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The 'Bon' *dBal-mo Nyer-bdun(/brgyad)* and the Buddhist *dBang-phyug-ma Nyer-brgyad*: A brief comparison[1)]

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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 maṇḍala* 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 *maṇḍala*s, '*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*:

'Bon'		***Buddhist***
Kun-tu bzang-po and	-	*Kun-tu bzang-po* and
Kun-tu bzang-mo	-	*Kun-tu bzang-mo*
bDe-bar-gshegs rigs-lnga	-	*rGyal-ba'i rigs-lnga* and their consorts:
bDe-gshegs yum lnga	-	*'Byung-ba'i yum-chen lnga*
Ye-gshen sems-dpa' brgyad	-	*Byang-chub sems-dpa' chen-po brgyad* and their consorts:
Ye-sangs lcam brgyad	-	*Byang-chub sems-ma brgyad*
Ye-shes sgo bzhi	-	*sGo-ba bzhi* and their consorts:
Dus-bzhi rgyal-mo bzhi	-	*sGo-ma bzhi*
'Dul-ba gshen-rab drug	-	*sPrul-pa'i thub-pa drug*
Ye-shes khro-bo yab lnga	-	*He-ru-ka lnga* and their consorts:
Yum-chen khro-mo lnga	-	*Krodheshvarīs*

?*Ha-la Khro-bo brgyad* and consorts:
Yum-chen khro-mo brgyad - ?*Kau'u-rī/ Ke'u-ri ma-mo brgyad* and *Phra-men brgyad*

sGo-ba yab-yum brgyad:
rNgam-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 maṇḍala*, as we can also note for earlier *Buddhist* presentations of a *zhi-khro maṇḍala* (cf. Blezer (1997: 39-66)).

Even when casting a cursory glance at the groups of deities in the *Buddhist maṇḍala* the *rGyal-ba'i rigs-lnga*, *Byang-chub sems-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-rī/ Ke'u-ri ma-mo brgyad* and *yul-gyi Phra-men brgyad*, seem somewhat more difficult to match and contextualise (than the *He-ru-ka*s etc.). At the same time, the Hindu (*tantric*) origins for the *Kau'u-rī/ Ke'u-ri ma-mo brgyad* are, considering the designation for their class and their individual names, not so very difficult to guess. Neumaier in her published Ph.D. thesis on *Mātaraḥ* and *Ma-mo* (1966) 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-*maṇḍala*s, 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, *maṇḍala*s, 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[3]. 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 maṇḍala* 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[4]. This account is elaborated in the *mDzod sgra 'grel*. Here the eggs are identified as a light-egg and a darkness-egg[5]. In the root-text the white egg is said to be pierced by light and (coloured) rays[6]. 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-egg[8]. 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-mo*s are, as many of you will know, also described as originating from eggs[9], some of the latter (i.e., the eggs of the *gZe-ma* and *Gyad-mo dgu*) are moreover said to break through special sounds[10].

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-mo*s (twenty-eight if their mistress Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo is included), and other *dBal* deities. Under his learned guidance[11] 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-mo*s 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 *yoginī*s, 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 rsta-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-mo*s and *dBang-phyug-ma*s 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-mo*s 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-*maṇḍala*s 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-mo*s 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-dpon 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 argument[12].

II As a second point I should like to submit that the *Buddhist dBang-phyug-mas*, *as* wrathful *yoginī*s, 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 *dBal-mo*s 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.

III The closest Tibetan *Buddhist* relatives for the groups of (nine) *dBal-mo*s seem to be the various groups of *Ma*-mos[13]. The *Ma-mo*s are usually associated with dPal-ldan lha-mo (cf. Śrīdevī, a form of Durgā), Rematī or Ekajātī in a position comparable to that of Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo vis-à-vis the *dBal-mo*s. The *Ma-mo*s, as groups, apparently formed after the model(s) of groups of Indian (derivative) 'Buddhist' and Hindu *Mātaras*/*Mātṛkā*s. 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-mo*s, generally, as they appear in groups (remotely reminiscent of the *dBal-mo*s, see below), unlike their leader dPal-ldan lha-mo, might again refer back to these so-called 'indigenous Tibetan deities' rather than to Indian ones. Like the *dBal-mo*s, the *Ma-mo*s 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-mo*s in the retinue of Yama or the twelve animal-headed *mThu-chen ma-mo bcu-gnyis*, see also the sisterhood of nine *Ma-mo*s, the *Ma-mo mched-dgu*, or the animal headed *Ma-mo*s, the *(l)Ce-spyang-ma brgyad* (for the animal headed varieties compare especially the *gZe-ma dgu* and *Gyad-mo dgu*)[14].

IV As I already indicated above, as far as their names go the *dBang-phyug-ma*s like the *Kau'u rī/ Ke'u ri ma mo brgyad* also suggest to be traceable to Hindu deities, via, amongst others, older Buddhist *zhi-khro maṇḍala*s. See Kimiaki Tanaka (1992: 276) for earlier *zhi-khro maṇḍala*s in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* and the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*. For a listing of an earlier *Buddhist* example of the *dBang-phyug-ma*s see the *Trilokavijayamahāmaṇḍalavidhivistara* section of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*[15]. Here we find five groups of in total twenty-one *yoginī*s, 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 *yoginī*s 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-*maṇḍala*s in Hindu *tantric* systems, I am not even sure if sufficiently close matches of such composite larger groups of wrathful *yoginī*s in a similar position in a *zhi-khro maṇḍala* are at all extant in these traditions. Anyway, evidence for earlier antecedents in *Buddhist maṇḍala*s already suffices to support the points to be forwarded in this article regarding the *dBang-phyug-ma*s and *dBal-mo*s. However, especially considering the frequent occurrence of names of well-known consorts of Hindu deities among the *dBang-phyug-ma*s, links to groups of *Mātara*s and *Mātṛkā*s do seem to present themselves quite naturally. Cf. the names of several groups of *dBang-phyug-ma*s, e.g., *Rākṣasī*, *Brāhmaṇī*, *Mahādevī*, *Vaiṣṇavī*, *Kumārī*, *Indrāṇī*, or, for that matter, *Vāyudevī*, *Nārī*, *Vārāhī*, *Vajrī*, *Mahānāsā*, *Varuṇī*. Many of these names are clearly reminiscent of *purāṇic* arrangements of seven, eight or more *mātṛkā*s. Compare, for instance, a listing in Monier Monier Williams' Sanskrit dictionary *Brāhmī/ Brahmāṇī*, *Māheśvarī*, *Kaumārī*, *Vaiṣṇavī*, *Vārāhī*, *Indrāṇī/ Aindrī/ Māhendrī*, *Cāmuṇḍā*.

V Connected to the above point is my fifth preliminary observation. To my knowledge the *dBang-phyug-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 *maṇḍalas* 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 maṇḍalas* from earlier *Buddhist maṇḍalas* 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 paralelled in many '*Bon*' cosmogonical/ 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-mkhans* as they are described in '*Bon*' *bar do thos grol zhi-khro maṇḍalas*. The three groups of deities of which the *dBal-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-phyug-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-phyug-mas* immediately suggests two connections. First there is the less obvious connection of the twenty-four (powerful) *yoginīs* (that is, without their four leaders) to twenty-four *pīṭhas*, (sacred places located in different regions[16]) or, also, places on the body[17]. Secondly there seems to be a more obvious connection to astrology, reminding one of the twenty-eight lunar mansions (*nakṣatras*), or the twenty-eight days or four weeks of the lunar month (as referred to in popular usage)[18].

As one can gather from the tables below, the *dBang-phyug-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 maṇḍala* is obviously dictated by convenience, that is to say, the structure of the *maṇḍala*: 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 *maṇḍala* structure would be like trying to square the triangle. In the *maṇḍala* they are divided into nine sets of three,

each set featuring one from each sub-group of nine deities, thus clearly suggesting other numerical associations[19].

VII Lastly, when discussing these two sub-*maṇḍala*s 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 *dBang-phyug-ma*s may be traced to Hindu divinities (at times probably ultimately to obscure *grāmadevatā*s – another desideratum for future research), or that the groups of *dBal-mo*s 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. *dNgos gzhi*

3.1 Deities Listed[20]

3.1.1 *dBang-phyug-ma nyer-brgyad*[21]

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 sbu gri (spu gri) thogs pa
zhi-ba dmar-mo chu-srin-mgo lag na bum 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 sbu gris (spu gris) gcod pa
'dod-pa dmar-po pu-shud-mgo lag na mda' gzhu 'gengs pa

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 sgrogs 'dzin pa*
byang nas *rdo-rje ljang-nag sbrul-mgo-ma lag na dril bu 'dzin pa*

3.1.2 *dBal-mo nyer-bdun*[22)]

skad kyi gdang[23)] gi thig le'i 'od klong gi gzha' 'od kha sgrom ngar gyi gsas mkhar na[24)]

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 ngar 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
gze ma 5: *las-mkhan dmar-mo dred-mgos ral kyu 'phyar*
gyad mo 5: *las-mkhan sngon-mo gzig-mgos btsan zhags sdog*
byin te 5: *las-mkhan sngon-mo gdong-drug chu srin g-yang gzhi 'khur*

sgal tshigs gzhung rtsa'i thig le'i 'od klong du gzha' 'od kha sgrom ngar gyi gsas mkhar na
gze ma 6: *las-mkhan dmar-nag spyang-mgos khra gshog 'phyar*
gyad mo 6: *las-mkhan ser-ljang 'ug-mgos srin bya spor*
byin te 6: *las-mkhan dkar-mo zhal-gnyis shel sgong 'thor*

drod kyi mtha' yi thig le'i 'od klong du 'ja' 'od me dpung 'bar ba'i gsas mkhar na[25)]
gze ma 7: *las-mkhan smug-nag stag-mgos dred-kyi g-yang gzhi 'khur*
gyad mo 7: *las-mkhan dmar-mo khra-mgos ral gyu 'phyar*
byin te 7: *las-mkhan dmar-mo mgo-dgus byur thag skyong*

snyan gyi mchog gi thig le'i 'od klong du 'ja' 'od rnga gshang sgra yi gsas mkhar na[26)]
gze ma 8: *las-mkhan ser-ljang khyung-mgos pho mo skung na 'gyed*
gyad mo 8: *las-mkhan skya-bkra-mgos dred lag 'phyar*
byin te 8: *las-mkhan sngo-ljang dbu-gnyis dmu thag 'dren*

rtsa yi sbubs kyi thig le'i 'od klong du gzha' 'od rgyun med chu yi gsas mkhar na
gze ma 9: *las-mkhan sngo-ljang chu srin mgo-can rlung g-yab bsnams*
gyad mo 9: *las-mkhan dmar-nag phag-mgos dru gu (dru bu, gru gu?) bsdog*
byin te 9: *las-mkhan dmar-nag lcags ral gshin lam 'dren*

3.2 Deities Discussed

3.2.1 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 *dBal-mo*s and *dBang-phyug-ma*s. 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-*maṇḍala* derive from the other, or, for that matter, whether the sub-*maṇḍala* 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[27)] regarding the

formation of some of the groups of *Ma-mo*s in analogy to Indian prototype-groups of *Mātara*s and *Mātṛkā*s. 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 *maṇḍala*, and the like, rather than on detailed correspondences in iconography, or even borrowing, of the individual deities. In as far as the sub-*maṇḍala*s 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-ma*s seem less obscure (that is not to say unproblematic) than (the origins of) the *dBal-mo*s, 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-mkhan*s or the tables for the *gZe-ma dgu*, *Gyad-mo dgu*, and *Byin-te dgu* (below) and *dBang-phyug-ma*s (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-mo*s, no, not to the *dBang-phyug-ma*s, but to a sisterhood of eight animal headed *Ma-mo*s, 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 *rNying-ma-pa*-text, the *bKa' brgyad kyi mngon par dregs pa'i dbu phyogs*[28]. 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-te*s, in fact, do not have animal heads. Each of the eight *(l)Ce-spyang-ma*s 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*[29] 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-te*s 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.

(l)Ce-spyang-ma brgyad	***color***	***material drum***	***Byin-te dgu***	***#***	***colour female***	***material and color egg***
Ma-mo seng-ge yi mgo-can	*dkar mo*	*shel*	*gNyan-gyi byin-te chen-mo*	6	*dkar mo*	*shel gyi sgong dkar mo*
Ma-mo stag-gi mgo-can	*ser mo*	*gser*	*Sa yi byin-te chen-mo*	2	*nag mo*	*gser gyi sgong ser mo*
Ma-mo dom-gyi mgo-can	*nag mo*	*lcags*	*bDud-kyi byin-te chen-mo*	3	*nag mo*	*lcags kyi sgong nag mo*
Ma-mo gzig-gi mgo-can	*dmar mo*	*byi ru*	-	-	-	-
Ma-mo spyang-mo'i mgo-can	*sngon mo*	*g-yu*	*Klu-gi byin-te chen-mo*	5	*sngon mo*	*gyu'i sgong sngon mo*
Ma-mo kaṃ-ka'i mgo-can	*dmar smug*	*gse*[30)]	-	-	-	-
Ma-mo dur-bya'i mgo-can	*khrag mdog*	*gsang ba*	-	-	-	-
Ma-mo dred-kyi mgo-can	*dmar mo*	*zangs*	*Srin-gyi byin-te chen-mo*	7	*dmar mo*	*zangs kyi sgong dmar mo*
			gNam-gyi Byin-te chen-mo	1	*dkar mo*	*dung gi sgong dkar mo*
			dMu yi byin-te chen-mo	4	*smug mo*	*mchong gi sgong smug mo*
			Phya yi byin-te chen-mo	8	*sngo ljang*	*rin po che'i sgo nga*
			bGegs-kyi byin-te chen-mo	9	*dmar nag*	*rdo sgong gro mo*

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-mo*s and the *Ma-mo*s, 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[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:

dung-gi khyi-mo
gser-gi khyi-mo
zangs-gi khyi-mo
g-yu'i khyi-mo
byi ru'i khyi-mo
mchong-gi khyi-mo
bse'i khyi-mo
shel-gi khyi-mo[32)].

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-ma*s, the nine *Gyad-mo*s, and the nine *Byin-te*s). 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-ma*s which, as we briefly indicated above, barely distinguish themselves from each other. Below I shall present some of the characteristics gathered from the appendix.

Deity\ Text	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**11**
gZe-ma dgu	*'jigs byed dbal*	*'dzin byed, mi bzad*	*ye shes*	*mi bzad*	*dbyings ye shes*
Gyad-mo dgu	*mi bzad stobs chen dbal*	*stobs ldan, mi bzad*	*rdzu 'phrul*	*mi bzad dbal... stobs chen*	*mkha' klong ... stobs chen*
Byin-te dgu/ sPar-ma dgu	*mthu stobs rtsal chen dbal*	*srog len*	*las*	*dbal*	*las thabs kyi thang mo*

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[33]), *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*[34] 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*[35]. 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[36]. Nevertheless, its precise origins still remain obscure. Globally, the theme seems to be most widely spread in equatorial regions[37], but it is not exclusively found there. In any case, it also occurs in cosmogonical myths of other, at times related[38], cultures. The theme is, for instance, attested to the east of Tibet among the *Naxi*[39], the Tangut (*Xixia*)[40] and the Chinese[41]; to the north in North Asia[42]; to the south in India[43], Nepal[44] etc.; but it also occurs also in more remote areas, such as Indonesia (e.g. Java[45]), South America (e.g. Peru[46]), Japan[47], ancient Greece[48], Scandinavia (e.g. Finland[49]), Africa (e.g. Mali, West Africa[50]), Egypt[51], and in numerous other areas as well[52]. 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 eggs[53]. 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-gzig[54], and by dBon-po Shes-rab 'byung-gnas (1187-1241), who refers the theory back to Śaivism[55].

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 material[56]. 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 exhaustive[57].

A The *Srid pa'i mdzod phug*[58]: 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 *dByal-mo* (woman[59]) 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 born[60].
For commentaries see: the *bDen pa bon kyi mdzod 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 don*[63], and the *Kun las btus pa srid pa'i mdzod phug gi gzhung 'grel*[64].

B1 The *gSas mkhar rin po che spyi spungs gsang ba bsen thub rgyud* (*rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub*)[65]: Male[66] (Sangs-po 'bum-khri) and female (Chu-lcam

rgyal-mo)[67] together nurtured obscurity. The hostile[68] 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[69] without an opening. Being broken and pierced by a whirl-wind, (coloured) rays[70] 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(?)[71], 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(?)[72]as dangerous weapons, the liquid parts of the egg as the seed of disease. Remaining body to body, while (not[73]) bowing their heads and also not involving their noses (that is, without kissing)[74], one pale wooden egg emerged. As the egg self-punctured of itself, the clear part arose as *gNod(-sbyin)* (Goblins) and *Dri(-za)* (*Gandharvas*). From the centre of the egg (i.e. the yolk)[75], (animals) having (or, that have developed) feathers, claws and hoofs[76], 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[77] 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[78] onto the earth the 21.000[79] *bDar-gsas*[80] arose. From the stirred inner[81] centre (yolk) it emerged as the triad of men (*Mi*), *sMra* and *gShen*. From colour[82] and light entwined in the sky as the triad of *Phywa*, *Srid*, and *sKos*[83]. From the shell as a protecting armour. From the membrane(?)[84]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[85].

For a commentary see: the *rTsa rgyud chen po gsang ba bsen thub kyi 'grel pa rin po che yid bzhin rnam par bkod pa'i rgyan* (*bSen thub 'grel ba yid bzhin bkod pa'i rgyan*)[86].

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 lnga'i grel pa bcas)*[87], 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*)[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*)[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 conch[90] and from this a white conch[91] man. He named himself Ye-srid srid-pa'i rje-bo, Kun-gyis khyab Sangs-po 'bum-khri and named the woman (Ma Srid-pa'i rgyal-mo) bsKo-ting cig-la wer-mo[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[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*[94].

B4 The *gTsang ma klu 'bum*[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[96].

B5 The *'Dus pa rin po che'i rgyud dri ma med pa gzi brjid rab tu 'bar ba'i mdo* (*gZi brjid*)[97] describes how through the magical power of the *lHa*, *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[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[99].

C1 The *dBu nag mi'u 'dra chags*[100] 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[101] came into being. From this a breeze, a pale frost and a shimmering[102] 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[103] came forth: a white one, sNang-ba 'od-ldan and a black one, Mun-pa zer-ldan. 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-lde (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-ldan 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[104].

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 gru-pa* chronicle *Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru (rgyas pa)*[105], 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(?)[106]eggs are also said to appear. From up high(?), those eighteen mediocre eggs developed into one conch egg[107], which was the formless Wish-Man (sMon-pa'i mi-bo lum-lum)[108].

C4 Similar material can also be found among the *Naxi*[109].

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*)[110] 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*)[111].

D2 The *'Dzam gling gangs rgyal ti se dkar chags tshangs dbyangs yid phrog* (*Gangs ti se'i dkar chag*)[112] 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[113].

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[114]. 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[115], 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[116], India[117] North Central Asia[118], or China[119], even though some neighbouring traditions indeed do occasionally show some diffuse overlap in the themes used[120].

A 'locus classicus' for the specific account of twenty-seven *dBal-mo*s 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[121]. 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 'grel ba* from the *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub*, also in the context of the *dBal-mo*s, serve to underline this[122]. Yet a concrete match to the origin of the twenty-seven *dBal-mo*s 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 *dBal-mo*s 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[123]. 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 *gNyan* (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*[131] *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 *gTsang 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[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-ma*s the origins of the *dBal-mo*s 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-ma*s, 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 *Khro 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-mo*s 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 maṇḍala*s and their antecedents. The three groups of the *dBal-mo nyer-bdun* lack the neat fourfold *maṇḍala* structure that the *dBang-phyug-ma*s 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-ma*s 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, *in order to* secure a number of twenty-eight deities that could parallel the twenty-eight *dBang-phyug-ma*s – also clearly lends a suggestion of primacy to the *dBang-phyug-ma*s 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 maṇḍala* 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 maṇḍala*, considering the extant early South Asian *Buddhist* (and Hindu) antecedents for ilk more elaborate *maṇḍala*s, 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-*maṇḍala*-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 *mDzod phug* (translated above). Thus the prototype for a pre-*maṇḍala* 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 *maṇḍala*-purposes, giving a possible match to the *dBang-phyug-ma*s 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-mo*s 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 *Ḍākinī*s. 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[136)]

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.

***Zab chos zhi khro dgongs pa rang grol las chos nyid bar do'i gsol 'debs* (read: *gsal 'debs) thos grol chen mo*:**

ka/ *Bar do thos grol chen mo*, Kalsang Lhundup (1969) [text *kha*];

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*];

ga/ *Bar do thos grol chen mo*, Library of the Kern Institute, Nr. 28.452.4 [*ChB*, text *kha*];

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);

ca/ *Bar do thos grol chen mo*, IASWR Microfiche R 285, Tachikawa (1983/88), Nr. 1233 [text *ka* and *kha*].

[Kalsang Lhundup (1969: 57,14 - 60,7)] *kye rigs kyi bu% he ru ka drag po'i lha sum cu tham 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 tshod '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 % gtogs 'dod sngon mo sri mong mgo phyag na 'khor lo 'dzin* [kha-kha 14] *pa dang % gzhon nu dmar mo dred mgo ma lag na mdung thung 'dzin pa dang % brgya 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 sbu gri thogs pa dang % zhi ba dmar mo chu srin mgo lag na bum pa thogs pa dang % bdud rtsi dmar mo sdig pa'i mgo lag na padma thogs pa dang % zla ba dkar mo khra'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 rta'i* [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 sbu gris gcod pa dang % 'dod pa dmar po pu shud mgo lag na mda' gzhu 'gengs pa dang % nor srung dmar ljang sha ba'i mgo lag na bum pa 'dzin pa dang % nub kyi rnal 'byor ma drug klad pa'i nang nas thon nas rang la shar ro% de la ma 'jigs shig% kye rigs kyi bu% byang nas* [nga 332] *rlung lha 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 zhags bsnams pa dang % rdo rje dmar mo khwa ta'i mgo lag na zhing chung 'dzin pa dang % sna chen ljang nag glang chen mgo lag na bam chen thogs shing zong khrag 'thung ba dang % chu lha sngon mo sbrul gyi mgo lag na sbrul zhags bsnams 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 bzhi 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 kyu 'dzin pa dang % lho nas rdo rje ser mo ra* [ka 60] *mgo ma lag na zhags pa 'dzin pa dang % nub nas rdo rje dmar mo seng mgo ma lag na lcags sgrogs 'dzin pa dang % byang nas rdo rje ljang nag sbrul mgo ma lag na dril bu 'dzin pa dang %* [ga 45] *rnal 'byor ma sgo ma bzhi klad pa'i nang nas thon nas rang la 'char du 'ong ngo % dbang phyug ma nyi shu rtsa brgyad kyang he ru ka drag po'i lha rang* [nga 334] *byung gi sku'i rtsal* [ca-kha 13] *las rang shar ba yin pas ngo shes par gyis shig% ...*

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

[Taipei-edition, Vol. LVI (Tib.Vol.*pa*), no.4766 (= *gTing skyes* no.84?), [p.591, l.7 –p.593, l.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 / brgya 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 / srin 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 / stobs chen dkar mo dbyug to 'dzin pa dang / srin 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 / rlung lha 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 lha sngon mo sbrul zhags bsnams pa'o/ /rdo rje dkar mo lcags kyu bsnams pa shar sgo na bzhugs so/ /rdo rje ser mo ra mgo ma 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 brgyad he ru ka drag po'i lha rang byung gi sku'i rtsal las shar ba'o/ / ...

sNyan brgyud bar do thos grol gsal sgron chen mo

[Karmay (1977).29.32 = Zogai 614 =T.124: 668.3 - 680.5:] *a ôṃ hūṃ/ skad kyi gdang gi thig le'i 'od klong gi/ gzha' 'od kha sgrom ngar gyi gsas mkhar na/ ? las mkhan sngon mo 'brug mgos chu srin 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 ôṃ hūṃ/* [669] *ljags 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 srin 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 ôṃ hūṃ! 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 dgus 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 dul/ ? a ôṃ hūṃ/ sku stod gding 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*

zhi snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par byin rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? a ôṃ hūṃ/ thugs kyi dkyil rtsa thig le'i 'od klong du/ gzha' '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 zhags sdog/ las mkhan sngon mo gdong drug chu srin g-yang gzhi 'khur/ '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 rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ a ôṃ hūṃ/ sgal tshigs gzhung rtsa'i thig le'i 'od klong du gzha' 'od kha sgrom ngar gyi gsas mkhar na/ las mkhan dmar nag spyang mgos khra gshog 'phyar/ las mkhan ser ljang 'ug mgos srin bya spor/ las mkhan dkar mo zhal gnyis shel sgong 'thor/ 'jigs byed 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 rtogs par= rigs drug bar do'i lam=* [672] *? a ôṃ hūṃ/ drod kyi mtha' yi thig le'i 'od klong du / 'ja' 'od me dpung 'bar ba'i gsas mkhar na/ las mkhan smug nag stag mgos dred kyi g-yang gzhi 'khur/ las mkhan dmar mo khra mgos ral gyu 'phyar/ las mkhan dmar mo mgo dgus byur thag skyong / 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsum la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur thugs thar pa'i lam la= snang ba rang gzugs rtogs par= rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? a ôṃ hūṃ/ snyan gyi mchog gi thig le'i 'od klong du/ 'ja' 'od rnga gshang sgra yi gsas mkhar na/ las mkhan ser ljang khyung mgos pho mo skung na 'gyed/ las mkhan skya bkra gsa' mgos dred lag 'phyar/ las mkhan sngo ljang dbu gnyis dmu thag 'dren/ 'jigs byed dbal mo las mkhan rnam gsum la/* [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 rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? a ôṃ hūṃ/ rtsa yi sbubs kyi thig le'i 'od klong du/ gzha' 'od rgyun med chu yi gsas mkhar na! las mkhan sngo ljang chu srin 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 gsum 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 gyis rigs drug bar do'i lam sgo bcad du gsol/ ? dbal mo nyi 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* [674] *zhing du bskyal du gsol/ bon nyid 'od gsal dbyings su sangs rgyas shog/ a ôṃ hūṃ/ bdag sogs 'di nas tshe 'phos lus brjes dus/ bon nyid 'od gsal snang ba 'char dus su/ bar do 'khrul pas 'khor bar 'khyams pa'i tshe/ shar gyi dbal mo mun* (read: *bdun) gyis lam sna drongs/ byang gi dbal mo bdun gyis rgyab nas skyor/ nub kyi dbal mo bdun gyis mtha' nas brten/ lho yi dbal mo bdun gyis gshed dang phrol/ bred skrag sngangs 'dar 'jigs 'khrul med par mdzod/ 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/ bde chen dbyer med sa la bkod du gsol/ ! a ôṃ hūṃ/ A dkar sa le 'od a yam ôṃ 'du/ ? a ôṃ hūṃ/ ltag tshigs thig le'i gzha' 'od me* [675] *klong na/ las mkhan dbal gyi mi phos bso cha ha la sgrog/ dpung tshig g-yas kyi gzha' 'od me klong na! las mkhan dung 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 khra bos mche sder brdar/ pus mo g-yas kyi 'ja' 'od me klong na/ las mkhan dbal 'brug sngon pos 'ur sgra sgrog/ 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 lding / mjug rus thig le'i gzha' 'od me klong na/ las mkhan khro chu'i mi thung gtar tshan bsnams/ dbal gyi las mkhan gyad chen bcu po la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod bdag la dbang bskur 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 gyad 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 ôṃ hūṃ/ tshigs chen bcu yi gzha' 'od me klong na/ las mkhan glang po'i mgo can brag ri 'debs/ las mkhan mthing nag dom mgos* [677] *ral gri 'phyar/ las mkhan chu srin mgo can dbal mdung gsor/ las mkhan dmar mo spyang mgos khra gshog 'phyar/ las mkhan skya bkra gsa' mgos bam ro za/ las mkhan ser ljang khyung mgos sbrul zhags 'debs/ las mkhan mthing nag rnga mgos mdung ring bsnams/ las mkhan phag rgod mgo can me dpung spor/ las mkhan dred kyi mgo can byad thag bsnams/ las mkhan stag gi mgo can dgra sha za/ dbal gyi las mkhan dmag dpon bcu po la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod gdab la dbang bskur 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 ôṃ hūṃ/ bdag sogs 'di nas tshe 'phos lus brjes dus/ bon nyid 'od gsal snang ba 'char dus su/ 'jigs skrag drag po 'khor bar 'khyams pa'i tshe/ 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 dbyer med sa la bkod du gsol/ a ôṃ hūṃ/ ā dkar sa le 'od a yam ôṃ 'du/ ? a ôṃ hūṃ/ 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 sbrul 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 bzhi la/ phyag 'tshal sku bstod mchod 'bul gsol bdag la dbang bskur 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 ôṃ hūṃ/ bdag sogs 'di nas tshe '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 sgong 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 ste/*, Namdak (1966: 52.11f.), *mDzod sgra 'grel.*
6) Tib.: *dkar ni 'od dang zer las brdol/*, 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 de/*, 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 na/ 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-mo*s are also quite often styled *sPar-ma*s, so are the *Byin-te dgu*, who are at the same time connected to the *sPar-ma dgu khri'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.), *Pullīrmalaya*, *Jālandhara*, *Oḍ[ḍ]iyana*, 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 (*maṇḍala*-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 bhuvaḥ 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 *navaśāyaka*). 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.
21) From the *Zab chos zhi khro dgongs pa rang grol las chos nyid bar do'i gsol 'debs* [read: *gsal 'debs*] *thos grol chen mo*, Kalsang Lhundup (1969).
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 *maṇḍala* 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 lus 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: *bskal 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 *lCe-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*.
31) Johan v. Manen collection, Inv.No.2740/M371: 20v.2-4.
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-lha 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 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 that show thematic affinity. Texts that mention the egg in a cosmogonical and theogonical context are: the *Srid pa'i mdzod phug* with the commentaries: *mDzod sgra 'grel* and the *sNang srid mdzod 'grel*; the *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub* with commentary: *bSen thub 'grel ba yid bzhin 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 brjid*; the *gTsang ma klu 'bum*; 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 *Gangs 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).
40) Kychanov, E. (1988: 245-248).
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). Birell discusses Rémi Mathieu (1989: 29, note 1) Anthologie des mythes et légendes de la Chine ancienne: Textes choisis, présentés, traduite 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 lnga*. 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 *Chāndogyopaniṣad* 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[a]: 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 *Brahmā* being born from an egg created by *Śiva*, was even borrowed into *Bon* literature (to wit, into Shar-rdza bKra-shis 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[a]) 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 (Garuḍa) 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 Rakatatamam, 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 Brittanica). 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

(thus it is, for instance, summarised in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica, see also the excerpt in Hellbom (1963: 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.).

52) I tried as much as possible to provide examples that have not yet been discussed in the studies mentioned below, to which I should like to refer here for further references. Hellbom (1963) gives a quite comprehensive survey of the geographical and cultural spread of the different forms of myths and other stories regarding an extraordinary generation from eggs. See also Newall (1971: 1-44, inter alia) and Seele (1995: 9) for a general overview, (1995: 52) Indian material, (1995: 60) *Pan-gu* myth, (1995: 65-67) *Ge-sar*, (1995: 73-75) *Naxi* material from Rock (1937: 5-83), (1995: 135) conspectus, and Anhang (1995: 40) more Indian material, (1995: 142f.) more *Naxi* material from Rock (1947).

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.

54) See Karmay (The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man, 1998[a]: 248f.), Karmay refers to the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* .

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 from 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.

62) Preface: attributed to mNyam-med Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1356-1415). Edition: Khedup Gyatso, Dolanji 1982, see the appendix.

63) Preface: commentary attributed to 'A-zha Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1198-1263). Edition: Tashi Dorji, Dolanji 1973.

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: *rkyal 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 khro 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 brjid* (Vol.II: 449.4: *rlan pa ru*) and in the *Nyi 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 khri 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*.
83) As Seele (1995: 87, note 62) points out, the *sPyi spungs khro bo dbang chen gyi 'grel ba*, (1995: 70.1), reads, Srid-rje 'Brang-dkar, sKos-rje 'brang-dkar, Phywa-rje Ring-dkar here.
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-kha. 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-la, a principality in rGya-rong. 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?.

89) Preface: a *gter ma* attributed to rMa-ston Shes-rab seng-ge (twelfth century AD). Edition: Tashi Dorji, Dolanji 1974, together with commentary.

90) The root-text, 1974: 4.2, reads *rin po che u sdong*, which the commentary, 1974: 163.5, explains as: *rin chen un ni dung sgong gcig*, Seele (1995: 98, note 123) in my opinion correctly connects this to the *Zhang-zhung* word for conch, *un*.

91) See previous note.

92) See 1974: 4.1-5.

93) See especially 1974: 2.3f..

94) Preface: commentary by Bru-ston bSod-nams blo-gros (1277-1341). Edition: Tashi Dorje, Dolanji 1974, together with root-text.

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).

97) K: No.3, attributed to dMu-tsha Gyer-med (8th century AD), orally transmitted to Blo-ldan snying-po (b. 1360). Edition: Dolanji 1978.

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[a]: 258f.). Edition as in Karmay (1998[a]).

101) See Karmay (The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man, 1998[a]: 264, note 77).

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

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

104) Karmay (The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man, 1998[a]: 245-281).

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.

108) See 1986: 4.17 - 5.9; text from Seele (1995: 64).

109) See Rock (1937.5-83), relevant parts presented (in simplified form) in Seele (1995: 73-75).

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

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

112) K: No.2, attributed to Grub-chen bsTan-'dzin rin-chen (b. 1801). Tashi Dorji, Dolanji 1973, see also Norbu, N. and Prats, R. (1989).

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. *Chāndogyopaniṣad* 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[a]: 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 dbang 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[a]: 258f.).
125) See the discussion under C1 above.
126) See Karmay (The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man, 1998[a]: 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.
129) See of the edition of the *gNod sbyin rgyal chen sku lnga 'khor bcas* in the J. van Manen Collection, Inv.No.Br.79/H191: 2v.1-4. See Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 102), he refers to 13a(r) of his edition.
130) See Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 300-303). He refers to the *Byang gter sri mnan 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 brtsegs* (16 folios), 8v, the work is said to have been composed by Padma gar-dbang-rtsal in rDo-rje thugs kyi rdzong.
131) Nebesky-Wojkowitz reads: *sgo l̲nga bcu gsum* (1965: 300).
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.
135) See Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 171 and 252).
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 pa[1], 1998

ma gcig srid pa'i rgyal mo'i skor

11) mdzod sgra 'grel deb gzugs can shog grangs 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 sgong sngon por byung / sgong nga rang gis rang brtol pas/ g-yu'i bud med sngon mo la/ 'thing[2] 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 zhes[3] bya ba nyag gcig sems/ [170] srid zhes[4] 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 mtsho'[5] dbus su dbyal mo ma gcig[6] 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 gcig[7] 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 bzhi skye rga na 'chi gnon/ chu bzhi bsgral ba'i phung pos thugs dam bskang / mi dred bcibs nas stong gsum yud la bskor/ dam sri bskral[8] 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' khams kyi dbyings phyug ma/ smug nag 'bum gyi dbus na 'gying / chibs su g-yu'i khyung chen bcibs/ khams gsum dbang bsdud 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/ gsang rgyud srung ma mdzad tsam na/ yon tan kun 'byung dpal ldan mo/ mthing nag 'bum gyi dbus na 'gying / chibs su dre'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 rmad 'byung gtor mas thugs dam bskang//

? bstan srung yongs kyi gtso mo'i phyi nang gsang gi mtshan			
mtshan		**'khor**	**bcibs pa**
phyi	gnam phyi gung rgyal mthu mo che	dkar mo 'bum	shel gyi khyung chen
nang	nam mkha' khams kyi dbyings phyug ma	smug nag 'bum	g-yu'i khyung chen
gsang	yon tan kun 'byung dpal ldan mo	mthing nag 'bum	dre'u rta rkang gsum

yang 5) bskang 'bum bam po dang po nang - mkha' klong 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 rtogs[9] zhi ba'i ngang du rdzogs tsam na/ bzang za ring btsun lha mo dar gyi yum/ gsas mkhar rgyas pa'i gtso mo mdzad tsam na/ sa trig er sangs rgyal mo dbyings kyis[10] yum/ mkha' 'gying lha'i 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 mo[11] mdzad tsam na/ chu lcam rgyal mo srid pa'i yum gcig ma/ lha mchog thugs kyis[12] 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 kyis[13] spar ma rnams/ rang dbang med par yum gyi bzhes thob la/ [594] 'dir gshegs tha tshigs[14] sha khrag dmar la spyon/

? bstan srung yongs kyi gtso mo'i zhi rgyas dbang drag gi mtshan	
zhi ba	bzang za ring btsun
rgyas pa	sa trig er sangs
dbang	gnam phyi gung rgyal
drag po	chu lcam rgyal mo

7) sman ri khri 'dzin 33 zhal 'don phyag dpe bris ma srid rgyal nang skang shog grangs 4 las/ bswo ma cig[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 rdzas kyis gnas 'dir thugs dam bskang / bdud mo khram kha sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur! nam gong[16] sngon mo gtum tshul gzhen 'debs ma/ sngon mo dgu khri las kyi bran du 'khol/ skang rten rdzas= 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 rdzas= lha mo'i dbu yog sdang ba'i dgra la= nyi shar ser mo 'jigs tshul 'od 'phro ma/ ser mo dgu khri las kyi= skang rten rdzas= sman mo'i gdug gtsub sdang ba'i nyin byed[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 rdzas '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-dkar mo dgu khri'[18] dbal gyi spar ma 'gyed/ nyi shar ser mo'i chas su 'jug/ ser mo dgu khri dbal gyi spar ma 'gyed/ nyi phyed[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 20-21 khyi	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
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 dbu 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 gdug gtsub sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur

nyin phyed nyin 12-13 rta	dmar mo mdangs ldan	bkra gsal ma	dmar mo dgu khri las kyi bran	mkha' 'gro'i bka' chad sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur
phyi 'phrod nyin 14-15 lug	smug mo rngam tshul	zer gsal ma	smug mo dgu khri las kyi bran	klu mo'i dal yams 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/ bswo ma cig[20] 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 sogs/ 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 sogs/ 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 sogs/ tshangs stang tsha rims sdang ba'i dgra= chu sman ting 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 sogs/ ting [6] nam rba 'khrug dal yams dgra=/

? dus bzhi dbang du bsgyur ba ma gcig bka' blon 'byung bzhi'i rgyal mo bzhi ni/			
mtshan	**phyogs rtags**	**sprul pa**	**byed las**
sa sman ne slas rgyal mo	g-yung drung	sa yi lha mo dgu khri'i sprul pa 'gyed	sa las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sogs ne slas mkhris pa'i dal yams dgra la sgyur ba
rlung sman li sman rgyal mo	'khor lo	rlung gi lha mo dgu khri'i sprul pa 'gyed	rlung las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sogs li mun rlung gi nad sna dgra la sgyur ba
me sman tshangs stang rgyal mo	pad ma	me yi lha mo dgu khri'i sprul pa 'gyed	me las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sogs tshangs stangs tsha rams sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur ba
chu sman ting nam rgyal mo	rin chen	chu yi lha mo dgu khri'i sprul pa 'gyed	chu las gyur ba'i byad dang dgra bgegs sogs ting nam rba 'khrug dal yams dgra la sgyur ba

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/ bswo mi bzad gnam gyi lha rgod thog pa dang / srid pa'i rgyal mo 'gren[21] 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 khro rtsa gsum gyi zlog bsgyur dpung gi mchong dpe gzugs can shog grangs 667 las/ ma cig[22] srid pa'i rgyal mo dang % khro chen gsung gis[23] rdzu 'phrul las% gnam gyis[24] 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/ bswo ri rab bang rim dang po la// dbal mo gyi ma mo rtsa bdun bskangs/ ma cig[25] bde 'gro gsang ba'i/ sgal tshig[26] nyi shu rtsa bdun la/ ma mo nyi shu rtsa bdun sprul/ rje blon 'bangs kyi tshul du bskang / zhes dang /

2) khro gzhung gze rtags dpe gzugs can shog grangs 540 las/ thugs rjes gnyis med thabs kyis 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 pa[27] mdzad du gsol/ ôṃ rol par mdzad par 'grub thabs kyi rol par mdzad pa'i byin rlabs kyis/ dbal gyi spar ma nyi shu rtsa bdun byung / zhes dang/

yang 11) mdzod sgra 'grel deb gzugs can shog grangs 54 las/ sangs 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 dbyings 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 mdzad cing / g-yung drung bon gyi dmu thag gyen du 'dren/ bstan pa srung ba'i spar ma lags so/ de yang don du khams chen po bco brgyad kyi 'od zer ro/ zhes dang /

yang 5) bskang 'bum bam po 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/ dbyings dgu klong gi nam mkha' las/ thugs rje byams ma sprul pa'i yum/ rlung srin[28] 'khrug pa'i gsas mkhar du / 'byung ba'i sgra las sprul pa la/ ye shes rdzu 'phrul las grub pa'i/ spa ma[29] nyi shu rtsa bdun 'byung / zhes dang /
2) zhi khro ye shes bskang rdzogs gsang 'dus thugs bcud dpe gzugs can shog grangs 229 las/ dmar tshogs byin chung phud nyams lhag ma shor/ dbal mo nyi shu rtsa brgyad tshogs la mthol bshags/ zhes dang / yang de nyid las/ shog grangs 214 las/ phyi nang dbal mo nyi shu rtsa brgyad dgongs su gsol/ nam mkha' dbyings kyi pho brang nas/ srid pa'i rgyal mo dgongs su gsol/ 'dzin byed gze ma ma dgu dgongs su gsol/ stobs ldan gyad mo ma dgu dgongs su gsol/ srog len spar ma ma dgu dgongs su gsol/ dmar tshogs 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 nya gyad kyi tshogs/ dbal mo nyi shu rtsa brgyad dgongs su gsol/ 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[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 spyan 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 sogs lus kyi gnas dgu la/ gnam yol gyi thig pa ltar bshad pa'o/ de ltar yang don 'di sgrub pa'i gshen po gang yin 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 'khyam khrag mtsho yin la/ de dag so so'i ming yang thugs rje mkha' yang la sogs dbal so[31] dang rtags nas bshad pa'i ming dgu so sor sbyar ro/ de kun gyi yod lugs spyad[32] nas/ srid rgyal dang mnyam 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/

? gze gyad spar gsum gyi sa bon bcas				
gze gyad spar gsum	**sa bon**	**tshul**	**sprul pa**	**yang na**
gze ma dgu	ma	rje mo'i tshul	gtso mo'i sku yi sprul pa	ye shes kyi sprul pa
gyad mo dgu	dza	blon po'i tshul	gtso mo'i gsung gi sprul pa	rdzu 'phrul gyi sprul pa
spar ma dgu	bhyo	'bang mo'i tshul	gtso mo'i thugs kyi sprul pa	las kyi sprul pa

srid pa'i rgyal mo'i sku yi sprul pa/

yang 4) gze ma dgu grol tshul gyi lung phyogs bsdus 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/ ôṃ 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'i rtags/ ôṃ sgra las sprul par 'grub gyur cig/ sgra rgyal 'brug gi mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bo'i rgyal khams 'khrugs par byed pa'i rtags/ ôṃ 'khrugs par byed par 'grub= sku mdog sngon mo g-yu yi rang bzhin ni/ nam mkha' g-yu yi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbang dang ldan par 'grub= chu srin lag g-yab[33] g-yob cing 'o dod 'bod pa ni/ dgra bgegs myur du dbang du sdud pa'i rtags/ [542] ôṃ dbang du sdud par 'grub= lcags kyi mche ba dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdar zhing dgra bo'i sha la za ba'i rtags/ ôṃ sha la za

bar 'grub= ôṃ 'brug lcam kun grags ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ? ôṃ bskal pa rlung nag 'tshub ma'i gsas mkhar na/ g-yo 'gul rlung gi sgra las gcig brtol pa/ mi lus ljang nag sbrul gyi mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab dbugs kyi sgo nas sprul pa'i rtags/ ôṃ sgo nas sprul par 'grub= gdug pa sbrul gyi mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bgegs tsi rta rtsad nas 'dren pa'i rtags/ ôṃ rtsad nas 'dren par 'grub gyur cig/ sku mdog ljang nag 'tsher ba'i rang bzhin ni/ gdug pa dug gi dbal dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbal dang ldan par 'grub= khyung gi gshog pa [543] 'phyar zhing bar snang mkha' la rlobs pa ni/ dgra bo theg pa'i gzhung la bskyon pa'i rtags/ ôṃ gzhung la skyon par 'grub= dung gi mche ba dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdar zhing dgra bo'i rus la 'cha' ba'i rtags/ ôṃ rus la 'cha' bar 'grub= ôṃ sbrul lcam gdug pa mo la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ? ôṃ bdud kyi ri nag 'joms pa'i gsas mkhar na/ 'chi bdag bdag[34] bdud kyi sgra las gcig brtol pa/ mi lus nag mo skyung ka'i mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab ltag pa'i rgyas nas sprul pa'i rtags/ ôṃ rgyas nas sprul par 'grub= dmar 'byin skyung ka'i mgo bo btags pa ni! dgra bgegs mig srog gting nas 'dren pa'i rtags/ ôṃ gting nas 'dren par 'grub= sku mdog nag mo mun ka'i rang bzhin [544] ni! bkrag med bdud kyi dbal dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbal dang ldan par 'grub= zangs kyi spar shad gdengs shing 'dzin tshul ston pa ni! dgra bo'i bla 'khyams 'dzin nas yong ba'i rtags/ ôṃ bzung na[35] yong bar 'grub= gnam lcags phur chen dbal dang chas pa ni! bsgril zhing dgra bo'i snying la 'debs pa'i rtags/ ôṃ snying la 'debs par 'grub= ôṃ bdud lcam rma lo ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ ! ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ? ôṃ byin chen ri rgyal lhun po'i gsas mkhar na/ stobs ldan seng ge'i sgra las gcig brtol ba/ mi lus dkar mo seng ge'i mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab sku stod gdengs nas sprul pa'i rtags/ ôṃ gdeng nas sprul par 'grub= rtsal chen seng ge'i mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra yul [545] nad kyi sa bon 'debs pa'i rtags/ ôṃ sa bon 'debs par 'grub= sku mdog dkar mo dung gi rang bzhin ni/ 'od gsal lha yi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbang dang ldan par 'grub= mtshal thag dmar po sdog cing dbu la 'ching ba ni/ dgra bo'i srog rtsa dbu la 'ching ba'i rtags/ ôṃ dbu la 'ching bar 'grub= lcags kyi bya ru dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdar zhing dgra bo'i snying rtsa gcod pa'i rtags/ ôṃ snying rtsa gcod par 'grub gyur= ôṃ seng lcam stobs mo che la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ? ôṃ dbal khang gnam sgo can gyi gsas mkhar na/ thugs nyid dbal gyi sgra las gcig brtol pa/ mi lus dmar mo dred kyi mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab thugs kyi dkyil nas sprul pa'i rtags/ ôṃ thugs las [546] sprul par 'grub gyur cig/ rngam pa dred kyi mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bo'i mchan nas bu yang phrel ba'i[36] rtags/ ôṃ bu yang phral bar 'grub= sku mdog dmar mo me yi rang bzhin ni/ dbal gsas me ri'i dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbang dang ldan par 'grub= lcags kyi ral pa sprug cing 'phrag la rdeb pa ni/ dgra bo smyo zhing 'bog tu 'jug pa'i rtags/ ôṃ 'bog tu gzhug par 'grub= lcags kyi ral gyu[37] dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdar zhing dgra bo'i mgo lus phrel ba'i[38] rtags/ ôṃ mgo lus phral bar 'grub= ôṃ mi mo za byed ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ? ôṃ thig 'dren nam mkha' kha sgrom gsas mkhar na/ rgu tshig gzhung gi sgra las gcig brtol pa/ mi lus dmar nag spyang ki'i mgo can byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung [547] ba ni/ gshen rab sgal tshig[39] gzhung las sprul pa'i rtags/ ôṃ gzhung las sprul par 'grub= sha zan spyang ki'i mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bo sha dang rus su phrel ba'i[40] rtags/ ôṃ sha rus phrel bar[41] 'grub gyur= sku mdog dmar nag skar ma'i 'od

'phro ba! gnod sbyin skar mda' dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbang dang ldan par 'grub= khra yi gshog pa mngag cing pho nyar 'gyed pa ni/ ! dgra bo bang gi lha dang phral ba'i rtags/ ôṃ 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/ ôṃ klad pa gshog par 'grub= ôṃ srin mo spyang bzhin ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ? ôṃ bskal pa sreg byed me yi gsas mkhar na/ me dpung 'bar ba'i sgra las gcig brdol pa[42] / 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/ ôṃ mthong las sprul par 'grub= dpa' bo stag gi mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bo sha khrag zas su bza' ba'i rtags/ ôṃ zas su bza' bar 'grub gyur= sku mdog smug nag bse yi bzhin thogs pa/ srid pa ma mo'i dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbang dang ldan par 'grub= dred kyi g-yang gzhi brdeb cing phrag la 'gel ba ni/ dgra bo gnam sa bzlog par mdzad pa'i rtags/ ôṃ 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/ ôṃ don snying gcod par 'grub= ôṃ stag lcam 'bri mthing ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ? ôṃ mi bzad sgra rgyal 'phrul gyi [549] gsas mkhar na/ rnga dang gshang gi sgra las gcig brdol pa[43] / 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/ ôṃ mchog las sprul par 'grub= rlabs chen khyung gi mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bo'i khyim 'khor zas su za ba'i rtags/ ôṃ zas su za bar 'grub= sku mdog ser ljang nyi ma'i 'od 'phro ba/ gza' chen brgyad kyi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ dbang dang ldan par 'grub= pho dgu mo dgu rbas shing bskungs nas 'gyed pa ni! dgra bo'i blo bur hur thum gsod pa'i rtags/ ôṃ hur thum gsod par 'grub= rdzu 'phrul mche ba dbal dang chas pa ni/ brdar zhing dgra bo'i yan lag gcod pa'i rtags/ ôṃ yan lag gcod par 'grub= ôṃ khyung lcam rlabs mo skar la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur [550] med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// ôṃ thugs rje rgyun med chu yi gsas mkhar na/ rgya mtsho gling gi sgra las gcig brtol ba[44] ! mi lus sngo ljang chu srin mgo can 'byung / sku lus mi bzad mi mor byung ba ni/ gshen rab rtsa yi sbubs nas sprul pa'i rtags/ ôṃ sbubs nas sprul pa 'grub gyur= kha rngam chu srin mgo bo btags pa ni/ dgra bo bang gi lha yang dngangs pa'i rtags/ ! ôṃ lha yang bsngang bar 'grub= sku mdog sngo ljang chu yi mdog can ni/ rgya mtsho klu yi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags/ ôṃ 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 sdud pa'i rtags/ ôṃ 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/ ôṃ kha ru gzhib par 'grub= ôṃ klu mo gdug pa mo la phyag 'tshal lo/ ôṃ 'gyur med brtan par mdzad cing bzhugs su gsol// zhes dang /

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 54 las/ srid pa'i rgyal mo sku sprul gze ma dgu/ sngon mo 'brug mgos [55] chu srin ru mtshon phyar/ ljang nag sbrul mgos khyung gi gshog pa rdeb/ nag mo rkyung mgos sbrul gyi zhag pa sdog- dkar mo seng mgos gdug pa'i rno mtshon bsnams/ dmar mo dred mgos gnam lcags ral gri phyir[45] / dmar nag spyang mgos khra gshog pho nyar 'gyed/ smug nag stag mgos dred kyi g-yang gzhi rdeb/ ser ljang khyung mgos khram bam dmar nag bsnams/ sngo ljang chu srin 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) 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 550 las/ bswo 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 rngam chu srin 'jigs [551] pa'i dbu brnyen[46] 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 khro '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 bshad pa ltar gyi dgu ste gzhan la yang 'gre'o/ mgo dgu rtags kyi byed pa dgu dang / rdol byed dgu dang mthun pa'i mgo brnyan no/

? srid pa'i sgo nga dang po dgu las grol ba'i gze ma mgo dgu ni/		
gze ma dgu	**phyag mtshan sogs**	**sku lus mi mor byung ba'i rtags**
sngon mo 'brug gi mgo can	chu srin lag g-yas g-yob pa	gshen rab gsung gi sgra las sprul pa'i rtags
ljang nag sbrul gyi mgo can	khyung gshog mkha' la phyar ba	gshen rab dbugs kyi sgo nas sprul pa'i rtags
nag mo skyung ka'i mgo can	zangs kyi spar shad gdengs ba	gshen rab ltag pa'i rgyas nas sprul pa'i rtags
dkar mo seng ge'i mgo can	mtshal zhags dbu la bcings pa	gshen rab sku stod gdengs nas sprul pa'i rtags
dmar mo dred kyi mgo can	lcags ral sprugs cing brdeg pa	gshen rab thugs kyi dkyil nas sprul pa'i rtags
dmar nag spyang ki'i mgo can	khra gshog pho nyar 'gyed pa	gshen rab sgal tshig gzhung las sprul pa'i rtags
smug nag stag gi mgo can	dred kyi g-yang gzhi khur ba	gshen rab drod kyi mthong las sprul pa'i rtags
ser ljang khyung gi mgo can	pho mo skung nas 'gyed pa	gshen rab snyan gyi mchog las sprul pa'i rtags
sngo ljang chu srin mgo can	rlung g-yab stong gsum g-yob pa	gshen rab rtsa yi sbubs nas sprul pa'i rtags

NB. Table continues next.

? srid pa'i sgo nga dang po dgu las grol ba'i gze ma mgo dgu ni/		
dbu brnyan gyi rtags	**sku mdog**	**phyag mtshan gyi rtags**

dgra bo'i rgyal khams 'khrugs par byed pa'i rtags	nam mkha' g-yu yi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bgegs myur du dbang du sdud pâ'i rtags
dgra bgegs tsi rta rtsad nas 'dren pa'i rtags	gdug pa dug gi dbal dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo thog pa'i gzhung la bskyon pa'i rtags
dgra bgegs mig srog gting nas 'dren pa'i rtags	bkrag med bdud kyi dbal dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo bla 'khyams 'dzin nas yongs pa'i rtags
dgra yul nad kyi sa bon 'debs pa'i rtags	'od gsal lha yi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo srog rtsa dbu la 'ching ba'i rtags
dgra bo'i mchan nas bu yang 'phrel ba'i rtags	dbal gsas me ri'i dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo smyo zhing 'bog tu 'jug pa'i rtags
dgra bo'i sha dang rus su 'phrel ba'i rtags	gnod sbyin skar mda' dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo pang gi lha dang phral ba'i rtags
dgra bo'i sha khrag zas su bza' ba'i[47] rtags	srid pa ma mo dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo gnam sa bzlog par mdzad pa'i rtags
dgra bo'i khyim 'khor zas su za ba'i rtags	gza' chen brgyad kyi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo blo bur myur thub gsod pa'i rtags
dgra bo'i bang gi lha yang dngangs pa'i rtags	rgya mtsho klung gi dbang dang ldan pa'i rtags	dgra bo ma lus dbang du sdud pa'i rtags

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

yang 4) gyad mo dgu grol tshul lung las phyogs bsdus byas pa/ dbal gsas rngam pa'i las rim dpe gzugs 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 gcig 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 gshegs su gsol/ 'gying ma stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[52] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus 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 spos mchog rtse la gcig brdol pa[54] / mi lus dkar mo bya rgod mgo bo can/ rgod kyi rje phur mngag cing dgra la 'gyed/ lha yi ru mtshon phyar zhing gshegs su gsol/ kang ka stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[55] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus 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 kyin gshegs [272] su gsol/ gtum mo stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[59] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus 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 srin g-yang gzhi brdabs kyin gshegs su gsol/ stobs ldan glang mgo 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[62] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus 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' ltar 'phen/ btsan zhag khra bo

bsdogs kyin gshegs su gsol/ gzig mgo stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[65] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol// //bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig[66] / ngar chen 'brug gi sgra las cig brdol pa[67] / mi lus ser ljang 'ug pa'i mgo bo can/ 'jigs pa'i skad kyis dgra la ltas ngan skyel/ gad rgyang ha ha rgod kyin gshegs su gsol/ rkan sgra stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[68] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du [273] bsdus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du bsgrol// //bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig[69] / gsal 'khyug glog gi sgra las cig brdol pa[70] / mi lus dmar mo mgyogs byed khra yi mgo bo can/ drag po khra yi dpung zur dgra la brdeg/ dgra bo'i bla 'khyams 'gugs kyin gshegs su gsol/ mgyogs byed stobs ldan 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[71] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol// //bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig[72] / lha chen gsa' yi sgra las cig brdol pa[73] / mi lus skya bkra gsa' yi mgo bo can/ dred kyi lag pa thogs nas g-yab [273 rgyab] mo 'debs/ dgra bgegs srog la rgol zhing gshegs su gsol/ gdug mo stobs chen 'bum dang chas nas kyang / sdang pa'i[74] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol// //bswo mi bzad dbal gyi gyad mo stobs chen cig[75] ! phyag mtshan g-yas kyi sgra las cig brdol pa[76] / 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[77] dgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs/ dbang du bsdus 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[78] 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 bsrung 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/ rno mtshon dbal dang chas te gshegs su gsol// 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 56 las srid pa'i rgyal mo/ ma cig[79] srid rgyal gsung sprul gyad mo dgu/ dmar ser 'brong mgos 'brong gi ru skyogs 'dzin/ dkar mo rgod mgos lha yi ru mtshon phyar/ nag mo dom mgos sbrul nag zhags pa sdogs/ ser mo glang mgos sa srin g-yang gzhi rdebs/ sngon mo gzig mgos btsan zhags dmar po 'phen/ ser ljang 'ug mgos srin bya dgra la spor/ dmar mo khra mgos lcags kyu'i dgra snying 'dren/ skya bkra gsa' mgos spu gri'i dgra srog phrol/ dmar nag phag mgos mtshon gyi gru gu sdog/ 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 nyer brgyad dpe gzugs can shog grangs 403 nas 407 gyi bar du/ yod la dbal gzhung dang gcig mtshungs yin pas ma bsdus so/ 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-yas phyogs na[80] / ma mchog gsung las sprul pa'i gyad mo dgu/ 'brong rgod 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//

? srid pa'i sgo nga bar pa dgu las grol ba'i gyad mo dgu ni/	
gyad mo dgu yi grangs	**phyag mtshan sogs**
gying ma 'brong mgo can	ru gyug dgra la 'gyed
kang ka rgod mgo can	rje phur sngags cing 'phen
klu mo nag mo	gtum tshul dgra la ston
stobs ldan glang mgo can	sa srin g-yang gzhi g-yob pa
mdzes ldan gzig mgo can	btsan zhag mda' ltar 'phen
ser ljang 'ug mgo can	gad rgyang ha ha rgod pa
dmar mo mgyogs byed khra mgo can	dpung zur dgra la brteg
skya bkra gsa' mgo can	dred lag g-yang bzhi g-yob
dmig ngan phag mgo can	mche bas dgra sha za

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

yang 4) byin te dgu grol tshul lung las phyogs bsdus byas pa/ dbal gsas las rim dpe gzugs can 274 las/ bswo srid pa'i sgo nga tha ma dgu brdol pa[81] / 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[82] srid rgyal thugs sprul byin te dgu/ lha dmag dkar mo lha yi ba dan phyar/ nag mo gser ral sbrul zhags 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 sgong dkar nag 'thor/ dmar mo gdong dgu'i byur thag dgra la 'dog[83]- sngo ljang dbu gnyis gshen la dmu 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 mjal yid kyis bshos pa'i dbal gyi sgo nga tha ma dgu/ 'phrugs shing brdol du ma 'dod de/ dung sgong de ni dkar mo zhig/ yul gnam gyi ya bla ru/ gnam rje [408] smon thang de la byin te btang / lha rlung 'phyo ba'i rlabs 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 khri'i 'a mo byed/ ? gser sgong de ni ser mo zhig/ 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 khri'i 'a mo byed/ ? lcags sgong 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 brtol/ 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 khri'i 'a mo [409] byed! ? mchong sgong de ni smug mo zhig/ yul dmu yul stang 'brang steng 'brang du/ dmu rje btsun thog skyol po de la byin te btang / dmu brag shel mo'i ngos la brtol/ bud med smug mo mthing gi ral pa can/ dmu yi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni dmu mo thang / dal bdag spar ma dgu khri'i 'a mo byed/ ? g-yu sgong 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 brtol/ 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 khri'i 'a mo byed/ ? shel sgong de ni dkar mo zhig/ yul gnyan yul pho ma gser steng du/ gnyan sum gtod de rgyal ba de la byin te btang / gser [410] gyi pha bong sra brtan zur la brdol/ bud med dkar mo g-yu yi zhal gnyis ma/ gnyan gyi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni gnyan mo thang / gsang rgyud spar ma dgu khri'i 'a mo byed/ ? zangs sgong de ni dmar mo zhig/ yul srin yul nag po dgu sul du/ srin gyi rgyal po lang ka mgrin bcu de la byin te btang / srin gyi sgong rdo khra bo'i log la brtol/ bud med dmar mo 'jigs pa'i gdong dgu ma zhig byung / srin gyi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni srin mo thang / srin mo mgo brnyan spar ma dgu khri'i 'a mo byed/ ? rin po che yi sgo nga zhig/ yul phya yul snang dang g-yu rtse ru/ phya btsun deng gi rje la byin te btang / phya mkhar steg pa gnyan gyi rtse la brtol/ bud med sngo ljang sprul pa'i dbu gnyis ma/ phya yi byin te chen mo bya/ thang nga de ni phya mo thang / ? [411] phya sman spar ma dgu khri'i 'a mo byed/ ? sgo nga dbal gyi tha chung ni/ rdo sgong de ni gro mo zhig/ sbyin gyi de ni sa mi mda'! yul nyi ma byang shar mtshams su bsgyur te btang / mi bzad bgegs kyi rgyal po'i lag tu bab/ bgegs kyi rgyal po'i mchid na ro! rdo sgong de ni gro mo 'di/ ci'i cho la ci'i 'brang zhes mchi/ sgo nga la brtol lhangs kyi smras/ nga ni srid pa rgyal mo'i bu/ srid pa phyi yi gdar brtol na/ nga yi lus ngag khyod la sbyin zhes smras/ bgegs kyi rgyal po'i mchid na ro/ srid pa'i rgyal mo ci mi mdzad/ mnol dang btsog gi bu yang mo zhes mchid/ brag dmar zangs yag ngos la brdabs te btang / bud med dmar nag lcags lcags[84] 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 khri'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 dbu zhal can/ [552] rdzu 'phrul sprul pa 'gyed pa'i lag cha thogs/ sprul pa spar ma dgu khri'i lha 'khor bcas//

? srid pa'i sgo nga tha ma dgu las grol ba'i byin te dgu ni/			
byin te dgu yi grangs	**phyag mtshan sogs**	**mtshan**	**grol gzhi sgo nga**

gnam gyi byin te chen mo	lha yi ba dan dkar po	thang nga lha mo thang	dung gi sgong dkar mo
sa yi byin te chen mo	zhags pa	thang nga dog mo thang	gser gyi sgong ser mo
bdud kyi byin te chen mo	bdud mda'	thang nga bdud mo thang	lcags kyi sgong nag mo
dmu yi byin te chen mo	mtshon gyi dru gu	thang nga dmu mo thang	mchong gi sgong smug mo
klu yi byin te chen mo	chu srin gdug pa'i g-yang gzhi	thang nga klu mo thang	gyu'i sgong sngon mo
gnyan gyi byin te chen mo	gnyan gyi shel rgod	thang nga gnyan mo thang	shel gyi sgong dkar mo
srin gyi byin te chen mo	srin gyi byur thag	thang nga srin mo thang	zangs kyi sgong dmar mo
phya yi byin te chen mo	dmu thag	thang nga phya mo thang	rin po che'i sgo nga
bgegs kyi byin te chen mo	dgra bo bslu byed gshin lam log par 'dren	thang nga bgegs mo thang	rdo sgong gro mo

srid pa'i rgyal mo'i yon tan gyi sprul pa/

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 cig[85] srid rgyal yon tan sprul pa ni/ bka' nyan las byed dbal gyi gyad chen bcu/ zhes dang /
yang 2) khro gzhung gyad dmag rgyal chen[86] gyi sku bstod dpe gzugs can shog grangs 715 las/ bswo dbang chen gzhal yas chen po yi/ me ri 'bar ba'i gsas mkhar na/ sprul pa dbal gyi gyad bcu bswo / steng phyog[87] 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' gzhu 'gengs / 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 stag khra bos [716] mche sder bdar / byang shar dbal gyi gyad chen ni / dbal 'brug sngon pos sgra chen sgrog / 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 'jum[88] zhing lding / 'og phyogs dbal gyi gyad chen ni / tshwa la rgyung ni[89] stwar tshan bsnams/ sprul pa bye ba sa ya 'bum/ 'jigs dang khros pa'i sgra sgrog cing / bzhings[90] shig bzhengs shig dbyings nas bzhengs/ bskyod cig bskyod cig gnas nas bskyod / sdang ba'i sgra dang gnod pa'i bgegs / dbang du bsdud la rdul du rlog/ rings par khug la myur du sgrol/

? gyad chen bcu ni/		
phyogs	**mtshan**	**phyag mtshan sogs**

steng phyogs	gser gyi mi thung	dzwa dmar 'phen pa
shar phyogs	dung gi mi thung	dbal mdung 'debs pa
byang phyogs	g-yu yi mi thung	mda' gzhu 'gengs pa
nub phyogs	zang gi mi thung	dgra sta phyar ba
lho phyogs	lcags kyi mi thung	ral kyu 'dzin pa
lho shar	dbal stag khra bo	mche sder bdar ba
byang shar	dbal 'brug sngon po	sgra chen sgrogs pa
byang nub	dbal g-yag dkar po	ru zer bsigs pa
lho nub	dbal khyung sngon po	'dzum zhing lding ba
'og phyogs	tsha la rgyung ne	star tshan bsnams pa

srid pa'i rgyal mo'i 'phrin las kyi sprul pa/

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 cig[91] srid rgyal 'phrin las sprul pa ni/ bka' nyan las byed dbal gyi dmag dpon bcu/

? dmag dpon bcu ni/		
phyogs	**mtshan**	**phyag mtshan sogs**
steng phyogs	rdol thabs blang mgo can	brag ri 'degs pa
shar phyogs	mtum[92] chen dom mgo can	ral gri phyar ba
byang phyogs	chu srin mgo can	dbal mdung spor ba
nub phyogs	'dzin byed spyang mgo can	khra gshog phyar ba
lho phyogs	gdug mo gsa' mgo can	dbal chen gsol ba
lho shar	mkha' lding khyung mgo can	sbrul zhag 'debs pa
byang shar	so 'dzug bya mgo can	mdung ring bsnams
byang nub	mig ngan phag mgo can	me dpung spor ba
lho nub	sngo mar dred mgo can	byed thag bsdog pa
'og phyogs	bkra gsal stag mgo can	dgra sha bza' ba[93]

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 cig[94] 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 rnams/ skang rten= lha sdang bdud 'beb sdang ba'i dgra la sgyur/ bdud kyi [8] dmag dpon chen mo ge ting shag- bdud lcam spar ma dgu khri'i gtso mo mdzad/ dral po bdud kyi dmag dang bcas pa rnams/ skang rten= bdud kyi khram thogs sdang ba'i dgra la= dmu yi dmag dpon chen mo byin gyi dpal/ dmu dmag spar ma dgu khri'i gtso 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[95] / 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 lhog rgod 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 lhog rgod 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/

? 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**

1	khro rgyal lha rgod thog pa snang srid zil gnon gyi dgra bgegs phung zhing brlag pa'i zlog gzhung bzhugs/[96]	1-616	dpe	khams btsun rnam dag 'od zer g-yas ru dben sa kha ru sbyar ba dge	spar ma
2	zhi khro'i sgrub skor/[97]	1-1448	dpe	...	spar ma
3	zhi khro 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 khro '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 'phrul gyi sgron me bzhugs so/[104]	1-547	dpe	mnyam med shes rab rgyal mtshan	spar ma
10	khro 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 'phrul 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 bsdus pa'i go rim bzhin ma cig[107] srid pa'i rgyal mo grol tshul dang de nyid dang gnyis su med pa khro bo lha rgod thog pa gnyis kyi ngo bo thabs shes kyi cha mtshon zhing nam mkha' stong pa'i ngang las yid kyis bshos pa las

dbal sgong rab 'bring tha ma gsum byung ba'i yab yum gnyis su med pa'i sku sprul gze ma dgu dang gsung sprul gyad mo dgu thugs sprul spar ma dgu ru byung ba'o/ gzhan yang yon tan gyi sprul pa gyad chen bcu dang phrin las kyi sprul pa dmag dpon bcu bcas kyi grol tshul skor la zhib 'jug bya ba'i ched du mkhas dbang Henk Blezer mchog la g-yung drung bon gyi dpe mdzod las phyogs bsdus byas pa 'dis khong gi dgongs don yid bzhin du 'grub pa'i smon 'dun bcas/ snang zhig dgon gyi dge bshes shes rab grags pa nas phul// mu tsug smar ro!

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] bskral ba'i ni bsgral ba'i zhes bya ba yin/

[9] rtogs rtog yin/

[10] kyis kyi yin/

[11] wa mo 'a mo yin/

[12] kyis kyi yin/

[13] kyis kyi yin/

[14] tha tshigs tha tshig yin/

[15] cig 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] cig gcig yin/

[21] 'gren 'gran yin/

[22] cig gcig yin/

[23] gis gi yin/

[24] gyis gyi yin/

[25] cig gcig yin/

[26] sgal tshig sgal tshigs yin/

[27] rol pa ni rol par zhes bya ba yin/

[28] srin sprin yin/

[29] spa ma spar ma yin/

[30] rol pa ni rol par zhes bya ba yin/

[31] dbal so dbal 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] bzung na ni bzung nas shes bya ba yin/

[36] phrel ba'i ni 'phrel ba'i zhes bya ba'am phral ba'i zhes bya ba yin/

[37] ral gyu ral kyu yin/
[38] phrel ba'i ni 'phrel ba'i zhes bya ba'am phral ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[39] sgal tshig sgal tshigs yin/
[40] phrel ba'i ni 'phrel ba'i zhes bya ba'am phral ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[41] phrel bar ni 'phrel bar zhes bya ba'am phral bar zhes bya ba yin/
[42] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[43] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[44] brtol ba brdol ba yin/
[45] phyir phyar yin/
[46] brnyen brnyan yin/
[47] bza' ba'i ni za ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[48] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[49] cig zhig yin/
[50] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[51] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[52] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[53] cig zhig yin/
[54] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[55] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[56] ring par ni rings par yin/
[57] cig zhig yin/
[58] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[59] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[60] cig zhig yin/
[61] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[62] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[63] cig zhig yin/
[64] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[65] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[66] cig zhig yin/
[67] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[68] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[69] cig zhig yin/
[70] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[71] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[72] cig zhig yin/
[73] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[74] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[75] cig zhig yin/
[76] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[77] sdang pa'i ni sdang ba'i zhes bya ba yin/
[78] bsnyan pa'i ni bsnyen pa'i zhes bya ba yin/
[79] cig gcig yin/
[80] na nas yin/
[81] brdol pa brdol ba yin/
[82] cig gcig yin/
[83] 'dog 'dogs yin/
[84] lcags lcags ni lcags yin.
[85] cig gcig yin/
[86] 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.
[87] phyog phyogs yin/

[88] 'jum 'dzum yin/
[89] ni ne yin/
[90] bzhings bzhengs yin
[91] cig gcig yin/
[92] mtum gtum yin/
[93] bza' ba za ba yin/
[94] cig gcig yin/
[95] ron shag yin/
[96] In volume two of: A collection of Rituals for the Propitiation of the Wrathful Deity Lha-rgod-thog-pa, revealed by Sku-mdun Bsod-nams blo-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.
[97] 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).
[98] 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.
[99] 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-rtogs 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 gyi yang bcud rtsod pa zlog pa'i 'khor lo dbal gsas rngam pa'i las rim* (T.129), said to be rediscovered by dByil-ston Khyung-rgod-rtsal (1175-)?
[100] Mchog gsum rgyal ba sras bcas dang bka' skyong dam can rgya mtsho bcas kyi thugs dam bskang ba'i gsung 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 dri'u dmar mo'i bskang bshags*, a *gter ma* of dPon-gsas Khyung-rgod-rtsal (1175-), Dolanji 1973.
[101] *sPyi spungs khro bo dbang chen gyi '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 sKyabs-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.
[102] Manuscript in the possession of *Lung-rtogs bstan-pa'i nyi-ma Rin-po-che*, see also Bon skyong sgrub thabs bskang gsol 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 Mkhan-po, published by Tshultrim Tashi, two volumes, Vol.II, pp.115-134, *Srid pa'i rgyal mo dre'u dmar mo'i bskang ba* attributed to *sTong-rgyung mthu-chen* (no realistic date), Dolanji 1972.
[103] Gsas mkhar rin po che spyi spungs kyi cha las mkha' klong gsang ba'i mdos chen gyi las mtha' bcas, A Collection of Bonpo Propitiary Texts from the Rediscoveries of Rma-ston Srol-'dzin, 'Or-sgom Phug-pa, and others, reproduced from a manuscript belonging to the late Khyung-sprul 'Jigs-med-nam-mkha'i-rdo-rje and brought from Gu-ru-gyams near Mt. Kailash by Khedub Gyatso, pp.117-258, *mKha' klong mdos bskangs kyi gzhung chen*, a *gter ma* by *sPrul-sku rMa-ston Shes-rab seng-ge* (late 12th century), Dolanji 1973.
[104] The Bonpo Approach to Abhidharma, Texts from the Sman-ri yig-cha by Mnyam-med Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan (1356-1415) and Slob-dpon Bstan-'dzin-rnam-dag, reproduced from rare manuscripts from the library of the Bonpo Monastic Centre, Dolanji 1982.
[105] In volume one of the title described under text 1.

[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 khag 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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- *sNyan brgyud bar do thos grol gsal sgron chen mo*, in *Zhi khro sgrub skor*, Delhi 1967 (Karmay (1977).29.32, Zogai 614 (=T.124):605-691);
- *Zhi khro bar do 'phrang grol gyi thos grol las byang bag chags rang grol*, in *dBang ldan zhu yi ring lugs kyi zhi khro'i sgrub skor*, Dolanji 1975 (I-Tib 75-903251, IASWR micro-fiche-number SB 774), Vol.II:249-330.

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

rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum-section of the Taipei edition of the Tibetan Tripitaka (Taipei 1991):

- 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-brag*editions.

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