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The Emergence of a Myth : In search of the origins of the life story of Shenrab Miwo, the founder of Bon
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Appendix 2: Three Different Lists of Thirty-Three *bonpos*

[A list with some variations is also provided in Karmay 2007, pp. 152-53]

<i>mDo 'dus</i> (pp. 53-54]	<i>mDo 'dus</i> Karmay (f. 27r - f. 27v)	<i>mDo 'dus</i> Lhagyal (f. 23v - f. 24r)
1. dBal bon rom po	dBal bon rum bon	dBal bon rom po
2. Yog bon gto rgyal	Yog bon gtor rgyal can	Yogs bon gto rgyal
3. Khrin bon phyas sangs	Khen bon phyas sangs	Khrin bon phyas sangs
4. gNyer bon gto chen	gNyan bon gto' chen	gNyer bon gto' chen
5. 'O bon 'brang gzu	'O bon 'brang gzug	'O bon 'brang gzu
6. rTsis bon ye khru	rTse bon ye khri	rTsi bon ye 'khru
7. bDud bon chu lcags	Chu lcam bdud bon chu lcam	bDud bon chu lcag
8. dMu bon ye'u tan	dMu bon te'u can	dMu bon ye'u tan
9. bTsan bon mtshal lcag	bTsan bon mtshon lcag	bTsan bon mtshal lcag
10. Srin bon dmu cho	Sri bon mu co	Srid bon mu cho
11. sKos bon gtsug sras	sKos bon gtsug sras	sKos bon gtsug sras
12. Phya bon thod dkar	Phya bon thang dkar	Phya bon thod dkar
[13. Lha bon thod dkar is missing in all these three lists]		
These thirteen are called <i>yar g.yen bonpos</i> , who subdue the heavenly spirits		
1. Zla bon tshe pa	Zla bon tshe pa	Zla bon tshes pa
2. gNyi bon dra ma	gNyi bon drang ma	Nyi bon drang ma
3. sKar bon gdang bkra	sKar bon gdung bkra'	sKar bon gdang bkra
4. sPrin bon sa thub	Srin bon sa thul	sPrin bon ba thul
5. gZha' bon khud tad	gZha' bon khug pa	gZha' bon gug tang
6. Dal bon dbu gar	Dal bon dbu dkar	Dal bon dbu kar
7. Zer bon gdang snyan	Zer bon gdung snyan	Zer bon gdang snyan
8. Lo bon gto chen	Lo bon gto chen dang	Lo bon gto chen
9. rDzi bon dang drug	rDzi bon dang drug	sDzi bon dang drug
These nine are called <i>bar g.yen bonpos</i> who subdue intermediate spirits		
1. Klu bon dbyar snyen gyim bu	Klu bon dbyar snyan gyi bu	Klu bon dbyar snya gyim bu
2. gNyen bon thang thang khrol ba	gNyan bon thang thang grol ba	gNyan bon thang thang grol ba
3. rGyal bon bong po	rGyal bon bod po	rGyal bon bong po

4. sMan bon 'bring dangs	sMan bon 'bri ma dang	sMan bon 'bring dang
5. gZed bon la tsha	gZe bon	gZeg bon la tsa
6. Srin bon ya ngal	Yang dal	Srid bon ya ngal
7. Glud bon gyel mkhas	Glu bon gyi mkha'	Glud bon gyel mkhas
8. Byur bon li byin	Byung bon li byin	Byur bon li byin
9. gShin bon smrig pa	gShen po smras pa	gShen bon smrig pa
10. gTa' bon byin khri	gTo bon byin khrol	gTo bon byi khrol
	Thar bon byin khrol	
11. Thar bon gru skyol	Thar bon grub skyol	Thar bon grub skyol
These eleven are called <i>sa g.yen bonpos</i> , who subdue the earthly spirits		