


**‘Light’ on the Human Body**  
**The Coarse Physical Body and its Functions**  
**in the Aural Transmission from Zhang zhung on the Six Lamps**

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*The Instructions on the Six Lamps: sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*

his contribution starts from the premise that there is a fount of Tibetan knowledge on human physiology that is not explicitly medical or primarily available in medical texts. In this paper, I shall attempt to mine some of this knowledge outside medical treatises and render it more accessible for a non-tibetologist audience, by organising its quantitative data in tables and adding brief discussion. More in particular, we shall examine relevant knowledge of human physiology that is implicit in Bon Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*) texts of the so-called *Aural Transmission from Zhang zhung* or *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*; henceforth abbreviated to ZZNG. I should like to discuss one particularly spectacular example that appears in *The Instructions on the Six Lamps from the Aural Transmission from Zhang zhung of the Great Perfection* (*rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud las sgron ma drug gi gdams pa*), including information from some of the commentaries and dependents of this instruction text.

*Doctrinal and Scholastic Matters*

The *Six Lamps* appears in the ‘inner section’, on practical guidance in the secret instructions, of *The Four Orally Transmitted Cycles* (*man ngag dmar khrid* of ZZNG *bKa’ brgyud skor bzhi*). The four cycles are (see e.g., YTKC: pp. 336ff):

- **Outer:** the general definition of the view (*phyi lta ba spyi gcod*);
- **Inner:** practical guidance in the secret instructions ( *nang man ngag dmar khrid*);
- **Secret:** perceiving awareness directly (*gsang ba rig pa gcer mthong*);
- **Ultra secret:** finally deciding on the way things are ( *yang gsang gnas lugs phug gcod*).

*Some Further Background*

The text, like most of the root texts in the *Four Orally Transmitted Cycles* is undated. It is supposed to have been revealed, in so-called 'near transmission', by dPon chen Ta pi hri tsa to sNang bzher lod po (placed in the 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> c. AD). As the story goes, Ta pi hri tsa appeared to sNang bzher lod po when he resided at Brag sha ba gdong hermitage, in the North of Dra bye.

It will not come as a big surprise that six lamps, in total, are explained in *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*. There is no occasion to discuss all six teachings here. The first one holds most relevance to our study. Later sections of the text, on the other lamps are very much involved with varieties of ZZNG tantric Great Perfection subtle physiologies, a topic that need not detain us here.

*Which are the Six Lamps?*

1. The lamp of the abiding base or primordial ground (*gnas pa gzhi'i sgron ma*);
2. The lamp of the flesh and the mind or heart (*tsi ta sha yi sgron ma*);
3. The lamp of the soft-white channel (*dkar 'jam rtsa yi sgron ma*);
4. The far-reaching water lamp (*rgyang zhags chu yi sgron ma*);
5. The lamp setting face to face with the pure realms (*zhing khams ngo sprod kyi sgron ma*);
6. The lamp of the time of the intermediate state (*bar do dus kyi sgron ma*).

*The Formation of the Human Body—  
Great Perfection 'Cosmology' avant la lettre*

At the first lamp, the lamp of the abiding base or primordial ground (*gnas pa gzhi'i sgron ma*), we find a curious brief discussion on cosmology and formation of the human body. This is not one of the more usual discussions of the gestation of the individual body after conception, such as appears in medical 'embryology' and other treatises (cf. Garrett 2008)—which are particularly ubiquitous in discussions of so-called intermediate states or *bar do* between death and rebirth, in the phase of 'becoming' or rebirth. This section is surprisingly articulate and—perhaps not so surprisingly—systematic on the constitution of the coarse human body and its (dis)functions. In the process, primordial light, sound and rays (*'od sgra zer*) mix with awareness (*rig pa*), and we witness a gradual 'development', 'condensation' or 'coagulating' of primordial light etc. and nescience-based mentation into coarse material or physical existence, while straying further and further from a non-conceptual primordial ground or base.

*A Different Knowledge System;  
Mind or rather Non-Dual Awareness over Matter*

This text and its commentarial traditions develop a somewhat solipsistic perspective on the universe and how it came into being, for instance, deriving the material factors of existence, both internal and external, from light and mental factors. They discuss, amongst others:

- The emergence of the external world (*phyi snod*) and;
- The sentient beings contained in it (*nang bcud*);
- Their mentally and physically conditioned existence;
- And also the contextualisation and manifold relations of the former.

The systematic treatment of these topics, quite literally in the 'light' of Great Perfection view and vision, such as typical tropes of cosmogenesis and anthropogenesis from primordial light, of duality emerging from non-duality, may be revealing in several ways. Its treatment of the constitution of the body gives data on physiology in the ZZNG Great Perfection systems, but also reveals aspects of the wider episteme that is implied in this knowledge of the universe and the human body that is displayed here, and of its complex relationships to other Tibetan epistemes, such as we can find in medical treatises and scholastic digests of doctrinal matters in Buddhist traditions known as *Abhidharma* (Tib. *mNgon par chos mdzod*) but in Bon, where the ZZNG is native, mostly referred to by the abbreviated term *mDzod*.<sup>1</sup> For more information on the Great Perfection see Germano (e.g., 1994); for an introduction to the lights or lamps in Buddhist Great Perfection traditions, see Scheidegger (e.g., 2007).

In the following, I shall also briefly touch on comparable materials from a Bon po text from the Mother Tantra, *The Sun of Compassion of the Mother Tantra* (*Ma rgyud thugs rje'i nyi ma*), which—considering its specific tantric background, not surprisingly—is equally much concerned with yogic techniques and also shares a similar Great Perfection view.

*The Instructions on the Six Lamps* richly deserves to be opened up to discussion from more explicitly medical, cosmological or scholastic perspectives and to be subsequently studied in more detail. With this first and admittedly very preliminary contribution, I intend to provide the raw materials for such a future discussion, and also attempt to trace the first epistemic clashes and outlines that have come into view. First, I shall present the major data regarding anthropogenesis and cosmogenesis, contained in this text, in tabular form, both in Tibetan and in English translation (cf. a conspectus of the text with commentaries in Appendix 1).

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<sup>1</sup> Note that for ideological reasons Sanskritic terms usually are avoided in Bon discourse.

Table Ia — Anthropogenesis and Cosmogogenesis  
in *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*

rig pa	0					
snang ba'i yul gsum: sgra 'od zer gsum	1					
dran rig blo yi shes pa yul la rmongs ... ma rig dbang gis shes pa yul la 'gyus	2					
khams gsum lus su shar tshul/ nyon mongs yid kyis mi gtong 'dzin par byed	8	zhe sdang dbang gis gzugs khams 'khor bar 'khrul			'dod chags dbang gis 'dod pa'i khams su 'khrul	gti mug dbang gis gzugs med khams su 'khrul
khams gsum		gzugs khams			'dod khams	gzugs med khams
de'i bag chags nus pa mthu brtas pas rnam rtog yid kyis lus su mngon par grub	9	de bas bag chags nus pa cher gyur pas gdos pa sha khrag lus su mngon par grub			sgra 'od zer gsum rig par grel ba las lus ngag yid dang gsum du mngon par grub	de las bag chags nus pa rags brtas pas snang ba 'od kyis lus su mngon par grub
snang ba'i yul gsum 'khrugs pas rgyu Inga'i 'byung ba shar	3					
'byung ba Inga'i rtsal las yul ...	4	yul gzugs	sgra	dri	ro	reg bya Inga shar ro
yul Inga'i snang ba shar bas sgo Inga'i shes pa shar	5	<i>mig gi rnam shes</i>	<i>sna'i rnam shes</i>	<i>lce'i rnam shes</i>	<i>rna ba'i rnam shes</i>	<i>lus kyis rnam shes dang Inga so sor shar ba'o</i>
tshogs drug yul la brtags te sna tshogs du mar phye ... bdag dang gzhan du bzung pas nyon mongs dug Inga byung	6					

Cf. other ZZNG treatises: (the *Man ngag gsum [dang] sGron ma bzhi* and) the *Kun gzhi'i zhal shes gsal ba'i sgron ma* and the *Byang chub sems kyis gnad drug ces bya ba'i lag len*. Items in italic font are culled from the commentary and do not appear in the root text. Order rearranged as numbered.

'od Inga (only implied)		dkar	ljang	dmar	sngon	gser
rgyu Inga'i 'byung ba Inga		nam mkha'	rlung	me	chu	sa
phyi snod 'jig rten sems las shar tshul	13	nam mkha'i 'od ...	nam mkha'i 'od dang rig pa 'brel ba las gya gyu <b>rlung</b> ste phyad dang phyod du byung	phyod pa'i shugs las tsha ba'i <b>me</b> ru byung	me rlung tsha grang 'thabs pas rlan te chu ru byung	chu'i bcud las skyed pa'i <b>sa gzhi</b> byung
nang bcud sems can la shar tshul	14	nam mkha'i 'od dang rig pa la 'brel ba las <b>sams dran pa</b> khrig khrig po dang <b>rlung gya gyu byung</b>	<b>rlung</b> sems 'brel pas gya gyu'i <b>dbugs</b> su byung	dbugs kyi shugs las <b>drod de me</b> 'i khams	dbugs drod 'dus pas <b>khrag de chu</b> 'i khams	khrag gi bcud las <b>sha</b> ste <b>sa</b> 'i khams
lus dang sems su 'brel pas don snying rnam Ingar chags	15	snying	glo ba	mchin pa	mkhal ma	mtsher pa
'byung ba rnam pa Inga'i rten du bcas	16	nam mkha'i rten snying la bcas	rlung gi rten glo ba la bcas	me'i rten mchin pa la bcas	chu'i rten mkhal ma la bcas	sa'i rten mtsher pa la bcas
yan lag Inga la 'byung Inga'i rtsal yang shar	17	nam mkha'i rtsal du mgo bo shar	rlung gi rtsal du rkang pa g-yas pa shar	me'i rtsal lag pa g-yas pa shar	chu'i rtsal rkang pa g-yon ba shar	sa'i rtsal lag pa g-yon par shar
yan lag Inga		mgo bo	rkang pa g-yas	lag pa g-yas	rkang pa g-yon	lag pa g-yon
nang grol Inga ru byung Inga'i bcud du bsags	18	nam mkha'i bcud sta dang mngal du bsags	rlung gi bcud rgyu long du bsags	me'i bcud mkhris par bsags	chu'i bcud lgang par bsags	sa'i bcud pho bar bsags
nang grol Inga		sta dang mngal	rgyu long	mkhris pa	lgang pa	pho ba
dbang po Inga la 'byung Inga'i sgo yang dod	19	nam mkha'i sgo mig la dod	rlung gi sgo sna la dod	me'i sgo lce la dod	chu'i sgo rna ba la dod	sa'i sgo reg la dod
sgo/dbang po Inga		mig	sna	lce	rna ba	lus
shes pa Inga'i rtsal Inga so sor skied	20	mig gi rnam shes gzugs la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed	sna'i rnam shes dri la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed	lce'i rnam shes ro la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed	rna ba'i rnam shes sgra la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed	lus kyi rnam shes reg bya la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed
'byung ba Inga'i rtsal las yul ...	4	gzugs	dri	ro	sgra	reg bya Inga shar ro
yul Inga'i snang ba shar bas sgo Inga'i shes pa shar	5	mig gi rnam shes	sna'i rnam shes	lce'i rnam shes	rna ba'i rnam shes	lus kyi rnam shes dang Inga so sor

						<i>sha ba'o</i>
<b>rgyu chen 'byung ba bzhi las skye pa rnam bzhir grub</b>	<b>11</b>		<i>rlung las rdzus skyes</i>	<i>me las drod skyes</i>	<i>chu las sgong skyes</i>	<i>sa las mngal skyes so</i>
<b>skye pa rnam bzhi</b>			<i>rdzus</i>	<i>drod</i>	<i>sgong nga</i>	<i>mngal</i>
<b>sha khrag drod dbugs bzhi las 'du ba rnam bzhir byung</b>	<b>12</b>		<i>dbugs las rlung nad</i>	<i>drod las mkhris pa</i>	<i>khrag las bad kan</i>	<i>sha las 'dus pa'i nad du 'byung ngo</i>
<b>nyes pa/'du ba rnam bzhi</b>			<i>rlung (nad)</i>	<i>mkhris pa</i>	<i>bad kan</i>	<i>'dus pa'i nad</i>
<b>'byung lnga</b>		<b>nam mkha'</b>	<b>dbugs</b>	<b>drod</b>	<b>khrag</b>	<b>sha</b>
<b>'byung lnga sems dang 'brel bas nyon mongs lngar bskyed</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>nam mkha' sems dang 'brel bas zhe sdang bskyed</b>	<b>dbugs dang sems su 'brel bas nga rgyal bskyed</b>	<b>drod dang sems su 'brel bas phrag dog bskyed</b>	<b>khrag dang sems su 'brel bas 'dod chags bskyed</b>	<b>sha dang sems su 'brel bas gti mug bskyed</b>
<b>bdag dang gzhan du bzung pas nyon mongs dug lnga byung</b>	<b>7</b>	<i>yid du mi 'ong ba zhe sdang</i>	<i>bdag la brten nga rgyal</i>	<i>gshan la brten phrag dog</i>	<i>yid du 'ong ba 'dod chags</i>	<i>gnyis ka ma yin gti mug</i>
<b>nyon mongs lnga/dug lnga</b>		<b>zhe sdang</b>	<b>phra dog</b>	<b>nga rgyal</b>	<b>'dod chags</b>	<b>gti mug</b>
<b>dug lnga 'byung lngar 'brel bas phung po rnam lngar bskyed</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>zhe sdang nam mkhar 'brel pas rnam shes phung po bskyed</b>	<b>nga rgyal dbugs dang 'brel bas 'du byed phung po bskyed</b>	<b>phrag dog drod dang 'brel pas 'du shes phung po bskyed</b>	<b>'dod chags khrag dang 'brel pas tshor ba'i phung po bskyed</b>	<b>gti mug sha dang 'brel pas gzugs kyi phung po bskyed</b>
<b>phung po lnga</b>		<b>rnam shes</b>	<b>'du byed</b>	<b>'du shes</b>	<b>tshor ba</b>	<b>gzugs</b>
<b>tshogs drug bag chags bsags pas ris drug snang bar 'khrul</b>	<b>10</b>	<i>mig gzugs la bag chags brtas pas dmyal ba'i snang bar khrul</i>	<i>sna dri la bag chags brtas pas lha dang lha ma yin gyi snang bar 'khrul</i>	<i>lce ro la bag chags brtas pas mi'i snang bar 'khrul</i>	<i>rna ba sgra la bag chags brtas pas yid btags snang bar 'khrul</i>	<i>lus reg la bag chags brtas pas byol song gi snang bar 'khrul</i>
<b>rigs drug</b>		<i>dmyal ba</i>	<i>lha (ma yin)</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>yi dvags</i>	<i>byol song</i>
<b>rigs drug gi sdug bsngal</b>	<b>23</b>	<i>tsha grang</i>	<i>'thab rtsod</i>	<i>'pho 'gyur</i>	<i>bkres skom</i>	<i>glen lkugs</i>

Nb. the five lights (*'od lnga*, red & bold font) are only implied, but cf. discussion in *The Four Wheels*, there the five lights are explicitly mentioned and appear central to the system. Items in italic font are culled from the commentary and do not appear in the root text. Order rearranged as numbered.

Table Ib — Anthropogenesis and Cosmogogenesis  
in *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*

awareness	0					
the three domains of appearance: the triad sound light and rays	1					
perception of the wakeful cognition is deluded by the object ... by the power of ignorance perception moves toward the objects	2					
the way the three realms rise as the body by unremittingly clinging to afflicted mind	8	under influence of hatred one strays in <i>samsāra</i> of the form realm			under influence of desire one strays in the realm of desire	under influence of ignorance one strays in the formless realm
three realms		form realm			desire realm	formless realm
as the power of their conditioning grows coarser, discursive thought manifests as a mental body	9	consequently, as the power of conditioning becomes stronger, they manifest as a material body of flesh and blood			from the combination of the triad sound light and rays with awareness they manifest as body, speech, and mind	consequently, as the power of conditioning grows coarser, they manifest as a luminous body of light
because the three domains of appearance stir, the five elemental causes arise	3					
from the potential of the five causal elements arise the domains of ...	4	form	smell	taste	sound	touch, altogether five
after the five domains appear, the five agencies of perceptions arise	5	<i>eye perception</i>	<i>nose perception</i>	<i>tongue perception</i>	<i>ear perception</i>	<i>and body perception, altogether five, arise</i>
the six senses inquire into their domains the open the gates of all kinds of manifold ... because of clinging to self and other, disturbing emotions	6 7					

and five mental poisons arise						
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five lights (only implied)		white	green	red	blue	yellow
five elemental causes		space	wind	fire	water	earth
the way it arises as the external container of the world from thinking	13	from the combination of the luminosity of space ...	from the combination of the luminosity of space and awareness arises swirling <b>wind</b> that moves to and fro	from the energy of fluctuation it arises as <b>hot fire</b>	from the mixing of fire and wind, hot and cold, vapour arises as <b>water</b>	created from the essence of water the foundation of <b>earth</b> arises
the way it arises as the internal world of living beings	14	from the combination of the luminosity of space and awareness arises quivering recollection of thinking and swirling pneuma arise	from the combination of <b>wind</b> and thinking it arises as swirling breath	by the energy of respiration it becomes heat, the with characteristics of <b>fire</b>	from the condensation of breath and heat it becomes blood, with the characteristics of <b>water</b>	from the essence of blood it arises as flesh, with the characteristics of <b>earth</b>
from the combination of body and mind it appears as the five essential organs	15	<i>heart</i>	<i>lungs</i>	<i>liver</i>	<i>kidneys</i>	<i>spleen</i>
which make up the support of the five types of elements	16	<i>the heart is the support of space</i>	<i>the lungs are the support of wind</i>	<i>the liver is the support of fire</i>	<i>the kidneys are the support of water</i>	<i>the spleen is the support of earth</i>
from the potential of the five elements it arises as the five limbs	17	<i>as the potential of space the head functions</i>	<i>as the potential of wind, the right foot functions</i>	<i>as the potential of fire the left hand functions</i>	<i>as the potential of water the left foot functions</i>	<i>as the potential of earth the left hand functions</i>
five limbs		<i>head</i>	<i>right foot</i>	<i>right hand</i>	<i>left foot</i>	<i>left hand</i>
it accumulates in the internal organs as the essence of the five elements	18	<i>the essence of space accumulates in loin and womb</i>	<i>the essence of wind accumulates in the bowels</i>	<i>the essence of fire accumulates in the gall bladder</i>	<i>the essence of water accumulates in the bladder</i>	<i>the essence of earth accumulates in the stomach</i>
five (lower) internal organs		<i>loins and womb</i>	<i>bowels</i>	<i>gall bladder</i>	<i>bladder</i>	<i>stomach</i>
the agency of the five elements	19	<i>the agency of space projects</i>	<i>the agency of wind projects</i>	<i>the agency of fire projects</i>	<i>the agency of water projects</i>	<i>the agency of earth projects</i>



furthermore project into the five senses		<i>into the eyes</i>	<i>into the nose</i>	<i>into the tongue</i>	<i>into the ears</i>	<i>into touch</i>
five agencies/senses		<i>eye</i>	<i>nose</i>	<i>tongue</i>	<i>ear</i>	<i>body</i>
the five potentials of the five perceptions develop individually	20	<i>the potential of eye perception that engages form develops</i>	<i>the potential of nose perception that engages smell develops</i>	<i>the potential of tongue perception that engages taste develops</i>	<i>the potential of ear perception that engages sound develops</i>	<i>the potential of body perception that engages touch develops</i>
from the potential of the five causal elements arise the domains of ...	4	<i>form</i>	<i>smell</i>	<i>taste</i>	<i>sound</i>	<i>touch, altogether five</i>
after the five domains appear, the five agencies of perceptions arise	5	<i>eye perception</i>	<i>nose perception</i>	<i>tongue perception</i>	<i>ear perception</i>	<i>and body perception, altogether five, arise</i>
realised as the four types of birth from the four causal elements	11		<i>from wind, miraculously born</i>	<i>from fire, born from heat</i>	<i>from water, born from an egg</i>	<i>from earth born from a womb</i>
four births			<i>miraculously</i>	<i>heat</i>	<i>egg</i>	<i>womb</i>
from flesh blood heat and breath, these four, the four types of disease arise	12		<i>from breath as the wind disease</i>	<i>from heat as the bile disease</i>	<i>from blood as the phlegm disease</i>	<i>from flesh it arises as the combined disease</i>
pathogenic factors/the four types of 'gatherings'			<i>wind</i>	<i>bile</i>	<i>phlegm</i>	<i>combination</i>
five elements		<i>space</i>	<i>breath</i>	<i>heat</i>	<i>blood</i>	<i>flesh</i>
from the combination of the five elements and thinking the five disturbing emotions come forth	21	<i>from the combination of space and thinking hatred comes forth</i>	<i>from the combination of breath and thinking pride comes forth</i>	<i>from the combination of heat and thinking envy comes forth</i>	<i>from the combination of blood and thinking desire comes forth</i>	<i>from the combination of flesh and thinking ignorance comes forth</i>
because of clinging to self and other, disturbing emotions and five mental poisons arise	7	<i>repugnant hatred</i>	<i>self-centred pride</i>	<i>envy centred on others</i>	<i>repugnant desire</i>	<i>ignorance that is neither of those two</i>
five afflictions/five poisons		<i>hatred</i>	<i>jealousy</i>	<i>pride</i>	<i>desire</i>	<i>ignorance</i>
because of the combination of the five mental poisons and the five elements the five	22	<i>because of the combination of the hatred and space the aggregate</i>	<i>because of the combination of pride and breath the aggregate</i>	<i>because of the combination of envy and heat the aggregate</i>	<i>because of the combination of desire and blood the aggregate of</i>	<i>because of the combination of ignorance with flesh the aggregate of</i>

<b>aggregates come forth</b>		<i>perception comes forth</i>	<i>volition comes forth</i>	<i>apperception comes forth</i>	<i>feeling comes forth</i>	<i>form comes forth</i>
<b>five aggregates</b>		<b>perception</b>	<b>impulses</b>	<b>apperception</b>	<b>feeling</b>	<b>form</b>
<b>because of the accumulated habitual tendencies one goes astray in the apparitions of the six realms</b>	<b>10</b>	<i>because of the increased habitual tendencies in eye and form one goes astray in the apparitions of hell</i>	<i>because of the increased habitual tendencies in nose and smell one goes astray in the apparitions of gods and titans</i>	<i>because of the increased habitual tendencies in tongue and taste one goes astray in the apparitions of humans</i>	<i>because of the increased habitual tendencies in ear and sound one goes astray in the apparitions of hungry ghosts</i>	<i>because of the increased habitual tendencies in body and touch one goes astray in the apparitions of animals</i>
<b>six realms</b>		<i>hell</i>	<i>titans</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>hungry ghosts</i>	<i>animals</i>
<b>suffering of the six realms</b>	<b>23</b>	<i>heat and cold</i>	<i>strife</i>	<i>change</i>	<i>hunger and thirst</i>	<i>stupidity</i>

### Contextualising The Instructions on the Six Lamps

When we review this peculiar ontological-cosmological classification in more detail, below, it will quickly become apparent that it is difficult to relate to other extant Bon systematisations of the world and the human body.

- There appear to be only very minor matches with Bon ‘*Abhidharma*’ or *mDzod*.
- There is even less overlap with medical texts.
- There is a modest degree of overlap with discourse on intermediate states (*bar do*).
- Indeed, this ‘system’ does not seem to relate to much else, outside its own ZZNG Great Perfection environment or texts on comparable yogic expertise (Mother Tantra).

But, for all its uniqueness, the classificatory system employed here, structurally, is a variety of the fivefold tantric system (with some parts in threes), in which the Great Perfection partakes. It also resonates with the latter’s involvement with death and dying. Expertise on death, dying and intermediate states (*bar do*), in its history, appears closely entwined with the type of Great Perfection discourse that later, both in Buddhism and Bon, has become systematised as ‘leaping beyond the highest’ (*thod rgal*). But it relates best to another early ZZNG text, which is more explicitly cosmological, *The Union of the Four Wheels* (*'Khor lo bzhi sbrag*).

*Systematisation of Bon Great Perfection ‘Abhidharma’*  
 The Union of the Four Wheels (‘Khor lo bzhi sbrag)

*ZZNG Great Perfection ‘Cosmology’*

The systematisation in *The Instructions on the Six Lamps* relates well to the one employed in *The Union of the Four Wheels*. Both texts are included in *The Four Orally Transmitted Cycles* (*bKa’ brgyud skor bzhi*) of the ZZNG. Considering the subject matter—straying from a (non-dual) primordial state—the data presented above relate especially well to the second, i.e., the ‘samsaric’ part of the *Four Wheels*: the wheel of the interdependence of realisation and illusion (*rtogs ‘khrul rten ‘brel gyi ‘khor lo*). The second part presents the way that a lack of realisation arises as *saṃsāra* (*ma rtogs ‘khor bar shar tshul*) and indeed looks like a more systematic discussion of very similar material categories.

Great Perfection cosmology, such as appears in the *Four Wheels* and the *Six Lamps*, usually is phrased as a process of straying from original awareness or the primordial state. It is in fact, just another solution to the conundrum of bridging the gap from transcendent origins, beyond existence and non-existence, to existence in space and time, which every system of transcendence has to account for in its grand historical narratives, one way or the other.<sup>2</sup>

As said, the Great Perfection ZZNG cosmological approach deviates considerably from regular Bon *mDzod* (‘*Abhidharma*’), which is the basic text on Bon *mDzod*, *The Inner Treasury of Existence* (*Srid pa’i mdzod phug*) and finds no satisfactory match.<sup>3</sup>

Usually, Bon cosmology and theogony involve imaginative narratives on primordial eggs and mythic episodes of darkness and light, rather than this typically Great Perfection, epistemologically slanted ‘evolution through nescience’. In the Tibetan world, the egg theme appears most often in Bon traditions, but the egg imagery has a much wider and more universal currency as well, in China, North Asia and elsewhere (see Blezer 2000).

Let us look at some extracts from the nirvanic and samsaric sections of the *Four Wheels* cosmology, in Tibetan, followed by Karmay’s (1998<sup>a</sup>) rendering.

<sup>2</sup> Incidentally, the cosmological parts of the ZZNG neatly match the architecture of the *post hoc* restructuring or even new invention of the earliest, transcendent origins of the ZZNG lineages. They reveal the same doctrinal or intellectual sensibilities of the Great Perfection and, of course, pertain to the period of creation of the narratives. The manner of construction of the ZZNG lineage around transcendent origins I discuss elsewhere (Blezer 2010).

<sup>3</sup> Likewise not in the *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub* or the *rTsa rgyud nyi zer sgron ma* (which follows the latter in this respect).

Table II — Systematisation of Bon Great Perfection 'Abhidharma'  
The Union of the Four Wheels ('*Khor lo bzhi sbrag*)

mya ngan las 'das pa'i shar tshul		'Khor lo bzhi sbrag				
16x5=80		dkar po	ljang khu	dmар po	sngon po	ser po
snang ba'i 'od lnga	0	2) rang bzhin gsal ba las 'od dkar po	5) phrin las thog pa med pa las 'od ljang khu	1) snang ba'i 'od lnga ni rang shes rig gi rgyal po ngo bo stong pa las 'od mthing kha	3) thugs rje 'gag pa med pa las 'od dmar po	4) yon tan 'gyur ba med pa las 'od ser po
'byung ba'i dbyings lnga	1	'od dkar po las ye shes kyi 'byung ba nam mkha'i dbyings su shar	'od ljang khu las ye shes kyi 'byung ba rlung gi dbyings su shar	'od dmar po las ye shes kyi 'byung ba me'i dbyings su shar	'od sngon po las ye shes kyi 'byung ba chu'i dbyings su shar	'od ser po las ye shes kyi 'byung ba sa'i dbyings su shar ro
ba ga'i klong lnga	2	'od dkar po las nam mkha'i lha mo'i klong du shar	'od ljang khu las rlung gi lha mo'i klong du shar	'od dmar po las me'i lha mo'i klong du shar	'od sngon po las chu'i lha mo'i klong du shar	'od ser po las sa'i lha mo'i klong du shar ro
rten pa'i gzhi lnga	3	'od dkar po las sems nam mkha'i dangs ma rten pa'i gzhi/ she thun rtsa 'dzin du shar	'od ljang khu las dbugs rlung gi dangs ma rten pa'i gzhi/ lung thun seg 'dzin du shar	'od dmar po las drod me'i dangs ma rten pa'i gzhi/ she thun drod 'dzin du shar	'od sngon po las khrag chu'i dangs ma rten pa'i gzhi/ rka thun khrag 'dzin du shar	'od ser po las sha sa'i dangs ma rten pa'i gzhi/ kog tse sha 'dzin du shar ro
phyag rgya chen po'i yan lag lnga	4	'od dkar po las nam mkha'i yan lag dbu'i rnam sprul shar	'od ljang khu las rlung gi yan lag zhabs g-yas pa'i rnam sprul shar	'od dmar po las me'i yan lag phyag g-yas pa'i rnam sprul shar	'od sngon po las chu'i yan lag zhabs g-yon pa'i rnam sprul shar	'od ser po las sa'i yan lag zhabs g-yon pa'i rnam sprul shar ro
kun 'byung gi mdzod lnga	5	'od dkar po las gsal byed gdos bral yid 'dzin gyi mdzod shar	'od ljang khu las 'degs byed sgröl ma dbugs 'dzin gyi mdzod shar	'od dmar po las gsal byed 'bar ma drod 'dzin gyi mdzod shar	'od sngon po las rlan byed kun gso khrag 'dzin gyi mdzod shar	'od ser po las sra byed kun skyed sha 'dzin gyi mdzod shar ro
zag pa med pa'i dbang po lnga	6	'od dkar po las kha dog gsal gcod spyang gyi dbang po'i sgo mo shar	'od ljang khu las ngad ldan gsal gcod shangs kyi dbang po'i sgo mo shar	'od dmar po las kun grol 'khor lo ljags gyi dbang po'i sgo mo shar	'od sngon po las sgra tshogs gcod pa rna ba'i dbang po'i sgo mo shar	'od ser po las kun bsdu'd reg gcod sku'i dbang po'i sgo mo shar ro
sgrib pa med pa'i dbang shes lnga	7	'od dkar po las ye shes spyang gsal spyang gyi rnam par shes pa shar	'od ljang khu las thugs rje dri gsal shangs kyi shes pa shar	'od dmar po las bon nyid ro gsal ljags kyi shes pa shar	'od sngon po las tshangs pa'i sgra gsal snyang gyi shes pa shar	'od ser po las bden pa'i reg gsal sku'i shes pa shar ro
rnam par dag pa'i yul lnga	8	'od dkar po las gzugs rnam par dag pa spyang gyi spyod yul shar	'od ljang khu las dri rnam par dag pa shangs kyi spyod yul shar	'od dmar po las ro rnam par dag pa ljags kyi spyod yul shar	'od sngon po las sgra rnam par dag pa snyang gyi spyod yul shar	'od ser po las reg bya rnam par dag pa sku'i spyod yul shar ro
grub pa'i lha lnga	9	'od dkar po las dbus phyogs gshen lha'i rigs su shar	'od ljang khu las byang phyogs gar gsas kyi rigs shar	'od dmar po las nub phyogs gnam gsas kyi rigs shar	'od sngon po las lho phyogs rgo gsas kyi rigs shar	'od ser po las shar phyogs gsas rje'i rigs shar ro
gnas pa'i	10	'od dkar po las	'od ljang khu las	'od dmar po las cir	'od sngon po las	'od ser po las

sku lnga		bon gyi sku ru shar	ngo bo nyid kyi sku ru shar	yang sprul pa'i sku ru shar	mngon par grub pa'i sku ru shar	longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku ru shar ro
shar ba'i rigs lnga	11	'od dkar po las dbus phyogs de bzhin rigs su shar	'od ljang khu las byang phyogs las kyi rigs su shar	'od dmar po las nub phyogs padna'i rigs su shar	'od sngon po las lho phyogs rin chen rigs su shar	'od ser po las shar phyogs g-yung drung rigs su shar ro
nyam nga med pa'i stobs lnga	12	'od dkar po las byams pa chen po'i stobs su shar	'od ljang khu las zhi ba chen po'i stobs su shar	'od dmar po las yangs pa chen po'i stobs su shar	'od sngon po las sbyin pa chen po'i stobs su shar	'od ser po las ye shes chen po'i stobs su shar ro
gsal ba'i ye shes lnga	13	'od dkar po las stong pa nyid kyi ye shes su shar	'od ljang khu las mnyam pa nyid kyi ye shes su shar	'od dmar po las so sor rtogs pa'i ye shes su shar	'od sngon po las bya ba nan tan gyi ye shes su shar	'od ser po las me long lta bu'i ye shes su shar ro
bla na med pa'i 'bras bu lnga	14	'od dkar po las 'khrul pa med pa'i thugs su shar	'od ljang khu las legs par 'byung ba'i yon tan du shar	'od dmar po las rang bzhin 'gags pa med pa'i gsung du shar	'od sngon po las btsal lhun gyis grub pa'i phrin las su shar	'od ser po las 'gyur ba med pa'i sku ru shar ro
rdzogs pa chen po'i dkyil 'khor lnga	15	'od dkar po las gsal byed kun gsal nam mkha'i dkyil 'khor shar	'od ljang khu las 'degs byed drod 'bebs rlung gi dkyil 'khor shar	'od dmar po las gsal byed mdang 'byin me'i dkyil 'khor shar	'od sngon po las gso byed byams pa chu'i dkyil 'khor shar	'od ser po las skyed byed mi 'gyur sra brtan sa'i dkyil 'khor shar ro
mngon du shar ba'i zhing khams lnga	16	'od dkar po las dbus phyogs lhun gyis grub pa'i zhing khams su shar	'od ljang khu las byang phyogs rnam par dag pa'i zhing khams su shar	'od dmar po las nub phyogs bde ba can gyi zhing khams su shar	'od sngon po las lho phyogs dbang ldan bkod pa'i zhing khams su shar	'od ser po las shar phyogs mngon par dga' ba'i zhing khams su shar

The second part, which relates to the way lack of realisation arises as *saṃsāra* (*ma rtogs 'khor bar shar tshul*)

ma rtogs 'khor bar shar tshul		<i>'Khor lo bzhi sbrag</i>				
16x5=80		dkar po	ljang khu	dmar po	sngon po	ser po
de yang snang ba'i 'od lnga dang rig pa 'brel ba'i rtsal las	0					
snod kyi 'byung ba rgyu lnga	1	'od dkar po'i rtsal las phyi'i 'byung ba nam mkhar shar	'od ljang khu'i rtsal las phyi'i 'byung ba rlung du shar	'od dmar po'i rtsal las phyi'i 'byung ba me ru shar	'od sngon po'i rtsal las phyi'i 'byung ba ch ru shar	'od ser po'i rtsal las phyi'i 'byung ba sa ru shar ro
nang gi 'byung ba'i bcud lnga (bcud kyi 'byung ba 'bras bu lnga)	2	'od dkar po'i rtsal las nang gi 'byung ba rnam par shes pa'i khams su shar	'od ljang khu'i rtsal las nang gi 'byung ba dbug su shar	'od dmar po'i rtsal las nang gi 'byung ba drod du shar	'od sngon po'i rtsal las nang gi 'byung ba chu ru shar	'od ser po'i rtsal las nang gi 'byung ba sa ru shar ro
rten pa'i don lnga	3	nam mkha'i rten snying la bcas	rlung gi rten glo ba la bcas	me'i rten mchin pa la bcas	chu'i rten mkhal ma la bcas	sa'i rten mtsher pa la bcas so
rtsal du shar ba'i yan lag lnga	4	nam mkha'i yan lag mgo bor shar	rlung gi yan lag rkang pa g-yas par shar	me'i yan lag lag pa g-yas par shar	chu'i yan lag rkang pa g-yon par shar	sa'i yan lag lag pa g-yon par shar ro

sog pa'i snod lnga	5	nam mkha'i bcud sog pa'i snod bsam bse'u shar	rlung gi bcud sog pa'i snod rgyu long du shar	me'i bcud sog pa'i snod mkhris par shar	chu'i bcud sog pa'i snod lngang par shar	sa'i bcud sog pa'i snod pho bar shar ro
dbang po sgo lnga	6	nam mkha'i sgo mo mig gi dbang por shar	rlung gi sgo mo sna'i dbang por shar	me'i sgo mo lce'i dbang por shar	chu'i sgo mo rna ba'i dbang por shar	sa'i sgo mo lus kyi dbang por shar ro
gcod pa'i shes pa lnga	7	nam mkha'i rtsal las mig gi rnam par shes pa shar	rlung gi rtsal las sna'i rnam par shes pa shar	me'i rtsal las lce'i rnam par shes pa shar	chu'i rtsal las rna ba'i rnam par shes pa shar	sa'i rtsal las lus kyi rnam par shes pa shar ro
spyod pa'i yul lnga <sup>4</sup>	8	nam mkha'i yul gzugs la spyod	rlung gi yul dri la spyod	me'i yul ro la spyod	chu'i yul sgra la spyod	sa'i yul reg la spyod do
rgyu dug lnga <sup>5</sup>	9	nam mkha'i rtsal las nyon mongs pa zhe sdang shar	rlung gi rtsal las nyon mongs pa nga rgyal shar	me'i rtsal las nyon mongs pa phrag dog shar	chu'i rtsal las nyon mongs pa 'dod chags shar	sa'i rtsal las nyon mongs pa gti mug shar ro
rkyen las spyod lnga	10	zhe sdang las mngan sems gdug sems log par lta ba'i las su shar	nga rgyal las ngag 'khyal tshig rtsub 'phra ma rdzun gyi las su shar	phrag dog las che chung rung khyad gsod kyi las su shar	'dod chags las ser sna 'jung gegs 'dzin chags kyi las su shar	gti mug las srog gcod rku dang 'dod log las su shar ro
'bras bu phung po lnga <sup>6</sup>	11	zhe sdang las dang 'brel bas rnam par shes pa'i phung por shar	nga rgyal las dang 'brel bas 'du byed kyi phung por shar	phrag dog las dang 'brel bas 'du shes kyi phung por shar	'dod chags las dang 'brel bas tshor ba'i phung por shar	gti mug las dang 'brel bas gzugs kyi phung por shar ro
'du ba'i nad lnga	12	nam mkha'i rtsal las nad 'du ba rnam bzhi shar ro	rlung gi rtsal las nad 'du ba rlung nad du shar	me'i rtsal las nad 'du ba mkhris nad du shar	chu'i rtsal las nad 'du ba bad kan gyi nad du shar	sa'i rtsal las nad 'dus pa'i nad du du shar ro
skye ba'i sgo lnga	13	nam mkha'i rtsal las skye ba rnam bzhi sgo mor shar	rlung gi rtsal las rdzus te skye ba'i sgo mor shar	me'i rtsal las drod las skye ba'i sgo mor shar	chu'i rtsal las sgo nga las skye ba'i sgo mor shar	sa'i rtsal las mngal nas skye ba'i sgo mor shar ro
rgyud pa'i lam lnga	14	nam mkha'i rtsal las dmyal bar 'gro ba'i lam du shar	rlung gi rtsal las lha dang lha m[e]n du 'gro ba'i lam du shar	me'i rtsal las skye ba mi ru 'gro ba'i lam du shar	chu'i rtsal las yid btags [yi dvags] su 'gro ba'i lam du shar	sa'i rtsal las byol song du skye ba'i lam du shar ro
smin pa'i rigs lnga (smin pa'i 'bras bu lnga)	15	zhe sdang gi dbang gis dmyal ba'i rigs su smin	nga rgyal dbang gis lha dang lha men rigs su smin	phrag dog dbang gis mi'i rigs su smin	'dod chags dbang gis yid btags [yi dvags] rigs su smin	gti mu dbang gis byol song rigs su smin no
(mngon du) shar ba'i zhing khams lnga	16	zhe sdang dbang gis sdug bsngal chen po dang ldan pa'i zhing khams su shar ro	nga rgyal dbang gis dga' ldan dang rtsod ldan gyi zhing khams su shar ro	phrag dog dbang gis bsod ldan mi'i zhing khams su shar ro	'dod chags dbang gis bkres ldan gyi zhing khams su shar ro	gti mug dbang gis myos ldan gyi zhing khams su shar ro

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the *Srid pa'i mdzod phug*, Chpt.7, pp. 36.19ff. and pp. 44.1ff., Dolanji 1966.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. items 9 and 11 combined with the *Srid pa'i mdzod phug*, Chpt.3, pp. 17.19ff., Dolanji 1966.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the *Srid pa'i mdzod phug*, Chpt.8, pp. 51.16ff., Dolanji 1966.

Karmay, *The Little Luminous Boy*, pp. 104f., Bangkok 1998<sup>a</sup>  
(cf. Reynolds, 1997)

The Eighty Elements of the "Qualitative State of Enlightenment (MYA NGAN LAS 'DAS PA'I YON TAN)—NB. in Karmay p. 104, in reverse order and different arrangement (see numbers)						
[16x5=80	0	3) white	4) green	5) red	1) blue	2) yellow]
five spaces	1	of space	of air	of fire	of water	of earth
five spheres	2	of the sky goddess	of the wind goddess	of the fire goddess	of the water goddess	of the earth goddess
five 'arteries' [rten]	3	for heart	for pneuma	for heat	for blood	for flesh
five limbs	4	head	right foot	right arm	left foot	left arm
five types of vessels	5	of spirit	of breath	of life [srog-dzin, cf. drod-'dzin]	of blood	of flesh
five organs	6	eyes	nose	tongue	ears	body
five faculties	7	of eyes	of nose	of tongue	of ears	of body
five objects	8	form	smell	taste	sound	touch
five divinities	9	<i>gshen-lha</i>	<i>gar-gsas</i>	<i>gnam-gsas</i>	<i>rgod-gsas</i>	<i>gsas-rje</i>
five bodies	10	<i>bon-sku</i> [cf. truth body, <i>dharmakāya</i> ]	<i>ngo-bo nyid-sku</i> [cf. essence body, <i>svabhāvikakāya</i> ]	<i>sprul-sku</i> [cf. emanation body, <i>nirmāṇakāya</i> ]	<i>mngon-byang-sku</i> [cf. awakening body, <i>abhisiddhakāya</i> ]	<i>rdzogs-sku</i> [cf. enjoyment body, <i>sambhogakāya</i> ]
five families	11	? [de-bzhin-rigs]	wheel ['khor-lo'i rigs, cf. las-kyi-]	lotus	jewel	swastika
five powers	12	love	tranquillity	[equanimity: switched with next]	[generosity: ditto with previous]	wisdom
five wisdoms	13	<i>stong-nyid ye-shes</i> [wisdom of emptiness]	<i>mnyam-nyid ye-shes</i> [wisdom of sameness]	<i>sor-rtoqs ye-shes</i> [discriminating wisdom]	<i>bya-grub ye-shes</i> [all-accomplishing wisdom]	<i>me-long ye-shes</i> [mirror-like wisdom]
five results	14	mind	[quality: switched with action]	speech	[action: switched with quality]	body
five mandalas	15	of space	of wind	of fire	of water	of earth
five heavens	16	center [lhun-gyis grub-pa]	north [rnam-par dag-pa]	west [bde-ba-can]	south [dbang-ldan bkod-pa]	east [mngon-par dga'-ba]

The Eighty Elements of the "Samsaric Interdependence" ('KHOR BA'I RTEN 'BREL)—NB. in Karmay 1998 <sup>a</sup> p. 105, in different arrangement (see numbers and compare to the order in Table II)						
[16x5=80	0	5) white	1) green	4) red	3) blue	2) yellow]
five external elements	1	space	air	fire	water	earth

five internal elements	2	consciousness	breath	heat	blood	flesh
five vital parts	3	heart	lung	liver	kidneys	spleen
five limbs	4	torso [ <i>khog-pa</i> , cf. <i>mgo-bo</i> , head]	right foot	right arm	left foot	left arm
five vessels	5	womb [ <i>mngal-ba</i> , above: <i>bsam be'u</i> ]	large intestine	bile [cf. <i>mkhris-pa</i> , gall bladder]	gall-bladder [cf. <i>lgang-pa</i> , urinary bladder]	stomach
five organs	6	eyes	nose	tongue	ears	body
five faculties	7	of eyes	of nose	of tongue	of ears	of body
five objects	8	form	smell	taste	sound	touch
five passions	9	anger	pride	jealousy	desire	torpor
five practices	10	perverse view [nb. <i>log-lta</i> ]	chatter; harsh words	denial [nb. <i>ru-nga</i> , <i>khya-d-bsad</i> ]	meanness; parsimony [nb. <i>ser-sna</i> ]	killing; stealing; improper sex
five aggregates	11	consciousness [ <i>rnam-shes-kyi phung-po</i> ]	action [ <i>'du-byed-kyi phung-po</i> ]	thought [ <i>l'du-shes-kyi phung-po</i> ]	feeling [ <i>tshor-ba'i phung-po</i> ]	form [ <i>gzugs-kyi phung-po</i> ]
five illnesses	12	of four humours [ <i>nad 'du-ba rnam-bzhi</i> ]	of pneuma	of bile	of phlegm	unidentified [ <i>'dus-pa'i nad</i> , cf. combination]
five types of birth	13	the four births (see next)	supernatural birth	birth from heat	birth from eggs	birth from womb
five paths	14	of hell	of deva and the asura	of humans	of pretas	of animals
five consequences	15	hell	deva; asura	human	preta	animal
five worlds	16	world with misery	world in conflict	world with fortune [cf. <i>bsod-ldan</i> , with merit]	world with famine	world with violence [cf. <i>myos-ldan</i> , intoxicated]

*Parallels in The Sun of Compassion of the Mother Tantra  
(Ma rgyud thugs rje nyi ma)*

The 'subtle body' part of these schemes in much richer detail also appears in a commentary to the Bon *The Sun of Compassion of the Mother Tantra (Ma rgyud thugs rje nyi ma)*.<sup>7</sup> As so often, its root text is divided into ground, path and result (*gzhi lam 'bras*). The commentary is attributed to Guru rNon rtse, believed to have been born in 1136 AD. Most relevant to us is the third section of the commentary on the ground (*gzhi*), the *Ma rgyud thugs rje nyi ma las bon nyid thig le'i 'grel pa rtsa'i de nyid bzhi bcu rtsa lnga* (pp. 317–356), on the 'sphere of reality as it is' (*bon nyid kyi thig le*). The 'Bon body of reality as it is' (pp. 319.6ff), is the first of four bodies of fundamental voidness, further

<sup>7</sup> Dolanji *dPe cha* edition (870pp.). Thanks to Colin Millard for pointing to possible *Mother Tantra* parallels.



specified as spontaneously present.<sup>8</sup> The other three bodies are discussed in later sections.<sup>9</sup> The discussion of the first body of reality is subdivided into five parts (which begins on p. 319.6, near the very start of this section of the *Ma rgyud* cycle). Most pertinent is the fifth and last of these parts, on the manner of arising as the three *maṇḍalas* of the pure abodes (p. 328.4: *zhing khams kyi dkyil 'khor gsum du 'char tshul*). The three *maṇḍalas* are: outer, inner, and secret (p. 328.5ff.). Of immediate interest is the *maṇḍala* inside the body (pp. 331.3ff.), which has an elaborate discussion of the ‘subtle body’, of channels, winds and drops (*rtsa, rlung, thig le*) and the like;<sup>10</sup> for instance, pointing out the basis of establishing the body in primordial wisdom (pp. 331.5ff),<sup>11</sup> it includes detailed discussion of the five types of wind (*rlung*) in relation to the inner organs, etc. (pp. 333ff.), and, incidentally implies a classificatory system that is very similar to that of the *Six Lamps*.<sup>12</sup> The five impure organs and substances (*bdud rtsi lnga*), skilful practice of ‘extracting the essence’ (*bcud len*) and their transformation from demons of disease into power of medicine (deities), are also discussed (pp. 337.7ff).

#### *Instructional Drawings from The Union of the Four Wheels*

We should compare the scheme in the *Six Lamps* to schematic pictorial representations in instructional drawings, such as those depicted and discussed in Karmay (1998<sup>a</sup>: 85ff.) these are not infrequent. There is a clear reference to these teaching devices in Yang ston dPal bzang’s classification of ZZNG texts: when discussing the second category of *The Four Orally Transmitted Cycles* (*bKa’ brgyud skor bzhi*): the ‘inner section’, on the practical guidance in the secret instructions, the *Nang man ngag dmar khrid* (as the fifth Bon section or *bon sde*), Yang ston dPal bzang (13/14<sup>th</sup> c. AD) mentions these booklets of drawings with writing on their backs.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See p. 318, ll.1f: *bon nyid bon gyi sku dang mi nub pa mngon par byang chub pa’i sku dang mi 'gyur ba bde ba chen po’i sku dang skye med ngo bo nyid sku’o*.

<sup>9</sup> The *Ma rgyud thugs rje nyi ma’i mi nub thig le’i 'grel pa rlung gi de nyid*, *Ma rgyud thugs rje nyi ma’i gzhi ye sangs rgyas pa’i rgyud las mi 'gyur thig le’i 'grel pa*, and *Ma rgyud thugs rje nyi ma’i lis [las] gzhi ye sangs rgyas pa’i skye med thig le’i 'grel pa*.

<sup>10</sup> This section discusses four topics: *rten pa rtsa 'brel pa rlung gnas pa thig le grub pa yi ge dang bzhi* (p. 331.3).

<sup>11</sup> The manner how to produce the body from primordial wisdom was discussed earlier.

<sup>12</sup> The laying out of the outer *maṇḍala* precedes, on pp. 329.3ff., and the secret one is discussed on pp. 347.4ff.

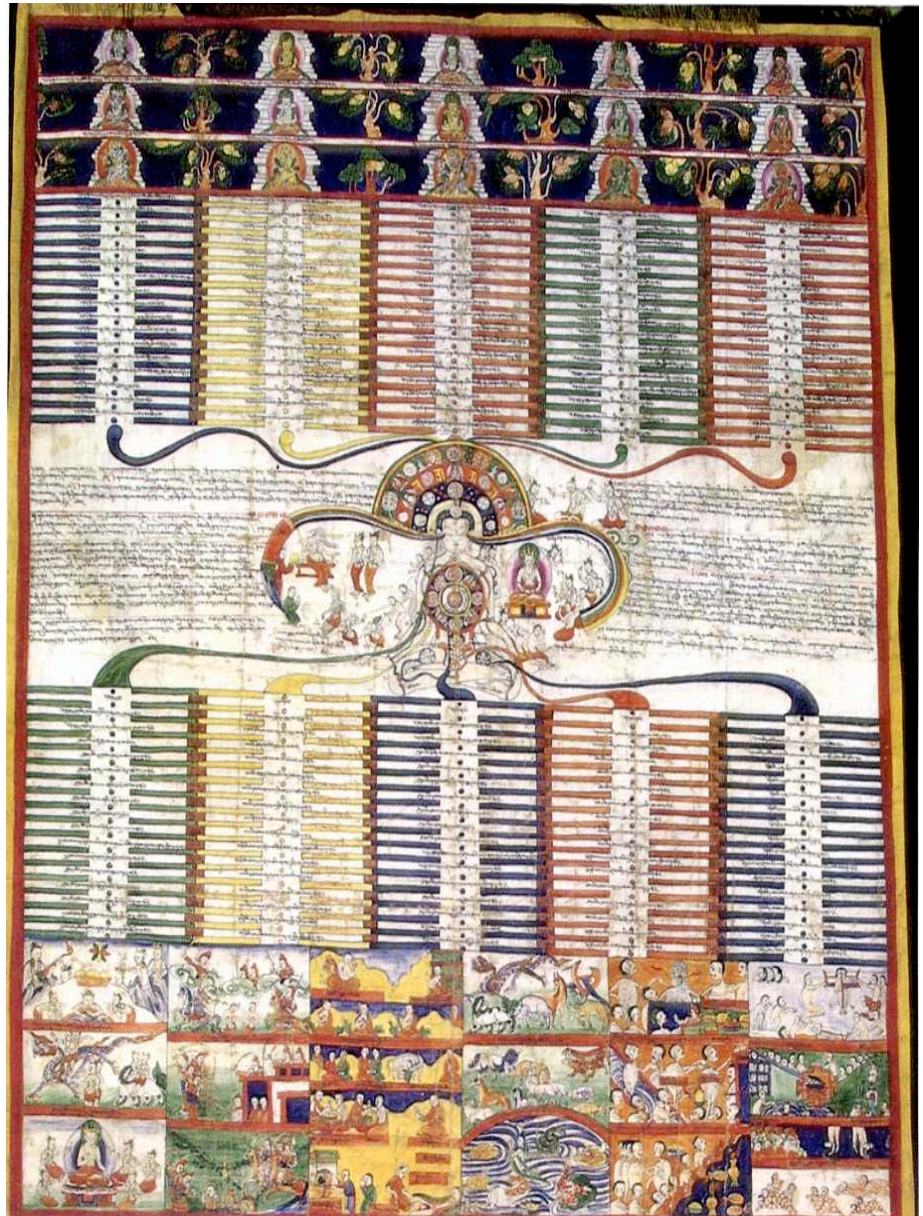
<sup>13</sup> See the *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi rtsis byang them yig rgyas pa*, contained in the *Zhang zhung snyang rgyud bon skor* (sigla YST.1), pp. 12.4–13.1, esp. p. 12.4–7, Dolanji 1974: *lnga pa snyan rgyud thugs kyi snying rtam [gtam] nyams kyi man ngag gnyis ste/ 1) 'khor lo dpe chung gi skor dang / 2) zhal bdams [gdams] gcig rgyud do/*

ad 1) *'khor lo la sbag pa [sbrag pa] bzhi yod de/ de gang zhe na/*

- *gnas pa bzhi’i [gzhi’i] 'khor lo <b>rgyab yig dpe’ chung sbag pa [sbrag pa] dang gcig/*
- *rtogs 'khrul rten 'brel gyi 'khor lo <b>rgyab yig dpe’ chung sbag pa [sbrag pa] dang gnyis/*
- *lus gnas rtsa’i 'khor lo rgyab yig dpe’ chung sbag [sbrag pa] gsum/*
- *bar do dus kyi 'khor lo rgyab yig dpe’ chung sbag pa [sbrag pa] dang bzhi’o/ de ltar sbag pa [sbrag pa] bzhi po de las 'khor lo bzhi sbag [sbrag] zhes bya’o/*

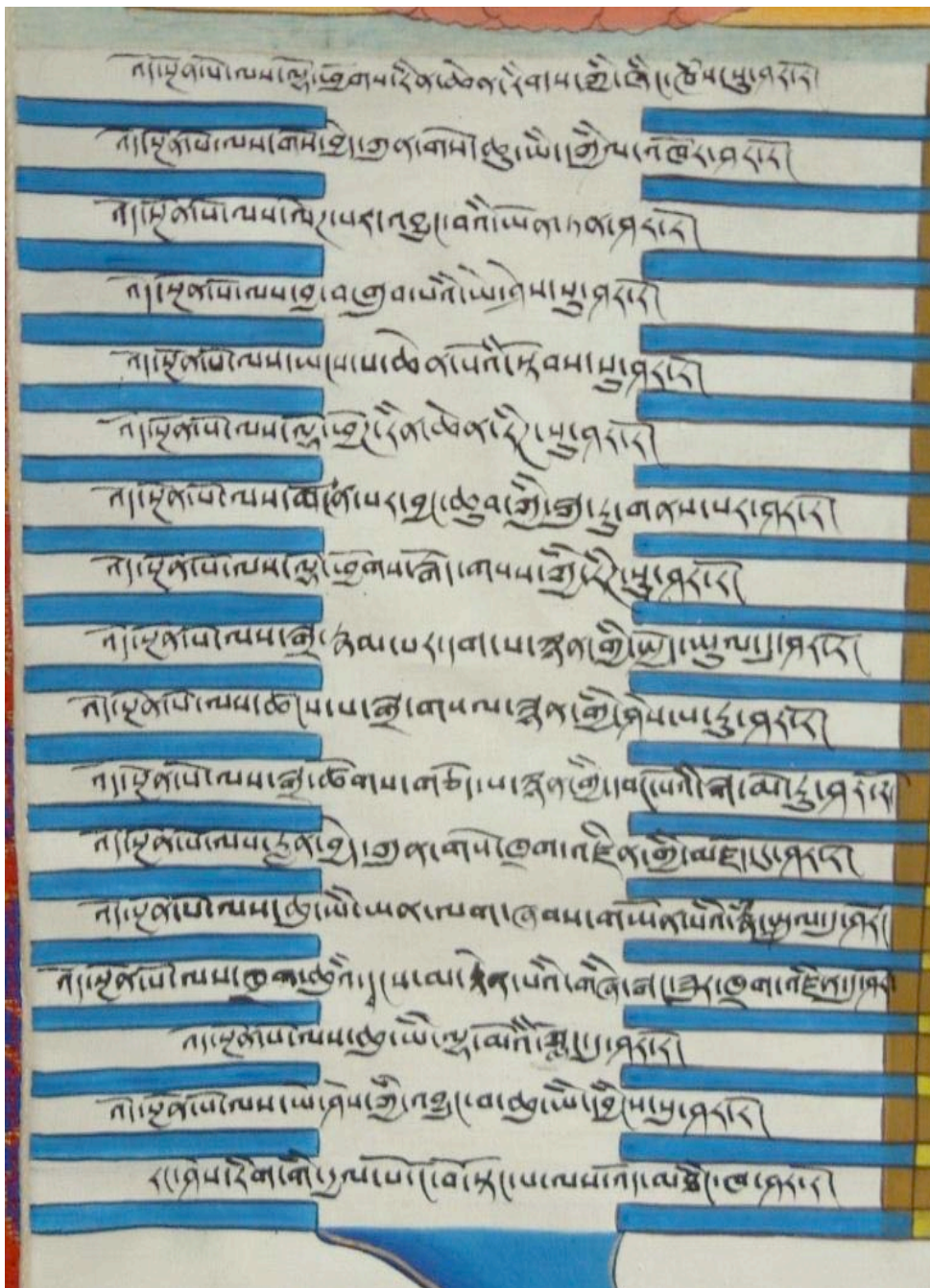
ad 2) *zhal bdams gcig rgyud yi ge ris su ma ttab bla ma’i zhal la shes pa kho na’o/ de snyan rgyud kyi dam tshig yin pas/ gcig rgyud ma yin [13] pa kun la mi ston par gsungs so/ // Kun, “all’ folks to which this is not to be shown, refers to all those who are **not** entitled to the single transmission (*cig rgyud*).*

*The Union of the Four Wheels, 'Khor lo bzhi sbrag*  
Detail of a Thangka from Amdo Sharkhog; perhaps 18<sup>th</sup> c. AD, Karmay  
(1998<sup>a</sup>: 86)





The Union of the Four Wheels, 'Khor lo bzhi sbrag  
detail from the section on mya ngan las 'das pa'i yon tan  
Detail 1, A recently copied Thangka in a private German collection;  
20<sup>th</sup> c. AD



*Where do these Great Perfection Classifications Come from?*

How do the cosmological systematisations in the *Six Lamps* relate to those in the *Four Wheels* and to the basic text of Bon *mdzod: The Inner Treasury of Existence* (*Srid pa'i mdzod phug*) and to important syntheses of medical knowledge in Tibet, *The Fourfold Collection* ('*Bum bzhi*), transmitted in Bon traditions, and a very similar compendium *The Fourfold Tantra* (*rGyud bzhi*). These collections, in an early form, probably date back to the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> c. AD. There is a good chance that *The Fourfold Collection* preserves an earlier redaction of *The Fourfold Tantra*, which is to say that the latter at some stage may have passed through *bon po* hands (cf. Blezer 2007). We will first investigate:

- How *The Union of the Four Wheels* relates to *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*; then,
- How *The Inner Treasury of Existence* relates to *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*; next,
- How *The Inner Treasury of Existence* relates to *The Union of the Four Wheels*, and, lastly,
- How *The Instructions on the Six Lamps* and *The Union of the Four Wheels* relate to *The Fourfold Collection* ('*Bum bzhi*) and *The Fourfold Tantra* (*rGyud bzhi*).

*The Union of the Four Wheels* ('*Khor lo bzhi sbrag*) &  
*The Instructions on the Six Lamps* (*sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*)

*The Union of the Four Wheels* and *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*

The *Four Wheels* in its section on *samsāra* (the *ma rtogs 'khor bar shar tshul*), elaborates on materials that also are systematised in the *Six Lamps*. Yet, as we can see in Table III, the received text of the *Four Wheels* relates best to the commentaries on the *Six Lamps*: the *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan* and the *sGron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa*. In the *Four Wheels*, the exposition appears more comprehensive, better organised, and more systematically classified and explained. See for example the section on the arising of disease, for which the *Four Wheels* includes the commentary (section 2, item 12, in Table II, above).

Relation of *The Union of the Four Wheels*  
and *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*

All this suggests that the *Four Wheels* may have to be dated after the *Six Lamps*, in any case. Considering the fact that the *Four Wheels* also includes bits and pieces from the *Six Lamps* commentaries, perhaps it even has to be dated after the probably earliest commentary, the *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan*. That would put the *Four Wheels* well after the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c. AD. The *Four Wheels* text indeed reads like a later systematisation of Bon Great Perfection *mdzod*, particularly of issues addressed specifically in the ZZNG.

Table III — Relation of *The Union of the Four Wheels* and *The Instructions on the Six Lamps*

'Khor lo bzhi sbrag	sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan	sGron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa
after 12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> c. AD?	U ri bsod nams rgyal mtshan, 12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> c. AD?	Bru sgom rGyal ba g-yung drung (1242–90)
<i>italic root text, underline matches commentary</i>	<i>italics root text</i>	<i>italics root text</i>
<p>[456.5ff] ma rtogs <u>khor bar shar tshul</u> ni/</p> <p><i>snang ba'i yul gsum mngon du shar ba'i tshel</i></p> <p><u>sgra 'od zer gsum blo'i yul du shar bas/</u></p> <p><i>blo dran rig shes pas yul la rmongs tel</i></p> <p><i>rang snang du ma shes dngos po mtshan mar bzung/</i></p> <p><u>yul de gsum</u> gyis rkyen byas nas/</p> <p>'khrul pa'i snang ba shar te byang chub sems la <i>sgrib/</i></p> <p>dran rig blo yis <i>rang rig</i> [457] <i>ngo ma shes/</i></p>	<p>[313.2] /<i>gnyis pa khams gsum sems can ji ltar 'khrul tshul la gnyis te/</i></p> <p>/ma rig 'khrul tshul bstan pa dang / / 'khor ba'i shar tshul bstan pa gnyis so/ <b>dang po</b> ni/ <i>/sams can ji ltar 'khrul pa'i gtan tshigs ni/</i> /zhes pas/ /dri ba bkod pa yin te/</p> <p><i>/snang ba'i yul gsum mngon du shar ba'i tshel/</i> zhes pas/</p> <p>/sgra 'od zer gsum blo'i yul shar/</p> <p><i>/dran rig blo yi shes pa yul la rmongs zhes pas/</i></p> <p>/yul gyi 'dug tshul ma shes pa'o/ <i>/rang snang sgyu mar ma shes gzhan snang bden par mthong /</i> /zhes pas sgra 'od zer gsum rig pa'i rtsal tu ma shes par/ /pha rol snang pa rang rgyud par mthong ste/ /dper na rang gzugs chu nang du shar ba la/ /rang gzugs su ma mthong gzhan gzugs su mthong [mthong] pa bzhin no/ <i>/gzhan mthong blo yi rig pa'i don la sgrib ces pas/</i> /rig pa gcer bu la rnam rtog blo yis gos gyon te/ /dper na nyi ma sprin gyis sgrib pa bzhin no/ <i>/rang rig ngo ma shes pas kun gzhi'i don ma rtogs/</i> /zhes pas/ /rang rig nyi ma lta bu ngo ma shes pas/ /ma rig mun pa smag dang 'dra ba 'thibs/ /kun gzhi nam mkha' dang 'dra ba'i don la sgrib ste/ /dper na nyi ma nub pas nam mkha' smag gis sgrib pa lta bu'o/ <i>/de ni lhan cig skyes pa'i ma rig pa'o/</i></p>	<p>[370.5] / <b>gnyis pa</b> 'khor ba'i gyis tshul la <b>gsum</b> ste/</p> <p>don la ji ltar 'khrug tshul dang / 'khrul pas 'khor bar 'khyams tshul dang / de'i don mdor bsdus pa'o/ <b>dang po</b> la <b>bzhi</b> ste/ lhan skyes ma rig 'byung tshul/ kun brtag ma rig byung tshul/ bdag 'dzin nyon mongs yid kyi byung tshul/ gzhi la bag chags kyis sogstshul lo // [371]</p> <p><b>dang po</b> la/ <i>snang ba'i yul gsum mngon du shar ba'i tshel/</i> zhes pas/ sgra 'od zer gsum mngon du shar ba'i tshel'o/ <i>dran rig blo'i shes pa yul la rmongs</i> shes pas/ yul gyi 'dug tshul ma shes pa'o/ <i>rang snang sgyu mar ma shes bden par mthong</i> zhes pas/ sgra 'od zer gsum rig pa'i rtsal du ma shes pha rol na snang ba rang rgyud par mthong ste/ dper na rang gzugs chu nang na shar ba la/ rang gzugs su mthong gzhan gzugs su mthong ba bzhin no/ <i>/gzhan mthong blo yis rig pa'i don la bsgribs/</i> zhes pas rig pa gcer bu la rnam rtog blo yis gos bskon te/ dper na nyi ma sprin gyis g-yogs pa bzhin no/ <i>/rang rig ma shes kun gzhi don ma rtogs/</i> zhes pas rang rig nyi ma lta bu ngo ma shes pas/ ma rig mun pa'i smag dang 'dra ba 'thims pas/ kun gzhi nam mkha' dang 'dra ba'i don la bsgribs ste/ dper na nyi ma nub pas mun pa'i smag gis bsgribs pa lta bu'o/ <i>de ni lhan cig skyes pa'i ma rig</i></p>

<p><i>ma rig dbang gis shes pa yul la 'gyus/</i></p> <p>rang sa ma zin snang ba'i rjes su 'brenng / <i>snang ba'i</i> rjes su 'brenng pas rang dbang shor/ rang dbang shor bas gzhan snang sgyu mas bslus/</p> <p>sgyu mas bslus pas 'khor ba'i rten 'brel shar ro/</p> <p>de yang <i>snang ba</i> 'od lnga/ snod kyi 'byung ba rgyu lnga/ ...</p>	<p>zhes [314] pas de ltar kun gzhi dang rig pa'i gnas lugs ngo ma shes pa de la/ / ming du btags na lhan cig skyes pa'i ma rig pa zhes bya'o/ / <b>gnyis pa</b> 'khor ba'i shar tshul la <b>gnyis</b> te/ / 'khor ba'i shar tshul spyir bstan pa dang / /bye brag tu btsan par gnyis so/ / <b>dang po</b> la <b>gsum</b> ste/ /yul dang shes pa shar tshul gzhi la bag chags bsags tshul dang / /khams gsum lus su shar tshul dang gsum mo/</p> <p>/ <b>dang po</b> ni <i>ma rig dbang gis shes pa yul la 'gyus/</i> zhes pas de ltar gnas lugs ma rig pa'i dbang gis/ /dran rig gis shes pa yul la 'gyus te/ /yid gya gyu'i rnam pa cad du byung ngo /</p> <p>/ <i>snang ba'i yul la rnam par brtag te bzung</i> / / zhes pas yid gya gyu'i shes pa des/</p> <p>/yul sgra 'od zer gsum la bden pa'i rnam par brtag te bzung ngo / / <i>de ni yid kyi rnam par shes pa zhes bya'o/</i> / <i>shes pa yul la 'gyus pas so ma zin/</i> / zhes pas yid gya gyu'i shes pa yul la 'gyus pas rang sa ma zin te/ / dper na sprin rjes su rlung zhugs pa dang 'dra'o/ / <i>shes pa rang so ma zin pas/ snang ba'i yul g&lt;r&gt;sum 'khrugs/</i> / zhes pas yul sgra 'od zer gsum 'khrug ste/ / dper na rlung gis sprin dkrugs pa bzhin no/</p> <p>/ <i>snang ba'i yul gsum 'khrugs pas/ rgyu lnga'i 'byung ba shar</i> ces pas / ...</p>	<p><i>pa</i> zhes pas gnas lugs rang chas su yod kyang / ngo ma shes pa'o/</p> <p><b>gnyis pa</b> kun brtags ma rig pa'i byung tshul ni/ <i>ma rig dbang gis shes pa yul la 'gyus/</i> zhes pas ngo ma shes pas yid kyi 'gyu ba can du 'byung ba'o/</p> <p><i>snang ba'i yul la rnam par brtags te bzungs/</i> zhes pas/</p> <p>sgra 'od zer gsum la bden pa'i rnam pa can du zhen pa'o /</p> <p><i>zhes pa yul la 'gyus pas so ma zin/</i> zhes pas/ rig pa'i rang sa ma zin ces pa'o/</p> <p><i>rig pa so ma zin pas snang ba'i yul gsum 'khrugs/</i> zhes pas/</p> <p>sprin gyi rjes su rlung zhugs pas rlung gis sprin 'khrugs pa bzhin no/</p> <p><i>snang ba'i yul 'khrugs pas rgyu lnga'i 'byung ba shar</i> ces pas/ ...</p>
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*The Inner Treasury of Existence (Srid pa'i mdzod phug) and  
The Teaching on the Six Lamps (sGron ma drug gi gdams pa)*

*The Basic Text of Bon 'Abhidharma' or mDzod*

One particular section of the *Six Lamps* that deals with rather generic issues (afflictions and constituents of a person) relates well to the root text of the Bon *mDzod*, called *The Inner Treasury of Existence (Srid pa'i mdzod phug)*, with only slight alterations.

*The Inner Treasury of Existence* is a *gter ma* attributed to several discoverers. The version used here (Delhi 1966) is attributed to Gyer my nyi 'od, in the early 12<sup>th</sup> c. AD (1108 AD). Refer to section number 22, on the last page of the two-page tables on the *Six Lamps* (Table I).



[see also additional, comparable material in the rest of the chapter, on p. 52, which relates to the <i>Four Wheels</i> (' <i>Khor lo bzhi sbrag</i> ) and is discussed there (i.e., below)]		spyod pa/ 'bras bu yid 'ong 'byin pas dge ba/ mi 'ong pa 'byin pas sdig pa/ gnyis ka mi 'byin pa'i lung ma bstan no/
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The Basic Text of Bon '*Abhidharma*' (*Srid pa'i mdzod phug*) &  
*Union of the Four Wheels* ('*Khor lo bzhi sbrag*)

More Bon *mDzod*

As we can see in Table V, below, not only some parts of *Six Lamps*, but two particular sections of the *Four Wheels* also relate well to chapter (8) of the same root text of *The Inner Treasury of Existence*. They appear in items 10 & 11 of the section on *samsāra* in the *Four Wheels* (the *ma rtogs 'khor bar shar tshul*):

10. The five types of behaviour from the causes (of the afflictions) (*rkyen las spyod lnga*);
11. The five resulting constituents of a person ('*bras bu phung po lnga*).

Please note that these sections here appear in reverse order, relative to the *mDzod phug*. These passages also relate to generic categories, such as afflictions and constituents of a person, and afflicted behaviours. One, obviously, is nearly identical to the passage quoted above for the *Six Lamps* and indeed relates to the same *mDzod phug* section (compare Table V, below, to nr.22 of the *Six Lamps* tables, Table I, above, in the second section).

Relation of *The Inner Treasury of Existence*  
and *The Union of the Four Wheels*

If we refer to Table V, below, we again observe slight alterations. These correspondences may likewise have been common knowledge; under the circumstances that would be difficult to disprove. But, on the other hand, it may also indicate that this 12<sup>th</sup> c. AD systematisation of Bon *mdzod* is one of the sources that the *Four Wheels* lives from? Considering however, how little information from *The Inner Treasury of Existence* seems to have actually made it into the *Four Wheels* (or into the *Six Lamps*, for that matter), and also considering the deviating cosmologies, it seems rather unlikely that there would be any direct borrowing.



Table V — Relation of the *The Inner Treasury of Existence* and *The Union of the Four Wheels*

<p><i>Srid pa'i mdzod phug, gter ma</i> by Gyer my nyi 'od, 1108 AD</p>	<p>'<i>Khor lo bzhi sbrag</i>, possibly dated after U ri bsod nams rgyal mtshan, 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c. AD?</p>
<p>chapter 8, <i>srid pa'i mdzod phugs kyi dug lnga phra rgyas su bstan pa</i> pp. 51.4-52.15, Dolanji 1966, nb. the order of the lemmata has been adjusted 1-3-5-4-2</p>	<p>pp. 459.1-3, nb. the order of the two sections is reversed</p>
<p>nyon mongs 'phra rgyas dug 'di yang / 'khrul pa'i yid kyi rgyu ...mdzod... las byung / 1) zhe sdang phra rgyas dug 'di yang / ! sems dang yid kyi mdzod las [']byung / 3) nga rgyal phra rgyas dug 'di yang / dbugs 'dzin ngag gi mdzod las byung / 5) phrag dog phra rgyas dug 'di yang / khrag 'dzin phrin las mdzod las byung / 4) 'dod chags phra rgyas dug 'di yang / drod 'dzin yon tan mdzod las byung / 2) gti mug phra rgyas dug 'di yang / sha 'dzin lus kyi mdzod las byung / nyon mongs yid dang 'brel ba las/ kun 'dus zag pa[i] phung po[i] dug-</p> <p>1) zhe sdang sems dang 'brel ba la[s]/ mnam shes phung po phra rgyas dug- 3) nga rgyal dbug[s] dang 'brel ba la[s]/ 'du byed phung po phra rgyas dug- 5) [52.1] phrag dog khrag dang 'brel ba las/ tshor ba'i phung po phra rgyas dug- 4) 'dod chags drod dang 'brel ba la[s]/ 'du shes phung po phra rgyas dug- (Below text at this point: <i>mng tsha sla yong</i>) 2) gti mug sha dang 'brel ba la[s]/ gzugs kyi phung po phra rgyas dug-</p> <p>1) zhe sdang mnam shes 'brel ba la[s]/ mngan sems gnod sems log par lta/ phra rgyas dug tu smin par 'gyur/ 3) nga rgyal 'du byed 'brel ba las/ tshig rtsub ngag 'chal phra ma rdzun/ phra rgyas dug tu smin par 'gyur/ 5) phrag dog tshor ba 'brel ba las/ che chung ru nga khyad du gsod/ phra rgyas dug tu smin par 'gyur/ 4) 'dod chags 'du shes 'brel ba la[s]/ ser sna 'jug 'gegs 'dzin chags rtogs/ phra rgyas dug tu smin par 'gyur/ 2) gti mug gzugs dang 'brel ba las/ srog gcod rku dang log par g-yem/ 'phra rgyas dug tu smin par 'gyur/ srid pa'i mdzod phugs kyi dug lnga phra rgyas su bstan pa'o' / / /</p>	<p>[459.2!] 'bras bu phung po lnga ni/ zhe sdang las dang 'brel bas nram par shes pa'i phung por shar/ nga rgyal las dang 'brel bas 'du byed kyi phung por shar/ phrag dog las dang 'brel bas 'du shes kyi phung por shar/ 'dod chags las dang 'brel bas tshor ba'i phung por shar/ gti mug las dang 'brel bas gzugs kyi phung por shar ro/ [459!] rkyen las spyod lnga ni/ zhe sdang las mngan sems gdug sems log par lta ba'i las su shar/ nga rgyal las ngag 'khyal tshig rtsub 'phra ma rdzun gyi las su shar/ phrag dog las che chung rung khyad gsod kyi las su shar/ 'dod chags las ser sna 'jung gegs 'dzin chags kyi las su shar/ gti mug las srog gcod rku dang 'dod log las su shar ro/</p>

*The Teaching on the Six Lamps (sGron ma drug gi gdams pa),  
The Fourfold Collection ('Bum bzhi) & The Fourfold Tantra (rGyud bzhi)*

Straying from Perfection: the Arising of Disease;  
*Nad 'du ba rnam bzhi* and Balance

At some point in the *Six Lamps*, the arising of disease is briefly mentioned. From flesh, blood, heat and respiration, from these four, arise the four types of 'gatherings' (of the triad wind, bile and phlegm: *rlung, mkhris pa, bad kan*; and '*dus pa'i nad*, combination disease): *sha khrag drod dbugs bzhi las 'du ba rnams bzhi byung*. The four factors are explicit only from the commentaries: From respiration arises wind (*pneuma*) disease, from heat: bile disease, from blood: phlegm disease, and from flesh: combination disease.<sup>14</sup>

With a view on the interdependence and 'balance', or *cha snyoms*, of these humours or pathogenic factors, I might add: as already pointed out by Geoffrey Samuel (2001), that the issue of 'balance' of the humours, as in the Galenic or Islamic system, may be somewhat problematic when applied with the same implications to Tibetan version of the three factors of disease (Skt. *doṣas*), the *nyes pa gsum*. Tibetan *nyes pa gsum*, or here, the '*du ba rnam bzhi*, the four types of 'gatherings', may also have been conceived of as pathogenic factors per se, in any case they are here explicitly labelled as such: as *nad 'du ba*, pathogenic 'gatherings' or '*du ba nad* (see, e.g., the *Four Wheels*, p. 459.3ff.; the Tibetan is quoted in the note above).

The Fourth *nad*: '*dus pa'i nad*. E.g., *Bad kan smug po*,  
Brown Phlegm or Black Bile?

The fourth of the (*nad*) '*du ba rnam bzhi*, confusingly is called (*nad*) '*dus pa'i nad*. This may need some explication. Usually '*dus pa'i nad* is considered a fourth category of illness, which is due to a combination (Tib. '*dus pa*, Skt. *sannipātika*) of the three mentioned (or more) pathogenic factors. In chapter 5 of the '*Bum nag po* (that is in collection ('*bum*) 4) of the *Fourfold Collection* ('*Bum bzhi*) and in *The Oral Instruction Tantra* (*Man ngag rgyud*, that is tantra (*rgyud*) 3) of *The Fourfold Tantra* (*rGyud bzhi*), *bad kan smug po* is mentioned as an example of a first category of three ways in which '*dus pa'i nad* manifests. *Bad kan smug po* here is only an example for a disease that arises from four combined factors: *bad kan, khrag, mkhris pa* and *rlung*. Because of this complex causation, it is said to be difficult to cure.

Now I should like to speculate a little, might *Bad kan smug po* perhaps also be translated as 'black bile' rather than the more literal 'black phlegm', a rendering which tends to connect it with *mkhris pa*, or '(yellow) bile', somehow. But that choice opens a veritable can of worms. Let us now first look what the Bon *Fourfold Collection* ('*Bum bzhi*) and *The Fourfold Tantra*

<sup>14</sup> *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan*, p. 317.2: /*sha khrag drod dbugs bzhi las/ 'du ba rnam bzhi byung / zhes pas dbugs las rlung nad/ /drod las mkhris pa/ /khrag las bad kan/ /sha las 'dus pa'i nad du 'byung ngo /*. *sGron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa*, p. 374.1: *drug pa sdug bsngal gyi khyad par ni/ dbugs las rlung nad/ drod las mkhris pa/ khrag las bad kan/ sha las 'dus pa'i nad do/*. A slightly longer but basically equivalent description also appears in the *Four Wheels*, p. 459.3ff.: '*du ba'i nad lnga ni/ nam mkha'i rtsal las nad 'du ba rnam bzhi shar ro/ rlung gi rtsal las nad 'du ba rlung nad du shar/ me'i rtsal las nad 'du ba mkhris nad du shar/ chu'i rtsal las nad 'du ba bad kan gyi nad du shar/ sa'i rtsal las nad 'dus pa'i nad du shar ro/*

(*rGyud bzhi*) have to say on this (see Table VI, below).<sup>15</sup>

Table VI — The *Fourfold Collection* ('*Bum bzhi*)  
and *The Fourfold Tantra* (*rGyud bzhi*)

RGYUD BZHI, P. 134.3FF., LHASA 1992	'BUM BZHI, VOL.II, P. 39.2FF., DELHI 1999
Third section, <i>Man ngag rgyud</i> Not in Men-tsee-khang, Dharamsala 1999; cf., e.g., edition from Grva thang, p. 147.7ff. (G), or from sDe dge, p. 158.7ff. (D), both only minor variants	Fourth section, ' <i>Bum nag po</i> Cf. Beijing 2005 <sup>a</sup> , p. 259.8ff., only minor variants (B <sup>a</sup> ) Beijing (Arura) 2005 <sup>b</sup> , p. 182.5ff., ditto (B <sup>b</sup> ) Akong edition 2003, Vol.7, p. 47.11ff., ditto (Ak)
'dus pa'i nad la <b>gsum</b> gas bcos pa ste/ <b>1)</b> 'on kyang rang bzhin rgyu yis 'dus pa dang / <b>2)</b> byung tshul dus gyi [G8, D8: kyi] sgo nas 'dus pa dang / <b>3)</b> 'du ba 'khrugs pa'i sgo nas 'dus pa gsum/ <i>/phyi ma ma smin tsha ba dug nad de/</i> <b>ad 1)</b> /dang po mtshon byed bad kan smug por btags/  <i>/de la rgyu rkyen gnas dus rigs dang rtags/ /bcos pa'i thabs dang rjes bcad <b>brgyad</b> du bshad/</i>  <i>/rgyu ni bad kan khrag mkhris rlung dang <b>bzhi</b>/ /nad kun 'dus phyir 'dus nad rtags bcos dka'/</i>  <i>(/de la skyed pa'i rkyen ni tsha [134.8] grang gnyis/)</i>	'dus pa'i nad la <b>gsum</b> ka bcos dgos ste/ <b>1)</b> 'on kyang gzhir gnas [B <sup>b</sup> 5f adds: ( <i>rang bzhin</i> )] rgyu [B <sup>a</sup> 9, B <sup>b</sup> 6: rgyu 'i] 'dus pa dang / <b>2)</b> byung tshul dus dang rkyen gyis 'dus pa dang / <b>3)</b> 'du ba 'khrugs [Ak13: 'khrug; B <sup>a</sup> 10: 'khyug; B <sup>b</sup> 7: 'khyug but emends: ('khyugs)] pas 'dus pa gsum yin tel/  <b>ad 1)</b> /dang po rang bzhin rgyu [Ak13, B <sup>a</sup> 11, B <sup>b</sup> 8: rgyu 'i] 'dus pa ni/ /di yi ming ni bad kan smug po btag [B <sup>b</sup> 5f emends: (btags)] -  <i>/ci phyir rtsa ba khrag las tsha grang gnyis kyi rkyen/ /du ba 'dus pas khrag nad smug po zer/</i>  <b>ad 2)</b> /gnyis pa phyi ma ma smig [Ak16: na] smin dus kyi 'dus pa dang / <b>ad 3)</b> /add: <b>gsum pa</b> tsha ba dugs [B <sup>b</sup> 5f emends: (dug)] nad 'du ba 'khrugs pas 'dus/  <i>/di la rgyu dang rkyen dang gnas dang dus dang <b>bzhi</b>/ /rigs dang rtags dang bcos thabs rjes gcod <b>brgyad</b>/</i>  <i>/dang po rgyu ni bad kan khrag mkhris rlung / /de'i nad 'dus brtag thabs bcos [39.10] pa dka'/</i>  <i>(/gnyis pa bskyed pa'i rkyen ni tsha grang gnyis kyi rkyen/ ...)</i>

A translation of *The Fourfold Tantra* can be found in a monumental seven-volume publication by Vaidya Bhagwan Dash (1995–2001).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Incidentally, this comparative table shows some of the interesting differences between these two compendia of Tibetan medicine. A different ordering of the materials and the more elaborate text in *The Fourfold Collection* immediately catch the eye. It should not detain us here, but it would be a worth-while effort—that I look forward to take on, some day—to compare these various recensions of what originally looks to be the same 'text', and to work out the historical relationships between the two; as provisionally noted before, *The Fourfold Collection* looks like an early recension of what later became better known as *The Fourfold Tantra* (cf. Blezer 2007).

<sup>16</sup> ... as per the treatment of the ailment caused by the combination of all the three *nad-pas* (*doṣas*), such an event takes place in three different ways, as follows:  
(1) Combination of the *nad-pas* (*doṣas*) because of their own causative factors;  
(2) Combination of *nad-pas* (*doṣas*) by the way of their time of manifestation; and  
(3) By the way of simultaneous aggravation of these three *nad-pas* (*doṣas*).  
Afterwards they get manifested in the uncooked (*ma-smin* = *āma*) form which is hot and poisonous ailment (*āma-viṣa*).  
To begin with, as an illustration, *Bad-kan Smug-po* (*Āruṇa-kapha*) will be described with reference to its eight different aspects as follows:

A Long Example: *bad kan smug po*:  
Structural Problems in *The Fourfold Tantra*?

The sections on *bad kan smug po* in *The Fourfold Collection* and *The Fourfold Tantra* are disproportionately long and fill an entire chapter.<sup>17</sup> Apparently, *bad kan smug po* was considered important. But there also seem to be problems with the received text of *The Fourfold Tantra*. Fortunately we have another witness, *The Fourfold Collection*, with significantly different readings; which may help to clarify some of these problems. The main issue is that going by the way things are phrased in *The Fourfold Tantra*, *bad kan smug po* is only an 'illustration' or 'example' (*mtshon byed*), apparently even only of the first of three ways that '*dus pa'i nad* manifests.<sup>18</sup> The inceptive *dang po* ("first"), which appears immediately after the enumeration and which Dash glosses over by translating as "to begin with", indeed suggests that the text here resumes the first item of the three foregoing—read: *dang po ni*.

Originally, there may have been a brief resume of the preceding enumeration in three, in this place in the text. This is first borne out by the deviating readings extant in versions of the Bon *Fourfold Collection*, which, immediately following this, has a numbered second and a clearly recognizable but unnumbered third item. This is in fact the part that corresponds to *phyi ma ma smin-tsha ba dug nad de* in *The Fourfold Tantra*, which Dash translates as "Afterwards they get manifested in the uncooked (*ma-smin* = *āma*) form ..."—the first half, which in *The Fourfold Collection* connects to point 2—and "... which is hot and poisonous ailment (*āma-viṣa*)"—the latter half, which in *The Fourfold Collection* connects to 3. Thus, that phrase in *The Fourfold Tantra*, which there appears rather awkwardly orphaned, in *The Fourfold Collection* stands in a more logical place. Secondly, if we read *dang po* as indeed pointing to the first item, which the readings of *The Fourfold Collection* and commentaries recommend us to consider, then *The Fourfold Tantra* would fail to resume the other two points explicitly in its text.

*The Fourfold Tantra* refers to *bad kan smug po* as "an illustration" or "an

- 
- (I) *Rgyu* (*viprakṛṣṭa-hetu*) or distant cause;
  - (II) *Rkyen* (*sannikṛṣṭa-hetu*) or immediate cause;
  - (III) *Gnas* (*sthāna*) or location;
  - (IV) *Dus* (*kāla*) or time of provocation;
  - (V) *Rigs* (*kula*) or varieties
  - (VI) *Rtags* (*lakṣaṇa*) or signs including method of examination
  - (VII) *Bcos-pa'i thabs* (*cikitsā-vidhi*) or line of treatment; and
  - (VIII) *Rjes-bcad* (*uttarakāla-cheda*) or the treatment of the residual morbidity.

- (I) As per the *rgyu* (*viprakṛṣṭa-hetu*) or distant cause, [this ailment *bad-kan smug-po*] is caused by the aggravation or vitiation of four elements, viz., *bad-kan* (*kapha*), *khrag* (*rakta*) or blood, *mkhris-pa* (*pitta*), and *rlung* (*vāyu*).

Since the ailment is caused by the combination of all the *nad-pas* (*doṣas*), signs of all these *nad-pas* are manifested because of which it is difficult to cure. ...

[freely rendered by Dash 1999, pp. 2f.; note that Dash translates *The Fourfold Tantra* as if it originally were an Indic text and he tries to reconstruct the supposed Indic original, in Sanskrit. Needless to say, *The Fourfold Tantra* never may have existed in that form in India; in fact, *The Fourfold Tantra* looks to be a later, Tibetan systematisation of medical knowledge, including Indic Ayurvedic knowledge.]

<sup>17</sup> Which, in fact, covers a small volume of its own in the multi-volume volume set by Dash (1995–2001).

<sup>18</sup> The *Mes po'i zhal lung* (2005, Vol.II, p. 123f.) and the *Vaidūrya sngon po* (1982, Vol.II, p. 480) confirm this.

example”. But it would be odd, indeed, to dedicate a whole chapter to just one example, perhaps even as a clarification of only one of three items, without the other two being resumed. But the seemingly exclusive connection to the first point listed may not always have been explicit in the root text. Most likely that reading is due to a loss of text and context in *The Fourfold Tantra*. *The Fourfold Collection*, on the other hand, avoids citing *bad kan smug po* as an “example” but at this point explains the name *bad kan smug po*, in a way that is in keeping with what follows. In this passage at least, *The Fourfold Tantra* seems to reveal a condensed and dislocated text. The order in *The Fourfold Collection* makes more sense; its extra text also finds an organic place in the exposition. The many rounds of redaction that *The Fourfold Tantra* underwent before it reached our hands may here have resulted in a loss of text.

Probably, the long digression on *bad kan smug po* is appended to the discussion of the three humours for a good reason: considering the nature of combination diseases it is logically inserted at the discussion of the combination of *nyes pa*, in both fourfold medical compendia. Considering these remarks on structure, the excessively long example of *bad kan smug po* looks like a later insertion into a pre-existing system. Furthermore, it looks like it could only be integrated into the Indo-Tibetan Ayurvedic humoral system at the cost of some epistemic dissonance. If we appreciate the actual discussion of the primary causes of *bad kan smug po*, as it is presented both in *The Fourfold Collection* and *The Fourfold Tantra*—especially the emphasis on the factor blood—there is a suggestion of an attempt to harmonise two diverging humoral systems: the three Indo-Tibetan *nyes pa* (*gsum*) and the four Greek humours. The ‘Greek’ ones are simply inserted into the primary causes for this particular ailment; to which one should then perhaps add the resulting combined disease, *bad kan smug po*.

*Bad kan smug po* and Melancholia:  
A Culture Clash of Humoral Systems?

Indeed, there is something interesting in the manner in which the causes of *bad kan smug po* are described in the two fourfold collections. The factors causing *bad kan smug po* are said to be: phlegm, blood, bile and pneuma (*bad kan*, *khrag*, *mkhris pa* and *rlung*). All these factors combined indeed effectively span two different humoral systems. Thus, on the face of it, the chapters on *bad kan smug po* of *The Fourfold Collection* and *The Fourfold Tantra* may reveal traces of a collation of different medical systems. It is indeed well known that *The Fourfold Collection* and *The Fourfold Tantra* are, perhaps are the result of the first successful attempt, after the Moon King or *Zla ba'i rgyal po* (see Meyer 2002), at synthesis of the disparate elements of various medical systems that reached Tibet at the end of the first millennium AD, such as from Indian, Chinese, and Greek systems—the latter mediated through Islamic culture. In Greek humoral theory, with yellow bile, blood, phlegm and black bile, blood (cf. *khrag*), indeed appears as one of the four humours, while yellow bile (cf. *mkhris pa*) and black bile (cf. the combined disease, *bad kan smug po*, brown phlegm or perhaps black bile) appear as two others, and, lastly, ordinary phlegm (cf. *bad kan*) as the fourth.

- Both the fourfold medical compendia (the *'Bum bzhi* and the *rGyud bzhi*) thus add the Greek humour **blood** (*khrag*) to the primary causes

of *bad kan smug po*.

- **'Black bile'** (μελαγχολία), or at least a factor that structurally takes its place, may be included in the total picture in the form of the combined disease ('*dus pa'i nad*) *bad kan smug po*, which latter usually means brown phlegm, but here perhaps refers to black bile. It is well known that the term *bad kan* can occasionally also mean bile. Already in an earlier systematisation of medicine in Tibet, the aforementioned *Moon King* (Tib. *Zla ba'i rgyal po*, Skt. \**Somarāja*),<sup>19</sup> brown (*smug po*) *bad kan* often is associated with the liver and gall bladder, and black *bad kan* with the spleen; these passages are to be discussed in detail in forthcoming publication.
- **Phlegm** then corresponds to regular *bad kan* (which in this case would *not* be bile).

The 'Greek' **yellow bile** may correspond to the 'Tibetan' bile proper (*mkhris pa*); nb. cf. also the semantic fields of Skt. *pitta* and *pīta*, which both imply yellow.<sup>20</sup>

But then there still is 'Tibetan' wind (*rlung*), which does not correspond to any factor in the Greek system, but apparently could not be omitted. If only to match the Tibetan system, the primary causes of *bad kan smug po* include *rlung*, and thus add up to five in total (if we also count the combined disease, *bad kan smug po*, itself).

A good working hypothesis is that there is influence from Greek humoral theory on the *bad kan smug po* chapter(s), which is still visible in a clash of humoral systems. This may be due to the inclusion of the *ab origo* xenotic category *melancholia*, as *bad kan smug po*, in early synthesising collections such as *The Fourfold Collection* and *The Fourfold Tantra*—and also in *The Moon King* (*Zla ba'i rgyal po*), already before that. The trace of that inclusion is visible structurally as a category, but not in the concrete symptoms: the symptoms do not match and *bad kan smug po* does not look like the same ailment as *melancholia*. One might thus speculate whether *bad kan smug po*, as a category, in Tibet, is ultimately of Greek-Islamic descent? Testing this hypothesis will have to wait for a separate article. The study of earlier attempts at integration, in *The Moon King*, may be essential to unlocking the problem. Pursuing this here, near the end of this long and detailed exposé, would lead us too far beyond our main concern: introducing knowledge of human physiology in the *Six Lamps* and the implied knowledge system—yet also, be it more tangentially, its relationship to bordering epistemes in Tibet and beyond—to which the present *bad kan smug po* hypothesis pertains.

<sup>19</sup> For an enlightening discussion of this interesting early medical compendium, see Meyer (2002).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Mayrhofer 1963.II: 279.

The principle of opposites according to the eclectic system of Avicenna  
(Sournia et al. (1980), Vol.2, p. 609)

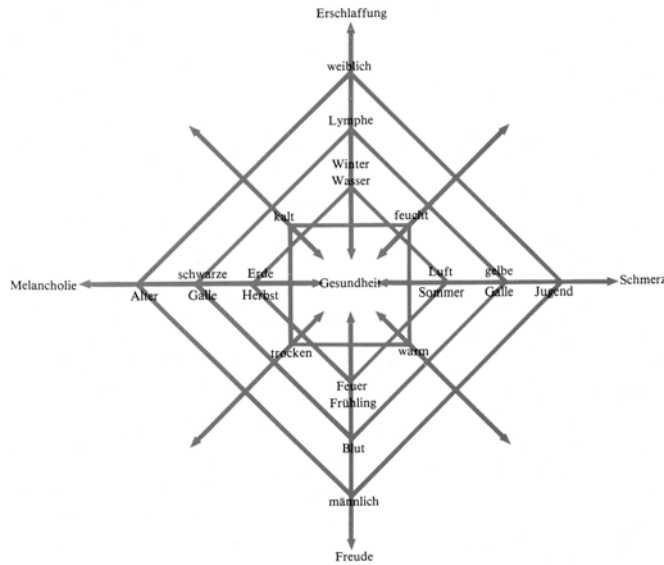


Abbildung 594  
Das Prinzip der Gegensätze  
nach Avicenna

Compare the graph above to the table below: a conspectus of the similarities and deviations between the system of the *Six Lamps* and Tibetan medicine and the Graeco-Arab humoral system of Avicenna.

<b>Tibetan ZZNG</b>					
five elemental causes	space	wind	fire	water	earth
( <i>rgyu lnga'i 'byung ba lnga</i> )	<i>nam mkha'</i>	<i>rlung</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>chu</i>	<i>sa</i> )
five elements	space	breath	heat	blood	flesh
( <i>'byung lnga</i> )	<i>nam mkha'</i>	<i>dbugs</i>	<i>drod</i>	<i>khrag</i>	<i>sha</i> )
		wind (disease)	bile	phlegm	combined disease, e.g. ( <i>rGyud bzhi</i> ) brown phlegm
( <i>nyes pa/du ba rnam bzhi</i> )		<i>rlung (nad)</i>	<i>mkhris pa</i>	<i>bad kan</i>	<i>'dus pa'i nad</i> e.g. ( <i>rGyud bzhi</i> ) <i>bad kan smug po</i> )
Cf. Skt.		vāta	pitta	kapha	sannipātika "arunakapha"
the five essential organs	heart	lungs	liver	kidneys	spleen
( <i>don snying rnam lnga</i> )	<i>snying</i>	<i>glo ba</i>	<i>mchin pa</i>	<i>mkhal ma</i>	<i>mtsher pa</i> )
the five internal organs	loin and womb	the bowels	the gall bladder	the bladder	the stomach
( <i>nang grol lnga</i> )	<i>sta dang mngal</i>	<i>rgyu long</i>	<i>mkhris pa</i>	<i>lgang pa</i>	<i>pho ba</i> )
<b>Avicenna's Graeco-Arab humoral system</b>					
according to element		air	fire	water	earth

humours			bilious	sanguineous	serous/ phlegm	atrabilious
			yellow bile cf. pitta- pita	blood	phlegm	black bile melancholia cf. <i>melas kholé</i> <i>μέλας χολή</i>
Cf.			mkhris pa	khrag	bad kan	bad kan smug po
disposition			choleric	sanguine	phlegmatic	melancholic
			pain	joy	weakness	melancholia
			Summer	Spring	Winter	Autumn
			male	youth	female	old age

Another Epistemic clash:  
Five and Seven Constituents of the Body

There are more epistemic clashes visible, regarding human physiology, in the *Six Lamps* and Tibetan medical knowledge systems. For example, the *Six Lamps*, being a Great Perfection text, is developed according to the five-fold tantric Great Perfection system. This tantric system combines poorly with seven-fold classification system of constituents of the body in *The Fourfold Collection* and *The Fourfold Tantra*. As we saw above, the systematisation of the *Six Lamps* has:

1. The five elements ('*byung lnga*): space (*nam mkha'*)
2. respiration (*dbugs*)
3. heat (*drod*)
4. blood (*khrag*)
5. meat (*sha*).

Compare this with, for instance, the *Fourfold Collection* ('*Bum bzhi*), '*Bum khra bo*<sup>21</sup> or with *The Fourfold Tantra* (*rGyud bzhi*), the *Explanatory Tantra* (*bShad rgyud*), which derives from Ayurvedic theory (Vāgbhaṭṭa):<sup>22</sup> *lus zungs* (bodily constituents):

1. food essence / chyle (*dvangs ma*)
2. blood (*khrag*)
3. flesh (*sha*)
4. fat (*tsil*)
5. bone (*rus pa*)
6. marrow (*rkang mar*)
7. semen (*khu ba*).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Triten Norbutse edition, Delhi 1999, Vol.I, p. 195.3ff. and cf., e.g., Akong's edition, Beijing 2003, p. 210.6ff.

<sup>22</sup> Lhasa 1992/1982, Chpt.5, p. 251.4f. (cf., e.g., the Men-tsee-khang edition, Dharamsala 1999, p. 54.2f.).

<sup>23</sup> Full quote: /*lus zungs d[v]angs ma khrag dang sha dang tshil/ /rus pa rkang mar khu ba bdun du bshad/. Cf. also a very interesting article by Maas on constituents of the body in WZKS 2008.*



## Concluding Remarks

*The Instructions on the Six Lamps on Cosmology*

The *Six Lamps* shows an epistemologically tinged framing of the arising of the outer and inner cosmos, which is somewhat typical for Bon Great Perfection discourse: it starts with the first wavering from a non-dual primordial state. This of course addresses an age-old conundrum: how to articulate or visualise transcendent origins. It is the paradox of 'getting', somehow, from the 'unbounded spaces' beyond existence and non-existence, to concrete existence, embodied in space and time—in whichever episteme that is framed.

The ZZNG cosmologies that we reviewed, such as they appear in the *Four Wheels* and the *Six Lamps*, appear to deviate considerably from the regular Bon 'Abhidharma' or *mDzod*. We found some very minor, generic and inconsequential overlap with *The Inner Treasury of Existence*. But the cosmological and theogonical sections in Bon *mDzod* typically involve imaginative narratives on primordial eggs and mythic episodes of darkness and light, which on the whole are relatively characteristic for Bon; e.g., in texts such as *The Inner Treasury of Existence* (but, as said, also in the *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub* or the rather similar *rTsa rgyud nyi zer sgron ma*). In fact, it appears difficult to relate the cosmology of the *Six Lamps* to anything but its own kind, that is, to ZZNG and other Great Perfection materials. The best matches provide the later and more systematic *Four Wheels* or a late-12<sup>th</sup> c. AD witness, *The Sun of Compassion of the Mother Tantra*, a Mother Tantra commentary that treats of closely related matters.

Death, Dying, Rebirth, and Intermediate State or *Bar do*

There is obvious and more considerable overlap with literature on death, dying and rebirth, and with *bar do* discourse in general. But that match is far better for the more complete and systematic organisation of cosmology that appears in the ZZNG *Four Wheels* than it in fact would work for the older classification of the *Six Lamps*. In a preliminary way, Reynolds has summarised some of the overlap (*Selections from the Bonpo Book of the Dead*, San Diego 1997). This is a very involved issue and falls outside the scope of this paper.

Important to retain here is that this still is very much on Great Perfection home turf. It underlines the fundamental *indebtedness* of certain Great Perfection systems (such as the mentioned 'leaping beyond the highest' or *thod rgal* practice) to the influential Tibetan discourse on death, dying, rebirth and intermediate states (*bar do*) in the 11<sup>th</sup> c. AD and later. If anything, the apparent lack of Bon or Buddhist textual antecedents for the systematic of the *Six Lamps* shows that Bon Great Perfection writers were entirely capable of developing their own unique knowledge systems or starting something new, if needs be—and factional identity indeed tends to make people stand in need of a distinctive teaching system.

## A Convention of A-Temporality?

By comparing it to the *Six Lamps* and its commentaries, we were able tentatively to date the *Four Wheels* to at least after the 12<sup>th</sup> c. AD. In general, ZZNG teaching traditions appear curiously insulated, both doctrinally and 'historically'. It moreover is an a-temporality that appears almost cultivated, as if the ZZNG, more or less consciously, rhetorically, places itself outside time. This resonates well with the described cosmological episteme, but also with the literary design of the ZZNG lineage and its antecedents. We face a relatively characteristic Tibetan historicity that shows much overlap with other Tibetan historical sensibilities, such as we find in visionary and revelatory treasure or *gter ma* type systems, but also shows features that seem specific and perhaps even native to varieties of the Great Perfection.

Tibetan historicities show interesting variance. For example, one commonly meets historical sensibilities that prioritise moral over temporal causalities, while some, like here, apparently even cultivate a-temporal historical sensibilities. In the Bon ZZNG corner, on closer analyses, every document that has something of substance to say on a historical framework appears later than the late 11<sup>th</sup> c. AD, that is to say, with or after Yang ston chen po (see Blezer 2010).

Melancholia and *Bad kan smug po*, to be Continued

We also gained an interesting tangential hypothesis for further research. By all appearances, *bad kan smug po*, as a category rather than as a cluster of concrete symptoms of disease, may have entered from the Graeco-Arab cultural sphere into the grand eclectic syntheses of the fourfold medical compendia, *The Fourfold Collection* and *The Fourfold Tantra*, but before that also into the *Moon King*, perhaps the earliest effort at such a grand Tibetan synthesis.

*Bad kan smug po* may relate to black bile (*μέλας χολή*) in Greek medicine, which there implies the affliction *melancholia*. Yet, in Tibet, *bad kan smug po* does not involve the range of mainly mental afflictions that melancholia came to entail. Still, on a structural level in their redaction, the fourfold medical compendia seem to reveal a confluence of humoral systems. The category of black bile diseases, in spite of adjustments, looks like an important group, which apparently could not remain without discussion, and subsequently seems to have been integrated into an Ayurvedic humoral system. In the fourfold compendia it appears appended rather uncomfortably as a combined disease, at the end of the discussion of the three humours, as an example that covers a whole chapter. More work is definitely needed to make this firm, both from Tibetan and Graeco-Arab sources; particularly also detailed comparison with earlier attempts at synthesis, such as the *Moon King* probably represents, may be crucial.

Sigla of the Main Editions of the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*

- A *Concordance des Instructions sur les Six Lampes (sGron-ma drug gi gdams-pa) de Tapihritsa, Etablissement du texte tibétain, translittération, concordance et index*, in *Textes du Zhang-zhung snyan-rgyud*, volume II; by Jean-Luc Achard, Khyung-mkhar 1998.
- AYKC *g-Yung drung bon gyi bka' 'gyur glog par ma'i dkar chag*. This is the catalogue that accompanies and describes the 154-volume 'first' reprint edition of the Bon Kanjur, by A g-Yung Rin po che.
- KII.110 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*, contained in volume 110 of the 'second' edition of the *bKa' 'gyur* (K.II), this is the edition that is followed in Kvaerne et al. (2003).
- K.I *bKa' 'gyur*, 'first' edition, see AYKC.
- K.II *bKa' 'gyur*, 'second' edition.
- K.III *bKa' 'gyur*, Mongyal Lhasay Rinpoche, 'third' edition, Chengdu Sichuan 1995–99.
- N *History and Doctrine of Bon-po Niṣpanna-Yoga*, published by Lokesh Chandra and Tenzin Namdak, New Delhi 1968, (=Snell) NB. *deb gzugs*.
- N2 *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi gsung pod*, published by Yongs 'dzin Sangs rgyas bstan 'dzin, New Delhi n.d., NB. *dpe cha*.
- NyR *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi bon skor bka' brgyud skor bzhi*, blockprint from Nyag rong, printed by Nyag ron ba bya btang mChog sprul Tshe dbang 'gyur med, the dPe rtsis is by Shar rdza bKra shis rgyal mtshan (1859–1934), NB. *dpe cha*.
- Sg *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi bon skor*, manuscript from bSam gling, Dol po, NB. *dpe cha*.
- Sh.2 *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud skor*, published by Sherab Wangyal together with the *sNyan rgyud nam mkha' 'phrul mdzod nges skor*, Dolanji 1972, NB. *deb gzugs*.
- T.III *bKa' brten*, published by Sokde Tenpai Nyima Rinpoche, Lhasa 1998; this edition came out together with the 'third' edition of the *bKa' 'gyur*, by Mongyal Lhasay Rinpoche but it actually is the first commercial edition ever; it corresponds to the Osaka/Kathmandu catalogue by Nagano (2001).
- TBMC Tibetan Bon Monastic Centre, which is based in Menri Monastery, the main seat of Bon traditions in Dolanji, H.P. India.
- Snell *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud bka' brgyud skor bzhi*, microfilm of blockprint of D.L. Snellgrove, JOLM/3/471 (filmed by J. Briggs 9-Oct-1962), NB. *dpe cha*.
- YST *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud bon skor*, published by Yongs 'dzin Sangs rgyas bstan 'dzin, Dolanji 1974, NB. *deb gzugs*.
- YTKC *rGyal ba'i bka' dang bka' rten rmad 'byung dgos 'dod bzhin gter gyi bang mdzod la dkar chags blo'i tha ram 'grol byed 'phrul gyi lde mig go*, by g-Yung drung tshul khirms dbang drag, Palace of National Minorities: Beijing 1995. This work was composed in the years 1876–1880.
- ZZNG *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*.

The Main Sources on *The Instructions on the Six Lamps* (*sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*)

Root texts used:

1. (N) *Bon-po Niṣpanna Yoga* (Chandra, Delhi 1968): *Nang man ngag dmar khrid kyi skor*, pp. 275.3ff.
2. (KII.110) Ayong edition of the *bKa' 'gyur* ('II'), Vol. 110.176.3ff
3. (Sg) bSam Gling MS (Menri photocopy), pp. 563=ff.6v.3ff.
4. (NyR) Nyag rong edition (Menri blockprint), ff.5.2ff.

As usual for the ZZNG (but quite unusual for Bon literature in general), these editions show only minor, negligible variants.

Commentaries used:

1. *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan*, pp. 313.2ff., by U ri bsod nams rgyal mtshan, or, according to Yang ston dpal bzang (YST.1, p. 15.1) by his teacher, gNyag ston ri pa sher tshul, probably shortly before Bru sgom; so perhaps 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c AD?
2. *sGron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa*, pp. 370.5ff., Bru sgom rGyal ba g-yung drung (1242–90), 13<sup>th</sup> c. AD

But see also the Great Perfection cosmological part of *The Union of the Four Wheels* ('*Khor lo bzhi sbrag*), esp. pp. 456.5ff.; see also pp. 452.1ff. As argued above, *The Union of the Four Wheels* looks to be later than U ri bsod nams rgyal mtshan's commentary to the *Six Lamps*.

#### Other Tibetan Sources

*rGyud bzhi* (*The Fourfold Tantra*) and Commentaries

*bDud rtsi snying po yan lag brgyad pa gsang ba man ngag gi rgyud ces bya ba bzhugs so*, Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, Lhasa, 2<sup>nd</sup> printing 1992 (1982).

*bDud rtsi snying po yan lag brgyad pa gsang ba man ngag gi rgyud las/ rtsa ba'i rgyud/ bshad pa'i rgyud/ phyi ma'i rgyud/ kha khong dang bacs pa bzhugs so*, Men-tsee-khang, Dharamsala 1999.

*Grva thang rgyud bzhi*, in *Bod kyi gso ba rig pa'i gna' dpe phyogs bsgrigs dpe tshogs*, Vol.20, pe cin (Beijing): mi rigs dpe skrun khang 2005.

*sDe dge rgyud bzhi*, in *Bod kyi gso ba rig pa'i gna' dpe phyogs bsgrigs dpe tshogs*, Vol.57, pe cin (Beijing): mi rigs dpe skrun khang 2007.

*gSo ba rig pa'i bstan bcos sman bla'i dgongs rgyan rgyud bzhi'i gsal byed bai dū ra sngon po'i malli ka zhes bya ba bzhugs*, two volumes, Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, Lhasa, 2<sup>nd</sup> printing 1992 (1982).

*rGyud bzhi'i gsal byed bai dūrya sngon po*, in *Bod kyi gso ba rig pa'i gna' dpe phyogs bsgrigs dpe tshogs*, Vol.18, two parts, pe cin (Beijing): mi rigs dpe skrun khang 2005.

*rGyud bzhi'i 'grel pa mes po'i zhal lung*, in *Bod kyi gso ba rig pa'i gna' dpe phyogs bsgrigs dpe tshogs*, Vol.19, two parts, pe cin (Beijing): mi rigs dpe skrun khang 2005.

'*Bum bzhi* (*The Fourfold Tantra*)

*gSo ba rig pa'i bdud rtsi'i bang mdzod 'bum bzhi bzhugs*, *The Four Collections of Nectar Treasures of Medicine Science*, originally in pecha format, first

published in book form in 1999 in two volumes at New Delhi, prepared at Triten Norbutse, copyright by Jhadur Sangpo, foreword by Tshultrim Tenzin, Kathmandu, Nepal, New Delhi: Paljor Publications 1999.

*gSo rig 'bum bzhi zhes bya ba bzhugs so*, in Akong Rinpoche (series editor) *Bod kyi gso rig dpe rnying phyogs sgrigs gangs ri dkar po'i phreng ba*, Vols 6f., khron dpe skrun khang, Khreng tu'u (Chengdu) 2003.

*gSo rig 'bum bzhi*, pe cin (Beijing): mi rigs dpe skrun khang 2005<sup>a</sup>.

*gSo ba rig pa'i bdud rtsi'i bang mdzod 'bum bzhi bzhugs*, in *Bod kyi gso ba rig pa'i gna' dpe phyogs bsgrigs dpe tshogs*, Vol.36, pe cin (Beijing): mi rigs dpe skrun khang 2005<sup>b</sup>.

*Zla ba'i rgyal po (The Moon King)*

*Sman dpyad zla ba'i rgyal po*, Dharmasala: Tibetan Medical & Astro Institute 1994; I gratefully acknowledge the use of the ITTM e-text, which is based on this edition and was kindly provided by Barbara Gerke.

*Sman dpyad zla ba'i rgyal po// bi ji po ti kha ser//*, in *Bod kyi gso ba rig pa'i gna' dpe phyogs bsgrigs dpe tshogs*, Vol.33, pe cin (Beijing): mi rigs dpe skrun khang 2005.

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*bDen pa bon gyi mdzod sgra 'grel 'phrul gyi lde mig (mDzod phug, Basic Verses and Commentary)*, attributed to Dran pa nam mkha' (8<sup>th</sup> c. AD?), discovered in 1108 by Gyer mi nyi 'od and rMa ston srid 'dzin, published by bsTan 'dzin rnam dag, Delhi 1966;

*rDzogs chen sbrags pa skor gsum*, 'rediscovered' by gZhod ston dngos grub grags 'bar in 1100 AD, Dolanji: TBMC, 1973;

*rTsa rgyud chen po gsang ba bsen thub dang de'i 'grel pa rin po che yid bzhin rnam par bkod pa'i rgyan*, reproduced directly from a rare manuscript from Khyung-lung Gur-rgyam Monastery, Tashi Dorje, Dolanji: TBMC 1985.

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Appendix I: *The Instructions on the Six Lamps:*  
*sGron ma drug gi gdams pa* Plus Commentaries

*Bon-po Niṣpanna Yoga* (Chandra, Delhi 1968): *Nang man ngag dmar khrid kyi skor*:

*sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*, pp. 275.3ff.

Cf. Ayong edition *bKa' 'gyur*, Vol. 110.176.3ff  
 bSam Gling MS (Menri photocopy), pp. 563=ff.6v.3ff.  
 Nyag rong edition (Menri blockprint), ff.5.2ff.  
 As usual these ZZNG editions show only minor negligible variants.

Cf. *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan*, pp. 313.2ff., U ri bsod nams rgyal mtshan, or, according to Yang ston dpal bzang (YST.1, p. 15.1) his teacher (gNyag ston ri pa sher tshul), probably shortly before Bru sgom; so perhaps 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c. AD? [in black and blue font; blue: root text]

Cf. *sGron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa*, pp. 370.5ff., Bru sgom rGyal ba g-yung drung (1242–90), 13<sup>th</sup> c. AD [in green font]

Cf. also rDzogs chen cosmological part of *The Union of the Four Wheels* ('*Khor lo bzhi sbrag*), esp. pp. 456.5ff. (but see also pp. 452.1ff.), looks to be later than U ri bsod nams rgyal mtshan's commentary to *The Instructions on the Six Lamps* (*sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*)?

From: The lamp of the abiding base or primordial ground (*gNas pa gzhi'i sgron ma*)

[313.2] / gnyis pa kham s gsum sems can ji ltar 'khrul tshul la gnyis te /

/ ma rig 'khrul tshul bstan pa dang /  
 / 'khor ba'i shar tshul bstan pa gnyis so / dang po ni /

[370.5] / gnyis pa 'khor ba'i gyes tshul la gsum ste /

don la ji ltar 'khrug tshul dang /  
 'khrul pas 'khor bar 'khyams tshul dang /  
 de'i don mdor bsdus pa'o /

dang po la bzhi ste /

lhan skyes ma rig 'byung tshul /  
 kun brtag ma rig byung tshul /  
 bdag 'dzin nyon mongs yid kyi byung tshul /  
 gzhi la bag chags kyi sogs tshul lo // [371]

/ sems can ji ltar 'khrul pa'i gtan tshigs ni / / zhes pas /  
 / dri ba bkod pa yin te /

/ snang ba'i yul gsum mngon du shar ba'i tshe / zhes pas /  
 / sgra 'od zer gsum blo'i yul shar /

dang po la / snang ba'i yul gsum mngon du shar ba'i tshe / zhes pas /  
 sgra 'od zer gsum mngon du shar ba'i tshe'o /

/ dran rig blo yi shes pa yul la rmongs zhes pas /  
 / yul gyi 'dug tshul ma shes pa'o /

dran rig blo'i shes pa yul la rmongs shes pas/  
yul gyi 'dug tshul ma shes pa'o/

/rang snang sgyu mar ma shes gzhan snang bden par mthong / / zhes pas  
sgra 'od zer gsum rig pa'i rtsal tu ma shes par/  
/pha rol snang pa rang rgyud par mthong ste/  
/dper na rang gzugs chu nang du shar ba la/  
/rang gzugs su ma mthong gzhan gzugs su mthod [mthong] pa bzhin no/  
rang snang sgyu mar ma shes bden par mthong zhes pas/  
sgra 'od zer gsum rig pa'i rtsal du ma shes  
pha rol na snang ba rang rgyud par mthong ste/  
dper na rang gzugs chu nang na shar ba la/  
rang gzugs su mthong gzhan gzugs su mthong ba bzhin no/

/gzhan mthong blo yi rig pa'i don la sgrib ces pas/  
/rig pa gcer bu la rnam rtog blo yis gos gyon te/  
/dper na nyi ma sprin gyis sgrib pa bzhin no/  
gzhan mthong blo yis rig pa'i don la bsgribs/ zhes pas  
rig pa gcer bu la rnam rtog blo yis gos bskon te/  
dper na nyi ma sprin gyis g-yogs pa bzhin no/

/rang rig ngo ma shes pas kun gzhi'i don ma rtogs/ / zhes pas/  
/rang rig nyi ma lta bu ngo ma shes pas/  
/ma rig mun pa smag dang 'dra ba 'thibs/  
/kun gzhi nam mkha' dang 'dra ba'i don la sgrib ste/  
/dper na nyi ma nub pas nam mkha' smag gis sgrib pa lta bu'o/  
rang rig ma shes kun gzhi don ma rtogs/ zhes pas  
rang rig nyi ma lta bu ngo ma shes pas/  
ma rig mun pa'i smag dang 'dra ba 'thims pas/  
kun gzhi nam mkha' dang 'dra ba'i don la bsgribs ste/  
dper na nyi ma nub pas mun pa'i smag gis bsgribs pa lta bu'o/

/de ni lhan cig skyes pa'i ma rig pa'o/ zhes [314] pas  
de ltar kun gzhi dang rig pa'i gnas lugs ngo ma shes pa de la/  
/ming du btags na lhan cig skyes pa'i ma rig pa zhes bya'o/  
de ni lhan cig skyes pa'i ma rig pa zhes pas  
gnas lugs rang chas su yod kyang / ngo ma shes pa'o/

/gnyis pa 'khor ba'i shar tshul la gnyis te/  
/'khor ba'i shar tshul spyir bstan pa dang /  
/bye brag tu btsan par gnyis so/  
/dang po la gsum ste/  
/yul dang shes pa shar tshul gzhi la bag chags bsags tshul dang /  
/khams gsum lus su shar tshul dang gsum mo/  
gnyis pa kun brtags ma rig pa'i byung tshul ni/

/dang po ni ma rig dbang gis shes pa yul la 'gyus/ zhes pas  
de ltar gnas lugs ma rig pa'i dbang gis/  
/dran rig gis shes pa yul la 'gyus te/  
/yid gya gyu'i rnam pa cad du byung ngo /  
ma rig dbang gis shes pa yul la 'gyus/ zhes pas

ngo ma shes pas yid kyi 'gyu ba can du 'byung ba'o/

/snang ba'i yul la rnam par brtag te bzung / /zhes pas  
yid gya gyu'i shes pa des/  
/yul sgra 'od zer gsum la bden pa'i rnam par brtag te bzung ngo /  
snang ba'i yul la rnam par brtags te bzungs/ zhes pas/  
sgra 'od zer gsum la bden pa'i rnam pa can du zhen pa'o /

/de ni yid kyi rnam par shes pa zhes bya'o/

/shes pa yul la 'gyus pas so ma zin/ /zhes pas  
yid gya gyu'i shes pa yul la 'gyus pas rang sa ma zin te/  
/dper na sprin rjes su rlung zhugs pa dang 'dra'o/  
zhes pa yul la 'gyus pas so ma zin/ zhes pas/  
rig pa'i rang sa ma zin ces pa'o/

/shes pa rang so ma zin pas/ /snang ba'i yul gsum 'khrugs/ /zhes pas  
yul sgra 'od zer gsum 'khrug ste/  
/dper na rlung gis sprin dkrugs pa bzhin no/  
rig pa so ma zin pas snang ba'i yul gsum 'khrugs/ zhes pas/  
sprin gyi rjes su rlung zhugs pas rlung gis sprin 'khrugs pa bzhin no/

/snang ba'i yul gsum 'khrugs pas/ /rgyu lnga'i 'byung ba shar ces pas/  
snang ba'i yul 'khrugs pas rgyu lnga'i 'byung ba shar ces pas/

/rgyu 'byung ba lnga'i rtsal las/ /yul gzugs sgra dri ro reg bya lnga shar ro/  
sgra 'od zer gsum las/  
me chu sa rlung nam [372] mkha' las sogs pa rnam byung ngo /  
rgyu lnga'i 'byung ba lnga shar te/  
yul lnga'i snang ba shar ces pas 'byung ba lnga'i bcud las  
gzugs sgra dri ro reg bya lngar byung ba'o/

/yul lnga'i snang ba shar bas sgo lnga'i shes pa shar/ /ces pas  
yul de lnga la/ /mig gi rnam shes dang /  
rna ba sna lce lus yid kyi rnam shes dang lnga so sor shar ba'o/  
yul lnga'i snang ba shar bas sgo lnga'i shes pa shar ces pas/  
yul de'i mig gi rnam shes  
rna ba sna lce lus kyi rnam par shes pa lnga so sor shar ba'o/

/tshogs drug yul la brtags te/ /sna tshogs du mar phye zhes pas  
de ltar sgo lnga'i rnam shes lnga/ /yid kyi rnam shes dang drug-  
/rnam shes tshogs drug ces bya/  
/tshogs drug des yul drug la rnam pa sna tshogs du mar phye'o/  
tshogs drug yul drug la brtags te/ sna tshogs du mar phye zhes pas/  
bzang ngan che chung mthon dman bdag gzhan dgra gnyen lha 'dre las sogs  
su 'dzin pa'o/

/de ni kun [315] du brtag pa'i ma rig pa/ zhes pas  
de ltar sna tshogs su 'byed pa'i shes pa de la/  
/kun du brtag pa'i ma rig pa zhes bya'o/  
de ni kun tu brtag pa'i ma rig pa zhes bya'o/

tha dad du 'dzin pa'i shes pa de la tha dad du 'dzin pa'i shes pa zhes bya'o/

gsum pa nyon mongs yid kyi tshul na/

/kun brtag ma rig dbang gis bdag dang gzhan du bzung / zhes pas

kun tu brtag pa'i ma rig pa des/

/yul la bdag dang gzhan du bzung ngo /

kun brtags ma rig dbang gi bdag dang gzhan du bzungs/ zhes pas

de ltar bzungs pas 'dzin mkhan bdag la yul du bzungs pa'o/

/bdag dang gzhan du bzung pas nyon mongs dug lnga byung / zhes pas/

bdag 'dzin gyi dbang gis dug lnga byung ste/

/yul yid du 'ong pa la 'dod chags/

/yid du mi 'ong pa la zhe sdang /

/gnyis ka ma yin pa la gti mug-

/bdag la brten te nga rgyal/

/gzhan la brten te phrag dog-

bdag dang gzhan du bzungs pas nyon mongs dug lnga byung zhes pas/

yul yid du 'ong ba la 'dod chags/

yi 'ong pa la zhe sdang /

gnyis ka ma yin pa la gti mug

rang gi che ba la nga rgyal/

gzhan gyi yon tan la phrag dog dang ldan byung ba'o/

/de ni nyon mongs yid kyi rnam shes so/ /zhes pas

de ltar bdag dang bdag tu 'dzin pa'i shes pa de la/

/nyon mongs pa can gyi yid ces bya'o/

de ni nyon mongs pa yid kyi rnam shes zhes pas/

tha dad du rtog cig bdag gzhan du 'dzin pa/

nyon mongs yid de 'khrul shes so/

/gnyis pa gzhi la bag chags bsags tshul ni/

/bzhi pa bag chags sogs tshul ni/

/dug lnga'i dbang gis 'du byed las spyod byung / zhes pas

nyon mongs dug lnga'i dbang gis las dge sdig lung ma bstan sna tshogs

byung ngo /

dug lnga dbang gis 'du byed las spyod byang zhes pa/

'bad rtsol gyis las sna tshogs byung ba'o/

/las dang nyon mongs dbang gis gzhi la bag chags bsags/ /zhes pas

las dang nyon mongs pa de gnyis zung du 'brel pas/

/gzhi la bag chags sna tshogs bsags te/

las dang nyon mongs dbang gis gzhi las bag chags bsags/ zhes pas

las dang nyon mongs kyi bag chags kun gzhi la bsags pa'o/

/gang du bsags na kun gzhi rtog med bag chags sog pa'i gzhi/ /zhes pas

kun gzhi'i rnam par shes pa'i bag la bsags/

bag chags gang du bsags na kun gzhi rtog med bag chags sogs pa'i gzhi zhes

pas/

/gang gis bsags na tshogs drug shes pa bag chags sog mkhan te/ zhes pas  
rnam par shes pa tshogs drug gis bsags/  
der bsags na/  
gang gis bsags na tshogs drug shes pa bag chags gsog mkhan de zhes [373]  
pa de'o/

/gang bsag na/ /las dang nyon mongs bag chags sna tshogs bsags/ /zhes  
pas  
las dang nyon mongs sna tshogs bsags pa de gang gis 'dzin na/  
yang gzung pa nyon mongs bag chags sna tshogs bsags gsungs pa de'o/

/nyon mongs yid kyis mi gtong 'dzin par byed/ /ces pas/  
/nyon mongs pa can gyi yid kyis mi gtong 'dzin par byed do/  
/de ltar bag chags sog pa de/  
/rnam shes tshogs brgyad [316] zung du 'brel pa'i bag la sog pa yin no/  
/'dir bag chags kyi sog gzhi la the tshom bskal pa zhal las shes so/  
gzung ba gang gis 'dzin na nyon mongs yid kyis mi gtong 'dzin par byed ces  
pa de'o/

/gsum pa khams gsum lus su shar tshul bstan pa ni/  
gnyis pa 'khor bar 'khyams tshul la gsum ste/  
'khor ba'i dbye ba dang / tshul ci ltar 'khor ba'o/  
dang po la drug ste/ khams dang rten dang rigs dang lam dang skye sgo'i  
phye ba dang /  
sdug bsngal gyi khyad par ro/  
dang po ni/ khams gsum gyi 'khor ba gsum ste/

/de'i bag chags nus pa mthu brtas pas/ zhes pas  
bag chags yongs su bsags pas/  
de'i bag chags nus pa mthus brtas pas zhes pas/  
bag chags re yongs su 'phel ba'o/

/rnam rtog yid kyi lus su mngon par grub/ /ces pas  
yid kyi 'gyu byed kyi lus su byung /  
rnam rtog yid kyi lus su mngon par grub ces pas  
yid gzugs la brten pa'o/

/gti mug dbang gis gzugs med khams su 'khrul/ /zhes pas  
rgyu gti mug las gzugs med stong khams su shar/  
gti mug dbang gis gzugs med khams su 'khrul zhes pas  
rgyu des gzugs med khams su 'khyams pa'o/

/de las bag chags nus pa rags brtas pas/ /zhes pas/  
de kyang bag chags cher gyur pas/  
/de las bag chags nus pa rags brtas pas/ zhes pas  
de la yang bag chags cher gyur pa'o/

/snang pa 'od kyi lus su mngon par grub/ ces pas  
'od lus su byung /  
snang ba 'od kyi lus su mngon par grub- [grub/] ces pas  
'od lus su yod pa'o/

/zhe sdang dbang gis gzugs khams 'khor bar 'khrul/ /zhes pas  
 rgyu zhe sdang gi dbang gis gzugs khams su shar/  
 zhe sdang dbang gis gzugs khams 'khor bar 'khyams/ zhes pas  
 rgyu des gzugs khams gzugs khams su 'khyams pa'o/

/de bas bag chags nus pa cher gyur pas/ /zhes pas/  
 /de bas kyang bag chags cher zhen pas/  
 de las bag chags nus pa cher brtas pas/ zhes pas  
 de la yang bag chags cher mngon par zhen pa'o/

/gdos pa sha khrag lus su mngon par grub/ /ces pas  
 gdos pa'i lus su byung /  
 gdos pa sha khrag lus su mngon par grub ces pas/  
 sha khrag gdos pa can gyi lus so/

/'dod chags dbang gis 'dod pa'i khams su 'khrul/ /zhes pas/  
 /rgyu 'dod chags las 'dod khams su shar ro/  
 'dod chags dbang gis 'dod pa'i khams su 'khrul zhes pas/  
 rgyu des 'dod khams su 'khyams pa'o/

/sgra 'od zer gsum rig par 'grel ba las/

/lus ngag yid dang gsum du mngon par grub ces pas/  
 /'od las lus grub/  
 /sgra las ngag tu grub/  
 /zer las yid du grub/  
 gnyis pa rten gyis gye bas lus ngag yid gsum mo/

tshogs drug bag chags bsags pas ris drug snang bar 'khrul/ /zhes pas  
 mig gzugs la bag chags brtas pas/  
 /dmyal ba'i snang bar 'khrul/  
 rna ba sgra la bag chags brtas pas/  
 /yid btags snang bar 'khrul/  
 /sna dri la bag chags brtas pas/  
 /lha dang lha ma yin gyi snang bar 'khrul/  
 /lce ro la bag chags brtas pas/  
 /mi'i snang bar 'khrul/  
 /lus reg la bag chags brtas pas/  
 /byol song gi snang bar 'khrul lo/  
 gsum pa rigs kyis sgo nas rigs drug gi 'khor ba drug go/

/nyon mongs dug lnga'i [317] dbang gis 'khor ba'i lam lngar 'khrul/ /zhes  
 pas  
 nyon mongs dug lngas lam rgyu lngar 'khrul/  
 bzhi la lam gyis phye bas lam rgyu lnga'i 'khor ba'o/

/rgyu chen 'byung ba bzhi las skye pa nam bzhir grub/ /zhes pas/  
 /rlung las rdzus skyes/  
 /me las drod skyes/  
 /chu las sgong skyes/

/sa las mngal skyes so/  
 lnga pa skye sgo'i sgo phye pas/ rdzus drod sgong nga mngal las skyes pa'i  
 'khor bas bzhi'o/  
 /sha khrag drod dbugs bzhi las/ /'du ba rnam bzhi byung / /zhes pas  
 dbugs las rlung nad/  
 /drod las mkhris pa/  
 /khrag las bad kan/  
 /sha las 'dus pa'i nad du 'byung ngo /<sup>24</sup>  
 [374] drug pa sdug bsngal gyi khyad par ni/  
 dbugs las rlung nad/  
 drod las mkhris pa/  
 khrag las bad kan/  
 sha las 'dus pa'i nad do/

/gnyis pa 'khor ba bye brag tu shar tshul bstan pa la gnyis te/  
 /ma nor bstan rgyas par bshad pa'o/ dang po ni/  
 gnyis pa (...)

/rig pa 'od dang 'brel pas snod bcud lus sems shar/ /ces pas  
 rang rig pa'i ye shes dang 'od lnga zung du 'brel ba'i rtsal las/  
 /phyi snod kyi 'jig rten du shar/  
 /nang bcud kyi sems can du shar/  
 /sgyu ma'i lus su shar/  
 /dran pa'i sems su shar/  
 /de las sogs te/  
 /'khor ba'i rten 'brel sna tshogs su shar ro/  
 /gnyis pa rgyas par bshad pa la gsum ste/  
 /phyi snod 'jig rten sems las shar tshul bstan pa dang /  
 /nang bcud sems can sems las shar tshul bstan pa dang /  
 /ma rig 'khor ba'i shar tshul bstan pa'o/  
 rig pa 'od dang 'brel pa las/ snod bcud gnyis su shar ba gnyis te/  
 phyi snod sems las shar tshul dang /  
 nang bcud sems las shar tshul lo/

/dang po ni/ /phyi snod 'jig rten sems las shar tshul ni/ /zhes pa/  
 /phyi snod 'jig rten kyi chags lugs ston te/  
 dang po phyi snod sems las shar tshul ni/

/ji ltar chags na nam mkha'i 'od dang rig pa 'brel ba las/  
 nam mkha' 'od dang rig pa 'brel ba las/ zhes pas

/gya gyu rlung ste phyad dang phyod du byung /  
 nam mkha'i dang las/ rlung gya gyu phyad phyod du byung bas/  
 rlung gi dkyil 'khor chags/

/phyod pa'i shugs las tsha ba'i me ru byung /  
 bskyod pa'i rlung shugs las tsha ba'i me ru byung bas/

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *The Union of the Four Wheels*, the 'Khor lo bzhi sbrag, p. 459.3ff.: 'du ba'i nad lnga ni/ nam mkha'i rtsal las nad 'du ba rnam bzhi shar ro/ rlung gi rtsal las nad 'du ba rlung nad du shar/ me'i rtsal las nad 'du ba mkhris nad du shar/ chu'i rtsal las nad 'du ba bad kan gyi nad du shar/ sa'i rtsal las nad 'dus pa'i nad du shar ro/ .



/me rlung tsha grang 'thabs pas rlan te chu ru byung /  
 me'i dkyil 'khor chags/ me rlung tsha grang 'thabs pas/ rlan de chu ru  
 byung bas/  
 chu yi dkyil 'khor chags/

/chu'i bcud las skyed pa'i sa gzhi byung /  
 chu yi bcud las skyed pa'i sa gzhi byung bas/  
 sa'i dkyil 'khor chags/

/snod kyi 'jig rten thams cad de las chags/ /zhes pas  
 'od lnga dang rig pa zung du 'brel ba'i rtsal las rgyu 'byung ba lnga /  
 /gcig la gcig rten te byung /  
 /de [318] las phyi snod kyi 'jig rten thams cad byung ngo /

/rgyu lnga 'byung pa'i bcud las/ yul lnga'i snang ba shar zhes pas/  
 'byung pa'i bcud rnams yul lnga'i snang ba shar ro/

/phyi snod kyi 'jig rten de ltar shar ba'o/

-  
 /gnyis pa nang bcud sems can la shar tshul bstan pa ni/  
 gnyis pa nang bcud sems las shar tshul ni/

/nang bcud sems can sems la shar tshul ni/ /zhes pas  
 nang bcud sems can gyi shar tshul bstan/

/ji ltar shar na nam mkha'i 'od dang rig pa la 'brel ba las/  
 /dran pa'i sems dang rgyu ba'i rlung du byung / /zhes pas  
 'od dang rig pa zung du 'brel ba'i rtsal/  
 nam mkha' 'od dang rig pa 'brel ba'i rtsal las/  
 dran pa'i sems dang rgyu pi [ba'i] rlung du byung /

/sems dran pa khrig khrig po dang / /rlung gya gyu byung /

/rlung sems 'brel pas gya gyu'i dbugs su byung / /zhes pas  
 rlung dang sems su 'brel ba'i rtsal dbugs su byung /  
 rlung sems 'brel ba'i dbugs rlung gi khams byung /

/dbugs kyi shugs las drod de me'i khams/ /zhes pas  
 dbugs kyi shugs las drod du byung /  
 dbugs kyi khams las drod me'i khams su byung /

/dbugs drod 'dus pas khrag de chu'i khams/ zhes pas  
 dbugs dang drod gnyis 'dus pa'i rtsal/  
 /khrag tu chags/

/khrag gi bcud las sha ste sa'i khams/ /zhes pas/  
 /khrag las zhag chags pa bzhin sha chags so/  
 khrag las sa'i khams su byung /

/lus dang sems su 'brel pas don snying rnam lngar chags/ /zhes pas



snying glo ba mchin pa mkhal ma mtsher pa dang lngar chags so/  
de ltar lus sems 'brel pas don snying rnam pa lnga chags nas  
/ 'byung ba rnam pa lnga'i rten du bcas/ / zhes pas  
nam mkha'i rten snying la bcas/  
/rlung gi rten glo ba la bcas/  
/me'i rten mchin pa la bcas/  
/chu'i rten mkhal ma la bcas/  
/ sa'i rten mtsher pa la bcas so/  
'byung ba lnga'i rten byed do/  
'di dag rgyas par dkar 'jam rtsa'i sgron ma 'byung ngo / zhes so/

/yan lag lnga la 'byung lnga'i rtsal yang shar/ / ces pas  
nam mkha'i rtsal du mgo bo shar/  
/rlung gi rtsal du rkang pa g-yas pa shar/  
/me'i rtsal lag pa g-yas pa shar/  
/chu'i rtsal rkang pa g-yon [319] ba shar/  
/sa'i rtsal lag pa g-yon par shar ro/

/nang grol lnga ru byung lnga'i bcud du bsags/ / zhes pas/  
/nam mkha'i bcud sta dang mngal du bsags/  
/rlung gi bcud rgyu long du bsags/  
/me'i bcud mkhris par bsags/  
/chu'i bcud lgang par bsags/  
/sa'i bcud pho bar bsags/

/dbang po lnga la 'byung lnga'i sgo yang dod/ ces pas/  
/nam mkha'i sgo mig la dod/  
/rlung gi sgo sna la dod/  
/me'i sgo lce la dod/  
/chu'i sgo rna ba la dod/  
/sa'i sgo reg la dod do/

/shes pa lnga'i rtsal lnga so sor skyed/ / ces pas  
mig gi rnam shes gzugs la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed/  
/rna ba'i rnam shes sgra la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed/  
/sna'i rnam shes dri la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed/  
/lce'i rnam shes ro la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed/  
/lus kyi rnam shes reg bya la spyod pa'i rtsal skyed do/

/yul lnga dag la so sor spyod cing 'dzin/ / zhes pas  
rnam shes lngas yul lnga la so sor spyod do/

/nang bcud sems can sems la de ltar shar/ ces pas  
nang bcud sems can gyi lus de ltar shar to/

/gnyis pa ma rig 'khor ba'i shar tshul bstan pa ni/  
gsum pa ji ltar 'khor ba la gsum ste/  
rgyu gang la brten na 'khor ba dang /  
ngo bo gang 'khor ba dang /  
'bras bu gang bskyed pa'o/

dang po ni rgyu dug lnga la brten nas 'khor ba ste/  
 /'byung lnga sems dang 'brel bas nyon mongs lngar bskyed/ / ces pas  
 rgyu 'byung ba lnga dang sems rnam par shes pa zung du 'brel ba'i rtsal las/  
 /nyon mongs dug lnga bskyed de/  
 'byung lnga sems dang 'brel nas nyon mongs dug lnga bskyed pa las sogs  
 dkyus gsal lo/

gnyis pa ngo bo ni phung po lnga la 'khor te/

/ji ltar bskyed na nam mkha' sems dang 'brel bas zhe sdang bskyed/

/dbugs dang sems su 'brel bas nga rgyal bskyed/  
 /drod dang sems su 'brel bas phrag dog bskyed/  
 /khrag dang sems su 'brel bas 'dod chags bskyed/  
 /sha dang sems su 'brel bas gti mug bskyed/  
 /dug lnga 'byung lngar 'brel bas phung po rnam lngar bskyed/ / ces pas/  
 /dug lnga dang 'byung ba lnga po zung du 'brel bas phung po lnga bskyed  
 de/  
 dug lnga 'byung lnga 'brel bas/ phung po rnam lnga bskyed pa las sogs  
 dkyus gsal lo/

/ji ltar bskyed na/ /zhe sdang nam mkhar 'brel pas rnam shes phung po  
 bskyed/ [320]<sup>25</sup>

/nga rgyal dbugs dang 'brel bas 'du byed phung po bskyed/<sup>26</sup>  
 /phrag dog drod dang 'brel pas 'du shes phung po bskyed/<sup>27</sup>  
 /'dod chags khrag dang 'brel pas tshor ba'i phung po bskyed/<sup>28</sup>  
 /gti mug sha dang 'brel pas gzugs kyi phung po bskyed/<sup>29</sup>  
 /phung po lnga dang dug lnga 'brel ba las/

gsum pa 'bras bu [375] ni phung po lnga dang dug lnga 'brel pa las/ zhes  
 pas  
 rgyu rkyen du 'brel pa'o/

/'du byed las dang spyod pa sna tshogs byung / /zhes pas

phung po lnga las kyi rten byas/

/dug lnga las kyi kun slong byas nas/

/las dge sdig lung ma bstan sna tshogs spyod do/

'dus byas las dang spyod pa dge sdig lung ma bstan ces pas/

sams yul la g-yo bar byed pas/ 'du byed bag chags sogs pa las/ de la dngos  
 su spyod pas spyod pa/ 'bras bu yid 'ong 'byin pas dge ba/ mi 'ong pa 'byin  
 pas sdig pa/ gnyis ka mi 'byin pa'i lung ma bstan no/

/las dang nyon mongs 'brel ba'i rgyu rkyen las/

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *mDzod phug*, root text, p. 51.16f, Dolanji 1966: 1) *zhe sdang sems dang 'brel ba la[s]/ rnam shes phung po phra rgyas dug-*, see also next page.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *mDzod phug*, root text, p. 51.20f: 3) *nga rgyal dbug[s] dang 'brel ba la[s]/ 'du byed phung po phra rgyas dug-*, see also next page.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *mDzod phug*, root text, p. 52.1f: 5) *phrag dog khrag dang 'brel ba las/ tshor ba'i* [cf. 'du shes] *phung po phra rgyas dug-*.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *mDzod phug*, root text, p. 51.21f: 4) *'dod chags drod dang 'brel ba la[s]/ 'du shes* [cf. *tshor ba'i*] *phung po phra rgyas dug-*, see also next page.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *mDzod phug*, root text, p. 51.18f: 2) *gti mug sha dang 'brel ba la[s]/ gzugs kyi phung po phra rgyas dug-*, see also next page.

las dang nyon mongs 'brel ba'i rgyu rkyen las/  
/spyi dang bye brag 'khor ba'i sdug bsngal byung / zhes pas  
las kyi rgyu byas nyon mongs pas rkyen byas nas/  
/spyi'i sdug bsngal skye rga na 'chi bzhi/  
/sgos ris drug rang rang gi sdug bsngal bskyed do/  
spyi dang bye brag 'khor ba'i sdug bsngal byung zhes pas/  
las dang nyon mongs pa  
spyi yi sdug bsngal skye rgas na 'chi bzhi dang /  
bye brag gi sdug bsngal  
dmyal ba tsha grang /  
yi dvags la bkres skom  
byol song la glen lkugs/  
mi la 'pho 'gyur  
lha ma yin 'thabs rtsod  
lha phams ltung gi sdug bsngal lo/

gsum pa mdor bsdu ba ni/

/thog med dus nas 'khor ba mtha' med du/  
thog med dus nas 'khor mtha' med du/ zhes pas  
dus thog mtha' med pa nas 'khor ba'o/

/khams gsum kha 'khor rgyu drug lus blang zhing /  
khams gsum kha 'khor rgyu drug lus blangs shing /  
gnas khams gsum rigs drug gi lus blangs pa'o/

/rten 'brel bcu gnis srid pa'i 'khor lo bskor/ / zhes pas  
de ltar 'khor ba thog med nas/  
/mtha' med du khams gsum du kha 'khor rgyud drug tu lus blangs/  
/ma rig pa nas rga shi'i bar du/  
/rten 'brel bcu gnyis srid pa'i 'khor lo bskor/  
rten 'brel bcu gnis srid pa'i 'khor lo bskor/ zhes pas  
dus thog mtha' med pa nas 'khor ba'o/  
rten 'brel bcu gnyis kyi tshul gyis/  
shing rta'i 'khor lo ltar bar ma chad du 'khor ba'o/

/nyes pas ma 'phangs ma rig stobs las byung/ / zhes pas/  
de ltar 'khor bar khyams pa dang /  
/'khor ba ma shar ba'i snga rol du/  
/nyes pa'i skyon zhig byas nas 'khor ba ma yin te/  
ma rig pa'i dbang gis rang shugs las byung ba yin te/  
/dper na chu lce thur la 'brug pa yang /  
/rang shugs las byung ba bzhin no/ ?  
nyes pas ma 'phangs ma rig stobs las byung / zhes pa  
de ltar sems can 'khor zhing khyams pa ni/  
gnas lugs ma rtogs pas 'khor par 'khyams pa'o

/gsum pa 'khor 'das kyi gyes tshul mdor bsdu ba ni/  
gsum pa bsdu ba ni/

/de ltar 'khor 'das gnyis su shar ba yang /

de ltar 'khor 'das gnyis su gyes pa yang /

/rtogs dang ma rtogs blo'i mthong snang yin/  
 rtogs dang ma rtogs blo yis mthong snang yin/ zhes pas/  
 rtogs pa'i mthong snang la myang 'das su shar/  
 ma rtogs pa'i mthong snang la 'khor bar [376] shar ba'o/

/don la 'khor 'das gnyis sa gyes pa med/  
 don la 'khor 'das gnyis sa gyes pa med/ ces bya/  
 kun gzhi dang rig pa'i ngo bo la 'khor 'das su gyes ma myong ba'o/

/mnyam pa chen po theg le gcig tu gnas/ zhes pas/  
 'khor 'das gnyis su gyes pa de/  
 /blo'i mthong snang las byung pa ma yin pa/  
 /don la [321] gnyis med mnyam pa chen por gnas pa yin no/  
 mnyam pa chen po thig le gcig tu gnas zhes pas/  
 kun gzhi ma bu dbyer med du gnas pa'o/

/gsum pa mdor bsdu ba ni/  
 /gsum pa ni/ 'khor 'das gnyis kyi gyes tshul mdo bsdu ba ni/

gnas pa gzhi'i sgron ma bzhugs so/ zhes pas bsdu'o/  
 gnas pa gzhi'i sgron ma rdzogs so/ zhes pas lhag ma med pa'i don no/

/sa ma ya/  
 sa ma ya ni snod med la gsang ba'i bka' rgya btab bo//



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