

Dynamics of Indigenous Healing among the Tamangs of West Bengal

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ABSTRACT: This paper explores the healing practices and practitioners of Tamangs in Darjeeling, West Bengal, focusing on their role as custodians of their socio-cultural heritage. The study involves ethnographic fieldwork to discuss their local knowledge on healthcare based on the surrounding environments and the interplay between pluralistic healing practices. It finds the dynamics of the healing knowledge system where the practitioners contribute significantly to the community integration, but also facing certain degradation factors. It has also traced how the community is revitalizing healing through balanced sustainability, focusing on the contextual dimension of Tamang traditions and transitions.

INTRODUCTION

In anthropology, healing can be defined as the culturally situated process through which individuals or communities address physical, emotional, and spiritual afflictions, drawing on culturally specific belief systems, practices, and social dynamics (Kleinman, Eisenberg and Good, 1978). Thus, indigenous healing refers to a diverse range of traditional practices, ceremonies and knowledge employed by the indigenous communities around the world, deeply rooted in the cultural, spiritual and ecological contexts of a particular community (Waldram *et al.*, 2006). Looking into its holistic nature, it is deeply embedded in cultural context, alleviation of physical maladies and restoration of socio-psychological harmony and well-being. It is important to recognize and respect indigenous knowledge, as it is rooted in centuries of wisdom, experience, cultural heritage and has been passed down through generations (Waldram, Herring and Young, 2006). Therefore, it becomes an integral part of the cultural identity and heritage of indigenous communities and

the healers, who possess unique knowledge and skills acquired through apprenticeship, inherited wisdom, and spiritual connections. This present study reflects that the existing knowledge of healing doesn't only venture around the world views of body, soul and mind but is significantly guided by the healing practices and practitioners. It aims to identify the human-nature interactive practices among the Tamangs, a scheduled tribal community living in different parts of Darjeeling district of West Bengal, India.

Tamangs are one of those indigenous communities who have a distinct cultural identity and maintain their unique healing traditions and practices, which are deeply rooted in their surrounding ecological heritage. The term 'Tamang' has been derived from Horse riding or Horse trading where 'Ta' in Tibetan means 'horse' and 'mang' means 'trader' (Bista, 1980:57). Their *Kipat*¹ is known as Tamsaling, locally called as *Yangbhu/Yumbhu* means 'our land', that is the land of Tamang speaking people (Tamang, 2009:43) in present day hilly regions of Kathmandu Valley, South of Nepal. Their ethnohistory traces certain political sufferings and several social-cultural

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push and pull factors that led the community to move for their survival and distributed in the entire mountainous valley of Nepal, adjoining regions of India, Myanmar, and various districts in the southern foothills of the Kingdom of Bhutan and Tibet (Fricke, 1994: 21). In India, these people can be found inhabiting the Indian hilly state of Sikkim and the districts of Darjeeling, Kalimpong, and Jalpaiguri in West Bengal (Upadhyaya, 2006: 46). Largely based on terraced farming, they cultivate a variety of crops like rice, maize, millet, and wheat, along with a range of vegetables such as potatoes, beans, and leafy greens and some citrus fruits. They are also engaged in livestock farming by rearing cows, goats, chickens to utilize their meat, milk, leather products. Their cultural practices are closely intertwined with their agricultural lifestyle and are often centered around the cycles of farming and harvesting, knowledge on seed selection, crop rotation and organic farming techniques. They have their own language, known as Tamang, which belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family. Majority of the them follow Buddhism but Bonism², Ancestral Worship (*Kheppasung*)³, and Animism⁴ is still being practiced. They have their organizational regulations to maintain social discipline through *Ghethim* (Political organization), *Mhithim* (Social organization) and *Chhuithim* (Religious organization).

The Tamang traditional beliefs and practices on healing are based on animism, ancestor worship, veneration of natural forces and treatment of the disease through ethno-medicinal plants. Those having the knowledge of ethno-medicines are called *Manpa*. *Bonpo* are the people who carry the knowledge of shamanism and *Tamang Lama* are the community priests who have involved themselves in Buddhist enchantments and principles of life. They have a rich oral tradition, including folk songs, dances, and storytelling, which serve as vehicles for transmitting their cultural knowledge from one generation to another. However, with the passage of time and the influence of many external factors, the Tamang community has undergone significant transitions. Their ethno-history traces multiple push and pull factors that lead to the changes in the role, responsibilities and value of the healing practitioners. Based on the data collected during ethnographic

fieldwork, an anthropological discourse has been made to discuss the present-day situation of the transitioning phase of the healing knowledge system subjected to various socio-environmental challenges over time and space. Therefore, this article aims to explore the character of healing practices and how the Tamang healers are significantly contributing to the sustenance of community integration.

Objectives of the study: The present study aims to achieve the following objectives: (i) to identify the nature of indigenous healing practices among the studied community; (ii) to trace the significant degrading factors behind the healing practices, and (iii) to document the role of healing practitioners in sustaining the Tamang traditions.

METHODOLOGY

An anthropological discourse has been made to address the research objectives. The emic perspectives of the community members on healing practices and healers have been documented through participant observation and certain ethnographic methods like genealogy, interviews, household schedule and focused group discussion. Oral histories and participants' interpretation on certain symbolic associations has been taken as key methods to trace the ethno-historical profile of community engagement with ethno-healing. A series of in-depth interviews has been taken from community healers. Informal interviews have been conducted from the community members and oral histories have been documented to trace the evolutionary paradigm on sustaining the healing practices. Audio-visual recordings of the events were also adopted with prior consent to capture the details of the events.

This paper is prepared based on the first hand empirical data collected from an ethnographic fieldwork among the Tamangs living in Darjeeling district. Tamangs live in multiethnic villages. For the purpose of this ethnographic research, ten sample villages were selected using snowball sampling based on the majority of the Tamang households as informed by the participants. The distribution of the Tamang ethno-healers shows as follows in Darjeeling Table 1.

TABLE 1

Distribution of the Tamang ethno-healers in Darjeeling

Name of the village	Rangbull	Takdah	Rongli	Geille	Jinglam	Namring	Soriang	Chegra	Takling	Mangwa
Number of households	60	32	12	69	39	8	60	10	9	58
Population	221	127	54	247	143	30	209	33	32	202
Number of ethno-healers										
Number of <i>Manpa</i>	2	1	1	1	1	“	2	“	1	2
Number of <i>Bonpo</i>	1	1	1	1	2	“	2	“	1	2
Number of <i>Lama</i>	6	1	2	1	1	“	3	“	2	3

Source: Demographic Census Schedule, Field Work, November 2022-February 2023 (Place this inside TABLE)

The above table shows the distribution of household census collected from the 10 villages consisting of 357 households and a total sample population of 1298. It has been evident that each village has a very small number of ethno-healers consisting of both the medicine man (*Manpa*), Shaman (*Bonpo*) and Religious healer (*Lama*). One healer can also carry both the knowledge of ethno-medicines as well as shamanistic practices, unlike the *Lamas* who only occupy the knowledge and practices of religious healing. It has been noted that because of the less number of community healers in one village, if they are not available on need, Tamangs often approach the healers beyond their community for the sake of emergency purposes. Thus, they do not necessarily restrict themselves to Tamang *Lamas* or *Bonpo* or even *Manpa* for their treatment purposes and maintain the coexistence in their multiethnic hamlets. Decographic records show that the ethno-medicinal and shamanistic practices have been found to be believed and practiced within a few specific clans like *Rumba*, *Jimba*, *Pakhrin*, *Baiba* and *Ghising* out of the 30 exogamous clans recorded. Whereas, the other clan members are more inclined towards believing in the Buddhist principles of life and restrict themselves from continuing with the native tribal beliefs.

RESULTS & DISCUSSIONS

Tamang Healing and the Healers

Traditions and Traditional Practitioners are two important pillars of a society to behold their cultural entity. They play a vital role in challenging and subverting the hegemonic knowledge produced by colonial powers, embodies alternative ways of knowing and provide valuable insights into non-Western epistemologies, healing practices, and spirituality (Walter, 2002). They are also the custodians of certain

ritual practices through which social, economic and cultural activities are maintained in a society. Indigenous healing practices hold strong cultural significance for the Tamangs. They are seen as an integral part of the community's identity and are associated with their historical experiences, worldviews, and cosmology (Bhattacharya, 2016). They believe in various deities, spirits, and supernatural forces that influence their health and well-being. Their cultural heritage on the healing system combines elements of traditional medicine, shamanism and Buddhism. It involves elaborate rituals and ceremonies. These may be performed at the individual or community level. Whereas, rituals aim to restore balance, appease spirits, and purify negative energies, traditional practitioners have a deep understanding of local medicinal plants, therapeutic techniques, and spiritual healing practices. They can also include offerings, prayers, dances, and symbolic gestures. Rituals and ceremonies may also involve the participation of community members, creating a sense of collective support and shared healing experiences (Bhattacharya, 2016). Thus, Tamang healing practices takes a holistic approach, considering the interconnectedness of the physical, emotional, and spiritual aspects of a person's well-being and balancing energies within the body. This is believed to restore harmony and health that are deeply intertwined with their cultural beliefs and cosmology. However, it has been observed that all the ethno-healers, especially the *Manpa* and the *Bonpo* in the studied villages, are beyond the age of 60 and physically retarded. Therefore, they usually rely upon their assistants for the accomplishment of healing ritual purposes.

TRADITIONAL MEDICINE

Traditional medicine plays a significant role in Tamang healing practices. Traditional healers know the

properties and applications of the natural substances (Bhattacharya, 2016). They incorporate the use of natural remedies derived from local plants, herbs, minerals and animal products for treatments. These are used to treat common ailments, injuries, chronic disease and maintaining overall well-being. The medicinal remedies are prepared, administered and prescribed by the *Manpa* or medicine man. They use various methods to diagnose and treat illnesses including observation, pulse reading, herbal remedies, acupuncture, massage, and dietary advice for modifications and other lifestyle adjustments. They possess specialized knowledge in their traditional herbal medicine prepared from the leaves, stems or roots of *Pakhanbed*, *Chirata*, *Lalgeri*, *Golpatta*, *Mulajhar*, *Gharia Shishnu*, *Churo*, *Kalijhar* etc. to treat a number of ailments like gout, worm-infections, dysentery, piles, malaria or high fever, diarrhea, stomach pain, jaundice, indigestion, bone fracture, muscle pain and also for leech infection etc. Thus, the knowledge of medicinal plants is strongly dependent on the abundance of available medicinal flora and fauna in the surrounding ecosystem. They gather and prepare these ingredients themselves, utilizing their knowledge of the healing properties and enchantments. These remedies are administered orally, topically, or through rituals and ceremonies. They are experts in nature-human relationships especially in the mountainous Himalayan region and particularly practiced by the *Manpa*, who is generally one of the old aged members of the community. It is also believed to have spiritual power to collect elements from the sacred plants. Thus, as stated by one of the *manpa* from the village Rangbull - *'the ethnomedicinal healing knowledge was not necessary to be hereditarily transferred but appeared to be the result of constant involvement with surrounding ecology, need of survival in certain natural calamities, constant experimentation for treating common diseases and chosen by divine power. But now it is transmitted through apprenticeships and constant practical knowledge acquired from the surrounding nature'*.

SHAMANISM

Beliefs and Practices

Shamanism is an integral part of Tamang healing practices. It is based on the concept of balanced

harmony between the body, mind, and spirit. Tamang shamanistic healers, known as "*phedangba*", "*bonpo*" or "*jhankris*", play a central role in their healing practices. These practices are deeply guided by the worship of the five ancestral deities like *Bhagbati* (*Jethi* or eldest), *Kaushal devi* (*maili* or second eldest), *Nava Durga* (*saili* or third eldest), *Mai devi* (*kaili* or younger) and *Singa Devi* (*Kanchi* or youngest), and four supernatural deities of beneficence like two pair of *rani phurba* to resolve various kinds of misfortunes like finding stolen items or diagnosing black magics etc. and two pair of *tangling phurba* for protective purposes. Certain offerings and enchantments are dedicated for the respective deities who are called for solving different kinds of misfortunes held to the individuals or community members. This is also to mention that Tamang shamanism doesn't include the evil deities or the associated powers to the shamans who are also invited to satisfy the natural spirits at times of calamities or on a seasonal basis and only to satisfy good intentions. These shamans are believed to have a special connection with the spiritual world (Bhattacharya, 2016) and possess the power to communicate with deities, spirits, and ancestors. Thus, they are consulted for various health issues when the treatment from *Manpa* seems to have failed. Shamans engage in practices like divination to diagnose the root cause of an ailment if it is not merely a disease rather identified to be *bir* or *bira* (evil spirit) possessing the body and hence to communicate with the *phurba* (beneficence spirits) to seek guidance and healing energy. To heal physical and spiritual ailments they usually perform rituals and ceremonies that involve chanting, drumming, dancing, spirit possession, and offering sacrifices to appease the spirits who are believed to cause the illness.

However, the knowledge is strictly believed to be passed on by the supernatural spirits or the ancestral deities itself and cannot be taught to other individuals by the shaman's choice. According to the Tamang shamans - *"Institutionalized ritual obligations have to be performed, if an individual or any other family member gets the dream of the spirit possessing the body or asked to be ready to possess the power in the body. The spirit chooses its body to play the role, and if not chosen then the individual*

will suffer from misfortunes or can also be sentenced to death. we cannot transfer our knowledge by our own choice". Thus, the shamanistic knowledge remains stagnant unlike the knowledge of *Manpa* that can be learnt by the deserving members of the community. However, nowadays, *Bonpo* can be found to share the responsibilities of *Manpa* too because of the lack of capable members to inherit the knowledge. Being the folk healers, thus, both *Manpa* and *Bonpo* play a crucial role in healthcare delivery, acting as cultural mediators and counselors.

BUDDHIST INFLUENCES

Healing ceremonies and rituals are essential components of Tamang traditional healthcare practices. Buddhism has a strong influence on Tamang religious healing practices. The Tamangs in West Bengal often incorporate elements of both Indigenous healing practices and Buddhist traditions. This blend reflects the cultural syncretism that characterizes many Tamang communities, where Buddhist rituals and beliefs are intertwined with older, animistic traditions (Bhattacharya, 2016). Majority of the Tamang people follow a form of Tibetan Buddhism known as *Vajrayana Buddhism*, where the monks or *lamas* may provide spiritual guidance and healing rituals through the adoption of meditation, recitation of *mantras*, and visualization techniques that are employed to create a sacred space and promote healing, purify negative energies, and cultivate positive virtues. The ritual of '*Wang*' is absorbed by the Tamangs as significant for encouraging positive energy and performed for community well-being. This religious ritual involves long term chanting, drumming, dancing, and the use of sacred ritual objects during the *Lhochhar* or new year celebration festival. Among the Tamangs, satisfying the ancestors and ancestral deities are believed to maintain good health and wellbeing in the family. In recent days, following the Buddhism principle of non-violence, the practice of ancestral worship (*kheppasung*) is performed by offering fruits instead of sacrificing black chicken as followed earlier. However, the rest of the performances are followed according to the tradition of making the structure of deities using boiled rice, decorating them with natural colors, offering rice beer and associated ritual enchantments. Thus, many times Tamangs' healing

practices are characterized by a harmonious blending of indigenous traditions and Buddhist beliefs. The performance of these ceremonies is also believed to invoke spiritual forces for healing (Bhattacharya, 2016). However, syncretism highlights the complex interplay between historical animistic practices and the influence of Buddhism, which have become intertwined in their healing rituals., in contemporary times, indigenous healing practices among the Tamangs in West Bengal have also adapted to changing social, economic, and environmental contexts. This has included the integration of new knowledge and practices while preserving core traditional elements (Bhattacharya, 2016). As societies become more interconnected, indigenous communities like the Tamang are increasingly exposed to outside influences, including technology, media, and new cultural norms. Thus, these changes have led to a complex dynamic influenced by certain degrading factors working between tradition and transition among the Tamang people.

Healing Practices: Degrading Factors

The traditional healing practices of the Tamang community, especially in West Bengal, have faced various challenges and forms of degradation over time. The ethno-history of Tamangs traced a prolonged marginalization by dominant Nepali Hindu societies, treachery and political upheavals in the Nepal kingdom resulting in exploitation and migration that have disrupted their traditional cultural practices, including healing knowledge. According to the *Tamba* or Tamang leaders - '*this disruption led to a loss of intergenerational transmission and a challenge to sustain our traditional ways of healing*'.

Indigenous healing is a communal endeavor, also involving the active participation of community members. Through collective rituals and ceremonies, a sense of shared support and unity is fostered that strengthens social bonds. But the study identifies the factors within the Tamang community itself, such as lack of interests in beliefs and values and change in traditional agrarian livelihood practices has also influenced the degradation of traditional healing knowledge leading to a shift towards more in favor of modern and convenient alternatives. Coming out from the secluded tribal life, present day Tamangs living in

multi-ethnic villages has resulted in the erosion of their community specific practices. As they migrate to urban areas, they also face challenges in maintaining their traditional practices in an urban setting. Thus, leading to a gradual erosion of these practices over time. Traditional healing practices involve a deep intimate knowledge and understanding of local flora and fauna for medicinal purposes. Environmental degradation, habitat loss, and changes in biodiversity has limited the availability of key medicinal plants and resources, undermining the effectiveness of traditional remedies (Lama and Ghimire, 2010). With the growing intervention of exogenous economic opportunities on tourism, business and demand of various alternative forms of anthropogenic activities are increasing over time in Darjeeling, making the Tamang landscape incapable of returning to its former state of existence.

Traditional healing knowledge among the Tamangs are passed down orally, through apprenticeships or supernaturally chosen by the deities. The lack of formal documentation and institutionalization makes it vulnerable to loss when there are fewer individuals willing or able to learn and practice these traditions. Increased access to modern healthcare also reduces the apprenticeship opportunities, resulting in changing societal values and attitudes towards traditional healing practices. Globalization, modernization, and increased connectivity with the outside world has led to shifts in cultural values and practices, resulting in a decrease in the prominence of traditional healing (Foster, 2002). The transmission of this knowledge from one generation to the next is crucial for its preservation. But, as mentioned by them – *‘there is a gradual loss of pathways of knowledge transmission through Tamang language, customs or religious belief systems under the dominance of Nepali speaking members and socio-ritual practices.’* In many cases, as informed *‘our traditional healing practices are stigmatized or labeled as superstitious or unscientific even backward’*. This social perception has discouraged practitioners and apprentices, leading to a decline in the practice (Hachhethu, 2013). Similarly, after absorbing the Buddhist ritual principles, Tamangs now follow non-violence and restrict themselves from sacrificing animals to please their

ancestors, believing that to be unscientifically superstitions and native backward behaviors. Therefore, in the face of evolving social, economic, and environmental circumstances, Indigenous healing practices have displayed adaptability. However, if not earlier, efforts are now being made by various organizations and the Tamang community itself to revitalize and preserve traditional healing practices. These efforts involve initiatives to document and pass on traditional knowledge through locally published annual magazines, support traditional healers, and promote cultural awareness and appreciation to the healers.

KNOWLEDGE TRANSMISSION

Towards Balanced Sustainability

The transmission of indigenous healing knowledge among the Tamangs, like in many communities, primarily occurs through cosmological beliefs, oral traditions, apprenticeships, and experiential learning. Elders, particularly experienced healers, play a central role in transmitting this knowledge to the next generations through storytelling, rituals, and direct teachings (Hachhethu, 2013). However, Tamang healing knowledge can be divided into two typologies. One to be the practical knowledge acquired from constant experimentation with the organic elements found in the surrounding area and the other is to be induced through enchantments and chosen by the supernatural deities. Traditional healers among the Tamangs have a sense of responsibility to their community. They see themselves as stewards of a valuable cultural tradition and are motivated to pass down their knowledge to ensure its continuity (Kuikel, 2015). But, according to the healers – *‘not every member of the community is capable of learning the knowledge of a manpa (medicine man) and a bonpo (shaman). Because, becoming a traditional healer among us involves a spiritual calling or initiation process’*. This includes dreams, visions, or other experiences that signify a special connection to the spiritual realm and a calling to heal (Hachhethu, 2013). Also, in order to collect the natural objects they need to surround themselves with protective chanting measures otherwise, the person going for the herb collection can fall to death.

However, in recent days, both the role of shaman and medicine man are taken care of by *Bonpo* themselves. They generally take on apprentices who are interested in learning the healing practices that involve hands-on learning, observation, and guided participation in healing rituals and ceremonies. Apprentices learn by direct observation and actively participating in healing ceremonies, observing the techniques and rituals performed by experienced healers, and gradually gaining proficiency over time. Healing ceremonies involve specific rites of ancestral worship, inviting natural spirits by drumming and enchantments, drawing symbols and associated practices that are passed down as part healing practices of the healing courses (Kuikel, 2015). However, they cannot administer the shamanistic practices if their body is not chosen by their ancestor deities. Thus, as perceived by the Tamangs, the role of the traditional healers goes beyond providing medical treatment. They also serve as counselors, mediators, and advisors in matters of health, relationships, and community affairs. Their experiences are highly respected within the community, and they hold positions of social influence and ritual authority. It's important to note that the specific practices and techniques of Tamang traditional healers may vary within different subgroups and regions. But one of the major factors influencing the transitions is the process of modernization. On one hand, there is a desire among community members to preserve their indigenous identity and cultural practices, by actively putting efforts to revitalize and safeguard their traditional knowledge, languages, and rituals. They organize annual conferences, cultural festivals, establish community institutions, and promote indigenous education. Community historians (*Tamba*) are writing journals, books and publishing their knowledge with the support of All India Tamang Buddhist Association, Tamang Gedung and Tamang Cultural Board, Government of West Bengal. On the other hand, they are not immune to the forces of changing economic opportunities, migration, and urbanization. It has led to shifts in their livelihood patterns from agrarian to tourism, driving, shop keeping and multiple occupational choices with the changing social structures where the younger generations are increasingly exposed to formal education, urban

lifestyles and diluted traditional practices.

Moreover, indigenous practitioners, such as shamans and traditional healers, grapple with the tensions between their roles as cultural custodians and the demands of a rapidly changing world. Some are adapting their traditional knowledge and practices to suit contemporary contexts, while others face challenges in passing on their expertise to the next generation. Hence, they are navigating between indigenous healing and the formal healthcare system. In cases of severe illness or emergencies, individuals seek medical assistance from nearby hospitals or locally available clinics. This interaction reflects the complex healthcare landscape where both traditional and modern approaches coexist. Furthermore, in modern times, the transmission of healing knowledge among the Tamangs have also involved adaptation to changing social, economic, and environmental contexts, integrating new knowledge and practices while maintaining core traditional elements (Kuikel, 2015). However, traditional healing practices remain important and are used alongside modern medicine. For them, traditional practitioners are not just medical professionals but also community leaders, cultural custodians, and sources of social cohesion. They bridge the gap between the physical and spiritual realms, addressing not only the physical ailments but also the emotional, psychological, resilience and spiritual well-being of individuals and their communities. They are seen as guardians of this knowledge, preserving and transmitting it from one generation to another. Thus, even if the public acceptance may sometimes be avoided because of certain politico-religious beliefs, the knowledge and practices of traditional shamanistic healing practices are equally valued at the community level.

CONCLUSION

The Tamang people of West Bengal have a unique tapestry to healing, deeply rooted in their cultural beliefs, religious traditions, and understanding of the human body. Their specialized knowledge and spiritual connections enable them to address various health concerns within the community. The reliance on natural remedies derived from local flora and fauna underscores the deep ecological knowledge of traditional healers. This intricate understanding of the

environment contributes to the efficacy and sustainability of their healing methods. Ethno-medicine, shamanism, and Buddhist practices coexist and are adapted according to individual needs and circumstances. It reflects their cultural heritage, religious beliefs and the integration of modern influences. However, the Tamang community faces challenges such as multifarious economic opportunities, migration, and urbanization, which lead to a dilution of traditional practices and a shift towards mainstream cultural norms. Thus, this article contributes to the wide and diverse range of Tamang healing knowledge system and documents the role of the community holders, who are preserving and exercising it in multi-purpose ways. Incorporating deep connection to the surrounding environment, their balanced sustainability reflects a delicate balance between tradition and transition establishing the health care practitioners as the custodians of their cultural heritage on traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), ethno-medicines and healing performances. It also involves community participation and contributes to the resilience and empowerment of the community healers, fostering a sense of unity and collective strength. The community's efforts to preserve their cultural heritage and adapt to changing circumstances are crucial in maintaining their unique identity in the face of external influences. Thus, the indigenous healing practices of the Tamangs of West Bengal stand as a testament to the enduring vitality of their cultural heritage. They represent a profound intertwining of ancient wisdom, spiritual insights, and a deep reverence for the natural world. As the Tamangs continue to navigate an ever-changing world, their healing practices also continue to serve as a source of strength, continuity, and resilience.

NOTES

- 1 Kipat: local term of 'land of origin' among the Tamangs (Please shift this under NOTES at end of article)
- 2 Bonism : 'Believe in Bon tradition', a shamanistic and animistic practice in Nepal, Tibet and China
- 3 Kheppasung : local term used for ancestral worship among the Tamangs

- 4 Animism: Believe in Namse or soul among the Tamangs

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