

# みんなくりポジトリ

国立民族学博物館学術情報リポジトリ National Museum of Ethnology

## A preliminary comparison of Bonpo and Buddhist cosmology

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2009-04-28 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 御牧, 克己 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	<a href="https://doi.org/10.15021/00002198">https://doi.org/10.15021/00002198</a>

## A preliminary comparison of Bonpo and Buddhist cosmology

Katsumi MIMAKI  
Kyoto University  
Kyoto

In general it is said that Buddhism has influenced Bonpo doctrine in many ways. Here, I am speaking of the so-called 'gyur bon (transformed Bon), which seems to have borrowed and adopted Buddhistic ideas beginning from the eleventh century in order to form its own doctrine. There are even scholars who think that this Bon religion is a branch of Buddhism. Certainly, in Bonpo sources we meet many ideas similar to those of Buddhism. But it seems that it has never been clearly proven to what extent the Bonpo are influenced by Buddhism, and to what extent they have their own original ideas. Nor is it clear, even if it is true that the Bonpo adopted Buddhist doctrine, what kind of Buddhism they adopted. Is Bon nothing but a copy of Buddhism? Or did the Bonpo borrow the structure for their ideas partially from Buddhism in order to form their own system? Alternatively, did they create a completely different doctrine, independent from Buddhism, even though the two are similar in appearance? Thus, there are still many problems. It is, therefore, my purpose to elucidate some of these points.

I have recently published, with my colleague and friend Samten Karmay, a fourteenth-century manual of Bonpo doctrine, entitled *Bon sgo gsal byed* (Mimaki and Karmay 1997). In this publication, I remarked on the fact that, in his description of ontological, epistemological, and cosmological problems, the author of the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, Tre-ston rGyal-mtshan-dpal, borrowed and adopted the basic structure of Buddhist doctrine, but he integrated in it many seemingly indigenous Tibetan ideas. At the 8th Congress of the International Association of Tibetan Studies in Bloomington (August 1998), I read a paper in which I tried to prove this point regarding a particular subject, namely the thirty-two physical marks of sTon-pa gShen-rab mi-bo, a summary of which has been published in its Japanese version (Mimaki 1999). The present paper is also an attempt to examine in the same context one specific point, namely Bonpo cosmology as described in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, and to compare it with that of Buddhism.

I have to confess that my present paper has several limitations. Bonpo cosmology might not be identical in all Bonpo texts. What I can present here is only the Bonpo cosmology as presented in the *Bon sgo gsal byed* (14th century). I try to supplement this with an explanation based on whatever parallels can be found in other texts, such as the *mDo 'dus* (10th century), the *mDzod phug* (11th century), the *gZer mig* (14th century), or the *sDe snod mdzod* (19th century), but it is basically according to the *Bon sgo gsal byed* that I explain Bonpo cosmology.

Next, I try to compare it with Buddhist cosmology. Buddhist cosmology, too, is not identical in all Buddhist texts: cosmology, or the organization of the world, is slightly different according to each Buddhist school. What I present here as Buddhist cosmology is mainly what is known from the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (Chapter III: *Lokanirdeśa* / 'Jig rten bstan pa).

In order to facilitate our comparison at a glance, I summarize the structure of both cosmologies in Table 1. In this table, Buddhist cosmology as described in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* is presented on the left side. On the right side we find Bonpo cosmology as presented in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*. On the far right side, the names of four heavens are underlined with a wavy line. These seem to represent indigenous Bonpo concepts.

According to Buddhist cosmology, at the bottom of the world there is Space (*nam mkha'*, *ākāśa*). Above it, there is a circle or *maṇḍala* of Wind (*rlung gi dkyil 'khor*, *vāyu-maṇḍala*) in the form of a cylinder, 1,600,000 *yojana* tall, with a circumference of 59 times 10 *yojana*. Above the *maṇḍala* of Wind, there is a *maṇḍala* of Water (*chu'i dkyil 'khor*, *ab-maṇḍala*), also in the form of a cylinder, 800,000 *yojana* tall, with a diameter of 1,203,450 *yojana*. Above the *maṇḍala* of Water, there is a *maṇḍala* of Gold (*gser gyi dkyil 'khor*, *kāñcana-maṇḍala*), 320,000 *yojana* tall, with the same diameter as that of the *maṇḍala* of Water. We know that a Buddhist *yojana* approximately corresponds to 7.3 km, which is half of an ordinary North Indian *yojana*.

Above the *maṇḍala* of Gold are situated the worlds of sentient beings: the Hells (*dmyal ba*, *naraka*), the realm of the Hungry Ghosts (*yi dwags*, *preta*), the realm of animals (*dud 'gro*, *tiryak*), the realm of human beings (*mi*, *manuṣya*), and finally several kinds of heavens or gods (*lha*, *deva*). There are many heavens, among which are six belonging to the realm of desire ('*dod khams*, *kāmadhātu*). These are called the six heavens of desire or six gods of desire ('*dod lha*, *kāmadeva*):

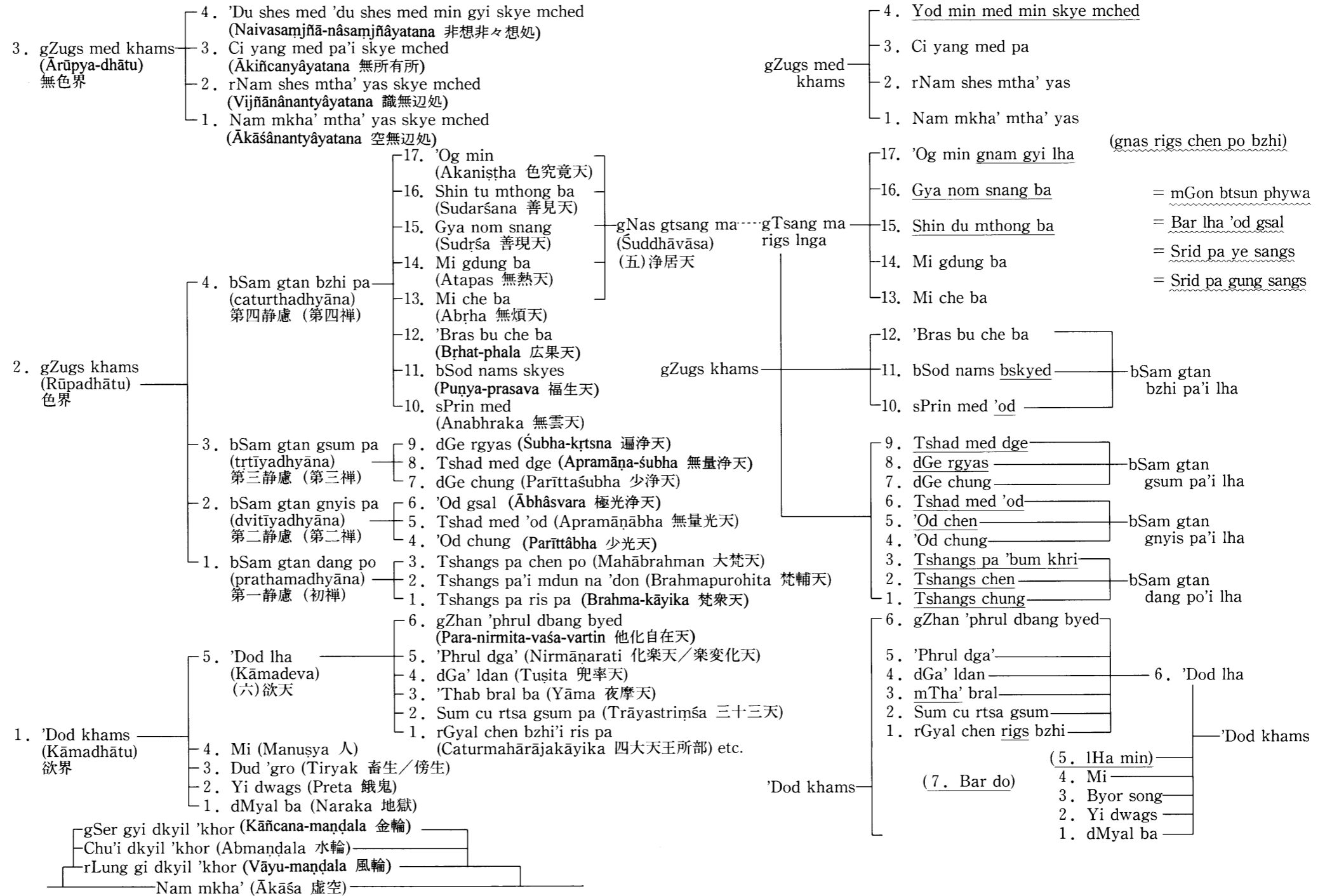
1. *rGyal chen bzhi'i ris pa* (*Caturmahārājakāyika*, the Heaven of the Four great protectors of the four cardinal points).
2. *Sum cu rtsa gsum pa* (*Trāyastriṃśa*, the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods).  
Until this point the heavens are located on the earth. The *Sum cu rtsa gsum pa* heaven is on the summit of Mount Meru. From the next heaven upward until the fourth heaven of the *gZugs med khams*, all the heavens are in the air.
3. '*Thab bral ba* (*Yāma*, the Heaven of Yāma).
4. *dGa' ldan* (*Tuṣita*, the Heaven of the Blissful Gods).
5. '*Phrul dga'* (*Nirmāṇarati*, the Heaven of those who enjoy what they create themselves).
6. *gZhan 'phrul dbang byed* (*Para-nirmita-vaśa-vartin*, the Heaven where one can enjoy objects created in other heavens).

**Table 1 Buddhist and Bonpo Cosmology**

Buddhism (Abhidharmakośa)

BGSB

Bon





The next realm, the material realm (*gZugs khams, Rūpa-dhātu*), contains seventeen heavens, divided and grouped under the four contemplations (*bsam gtan, dhyāna*). The first *dhyāna* contains three heavens:

1. *Tshangs pa ris pa* (*Brahma-kāyika*, the Heaven of the Retinue of Brahmā).
2. *Tshangs pa 'i mdun na 'don* (*Brahmapurohita*, the Heaven of the Brahmā-priests).
3. *Tshangs pa chen po* (*Mahābrahman*, the Heaven of Great Brahmā).

The second *dhyāna* contains also three heavens:

4. *'Od chung* (*Parīttābha*, the Heaven of Limited Splendor).
5. *Tshad med 'od* (*Apramāṇābha*, the Heaven of Immeasurable Splendor).
6. *'Od gsal* (*Ābhāsvara*, the Heaven of Radiant Gods).

The third *dhyāna* also contains three heavens:

7. *dGe chung* (*Parīttāśubha*, the Heaven of Limited Purity).
8. *Tshad med dge* (*Apramāṇa-śubha*, the Heaven of Immeasurable Purity).
9. *dGe rgyas* (*Śubha-kṛtsna*, the Heaven of Complete Purity).

The fourth *dhyāna* contains eight heavens:

10. *sPrin med* (*Anabhraka*, the Cloudless Heaven).
11. *bSod nams skyes* (*Puṇya-prasava*, the Merit-born Heaven).
12. *'Bras bu che ba* (*Bṛhat-phala*, the Heaven of Great Fruition).

The five heavens from here upward, namely, the thirteenth to the seventeenth heavens of the fourth *dhyāna*, are also called “Five Pure Abodes” (*gNas gtsang ma, Śuddhāvāsa*).

13. *Mi che ba* (*Abṛha*, Not Great, namely the smallest of the five Pure Abodes).
14. *Mi gdung ba* (*Atapas*, the Heaven of No Affliction).
15. *Gya nom snang* (*Sudṛśa*, the Heaven of Pleasant to look at).
16. *Shin tu mthong ba* (*Sudarśana*, the Heaven of Good-looking).
17. *'Og min* (*Akaniṣṭha*, The highest).

The next realm, the non-material realm (*gZugs med khams, Ārūpya-dhātu*), contains four heavens:

1. *Nam mkha' mtha' yas skye mched* (*Ākāśānantyāyatana*, the Realm of Infinite Space).
2. *rNam shes mtha' yas skye mched* (*Vijñānānantyāyatana*, the Realm of Infinite Consciousness).
3. *Ci yang med pa 'i skye mched* (*Ākiñcanyāyatana*, the Realm of Nothingness).
4. *'Du shes med 'du shes med min gyi skye mched* (*Naivasamjñānāsamjñāyatana*, the Realm of Neither Notion nor Lack of Notion).

In this Buddhist cosmology, there are only five destinies or *gati*, namely *dmyal ba* (*naraka*), *yi dwags* (*preta*), *dud 'gro* (*tiryak*), *mi* (*manuṣya*) and *lha* (*deva*). The *lha ma yin* (*asura*) are not mentioned. In fact, originally in Buddhism the *lha ma yin* were not considered as constituting a separate destiny. The canonical writings know of only five destinies. However, the introduction into the Buddhist pantheon of a great many Asuras, Nāgas, Yakṣas, and Gandharvas, objects of popular devotion, compelled the theoreticians of Buddhism to reconsider the problem of where these hybrid beings should be placed. The sects which remained faithful to the traditional number of five destinies, such as the Theravādins, Sarvāstivādins, and Dharmaguptakas, attempted to distribute those strangers in the existing destinies, particularly those of the *preta* (*yi dwags*) and *deva* (*lha*). In contrast, other sects considered it preferable to reserve a separate place for them by creating a sixth destiny or *gati*, called that of the Asuras. This was the solution adopted by the Mahāsāṃghikas, Andhakas, Uttarapāthakas, Saṃmitīyas, and Vatsīputrīyas (Lamotte 1967: 697-698; cf. Eng. tr., Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988: 629-630). It is well known that in Tibetan *thangkas* of the *srid pa'i 'khor lo* (Wheel of Existence), there are two types, one depicting five and the other six destinies.

Next, I examine the Bonpo cosmology as presented in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*. I must conclude that the basic structure is adopted from Buddhist cosmology, but among the details we find many indigenous elements or ideas.

As to the number of the destinies, the *Bon sgo gsal byed* presents either five or seven. In the following table, I try to summarize the Bonpo classification.

**Table 2** Division of Destinies according to the *BGSB* (A. 9b7-10a3, B. 39b5-40b4)

<p>[1] <i>sems can la rten gyis dbye na - khams gsum</i>  <i>'dod khams la gnas rigs nyi shu</i>  <i>ngang song gi gnas bcu</i>  <i>dmyal ba sde bzhi</i>  <i>yi dwags sde gsum</i>  <i>byol song sde gsum</i>  <i>mtho ris bcu</i>  <i>gling phran rang sar bsdus pa'i gling bzhi'i mi</i>  <i>'dod lha drug</i>  <i>gzugs khams gnas rigs bcu bdun</i>  <i>bsam gtan bzhi gsum bcu gnyis</i>  <i>gtsang ma rigs lnga</i>  <i>gzugs med khams - skye mched mu bzhi</i></p>	<p>[2] <i>rigs kyis dbye na - bdun</i>  <i>mtho ris gsum</i>  <i>lha</i>  <i>lha min</i>  <i>mi</i>  <i>ngan song gsum</i>  <i>byol song</i>  <i>yi dwags</i>  <i>dmyal ba</i>  <i>skye ba bar ma do</i></p>
---	--

As this table clearly shows, the *Bon sgo gsal byed* first presents a division of sentient beings according to their “support” (*rtan gyis dbye na*). The number of the destinies is five, since *lha ma yin* are not mentioned. In contrast, according to the

division by classes (*rigs kyis dbye na*), the number of the destinies is not six, but seven, because the intermediate existence (*bar do*) is added as a seventh category. This is probably a peculiarity of Bon. In Buddhism, the intermediate existence was never considered as a destiny, as is clear from the following passage of the *Abhidharmakośa* (AK III k° 4):

*narakādi-svanāmōktā gatayaḥ pañca teṣu tāḥ /  
akliṣṭāvākr̥tā eva sattvākhyā nāntarābhavaḥ //*  
*der ni dmyal sogs 'gro ba lnga // rang gi ming gis bstan de dag //*  
*nyon mongs can min lung bstan min // sems can zhes bya bar srid min //*

“In these [Dhātus], there are five destinies that have been designated by their names, such as Hell. They are undefiled-neutral, they are the world of beings, and they do not include intermediate existence.”

Now, we return to Table 1. The geographical description of the bottom of the world is not found in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, but the same kind of description of the world is given in at least one Bonpo *abhidharma* text, *mDzod phug* (cf. *DzP* 23.9-19).

Table 1 will facilitate the comparison. The structure of the world of beings in the two religions is almost identical with only some minor terminological differences. In the list from the *Bon sgo gsal byed* I have underlined the terms which are different from those of, or are not found in, the Buddhist list.

The number of the heavens is the same as in Buddhism, namely, six heavens of 'Dod khams, seventeen heavens of *gZugs khams*, and four heavens of *gZugs med khams*.

The names of the six gods of desire ('*dod lha*) are almost identical, except for the third one. Instead of the '*Thab bral* ba of the Buddhist list, the *Bon sgo gsal byed* here has *mTha' bral*. To render the name of the Heaven of *Yāma*, the '*Thab bral* ba of the Buddhist list makes more sense. It means “without fight,” or “without quarrel.” In contrast to the previous and lower heaven, *Sum cu rtsa gsum pa*, where Indra is the chief and the gods fight against the Asuras, in this Heaven of *Yāma*, there is no fighting. As for the Bonpo version of the name of this heaven, *mTha' bral* (without extremity), I do not understand its etymological background very well. Incidentally, in the *mDo 'dus* (12b2), a tenth-century biography of sTon-pa gShen-rab mi-bo, the name of this heaven is '*Thab bral*, exactly the same as the Buddhist one. In this case, there might be an error in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*.

The names of the three heavens of the first *dhyāna* of the *gZugs khams* are very similar with only slight differences. They are similar in the sense that they all have *Tshangs* or *Tshangs pa* (*Brahmā*) as one part of their name, but the details are slightly different. The first heaven of the Bonpo list, *Tshangs chung* (Small *Brahmā*), does not have a correspondence in the Buddhist list. The second one, *Tshangs chen* (Great *Brahmā*), has a correspondence, but with the third item,



*Tshangs pa chen po*, in the Buddhist list. The third Bonpo heaven, *Tshangs pa 'bum khri*, bears a very Bonpo-like name and has no correspondence in the Buddhist list. It is noteworthy that in other Bonpo sources, namely the *mDo 'dus* and the *sDe snod mdzod*, these names are again slightly different from those of the *Bon sgo gsal byed*. The *mDo 'dus* (12b4-5) has 1) *Tshangs ri* (*sic*), 2) *Tshangs chen*, and 3) *Tshangs pa 'du* (*sic*) *na 'dun* (*sic*), while the *sDe snod mdzod* (193.1) has 1) *Tshangs pa mdun na 'don*, 2) *Tshangs pa kun 'khor*, and 3) *Tshangs pa 'bum khri*.

The first heaven of the second *dhyāna* has an exact correspondence, while the second heaven has none. The third one has a correspondence, but with the second heaven in the Buddhist list. It is also noteworthy that in the *sDe snod mdzod* (193.5) these names are 4) *'Od chung*, 5) *'Od gsal*, and 6) *Tshad med 'od*, which are closer to the Buddhist list.

All three heavens of the third *dhyāna* have corresponding items in the Buddhist list, but the order is slightly different. The first heavens correspond exactly, while the second Bonpo heaven corresponds with the third Buddhist heaven, and the third Bonpo heaven corresponds with the second one in the Buddhist list. However, here again, we have to notice that the list in the *mDo 'dus* (12b5) is exactly the same as the Buddhist one.

The fourth *dhyāna* in the Buddhist list contains eight heavens, the five higher ones of which form the “Five Pure Abodes” (*gNas gtsang ma*, *Śuddhāvāsa*). In the Bonpo list, the “Five Pure Abodes” are not contained in the fourth *dhyāna* but are established separately from the fourth *dhyāna*. Thus, the fourth *dhyāna* in the Bonpo list contains only three heavens, the names of which are almost identical with the Buddhist ones, except for very minor differences: namely, the first heaven adds *'od* at the end of its name; the second heaven includes the transitive *bskyed*, while in the Buddhist list it is the intransitive, *skyes*. Here also we have to notice that the *mDo 'dus* (12b5) and the *sDe snod mdzod* (195.2) have *skyes*, as in the Buddhist list. The name of the third heaven is exactly the same. The names of the “Five Pure Abodes” (No. 13 through No. 17 in our list) are almost identical, except for minor differences: namely No. 15 and No. 16 are reversed, and in No. 17 *gnam gyi lha* (god of heaven) is added in the Bonpo list.

The four heavens of the *gZugs med khams* are also almost the same, except for the final one: the Bonpo list has *Yod min med min skye mched* (Realm of Neither Existence nor Non-existence) instead of the Buddhist *'Du shes med 'du shes med min gyi skye mched* (Realm of Neither Notion nor Lack of Notion).

In this way, we have compared the two lists concerning the structure of the world. We can probably say that the fourteenth-century Bonpo author, Tre-ston rGyal-mtshan-dpal, adopted the basic structure of the Buddhist cosmology. But this is not adequate: we have to pay attention and treat things more carefully. In addition to the names of heavens, which we have just seen, the Bonpo tradition includes four heavens unique to Bonpo, known as *gnas rigs chen po bzhi* (the Four

Great Residences), according to Samten Karmay (Karmay 1975: 195). Their names are found on the far right hand of Table 1: 1) *Srid pa gung sangs*, 2) *Srid pa ye sangs*, 3) *Bar lha 'od gsal* and 4) *mGon btsun phywa*. As indicated in Table 1, they correspond respectively to the thirteenth through sixteenth heavens of the *gZugs khams*, in other words, to the first through fourth heavens of the “Five Pure Abodes.” These four heavens and their correspondence are clearly mentioned by the famous nineteenth-twentieth century Bonpo author, Shar-rdza bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan (1859-1935), in his *sDe snod mdzod* (abr. *DNDz*, vol. 1, 196.1-198.6; Karmay 1975:195). The main old source for these four heavens and their correspondence is the *mDo 'dus* (fol. 12b7-13a1), a tenth-century biography of sTon-pa gShen-rab mi-bo which is constantly cited in the *sDe snod mdzod*. But the situation is more complicated. The names of these four heavens do not appear at all in the *mDzod phug*, an eleventh-century Bonpo *abhidharma* work. In the *gZer mig*, an eleventh-century biography of sTon-pa gShen-rab mi-bo, the expression *gnas ris chen po bzhi* (*ZM* 383.10) appears instead of *gnas rigs chen po bzhi*, and the contents of the four heavens are slightly different, namely, 1) *Srid pa ye sangs*, 2) *Bar lha 'od gsal*, 3) *mGon btsun phywa*, and 4) *'Og min*. The name of *Srid pa gung sangs* does not seem to be mentioned in the *gZer mig*. In our text, the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, only the third one, namely *Bar lha 'od zer*, is mentioned in the context of *bar do* (cf. *BGSB* A.11b2, B.45b1). All this indicates that the conceptualization of these four heavens is still fluid in Bonpo sources, and that we have to treat this subject more carefully and systematically.

Above we have seen that the names of the “Five Pure Abodes” (No. 13 through No. 17 in Table 1) are almost identical in the Buddhist and Bonpo lists. One of the minor differences was that No. 15 and No. 16 in the Bonpo list were reversed. It is, however, noteworthy that this order is supported by the *mDzod phug* (*DzP* 83.11-12), but in the *mDo 'dus* (12b7-13a1) and the *sDe snod mdzod* (*DNDz* 197.4, 198.1) it is again reversed and corresponds with the Buddhist order.

On the basis of Table 1, we have reached the preliminary conclusion that Tre-ston rGyal-mtshan-dpal adopted the basic structure of Buddhist cosmology, concerning the general distribution of destinies and especially the division of the heavens. However, this does not mean that he simply copied it. When we examine the contents and details of each destiny, we can easily see to what extent Tre-ston rGyal-mtshan-dpal included in this basic structure original and indigenous ideas from his own tradition. That is what we shall now look at in detail.

In Table 3 (List of Destinies [in Tibetan]) and in Table 4 (List of Destinies [in English]) at the end of the present paper, I attempt to summarize the contents of each destiny as they are presented in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*: [1] *dmyal ba* (Hells), [2] *lha min* (Asuras), [3] *mi* (Human Beings), [4] *yi dwags* (Pretas), [5] *skye ba bar ma do* (Intermediate Existences) and [6] six times six, namely thirty-six divisions. I omit the rubric of *lha* (Heavens) because we have already seen it in Table 1. I also omit the destiny of *dud 'gro* (animals) because the *Bon sgo gsal byed* contains

almost nothing distinctive regarding this destiny. For this part of the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, we have a parallel in the *gZer mig* (202.4-209.16 [in Chap. 8]).

First, regarding the distribution of the Hells (cf. Table 3, 4, rubric [1]), in the *Bon sgo gsal byed* there is a general division into four Hells (rubric [1-1] to [1-4]), and a detailed division into eighteen Hells. The division according to the *Bon sgo gsal byed* is found on the left side of the chart. A list of Hells according to the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (168b6 ff., ad AK III k°58/ Skt. 163.8 ff.) is given on the right side for the sake of comparison.

In the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, the eight hot Hells are enumerated first. These are exactly the same as those of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*. Next the eight cold Hells are presented. These are similar to those of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, but there are small differences in details. The first two hells are identical. The third one is called *a chu kyi hud*. Since it is very cold, one is obliged to say *a chu* or *kyi hud*. *A chu* and *kyi hud* are onomatopoeic. This Bonpo Hell is a combination of the fourth and the fifth Hells of the Buddhist list; thus, the Bonpo author slightly modified the Buddhist list.

The fourth Hell of the Bonpo list, *so thams*, is identical to the third one of the Buddhist list, *so thams thams / aṭaṭa*. Here only the order is different. In this hell, it is so cold that the teeth make the sound, *thams thams*. So we understand that in Tibet, teeth make the sound *thams thams* when it is cold, while in India, they make the sound *aṭaṭa*.

The fifth through eighth hells of the Bonpo list correspond to the sixth through eighth hells of the Buddhist list. The Bonpo order (Padma, Padma chen, Utpala, Utpala chen po) seems more systematized than the Buddhist one. Except for these minor differences, it is clear that the Bonpo author borrowed from the list of Buddhist Hells, concerning both the eight hot hells and the eight cold hells.

However, the situation changes concerning the remaining two hells (Table 3, 4, rubric [1-3] and [1-4]). These hells are called, respectively, *nyi tshe ba* and *gnyis 'khor ba*. Tre-ston's explanation of the *nyi tshe ba* hell is that "heat and cold arrive at the same time" (*tsha grang dus gcig la sbyong pa*). According to the parallel passage from the *gZer mig*, if the lower part of the body is suffering from cold, the upper part of the body is suffering from heat. The explanation of the *gnyis 'khor ba* hell is that "heat and cold arrive one after the other" (*tsha grang re mos su 'khor ba*). In the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (ad AK III kk° 58d & 59a-c) there is a description of sixteen supplementary hells (*utsada, lhag pa*), which belong to each of these eight major hot hells. But we cannot find any hell the explanation of which would correspond literally to our third and fourth hells.

On the other hand, in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, we find hells named *nyi tshe ba'i dmyal ba* (*pratyeka-naraka*, minor hells) (AKBh [ed. Pradhan, Patna, 1967] 165.4-6 [ad AK III k° 59]: *pratyekaṃ narakāś [sic, pratyeka-narakāś?] tu svaiḥ svaiḥ karmabhir abhinirvṛtāḥ / bahūnāṃ sattvānāṃ dvayor ekasya vā / teṣāṃ aneka-prakalpo bhedaḥ sthānaṃ cāniyataṃ nadī-parvata-marupradeśeṣv*

*anyeṣu vā 'dhaś ca bhāvāt /*; [tib. P(115)(5591) gu 163b1]: *nyi tshe ba'i dmyal ba rnams ni mang po'am gnyis sam gcig gi so so'i las dag gis mngon par grub pa yin te / de dag gi rnam pa'i bye brag ni rnam pa du ma yod do // gnas ni nges pa med de / chu bo dang / ri dang / mya ngam gyi phyogs dag dang / gzhan dag dang / 'og na yang yod pa'i phyir ro //*; “The minor hells are created through the force of individual acts, the acts of one being, of two beings, of many beings. Their variety is great. Their location is not determined, because it can be in a river, a mountain, a desert, or elsewhere, and even below” [LVP iii p. 155]).

*Nyi tshe ba* normally means “ephemeral,” “minor,” or “small.” The *nyi tshe ba* hells are hells that are minor and small in contrast to the eight major hells. It is therefore very difficult to arrive at the interpretation of *nyi tshe ba* that we have seen in the *Bon sgo gsal byed: tsha grang dus gcig la sbyong pa* (heat and cold arrive at the same time). I am afraid that the explanation in the *Bon sgo gsal byed* is the result of an error or a misunderstanding. The *gZer mig* gives a variant reading, *gnyis* instead of *nyi* (ZM 203.18; but *nyis* 203.20). This probably makes more sense for the given explanation.

Above, I made a more or less detailed and systematic comparison concerning the heavens and the hells. For the remainder of this paper, I confine myself to pointing out only the important problems concerning each category, since I established in the form of tables (Table 3 in Tibetan and Table 4 in English) the contents of the other categories as presented in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*.

First, the Asuras ([2] *lha min* or *lha ma yin*) are divided into three groups: *yar g-yen*, *bar g-yen* and *sa g-yen*, each *g-yen* containing thirteen, nine and eleven *lha ma yin* respectively: the total number then is thirty-three.

A number of terms indicating diseases or epidemics, evil spirits, and natural phenomena are enumerated in this category. Some of them are difficult to understand precisely. But some have already been identified as local divinities. An asterisk (\*) following certain terms indicates that these beings are identified in the “eight categories of spirits” (*lha srin sde brgyad*), mentioned in a table in an article by Samten Karmay (Karmay 1996: 72). At the end of Table 3, rubric [2], there is an interesting explanation: *bsdus na g-yen dgu la sde brgyad su gsungs pa yang yod //* (In summary, there are those who describe the “Nine *g-yen*” as the “Eight categories [of *g-yen*]”). This reminds us of the expression, “*lha srin sde brgyad*” mentioned.

Concerning the Asuras, I limit my remarks to a particular problem, namely that of the *nāga*. As we see in Table 3, rubric [2-3-1], *klu (nāga)* are classified among *lha ma yin (asura)* in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, while in Buddhism they are normally classified among animals, as we can see in the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, a ninth-century explanatory dictionary, which elucidates certain difficult terms of the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (Ishikawa 1990: 111-112) : *dud 'gro'i rgyud la / ...* No. 351: *garuḍa / khyung, nam mkha' lding*; No. 352: *kinnara / mi'am ci*; No.353: *mahoraga / lto 'phyen chen po*; No. 354: *Vāsukir Nāgarājā / klu'i rgyal po Nor-rgyas-kyi-bu*.

The *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (ad AK III k° 9a) also supports this opinion: *nāga*, *kinnara*, and *garuḍa* are considered as animals of apparitional birth (*brdzus skyes*, *upapāduka*).

On the other hand, in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, *nāgas* are considered also as *yi dwags* (*preta*) in Table 3, rubric [4]. *Pretas* are divided into three categories, *gnas na 'dug pa* (those who live on the ground), *mkha' la rgyu ba* (those who move in space) and *brgyud drug 'khor ba* (those who transmigrate into the six destinies), and two kinds of *nāgas* are mentioned under the category of *mkha' la rgyu ba*. The first one is at Table 3, rubric [4-2-2]: *'og phyogs klu lto 'phye can* (in the underworld the *nāga* accompanied by snakes). The second *nāga* appears at Table 3, [4-2-5]: *nub phyogs chu bdag klu* (in the western direction, *nāga*, master of water). The *gZer mig* (204.16) has a variant reading: *chu bdag klung* (the river, master of water) instead of *chu bdag klu*, as indicated in Table 3, [4-2-5]. As both readings make sense to some extent, I am not sure which reading is better, but if we choose the reading *chu bdag klu*, it is another instance of a kind of *nāga* being treated as a *preta*.

In any case, we have clearly seen that *nāgas* are classified sometimes as *lha ma yin* and sometimes as *pretas* in the Bonpo context. How can we find a coherent and convincing solution to the problem presented by this inconsistency?

Perhaps we can find a hint on how to solve this problem in Buddhist mythology. In Buddhism, for example in the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* and the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, we have seen that *nāgas* were considered to be animals. Recalling the passage of the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, in which *Vāsukir Nāgarājā / Klu'i rgyal po Nor-rgyas-kyi-bu* was classified under the category of *dud 'gro* (animals), we must notice that here it is the *nāga-rājas* (kings of *nāgas*), and not ordinary *nāgas*, that are in question. In fact, in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (abr. *Mvyut*) there are two headings referring to *nāgas*; one is concerned with *nāgarājas*, and the other with ordinary *nāgas*. *Mvyut* 3226 is *klu'i rgyal po'i ming la* (*nāgarāja-nāmāni*, names of the kings of *nāgas*) and under this category, eighty-two *nāgarājas* are enumerated. On the other hand, *Mvyut* 3309 is the heading *klu phal pa'i ming la* (ordinary *nāgas*), under which fifty-six *nāgas* are enumerated. Strangely enough, Yama (gShin-rje) is mentioned among them [as No. 3328]. Yama is well-known as the judge in Hell, but in fact he is the king of the *pretas*, as is clearly stated in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (165.7: *pretānām yamo rājā / cf. tib. 170a6: yi dags rnams kyi rgyal po ni gshin rje zhes bya ba yin no //*). This is a hint that *nāgas* can be *pretas* in the Buddhist scheme of things. But there is one problem. In *Mvyut* 3155, we also find the name of Yama under another heading (No. 3114): *laukika-devatā / 'jig rten pa'i lha'i ming la* (popular gods). I am not sure whether or not these two Yamas mentioned in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* are identical.

There is one other piece of evidence that shows that *nāgas* can be considered to be *pretas*. In *Mvyut*, under the heading of *kum̐bhāṇḍa(-nāmāni) / grul bum* (*gyi*

*dbang po'i ming la*) (No. 3436), *nāgādhipatiḥ / klu bdag* (master of *nāgas*) is mentioned as No. 3438. Therefore, this *nāga* can be considered to be a *preta*, because *kumbhāṇḍa* is a kind of *preta* as is mentioned in *Mvyut* 4755 (*kumbhāṇḍaḥ / grul bum*) under the heading of *yi dags (su gtogs pa'i ming la)* [*Mvyut* 4753].

In light of all these facts, we can probably conclude that in Buddhism *nāgarājas* were considered to be animals, while ordinary *nāgas* were said to be *pretas*. If this interpretation is correct, and if we apply the same thinking to Bonpo mythology, we might conclude that in the Bon religion, *nāgarājas* were considered to be *lha ma yin*, while ordinary *nāgas* were considered to be *pretas*. This is a little strange, but, otherwise, it is difficult for me to find a solution to this problem.

As for the category of human beings (Table 3, [3]), I just point out as a peculiarity of Bonpo cosmology that *kinnaras (mi'am ci)* are included in this category, while for the Buddhists *kinnaras* are animals, as we have seen above in the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*. Eight categories of human beings and four categories of *kinnaras* are presented in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*. Among them, the definition of the fourth category of *kinnaras* (Table 3, [3-2-4]) attracts our attention: *mgo brnyan mi lus dud 'gro sna tshogs mgo can zas su rtsi shing za ba'o* (The mGo brnyan have the heads of various beasts with human bodies. They eat fruit trees as food). In a *thangka* of the Bonpo version of the *srid pa'i 'khor lo* (Wheel of Existence), three kinds of creatures with the heads of animals are depicted in the division of human beings; they are *mi'am ci* (Kvaerne 1995: 142). The *thangka* thus perfectly follows in this way the Bonpo tradition.

We have skipped the category of animals (*byol song*), because there is nothing particular to explain. It is only said that the single [category of] animals is more numerous than the five destinies put together (*rigs lnga phyogs gcig bzhag pas byol song gcig pu mang ngo*: BGSB A 10b7, B 43a3-4).

Concerning the category of *preta (yi dwags)*, we have above pointed out one particular point about *nāgas*. Here I limit my remarks to only two points: 1) *Gandharvas* are enumerated among *pretas* (see [4-2-3]): *shar phyogs dri za* (in the eastern direction, *gandharva*). There is no inconsistency here, because *gandharvas* are also mentioned later in the six times six division (see [6-5-4]) among animals of *pretas*. 2) *Garuḍas* are considered to be *pretas* in [4-2-8]: *byang nub nam mkha' lding* (in the north-west, *garuḍa*). This is strange, because later in the six times six division, *garuḍas* are considered to be animals in that they are as one type of the gods of animals (see [6-4-1]). We have already seen above in the *sGre sbyor bam po gnyis pa* and in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (ad AK III k° 9a) that in the Buddhist context, *garuḍas* are included among animals. Therefore, I do not know how to interpret the passage of [4-2-8].

Regarding the category of the intermediate existence (*skye ba bar ma do*), five kinds of intermediate existences and seven kinds of intermediate existences are enumerated. These are clearly shown in Table 3, rubric [5]. I have never seen

another equally detailed list of the intermediate existences. The abundance of the intermediate existences is insisted upon, and it is said that the intermediate existences alone are more numerous than all six destinies (*de yang rigs drug thams cad bas / bar do gcig pu mang ste /*: BGSB A 11b4 , B 45b4). It is also said that the intermediate existences are like an ocean, while the beings of the six destinies are like the rivers (*mDo [= ZM 202.7-8] las bar do ni / rgya mtsho dang 'dra la / rigs drug sems can ni de nas skye ba'i chu bo dang 'dra*: BGSB A 11b4, B 45b4-5).

Finally, it is very interesting that, at the end of the classification of the destinies in the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, we find a classification of six times six divisions of destinies; namely, each destiny is divided into six, as in Table 3, rubric [6]. For example, the destiny of god is divided into *lha'i lha*, *lha'i lha ma yin*, *lha'i mi*, *lha'i byol song*, *lha'i yi dwags*, and *lha'i dmyal ba*. A similar division applies to the other destinies; therefore, the number of classes becomes thirty-six.

To my limited knowledge, there is no such internal division of each destiny in Buddhist sources. The only exception I know is the philosophy of “a hundred worlds, a thousand suchnesses” (百界千如), developed in the Tendai (T'ien t'ai 天台) school of Chinese Buddhism. There are ten worlds: six destinies (*gati*) plus four kinds of saints: Śrāvakas (*nyan thos*), Pratyekabuddhas (*rang sangs rgyas*), Bodhisattvas (*byang chub sems dpa'*) and Buddhas (*sangs rgyas*). In each of the ten worlds are contained ten worlds: this makes a hundred worlds in total. In Kumārajīva's Chinese translation of the second chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, there is a passage according to which the Buddha sees the real state of things from the point of view of ten suchnesses (十如是). This passage is developed in Tendai philosophy and, combined with the hundred worlds, becomes the basis of the Tendai theory of a thousand suchnesses (千如). Aside from this, I have never seen a similar idea in Buddhist texts.

Going back to the theory of six times six destinies, the *Abhidharmakośa* does not support such an idea. If there are six destinies in each destiny, there will be a confusion of destiny. The following is the reasoning of the author of the *Abhidharmakośa*, Vasubandhu, against the internal division of each destiny (AKBh 114.12 [ad AK III k° 4]: *anivṛtāvyākṛtā eva gatayaḥ / anyathā hi gati-saṃbhedaḥ syāt /*; [tib. P(115)(5591) gu 128b3] *'gro ba rnam ni ma bsgribs la lung du ma bstan pa kho na'o // de lta ma yin na 'gro ba lnga 'chol par 'gyur ro //*; “The destinies are undefiled-neutral. [If they were] otherwise, the five destinies would be confounded” [cf. Tr. LVP iii p. 12]).

Concerning this six times six division of destinies, it is very interesting to note that even in Bonpo sources, the contents of each item are not unanimous. For example, the *Bar ti ka* is cited in the *Bon sgo gsal byed* as a source of its interpretation. The *Bar ti ka* has been published in India (*mDo rnam 'grel ['brel] Bar [Par] ti ka*, 123 fols.), but strangely enough I have not been able to locate it in either the Bonpo *bKa' 'gyur* or *brTan 'gyur*. In the *Bon sgo gsal byed*, Tre-ston rGyal-mtshan-dpal pretends to cite literally the *Bar ti ka*. However, on several

occasions the explanations given to items are different or incompatible. To cite just one example, the *Bon sgo gsal byed* glosses *yi dwags kyi byol song* (animals of *pretas*) as “*gandharvas* which move about in space” (*dri za mkha’ la rgyu ba*), while the *Bar ti ka* defines them as “*kinnara*, etc., which live in the eight small continents” (*mi’am ci la sogs pa’i gling phran brgyad na gnas pa*). Not only are the contents different; it is also strange that the *Bar ti ka* mentions *mi’am ci* here in this category of “animals of *pretas*,” because, as we have seen above, *mi’am ci* are neither *pretas* (*yi dwags*) nor animals (*byol song*) in Bonpo mythology: they are clearly said to be a type of human being.

It is very unclear where this difference comes from. The discrepancy probably shows that there was not a completely fixed idea of these internal divisions of each destiny, or that the idea itself was developing. In the *Bon sgo gsal byed* (BGSB 130a1), another text is cited in another context, a text which seems to support the idea of the six times six internal division of destinies. The title of this text is *sByongs kyi gzer bu* (Nail of Study), but I have unfortunately not been able to locate this text in the Bonpo Canon.

All this indicates that there are still many things to do, many texts to read, many points to be clarified. We have seen that the names and the order of the heavens are not unanimous even among the Bonpo sources, and that the distribution and the contents of each destiny are often similarly uncertain. We have to continue our investigation more carefully and more systematically in other Bonpo sources, but this is beyond the scope of the present article. Nevertheless, I hope that one small step has been made with this preliminary report.



**Table 3** List of Destinies (in Tibetan)

- [1] dmyal ba [*BGSB* A.11a2-4, B.43b5-44a4; cf. *ZM* 203.13-204.6]  
 - spyi'i sde bzhi - sgos rigs bco brgyad
- [1-1] tsha dmyal brgyad (Cf. *AKBh* 168b6- (ad *AK* III k°58) / Skt. 163.8-)
- [1-1-1] yang sos (1) yang sos / saṃjīva 等活(地獄)
- [1-1-2] thig nag (2) thig nag / kālasūra 黑繩°
- [1-1-3] bsdus 'joms (3) bsdus 'joms / saṃghāta 衆合°
- [1-1-4] ngu 'bod (4) ngu 'bod / raurava \*叫喚°
- [1-1-5] ngu 'bod chen po (5) ngu 'bod chen po / mahāraurava \*大叫喚°
- [1-1-6] tsha ba (6) tsha ba / tāpana 炎熱°
- [1-1-7] rab du tsha ba (7) rab tu tsha ba / pratāpana 極熱°
- [1-1-8] mnar med (8) mnar med pa / avīci 無間°
- [1-2] grang dmyal brgyad (Cf. *AKBh* 169b8- (ad *AK* III k°59) / Skt. 164.23-)
- [1-2-1] chu bur can (1) chu bur can / arbuda
- [1-2-2] chu bur rdol ba can (2) chu bur rdol ba / nirarbuda
- [1-2-3] a chu kyī hud (3) so thams thams / aṭaṭa
- [1-2-4] so thams (4) a chu zer ba / hahava
- [1-2-5] pad ma ltar gas pa (5) kyī hud zer ba / huhuva
- [1-2-6] pad ma chen po ltar [gas pa] (6) ud pa la ltar gas pa / utpala
- [1-2-7] ud dpal ltar gyes pa (7) pa dma ltar gas pa / padma
- [1-2-8] ud dpal chen po [lta]r gyes pa (8) pa dma ltar cher gas pa / mahāpadma
- [1-3] nyi [gnyis *ZM*] tshe ba - tsha grang dus gcig la sbyong pa
- [1-4] gnyis 'khor ba - tsha grang re mos su 'khor ba
- [2] lha min [*BGSB* A.10a7-b2, B.41b2-42a3; cf. *ZM* 208.3-13]  
 - spyi'i sde gsum - sgos kyī rigs sum cu rtsa gsum
- [2-1] yar g-yen gnyan po bcu gsum (yar g-yen ni nam mkha' la rgyu zhing 'od zer la gnas so)
- [2-1-1] dbal [2-1-2] yogs [2-1-3] khriṅ
- [2-1-4] nyer [2-1-5] 'o [2-1-6] 'tshams [2-1-7] srid [2-1-8] skos
- [2-1-9] phy(w)a [2-1-10] dmu\* [2-1-11] bdud\* [2-1-12] btsan\* [2-1-13] gnyan po
- [2-2] bar g-yen gtod po dgu (bar g-yen ni ri rab rked la gnas shing / rdzu 'phrul shugs kyis 'gro'o)
- [2-2-1] nyi [2-2-2] zla [2-2-3] skar [2-2-4] zer [2-2-5] lo
- [2-2-6] rdzi [2-2-7] sprin [2-2-8] gzha' [2-2-9] dal
- [2-3] sa g-yen che ba bcu gcig (gling bzhi lcags ri la gnas shing sprul pa yongs su khyab pa'o)
- [2-3-1] klu\* [2-3-2] gnyan\* [2-3-3] rgyal\*
- [2-3-4] sman\* [2-3-5] 'brog
- [2-3-6] bzed [2-3-7] 'dre [2-3-8] srin\*
- [2-3-9] byur [2-3-10] gshin rje\*
- [2-3-11] chud

bsdus na g-yen dgu la sde brgyad su gsungs pa yang yod //

**Table 4** List of Destinies (in English)

- [1] Hells — Four general classes — Eighteen particular categories.
- [1-1] Eight hot hells
- [1-1-1] Hell of resurrection<sup>1)</sup>.
  - [1-1-2] Hell of black string<sup>2)</sup>.
  - [1-1-3] Hell of collective [torture]<sup>3)</sup>.
  - [1-1-4] Hell of wailing<sup>4)</sup>.
  - [1-1-5] Hell of great wailing.
  - [1-1-6] Hell of heat.
  - [1-1-7] Hell of terrible heat.
  - [1-1-8] Hell of [tortures] without interval.
- [1-2] Eight cold hells.
- [1-2-1] Hell of blisters<sup>5)</sup>.
  - [1-2-2] Hell of blisters that have been burst open<sup>6)</sup>.
  - [1-2-3] Hell of the cry “a chu” or “kyi hud”<sup>7)</sup>.
  - [1-2-4] Hell of the sound of teeth “thams [thams]...”<sup>8)</sup>
  - [1-2-5] Hell of [skin] split like a red lotus<sup>9)</sup>.
  - [1-2-6] Hell of [skin split] like a great red lotus.
  - [1-2-7] Hell of [skin] separated like a blue lotus<sup>10)</sup>.
  - [1-2-8] Hell of [skin] separated like a great blue lotus.
- [1-3] Hell of simultaneous heat and cold: Heat and cold arrive at the same time<sup>11)</sup>.
- [1-4] Hell of alternating heat and cold: Heat and cold arrive one after the other.
- [2] Asuras<sup>12)</sup> — Three general classes — Thirty-three particular categories.
- [2-1] The thirteen gnyen po who are the upper g-yen (they move around in the space and live in the light).
- [2-1-1] heat [2-1-2] pervading ones [2-1-3] khrin (a kind of unidentified spirit)
  - [2-1-4] nyer spirits [2-1-5] 'o (a kind of unidentified spirit)
  - [2-1-6] 'tshams (a kind of unidentified spirit) [2-1-7] srid [2-1-8] skos
  - [2-1-9] phy(w)a [2-1-10] dmu [2-1-11] bdud [2-1-12] btsan
  - [2-1-13] the cruel ones
- [2-2] The nine gtod po who are the intermediate g-yen<sup>13)</sup> (they live on Mount Meru, and move about with miraculous power).
- [2-2-1] Sun [2-2-2] Moon [2-2-3] star [2-2-4] ray [2-2-5] year
  - [2-2-6] wind [2-2-7] cloud [2-2-8] rainbow [2-2-9] “epidemic”
- [2-3] The eleven che ba who are the g-yen of the ground (they live in four continents and on the Peripheral Iron Mountains, and their emanations are everywhere).
- [2-3-1] nāga [2-3-2] gnyan spirits [2-3-3] rgyal (= rgyal po ?)
  - [2-3-4] female spirits dwelling in lakes and mountains
  - [2-3-5] a type of dangerous spirit
  - [2-3-6] a type of spirit (unidentified) [2-3-7] ghost [2-3-8] demon
  - [2-3-9] a type of spirit that brings misfortune [2-3-10] Yama (?)
  - [2-3-11] a kind of spirit living underground
- In summary, there are those who describe the “Nine g-yen” as the “Eight categories [of g-yen].”

**Table 3** List of Destinies (in Tibetan)

[3] mi - [3-1] mi dang [3-2] mi 'am ci [BGSB A.10b2-6, B.42a3-43a2; cf. ZM 206.12-208.2]

[3-1] mi - rigs brgyad

[3-1-1] shar gyi lus 'phags po drod skyes

[3-1-2] byang gi sgra mi snyan brdzus skyes

[3-1-3] nub ba lang spyod sgong skyes

[3-1-4] lho 'dzam bu gling mngal skyes

[3-1-5] smra mi grong bdun gyi mi ni / tshul khirms nam dag gis bskyed la / bar bskal  
gcig dge ba bcu spyad nas yar thar ro //

[3-1-6] 'khor lo dbang sgyur mi ni ri bdun srog chags la dbang byed cing rin po che'i 'khor  
lo sgyur ba'o //

[3-1-7] drum shing bcud 'thung mi ni / mu le drum shing gi khog na gnas / khu ba bdud  
rtsi 'dzag pa gsos kyi skal par spyod pa / sbyin pa mthar phyin pa las skye'o //

[3-1-8] me tog sbubs gnas kyi mi ni / bzod pa thang chod pas skye'o //

[3-2] mi 'am ci la bzhi ste /

[3-2-1] ljon pa me tog 'bras bu za / rgya mtsho'i kha zhag 'thung ba dang /

[3-2-2] skyes drug byis pa drod las dbyar ltam dgun na 'chi ba dang /

[3-2-3] deng gtsug mtshon thogs srin po rnam / zas su sha khrag za ba dang /

[3-2-4] mgo brnyan mi lus dud 'gro sna tshogs mgo can zas su rtsi shing za ba'o // zhi gling  
chung khyab par yod / shin du tshe ring bskal pa chen por gnas / phrag dog rgyu  
dang gzhan smad dbang gis skye'o //

[4] yi dwags [BGSB A.10b7-11a2, B.43a4-43b5; cf. ZM 204.7-205.4]

- spyi'i sde gsum - sgos rigs bco lnga

[4-1] gnas na 'dug pa gsum

[4-1-1] phyi'i sgrib pa can

[4-1-2] nang gi sgrib pa can

[4-1-3] sgrib pa can gyi sgrib pa can

[4-2] mkha' la rgyu ba bcu

[4-2-1] steng phyogs lha mthu dbang can las gyur pa'i yi dwags

[4-2-2] 'og phyogs klu lto 'phye can

[4-2-3] shar phyogs dri za

[4-2-4] byang phyogs me drang shugs

[4-2-5] nub phyogs chu bdag klu (klung ZM)

[4-2-6] lho phyogs srul po gdug pa can

[4-2-7] byang shar grul bum

[4-2-8] byang nub nam mkha' lding (= Garuḍa, *Mvyut* 3222)

[4-2-9] lho nub 'jug byed gtum po

[4-2-10] lho shar skem byed mchu ring

[4-3] brgyud drug 'khor ba la gnyis

[4-3-1] zo chu'i brgyud ma ltar khad kyis brgyud pa

[4-3-2] shing rta'i 'khor lo ltar gcig char du 'pho ba

**Table 4** List of Destinies (in English)

- [3] Human beings — [3-1] human beings and [3-2] kinnara.
- [3-1] Human beings — Eight categories.
- [3-1-1] People of Videha country of the East, who are born from heat-humidity.
- [3-1-2] People of Kuru country of the North, who are of apparitional birth.
- [3-1-3] People of Godāniya country of the West, who are born from eggs.
- [3-1-4] People of Jambūdvīpa of the South, who are born from the womb.
- [3-1-5] The human beings of sMra mi grong bdun<sup>14)</sup> are produced by pure discipline, and, after having practised the ten virtues during an intermediate kalpa<sup>15)</sup>, obtain salvation.
- [3-1-6] The “human beings who turn the wheel” dominate the beings of the seven mountains and turn the wheel of jewel<sup>16)</sup>.
- [3-1-7] The “human beings who drink the juice of the Drum tree” live in the interior of the Drum tree of Mu le<sup>17)</sup>, and they have the good fortune to drink the nectar liquid that drops [from the tree]. They are born there because of their accomplishment in alms-giving.
- [3-1-8] The “human beings who live in the interior of flowers” are born there because of their practice of perseverance<sup>18)</sup>.
- [3-2] Four [categories] of kinnara<sup>19)</sup>
- [3-2-1] The lJon pa<sup>20)</sup> eat the fruit of flowers<sup>21)</sup> and drink the foam of the ocean.
- [3-2-2] The sKyes drug in the form of children are born in summer by heat and die in winter.
- [3-2-3] The Deng gtsug are demons carrying swords, and they eat meat and blood as food<sup>22)</sup>.
- [3-2-4] The mGo brnyan have the heads of various beasts with human bodies. They eat fruit trees as food. They are everywhere in the small continents of zhi<sup>23)</sup> (?). They live long and even during a great kalpa. They are born there because of jealousy or by reason of speaking ill of other persons
- [4] Pretas — Three general classes — Fifteen particular categories
- [4-1] There are three who live on the ground.
- [4-1-1] Those who have external sins.
- [4-1-2] Those who have internal sins.
- [4-1-3] Those who have sins of sins (?).
- [4-2] There are ten who move in space.
- [4-2-1] In the upper world, the preta who are transformed from powerful gods.
- [4-2-2] In the underworld, the nāga accompanied by snakes.
- [4-2-3] In the eastern direction, gandharva<sup>24)</sup>.
- [4-2-4] In the northern direction, the Me drang shugs.
- [4-2-5] In the western direction, nāga, master of water<sup>25)</sup>.
- [4-2-6] In the southern direction, poisonous pūtana<sup>26)</sup>.
- [4-2-7] In the eastern direction, kumbhāṇḍa<sup>27)</sup>.
- [4-2-8] In the north-west, garuḍa<sup>28)</sup>.
- [4-2-9] In the south-west, the ’jug byed<sup>29)</sup> gtum po.
- [4-2-10] In the south-east, the skem byed<sup>30)</sup> with long beaks.
- [4-3] Among those who transmigrate into the six destinies<sup>31)</sup>, there are two [categories].
- [4-3-1] Those who move slowly like the flow of water from a pitcher.
- [4-3-2] Those who migrate suddenly like the wheel of a chariot.

**Table 3** List of Destinies (in Tibetan)

[5] skye ba bar ma do [BGSB A.11a4-b4, B.44a4-45b5; cf. ZM 202.4-203.13]

- spyi'i sde gcig -

[5-1] sgos kyi rigs lnga

[5-1-1] gnas pa tshe'i bar do - da lta'i snang ba 'khrul pa 'di'o //

[5-1-2] rmi lam sgyu ma'i bar do - yid shes 'khrul pa la snang ngo //

[5-1-3] bon nyid 'od gsal gyi bar do - 'byung lnga bsud cing / 'od lnga rim gyis 'char ba'o // 'jig pa rkyen gyi bar do yang zer ro //

[5-1-4] gnas pa gzhi'i bar do - skad cig bdun cu'am zhag gsum dros bzhi la sogs su rten med du brgyal ba'o

[5-1-5] stong pa srid pa'i bar do - tshe snga phyi'i bar na rig pa la rten med bar dor 'khyams pa

[5-2] rigs bdun

[5-2-1] yar gyi zang thal - dge ldan rtogs pa'i stobs kyiis glog 'khyugs yud tsam la sangs rgyas so

[5-2-2] mar gyi zang thal - sdig pa 'tshams med kyi stobs kyiis / dpag chen gyis mda' 'phangs pa bzhin du mnar med du skye'o

[5-2-3] dge ba khad kyiis brgyud pa - sngon rang gis spyad pa'i dge ba dang / phyi nas gzhan gyis btang pa'i dge ba 'joms pas / gnas ngan pa nas bzang por skye ba

[5-2-4] sdig pa khad kyiis brgyud pa - sngon du rang gis spyad pa'i sdig pa dang / phyi nas gzhan gyis bsnan pa'i sdig pa dang / gnas bzang po nas (45a5) ngan par skye ba

[5-2-5] bsam gtan nus mthu rdzogs pa - bsgoms pa'i stobs kyiis zhag bdun na mthong ba'i bon la bden pa mthong nas bar lha 'od gsal du skye'o

[5-2-6] 'khor byed stobs can - bdun bdun bzhi bcu rtas dgu'i bar du / mdung khyim gyi tshul du 'khor nas / rigs drug gi las gar mthun par skye'o

[5-2-7] ther zug bskal pa'i bar do - bskal pa chen po gcig gi bar du ther zug yid kyiis btags nas / lus mi len pa

[6]  $6 \times 6 = 36$ ; rigs sum cu rtas drug [BGSB A.11b4-12a5, B.45b5-47b3; cf. Bar ti ka 19b6-22a5 (pp.38-43)]

[6-1] lha la rigs drug

[6-1-1] lha'i lha - ltung ba med pa

[6-1-2] lha'i lha ma yin - rtag du myos pa

[6-1-3] lha'i mi - yengs pas ltung ba

[6-1-4] lha'i byol song - rgyun du 'khor ba

[6-1-5] lha'i yi dwags - thang lha la sogs 'jig rten lha dgu

[6-1-6] lha'i dmyal ba - ltung bas gzir ba bsam gtan tha ma

**Table 4** List of Destinies (in English)

- [5] Intermediate existence — One general class —
- [5-1] Five particular categories<sup>32)</sup>
- [5-1-1] Intermediate existence of the present life — the erroneous appearance of the present time.
- [5-1-2] Intermediate existence of the illusory dream — it appears in erroneous mental consciousness.
- [5-1-3] Intermediate existence of the clear light of reality (*bon nyid*) — [In this] the assemblage of the five elements occurs, the five lights shining successively. This *bar do* is also called “intermediate existence of the conditions of dissolution”.
- [5-1-4] Intermediate existence of the basic state — [In this *bar do*, the person who dies] faints during seventy moments or three nights and one day without a physical support, i.e. the body.
- [5-1-5] Intermediate existence of the empty existence — he wanders about in the [state of] intermediate existence, without having a support for his consciousness, between the previous and future life.
- [5-2] Seven particular categories [of intermediate existence]
- [5-2-1] “Direct ascent” — Through the force of their realisation and virtuous work, [those who die] attain enlightenment instantly like lightning.
- [5-2-2] “Direct descent” — Through the force of their unpardonable sin [those who die] are born straight in the “hell [of tortures] without interval” (*avīci*) like the archery of an athletic archer.
- [5-2-3] Gradual moving through virtuous work — Those who, having obtained the virtue practised previously by themselves and the meritorious work done by others on their behalf after their death, are reborn into a good place from a bad [place].
- [5-2-4] Gradual moving through sin — Those who, [having accrued] the sin committed previously by themselves and the sin committed by others on their behalf after their death, are reborn into a bad place from a good [place].
- [5-2-5] Perfection in the strength of contemplation — Because of strength in meditation, [those who die] see the truth of Bon seven days after their death and are born in the heaven *Bar lha 'od gsal*.
- [5-2-6] Those who have the power of transmigration — After having transmigrated from one place to another<sup>33)</sup> for forty-nine (seven times seven) days, they will be born in one of the six destinies in accordance with their *karman*.
- [5-2-7] The constant intermediate existence that lasts for one kalpa — [The dead ones] who remain during a great kalpa, bound by mental [consciousness] and without being reborn with a physical body.
- [6] Six times six, namely thirty-six divisions.
- [6-1] Six categories of gods.
- [6-1-1] gods of gods — those who do not fall [from heaven].
- [6-1-2] asuras of gods — gods who are always drunk (*Sadāmada*, cf. *Mvyut* 3152).
- [6-1-3] human beings of gods — those who fall [from heaven] because of their distraction.
- [6-1-4] animals of gods — those who transmigrate continuously.
- [6-1-5] pretas of gods — The “nine local gods” such as the god of the plain (*thang lha*)<sup>34)</sup>.
- [6-1-6] hell-beings of gods — [gods of] the last *dhyāna*, who are afflicted with falling.

**Table 3** List of Destinies (in Tibetan)

- [6-2] lha ma yin gyi rigs drug  
 [6-2-1] lha ma yin gyi lha - Thag bzang ris  
 [6-2-2] lha ma yin gyi lha ma yin - zhe sdang rab du skyed pa  
 [6-2-3] lha ma yin gyi mi - go mtshon 'chang ba  
 [6-2-4] lha ma yin gyi byol song - bying rmugs mkhar brtsigs  
 [6-2-5] lha ma yin gyi yi dwags - ri rab tshog por 'phen pa  
 [6-2-6] lha ma yin gyi dmyal ba - 'thab pas rab tu gzir ba
- [6-3] mi'i rigs drug  
 [6-3-1] mi'i lha - rigs kyi rgyal po, bla ma mchod mkhan, 'khor ldan gtso bo gsum  
 [6-3-2] mi'i lha ma yin - dmag dpon dar thogs, rang mthong dug ldan, zhe sdang khong khro can gsum  
 [6-3-3] mi'i mi - rgyu phyug dkor ldan, ma drang sho drang, rdzun med tshig drang gsum  
 [6-3-4] mi'i byol song - 'on long, mo chags, bran khol gsum  
 [6-3-5] mi'i yi dwags - gling gsum 'phangs med, sprang po grong khyer, dkor med khrel 'dzem gsum  
 [6-3-6] mi'i dmyal ba - rang gis rang bkol, khrel med rje'i 'bangs, nad gcong zin pa gsum
- [6-4] byol song rigs drug  
 [6-4-1] byol song gi lha - 'brug seng khyung cang shes rta dang 'dod 'jo la sogs pa  
 [6-4-2] byol song gi lha ma yin - khra spyang la sogs nying sha za ba  
 [6-4-3] byol song gi mi - rab du mi dang 'brel ba mams  
 [6-4-4] byol song gi byol song - mun pa'i nang na mthon pa  
 [6-4-5] byol song gi yi dwags - khyi dang khyim bya lto tshod mis 'dzin pa  
 [6-4-6] byol song gi dmyal ba - rgya mtsho la gnas pa
- [6-5] yi dwags kyi rigs drug  
 [6-5-1] yi dwags kyi lha - Kha 'bar ma, Kha 'dra ma  
 [6-5-2] yi dwags kyi lha ma yin - dge snyen rgyal po la sogs  
 [6-5-3] yi dwags kyi mi - gling phran brgyad kyi mi  
 [6-5-4] yi dwags kyi byol song - dri za mkha' la rgyu ba.  
 [6-5-5] yi dwags kyi yi dwags - phyi'i sgrib pa can,  
 [6-5-6] yi dwags kyi dmyal ba - nang gi sgrib pa can gting na gnas pa
- [6-6] dmyal ba'i rigs drug  
 [6-6-1] dmyal ba'i lha - tshe rgyud nas sdug bsngal med pa  
 [6-6-2] dmyal ba'i lha ma yin - thig nag bsha' thub byed pa  
 [6-6-3] dmyal ba'i mi - bka' nyan pas dmyal zangs kha nas thar ba  
 [6-6-4] dmyal ba'i byol song - me nang du lag pa bcug nas a tsha zer / chu nang du rkang pa bcug nas a chu zer te / skyon rang la byung ba ma rig pa  
 [6-6-5] dmyal ba'i yi dwags - bsregs na grang bar 'dod la 'khyags na tsha bar 'dod pa  
 [6-6-6] dmyal ba'i dmyal ba - bskal pa stong du mi thar ba ni mnar med

**Table 4** List of Destinies (in English)

- [6-2] Six categories of asuras.
- [6-2-1] gods of asuras — Vemacitra<sup>35</sup>.
  - [6-2-2] asuras of asuras — those who produce very much anger.
  - [6-2-3] human beings of asuras — those who bear weapons.
  - [6-2-4] animals of asuras — those who construct dark strongholds.
  - [6-2-5] pretas of asuras — those who can hurl mountains, such as Mount Meru (?)<sup>36</sup>
  - [6-2-6] hell-beings of asuras — those who are afflicted with fighting.
- [6-3] Six categories of human beings.
- [6-3-1] gods of human beings — kings of a good family, those who worship bla ma, and masters with attendants.
  - [6-3-2] asuras of human beings — generals who bear flags, narcissists with poison (?), and those who hate and enrage [other people].
  - [6-3-3] human beings of human beings — rich men with treasure, ma drang sho drang<sup>37</sup> (?), and those who do not lie and have honest words.
  - [6-3-4] animals of human beings — the deaf and dumb, those who are attached to divination, and those who are used as servants.
  - [6-3-5] pretas of human beings — those who live in the three continents and do not throw away things, beggars [who wander] in the city<sup>38</sup>, and those who have no treasure, but avoid shame [and therefore do not wander in the city]<sup>39</sup>.
  - [6-3-6] hell-beings of human beings — those who use themselves [and do not depend on the teaching]<sup>40</sup>, those who shamelessly become servants of masters, and those who are affected by disease.
- [6-4] Six categories of animals.
- [6-4-1] gods of animals — dragons, lions, garuḍas, good horses, and the mythical cow which fulfils all desires.
  - [6-4-2] asuras of animals — falcons and wolves, etc., which eat meat of their own class.
  - [6-4-3] human beings of animals — those who have strong relations with human beings.
  - [6-4-4] animals of animals — those who are projected in the darkness.
  - [6-4-5] pretas of animals — dogs and chickens, the quantity of whose food is controlled by men.
  - [6-4-6] hell-beings of animals — those who live in oceans.
- [6-5] six categories of pretas.
- [6-5-1] gods of pretas — Kha 'bar ma<sup>41</sup>, and Kha 'dra ma<sup>42</sup>.
  - [6-5-2] asuras of pretas — the king of dGe snyen<sup>43</sup> (a type of local deity), etc.
  - [6-5-3] human beings of pretas — human beings of the eight small continents<sup>44</sup>.
  - [6-5-4] animals of pretas — gandharvas which move about in space<sup>45</sup>.
  - [6-5-5] pretas of pretas — those who have external sins<sup>46</sup>.
  - [6-5-6] hell-beings of pretas — those who have internal sins and live in the bottom [of the world].
- [6-6] six categories of hells.
- [6-6-1] gods of hells — those who have no pain, time having passed.
  - [6-6-2] asuras of hells — those who cut into pieces [the criminals of hell] with black iron wire.
  - [6-6-3] human beings of hells — those who, having heard the teaching, get away from the mouth of the cauldron of the hell.
  - [6-6-4] animals of hells — those who say “a tsha” when they put their hands in the fire, and “a chu” when they put their feet in the water; they do not know that it is their own fault.
  - [6-6-5] pretas of hells — those who want cold, when it is hot, and hot, when it is cold.
  - [6-6-6] hell-beings of hells — those who are unable to get away and remain in Avici hell for a thousand kalpas.



## Notes

- 1) The beings in this Hell are tortured with iron bars and swords and are cut into pieces and die. But when a cold wind blows, they are resuscitated and are tortured again in the same way as before.
- 2) The beings in this Hell are tortured with black iron wire which is red-hot, and they are cut into pieces.
- 3) Several kinds of torture happen together, for example eagles with red-hot iron beaks peck at the intestines of the beings in this Hell.
- 4) The beings in this Hell cry and call out with pain because of terrible tortures.
- 5) The beings in this Hell get blisters because of the cold.
- 6) The blisters burst open because of the cold.
- 7) In this Hell, since it is terribly cold, one is obliged to cry *a chu* or *kyi hud*, two onomatopoeic expressions.
- 8) In this Hell, the teeth of the beings make the sound *thams thams* ... because of the cold.
- 9) Because of the cold, the skin breaks open like a red lotus.
- 10) Because of the cold, the skin bursts open like a blue lotus.
- 11) If the upper part of the body suffers from heat, the lower part of the body suffers from cold.
- 12) Some of the asuras' names are difficult to identify. An asterisk indicates that the name can be found in the list of local mountain deities established in Karmay 1996: 72.
- 13) Most of these are personifications of natural phenomena.
- 14) Cf. *ZM* 206.16: *g-yung drung khyim bdun gyi mi*. Cf. also Karmay 1998: 86-87 (No. 50), p.101 (No. 50): men who live in Yungdrung khyimdün (*g-yung drung khyim bdun mi*).
- 15) *bar bskal* = *bar gyi bskal pa* / *antara-kalpa*, cf. *Mvyut* 8281.
- 16) These beings are depicted on a *thangka* in Karmay 1998: 86-87 [No.49], p. 101 [No. 49]).
- 17) Meaning of the terms *drum shing* and *mu le* are not clear.
- 18) These beings are depicted on a *thangka* in Karmay 1998: 86-87 (No.51), p. 101 (No. 51).
- 19) *ZM* (207.15-16) gives these four as [i] *ljon pa*, [ii] *skyes drug*, [iii] *ting tsug*, and [iv] *mgo brnyan can*. Therefore, we understand that these are the general names of each category of *kinnara*. Among these four categories, only the first one, namely *ljon pa* (Druma), is mentioned in the *Mvyut* (1352) as *kinnara*.
- 20) Cf. *Mvyut* 1352 *Druma-kinnara-rāja-pariṣcchā* / *Mi'am ci'i rgyal po lJon pas zhus pa*; cf. *Mvyut* 3414 *Druma-kinnara-rāja* / *Mi'am ci'i rgyal po sDong po*.
- 21) *ZM* (207.17) has *me tog 'bru za* (eat the seeds of flowers) instead of *me tog 'bras bu za*.
- 22) *ZM* (207.19) has a slightly different reading: the *Ting tsug*, carrying swords, fight against demons, and eat meat and blood (*ting tsug mtshon thogs srin po rnam dang 'thab cing sha khrag za ba*). The meaning of *ting tsug* is not clear.
- 23) I do not understand well the meaning of *zhi* here. Can we correct it to *phyi*, which would make more sense: small exterior continents? The *gZer mig* version is easier to understand:... *zas su rtsi shing za zhing gling chung khyab par yod* / (... eating fruit-trees as food, they are everywhere in the small continents).

- 24) Here *gandharvas* are classified under the heading of *preta*. This fits into the explanation given below, since *gandharvas* are described as *yi dwags kyi byol song* (animals of *pretas*) in the six times six classification, see below in [6-5-4].
- 25) According to ZM, "... the river (*klung*), master of water" (*chu bdag klung*).
- 26) Cf. *Mvyut* 4758: *srul po / pūtana*.
- 27) Cf. *Mvyut* 4755: *grul bum / kumbhāṇḍa*.
- 28) Cf. *Mvyut* 3222: *nam mkha' lding / garuḍa*. It is very strange that *garuḍas* are classified here under the heading of *preta*, since they are mentioned as *byol song gi lha* (gods of animals) in the six times six classification; see below in [6-4-1]. We have seen that in the Buddhist division, namely in the *sGra sbyor bam gnyis*, *garuḍas* (*khyung* or *nam mkha' lding*) were classified under the heading of animals (*dud 'gro*).
- 29) ZM (204.19) has 'ju byed in place of 'jug byed.
- 30) BGSB has *skye mched* (*āyatana*) which does not make much sense here; I have therefore chosen the reading of ZM (204.19): *skem byed*. Cf. *Mvyut* 4761: *skem byed / skanda*.
- 31) I have corrected the reading of BGSB, *rgyud*, to *brgyud*. ZM (204.20) has *rgyu* in place of *rgyud*.
- 32) In BGSB the five particular categories are presented according to the *sNyan rgyud*. ZM only has an explanation of the seven particular categories, which we find below in [5-2].
- 33) Literally "in the way of a [provisional] house [made] of lances".
- 34) Cf. Karmay 1996: 72.
- 35) Thang bzang ris (BGSB), Thags bzangs ris (Bar 39.3); cf. *Mvyut* 3393: Thag bzang(s) ris / Vemacitra (No 2 under the heading of Asura: *Mvyut* 3391).
- 36) I am not sure of my translation.
- 37) I do not understand the meaning of these words; cf. Bar 40.2: *mal drang shol drang*.
- 38) Cf. Bar 40.4: *sprang po grong khyer rgyu ba*.
- 39) Cf. Bar 40.4: *dkor med khrel srung grong khyer mi rgyu ba*.
- 40) Bar (40.5) adds *bka' la mi gnas*.
- 41) The image of Kha-'bar-ma as the queen of the *pretas* is found in Karmay 1998: 102 (No. 61). Sarat Chandra Das (*A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 132) gives Kha-'bar-ma / Jvālāmukhī as the name of the goddess of cholera in the Hindu pantheon, unfortunately without any reference. A Jvālāmukhī is mentioned as a local family goddess of Kashmir in *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (vol. 13: 17) (New York, 1987). Jvālāmukhī is mentioned as the name of a volcano, a celebrated place of pilgrimage in the Lower Himālayas, in Dawson, J., *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History, and Literature* (p. 136) (London, 1961). But we have found no evidence of it as the name of a *preta* in Indian materials.
- 42) Cf. Bar 41.3: Khang `dra ma.
- 43) Cf. Karmay 1996: 72.
- 44) Cf. Bar 41.4: "evil spirits transformed from human beings" (*mi las gyur pa'i gdon rnams*). Bar's explanation is easier to understand.
- 45) Here Bar gives a totally different explanation. Cf. Bar 41.4: "kinnara, etc., which live in the eight small continents" (*mi'am ci la sogs pa'i gling phran brgyad na gnas pa*). Bar's explanation is strange: it does not fit into the definition of 'am ci, which was

considered as a category of human beings; see above the category of human beings [3], [3-2].

- 46) Cf. *Bar* 41.4-5: “those who have internal sins, their minds full of desire, but who do not experience anything” (*nang gi sgrib pa can te / 'dod pa yid la btags te / ci yang mi myong ba*). Here *Bar*'s explanation is in contradiction with that of *BGSB* in that the former has *nang gi*, while the latter has *phyi'i*.

## Abbreviations

- AK*: *Abhidharmakośa*  
*AKBh*: *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*  
*Bar*: *Bar ti ka*, cf. *mDo rnam 'grel*...in “References”  
*BGSB*: *Bon sgo gsal byed*  
*DNDz*: *dDe snod mdzod*  
*DzP*: *mDzod phug*  
*LVP*: La Vallée Poussin, *l'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, 6 tomes, Bruxelles, 1971.  
*ZM*: *gZer mig*

## References

- mDo rnam 'grel* ['brel] *Bar* [*Par*] *ti ka*  
 n.d. published by Vam Lama Samtin Jansin Lama, Delhi: Berry Art Press.  
*mDzod phug*  
 1966 Published by Tenzin Namdak, Delhi.  
*sDe snod mdzod* Cf. Shar-rdza bKra-shis-rgyal-mtshan  
 Ishikawa, M., ed.  
 1990 *A Critical Edition of the sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko.  
 Karmay, S.G.  
 1975 A General Introduction to the History and Doctrines of Bon. *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 33: 171-218.  
 1996 The Tibetan Cult of Mountain Deities and its Political Significance. In Blondeau, A.M. and E. Steinkellner eds., *Reflections of the Mountain — Essays on the History and Social Meaning of the Mountain Cult in Tibet and the Himalaya*, pp. 59-75. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
 1998 *The Little Luminous Boy*. Bangkok: Orchid Press.  
 Kvaerne, P.  
 1995 *The Bon Religion of Tibet*. London: Serindia Publications.  
 Lamotte, E.  
 1967 *Histoire du Bouddhisme*. Louvain. (Eng. tr., Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988)  
 Mimaki, K.  
 1999 Bukkyō no butsuda to Bonkyō no shi – gShen rab mi bo – no 32 no shintaiteki tokuchō [Thirty-two Physical Marks of the Buddhist Buddha and those of

gShen rab mi bo, the Master of Bon]. In Nagano, Y. ed., *Chibetto Bunkaiki ni okeru Ponkyō bunka no kenkyū* [Research on Bon Culture in Tibet: Research Report of the Monbusho Grant 08041040], pp. 1-10. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

Mimaki, K. and Samten Karmay

1997 *Bon sgo gsal byed, Two Tibetan Manuscripts in Facsimile Edition of a Fourteenth Century Encyclopedia of Bonpo Doxography*, Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum 13. Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for Unesco, The Toyo Bunko.

Pradhan, P., ed.

1967 *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu*. Tibetan Sanskrit Works series vol. 8. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.

Shar-rdza bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan

1972 *sDe snod mdzod*. Dolanji: Bonpo Monastic Centre.

gZer mig

1991 *Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang*.

