land resources. The people in Tibet was by and large self-contained.

In the Tibetan society the conception of caste did not exist. The society was organised on the religion norms and beliefs and they followed the philosophy of 'Karma' (Michael, 1986).

Tibet being one of the highest plateau of the world
with high altitude, rugged terrain and large tracts of land was absolutely unfavourable for cultivation. In certain regions annual crops could be grown, especially in the river valleys, which include barley as the main crop with an occasional crop of rice and wheat. Seasonal fruits for example apple, peach, apricot, walnut, pear, grapes and among vegetables tomatoes, potatoes, onions, raddish, mushrooms deserve mention specially in places where water for irrigation was available. Mustard, maize, beans were also grown in small quantity. Yak, dzo (cross breed of Indian cow and Tibetan bull) were the cattle for in Tibet. Meat and wool were procured from animals like sheep, yaks, dzomo (hybrid of female yak and bull) and dri (female yak).

The available literature highlight that Tibet was very rich in mineral resources which include a wealth of both ferrous and non-ferrous metals, as well as non-metallic deposits. The various reports highlight the availability of iron, magnesium, chromium, coal, arsenic, vitriol, borax, graphite, azurite, crystal, sulphur, mica, barite and talcum. Apart from these, the biggest copper mine in Asia lies buried in Tibet (Tibetan Review, 1989). But it was not exploited for commercial purpose due to the fear of supernatural forces. Tibetan economy was based on raw materials and indigenous leather goods and wood products which were their own resources to be used for their staple food, woollen clothes, making shoes and tents. Animal bones
were used for making musical instruments. Tibetans exported excess goods to India and other neighbouring countries and imported inadequately available materials like brick tea, porcelain, silk, iron, copper, cotton, textiles, rice, sugar and other requirements either from China, Nepal or India (Richardson, 1962).

Some studies have reported that due to lack of organisation, trading was not very successful in Tibet. Though agriculture and animal husbandry was the primary and staple modes of occupation the existence of secondary and ancillary occupations like trading agro-industrial commodities such as carpet weaving, carpentry, forestry, hunting, service, leather craftsmanship were common. Beside these, jewellers, blacksmiths, fortune forecasting, magic, indigenous healers also did exist in Tibet.

Tibetan art and craft survived through trade and industry with a creation of relics like prayer wheels, rosaries, idols, portable images, statues, chortens, thankas (Tibetan painting), butter lamps, prayer cylinders, mani stones, musical instruments, khata (ceremonial scarf) etc.

Tibetans practised barter in business transaction though national currency existed in Tibet. In Tibetan society, men and women folk actively participated in economic pursuit of special mention in this sphere was that majority of Tibetan women were engaged in small retail business. They managed family business and shops whereas long, arduous journeys for the sake of commercial dealings
were served by the menfolk (Moraes, 1966).

With a review of traditional economic pattern the focus would be on the quantum of change on respective attributes which are gradually coming up among the immigrant Tibetans in India.

Changing Pattern of Economy

In the host country the immigrant Tibetans were rehabilitated by Government of India. They were being provided small land holding. Traditional land tenure system was not applicable in this situation so the conventional status hierarchy did not exist in the contemporary Tibetan society in India.

The economic pattern, as manifested (Annexure IIIC) focused that majority of the people of the sample population were now engaged in business or administrative services (either in Tibetan local polity or offices of Government of India). A small percentage practised agriculture but that did not constitute the sole of source of economy. A tiny proportion of the entire sample population had been absorbed in the security service and quite a few had been engaged in road construction work. Common sight was that Tibetan men, women and even children moved frequently all over India and had established a strong hold on the woollen garment distribution agencies. In winter they moved almost to every town in the plains to sell both superior and economical
quality knitwear which they purchased from Ludhiana (Punjab) at factory price. Their business ran either by hawking or through temporary stalls. Shops were even hired for better display.

Catering and restaurants business were popular among them especially in tourist spots for serving delicious traditional Tibetan and Chinese cuisine. Tibetan female folk also participated in these establishments. The traditional trend of participation of women in business was maintained by them even in the Indian situation.

Rehabilitation schemes which were carried out by the Government of India since 1959, facilitated the immigrant Tibetans initially with road-side work. Gradually they got settled in different settlements and selected different types of occupation to fulfill their basic needs.

From (Annexure IIIC) it can be inferred that Dharamsala being the seat of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, a significant number of immigrant Tibetans (44.72%) were employed in various official jobs including administrative jobs. Other types of occupation like small business of woollen garments, traditional carpets weaving, handicrafts were reported by 55.28 percent.

Small road side stalls of woollen garments, imitation jewelleries etc. were managed by a significant number of Tibetans (both male and female) in Kulu (91.66%) and in Manali (94.44%) which attract a large number of tourists.
## INCOME PATTERN OF HOUSEHOLDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlements</th>
<th>Total Households</th>
<th>Less than Rs. 200 pm</th>
<th>Rs. 200 to Rs. 600 pm</th>
<th>Rs. 600 to Rs. 1000 pm</th>
<th>Rs. 1000 to Rs. 1500 pm</th>
<th>Rs. 1500 to Rs. 2000 pm</th>
<th>Rs. 2000 to Rs. 3000 pm</th>
<th>Rs. 3000 to Rs. 4000 pm</th>
<th>Rs. 4000 pm and above</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DHARAMSALA</td>
<td>(160)</td>
<td>21 (13.12%)</td>
<td>96 (60%)</td>
<td>27 (16.87%)</td>
<td>8 (5%)</td>
<td>5 (3.12%)</td>
<td>3 (1.87%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KULU</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANALI</td>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8 (80%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOLANJII</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total Households**

- DHARAMSALA: 160
- KULU: 20
- MANALI: 24
- DOLANJII: 20
It was significant to note that illiterates of both the sexes (33.33%) in Kulu and (44.44%) in Manali run business along with literates. The study revealed that a significant number of people (7.7%) were also engaged in agriculture at Dolanji near Solan though business of woollen garments is their prime occupation (Annexure IIIC).

Monthly household income as declared by the immigrant Tibetans was in the range less than of Rs. 200/- to 4000/-. Highest range of income was reported in 3 households where the members (male and female) both are high ranking officials in Dharamsala (Table 3:4). General income trend as declared by the respondents from all the settlements was in the range of Rs. 201 to Rs. 1000 per month. However, there seemed to be a disparity in the income mentioned by the respondent vis-a-vis apparent standards of living. The investigator at times felt that the respondents were not disclosing their actual earnings. Expensive electrical amenities, clothes etc, in the house certainly did not support their claim of a monthly income as mentioned above.

Emerging Scenario in Economy

It may be concluded that business is the common means of livelihood adopted by majority of the sample. The reasons that are framed through the findings the comments include certain criteria as mentioned below:
Except Dolanji, the agricultural land is not available to the sample population. So there is no alternative to trade and business as primary occupation. The location of sample sites, except Dolanji, are on a highway or near tourist spots and hence is congenial for running business. Beside these, it is easy for them to start with a small investment in the enterprise considering their contemporary socio-economic condition.

In addition business is an independent means of earning one's own livelihood where literacy is not a demanding pre-requisite. The responses highlight that it is difficult for them to join in any official job because of their different nationality and language and problem of illiteracy specially amongst the elderly folk. The mobile business of woollen garments do not usually require any licence or permission. Secondly, most of these businesses are carried out beyond the perview of taxable income or establishment cost.

It is reported that monastic life exhibit significant change in the host country, apart from studies and religious services. Though as a convention monastic authority receive donation in cash or in kind either from common people or from foreign agencies. Monks earn money from Tibetan communities for the practise of rituals and rites through the monastic authority. Apart from these services, monk and nuns render their service either through
cultivation of the alloted land of the monastery for their livelihood or through traditional crafts and arts (Michael, 1986).

Over the years if cultural practices have undergone change the basic institutions of Tibetan community that now resides in India have also been subjected to enforced changes. The traditional economic structure that existed in Tibet during the pre-migration phase is eroded for all practical purposes.

The traditional economic base of migrant Tibetans in India is being gradually replaced by business and service sector. Tibetans have failed to become an integral part of peasantry in the country. Agriculture has been reduced to a mere symbolic holding on to the land. This is primarily due to small land holdings which have been granted to them on compensatory grants. Secondly agricultural production is so meagre that it cannot even sustain small families. Trading which comes naturally to Tibetans has been taken up as a major economic pursuit. Thereby second hand or rejected hoisery, woollen garments, goods and imitation stones from industrial township like Ludhiana are sold by them to gullible tourists who purchase them, sometimes in the name of imported goods. A sizeable section of Tibetan population has consequently acquired wealth and prosperity which in traditional economy may have eluded them.

In this context a common parameter is the established eating habit of the individual which needs to be
highlighted with the changing economic base. It is commonly said that an individual might find it easy to adapt a changing economic structure, dress style, jewellery and other popular traditions but it is extremely difficult to change habits of the palate. Tibetans since their migration to India have been striving hard to preserve the distinctive food and food habit in India.
FOOD AND DRINKS

Tibetans, in Tibet, had no superstition about their food - they might eat anything prepared by anyone and in any company without any prejudice. They preferred meat, beef, mutton, ham, muskdeer, some large birds excellent to eat, fish, egg, rice, barley and vegetables like turnips, peas and few others, fruits, milk, butter, cheese. The staple food of the Tibetans was champa, (a flour of ground parched barley) mixed with a little water or hot tea, into very small bowls together with meat. On travelling and visiting friends Tibetans prefer not to carry raw dried meat but they carry small bags of champa. They used to pour champa into a bowl of soup or tea. It was also offered to the guest. Generally the housewives were specialised in the art of making dough from the flour. In this regard Bell (1928) mentioned that a sheep killed in October and dried in whole carcases and then cut into strips. It used to be dried up so that it can be preserved for a long time for future use.

Tibetans were fond of sweets made with whippen flour, sugar, apples and butter. At lunch, dinner and supper they usually consumed Thukpa (a kind of soup) with small beads of meat, noodles, butter, various kinds of spices and sometimes with rice, flour, or barley flour (Filippi, 1971).

All drink tea many times a day prepared with a
little water and some putoa (a white powder of salt earth) and butter, which made the tea coloured rather than imparting any taste to the tea, resembling good red wine. The tea used to be boiled until the water got reduced and then more water, yellow butter and little salt were put after straining and again put to boil. It was customary to offer tea by putting it in another clean receptacle and distribute in a wooden tea pot ornamented with sprigs of copper and brass or silver according to the wealth of the household. Sometimes few beads of melted butter were put in with some chura (a form of grated cheese), sometimes little barley powder was added in it to prepare the staple food. It might be noted that the use of tea in Tibet became universal in 13th century under the King Phagpa of the Sakya dynasty.

Another common drink was a kind of beer called Chang. This was made of parched barley put into a large cauldron with water and boiled till the water evaporates. Then the barley used to be spread out in clothes and a kind of yeast in small balls, crushed into powder, was sprinkled over it. The whole mixture formed a heap, was covered over with clothes and blankets and laid until fermentation began. The barley was then put into large earthen jar, the mouth being well clothed about 10-15 days with skin and rags so that no air can get in it: The fermented extracts looked like clear yellow oil as the essence of the body. This
decoction was so strong that equal amount of water was added and the jar was again sealed for a few days for further fermentation. Lastly the drink was put into other jar and diluted with water according to taste (Bell, 1924 and Combe, 1926).

**Changing Milieu**

**Dharamsala**

All the households consumed non vegetarian food which includes egg, meat, chicken, pork along with others during festive occasions. All of them felt that consumption of rice has increased in India as it is available in abundance. The practice of having traditional food *Champa* i.e. roasted barley regularly as a staple food was common to all. Traditional food *Thukpa* i.e. a soup of noodles and vegetables or meat was consumed by them at dinner. In all, common cooking medium was mustard oil. Boiled food with minimum spices was mostly preferred.

The habit of taking Tibetan tea (salted tea with butter) has come down whereas drinking Indian (sweet) tea was prevalent among 88.75 per cent members of the households. In Tibet regular consumption of milk and moderate amount of butter was common to 76.87 per cent households. After migration to India only 8.1 percent can afford to provide only milk regularly to their children (Table 3:5).

As confessed by all the respondents, in Tibet
### Food Habit Amongst Immigrants

#### Table 3:5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Dharamsala 160 Households</th>
<th>Kulu 10 Households</th>
<th>Manali 24 Households</th>
<th>Dolanji 20 Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tibet</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Tibet</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Tibet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>160 (100%)</td>
<td>160 (110%)</td>
<td>10 (100%)</td>
<td>24 (110%)</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>64 (40%)</td>
<td>104 (65%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>160 (100%)</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>10 (100%)</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>24 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>160 (100%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruits (Moderate)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24 (15%)</td>
<td>4 (40%)</td>
<td>10 (100%)</td>
<td>4 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roots &amp; Tubers</td>
<td>72 (45%)</td>
<td>113 (70.62%)</td>
<td>6 (60%)</td>
<td>24 (100%)</td>
<td>12 (60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustard Oil</td>
<td>103 (64.37%)</td>
<td>152 (95%)</td>
<td>2 (20%)</td>
<td>9 (90%)</td>
<td>18 (90%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Champa</td>
<td>160 (100%)</td>
<td>160 (100%)</td>
<td>10 (100%)</td>
<td>24 (100%)</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan Tea</td>
<td>160 (100%)</td>
<td>18 (11.25%)</td>
<td>10 (100%)</td>
<td>24 (100%)</td>
<td>12 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Tea</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>142 (88.75%)</td>
<td>8 (80%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk (Regular)</td>
<td>123 (76.87%)</td>
<td>13 (8.1%)</td>
<td>7 (70%)</td>
<td>2 (20%)</td>
<td>18 (75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang</td>
<td>151 (94.37%)</td>
<td>15 (9.37%)</td>
<td>10 (100%)</td>
<td>4 (40%)</td>
<td>22 (91.66%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
regular consumption of Chang by both the sexes was popular (94.37%). In India, regular consumption of Chang was found only by the male folk in 15 households (9.37%) and by females in 9 households (5.62%). During festivals both the sexes consumed Chang with dance and song. Indian made foreign liquor was also purchased by 73.8 percent household during festivals. Addiction to snuff and cigarette smoking by male folk was observed in 14 households only.

Kulu

As per available information all were non-vegetarian in Tibet. Information highlighted that the consumption of vegetables had increased in India in contrast to what was rare in Tibet. In the settlement the respondents declared that rice is a new addition to their traditional staple food i.e. Champa, wheat and maize, though it was consumed occasionally by them. All the respondents relish common Indian cuisine such as 'dal', 'roti' (i.e. pan baked bread) etc. Use of mustard oil as cooking medium was practised by all the households.

It was significant to note that in spite of hot climate in India 80 percent households consumed Indian tea and 20 percent households only preferred Tibetan tea. It was expressed that only 20 percent respondents could afford to buy milk regularly from the market for their children. In 40 percent households only the male folk consumed Chang regularly and during festives 82 percent households consumed
either home-made brew or Indian made foreign liquor with casual participation by female folk also (Table 3:5).

Manali

In Tibet, all the households were non-vegetarian whereas in India most of the members of households declared that the non-vegetarian food was consumed by them only during festivals and occasion. Moderate amount of vegetables, roots, tubers were consumed by all of them in India. Traditional habit of taking Champa along with wheat as staple food was common to all of them. All the respondents affirmed the use of mustard oil as the cooking medium in India. In Tibet they used butter, for the preparation of traditional dishes.

It was significant to note that 50 percent members of the households consume Tibetan tea inspite of comparative hot climate in India though they had started taking Indian tea also. Milk was purchased for the children only in 16.66 percent households (Table 3:5).

In the sample population as declared by the respondents 16.66 percent female folk regularly participate with the male folk in drinking Chang in the evening. Indian made foreign liquor was purchased by 16.66 percent households only during festive also (Table 3:5).

Dolanji

In the sample population, most of the households mentioned that they were strictly non-vegetarian in Tibet
whereas in India 80 percent of them usually consumed vegetables in moderate amount along with roots, tubers and seasonal fruits. In contrast to Tibet where wheat and Champa (roasted barely), was the staple diet, the consumption of rice, though occasionally, was a new addition to their diet. Regular consumption of milk was found in only 30 percent households. Milk powder was commonly used for the preparation of tea. Forty percent of the households confessed about occasional consumption of home-made alcoholic beverage Chang. During festivals, marriage etc. all the members irrespective of being male or female enjoyed alcoholic drinks together, at times consumed Indian made foreign liquor also (Table 3:5).

Emerging Scenario of Food and Drinking Habit

Information from all the four settlements highlight a significant change in food and drinking habit amongst the immigrant Tibetans, acceptance of vegetarian diet being one of them. Change of climate, availability of eatables and socio-economic condition may be the contributory factors. Consumption of rice, wheat and pulses (dal) is common to all of them as their staple food, though consumption of rice is comparatively less than the other items. In Tibet probably due to cold climate they were not habituated to intake of rice. Secondly rice was not easily grown in Tibet. Instead of butter, butter oil or fat, the immigrant Tibetans prefer
only, boiled food with minimum spices in India, mustard oil being used by them only, for the preparation of special dishes.

It is significant to mention that Thukpa (a soup of noodles with vegetables or pieces of meat, Momo (stuffed and baked dough of flour) are now served to maintain and relish traditional cherished dishes and are frequently consumed by affluent section of the population. However during festivities the customary habit of having the traditional food is still maintained. As claimed, the habit of preserving food for a long period of time and consumption of dehydrated raw meat is strictly avoided by them in India because of possible health hazard. Concepts of 'hot' and 'cold' food, contaminated food, exist among the immigrant Tibetans which will be discussed in chapters IV. Moreover, the Tibetan tea is preferred mostly by the older generation inspite of hot climate in India. Use of milk powder instead of milk deserve mention. They can hardly afford milk even for their children.

Traditional habit of taking home made alcoholic drink persists irrespective of sexes and socio economic status though it is restricted for economic, environmental and legal reasons. The consumption of Chang during festive occasion in India depicts a symbol of their ethnicity. However the inclination to western liquor is an emerging trend amongst those who drink regularly. There is an increasing trend of smoking amongst youngsters also.
TRADITIONAL DRESS AND JEWELLERY

Another characteristic of community adherence is traditional dress style. Migrant communities are often under enormous pressure to re-orient their dress styles. Sometimes this becomes compulsory due to climatic variation, on others it is accepted as an intermingling attribute. There are distinctive patterns in this adaptable behaviour. The migrant Tibetans belonging to the first generation are quite averse to the idea of changing their traditional mode of dress. The younger ones with those broader outlook took to Western style of dressing easily. There are hardly any instances of Tibetan women wearing traditional Indian dress style particularly 'Sarees' and men wearing 'Dhoti', 'Kurta'. This can be explained by observation made by various scholars about the secular trends, commonly observed amongst the original inhabitants of Tibet. Culturally specific dress style other than their own are rarely accepted by the traditional communities. More commonly prevalent modes of dress regarded as more universal are much easier to accept.

Dress

As mentioned by various travellers the dress of the Tibetans showed ecclesiastical and secular clothing with a variety and splendour. The variations in the texture of dress and quality of jewellery expressed status symbol of an
individual in the society. The apostolic simplicity used to identify Buddhist ideals. In contrast wealthier or higher clergy or dignitaries wore far better garments. The speciality in the garments was exhibited by the religious dancers, exorcists and oracle practitioners. Usually they wore the finest silk. The formal dress of noblemen and officials was much more expensive.

The common people did not shave their heads but they took care of their hair. Mushroom shaped hat was used by them (Lhasa, Shigaste), long threads were hung from the top like hair over the crown. They occasionally wore a cap resembling the crown, with a lappet on the either side, which in cold weather was let down to shield the ears and neck. During special occasion, monks wore coloured pointed monk hats. According to their sect, hats were red (worn by the followers of the older religious schools) or yellow (used by the followers of Tsong-Kha-pa i.e. Gelugpa sect). The variation in the type of hats used to distinguished rank, educational status, sect and occasion (Waddell, 1895). Tucci also supports this statement. (Zwalf, 1981).

Men and women wore long-sleeved, loose cloak type woollen garment Chu-pa without buttons but overlapped and fastened by a girdle. They were very wide and were used with large pocket extending from the shoulder to below the right arm, meant for keeping food, tea bowl, and other necessaries. The colour and material of the traditional
garment, Chu-pa varied widely; village folk and nomads wore shorter dress than urbanites. Women preferred longer appurals than men. In addition, the sedentary folk and economically better off persons wore shirts, trousers, waist coats and jackets. Jackets and overcoats were made of fine wool with tiny curls. Though mostly male folk preferred white clothes but coloured clothes either flowered on stripped in various fashion were also worn. Their trousers were of medium thickness with a broad waist band round the waist and sides to reach down to the heels. They were not sewn on the sides but were wrapped round the calf by a string. They did not use stockings but their boots were long enough to reach the knees.

The women generally wore woollen gowns. The gown was topped by the apron of silk, striped with different colours and it was tied at the waist. They used sleeveless shirt over which a silk or woollen ornamented jacket with sleeves was worn. Over all, a cloak covered them from shoulders nearly to the knees.

It was noted that the indigenous woollen clothes were woven by craftsmen. The ordinary clothes for regular use were made at home. The thread was supplied by the farmers and their wives. Tailors' services were required for traditional custumes used for festive occasions. The boots were made at home in the villages from the thread of farm-grown jute or from the leather of slaughtered cattle (performed by professional brutchers) or they brought
the leather from the market. The existence of various craftsmen in terms of the cobbler, the carpenter and the potter were reported who used to supply essential commodities to the villagers.

**Jewellery**

Tibetan men and women were attached to personal adornment though it did not include a purely ornamental representation. The dress of women were decent and modest as an expression of profound concern with fashion and display of ornaments covering almost entire body. Exuberance of colour and splendour of textiles, precious, metals engraved with precious and semi-precious stones, a variety of materials inlaying with applique designs use to exhibit the differences on the same object which was used by the Tibetans of both sex. Women wore earrings of coral, pearls, of small coloured stones, several necklaces. Sometimes they used necklaces made of corals, pearls or coloured stones. A few preferred to put on large and heavy yellow amber beads.

Old women however did not always wear a hat with golden ornaments but they used a kind of oval gold frame like a tiara above their eyebrows ornamented with emeralds, lapis lazuli (Fillipi, 1971) or turquoses. Their hats were very light made of thin wood. Mostly they were varnished inside and covered outside with beads arranged in pretty patterns on the top fixed with gold ornament and a set of
few coloured stones. The entire body of women used to glitter with a colour except their bare feet which was always covered by boots either too big or too small, (Duncan, 1964) to avoid blistering from stiff and rugged land.

Men preferred fewer ornaments than women. An amulet box hung round their necks or from the shoulder strap during journey. Earrings of silver or gold ornamented with coral or turquoises, was usually worn by the men, especially when they were in full dress.

Everybody wore a rosary round their necks made of certain yellow wood coming from China. From the shoulder strap hangs a square reliquary about two fingers wide which crosses the chest. It was usually made of red copper ornamented with sprigs of yellow brass in which the relics were placed. They also kept gold or silver coins, writing paper and sundries. From the girdle hung various objects like a small copper, inkstand in a gilt leather case and a cylindrical steel box in which they kept pens, made of rather thick stems of bamboo and a very sharp Tibetan knife in a sheath. They also had a bag of gilt leather containing extra writing papers, needles, awl for mending boots or the harness of the horses and mules and a sharp curved spike for undoing knots.

Changing Milieu

On personal observation a clear distinction in the
garments of the younger and older generation was noticed in all the settlements. Except for a tiny population which includes sedentary old persons, rest of the male folk had resorted to modern dress like pants and shirts. In winter they wore woollen pullovers, jackets as available in India. Occasionally few of them would use a coat. Though there was no specific distinction in the type of garments among the Tibetans of better economic condition and common people but the texture and cost of the garments exhibited the difference amongst them. The monks maintained their indigenous dress in the classical maroon and yellow robes. It was a rare chance to see a small child of 5 years dressed in the traditional monastic costume with shaved head walking hand in hand with his elder fellows, observing all the things around him with childish curiosity. All passerbys looked at him with affection and sense of dignity.

A significant change was observed in the dress of female folk. Females, mostly who go to school, prefer to wear jean pants, loose shirts, skirts and fancy shoes. The use of imitation jewelleries like small eartops, finger-rings were common. Instead of original turquoise which was prevalent in Tibet as a symbol of fortune the Tibetans of both the sexes used turquoise either original or imitation as a traditional representation of good luck. Female youths preferred colourful hair bands or hair clips according to their choice. The married women maintained their marriage

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symbol by putting on an apron on their traditional type long
gown made of cotton. A full sleeve cotton blouse, generally, was used in addition. The texture and cost of
their dress material including the variation in the design of apron exhibit their contemporary economic condition. It
was not uncommon to see a women having 3-4 rings (ears and fingers) with stones. Though it was not very prominent
amongst the women who hold high administrative positions especially in Tibetan Government in exile. Overall
impression on the garments of both the sexes including the monks revealed that they had limited number of clothes
whether traditional or modern. The fashion of wearing traditional shoes were observed among few old couples in
Dharamsala. In Dolanji settlement, traditional heavy and big size boots, made of leather, was quite common among the
monks including the Abbot of the Bonpo monastery.

It could be concluded that the change in dress as mentioned above was natural in the host country where they had spent more than three decades. Those changes could be correlated with certain specific factors like climate, economic condition, exposure to the modern world moreover the non-availability of traditional dress materials.

In contrast, the maintenance of traditional dress especially by the married women and the monks as a convention exhibited their strong desire to sustain tradition despite challenges posed by modernisation.

Narrated as above one affirms that the native
Tibetans in India are being subjected to influences of modernisation. The Tibetan education, economy, food habit and dress style or one may say the Tibetan Society is essentially woven around the normative construct of traditional Tibetan ideologies. The migrant Tibetans since their migration to India are striving hard to preserve their traditional religious institution in India as an ethnic identity. The two distinctive strains of religious practices identified in the sample population are Bon and Buddhism.
RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION IN TIBET

Religion poses a core of Tibetan culture and is saturated in all socio-cultural institutions of the Tibetans. Therefore, the religious institution exhibits great importance in the profile of traditional Tibetan culture.

As mentioned earlier, with the historical upheavals the religion in Tibet underwent through a turmoil situation for years. Almost all the renowned Tibetologists, explorers have disclosed that there was an indigenous religious tradition in Tibet. Prior to the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet the existence of animistic faith intermingled with magical rites, customs and beliefs to constitute an early pre-Buddhist religion. In the 7th and 8th centuries Buddhism reached Tibet from India and flourished with popular beliefs and practices among the Tibetans. The early religion was in a process of gradual transformation without losing its distinct indigenous characteristics. The early pre-Buddhist tradition was simple, having cosmological orientation, did not posit a rank in the civilised Tibetan culture where individual expression and qualities of human beings were valued. The cosmic connotation of early religion highlights the manifested and latent spheres of the physical world. It includes human beings, animals and celestial beings as manifested form and the latter designates the realms of cosmic world having an ideology.
based on powers of supernatural forces of divinities and demons.

It can be summarized that Tibetan religious culture at the onset of its development was influenced by Bon religion. For this reason, in the present study the principle connotation of pre-Buddhist tradition of Bon was projected in brief.

The acceptance of Buddhism in Tibet was an uneven process and it took almost several centuries. With the gradual assimilation and incorporation with other religious elements Tibetan Buddhism got an unique shape which was totally reanimated in the early 11th century. It was revealed that monastic education in Tibet was encouraged and established by the Ngari Kings (regional Kings of Ngari, in Western part of Tibet). As mentioned in the historical events of Tibet, the revival of Buddhism was dominated by eminent Indian Buddhist teachers popularly known as Atisa and Padmasambhava, who were invited to Tibet by the royal dynasty. The scholarly movement inspired many Tibetan monks such as Marpa (C.1040 - 1096 A.D.) and his disciples (C.1040 - 1123 A.D.) to strengthen their activities following the same direction. During this period, one of the oldest monastic order Kagyu came into existence in Tibet.

Since the end of 11th century to the 16th century the historical, revolution occurred due to the invasion of Mongols and Chinese in Tibet. During the last decade of 16th century Tibetan Buddhism was again revived as discussed
in the section of Tibetan polity. The traditional streams of Tibetan religion is identified as Hinayana, Mahayana and Vajrayana having its distinctive characteristics. These streams having an integrative approach follow three distinct lineages of teachers along with their huge collections of commentaries having specific ideologies of their particular schools. All the schools inherit the tradition of esoteric teachings and share the basic connotation of Indian schools as carried over to Tibet by the eminent Indian Buddhist teachers. The basic differentiation of the different schools revolves around their distinct interpretation and manifestation of meditation. However, the scholarly prediction holds that the ancient and unreformed Nying-ma sect and ka-gyu sect exhibited the meditational practice along with tantric rituals as is being practised by the followers along with the theoretical orientation of their teachers. The Gelugpa tradition holds a significant position among the Tibetans having orientation on a variety of subjects such as spiritual psychology, metaphysics, monastic rules. It also corroborates the tradition of debating skills as a monastic discipline.

To sum up the above mentioned context, it can be highlighted that the innate doctrinal purity of Buddhism has moulded the Tibetans subduing their animistic faith and fearful warrior approach as was prevalent in Tibet during pre-Buddhist period towards peaceful-living, non-aggressive
outlook. In addition, it can be mentioned that religion has conditioned the inner mind of the Tibetans. Hence, any change in this regard will be a sensitive issue to them. The Tibetans were not in a position to evaluate the value of their precious manuscripts and religious books consisting of the voluminous works of Kanjur, the translation of Lord Buddha's teachings and Tanjur (transliteration of Shastras) which were well preserved in monasteries and in the residence of some Tibetans for generations. It was commented by the scholars that most of them did not take any initiative to read them at all but preserved them as status symbols of the family. In Tibet they were totally occupied with ritualistic activities throughout the day.

It was reported in the literature that the monastic population covered approximately one fifth of the total population of Tibet though there is no authentic information to this effect to support the statement. The present study would consider some important premises of the religious institution of the migrant Tibetans which are being maintained in the process of change in India.

Contemporary Status

Religion overpowers the heart and soul of each migrant Tibetan. Since His Holiness the Dalai Lama shifted his temporary residence along with the administrative paraphernalia in Dharamsala, in Himachal Pradesh the importance of the place thus suddenly emerged among the migrant Tibetans who consider it as the pilgrimage centre.
During the time of religious occasion like Tibetan New Year Losar and the period of religious discourse all the migrant Tibetans visit the centre having deep faith in religious pursuit.

To preserve their religious traditions the migrant Tibetans have taken initiative to establish chorten (stupa), gonpas (monasteries) in almost all the rehabilitated settlements in India. Traditional custom of turning the rosaries, prayer-wheels and recitation of mantras are also observed in the Tibetan settlements in India. It is said that inside the prayer wheels and prayer cylinders the mantras written on small papers are kept. As a convention, they turn it several times. The contemporary mode of Tibetan life exhibited how the religious tradition is being preserved among the migrant Tibetans. In this regard, Harrer mentioned that in Tibet the religious texts and mantras were constantly uttered by the Tibetans. The symbolic manifestation of rituals were inseparable from their daily activities. The pattern of their life style was governed by the divinity (Harrer, 1970). The above mentioned comments of Harrer also supports the observation in all the four settlements. It was also noted that in Dharamsala, apart from the functional activities as provided by the Council of Religious and Cultural Affairs of the Dalai Lama's Administration the Library of Tibetans Works and Archives conducts regular courses on Tibetans Buddhism.
and encourages the researchers to maintain and preserve the traditional Tibetans religion and culture. The establishment of the Buddhist School of Dialects in the year 1973 at Dharamsala and Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies at Sarnath, Varanasi (U.P.), which got registration in 1977, to promote the higher religious studies in India.
RITUALS, CEREMONIES AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

From the world of mundane concerns like education, occupation, food habit, dress and religion we now move on in search for traditional continuity to the realm of rituals and occasionally performed ceremonies which are symbolic of a community's desire to retain its individuality. These specific ceremonies, rituals are attached to important occasions like birth of a child, naming of a child to marriage, death and other religious activities are referred to in anthropological literature as rites de passage. They are considered normative life cycle rituals with emotional connotations.

A. RITUALS RELATING TO BIRTH

In Tibet, having child was normal (Bell, 1928 and Ekvall, 1968). and sterility was considered as a punishment of God or misfortune. The birth of a child was welcomed with offering of small party on the third day. Male child was generally preferred by everybody though a female child was not ill received. A little mixture of butter with barley flour was put into the mouth of the newborn baby just after the birth. A small piece of butter was kept on the top of the vein to prevent the wind. Tibetan doctors were of the opinion that this practice led to a number of ailments. A thick solution of some butter and barley mixture was also offered to the mother after the delivery.
with the belief that it would enhance the vitality in mother and the child. No restriction of diet was followed during pregnancy or post-natal period. Tibetan women irrespective of socio-economic classes preferred to nurse their own child.

The custom of naming ceremony as such was not prevalent in Tibet. The baby used to get the name either from parents or from a High Lama on completion of first month of life. On the day of naming the parents or elder members of the family took the child to a temple as a first outing and gave offering to Lord Buddha. Generally the children were blessed by High Lamas with their own names. Celebration of birthdays was not performed as a rule. An old custom was practised by the Tibetans that they did not clothe the babies properly and put them in the sun for hours, even in the coldest months starting from two or three months of the babies till two or three years of age to increase vitality and resistance to the rigorous weather of Tibet. Before exposure of the new born butter was rubbed on the skin thoroughly all over the body which was not washed off after sun bath. (Shen and Liu, 1952). The Bonpos considered the birth as extremely sacred but the mother was considered as impure. According to Trungpa (1963), the mother used to remain and lie in the barn till the time of delivery. He added that "it was the grandmother who, at the first appearance of the morning star, fetched water from the
brook and brought it to the mother and infant. (The morning star was believed to be the star of the forehead, which represents wisdom and learnedness. It also contains the idea of newness). The Bonpos welcomed the new born with a rite known as lalhu ceremony which denotes the welfare of the household. This particular ceremony was performed to cure a sick person also. It is said that to appease the divine power butter and milk was offered by them, "an image of a sheep is made from butter and the infant (or sick person) is washed in milk" (Trungpa, 1963).

Changing Milieu

In northern India, no special ceremony was observed to welcome a newborn as it existed in Tibet. In the settlements, it was found that many of the child births took place in hospitals and no traditional custom was practised by them during prenatal and postnatal period to increase the vitality of the mother and child as mentioned by Shen and Liu (1952). The traditional custom of getting the name from a high priest was maintained in India too.

Young parents amongst the immigrant settlers in India celebrated their children's birthday as practise hitherto not known from Tibet. In Dharamsala 8.12 percent, in Manali, 16.66 per cent, in Dolanji, 40 percent respondents celebrated birthdays for their children with a small party - in which friends of the children were invited. In Kulu, celebration of birthdays were not observed by any
one of them though marriage anniversary was found to be celebrated by 20 per cent of the households.

B. MATRIMONIAL RITUALS

Between marriage and death there are no other rituals and ceremonies having much symbolic significance. In Tibetan society arranged marriage was prevalent, the selection of the mates being done by negotiation between parents or through the mediator (who may be relatives or well wishers of the family). Usually the initiative of negotiation was from the parents or elders of the groom. The boys and girls were consulted before the final agreement. Love marriages also took place but most people felt the arranged marriages were more successful. In case of the selection of girls certain qualities were given importance in the Tibetan society. In the villages, the importance was laid on woman's ability to work and in the towns appearance, manners, etiquette, economic condition and health were considered. In Tibet, the types of marriage were by exchange, capture or elopement. Amongst the rich, marriage was a kind of financial transaction. Those belonging to low socio-economic status just agreed to live together. No judicial rules or religions procedures were followed in marriage and same was the trend for cases of separation.

In Tibet puberty in females and males were delayed
due to extreme cold climate (Duncan, 1964). The age at marriage in case of females were between seventeen or eighteen whereas in males it was about twentyone or more (Duncan, 1964). Saklani (1984) reported that Tibetans used to marry in Tibet at the age of fifteen. To be able to state categorically the exact age at marriage in Tibet remains a debatable issue.

In arranged marriages, horoscopes were matched by the astrologer before marriage. The auspicious date and time of wedding, even guest list, was prepared by taking into account their zodical signs which had to match with the bride and bridegroom to avoid any harm or disaster to the newly weds. At this stage a contract used to be drawn by both the families to establish an alliance, seals were affixed and the contract signed. The contract included the items of dowry - in the form of cash, goods, land or slaves. The dowry and the expenses incurred on various matrimonial ceremonies including the amount spent on engagement were also enlisted in the contract. The family of the bridegroom also paid a stipulated amount commonly known as 'milk money' as a compensation of upbringing the bride. Final agreement was celebrated with the consumption of Chang, (an alcoholic beverage) between both the parties as a customary part of the ceremony. Exchange of gifts was common at this pre-marital ceremony akin to a formal engagement. Nuptial ceremonies were invariably accompanied by folk songs which were mandatory for these occasions.
The gaiety that marked marriage ceremonies in Tibet has been described by various authors in the literature. Certain specific matrimonial features having anthropological significance would be highlighted in the study. Considering regional variations it is not possible to make a general statement on marriage ceremony, specially, the kind of dowry exchanged, forms of marriage, specific description of marriage costume, ornaments which were used by the bridegroom and the family members, invitees and servants.

It is stated that during any occasion including marriage, males and females dressed themselves with heavy silver and gold jewellery engraved with precious stones and gems right from the parting of the hair to entire body as consistent with their social status. Coloured silk, brocade were also worn by the rich peasantry in Tibet. Besides ear-rings, nose rings, finger rings, ornaments on forehead and waist, the married women used aprons as symbol of marriage. Generally the aprons were worn on top of long gowns. The design and texture of aprons varied according to the socio-economic status of the women.

Silk embroidered apron with dragons and apron with narrow silk bands of different colours are symbolic of affluence. On the other hand, finely woven woollen clothes with many hued bands, sometimes a short silk or woollen clock were used as apron by the women belonging to low socio-economic status in Tibet (Duncan, 1964; Shen and Liu,
The concluding wedding ceremony was conducted by the priest, (nag-pa, literally, a practitioner of magic and superstitious rites) with the offering of a small piece of butter to the bridegroom who smeared it on the head and parting of hair of the bride (Filippi, 1971). During marriage various types of food were offered by the maids, starting from the head of the family in a symbolic fashion. Different types of food included barley flour, barley grains, Tibetan tea, seasonal fruits and rice. Tibetan wine, Chang, was served by the maids to each and everybody in turn from a huge jug using large silver cups. As a custom, the family members picked up little amount of flour or grain by the finger tips and tossed them in the air as a mark of dedication, the remnants were put into their mouth. They use to dip their fourth finger into the wine, flipped it in the air with their thumbs and then put the fingers into their mouths. Beside these, boiled mutton, beef and rice were later served by the servants in the table after an intermission (Shen and Liu 1952).

Usually, Khata (the scarfs), made of silk with swastika borders were exchanged among upper classes and the ones which were made of mixed silk and flax and were smaller in size, were exchanged between the members of families belonging to low socio-economic strata at the time of marriage. Tibetan wine and scarfs were also presented by both the houses. In ancient Tibet a piece of turquoise was presented by the husband to his newly wed wife as token of
possession, which later on was replaced by the Da Dar. The available description of Da Dar reveals that it was an arrow like object, approximately four feet long, crowned by five points exhibiting five different colours in silk ribbons and a round mirror was also suspended from it to guard against evil spirits. It was offered by one of the bridegroom's party to the bride on her back before her departure to her new home.

Tibetan wedding ceremony was not a permissible occasion to everybody and it was performed in a secret manner, superstition being the main reason of such practice.

Contemporary Status

A remarkable change was observed in the mode of marriage. In traditional set up, marriages were mostly of the arranged type but boys and girls were consulted by the parents before being matched. But there were self arranged marriages also. Whereas in India, the findings indicate that Tibetan youth have mostly adopted self arranged marriage as mentioned before, in case of arranged marriage the parents confessed that they could not take consent of their son/daughter before the final agreement due to certain contemporary limitations in India.

Data collected from secondary sources suggested that age at marriage for girls was between seventeen to eighteen years and for boys between twenty to twentytwo. But the respondents reported the age at marriage in Tibet i.e
between twenty to thirty for males. No significant difference in this context is reported between the responses received from India.

Dharamsala

Irrespective of the socio-economic status of the families tradition continues to play a significant role in the marriage ceremonies till 1959. Traditional matrimonial rituals and celebrations were followed by 67.5 per cent couples in Tibet, 20 per cent commented that they could not celebrate their marriage as a social function because they got married in Tibet by breaking traditional barriers and crossing the ethnic and regional boundaries (Annexure IIID). One of the female respondents cited marriage rituals which she had undergone in Tibet. At the time of negotiation, her in-laws came first to their house and requested her parents three times within a short interval. On the last occasion they brought Chang (Tibetan wine) and Khata (a silken scarf) and requested her hand in marriage. Her parents went to a nearby temple and consulted an astrologer and she got married with the proposed boy after seeking the approval of the astrologer either Lama or a common man. Relatives, neighbours, friends were invited by both the families and feast was held in a traditional form where she got plenty scarfs and money as a wedding gifts.

The same respondent described her daughter's marriage which was held in India. Her husband had died in
Tibet during Chinese invasion and she migrated with her two little daughters. In Dharamsala she failed to get any suitable match for her daughter who was already twenty-five. In course of her travel from place to place accompanied by her daughters to sell the woollen garments she came across a Tibetan lady at Mundgod settlement in South India who chose her daughter as a match for her son and accordingly the marriage was held at Mundgod settlement without any traditional rituals. Exchange of scarfs between two families was the only wedding ritual followed as both the families were unable to afford expensive ceremonies because of meagre resources. The lady respondent was despondent while answering this question. She said that she wanted her daughter to get married in traditional glory, the way she herself was married off, but due to migration and her poverty, that could not be so.

Kulu

Celebration of matrimonial rituals was not followed by the respondents. Only in 2 cases who got married through negotiation, invited friends and neighbours and celebrated their marriages with small tea parties (Annexure III\[D\]).

Manali

During discussion with the respondents on matrimonial alliances one of the aged lady belonging to U-tsang area of Tibet, enthusiastically narrated the past
events of her life especially about marriage customs and rituals of Tibet. She said that usually the parents of spouses used to arrange marriage for their son or daughter. Before marriage the consultation with the astrologer was imminent. According to the status of the individuals in the society a nuptial ceremony was practised in few cases. On the day of marriage, 40 to 50 decorated horses, Chang and money were sent by the in-laws. Next morning when bride departed to her new house, bride's parents also sent a minimum 40 to 50 decorated horses and Chang as gifts to their daughter which consequently became her property. Bridal dress included heavy gold ornaments worn from head to anklet, also given by bride's parents. Before proceeding to her new home, the bride changed her bridal dress and adorned clothes given by her in-laws. On reaching her new house, mother-in-law welcomes the newly wedded bride and offers the keys of the house as a symbol i.e. gesture of making her in-charge of the house or the property.

Gaity and extravagance, normally considered as essential feature of traditional Tibetan marriages, were missing in marriages solemnised in India. Most of the marriages performed here were simple, low keyed without any ostentious show of the wealth. In fact two of our respondents reported that they never underwent any formal marriage ceremony as they could not afford the expenses necessitated for wedding rituals. For the sake of economising they simply decided to stay together. No

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incidence of polygamy was found in the sample population. Majority of the couples, interviewed who were already married in Tibet, were aware of the practice of fraternal polyandry but they were reluctant to disclose their marital affairs of Tibet.

Dolanji

It was reported by 40 per cent respondents of the Dolanji settlement that in Tibet marriage by mock capture was prevalent among Bonpo-sect of Amdos. An aged lady respondent narrated the incidence of capture marriage. She said, just after the formal engagement between two families the bride groom abducted the bride at night. Next morning the relatives of the bride were informed by the parents of the bride groom along with Chang and Khata and then the marriage ceremony was performed. Relatives and neighbours were invited who presented Khata to the bride as a gift. Relatives of the bride and bridegroom entered into debate through folk songs. The ceremony was concluded with offering of a dinner at night which included meat, rice, Chang etc. In Tibet capture marriage was respected in the society though marriage through negotiation was reported in 16 cases (80%) where endogamy was strictly maintained by the spouses (Annexure IIID).

B. Traditional Pattern of Marriage in Tibet

The institution of marriage would be highlighted as
a significant issue in the present study in the perspective of culture change. Observation of the investigator based on the data from the four settlements, namely Dharamsala, Kulu, Manali and Dolanji in Himachal Pradesh would be presented after a review of traditional pattern of marriage as available in the literature. Three types of marriages namely monogamy, polyandry, polygyny were practised in a mixed form in Tibet, polygyny being rare (Shen and Liu 1952; Stein, 1972 and Dargyay, 1982).

Monogamy

In the monogamous marriage, the couple moved out from their parents and lived separately with their children for the sake of business or other economic pursuit. This type of marriage was preferred by the private taxpayers, tenants, craftsmen and hired persons (Johnson, 1980). Monogamous family also possessed smaller properties including herds, while many were engaged in craft in addition to farming (Stein, 1972). Tibetologists account the prevalence of monogamy and polygamy for maintenance of stability in the economic structure in an agrarian or pastoral society in Tibet.

Polygamy

Polygamy is marriage among more than one person consisting of polygyny and polyandry. In polygyny one person gets married to several women. Polyandry is the marriage
between one woman to several men. The redeeming features of the customs of polyandrous marriage in Tibet were described by the explorers and adventurers, "In Tibet one finds polygamy and polyandry, but most people are monogamous" (Harrer, 1956). This was also observed by Swami Pranavanand (1960), an Indian explorer in Tibet. Another authority who supports the polyandry, added that the Tibetan "families are small.... The institution of polyandry helps to limit the birth rate and thus to keep the population stationary. It has had a salutary effect in keeping living conditions on a higher level than in India or China" (Raghuvira, 1960). He also added that in Tibet, a majority of the population was engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry and usually a family possessed small piece of land which used to be poor in terms of fertility and productivity. "Despite the fact that the land is poor and unproductive, there is enough food for all; and even though life on the high plateau is hard and austere there is serenity and contentment pervading the life of the individual and the community" (Raghuvira, 1960).

Folsom commented that polyandry led the Tibetans to an economic advantage and inheritance of undivided state among the male folk (Folsom, 1948). A well known social anthropologist justified, "A society may, in fact, recognise more than one of these varieties as among Tibetans, that the economically depressed practise polyandry; the better-off monogamy, and some of the wealthy nobles, polygamy" (Linton, 1936).
In Tibet, fraternal polyandry, where several brothers share the same wife, was more prevalent. This marriage was commonly practised in agricultural based community to maintain large inherited property from division and strengthen the economic structure of a family. Thus, many male members could protect a family from any mischief or unpleasant situation (Dargyay, 1982). Except the nobles and monastic subjects legal fraternal polyandrous families were common among Tibetans which were patrilocal and not patrilineal, with a bilateral kinship, meaning thereby that the relatives of the paternal as well as maternal were considered as common kinsmen. In the marriage ceremony all brothers participated like bridegrooms.

The eminent Indian Tibetologist Rahul Sankrityana had also observed that fraternal polyandry in a Tibetan village consisting of sixteen families. His personal experience suggested that population in Tibet was static and the son-in-law inherited the property in case of only daughters in a family. Personal survey by him showed that the population remained stationary for couple of years and the property was undivided for generations due to sharing of the same wife by all the brothers (Rahul Sankrityana, 1953).

Stein has discussed a quasi-fraternal polyandry where marriage was monogamous at first and later on a casual sexual relationship got established between the wife and the younger brother of her husband (Stein, 1972), when the
husband provided the brother with the authority to look after the household and set out to barter for months. Sanctity granted to these relationships during husband's absence, continued to prevail even after his return.

'Oblique' marriages were respectable but the incidences were rare (Stein, 1972 and Saklani, 1984). In these, the marital relationship was established between a son and his father's wife (might be a stepmother) or between father and his daughter-in-law (his son's wife). This type of relationship was called "half-beam, half-rafter (lcam-ma-dung)" (Stein, 1972). Apart from these the union between uncle and nephew's wife and sharing one husband/son-in-law in common by mother and daughter was also prevalent in Tibet (Stein, 1972).

This was in contrast to situation when the women from different families got married to a man, the wives were not able to live together, leading to quarrels and jealousy, thus leading to division of property. Many authors have commented that polygynic marriages were not being practised commonly by the Tibetans but the practice of fraternal polyandry was frequently observed (Johnson, 1960; Stein, 1972 and Dargyay, 1982).

The data of various Tibetologists and explorers can hardly provide the actual information of the distribution of the different types of family. Yet it could be presumed that "fraternal polyandry, which is also prevalent in many communities on the Indian side of the Himalayan borders,
such as in north-eastern Himachal Pradesh, Jaunsar-Bawar in Dehra Dun district along with Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim etc.," (Saklani, 1984). Whatever might have been the origin of polyandry, there can be no doubt that poverty and a desire to keep down population, and the property undivided in families, constitute sufficient reasons to justify its continuance.

**Inheritance**

Tibet represents unique case study where both polyandry and polygyny were practised and controlled by the demands for help in agricultural production and availability of land for inheritance. Regarding inheritance of property and traditional management of family life, Shen and Liu mentioned about one prevalent system, commonly known as Mag Pa (the male bride) which was practised in a limited families where a male issue was required. Generally it was observed in the families, where either the son or head of the family had passed away without leaving any issue, and his widow decided to procure a Mag Pa. A Mag Pa fulfills all the obligations of his wife's family and he becomes the owner of the house, wife and a name. He reciprocates with his wife's relatives in the same fashion as his wife. The Tibetan Mag Pa after his marriage gives up his own family identity and accepts the surname of his father-in-law (Shen and Liu, 1952 and Saklani 1984).

Available statistics on traditional mariage customs
and rules governing the matrimonials of the Tibetan society are inadequate. The secondary information may reveal the dichotomous structure in the rule of exogamous marriage. As it was stated that in the patrilineal stock brygud the clan rus (literally, bone) descended from a common ancestor, was exogamous. It was forbidden to marry within his own clan. Clan endogamy was permitted after the avoidance of seven generations. Within the clan each generation was considered as a homogeneous group. So marriage between first cousins as considered incestuous and by law it was forbidden. It was reported from all accounts that by marriage the kinship relationship was established through women, commonly known as sha (literally, flesh). No restriction was imposed on marriage along the sha line, except the marriage between maternal uncle and niece. The maternal uncle played a dominant role in the girl's marriage (Stein, 1972 and Saklani, 1984).

The rule of class endogamy was practised by the Tibetans. Irrespective of rules of endogamy and exogamy as existed in the traditional Tibetan society, the primary objectives were to save their property from being disintegrated, maintain purity of the family stock, avoid inbreeding and to retain their class distinctions. In this regard Harrer adds "The aristocracy may only marry in their own class and this rule was strictly applied. Relatives may not marry one another except after seven generations, in
order to avoid inbreeding. The Dalai Lama alone may permit exceptions to these rules" (Harrer, 1956).

Norbu points out the Tibetan law on marriage prohibition in Tibet. Tibetan law "forbade a couple to marry if they were nearer in blood relations than seventh cousins. Such a nuptial crime had a frightful social stigma, and in primitive times those committing it were cased alive in leather and thrown into the river" (Norbu, 1974). The incidence of divorce was rare in Tibet but in case of separation a divorced wife having son or sons was entitled to have one fourth of the common property and in case of having a daughter she could claim about one sixth. The women having no children could demand an undefined amount for her livelihood (Norbu, 1974). The children were allowed to go in for celibacy by the parents. As a convention the monk or nun would enjoy his or her share of the property and clothings (Norbu, 1974). Authentic secondary sources claim that widow marriages were not uncommon in Tibet. Tibetan youths were allowed to enjoy their freedom in sex life but certain socio-ethical restrictions were also maintained in traditional Tibetan society (Norbu, 1974).

The status of Women in Tibet

Women availed much more freedom and prestige in Tibet than other Asian countries. In Tibetan culture wives and mothers enjoyed esteemed reputation and prestige from
the very beginning. Educated and intelligent woman was appreciated by the people belonging to all social strata. The decision of the competent woman was also considered in political affairs (Bell, 1928). Traditionally the freedom and prestige which was enjoyed by the women was supported by the doctries of Mahayana Buddhism (Dargyay, 1979).

In the polyandrous type of family, the housewife controlled the family purse, the first wife enjoyed the privileges to govern the family and exercised her authority over the co-wives. Related to the above statements on status of women in Tibet the extremely critical view of Shen and Liu was contradictory. They commented that Tibetan woman confined herself at home and was engaged in propagating, maintaining domestic pursuits, running the shop. She was forbidden to participate in political and religious affairs. She was expected not to possess high aspirations. A Tibetan woman was considered to be of a lower status in the society even women were bartered and hired out by their husbands (Shen and Liu 1952). Considering economic sphere as dominant phenomenon another interesting custom of living of two unrelated families under one roof to prevent disintrigation of a family into two units was common in Tibet. In case of noble families the same trends were followed according to the consent of government. Love, affection, respect as well as jealousy and quarrel play vital role in a family (Shen and Liu, 1952).
Changing Profile in Marital Alliances

The traditional marriage pattern as available from the secondary sources were discussed above to exhibit the contemporary changes which have come about in the marriage institution among the immigrant Tibetans in Himachal Pradesh in India namely Dharamsala, Kulu, Manali, and Dolanji. Information collected from settlements on contemporary status of marriage institution would be projected separately. The answers were tabulated according to the practice of social regulations, specific age, mode and forms of marriage which was followed by rituals and ceremonials as a part of marriage cycle, assuming as most important variables with the perception of change. The results are presented in (Annexure IIID).

Dharamsala

On an aggregate 78.43 per cent of the respondents got married in Tibet while 21.56 per cent got married after migration to India. The available information from the respondents revealed that in Dharamsala of the couples married in India 100 per cent maintained monogamy. Amongst couples married in Tibet 92.5 per cent stated that monogamy was the popular norm in Tibet. Whereas on detailed questioning, it was brought forth that 7.5 per cent of them did practise polygamy in Tibet.

Information on marital alliances from the secondary sources revealed that in Tibet strict social regulations
regarding the practice of endogamy (marriage within same sect, and territorial group) were followed by the Tibetans. In the sample 128 spouses (i.e. 80 per cent of the total number of spouses) informed that they got married in Tibet and maintained regional and sect endogamy. Marriages were arranged through the father or the eldest member of the family. Self arranged marriage in Tibet was also reported by 20 per cent spouses, who did not follow the norm of endogamy.

Whereas amongst the immigrants in Dharamsala only 20 per cent of the respondents could maintain sect and regional endogamy who got married through negotiation in India. It was declared that their marriages were arranged through the family members when the partners were between twenty to twentyfive years of age.

There were 35 cases cited in the sample in which marital alliances had been formed beyond the traditionally accepted norms. These self arranged marriages constituted 80 per cent of the total number of marriages contracted during the same period (Annexure IIID). As disclosed from the respondents that 35 spouses selected their match by breaking of the traditional class barriers. In 9 cases marriages were between Kham and Amdo people; 7 between Utsang and Lhasa groups and in 17 cases Khampas married Amdos.

It was observed that the practice of self arranged marriage has become more common among the Tibetan youth.
Though traditional minded people prefer arranged marriage but the incidence of arranged marriage is comparatively less. One of the respondents confessed that it was very difficult for him to get a suitable match in India for his daughter, belonging to the same regional group of Tibet. He went to South India at Bylakuppe settlement to visit his relatives and there he met a boy known to his relation who belonged to the same regional background in Tibet. The respondent approached the parents of that boy at once and selected him as a match for his daughter without even considering the need of his daughter's consent before the final agreement because of the limitations imposed on account of intra-regional preferential marital alliances.

It was difficult to keep a tally of the incidence of self arranged marriages out of the total number of marriages that took place in the sample households since 1959 i.e. the time of migration till 1989. But from the discussion with both older and younger generations, it was revealed that in majority of cases the initiative was taken by the marital partners themselves and getting approval from the reluctant parents was just a formality. There were occasional reports of marriages between immigrant Tibetans and local youth. However, these incidences were negligible and was thus not accounted for in the sample study.

Kulu

In the sample population at Kulu settlement 75 per
cent spouses declared their marriage in Tibet mostly between twenty to thirty years of age. They followed sect and regional endogamy. The marriages were arranged through the parents of the spouses. Amongst the spouses in Kulu settlement who got married after migration excepting 2, rest 80 per cent spouses selected their marriage partners themselves. Of these, there were marriages between Utsang and Kham people, rest 7 marriages were within same sect and region of Tibet with an aim to maintain a cultural harmony in life. Nobody confessed of polygamy in Tibet as well as in Kulu. No significant change was observed in the age at marriage in Kulu settlement from that of Tibet.

Manali

In the sample population at Manali settlement 16.7 per cent of the respondents got married in Tibet and these marriages were worked through negotiation when the couples were between twenty to thirty years of age. In Manali, a total of 8 couples got married in India according to their choice (Annexure IID). The spouses preferred to select their match belonging to the same sect and region of Tibet to maintain a cultural harmony.

Dolanji

In the sample population at Dolanji settlement 86.5 per cent spouses got married in Tibet amongst which 80 per cent followed the norms of endogamy. In Dolanji settlement 100 per cent spouses married in India declared that they
selected their marriage partners belonging to Bon religion irrespective of regional variation in order to maintain cultural and religious contiguity. The opinion about age at marriage in Tibet revealed that it was between eighteen to twentytwo years of age but the actual answers highlight 70 per cent males got married between thirty to forty years of age whereas 30 per cent females declared that they got engaged after thirty years of age. In this settlement 2 marriages were between Kham and Utsang people; and 2 between Amdos and Khampas.

Emerging Scenario of Marital Alliances

It was noted that in Tibet before migration some strict social regulations for marital alliances were maintained. Apart from other regulatory customs which were imposed on some specific groups, the practice of class endogamy and clan exogamy were prevalent. Regional/sect endogamy, however, was maintained due to geographical isolation than social norms.

It is important to note that in India Tibetan youths still prefer to marry within same sect and region in a way to claim maintenance of cultural contiguity, but it is not always possible for these youths to find mates within their own commune due to scattered nature of settlements. Moreover, in India, Tibetans coming from different regions are residing together for more than thirty years, leading to a decline in regionalism. Despite all this, Tibetan youths
possess a strong tendency to maintain endogamy within sect in all the four settlements.

The respondents in the sample population were aware of the practice of polygamy in Tibet, but it was mostly concealed by them. It is not possible to highlight any change in the monogamous marriage in India than that of Tibet.

Some of the comments of the respondents about the reformation of Tibetan family in the host country are noteworthy. As per them very few of them could bring their families, they were thus separated from their family members due to their flight from Tibet. They were in desperate search for a life partner due to uncertainty and some of these separated men and women got remarried and established new families with contemporary partners. It was also disclosed that some of them had decided to live together, even without any formal nuptial ties. In one of the studied area it was observed that a man of seventy got married to a forty year old woman and an aged woman married a person of the age almost of her son. In quite a few cases, separated spouses got married afresh. It also happened that the lost spouse reappeared on the way of business trip but it was too late to return to the old life partner and leave the contemporary life partners, who had shared the sorrows during the period of turmoil. In all the four settlements approximately 3 per cent households reported that they were
separated from their spouses in the process of flight from Tibet.

Two remarkable changes were noticed in the status of women from the traditional one as supplemented the text by various authors. In contrast to the view of Shen and Liu, (1952) the data reveal that female folk not only lookafter the domestic pursuits but participate in the economic sphere, political and religious affairs at par with the males in India.

C. DEATH RITUAL

In Tibet death ceremony was an important one as per the information obtained from the travellers and scholars. Despite regional variation the death ceremony was maintained in same manner by all the Tibetans irrespective of socio-economic status. The prediction of old astrologer, usually not a priest, was invariably considered by all the Tibetans. The astrologer would forecast the appropriate time for the disposal of the body, the mode of disposal and the ritualistic procedure of the ceremony. In this rite the Lamas (priests) were informed by the family members of the deceased from the monastery. In death ceremony Tibetans spent more money than they could afford. The common belief persisting among the Tibetans reveals that the prospect for a good rebirth is related to the expenditure incurred in the death rites. This practise is strictly followed by the immigrant Tibetans today. Immediately after death an
elaborate ceremony was planned with the prayers by the monks to entice the soul of the deceased by plucking out a hair from the departed body.

To erase the sins of the deceased the name of the deceased was written upon an umbrella shaped shield with charm words commonly known as Gyang or a placard topped by a ceremonial scarf and was temporarily kept in front of the residence by the son of the deceased until the last death rite was over. This half an hour ceremony was generally known as soul placard ceremony was held on the third day by the Tibetans of low socio-economic status. Favourite food of the deceased was offered to that particular placard and at the end of the rite it was burnt and the ashes were casted upon water as a protection of house from the ghost. All the steps of the death rite were followed with incantation of religious text by the monks. This ceremony was observed on the seventh day among the Tibetans who were economically better off and it was repeatedly followed in the same manner on every seventh day for six more times because it was believed that the soul might return to the home after wandering on those particular days. It required forty-nine days for completion of the rite. The soul-placard might not be kept until the forty-ninth day. To perform a religious service requisite amount of money would be contributed to the monastic authorities generally on the third day by the Tibetans who could afford.

After removing the dead body from the room, it was
swept and washed. Four things, which included a butter lamp, a pack of saddle, religious book, the Tsa-tsa (conical shaped figures of clay), were placed upon the bed.

The mode of disposal of the dead was decided by the astrologer out of five common methods in practice. It might be throwing into a river, burial, cremation, sacrifice to vultures and transforming into a mummy. It was stated that the mode of disposal generally used to depend upon the socio-economic status of the Tibetans. Throwing the body into the stream or river was practised by the Tibetans of low socio-economic status. Body of a dead child was generally disposed by throwing it into a river or stream.

Disposal used to be performed by hired destitute men or by friends. No significant stigma was maintained by the bearers of the corpse but usually they were considered as the lowest class in the society. The ordinary clothes of the deceased supplemented by coins, food, alcoholic drinks were retained by the corpse bearers as a token of remuneration. Personal belongings for the daily use include bowl, other accessories, few clothes were donated to the monastery for probable use by others. Members of the deceased would not sell them off as it would be considered impure by the common people. The other valuable belongings such as silk, garments, ornaments of the deceased were passed down as inherited property from one generation to the other.

Disposal of the corpse by burial or cremation was
considered as comparatively more expensive. The cremation was most expensive. Permanent and temporary burial was also practised by the Tibetans. Temporary burial was followed more often by keeping the body underground to reduce the fluid of the body and then it used to be cremated considering the auspicious time calculated by the astrologer. Burial spot was also dictated by the old astrologer. The dead body was always disposed in a sitting position.

The cremation rites used to be performed in the presence of monks who muttered mantras sonorously with the ringing of hand bells, shaking of brass thunder-bolts until the body was consumed in flame. The remnants bones were sorted out from the ashes by the relatives and used to be offered to animals as a mixture of bone particles and barley. Sometimes cone-shaped figures were made out of clay and fragments of bone was used for religious purpose. The disposal of corpse for the sacrifice of the animals was practised usually by the villagers in Tibet where large river or lake did not exist in vicinity. They shared a common resort where the pieces of the dead body were offered to huge grey vultures.

The open air sacrifice on the hill tops was practised by inhabitants belonging to isolated areas. The corpse used to be exposed for vultures, crows and wolves. In the villages or in isolated areas corpse-bearers did not exist so the rites were performed either by relatives or by
friends. The method of mummifying was restricted to saints and enlightened Lamas only.

Direct moulding of the dead bodies was also practised in case of incarnate Lamas. The corpse was smeared with salt and dried out, mud was applied on the face and gilded and at the end was wrapped by costly silken cloth. The corpse used to be carried by the monks in a procession form to the monastery. There it would be covered in a Chorten built by clay and wood and finally gilded by copper and gold and then placed in a corner of the alter with other idols as a survival of ancestry worship. Small human shaped figured used to be made from the mixture of body remnants and clay on the completion of funeral ceremony. The ashes of a saint were preserved in charm boxes as a protection against disease, evil spirit, and enemies.

The death anniversary was maintained by all the Tibetans for three years with no soul placard ceremony. The convention of rebirth or a belief of entering the soul into heaven within this period of time did exist among them, so no more rituals were required after this stipulated duration. Special rites were followed by special prayer, prayer-flags in case of unnatural death like suicides and the others to appease the spirits of the deceased.

The mourning was observed among the relatives for a certain period of time depending on the closeness of the
### TABLE 3: 6

**MODE OF DEAD BODY DISPOSAL AMONGST IMMIGRANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Total Households</th>
<th>Burial Tibet</th>
<th>Sacrifice on hilltop Tibet</th>
<th>Burial India</th>
<th>Sacrifice on hilltop India</th>
<th>Cremation Tibet</th>
<th>Cremation India</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DHARAMSALA</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>106 (66.25%)</td>
<td>- (54 (33.75%))</td>
<td>- (54 (33.75%))</td>
<td>- (54 (33.75%))</td>
<td>- (54 (33.75%))</td>
<td>- (54 (33.75%))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KULU</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8* (80%)</td>
<td>4 (20%)</td>
<td>- (4 (20%))</td>
<td>- (4 (20%))</td>
<td>- (4 (20%))</td>
<td>- (4 (20%))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANALI</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10 (41.66%)</td>
<td>4 (16.66%)</td>
<td>10 (41.66%)</td>
<td>24 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOLANJ</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6 (30%)</td>
<td>6 (30%)</td>
<td>8 (40%)</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Two households had no idea about the mode of dead body disposal in Tibet.
relationship. Cutting the hair, washing the body even the faces, starting any new job were restricted during this mourning period.

From medical anthropological point of view most interesting in the death ritual was that sometimes small, hard glittering particles Choying (Dharma Dhatus) were found in the ashes of certain renowned incarnate Lamas, which were used before death of a sick person to facilitate the transmigration towards heaven. It was preserved in a charm box as a protector of individuals (Duncan, 1964; Ekvall, 1964 and Clifford, 1984).

Contemporary Status

Dharamsala

Traditional mode of disposal of dead was followed by the respondents in Tibet where 64.4 per cent practised burial and 35.6 per cent practised open air sacrifice. In Dharamsala all of them followed the mode of disposal of the dead by the cremation (Table 3:6). It is disclosed that their neighbouring colonies are Hindus so they have accepted this method only, just to satisfy them.

Traditional soul placard ceremony was practised on third day by (31.87%) instead of forty-ninth day, irrespective of socio-economic condition, a point on which discrimination existed in Tibet (Duncan, 1964) (Table 3:7). Rest of the households however maintain it till forty-nine days.
Kulu

The practice of burial was the only mode of disposal in Tibet as declared by 80 per cent respondents. One of the male respondent disclosed that in Tibet at the time of burial ceremony, religious service was also conducted at the residence of the deceased and after the completion of ceremony the attendants of the ceremony were called at the residence and offered simple food by the bereaved members of the households. The ceremony used to be performed with incantation of religious text accompanied by the music of flutes, pipes and other instruments. It was observed at Kulu settlement that majority of them have restricted the ritualistic part of death only by offering money to the monastery due to contemporary economic condition.

Another male respondent named Tashi commented that in Tibet during burial of the corpse of high dignitaries, the body used to be preserved for about three months in a big box and salt was liberally sprinkled while packing the corpse. Some special ingredients used to be mixed in the salt to enhance the preservative qualities of the same. This specific salt was of immense importance and considered as representation of great virtue and only accessible to a distinguished group of people especially among the aristocrats and among the high Lamas. As a convention, Tibetans used the specific salt in case of any disease from mild cough and cold to a serious type of fatal disease by
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Total Households</th>
<th>Calling Lamas</th>
<th>Astrological Advice</th>
<th>Soul placard ceremony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tibet India Tibet India Tibet India</td>
<td>Tibet India Tibet India Tibet India</td>
<td>Tibet India Tibet India Tibet India</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DHARAMSALA</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>160 (100%)</td>
<td>160 (100%)</td>
<td>160 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>160 (100%)</td>
<td>160 (100%)</td>
<td>160 (100%)</td>
<td>160 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49 days</td>
<td>160 (100%)</td>
<td>51 (31.87%)</td>
<td>149 (68.12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3-4 days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KULU</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10 (100%)</td>
<td>6 (60%)</td>
<td>6 (60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 (60%)</td>
<td>10 (100%)</td>
<td>6 (60%)</td>
<td>10 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49 days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANALI</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24 (100%)</td>
<td>24 (100%)</td>
<td>24 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24 (100%)</td>
<td>24 (100%)</td>
<td>24 (100%)</td>
<td>24 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14 (58.33%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49 days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-3 days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19 (79.16)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOLANJI</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
<td>6 (30%)</td>
<td>8 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
<td>6 (30%)</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
<td>10 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30 days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
offering it in small amounts to a sick person either by
dissolving it in water or by itself.

Most striking feature is that 40 percent respondents
followed burial at Kulu settlement and rest of them accepted
cremation (Table 3:6). Soul placard ceremony was followed
after six days as expressed by 60 percent respondents (Table
3:7).

Manali

In Tibet, 41.66 percent followed burial and 16.66
percent maintained the exposure of the corpse in open air
and 41.66 percent declared that cremation was practised by
them. Whereas in India all the respondents practise
cremation (Table 3:6). The soul placard ceremony was
performed within two-three days as commented by 79.16
percent respondents (Table 3:7).

Dolanji

Burial by 30 percent and exposure of the corpse to
the animals by 30 percent were common among the Bonpos in
Tibet. Although the funeral ceremony was prevalent in Tibet
only amongst 40 percent of the sample population, the total
sample population has switched over to accept cremation as
the only means of disposal (Table 3:6).

One of the female respondent who belonged to Amdo
region of Tibet was Rinchen Lhamo. She described the status
of death rituals followed by the Bonpos. In Tibet, just
after the death the members of the deceased household
informed monks through the Abbot of the Bonpo monastery. The monks reached and started prayers and practised mo. The corpse were preserved minimum for three days and in winter it used to be for seven to thirty days. During this period religious chanting accompanied by music of flutes and pipes was continued. Generally the corpse was preserved in a painted box and at the end of specific number of days the corpse was either buried or cremated according to the prediction of astrologer.

The details of death ritual that as obtained from Venerable Abbot of the monastery were significant from medical anthropological perspective. In his discourse he mentioned that in Tibet, the essential ingredients, for example, excreta (both liquid and solid) of the high incarnated Lamas used to be mixed with other substances to form the pills, commonly known as 'precious pills.' Tibetans were glad to procure it from the high Lamas. He also added that powerful influence was invoked into the pills by the high Lamas through special rites or mantras and then it became available to common people to treat the sick person as medicine. He mentioned that bodily remnants of a saint or incarnate Lamas, for example, bones hair etc. were being preserved by him. Duncan (1964) also made the statement.

Emerging Scenario of Death Rituals

It was declared by the respondents that the
cremation was accepted by all of them to satisfy their neighbouring Hindu colonies. Fuel especially wood was donated by all the households of the settlements as required for the funeral ceremony. Generally the monks used to be cremated on an isolated area on a hill top whereas it might be in vicinity of the residence of the deceased in case of other Tibetans.

The traditional soul placard ceremony is performed by many households within 3-7 days whereas in Tibet it was maintained repeatedly till the forty-ninth day (Table 3:7).

As an exception it was found that in Tibet Bonpos maintained soul placard ceremony just after one month of death (thirty days). Death rituals and death anniversary is strictly maintained as per tradition but considering the economic constraints majority of them can not afford to maintain the length of the death ceremonies at the residence. So they offer money to the monastery to perform the rites of a deceased. Traditional practice of consultation with an astrologer regarding the time, mode, place of disposal is followed by all the respondents. Remarkable change in death rituals in respective settlements is highlighted in (Table 3:7).

D. RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN TIBET

The informations collected from the four settlements reveals that in Tibet the participation in religious sphere was restricted amongst the monks. The common people were
not allowed to participate in any formal religious affairs as well as in private religious rites and prayers. But no bar was imposed on them in listening sermons. In Tibet the prevalent religious activities at the level of commoners included various types of offerings to the monasteries and the Lamas, to avail their blessings, to get rid of the bad deeds in the present and past lives. The Lamas (gurus) acted as specialists to perform the religious services. They had often visited the pilgrimages on foot and moved around the sacred centres or objects. Apart from the significant events like birth, marriage, death and for the prediction of healing management, the common people consulted the Lamas for the protection of the crops and livestocks.

A significant number of Tibetans specialised in practising rituals, followed by magical rites to cure the ailments, to appease the wrath of gods and evil spirits and to control the supernatural forces. The visitation of natural calamities like storms, droughts, epidemics and other political invasion were considered as the failure in propitiatory rites in time which disrupted the harmony between individual and nature. The native customs and beliefs that venerated the pre-Buddhist cultural heritage also concerned the people's mind. The people during the phase of early civilisation considered the earth as sacred and they were aware that rivers, streams, lakes should be
protected from pollution and the earth should not be exploited by any means.

Contemporary Status

The traditional customs of raising prayer flags as a symbolic representation of dieties and five elements such as fire, iron, water, earth and wood as a source of energy and spirit still prevailed upon the migrant Tibetans in India. The prayer flags exhibiting different colours were waved on the mountain passes, roof-tops, kitchen-hearth, and implanted on the agricultural land to protect the crops. The walls of the household were decorated with auspicious signs and figures representing the deities. Regular custom of offering incense and juniper were also taken care of to appease the residential deities. The popular exhibition of these religious symbols talks about their religious consciousness amidst the alien cultural atmosphere.

It was observed in all the households that apart from the burning incense all the Tibetans offer bowls of water to the 'Tripple Gems' commonly known as Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. The religious sermons were also delivered by the Lamas during special occasion. Kalacakra (wheel of time), being one not only to accumulate the virtue for themselves but for the welfare of animal and celestial beings. In the monasteries the traditional mode of prayer with blowing conch-shells was still maintained. The rhythms of prayers and religious songs were being practised
accompanied with traditional musical instruments such as different sized horns, bells and copper plates in the monasteries regularly.

Contemporary status of rituals as practised by the monks was narrated by the Abbot of the Himalay Buddhist monastery in Manali. From his prolonged discourse it could be derived that some monks totally devoted their time to practise Mahayana Buddhism through meditation for 20 years. The practice used to be regorous and energetic. It was described that it could be for minimum three years without any interruption. During this period either they entered a cave or get enclosed in a dark room in the monastery, bereft of sun light. They consumed light food like fruits, tea, sometimes Champa, as supplied by the other monks during the period. This ritual concluded with the achievement of enlightenment, the ultimate stage of Buddhism. He added that the individual would experience a purified stage in the stage of enlightenment.

The information revealed that initially the monks were accommodated in an 'Ashram' at Buxa (Jalpaiguri district in West Bengal) and later on they were distributed in different monasteries in India considered the followers of the different Tibetan Buddhist sects. A large section of followers of Gelugpa sect were accommodated in three big monasteries namely Drepung, Sera and Ganden (in South India) and a quite significant number of Gelugpa sect reached Dharamsala with their temporal and spiritual leader His
Holiness the Dalai Lama. A number of monks, the followers of the Sakya, Kagyu and Nyingma sects have resettled in various monasteries in India as shown in (Annexure III E).

In conclusion it is inevitable to highlight the process of ongoing change which is coming up in the psychology of the migrant Tibetans. In this connection a discussion with an old respondent in Dharamsala can be cited. The respondent was suffering from chronic disease 'asthma' since the time of his migration to India. The respondent disclosed that he had faith in amulet owing to its divine action. The respondent showed the amulet that he was wearing which he had collected from the eminent faith healer in Dharamsala.

He stated that it has reduced the number of attacks as he had initially during winter. When he was asked why despite wearing of the amulet he has not been cured completely and has been compelled to take modern medicine, he replied that the suffering is manifestation of his past deeds and 'Karma of his previous life'. This connotation explains the contemporary status of Tibetan mind in average and exhibit a revolutionary attitude of the migrant Tibetans in the realm of traditional religion.
The symbolic manifestation of reality of Tibetan religion having an integrative approach is being reflected in the dimension of traditional Tibetan art, architecture, dances, drama and music. This dimension presents one of the significant landmark towards maintaining the Tibetan cultural tradition alive. In this context Lhalungpa has explained "art is used as a means of expanding the consciousness, sacred art provides a visual aid to meditation and assists in the comprehension of certain esoteric concepts" (Lhalungpa, 1976).

In Dharamsala the tradition of the Tibetan opera, folk dance and music was still maintained especially by the Tibetan youths. As observed in Dharamsala the traditional arts and crafts exhibits its importance in the sacred symbols such as the masks, the costumes, the ornaments, the ritual objects which are still used by the dancers. It was also observed in the studied areas that the immigrant Tibetans were engaged in painting their traditional religious scrolls thankas, writing religious texts and commentaries. It can be concluded that the Tibetan cultural tradition expresses the level of individual consciousness. The traditional ritualistic dances are being practised by the migrant Tibetans especially on the occasion
of New Year maintaining the indigenous mystic intonations. In this way the migrant Tibetans have shown a stronger adherence to weave the fabric of their traditional religious institution in alien cultural context.
TIBETAN POLITY

Traditional

Tibetan administration was unique as it was not exclusively ascribed to a specific group of individuals. In rotation, the agriculturists also availed the responsibility of governmental administration and were persuaded to engage in business. The same trend was followed by the monks in various monasteries. The monks used to render their service to the monastic authority as traders, cultivators, servants, pony-drivers, shoe-makers, cooks, shephards, officials and religious teachers, irrespective of ranks. As per available information about traditional administration, the National Assembly Tshokdhu Gyezorn was the highest decision making body, constituted 700 members. The district magistrates were appointed and paid by the State or the Government of Lhasa.

Under them the tral-pa as discussed earlier, occupying a higher status in the villages and in nomadic sphere by holding a good wealth and property furnished community leadership to headmen and elders. They held a great responsibility and power at the community level.

In addition, Tibetan polity as mentioned in Tibetan history is as follows:

i) Survival of Tibetan kingship from 7th century A.D. to 11th century A.D.

The confederation of several groups in Tibet
established kingship in the Yarlung Valley area, about 80 km south-east of Lhasa and expanded their warring policy on the neighbouring countries such as China, Nepal, Uighur and Central Asia (Carrasco, 1959).

From this period onwards the monks were exempted from the revenues and hierarchs and monasteries were endowed with property and revenue (Carrasco, 1959). The termination of the dynasty in Tibet took place with the assassination of king Langdarma in 842 A.D. and Buddhism was suppressed throughout Tibet. Tibet got dissolved into a number of small principalities which were ruled by members of previous aristocracy (Batchelor, 1987).

ii) **Sakya hierarchy under the Mongol Yuan Dynasty of China.**

This period continued for four centuries until the submission to the Mongol Yuan dynasty of China in 1247 by the hereditary Abbot of Sakya. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Mongol emperors preferred to establish their patronage in favour of Sakya monastic hierarchs by collecting revenues in kind and various labour services from the peasantry in the Central Tibet. Sakya hierarchs with the support of the Mongolian Yuan dynasty ruled Tibet for about a century.
iii) Gelugpa suzerainty, under the abhthood of Dalai Lama (Ocean of Wisdom).

With the decline of the Mongols and Sakya during the 14th century the new dynasty was formed which was governed mainly by Lamas. At the end of the 14th century a new school of Tibetan Buddhism originated in the Central Tibet by the govern of the first Abbot of Gelugpa sect popularly known as Tsongkhapa. The next successor to the leadership of the Gelugpa order was the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam Gyatsho (Gyatsho literally means ocean). During this period again Mongolian political involvement became apparent in Tibet. Subsequently, the Gelugpa suzerainty continued through the successors of Dalai Lamas, who were the spiritual sovereigns in ruling over Tibet (Bachelor, Stephen 1987; Snellgrove, 1968 and Brauen, 1974). The Dalai Lama occupied supreme religious position as he was viewed by the Tibetans as reincarnation of Avalokitesvara, the Bodhisattava of compassion and action (Carrasco, 1959). The Dalai Lama was the ultimate authority. The political power concentrated around him virtually dominated over his subjects in each pursuits (Carrasco, 1959 and Dargyay, 1982).

The critics opined that the traditional polity before 1959 was intermingled with cultural and religious
tradition. Before Chinese invasion the political structure within Tibet was already in the process of modernising itself with the incorporation of contemporary democratic ideas (Michael, 1986).

Changing Milieu

The transplantation of the Tibetan polity from its prototype in Tibet not only had flourished in India but provided a beam of light for the Tibetans who had left behind Chinese dominated Tibet and the neighbouring Chinese provinces too.

When this polity was reverted to the democratic order from the large private estates, the status of various categories of common people mi-ser and the existence of nobles or aristocratic service became extinct without any interrogation of the respective issue. Tibetan socio-political institution was based on only Tibetan Buddhist polity which got reshaped by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his advisors into religio-socio-political institution to execute the Administration in exile. Moreover, in view of ethnic unity Tibetans considered the strength of population as one of the most important asset in the host country. Considering this fact, pre-Buddhist Bon sect who was secluded and could not achieve a position in Tibetan socio-political order could now participate as elected member in Tibetan legislative assembly (*Tibetans in Exile*, 1959-1980).
Contemporary Working Committee of the National Assembly consisting of eleven elected representatives, ministers, one representative of each Government department exhibited more effectiveness than the former one. No major change was observed in the importance of its function from its predecessors. The salary and appointment of the contemporary representatives of the settlements and their staff were decided by the administration in exile. The local affairs of the community were taken care of by Central Government in exile and by the representatives of the settlements.

Emerging Scenario

The emerging socio-political institution is in close parallel with the traditional one and is more organised and democratic in the structure. With the consent and approval of H.H. the Dalai Lama the cabinet of the Tibetan administration was introduced in Dharamsala in 1960 which was referred as Kashag by the Tibetans. One of the major changes include the creation of the Assembly, legislative organ of the democratic system of Administration in exile by the elected members representing three provincial regions Domed (Amdo), Dotoed (Kham), U-Tsang (Central Tibet) and five major sects Nyingma, Kagyu, Sakya, Gelug and Bon.

Since 1980 a recent addition of the Kalons in the Administration in exile was reported, who occupied higher position in the respective capacity. The distinctive person
MAP-III

Guide Map of GANGCHEN KYISHONG (Central Tibetan Secretariat and Tibetan Library)

1. Kasdhag (Cabinet Offices)
2. Library of Tibetan Work & Archives
3. Tibetan Thanka Painting & Wood-carving School
4. Nechung Monastery
5. Gangchenpo School
6. Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies
7. Council for Religious and Cultural Affairs
8. Security Department
9. Council for Home Affairs
10. Council for Tibetan Education (First floor)
11. Human Rights, Department of Service Management (Ground floor)
12. Tibetan Information Office
13. Federal Council House
14. Office of the Auditor General
15. External Affairs
16. Gangchenpo Monastery
in the field of art, science and literature also possess a seat in the Assembly. As a rule, Tibetan who attains the age of 25 years achieve the right to contest the election of the assembly which is held at every fourth year irrespective of sex, religion, place of origin. The major function of the Assembly was ascribed by legislators. The elected members are being designated as the deputies of the Assembly who performed various roles in the society to maintain an integrity between the administration and the common people and to promote the welfare of the immigrant Tibetans in the respective settlements in India (*Tibetans in Exile*, 1959-1980).

Besides various donations from foreign voluntary aid agencies, organisations and the others the annual profit from the Tibetan Handicraft centres and Co-operative Societies of the settlements, are received by the Finance Department of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to be utilised as a Common Community Fund (*Tibetans in Exile*, 1959-1980). Apart from this administrative unit as mentioned above, several other offices were established in Dharamsala such as health, information, security etc. (Map III).

**Department of Health**

Under the high patronage of His Holiness the Dalai Lama the Department of Health posists one of the major departments of the Tibetan Administration in Dharamsala. The function of the Department is concentrated on the health
Various publications, bulletins, journals, newsletters as published in the host country focus on the active participation of Tibetan youth of both the sexes, for the freedom of the Tibetans and to achieve independent Tibetan nationality. It also highlights the facts of Lhasa and the contemporary status of the Tibetans who are in Chinese dominated Tibet.

To continue the political operation, various regional and political opposition groups, associations namely Tibetan youth Congress has emerged in the host country. It was observed that office of Tibetan Youth Congress in Dharamsala is the overall incharge. The National Uprising Day on 10th March is observed by the immigrant Tibetan including H.H. the Dalai Lama as a symbolic representation of active resistance by the Tibetan people against the Chinese invasion in 1959 (Phuntso, 1985-86).

Through review of the literature, documents reveal that contemporary Tibetan Administration in Dharamsala is more concerned in preserving Tibetan identity, retaining their traditional culture, religion and language and to depend their sovereignty through a democratic system of administration having an initial goal for freedom.

Conclusion

This 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 coterminus 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 tradition nor their desire to retain their separate ethnic 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.