Kar glin Ži khro

A Tantric Buddhist Concept

cnws

Henk Blezer
Kar gliṅ Ži khro

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1997
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Kar glin t’i khro. A tantric buddhist concept / Henk Blezer. - Leiden : Research School CNWS. - (CNWS publications, ISSN 0925-3084 ; vol. 56)
With ref., ills., index, floppy-disks
ISBN 90-73782-86-4
Subject heading: Tibetan tantrism

Cover design: Nelleke Oosten
Printing: Ridderprint, Ridderkerk

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Acknowledgements

The three *mandala-s* depicted on pp.83, 84, and 131, were reproduced from Tibetan art-calendars published by Papyrus Verlag GmBH Hamburg (April 1981-, February 1991-, and November 1985-pages successively). Since the house ceased publishing no further credits or references can be provided here. I gratefully acknowledge the financial support received from the "Stichting Leids Universiteits-Fonds" (LUF) in the printing-cost for the reproduction of these *mandala-s*.

It is my pleasure to acknowledge a travel-grant received from the "Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research" (NWO), which enabled me to study and work in Dharamsala, (H.P.) India, from October 1996 until January 1997. Most of the Buddhist and especially "Bon"-material gathered during my stay in India could not be used for this publication anymore, it will be utilised in a follow-up research.

Last but not least I, should like to express my appreciation for the inspiration and knowledgeable assistance received from my brother, Frans Blezer, when planning and designing the electronic version of this thesis.
Further Errata to *Kar glin 'Zi khro, A Tantric Buddhist Concept*

**Typographical errors that you might want to know of**

p.2, n.7, l.4, read "can be found" or "is to be found" instead of "can to be found"

p.16, n.83, l.4, read "there" instead of "here"

p.17, n.85, subn.2, l.2, read "pañcopādānaskandha-s" instead of "pañcopādānaskhandha-s"

p.20, n.95, l.38, read "tāmisrāyā" instead of "misrāyā"

p.24, l.3, read "chapter" instead of "paragraph"

p.24, n.103, l.4, read "the" instead of "he"

p.24, n.103, l.20, read "alabhamānah" instead of "alabhamānāh"

p.25, l.33, read "above" instead of "below"

p.31, n.133, l.4, read "and the last chapter of" instead of "in the last chapter"

p.40, n.190, l.4, read "not to confuse with" instead of "not to confuse"

p.40, n.192, l.4, read "pp.914-917" instead of "pp.114-117"

p.103, n.298, l.4, read "eighteenth" instead of "eighth"

p.108, l.30, read "or the unity" instead of "(or) the revered unity"

p.108, l.31, read "than just the revered host" instead of "than the revered host"

p.108, l.41, read "diverse sounds" instead of "divers sounds"

p.126, l.4, read "Govinda (1956), and Snellgrove (1957)" instead of "and Govinda (1956), Snellgrove (1957)"


index, p.232, l.33, read "sīlabataparāmāso" instead of "sīlabattaparamāso"

**Typos and deviations from orthography as they occur in source-texts used**

p.8, n.44, l.5, read "abhinirvartayann" instead of "abhinirvarttayann"

p.9, n.44, l.10, read "kleśāvedhena" instead of "kšēśāvedhena"

p.19, n.93, l.6, read "savyā-" instead of "avvā-"

p.20, n.95, l.37, read "bhünirvartate" instead of "bhinirvarttate"

p.20, n.95, l.38, read "śubhakārinas" instead of "aśubhakārinas"

p.22, n.98, l.21, read "na pratihanyate" instead of "pratihanyate"

p.23, n.102, l.19, read "vartate" instead of "varttate"
Typos you would not want to be bothered about

p.ix, add page-number
p.1, n.4, l.4, read "print-out" instead of "out print"
p.2, n.10, l.12, read "group" instead of "groups"
p.2, n.10, l.3, read "table of contents" instead of "Table of Contents"
p.2, n.11, l.1, read "29.32" instead of "29 32"
p.3, n.18, l.1, read "Wrathful (Deities)" instead of "Wrathful(Deities)"
p.9, n.44, subn.6, l.2, read "bhavāṇupapattir yo" instead of "bhavāṇupapattiryo"
p.11, n.54, l.2, N.B. 8 point size in the original, now reduced 80%
p.12, n.55, subn.1, l.1, increase "(voir inf., note 5); Kośa, III, 14." one point in (original) size
p.18, n.93, l.2, read "p.122)" instead of "p.122.)"
p.20, n.95, ll.31&33, read "ntārā-" instead of "ntārā"
p.23, n.102, l.18, read "p.122)" instead of "p.122.)"
p.31, n.139, l.1, read "Orofino (1985)" instead of "Orofino(1985)"
p.34, n.157, l.12, read "p.130a)" instead of "p.130a)"
p.41, n.197, l.1, read "61," instead of "61."
p.41, n.199, l.1, read "61," instead of "61.,"
p.56, n.214, l.12, read "number" instead of "numbers"
p.67, l.43, read "Anuyoga rdzogs rim" instead of "Anuyoga rdzogs, rim"
p.82, add header, top right (landscape): KAR GLIN ŽI KHRO
p.95, l.10, read "karmamanḍala" instead of "karmamanḍala"
p.96, ll.31-32, replace the hyphen in Tathāgata-s for a non-breaking hyphen
p.104, n.302, l.16, read "gŽi sku gsun" instead of "gŽi'i sku gsun"
p.109, l.21, read "sound, light and rays" instead of "sound light and rays"
p.116, n.324, l.1, read "p.31." instead of "p.31).
p.121, n.353, l.1, read "<ś" instead of "<ś"
p.122, n.371, l.1, read "<ś" instead of "<ś"
bibliography, p.178, interrupt underline for descend of letters in Specific Texts concerning 'Pho ba
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N.B. work-editions (Appendix II) available on floppy-disks.
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N)AN</td>
<td>Anguttaranikāya (see Appendix I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Abhidharascamuccaya (see Appendix I)</td>
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<tr>
<td>AShBh</td>
<td>Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya (see Appendix I)</td>
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<td>BoBh</td>
<td>Bodhisattvabhūmi (see Appendix I)</td>
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<td>(N)DN</td>
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<td>IASWR</td>
<td>Institute for Advanced Studies in World Religions</td>
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<td>(N)Kv</td>
<td>Kathāvatthu (see Appendix I)</td>
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<td>Kv-a</td>
<td>Kathavathuppakaranaṭṭhakathā (see Appendix I)</td>
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<td>l. line</td>
<td>Lalitavistara (see Appendix I)</td>
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<td>ll. lines</td>
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<td>Mvu</td>
<td>Mahāvastu (see Appendix I)</td>
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<td>page</td>
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<td>Patisambhidāmagga (see Appendix I)</td>
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<td>PJ</td>
<td>Khuddhakapāṭha &amp; Paramatthajotikā I (see Appendix I)</td>
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<td>Puggalapāṭhā (see Appendix I)</td>
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<td>(N)Pp</td>
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Transliterations

Tibetan transliteration alphabet:

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<tr>
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<td>ha</td>
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<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>a</td>
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Special signs used:

- *sad*: $l$ and $l$ (l and l)
- *gter ma sad*: $r$
- Prefix to *ya*: $(g)$-*ya*

Sanskrit transliteration alphabet:

Consonants:

<table>
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<td>sa</td>
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<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>va</td>
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Visarga: $h$

Anusvāra: $m$

Vowels:

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<th>Transliteration</th>
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Special signs used:

- *avagraha*: 
- *danda*: $l$ and $l$
Introduction

The research presented here focuses on four main issues, the first three of which will be discussed in the first chapter, which has the character of a historical survey:

1.1 Developments in speculations concerning an intermediate state antarābhava (bar ma do'i srid pa) and bar do;
1.2 Developments in the concept of peaceful and wrathful deities (zi khro);
1.3 The conflation of speculations regarding bar do and zi khro in a new bar do, a bon riid/zi khro bar do ("Bon") or chos riid bar do (Buddhist).

The fourth point of investigation is discussed in the second chapter, in which I shall take stock of some of the most current

2 Traditional "interpretations" of zi khro-mandala-s.

Making use of these "interpretations" and the insights gained from the historical survey, in the third chapter I shall make

3 An attempt at "translating" the concept of the kar glin zi khro (the zi khro according to Karma glin pa).

4 A conclusion, and

A summary in the Dutch language.

Several bibliographies (Appendix I), indexes, and other utilities are appended to this. Work-editions of (most of) the texts that are necessary for reading this thesis and that are not generally accessible are available on the floppy-disks included2 (Appendix II). Note well, that these are only provisional collations of the several block-prints and manuscripts consulted that have not yet been exhaustively checked.

In this introduction I should furthermore like to mention the most relevant and frequently used texts.

Of central importance to this research is the Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo3. This most probably is the earliest Buddhist testimony for an explicit and elaborate description of zi khro in a separate bar do, here called chos riid bar do4. This

---

1 The bar do of (the confrontation with) reality as it is.
2 They are presented in MSWord (6.0c) for Windows-format; a MSWindows-install-routine, True-Type fonts and a Word-viewer are included on the disks. Macintosh-formats are available, they can be provided on request. All brand- and product-names are trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective holders.
3 "The Great 'Released by Hearing(-Text)': A Clarification of (or Reminder when in) the Chos riid Bar do", some editions feature gsol 'debs (prayer) instead of gsal 'debs (guidance, clarification, reminder?) in their title.
4 There are discussions of a chos riid bar do extant in certain rDzo-chsung chen-texts, some of which might or might not be earlier than the Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs (the first reliable dates (compiler) point to the fourteenth century also), though mandala-s of deities are mentioned, their appearance is not described at length. For a listing of some rDzo-chsung chen-texts see the database out print in Appendix I of relevant texts from the snIn thig ya bzh, compiled by Kloön chen pa dri med 'od zer (1306/8-1363). And see especially one of the texts presented by Orofino (1990), the Ni ma dan gza ba kha sbyor ba chen po gsan ba'i rgyud, to be found in the rNin ma'i rgyud bu bdun-section of the Bima snIn thig (she refers to Prats here, Contributo allo Studio Biografico dei Primi gTer-ston (= Instituto Universitario Orientale,
text forms part of most of the text-cycles that are designated as Bar do'i thos grol\(^6\) or Kar glin zi khro\(^8\). The individual cycles vary greatly as to their contents and compilation dates. There seems to be a group, though, of about sixteen or seventeen texts that formed part of the earlier Bar do thi s grol-cycles, the oldest core of which was allegedly discovered by the gter ston\(^7\) Karma glin pa (fourteenth century AD\(^9\)) and that appear in most editions of the Kar glin zi khro\(^8\). I used seven block-prints of the Chos rik bar do'i gsal 'debs, three of which are made from the same printing-blocks\(^10\).

Significant and possibly earlier reference-material than the Chos rik bar do'i gsal 'debs is to be found in a "Bon"-text, which is also referred to as a "bar do thi s grol"-text, the sNi an rgyud bar do thi s grol chen mo. A version of this text appears in a "Bon"-collection of zi khro-texts called Zi khro sgrub skor\(^11\), a collection of texts which was mainly drawn from the sPyi sphus-cycles\(^12\) and was compiled by abbot Ni ma bstan 'dzin (1813-?). The sNi an rgyud bar do thi s grol chen mo is attributed to Dran pa'i nam mkha' (eighth century AD) and is said to be transmitted orally (read: aurally) as a so-called sNi an brgyud, through his son Tshe dban rig 'dzin to 'Gro mgon dam pa ran grol (1149-?).

Another version of this text appears under a different title, Zi khro bar do 'phran grol gyi thi s grol las byan bag chags ran grol, in another "Bon"-collection of zi khro-texts called dBan ldan zu ri'n lugs zi khro'i sgrub skor\(^13\), a collection of zi khro-texts presenting the Zu-lineage of Bon po bla ma-s. This text, too, is attributed to (sMan rgyal) Dam pa ran grol (1149-?). It should be noted here that "Bon" should appear in quotation marks as far as this early period is concerned. The name "Bon" was applied by Buddhists after the event of official introduction of Buddhist traditions into Tibet to allegedly pre-buddhist Tibetan traditions that were nonetheless already strongly influenced by Buddhist doctrines\(^14\).

Important reference-material for the descriptions of the zi khro as they are extant in the Chos rik bar do'i gsal 'debs is available in a class of texts concerned with confession- and expiation-rituals that often bear the designation na rag don sprug(s).

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Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor XVII, p.47, Napoli 1982), she translates the text on pp.30-59, and presents an edition on pp.105-126; she gives no precise dates.

\(^{12}\) "The Great (Text-Cycle about) Being Released by Hearing (the Recitation of This Thos grol-Text) in relation to the Bar do-s (probably to be read as: when in the Bar do-s)"; or in brief: "The Great Released by Hearing' for the Bar do-s". For a discussion of the transmission of these cycles see Back (1987), pp.5ff.

\(^{13}\) The zi khro-tradition according to Karma glin pa (see the following). Cf. the 'Ja' istry zi khro, the zi khro-cycle according to the gter ston 'Ja' istry stin po or Las 'phro glin pa (1585-1656).

\(^{14}\) A revealer of treasures, a person that is acknowledged to have brought to light texts and other objects that supposedly have been concealed for some time. This tradition of treasure (gter ma) and treasure finder (gter ston) is first and foremost met with in rNi in ma Buddha and rDzogs chen-cycles. A presentation of traditional views about this phenomenon can be found in Tulku Thondup Rinpoche (1986), pp.13f. and pp.57ff. and in Dargyay (1969) and (1977a), pp.85ff.

\(^{15}\) For an attempt at dating the oldest kernel of the Bar do'i thos grol-cycles I should like to refer to Back (1987), pp.16ff.

\(^{16}\) For further details on these and other Tibetan collections mentioned in this study the reader is referred to the appropriate database print-outs concerning the discussed text or groups of texts in Appendix I, to enable quick reference, the appendix is preceded by a Table of Contents.

\(^{17}\) Published in Delhi 1967, see Appendix I, the text is coded there as Karmay (1977) 29 32, Zogai 614, (T.124)


\(^{19}\) For further details on these and other Tibetan collections mentioned in this study the reader is referred to the appropriate database print-outs concerning the discussed text or groups of texts in Appendix I, to enable quick reference, the appendix is preceded by a Table of Contents.

\(^{20}\) This compilation is said to be reproduced from a manuscript-collection from the library of the late dPal chul by Sonam Dakpa and is published in two volumes, Delhi 1975, it is also available in the IASWR-microfiche-edition, SB 774. II.8.

\(^{21}\) See e.g. Per Kvarme (1972), pp.22ff.
in their titles, that is to say, they promise to save the contrite confessor from the abysmal depths of hell (literally: "to rend the depths of hell"). The oldest and most explicit text is called "Zi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag don sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus". The text is presented as a translation from a Sanskrit text by the legendary saints Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra (eighth century AD?). The colophon further mentions the translators sNags Jñānakumāra (eighth century AD) and rMa rin chen mchog (7??-836)\(^\text{15}\). I used three block-prints of this text, two of which are made from the same printing-blocks\(^\text{16}\).

Lastly there is late yet important reference-material available from another zi khro-tradition, the 'ja' tshon zi khro, in an eighteenth-century bKa' rgyud-rDzogs chen-text, which bears the promising short-title "Zi khro 'nes don sīṁ po"\(^\text{17}\). This zi khro-tradition according to the gter sion Las 'phro gline pa (1585-1656), also called Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon sīṁ po, is still transmitted in a bKa' rgyud 'brug pa-monastery in Tashijong in Himachal Pradesh, Northern-India\(^\text{18}\). The author of the "Zi khro 'nes don sīṁ po, Näg dbaṅ kun dga' bstan 'dzin (1680-1728) is said to have been the third incarnation in the Khams sprul-lineage of incarnate bla ma-s that started with the first Kham sprul, Karma Tenphel (1598-1638)\(^\text{19}\). I used five block-prints, three of which were made from the same printing-blocks\(^\text{20}\).

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\(^{15}\) Available from the library of the Kern Institute, Leiden, in the Johan van Manen Collection, under registration numbers: 2740/H511/H573 (identical) and 2740/H449.

\(^{16}\) N.B. the names of these translators are also connected with a translation of an important Mahāyoga-text, the Guhyagarbhatattavatāvivaramahātantra, an early source for a zi khro-mandala, see section 1.2.

\(^{17}\) For further details regarding these and other Na rag don sprug(s)-texts the reader is referred to Appendix I.

\(^{18}\) "The Essence of the True Meaning of the (Host of) Peaceful and Wrathful (Deities)", The full title goes: "Zab chos 'zi khro 'nes don sīṁ po'i sgo nas ran dan gzan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las (private copy: lam) rim 'khor ba'i mun gzungs kun bzān thugs rje'i sna' mchod (in the title-description by Chölna N. Losang and Rechung J. Phunkhang, Leiden 1965, daṅ is left out and 'khor ha is replaced by 'tshol ha).

\(^{19}\) I have been informed that the ritual that is described in the "Zi khro 'nes don sīṁ po is performed there on a regular basis, it forms a part of the ritual calendar of this monastery.

\(^{20}\) The present teen-age abbot to be of Tashijong-monastery is considered to be the ninth incarnation of the first Khams sprul, that is to say, according to this tradition Näg dbang kun dga' bstan 'dzin was a previous incarnation.

\(^{21}\) The three oldest (identical) versions consulted (1736) are kept at the library of the Kern Institute, Leiden, in the Johan van Manen collection under registration numbers 2740/H448 (the first title-page is missing, it is catalogued under the short title-indication in the margin: "Zi khro 'nes don sīṁ po", H426, and H194. Later versions are available through the IASWR-microfiche-edition, fiche 1416, R 1344 (1968) and from Tashijong-monastery (private copy, recent print). For more information on these and related works see Appendix I.
A Historical Survey of Developments in the Concepts Antarābhava (Bar ma do'i srid pa) / Bar do and Zi khro

Introductory remarks

The next paragraphs are an outline of the most important historical developments in the concepts Antarābhava (Bar ma do'i srid pa) and bar do (section 1.1), zi khro (section 1.2) and of the conflation of bar do and zi khro in a (“Bon”)-Bon ŋid/zi khro bar do or (Buddhist) chos ŋid bar do (section 1.3). These developments are presented by means of a discussion of the most relevant material regarding bar do and zi khro. The survey starts with the earliest references to an Antarābhava in Pāli texts and the earliest beginnings of speculations regarding a more or less extensive mandala (dkyil 'khor) of zi khro in tantric Buddhism (and "Bon")-literature. I have no intention to discuss possible links of the concepts Antarābhava or bar do with a shamanic journey to an "other world" or with popular speculations regarding deceased ancestors, preta-s and the like. Nor do I intend to trace developments in zi khro to a remote and evasive past or less archaic but equally inaccessible cultural areas in discussing the probability of possible links between visualisation and ritual possession; even a rough sketch of developments of practices of visualisation in all kinds of tantric traditions, whether they be Buddhist or not, is beyond the scope of this study.

The survey will be continued until the fourteenth century AD, which is the upper limit for the dating of the descriptions of a chos ŋid bar do in the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs. As far as I have been able to gather from my readings in later Buddhist literature on the subject, the most spectacular developments are indeed to be found before this date; especially the Bar do'i rhos grol-cycles have come close to an authoritative standard for discussions of death and dying thereafter.

It might be useful to briefly summarise the present state of knowledge regarding the evolution of a separate chos ŋid bar do. The original nucleus of a Bar do'i thos grol that, as we noted before, was already extant at the fourteenth century AD, developed amongst what in due course became designated as the rNin ma pa-s, "the old ones", adherents of the so-called "old tantra-s". Judging by its content the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs most probably arose in circles within this sect that were influenced by rDzogs chen-ideas. rDzogs chen, generally translated as "the great perfection", represents a specific, more direct approach to practice and "spirituality" rather than a separate sect or school. As such, rDzogs chen is not confined to any single school, but sooner or later adepts in this tradition appear throughout nearly all sects. It has to be admitted, though, that the closest ties exist with religious groups that at the end of the first millennium AD became known as rNin ma pa and "Bon po". Some of the conclusions on the development of the chos ŋid bar do as represented in the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs that have been drawn by Back need to be mentioned here. Without suggesting that I would be inclined to accept all or even most of his

For a study on this subject see Back (1979), Eine Buddhismische Jenseitsreise.

Up until now almost all scholarly and popular writing was concerned with Buddhist sources on the subject, the equivalent of a bon ŋid/zi khro bar do in "Bon"-sources did not yet receive much attention; Lauf (1975), pp.175-187, presents some information.


For a traditional exposition regarding the position of rDzogs chen see Namkhai Norbu (1986), pp.26ff.

Back (1979), pp.75-79 and summary p.233 (the basic structure of the Bar do'i thos grol according to his view is discussed in pp.111-203).
conclusions on the subject, I should like to say here that I believe Back was right in stating that the *chos rnyid bar do* holds a special position amongst the other *bar do*-s that are described in *Bar do'i thos grol-texts*.

In the *Chos rnyid bar do'i gsal 'debs* six *bar do*-s are mentioned, three of which pertain to death and dying. The first *bar do* coincides with the death-process, the 'chi kha'i bar do. The next *bar do* we already met with in the introduction when a *chos rnyid bar do* was mentioned, a phase pertaining to a supposed state immediately after death. The third *bar do* is the *srid pa'i bar do*, the *bar do* of becoming (rebirth); for this *bar do* we find speculations concerning the wanderings and errings of a deceased (or rather the perception (*rnam par sles pa*, Skt. *vijnāna*) of a deceased) driven by fierce winds of *karma* in a self-created (imagined) beyond, possibly resulting in rebirth. According to Back, this last *bar do*, on closer examination, shows much resemblance to an older concept of one single state between death and rebirth, that is to say, to the *antarābhava* (*bar ma do'i srid pa*) that is described already at some length in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* attributed to Vasubandhu, and the first references to which we find in *Pāli* texts.

Besides these three *bar do*-s, three other *bar do*-s are mentioned in the *Chos rnyid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. These pertain to diverse levels of consciousness (if I am permitted to use this vague term in this context), the *bar do* of the natural state of existence (or of the period of rebirth): the *rañ bzön skye gnas bar do*, probably implying ordinary waking consciousness; the *bar do* of dreaming: the *rmi lam bar do*; and the *bar do* of the *dhyāna*-s pertaining to the) *samādhi*(samāpatti)-s: the *tiṅ ne 'dzin bsam gan gyi bar do*.

According to Back, the *chos rnyid bar do* constitutes a later layer in the *Bar do thos grol-texts* that is more or less superimposed upon an older layer of one single "intermediate state" between death and rebirth. This older layer, now called *srid pa'i bar do* has, as Back convincingly argues, clear Indian (*purānic*) equivalents in texts like the *Mārkandeya purāṇa* and the *Garuda purāṇasāroddhāra* (these texts have to the best of my knowledge not yet been dated satisfactorily). To my present knowledge, a *chos rnyid bar do* has no parallels in non-Buddhist Indian literature. The only equivalents are to be found in "Bon"-traditions and not yet dated *rDzogs chen*-texts, which will be discussed later.

As we shall see in section 1.3, *rNith ma* but also old "Bon"-rDzogs chen-traditions were of paramount importance in the development of speculations regarding a separate *bar do* featuring the appearance of *zi khro*.

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28 That is to say, the moment of death in Tibetan traditions, i.e. the dawning of the clear light of death (*chi ba'i 'od gsal*), not the so-called clinical death.
29 The textual evidence of (discussions concerning) an *antarābhava* will be presented in the next paragraph.
30 See section 1.1.
32 See introduction.
1.1 Antarābhava (Bar ma 'di'srid pa) and Bar do

In those texts of older schools of Buddhism that are still extant today, an antarābhava is discussed almost exclusively as a mere nominal entity and above all, more often than not, the existence of such an intermediate state is denied. A more elaborate treatment of the subject is first to be met with in relatively late literature. The earliest references that come anywhere near a concept of an "intermediate state" are speculations concerning a gandhabba that we find mentioned as one of the conditions necessary for conception. Discussions regarding an antarāparinibbāyin sometimes coincide with those of an antarābhava, but on the whole these coincidences do not yield much of a meaningful connection between the two. That is to say, the concept of an antarāparinibbāyin does not appear to be very revealing for the understanding of an antarābhava. Much of the discussion concerning an antarābhava proper is rather late - commentaries on sutta-s and (later additions to) abhidharma - and seems to merely reflect the theoretical problems that the authors of these texts had with accommodating an intermediate state in their theoretical frameworks. In short, most of the material is not relevant enough to reproduce here, hence only a few, typical rather than revealing, passages will be referred to or, if needs be, presented in the following.

There are quite a few references to an antarāparinibbāyin. Most frequent are the passages where an antarāparinibbāyin is mentioned as one of five classes of

32 According to Barao (1955, pp.283 & 291) the following supposed "sects" are said to have accepted an antarābhava: Sarvāstivādin-s, Sammātika-s, Pārśvāla-s, later Mahāsāsaka-s, and Dārśanikī-s; while an intermediate state is said to be rejected by: Mahāsāṅghika-s, Mahāsāsaka-s, Theravādin-s, Viḥārayuddhī-s, and in the Sātipatthāna-bhidharmasūtra. In an article, Wayman (1974, p.227) mentions a similar list of "sects": i.e. Pārśavālī-s, Sāmmitī-yā-s, Sarvāstivādin-s, Vaśi-su-rīya-s, and later Mahāsāsaka-s; contra: Theravādin-s, Viḥārayuddhī-s, Mahāsāṅghika-s, and in a text (Sātipatthāna-bhidharmasūtra) of Dharmaguptaka-s who, according to him, issued forth from the former. He refers to Barao (1955) and does not give further references for the views of these supposed sects, nor does he examine the "sects" themselves more closely in his article. Cf. Vallée Poussin, L. de la, (1926), Vol.III, p.32, n.1: Sectes qui nient Antarābhava: Mahāsāṅghikas, Ekavyavāhārikas, Lokuttaravādīns, Kukutikās, Mahāsāsakas (Vasumitra), Viḥārayuddhīns (Vibhāṣā 19.4).

33 Like for instance the late (traditionally first century AD, see Warder (1970, pp.346f.) Sarvāstivādin abhidharma-work Mahāvibbāṇa and in an allegedly (Li-kouang (1949), pp.96-98) Mūlasarvāstivādin addition to the Sūtra-piṭaka, Saddharma-piṭaka-bhidharmasūtra (both will be referred to more extensively later).

34 E.g. MN I, p.265,1,25 - p.266,1,25 and MN II, p.156,1,29 - p.157,1,3, the interpretation of the term gandhabba that is appropriate in this context can be (and probably was) inferred from these passages; see also the definitions in later abhidharma-literature, discussed towards the end of this paragraph. The use of the term gandhabba is not to be confused here with Vedic conceptions regarding one or more gandharvā(-a). This term will be explained in the following.


36 Abbreviations (following Trencher (1924ff.) refer to the corresponding text-editions mentioned (including these abbreviations) in the bibliography of Pāli texts, the name of the editor(s) and the year of publication will not be mentioned. The abbreviations used in the footnotes (mainly of variant readings) that are extant in the text-editions consulted follow the conventions used in these editions, these notes will be printed in a somewhat smaller point-size. The text-editions of the Nīlanāṭṭa-series feature an "N" preceding the first-mentioned abbreviations. Those passages that are referred to in the following but are not cited either in the main text or the footnotes can be consulted in the provisional work-editions (Appendix II) provided on floppy-disks, this appendix is, like Appendix I, preceded by a table of contents).
anāgāmin-s\(^9\) in more or less mechanical enumerations regarding the subject\(^8\). Many of these passages are concerned with intricacies of classification regarding those five categories or stages and their respective "eschatological" implications\(^4\) and are not very relevant for the understanding of an antarābhava. The most current strain of interpretation that appears from the material available seems to take an antarāparinibbāyin as a type of anāgāmin who reaches nibbāna before half of his lifetime in a brahmā-world has expired\(^2\). The interpretation of an antarāparinibbāyin as a type

\(^9\) Here used in its later -- in abhidharma and the commentaries -- generally accepted meaning of a "non-returner", one who does not return (to rebirth as a man, but will be reborn in one of the highest heavens and there obtain arhatship): the third stage of four in the breaking of the bonds (samyojana-s) which keep a man back from arhatship. In the oldest passage referring to these four stages, the description of the third does not use the word anāgāmin (DN I, p.156, II, p.92, III, p.107; MN I, p.146) and anāgāmin does not mean breaking the bonds, but cultivation of good habits (SN III, p.161, I, p.200-202; AN I, p.64 & 120, II, p.160, V, pp.86 & 171), explanation and references extracted from a dictionary-entry in Rhys-Davids and Stede (1921), p.31b-32a; for a more elaborate treatment and more references the reader is referred to this article. Seven and nine classes of anāgāmin-s are also met with (see Jenner in Hābāgiyā, Vol.5, p.496b, II.44f. and p.498b, II.99f.).

There are further subdivisions of antarāparinibbāyin-s too, they will not be discussed here, the reader is referred to Jenner's article in Hābāgiyā, Vol.5, p.496b, II.13ff.).


\(^4\) In a text of the sutta-pitaka, the Aṭṭhakottiyikāya, the antarāparinibbāyin is further specified as released from the fetters pertaining to the lower (kāma-world, i.e. the first five samyojana-s: sakkāya-diṭṭhi, vicikicchā, sīla-bba-paṭipādo, kāmacchando, ṣāyāpado), released from the fetters of attaining rebirth, but not released from the fetters of coming into existence: AN II, p.134, II.25-29 (cf. *NAN II*, p.241, I.27 - p.242, I.4):

4. Katamassa bhikkhave puggalassa arambhāgiyāmi samyojanaṃ pahinnā, uppattipatilabhikāni samyojanaṃ pahinnā, bhavapatiṭṭhikāni samyojanaṃ appahinnā?

Antarāparinibbāyīsas. Imassa kho bhikkhave puggalassa arambhāgiyāni samyojanaṃ pahinnā, uppattipatilabhikāni samyojanaṃ pahinnā, bhavapatiṭṭhikāni samyojanaṃ appahinnā.

1 MA: upapatti-
2 MA: upapatti

(N.B. at the moment I can give no arguments either for or against the variant reading uppattī/ upapatti, see notes on *Kv II*, p.361, I.8 - p.366, I.26 (cf. *NK* p.319, I.4 - p.323, I.18) below).

For a more elaborate exposition on the release of these fetters see AN IV, p.70, I.4 - p.74, I.22, esp. p.70, I.9 - p.72, I.2.


41. Katamo ca puggalo anāgāmi?

Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcañnaṃ arambhāgiyānam sañña-jānānam pañicchhaya opaṭṭhiko hoti, tattha parinibbāyi anāvattidhammo tasmi lokā: ayaṃ vuccati puggalo anāgāmi.

42. Katamo ca puggalo antarā-parinibbāyī?

Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcañnaṃ arambhāgiyānam sañña-jānānam pañicchhaya opaṭṭhiko hoti, tattha parinibbāyi anāvattidhammo tasmi lokā: so upapannaṃ vā sanāntarā apattam vā venumājhami
of anāgāmin who reaches nībāna from an antarābhava is sometimes mentioned as the view of "an opponent" and it is also propounded in Vasubandhu's Abhidhamma-kosabhāsya. Vasubandhu gives no reference in support of this interpretation. He

Ayūpamānaṃ ayīramaggam saṅjāneti upariṇāmaṇaṃ saṅjānojananaṃ pahāṇyāya: ayāṃ vuccati puggalo antarā-paninnibbāyi.

43. Katamo ca puggalo upahocc-paninnibbāyi?
Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcannam orambhāgiyānaṃ saṅjānojananaṃ parikkhaṭṭa opapātiko hoti, tattha paninnibbāyi anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā: so aṭṭhakathāya ayāṃ vuccati puggalo upahocc-paninnibbāyi.

44. Katamo ca puggalo asankhāra-paninnibbāyi?
Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcannan orambhāgiyānaṃ saṅjānojananaṃ parikkhaṭṭa opapātiko hoti, tattha paninnibbāyi anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā: so asankhāreṇa ayīramaggam saṅjāneti upariṇāmaṇaṃ saṅjānojananaṃ pahāṇyāya: ayāṃ vuccati puggalo asankhāra-paninnibbāyi.

45. Katamo ca puggalo sasankhāra-paninnibbāyi?
Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcannam orambhāgiyānaṃ saṅjānojananaṃ parikkhaṭṭa opapātiko hoti, tattha paninnibbāyi anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā: so sasankhāreṇa ayīramaggam saṅjāneti upariṇāmaṇaṃ saṅjānojananaṃ pahāṇyāya: ayāṃ vuccati puggalo sasankhāra-paninnibbāyi.

46. Katamo ca puggalo uddhamso to akaniṭṭhāgami?
Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcannam orambhāgiyānaṃ saṅjānojananaṃ parikkhaṭṭa opapātiko hoti, tattha paninnibbāyi anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā: so aṭṭhā ceto aṭṭhama gacchati, aṭṭhā ceto sudassām gacchati, sudassā ceto sudassām gacchati, sudassiyā ceto aṭṭhāmaṃ gacchati, akaniṭṭhe ayīramaggam saṅjāneti upariṇāmaṇaṃ saṅjānojananaṃ pahāṇyāya: ayāṃ vuccati puggalo uddhamso to akaniṭṭhāgami.

1 Bussi IV, uppannam, Note NPn, ST, Syā-, uppannam.
2 Note NPp, ST, kā(ṭ)ikīyāṃ.
3 Note NPp, ST, sussaṃ.

 Cf. AV II, p.134, II.20-37, and cf. Vism pp.709-710, esp. p.710, II.8-15; abhidhamma by Buddhaghosa fifth century AD:


43 For instance in the Kathāvatthu see Kv II, p.366, II.7-24 (vss.12-13, discussed below), where this viewpoint is associated with Pahobhesiyya-s and Sammitiya-s. See also the Udāna-commentary Paramathadipoti Udānaṭṭhakathā (Ud-a p.92, 1.20 - p.93, 1.17), commentary by Dhammapalī on Udāna-antology ("verses of uplift"), the Udāna-passage that is being commented upon hardly allows the discussion that "some people" are said to have generated on its behalf). Both an antarābhava and an antarāparinnibbāyin pertaining to it are denied, the speculations concerning it are denounced as being based on misinterpretations of scriptural evidence (cf. the short commentary on the same passage in the Sārathappakāsinī (commentary by Buddhaghosā on Ky: Spk II, p.372, 1.27-p.373, 1.2) also denying an antarābhava on the same grounds).

44 AhkKBh III, p.411, II.5-11 = Pradhan (1975), p.122, II.2-7. (Vallee Poussin III (1926), p.38), the relevant part is cited and translated below.


antarāparinnibbāyin katamah 1 upapattissamyojane praḥine abhinīrvinntissamyojane aprāhine (T.118a) antarābhavam abhinīrvinntayyann eva yo māraṃ saṃmukkhāyta duhkhaṇyāntum anuprāprutito abhinīrvo vantarābhave upapattisamagamanāya cetayyann eva yo māraṃ saṃmukkhāyta
does mention an allegedly Vibhajyavādin-opinion in favour of the former interpretation, recorded in Vibhāṣa 69, 74, which is cited in AbhKhīh III, p.413, II.1f. = Pradhan (1975), p.122, II.14-16 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.38):

anye punar āhuh -- āyuhpramāṇāntare vā devasamāṃpāntare vā yathā klesān prajahati so 'antarāparinirvāyi (sa punar dhātugato vā parinirvāti ...

Others, again, say: "An antarāparinirvāyi is someone who relinquishes his defilements either when ‘in-between’ regarding his life-span or when ‘in-between’ regarding his presence with gods. (The passage continues with an explanation of the tripartition of an antarāparinirvāyi into a dhātugata, a sāṃjñāgata, and a vitarkagata)."

Both interpretations were, apparently, already current at the time of the Kathavatthu, Udāna (& Āṭṭhakāthā), Mahāvibhāṣā and Abhidharmakośabhāṣya. The "antarābhava-interpretation" appears to have been the latest (as far as textual evidence is concerned) and apparently the more controversial of the two. It is difficult to decide on the basis of the material discussed so far which is the "oldest" or "more original" interpretation. Evidence points towards the first interpretation as having enjoyed the aura of orthodoxy first, but it is not unthinkable that a large part of evidence of the second interpretation is not yet accessible, was lost, or maybe even has developed underground rather than having been committed to writing. Theories concerning an antarābhava do not seem to have been matters eagerly recorded in earlier stages of Buddhism. Nevertheless more or less popular speculations regarding it might still
have been going on in one way or the other, as might be testified by the fact that the
first references to an antarābhava are complaints concerning the wrong views of
certain sects that purportedly have misinterpreted the suña-phrases that they tried to
adduce as evidence. If the first interpretation, in which an antarāparinibbāyin is
contrasted with an upahaccaparinibbāyin, would be the most original, that is to say, if
its name was designed to be contrasted with the latter -- as it, regarding its' above
definition, in fact is -- than the term antarā does not seem to be the most eloquent
choice. In analogy to the pair asankhāra- and sasnakhāraparinibbāyin, one would at
least have expected something like an anupahaccaparinibbāyin here. In this respect
the first interpretation of an antarāparinibbāyin seems to be a reinterpretation already.
In a reference to the Mahāvībhāṣā in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya mention is made of
still another interpretation, (indirectly) referred to in Mahāvībhāṣā 69,74.

AbhbBh III, p.411, ll.9-11 = Pradhan (1975), p.122, ll.5-7 (Vallée Poussin, (1926),
Vol.III, p.38):

... asaty antarābhave katham antarāparinirvāyī nāma syāt! antarā nāma devāh sansūty cke l upa-
padyādasyo 'pi hi nāma devāh evam sātī prasajyante49 ! tazān neyam kalpanā śādhivi!

... If an antarābhava does not exist, how could there be (a class) called antarāparinirvāyin! Some
(maintain): "That are deities named Antara-." This being so, gods named Upapadya- etc. (would)
also be applicable, wouldn't they? Therefore this construction is not right.50

A lot more remains to be said about an antarāparinibbāyin, but that would require
research into the origins and developments of this concept and into discussions re-
garding it in different schools of older Buddhism, a time-consuming undertaking that
does not seem to lead to results that would be of much relevance to this thesis. There-
fore I should like to leave the discussion of the term at this modest level of elabora-
tion.

It might be interesting, however, to note here that speculations regarding an antarā-
parinibbāyin, notably the first two interpretations mentioned, seem to have survived
until this day in the practice of 'pho ba44, the transferring of perception into
Amitābha's Western Paradise bDe ba can (Skt. Sukhavati) at death and the concept of
bar do'i rhos grol (being "released by hearing in the bar do-s") after death successive-
ly.

We shall now return to the term antarābhava. In another abhidhamma-work, the
Kathavatthu, we find in a section named antarābhavakathā a rather lengthy dis-
cussion concerning an antarābhava. Even though the antarābhavakathā is not very
informative regarding an antarābhava itself, it still is of some interest to us here, as it
may help to illustrate the nature of the "paperu-wars waged on or against its behalf52.

48 As pointed out by Jenner in Hobbigirin, Vol.5, p.498a, ll.29-31, Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.38,
l.15 erroneously refers to Vībhāṣā 79, 7 (unlike the reference on p.39, l.6).
49 Pradhan (1975), prasajyate.
50 See further arguments against this interpretation concluded in AbhbBh III, pp.412, ll.3-4 = Pradhan
(1975), p.122, ll.13f. (Vallée Poussin, (1926), Vol.III, p.39), the interpretation is not valid because it
does not allow of the tripartition of the antarāparinirvāyin (into a dhātu-gata, a sāmyāt-gata, and a
viśu-kāgata) as it is discussed there.
51 See e.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.5, ll.13-16, cf. Specific Literature on 'Pho ba, listed in Ap-
pendix I.
52 Pāli text and summarising translation by Aung and Rhys-Davids (1915) of the unutarābhavakathā
are included in the work-editions in Appendix II(a). A similar discussion but now from the point of
view of the proponents of an antarābhava can be found in the considerably later
SECTION 1.1, ANTARĀBHAVA AND BAR DO

The concern that underlies the first objections raised against the existence of an antarābhava in this polemic text -- to wit, that it should either be a kāmabhava, rūpabhava, or an arūpabhava and that it should be intermediate between these states -- is also voiced in all kinds of opinions regarding this question that the Mahāvibhāṣā reviews before presenting, last but not least, its own ideas, Mahāvibhāṣā 19, 4:

La Vibhāṣā signale plusieurs opinions: pas d'antarābhava; antarābhava précédent la naissance dans les trois Dhatus; antarābhava précédent la naissance de Kāmadhātu; enfin, le seul opinion correcte, antarābhava précédent la naissance de Kāmadhātu et Rūpadhātu.53

The possibilities of antarābhava-s have experienced a considerable proliferation in the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānāsūtra54, where we find no less than seventeen (sub)species of antarābhava mentioned. In this sūtra we also find reference to another important theoretical issue that apparently gave rise to some problems, i.e. which skandha(-s) survive(s) after death and transmigrate(s) in an intermediate state55, an

Summary by Vallée Poussin, (1926), Vol.III, p.32, n.1; see the last note in the following passage by Li-kouang and the first item at the enumeration of properties of an antarābhava.

53 See Li-kouang (1949), pp.52-53, cf. Taishō 721.6.2 (pp.152-209) and PTT 37.243.3.5-38.24.1.6; notes in 8 point size as in Li-kouang (1949):

2. Les Trāyāstīpinī (K. 25-35), i) Les dix-sept espèces d'antarābhava

Sous la rubrique 17, le texte décrit dix-sept espèces d'existence intermédiaire (tchong-yin, antarābhava): 1. l'existence intermédiaire de ceux qui meurent au Jambudvīpa et, renaisssent aux cieux; 2. celle de ceux qui meurent au Jambudvīpa et renaisissent dans l'Uttaraku; 3. celle de ceux qui meurent aux Jambudvīpa et renaisissent au Pūrvavideha; 5. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttaraku et renaisssent, aux cieux (cette renaissance est dite inférieure); 6. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttaraku et renaisssent aux cieux (renaissance moyenne); 7. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttaraku et renaisssent au ciel des Trāyāstīpinī (renaissance supérieure); 8. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttaraku et renaisssent au ciel des Trāyāstīpinī (la même que la précédente ?); 9. celle de ceux qui meurent au Godāniya et renaisssent aux cieux; 10. celle de ceux qui meurent au Pūrvavideha et renaisssent aux cieux; 11. celle de ceux qui meurent parmi les Preta et renaisssent aux cieux; 12. celle de ceux qui meurent comme animaux et renaisssent aux deux premiers cieux; 13. celle de ceux qui meurent dans les enfers et renaisssent aux cieux; 14. celle de ceux qui meurent au Jambudvīpa et renaisssent encore au Jambudvīpa; 15. celle de ceux qui meurent dans des cieux inférieurs et renaisssent dans des cieux supérieurs; 16. celle de ceux qui meurent dans des cieux supérieurs et renaisssent dans des cieux inférieurs; 17. celle de ceux qui meurent au Pūrvavideha et renaisssent au Godāniya et vice versa1.

1 Cf. SUS, k. 34, s. XIV, 2, pp. 78b-78b; N.B. SUS = SaddharmasmṛtyUpasthānaSūtra.

54 See Li-kouang (1949), pp.52-53:

Vu les lieux de naissance énumérés (les quatre continents, les trois durgati et les cieux), cet exposé implique l'admission de l'existence de l'antarābhava dans le Kāmadhātu et dans le Rūpadhātu. C'est là, comme on le sait, une des doctrines caractéristiques des Sarvāstivādin1, et que reconnaissons aussi les Saṃmūlīya et les Pūbbasalīya2 mais que refusaient les Mahāsāṅghika, les Mahāśākā3 et les Vibhajīvādin (pāli: Vibbajjavādin ou Vibbajjivādin4, ainsi que les Theravādin de la tradition mériandole5. Dans un autre passage du SUS6 (en prose), sur la mort des damnés de l'Avīci, il est dit: "... Ces damnés étant morts ainsi, la matière de leur existence intermédiaire (tchong-yew-sā, antarābhava-rūpā) se produit; elle est invisible (pou-thian, anidara-sā), plus forte que tout obstacle (pou-thouei, aprātīhava), et leur corps est pareil a celui d'un enfant de huit ans... ". La situation doctrinale du SUS, en ce qui concerne l'antarābhava, coïncide donc avec celle des Sarvāstivādin, selon lesquels "dans tous les lieux de naissance des dhatu matériels (yeou-sūkiai, c'est-a-dire Kāmadhātu et Rūpadhātu) existe l'antarābhava, où l'on reçoit aussi rétribution-

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52 Summary by Vallée Poussin, (1926), Vol.III, p.32, n.1; see the last note in the following passage by Li-kouang and the first item at the enumeration of properties of an antarābhava.

53 Summary by Vallée Poussin, (1926), Vol.III, p.32, n.1; see the last note in the following passage by Li-kouang and the first item at the enumeration of properties of an antarābhava.

54 Summary by Vallée Poussin, (1926), Vol.III, p.32, n.1; see the last note in the following passage by Li-kouang and the first item at the enumeration of properties of an antarābhava.

55 Summary by Vallée Poussin, (1926), Vol.III, p.32, n.1; see the last note in the following passage by Li-kouang and the first item at the enumeration of properties of an antarābhava.
issue by the way, that in the antarābhavakathā of the Kathāvatthu is addressed as one of the problems that should be accounted for by those advocating an antarābhava. We shall return to this sūtra after the discussion of some later abhidharma-works.

As far as this study is concerned it would not be appropriate to go beyond noting that these theoretical discussions do exist, an elaborate treatment of the various theories concerning these points should not detain us here. We shall, however, return to the "skandha-problem" at several occasions in the following. The acceptance of an antarābhava by some schools seems to have had unwelcome implications for them as to who experiences such an antarābhava and how to define or explain the situation in terms of skandhas, for, in a continuation of perception beyond death in a disembodied state, the suggestion of some kind of imperishable entity ("a soul") stands out rather conspicuously. Some measure of unease regarding the obviously quite unsatisfactory state of current Buddhist theory for conceptualising dying, death, and rebirth in this manner seems to have contributed in no small degree to the construction of more sophisticated theories and speculations regarding the moment of death and a supposed period immediately after; ultimately, as we shall see in chapter 2, resulting in descriptions of a separate bar do for such a phase.

Another issue that I should like to briefly introduce here concerns a possible relation between theories regarding prātyayasamutpāda and antarābhava. In the twelvefold chain of dependent origination the third nidāna, vijñāna, is preceded by avidyā and samskāra-s. At this point I am not aware of any convincing theories either for or against a temporal precedence of a tenfold over a twelvefold version of a prātyayasamutpāda or vice versa, all I may safely say now is that both do not belong to the earliest strata in Buddhist theory. As we shall see in chapter 3, the concepts avidyā and samskāra-s play a role of pivotal importance in later descriptions of the chos ŋid bar do in the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs, quite in accordance with the notion that mental dispositions and habitual tendencies are a predominant factor under these circumstances. These two nidāna-s cause some tension in the general interpretation of vijñāna as referring to the moment of conception. It might be significant in this respect that in later works, like the Lalitavistara and the Abhidharmakośabhāṣyā,

consistant en rūpa-skandha", c'est-à-dire que dans l'antarābhava existe le rūpa-skandha, aussi bien qu'y existent les quatre autres skandha-s.

1 Cf. Mahā-vihāra (voir inf., note 5); Knöl, III, 14.
4 Cf. Mahāvihāra, k. 68, S. XXII, 3, p. 746; k. 69, 76a; k. 125, S. XXII, 6, p. 35b; k. 175, S. XXII, 7, p. 88b; voir aussi k. 60, S. XXII, 3, p. 370 (où est citée la théorie des Vībhāṣyavādin selon laquelle "l'esprit non-souillé nature aussi dans la continuité de l'existence").
5 Cf. Kathv., VIII, 2.
6 N.B. SUS = SaddharmasamrttyUpasthānasūtra.
7 Cf. SUS, k. 13.1, S. XIV, 1, p. 59b.
8 Mahā-vihāra, k. 119, S. XXII, 5, p. 79a, où, avant donner cette théorie proprement Svāvācāvādin, le texte cite six autres théories concernant l'antarābhava, toutes différentes de la théorie de SUS.

56 See KⅡ, p.362, II.22-24, = Nk v p.321, II.5f. 55
57 See e.g. Bernhard (1968), references to sources there. In a recent article Vetter (1994) discusses some material relevant to developments in prātyayasamutpāda-versions; the position of avidyā and samskāra-s is not discussed there.
58 See in Vetter (1988), pp.45ff, esp. pp.47f., where the awkwardness of this construction is discussed from a different angle.
59 See for instance AbhKBh III, where this assumption is elaborated on the basis of kārikā-s 20-21 (AbhKBh III, p.436, 1.8 - p.437, 1.11 = Pradhan (1975), p.131, 1.15 - p.132, 1.6).
avidya and samskara-s have been associated with influences from a previous life. The conceptualisation of an intermediate state ruled by karmic influences might have profited to some extent from this confusion concerning the first two nidana-s in the twelvefold chain.

More relevant for this study are considerations in later abhidharma-works. The most elaborate treatment of an antarabhava is to be found in the third chapter of the Abhidharmakośa and its Bhasya attributed to Vasubandhu, which we incidentally have referred to already in the foregoing. But the Mahavibhāṣa, too, presents a considerable amount of material on the subject.

First I should like to present a short survey of the contents regarding kārikā-s and bhāṣya and a table of references:

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60 This possible connection was mentioned already (more or less indirectly) by Wayman (1974), pp.229f.
61 Probably to be dated somewhere around the fourth or fifth century, for recent considerations regarding "a Vasubandhu" see Schmithausen (1992).
Short indication of the contents of the relevant parts of *AbhKbh III*:

ad 4b-d (p.389, 1.16 - p.392, 1.10)\(^{63}\):
- an antarābhava is not a gati;
- an antarābhava is upapāduka;
- definition of antarābhava;
- evidence of the existence of an antarābhava;
- evidence continued: the intermediate being is equivalent with the gandhabba;
- further proof;
- intermediate being bears resemblance to being of (future) pūrvakālabhava;
- definition pūrvakālabhava;
- properties of the intermediate being;
- desire destines rebirth; vision of parents while in the act of cohabitation;
- four garbhavakrānti-s;
- not an ātmā but the skandha-s enter the womb;
- discussion of the pratītyasamutpāda in this context;
- discussion of four bhava-s (antarābhava, upapattibhava, pūrvakālabhava, maranabhava);
- nutrition in the different realms (N.B. 40c-41a (p.494, 1.8 - p.496, 1.13): explanation of the synonyms for an intermediate being);
- viññāna in birth and death and observations regarding the process of dying;
- not relevant to the subject of the present concern.

ad 5 (p.405, 1.1-9): definition of antarābhava;
ad 11-12b (p.410, 1.10 - p.410, 1.13):
- evidence of the existence of an antarābhava;
- evidence continued: the intermediate being is equivalent with the gandhabba;
- further proof;
- intermediate being bears resemblance to being of (future) pūrvakālabhava;
- definition pūrvakālabhava;
- properties of the intermediate being;
- desire destines rebirth; vision of parents while in the act of cohabitation;
- four garbhavakrānti-s;
- not an ātmā but the skandha-s enter the womb;
- discussion of the pratītyasamutpāda in this context;
- discussion of four bhava-s (antarābhava, upapattibhava, pūrvakālabhava, maranabhava);
- nutrition in the different realms (N.B. 40c-41a (p.494, 1.8 - p.496, 1.13): explanation of the synonyms for an intermediate being);
- viññāna in birth and death and observations regarding the process of dying;
- not relevant to the subject of the present concern.

\(^{63}\) See Pradhan (1975), p.119, 1.3 - p.120, 1.5 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.28-31.
\(^{64}\) See Pradhan (1975), p.120, II.6-14 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.31-33 (N.B. p.32, n.1: references).
\(^{65}\) See Pradhan (1975), p.120, 1.14 - p.121, 1.18 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.33-36.
\(^{66}\) See Pradhan (1975), p.121, 1.18 - p.122, 1.2 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.36-38.
\(^{68}\) See Pradhan (1975), p.123, 1.20 - p.124, 1.18 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.43-45.
\(^{71}\) See Pradhan (1975), p.126, 1.19 - p.127, 1.27 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.50-54.
\(^{72}\) See Pradhan (1975), p.127, 1.27 - p.129, 1.4 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.54-56.
\(^{73}\) See Pradhan (1975), p.129, II.5-21 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.56ff.
\(^{74}\) See Pradhan (1975), p.129, 1.21 - p.131, 1.2 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.57-60.
\(^{75}\) See Pradhan (1975), p.131, 1.3 - p.151, 1.15 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.60-117.
\(^{76}\) See Pradhan (1975), p.151, 1.15 - p.152, 1.6 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.117-119.
References to:

**manomayakāya**  
*AbhKBh* II.243, 1.20  
(II.209)*

**antarāparinirvāyaṁ**  
*AbhKBh* III.494, 1.13  
(III.122), cf. 555,  
l.18-21 (204, esp.  
n.3)

**antarābhava**

*AbhKBh* I.101, 1.20f.  
(1.72)*

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Cf. *AbhKBh* IV.741, II.9-11  
(IV.234)

*AbhKBh* VI.948, II.1-5.  
(V.210); 952,  
1.9-959, l.12  
(215-220); 963,  
1.4-965, l.7  
(225-227)

*AbhKBh* VIII (VI.140, n.2),  
cf. II.243, 1.20,  
(II.209)*

*AbhKBh* IX (VI.258,  
esp.n.2)  
(cf. *PTT* 115 277.4.  
7-283.5.8: *gan zag  
dgag pa*)
N.B. all references are to the AbhKbh-edition by Svāmī Śāstri.

For reasons of space not all the material gathered in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya can be discussed here. Most of the material that Vasubandhu presents regarding an antarābhava, pertains, as I indicated in the introductory remarks to this chapter, to a state that we find characterised later, in Tibetan Buddhist Bar do'i thos grol-texts, as srīd pa'i bar do, the bar do of becoming. As this bar do is not our main concern here, I shall as much as possible confine myself here to the passages that are relevant to a concept of bar do in general and to the later concept of a chos rīd bar do in particular.

In the general conception of an antarābhava the most important features that stand out in Vasubandhu’s presentation are:

- an antarābhava is intermediate between two gati-s and as such it stretches between the phase of dying (mṛtyu/maranabhāva) and the phase of rebirth (upapattibhāva).


References to Pradhan (1975):
- AbhKbh IV, p.554, 1.3-7 (III.204, esp. n.3) = Pradhan (1975), p.186, 1.21-24.
- AbhKbh VII, p.1110, 11.4-7 (VI.103) = Pradhan (1975), p.422, 1.7-12.
- AbhKbh VIII (VI.140, n.2) not applicable.
- AbhKbh IX (VI.258, esp. n.2) (cf. PIT.115.277.4.7-283.5.8: gn’un zug drug pa = Pradhan (1975), pp.461-479).

Notably kārikā-s 4, 9-12, 14 and 37-38 with bhāṣya (and Vasomitra’s Spūṭārthāvyākhyā).


- it is not a gati itself\(^6\), properly speaking one is not born there\(^7\);

antaraṃbhava(h) kāmadhātavā rūpadhātavā copapadyamānasavrūpyadhātavs cyavamānasaya

Sec the information regarding this point in the passage by Li-kouang (1949) that was cited earlier in this paragraph.

The properties of beings pertaining to an intermediate state were thought to be similar to those of beings in a rūpadhātavā as well as to humans of the first kalpa (e.g. AbhKṣ Bh III, p.554, I.3-7 = Pradhan (1975), p.186, I.21-24 = Vallée Poussin (1926), pp.203f.) and see also the Udāyisūtra as it is cited in AbhKṣ Bh II, p.241, I.6 - p.243, I.6 = Pradhan (1975), p.71, I.26 - p.72, I.7 = Vallée Poussin II (1923), pp.209f.) -- the gods possessing a body of mental origin (manomaya-kāya) are referred here to the rūpadhātavā and not to the āruṣyadhātavā (see also, Vallée Poussin II (1923), p.209, nn.2f.) -- and also in some respects (by some schools) to properties attributed to beings in the āruṣyadhātavā (e.g. manomaya-kāya see Y p.20, I.14: su punar antaraṃbhava āruṣyopapatīiyatananm sthāpayitvā draṣṭavyaḥ, cf. Vallée Poussin II (1923), pp.209f., n.3 mentioned above).

\(^1\) Pradhan (1975): gatyantarālatvat.


\(^7\) See AbhKṣ Bh III, p.405, I.1-4 = Pradhan (1975), p.120, I.6-9 = Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.32f.:

ko 'yan antaraṃbhava nāma? mṛtyuṃpapatiḥbhavayor anta rā bhavatiḥ yaḥ l maraṇaḥbhavasyopapattiḥbhavasya cāntarā ya atmabhāvo 'hinirvartta deśaṃtropapattisamprataye, so 'ntaraṃbhava ity ucyate; gatyantaraṃlatvat\(^1\)

What is this antaraṃbhava? That which is here between the phase of divine and the phase of birth. That which exists as an entity\(^2\) between the phase of dying and the phase of birth, bound to reach birth in another situation, is called "antaraṃbhava" for being intermediate between two gati-s.

Cf. Y p.20, I.9f.:

tasya punāḥ paryāyā[7] antaraṃbhava ity ucyate maraṇabhoṭipapattiḥbhavayor antaraśle prādurbhāvāl

\(^1\) kā- gatyantarā. Pradhan (1975): gatyantarālatvat.


\(^7\) See AbhKṣ Bh III, p.405, I.5-9 = Pradhan (1975), p.120, I.9-14 = Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.33):

katham ayaṃ jātaḥ ca nāma na copapannā bhavati? ganyadeśāṇupetavān nopapanno 'utraṃbhavāḥ ll.10=1 upapattigato\(^1\) hi 'upapannāḥ ity ucyate; pader gatyarthaḥvāl l na cāyaṃ ganyadeśāṃ upagato 'ntaraṃbhavāḥ, tasmān nopapannāḥ ll.10 kāh punar asau deśo gantavyaḥ? yatraśiṣiptasya vipākasyābhīvyaktih, samāptitā ca l

Spūṭārthāvyākhyā: pader gatyarthatvād iti l "pada gatav" iti pathyate, tenopapannāśabdasyopagātārthaṃ darśayati l

How can he be designated as having come into existence (jīta) and yet not as being born (upapanno)? Not having arrived at the situation where one should go to, the (being pertaining to the) antaraṃbhava is not born (upapanna). For, (in) what is called "upapanna" (by connotation) is (implied): having arrived at a birth; as the connotation of gati\(^2\) is (also valid) for pad- and i- (constructions: pader\(^2\)). And this (being pertaining to the) antaraṃbhava has not arrived at the situation where it should go to, therefore he is not born (upapanna). What again is the situation where he has to go to? (He should go) where the manifestation and completion of the effected' fruition is.

\(^1\) Pradhan (1975), p.120, n.2, MS. upapagato.
- regarding the mode of "birth" (yoni) it is characterised as "spontaneously generated" (upapāduka)."

The properties of an antarābhava almost seamlessly merge with those of a being experiencing it, only rarely the term "antarābhavika" or "antarābhavastha" is used when (explicitly) referring to an "intermediate being". The intermediate being is characterised as follows:

- the intermediate being is designated as of mental origin;

Also:

\[ \text{upapāduka} \text{ yoni katmājye satNa avikalj ahincndriyQ sarvāgapratyahgopetI s&d upa-} \]
\[ \text{jsyante } \text{I am } \text{eva upapādanc' r2dhuk2rlN2d } \text{"upapādanc" ity ucyanlc, tad ynthj} \]
\[ \text{deva-} \]
\[ \text{n2cak2n lar} \text{bhavik5dayah 11811.} \]

Which is the spontaneously generated mode of birth? Those beings that appear at once, complete with unimpaired faculties of sense, endowed with all members and sub-members, are, for this very reason, for being able to be generated spontaneously, called "spontaneously generated" — namely: gods, denizens of hell, beings pertaining to the intermediate state, etc.

Cf. Y p.21,1.6:

sa tatropapādukaḥ paripūrṇaṣadāyatanā ca jāyate II


Cf. vrākyāḥ; without any graded embryonic intermediate stages (freely rendered).

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1 Also: arriving at <gam>.
2 As in (upa)-pamā (upa)-patt (upa)-pad. = (upa)-ita < (upa)-i; vrākyāḥ: "pader gatyarthatvā" is read as "pada gatau" (a reference to Pāṇini, Pāṇiniyadhyānti p. X.360?), by this it shows the connotation of "arrived" (upagata) for the word "born" (upapama).
3 See Vallē Poussin III (1926), p.33, n.2 (terminology following AbhK)."
he bears resemblance to the form of the being of the phase (after birth and) before death, (the five skandha-s in) the period in between birth and death\(^1\).\(^2\)
- the size of this being is like that of a five to six year-old child, having the appearance of a youthful bodhisattva endowed with all marks; he is visible for other beings of his class and by the pure divine eye.


yatra copapadyate tadākṣārtir ...

On the two colours see also: BoBh p.390,1.20 - p.391,1.4:


tetraśubhakārāntarābhavō bhūrirvartate | tadyathā kṛṣṇasya kutapasya nirbhāsaḥ andhakāra-mārśyā vā rātryāḥ || a(?)ṣubhakārāṇaḥ tadyathā sūkhasya parasya nirbhāsajyotsnāyā vā rātryāḥ ||

And also, Mahā-Ranakūṭā, Taśhā (9) 310 (41), p.328a.11.13ff. referred to by Bareau in Höbogitrin, Vol.5, p.561a, ll 19ff., Bareau presents a summary: "En ce qui concerne l'aspect, les Étères intermédiaires sont de deux sortes: ceux dont l'aspect est laissé. Ceux des Enfers sont laisss comme du bois brûlé, ceux des Animaux sont comme de la fumée, ceux des Trépassés ("Gaki, preta) comme de l'eau, ceux des Hommes et des Dieux sont couleur d'or. Dans le Plan Matériel, il y en a aussi intermédiaires car il n'y a pas d'Étères intermédiaires car il n'y a pas de forme ...".

1 Emend: abhinirvartate.
2 Vyākhyā: because the gati they are coming to and theantarābhava leading towards it is cast by this one and the same karma.
3 See vyākhyā.
4 It is a sort of blanket (made of the hair of the mountain goat). - M.M. Williams' Skt. Eng. Dictionary. For this word Tib. has phyar ba which may mean here a flag according to the Tib. Eng. Dictionary of S. C. Das. This is however doubtful. Comparing the meaning of the word samn below, for Sam. sustrā, "cloth" it appears that kutapu means here kumaṇa "blanket", as Tib. samn is used in the sense, e.g. samn dkar po is sukha kumaṇa "white blanket".
5 Tib. snom ba: MS nirbhāsaḥ. It is also below.
6 Tib. dkar po: MS apavādasya.
7 Tib. samn bu dkar po. Generally samn bu is a "woollen cloth".
8 Tib. adds -ari, (sīn).
9 Tib. nāus vijñāṇauvādhānā (mān par ses pāśi ma gnas pa'i phyir).
10 Tib. omis vijñāṇauvādā. -sīn.

96 See AbhKBh III, p.420, ll.9f. = Pradhan(1975), p.123, 1.28 - p.124, 1.2 (Valleé Poussin III (1926), pp.43f.):

pramāṇarṇu tathā pañcaśadvārasya dārakasya, sa tu paśvindriyō bhavati | bodhisattvasya punar tathā samāpṛnayaṇāḥ, salakṣaṇānuvāyanaṇaḥ ca |

(His) stature, then, is as of a five to six year-old child; though he is of keen senses.

For a bodhisattva moreover, like being in full youth and having all marks and secondary marks.

See also AbhKBh III, p.422, ll.13-15 = Pradhan(1975), p.124, ll.16-18 (Valleé Poussin III (1926), pp.45).

97 See AbhKBh III, p.423, ll.4-9 = Pradhan(1975), p.124, 1.24 - p.125, 1.2 (Valleé Poussin III (1926), pp.46):

se cēyamantarābhavāḥ:

sajātisuddhādivyākṣidṛṣṭvāh samānānātāyair evantarābhavātī drṣṭvāte iva yeṣām ca divyam ca kṣaṭvā suvāśuddhām abhūtiyām tva evam paśyanti | upapattikṣaṇāt tu na drṣṭvāt; avyathām iva cetaḥvatā
I devāntarābhavikāḥ? sarvān pāṣyati 1 manusyapretatiryagnārakāntarābhavikāḥ pūrvaḥ pūrvaṁ pāṣyati apare |  

Spītīrāhavyākhyā: "suviśuddham" iti 1 ekādaśadvītyacaksurapaśkasīlavarjitaṁ | te punar aparākṣā
vigīkaṁ manasaśīkāro kāyadāhushyam stiṣyamiddham audhavyam abhyārābyaḥ
vīryam audhivyam chambhūtavam nāṁtvāsanajīfā abhījalaḥ abhīdhāyātītaṁ jaśyeṣu yathādūtram
abhijātāmayaḥ iti 1 abhijāsāvahabhāvāvanāmayam ityarthah 1 upapattipratītiabhekkampi
devādānaṁ divyam āsyaṁ, na tu suviśuddham 1
devāntarābhavikāmaṁ vīṣtarah itapa ṝṣuḥ | na samānjātyaivaṁantarābhava dṛṣṭaye, kim tāriḥ?
devāntarābhavikāḥ sarvān devāntarābhavikādīn pāṣyati 1 manusyapretatiryagnārakāntarābhavikāḥ
pūrvaḥ pūrvaṁ pāṣyati | katham? manusyāntarābhaviko devāntarābhaviko pūrvar (apāja
aparyapretat).āsaṁ | bhavā pāṣyati, preṁantarābhaviko phamanusyāntarābhavikau
pūrvar uṣṇa pāṣyati phamanārakāntarābhavikān pāṣyati | evaṁ yāvan tārakāntarābhaviko devāntarābhavikādīn
pūrvān pāṣyāṣa tārakāntarābhavikān eva pāṣyati | gatinām uttararatnakṛstātvaḥ iti 1

Furthermore, regarding the (one pertaining to an) intermediate state:
He is visible for (those belonging to) the
same class (and for those possessing) the pure divine
eye, only by those who belong to the same class, the beings pertaining to an intermediate state are
seen. Also those for whom the divine eye is completely pure, composed of clear (= supernatural)
knowledge, will see (him) thus, but (he) will not be seen by (those possessing) the (divine) eye by
birth, because (the former) is exceedingly pure. Others (hold that) a being pertaining to an antarā-
bhava for the gods sees all the beings pertaining to an antarābhava of humans, preta-s, animals or
denizens of hell sees those that relative to him are below all the ones preceding (i.e. above him).

Cf. Valéde Poussin III (1926), pp.46, n.3, Vībhāṣa 70, 13 records three opinions, the ones voiced here,
but also one according to which all intermediate beings can see one another: "Les êtres intermédiaires se
voient-ils les uns les autres? - Qui - Qui voit qui? - Il y a diverses opinions. D'après certains, l'être
intermédiaire infernal voit seulement les êtres intermédiaires inférieurs... l'être intermédiaire divin voit
seulement les êtres intermédiaires divins. D'après d'autres maîtres, l'être intermédiaire animal voit les
êtres intermédiaires inférieurs et animaux... D'après d'autres maîtres, les cinq classes voient les cinq
classes.
"

Cf. Y. p.19.1.10 - p.20, 1.1:
sa tena caksuṣātmasahāgān āntarābhavikān sattvān pāṣyati teṣāṁ copapattīsthānam āttamaṁ ca l

tatraṭhasa ca karmopacīnīśa sabhāgāṁ ca sattvān pāṣyati I
And Tibetan: PTT.112.253.2.4:
de na gnas pa yān tu sogs pa'ol l skal ba' mān pa'i sems can mams kyun mthun ṭol
Cf. ASBh p.54, II.21.24-:
tatraṭhasa ca karmopacīnīś ca buvbhāgāṁ ca sattvān pāṣyati I
And Tibetan: PTT.113.104.1.1f.:
de na gnas pa yān las sogs go žes pa na sron gyi 'phen pa'i dbang gis dge ba la sogs pa'i sems pa kun
tu 'byaṅ ba'i phyir rol l skal pa mān mān ba'i sems can mams kyun mthun žes bya ba ni gan dag dagn
lhan cū tsi sron dge ba'am mii dge ba kun tsi spyaṅ par gyur pa de dag dan bdag lhan cū 'dog par mii lam tsa m gyi tshod du sles sol
- he is endowed with the swiftness of supernatural power by *karma*²;
- his organs of sense are complete⁶;

² kā: jñāyāram. Pradhan (1975): jñāyāram. In the Tibetan translation of *AS Bh*., PTT.115.171.5.2, we find: *śīn tu dan bo'i phyir* supporting the reading: *jñāyāram* ocaḥvatār.
⁴ Pradhan (1975) reads *pāram* only once.
⁵ bhū-sūci. Emend: karmopacinoti, as in *AS Bh* p.54, l.21. N.B. the commentary explains *upacinoti* in a more passive meaning than at least the *Sanskrit* version of the *AS* seems to suggest! Considering this discrepancy in interpretation and the weak evidence of the verb *upaci*- in both *Sanskrit* and Tibetan we might assume the diction in this passage was at some time corrupted.
⁶ Emend: *las*, as in the translation of the *AS Bh*, PTT.113.104.1.1. A copyist or woodblock-cutter apparently mistook *las sog (sog(s) (b)sag bsag sog/bsag)"* to *accumulate karma* for *la sogs pa:"* etcetera*, thus depriving the passage of its meaning.
⁷ Emend: *pa*.
⁸ Emend: *pa'i*.

⁹ See *AbhK Bh* III, p.423, l.10 - p.424, l.3 = Pradhan(1975), p.125, l.3-6 (Valleé Poussin III (1926), p.46):

karmardhīvegavān ṭṛddhīḥ = ṭṛkāsāgamanam, karmānta ṭṛddhiḥ karmarddhīḥ, tasyā vegaḥ² karmardhīvegāḥ = śīkhratā, so 'syāstū karmardhīvegavān ṭṛddhān yenaśau naśā śakyo buddhaiḥ api pratībandhum'; karmavo 'syā baliyayavat l

He is endowed with the swiftness of supernatural power by *karma*, "supernatural power" (here means) going through the air, supernatural power through *karma*, the swiftness thereof is "the swiftness of supernatural power by *karma*", (thus it means) quickness, (quickness) "that belongs to him" (therefore) "endowed with the swiftness of supernatural power by *karma*". For which reason he cannot be restrained even by *Buddha*-s, because his *karma* is stronger.

Cf. Y p.19, l.9f.:

tasya ca divya-cakṣur iva² cācṣur na vyāhanyate yāvad upapattiyatānātātātātāt eva l

³ Pradhan(1975), p.125, n.4, Y. na seems to be necessary. MS. yenāsau śakyo.
⁵ Tib. leśi mig la bur. MS divyasya cakrasya.
⁶ After *āyuṭāna- Tib. reads as *ādānu- (gras mla bltan). So below.


ṛddhimān iva cāhuḥgāmi upapattiyatane pratihanyate l

⁷ See *AbhK Bh* III, p.424, l.4f. = Pradhan (1975), p.125, l.7f. (Valleé Poussin III (1926), pp.46f.):

sakalākṣaḥ samagrapaṇḍendriyatāl l

His organs of sense are complete (meaning), having all five faculties of sense.

Cf. Y p.18, l.13:

sa punar antarābhavah sakalendriyatā l

And Y p.21, l.6ff.:

sa tatropapādakāh paripūrṇaṇaṇāyatanā na jāya te l ...
he knows no obstruction
-he cannot be turned away;
-he eats odour

See *AbhK Bh* III, p.424, ll.6-9 = Pradhan (1975), p.125, ll.9-12 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.47):

He knows no obstruction. Resistance (means "Obstruction", (obstruction) that belongs to him: "having obstruction", not having obstruction: "he knows no obstruction". Because he cannot be warded off even by diamonds and the like. For thus it is said that on the splitting of a reddened lump of iron worms are found that have developed in its centre.


...apat-hitagatiś ca


In whatever gati he is about to be reborn, from that he cannot be turned away at all, for never does he cease to be (a being pertaining to) a human intermediate state and become (a being pertaining to) a divine intermediate state or other. Inevitably that very gati with regard to which he arose, in precisely that one he has to be reborn, not in another.

According to Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.47, n.2, *Vibhāṣā* 69, 14, records the opinions of dārṣṭāntika-s which disagree with this tenet: "D’après les Dārṣṭāntikas, il est faux que l’être intermédiaire ne puisse changer ni quant au Dāhū, ni quant à la destinée, ni quant au lieu de la nouvelle existence. Tous les actes y compris les cinq ānantaryas peuvent être <changé> ... L’être intermédiaire qui va renaitre dans le quatrième ḍhyāna peut produire la vue fausse; il est alors détruit et immédiatement remplacé par un être intermédiaire infernal …"

See *AbhK Bh* III, p.424, ll.14-18 = Pradhan (1975), p.125, ll.16-20 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.47f.):

But does (a being pertaining to) an intermediate state also, (like a being pertaining to) the realm of desire, eat food that is taken into the mouth? It is said to be so, but not gross (food). What then? He eats odour. Because the roots allow for more than one meaning", therefore (he can be called): "Gandharva". Shortness (of vowel) like "śakugdhu" and "karkugdhu". Now, those with insignificant ancestry have bad odours for food, those with important ancestry have pleasant odours for food.

- his life-span appears to be a matter of dispute\(^3\).

We shall return to these properties of an intermediate state or being when discussing the *Chosnid bar do'i gsal'debs* at the end of this paragraph.

Before turning to *tantric Buddhist* material I should like to discuss a very short passage from the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra* which was already introduced above. The *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*, according to Li-kouang a *Mulasārvāstivā
ti*.

3. gandharvaṃat gandharvaḥ

Cf. Y p.20, l.10:

\[
\text{gandharva ity ucyate gandhena gamanād gandhena puṣṭītaś ca}
\]

1 A reference to Pāṇini, 6.1.94: *gandharva* follows, like *ṭakandhu* and *karkandhu*, rule 6.1.94 which, as an exception to 6.1.88, does not result in *vṛddhi*.

2 See *vyākhyā*: goes towards odour (means): goes to eat (odour, hence) "*gandharva*".

\(^{103}\) *Vasubandhu* presents the four opinions that are recorded concerning this question in *Mahāvibhūṣaṇa* 72,3 in reverse order, the opinion he presents last is the one that appears first in the *Mahāvibhūṣaṇa*, de la Vallée Poussin suggests (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.49, n.4, cf. p.61, n.1, subn.a) that this is the opinion held by the *Vaiśākha-s*. In extract be four views are, in *Vasubandhu*’s order, see: *AbhKṛṣṇa III*, p.425, l.1 - p.426, l.14 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.48-50):

1. No fixed rule (*Bhadanta*).

2. Seven days (*Bhadantavasumitra*): if in that time he has not met with completeness (of causes necessary for rebirth)\(^1\), after having died they(? arise again in that place.

3. Seven weeks:\(^2\)

according to de la Vallée Poussin (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.49, n.3), this might be the view of a *Śūdradāta*?, he also refers to the view of the heretics (i.e. *pūrabāciśrāṇaś ca* eva *sammitītyānaś ca*, of both *pūrasaśāla-s and sammitīya-s*) in *Ku-śa* p.105, II.1-8: "sattāhāṃ va atirekaratāhāṃ va tiṃṭhatti ..., ... either seven days or exceeding seven days ...

See Y p.20, II.4-8 (cf. *Yogottarābhūtimātrana*, Taishō (30) 1579 (1), p.282a, 1.27 - b, 1.2 = Y p.20, II.4-6 referred to in from Barcav in Hōbōgin, Vol.15, p.562a, II.6-10; Barcav presents a summary: "Lorsqu’au bout de sept jours l’Être-intermédiaire n’a pas rencontré les conditions nécessaires à sa rénaissance, il meurt et naît pour une nouvelle durée de sept jours."


\[
\text{paraṃ saptāhāṃ tiṃṭhayatantarena cyavate}
\]

\(^1\) *AbhKṛṣṇa III*, p.426, l.4 reads: *sāpāhāṃ*, while Pradhan (1975), p.126, l.10 reads: *saptāhāṃ*.

\(^2\) Add: *pratyaya* as in ll.11f.: *sāmogrīḥ pratyayāḥ*.

\(^3\) MŚ has here *paraṃ* "at most" of which nothing is in Tīb.

\(^4\) Tīb. *na* pa me l lo.


\(^6\) Not in Tīb., MS reads st twice.

4. If he desires rebirth, it will last only a short while (*Vaiśākha-s*).
vādin text\textsuperscript{64}, is known in a Chinese translation\textsuperscript{65} from 542-43 revised by Gautama Prajināruci (K’iu-t’an Pan’jo-lieou-tche\textsuperscript{66}) from Benares in Ye, capital of Wei (534-550) with the help of two Chinese redactors Tan-lin\textsuperscript{107} and Seng-fang\textsuperscript{108}. And in a Tibetan translation\textsuperscript{109} from the end of the eleventh or first quarter of the twelfth century AD, which according to Li-kouang was probably (like the Chinese version) made from a Sanskrit original (and was not translated from the Chinese)\textsuperscript{110}, the translators are Śāntyākaragupta, Abhayākaragupta, Śākyarakṣīta, Vidyākaraśānti, Subhūtacandra, Ajitacandra, and dGe lho Tsul khrims rgyal mshesan. Two abridged versions in Chinese and Tibetan are also extant, for an extensive discussion of source-material I should like to refer to the very thorough study of Li-kouang (1949), pp.147-161 and pp.262-271.

In the Chinese version of this sūtra\textsuperscript{111} we find a most remarkable and colourful account of experiences at and beyond death, quite unlike the descriptions and systematisations regarding the subject that we met until now.

Since I am not a sinologist I shall not try to improve on Arthur Waley's translation\textsuperscript{112}.

\textbf{205. The Intermediate State}

When a human being dies and is going to be reincarnated as a human being . . . when the time of his death is approaching he sees these signs: he sees a great rocky mountain lowering above him like a shadow. He thinks to himself, "The mountain might fall down on top of me", and he makes a gesture with his hand as though to ward off this mountain. His brothers and kinsmen and neighbours see him do this; but to them it seems that he is simply pushing out his hand into space. Presently the mountain seems to be made of white cloth and he clambers up this cloth. Then it seems to be made of red cloth. Finally, as the time of his death approaches he sees a bright light. and because unaccustomed to it at the time of his death he is perplexed and confused. He sees all sorts of things such as are seen in dreams, because his mind is confused. He sees his (future) father and mother making love, and seeing them a thought crosses his mind, a perversity (viparyāṣā) arises in him. If he is going to be reborn as a man he sees himself making love with his mother and being hindered by his father; or if he is going to be reborn as a woman, he sees himself making love with his father and being hindered by his mother. It is at that moment that the Intermediate Existence is destroyed and life and consciousness arises once more to work. It is like the imprint made by a die; the die is then destroyed but the pattern has been imprinted.

The latter part, from the confused mind\textsuperscript{113} onward, is to be found in several of the abhidharma-texts mentioned below\textsuperscript{114}, but the first part is different and, to the best of my knowledge, largely unprecedented. Written evidence of many of the experiences recorded here reappear one way or the other in later ages. The most remarkable point is undoubtedly the reference to the clear light of death, but also the feeling/ fear of

\textsuperscript{64} See e.g. Li-kouang (1949), pp.96-98.

\textsuperscript{65} Taishō XVII.200c.

\textsuperscript{66} Transcription as in Li-kouang.

\textsuperscript{107} Ditto.

\textsuperscript{108} Ditto.

\textsuperscript{109} PTT 77.119.2.8 - 38.24.1.7.

\textsuperscript{110} See Li-kouang (1949), pp.19f., esp. p.150, n.1.

\textsuperscript{111} This passage is lacking in the Tibetan version. Even though the Chinese translation is five to six centuries older than the Tibetan one, this part still might have been inserted sometime before the sixth century rather than having been omitted at some point in a version translated into Tibetan, regarding the unusual nature of the passage discussed this last option does not seem too unlikely. The Chinese text is presented in Appendix II(b).


\textsuperscript{113} See II.22, characters 121ff. (xim\textsuperscript{114} Mathews (1931), 2735 m\textsuperscript{12} Mathews (1931), 4450) .

being crushed by a mountain\textsuperscript{115} and the occurrence of the colours white and red\textsuperscript{116} have, sometimes altered or distorted, echoes in later literature.

Now, to complete this survey, I should like to introduce some tantric material. Firstly, attention is due to the important and influential bar do-speculations and -practices of some (bKa’ rgyud pa-)siddha-s\textsuperscript{117}.

The most informative and hence noteworthy passages regarding a concept of bar do as such are provided by descriptions in the "hundred thousand songs" of rJe btsun Mi la ras pa (1040/53-1123/35) as recorded in the rJe btsun mi la ras pa’i rnam thar rgyas par phyé ba mgur ‘bum\textsuperscript{118}. From a doctrinal point of view this text is greatly indebted to Mi la ras pa’s teacher Mar pa (1012-1097) and to Mar pa’s teacher Nā ro pa (1016-1100). Especially the six dharma-s or teachings (chos drug) of Nā ro pa, Nā ro pa’i chos drug -- to wit: gum mo ((mystic) heat), sgyu lus (illusory body), rmi lam (dream), ’od gsal (clear light (of death)), bar do, and ’pho ba (transferring of perception (at death)) -- are of paramount importance for Mi la ras pa’s expositions on bar do-s. The chos drug of Nā ro pa are again derived from the chos drug he received from his teacher Tilo pa (988-1069). These in turn, were, according to Tilo pa’s Saddharmopadesa (chos drug gi man nag, PIT.82.34.4.2-35.1.1), developed by other siddha-s, to wit, the yoga of

\textsuperscript{115} See the gZi skt gsum gyi rnam brag rab gsal sgro on me tes bya ba btags so (XL.0696), by the eighteen-century dGe lugs pa-scholar dByahs can dga’ ba’i blo gros or A kya yongs ‘dzin, folio 2v, II.4f.:

\begin{quote}

sai’i khams thim pa’i phyi rtags su lus sas cher skam žīn yan lag mams lhod lhod par ’gro ba dahn | lus su ‘og tu byun ba lta bu thams’byun l
\end{quote}

Regarding the external sign of the dissolving of the physical earth-constituent (of the body): the body is very emaciated, the limbs became limp and a feeling arises as if the body is sinking beneath the earth.

Or as a more recent presentation by Sogyal Rinpoche (1992), p.251 has it:

(\textit{The next four phases follow the dissolution of the elements: Earth})

Our body begins to lose all its strength. We are drained of any energy. We cannot get up, stay upright, or hold anything. We cannot longer support our head. We feel as though we are falling, sinking underground, or being crushed by a great weight. Some traditional texts say that it is as if a huge mountain were being pressed down on us, and we were being squashed by it. We feel heavy and uncomfortable in any position. We may ask to be pulled up, to have our pillows made higher, or for the bed-covers to be taken off. ...

Unfortunately Sogyal Rinpoche does not specify the traditional texts referred to here.

\textsuperscript{116} See the phases in dying called sman ba dkar lam pa’i sams and mchel pa dmur lam pa’i sams (see XL.0696, folios 4r, II.1ff.), the path of "the mind of white appearance" and the path of "the mind of red increase" (terms from trsl. by Lati Rinbochay and Hopkins, J. (1979), pp.38ff.). The "white appearance" corresponds to the perception of a mountain that looks as if it were white that is subsequently (\textsuperscript{117} Mathews (1931), 495) ascended; the "red increase" corresponds the perception of a mountain that looks red. It is not unthinkable that the original meaning in the Sanskrit manuscript(s) that served as a basis for this Chinese translation has incurred some damage in the process of its rephrasing into Chinese.

\textsuperscript{117} See Appendix I, Literature concerning Chos drug and Bar do-s.

\textsuperscript{118} Four block-print- and manuscript-editions were used: Kern 28.536.3, XL.1539, XLI.255 2740/H57, and XLI.255 2740/H567; the text is translated by G.C.C. Chang as "The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa" (two volumes, see Chang (1977)).
This is not the right occasion to discuss the development and descent of these chos drug any further. Nor would it be very revealing at this point to present the rather detailed and technical descriptions of, and prescriptions for, these yoga-s. We will, however, briefly touch upon the content of some of these yoga-s in the third and last paragraph of this chapter.

It is important to note here that the chos drug are mainly forms of rtsa rluri-yoga, though some external visualisation can be involved (e.g. in the sgyu lus-teaching). The last four yoga-s listed are moreover based on the two first-mentioned ones, which are more or less basic practices amongst them, namely on gtum mo-yoga and, except for the 'od gsal-teachings, on sgyu lus-yoga. As such, the 'od gsal- and bar do-teachings do not even as much as mention zi khro-deities. Generally speaking, these yoga-texts seem to be designed for practical instruction of a yogin rather than being dedicated to theoretical speculation concerning 'od gsal or bar do; except for a conspicuous absence of a zi khro-mandala they are not very revealing as to the way a bar do was then conceptualised.

Slightly more explicit information can be found in a biography of Nāro pa the mKhas grub kun gyi gisug brgyan gron 'chen nā ro pa'i rnam thar'i no mtsar rmad byun. Three bar do-s are mentioned here in the first of five instructions on bar do-s, to wit:

- skye zi bar do;
- rmi lam bar do;
- srid pa'i bar do.

Reference from Guenther (1986), p.XV; see also (Khenpo) Könchog Gyaltsen (1990), pp.43-45 (the Tibetan text by "Dorje Dze Od" is presently not available to me, therefore I shall summarise the translation by Könchog Gyaltsen):

Nāgārjuna: 'od gsal and sgyu lus was taught to Tilo pa by Nāgārjuna from the Father-tantra of the Guhyasamājā;

Lava pa: 'od gsal was taught to Tilo pa by Rol pa'i rdo rje, a disciple of Lava pa and bar do was mediated by Heruka;

Saraha: according to some 'phn ha and bar do were taught by the Dākini sKal ba bzān mo from the tantra, sDom pa rgya mtsho; gtum mo was taught by Carya pa from the Caktasamvara-tantra.

So Carya pa, Nāgārjuna, Lava pa, and sKal ba bzān mo are reckoned to be the four bla ma-s of Tilo pa's lineage.

A Tibetan translation of the Saddharmopadeśa (PTT-edition) is presented in Appendix II(c).

For a presentation of Nāro pa's six teachings in the English language see Chang (1963). This presentation of bKa' bsis rnam rgyal's version of the teachings is not based on a Tibetan original but on a Chinese translation, which is not specified any further, it was translated by Mang Kung. Some references to Tibetan versions of the Nā ro'i chos drug are to be found in Appendix I, Literature concerning Chos drug and Bar do-s.

Forms of Buddhist yoga focusing on vital breath or energy (rtua, Skt. prāna) moving through subtle channels (rtsa, Skt. nādi), causing, for instance, droplets of vital essence (zhig le, Skt. bindu) to rise and or descend through various centres (khor lo, Skt. cakra) along the central nādi, the avadhūti (Tib. rtua dbu ma).

The relevant part is edited in Guenther (1963), pp.264f. (folios 33v - 34v) and translated (rather freely) on pp.82-86, see esp. pp.83-85.

These three physical (lus ldan) forms of bar do are specified further:

- the skye ši bar do is characterised as the body of flesh and blood, (resulting from) maturation (Skt. vipāka) (of karma);
- rmi lam bar do as subtle body of indivisible vital breath (rluṅ, Skt. prāṇa) and mental processes (Skt. citta);
- and srid pa'i bar do is designated as a mental body: the gandharva.

The mentioning of a chos ŋid kyi bar do in the description (1.17) and the following elaboration (1.25) of the third instruction does not seem to refer to a separate bar do state named "chos ŋid bar do", but rather seems to refer to a non-physical but impure form of bar do still having properties (dri ma can chos can) that is to be realised (fourth instruction) as the "son-clear light" (‘od gsal bu) and is specified by the preceding attribute chos ŋid kyi. The attribute chos ŋid kyi functions similar to chos ŋid mtshan ma'i in the formation of the term chos ŋid mtshan ma'i bar do in the preceding, the second instruction (1.16), where in relation to the "mother-clear light" (‘od gsal ma = chos ŋid), a non-physical (and non-tainted) form of bar do (without properties) is specified as having the characteristic of dharmatā (chos ŋid mtshan ma'i), this term, too, should not be taken as a reference to a separate "chos ŋid mtshan ma'i bar do".

For some more elaborate descriptions we shall now turn towards material recorded with regard to "Tibet's great yogi", Mi la ras pa. The designation "bar do" seems to be used rather freely in the mGur 'bum: it is applied to all kinds of "in-between"-situations that could be characterised as important turning points (read: opportunities to enlightenment or to reinforced delusion) either in practice or in "ordinary life-experience", phases of transition in general, and shifts in consciousness. Key-words are change and insecurity, and quintessence shining through shifting sidescenes. The term bar do is not so much a reference to a fixed set of states or phases of transition anymore, but has become a metaphor for the very transitory and uncertain nature inherent in these states and could, in principle, be applied to any such situation. Examples of this more free use of the term bar do are:

- yeṅs snaṅ ston gnis kyi bar do; see Kern 28.536.3, folio 104r, 1.5
- bde ston gnis kyi bar do; see folio 104r, 1.6
- chags can chags bral bar do; see folio 104v, 1.1
- skyon can (lodaḥ) skyon med bar do; see folio 104v, 1.2
- (da res) 'khor 'das (gños kyi) bar do; see folios 104v, 1.3; 165r, 1.6
- tshig don gños kyi bar do; see folio 104v, 1.4
- (lAM 'jIGS PA cAN gYI) bar do; see folio 162v, 1.6
- raṅ bzin lam gyi bar do; see folio 165v, 1.1
- lu ba'i bar do; see folio 237r, 1.6
- sgom pa'i bar do; see folio 237v, 1.1
- spyod pa'i bar do; see folio 237v, 1.2
- lam bskyed rdzogs kyi bar do; see folio 237v, 1.3
- gnad kyi bar do; see folio 237v, 1.4
- sku gsum gyi bar do; see folio 237v, 1.4
- 'bras bu'i bar do; see folio 237v, 1.5
Apart from this, the term bar do is also used to refer to more concrete, traditionally conceived states or phases of transition in life, similar to the use of bhava in the Abhidharmašābhāṣya\textsuperscript{124}. Examples of these more traditionally conceived bar do-s are:

\textbf{(sna\textsuperscript{m} na\textsuperscript{m} ba) skye śi('i) bar do;} see Kern 28.536.3, folios 73r, 1.1; 165r, 1.6; 237r, 1.2 (cf. pārvakālabhava)  
\textbf{rm\textsuperscript{m}i lam (gyi/ gnid kyi) bar do;} see folios 73r, 1.1; 165v, 1.1; 237r, 1.3; 237v, 1.2 (sna\textsuperscript{m} ma\textsuperscript{m} min/min/min\textsuperscript{m} mun\textsuperscript{m} 125) srid pa('i) bar do; see folios 73r, 1.1; 165r, 1.5; 165v, 1.2: tha ma ...; 237r, 1.3 (cf. antarābhava)  
also called: lam srid pa bar ma do (see folio 267v, 1.5) and sna\textsuperscript{m} na\textsuperscript{m} mun 'od kyi bar do (see folio 267v, 1.6)  
skye gnas brgyud pa'i bar do; see folio 165v, 1.2 (cf. upapattibhava)

The three bhava-s pertaining to death and a possible rebirth referred to in the Abhidharmaśābhāṣya, to wit, mṛtuyu- or mara~bhava, antarabhava, and upapattibhava, are probably intended in Kern 28.536.3, folio 163r, 1.3, where the five dākinī-s mention three 'phrān, short for bar do'i 'phrān\textsuperscript{126} -- a standing expression in bar do-literature -- regarding (a safe passage through) which they desire to be instructed by Mi la ras pa. The preceding (Kern 28.536.3, folio 163r, 1.2f.) characterisations of these fearsome abysmal paths and the requested guiding instructions pertaining to it as:

the clear light (of) death, (i.e.) chos (kyi) sku (Skt. dharmakāya): instructions regarding dharmakāya;  
the pure illusory body pertaining to bar do: instructions regarding loṅs (spyod rdzogs pa'i) sku (Skt. sambhogakāya);  
the realm of rebirth, rebirth (in) which is in one's own power (read: rah dbau la yod): instructions regarding sprul (pa'i) sku (Skt. nirminakāya);

clearly indicate a bar do of death, which, however, is not specified any further (in Kern 28.536.3, folio 167v, 1.3 a 'chi ba'i srid pa is mentioned\textsuperscript{127}); a srid pa'i bar do, which is mentioned rather frequently throughout the cited passages and which term seems to be used for this one out of three or six phases as well as a general reference to "the" phase between death and rebirth\textsuperscript{128}, and a bar do of passing to a place of

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{124} Note that the Tibetan translation of antarābhava: bar ma do'i srid pa probably provided the term bar ma do or bar do as an equivalent for what in the Abhidharmaśābhāṣya was referred to as bhava, whereas in the translation of antarābhava, bhava was translated by srid pa and not by bar ma do. This clearly indicates that in Tibetan traditions all bhava-s were styled after one bhava that according to their perception represented the central or original one, the blueprint of the concept of an intermediate state, the antarābhava, bar ma do'i srid pa, or in short bar ma do, hence, bar ma do or bar do and not srid pa.

\textsuperscript{125} Cf. Kern 28.536.3, folio 267v, 1.6: sna\textsuperscript{m} na\textsuperscript{m} mun 'od kyi bar do, as another name for lam srid pa bar ma do, both referring to srid pa'i bar do.

\textsuperscript{126} The word 'phrān or phrān (also: lam 'phrān) refers to a footpath along a narrow ledge on the side of a precipitous wall of rock, bar do'i 'phrān, then, denotes the road of the abyss of the bar do, or simply the abyss of bar do (Jischke (1881), p.359a).

\textsuperscript{127} Note that here the translation srid pa is preferred for bhava.

\textsuperscript{128} Chang (1977), Vol I, p.355, n.20, erroneously equates this phase with the chos rīd kyi bar do of the Kar giṅ ë khor-cycles; this bar do bears all the marks of the srid pa'i bar do mentioned above and the antarābhava of the Abhidharmaśābhāṣya, the chos rīd bar do and the ë khor-deities in particular are not referred to in the mGur 'bum.
\end{flushleft}
rebirth (skye gnas brgyud pa'i bar do) mentioned Kern 28.536.3, folio 165v, l.2. Obviously these three bar do-s imply much more than the three equivalent bhava-s mentioned above. The essentialising equation, for instance, of each of these three bar do-s with one aspect of the trikāya, so important in later bar do-teachings, is clearly a later development. This equation is even more explicit in Kern 28.536.3, folio 162r, ll.2-5:

... the clear light of death is the dharmakāya, the pure illusory body pertaining to bar do is the sambhogakāya, the various realms of rebirth are the nirmanakāya; the three bodies, not different and of one taste, are the (chos dbyin) no bo nid kyi sku (svabhāvikakāya) ...

The prose passage in Kern 28.536.3, folios 167v, 1.5 - 168r, l.1, is somewhat more outspoken on the 'chi ba'i srid pa (upon which we shall not dwell here) and this lam srid pa bar ma do, (=) snan smun 'od kyi bar do ot (= jrsid pa bar do. The lam srid pa bar ma do is characterised as an abysmal road where one has a mental body sprung from previous (karma) and where one is persecuted by executioners of karma. Furthermore in this snan mun 'od kyi bar do one is in full possession of all senses, is unimpeded, and has a body endowed with light and miraculous powers of karma. According to Kern 28.536.3, folio 165r, ll.5f., one will, in this snan mun srid pa'i bar do, experience the suffering of (extreme) heat and cold for seven weeks, whereafter, pursued by karma, one will, again, enter into the prison of samsāra. And according to Kern 28.536.3, folio 165v, ll.2, the trikāya will also, finally, become manifest in the srid pa'i bar do (after which one should try to obtain access to the (Buddha-)fields). These descriptions accord well, as Back (1979, pp.93-95) has already shown, with the descriptions of the srid pa'i bar do in Kar glin zi khro-cycles.

Longer lists of six and eight bar do-s are also mentioned, on closer examination these references reveal no consistent scheme and they cannot be equated to one

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119 Chang (1977), Vol.1, p.356, n.27, erroneously equates this phase with the srid pa'i bar do of the Kar glin zi khro-cycles, this bar do rather corresponds to the upapattibhava in Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakosabhāṣya.

120 Cf. Kern 28.536.3, folio 167v, ll.3-5.

121 Read: snan las byin. It is not clear whether this clause should go with the implied object or, as Chang (1977), p.352, takes it, with the persecutors of karma, either way the grammatical construction is incorrect. Considering the emphatic manner in which the possession of a mental body in a nirmānabhava and a srid pa'i bar do usually is propounded the first solution seems the most probable one.

122 Kern 28.536.3, folio 165r, l.1 - 165v, l.4:

1. snan min(min/min) srid pa'i bar do; see Kern 28.536.3, folio 165r, l.5
2. da res 'khor 'dus bar do; see folio 165r, l.6
3. snan ba skye 'si bar do; see folio 165r, l.6
4. ran bön lam gyi bar do; see folio 165v, l.1
5. rmi lam gnod kyi bar do; see folio 165v, l.1
6. skye gnas brgyud pa'i bar do; see folio 165v, l.2

Kern 28.536.3, folios 236v, l.4 - 237v, l.5:

1. lta ba'i bar do; see Kern 28.536.3, folio 237r, l.6
2. sgom pa'i bar do; see folio 237v, l.1
3. sphyed pa'i bar do; see folio 237v, l.2
4. rmi lam gyi bar do; see folio 237v, l.2
5. lam phyed rdzogs kyi bar do; see folio 237v, l.3
6. gnad kyi bar do; see folio 237v, l.4
7. sku gsum gyi bar do; see folio 237v, l.4
another. The list of six bar do-s does however, as we can see in the following, show some similarity to the six bar do-s that are mentioned in the Chos rNid bar do'i gsal 'debs.

Lastly I should like to present some evidence extracted from various gter ma-sources on bar do-s, to wit from:

the ņi ma dañ zla ba kha shyor ba chen po gsañ ba'i rgyud113, a rNñi ma rDzogs chen-text which is partly translated and "critically" edited in Orofino (1985)114 (together with an interesting "Bon"-rDzogs chen-text rDzogs pa chen po žan žun sñan rgyud las sGron ma drag gi gdams pa with its commentary, the rDzogs pa chen po žan žun sñan rgyud las sGron ma'i 'grel pa ņi 'od rgyan, the first of which seems to be considerably older than the previous text and will be discussed briefly later-on in the third paragraph of this chapter);

the sNñi thig ya bži (especially the Ži ba bar do lam gyi mshan rNid115, (XXIII.1318.1.h) and the Chos rNid bar do'i yon tan116 (XXIII.1318.1.l))117 collected by Klon chen pa dri 'med 'od zer (1306/8-1363);

the most important evidence is to be found in the Kar glin Ži khro-cycles118 (and as far as this study is concerned especially in the Chos rNid bar do'i gsal 'debs) revealed by the gter ston Karma glin pa (14th century119);

the Kun tu bzan po'i dgonis pa žan thal and the Ka dag rañ 'byañ rañ 'sar120 (especially the Bar do lria'i Msprod (XXV.127121))122 revealed by gter ston rGod kyi 'ldeñ phru can (1337-1408);

8. 'bras bu'i bar do; see folio 237v, 1.5

113 The ņi ma dañ zla ba kha shyor ba chen po gsañ ba'i rgyud is to be found in the rNñi ma'i rgyud bcu bdun-collection of the Bima sNñi thig, Delhi, 1973, Vol. III, pp.153-233 (available on LASWR-microfiche, set R-2.01, entry 2170 in Tachikawa (1983)), esp. the third and fourth chapters (pp.203, 112ff.), the third chapter treats of a 'chi khñi' (lha ma'i) bar do in the last chapter a chos rNid bar do and srid pa'i bar do (in the second chapter a rañ bžin gnas pa'i bar do, corresponding to the rañ bžin skye gnas bar do mentioned in the Kar glin Ži khro, is presented). According to Orofino (1985, p.27, n.20) this text is not extant in the edition of the rNñi ma pa rgyud bcu bdun prepared by Orgyan Dorji (Sumra (H.P.) 1975) on the basis of a rare but incomplete manuscript found in a monastery in Spiti.

114 The ņi ma dañ zla ba kha shyor ba chen po gsañ ba'i rgyud is translated in Orofino (1985), pp.30-59, and edited on pp.105-126. Orofino's "critical" editions do not seem to be based on comparison of different text-editions but on the expertise of several Tibetan scholars and teachers.

115 Edited in Appendix II(c).
116 Edited in Appendix II(c).
117 See Appendix I.
118 See Appendix I.
119 According to Nakhai Norbu (Preface to Orofino(1985), p.1) in 1326, he does not present any arguments in support of this date. According to Orofino, p.14, n.4, 1326 is the birth date of gter ston Karma glin pa (*1326-*1386) referring to Dargyay (1977), pp.151ff.. Dargyay (1977), p.152, however does not state that Karma glin pa lived from 1326-1386, but indicates that his birth took place somewhere in that specific cycle of sixty years (the sixth sexagesimal cycle).

120 See Appendix I, for further bibliographical information see also Reference-Numbers Used in Tibetan Sources on Bar do-s, XXV (text XXIV.42 is of a later date), see also XL.2116-2120.

121 Kept in the Tibetan collection of the "Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin", Hs. Sim. or. JS 3540.

122 See Appendix I, for further bibliographical information see also Reference-Numbers Used in Tibetan Sources on Bar do-s, XXV.
the 'Ja' tshon pod drug\textsuperscript{143} (especially Zi khro nes don s
in po-related texts)\textsuperscript{144}, revealed by the gter son Las 'phro glin pa (1585-1656), who is also named Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon s
in po\textsuperscript{145}; and the mKha' 'gro gsan ba ye s
es kyi rgyud (especially the gsan ba ye s
es kyi m
kha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dan pho ba'i man nag gi gsal byed ston gi lam grogs, XXVI.235)\textsuperscript{146} connected with the names of the gter son gTer bdag glin pa (1646-1714) and his son Padma bzad pa'i rdo rje (1697-?). In these texts the treatment of bar do-s is already quite elaborate, so much so, that it would be advisable, here and in the following, to concentrate as well as possible on passages specifically concerned with a chos n"id bar do and to leave descriptions of a 'chi kha'i bar do, a srid pa'i bar do and other bar do-s aside as for now. As far as Buddhist literature is concerned, the first four groups mentioned contain texts featuring the earliest, more or less elaborate descriptions of a chos n"id bar do (as we shall see in the third paragraph of this chapter, there are probably earlier references to an equivalent bar do, a Zi khro bar do, and a bon n"id 'od gsal gyi bar do in "Bon" and "Bon"-rDzogs chen-texts). As will be shown in the next paragraph, the Chos n"id bar do'i gsal 'debs is the only testimony amongst the Buddhist texts mentioned, which features an actual enumeration and description of a mandala of peaceful and wrathful deities in a chos n"id bar do. The treatment of the chos n"id bar do there is moreover the most comprehensive one extant, that is, if we include the description of the mandala. The N'i la kha sbyor on the other hand gives, as we shall see, a more in-depth treatment of a chos n"id bar do as such. It is difficult to decide at this point which is the older of the two, since both texts appear in collections of not too certain a date. The texts do not present reliable clues as to their first conception, there origin soon becomes shrouded in the mists of legendary names. The dates of the relevant works in the s
in thig ya b
i by Klon chen pa dri med 'od zer equally disappear into the haze of legend as soon as we venture out beyond the lifetime of its learned compiler (and, sometimes, author). The

\textsuperscript{143} See Appendix I.

\textsuperscript{144} See e.g. the Yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las Zi khro nes don s
in po mtron rtags (XLI.MS1460); the Yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus dan Zi khro nes don s
in po'i phyag len chog sngags btags chog tu bkod pa 'ja' tshon dgon pa rgyan (XL.1399); the Yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus dan de'i cha lag Zi khro nes don s
in po'i las byan don gsal khyer bder bsgrigs pa padma'i dgon snying (XL.1079/1083), as indicated in the title extant in the ("Ja' tshon) dKon mchog spyi 'dus-cycle of the ("Ja' tshon) pod drug (edited by Taktung Tserdul Pema Wongyal, Darjeeling 1979-82, see also the rin'bus ma'i rgyud 'bum Vols IIIff.). And also the later Zab chos Zi khro nes don s
in po'i sgo nas ran (dan) gtim gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las(lm) vir 'khor ('tshol) ba'm nun gzons kun bzan thugs rje ri snan mtron (XL.667, XL.II.9, private copy\textsuperscript{3}, XL.1416); also Zi khro nes don s
in po (XL.652 and 3505) written by Neg dhun kun dgya' lung 'dein (1680/1678-9) on the basis of the gter ma-s revealed by the gter ston Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon s
in po (1585-1656).

\textsuperscript{1} Only in the title-description dan is left out and 'khor ba is replaced by 'tshol ba.

\textsuperscript{2} Only this BP. distinctly has lam.

\textsuperscript{146} See Appendix I.

\textsuperscript{147} Compiled from the Thugs rje chen po bde gseg kun 'dus, discovered by gTer bdag glin pa in 1680, written down by his son Padma gyuur med rgyu mtho (1686-1718) in 1713. The yun-part of this work was extended by Padma bzad pa'i rdo rje into the mKha' 'gro gsan ba ye s
es kyi rgyud (see Shuh (1985), p.XXVIII). Both XXVI.149 and XXVI.126 belong to the later revision.

\textsuperscript{3} See Appendix I, for further bibliographical information see Reference-Numbers Used in Tibetan Sources on Bar do-s, XXVI.
only clues left to us are the nature and development of the doctrines and ideas presented in the texts themselves.

Even if the Ni zla kha sbyor were older then the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs, of which Namkhai Norbu is convinced and which Orofino seems to take for granted, it might be wise to consider more complex situations of transmission than a direct borrowing of the tenets of the Ni zla kha sbyor into the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs, as is presumed by Namkhai Norbu and Orofino.

Judging by doctrinal content, there might very well be evidence of direct or indirect borrowings from the Ni zla kha sbyor in more similar presentations like the later exposition of the bKa' rgyud 'brug pa-scholar rTse le Shogs rin rgo Rin po che (1608-?) in his Bar do spyi'i don thams cad rnam pa gsal bar byed pa dran pa'i me lion. The descriptions of a chos niid bar do in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs, however, are too divergent from those in the Ni zla kha sbyor to allow such a strong dependence as suggested by Namkhai Norbu and Orofino. The Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs leans heavily on the description of zi kho, the Ni zla kha sbyor in turn concentrates on descriptions of general experiences of luminosity and colour, often in geometrical shapes, and features quite numerous references to specific rDzogs chen-practices. In addition to that, the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs makes, as far as its theoretical doctrinal content is concerned, a much less developed impression than the Ni zla kha sbyor, that is, of course, except for the description of the peaceful and wrathful deities. On the other hand, the enumeration and elaborate descriptions of zi kho, so prominent in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs are conspicuously absent in the Ni zla kha sbyor, their appearance is referred to as one of the experiences of light and colour, and that is all.

All well considered, I feel inclined to assume more bar do-, chos niid bar do- and zi kho-traditions than just one single line into which all textual material should neatly fit in a chronological manner, regardless of the tradition it originated from:

- the traditions of the (bKa' rgyud pa-)siddha-s discussed above seem to represent rather unique and specific strands of bar do-teachings focusing on the practice of rtsa rlun-yoga;
- the Ni zla kha sbyor seems to represent another quite distinctive strand of teachings and practices focusing on experiences of luminosity, which are by the way rather prominent in "Bon"-rDzogs chen-traditions, the Zi ba bar do

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144 See Orofino (1985), pp.4f., the Ni zla kha sbyor is said to be taught for the first time by dGa' rab rdo rje, who, according to Namkhai Norbu was born three hundred and sixty years after Buddha's parinirvāṇa in the Tibetan year of the female wood sheep, on the eighteenth day of the first month in the country of Udßenā, and who according to legend, indeed, precedes Padmasambhava, the supposed author of the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs, in the line of transmission.

145 See Orofino (1985), pp.4f., especially the hypothetical derivation of the sub-division of bar do-states in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs from the classification used in the Ni zla kha sbyor.

146 See the second paragraph of p.58, n.57 (cf. p.46, translation): "This passage is of major interest because it is the essential nucleus from which are derived the detailed descriptions of the visionary manifestations of the peaceful and terrifying divinities of the Bar-do thos-grol."


151 See e.g. Karmay (1988), pp.203-205, discussing the text (rDzogs pa chen po žaṅ žuṅ sūṇ sūṅ rgyud las) 'Khogs le sbrag, especially the fourth section called bar do dus kyi 'khöd lo, also extant in the rDzogs pa chen po žaṅ žuṅ sūṅ rgyud kyi gsum phod, see Chandra (1964), pp.446-465; cf. also the (rDzogs pa chen po žaṅ žuṅ sūṅ rgyud las) 'Od gsal sams kyi me lön, Chandra (1964), pp.583-599.
lam gyi mtshan riid in the (mKha' 'gro yon thig) of the sNīn thig ya bzi collected by Klon chen pa dri med 'od zer borrows heavily from the Ni zla kha sbyor, the Ni zla kha sbyor is frequently mentioned as one of the many sources that are cited in this text, this tradition probably continued into later presentations like the Bar do spyi'i don and is still extant in more recent rDzogs chen-presentations as e.g. by Sogyal Rinpoche. the Kar glin zi khro-cycles are very much concerned with Mahāyoga-like visualisation-practices, they feature the first elaborate descriptions of zi khro in a separate bar do in a "Buddhist" context -- the most elaborate one being recorded in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs -- and they appear to focus on practices concerning these peaceful and wrathful deities, also in their later compilations; the gSaṅ ba ye sès kyi mKha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs daṅ po ba'i man nag gi gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs, XXV1.235) from the mKha' 'gro gsan ba ye Ses kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dun pho ba'i man riag gi gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs, XXV1.235) from the mKha' 'gro gsan ba ye Ses kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dun pho ba'i man riag gi gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs, XXV1.235) from the mKha' 'gro gsan ba ye Ses kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dun pho ba'i man riag gi gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs, XXV1.235) from the mKha' 'gro gsan ba ye sès kyi rgyud follows the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs almost verbatim, omitting certain passages and commenting on others;

then there is the late strand of the 'ja' tshon zi khro, a zi khro-tradition according to the gter ston Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon sNīn po, which does not seem to be more than a variant of the kar glin zi khro, equally focusing on practices concerning zi khro but featuring an extended mandala of one hundred and seven(teen) deities (instead of one hundred( and ten) in the kar glin zi khro); I will discuss some of this material in the second and third chapters of this thesis;

and lastly there are, as we shall see in the third paragraph of this chapter, early "Bon"-rDzogs chen-presentations of a zi khro bar do, e.g. the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo, a (diverging) mandala of zi khro is actually described at some length, but this text is, apart from the description of the mandala, rather poorly equipped on a more theoretical doctrinal level.

I shall return to this question of descent at the end of this chapter, when the contents of some "Bon"-texts regarding these subjects have been assessed. We shall now take a brief look at some of the schemes of bar do-s used in the above-mentioned texts.

The Ka dag ran 'byun ran sar-cycle contains a very interesting and probably relatively ancient text, the Bar do hva'i no sprod. The teaching called Bar do hva'i no sprod is said to be revealed in the country of Tibet by Padmasambhava and put to writing at Brag dmar in glorious bSam yas; it was requested by King Khri sron ide'u

135 See XXIII.1318h, pp.133-154.
137 See amongst many others the Chos spyaŏ bag chugs ran grol (*III.5, *IV.2.9, *V.17, *VI.11, *VIII.17, *X.19.6=187.17, *XII.3, *XII.662,663(2x), = XIV.1232,1233,1235,1236), also called Chos spyaŏ bag chugs ran grol dpa ka ba bar do thos grol gyi cha la(s) (*I.7, *II.5, *VII.1.11, *VIII.17, *XI.8=XIV.1237, *XIV.1234,1237=XI.8,1238), this text is very frequently met with in Kar glin zi khro-cycles. The text is translated, I must say rather freely, by Thurman (1994), pp.205-225. For more bibliographical information see Appendix I.

Reading: lg.yu.

138 In the following the references to the different bar do-s as they occur in the text will not be given anymore, unless there is a special reason to do so; most bar do-s are referred to so often throughout the texts discussed here that precise reference to all loci would be a burden more than anything else.

139 Name of a rock in or near Lho sa, allegedly not to be identified with dMar po ri (Jäschke (1881), p.380a)
btsan at the time when a ganacakra was prepared in the three-storied pinnacle (of Bṣam yas monastery). The text might well date back to the eighth century or earlier. Here we find, as the title announces, five bar do-s listed; a chos niid bar do is not yet mentioned here (XXV.127, folio 2r, 1.1-2v, 1.1)184:

rañ bzin gnas pa'i bar (ma) do;
ți ne 'dzin gyi bar (ma) do;
rmü lam gyi bar do;
skye ši bar do;
srid pa'i bar (ma) do.

In the Nī zia kha sbyor, also, five185 bar do-s are mentioned, four of which (all except the second) are actually discussed in the text:

rañ bzin (gnas pa'i) bar do;
ți ne 'dzin gyi bar do186;
'chi kha'i bar do or 'chi ba (ma)'i bar do;
chos niid (kyi) bar do or chos niid dag gi bar do;
srid pa(i) bar do.

In the sNin thig ya bži only four bar do-s are mentioned187:

skye(s) nas gnas pa'i bar do or skye gnas kyi bar do;
'chi kha(i) bar do or 'chi ka'i bar do;
chos niid (kyi) bar do, divided into a ži ba bar do and a khro bo bar do;
srid pa(i) bar do.

Though there are teachings and practices regarding dreams in the sNin thig ya bži188, a rmi lam gyi bar do is not mentioned.

184 See text-edition in Appendix II.
185 Namkhai Norbu presents (Orofino (1985), pp.5f.) a deviating list of five bar do-s, which he cites from the Nī zia kha sbyor, (no locus citarum). The first five lines of his quotation are indeed to be found in rNi ma'i rgyud bcu bdon, Delhi, 1973, Vol.III, p.186, 1.4, the following six lines, however, reading:

"The doctrine of the bar-do is subdivided into five states:
the bar-do of nature,
the bar-do of the state of samadhi,
the bar-do of dream,
the bar-do of birth and death,
the bar-do of existence,

do not appear in my text. Furthermore, I could not find a single reference to a "bar do of dream" (rmi lam bar do), nor did I find a reference to a "bar do of birth and death" (skyi ši bar do?) and in addition to that the text clearly refers to a chos niid bar do, which appears to be lacking in Namkhai Norbu’s list. His list is, however, remarkably similar (same names and same order) to the one we found in the Bar do bkha'i no grol referred to above!

186 Only mentioned once (Orofino (1985), p.110, 1.13). This bar do is not mentioned by Orofino (1985, pp.10f.) in her list.

187 See for instance the Ži ba bar do lam gyi mitshan niid, XXII.1318.1.h (pp.133-154), said to be compiled by the legendary Padmasambhava and the short text called Chos niid bar do'i yon 'jan, XXIII.1318.11 (pp.191-195).

188 See e.g. the rMi lam shulsh 'jug, XXIII.1321.1.n (pp.108-116).
And in the important *Kar gliṅ zhi khro*-text, the *chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, six *bar do-s* are listed, see e.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.14,1.18 - p.15,1.1:

- ran bzin skye gnas bar do;
- rmi lam ygi bar do;
- tin ne 'dzin bsam gyan ygi bar do;
- 'chi khai bar do;
- chos niid (kyi) bar do, also divided into a *ti ba bar do* and a *khro bo bar do*;
- srid pa('i) bar do.

The names of three *bar do-s* pertaining to death and of a *bar do* pertaining to life are mentioned in all texts from the *Nī la kha sbyor* onward, except for the set mentioned in the *Bar do lha'i no sprod*, which is remarkably distinct from the other listings and to which we shall return soon hereafter.

The *bar do-s* pertaining to dream (*rmi lam*) and states of meditative absorption (*tin ne 'dzin* or in Skt. *samādhi*(samāpatti)-*) are not always mentioned, though they do appear fairly early (*the Bar do lha'i no sprod* and the *Nā ro pa'i rnam thar*).

Considering these *bar do-s* and considering the four *bhava*-s described in the *Abhidharmakośabhāya*, it would not require much effort to jump to the conclusion that *bar do-s* described in relation to birth and death form the oldest core and that the dream- and meditation-*bar do-s* are later accretions. That is to say, categories that for some reason or other were important to the traditions in which these *bar do*-speculations evolved, were at times fitted into the *bar do*-scheme that was then current in the tradition involved. It would take far greater effort, indeed, to refrain from any such conclusions here, nevertheless this might still be the most wise position to take at this point.

We shall now take a closer look at one of these lists of *bar do-s* and, starting from there, see if the *bar do-s* that are referred to with similar names in the diverse lists were actually conceived in like manner. For reasons of space we have to content ourselves with the most general characteristics, a more in-depth treatment of the *chos niid bar do* and its "Bon"-equivalent will appear in the following two paragraphs.

The set of five *bar do-s* that we find mentioned in the *Bar do lha'i no sprod* is -- as amongst other things the absence of a *chos niid bar do* indicates -- most probably of ancient origin, it shows a level of development close to that of the (nonetheless dissimilar) sets mentioned in the *Nā ro pa'i rnam thar* and the *mGur 'bum*. On the first pages of the *Bar do lha'i no sprod* a short characterisation of the five *bar do-s* is presented:

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165 See the typical enumeration following the list of six *bar do-s* in Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.15, II.2-3.
166 Or as the *chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs* has it, *tin ne 'dzin bsam gyan*: the stages of meditation (dhyāna) regarding these *samādhi*(samāpatti)-s.
167 As may be sufficiently clear from the presentation of older *Pāli* material above, the term *antarābhava* -- which, as the Tibetan (mis)translation indicates, is the actual *bhava* referred to in Tibetan when using the term *bar ma* do (*Skt. antarā*) for *bhava* (and *antarābhava*) -- was primarily used in reference to a state, phase or being in between death and (most) rebirths, all other states being, from the Tibetan point of view, derivations.
168 Note that these *bar do-s* are to a certain extent related, both pertain to a changed level of consciousness (whatever that may be) and both form part of a *bar do* of life (see e.g. the *rNā ma'i rgyud lce bsdun*, Delhi, 1973, Vol.III, pp.170, II.5ff.); the practice-oriented background of most *bar do*-teachings is clearly visible here.
169 XXV.127, folio 2r, 1.1 - 2v, 1.1, see text-edition in Appendix II.
As to the bar do-s, there are five (of them):

The "rañ bzin gnas pa'i bar do" is said to be in the interval of meeting with the present state of affairs as due to illusion; for this instructions for investigating knowledge are necessary.

The "tin he 'dzin bsam gian gyi bar do" is said to be in the interval of contemplating dharmatā after having turned from the illusory appearances of yoga (visualisation-practice); for that instructions for detachment regarding the object of contemplation are necessary (later-on it is stated that regarding the instructions for contemplation and meditative absorption, clarifying what is not clear, instructions for those who did not understand (the nature of) luminosity are necessary).

The "rmi lam gyi bar do" is said to be in the interval from falling asleep until (the moment of) not (yet) having woken up; for that instructions for becoming purified are necessary (later-on it is stated that instructions for clarifying cognition are necessary, at the end of this section on rmi lam gyi bar do also described as instructions for examining cognition).

The "skye ši bar do" is said to be in the interval from cognition of (the point of) death until (the moment that) breath has not (yet) ceased; for this instructions for understanding cognition (at death) are necessary.

The "srid pa'i bar do" is said to be in the interval from the fainting and (consequent) recovering of awareness until (the moment of) not (yet) having entered into a womb; for that instructions for obtaining the result are necessary (later-on it is stated that instructions regarding the bridge of cognition not being broken are necessary, at the end of the section on srid pa'i bar do also described as instructions for the meeting of son and mother dharmatā).

Thus it is said.

With a few exceptions, these characterisations match closely enough with the general characteristics of their namesakes. Remarkable, however, is the deviating interpretation of the term skye ši bar do, which in this text apparently refers to what is elsewhere called 'chi kha'i bar do'. This is quite different form the use of this term in the Nāro pa'i nam thar and the mGur 'bum, where it refers to what is, again elsewhere, styled as (rañ bzin) skye gnas bar do or rañ bzin (gnas pa'i) bar do (equivalent to the pūrvakālabhava mentioned in Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya). In this connection, I should also like to note a second deviation, in the mGur 'bum the term skye gnas brgyud pa'i bar do is interpreted as a bar do pertaining to

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166 Literally substance, thing or being (chos).
167 Elaborated XXV.127, folios 2v.1.1 - 3v.1.2.
168 I.e. visualisation.
169 XXV.127, folios 3v.1.1-2f. and 4r.1.4.
170 Elaborated XXV.127, folios 3v.1.2 - 4r.1.4.
171 XXV.127, folio 4r.1.5.
172 XXV.127, folio 4r.1.4.
173 Elaborated XXV.127, folio 4r.1.5 - 4v.1.4.
174 Elaborated XXV.127, folios 4v.1.4 - 5v.1.4.
175 XXV.127, folio 5v.1.5.
176 XXV.127, folio 6r.1.5.
177 Elaborated XXV.127, folios 5v.1.4 - 6r.1.5.
178 E.g. in the Nī zla kha 'shyor and the Kar gliṅ ši 'khor.
179 E.g. Chos 'rul bar do'i gsal 'debs and the Ži ba bar do lam gyi mtshan 'rul.
180 E.g. here, in the Bar do la'i ho spro, and in the Nī zla kha 'shyor.
birth, equivalent to the *upapattibhava* mentioned in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, which usage does not conform with the general conception of the above (*raṅ bzin*) *skyes gnas* or *raṅ bzin gyi bar do* as an interval between birth and death.

Before drawing any more definite conclusions concerning a relative chronology and possible borrowings in the *bar do*-material presented so far, I should like to discuss a late but — just because of its relatively late appearance — significant arrival amongst the *bar do*-s that in Buddhist circles was styled *chos rīd kyi bar do*. This discussion will be initiated in the next paragraph, when examining some of the developments in the concepts of peaceful and wrathful deities that are relevant to these *bar do*-s, and it will be continued into the third and last paragraph of this chapter.
In the preceding paragraph some general developments regarding concepts of one (or more) intermediate state(s) have been examined. In this paragraph I should like to initiate a closer examination of a relatively late stage in these developments, the chos riid (or in "Bon"-traditions zi khro) bar do. Immediately after death and preceding the old conception of a single state between death and possible rebirth (= bar ma do srid pa and later srid pa'i bar do) an intermediate state has been conceptualised in which intense experiences of colour and luminosity are said to occur and which, in its most elaborate form, results in a vision of mandala-s of peaceful and wrathful deities. As we shall soon see, the descriptions of such visionary experiences, some clearly reminiscent of those generated in Mahāyoga-practices, are an important ingredient of many of the presentations of a chos riid bar do. An elaborate description or enumeration of peaceful and wrathful deities is not always present, but general references to mandala-s of deities do occur in most instances.

It are these peaceful and wrathful deities that we are concerned with here. For the obvious reasons that time for research and space for publication are limited, I cannot trace the developments of these mandala-s back to the earliest conceptions in Indian tantric traditions of more or less elaborate mandala-s in which deities of sānta and krodha nature appear together; nor is it feasible to track down the several groups of deities mentioned, let alone to study each single deity described, and sketch its lines of transmission and development, (changes in) iconographical characteristics, etc...

This investigation will start at the point where a more or less set concept of a mandala of one hundred or more peaceful and wrathful deities seems to have become an established topic in Indian and Tibetan tantric Buddhist as well as "Bon"-theory and -practice. Even though this concept was evidently derived from similar mandala-s in earlier Buddhist and Hindu tantric traditions, I should like to leave these origins, however interesting they may seem, aside for the time being. I shall here concentrate on the fact that these mandala-s of deities in the course of time seem to have become a more or less fixed entity appearing and reappearing here and there in Tibetan (especially rDzin ma and "Bon"-rDzogs chen-)literature, some of which might or might not have been translated from Indian originals, that is to say, some of which might actually be of Indian origin. And of even more interest is the fact that after some rounds in this process of recalculation these mandala-s ultimately became strongly associated with an after-death-state, so much so, that in due course the term zi khro in both Buddhist and "Bon"-traditions came to refer to the specific mandala-s of peaceful and wrathful deities described for the chos riid and zi khro bar do-s.

The mandala that is being recycled is most probably greatly indebted14 to an interesting and controversial15 group of "old" tantra-s, usually referred to as the Guhyagarbhatattvaviniścayamahātantra (Tib. gSaṅ ba'i sīṁh po de kho na riid nes pa, also called: rGyud gsaṅ ba sīṁh po; sGyu 'phrul rtsa rgyud; sGyu 'phrul gsaṅ ba sīṁh po; gSaṅ ba sīṁh po; sNīṅ po; sNīṅ po'i rgyud; rTsa rgyud gSaṅ ba sīṁh po; and gSaṅ

14 References to this link are to be found in Ehrhard (1990), n.144, (p.124). Ehrhard refers here to two texts by gZan phan mha' yas (1800-?), to wit the gNād 'bren gyi mshams sbyor sīṁh por dril ba (p.515, ll.6ff.) and the sKya rams dan po (p.404, ll.1-3), according to Ehrhard, gZan phan mha' yas also mentions the Dri med bṣigs pa'i rgyud as a source for the kar gti zi khro; and also, briefly, in a popularising exposé by Thurman (1994, p.86) preceding ditto translations of Kar gti zi khro-texts.
15 Especially the rites concerning sexual union (sbyor) and "deliverance" (sgröf) as expounded in chapter 11 of the gSaṅ ba'i sīṁh po (XXI.14.p.34, 1.5 - p.37, 1.5, esp. p.35, ll.5f.) have at times stood under severe criticism (see Karmay (1988), pp.221-223, see further references there, especially Karmay (1979)).
basgyu’phrul, Dudjom Rimpoché (1991, Vol.II, pp.262 & 275)). The cycle is extant in the rNin ma’i rgyud bcu bdun-section of the rNin ma’i rgyud ‘bum and several of the tantra-s and commentaries can be found in the bsTan ‘gyur. In a colophon to the root-tantra that is presented first in the rGyud ‘bum, the translators sNags Jñānakumāra (eighth century AD) and the Ācārya from rMa, Rin chen mchog (7??-836), are mentioned. They are said to have translated this text on the basis of authoritative oral instruction by Vimalamitra (eighth century AD?). From this information we can infer that the root-tantra was (indeed) translated during the first translation period (sna dar), the Indian original(s) probably reach back sometime before the eighth century AD. In rNin ma tradition the gSaṅ ba’i sīn po is considered to be something like a standard authoritative treatise on Mahāyoga. Most probably this cycle of texts has also been of general importance for the development rDzogs chen-traditions.

In the gSaṅ ba’i sīn po a mandala of one hundred peaceful and wrathful deities is already extant. It is quite similar to the one described for the Chos nöd bar do’i gsal ‘debs, with the prominent exception of the central Buddha of the mandala, which in the gSaṅ ba’i sīn po (and, as we will soon see, in other texts) is not Vairocana (rNam par snaḥ mdzad) but Vajrasattva-Akṣobhya (rDo rje sems dpa’ Mi bsSkyod pa), the absence of the mandala of Rīg ‘dzin, and a deviating set of powerful Yogini-s. The root-tantra does not mention or describe the individual peaceful deities. From this we might deduce that at the time of composition of the gSaṅ ba’i sīn po, the mandala discussed was already common knowledge or practice among the tantric adepts concerned with this tantra, but on the other hand, we should also be aware of the fact that this kind of information would usually already have been transmitted at

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186 In the fourteenth volume of the Dilgo Khyentse-edition, for further bibliographical references see Appendix I. A translation is extant, though rather difficult to access, in an unpublished study by G. Dorje, The Guhyagarbhatatāvāni-Śāstra, and its XIVth Century Tibetan Commentary Phygog chen mna, three volumes, unpublished Ph.D.-Thesis, University of London 1987. Of possible interest is also the dPal gsaṅ ba’i sīn po rgyud kyi khog dBub (XL.4103), an eleventh-century history of the gSaṅ ba’i sīn po.

187 The following commentaries that are extant in the bsTan ‘gyur were consulted: rGyud kyi rgyal po chen po dPal gsaṅ ba’i sīn po’i ‘grel pa (XX.PTT.82.248.1.5 - 279.4.7) = comm.1; dPal gsaṅ ba’i sīn po de kbo na nöd nes pa’i (’r) rgya chen bsdod pa’i ‘grel pa (XX.PTT.83.1.1.3 - 703.3.7) = comm.2; dPal gsaṅ ba’i sīn po’i don bsdus ’grel pInPūrtha (XX.PTT.83.17.1.1 - 188.4.6) = comm.3; (dPal gsaṅ ba’i sīn po’i rim pa grīls kyi don’ (XX.PTT.83.262.2.4 - 3.6) = comm.4).

1 The table of contents to the PTT-edition reads: dvi.

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188 See also Appendix I.
189 gSaṅ ba’i sīn po de kbo na nöd nes pa (XXI.14.1-61), p.6, ll.6f.
190 According to Dudjom Rimpoché (1991, Vol.I, p.533) Vimalamitra transmitted these teachings to rMa rin chen mchog and translated them together with him, while sNags Jñānakumāra received the gSaṅ ba’i sīn po from Padmasambhava. The second text in this section of the rGyud ‘bum, a short text called gSaṅ ba’i sīn po phyi ma (XXI.14.62-67), p.67, ll.4f., mentions a Jñāna-garbha (not to confuse a later Jñāna-garbha, one of Mar po’s teachers, Ye šes sīn po (= Jñānagarbha) or Thar po lam ston, also called Kukuru pa) and Vairocana as translators.
191 According to Dudjom Rimpoché (1991, Vol.I, p.481) Vimalamitra was particularly learned in the gSaṅ ba’i sīn po and wrote numerous commentaries on this cycle (listed ibid. p.481).
193 See for instance Ehrhard, pp.8-17, esp. pp.9f.
194 Later this was considered by some to be one of the four “faults” of the gSaṅ ba’i sīn po.
another occasion (i.e. by word of mouth of a guru), so that such a brief textual reference would have been sufficient for a tantric practitioner anyway. In general the wrathful deities are presented in a more elaborate manner than the peaceful ones (even quite elaborate iconographical descriptions do occasionally appear in one of the commentaries\(^{193}\)).

In chapters fifteen and sixteen of the root-tantra\(^{196}\) several of the fifty-eight wrathful deities are mentioned, some of their familiar Sanskrit names appear in mantra-s and dhārani-s cited in chapter sixteen. In the corresponding chapters of the commentaries consulted some more names and explanations appear along with an occasional description, but in general the deities are referred to as a group that in one way or the other should be familiar and of which consequently, pars pro toto, only the first (few) members need to be mentioned.

In the fourth chapter\(^{197}\) the root-tantra presents the so-called mandala of the "rosary of letters (yi ye'i 'phrub bsu)". With this presentation of letters or syllables the peaceful mandala appears to be intended, in fact, all dharma-s of the six realms are said to be comprised by this mandala of letters\(^{198}\). For the actual names of the peaceful deities we have to consult the commentaries, in the root-tantra there is no reference whatsoever, neither to their usual names nor to their descriptions (attributes of the deities are mentioned in chapter eight). In the seventh chapter\(^{199}\), however, in which a summary of the mandala and some mantra-s and dhārani-s pertaining to it are presented, a few names (mainly of the female Bodhisatva-consorts) do appear. The set of forty-two ālī and kālī (in this case rather kālī and ālī\(^{200}\)) letters and syllables that are discussed in that fourth chapter are arranged in an order that comes close to a Sanskrit alphabet but also has some features of a Tibetan alphabet as well as some peculiarities not common to either of them\(^{201}\).

\(^{193}\) E.g. XX.PTT.83.58.4.5ff.

\(^{196}\) See XXI.14.1-61., p.42, 1.2 - p.52, 1.7, see also the commentaries XX.PTT.82.273.2.4 - 274.5.7, XX.PTT.83.56.3.7 - 62.1.6, XX.PTT.83.186.3.7 - 187.1.4.

\(^{197}\) See XXI.14.1-61., p.13, 1.5 - p.16, 1.7, see also the commentaries XX.PTT.82.256.4.1 - 258.1.4, XX.PTT.83.29.2.8 - 33.5.6, XX.PTT.83.181.2.4 - 182.1.3.

\(^{198}\) In XX.PTT.83.31.3.7 - 4.5, mention is made of diverging shapes of the deities attributed to the ālī and kālī, different from those described in the commentary above; an example of these deviating shapes is listed there.

\(^{199}\) See XXI.14.1-61., p.21, 1.5 - p.24, 1.5, see also the commentaries XX.PTT.82.260.5.8 - 262.1.8, XX.PTT.83.38.2.4 - 39.2.2, XX.PTT.83.183.1:3 - 4.1.

\(^{200}\) According to Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, p.292) the term ālikālī is employed as a name for shyor and sgrol, rites concerning sexual union and "deliverance".

From a white उ the forty-two syllables depicted in the table below to the left are said to emanate. In the commentaries the अ and का are explicitly and repeatedly identified as the सा बोन (Skt. bija-s) of the male and female peaceful deities (and Bodhisattva-s), for instance already right at the beginning of commentary 2 by नी माँ श्रेणी 'ोद in a short introductory survey of the contents of the several chapters of the root-tantra. In the seventh chapter, however, we also find other and more familiar bija-s associated with these deities in the संस्कृत transliteration of mantra-s and dhārani-s.

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Note that, in accordance with Tibetan custom, the vowels are listed after the consonant(-ligatures), moreover, the संस्कृत अ and all the retroflex-vowels are lacking in the root-tantra. The वा or वा is neither arranged according to the संस्कृत alphabetical order (after ला) nor according to the Tibetan alphabetical order (preceding (जा, जा, 'अ) या) रा. ला, the first three of which are not extant here). The क्षा, one of the few संस्कृत ligatures that survived in a modern Indo-Aryan language like हिंदी, is added as a thirty-fourth consonant. Furthermore in the ग्युद 'बुम-version there is no ट्स्क्रेग between the वा (sic!) and the खा, thus suggesting the auspicious सांस्कृत interjection स्वाहा. Lastly the transliteration of the diphthongs into Tibetan is (in the ग्युद 'बुम version) indicated by a subscribed 'चुन-elongation-sign and not by the more usual doubling of the द्रेन bu- and ना ro-diacritics.

In the latter part of the fourth chapter and in the commentaries to this chapter, these syllables (including

203 See XX.PIT.83.3.3.5f., the identification is repeated on many occasions in this commentary, see e.g. the very explicit reference at XX.PIT.83.30.1.4f.. The commentary was translated by the Indian pandita Pra swa ta la and by the lo tsa ba Pad ma ru tshe; for additional bibliographical information see Appendix I.

204 In the PIT-edition the long vowel आ does appear, however, and in one of the commentaries (e.g. XX.PIT.83.18.3.8, and 31.2-5) all संस्कृत vowels including the retroflexes and two additions (अम and अह) are discussed (in the correct order with the fictive अम and अह at the end), the retroflexes are styled ma ni (XX.PIT.83.29.5.6f., 31.1.1f.).

205 All the many irregularities and variant readings that appear at this (and other) points in the PIT-edition of the root-tantra and other ग्युद 'बुम- and पीट-तान्त्रिक commentaries belonging to this cycle will not be listed here; especially the transliteration of संस्कृत words and letters is often faulty and inconsequent.
mgo, tig, and sad) are explained further by equating them to all kinds of metaphysical and psycho-physical categories; we shall return to these equations in chapter two and three of this thesis.

In the following three tables I shall present as much of the one hundred peaceful and wrathful deities as I can gather from the g‰Ñˆ zi sëèi po and compare them to the corresponding deities that are extant in later presentations in a Kar glih zi khro-text, the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs208, and a Na rag don sprugs(s)-text205, the zi khro sgyu phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag don sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus (third column203). In the tables the deities will be listed under the names that appear in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs (first two columns). They are moreover arranged according to the order of their appearance in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs208, the corresponding names gathered from the g‰Ñˆ ba'i sëèi po209 are adjusted to this order. In the first table the bijamantra-s used in the Kar glih/la' tshon zi khro (btja I205) and those used in the g‰Ñˆ ba'i sëèi po (btja II) are also compared. Except for the several Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs-versions the spelling of the names and categories is not corrected, the often faulty transliterations of Sanskrit names are presented as they appear.

The g‰Ñˆ ba'i sëèi po discusses the peaceful deities in accordance with the arrangement of the seed-syllables in the above table, the original order of the deities can thus easily be reconstructed from the bijamantra-s (II) in the sixth column of the first table. The wrathful deities are, if they are rearranged, numbered, starting anew for each group. The group of twenty-eight animal-headed Yogini-s appears twice in the root-tantra (chapter fifteen) with a slightly diverging composition (commentary 2 follows the second mandala); the column "g‰Ñˆ ba'i sëèi po" is therefore split into three sub-columns.

The female deities are usually listed en group after their male counterparts, the couples have been reconstructed from the order of appearance of the groups in commentary 2 of the g‰Ñˆ ba'i sëèi po and the coupling present in the kar glih zi khro-mandala.

While most differences between the mandala-s speak for themselves, a special word is due to the divergent arrangements of the Bodhisattva-s and their consorts. In the first table these deities are listed in the order of their appearance in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs, that is to say, with the small modifications mentioned above, which are largely sacrifices to clarity in the arrangement of the table. The wrathful deities are, if they are rearranged, numbered, starting anew for each group. The group of twenty-eight animal-headed Yogini-s appears twice in the root-tantra (chapter fifteen) with a slightly diverging composition (commentary 2 follows the second mandala); the column "g‰Ñˆ ba'i sëèi po" is therefore split into two sub-columns.

The female deities are usually listed en group after their male counterparts, the couples have been reconstructed from the order of appearance of the groups in commentary 2 of the g‰Ñˆ ba'i sëèi po and the coupling present in the kar glih zi khro-mandala.

While most differences between the mandala-s speak for themselves, a special word is due to the divergent arrangements of the Bodhisattva-s and their consorts. In the first table these deities are listed in the order of their appearance in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs, that is to say, with the small modifications mentioned above, which are largely sacrifices to clarity in the arrangement of the table. In commentary 2 of the g‰Ñˆ ba'i sëèi po these deities are listed in an arrangement which differs from the order of appearance in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs; in the zi khro sgyu phrul they appear in a yet different arrangement. These differences are mainly due to the fact that both in commentary 2 of the g‰Ñˆ ba'i sëèi po and in the zi khro sgyu phrul the deities are listed in larger groups of four and eight deities, consorts following the group(s) of Bodhisattva-s, while in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs they are listed in

205 Apart from the extension with seven deities mentioned below, the mandala described in the zi khro tes don sëèi po is practically the same as the one described in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs:
206 XII.336b(=653),650,653(=336b), the text is discussed in more detail later-on in this paragraph.
207 This column bears the heading (zi khro) sgwu phrul.
208 With exception of the Bodhisattva-s, which are listed separately here, but actually appear in two pairs of two (Bodhisattva-s together with their consorts) in combination with each of the last four Tath€gata-s and their consorts. In the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs the names of each pair of Bodhisattva-s is mentioned before the corresponding pair of consorts and this whole group of four is - as can be gathered from the above - mentioned after the consort of the Tath€gata it is associated with.
209 I.e. the root-tantra and commentaries 1 and 2.
210 These bijamantra-s are extracted by Lauf (1975, pp.117-158) from various sources.
groups of two. But apart from this there are some actual divergences in order too. These can be seen in the fourth table. Remarkable is that in the *Zi khro sgyu 'phrul* the order in which the *Bodhisattva*-s are mentioned does not agree with the arrangement of their consorts, at least, not if we hoped for the same couples that the *Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs* features. Commentary 2 of the *gsan ba'i snin po* cannot be checked in this respect since I arranged the *Bodhisattva*-s according to the names of the consorts, therewith assuming that the listing of the groups of four would be parallel. Even the faculties (*dbaṅ po*, *Skt. indriya*) and corresponding perceptions (*rnam šes, Skt. vijñāna*) that are associated with these deities do not match for commentary 2 of the *gsan ba'i snin po* and the *Zi khro sgyu 'phrul* (the *Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs* does not discuss these\(^{311}\)); some deities have different associations, even if we would rearrange the male *Bodhisattva*-s of commentary 2 of the *gsan ba'i snin po*, according to the diverging arrangement of the *Zi khro sgyu 'phrul*. In short, the arrangements of the *Bodhisattva*-s and their consorts are really different in commentary 2 of the *gsan ba'i snin po*, the *Zi khro sgyu 'phrul*, and the *Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

\(^{311}\) The eight *vijñāna*-s associated with the eight *Bodhisattva*-s of the 'ja' when *Zi khro* are summarised in *Lauf*, 1975, pp.132-136, esp. pp.134f. (this summary is based on the late presentation in the *Zi khro rjes don snin po*). As *Lauf* indicates (pp.135f.), other classifications can be met with elsewhere.
## Peaceful Deities (Ži ba'i Lha tshogs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit name</th>
<th>Tibetan name</th>
<th>sGyu 'phrul</th>
<th>bija I</th>
<th>gSaṅ ba'i sāṅ po</th>
<th>bija II</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ādibuddha</td>
<td>Daṅ po saṅs rgyas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and consort</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ādibuddhasamantabhadra</td>
<td>Daṅ po saṅs rgyas kun tu bzaṅ po</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>dPal kun tu bzaṅ po</td>
<td>kṣa</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Samantabhadri</td>
<td>Kun tu bzaṅ mo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>dPal kun tu bzaṅ mo</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>B</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Five Tathāgata-s</td>
<td>rGyal ba'i rigs lha</td>
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<tr>
<td>and consorts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Vairocana</td>
<td>rNam par saṅ mṭad</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>om Mi bskyod pa</td>
<td>ta</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Ākāśadātiśvarī</td>
<td>Nam mkha'i dbyin phug ma</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>lam rDo rje dbyin kyi dbaṅ phug ma</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 Vajrasattva-Aksobhya</td>
<td>rDo rje sems dpa' Mi bskyod pa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>hṛih rNam par saṅ mṭad (comm.2)</td>
<td>tha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Locanā</td>
<td>Saṅs rgyas spyan ma</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>māṃ Saṅs rgyas spyan ma (comm.2)</td>
<td>iha</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 Rattamsambhava</td>
<td>Rin chen 'byun ldan</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>tran Rin chen 'byun ldan (comm.2)</td>
<td>da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Māmākī</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>māṃ transliterated (comm.2)</td>
<td>da</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 Amitābha</td>
<td>sNaṅ ba mṭha' yas</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>hūṃ sNaṅ ba mṭha' yas (comm.2)</td>
<td>dha</td>
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<td>10 Pāṇḍarā</td>
<td>Gos dkar mo</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>paṃ Na bza' dkar mo (comm.2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td>Don yod grub pa</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>āṅ Don yod par grub pa (comm.2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 Samayatārā</td>
<td>Dam tshig grol ma</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>tāṃ Dam tshig sgrol ma (comm.2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sanskrit name</td>
<td>Tibetan name</td>
<td>sGyu 'phrul</td>
<td>bija I</td>
<td>gSañ ba'i siiñ po</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>C Eight Mahābodhisattvas and consorts</strong></td>
<td>Bṣañ chub sems dpa' chen po brgyad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ksitigarbha</td>
<td>Sa yi siiñ po</td>
<td>13ʰ</td>
<td>kṣīh</td>
<td>rDo rje mthoh ba (comm.2)ᵃ</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>(Vajra)lasyā</td>
<td>transliterated (rDo rje sgeg mo)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>hūm</td>
<td>rDo rje sgeg mo (comm.2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Maitreya</td>
<td>Byams pa</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>meṅ</td>
<td>rDo rje thos byed (comm.2)ᵇ</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>(Vajra)puspā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje me tog ma)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>hūm</td>
<td>rDo rje me tog (comm.2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Samantabhadra</td>
<td>Kun tu bzañ po</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>hūm</td>
<td>rDo rje thos pa (comm.2)ᵇ</td>
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<td>(Vajra)mālā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje 'phreñ ba ma)</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>rDo rje phreñ ba ma (comm.2)</td>
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<td>Ākāśagarbha</td>
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<td>triḥ</td>
<td>rDo rje mthoh byed (comm.2)ᵇ</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>(Vajra)dhūpā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje bḍug spos ma)</td>
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<td>dza</td>
<td>rDo rje bḍug pa (comm.2)ᵇ</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Avalokiteśvara</td>
<td>sPyan ras gzigs</td>
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<td>hriḥ</td>
<td>rDo rje myoh ba (comm.2)ᵇ</td>
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<td>(Vajra)gūtā</td>
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<td>rDo rje glu ba ma (comm.2)ᵇ</td>
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<td>Manjuśrī</td>
<td>'Jam dpal dbyangs</td>
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<td>müm</td>
<td>rDo rje myoh byed (comm.2)ᵇ</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>(Vajra)ālokā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje mar me ma)</td>
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<td>bām</td>
<td>rDo rje mar me (comm.2)ᵇ</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Nivaraṇavīkambhin</td>
<td>sGrib pa rnam par sel ba</td>
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<td>(Vajra)gandhā</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Vajrapāṇi</td>
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<td>dzīḥ</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>(Vajra)nṛtyā</td>
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<td>a</td>
<td>rDo rje gar ba ma (comm.2)ᵇ</td>
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<td>Sanskrit name</td>
<td>Tibetan name</td>
<td>Zi khro sgyu 'phrul</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>D</strong> Four Gatekeepers and consorts</td>
<td>sGo ba bzi</td>
<td>sGo ma bzi</td>
<td>Khro bo sgrub 'phrul</td>
<td>Khro bo chen po stobs chen po</td>
<td>hüm</td>
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<tr>
<td>29 Vijaya</td>
<td>Khro bo rnam par rgyal ba</td>
<td>translit. + rDo rje lcags skyu ma</td>
<td>hüm</td>
<td>Khro bo gsin rje gshed (comm.2)</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Vajraṅkusi</td>
<td>(rDo rje) lcags skyu ma</td>
<td>translit. + rDo rje lcags skyu ma</td>
<td>hüm</td>
<td>rDo rje lcags skyu ma (comm.2)</td>
<td>sa</td>
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<tr>
<td>31 Yamānaka</td>
<td>(Khro bo) gsin rje gshed po</td>
<td>translit. + rDo rje 'phrul pa ma</td>
<td>hüm</td>
<td>Khro bo gsin rje gshed (comm.2)</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 Vajrapāśi</td>
<td>(rDo rje) žags ma</td>
<td>translit. + rDo rje lcags rgyal po</td>
<td>hüm</td>
<td>Khro bo gsin rje gshed (comm.2)</td>
<td>ma'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 Hayagrīva</td>
<td>(Khro bo) rta mgrin rgyal po</td>
<td>translit. + rDo rje lcags sgrag ma</td>
<td>hüm</td>
<td>Khro bo rta mgrin (comm.2)</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 Vajraśrāṅkalā</td>
<td>(rDo rje) lcags sgrag ma</td>
<td>translit. + rDo rje lcags sgrag ma</td>
<td>hüm</td>
<td>Khro bo rta mgrin (comm.2)</td>
<td>ma</td>
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<tr>
<td>35 Amṛtakundalin</td>
<td>(Khro bo) bdud rtsi 'khyil pa</td>
<td>translit. + rDo rje dril bu ma</td>
<td>hüm</td>
<td>Khro bo bdud rtsi 'khyil ba (comm.2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>36 Vajraghāṇī</td>
<td>(rDo rje) dril bu ma</td>
<td>translit. + rDo rje dril bu ma</td>
<td>hüm</td>
<td>rDo rje dril bu ma (comm.2)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>E</strong> Six Buddha-s of sPrul pa'i thub pa drug the bhavacakra</td>
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<tr>
<td>37 (Indral Śakra)</td>
<td>brGya byin</td>
<td>lha'i thub pa</td>
<td>om</td>
<td>lha' (i thub pa) (comm.2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>38 (Vemacitra)</td>
<td>Thags bzan ris</td>
<td>lha ma yin gyi thub pa</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>lha ma yin (gyi thub pa) (comm.2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>39 Śākyamuni</td>
<td>Śākya señ ge</td>
<td>mi'i thub pa</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>mi' (i thub pa) (comm.2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>40 (Simha)</td>
<td>Señ ge rab brtan</td>
<td>byol soñ gi thub pa</td>
<td>pad</td>
<td>byol soñ (gi thub pa) (comm.2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>41 (Jvālāmukhi)</td>
<td>Kha 'bar ma</td>
<td>yi dags kyi thub pa</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>yi dags (kyi thub pa) (comm.2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>42 Dharmarāja</td>
<td>Chos kyi rgyal po</td>
<td>dmyal ba'i thub pa</td>
<td>hüm</td>
<td>dmyal ba'i thub pa (comm.2)</td>
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Neutral, neither Peaceful nor Wrathful Deities

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<th>Tibetan name</th>
<th>Zi khro sgyu 'phrub</th>
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<tr>
<td>Five Vidyādhara-s and consorts</td>
<td>Rig 'dzin lha</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Padma gar gyi dbaṅ phyug</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>consort</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sa la gnas pa'i rig 'dzin</td>
<td>referred to elsewhere</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>consort</td>
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<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tshe la dbaṅ ba'i rig 'dzin</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>consort</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Phyag rgya chen po'i rig 'dzin</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>consort</td>
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<td>absent</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Lhun gyi grub pa'i rig 'dzin</td>
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<td>10</td>
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Wrathful Deities (Khro bo'i Lha tshogs)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Ādiheeruka and consort (usually absent)</td>
<td>dPal kun tu bzaṅ po he ru ka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāśrīheeruka</td>
<td>Che mchog he ru ka</td>
<td>1 dPal che mchog he ru ka</td>
<td>Ma ha śrī he ru ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krodheśvari</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>11 consort</td>
<td>(rDo rje dbyiṅs kyi) dbaṅ phyug ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit name</td>
<td>Tibetan name</td>
<td>Zi khor sgyu 'phrul</td>
<td>gSaṅ ba'i sniṅ po</td>
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<tr>
<td>Five Heruka-s and</td>
<td>(He ru ka lha)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krodheśvari-consorts</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Buddhaheruka</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>3 Buddha he ru ka</td>
<td>Sarba ta thā ga ta mahā śrī her ru ka¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Buddhakrodheśvari</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>13 Buddha kro dhi swa ri ma</td>
<td>Sarba ta thā ga ta mahā kro tī śwa ri⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Vajraheruka</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>2 Badzra he ru ka</td>
<td>Badzra mahā śrī he ru ka⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Vajrakrodheśvari</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>12 Badzra kro dhi swa ri ma</td>
<td>Mahā badzra da ra mahā kro tī śwa ri⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Ramaheruka</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>4 Rama he ru ka</td>
<td>Ratna mahā śrī he ru ka⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Ramakrodheśvari</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>14 Rama kro dhi swa ri ma</td>
<td>Surya radna dara mahā kro tī śwa ri⁹</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 Padmaheruka</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>5 Padma he ru ka</td>
<td>Padma mahā śrī he ru ka⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Padmakrodheśvari</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>15 Padma kro dhi swa ri ma</td>
<td>Hari ša ta sa ma ta padma mahā kro tī śwa ri⁴</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 Karmaheruka</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>6 Karma he ru ka</td>
<td>Kar ma mahā śrī he ru ka⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Karmakrodheśvari</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>16 Karma kro dhi swa ri ma</td>
<td>Sarba a mo ka mahā kro tī śwa ri⁴</td>
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¹ Sarba ta thā ga ta mahā śrī her ru ka
⁵ Sarba ta thā ga ta mahā kro tī śwa ri
⁶ Badzra mahā śrī he ru ka
⁷ Mahā badzra da ra mahā kro tī śwa ri
⁸ Ratna mahā śrī he ru ka
⁹ Surya radna dara mahā kro tī śwa ri
¹⁰ Padma mahā śrī he ru ka
¹¹ Hari ša ta sa ma ta padma mahā kro tī śwa ri
¹² Kar ma mahā śrī he ru ka
¹³ Sarba a mo ka mahā kro tī śwa ri
¹⁴ Sarba ta thā ga ta mahā śrī her ru ka
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<tr>
<td><strong>C</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kau'u ri/ Ke'u ri ma mo brgyad</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11 Gaurī</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>1 transliterated</td>
<td>1 Ke'u ri ma/ dKar mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Caurī</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>2 transliterated</td>
<td>2 Ts'o'u ri/ rKun mo</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 Pramohā</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>3 transliterated</td>
<td>3 Pra mo ha/ rMons mo</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 Vesiū</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>4 transliterated</td>
<td>4 Pe ta li/ ?Thal byed ma'</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 Pukkasi</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>5 transliterated</td>
<td>5 Pu ka si/ ?sPos mo*</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 Ghasmari</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>6 transliterated</td>
<td>6 Kas ma ri/ gTum mo</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 Candālī</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>8 transliterated</td>
<td>8 Tsan dha li'/ ?Ma tshogs ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Śmaśānī</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>7 transliterated</td>
<td>7 Sma śa ni/ Sme śa can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>yul gyi Phra men brgyad</td>
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<tr>
<td>* = transliterated Skt. name</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>19 Śiṅhamukhi</td>
<td>* smug nag sen mgo can</td>
<td>* Sen ge'i dbu can</td>
<td>1 Śiṅ ṇā mu kal/ Seṅ gdoṅ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Vyāghramukhi</td>
<td>* dmar mo stag mgo can</td>
<td>* stTag gi dbu can</td>
<td>2 Ba kri mu kha/ sTag gdoṅ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Ṣṛgalāmukhi</td>
<td>* nag mo wa mgo can</td>
<td>* Wa yi dbu can</td>
<td>3 Śṛi la mu kha/ Wa gdoṅ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Śvamukhi</td>
<td>* mtiṅ nag spyāṅ mgo can</td>
<td>* sPyan mo'i dbu can</td>
<td>4 Śo na mu kal/ Khyi gdoṅ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Grdhramukhi</td>
<td>* dkar ser bya rgod mgo can</td>
<td>* Bya rgod dbu can</td>
<td>5 Kri ta mu kal/ bṢad gdoṅ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Karṇamukhi</td>
<td>* dmar nag bya'i mgo can</td>
<td>* Dur bya'i dbu can</td>
<td>6 Kam ka mu kha/ Kar ka gdoṅ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Kākamukhi</td>
<td>* nag mo bya rog mgo can</td>
<td>* Bya rog dbu can</td>
<td>7 Kha kha mu kal/ Dur bya gdoṅ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Ulūkamukhi</td>
<td>* mtiṅ nag 'ug pa'i mgo can</td>
<td>* 'Ug pa'i dbu can</td>
<td>8 Hu lu ka mu kal/ 'Ug gdoṅ</td>
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<td>Sanskrit name</td>
<td>Tibetan name</td>
<td>'Zhi khro sgyu 'phrul</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>sGo ma bzi or sGo skyoṅ khro mo bzi</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>rTa gdoṅ dkar mo</td>
<td>rTa yi dbu can (sron mo)</td>
<td>?1 Badzra arya te ssa te nāl ?rDo rje sriṅ 'gro ma</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Phag gdoṅ ma ser mo</td>
<td>Phag gi dbu can (nag mo)</td>
<td>?2 Badzra ma kal ?rDo rje gdoṅ mo'</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Seṅ gdoṅ ma dmar mo</td>
<td>Seṅ ge'i dbu can (dmar mo)</td>
<td>?3 Badzra lo kal ?rDo rje 'jig rten ma'</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>sBrul gdoṅ ma ljaṅ</td>
<td>sPyaṅ mo'i dbu can (ljaṅ khu)</td>
<td>?4 Badzra pa smi pa la ya ba toi ?rDo rje ro laṅs ma'</td>
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</table>

F | dBus pḥug ma nī sū rtsa bṛgyad |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Rāksaṭi</td>
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<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇī</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>Mahādevi</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>Vaiśnavi</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Kumāri</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>Indrāṇī</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>Vajrī</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>Śāntī</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>Āṃṛtā</td>
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<td>Candra</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>Dōndā</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Rāksaṭi</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maṇḍala 1</th>
<th>Maṇḍala 2 = comm.2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Srin mo chen mo sriṅ mo</td>
<td>2.1 Srin mo chen mo</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.2 Mi yi sriṅ mo</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Tshaṅs ma</td>
<td>2.10 Tshaṅs ma</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.6 gZon nu mo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2.14 gZon nu mo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2.16 Ži ba mgo</td>
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<td>2.15 bDud rtsi mo</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.11 Be chon mo</td>
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<td>Samskṛt name</td>
<td>Tibetan name</td>
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<tr>
<td>43 Bhakṣiṇi</td>
<td>Za ba ljaṅ nag bya rgod mgo</td>
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<tr>
<td>44 Raṇi</td>
<td>dGa' ba dmar mo rta'i mgo</td>
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<tr>
<td>45 Mahābali</td>
<td>sTobs chen dkar mo khyuṅ gi mgo</td>
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<tr>
<td>46 Rākṣasī</td>
<td>Srin mo dmar mo khyi'i mgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 Abhilāṣī</td>
<td>'Doṅ pa dmar mo pu śud mgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 Vasurakṣā</td>
<td>Nor srut dmar ljaṅ sa ba'i mgo</td>
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<tr>
<td>49 Vāyudevī</td>
<td>Rluṅ tha shon mo spyan ki'i mgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 Nārī</td>
<td>Mi mo dmar mo skyin gyi mgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 Vārāhi</td>
<td>Phag mo nag mo phag gi mgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52 Vajrī</td>
<td>rDo rje dmar mo khwa twa'i mgo</td>
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<tr>
<td>53 Mahānāsī</td>
<td>sNa chen ljaṅ nag glaṅ chen mgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 Varunī</td>
<td>Chu lha shon mo sbrul gyi mgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 Mahākāli</td>
<td>rDo rje dkar mo khu byug mgo ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 Cakalās</td>
<td>rDo rje ser mo ra mgo ma</td>
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<tr>
<td>57 Kumbhakarṇī</td>
<td>rDo rje dmar mo sēṅ mgo ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58 Lambodarī</td>
<td>rDo rje ljaṅ nag sbrul mgo ma</td>
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</table>
### 'Ja’ tshon zi khro only (Zi khro nes don siiin po):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit name</th>
<th>Tibetan name</th>
<th>Na rag</th>
<th>gSa bathi siiii po</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>G</strong> Five Jñānādākinī-s</td>
<td>Ye ̱̃ ses mkha’ ʼgro lha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 Buddhadākinī</td>
<td>rGya’l yun rdo rje rnal ʼbyor chen mo</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 Vajradākinī</td>
<td>rDo rje mkha’ ʼgro sron mo</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 Rātanādākinī</td>
<td>Rin chen mkha’ ʼgro ser mo</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62 Padmādākinī</td>
<td>Padma mkha’ ʼgro dmar mo</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 Kāramādākinī</td>
<td>Las kyi mkha’ ʼgro ljañ mo</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>absent</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### 'Ja’ tshon zi khro only (Zi khro nes don siiin po):

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vajrakīla/kumāraheruka</th>
<th>rDo rje phur ba/  XCTeston nu he ru ka and consort</th>
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<tr>
<td>64 Vajrakīla/kumāraheruka</td>
<td>rDo rje phur ba/  XCTeston nu he ru ka and consort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 consort</td>
<td>bCom ldan rdo rje gZon nu consort</td>
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</table>
Conspicuous of the Male and Female Bodhisattvas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chos nidd bar do'i gsal 'debs</th>
<th>(ʻZi khro ńes don siiň po)</th>
<th>Ži khro sgyu 'phrul</th>
<th>gSan ba'i siiň po</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Sa yi siiň po</td>
<td>mig gi rnam šes</td>
<td>1 Sa yi siiň po</td>
<td>mig gi rnam šes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (Vajra)lāsyā</td>
<td></td>
<td>rDo rje sgeg mo</td>
<td>rDo rje mdoň ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Byams pa</td>
<td>rna ba'i rnam šes</td>
<td>rna ba'i dbar po</td>
<td>spyan gyi rnam šes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (Vajra)puspā</td>
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<td>rDo rje me tog ma</td>
<td>rDo rje thos byed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Kun tu bzaň po</td>
<td>sna ba'i rnam šes</td>
<td>sna ba'i dbar po</td>
<td>sna gyi dbar po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (Vajra)mālā</td>
<td></td>
<td>rDo rje 'phreň ba ma</td>
<td>rDo rje phreň ba ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Nam mkha'i siiň po</td>
<td>lce'i rnam šes</td>
<td>Nam mkha'i siiň po</td>
<td>rDo rje mdoň byed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 (Vajra)dhūpā</td>
<td></td>
<td>rDo rje bdug spos ma</td>
<td>spyan gyi dbar po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 spyan ras gzigs</td>
<td>lus kyi rnam šes</td>
<td>spyan ras gzigs</td>
<td>sňaš kyi dbar po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (Vajra)gitiä</td>
<td></td>
<td>rDo rje sgra dbyahn ma</td>
<td>rDo rje myoin ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 'Jam dpal dbyaňs</td>
<td>yid kyi rnam šes</td>
<td>'Jam dpal dbyaňs</td>
<td>rDo rje myoin byed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 (Vajra)kloča</td>
<td></td>
<td>rDo rje mar me ma</td>
<td>sňaš kyi rnam šes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 sGrib pa rnam sel</td>
<td>kun gzi rnam šes</td>
<td>sGrib pa rnam par sel ba</td>
<td>rDo rje mar me (ma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 phyag na rdo rje</td>
<td>ŋon niid rnam šes</td>
<td>mig gi dbar po</td>
<td>rDo rje snom byed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 (Vajra)gandhā</td>
<td></td>
<td>rDo rje dri chab ma</td>
<td>ljags kyi dbar po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 (Vajra)nṛtyā</td>
<td></td>
<td>rDo rje gar ma</td>
<td>rDo rje gar ba ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here called Yum chen mo kun tu bzang mo(!) and Yum chen mo nam mkha'i dbyin phug ma (the other consorts are also referred to as Yum chen mo + rDo rje, Rin chen, Padma, and Las kyi dbyin phug ma)

This group of deities is named twice, in transliteration and in Tibetan translation.

=Sa'i snyin po (comm.1and 2)
=Byams pa (comm.1and 2)
=Kun tu btsan po (comm.1and 2)
=Nam kha'i snyin po (comm.1)
=Phyan ras gzigs (comm.1)
=Jam dpal dbyangs
=Strib pa rnam sel
=Phyag na rdo rje (comm.1)
I would have expected sa here.

Only in the mantra cum dhāranī section, in comm.2: Badera he ru ka!

In comm.2 the consort is not specified.

Only in the mantra cum dhāranī section, in comm.2 Buddha he ru ka!

In comm 2 the consort is not specified.

Comm.2 Ratna he ru ka.

In comm 2 the consort is not specified.

Comm. Padma he ru ka.

In comm.2 the consort is not specified.

Comm.2 Karma he ru ka.

In comm 2 the consort is not specified.

Cf. sgo ma 4, Ro lams ma.

Comm.2: rBos rmo?.

Comm.2: gDun mo?

=Vetālī, cf. Kau' ri ma 4, Pe to li

The Kalsang Lhundup (1969)-edition mistakenly reads (another) phag ngo, all the other texts consulted (see appendix 1) read pha wari.

Fully: sTrib pa rnam par sel ba.
There is a wealth of more, interesting material available in the gSang ba'i sNin po-cycle and I am aware that there is a lot more of the text and context from which the deities are extracted which deserves to be examined more closely, but time and space are too limited to allow me to discuss any more of it here. We shall briefly return to this cycle of tantra-s in the following chapters, when presenting some of the traditional "interpretations" of zi khor.

Now I should like to turn to an important and, considering the number of texts extant, rather popular class of literature, which was already briefly presented in the introduction to this thesis. This is a class of confession- and expiation-texts, many of which in their purification ritual make use of a mandala of peaceful and wrathful deities. The texts belonging to this group usually feature the mark "na rag don sprugs(s)" in their titles.

The most important text (to our concern at least) was already utilised in the above tables, i.e. the Ži khor sgyy phrul gyi phyag 'tshul na rag don sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus. In the introduction we saw that the text presents itself as a translation from a Sanskrit original that was allegedly composed by the legendary saint Padmasambhava and the equally legendary Kaśmirian scholar Vimalamitra (eighth century?), the text thus claims to date back to about the eighth century AD. It is interesting to note here, that the translators associated with this text, to wit, sNgags ŽĀdana-kumāra (eighth century AD) and Rin chen mc hog (7??-836) from rMa, are also connected with the translation of the root-tantra of the gSaṅ ba'i sNin po. An abbreviated version of (most probably) the Ži khor sgyy phrul exists under the pitry title Na rag don sprugs (XLl.372), this text is said to be "unearthed" by a 'Gyur med bstan 'phel.

For quite obvious reasons these texts concerned with confession- and expiation-rituals are closely connected with funerary rites. In fact, one of these Na rag don sprugs(s)-texts, featuring a summary of a ži khor-mandala, the Žams chag sdi gsgrib thams cad bṣangs pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprug, attributed to the grand old (noble)man of rDzogs chen, Naṅ ral ŋi ma 'od zer (1124-1192), was in its original (composite and

212 Na rag don sprugs(s) also refers to an emanation of Avalokiteśvara and is thus considered to be a deity itself, analogous to the deity Sarvaraddharmaprītīdhāna in the Sarvaraddharmaprītīdhānaharanātantra. For a list of some Na rag don sprugs(s)-text, see Appendix I.
213 More bibliographical information can be found in Appendix I, a collasional work-edition based on the three block-prints mentioned in the introduction is presented in Appendix II.
214 Available from the library of the Kern Institute, Leiden, in the Johan van Manen Collection, under registration numbers: Br.79/H242.
215 See Appendix I.
216 At least according to block-print XL.1823, which was printed from the 1969 blocks that are preserved in the He mi rgo'd tshan-hermitage. According to the title-description provided with the JASWR-microfiche edition of this block-print the text was "rediscovered" by Žuṅ ral ŋi ma 'od zer, likewise in the title-description of another block-print printed in 1968 in Kelang from the blocks preserved at Bho gur-monastery.

According to Donald (1994, p.55) the text was composed in the nineteenth century by the 'Jum rgo'n Kon sprul, hBo gros mkha' yas (1813-1899) on the basis of two texts by the gter ston Gu ru chos kyi dban phyag (1212-1280), who is said to have been a disciple of Naṅ ral's son (and main disciple) 'Gro mgon nam mkha' dpal bu (see Dudjom Rinpoche (1991), p.763). These two texts are according to Donald, the bKa' brgyud gsal ba yinm rdo-rje, and the 'Khor ba don sprugs, which last includes the bKa' brgyud drang po rin phyin ba'i ži khor na rag snaṅ bsangs kyi cho ga (see Donald (1994), p.55, n.62).

Most of the texts bearing the title Žams chag sdi gsgrib thams cad bṣangs pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprug have been extended after their colophon for a few folio-pages, some of them have an extra and longer addition to this (this last category is marked as "extended" in Appendix I). The part preceding the colophons is identical in all versions. In the colophon some interesting information is recorded. All
usually slightly enlarged) gter ma-version as well as in an "extended version" included in many of the younger compilations of the Kar glin zi khr-o-type.

The Zi khr-o sgYu 'phrul employs a zi khr-o-man-dala of one hundred and ten deities, which is very similar to the one described in the Chos nGid bar do'i gsal 'debs. Vajra(satva)-Akshobhya (here translated as rDo rje Mi bskyod pa) is (again) stationed in the eastern quarter, displaying the Buddha-(buddha)family in the centre of the mandala (the usual arrangement for Yoga-tantra-s), the Vajra Heruka, however, is mentioned before the Buddha Heruka, implying that it is associated with the centre of the mandala, revealing an incongruity between the arrangements of the peaceful and wrathful mandala-s. An incongruity moreover that also appears in some of the texts that refer the Vajra-(buddha)family to the centre of the mandala (for instance in some of the mantra-s and dhāranī-s pertaining to the peaceful mandala mentioned in the fourth chapter of the root-tantra of the gSan ba'i sEln po). There is a more prominent difference, though, for the five Rig 'dzin (Skt. Vidyādhara-s) and their consorts are conspicuously absent in the mandala. This notwithstanding the fact that Rig 'dzin are frequently referred to throughout the text, two of the five Rig 'dzin that are mentioned

versions (mentioned in Appendix I) except the Rin chen gter ma-bzod-version (XXIX.5.171-184) have recorded in their colophons that the text is composed on the basis of what is taught in two texts, these are specified as follows: na rag bsigs bskan zi khr-o gsan ba yongs rdzogs dkar san sar (gSthas las ldan pa). This probably does not refer to two texts called Na rag bsigs bskan zi khr-o gsan ba yongs rdzogs and Rang sar, but this is most probably a cryptic reference to the teaching and the cycles the teaching is taken from, so we should probably read this as: the na rag bsigs bskan-zi khr-o as taught in the (bkA' brgyad) gsan ba yongs rdzogs and in the (bKo' brgyod drag po ran byun) ran sar-cycles. We are further assured that the editing is done truthfully by someone carrying the name of Padma(sambhava), in such a manner that not even a single word had been added or corrupted.

The Rin chen gter ma-bzod-version has a deviating colophon, here (XXIX.5.171-184, p.184, II.2f) it is said that the gter ma hKa' brya' gsal ba yongs rdzogs by Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug and the Zi khr-o na rag skor bsigs-ritu that came from gter ma hKa' brya' drag po ran byun ran sar by Myan (= Nang) have been-joined together here. Dowman probably consulted this last version. The title he mentions for the second work, the bKo' brya' gsal ba yongs rdzogs kyi cho ga is probably erroneous due to either a misreading of his text or possibly a different recension. For the Rin chen gter ma-bzod-version actually reads: bKa' brya' drag po ran byun ran sar las byun ba'i zi khr-o na rag skor bsigs kyi cho ga. I presume that Dowman because of the omission read this phrase as one title.

As to the first colophon mentioned above, the titles appearing there probably refer to two cycles from one khr-o, the bKo' brgyod gsoh ha yod rdzogs by Myo" zum (see XXIX.7.16.23.5). Revelations attributed to the gter ston Chos kyi dbang phyug and the bKo' bya' drag po ran byun ran sar, revealed by the gter ston rGog kyi ldem 'phrul can (IX.IX.23.7-207). Possibly ran sar refers to the Rig pa ran sar chen po'i rgyud, which is extant in the rNin ma'i rgyud bco bdun, Vol.I, pp.389-855 of the reproduction of the A `dzom brag pa-blocks (three-volume edition), unfortunately the first volume of this edition is currently not available to me. And as to the editor "Padma", Padma-sambhava is said to have had three important emanations, mchog sprul sku nam gsum, the gter ston Nang ra'i mi ma 'od zer was considered to be the first, the gter ston Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug the second and the gter ston rGog kyi ldem 'phrul can the third emanation; see Dowman (1994), p.53 esp. n.57 and Dudjom Rinpoche (1991), pp.775-777 and pp.780-783. It is rather peculiar, though, that the ran sar is attributed to Myan or Nang ra'i here and not to rGog kyi ldem 'phrul can. For, considering the cycles mentioned in the colophon mentioned first, Nang ra'i mi ma 'od zer would be the only emanation of Padmasambhava not involved in this text, and regarding the dates rGog kyi ldem 'phrul can could be the only Padma's min can to be able to make use of his own gter ma. One wonders why Nang ra'i mi ma 'od zer had to be brought in. A possible clue lies in the fact that a very similar (but not identical) Na rag don sprugs(s)-text exists, the Zi khr-o na rag don sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spilyi khrus 'gyud tshangs kyi cho ga dri med bsigs rgyud (Kern 28.542.40 and XL.1827), which according to its colophon was a gter ma of the "emanation-body" Nang (ra'i mi ma 'od zer), it is originally said to have been a teaching given by sLoh dpam Padma to Jo mo mTsho rgyal. So the connection of the name of Nang ra'i mi ma 'od zer with the discovery of an Na rag don sprugs(s)-text was already an established fact with this text.
in the Chos 'niid bar do'i gsal 'debs-mandala are even referred to by name\textsuperscript{217}. The expanded mandala of one-hundred and ten deities is not achieved here by including the Rig 'dzin and their consorts in the mandala, but by expanding the krodha-mandala with ten more deities to a total of sixty-eight krodhadevatā. That is to say, by including the primal Heruka and his consort (that are usually not counted) while adding an extra four Heruka-s together with their Krodheśvari-consorts\textsuperscript{218}. The names of the Gatekeepers and the twenty-eight powerful Yogini-s of the Ži khrö sgyu 'phrul agree much better with those of the Chos 'niid bar do'i gsal 'debs-mandala than those mentioned in (the two mandala-s of) the gsSn ba'i sñin pa. That is to say, only one of the names of the Gatekeepers and two of the names of the Yogini-s do not match and, unlike the gsSn ba'i sñin po, the Ži khrö sgyu 'phrul lists the Yogini-s in the same order as the Chos 'niid bar do'i gsal 'debs.

In the Rin chen gter mdzod, however, two Na rag don sprugs(s)-texts are included that, while preserving the extended mandala of Heruka-s\textsuperscript{219}, do feature mandala-s of Gatekeepers and Yogini-s that are very similar to those in the gsSn ba'i sñin po\textsuperscript{220}. These texts are, the rDo rje sms pa' thugs kyi sgrub pa las gsun pa'i ži khrö na rak don sprugs thabs (XXIX.5.119-151)\textsuperscript{221}, and the Ži khrö na rak don sprug gi dbaṅ chog bduad rtsi'i gaṅ gā (XXIX.5.189-213)\textsuperscript{222}. The Gatekeepers in XXIX.5.119-151 are also referred to by Tibetan names, but these do not match with those in the gsSn ba'i sñin po and are more similar to the ones found in the Ži khrö sgyu 'phrul and the Chos 'niid bar do'i gsal 'debs. However, not all the Na rag don sprug(s)-texts extant in the Rin chen gter mdzod follow this pattern, the Ži khrö na rak don sprug gi skon bṣags thugs rje'i zla 'od (XXIX.5.153-187)\textsuperscript{222}, for instance, has the same mandala-s of Gatekeepers and Yogini-s found in the Ži khrö sgyu 'phrul\textsuperscript{224}, in almost exactly the same order, while the extended mandala of Heruka-s is also present.

Another point of agreement with the gsSn ba'i sñin po in the three texts mentioned above (that is including XXIX.5.153-187) is that the Vajra-family in all of these texts is relegated to the centre of the mandala; that is -- again like in the gsSn ba'i sñin po -- except for a single stray mantra or dhārani in the peaceful mandala (see XXIX.5.189-213, p.206, II.4-6).

A very interesting witness is the mandala described in a text called Ži khrö 'nan snō sbyor ba'i chogs sgrigs(lbs) khrom(s) dkrugs gsal ba'i rgyan žes bya ba klag sgo(s) mar bkod pa (XLI.651\textsuperscript{225}, =XLI.13\textsuperscript{226}, XI.2.27\textsuperscript{227})\textsuperscript{228}. Here we do not find an

\textsuperscript{217} See for instance XLI.336b, 653, folio 4v, \#12: <gruṅ pa'i> sa la gnas pa'i rig 'dzin and XLI.336b, 653, folio 10v, \#1.1: Phyag rgya chen pa'i rig 'dzin.

\textsuperscript{218} See the third table above.

\textsuperscript{219} Another point of agreement with the gsSn ba'i sñin po is that in both texts the Vajra-family is, -- again like in the gsSn ba'i sñin po -- except for a single "stray" mantra or dhārani (i.e. in XXIX.5.189-213, p.206, II.4-6), relegated to the centre of the mandala. The same holds true for XXIX.5.153-187, which, however, follows the Ži khrö sgyu 'phrul rather than the gsSn ba'i sñin po in these mandalu-s.

\textsuperscript{220} This mandala also appears in the hKa' bṛgwaṅ bdie bgegs 'dus pa, a hKa' bṛgwaṅ-cycle, which is said to be revealed by Žun ral ni ma 'od zer; see a brief overview in XXIX.21.239-241.

\textsuperscript{221} Not dated, the last name in the list of the dignitaries respectfully remembered in the colophon is a great gter ston of recent ages mChog 'gyur gskip pa (1829-1870), which would place the text in the nineteenth-century.

\textsuperscript{222} The text is said to have been compiled by mChog 'gyur gskip pa having combined both root-tantra and the dBus gi 'phrin las.

\textsuperscript{223} The text is said to have been written by mChog 'gyur gskip pa as an upadeśa to the Žun 'gro'i thu gelui sel byed which came from the Kun bstan rdo rje sms pa' yi thugs rje rol pa' chi gter and was said to be brought to light by Gu ru Padma 'byaṅ gnas.

\textsuperscript{224} The deviations that do occur in the names are merely a matter of spelling.

\textsuperscript{225} Reading: sgrigs khrom.

\textsuperscript{226} Reading: sgrigs khrom (in the Nehesky-Wojkowitz (1953) catalogue only).
extended mandala of Heruka-s (nor a mandala of Rig 'dzin), thus the total number of deities here amounts to one-hundred. The Gatekeepers and Yogini-s in the wrathful mandala follow the gSaṅ bai'i sihn po-mandala(-s) (note that the colours of the Gatekeepers are the same as in the Ži khrO sgyu 'phrul and the Na rag don sprug(s)-text XXIX.5.153-187). The Ži khrO ņan son sbyoṅ ba moreover shows a variant peaceful mandala. Though the Vajra-(buddha)family is apparently, considering for instance the order of the Heruka-s,here too positioned in the centre of the mandala, Mi bskyod pa together with his consort rDo rje dbyiṅs phyug ma are introduced in a separate mandala with Kun tu bzaṅ po and Kun tu bzaṅ mo preceding the four other Tathāgata-s, and are associated with the eastern quarter of this separate mandala (Kun tu bzaṅ po is associated with the western quarter).

As far as the content is concerned we are no doubt dealing with a genuine Na rag don sprug(s)-text²²⁰, but the title clearly suggests another set of tantric purification rituals, the Ňan son thams cad yongs su sbyoṅ ba (Skt. Sarvadurgati-pāraśodhanatantra)²²¹.

This is a rather large cycle of purgatory texts focusing on the deities Sarvadurgati-pāraśodhana, Uṣṇīsāvijaya and Sītāpatra. Rites for the dead are explicitly described in the root-tantra. The mandala-s treated in the Ňan son sbyoṅ ba are quite different from those described for the Na rag don sprug(s)-texts and there is moreover, even though the material is to a certain extent related in content, little similarity in phrasing and in presentation. Nevertheless this cycle might still have provided a matrix for the species of confession- and expiation-literature, and combined with a Ži khrO-mandala of the gSaṅ bai'i sihn po it might come close to something like a blueprint for a Na rag don sprug(s)-text. It might be interesting to note here that two of the five Chos ņid bar do'i gsal 'debs-block-print-editions consulted²²² are concluded by a short Ňan son thams cad yongs su sbyoṅ ba-text; in the course of time they apparently were associated not only with death and dying (which, regarding their content is a quite obvious connection) but also with a Ži khrO-mandala in this context.

According to the colophon the first Tibetan translation was made at the end of the eighth century by the Indian scholar Šaṅtigarbha and the Tibetan translator Bande Jayarakṣīta, this translation was revised by Ācārya Rin chen mchog from rMa before the second half of the ninth century (the date of his death). Together with several commentaries this cycle was included in the canon²²³. A second translation by Chos rje dpal from Chog (1197-1264) and Devendradeva never was subject of any commentary²²⁴.
In order to illustrate the remarkably close match between the mandala-s of Gatekeepers and powerful Yogini-s in the "XXIX.5.119-151"- and "XXIX.-5.189-213"-Na rag don sprug(s)-texts and the Zi khro nan soñ sbyon ba on the one hand and in the gSañ ba'i sñin po on the other, in the table below the deities described in these texts are juxtaposed.
SECTION 1.2, ŽI KHRO

gSaṅ ba'i sniṅ po

1 Badzra a ringa te ssa te Ṉal ?rDo rje srin 'gro ma
2 Badzra a mu kal ?rDo rje gdoṅ mo
3 Badzra lo kal ?rDo rje 'jig rten ma
4 Badzra pa smi pa la ya ba to ?rDo rje ro laṅs ma

Ma nu rakṣa sīi Srin mo smug nag g-yag gdoṅ

Pra ḍha nīi Ṭshaṅs pa dmar ser sbrul gdoṅ
Rau trii 'Khrugs mo dmar ser gzig gdoṅ
Bai ṣa bīl Ḍhyab 'jug dmar ser pha dbaṅ
6 Ḍeṅ sre ma dmar ser sbrul gdoṅ
5 Ḍu ma ri dDan mo dmar skyā dred gdoṅ
rGya pa'i las mdzad dbaṅ phyug drug

Badzra sīṅs ha laṅ! Ži ba dmar mo dom mgo
Amri to l'i Budrt rsi chu sro sīṅ sīṅ mo
Saumāl Ži ba no skyā sīṅg gdoṅ
Dāndā daṅ! Be con nag mo ḍhra mgo
Rakṣa sīi Srin mo dmar nag wa gdoṅ
Bhakṣa sīi Za byed nag mo stag mgo

Ži ba'i las mdzad dbaṅ phyug drug

Ma nu rakṣa sīi Srin mo smug nag g-yag gdoṅ

Ṭshaṅs pa
'Khrugs pa
Khyab 'jug ma
4 brGya byin
6 dDan mo
rGya pa'i las ...

Ži ba dmar ser g-yag gdoṅ
Ṭshaṅs pa dmar skyā sbrul gdoṅ
'Khrugs pa ser nag gzig gdoṅ
5 Khyab 'jug ma
4 brGya byin
6 dDan mo
rGya pa'i las ...

Ži ba dmar mo dom mgo
bDud rtsi ma sīṅ sīṅ mo chu sro sīṅ sīṅ mgo
Ži ba mo
Ži ba no skyā sīṅg pa'i mgo
Be con
Be con ma nag mo ḍhra mgo
Srin mo
Srin mo dmar nag wa gdoṅ
Za byed
Za byed nag mo stag mgo

XXIX.5.119-151

1.2.21 KHRO

= transliterated +
= transliterated +
= transliterated +
= transliterated +
= transliterated +
= transliterated +
= transliterated +
= transliterated +
= transliterated +

Manḍala 1  Manḍala 2 = comm.2

XXIX.5.189-213

XLI.651, 13t

= transliterated +
= transliterated +
= transliterated +
= transliterated +
= transliterated +
= transliterated +
1.13 dGa' ba mo
1.14 Ra ro khrag 'thun gyis myos
1.15 gCig bu spyod ma
1.16 Yid 'phrog ma
1.17 Grub mo
1.18 Rluṅ mo

1.19 gSod byed mo
1.20 Me mo
1.21 Phag mo
1.22 rGan byed mo
1.23 sNa chad mo
1.24 Chu lha mo

1.25 Nag mo chen mo
1.26 Ra mga dmar ser chen mo
1.27 Bum sna sho nag chen mo
1.28 gSus 'dzin ser nag chen mo

drag po'i las mdzad dbaṅ phyug drug
dBaṅ gi las mdzad dbaṅ phyug drug
Rāti badzra/ dGa' byed dmar mo rgod gdon
Ru dhi ra martāl Khrag 'thun dmar mo rta gdon
Eka tsa ri nīl/ rDo rje ser mo khyuṅ gdon
Ma no ra nānī/ 'Dod pa dmar mo khyi gdon
Siddhi kan/ Nor sruñ dkar dmar pu śud
Pā ya bīl/ Rluṅ mo dmar skya ša mgo
*

1.14 Ra ro khrag 'thun gyis myos
1.15 gCig bu spyod ma
1.16 Yid 'phrog ma
1.17 Grub mo
1.18 Rluṅ mo

1.19 gSod byed mo
1.20 Me mo
1.21 Phag mo
1.22 rGan byed mo
1.23 sNa chad mo
1.24 Chu lha mo

1.25 Nag mo chen mo
1.26 Ra mga dmar ser chen mo
1.27 Bum sna sho nag chen mo
1.28 gSus 'dzin ser nag chen mo

sgo sruñ bīṣ

XXIX.5.119-151
XXIX.5.189-213 XLI.651, 13t

* * = as XXIX.5.119-151

XII.651, 13t
Badzra ḍṛya te dza te ṇa.
Āṛya te dza teḥ.
Badzra ḍṛya te dza te, N.B. colour as in Ži khor ṭsyu 'phrul and XXIX.5.153-187.
Badzra a mu khe.
Badzra a mu khe, N.B. colour as in Ži khor ṭsyu 'phrul and XXIX.5.153-187.
Badzra lo qa.
Badzra lo ka.
Badzra lo ka, N.B. colour as in Ži khor ṭsyu 'phrul and XXIX.5.153-187.
Badzra ḍha smiṃ pā la ya ba ṇu.
Bhaṣmiṃ bā la yu ba tu.
Bhaṣmi bā la ya ba tu, N.B. colour as in Ži khor ṭsyu 'phrul and XXIX.5.153-187.
Rau tri.
Be ṇa baḥ.
In dra ṇi, transliteration listed in the sixth place.
Ku ma ri, transliteration listed in the fourth place.
Amri ṭaṃ.
Sau mya.
Danda dam.
Ra ti badzra.
Ru ḍhi ra mattā.
Ru ḍhi ra matta.
Khrag ḍhun ma dmar nag rto gdoṅ.
Eka ṭsa ri ni.
gCig spyoṅ ma dkar dmar khyuṅ gdoṅ.
Ma no ha ra ma.
'Dod pa dmar ser khyi gdoṅ.
Stiddī ka ma.
Nor śruṅ dkar dmar pu śud mgo.
Wa yu wa.
Rluṅ mo dmar skyā sa ba'ī mgo.
Ma hā ma ra ni.
Mahā ma ra na badzra.
gSod byed ma ljan nag spyaṅ gdoṅ.
Agme yai.
Agni.
Me mo dmar ser skyis gdoṅ.
Wa ru ìi.
Phag mo ljun ser phag gdoṅ.
Tsa muḍi.
rgan byed ljan ṭon khra ta'i mgo can.
Su ta nām.
Su ta ni.
Sn chen ljan dmar ba glaṅ mgo can.
Ba ru ni.
Wa ru ni.
Chu thā ma ljan dmar sbrul gdoṅ.
Badgra ma hā kā li.
Badzre mahā kā l.
Nag mo chen mo khu byug mgo can.
Badgra tsa kā la.
Do rje shon mo ra gdoṅ.
Badgra kumbha ka rṇā.
Badgra kumbha karna.
Bum rna ma dmar mo sen gdoṅ.
Badgra la msodna rā.
Badgra lambko dha rā
bṣis' dzin ma ljun nag skyes ka'i mgo can.
The divergences in the mandala-s described so far mainly centre on three variations of the ī kḥro-mandala:

either the Buddha or the Vajra Heruka and (or) Tathāgata (i.e. rNam par snaṅ mdzad or rDo rje sems dpä' Mi bskyod pa) are attributed to the centre;
the mandala of one-hundred deities may be enlarged to one-hundred and ten by an extension of the mandala of Heruka-s or, alternatively, by the inclusion of a mandala of Rig 'dzin (and consorts);
two overlapping but clearly distinguishable sets of twenty-eight powerful Yogini-s are involved.

Obviously both the set of Rig 'dzin and the extended set of Heruka-s represent later developments in the ī kḥro-mandala-s. I am moreover inclined to assume that mandala-s using a gSaṅ ba'i sNīṅ po-derived set of powerful Yogini-s are older than those, possibly, depending on the (allegedly) eighth-century Zhi kḥro sgyu 'phrul-mandala. But the Zhi kḥro sgyu 'phrul-set of powerful Yogini-s might well be derived from another more ancient mandala that I do not yet know of; as I stated at the beginning of this paragraph, it is not feasible to examine all possibly relevant mandala-s of earlier phases in Buddhist or Hindu tantra here.

If these assumptions are correct, we might then continue this line of speculation and presume that, starting from the gSaṅ ba'i sNīṅ po-mandala(-s) (before the eighth century AD) of one-hundred deities, in certain tantric traditions a mandala developed in which the set of Heruka-s was extended by ten deities (consorts included), a mandala which continued to exist in the Na rag don sprugs(-texts) (XXIX.5.119-151 and XXIX.5.189-213) and without the Heruka-s in the Zhi kḥro nān sNīṅ sbyon ba mentioned above. In a very early stage (eighth century) a variant developed from (or possibly parallel to) this mandala, which featured the same extended set of Heruka-deities and consorts, but which had incorporated a different set of powerful Yogini-s, this is the mandala we find in the Zhi kḥro sgyu 'phrul. And it is probably from this extended and altered Zhi kḥro sgyu 'phrul-mandala that the later Kar glin Zhi kḥro-mandala developed by moving the centre of the mandala to the Buddha-(buddha)family and exchanging the extra Heruka-deities and consorts for ten neutral deities, the five Rig 'dzin (plus consorts), thus winning an extra mandala, allowing a tripartite classification of the Zhi kḥro, whilst remaining at an extended mandala of one-hundred and ten deities; as testified in for instance the Chos riid bar don ddo'i gsal 'debs (before the fourteenth century) and the Chos spyod bag chags ran grol. And, most probably, the ja' tshon Zhi kḥro-mandala developed again from the kar glin Zhi kḥro-mandala, as testified in the Zhi kḥro nes don sNīṅ po in 'Ja' tshon sNīṅ po's original gTer ma-versions (seventeenth century) and Nag dbaṅ kun dga' bstan 'dzin's reworking (eighteenth century). The Zhi kḥro nes don sNīṅ po adds an extra five Ye sEs mkha' gro ma and moreover the gZon nu He ru ka (plus consort) to the krodha-mandala. These two additional sets of deities are -- like the 42 peaceful, the 58 wrathful, and 10 Rig 'dzin-deities -- attributed to a cakra of their own, thus stepping up to a five-fold partition (of cakra-s employed in the yoga-practices involved with this rite, see chapter 2) and bringing the sum-total of deities to one-hundred and seventeen.

The material discussed so far does not contradict these hypothetical relationships but I have to admit that I do not find the evidence very compelling either. More information is required before any definite conclusions can be drawn.
In this paragraph I shall not discuss the *Chos ṇid bar do'i gsal 'debs* beyond what is mentioned above (especially in the tables), this text will be discussed further in the following (paragraph and chapters). The same holds true for the *Zi khro ṇes don snyin po*, which will be examined further in the second chapter of this thesis for its explicit and rather elaborate "interpretations" of the deities and *manḍala*-s discussed.
In the previous two paragraphs developments in the concepts (antarābhava cum) bar do and zi khro were discussed. We are confronted with a jumble of bar do-traditions that sometimes show signs of historical relation yet sometimes do not, at any rate, they do not seem to fit into a linear scheme of transmission in any satisfactory way. A chos riid bar do appears relatively late, but the exact chronology of the earliest Buddhist testimonies for this new bar do remains rather obscure. We moreover examined several zi khro-manḍala-s, starting some time before the eighth century with the gSan ba'i sfin po, continuing through a class of more or less related confession- and expiation-texts (the texts examined developed at various points in the interval between the eighth and the fourteenth century), and reaching the focal point of this research somewhere before the fourteenth century -- the upper limit for the Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs -- with the first Buddhist text in which a fully described manḍala of zi khro appears in a bar do of its own. We completed the survey with a short reference to a late witness, the 'ja' tshon zi khro, especially the eighteenth-century Zi khro' nes don sfin po. It is possible to suggest some lines of development in the manḍala-s discussed, but these suggestions must for the time being remain highly hypothetical and therefore uncertain. 

In this, the last paragraph of this chapter, we shall take a closer look at the exact point in which the concepts of bar do and zi khro were combined, and some hypotheses concerning the doctrinal significance and consequences of this conflation will be tried. Moreover I should like to adduce some of the relevant material concerning a zi khro bar do extant in those traditions that were later styled as "Bon" and see if that will create a broader and hopefully clearer perspective on the earliest developments of a chos riid bar do or zi khro bar do.

First of all, I should like to place the association of the concepts bar do and zi khro in a slightly larger context. In the first paragraph of this section we discussed some exponents of the bKa' rgyudpa-siddha-traditions. We mentioned that their teachings concerning bar do are closely connected to certain forms of rtsa rluri-yoga, especially the practices focusing on sgyu lus and 'od gsal, which developed in these lines of transmission, yoga-practices moreover, that gained much popularity in wider circles than bKa' rgyud pa-lineages alone. The concept of zi khro, on the other hand, is indissolubly associated with the generation stage of external visualisation (bskyed rim, Skt. upapattikrama), as may be sufficiently clear from the material presented in the previous paragraph. So the conflux of these two concepts implies the combination of two influential practices, external visualisation and rtsa rluri-yoga. This gives us another clue as to the origin of the chos riid bar do or zi khro bar do. For, in the eighth yāna (the fifth tantric yāna)234, the Anuyogayāna, the generation stage, bskyed rim, is not combined with the regular perfection stage (rdzogs rim, Skt. sampannakrama or occasionally nispannakrama) in which the visualised image is dissolved into emptiness, in Anuyoga rdzogs, rim involves practice of rtsa rluri-yoga235. gNubs gsan rgyas ye sēs (832-943236) played a role in the introduction of Anuyogatantra-s in Tibet237, that is to

234 According to tīn ma classification, see Ehrhard (1990) pp.15f.
235 For more information on Anuyoga, and its texts see Dudjom Rinpoche ((1991), pp.284-289) and for the specific treatment by Kluon chen pa see Tulku Thondup (1989), pp.38-41, see also pp.31f.
236 Snellgrove (1987): 772-885?, he is said to have lived up to a 113 years, Kapstein (1991): 832-943, Ehrhard (1990): 832-945.
say, in the time of gNubs, the ninth/ tenth century, it was still a largely unknown and rare doctrine. It is not unlikely that the inclusion of a full-fledged zi khro-maṇḍala in a context dominated by doctrines regarding experiences of 'od gsal (and light in general) and sgyu las took place in a time that the connection of bskyed rim and rtsa rlun-yoga as extant in Anuyoga had become more familiar.

We should moreover not loose sight of the wider historical perspective, rDzogs chen-teachings in general -- which, as we can gather from the end of the first paragraph of this chapter, seem to provide the earliest Buddhist (and as we shall soon see "Bon"-)sources on a chos niid (lti khro) bar do -- start to emerge between the late eighth and the twelfth century, whilst it is only after the tenth/eleventh century that rDzogs chen starts to establish itself as a tradition\(^{27}\) (which, by the way, holds true for most schools in Tibetan Buddhism).

When referring to some of the objections raised against the existence of an amarābhava in the amarābhavakathā of the Kathāvātu, in the first paragraph of this chapter, we met with the "skandha-problem" (first referred to there in the context of a passage in the Saddharmasūryapasthānāsūtra) an issue which, as was noted in that same paragraph, was apparently already considered problematic at the time of the Kathāvātu. Solving the problem of a (relative) continuity of perception\(^{27}\) and hence the continuity of at least one skandha (i.e. perception Skt. viśṇāna (Tib. rnam par sès pa)) in an intermediate state after the "dissolution" of the skandha-s at death (however that was conceived of in various traditions) while at the same time avoiding any suspicion of an assumption of an unchanging and eternal entity or "soul" (for what better advocate for the transience of a person than its disintegration at death) apparently constituted an awkward theoretical dilemma; in fact, as the authors of the Kathāvātu seem to have argued, the very assumption of an intermediate state helped to create such problems in the first place. On the other hand, the increased expertise regarding "death and dying" as recorded in works by tantric Buddhist yogī-s, for instance in the sgyu lus-, 'od gsal- and bar do- teachings in the Nā ro'i chos drug, might have exposed the weak spot to even more pressure, ultimately dictating the necessity of a more satisfactory theory and more elaborate description for that most problematic period, he supposed transitions taking place immediately after an assumed "dissolution" at death, the result of which could be the descriptions of a chos niid (lti khro) bar do. The exact relation between theories regarding the re-arising/emerging of the skandha-s, an illusory body, and the zi khro-maṇḍala will be discussed in the following two chapters. In this chapter we shall concentrate on the overall structure of the theoretical framework and on evidence of the practice of bskyed rim and rtsa rlun-yoga in the earliest texts featuring a chos niid (lti khro) bar do. Before starting this investigation we first need to examine some early "Bon"-material on the subject.

A probably quite old witness is the "Bon"-rDzogs chen-text rDzogs pa chen po taṅ ṭuṅ śāṇa rgyud las sGron ma drug gi gدام pa with its commentary, the rDzogs pa chen po taṅ ṭuṅ śāṇa rgyud las sGron ma'i 'grel pa t'u 'od rgyan, which might date back even before the date of the compiler of the Zaṅ ṭuṅ śāṇa rgyud, i.e. the eighth-century Gu rub (snaṅ bţer lод po)\(^ {240}\), the scheme of three bar do-s pertaining to death.

\(^{27}\) See Ehrhard, p.11, esp. n.38.

\(^{27}\) See Karmay (1988), pp.10-12 and passim, see also Ehrhard (1990), pp.2-17.


\(^{240}\) The (rDzogs pa chen po taṅ ṭuṅ śāṇa rgyud las) sGron ma drug gi gدام pa is, as the title indicates, to be found in the rDzogs pa chen po taṅ ṭuṅ śāṇa rgyud kyi gսח phoḍ, Dolanji (H.P.), India, 1980, pp.331-354 (used by Orofino for her edition) and Chandra (1964), pp.269-293, especially the
is already extant here. Though mention is made of a time of death ('chi ba'i dus\(^{241}\)) when describing the stages of "dissolution" that are usually associated with the process of dying, a 'chi kha'i bar do is -- like in the works attributed to bkA'i rgyud pa-siddha-s examined in the first paragraph of this chapter -- not explicitly mentioned\(^{242}\). As was to be expected for this "Bon"-text the following bar do is not referred to as chos niid bar do but as bon niid 'od gsal (gyi) bar do\(^{243}\). And lastly a srid pa'i bar do, here styled srid pa las kyi bar do\(^{244}\), is mentioned.

The passages concerning a bon niid bar do\(^{245}\) are very revealing. The bon niid bar do-teachings are said to be explained for the benefit of those who possess medium powers of intellect. For, as the sGron ma drug has it, the time of death is a border-line between suffering and joy and because the projecting power with regard to good and bad thought is great, this instruction should be given in accordance with the power of intellect and without error. There are furthermore said to be three ways of liberation that result from cognition, a superior, a middle and a lower one\(^{246}\) (it might be interesting to note here, that the teachings in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs are said to be intended mainly for those of medium intellect\(^{247}\)). From the descriptions in this passage we can surmise that the bon niid bar do is thought to commence at the point where the three appearances of sound, light and rays arise, after the outer appearances of fire, water, earth and wind have ceased\(^{248}\) and awareness is without support and naked, separated from the material body of flesh and blood. Because the mass of karma, klesa-s, and delusive thoughts has come to an end, alayavijñāna is said to be without the covering of obscurations. So the bon niid bar do actually starts at the confrontation with the clear light of death ('od gsal, here referred to as kun gši, Skt. ālayavijñāna\(^{249}\)) -- hence the name bon niid 'od gsal gyi bar do -- which in the Kar glin zi khro-cycles is considered to be a part of the 'chi kha'i bar do. The sGron ma drug

sixth chapter. The Dolanji-editition of the Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre according to Orofino (1985, p.152) includes three hitherto unpublished chapters reproduced from a copy in the Samiling Monastery in Dolpo, Nepal, the edition by Lokesh Chandra and Tenzin Namdak is a reproduction of block-prints from the Tibetan monastery of sMan ri. This text is said to be received by Gu rub snan bzer lod po from his teacher, the legendary Tu pi hri za, in a vision. Gu rub snan bzer lod po is said to have lived in the time of the reign of khris srong lde btsan, i.e., the second half of the eighth century. The rDzoogs pa chen po za'n zuân sro n rgyud las sGron ma'i 'grel pa ni'od rgyan-commentary is also extant in the rDzoogs pa chen po za'n zuân sro n rgyud kyi gsun phod, Dolanji (H.P.), India, 1980, pp.355-417 and Chandra (1964), pp.293-355. The sGron ma drug gi'dams pa, and its commentary sGron ma'i 'grel pa ri'od rgyan are translated in Orofino (1985), pp.60-66 and pp.67-84, and are edited on pp.127-130 and pp.131-139. The commentary is associated with the name of Uri (bsStod 'nams rgyal 'mochan) (?-1133).

In an appendix Orofino moreover presents another "Bon"-text, the 'Chi rags gsal ba'i sgron ma, from the cycle Bla med rdoogs pa chen po yan rie klo'n chen gyi khrill which treats of the signs of death (these are, amongst other things, mentioned in the sGron ma drug), this text is of lesser interest to us here. The 'Chi rags gsal ba'i sgron ma is to be found in the Bla med rdoogs pa chen po yan rie klo'n chen gyi khrill-cycle, Vol.II, pp.643-666, Dolanji 1973. Orofino translates this text on pp.85-103 and presents an edition on pp.140-150.

\(^{241}\) See Orofino (1985), p.127, 133, and commentary, ibid., p.132, ll.19, 22, 26, 29, and 32.

\(^{242}\) Except for the reference to a 'chi ba'i srid pa in the mGur 'bum in Kern 28.536.3, folio 167v, 1.3.


\(^{247}\) See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.5, ll.7-11.

\(^{248}\) I.e. the process of dying is completed.

\(^{249}\) Especially the elaborations in the commentary make this very clear, even the simile for the recognition of the Kun gši ("od gsal) is the same, to wit, that of a son coming to his mother's lap (Orofino (1985), p.134, ll.14, cf. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.13, ll.14f. and p.54, ll.10f.).
continues to describe the fate of someone of medium intellect, having been introduced to the essence of the unrevealed alayavijñāna and into vipāsyañā, by the force of their contemplation, the six forms of "higher knowledge" (Skt. abhijñā) and the six recollections (Skt. anusmṛti) will arise in him and he will achieve buddha-hood. These six forms of abhijñā and anusmṛti do not match very well with those mentioned for the chos rdo bar do in the Ńi zla kha sbyor²⁰⁰. Interestingly enough we find no reference whatsoever in this early text to Ńi khrö, only the three appearances of sound, light and rays are mentioned, a common locution which reappears rather frequently in other texts like for instance the Chos rdo bar do'i gsal 'dbs²³¹. Quite in contrast to the Ńi zla kha sbyor (or the Chos rdo bar do'i gsal 'dbs) the visionary aspect is not elaborated here at all. We will return to this point when discussing the Ńi zla kha sbyor in greater detail, that is, after the presentation of some more "Bon"-material.

Furthermore I was able to consult three large collections of "Bon"-ši khrö-texts, to wit the dBar la mu khris yid bzin rgyal ba'i lugs sam hor lugs kyi ši khro'i sgrub skor, the dBar ldan tu rin' lugs kyi ši khro'i sgrub skor, and the Ńi khrö sgrub skor²³². The most interesting text found so far is a purportedly eighth-century bar do thos grol-text called sNan rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo extant in the third collection mentioned. The text is attributed to the legendary Dran pa'i nam mkha' (eighth century) and is said to have been transmitted orally, that is to say, as a so-called sNan brgyud, to his son Tshe dbari rig 'dzin and ultimately to 'Gro mgon dam pa ran grol (1149-?). The text is also extant in the second collection, but under another title, Ńi khrö bar do 'phraḥ grol gyi thos grol las byan bag chags ran grol, which, no wonder, is also associated with the name of (sMan rgyal) Dam pa ran grol. Even though the ascription to Dran pa'i nam mkha' (eighth century AD) in "Bon"-tradition is most probably equally doubtful as the attribution of the Chos rdo bar do'i gsal 'dbs to the legendary saint Padmasambhava in rNīṇ ma tradition, the first reliable date, the one of Dam pa ran grol (1149-?), is still one to two centuries earlier than the first reliable date for the Chos rdo bar do'i gsal 'dbs (i.e. the approximate date of the gter ston Karma glin pa (fourteenth century AD)).

The ši khrö-mandala starts, as in the gSang ba'i snyin po, from a white w, from which gSen lha 'od dkar emanates. The first pair of deities in the mandala is, again, Kun tu bzar po and Kun tu bza mo, the other deities, however, are quite different from the ones we met in the mandala-s discussed in the previous paragraph. The number of wrathful deities is also different. The sNan rgyud bar do thos grol and the Ńi khrö bar do 'phraḥ grol announce, like the other texts discussed so far, forty-two peaceful deities but in the listing six more are mentioned, moreover eighty-six wrathful deities are announced (instead of the fifty-eight listed in the Chos rdo bar do'i gsal 'dbs) while eighty-nine deities are actually listed (plus one pair that is mentioned twice). Some of the groups of deities show some resemblance in kind and in the way they are associated with diverse categories, e.g. the five Tathāgata-s with consorts, the Bodhisattva-s with consorts and the Buddha-s of the six realms, but most of them do not match very well.

²⁰⁰ See Orofino (1985), p.120, II.4-22.
²³² See Appendix I.
# Peaceful Deities (Ži ba'i Lha tshogs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit name</th>
<th>Tibetan name</th>
<th>sNyen rgyud thos grol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Šādi-buddha</td>
<td>Đaň po saňs rgyas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and consort</td>
<td></td>
<td>bDe gšegs rgyal kun tu bzaň po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Šādi-buddha-samantabhadra</td>
<td>Đaň po saňs rgyas kun tu bzaň po</td>
<td>Kun tu bzaň mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Samantabhadri</td>
<td>Kun tu bzaň mo</td>
<td>Khri bži nam tib bde bar gšegs gsun gi lha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Vairocana</td>
<td>rNam par snaň mząd</td>
<td>Thugs rje byams pa yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Ākāśadhatuśvarā</td>
<td>Nam mkha'i dbyiňs phyug ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Vajrasattva-Akṣobhya</td>
<td>rDo rje sms dpa' Mi bskyod pa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Locana</td>
<td>Sans rgyas spyan ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Ratnasambhava</td>
<td>Rin chen 'byun ldan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Mānaki</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Amitābha</td>
<td>sNaň ba mtha' yas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Pāṇḍara</td>
<td>Gos dkar mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td>Don yod grub pa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Samayatārā</td>
<td>Dam tshig grol ma</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Five Tathāgatas</td>
<td>rGyal ba'i rigs lha</td>
<td>Bde bar gšegs rigs lha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and consorts</td>
<td>bDe gšegs yum lha</td>
<td>'Byun ba'i yum chen lha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Ākāśadhatuśvarā</td>
<td>Nam mkha'i lha mo yum</td>
<td>Kun snan khyab pa bde bar gšegs thugs kyi lha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Vajrasattva-Akṣobhya</td>
<td>gSa lba ran byun bde bar gšegs sku yi lha</td>
<td>Nam mkha'i lha mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Ratnasambhava</td>
<td>gSa yi lha mo yum</td>
<td>gSa lba ran byun bde bar gšegs sku yi lha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Locana</td>
<td>dGe lha gar phyug bde bar gšegs yon tan lha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Vajrasattva-Akṣobhya</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 Ratnasambhava</td>
<td>dGe lha gar phyug bde bar gšegs yon tan lha</td>
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<td>6 Locana</td>
<td>dGe lha gar phyug bde bar gšegs yon tan lha</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit name</td>
<td>Tibetan name</td>
<td>sNan rgyud thos grol</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight Mahābodhisattva-s and consorts</td>
<td>Byañ chub sems dpa' chen po brgyad</td>
<td>Ye gšen sems dpa' brgyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Kṣitigarbha</td>
<td>Sa yi shiin po</td>
<td>Ye şes sems dpa' khri bţi nam tiṅ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 (Vajra)läsyā</td>
<td>transliterated (rDo rje sgeg mo)</td>
<td>Thugs rje byams ma yun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Maitreya</td>
<td>Byans pa</td>
<td>Ye gšen sems dpa' than ma me sgron</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 (Vajra)puspā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje me tog ma)</td>
<td>gZugs kyi lha mo yun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Samantabhadra</td>
<td>Kun tu bzañ po</td>
<td>Ye gšen sems dpa' kha ste nu ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 (Vajra)mālā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje ‘phreñ ba ma)</td>
<td>sGrA yi lha mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Ākāśagarbha</td>
<td>Nam mkha’i shiin po</td>
<td>Ye gšen sems dpa’ gtsug gšen rgyal ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 (Vajrajhūpā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje b thugs spro ma)</td>
<td>Dri yi lha mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Avalokiteśvara</td>
<td>sPyan ras gzigs</td>
<td>Ye gšen sems dpa’ snañ ba mdog can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 (Vajra)gitā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje sgra dbyaṅs ma)</td>
<td>Ro yi lha mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Maṇjuśrī</td>
<td>‘Jam dpał dbyaṅs</td>
<td>Ye gšen sems dpa’ ba rab glin bţi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 (Vajra)āloka</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje mar me ma)</td>
<td>Reg bya’i lha mo yum</td>
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<tr>
<td>25 Nivraṇavibhāga</td>
<td>sGrib pa rnam par sel ba</td>
<td>Ye gšen sems dpa’ khri rmañ rgyal ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 (Vajra)gandhā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje dri chab ma)</td>
<td>Yid kyi lha mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Vajrapāṇi</td>
<td>Phyag na rdo rje</td>
<td>Ye gšen sems dpa’ lde bo gsun chen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 (Vajrajñātyā</td>
<td>translit. (Gar bsgyur ma)</td>
<td>gTer ’dzin lha mo yum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### SECTION 1.3, CONFLATION BAR DO AND ŻI KHRO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit name</th>
<th>Tibetan name</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**D** Four Gatekeepers  
*and consorts*

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Vijaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Vajraṅkuśī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Yamāntaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Vajrapāśī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Hayagrīva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Vajrasṛṅkalā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Amṛtaṅkundalā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Vajraghanta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**sNan rgyud thos grol**

*Ye gšen me tog ma bzhī Me tog ma bzhī*

35 *Lha mo dkar mo padma'i spyan can*
36 *Lha mo dmar mo 'bar ba'i ljags can*
37 *Lha mo ser mo thor tshugs can gyi sku*
38 *Lha mo sňon mo chu rkañ can gyi sku*

*Ye šes sgo bzhī?*
*Dus bzhī rgyal mo bzhī*

39 *Ye gšen sms dpa' bдум rtši rgyal ba*
40 *Yum chen dpyid kyi rgyal ma = 35?*
41 *Ye gšen sms dpa' zi dal kun sňoms*
42 *Yum chen dbyar gyi rgyal ma = 36?*
43 *Ye gšen sms dpa' gtsug phud rgyal ba*
44 *Yum chen lha mo ston gyi rgyal mo = 37?*
45 *Ye gšen sms dpa' byams pa gdar gcod*
46 *Yum chen lha mo dgun gyi rgyal mo = 38?*
Six Buddha-s of the bhavachakra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit name</th>
<th>Tibetan name</th>
<th>Neutral, neither Peaceful nor Wrathful Deities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sPrul pa'i thub pa drug</td>
<td>'Dul ba gšen rab drug</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 (Indra/Śakra)</td>
<td>brGya byin</td>
<td>29 Ye gšen gtsug phud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 (Vemacitra)</td>
<td>Thags bzaṅ ris</td>
<td>30 icē rgyal par ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 Śākyamuni</td>
<td>Śākya sen ge</td>
<td>31 gSaṅ ba 'dus pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 (Śimha)</td>
<td>Seṅ ge rab brtan</td>
<td>32 Ti saṅs raṅ ži</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 (Jvalāmukhī)</td>
<td>Kha 'bar ma</td>
<td>33 Mu cho ldem drug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 Dharmarāja</td>
<td>Chos kyi rgyal po</td>
<td>34 gSaṅ ba naṅ riṅ</td>
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Neutral, neither Peaceful nor Wrathful Deities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit name</th>
<th>Tibetan name</th>
<th>sNyin rgyud thos grol</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Five Vidyādhara-s and consorts</td>
<td>Rig 'dzin lña</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Padma gar gyi dbaṅ phyug</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 consort</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Sa la gnas pa'i rig 'dzin</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 consort</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Tshe la dbaṅ ba'i rig 'dzin</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 consort</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Phyag rgya chen po'i rig 'dzin</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 consort</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Lhun gyi grub pa'i rig 'dzin</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 consort</td>
<td>absent</td>
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</table>
### Wrathful Deities (Khro bo'i Lha tshogs)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sanskrit name</th>
<th>Tibetan name</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ādiheruka and</td>
<td>(Dañ po he ru ka)</td>
<td>(dBal gsas rṇam pa khro rgyal mkha' 'gyiṅ kha rNam mo bde 'gro yum Mi bzad gnam gyi lhā rgod thog pa rje Srid pa'i rgyal mo yum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consort (usually absent)</td>
<td>Che mchog he ru ka transliterated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāśṛtheruka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krodheśvarī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>(He ru ka lña)</td>
<td>Ye ses khro bo yab lña Yum chen khro mo lña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five Heruka-s and Krodheśvarī-consorts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Buddhaheruka</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit name</td>
<td>Tibetan name</td>
<td>sNam rgyud thos grol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
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<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Kau'u ri' Ke'u ri ma mo brgyad</td>
<td>Ha la Khro bo brgyad</td>
<td>Yum chen khro mo brgyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauri</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>gSal byed ha la good pa khra slag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cauri</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>Li šag dmar mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pramohā</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>Kun grags ha la sgra rgyal 'brug slag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vetālī</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>Kha šag smug mo yum</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Pukkasi</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>Dri tshor ha la bya rgyal khyañ slag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Ghasmarī</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>lGyum šag shon mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Cañḍālī</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>Kun grol ha la bdud rtsi char slag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Śmaśānti</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>Re šag nag mo yum</td>
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<td>25</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yul gyi Phra men brgyad</td>
<td>* = transliterated Skt. name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siñhamukhi</td>
<td>smug nag seni mgo can</td>
<td>mNyon sprul ha la g-yun druñ tshe slag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vyāghramukhi</td>
<td>dmar mo stag mgo can</td>
<td>Tshu šag dkar mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣrgalāmukhi</td>
<td>nag mo wa mgo can</td>
<td>sGra 'gyur ha la 'phrul gyi yig slag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śvamukhi</td>
<td>mthiñ nag spyan mgo can</td>
<td>rGya šag ser mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grādhramukhi</td>
<td>dkar ser bya rgoñ mgo can</td>
<td>rDzu 'phrul ha la g-yo ba rluñ slag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kānkamukhi</td>
<td>dmar nag bya'i mgo can</td>
<td>sKyet šag ljen nag yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kākamukhi</td>
<td>nag mo bya rgo mgo can</td>
<td>'Gyur med ha la gsaal ba 'od slag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulūkamukhi</td>
<td>mthiñ nag 'ug pa'i mgo can</td>
<td>Se šag dkar ljen yum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION 1.3, CONFLATION BAR DO AND ŽI KHRO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit name</th>
<th>Tibetan name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>sGo ma bži or sGo skyon khro mo bži</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>rTa gdoṅ dkar mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Phag gdoṅ ma ser mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Seṅ gdoṅ ma dmar mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>sBrul gdoṅ ma ljaṅ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>dBaṅ phyug ma ūi ūu rtsa brgyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Rākṣast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Mahādevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Vaiśnavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Kumārī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Indraṅ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

sNiṅ rgyud thos grol
sGo ba yab yum brgyad: rNam chen khro bo b Zh Dus b Zh rgyal mo b Zh

dBal gyi rgyal po mi zad me la rgyuṅ
Khro gtum nag mō yum
sTobs chen mi zad stāg 'gros rgyal po
Glaṅ ra sгон mo yum
sTobs chen mi skyin 'daṅ mi phud rgyal po
Li bar dmar mo yum
Khro rḥam ha la stons kyi rgyal po
mKha' la 'khyog 'dor yum

(Mi bzad gnam gyi lha rgod thog pa rje Srid pa rgyal mo)

dBal mo ūi ūu rtsa bdun

Las mkhan sgon mo 'brug mgos chu srin lag pa g-yob
Las mkhan dmar ser 'broṅ mgos ru sgyogs 'dzin
Las mkhan bud med dkar mos ba dan 'phyar

Las mkhan ljaṅ nag sbrul mgos khuyiṅ gṣogs 'phyar
Las mkhan dkar mo rgod mgos ru mshon 'phyar
Las mkhan sa srin nag mōs sbrul žags 'debs
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit name</th>
<th>Tibetan name</th>
<th>sNyin rgyud thos grol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vajri</td>
<td>rDo rje ser mo pha wañ mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan nag mo skyuñ mgos zañs spar gdenś⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāntī</td>
<td>Ži ba dmar mo chu sрин mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan nag mo dom mgos shrul žags 'debs⁤⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amṛtā</td>
<td>bDud rtsi dmar mo sدين pa'i mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan nag mo gdoñ dgus båud māa 'phen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candra</td>
<td>Zla ba dkar mo kha'ra mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan dkar mo señ mgos mtshal žags bsdog¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dandā</td>
<td>Be con ljañ nag wa'i mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan ser mo glan mgos sgysgs rdo 'phen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rākṣasī</td>
<td>Srin mo ser nag stag gi mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan ser mo glan mgos sgrul mgo ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhakṣinī</td>
<td>Za ba ljañ nag bya rgod mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan dmar mo dred mgos rał kyu 'phyar⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rati</td>
<td>dGa' ba dmar mo rta'i mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan sñon mo gziñ mgos btsañ žags bsdog³</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mahābali</td>
<td>sTobs chen dkar mo khyuñ gi mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan sñon mo gdoñ drug chu sрин g-yañ gāi 'khur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rākṣastī</td>
<td>Srin mo dmar mo khyi't mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan dmar nag spany mgos khra gśog 'phyar¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhilāṣī</td>
<td>'Dod pa dmar mo pu śud mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan dmar nag mgo ma gzañ gñis śel sgoñ 'thor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasurāksā</td>
<td>Nor sruñ dmar ljañ sa ba'i mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan dmar mo mgo ma gzyan gīs gṣam 'ghor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāyudevi</td>
<td>Rluñ lha sñon mo spany ki'i mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan smug nag stag mgos dred kyi g-yañ gāi 'khur⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nārt</td>
<td>Mi mo dmar mo skyin gyi mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan dmar mo khra mgos rał gyu 'phyar⁵</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vārāhi</td>
<td>Phag mo nag mo phag gi mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan dmar mo mgo ma gysg byur thag skyon⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajri</td>
<td>rDo rje dmar mo khwa twa'i mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan ser ljañ 'ug mgos sрин bya spor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mahānåså</td>
<td>sNa chen ljañ nag glan chen mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan dmar mo sbrul mgo ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varuñi</td>
<td>Chu lha sñon mo sbrul gyi mgo</td>
<td>Las mkhan ser ljañ 'ug mgos pho mo skuñ nas 'gyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahåkåli</td>
<td>rDo rje dkar mo khu byug mgo ma</td>
<td>Las mkhan skya bkra mgos dred lag 'phyar⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cakalā'</td>
<td>rDo rje ser mo ra mgo ma</td>
<td>Las mkhan sto ljañ dbru gñis dmu thag 'dren</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kumbhekarañä</td>
<td>rDo rje dmar mo señ mgo ma</td>
<td>Las mkhan ser ljañ nag mgo ma</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lambodari</td>
<td>rDo rje ljañ nag sbrul mgo ma</td>
<td>Las mkhan ser ljañ nag mgo ma</td>
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</table>
SECTION 1.3, CONFLATION BAR DO AND ZI KHRO

Sanskrit  Tibetan  sNan rgyud thos grol

Las mkhan sio ltañ chu srin mgo can rlun g-yab bsam sr
Las mkhan dmar nag phag mgos dru gu bsdog
Las mkhan dmar nag lcags ral gsin lam 'dren

dBal gyi las mkhan gyal chen bcu po

Las mkhan dbal gyi mi phos" boś cha ha la srog"
Las mkhan duñi gyi mi thun dbal mduñ 'debs
Las mkhan dbal g-yu yi mi thun mda' gëu 'gens"
Las mkhan gzañs kyi mi thun dgra sta 'phya'rbb
Las mkhan lcags kyi mi thun ral gri 'phya"r
Las mkhan dbal stag khra bos mche sder brdar"n
Las mkhan dbal 'brug snon pos 'ur sgra srog"ma
Las mkhan dbal g-yag dkar pos ru zé" bo'sigs
Las mkhan dbal khyun snon po 'jom ziñ lidin
Las mkhan khor chu'i" ma thun gjar tsam bsam sr

sNan rgyud thos grol continued

dBal gyi las mkhan dmag dpon bcu po

Las mkhan" glan po'i mgo can" brag ri 'debs
Las mkhan mhiñ nag dom mgos ral gri 'phya"r
Las mkhan" chu srin mgo can' dbal mduñ gso'r
Las mkhan dmar mo spany mgo khra g'gog 'phya"r
Las mkhan skya bkra sga' mgos bami ro za
Las mkhan ser ltañ khyun mgs sbrul zags 'debs
Las mkhan mhiñ nag rña mgos" mduñ riñ bsam sr
Las mkhan" phag rgod mgo can" me dpuñ spor"a
Las mkhan" dred kyi mgo can" byad thag bsam sr
Las mkhan" stag gi mgo can" dgra sà za

dBal gyi las mkhan rgyal chen sde bzi

Las mkhan mi dkar sen mgo ral gri 'phya'rbb
Las mkhan" phag rgod mgo can" sbrul zags 'phen"n
Las mkhan mi sion 'brug mgos sta mo 'phya"r
Las mkhan mi nag dom mgos thog mda' 'phen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sanskrit Name</th>
<th>Tibetan Name</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Buddhadakini</td>
<td>Gyal yum rdo rje rnal 'byor chen mo</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Vajraadakini</td>
<td>rDo rje mkha' 'gro sron mo</td>
<td>absent</td>
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<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Ratnaadakini</td>
<td>Rin chen mkha' 'gro ser mo</td>
<td>absent</td>
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<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Padmaadakini</td>
<td>Padma mkha' 'gro dmar mo</td>
<td>absent</td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>Karmaadakini</td>
<td>Las kyi mkha' 'gro ljang mo</td>
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</table>

*Ja' tshon ži khro only (Ži khro žes don sning po):* sNyat rgyud thos grol

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Vajrakila(lkumāra)heruka</td>
<td>bCom ldan rdo rje gZon nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>consort</td>
<td>consort</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The names appear in a phrase almost identical to the one used for the peaceful protectors, in both cases it does not seem to be completely accurate for describing the groups of deities mentioned.

IASWR-microfiche-edition of the ‘Zhi khro bar do’i ‘phran grol, file number SB778.11.8: phyar.
SB778.11.8: phyar.
SB778.11.8: gden.
SB778.11.8: phen.
SB778.11.8: bsdog.
SB778.11.8: bsdog.
SB778.11.8: phyar.
SB778.11.8: bsdog.
SB778.11.8: phyar.
SB778.11.8: ‘Lus mkhan smug nag stag mgos g-yah bzi phyar.
SB778.11.8: leags kyu phyar.
SB778.11.8: skyons.
SB778.11.8: phyar.
SB778.11.8: bsdogs.
SB778.11.8: ‘Lus mkhan gser mo ...
SB778.11.8: mgos.
SB778.11.8: phyar.
SB778.11.8: ‘Lus mkhan sngo ljam ...
SB778.11.8: chu srin mgc.
SB778.11.8: bsor.
SB778.11.8: phyar.
SB778.11.8: pos.
SB778.11.8: bswo.
SB778.11.8: sgrobs.
SB778.11.8: gen.
SB778.11.8: ri'am mgos.
SB778.11.8: phyar.
SB778.11.8: ‘Lus mkhan damr nag ...
SB778.11.8: mgos.
SB778.11.8: bsamgs.
SB778.11.8: phyar.
SB78.II.8: *Las mkhan mi dmar* ...

SB78.II.8: mgos.

SB78.II.8: *bsdogs.*

SB78.II.8: *bdar.*

SB78.II.8: *bkra gsal.*

SB78.II.8: mgos.

SB78.II.8: *sgraogs.*

SB78.II.8: *zer.*

SB78.II.8: *chos.*

SB78.II.8: *phyar.*

SB78.II.8: *Las mkhan mi dmar* ...

SB78.II.8: phag mgos.

SB78.II.8: sdebs.
A mandala of peaceful deities (Tibet, nineteenth century AD)
A detailed discussion of the characteristics of and differences between this and other "Bon"-mandala-s cannot be presented here. In any case, there are "Bon"-mandala-s that differ from the one just described, see e.g. the Zi khrö-pyeug blo-gyas chams chos sknyid na rag pan bkon rgyal po (bshon ba)?, a text which might moreover be interesting for the development of the Na rag don spru-gru-class of texts discussed above. Unfortunately time does not allow me to make use of it here.

The above comparison of the Chos thid bar do'i gsal 'debs Ži khrö nes don ston po-and the sNan rgyud bar do thu grol Ži khrö bar do 'phrun grol-mandala-s does not yield enough common ground for establishing any sound hypothesis concerning a positive affiliation. The rest of the sNan rgyud bar do thu grol- and Ži khrö bar do 'phrun grol-texts does not suggest any relation either, that is, except for the summarising prayers concluding each group of deities presented there.

The phrasing of these prayers (showing almost identical formulas at each occurrence) is remarkably similar to that of the Bar do 'phrun grol gyi smon lam, a (more or less separate) text which is extant in the Chos thid bar do'i gsal 'debs where it likewise concludes the descriptions of pairs or sets of deities. On the following page a typical example of the prayer-formulas in the Chos thid bar do'i gsal 'debs and the sNan rgyud bar do thu grol Ži khrö bar do 'phrun grol is given.

Apart from some general resemblances in the mandala-s, these prayers are the only similarities found so far. Therefore it might be worthwhile to take a closer look at them. Firstly we have to address the question of chronology. Was the Bar do 'phrun grol gyi smon lam incorporated into the Chos thid bar do'i gsal 'debs or is the Bar do 'phrun grol gyi smon lam a later compilation from the verses appurtenant in the Chos thid bar do'i gsal 'debs, which, together with similar prayers, for the ease of reference, was included in Kar gön ri khrö-cycles as an "appendix"? As far as the Chos thid bar do'i gsal 'debs is concerned both hypotheses are possible, though the former option seems to be the most probable one, since the Bar do 'phrun grol gyi smon lam contains several verses less than are contained in the Chos thid bar do'i gsal 'debs (to wit, the verses pertaining to the five Tathagata-s and consorts as a whole?), suggesting an adaptation, in this case extension, of the prayer to fit the needs of the arrangement in the chos thid bar do-text. It is interesting to note here that the sNan rgyud bar do thu grol and the Ži khrö bar do 'phrun grol also show signs of editing of the prayer cited. The descriptions of the guardians of the peaceful mandala and wrathful mandala are followed by formulas of prayer which are very similar. These formulas, however, do not match very well with either group of deities and are not construed in a consistent and customary manner.

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A mandala of wrathful deities (Tibet, nineteenth century AD)
A detailed discussion of the characteristics of and differences between this and other "Bon"-mandala-s cannot be presented here. In any case, there are "Bon"-mandala-s that differ from the one just described, see e.g. the Zi khrö'i phyag bṣags šams chag skoṅ byed na rag paṅ bkoṅ rgyal po (bṣkan ba)233, a text which might moreover be interesting for the development of the Na rag don sprug(s)-class of texts discussed above. Unfortunately time does not allow me to make use of it here.

The above comparison of the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs/ Zi khrö nes don sṅin po-and the sNan rgyud bar do thos groṅ Zi khrö bar do 'phran grol-mandala-s does not yield enough common ground for establishing any sound hypothesis concerning a positive affiliation. The rest of the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol- and Zi khrö bar do 'phraṅ grol-texts does not suggest any relation either, that is, except for the summarising prayers concluding each group of deities presented there.

The phrasing of these prayers (showing almost identical formulas at each occurrence) is remarkably similar to that of the Bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi smon lam, a (more or less separate) text234 which is extant in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs where it likewise concludes the descriptions of pairs or sets of deities. On the following page a typical example of the prayer-formulas in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs and the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol Zi khrö bar do 'phraṅ grol is given.

Apart from some general resemblances in the mandala-s, these prayers are the only similarities found so far. Therefore it might be worthwhile to take a closer look at them. Firstly we have to address the question of chronology. Was the Bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi smon lam incorporated into the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs or is the Bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi smon lam a later compilation from the verses appearing in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs, which, together with similar prayers, for the ease of reference, was included in Kar glin ti khrö-cycles as an "appendix"? As far as the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs is concerned both hypotheses are possible, though the former option seems to be the most probable one, since the Bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi smon lam contains several verses less than are contained in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs (to wit, the verses pertaining to the five Tathāgata-s and consorts as a whole235), suggesting an adaptation, in this case extension, of the prayer to fit the needs of the arrangement in the chos niid bar do-text. It is interesting to note here that the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol and the Zi khrö bar do 'phraṅ grol also show signs of editing of the prayer cited. The descriptions of the guardians of the peaceful mandala and wrathful mandala are followed by formulas of prayer236 that are very similar. These formulas, however, do not match very well with either group of deities and are not construed in a consistent and customary manner.

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233 According to the title-description by Karmay in his Catalogue of Bonpo Publications (1977, p.35, nr.47) this text was rediscovered by dByil ston khyen rgyed rtsal (1175-?) from La stod bar gyi se la. The presentation of a "Bon"-set of deities by Lauf (1975, pp.178-187) mainly follows the mandala described in this text.

234 See Appendix I.

235 See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.38, ll.5-10, this was brought to my attention by a comment in Thurman (1994, p.109).

236 See the edition in Appendix II, folios 645f. and 666f. of the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol and folios 288f. and 308 of the Zi khrö bar do 'phraṅ grol.
Chos rgyud bar do'i gsal 'debs

[by samsāric category(ies)]

[Enlightened quality(ies)]

[By (group of) deity(ies)]

[By consort(s)]

sNan rgyud bar do thos grol and Zi khro bar do 'phrana grol

pair/group of deities

[By (group of) deity(ies)]

[By consort(s)]

[Enlightened quality(ies)]

[By samsāric category(ies)]

[By (group of) deity(ies)]

[By consort(s)]
The construction for the guardians of the peaceful mandala is obviously forced, especially the group-name of the male guardians, Ye ses sgo bzi, seems doubtful, first of all since it is mentioned as a group-name in the prayer of the Zi khrro bar do 'phran grol only, and secondly because in all other instances, that is, also in the prayer-formula pertaining to the guardians of the wrathful mandala this designation appears in an introductory formula, which in this location usually features more general categories with which the groups of deities are associated.

As indicated above, the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol and the Zi khrro bar do 'phran grol moreover disagree in the reading of the prayer. The sNan rgyud bar do thos grol features an unusual construction that has the supplicant begging one group of female deities to lead the way and another to protect him from behind; usually the male deities are, if available, asked to lead the way and the female deities are supplicated for backup-support. The Zi khrro bar do 'phran grol exchanged the first group of female deities to lead the way and another to protect him from behind; usually the male deities are, if available, asked to lead the way and the female deities are supplicated for backup-support. The Zi khrro bar do 'phran grol exchanged the first group of female deities for a designation referring to the group of four male guardians, Ye ses sgo bzi, therewith awkwardly doubling the appearance of this group-name in the prayer-formula. Obviously the Me tog ma bzi did not fit into the formula of the prayer in any decent manner and had to be introduced by force, the redactor(s) of the Zi khrro bar do 'phran grol, took offence at this tour de force and polished the inconsistency of two groups of female deities away by ignoring the first group in the formula, but in the process of this cosmetic operation spoiled the introductory formula where the male deities had found mention already; thus inadvertently knocking over with the butt what was being corrected by the hand. The female consorts of the guardians mentioned for the wrathful mandala deviate from their group-name mentioned in the prayer, the designation used actually pertains to the female consorts of the guardians in the peaceful mandala.

The impression we get from this is that the redactor(s) of the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol and the Zi khrro bar do 'phran grol had to work with two groups of gate-keepers cum consorts including the four Me tog ma bzi, while at the same time having only one prayer-formula available. This might imply that both the mandala and the prayer pre-date the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol- and the Zi khrro bar do 'phran grol texts proper, that is to say, they were known sources drawn upon that could not be remodelled too far beyond their traditional mould.

Though the mandala-s used are apparently very different, the Chos rid bar do'i gsal 'debs and the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol Zi khrro bar do 'phran grol seem to draw on the same or a similar prayer that bears much resemblance to the Bar do 'phran grol gyi smon lam.

Dargyay\(^{254}\) has suggested a strong connection of Bar do thos grol-teachings with "the vision of Amitābha" and "the Sukhāvati-prayer", she characterises the corresponding texts as forming a unity from the point of view of content and religious practice. An important clue for Dargyay is the fact that in the short biography of Karma gliṅ pa in the Zah mo'i gter dan gter stön grub thob ji lha byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bdus bkod pa rin chen bai du rya'i phren by 'Jam mgon koh sprul blo gros mtha' yas (1813-1899)\(^{259}\) this gter stön is reported as a reincarnation of the translator Klu'i rgyal mishan of Cog ro who is said to have been a contemporary of king Khri sroṅ lde bisan (742-797) and whose name is moreover connected with the translation

\(^{253}\) The Me tog ma bzi, four of the six deities that spoil the desired number of forty-two peaceful deities and that the redactor(s) for some reason or other dared not omit.


\(^{259}\) Included in his Rin chen gter mdzod Vol.1, pp.291-759.
of (amongst others) the important Āryāmitābhāvyāhanāmanahāyānāsūtra\textsuperscript{260}. This Klū'i rgyal mtshan of Cog ro is said to have been sent to India by king Khri sroṅ lde btsan on behost of ṇāṅ tīṅ Ṉe 'dzin bzan po together with a party led by him and the translator sKa ba dpal brtsegs of the 'Bro-family in order to procure rDzogs chen-teachings by inviting Vimalamitra to Tibet\textsuperscript{261}. Though she admits to have no further evidence supporting this, she considers the possibility that the party of Klū'i rgyal mtshan, sKa ba dpal brtsegs, and Vimalamitra brought with them practices concerning Amitābha but also other practices that were concerned with the "bar do thos grol"-concept, which ultimately resulted in the Bar do thos grol-cycles. The latter part of her consideration does indeed seem to go far beyond the evidence available and I can, as for now, not share the enthusiasm that Pommaret apparently feels\textsuperscript{262} regarding Dargyay's hypotheses. Amitābha definitely occupies a special position, see for instance the mention in the inceptive verse of the Chos rñid bar do'i gsal 'debs, but on the whole, the Bar do thos grol-texts I am familiar with do not strike me as so strongly centred on Amītābha or Sukhāvatī, texts on 'pho ba emphatically excepted, of course. The association of Karma glin pa with Amītābha- and Sukhāvatī-cults, however, because of his traditional association with Klū'i rgyal mtshan seems to be well worth considering. If Karma glin pa did draw upon sources related with Amidism or in one way or other was influenced by these cults, I would expect the prayers discussed to be the most likely carrier for this influence. It seems to be worthwhile to look into Amītābha-centred literature for the origin of the prayers mentioned above.

Having examined some of the available "Bon"-sources, I should now like to continue discussing the presumably early Buddhist testimonies for a chos rñid bar do that were introduced earlier in this chapter, at the end of the first paragraph, especially with regard to evidence of (a combination) of bskyed rim- and Anuyoga-rdzogs rim/ risa rlun-practices.

A most interesting reference is to be found in the Chos rñid bar do'i gsal 'debs itself\textsuperscript{263}:

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\textsuperscript{260} See PTT, 5.110.3.4-127.3.5.

\textsuperscript{261} See Dargyay (1977a), pp.57ff.

\textsuperscript{262} See Pommaret (1989), p.106.

SECTION 1.3, CONFLATION BAR DO AND ZI KHRO

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 SECTION 1.3, CONFLATION BAR DO AND ZI KHRO
When the adept regains consciousness (after experiencing the (first) clear light of
death) in the chos ŋid bar do, the teaching given to him depends on whether he
practised bskyed rim or rdzogs rim. This instruction implies that bskyed rim and
rdzogs rim are not intended here as the two phases in external visualisation-practice,
to wit, projecting and dissolving the visualisation, but refer to two distinct practices,
the first of which is external visualisation-practice, the second of which, according to
the text, is associated with an introduction into the experience of the clear light. I
should like to refer here to work of Ehrhard (1990)281, where we can read that the term
bsKyed pa'i tshul is used in the Man nag la ba'i phren ba, which is attributed to
Padmasambhava, as a designation for Mahāyoga and rDzogs pa'i tshul as a
designation for Anuyoga. The reference to rdzogs rim pa-s in the Chos ŋid bar do'i
gsal 'debs is hence most probably a reference to practitioners of Anuyoga. That is to
say that the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs has knowledge of an Anuyogayāna and
addresses itself explicitly to these practitioners as a more advanced category, the
distinction moreover implies that latter group was considered to be closer to "the
centre of the mandala".

Concluding the description of the peaceful deities, the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs
gives some general information regarding the appearance of the deities282 (which reads
like an instruction for visualisation). It is significant that this description is virtually
identical with one extant in the Ńi zla kha sbyor. There is moreover some similarity
in content in the part immediately following this. Not to such a degree as to suggest
any borrowing, but enough to indicate that both texts are here in their own way
presenting a similar tradition283, that is to say, draw on the same sources. The rest of
the descriptions, however, do not bear much resemblance. The shared location is
moreover the only substantial reference to peaceful deities in the Ńi zla kha sbyor.
Thus, in the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs, the treatment of the five wisdom lights in the
part following this phrase is associated with the five Tathāgata-s, but in the Ňi zla kha
sbyor it is presented in terms of geometrical shapes of light and colour only. The
references to technical terminology pertaining to stages and teaching-devices/-similes
with regard to esoteric rDzogs chen(rtsa rluu-)yoga-practice (a detailed description
of which cannot be given here) are more numerous and seem to be more
systematically and comprehensively presented in the Ňi zla kha sbyor than in the
Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs.

Summarising these facts we get a picture in which neither the "Bon"-bar do thos grol-
texts -- the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol and the ZI khro bar do 'phra'n grol -- nor the
Ńi zla kha sbyor, nor the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs borrowed from each other on a
large scale. The "Bon"-bar do thos grol-texts and the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs
share a similar prayer that was probably incorporated from a familiar source. The Ňi
zla kha sbyor and the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs share a description/visualisation-
instruction for the peaceful deities and several references to more advanced kinds of
Buddhist yoga-practice pertaining to amongst others the Anuyogayāna. That is to say,
evidence points to shared sources, prayer(s), instructions for visualisation as well as
more advanced types of Buddhist yoga rather than to direct copying or even whole-
sale import.

281 See Ehrhard (1990), pp.8-17, esp. p.11.
Now I should like to take a closer look at the general architecture of descriptions of the period immediately following the "dissolution" of the skandha-s at death and at the nature of the references to rtsa rluṅ-yoga in the bar do-literature discussed so far, especially with regard to descriptions of the experience of the clear light of death and the arising of an illusory body "shortly" after.

The description of the bar do of dying, the 'chi kha'i bar do, in the Chos ņid bar do'i gsal 'debs, is largely presented in terms of Tibetan medicine and tantric Buddhist yoga, referring to processes of subtle and gross disintegration involving breath (phyil nāṅ dbugs), nāḍī, prāṇa, the five elements and the like, this is a general tendency in most of the descriptions of a 'chi kha'i bar do known to me". When the "dissolution" of all the aspects of personal existence is completed and the experience of the clear light of death has been unveiled, a subtle mental body of habitual tendencies (ḥaṅ chags) yid kyi lus) is said to arise. That is to say, due to habitual tendencies a body consisting of those very constituents of the personality (skandha-s) -- the "disintegration" of which had been previously described! -- is said to be projected or imagined. This is exactly the sore spot in bar do-theory that is referred to above. The arising of a mental body is a general feature in conceptualisations of a state that was thought not to be experienced under normal psycho-physical conditions, like the chos ņid and srid pa'i bar do-s (e.g. in the Chos ņid bar do'i gsal 'debs) or the rmi lam bar do and certain meditative states as for instance described in the Nā ro'i chos drug. Perception in such a state seemed to demand a faculty fit to perceive. It is at this point in the Chos ņid bar do'i gsal 'debs that the descriptions of the peaceful and wrathful deities start. This construction leads to a most remarkable inconsistency, however, since, as we shall demonstrate in the next chapter, the perception of the five Tathāgata-s in the peaceful maṇḍala also refers to the arising of these five skandha-s that are involved in the perception thereof (and to the possibility of the realisation of the five buddhajñāna-s by recognising these constituents as such). The need to have a faculty of perception present before the arising of that faculty of perception can be perceived, was apparently more urgent than the inconsistency resulting from this manoeuvre. What is extremely interesting is that the arising of a mental body, which was apparently considered to belong to the "basic gear" of a bar do, is here, unlike in the preceding process of disintegration, indicated by means of a maṇḍala of deities and not in terms of nāḍī, prāṇa, etc.

This composition suggests hard labour on the side of the redactor(s), I have the impression that we are actually looking here at the seams and stitches of the patchwork, loose ends included, that ultimately became the Chos ņid bar do'i gsal 'debs. After the elaborate and quite sophisticated description (in terms of rtsa, rluṅ, etc.) of the process of disintegration some additional theory and more elaborate description was needed to make the transition from a bare experience of the clear light of death (strictly speaking, a completely bare "experience" of the clear light of death would amount to release) to a complete mental body acceptable, while at the other hand the reference to the sudden appearance of a mental body as a mandatory requisite for a non-physical bar do-state could not be discarded so easily, each (consecutive) bar do-state required a death and a birth of its own (a fact that we encountered already in some of the later abhidharma-literature discussed in the first paragraph of this chapter). The fact that the redactor(s) resorted to a tī khro-maṇḍala

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33 A very clear example of this is to be found in a late and highly systematised presentation, mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter, the gZi sku gsum gyi rnam bzung rab gsal sgron me tes kyi ba bzung so (XL.0696), composed by the eighteenth-century dGe lugs pa-sehlar dByahs can dga' ba'i blo gros or A kya yongs 'dtin.
presents us, certainly given the evidence of the several kinds of yoga-practice referred to above, with a clue as to their doctrinal back-ground. Considering the awkwardness of the dilemma and the possibilities that Buddhist theory offered at that time to tackle such a problem methinks that some commiseration with the plight of the reductor(s) seems appropriate. Apparently, he/they managed to smooth out the unevenness by covering up the gap between no-body and some-body with familiar and related theories and descriptions, thus making the whole story appear somewhat more familiar and thus maybe more acceptable, yet while doing so he/they did not actually offer a more consistent theory.

Another interesting point is the description of the four wisdom-lights appearing together (since the fifth wisdom, the wisdom of all-accomplishing action, associated with the green wisdom-light, is not yet perfected, the green light reportedly does not yet appear). This is the so-called secret path of Vajrasattva (rdo rje sems dpal khun sen gi lam tes bya'o), which as mentioned above, appears in both the Ni sla kha shyor and the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs. The colours of the wisdom-lights attributed to the first two Tathāgata-s are reversed. The colours used are those of their bodies, not the colours of the light they appear from. Vairocana, whose body of white colour was in the description of the mandala in the preceding part of the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs, said to appear from blue light, is here associated with the white wisdom-light, while Vajrasattva, whose body of blue colour was in the preceding part of the text said to emerge from white light, is here associated with wisdom-light of the colour blue. Texts are extant in which the colours blue and white are also reversed in the descriptions of the five Tathāgata-s. The attribution of the colours of the wisdom-lights in the description of the secret path of Vajrasattva might well be more original than that of the colours of the Tathāgata-s in the peaceful mandala, the harmonisation of the colours in the peaceful mandala with those of the wisdom-lights is most probably due to later editing. This suggests that the mandala was introduced into the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs at a later point and that the sources the Ni sla kha

265 See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.34,1.20 - p.36,1.15
266 A discrepancy which was, again, brought to my attention by an annotation in Thurman (1990), p.143.
267 See e.g. XXVI.235 = text ha (see Appendix I), especially the lengthy note regarding this inconsistent attribution of colours which appears at the end of the description of Vairocana and his consort, p.261,1.5 - p.263,1.11:
sbyor and the Chos ņid bar do'i gsal 'debs drew upon probably only featured the above-mentioned general reference to the visualisation of peaceful deities that both texts share. It is not unlikely that the practice not only to refer to deities, but to actually include a description of a mandala like in the Chos ņid bar do'i gsal 'debs and in the "Bon"-bar do thes grol-texts, the sNi rgyud bar do thes grol and the Ži khro bar do 'phraṅ grol, was imported from the popular class of Na rag don sprug(s)-like confession- and expiation-texts and had not been adapted to the colour-scheme of the co-arising of the four wisdom-lights imported from another source, though there is at the moment no solid proof for this hypothesis.

As indicated above this is not the right opportunity to track down, identify and explain the many allusions to esoteric rDzogs chen-practices especially in the Ni zla kha sbyor and to a lesser degree the Chos ņid bar do'i gsal 'debs. The Ni zla kha sbyor might draw on the Rig pa raṅ ēar chen po'i rgyud here, which tantra is actually referred to in an interpolation\(^{290}\), but unfortunately the volume of the Rñin ma'i rgyud bcu bdun-edition\(^{291}\) in which the Raṅ ēar is included is not available to me at the moment.

There are moreover many more interesting (and sometimes contradictory) points in the "architecture" of the Chos ņid bar do'i gsal 'debs that deserve to be investigated further. Some work has been done already in the study of Back (1979), for instance with regard to the exact manner of release as related to the buddhakāya-s and the interesting double appearance of Yama Dharmārāja in the chos ņid bar do and the srid pa bar do.

Regarding the above evidence it seems likely that the early chos ņid bar do lži khro bar do-texts discussed are the result of a compilation of information gathered from different sources, part of which is shared by some of them and part of which is unique. The Chos ņid bar do'i gsal 'debs thus comprises:

- a prayer (shared with the sNi rgyud bar do thes grol and the ži khro bar do 'phraṅ grol) probably to be identified as, or alike to, the Bar do 'phraṅ grol 'gyi smon lam (a possible Amidist provenance should be investigated);
- a reference to the peaceful mandala (shared with the Ni zla kha sbyor) from an as yet unknown Mahāyoga-source;
- references to certain rDzogs chen-practices (slightly less elaborate and systematic than similar references in the Ni zla kha sbyor) from an unknown rDzogs chen-source (the Rig pa raṅ ēar should be investigated as one of the possible candidates);
- and a ži khro-mandala imported from a source differing from the one mentioned above (second point), probably a text from the Na rag don sprug(s)-class of confession and expiation-texts.

With these considerations I should like to conclude this historical survey and proceed with the next chapter, an examination of traditional "interpretations" of ži khro extant in the texts that were introduced in the second paragraph of this chapter.

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\(^{290}\) See Orofino, (1985), p.120, ll.19f.

Traditional "Interpretations" of ži khro-Manḍala-s

In this chapter we shall examine some traditional "interpretations" offered for the (kar glin) ži khro as they are extant in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs. This will be done by taking stock of the categories associated with the individual deities. But because only a few deities are "well documented" in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs, additional information has to be extracted from the manḍala extant in the Ži khro sgyu 'phrul, which is, generally speaking, especially for the less familiar deities, more explicit on the point of interpretation. The late Ži khro ńes don shriṅ po, which offers the most bountiful and exhaustive treatment of the subject known to me, will, with the necessary caution of course, be used as further reference-material to fill in the gaps. In spite of its late date, which allows the Ži khro ńes don shriṅ po to know more than the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs did, its descriptions are remarkably consistent (i.e. conservative), at least for the (one-hundred and ten) deities both texts share. A general comparison of the "interpretations" thus gathered to those that can be inferred from the categories associated with the deities listed in the gSaṅ ba'i shriṅ po and the "Bon"-texts, the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol and Ži khro bar do 'phraṅ grol, will also be attempted here. A more in-depth discussion of these diverging manḍala-s, however, is not feasible within the limits of this study.

Much work in classifying categories associated with ži khro has been done already by Lauf (1975). He made use of several texts, which are listed in part VIII of his study, Literaturverzeichnisse397; the Ži khro ńes don shriṅ po seems to have been one of his more important sources. Considering the intended public of his publication, references to Tibetan sources were kept limited, yet he seems to have been very precise in extracting material from the various sources indicated. The data presented by him are, as far as I have been able to check, reliable and accurate, so much so, that it does not seem to be necessary to comb all the blueberry-bushes again, just in case Lauf might have missed a pale or undersized berry. The presentation of this material seems to be only instrumental in his study, the main goals being a psychological interpretation of the evidence found, and a comparison with related traditions in different cultures. The potential reader of his study is left to judge for him or herself how well Lauf succeeded in doing so and whether he or she finds his particular approach clarifying or not. For the present investigation I am mainly concerned with the concrete data which Lauf brought together, for that work alone I think I owe him a debt of gratitude. So thanks to the efforts of Lauf, it is not necessary to sum up all the information concerning each and every deity. Therefore I shall first present a conspectus of the several groups of Buddhist deities and their collective associations/ "interpretations" that can be found in Lauf (1975). Because the conspectus is arranged for groups of deities, all individual iconographical details of the deities, their colour, garments, attributes, the direction they appear from, etc. had to be omitted. These details can, however, usually be found in Lauf's study. After this, the full data for a few more or less typical and well documented examples of traditional "interpretations" of some of the deities, to wit, the five peaceful emanations of the Tathāgata-s and their consorts, will be given.

Finally, based on the information gathered thus, some general considerations regarding the function of the ži khro-manḍala will be offered.

397 Esp. Lauf (1975), pp.269f..
First of all, a general conspectus of what is present in Lauf (1975):

42 Peaceful deities, associated with the jñānacakra (Tib. ye 'ses kyi 'khor lo or thugs kyi 'khor lo)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samantabhadra (Tib. Kun tu bran po) with Consort Samantabhadri (Tib. Kun tu bran mo)</th>
<th>awareness (rig pa) dharmatā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 Tathāgata-s (Tib. rGyol ba'i rigs lha)</td>
<td>5 skandha-s buddhajñāna-s (5 kleśa-s) cakra-s as areas of karmic activity (Skt. karmamandala)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Consorts (Tib. bDe giegs yum lha)</td>
<td>5 elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Mahābodhisattva-s (Tib. Byan chub sens dpa' 'chen po brgyad) 8 Consorts (Tib. Byan chub sens ma brgyad)</td>
<td>8 forms of perception (Skt. viññāna, Tib. rnam 'jes brgyad) 8 realms of perception (Skt. viśaya, Tib. rnam 'jes yul brgyad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Buddha-s of the bhavacakra (Tib. sprul pa'i thub pa drug)</td>
<td>6 loka-s 6 kleśa-s 6 perfections (Skt. pāramitā, Tib. pha rol du phyin pa drug) 6 cakra-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Gatekeepers (Tib. sGo ba bZi) with Consorts (Tib. sGo ma bZi) (somewhat wrathful)</td>
<td>4 limitless states (Skt. catur- apramāṇa, Tib. tshad med bZi) 4 theses on eternity and annihilation (Tib. rtag chad mu bZi) 4 of the skandha-s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 Neutral, neither peaceful nor wrathful deities associated with the sambhogacakra (Tib. loṅs spyod kyi 'khor lo)

| Vidyādha-ra-s (Tib. Rig 'dzin lha) with Consorts | 5 cakra-s as realms of karmic activity (Skt. karmamandala) |
58 Wrathful deities, associated with the mahāsukhacakras (Tib. bde chen gyi 'khor lo)

(Mahāśākāra (Tib. mChe mchog heruka) with Consort KrodhiivornikTib. transliterated), generally absent

| 5 Heruka-manifestations of the Tathāgatas-ś (Tib. Khrog 'khor 'dbyigs phyug yum lha) | 5 klesa-s |
| 5 Consorts (Tib. dByihs phyug yum lha) | 5 elements |
| 8 Ke'urmanas-ś (Tib. Khrog 'lhu" yob lria) | 8 forms of perception (Skt. viṣṭāna, Tib. rnam sês brgyad) |
| 8 'Phro men nas-ś (Tib. Khrog 'lhu" yob lria) | 8 realms of perception (Skt. viṣāyana, Tib. rnam sês yul brgyad) |
| 4 Female Gatekeepers (Tib. sGo ma bți or sGo skyon kdro mo bți) | 4 limitless states (Skt. catur-apramāṇa, Tib. tshad med bți) |
| | 4 theses concerning eternity and annihilation (Tib. riag chad mu bți) |
| | 4 leaders of the four groups of six powerful animal-headed female Yoginis-ś |
| 28 Powerful animal-headed female Yoginis-ś (Tib. dByihs phyug rnal 'byor ma ɾer brgyad) (including 4 female Gatekeepers) | karmically conditioned tendencies and concepts |

Among some sects the mandala is extended with two groups of 5 and 2 deities, associated with the nirmāṇacakra (Tib. lte ba'i sprul pa'i 'khor lo) and sukhapālacakra (Tib. bde skyon gi 'khor lo) respectively

Associated with the nirmāṇacakra:

5 Jhānādīkīnīs-ś (Tib. Ye sês mkha' 'gro ma bți)

Associated with the sukhapālacakra:

Vajrakīla or Vajrakumāraheruka with (sexual) desire (Skt. kāma, Tib. 'dod pa)

Consort (3) klesa-s

Among these groups of deities we will now more closely examine the five Tathāgata-s of the peaceful mandala together with their female consorts. In the five tables on the following pages, attributes and diverse other categories are listed that are associated with these deities in successively the Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs, the Ži kho rgyud bar 'phral, the Ži kho rges don s roś po, the gSa ba'i s roś po (and one of its commentaries (comm.2)), and lastly also in the "Bon"-text, the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol and Ži kho rgyud bar do 'phran grol.

203 See paragraph 1.2, most of the information that can be gathered from this commentary is said to be extracted from the dPal gsaṅ ba'i 'dus pa (see XX.83.32.3.7).


**TABLE 2.1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Five Tanahga-s and consorts</th>
<th>Bujanaparta (Zin kham)</th>
<th>Quarter (Phyoza)</th>
<th>Colour light</th>
<th>Colour body</th>
<th>Throne (Khril gDon)</th>
<th>Mudra (Phyaq rgyu)</th>
<th>Skandhak Bhista (PhurpO' Ryon ba)</th>
<th>Sanseric category</th>
<th>Enlightened quality/colour</th>
<th>Juxtaposed realm/colour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rNam par tshan ma-lod</td>
<td>Thig le' brtal ba</td>
<td>centre</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>sek gi' khri</td>
<td>'khor lo rtsibs bgyad</td>
<td>rnam par yesi</td>
<td>gi'i mug</td>
<td>chos kyi dbyigs kyi ye</td>
<td>thal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nam mkha'i rgyug phyug ma</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>nam mkha'i thams cad</td>
<td></td>
<td>dkyil po</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo rtsi sen snya</td>
<td>rDen par dgo' ba</td>
<td>east</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td>g粮食 po che'i gdon</td>
<td>rdo rtsi lha pa</td>
<td>gung gi</td>
<td>te 'zdan</td>
<td>mdo la bu'i ye yesi</td>
<td>dmyar bai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakti rgyas spyon ma</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>chu</td>
<td></td>
<td>dkyil po</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rin chen byun ldon</td>
<td>DBa dcan lden pa</td>
<td>south</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>rma mchog gi gdon</td>
<td>nor ba rin po che</td>
<td>tshor bal</td>
<td>na rgyal</td>
<td>mdo pa rGid kyi ye yesi</td>
<td>mil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mamski</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>so</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stNga ba rmi' yas</td>
<td>Be ba can</td>
<td>west</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>rma byri gdon</td>
<td>padma</td>
<td>'du ye'i</td>
<td>'thog chags rI</td>
<td>st sor rGos po' ye yesi</td>
<td>yi chugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gdon dkar mo</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>me</td>
<td></td>
<td>st sor rGos po' ye yesi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don yid grub pa</td>
<td>Rab besseg pa</td>
<td>north</td>
<td>green</td>
<td>green</td>
<td>nam mkha' lalik dah dah rdo rtsa rgya gom</td>
<td>'du byed</td>
<td>phrag dag</td>
<td>bya la grub po' ye yesi</td>
<td>lha ma zin/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dam cthug grol ma</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>rlu'i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The attribution of the elements to the consorts is not explicit in the Chos rGid bar do'i gsal 'debs but is inferred from the other texts used.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Chinese (Pinyin)</th>
<th>(Qinghai-Bomi)</th>
<th>(Shangri-La, Yunnan)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shangdu</td>
<td>Shangdu</td>
<td>Shangdu</td>
<td>Shangdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*All the names of the consorts are preceded by Yumchen mo.*
### CHAPTER 2, TRADITIONAL "INTERPRETATIONS"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Five Tulku geshe-s and consorts</th>
<th>Quarter (Phyogs)</th>
<th>Colour body</th>
<th>Throne (Khrul gDon)</th>
<th>Mudrā (Phyag rgyal)</th>
<th>Skandha-si Bhīta-s (Phu's 'byab ba)</th>
<th>Sanskrit category</th>
<th>Enlightened quality</th>
<th>Colour wisdom-light</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rNam par snang mtsads</td>
<td>central above</td>
<td>sgom</td>
<td>(tsh ge)</td>
<td>'khor la dril</td>
<td>phug pa 'bya</td>
<td>gil mug</td>
<td>chos dbiyas ye 'ses</td>
<td>'od lta*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yum mchog dbya's phug ma</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>skor sky</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo rje sams dpra' Mi mkhyud pa</td>
<td>east</td>
<td>mlo</td>
<td>glos chen</td>
<td>rin rje dril</td>
<td>phug pa 'bya</td>
<td>'byul ha 'bya</td>
<td>le skor</td>
<td>me lom ye 'ses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukh gnos spyan ma</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>mlo</td>
<td>glos chen</td>
<td>rin rje dril</td>
<td>phug pa 'bya</td>
<td>'byul ha 'bya</td>
<td>le skor</td>
<td>me lom ye 'ses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rin chen 'byin lتان</td>
<td>south</td>
<td>srg</td>
<td>srg</td>
<td>rin chen dril</td>
<td>phug pa 'bya</td>
<td>'byul ha 'bya</td>
<td>n=a rgyal</td>
<td>mham 'kod ye 'ses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṃkṣṭa</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>srg</td>
<td>srg</td>
<td>rin chen dril</td>
<td>phug pa 'bya</td>
<td>'byul ha 'bya</td>
<td>n=a rgyal</td>
<td>mham 'kod ye 'ses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shNam ha m ilaç'gas</td>
<td>west</td>
<td>dmar</td>
<td>dmar sky</td>
<td>padma dril</td>
<td>phug pa 'bya</td>
<td>'byul ha 'bya</td>
<td>'dod 'chags</td>
<td>sas rigns 'pa'i ye 'ses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnas dkor ma</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>dmar</td>
<td>dmar sky</td>
<td>padma dril</td>
<td>phug pa 'bya</td>
<td>'byul ha 'bya</td>
<td>'dod 'chags</td>
<td>sas rigns 'pa'i ye 'ses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don yad grub pa</td>
<td>north</td>
<td>ljor</td>
<td>ljor sky</td>
<td>rgya gam dril</td>
<td>phug pa 'bya</td>
<td>'byul ha 'bya</td>
<td>phug dog</td>
<td>bya grub ye 'ses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dam tshig grol ma</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ljor</td>
<td>ljor sky</td>
<td>rgya gam dril</td>
<td>phug pa 'bya</td>
<td>'byul ha 'bya</td>
<td>phug dog</td>
<td>bya grub ye 'ses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Not specified any further at the place of reference.
* Not specified any further at the place of reference.
* Not specified any further at the place of reference.
gsāṅ ba'ī sṅīṅ po

Five Tathāgata-s
Skandha-s Rūḥāna (Phun po Khams) comm. 2
SamĀraic quality comm. 2
Quality Tathāgata-s comm. 2
Bija
Quality bija toto-tanitra

Mi beyod pa
'i bje dbyang kyi slob pa phug ma
rnam par sras po nam mthong khams
chos kyi dbyang kyi ye sles
sgru 'phrus ral ye srid
sgru 'phrus ral ye srid
pa
rnam par sna-m mdzod (comm. 2)
Saṅs rgyas sgyur mo (comm. 2)

(aangs)
(gei mug)
me la'i ba'ī ye sles
sgru 'phrus snyi bstan mna' srid
tho
tho
bri ma srid

Rin chen 'byun ldan (comm. 2)
Mamā (comm. 2)

(zhar bu)
cha
mthong pa srid kyi ye sles
sgru 'phrus yid bstan srid
tha me srid

shin ba mba' yas (comm. 2)
Na bzhes skur ma (comm. 2)

('du sles)
me
'dod chags
sas tu kun tu rtag po'i ye sles
sgru 'phrus rnam dang srid
'khril pa srid

Don yed par grub pa (comm. 2)
Dom thig sgron me (comm. 5)

('du byed)
(phrug dog)
byu ba grub pa'i ye sles
kun tu sgru 'phrus srid
kun tu 'gyur

* First item, but attributed to sna.
* Indistinct, ink-stains.
* Not specified any further at the place of reference.
* Second item, but attributed to sna.
* Indistinct, ink-stains.
* Indistinct, ink-stains.
* Indistinct, ink-stains.
* Indistinct, ink-stains.
sNan rgyud bar do thos grol and Zi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bka'bar glegs rigs lha</th>
<th>Quarter*</th>
<th>Nāthi</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Throne (Khri gDon)</th>
<th>Clothing (Na ha)</th>
<th>Mudrā (Phyag rgya)</th>
<th>Enlightened category</th>
<th>Sansāric category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Byun ba'i yum chen lha</td>
<td>(Phyogs)</td>
<td>(yTso)</td>
<td>(Khri gDon)</td>
<td>(Na ha)</td>
<td>(Phyag rgya)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwa swa'i khyen pa</td>
<td>censure</td>
<td>citro gwon rta</td>
<td>skor gsal</td>
<td>sde skor na bza'</td>
<td>g-yos 'khor la g-yontags pa</td>
<td>ston rdi ye ses</td>
<td>te sdeh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nam mtha'i tha ma yum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gsal bu ral byan bde</td>
<td>onst</td>
<td>mshel pa'i gwon risu</td>
<td>gsar po</td>
<td>gshur chen hi chu padma'i gdon</td>
<td>gser gyi na bza'</td>
<td>g-yos chogs sN g-yon 'khor lo</td>
<td>me lon ye ses</td>
<td>gti mug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bia yi tha me yum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dGe lha gor phyug bde</td>
<td>mart</td>
<td>glo ba'i gwon risu</td>
<td>'jen gu</td>
<td>rtsa mchog il zla padma'i gdon</td>
<td>'in tra'i na bza'</td>
<td>g-yos chogs sN g-yon 'khor lo</td>
<td>mdam ntid ye ses</td>
<td>na rgyal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar glegs yon tan lha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bluut gi lha ma yum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bye brug dmar med bde</td>
<td>west</td>
<td>mchun pa'i gwon risu</td>
<td>dbar po</td>
<td>sByug chen hi chu padma'i gdon</td>
<td>dgor dmar na bza'</td>
<td>g-yas chogs sN g-yon 'khor lo</td>
<td>zor rings ye ses</td>
<td>'dos chogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bia yi tha ma yum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dGo' ba dam grub bde</td>
<td>mart</td>
<td>mtha'i ma'ri gwon risu</td>
<td>mtha' gsal</td>
<td>khyen chen hi chu padma'i gdon</td>
<td>baidgra na bza'</td>
<td>g-yas chogs sN g-yon 'khor lo</td>
<td>bya grub ye ses</td>
<td>'phraṅ dag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bia yi tha ma yum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Order inferred from the regular counter-clock-wise arrangement in the "Bon"-mandala.

* N.B. the names of the elements are here incorporated into the names of the consorts.
I think it is safe to assume that it would not be relevant to present exhaustive tables for all the peaceful and wrathful deities here, moreover, scholars interested in such listings would probably prefer to have other texts screened than the ones selected for the purpose of this thesis. Additional deities will only be referred to when necessary for the line of argument; for a general understanding of the matter the information gathered elsewhere (e.g. Lauf (1975)) may suffice. In the following some material regarding the eight Bodhisattva-s and their (eight) consorts will also be discussed, most of the data adduced here can be found in the Bodhisattva-sections of tables presented in the second paragraph of the previous chapter.

In the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs the skandha perception (Tib. rnam par sles pa, Skt. vijñāna) is said to be the first to (re-)arise/emerge, which is described as a visionary appearance of the Tathāgata of the centre, rNam par snañ mdzad, or, in Sanskrit, Vairocana. This skandha is said to originate from the force of the obscuring emotion ignorance (Tib. gi mug, Skt. moha). The arising of this skandha is said to be associated with the element (Tib. 'byun ba, Skt. bhuṭa) of empty space (Tib. nam mkha', Skt. ākāśa) personified by the Tathāgata's consort Nam mkha'i dbyiñs phyug ma (Skt. Ākāśadhītiśvarī). Recognition of the development that was triggered by ignorance as essentially a manifestation of one's own dharmadhītu-wisdom equals liberation from this process of becoming. Closing one's eyes to the possibility of all-encompassing wisdom and sticking with the conditioned disturbing emotion of ignorance amounts to a reinforcement of this tendency and is said to be conducive to a mode of existence dominated by ignorance, the so-called realm of the gods. In conjunction with the Tathāgata rNam par snañ mdzad and his consort Nam mkha'i dbyiñs phyug ma, two Bodhisattva-s, Sa yi śniñ po (Skt. Kṣitigarbha) and Byams pa (Skt. Maitreya) and their consorts rDo rje sseg mo (Skt. (Vajra)lāsya) and rDo rje me tog ma (Skt. (Vajra)puṣpā) appear, representing the unfolding of, successively, the faculties of seeing and hearing when the skandha of perception arises. A similar story is told for the other four skandha-s, elements, etc. Since the other descriptions were largely cast from the same mould they need not be presented (read: repeated) here, but can easily be gathered from the above tables. It is worthwhile, however, to note the order of re-appearance/emergence of the skandha-s: vijñāna, rūpa, vedanā, saṁjñā, saṁskāra-s; to this we shall return shortly.

The "interpretations" of the wrathful deities largely follow that of their peaceful counterparts. The categories associated with the five Tathāgata-s and consorts roughly correspond to those of the five Heruka-s and consorts, so do the associations for the Bodhisattva-s and their consorts to those for the Ke'u ri ma-s and 'Phra men ma-s successively and those of the four Gatekeepers to the four female Gatekeepers in the krodha-mandala (which last also function as the leaders of the four bands of six animal-headed Yogini-s). Only the six Buddha-s of the bhavacakra of the peaceful mandala and the animal-headed Yogini-s of the wrathful mandala have no correspondence.

In general, in the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs, the peaceful deities are said to come from the diverse quarters of the heart (loñs sku'i lha tshogs bzi bcu rtsa gniñ rañ gi śnīñ kha'i nañ nas phyir ('thon nasi ...) and the wrathful deities appear from the

294 Note that the description of the (re)arising of the skandha-s and the aggregation of the elements at the arising of a bar do-state (or birth for that matter) is by approximation a reversal of the process of "dissolution", or, speaking from the perspective of a dying person, first in last out.

295 Kalsnng Lhundup (1969), p.34, ll.3f..
quarters of the brain (\textit{ran gi klad pa'i nañ nas} \textit{\textquotesingle\textquotesingle}thon nas...\textit{\textquotesingle\textquotesingle}). The wrathful deities are said to be a transformation of the peaceful deities (\textit{khrag 'thun khrbo bo lha tshogs 'bar ba lha bczu rtsa brgyad} \textit{gon gi ãi ba'i lha tshogs gnas 'gyur nas 'char du \textquoteleft on no\textquoteright}). The \textit{Vidyādhara-s} are, elsewhere,\textsuperscript{297} associated with the throat.

These Mahāyoga-derived descriptions of the arising of the main constituents of the personality and of all the other aspects of the mental domain that are implied in the rest of the deities described, as is summarised in the conspectus at the beginning of this chapter, give a fine impression of how the human mind\textsuperscript{294} was then\textsuperscript{299} conceived of, by which forces and in which order it was thought to arise and cease to exist, what was considered to be its essential nature and from which elements it was thought to be composed. These descriptions reveal a quite sophisticated knowledge when it comes to discriminating different areas of the mental domain and to describing the functioning of the mind on an epistemological level; they moreover betray their origin, or maybe I should say, the limits of the reigning paradigm(s), in their selection of the Buddhist terminology used. It might be interesting to note here that, as indicated in the conspectus above, the several groups of deities are usually associated with a certain \textit{cakra}.\textsuperscript{300} Thus a Mahāyoga-description of deities appearing on the one hand, based on external visualisation, and a \textit{rtsa rlun}-yoga-approach focusing on vital breath or energy (\textit{prāna}) moving through subtle channels, eventually causing droplets of vital essence, \textit{thig le}, to arise and or descend through various \textit{cakra-s} along the central \textit{nādi}, the \textit{avadhūti} (Tib. \textit{rtsha dbu ma}), on the other hand, in some cases actually refer to exactly the same categories. Both schemes apparently could serve to represent certain subtle and gross mental processes. What is significant, here, is the fact that descriptions of dying and rebirth make use of \textit{rtsa rlun}-terminology while the more recent \textit{chos riid bar do}-descriptions resort to Mahāyoga-concepts in order to convey their message.

Moreover, if we bear in mind the exact timing for the appearance of the peaceful and wrathful deities, referred to in the end of the paragraph preceding this chapter (to wit, the descriptions of these deities in the \textit{Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs} follow that of the arising of a subtle mental body), and if we consider the nature of the categories associated with these deities, as they are outlined above, the cut and paste lines of the editing come to stand out quite clearly. The story of the re-appearing/emerging of perception and of the various other \textit{skandha-s} and faculties is told twice, even worse, it said to actually happen twice! First the faculties are said to arise (as a mental body), at once and complete, as we can surmise from the parallel passage at the beginning of the \textit{srید pa'i bar do}-text\textsuperscript{301} -- where, by the way, we meet so many statements already familiar from Vasubandhu's \textit{Abhidharmakośabhāṣya}, that I am inclined to say, as indicated before, with Back (1979), that this \textit{bar do} was styled after the \textit{antarābhava} described there (amongst others). And a little after that we get a considerably more

\textsuperscript{294} Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.48, ll.16f..
\textsuperscript{295} E.g. the \textit{Zi khrbo horns don sthīn po}, private copy, recent edition from Tashilhong-monastery: p.57, ll.4f.: m	extit{grin pa loins sbyod} \textit{'khor lo\textquoteleft rtsa 'bad lai}...
\textsuperscript{296} Here used as the sum of what is conventionally conceived of as mental processes, not as a designation for the most subtle level (\textit{viśāna}) into which all subtle and coarse mental manifestations are said to dissolve (see the late description of the \textit{\textquoteleft chi khai bar do} in the \textit{gZi sku gsum gyi nram bsag rgsal sgrom ma} (XL.0696) by d\textit{Byams} \textit{can dgu\textquoteleft bal} blo gros or \textit{A kya yonis \textquoteleft dzin} (eighth century AD)).
\textsuperscript{297} Even though we do not as yet exactly know when this \textquoteleft than\textquoteright was.
\textsuperscript{298} As at times also are each of the \textit{Tathāgata-s} and other individual deities.
verbose description concerning the arising of the Tathāgata-s and Bodhisattva-s and their consorts, which are, as outlined above, quite explicitly said to represent the same process. Obviously there was a need to elaborate on the re-arising/emerging of perception after a "disintegration" of the skandha-s', and obviously too, the arising of a subtle mental body as described (or rather prescribed) already for an antarābhava in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, could not be omitted, not only for the risk of disrespecting the opinions of an ancient master and his sources, but also because the perception of these deities did, like any perception in a bar do-state, presuppose at least the skandha perception. The fact that such a conspicuous inconsistency in construction was tolerated only reinforces the urgency of the need to uphold or respect the interests indicated above. Significant in this respect is the order in which the skandha-s are said to arise (and "disintegrate"), the order of arising is the regular order in which the skandha-s are listed, with the exception of viññāna, which is usually mentioned last yet is here said to appear first (and "dissolve" last). The reason for this adaptation of the order of the skandha-s might be due to an awareness of the fact that perception is necessarily the first and last skandha needed to witness the arising and declining of bar do, viññāna has to turn the light-switch.

Moreover, the reason why an elaboration on this point was considered necessary in the first place, probably lies in a theoretical conflict related to this problem. The skandha viññāna was involved in an unsatisfactory conflux of theories. First there was the theory concerning some kind of "dissolution" of the skandha-s of a person at death, the conventional person was generally conceived of as a mere temporary agglomeration of skandha-s that were characterised, amongst others, as impermanent. But there also was a notion of continuity through death (and an intermediate state) that adhered to one of these skandha-s, to wit, viññāna. In short, viññāna at the same time appears as a factor of transience and continuity.

And lastly, as discussed above, apparently a Mahāyoga-vocabulary was preferred here to a rtsa riun-yoga-derived way of describing.

I have to add here, that already before the arising of perception several experiences are described, but these "accounts" pertain to an experience of the clear light of death, which, in essence, is designated as a non-dualistic experience, but which is, admittedly, difficult to perceive as such. I have the impression that the passage concerning the experience of the clear light of death originally belonged to the 'chi kha'i bar do. It is significant in this respect that the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs', but also works of the bkA' rgyud pa-siddha-s' often explicitly refer to this experience as the clear light of death ('chi ba'i od gsal). Notable too, is the fact that the inclusion of a chos ŋid bar do as extant in the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs forces the redactor(s) to distinguish a first and a second experience of clear light of dharma (chos ŋid kyi 'od gsal) at the end of a first ('chi kha'i) and the beginning of

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301 The question how this "disintegration" was exactly conceived of, especially whether a subtle carrier of viññāna was thought to remain, and, possibly, of the other skandha-s contained in it, does not need to detain us here. The Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs, for instance, is not very explicit on this point. In general the rNin ma-literature I studied so far does not elaborate on that point; all the evidence for a continuation of a subtle carrier of viññāna I came across was presented in descriptions of the process of dying associated with the dGe lugs pa-tradition (e.g. in the gZis'i sku gsum rab gsal sgrom me, or in the Kālacakra-description of dying).


303 See e.g. Kern 28.536.3, (ks): folios 162r.1,14, 163r.1,2, and 167v.1,4.


the second (chos riid kyi) bar do successively; for what would the second bar do, the chos riid bar do, be without an experience of the chos riid kyi 'od gsal? The Ni zla kha sbyor has a more consistent redaction, omitting the experience of clear light from the descriptions of the 'chi kha'i bar do, which feature would certainly not argue for a greater antiquity of this text relative to the Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs, but at the moment I am not so sure as to whether these texts may at all be compared on a level suggesting such a close relation.

At this point I should confess that the title to this chapter might to some extent be misleading, for the idea that forms in the mind of a present-day reader when considering the term "traditional 'interpretations' of zi khro" might not exactly represent the way in which the authors of the texts concerned associated a deity with certain categories. A deity might for instance be conceived of not so much as a representation of something else, which it as some kind of abstraction or symbol refers to and in which terms it has to be interpreted, but as actually standing for it, as if it were, conceptually, occupying the same "place". That is to say, though differentiated and viewed from a another angle the deity might not be considered as fundamentally different from what it was associated with. The conceptual leeway we show, when assuming that the concept deity is an abstraction, which should be interpreted as a certain, say mental, category, which in turn requires another, possibly psychological, interpretation, might be too much to presuppose for the writers of the material we are concerned with here. How exactly these deities were conceived of by different authors at certain points in time is, of course, difficult to establish, but at any rate we should be careful not to thoughtlessly project our own conceptual frameworks unto these texts.

So when talking about a "traditional interpretation" we are actually referring to the way the deities were then' and there said to be conceived of, without presuming to exactly know how, or to know whether or not the associations listed were the result of conscious interpretation.

This consideration brings us to the next chapter in which an attempt will be made to consciously (re)interpret or translate the information presented in the texts analysed above into more familiar concepts, which might amount to no more or less than explicitly indicating some of the models we might, and subconsciously probably already do, use, when trying to make sense of the descriptions of a zi khro-mandala as for instance described in the Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs.

But before venturing out on the slippery paths of interpretation, I should first like to present a most remarkable late Tibetan Buddhist testimony of a discussion on the nature of zi khro. This discussion is recorded in a work on bar do-s by a seventeenth-century rin ma pa-scholar from south-eastern Tibet, rTse le sna tshogs ran grol (1608-?), called Bar do spyi'i don thams cad rnam par gsal bar byed pa dran pa'i me lon30. This short consideration touches upon so many interesting points that it deserves to be quoted in full:

30 See The collected works (gSuil 'bum) of rTse le sna tshogs ran grol, reproduced from a collection of manuscripts from the library of Dudjom Rinpoche by Smje Dacje, two volumes, Volume II, pp.139-233, esp. p.202, 1/6 - p.206, 1/2, New Delhi 1974 (XL.2352/3). The Bar do spyi'i don is translated by Erik Pema Kunsang as The Mirror of Mindfulness, The Cycle of the Four Bardos, Boston 1989 (see esp. pp.61-63).
Emend: *kṣam yul du*; in *dhu* med-script *su* resembles: *tsheg* + *du*.

Emend: *thabs*.

Emend: *gyis*.

Emend: *don gyis?*
...Furthermore, these days, in the imagination of some individuals, on the basis of what is taught from other teachings, not belonging to rDzogs chen -- to wit, if one does not understand the clear light of the first bar do, perception emerges and then the bar do of becoming unfolds -- the triad of sound, light and rays or the manner of arising of the host of peaceful and wrathful deities would not occur and even if they (the deities) would arise there would be no (essential) relation, since that host of deities will have arisen that pertains to one's particular school and the practice one performs, it would be impossible that the peaceful and wrathful deities of the rNin ma school would arise for all people; thus indeed occurs to (their) mind etc.(?).

In general bar do-teachings regarding this do indeed exist in accordance with the aspects of the particular stages and instructions of a school, so then manifesting in the right capacity and even (in accordance with) the emphasis and approach of practice according to the sense and meaning of a specific section of one's particular tantra, whatever it might be:

in some the generation stage is proclaimed as the highest;
in some the emphasis is put on the practice of bliss and emptiness pertaining to the path of means;
in others one is exhorted to just poise (literally: gather) oneself in the absence of activity; and so forth;

limitless they are indeed. With the practice one is presently accustomed to, one also possesses the basis that one needs when arriving in bar do. Because the rDzogs chen(-teachings like) sNīña tig etc. are an opportunity to practice in Khreg chod and Thod rgal as an indivisible unity (or possibly, in Khreg chod, Thod rgal, and Zin 'jug), and since being accustomed to them now, bar do will also arise in that manner, if one reaches that (level) by practice one has also realised it as the basis for one's release. And because the practice of Thod rgal is not actually explained in other teachings, it is indeed also not mentioned (there) that those (specific experiences) manifest in bar do.

But the sound, light and rays, will always manifest, for the reason that the indivisible prāṇa-mind is composed of the five essences, likewise the meaning promulgated in the 'Phraṅ sgrol chen mo and the like, that one is essentially never separated from nādi, prāṇa and bindu, and also (in) the Dus 'khor and sByor drug, which accord with the rDzogs chen sNāṇ mun-practice, and since all sections of the tantra-s agree that the deities arising also are the realms, skandha-s, elements, sense-organs, and the rest, that are from the beginning in the manner of spontaneous presence (contained) in the mandala itself, the five skandha-s also are from the beginning the five (Tathāgata-s pertaining to the five Buddha)-families, the five elements are the five consorts, the eight perceptions32 are the eight Bodhisatva-s, the eight realms of perception are the eight female Bodhisatva-s, and so forth, and there is no other deity that is not comprised within <the sphere of> what is explained as the revered host of one hundred (deities), but still, the various diverging body-colours, attributes, etc. are excepted, they are explained depending on the exact individual combination of the basis that has to be purified and that which purifies. In highest truth, there is not a deity or mandala for whomsoever that is not contained in the indivisible trikāya of self-awareness (or) the revered unity of the two kāya-s, and it is not certain that, resulting from the power of one's individual tendencies and habits, others than the revered host of one hundred (deities) will (not) also arise; while appearing as Yama's men to the sinful it is still only a manifestation of their own karma, fundamentally, no matter what and how it manifests, it is important to recognise it as in essence one's own conception, that is the highest quintessence.

As it is also worded elsewhere,

When yogin-s pass away from here
The group of the Heruka-s and the Yogiṇi-s
Holding various flowers in their hands
And various banners and pennants,
With divers sounds of music proclaim:
"So-called death is a mental construction"
Leading the tantric practitioners to their state.

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32 The text reads tshorn ba, here, not the usual rnam ūs.
CHAPTER 2, TRADITIONAL "INTERPRETATIONS"

Being phrased thus, this too, seems to be in accordance with the chos ēn bar do of the rNin ma school and its meaning. ...

Notwithstanding rTse le sna tshogs ran grol's apparent preference for the eternal-knot-like type of Tibetan sentence, which at times prattles along happily for half a page or more (a "structure" which I have struggled to retain as well as possible in my translation), the author manages to be quite clear and explicit on the point of "interpretation". Probably due to the fairly late date of composition, his approach rings far more familiar in our ear than the implicit interpretations contained in the rather mechanically construed associations offered in previous centuries and almost deserves to be classified as an interpretation in a more modern sense (without quotation marks).

rTse le sna tshogs ran grol confirms that there are traditions, other than rDzogs chen, that transmit teachings in which there is no reference to the experiences of sound, light and rays, nor to peaceful and wrathful deities after death, in fact they do not seem to have teachings on a chos ēn bar do as such, the 'chi kha'i bar do is, if release at death is not realised, immediately followed by a srid pa'i bar do. Furthermore these people seem to attribute the appearance of peaceful and wrathful deities to the particular visualisation practice the adept was engaged in. It is interesting that our rNin ma spokesman does not discard this last allegation completely. He concedes that after-death-experiences are conditioned by practice, but at the same time maintains that the experiences of sound light and rays are universal. He is moreover convinced that the deities, if perceived, stand for the categories they are traditionally associated with, nevertheless allowing for some variation in body-colours, attributes and the like. And even though he deems the mandala of one hundred peaceful and wrathful deities to be all-comprehensive, he seems to accept that some people might not experience it in that form after death, he even leaves room for other deviating appearances according to the particular conditioning of the person involved, and points out that all after-death-experiences are but manifestations of one's own mental activity and as such are inseparable from one's own self-awareness (ran rig).

It is hard to describe the satisfaction a researcher feels when stumbling upon a set of statements like this. The passage quoted reflects a critical attitude that developed from discussion that resulted from criticism on the rNin ma rDzogs chen-version of a chos ēn bar do with a zi khro-mandala, while indicating some of the other opinions current, it makes a quite explicit statement on a rNin ma rDzogs chen-position.

From these considerations of rTse le sna tshogs ran grol I should like to proceed towards the next chapter, in which a further interpretation of traditional "interpretations" of zi khro will be attempted.
In the previous chapter we examined several traditional "interpretations" of zi khro, mostly consisting of implicit associations, but also featuring a more explicit consideration by rTse le rin po che. Though there definitely are quite significant differences in the categories associated with the several deities in individual texts, there appears to be a rather large degree of agreement between most of the texts examined, certainly as far as the more frequently used deities are concerned, and thus there seems to be enough common ground for a general discussion. In this chapter I will try to extend the "interpretation" by associating the deities and the categories related to them with other and partly more modern concepts and theories regarding the subject.

In the seven sub-sections of the first paragraph in this chapter I will discuss some theories and accounts relevant to the subject that one could meet with today:

1. Very interesting are the findings of experiments employing sensory deprivation.
2. Moreover I should like to briefly relate the more "epistemological" considerations in the Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs and related texts concerning the (re)arising of perception and conditioned mental processes to some recent insights from a relatively new (inter)discipline, the so-called cognitive science, as far these are accessible to a non-specialist.
3. Jungian psychology will also be briefly referred to.
4. Furthermore I should like to review recent research into accounts of acclaimed experiences of an intermediate state as reported in Tibetan 'das log-stories and
5. some relevant material in recent publications on reports of near-death-experiences as well as
6. experiences related by patients undergoing hypnotic regression.
7. Lastly I should like to address some studies concerned with the various conceptions of a subtle body.

In the second paragraph of this chapter I will attempt to rephrase some of the experiences described in the Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs making use of the concepts and imagery reviewed in the previous paragraph.

3.1.1 Sensory Deprivation

An interesting field of study that will be briefly considered here is that of deprivation-experiments, in which the experimental subject is deprived of "normal" sensory input by diverse means, e.g. by sensory isolation (sensory deprivation) or by monotonising the sensory stimuli (perceptual deprivation), and the resulting changes in consciousness are screened by various, unfortunately not always compatible, methods.

The first systematic experiments in this direction were undertaken in the fifties in McGill University in Montreal, Canada; since that time scientific work in this new
field of study has continued. I shall here sum up some of the most relevant general findings of these and related experiments as they are presented in Zubek, et al. (1969). Induced by sensory deprivation certain, mostly visual, experiences can occur ranging from the perception of amorphous spots and diffuse light or flashes of light, occasionally interpreted as e.g. fire or clouds of smoke, through geometric shapes and forms, to more or less complex animate or inanimate objects or scenes. The visual experiences reported are variously classified as "hallucinations", "images", and "reported sensations".

Distinctions may, and up to a certain degree can, be made between illusions, waking hallucinations, hypnagogic hallucinations, (night)dreams, fantasies, daydreams, and images. The distinction "real" and "imagined" should be controllable by proper deprivation-conditions (no leaks). Illusions refer to distortions of real objects in the case of monotone or diffuse stimulation. The distinction between waking hallucinations, hypnagogic hallucinations, and (night)dreams, can be detected by establishing the wakefulness of the subject. Hallucinations occur during waking states, hypnagogic hallucinations during drowsy states, and dreams during "stage one" sleep. The arousal level can be measured by EEG-recordings, nightmares by recording REM (Rapid Eye Movements). The distinctions between hallucinations, (night)dreams, fantasies, daydreams, and images mainly depend on subjective reports. Images are reported as having a pleasant effect, being to some extent under control, being located in space in front, being familiar, and as having some subject participation. These sensations typically changed somewhat, were coloured and three-dimensional, realistic, and frequently spontaneous. Nightdreams are reportedly less familiar, but require more participation. Daydreams are said to be more pleasant and more multicoloured and to be localised in the subject’s head. Hallucinations can further be characterised as being uncontrollable in onset, content and termination, as being "out there", scanable, and apparently real. Sensory deprivation-hallucinations are distinct from psychotic hallucinations, which tend to appear suddenly without premonitory symptoms, occur during states of intense affect, may be superimposed on a visual environment that is otherwise normal and are generally seen with the eyes open; the majority of psychotic hallucinations are moreover auditory. In the specific case of schizophrenic hallucinations many religious, supernatural figures, or symbolic figures and objects tend to appear. Drug-induced hallucinations show more resemblance to sensory deprivation-hallucinations, coloured patterns and geometrical forms dominate, but they are usually more colourful, vivid, and persistent.

The visual sensations typically show a progression from simple, unstructured, meaningless sensations to more complex, structured, meaningful ones. There does not seem to be any influence of motivational or sex-differences on the deprivation-experiences, some experiments report an inverse relation between intelligence and the complexity of the reported visual sensation.

Often changes in intellectual performance are reported. Subjects generally experience major difficulties in thinking coherently and in concentrating during sensory deprivation, it reportedly takes (too) much effort to follow a specific train of thought for an extended period of time.

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3.1.2 Cognitive Science

Admittedly a rather presumptuous title for a modest contribution like the one contained here, even more so, since this so-called cognitive science stands for the united efforts in unravelling cognitive processes by scientists of no less than five disciplines -- to wit, psychology, linguistics, computer science, philosophy, and neuroscience.

Our main objective is a juxtaposition of the more introspective and intuitive insights from Indo-Tibetan contemplative traditions on an acclaimed (re)arising of perception after the moment of death and the experiences described for the "period" immediately following, with some relevant theories and results from modern more empirically oriented research regarding the nature and functioning of cognitive processes. This being our main concern the disciplines of cognitive psychology on a higher level of theory-formation and neuropsychology and neurophysiology on the root-level of implementation of cognitive theory in general promise to yield the most relevant information.

Though it is not very difficult to meet with interesting general hypotheses and theories on the various levels of functioning of cognitive processes, which can be located relatively easily in secondary literature (see bibliographical references in Stillings, et al. (1995)), time does not permit me to track down, if extant at all, in sufficient detail more specific information regarding the arising of perception and theories concerning changes in cognitive processes as a result of changed levels of consciousness (waking, sleep, trance, and the like), like for instance briefly skinned in the above-mentioned deprivation-experiments. In general the present state of knowledge, as presented in Stillings, et al. (1995), strikes me as rather unsatisfactory, especially the connection between models for cognitive processes and possible neurological implementation up until now, notwithstanding the promising prospects, still remains rather difficult to establish. Still, some of the more general insights into human cognition deserve to be briefly reviewed here. I will refrain from referring to passages in Stillings, et al. (1995) at each and every instance, the index and table of contents in that work will easily guide the reader to the relevant pages.

One basic insight, which cognitive psychology shares with Yogācāra-Buddhism, is almost too flat and self-evident to mention, namely that human cognition is based on representation of information. Maybe more surprising is the theory that the processing, storing and retrieving of representational data does not so much involve the concrete representations themselves as well more or less meaningful patterns of these data, that is to say that the human mind works with various levels of abstraction, representations of patterns of representations, from which the lowest level of data can be reconstructed with enough accuracy. This feature allows the human mind to store, retrieve and manipulate far greater amounts of information than when dealing with concrete data on the lowest level, for the working memory of the human mind appears to be very limited (if we have to work with more than two or three variables at a time we already tend to rely on pencil-and-paper-memory). Dealing with higher levels of abstraction also ensures higher processing speed. But inter- and extra-polation of cognitive patterns during reconstruction of the primary data may result in inaccuracies or even errors, as for instance in the case of a witness "remembering" more than he actually saw at a certain event, because he reconstructed the patterns in which he stored the information by means of interpolations based on experience that proved to be generally applicable in similar situations, but that might not fully apply in the particular case (for instance the white-haired man while "remembered" as an aged
person was actually a thirty-year old albino male). There are obviously (learning) skills involved in applying rules for storing, modifying and employing these levels of abstraction accurately.

Moreover information seems to be stored by linking it to other related data and patterns of data, the more links established the easier some piece of information can be retrieved, but as a consequence, more irrelevant links and possibly corrupt associations are available also.

These mechanisms leave us with a highly efficient data-management and computation system, geared to storage capacity and retrieval and computational speed rather than to exact one-to-one representation, and therefore also with a system highly prone to error and illusion. It is only by experience and continuous learning, by flexibility, that we manage to keep up to date and before all, "in touch with reality", however functional this locution may be interpreted, while on the other hand, in skill-acquisition, we manage to assure a high degree of accuracy and tremendous processing speed of certain repetitive but possibly critical tasks by lowering the threshold for an "automated" and thus just more or less inflexible, execution of script-like patterns. Moreover, motivation, goals, focus of attention, receptivity, mood, etc. but also pure coincidence are factors influencing, for instance, if and how information is stored and can be retrieved.

Such an analyses of cognitive processes allows for many possibilities of experiences that do not, or only to a limited degree, correspond to certain actual or past stimuli from without or from within the individual, not only illusion but also various degrees of blending of sensory perception and illusion are possible.

3.1.3 Jungian Psychology, Not Discussed

There undoubtedly are many more relevant approaches to be found within (or, as regards some of the more speculative approaches, according to some, rather without) the confines of psychological sciences and related disciplines. Jungian analyses, for instance, of the imagery used in the descriptions of the visual experiences described for the *chos ŋid bar do* along the lines of archetypes, might prove to be helpful for the understanding of these descriptions that appear so strangely archaic and exotic to our present-day thinking. Unfortunately it is rather difficult, especially for a non-specialist, to do justice to the vast and complex theoretical constructions that were initiated by Carl Gustav Jung within the scope of just one paragraph of a thesis. Moreover, some of the assumptions underlying Jungian theory are so controversial that it seems difficult to refer to them without further justification. Just to make use of some of his insights without paying attention to all the far-reaching implications of the postulations involved, like "a collective subconscious" for instance, does not seem to be advisable, in addition to that, the theoretical framework construed by Jung and his followers strikes me, as a non-adept, as particularly dense and closed unto itself, which would further discourage a haphazard borrowing of stray concepts that have some appeal to the general reader. In short, I prefer to leave such a, doubtlessly interesting, discussion to a Jungian scholar. I do not consider myself qualified for such an undertaking and moreover cannot conceal the fearful apprehension that a Jungian analyses of the experiences indicated would just exchange the density of *tantric* statements with that of Jungian statements without actually clarifying much for a non-Jungian adept. There is, of course, Jung's much read and discussed psychological commentary to the "Tibetan Book of the Death" (in the translation by Lāma Kāzi
Dawa-Samdup, edited by Evans-wentz (1927), pp.xxxv-lii). Lauf (1975, pp.243-255) also devotes some attention to this approach. A more recent attempt to link up Tibetan Buddhism in general to Jungian psychology can be found in Moacanin (1986).

### 3.1.4 'Das log-Accounts

Francoise Pommaret recently published some material regarding both literary and more recent verbal accounts of people from the Tibetan and Himalayan regions that claim to have returned to (the same) life after having passed away, the so-called "das log". In her book "Les Révenants de L’Au Déla dans le Monde Tibétain" (1989) she reviews the reception and discussion of this phenomenon in Western literature, Tibetan and Bhutanese sources, and lastly presents some material she gathered by interviewing ‘das log-persons during field-work in Nepal and Bhutan. I do not intend to repeat her findings here, but I should like to briefly refer to ‘das log-accounts on a chos niid bar do presented in a discussion in a section on "Le Livre des Morts tibétains (Bardo thos grol)". The descriptions of the chos niid bar do that are here compared to the text of the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs are taken from ‘das log-reports extant in the biography of a Bhutanese woman named Sans rgyas chos 'dzom -- the rJe bsun spyan ras gzigs kyi sprul pa 'das log sans rgyas chos 'dzom gyis zag bdun mar dmyal khangs dahn yar nul khams bcos mjal ba'i lo rgyus nnam thar khayad par can, which are summarised in Pommaret (1989), pp.29-67. According to Pommaret this biography does not predate the second half of the seventeenth century.

Though they have a fair amount of material in common, the stories related do not follow the narrative line familiar from Bar do thos grol-texts. Amongst the many often mythological descriptions of otherworldly wanderings and insights into hells and paradises, some scarce material that seems to pertain to a chos riid bar do appears, which, on the whole, could accord reasonably well with experiences described in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs. Sans rgyas chos 'dzom reports visions of several wrathful deities, after experiencing these visions she lost consciousness and her Yi dam, that functions very much like a guide here, explained to her that the terrors she experienced just now are in fact the ii khro, which appear to all deceased. At another (later) point she also makes mention of the five Tathaçgata-s, the realms of rebirth and the Buddha-s pertaining to them (this actually agrees better with the order of mention in the Bar do spyi'i don than with that in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs). On pp.108f. Pommaret neatly lists these experiences in combination with similar ones described in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs, but I strongly advise the reader of her work to also refer to the summarising translation provided on pp.29-67 or to the original reports, since the order and context in which these passages occur make the accordance appear much less convincing than her conspectus suggests.

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316 For a critical reflection on the understanding, competence and merits of the authors mentioned in the field of this particular literature see Reynolds (1989), Appendix I, pp.71-115.


319 Published in Thimphu in 1980, the original manuscript is according to Pommaret in private possession somewhere in bKru stis sgan in eastern Bhutan.

320 References provided in the conspectus on pp.108f. are to the Thimphu-edition, not to her summarising translation.
3.1.5 Near-Death-Experiences

For many people the name Raymond Moody is indissolubly connected with the popularisation of research on near-death-experiences. It is to no small extent due to his literary efforts that this purportedly not infrequent phenomenon\textsuperscript{311} has become a familiar topic in the Western world. But still, he is only one of the many researchers (Melvin Morse, Michael Sabom, Michael Grosso, Kenneth Ring, Robert Sullivan, to name a few) working in this field of study. In recent decades many reports regarding these experiences were gathered and categorised. Some general features can be listed that are frequently reported and could hence be seen as characteristic for a near-death-experience, these characteristics are by no means fully present in all reports\textsuperscript{312}:

- a notion of being dead, which often takes some time to "sink in";
- a sensation of peace and freedom from bodily discomfort;
- a notion of being separated from one's body, reports of having a subtle body of some kind instead;
- an experience similar to passing through a dark tunnel or other passage-way with a bright light at the end, not all those questioned mention this experience; some report to float into the air and to quickly move away from the earth;
- meeting people that apparently are made of some kind of intense and warm glowing light, often identified as relatives and friends; sometimes descriptions of pastoral scenery and the like; direct communication without words or visual or other sensory signals;
- meeting a supreme being of light, identified, often according to the religious background of the subject, as various known or unknown religious or holy figures;
- a panoramic three-dimensional full-colour review of one's life; this review lacks a fixed chronological order, but is experienced in full in one single moment and interaction is viewed not only from the perspective of the subject but also from that of the object;
- many designate these experiences as pleasant and only regretfully return to their previous state;
- often mention is made of a barrier of some kind, which when trespassed would prove to be a point of no return;\textsuperscript{313}
- subjects report a different sense of space and time, conventional progression of time does not seem to apply and neither do customary limits of spatial separation.

It is difficult to associate these experiences with those described in Tibetan Bar do-literature like Bar do thos grol-texts, especially with descriptions of a chos ŋid bar do -- the older concept of a srid pa'i bar do seems to offer more opportunities for comparison. Except for references to out-of-the-body-experiences, the descriptions of a subtle body, and general references to light and other visual or auditory perceptions there do not seem to be very precise and striking similarities. Neither do 'das log-stories as gathered and presented by Pommaret show more than some slight and

\textsuperscript{311} A Gallup poll in 1982 revealed that about five percent of the interviewed Americans reported a near-death-experience.

\textsuperscript{312} See Moody (1988), pp.21-30.

\textsuperscript{313} N.B. this point is not mentioned in Moody (1988), pp.21-30 but in Moody (1975), pp.62-65.
general resemblance to near-death-experiences as presented by Moody. But since the relevance of such a comparison to the present study does not seem to be very great not in the last place because the srid pa'i bar do is not our main concern here, I should like to leave this question aside and conclude this consideration by referring to several opinions of Tibetan scholars on this point.

The late 'Jam mgon kon sprul the third, when asked after a lecture, emphatically denied that any experience beyond the clear light of death could be reported in a near-death-experience since the clear light of death is per definition a point of no return. rTse le sna tshogs ran grol in his Bar do spyi'i don thams cad rnam par gsal bar byed pa'i me ión, situates this point earlier in the 'chi kha'i bar do. He calls upon the authority of the Bar do 'phrang sgrol here. According to rTse le rin po che one can recover from an illness up until the general signs of death (mthun mon gi 'chi rtags), but at the onset of the special signs of death (khyad par gyi 'chi rtags), i.e. the stages of "dissolution" of the gross and subtle thoughts and conceptions (snan rtags kyi 'phra rag gi thim rim rnam), the process of dying is irreversible.

The contemporary rDzogs chen-teacher Sogyal Rinpoche, in his "Tibetan Book of Living and Dying", is less prudent or conservative in this respect and points to several similarities of near-death-experiences and especially srid pa'i bar do-descriptions. He moreover feels that the 'dm log-accounts correspond not only to bar do-teachings, such as contained in Bar do thos grol-texts, but also to near-death-experiences.

3.1.6 Hypnotic Regression

These considerations bring us to recent research of Joel Whitton. As a psychiatrist Whitton made use of hypnotic regression. In cases where therapeutical regression to early youth proved to be of no avail, he tried working with regressions to purported previous lives. Quite by accident, by giving an ambiguous instruction during a hypnotic regression session in 1974, a patient started to relate experiences from an out-of-the-body-perspective. According to the answers given by the patient these experiences were interpreted by Whitton as not pertaining to the previous life she was guided back to nor to the life before that, to which he had tried to guide the imagination of the patient; they were apparently, that is considering the reported impressions, perceived by the patient as being located in an interval between two consecutive lives: she was watching her mother from above and reported to be waiting to be born from her. From this detailed regression Whitton started to investigate the issue of an intermediate state more systematically. He consciously tried to guide subjects to a period between two lives and recorded the reported experiences and thus managed to gather reports from more than thirty subjects.

The accounts of this period between lives, here dubbed "bardo", are presented by Joe Fisher who actually wrote the book based on Whitton's findings. Unfortunately Fisher made rather generous concessions towards general appeal to a large public and is not very precise in indicating what is actually based on reports and what is a result of his or perhaps Whitton's extrapolations and personal convictions, let alone that he would

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119 See Whitton (1986).
present any statistical information regarding the recorded reports. So it is a little hazardous to try to extract general conclusions of Whitton's research from Fisher's juicy rendering.

Nevertheless as far as I can gather from Fisher's presentation the reports seem to be remarkably consistent. They also are in many points -- again excluding general references to out-of-the-body-experiences and reports of a subtle body -- remarkably divergent from the descriptions from Indian and Tibetan traditions that we met so far. But the reports that start with an account of the process of dying are said to accord well with those of near-death-experiences as investigated by Moody and others; only the barrier, the point of no return, is not mentioned by Whitton's patients. Many subjects in Whitton's regression therapy report an evaluation of the previous life in the intermediate state and most of them mention encountering a council of three, four, or seldom, seven wise and elderly men helping with this task. The previous life is visualised in the same way as was described (be it at another point) for the near-death-experiences. Many subjects also report to have consciously planned the next life, though the degree to which a life-plan was laid out differed. Some did not report any planning at all, they either rushed into a new life or simply dozed off after appearing before the council and awoke in a baby-body.

I greatly regret that the only presentation of these interesting reports available to me is presented in such an imprecise and dubious manner that it is almost rendered useless for any serious reference, but I do hope that, by nevertheless trying to present what appear to be the general conclusions of Whitton's research, I succeeded in indicating possible cultural differences in how individuals tend to imagine elusive concepts like an intermediate state. The results of Whitton's research have no direct relevance for the way a chos réd bar do was conceived in India or Tibet, but combined with information from near-death-accounts and 'das log-reports it might point out to which degree certain traditional imagery is conditioned by the cultural context in which it arose, developed and perhaps is still functioning, and which elements appear cross-culturally.

3.1.7 Theories regarding a Subtle Body

In the above sub-sections we noted that the experiences and theories regarding a state of death discussed so far, notwithstanding their many differences, have a few features in common:

- quite naturally, I dare say, in all instances discussed a separation from the body is described;
- more remarkable is that invariably a subtle body is mentioned;
- furthermore, various, predominantly visual, experiences are described; a vision of overwhelming bright light is common;

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Interesting experiments have been conducted by scientists like Leary, Metzner, and Alpert in which Americans were guided on the basis of a Bar do thos grol-inspired guidebook through drug-induced psychedelic experiences; the subjects were consciously instructed to experience exactly in the way described there (see Leary, et al. (1964)). I do not have any reports of results of these or similar experiments. The book published on the subject (Leary, et al. (1964)), does not present any results, neither does it refer to further literature. It presents itself as a rather trendy guide for gaining access to experiences described in some of the Bar do thos grol-texts by means of ingestion of certain drugs and guided imagination.
an altered sense of space and time is reported or can be deduced;
and moreover reference is made to some kind of evaluation or judgement of the past life.

I do not intent to present a cross-cultural comparison of speculations regarding death and a beyond here, nor do I wish to extend the discussion of the points listed above to a wider context than the one adduced so far. Many comparative studies and studies focusing on one particular culture or group of related cultures do already exist, it would not be useful for me to add some more general considerations to the already existing stock.

The descriptions of visual and auditory experiences and the evaluation or judgement vary considerably in the above samples, and seem to be strongly susceptible to culturally determined or personally conditioned influences. The reports and descriptions of a subtle body, however, show much agreement. It is regarding these allusions to a subtle body that I should like to give further references in this last subsection of the first paragraph.

J.J. Poortman, professor of metaphysics "in the spirit of theosophy" at Leyden University from 1958-1966, published the most extensive study known to me on the vast and widely spread speculations regarding a subtle body. He tenaciously digs out evidence for his theory of hylic pluralism from all relevant testimonies in various cultures throughout history that were available to him and presents the results of his research in an edition in five volumes called "Ochêma, Geschiedenis en zin van het hylish pluralisme". Surely an impressive achievement, but unfortunately the compilation was performed rather mechanically, he seems to have been concerned more with adducing "proof" for his thesis than with doing justice to the traditions examined. Moreover the "language" of his study is, if I may say so, hopelessly theosophical. Nevertheless his work remains unequalled in the amount of material made available to the general reader. A more concise and more objective presentation is available in a recent study of van Dongen and Gerding (1993). Both studies devote some attention to Greco-Roman literature. In the discussion of the quite sophisticated Neo-Platonist theories regarding subtle bodies some interesting facts emerge which deserve to be briefly mentioned. The matter of interest is a reference to the possibility of purification in relation with a subtle body. Explicit mention of purification rituals employing a subtle body by the Neo-Platonist author Iamblichus (245-330) can be found in a study by Finamore (1985, pp.125ff.). Though the theoretical context differs greatly from speculations regarding a subtle body in tantric Buddhist literature, also with regard to how the (here multiple) subtle bodies were conceived of, there still are some striking similarities, one of the subtle bodies for instance, which is characterised by Iamblichus as "vehicle" (he uses both the terms...

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331 See for comparative studies amongst many others Poucha, P. (1952), Lanf (1975, esp. pp.201-228), Toyneee, et al. (1979); some studies on death-ritual among "Bon po-s" are e.g. Brauen (1978), Lalou (1953), Snellgrove (1967, esp. pp.116-123), Stein (1970); a study of interesting Hindu-material is extant in an old study by Ahegg (1921), this material is compared to material available from Bar do thos grol-literature in Back (1979); many translations and studies of Egyptian literature on the dead and a beyond are available starting with the first edition by Budge (1899); a recommendable study on "the history of heaven" in the Judo-Christian traditions is to be found in McDannell and Lang (1988); a study on Greek customs concerning death can be found in Garland (1985).

331 That is in the Dutch edition, the English translation has only four volumes, combining the first two volumes of the Dutch original in one volume.

331 See Poortman (1958), Vol.IV(III), and van Dongen and Gerding (1993), pp.64-84.

331 See van Dongen and Gerding (1993), pp.83f..
119

This issue cannot be treated here beyond this reference, not in the last place because of a lack of expertise on my side with regard to the complex subject of Neo-Platonist philosophy. But this short reference will suffice to indicate that developments that possibly show some parallels to those witnessed in Indo-Tibetan tantric practices of internal or external visualisation employing a subtle mental body do also exist in classical occidental literature.

3.2 Chos ɲid bar do

We shall now take a closer look at the (kar glin) ɲi khrö of the Chos ɲid bar do'i gsal 'debs and examine their traditional "interpretations" a little further. In the introductory verse the deities are referred to as lohö spyod rdzogs sku padma'i ɲi khrö tha334. The experience of the ɲi khrö-deities is, not surprisingly, relegated to the colourful and emotional level of the sambhogakāya, but what is more remarkable is that they are also explicitly associated with the Padma-family and with Amitābha (here sNaṅ ha mtha' yas). Amitābha, here associated with the dharmakāya335, is presiding over a triad which is completed with Padmasambhava as the nirmānakāya-manifestation. That Kar glin ɲi khrö-texts are associated with Padmasambhava need not surprise us for a r茚 ma-l rdzogs chen-gter ma, but the connection with the Padma-family and its presiding Buddha Amitābha needs some explanation. As indicated before336 the fact that Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mshan, associated with the translation of Sukhāvati-texts, is claimed as an earlier incarnation of Karma glin pa might be a traditional way of suggesting Amidist proclivities on the side of Karma glin pa, possibly indicating that such influences might be extant in his gter ma-s in the Kar glin ɲi khrö-cycles. The popular cults surrounding Amitābha, especially his role as some kind of saviour at death -- the person faithfully devoted to him can trust on being set face to face with this Buddha of infinite light at the moment of death337 -- might in the course of time have become associated with practices concerning death and an after-death-state. This relation is obvious in the popular practice of 'pho ba, which, by the way, is also referred to several times in the Chos ɲid bar do'i gsal 'debs338. Moreover, there might well be some relation between the experience of the clear light of death and the vision of the Buddha of infinite light at death. Even though both the practice of 'pho ba and the 'od gsal-experiences are obviously closely associated with forms of Buddhist rtsa rlung-yoga, there seems to have been some degree of cross-fertilisation with devotional Amidist thought and practice. As indicated in the third paragraph of the first section, when discussing the prayer cited in the Chos ɲid bar do'i gsal 'debs, Amitābha is, apart from the points mentioned, not treated differently from the other Tathāgata-s here; but still, the Tathāgata-s are, indeed, said to appear after death and also are beseeched to lead the supplicant to their respective realms. The uttering of the name of Amitābha is not involved; the only and, admittedly, vague and indirect clue is contained in Na rag don ḏon sprug(s)-texts, where the names of ɲi khrö are invoked in

331 See Finamore (1985), n.54 on p.161 (ad p.144).
332 See Finamore (1985), p.147 (see n.57).
335 In section 1.3.
order to bring about purification of the person reciting these names, but this is such a
general practice that it hardly carries any weight of evidence. More concrete points of
influence deserve to be explored in detail, but such an investigation cannot be carried
out here.

In general, reference to the Padma-family or Amitābha would indicate emphasis on
devotion and compassion, which stands out especially distinct in the descriptions of
the peaceful deities and the accompanying verses. The relegation of ži khro to the
sambhogakāya, and the fact that release in the chos ŋid bar do is said to amount to
becoming a Buddha in one of the buddha-fields on a sambhogakāya-level (... žin dul
... žin kham su lois spyod rdzogs pa'i tshul du sabs rgyas par 'gyur ro⁴¹), indicate a
quality of experience that is apparently associated with the appearance of these deities
in the chos ŋid bar do. The concrete qualities of a sambhogakāya-experience can be
deduced from the descriptions of the deities provided in the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal
'debs: they are described as very vivid, extremely clear, bright, and colourful, having a
dream-like quality⁴² yet perceived while the subject is (more than) wide awake; moreover strong emotions are usually involved.

Furthermore the three main groups of deities, the peaceful deities, the Vidyādhara-s,
and the wrathful deities, are, as mentioned in section 1.3 and 2, associated with
different areas of the body and the corresponding cakra-s, to wit, the ye säs kyi 'khor
lo or thugs kyi 'khor lo (Skt. jānacakra) in the heart, the lois spyod kyi 'khor lo (Skt.
sambhogacakra) in the throat and the bde chen gyi 'khor lo (Skt. mahāsukhacakra) in
the crown of the head successively. In the course of time a quite elaborate tantric
theory grew around these cakra-s. Lauf (1975) summarises some of the material
relevant to ži khro⁴³. Since the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs hardly pays attention to
this tripartition and scarcely hints towards further interpretation, I tend to believe that
for this text the arrangement of the deities according to these three cakra-s may be
interpreted in the most general terms as they are suggested by the context. The
peaceful mandala, relegated to the heart, is apparently associated with majestic
sensations of emotive tranquillity. The Vidyādhara-s as a group do not appear to be as
well defined and as elaborately described as the peaceful and wrathful mandala-s.
Mainly based on their names and descriptions, and on the fact that they appear
together with large numbers of dākinī-s, we might provisionally associate them with
vitality and vital energy (prāna), having a strong connotation of power, and with
inspirational impulses especially as linked to speech and communication, as, for
instance, in the transmission of knowledge and insight. Even though they are
associated with vāc, they still seem to function on all three levels of body, speech and
mind: movement and dance, speech and communication, and inspiration and vision.
The wrathful mandala, relegated to the brain, is apparently associated with vehement
emotions of terror and desire; the experiences described seem to be pervaded by a
quality of fear, aggression and irritation due to a strong sense of (intellectual)
separation into subject and object. But I would rather not speculate too much on basis
of the scarce evidence extant. Later texts like the Ži khro Ṉes don sñin po pay more
attention to these and similar systematisations.

The tantric associations increase to a sheer dazzling complexity as soon as we
focus on smaller groups of deities or individual deities and their attributes, especially
if we make use of all sources available, including the later ones and their later

⁴² Not explicit in the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs, an explicit reference is to be found in the Ni zla
kha shyur, see Orofino (1985), p.117, l.24.
⁴³ See Lauf (1975), pp.73-76, esp. the table on p.76.
"interpretations", as the impressive popularising compilations by Lauf (1975) and the even more freely conducted interpretations by Govinda (1956) may well indicate. By announcing a further interpretation of traditional associations regarding the (kar gliṅ) etsi khor-mandala, I was not stating any intention to redo the work done by Lauf, Govinda and others, nor do I intend to add available textual and historical references and further critical apparatus to all the material they gathered or to additional material that might still be added to the existing stock. This undertaking, if performed properly, would require many years of work and many volumes for publication. In this paragraph I should like to elaborate on the traditional "interpretations" indicated in the previous chapter in a more qualitative manner, that is treating the (kar gliṅ) etsi khor-mandala as a concept used in the theory of a chos nrid bar do rather than discussing every possible detail pertaining to the mandala and the classifications involved. In the following I shall make use of the material presented in the first paragraph of this chapter and I will try to stay as close as possible to the way the etsi khor are presented in the Chos nrid bar do'i gsal 'debs.

Important for the understanding of the kar gliṅ etsi khor described is the part immediately preceding the exposé of their appearance, to wit, Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.16,1.7 - p.17,1.12, which deserves to be quoted and translated here in full:
ར་པོ་ཐིག་ཡུལ་ནི་རང་གྲགས་བཞི་བྱེད་བཞི་ཐོང་མེད་པ་བོ་ལུགས་ཀྱང་དེ་ནི་བརྒྱུད་པ་ནི་ཤེས་རབ་མེད་ལྡེ་བོ་ནི་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱང་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་འས་ཐོག་ཏུ་བཏང་པོར་ན། དེ་ཕྱིར་ན། ར་པོ་ཐིག་ཡུལ་ནི་རང་གྲགས་བཞི་བྱེད་བཞི་ཐོང་མེད་པ་བོ་ལུགས་ཀྱང་དེ་བྱེད་སྤྲོད་པ་ནི་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱང་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་འས་ཐོག་ཏུ་བཏང་པོར་ན།
Venerable Sir, on the moment that your body and mind have separated, the clear light of dharmata, of a pure subtlety, of brilliant clarity, of an awesome natural brightness, is going to arise, shimmering like a mirage hovering on a plain in spring. Feel no terror, no fear, no anxiety regarding it. Since it is the natural lustre of your own dharmata, do recognise!

From within the light the natural sound of dharmata will reverberate with the vehemence of a great rolling thunder, as much as a thousand thunderclaps rumbling at the same time. Because that, again, is the natural sound of your own dharmata, feel no terror, no fear, no anxiety regarding it; since you have a so-called mental body of habitual tendencies, (that is to say,) because there is no...
material body made of flesh and blood, whichever of the triad of sound, light and rays might have arisen, there will be no harm for you, death does not pertain to you. Simply recognizing them as your own conceptions is sufficient, do know that it is the bar do.

Venerable Sir, in case you do not recognize them as your own conceptions, whichever meditation and practice you performed in the human realm, if you do not meet with the nature of the present instruction, you will be distressed by the light, feel anxious because of the sounds and frightened by the rays. If you do not know this essence of the instruction, not recognizing the triad of sound, light and rays, you will wander in samsāra.

Venerable Sir, coming forth after having been unconscious for a period of three and a half days, you arise from oblivion, and, when the notion "What happened to me?" occurs to your mind, do recognize that you are in the bar do. At that time, the division of samsāra being reversed, all mental conceptions will arise as lights and bodies.

Initially we find descriptions of visual experiences, the clear light of dharmātā, diversifying into sound, light and rays. The emphasis is on visual experiences, sound is said to proceed from within the light. One is reminded that one does not have a physical body of flesh and blood, but a mental body of habitual tendencies. All experiences (that is including the sense of having some kind of subtle body) are said to arise from one’s own conceptions, in fact, it is put even more poignantly, the order samsāra is said to be “reversed” here, while in ordinary waking consciousness perception of, for instance, colours and physical forms conditions conceptual thinking and gives rise to concepts, in bar do all concepts are perceived as lights and bodily forms.

The experiences described so far match remarkably well with experiences reported in sensory or perceptual deprivation-experiments. It seems possible that experiences like those were projected into an after-death-state, maybe partly in extrapolation of experiences resulting from certain meditative practices -- which often involve some level of perceptual deprivation -- and maybe partly due to sensory and perceptual deprivation during a sick- or death-bed and the process of dying or due to the disintegration of sensory and mental faculties at the time of death, the descriptions given might thus have some basis in experience. Whether these experiences are actually taking place after death or whether they are only perceived as such remains, of course, open to debate. We should take into account that under circumstances like those outlined above the subject might suffer from an altered and, in a conventional sense, unreliable notion of space and time and would, if he is at all able to, report accordingly.

Immediately following this, the descriptions of the peaceful deities start, followed by several other descriptions. Texts in traditions that are probably based on the Ni zla kha sbyor, like e.g., the Zi ba bar do lam gyi mshān niid, the Bar do spyi’i don and Sogyal Rinpoche’s recent exposition (1992), feature a more systematic enumeration in four stages. It is interesting to note that the elaborate description of the peaceful deities in the Chos niid bar do’i gsal ‘debs is so dominant in the description that different “stages” do not stand out at all in this version (there is, as mentioned in a

364 Read: rkyun pas.
365 The particle no is, regarding the other readings, apparently redundant here.
366 I do not understand the expression ’khor ba’i ru, ru is provisionally translated as “division”.
367 See section 1.3.
previous paragraph398, not a one to one match in the experiences listed nor is the order of their appearance fully corresponding; at the beginning of the khro bo'i bar do the zi bai'i bar do is referred to as being composed of seven stages399). Moreover the Vidyādhara-s and wrathful deities appear in the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs after descriptions of experiences that roughly correspond to the last two of the above-mentioned four stages, that is to say, in the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs these two mandala-s are separated from the "stage" in which the peaceful deities appear and which corresponds to the stage wherein, for instance, in the Bar do'i spyi'i don, the whole zi khro-mandala appears (i.e. the second stage, the wrathful deities appear first, no mandala of Vidyādhara-s is mentioned400).

This seems to affirm the impression with which we left the discussion in section 1.3 of affiliation between texts like the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs on the one hand and texts like the Ni zla kha sbyor and the Bar do'i spyi'i don on the other, though some material is shared they appear as discrete traditions that developed more or less separately. The Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs cannot be explained as a Ni zla kha sbyor that was extended with elaborate descriptions of the three main mandala-s of deities, there are too many discrepancies between the texts, while certain aspects (the several stages) seem to be treated in a more systematic manner in the Ni zla kha sbyor, which makes a borrowing even more unlikely. However, the point of interest here is not so much the possible relation between these texts, but the fact that in the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs the mandala-s of the peaceful deities, of the Vidyādhara-s, and of the wrathful deities appear like outgrowths in the middle of as well as after this series of experiences thus giving the whole a rather hydrocephalic outlook, breaking and distorting their arrangement as some kind of a sequence, as these events apparently were conceived of as taking place in several (i.e. seven) stages.

The kar glin zi khro as a visionary experience do not convey their universal character in any convincing manner, occasionally not even to a scholar from within the traditions they pertain to, like rTse le rin po che, let alone to opponents of the rNin ma and rDzogs chen-traditions. I certainly do not want to rule out the possibility that an adept very much conversant with the kar glin zi khro-mandala might under certain conditions reproduce the visual experiences he was trained to evoke, but most probably the elaborate descriptions of deities largely represent an insertion of tantric theory within the framework of a chos ŋid bar do; thus leaving us with a reference to tantric theory and related practices relevant or important at the time of conception of the chos ŋid bar do in this form, in short with a signature of the author(s).

But however much this autograph is appreciated, the point I am trying to make here is that contrary to some experiences in the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs, like for instance the experiences of light and sound translated above, I would not advise to try and interpret the description of the zi khro-mandala as a probable experience certainly not for an uninitiated subject (quite contrary to the efforts of Leary et al. (1964)). The descriptions of the kar glin zi khro though based on visualisation-practice are highly theoretical in nature. The order of appearance of the deities and their corresponding categories, for instance, need not necessarily represent a sequence probable from the point of view of "lived" visionary experience. The order of appearance, the lay-out of the mandala, and the filling in of details were very much subject to the conventions

398 See section 1.3.
399 See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.43, l.8f..
400 Sogyal Rinpoche (1992) apparently tries to harmonise the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs and the Bar do'i spyi'i don in this respect, he refers to a description like in the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs but includes the wrathful deities (after the peaceful mandala) while leaving out the Vidyādhara-s.
used at that time in the traditions involved. If we want to understand or interpret the order, lay-out, or the iconographical details of the mandala we need to rely on traditional "interpretations" in the relevant lines of transmission, like for instance gathered by, amongst others, Lauf (1975) and Govinda (1956), Snellgrove (1957). But we should be careful not to neglect the factor time. An interpretation adhered to by a present-day bla ma or another representative of tradition (even if representing the exact tradition(s) the mandala pertains to) might not accurately cover the state of knowledge of centuries ago. Studies like for instance Lauf (1975) and Govinda (1956) definitely fall short on this point. Snellgrove (1957 and 1987) proves himself to be more sensitive to the historical dimension. As mentioned before I do not have the intention to investigate these points here, this is not an iconographical study, nor a study about (developments in) mandala-theory nor even a survey of ti khro-mandala-s.

Recapitulating we may say that certain experiences of (textures of) light, colour, sound etc., might under specific conditions actually have been and still be perceived and might even have some universality, in that people from other cultures under similar conditions are liable to perceive them in a like manner. In the Chos īnid bar do'i gsal 'debs these experiences became the insertion points for elaborate descriptions of mandala-s of peaceful and wrathful deities, the kar glin ti khro, which seem to be a theoretical construction stemming from tantric esoteric theory, which can best be understood by following the explicit and implicit leads and "interpretations" offered in the relevant traditions themselves, as for instance briefly presented in the second chapter of this thesis, and which are as such more or less specific to these and related traditions.

The reason for the insertion of these elaborate descriptions of the mandala-s probably lies in the need for "explaining" a (re)arising of perception and, which very much amounts to the same thing, the development of a subtle mental body after disintegration at death, briefly discussed in the previous chapter.

As also mentioned in the previous chapter we have to consider the possibility that certain psycho-physical phenomena could not be expressed otherwise than in rtsa rluṅ-terms or in "iconographical" visualisation-based concepts. The reason why the descriptions at a certain point in the Chos īnid bar do'i gsal 'debs, i.e. when trying to give a more detailed account of the arising of the several mental faculties in a chos īnid bar do, switch from rtsa rluṅ-based terminology to iconographical concepts might be very simple and straightforward, an iconographical description is better suited for quantitative detail, that is to say, is able to convey the several specific and concrete details of the mental faculties, while rtsa rluṅ-based terminology is better fitted to describe the qualitative aspects, the general psycho-physical processes.
Conclusion

Regarding the overwhelming amount of material on bar do-s and ži khro available (see Appendix I), this study cannot be but exploratory in character. Only the smallest number of the texts located and gathered so far has actually been used in this thesis, and even these "select few" often have only been as much as touched upon; many of them do inspire to be revisited for more detailed research. I have tried my very best to select the most relevant material from what is at present available to me, but I can by no means guarantee that important texts have not escaped my attention nor that important passages have not been overlooked by me, the more so, since Tibetan texts do not always bear predictable titles and often appear "concealed" as parts of larger works. Still, I dare hope that this study, in spite of its limitations, will prove to be of help to those interested in literature concerning bar do-s and ži khro and in the "old tantra-s" and ger ma-literature in general and will possibly inspire more detailed studies in the field. Many points for further research have already been indicated in the course of this thesis, one suggestion that I should particularly like to forward here is a compilation and comparison of different ži khro-mandala-s in Buddhist and Hindu tantra-s as well as in "Bon"-texts, in order to establish lines of transmission and influence between texts an authors in these several traditions; mandala-s seem to be a good indicator of affiliation.

In conclusion, in this chapter, I should like to briefly review the most important conclusions and hypotheses that resulted from this research into the ži khro of Karma glin pa, however tentative some of them may be.

Texts pertaining to older Buddhism do not seem to be of much relevance to us here. The material is rather scarce, does not seem to be very old and moreover the picture of an anutarābhava presented is far from complete, since most of the earlier material available reflects positions of those opposed to this concept. Most of the positive evidence of an anutarābhava appears in later works, like the Mahāvibhāṣa, the Yogācārabhūmi, the Abhidharmasamuccaya, the Abhidharmakośa and Bhaṣya, and the Saddharma-mṛtyupasthānasūtra. The picture of an anutarābhava that emerges, for instance from the Abhidharmakośa and Bhaṣya, has many features in common with later descriptions of a srid pa'i bar do, as for instance extant in Kar glin ži khrö-cycles. The opinion that there is a substantial relation between an anutarāparinirvāṇa and an anutarābhava, as apparently maintained in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, does seem to be a later construction.

Points of interest that need to be worked on are a possible relation between certain interpretations of the so-called anutarāparinirvāṇa and Amidist trends in Buddhism. The exact relation between the first members of some pratītyasamutpāda-versions, to wit avidyā and samskāra-s, and speculations concerning an intermediate state between death and rebirth, too, seem worth-while to be investigated more thoroughly. Another interesting matter that definitely deserves more research is the position of viśṇāna in death, rebirth and possibly in an intermediate state. Especially the reconciliation of the impermanent skandha viśṇāna with the gandharva-like concept of viśṇāna that apparently was conceived of as continuing through death in some way or other, needs to be studied in a historical context. It would be very revealing to have an overview of the several theories concerning this in older Buddhism, abhidharma-texts, Yogācāra-traditions, and diverse traditions and schools in later Indian tantric and Tibetan tantric Buddhism.
In tantric Buddhism speculations regarding bar do-s start to proliferate, especially in Tibetan rNi ma (rDzogs chen-)( and "Bon"-(rDzogs chen-)) traditions, but also in bKa' rgyud pa-traditions, theories and practices regarding them apparently have been received and developed with great enthusiasm. Several more or less distinct strands of bar do-speculations seem to exist. Though a 'chi kha'i bar do (or an equivalent, the nomenclature is not always consistent or at all extant) and a srid pa'i bar do appear in all traditions and texts, a chos riid bar do appears to be a late development, not present in all of them. The (bKa' rgyud pa-)siddha-s, for instance, do not distinguish a chos riid bar do (notwithstanding the reference to a chos riid bar do in one of Na ro pa's biographies, which does not seem to pertain to a separate bar do there). The Bar do lha'i no spro d from the Ka dag ra'n 'bya'n ra'n sar-cycle does not mention a chos riid bar do either.

The (bKa' rgyud pa-)siddha-s seem to represent a separate strand, they do not discuss a chos riid bar do and are very much focusing on rtsa rlun-yoga. rDzogs chen-texts like the Ni zla kha sbyor and dependants (the Zhi ba bar do lam gyi mthsan riid in the (mkHka' 'gro yan thig of the) sNi'n thig ya bzhis, the Bar do spyi'i don, and later presentations like Sogyal Rinpoche (1992)) represent another line; they feature a chos riid bar do, mention a zhi khro-mandala, but do not spell it out completely, they rather focus on general experiences of luminosity. The Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs is the main source of yet another strand of speculation featuring a chos riid bar do including a full description of the (kar glin) zhi khro. It apparently shares some (source-)material with the Ni zla kha sbyor but on the whole appears as a different and independent strand; the identification of the shared sources requires more research. The gSa'n ba ye 'ses kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dan phyo bai'i man nag gi gsal byed gian gyi lam grols is directly derived (largely by copying) from the Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs. The late 'ja' tshon zhi khro as extant in for instance the Zhi khro nes don shiin po seem to be adapted from the kar glin zhi khro.

The "Bon"-rDzogs chen-text rDzogs pa chen po 'ta'n 'u'n sNan rgyud las sGron ma drug gi gdam pa, has some points of similarity with the Ni zla kha sbyor but does not as much as mention a zhi khro-mandala, here descriptions of experiences of luminosity are dominant. The "Bon"-zhi khro-texts, the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo and Zhi khro bar do 'phra'n grol gyi thos grol las bya'n bag chags ra'n grol do feature a zhi khro-mandala, but one that diverges strongly from the kar glin zhi khro, showing only a few more general similarities. The rest of these two almost identical "Bon"-bar do thos grol-texts, too, stands out rather distinctly from the other material mentioned, with the sole and remarkable exception of a prayer for rescue that they in part share with the Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs (and the Bar do 'phra'n grol gyi smon lam). A possible origin of the prayer shared in Amidist literature inspires further investigation. If it is true that the Ni zla kha sbyor on the one hand and the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol (and Zhi khro bar do 'phra'n grol) on the other hand do share sources with the Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs, then the Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs, for which an eighth-century-origin is claimed, but for which only a fourteenth-century-provenance can be attested, would consequently have sources predating these texts.

The kar glin zhi khro which appear in the Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs probably derive from zhi khro extant in the Guhyagarbha-cycle. But the kar glin zhi khro- and gSa'n ba'i shiin po-mandala-s are not identical, and some development seems to have taken place. Intermediate stages can be reconstructed from the several mandala-s present in Na rag dor sprug(s)-texts and related literature. It does seem likely that the closest relative, read: ancestor, of the kar glin zhi khro, was probably similar to a mandala as it
is still extant in, for instance, the ži khro sgyu 'phrul, and was at some time adapted from one of this class of confession- and purification-texts and inserted into the Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs.

The class of Na rog don sprug(s)-texts might be influenced by confession- and expiation-tantra-s from the Sarvadurgatiparīśodhana-cycle, a relation which needs further investigation.

The Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs appears to be a composite text that shows many signs of editing and probably incorporates material from various sources, some of which it shares with other, related texts, the shared sources most probably were incorporated independently by the several texts. There is some evidence of influences from Mahāyoga-, Anuyoga- and rDzogs chen-theory and practice. The identification of the sources from which these doctrines and practices were incorporated requires further research. Several independent pieces of evidence suggest that the (kar glin) ži khro-mandala was at some time inserted at a point in theory where general experiences of luminosity (which in some form or other appear in all chos riid bar do-texts) are described. The arising of the mandala no doubt refers to the re-arisinglemerging of all the sensory and other mental faculties as well as mental attitudes and dispositions, a process which we also find briefly described as the formation of a mental body of habitual tendencies. The reason for an elaboration on this point most probably lies in the fact that the functionality of at least the skandha vijñāna was thought to be required in order to enable any experience of or in a bar do, while this very skandha vijñāna at the same time was involved in an unsatisfactory conflux of theories. First there was the theory concerning some kind of "dissolution" of the skandha-s of a person at death, the conventional person was generally conceived of as a mere temporary agglomeration of skandha-s that were characterised as, amongst others, impermanent, but there also was a notion of continuity through death (and an intermediate state) that adhered to one of these skandha-s, to wit, vijñāna. In short, the reason might lie in the awkward double-rôle of vijñāna, wearing two rather different hats, as at death and in an intermediate state it at the same time appears as a factor of transience and continuity.

The fact that, when inserting the mandala, Mahāyoga-based language is used in a context in which rtsa rlun-terminology seems to dominate, has most probably its cause in the capability of "deity-yoga" to represent a sophisticated level of quantitative detail. The combination of "deity-yoga" and rtsa rlun-yoga moreover suggests an affinity with practices that developed in Anuyoga, in which these two forms of yoga appear in conjunction (the last being more in focus in this yāna). This last indication presents another clue for further identification of the character and global dates of the sources drawn upon.

Traditional "interpretations" quite unanimously point towards interpreting the several deities as diverse aspects of what is conventionally and no doubt rather imprecisely conceived of as the (human) "mind", the sum of all mental processes and possibilities. But there is little probability that the description of the mandala in that very form and order can be considered as a report of actual experiences of these (mainly) mental factors. The kar glin ži khro rather seem to be an idealised summary of tantric theory and expertise in this field, which of course, since this expertise will at least partly be based on experiences gained from certain tantric visualisation-practices, may still have a basis in reported experiences of some sort.
The general references to experiences of (patterns of) light and colour, however, do have parallels in actual reports from other fields of research and other cultures, some of which, like for instance those that result from deprivation-experiments, make the possibility of an actual experience of these abstract patterns of light and colour (at some point, not necessarily after death) seem quite acceptable.

Though the reports pertaining to a chos id bar do in, for instance, the 'das log-stories in a biography of Sany gyas chos 'dzon⁴⁰¹ have several features in common with descriptions in the Chos id bar do'i gsal 'debs, the actual overlap is rather poor, the order of appearance of the mandala-s mentioned in these reports moreover agrees better with the order in the Bar do spyī' i don than with that in the Chos id bar do'i gsal 'debs.

Parallel accounts obtained from people in the "West" that reported a near-death-experience (most research seems to have been conducted in the United States of America) and obtained by guiding the imagination of, again, mainly American subjects in hypnotic regression to a purported period between two consecutive lives are remarkably consistent among themselves and with each other, but, even though some common features do emerge (like references to experiences of light and some kind of a subtle body), on the whole do show little similarity to the descriptions of the Chos id bar do'i gsal 'debs or reports of 'das log-s.

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⁴⁰¹ The rJe hisun spyon ras grigs kyi sprul pa 'das log suhs gyas chos 'dzom gyis zlag bdun mar dmyal khams daḥ yar ūn khams hecas mjal ba'i lo rgyas rum thuŋ khyad par can.
The general references to experiences of (patterns of) light and colour, however, do have parallels in actual reports from other fields of research and other cultures, some of which, like for instance those that result from deprivation-experiments, make the possibility of an actual experience of these abstract patterns of light and colour (at some point, not necessarily after death) seem quite acceptable. Though the reports pertaining to a chos 'dul bar do'i in, for instance, the 'das log-stories in a biography of Sams rgyas chos 'dzom'87 have several features in common with descriptions in the Chos 'dul bar do'i gsal 'debs, the actual overlap is rather poor, the order of appearance of the mandalas mentioned in those reports moreover agrees better with the order in the Bar do spyi'i don than with that in the Chos 'dul bar do'i gsal 'debs.

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87 The rje brtan snyan ras gzig kyi spal ba 'das log sde sgrub chos 'dzom gi gsal lag bstan mar sbyed dbang phyag dar spar bzhed bce mo rjigs rtsal las las bzhag pa'i.
Appendix I, Bibliographies of Tibetan Texts on Ži khro and Bar (ma) do

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I


II

*Bar do thos grol*, a block-print of Lama Sherab Gyaltsen Amipa in Rikon/ZH, identical with the block-print of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project.

III

*Zab chos *zh khro dgo'ns pa ral grol las sku gsum bla'i mal 'byor gyi gsal 'debs dug gsum span ran grol*, a block-print from India, o.O. and o.J..

IV

*Zh khro dgo'ns pa ral grol gyi chos skor*, a collection of *geter ma* of *Kar ma gliṅ pa*, 2 volumes, o.O. and o.J..

V

*Bar do thos grol*, a block-print from Ngari (in Bonn), identical with *Bar do thos grol* VOHD XI,7; Nr.421.10; sig.: Libr. tibet.128, the block-print in the "Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin".

VI

*Zab chos *zh khro dgo'ns pa ral grol las bar do thos grol gyi chos skor*, a reduced reprint from an Indian block-print, o.O. and o.J..

VII

*Kar ma gliṅ pa'i *zh khro dgo'ns pa ral grol gyi chos skor*, A Collection of *Zh khr* Texts Revealed by *geterston Kar ma gliṅ pa*, 3 volumes, reproduced from a manuscript-collection from the library of Dudjom Rinpoche, Gangtok 1975.

VIII


IX

*Bar do thos grol*, a photocopy of a MS. in the India Office Library (in Bonn), Lhasa K25 I-IV, Denwood Nr.520.

X

Three incomplete *Bar do'i thos grol chen mo*-cycles (of the same printing-blocks) in the J. v. Manen-collection, in the library of the Kern Institute Leiden, the 2740/H-series is listed under the abbreviated registration numbers (2740/H# in the catalogue by Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1953)).

XI

Recent block-print of a *Kar gliṅ *zh khr*-cycle containing twelve texts (ten titles) kept at the Kern Institute in Leiden (systematic catalogue 28.452.4 = XL.1237, title-page different)

XII

Recent Chinese edition of a block-print of a *Kar gliṅ *zh khr*-cycle containing forty-seven texts (private copy); *si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khan gis bsgrun nas bkraml si khron can yi'u par 'debs bzo grvas dpar*, ISBN7-5409-0259-0/B.9.

XIII

Miscellaneous *Zh khr* dgo'ns pa ral grol-block-prints in the J. v. Manen-collection, in the library of the Kern Institute Leiden, in contradistinction to X listed under the list-numbers (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953).

XIV

Several *Zh khr* dgo'ns pa ral grol-cycles and texts in XL.1232-1236, and 1238.

XV

*Zh khr* dgo'ns pa ral grol gyi chos skor, volumes II and III in XL.1239-1240.

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XXI

Miscellaneous texts from the *rNin ma'i rgyud 'bum* in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the microfiche-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983).

XXII

Miscellaneous texts from the *Bai ro rgyud 'bum* in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the microfiche-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983).

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\footnote{Numbers I-IX adapted from Back (1987), pp.103-113.}
XXIII Miscellaneous texts from the sNin thig ya bzi by KloN chen pa dri med 'od zer in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the microfiche-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983).

XXIV Block-prints in the cycle Kun tu bzaN po'i dgoNs pa raN thal, the microfilms of which are preserved in the "Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin" listed under the abbreviated catalogue-number (Nr.# in the catalogue by Shuh et al. (1985)), also in XL.2116-2120.

XXV Block-prints in the cycle Ka dag raN 'byun raN sar, the microfilms of which are preserved in the "Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin" listed under the abbreviated catalogue-number (Nr.# in the catalogue by Shuh et al. (1985)), also in XL.2116-2120.

XXVI Block-prints in the cycle mKhaN 'gro gSaN ba ye sEs kyi rgyud, the microfilms of which are preserved in the "Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin" listed under the abbreviated catalogue-number (Nr.# in the catalogue by Shuh et al. (1985)). This gter ma-cycle is extant in the library of the Kern Institute in Leiden (no systematic catalogue-number), it is a xylographic reprint of block-prints from the library of Dudjom Rinpoche.

XXVII Miscellaneous texts from the gTer 'byun chen mo by RatNa glin pa (Rin chen dpal bzan po) in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the microfiche-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983).

XXVIII Miscellaneous texts from the gDams nag mdzod by Kon sprul blo gros mthaN yas in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the entry-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983).


XLI Miscellaneous texts in the J. v. Manen-collection, in the library of the Kern Institute Leiden, in contradistinction to X listed under the list-numbers (Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1953)).


N.B. the often recurring introductory formula: (zab chos) (zi khro) dgoNs pa raN groN (las/gyi/gyis)\(^{40}\) and the concluding: (ces/ sEs bya ba) bZugs sol bZugsol bZugs sho are omitted! Regarding the complex nature of the Tibetan titles, capitals are not used in the transliterated titles.

\(^{40}\) Indicated by an "*" preceding the source-indication; I could not check collections VII, VIII, and XIV, for easy reference I have nonetheless marked those texts where the formula is to be expected with an asterisk.
### Kar gliṅ Ži khro

<table>
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<td>rin chen gter mdzod chen mo, kar glin zi khro</td>
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## APPENDIX I, TIBETAN SOURCES

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<td>v. also X.12.3,19.3,187.3, X1.9, bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi smon lam also in XII.47, XIV.1233-1237</td>
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<td>bstan 'gyur</td>
<td>Dharmaśāhādra and Rig pa gzon nu translators</td>
<td>PTT.76.284.1.6-291.3.1</td>
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<td>bstan 'gyur</td>
<td>Buddhaśriśānā and Rin chen bzan po translators</td>
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<td>Saṅs rgyas gsan ba, Manjuśrīvarman, and Bran ka Mi ti translators</td>
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<td>དབྱང་མཁྲི།</td>
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<td>bstan 'gyur</td>
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<td>ོས་པ། གཞི་གདམ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡོན་ནས་ཤིང་། རྫོགས་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐོང་།</td>
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### Na rag Don sPrugs

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# gsāṅ ba'ī sīṅṅ po

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**Zi khro/Bar do-Texts by Subject**

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<td>XXIX.66.261-272</td>
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<td>'gro drug/ rigs drug</td>
<td>gsaṅ ba ye ṣes kyi mkha' gro'i sgo nas rigs drug gnas 'dren gyi cho ga khams gsum don sprugs</td>
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<td>'byun ba rin gi cho pa bzugs per dbu legs</td>
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<td>bla ma 'jam dpal zi khot'i sa bsad da'i zab khrig man nag bka' brgya ma'i zin bris gza' ni ma mthun ga'i sams len 'khyer bde bes 'di mams la dban dan 'khrig rgyun ma thob pas blta bar mi bya'o</td>
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### Collections of "Bon"-Zhi Khro-Texts

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<td>dshes lde zhi rgyud lugs kyi zhi khros grub skor (collection of 41 &quot;Bon&quot;-texts)</td>
<td>there are contributions as late as those by Nima bltan 'dzin or Nima del 'dzin (1813-), Hor pa yid bzin rgyal ba shul khrims (ca. 1651-7)</td>
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<td>1975</td>
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#### Individual Texts

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<td>zhi khros grub pa kmul dus shos chog ral gnal chen po'i rgyud len rigs 'dzin taksh khrus</td>
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lam sgrub kyi yig chu'a gsal sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan
bnu sgrub kyi yig chu'a gsal sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan
(dkar bstan pa' rgyas byed)
gnas mkhar rin po che spyi sputas kyi nam nas ti ba' brin po thig le dbya'as bshyed
kto bo 'brin po gsal ba' dus pa las thig le
zi ba dbya'as kyi gsal thus
gna ba thags kyi bmags pa khrlo bo gsal thus
(spyi sputas kyi grol 'debs de gn 'gyi bar' sgral dbya'as)
grol 'debs
(bar de ubos grol gyi 'dbsx blod)
zi kho bar do 'phrul grol gyi thos grol las byan bag chags ra grol
tshos grol gyi ba ma mkha' g'so brisod phyag zur bkod chu' skye' do' sal
ltsi bkogs dri med mchog skyen nga drug na' skyen gi 'glang pa zab no
(mam la'i smon lam)
zi kho nyag pa' zin rta sna' gsal sgron ma
zi kho thogs bhrigs 'bri po' las len rab dkar chu' sel dbang po
zi kho thogs bhrigs basus pa' i las len dangs sel me lo'
(z'i kho rin te' bshus pa' zin rin)

mba chen zo mchog rgya bzog seg zig gsal byed 'phrul gyi me lo'
spyi sputas z'i kho' ri sgo nas thogs das mar me bhrigs rtsa' bal thabs kyi lag len srid pa' sgron me 'od kyi khro' lo
zi ba g-yun dm' a yongs su rnodgs pa'i gshis (zi ba)
(sman sro'i)
(z'i ba g-yun dm' a yongs ky'i phro smon gcen)
gnas mkhar z'i ba g-yun dm' a yongs rnyidz nas kho bo dban chen gnyis 'dbsx das phyag rgya gar gyi lag len (dbsx)
spyi sputas kho bo zo mchog rgyas pa'i spa grol' bskal chen (thogs bskal)
gnas mkhar rin po che spyi sputas kyi z'i kho' ro ye' bsan rnodga chen sng (bskal ba)
khro bo dban chen spyi sputas (spyi sputas) g-yun dm' a skabs kyi' phrebs ba (skabs phrin)
kho bo dban chen gnyis 'dbsx (pho a)
kho bo dban chen gnyis ma thogs skor gcen
khro bo dban chen rtags sgrub (rtags sgrub)
kho bo no mchog rgyas pa' rtags sgrub chen mo
gros rtags
(a'gnal ba'i long chub)
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'vi ba g-yun dra' i yongs rdzogs kyi bstag pa'i 'og chen (bstag pa)

gSas mchog rin po che spyi spungs 'ti ba g-yun dra' i yongs su rdzogs pa'i phrin las

dKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp. 126, 137, and 190)
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Tsha sron and 'dzin (cf. Tsha ston srol 'dzin (1092-))
SB-782.23
SB-782.24
SB-782.25
SB-782.26
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Zogsi 614/29.1
Zogsi 614/29.2
Zogsi 614/29.3
Zogsi 614/29.4
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rediscovered by tsha ston srol 'dzin (1092)
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Zogsi 614/29.6
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Zogsi 614/29.29
Zogsi 614/29.30
Zogsi 614/29.31
Zogsi 614/29.32
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Drun pa'i nam mchab (8th AD), sMan rgyal dam pa ma' grol (1149-) (gier ston)
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Zogsi 614/29.35
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86pp.
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Literature concerning Chos drug and Bar do-s

skyes mchog 'ba ra ba rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ gis mdzad pa'i bla sgrub phyag chen chos drug bcas mdo rbsdus sṅiṅ por drel bar rje blo gros chos 'phel gyi zab gter (XXVIII.1362.II.B.s)
mkhás sgrub mtham med dpal ldan nā ro pa'i rnam thar pa drik med legs bṣad bde chen 'brug sgra (Guenther ed./trsl., 1963)
mkhás mchog nā ro pa'n chen gyi rnam thar pa drik med legs bṣad bde chen 'brug sgra žes bya ba (XLI.80)
mkhás mchog nā ro pa'n chen gyi rnam thar (XLI.146c)
mtham med dpal ldan 'brug pa'i gdams nag las sgom pa'nā ro'i chos drug gi khrid kyi žal šes zab mo go bder bkod pa rmongs mun šes byed ii 'od (XL.4182)
chos drug rdo rje'i gzun (XXVIII.1362.II.B.t)
chos drug bsdud rtsi sṅiṅ khou i sgon 'gro dchos sgrub myur tson (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.i, XL.4156, v. 3258)
chos drug bsdus pa'i zin bris (Evans-Wentz, 1958, XXVIII.1362.II.B.c, XL.3707)
chos drug bsdus pa'i zin bris (XXVIII.1362.II.B.2.a)
chos drug rdo rje'i theg par brgod pa'i šin rta chen po (XL.1891)
rje btsun nā ro mkha' spyod mā'i 'pho ba'i gdams pa gsal ba'i sgron me (XL.1805)
rje btsun mar pa lo tsa'i gdams pa chos drug sras mkhar mā'i skor rnam bzung sōll II gu ru chos dbaṅ rin po che'i gter byon (XXIX.22.454=XXIX.85.51-201)
rje btsun ma li ra sas pa'i rnam thar rgyas par phyed ma mgur 'bum (Kern 28.536.3, XL.1539, XL.255 (2x))
gtum mo iag gsum ma'i dmigs rim zin bris (XLI.MS1169)
gu ru'i thugs sgrub yain sṅiṅ 'dus pa'i gsal khris rigs sna la sngum mo'i khris kyi bsgom rim gsal byed ni sla kha sbyor bde chen chos sku mju bshugs (XXIX.20.172)
nā ro'i chos drug gi rtag pa don gyi brgyud pa la gsal 'debs pa tshig ānān nur byas pa (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.a)
nā ro'i chos drug gi dmigs skor lag tu len tshul bs dus pa rje'i gsun pa bzin sams dpa' chen po kun bzaṅ bas bskod pa (XLI.677b, IASWR.LMpj.021.009.9)
pan chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzaṅ chos kyi rgyal mtham dpał bzaṅ po'i gsun 'bum na pa'i dkar chag! nā ro chos drug gi zab khris gser gyi lde mig (XLI.395p)
i gu chos drug gi khrid yig zab don thad mar brdal ba žes bya ba bklags chog ma (XLI.14)
i gu chos drug rgyas pa khrid yig ye šes mkha' 'gro ma'i žal luṅ (Mullin, 1982)
dpel ldan nā ro chos drug gi khrid tig mchog gi gra chen daṅ gsal spyod zio g sgo m gyi khrid yig zil non seng ge'i 'na ro (not yet located, v. XLI.15)
dpel nā ro ro chos drug gi khrid yig yid bzin gyi nor bu (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2b')
dpel nā ro pa chen po'i ggs gser théi ma 'nag (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.m)
dpel nā ro pa' chos drug las rtsa ba tsanda li dan po'i las can rnam Kyi bgo skal du rnam par phyed ba'i zin ris skal bzaṅ ku ma ta 'dzum pa'i sla tshes (XL.1135)
dpel 'bri gu'n pa'i lags kyi chos drug dril ba'i gdams pa (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.z)
phag mo zab rgya'i gsum mo ras rkyan gi zin bris mdo rbsdus (XLI.MS1312)
dpel ldan 'sangs pa'i gser chos las! rtsa ba ni gu chos drug gi khrid(?) bsdus stan thog cig ma'i sams len ye šes rja ki'i žal luṅ (XXIX.20.234)
zab mo nā ro'i chos drug gi ņams len thun chos bdud risi ņiṅ khu ĝes bya ba sgrub
brgyud karmā kham tshan gi don khrid (XL.3258, v.XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.j, and
XLII.13)
zab mo nā ro chos drug gi ņams len thun chos bdud rtsi'i ņiṅ khu ĝes bya ba sgrub
brgyud karmā kham tshan gi don khrid (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.j, v. XLII.13, and
XL.3258)
zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa (Dargyay, 1978 (1977))
zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa yid ches gsun ldan (XL.2617,
XL.I.677a, PTr.160.208.3.3-161.13.2.8, IASWR.LMc.021.009.9)
zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi gsal byed spyi chiṅs khrid yig daṅ bcas pal karma pa rān
byuṅ rdò rjes mdzad pa'i chos drug gser žun mar grags so (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.b)
zu̲s don bdud risi gser phrenl 'od gsal (XXIII.1318.1.n)
ni̲s don sni̲n poł 'od gsal 'khor lo (XXIII.1321.1.i)
ni̲s don sni̲n poł 'od gsal phra khrid (XXIII.1321.1.q)
ni̲s don sni̲n poł 'od gsal 'bubs' jug (XXIII.1321.1.k)
bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor gyi risa ishiq rna̲ms (XL.3169)
bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor spyi'i snon rjes kyi rim pa rna̲ms kyi zin brjed byaṅ blo
dmaṇ dga' bskyed (XL.3170)

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43u By rJe Tshoṅ kha pa, folios 41vff., Gangtok (1972).
43s Nā ro'i chos drug.
43s Nā ro'i chos drug.
Specific Texts concerning 'Pho ba

SpecTexts concerning 'Pho ba

mgön po 'od dpag med la brten pa'i 'pho khrid (Dargyay, 1978 (1977), p.100) 401
pañ chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzaṅ chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ po'i gsum
 bum na pa'i dkar chags rgyal ba' byams pa la brten pa'i 'pho ba legs pa cig
(XLI.395u)
'chi mtshan rtags pa dañ tshe grub 'pho ba'i rnam bsad (Mullin, 1986)
'chi med kloṅ gsal rdo rje'i sreg bsgrub las 'ja las rdo rje'i gsan lam 'pho ba mkha'
spyod myur lam (XLI.1145)
(že du ma) rnam šes goñ du 'pho ba' rgya cher bsad pa gser gyi sgo byed pa
(XLI.800u)
'pho ba 'jag tshug ma thar lam gsal la ston (XLI.MS1313)
 dpal gar gyi dbaṅ phyug gsan ba ye šes kyi (mkha' 'gro'i) 'pho ba'i man nag mchog
 lam yañ rtse XXVI.271403)
(že du ma) 'pho khrid kyi rtsa tshig brtag pa brgyad pa rab tu byed gsum pa
(XLI.800n)
 bde mchog dril bu pa'i bla bruyd gsol 'debs dañ dpal 'khor lo bde mchog dril bu lha
 lha'i dbaṅ chog bde chen sfin po 'pho khrid dpa' bo gyul 'jug gyi lhan thabs zin
bris (XLI.347u)
'pho ba dran pa raṅ grol (Dargyay, 1978, p.199)
žus len bdud risi gser phren 'pho ba (XXIII.1318.1.y)
 bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus 'pho ba skar khun mda' 'phans
 kyi rim pa (XLI.MS1029)
 bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus la' 'pho ba skar khun mda'
 'phans kyi rim pa (XLI.MS1030)
 bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus la' 'pho ba skar khun mda'
 'phans thans thabs gsal byed myur 'gyogs bde chen po na bsţgs so (XLI.MS1031)
 kloṅ chen sfin thig le las 'pho ba ma bsgoms sans rgyas (Dargyay, 1978, pp.199f.)
 gtsi snah ye šes sgron me 'pho ba' od gsal sfin po (XXIII.1316.1.x)
['pho ba'i man nag] phag chen 'phrub mdzod (XXVI.178)
 myur lam 'pho ba'i rnal 'byor dpal 'brug pa'i šams bsês 'jags tshugs ma (XLI.604)
yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las zab lam 'pho ba'i gdam pa skar khun mda' phan
(XLI.MS1459)
zab lam 'pho ba'i gdams pa 'jag tshugs ma'i lo rgyus gdams nag khrid yig dan bcas pa
bsţgs so 'ni lla saṅs rgyas gter byon (XXIV.20.655)
sfna rgyud gsan ba'i mthar thug las zab lam 'pho ba'i gdam pa sfina gi thig le (Evans-
Wentz, 1958)
 rje btsun bla ma dgoṅs can grub pa'i rdo rje'i bka' 'bum ga pa'i dkar chags 'od dpag
med kyi 'pho ba bka' rgya ma'i bka' zin (XLI.242bb)
gsanh ba ye šes kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs daṅ pho ba'i man nag gi
gsal byed gtan gyi lam gsogs (XXVI.235)
gsanh ye daṅ 'brel ba' pho ba bklags chog ma (XXVI.236)
gsanh lam 'pho ba'i gdams pa las tshe 'das rnam šes spar ba'i dmigs pa (Evans-Wentz
1958)

401 In the Collected Works of Gsn bar dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me edited by N. Gelek Demo in
402 The bracketed mkha' 'gro'i, was added by the authors of the catalogue (Dieter Schuh and Peter
Schwieger).
403 In sfin thig pod gnis (two volumes) of gsan chun grva bstan, Vol.I, pp.4ff.
Appendix I, Tibetan Sources

Tibetan Sources on Zi khor and Bar do-s, General List

kar gliṅ ŋi khor'i gnas 'dren gnyi mtshams sbyor sning po dril ba (XII.34)
kar gliṅ ŋi khor'i gnas 'dren gnyi mtshams sbyor sning po dril ba phan miha' yas pas bris pa (*XIV.1236)
kun tu bzaṅ po'i dgon pa zaṅ thal du bstan pa'i rtsa rgyud (XXIV.84)
kun tu bzaṅ po'i dgon pa ye šes zaṅ thal gnyi sgron ma (XXIV.97)
kloṅ bsags brjod pa raṅ grol (*IV.1.24, *XIV.1234)
dkar chag (IV.2.17, 18, VI.1, XII.1)
dkyil 'khor drug gi cho ga (XX.PTT.79.174.2.3-184.1.2)
dkyil 'khor spyi'i rim pa (XX.PTT.76.284.1.6-291.3.1)
sku gsum bla ma'i rrnal 'byor gnyi sgröl 'debs (*III.1)
sku gsum sgröl 'debs kloṅ yan s raṅ grol (*XII.4, *XIV.1234,1236)
skon bsags (*XIII.MS1446)
skon bsags šams chag raṅ grol gnyi thugs dam bskan bai'i rim pa rnams (*IV.1.25, *XIV.1235)
skon bsags šams chags raṅ grol gnyi dbaṅ bskur gns spar 'gro drug raṅ grol (*VII.1.8)
skon bsags šams chags raṅ grol lasl dbaṅ bskur gns spar 'gro drug raṅ grol (*XIII.1445c)
skon bsags šams chags raṅ grol laṅ gi sron 'gro lhan grub s zin bris (*XIII.1445c)
skye śi bar do'i rnam bzung (Latii Rinbochay, 1979)411 skyes mchog 'ba ra ba rgyal mtsphan dpal bzaṅ gis mdzad pa'i bla sgrub phyag chen chos drug bcas mdor bsdus sning po dril ba rje blo gros chos 'phel gnyi zab gter (XXVIII.1362.II.B.s)
bskaṅ bsdus (XIV.1238)
bskaṅ ba šams chag raṅ grol gnyi bskyed rim sron 'gro'i lhan thabs (*XIV.1235)
bskaṅ bsags šams chags raṅ grol gnyi sron 'gro lhan thabs (*IV.1.4, *VII.1.13)
bskaṅ bsags šams chag raṅ grol gnyi cha lag ishe 'das gns 'dren 'gro drug raṅ grol (*IV.2.5, *XIV.1234)
bskaṅ bsags šams chag raṅ grol gnyi thugs la bskan bai'i rim pa (*XII.27)
bskaṅ bsags šams chags raṅ grol gnyi thugs dam bskan bai'i rim pa (*IV.1.25, *VII.1.20, *XIV.1238)
bskaṅ bsags šams chags raṅ grol gnyi thugs dam bskan bai'i rim pa rgya ga ra ba nam mkha' rgya mtshos bris (pa) (*XIV.1234,1236)
bskyed rim sron 'gro lhan thabs (*IV.1.4, *XIII.MS1447)
bskyed rim sron 'gro lhan thabs rgya btsun nam mkha' chos kyi rgya mtshos bris pa (*XIV.1234)
bskyed rim lhan thabs 'dzab 'dgons grags ston lshans dbyangs bzhag ishad raṅ grol sngags 'chan chos 'byun gis sbyar ba (*IV.1.13, (*XIV.1234)
kha 'bar ma nag po'i chi bslu bsdus pa (XL.1251)
khā hil dharma senges so (XIV.1234)

410 Reading: spaṅ.
411 Omitting: rrnal 'byor gnyi.
412 Omitting: rrnal 'byor gnyi.
dam chos rdzogs pa chen po no spro dkyi skor las kham pa'i mi mo la brten nas rnam

šes 'bya'ṅ jang gnas gsum ho spro d (*VII.2.21)
rdor sems thugs kyi sgrub pa'i khyad par gyi rdzogs rim snaṅ bzi'i man nag gi khrid
yig mno gn sum od gsal 'khor lo (XXIX.20.046)
nes don sñoṅ po khuru snaṅ no spro (XXIII.1321.1.m)
khros gsal bsdus pa (XII.30)
zab bdun rgyud zab sgyu sprul lasi khro bo dam pa bsdus pa'i lam sgrub thabs sñoṅ
por bsdus (XXIX.20.067)
žus len bsdud rtsi gser phreni khro bo bar do snaṅ kyi sgron me (XXIII.1318.1.i)
khro boi bar do 'char tshul bstan pa (I.2, V.2, VI.4, VIII.2, X.12.2,=19.2,=187.2,
X.10, XIV.1233, XIV.1237=XI.10)
žus len bsdud rtsi gser phreni mkha' 'gro gsum mo khyad par can (XXIII.1318.1.o)
mkhas grub kun gyi gtsug bhang la pan chen nā ro pa'i rnam thari no mtshar rmaṅ
byuṅ (Guenther ed./trsl., 1963)
mkhas sgrub mnām med dpal ldan nā ro pa'i rnam par thar pa dri med legs bṣad bde
chen 'brug sgra (Guenther trsl., 1963)
mkhas mchog nā ro pa'n chen gyi rnam thar pa dri med legs bṣad bde chen 'brug sgra
zhes bya pa (XLI.146c)
mkhas mchog nā ro pa'n chen gyi rnam thar (XLI. 80)
'khor lo'i man nag (XX.PT.T. 79.150.1.1-2.5)
ghan zag fāms len can la thugs dam gsal 'debs su byed thabs bar do'i no spro dun
bzaṅ gsal luṅ (XL.3484)
gar gyi dbaṅ phyug gсан ba ye šes kyi mkha' 'gro ma'i 'phrin las kyi le srog gi
skyabs gcig ('chi ba blu ba'i cho ga) (XXV.150)
ghuru rad na glin pa'i rmi lam ran snaṅ 'khru sgron bar do gnad kyi phraṅ grol žes
bya ba mbdod khaṅ skabs dgu pa (XXIV.2076.9.12)
glegs bam bzhugs byaṅ duk chag (*VII.1.22)
mgon po 'od dpag med la brten pa'i 'pho khrim (Dargyay, 1978 (1977), p.100)⁴⁴
'gyod tshaṅs rgyal po'i byuṅ khus lo rgyus dan bcas (VII.1.2)
rgya bṣun nam mkha' chos kyi rgya mthos mchos bris pa (XIV.1234)
ḍaṅ ldan la bhringa ma'i khrig mig mdoor bṣudus rgyal ba kun gyi yab gcig rje bṣun
jam pa'i dbyans ži khrong sprags sgrub kyi dmigs skor thun mohn ba danl thun mohn
ma yin pa ņams su len tshul sku gsum go 'phain mthon bar brgod pa'i them skus bla
na med pa (XLI.112e)
pan chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzaṅ chos kyi rgyal mtsan dpal bzaṅ po'i gsuṅ
'bum na pa'i dkar chag chgyal ba byams pa la brten pa'i 'pho ba legs pa cig
(XLI.395u)
rgyal ba ži khrong tshe dpag med la bcu gsum gyi dkyil 'khor chen po sgrub ciṅ mchod
pa'i cho ga yid bzin sprin phuṅ (XXIX.20.370)
rgyas pa'i sbyin sreg gud du bstan pa'i yig chuṅ (*VII.2.3)
rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gṣaṅ bai'i sñoṅ po'i 'grel pa (XX.PT.82.248.1.5-
279.5.1.1)
mnām med dpal ldan 'brug pa'i gdams nag las sgom pa nā ro'i chos drug gi khrig kyi
žal šes zab mo go bder bkod pa rmoṅs mun šes byed ni'od (XL.4182)
sgom rim than skyes ye šes (*IV.1.9, *VII.1.16, *XIV.1234)
ži khrong sgom rim than skyes raṅ grol (XIV.1234)
sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud kyi mchon 'grel ni' zla sñoṅ po (XL.1051)

⁴⁴ In the Collected Works of Gun thon skny mchog bstan pa'i sgron me edited by N. Gelek Demo in
APPENDIX I, TIBETAN SOURCES

sgyu 'phral 'zi khro rab 'byams kyi dkyil 'khor (XLII.p.100, n.75)
sgyu ma lam gyi rim pa (XX.PTT. 82.46.5.1-51.2.3)
sgyu ma lam gyi rim pa'i 'grel pa (XX.PTT. 82.51.2.3-60.3.2)
sgrib sbyon (XII.21, XIV.1236)

sgron ma drug gi no spro dges rig ran grol 'ges bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag
(VII.3.1)
nes don sfin po| sgron ma bzhi skor (XXIII.1321.1.1)
brgya phyag sdig sgrib ran grol (*III.10, *IV.2.3, *XIV.1234)
brgya phyag sdig sgrib ran grol 'ges bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag(s) (*I.6415, ~III.10, ~IV.2.3, *VI.12, *VII.1.17, *XI.14=XTX.1237, *XII.18, *XIV.1235,1236,1237415=XI.1,1238)
brgya phyag bs dus pa (XIV.1236)
brgyud pa'i lo rgyus mdor bs dus nor bu'i phre'n ba (*VII.1.5)
brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs bs dus rtsi'i char rgyun (XIV.1235)
nan so'n thams cad yongs su sbyon ba (XX.PTT.7.198.4.2-7)
nan so'n thams cad yongs su sbyon ba 'zes bya ba cho ga'i bya ba bya mdor bs dus pa (XX.PTT.77.27.1.5-29.5.1)
bcod ldan 'das de bzin gsags pa dgra bcom pa yon dag par rdzogs pa'i sans rgyas nan so'n thams cad yongs su sbyon ba gzi brjod kyi rgyal po rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i rnam par bsha mdzes pa'i rgyan (XX.PTT.76.105.1-202.1.3)
nan so'n thams cad yongs su sbyon ba gzi brjod kyi rgyal po brtags pa san'ba'i rgyan (XX.PTT.202.1.3-237.1.1)
bcod ldan 'das nan so'n thams cad yongs su sbyon ba gzi brjod kyi rgyal po kun rig rnam par san'ba mdzad kyi cho ga'i nag 'don gyi gom pa chu 'bebs su bkod pa thabs mkhas ded dpon (XL.3009)
'phags pa nan so'n thams cad yongs su sbyon ba gzi brjod kyi rgyal po 'ges bya ba cho ga 'zib mo'i rgyal po chen po'i rgya cher 'grel pa (XX.PTT.76.52.2.7-105.1.1)
de bzin gsags pa dgra bcom pa yon dag par rdzogs pa'i sans rgyas nan so'n thams cad yongs su sbyon ba gzi brjod kyi rgyal po 'ges bya ba'i brtags pa'i bsha pa (XX.PTT.76.237.1.1-284.1.6)
de bzin gsags pa dgra bcom pa yon dag par rdzogs pa'i sans rgyas nan so'n thams cad yongs su sbyon ba gzi brjod kyi rgyal po'i rtags pa (XX.PTT.5.83.2.1-99.5.2)
de bzin gsags pa dgra bcom pa yon dag par rdzogs pa'i sans rgyas nan so'n thams cad yongs su sbyon ba gzi brjod kyi rgyal po'i brtags pa phyogs gcig pa (XX.PTT.5.99.5.2-121.5.4)
nan so'n thams cad yongs su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga (XX.PTT.77.6.5.3-12.5.1)
dpal nan so'n thams cad yongs su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga thugs rje'i 'phre'n ba (XX.PTT.76.297.2.5-77.1.1.6)
nan so'n thams cad yongs su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa (XX.PTT.77.12.5.1-16.5.5)
nan so'n thams cad yongs su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor chen po'i sgrub thabs (XX.PTT.297.2.5-297.2.5)
dpal nan so'n thams cad yongs su sbyon ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga (XX.PTT.77.1.1.6-6.5.3)
nan so'n thams cad yongs su sbyon ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga (XX.PTT.77.16.5.5-27.1.5)
nan so'n sbyon ba 'gro ba rigs drug gi cho ga (XX.PTT.75.137.5.1-140.2.4)

415 Reading: lags.
416 Reading: lags.
417 Reading: lags.
nang soṅ sbyoṅ ba'i don gyi 'bru 'grel (XX.PTT. 76.15.3.2-52.2.7 (comm. 76.52.2.7-77.29.5.1))

nang soṅ las grol ma'i sgrub thabs (XX.PTT. 81.4.1.4-2.5)

no sprod (IV.2.14, XIV.1234)

no sprod thams cad kyi sāṇ 'gro dur khrad bam ro bskyal ba la brten nas ni rtag pa'i bskul bar no sprod pa (*VII.2.20)

no sprod mthon ba raṅ grol gyi mar me no sprod kyi thab thabs (VII.3.4)

no sprod mthon ba raṅ grol gyi gzi'i 'od gsal no sprod kyi thab thabs (VII.3.3)

gzi snaṅ ye 'ses sgron mel no sprod dran pa'i me loṅ (XXIII.1316.1.s)

žus len bdud rtsi gser phren'i mthon gsum no sprod (XXIII.1318.1.h)

snags(?) 'chan(?) chos 'byun g'i sbyar(?) ba (XIV.1234)

snags bṣags sdiṅ sgrib raṅ grol (IV.2.4)

bcom ldan 'das 'jam dpal ži khrö'i thams len rgyun khyer mchog thun gyi dnos grub thams cad myur du thob par byed pa'i rdo rje'i cho ga (XXIX.20.549)

cho ga thams cad kyi sāṇ du 'gro ba gzi bdag raṅ bgegs la gtar ma 'bul thabs! rig 'dzin Ji ma grags pas spyan rabs pa (XIV.1236)

cho ga sdiṅ sgrib rnam par sbyoṅ ba (*XXIX.20.056=XXIX.4.1889-281)

bka' 'srung(s) dam can sde bdun chos skoṅ kun 'dus kyi mdaṅs bskan gdug pa raṅ grol (*IV.1.26, *VII.3.19, *VII.28, *XIII.MS1443, (*XIII.MS1445d), *XIV.1235,1236)

bka' 'srung dam can sde bdun chos skoṅ kun 'dus kyi mdaṅs bskan gdug pa raṅ grol nam mkha' rgya mtshos bris pa (*XIV.1234)

chos skoṅ kun 'dus dam can sde bdun gyi las byāṅ chuṅ ba gdug pa raṅ grol (XIV.1238)

chos rgyal gser gyi lag pa žes bya ba'i phyag mar me phul ba'i lo rgyus smon lam daṅ bcas pa (XIV.1235)

žus len bdud rtsi gser phren'i chos nāṅ bar do yon rjan (XXIII.1318.1.1)

chos nāṅ bar do'i khrid yig mthon ba raṅ grol gyi no sprod car phog khyer bde ba žig (*XXIX.20.055=XXIX.4.147-187)


chos nāṅ ži ba'i bar dor no sprod pa'i thos sgrol chen mo (*V.1)

chos drug gi man nag (XX.PTT. 82.34.4.2-35.1.1)

chos drug rdo rje'i gsum (XXVIII.1362.II.B.x)

chos drug bdud rtsi sniṅ khu'i sāṇ 'gro dnos grub myur stsol (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.i, XL.4156, v. 3258)

chos drug bsdus pa'i zin bris (Evans-Wentz, 1958, XXVIII.1362.II.B.c, XL.3707)

chos spyod brya phyag sdiṅ sgrib raṅ grol (XI.II.2)


chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol žes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag(s) (*I.7, *II.5(8), *VII.1.11, VIII.17, XI.8=XIV.1238, *XIV.1234,1237=XII.8,1238)

chos bṣad (XI.32)

mchod (b)stod (XI.15, (XIV.1236))

mchod rlbs (XIV.1234)

bka' 'srung sde bdun mchod gsal mdor bsdus pa (*IV.1.18)

žus len bdud rtsi gser phren'i 'chi kha bar do'i gsal 'debs (XXIII.1318.1.k)

411 Reading: lags.
APPENDIX I. TIBETAN SOURCES

183

"chi ltas kyi 'chi ba'i mtshan ñid dañ rtsa 'chad pa'i mdor bs dus chen po (XX.PTT. 46.186.1.1-194.5.5)
gïi snañ ye ñes sgron meñ 'chi ltas dran pa'i me loñ (XXIII.1316.1.t)
'chi ltas mtshan ma rañ grol (legs par) (*I.9)
bde gšege rigs lha'i sgrub thabs padma stön ldanl 'chi ba brtag bslu'i man nاغ nû zla gza 'bral (XXIII.1321.2.d)
'chi ba blu bâ'i badus don (XX.PTT. 86.19.2.2-5.7)
'chi ba blu bâ'i man nاغ (XX.PTT. 86.21.2.1-30.4.1)
'chi ba slu ba (XX.PTT. 86.121.4.1-5.7)
'chi ba slu bâ'i gdams pa (XX.PTT. 79.130.2.5-130.4.5)
'chi ba'i slu bâ'i sgrol ma'i sgrub thabs (XX.PTT. 81.2.1.6-2.4)
'chi ba'i slu bâ'i man nاغ (XX.PTT. 59.103.5.2-110.3.8)
rje bsun blo bzañ dpal ldan ye ñes dpal bzañ po'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor rnas chabs gcig tu bsdëbs pul 'chi blu'i skor rnas (XLI.252j)
'chi blu'i bs dus don (XX.PTT. 86.19.5.7-212.1)
gïi snañ ye ñes sgron meñ 'chi bslu dran pa'i me loñ (XXIII.1316.1.u)
'chi med grub pa-cycle on rtsa, thig le, rlung, sems, zla ba, etc. (XX.PTT. 87.155.2.3-161.5.2)
'chi med tsanâ lâ'i brgyud 'debs (XL.1354)
'chi mtshan rañs pa ñan tshe grub 'pho bâ'i rnam bdad (Mullin, 1986)
'chi mtshan rañs par rañ grol (Mullin, 1986)
'chi slu bâ'i man nاغ gi sgrol ma'i sgrub thabs (XX.PTT. 81.4.3.1-4.7)
'chi bslu bâ'i gdams pa chu stön zlog gi man nاغ bklag chog tu bkod pa (XXIX.22.259)
râdzogs pa chen po'i ño rgyus las 'chi bslu zab mo (II.8, XIV.1237)
râdzogs pa chen po'i ño rgyus mdö byan po ti smug chuñ las 'chi bslu zab mo (I.10, *II.8, III.9, VII.10, XI.3)
'chi b(s)lu'i skor (XIII.252)
jo bo thugs rje chen po 'phags pa spyan ras gzigs ñan soñ rañ grol (XL.3501)
jo bo nâ ro pa'i khyað chos bser 'pho'i gzün 'grel rdo rje 'chan dgoñs pa gsol bar byed pa (XL.1890)
jo bo nâ ro pa'i khyað chos bser 'pho'i khrið rdo rje'i theg par brgod pa'i ñin rta chen po (XL.1891)
"rje'i rnam thar sîn tu gsan bâ ño mtshar rmad du byun bâ'i gmâl 'jam dbyâns ñi khor sbrags sgrub shun moñ ma ñin pa (XLI.261b)
'chi med kloñ gsal rdo rje'i srog bsgrub lasl 'ja_lus rdo rje'i gsan lam 'pho ba mkha' spyod myur lam (XL.1145)
rje bsun nâ ro mkha' spyod ma'i 'pho bâ'i gdams pa gsal ba'i sgrun me (XL.1805)
rje bsun ma yi bûn 'khor lo'i sgo nas 'chi blu dañ 'brel bâ'i brian bzhugs 'bul tshul 'chi med grub pa'i dga' ston (XL.2663)
rje bsun mar pa lo tsâ'i gdams pa chos drug sras mkkar ma'i skor rnas bzhugs soll Il gu ru cho dãña rin po che'i getter byon (XXIX.22.454=XXIX.85.51-201)
rje bsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar rgyas par phyê ba mgur 'bum (Kern 28.536.3, XL.1539, XL.1255 (2x))
rje tshun sur ya tsan dra'i rmi lam bar do thos grol chos kyi che ba bskyed byed mtshan med rdzogs rim than thabs kyi skor bû (VII.3.10)
rje'i rnam thar sîn tu gsan bâ ño mtshar rmad du byun bâ'i gmâl 'jam dbyâns ñi khor sbrags sgrub shun moñ ma ñin pa (XLI.261b)
ňams chag(s) sdīg sgrīb thams cad bṣags pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprugs(s) (XII.24,
XIV.1236\(^{19}\), XXIX.21.251=XXIX.66.171-184, XLI.1823, XLI.263\(^{20}\) (3x:Br.-
79/H189, 2740/888,440), Kern 28.542.54)
bka' bgrgyad gsan ba yons rdoogs kyi a'i don khrid kyi gzunl ňams chags bṣags pa na
rag don sprugs (XLI.MS1021dd)
rūn ma spyi'i śrōn 'gro skyab sems da'i dkar bgegs kyi gtor ma (XIV.1238)
snān rgyud rig pa gcer mthōi (XL.0435 ("Bon"))
bsiṅen yig mdo rbsdus rnam grol don gsal (*VII.2.9, *XXIX.20.054)
tantra thams cad kyi rtsa bar gyur pa sgyu prhul drva ba gsan ba sniṅ po de kho na
nīd nes pa rtsa ba'i rgyud sog (XXI.14)
gum mo ḷag gsam ma'i dmigs rim zin bris (XLI.MS1169)
gu rul thugs sgrub yān sniṅ 'dus pa'i gsan khrid rigs lha lasl gum mo'i khrid kyi
bṣogs rim gsal byed ni lla sbyor bde chen chos sku mju bṣugs'
(XXIX.20.172)
gter kha gnis 'dus rtsa rlun thig le'i khrid zin mdo rbsdus zab don kun 'dus
(XXIX.22.508)
gter bdag ma niṅ nag po (IV.1.19)
gter sruṅ sgam po lha rtse'i mchod gsol phrin las ran grol (*IV.1.20)
gtor dbaṅ reg pa don ldan (*VII.1.9,*XII.46,*XIII.MS1445b,*XIV.1236,
*XIII.MS1021dd)
bṭags grol gyi skor rnam (XLI.II.24)
bṭags grol sron gsal til mha'i dbus dral (XLI.II.25)
bṭags grol phun po ran grol (*V.7,*VI.9,*VIII.3.11,*VIII.7,*XIV.1233)
bṭags grol phun po ran grol gyi don rbsdus ran grol (*II.6)
bṭags grol phun po ran grol gyi(las) don rbsdus ran grol sniṅ po(r) (*I.5,*III.7,
*IV.1.15\(^{21}\),*VIII.3.12,*XI.6,*XIV.1234\(^{22}\),1236,1237)
bṭags grol phun po ran grol nas zur khol du bkod pa'i bṭags grol 'khor lo chen mo ṇes
bya ba lag len zin bris (*VII.1.21)
bṭags grol yid bzin nor mchog (*V.16, VIII.16, X.12.16=187.16, XII.12.23)
Two 'Das log Manuscripts from the Library of Lha khan Bla ma\(^{23}\) (XL.4380)
them byaṅ zin bris (*VII.1.1)

thabs lam sgom pa'i rnal 'byor (XX.PTT. 82.60.5.5-61.2.1)
thabs lam gsum mo sgom pa (XX.PTT. 82.60.4.6-5.5)
thugs kyi thigs pa (XX.PTT. 83.82.1.4-3.6)
thugs kyi thigs pa'i man nag (XX.PTT. 83.129.4.1-134.1.3)
thugs kyi thigs pa'i man nag (XXI.14.639-665)
thos grol chen mo'i skor (*XL.3557)
Threc 'Das log Stories (XL.4293)
dam chos rdoogs pa chen po'i sku gsum no sprod bar do thos grol gyi cha lag
(*VII.1.23)
gsan sngags spyi chiṅs kyi gdams pa zab mo them yig med pa'i skor las dam tshig gi
ňams chags gso ba'i skon bṣags ņes pa kun sel 'khor ba don sprugs khyad par du
phags pa (XXIX.21.253=XXIX.66.203-259)
them yig med pa'i skor las dam tshig gi ňams chags gso ba'i skon bṣags ņes pa kun sel
'khor ba don sprugs dkyil 'khor gyi lde mig gsal ba'i me lōṅ
(XXIX.21.254=XXIX.66.261-272)

\(^{19}\) Reading: sprugs.
\(^{20}\) Reading: chags.
\(^{21}\) Reading: por.
\(^{22}\) Reading: las.
\(^{23}\) Reading: ldei yid 'dzin bzod pa chos kyi dhaṅ phyug and karma dhaṅ 'dzin gyi rnam thar.
APPENDIX I, TIBETAN SOURCES

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dam tshig thams cad kyi šams chags skoṅ ba'i luṅ ṭaṅ (XLII.5)
don brgyud gsal 'debs min tshig raṅ grol (*IV.2.1)
don brgyud gsal 'debs miṅ tshig raṅ grol padma mdo snigs bstan 'dzin gyis bris pa
(*XIV.1234)
drag po'i sbyin bsreg gud du bstan pa (*VII.2.5)
gdams nag mar gyi yan žun gdam pa 'chi kha'i no sprod (XL.2088)
bde chen žin gi ro sreg cho ga han soṅ gnas 'dren sduṅ bshal mtsho skem gan bde rab
'bar (XL.1205)

bka' srun dam can sde bdun gyi mdaṅs bskan g dang pa raṅ grol (*IV.1.26)
'tdas log karma dbaṅ idan gyi rnam thar (XL.1277)
'dod chags raṅ grol gyi naṅ nas rigs brgyud bzag thabs daṅ mnaṅ sgo 'gags thabs khol
du byun ba (VII.3.16)

rdo rje theg pa snags kyi sgo sbyoṅ bdud rtsi rol mtsho (XLII.p.28, n.26)
rdo rje theg pa'i cho spsod thun bzhī rnal 'byor sdom 'gro raṅ rgya spsod byed
(*XII.1, cf. gsaṅ snags rdo rje theg pa'i cho spsod thun bzhī rnal 'byor sems ŋid
raṅ grol (*IV.1.1, *VII.1.11, *XIV.1235))

rdo rje phag mo'i zab khrid las zab lam gtum mo'i ŋi ma'i dkyil 'khor (XLI.MS1233)
rdo rje phag mo'i zab rgya las khrid yig (XXIV.27)
rdo rje'i phag mo'i zab rgya drug gi rtsa lrü gnad kyi maṅ nag (XXIV.26)

rdo rje phag mo'i zab khrid las zab lam gtum mo'i dzogs 'thabs 'bras byul
na rag bskar bsdus pa rje'i bzhigs sdom chos drug gi rtag pa don gyi brgyud pa
la gsol 'debs pa tshig ṭun ṭur byas pa (XXVII.1361.I.II.B.2.a)

na ro'i cho drug gi riag pa don gyi bsgyud pa la gsol 'debs pa tshig ṭun ṭur byas pa
la gsol 'debs pa tshig ṭun ṭur byas pa (XXVII.1361.I.II.B.2.a)

na ro'i cho drug gi dmigs skor lag tu len tshul bsdus pa rje'i gsuṅ pa bzhin sems dpa'
chen po kun b.zaṅ bas bkod pa (XLI.677b, IASWR.LMpj.021.009.9)
pan chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo b.zaṅ chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal b.zaṅ po'i gsuṅ
bum na pa'i dkar chas i na ro cho drug gi zab khrid gser gyi lde mig (XLI.395p)

ni gu cho drug gi khrid yig zab don thad mar brdal ba žes bya ba bkags chog ma

(XLI.15)

ni gu cho drug rgyas pa khrid yig ye šes mkha' 'gro ma'i žal luṅ (Mullin, 1982)
no title (XLI.3558)

gnam chos thugs gter snaṅ bsgyud dam pa rigs bsgyud'i sgrab thabs kyi tham thabs
gson byaṅ žu thabs bsdud pa'o (XXIX.21.264=XXIX.66.553-560)

424 Reading: chags.
425 Reading: bskan.
426 Liturgical collection used in funeral rites.
(że dgu ma) rnam sès goṇ du 'pho ba'i rgya cher bṣad pa gser gyi sgo byed pa (XL.800.0)

ral 'byor gyi dbaṅ phyug chen po rje btsun bṣad pa rdo rje'i rnam thar rgyas par phyed na mgur 'bum (XLII.836)
gsang śnags spyi chin gi gdams nang zab mo then yig med pa'i skor las; rnal 'byor 'chi bṛtag bṣlu ba'i man nang bcud len daṅ bcas pa (XXIX.22.233)
gnas 'dren 'gro drug raṅ grol 'khrigs su bkod pa (*I.V.1.28, *XIV.1234)
gnas phyag (XLII.135, XIV.1236)
gnas luṅ gi cho ga daṅ dbaṅ bskur sog la 'ñe bar mkho ba'i zur 'debs phran bu (*VII.2.8)
dpal gar gyi dbaṅ phyug gsaṅ ba ye sès kyi (mkha' 'gro'i) 'pho ba'i man nang mchog lam yān rite XXVI.271(427)
dpal gar gyi dbaṅ phyug gsaṅ ba ye sès kyi mkha' 'gro'i rtsa śnags kyi rnam bṣad mkha' 'gro'i sśni thrag (XXVI.272)
bla ma'i rnal 'byor la brten nas lam rim ēams su len pa'i man nang byan chub bde lam

dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed la bṣtod pa'i tshig don rnam par bṣad pa 'jam dpal zi khrong byes legs bṣad bṣad gsar bai' mchod sprin (XLII.583)
dpal la'dan nā rochos drug gi khrig tig mchog gi gra chen dan gsaŋ spyed zog sgom

gyi khrig zil non sen ge'i na ro (not yet located, v. XLII.15)
dpal nā rochos drug gi khrig yig yid bzin gyi nor bu (XXVII.1361.II.B.2.b)
dpal nā ro po chen po'i ggegs gser la'i man nang (XXVII.1361.II.B.2.m)
dpal nā ro pa'i chos drug las rtsa ba tsan dpal'i la' s can rnam s kyi bgo skal du

rnam par phyed ba'i zin ris skal bzaṅ ku nu ta 'dzum pa'i zla tshes (XL.1135)
dpal 'bri gu'n pa'i lags kyi chos drug dril bai' gdam pa (XXVII.1361.II.B.2.z)
dpal gsaṅ ba'i sśni po'i rgyud kyi khog dbub(428) (XL.4103)
dpe'u ris skor ('VII.1.23)

spyi spuṅs zi khrig 'tshogs dan mar me brgya rtsar 'bul thabs bcas daṅ 'brug gsaṅ rtsa

sgrub kyi cha lag gzan yai mchod bṣtod sna iṣthogs bsdus pa (XL.3756)
spraṅ byan chub sems dpai' dmyal ba daṅ bar do'i rnam thar (XLI.1308)
phag mo zab rgya'i stum mo ras rkyan gi zin bris mdor bsdus (XLI.1312)
phun po sreg sbyon gi kha skoṅ (IV.2.12, XIV.1234)
phyag 'tshal bsdus pa (XLII.22)

bka' 'dus sśni po yid bzin nor bu las; phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po zi khrig la's byan

rgyud kun sśni khu nes don sśni po (XXIX.20.058=XXIX.4.347-375)
bka' 'dus sśni po yid bzin nor bu las; phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po zi khrig la's byan gi

kha skoṅ ru thun bzi bṣangs pa rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus na rag don sprugs

(XXIX.20.059=XXIX.4.377-395)
bka' 'dus sśni po yid bzin nor bu las; phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po zi khrig smin byed

ma bug sprad pa las chog tu bsdebs pa kun tu bsan po'i khrus chu

(XXIX.20.060=XXIX.4.397-447)
phra ba'i rnal 'byor (XX.PT.69.215.2.7-3.4)
phrin bco{l (dharma sengs so) (IV.1234)

bka' srum dam can sde bdun gyi phrin las chos skyoṅ kun 'dus dgra bgegs gdup pa raṅ

grol (~*IV.1.17, *VII.3.18)
bka' srum dam can sde bdun gyi phrin las chos skyoṅ kun 'dus dgra bgegs gdup pa raṅ

grol gyi las byan (*XIV.1236)

427 The bracketed mkha' 'gro'i, was added by the authors of the catalogue (Dieter Schuh and Peter Schwieger).

428 Eleventh-century history of the gsoṅ ba'i sśni po.
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bka' srûn dam can sde bdun gyi phrin las chos skyön kun 'dus dgra bgegs gdug pa ran grol gyi las byan chun ba (*XII.16, *XIV.1235)
bka' srûn dam can sde bdun gyi phrin las chos skyön kun 'dus dgra bgegs gdug pa ran grol gyi las byan chun ba] nam mkha' rgya mishos sbyar ba (*XIV.1234)
(že dgu ma)] 'pho khrid kyi rtsa tshig brtag pa bryad pa'i rab tu byed gsum pa (XLI.800n)
bde mchog drill bu pa'i bla bryud gsol 'debs dañi dpal 'khor lo bde mchog drill bu lha lha'i dban chog bde chen sînîn po l 'pho khrid dpa' bo gyul 'jug gyi lhan thabs zin bris (XLI.347z)
'pho bde bas thugs rje'i lcags skyu (XIX.20.656)
žus len bâud rtsi gser phrenîl 'pho ba (XXXIII.1318.1.y')
bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spîy 'dus 'pho ba skar khûn mda' phûn kyi rimpâ (XLI.MS1029)
bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spîy 'dus lasl 'pho ba skar khûn mda' phûn kyi rimpâ (XLI.MS1030)
bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spîy 'dus las 'pho ba skar khûn mda' phûn lhan thabs gsal byed myur 'gyogs bde chen pho na bûzgs so (XLI.MS1031)
'pho ba 'jag tshug ma thar lam gsal la ston (XLI.MS1313)
'pho ba dran pa ran grol (Dargyay, 1978, p.199)
kloñ chen sînîn thig le las 'pho ba ma bsgoms sans rgyas (Dargyay, 1978, pp.199f.)
gzi snañ ye ñes sgron mel 'pho ba 'od gsal sînîn po (XXXIII.1316.1.x)
['pho ba] 'man nag] phag chen 'phrul maðod (XVI.178)
žus len bâud rtsi gser phrenîl bar do 'nô sprod (XXXIII.1318.1.m)
bar do lha'i nô sprod (XXV.127)
bar do 'jigs skyøbs ma (XIII, v. infra bar do 'i smon lam 'jigs skyøbs ma)
bar do thos grol gyi yan sînîn chos spîyd bag chags ran grol (XLI.1)
bar do thos grol gyi gsol 'debs (XIII.MS1350)
bar do thos grol gyi gsol 'debs rim ba (*) tsogs ran grol (II.1)
bar do drug gi rtsa tshig (IV.2.10)
ñes don sînîn po l bar do gnad kyi sgron me (XXXIII.1321.1.v)
bar do('i) spîyî' don thãms cad rnam pa gsol bar byed pa dran pa'i me loñ (XL.2352/2353, Kunsang 1987, (XLI.11))
bar do 'phrân grol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo ñes bya ba dañ de'i 'grel ba dañ bde'i bsîl ba ster byed zla zer (XL.0171)
bar do 'phrên sgrol gyi gsol 'debs kyi 'grel ba gnad bde'i bsîl ba ster byed zla zer (XL.1450)
bar do 'phrân sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo'i rnam bsad pañ chen dgoñs rgyan ñes bya ba (XL.1405)
byan chub lam gyi rim pa'i dmar khriñ thãms cad mkhyen par brjod pa'i bde lam gyi lhan thabs nag 'gros su bkod pa bar do 'phrân sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo'i rnam bsad pañ chen dgoñs rgyan (XLI.503)
bar do 'phrân sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo'i 'grel bsâd 'khrul snañ brag rt 'joms pa' i roñ rje' thog mda' (XL.1404)
bla ma mchod pa bde stûn ñûyer med ma'i don sgrigs tshan lam nor bu dañ ñe par mkho bo'i chos spîyd 'ga' ñig phyogs gcig tu bkod pa rgyal ba'i ñûn laml bar do

429 In sînîn thig pod gîñis (two volumes) of gnas chuñ grva tshan, Vol.I, p.4ff.
430 The title ends with: ni.
431 Reading: bar âor.
432 Reading: bar do'i.
'phraṅ sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo'i 'grel bṣad 'khrul snañ brag ri 'joms pa'i rdo rje'i thog ma' (XL.525)
nes don śīn pol bar do skubs 'jug (XXIII.1321.1.u)
bar do 'od gsal sgron ma (XXIV.92)
kun tu braṅ po'i dgoñs pa zaṅ thal gyi bar do rañ snañ gi ger byu (XXIV.94)
rdoṅs pa chen po kun tu braṅ po ye śes gsal kar ston pa'i rgyud phyi ma'i phyi mal
bar do gsan bha phyi ma'i rgyud (XXII.2624.2.f)
bar do'i no sprod (LX.I.MS1352)
žus len bdud rtsi gser phrenl bar do'i no sprod (XXIII.1318.1.g)
bar do'i chos bṣad thos pas rnam grol (XXIX.21.268=XXIX.66.501-521)
bar do'i ŋams khrid dgoñs pa rañ grol gyi śnon 'gro rañ rgyud 'dul byed lhan thabs (*VII.2.13)
žus len bdud rtsi gser phrenl bar do'i mihan niid bṣad po daṅ skye gnas rnams kyi rgyu bstan pa (XXIII.1318.1.i)
žus len bdud rtsi gser phrenl bar do'i gdam pa 'byun ba 'dus pa 'bral ba rtags kyi rim pa (XXIII.1318.1.j)
bar do'i rtsa tshig (1.4b, V.6, VI.6, VIII.4, X.12.4,=19.4,=187.4, XII.12, XI.9b, XIV.1323)
rdoṅs chen śīn po hāṃ skor las; bar do'i ma yig (XXIX.22.485)
bar do'i smon lam dgoñs geig rgya msho (XIII.MS1352, XII.23)
bar do'i smon lam 'jigs skyobz ma (I.4d, V.8, VI.10, VIII.8, X.12.8,=187.8, XI.9c, XIV.1323)
bar do'i smon lam rnam gsum (~I.4, ~II.4, *III.6, ~V.3,4,5,8, ~VI.5,6,7,10, ~VII.3.14, ~VIII.3,4,5,8, ~XI.4, ~X.12.3-5,8,=19.3-5,8,=187.3-5,8, ~XI.9)
bar do'i lam khyer daṅ sbyar ba'i smon lam (XL.0072)
bar do'i gsol 'debs kyi mchan 'grel ŋun bsduṣ thar lam šin ra (XII.39)
bar do'i gsol 'debs thos grol chen mo bklag chog tu bkod pa 'khrul snañ rañ grol (XII.7)
bun bsgrub (XIV.1234)
bun dbaṅ bsduṣ par bskur tshul daṅ śin tu bsduṣ pa gior dbaṅ bcas geig tu sdebs nas 'gros su bkod pa thos tshad rañ grol (*XIV.1235)
bun pa a rmi tas bšas (IV.1.14)
bun bšlas rgyun khyer (XII.11)
bod mi'i 'dād mchod (XL.4299)
bya bṛgyud (XII.45)
byaṅ sams thigs pa'i man ņag (XX.PTT. 57.103.3.3-103.4.5)
byin 'bhebs (XII.37, XIV.1236)
bla ma bṛgyud pa'i phyag 'tshal byin rlaus sprin phun ( *=IV.1.23)
zi khro bla ma bṛgyud pa'i phyag 'tshal byin rlaus sprin phun/l padma ma tis bris pa (*XIV.1234)
bla ma 'jam dpal zi khro'i rnal 'byorl bla ma 'jam dpal zi khro'i sa bcad danl de'i zab khrid(?) ma ŋag bka'rgya ma'i zin bris gza' rii(?) ma mthun(?) gaṅ ma'i ŋams len 'khyer bde bcas'i di rnam la dbaṅ daṅ 'khrid rgyun ma thob pas blta bar mi bya'o (XL.5276)
bla ma rig 'dezin gyi mdoṅs(?) skoṅ(?) rtog sgrib rañ groll bu 'bor bkra sīs rgya mshos bcoms (XIV.1234)
bla ma'i thugs grub bar chad kun sel gya bla ma smra ba'i sēṅ ge 'jam dpal pha rol rgyol 'joms kyi cha lag 'chi ba bskyi ba'i cho ga 'chi bdag gdoṅ zlog (XXIX.22.252)
bla ma'i thugs grub yāṅ śīṅ 'dus pa'i bu ddha thod phren gti mug gi no ba sbyoṅ ba rmi lam 'od gsal khrid kyi zur rgyan bltas gsal (XXIX.20.174)
rje btsun bla ma rdo rje 'chaṅ thams cad mkhyen pa dbyaṅs can grub pa'i rdo rje dpal
bzaṅ po'i žal stə nas la rnam thar gyi sgo nas gso ba 'debs tshul byin rlabs nor bu
'dren pa'i śiṅ ral bla ma daṅ 'jam dpal ži khrö dbyer med pa'i rnal 'byor ŋams su
len tshul dnos grub gter madzod (XLI.246k)
bla ma'i thugs grub rdo rje drag tshal lasl žal gdam lam rim ye śes śiṅi pot padma
sam bha'i śiṅi tig go (XLI. p.28, n.23)
bram ze duṅ gi phren ba can gyi lo rgyus (XIV.1236, v. ži khrö na rag bskān bṣags las
bram ze duṅ phren can gyi lo rgyus zur tsmam (IV.2.14, VII.1.3))
dbaṅ bskur 'brin po 'gro drug raṅ grol (XLI. p.93, n.68)
dbaṅ bskur 'brin po 'gro drug raṅ grol pad ma gar dbaṅ blo gros mtha yas(?) pa'i
sdes(?) sbyar ba (XIV.1234)
dbaṅ gi dnos gi 'phrad tshad raṅ grol gyi spros bcaś bum dbaṅ chen mo (*IV.2.6,
*VII.1.6)
dbaṅ gi sta gon ston 'gro rin chen sgron ma'i than thabs gsal bar bkod pa the tshom
raṅ grol (*VII.2.6, *XXIX.20.051)
dbaṅ gi sbyin sreg gud du ston pa'i yig chuṅ (*VII.2.4)
dbaṅ chuṅ (XIV.1236)
dbaṅ ldan žu gi riṅ lugs kyi ži khrö'i sgrub skor (XL.0684/5, collection of 41 "Bon"-
texts)
dbaṅ bs dus (pa) (*XII.38, XII.43, (XIV.1236))
dbaṅ bzi 'phrad tshad raṅ grol gyi rgyud pa'i lo rgyus (*XIII.MS1445)
dbaṅ bzi 'phrad tshad raṅ grol gyi rjes kyī rim pa gsal ba'i me tog(llon) (*VII.1.10,
*XII.40a3, *XIV.1236)
dbaṅ bzi 'phrad tshad raṅ grol gyi gaṅ dbaṅ bde chen raṅ grol la sogs dbaṅ goṅ ma
gsum gyi zab gsal khyad par can (~*IV.2.7, *VII.1.7)
dbaṅ bzi 'phrad tshad raṅ grol gsaṅ dbaṅ bde che na raṅ grol la sogs dbaṅ goṅ ma
gsum gyi gsab gsal kyad par can (*IV.2.7)
nes don śiṅi pot dbyaṅs spnaḥ no sproḍ (XXIII.1321.1.o)
gdon pa zaṅ thal gyi man nāg kḥug pa bha'i gdam pa (XXIX.90/1-2)
rdzogs pa chen po śiṅi thig gi man nāg kḥug pa bha'i gdam pa (XXIX.91)
man nāg śiṅi gi dgaṅ pa rgyud rdo rje sems dpas gsum pa (XXIX.96)
mi pham mgon po la bstod pa'i 'chi slu ma (XX. PTT.81.289.5.1-8)
myur lam 'pho bai rnal 'byor dpal 'brug pa'i ŋams bṣes 'jags tshugs ma (XLI.604)
thsugs grub yan śiṅ 'dus pa las dmar khrīd rīg la ha la sga thod phren māṃ mīṇī
phyag rgya chen po'i khrīd kyī zur rgyan blta gsal (XXIX.20.175)
bla ma'i thugs grub yan śiṅ 'dus pa las dmar khrīd rīg la ha la rdo rje thod phren že
sda gi no bo spyod pa sgyu lus bar do'i khrīd gyi zur rgyan blta chog tu bkod pa
(XXX.20.173)
rdor sems thugs kyī sgrub pa'i rmini lam gyi khrīd yig zin bris su spel ba niṅ 'khrul raṅ
grol (XXIX.20.047)
nes don śiṅi pot rmini lam 'bubs 'jug (XXIII.1321.1.n)
smīn grol rgyab rien đan bcaś pa'i 'brgyud tshul gyi gsol 'debs byin rlabs bduñ rtsi'i
gru charl blos grol gsal zla ba dbyaṅs can bduñ rtsi'i lañ tsho'am zur sprul
rgyal sras pa grags pas bris (XIV.1236)
smīn byed sgo 'byed dbaṅ skur 'brin po 'gro drug raṅ grol la kha sgo phya bṣes kyis
bhṛyana pa 'brel tshad raṅ grol (*IV.2.8, *VII.2.7, *XXIX.20.052)
smon lam (XII.25)
rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ zab bla sgrub dbon mchog spyi 'dus kyī 'khrīd yig gu ru'i dgonš
rgyan niṅ byed śiṅi po las rdzogs rim khrīd yig khams gsum yoṅs grol tše dpag
med gnam lcags rdo rje'i cha lag 'chi bslu'i gtor chen 'grigs chags su bkod pa 'chi bdag g-yul zlog (XLI.648m)
rtsa kha 'byed pa'i man nag (XX.PTT. 82.60.3.2-6)
dpal ldan šaṅs pa'i gser chos las! rtsa ha nī gu chos drug gi khrid(?) bsdu sn tan thog
cig ma'i ŋams len ye sē sja ki'i žal līn (XXIX.20.234)
rtsa rluṅ mkha’ 'gro gsan māzod cha iṣaṅa daṅ mgur ma byaṅ khrid bca kyi gsun po
(XL.1429)
rtsa rluṅ gi sgo nas rnal 'byor gyi spyod pa (XX.PTT. 69.206.1-8)
dam iṣhig bkod pa bţi'i rgyud! rtsa rluṅ thig le'i rgyud 'jam dpal 'dus pa'i rgyud las
bsdu sn pa (XXII.2626.16b)
rtsa rluṅ la sog sgom pa (XX.PTT. 82.60.3.6-4.6)
rtsa gsum zi khor spyi'i sgrub pa chen po'i khog dbub khyer bder bkod pa gcig sēs kun
grol (XXIX.21.234)
bka’ rdo gsum pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus! rtsa gsum zi khor sbrags sgrubs
kyi las byaṅ bglas chog tu bkod pa padma'i dgon'i rgyan (XL.1083)
rtsa gsum nab 'byams kyi bsaṅ 'dus rin chen 'bar ba'i phreṅ ba (XIV.1238)
rtsa'i rigs 'byun ba'i mdor bsdu sn chen po (XX.PTT. 46.183.3.1-186.1.1)
tshe 'das gnas 'dren 'gro drug raṅ grol (*XIII.MS1448)
tshe 'das gnas 'dren bsdu sn pa (XIV.1234)
tshe 'das gnas 'dren bsdu sn pa thugs rje'i lcags skyu (XIV.1238)
ghost dpag med gnam lcags rdo rje'i cha lag 'chi bslu'i gtor chen 'grigs chags su bkod pa
'chi bdag yul zlog (XXIX.20.602)
ghost dpag med zi ba lha maṅ gi cho ga 'chi med 'dod pa'i re skoṅ nag gros su bkod pa
(XL.1931)
ghost bsags (?) (XIV.1236)
ghost phud (XIV.1235)
ghost las gan rigs la sbyar chog pa'i tshogs bsdu sn (IV.1.27)
mistsam sbyor (XII.54.5,9,12,36,39,44)
misho rgyal gi gsuns po'i zab lam yid bzin nor bu sēs bya ba rtsa rluṅ gi chos skor
(XVII.2069.7)
'dzab dgon'i sniṅ pa raṅ grol (*XIV.1234)
'dzab bzaṅ tshaṅs pa'i sgra dbyaṅs 'khor 'das raṅ grol (*XIV.1235)
'dzab bzaṅ tshaṅs pa'i sgra dbyaṅs 'khor 'das raṅ groll bad bstan(?) pas bgyis pa('o)
(*XIV.(1234),1236)
rdzu 'phrul sgyu ma'i be bum no mtshar ston ldan (XL.1584)
rdo gsum 'khor 'das ran grol las btags grol bcaṅs thabs (VII.3.13)
kun bzaṅ dgon'i pa zaṅ thal la rdo gsum pa chen po chos 'nid mnon sum zi khor lhun
sgrub kyi phrin las (XXIV.40, XL.2111.2112)
rdo gsum pa chen po kloṅ chen sniṅ thig gi s kho 'gro'i khrid yig kun bzaṅ bla ma'i žal
līn (XXII. II, pn.28, n.24, Kern 28.236.9, XL.0852, XI.644)
rdo gsum pa chen po kloṅ chen sniṅ thig gi s kho 'gro'i khrid yig kun bzaṅ bla ma'i žal
līn gi zin bris (XL.1767)
rdo gsum pa chen po kun tu bzaṅ po ye sēs gsal kar ston pa'i rgyud phyi ma'i phyi ma'
rdzo gsum pa chen po bar do gsaṅ ba'i rgyud sēs bya ba rdo gsum so (XXII.2624.2.e)
rdo gsum pa chen po rtsa gnas lus kyi 'khor lo (XXIV.20)
rdo gsum pa chen p<o> 'zi khor bka' 'dus sniṅ po'i las byaṅ kun bzaṅ mchog gi myur līn
(Kern 28.542.**) rdo gsum pa chen po'i rtsa rluṅ gnad kyi gron ma (XXV.101)
rdo gsum pa chen po'i no sprō nī śu rtsa gcig (XXIV.93)

1. All different interludes(?).
APPENDIX I, TIBETAN SOURCES

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drdzogs rim bar do drug gi yig las ṇams khris dgoṅs pa raṅ grol gyi daṅ po skye gnas
bar do'i khris yig kun gi raṅ grol (*VII.2.14)
drdzogs rim bar do drug gi khris yig dgoṅs pa raṅ grol gyi spyi don gaṅs pa rmi lam
bar do'i khris yig 'khrul pa raṅ grol (*VII.2.15)
drdzogs rim bar do drug gi khris yig spyi don gsam pa bsam gtim bar do'i khris yig rig
pa raṅ grol (*VII.2.16)
drdzogs rim bar do drug gi khris yig spyi don bēi pa 'pхо ba dran pa raṅ grol 'chi kha
bar do'i gdas māś naṅ (*VII.2.17)
drdzogs rim bar do drug gi khris yig spyi don bā pa chos nāi dār bar do'i khris yig mithōn
ba raṅ grol (*VII.2.18)
drdzogs rim bar do drug gi khris yig spyi don pa srid bar do pa'i khris yig srid pa
raṅ grol (*VII.2.19)

bṛdzab (l'dzab) bzaṅ tshan pa'i sgra dbyangs raṅ grol (*IV.1.12, *XII.13.35)
bka' bgrya dgaṅ bā yongs rdzogs kyi a ti'i don khris kyi gān lāz khro bka' bgrya yongs
rdzogs kyi dam can dgos su bsgrub pa'i thabs (XLI.MS1021g)
żi khrō bka' dūs by O rgyan glin pa (Dargyay, 1977, p.48, n.53)
żi khrō dgoṅs pa raṅ grol gyi chos skor (XLI.3559)
żi khrō sgo nas phun po bsregs sbyon ba'i lag len (IV.2.11)
żi khro sgyu 'phrul ghi phyag 'tshal na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor ghi spyi khrus
(XLI.336b=653,650,653=363b)
de bzin bṣegs pa ṇams kyi mthāshan bṛjod bskal bzaṅ rgyan gyi 'phren bai lāz khro sgyu
'phrul ghi phyag 'tshal na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor ghi spyi khrus (XLI.336b)
żi khrō sgrub skor (Zogay 61.41.29, collection of 53 "Bon"-texts, v. Karmay (1977),
pp.31-36)
żi khrō sgrub skor glegs bām gyi dbu'i rdul len thar lam 'dren byed (XLI.2678, bon)
żi khrō ṇan sōn sbyon bai chog sgrigs bskal sgyu 'phrul ghi phyag 'tshal na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor ghi spyi khrus (XLI.336b)
żi khrō 'dus mn 'sbrang bskal bzaṅ rgyan (XLI.1079=1083)
żi khrō ṇes don sūn po (XLI.652)
żi khrō ṇes don sūn po (XLI.3505)
yān zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus laṁ lāz żi khrō ṇes don sūn po mn 'sbrang riog (XLI.MS1460)
yān zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus daṅ lāz żi khrō ṇes don sūn po'i phyag len chog sgrigs
bśangs chog tu bskal pa 'ja' tshon dgoṅs pa rgyan (XLI.1399)
yān zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus daṅ de'i cha lag lāz żi khrō ṇes don sūn po'i las baṅ dān
gsal khyer bder bsgrigs pa padma'i dgoṅs bgrya'n (XLI.1079=1083)
żi khrō 'dus pa'i tshogs mchod (XIV.1235)
żi khrō 'dus pa'i las baṅ rtaš (ll); 'phren tshor ba raṅ grol (*IV.1.6, *VII.1.14,
*XII.6.39, *XIV.1235,1236)
żi khrō na rag bskāṅ bṣags las bram ze duṅ phren can ghyi lo rgyus zur tsaṅ (IV.2.14,
XLI.1.3)
żi khrō na rag doṅ sprug gi skoṅ bṣags thugs rje'i zla 'od (XXIX.20.070=XXIX.5.153-
187)
żi khrō na rag doṅ sprug gi doṅ bchog bdud rtsi'i gān gā (XXIX.20.077=
XXIX.5.189-213)
żi khrō na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor ghi spyi khrus 'gyod tshāṅs kyi cho ga dri med
bṣags rgyud (XLI.1827, Kern 28.542.40)

434 Reading: sgrigs khrum.
435 Reading: sgrigs khrum. (in Ncbešsky-Wojkowiu-caL1Iogue only).
436 Reading: sgrigs khrum.
437 Reading: rṣul.
rdo rje sens dpal thugs kyi sgrub pa las gsuṅs pa'i 'zhro na rag don sprugs thabs (XXXIX.20.069=XXXIX.5.119-151)
'zhro na rag don sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus 'gyod thsangs kyi cho ga dri med bṣags rgyud (XLII.10)
'zhro rab 'byams kyi bṣṛṇen sgrub kyi dmigs rim grub mchog 'tal luṅ bzaṅ po (XXIV.42)
bk'a' brgyad gsaṅ ba yonś rdzogs kyi a ti'i don khrid kyi gūṇṅl 'zhro yonś rdzogs kyi byin sreg (XL.I.MS1021iī)
bk'a' brgyad gsaṅ ba yonś rdzogs kyi a ti'i don khrid kyi gūṇṅl 'zhro yonś rdzogs sgo nas ro bsreg sbyaṅ (XL.I.MS1021jī)
yān tīg ye sḥes mṭoṅ grol las 'zhro rnaṅ gsal gyi phrin la bsklags chog mar bkod pa (XL.3189)
kun bzaṅ dgonś pa kun 'duś lasl 'zhro gsaṅ kyi las byaṅ khyer bder dril ba rin chen sgron me (XXXIX.22.947)
kun bzaṅ dgonś pa kun 'duś lasl 'zhro gsaṅ ba 'duś paś las byaṅ padma'i 'phren ba (XL.I.4)
'zhro'i kloṅ bṣags nams chag raṅ grol gyi cha rkyen(?) gyi bskara(?) bsdusī bīo gros rgyal mṭshan gyiś so (XIV.1234)
'zhro'i bka' sūņś dam can sde bdun gyi 'phris chos skyon kun 'duś dgrergs(?) bdug pa raṅ grol gyi las byaṅ chun ba (XIII.MS1438)
grol tīg dgonś pa raṅ grol gyi chos sde 'zhro'i bskṛyed rdzogs kyi phrin la khrigs su bṣdebs pa 'od gsal sṛṇāḥ po (XXXIX.20.057=XXXIX.4.283-346)
'zhro'i sgo nas phrun po bsreg sbyaṅ bya baī lag len (XIV.1234)
'zhro'i sgoṃ rim chun ba lhaṃ skyes raṅ grol (IV.1.10, XL.I.654)
kun bzaṅ dgonś pa kun 'duś 'zhro'i chog gūṅṅ gsal 'debs byin brlabs chu rgyun (XL.I.3)
kun bzaṅ dgonś pa kun 'duś lasl 'zhro'i bdag dbaṅ (IV.1.15, XIV.1234)
'zhro'i mdun bskṛyed sīn tu bṣdus pa snod bṣuṛa raṅ grol (IV.1.11, XIV.1234)
rdzogs pa chen po lta ba kloṅ yāṅ sasl 'zhro'i dbaṅ bṣkṛur sīn tu bṣdus pa gtor dbaṅ phra thig sgrub thabs bcaś gzaṅ phan kloṅ yāṅ (XXIX.22.481)
'zhro'i phyag 'tshal bṣdus pa (IV.1.22, VII.1.18)
rdzogs chen lta ba kloṅ yāṅ sasl 'zhro'i tshi sgrub 'od zer dров ba'i phrin las lhaṃ thabs kyi bṛgyan pa 'chi med 'od zer (XXXIX.20.585)
rdzogs chen lta ba kloṅ yāṅ sasl 'zhro'i tshi sgrub 'od zer drov ba'i tshe dbaṅ rin chen 'khor lo bṣdebs chog tu bṣdebs pa bṣud rṣi'i 'od zer (XXXIX.20.586)
'zhro'i las byaṅ mchod pa'i skabs su mṭshan shags khā hi bṣdus pa (IV.1.8)
'zhro drgyes pa bṣaṅ bha la'i sgrub thabs (XX.PTT.81.48.4.7-49.1.2)
bka' brgyad gṣaṅ ba yonś rdzogs kyi a ti'i don khrid kyi gūṇṅl 'ba ba dam pa rigs bṛgya'i sgrub thabs (XL.I.MS1021a)
žus len bṣud rṣi gser phrenī 'ba bar do lam gyi mṭshan nīd (XXIII.1318.1.h)
ži bai sbyin bṣreg gud du bṣtan pa'i yig chun (VII.2.2)
ži bai la'i hnaṃ par thar ba rin chen phren ba (XL.1053)
ži byed skor bṣun gya lhaṅ tshogs sbyin sregl bya ba khrusl byad(?) dkyi lī 'chi bṣu

rungs gsal bar bkod pa mu tīg chun po (XXIX.22.071)
žiṅ khams sna'i smon lam thos pa raṅ grol (XL.II.3)
ži sgu sguṃ gya nma bṣag bṣud sgron me (XL.0696)

bḥangs bzaṅ bad tshal 'byed pa'i bṣten yig drī bzaṅ nān ldan kun tu bzaṅ po'i 'tal nol kun bzaṅ phan gyiś bgyis (*XIV.1236)
zab bdun rgyud zab sgyu sprul lasl zangs byaṅ ma'i chos sde khro bo dam pa rgyan gyi dkyil 'khor du dban bskur ba'i cho ga rgyud luṅ sniṅ po (XXIX.20.068)

zab bdun rgyud zab sgyu sprul lasl zangs byaṅ ma'i chos sde rdor sems lha ba bzhi bcu rtsa gnis kyi dkyil 'khor du dban bskur ba'i cho ga no mtshar sniṅ po (XXIX.20.066)

zab bskul (XII.10)

zab choś ikhro nes don sniṅ po'i sgo nas raṅ (daṅ) gzan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las(lm) rim 'khor (l'tshol) bai mun gēms kun bzhag thugs rje'i snaṅ maṅ pa (XLI.667, XLI.9, private copy41, XL.1416)

zab choś ikhro aṅgbs pa raṅ grol chos skor (XXV.3556)

zab mo na ro'i chos drug gi nams len thun chos bdud rtsi' nēṅ kue sbya ba sgrub bgyud karm pa khams tshāṅ gi don khrīd (XII.3258, v.XXXVIII.1361.II.B.2.j, and XLI.13)

zab mo na ro chos drug gi nems len thun chos bdud rtsi' nēṅ kue sbya ba sgrub bgyud karm pa khams tshāṅ gi don khrīd (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.j, v. XLI.13, and XLI.3258)

tes don sīṅ po lēlα zabo lam bde chen rgya mtsho (XXIII.1321.1.h)

zab lam na ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrīd pa'i rim pa (Dargyay, 1978 (1977)42)

zab lam na ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrīd pa'i rim pa yid ches gsum ldan (XL.2617, XLI.677a, PTT.160.208.3.3-161.13.2.8, IASWR.LMpj.021.009.9)

zab lam na ro'i chos drug gi gsal byed spyi chins khrīd yig dan bcas pa kar ma pa raṅ byun rdo rjes maṅs pa'i chos drug gser 'sun mar grags so (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.b)

yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las zab lam 'po ba'i gdams pa skar khun ma' pa phan (XL.IMS.1459)

zab lam 'po ba'i gdams pa 'jag tshugs ma'i lo rgyus gdams nag 'khrīd yig dan bcas pa bzugs sol ni zla sans rgyas gter byon (XXIX.2655)

sīṅ pa rgyud gsal ba'i mthaṅ thug las zab lam 'po ba'i gdams pa sīṅ gi thig le (Evans-Wentz, 1958)

zas bsn'i (XII.41)

'og sgo bde chen 'dod chags raṅ grol gyis nams khrīd gud du bkol ba don bs dus zab khrīd bde ba raṅ grol (VII.3.17)

'og sgo bde bai chen po'i khrīd 'dod chags raṅ grol (VII.3.15)

rje btsun bla ma doṅs can grub pa'i rdo rje'i bka' 'bum ga pa'i dkar chags 'od dpag med kyi 'pho ba bka' rgya ma'i bka' zin (XLI.242hb)

žus len bdud rtsi' gser phreni 'od gsal (XXIII.1318.1.n)

tes don sīṅ po lēlα gsal 'khor lo (XXIII.1321.1.i)

tes don sīṅ po lēlα gsal phra khrīd (XXIII.1321.1.q)

tes don sīṅ po lēlα gsal 'bubs 'jug (XXIII.1321.1.k)

kun bzaṅ thugs gter lasl yan dag 'di khro phur gsum gyi phrin las byaṅ(?) bu(?) gur gnis nor bu rgya mtsho (XXIX.20.856)

kun bzaṅ thugs gter lasl yan dag 'di khro phur gsum gyi dhaṅ gi cho ga grub gnis bdud rtsi'i rgyis 'bebs (XXIX.20.857)

rdor sems thugs kyi sgrub pa'i yan lag zab lam 'pho ba'i man 'ngig gi zin bris kun bzaṅ myur lam (XXIX.20.049)

yi ge drug pa'i rgyud kyi rim pas dkyil 'khor lo bstan pa'i sgrub thabs (XX.PTT.79.135.4.1-136.3.8)

yi dam spyi yi byaṅ chog sī sogs gsan gans byed kyaṅ 'brel tshad don bdun bde chen žin gi lam bzaṅ (XXIX.21.265=XXIX.66.535-551)

40 Only in the title-description dan is left out and 'khor ha is replaced by 'tshol ha.

41 Only this BP. distinctly has lam.

42 By rJe tshoṅ kha pa, folios 41vff., Gangtok (1972).
yarn gsaṅ bla na med pa rdzogs pa chen po rig pa ye šes raṅ gsal bā'i rgyud
(XXIV.83)
raṅ lus rtsa yi 'khor lo (XX.PTT.82.61.2.1-7)
rig pa no sprod gcer mthoṅ raṅ grol (*II.9, *IV.2.2, *V.10, *VI.14, *VII.2.22,
rig pa raṅ šar chen po rgyud (Rangdröl, 1989, p.29, n.2; in rgyud'bum Khyentse-
edition)
rig 'dzin padma glin pa'i bka' 'bum yid bīn gter mdzod (XLII, p.28. n.25)
rigs bryug sprul sku bzaṅ thabs 'dod chags lam 'khyer (*XIII. MS1449)
rdzogs pa chen po dgongs pa zan thal las rigs drug 'khor ba gnas 'dren (XXIV.43)
rigs drug thar pa chen po'i mdo guṇśl thos grol bar do 'phaṅ grol chen po skye sgo
gcød pa'i mdo (XL.2144, bon)
rigs drug gnas 'dren (*IV.2.16)
rig[s] drug gnas 'dren kun bsog sgrigs chags (*XIV.1235)
rigs drug gnas 'dren na padma rig 'dzin gyis bkod pa (*XIV.1234,1236)
rigs drug gnas 'dren bsod pa (*XI.42)
riṅ tse'i cho ga sgrub pa'i rnam par bzaṅ pa 'chi bdag slu ba'i rtag pa'i don 'grel tshe
dbaṅ dga' ba 'khyil ba'i thig le (XXIX.20.268)
Rituale from the dKon mchog spyi' dus and Ži khro Cycles (XL.3502)
rim pa lna pa (XX.PTT.61.288.3.7-293.5.1)
rim pa lna pa'i dka 'grel (XX.PTT.62.149.1.1-153.5.2 (comm. until 162.163.5.1.1))
rim lam daṅ 'chi ltas 'ja' tshon sgra byun bā'i ltas bcas la brtag pa byed tshul skyes pa
dan bud med mi dpayad brtag pa bya rog skad bcas la brtag pa bya tshul rnam par
gsal ba'i mo (XL.1337)
ro bsreg gi cho ga (XX.PTT.79.131.2.7-3.8)
ro sreg gi cho ga ye šes 'od 'bar l ka ma la tis bris pa (XIV.1236)
lam 'khyer gyi chos gsum (XX.PTT.82.46.1.8-5.1)
las bum sgrub pa'i cho ga dag gyid (?) chu rgyun (XIV.1234)
las bum bsad sbyan (IV.1.5)

bka' rdzogs pa chen po yān zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus kyi las byan khriṅs su bkod pa
'khrul med rab gsal dnos grub mchog ster (XLII.38)
bka' sruṅ dam can sde bdun gyi las byan dgra bregs gdug pa raṅ grol (*IV.1.17)
las byan chun ba tshor ba raṅ grol (gyi) sniṅ po (*IV.2.2, *VII.1.15,
*XIV.1234,1238)43, *XXIX.20.050)
las byan bsod pa (XIV.1235)
las byan tshor ba raṅ grol sniṅ po (*XII.7, *XIV.1235(2x),1236)
las byan rtsa phreṅ tshor ba raṅ grol (*IV.1.6, *XIV.1234)
luṅ bstan bka' rgya (*raṅ grol) dan thugs rje chen po padma Ži khro las VII.1.24)
rlun 'khrugs 'bum gyi yān sniṅ gšin rje'i srog sgrub me yi spu gri glog žags dug gi
'khor lo (XXIX.85.37-43)
rlun 'khrugs 'bum gyi yān sniṅ gšin rje'i srog sgrub me yi spu gri glog žags dug gi
'khor lo'i dpe bris bca' gši'i sogs khra yod (XXIX.85.43-50)
nes don sniṅ po rlun drug rdo rje'i chīṅs (XXIII.1321.1.f)
nes don sniṅ po rlun sbyor ye šes drwa ba (XXIII.1321.1.g)
ši ba'i sams can sdiṅ pa las thar bar byed pa'i ro bsreg pa'i cho ga dag sbyoṅ gsal
ba'ime lom (XX.PTT.79.242.1.2-4.5)
gšin gyi cho ga (XX.PTT.56.222.3.1-103.4.5)
gšin gyi cho ga (XX.PTT.86.38.2.5-39.1.1)
gšin chog (XII.14)

43 Reading: gyi.
gsin po rjes su 'dzin pa'i cho ga thar pa'i myur lam (XXIX.21.263=XXIX.66.523-533)  
šel rdo ro sprod mthoi ba ran grol žes bya ba bar do thos gol gi cha lag (VII.3.2)  
sa bcd ade mde ra grol (*VII.2.10)  
sā tṣtha'i 'debs pa'i gsal byed legs tshogs lhun grubl za hor gyi bandes bris pa  
(XIV.1236)  
sāṅs rgyas daṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa' rnam lā ra mda('l) šag(b)raṅ pa'i smon lām  
(V.3, VI.5*, VIII.3, X.12.3,=193.3,=187.3, XIV.1233)  
sāṅs rgyas daṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa' rnam ra mda('l) sbran pa'i smon lām 'jigs pa  
ran grol daṅ bar do 'rtsa tshig dāṅ bar do 'phraṅ grol daṅ bar do 'jigs skyobs ma  
bcas(rnam) (*I.4, *II.4, *III.6, *XIV.1234,1236*, 1237*')  
sāṅs rgyas daṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa' rnam ra mda' sbran pa'i smon lām 'jigs pa ran  
grol daṅ bar do 'jigs skyobs ma rnam (*XIV.1235)  
sāṅs rgyas daṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa' rnam ra mda' sbran pa'i smon lām 'jigs pa ran  
grol daṅ bar do 'rtsa tshig dāṅ bar do 'jigs skyobs ma bcas (*IX.9)  
srid pa bar do'i gəd sdig ran gzugs bstan pa' gdam pa srid pa bar do ran grol  
(*VI.17, *VIII.11, *X.12.11,=187.11)  
srid pa bar do'i gəd sdig ran gzugs bstan pa'i lhan thabs (*V.12, *VI.18,  
*X.12.11,=187.11, *XIV.1233)  
bar do thos gol chen mo las srid pa bar do' i no spro d (*V.6, VI.8, VIII.6, X.12.6,  
XIV.1233)  
srid pa bar do' i no spro d lhan thabs dbyan śran la'i gandhe (∼*VI.18, *VII.3.7)  
srid pa bar do' i no spro d gsal 'debs thos gol chen mo (*I.3, *II.3, *III.3, ∼V.6, ∼VI.8,  
slob dpon padma mzdad pa' rgyud sde bzh'i yan śrīn ** bde sdegs ti khro'i śrīn khrag  
sgig tu bsdu pa mthong srun ṛdo rje'i go khraḥ(ī)? rgyun thun(ā)? srun bai bzhal  
ṛgjal po'i bri rgyun zab pa'i mthar thug (XXIX.22.103)  
gsāṅ snags rdo rje theg pa'i chos spyod thun bzh'i rnal 'byor sems śid ran grol  
(*IV.1.1, *VII.1.12, *XIV.1235)  
gsāṅ snags rdo rje theg pa'i chos spyod thun bzh'i rnal 'byor sems śid ran grol  
chos rje glin pa'i žal gdam pa ru sūrya candra ra smin yi ger 'god (*XIV.1234)  
gsāṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i sgo nas 'chi blu bai' cho ga srog gi bcud len  
(XXVI.151)  
gsāṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i sgo nas rigs drug gnas 'dren gyi cho ga (XXVI.149)  
gsāṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i gnas luṅ gi cho ga'i rnam bṣad mkha' spyod śnāṅ bai  
mdzes rgyan (XXVI.153)  
gsāṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs daṅ pho bai' man nag gi  
gsal byed gian gey lham gregs (XXVI.235)  
gsāṅ ba ye śes kyi gnas luṅ gi cho ga'i nag 'don mkha' spyod snaṅ ba (XXVI.154)  
dpal gsāṅ bai' śriṅ po phyi ma (XXI.14.62-67)  
gsāṅ ba'i śriṅ po de kho na śid nes pa (XX.PTT.10.36.3-77.3.7)  
gsāṅ ba'i śriṅ po de kho na śid nes pa (XXI.14.1-61)  
gsāṅ ba'i śriṅ po de kho na śid nes pa (XXI.14.67-317)  
gsāṅ ba'i śriṅ po de kho na śid nes pa sgyu 'phrul brgyad pa 'res bya bai' rgyud  
(XXI.14.549-571)  
dpal gsāṅ bai' śriṅ po de kho na śid nes pa'(i) rgya cher bṣad pa'i 'gral pa  
(XX.PTT.83.1.1.1-70.3.7)  
gsāṅ ba' śriṅ po de kho na śid nes pa sgyu 'phrul dr(ī)a ba bla ma chen po  
(XXI.14.572-639)  

44' Reading: mdar shran.  
45 Reading: rnam.  
46 Reading: mdar.
gsan ba'i sniin po de kho na nid nes pa'i bla ma chen po (XX.PIT.10.98.2.5-108.4.8)

'phags pa rtags pa'i rgyal pol sgyu 'phrul dr(v)a ba le'u ston phrag brgya pa lasl
mishan nid dan rgyud thams cad luhn gi spyad pal de zhin gnegs pa thams cad kyi
gsan ba'i gsa'n ba'i sriiripo de kho na iiid ries pa'i le'u lasl sgyu 'phrul le lhag
(XXI.14.415-549)

dpal gsa'n ba'i sriiripo de kho na iiid ries pa (XX.PIT.10.1.1.3-9.4.3)
dpal gsa'n ba'i sriiripo don bsdu 'grel pinda:rtha (XX.PIT.83.177.1.1-188.4.6)
dpal gsa'n ba'i sriiripo po'i rim pa gnis kyi don/h? (XX.PIT.83.262.2.4-3.6)
dpal gsa'n ba'i sriiripo de kho na iiid ries pa (XXI.14.317-415)

gsan ba'i thigs pa (XX.PIT.83.82.3.6-5.1)

gsa'n ba'i thigs pa'i man nag gi 'grel pa (XX.PIT.83.255.2.5-259.1.2)
gsa'n ba'i man nag 'jam pa'i thigs (XX.PIT.83.253.2.5-255.2.5)
gsa'n ye dan 'brel ba'i pho ba bklaqs chog ma (XXVI.236)
gsa'n ye'i le lag kha 'bar ma dkar nag khra gsum la brten nas 'chi blu byad bzlog mi
kha sel ba'i man nag rdo rje'i 'gro phan (XXVI.247)
gsa'n lam 'pho ba'i gدام pa las tshe 'das rnam sê spar ba'i dnigs pa (Evans-Wentz
1958)

gsol 'debs sku gsum klön yâns rân gro\n (*IV.1.2, *VII.2.11, *XIII.MS1444,
*XIV.1235, *XLI.661)

bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor gyi rtsa tshig rnam\n(XL.3169)

bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor spyi'i shon rjes kyi rim pa rnam kyi zin bris brjed byan blo
\n\ndman dga' bskyed\n(XL.3170)

sam ze duñ gi phreñ ba can gyi lo rgyus (XII.33)
sems kyi thig le hüm nid bsgom pa'i rim pa (XX.PIT.69.208.1.8-2.8)
hüm yig sens nid thig le bsgom pa'i rim pa (XX.PIT.69.208.4.4-5.6)
hor bla mu khri yid zhin rgyal ba'i lugs sam hor lugs kyi zi khro'i sgrub skor
(XL.1071/1072, collection of 51 "Bon"-texts)

lhag ma (XIV.1238)
o rgyan rin po che'i gier ston lun bstan dañ khun btsun pa bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa
rnams (VII.1.4)

47 Nâ ro'i chos drug.
48 Nâ ro'i chos drug.
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