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The ‘Bon’ *dBal-mo Nyer-bdun* (*brgyad*) and the Buddhist *dBang-phyug-ma Nyer-brgyad*: A brief comparison

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**Introduction**

In Fall 1998, in sMan-ri dgon-pa (Dolanji, HP, India), I happened to discuss some of my work on the *Kar gling zhi khro* (the peaceful and wrathful deities according to Karma gling-pa) with the abbot and throne-holder of sMan-ri, the sMan-ri khri-'dzin Lung-rtogs bstan-pa'i nyi-ma Rin-po-che. We reviewed a ‘Bon’ and a Buddhist *bar do thos grol zhi-khro mandala* that I had briefly compared for my research and as I was pointing out the general correspondences in the larger groups of deities the abbot seemed to show an increasing interest in the historical relations between the two sets of *mandalas*, ‘Bon’ and Buddhist. The general correspondence as such is quite conspicuous indeed, yet the exact historical relations are less clear, at times even quite intriguing. Compare, for instance the deities/groups from a ‘Bon’ *Bar do thos grol* text, the sNyan *brgyud bar do thos grol gsal sgron chen mo*2, with those from a Buddhist *Bar do thos grol* source, the *Chos nyid bar do’i gsal ’debs thos grol chen mo*:

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<tr>
<td>Kun-tu bzang-po and</td>
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<td>bDe-bar-gshegs rigs-lnga</td>
<td>rGyal-ba’i rigs-lnga and their consorts:</td>
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<td>bDe-gshegs yum lnga</td>
<td>’Byung-ba’i yum-chen lnga</td>
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<td>Ye-gshen sens-dpa’ brgyad</td>
<td>Byang-chub sens-dpa’ chen-po brgyad and</td>
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<td>their consorts:</td>
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<td>Ye-sangs lcam brgyad</td>
<td>Byang-chub sens-ma brgyad</td>
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<td>Ye-shes sgo bzhi</td>
<td>sGo-ba bzhi and their consorts:</td>
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<td>Dus-bzhi rgyal-mo bzhi</td>
<td>sGo-ma bzhi</td>
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<td>’Dul-ba gshen-rab drug</td>
<td>sPrul-pa’i thub-pa drug</td>
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<td>Ye-shes khro-bo yab lnga</td>
<td>He-ru-ka lnga and their consorts:</td>
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<td>Yum-chen khro-mo lnga</td>
<td>Krodheshvaris</td>
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?Ha-la Khro-bo brgyad and consorts:
Yum-chen khro-mo brgyad - ?Kau’u-ri/ Ke’u-ri ma-mo brgyad and Phra-
men brgyad

sGo-ba yab-yum brgyad:
Ngam-chen khro-bo bzhi and consorts:
Dus-bzhi rgyal-mo bzhi - sGo-skyong khro-mo bzhi or sGo-ma bzhi

dBal-mo nyi-shu rtsa-’brgyad - dBang-phyug-ma nyi-shu rtsa-brgyad
(Gyad-chen bcu, dMag-dpon bcu
and rGyal-chen sde-bzhi)

The Buddhist Rig-'dzin are not included in the ‘Bon’ bar do thos grol zhi-khro
mandala, as we can also note for earlier Buddhist presentations of a zhi-khro
mandala (cf. Blezer (1997: 39-66)).

Even when casting a cursory glance at the groups of deities in the Buddhist
mandala the rGyal-ba’i rigs-lnga, Byang-chub sms-dpa’ chen-po brgyad, sGo-ba
bzhi, sPrul-pa’i thub-pa drug, and He-ru-ka lnga, it is abundantly clear that they
most probably will not pose too much of a challenge to determining the history and
nature of their antecedents or even their relation to the ‘Bon’ equivalents, for that
matter. Yet I hasten to admit that I am far from suggesting that the matter would be
settled and not stand in need of further study. Most of these seemingly
straightforward relations might still be problematic to disentangle and do, in fact,
still await proper analysis.

A closer examination of the tantric (Buddhist and Hindu) origins of the
wrathful deities, at the present stage of knowledge, obviously promises more
interesting and revealing results than tracing the ‘history’ of the peaceful
Vajradhātu maṇḍala. The sGo-skyong khro-mo bzhi and especially the Kau’u-ri/
Ke’u-ri ma-mo brgyad and yul-gyi Phra-men brgyad, seem somewhat more
difficult to match and contextualise (than the He-ru-kas etc.). At the same time, the
Hindu (tantric) origins for the Kau’u-ri/ Ke’u-ri ma-mo brgyad are, considering
the designation for their class and their individual names, not so very difficult to
sheds some stroboscopic historical light on the Indian antecedents of these deities.
Nevertheless, more work still needs to be done here as well. The dBang-phyug-ma
nyer-brgyad, though not as clearly identifiable as a group, considering their names,
equally suggest Hindu (tantric) origins.

It was at this point in my so far still very general comparison that the abbot
suggested an inquiry into the origins and especially the exact relation with regard
to two analogous groups of deities, the ‘Bon’ dBal-mo nyer-bdun(brgyad) and the
Buddhist dBang-phyug-ma nyer-brgyad. Considering the above brief assessment of
the situation concerning the sub-maṇḍalas, this quest indeed promises interesting
results.
1. Larger Context

The larger context of this excursion into the dBal-mo and dBang-phyug-ma deities is the similarities in the basic structure of descriptions of supposed visionary experiences of the well-known triad of sound, light and coloured rays (sgra 'od zer gsum), spheres of light, mandalas, and deities, as apparent in both the descriptions of a Buddhist chos nyid bar do and a ‘Bon’ (bon nyid) 'od gsal gyi bar do and descriptions contained in Buddhist and ‘Bon' rDzogs-chen cosmogonical and theogonical material). At sMan-ri dgon-pa, I had the opportunity to gather a number of relevant ‘Bon’ cosmogonical texts. Of central importance is, of course, the Srid pa'i mdzod phug, 101 in ‘Bon’ abhidharma, but in addition its commentaries and other cosmogonical traditions also need to be studied.

In the context of an intermediate state, or, to be more precise, of the intermediate state of the clear light (of reality as it is), (bon nyid) 'od gsal gyi bar do, the dBal-mo nyer-bdun of the bar do thos grol zhi-khro mandala in the (early sNyan rgyud) ‘Bon’ Bar do thos grol are said to appear from the triad of sound, light and (coloured) rays.

In a cosmogonical or theogonical context the arising of deities, often involving light and coloured rays in the earlier stages, is described in a similar manner. By way of illustration I should like to refer to the Srid pa'i mdzod phug and one of its commentaries here. In the mDzod phug we find a brief cosmogonical theogonical account of the formation and hatching of two eggs, a white and a black one). This account is elaborated in the mDzod sgra 'grel. Here the eggs are identified as a light-egg and a darkness-egg5). In the root-text the white egg is said to be pierced by light and (coloured) rays6). The commentary again elaborates further, it includes a description of the arising of 360 'thor gsas (deities) from the scattering ('thor ba) of the clear light ('od gsal) in the empty sky (nam mkha')7). It also describes the arising of the mDa'-gsas (deities) etc. from the (coloured) rays that spread downward, deities appearing from other parts of the egg, and the hatching of the darkness-egg8). Please note that the explicit and elaborated light-imagery only appears in the mDzod sgra 'grel, it apparently does not belong to the earliest layers of the Srid pa'i mdzod phug-tradition. I shall discuss this more in detail elsewhere.

Now, the dBal-mos are, as many of you will know, also described as originating from eggs9), some of the latter (i.e., the eggs of the gZe-ma and Gyad-mo dgu) are moreover said to break through special sounds10).

To facilitate this academic excursion, the sMan-ri khri-'dzin kindly assigned me one of his best dGe-bshes, dGe-bshes Shes-rab grags-pa, a learned young monk hailing from sNang-zhig Monastery (rNga-ba area, A-mdo). In spite of his busy teaching schedule Shes-rab grags-pa kindly assisted me for many hours a day during the larger part of my three-month stay at sMan-ri dgon-pa. He sorted out relevant passages from the abundance of ‘Bon’ material that discusses or describes
(parts of) the dBal-mo nyi-shu rtsa-bdun/brgyad, the twenty-seven dBal-mos (twenty-eight if their mistress Srid-pa’i rgyal-mo is included), and other dBal deities. Under his learned guidance a concise thirty-three-page-long Tibetan compendium saw the light of day, outlining dBal-mo deities, their attributes and other associated categories. This brief and thor bu compilation groups together relevant passages on the dBal-mos from various texts, carefully selected from all walks of ‘Bon’ literature. The most important data for each group of deities are arranged in the form of tables, at the end of each section. For the ease of reference I have converted this useful short anthology to Wylie transliteration and included it as an appendix.

In the following I shall attempt a brief comparison of the dBal-mo nyer-bdun with their corresponding group of Buddhist wrathful deities, the twenty-eight powerful yoginis, the dBang-phyug-ma nyi-shu rtsa-brgyad. According to Buddhist Bar do thos grol texts the dBang-phyug-ma are said to appear in a similar manner as visionary experiences in (the Buddhist equivalent of) an intermediate state of reality as it is. For the dBang-phyug-ma nyi-shu rtsa-brgyad I shall mainly rely on the iconographic data available in editions of the Chos nyid bar do’i gsal ’debs thos grol chen mo, contained in the Buddhist Bar do thos grol chen mo-cycles (these cycles of texts can also be included in larger cycles, generally styled Kar gling zhi khro and Zhi khro dgongs pa rang grol; see bibliography). For a description of the dBal-mo nyer-bdun as a group of twenty-seven deities in a larger zhi-khro maṇḍala I shall turn to the editions of the ‘Bon’ Bar do thos grol (see bibliography).

I need to stress here that the topic of dBal-mos and dBang-phyug-mas is an extremely involved one. If one plans to do justice to these, at least in ‘Bon’ traditions, important deities, the topic will prove to be vast and provide enough work for a major research-project. Moreover, we should not assume that all material regarding the dBal-mos is consistent. It would be hazardous, I think, to generalise on the basis of the limited material consulted so far. An exhaustive documentation of the perceived variance would be a first desideratum for a more thorough study. Thus, my present paper can be no more than an exploratory excursion that treads only as far as serves the purposes of the current context of research, which I briefly introduced above. I am far from able to exhaust the abundance of information available. I also cannot trace the earliest origins for all the names and deities mentioned. Nevertheless, I strongly feel that it is good to address the topic in such a cursory manner at this point in my research, perhaps to be revisited later.

2. Prolegomena

Allow me to submit some introductory considerations regarding these sub-
maṇḍalas of (groups of) female deities. Some of the points submitted here are
digests of ideas formulated by other scholars and received wisdom (as indicated), some are preliminary working hypotheses posited to help focusing this article. I will revisit some of these points later.

I My first observation is fairly basic: the dBal-mos are female deities. However obvious this may seem, it is a point that could easily be overlooked but that, to my perception, should not go unnoticed. The fierce and warlike associations of the dBal-mo nyer-bdun are also very much apparent when reading the descriptions of these deities. The gZe-ma dgu and Gyad-mo dgu in particular appear as tamed warrior deities (i.e., possibly converted by sTon-pa gShen-rab, see the discussion of these deities below), now ‘piously’ engaged in destroying enemies. Some of the members of the dBal as a larger group, like, for instance, the dMag-apon bcu, are explicitly associated with spreading disease, pestilence and other misfortune. This wrathful, bellicose character and the often grim and gruesome associations of the deities as they are here projected on an unambiguously female form should alert us. It might be indicative of a form of discourse that splits up the identity of ‘the female’ into separately embodied mild positive aspects subservient to male super structures (mother, consort, saviouress, etc.) and negative disruptive aspects (old hag, whore, witch, etc.), the latter accrue the dark elements that are generally considered to pose a threat to a world-view that is ordered in accordance with a male-centred sexual polarity/ complementarity; Herrmann-Pfandt recently developed this argument12).

As a second point I should like to submit that the Buddhist dBang-phyug-mas, as wrathful yoginis, at first sight, that is, already considering their names alone, seem to suggest Indian (i.e., earlier Buddhist tantric and eventually Hindu) origins, whereas the aQbat-mos rather seem to suggest so-called ‘indigenous Tibetan’, or should I say, non-South Asian origins, for that seems to be the most precise purport implied in that nomer.

The closest Tibetan Buddhist relatives for the groups of (nine) dBal-mos seem to be the various groups of Ma-mos13). The Ma-mos are usually associated with dPal-lidan lha-mo (cf. Šrīdevī, a form of Durgā), Rematī or Ekajāti in a position comparable to that of Srid-pa’i rgyal-mo vis-à-vis the dBal-mos. The Ma-mos, as groups, apparently formed after the model(s) of groups of Indian (derivative) ‘Buddhist’ and Hindu Mātaras/Mātrkās. At present – time for an independent and more thorough investigation of the matter lacking – I feel inclined to agree with Neumaier’s (1966: 19-32) preliminary conclusion that there is reason to believe that the individual Ma-mos, generally, as they appear in groups (remotely reminiscent of the dBal-mos, see below), unlike their leader dPal-lidan lha-mo, might again refer back to these so-called ‘indigenous Tibetan deities’ rather than to Indian ones. Like the dBal-mos, the Ma-mos are (now also often
physically) dark and ugly figurines, frequently associated with combat and disease and, at times, associated with similar attributes and vehicles. See, for instance, the twelve Ma-mos in the retinue of Yama or the twelve animal-headed mThu-chen ma-mo bcu-gnyis, see also the sisterhood of nine Ma-mos, the Ma-mo mched-dgu, or the animal headed Ma-mos, the (1)Ce-spyang-ma brgyad (for the animal headed varieties compare especially the gZe-ma dgu and Gyad-mo dgu).

IV

As I already indicated above, as far as their names go the dBang-phyug-mas like the Kau'u ril Ke'u ri ma mo brgyad also suggest to be traceable to Hindu deities, via, amongst others, older Buddhist zhi-khro maṇḍalas. See Kimiaki Tanaka (1992: 276) for earlier zhi-khro maṇḍalas in the Sarvatathāgatagātattvasaṃgraha and the Sarvabuddhasamāyoga. For a listing of an earlier Buddhist example of the dBang-phyug-mas see the Trilokaviyamahāmaṇḍalavidhivistara section of the Sarvatathāgatagātattvasaṃgraha. Here we find five groups of in total twenty-one yoginis, one group of five and four groups of four deities. I shall not present details here, suffice to say that even though the number and the individual names of the deities only partially match, the sub-maṇḍala of wrathful yoginis as such, obviously, is nevertheless already present here, with the context of conversion still being tangible. According to Nakamura (1980: 323-324) the text is said to have been composed or at least completed by a Nāgabodhi from South India, somewhere between 680 and 690 AD. Unfortunately it is not possible to elaborate on this and ilk antecedents here.

At the moment I am not aware of any work (published or done) on corresponding sub-maṇḍalas in Hindu tantric systems, I am not even sure if sufficiently close matches of such composite larger groups of wrathful yoginis in a similar position in a zhi-khro maṇḍala are at all extant in these traditions. Anyway, evidence for earlier antecedents in Buddhist maṇḍalas already suffices to support the points to be forwarded in this article regarding the dBang-phyug-mas and dBal-mos. However, especially considering the frequent occurrence of names of well-known consorts of Hindu deities among the dBang-phyug-mas, links to groups of Mātāras and Mātrkās do seem to present themselves quite naturally. Cf. the names of several groups of dBang-phyug-mas, e.g., Rākṣasī, Brāhmaṇī, Mahādevī, Vaiśnavī, Kumārī, Indrāṇī, or, for that matter, Vāyudēvi, Nārī, Vārāhī, Vajrī, Mahānāśā, Varuṇī. Many of these names are clearly reminiscent of purānic arrangements of seven, eight or more mātrkās. Compare, for instance, a listing in Monier Monier Williams' Sanskrit dictionary Brāhmaṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiśnavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Aindrīl, Māheṇdrī, Cāmunḍā.
V

Connected to the above point is my fifth preliminary observation. To my knowledge the **dBang-phug-mas** do not figure very prominently as a group, as sub-groups, or as individual deities in Buddhist literature. They do not seem to have their own specific contexts of reference beyond the **mandalas** they appear in. I am also not aware of any more (or less) extensive accounts regarding their origins in Buddhist traditions. They merely seem to be inherited as a part of the various **zhi-khro mandalas** from earlier Buddhist mandalas and ultimately from deities defined earlier in Hindu traditions and sources. They do not seem to figure very prominently outside that domain. The **dBal-mos**, however, do partake in a ‘genre’ of origin myths paralleled in many ‘Bon’ cosmo-gonical/theogonical expositions and are discussed, referenced and embedded in an extensive literature, both as a whole and as separate groups. Judging by all appearances they seem to have their centre of gravity outside the group of twenty-seven Las-mkhangs as they are described in ‘Bon’ **bar do thos grol zhi-khro mandalas**. The three groups of deities of which the **clBat-mo nyer-bdun** consist (the nine gZe-mas, the nine Gyad-mos, and especially the nine Byin-tes) at least seem to present more or less distinct groups or classes of deities, quite in contrast to the rather artificial and arbitrary four/five groups of dBang-phug-mas which hardly distinguish themselves from each other as sub-groups.

VI

As a sixth observation I should like to point to the numerical composition of the deities. The number twenty-four/eight in the configuration of the **dBang-phug-mas** immediately suggests two connections. First there is the less obvious connection of the twenty-four (powerful) yoginis (that is, without their four leaders) to twenty-four **pithas**, (sacred places located in different regions) or, also, places on the body. Secondly there seems to be a more obvious connection to astrology, reminding one of the twenty-eight lunar mansions (naksatras), or the twenty-eight days or four weeks of the lunar month (as referred to in popular usage).

As one can gather from the tables below, the dBang-phug-mas indeed split up into four groups of six (according to the four directions of the compass), together with its four leaders (one for each group) we arrive at four groups of seven and the total number of twenty-eight. The arrangement into four groups in the Buddhist mandala is obviously dictated by convenience, that is to say, the structure of the mandala: the deities are arranged according to the four cardinal points. The dBal-mos, on the other hand, split up into three groups of nine, the gZe-ma dgu, Gyad-mo dgu, and the Byin-te dgu, altogether twenty-seven deities, together with Srid-pa’i rgyal-mo, their leader, also totalling twenty-eight. Trying to fit them into a fourfold mandala structure would be like trying to square the triangle. In the mandala they are divided into nine sets of three,
each set featuring one from each sub-group of nine deities, thus clearly suggesting other numerical associations²⁹).

VII Lastly, when discussing these two sub-\textit{mandalas} of deities, it seems to be advisable to treat them as (sub-)groups rather than to discuss them individually. I have no doubt that many of the \textit{dBang-phyug-mas} may be traced to Hindu divinities (at times probably ultimately to obscure \textit{grâmadevatās} – another desideratum for future research), or that the groups of \textit{dBal-mos} will, ultimately, derive from or have equivalents in, again, these ‘indigenous Tibetan deities’. Yet, tracing such antecedents, at the present state of knowledge, would not only be an extremely labour-intensive task (probably the more so because untimely) but first of all it also does not seem to serve any purpose in the present context. The deities seem to have lost their individuality long ago in their group-identity. I therefore argue that we may content ourselves here treating them as collectives.

3. \textit{dNgos gzioni}

3.1 \textbf{Deities Listed}²⁰)

3.1.1 \textit{dBang-phyug-ma nyer-bgyad}²¹)

\begin{verbatim}
shar nas
srin-mo smug-nag g-yag-mgo-ma lag na rdo rje thogs pa
tshangs-pa dmar-ser sbrul-mgo-ma lag na padma 'dzin pa
lha-chen ljang-nag gzig-mgo-ma lag na tri shū la thogs pa
gtogs-'dod sngon-mo sri-mong-mgo phyag na 'khor lo 'dzin pa
gzhon-nu dmar-mo dred-mgo-ma lag na mdung thung 'dzin pa
brgya-byin dkar-mo dom-mgo-ma lag na rgyu zhags thogs pa

lho nas
rdo-rje ser-mo phag-mgo-ma lag na sбу gri (spu gri) thogs pa
zhī-ba dmar-mo chu-srin-mgo lag na bun pa thogs pa
bdud-rtsi dmar-mo sdig-pa'i mgo lag na padma thogs pa
zla-ba dkar-mo khra'i mgo lag na rdo rje thogs pa
be-con ljang-nag wa'i mgo lag na dbyug to (dbyug tho) phyar ba
srin-mo ser-nag stag-gi mgo lag na thod khrag thogs pa

nub nas
za-ba ljang-nag bya-rgod-mgo lag na be con thogs pa
dga'-ba dmar-mo rta'i mgo lag na khog chen thogs pa
stobs-chen dkar-mo khyung-gi mgo lag na dbyug to (dbyug tho) thogs pa
srin-mo dmar-mo khyi'i mgo lag na rdo rje sбу gris (spu gris) gcod pa
'dod-pa dmar-po pu-shud-mgo lag na mda' gzhu 'gengs pa
\end{verbatim}
nor-srung dmar-ljang sha-ba'i mgo lag na bum pa 'dzin pa

byang nas
rlung-lha sngon-mo sbyang-gi'i (spyang ki'i) mgo lag na ba dan phyar ba
mi-mo dmar-mo skyin-gyi mgo lag na gsal shing 'dzin pa
phag-mo nag-mo phag-gi mgo lag na mche zhags bsnams pa
rdo-rje dmar-mo khwa-ta'i mgo lag na zhing chung 'dzin pa
sna-chen ljang-nag glang-chen-mgo lag na bam chen thogs shing zong
khrag 'thung ba
chu-lha sngon-mo sbrul-gyi mgo lag na sbrul zhags bsnams pa

Four Leaders
shar nas rdo-rje dkar-mo khu-byug-gi mgo-can lag na lcags kyu 'dzin pa
lho nas rdo-rje ser-mo ra-mgo-ma lag na zhags pa 'dzin pa
nub nas rdo-rje dmar-mo seng-mgo-ma lag na lcags sgros 'dzin pa
byang nas rdo-rje ljang-nag sbrul-mgo-ma lag na dril bu 'dzin pa

3.1.2 dba'-mo nyer-bdun

skad kyi gdang gi thig le'i 'od klong gi gzha' 'od kha sgrom ngar gyi gsas
mkhar na
gze ma 1: las-mkhan sngon-mo 'brug-mgos chu srin lag pa g-yob
gyad mo 1: las-mkhan dmar-ser 'brong-mgos ru skyogs 'dzin
byin te 1: las-mkhan bud-med dkar-mos ba dan 'phyar

ljags kyi ngaong gong thig le'i 'od klong gi gzha' 'od rlung nag 'tshub ma'i gsas
mkhar na
gze ma 2: las-mkhan ljang-nag sbrul-mgos khyung gshog 'phyar
gyad mo 2: las-mkhan dkar-mo rgod-mgos ru mtshon 'phyar
byin te 2: las-mkhan sa-srin nag-mos sbrul zhags 'debs

stag pa'i bdud sgo thig le'i 'od klong gi gzha' 'od ri nag 'joms pa'i gsas mkhar na
gze ma 3: las-mkhan nag-mo skyung-mgos zangs spar gdengs
gyad mo 3: las-mkhan nag-mo dom-mgos sbrul zhags 'debs
byin te 3: las-mkhan nag-mo gdong-dgus bdud mda' 'phen

sku stod gding tshigs thig le'i 'od klong du 'ja' 'od ri rgyal lhun po'i gsas mkhar na
gze ma 4: las-mkhan dkar-mo seng-mgos mtshal zhags sdog
gyad mo 4: las-mkhan ser-mo glang-mgos sgyogs rdo 'phen
byin te 4: las-mkhan bud-med smug-mos gru gu sdog

thugs kyi dkyil rtsa thig le'i 'od klong du gzha' 'od gnam sgo can gyi gsas
mkhar du

H. Blezer

32 Deities Discussed
32.1 More Deities

Having set the scene with a brief background and larger context for this comparative exercise, some preliminary considerations and working-hypotheses, and having listed the deities, I should now like to develop some further ideas regarding the precise relation between the twenty-seven sGsal-tshigs and dBang-phyug-mas. Considering what has been forwarded in the above seven-point prolegomenon, which, as said, is largely a reasoned digest of received wisdom regarding the matter, the focus in our comparison obviously should not be whether individual deities from one sub-mandala derive from the other, or, for that matter, whether the sub-mandala or its composing groups as a whole are imported, but I indeed suggest that we should rather focus on the question whether the groups of deities are formed in analogy — compare what Neumaier posits regarding the
formation of some of the groups of Ma-mos in analogy to Indian prototype-groups of Mātāras and Mātrkās. That is to say, in this comparison we will have to concentrate on similarities in the formation of the group as such, the general character of the (sub-groups of) deities, perhaps the numerical composition, position in the mandala, and the like, rather than on detailed correspondences in iconography, or even borrowing, of the individual deities. In as far as the sub-mandalas as such would have formed in analogy there might still be a temporal precedence of one tradition over the other. Since (the origins of) the Buddhist dBang-phyug-mas seem less obscure (that is not to say unproblematic) than (the origins of) the dBal-mos, I shall mainly adduce ‘Bon’ material here and try to elucidate some of the background of the latter.

I do not think it would be helpful to illustrate the lack of iconographical correspondence of the individual deities by juxtaposing them in tables, a brief look at the lists of the Bar do thos grol Las-mkhans or the tables for the gZe-ma dgu, Gyad-mo dgu, and Byin-te dgu (below) and dBang-phyug-mas (above) will serve to bring this point home, if not eloquently, at least clearly and, to my perception, convincingly. But I shall not completely bypass a more detailed comparison, for, some curious iconographic convergence does, at times, seem to exist.

For instance, when we compare the dBal-mos, no, not to the dBang-phyug-mas, but to a sisterhood of eight animal headed Ma-mos, styled bKa’-srung-ma, that is, the (l)Ce-spyang-ma brgyad, some general affinity does seem to emerge. The (l)Ce-spyang-ma brgyad are described in a rNyin-ma-pa-text, the bKa’ brgyad kyi mngon par dregs pa’i dbu phyogs. The animal heads could, perhaps, suggest a connection with the gZe-ma dgu or Gyad-mo dgu. However, by itself this does not strike me as a very convincing connection, animal headed deities are extremely common after all. Yet there is a rather more remarkable, though also not very precise, correspondence to the Byin-te dgu, even though the Byin-tes, in fact, do not have animal heads. Each of the eight (l)Ce-spyang-mas holds a drum (rnga) made out of a specific material. Most of these materials and (of course) the associated colours correspond fairly well to materials the nine last eggs (srid pa’i sgo nga tha ma dgu) are made of. As you may remember, according to the Khro bo dbang chen the Byin-te dgu came forth from these last eggs. I readily concede that the correspondence is not anywhere near compelling, actually, that is not the point I am trying to make here anyway. I should think that there is nonetheless a rather striking element of structural convergence, especially if one would also take into consideration the further evidence presented below; in any case, this example might serve to show the level of correspondence that we, to my assessment, may have to be prepared to look for when attempting our comparison.

Allow me to briefly point out the resemblance in table-format. First the (l)Ce-spyang-ma brgyad, their colours and the material of their drums are listed; then the Byin-te dgu (preceded by a number indicating the original order of their appearance), their colour and the description of the egg they emerged from are recorded, those Byin-tes without a satisfactory match amongst the (l)Ce-spyang-ma
brgyad are appended at the bottom of the table according to the order of their appearance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(l)Ce-spyang-ma brgyad</th>
<th>color</th>
<th>material drum</th>
<th>Byin-te dgu</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>colour female</th>
<th>material and color egg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ma-mo seng-ge yi mgo-can</td>
<td>dkar mo</td>
<td>shel gser</td>
<td>gNyan-gyi byin-te chen-mo</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>dkar mo</td>
<td>shel gyi sgon gser mo dkar mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-mo stag-gi mgo-can</td>
<td>ser mo</td>
<td>gser lcags</td>
<td>Sa yi byin-te chen-mo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>nag mo</td>
<td>gser gyi sgon ser mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-mo dom-gyi mgo-can</td>
<td>nag mo</td>
<td>lcags</td>
<td>bDud-kyi byin-te chen-mo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>nag mo</td>
<td>lcags kyi sgon nag mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-mo gzig-gi mgo-can</td>
<td>dmar byi ru</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-mo spyang-mo'i mgo-can</td>
<td>sngon mo</td>
<td>g-yu</td>
<td>Klu-gi byin-te chen-mo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>sngon mo</td>
<td>gyu'i sgon sngon mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-mo kam-ka'i mgo-can</td>
<td>gse</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-mo dur-bya'i mgo-can</td>
<td>khrag gsgang ba</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-mo dred-kyi mgo-can</td>
<td>dmar zangs</td>
<td>Srin-gyi byin-te chen-mo</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>dmar mo</td>
<td>zangs kyi sgon dmar mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gNam-gyi Byin-te chen-mo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>dkar mo</td>
<td>dmar mo</td>
<td>dkar mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dMu yi byin-te chen-mo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>smug mo</td>
<td>mchong gi sgon smug mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Phya yi byin-te chen-mo</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>ljang nga</td>
<td>rin po che'i sgo nga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bGegs-kyi byin-te chen-mo</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>dmar nag</td>
<td>rdo sgon gro mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overlap is, indeed, obviously too narrow to be indicative of a clear or intimate relationship between the Byin-te dgu and the (l)Ce-spyang-ma brgyad. Yet I should like to submit that the generic point of kinship between the dBal-mos and the Ma-mos, which has been suggested in the third prolegomenon above, seems to receive support from this conjunction.

I cannot resist comparing the above deities to the colours and materials associated with a series of she-wolf deities (spyang mo) mentioned in the same text:

dung-spyang dkar-mo ral pa can
gser-spyang ser-mo ral pa can
zangs-spyang dmar-mo ral pa can
g-yu-spyang ljang-khu ral pa can
mthing-spyang mthing-mo ral pa can
mu-yen spyang-mo ral pa can
mchong spyang-mo ral pa can
ra-gan-gyi spyang-mo ral pa can\textsuperscript{31)}

Still a little further down in the bKa' brgyad kyi mngon par dregs pa'i dbu phyogs a group of bitch-deities (khyi mo) is also described, a similar association with materials can be observed:

\begin{itemize}
  \item dung-gi khyi-mo
  \item gser-gi khyi-mo
  \item zangs-gi khyi-mo
  \item g-yu'i khyi-mo
  \item byi ru'i khyi-mo
  \item mchong-gi khyi-mo
  \item bse'i khyi-mo
  \item shel-gi khyi-mo\textsuperscript{32)}.
\end{itemize}

Although the schemes look familiar, the chances of any clear genetic relationship, in my humble opinion, again are rather remote. We seem to be uncovering a more generic similarity in patterns of description and maybe even unavoidable similarities in iconographical vocabulary here rather than a distinct genetic affiliation (how many (semi-)precious or otherwise special materials could such a Tibetan text list after all).

As I mentioned above, if we wish to look into the nature of the dBal-mo nyer-bdun, for our present purposes we mainly need to have a closer look at the three groups of dBal-mo deities of which that collective consists (i.e., the nine gZe-mas, the nine Gyad-mos, and the nine Byin-tes). They seem to profile themselves as more or less distinct groups. The gZe-ma dgu and Gyad-mo dgu appear as somewhat related, the Byin-te dgu, however, diverge considerably from the former in more than one respect. All this in stark contrast to the four groups of six/seven dBang-phyug-mas which, as we briefly indicated above, barely distinguish themselves from each other. Below I shall present some of the characteristics gathered from the appendix.

\begin{itemize}
  \item Deity
  \item gZe-ma dhgu
  \item Gyad-mo dhgu
  \item Byin-te dhgu/
  \item sPar-ma dhgu
  \begin{itemize}
    \item Text
    \item 1
    \item 2
    \item 3
    \item 4
    \item 11
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item 'jigs dbal
    \item 'dzin byed,
    \item ye shes
    \item mi bzad
    \item dbyings ye shes
    \item mi stobs dbal
    \item rdzu mi bzad stobs
    \item 'phrul dbal... stobs
    \item mkha' klong ...
    \item stobs chen
    \item las thabs kyi
    \item thang mo
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
The anthology of associations listed above may underscore the powerful and terrible character of these warrior deities. Even the names like dbal (point of a phur pa, blade), gze (quick, but apparently also: very fearsome and sharp), gyad (athlete, champion (wrestler)) seem to partake in this semantic field, not to mention other groups of dBal deities, for instance, the Gyad-chen bcu (freely: the ten great champions) and dMag-dpon bcu (the ten warlords), which will not be discussed here. Especially for the gZe-ma dgu and Gyad-mo dgu the fierce and warlike associations need not be elaborated, a quick glance at the material presented in the appendix will suffice. (Possibly) tamed by sTon-pa gShen-rab they are now rather invoked to wipe out unnamed ‘enemies’, oft in gruesome manner: tearing out their hearts, seizing their wandering souls (bla), other means of ‘persuasion’ are also indicated. The Byin-te dgu are described as human figurines. They are listed (and also named) in association with certain realms of deities and demons: those living in the heavens (gnam), those living on the earth (sa, the Sa-srin seem to be implied), the bDud, the dMu, the Klu, the gNyan, the Srin, the Phywa, and the bgegs. The overall description and mise en scène is much more developed and quite divergent from what we encountered in the other two groups of dBal-mo. The Byin-te dgu also seem to have more developed individual features and individual identity within their group than the gZe-ma dgu and Gyad-mo dgu. When ruminating these data I definitely regret no to be able to spend more time with these deities, their history and the back-ground of the conglomeration of all the various groups of deities that came to be regarded as dBal-mos, and now I am also thinking of the Gyad-chen bcu, dMag-dpon bcu, and rGyal-chen sde-bzhi. Some of these groups seem to suggest slight yet interesting dissimilarity and divergence in origins, as if they only got to be associated over time. One of the important aspects that seems to tie them and their leader Srid-pa’i rgyal-mo together is their fierce and warrior-like nature.

3.2.2 More Eggs

The theme of ‘the world’ or deities, demons, etc. hatching from eggs is very common in both ‘Bon’ cosmogonical or theogonical texts and in folk literature. Nevertheless, its precise origins still remain obscure. Globally, the theme seems to be most widely spread in equatorial regions, but it is not exclusively found there. In any case, it also occurs in cosmogonical myths of other, at times related, cultures. The theme is, for instance, attested to the east of Tibet among the Naxi, the ‘Tangut (Xixia) and the Chinese, to the north in North Asia; to the south in India, Nepal etc.; but it also occurs also in more remote areas, such as Indonesia (e.g. Java), South America (e.g. Peru), Japan, ancient Greece, Scandinavia (e.g. Finland), Africa (e.g. Mali, West Africa), Egypt, and in numerous other areas as well. Though they are related, it might still be wise to distinguish, at least, between the cosmic egg, describing the origin of the cosmos

...
from a primeval egg, and the birth of deities, demons, humans, etc. from eggs⁵³. It seems safe to assume that the mythologeme of evolution from eggs must have been around in the Tibetan cultural area from at least before the twelfth century, for, as Karmay reports, it is already commented upon by Tibetan authors of that century, to wit, by Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer (1136-1204), referring to a non-Buddhist/ heretic (mu stegs pa) who supposedly brought it from sTag-gzig⁵⁴, and by dBon-po Shes-rab 'byung-gnas (1187-1241), who refers the theory back to Saivism⁵⁵.

In the following I should like to introduce some Tibetan materials that mention the egg in a cosmogonical and theogonical context. Most of the texts listed are treated at greater length in an unpublished MA thesis by Claudia Seele (Bonn 1995). A reworked version of her study, in my humble opinion, very much deserves to be submitted to a larger public. Seele presents partial editions and translations and subsequent discussion of some these texts. Her main objective is to question the often posited assumption of influences of Iranian dualism in ‘Bon’ cosmogonical material⁵⁶. In the following I shall present translations of relevant passages from the root-text for two of the more important sources, the Srid pa'i mdzod phug and the rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub. For the other texts and traditions I shall only provide brief indications of the main themes. It is not feasible, nor would it be very enlightening, I believe, to translate all texts and commentaries listed here. I should moreover like to point out that the list of texts presented below is not exhaustive⁵⁷.

A The Srid pa'i mdzod phug⁵⁸: From the essence of the five causes (elements) two eggs came forth. The white one was punctured by light and (coloured) rays. It manifested as Yod-khams srid-pa'i rgyal-po (the ruler of existence, the sphere of being). The black one was pierced by darkness and obscurity. It manifested as Med-khams stong-pa'i rgyal-po (the ruler of emptiness, the sphere of non-being), who rejoiced about non-being and did not engage with being. Father Tshangs-po did engage with existence. Arising from space as a blue lake, a all3yat-mo (woman⁵⁹)) came forth from the centre of the lake: Chu-lcam rgyal-mo, the Queen of existence. While Chu-lcags (Chu-lcam rgyal-mo) and Sangs-po (‘bum-khri) were living together, eighteen children, nine brothers and nine sisters, were born⁶⁰.

For commentaries see: the bDen pa bon kyi mduod sgo sgra ‘grel 'phrul gyi lde’u mig (mDzod sgra ‘grel)⁶¹, the sNang srid mdzod phugs kyi gzhung dang ‘grel ba ‘phrul gyi sgron me (sNang srid mdzod ‘grel)⁶², the Lung mtshan nyid srid pa'i mdzod phug gi klad don and Lung mtshan nyid srid pa'i mdzod kyi lus rnam par bzhag pa'i spyi don⁶³, and the Kun las btus pa srid pa'i mdzod phug gi gzhung ‘grel⁶⁴.

B1 The gsas mkhar rin po che spyi spungs gsang ba bsen thub rgyud (rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub)⁶⁵: Male⁶⁶ (Sangs-po ‘bum-khri) and female (Chu-lcam
rgyal-mo) together nurtured obscurity. The hostile sphere of non-being entered in between them. From obscurity it arose as black fumes, from which it emerged as a black hue, from that as black scum, and from the black egg that arose therefrom, as a black sack without an opening. Being broken and pierced by a whirl-wind, (coloured) rays scattered into the sky and subsequently the thirteen permeating sky gYen came into being, from the unoccupied space between the rays of light, which is the extraordinary fierceness of the mind, the nine soaring gYen of the intermediate space, and from the cream of the egg that fell onto the earth the eleven dull earth gYen. The egg-shell arose as the dwelling of suffering, the membrane as dangerous weapons, the liquid parts of the egg as the seed of disease. Remaining body to body, while bowing their heads and also not involving their noses (that is, without kissing), one pale wooden egg emerged. As the egg self-punctured of itself, the clear part arose as gNod (Goblins) and Dri (Gandharvas). From the centre of the egg (i.e. the yolk), (animals) having (or, that have developed) feathers, claws and hoofs, that is, game animals, quadrupeds and beasts of prey, came into being. Then when (remaining body to body while) they bowed their heads and involved their noses (that is, kissed, see above) a jewel egg arose, which emanated as wisdom and method. It was such that when it was viewed from the outside it appeared luminous in the inside and when viewed from the inside appeared luminous at the outside. At that point, after the egg was broken and pierced by both father and mother, (coloured) rays scattered into the sky and the 360 'thor-gsas came into being, displaying the magical manifestation of (their) bodies in all directions. As the dregs of the fluid spilled out onto the earth the 21,000 bDar-gsas arose. From the stirred inner centre (yolk) it emerged as the triad of men (Mi), sMra and gShen. From colour and light entwined in the sky as the triad of Phywa, Srid, and sKos. From the shell as a protecting armour. From the membrane as a protecting sword. From the dregs of that egg the gShen-bdud Khyab-pa lag-ring, the bDud-po Ma-trang ru-ring, the Srin-po Gar-ma ja-la, and the cruel (gdug rtsub) Yagsha kho-re, these four, came forth, the bDud of the innate (mental) afflictions.

For a commentary see: the rTsa rgyud chen po gsang ba bsen thub kyi 'grel pa rin po che yid bzhiin rnam par bkod pa'i rgyan (bSen thub 'grel ba yid bzhiin bkod pa'i rgyan).

See also a commentary on the Khro gzhung chen mo ngo mtshar rgyas pa (Khro bo dbang chen), which, as you will have guessed, is much used in this study as a source for the dBal-mo nyer-bdun brgyad. It can be found in the sPyi spungs khro bo dbang chen gyi 'grel ba (dang dbal phur spyi don nyi shu rtsa Inga'i grel pa bcas), more in particular the third text of this collection, the Khro bo dbang chen ngo mtshar rgyas pa'i rnam bshad gsal ba'i sgron ma. This commentary, inter alia, also comments on the rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen
thub, also a sPyi-spungs text. Needless to say, this is a most interesting source of information regarding the dBal-mo deities.

B2 The Srid pa las kyi gting zlog gi rtsa rgyud kun gsal nyi zer sgron ma (Nyi zer sgron ma)\(^\text{88}\). The material in this text is indeed (cf. Seele (1995: 93)) very similar to that contained in the rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub and its commentary and need not be summarised here.

B3 The Ye shes nyi ma lha'i gsas mkhar ting mur g-yu rtse ye shes bsnyen bsgrub rtsa ba'i rgyud (Ting mur g-yu rtse rtsa ba)\(^\text{89}\) describes how from light and (coloured) rays an ocean came into existence. From the centre of that ocean Mother Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo came forth. From the breath of her friendly smiling face an egg made out of concho\(^\text{90}\) and from this a white conch\(^\text{91}\) man. He named himself Ye-srid srid-pa'i rgyal-mo bye-bo, Kun-gyas khyab Sangs-po 'bum-khri and named the woman (Ma Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo) bsKo-ting cig-la wer-mo\(^\text{92}\).

I should briefly like to point out that this text also contains an extremely interesting description featuring the development from absolute emptiness into light, five-coloured circles of light, coloured rays and elements, which is described in the part preceding what I summarised above\(^\text{93}\). This seems to provide a fascinating parallel to descriptions of ‘experiences’ of luminosity as they appear in presentations of the chos nyid and (bon nyid) 'od gsal gyi bar do and of thod rgal vision. I cannot elaborate on this facet here, the reader may be referred to a study on chos nyid and (bon nyid) 'od gsal gyi bar do that I am currently preparing.

For a commentary see: the gSas mkhar ting mur g-yu rtse'i bsnyen bsgrub rtsa ba'i brgyud 'grel yid bzhin nor bu (Ting mur g-yu rtse rtsa ba brgyud 'grel\(^\text{94}\)).

B4 The gTsang ma klu 'bum\(^\text{95}\) contains highly diverse materials. In one of its accounts it (also) describes a white and a black egg and employs a theme that must ring familiar after having read the rTsa rgyud gSang ba bsen thub. The Klu 'bum informs us that the white egg, when viewed from outside appeared luminous in the inside and when viewed from inside appeared luminous at the outside, like a jewel. The black egg is merely briefly characterised as obscured or defiled. The text is brief and reads like a commentary, partly due to these characteristics, it does not read as a very coherent account in itself\(^\text{96}\).

B5 The 'Dus pa rin po che'i rgyud dri ma med pa gzi brjid rab tu 'bar ba'i mdo (gZi brjid)\(^\text{97}\) describes how through the magical power of the IHa, gSas, and dBal, an egg consisting of five precious substances came forth. It broke by itself and produced all kinds of objects and substances. From the centre (yolk) a miraculous man came forth that had incorporated parts of animals and weapons into his body. He was given the name dPa'-chen Wer-ma.

Next a pale and unappealing egg is described. A man and a woman cohabited at midnight without kissing\(^\text{98}\), and – as all sorts of dual categories came forth, such as being and non-being, good and bad, cause and effect, and, ultimately, white gods and black demons, which arose from clear and obscured karmic
propensities – a pale and unappealing egg emerged. From the broken egg all kinds of demons and evil came forth. The structure of the description is vaguely reminiscent of the rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub, equally some of the numbers used, for instance, the numbers 360 (see also the mDzod phug-tradition) and 21,000.

C1 The dBu nag mi‘u 'dra chags describes how within primordial non-existent emptiness, a little bit of primordial being came into existence. Within that, light – the father – and (coloured) rays – the mother – appeared. Between them darkness and obscurity came into being. From this a breeze, a pale frost and a shimmering dew subsequently came forth. When the frost and dew mixed, a mirror-like lake arose. On that lake a thin layer appeared, which rolled up into an egg, from which two white-tailed eagles came forth: a white one, sNang-ba 'od-Idan and a black one, Mun-pa zer-Idan. When these two eagles united, three eggs came into existence, a white, a black and a variegated one. From the parts of the white egg a white, divine rock (shell), and the male deity 'Od-kyi khri-Ide (membrane), the female deity mDzo-mo dkar-mo (white of the egg), and the triad Srid-lha 'od-dkar, Cang-shes mi-mgon dkar-po and Dun-gi mig-Idan dkar-po (yolk), came forth. From the black egg Ngam-mi nag-po and Tril-nag dpung-bkra. And from the variegated egg a formless Prayer-Man (sMon-lam-mi lam-lam-lum-lum). This myth has been edited, translated and discussed at great length by Karmay.

C2 See also closely related material contained in the so-called Herrmanns manuscript (Herrmanns (1948)).

C3 A very similar description also appears in a Buddhist source, the Phag-mo grupa chronicle Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru (rgyas pa), which here records folk-tradition. According to this description a large egg arose out of the essence of the five elements. From the egg-shell a white, divine rock emerged, from the liquid parts a white round conch lake, from the membrane in between, the six classes of living beings spread out far and wide. Eighteen gristle eggs are also said to appear. From up high, those eighteen mediocre eggs developed into one conch egg, which was the formless Wish-Man (sMon-pa’i mi-bo lum-lum).

C4 Similar material can also be found among the Naxi.

D1 The spyi spungs rin po che a dkar gsang sngags kyi bka’ srung drwa ba nag po’i rgyud skor (Drwa ba dmar nag gi rgyud) describes how first one jewel-egg came forth from the mouth of the deity gYu’i bye’u lug-ldzi as she said "ha" and "hu" and later four jewel-eggs emerged from the luminous syllable "ha" arising from the hearts of the deities of the four divisions (ru bzhi lha).

D2 The ’Dzam gling gangs rgyal ti se dkar chags tshangs dbyangs yid phrog (Gangs ti se’i dkar chag) describes how from primordial emptiness four
jewel-light-eggs formed, self-arisen in the vast expanse of the sky. A lake arose from each. Norbu and Prats have edited and partially translated this text.

On the basis of many more features of these fascinating myths than I have adduced above, Seele (1995) has already shown that in these transmissions of origin-myths more or less distinct, though slightly overlapping, traditions can be discerned. The three main strands may be exemplified by the mdzod phug, the gsang ba bsen thub and the dbu nag mi’u ’dra chags. I shall not repeat or summarise her main arguments and findings here. The material is obviously highly diverse even within these strands of themes. I have the impression that ‘Bon’ traditions very well hold a place of their own when compared to the origin-egg-mythologemes from other areas. Even though it is not an objective of this exposé and I cannot elaborate on this point here, I would argue that ‘Bon’ materials suggest that they belong to rather unique traditions. No doubt, most of the themes may be found elsewhere in some form or other, yet, overall, the specific bouquet of mythologemes and narremes of at least the first two of the three main traditions outlined above do not seem to have direct ancestors in ‘adjacent’ or otherwise accessible cultural areas, such as, for instance, Persia, India, North Central Asia, or China, even though some neighbouring traditions indeed do occasionally show some diffuse overlap in the themes used.

A ‘locus classicus’ for the specific account of twenty-seven dba-lugs hatching from twenty-seven eggs is, as you will know by now, the khro bo dbang chen (see appendix). This source is therefore quoted extensively in the appended anthology. The khro bo dbang chen was purportedly rediscovered by gShen-chen Klu-dga’ (996-1035) in 1017. According to Karmay there was a close connection between the gShen-clan and the protective deity Srid-pa’i rgyal-mo, the latter being their favourite protectress. There is an obvious affinity between the (sPyi-spungs) khro bo dbang chen-tradition and the cosmogonical/ theogonical tradition of the (sPyi-spungs) ‘rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub. Extensive quotes in the sPyi spungs khro bo dbang chen gyi ’gret ba from the ‘rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub, also in the context of the dba-lugs, serve to underline this. Yet a concrete match to the origin of the twenty-seven dba-lugs from eggs remains to be found, so far we merely have found an abundance (both in quantity and diversity) of evidence for the theme or prototype of deities, demons, etc. coming from eggs.

At this point, I am not aware of any precise correspondence to the twenty-seven dba-lugs hatching from (as many) eggs in other texts (and now I do not mean other versions of this particular story, of course). Parallels for deities hatching from larger numbers of eggs do exist, however. Here I should like to refer to a passage from an episode of the Gesar epic, which, to my knowledge, Stein has first discussed. In this passage eighteen eggs are mentioned. In a rather non-spectacular way, these eggs are laid by birds, two birds, to be precise. The eggs are divided again into three groups of six of different colour: white, yellow and blue.
Their ordinary origin notwithstanding they appear to function in an extraordinary, that is, cosmogonical or theogonical context. Laid by birds they are said to have been forged by divine creatures, to wit: by the lHa (white), the gNyam (yellow, or also by men) of the middle realm and the subterraneous Klu (blue), successively. Later in the narrative they become associated with eighteen castles, six white Ra up high, six blue ones in the middle and six nether black ones. It is very tempting, indeed, to compare this to a thematically very similar description in the dBu nag mi'u 'dra chags\(^{124}\), where from a primeval egg two eagles(?)\(^{125}\) appear: sNang-ba 'od-ldan and Mun-pa zer-ldan\(^{126}\). These two unite and in turn produce three eggs of different ‘colour’, a white, black and multicoloured one. I think this theme also deserves to be compared to the Yakut story referred to in a note to the Yakut myth at the beginning of this section. Yakut shamans are said to derive from eggs laid and hatched by the Bird-of-Prey-Mother, which has an eagle head and iron feathers, on three levels in a giant fir tree in the North at the root of terrible diseases. The Yakut believe that each shaman has a Bird-of-Prey-Mother\(^{127}\). The theme also seems to resonate with the Tamang myth noted under Nepal, also at the beginning of this section. The same number of (eighteen) eggs that occurs in the Gesar story also figures in the Phag-mo gru-pa chronicle, the Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru (rgyas pa)\(^{128}\), yet, in a different configuration, they develop from a primeval egg and mainly appear as an abstract group or number giving rise to the initially amorphous sMon-pa'i mi-bo lum-lum, who in the dBu nag mi'u 'dra chags emerges from one of three eggs (the multi-coloured one).

Several other groups of deities and demons are also said to hatch from a larger number of eggs. In the gNod sbyin rgyal chen sku lnga 'khor bcas we find an account of the origin of Pe-har in connection with eggs\(^{129}\). According to this account Pe-har, here called Bi-har rgyal-po, originated from one of thirteen eggs produced by a white Klu-mo who lived high on Ri-rgyal lhun-po (Mt. Meru, here Mt. Kailas) at the lake Ma-dros-mtsho (Manasarovar). Bi-har rgyal-po is described as having a human body but an animal head, to wit, the head of a khyung.

Engaging the same number of (thirteen) eggs is a story about the origin of the Sri, (according to Nebesky-Wojkowitz) an important class of early Tibetan deities/demons\(^{130}\). At a certain point in the descent of the Sri from ancestors of curiously dubious character – most of them are in one way or the other associated with transgressions, faults, and impurity – multiple deities come forth from (each of) the thirteen eggs of existence (srid pa'i sgo nga\(^{31}\) bcu gsum). The direct parents are the father of the Sri, gNam-gyi bya-nag gshog-chags(!), and mother Sa-yi byi-gshog. The demons belonging to each of the groups of Sri have human bodies and animal heads. The head differs for each batch of deities (wolf, camel, weasel, khyung, owl, pig, pig (again)\(^{132}\), snake, g-yag, stag, fox, horse, goat).

The Klu are also associated with birth from eggs – for quite obvious reasons, they represent snakes after all. I should like to refer here to the gsTsong ma klu 'bum. There six classes of Klu are said to have originated from six eggs laid by
a golden tortoise. However, at several locations in the same text five classes of Klu are also mentioned and these are described as having animal heads.\textsuperscript{133}

Conclusions

The few parallels for the dBal-mo deities and for their origination from eggs discussed above confirm some of the points raised in the prolegomena. In contrast to the Buddhist dBang-phyug-mas the origins of the dBal-mos and their cosmogonical/ theogonical context point to Tibet, Central Asia and East(-Central) Asia rather than to South Asia. I presume that this is the point where some of us would be inclined to speak about 'indigenous Tibetan origins'.

The 'Bon' dBal-mo nyer-bdun/brgyad, quite in contrast to the Buddhist dBang-phyug-mas, indeed have a 'real' and, if I may abuse English idiom here, 'relatively unique' context in Tibetan cosmogony/ theogony. In their specific cosmogonical/ theogonical context, as described in the Kho bo dbang chen, they identify themselves as groups of warrior-deities that seem well at home in Central Asia and are strongly connected with 'Bon' traditions. The groups may nevertheless have slightly diverging origins. They were apparently 'tamed' at (a) certain point(s) and subsumed into another fold or discourse as protective deities and were ultimately incorporated into the artificial structure of a zhi-khro maṇḍala. As far as the scant evidence presented so far goes, the deities as such seem to have developed independently from the Buddhist and ultimately 'Hindu'-derived, say, South Asian, dBang-phyug-ma nyer-brgyad.

It is not unlikely, however, that the pattern or prototype for the sub-maṇḍala of the dBal-mo nyer-bdun/brgyad as part of the 'Bon' zhi-khro maṇḍala (that is, for the dBal-mos as a group and as a specific section of a larger maṇḍala) is nevertheless derived from the dBang-phyug-ma nyer-brgyad sections of Buddhist zhi-khro maṇḍalas and their antecedents. The three groups of the dBal-mo nyer-bdun lack the neat fourfold maṇḍala structure that the dBang-phyug-mas show, and can only be squeezed into a maṇḍala with its fourfold division into the cardinal points with some difficulty. In contrast, the dBang-phyug-mas as a group seem to have developed in and with this maṇḍala-structure. Moreover, the dBal-mo nyer-bdun are part of a larger group, which includes the Gyad-chen bcu, dMag-dpon bcu, and rGyal-chen sde-bzhi, for which the maṇḍala (also) does not seem to have a special and appropriate seat prepared. The separation of the dBal-mo nyer-bdun/brgyad from this larger group of dBal deities that they belong to (and which moreover even appears in the zhi-khro maṇḍala but is not counted) – one would almost feel inclined to say, \textit{in order to secure} a number of twenty-eight deities that could parallel the twenty-eight dBang-phyug-mas – also clearly lends a suggestion of primacy to the dBang-phyug-mas as far as the originality of the conception of the sub-maṇḍala prototype of twenty-eight female deities is concerned. Actually, I would not be surprised at all if a closer examination of the other sections of the
‘Bon’ and Buddhist (Bar do thos grol) zhi-khro mandala would force us to posit a similar relation for the other groups of deities, that is to say, to conclude that the ‘Bon’ bar do thos grol zhi-khro mandala, considering the extant early South Asian Buddhist (and Hindu) antecedents for ilk more elaborate mandalas, was formed following a probably (that is, regarding the specific bar do-context) Buddhist prototype, recycling relevant (groups of) deities to ‘man’ the templates. This hypothesis, of course, would require a separate study to support it.

In any case the descriptions of the individual (sub-groups of) deities of the ‘Bon’ and Buddhist ‘twenty-eight-sections’ as such do not warrant to posit a relation of derivation on the level of (sub-groups of) deities. In a sense our comparison is not relevant to be pursued on that level, not even as far as the precise numerical subdivision of their total number of twenty-four/seven/eight is concerned, ‘it’s apples and oranges’. This is another way of saying that the dBal-mo nyer-bdun/brgyad and the dBang-phyug-ma nyer-brgyad basically come in droves, in which the concrete (sub-groups) of deities at this point hardly have retained any individual identity anymore. It is only as collectives that they may be compared and their prototype seems to derive from a similar South Asian sub-mandalag prototype. The dBal-mo nyer-bdun/brgyad do show all kinds of generic parallels to other more remote groups of deities, with which they occasionally share certain characteristics or narremes, but no convincing genetic relations or clear origins have emerged so far.

The closest cosmogonical/ theogonical prototype for the origination of the dBal-mo nyer-bdun would perhaps be the generation of in total eighteen brothers and sisters by Sangs-po 'bum-khri and Chu-lcam rgyal-mo as described in the mDzodphug (translated above). Thus the prototype for a pre-mandala collective in cosmogony and theogony might have been a group of eighteen rather than twenty-seven. This link would then also sharpen the perceived difference between the eighteen gZe-ma dgu and Gyad-mo dgu and the slightly diverging Byin-te dgu in the group of twenty-seven. Yet, the Byin-te dgu, considering their marked individual features and narrative context, as a group, might still be an older unit in the total collective of fifty-one/two dBal deities, perhaps even out-dating all the other sub-groups, not only the gZe-ma dgu and Gyad-mo dgu. One indeed has to admit that the gZe-ma dgu and Gyad-mo dgu have a somewhat suspiciously stencilled look. Thus the Byin-te dgu, though perhaps even the oldest group of dBal deities, might nevertheless have been added later to a prototype of eighteen deities with a similar cosmogonical/ theogonical context to form a larger tripartite collective of twenty-seven dBal deities born from eggs, specifically designed for mandala-purposes, giving a possible match to the dBang-phyug-mas and providing a numerically more attractive division into three groups of nine. The above extrapolation is at this point, of course, purely hypothetical and has to be tested as further evidence becomes available.

As more connections are gradually being discovered in the above comparisons, the motif of deities/ demons originating from (groups of) eggs is slowly emerging
as a recurrent theme that appears and reappears in many variations, a non-composed fugue of convergence and assimilation in the vastly diverging plethora of cosmogonical and theogonical mythologemes. "Bon" and popular cosmogonical and theogonical literature indeed seem to abound in several more or less characteristic strands of recurrent and often vaguely resembling themes. The origination of deities and demons from eggs is a quite common and wide-spread motif in Tibetan tradition, yet also in other, occasionally related, traditions (for instance, amongst the Naxi), and, moreover, in more remote areas and slightly diverging cultural contexts as well (for instance, amongst the Yakut, as evidenced by the story about the birth of shamans from eggs\(^{134}\)). So far, no convincing lines of derivation have been established for the origin myth of the dBal-mo nyer-bdun within "Bon" traditions, Tibetan (and Central Asian) traditions in general, or with regard to adjacent and more remote cultural areas. I feel inclined to speculate that the mode of birth from an egg, a "foreign" yet (unlike birth from moisture or miraculous birth in Buddhist abhidharma) still familiar alternative to our specific mammal/human birth from a womb, might well underline the other-worldly or at least non-human associations/destination of gods, demons and also shamans. It is common to indicate the foreignness of fictional living beings by associating them with characteristics of phylogenetically speaking remote animals; insects and reptiles are long-time favourites in this vocabulary.

It might also be interesting to briefly note here that in the above we have been able to witness repeatedly that the mode of birth from an egg is in one way or the other associated with negative antecedents or results, be it primordial impurity, or the birth of demons, like the bTsan\(^{135}\), Klu, and Sri, be it with transgressive elements (see, e.g., the ancestry of the Sri, briefly referred to above), or be it in the fact that many of the deities/demons are associated with destruction, evil influence and disease. Even though the primordial transgress at the beginning of creation is not an uncommon theme, I am not sure whether such a connection could be established for the birth from an egg.

This particular combination of elements: a female form; a terrible, warlike or destructive character; and a foreign, remote, or in any case extraordinary non-human origin or destination (birth from eggs), seems to connect the dBal-mos to a familiar "(arche)type" of female: an old – yet not the most archaic – dark, wild, other-worldly female, perhaps of local origin, embodying at least dangerous, if not fierce and belligerent, potencies. When perceiving the terrible 'Gestalt' of these deities we seem to stare into the disquieting dark face of the 'Witch', the shadowy aspect of a split female archetype, possibly indicative of a 'patriarchal' schism in female identity, which Adelheid Herrmann-Pfandt theorised about with regard to the oft fearsome Dākinīs. One might even feel inclined to speculate on a real-life background of old and ugly women that are deprived of the social functions of wife, mother, grandmother, and the like, or that otherwise dropped out of the manifold accommodating folds and wrinkles of established social relations and loci of status and thus easily became a focal point for the negative projections of a
community, branded and feared as witches, vampires, or what have you. But we would definitely need further information regarding male and female deities and demons and especially the oldest female divine figures and their real-life social background in Tibet and Central Asia to be able to make such a preliminary determination more firm and, not in the last place, productive. At this point it is, in fact, no more than a loose concluding remark.

Tibetan Texts\footnote{36}

Note the following conventions used for the editions in Wylie:

- ordinary shad
- gter shad
- spungs shad
- sbrul shad
- abbreviation sign
- shad absent (mainly after ka and rjes 'jug ga)
- dbu
- bracketed indication of pages, lines, etc.

\begin{quote}
\emph{Zab chos zhi khro dgongs pa rang gro l las chos nyid bar do'i gsol 'debs (read: gsal 'debs) thos grol chen mo:}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\text{ka/} Bar do thos grol chen mo, Kalsang Lhundup (1969) [text kha];
\text{kha/} Bar do thos grol chen mo, Library of the Kern Institute (Johan van Manen Collection, Inv.No. 2740/H187,12,19), [text ka and kha];
\text{ga/} Bar do thos grol chen mo, Library of the Kern Institute, Nr. 28.452.4 [ChB, text kha];
\text{nga/} gsang ba ye shes kyi chos skor/ phrin las le lag dang 'pho ba man ngag, Shuh et al. (1985), Nr. 235 [text jo] (Microfilms of the cycle mKha' 'gro gsang ba ye shes kyi rgyud are preserved in the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin; this gter ma-cycle is also extant in the library of the Kern Institute in Leiden (no systematic catalogue-number) as a xylographic reprint of block-prints from the library of Dudjom Rinpoche);
\text{ca/} Bar do thos grol chen mo, IASWR Microfiche R 285, Tachikawa (1983/88), Nr. 1233 [text ka and kha].
\end{quote}

[ Kalsang Lhundup (1969: 57,14 - 60,7)] kye rigs kyi bu% he ru ka drag po'i lha sum cu than pa'i phyis rim du dbang phyug ma nyi shu rtsa brgyad mgo bsnyan sna tshogs dang bcas te% mtshon cha sna tshogs pa thogs nas klad pa'i nang nas
thon nas rang la shar du 'ong ngo % de la ma 'jigs par gang shar thams cad rang snang rig pa'i rtsal du ngo shes par gyis shig% don chen 'gag la thug pa'i dus 
shod 'dir% bla ma'i [ka 58] gdams ngag dran par gyis shig% kye rigs kyi bu% shar nas srin mo smug nag g-yag mgo ma lag na rdo rje thogs pa% tshangs pa

dmar ser sbrul mgo ma lag na padma 'dzin pa dang % lha chen ljang nag gzig mgo ma lag na tri shū la thogs pa dang % gtos 'dod sngon mo sri mong mgo 
phyag na 'khor lo 'dzin [kha-kha 14] pa dang % gzhon nu dmar mo dre dmed mgo ma 
lag na mdung thung 'dzin pa dang % brya byin dkar mo dom mgo ma lag na rgyu 
zhags thogs pa dang % shar gyi rnal [nga 330] 'byor ma drug klad pa'i nang nas 
thon nas rang la 'char ro% de la ma 'jigs shig% kye rigs kyi bu% lho nas rdo rje 
ser mo phag mgo ma lag na sby gri thogs pa dang % zhi ba dmar mo chu srin mgo 
lag nabum pa thogs pa dang % bdud rtsi dmar mo sdi pa'i mgo lag na padma 
thogs pa dang % zla ba dkar mo khbra'i mgo lag na rdo rje thogs pa dang % be con 
ljang nag wa'i mgo lag na dbyug to phyar ba dang % srin mo ser nag stag gi mgo 
lag na thod khrag thogs pa [ca-kha 12] dang % lho'i rnal 'byor ma drug klad pa'i 
nang [ga 44] nas thon nas rang la 'char du 'ong ngo % de la ma 'jigs shig% kye 
rigs [nga 331] kyi bu% nub nas za ba ljang nag bya rgod mgo lag na be con thogs 
pa dang % dga' ba dmar mo rtsi' [ka 59] mgo lag na khog chen thogs pa dang % 
stobs chen dkar mo khyung gi mgo lag na dbyug to thogs pa dang % srin mo dmar 
mo khyi'i mgo lag na rdo rje sby gri gcod pa dang % 'dod pa dmar po pu shud 
mgo lag na mda' gzhu 'gengs pa dang % nor srum dmar ljarg sha ba'i mgo lag 
nabum pa 'dzin pa dang % nub kyi rnal 'byor ma drug klad pa'i nang nas thon 
las rang la shar ro% de la ma 'jigs shig% kye rigs kyi bu% byang nas [nga 332] 
rlung la sngon mo sbyang gi'i mgo lag na ba [kha-kha 15] dan phyar ba dang % 
mi mo dmar mo skyin gyi mgo lag na gsal shing 'dzin pa dang % phag mo nag mo 
phag gi mgo lag na mche zhang sbsams pa dang % rdo rje dmar mo khwa ta'i mgo 
lag na zhung chung 'dzin pa dang % sna chen ljarg nag glang chen mgo lag na 
bam chen thogs shing zong khrag 'thung ba dang % chu la sngon mo sbrul gyi 
mgo lag na sbrul zhang sbsams pa dang % byang gi rnal 'byor ma drug klad pa'i 
nang nas thon nas rang la [nga 333] 'char ro% de la ma 'jigs shig% kye rigs kyi 
bu% sgo ma'i rnal 'byor ma bzhed klad pa'i nang nas thon nas rang la 'char ro% 
shar nas rdo rje dkar mo khu byug gi mgo can lag na lcags kyi 'dzin pa dang % 
lo sna rdo rje ser mo ra [ka 60] mgo ma lag na zhangs pa 'dzin pa dang % nub nas 
rdo rje dmar mo seng mgo ma lag na lcags sgrogs 'dzin pa dang % byang na rdo 
rje ljarg nag sbrul mgo ma lag na dril bu 'dzin pa dang % [ga 45] rnal 'byor ma 
sgo ma bzhed klad pa'i nang nas thon nas rang la 'char du 'dong ngo % dbang phyug 
ma nuyu rtsa brgyad kyang he ru ka drag po'i lha rang [nga 334] byang gi sku'i 
rtsal [ca-kha 13] lhas rang shar ba' yin pas ngo shes par gyis shig% ... 

Cf. Man ngag snying gi gdongs pa rgyal ba'i bka' zhes bya ba'i rgyud 

-p.593,1.1] he ru ka drag po'i lha sum cu'i phyi rol na / srin po smug nag rdo rje
thod pa bsnams pa dang / [592] tshangs pa ser mo lag na padma bsnams pa dang / lha chen dkar ljang lag na rdo rje thogs pa dang / rtogs 'dod sngon mo 'khor lo 'dzin pa dang / dga’ ba ser mo spu gri thogs pa dang / gzhon nu dmar mo mdung thung 'dzin pa dang / brya byin dkar mo rgyu zhags thogs pa dang / zhi ba dmar mo bum pa 'dzin pa dang / bdud rtsi dmar mo padma 'dzin pa dang / zla ba dkar mo rdo rje 'dzin pa dang / be con ljang nag dbyug to 'phyar ba dang / sring mo dmar nag thod khrag 'thung ba dang / za ba ljang nag be con thogs pa dang / dga’ ba dmar mo khog chen thogs pa dang / slob chen dkar mo dbyug to 'dzin pa dang / sring mo rdo rje spu gri 'dzin pa dang / 'dod pa dmar mo mda' gzhu 'gengs pa dang / nor srungs ljang khu bum pa 'dzin pa dang / rlungh la sngon mo ba dan 'phyar ba dang / mi yo dmar mo gsal shing 'dzin pa dang / phag mo nag mo mche zhags bsnams pa dang / rdo rje dmar mo zhing chung 'dzin pa dang / sna chen ljang nag thod khrag 'thung ba dang / chu la sngon mo sbrul zhags bsnams pa'ol /rdo rje dkar mo lcags kyu bsnams pa shar sgo na bzhugs so/ /rdo rje ser mo ra mgo la lho sgo na bzhugs so/ /rdo rje dmar mo seng mgo lcags sgrogs ma nub sgo na bzhugs so/ /rdo rje ljang nag ke ka'i mgo can byang sgo na bzhugs so/ /dbang [593] phyug ma nyi shu rtsa bryiad he ru ka drag po'i lha rang byung gi sku'i rtsal las shar ba'ol / ... 

sNyam bryiad bar do thos grol gsal sgron chen mo

[Karmay (1977).29.32 = Zogai 614 = T.124: 668.3 - 680.5:] a òm hûm/ skad kyi g dang gi thig le'i 'od klong gi/ gzha' 'od kha sgrom ngar gyi gsas mkhar na/ ? las mkhan sngon mo 'brug mgos chu sрин lag pa g-yob/ las mkhan dmar ser 'brong mgos ru skyogs 'dzin/ las mkhan bud med dkar mos ba dan 'phyar/ 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsum la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thar pa'i lam la bar chad zhi ba dang / snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin gyis rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ a òm hûm/ [669] ljas kyi ngar gong thig le'i 'od klong gi/ gzha' 'od rlung nag 'tshub ma'i gsas mkhar na/ las mkhan ljang nag sbrul mgos khyung gshog 'phyar/ las mkhan dkar mo rgod mgos ru mtshon 'phyar/ las mkhan sa sрин nag mos sbrul zhags 'debs/ 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsum la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thar pa'i lam la bar/ snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo a òm hûm/ stag pa'i bdud sgo thig le'i 'od klong gi/ gzha' 'od ri nag 'joms pa'i gsas mkhar na/ las mkhan nag mo skyung mgos zangs spar gdengs/ las mkhan nag mo dom mgos sbrul zhags 'debs/ las mkhan nag mo gdong dagus bdud mda' 'phen/ 'jigs byed [670] dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsum la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thugs thar pa'i lam la bar chad= snang ba rang gzugs rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad duel/ ? a òm hûm/ sku stod ghing tshigs thig le'i 'od klong du / 'ja' 'od ri rgyal lhun po'i gsas mkhar na/ las mkhan dkar mo seng mgos mtshal zhags sdog/ las mkhan ser mo glang mgos sgyogs rdo 'phen/ las mkhan bud med smug mos gru gu sdog/ 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsum la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thar pa'i lam la bar chad
The 'Bon' d:Ein1-mo AC)icmbdZin (/Zvz LyziaP and the Budthist aLEin-pmngrna AC)ter:-LyzlJ,:ad
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zhi snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin rigs drug bar do 'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? a ombies hüm/ thugs kyi dkyil rtsa thig le 'i 'od klong du/ gzhav 'od gnam sgo can gyi gsas mkhar du/ las mkhan dmar mo dred mgos ral kyu 'phyar/ [671] las mkhan sngon mo gzig mgos btsan zhaps sdog/ las mkhan sngon mo gdong drug chu srin g-yang gzhii 'khur/ 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsun la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thar pa 'i lam la bar chad zhi ba dang snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin rigs drug bar do 'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ a ombies hüm/ sgal tshigs gzhung rtsa 'i thig le 'i 'od klong du gzhav 'od kha sgrom ngyi gya gsas mkhar na/ las mkhan dmar nag sbyang mgos khrab gshog 'phyar/ las mkhan ser ljang 'ug mgos srim bya spor/ las mkhan dkar mo zhal gnyis shel sgong 'thor/ 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsun la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thugs thar pa 'i lam la bar chad= snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par= rigs drug bar do 'i lam= [672] ? a ombies hüm/ drod kyi mtha 'yi thig le 'i 'od klong du / 'ja/ 'od me dpung 'bar ba 'i gsas mkhar na/ las mkhan smug nag stags mgos dred kyi g-yang gzhii 'khur/ las mkhan dmar mo khrab mgos ral gyu 'phyar/ las mkhan dmar mo mgo dgu byur thag skyong / 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsun la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thugs thar pa 'i lam la bar= snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par= rigs drug bar do 'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? a ombies hüm/ snyan gya mchog gi thig le 'i 'od klong du/ 'ja/ 'od rgyun med chu yi gsas mkhar na/ las mkhan sngo ljang chu sring mgo can rlung g-yab bsnams/ las mkhan dmar nag phag mgos dru gu bsdog/ las mkhan dmar nag lcags ral gshin lam 'dren/ 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsun la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod 'bul bdag la dbang bskur thugs thar pa 'i lam la bar chad zhi snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin gys rigs drug bar do 'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? dbal mo ni yi shu rtsa bdun 'gro kun drongs/ bar do 'jigs pa 'i 'phrang las bsgral du gsol/ rigs drug bar do 'i gnas nas 'dren du gsol/ 'og min bde chen [673] phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thugs thar pa 'i lam la bar chad zhi snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin gys rigs drug bar do 'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? dbal mo ni yi shu rtsa bdun 'gro kun drongs/ bar do 'jigs pa 'i 'phrang las bsgral du gsol/ 'og min bde chen [674] zhung du bs[kyal du gsol/ bon nyid 'od gsal dbyings su sangs rgyas shog/ a ombies hüm/ bdag sog 'di nas tshe 'phos lus brjes dus/ bon nyid 'od gsal sngan ba 'char dus su/ bar do 'khrul pas 'khor bar 'khyams pa 'i tshe/ shar gya dbal mo mrun (read: bdun) gys lam sna drongs/ byang gi dbal mo bdun gys rgyab nas skyor/ nub kyi dbal mo bdun gys mtha 'nas brten/ lho yi dbal mo bdun gys sngan dang phrol/ bred skrag sngangs 'dar 'jigs 'khrul med par mdzod/ bar do 'jigs pa 'i 'phrang las bsgral du gsol/ 'og min bde chen zhing du bs[kyal du gsol/ bde chen dbyar med sa la bkod du gsol/ ! a ombies hüm/ A dkar sa le 'od a yam ombies 'du/ ? a ombies hüm/ ltag tshigs thig le 'i gzhav 'od me [675] 'klong na/ las mkhan dbal gyi mi phos bso cha ha la srog/ dpung tshig g-yas kyi gzhav 'od me klong na/ las mkhan deng gi mi thung dbal mdung 'debs/ dpyi tshigs g-yas kyi 'ja/ 'od me klong na/ las mkhan g-yu yi mi
thung mda’ gzhu 'gengs/ dpyi tshigs g-yon gyi gzha’ 'od me klong na/ las mkhan zangs kyi mi thung dgra sta 'phyar/ dpung tshigs g-yon gyi 'ja’ 'od me klong na/ las mkhan lcags kyi mi thung ral gri 'phyar/ gru mo g-yas kyi 'ja’ 'od me klong na/ las mkhan dbal stag kgra’ bos mche sder brdar/ pus mo g-yas kyi 'ja’ 'od me klong na/ las mkhan dbal 'brug sngon pos 'ur sgra srog/ pus mo g-yon gyi gzha’ 'od me klong na/ las mkhan dbal g-yag dkar pos ru ze [676] bsigs gru mo g-yon gyi gzha’ 'od me klong na/ las mkhan dbal khyung sngon po 'jum zhing Idng / mjug rus thig le’i gzha’ 'od me klong na/ las mkhan khru chu’i mi thung gtar tshan bsnsams/ dbal gyi las mkhan gyad chen bcu po la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bsdkur thugs rjes thar pa’i lam la bar chad zhi snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin rigs drug bar do’i lam sgo bcad= ? dbal gyi gyal chen bcu yis 'gro kun drongs/ bar do ‘jigs pa’i ‘phrang las bsgral du gsol/ rigs drug bar do’i gnas nas ‘dren du gsol/ ’og min bde chen zhing du bskyal du gsol/ bon nyid ’od gsal dbyings su sangs rgyas shog/ ? a ôm hüm/ tshigs chen bcu yi gzha’ 'od me klong na/ las mkhan glang po’i mgo can braq ri ‘debs/ las mkhan mthing nag dom mgos [677] ral gri ‘phyar/ las mkhan chu srin mgo can dbal mdung gsol/ las mkhan dmar mo spyang mgos khra gshog ‘phyar/ las mkhan skya bkra’ gsa’ mgos bjam ro zal/ las mkhan ser ljang khyung mgos sburl zhags ‘debs/ las mkhan mthing nag rnga mgos mdung ring bsnsams/ las mkhan phag rgod mgo can me dpung spor/ las mkhan dreg kyi mgo can byad thag bsnsams/ las mkhan stag gi mgo can dgra sha zal/ dbal gyi las mkhan dmag dpon bcu po la/ phyag ‘tshal sku bstod mchod gdab la dbang bsdkur thugs rjes thar pa’i lam la bar chad= snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin rigs drug bar do’i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? dbal gyi dmag dpon ma bcus ‘gro kun drongs/ bar do ‘jigs pa’i ‘phrang las bsgral du gsol/ rigs [678] drug bar do’i gnas nas ‘dren du gsol/ ’og min bde chen zhing du bskyal du gsol/ bon nyid ’od gsal dbyings su sangs rgyas shog/ a ôm hüm/ bdag sogs ’di nas tse ‘phos lus brjes dus/ bon nyid ’od gsal snang ba ‘char dus su/ ‘jigs skrag drag po ‘khor bar ’khyams pa’i tsei/ las mkhan gyad chen bcu yi lam sna drongs/ las mkhan dmag dpon ma bcus rgyab nas skyor/ bred skrag sngangs ’dar ‘jigs ‘khrul mi ‘byung mdzod/ rigs drug bar do’i skye sgo bcad du gsol/ bar do ‘jigs pa’i ‘phrang las bsgral du gsol/ ’og min bde chen zhing du bskyar du gsol/ bde chen dyer med sa la bkod du gsol/ a ôm hüm/ a dkar sa le ‘od a yam ôm ’dal/ ? a ôm hüm/ phyag g-yas mthil rtsa thig le’i ‘od klong na/ las mkhan mi dkar seng mgos ral gri [679] ‘phyar zhabs g-yas mthil rtsa thig le’i ‘od klong na/ las mkhan phag rgod mgo can sburl zhags ‘phen/ zhabs g-yon mthil rtsa thig le’i ‘od klong na/ las mkhan mi sngon ‘brug mgos sta mo ‘phyar/ phyag g-yon mthil rtsa thig le’i ‘od klong na/ las mkhan mi nag dom mgos thog mda’ ‘phen/ dbal gyi las mkhan rgyal chen sde bzhis la/ phyag ‘tshal sku bstod mchod ’bul gsol dbdag la dbang bsdkur thugs rjes thar pa’i lam la bar chad= snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin bar do ‘jigs pa’i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? las mkhan rgyal chen sde bzhis ‘gro kun drongs/ bar do ‘jigs pa’i ‘phrang las bsgral du gsol/ rigs drug bar do’i gnas nas= ’og min bde chen zhing du bskyal du gsol/ bon nyid ’od gsal dbyings su sangs rgyas [680] shog/ a ôm hüm/ bdag sogs ’di nas tse ‘phos lus brjes dus/ ‘khor ba’i
rgya mtsho snang ba 'char ba'i tshe/ skye gnas bzhi yi lam gyi sgo chod la/ thugs rje bzhi yi lam gyi sgo phyes la/ las mkhan seng mgo phag mgos lam sna drongs/ las mkhan 'brug mgo dom mgos rgyab nas skyor/ bred skrag sngangs 'dar 'jigs 'khrul mi 'byung mdzod/ rigs drug bar do'i skye sgo bcad du gsol/ bar do 'jigs pa'i 'phrang las bsgral du gsol/ 'og min bde chen zhing du bskyal du gsol/ bde chen dbyer med sa la bkod du gsol/ ...

Notes

1) Many thanks to Peter Richardus for careful proof-reading of this paper.
2) See bibliography, please note the other editions mentioned there.
3) This interesting connection was kindly pointed out to me by David Germano at the eighth IATS seminar (Bloomington, U.S.A., Summer 1998). Germano has already done some work on rNying ma material in this respect and suggested to look into 'Bon' material in order to ascertain whether a similar connection exists for their rDzogs-chen-traditions.
4) The root-text is very brief and only mentions that two eggs arise (rgyu lnga'i srid las sgsng gnyis srid, Namdak (1966: 6.5f.), Srid pa'i mdzod phug), later identified as a white and a black one. See the translation presented below.
5) The commentary is slightly more elaborate: 'od gong dang mun gong gnyis su byung stel, Namdak (1966: 52.11f.), mDzod sgra 'grel.
6) Tib.: dkar ni 'od dang zer las brdoll, Namdak (1966: 6.6f.), Srid pa'i mdzod phug.
7) Tib.: 'od gsal nam mkha' 'thor ba las/ 'thor gsas sum brgya drug cu srid del, Namdak (1966: 52.16f.), mDzod sgra 'grel.
8) Cf. the last part of the description from the rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub, presented below.
9) See, for instance, the Khro bo dbang chen, which is contained in the Zhi khro sgrub skor, listed as text No.2 in the appendix.
10) Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 312f.). Not all descriptions are clear. He is therefore unable to translate and explain all the sounds mentioned, partly this is due to possible corruption in his text. For instance, regarding the hatching of the fifth gZe-ma, Dred-kyi mgo-can, his text describes the sound as: dbal kha(!) ngam sgo can gyi sgra, while my text No.2 reads: dbal khang gnam sgo can gyi gsas mkhar nal thugs nyid dbal gyi sgra (see appendix).
11) Including the kind assistance of several monks and lay-people from Dolanji, who volunteered to translate Shes-rab grags-pa's rNga-ba dialect for me.
12) Herrmann-Pfandt (1992), see especially chapter 2d.
13) See, e.g., rather frequent locutions as: dbal mo gyi ma mo nyi shu rtsa bdun and ma mo nyi shu rtsa bdun (appendix, text No.8: 198.6); the twenty-seven dBal-mos are also quite often styled sPar-mas, so are the Byin-te dgu, who are at the same time connected to the sPar-ma dgu khril'i 'a-mo deities.
14) These groups are discussed in more detail (with reference to some sources) in Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 269-273 especially).
15) Alexis Sanderson kindly pointed me to this section, a listing of the deities can be found in chapter six of Yamada's critical edition (1981: 273).
16) See Kalff (1978: 158f.), Pullirmalaya, Jālandhara, Oḍḍiṭiyana, etc., for references see his note 35.
17) See Kalff (1978: 159), e.g., head, crest of the head, right ear, etc., for references see his note 36. See also the bodily categories associated with the gsas mkhar of the nine the groups of three dBal-mos of the 'Bon' Bar do thos grol.
18) See also Back (1988), I cannot enter into discussion regarding his interpretations here. Suffice to say that I am not convinced by the further interpretation he attempted in his paper and that I also cannot appreciate the 'shamanic' influences that he introduces in connection with these deities.
19) A distinction between an indigenous Himalayan/ Central Asian division into three/ nine (earth, intermediate space and heaven/ nine planets (old Iran)?) and a South Asian division into four (manḍala-structure, four directions of the compass, cf. also the body-based orientation of front, back, left and right) has been tentatively suggested by several colleagues at the symposium (Charles Ramble, Mona Schrempf and Balthasar Bickel), yet, so far I have not been able to make such a distinction more firm. The numbers three and nine (perhaps basically the number three) and its prototypes are not only well attested in Central Asia (Eliade (1964: 274-279)) but also in South Asia. For some South Asian evidence see, for instance: bhūr bhuvah svar, a common classification into heaven, middle realm and earth; the navagraha (sun, moon, five planets plus Rāhu and Ketu, deriving from old Iran); navadurgā (the nine forms of Durgā); the navarātra (nine days from the first of the light half of the month Āśvina to the ninth, which are devoted to the worship of Durgā); and many other associations in South Asia, such as a classification into nine lower casts (these casts are then styled navasāyaka). While in Central Asia we also find many other numerical configurations; for instance, the number seven (seven planets, Mesopotamia?) is quite prominent, see Eliade (1964: 274-279). This is an issue that definitely requires more work and cannot be resolved within the limits of this paper.
20) Please note that in the texts and tables presented below I try to maintain the orthographic peculiarities and mistakes of the originals, without attempting to emend them. Critical editions have been (and partially are in the process of being) prepared, but, since this apparatus is not relevant to our present concern, the quite lengthy annotation is not included here.
22) Extracted from the sNyan brgyud bar do thos grol gsal sgron chen mo, Karmay (1977).29.32. Some slight deviations from text No.2 occur (see appendix), especially with regard to the descriptions of the sounds and the names of the gsas mkhar, only the more significant divergence is noted below. The mandala continues beyond the dBal-mo nyer-bdun with the dBal-gyi las-mkhan gyad-chen bcu po (cf. appendix, Gyad-chen bcu), dBal-gyi las-mkhan dmag-dpon bcu-po (cf. appendix, dMag-dpon bcu), and the dBal-gyi las-mkhan rgyal-chen sde-bzhi.
23) For these qualifiers see appendix, table of the gZe-ma dgu, under sku tus mi mor byung ba'i rtags.
24) Not mentioned in text No.2, note that this name repeats part of the one listed under 5 (also in text No.2).
25) Text No.2 has me dpung 'bar ba as a description of the sound and lists the name as: bska'i pa sreg byed me yi gsas mkhar.
26) Text No.2 again: rnga gshang sgra, sound, and mi bzad sgra rgyal 'phrul gyi gsas mkhar, name.

27) See especially, Neumaier (1966: 32), she speaks of a merging of the groups.

28) See Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 271), he based his account on a description in a manuscript-edition of the bKa' brgyad kyi mngon par dregs pa'i dbu phyogs, 33a (yet he indicates that this manuscript has only 23 folios). A manuscript of that title in the Johan van Manen collection (Inv.No. 2740/M371, text No.17?), which has 46 folios, features the deities on 9v.4 - 10r.6, here the deities are called Ce-spyang-ma brgyad instead of ICe-spyang-ma brgyad (Nebesky-Wojkowitz).

29) See, e.g., the table regarding the Byin-te dgu, which is based on text No.2 (listed in the last table of the appendix), or Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 314).

30) Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956), leather, gse probably has to be emended to bse.


32) Johan v. Manen collection, Inv.No.2740/M371: 20v.5 - 21r.1.

33) From the brDa dkrol gser gyi me long, compiled by bTsan-Iha Ngag-dbang tshul-khrims, Beijing 1997 (1996), see further references there.

34) As possibly indicated by the epithet dam can, which one can find prefixed to the name gze ma, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 312).

35) See Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956) for these classes of deities and demons.

36) See, for example, Seele (Bonn 1995, unpublished MA thesis). For her thesis Seele has studied diverse 'Bon' and popular traditions, also as contained in Buddhist sources. She presents a brief conspectus of some of the main features of most of the texts used (1995: 134f.). Her study is based on several important cosmogonical text-traditions (and also related material), which she tentatively tries to arrange into groups. She presents a group of texts that mention the egg in a cosmogonical and theogonical context: the Srid pa'i mdzod phug with the commentaries: mDzod sgra 'gret and the sNang srid mdzod 'gret; the rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub with commentary: bSen thub 'grel ba yid bzhi bkod pa'i rgyan see also the commentary on the Khro bo dbang chen, contained in the sPyi spungs khro bo dbang chen gyi 'grel ba dang dbal phur spyi don nyi shu rtsa lnga'i grel pa bcas; the Nyi zer sgron ma; the gZi brjids; the gTsang ma klu 'bun; the Ting mur g-yu rtse rtsa ba with the commentary Ting mur g-yu rtse rtsa ba rgyud 'grel; moreover, some popular lore contained the dBu nag mi'u 'dra chags and a closely related material (Herrmanns manuscript); and, lastly, she also adduces accounts contained in Buddhist sources like the Phag-mo gru-pa chronicle Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru (rgyas pa); she also discusses part of the Drwa ba dmar nag gi rgyud and the Gongs ti se'i dkar chag in this regard. Some more will be said about her study and these fascinating texts below.

37) See the article on Creation, Cosmography, and Cosmology in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica.

38) See, for instance, the Naxi below, who supposedly moved from north-eastern Tibet to Yun-nan, somewhere towards the end of the first millennium AD (see, e.g., Jackson (1978: 309)), thus deriving from the Qiang (see Rock (1947: 4)).

39) See Rock (1947: 76-86) and Rock (1937: 5-83), the most relevant parts are presented (in simplified form) in Seele (1995: 73-75).


41) See the Chinese Taoist myths of Pan-gu, a relatively late myth, dating from the third century AD, and said to have been compiled by Xu-Zheng. The first man came forth from Hun-tun, chaos, which had the shape of a chicken's egg. The turbid parts of the
egg (yin) precipitated as the earth, the lighter parts (yang) rose up as the sky, see Birrell (1993: 29-34). Birrell discusses Rémi Mathieu (1989: 29, note 1) Anthologie des mythes et légendes de la Chine ancienne: Textes choisis, présentés, traduits et indexés, Connaissance de l'Orient, Vol.LXVIII, Paris) here as suggesting that "the myth may derive from Tibetan peoples of the south-western region, where the author, Hsu Cheng, lived in the era of the Three Kingdoms" (1993: 29). The theme of the separation of heaven and earth seems to resonate well with what is known from the bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs in the Can Inga. Seele (1995) also noticed this point (see 1995: 53-62, especially 60) she presents a version of the Chinese Pan-gu-story, gives a translation, and moreover some further references regarding the origin of the myth. In this context I should also like to refer to some Naxi material (just referred to above) and an Indian parallel to this theme as contained in the Chāndogyopanisad II.19.1-3. See also The Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and religion, Boston 1994 (dating the Pan-gu myth to the third century BC!). See further the article on Pan-gu in Encyclopaedia Brittanica, dating the myth to the third to sixth centuries AD.

42) See Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 552) and also Eliade (1964: 37f.). The Bird-of-Prey-Mother, eagle-headed and with iron feathers, laid three classes of eggs from which she hatched Yakut shamans of different capabilities. A more elaborate description and further reference will be presented below.

43) According to Karmay (The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man, Creation and Procreation of the Tibetan People according to an Indigenous Myth, 1998: 249, note 20, this article was translated from a French version [see references there], the text-edition appears on 274-281) one of these Indian mythologemes, the account of Brahman being born from an egg created by Śiva, was even borrowed into Bon literature (to wit, into Shar-rdza bKrashis rgyal-mtshan's Lung rig mdzod, Dolanji: 89); it also appears in the gTsang ma klu 'bum. In Indian myths the (golden) egg is strongly associated with the sun. For references to text-passages and snippets of translation see Karmay (1998) as above; Hellbom (1963); Newall (1971: 11-14); and Seele (1995: 52 and 140).

44) See the Tamang shamanic song/myth in Höfer (1997: 33, a version of the song is given on 44-46): "... the raven sitting on the surjen tree and the Khyung (Garuda) sitting on the pema gesere tree, swallow the fruit of these trees and each one lays an egg, out of which originate Urgyen Pema, the First Lama, and Dunsur Bon, the First Shaman, respectively" (sometimes the connection tree and bird is the other way round, see Höfer's footnote (6)). These deities then fixate the world. Thanks to Geoffrey Samuel for kindly referring me to this myth.

45) See a creation myth relating the origins of the figure Semar. Sang Hyang Tunggal and Rekawati, daughter of the crab king Rakatamatam, engendered a golden egg. The egg rose with high speed to heaven, like a flash of lightning. In heaven Sang Hyang Wenang, the father of Sang Hyang Tunggal, was meditating and grabbed the lightning, and ... found a golden egg in his hand. Seeing that it was just a golden egg, he threw it back to the earth, where it fell on the island of Java and broke. Three boys came forth from the egg, Manikmaya, Ismaya and Antaga. Ismaya later became the pot-bellied Wayang trickster hero Semar (Knaud, J.M. (1981: 117-119) Tussen Schemering en Dageraad, Achtergronden van de Wayang Poerwa, Den Haag; thanks to Ms. Lidie Bossen for kindly pointing me to this story).

46) In the matriarchal Chimu culture in Peru, featuring a moon-centred mythology, men and heroes came forth from the egg, a symbol of the moon (Krickeberg, W. (1928: 38
and 40f.) Märchen der Azteken und Inkaperuaner, Maya und Muiska, Jena); reference from Neumann (1974: 174).

47) For example in the Yamamoto-cycle the world is said to have evolved from a chaotic mass, an ill-defined egg full of seeds. The finer parts (yang) became heaven the heavier parts (yin) earth (Encyclopaedia Britannica). Cf. Newall (1971: 27f.): "Nihongi, the chronicle of Japan, a Shinto work from the eighth century BC, puts it quite clearly: 'Of old, Heaven and Earth were not yet separated ... they formed a chaotic mass like an egg, which was of obscurely defined limits and contained germs. The purer and clearer part was thinly diffused and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became the earth'.; see the reference there.

48) A cosmic egg, upper half white lower half black, figures in Orphic creation myths, see Neumann (1974: 54, inter alia), he refers to Bachofen, J.J. (1954) Versuch über die Gräbersymbolik der Alten, Gesammelte Werke, Band 4, Basel (see index "Ei"). Unfortunately that work is not accessible to me. Allow me therefore to refer to another early study that discusses the Orphic egg, to wit, to Guthrie, W.K.C. (1935: 92-95, inter alia) Orpheus and Greek Religion, London 1952 (1935). Guthrie (1935: 254f.) refers to a Mithraic relief at Borcovicum (plate 13, see also plate 12), showing the god Mithra appearing from an egg, which, according to the Guthrie is indicative of syncretism between Orphic and Mythraic mythology. According to Staudacher (no reference) this would rather be indicative of a derivation of the Orphic egg from this Mithraic relief; mentioned in Newall (1971: 17). Guthrie dates the myth to the pre-classical stage of Greek thought; as a version is already mentioned in Aristophanes' (450-385 BC) comedy 'The Birds', the fifth century BC seems safe (Guthrie (1935: 92) quotes the story; it is interesting to note that this version states that black-winged night bore a wind-sown egg). Moreover, Damaskios, quoting Eudemos, in an unclear reference suggests that it was already part of the cosmogony of Epimenides the Cretan (end of the seventh century BC). A slightly more elaborate description of one of the many version of this myth can be found in Newall (1971: 17), "from Chaos and Ether, surrounded by night, the universe was shaped in the form of an egg, night serving as the shell. The upper part made the vault of the sky, the lower part the earth. In the centre Protogones was formed, a being symbolizing light, and hence presumably the sun ... Near Lemisso, in Cyprus, a huge stone vase, thirty feet around, supposedly represents this Orphic egg".

49) In the Kalevala Epic there is a cosmogony from eggs embedded in the story of the birth of the earth and Väinämöinen from the womb of Ilmatar, the water mother. The version recounted below apparently collates two creation myths. Ilmatar, the water mother, originally was the virginal daughter of the pure and lofty skies. She grew weary of her loneliness and was fed up with her virginal life. Therefore she decided to descend to the waters and there was made pregnant by a tempestuous gust of east wind. All swollen she continued to float on the mist-shrouded waters, yet could not give birth. When praying for relief to Ukko the Lord of Heaven, a duck appeared, looking for a place to make its nest. Ilmatar offered her knee and shoulder. The duck made its nest on her knee, laid six golden eggs and an iron one, and started hatching the eggs. Irritated by the heat from the hatching Ilmatar's knee jerked, and the eggs rolled into the water and broke into many pieces. Creation then issued forth from pieces of the eggs. This is the version recounted in the later edition of the Karelian Kalevala by Elias Lönnrot, to wit, Kalevala, Das Finnische Epos, München 1979 (1967: 5-9). In another version Väinämöinen floats on the primeval waters and the nest is made on his knee
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(63: 63f.), see Hellbom (1963: 72) for a reference to different versions of the myth.

50) A creator deity created an egg containing two pairs of twins, male and female each, to develop into androgynous beings (Encyclopaedia Brittanica).

51) E.g., the myth describing how the sun is born from an egg laid by a Nile-goose (mate of Seb, the gander god of the earth), see Kees, H. (1941: 307) Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten, in Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft, Bd.45, Leipzig; reference from Neumann (1974: 208). For more information and references regarding this theme see Newall (1971: 7f.).


53) See Hellbom (1963: 64f.). She distinguishes four categories, the cosmic or world egg, the man or mankind egg, the god or hero egg, and the magic egg.


55) Karmay refers to the Dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa'i 'grel chen.

56) See also Kværne (1987).

57) NB. those of the (following) dates that are preceded with a "K: No.#" derive from Karmay (1977), "No.#" indicates the number of entry in Karmay's catalogue. Please note, no original work on my side has been spent on these dates, the reader be referred to the sources mentioned.

58) K: No.1, a gter ma of either gShen-chen Klu-dga' (996-1035), gNyan ston/mtheng) Shes-rab rdo-rje (discovery 1067), or rMa ston Srid 'dzin (b. 1092), edition: Tenzin Namdak, Dolanji 1966, see appendix. See also sNang srid bon gyi mdzod phug thams cad 'byung ba'i sgo mo; edition: Tashi Dorji, Dolanji 1973.

59) brDa dkrol gser gyi me long, Beijing 1997 (1996).

60) Tenzin Namdak (1966: 6.5-16), Srid pa'i mdzod phug. Edition: Dolanji 1966, together with mdzod sgra 'grel commentary, see the appendix.

61) K: No.1, attributed to Dran-pa nam-mkha' (eighth century AD), probably rediscovered by rMa-ston Srid-'dzin (b. 1092). Edition: Tenzin Namdak, Dolanji 1966, together with root-text, see the appendix.


64) Written by a Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, i.e., dGa' ston Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan (14th century AD)? Edition: Tashi Dorji(?), Dolanji.

65) K: No.11.3, a gter ma discovered by Gyer-mi nyi-'od in 1108. Edition: Dolanji?.

66) Read: stang?, see brDa dkrol gser gyi me long, Beijing 1997 (1996), under dbyal mo.

67) See the long lists of epithets in the part preceding what is presented here.
68) Here *gdug pa* would indeed, as Seele suggests, be preferable to *dug (pa)*.
69) Seele correctly emends *rgyang par*, in accordance with the *Nyi zer sgron ma* (66.4: *rkyat bu*), to *rkyal par*.
70) Read: *zer, zer ma* would translate as droplets, cf. the following *'od zer*.
71) I am not sure about this translation.
72) I am following general custom of translation, I am not sure about the exact meaning of *bdar sha* here, see also *dar cha*, *Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru*, 1986: 4.19, *Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang*, Lhasa. It is explicitly circumscribed as *bar gyi sgo nga'i dar cha*, that is, between the egg-shell (*sgong shun*, line 18) and liquid contents (*sgong chu*, line 19).
73) Cf. the *mDzod sgra 'grel*, 1966: 54.4. Probably both have to be negated as in the *mDzod sgra 'grel*, then the relevant distinction is whether the deities kiss or not when they mate, not whether the noses get wet or not (as Seele translates). Moreover it seems that *kyang* would not make much sense without the first part being negated as well.
74) Seele emends *blan (par)* in all instances to *rlan (par)*, also in the *mDzod sgra 'grel* (1966: 54.4 and 5) and in the *sPyi spungs khrpo bo dbang chen gyi 'grel ba* (NB., reading *klan par* (1966: 69.7) and *glan par* (1966: 70.6) successively, instead of *blan par / rlan par*). The only occurrences of *rlan par* in this context occur in the late *gZi brjod* (Vol.II: 449.4: *rlan pa ru*) and in the *Nyir zer sgron ma* (67.3: *brlan nas*), which is possibly also later than the *gSang ba bsen thub*. I would hesitate to recommend the suggested substitution without further evidence supporting the reading *rlan*, not in the last place given the fact that it doesn't yield a better translation.
75) Read: *sgong nga nang gi* ....
76) Seele correctly emends *dmig pa* to *rmig pa*.
77) Read: *zer*, as above.
78) Read: *'bo ba*.
79) Read: *nyi khris cig stong*.
80) Cf. the *mDar-gsas* in the *mDzod sgra 'grel*.
81) Read: *nang gi snying po*.
82) I follow Seele in reading *kha as kha dog*.
84) I am following general custom of translation, I am not sure about the exact meaning of *bdar sha* here, see also *dar cha*.
85) *gSang ba bsen thub rgyud*, (14.5 - 17.1).
86) K: (No.20) written by A-zha Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1198-1263) on the behest of the *gter ston* dByil-ston (dPon-gsas) Khyung-rgod (1175-?) in the monastery of gYas-ru dBen-sa-ka. Edition: Dolanji?
87) K: No.22, said to be written by sKyabs-kyi ston-pa Rin-chen 'od-zer (1353-?) in 1391 (that is, if the date of birth is correct) most probably in dBang-ldan lhun-grub sgang in Tshang (lhun gyis grub pa'i khang bzang), on behest of two prince brothers, dPal-ldan-sa and dPon-chen gYung-drung-'bum of bTsan-lab, a principality in gYya-long. Edition: Yongdzin Sangye Tenzin, Dolanji 1973.
88) K: No.63, *gter ma* by Bra-bo sgom-nyag from Tsong-ka bka'-gnyen mtsho-nag, attributed to Dran-pa nam-mkha' (eighth century AD). Based on the mention of his fourth successor, Khyung-po blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (15th century AD?) in the
colophon, Seele concludes the *gter ston* must have lived before the fourteenth century AD. Edition: Dolanji?


91) See previous note.


93) See especially 1974: 2.3f.. 


95) K: No.8, a *gter ma* that is said to have been discovered first by A-tsa-ra mi gsum, the three *Ācāryas*, at *bSam-yas* in 913 (later it was supposedly discovered by Shu-bon dge-bsnyen). Edition: Dolanji.

96) See 445.3 - 446.4; text from Seele (1995: 91).


98) The text, like the *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub*, reads, head bent noses not involved, possibly to be emended to, not kissing, i.e., head *not* bent noses not involved.

99) See 444.7 - 445.4 and 449.4 - 450.1; text from Seele (1995: 101f.).

100) Probably to be dated to the thirteenth century AD, parts might be older, see Karmay (The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man, 1998*: 258f.). Edition as in Karmay (1998*).


102) Following Karmay I read *phrom* instead of *phrum*.

103) Following Karmay I read *bya glag* instead of *bya blar*.


105) Part of which is attributed to Byang-chub 'dre-bkol (968-1076), part (the *Situ bka' chems*) to Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (1302-1364), other parts might be composed in the seventeenth century; see Martin (1997, entries 2 and 65). Edition: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, Lhasa 1986, as in Seele (1995).

106) Indicating their poorer quality?

107) I am not sure about this translation.


110) Attributed to mNyam-med Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1356-1415).

111) See 253.4-7; text from Seele (1995: 104f.).


113) The text consulted is not the Dolanji one but the edition in Norbu, N. and Prats, R. (1989: 12-14 (text-edition) and 111-113 (translation)).

114) See especially her arrangement of the texts into chapters, see also her tentative conclusions (1995: 130-135).

115) In most cases where cultural areas do not have a clear interface of exchange, 'convergence' would definitely be a more useful hypothesis than 'borrowing'.

116) The theme only appears in a fairly indirect manner, in that the universe is likened to an egg, see Hellbom (1963: 67).
117) Often focusing on a golden egg, strongly associated with the sun, producing a creator deity or first man (see, e.g., the evidence adduced by Newall (1971: 11-14)), yet other themes, such as the creation of heaven and earth from two parts of the egg also occur (e.g. Chandogypananad II.19.1-3).
118) The mythologeme, apart from the Yakut story adduced above, does not seem to be very prominent in North Central Asia at all, see Hellblom (1963: 90 and 99).
119) The direction of influence would in the case of the Pan-gu-story rather seem to be the other way round; see the note regarding Chinese versions of the origin-egg myth at the beginning of this section.
120) Apart from the instances mentioned above, e.g. for China, another brief but telling example regarding the dbu nag mi'u 'dra chags thematic strand will be discussed below.
121) See Karmay (Three Sacred Bon Dances ('Cham), 1998**: 195-197, especially 197), please note the reference should be corrected to Karmay (1977), No.29, 13-19.
122) I shall not discuss the concrete bSen thub quotes and their (lack of) relation to the Khro bo rdang chen here.
123) Stein (1959: 21f.), he refers to an edition of the rGya le'u of Gling Ge-sar that I do not have at my disposal, to wit to 176a - 178b, the passage is also discussed in Seele (1995: 66).
124) Probably to be dated to the thirteenth century AD, parts might be older (Karmay, The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man, 1998*: 258f.).
125) See the discussion under C1 above.
126) See Karmay (The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man, 1998*: 264f., Tibetan on 274f.).
127) This story was told by Lukin Aleksandr, Feb. 11th 1925, and recorded by G.F. Ksenofontov (1955: 156f.).
128) About possible authorship of (parts of) this text more is said above.
130) See Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 300-303). He refers to the Byang gter sri mnnan yi dam drag po gang la'ang sbyar du rung ba'i lag len 'don 'gregs dkyus gcig tu bsdebs pa 'bar ba'i brjid gnon thog brtseg (16 folios), 8v, the work is said to have been composed by Padma gar-dbang-rtsal in rDo-oje thugs kyi rdzong.
132) The pig-headed demons are mentioned twice. At present I have no access to the text and therefore cannot check the original.
133) Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956:290, see also 286 and 309); not having access to a complete version I have not checked the gTsang ma klu 'bum regarding this myself and rely on the account of the author.
134) Briefly mentioned at the end of the previous paragraph in the discussion of the egg-theme, see résumé and references there.
136) Please note that in the texts presented below I try to maintain the orthographic peculiarities and mistakes of the originals, without attempting to emend them. Critical editions have been (and partially are in the process of being) prepared, but, since this
apparatus is not relevant to our present concern, the quite lengthy annotation is not included here.

Appendix

dbal mo nyer bdun skor g-yung drung bon gyi dpe gzhung las phyogs bsdus byas pa//by dge bshes shes rab grags pa, sman ri dgon pa1, 1998

ma gcig srid pa'i rgyal mo'i skor

11) mdzod sgra 'grel deb gzugs can shog grang 53 las/ klong las g-yu mtsho sngon mor srid ces pa/ 'byung ba rgyu lnga klong las zil dang char du srid/ de la phyi'i rgya mtsho ru srid do/ de las srid pa'i smon dang sems can gyi las dbang gis/ mtsho dbus dbyal ma mo zhig srid ces pa/ mtsho de la rlung gis skyod pas/ lbu ba gur tsam pa zhig byung / de las 'od srong sngon por byung / srong nga rang gis rang brol pas/ g-yu'i bud med sngon mo la/ 'thing2 gi mchan ltas bdun du brtsegs pa zhig byung ngo / chu lcags rgyal mo srid pa'i yum zhes pa/ yab sangs po 'bum khris ming btags pa/ sko ba chu lcags rgyal mo zhes dang bya/ [54] chab shang 'phrul mo zhes kyang bya/ bzang za ring btsun zhes kyang bya/ srid pa'i rgyal mo zhes kyang bya/ sa trig er ti zhes kyang bya/ zhes dang /

8) mkha' klong gsang ba'i mdos gzhung dpe gzugs can shog grangs 169 las/ ma gcig srid pa'i rgyal mo ni/ ma zhes bya ba kun 'byung yum/ gcig zhes3 bya ba nyag gcig sems/ [170] srid zhes4 bya ba snod bcud gzhi/ rgyal zhes bya ba kun 'phags pas/ mo zhes bya ba 'byung ba'i gnas/ zhes dang /

9) mdzod 'grel 'phrul gyi sgron me dpe gzugs can shogs grangs 38 las/ phan byed yum gyi srid tshul ni/ klong nas g-yu mtsho sngon mo srid/ mtsho dbus dbyal mo gcig srid pa/ chu lcam rgyal mo'am srid pa'i yum/ zhes pa [39] 'byung ba lnga'i klong las zil dang char du srid/ de las chu'i rgya mtsho ru srid/ de las srid pa'i smon lam dang sems can gyi las dbang gi mtsho5 dbus su dbyal mo ma gcig6 srid/ dran pas gsungs so/ la las mchog mtsho yin gsungs so/ sangs po yab kyis mtshan chu lcam rgyal mo zhes btags so/ srid pa 'go nas bshad bzhin yum don mthun no/ zhes dang /

5) bskang 'bum bam po dang po nang - mkha' klong bskang bshags dpe gzugs can shog grangs 496 las/ ma gcig7 srid pa'i rgyal mo mthu mo che/ zhal gsum phyag drug dmar nag rngams pa'i sku/ dbal gtor bdud rtsi sman gyis thugs dam bskang / g-yas dkar g-yon dmar dbus zhal mthing la nag/ khams gsum bsgral ba'i phung pos thugs dam bskang/ phyag drug mtshon chas rgyu drug rtsad nas gcod [497] yul shes rang grol mchod pas thugs dam bskang / zhabs bzhis bdud bzhis skye rga na 'chi gnon/ chu bzhis bsgral ba'i phung pos thugs dam bskang / mi dred bcibs nas stong gsum yud la bskor/ dam sri bskral8 ba'i phung pos thugs dam bskang / zhes dang /
5) bskang 'bum bam po gnyis pa nang - srid rgyal dre'u dmar mo'i bskang bshags dpe gzugs can shog grangs 130 las/ ma mchog srid pa'i rgyal mo ni/ phyi rgyud srung ma mdzad tsam na/ gnam phyi gung rgyal mthu mo che/ dkar mo 'bum gyi dbus na 'gying / ? chibs su shel gyi khyung chen bcibs/ srid gsum zil gnon mthu mo che/ gshen rab ston pa'i bka' nyan ma/ sngon gyi thugs dam ji bzhin du/ gsang ba'i gnas 'dir gshegs su gsol/ 'dod yon mchod pas thugs dam bskang / ma mchog srid pa'i rgyal mo ni/ nang rgyud srung ma mdzad tsam na/ nam mkha' khamgs kyi dbyings phyug ma/ smug nag 'bum gyi dbus na 'gying / chibs su g-yu'i khyung chen bcibs/ khamgs gsum dbang bsdu mthu mo che/ khri zhi nam ting bka' nyan [131] ma/ sngon gyi thugs dam ji bzhin du / gsang ba'i gnas 'dir bdud rtsi sman gyis thugs dam bskang / ma mchog srid pa'i rgyal mo ni/ bskang rgyud srung ma mdzad tsam na/ yon tan kun 'byung dpal ldan mo/ mthig nag 'bum gyi dbus na 'gying / chibs su d're'u rta rkang gsum bcibs/ stong gsum 'dul ba'i mthu mo che/ gsang ba 'dus pa'i bka' nyan ma/ sngon gyi thugs dam ji gsang ba'i gnas 'dir gshegs rma' 'byung gtor mas thugs dam bskang/)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>? bstan srung yongs kyi gtso mo'i phyi nang gsang gi mtshan</th>
<th>khor</th>
<th>bcibs pa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phyi gnam phyi gung rgyal mthu mo che</td>
<td>dkar mo 'bum shel gyi khyung chen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nang nam mkha' khamgs kyi dbyings phyyug ma</td>
<td>smug nag 'bum g-yu'i khyung chen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gsang yon tan kun 'byung dpal ldan mo</td>
<td>mthiing nag 'bum d're'u rta rkang gsum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

yang 5) bskang 'bum bam po dang po nang - mkha' klongs bskang bshags dpe gzugs can shog grangs 592 las/ bswo srid pa'i rgyal mo 'gran gyi zla med ma/ lha za mtshan drug srid pa kun gyi yum/ [593] log rto'gs9 zhi ba'i ngang du rdzogs tsam na/ bzang za ring btsun lha mo dar gyi yum/ ggas mkhar rgyas pa'i gtso mo mdzad tsam na/ sa trig er sangs rgyal mo dbyings kyis10 yum/ mkha' gying lh'ai sgrol yum mdzad tsam na/ srid pa'i rgyal mo gzhan gyi 'gran zla med/ gnam bdud klu dbang zil gyi gnon tsam na/ gnam phyi gung rgyal srid pa'i dbang mo che/ skye 'gro srid pa'i wa mo11 mdzad tsam na/ chu lecm rgyal mo srid pa'i yum gcig ma/ lha mchog thugs kyis12 gsang yum mdzad tsam na/ mkha' la gdug mo ba ga srid pa'i yum/ lha za mtshan drug mtshan nas bso tsam na/ srid pa'i rgyal mo dbyings nas sku bskyod la/ ye shes rdzu 'phrul las kyis13 spar ma mams/ rang dbang med par yum gyi bzhes thob la/ [594] 'dir gshegs tha tshigs14 sha khrag dmar la spyon/
7) sman ri khri 'dzin 33 zhal 'don phyag dpe bris ma srid rgyal nang skang shog grangs 4 las/ bswa ma cig\textsuperscript{15} dus drug drag tu khros pa'i tshe/ srod la nam mkha' khros tshul srog gcod ma/ nag mo dgu khri las kyi bran du 'khol/ bskang rten rdzhas kyis gnas 'dir thugs dam bskang / bdud mo khram kha sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur! nam gong\textsuperscript{16} sngon mo gtum tshul gzhen 'debs ma/ sngon mo dgu khri las kyi bran du 'khol/ skang rten rdzhas= srin mo'i za kha sdang ba'i dgra la [5] sgyur/ tho rangs dkar mo mdangs ldan dbang sdud ma/ dkar mo dgu khri las kyi= skang rten rdzhas= lha mo'i dбу yog sdang ba'i dgra la= nyi shar ser mo 'jigs tshul 'od 'phro ma/ ser mo dgu khri las kyi= skang rten rdzhas= sman mo'i gdu gtsub sdang ba'i nyin byed\textsuperscript{17} dmar mo mdangs ldan bkra gsal ma/ dmar mo dgu khri las kyi= skang rten= mkha' 'gro'i bka' chad sdang ba'i= phyi 'phrad smug mo rngam tshul zer gsal ma/ smug mo dgu khri las kyi= skang rten= klu mo'i dal yams sdang ba'i = yum chen khro mo sde drug 'khor dang bcas/ gzugs sgra dri ro reg rgyan bon gter dang / sna tshogs skang rdzhas 'dod yon tshang pa 'dis/ dus drug sprul pa yum gyi thugs dam bskang / khyed kyi thugs dam dbyings su bskangs nas kyang / mi mthun bar chod sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur/ gshen gyi bka' [5 rgyab] srungs sgrub gshen 'khor 'dabs spel// zhes dang /

4) dbal gsas las rim sku bstod dpe gzugs can 254 las/ nam gung sngon mo'i chas su 'jug/ sngon mo dgu khri dbal gyi spar ma [255] 'gyed! tho rangs dkar mo'i chas su 'jug-\textsuperscript{18} dkar mo dgu khri 'gyed/ nyi shar ser mo'i chas su 'jug/ ser mo dgu khri dbal gyi spar ma 'gyed/ nyi phyed\textsuperscript{19} dmar mo'i chas su 'jug/ dmar mo dgu khri dbal gyi spar ma 'gyed/ phyi 'phrad smug mo'i chas su 'jug/ smug mo dgu khri dbal gyi spar ma 'gyed/ rin chen sku ni gar yang mi bskyod de// thugs kyi sprul pas snang srid phyogs bcur khyab/ zhes dang /

2) khro gzhung dbal mo nyer brgyad dpe gzugs can 373 la'ang gsal ba ltar dbal gsas las rim dang 'dra mtshungs yin pas ma bris so/

| ? dus drug sprul pa yum chen khro mo sde drug ni/ |
|------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| dus tshod         | sku yi rnam 'gyur | gsang mtshan | bran 'khor    | byed las       |
| srod mtshan       | nag mo khros tshul | srog gcod ma | nag mo dgu khri las kyi bran | bdud mo khram kha sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur ba |
| 20-21 khyi        |                 |             |                 |                |
| nam gong nyin 18-19 yos | sngon mo gtum tshul | gzhen 'debs ma | sngon mo dgu khri las kyi bran | srin mo'i za kha sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur ba |
| tho rangs mtshan 4-5 stag | dkar mo mdangs ldan | dbang sdud ma | dkar mo dgu khri las kyi bran | lha mo'i dбу yog sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur ba |
| nyi shar nyin 8-9 'brug | gser mo 'jigs tshul | 'od 'phro ma | ser mo dgu khri las kyi bran | sman mo'i gdu gtsub sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur |
yang 7) sman ri khri 'dzin 33 zhal 'don phyag dpe bris ma srid rgyal nang skang shog grangs 5 las/ bswa mo cig20 bka' blon 'byung bzhi'i rgyal mo bzhi/ sa sman ne slas rgyal mo g-yung drung ston sa yi ma mo dgu khri sprul pa 'gyed/ skang rten= sa las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sog/ ne slas mkhris pa'i dal yams dgra la sgyur/ rlung sman li sman rgyal mo 'khor lo bsgyur/ rlung gi ma mo dgu khri sprul pa 'gyed/ skang rten= rlung las gyur pa'i byad dang dgra bgegs sog/ li mun rlung gi nad sna dgra la sgyur/ me sman tshangs stang rgyal mo padma gsal/ me yi ma mo dgu khri sprul pa 'gyed/ skang rten= me las gyur pa'i byad dang dgra bgegs sog/ tshangs stang tsha rims sdang ba'i dgra= chu sman ming nam rgyal mo rin chen gter/ chu yi ma mo dgu khri sprul pa 'gyed/ skang rten= chu las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sog/ ting [6] nam rba 'khrug dal yams dgra=/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mtshan</th>
<th>phyogs rtags</th>
<th>sprul pa</th>
<th>byed las</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa sman ne slas rgyal mo</td>
<td>g-yung drung</td>
<td>sa yi lha mo dgu khri'i sprul pa 'gyed</td>
<td>sa las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sog/ ne slas mkhris pa'i dal yams dgra la sgyur ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rlung sman li sman rgyal mo</td>
<td>'khor lo</td>
<td>rlung gi lha mo dgu khri'i sprul pa 'gyed</td>
<td>rlung las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sog/ li mun rlung gi nad sna dgra la sgyur ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me sman tshangs stang rgyal mo</td>
<td>pad ma</td>
<td>me yi lha mo dgu khri'i sprul pa 'gyed</td>
<td>me las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sog/ tshangs stang tsha rims sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chu sman ting nam rgyal mo</td>
<td>rin chen</td>
<td>chu yi lha mo dgu khri'i sprul pa 'gyed</td>
<td>chu las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sog/ ting nam rba 'khrug dal yams dgra la sgyur ba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

yang 4) gze gyad spar gsum grol tshul lung las phyogs bsdud byas pa/ dbal gsas las rim dpe gzugs can shog grangs 264 las/ bswa mi bzad gnam gyi lha rgod thog pa dang / srid pa'i rgyal mo 'gren21' gyi zla med ma/ bar snang sgra yi nang du gnyis med thabs
kyi rol pa las/ dbal gyi sgo nga nyi shu rtsa bdun byung / dbal gsas rngam pa thugs kyi pho nya mo/ zhes dang/

3) zhi khrong rtsa gsum gyi zlog bsgyur dpung gi mchong dpe gzugs can shog grangs 667 las/ ma cig22 srid pa'i rgyal mo dang % khrong chen gsung gis23 rdzu 'phrul las% gnam gyis24 lha rgod thog pa gnyis% thabs dang yid kyi sprul pa las% dbal gyi sgo nga nyi shu rtsa bdun% dang po ye shes gze ma dgu% de 'og rdzu 'phrul gyad mo dgu% tha chung las kyi spar ma dgu% gze ma dgu ni rje mo'i tshul% gyad mo dgu ni blon mo'i tshul% byin te dgu ni 'bangs mo'i tshul% zhes dang/

yang 8) mkha' klong gsang mdos dpe gzugs can shog grangs 197 las/ bswor ri rab bang rim dang po la/ dbal mo gyi ma mo rtsa bdun bskangs/ ma cig25 bde' gro gsang ba'i/ sgal tshig26 nyi shu rtsa bdun la/ ma mo nyi shu rtsa bdun sprul/ rje blon 'bangs kyi tshul du bskang / zhes dang /

2) khrong ghung gze rtags dpe gzugs can shog grangs 540 las/ thugs rjes gnyis med thabs kyi rol pa ni/ dbal gsas rngam pa thugs kyi sprul pa las/ mi zad gnam gyi lha rgod thog pa dang / ! [541] bar snang sgra yi nang du rol pa27 mzdad du gso/ öm rol par mzdad par 'grub thabs kyi rol par mzdad pa'i byin rlbas kyi/ dbal gyi spar ma nyi shu rtsa bdun byung / zhes dang/

yang 11) mzdod sgra 'grel deb gzugs can shog grangs 54 las/ sags po chu lcags gnyis srid pas zhes pa/ de yang kun rdzob tu yab dang yum la smos kyang / don dam par thabs dang shes rab tu gnas pa'o/ yang de nyid las/ shog grangs 59 las/ gnam phyi lha rgod sprul pa las/ dgu gsum nyi shu rtsa bdun byung zhes [60] pa! bla'i gcen dgu ni dbhyings ye shes kyi gze ma mgo dgu/ bar kyi tshigs dgu ni mkha' klong gi gyad mo stobs chen ma dgu/ 'og gi gcung dgu ni/ las thabs kyi thang mo byin te dgu/ ma btsun kun gyi rje mo mzdad cing / g-yung drung bon gyi dmu thag gyen du 'dren/ bstan pa srgb na b'yi spar ma lags so/ de yang don du khams chen po bco brgyad kyi 'od zer ro/ zhes dang /

yang 5) bskang 'bum bamo dang po nang - mkha' klong bskang bshags dpe gzugs can shog grangs 590 las/ gnam gyi lha rgod thog pa rje/ sku ni sprul pa cir yang ston/ dbyungs dgu klong gi nam mkha' las/ thugs rje byams ma sprul pa'i yum/ rlung srim28 'khrug pa'i gsas mkhar du/ 'byung ba'i sgra las sprul pa la/ ye shes rdzu 'phrul las grub pa'i/ spa ma29 nyi shu rtsa bdun 'byung / zhes dang /

2) zhi khrong ye shes bskang rdzogs gsang 'dus thugs bced dpe gzugs can shog grangs 229 las/ dmar thsogs byin chung phud nyams lhag ma shor/ dbal mo nyi shu rtsa brgyad thsogs la mthol bshags/ zhes dang / yang de nyid las/ shog grangs 214 las/ phyi nang dbal mo nyi shu rtsa brgyad dgongs su gso/ nam mkha' dbyings kyi pho brang nas/ srid pa'i rgyal mo dgongs su gso/ 'dzin byed gze ma ma dgu dgongs su gso/ stobs ldan gyad mo ma dgu dgongs su gso/ srog len spar ma ma dgu dgongs su gso/ dmar thsogs byin gyi thugs dam bskang / zhes dang / yang de nyid las/ shog grangs 224 las/ bka' nyan las kyi gsas mkhar nas/ srid pa'i rgyal mo dbang grub ma/ gze gyad spar ma pho ngyal kyi tshogs/ dbal mo nyi shu rtsa brgyad dgongs su gso/ zhes dang /
6) skyabs ston khro 'grel deb gzugs can shog grangs 330 las/ gnyis pa la 'gyur ba med pa yab kyi mkha' dang / yang dog med pa yum gyi klong dkyil te/ yab yum rol pa\textsuperscript{30} mdzad pa'i byin rlabs kyis/ dbal gyi spar ma nyi shu rtsa bdun byung ces pa ltar skyed pa'i gnas so/ gong gi sypan drang ltar 'dir yang phyi nang gi gzhal yas dang sbyar ba te/ gnyis med ni las kyi sems dpa/ stag lha'i gsung gi me tog la sogz lus kyi gnas dgu la/ gnam yol gyi thig pa ltar bshad pa'o/ de ltar yang don 'di sgrub pa'i gshen po go dang rin pa de'i lus kyi gnas dgu'o/ thugs rje sprul pa dbang gi gsas mkhar ni/ gsas mkhar gnyen po de'i phyi rim gyi bar 'khym khrag mtsho yin la/ de dag so so'i ming yang thugs rje mkha' yang la sogz dbal so\textsuperscript{31} dang rtags nas bshad pa'i ming dgu so sor sbyar ro/ de kun gyi yod lugs spyad\textsuperscript{32} nas/ srid rgyal dang myam pa'i nyer brgyad yod pa de la/ gtso mo'i bstod gnas gzhal yas dbus kyi dus su glo bur dkar po shar du bshad pa'o/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gze gyad spar gsum gyi sa bon bcas</th>
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<tr>
<td>gze ma dgu</td>
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<tr>
<td>gyad mo dgu</td>
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<td>spar ma dgu</td>
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srid pa'i rgyal mo'i sku yi sprul pa/

yang 4) gze ma dgu grol tshul gyi lung phyogs bs dus byas pa/ dbal gsas las rim dpe gzugs can shog grangs 264 las/ dbal gyi sgo nga dang po dgu brdol ba/ mi bzad dbal gyi gze ma mgo dgu byung / zhes dang /

yang 2) khro gzhung dbal mo nyer brgyad dpe gzugs can shog grangs 376 las/ thabs kyis rol pa mdzad pa'i byin rlabs kyis/ dbal gyi spar ma nyi shu rtsa bdun byung / dbal gsas rngam pa thugs rje pho nya mo/ srid pa'i sgo nga dang po dgu brdol ba/ mi bzad dbal gyi gze ma mgo dgu ste zhes gsungs so/ zhes dang /

yang 2) khro gzhung gze rtags dpe gzugs can shog grangs 541 las/ òm bar snang kun grags sgra yi sgra rgyal 'brug gi sgra las gcig brtol pa/ mi lus sngon mo 'brug gi mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab gsung gi sgra las sprul pa rtags/ òm sgra las sprul par 'grub gyur cig/ sgra rgyal 'brug gi mgo bo rtags pa ni/ dgra bo'i rgyal kham's khrugs byed pa'i rtags/ òm 'khrugs par byed par 'grub= sku mdog sngon mo g-yu yi rang bzhin ni/ nam mkha' g-yu yi dbang dang ldan pa'rtags/ òm dbang dang ldan par 'grub= chu sрин lag g-yab\textsuperscript{33} g-yob cing 'o dod ' bod pa ni/ dgra bgegs myur du dbang du sdu pā'rtags/ [542] òm dbang du sdu pā'rtags par 'grub= lcags kyi mche ba dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdor zhing dgra bo'i sha la za ba'rtags/ òm sha la za
The 'Bon dBal-mo Nyer-bdun (brgyad) and the Buddhist dBang-phyug-ma Nyer-brgyad

'phro ba! gnod sbyin skar mda' dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ 6m dbang dang ldan par 'grub= khra yi gshog pa mngag cing pho nyar 'gyed pa ni/! dgra bo bang g lha dang phral ba'i rtags/ 6m lha dang phral bar 'grub= khro chu'i mche ba dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdar zging dgra bo'i klad pa gshog pa'i rtags/ 6m klad pa gshog par 'grub= 6m smug rin mo spyang bzhin ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ 6m 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gslol/ / 6m bskal pa sreg byed me yi gsas mkhar na/ me dpung 'bar ba'i sgra las gcig brtol pa42/ mi [548] lus smug nag stag gi mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab drod kyi mthong las sprul pa'i rtags/ 6m mthong las sprul par 'grub= dpa' bo stag gi mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bo sha khrag las bza' ba'i rtags/ 6m zas su bza' bar 'grub gnyur= sku mdog smug nag bse yi bzhin thogs pa/ srid pa ma mo'i dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ 6m dbang dang ldan par 'grub= dred kyi g-yang gzhhi brdebc cing phrag la 'gel ba ni/ dgra bo gnam sa bzlog par mdzad pa'i rtags/ 6m gnam sa bzlog par 'grub= chu gri'i lag pa dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdar zhing dgra bo'i don snying gcod pa'i rtags/ 6m don snying gcod par 'grub= 6m stag lcam 'بري mthong ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ 6m 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gslol/ / 6m mbi bzad sgra rgyal 'phrul gyi [549] gsas mkhar na/ mga dang gshang gi sgra las gcig brtol pa43/ mi lus ser ljang khyung gi mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab snyan gyi mchog las sprul pa'i rtags/ 6m mchog las sprul par 'grub= rbals chen khyung gi mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bo'i khyim 'khor las su za' ba'i rtags/ 6m las su za bar 'grub= sku mdog ser ljang nyi ma'i 'od 'phro ba/ gza' chen brgyad kyi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ 6m dbang dang ldan par 'grub= pho dgu mo dgu rbas shing bskungs nas 'gyed pa ni/ dgra bo'i blo bur hur thum gsd pa pa'i rtags/ 6m hur thum gsd par 'grub= rdzu 'phrul mche ba dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdar zhing dgra bo'i yan lag gcod pa'i rtags/ 6m yan lag gcod par 'grub= 6m khyung lcam rbals mo skar la phyag 'tshal lo/ 6m 'gyur [550] med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gslol/ / 6m thugs rje rgyun med chu yi gsas mkhar na/ rgya mtsho gling gi sgra las gcig brtol ba44/ mi lus sngo ljang chu s rin mgo can 'byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab rtsa yi sbrubs nas sprul pa'i rtags/ 6m sbrubs nas sprul pa 'grub gnyur= kha mga' chu s rin mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bo bang gi lha yang dngangs pa'i rtags/ ! 6m lha yang bsngang bar 'grub= sku mdog sngo ljang chu yi mdog can ni/ rgya mtsho klu yi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ 6m dbang dang ldan par 'grub= sprul pa rlung gi g-yab mos khams gsum yongs la 'debs pa ni/ dgra bo ma lus dbang du sdu pa'i rtags/ 6m dbang du bsdu bar 'grub= shel gyi mche ba dbal dang chas pa ni/ dgra bo'i khong khrag kha ru 'jib pa'i rtags/ 6m kha ru gzhib par 'grub= 6m klu mo gdu gpa mo la phyag 'tshal lo/ 6m 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gslol/ / zhes dang /

1) khro bo lha rgod thog pa'i zlog gshzung / khro bo'i lha rgod thog pa'i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzugs can bam po gnyis pa shog grangs 54 las/ srid pa'i rgyal mo sku sprul gze ma dgu/ sngo mo 'brug mgos [55] chu s rin ru mtshon phyar/ ljang nag sbrul mgos khyung gi gshog pa rde'bab neg mo rkyung mgos sbrul gyi zhag pa sdog- dkar mo seng mgos gdu gpa'i mo mtshon bsnam/ dmar mo dreg mgs gnam lcags ral gri phyir45/ dmar neg snyang mgos khra gshog pho nyar 'gyed/ smug nag stag mgs dreg kyi g-yang gzhhi rde'bab ser ljang khyung mgos khram bam dmar nag bsnam/ sngo ljang chu s rin mgo can rlung g-yab 'debs/ 'jigs byed dbal gyi gze ma mgo dgu ni/ dgra bgegs bsgral ba'i gnam lcags thog mda' yin/ thams cad myur du zlog pa'i rgyal po yin/ zhes dang /
10) khrö bo lha rgyud thog pa’i srung zlog las byang / khrö bo’i lha rgyud thog pa’i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzugs can bam po dang po shog grangs 550 las/ bswod gsas mkhar bar ’khyams khrag mtsho’i dbus dkyil nas/ ma mchog sku las sprul pa’i gze ma dgu/ ’brug sbrul skyung seng dred spyang stag dang khyung / kha sgam chu srin ’jigs [551] pa’i dbus brnyen46 can/ rang rang sprul pa ’gyed pa’i lag cha thogs/ ’jigs byed stobs chen ’bum gyi lha ’khor bcas!! zhes dang /

yang 6) skyabs ston khrö ’grel deb gzugs can shog grangs 327 las/ rtsa ba ni gze ni gyad la ’dzin pa dang / ma ni ’brug mgo mi mo ma zhes bshed pa ltar gyi dgu ste gzhän la yang ’gre’o/ mgo dgu rtags kyi byed pa dgu dang / rdol byed dgu dang mthun pa’i mgo brnyan no/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gze ma dgu</th>
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<th>sku lus mi mor byung ba’i rtags</th>
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<td>sngon mo ’brug gi mgo can</td>
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<td>gshen rab ltag pa’i rgyas nas sprul pa’i rtags</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>gshen rab drod kyi mthong las sprul pa’i rtags</td>
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<tr>
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<td>gshen rab snyan gyi mchog las sprul pa’i rtags</td>
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<tr>
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<td>rlung g-yab stong gsum g-yob pa</td>
<td>gshen rab rtsa yi sbubs nas sprul pa’i rtags</td>
</tr>
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</table>

NB. Table continues next.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gze ma dgu</th>
<th>phyag mtshon sogs</th>
<th>sku lus mi mor byung ba’i rtags</th>
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<td>sku mdog</td>
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<td>dgra bgegs myur du dbang du sdud pa'i rtags</td>
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<td>dgra bo thog pa'i gzhung la bskyon pa'i rtags</td>
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<tr>
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<td>dgra bo bla 'khyams 'dzin nas yongs pa'i rtags</td>
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<td>dgra bo pang gi lha dang phral ba'i rtags</td>
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<td>dgra bo gnam sa bzlog par mdzad pa'i rtags</td>
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<td>dgra bo'i khyim 'khor zas su za ba'i rtags</td>
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<td>dgra bo blo bur myur thub gnod pa'i rtags</td>
</tr>
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<td>dgra bo'i bang gi lha yang dngang pa'i rtags</td>
<td>rgya mtsho klung gi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags</td>
<td>dgra bo ma lus dbang du sdud pa'i rtags</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

srid pa'i rgyal mo'i gsum gi sprul pa/

yang 4) gyad mo dgu grol tshul lung las phyogs bs dus byas pa/ dbal gsas rmgam pa'i las rim dpe gugs can 271 las/ bswo srid pa'i sgo nga bar ma dgu brdol pa\(^{48}\) / mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig\(^{49}\) / dbal g-yag ngar ba'i dgra las gciig brdol pa\(^{50}\) / mi lus 'gying ma 'brong gi mgo bo can/'brong gi ru g-yug sdang pa'i\(^{51}\) dgra la 'gyed/'brong skad ngar ba don zhing hgshgs su gsol/'gying ma stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'\(^{52}\) dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/dbang du bs dus la rdul du [271 rgyab] rlogs/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol/ bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig\(^{53}\) / lha ri sposs mchog rtse la gcig brdol pa\(^{54}\) / mi lus dkar mo bya rgod mgo bo can/rgod kyi rje phur mnag cing dgra la 'gyed/lha yi ru mtshon phyar zhing hgshgs su gsol/kang ka stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'\(^{55}\) dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/dbang du bs dus la rdul du rlog/ ring par\(^{56}\) khug la myur du sgrol// bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig\(^{57}\) / nag po klu yi sgra las gcig brdol pa\(^{58}\) / gtum chen mi bzad dom gyi mgo bo can/dom gyi gtum tshul 'jigs pa dgra la 'gyed/klu yi pho nyar 'gyed kyi hgshgs [272] su gsol/gtum mo stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'\(^{59}\) dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/dbang du bs dus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol// bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig\(^{60}\) / za mkhan ma mo'i sgra las gcig brdol pa\(^{61}\) / mi lus stobs ldan glang po'i mgo bo can/sa la 'phang rdo blang zhing dgra la 'phen/ sa sрин g-yang gzhii brdabs kyiin hgshgs su gsol/stobs ldan glang mgo 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'\(^{62}\) dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/dbang du bs dus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol// bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig\(^{63}\) / skye dang btsan gyi [272 rgyab] sgra las cig brdol pa\(^{64}\) / mi lus sngon mo gzig gi mgo bo can/btsan zhags khra bo dgra la mda' rta phen/btsan zhaq khra bo
bsdogs kyin gshegs su gsol/ gzig mgo stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bs dus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol/ /bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig/ ngar chen 'brug gi sgra las cig brdol pa/ mi lus ser ljang 'ug pa'i mgo bo can/ 'jigs pa'i skad kyi sgra la lbas ngan skyel/ gad rgyang ha ha rgod kyin gshegs su gsol/ rkan sgra stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du [273] bs dus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du bs sgrol/ /bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig/ gsal 'khyug glog gi sgra las cig brdol pa/ mi lus dmar mo myogs byed khra yi mgo bo can/ drag po khra yi dpung zur dgra la brdeg/ dgra bo'i bla 'khvams 'gugs kyin gshegs su gsol/ myogs byed stobs ldan 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bs dus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol/ /bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig/ lha chen gsa' yi sgra las cig brdol pa/ mi lus skya bkra gs'a' yi mgo bo can/ dred kyi lag pa thogs nas g-yab [273 rgyab] mo 'debs/ dgra bgegs srog la rgyal zhing gshegs su gsol/ gdug mo stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bs dus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol/ /bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig/ phyag mtshan g-yas kyi sgra las cig brdol pa/ mi lus dmar nag phag rgod mgo bo can/ phag rgod mche ba bdar zhing dgra sha za/ sngon dmar gru gu bsdogs kyin gshegs su gsol/ dmig ngan stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bs dus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol/ /bswo mi bzad stobs chen dbal [274] gyi gyad mo dgu/ dam tshig bsnyan pa'i las la gshegs su gsol/ thugs rje sprul pa'i las la gshegs su gsol/ dgra dpung bshigs pa'i las la gshegs su gsol/ bdud dpung gzhom pa'i las la gshegs su gsol/ bstan pa brsung ba'i don la gshegs su gsol/ rdzu 'phrul thabs dang ldan te gshegs su gsol/ nga ro sgra dang chas te gshegs su gsol/ ngs mo tshon dbal dang chas te gshegs su gsol/ zhes dang /

yang 1) khro bo lha rgyod thog pa'i zlog gzhung / khro bo'i lha rgyod thog pa'i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzugs can bam po gnyis pa shog grangs 56 las srid pa'i rgyal mo/ ma cig/ srid rgyal gsung sprul gyad mo dgu/ dmar ser 'brong mgo 'brong gi ru skyoys 'dzin/ dkar mo rgod mgo las lha yi ru tshon phyar/ nag mo dom mgo sbrul nag zhags pa sdogs/ ser mo glang mgo sa srin g-yang gzhis rdebs/ sngon mo gzig mgo btsan zhags dmar po 'phen/ ser ljang 'ug mgo srin bya dgra la spor/ dmar mo khra mgo lcags kyi'i dgra snying 'dren/ skya bkra gs'a' mgo sspu gri'i dgra srog phrog/ dmar nag phag mgo mtshan gyi gru gu sdoig/ mi bzad stobs chen dbal gyi gyad mo dgu/ dgra bgegs bsgral ba'i gnam lcags [57] thog mda' yin/ thams cad myur du zlog pa'i rgyal po yin/ zhes dang /

yang 2) khro gzhung dbal mo nger brgyad dpe gzugs can shog grangs 403 nas 407 gyi bar du/ yod la dbal gzhung dang ggcig mtshungs yin pas ma bs dus sol/ zhes dang /

yang 10) khro bo lha rgyod thog pa'i srung zlog las byang / khro bo'i lha rgyod thog pa'i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzugs can bam po dang po shog grangs 551 las/ bsw o gsas mkhar bar khyams khrag mtsho'i g-yas phyogs na/ ma mchog gsung las sprul pa'i gyad mo dgu/ 'brong rgyod dom glang gzig 'ug khra dang gsa' dmar nag phag rgod 'jigs pa'i mgo
brnyan can/ rang rang 'jigs rngam sprul pa'i lag cha thogs/ rgol byed khros ma 'bum gyi lha 'khor bcas/

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<tr>
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</table>

srid pa'i rgyal mo'i thugs kyi sprul pa/

yang 4) byin te dgu grol tshul lung las phyogs bs dus byas pa/ dbal gsas las rim dpe gzugs can 274 las/ bswo srid pa'i sgo nga tha ma dgu brdol pa\(^a\) / dbal gyi byin te chen mo dgu ru byung / zhes dang /

yang 1) khro bo lha rgod thog pa'i zlog gzhung / khro bo'i lha rgod thog pa'i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzugs can bam po gnyis pa shog grangs 57 las srid pa'i rgyal mo/ ma cig\(^b\) srid rgyal thugs sprul byin te dgu/ lha dmag dkar mo lha yi ba dan phyar/ nag mo gser ral sbrul zha gs mda' ltar 'phen/ nag mo gdong dgu'i bdud mda' thog ltar 'phen/ smug mo mthing ral mtshon gyi gru gu bsgyur/ sngon mo gdong drug chu srin g-yang gzhi phyar/ dkar mo zhal gnyis shel sngong dkar nag 'thor/ dmar mo gdong dgu'i byur thag dgra la 'dog\(^c\)- sngo ljang dbu gnyis gshen la dnu thag skyongs/ dmar nag lcags ral gshin lam [58] log par 'dren/ mthu rtsal stobs chen dbal gyi spar ma dgu/ dgra bgegs bsgral ba'i gnam lcags thog mda' yin/ thams cad myur du zlog pa'i rgyal po yin/ zhes dang /

yang 2) khro gzhung dbal mo nyer brgyad dpe gzugs can shog grangs 407 las/ bswo srid pa'i rgyal mo gnam phyi gung rgyal dang / gnam gyi lha rgod thog pa gnyis/ bar snang sgra yi nang du ma mjăl yid kyi bshos pa'i dbal gyi sgo nga tha ma dgu/ 'phrugs shing brdol du ma 'dod de/ dung sngon de ni dkar mo zhi/ yul gnam gyi ya bla ru/ gnam rje [408] smon thang de la byin te btang / lha rlung 'phyo ba'i rlbs kyis brdol/ bud med dkar mo ya mtshan can/ gnam gyi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni lha mo thang / gnam gyi spar ma dgu khrî'i'a mo byed/ ? gser sngon de ni ser mo zhi/ yul sa ga dog drug tu! sa bla mgon bu de la byin te btang / gser rdo legs pa'i gdar la brtol/
bud med nag mo gser gyi ral pa can/ sa yi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni dog mo thang / sa srin spar ma dgu khrì'i 'a mo byed/ ? lcags sngong de ni nag mo zhig/ yul bdud yul nag po dgu sul du / bdud kyi rgyal po ri bo mgo g-yag de la byin te btang / bdud brag nag po'i ngos la btrol/ bud med nag mo bse yi gdong dgu ma/ bdud kyi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni bdud mo thang / ma bdud spar ma dgu khrì'i 'a mo [409] byed/ ? mchong sngong de ni smug mo zhig/ yul dnu yul stang 'brang steng 'brang du/ dmu rje btsun thog skyol po de la byin te btang / dmu brag shel mo'i ngos la btrol/ bud med smug mo mthig gi ral pa can / dmu yi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni dmu mo thang / dal bdag spar ma dgu khrì'i 'a mo byed/ ? g-yu sngong de ni sngon mo zhig/ yul klu yul na tra gseng sngon du/ klu yi rgyal po ba ru rgyal ba de la byin te btang / klu glang ru dkar ru yi rtse la btrol/ bud med sngon mo skar ma'i gdong drug ma/ klu yi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni klu mo thang / klu srin spar ma dgu khrì'i 'a mo byed/ ? shel sngong de ni dkar mo zhig / yul gnyan yul pho ma gser steng du/ gnyan sum gtdod de rgyal ba de la byin te btang / gser [410] gya bo bong sra brtan zur la brdrol/ bud med dkar mo g-yu yi zhal gnyis ma/ gnyan gyi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni sgrub mo thang / srin gyi rgyal po'i lag tu bab/ bgegs kyi rgyal po'i mchid na ro! rdo sngong de ni gro mo 'di/ ci'i cho la ci'i 'brang zhes mchid/ sgo nga la btrol lhangs kyi smras/ nga ni srid pa rgyal mo'i bu/ srid pa phyi yi gdar btrol na/ nga yi lus ngag khyod la sbyin zhes smras/ bgegs kyi rgyal po'i mchid na ro/ srid pa'i rgyal mo ci mì mdzad/ mnol dang btsog gi bu yang mo zhes mchid/ brag dmar zangs yag ngos la brdabs te btang / bud med dmar nag lcags lcags84 kyi ral sa can cig byung / lus ngag byin nas ya ka sgrogs po skad/ bgegs kyi rgyal po byi na ya ga zhes kyang de la bya/ bud [412] med kyi ming btags pa/ bgegs kyi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni bgegs mo thang / phug bdag spar ma dgu khrì'i 'a mo byed// zhes dang/ 

yang 10) khro bo lha rgod thog pa'i srung zlog las byang / khro bo'i lha rgod thog pa'i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzugs can bam po dang po shog grangs 551 las/ bswo gsas mkhar bar 'khyams khrag mtsho'i g-yon phyogs nas/ ma mchog thugs las sprul pa'i byin te dgu/ sku mdog kha dog sna tshogs so sor gsal/ 'jigs byed rang rang khros pa'i dgu zhal can/ [552] rdzu 'phrul sprul pa 'gyed pa'i lag cha thogs/ sprul pa spar ma dgu khrì'i lha 'khor bcas/

<table>
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<th>? srid pa'i sgo nga tha ma dgu las gral ba'i byin te dgu ni/</th>
<th>byin te dgu yi grangs</th>
<th>phyag mtshan sogs</th>
<th>mtshan</th>
<th>mtshan</th>
<th>grol gzhì sgo nga</th>
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</table>

H. Blezer
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<th>lha yi ba dan dkar po</th>
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<th>dung gi srong dkar mo</th>
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<td>thang nga gnyan mo thang</td>
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<td>thang nga phyo ma thang</td>
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<td>bgegs kyi byin te chen mo</td>
<td>dgra bo bsру byed gshin lam log par'dren</td>
<td>thang nga bgegs mo thang</td>
<td>rdo srong sru mo</td>
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**srid pa'i rgyal mo'i yon tan gyi sprul pa/**

yang 1) khro bo lha rgyud thog pa'i zlog gzhung / khro bo'i lha rgyud thog pa'i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzung can bar mo gnis pa shog grangs 58 las/ ma cig85 srid rgyal yon tan sprul pa ni/ bka' nyan las byed dbal gyi gyad chen bcu/ zhues dang /

yang 2) khro gzhung gyad dmag rgyal chen86 gyi sku bstod dpe gzung can shog grangs 715 las/ bswog dbang chen gzhul yas chen po yi' me ri 'bar ba'i gyas mdkar na/ sprul pa dbal gyi gyad bcu bswog / steng phyogs87 dbal gyi gyad chen ni/ gser gyi mi thung dzwa dmar 'phen/ shar phyogs dbal gyi gyad chen ni/ dung gi mi thung dbal mdung 'debs / byang phyogs dbal gyi gyad chen ni / g-yu yi mi thung mda' gzhul 'gongs / nub phyogs dbal gyi gyad chen ni / zangs kyi mi thung dgra stwa 'phyar / lho phyogs dbal gyi gyad chen ni / lcags kyi mi thung ral kyu 'dzin/ lho shar dbal gyi gyad chen ni / dbal stang khra' bos [716] mche sder bdar / byang shar dbal gyi gyad chen ni / dbal 'brug sngon pos sgra chen srog / byang nub dbal gyi gyad chen ni/ dbal g-yag dkar po ru zer bsigs / lho nub dbal gyi gyad chen ni / dbal khyung sngon pos 'jum88 zhing lding / 'og phyogs dbal gyi gyad chen ni / tshwa la rgyung ni89 stwar tshar bnsams/ sprul pa bye ba sa ya 'bum/ 'jigs dang khros pa'i sgra srog cing / bzhings89 srig bzhengs shig dbyings nas bzhengs/ bskyod cig bskyod cig gnas nas bskyod / sding ba'i sgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs / dbang du bsdu la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol/

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<th>phyogs</th>
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<th>phyag mtshan sogs</th>
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yang 1) khro bo lha rgod thog pa'i zlog gzhung / khro bo'i lha rgod thog pa'i bsnyen sgrub dpe gzugs can bam po gnyis pa shog grangs 58 las/ ma cig91 srid rgyal 'phrin las sprul pa ni/ bka' nyan las byed dbal gyi dmag dpon bcu/

yang 7) dmag dpon chen mo dgu bstan pa'i lung phyogs bsdud byas pa/ sman ri khri 'dzin 33 zhal 'don phyag dpe bris ma srid rgyal nang skang shog grangs 7 las/ bswo ma cig94 sprul pa las kyi pho nya mo/ lha srin g-yab 'debs dmag dpon chen mo dgu/ sngon gyi tshul bzhin gnas 'dir thugs dam bskang / lha yi dmag dpon chen mo sad ting shag/ lha sman spar ma dgu khri'i gtso mo mdzad/ rgyal mo lha yi dmag dang bcas pa rams/ skang rten= lha sdang bsdud 'beb sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur/ bsdud kyi [8] dmag dpon chen mo ge ting shag- bsdud lcam spar ma dgu khri'i gtsa mo mdzad/ dral po bsdud kyi dmag dang bcas pa rams/ skang rten= bsdud kyi khram thogs sdang ba' i dgra la= dmu yi dmag dpon chen mo byin gyi dpal/ dmu dmag spar ma dgu khri'i gtsa mo mdzad/ dral
po dmu yi dmag dang bcas pa rnams/ skang = dmu gab 'on 'thibs sdang ba'i= btsan gyi dmag dpon chen mo ne ram shag/ btsan lcam spar ma dgu khri'i gtso mo= dral po btsan gyi dmag= skang = btsan gyi gzer mda' sdang ba'i= phywa yi dmag dpon chen mo she ting shag/ phywa lcam spar ma dgu khri'i= dral po phywa yi dmag dang = skang = phywa bdud dbul rmang sdang ba'i= klu yi dmag dpon chen mo chu ting ron\textsuperscript{16} / klu lcam spar ma dgu khri'i= dral po klu yi [8 rgyab] dmag dang = skang rten= klu yi dal rims mdze gzer dgra= gnyan gyi dmag dpon chen mo gu ting shag/ gnyan lcam spar ma dgu khri'i= dral po gnyan gyi dmag= skang = gnyan nad lhod rdug sdang ba'i= srin gyi dmag dpon chen mo ha ting shag/ srin lcam spar ma dgu khri'i= dral po srin gyi dmag dang = skang = srin gcan za kha sdang = bgegs kyi dmag dpon chen mo kha ting shag/ bgegs lcam spar ma dgu khri'i= dral po bgegs kyi dmag= skang = 'dre srin bgegs kyi byur sna= lha srin g-yab 'debs dmag dpon chen mo dgu/

| ? lha srin g-yab 'debs dmag dpon chen mo dgu ni/ |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| mtshan          | 'khor           | byed las        |
| lha yi dmag dpon chen mo sad ting shag | 'khor lha yi dmag dang bcas | lha sdang bdud 'beb sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur |
| bdud kyi dmag dpon chen mo ge ting shag | 'khor bdud dmag dang bcas | bdud kyi khram thogs sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur |
| dmu yi dmag dpon chen mo byin gyi dpal | 'khor dral po dmu yi dmag dang bcas | dmu gab 'on 'thibs sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur |
| btsan gyi dmag dpon chen mo ne ram shag | 'khor dral po btsan gyi dmag dang bcas | btsan gyi gzer mda' sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur |
| phywa yi dmag dpon chen mo she ting shag | 'khor dral po phywa yi dmag dang bcas | phywa bdud dbul rmang sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur |
| klu yi dmag dpon chen mo chu ting shag | 'khor dral po klu yi dmag dang bcas | klu yi dal rims mdze gzer dgra la sgyur |
| gnyan gyi dmag dpon chen mo gu ting shag | 'khor dral po gnyan gyi dmag dang bcas | gnyan nad lhod rdug sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur |
| srin gyi dmag dpon chen mo ha ting shag | 'khor dral po srin gyi dmag dang bcas | srin gcan za kha sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur |
| bgegs kyi dmag dpon chen mo kha ting shag | 'khor dral po bgegs kyi dmag dang bcas | 'dre srin bgegs kyi byur sna dgra la sgyur |

dbal mo'i skor gyi dpe gzhung khag gsham gsal/

<p>| ? dbal mo'i skor bsdus gzhi'i dpe gzhung khag |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| grang s         | dpe gzhung gi mtshan tho gsham gsal | shog grang s | gzugs | mdzad pa po | par bris |
| grang s         | dpe gzhung gi mtshan tho gsham gsal | shog grang s | gzugs | mdzad pa po | par bris |</p>
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| 1   | khr ogyal lha rgod thog pa snang srid zil gnon gyi dgra bgegs phung zhung brlag pa'i zlog gzhung bzhugs  
76 | 1-616 | dpe | khams btsun ram dag 'od zer g-yas ru dben sa kha ru sbyar ba dge | spa ma |
| 2   | zhi khr o'i sgrub skor  
77 | 1-1448 | dpe | ... | spar ma |
| 3   | zhi khr o rtsa gsum kun 'dus kyi dpe rtsis dang brgyud rim bzhugs pa legs so  
98 | 1-977 | dpe | ... | spar ma |
| 4   | dbal gsas sgrub skor bzhugs so/ (dbal gsas las rim)  
99 | 1-800 | dpe | ... | spar ma |
| 5   | bskang 'bum bzhugs so  
100 | 1-638 | dpe | ... | spar ma |
| 6   | skyabs ston khr o 'grel bzhugs so  
101 | 1-392 | deb | skyabs ston rin chen 'od zer | spar ma |
| 7   | srid rgyal dre'u nag mo'i nang skang gi dbu phyogs bzhugs pa legs so  
102 | 1-12 | dpe | ... | bris ma |
| 8   | mkha' klong gsang ba'i mdos kyi bca' thabs gsal ba'i sgron ma bzhugs so  
103 | 1-574 | dpe | ... | spar ma |
| 9   | snang srid mdzod phugs kyi gzhung dang 'grel ba 'phru l gyi sgron me bzhugs so  
104 | 1-547 | dpe | mnyam med shes rab rgyal mtshan | spar ma |
| 10  | khr o bo lha rgod thog pa'i bsnyen bsgrub las gsum gyi gsungs pod bzhugs  
105 | 215-593 | dpe | ... | spar ma |
| 11  | bden pa bon kyi mdzod sgo sgra 'grel 'phru l gyi lde'u mig ces bya ba bzhugs so  
106 | 1-240 | deb | Dran-pa nam-mkha' | spar ma |

spar ma tshang ma ldi li nas yin na'ang dbal gsas sgrub skor bod nas yin/

? gong ltar lung tshig mang du bs dus pa'i go rim bz hin ma cig  
107 srid pa'i rgyal mo grol tshul dang de nyid dang gnyis su med pa khr o bo lha rgod thog pa gnyis kyi ngo bo thabs shes kyi cha mtshan zhing nam mkha' stong pa'i ngang las yid kyis bshos pa las
Notes to the Appendix

1 I should also like to thank Slob-dpon Phrin-las nyi-ma Rin-po-che and dBu-mdzad Rig-'dzin g-yung-drung for the kind and learned assistance in the first proof-reading the appendix, their trained eyes expediently detecting typos that otherwise would have remained unnoticed. Slob-dpon Phrin-las nyi-ma Rin-po-che also kindly helped in other areas, patiently explaining difficult passages, arranging translators and so forth.

2 'thing mthing yin pa 'dra/
3 zhes ces yin/
4 zhes ces yin/
5 mtsho' yig rnying yin pas/
6 gcig cig yin/
7 gcig cig yin/
8 bsgral ba'i ni bsgral ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
9 rto gs rto yin/
10 kyi kyi yin/
11 wa mo 'a mo yin/
12 kyi kyi yin/
13 kyi kyi yin/
14 tha tshigs tha tshig yin/
15 gcig gcig yin/
16 nam gong nam gung yin/
17 nyin byed nyin phyed yin/
18 khri' khri yin/
19 nyi phyed nyin phyed yin/
20 gcig gcig yin/
21 'gren 'gran yin/
22 cig gcig yin/
23 gis gi yin/
24 gyis gyi yin/
25 gcig gcig yin/
26 sgas tshigs sgas tshigs yin/
27 rol pa ni rol par zhes bya ba yin/
28 sgrin sgrin yin/
29 spa ma spar ma yin/
30 rol pa ni rol par zhes bya ba yin/
31 dbas so dbas mo yin/
32 spyad bshad dam dpyad yin pas/
33 g-yab g-yas yin pas/
34 bdag bdag ni bdag ces bya ba yin/
35 bzungs na ni bzungs nas shes bya ba yin/
36 phrel ba'i ni 'phrel ba'i zhes bya ba'am phral ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
ral gyu ral kyu yin/
phrel ba'i ni 'phrel ba'i zhes bya ba'am phral ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
sgal tshig sgal tshigs yin/
phrel ba'i ni 'phrel ba'i zhes bya ba'am phral ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
phrel bar ni 'phrel bar zhes bya ba'am phral bar zhes bya ba yin/
brdol pa brdol ba yin/
brdol pa brdol ba yin/
brtol ba brdol ba yin/
phyir phyar yin/
brnyen brnyan yin/
bza' ba'i ni za ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
brdol pa brdol ba yin/
cig zhig yin/
brdol pa brdol ba yin/
sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
cig zhig yin/
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sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
rings par ni rings par yin/
cig zhig yin/
brdol pa brdol ba yin/
sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
cig zhig yin/
brdol pa brdol ba yin/
sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
cig zhig yin/
brdol pa brdol ba yin/
sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
cig zhig yin/
brdol pa brdol ba yin/
sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
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brdol pa brdol ba yin/
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cig zhig yin/
brdol pa brdol ba yin/
sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
cig zhig yin/
brdol pa brdol ba yin/
sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
cig zhig yin/
brdol pa brdol ba yin/
sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
cig gcig yin/
na nas yin/
brdol pa brdol ba yin/
cig gcig yin/
'dog 'dogs yin/
leags leags ni leags yin/
cig gcig yin/
N.B. In actual fact only the Gyad-chen bcu are taken from this text, the dMag-dpon bcu follow later from another text, the rGyal-chen sde-bzhi are not presented in this anthology.
In volume two of: A collection of Rituals for the Propitiation of the Wrathful Deity Lha-rrog-thog-pa, revealed by Sku-mdun Bsdod-nams-blos-gros (1784-1835), reproduced from a rare manuscript from Hor Ba-chen Klu-phug at Bde-chen-g-yung-drung-gling, two volumes, Dolanji 1985.

The Khro bo dbang chen-cycle, which is said to have been rediscovered by gShen-chen Klu-dga' (996-1035) can be found on pp.175-564, entries No.29.13-19 in Karmay (1977).

A Collection of Bonpo Revelations of Dbal-bar-stag-slag (1832-), reproduced from a rare manuscript from the sPa-tshang Bla-bran, Published by Patshang Lama Sonam Gyaltsen, Dolanji 1985.

Cf. Karmay (1977), No.32(22?). The photocopies I presently have to work with (ff.30-49 (folio-numbers 33 and 38 appear twice), margin ff.253-274) unfortunately do not cover the full text and where made from a Tibetan reprint of a calligraphed version kindly lent to me by Lung-rtoogs bstan-pa'i nyi-ma Rin po che. Because I do not have the full text and colophon I can not identify the text with one of the texts of the Dolanji edition (which I do not have at my disposal either) as it is listed in Karmay's catalogue. Is the text from the sPyi spungs skor gsum gi yang bcud rtsod pa zlog pa'i 'khor lo dbal gas ngam pa'i las rim (T.129), said to be rediscovered by dByil-ston Khyung-rgog-rtsal?

Mc hog gsum rgyal ba sras bcas dang bka' skyong dam can rgya mtsho bcas kyi thugs dam bskang bai' ga' gsum pod, Collected Propitiary Rites for the Host of Tutelary and Protective Deities of Bon according to the Liturgy of Sman-ri Monastery and the Bru Lineage, reproduced from a manuscript prepared on the basis of older texts from Dolpo (Northwestern Nepal), two volumes (Yi dam skor, and Bon srung skor), Vol.I, pp.487-503, sNyan rgyud rin chen sgron gsal gyi bskang bshags by Wer-zhi drung-mu (no dates) & pp.567-601, mKha' klong bskang ba (no author) and Vol.II, pp.127-143, Srid rgyal dre'u dam mo'i bskang bshags, a gter ma of dPon-gsal Khyung-rgog-rtsal (1175-)?

sPyi spungs khro bo dbang chen gi yet 'grel ba dang dbal phur spyi don nyi shu rtsa lnga'i grel pa bcas, Commentaries on the Spyi spungs and Dbal phur cycles of esoteric Bonpo practice by sKhyabs-ston Rin-chen-'od-zer (1353-?) and Khu-tsha Zla'-od (1024-), reproduced from a rare manuscript from the library of Bsam gling Monastery in Dol-po by Yongdzin Sangye Tenzin, Dolanji 1973.

Manuscript in the possession of Lung-rtsogs bstan-pa'i nyi-ma Rin-po-che, see also Bon skyong sgrub thabs bskang gsal bcas, see also volume two of A Collection of Propitiary Rituals for the Host of Bonpo Protective Deities, reproduced from a manuscript prepared by Phyug-gtso Mkhango-po, published by Tshultrim Tashi, two volumes, Vol.II, pp.115-134, Srid pa'i rgyal mo dre'u dam mo'i bskang ba attributed to sTsong-rgyung mthu-chen (no realistic date), Dolanji 1972.


The Bonpo Approach to Abhidharma, Texts from the Sman-ri yig-cha by Mnyam-med Shes-rab-rgyal-mthshan (1356-1415) and Slob-dpon Bstan-'dzin-mam-dag, reproduced from rare manuscripts from the library of the Bonpo Monastic Centre, Dolanji 1982.
106 Tenzin Namdak, mDzod phug: Basic Verses and Commentary by Dran pa'i nam mkha’ (a gter ma of either gShen-chen Klu-dga’ (996-1035), gNyan-ston/mthing) Shes-rab rdo-rje (discovered 1067, or rMa-ston Srid-'dzin (b. 1092)), Delhi 1966.

107 cig gcig yin/
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Please note, for the texts used in the appendix see the last table at the end of the appendix (dbal mo'i skor gyi dpe gzhung khang gsham gsal). Texts only occasionally referred to are not entered into the bibliography, but are identified in the notes. For bibliographical information in cosmogonical/theogonical material see the section of this article where these texts are discussed.

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- Chos nyid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo, Kalsang Lhundup (1969:4-69)

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- Taipei-edition, Vol.LVI (Tib.Vol.pa), no.4766 (= gTing skyes no.84?):311/580(6) - 315/607(5), eight chapters; see also no.4781 (= gTing skyes no.84?):342/795(2) - 349/843(3), fourteen chapters plus concluding verses; except for minor variant readings this text is identical to the Dilgo Khyentse gTing-skyes-edition, Vol.V:314-352, Thimphu 1973, which, however, stops at the thirteenth chapter; NB. the Taipei-texts are print-identical to the mTshams-brageditions.

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