

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF BON MEDICINE

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of the requirements for the award of the Degree of

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Certificate

This dissertation entitled "*Social Construction of Bon Medicine*" submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of this university has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university and is my original work.

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PREFACE

Although this dissertation is titled as 'Social Construction of Bon Medicine', it does not intend to construct repeated model of 'ethno' medicine, nor to expound the social construction of traditional healing. Rather, through centralizing this supplemental form of medical knowledge from social constructionism perspective, this paper attempts to envisage the composition of the knowledge structure encompassing Bon Medicine and to articulate how the extant position of Bon Medicine has been socially constructed in relation to the position and nature of Bon Religion in the Buddhist dominant culture. Calling attention to the marginal which enables to re-read and re-orient the rest, reveals the inadequacy, the partiality and incompleteness of the common understanding. This decentralization knowledge elucidates the double structure hierarchy of knowledge : as indigenous (supplement) medicine in the discourse of 'medicine' which is predominantly identified with biomedicine in general, and as indigenous (supplemental) religion in the discourse of 'religion' which is predominantly identified with Buddhism in Tibet .

Bon is a name of religion which it said was widely followed in preBuddhist Tibetan cultural sphere. Buddhism reached in Tibet in the seventh century and became state religion in the year of 762 A.D. Since then, though, once there was severe persecution at the initial stage in eighth century, the configuration of life, culture and discourse in the world of Tibetan culture has been centering Buddhism value system. To our interest, some of the pockets of this cultural sphere fall in the land now demarcated as India. It covers Ladakh, Kinnor district of Himachal Pradesh, and Tawang and West Kameng District of Arunachal Pradesh, the areas vicinal to Tibet. Although people living there are linguistically and historically distinct from mainland Tibetan, the spatial continuity exposed people into profound influence of Tibetan Buddhist culture. The inter-exchange of people and goods with ambient culture has configured the multicolored medical knowledge and healing practice on its own right in each different geographical and cultural context. The Monpas of Tawang and West Kameng district of Arunachal Pradesh

Pradesh take part in this fabric, and this is the community, which this paper focuses on. Besides these autochthonous communities, India also embraces the very community of Tibet fled from main Tibet after the Chinese uprising in 1959. However, in present day the modality of the Bon differs between these two kinds of communities. While among the latter Bon is institutionalised religion followed by the minority of Tibet, the former Bon is a healing tradition, dealings with the ailments of the locals through ritual performance.

The main approach to look at the issues in this paper refers to the social constructionism. Social constructionism provides a perspective to examine the perspectives which constructs the certain discourses and way of seeing the world which are not necessarily any more valid or reasonable than other ways (Bury 1986). To the social constructionists, all knowledge is inevitably the product of social relations, and is subject to change rather than fixed. In this context, knowledge is seen not as universal, independent reality but as participant in the construction of reality. Thus, as Lupton (1994) defines, the social constructionist approach does not necessarily call into question the reality of disease or illness state or bodily experiences, it merely emphasizes that these states and experiences are known and interpreted via social activity and therefore should be examined using cultural and social analysis. According to this perspective, medical knowledge is regarded not as an incremental progression towards a more refined and better knowledge, but as a series of relative constructions which are dependent upon the socio-historical settings in which they occur and are constantly negotiated.

Standing on this thorough anti-essentialism stance which conceptualizes medicine as producing knowledge which changes time and space, this paper seeks for the alternative versions of medicine and religion in Tibetan cultural sphere which may be placed against other granted versions and tries to judge on its fruitfulness rather than its verisimilitude (Nicolson and McLaughlin 1987).

Since this paper looks into the place of Bon Medicine in the two fields of discourse, namely of medicine and of religion as indigenous knowledge, the composition of the paper is broadly divided into two sections. In the former part in Chapter one and two is devoted for sub structuring theoretical and methodological

perspective for the indigenous medical knowledge, i.e non biomedicine, to approach Bon Medicine at later part. On the analysis of medical knowledge, epistemological subtilization of knowledge structure in medical field and the position of indigenous medicine in the discourse of medicine is illustrated in Chapter One. Following the conceptualization of the position of non biomedical knowledge, and its cognitive structure, Chapter Two reviews the theoretical development of social constructionism and its characteristics of the approach, and scrutinizes its limitation to the application for the methodological clarification. The latter part portrays Bon medicine in the discourse of religion in relation to dominant version of medical knowledge, i.e Buddhism. Chapter Three, delineates concept of Bon and its historical transition from various position as a background information to understand nature of 'General Bon Medicine' and its position in Tibet Medicine discourse. Chapter Four depicts 'Bon Medicine' of Other version 'Pre-Buddhism' form through its reconstruction by researchers primary field observation among the Monpas in the West Kameng and Tawang districts of Arunachal Pradesh supplemented by the preceding works on preBuddhism bon studies among popular belief in Tibet, the Tamangs and the Sherpa Yolmos in Nepal. Chapter Five summarises observation, between Chapter 3 and 4 through the perspectives established in the former part, and concludes this assay by over-viewing what was the social construction of Bon Medicine.

Chapter One

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Cognitive Structure of Knowledge

Firstly this chapter overlooks theoretical position of traditional medicine or non biomedicine in medical knowledge and its treatment in the field of medical research with reference of historical changes and cultural difference of the concept of 'medicine'. By scrutinizing the medicine as medical knowledge, the researcher illustrates the cognitive structure of knowledge with emphasis on the attitude of the self which constructed through social process as determinant of the modality of knowledge.

Position in Medical Discourse

Historically, the term medicine was not equivalent solely to modern biomedicine. This confinement is recent phenomenon of past three centuries, which is often imputed to the advent of the Enlightenment assisted by the faith in progress of society based on the developments in science and technology, and belief in the power of the reason in shaping human understanding. These were accompanied by a rejection of the 'superstitious' of religion and the privileging of utilitarianism as a dominant ethic of the functioning society. Medicine based on scientific principles was seen as providing the solution for the ills of humankind (Lupton 1994: 83). Prior to that, there were various devices and knowledge for remedy and to cope up with suffering and distress across different cultures. Mostly, however, these were taken as non authentic and illegitimate in modern society due to its installation of the stile that is rationalization, or individualization. To the rationality, sickness is threat, for it threatens social life and erodes self-control, and hence ability of the rational biomedicine to deal with sickness is

privileged (Lupton 1994: 87). But this is not the only reason. In fact, as Young points out, (1987:275) the success of ideological practices of biomedicine lies not in their capacity to confront and refute rival views, but in the power to push these views to the margins of reasoned discourse. These non biomedical and previous systems of explanation are held by many contemporary scientists to be poor relations, and some prominent medical historians discount much of Western medical history prior to the twentieth century (Collins 1999). The marginalized knowledge has not noticed its presence to the eyes of those who are in the centre, simply because it is out of sight suffused modern value system. Even if it could appear in their sight, it would be projected as illegitimate, superstition, and the object of control. As Jewson (1976:232) points out, with rise of new mode of 'enlightenment' knowledge, there was a shift away from a person-centered cosmology of illness to an object-centered cosmology.

In the field of medical research by social science, much of the literature in the sociology of health and illness, health psychology and even medical anthropology shares with biomedicine an empiricist and materialist understanding of illness and holds, at least implicitly, pejorative views of non-biomedical and non-Western approaches. For instance, in the range of historical analysis on medicine has been largely dealt with temporal comparison between pre-modern and modern within the Western clinical framework, and less work had been taken up in the non-biomedical knowledge for corresponding comparison. Spatial comparison between non biomedicine might have been taken up in the same ring of cultural anthropology, but comparison with biomedicine as a symmetrical match is very sparse, or the view equates the non biomedicine itself does not came up the conventional perspective for medical knowledge. Some of the reason for this tendency could be explicated by the 'gaze' of biomedicine towards non-biomedicine. It has never been equated with biomedicine, and resigned to be subaltern as a rear supplement of elite authors to reinforce its legitimacy and authenticity.

From the vantage point of biomedicine, Collins (1999) posits, to this 'enlightening' superiority, the other form of knowledge can be both misleading to the patient and dangerous. In order to arrest and cure many medical conditions, quick professional identification of the ailment is deemed necessary. To their worry, the other approach to healing may extend the progress of the disease, exacerbate impairments, weaken the patient and make healing more difficult. Thus, in Mexico, for example, physicians complain that patients go to folk practitioners as first resort, and this means that medical disorders are often too far advanced to cure by the time patients arrive at their medical clinics (Finkler 1985:58). This is a same complain I heard from the medical officer of the Primary Health Care Centre in Dirang circle, where I did field work for this study. Partly for these reasons, but quite transparently for professional self-interest as well, the medical profession has consistently opposed or dislodged both alternative medical practices such as indigenous system of healing. As Arnold (1988:18) pointed out in relation to medicine in European colonies, 'seeing itself as rational, scientific and universalistic, western medicine defined itself in opposition to the presumed irrationality and superstition of indigenous medicine. The customs and beliefs of the people were treated as obstacles to overcome, obscurantism to be brushed aside by the new scientific age' (Collins 1999: 182-183), which needs to be promoted to the 'enlightened' mode of knowledge.

Augmented by these subdual discourses, this 'pre-modern' knowledge was always posited much behind provident accommodation of the other systems of knowledge. Modern medicine considers itself as scientific activity and appeals to the social institutions and imagery of 'science' as a source of legitimacy, probity and integrity. Important to the legitimating of science, in contrast to religious and other systems of knowledge, its procedure are regarded as objective and value free. The conduct of objectivity, as sociologist Will Wright (1992:23) has explained,

gives science a 'desperate privilege', so that in Western societies, knowledge is virtually equated with the achievements of science. This is in marked opposition to other forms of knowledge and other healing systems, which are often conceived by medical sciences to be simply incorrect and at variance with what is known about workings of the human body and disease (Collins 1999: 180). In this fashion, non-biomedicine has been portrayed counter to 'scientific' medicine and it is no more than set-off in the analysis of 'scientific' theory of modern reasoning. Because constitutively, the subject of the portrayal itself is a production of 'modern' system of education which worships scientific objectivity. Being inside the logic and frame of the science can not help involving oneself with reproduction of same prosaic discourse. Inevitably, the world can not be reduced into sole line of thought or enlightened mode of Western value system in this plural multicolored world.

In order to grasp more comprehensive cognition over the alternative version of medicine, we need to get ourselves out of the repeated biomedicine paradigm through examining the position in it. This does not mean, however, taking a part in the construction of romanticized traditional medicine discourse, it aims to just shed light on a facet which we tend to overlook hence entail to absent from own insight.

Medicine as Medical Knowledge

The word 'medicine' is very inclusive, for originally it comprises whole range of remedial art and technique and also its practice. A dictionary defines as medical science, art of healing, physic, internal medicine, drug exercise, incantation, and magic. Medicine is a matter of assemblages, as Rose (1994) epitomizes, it is the combination of spaces, persons, techniques within which medicine has been deployed. Thus, it has a variety of attributes such as clinics, therapeutics, pharmaceuticals, business, power, technology and knowledge, and this paper specifies the central attributes of medicine as

a mode of thought, i.e. as medical knowledge. If knowledge is construction conditioned by the way of recognizing of the phenomena, and is characterized by certain process of circumscription and distortion of reality, hereby scrutinizing cognitive structure brings us closer to the right perspective. The concept of recognition here is dispensed with clinical psychological 'cognition', however, I use the word 'recognition', not 'cognition' of psychological term. This recognition does not occur inside of the brain by experiment in laboratory, but through the interaction between brains in the social forum. This recognition plays crucial role on the construction of knowledge, for the veracity of recognition sways the *raison d'être*, existential reason. If the recognition is failure, the knowledge itself is invalid or, rather it would become problematic. Knowledge is always to be revised in response to the change in social process, and to be sensible to the nature of change depends on way of cognition. According to Armstrong (1994:18), novel Kuvian position offered important insights into these social processes, but crucially, it also have shown that the internal cognitive structure of science could be an object of social enquiry.

Knowledge as Information

In the case of the science, knowledge dispense with the observer as subjective noise or 'devalued data', a contributing factor for distortion of knowledge. One of the fundamental premises of this 'realist' or 'objective' view is the fact that the world can be empirically ascertained by an objective observer (ideally trained scientist), and that these facts are independent of the socio-cultural context in which they are determined and untainted by the assumptions, goals, activities or previous experience of the observer. Subjective phenomena such as attitudes, belief, values and emotions are considered to be potential nuisance factors, which can obscure or misrepresent the true state of affairs (Yardley 1997).

Historically, natural science in general has been producing knowledge

for controlling the nature. Nomura (2001) point outs that this knowledge is fundamentally for transformation of nature and surroundings into useful resources. This knowledge views the nature as the material for human to transform for it own convenient use. This cognitive attitude has driven science to explore the mechanism and law of nature and to develop the technology to reinforce its control. In this perspective, the nature is manageable object, and sources of information. This tendency is not only of the natural science, so does social science, if it treats the society in the same manner as nature. This kind of policy science intervention, the knowledge is condensed into instantly useful, practical and predictable information, no longer an insight for the academic pursue of reality. This knowledge as information corresponds with the `displaying knowledge`, one of knowledge classified by Sasaki (1993). According to him, now that less people artlessly believe the myth of objectivity in the science in this post modern, and in the place of myth, pragmatism gets into it through peoples` purposive adoption towards useful device of science production. The works of scientists entail on `displaying` rendition of the scientific objectivity. Habermas categorizes this attitude towards reality as `technological interest of cognition`. He discerns this interest underside of empirical and analytical science to control the result of action accurately and extensively on the ground of valued data. Our tendency to see the technology itself as uncolored and neutral, says Nomura, needs to think twice. Whether it is used destructive way or not, according to Habermas, it is manifestation of predisposition which technology itself endows. When the technology was invented, it always aimed to serve the social needs as beneficial helper. However, it is historical evaluation or ex post facto whether after all the technology is benevolent or not. To this view, the objective neutrality is a self-deception of the scientist (Nomura 2001).

In general for the present, the biomedicine is seen as `success` and it has been attributed (at least by the historians of the medical profession)

almost entirely to advances in the understanding and control of biological processes over the past three centuries. Improvement in health and longevity are credited to the victory of medical science over nature: the conquest of invasive disease, the correction of physical malfunction, the repair of accidental damage, and the management of risky events such as childbirth by 'technology' (Yardley 1997). These triumphs of technological knowledge are in turn attributed to ever-expanding scientific information congregated by anatomy, physiology, biochemistry, and most recently molecular genetics, together with increasing machinery capabilities relating to procedures such as diagnostic testing and surgery to render the policy scientists campaign for regimatic utility and efficacy. Yardely argues, however, in this biomedical account of how ill health is conquered, the achievements of biomedicine are typically somewhat overestimated. Despite the undeniable, and the often wonderful power of modern medicine to cure, to prevent or alleviate many physical ills, reduced morbidity and mortality rates in the populations are actually due in large part to socio-economic and life-style factors such as improved diet, housing, hygiene and safety. But the rhetoric of biomedical supremacy seems persuasive because it forms part of larger discourse which has dominated Western thinking since the birth of the industrial era (Gordon 1988) - a discourse which assure that by means of accurate observation and rational deduction human beings can attain an objective knowledge of the nature of reality that will enable us to predict and control nature. Thus, modern medicine is directed towards controlling the body, keeping it from subsiding into the chaos and disorder threatened by illness and disease (Lupton 1994:87). Whereas physicians and healers in previous and non-Western cultures might see the social, subjective or spiritual significance of illnesses an intrinsic and significant part of the phenomena, while modern diagnostic practices are designed to exclude, or at least isolate these aspects of illness in order to focus more clearly on the biological processes (Yardley 1997). Although it may impose burden on the

patient, rigorous investigation leads to seek more examination data and to diagnose treatable disease within the medical text, biomedicine 'have to' sever disease from the patient, and analyses thoroughly as the object. Because biomedicine -as well as other natural sciences- is based on firm belief that one can reach verity by dissecting of totality into parts, and is supported by the belief based on reductionism that the human can restore by repairing the defected parts by accurate indication of impairment (Collins 1997). As a result, departments are subdivided into organs, and slanting of specialization has been accelerated. Even at the time of death this spurred modern medicine provides saturated technological treatment just to accomplish purpose of control. Thus, the patient have to' prolong the expectancy of life irrespective of its own wish or dignity as human as they become part of life extension machine, or 'damaged goods'. It is not generated simply because of the changing life speed in the modern society, but merely because of the latent predisposition of biomedicine (Nomura 2001). As Habermas says, it has already endowed constitutively of power which driven human to particular direction as ideology.

Knowledge as Awareness

Contrasting to this one-sided cognition of knowledge, 'awareness' of Groudnier, an advocate of reflexive sociology in 70s America, suggests possibilities of another attitude. This inter-subjective knowledge reflexively recognizes the social reality based on the symbiosis in the relation to the subject. It is not merely subjective or personal, this form of knowledge awakingly recognizes every object as function (in math terms) of the self, and this ascertains the location of the self in the social world. Nomura (2001) says we simply cannot classify knowledge into this information or that awareness. Since this awareness based on the relationship between knowledge and the subject, it is rather the depth of the relationship makes information into awareness. Sasaki discerns this awareness of knowledge in

other words. His 'interpreting knowledge' delves the substratum of the time spirit, and unearths the continuity behind ages. This 'interpreting knowledge' drives at the 'practice' at the bottom of its meaning and placed in contrast to mentioned 'displaying knowledge'. It is a practice of handing down the suppressed value to the next generation by interpreting the meaning of the things. This may be an anti-contemporary work for this reckless progress and efficacy oriented age, nevertheless, needed more than any other age paradoxically (Sasaki 1996)

The knowledge of myth endows such value suppressed in the name of the 'Enlightenment'. This non-experimental, non-provable and immeasurable knowledge by scientific instrument degraded as devalued data for recognition of a 'fact'. This non-reducible knowledge is acquired through involvement of the self into the phenomena, ingraining subject into the object. This may be contextual and can hold true exclusively to the concerned, and cannot be generalized to other. However, the awareness distinguishes its position from the knowledge of myth in terms of its reflexive nature. It does not live only within the given myth. It always reviews and revises the own position in it in the myth one live in to grasp what actually the myth is telling about.

To make this process more intelligible, I explicate the characteristics of the self in relation to the subject and the object at the different cultural and historical settings to portray how the cognitive structure of knowledge differs through the time and space. This typification does not follow the diachronical transition of the self, but the concurrent three moments at the contemporary age. In order to illuminate the differences of its modality, I categorize and compare this concepts into three kinds of self: 1) the mythic self in the knowledge of myth, 2) the enlighten self in the 'Enlightenment' of Renaissance, particularly post Cartesian philosophy, 3) the reflexive self in the contemporary social science thought, with reference of Anthropology Dogmatic of Rujandor (Nishizawa 2000).

The Self as Source of Modality of Knowledge

For the mythic self, religion or belief system is the source for recognition of the world, and myth is text for that leaning. In this version, the subject of knowledge is occupied by super-natural in the name of God, spirit, or deity. They are the subject of the 'changes' in the life internally such as disease and externally such as disaster, what detrimental to the well being of the individual and the community. Whether the weather is disastrous or not, whether the year is epidemic or not, whether one is misfortune or not, the entire sundry conducted by the extra-human power. Irresistible control and regulation are imposed by this conductor in the name of taboo, totem, or kinship etc, all rights was reserved by them. Human being has no say, but not just being passive. In the course of the empirical long-suffering renovation, these objects have contrived the way to manipulate and to negotiate with the subject in the form of festival, ritual and sacrifice. In this non-mundane occasion, the object metamorphoses into the subject. A body the arena of the subject has consecrated purified and empowered to administrate the order of the things. Here, the object is identified with the subject. The demarcation between of them has dissolved within the body. The bodily order and the cosmic order share the same equilibrium, and the humors correspond to the natural elements. A unity was assumed to connect the humors of the body- the microcosm-with the elements of the world -the cosmos or macrocosm. (Collins 1999: 4).

The enlightened self is *humanitus*- the subject of the 'Enlightened' knowledge. (*Humanitus* means humanity and knowledge about human in Latin) Symbolized by Rene Descartes' utterance, *cogito ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am). I, the human am the source of recognition, and the subject and the creator of the knowledge. This 'enlightened' knowledge itself is a text to be expanded indefinitely by compilation of data based on self-recognition (Nishizawa 2001). On this radical reformulation of the world, the human being

has secured the arena where supernatural used to be held to. Because to be the subject, this enlightened self have to detach from the nature and supernatural and to replace as the 'other,' the object of knowledge. This sacrilege has not any more the object of sanction for enlightened self, hence no fear or awe of any supernatural, and such repository of the 'Dark age' was overturned as irrational unreasoning superstition. The world is now under control of *humanitus* and the ban has lifted for the transgression of sacrosanctity. All rights are reserved exclusively for *humanitus*, 'human rights' is an epitome of this anthropocentricity. The causality of the disaster and disease has been condensed into the provable range of scientific examination by lineal cause-and effect. This autonomous subject can 'change' the world as they want, by transmuting the nature, the denature of the body. The body is devalued from sacred into profane and supernatural lost its arena. The body for inspection of knowledge was reduced into a material object and was placed external to the subject, dissociated from the mind. The mind becomes operation as a metaphysical 'ghost' and the body became a 'machine'. As a machine, it became incumbent upon philosophers and medical scientists of the enlightenment to know the mechanics of the body. The key to the identification, treatment and cure of disease was held to lie in understanding how the body 'worked' (Collins 1999:5). The Enlightenment initiated a new search for knowledge and truth, promoting the values of rationalism, secularism. Liberal tolerance and progress. The image of the modern self, capable of nearly absolute freedom from social determinacy, able to disengage in order to reach higher level of truth, is western ideal of what it means to be human (Gordon, 1988a: 40).

The scientific apprehension and representation of the world through the newly acquired logical, rational and mathematical techniques lent itself to the development of physical medicine, which emerged at this time as part of the pursuit to define both nature and human life itself in cause-and-effect terms. Enlightenment medicine reflected a confidence in scientific method of

observation and experimentation to control nature and intervene to correct the ailments that seemed to cut life short. However in this contemporary age, medical care emanated this attitude is becoming more, rather than less scientific, with increasing emphasis upon making clinical judgment and medical-decision making 'more rational, explicit, quantitative, and formal' (Gordon 1988b:258).

The modernity constructed by the Enlightened self is losing its arena, which pivots human activity for its expansion, and promotes a monologue excluded all other being in the name of human dialogue. This artificial world where people are autistically speculating and philosophizing is at impasse (Yamanouchi, 2001). Now that a history is no longer on the elongation of modern age and none of new social order would emerge at the critical state. Such evolutionary deterministic recognition can no longer sustain, when Weber brought the issue of Wertfreiheit, value liberation, at the center of social science method. This multiplicity of the value put the period on the modern philosophy derived from the Enlightenment which adjudges the history as incremental evolutionary process of progress in sequential order (Yamanouchi 2001). In these plural dispersing societies, realities are kept on renewing into many other versions beyond the autonomicity of the self-recognition of the enlightened subject. There is emerging necessity to revise the version of the self and its way of recognition to the world (Nishizawa 2001).

The reflexive self emerges in corresponding to this state of affair, which recognizes the world in the relation to the self through the reflection from being of the others. The knowledge is not concluded within the enlightened self and it is kept on revising as self-examination. If 'I think' therefore 'I exist', then all existence depends on this I, the enlightened self. But in this reflexive self, 'I' is not preset, it is profoundly interdependent on the time and space like principle teaching of Buddha. Being aware of this egoistic ignorance, the dichotomy of the subject and object ceases and dualism of the concept such as good and bad is 'illusion (*Maya*)', no longer

valid. 'I' emerge in the reflection with other, and is brought about through the interaction in the social forum. On the reflected specula, the self is objectified, or detached from illusion of dualism, and the universal truth become relative, the reality become contingent, and granted fact is historicized.

This knowledge structure is also fundamental to the process of social construction dependent on social relations in 'power mechanisms' operating in society. For instance, king can be the king because people treat him as king, while people believe they are vassals because he is king to them (Marx 1969). In other words, the old regime characterized sovereign power, in which the body of the king symbolized the concentration of a centralized power, were carried out on the bodies of the king's subjects. And by the 'disciplinary power' in Foucault's term, the supreme body does not belong to the king but to 'everybody' (Armstrong 1994: 20). In this thorough relational perspective, there is no fixed subject or object in this recognition. The self becomes the subject in relation to the object, but it may be the object in other contexts. Thus when the belief that had held the relation is no longer valid, or when people cease to believe that he is king, the reality collapse as Ruis 16th was hanged under guillotine. In this fashion, Weber points out even 'State' cease to exist as soon as the chance of processing the meaningful and directed social action vanishes, as we notice how Soviet Union dissolved (Weber 1978).

Like these example, our granted realities are often constituted over the confusion by taking 'result' for 'cause' (Nomura 2001). That is to say, we tend to believe the phenomena came out of relationship as the cause of the phenomena. Actually, a phenomena as king is a result of vassals' belief, or social construction, and the result is at the same time cause of further belief. In this reflectivity, *humanitus*, the enlightened self is reconfigured as *anthropos*, the object of knowledge construction (*anthropos* means mankind in Greek). In the context of this self, human being is no longer the

subject of knowledge, there is no Hegel's Absolute Knowledge, the knowledge of all essentiality and all existence, which deploy the self as the world itself. Here, the formation process of the subject itself is under question, and that is called objectification. This reflection leads us to realization of the fact that human is also nothing but one constituent of the world, instead of locating it on the center. The world does not exist only as the object for the human being to fulfill its curiosity; rather, human being in collective itself is also included as the object of the knowledge as one of species in this intellectual attitude. Everything in the world is text for this self, at the same time, the self also text for its more objective knowledge and comprehension. The term 'text' does not refer simply to a written form of communication, however. Rather text are something we all produce and reproduce constantly in our everyday social relations, be they spoken, written or embedded in the construction of material artifacts (Hancock 1997) . For this reflexive self, all are text to each other and all text is constituted by differences from other text. There is no pre-exist essence in this text, everything is defined and characterized by difference from others. World as the text is historical, temporary, contingent, operating through differentiation and displacement. On the ground of difference and relation in symbiosis, the peculiarity of human as social animal is pursued, but is not to be treated separately as autonomous supreme psyche.

However, this collective view of human being does not mean to fall back to positivism which frame society in terms of natural science by sticking only to empirical facts, rather, it looks into biological fact through the insight of social science to reinterpret the biomedical realm, which constructed after all human's psyche in social forum, from a socio-cultural view-point. This work is not that much simple as the recognition of natural scientist, because the work of social scientist is to recognize the recognition of the recognition. That is, the object of study in social science is the way of recognition of the people, that itself is prior of the society to shape itself.

According to Giddens, the difference of social world and natural world lies in the point that the natural world itself does not 'mean' anything. In other words, the meaning that natural world has been produced is constructed by human as a result of man's efforts to understand and explain the natural world through process of practical life. In Contrast, social life has been produced by the already meaningful actor who organizes their experience through the active construction and reconstruction of the meaning (Giddens 1984). For awareness of ideological constrain by scientism which confine the world within scientific mode of knowledge construction, this replacement of *humanitus* by *anhropos* decentralizes the human from authorized special being of powerful control of the world into modest one species of the world. This awareness exposes the source of authority, legitimacy and power of the modern subject as *humanitus* by questioning own position.

Position of the Self in Knowledge Construction

The point to make perspicacious here is, this is not the predication to apprehend human being as a creature but the proposition to take into account that the world we recognize is circumscribed by human sense conditioned by its sensorial capacity spatially and temporally and based on this perception social world is constructed. Inchoative to the Enlightened self, the belief of objective truth formulated on the ground of the doctrine that contriving and training leads to grasp the reality right. This doctrine happens to become mainstream in the twentieth century, however it is nothing but a self image of the scientist who adjudged ideal cognizant of expertise (Nomura 2001). To reproduce the myth of objectivity, these experts have propensity to recognize the things as if it is in a vacuum. But the human range of cognition is conditioned by its ecological position. The intellect of human is regulated by human perception shaped best in this atmosphere and climate. Time and space could be a priori of the reason as Immanuel Kant categorized but may

not be transcendental condition ensure by God but ecological condition for human being to exist (Nishizawa 2001). The world we perceive is merely partial and contingent and the knowledge accumulate on that basis of the fact which is accountable within the perceptible and accessible realm. Nevertheless, the modern knowledge expanded by way of claiming their provisional artifact (knowledge) as autarchical bestowment of absolute value as if we are prerogative (Nishizawa 2001). But when we look into the granted phenomena historically, it reveals its peculiarity of modernity. For instance, the form of family we now saw commonly, such as cognate ties around couple and their children is a phenomena incepted only in this past three centuries. It was not only this form in the long human history, and in every part of the world. Nothing is necessary and compulsory to get into one particular form. Whatever we claim its authenticity, it is within the purview of human being and its belief system and mostly these believed 'universal' value, individual ethical inviolability incepted in a point of the history in a part of the world named Europe by a group of the human being called Western. Armstrong points out, this in the respect of individuality: For the last two centuries there has been in Western culture a fundamental belief in the ethical autonomy of the individual: this belief is manifest in the humanist values and civil and political rights which pervade Western culture (Armstrong 1994:22). This regional historical phenomena was signified as the Renaissance and imbued to universalize through out the world in the name of 'enlightenment'. To 'Enlighten' non Western cultures, these values can morally be peddled to, imposed on, or used to judge 'the others', more significantly, for the present argument, it is used to interpret the past (Armstrong 2001).

However pointing out its relativity and contingency of the knowledge is not enough for analysis of the knowledge of enlightened self. The notion of the individuality or autonomy itself emerged parallel to not simply the belief of 'power of the reason and progress' of the Enlightenment, the shift

of the subject of knowledge into *humanitus* propelled the 'Enlightened self'. The condition of patient in the modern biomedical treatment often portrayed as 'disappearance of the sick man' as Jewon did, and it is regarded as the essential individuality of the person got lost as an identity-less object which against the 'humanism'. However, as astutely Armstrong raised there was no ordinary individuality, no autonomy, no discrete body, and prior to the advent of the Enlightenment, which constructed biomedical techniques. Then, the process of corporal objectification become not a distrust assault on human individuality as Foucault said, because there was no recognition of human individuality or human right or humanism prior to the *humanitus*, these are all social construction between the enlightened self in modern society. A number of studies have pointed to the historical cultural specificity of the idea of individuality or individualism, however those studies mostly demonstrates the complete lack or poor development of a concept of self in non-Western cultures. But the lack was in recognition of the self not of the mythic but of the Enlightened. The Enlightened knowledge (bio medicine) serve new social practices (those of clinical medicine) which produce the Enlightened objects (the individualized body) (Armstrong 1984).

The knowledge of myth before the Enlightenment is impervious to interlay the boundary of the self and the subject and object are in unison. Acculturated myth and wisdom are unquestioned reality and at the same time lived knowledge. But when the granted knowledge comes off the hands of God and come under the human's control, human being turns into the god, and the knowledge by human has endowed absoluteness. Everything is adjudged as knowable, and what is known to human becomes everything. The world is reduced into human realm. Human being is avowed the every knowledge of the world subjectively objectively and world is confined within it.

This is a remainder to ascertain that the world is more than our

'Enlighten' knowledge, and we know only what we can know. That is, we know the world only through our sense, there is no objective fact apart from us. Our world is a part of whole, but the part is whole for our limited recognition. There have been double errors of recognition: perceiving knowable is everything and it is objective. However the moment we observe, it is already subjective. The world we involved is the field where realities intersect. This multiplicity of reality has no standard fact or truth. Each reality is true to each observer whether s/he is doctor or patient, only the framing of a phenomenon is different There is no such single 'correct' view or value system dissociated from the context of subject and it is valid only in relation to a particular audience or goal. However, by cutting off the linkage of phenomena to the subject and casting out of interdependent mesh by excluding immediacy, the concatenation to the self was dissociated and expelled from relation to the subject. Because for concluding the myth of objectivity, the subject has to be placed out of the story. Ironically, this externalization of subjectivity is a source of distortion and circumscription of the recognition in conventional science and history by committing mistake of cognitive failure as Subaltern Studies raised (Spivak 1985). Hanson (1992) predicates that classical concept of observation, evidence, or data does not suit to fundamental intellectual activity because it does not suit anywhere in principle. Hence when we observe the things, the observation already always includes the subjectivity at the time of construction of observation.

In this contemporary age, the recognition of the self is out of the mould of this reflexive knowledge. Now the knowledge for action emerges as alternative. The social relation is integrated part of the process of living. The process of shaping the self itself is the formulation of the society, as well as social process. The issue we look at in the society is understood nor by the analysis of dissected factor of the society viewed as mere totality, nor by apprehension that each individual is independent and responsible, but by

looking at how meaning is jointly created by social interaction, inter-creativity of the formation. As Kvale points out, descriptions of feeling and events given in an interview cannot be treated as a simple reflection of the subjective experience of the interviewee, but must be acknowledged as a joint product of both participants in the interview and its social context (Kvale 1983).

The concept of self is, in fact, more selective matter than defining. In short, the knowledge is the text which provides the world view of the self, the resource to understand the world, the self in this age actively involves itself for the production, and revise its version self-imposingly than just being passive receptor. Now that the stage is to select how to view the world, but it is not prioritize the quantity of the information, but the quality of the insight and attitude reflected on its way and treatment.

Chapter Two

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Social Constructionism Perspective and Beyond

Section 1: *Introduction to Social Constructionism*

Over the last decade there has been increasing interest in 'social constructionism', which posits that social objects are 'constructed' through perception. However, the construction is not confined within individual mind, and this is the tenet which constructionism distinguishes from solipsistic position. These perceptions are patterned by and through social forms (Armstrong 1994:22), and social forms also patterned by the perceptions. Social constructionism is a perspective to understand these socially patterned perceptions which construct the culture and knowledge, and itself is one way of seeing the world (Burr 1995).

Social constructionists argue that the world we experience and the people we find ourselves to be, are first and foremost the product of the social processes. Neither God nor individual consciousness but society itself is the prime mover, the root of experience. To this view, the 'fact' which we believe its veracity is questioned as social construction and transformation of structures of meaning, conventions, morals and discursive practices that principally constitutes both as the dominant carrier of categories and meanings, and as the medium which provides much of the raw material for our activity. (Yardley 1997).

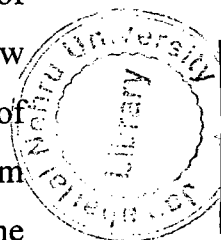
The nucleus of this perspective lies on its critical stance towards granted knowledge by being skeptical to what we are seeing, and to the ground on how we are seeing. Because all the classification within the brain do not match to the actuality. There is always interpretive gap between what we have seen and reality-in-itself, though we tend to take it for real what we

have seen. However, social constructionism does not emphasize the functionality of the social fact; rather it sheds light on the people's activity to construct the reality (Burr 1999). Social constructionists agree the social process, particularly language, are central to everyday life and experiences, and accept that knowledge and activity are intimately related.

Language as Mode of Construction

In the last chapter we approached modality of medicine from the aspect of knowledge, and scrutinized its cognitive structure in relation to the self as agency of knowledge construction. We ascertained that knowledge is constructed through interaction of the agency in the society. There is no 'objective' fact external to the self, the observer. In this process of knowledge formation, the portrayal of difference of the self elucidated how the relation between the subject and the object characterize the attitude of recognition, which is crucial to the nature of knowledge. These views from the stance of the reflexive self in the first chapter share the assort with the central assumption of social constructionism. Yardley epitomizes "if it is meaningless to conceptualize an 'objective' reality which is somehow independent of our activities and understanding , this means that the neutral perspective to which science claims to aspire can never be attained. Consequently, rather than striving for the illusionary goal of objectivity, it is more productive to examine the way in which our reality-including peculiar version of reality portrayed by scientists- is shaped by the purposes and conventions, aspirations and assumption, which form an intrinsic part of human life. Human activities and social practices have a profound influence on the nature of reality- both subjectively experienced and scientifically observed reality. It is simply impossible for humans to transcend their own capabilities and context. Ultimately, we can *only* perceive the world around us by means of human senses (even when their investigative capacities are vastly extended by human technology) and in relation to human desires and

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activities and we *must* explain it to ourselves and others using human cultural concepts and language “(Yardley 1997:1). The human intellect can never grasp the reality-in-itself, but can only give an expression on the reflected image on the self. We render language on that image, and through this action we structures system of understanding, i.e. knowledge. In short, what we deal with is only inside of the mirror, within the visible and knowable phenomena, that is, the basic structure of the recognition. Through the language the mediated nature of lives is enhanced and `here` and `now` is extended further. It is not the human being construct the world we live through language, but by acquiring language make the being human. As human is also speaking being, this very humane expression mode plays an important role at the understanding in the everyday life. Inversely, through language human being is unable to express the lived reality, and society is constructed on the basis of the expression (Nishizawa 2000), and through language, human being can be free from the limitation of space and time metaphysically by imagination and physically by knowledges.

Taking over this line of thought, social constructionism recognizes the socially and linguistically mediated nature of human experiences (Yardely 1997). Social constructionists all agree that social processes, particularly language, are central to everyday life and experience. They all endorse notion of historical and cultural change, and accept that knowledge and activity are intimately related through language, people share a system of meaning that inform their own and other’s activities, which allows our activities and their to be intelligible, and without intelligibility existence would be merely organic and hardly human (Willing 1999). Human is a social animal because we interact with each other interpersonally through dialogue. However, interpersonal interactions themselves are not sufficient to explain unique human behavior, of which interdependence is the hallmark. The foundation of human interdependence is a shared system of meanings from which people draw their reasons and justification for their

actions. The language provides clue to articulate the frame of idea or consciousness and leads the activity into a certain direction, and construct social facts and reinforce the reality of the discourse (Kenwood 1999: 182).

This view owes its germination to Sussure's 'linguistic turn' in structural linguistics. They remark the role of language to construct and maintain the social order and reality. The understanding on the mediatory nature of the language is common among the semiotics. They say: our 'knowing of our experience' is itself mediated knowing, which is the only thing knowing can be. There is no 'pure' knowledge of reality except, as the early theorist of semiotics Charles Sanders Peirce suggests, at an instantaneous and inarticulable level: one can experience, but not know, reality-in-itself. For the semiotics, the world is system of signs, and the knowledge is only comes to being through codification and signifying systems--that is, mediated knowledge (Lye 1996). There is no unmediated knowledge of 'reality': we can 'know' when the experience is translated into symbolic form from the reality-in-itself. There is no actual knowledge of 'reality', but only of symbolized, constructed experience. In semiotics context, whole world is texts to learn the things including unwritten. All texts are mediated in many ways: they are mediated by language, they are mediated by cultural systems, including ideologies and symbols, they are mediated by the conventions of genres, they are mediated by the world of intertextuality which is textuality's only true home, they are mediated by the structure of ideas and practices which they call reading (Lye 1996).

Within traditional disciplines, however, language is simply the tool with which people communicate private ideas and states to others. In itself, language is seen as passive and unproblematic; a device for describing and externalizing pre-existing objects and events (Yardley 1997). By contrast, social constructionism places language center-stage and gives it highly constructive role. Language is not spontaneous and natural but artificial arbitrary created, and is not the means of communication or signify the

extra-linguistic signified, but the practice itself to construct the reality through the production of meaning. It is also not psychological and interior, but social and exterior. It is language that allows people who share a common tongue to generate a common currency of concepts and meanings. It is through their dealings in this common currency that people fabricate their world. (Yadley 1997). When Wittgenstein introduced the idea that meaning is derived from functional language games, he suggested that these in turn take third meaning from the shared 'form of life' into which they are woven. Shotter (1990, 1993) develops this line of thought, arguing that language and practice are mutually constitutive; we share a practical, intersubjective, lived reality in which our language games are grounded, but this shared reality is shaped and sustained by linguistic rules and common cultural experience which allow us to convey a meaningful understanding of events to each other and to ourselves (Yadley 1997).

Discourse Analysis: Methodology

Social constructionism calls the language 'discourse' and the methodology of the study is discourse analysis. To the social constructionist point of view, the world is constructed by this discourse and people understand the world through particular discourse historically culturally conditioned (Burr 1995). 'Discourse' is a very inclusive term, which is sometimes taken to refer to actual speech or texts, or may be used to designate a coherent system of meaning (for example, biomedicine discourse). This integrated set of ideas or conceptual schema, is not simply verbal, according to Foucault, it also includes various practices determining the context and constitution of reality. Hence discourse in this sense refers to those unwritten rules which frame what can and cannot be said about any given phenomenon. In this respect, Foucault raised discourse to a primary position in terms of not only what we can say about the world, but also how we can know it. Foucault did not conceive of language, in form of discourse,

as a neutral tool of representation, but as the mechanism through which our sense of what exists in the world is constituted (Hancock 1993).

Discourse analysts are sometimes interested primarily in the micro analysis of how meaning and power is negotiated in the conversations or documents, and at other times may focus on the macro level of discourse as symbolic systems which permeate and structure society and language (Yardely 1997). Many combine these approaches, showing how people draw on wider systems of meaning to construct and defend their own particular position or perspective (Potter, 1990). Discourses mediate between objective conditions of life and the individual's subjective experience of these conditions (Wiling 1999:63). Therefore to question the postulation of the discourse, and research the historical emanation, and elucidate the cultural location leads the systematic understanding of the constructed phenomena. According to Yardely, discourse analysis requires a holistic overview. It is necessary to consider a discourse as a complete unit in order to interpret the 'point' or 'moral' of the story, to identify important gaps or inconsistencies in the 'plot' to comprehend the reasons why certain motives or circumstances are highlighted and others omitted, and to appreciate the origins and wider implications of the views and events (Yardely 1997). For the purposes of comparison a discourse analyst may actually study several accounts from different people, the number that can be examined in the meticulous manner.

Discourse analysts who have collected accounts from several people often eschew the ideal of representativeness because they are specifically interested in the variability in discourse. They may therefore simply select for presentation and analysis text segments, which they consider especially interesting and revealing. Nevertheless, some notion of typicality itself still informs the selection of 'interesting material', which is interesting because it uniquely exemplifies or contradicts what is seen as typical. For example, one way in which discourse analysis can identify the function of the

inconscience and idiosyncrasies in individual's accounts is by establishing the characteristics of the stereotypic public discourse (i.e. interpretive repertoires) on which they draw (Harre 1994; Potter et al.1990).

Instead of taking the participants "account at face value, this type of analysis examines how people tell their story, drawing on socially accepted forms of justification to present themselves in a particular way" (Willing 1999). Even if the participants are allowed to comment on these interpretations, it would be disingenuous to suggest that this can redress the power imbalance inherent in the relationship between the person whose speech is analyzed and the 'expert' who writes the final publication (Marks 1993).

The discursive response to quantitative research is that the 'reliability' is too often achieved by treating important inconsistencies and idiosyncrasies as 'error', and that objective validity is a mistaken ideal, since all views of reality are associated with a particular perspective. Discourse analysts believe that the material used in both qualitative and quantitative analysis is inevitably deeply influenced by the researcher. Rather than collecting neutral data, the investigator frames the question, picks the participants, and then interacts with them to produce the observations or texts used for analysis. Further process of selection and interpretation shape the conclusions and presentation of the analysis: the inclusion or omission of certain data; the examination of particular comparisons or associations; and the explanation of unexpected, ambiguous or inconsistent findings (Yardely 1997: 35).

Against Essentialism

Following this fashion of approach, the discourse of social constructionism fundamentally comprised its shape counter to the discourse of modernity, particularly challenging its essentialism and individualism that are central to Western science discourse. The essentialism appears when

cause and effect is perverted and it assumes that 'facts' can be gathered by disinterested and neutral observation (Nomura 2001). For social constructionism, 'reality' and 'entity' is the effect of discourse practice, not its cause. Emphasizing the relative nature of truth, it rejects the Enlightenment belief in the neutrality of knowledge and transparency of language and in turn, sought to uncover how various historically situated 'truth' came into being and served to legitimate certain mode of social power (Collins 1997). Social constructionism reframes concepts such as beliefs, methods, and techniques of mainstream science phenomena as constructed in the social realm within a particular system of social structures and power relations. Such an analysis reveals the way in which the individual is made to carry the responsibility for social ills such as inequality or public ill health (Yardely 1997).

Since any version of events can be deconstructed, there can be no version that gives us a superior understanding of 'reality'. 'Truth' is not inherent in an account; rather, it is culturally and historically negotiated (Wiling 1999). We actively seek to explore aspects of our world, in particular ways for particular purposes, and in so doing create knowledge which we then take as 'truth' about the world. But other activities carried out for other purposes might have produced alternative 'truth'. The knowledge is inextricably linked to, and emerges as a product of, activity and purpose. The interpretations are not generated in a vacuum; their meaning is defined in relation to the relevant socio-cultural context. In other words, neither doctors, scientists, nor anyone else can easily justify statements that are obviously inconsistent with the shared experience, which constitutes our 'reality'. But this reality is not the fixed, objective, physical world of the realities, but a world which is simultaneously material and (psycho) social, and which is constantly shaped and reshaped by the perceptions, intentions, and activities of the members of society (Yardley 1997).

According to Holzkamp (1997), institutionalized discourses constitute

social structure of meaning which contains opportunities and constrains in relation social action. These can be uncritically adopted by individuals but they can also be reflected upon, challenged, subverted and ultimately transcended. Individual's actions are grounded within and through these structures of meaning. In this way, they become premises for action. Subjectivity is, therefore, equated with the ability to act (Holzkamp 1997:400).

Thus, individual actions are not caused by societal conditions but they are grounded in them and mediated by them. Conditions of life, as experienced by the individual through discourses, provide reasons for the individuals' actions. It follows that non-rationalist point of view; meanings are afforded by discourses, accommodated by social structures and changed by human actors (Willing 1999:41). Individuals generally attempts to realize their interests from within such structures of meaning, even though it is possible to challenge, subvert and transcend them.

Social constructionist work needs to become part of a wider historical materialist analysis of society, which is capable of moving beyond a description of 'regimes of truth' and which begins to account for their origin and maintenance. Such an analysis should also allow us to explore human subjectivity and its dynamic process of self-formation (Wiling 1999:41).

Section 2: Critical Stance Towards Social Constructonism

This paper articulates and analyses the 'social construction' of Bon Medicine through the social constructionism perspective, which centers discourse for its main analytical apparatus. To articulate 'literate composition of discourse encompass Bon Medicine, the reading of the historiography or religious texts are main materials for the 'postBuddhism' Bon, and its medical knowledge. On the other hand, the 'preBuddhism' Bon and its medical knowledge which this paper centers as crux of the topic, is configured with the oral history, lineage succession, i.e. 'preliterate'

discourse. Although this clear distinction does not cover the anomalous corner of both tradition : `Post Buddhism` Bon also has steadfast oral transmission (*Nyan gynd*) which has to be mnemonic teaching by order, and `preBuddhism` Bon priest also consults the ritual texts which they inherited through lineage. As main mode of construction of knowledge, they can be categorized literate/preliterate respectively for analytical purpose. Critical stance of this section corresponds to the analytical model of this preliterate mode of knowledge construction.

Dialectic Environment

There is some criticism to this confinement of social constructionism perspective within the epistemological realm. Some say the exploration, however, tends to be conducted only within the symbolical socio-linguistic metaphysical level. Yardley (1997:3) argues any approach to material being which could be rapidly reconciled with discursive analysis would need to incorporate an understanding that activity and context profoundly affect not only socio-linguistic meaning, but also the material aspects of our existence. This entails an appreciation that the material dimension of living organism is not an objective realm of neutral physical matter and mechanical processes, but is itself imbued with purpose and continuously shaped and reshaped by dynamic interaction with the environment (Wiling 1999:44). In the material reality, at the same time to construct the reality, our being conditioned by the reality itself. As Sacks says, our construction is fundamentally constrained by the reality, and that the reason we are social being. We do not live in dreams; we do not live in a room. While waking perception is constrained by reality, we can not enjoy a special license of freedom unlike dreaming, which is cut off from external perception and action (Sacks, 1997: 206). Thus we can see and know the world the way we expose and restricted. Because nothing exists solely of its own right in this realm of human world. Everything is interdependent and every incident brings about mutual

interaction. It is not only reality is constructed socially by the discourses; the reality itself is propulsion of construction of discourse by constraining and stimulating our perception. In this fashion, scientific assertions are also 'discourses' contextualized by the formation of culture, including the construct called nature, in which they are generated and by which they are constrained (White 1995:392).

One way of this dual nature of our existence is already suggested by the early social constructionist theory of Berger (1966) who noted that the nature and lives of individuals are delimited by a combination of physical and social constrains and potentialities. There are subjectively experienced as equally 'real', in the sense that they have an existence, which is partly independent of any single person's consciousness. For example, social structures such as working and housing conditions, and practices such as dietary habits and health-care customs, have as real and inevitable impact on the health of many working class people as do physical entities such as viruses, genes, or environmental pollutants. Berger and Luckmann portray the relation between biological and cultural factors as a continuous dialectic between "being a body", which refers to our phenomenological experience of embodied life as the basis for intentional activity, and "having a body", which is more detached, reflective, socialized awareness of the body as an object. In this way of phenomenological approaches have been developed primarily for describing the subjective experience of 'being' a body, whereas discourse analysis has been predominantly concerned with the cultural and linguistic processes which construct the body as a social object. The former one emphasizes the phenomenology of health and illness, while the later ones are more oriented towards the social construction of the body (Yardley 1997:15).

A dialectical view of the world allows us to recognize that social life constitutes the material basis of human experience, and at the same time to acknowledge that social conditions do not directly determine human

experience. Rather, they offer a range of possible ways of being which when taken up by social actors transform social life and the possibilities it offers in the future. In other words, social environment cannot be reduced to an objective, external set of stimuli; instead it is the social conditions of life *as appropriated by the individual* that constitute his or her environment (Wiling 1999: 41).

Realist's Backlash

There is a critical view towards this social constructionism for its neglect of 'real', especially on its strong relativist position and missing elements for analysis. To some section of social constructionists, the most of their works construct only a relief of language, not with ground of reality. According to the critics, this floating drawing by relativism has ignored other vital element of human life. There is backlash to this impersonal and incomplete picture from the realist social constructionism, to recapture lived experiences as embodied beings and the sensuous physical nature (Nightingale et al 1999: 214). To the realism, discourse is always already situated in a material world; it is always already product of embodied beings (Nightingale et.al 1999:9). For them, some of this language centered writings consist of "excessive wordiness, conceptual confusion, abstraction and interdeterminacy"(Nightingale et.al 1999:10).

The most rewarding contribution of this critique of construction lies paradoxically its note on our characteristic how we tend to be delimiting ourselves by language by emphasis on the mediacy of the language. The knowledge we have is tend to be seen as limited within the language, and besides language, the text, degraded as illiterate.

To the realists uncritical acceptance of relativism which helps to block or undermine any attempts to reincorporate the 'real', the extra-discursive, such as, representations include perceptions, thought, language, beliefs and desires, as well as artifacts such as pictures and maps, and the

rituals and historical monuments include all the ways in which we do or could know and experience the world and ourselves (Nightingale et.al 1999:14). Hence realists demand `emphasis must be moved away from abstract epistemological consideration of discursive knowledge and re-centered around an analysis of the processes that underpin the knowledging activities (Searle 1995). In other words, constructionists must focus on the development of a `realist` ontology of the generative processes of the life world as opposed to an epistemological relativism (Nightingale et al.1999: 213).

ISM out of the Place

To make clear difference of these two positions, Micheal (1999) illustrates the fighting point of these two positions with adapting Douglas `matter out of place`. Social constructionists bring the question how did you do that? on the other hand realists ask what are you doing? Social constructionist claim realists bring the `what` into the domain of `how`. As Douglas gives metaphor, this is `ism out of place`. Douglas writes, `shoes are not dirty in themselves, but it is dirty to place them on the dining table` (Douglas 1966:35). Micheal says, the real is not dirty in itself (we all make assumptions about the real) but it becomes dirty when it enters into a discourse analytic perspective without being the topic of analysis itself (Micheal 1999:53).

While other relativist` critic compare in this way: we actively seek to explore aspects of our world, in particular ways for particular purposes, and in so doing create knowledge which we then take as `truth` about the world. But other activities carried out for other purposes might have produced alternative `truth`. However, an extreme version of this argument would say that there can be no facts which are truth in every culture and for all time. While some constructionists are happy to accept this possibility: some things are still more `true` or `right` than others (Micheal 1999:49)

The disagreement, then, is about the extent to which all knowledge is always local and particular, versus the extent to which it may also be grounded in aspects of the world that precede or transcend local human beliefs and activity (Nightingale 1999:5). This is the fundamental issue which has been controversial in the theoretical stance; there will be no ultimate answer. But Wiling (1999:38) says, 'which aspects of the world are to be relativized and which 'realized' is a choice typically shaped by moral, political or pragmatical precepts, not epistemology or ontology', thus, 'realism' and the 'critique from realism' also nothing but a constructed socially. After all, as Searle (1995) suggests, the external reality frames realism and makes realism possible, but does not appear within realism in unmediated or non-occasioned ways, since realism is thus not a thesis nor an hypothesis but condition of having certain sorts of theses or hypotheses (Nightingale 1999:8)

Strong Programme

In the dialectic environment, social constructions are relative, but not arbitrary. It emerges through social processes that are already shaped by influences such as power relationships and material resources. This 'strong programme' of social constructionism, according to Armstrong, (1994) takes phenomena which have a more concrete reality, and it exists in everyday life. In this programme, social constructions are always already mediated in and through our embodied nature, the materiality of the world and pre-existing matrices of social and institutional power. These elements are not reducible to discourse and that those approaches which treat them as though they were purely discursive and erroneous (Nightingale 1999).

Their main contention is that this constructions' missing elements such as the influence of embodied factors and personal social histories upon social situations and individual activity; the ways in which the possibilities and constrains inherent in the material world always already has shaped and

informed the social constructions (Cromby and Nightingale 1999). Followingly, we shall look at how 'strong' is this 'extra'-discursive programme which propounds the missing items such as , power, materiality and embodiment.

First come power. Power is essential to understanding subjectivity, since the personal-social histories from which it emerges are always molded and shaped by power relationships (Nightingale 1999). Wiling (1999) explicates that the notion of 'power' in this context does not refer to any crude concept of oppression or domination by particular social class or group, it is portrayed as a pervasive, constructive energy which is manifested not only in the organization of social relations, but also in the desires and activities of individuals. It is 'everywhere' embedded within all forms of social relations and discursive situations (Hancock 1993:54). Social constructionism also asserts an intimate relation between language and power, so that the concepts and constructions that we built through language bear the hallmark of the structural and power relations in the society. Language is therefore never indifferent to power, and is constantly played out in the uses of language (Nightingale 1999:14).

Secondly, materiality refers to the elemental, physical nature of the world in which we are embedded, its 'thing-ness' and solidity. Materiality embraces the distribution of resources, location of bodies, the organization of space and the irreversible fact of time (Nightingale 1999:13). For example, the ecosystem that supports life is a necessary precondition for any and all social constructions. This ecosystem is both dynamic and variable, yet the dominant trend in social constructionism is to treat materiality a simply uniform and hence to ignore its contribution to the processes of social construction. Murphy (1995) criticizes this dominant trend by saying 'rhetorical avoidance strategies' and unconvincing, and led to a spurious over-statement of the social that results in errors of reification.

In fact, materiality of human's being is also already preconditioned.

On this fundamental materiality, Nishizawa (2001) posits, human intelligence is textured by the most suitable sensory system for the kind of climate and atmosphere we are in. In same fashion, language is also always under the condition of the material setting both inside brain and outside of brain.

The last missing element picked up by Cromby and Nightingale is embodiment. In this critique, they view the body not only its aspect of biological existential constrains, but as active arena before the language (Nightingale 1999: 21). There is some strong opposition to the lack of attention of another medium, the preverbal phase of real. Cromby (1997) says, if what people say is shaped not only by the functional demands of the situation in which they currently find themselves but also by extra-discursive features of their embodiment and intranscribable elements of their personal histories, then it is possible that there are circumstances in which a functional discursive analysis of the static and disembodied transcript of a conversation would be so partial as to be inadequate, even invalid.

Boyne (1991) cautions against using text of narrative to accompany works of art, as this may interfere with the immediate bodily experience by intellectualizing it and turning it into a representation, something that must stand for something else and therefore cannot be experienced in its own right. Radley (1995) argues, the body is an important expressive medium and that the 'lived body' has been marginalized by social constructionism. Studies of discourse typically proceed as though their raw material was not already the product of embodied beings, in seeming ignorance of the fact that talking is not the only form of interaction. Continually either ignoring the body or treating it as mere metaphor or text, social constructionism obscures and downplays the significance of its functional, physiological hormonal, anatomical and ecological aspects (Nightingale 1999). Although embodied existence forms an intrinsic and vital part of the shared socio-cultural experience upon which our systems of language and meaning are

based (Shotter 1993).

Theoretical Dependence of Embodied Vision

As Burr (1999) raised, there is a further aspect of embodiment about which social constructionism is largely silent, that is, the embodiment of subjectivity. She says, subjectivity is constituted through embodied interactions, material possibilities and personal-social histories. This realm of embodiment is situated 'outside' of language, which is relatively inaccessible to discourse (Burr 1999). For instance, musical understanding is embedded in the action itself (Davidson and Scripp, 1992: 396), and the language of painting is a language which says without saying' (Madison 1981:106), and body does not 'speak same language' as we speak or write (Redley 1995).

To recognize the body's expressive power, that is, its capacity to man to configurate alternative ways of being, Redley suggests to place at least some of human meaning-making outside of language and discourse (Redley, 1995). This 'pre-verbal constructs' profoundly affect our view of ourselves and our world but are very difficult to access through the verbal and written methods of repertory grids and self-characterization sketches. Thus, that much of what we know but cannot tell is unavailable to us in language simply because it originates, exists and therefore is only or primarily accessible in the realm of the extra-discursive, in the lived world of embodiment (Burr 1999:120).

For Merleau-Ponty, embodiment itself is the origin of experience. The phrase 'being-in-the-world' (a term borrowed from Heidegger) is used to indicate how he thought of the relationship between embodied persons and the world they inhabit. Merleau-Ponty draws our attention to the way in which we apprehend our world always and inevitably through our bodies. Our bodies are only means of knowing world; our experience is given to us through our bodies. We inhabit the material world; we live *in* it and are not

observers of it (Burr 1991:121). Our physical relation to objects, our use of them, our movement round them all become part of the 'corporeal schema' or body image (Merleau-Ponty 1964:144). Experience is therefore given primarily through the body and not through the language (Burr 1999:120).

Merleau-Ponty wrote extensively about the perceptual means through which we apprehend the world, and focused in particular upon vision. However he was keen to stress two things: First, vision, like all our perceptual processes, is an embodied activity rather than one of mentalist representation; second, the perceptual processes cannot meaningfully be separated from each other. Our senses of vision, hearing, touch, smell, and kinesis operates as one system in our lived experience, and our experience is therefore given to us through all our senses simultaneously (Burr 1999:122). It is therefore certain interchangeability between the senses, such that visual experience may come to us 'textured' by sounds, odors, and movement, and 'The eye lives in this texture as a man lives in his house' (Merleau-Ponty 1964:160) Vision thus conceived, is much more than the translation of patterns of light into mental images described in medical textbooks. It is the process which thrusts the body beyond the confines of its skin into the lived world. This is how the world we perceive has depth, volume, solidity and movement (Burr 1999:118).

Vision simply does not underlie on the lineal cause-effect relation between subject and object. It is a triangle relation between the two and the observer. As Wittgenstein define, vision is not solely emerges of the object, itself is inner relation between the objects and observer. On this relational process of subjectivity, Minato (2001) expounds by distinguishes 'seeing as' and 'seeing of'. When we look at a thing, concurrently we also see all our possible predisposition in it. For example, when an astronomer sees a rising sun from the window, he also sees the planets around the sun with his memory of space travel. Here, vision of astronomer is not superimposed over the rising sun, but his astronomical predisposition is already within his

vision.

The theory which characterizes the predisposition are structurally incorporated in the vision (Minato2001:145). In this Hanson's `theoretical dependency`, a observer and objects are interdependent, the vision of the object already always includes observer's theoretical stance. However, the classical concept of observation excludes the observer, hence is regarded as invalid scientific activity. But Hanson predicates this alienation is not feasible to anything and anywhere in principle.

This `theoretical dependency` can extend to all visual experience. The visual process involves theoretical dependency before the signification, in other words, what we see is depends on our schematic frame before giving words in it. Minato (2001:143) posits, if we did not see the natural object such as tree or stone as something useful for some purpose, there would be no development of artifact. In similar fashion, if people do not see stone, tree, and mountain as awesome deity, then, there would be no development of belief. As some villager of Arunachal Pradesh, for example, see a certain stone (but not all stone), as *Lou*, the spirit which deteriorates the health, ritually Lou can be exorcised hence the health affected can be recuperated.

Dogmatic Reification

This is not only the case of `primitive` or `preliterate` society, this predisposition makes society possible to form its shape, and grounds all behavior and activity of member of any other societies. In his Fetischismus (Fetishism), Marx reveals this schema though the process of reification in everyday life.

It is a kind of strange fact that a piece of paper is seen as `money` as if it contains great value. Taking granted for interest generation form capital, land-value from space, and wage from labor is actually weird belief, if we think twice. Marx says, people recognize and respect the things more than the things itself, as if it was endowment, and even they fight each other for

this imagination at the cost of life. Marx called this mechanism as *Religion des Alltagslebens*, the everyday life of religion. (Marx 1969). This itself is a kind of the very 'belief', and one may posit that the social constructions is common property of this belief.

This religious element of theoretical dependency is fundamental to all societies. In other words, it may be termed as dogma (Nishizawa 2001), the axiom which is never questioned whether itself is veritable or not, and verity of all facts are measured on that ground. It has strong mechanism to subsume everything inside of the frame for axiom to be dogma. Thus the purview of the dogma does not delimit within doctrinal religion. In his dogmatic anthropology, Rujandor enunciates that the vision, 'seeing as', it is dogma (Nishizawa 2001:86).

Vestige, Memory, Vision

From this inner relationship of the subjectivity, Minato denotes outer relationship of subjectivity and cause and effect to elucidate the phenomena as vestige. Referring to semiotics of Charles Sanders Peirce, Minato see the vestige as a sign based on trinomial relationship. She introduces the observer as third term into the causality, because the meaning of a vestige varies depends on the condition of third person who observes it. It is a sign generated out of the trinomial relationship between the cause, the subject who leave the vestige, and the effect, the surface left it, and the observer, the subject who interprets it. The interpretation has to take into account of methodology and perspective of observer, and also softness of the surface (Minato 2001:142).

In this way, memory is the reconstruction of the image, not simple vestige. The memory does not lies only the past, it always involved into the construction of present, rather, it is a basis of the seeing. Merleau-Ponty says, world is no longer representation in front of us, it emerges through arrival of the visible in focus. Thus, the process of image from

medical science itself and also its purview of treatment. Along with this move, the style and methodology of social science on medicine and society also changed. One of this radical transformation actively tried to catch up with the multiform socio-cultural dimension of medicine, health and disease and its flexible attitude to the medical and paramedical issues.

In line with the emergence of this theoretical stance, there are three movements to bring social constructionism to medical research (Nomura 2001). One of them is anti-psychiatric movement in 70s led by Goffman, Szasz, and Conrad. They emphasized that the application and practice of medical knowledge is not technologically neutral, but political. Next comes adaptation of phenomenological sociology. Some research came up with the idea that people's attitude and common-sense-knowledge on illness is constructed socially. Third is indication on another genealogy of social constructionism which developed the concept through the approach to social problem. Overlapping of these scholarly activities influence fuelled proliferation of social constructionism approach among the medical social scientist after 80s.

Thus social constructionism has developed with empirical interaction between other relevant academic fields. Lupton (1994:6-7) points out there are the four major activities on the critical study of health and illness, namely, medical anthropology, historical dimension, cultural studies, and linguistic turn. In response to the basic issues in these four research activities, this study of relationship between society and medicine made emancipated medical knowledge from its dogmatic nature by delineating the process of social construction of medicine.

Spatial comparison of medical anthropology realizes relativity medical system and questioning the evolutionalistic orientation, which leads to pay attention to the cultural meaning of illness. What anthropologist can claim and what would set their accounts of sickness off from those of others, is a critical understanding of how medical facts are predetermined by the

processes through which they are conventionally produced in clinics, research settings (Young 1987). Thus the task in our hand is not simply to demystify knowledge, but to critically examine the social condition of knowledge production.

On the other side, temporal comparison of medical history rediscovers the contingency of Western medicine and subverts the belief that the modern medicine consists of scientific objectivity. Historically, medicine has been considered as accumulation of objective knowledge external to the culture, however the intervention of cultural studies clarify medicine is also a cultural product. Through the critical examination of culture, the cultural study and linguistic discourse analysis bring about the understanding of medical phenomena as construction of modernity.

Some of the sociologists (e.g. Barre) view this approach to social causation of illness as a continuum of the political economy of health approach on the ground of its critical stance, however, a Lupton (1994:8) clearly distinguishes, and there is crucial difference on its tenet.

Because social productionism problematised application of medical knowledge, but not the medical knowledge itself, as Friedson, the advocate of political economy approach (Nettleton 1995:19). He enunciated the importance of social aspect of medical practice, but the critical insight didn't reach to question the process of scientific knowledge although Marxism itself has strong faith in nineteenth century natural science.

However, the distinction of social constructionism from existing academic framework lies in this radical stance. Thus, the focus of social constructionism is on the social aspect of biomedicine and the development of medical knowledge and also pay attention to practice of not only professional but also lay. From this point of view, medical knowledge does not envisaged as evolutionary progress on the indication of sophisticated knowledge, but as a series of relative construction generated and consistently negotiated in the social historic situation (Nomura 2001).

topographically structured representation does not exist in advance, it has to be always 'arrival'.

It is also not representation itself, but the process generates the representation instantaneously. The place where image arrives, that is 'the self' and mind (Minato 2001). Nothing exists of its own in front of our eyes. We see the things the way in which we already know, already interpret already feel. That is always subjective grounds on dogma. Everything we see is inside of our way of understanding, our knowledge, which is conditioned by outside. Vision is an emergence of the image through this mechanism of memory between experience and anticipation.

As we have observed above, our own experience and histories that in their experimental living could be neither captured nor expressed as we might have wished. Our inability to express the extra-discursive aspects of these experiences is not a failure of our expressive abilities; it is a failure of language. Our lives are more than we can say (Burr 1999:222).

Section 3: *Social Constructionism of Medicine*

In the preceding section, we have overviewed general feature and theoretical characteristics of social constructionism along with its limitation. Following section sketches how this perspective is applied in the field of medicine. Firstly I illustrate the theoretical background of this approach, and present some aspects of social constructionism as etiology and therapy.

Theoretical Development

There was a major shift of the total picture of the studies on society and medicine during 80s to 90s (Nomura 2001). One of the factors of the shift is the emergence of growing disillusionment with scientific medicine on the part of both intellectuals and some consumers in the late twentieth century (Lupton 1994:5). Other crucial factor of this shift lies in the diversification of medical phenomena in the society. Co-operation with neighboring disciplines gained more attention to the field and led the expansion of

As Etiology and Therapy

Social constructionist's views illness not as being within the individual but the system, and it is the result of how certain behavior is viewed, defined and acted upon by others (Holmshaw 2000). Social constructions does not confine the causation within the individual's body or brain, it posits that social objects such as illness are 'constructed' through society. According to Shotter and Gergen (1989), social constructionism posits the identity, behavior, and expressed belief of individuals are largely endangered by their cultural history and social position. The origin, meaning, purpose and implications of individual attitudes can therefore be understood in the wider context of socio-linguistic customs and constrains which produce the discourse and activities of individuals (Harre and Gillett 1994).

Gergen (1990:353, 1991; 13-16) has shown that traditional approaches are highly problematic in the way in which they tend actually to create and perpetuate the very 'illness' that they were devised to alleviate.

Kenwood (1999) argues the biomedical approach to illness, especially mental disorder, fits out 'every patient' with a diagnosis. The diagnosis locates the source of the problem firmly inside the person, or, more specially, inside the person's head. One important consequence is that the 'patient' becomes steeped in the destructive 'totalizing' and 'pathologizing' jargon that accompanies each diagnostic label. That is, the diagnosis brands people with mental deficits that comes to characterize the essential nature of the person. The deficits associated with the diagnosis are not limited to a certain time or space (Gergen 1990:359-60) but are seen to permeate the person's life so totally that past and present functioning as well as the future prognosis becomes saturated by the pathology.

Social constructionists criticize the assumption underlying the biomedical model that insists that since some problems are related to organic

causes then all problems must be (Kenwood 1999: 178). Social constructions warn this sort of common error of generalization to the extent view of the science including biomedical, which simplify the more complex and multilayered phenomena.

Delimit to say in the field of psychotherapy, social constructionists provides alternative to the traditional approaches to illness by maintaining the stance that most problem do not originate in an individual `s brain (as in the traditional view of organic disorders), nor are they mere manifestations of any other kind of semi-permanent environmentally instigated modification of the organism (such as in the traditional view of functional disorders).

Social constructionists seek the location of the problem elsewhere. They shift the locus of problem from the space between the ears to the social space between people, a space in which the relations are mediated by language and dialogue (Kenwood 1999).

Following a similar line of reasoning, social constructionist-oriented therapists would, for instance, in the case of depression, want to treat the `interpersonal and social processes and dynamics the maintain the symptoms` (Fruggeri 1992:48) rather than treating only the biological changes. The depressed symptoms, like pain and infection, are undeniable indicators that a problem exists; however, merely to assuage them at the biological level, without an attempt to address the actual external problem, is social constructionist feel fundamentally wrong. It is wrong because, Gergen (1991; 158-9) explains, peoples problems are `only the by-product of troubled relation with others`, and it is not people who are `sick` but the social networks in which they participate (Kenwood 1999).

The shift in the location of the problem from inside the individual`s body to the space of social relations and narratives reflects an important difference in beliefs about the nature of reality between social constructionists and mainstream medical professionals. Doctors, along with

other natural scientists, share a conviction that the truth, once found, will correctly reflect objective reality and that the discovered knowledge will be universally true for all people. Alternatively, as Shotter (1992:202) explains, 'social constructionists, rather than assuming that reality has and as yet undiscovered order, recognize that as a matter of present, contingent fact, none of the social or mental forms of which we currently speak has an objective nature (Kenwood 1999).

Gergen (1988:96) concludes that we find ourselves with no viable account of validity in interpretation, as such new piece of information disproves the validity of the last piece, and he sees no end to the process. Thus, defining the social phenomena, diagnosing the illness is may be important to grasp the situation at the moment of occurring, but to sticking to it, as if it is permanent truth, that attitude which actually pervasive to not only medical science, also to all system of modern thinking, is not fit for the realty.

Because it is chaotic complexity, i.e. reality comprises of the process of change. When change take place, as Kawamoto (2001) points out, no observer can predict what will be the next. What we conclude as a change could be mere inchoative of great catastrophe, or could be just repetition of mild undulation. We cannot determine the range and contents of the change in each point because it is subject change by next influence. Even though we are put into the position to define, we can do it on this ground to get closer to reality.

Of course, says Kenwood (1999:180), no social constructionist denies the existence of true organic problems and diseases (e.g. epilepsy, Alzheimer's). It would be ludicrous not to acknowledge the existence of organic diseases that require 'treatment' at both the biological and the social levels. However, she warns, mislocation is more likely to occur from lack of clarity about the term 'social'.

Danziger (1997:410-11) points out: all varieties of social

constructions will see knowledge and understanding as existing within social relationships. But they do not all construct these social relationships in the same way. At one extreme are those versions that privilege macro-social structures in a way that is strongly reminiscent of the sociology of knowledge.

At the other extreme are the versions, which focus on the micro-social level, either concretely, by privileging everyday talk, or metaphorically, by treating all social life as a 'conversation'. To establish correct location of a problem, crucial to locating all social problems at micro-social or interpersonal level, people who focus on narrative too narrowly are then mislocating those problems that are in fact societal in nature (Kenwood 1999:181).

Tolman (1995: 168) among others claims that the 'helplessness of individuals is overcome...by realization of their societal natures'. Without understanding of the 'aspectual character of truth', Kenwood concludes, it would be impossible for social constructionists to make good their claim to be about the business of making medical knowledge a moral rather than a natural science. The endorsement of the 'full-scale abandonment of concept of objective truth would preclude the possibility of any moral striving because morality requires adjudicating between alternatives and deciding which alternative is 'really' better than the others. In explaining human behavior it is necessary to understand the nature of socially construct truth and to have confidence in it because, since human beings are interdependent social beings, our beliefs and our activities (that informed by our beliefs) have real consequences for us and others (Kenwood 1999: 187).

Chapter Three

CHAPTER - III

Application : General View of Bon and Its Medical Knowledge

The word 'Bon' may not be so familiar to some of the readers. Firstly in this chapter I articulate the positions encompassing the concept of Bon and understanding of this paper. In search of reconstruction of the past vestiges, review of the precedent works and current research suggestion for the analysis of intertext of Tibetan which includes both Buddhist and Bonpo, and Chinese historiographies are referred.

For clearer understanding of the discourses on Bon by Buddhists, and pre Buddhism Bon by post Buddhism, very briefly I trace historical changes of Bon and reference of current Bon practice among neighboring communities.

Bearing these temporal and spatial differences, we shall look into granted version of Bon Medicine from the canonical texts of the postBuddhism, Yungdrung Bon as a background information to elucidate the another version of Bon Medicine among the Monpa of Arunachal Pradesh which mainly this paper focuses on, in following chapter.

Section 1 : *Synchronic View of Bon*

Etymological Concept

The term 'Bon' has variant meaning and depends on the interpretation in historical sources and understand of the interpreter, one of them means to invoke, being related to 'bod pa' (to invoke or to invite in Tibetan), another one means seed. In Zhang Zhung term, it is identified with 'gyer' means to chant (Bansal 1994). According to Namkhai Norbu, it is identical with ancient word 'bzla', to recite *mantras* or magic formulae (sNgag) (Namkhai 1980).

In ancient records, the word 'bon' is sometime replaced by the word

`gyer`, Bansal then defines, the term owes its origin to the recitation of mantras by the ancient Bonpo (po is suffix of person in Tibetan) to ward off the cause of obstacles such as illness, and obtain the capacity for the fierce action (Bansal 1994).

On the other hand, Ekval says, it is not certain that the word `Bon` referred to one unified religion, for there is some evidence which suggests the possibility that the early religion of Tibet was not a unified system (Ekval 1964), it was rather belief system of population which seek the service for riddance of ills and misfortune of everyday life, also in the court for kings` and country`s well-being. However, this form of belief acquired `unfied` shape in the course of encounter with `international` `organised` foreign religion, i.e Buddhism.

Practical Concept

In general, Bon is the name of a religion in Tibetan Buddhist cultural area of trans-Himalaya across Tibet, South China, Bhutan, Nepal, and India. History says it was actively followed in these area before pervasion of Buddhism at the time of eighth century. Under the Buddhism persecution, it has reached broadly two forms of tradition in the present day : One is as a doctrinal religion acquires systematized canon and philosophy and it is centralized at the monastic institutions which mainly exist in main Tibet. Other is as popular belief system based on sacerdotal healing tradition bounded up with autochthonous nature worship practiced in a village setting of outlying lands such as eastern Nepal, eastern Bhutan, Himachal Pradesh and Arunachal Pradesh of India.

As all forms of tradition is manifold, this ancient but contemporary system of knowledge and practice cannot get into a sole definition. I distinguished religion and belief system above because these terms epitomize the fundamental difference of radical transmutation which these traditions underwent in the course of heterogeneous assimilation and

interaction with Tibetan Buddhism. Not only due to historical events and vicissitudes, however, the concept of Bon varies depends on the position one holds to.

To the Tibetans in general, Bon is identical to legitimate 'Yungdrung (Nine Swastika) Bon' which officially recognized as one of the five tradition by Tibetan government in the year of 1988, hence highly in Buddhist garb. While in some pockets in Himalaya which has been less exposed not only to Buddhist influence, to any other outer force due to geographical location, Monpa tribal area in Arunachal Pradesh is one of them, Bon remains in the art of healing.

Followingly the term '*bonpo*' represents this crucial difference between these two form of Bon. In Tibetan term, Bonpo is follower of Bon religion (Bon =Bon religion, po=of people), however *bonpo* in these community of preBuddhism Bon denotes medicine man or faith healer, more precisely, '*pujari*' in Hindi. In the area covered by Tibetan Buddhism *bonpo* commonly is used (though there is slight alteration such as *onpo* in Ladakhi, *mum* in Lepcha), and it does not mean the follower of Bon religion, their creed is Buddhism in basic.

They are succeeding the popular tradition of healing art of preBuddhism Bon till present day, as it remains in the designation. Or it may be actually continuation of Bon as aristcratic priests in Yarlung Dynasty, as Sammuel emphasises the bon priest in the earlier 'court religion' of Zhang Zhung, which were merely one kind of various court priests at this time (Sammuel 1993). Whether this hypothesis is veracious or not, it profoundly comprises the vestiges of pre-Buddhism knowledge and practice in the belief system. To them, pre-Buddhism Bon is contemporary living experience, not the past relics confined within the texts and historiographies.

However, this form of continuation is not tangible to the authority of 'official' Bon viz. 'Yung Drung Bon', of which headquarter locates in the Tashi Men-ri monastery in Solan District of Himachal Pradesh. To the

supremacy of this version of tradition, 'unorganized' pre-Buddhism belief and practice in those periphery is not their 'Bon', infact the existence of this mode of Bon itself is not much known to them. Rinpoches, who are the source of knowledge of *Yung Drung* Bon does not accept the 'older worship' as the part of 'modern' Bon teachings' (Crossette 1995 :77). However, even if these authorities deny the past connection with the present, diachronically, their entire literature and text ascertains continuation of preBuddhism belief to this postBuddhism religion (Kvearne 2000:13) , though synchronically, the linkage to another modality of Bon seems to be broken off by labeling it as 'primitive', 'shamanistic' and 'uncivilized'. In this connection, later part of this section examines the diachronical and synchronical background of the concept, 'Bon' through review of historical and cultural change and difference of modalities of Bon.

Theoretical Concept

In the world of academics, there is increasing interest in this long time hibernated Bon studies as recent phenomena, and it held the international conference of 'New Territories of Bon Studies' in August 1999, Osaka. To the scholars of the Bon Studies, mainly from the West, definition of Bon is based on the periodization conceived entire historical components:

- 1) Bon as a popular belief whose origin goes back to prehistoric times in Tibet and, has survived until today. It includes prophecies, rites, shamanistic concepts of the human soul and universe ;
- 2) Bon as the complex religion of the ancient Tibet (erstwhile partially included Kingdom Zhang Zhung) with priests and priestesses who organized ceremonies and royal burials and to whom supernatural powers were attributed ;
- 3) Bon as a form of a Tibetan tradition dating back to the 11th century, known as "Organized Bon" that shows similarities to the Tibetan Buddhism. The present Bon, especially the Yung Drung Bon, has developed its own highly

elaborate tradition of metaphysics, cosmology doctrine and philosophy and furthermore boasts an extensive written canon. Above periodization largely coincides Samuel's theory of development of Bon religion on the basis of an analysis of successive stages in the history of early Tibetan society (Sammuel 1993:436ff) as suggested by Kvearne as analytical model (Kvearne 2000). The first period before seventh century is designed 'the original shamanistic religion of the Tibetans (1993:438) subdivided into two periods, that of a stateless society and that of proto-states. This is followed by court religion connected with the rise of Yarlung dynasty, characterized by activities of priests termed *bon* and *shen* influenced not only by 'shamanistic religion' but also by earlier 'court religion' of Zhang Zhung. Sammuel emphasizes that the bon priests who formed part of the court religion at Lhasa were only one of a number of kings of priests at this time. Thirdly contemporary Bon is regarded as a Buddhist or quasi Buddhist order although it seems likely that the modern Bon religion has preserved a significant amount of early material (Sammuel 1993). So-called 'Bon' in general Tibetan discourse indicates exclusively in this version of Bon.

However this paper focuses possibility of other version. Bon in this context includes larger framework of both pre and post Buddhism Bon. For the sake of analysis, Bon among Monpa falls into the categories of both 1) and 2) since the Bon priests in Arunachal Pradesh are the descendants of the exile who were expelled at the time of Buddhist persecution according to their oral tradition, and the other mode in Himachal Pradesh, basically contemporary exiles from main Tibet falls into the third category. In this paper, as a analytical model, distinguishes former as preBuddhism Bon, and latter as Post Buddhism Bon, although former has gone through undeniable changes under Buddhism influence. In this sense, former also can be conceived as postBuddhism Bon in fact. However as it sustains the elements of preBuddhism Bon in great extent, this paper carries this distinction for expedience.

Section 2 : *Diachronic View of Bon*

We can envisage the past through looking at its vestige such as texts written in Tibetan 'language'. Although the past itself can not be reconstructed, though the language it becomes describable through the author's interpretation. Thus the history emerging out of the textual description depends on the author's position. The case of Tibet also is not exceptional to this fundamental schema as like other codified history, it is described by 'elite' of clericalism of Buddhism as well as Bonism. As Bell (1931) points out, the Tibetan histories pay but little attention to the pre-Buddhist period, regarding it as unworthy of serious attention. He also claims, after Buddhism was established, the Tibetan histories hardly had mentioned, much less describe, the interest centers on religious happenings (Bell 1931). As Kapstain claims, most of the historical events have been much mythologized in the writing of post-eleventh-century historians, and their accounts can be used only with great caution (Kapstain 2000: 54.)

Before taking caution, however, there is no document dating back to early days when Bon was sorely active. For it was only in the first half of the seventh century inception of documentation in Tibet occurred, which inchoative to the innovation by employ scholar from India in the reign of king Sontem Ganpo, and developed for the translation of Buddhist text in the reign of Thri Detsen (Bansal 1994). What we can see some fragments of Bon in the ancient manuscripts or chronicles such as Dunghuang era, or Tang dynasty of China. Because the Tibetan Bonpo created written, fixed, holy literature only after the 8th century, after the Buddhist patterns had been established (Hoffman 1965). On this given condition, this section attempts to outline the chronical profile of Bon and its placement in the Tibetan historical context.

Part 1: Pre Buddhism Phase

Early Bon

It has been opined that pre-Buddhist religion in the early historical period was referred to as Chos and not Bon (Snellgrove;1987: 389). It has been speculated that the word *bon* might be derived from the Iranic *bwn* (literally means construct), which is analogous with the Sanskrit term *dharma* (Martin 1990:9). Throughout the imperial period the Tibetan kings were both Chos rgyal (king of Buddhist dharma) and Lha btsan po (The Fierce Divine One), and are protectors of lha chos (religion of the heaven), the great world order, annually worshiped their bla ri (soul mountain), consulted diviners and omens and conducted in an annual oath-taking ceremony where there was animal sacrifice (Richardson 1998:198). These sacrifices had been conducted every three years, on the occasion of which dogs and horses were sacrificed (Pelliot, 1961). These animals possess a special sacred character and were buried, along with cattle and asses and even men, together with the king (Tucci 1980: 239). At the sacrifices the bones of the animals were broken and their entails torn out.

Some chronicles tells that in the court of kingdom in Yarlung valley, politics (*chab srid*) was protected and under custody of religious specialist such as *shen*, *ldeu*, *drung* and *bon* in the mirror of Royal Genealogies. (Stein 1972:191, Tucci 239 Namkhai 1997). According to Tucci `s view, in this legendary age, the concept of *bon* includes the entire religious system which bears that name, its priests, the shen and other religious specialists (Tucci 1980).

In the court, various types of bon were practiced : *snyun bon*, *smug bon*, *rlad bon* and *sman bon* whose task it was to collect the medicinal plants (*sman*) or who were perhaps responsible for the cult of the goddesses called *s.Man*. There were also *khri bon*, *gnyer bon*, *tshams bon*, *dmu bon*. In addition the ceremony required the presence of a 'bon of the lustration' (*khros bon*); he had to submit the sacrificial animals to a ritual purification

using a golden spoon, while the *zhu bon* were responsible for the invocation to the gods (Tucci 1980:230). In the text on the rites of the dead the *mjol bon* directed the sacrifice; the *dur bon* and the *phangs bon*, who are named in the same text, do not take part in the sacrifice. The *phangs bon*, however, invite the dead to take part in the meal and receive their souls. The *snyum bon*, *smag bon* and *jol bon* sing (Tucci 1980:231).

Bon is mainly associated the cult of the divine king included the belief that he was endowed with both magical power and a special magnificence (Lopez 1997). *Bon* dominated the community in general and its leaders in particular, above all the king. In this sense it is said in some chronicles that the *bon* look after the life (*tsho*) of the king or aid his ministers with the word and deed, or that they keep in view the defense of the country's borders (Tucci 1980: 232).

Snellgrove and Richardson (1986) posits from an early document of Dunhuang that officiating priest are clearly *bon* for funeral rites, and it is likely that these representatives of the old religion continued to preside over such ceremonies throughout the whole royal period. An essential part of these rites was the 'exposition' of a sacred archetype in the form of myth. These 'exposition' consisted in the recitation by *bon* of ancient myths recounting the origins of existence, of gods, demons, genies and all the rest. This was an entirely oral traditions.

Among other religious representatives, It is said that *shen* was a priest held the service for departed soul by sacrificial rites of yak or horse, *shen* probably denotes 'sacrifice' (Snellgrove/ Richardson 1986: 52), and also they fulfill duties of the ride through the air, the magical use of the drum, the calling back of the souls of the dead or the dying (Tucci 1980:247). Stein (1971) reports, king's physician were known as 'personal shens', his counselor as 'shen-ministers', those who knew the origin of the three worlds as 'father-lords'. The *shen*, spiritual preceptors and priests of the Tibetan kings up to the time of Khri Song Detsan, were also the recipients of special

endowments as recognition of their exalted place in society (Belleza 2001 :66). *Lde`u* was a shaman and also a singer of riddle who channels to the supernatural in trance state. *Drung* was also another type of shaman who narrated the story of own experience of traveling the another world and heroic epics by singing songs, and *Gsug lag* dealt with divination and was manipulator of the magic.

Court Religion of Sacred King

From the old Tibetan documents found at Dunhuang, and from later epic traditions as well we can know that Tibet had early Bon elaborated a conception of sacred kingship, profoundly tied to the ideals of an heroic and aristocratic society. In fact, before Tibet had a shape, early Tibetan nation was without a ruler until 127 B.C., whereas Zhang Zhung kingdom from where Bon priest summoned was already flourished, the legitimation of the kingship of Tibet was actually installed by the Bon priest of Zhang Zhung.

The earliest known version of the myth of the first Tibetan king shows not only men, but the entire natural world, leaning in homage towards the king, in honor of his inherent charisma (Kapstain 2000:17). This first king, Nyatri Tsenpo (Neck-Enthroned Mighty-One) was enthroned as their king by twelve wise Bon priests, who were chieftains representing different clans. According to Namkhai Norbu, this twelve wise Bon connotes twelve types of Bon that were spread in Tibet these days. The main aim of his mission was to renew and reform the pre-existent cognitive and ritual transitions, as clearly transpires from the theoretical principles and methods of practice comprised in the 'twelve lores' which represented the whole of Tibetan culture as it existed until the definitive advent of Buddhism in the eighth century (Namkhai 1995). About the details of this twelve lore, this chapter presents at the section of Post Buddhism Bon Medicine as one of the lore is devoted to the medical knowledge.

According to Karmey, this worship of king and his appendage started

between 6th and 7th century, which closely connected to the divinity of a special tutelary god of the king, the "body spirit" (*sku bla*) who protected the king's power, encompassing everything from his body to his political authority to the order of universe. This tutelary god was mostly mountain gods (Karmay 1975), these kings did not leave earthy remains when they died, but ascendant bodily by means of luminous rope to heaven. This belief in the divine nature of the king and their gods, especially the gods of mountain, originally formed the nucleus of their belief system (Bansal 1994). The king's name, Tsenpo, is proper designation by which the Tibetan monarch was known, a term relating to secure power and strength, may also relate the ruler to the *tsen*, a class of divinities often associated with mountains, high ground, and cliffs, who in contemporary Tibetan religion are commonly demonic temple protectors (Kapstain 2000).

Wangyal astutely argues the divine origin of these theocratic conception of rule is also another form of political authority sanctioned or sanctified by religion. It is a well authenticated fact that the earliest form of political authority and were connected with unseen powers. Early rulers were often a combination of priest and king or shaman and king (Wangal 1975).

The king represented the continually reborn essence of the divine ancestor of *Phya*, the lord of heaven, who was reincarnated in each king at the age of maturity and remained incarnated in him until his son reached the same age of maturity and ascended the throne as the consecutive link of the ancestral reincarnation. This procedure applied also to both the head priest, and the chief minister, so a new trinity was instituted at the accession of the each king (Lopez 1997). This trinity with the active power of government in the hands of the head priest and the minister represented the priestly hierarchy and the clan nobility. Their office was surrounded by religious prestige, but in practice the priestly class of Bon, and the aristocracy, hindered their exercise of sovereignty (Tucci 1980:3).

One of the primary responsibilities of the royal priests and ministers, then seems to have been the maintenance of the king's health, for if the king become ill or if the body spirit was determined other to be displeased, the safety of the kingdom and even of the universe was in jeopardy, and epidemics and droughts were interpreted as signs of this displeasure. Then Bon were summoned and performed a range of sacerdotal functions in service of the divine king, such as officiating at coronation ceremonies and rites of allegiance to the king (Lopez 1997).

It was only when the eighth king Gtigum-Tsanpo was tricked in the course of a duel with his minister into expelling the tutelary deities who resided on his shoulders(Kvearne 1985::6), the sky rope was severed and the king was slain, leaving his corpse behind. To deal with this crisis, priests of Bon summoned from the area called Zhang Zhung to perform death rituals and ordered the construction of a tomb to bury the king (Thoresen 1991). According to the later Buddhist sources, the rites largely consisted of offerings of food and various objects and that animals -sheep, yak, and horses were sacrifice. (Lalou 1952). Archaeological record demonstrates the Tibetan kings were in fact buried in large funerary mounds, the remains of which still exist in the Yarlung valley in the southern part of central Tibet.

According to Kapstain (2000), in the earliest written documents also tells the importance to this mortuary rites. The documents from Dunhuang include a description of the program to be followed at royal funerals, which required the service of an elaborate and specialized priesthood. The royal funerals were scrupulously recorded in the imperial annals, reinforcing our impression that these were especially solemn moments of the details mentioned in connection with most of the early monarchs is the construction and placement of their mausoleums (Kapstain 2000). This practice continued until the collapse of the Tibetan royal dynasty in the middle of the 9th century A.D., in other words, more than a hundred years after the

introduction of Buddhism, and regardless of whether king in question supported Buddhism or not. (Kvearne 1985).

The Tibetan histories affirm that the early kings of Tibet from about 300 B.C to A.D 400 extended the Bon as state religion (Bell 1931), and the following account from the *g.Yung drung bon gyi rgyud bum* (nos. 30-32) begins in the time of *sPu Ide Gung rgyal*, Tibet's ninth king, and his restoration of the Bon religion. His power grew greater than before and he was followed by 16 royal successors. Then, *Phri thob Nam brtsan* (refers to Tibet's 25th king *Khri btsan nam*) he amassed scriptures and *gsas mkhar* (temples). The early Bon priests' participation in military campaign is indicated in these pages (Belleza 2001). In this stage there were already hierarchical system of priest had established and cult of royal mortuary rites and the belief of after world came to the existence (Lopez 1997). Tibet and Zhang Zhung were united and Bon spread and flourished. and as a result, the king's life was lengthened. It is said that the subjects under the king were also contended. Thereafter the Tibetan king also practiced Bon; hence their power further increased (Belleza 2001:65-66).

The worship and ritual for the divinity of king comprised the underpinnings of this court religion. This development of beliefs concerning fate of dead give impression that there was conception of the persistence of some type of soul (Kapstain 2000). As the later Tibetan institution of incarnate religious hierarchy demonstrates, the Buddhist teaching of transmigration would itself eventually be made to serve an ancient and autochthonous Tibetan interests in stable succession. However, several of earliest Tibetan Buddhist documents clearly treat the Buddhist conception of a repeating cycle of birth, death, and rebirth as alien to earlier Tibetan belief (Kapstain 2000)

And the ancient institution based on worship of king's divinity also provided a fully adequate ideological basis for the Tibetan empire. The royal innovations such as script, law, religion were founded upon anything besides

more ancient Tibetan custom and institutions. For the process whereby the principally of Yarlung grew to become the kingdom of Tibet, continue to expand to include territories and peoples beyond the confines of the Tibetan world, and in so doing required and created a literate imperial administrations is scarcely conceivable without being accompanied by significant ideological transformations (Kaptain 2000:17).

Origin and its Flourish

The Bon canonical and historical works provide an alternative model for Bon origins which is important from two perspectives: First of all, it provides a clue which harmonizes well with current understandings of religious history in they are. Secondly, the model itself might demonstrate a point of contact between Bon and a specific part of Central Asia (Dan 1999).

In the first perspective, Bon is not autochthon religion of Tibet, it was brought externally to this plateau by *Shenrab* (pre-eminent *Shen*) *Miwo* who came from the land `Ol mo lung ring` which also called `Tazig`, would be located Persia or Indus valley.

This already `systematized` system of Bon had distinct language and script invented by Shenrab. 360 is the number of languages in which bon was written, and from which gShen rab mi bo translated them into only one language, the "language of the svastika"(Tucci 1980). When some of Bonpo was summoned to the Tibetan court, some of Bonpo text was translated into Tibetan from Zhung Zhung language (Karmay 1975). According Bun-zhi description, during reign of the first Tibetan king, Nyatri Tsenpo, Namlha Nangwai Dochen, and the Four Nangwai Dokchen and the four Scholars translated numerous cycles of Sutra, Tantra, and Dzogchen from Mar language of Zhang Zhung into Tibetan. According to Bum-zhi, these teachings existed then is clearly given in details in the Royal Genealogies of Bon and the Histories of the Doctrine (Tsultrim 1998). Subsequently, the history and writings of various rituals, spiritual teachings, source of culture

of Zhang Zhung were maintained.

Zhang Zhung was more powerful than the Tibet in the reign of Songtsen Gampo. According to Belleza, and it was organized as a confederation that stretched across northern and western Tibet (Belleza 2001:43). As bon priests were summoned from Zhang Zhung, Early Bon was developed and prosper in Zhang Zhung in the region of Mount Kailash. According to Bell (1931) Bon still in full power in the descriptions of religious rites of the Tibetans in the official Chinese histories of fifth and sixth centuries. Bon greatly flourishes in Gya-de and Kong-po, two provinces near the Zhang-Zhung district north of Lhasa.

The chief god worshiped by people of Zhang Zhung was *kula ge khod*, who was enshrined in Mount Ti-se. In a religious context in which mountains are held to be sacred, the motif of birth from a mountain or from a cave is found in connection with numerous localities centering about Ti se (Tucci 1980:217). Ti se is Bon ri, the Bon mountain, or Zhang zhung bon ri, the Bon Mountain of Zhang zhung; it is bla ri, bla ri gangs dkar Ti se, soul-mountain. The soul-mountain of Zhang zhung is a ladder which simultaneously ascends to heaven and descends from heaven, and it thus has the same function as the *dmu thag* or *gnam thag*, the 'heavenly cord' which links heaven and earth. It is said Shenrab descended into this mountain. This sacred mountain was the most important center of Zhang Zhung which was regarded as the original place of Bon (Karmay 1975).

In the second view, it said that Bon started to adopt extrinsic elements in the time of seventh century. According to Samten Karmey, it was not only Buddhism, but also Zoroastrian and Manichaen teachings, a syncretism system of doctrine and literature was developed in Zhang Zhung. As its geographical location, the influence came also from Iran, Central Asia as well as more than one might suppose from the north-west of modern Pakistan through to Badakshan. Since it was also an important part of the transmission route for Buddhism from India via the Silk Routes China

beginning from the start of the Common Era, one may presume that Buddhist ideas had already infiltrated Zhang Zhung long before they reached Central Tibet. Thus, independently of the official introduction of Buddhism into central Tibet in the seventh and eighth centuries under the patronage of the Tibetan kings, Buddhism had also penetrated areas which today are in western Tibet but which at that time were part of the independent kingdom of Zhang-Zhung. This form of Buddhism, essentially of a Tantric type, adopted the name of *bon* and came to be regarded as the native religion of that kingdom. Thereafter Bon was propagated in central Tibet, where it inevitably came into conflict with Buddhism (Kvearne 2000).

However as Tucci points out, historical description can give only an approximate, schematic idea of the profusely interwoven nature of Bon. It is impossible, however, to give a more complete picture until scientific investigation have supplied us with further, as yet inaccessible, material upon which to work (Tucci 1980:248).

Absorption to Tibet viz Buddhism

In the late seventh century Tibet was dominant military power in central Asia, and sought to expand the regions where Buddhism was widespread and flourishing. While creating intimate relation with Zhang Zhung through marital affinity (Sontem Ganpo gave his elder sister to the king of Zhang Zhung and took his wife from Zhang Zhung), Song tsen Gampo started to introduce Buddhism through Chinese wife and Nepalese wife. This introduction had a largely political aspect, according to Namkhai Norbu, as a counter measure of further military expansion Song tsen Gampo had to adopt the Buddhism in order to subvert Bon areas in the name of Buddhism introduction. Thus, he murder the last king of Zhang Zhung after he had introduced Buddhist culture into Tibet, and conquered the country in the time of seventh century. Song tsen Gampo was no longer needed to follow the tradition of Bon, it became the object of persecution. However,

Dan (1999) says, Zhang Zhun was conquered by Song tsen Gampo as it mentioned, but its needed conquered once more during the time of Khri Song Desan. The Bon histories, at least , attribute Zhang Zhung's fall to the latter reign. And many elements of these ancient religion survived there. in 779 A.D, few years after the founding of Samyay monastery, Buddhism was formally recognized as the state religion of Tibet. Although the victory was imputed to political surpassing, rather than religious success, according to Karmey (1969).

Dan supports Karmay's view and depicts this complicated plots behind this introduction of new order. According to these scholars of Bon Studies, this expedient adoption of Buddhism was the power politics of king and the ministers in the court. To veil blunt greed for power, they kept up the appearance in the form of religious conflict (Karmay 1975). In Dan's analysis, " Bell view in his Religions of Tibet that it was his political desire for civilizing his country rather than religious enthusiasm that he declared it a state religion. despite his acceptance of the faith, remained devout Bon-po. When he constructed the first Buddhist temple at Ramo-che he took the vive of Bon priests as to is design. When Bell refers to a chronicle to say that the king was a devout Buddhist for which he was considered an incarnation Chan-re-zi. It may be guessed that he was defied at a later stage. This is also reflected in the story about disappearance of Buddhism from Tibet after the King's death during the reign of two of his successors. King Khrisng de-tsesan 's time, powerful chief minister Ma-zZhang was a strong protagonist of Bon religion. Whatever the king did for the growth of Buddhism in Tibet he had to do behind the C.M 's eye. There is even the story in Bon literature of how the king ,under pressure of magic affect in his being , had to assent to protect Bon inspite of his genuine enthusiasm for Buddhism. Hoffmann on the other hand referred to the Annals of the king- According to Bon tradition and tells that King Khrisong de-tsen banned Bon faith in Tibet by order. Scholars are of opinion that despite innumerable Buddhist and Bon literature

pointing to different directions the fact remains that the faiths flourished side by side and made in process, ultimate amalgamation to the extent of inextricability of the one from the other "(Dan 1999).

Zhang Zhung became the part of Tibet and the gradual transformation from the culture of the Zhang Zhung to that of Buddhism in western parts of the plateau is associated with the ethnical process of Tibetanization (Belleza 2001:5). With Tibetan conquests came direct contact with basic doctrine of Indian Buddhism philosophy such as the law of cause and effect, cyclic existence and the state beyond suffering, Bon adopted a number of these without acknowledging their origin, Although these were not paid attention in the court of Song tsen Gampo (Karmay 1975).

Simultaneously, it brought profound influence to the development of Tibetan culture through the traditions of Tag-zig and other central Asian countries which was vicinal to Zhang Zhung. Most notable examples of contemporary practices and beliefs that have been long observed and are derived from pre-Buddhist cultural traditions include the cult of local deities, certain clan geneologies, techniques of divination such as scapulimancy, aspects of demonology, spirit-mediumship, fortune-bestowing rites, hunting rituals, ransom rites, as well as others. Given the persistence of pre-Buddhist cultural forms in religious and social spheres in upper Tibet, and the eminently pragmatic nature of its hardy residents, smaller physical demonstrations of early culture continued to manifest themselves in the Buddhist dominated cultural environment. This has remained true up to the present day as regards shrines (rten mkhar and lha gtsug) and cairns (la btsas / la rtse) erected for indigenous and protective deities, whose precedents can be traced to pre-Buddhist times (Belleza 2001:5).

Part 2 : Post Buddhism Phase

Introduction, Conversion, Persecution

Impact of the dramatic and political enter of Buddhism into the Tibetan court earned him strong opposition from the Bon priests and the Chinese Buddhists. The Bon po saw their privileges threatened, and hoped to win all with the aid of the group of nobles who supported them. They asserted if the temples were built in the traditional region of the court, the presence of the foreign gods would have offended the local Bon deities who, in turn, could wreak havoc on the land and destroy the monarchy. The epidemic and natural disasters struck Tibet at that time, The second Chinese prince, Chin-ch'eng Kung-chu, convinced the Tibetan king to give sanctuary to some Sarvastivada monks fleeing the onslaught of Islam in central Asia. Afterwards a small-pox epidemic broke out and the Chinese prince died of the disease in 739 A.D. The anti-Buddhist faction at court blamed the epidemic on local deities who were offended by the presence of foreign religion and foreign monks. (Wayman 1980:367). Public opinion itself was easily aroused in this crisis, and there were renewed demands for the expulsion of all monks (Lhalunga 1986:140).

While it would appear that the majority of Tibetans in the Imperial periods continued to follow pre-Buddhist customs and practices (cf. Snellgrove 1987:401; Richardson 1998:198), there was an active attempt underway to wean the population away from these traditions. The Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot 972 alludes to early Bon as part of a forceful attempt at conversion to Buddhism (Karmay 1998a:163). This text warns mu stegs (the non-Buddhist Bon) not to worship the indigenous *dre*, *srin*, *bdud* and *bgegs* spirits, which apparently were propitiated by a kind of priest called *ma bon* (Karmay 1998a:159,160,163). For example, Pelliot 239 (a text devoted to funerary rites) disparages Bon practices "as the tradition of black man" and "customs of black funerary rites," while Buddhism is exalted as the "tradition of white gods," the "customs of white man," and the "religion

of white funerary rites," (Lalou:19;karmay 1998a:160)

Proscription of Bon was accelerate in the reign of king Trhisong Detsen. As soon as attended to the throne in AD 747, he sent an invitation to the master of Vairayana (Tantra), Padmasambhava (cAD 717-762) to visit Tibet for the spread of Buddhism. Padmasambhava was conscious, and so was the king, of the fact that the popular Buddhism that he has introduces in Tibet would not be able to survive against the Bon-dominated country. Since the day of Buddha, it had been a common practice to admit the native deities in the place of Buddhism to induce proselytism among the masses. Padmasambhava was there to tame them all one after another. Then Bon gods of Tibet tamed or suppressed , time was conducive for him to propagate his `intellectual` doctrine. Padmasambhava brought many Bon deities into the Buddhist fold and exorcised the hostile ones by his superior Tantric faculties (Handa 1993)

It was during the late eighth century, according to almost all Bon historical works and even some Buddhists texts. During this period, a number of Bon priests were expelled from central Tibet and fled into outlying border land. Simultaneously, they hid their religious texts (gter ma) to prevent their destruction. Some of the Bon priests adapt the situation through conversion or superficial practice of Buddhism to prevent from extermination of their faith. Almost all Bon historical documents and little of Buddhist history has a description of this public and organized persecution, however, there was no record about how persecution was.

These persecutions caused Bonpos (Bon adherent) to conceal their faith, along with their holy objects, including in particular their holy texts, which were codified along with Buddhism penetration to Tibet This codification took on ever greater dimensions as the interest in doctrinal and theoretical matters grew, and the teachings of Bon began to take on literary form (Tucci 1980). These hidden Bon holy texts began to be excavated sometimes in the tenth century by persons called `treasure revealers`(gter-

ston).

In the ninth century Buddhism was to face the backlash, violent persecution during the reign of king Lang Darma, which is often attributed to the influence of the king's Bonpo minister, and it led to the down fall of the loyal lineage and a long period of national turmoil and disunity. He did his utmost to wipe out the organisational network of Buddhism during his short reign of about three years, until a monk named Peldorje murdered him. As Handa (1993) says, this repression of Buddhism during this brief period was largely a backlash to the increasing political and economic power of Buddhist monasteries, in other words, the power politics between the aristocrat and economical breakdown due to huge expenses for invitation of renowned monks from India and translation of text led the faction and split of Tibetan kingdom rather than a consequence of religious rivalry.

However, to the Richardson's view, this rivalry between the two religions theorized that lay resentment of Buddhist ecclesiastical dominance led to the collapse of imperial Tibet in the mid-9th century CE (1977:19, 20, 25). Since Langdarma's persecution of Buddhism, the people had become recalcitrant towards Buddhism lest they were reprimanded and punished for showing preference for that, they had fallen into olden ways. Under such Bon-dominated atmosphere, the people did not take Buddhism kindly. Led by Bon Strong men, they revolved against the king and did away with him according to the Dpag-bsam-lijon-bzan. Again, the empire was thrown into chaos and disorder, with no one to take up the cudgels for deliverance (Handa 1993).

Compromise. Reconcile, Legitimate

As Dan (1999) depicts, in the end of tenth century, the flame of the Buddhist monastic lineage was revived from the embers of the Old Tibetan lineage that had been preserved meanwhile. During the same time, the Bon re-emerged and consolidated within certain family lineages and expressed in

a growing body of texts, and is known as ` Bon` in generic term viz. YungDrung Bon in the Tibetan context of present days. Thoresen (1991) says, the formative figure in the revival and re-establishment of Bon was Shenchen Luga (996-1035 C.E) who rediscovered many texts and began to restructure Bon, and the nucleus of the Bon canon today consists of the texts uncovered by him and the commentaries he wrote.

The Bonpo attitude towards Buddhists at this time was largely of reconciliation despite the fact that Buddhist orders in Tibet were essentially hostile to Bon religion. Bon tried to incorporate Buddhist doctrines and practices to sustain the existence, increase of Bon monasteries was one example. Before the monastic institutionalization, religious center of Bon was modest one. It was heritages and temples supported by local family lineages neither seeking nor obtaining political power. Several such family lineages are known; traditionally those of Shen, Bru, and rMe`u are enumerated, and several of these have continued until to-day (Kvearne 1985).

Originally Bon had no monastic institution, the first Bon monastery founded in 1072 (Thoresen 1991). This comparatively large monastery introduced systemized teaching and debating. The abbot of the monastery frequently came from the *Dru(Bru)* family, one of the four most powerful families in the Bon tradition. However, this family declined and eventually vanished in the nineteenth century when it embraced the Gelug tradition, which it provided with two Panchen lamas (Thorsen 1991).

In some specific areas of Tibetan history, it is clear that Bonpos participated in larger trends of the society. Bonpos started to become monks during the general resurgence of monastic institution in the late tenth or eleventh century, developed a very highly scholastic educational system employing strict logical rules at the very latest by the early thirteenth, and in the fourteenth to fifteenth, began writing quite detailed historical accounts of preceding centuries.

Concomitantly, the sacrifice of the animal also banned, instead of that the figurine termed *torma* is offered, and the blood replaced to red tea. Increased contact between Bon and Buddhist monasteries began to occur during this period, including intervisitation and even occasional debates between monks. Through these interaction, Buddhism absorbed Bon elements and transformed into Buddhist context for deeper pervasion into popular belief and vice versa (Thoresen 1991).

Bell (1931) give the example, the chief god of Bon is termed Kun-tu Zang-po (All Good),and , the founder of Bon, Shenrab Miwo, also defined, who stands towards Bon in the same relationship as the Buddha or Padma Sambhava stands towards Tibetan Buddhism. They are tamed and endowed the deified as guardian gods of Buddhism and incorporated into Buddhism pantheon. It is said that the origin of *cham* ,monastic sacred mask dance, was performed in the sacrificial Bon rite with mask, but in the course of time it incorporated Buddhist ritual dance. Though it is constructed on the basis of atheist Buddhism originally, Tibetan Buddhism possess god, demons, and saints, generally resembling those of Bon, but with different names, these having been imported through interaction with local folk belief whose substratum lies in Bon. After the end of fourteenth century however, Bon religious centres fell into decay as the Gelug tradition gained prominence. During this period, Bon began to reorganize it monastic principles according to Buddhist models (Thoresen 1991). The central figure in this organization was Shenrab Gyaltson, who founded Men-ri monastery in 1405 in Tsang. During the reign of the fifth Dalai Lama (1617- 1682), Bon endured a period of unusually severe opposition, and many Bonpos were forcibly converted to the Gelug sect.

However, Bon continue to prosper throughout eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in 1834 the Bon monastery of Yungdrung Ling was founded, developed primary to the study of dialectics. Following the Chinese invasion of 1950, many Bonpo monks fled to India, where several

were initially employed in roadwork. The severity of the work and the climate claimed many of their lives, including that of the abbot of Menri. The subsequent resettlement of Bonpos in India has been concentrated chiefly in the Kulu-Manali area. In the mid-1960s the Bonpos began planning the re-establishment of their monastic community and in 1967 they inaugurated the settlement Thobgyel sarpa in Doranji in Solan district of Himachal Pradesh. In 1969, the order elected by vote (not by reincarnation or family lineage) a new abbot of Menri, Sangyey Tenzin Jongdong, who is the present spiritual leader of Bonpos in India, Nepal, and Tibet (Thoresen 1991).

The Bon which represented in the monastery in Doranji, fifteen kilometers from town of Solan, is regarded as quite distinct from Buddhism by its adherents, and is also so regarded by other Tibetans. Founded by 1969, it was rebuilt by the Bonpos who fled from Tibet following to Dalai Lama after Chinese invasion in 1959. The monastery is the center of revival of Bon culture and tradition, many Bonpo family send their sons to ordain from Bonpo inhabitant area of Nepal, Bhutan, and India. Some of them came from Tibet on foot seeking for more veritable teaching. The monastery provides an eight-year course of intensive study of the philosophical texts of the Bonpos: cosmology, logic, astrology, medicine, poetics and grammar—the full range, in fact of traditional scholastic subjects. The process of learning is punctuated by debates in which the students are pitted against each other in a formalized, yet extremely lively exchange of questions and answers. The philosophical topics are the same as those of Mahayana Buddhist philosophy—Madhya-mika, Prajnaparamita, logic,—but the texts are the Bonpo's own. This eight-year course leads to the degree of *dge-nbshes*, which may be fairly equated with a Ph.D (Karmay 1991). The curriculum is consist of three major part which is also common to Nyingma sect of teaching; Sutra, Tantra and zDogchen. These very similarity of the modality and method, almost impalpable in its garb, except anti-clockwise

circumambulation and swastika and blue accent of the robe, led the recognition by present religious and political supreme, His Holiness fourteenth Dalai Lama as one of the five great tradition of Tibet. Two representative from Bon community in Solan are deputed to the Parliament of the Tibetan Government in-exile in Dharamsala, India.

Today ,when there are so many forces tearing at the fabric of Tibetan identity, Bon religion, with its claims to the antiquity , has a new part to play and much of the past distain has transformed into pride (Thresen 1991). As we speak at the dawn of the twenty-first century, Bon religion can count quite a number of more as well as less serious adherents around the world, same as Buddhists scattered Western world as refugees, and orientalismic admiration of Westerners, which actually assist the existence of this proscribed culture in own land in substantial way, viz. foreign exchange.

Like other religions, Bon inevitably underwent development of its own, and the newly excavated scriptures, no matter how many parts or pieces of ancient documents or oral traditions they might have incorporated, still bear the distinctive marks of the times in which they were brought forth. The treasure revealers had revelations of their own to promote. One of the developments was that, at some undeterminable date before the eleventh century, either Buddhists took over older Tibetan traditions as their own and called the result by the pre-existing name of Bon, or Followers of Bon came to accept many of the essentials of Buddhist doctrine. It has yet to be sufficiently recognized just how high was the degree of spiritual sophistication and internal consistency achieved by the Bon religion, regardless of the sources or amounts of the ideas it has absorbed during its very long history.¹

Section 2 : *Post Buddhism Bon Medical Knowledge*

Part 1 : *Post Buddhism(Yung Drung) Bon Medicine*

The Medical knowledge of so-called YungDrung Bon is consists of

four sources in broad terms, which all are canon, in texts of Kanjur.² All are based on the teaching of the founder, Shenrab Miwo, as they claim the all source of their knowledge emanated from him. However the teaching taken up here was only from available sources which is The Nine Ways of Bon, Twelve Lore, and Bumzhi.

To have basic idea about doctrinal style of medical knowledge which is highly Buddhist garb, this chapter sketches these three sources and subtilizes the part which concerns medicine.

The doctrinal formulation represents a late phase of development, specially aimed at matching the rival religion, while the older texts give a primarily ritual and magical picture of the Bon. In these older sources Bon is to a large part directed at the overthrow of hostile or ambivalent powers, or at least keeping them in check or appeasing them, and also at ensuring that the dead do no harm to the living in the course of death and burial rites and so on. Many of these rites and practices were able to survive in the folk religion, often even in Buddhist clothing (Tucci 1980: 246).

The recent publication of three distinct editions of the Bon Kanjur in Chengdu, and promise of a Bon Tanjur edition, For example, second edition, Vol.144 contains the main medical scripture of Bon . It is called *Bum-zhi*, instead of *Gyu-zhi* which is most authorized and fundamental Tibetan Medical Text.

The two Bonpo texts we have quoted, though containing very ancient material, were compiled respectively in the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. They are not therefore ,sufficient to confirm the existence of a medical system in pre-Buddhist Tibet (Dan 1989:110).

Nine Way of Bon (Theg-pa rim dgu)

The Bon which largely reconstructed after the persecution of Buddhism distinguishes themselves from the past by calling their Bon`Yung drung` (eternal) , which also means `Edifice of Nine Swastikas`. It is a name

of mountain ,which many identify with Mt Kailash in western Tibet, dominated the land of Olmo Lun-gring, the original place of the Bon teaching, the birth place of the founder of Bon, Shenrab Miwo. It is described as an eight-petalled lotus under a sky which appears like an eight-spoked wheel. In the center rises Mount Yung-drung Gutseg (gYung-drung dgu-brtsegs), "Pyr-amid of Nine Svastikas". In Bonpo belief, 'Ol symbolizes the unborn; Mo the undiminishing; Lung the prophetic words of Shenrab and Ring his everlasting com-compassion. Due to the sacredness of Olmo Lung Ring and the mountain, both the counter-clockwise swastika and the number nine are of great significance in the Bon religion (Thoresen 1991). The svas-tika is the symbol of permanence and indestructibility. The nine svas-tikas piled up represent the Nine Ways of Bon. This first five science are consisted in *phyi rig-pa*, (surgery), *nang rig-pa* (internal medicine) ,*bzo rig-pa* (skill an art), *gso rig-pa* (medical pharmaceutical science), *sgra rig-pa* (linguistics science).

It is the major teaching system of Yung Drung Bon which has three kinds of version , namely, *lHo gter*, south treasure, *Byang .gter*, north treasure, and *dBus gter*, central treasure. This each Nine Ways are divided three parts. From these three categories, Shenrab taught on science and principle of Bon. The first teaching included into five science (*rig-gnas lnga*) ,and second teaching is included into theg-pa rim dgu, Nine Ways of Bon. This first five science are consisted in *phyi rig-pa*, (surgery), *nang rig-pa* (internal medicine) , *bzo rig-pa* (skill an art), *gso rig-pa* (medical pharmaceutical science), *sgra rig-pa* (linguistics science). (However, the source of this science is under scope of the researchers` linguistic` capacity, i.e., it has not been translated into English. Therefore it was not touched in this paper).

The Nine Way of Bon taken up here is the south treasure, the only text translated into English by Snellgrove with Tenzin Namdag (1980). The `Nine Ways of Bon is a principle doctrine which belongs to Kangyur, the

teaching of Shenrab. It was described in one of the Shenrab's 'biography', *Zijid* (hdus-pa-rin-po-che dri-ma med-pa gzi-brijid rab-tu hbar-bahi mdo' The precious Compendium the Blazing Sutra Immaculate and Glorious'). Shenrab's 'biography' is written in three versions, one is long, one is of medium length, and short. The *Zijid* is long version, it would be seen to have been compiled towards the end of the fourteenth century (Snellgrove 1980). *Zijid* classifies Bon teachings of the Nine Ways of Bon (*Bon theg-pa rim-dgu*) into four Bon of Cause (*rgyu'i bon*) and five Bon of Fruit (*bras bu'i bon*).

The four 'Bon of Cause' are: 1) The 'Way of the Shen of the Phyva (prediction)' (*Phyva-gshen Theg-pa*), which explains about divination (*mo*), astrology (*rtsis*), ritual (*gto*) and diagnosis on medical problem (*sman dpsyad*). By divination, one can see the fundamental and supplemental cause on fortune, longevity and wealth. By performing ritual tells the cause of disaster and all kinds of negative force. By diagnosis one can know the fundamental and supplemental cause of illness, and these illnesses are to be healed by medicine; 2)³ The Way of the Shen of the Phenomenal Universe or Visual World (*sNang-shen theg-pa*), which comprises rites for protection, exorcism, ransom, and apotropaic rites in general. These rites calls benevolent deity and expels evil spirits.

There is ritual to protect life and health ; 3) The Way of Shen of Magic Power or Illusion (*Phrul-gshen theg-pa*), which gives details of the rites for the expels evil spirit and dispersing adverse and negative force which harm teaching and life, in other words to remove hindrances (*bar chad*) of all kinds. They had the power of overcoming both human enemies (*dgra*) and hostile demonic powers (*bgegs*) through fierce rites of destruction and liberation (*bsgral*) of the consciousness principle of wicked beings ; 4) The Way of Shen of Existence (*Srid-gshen theg-pa*), which explains funeral and death rituals to guide dead soul to heaven for happy rebirth, and protect evil spirit from safe journey of dead soul. and deal with

health and happiness of all sentient beings. This takes care of the living and the dead (*son gshin*), in the sense that they protected the life of the living (*gson po'I srog skyobs*) and could recall the spirit of the dead. This is a custom whose survival can still be seen in the folk religion.

The five 'Bon of the Fruit' are: 1) The Way of the Virtuous Ones, or a Lay Follower (*dGe-bsnyen theg-pa*), which contains the ten principles for wholesome activity of lay persons; 2) The Way of the Ascetics, or a Monk, (*Drnag-srnng theg-pa*), in which the monastic rules and regulations are laid out; 3) The Way of the White A, or Primordial Sound (*Adkar theg-pa*), which explains the integration of an exalted practitioner into the mandala of highest enlightenment and basically contains Tantric teachings; 4) The Way of Primordial Shen, (*Ye-gshen theg-pa*), containing further Tantric teachings which explains the guidelines for seeking a true Tantric master and the spiritual commitments that binds a disciple to his Tantric master; 5) The Way of Supreme Doctrine (*Bla-med theg-pa*), which discusses only the doctrine of great perfection (*Dzogchen*).

On this classification of way into cause and effect, Namkhai Norbu asserts it was probably at this point that the original Bon was classified as 'Bon of Cause' that is as inferior or preliminary to the 'Bon of the Fruit' and the authentic principles of the ancient Bon culture were misconstrued and almost excised by the protagonists of official Bon (Namkhai 1995). Dan views this way: any of the concepts and practices of the Causal Way of Bon, the Way of the Shen of the Phyva in particular, reflect cultural ideas and practices that are natively and perhaps even primordially Tibetan, viz. it contents Bon characteristic, not Buddhism one which prevails rest of the teaching. However in Bum-zhi , it is said that the knowledge of divination (*mo*), healing rituals (*gto*), astrology (*rtsis*) and medical diagnosis (*dpyad*) are given directly from Shenrab: " In particular in Tibet, when Shrab Miwo is still alive, he himself had to come to the snowy valley of Tibet, in the special place of Kongpo Bonri because of the demon Khyabpa Larking. He

there revealed a few teachings such as divination (*mo*), healing rituals (*gto*), astrology (*rtsis*) and medical diagnosis (*dpyad*) (Tsultrim 1998).

Stein reports From Dunhuang manuscripts dating after confrontation of Buddhism, tells how Bon is distinct from the 'shen', who performs the sacrificial rites. Shen could not find a physical form (*zo*) of illness or understand the riddle (or god) of illness of poisoned patient. Then Bonpo comes on the scene. He washes the pollution of the mouth in it and that of the hand in lake. Casting lots and reading the (formulae of) divination, he finds the physical form of the illness and understand the riddle (or god) of swelling. He explains how the illness has come about in the course of hunting through sky, stars, sun, moon, clouds and rainbow. Eventually the patient is cured. Each time, the Bonpo is from the county to which the narrative is devoted: sometimes a real county, sometimes mythical. The illness are induced by the apparition of a deity of the watery underworld (*klu*) possession by demon. They are cured by the performance of certain rites (Stein 1972), which reflects the way of Phyva.

Some source says these medical role of the early Bon gained the popularity and attention of the royal court even under the pervasion of Buddhism. Even Songten Gampo did not neglect Bon. He is stated to have brought Lhandem, the Bonpo from the Zhang Zhung country and put him in the school of Awa Namse the Bonpo. They had to devote themselves to divination for the sick, invocation of Gods, and the exorcising of demons, which is expertise of Bon. King Drongnyen Deru, precedent of three generation from Songten Gampo, sent for a physician from the country of the Asha and a Bonpo from the Sumpa country whose mother was Chinese, to cure him of an illness. (Stein 1972:234)

In fact, Buddhism possessed a formal mechanism for the inclusion of a local this-worldly stratum during the time under consideration for the transmission of Bon. Bon preserved this formal mechanism for later generations, while the other Tibetan Buddhist schools let it slide into

oblivion. (Dan 2001:215). As the bon priests in the Yarlung court looked after king's health and well-being through rites, way in which concerns medical (or healing) is rather purview and tenet of Bon , not Buddhism influence. In a sense, Bon knowledge is more medical or deal with restoration of the state of affair by removing hindrance.

Four Bon Portals and One Treasury as Fifth (Go-bzhi Dzod-lizga)

Snellgrove says , Bonpos often refer to their full complement of doctrines and practices not only as the 'Bon of Nine Way' but also as the Bon of the 'Four Bon Portals and One Treasury as Fifth' (*sGo-bzhi mDzod-lizga*);

1)The White Water (*Chabdkar*) doctrine belongs to the Bon of potent precepts and spells, mantra and dealing with esoteric matters and higher Tantric practice; 2) The Black Water (*Cab-nag*)doctrine belongs to the Bon of the stream of existence. It concerns narratives, magic, funeral rites and ransom rituals; 3) The Land of Han (*'Phenyl*) doctrine belongs to the Bon of the Hundred Thousand (Verse Text) in the *Sutras*, and contains monastic rules and philosophical expositions, and also means 'Perfection of Wisdom' teachings.; 4) the Divine Guide (*dPon-gasa*) doctrine belongs to Bon of precepts and inspired teachings, and containing exclusively the great perfection (*rDzogs chen*) teachings; 5) and finally, the Treasury (*mTho-thog*) which comprises the essential aspects of all the four portals.

Zermig, the middle length of the Shenrab's 'biography', provides the more detail definition and contents of the five Portals. Among these the Black Waters more directly deal with healing dimension of teaching. The Black Water purifies the stream of knowledge. By means of the many verbal accounts which arise there, much is accumulated for the good of living beings under three rites: The outer stream of death rites and funeral rites, the inner stream of sickness rites and ransom rite, and the middle stream of diagnosis rites and rituals (Snellgrove 1980).

Twelve Lores

Other indication of the existence of medicine in the pre-Buddhist period are found in various Bonpo texts. In the *Byams ma*, a text discovered by the master *Khro-tshang 'Brug-lha*, it is affirmed that during the reign of Nyatri Tsanpo, the first King of Tibet, the knowledge of the twelve Bon of Science (*shes pa bcu gnyis*) was propagated (Namkhai 1995). This is the most ancient classification of the different kinds of Bon practiced in Tibet. The order of the lores are as follows:

1. The Bon of the Deities , Lore of Protection` (*mgon shes lha bon*)
2. The Bon of the Cha, Lore of Prosperity` (*g yang shes phywa bon*)
3. The (Ransom) Rites, Lore of Destination` (*gro shes glud gtomg*)
4. The `Shen of Existence, Lore of the Funerary Rites` (*'dur shes srid gsheni*)
5. The `Exorcism (Rites), Lore of Purification (*gtsang shes sel debs*)
6. The `Lore that Releases from Curses` (*'grol shes gtad byad*)
7. The Therapeutic Methods, Lore of Healing` or `He Who Uses the Therapeutic Methods, Who Knows How to Heal` (*phan shes sman spyad*)
8. `Astrology, the Lore that Control the Order (of Existence)` (*skos shes rtsis mkhan*)
9. The *To* (Rites), Lore of the Proclamation (of the Origin) (*smrang shes gto dgu*)
10. The (Rites of the) Deer, Lore of Flight (*lding shes sha ba*)
11. The `Juthig, Lore of Divination (*' phur shes ju thig*)
12. The Bon of Magic Power, Lore of Ritual Destruction` or Bon of Magic Power (*sgrol shes 'phrul bon*)

In the context of precedent Nine Ways of Bon, it assumed the following group 2,7,8,9,10 and 11 are incorporated into the Way of the Shen

of Prediction , 1,3,5 into the Way of the Shen of Visual World, 6,12 into the Way of the Shen of Illusion and 4 into the Way of the Shen of experience. The 'Bon of Cause' is also called the secular way and also known as the Four ways of Divine Bon. To our interest, the chapter only for medical knowledge comes seventh position. Followingly, we shall observe the details of this seventh chapter which compiled by Namkhai Norbu (1995:133-144)

Part 2 : *The Bon of Medicine: The Healing Methods*

The four dinguses falls and medical knowledge of the first Way of Nine Ways of Bon falls in this teaching from the verses briefly expounded in the Zijid :

Four Diagnosis and Medical Problem(Sman dpsyad) and Four Therapeutic Methods (Dpyad thabs)

In the Way of the Shen of Phyva deals with general lists on characterizing rite of curing illness, there are 360 methods. In characterizing diagnosis, which provides ransoms for death, there are 21,000 methods of diagnosis. As for concerning on particulars, there are four kinds of diagnosis:

- 1) Diagnosis by seeing the primary and subsidiary causes
- 2) Identification by examination of the connecting channels, by pulse reading
- 3) Diagnosis of the urine (to discover) what will be of use and what is causing harm
- 4) Diagnosis of the (patient's) appearance (to discover) whether he will die or be cured.

First of all one must carry out the diagnosis on the basis of four tests: understanding of the primary and secondary causes, identification of the types of pulse, ascertainment of the state of health and illness through urine

and examination of the characteristic signs of death or recovery. In this way it is possible to identify whether the kind of disturbance afflicting the patient is an illness or a *don* (provocation). The illness will then be treated through diet, behavior, medicine and external cures; In the case of *don*, however, first of all divination and astrological calculations are performed to determine how the particular class of being has managed to cause the disturbance, what the present conditions are performed and finally, definitively to avert the danger of death and re-establish full health, the appropriate external curative methods are applied.

The Diagnosis

1) The examination of the primary and secondary causes

To diagnose an illness, first of all one carries out three tests of the primary and secondary causes that have brought about the illness, of the symptom it manifests, and of all the things that alleviate or aggravate it. Then one proceeds with the 'science of listening' that consists in the examination, on the basis of the patient's answer, of the conditions that fostered the first symptoms, how much time has passed since the onset of the illness, the present condition, in which parts of the body pain is felt, whether the symptoms change in different places and seasons and, finally, which food, behavior, medicine and therapy have a beneficial effect and which have a deleterious effect. The doctor will then apply the 'science of sight' to examine through visual observation the facial complexion, sclerotic coat, nose, tongue, saliva, faces, urine, vomit, physical appearance and eventual changes in appearance. He will finally base his diagnosis on the 'science of the examination of the organs' which consists in palpation of different parts of the body to test the patient's body heat, the degree of hardness or suppleness of the abdomen and the various organs, the roughness or softness of the skin etc. and other related factors.

2) *The examination of the pulse*

As for the diagnosis through the examination of the pulse, in general three types of pulse found in normal healthy conditions are classified: the 'male pulse' when the beat is strong and deep, the 'female pulse' when the beat is tenuous and fast, and the 'neutral pulse' or 'pulse of *bodhicitta*' when the beat is long, delicate and steady.

Then there is an examination based on the characteristic pulsations of the liver, heart, lungs, kidneys and spleen, respectively, in relation to the five seasons: spring, summer, autumn, winter and the 'intermediate period' (i.e. the last eighteen days of each of the four seasons) and the five elements: wood, fire, metal, water and earth. Another type of test concerns the 'seven marvelous pulses', which serves to obtain divinatory responses on the basis of the characteristics of the elements of the pulse of a person in a state of health. The first five are in relation to the family to someone who is traveling far and is expected to income and earnings and to provocation by negative energies; the sixth is the examination of the inversion of water and fire in which, for example, for the son's illness the father's pulse is tested, for daughter's illness the mother's pulse is tested, for the husbands' illness the wife's pulse is tested, etc. The seventh is the 'pulse of the son' and concerns pregnancy and child birth.

Then the doctors tests for the different types of pulsations indicative of health or sickness and, in the case of the latter, by examining six types of general pulsations he can distinguish whether the illness belongs to the 'hot' or 'cold' category of disturbances; by examining twelve pulsation found under the index, middle and rings fingers he can identify which organ is afflicted and by examining the type of relationships between the five full organs (lungs, heart, liver, spleen and kidneys) with eventual transformations and pauses discernible in the pulsation, he can identify specific provocations by the *don*. Finally, by feeling the 'pulse of the *la*' (*blarta*, which can be felt in the cubical artery) he examines the potential

longevity and eventual deteriorations of the *la* and the vital principle and ascertains whether the *la* is abiding in its natural place or has strayed and is wandering in unbecoming places, and other related factors.

3) *The examination of the urine*

Diagnosis on the basis of urine, whether it is for a healthy or an unhealthy person, is performed bearing in mind three phases: when the urine is warm, when it is tepid and when it is cold. When urine is warm one examines the color, how the change occurs and the final color it takes; through these tests the doctor can diagnose the type of illness affecting the patient. There is also another kind of diagnosis, based on examination of the urine by observing its relationship to the five elements and the different directions, that serves to identify precisely *don* or provocations of energy.

4) *The examination of the signs of death*

The examination of the signs of death or recovery is carried out by analyzing the characteristic aspects of the pulse and urine. Regarding the pulse, there are three characteristics that portend death: when the pulse changes continuously, when it is incomplete and when there are intermittent pauses.

To determine the characteristic sign of death by the urine test, one takes into consideration the symptoms of different kinds of illness: 'cold' or 'hot' caused by 'air (*ruling*), 'bile (*mkhris pa*) or 'phlegm (*bad kani*) humors or by an imbalance between these three or finally due to disturbances of the blood or by poisoning.

The Classification of Illness

In Bon tradition, five fundamental categories are discerned: hot, cold, phlegm, bile and the combination of the humors (*'du ba*). From the *Zijid*: For (disturbances due to) heat, cold, phlegm, bile or the combination of the humors apply medicines that cool, warm or restore balance. All heat

(disturbances) are eliminated by cooling, all cold (disturbances) by warming, all phlegm (disturbances) by separating hot from cold; all bile (disturbances) by concentrating and evacuating; all (disturbances) due to disorders of the three humors combined, by restoring balance.

In a contemporary Bon medical text, however we find illnesses divided in four types: air, bile, phlegm, and the combination of the humors: There exist eighty-four thousand diseases of the 'humors' which can be embraced in four hundred and four categories, which are in their turn based on the four (factors) air, bile, phlegm and combination of humors. in the last analysis subsumed under the two (factors) hot and cold, whereas in other texts of the Bon tradition the four categories are identified as air, bile, phlegm, and blood (*khrag*).

The Healing Methods

For the 21,000 types of combinations, one apply 21 types of medicines or therapeutic methods (*dpyad thabs*), and so expels the afflicted condition of ignorance. Curing is of four main kinds; medicine, bleeding and branding, tranquilizing with method and spells. There is instructions of treatment followed above diagnosis:

- 1) Treatment with medicine of elixir
- 2) Treatment of medicine for bodily cure
- 3) Treatment with method and practice
- 4) Treatment in unprescribed ways

Concerning the classification of the means of cure, the same text states that : the curative methods to be used as antidote are one thousand and two, contained in four categories: medicine (*sman*), therapy (*dpyadi*), diet (*zas*) and behavior (*spyod*); while an eighth century medical treatise explains: First the illness should be treated through behavior and if this is not enough one must take up a diet. If even this is unsuccessful in

eliminating the illness one must take medicine, and as last resort, apply the diverse therapeutic techniques. This is the order one should follow.

1) *Diet*

As regards diet, the different types of food are classified in two categories, according to either they have beneficial properties or deleterious effects on the organism, and on the basis of this classification one should always try to take food and drinks that enhance health, learning to discern these intelligently, while it is important to abstain from those that can cause disturbances or illness. The *Essence of Nectar* says: Concerning knowledge of food and diet use as antidotes to cure illnesses, carefully chosen food and drinks enhance body and the vital force; too little or too much, or if they have harmful properties, they can provoke illness or instant death. Thus it is useful to become expert in knowing how to combine food and drinks.

2) *Behavior*

As regards daily behavior, in general it is explained that too much travelling or wandering about at night, prolonged lack of sleep, states of depression and intense frights, excessive intellectual or sexual activity, severe physical exhaustion, copious loss of blood etc. are all factors that cause 'air' (*rlung*) humor illnesses. Thus by adopting mode of behavior opposite to those mentioned, these types of disturbances are eliminated. 'Hot' illnesses or those of the 'bile' humor are caused by strong feelings of pride, sleeping during the day, performing violent acts, prolonged exposure to the sun or to the heat of a fire, etc. 'Cold' illnesses or those of the 'phlegm' humor are caused by states of extreme apathy, bathing in cold water, sitting in damp places, etc. Furthermore if a person's habitual behavior includes activities of all three of these types, illnesses can arise caused by the combination of the humors. In any case, in order to eliminate the disturbance it will always be necessary to take up behavior opposite to

that which caused it.

2) *The Medicines*

Medical drugs are classified in thirteen categories, listed in the following way; 1) from precious materials; 2) from stone and earth; 3) from essences; 4) from trees; 5) from plants; 6) from herbs; 7) from mineral salts; 8) from animal products; 9) from cultivated plants; 10) from water; 11) from fire; 12) from concentrated subsistence.

Among the types listed above the medicines from fire` are those based on contact with heat and include the eleven type of cauterization, such as those performed with the golden cautery etc Medicine derived from the concentration of substances comprise two categories: those in power form produced by prolonged baking, e.g. the `golden powder` and those known as *khanda* derived from true emanation of the type and function of each medicine is established on the basis of taste, post-digestive effects and the possibility of being combined with other medicines.

One can live and improve one's health using nectarous medicines, medicinal drugs that strengthen the body, if specific methods and modes of behavior, or in other ways that are not predetermined, for recovery from an illness one must apply, congruent with the types of disturbance, one of the four main therapies: drugs, bloodletting (*gtar*), moxibustion, the application of specific remedies or of *mantra*.

3) *Therapies and External Treatments*

The main external treatments used in Tibetan medicine are bloodletting (*gtar*), moxibustion, and acupuncture. By practicing bloodletting in the ninety main points appropriate to this kind of treatment , the general benefits are, that disturbances to the circulation are attenuated and bad blood is purified, pain is alleviated and swellings are eliminated the body is strengthened and takes on a healthier complexion, superfluous fat

eliminated and persons who are excessively thin gain weight.

Treatment by moxibustion, mainly using a cone of artemisia or of other vegetable substances ignited at one end, is applied to seventy-one main points and in four different ways: cauterization , burning, heating, and stimulating by heat from a distance, according to the need of the case. The general benefits are dysfunction of the nerves and of the circulation are blocked , pains in diseased parts of the body are attenuated and 'air' disturbances spread in various parts of the body are eliminated, undigested food is assimilated and stomach swelling are deflated, and excrescencies, old wounds, ulcerous wounds and welts are cured. Also, one can extract lymph by drying points where it is in excess, develop the inner body heat and enhance the memory.

Also classified as moxibustion is treatment by cauterization, perform with small sticks called *tel* made of different metals, with horn cauteries called *nabra* and with small metal cups called *mebum*, all of which give excellent results in the treatment of 'air' 'cold' and lymphatic disturbances.

Operations by acupuncture, finally, are performed mainly on the two points called *rangsanf*, on the eight *dasang* points where the needles penetrate directly, on the twelve-six *jiyinsang* points where impurities are extracted, and one hundred and ten other specific points. The benefits of these applications include the elimination of depressive disturbances, tumors, illnesses caused by the combination of the 'air' humor with cold, imbalances of the organism, and epileptic fits. All these are results that are generally obtained, but many other benefits are possible, which can be learned by studying the various case.

Don: The 'Provocation of Energy'

Sixty thousand (types of being) demand payment through the provocation of negative energies: so it is written in the Zijid, to cause disturbances by directly influencing the sphere of an individual's energy.

The above mentioned Bon medical treatise gives the following list of the best known of these:

Lha, Lhamin (demigods), Triza (smell eaters), Lu (watery underground gods), Nodjyin, Tsang-pa, Sinpo, Shaza (carnivores), Yidag (hungry ghosts), Trulbum, Chedtem, ('that send curses'), Yengjed ('that cause distraction'), Roling (living corpses), Tsunlha (ancestral deities), Lama (masters of deities), Trangsong (divine sages), Gen (ancient ones) and Druppa (realized ones): these are the 'eighteen great Don'.

There are other lists of Don which are much longer, and in which, among others, we can find the following: Lha, Lu, Lhamin, Lunglha (wind deities), Namlha Ding (garuda-eagle), Triza, Miamci (lit. 'are they men or what are they?'), Toche Chenpo, ('that slither on great bellies'), Nodjyin,, Sinpo, Jungpo, Yidag, Shaza, Trulbum, Sulpo, ('the cause to rot') Lu Sulpo ('that putrefy the body'), Kemjed ('that emaciate'), Jedjed ('that cause oblivion'), Dribnon ('that contaminate'), Nyojed ('that drive insane'), Nonpo ('that suppress'), Khandroma (female sky beings), Namdru (name of a constellation), Shinje, Cha (birds), Mamo Gawar Jedpa ('Mamo that make happy', Kuntu Drowa ('that go everywhere'), Tserma Donpa ('that pull out thorns'). In conclusion, according to a tradition, common to Tibetan Buddhists and Bonpos alike, all the Don can be classified in three fundamental categories: the Don of above, the Don of intermediate space and the Don of below.

The etymological meaning of the term *don*, 'to doubt', implies the process of the formation of doubt: somebody who has absolutely no doubt is influenced or 'provoked' by something that gives rise to 'doubt' and finally that doubt becomes firmly established in the person. In fact when one has no doubts and there is not even the base for doubt, the expression used is *dom mi za*, 'there is no shadow of doubt'. In the same way, in our context the term Don does not refer only to a disturbance caused by one of the classes of non human beings, in which case one would use the term *nodpa*, 'disturbance' -

such as in the expressions *lha'i gnod pa*: disturbances to receive negativity, and it is in this sense that the expressions 'Don of the Lha', 'Don of the Lu', etc. are used. In fact, if a person is in a period when his *la* is wandering outside its seat, his *cha* (good fortune) is ruined, his *lungta* is in decline and his ascendancy-capacity is weak, he becomes passive or receptive towards external negative energies contrary to his well-being, and as these energies are tied to the Lha, Lu, Nyen etc these powerful classed of being can succeed in dominating and directing them to 'provoke' the person's energy.

Connected with these provocation are the eighty thousand 'Geg' or 'obstructive spirits' because they create obstacles and hindrances to a persons fortune and prosperity, in their turn linked with the Jungpo, powerful entities endowed with the particular capacity to control those kinds of negative energies. Should one be subject to provocation by a Don, abetted by causes and conditions similar to those described, then cure by means of diet, behavior, and medicine will not be enough. To eliminate the illness it will be necessary first to perform efficaciously the type of *To* rite appropriate to the circumstances and the specific class of Don, and only after this will one be able to restore health definitively through bloodletting, moxibustion, application of needles etc. or whatever other type of treatment is necessary.

Part 3 : *Bon Medicine in Tibetan Medical Discourse*

In written form, especially religious texts, everything in Tibet was started along with the introduction of new 'Enlightening' knowledge, Buddhism. It is largely due to the inflow of written culture along with Buddhism, which developed for the translation works of Buddhist texts. As Kapstain points out, this achievement of the empire's Buddhists in the redaction of scriptural learning appears to overwhelm other accomplishment of Tibetan learning thus may be result of the fortuitous conjunction of superior preservation. In Tibet, as in religious societies elsewhere, such

concern fundamentally shaped the manner in which history came to be written, but it is less clear that the history we are now examining was how itself shaped (Kepstain 2000:56).

In this manner, the history of Tibet was that of Buddhist in general, the location of Bon in medical history also was tend to be overshadowed by the radiation of the Medicine Buddha, as far as concerning the commonly accepted notion of 'Tibetan Medicine', which is identical with 'Buddhist' Medicine. In the most of description on medical history in Tibet, medical knowledge of Bon was touched as the indigenous folk remedy or usually remain untouched. At large, the history of medicine in Tibet takes for granted its foreign origin, India where the 'Dharma' came from.

However, it does not means the non existence of the Other medical knowledge as we have observed indetail above, although it was not appear 'written' record composed by religious elite partisans, for whom religion was a uniquely compelling concern, or majority's recognition which constructed on these authorized historiography.

Foreign Origin Tendency: Buddha in India versus Shenrab in ZhangZhung

1) Indian Introduction

To the Tibetan consciousness in general, all knowledge including medical, has a sacred origin and is ascribed to the wisdom of Buddha's. In Tibetan Buddhist context, it was not Brahma, but the 'past' Buddha Kashyapa, who taught medicine to Brahma in the previous time cycle (*yuga*). Brahma passed this medical knowledge on to the Ashwin twins through whom they gradually reached the world of men. Then in our era, the historical Buddha Sakyamuni, taught the medical text called *Vimalagotra* and transmitted the three thousand five hundred chapters of the *gCer mthong rig pa'i brgyud* to two of his principle disciples, Sariptra and Ananda (Angleo 1984). For it to reach the land of Tibet, the Atreya, a famous

teacher of Ayurveda at Texila passed it on to his student and they, including Jivaka, the Buddha's personal physician and patron saint of Tibetan medicine, taught and propagated it (Clifford.1984). In the clinics or the house of physician (*Amchi*), there was a space for the altar of the Medicine Buddha (*Menla*), and before the daily practice, Amchis pray to the Menla for the protection and empowerment.

As Buddhists, it is a common view that the history of the establishment of Buddhism in Tibet is also of the establishment of Ayurvedic and Tantric medicine in Tibet (Clifford 1984), and this recognition leads the reproduction of reports by Western scholars on the history of Indian origin, especially emphasized by Indian Tibetologists who aimed to prove own glory of Indian heritage, as one of the four medicine mountain Menla resides represents the seed of whole herbal and Ayurvedic therapy in Buddhist Mandala.

Following the trans-historical consciousness, the concrete history of medical science in Tibet also is originated with the arrival of two Ayurvedic two physicals from India, the Holy land the birth place of Buddha (Angelo 1984). This beginning attributed by Buddhist sources was in the reign of the twenty-eighth King, Lha-Tho-Tho-ri gnyan-btsan. The names of two Indian doctors was Bi-byi dGa`byed and Bilha dGa`madzas, and according to Clifford, the King awarded many honors and offered a bride to Bi-byi-dGa`byed and requested them to remain in his land in order to establish the Ayurvedic tradition (Clifford 1984:52).

The son of Bi-byi-dGa`byed, Dungi Thorchog was trained in the feet of father and became Tibet's first native lama-doctor, his sons in due course were traditionally the successive chief physicians to the king. The Indian science of medicine was thus introduced, not all Tibetan agrees this thesis of Indian origin, however.

The other stance of this origin debate claim that Tibetan medical knowledge is indigenous. To Pasang (1989), this introduction does not refer

to the introduction of medical knowledge itself, since Tibet had already firm basis of medicine, thus it was mere the first introduction of a medical system 'from India'. However in the course of Buddhism pervasion, this 'Indian' introduction has transmuted into the 'introduction' in generic term of medical science itself, which is commonly accepted.

When we see this phenomenon together with the social process of 'introduction' of Buddhism, we can grasp this tendency more clearly. Angelo argues, the diffusion of new form of knowledge was promoted by the kings, who beyond declared motives of faith, were interested in adopting a foreign religious system which could make the monarchy independent of the influence of the old aristocracy, so closely connected to the pre-Buddhist religion. Thus the political necessity of the Tibetan monarchy and Buddhist interest in propagating that religion, each helped to falsify, and to some degree cancel the history of the pre-Buddhism period. The very origins of Tibetan civilization were therefore ascribed to the religion of Buddha and his native country India. All knowledge, including astrology and medicine, were entirely attributed to the civilizing influence of the new Indian religion (Angelo 1984).

As Pasang suggested already, prior to 'introduction', Tibetan civilization was already flowering in an age when Buddhism was still unknown, and it had a reputation as a land of medicine herb at that time. There was a 'Palace of Medicine Herbs' in the Yarlung Valley where the early Tibetan kingdom first acquired its sense of itself as a distinct nation and culture (Clifford 1984). Bon in the court of Yarlung dynasty was active and mainly served for the treatment of king's illness. From the accounts of Snellgrove and Richardson, they performed a rite for reversing (the course of the disease), and cured the king by blood letting (Snellgrove and Richardson 1986:102). Other than this, recent research has revealed that quite an advanced system of Tibetan medicine and astrology like divination, sortilege, etc. of Zhang Zhung, then was in existence in the land which now

called western Tibet. Then the dominant special philosophy and religion was not Buddhism but Bon (Dolma 1989).

The Bon had its own medical tradition since then, the Bonpos knew the magical and medical properties of the wealth of herbs growing on their sub-Himalayan plateaus. Belleza (2001) reports, in the archaeological sites in Byangtang where ZhunZhung culture flourished, there was the *lcog mkhar*, a subterranean temple with three stoves including one that was located under the earth, where a medicinal decoction called *dbal chu* was brewed. The *dbal chu* was used as a sacred medicine both internally and externally. Fumigation of patient was also carried out inside the *lcog mkhar*.

2) Zhang Zhung Introduction

From the Bon point of view, the history of the beginning of the medical science, as reported by Bonpo sources, differs completely from the version of Buddhist . According to Bonpo source, from the time when Tibetan medicine was recorded in written form *dPyad-po-Tri-Shey*, son of Shenrab Miwo was the first doctor. The other source said ,Shenrab is believed to have manifested himself as four distinct masters: 1) as *dPyad-du Khri-shes* who teaches medicine 2) as *gTo-bu `Bum-sangs* who teaches ritual 3) as *Kong-tse* who teaches astrology, and 4) as *Sakyamuni* who teaches Dharma. (Karmay 1972:xxxiv).

Shenrab as teacher of Medicine is deeply followed by the Bon priests who invoke him for the empowerment of healing. If the oracle is negative, the Bon priest counsels the king to turn to Shenrab because it is believed that only he can recognize the cause of the illness and the don responsible and so procure a remedy(Tucci 1980:234).

When Shenrab Miwo reached the age of twenty one, his wife *Hoza Gyalmé* gave birth to a son; to whom was given the name *Chubu Trice*. He together with another seven sages, requested the teaching on medicine from Shenrab who the explained to them the *dpyad`hum kra bo* (The

Multicolored collection of a Hundred Thousand Methods of Curing), the *sMan 'bum dkar po* (The White Collection of a Hundred Thousand Medical Cure. and the *sMan 'bum nag po* (The Black Collection of a Hundred Thousand Medical Cures), along with Three knowledge were known as *d'Pyad-ki-rGyud-sDe-Chenpo-gZhung-Lugs* (The Five great system of Therapeutics) *mDo-sDe-Chnpo-aDe-dGu* (The nine great medical teachings) and *Man-nGag-yan-lag-brGyud-lDen* (the eight branches of precious oral lineage).⁴

Thereafter, these teachings were transmitted by Chubu Trice and the other sages; according to the Bonpo tradition, they are original sources from which later emerge even the Four Tantras of Medicine, the nucleus of the Tibetan medical system (Karmay 1972) . It is called *Sorig Dok Bumzhi*, extant *Sorig Bumzhi* shaped its form by revision of posterity based on this original. The lineage of those sholars are listed in the last chapter of the Book; Sange Tempe , Kyibutreshe, Mu Tahia, Srthok Chijam, Tongjun Thunshen, Jimtsa Machung, seven lamas.

At the time of the seven lamas, the religion of the state had converted into Buddhism and the persecution was severe. To save from the organizational destruction, those seven lama brought this medical text and concealed along with other important texts in the cave of Jemima Yungdrung in upper Tsang. It was discovered by Tsang of Shenpo Putso Sibe Gerpo and transmitted this teaching to Meu Kepa Berchen. High lama Dunmuniel edited these teaching and authored 'zabazyabtu' (all teachings), which contains the all important historical points of Tibetan Medicine.

In this way, Bon historians claim the medical work originally came from Zhang Zhung language, and it is said the first medical texts appeared 3000 years ago (Drungtso 1994). The certain medical texts are believed to be of Zhang Zhung origin and even today, we can find, among the Dunghuang manuscripts, a medical text which states that it was based on the Zhang Zhung medical tradition (Karmay 1989). For example, the

compilation of the Gyu-zhi, standard medical text which were based and borne out of variety of ancient Zhang-Zhung medical texts such as `Kor - lue-Gyopur-Pebum` `Yan-lag-brgyad-pa` and Indian medical translation and `so-ma-ra-tsa` a medical text translated from Chinese (Yonten 1989). And the diagnosis through the pulse and urine prescription of medicines and therapeutic techniques of the last Tantra of Gyu-zhi closely resemble to that of the Zhung Zhung medical texts, *sManhbum-dKarmo*, *sMan-hBum-Nagpo* and *sMan-'Bum-Khravo*. According to Bon scholars, after Buddhism became the state religion in the reign of Trison Detsen, the medical texts written in the Bon fashion was modified in the tone of Buddhism. When Yutok Yonten Gonpo (Old) founded the first medical school in 762 A.D, the text used for the classes of ten years was mentioned Sorig Bumzhi in the name of Sorig Gyuzhi (Tupten 1996).

The importance of these accounts, despite their slight historical value, consists in their underlining the fact that Tibetan Medicine is itself a spiritual teachings and making clear the religious conceptions which are its basis. Tracing the origin of medicine back to the Buddha and Shenrab Miwo respectively, the Buddhist and the Bonpo affirm the religious nature of medical science. This view point is not limited to medical history but profoundly influences all of the development of medicine and diverges radically from the idea of scientific progress, which we in the West, generally associate with the history of science (Angleo 1984).

Interactive Development: International Exchange

Irrespective of its origin, the basis of Tibetan medicine had already formed by the middle of eighth century, and the theory and practice of the body, etiology, diagnosis, diet and pharmacology based on four elements was established. The location of Zhang Zhung on the borders of northwestern Tibet indicates that this kingdom was a cultural crossroads that had a significant influence on the development of Tibetan Medicine. it is

highly likely that Zhang Zhung had cultural contacts with Kashmir, Gilgit, Sogdiana and Bactria, all of which were strongly influenced by Indo-Greek culture, which connotes the strong influence of Greek Medicine (Bellzera 2001). Followingly, Buddhism became most prominent cultural system known in almost all surrounding nations; its presence in India and Nepal, China, and Central Asia may well have contributed to the forum to innovative exchange of knowledge which Tibetan Medicine stands equal partner, not mere borrower (Drungso 1994).

The participants of these exchange share the similarity and closely related each other. The name and contexts may differs, but the medical systems in Asia such as Ayurvedic system , the Siddhi system, the Chinese system, the Unani system holds commonly `environmental` or cosmic factors as causes of illness based on the pre-Cartesian view , of which etiology is one in which ever larger units of causality. Whilst they all had minor differences in practices and expression in religious bias and cultural context, due to the influences of the individual cultures and religions in their practice, they came to be known as different systems (Yonten1989).

The military expansion by the Song tsen Gampo at this time suggest that Nestorian Christianity, Manichaeism, Chinese historiography, and divination, and Greek medicine were to be continued among numerous foreign ways of knowledge to which the Tibetan were exposed. Countering to the extent of Song tsan Gampo`s military might ,the Nepalese King and Chinese emperor had to offer him their princesses in order to safeguard themselves. The Chinese princess brought with her Chinese physicians and their system in its entreaty.

There were accounts in many medical texts of how various scholars were invited to Tibet from Persia during this time. There is some evidence that Galenic medicine reached Tibet through Central Asian sources during this period and this also points to the Iranian world , perhaps through Sogdiana or Khotan (Kapstain 2000:59). Tibet`s trade, religious and cultural

relations with Turkistan introduced the Greek medical system into Tibet. Song Tsan Gampo when he invited Galen to Tibet along with Bharadvaja from India, Hen Weng Han from China as his personal physicians. Galen, according to western medical history, was a qualified physician of the Roman King Marcus Aurlius and subsequent Roman kings. He was thoroughly acquainted with all the aspect of medical practice, especially in anatomy and in performing operations. In the science of physiology and anatomy his discoveries and works were used even until the sixteenth century (Angelo 1984).

The king kept Galen as his court physician who composed many treaties and the Bi-Ji and Lhorong physician lineages developed from his descendants. (Angelo 1984). Partly his influence, Tibetan or Bon medical system had a strong connection with the Greek medical system, and it is evident from the fact that the Galen (ic) system of medicine was known in Tibet by the name, 'The Upper to Western Tibetan Medical System'.

The theories on which these systems based are similar again. For example, the Greek medical system describes the four principle elements as the causes of yellow bile, phlegm and blood disorders. On the other hand, likewise a Bon sutra says: " The five poisonous delusions, Arise from the three poisons Which themselves give rise To the four causes illnesses: Wind, bile, phlegm and blood disorder"(Angelo 1984). In both systems pulse and urine diagnosis and blood letting are explained extensively (Angelo 1984).

Although it has strong affinity of the knowledge, Bon text claims of its inception before 14000 BC Bon medicine existed even earlier than the introduction of the Greek system into Tibet, and the use of pulse and urine diagnosis were already well established practice.

The pulse and urine reading techniques were much in use during the Zhang-Zhung period and constituted the main criteria of diagnostic purposes. sTag-stsang Lotsawa said, that the diagnosis of pulse and urine did

not come from India but was founded by Tibetan doctors who led the Bodhicitta way of life. That Bon medicine existed even earlier than the introduction of the Greek system into Tibetan is further substantiated by Lopon Tenzing Namdakg in his work *Sangs rgyas kyi bstan nga mtsar nor bu'i phreng ba* in which he says that until 1987, 16483 human years has passed since the birth of Chad Bu Tris Shes.

The second chapter of Tibetan medicine began with the emergence of Lodroe Sinyen during the later part of the reign of the Song tsen Gampo. Lodroe Sinyen historically belonged to the same ancestry as Dun-gyi Thorchog. The medical knowledge of This first doctor of Buddhist Medicine was transmitted strictly oral between the hereditary teacher and student. His son Yuthok Drechi Becha was equally famous and visited India three times. In his time the Four Medical Tantras which forms the root text of Tibetan medicine were translated into Tibetan from Sanskrit. His son Yutok Khyongpo fathered Yuthok Yonten Gonpo, under his personal initiative and supervision, a number of very important medical treatises, texts and other related writings were compiled for the first time (Angleo1984)

The first international debate on Tibetan medicine took place during the reign of King Trisong Deutsen of late eighth century, when skilled doctors from Mongolia, China, India, Persia, Eastern Turkistan, Nepal, Kashmir, Dolpo, Afghanistan and so on participated. The debate took place at Samye in Lhasa. One of the descendant of Yuthok Yonten Gonpo Nyingma known as Yuthok Yonten Gonpo Sarma lived in eighteenth century Tibet and is credited with the authorship of a new version of the Four Medical Tantras.

Gyu-bzhi and Bum-bzhi

The recent publication of three of three distinct editions of the Bon Kanjur in Chengdu, and promise of a Bon Tanjur edition, For example, second edition, Vol.144 contains the main medical scripture of Bon. This

scripture, entitled *Man gyud 'bum zhi*, corresponds almost exactly in its four subtitles and their chapter subdivision titles with the famous *rGyud bzhi* 'The Four Secret Oral Tantras on the Eight Branches of the Medical Tradition' well known as the basis for traditional Tibetan medical sciences (Dan 2001). As Karmay (1989) points out, the value of the rGyud-bzhi as a medical work and the authoritativeness of the medical theories and practices which it contains have never been questioned. It was accepted and considered by all as the fundamental work on medicine.

The *gSorig bdud rtsi sman rgyud 'bum bzhi* 'The Four collections of Nectar Treasures of Medical Science' (Tsultrim 1998) is published in book form from Paljor publication in 1998, mainly compiled and edited by Lama Gege who is teacher of Bon medical institute in Nepal. This text is used for the medical training in the Bon monastery, and shares the equal position of Gyu-zhi in Tibetan Medical Teaching, a most authorized legitimate medical text.

The structure of the books and contents and instruction given are almost all the same, except two more (total 94 whereas in Gyu-zhi 92) chapter in the third text. The third text is devoted for practical consultation, mainly contains diagnosis and treatment of diseases which are classified into ninety one kinds. The two chapters additional to Bum-zhi are: *Yanga Pumetso* and *Nyera Toepa*, former presents manual to maternity care before and after delivery including instruction of diet, lifestyle. It deals with the care for still birth. The latter chapter concludes by expressing appreciation to the knowledge and its source. It also tells about the procedure of the rite for the healing by controlling the evil force in the name of Shenrab, the source of knowledge hence source of power.⁵

Both medical transmission comes through the non physical manifestation of an illuminate Being, far from any duality of master and disciple, beyond time and space. The fact that the fundamental texts of the Tibetan medical system are classified as tantra underlines the religious,

transhistorical origins of this medical system (Angleo1984) .

The source of Bum-zhi is also regarded as Shenrab Miwo, as we have observed in the 2) Zhang Zhung introduction part. Bun-zhi is compilation of his teaching then. According to Bonpo, the place where he taught was the core in the Southern Continent of Jambudvipa, in the center of Olmo Lungring , close to the Mount Yungdrung Gutsek. Whereas Tibetan Medicine claims it is Buddha and according to Tibetan doctors most important in terms of the medical tradition of Tibet is the mystical transformation during which the Buddha took on the form of the Medicine Buddha Vaidurya (means lapis lazuli) and gave the medical teaching which has come down as the Gyu-zhi (Clifford 1994).

The Bun zhi and Gyu zhi were given in the form of question and answer between the two *guru-siksha* form . In Bum-zhi, it is Shenrab and his son, Chubu Trice, known to Bon historical tradition, the name Chubu Trice means ' he who knows ten thousand diagnostic techniques' . While the main questioner in the *rGyud bzhi* is two emanations of the same Buddha, the sage Rig-pa'i Ye-shes and the Sage Yid-las-skyes.

The rest of the three texts are almost identical⁶ with the Gyu-zhi, for reference I attach the list of contents of Gyu-zhi in the appendix 2. Followingly, these are called, 'Blue Sky of Myriad Mind' and its branches known as the 'White Myriad of Curing Medicine' , the ' Multicolored Myriad of Diagnosis and Methods of Healing', and the 'Black Myriad of Illnesses to be Cured', correspond to 'Root Tantra', 'Commentary Tantra', and 'Last Tantra'. According to dominant view of Tibetan Medicine concerns, it is a copy of the Gyu-zhi, however, Bonpo affirms that 'historically the Gyu-zhi is modeled on them' (Tsultrim 1998). It is said in the preface of this Bum-zhi that when the abolition of Bon took place, this Blue Sky of Myriad Mind (*Thungs 'bum mkha`sgon*) was hidden as a treasure by seven Bonpos in the Secret Svastika Cave (gYung drung gsang phung) of Jema in Upper Tang province. Later on in eleventh century, the

Yogi of Tsang, Busto Sipai Gylopo opened treasure and transmitted it to Me'u Khepa Pelchen. The three other texts such as the White Myriad of Medicine were revealed in the main temple of Samye in the tenth century by the three Buddhist of U. The physician Yuthokpa requested the texts from them and upto now they have been intensely diffused (Tsultrim 1998). Whereas, in the history of Tibetan Medicine claims this terma from Samye temple was concealed by Padmasambhava for next generation and at the time of unearthing, the 'father of Tibetan Medicine', Yuthog Yonten Gonpo used for compilation of Gyu-zhi.

However, the formation process of Gyu-zhi itself is controversial subject. This situation seems to have led to the formation of the two separate groups, each determined to uphold its own tradition. The contest between the two groups was on the question of whether the Gyud zhi is a translation of an Indian work or simply written by Yuthog (Karmay 1989).

In fact, as Angleo points out (1984) any elements, in fact cannot be attributed to Indian influence. The analysis of the pulse and urine, for example, are absent from the classics of the Ayurveda and are found only in later Ayurvedic treatises such as the *Yoga ratnakara* in eleventh century A.D.) where they are described less completely than in Tibetan texts. Other examples are terms of Chinese origin, moxa, the rules of diet and among the *materia medica* products not available in India. Furthermore it should be remembered that the Sanskrit original of the Gyu zhi has been lost, and that in India all trace of a text with such a title has disappeared.

History tells us in conclusion, that the Gyu zhi which we know today was arranged in infinitive form by Yutog Yonten Gampo (Junior) in the tenth century; clearly the process by which the text arrived at this present version is much more complex than some sources suggest. Exactly for this reason the Gyu zhi can be considered to represent, and illustrate in all its facets the entire medical system of Tibet (Angleo 1984).

Despite of these facts, as the contest between the two groups grew

and gradually developed , there came to be what is known as the `establishment of the Gyu zhi as a canonical work` among the group who maintained the thesis of its Indian origin. The canonical work thesis then began to form a part of almost every work known as *knob-`bubs* which deals with the historical development of the medical tradition in Tibet (Karmay 1989).

Typical example of Canonical version is : according to *rNam-thst bka`-rgya-cen* written by Sumton Yeshe Gzing, a disciple of Yuthog Yonten Gonpo , the Gyu zhi was first expounded by Buddha Rigpai Yeshe in Oddiyana. It finally came into the hands of the Pandita Zla-ba gaba of Cashmere (Karmay 1989) or Candranandana (Angleo 1984) from Vairocana and he translated and presented them to King Khri Srong-detsan. The King, on advice of Padma Sambhava, had them hidden in one of the pillars of the temple of Samye in order that they would be discovered at a propitious time; in fact they were found in the tenth century by the tertön Gra-pa mGon-shes.

And in Bonpo version, the Bonpo tertön Khusha Zlaod is believed to have `rediscovered` some medical texts which are however never specified and he is often identified with Yothog Yontan Gonpo by both the Bonpo and Nyingma pa traditions.

For the religious author whose status and writing itself is authority , the source of knowledge have to come from the transhistorical spiritual sacred Being, it should not from the anonymous autochthonous popular belief. It needs concrete figure who can be the repository of authorization of own religion through the unquestionable legitimacy of knowledge.

Note

- ¹ There is another periodical classification of Bon in texts of the Buddhist tradition, which is largely used to explicate the process of evolution and plagiarization to reach Buddhism-nized Bon. In the majority, Bon is subdivided in three fundamental types: 'revealed Bon' (*rdol bon* or *jol bon*), 'derived Bon' (*khyar bon*) and 'transformed Bon' (*bsgyur bon*). However as Namkhai Norbu points out, these terms are all coined by Buddhists according to their way of judging and classifying Bon, because it transpires these names have never been used in this tradition in any of the phases of its history; nor do they correspond to the contents of its teachings (Namkhai Norbu 1995). Therefore this general classification is not employed in this paper.
- ² The Bon canon is composed primarily of two types of texts, the rediscovered texts (*rter-ma*) and texts of oral transmission (*snyan-rgyud*). The scriptures contained in these texts are divided into the Kanjur, the teachings of Shenrab, and the Katen, commentaries based on the teachings of the Kanjur. The Kanjur has 178 volumes of which ten volumes are new texts, and the Katen has 380 volumes. The latter includes subjects ranging from rituals and narratives to medicine and poetry, logic, arts and crafts, (Thoresen 1991). These are classified under four sections: the sutras (*mDa*), the perfection of wisdom teachings (*'Bum*), the tantras (*rGyud*) and knowledge (*mDzod*). It is interesting to note that the Knowledge (*mDzod*) section concerning cosmology and cosmogony is quite unique to Bon, though there is scholarly speculation that it has a strong affinity with certain Nyingma doctrines. Only Nyingmapa and Bon hide the texts, however both it was time of eighth century, they did out of different requirement. The Nyingmapas hid books following the death of king Lang Darma, their intention was not to protect them from destruction but to preserve the texts for future generations who could better decipher them, as for Bonpo, it was save from the massive ban and destruction of their teaching.
- ³ The text of Nine Ways of Bon that we are referring to expounds the procedure and instruction of these diagnosis and ritual therapeutics in verse form (Snellgrove 1967): Firstly, the three (gods) *Ye-srid-hphrul-gyi rgyai-po*, *Kun-ses-hphrul-gyi dran-mkhan*, and *mNon-ses phyahu gyan-dkar* arranged this divination of prognosis for the phenomenal world, making a straightforward distinction of true and false effects. Make an examination from what is seen and what is not seen. On this basis of this diagnosis, make an estimate. Having made an estimate, fix your calculations, take stock of (the patients) former, future, and present state his disadvantages and advantages. Count up good points and bad points, the beneficial and the harmful ones. Having counted them up, fix your calculations. Relying on your sortilege and calculation, you next act by means of the rite the conditions (necessary) for the cure. Being for non-being, filling where there was emptiness, increase for decrease, production for destruction, wealth for poverty, recovery instead of death benefit instead of harm, by thus accounting (to them) Whatever is required by these means you cure the person concerned. Finally as the end of the effects he is integrated in happiness. As the end of unhappiness he is integrated in happiness. As the end of sickness he is integrated in recovery. As the end of harm he is integrated with what benefits. As the end of death he is integrated in being raised up. As the end of poison it is integrated with elixir. If anything is broken by his karmic effects, it is now integrated by being brought into union. (All this is just reliance on methods which refer to relative truth.)

Secondly for calculating the horoscopes, on a cloth (made) of piece of brocade silk one must set the squared calculating board, arrange the white and black pieces... Calculate the cycles of the Elements and the Time periods. Examine them, identify and distinguish them knowledgeably: the former, past and present state, the way it come about from major and minor causes, the way events and prayers have corresponded, ways of change in Time, Existence and the Elements, the way these influence former combination, ways of change in the Four seasons, Strength and weakness of gods, demons and *klun-rita*, avoiding and accepting the effects of evils and benefits, an estimate of good and bad and length of life, the characteristic of increase and decrease of the years, the months, the days, the hours, a wise man must do this and calculate it quietly.

He must identify harm wherever it is and explain benefits wherever they are, and arrange whatever combinations can be brought into accord and so bring benefit to living beings.

Thirdly, as for making cures by means of rites for living beings, ignorant creatures, when *sPar-kha*, Year-Cycle, the *sMe-ba* sphere, and antagonistic elements are in disarray, one must perform the 'Awry' rite for the Universe in disarray. Draw the magic circle with clean sand, a circle drawn with sand of five colours. Set up twigs with coloured wools and silk of five colours.

Make a first offering of a pure sacrificial cake made from different grains, and of the three milk and three sweet substances. Worship the goddess of elements and the Time-Periods. Recite as a prayer some true expositions of the Conqueror. Thus the completely disarrayed elements will be quietened, and everything disarrayed will be put in place.

In order to produce long life, happiness and good fortune for those creatures wretched men, Perform 'Striking' Rite, combining use of ritual devices. Worship the eight gods of Prediction and Good fortune and bring all phenomenal elements into interrelation. Pronounce the blessing of interrelationship, and beings will be cured with benefits and happiness.

When beings of the Six Spheres Are struck with an impediment and come near to death, in order to save them from impediments and reverse this evil, (use) the 'Stinging' Rite which works by knowledge of prognostic signs. For devils, fiends, she-demons, spirit of death, devils which attack man's length of days, sprites which cause impediments, and devils which attack the life-force, (against these) establish life-ransoms, life pledges and amulets. Pay debts of evil with life ransoms as payment of life. Worship eight gods who preserve life and happiness. Reverse the troubles that befall men and save them from their impediments. Thus he is ransomed from death and fixed up with an amulet, and so you produce benefits, joy and happiness for living beings.

Fourthly in caring (for others) by means of diagnosis, when the ignorant beings of Six Spheres suffer from diseases (arising from) molestations (*klesa*), in order to benefit them in their illness by diagnosis, the physician with his thought to the four immeasurable virtues, take refuge in host of Buddhas and offer a *mandala* in thanksgiving and worship. He should worship the King *Be-du-rgya-'od* (*Vaidurya*) and his eight fellow Buddhas, gods of medicine Then he should diagnose the major and minor causes in all that can be seen, and identify the disease by diagnosis of the connecting channels. Diagnose from the urine what is benefit and what is of harm.

Diagnose from appearance all sign of death and signs of cure. Thus identifying the disease, heat or cold, phlegm or bile, or some combination, the medicine is then applied, cooling warming, equalizing, powder, pills, or syrup, potion, ointment, or butter-mould. Medicine for everyman must fit with the disease. All feverish conditions are contracted by the cooling kind, all cold conditions by the warming kind, all phlegmatic conditions by the dispersing kind, condition of bile by uniting kind combination disturbed by the equalizing kind.

In the text of Zijis instructs: the healing method:

Whatever is required must accord with the type of disease. After absorption it is gentle and pleasant. For the disease vomiting and excretion and the after-state is tranquil and pleasant. Food may be suitable, harmful, or indifferent. In diagnosis we have the connecting channels, the urine and the general appearance. Watch the channels, examine urine, and diagnosing from general appearance let the result coincide. If you are sure you see sign of death, urge him to the practice of virtue. If he is cut off by karmic effects, ritual and diagnosis are useless.

It is certain his time of death has come, Even food which should nourish the body may be his life's enemy. But if it is not such a case, and he suffers from an accident or a sudden disease, you will save him by treatment and medicine. If your skill and cleverness of method have not been perfected by practice, you will not produce medicine, but poison. Skill and cleverness of method are very important. So by practicing setting about and understanding these four sortilege, astrological, calculation, ritual and diagnosis, living being must be benefited.

- ⁴ According to Angleo (1984), it is depicted in the text: In *So ri gyu Dorje* (1897-19th *bum bye ba'i yang snying* and in *Shad dzo yid zhin norbu*, *Khyuntul Jigme Namkhai* says: "The Bodhisattva day of the 15th in the autumn of the wood-monkey year, the 26th year (called) *Jungden*. At that time in the centre of the Tagzig 'Olmo Lung Ling' surrounding the nine Pagoda of Yung Drung Bon was the forest of *Jambutrika*, the best of all woods and Makudara, the best of all plants. In such a beautiful environment abides the Omniscient Lord Shenrab..."It goes on to say, "The great *Chad Bu Tri Shes* who possessed knowledge of the medical tantras arose..." Thus Chad Bu Tri Shes and the eight rishis requested the Lord Shenrab to expound the Bon medical Tantra called *Gyud 'bum* and at the conclusion of his teachings he gave responsibility of them to Chad Bu Tri Shes.
- ⁵ However this interpretation may need more elaboration since I could have very crude translation due to imitation translation availability and my lack of Tibetan language command.
- ⁶ According to the Bonpo who has basics of Tibetan Medicine and Tibetan Medicine Doctors in Men-Tse-Khang (Tibetan Medical Centre in Nizamdeen), 'there is no difference between the two'. Since I have no ability to check out in detail, I employ this view.

Chapter Four

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDY

Alternative View of Bon and Its Medical Knowledges Among the Monpas in India-

The texts and historiography define Tibet's Buddhist as well as Bonist elites that it tend to overlook other settings of small intellectual and religious communities and their contribution to the pan-Tibetan culture as whole. It is a hard task to envisage and to portray life of people and culture from the those political power centered writings, even if one had marvelous creativity. Following this difficulty, the study of Bonism as well as Buddhism have often emphasized the forms of knowledge and the practices sanctioned and promoted by the clerical, scholastic wings of the transition. To the extent that this paper refer to texts, were produced by and consumed within such circles, it cooperates with such a perspective, of which 'post Buddhism Bon Medicine' has been constructed.

According to Kapstain (2000:19), I am particularly concerned not to lend support to the widespread belief that the sophisticated Buddhist philosophical culture of highly trained monk-scholars was, to all intents and purposes, identical to pan-Tibetan religious culture over all. This would be misleading, for the culture of Tibet and its adjacent area were always considerably more diversified, in both its religious and popular manifestations, than the study of its rich Bon intellectual history alone would suggest.

Fundamental principles of the ancient Bon tradition and popular culture are not expressed much in philosophical concepts and are rarely found in the canonical texts. Rather they must be 'distilled' from the mythological narration contained in the ancient ritual texts which act as prelude to the rites and guarantee their efficacy (Namkhai 1995). Reading these myths we can understand the principles underlying the various rites and identify the most particular characteristics of the ancient Bon tradition : a practical and concrete knowledge of the various aspect of energy of the individual in relation to the dimension in which she lives, whereby it differs

greatly from Bonist philosophy which is more centered on the nature of the mind and nature itself.

On these grounds of understanding, through this chapter we shall look into this often overlooked, and unstated part of the Bon medical knowledge and practice in popular belief. The area selected for this case study is also not the exception of the Buddhism pervasion, especially through recent advent of powerful political influence by Gelugpa schools, and firm existence of that manifestation, Tawang monastery, basic tone of the color of the culture in this area is firmly Buddhism. However, as its distant location to the main Tibet, the form of Bon in this culture has been shaped in its own right as the popular faith healing and ritual priesthood for the welfare of the community and its members, which seems to play similar role of the bon at the time of Yarlung Dynasty. In a way, this presumption would be conceivable, since some of the bonpo then, fled into these outlying area due to severe persecution during eighth century. The oral history of its descendant and other Nyingma pa Rinpoche who were handed over the centuries of its tradition may support this deep relationship between the Monpas and the version of Bon, which does not allow to partake legitimate 'Yung Drung Bon'.

Section 1: *General Overview: The Land and the People*

The Monpas are Scheduled Tribe in India living in western part of Arunachal Pradesh which is under dispute between China. One needs to obtain permit of inner line for Indian, and of restricted area for foreigner. Field trip conducted for this study was held during 13th of October to 13th of December, 2002 in the villages in Tawang District: Shakti in Zimithang, circle, Lhou and Khrim of Tawang circle, Zhun of Lumla circle, and in West Kameng District: Dirang, Sangthi, Kaso, Rahung, Khaitam, Salali, Chug and Lish of Dirang circle, Nafra of Nafra circle. This is not at all anthropological study based on intensive field work, rather a field survey that was done extensively covering wide range of Two main districts of the Monpas habitant. Due to lack of time, finance, transportation, rapport, and more crucially, the less number of Bon Priest than expected, the tradition is rather fading with less successor due to partly modernization and mainly powerful

Buddhism influence.

The method and technique used for this survey was unstructured in-depth interview with the help of translator from Monpa language into English, and substantially mostly in Hindi. The interview sometimes came to a halt before going into the depth due to researcher's poor command of Hindi, and no command of Monpa language, which differs even between villages

Additionally, regarding not speaking of Bon literature in this region, Buddhism, historical and contemporary sources itself are basically sparse about the Monpas. It was only from the field works the access as a source of this study could be had. An attempt has been made in this paper to supply as much as information as possible to delineate and substantiate preBuddhism Bon Medicine with reference to the historical monograph of Bon in main Tibet mainly by Tucci (1980) and Stein (1962) and the works on similar Bon tradition of other communities which has their origin of Tibet hence covered Tibetan Buddhism such as the Yolmo Sherpas by Dejarlais (1994) in Nepal, the Tamangs by Peters (1998) in Nepal.

The Land of Rising Sun, Arunachal Pradesh

Arunachal Pradesh is the largest (area-wise) state of the North-East region of India. Most of Arunachal Pradesh comprises mountainous territory on the southern slopes of the Eastern Himalayas with the spurs coming down from north to south from the crest of the main range to the valley of the Brahmaputra in the State of Assam. The state shares a total of 1630 kms of international boundary with neighboring countries; 1030 kms with China, 160 kms with Bhutan and 440 kms with Myanmar (Bose 1997).

The McMohan line defines the international boundary between India and China. However the northern boundary with Tibet has been disputed since 1913, when China rejected British proposals that the border should follow the crest of the Himalayas. This proposed border, known as the McMahan line, has served as the de facto boundary since. After the independence of India in 1947, China made claims to practically the whole area covered by the districts of East and West Kameng, Lower and Upper Subansiri, East and West Siang, and Lohit, arguing that

the McMahon Line had never been accepted by China and was the result of British "aggression." Following this dispute, Chinese troops crossed the McMahon Line on August 26, 1959, and captured an Indian outpost at Longju, a few miles south of the line. They abandoned this in 1961 but in October 1962 crossed the line, this time in force. After first striking toward the Tanglha ridge and Tawang near the Bhutan border, the Chinese later extended their attack along the whole frontier. Deep inroads were made at a number of points. Later the Chinese agreed to withdraw approximately to the McMahon Line and in 1963 returned Indian prisoners of war.

This region was under the direct jurisdiction of the Dalai Lamas until India assumed control of the region in two recent stages, 1944 and 1951, and there are many alive today who clearly remember the nature of Tibetan administration. India's assertion emanates at the 1914 Simla Conference, although rights over certain tracts of land had been already ceded to the British in 1844 in return for an annual subsidy. Amar Kaur Singh in *Himalayan Triangle* describe how Tawang was included into British territory; Tawang in 1910 was recognized as being Tibetan territory, administrated as such, and Minto accordingly did not consider its inclusion as part of the new Indian boundary. However by the time McMahon had come to submit his final border alignments to the India Office in February 1914, the region around Tawang monastery had been included in British India. MacMahon, after studying various official reports on the demarcation of the frontier line around Tawang, agreed with General Staff's recommendation that the much used trade route between the Miri country and Bhutan would enable the Chinese to exert their influence (Pommerate 2002).

Administratively, this region has been under the custodial jurisdiction. In 1912 the region became an administrative unit within Assam, called the North Eastern Frontier Tract (NEFT). Government of India decided to administer North East Frontier Tracts as "Excluded Area" through Governor of Assam as an agent to the President of India. In 1954, it was designated as the North-East Frontier Agency, the NEFA. The administration was brought under the Ministry of External Affairs and in August 1965, it was brought under the supervision and control of the

Ministry of Home Affairs. It remained so till the attainment of Union Territory status by Arunachal Pradesh in 1972. After 3 years, in 1975, it acquired a legislature. And finally, on 20th February 1987 Statehood was conferred on Arunachal Pradesh and it became the 25th State of the Union of India. Administratively, the State is divided into fifteen districts consists of 36 Sub-Divisions and 57 Blocks, and 149 Circles.

Demographic Composition

The population of Arunachal is 1,091,117, which consists of Males, 573, 951 and of Females, 517, 166, according to 2001 census and is scattered over 12 towns and 3649 villages. The State has the lowest density of 13 persons per sq. km. As against decadal growth rate of 21.34% at the national level, the population of the State has grown by 26.21% over the period 1991-2001. The sex ratio of Arunachal Pradesh at 901 females to 1000 males is lower than the national average of 933. 94 percent of the population in the state lives in the rural belt. Arunachal Pradesh is not a linguistic state. It is an ethnic state inhabited by 20 major tribal group. There are and a number of sub-tribes inhabiting the area. Most of the communities are ethnically similar, having derived from and original common stock but their geographical isolation from each other has brought amongst them certain distinctive characteristics in language, dress and customs.

Broadly the people may be divided into three cultural groups on the basis of their socio-religious affinities by following Elwin's classification. The Monpas and Sherdukpens of Tawang and West Kameng districts largely follow Mahayana Buddhism but still some remains of Bon religion. Noted for their religious favour, the villages of these communities have richly decorated Buddhist temples, locally called 'Gompas'. Though largely agriculturists practicing terrace cultivation, many of these people are also pastoral and breed herds of yak and mountains sheep. Culturally similar to them are Membas and Khambas who live in the high mountains along the northern borders. Khamptis and Singphos inhabiting the eastern part of the State are Buddhists of Hinayana sect. They are said to have migrated from Thailand and Burma long ago and still using ancient scripts derived

from their original homeland.

The *second group* of the people are Adis, Akas, Apatanis, Bangnis, Nishis, Mishmis, Mijis, Thongsas etc., who worship Sun and Moon God namely, Donyi-Polo and Abo-Tani, the original ancestors for most of these tribes. Their religious rituals, largely coincide with phases of agricultural cycles. They invoke nature deities and make animal sacrifices. They traditionally practice jhumming or shifting cultivation. Adis and Apatanis extensively practice wet rice cultivation and have a considerable agricultural economy. Apatanis are also famous for their paddy-cum-pisciculture. They are specialised over centuries in harvesting two crops of fish along with each crop of the paddy.

The *third group* comprises Noctes and Wanchos, adjoining Nagaland in the Tirap District. These are hardy people known for their strictly structured village society in which hereditary village chief still plays a vital role. The Noctes also practice elementary form of Vaishnavism. The Monpa are outnumbered by their eastern neighbours in the same district, they also categorised as schedule tribe, and they were in the past traditional enemies, including the Bangni, Miji, Sulung, and Aka. These ambient communities co-habits with the Monpas is called Klo-pa by Tibetans and 'Gidu' by the Monpa, implies those who does sacrifice (Aris 1980).

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people of Arunachal Pradesh. The principal crop of this area is rice, and other important crops include maize, millets, wheat, pulses, potato, sugarcane and oilseeds. The ecological conditions are suitable for horticulture and fruits like pineapple, orange, lemon, papaya, plum, pear, guava, cherries, walnut and peach thrive here. Many areas depend on shifting cultivation (also known as slash-and-burn agriculture), in which trees and grasses are burned from an area so a crop may be planted for several seasons and then shifted to a new area. Industry is small scale and includes timber, rice, and oil mills; soap and candle making; sericulture (raising silkworms for the production of raw silk); and handicrafts (Source: www.http//arunachalpradesh.nic.in).¹

Monyul: The Land of Mon

However, these are general view of Monpa setting looking at within Indian landscape. When we look at broader perspective of space and time, the word Mon appears to have a chequered history, and was not confined to a single group of people defined by a definite geographical boundary. The linguistic and ethnic origin of the word itself has long been in doubt, and debated by expert having divergent views (Choudhury 1997).

As for the ancient Mon, Belleza reports extensively from his findings of the archeological sites situates the western upper Tibet. It may provide some clue to trace the origin of the Monpa to some extent. However Monpa's in ancient identity and even very existence is complicated by the non-specific use of the term. It denotes diverse groups with a wide geographic purview in both the early and historical era, which includes peoples of the cis-Himalaya, as well as both a race once inhabiting Western Tibet and the contemporary Mon of Ladakh and Baltistan. However, there can be no doubt that the use of the ethnonym Mon is ancient, as proven by its occurrence in imperial period Tibetan document found in central Asia (Belleza 2001:9). For example, these documents records that one of the consorts of king Srong tsan sGam po was a Mon Woman. The homeland of the Mon in upper Tibet in the imperial period is unclear but it might be referred to in documents of the time by the ethnonym Hor Mon.

Zhang Zhung and Mon yul

In the context of ancient artifacts, some suggests interrelatedness between Mon and Zhang Zhung, the place of Bon. Belleza (2001:10) reports: According to the oral tradition of upper Tibet, the various pillar typologies, and the all-stone religious building and fortresses, were constructed by the ancient Mon. Especially at Dang ra g.yu mtsho and the Khyung lung valley, such monuments are said to have been founded by the people of Zhang Zhung. As there are no typologies or constructional differences between sites attributes to the Mon and Zhang Zhung, these popular identities must be viewed as historically interrelated. Almost invariably all grave sites wherever their location are attributed to the Mon.

Particularly in the eastern Byang thang, the less frequent ancient ruins located in this region are connected to the early Bon, as well as legendary characters in the Gesar epic.

A.H Francke (1977: 8) was the first western scholar to note that throughout Zhang Zhung (which he defines as west of Mar yum la, east of Gilgit and Swat, and south of the Pamirs) Mon dur (graves), Mon mchod rten, Mon mkhar (castles) and Mon zhing (fields) are found. With the exception of mchod rten, all of these typologies are confirmed by the findings of the archaeological sites. Additionally, Mon ra (enclosures) and Mon khang (house) are terms employed by the inhabitants of sTod and the Byang thang to describe Mon constructions of various typologies (Bellza 2001:41).

Tucci implicitly connects the Mon with Zhang Zhung and speculates that they may have been a people of austro-asiatic stock who moved northwards, penetrating the Himalayan range (Tucci: 1949: 6). In Bon literature, Bon adepts from Mon yul such as Har ra ci bar are recorded as being active in the Zhang Zhung period. In sTod and Byang thang it is not unusual for us to ascribed to the Mon and to the Zhang Zhung to be of the same morphological typology (Belleza 2001: 8).

The Bon cosmological text mDzod sgra'grel delineates the countries surrounding Tibet in the imperial period according to popular geographic convention (folio 28): "the territories of the four horns (ru bzhi) of tibet are situated north of Mon, south of Hor, below the 10,000 divisions (khri sde) of high Zhang Zhung, and above the 1000 divisions of low-lying Sum pa" (Bellza 2001:10).

The widespread distribution of religious, fortress and funerary typologies in geographic clusters across the Zhang Zhung-Mon cultural region indicates a high degree of interaction between the ruling and priestly elite, and the existence of a polity founded upon this infrastructural network. There are also economic implications alluding to a highly developed system of trade and communications, and the efficient organization of the population into cooperative workforces. These manifold features suggests civic interconnections that must have manifested themselves either in a tribal confederacy or a fully developed decentralized state

(Belleza 1980):11.

The war between them is one example. it was commenced against the leader (of the Mon). Tso chen thog bebs of Zhang Zhung threw a magical missile vanquishing the Mon. As a badge of valor robes of tiget, leopard (and clouded leopard) were given. jaggery and white sugar were served for his delectation. In such a way the bonpo began wearing tiger (skin clothes). in this way the Tibetan king's personal enemies were subdued and 12 vassal kings were subjected. Likewise, the king's power and that of the bon po increased (Belleza 2001:67).

In The Context of Eastern Monyul

This land is also known by another name- '*Monyul*'- the low lying land (Mon means lower slope, yul means land or country in Monpa and Tibetan language). Followingly, Monpa is explained as 'man of the lower country'. From the Tibetan historical resources, the Mon country is understood in all the literature as located in the south of Tibet and Chab-dga` rta-mgrin add that nowadays what is called Mon-yul extends from Tshona Dzong in the north, to Assam in India in the south, and from Bhutan in the west, to `Od thang in the east. What was called Monyul in ancient times was a region that encompassed parts of what is now IHo-yul and rDza-yul, Bhutan and Sikkim (Pommerate 2002).

Politically, after the Chinese `agression` to the other side of MacMohan in particular, Monyul has demarcated and the Monpas in Tsona province falls in Chinese hand, and many of them fled into Indian Monyul after the uprising in 1959, include Tsona Gontse Rinpoche who has been influential figure of the Mon history and present day. Those who live there has been accorded the status of a `minority nationality` as tribe equal to that of in Tibet. The status which affirm their racial and linguistic distinctiveness from the Tibetans, and they are categorised as Scheduled Tribe in India, and Indigeneous tribe in Chinese Tibet.

In contemporary Tibetan usage, the term Mon refers to many culturally and linguistically diverse group inhabiting the Himalayan land from Arunachal Pradesh in the east to Baltistan in the west. More specifically, Mon denotes a group of people in southwest Tibet, who in the pre-communist period, formed a

confederation in Tsho Dzong known as 32 Mon yul gyi Iding (Belleza 2001:40)

The term is found in Tibetan texts of the eighth and ninth centuries in the form of Mon and Mong, and thereafter it is applied to all kinds of groups throughout the Himalayas with whom the Tibetans came into contact. It applies generally to various groups of Tibetan or Tibeto-Burmese origin living in the southern part of the Tibetan world, and that the term has been, for the Tibetans, often associated in the past with the notion of being non-Buddhist, and therefore non-cultured, even if in the course of history these populations become Buddhist. It could be taken therefore as a generic term rather than a specific populations name.

The term lost any specificity it might once have had and came to mean little more than 'southern or western mountain dwelling, non-Indian, non-Tibetan barbarian' (Aris 1979). In Tibetan chronicles and legends, Mon is figured always with blanket. It was Namri Sring tshan who had succeeded in uniting Tibet, 'previously a completely wild and cultureless land but the political consolidation of the country was largely due to his son and successor king Srong tsen Gampo. It appears that the people populating the southern slope of the Himalaya were only vaguely known to the Tibetans who used the blanket term *Mon* to cover mainly discrete ethnic groups (Choudhury 1997). The Chinese sources record informs that the Dards of Western Tibet together with outlying Austronesian groups and whole zone different peoples in the south assigned by Tibetans with the blanket term Mon, who are to be regarded as aboriginal in some areas (Choudhury 1994). The Tibetan view of these people still carries in general: The south, whose inhabitants had not far been organised into states, was lumped together under the name of Mon. The term covers all sorts of aboriginal tribes of the wooded Himalayan hills (e.g. Mishimi, Abor) and is possibly related the word 'Man' used by Chinese for all southern 'barbarians'.

The oldest record wherein the mention of this region appears is in the Tibetan epic 'Dowa Sangmo', which dates back to the seventh century. In Pabo Tsuglag in his history, there is mention of 'Kings of Mon' (Aris 1980). Choudhury (1997) refers to Tibetan Chronicles record, which tells that there was a king of the Mon people who was subdued and became a vassal. A king of Tibet

who brought military glory to his country, and was said to have ruled Tibet in the ninth century 'conquered' members of four tribes who occupied four cardinal points of the Tibetan cosmogony. It has also been recorded that after the administrative organisation of the country under Trhisong Detsen, the tributary kings were those of Nan, of Pelco, of Sumpa, and of the Mon (Stein 1962). If the last refers to the people whom we know as Monpa today, we have to suppose that they had already been organised into a powerful kingdom in that distant past so much so that they stood up to the mighty king of Tibet. The Monpas retain the memory of a king Gyalpo kala Wangpo whose Palace stood at a place called Tana Mandekhang (Sarkar 1980), from where the King Kala Wangpo ruled. People believe that it is the same place where the present monastery Golden Namgye Lhatse popularly known today as 'Tawang Monastery' is situated (Panchani 1994).

The Monpas In India

In India, the term Monpa covers three distinct groups who may be conveniently divided into Northern, Central, and Southern. Taking each by turn, the Northern Monpa are mainly concentrated along the broad valley of the Tawang Chu north including a pastoral group at Mago. They can also be divided into Major distinguishing features between these groups are the dialects. Tawang area broadly falls into three popular divisions, mainly Cha-chum, Thakpa and Pangchen. Tawang Monpa can be further sub-divided into these classes i.e Ki, Mulmo, and Kharamu; Ki being the highest and Kharamu the lowest (Singh 1997).

Central Monpa who live south of the Se la in the region of Dirang and Southern Monpa in the further south in Kalaktang area. According to Aris, they are indistinguishable from the Tsangla people who occupy the whole of eastern Bhutan. Singh (1997) divides the Central Monpa further into five cultural and linguistic identities, pertain to the two small groups of people in the village of Lish and Chug and Thamsang, Rahung and Khaitam and But Monpa, on the eastern border of Monpa, due to difference of language spoken between these villages. Choudhury (1997) and the researcher, too on the visiting of the very village,

noticed a hierarchical ordering of different classes or segments of society. Akin to each other in the respect of religion and culture, and living within a radius of five miles from each other, they yet keep their social distance. Commonly believed to represent an early wave of migrants from Bhutan, they are regarded as socially inferior by the Monpas. The most indication of this position is that they cannot give their daughters in marriage to non-Lish or Chug Monpa. Thus, in respect of local distribution, social distance, dialect, and also possibly from the point of view of the original direction of their migration, they seem to form an endogamous group, keeping very much to themselves. Instead of amalgamating with the Monpas into a bigger group, the Lishpa and Chugpa prefer to retain their separatedness. This attitude is distinct that they do not call themselves as Monpa, rather than they identify themselves with the name of village, Lishpa and Chugpa, though they know in broad term they fall into the category of the Monpas. This is in consonance with tendency of small endogamous groups to maintain comparative social separateness in spite of special continuity and even cultural and religious affiliation. And due to this outsider's simple observation, these heterogeneous groups are put into the term of Monpa, however some move has noticed. The villager of Salari, adjoining to the Rahun and Khaitam village, have recently modified their identity from Monpa to Sarthanji by applying for the amendment to Deputy Commissioner. Their language has closer affinity to Sherdukpen community rather than Monpas in Dirang area. But they do not prefer to fall other's category, to be by own. For information, the word 'Sar' means east, 'than' is a name of their principal god, 'ji' indicates suffix of the person such as 'pa' of Monpa.

Monpa is a broad term in fact, given to various groups living in parts of Arunachal Pradesh, Bhutan and the south of Tibet, but also some groups of Eastern Tibet. According to Stein, even in the earliest text, mention is made of Mon people in the east, along the Sino-Tibetan border. In the west, the name is given to other low-caste communities in Ladakh, and lastly it is applied to Sikkim and Bhutan. In western Himalaya, Handa (2001) reports, the Mons or the Monpas are known to the Tibetan as the Molan, that is 'the dweller of the valley beyond the Himalayan frontiers' who inhabit in the Lahul and Zaskar areas, to suggest their non-Tibetan

origin, Alexander Cunningham is of the opinion that the ancient sub-Himalayan people were the Mons. The Kashmiri historical work the Rajatarangiri of Jonaraja mentions the bs Kal Mon as th original non-Tibetan inhabitants of Gu ge. It would appear that as the prehistoric Tibetans moved south and west across the plateau they encountered people of various tribes who came to be known generally as Mon (Tucci:1949:6).

The Monpas in Arunachal are of Mongoloid descent whose language grouped Tibeto-Burman. There are legends that the Monpas migrated from Bhutan and Tibet at different times (Pommerate 2002). However the circumstances under which the migration took place and time of the first settlers in the present habitat is obscure. Some record says,a second band of the migration the progenitors of the Mons and Talaings of Pegu established themselves in the country fertilized by the river Irrawady. It is said they had came down to escape suppression and to find suitable land for their living.

According to Aris's (1980) description, it was escape from oppressive taxation in the area of eastern Bhutan and elsewhere, people fled to the land had legendary reputation of 'hidden land (*sbas-yul*)' in the nineteenth century. Both in the nature of the country they inhabit, customs dress and method of buiding house the Monpas are very distinct from the Tibetans and resemble more the inhabitant of Bhutan and Sikkim. Aris also found on his visit, the basic similarity of the language between Tawang Monpa and the Bum-thang province in central Bhutan. According to him, both lanugage may be derivatives of what Robert Shafer has termed 'proto-East Bodish', which is more ancient in some respects than 'Old Bodish'(Classical Tibetan). Some of ancient name given to Bhutan by Tibetans were Mon-yul, 'the land of Mon', IHo Mon, ' the Southern Land of Mon', and IHo Mon kha-bzhi, 'the Southern Mon Country of Four Approaches. The IHop could also be among the first inhabitants of what is now Bhutan. IHokpu is more closely related to the eastern Kiranti language of Napal such as Lohorung or Limbu .The IHop may also be linked to the Central Monpa if we follow from Aris who says that ' on the evidence of a complex of myths, titles, place-names and languages , I have identified the eastern branch of the Dung with the inhabitants of the Monyul

Corridor (Aris 1979).

The Monpa in Bhutan live in the southern part of the central district of Tongasa, considered 'wild country' even by Bhutanese standards because of the absence of easy access to this area and the dense semi-tropical forest which covers most of the region (Pommerate 1997). Another village, Nyimshong, also under Tongsa district, is said to be populated by people who were originally Monpa, but the villagers deny this, perhaps because being labelled 'Monpa' still carries a pejorative connotation (Pommerate 2001). Whereas, The Monpa in India regarded as more 'disciplined' and 'civilized' gentle people than other community of Arunachal and often it is ascribed to their strong faith Buddhism.

In the context of the eastern Himalayas and irrespective of present day political entities, these groups form a cultural entity that one may be inclined to call 'Monpa', however, given the complexity in the use of this name in Bhutan and other Himalayan regions, one needs to be cautious in applying it to this entity. One should not in this case take the term Mon as referring to a particular population, but rather to the geographic location and ancient cultural set-up of India, Bhutan vis-a-vis Tibet, before it fell under the influence of Tibet's great 'civilized' Buddhist culture (Pommerate 1999).

Setting: The Monpas of Tawang and West Kameng District

The main habitat of the Monpas locates in the district of Tawang and West Kameng which is in western side of Arunachal Pradesh. It is separated on the North by province of Khams or Khamsyul of Tibet along the 700 mile long crest of the eastern Himalayas, from the tri-junction of Bhutan, Tibet and India to the tri-junction of India, Tibet and Burma; on the West by Bhutan; and on the South by Assam (Bose 1997).

Population of Tawang district is 28287, of West Kameng is 5642, sex ratio is 844, according to census 1991. Composition of population in Tawang district is rural population 100%, SC 0.19%, ST 78.62%, and of West Kameng district is rural 89.98%, SC 0.43%, ST 52.99% respectively.

Initially the area was circumscribed as Kameng district after creation of

Arunachal Pradesh. In October 1984, the Kameng district was divided into three named West Kameng district, Tawang, district and East Kameng district. The altitude of these hills is comparatively lower except in the north than the other hills of this region of Himalayas. The pass leading to Tawang along the Kameng valley, and Bomdi La and Se La is higher. The elevation is 4,680m at Se La pass, but Tawang region is relatively lower. The altitude of the Tawang itself is 3000m above the sea level. The climate of these hills is humid up to 1200m, temperate up to 2100m and cold with heavy snowfall beyond that (Govt of India 1996).

Tawang district with its headquarters at Tawang locates in the extreme western corner of Arunachal Pradesh. The district is separated by Tibet on the north, by the West Kameng District on the east, by Bhutan and the West Kameng District on the south and by Bhutan on the west. Tawang District comprises two subdivisions namely Tawang and Lumla. Subdivisions are divided into a total of five administrative circles. Tawang subdivision comprises-Tawang, Mukto, and Thingbu, and the Lumla subdivision consists of two circle Lumla and Zemithang. The West Kameng District with its headquarter at Bomdila is the western most part of Arunachal Pradesh. The district is separated by Tibet and the Tawang district on the north, by the East Kameng District on the east, by the Darrang District of Assam on the South and the Bhutan on the West.

The West Kameng District is for administrative purpose consists of two sub-divisions, namely Bomdila and Nafra-Buragaon. The Bomdila subdivision is divided into four circles- Bomdila, Kalaktang, Dirang, and Bhalukpong.

The covered villages for this study locate in the circles of Lumla, Zimithang,,Tawang, Bomdila and Dirang.

The area of Tawang is contiguous to the vally of Merag and Sag steng, which form a specific cultural and ethnic entity in Eastern Bhutan. IHop appear to have been in contact with the `Brug-pa for a long time, and might be the decendants of the people called Dung, who were administrated by the Dung *gnyer-pa* from Paro. The Monpas of Tawang hold themselves to be superior to the Monpas in the valleys south of Se La. There is indeed a difference in the spoken dialect of the Monpas of Tawang and that of the Dirang Monpas (Choudhury 1997),

which is noncommunicable.

According to Pommerate, Tawang Monpas thus are very similar to the ethnic group who lives on the other side of the Bhutanese border, in the twin valleys of Meag and Sagteng, and they speak same language, which belongs to the 'East Bodish' group. Both group are sometimes called *Dagpas* or *Bramis*. Links between Tawang and the Bhutanese region of Merag and Sagteng are not only ethnic and commercial but these two areas also have historical connections. It is known for the Bhutanese source called the *rGyal rigs* that in the ninth century, *Khri mi lhai dbang ohyug*, the elder son of prince *Tsangma*, left eastern Bhutan to settle in *La`og yul gsum*, as the Tawang region was then known and is the ancestor of the Jobo clan. Prince *Tsangma* is believed the son of the Tibetan king *Kro lde srong btsan Sad na legs* and to have been banished from Tibet, most probably in the first half of the ninth century. He came to Bhutan, where he was considered as the ancestor of all the eastern Bhutanese clans.

Recent researches seem to show mythic, ritualistic and clothing affinities between the peoples of the central Bhutanese region of Bumthang and Kutod and the Tawang and Merag and Sagteng people belonged originally to a same group of people called *gdung* divided into Southern *gdung* and 'Eastern *gdhung*, against which a military campaign was carried out in the fourteenth century. The relation between *La`og yul gsum*, also called Monyul and Bhutan must have continued during the following centuries as we know that in the 15th century (Pommerate 2002). With the inception and spread of Buddhism in this region, or more particularly the days of the second Dalai Lama (A.D 1475-1543), the people from across the Himalaya tricked into the Tawang area.

Besides Tawang, Pommerate (2002) says, the question of the links between eastern Bhutan and Kameng district in Arunachal is difficult to tackle as no documented historical sources have surfaced to date. Tshang la in east Bhutan is similar to the language spoken in the Dirang area of West Kameng district in Arunachal Pradesh as it pointed above already. It is also the language of the Tibetan region of Pad ma bkod situated in southeast Tibet where Brahmaputra forms a sharp curve before entering Arunachal Pradesh through spectacular gorges.

It is likely that the Eastners/ Shar phyogs pas of eastern Bhutan belong to a large group, comprising different populations which came in the eastern Himalayas ever since the proto-historic period from regions located in the Salween and Mkong regions at the border of eastern Tibet and western China. These populations settled along the way at different places and slowly shifted until the eastern Himalayas. The earlier migrant might have been pushed to the limits of the plains by later arrivals.

It also suggests the Monpas of the Dirang area came down following the Mago route. According to some recent accounts, there was a population of the Monpas living in the Kameng region probably from Southern Tibet and Eastern Bhutan the early days of the Christian era.

It used to be a comprehensive term covering entire Monyul, Monpa has also become the specific name of a nationality living in the Tibetan Autonomous Region, in present day Mon-yul, Me-tog ane man-ling (Mi lin) country in Kong-po. Kong-po is a sacred place for the Bonpos, with the mountain of Bon-ri and other places associated with Shenrab miwo. This might also have added to its reputation as a region of darkness in the eye of Buddhist.

As it mentioned above, historically Monpas inhabits eastern lower jungle are labeled as savage, war of outsiders, and living in thick forest-an untamed environment of which they possess a great knowledge, traditionally subsisting not as farmers but rather hunter-gatherers, eating wild plants by the 'civilized' 'cultured' Buddhist Tibetans. According to Ramble's analysis, their milieu and way of life does not appeal to Tibetans: 'savage nature does not represent an ideal state to the Tibetans mind. It may even be said that part of the aspiration of Tibetan religious ideology is to eliminate wilderness by subjugating it. An image that is sometimes used to express this process is that of civilization. But this remains only an image, because un-cultivated nature too many be seen as tame once it has been included within the sphere of Buddhism influence. The pejorative marker assigned to them was transformed into a positive quality and become inherent to their function. Toni Huber describes that same transformation of the Klo-pa of rTsa-ti, who are 'barbarians' but also become embodiments of the deities.

The process to reach present Buddhist Monpa has been parallel to the process of Tibetanization of original inhabitants of the land which had distinctive characteristic which simply cannot subsumed into homogenous sphere of Tibetan Buddhist culture. As the impact of Buddhism was less and low comparative to the main Tibet due to geographical and political distance, this land of Monyul have sustained more liberal in terms of 'un-tamed' life and interaction, which could be, cradle of Bon faith. And it also used to be there in the main Tibet.

Section 2: *Historical Overview*

Foreshadows

In the present day of Monyul in India, Buddhist beliefs and custom are dominant in all facets of life especially that of political. While the monasteries and nunneries play an important role in the fabric of Monpa society, side by side there are persisting vestige of nature worship sustained by priests of pre-Buddhist Bon faith. Almost all the Monpas are Buddhist including the 'bonpo', the priests who deal with ritual performance for ailments of villagers in Tawang and West kameng Ditriect. 'Bonpo' is rather a name of designation of medicine man, rather than the name of religion among the Monpas. According to them, they are the pious Buddhist who does not kill the sentient being by sacrificial ritual, follows the Buddhist norms like any other villagers (but sacrifice is depends on the seriousness of the patient, viz. need of spirits).

There is, however, distinction among both side that practice of Bon is *Chip-pas* (the outsider)as opposed to *Nan-pas* (the insider), and the knowledge and by all the Bon priests (people calls 'lama' as honorific of religious specialist) pratitce of the healing is attributed to the teaching of ' Tonpa (teacher) Shenrab', a 'Buddha' in Bon religion.

There was some record in the texts informs some traces of the visiting of both the Padmasanbhava, the founder of Nyingma school of Buddhism, and the Shenrab the founder of Bon in legendary places of this region and they are consecrated as the place for worship. According to Dan (1999), In the first

chapter of the historical work *Srid-pa Rgyud-khi Kha-byang Chen-mo* (SKC) said to have been excavated in 1310 CE, Shenrab is portrayed as a transhistorical personage who manifested in many different times and places. Dbra-ston, in the early twentieth century, cites the Nyi-sgron, for list of countries where Shenrab travelled : China, Tunguts, India, Nepal, O-rgyan, Za-hor, Kashmir, Tukharistan, Khotan, Ta-zig, Zhang Zhung, Mon-yul, Khitn, Phrom, Ge-sar, Bru-sha, Qarluq, Uighur, and Tibet. Shenrab went to these countries, there remain even now visible signs of his presence, footprints and the like, so it is right that all should believe.

Another legendary source describe that the ruler of Mon yul- mon shing khri rGyal po was a practitioner of the evil black Bon (as opposed to the white Bon). Bsam grub, the author describe him as having a human head with the horns of an ox, tusks, the tail of a snake, tiger's paws for hands and the wings of the vulture (*bya rgod*) his horns were highly poisonous and destructive and he used them to control his subjects and the lha of the sky. His snake tail was a sign of his *klu mo* (under ground watery spirit) maternity. A source of his power was a magical *zhags pa* (lasso), which was given to him by his mother. this lasso functioned as a wish-fulfilling instrument by which he could obtain anything he wanted. It also functioned as a horse and could transport him at will to any of the three realms of the universe (Belleza 2001:73). Interestingly, this tale correspondence to the story I heard from the Thak Tse Rinpoche who is the thirteenth reincarnation of head of Nyingma pa who has been powerful in this region.

Some accounts say at the time of perscution by Buddhist in eighth century, many of the Bonpo had been expelled outlay of the Tibet. Some of them might migrated into this periphral area, according to the descendants of the exile in Zung village, Lumla. One may carefully envisage that there was broadly two mode of Bon development in this area. One would be popularly worshiped autochtonous belief inceptive to Shenrab's visiting, other would be ember of expelled bon priests who were powerful in the aristocratic society of the Yarlung Dynasty. The Bon popurts here as the priest who restore the state of disturbance, substentially it is illness, though performance of ritual and incantation of mantra, which very similar

role of the bon in the court religion. Notwithstanding, bonpo is a firmer as like rest of the villagers. He serves for the member of the community with his inheritant skill, but it does not attach any stratifically higher status. Rather, to enunciate as bonpo connotes marginal nature of his knowledge which is often degraded by 'civilized' Buddhist lamas and dominant Buddhists. This tendency might have been spured as a recent phenomenon. Even to this 'remote' border land, the 'enlightment' campaign of Buddhism later on permeate noticeably by one decisive figure, Merag Lama. Since his incarnation started in fifteenth century, gradually and mildly hence steadily the geographical and political territory has been expanded into the substratum of Monyul, where the Bon religion underlies.

Starting Point of Buddhism at Intersection

Mon yul was, in fact, intermediate point of Buddhism propagation because of its geographical location. Thus, Buddhist teaching was firstly brought to Mon yul in the reign of king of Mon called Kala Wangpo, who is contemporary to the Tibetan king Song tsen Gampo. It appears that the Nyingmapa Tantra teaching had begun to spread from Tibet to this land in those days.

The more concretely the history of Buddhism among the Monpas may be traced back to the legends of Shanta Rakshita and Padmasanbhava or locally with physical evidences of their visit. These hallowed lands were consecrated as a secluded one, and some of them are in the area of Tag-tshang, Zig-tshang, Dom-tshang, Trom-teng, Sela in studied region. In the year of 747, Padmasanbhava invited for thorough propagation of Buddhism along with the deligates for translation of the Buddhist text by Thisrong Detsen who placed often as main persecutor of Bon in the history (Govt. of A.P 1996: 71). Padmasanbhava was a master of *siddha* school and was famous for his mastery of the Tantric magic, which could win the local acceptance. He was popularly known as Lupon Pema Jungne ('the Lotus-born teacher'), or Guru Rinpoche. Many of the legend on him narrates that he vanquished the local divinities with his sceptre and mystic spells, but spared most of them for complying to be the protector of this faith and he enrolled them in the Buddhism pantheon. ChongChongma Gonpa is one example.

It was established to commemorate the visit of Padmasnbhava who 'consecrate' Bon deities by subsuming into Buddhist pantheon , by building Gonpa (temple in Monpa language) on those deism powerful spots (Nanda 1982:263).

The most often heard plot on this propaganda tales are about the competition between Shenrab and Padmasanbhava, and usually latter wins the race to be entitled holding the peoples faith. The story I heard from village head of Lahou, Pema Gunbu (interviewed on 16. 10. 02), was one of them. Padmasanbhava effectively established the Tantric or esoteric form of Mahayana Buddhism, which is categorised as 'Nyingma (Old)' tradition by later school, then popular in India. He is a main propagator of Buddhism in Tibet as well Mon yul and his image and portrait are found in all the Buddhist temples.

The version of the story differs from place to place, and time to time, but main motif is all about the speriority of Padmasabhava (some time othere Buddhist saint like Mila-repa) to the Shenrab which already had firm basis to be challenged. The competition of the mastery of the magical power by winning mountain race is often applied and almost always Shenrab defeated badly and his religious power was deprived so that his faith was proscribed to be followed.

This propaganda can be observed in the entire Himalayan Buddhism covered area. In the Tamang (the tribe in Nepal which has Tibetan origin) version⁵ (Peters 1998:55), the battle was held over the charge of the rmortuary expertise which was one of the definitive role of early bon in the court of Yarlung Dynasty. Main contention of this story is this accusation of the sacrificial rite which used often for the justification of rationality of Dharma.

This process might be applied in the todays Dirang Monpa. It is customary for the Dirang Monpa to call Buddhist lama to perform the death rites. A religious rite called segu is observed 49 days after death when the lama lights a lamp ceremoniously for the departed soul (Govt of India1996). Wheares, the major function of postBuddhism Yung Dung Bon still hold to the elaborated art and technique of the mortuary procedure and performance.

However, the variation of stories tells the glory of the Padmasanbhava seems to be constructed posteriori, the reception to this campaign was not

celebrated one for all Monpas. In Tibet and Bhutan, Buddhism and the culture which derives from main Tibet is the term of reference for 'civilization' and the Monpa of south-central Bhutan know they do not really belong to it. They seem to feel that it is partly their fault as they did not welcome Padmasambhava, although they take pride in their role as 'entrance-keepers of a hidden country' (Pommerate 2002).

Buddhism Territorial Map²

The Buddhism followed among Monpa is mostly Gelug sect but originally Nyingma sect had a strong basis before the twelfth century (Sarkar 1980). Nyingma sect have made the establishment of the three Nyingmapa temple of Ugyeling , Sangeling and Tsorgeling at Tawang.

According to local tradition the Tawang valley came under Buddhist influence as early as the 11th century ,when a monk from the Bumtang district of Bhutan established several villages of adherents of the new faith. The first monasteries in the area were foundations of Kargyupa and Nyingmapa sects, and it is believed that in the thirteenth century the Drukpa branch of the Kargyupa sect was introduced by another monk from Bhutan (Sarkar 1980:148).

The Gelug pa connection with Mon-yul can be traced back to the attachment formed between Gedun Gyatso the second Dalai lama (1475-1542) and his local disciple Tanpai Drome. Crucial transformation of religious power composition in this region was brought by the series of reincarnation of this disciple as Merag Lama of Gelug sect which is latest establishment and most dominant governing power of Tibet then and now.

In the sixteenth century, his second reincarnation Tanpai Drome, a Gelugpa monk of the Jobo clan of this region and a disciple of second Dalai Lama had come back after studying in Lhasa, and established a number of temples in the region. He also built two temples in the valley of Merag and Sagteng at a time when the state of Bhutan did not exist and were part of Monyul. For the training Tanpei Dronme went to Sera monastery under the guidance of the second Dalai Lama. The Second Dalai Lama asked him that after completion of his training, to proceed

the construction of temples and monastery for establishment of the Gelugpa sect. After returning to the Monyul he loyally followed the order, and built seven Gompa in the Tawang area and the one in the village of Sanglem. He also built two temples in eastern Bhutan, and two Gompa in Sakthen and Mera village (Sarkar 1981).

His fourth incarnation, Lodre Gyatso, had to flee Merag due to the advance of the 'military power of Brug pa', one of the sect of Kargyu pa school in then Bhutan, in the mid-seventeenth century and settled on the other side of the new border where he found that the Kagyu and Ningma religious schools were encroaching on Gelug pa establishments. He decided to appeal to the fifth Dalai Lama to annex permanently the region under Gelugpa authority. In 1680, fifth Dalai Lama issued an edict which placed the region under the responsibility of the Merag lama with higher authority being the governor of Tsona Dzong.

Materialization of the Tawang monastery was proceeded then under supervision of Fifth Dalai Lama and the administration of the monastery and entire region was carried out according to the Fifth Dalai Lama's decree continued up until 1950. The construction of Tawang monastery is completed during 1643 to 1647, and it became the most important monastic institution and the stronghold of the Gelug pa influence in the eastern Himalayas (Pommerate 2002). Tawang monastery was built not only strong base for propagation of Gelug school of Buddhism, but in the past was also a military post against the Dukpa attacks from Bhutan (Sarkar 1981).

With the establishment of the Tawang monastery, the Gelugpa sect gradually but firmly gained supremacy and the other sects lost their hold. The Karmapa completely disappeared, only the Nyingma pa lingers and that too mostly among the village priests. According to Sarkar, the temples of Sakti, Momang, Manjing and Kharung in Lumla area, Ugyeling, Changbu, Shermang, Khromen, Ariakdun, Brakar and Kinmesh in Tawang area and Namchu in Dirang area are affiliated to the Tawang monastery. (Sarkar 1980).

However, this 'affiliation' is not always based on mutual demand of both monastery and villagers, it might forcible imposition by Tawang monastery now

that became the icon of tourist attraction, which may indirectly be beneficial to the economy of this region. Although then it was one of the major causes which led the life of these villages to be 'deplorable' (Osik 1999:101) by excessive demands. For over a century this region was under the direct control of Tawang monastery which was again an offshoot of the Drepang monastery at Lhasa.

Osik reports, there were two difficulties to deal with the monastic control and the blackmailing raids of the Lobas (Mijis, Akas and Bangnis). For collection of revenue and administration of justice, the monastic council appointed four Dzungpons (Tibetan Civil Officers) two each at Dirang Dzong and Kalaktang. The former were responsible for collecting revenue on behalf of the monasteries from an area North of a line West to East through Momda la and Bomdila. Through these Dzongs, Tsona Dzungpons continued collection of taxes without any consideration for the capacity of the villagers to pay, villagers were reduced to poverty and starvation (Osik 1999:107).

Central Monpa: Edge of The Map

The infusion of Buddhism among the Monpas of Dirang area was comparatively late. In course of the trans-Himalayan trade which was traditionally current in the region in the old days, Dirang Monpa developed cultural and ethnic relations with eastern Bhutanese as well and were strongly influenced by Tibetan Buddhism (Pommerate 2002). Haimendorf reports, in the village of Lish, which was now two Buddhist gompas well stocked with Tibetan books, he was told that until three generations ago Lish had only Bon priests and neither Lamas nor any Buddhist shrine was there (Furer-Haimendorf 1982).

The ethnic and commercial links between the Dirang and eastern Bhutan are also reinforced by ancient historical ties. According to Pommerate (2002), spread of Buddhism among the Monpas in the Bhutan side from where some of Dirang Monpa, particularly of Lish and Chug village, had migrated has not yet penetrated strongly. Hence one can see the Monpa in those areas have maintained the more detailed and original ideas about Bon belief.

The pervasion of Buddhism in the original place of Monpa of Lish and

Chug village in eastern seems to be no older than a generation and is rather nominal, although they know the Buddhist places in their area associated with Padmasambhava. There is no lama resident in the village and the most important figure appears to be the 'pawo' also called 'phajo' (Pommerate 2002). This intercessor does divination, gives counsel and identifies the cause of sickness or calamities by going into a trance, being possessed by the local deity whom he worships. Pawos, some what have very similar role of Bonpos, are found all over Bhutan but here, in the absence of Buddhist representatives, his role and influence are crucial in village life. Nevertheless it is said that people in Lish and Chug village migrated this area, the person who does all those divination and healing sickness is called 'bonpo', and bonpos are distinguished from shaman, *yumin* or *flami* in their term.

Unlike the Tawang Monpas, if I delimit the condition post MacMahon line, the inter-exchange of the people and culture is more active in this lower altitude of Monpa area. This inter-exchange, though it is a parochial incident, gives a little clue to reconstruct the 'preBuddhism' prior to 'post Buddhism' Bon in this particular intersection. Whether tribal folk belief has acquired Bon elements in the course of time, or Basically it is preBuddhism Bon still holds its essence ever as tribal culture, the answer lies the way in which we take this inter-exchange as cause or result. As it were the cause, it can be said that the Bon followed the migrated Monpas got influenced by folk belief of neighbouring tribal community in this region. If we look at as the result, on the other hand, Bon itself was a folk belief initially and adopted Buddhism elements in the course of interaction.

However it is extremely difficult task to trace out these possibilities without unbiased historical document and living oral history. Due to this devoid of certain source, there are many version of migration accounts in this region. According to some recent accounts, there was a population of the Monpas living in the Kameng region probably from the early days of the Christian era (Chowdhury 1997).

As for, in the case of Tawang Monpa, in course of the trans-Himalayan trade which was traditionally current in the region in the old days i.e pre-MacMahon line, they developed cultural and ethnic relations with their Northern

neighbours. The people across the Himalaya tricked into the Tawang area, while the Monpas of Dirang area some of them migrated from eastern Bhutan. Or other source said a large body of the Monpas migrated from western side through Bhutan following the Mago route (Pommerate 2002).

Whether the source is reliable or not, in the later stage with the passage of the time, group of the Monpas entered this region in successive through different routes of migration, along with the diffusion of Buddhism in this region, or more particularly the days of the second Dalai Lama (A.D 1475-1543). According to the village head of Lhou, at the time of fifth Dalai lama, all over the Monyul was occupied by Tibetan. Firstly five to six group of Tibetan migrated and the last group reached to Monyul in the reign of king Tiral Bachan, the king who severely persecuted Bon religion. Most probably, group of Bonpo fled and expelled from mainland Tibet at that time. Prior to that, influence of Bhutaen was greater and the place was used to be called *Lho Mon* (South Mon) which covers Bhutan and Monyul. After the occupation by Tibetan the place was distinguished as *Shar Mon* (East Mon), and *Lho Duk* (South Bhutan). Originally, it is said, the Monpas of this area were migrated or, rather fled from mainland Tibet to this lower plateau partly due to procription of Bon, for the confirmation, Thak Tse Rinpoche of Nyingma sect mentioned, as I touched first part, the prince, Khikha Ratoe who had Dog face and goat head was one of them. It is said he was step son of Khrison Desen, whose wife gave birth of this prince with relation to dog or goat. (However, this tale would be generated because this wife had a strong support to Bon despite of massive concersion and persecution by state.) Then king, Khrison Detson and Padmasanbhava make this prince head of Bonpo and deported to Agyathang and Bumthang in Bhutan to expel all Bonpo along with him. Thus the lineage of Bonpo incepted then can be found even now in those places, according to the Rinpoche. Coincidentally, history says it was during the late eighth century, a number of Bon priests were expelled from central Tibet and fled into outlying border land. And also states that the prince fled to the Eastern Bhutan which locates next to Tawang district at the time of court style of Bon in Yarlung dynasty.

Bon in Buddhism Mode

As Tucci (1980:165) articulates, monastic Buddhism rarely opposed the hardy, cleverly contrived fusion which took place between indigenous religious customs and the magical and religious concepts and experiences introduced into Tibet through the Vajrayana scriptures. Not only were those who called themselves Buddhist are the occupied in fitting old Bon gods and indigeneous rites into the frame-work of the new religion. The Buddhist monks who propagate and preached initially Buddhism among the Monpas seemed to have made a compromise with the priests of the earlier faith, i.e. Bon and accepted the deities (Snellgrove and Richarson 1986).

Ningme chan is one of them. He is the guardian deity of Tawang to the Bon faith, it is shown in the painting in the Tawang monastery. He has been adopted in the Buddhist pantheon and is woshiped according to the Buddhist mode of rituals. He is depicted in a painting in the Kakaling of the Tawang monastery as a fearsome diety riding a horse as the local defenders of its faith. In this way, when they accepted the Buddhism, they stopped rites but these indigeneous supernatural beings in its pantheon.. A few of these supernatural beings, found unamenable to this new mode of rituals, are again being worshiped according to Bon mode with the help of religious functionaries of the Bon (Sarkar 1980;1-2).

However, according to local documents, there was mutual needs from both side to be fulfilled through the transformation by new knowledge to overcome longtime suffering.

As like a people in main Tibet, the Monpas are free to respond to the invisible, but nevertheless unquestionable, presence of the power in his own individual way and according to his/her personal inspiration (Tucci 1980:165). Hence among the laymen there would be always a lurking fear in their minds and whenever there was a calamity like failure of crop or rain, disease and death, they apprehend this as the expression of the wrath of these gods for not being worshiped any more. The Lamas, to overcome this situation, adopted these gods as the local defenders of the faith and allowed them to be worshiped but according to the manner of the Buddhist rituals. Even then a few of these gods remained

unreconciled to the new arrangement and the people had to revert to the old mode of rituals to be at peace with them. Once Buddhism had been accepted, the spirits 'who plagued mankind and demanded costly and frequent sacrifices (Nanda 1982)' have to be subdued, because people in this areas suffer loss of their domestic animals and poultry (Sarkar 1980:14).

According to Sarkar, The desire to be freed from the oppression of the spirits brought in Buddhism among Monpa of south western. Interestingly, it was the initiative of Dirang Monpas to accept the new faith to prevent the loss, they sent an influential member of their village to the Panchen Rinpoche (means 'precious one' , designation for high ranked monk who usually *tulk*,reincarnated) of Tashilhunpo monastery in Tibet to request him to visit their village and rescue them from the tyranny of the evil spirits (Sarkar 1980). Droang Rinpoche was deputed, tactically the procedure followed by the Rinopche to subjugate the spirits, as it was mentioned above, was based on the local i.e Bon scheme of the ritual control to the malignant force, which is accord with the local cosmological frame work.

There was a huge black rock inside the village haunt by evil spirit, 'lou', believed to cause many death at that time. Drong Rinpoche killed it ritually by mastery of Tantric formula, and severed its heart and made the rock sink under the earth. As Padmasanbhava concealed the evil power by buiding Gonpa (temple), he raised the oldest temple at the particular spot which we can see now in Dirang. The principle image of the temple is Droang Rinopche which is also stone.

In other way, it the adoption of new extraneous god led counter reaction to the other part of village. According to same Sarkar (1980) monograph reports, the powerful Bon deities such as Sherphu were worshiped with the sacrifice of sheep at that time. The stoppage of their worship made the people of the villages suffer from various calamities. Then Kechang Doyen Tanjing wrote at about the middle of the eighteenth century a sacerdotal handbook named "*Lhandi Karsho*" detailing instructions of the worship of these gods according to the Buddhist mode of rituals. Consequently, the Lamas nowadays worship these gods in shrine located on several hillocks following the instructions of Lhandi Karsho on the tenth day of

each of the nine months from Dawa Sumpa to Dawa Chukchipa (Sarkar 1980).

Part 3: PreBuddhism Medical Knowledge

1) Bonpo: Practitioner

Bonpo-ship

In the traditional setting, each clan or noble family has its ancestral lineage, the escutcheon that ratifies its nobility, each little country has a sacred mountain. Genealogies of certain great lineage have preserved many variations. These legends of origin have never been unified or systematized with reason (Stein 1962). There was no organized monastery, no priest invested with authority to do so (Tucci 1980). However, in the contemporary cultural environment, the genealogical connections between mountains and other indigenous deities and the clans of the region are only dimly acknowledged. But the indigenous deities are still an essential part of the bonpo lineage, an ancient profession whose main function are divination, healing and social regulation. These ancestral lineages are inherited from one bonpo to the next in rites of initiation that empowers them to serve as a mouthpiece for the mountain deities and to control or own subsidiary spirits (Belleza 2001:78).

Incidental to the ancestral lineage succession, bonpoship in Dirang circle is open for anyone who wishes to serve for the peoples' health, but with condition to keep their body as pure as a seat for the 'Phu'. He has to abstain from onion, garlic, meat, egg, tomato, not only for Phu, but also for patients and himself. In case this taboo was violated, his art not only may become ineffective, but also may turn out to be a detrimental for the recovery of the patient.

To be a bonpo, one has to bear the responsibility of becoming 'public goods', in the sense that he has to be prepared for the house call of the villagers. A Bonpo in Lish village said, 'Like a doctor, if anyone falls sick in the night, early morning or noon or whatever time it may be, and if the bonpos help is sought, he usually go for it. (Interview from Lish bonpo on 27.11.02). Thus villagers seek the assistance of bonpo to protect them from the malignant activities of spirit as well as

to secure their own well-being. They would arrange, on the basis of the prescription of the Bonpo, the performance of the necessary rites for propitiation of the recalcitrant supernatural beings (Sarkar 1980), and restoration of the lost souls.

The mode of succession and the kind of Phu differs according to the locus of the bonpos. But during my encounter I found out that, one essential thing was common to all bonpos. That is the source of knowledge, the existence of Shenrab in their tradition. This acknowledgement was held not only among the bonpos, but also the lamas in the village and most of them belonging to Nyi ngmapa and the founder of their healing knowledge, all mentioned his name, according to lama Ngui of Tsangporong village of Tawang circle. He says their healing knowledge is from the teacher Gulang Napo, who was a disciple of Shenrab. A bonpo in Dirang village, Pema Drappa (interviewed on 26.11.02) informed that at first, Shenrab came to this place from the direction of east. His teaching spread into five directions through the disciples. Towards the south, by Maon Sanjya, towards east, Bora Linjee, towards west Charme Sanzi, towards north Trithro Namton, and in the center, it was by biggest one, Shenrab Mirab. But after conferring to east of Bora Lingee, Shenrab had gone to other place.

Tashi lama of Zhung village of Lumla circle is the 54th lineage holder of bonpoship. According to his tradition, Bon was founded after Buddhism. It was Buddha who gave the power to 'Bon Tonpa Shenrab'. The bonpo says, "Shenrab visited this village from Tibet. Then in Tibet, the king gave order for the 'killing' of all the bons, and only single bon had survived." That is the bon whose lineage reaches to him. In this version, after conferring the knowledge, he settled down in Mon yul.

In general, bonpos in Monpa area are not sharman, they communicates with Phu through performing the rite, but it was not possession or trance. But Tashi lama says at the time of phla festival, lama Chem Dorji possessed the Bon lama. In this annual festival in Bon mode, the 'gap' of Chem Dorje, the supernatural power comes to the bonpo through the reciting of mantra meant for calling him. According to bonpo, Chem Dorji is another name of Bon Tonpo Shenrab.

It's Expertise

In general, among the villagers, the reputation of Bonpo is not a kind of disparage, rather they call him lama out of their respect. He is also religious specialist who deals with sacred supernatural, and his main role in the village is to serve for the afflicted diseased members. 'Lama' is the same honorific term of the Buddhist monk, who boasts of its superiority.

When people fall sick, the first resort is divine being's guidance through Bon lama's oracle and the divination to take next action. This 'health seeking behavior' is common to the Tamangs in Nepal, the community which is also 'bonpo', is active. Peter reports, "Just as western laymen rely on doctors to diagnose the cause of illness, so the Tamang laymen leave it to the bompo"(Peters 1998: 72). In a similar bon tradition of Sherpa Yolmo who Desjarlais (1994) met, "bonbo can cure outer illness, but not inner engines. If the inside is broken, the healers cannot cure us, so we go to the hospital." The outer illnesses to which patients of bonpo refer often involve feelings of malaise due to personal distress and social conflict.

For the bon medicine, these somatic sensibilities borne of the communal exchange of everyday life is the most adept field for healing (Desjarlais 1994). But all these adept does not give full play without patient faith. One can do at certain level if the bonpo's spirituality or purity of the mind and body to contact to Phu is high enough. For bonpo's ability to divine the particulars of an illness rests entirely on his relationship with the gods. A bonpo in Dirang village says, without prayer, medicine does not work, a *bonpo* says, and the work of poison is due to power of evil spirit (*don*), and the work of medicine is due to god (*lha*). It's not the bonpo who breaks epistemic barriers but rather the gods whom he has the talent for hosting within his body. Through the medium of bonpo's voice, Phu reveals information about the world, knowledge that humans are otherwise incapable of obtaining access to (Desjarlais1994). The spokesman for this transaction, a bonpo learns much of what he knows through his relationship with a phu who teaches and empowers him. The ritual is the forum of this communication, bonpo reaches the Phu who diagnose, and also cures, for the particular Phu is also the cause of the

ailment.

However, the purview of the Bonpos among Monpa do not delimit only 'somatic sensibilities', people consult bonpo first for all the kind of illness. In the case of the natural cause, they recommend bed rest or change in diet. In the case of bone fracture bonpo makes fire by iron load and recite the mantras. Then locally available first-aid, such as bandage and herbal paste is applied. They do not perform rites for patients suffering from natural causes. Bonpo in Dirang village said, all rite was done after the diagnosis of the cause such as palpation, palm and pulse reading. On the basis of this examination, bonpo detects if it is due to don or poison or possession or physical cause. If the result tells that it is the intrusion of don, then bonpo goes for divination to fix the ritual to that particular don. For different kind of illness, treatment is also done through different gods. What is physically caused is cured physically, and what is spiritually caused must be spiritually cured (Govt. of India. 1996:231). However, what is caused physically also ultimately, it was the work of divine providence in the larger preBuddhism cosmological framework. The task of bonpo is to guide most suitable and reasonable way to retrieve normal state of the patient under guidance of divine revelation.

Bonpo knows the purview of his art. For the case of natural illness with no involvement of witchcraft or dons, he sends the patient to the hospital. For bonpo intuitively knew what he could treat successfully, and what he could not. He frequently acknowledged that doctors are superior at treating cholera and preventing rabies. If it is beyond his control, the death of the patient gives a bad name to him.

There are some illnesses (like related to blood) that can be cured by medicines, but the patients those who are harmed by don cannot be cured by medicine. The patient Dejarlais (1994:228) met says, "The Doctors didn't touch even my pains", "Now after performing the ceremony, all the pain and nightmares left when bonbo beat me." The curing activities involved in ritual healing are not exercises in the treatment of organic disease but attempts at treating disturbing emotional states and interpersonal relations (Peter 1998: 118). To bonpo, patient's

weakness, blindness appears as the development of the family conflict, quarrel with neighbor, frustration due to unemployment all these events and relation afflicts patient and it seems that this anxiety laden social situation may have been responsible for the physical symptoms.

The greatest success of bon medicine among the Monpas is with illness especially acute, sudden at the onset, yet not incapacitating. According to Bonpo of Salari village, this kind of illness is mostly attack by 'bad air', or don in the form of headache, body ache, eye problem or mental problem. They can distinguish whether the cause is spiritual or physical spiritual by seeing facial expression, shadow, etc. If the illness is ritually or spiritually caused, then it must be treated ritually or spiritually. Bonpo in Salari tells that without the rite, mad person would remain as such.

In the context of the cosmology, Stein summarizes that the bonpos' expertise: They tame the don below; above they worship phu the gods of the mountain, and in the middle they purify the hearth in the event of pollution (Stein 1962:233). For example, if the hearth become sullied in any way, if food were allowed to spill or boil over, or if dirt were allowed to enter with the fuel, this angered *thab-lha* to such an extent that misfortune would settle on the household until a bonpo is called to purify the hearth. The grounds, which held the hearth should be dug out and thrown into water, in default make *Sadag* annoyed and punish the owners or defilers with the disease of leprosy. In order to escape such punishment, that is, to be cured of leprosy, the patient goes to a bon priest in quest of a remedy. An elaborate ceremony is conducted then to appease the wrath of the *thab-lha*. The soiled hearth is dug out; the bonpo takes a lump of the earth, which is then examined. If a living or dead larva of an insect is found in it then the ceremony of cleansing and propitiation is considered successful (Mukherji 1995:178).

Division of Labor

In this connection of the cosmological arrangement, there is clear territorial distinction between Buddhist lama and bonpo in the religious performance for

healing. The domain of lama is sickness caused by 'Lha' the gods resides highest part of cosmological hierarchy. Thus, lamas do not deal with Phu, by saying that is too low for them. The strata of Lha are also extended the seat for the Buddhist gods and saints. In Monpa context, the class of Lha and Sange (Buddha) is almost identical. The all guardian deities of Buddhism among not only Monpa, Tibetan Buddhism at large is from this realm of lha, such as Palden Lhamo, Summa, Dakhni, so forth, and most of the guardian gods of Tibetan Buddhism was Bon deities once. While in village level, the most powerful deity for protection and guard is Phu.

The difference reflects also to the therapeutic effect. People say in Monpa villages, the rite of bonpo is more 'quick' and 'cost effective' than that of Buddhist lama. The healing rite takes brief time hence cheaper, but needs more repetition. Because in the case of bonpo, it is bargain between Phu and bonpo over the recovery of the clientele. Bonpo demands strongly the return at the cost of the offering of *Torma* (dough made of flour), cloth, ornament, sometimes sacrifice. According to one villagers description, it is like 'corruption type' bribing the Phu or don to release or leave from the patient soul. But it can also express as 'reciprocal', in the relationship one negotiated in equal basis. On the other hand, lama takes one day fully. It is time taking because lamas go step by step with patience and compassion by reading lengthy texts to implore and convince the spirit to make patient free. According to Nyingma pa village lama (Buddhist), therefore the result is 'permanent', no repeater. But according to bonpo, villagers come to more to bonpo. Villagers say, bonpo is more effective. According to Bonpo in Dirang village, after consulting lama, if it is no recovery, patients come to bonpo.

The Lha is also department of '*Lhajukhan*', a shaman priest in Saffar camp village who perform the ritual '*Lha Jukshi*' (Jukshide notes 'be seated'). The Lha who counterattack to the malediction through the Lhajukhan is '*Summa*' of his family, the lineage of sixth Dalai Lama who born in Ugyeling in Tawang. Summa is generic term for tutelary god, each traditional family has Summa. It protects the family and usually it is from distant ancestor. The Summa of Lhajukhan is Chugi

(water) Summa, subdues all don of watery area. At the time of exorcising in the rite, through the body of Lhajukhan, Summa puts to the sword to the don such as Lu, Tsan, Dot inside of patients body, when they thrust out, Summa arrests by the rope. During the rite Lhajukhan is in the state of trance, he does not remember, and does not breath. As soon as he falls to trance, the mask of Summa has to be put and right after Summa leave his body, mask has to be put off, otherwise he would die of suffocation. In the past, his ancestor died of it. Basically this Lhajukhan does not know Tibetan, but during the rite, when he is Summa, he speaks Tibetan. Lhalukhan mostly deals with the patients inflicted by witchcraft.

2) Therapeutic Art of Bonpo

Diagnosis

At first *bonpo* palpates the patient at his hands, feet, his forehead and his heart. He then diagnoses the cause such as the kind of intruding spirit and accordingly he prescribes the rite. No rites are performed without thorough examination. If a rite is performed thorough checking, it is detrimental to the recovery of the patient.

Nanda (1982) reports her observation on Bon during her tenure of D.C, which is sole written information about then practice of the Bonpo in Tawang area. Bonpo in Hoogla village reads the pulse as well as palm with prayer for clear reading; it should be done in the morning, preferably on an empty stomach and not at night. Bonpo in Hoogla she encounter could predict events of coming future through divination. Along with 'extraordinary power of curing sickness', bonpo also deal with black magic in this area (Nanda 1982).

In the case of *bonpo* in Dirang village, firstly he palpates the palms the name and the age of the patient is identified to consult either of brother Phu whose name is 'Dimpu' and 'Bangle' through divination by wheat in water. The divination starts from the recitation of mantras. The mantra bonpos recite consists of special term of Bon. It was common to the rite of bonpos in Dirang circle, the rite itself is conducted to contact particular Phu who is tormenting the patient, but bonpo have to recite the names of all Phu in the area. If he misses the names, it

touches the wrath of forgotten Phu. After this, he throws some seeds of wheat in water in the bowl. From there he prescribes the treatment, it would be either ritual or other solution. As like the *bonpos* in Salari village, the common tool for calling Phu is *Dorje* bell.

According to Peter (1998:119) bonpo of Tamang also reads the pulse to diagnose the attack by don or not. For treatment, bonpo blew a mantra at patient's head. This consisted of repeating the magical formula designed to dispatch the don and intermittently slowing on the afflicted area. Bonpo believes that the magical formula he whispers has the effect of a command: i.e., the recitation guarantees the god's obedience (Peter 1998:123).

Bonpo in Zung village of Lumra circle also examines the planet position through his inherited astrological texts. He examines whether the patient's birth star and the planets are in order and whether the favorable and adverse elements connected with his birth star have come into conflict. He then recommends a date on which the rite should take place.

It is based on Chinese style of horoscope, which sees even-numbered years being unlucky.

Treatment: Rites

According to Tucci's classification, the relevant rituals and magical formulae of preBuddhism knowledge have two principal objectives in view; in the first place prosperity, well-being, good fortune (*bde legs*) in the most material sense, as well as long life (*tshe ring*), health (*nad med*), riches (*longs spyod*), victory over enemies etc., and then the driving out (*bzlog*) and elimination of all which stands in the way of this legs, such as poverty, illness and early death (Tucci 1980:155). The activity of bonpo thus has an infinitely wide field open before it; in case of drought he can invoke rain, he can banish hail or conjure up inflict vengeance, he can call a halt to epidemics among men and public. In this immense area of ritual techniques for the furtherance of good and defense from evil and the traditional heritage of Monyul can be clearly distinguished.

Hence bonpos ritual for objective of health is not merely exercises in the

treatment of physical/biological illness and diseased organ, but attempts at re-organizing the environmental disunity and imbalance by treating disturbing emotional states and interpersonal relations. At the time of communal ceremony such as *Phla* Festival, the domain of bonpo and the scale of re-organization expanded from individual level to the public level.

In everyday life, when one faced with unfortunate events, which approached realization, he/she has available service to improve by option of the numerous types of rites. Broadly, rites are consists of purification (*sel*) by aromatic plants water or blood, driving out of adverse forces through powerful exorcistic actions (*to*), and rituals of ransoming (*glud*). The bla, the soul, can for example be ransomed from danger as in cases of unconsciousness (Tucci 1980:175) by soul loss or possession by dons.

A bonpo in Sarali village says, for different illness there are different rites, as like for doctors there are different medicine for different illness. The kind of rites selected thus, according to the kind of `dons`. By performing the appropriate ritual actions, for example through an ablution, every stain left by bad actions is cleansed, and the don lose their power over the man so purified. In describing the don it should also be mentioned that they appear in three groups, outer, inner and secret (*phyi, nang, sgang*).

Purification: Sel

To exorcise native forces, the cause of poison viz. grip which weaken positive forces is to be removed. It is done through purifying by fumigation (*sang*) of juniper and sprinkling of lustral water called *Tsen*. The juniper tree is the Bon po sacred tree. It is often called *lha shing shung pa gyu lo* ("tree of gods"). Its fragrant smoke is believed to have the effect of purifying any pollution that one may have suffered. It is also offered to Phus.

Exorcise: To

There are a variety of to rites for reconciliation with don to repair harm don by them (Namkhai 1995:131). The first task was to evoke the beginning of the

world, kind of illnesses. Since the world took form, since it became a mode of being (*sriid*), man has intervened to create the necessary ordering and to give an appropriate form to the habits of his/her life. This process, however, has brought a new situation into existence, which often disturbs or injures those powers that hitherto called particular domains their own. The building of a house, the erecting of a tent on a particular spot, building a bridge over a river, digging in the earth—each of these are intrusions into the domains of other powers which require expiation through appropriate rituals (Tucci 1980:142).

According to Tucci, the bon po sources account for these rituals or narrate the origins of particular customs in the appropriate contexts. In other words this event was the origin of the custom. The bards treat of these subjects and their narratives not only provide an explanation for the origin of the custom concerned, but also contain the assurance that no harmful effect can arise from it, and that its repetition will evoke once more the primal moment when after an offence had been committed against the divine and demonic powers the sure means to remedy it was found. In short, the recital expiates the offence, which has taken place and provides protection against its consequences (Tucci 1980:154).

The *to* is also a powerful exorcistic ritual. The performative and dramaturgical aspect of this ritual is experiential. Bonpo healings purport to "cut", "separate", or "unite" spiritual "harms" from the body. To the illness frequently results from the pathogenic invasion of spirits, ghosts, and malignant forces into the body; healing works to "throw" demons from the body's depths. If a ghost penetrates into body to dwell within it villagers try to exorcise it -through bribes, threats, or entreaties (Dejarlais 1994:46).

This social and psychological dimension of rites, the presence of bodies in the rites and the extent to which ritual performances work directly to change how patient feel. Dejarlais attributes, these ritual reframing of cultural realities, constant concern is for the ways in which dramatic actions and aesthetic performances engage participants and evoke emotional responses (Dejarlais 1994:51). Catharsis or abreaction is among the more important of these. And, just as catharsis through spirit possession is brought about in the major healing rites, so it is in each of the

bonpo initiations (Peter 1998:143).

The patient does not remember the trance and, while the diagnosis may identify and explain symptoms, the patient has no memory of his possession-trance. Expression of problems and frustrations in the cathartic ritual are denied; there is no introspection into their meaning. Yet possession, which is an emotional catharsis, is a positive curative experience in itself. Conscious insight into defenses, independence, and introspection may not be as important as once believed (Peters 1998:142).

Ransom: Lud

The *mdos*, *yas*, *lud* are devices to extricate one from the threatening dangers of hostile powers. These powers can be of bodily and material or immaterial and invisible nature. In the *mdos* ceremony the offerings are either real things like grain, barley, clothes, or representations made out of *tsamba* of animals, sheep, horses, and so on. (Tucci 1980:177) The *lud* thus obtained serves as a substitute for the sick person or for the sick or endangered animal, it is offered to the being causing the evil in question as a ransom. Sometimes various personal objects of the sick person are also represented (Tucci 1980:183).

It is called curative image (*ngar lud*). The image of the person afflicted by illness or misfortune, the accompanying shapes of *tsamba* dough, the little *tsamba* figures of man and animals all around the main figure these are all transformed in a magical fashion into real things beings able to satisfy the demand of *don*. *Tsamba* are used to symbolize gifts for the gods. In the preBuddhism context, animals such as horse, sheep, dog were sacrificed communication between the deities and the man to maintain the relationship as the medium of “intercessional prayer”.

A bonpo in Salari performs the rite with the white hen and after that the hen is released into the jungle, in initial phase of rite. If the confrontation takes place without success, then recourse is done finally by means of magical compulsion if it doesn't work one had to commit real sacrifice of animal such as white hen or black sheep. However, it is said sacrifice is continuing in the only village of Rahun, Kuitan and Salari. It seems that sacrifice of sheep was observed privately on the full

moon day, usually 15th, and annually. Salari bonpo says 'this rite is generally done at home. Because there are people in the community who do not eat meat. So it is not done in the public'.

In some villages of Monpa area central and south in particular, one of the major indication of Bonpo lies on the performance of sacrificial rite. Informally no Bon priests proclaim their sacrifice practice. They identify themselves as Buddhist at the time of interview, although other villagers confessed the existence of the practice. Therefore person interviewed as *bonpo* was not comfortable to respond the questions about identification, and often *bonpo* does not secure recognized position as Buddhist priests do.

Interestingly, after visiting of fourteenth Dalai Lama in Dirang for Kala chackra initiation, a number of Bonpo have given up the sacrifice by hearing his speech.

Procedure

As follows, I quote the procedure of ritual treatment as interviewed from Salari bonpo, Dargi on 23.10.02, to present lively illustration:

"This rite is to ask god to make everything alright and to keep everyone happy and peaceful. For the mental illness (affliction of *Tontonla*) rite, everything has to be clean. The house and every member of the house are cleansed. Everyone wash their hands, feet and stays neatly. The initial step of the mantra and its tunes for the healing rites for *Tontonla* affliction are as followed: there are three steps of rite to be performed.

Step-1. They burn the incense sticks in front of the patient and with fruits and other eatables they are offered in the ashes and finally thrown. This is done to tell to the god to release the man from its capture by sickness and to take the offering in exchange for it this is said to be the smallest rite and this is done as a trial. The result of this rite will lead to the next step.

Step-2. Secondly a white or red cock is released as an offer in the name of god this is done if the patient is not cured after the first step. By this they mean to convey a message to the god to release the man and to take the cock in exchange

for it.

Step-3. Here the Bon lama use five threads of different color and these threads is made into a design of flower like shape and this is kept in front of the house as a decoration.

After doing all these steps, if the patient is cured, the *bonpo* will again offer a lamb of black and white color to the *Tontonla*. It will be released the same way the cock was released. But if the patient is not cured after doing all the above mentioned rites there is no need to release the lamb."

For the case of purification, Sel rite, a bonpo does *mo* (divination) to enquire the prescription of rite. The oracle revealed that the heath had been polluted and that on that accounts the 'man god' (*pho lha*) had vanished to the sky, and country god (*yul lha*) and worrier god (*dgra lha*) has gone away. In the absence of these protections, all kinds of dons had been able to do harm, after such an oracle the Bonpo spread out a 'carpet of the gods' in the morning, and prepared a framework of threads (*mdos*) as a ransom, together with figurines. He intoned a chant made an offering of first fruits, and proffered excuses to the 'mans god' pleas to the 'country god' and a ransom to the 'warrior god'. He drove a nail in the 'evil omen'. He oppressed the different demons by various rites or magical artifices such as *mdo*, crosses of colored threads, stag's horns, arrow decorated with ribbons in that way evil omens were averted and transformed into auspicious ones. The patient, once cured, gave a party in thanksgiving. He drove a yak out into the mountains as an offering to the 'mans god', a sheep to the 'worriers god' and a goat to the 'god of life force (*srog-lha*)'.

Bonpo can heal the poisoned patient, too. In the protracted rite, he detects the cause such as bewitchment and its persecutor and venue. Through meditation in front of the patient, and ritual sips from a cup of chang and recitation of mantras, bonpo approached patient and lowering his head, placed his mouth against patient navel. Slowly he sucked the navel and then lifting his head turned and spat into an empty cup, which he had placed nearby. Bonpo repeated this ritual thrice, sucking a curious liquid out of the navel till the cup was almost half-full. Then he lifted the cup, examined the contents and declared. "The poison had been administered to

you through a red chillie but now it is out of your system." Needless to say, the patient improved and was soon backing to normal health (Nanda 1982).

If a person falls sick due to soul loss, there are rites designed to bring the la back into the body, known as " calling the la"(bla`bod). Magical procedures also enable the soul of an enemy to be called by force. For this rite, family summons a bonpo, he divinates how the spirit was lost, where it has wandered, and how best to receive it .He then ritually searches for and attempts to call the lost life-force back into the body of his patient (Dejarlais 1994:13).

However, Even when the la is properly restored to its place in the body, it may simultaneously reside in certain external abodes, most often in a particular lake, tree, mountain, or animal. The person in whom the la resides stands in a sympathetic relationship with these phenomena, such that if the la mountain is dug into, the person will fall sick. The identity of these external la are often kept secret, and portable abodes of the la, usually a precious object of some kind (often turquoise) are kept in special receptacles and hidden by the person who shares the la (Stein 1962).

In order to articulate clear picture of preBuddhism Bon mode of medical knowledge, last chapter focussed exclusively on the bon element of the preBuddhism culture. The Bon in more broader context, it is represented Buddhist language and mode of interpretation. The the original concepts in cosmology and etiology has transformed and incorporated into larger Buddhism logics.

Post Buddhism Bon Pantheon : Localization by Universalizing

The cosmology originated in the pre-Buddhist cultural world came to be inherited and altered by the later post Buddhism`Yung Drung`Bon and Buddhist in a politically syncretistic arrangement. In the course of time preBuddhism Bon pantheon was `decided` place into the lower strata of the pantheon which governed in only a vague and fitful way by the thought of `Enlightenment.`(Tucci 1980:53). These included the all gods and spirits of mountains and rocks, `dre, srin, tsan lu ,sadag, nyan and so on. These were now to be explained as `protectors` and `defenders`.

The ideal of 'Enlightenment', which is 'Universal' and 'International' is applied in not only the case of Bon and Buddhism, also other variant cosmologies existed in the world to localize the indigenous deities which once used to be universal to them. The concept of local appears, only when it faced larger framework of cosmology, or when the external cosmology was imposed in the name of 'universality' for subjugation of other mode. However the main difference of the scale of universality or locality lies on the way of diffusion, or subdual and its coverage, rather the quality of the knowledge itself.

As like other case, the 'universality' of the 'Enlightened' Buddhism gods could pervaded entire Monpa society. The 'universal' deities of the Buddhist pantheon such as Tara, Avalokiteshwara, Pandhen Lhamo are worshiped all over Tawang and Dirang, although their character is highly unique to the area. Whereas the god of whole village (*kela*) such as Chongchongma and Kromtin has 'well-denied territorial limits' (Nanda 1982).

The deity with peoples strong faith and worship become a object of 'control' by Buddhism in the manifestation of Padmasanbhava. As we have seen, Chongchongma was converted a place to Bon worship into a Buddhist shrine by the establishment of the Gompa. It has now become a pilgrimage spot of Buddhists and tourists, although to the villagers congregate to reinforce ties which are animistic, legendary and symbiotic while being apparently Buddhist (Nanda 1982).

Nevertheless, the whole pantheon is continuously extended and regenerated out of the powers of imagination of its believers, for whom anything or any process can take on sacred character in a spontaneous hierophany (Tucci 1980). Using this power of imagination, Padmasanbhava or Tibet mode of Buddhism entered native cosmology very subtle and tactful way to imbue Buddhism within the local framework. As the result *Sange* (Buddha) become *lha*. According to villager, because it has *la*, wherever they can go and see, it is the symbol of supremacy. *Sherphu* is the mountain god of Domkho village. Phuwangle and Jomu are the mountain gods in Mosing. These gods are now worshiped in the Buddhist temple of the villages. (Panchani 1997). On the side of health and happiness were certain great beings known as *Sas* and as *Bal*. Of their original nature we know nothing,

but since they were equated in Buddhist times, the Sas with the more gentle Buddhist divinities and the Bal with fierce manifestations, we may presume that these equation correspond to their previous nature.

But Thus, the mountain preserves undiminished its sacredness as the ancestral deity. The powers of the underground, the prehistoric cycles of myths, the deities of the atmosphere and of the storm, are directly experienced in all their feared presence, but on the other hand they appear side by side with the Buddha's of the supreme pentad and with the Bodhisattvas (Tucci 1980:208).

Following to the logic for incorporation, people has also found Buddhism as an effective system of defense, always ready to function for their fear and awe of numinous but vagrant spirits. Buddhism assures humans superiority over the numina, so that these powers, rendered defenseless and harmless in the presence of the incomparable superiority of the holy word of Buddha, must withdraw. In this context nature where numea dwell have fallen the purview of human control, in this case spiritually, not technologically. Thus the tendency to distinguish between the profitable and the harmful, in order to regulate the relation between man and man, appears to dominate. It seems important to remember in this regard that before the advent of Buddhism, Tibet was a thoroughly preBuddhism Bon civilization given to the belief in all kinds of personified forces o mind and nature as devils and deities and the like. This central tendency to see things in such terms was incorporated into Buddhism, its meaning transformed (Clifford 1994:45).

The tensions between the varying historical worldviews of Bon and Buddhism, whatever the historical truths that may be found in them, may tend to mask significant historical tension that holds within each of them individually in more or less degree. This may be undersood on one level as a dialectic between 'local' and 'small' culture and a larger 'universal' culture which creates myths of incorporating 'local' cultures, as if this had occurred once and for all at some significant foundational moment in the past, when in fact it was an ongoing cultural process. On the Buddhist side, there is the myth of Tibet's civilizing under the influence of Avalokitesvara, said to have occured simluteously with the first emergence of human on the plateau (Dan 2000:199).

Comprehensive Health Service Climate in the Monpa Area

Through the case study of South Kanarese popular health culture, Nicher (1996 : 212) presents the relationship between the *ayurvedic* system of medicine and Brahmanization of South Kanarese pantheon in comparison (Nicher 1977). Here we may apply this homology of that *ayurvedic* and Brahmanic world views are closely alined philosophically to expound Tibetan Medicine and Buddhist world view are not only alied, its projects the topography of health service in the Monpa area. As Nicher remarked in the context of Kanarese, the composition of popular helth sector with numrous folk healers and few influenial Buddhist lamas is parallel to the Monpas pantheon which is composed of numerous indigenou deities and spirits as well as pan-Buddhism gods. Just as Buddhist lamas have encompassed folk deities within a distinctly Buddhist cosmology and organzational structure, so Tibetan Amchi (doctors) have encompassed folk health notions and pratices within a highly elaborate and accomodative Tibetan Medicine conceptual system.

The contrast of rash, blood demanding deities of local bhuta possession cults and `cool` Brahmanic gods receiving vegetarian offering in the Kanarese culture drawn by key informants of Nicher (1996) also homologious to the relationship between Bon and Buddhism. Following to this classification, Bon deities and Buddhist deities are:

Bon deities

Buddhist deities

Uncontrolled power/desire

Controlled power/balance

Immediate action, often rash

Ultimate justice over time

Required blood sacrifice

Torma (dough of figurine) offerings

Ritual medicine

Tibetan herbal medicine

Heating of the body

Balance body humours

Other Medical Facilities.

Yumin (Shaman)

Yumin has no gender bar, unlike Bonpo, if him or her body is `pure` which

is preferred as seat for *Phu*, the mountain god. They show row green beetle nuts to *yumin* at the time of possession. Many of the *yumin* did not become so willingly. They are rather forcibly chosen by spirit. When the ghost catches him for the first time to be *yumin*, he had to make a choice to accept or to die.

It is depends on individual *Bonpo*, but many of them was also *yumin*, the shaman who heal the ailments by taking back the soul of the patient through spirit possession. It is about three hours travel with the spirit, *Chiksing brashing*, in search of soul. In the beginning he goes to trance after hearing call from the spirit. The ghost calls thought the jingling of bells that the priest uses. The spirit comes from every direction at that same time and it all come to me at once. Some spirit comes with gun, some comes with arrow, and still some comes with stones and hammer. When everything gets over, he comes back to normal state and those spirits go to their own world. However he has no memory during the journey, he says, patient recuperates the health on his return.

There is division of prescription between *bonpo* and *yumin* depends on the kinds of ailments. For some disease he has to do *yumin* while for some, we have to perform ritual as *bonpo*. While doing pooja, we have to put on our cap and a cross wrap of clothes on our body. But while doing *yumin*, we do not have to put the cap, but we have to cover our body with a shawl keeping the head free. And as *yumin*, he cannot cut his hair otherwise he will get the wrath of the spirit.

There is a spatial demarcation between the *bonpos*. *Bonpos* cannot cure the patients of the other areas outside of his region. But if anyone comes to his territory and falls ill or is possessed by spirits, its under his custody. Because the *bonpo* can understand the language of the ghosts. There are some spirit ghosts, which are 'bad' according to *bonpo*. Most of the accidents are believed to be caused by these spirits. If anyone mentions the name of this spirit, it anger the spirit so much that it might harm the person who utters its name except. But their names can be uttered during performing rites.

Buddhist lama

Nyingmapa village lama-make four balls out of wheat flour. Inside these

balls, they will put iron, coal, wheat and turquoise. The divination is then done. And after the pooja, the patient is asked to pick up any of the four balls. If he picks up iron ball, it is considered very good. And if the patient picks up the ball of turquoise, the soul is believed to come back. If he picks up the wheat, there may not be any improvement. And if the patient picks up the coal ball, it is considered bad. In this case, the lama will hold a function and do the pooja again and, again the patient will be asked to pick up those balls until the result comes out good. This process is quite a lengthy one since this is repeated till the soul comes back.

Village priest have their training in the village itself under the tutelage of the senior members of the village priests who mostly attend to the religious needs of the community. The incarnate lamas occupy the highest rank in the religious community with the monks holding the intermediate position between them and the village priests.

A service called *bruina* is arranged in the family chapel on the following day on the recitation of the "Jigje Pecha" text. The special offering in this service is a *torma* in the shape of man or animal. It is later on thrown out in the name of the death-demon (*jandi*), which is believed to have carried off the soul of the deceased. The lama throws some cereals, rendered potent by.

Gelugpa lama in Tawang monastery tells that a certain Mantra, which consists of twelve syllabus can cure 100 kinds of disease. The expert lama who knows thousands of Mantra and has experience, just blow the water render the effect of the healing

Supernatural power (Buddha) watches the state of mind of the recite of Mantra, if the mind is unclear, the effect of Mantra does not work out. The real devotion and sincerity of the recite is watched always. Reciter is prohibited to take onion, tomato, garlic and fish. At the time of visualization, one envisages the 'Chana Dorjee' the incarnation of Buddha who destroys the demon. There are the mantra for dog bite after mantra lama pad the mad on the patient shoulder, then the poison will come on the mat. If he cannot chant the mantra, he writes the mantra hundred times and patient eats and poison came out.

The lama may then consult a text called "Ngak Bum," which is claimed to

have mystic formulas for treatment of as many as 424 diseases. He selects the appropriate formula keeping in view the symptoms of the disease. He renders some water potent by treating it with the mystic formula. The sick person drinks this water for recovery. But in most cases of sickness, the lamas prescribe the recitation of a particular sacred text along with the performance of its associated service. He resorts to divination, the method of which has been described earlier in this chapter, to find out the particular text. Accordingly, they get that text recited and the associated service held with the help of the lama. The lama gets two tormas pressed against the various parts of the body of the sick person with the belief that in the process thereof the afflictions of the sick get transferred to the tormas. In addition to the usual offerings on the alter, these two tormas are placed on the floor in front of the alter. After the service is over, these two tormas are thrown at the outskirts of the village as offerings to the evil spirit, which is believed to be responsible for the distress of the sick.

Amchi (Tibetan Medicine)

A doctor of Men-tsee-khang, the Tibetan medical center, has similar epidemiological view. The most common symptom of the patients who come to him are Gastric problem and Jaundice. Comparatively Gastric is more due to excess intake of chili, and *chang* (rice wine), and food poisoning caused mainly because of unconcerned sanitation both side of government and locals. Not much project has been implemented and coverage is less due to geographical location. Depression is not minor number. According to Amuchi, as geographical cause, it is partly due to air pressure of high altitude location, which rises wind humor (*rlung*) high. It also can attribute to the economically constrained life style in the low economic slandered village. Some are overloaded and anxious for the sustaining life. According to the doctor, some of the patient comes to him from the hospital for another option

According to this Amuchi, attitude of allopathic professionals are oriented lucrative intention, so patient prefer to come to him. As for the case of which requires the examination such as X-ray or other technological device, he refer to

Hospital. He sometime refers to Rinpoche for the need of spiritual religious intervention by ritual or mantra. But not to the Bon po, in fact, he has not much knowledge about it. For lung disorder, he says allopathy has no system for its treatment, and that is expertise of Tibetan Medicine. The case of acute onset of mental disorder of schizophrenia, allopathy doctors posted here who have no special training for psychiatry simply diagnose as 'madness', whereas Tibetan doctor sees imbalance of *rlung*.

District Hospital, PHC, CHC,SC

Other medical facility in Tawang District consists of One District Hospital, Three PHC in Jang, Lumra and Katipi, and Twenty one sub center, facilitated fourteen physician and one eye specialist and dentist. In West Kameng District, health service is equipped with two doctor, twenty-two medics and twenty-seven daises facilitate one District Hospital, and seven PHC and 28 Subcentre, among subcenters. Medics are voluntary worker, selected one individual from one village and are trained by Health Department for first aid knowledge. DMO Major disease in this lower altitude area is seasonal. In the winter, respiratory infection increase and in the summer waterborne disease such as Malaria, Cholera is observed particularly in bordering area. DMO also says about forty percent of health complains did not require medication and it does not fall into the domain of allopathic intervention, in short, they were to be treated by traditional devices. However, even in the PHC, at least one doctor is supposed to be posted. However due to remoteness of the place many of the PHC and sub center has no doctor, and mostly pharmacologists who is mostly Bengali from West Bengal and Assam diagnose and prescribe medicine. And the manpower is not at all up to the mark to respond local's need.

Another major problem faced especially in the beginning is that, the people were somewhat averse to modern method of medical treatment. They had no idea of medical science and they doubted the efficacy of new medicines. Indeed, the tribes have a system of diagnosis and cure of their own. What is spiritually caused must be spiritually cured.

The most common diseases, which afflict a large number of the local

people, are diarrhea and dysentery, respiratory diseases, stomach and intestinal diseases, scabies, skin diseases and tuberculosis. According to the doctors in District Hospitals Major illness is gastritis due to excess chili consuming, second comes Tuberculosis. Doctor ascribe to architecture of traditional way of house building.

Special reference for tertiary care are referred to other district hospital in Bomdila, Itanagar (capital of A.P), and Tezpur (Assam)

According to M.O of sub center Zimithang Most common health problem among Panchengpa, the people of Zimithang village have skin disease due to low hygiene. People wear same cloth for long time and do not take bath often.

For the improvement of health, providing the facility for education has decisive role to promote consciousness about health and hygiene. However, even if the number of the school is increased, it would only be building as there is no motivation and obligation among the teachers and student to make the building into substantial school. Similar to the other government officials in Arunachal, most of the teachers are from Bihar or Uttar Pradesh, who mostly come for attendance, i.e. salary. The maximum duration of the posting is usually for three years in one place, however many of them remain the same place much more than that. It does not circulate because one would pay bribe or have connection with some Ministers for the cancellation of posting to such a remote benighted place. This trend was common in the Doranji where the Tibetan central school has branch for Bon communities. All students are Tibetans but teachers are from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Even some of them have habit of unnecessary corporal punishment and sexual harassment to the student, there is not much for substitution, same problematic teacher remains. Corollary, parents are not willing to send their child even if they have a quite number the School, which has such teacher.

During my two months research stay, several health camps were conducted. One of them was held in PHC of Nafla on 23rd to 29th of October. The main organizer for this camp was Dr. S.K. Singh, the medical officer of Nafla PHC, and it was founded by Central Government under the scheme of National Programme for Control Blindness, aided by one T.B officer from District Hospital, Bomdila, and four assistants for eye surgeon from Itanagar, one medical officer of PHC Rupa. It was massive visiting of villagers from remote area falls under the circle administration. In this camp 24 eye patient was operated and above six hundred patients benefited. In the suburb of Dirang, it is rather near to Lish settlement; there is famous hot spring spot. The sanative effect of the this hot spring is well known to the locals, it is said, the water of spring can heal ailments if one visits during a particular a month.

Hot Spring

There is one hot spring in Dirang locates near to Lish village. It is called *Sache Kuche* (up and down) and famous for its sanative effect, especially for skin disease and itching. It is said two Lhas who are 'doctor' dwell in the spot. One is Amchi (Tibetan Medicine Doctor) whose name is Tsering Dundu, other is Menpa (Medicine man) and her name is Tsering Dolema.

Apart from Bonpo the Monpa tribals have access to District Hospitals, PHC, CHC, SC, Buddhist lamas, shaman priests, Tibetan doctors and menpas (medicine man who doesn't use herbs). For a range of minor illness they use the services of the Bonpo. But For major ailments, they relay on allopathic services provided by the public sector. However, the distance and costs of utilizing public services, they very often depend on the Bonpo and other healing specialists. The medical services in non biomedical context in the area has more plurality, and co-existence of different medical practices is observed.

In the everyday life concern, bonpo deal with the problem of patients individually, as doctors in PHCs (Primary Health Center) consult the patients. For

not much PHCs in this area has a doctor. PHC in Lumla subdivision where the village I conducted interview with bonpo locates, for example, for more than eight years there was no doctor. Instead, the pharmacist from Kolkata played the role of doctor. May be bonpo may not be able to cure physical cause such as infectious disease, but even one goes to Sub Center in Zimithang for example, there is doctor from local village, but no medicine even as essential drug. However there was solar power refrigerator for vaccine cold chain donated by foreign ODA. It is kind of surprising that the foreign aid could reach such a remote area where no Indian official is willing to be posted, but if there is no case of polio in the area, all these state intervention is waste.

Rather than producing the repeated acknowledgement of Public Health relevance, by affirming its 'universality' along with efficacy of modern medicine, for the researcher, it seems to be more constructive to report crude reality of malfunction or dysfunction of Health Service System in remote area to have scope for further improvement. Although the theme of this paper could not cover this task, it also attempted to review existing 'traditional' (but never supplemental) device for Primary Health Care in the remote hence cultural rich locale where the beyond reach of Primary Health Center not as building, but as function.

Notes

¹ Additional information of Arunachal Pradesh :

Major Tribes - 20

Adi, Nyishi (including BANGRU & PUROIK), Apatani, Bugun, Galo, Hrusso, Koro, Meyor, Monpa, Tagin, Mishmi (including IDU, TAROAN & KAMMAN), Sajolang, Sartang, Tai Khamti (including KHAMYANG), Tangshang (including MUKLOM, LONCHANG, TUTSA, TIKHAK, HAWOI, LONGRI, MUNGREY, MUSHAUNG, LUNGPHI, JOGLAI, NGAIMONG, PONTTHAI, KHALAK, LUNGHAI, HALLEY, CHELLIM, SHECHU, SHIANGWAL, RERA, SHIANGTEE, DOHE, MOITAL, HATSENG, GAJEE, GAJA, KOCHONG, LOWCHANG, LAKI, GALLON, CHAMCHANG, RINGKHU, SHOHRA, BOWNGTAL, RONGRANG etc. of Changlang district and NOCTE, WANCHOO and TUTSA of Tirap district), Yobin, Singpho, Sherdukpen, Khamba, Memba.

No. of Districts - 15

Tawang, West Kameng, East Kameng, Papumpare, Lower Subansiri, Upper Subansiri, East Siang, West Siang, Upper Siang, Upper Dibang Valley, Lower Dibang Valley, Lohit,

Major Towns-16

Itanagar, Naharlagun, Tawang, Bomdila, Rupa, Bhalukpong, Seppa, Ziro, Daporijo, Along,

Pasighat, Yingkiong, Roing, Tezu, Namsai, Khonsa.

District Headquarters

Tawang, Bomdila, Seppa, Yupia, Ziro, Daporijo, Pasighat, Along, Yingkiong, Anini, Roing, Tezu, Changlang, Khonsa, Laying-Yangte

Major Health Centres

General Hospitals - 3

District Hospitals - 11

- 2 Tibetan Buddhism belongs to Mahayana way and it largely divided into four sects in terms of the different mode of diffusion. The oldest school which was brought and founded by Padmasambhava is Nyingma (old) pa, next comes Sakya pa, named after the monastery at Sakya in west of Shigatse in the province of Tsang. The founder of the sect was 'Broga mi' (992-1072), followed by Kagyu pa, the follower of 'Transmitted Command'. The Gelug pa, 'the way of virtue' order was the last of the Buddhist schools, founded by Tsongkhapa (1357-1419). The Dalai Lama belongs to this dominant school. With the emergence of this school Buddhism in Tibet has found its final form. The Nyimgmapa Sakyapa and Kargyupa gave rise to various sub-sects under them. Karmapa and Drukpa are subsects of Kagyupa, and both of them are mainly active in Bhutan.

Chapter Five

CHAPTER V

Conclusion: Social Construction of Bon Medicine

Doubl Structure

The objectives of this dissertation were two fold: one is to introduce social constructionism perspective into the field of medical research in social science in Indian context. Initial part of the paper examined its theoretical framework and methodology for more possible approach to Bon Medicine, especially preBuddhism Bon that is taken up in this paper as case study. The latter half of dissertation was devoted for application of social constructionism perspective on the discourse encompassing Bon and its medical knowledge.

Through this example, the researcher attempted to shed light on the other side of the grand history, which is generally overlooked. Even if it is in the history or discourse, it is depicted to supply the space where the elite author generates for establishment of own authority. In the Buddhism discourse, supplement of the space is Bon, and In the Bon discourse supplement is preBuddhism Bon. This assay's focus of this doubly marginalized 'preBuddhism Bon' exposes hierarchies structure of knowledge involved for distillation of information in the granted religious and historical discourse, which itself is one of the basis of construction of 'common-sense-of knowledge of people.

In the methodology chapter, we have observed that all 'principles' of existence are historically situated and are structured by the interplay of individual experience and social force, through the language, vision, symbols, environment, and body. It is also constructed through exclusions and oppositions of the moment and of the previous moments through which this one is constructed, as we have observed in the context of indigenous religion and medicine of Bon. The asymmetrical opposition or value-laden hierarchy between Modern Medicine and Populate Medicine, Buddhism and Bon, and post Bon and pre Bon , Tibetan Medicine and Bon Medicine and in which one term is promoted at the expense of

the other. The second term can be shown to constitute or signal the condition for the first, and the hierarchy up-turned.

Control: the Key

In Tibet, the Buddhism appears to the majority's mind as if it is sole religion. In the same manner, the Tibetan Medicine is a Buddhist Medicine, authorized by the name of Buddha as the source of knowledge. In the Tibetan historiography, Bon is placed the tributary to the main stream of chronology, which often records the development of the Buddhism. Common depictions on Bon can be found in it are as semi barbarous belief which practice bloody sacrifice for low class spirit and thus to be tamed and controlled. The story reflects the popular notion of Tibet as an untamed and uncivilized realm, which civilization arriving only from foreign priests was actually summoned politically by the State.

Tibetan Buddhism itself defines as concerned with the practical attainment of liberation, whether from the ills of life, or from evil rebirth or from samsara. Therefore whatsoever that obstructs the attainment of liberation must be controlled. This concept of control is a central theme of Buddhism. In original Buddhism, Buddha meant it rather to control of inner being, but the meaning transformed when it left from the hands of Buddha to the disciples for institutionalization of the teaching into the religion.

In order to propagate new 'Enlightening' teaching, indigenous faith was placed as an obstacle to be controlled. Practically, this concept symbolized in the word '*bsgral ba*' which originally meant 'to release' or 'to liberate'. It has become a technical term meaning 'to destroy ritually' or 'to eliminate' on the basis of the 'liberation of the consciousness-principle of the victim through its transference into a pure dimension by the officials after the execution (Clifford 1994: 54). This was the procedure how Padmasambhava transformed Bon deities into the defender or protector of Buddhism. His intense power of control remains in the ritual field. Even now, the celebrant must make it known that he has accomplished the return to the initial state, in other words he identifies himself with the teacher who introduced the ritual in question, (e.g., Padmasambhava who is alike to me). In

order to achieve its full efficacy the ritual must be performed by someone who has transformed himself into its first author (Tucci 1980:206).

This power is also defined in terms of the control of knowledge. It was for the most part expressed in terms of ritual mastery itself in the monastic clericalism. In Tibetan terms this distinction accords broadly with that between the accomplished adept's attainment and skillful mastery of the branches of learning (Kapstein 2000:18).

This mastery of control knowledge has been pervaded out of the religious sphere. The moral teaching of Buddhism, as those of the other 'universal religions', serve as a source of legal and political coercion (Kapstin 2000:18) on the ground of spiritual reasoning. It also served in the spheres of medicine. As we have seen in chapter three, Buddha was first healer who bestowed medical knowledge to the Sage Yid-las-skyes, who is main questioner in Gyu-zhi, most authentic medical text in Tibetan Medicine, although in Bum-zhi, Shenrab placed same status. In fact these tendency are all we can find in the so called Bon religion, 'Yung Drung Bon'.

To the Tibetan Buddhism which seems to be politically imported by the state, the object of this control was Bon religion which was already there as peoples belief. However, in the current 'Bon' of post Buddhism, the object replaced as the subject. In the ritual procedure of Bon, this 'bsgral ba' also can be observed same way.

For example, in the Tucci's (1980:181) description of rite for sick person: "According to the prescription of Shenrab, they presided over the sacrifices offered to the divinities with nine vessels and nine torma. Their symbol was the arrow. They conferred the initiation into the secret mantras, they could bring the world within their control through the power of their arts and ensure the normal course of nature events."

Here, Bon is placed, as the subject of control, and the offering became torma, instead of animal. Another description informs same returning to the first author, but in this case, it is Shenrab. In this stage, it is no more difference from the Buddhist mode. This was same in medical knowledge, as we observed chapter three, The 'Bon Medicine' which proclaimed by post Buddhism Bon was almost

identical with Tibetan Medicine. Although it spares more space for measurement to deal with spiritual cause of illness, when we see the contents of Bum-zhi, it is that of Gyu-zhi but with some more chapters (see appendix 2).

However it could be premature to conclude that one can assume that medical knowledge, which insists the own version of 'Gyu-zhi', which they call 'Bum-zhi', went through same process. When we look at the early Bon in Yarlung Dynasty, and Bon among the Monpas and other peripheral community of Tibet, Bon was specialised knowledge and art for the healing. One can say, the Bon before Buddhism are meant for the medical knowledge, even it is crude way like other tribal faith healing, there was some vestige of the knowledge and practice in the art of healing among the Monpa as we observed chapter four, such as pulse reading, diagnose of palpation and use of arrow in ritual etc.

In a way, Bon is originally religious specialists played a role of medicine, in the sense of healing, which restore the disordered condition such as illness, disaster, misfortune. But in the course of time, this ritual elements are accommodated entire sphere of the Buddhism and that ritualized Buddhism was accommodated Yung Drung Bon for survival and legitimacy, meanwhile, medical elements lost its specialty, subsumed into entire existence of Tibetan Buddhism.

It is often impossible to tell which of Buddhism are not specially Buddhist elements, which is indigenous and which is foreign, which one was really Bon and which was not. And that attempt is mostly meaningless, because we can define the thing which has no history, as Nietzsche told. Then, the process of 'Bon' religion is construction solid foundation and manifestation of legitimacy and authenticity. Thus, New knowledge (Buddhism) serve new social practices (monastic institution) which produce new objects (Yung Drung Bon).

So-called Bon

There were two times in Bonpo's history when they were made to suffer particularly heavy-handed persecutions in eighth century. It was not all the time Buddhists one-sided assimilation. Or, rather it was mild coercion to induce voluntary submission of Bon for its survival.

Bonpo historians argue that the formation of Bon also involved an intricate synthesis of archaic Tibetan tradition not only with Buddhism, but with other cultural influences flowing into Tibet as well. However, after these massive persecutions, of course, Bonpo underwent enormous transformations that were in large measure catalyzed by Buddhism's presence. Incidentally the texts Bonpos concealed to shelter from the persecution already suggest strong Buddhist influence. Bon ter-ma have similar royalist trends, but instead of hearkening to the glorious age of the centralized Tibetan dynasty, the reigns of Songtsan gampo and Khri-song detsan, we are taken back to an equally glorious age of Zhang Zhung kingdoms. (Dan 1999).

In some specific areas of Tibetan history, it is clear that Bonpos participated in larger trends of the society Bonpos started to become monks surging the general resurgence of monastic institution in the late tenth or eleventh century, developed a very highly scholastic educational system employing strict logical rules at the very latest by the early thirteenth, and in the fourteenth to fifteenth, began writing quite detailed historical accounts of preceding centuries.

It could be said, this similarity is an attempt to secure the place for its survival in logocentricism of Buddhism whose orientation is for the truth of absolute representations, subsumed difference and oppressed that which it designates as its alien Other. To keep its own existence in the Buddhism centred world, Bon had to be submerged into the system of Buddhist world by themselves. This process rendered it possible for the evolving field of literate agency increasingly to involve the participation of some who asserted the supremacy of the non-Buddhist transitions with which they were identified and which were the established basis for their status and authority, over and against the alien presence of Buddhism (Kapstain 2000:17)..

However this incorporation of the self was not only done by Bonpo. Some recent investigation of relatively early Bonpo dialectical texts, for instance, have demonstrated some examples of genuinely novel developments, even if these were inspired ultimately by still earlier Buddhist sources. In some cases too, Tibetan Buddhist literature liberally borrowed from Bonpo texts (Kvearne 1998).

Thus as Kapstein astutely posits, the transformation of Bon can not be a simple result of the importation of Buddhist belief and mastery, it was the product, rather, of an ongoing process of accommodation, in which the alien and the indigenous came by stage to suffuse one another (Kapstein 2000:19).

As Kapstein points out, there was a maintenance of elements of literacy and formal learning, primarily in Buddhist circles. In the formation of Nine Ways of Bon, it is evident that Bonpos were not simply repeating what was to be derived from earlier Buddhist sources, but also were engaged in actively exploring, to varying degrees on the basis of those sources, ways of reformulating and expressing religious traditions that were felt to be congenial to Tibetan ways of thinking (Kapstein 2000:15). And this conversion of a nation rendered the gradual transformation of cosmological frameworks of ritual, intellectual, and bureaucratic practices, and of the historical and mythic narratives through which the national identity is constituted.

Bon Full-Circle

One might say, 'Bon' in the general understanding was parallel process of establishment of Buddhism, which is based on monastic clericalism, and legitimated Bon as one of five great tradition of Tibet is the product of this process. However prior to this move, as Bell (1931) reports, there was no Bon 'religion', no monastic institution, no clericalism. The term bon was originally applied to a class of priest-magicians, not to the religion itself. And Shenrab was a denotion indicated 'the master of Shen (Shen is again one of name of the priest who does sacrifice and ritual performance) and was not individual's name. According to the later Buddhist sources, shen or bon from Zhang Zhung and Bru-sha was experts of death rituals, and were summoned to Tibet and ordered the construction of tomb and performed the proper funerary rituals for the divine king. The rites largely consisted of offerings of food and various objects and that animals -sheep, yak, and horses were sacrifice. (Lalou 1952).

Before the priestic Bon which was rather serving for the aristocratic needs, there had been already popular belief among the laity which is autochthonous

nature worship, which distinct as *mi-cho* (popular religion), whereas bon was categorized as *lha-cho* in the court of Yarlung. Later Tibetan writers as well as some western scholars have referred to the *lha cho* as Bon, but the word never seems to appear with any other meaning but 'priest' in really early Tibetan literature (Snellgrove and Reardon 1986:59). As mountain resides in the earth, *mi cho* deals with worldly custom such as charm and festivity interlaced with peoples' everyday life. As for the *lha cho*, local god of soil was invoked and the ancient style of the songs was recited from the texts in the occasion of solemnity.

From the point of view of mythology its principal features appear to have been a cult of gods of the sky, the earth and the lower regions, and a cult of mountains and divine kings. The duality of light and darkness, white and black, good and evil, gods and demons, the world of existence and non-existence is not the Buddhism elements, as well as elaborate funeral ritual and practice of *powa*, which solely Nyingmapa holds creation and destruction from one of the fundamental tenets of the bonpo doctrine. Rituals and ceremonies performed by the bonpo for anyone's benefit are viewed from this angle of dualism. Gods should triumph over demons, and good over evil. In pre-bonpo cognition, the world took its shape from two opposites spheres, Heaven and Earth (*Gnam and Sa*, or *Gung and Sa*). In the bonpo cognition the world was distinctly divided into three different spheres.

In the Context of Indigenous Medicine

Interestingly, Bon among the Monpas taken up in this study keeps the similar concept of this Bon as court religion. Bon among them means the medicine man that mainly deal with the performing rites for welfare of the community such as healing the ailments, and propitiating harmful force to the individual and community. Most probably, the Bon in this region is posterity of the exiles who persecuted during reign of King Khri Detsen in eighth century. Oral tradition tells the Bon practiced in this peripheral area is the descendant of the Bon prince who expelled from Tibet. Other says, Shenrab himself visited to this area to propagate his teaching.

Their position in the villages is as like physician, when people gets sick comes to his as primary consultation. Their tradition has been succeeded through the lineage, whereas in the central Monpa area, some of them are inheritant, but anyone can learn to be apprentice to bonpo as guru. And the common and essential feature of all bonpos in both north and central are the aware of the name 'Tonpa (guru)Shenrab', the founder of Bon religion, and he is their source of healing knowledge.

In some pockets in Himalaya, there similar Bon tradition can be noticed in the Tibetan Buddhist communities with historical affinity with Tibet such as Sherpa Yolmo, Tamang, in Nepal and Lepcha in Sikkim. Among them the ritual priest who has same role and name (some are modified like bombo or bonpu) of bonpo among Monpa, but their bonpo is mostly shaman who goes to trance and becomes medium of the spirits. Bonpo ritual among the Monpa, no spirit possession is involved.

Bonpos have strong relationship with mountain deity, Phu. In their believe, mountain deity is the chief of all spirits and govern all aspects of people's lives. Therefore any dysfunction is attributed to the displeasure of Phu. The role of the Bonpo is to exorcise the evil spirit by contacting the mountain god through rite.

The most focal point of this so-called faith healing lies on the subject of the healing. It comes from the nature or supernature; it is never of the healer himself. He is a just medium who serve the seats by its purity and pristine of the self and body. Illness is caused by May be some infection or imbalance of the humor, but all that is administrated by supernatural. Therefore only supernatural can cure and heal the source of illness, through the medium such as bonpo, but it not the deeds of bonpo himself.

In this system of thought less tends to aggregate a certain view which construct the discourse to specialize particular individual or group and less intentional manipulation for proliferation of own belief exists. It does not impose the own philosophy or framework of doctrine, rigorously remains as the third person that is mere medium. It remains a farmer as same as other lay person, it does not accumulate special attitude to distinguish medical professionals. The

power is not attribute to the particular individual as bonpo, but to the phu, the almighty power that governs every sphere of the life and word. It is not the bonpo who cures and ails, but it is phu who does everything. For them, what bonpo announce through divination is not by him, but phu, and more important relation is with phu, and bonpo's transparency as medium. In the Monpa context, bonpos are aware their knowledge came from Shenrab, but he does not share the position of absolute supremacy like Buddha in Buddhism, or Shenrab in post Buddhism Bon. The worship of sacred mountain is the core of Bon in preBuddhism version, and the mountain is very pervasive all the main controller of the all power whether it cause illness or heal illness.

On the other hand, so-called `world (or International religion) religion such as Buddhism are founded by one individual and every virtue and merit is attributed and accumulated to that particular human, irrespective of contents of the teaching. That is utilized for the enlargement of the organization by legitimizing it. In this process, the power and legitimacy has to be augmented by subjugating Other way of seeing, i.e., knowledge, and it is become the absolute truth to the member of organization, and other knowledge was transmuted dominant version which subservient to the `truth`. Thus, the knowledge is structured of the composition of hierarchy. However, this movement is not one-sided and top down. It is realized because of the involvement of the subservient into the logic of dominant discourse. Unknowingly in uncritical manner, one conspires the strength and cogency of the discourse. In this structure there is no victim and no explorer. Everybody is the confederate by ignorance of the position of the self.

Through this paper researcher intended to rethink the extant notion of popular medicine not by evaluation through modern medicine framework to promote allopathy, but by placing same line as the expertise which is already existing always and playing a role in its own right. From the viewpoint of different culture, it looks the very `construction`, but for them it is a reality hence the `bonpo` rite works out and they get relief.

This everyday life of religion system is same to all cognitive structure of knowledge also from the other cultures point of view; it may be seen as fabrication.

But in the same way, the common sense knowledge we take its authenticity for granted is based on strong faith. As Burger ascertains these common-sense-knowledge intrinsically has religious structure. In this 'plausibility structure', one of the realities is justified to take for granted by people commonly convinced, as a result it confines the all speculative question. The essence of the plausible everyday life is , in fact, consist of a kind of agreement.

If we wish to make sense of perdurability of non-biomedical knowledge and techniques to some in these places, we need to understand how they thought it rationalized more adequately than its competitors, the frailties of our concrete existence in the world. Human beings act rationally in the sense that their actions are purposive rather than expressive. Even through human action can appear irrational or senseless to an outside observer, according to this perspective, individuals always have reason for acting the way they do. Moreover, these reasons are always contemporary in that they are grounded within structures of meaning which mediate between the environment and the individual's experience of it. In other words, human action is rational from within the structures of meaning individuals use in order to realize their interests as they perceive them. (Wiling 1999:46).

They like ourselves, held that some beliefs and practice were sensible and others foolish. Destructive disease were particularly terrifying deformations of human existence, and the belief, that we have won or are in the process of winning some degree of apparently rational mastery over them counts for a great deal among us. And this system of reasoning is true to all knowledge modality. By analyzing the very nature of popular medicine and religion thought, it provides a context for understanding not only present medical system but also the possible structures of forms, which have yet to be invented.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1

Maps of Arunachal Pradesh, Tawang and West and East Kameng District, Tibet

Map 1 (from Gazettier of India Arunachal Pradesh East Kameng and West Kameng and Tawang Districts, Govt.Of India, 1996)

Map 2 (from Myers & Bean From the Land of the Thunder Dragon:Texiles Art of Bhutan)

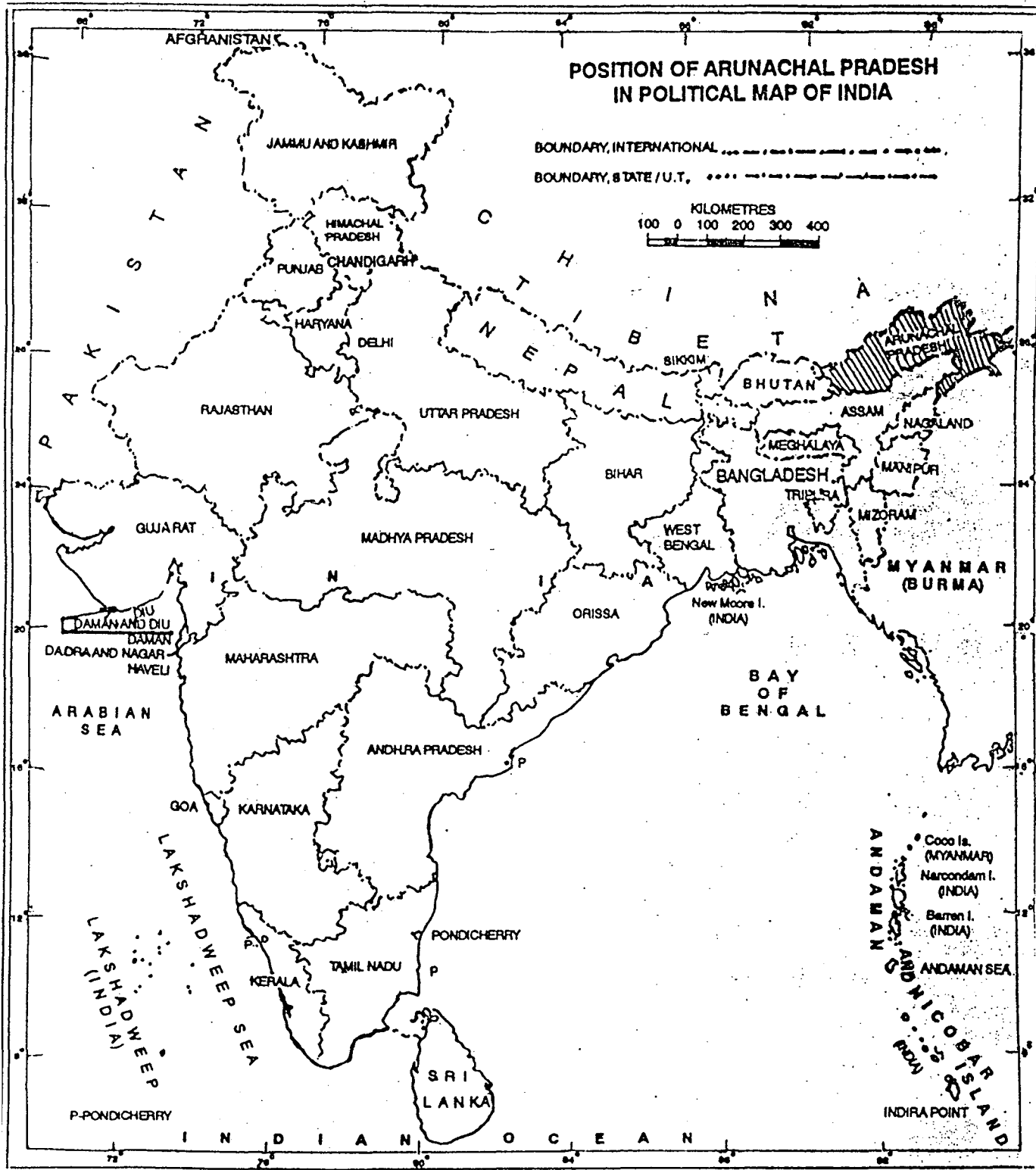
Map 3 (from Gazettier of India Arunachal Pradesh East Kameng and West Kameng and Tawang Districts, Govt.Of India, 1996)

Map 4 (from unpublished Doctral Dissertation of Bibhash Dhar, Social Change among The Monpas of Aruchachal Pradesh, 1994)

Map 5 (from Haimendorf, from Renaissance of Tibetan Civilization, 1990)

Map 6 (from Nagano & Karmay ed. from A Survey of Bonpo Monasteries and Temples in Tibet and the Himalaya, 2003)

Map 7 (from Yashe Project, from Ancient Tibet, 1996)



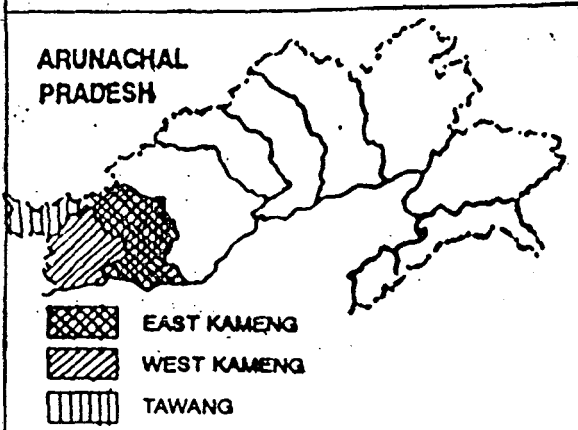
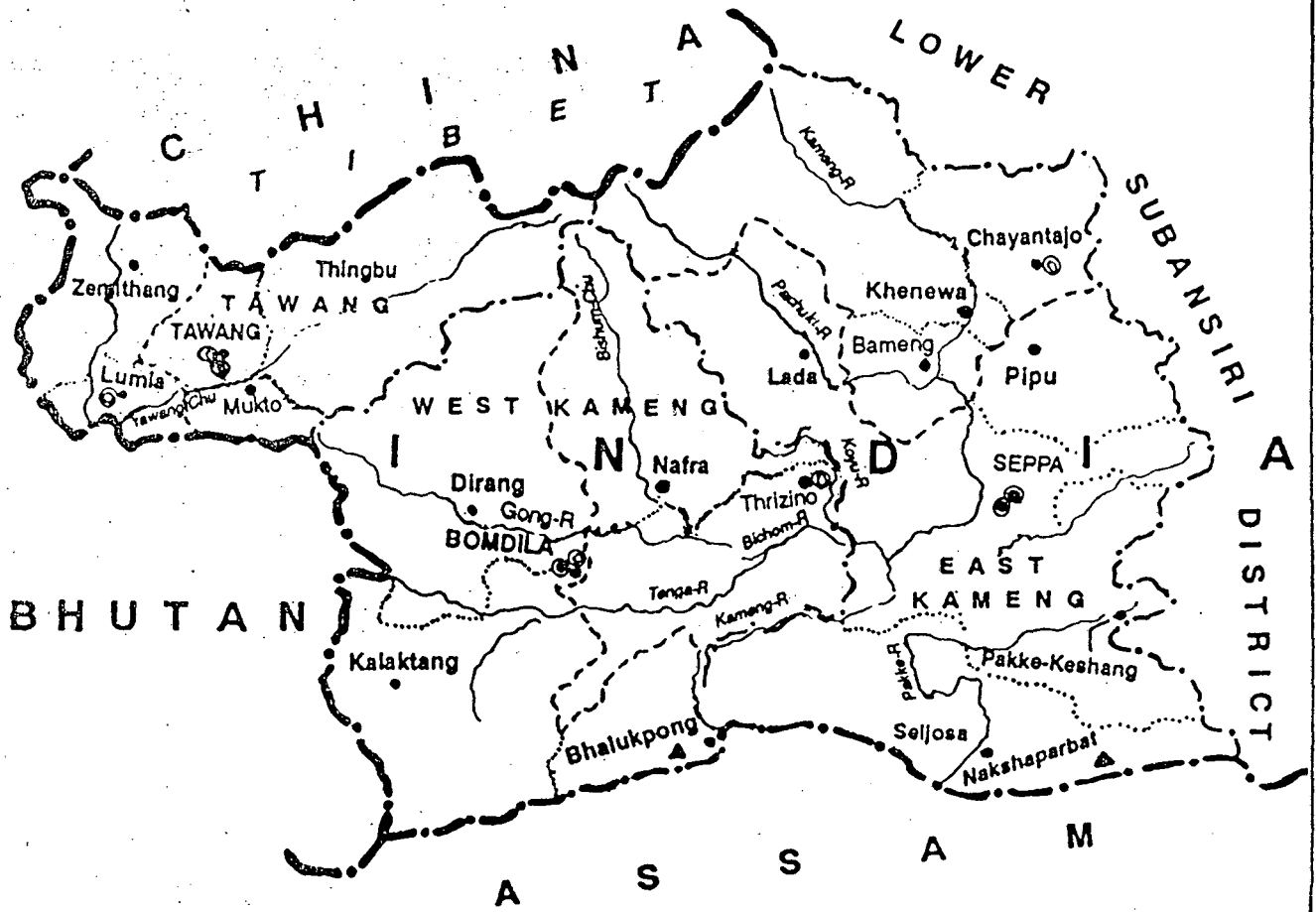
Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India
 The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles
 measured from the appropriate base line.
 The boundary of Meghalaya shown on this map is as interpreted from the North-eastern
 Areas (Reorganisation) Act, but has yet to be verified.
 The administrative headquarters of Chandigarh, Haryana and Punjab are at Chandigarh.

© Government of India Copyright, 1996.

Source: DISTRICT GAZETTER TAWANG, WESTKAMENG, EASTKAMENG

ARUNACHAL PRADESH

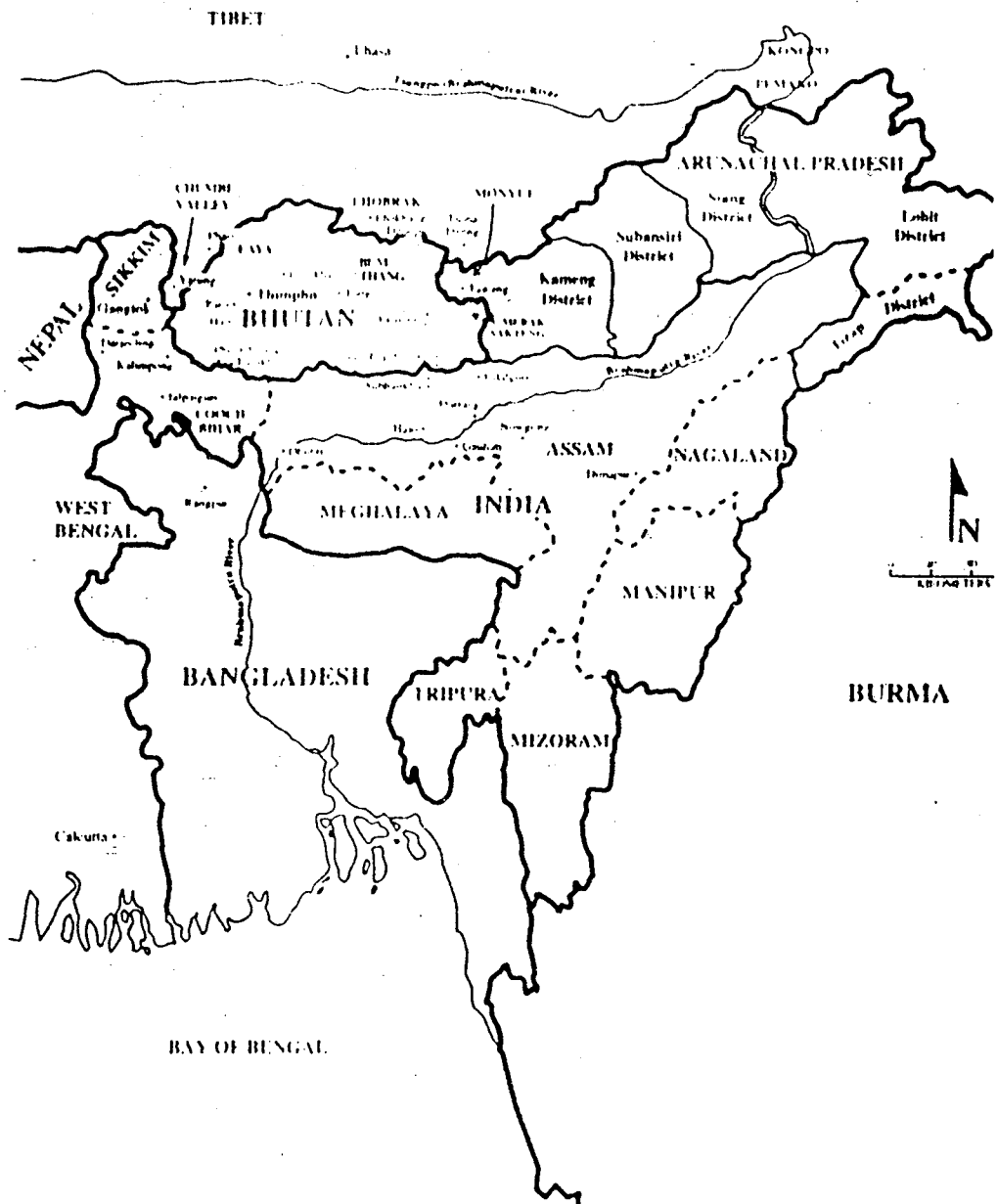
EAST KAMENG, WEST KAMENG AND TAWANG DISTRICTS



INDEX	
BOUNDARY, INTERNATIONAL.....	
• STATE.....	
• DISTRICT.....	
• SUB-DIVISION.....	
• CIRCLE.....	
HEADQUARTERS :	
DISTRICT, SUB-DIVISION, CIRCLE.....	
RIVER.....	
HISTORICAL / ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE..	

Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India. © Government of India Copyright, 1996.

SOURCE : DISTRICT GAZETTER, TAWANG, WEST KAMENG, EAST KAMENG



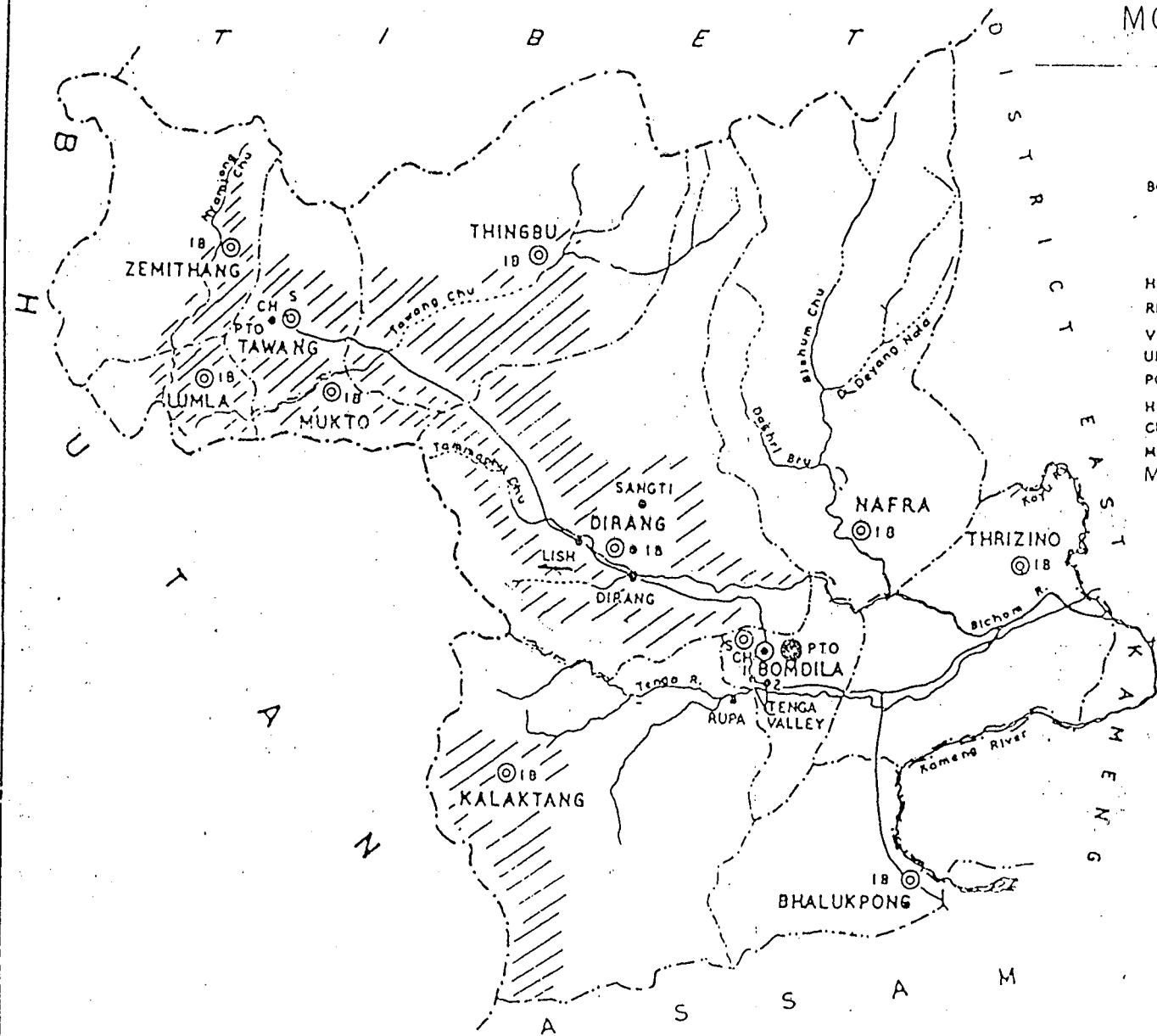
MAP 2 (from Myers & Bean *From the Land of the Thunder Dragon: Textiles Art of Bhutan*)

ARUNACHAL PRADESH
DISTRICT WEST KAMENG
MONPA AREAS

1981



- BOUNDARY INTERNATIONAL
- " STATE/UT
- " DISTRICT
- " CIRCLE
- HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT/CIRCLE
- RIVER AND STREAM
- VILLAGE HAVING 1000 & ABOVE POPULATION
- URBAN AREA
- POST AND TELEGRAPH OFFICE PTO
- HIGHER SECONDARY SCHOOL S
- CIRCUIT HOUSE; INSPECTION BUNGALOW CH, IB
- METALLED ROAD
- MONPA AREAS



SOURCE : UN Published Doctoral Dissertation of Dr. Bishesh Dhar

UIGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION
新疆维吾尔自治区

INNER MONGOLIA
内蒙古

KASHMIR

NINGXIA
宁夏

QINGHAI
青海

SHANSHU
山西

TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION
西藏自治区

YUSHU A.S.

Haibei A.S.

Hainan A.S.

Huangnan A.S.

Golok A.S.

Mt. Amnye Machen

Ngaba A.S.

Barkham

Kantse

Nyarong

Tawu

Kantse A.S.

Bathang

Lithang

Dartsendo

Gartok

Dechen

Gyaltang

Dechen A.S.

Muli Cty.

Muli

SICHUAN
四川

GUIZHOU
贵州

MYANMAR

YUNNAN
云南

Leh

Rutog

Ngari Area

Ngari

Tsaparang

Mt. Kailash

Purang

Simla

Dangra Lake

Purang

Dolpo Mustang

Shigatse Area

Tingri

Sakya

Gyantse

Phari

Thimphu

Southern Area

Tsona

Lhasa

Nyingtri Area

Kongpo

Nyingtri

Chamdo Area

Chamdo

Khyungpo

Chamdo

Jekundo

Sershu

Derge

Kantse

Nyarong

Tawu

Kantse A.S.

Bathang

Lithang

Dartsendo

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Gyaltang

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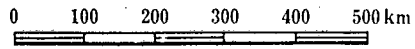
Dechen

Gyaltang

Dechen A.S.

Muli Cty.

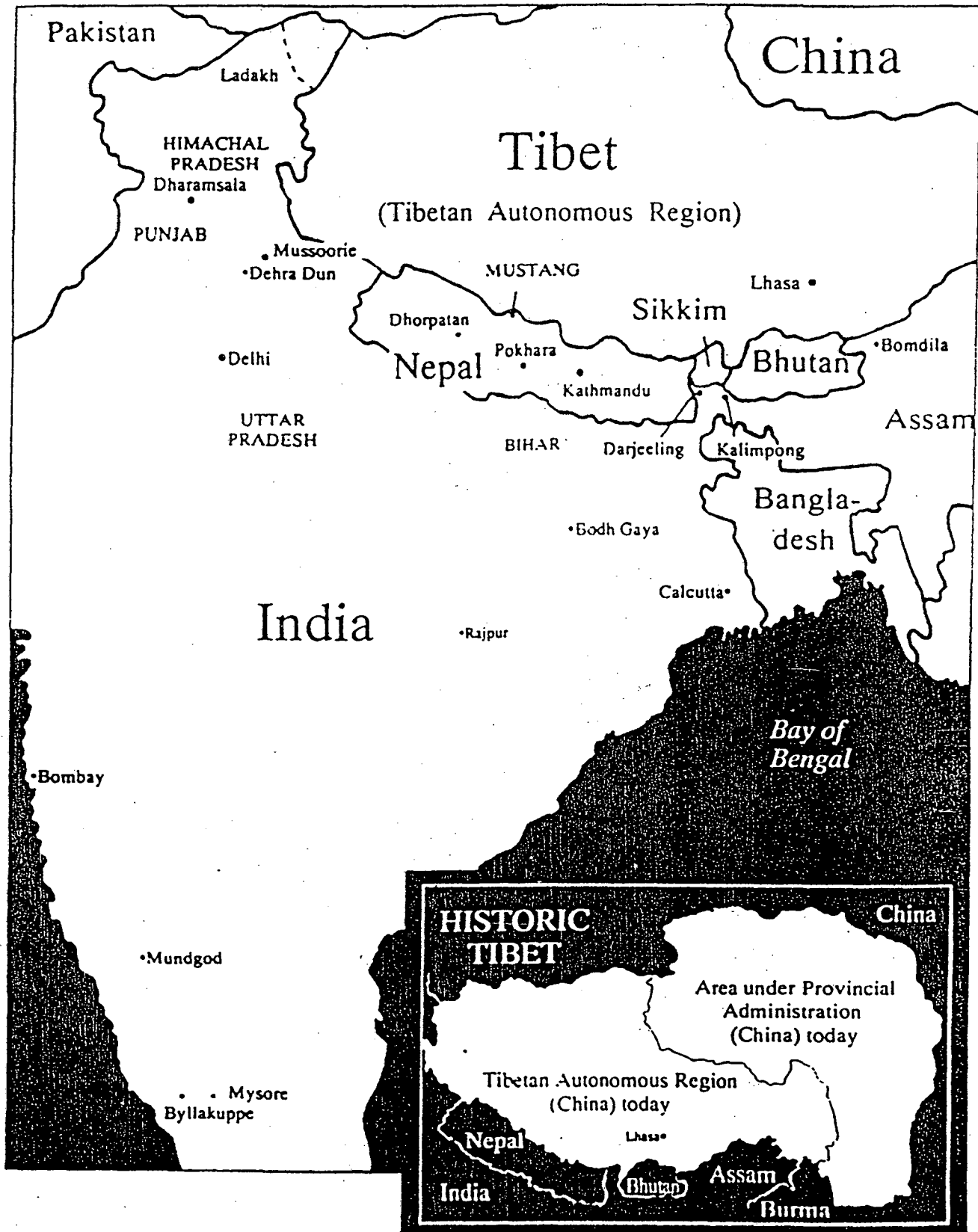
Muli



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BANGLADESH

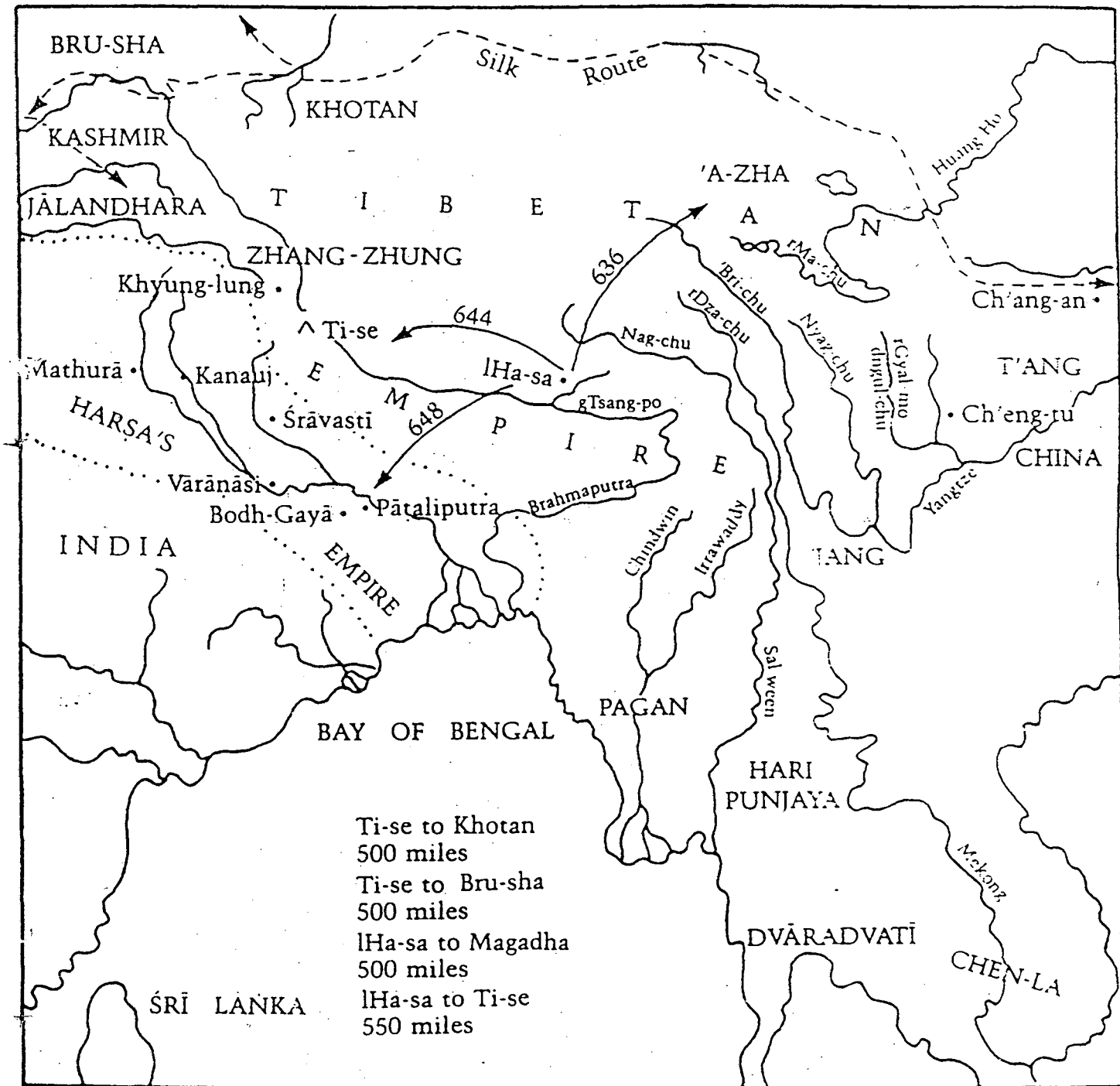




Bottom right: Tibetan Autonomous Region as defined by the Chinese government in relation to pre-1959 boundaries of Tibet; both regions are designated as part of China at present.
Above: Tibetan Autonomous Region in relation to surrounding states.

Source: Haimendorf, 1990, *The Renaissance of Tibetan Civilization*

TIBET'S NEW INFLUENCE IN ASIA



APPENDIX 2

Summary of the the Four collections of Nectar Treasures of Medical Science "gSorig bdud rtsi sman rgyrd `bum bzhi"

1. Blue Sky of Myriad Mind (Six chapters)
 1. Basic discussion of history: How the Tonpa Shenrab transmitted his knowledge to son Cyebu Trishi and description of its lineage teaching
 2. Cause of discussion
 3. Basics of disease - Simile of the "Tree of Health and Disease"
 4. Examination of disease - symptoms
 5. Treatment
 6. Recapitulation of the above

2. White Myriad of Curing Medicine (Thirty-one chapters)
 1. Summarized explanation of medicine
 2. Embryology
 3. Anatomy (in similes)
 4. Physiology
 5. Characterization of the body
 6. Types of the body and their functioning
 7. Signs of approaching death
 8. The seeds (cause) of disease
 9. Accessory causes of disease
 10. Ways of entrance of disease
 11. symptoms, character of disease
 12. Classification of diseases
 13. Everyday conduct
 14. Conduct during the seasons
 15. Occasional and general conduct, avoidance of obstructing natural impulses
 16. Food and drink
 17. Dietary rules, harmful combinations of food
 18. Right quantities of food and drink
 19. Taste and digestive qualities of medicines, preparing medicine
 20. Materia medica
 21. Pharmacology, specification
 22. Surgical instruments
 23. Health rules
 24. Diagnosis of humoral diseases
 25. Vicious mental inclinations as causes of diseases

26. Doctor, nurse and patient
27. General rules of healing
28. How to begin the treatment of particular diseases
29. How to improve and maintain good health, fasts and diets
30. Humoral pathology and treatment
31. Required qualities and duties of a doctor

3. Multicolored Myriad of Dignosis and methods of Healing (Ninety-four chapters)

1. Introduction - manner of curing diseases
2. Diseases of air
3. Diseases of bile
4. Diseases of phlegm
5. Integration of air, bile, and phlegm
6. Indigestion
7. Abdominal tumor
8. First stage of dropsy
9. Second stage of dropsy
10. Full dropsy
11. Tuberculosis
12. General fever
13. Causes of heat in fever
14. Causes of cold in fever
15. Unripened fever
16. Fully mature fever
17. Empty or latent fever
18. Hidden fever
19. Chronic fever
20. Mixed fever
21. Spreading fever
22. Disturbed fever
23. Infectious fever, diseases, and epidemics
24. Small pox
25. Colic
26. Scarlet fever, throat swellings and ulcers
27. Catarrh
28. Head diseases
29. Eye diseases
30. Ear diseases
31. Nose diseases
32. Mouth diseases
33. Goiter and throat diseases
34. Heart diseases
35. Lung diseases
36. Liver diseases
37. Spleen diseases

38. Kidney diseases
39. Stomach diseases
40. Small intestine diseases
41. Large intestine diseases
42. Male genital diseases
43. Female genital diseases
44. Hoarseness
45. Anorexia
46. Thirst
47. Hiccough
48. Asthma
49. Acute abdominal pains
50. Worm diseases
51. Vomiting
52. Diarrhea
53. Constipation
54. Urinary retention
55. Frequent urination
56. Dysentery (called "Indian heat sickness")
57. Gout
58. Rheumatism
59. Jaundice
60. Paralysis, "the white vein"
61. Skin disorders
62. Minor diseases
63. Congenital adenopathy
64. Piles
65. Ringworm
66. Cancerous sores
67. Tumors
68. Swelling of the testicles
69. Elephantiasis
70. Rectal abscess
71. Midwifery, infant diseases
72. Childhood diseases
73. Fifteen evil spirits causing nervous disease in children
74. Gynaecology
75. Special gynaecology
76. Common female problems
77. Insanity through possession by elemental spirits
78. Spirits causing madness
79. Limb diseases
80. Planetary demons causing epilepsy and paralysis
81. Purposely compounded poisons
82. General wounds, injuries
83. Head wounds

84. Neck injuries wounds
85. Abdominal wounds
86. Spirits causing loss of memory
87. Serpent - spirits causing leprosy and emaciation of the body in chronic mental
88. Food poisoning
89. Plant, animal and mineral poisons
90. Rejuvenation treatment for the aged, senile and feebleness
91. Treatment for impotence, support for the senile person
92. Treatment for infertility, strengthening the aged organism
93. Delivery, Maternity care
94. Conclusion

4. Black Myriad of Illnesses to be Cured (Thirty chapters)

1. Discussion
2. Pulse examination
3. Urine examination
4. Decoction (herbal teas) - 77 kinds
5. Powdered medicines - 165 kinds
6. Pills - 22 kinds
7. Condensed paste medicines with sweetener - 20 kinds
8. Medicinal butter - 23 kinds
9. Ashes of metals as medicines - 13 kinds
10. Condensed decoctions, syrup - 17 kinds
11. Medicinal liquids or wines - 19 kinds
12. Precious medicines from jewels and metals - 20 kinds
13. Herbal medicines - 28 for heat, 14 for cold, 416 altogether mentioned
14. Treatment by oil taken orally for purging
15. Purgation - 82 kinds of medicine
16. Therapeutic vomiting, emetics
17. Nose cleaning medicines - 16 kinds
18. Use of instrument to insert medicine in colon
19. Enemas of extracted juices
20. "Washing nerves," elixirs for cleansing the channels, use of golden needle
21. Bloodletting for the hot diseases - 77 veins
22. Moxibustion - for cold diseases
23. Applying hot and cold compresses at pain sights, use of venomous mixtures
24. Medicinal baths
25. Massage by Tsampa and medicinal ointments
26. "Spoon"- method of extracting accumulation of fluid between heart and pericardium, medicines operating downwards, surgical treatments
27. Treatment for infectious disease
28. Seasonal care and treatment
29. General Treatment :Classification and moral application of the above 404 diseases
30. Conclusion: Condensing the 1,200 ways of examining diseases into three ways.

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