Kar glin ’Zi khro
A Tantric Buddhist Concept
Henk Blezer

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Kar gliṅ Ži khro

A Tantric Buddhist Concept

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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.

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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 "paṅcopādānakhandha-s" instead of 
"paṅcopādānakhandha-s"

p.20, n.95, l.38,  
read "tarnisrayā" instead of "misrayā"

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 "alabhamānāḥ" instead of "alabhamānāḥ"

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)"

bibliography, p.203,  
Teachings of the Dzokchen Tradition of Tibetan 
Buddhism, Boston 1994."

index, p.232, l.33,  
read "silabataparamāsō" instead of "silabataparamāsō"

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

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

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

p.19, n.93, l.6,  
read "savā-" instead of "avā-"

p.20, n.95, l.37,  
read "bhīnirvartate" instead of "bhiniṃrvarttate"

p.20, n.95, l.38,  
read "śubhakārīṇas" instead of "aśubhakārīṇas"

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

p.23, n.102, l.9,  
read "vartate" instead of "varttate"
Typos you would not want to be bothered about

p.i, add page-number
p.1, n.4, 1.4, read "print-out" instead of "out print"
p.2, n.10, 1.2, read "group" instead of "groups"
p.2, n.10, 1.3, read "table of contents" instead of "Table of Contents"
p.2, n.11, 1.1, read "29.32" instead of "29 32"
p.3, n.18, 1.1, read "Wrathful (Deities)" instead of "Wrathful(Deities)"
p.9, n.44, subn.6, 1.2, read "bhavānupapatīryo" instead of "bhavānupapatīryo"
p.11, n.54, 1.2, N.B. 8 point size in the original, now reduced 80%
p.12, n.55, subn.1, 1.1, increase "(voir inf., note 5); Kośa, III, 14." one point in (original) size
p.18, n.93, 1.2, read "p.122)" instead of "p.122.)"
p.20, n.95, ll.31&33, read "ntarā-" instead of "ntarā"
p.23, n.102, 1.18, read "p.122)" instead of "p.122.)"
p.31, n.139, 1.1, read "Orofino (1985)" instead of "Orofino(1985)"
p.34, n.157, 1.2, read "p.130a)" instead of "p.130a)"
p.41, n.197, 1.1, read "61, instead of "61."
p.41, n.199, 1.1, read "61, instead of "61,"
p.56, n.214, 1.2, read "number" instead of "numbers"
p.67, 1.43, read "Anuyoga rdzogs rim" instead of "Anuyoga rdzogs, rim"
p.82, add header, top right (landscape): KAR GLIN ZI KHRO
p.95, 1.10, read "karmamandala" instead of "karmamaṇḍala"
p.96, ll.31-32, replace the hyphen in Tathāgata-s for a non-breaking hyphen
p.104, n.302, 1.6, read "gZhi sku gsum" instead of "gZhi'i sku gsum"
p.109, 1.21, read "sound, light and rays" instead of "sound light and rays"
p.116, n.324, 1.1, read "p.31." instead of "p.31)."
p.121, n.353, 1.1, read "<I" instead of "<I"
p.122, n.371, 1.1, read "<I" instead of "<I"

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.
Abbreviations

AbhKBh Abhidharmāsabhāṣya (see Appendix I)
(N)AN Anguttaranikāya (see Appendix I)
AS Abhidharmasamuccaya (see Appendix I)
AS Bh Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya (see Appendix I)
Bo Bh Bodhisattvabhūmi (see Appendix I)
(N)DN Dīghaṇkāya (see Appendix I)
ff. and the following
IASWR Institute for Advanced Studies in World Religions
(N)Kv Kathāvatthu (see Appendix I)
Kv-a Kathāvatthuppakaranaṭṭhakathā (see Appendix I)
I. line
Lal Lalitavistara (see Appendix I)
ll. lines
(N)MN Majjhimanikāya (see Appendix I)
Mvu Mahāvastu (see Appendix I)
N Nālandā-Devanāgarī-Pāli-Series (see Appendix I)
n. note
Nett Netippakarana (see Appendix I)
nn. notes
p. page
Patis Patisambhidāmagga (see Appendix I)
Pj I Khuddhakapāṭha & Paramatthajotikā I (see Appendix I)
pp. pages
PTT Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripitaka (see Appendix I)
(N)Pp Puggalapaññatti (see Appendix I)
r recto side
(N)SN Samyuttaṇikāya (see Appendix I)
Skt. Sanskrit
Spk Sāratthappakāsini (see Appendix I)
SUS Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra (see Appendix I)
Tib. Tibetan
Ud-a Paramatthadipani Udānaṭṭhakathā (see Appendix I)
v verso side
Vin Vinayaṭṭhaka (see Appendix I)
Vism Visuddhimagga (see Appendix I)
Y Yogācāra-abhūmi (see Appendix I)
Transliterations

Tibetan transliteration alphabet:

ka  kha  ga  ŋa
ca  cha  ja  ŋa
ta  tha  da  na
pa  pha  ba  ma
tsa tsha dza
wa  ža  zha  'a
ya  ra  la
śa  sa  ha  a

Special signs used:

sad: I and II
gter ma sad: I
prefix to ya: (g)-ya

Sanskrit transliteration alphabet:

Consonants:

ka  kha  ga  gha  ŋa
ca  cha  ja  jha  ŋa
ṭa  ṭha  ṭa  dha  na
va  ra  la  va
śa  sa  sa
ha

visarga: h
anusvāra: m

Vowels:

o  ō  e  ai
i  ī  e  ai
u  ū  o  au
ṛ  ṛ
l

Special signs used:

avagraha:
danda: I and II
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 do3 (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 giin zi khro (the zi khro according to Karma giin 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 (6.0e) for Windows-format; a MSWindows-installRoutine, TrueType 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 rDogs 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 rDogs chen-texts see the database out print in Appendix I of relevant texts from the sNin thig ya btsi, compiled by Klon chen pa dri med 'od zer (1306/8-1363). And see especially one of the texts presented by Orofino (1990), the sNin ma dan za ba kha sbyor ba chen po gsan ba'i rgyud, to be found in the rNin ma'i rgyud bcu 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 or Kar glin zi khro. 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 thos grol-cycles, the oldest core of which was allegedly discovered by the gter ston Karma glin pa (fourteenth century AD?) and that appear in most editions of the Kar glin zi khro. I used seven block-prints of the Chos ril bar do'i gsal 'debs, three of which are made from the same printing-blocks.

Significant and possibly earlier reference-material than the Chos ril bar do'i gsal 'debs is to be found in a "Bon"-text, which is also referred to as a "bar do thos grol"-text, the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo. A version of this text appears in a "Bon"-collection of zi khrro-texts called Zi khrro sgrub skor, a collection of texts which was mainly drawn from the sPyi spuks-cycles and was compiled by abbot Ni ma bstan 'dzin (1813-?). The sNan rgyud bar do thos 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 sNan brgyud, through his son Tshe dban rig 'dzin to 'Gro mgon dam pa ra'n grol (1149-?).

Another version of this text appears under a different title, Zi khrro bar do' phran grol gyi thos grol las byan bag chags ra'n grol, in another "Bon"-collection of zi khrro-texts called dBan ldan zu rin lugs zi khrro'i sgrub skor, a collection of zi khrro-texts presenting the Zu-lineage of Bon po bla ma-s. This text, too, is attributed to (sMan rgyud) Dam pa ra'n 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.

Important reference-material for the descriptions of the zi khrro as they are extant in the Chos ril 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)
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 spyl 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 s Ngags Jñānakumāra (eighth century AD) and rMa rin chen mchog (777-836). I used three block-prints of this text, two of which are made from the same printing-blocks.

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 srito po. This Zi khro-tradition according to the gter ston Las phro gliri pa (1585-1656), also called Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon srito po, is still transmitted in a bKa' rgyud 'brug-pa-monastery in Tashijong in Himachal Pradesh, Northern-India. The author of the Zi khro 'nes don srito po, Ñag 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 Khams sprul, Karma Tenphel (1598-1638). I used five block-prints, three of which were made from the same printing-blocks.

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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 Guhyagarbhatattavāvittasamayamāhātantra, 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: Zah chos zi khro 'nes don srito po'i sgo nas ran dan gzhan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las (private copy: lam) rim 'khor ba' mun gzoms kun bzān thugs rje'i snaṅ mtod (in the title-description by Chongla N. Losang and Rechung J. Phunkhang, Leiden 1965, daṅ is left out and 'khor ba is replaced by 'tshol ba).

19 I have been informed that the ritual that is described in the Zi khro 'nes don srito 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 Nag dbaṅ 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 srito 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.
Historical Survey of Developments in the Concepts Antarābhava (Bar ma do'i srid pa) and Ži 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), Ži khro (section 1.2) and of the conflation of bar do and Ži khro in a ("Bon")-Bon Ži khro bar do or (Buddhist) chos Ži bar do (section 1.3). These developments are presented by means of a discussion of the most relevant material regarding bar do and Ži 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 Ži khro in tantric Buddhist (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 Ži khro to a remote and evasive past or less archaic but equally inaccessible cultural areas in discussing the possibility 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 Ži bar do in the Chos Ži 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 Ži 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 rNīn ma pa-s, "the old ones", adherents of the so-called "old tantra-s". Judging by its content the Chos Ži 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 rNīn ma pa and "Bon po". Some of the conclusions on the development of the chos Ži bar do as represented in the Chos Ži 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
conclusions on the subject, I should like to say here that I believe Back was right in stating that the chos ŋid 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 ŋid 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 ŋid 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 (rtan par šes pa, Skt. viśānta) 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 Abhidharmakosabhāṣya 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 ŋid 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 ṛaṅ bzin 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 dhūmya (s pertaining to the) śamādhi (śamāpatti)-s: the śīṅ ne 'dzin bsam gtan gyi bar do.

According to Back, the chos ŋid 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 (puṇic) equivalents in texts like the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa and the Garudaapurāṇasāraśāstra (these texts have to the best of my knowledge not yet been dated satisfactorily). To my present knowledge, a chos ŋid 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, sīṅ 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 kḥro.

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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 Antarabhava (Bar ma do'i srid pa) and Bar do

In those texts of older schools of Buddhism that are still extant today, an \textit{antarabhava} is discussed almost exclusively as a mere nominal entity and above that, more often than not, the existence of such an intermediate state is denied\textsuperscript{33}. A more elaborate treatment of the subject is first to be met with in relatively late literature\textsuperscript{34}. The earliest references that come anywhere near a concept of an "intermediate state" are speculations concerning a \textit{gandhabba} that we find mentioned as one of the conditions necessary for conception\textsuperscript{35}. Discussions regarding an \textit{antaraparinibb\texttt{a}ya}\textsuperscript{in} sometimes coincide with those of an \textit{antarabhava}\textsuperscript{36}, 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 \textit{antaraparinibb\texttt{a}ya} does not appear to be very revealing for the understanding of an \textit{antarabhava}. Much of the discussion concerning an \textit{antarabhava} proper is rather late -- commentaries on \textit{sutta-s} and (later additions to) \textit{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\textsuperscript{37}.

There are quite a few references to an \textit{antaraparinibb\texttt{a}ya}. Most frequent are the passages where an \textit{antaraparinibb\texttt{a}ya} is mentioned as one of five classes of

\textsuperscript{33} According to Baran (1955), pp.283 & 291) the following supposed \"sects\" are said to have accepted an \textit{antarabhava}: Sarvastivadin-s, Sammitiya-s, Pur€\'\'avastika-s, later Mahi\'\'asaka-s, and D\'\'ars\'\'anika-s; while an intermediate state is said to be rejected by: Mah\'\'asanghika-s, Mahi\'\'asaka-s, Theravadin-s, Vibhajava\'\'adin-s, and in the \textit{S\'\'riputrabh\'\'adharma\'\'asutra}. In an article Wayman (1974), p.228 mentions a similar list of \"sects\"; ps: Pur\'\'avastika-s, Sammitiya-s, Sarvastivadin-s, Vatsiputriya-s, and later Mahi\'\'asaka-s; contra: Theravadin-s, Vibhajava\'\'adin-s, Mah\'\'asanghika-s. in a text (\textit{S\'\'riputrabh\'\'adharma\'\'asutra}) of Dharmaguptaka-s who, according to him, issued forth from the former. He refers to Baran (1955) and does not give further references for the views of these supposed sects, nor does he examine the \"sects\" themselves more closely in this article. Cf. Vallee Poussin, L. de la, (1926), Vol.III, p.32, n.1: Sectes qui nient \textit{Vanta\'\'abhava}: Mahi\'\'asanghikas, Ekavavaharikas, Lokoutaravadin-s, Kukkutikas, Mahi\'\'asakas (Vasumitra), Vibhajava\'\'adin-s (Vibh\'\'ad 19.4).

\textsuperscript{34} Like for instance the late (traditionally first century AD, see Warder (1970), pp.346f.) Sarvastivadin \textit{abhidharma\-work Mahi\'\'avih\'\'aya} and in an allegedly (Li-kouang (1949), pp.96-98) \textit{M\'\'ulasat\'\'ariv\'\'adin} addition to the \textit{s\'\'r\'\'api\'\'aka, Saddharmas\'\'rtyupasthit\'\'nas\'\'utra} (both will be referred to more extensively later).

\textsuperscript{35} E.g. \textit{MN I}, p.265, l.25 - p.266, l.25 and \textit{MN II}, p.156, l.29 - p.157, l.13, the interpretation of the term \textit{gandhabba} that is appropriate in this context can be (and probably was) inferred from these passages; see also the definitions in later \textit{abhidharma\-literature}, discussed towards the end of this paragraph. The use of the term \textit{gandhabba} is not to be confused here with Vedic conceptions regarding one or more \textit{gandharva\(\texttt{-s})\.

\textsuperscript{36} This term will be explained in the following.


Abbreviations (following Trencher (1924ff.)) refer to the corresponding text-editions mentioned (including these abbreviations) in the bibliography of \textit{P\'\'ali} 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 \textit{Niland\'\'a\-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(a) provided on floppy-disk, this appendix is, like Appendix I, preceded by a table of contents).
anāgāmin-s\(^{39}\) in more or less mechanical enumerations regarding the subject\(^{40}\). Many of these passages are concerned with intricacies of classification regarding those five categories or stages and their respective "eschatological" implications\(^{41}\) 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 antara-parinibbāyin as a type of anāgāmin who reaches nibbāna before half of his lifetime in a brahmā-world has expired\(^{42}\). The interpretation of an antarāparinibbāyin as a type

\(\text{ SECTION 1.1. ANTARĀBHAVA AND BAR DO}
\)

\(\text{ 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 (sāmyojana) 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, p.146) and anāgāmin does not mean breaking the bonds, but cultivation of good habits (SN III, p.361, 1.8 - p.366, 1.25); P (Sanskrit) p.3, 1.20 - p.17, 1.25 (a little bit more elaborate as to what an antarāparinibbāyin is supposed to represent, quoted in the following), p.74, 1.22-28; Vism, pp.709-710 (more elaborate treatment, 1.8-15 are quoted in the following); SN V, p.69, 1.22 - p.70, 1.24; p.201, II.10-21 and p.204, 1.26 - p.205, 1.6; p.237, II.12-15; p.285, 1.18-20; p.315, II.20-23, p.378, II.21-25; AN I, p.233, II.28-35; AN II, p.234, 1.18 - p.235, 1.13 (more elaborate treatment), II, p.134, II.20-37 (more elaborate treatment, cf. AN I, p.160, 1.20 - p.17, 1.25), IV, p.13, 1.28 - 1.4, 1.6, IV, p.12, 1.28 - 1.35, 1.14, IV, p.70, 1.8 - p.74, 1.18 (more elaborate treatment); IV, p.146, II.13-17, IV, p.379, 1.23 - p.380, 1.16 (more elaborate treatment), V, p.120, II.5-8 and p.120, II.21-24; Pātis I, p.161, II.12-14 and p.161, II.22-25 (cf. next); Nettu p.189, 1.32 - p.190, 1.4; Pj I, p.182, II.24-26; Ud-a p.92, 1.20 - p.94, 1.24 (cf. the following); Skk II, p.372, 1.27 - p.373, 1.25.

\(\text{ In a text of the suttapitaka, the Aṅguttaranikāya, the antarāparinibbāyin is further specified as released from the fetters pertaining to the lower (kāma-world, i.e. the first five sāmyojana-s: sakkāyadiṭṭhi, viiccīkāca, saḷāvatapāramāso, kāmaechando, vāyādo), 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, 1.27 - p.242, 1.4).}

\(\text{ Katamassa bhikkhave puggalassa orambhāgiyāni sāmyojanaṁ pāhānāni, uppattipatīḷābhikāni\(^{1}\) sāmyojanaṁ pāhānāni, bhavapatiḷābhikāni sāmyojanaṁ appahānāni? Antarāparinibbāyissā. Imassa kho bhikkhave puggalassa orambhāgiyāni sāmyojanaṁ pāhānāni, uppattipatīḷābhikāni sāmyojanaṁ pāhānāni, bhavapatiḷābhikāni sāmyojanaṁ appahānāni.}

\(\text{1 MA: upapasti.}
\(\text{2 MA: upapatti.}

\(\text{ (N.B. at the moment I can give no arguments either for or against the variant reading upatti/ upapatti, see notes on AN II, p.361, 1.8 - p.366, 1.26 (cf. NK p.319, 1.4 - p.323, 1.18) below).}

\(\text{ For a more elaborate exposition on the release of these fetters see AN IV, p.70, 1.4 - p.74, 1.22, esp. p.70, 19 - p.72, 12.}

\(\text{43 See for example the abhidhamma-text Puggalapaññati, Pp. p.16, 11.20ff. (= NP p.26, 1.1 - p.27, 1.11).}

\(\text{41 Kotamo ca puggalo anāgāmi?}
\(\text{Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcañnam orambhāgiyānāṁ saññojanānāṁ parikkhayā opappatikho hoti, tattahe pariṇibbāyā anāvattidhammo tasnā lokā: ayaṃ vucaṭṭha puggalo anāgāmi.}

\(\text{42 Katamo ca puggalo antarā-parinibbāy?}
\(\text{Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcañnam orambhāgiyānāṁ saññojanānāṁ parikkhayā opappatikho hoti, tattahe pariṇibbāyā anāvattidhammo tasnā lokā: so upapannaṁ vā sannāntara paṭattam vā vennajjhamā.}

\(\text{E.g. DN III, p.237, II.21-23; KVI, p.105, II.32-34; p.215, II.13-15 and II.24-28; I, p.275, II.10-15; p.215, II.29-35; II p.361, 1.8 - p.366, 1.25; P (Sanskrit) p.3, 1.16 - p.17, 1.25 (a little bit more extensive as to what an antara-parinibbāyin is supposed to represent, quoted in the following), p.74, II.22-28; Vism, pp.709-710 (more elaborate treatment, II.8-15 are quoted in the following); SN V, p.69, II.22 - p.70, II.24; p.201, II.10-21 and p.204, II.26 - p.205, II.6; p.237, II.12-15; p.285, II.18-20; p.315, II.20-23, p.378, II.21-25; AN I, p.233, II.28-35; AN II, p.234, 1.18 - p.235, 1.13 (more elaborate treatment), II, p.134, II.20-37 (more elaborate treatment, cf. AN I, p.160, 1.20 - p.17, 1.25), IV, p.13, 1.28 - 1.4, 1.6, IV, p.14, 1.28 - 1.35, 1.14, IV, p.70, 1.8 - p.74, 1.18 (more elaborate treatment); IV, p.146, II.13-17, IV, p.379, 1.23 - p.380, 1.16 (more elaborate treatment), V, p.120, II.5-8 and p.120, II.21-24; Pātis I, p.161, II.12-14 and p.161, II.22-25 (cf. next); Nettu p.189, 1.32 - p.190, 1.4; Pj I, p.182, II.24-26; Ud-a p.92, 1.20 - p.94, 1.24 (cf. the following); Skk II, p.372, 1.27 - p.373, 1.25.}
oi anāgāmin who reaches nībbāna from an antarābhava is sometimes mentioned as the view of "an opponent" and it is also propounded in Vasubandhu's Abhidharma-kosabhāṣya. Vasubandhu gives no reference in support of this interpretation. He

āyupamānam ariyamaggam sañjānita upariśīhīmanām saññojanānām pahānāya: ayam vuccati puggalo antarā-parinibbāyā.

43. Katamo ca puggalo upahocca-parinibbāyā?
Idh'ekacca puggalo pañciccanaṃ orambahāgyaṇanām saññojanānām parikkhayā opapaṭikā hoti, tattha parinibbāyā anāvattidhammo taṁma lokā: so aṭikkutvā vemajjhām āyupamānāṃ nībbhāca va kālekyām ariyamaggam sañjānita upariśīhīmanām saññojanānām pahānāya: ayam vuccati puggulo upahoccacca-parinibbāyā.

44. Katamo ca puggalo asanbhāra-parinibbāyā?
Idh'ekacca puggalo pañciccanaṃ orambahāgyaṇanām saññojanānām parikkhayā opapaṭikā hoti, tattha parinibbāyā anāvattidhammo taṁma lokā: so asanbhārena ariyamaggam sañjāneta upariśīhīmanām saññojanānām pahānāya: ayam vuccati puggalo asanbhāra-parinibbāyā.

45. Katamo ca puggalo sasankhāra-parinibbāyā?
Idh'ekacca puggalo pañciccanaṃ orambahāgyaṇanām saññojanānām parikkhayā opapaṭikā hoti, tattha parinibbāyā anāvattidhammo taṁma lokā: so sasankhārena ariyamaggam sañjāneta upariśīhīmanām saññojanānām pahānāya: ayam vuccati puggalo sasankhāra-parinibbāyā.

46. Katamo ca puggulo uddhamsoto akaniṭṭhāgāmī?
Idh'ekacca puggalo pañciccanaṃ orambahāgyaṇanām saññojanānām parikkhayā opapaṭikā hoti, tattha parinibbāyā anāvattidhammo taṁma lokā: so aṭiva cuto aṭappam gacchati, aṭappam cuto sudassēm gacchati, sudassēm cuto sudassēm gacchati, sudassēm cuto sudassēm gacchati, sudassēm cuto sudassēm gacchati, ariyamaggam sañjāneta upariśīhīmanām saññojanānām pahānāya: ayam vuccati puggulo uddhamsoto akaniṭṭhāgāmī.

For instance in the Kathāvatthu see Kk II, p.366, II.7-24 (vss.12-13, discussed below), where this viewpoint is associated with Paññasilīya-s and Sammāya-s. See also the Udāna-commentary Paramathadipoti Udānaṭhakathā (Ud-a p.92, 1.20 - p.93, 1.17), commentary by Dhammapāla on Udāna-anthology ("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 antarābhavān and an antarāparinibbāya 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 Buddhaghoṣa on Sū; Spk II, p.372, 1.27-p.373, 1.2) also denying an antarābhavān on the same grounds).


antarāparinibbāyā katamah i upapattisamyojanē praheṇa abhinivrttisamyojanē aprahīne (T.118a) antarābhavam abhinirvarttayān eva yo māgam sammukhākṛtya duhkhyāntum antarābhavaḥ abhinivrīto va antarābhavo upapattihavagamanānāya cetayān eva yo mārgaṃ sammukhākṛtya
does mention an allegedly Vibhajyavādin-opinion in favour of the former interpretation, recorded in Vibhaṣa 69, 74, which is cited in AbhKbh III, p.413, ll.1f. = Pradhan (1975), p.122, ll.14-16 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.38):

\[ \text{anye punar āhub -- āyubpramāṇāntare} \text{ và devasampāṇi}
\text{a và yah kleśān prajahāti so 'antarāparinirvāyi! (sa punar dhātuγa} và parinirvāti ...) \]

Others, again, say: "An antarāparinirvāyin 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 antarāparinirvāyin into a dhātuγavu, a sampāṇagata, and a vitarkagata)."47

Both interpretations were, apparently, already current at the time of the Kathāvāthu, Udāna (& Āṭṭhakathā), 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

\[ \text{duḥkhasyāntam anuprāṇañcī abhisamceṣṭayīr vā upapattiḥbhavam abhisamprasthitah} \text{[bhavānu]paptatticchanām 'yo mārgam sampūrṇakhyātya duḥkhasyāntam anuprāṇcī] \]

Cf. also ASBh p.120, ll.16-20:

(XVII) antarāparinirvāyi yena kṣeṣāvedhenopapadātikādīsam gattvā prātisandadhyāś tatparikṣaye sati yenānusyāmārcenā maṇḍraśūrdhīvam skandhān abhinirvārīyam tadavasse say antarābhavaṃ abhinirvārīyaṃ purvābhāmyastamsampūrṇakhyātya vā eva sa viśīṣṭānu[Ms.113a]śaya'prahāne parinirvāti6 I sa punar upapadātikādīsam pratyantucalitoccalitamatrīdāragabhāvasthaīa tri'vidhā vedī

\[ \text{tvayaḥ satpurīṣāgatiśūtranārcena} \]

1. cī-sakṣi iṣyaubhikmān 1
2. cī-atstattāna ca iṣyaubhikmān 1
3. cī-abhinirvāntayan iṣyaubhikmān 1
4. cī- mo- echantām nāti
5. Ms adda-ha-
6. Ch. adda heça abhinirvāntvāt vāntarābhavavāmaṃ składaṃ eva yo mārgam sampūrṇakhyātya viśīṣṭānu-

\[ \text{ṣyaṣyaṃprahāne parinirvāti} \text{ abhisamceṣṭayī vopapatitabhavasmabhisamprasthitā bhavānu} \text{paptattīyo mārgam}
\]

\[ \text{sampūrṇakhyātya viśīṣṭānuṣyaṃprahāne parinirvāti.} \]

7. Ms. sri-.)

43 Vibhaṣa 69, 7 = Taśthī (Vol.27) 1545 (Chpṛ. 69), p.357b, ll.21-22 and b, l.26 - c, l.4. This and following are references to the chapters and subsections of the Mahāvibhāṣā as edited in Taśthī (Vol.27). I herewith follow the method of reference used in Vallée Poussin (1923ff.).

45 Pradhan (1975): Śyūppramāṇāntare.

47 The Śpūṭiṛtha-commentary by Yaśomitra explains the terms āyubpramāṇāntare and deva-

\[ \text{sampleṃtare:} \]

\[ \text{anye punar āhub iti vistarāh l āyusā pramāṃṣaṃ tasyāntām taśmin āyubpramāṇāntare 'pari-
\]

\[ \text{ṣaṃyājla} \text{āyusīty arthaḥ l devasampāṇi} \text{a devānām antikāṃ devasampāṃ galasyāntare yah}
\]

\[ \text{kleśān prajahāti so 'antarāparinirvāyi! (sa punar dhātuγa} và parinirvāti ...) \]

For a discussion of two possible interpretations of these terms see Jenner in Hōbōginrin, Vol.5, p.497a, l.38 - p.498b, l.40.
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 sūtra-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 sasankhāraparinibbāyin, 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 Mahāvibhāṣā in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya mention is made of still another interpretation, (indirectly) referred to in Mahāvibhāṣā 69, 7a:


... asaty antarābhave katham antarāparinirvāyā nāma syāt! antarā nāma devāh santity ēke l upapadyāyayo ‘pi hi nāma devāh evam sāti prajāyante49 ! tātān neyam kalpānā śādive !

... If an antarābhava does not exist, how could there be (a class) called antarāparinirvāyāin? Some (maintain): “That are deities named Antara-”. This being so, gods named Upapadyā- 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 regarding 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. Therefore I should like to leave the discussion of the term at this modest level of elaboration.

It might be interesting, however, to note here that speculations regarding an antarāparinibbāyin, notably the first two interpretations mentioned, seem to have survived until this day in the practice of ‘pho ba4, the transferring of perception into Aṃśūbha’s Western Paradise bDe ba can (Skt. Sukhāvati) at death and the concept of bar do’i rThos grol (being “released by hearing in the bar do-so”) after death successively.

We shall now return to the term antarābhava. In another abhidhamma-work, the Kathāvatthu, we find in a section named antarābhavakathā a rather lengthy discussion 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 “papet”-wars waged on or against its behalf.51

[Footnotes:
48 As pointed out by Jenner in Hēbogirin, Vol.5, p.498a, ll.29-31, Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.38, l.15 erroneously refers to Viśhūṣṭ 79, 7 (unlike the reference on p.39, l.6).
49 Pradhan (1975), prasajyate.
50 See further arguments against this interpretation concluded in AbhKbh 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 suṃjitā gata, and a viśucky gata) as it is discussed there.
52 Pāli text and summarizing translation by Aung and Rhys-Davids (1915) of the unantarābhavakathā 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]
The concern that underlies the first objections raised against the existence of an antarabhava 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'antarabhava; antarabhava précèdent la naissance dans les trois Dhatus; antarabhava précèdent la naissance de Kāmadhātu; enfin, le seul opinion correcte, antarabhava précèdent la naissance de Kāmadhātu et Rūpadhātu.13

The possibilities of antarabhava-s have experienced a considerable proliferation in the Saddharmasūtrāpasūṭhānasūtra24, where we find no less than seventeen (sub)species of antarabhava 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 state25, an

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1 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 antarabhava.

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

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 renaisssent dans l'Uttarakaṇḍa; 3. celle de ceux qui meurent aux Jambudvīpa et renaisssent au Pūrvavideha; 5. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttarakanda et renaisssent, aux cieux (cette renaissance est dite inférieure); 6. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttarakanda et renaisssent aux cieux (renaissance moyenne); 7. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttarakanda et renaisssent au ciel des Trāyātrīṃśa (renaissance supérieure); 8. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttarakanda et renaisssent au cieux des Trāyātrīṃśa (? la même que la précédente ?); 9. celle de ceux qui meurent au Godanīya 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 Godanīya et vice versa.1

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1.3 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 antarabhava.

24 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):

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'antarabhava dans le Kāmadhātu et dans le Rūpadhātu. C'est là, comme on le sait, une des doctrines caractéristiques des Sarvāstivādin1, et que reconnaissaient aussi les Saṃmūlaṭa et les Pūbbasellavāsa mais que refusait les Mahāśāṅghika, les Mahāśāṅghika et les Vibhajjāvādin (pāli: Vibhajjāvādin ou Vibhājāvādin), ainsi que les Theravādin de la tradition médriodé. Dans un autre passage du SUS2 (en prose), sur la mort des damnés de l'Avīci, il est dit : "... Ces damnés étant morts ainsi, la matière de leur existence intermédiaire (tchning-yün, antarabhava-rūpu) se produisit; elle est invisible (pou-klein, anidārlana), plus forte que tout obstacle (pou-touei, apratigavant), et leur corps est pareil à celui d'un enfant de huit ans...". La situation doctrinale du SUS, en ce qui concerne l'antarabhava, coïncide donc avec celle des Sarvāstivādin, selon lesquels "dans tous les lieux de naissance des dhātu matériels (yeou-sū-ki'ai, c'est-a-dire Kāmadhātu et Rūpadhātu) existe l'antarabhava, où l'on reçoit aussi rétribution.
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 skandha-s, 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 pratityasamutpāda and antarābhava. In the twelvefold chain of dependent origination the third nidāna, vijnāna, 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 pratityasamutpāda 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 ņid bar do in the Chos ņid 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 vijnāna as referring to the moment of conception. It might be significant in this respect that in later works, like the Lalitavistara and the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya,

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-vibhūṣā (voir inf., note 5); Knü, III, 14.
3. Cf. Somayānādopu., T. nr. 2031, p. 16a, 17a; Tenjur, Māda, XC, 11, 6d. rouge de Pekin, p. 172b, 176n.
4. Cf. Mahāvibhūṣā, k. 68, S. XXII, 3, p. 74b; k. 69, p. 76a; k. 135, S. XXII, 6, p. 35a; k. 175. S. XXII, 7, p. 88b; voir aussi k. 60, S. XXII, 3, p. 37b (où est citée la théorie des Viśhūvasāvan selon laquelle "l'esprit non-soûlë existe aussi en continuité de l'existence").
6. N.B. SUS = Saddharmasumṛtyupasthānusūtra.
7. Cf. SUS, k. 13, S. IV, 1, p. 59b.
8. Mahā-vibhūṣā, k. 119, S. XXII, 5, p. 79a, où, avant donner cette théorie proprement Sarvāstivādin, le texte cite six autre théories concernant l'antarābhava, toutes différentes de la théorie de SUS.

See Kv II, p.362, ll.22-24, = NKv p.321, II.5f..

See e.g. Bernhard (1968), references to sources there. In a recent article Vetter (1994) discusses some material relevant to developments in pratityasamutpāda-versions; the position of avidyā and samskāra-s is not discussed there.

See in Vetter (1988), pp.45ff., esp. pp.47f., where the awkwardness of this construction is discussed from a different angle.

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).
avidyā and sāṃskāra-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 nidāna-s in the twelvefold chain[^6].

More relevant for this study are considerations in later abhidharma-works. The most elaborate treatment of an antarābhava is to be found in the third chapter of the Abhidharmakośa and its Bhaṣya attributed to Vasubandhu[^6], which we incidentally have referred to already in the foregoing. But the Mahāvibhāṣā, 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 bhaṣya and a table of references:

[^6]: This possible connection was mentioned already (more or less indirectly) by Wayman (1974), pp.229f.
[^6]: 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:

- \( \text{ad 4b-d (p.389,1.16 - p.392,1.10)} \)¹²:
  - an \( \text{antarābhava} \) is not a \( \text{gati} \);
- \( \text{ad 9b-c (p.402,1.13 - p.404,1.10)} \)¹³:
  - an \( \text{antarābhava} \) is \( \text{upapādaka} \);
  - definition of \( \text{antarābhava} \);
- \( \text{ad 10 (p.405,1.9-2)} \)¹⁴:
  - evidence of the existence of an \( \text{antarābhava} \);
  - evidence continued: the intermediate being is equivalent with the \( \text{gandhabba} \);
- \( \text{ad 11-12b (p.405,1.10 - p.410,1.13)} \)¹⁷:
  - further proof;
  - intermediate being bears resemblance to being of \( \text{future pūrvakālabhava} \);
  - definition \( \text{pūrvakālabhava} \);
  - properties of the intermediate being;
  - desire destines rebirth; vision of parents while in the act of cohabitation;
  - four \( \text{garbhāvakrānti-s} \);
  - not an \( \text{ātman} \) but the \( \text{skandha-s} \) enter the womb;
  - (cycle) of rebirth;
  - discussion of the \( \text{pratītyasamutpāda} \) in this context;
- \( \text{ad 13a-b (p.419,1.10 - p.422,1.15)} \)¹⁸:
  - discussion of four \( \text{bhava-s (antarābhava, upapattibhava, pūrvakālabhava, maranabhava)} \);
  - nutrition in the different realms (N.B. 40c-41a (p.494, 1.8 - p.496, 1.13)⁷⁸: explanation of the synonyms for an intermediate being);
  - \( \text{vijñāna} \) in birth and death and observations regarding the process of dying;
  - not relevant to the subject of the present concern.

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¹³ See Pradhan (1975), p.119,1.3 - p.120,1.5 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.28-31.
¹⁴ See Pradhan (1975), p.120,1.16 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.31-33 (N.B. p.32, n.1: references).
¹⁷ See Pradhan (1975), p.120,1.14 - p.121,1.18 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.33-36.
¹⁸ See Pradhan (1975), p.121,1.18 - p.122,1.2 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.36-38.
⁸⁶ See Pradhan (1975), p.131,1.3 - p.151,1.15 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.60-117.
References to:

*manomayaḥ*  |  *antarāparinirvāyin*  |  *antarābhava*

*AbhKbh* II.243, 1.20
(II.209)*

*AbhKbh* III.494, 1.13
(III.122), cf. 555,
II.18-21 (204, esp.
n.3)

*AbhKbh* III.411, 1.6-414,
1.7 (38-40); 495, 1.2
(123)

*AbhKbh* III.389-392
(III.12-15);
402-426 (29-50);
426, II.13-15 (53);
433-435 (57-60);
491f. (117-119);
501, I.7 (131)

(IV.119); 702,
II.13-15 (176)

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

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

*AbhKbh* VI.940, II.1-4
(V.201f.); 940, II.
5-7 (V.202f.); 948,
1.5 (210); cf. 959,
II.8-12. (220)

*AbhKbh* VII.1110, II.4-7
(VI.103)

*AbhKbh* IX (VI.258,
esp.n.2)
(cf. PTT.115 277.4.
7-283.5.8; *gan zag
dgag pa*)
For reasons of space not all the material gathered in the *Abhidharmakosābhidhāsa* 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 *srid 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/maranābhava*) and the phase of rebirth (*upapattibhava*)

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References to Pradhan (1975):
*AbhKbh* IV, p.554, 3.3-7 (11.204, esp. n.3) = Pradhan (1975), p.186, ll.21-24.
*AbhKbh* VII, p.1110, ll.4-7 (VI.103) = Pradhan (1975), p.422, ll.7-12.
*AbhKbh* VIII (VI.140, n.2) not applicable.

*AbhKbh* IX (VI.258, esp. n.2) (cf. PTT:115.277.4.7-283.5.8; *gan zug drug pa* = Pradhan (1975), pp.461-479).

12 Notably *kārīkā*-s 4, 9-12, 14 and 37-38 with *bhāsyā* (and *Vasomitra’s Sphūtārthāvyākhyā*).

According to *Vasubandhu* here is no antarābhava before a birth in the *ārāpyuṣṭhāna* (indirectly stated in *AbhKbh* III, p.423, ll.2f. = Pradhan (1975), p.124, ll.23f. (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.46).

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

\[\text{antarabhava}(h) \text{ kāmadhātāu rūpadhātāu copapadyamānasārūpyadhetos cyavamānasya l}\]

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 rūpadhātu as well as to humans of the first kalpa (e.g. AbhKBh III, p.554, II.3-7 = Pradhan (1975), p.186, II.21-24 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.203ff.) and see also the Udāyisūtra as it is cited in AbhKBh II, p.241, I.6 - p.243, I.6 = Pradhan (1975), p.71, I.26 - I.7 (Vallée Poussin II (1923), pp.209ff.) -- the gods possessing a body of mental origin (manomayākāya) are referred here to the rūpadhātū and not to the ārūpyadhātū (see also, Vallée Poussin II (1923), p.209, nn.2ff.) -- and also in some respects (by some schools) to properties attributed to beings in the ārūpyadhātū (e.g. manomayākāya see Yp.20, I.14: suna āntarabhava ārūpyopatittyayatanam śthāpayitvā draṣṭavyāh l, cf. Vallée Poussin II (1923), pp.209ff., n.3 mentioned above).

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


\(^7\) See AbhKBh III, p.405, II.1-4 = Pradhan (1975), p.120, II.6-9 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.32ff.):

ko 'yan antarabhava nāma? mṛtyupaptibhavayor antarā bhavatiha yaḥ l maraṇabhavasyopapattihavasya cāntarā ya ātmabhāvo 'hhinirvarttate deśantropapattisampraptaye, so 'antarabhava ity ucyate; gatyarantarālatvāt\(^1\)

What is this antarabhava? 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 "antarabhava" for being intermediate between two gati-s.

Cf. Yp.20, II.9f.:

tasya punaḥ paryāyā[7] antarabhava ity ucyate maraṇabhavotpapattihavayor antarāle prādurbhāvāl

\(^1\) ka- gatyantarā, Pradhan (1975): gatyantarālatvāt.


\(^8\) See AbhKBh III, p.405, II.5-9 = Pradhan (1975), p.120, II.9-14 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.33):

kathāya ayaṁ jāṣat ca nāma na copapanno bhavati? gamyadeśānupetatvān nopapanno 'antarābhavahaḥ līlāṇa upapattigato' hi 'upapannah' ity ucyate; pader gatyarthavādā l na cāyaṁ gamyadeśām upagato 'antarābhavah, tasmān nopapannah līlāṇa kaḥ punar asau deśo gantavyāh? yatrāśiptasya vipākasyābhīvyaktāh, samāptā ca l

Spūṭārthāvyākhyā: pader gatyarthatvād iti l "pada gatav" iti pathyate, tenopapannābaddasyopagatātām 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) antarābhava is not born (upapanno). For, (in) what is called "upapanno" (by connotation) is (implied): having arrived at a birth; as the connotation of gati\(^2\) is (also valid) for pud- and i- (constructions: padet?). And this (being pertaining to the) antarābhava has not arrived at the situation where it should go to, therefore he is not born (upapanno). 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)\(^1\) it is characterised as "spontaneously generated" (upapūduka)\(^2\). The properties of an antarābhava almost seamlessly merge with those of a being experiencing it, only rarely the term "antarābhavika\(^3\) or "antarābhavastha\(^4\) is used when (explicitly) referring to an "intermediate being"\(^5\). The intermediate being is characterised as follows:

- the intermediate being is designated as of mental origin\(^6\);

Which is the spontaneously generated mode of birth? Those beings that appear at once\(^7\), 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:

\[
\text{sa tatropapūdukaḥ paripūrṇaśaḍāyataṁ ca jāyate II}
\]

\(^1\) As in (upa)-pāmā (upa)-patti (upā)-padd. = (upa)-ita < (upa)-i; vṛtykhya: "pader gatyartha-tvāt" is read as "pada gatau" (a reference to Pāṇini, Pāṇiṇyadāhūpūṣhā X.3609), by this it shows the connotation of "arrived" (upagata) for the word "born" (upapama).

\(^2\) See Vallē Poussin III (1926), p.33, n.2 (terminology following AbhK/Bh IV 95).

\(^3\) See AbhK/Bh III, p.401, l.15 = p.402, l.2 (and following) = Pradhan (1975), p.118, l.23 = p.119, l.12 (and following) (Vallē Poussin III (1926), pp.26-28 (and following)) where Varṣubandhu discusses the four modes of "birth" (caturṛa yonayav), to wit, antāyā yoni, jārāyā yoni, saṃśvedāyā yoni, upapūdukā yoni. Regarding the self-produced arising of a being pertaining to the intermediate state, the translation of yoni as place or mode of birth would in this context, as was mentioned in the previous point, not be considered completely accurate, since the arising of this being is not the same as the birth in a gati. But the term yoni does not allow a more neutral term that equally fits its anatomical implications and does justice to the character of the first three modes of birth as well.

\(^4\) AbhK/Bh III, p.401, l.14-402, l.2 = Pradhan (1975), p.118, l.29 = p.119, l.12 (Vallē Poussin III (1926), pp.27f.):

\[
\text{upapūdukā yoniḥ katamāḥ? ye sattvā avikālā āhīnendriyāḥ sarvāṅgānanyāngopetāḥ sakṛd upa-
\text{jāyante I atā eva upapādane' sādhukāriśvād "upapūdukāḥ" ity ucyate, tad yaḥā — deva-
\text{nārākantarābhāvikādāyāḥ II.}
\]


\(^7\) See the definition of an antarābhava in p.405, l.1-9 = Pradhan (1975), p.120, l.6-14 (Vallē Poussin III (1926), pp.32f.) cited above, where the antarābhava is explicitly stated to be an entity (ātmabhāva), and see the ambiguous diction in AbhK/Bh III, p.419, l.10 = p.420, l.2 = Pradhan (1975), p.123, l.20-23 (Vallē Poussin III (1926), p.42) and AbhK/Bh III, p.424, l.10-18 = Pradhan (1975), p.125, l.12-20 (Vallē Poussin III (1926), pp.47f.) cited hereafter.


manomayaḥ sambhavaḥiṃ cāntarābhavaḥ l44011 nirvṛttasca antarābhavo hy ebhir
abhidhūmair utkto bhagavatā t. sa eva manoniṣṭatvāḥ manomaya uktāḥ; śokaśrutiśādīkaṁ kācyād
he bears resemblance to the form of the being (after birth and) before death, (the five skandha-s in) the period in between birth and death.

Of mental origin ... 1. It is just called "of mental origin" because it originated by thinking ...

Cf. Y p.20, ll.10f.:

manomaya ity ucyate tannisriya manasa upapattiyatanaganamanatayā | saruragatya ca punar nālambana[Pr. 12a.1]gatyā l

Cf. also Y p.20, ll.4-8:

abhiniṁvitrīr api ucyate upapatti ābhimukhyena nirvartanatayā l


sa ca manomaya gandharva ity api l

1 Pradhan (1975), p.153, n.3, MS. upapattyā-

2 Pradhan (1975), p.153, n.4, MS. drops -bā-

- 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 tadākṣīrtir ...

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

dvābhyaṁ ākāśbhyaṁ tamaḥ-parāyaṇoṁ añay ayaṁ evaṁ-rūpo manomayo 'ntarā-bhavo nirvartate.

tad-yathā kṛṣṇasya kutapasya nirbhāsaḥ anākāra-tamāśrayā vā rātrīḥ. tasmād durvānā ity ucyamte, ye punar dvābhyaṁ ākāśbhyaṁ jyotispāraśyaṁ. tesaṁ ayaṁ evaṁ-rūpo manomayo 'ntarā-bhavo nirvartate. tad-yathā jyotsnāyā rātrīya Vārūṇaseyakasya vā sampānnavas vāstraṣya. tasmāt su-varṇā ity ucyamte, tatra ye durvānaḥ, te hīnāḥ, ye suvarṇāḥ. te prāṇīḥ, ye hīnāḥ, te durgati-gāmīnāḥ, ye prāṇīḥ, te sugati-gāmīnāḥ.


tratāṣuṣubhakāṃyāntarābhava 'bhīnirvartate | tadyathā kṛṣṇasya kutapasya nirbhāsaḥ anākāra-tamāśrayā vā rātrīḥ | l a(?)ṣubhakāṃyā tadyathā śukāṣyā parasya nirbhāsajyotsnāyā vā rātrīḥ 1

And also, Mahā-Raṇakīta, Taishō (9) 310 (41), p.328a.11.13ff. referred to by Bareau in Hōbōgirit, Vol.5, p.561a, ll.19ff., Bareau presents a summary: "En ce qui concerne l'aspect, les Étres intermédiaires sont de deux sortes: ceux dont l'aspect est laissé. Ceux des Enfers sont laissés 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 pas d'Étres intermédiaires car il n'y a pas de forme ...".

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1 Emend: abhinirvartate.
2 Vyākhyā: because the gati they are coming to and the antarābhava 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 phyur ba which may mean here a fag according to the Tib. Eng. Dictionary of S. C. Das. This is however doubtful. Comparing the meaning of the word snam below, for Skt. vātra, “cloth” it appears that kātupa means here kumbala “blanket”, as Tib. snam is used in this sense. e.g. snam dkar po is “sukla kumbala “white blanket”.
5 Tib. snam ba: MS nīrbrāhāḥ. It is also below.
6 Tib. dkar po: MS apāvādyaya.
7 Tib. sram ba dkar po: Generally snam ba is a “woollen cloth”.
8 Tib. adds -ari. (Dar ṛ.)
9 Tib. nadis vijñānaveṣṭham (mnām par ses pāśi mā gna paśi phyir).
10 Tib. omās vijñānaveṣṭi."
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 antarābhava 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. Valéïe Poussin III (1926), pp.46, n.3, Vibhāṣa 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 - Quoi voit? - 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’s p.19.1.10 - p.20.1.1:

sa teni caksūṣṭātmobhāṣgān antarābhavikān sattvān paśyati teśāṃ copapattisthānam ātmanaḥ ca


tatrasthaś ca karmopacinoti śabhaṃgaṃ ca sattvān paśyati l

And Tibetan: PTT.112.253.2.4:

de na gnas pa yah iṣ g故宫 pa’ol l skal ba’i māṇam pa’i sems can māns kyan mthon dol

Cf. ASBh p.54, II.21-24.:

tatrasthaś ca karmopacinoti, pūrṇavēdhasāna kuśālādīcetanāsamudācaritī l [Ch.722b] sa-

bhāṃgaṃ ca sattvān paśyati yaiḥ saḥa pūrṇam tatkuśalam akuśalam vā caritaṃ bhavati taḥ saha

d Phátāmānam atmmāṃ svapna ivu samjñāti l

And Tibetan: PTT.113.104.1.1f.:

de na gnas pa yah las sogs go žes pa na słoŋ gyi ’phen pa’i dbang gis dge ba la sogs pa’i sems pa kun tu ’byun ba’i phyir rol l skal pa māṇam ba’i’ sems can māns kyan mthon žes bya ba ni gan dag dan lhan cig tu słoŋ dge ba’am mi dge ba kun tu spyad par gyur pa de dag dan bdag than cig tu ’dug par rmi lam tsaṃ gyi tshod du šes sol

- he is endowed with the swiftness of supernatural power by *karma*²⁸;
- his organs of sense are complete²⁹;

² kā: jāyāhartham. Pradhan (1975): ājayāhartham. In the Tibetan translation of *AS Bh*, PTT.115.171.5.2, we find: *śīna tu dan ba'i phyir* supporting the reading: *ājayāhartham* acchayātā.

² Pradhan (1975): bhavikār; p.125, n.1, Y. (N) -bhavikām.

² Pradhan (1975) reads *pārvam* only once.

² bha.=-nāsti. Emend: *karmopacatviti, as in AS Bh* p.54, l.21. N.B. the commentary explains *upacatviti* 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 *upacatviti* in both Sanskrit and Tibetan we might assume the diction in this passage was at some time corrupted.

² Emend: *las, as in the translation of the AS Bh, PTT.113.104.1.1. A copyist or woodblock-cutter apparently mistook *las sogs* (*sog(s)* (*b*sag *bsag *sogs*/*bsag*): "to accumulate *karma*" for *la sogs pa"* etcetera", thus depriving the passage of its meaning.

² Emend: *pa*.

² Emend: *pa'i*.

³ See *AbhKbh III*, p.423, l.10 - p.424, l.3 = Pradhan(1975), p.125, l.3-6 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.46):

karmadhdivegasvān rddihā = īkākāgamanāma, karmādhdhi rddihā karmadhdihā, tasyā vegaḥ² karmadhdivegasvān = astighrānā, sā 'syāstū karmadhdivegasvān ī yenāsaun lab soyobuddhair api pratibandhumā; karmano 'sya baliya'ntyātāt

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 divyaacākṣer iva² cātavr na vyāhanyate yāvad upapattiyāyatanāt iḥ gatir api na vihanyale yaḥā rddhiratam īyadhupapattiyāyatanād eva !


³ Pradhan(1975), p.125, n.4, Y. ra seems to be necessary. MS. yenāsaun lab soyobuddhair api pratibandhumā.

⁴ Tib. he'ni mig la bsr. MS divyaya ca kusuhāh.

⁵ After *ādyatanā- Tib. reads *ādānā- (gras in bands). So below.


rddhirān iva cātavṛgaḥpad upapattiyāyatane pratihanyate !

⁶ See *AbhKbh III*, p.424, l.4f. = Pradhan (1975), p.125, l.7f. (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.46f.):

sakalākṣaḥ samagrapaścendriyāḥ !

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

Cf. *Y* p.18, l.3:

sa punar antārābhavaḥ sakalendriyāḥ !

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

sa tatropapādūtah paripūrṇaśādāyatanāḥ ca jāyaḥ ! ...
- he knows no obstruction\textsuperscript{100},
- he cannot be turned away\textsuperscript{101},
- he eats odour\textsuperscript{102},

\textsuperscript{100} See \textit{AbhKbha} III, p.424, ll.6-9 = Pradhan (1975), p.125, ll.9-12 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.47):

\[ \text{apratighavāṇa pratighātaḥ = pratighāhā, sō syāśūcī pratighāvāṇa, na pratighāvāṇa pratighāvāṇa!} \]

\[ \text{vajrāḥdhibhir aṣy anivāryavāti! tathā hi pradīptāyahiṃḍābhaṁ tenmandaḥṣamabhūtaṁ kriṁiv upalabdhiḥ śrūyaṁ!} \]

**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.

\[ \text{AS p.43, l.3 (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):} \]

\[ ... \text{apratīhatagatiḥ ca l} \]


\[ \text{yasyāṁ ca gatau sa utpatsyamānas tasyāḥ survāthā anivāryāhā, na hi kadācin manuṣya-antarābhavaḥ} \]

\[ \text{'ntarāḥhyā devāntarābhavo bhavati, anyo vā! niyātam anena yān eva gatim adhikṛtyabhinīryttaṁ} \]

\[ \text{tasyāṁ evopapattavyaṁ, nānyasyāṁ iti l} \]

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, \textit{Vibhāṣā} 69, 14, records the opinions of dārṣṭāntikā-स which disagree with this tenet: "D'après les Dārṣṭāntikās, il est faux que l'être intermédiaire ne puisse changer ni quant au Dhātu, ni quant à la destinée, ni quant au lieu de la nouvelle existence. Tous les actes y compris les cinq ānantārthaç peuvent être <changés>... L'être intermédiaire qui va renaitre dans le quatreème dhyāna peut produire la vue fausse; il est alors détruit et immédiatement remplacé par un être intermédiaire inférieur..."

\textsuperscript{102} See \textit{AbhKbha} III, p.424, ll.14-18 = Pradhan (1975), p.125, ll.16-20 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.47f.):

\[ \text{kim punar antarābhavaḥ 'pi kāmaśvācaraḥ kavaḍākāram śāhram bhūktē? om ity āha l na tv} \]

\[ \text{audārīkaṁ, kim tāra? sa gandhāhukā līlātā eva "gandharvāḥ" ity ueyatē, dhātunām anekārtha-} \]

\[ \text{tvāt l haṣvātvān śaṅkhaḥukakarkandhuvat} \]

\[ \text{alpeśākhyas tu ṅurgandhāhāraḥ, mahaśēkhyah su-} \]

\[ \text{gandhāhāraḥ l} \]

\[ \text{Spāṭiḥbhāvyākhyā: "āta eva gandharva" iti l yato gandhagato gandharvāḥ l gandham arvati bhākṣayati gandharva ityarthāḥ l dhātunām anekārthavāt! ayaṁ arvati(?) on kevalā māgārthate} \]

\[ \text{varttate, kim tāra? bhogāntārthe 'plī tu gatvārthapariṇāmē pīy adhōṣa] gandham arvati gacchati bhoktum ādi gandharvā iti l} \]

\[ \text{haṣvātvām śaṅkhaḥukakarkandhuvat iti l kṣaḍanta iti parāparāpāṭānaṁ śaṅkhaḥuk(ka)karkandhur iti parāśāpidaśāḥ yathā tathāśāḥ gandharvā iti l} \]

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 "śākṇḍhu" and "karkṇḍhu". 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\textsuperscript{103}.

We shall return to these properties of an intermediate state or being when discussing the \textit{Chos n\textit{id 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 \textit{Saddharmamṛtyupasthānāsūtra} which was already introduced above. The \textit{Saddharmamṛtyupasthānāsūtra}, according to Li-kouang a Mūlasārvāstivāda.

3. gandharvanāt gandharva\textsuperscript{1}

\begin{flushleft}
\textit{gandharva ity ucyate gandhena gaganād gandhena puṣṭita sa} \textsuperscript{1}
\end{flushleft}

\begin{itemize}
    \item A reference to Pāṇini, 6.1.94: \textit{gandharva} follows, like \textit{ṣakandhu} and \textit{karkandhu}, rule 6.1.94 which, as an exception to 6.1.88, does not result in \textit{vyākhyā}.\textsuperscript{2}
    \item See \textit{vyākhyā}: goes towards odour (means): goes to eat (odour, hence) \textit{"gandharva"}.\textsuperscript{3}
\end{itemize}

\textit{Vasubandhu} presents the four opinions that are recorded concerning this question in \textit{Mahāvibhūṣaṇa} 72.3 in reverse order, the opinion he presents last is the one that appears first in the \textit{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 \textit{Vaiśāiaka-s}. In extract be four views are, in \textit{Vasubandhu's} order, see: \textit{Abh风筝III}, p.425, l.1 - p.426, l.14 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.48-50):

\begin{enumerate}
    \item No fixed rule (\textit{Bhadantaka}).
    \item Seven days (\textit{Bhadantavasumitra}); if in that time he has not met with completeness (of causes necessary for rebirth)\textsuperscript{2}, after having died they(? arise again in that place.
    \item Seven weeks\textsuperscript{3}; according to de la Vallée Poussin (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.49, n.3), this might be the view of a \textit{Śaṇḍālata},? he also refers to the view of the heretics (i.e. \textit{pubbaseṣṭiyāna} and \textit{ṣammitīya}) in \textit{Kv-a} p.105, ll.1-8: \ldots \textit{sattāhāṃ} \& \textit{ātikarati āhāṃ} \& \textit{tiṣṭhati} \ldots \ldots either seven days or exceeding seven days \ldots .
    \item See \textit{Y} p.20, ll.4-8 (cf. \textit{Yogottarabhūmiṣṭhātra}, Taishō (30) 1579 (1), p.282a, l.27 - b, 1, 2 = \textit{Y} p.20, ll.4-6 referred to in from Barcau in Hōbōgirin, Vol.5, p.562a, ll.6-10; Barcau presents a summary: ‘Lorsqu'on bout de sept jours l'Étre-intermédiaire n'a pas rencontré les conditions nécessaires à sa renaissance, il meurt et renait pour une nouvelle durée de sept jours).
\end{enumerate}

\begin{flushleft}
\textit{sa punar antarābhavabhāṣya}\textsuperscript{4} \textit{saptāhāṃ tiṣṭhāty asaty upapatītpratyayābhābe l' sati punāh pratyayaśābhī 'niyamah} \textsuperscript{1} \textit{ālābhe pūnaṁceuvat}\textsuperscript{5} punāh saptāhāṃ tiṣṭhāti yāvadataptāḥ saptāhāni tiṣṭhāty upapatītpratyayam abhāvaṁnavē l tata uthvah\textsuperscript{6} in avāsyām upapatītpratyayaṃ labhate \ textit{tasya} ca saptaḥśayaṃtasya kādeśit tatrastra abhinirvṛti bhavi \textit{l kadascid anyaya visābhāgo l sacet karmāntarakaśyā pariwartha tadantarābhabhavati pari-\textit{vartayati }\textit{l}}\textsuperscript{6}
\end{flushleft}


\begin{flushleft}
\textit{pyatāṃ saptāhāṃ tiṣṭhātyantaraṇa cyautate}
\end{flushleft}

\begin{enumerate}
    \item \textit{Abh风筝III}, p.426, l.4 reads: \textit{saptāhāni}, while Pradhan (1975), p.126, l.10 reads: \textit{supia saptāhāmi}.
    \item Add: \textit{pratyaya as in ll.11f.: sāmagryḥ pratyayāḥ}.\textsuperscript{4}
    \item MS has here \textit{paramam} "at most" of which nothing is in \textit{Tib}.
    \item \textit{Tib.} nes pa med dh.
    \item Tib. lit. \textit{deḥam viśeṣyati} (kur brjed nes). Emend: \textit{cyauti}.
    \item Not in \textit{Tib.}, MS reads it twice.
\end{enumerate}

4. If he desires rebirth, it will last only a short while (\textit{Vaiśāiaka-s}).
vādin text\(^{64}\), is known in a Chinese translation\(^{65}\) from 542-43 revised by Gautama Prajñāaruçi (K’iu-t’an Pan’jo-lieou-tche\(^{66}\)) from Benares in Ye, capital of Wei (534-550) with the help of two Chinese redactors Tan-lin\(^{107}\) and Seng-fang\(^{108}\). And in a Tibetan translation\(^{109}\) 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)\(^{110}\), the translators are Śāntyākaragupta, Abhayākaragupta, Śākyarakṣita, Vidyākaraśānti, Subhītacandra, Ajitacandra, and dGe loh Tshul khrims rgyal mshon. 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\(^{111}\) 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\(^{112}\).

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 clammers 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 being 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 (viparyāsā) 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 begin 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\(^{113}\) onward, is to be found in several of the abhidharma-texts mentioned below\(^{114}\), 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

\[\text{References for footnotes:}\]

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

\(^{65}\) Taishō XVII.200c.

\(^{66}\) Transcription as in Li-kouang.

\(^{107}\) Ditto.

\(^{108}\) Ditto.

\(^{109}\) PTT 37.119.2.8 - 38.24.1.7.

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

\(^{111}\) 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).


\(^{113}\) See II.22, characters 12ff. (xin\(^{114}\) Mathews (1931), 2735 m\(^{115}\) 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 phyε 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 Saddharmopadeśa (Chos drug gi man ṇ̥ag, PTT.82.34.4.2-35.1.1), developed by other siddha-s, to wit, the yoga of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{115} See the gŽi sku gsum gyi rnam t brag rab gsal sgron me žes bya ba bhtugs so (XL.0696), by the eighteenth-century dGe lugs po-scholar dByaṅs can dga' ba'i blo gros or A kya yongs 'dzin, folio 2v, II.4f.:  
  \item \textsuperscript{116} See Appendix I, Literature concerning Chos drug and Bar do-s.  
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{117} Four block-print- and manuscript-editions were used: Kern 28.536.3, XL.1539, XL.255 2740/H57, and XL.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 ŋi khrö-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 ŋi khrö-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 brgyant pa' chen nā ro pa'i rnam thar 'no mtsar rmad byun. Three bar do-s are mentioned here in the first of five instructions on bar do-s, to wit:

skye ŋi bar do;
rmî lam bar do;
srid pa'i bar do.

119 Reference from Guenther (1986), p.XV; see also (Khenpo) Kölchog Gyaltsen (1990), pp.43-45 (the Tibetan text by "Dorje Dze Òd" is presently not available to me, therefore I shall summarise the translation by Kölchog 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 Hersaka;
Saraha: according to some 'pho ha and bar do were taught by the Dākini skal ha bzaṅ mo from the tantra, sDom pa rgya mtho; gtum mo was taught by Carya pa from the Cakrasamvara-tantra.

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

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

120 For a presentation of Nāro pa's six teachings in the English language see Chang (1963). This presentation of bKa'śis 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.

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

122 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.

123 See Guenther (1963), p.264, 11.15-29, for the ease of reference the relevant part is reproduced in Appendix II. Cf. Bāck (1979), pp.92-95.
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);
rmī lam bar do as subtle body of indivisible vital breath (rūn, 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 riid 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 riid 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 riid kyi. The attribute chos riid kyi functions similar to chos riid mshan ma‘i in the formation of the term chos riid mshan ma‘i bar do in the preceding, the second instruction (1.16), where in relation to the "mother-clear light" ('od gsal ma = chos riid), a non-physical (and non-tainted) form of bar do (without properties) is specified as having the characteristic of dharmatā (chos riid mshan ma‘i), this term, too, should not be taken as a reference to a separate "chos riid mshan 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 side-scenes. 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 gśni kyi bar do; see Kern 28.536.3, folio 104r,1.5
bde ston gśni kyi bar do; see folio 104r,1.6
chos can chags bral bar do; see folio 104v, 1.1
skyon can (ldan) skyon med bar do; see folio 104v,1.2
(da res) 'khor 'das (gśni kyi) bar do; see folios 104v,1.3; 165r,1.6
tshig don gśni kyi bar do; see folio 104v,1.4
((lam 'jigs pa can gyi) bar do; see folio 162v, 1.6)
raṅ bṭin lam gyi bar do; see folio 165v, 1.1
lha ba'i bar do; see folio 237r,1.6
sgom pa‘i bar do; see folio 237v,1.1
spyo‘od 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 Abhidharmakośabhāṣya\textsuperscript{124}. Examples of these more traditionally conceived bar do-s are:

\begin{itemize}
\item[(snān ba)] skye sī(i) bar do; see Kern 28.536.3, folios 73r, 1.1; 165r, 1.6; 237r, 1.2 (cf. pūrvakālabhava)
\item[rmī lam (gyi/ gnid kyi)] bar do; see folios 73r, 1.1; 165v, 1.1; 237r, 1.3; 237v, 1.2
\item[(snān min/min/min/mun\textsuperscript{125})] srid pa(i) bar do; see folios 73r, 1.1; 165r, 1.5; 165v, 1.2: tha ma ...; 237r, 1.3 (cf. antarābhava)
\end{itemize}

also called: lam srid pa bar ma do (see folio 267v, 1.5) and snañ 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 Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, to wit, mṛtyu- or mara~bhava, antarabhava, and upapattibhava, are probably intended in Kern 28.536.3, folio 163v, 1.3, where the five dākinī-s mention three 'phrāñ, short for bar do'i 'phrāñ\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: ran dbañ la yod): instructions regarding sprul (pa'i) sku (Skt. nirmanakāya);

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

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\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 Abhidharmakośabhāṣya 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: snān 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 'phrāñ 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 gnī tī khor-cycles, this bar do bears all the marks of the srid pa'i bar do mentioned there and the antarābhava of the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, the chos rīd bar do and the tī khor-deities in particular are not referred to in the mGur 'bum.
rebirth (skyê 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 nirmānakāyas; the three bodies, not different and of one taste, are the (chos dbyins) no bo nīd kyi sku (svabhāvikakāya) ...

The prose passage in Kern 28.536.3, folios 167v, 1.5 - 168r, 1.1, 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, (=) snañ mun 'od kyi bar do ot (=) srid 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 snañ 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 snañ 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

1. snañ min/(min/mun) srid pa'i bar do; see Kern 28.536.3, folio 165r, l.5
2. da res 'khor 'das bar do; see folio 165r, l.6
3. snañ ba skye stüi bar do; see folio 165r, l.6
4. ral bzin lam gyi bar do; see folio 165v, l.1
5. rmi lam gnid 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. itu ha'i bar do; see Kern 28.536.3, folio 237r, l.6
2. sgom pa'i bar do; see folio 237v, l.1
3. snyed pa'i bar do; see folio 237v, l.2
4. rmi lam gyi bar do; see folio 237v, l.2
5. lam skye tshogs 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

190 Chang (1977), Vol.I, 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 Abhisamākakārikā.

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

Read: snañ las byung. 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 nistarabhava and a srid pa'i bar do usually is propounded the first solution seems the most probable one.

192 Kern 28.536.3, folio 165r, l.1 - 165v, 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 ını ma dañ zla ba kha sbhor ba chen po gsan ba'i rgyud, a rNin ma rdzogs chen-text which is partly translated and "critically" edited in Orofino (1985) together with an interesting "Bon"-rdzogs chen-text rdzogs pa chen po žan žun sñan rgyud las sGrön ma drag gi gdams pa with its commentary, the rdzogs pa chen po žan žun sñan rgyud las sGrön ma'i 'grel pa rNi '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 sNin thig ya bži (especially the ži ba bar do lam gyi mshan rNid, (XXIII.1318.1.1.h) and the Chos rNid bar do'i yon tan (XXXII.1318.1.1) collected by Klon chen pa dri med 'od zer (1306-1363); the most important evidence is to be found in the Kar glin ži kho-cycles (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 century);

the Kun tu bzan po'i dgonz pa žan thal and the Ka dag rañ 'byañ rañ śar (especially the Bar do lha'i no sprod (XXV.127) revealed by gter ston rGod kyi ldem 'phru can (1337-1408);

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

113 The ını ma dañ zla ba kha sbhor ba chen po gsan ba'i rgyud is to be found in the rNin ma'i rgyud bsu bdun-collection of the Bima snit thig, Delhi, 1973, Vol.III, pp.153-233 (available on LASWR-microfiche, set R-2101, entry 2170 in Tachikawa (1983)), esp. the third and fourth chapters (pp.203, 116ff.), the third chapter treats of a 'chi kha'i (lha ma') bar do in the last chapter a chos rNid bar do and srid pa' bar do (in the second chapter a rañ bzin gnas pa' bar do, corresponding to the rañ bzin skye gnas bar do mentioned in the Kar glin ži kho, is presented). According to Orofino (1985, p.27, n.20) this text is not extant in the edition of the rNin ma pa rgyud bsu 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 ını ma dañ zla ba kha sbhor ba chen po gsan 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 XXV.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\(^{143}\) (especially Ži khrö ņes don sňin po-related texts)\(^{144}\), revealed by the gter ston Las 'phro glin pa (1585-1656), who is also named

\textit{Rig 'de}n 'Ja' tshon sňin po\(^{145}\),

and the mKha' 'gro gsan ba ye Žes kyi rgyud (especially the gsan ba ye Žes kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dan po'ba' man lâg gi gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs, XXVI.235\(^{146}\)) connected with the names of the gter ston gTer bdag glin pa (1646-1714) and his son Padma bdad pa'i rdo rje (1697-?)\(^{147}\).

In these texts the treatment of \textit{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 \textit{chos ņid bar do} and to leave descriptions of a \textit{'chi kha'i bar do}, a \textit{srîd pa'i bar do} and other \textit{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 \textit{chos ņid bar do} (as we shall see in the third paragraph of this chapter, there are probably earlier references to an equivalent \textit{bar do}, a Ži khrö bar do, and a bon ņid 'od gsal gyi bar do in "Bon" and "Bon"-rDzogs chen-texts).

As will be shown in the next paragraph, the \textit{Chos ņid bar do'i gsal 'debs} is the only testimony amongst the Buddhist texts mentioned, which features an actual enumeration and description of a \textit{mandala} of peaceful and wrathful deities in a \textit{chos ņid bar do}. The treatment of the \textit{chos ņid bar do} there is moreover the most comprehensive one extant, that is, if we include the description of the \textit{mandala}. The Ži sla kha sbyor on the other hand gives, as we shall see, a more in-depth treatment of a \textit{chos ņid 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 Žin thig ya bâi by Kjon chen pa dré med 'od zer equally disappear into the haze of legend as soon as we venture out beyond the life-time of its learned compiler (and, sometimes, author). The

\(^{143}\) See Appendix I.

\(^{144}\) See e.g. the Yul 'rub dkon mchog spyi 'dus las Ži khrö ņes don sňin po mten rtags (XLI.11460); the Yul zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus dan Ži khrö ņes don sňin po' phya leg chok grigs blags chog tu bhcod pa 'ja' tshon dgon pa rgyan (XL.1399); the Yul zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus dan de'i cha lag Ži khrö ņes don sňin po' las byan don gsal khyer dber bsgrigs pa padma'i dgon pa rgyan (XL.1079/1083), as indicated in the title extant in the \textit{(Ja) tshon} dKon mchog spyi 'du-'cycle of the \textit{Ja} tshon pod drug (edited by Taktung Tsering Pema Wangyal, Darjeeling 1979-82, see also the Žin ma'i rgyud 'bum Vols IIIff.). And also the later Zah chos Ži khrö ņes don sňin po' sgo nas ral (dan) lagan gyi don mchog su sgrub pa'las(ims) rim 'khor ('tshol) ba'n mun gzons kun bstan thugs rje'i sna' mchod (XL.667, XLI.9, private copy, XL.1416); also Ži khrö ņes don sňin po (XL.652 and 3505) written by Nâg dbyan kun dga' kun 'dzin (1680/81-1728/9) on the basis of the gter mu-s revealed by the gter ston Rgyud 'dezin 'Ja' tshon sňin po (1585-1656).

\(^{145}\) Only in the title-description \textit{dan} is left out and \textit{'khor ba} is replaced by \textit{tshol ba}.

\(^{146}\) Only this BP. distinctly has lam.

\(^{147}\) See Appendix I.

\(^{148}\) See Appendix I, for further bibliographical information see Reference-Numbers Used in Tibetan Sources on \textit{Bar do-s}, XXVI.

\(^{149}\) Compiled from the Thugs rje chen po bde gis rgyud kun 'dus, discovered by gTer bdag glin pa in 1680, written down by his son Padma gyur med rgyu rtsbo (1686-1718) in 1713. The yun-part of this work was extended by Padma bdad pa'i rdo rje into the mKha' 'gro gsan ba ye Žes kyi rgyud (see Shuh (1985), p.XXVIII). Both XXVI.149 and XXVI.126 belong to the later revision.
only clues left to us are the nature and development of the doctrines and ideas presented in the texts themselves.

Even if the \( \text{Ni zla kha sbyor} \) were older than the \( \text{Chos \ rid bar do'i gsal 'debs} \), of which Namkhai Norbu\(^{14}\) 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 \( \text{Ni zla kha sbyor} \) into the \( \text{Chos \ rid bar do'i gsal 'debs} \), as is presumed by Namkhai Norbu\(^{19}\) and Orofino\(^{150}\).

Judging by doctrinal content, there might very well be evidence of direct or indirect borrowings from the \( \text{Ni zla kha sbyor} \) in more similar presentations like the later exposition of the \( \text{bKa' rgyud 'brug pa}-\text{scholar rTse shogs} \) (1608-?) in his \( \text{Bar do spyi'i don thams cad rnam pa gsal bar byed pa dran pa'i me lon}^{43} \). The descriptions of a \( \text{chos \ rid bar do} \) in the \( \text{Chos \ rid bar do'i gsal 'debs} \), however, are too divergent from those in the \( \text{Ni zla kha sbyor} \) to allow such a strong dependence as suggested by Namkhai Norbu and Orofino. The \( \text{Chos \ rid bar do'i gsal 'debs} \) leans heavily on the description of \( \text{zi khro} \), the \( \text{Ni zla kha sbyor} \) in turn concentrates on descriptions of general experiences of luminosity and colour, often in geometrical shapes, and features quite numerous references to specific \( \text{rDzogs chen}- \)practices. In addition to that, the \( \text{chos \ rid bar do} \) makes, as far as its theoretical doctrinal content is concerned, a much less developed impression than the \( \text{Ni zla kha sbyor} \), that is, of course, except for the description of the peaceful and wrathful deities. On the other hand, the enumeration and elaborate descriptions of \( \text{zi khro} \), so prominent in the \( \text{Chos \ rid bar do'i gsal 'debs} \) are conspicuously absent in the \( \text{Ni zla kha sbyor} \), 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 \( \text{bar do-} \), \( \text{chos \ rid bar do-} \), and \( \text{zi khro}-\)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 \( \text{bKa' rgyud pa-} \text{-siddha-s} \) discussed above seem to represent rather unique and specific strands of \( \text{bar do} \)-teachings focusing on the practice of \( \text{rtsa rlun-yoga} \);

the \( \text{Ni zla kha sbyor} \) seems to represent another quite distinctive strand of teachings and practices focusing on experiences of luminosity, which are by the way rather prominent in "\text{Bon}-rDzogs chen-traditions}^{137} \), the \( \text{Zi ba bar do} \)

\(^{14}\) See Orofino (1985), pp.4f., the \( \text{Ni zla kha sbyor} \) is said to be taught for the first time by \( \text{bKa' rab rdo rje} \), who, according to Namkhai Norbu was born three hundred and sixty years after \( \text{Buddha's purinirvāna} \) in the Tibetan year of the female wood sheep, on the eighteenth day of the first month in the country of \( \text{Uṣṇīśva} \), and who according to legend, indeed, precedes \( \text{Padmasambhava} \), the supposed author of the \( \text{Chos \ rid bar do'i gsal 'debs} \), in the line of transmission.

\(^{150}\) See Orofino (1985), pp.4f., especially the hypothetical derivation of the sub-division of \( \text{bar do-} \) states in the \( \text{Chos \ rid bar do'i gsal 'debs} \) from the classification used in the \( \text{Ni zla kha sbyor} \).

\(^{137}\) 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."

\(^{131}\) In the \( \text{rTse le sna tshogs} \) \( \text{rnam grol gyi gsal 'bum} \), accessible in the IASWR-microfiche-edition, fiche 23523 R-2281/2, based on a reprint of a manuscript from the library of Dudjom Rinpoche edited by Sanje Dorje, Vol.II, chapter 3, pp.139-233, Delhi 1974.

\(^{132}\) See e.g. Karmay (1988), pp.203-205, discussing the text \( \text{rDzogs pa chen po} \) \( \text{zaḥ ūn śīśan rgyud las} \) \( \text{Khor lo bész shrag} \), especially the fourth section called \( \text{bar do dus kyi khor lo} \), also extant in the \( \text{rDzogs pa chen po} \) \( \text{zaḥ ūn śīśan rgyud kyi gsal phod} \), see Chandra (1964), pp.446-465; cf. also the \( \text{rDzogs pa chen po} \) \( \text{zaḥ ūn śīśan rgyud las} \) \( \text{Od gsal gsum kyi me loṅ} \), Chandra (1964), pp.583-599.
KAR GLIŅ ZI KHRÖ

lam gyi mtshan 'tib 13 in the (mKha' 'gro yam thig) of the sNīn thig ya bţi collected by Klon chen pa dri med 'od zer borrows heavily from the Nī zla kha sbyor, the Nī 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 144.

the Kar glii zi khrö-cycles are very much concerned with Mahāyoga-like visualisation-practices, they feature the first elaborate descriptions of zi khrö in a separate bar do in a "Buddhist" context -- the most elaborate one being recorded in the Chos rīd bar do'i gsal 'debs 155 -- and they appear to focus on practices concerning these peaceful and wrathful deities, also in their later compilations; the gSaṅ ba ye sēs kyi mKha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dan pho ba'i man nag gi gsal byed gan gyi lam grogs, XXVI.235) from the mKha' 'gro gSaṅ ba ye sēs kyi rgyud follows the Chos rīd bar do'i gsal 'debs almost verbatim, omitting certain passages and commenting on others;

then there is the late strand of the 'ja' tshan zi khrö, a zi khrö-tradition according to the gter ston Rigs 'dzin 'Ja' tshan sNīn po, which does not seem to be more than a variant of the kar glii zi khrö, equally focusing on practices concerning zi khrö but featuring an extended mandala of one hundred and seven (teen) deities (instead of one hundred (and ten) in the kar glii zi khrö); 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 khrö bar do, e.g. the sNīn rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo, a (diverging) mandala of zi khrö 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 156.

The Ka dag ra's byun ran sar-cycle contains a very interesting and probably relatively ancient text, the Bar do lha'i no sprod. The teaching called Bar do lha'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 idealu

133 See XXIII.1318h, pp.133-154.

1 Reading: lags.

156 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.

157 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 gaṇacakra was prepared in the three-storied pinnacle (of bSgam 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 riid bar do is not yet mentioned here (XXV.127, folio 2r, l.1 - 2v, l.1)\textsuperscript{134}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item ran bzin gnas pa'i bar (ma) do;
  \item tin ne 'dzin gyi bar (ma) do;
  \item rmi lam gyi bar do;
  \item skye si bar do;
  \item srid pa'i bar (ma) do.
\end{itemize}

In the Ni zi kha sbyor, also, five\textsuperscript{19} bar do-s are mentioned, four of which (all except the second) are actually discussed in the text:

\begin{itemize}
  \item ran bzin (gnas pa'i) bar do;
  \item tin ne 'dzin gyi bar do\textsuperscript{160};
  \item 'chi kha'i bar do or 'chi ba (ma)'i bar do;
  \item chos riid (kyi) bar do or chos riid dag gi bar do;
  \item srid pa'i (i) bar do.
\end{itemize}

In the sNin thig ya bzi only four bar do-s are mentioned\textsuperscript{161}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item skye(s) nas gnas pa'i bar do or skye gnas kyi bar do;
  \item 'chi kha(i) bar do or 'chi ka'i bar do;
  \item chos riid (kyi) bar do, divided into a ₪ ba bar do and a khro bo bar do;
  \item srid pa(i) bar do.
\end{itemize}

Though there are teachings and practices regarding dreams in the sNin thig ya bzi\textsuperscript{162}, a rmi lam gyi bar do is not mentioned.

\textsuperscript{134} See text-edition in Appendix II.

\textsuperscript{19} Namkhai Norbu presents (Orofino (1985), pp.5f.) a deviating list of five bar do-s, which he cites from the Ni zi kha sbyor, (no locus citarum). The first five lines of his quotation are indeed to be found in sNin ma'i rgyud bcu bsdun, Delhi, 1973, Vol.III, p.186, l.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 birth and death,
the bar-do of dream,
the bar-do of existence,"

\textsuperscript{160} Only mentioned once (Orofino (1985), p.110, l.13). This bar do is not mentioned by Orofino (1985, pp.10f.) in her list.

\textsuperscript{161} See for instance the ′zi ba bar do lam gyi mthsan riid, XXII.1318.1.h (pp.133-154), said to be compiled by the legendary Padmasambhava and the short text called Chos riid bar do'i yon tan, XXIII.1318.11 (pp.191-195).

\textsuperscript{162} See e.g. the rMi lam shugs 'jug, XXIII.1321.1.n (pp.108-116).
And in the important Kar gluṅ zi khro-text, the Chos ŋid 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;
rmu lam gyi bar do;
tin ne 'dzin bsam gyan gyi bar do;
'chi khai bar do;
chos ŋid (kyi) bar do, also divided into a ēi 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 Ni zla 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 (rmu lam) and states of meditative absorption (tin ne 'dzin or in Skt. samādhi(samāpatti)-s) 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 Abhidharmaśabhaṣya, 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 ŋid 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 ŋid 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:

165 See the typical enumeration following the list of six bar do-s in Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.15,II.2-4
166 Or as the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs has it, tin ne 'dzin bsam gyan: the stages of meditation (dhyanā) 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 pertaining to a changed level of consciousness (whatever that may be) and both form part of a bar do of life (see e.g. the rNiḥ ma'i rgyud bceu bdel, 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 bźin 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 "tiṅ he 'dzin bsam gian gyi bar do" is said to be in the interval of contemplating dhammatā 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 śi bar do" is said to be in the interval from cognition of (the moment of) death until (the moment that) breath has not (yet) ceased; for this instructions for understanding cognition (at death) are necessary.

The "srīd 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 srīd pa'i bar do also described as instructions for the meeting of son and mother dhammatā).

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 śi bar do, which in this text apparently refers to what is elsewhere called 'chi kha'i bar do'. This is quite different from the use of this term in the Nā ro pa'i rnam thar and the mGur 'bum, where it refers to what is, again elsewhere, styled as (rañ bźin) skye gnas bar do or rañ bźin (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...
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 niid 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 rflin 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 recyclation 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 recyclcd is most probably greatly indebted to an interesting and controversial group of "old" tantra-s, usually referred to as the Guhyagarbhatattvaviniścayamahātantra (Tib. gSaṅ ba'i sNign po de kho na riid ṇes pa, also called: rGyud gsan ba sNiṅ po; sGyu 'phrul rtsa rgyud; sGyu 'phrul gsan ba sNiṅ po; gSaṅ ba sNign po; sNiṅ po; sNign po'i rgyud; rTsa rgyud gsan ba sNign po; and gSaṅ

References to this link are to be found in Ehrhard (1990), n.144, (p.124). Ehrhard refers here to two texts by gZan phan miha' yas (1800-?), to wit the gNad 'üren gyi migs mams sbyor sNign po dril ba (p.515, II.6f.) and the sKya rens dan po (p.304, II.1-3), according to Ehrhard, gZan phan miha' yas also mentions the Dri med byaigs pa'i rgyud as a source for the kar glin zi khro; and also, briefly, in a popularising exposé by Thurman (1994, p.56) preceding dito translations of Kar glin zi khrö-texts.

Especially the rites concerning sexual union (sbyor) and "deliverance" (sgron) as expounded in chapter 11 of the gSaṅ ba'i sNign po (XXI.14.p.34, 1.5 - p.37, 1.5, esp. p.35, II.5f.) have at times stood under severe criticism (see Karmay (1988), pp.221-223, see further references there, especially Karmay (1979)).
ba sgyu 'phrul, Dudjom Rinpoché (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 Jñānākumāra (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 Vimalaṁita (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 sṛṣṭi po is considered to be something like a standard authoritative treatise on Maññūyo. Most probably this cycle of texts has also been of general importance for the development rDzogs chen-traditions.

In the gSaṅ ba'i sṛṣṭi po a māṇḍala of one hundred peaceful and wrathful deities is already extant. It is quite similar to the one described for the Chos ņid bar do'i gsal 'debs, with the prominent exception of the central Buddha of the māṇḍala, which in the gSaṅ ba'i sṛṣṭi po (and, as we will soon see, in some other texts) is not Vairocana (rNam par snaḥ mdzad) but Vajrasattva-Aksobhya (rDo rje sems dpa' Mi bskyod pa), the absence of the māṇḍala 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 sṛṣṭi po, the māṇḍala 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 Guhyagarbhatatāvānācayamahātantra and its Xvth Century Tibetan Commentary Phyogs bcu man sel, three volumes, unpublished Ph.D.-Thesis, University of London 1987. Of possible interest is also the dPal gsaṅ ba'i sṛṣṭi po'i rgyud kyi khoogs dbub (XL.4103), an eleventh-century history of the gSaṅ ba'i sṛṣṭi po.

187 The following commentaries that are extant in the bsTan 'gyur were consulted: rGyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gsaṅ ba'i sṛṣṭi po'i 'grel pa (XX.PTT.82.248.1.5 - 279.4.7) = comm.1; dPal gsaṅ ba'i sṛṣṭi po de kho na ņid hes pa('i) rgya chen bsdod pa'i 'grel pa (XX.PTT.83.1.3 - 70.3.7) = comm.2; dPal gsaṅ ba'i sṛṣṭi po'i don bsdus 'grel pinlālahra (XX.PTT.83.177.1.1 - 188.4.6) = comm.3; (dPal gSaṅ ba'i sṛṣṭi po'i rim pa gsal kyi don' (XX.PTT.83.262.2.4 - 3.6) = comm.4). The table of contents to the PTT-edition reads dpa'i.

188 See also Appendix I.

189 gSaṅ ba'i sṛṣṭi po de kho na ņid hes pa (XXI.14.1-61), p.6, II.6f..

190 According to Dudjom Rinpoché (1991, Vol.I, p.533) Vimalaṁita transmitted these teachings to rMa rin chen mchog and translated them together with him, while sNags Jñānakumāra translated the gSaṅ ba'i sṛṣṭi po from Padmasambhava. The second text in this section of the rGyud 'bum, a short text called gSaṅ ba'i sṛṣṭi po phyi ma (XXI.14.62-67), p.67, II.4f., mentions a Jñānartha (not to confuse a later Jñānartha, one of Mar pa's teachers, Ye sles sṛṣṭi po (= Jñānartha)) or Thar pa lam ston, also called Kukurpa) and Vairocana as translators.

191 According to Dudjom Rinpoché (1991, Vol.I, p.481) Vimalaṁita was particularly learned in the gSaṅ ba'i sṛṣṭi 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 sṛṣṭi 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\textsuperscript{195}).

In chapters fifteen and sixteen of the root-tantra\textsuperscript{196} several of the fifty-eight wrathful deities are mentioned, some of their familiar Samskṛt names appear in mantra-s and dhāraṇi-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\textsuperscript{197} the root-tantra presents the so-called mandala of the "rosary of letters (yi ge'i 'phren bu)". 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\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{199}, however, in which a summary of the mandala and some mantra-s and dhāraṇi-s pertaining to it are presented, a few names (mainly of the female Bodhisatva-consorts) do appear. The set of forty-two ḍī and ḍāli (in this case rather kāli and ali)\textsuperscript{200} letters and syllables that are discussed in that fourth chapter are arranged in an order that comes close to a Samskṛt alphabet but also has some features of a Tibetan alphabet as well as some peculiarities not common to either of them\textsuperscript{201}.

\textsuperscript{195} E.g. XX.PTT.83.58.4.5ff.,
\textsuperscript{196} See XXI.14.1-61., p.42.1.2 - p.52.1.7, sec 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.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{198} In XX.PTT.83.31.3.7 - 4.5, mention is made of diverging shapes of the deities attributed to the ḍī and kāli, different from those described in the commentary above; an example of these deviating shapes is listed there.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{200} According to Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, p.292) the term ḍīkāli is employed as a name for shyor and sgrol, rites concerning sexual union and "deliverance".
From a white \( \text{ॐ} \)

the forty-two syllables depicted in the table below to the left are said to emanate. In the commentaries the \( \text{āl} \) and \( \text{kāl} \) are explicitly and repeatedly identified as the \( \text{sa bon} \) (Skt. \( \text{biṣa-s} \)) of the male and female peaceful deities (and Bodhisattva-s), for instance already right at the beginning of commentary \( Z\text{zo}2 \) by \( \text{Ni ma'} \text{sen ge'} \text{'od} \) 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 \( \text{biṣa-s} \) associated with these deities in the Sanskrit transliteration of mantra-s and dhāraṇī-s.

Note that, in accordance with Tibetan custom, the vowels are listed after the consonant(-ligatures), moreover, the Sanskrit \( \text{ā} \) and all the retroflex-vowels are lacking in the root-tantra\(^{202}\). The \( \text{wa} \) or \( \text{va} \) is neither arranged according to the Sanskrit alphabetical order (after \( \text{la} \)) nor according to the Tibetan alphabetical order (preceding (\( \text{za}, \text{za}, \text{ˈa}, \text{ya}, \text{ra}, \text{la}, \text{the first three of which are not extant here} \)). The \( \text{ksa} \), one of the few Sanskrit ligatures that survived in a modern Indo-Aryan language like Hindi, is added as a thirty-fourth consonant. Furthermore in the rGyud 'bum-version there is no tsheg between the \( \text{swa} \) (sic!) and the \( \text{ha} \), thus suggesting the auspicious Sanskrit interjection \( \text{svaḥ} \). Lastly the transliteration of the diphthongs into Tibetan is (in the rGyud 'bum version)\(^{204}\) indicated by a subscribed \( \text{a chun-elongation-sign} \) and not by the more usual doubling of the dren bu- and na ro-diacritics.

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

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\( \text{ष} \) & \( \text{ष} \) & \( \text{ṣ} \) & \( \text{ṣ} \) & \( \text{ṣ} \) \\
\hline
\( \text{श} \) & \( \text{श} \) & \( \text{ṣ} \) & \( \text{ṣ} \) & \( \text{ṣ} \) \\
\hline
\( \text{ह} \) & \( \text{ह} \) & \( \text{ह} \) & \( \text{ह} \) & \( \text{ह} \) \\
\hline
\( \text{प} \) & \( \text{प} \) & \( \text{प} \) & \( \text{प} \) & \( \text{प} \) \\
\hline
\( \text{फ} \) & \( \text{फ} \) & \( \text{फ} \) & \( \text{फ} \) & \( \text{फ} \) \\
\hline
\( \text{भ} \) & \( \text{भ} \) & \( \text{भ} \) & \( \text{भ} \) & \( \text{भ} \) \\
\hline
\( \text{म} \) & \( \text{म} \) & \( \text{म} \) & \( \text{म} \) & \( \text{म} \) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\(^{202}\) 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.83.30.1Af.. The commentary was translated by the Indian pandita Pra swa ta la and by the lo tse ba Pad ma ru tshe; for additional bibliographical information see Appendix I.

\(^{203}\) In the PIT-edition the long vowel \( \text{ā} \) does appear, however, and in one of the commentaries (e.g. XX.PIT.83.18.3.8, and 31.2-5) all Sanskrit vowels including the retroflexes and two additions (\( \text{am} \) and \( \text{ah} \)) are discussed (in the correct order with the fictive \( \text{am} \) and \( \text{ah} \) at the end), the retroflexes are styled \( \text{ma niḥ} \) (XX.PIT.83.29.5.7f., 31.1.1f.).

\(^{204}\) All the many irregularities and variant readings that appear at this (and other) points in the PIT-edition of the root-tantra and other rGyud 'bum- and PIT-tantra-s and commentaries belonging to this cycle will not be listed here; especially the transliteration of Sanskrit 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 gSaṅ ba’i sūn po and compare them to the corresponding deities that are extant in later presentations in a Kar glin zi khro-text, the Chos niid bar do’i gsal ‘debs206, and a Na rag don sprug(s)-text206, the Zi khro sgyu ’phrul gyi phyag ’tshal na rag don sprugs rnal ’byor gyi spyi ‘khrus (third column205). 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 gSaṅ ba’i sūn po209 are adjusted to this order. In the first table the bijamantra-s used in the Kar glin/la’ tshan zi khro (btja I209) and those used in the gSaṅ ba’i sūn po (btja II) are also compared. Except for the several Chos niid bar do’i gsal ‘debs-editions the spelling of the names and categories is not corrected, the often faulty transliterations of Sanskrit names are presented as they appear.

The gSaṅ ba’i sūn 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 “gSaṅ ba’i sūn 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 gSaṅ ba’i sūn po and the coupling present in the kar glin 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 “gSaṅ ba’i sūn po” is therefore split into two sub-columns.

Apart from the extension with seven deities mentioned below, the mandala described in the Zi khro nes don sūn po is practically the same as the one described in the Chos niid bar do’i gsal ‘debs:

205 Apart from the extension with seven deities mentioned below, the mandala described in the Zi khro nes don sūn po is practically the same as the one described in the Chos niid bar do’i gsal ‘debs:
206 XLI.335b (=653), 650, 653 (=336b), the text is discussed in more detail later-on in this paragraph.
207 This column bears the heading (Zi khro) sgyu ’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 Tathāgata-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 Tathāgata as 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 khrö 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 ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs features. Commentary 2 of the gSaṅ ba'i sniṅ 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 śes, Skt. viññāna) that are associated with these deities do not match for commentary 2 of the gSaṅ ba'i sniṅ po and the Zi khrö sgyu 'phrul (the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs does not discuss these311); some deities have different associations, even if we would rearrange the male Bodhisattva-s of commentary 2 of the gSaṅ ba'i sniṅ po, according to the diverging arrangement of the Zi khrö sgyu 'phrul. In short, the arrangements of the Bodhisattva-s and their consorts are really different in commentary 2 of the gSaṅ ba'i sniṅ po, the Zi khrö sgyu 'phrul, and the Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs.

311 The eight viññāna-s associated with the eight Bodhisattva-s of the 'ju thon zi khrö are summarised in Lauf, 1975, pp.132-136, esp. pp.134f. (this summary is based on the late presentation in the Zi khrö rjes don sniṅ po). As Lauf indicates (pp.135f.), other classifications can be met with elsewhere.
### Peaceful Deities (ཞི་བའི་ལྷ་ཐོགས)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit name</th>
<th>Tibetan name</th>
<th>sGyu 'phrul</th>
<th>bija I</th>
<th>gSa བའི་སྙིན་པོ</th>
<th>bija II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A</strong> Ádibuddha and consort</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ádibuddhasamantabhadrā</td>
<td>Daṅ po saṅs rgyas kun tu bzaṅ po</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>dPal kun tu bzaṅ po</td>
<td></td>
<td>kṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Samantabhadra</td>
<td>Kun tu bzaṅ mo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>dPal kun tu bzaṅ mo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B</strong> Five Tathāgatas and consorts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Vairocana</td>
<td>rNam par saṅ mād</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>OM Mi bskyod pa</td>
<td></td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Ākāśadhātīśvāri</td>
<td>Nam mkha'i dbyin phug ma</td>
<td>4*</td>
<td>lam rDo rje dbyin kyi dbaṅ phyug ma</td>
<td></td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Vajrasattva-Ākṣobhya</td>
<td>rDo rje sems dpa' Mi bskyod pa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>hrih rNam par saṅ mād (comm.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>thā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Locanā</td>
<td>Saṅs rgyas spyan ma</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>maṃ Sans rgyas spyan ma (comm.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>iha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Ratnasambhava</td>
<td>Rin chen 'byün ldan</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>traṃ Rin chen 'byun ldan (comm.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Māmakī</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>maṃ transliterated (comm.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Amītābha</td>
<td>sNaṅ ba mtha' yas</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>hūṃ sNaṅ ba mtha' yas (comm.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>dha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Pāṇḍara</td>
<td>Gos dkar mo</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>paṃ Na bza' dkar mo (comm.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>dha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td>Don yod grub pa</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>āḥ Don yod par grub pa (comm.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Samayatāra</td>
<td>Dam tshig grol ma</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>taṃ Dam tshig sgrol ma (comm.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit name</td>
<td>Tibetan name</td>
<td>sGyu 'phrul</td>
<td>bija I</td>
<td>gSaṅ ba'i sīṇā po</td>
<td>bija II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
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<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C Eight Mahābodhisattvas and consorts</strong></td>
<td><strong>Byañ chub sens dpa' chen po bṛgyad</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Ksitigarbha</td>
<td>Sa yi sīṇā po</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>ksīh</td>
<td>rDo rje mthoṅ ba (comm.2)</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 (Vajra)lāṣyā</td>
<td>transliterated (rDo rje sgeg ma)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>hūṁ</td>
<td>rDo rje sgeg ma (comm.2)</td>
<td>'sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Maitreya</td>
<td>Byams pa</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>meḥ</td>
<td>rDo rje thos byed (comm.2)</td>
<td>pha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 (Vajra)puspā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje me tog ma)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>hūṁ</td>
<td>rDo rje me tog (comm.2)</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Samantabhadra</td>
<td>Kun tu bzaṅ po</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>hūṁ</td>
<td>rDo rje thos pa (comm.2)</td>
<td>kha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 (Vajra)mālā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje 'phreṅ ba ma)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>trām</td>
<td>rDo rje phreṅ ba ma (comm.2)</td>
<td>iṣha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Ākāśagarbha</td>
<td>Nam mkha'i sīṇā po</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>trīh</td>
<td>rDo rje mthoṅ byed (comm.2)</td>
<td>pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 (Vajra)dhūpā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje bṛug spos ma)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>dza</td>
<td>rDo rje bṛug pa (comm.2)</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Avalokiteśvara</td>
<td>sPyan ras bzigs</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>hṛīh</td>
<td>rDo rje mṛloṅ ba (comm.2)</td>
<td>ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 (Vajra)gītā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje sgra dbyaṅs ma)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>hṛīh</td>
<td>rDo rje glu ba ma (comm.2)</td>
<td>dza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Mañjuśrī</td>
<td>'Jam dpal dbyāṅs</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>mum</td>
<td>rDo rje mṛloṅ byed (comm.2)</td>
<td>bha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 (Vajra)ālokā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje mar me ma)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>bṃ</td>
<td>rDo rje mar me (comm.2)</td>
<td>ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Nīvaraṇavīksambhīn</td>
<td>sGrib pa rnam par sel ba</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>thīh</td>
<td>rDo rje snum byed (comm.2)</td>
<td>bha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 (Vajra)gandhā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje dri chab ma)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>ho</td>
<td>rDo rje dri chab (comm.2)</td>
<td>la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Vajrapāṇi</td>
<td>Phyag na rdo rje</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>džīh</td>
<td>rDo rje snum pa (comm.2)</td>
<td>gha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 (Vajra)nṛtyā</td>
<td>translit. (Gar bṣgyur ma)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>rDo rje gar ba ma (comm.2)</td>
<td>dzha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit name</td>
<td>Tibetan name</td>
<td>Zi khro sgyu 'phrul</td>
<td>bija I</td>
<td>gSa'i ba'i sii'i po</td>
<td>bija II</td>
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<tr>
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<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D</strong> Four Gatekeepers and consorts</td>
<td><strong>sGo ba bzi</strong></td>
<td><strong>sGo ma bzi</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Vijaya</td>
<td>Khro bo rnam par rgyal ba</td>
<td>Khro bo chen po stobs chen po</td>
<td>hüm</td>
<td>Khro ba šes rab thar byed (comm.2)</td>
<td>ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Vajraṅkṣi</td>
<td>(rDo rje) lcags skyu ma</td>
<td>translit. + rDo rje lcags skyu ma</td>
<td>dām</td>
<td>rDo rje lcags skyu ma (comm.2)</td>
<td>ña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 Yamāṇiaka</td>
<td>(Khro bo) gšin rje gshed po</td>
<td>Khro bo chen po gšin rje gshed po</td>
<td>hüm</td>
<td>Khro bo gšin rje gshed (comm.2)</td>
<td>ña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 Vajrapāśi</td>
<td>(rDo rje) žags ma</td>
<td>translit. + rDo rje žags pa ma</td>
<td>hüm</td>
<td>rDo rje žags ma (comm.2)</td>
<td>ma '</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 Hayagrīva</td>
<td>(Khro bo) rta mgrin rgyal po</td>
<td>Khro bo chen po rta mgrin</td>
<td>hüm</td>
<td>Khro bo rta mgrin (comm.2)</td>
<td>ma '</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 Vajraśrkalā</td>
<td>(rDo rje) lcags sgrog ma</td>
<td>translit. + rDo rje lcags sgrog ma</td>
<td>bām</td>
<td>rDo rje lcags sgrog ma (comm.2)</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 Amṛakundalīn</td>
<td>(Khro bo) bdud rtsi 'khyil ba</td>
<td>Khro bo chen po bdud rtsi 'khyil pa</td>
<td>hüm</td>
<td>Khro bo bdud rtsi 'khyil ba (comm.2)</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 Vajraghaṇīa</td>
<td>(rDo rje) dril bu ma</td>
<td>translit. + rDo rje dril bu ma</td>
<td>ho</td>
<td>rDo rje dril bu ma (comm.2)</td>
<td>ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E</strong> Six Buddha-s of spṛul pa'i thub pa drug the bhavacakra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 (Indra/Śakra)</td>
<td>brGya byin</td>
<td>lha'i thub pa</td>
<td>om</td>
<td>lha('i thub pa) (comm.2)</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<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>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 Śākyamuni</td>
<td>Śākya seṅ ge</td>
<td>mi'i thub pa</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>mi'i thub pa (comm.2)</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 (Simha)</td>
<td>Seṅ ge rab brtan</td>
<td>byol soṅ gi thub pa</td>
<td>pad</td>
<td>byol soṅ (gi thub pa) (comm.2)</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 (Jvalāmukhi)</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>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<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>
<td>aĩ</td>
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</table>
Neutral, neither Peaceful nor Wrathful Deities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit name</th>
<th>Tibetan name</th>
<th>Zi khro sgyu 'phrul</th>
<th>gSañ ba'i sñin po</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Five Vidyādhara-s</strong>&lt;br&gt;and consorts</td>
<td>Rig 'dzin lña</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Padma gar gyi dbañ phyug&lt;br&gt;consort</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sa la gnas pa'i rig 'dzin&lt;br&gt;consort</td>
<td>referred to elsewhere</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tshe la dbañ ba'i rig 'dzin&lt;br&gt;consort</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Phyag rgya chen po'i rig 'dzin&lt;br&gt;consort</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lhun gyi grub pa'i rig 'dzin&lt;br&gt;consort</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Wrathful Deities (Khro bo'i Lha tshogs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit name</th>
<th>Tibetan name</th>
<th>Zi khro sgyu 'phrul</th>
<th>gSañ ba'i sñin po</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A</strong>&lt;br&gt;Ādiheruka and&lt;br&gt;consort (usually absent)</td>
<td>(Dañ po he ru ka)</td>
<td>dPal kun tu bzañ po he ru ka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāśrītheruka&lt;br&gt;Krodheśvari</td>
<td>Che mchog he ru ka&lt;br&gt;transliterated</td>
<td>1 dPal che mchog he ru ka&lt;br&gt;11 consort</td>
<td>Ma hā śrī he ru ka&lt;br&gt;(rDo rje dbyiñs kyi) dbañ phyug ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit name</td>
<td>Tibetan name</td>
<td>Zi khro sgyu 'phrul</td>
<td>gSañ ba'i sfiñ po</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five Heruka-s and Krodheivari-consorts (He ru ka ltha)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Buddhaheruka</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>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>Buddha kro dri sa ri ma</td>
<td>Sarba ta thā ga ta mahā kro tī śwa ri²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Vajraheruka</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>Badzra he ru ka</td>
<td>Badzra mahā śrī he ru ka³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Vajrakrodheśvari</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>Badzra kro dri sa ri ma</td>
<td>Mahā badzra da ra mahā kro tī śwa ri⁴</td>
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<td>Brāhmaṇi Tshaṅs pa dmar ser sbrul mgo</td>
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<td>Vaiśnavi tGogs 'dod sion mo sre mon mgo</td>
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<td>Kumāri gZhon nu dmar mo dred mgo</td>
<td>6 Dred mgo can</td>
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<td>Indrāṇī brGya byin dkar mo dom mgo</td>
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<td>Vajrī rDo rje ser mo pha waiṅ mgo</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>Śānti Ži ba dmar mo chu srin mgo</td>
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<td>Amṛtā bDud rsi dmar mo sding pa'i mgo</td>
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<td>Candra Zla ba dkar mo khra'i mgo</td>
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<td>Dāndā Be con ljan nag wa'i mgo</td>
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?1 Badzra aya te tsa te ūal ?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
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<td>46 Rākṣasi</td>
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<td>47 Abhilāśi</td>
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<td>54 Varunī</td>
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<td>55 Mahākālī</td>
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<td>58 Lambodārī</td>
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| Mandal 1 | |
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| 1.12 Za ba mo | | 1.13 dGa' ba mo | | 1.14 dBar mgo | | 1.15 gCig hu spyod ma | | 1.16 Yid 'phrog ma | | 1.17 Grub mgo | |
| 2.17 Za ba mo | | 2.18 Sīr mgo | | 2.22 Grub mgo | | 2.26 rGan byed mo | |

| Mandal 2 | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2.23 Ruṅ mo | | 2.25 Phag mo | | 2.27 sNa chad mo | | 2.28 Chu lha mgo | |
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| 2.12 dGa' ba mo | | 2.24 Me mo | | 2.25 Phag mo | | 2.27 sNa chad mo | | 2.13 'Jug sred mo | |
| 2.22 Grub mgo | | 2.28 Chu lha mgo | | 2.27 sNa chad mo | | 2.28 Chu lha mgo | | 2.19 Khrag 'thun gis myos mo | | 2.21 Yid 'phrog ma | |
| 2.26 rGan byed mo | | 2.27 sNa chad mo | | 2.28 Chu lha mgo | | 2.28 Chu lha mgo | | 2.19 Khrag 'thun gis myos mo | | 2.21 Yid 'phrog ma | | 2.26 rGan byed mo | | 2.26 rGan byed mo | | 2.26 rGan byed mo |
### 'Ja' tshon ལོ་ཁྲོ་ only (ཞི་ཁྲོ་ ཉེས་དོན་སིིིན་པོ):

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### 'Ja' tshon ལོ་ཁྲོ་ only (ཞི་ཁྲོ་ ཉེས་དོན་སིིིན་པོ):

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<td>rDo rje sgra dbyaṅs ma 11</td>
<td>rDo rje sgra dbyaṅs ma 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KAR GJIN ŽI KHRÖ
* Here called *Yum chen mo kun tu bzang mo*(!) and *Yum chen mo nam mkha'yi dbyiṅs phyug ma* (the other consorts are also referred to as *Yum chen mo + rDo rje, Rin chen, Padma, and Las kyi dbyiṅs phyug ma*).

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

2 =Sa'i sṇīḥ po (comm.1)and 2)

3 =Byams pa (comm.1)and 2)

4 =Kun tu bzang po (comm.1)and 2)

5 =Nam mkha'yi sṇīḥ po (comm.1)

6 =sPyan ras gzigs (comm.1)

7 =sJam dpal dbyangs

8 =sGrib pa rnam sel

9 =Phyag na rdo rje (comm.1)

* I would have expected sa here.

* Only in the mantra *cum dhāraṇāf* section, in comm.2: *Badora he ru ka!*

* In comm.2 the consort is not specified.

* Only in the mantra *cum dhāraṇāf* 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. *Kag'u ri ma 4, Pe to li*

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

* Fully: *sGrib pa rnam par sel ba.*
There is a wealth of more, interesting material available in the gSPar ba'i sRin 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 khrO.

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 sprug(s)" in their titles.

The most important text (to our concern at least) was already utilised in the above tables, i.e. the Zi khrO sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tsul na rag don sprug sng sbyor 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 Kaśmīrīan 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 Jñāna-kumāra (eighth century AD) and Rin chen mchog (7??-836) from rMā, are also connected with the translation of the root-tantra of the gSPar ba'i sRin po. An abbreviated version of (most probably) the Zi khrO sgyu 'phrul exists under the pitiful title Na rag don sprugs (XL.I.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 sprug(s)-texts, featuring a summary of a zi khrO-mandala, the Nam chag sdi sgrIth thams cad bSogs pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprug, attributed to the grand old (noble)man of rDzo gch'en, Na'h ran t'i ma 'od zer (1124-1192), was in its original (composite and

211 Na rag don sprug(s) also refers to an emanation of Avalokiteśvara and is thus considered to be a deity itself, analogous to the deity Sarvadurgatiparīśodhana in the Sarvadurgatiparīśodhanatantra. For a list of some Na rag don sprug(s)-text, see Appendix I.

212 More bibliographical information can be found in Appendix I, a collasional work-edition based on the three block-prnts 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 Bho gur-monastery. According to the title-description provided with the IASWR-microfiche-edition of this block-print the text was "rediscovered" by Na'h ran t'i 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 Dowman (1994, p.55) the text was composed in the nineteenth century by the 'Jam mgon Kon sprul, Blo gros mtha' yas (1813-1899) on the basis of two texts by the gter ston Gu ru choe kyi dban phyag (1212-1280), who is said to have been a disciple of Na'h ran t'i's son (and main disciple) 'Gro mgon nam mkha' dpal bu (see Dudjom Rinpoche (1991), p.763). These two texts are according to Dowman, the bKa' bkyroggles gcan ha yiru rdzongs, and the 'Khor ba don sprugs, which last includes the bKa' bkyrug drag po ral byan ba'i zi khrO na rag skor bSkas kyi cho ga (see Dowman (1994), p.55, n.62).

Most of the texts bearing the title Nam chag sdi sgrIth thams cad bSogs 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 khrö-type.

The Zi khrö sgyu 'phrul employs a zi khrö-mandala of one hundred and ten deities, which is very similar to the one described in the Chos niid bar do'i 'gsal 'debs. Vajra(sattva)-Aksobhya (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 dhārānt-s pertaining to the peaceful mandala mentioned in the fourth chapter of the root-tantra of the gSang ba'i śrīth 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-zad-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 bsiags bshan zi khrö gsa nh yongs rdzogs duan ran sār (ghīa las bstan pa). This probably does not refer to two texts called Na rag bsiags bshan zi khrö gsa nh yongs rdzogs and Ran sār, 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: na rag bsiags bshan zi khrö as taught in the (hKa' brygyad) gsa nh yongs rdzogs and in the (bKo' brgyad drag po ran byun) ran sār-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-zad-version has a deviating colophon, here (XXIX.5.171-184, p.184, II.2f.) it is said that the giter ma hKa' brygyad gsa nh yongs rdzogs by Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug and the Zi khrö na rag skor bsiags-sūtra that came from giter ma hKa' brygyad drag po ran byun ran sār by Myan (= Nāth) have been-joined together here. Dowman probably consulted this last version. The title he mentions for the second work, the bKa' brygyad drag po ran byun ha\'i zi khrö na rag skor bsiags 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-zad-version actually reads: bKa' brygyad drag po ran byun ran sār las byun ha\'i zi khrö na rag skor bsiags 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 the hKa' brygyad, to wit the bKa' brygyad gsa nh yongs rdzogs-cycle (see XXIX.22.369 - 235), revelations attributed to the giter ston Chos kyi dbang phyug and the bKo' brygyad drag po ran byun ran sār, revealed by the giter ston rGod kyi ldom 'phur can (1337-1408) (see XXIX.23.7-207). Possibly ran sār refers to the Rig pa ran sār chen po'i rgyud, which is extant in the rRin ma'i rgyud bcu bdun, Vol.I, pp.389-855 of the reproduction of the A 'dodr ma brng 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 giter ston Nān stal ni ma 'od zer was considered to be the first, the giter ston Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug the second and the giter ston rGod kyi ldom 'phur 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 sār is attributed to Myan or Nān stal here and not to rGod kyi ldom 'phur can. For, considering the cycles mentioned in the colophon mentioned first, Nān stal ni ma 'od zer would be the only emanation of Padmasambhava not involved in this text, and regarding the dates rGod kyi ldom 'phur can could be the only Padma's min can to be able to make use of his own giter ma. One wonders why Nān stal ni 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 khrö na rag don sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus 'gyud tshags kyi cho ga dren mdig bsiags rgyud (Kern 28.542.40 and XL.1827), which according to its colophon was a giter ma of the "emanation-body" Nān (ral ni ma 'od zer), it is originally said to have been a teaching given by sLoh dpun Padma to Ja mo mTsho rgyal. So the connection of the name of Nān stal ni 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 'id bar do'i gsal 'debs-mandala are even referred to by name\(^{217}\). 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 krodhadevata. 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 Krodhadevata-consorts\(^{218}\).

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 'id bar do'i gsal 'debs-mandala than those mentioned in (the two mandala-s of) the gSaṅ ba'i sīṅ po. 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 gSaṅ ba'i sīṅ po, the Ži khrö sgyu 'phrul lists the Yogini-s in the same order as the Chos 'id bar do'i gsal 'debs.

In the Rin chen gter mdzod, however, two Na rag don sprug(s)-texts are included that, while preserving the extended mandala of Heruka-s\(^{219}\), do feature mandala-s of Gatekeepers and Yogini-s that are very similar to those in the gSaṅ ba'i sīṅ po\(^{220}\). These texts are, the rDo rje sms dang khrugs kyi sgrub pa las gsuṅ pa'i Ži khrö na rak don sprugs thabs (XXXIX.5.119-151)\(^{221}\), and the Ži khrö na rak don sprug gi dbang chog bsad rtis'i gaṅ gā (XXIX.5.189-213)\(^{222}\). The Gatekeepers in XXIX.5.119-151 are also referred to by Tibetan names, but these do not match with those in the gSaṅ ba'i sīṅ po and are more similar to the ones found in the Ži khrö sgyu 'phrul and the Chos 'id 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 skoṅ bsags thugs rje'i zla 'od (XXIX.5.153-187)\(^{222}\), for instance, has the same mandala-s of Gatekeepers and Yogini-s found in the Ži khrö sgyu 'phrul\(^{224}\), in almost exactly the same order, while the extended mandala of Heruka-s is also present.

Another point of agreement with the gSaṅ ba'i sīṅ 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 gSaṅ ba'i sīṅ po -- except for a single stray mantra or dhāraṇī in the peaceful mandala (see XXIX.5.189-213, p.206, ll.4-6).

A very interesting witness is the mandala described in a text called Ži khrö 'nan snyon sbyod ba'i chog sgrigs(lh) khor(ls) dkar(g)s gsal ba'i rgyan Žes ba bka' legs chogs(mar bskod pa (XLI.651\(^{225}\), =XLI.132\(^{226}\), XLI.27\(^{227}\))\(^{228}\). Here we do not find an

\(^{217}\) See for instance XLI.336b, 653, folio 4v, #1.2: <grub pa'i> Sa la gnas pa'i rig 'dzin and XLI.336b, 653, folio 10v, #1.1: Phyag rgya chen po'i rig 'dzin.

\(^{218}\) See the third table above.

\(^{219}\) Another point of agreement with the gSaṅ ba'i sīṅ po is that in both texts the Vajra-family is -- again like in the gSaṅ ba'i sīṅ po -- except for a single "stray" mantra or dhāraṇī (i.e. in XXIX.5.189-213, p.206, ll.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 gSaṅ ba'i sīṅ po in these mandalas.

\(^{220}\) This mandala also appears in the hKa' 'brgyad bde skyes gsum pa, a hKa' 'brgyad-cycle, which is said to be revealed by Nam ral ni ma 'od zer; see a brief overview in XXIX.21.239-241.

\(^{221}\) 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 guy gir pa (1829-1870), which would place the text in the nineteenth-century.

\(^{222}\) The text is said to have been compiled by mChog guy gir pa having combined both root-tantra and the dBar gi 'phrin las.

\(^{223}\) The text is said to have been written by mChog guy gir pa as an upadeśa to the Nun 'gro'i tshu gdul sel byed which came from the Kun bzang rdo rje sms dang yti thugs rje rol pa'i chu gter and was said to be brought to light by Gu ru Padma 'byang gnas.

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

\(^{225}\) Reading: sgrigs khrom.

\(^{226}\) Reading: sgrigs khrum (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 gsSn ba'i sRh in po-mandala(-s) (note that the colours of the Gatekeepers are the same as in the Zi khro sgyu 'phrul and the Na rang don sprug(s)-text XXIX.5.153-187). The Zi khro NaN sSn sbyoN 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 dbyiN phug ma are introduced in a separate mandala with Kun tu bzhan po and Kun tu bzhan mo preceding the four other Tathāgata-s, and are associated with the eastern quarter of this separate mandala (Kun tu bzhan po is associated with the western quarter).

As far as the content is concerned we are no doubt dealing with a genuine Na rang don sprug(s)-text\textsuperscript{220}, but the title clearly suggests another set of tantric purification rituals, the NaN sSn thams cad yons su sbyoN ba (Skt. Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra)\textsuperscript{230}. This is a rather large cycle of purgatory texts focusing on the deities Sarvadurgatipariśodhana, Uṣṇīṣavijaya and Stītapatra. Rites for the dead are explicitly described in the root-tantra. The mandala-s treated in the NaN sSn sbyoN ba are quite different from those described for the Na rang 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 zi khro-mandala of the gsSn ba'i sRh in po it might come close to something like a blueprint for a Na rang don sprug(s)-text. It might be interesting to note here that two of the five Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debz-block-print-editions consulted\textsuperscript{231} are concluded by a short NaN sSn thams cad yons su sbyoN 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 zi 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 Śaṅtigarbha and the Tibetan translator Bande Jayarākṣita, 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 canon\textsuperscript{232}. A second translation by Chos rJe dpal from Chog (1197-1264) and Devendradeva never was subject of any commentary\textsuperscript{233}.\textsuperscript{223}

\textsuperscript{222} Reading: sgrIhs khrom and chogs.
\textsuperscript{224} The text is said to be composed by Ran byun rDo rJe (1284-1339) on the basis of a "good" (read: unsuspected) hKa' ma-Tantra from the early translation period, the Zi khro khrom dkrugs, which was famed among such realised scholars like Vi ma la and gsSn thubs.
\textsuperscript{225} This is mentioned explicitly in the colophon (XLI.651.13t, folio 40r, 11.5f.).
\textsuperscript{226} See Appendix I.
\textsuperscript{227} I.e. Kalsang Lhundup (1969) and Kern 28.452.4.
\textsuperscript{228} See Appendix I.
\textsuperscript{229} For (this and) more information the reader is referred to a study by Skorupsky (1983, Introduction, pp.xiii-xxix).
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 Ži khro nian soñ sbyon ba on the one hand and in the gSaṅ ba'i sśin po on the other, in the table below the deities described in these texts are juxtaposed.
gSañ ba'i sīniñ po

1 Badzra aya te tsa te 'nīl ?rDo rje sriñ 'gro ma
2 Badzra a ma kal ?rDo rje gdoñ ma
3 Badzra lo kal ?rDo rje 'jig rten ma
4 Badzra pa smi pa la ba tol ?rDo rje ro lañs ma

Manḍala 1  Manḍala 2 = comm.2

1.1 Srin mo 2.1 Srin mo chen mo
2.2 Mi yi sriñ mo

1.2 Tshañs ma 2.10 Tshañs ma
1.3 Krhug mo 2.11 'Khrugs mo
1.4 dBan mo 2.12 dBan mo

1.5 'Jug sred mo 2.13 'Jug sred mo
1.6 gZon nu mo 2.14 gZon nu mo

XXIX.5.119-151

1.7 dMar mo 2.3 dMar mo
1.8 bDud rtsi mo 2.15 bDud rtsi mo
1.9 Ži ba mo 2.16 Ži ba mo
1.10 Be chon mo
1.11 Srin mo 2.18 Srin mo
1.12 Za ba mo 2.17 Za ba mo

2.1 Srin mo smug nag g-yag gdoñ
2.2 Mi yi sriñ mo

XXIX.5.119-151

XXIX.5.189-213

XLI.651, 13t

gSañ ba'i sīniñ po

Ži ba'i las mdzad dbañ phyug drug
Ma nu rakṣa sl/ Srin mo smug nag g-yag gdoñ

Ži ba'i las ...
Srin mo dmar ser g-yag gdoñ

1.1 Srin mo 2.1 Srin mo chen mo
chen mo sriñ mo 2.2 Mi yi sriñ mo

1.2 Tshañs ma 2.10 Tshañs ma
1.3 Krhug mo 2.11 'Khrugs mo
1.4 dBan mo 2.12 dBan mo

1.5 'Jug sred mo 2.13 'Jug sred mo
1.6 gZon nu mo 2.14 gZon nu mo

1.7 dMar mo 2.3 dMar mo
1.8 bDud rtsi mo 2.15 bDud rtsi mo
1.9 Ži ba mo 2.16 Ži ba mo
1.10 Be chon mo
1.11 Srin mo 2.18 Srin mo
1.12 Za ba mo 2.17 Za ba mo

XXIX.5.119-151

XXIX.5.189-213

XLI.651, 13t

* = transliterated +
* = transliterated +
* = transliterated +
* = transliterated +
* = transliterated +
* = transliterated +
* = transliterated +
* = transliterated +
* = transliterated +
* = transliterated +

F.1 bDud rtsi mo 2.15 bDud rtsi mo
F.2 dMar mo 2.3 dMar mo
F.3 Ži ba mo 2.16 Ži ba mo
F.4 Srin mo 2.18 Srin mo
F.5 Za ba mo 2.17 Za ba mo
<table>
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<tr>
<th>gSa'i ba'i sūn po</th>
<th>XXIX.5.119-151</th>
<th>XXIX.5.189-213</th>
<th>XLI.651, 13t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mandala 1</td>
<td>dBaṅ gi las mdzad dbaṅ phyug drug</td>
<td>dBaṅ gi las ...</td>
<td>* * = as XXIX.5.119-151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandala 2 = comm.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.13 dGa' ba mo</td>
<td>dGa' ba mo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.14 Ra ro khrag 'thun myos</td>
<td>Khrag 'thun gis myos mo</td>
<td>dGa' byed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.15 gCig bu spyod ma</td>
<td>gCig pur spyod ma</td>
<td>Khrag 'thun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.16 Yid 'phrog ma</td>
<td>Yid 'phrog ma</td>
<td>gCig spyod</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.17 Grub mo</td>
<td>Grub mo</td>
<td>'Dod pa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.18 Rluṅ mo</td>
<td>Rluṅ mo</td>
<td>Nor sruṅ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rluṅ lha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.19 gSod byed mo</td>
<td>gSod byed mo</td>
<td>gSod byed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.20 Me mo</td>
<td>Me mo</td>
<td>Me mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.21 Phag mo</td>
<td>Phag mo</td>
<td>Phag mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.22 rGan byed mo</td>
<td>rGan byed mo</td>
<td>rGan byed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.23 sNa chad mo</td>
<td>sNa chad mo</td>
<td>sNa chad mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.24 Chu lha mo</td>
<td>Chu lha mo</td>
<td>Chu lha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.25 Nag mo chen mo</td>
<td>Nag mo chen mo</td>
<td>Badhra mahā kā li/ Khu byug nag mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.26 Ra mango dmar ser chen mo</td>
<td>dMar ser mo</td>
<td>Badhra tsa ka la/ Ra gdoṅ gser mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.27 Bum sna sho nag chen mo</td>
<td>sNo nag chen mo</td>
<td>Bum sna ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.28 gSus 'dzin ser nag chen mo</td>
<td>Ser nag chen mo</td>
<td>gSus 'dzin ma</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sgo sruṅ bži</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Drag po'i las mdzad dbaṅ phyug drug

Ma hā mā ra badhra/ gSod byed ljan nag spyan mo

Agna yel/ Me mo ljan dmar skyin gdoṅ

Bā rā hi/ Ma mo ljan ser phag gdoṅ

Tsa mundi/ rGan byed ljan non khrā mgo

Suta nām/ sNa chen ljan dmar gnā mgo

Bā ru nū/ Chu lha ljan dmar sbrul gdoṅ

sGo sruṅ bži

* * = as XXIX.5.119-151
* Badzra ārya te dza te na.
  Ārya te dza te nā.
* Badzra ārya te dza te, N.B. colour as in Ži khro sgyu 'phrul and XXIX.5.153-187.
  Badzra a mu khe.
  Badzra a mu khe, N.B. colour as in Ži khro sgyu 'phrul and XXIX.5.153-187.
* Badzra lo ga.
  Badzra lo ka.
  Badzra lo ka, N.B. colour as in Ži khro sgyu 'phrul and XXIX.5.153-187.
* Badzra bha smiṃ pā la ya ba tu.
  Bhasmī bā la yu ba tu.
  Bhasmi bā la ya ba tu, N.B. colour as in Ži khro sgyu 'phrul and XXIX.5.153-187.
* Rau tri.
  Be śna bai.
* In dra ni, transliteration listed in the sixth place.
  Ku ma ri, transliteration listed in the fourth place.
* Amri taṃ.
  Sau mya.
  Donja dam.
  Ra ti badzra.
  Ru dhi ra mattrā.
  Ru dhi ra matta.
* Khrag 'thun ma dmar nag rto gdoṅ.
  Eka tsa ri ni.
* gCig spyod ma dkar dmar khyuṅ gdoṅ.
  Ma no ha ra ma.
  'Dod pa dmar ser khyi gdoṅ.
  Siddhi ka ma.
  Nor stun dkar dmar pu śud mgo.
  Wa ya wa.
  Ruṅ mo dmar skyā ša ba'i mgo.
  Ma hā mā ra ni.
  Makā ma ra na badzra.
  gSod byed ma ljan nag sphyang gdoṅ.
Agme yai.
Agni.
Me mo dmar ser skyin gdoṅ.
Wa ru hi.
Phag mo ljun ser phag gdoṅ.
Tsa mwardi.
Gan hyed ljan ḋon khra ta'i mgo con.
Su ta nam.
Su ta ni.
Na chen ljan dmar ba glaṅ mgo con.
Bo ru ni.
Wa ru ni.
Chu lha ma ljan dmar strul gdoṅ.
Badgra ma ḋa ḡa li.
Badzre mahā ḡa li.
Nag mo chen mo khu byug mgo con.
Badgra tsa ḡa la.
Do rje shon mo ra gdoṅ.
Badgra kumbha ka ṇāṅ.
Badzra kumbha karna.
Bum rna ma dmar mo sen gdoṅ.
Badzra la mchodra ṇāṅ.
Badzra lmboko ḍha ṇāṅ
bSūs 'dzin ma ljun nag skyi kā'i mgo con.
The divergences in the mandala-s described so far mainly centre on three variations of the ti khro-mandala:

- either the Buddha or the Vajra Heruka and/or Tathāgata (i.e. rNam par snañ mdzad or rDo rje sems dpal 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 ti khro-mandala-s. I am moreover inclined to assume that mandala-s using a gSar ba'i sNin po-derived set of powerful Yogini-s are older than those, possibly, depending on the (allegedly) eighth-century Zi khro sgyu 'phrul-mandala. But the Zi khro 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 gSar ba'i sNin 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 Zi khro nan son 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 Zi khro sgyu 'phrul. And it is probably from this extended and altered Zi khro sgyu 'phrul-mandala that the later Kar glin zi khro-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 zi khro, whilst remaining at an extended mandala of one-hundred and ten deities; as testified in for instance the Chos rNid bar do'i gsal 'debs (before the fourteenth century) and the Chos spyod bag chags ran grol. And, most probably, the ja tshon zi khro-mandala developed again from the kar glin zi khro-mandala, as testified in the Zi khro nes don sNin po in 'Ja' tshon sNin po's original gter ma-versions (seventeenth century) and Nag dban kun dga' bstan 'dzin's reworking (eighteenth century). The Zi khro nes don sNin 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-practises 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 nhid 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 nes don snin po*, which will be examined further in the second chapter of this thesis for its explicit and rather elaborate "interpretations" of the deities and *maṇḍala*-s discussed.
1.3 Conflation of the Concepts Bar do and Zi khro

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-mandala-s, starting some time before the eighth century with the gSan ba'i s Rin 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 mandala 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 s Rin po. It is possible to suggest some lines of development in the mandala-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 las 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. upapatti krama), 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 sles (832-943236) played a role in the introduction of Anuyogatantra-s in Tibet237, that is to

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234 According to rNin 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 Klohn 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 \( \text{ti} \) khro-mandala in a context dominated by doctrines regarding experiences of \( \text{od} \) 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 lose sight of the wider historical perspective, \( \text{rDzogs} \) 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 \( \text{chos} \) \( \text{niid} \) (\( \text{ti} \) khro) bar do -- start to emerge between the late eighth and the twelfth century, whilst it is only after the tenth/eleventh century that \( \text{rDzogs} \) chen starts to establish itself as a tradition\(^{228}\) (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 Kathāvāthu, 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 Saddharmasūryapustānāstāra) an issue which, as was noted in that same paragraph, was apparently already considered problematic at the time of the Kathāvāthu. Solving the problem of a (relative) continuity of perception\(^{229}\) and hence the continuity of at least one skandha (i.e. perception Skt. vijñāna (Tib. rnam par ses 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 Kathāvāthu 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 yogin-s, for instance in the sgyu las-, \( \text{od} \) gsal- and bar do- teachings in the Nā ro'i \( \text{chos} \) 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, the supposed transitions taking place immediately after an assumed "dissolution" at death, the result of which could be the descriptions of a \( \text{chos} \) \( \text{niid} \) (\( \text{ti} \) khro) bar do. The exact relation between theories regarding the re-arising/emerging of the skandha-s, an illusory body, and the \( \text{ti} \) khro-mandala 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 \( \text{chos} \) \( \text{niid} \) (\( \text{ti} \) 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"-\( \text{rDzogs} \) chen-text \( \text{rDzogs} \) pa chen po \( \text{ta} \) \( \text{zun} \) \( \text{sphan} \) rgyud las sGron ma drug gi gdam pa with its commentary, the \( \text{rDzogs} \) pa chen po \( \text{ta} \) \( \text{zun} \) \( \text{schan} \) rgyud las sGron ma'i 'brel pa ni 'od rgyan, which might date back even before the date of the compiler of the \( \text{Zan} \) \( \text{zun} \) \( \text{schan} \) rgyud, i.e. the eighth-century Gu rub (sna\( \text{'} \) bstan lod po)\(^{230}\), the scheme of three bar do-s pertaining to death

\(^{228}\) See Ehrhard, p. 11, esp. n. 38.

\(^{229}\) See Karmay (1988), pp. 10-12 and passim, see also Ehrhard (1990), pp. 2-17.

\(^{230}\) The \( \text{rDzogs} \) pa chen po \( \text{ta} \) \( \text{zun} \) \( \text{schan} \) rgyud las sGron ma drug gi gdam pa is, as the title indicates, to be found in the \( \text{rDzogs} \) pa chen po \( \text{ta} \) \( \text{zun} \) \( \text{schan} \) rgyud kyi gsal phod, 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') 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' rgyud pa-siddha-s examined in the first paragraph of this chapter -- not explicitly mentioned. 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 bar do, or in full, bon niid 'od gsal (gyi) bar do. And lastly a srid pa'i bar do, here styled srid pa las kyi bar do, is mentioned.

The passages concerning a bon niid bar do 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 sGröna 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 (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). 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 and awareness is without support and naked, separated from the material body of flesh and blood. Because the mass of karma, kleśa-s, and delusive thoughts has come to an end, älayavijñāna 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 gê, Skt. ālayavijñāna) -- 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 sGröna ma drug

sixth chapter. The Dolanji-edition 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-printed from the Tibetan monastery of sman rin. This text is said to be received by Gu rub snan bser lod po from his teacher, the legendary Tu p'i hri za, in a vision. Gu rub snan bser lod po is said to have lived in the time of the reign of Khri sron lde bison, i.e. the second half of the eighth century. The (rdzogs pa chen po zan ža'i stong rgyad las) sGröna ma'i gret pa ri'i 'od rgyan-commentary is also extant in the rdzogs pa chen po zan ža'i sman rgyad kyi gsun phod, Dolanji (H.P.), India, 1980, pp.355-417 and Chandra (1964), pp.293-355. The sGröna ma drug gi gdams pa, and its commentary sGröna ma'i gret pa ri'i '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 (bSod nams rgyal mchön) (?-1133). In an appendix Orofino moreover presents another "Bon"-text, the 'Chi rags gsal ba'i sgron ma, from the cycle Bla med rdzogs pa chen po yan rie kloṅ chen g.yi khrdi which treats of the signs of death (these are, amongst other things, mentioned in the sGröna 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 rdzogs pa chen po yan rie kloṅ chen g.yi khrdi-cycle, Vol.I, pp.643-666, Dolanji 1973. Orofino translates this text on pp.85-103 and presents an appendix on pp.140-150.

\[\text{181} \text{ See Orofino (1985), p.127, 133, and commentary, Ibid., p.132, II.19, 22, 26, 29, and 32.} \]
\[\text{182} \text{ Except for the reference to a 'chi ba'i srid pa in the mGur 'bum in Kern 28.536.3, folio 167v, I.3.} \]
\[\text{183} \text{ See Orofino (1985), p.128, II.27 and 37-39.} \]
\[\text{184} \text{ See Orofino (1985), p.128, II.37ff., p.135, 11.} \]
\[\text{185} \text{ See p.128, II.5-35 of the edition of the sGröna ma drug in Orofino (1985), translated Ibid., pp.63f.,} \]
\[\text{and the commentary on p.133, I.21 - p.134, 133, translated on pp.71-74.} \]
\[\text{186} \text{ See Orofino (1985), p.127, II.35-38.} \]
\[\text{187} \text{ See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.5, II.7-11.} \]
\[\text{188} \text{ I.e. the process of dying is completed.} \]

Especially the elaborations in the commentary make this very clear, even the simile for the recognition of the kun gê ('od gsal) is the same, to wit, that of a son coming to his mother's lap (Orofino (1985), p.134, II.14, cf. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.13, II.14f. and p.54, II.10f.).
continues to describe the fate of someone of medium intellect, having been introduced to the essence of the uncovered alayavijñāna and into viṣṇīyanā, by the force of their contemplation, the six forms of "higher knowledge" (Skt. abhiṣiktā) and the six recollections (Skt. anusmṛti) will arise in him and he will achieve buddha-hood. These six forms of abhiṣiktā and anusmṛti do not match very well with those mentioned for the chos niid bar do in the Ni zla kha sbyor. Interestingly enough we find no reference whatsoever in this early text to zi khro, 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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs. Quite in contrast to the Ni zla kha sbyor (or the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs) the visionary aspect is not elaborated here at all. We will return to this point when discussing the Ni 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"-zi khro-texts, to wit the Hor bla mu khri yid bzin rgyal ba'i lugs sam hor lugs kyi zi khro'i sgrub skor, the dBang idan tu rih lugs kyi zi khro'i sgrub skor, and the Zi khro sgrub skor. 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, Zi khro bar do 'phrak 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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs to the legendary saint Padmasambhava in rin 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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs (i.e. the approximate date of the gter ston Karma gling pa (fourteenth century AD)).

The zi khro-mandala starts, as in the gSang ba'i sNin po, from a white w, from which gSuen lha 'od dbar emanates. The first pair of deities in the mandala is, again, Kun tu bzhi po and Kun tu bzhi 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 Zi khro bar do 'phrak 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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs) 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.

250 See Orofino (1985), p.120, II.4-22.
252 See Appendix I.
## Peaceful Deities (Зi ba’i Lha tshogs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samskâr name</th>
<th>Tibetan name</th>
<th>sNan rgyud thos grol</th>
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<tr>
<td>Аdibuddha and consort</td>
<td>Dañ po sañs rgyas</td>
<td>bDe gsegs rgyal kun tu bzañ po</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Аdibuddhasamantabhadra Dañ po sañs rgyas kun tu bzañ po Kun tu bzañ mo yun Khri bZi nam tin bde bar gsegs gsuñ gi lha Thugs rje byams pa yun
2. Samantabhadri Kun tu bzañ mo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Five Tathågata-s and consorts</th>
<th>rGyal ba’i rigs lha</th>
<th>bDe gsegs yum lha</th>
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<tr>
<td>3 Vairocana</td>
<td>rNam par snañ m¿zad</td>
<td>Kun snañ khyab pa bde bar gsegs thugs kyi lha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Ākåśadåttåväśvarã</td>
<td>Nam mkha’i dbyiñs phyug ma</td>
<td>Nam mkha’i lha mo yun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Vajrasattva-Akṣobhya</td>
<td>rDo rje sens dpa’ Mi bskyod pa</td>
<td>gSaI ba ran byuñ bde bar gsegs sku yi lha Sa yi lha mo yun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Locana</td>
<td>Sans rgyas spyan ma</td>
<td>dGe lha gar phyug bde bar gsegs yon tan lha Rluñ gi lha mo yun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Ratnasambhava</td>
<td>Rin chen ’byuñ ldan</td>
<td>Bye brag dhos med bde bar gsegs gsuñ gi lha Me yi lha mo yun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Måmåkå</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>dGa’ ba don grub bde bar gsegs phrin las lha Chu yi lha mo yun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Amitåbha</td>
<td>sNañ ba mtha’ yas</td>
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<td>10 Påndårã</td>
<td>Gos dkar mo</td>
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<td>11 Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td>Don yod grub pa</td>
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<td>12 Samayatårã</td>
<td>Dam tshig grol ma</td>
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<td>Sanskrit name</td>
<td>Tibetan name</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eight Mahābodhisattvas and consorts</td>
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<td>13 Kṣitigarbha</td>
<td>Sa yi shiin po</td>
<td>Ye gesen snums dpa' brgyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 (Vajra)lasyā</td>
<td>transliterated (rDo rje sgeg mo)</td>
<td>Ye gesen snums dpa' khri bzi nam tīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Maitreya</td>
<td>Byams pa</td>
<td>Ye gesen snums dpa' thams ma me sgron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 (Vajra)puspā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje me tog ma)</td>
<td>gZugs kyi lha mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Samantabhadra</td>
<td>Kun tu bzaṅ po</td>
<td>Ye gesen snums dpa' kha ste nu ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 (Vajra)mālā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje 'phren ba ma)</td>
<td>sGras yi lha mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Ākāśagarbha</td>
<td>Nam mkha'i shiin po</td>
<td>Ye gesen snums dpa' gtsug gesen rgyal ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 (Vajra)dhūpā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje bdkug spos ma)</td>
<td>Dri yi lha mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Avalokiteśvara</td>
<td>sPyan ras gzigs</td>
<td>Ye gesen snums dpa' snañ ba mdog can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 (Vajra)gītā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje sgra dbyaṁs ma)</td>
<td>Ro yi lha mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Maṇjuśrī</td>
<td>'Jam dpal dbyaṅs</td>
<td>Ye gesen snums dpa' ba rab gliṅ bzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 (Vajra)ālokā</td>
<td>translit. (rDo rje mar me ma)</td>
<td>Reg bya'i lha mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Nivaraṇavishkarbhīn</td>
<td>sGrib pa rnam par sel ba</td>
<td>Ye gesen snums dpa' khri rmañ rgyal ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 (Vajra)gandharā</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 gesen snums dpa' lde bo gsum chen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 (Vajra)nṛtyā</td>
<td>translit. (Gar bsgyur ma)</td>
<td>gTer 'dzin lha mo 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>
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<td>absent</td>
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<td>absent</td>
<td>absent</td>
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</table>

D Four Gatekeepers

and consorts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dus bii rgyal mo bőži</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29 Vijaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Vajrānkuśi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rDo rje) lcags skyu ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 Yamāntaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Khro bo) gšin rje gšed po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 Vajrapāši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rDo rje) žags ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 Hayagrīva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Khro bo) rta mgrin rgyal po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 Vajraśrikalā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rDo rje) lcags sgrog ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 Amṛtakundalin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Khro bo) bdud rtsi 'khyil ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 Vajraghaṇṭā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rDo rje) dril bu ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

šNam rgyud thos grol

Ye gšen me tog ma bőži Me tog ma bőži

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 sṅon mo chu rka'n can gyi sku

Ye šes sgo bőži?

Dus bőži rgyal mo bőži

39 Ye gšen sens dpa' bdud rtsi rgyal ba
40 Yum chen dpyid kyi rgyal mo = 35?
41 Ye gšen sens dpa' ſi da' kun sṅoms
42 Yum chen dbyar gyi rgyal mo = 36?
43 Ye gšen sens dpa' gtsug phud rgyal ba
44 Yum chen lha mo s頓 gyi rgyal mo = 37?
45 Ye gšen sens dpa' byams pa gdar gcod
46 Yum chen lha mo dgun gyi rgyal mo = 38?
Neutral, neither Peaceful nor Wrathful Deities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit name</th>
<th>Tibetan name</th>
<th>sRm rgyud thos grol</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Five Vidyādhara-s and consorts</td>
<td>Rig 'dzin lha</td>
<td>Padma gar gyi dbaṅ phyug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padma gar gyi dbaṅ phyug</td>
<td>consort</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa la gnas pa'i rig 'dzin</td>
<td>consort</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshe la dbaṅ ba'i rig 'dzin</td>
<td>consort</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phyag rgya chen po'i rig 'dzin</td>
<td>consort</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lhun gyi grub pa'i rig 'dzin</td>
<td>consort</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Wrathful Deities *(Khro bo'i Lha tshogs)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit name</th>
<th>Tibetan name</th>
<th>sNan rgyud thos grol</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ađiheruka and</td>
<td>(Dañ po he ru ka)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consort (usually absent)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāśārśrīheruka</td>
<td>Che mchog he ru ka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krodheśvari</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>(He ru ka lña)</td>
<td>Ye šes khro bo yab lña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five Heruka-s and Krodheśvari-consorts</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yum chen khro mo lña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Buddhaheruka</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Buddhakrodheśvari</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Vajraheruka</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Vajrakrodheśvari</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ramaheruka</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ramakrodheśhari</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Padmaheruka</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Padmakrodheśvari</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Karmaheruka</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Karmakrodheśvari</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit name</td>
<td>Tibetan name</td>
<td>sNan rgyad thos grol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Kau'u ri/ Ke'u ri ma mo brgyad</td>
<td>Ha la Khro bo brgyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yum chen khro mo brgyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Gauri</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>gSal byed ha la good pa khra slag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Cairi</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>Li 'sgam dmar mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Pramohi</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>Kun grags ha la sgra rgyal 'brug slag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Vetali</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>Kha 'sgam smug mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Pukkasi</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>Dri tshor ha la bya rgyal khyañ slag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Ghasmarî</td>
<td>transliterated</td>
<td>lGyem 'sgam shon mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Candali</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 'sgam nag mo yum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**D**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yul gyi Phra men brgyad</th>
<th>* = transliterated Skt. name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19 Sinhamukhi</td>
<td>* smug nag seni mgo can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Vyaghramukhi</td>
<td>* dmar mo stag mgo can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Srgal'amukhi</td>
<td>* nag mo wa mgo can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Śvamukhi</td>
<td>* mthīṅ nag spyan mgo can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Grdhramukhi</td>
<td>* dkar ser bya rgoā mgo can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Kārikamukhi</td>
<td>* dmar nag bya'i mgo can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Kākamukhi</td>
<td>* nag mo bya rog mgo can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Ulūkamukhi</td>
<td>* mthīṅ nag 'ug pa'i mgo can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mNgon sprul ha la g-yuñ druñ tshe slag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tshu 'sgam dkar mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sGra 'gyur ha la 'phrul gyi yig slag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rGya 'sgam ser mo yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rDzu 'phrul ha la g-yo ba rluñ slag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Skyes 'sgam ljal nag yum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Gyur med ha la gsal ba 'od slag can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Se 'sgam dkar ljal yum</td>
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</table>
SECTION 1.3, CONFLATION BAR DO AND ZI KHRO

**Sanskrit name**  
Tibetan name

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E</th>
<th>sGo ma bzi or</th>
<th>sGo skyon khrmo bzi</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>:Ta gdoñ dkar mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Phag gdoñ ma ser mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Señ gdoñ ma dmar mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>sBru1 gdoñ ma ljañ</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F</th>
<th>dBañ phyug ma ñi šu rtsa brgyad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Räksaśi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Brähmanī</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>Indrāni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The names are written in Tibetan script.

sNam rgyud thos grol

sGo ba yab yum brgyad: rNam chen khrmo bo bā
Dus bāi rgyal mo bā

dBal gyi rgyal po mi zad me la rgyuñ
Khrō gsum nag mo yum
sTobs chen mi zad stag 'gros rgyal po
Glañ ra shon mo yum
sTobs chen mi skyin 'dañ mi phud rgyal po
Li bar dmar mo yum
Khrō rnam ha la stobs kyi rgyal po
mKha' la 'khyog 'dor yum

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

dBal mo ñi šu rtsa bdun

Las mkhan sñon mo 'brug mgos chu sрин lag pa g-yob
Las mkhan dmar ser 'broñ mgos ru skyogs 'dzin
Las mkhan bud med dkar mos ba dan 'phyar

Las mkhan ljañ nag sbrul mgos khyun gśog 'phyar
Las mkhan dkar mo rgod mgos ru mthrop 'phyar
Las mkhan sa sрин nag mos sbrul žags 'debs
sNyed thos grol

Las mkhan sio ljan chu srin mgo can rlu g-yab bsam
Las mkhan dam nag phag mgos dru gu bsdog
Las mkhan dam nag lcags ral gsin lam 'dren

dBal gyi las mkhan gyad chen bcu po

Las mkhan dbal gyi mi phos' bos' cha ha la sgrog'
Las mkhan duni gyi mi thu dbal mdun 'debs
Las mkhan dbal g-yi mi thu mdun gcu 'gans'
Las mkhan gzsas kyi mi thu dgra stag 'phyar'
Las mkhan lcags kyi mi thu ral gri 'phyar'
Las mkhan dbal stag kha bos mche sder brdar'
Las mkhan dbal 'brug sbon pos 'ur sgra srog
Las mkhan dbal g-yag dkar pos ru zse bsigs
Las mkhan dbal khyun sbon po 'jum zin ldin
Las mkhan khr o chu'i mi thu gur tshan bsam

sNyed thos grol continued

dBal gyi las mkhan dmag dpon bcu po

Las mkhan gla po'i mgo can' brag ri 'debs
Las mkhan mthun nag dom mgos ral gri 'phyar'
Las mkhan' chu srin mgo can' dbal mdun gso'
Las mkhan dmar mo sphyan mgos khr a gsg 'phyar'
Las mkhan skya bkra gsa' mgos bami ro za
Las mkhan ser ljan khyun mgos sbrul zags 'debs
Las mkhan mthun nag rla mgos sdu' rnal bsam
Las mkhan gphag rgyod mgo can' me dpu' spor'
Las mkhan' dred kyi mgo can byad thag bsam
Las mkhan' stag gi mgo can' dgra sa za

dBal gyi las mkhan rgyal chen sde btsi

Las mkhan mi dkar sen mgos ral gri 'phyar'
Las mkhan gphag rgyod mgo can' sbrul zags 'phen'
Las mkhan mi sion 'brug mgos sta mo 'phyar
Las mkhan mi nag dom mgos thog mdun 'phen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Ja' tshon ‏ḥ khro only (Ži khro ņes don sņiṅ po):</th>
<th>sņan rgyud thos grol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samskṛt name</td>
<td>Tibetan name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G</th>
<th>Five Jñānaḍākinī-s</th>
<th>Ye śes mkha' 'gro lpha'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Buddhaḍākinī</td>
<td>rGyul yam rdo rje rnal byor chen mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Vajraḍākinī</td>
<td>rDo rje mkha' 'gro sbon mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Ratnaḍākinī</td>
<td>Rin chen mkha' 'gro ser mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Padmaḍākinī</td>
<td>Padma mkha' 'gro dmar mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Karmaḍākinī</td>
<td>Las kyi mkha' 'gro lha'i mo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Ja' tshon ‏ḥ khro only (Ži khro ņes don sņiṅ po):</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Vajrika(la(kumāra)heruka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Vajrika(la(kumāra)heruka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</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 'Zi khro bar do'i 'phran grol, fiche number SB778.II.8: phyar.

SB778.II.8: phyar.
SB778.II.8: gdeṅ.
SB778.II.8: 'phren.
SB778.II.8: bsdog.
SB778.II.8: bsdog.
SB778.II.8: phyar.
SB778.II.8: bsdog.
SB778.II.8: phyar.

Ibis mkhan smug nag stag mgos g-yah bzi phyar.

SB778.II.8: lcags kyu phyar.
SB778.II.8: skyons.
SB778.II.8: phyar.
SB778.II.8: bsdogs.
SB778.II.8: Las mkhan gser mo ...
SB778.II.8: mgos.
SB778.II.8: phyar.
SB778.II.8: Las mkhan sño ljaṅ ...
SB778.II.8: chu srin mgos.
SB778.II.8: bso.r.
SB778.II.8: phyar.
SB778.II.8: por.
SB778.II.8: bso.r.
SB778.II.8: sgros.
SB778.II.8: 'gen.
SB778.II.8: riam mgos.
SB778.II.8: phyar.
SB778.II.8: Las mkhan dmär nag ...
SB778.II.8: mgos.
SB778.II.8: bsamgs.
SB778.II.8: phyar.
SB778.II.8: *las mkhan mi dmar* ...
SB778.II.8: *phag mgos.*
SB778.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"-mandalas cannot be presented here. In any case, there are "Bon"-mandalas that differ from the one just described, see e.g. the Ṣkhes lugs brgyud bsmad chos skon phyed na rag pat bkwon rgyal po (bkun byis)\(^\text{\textsuperscript{25}}\), a text which might moreover be interesting for the development of the Nāga dragon spratgar 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 Ṣi khro nes don stod po and the Sman rgyud bar do thos grol Ṣi khro bar do 'phran grol-mandalas does not yield enough common ground for establishing any sound hypothesis concerning a positive affiliation. The rest of the Sman rgyud bar do thos grol- and Ṣi khro bar do 'phran grol-texts does not suggest any relation either, that is, except for the summarizing 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 'phran grol gzi smon lam, a (more or less separate) text\(^\text{\textsuperscript{26}}\) which is extant in the Chos thid bar do'i gsal 'debs where it likewise concludes the descriptions of pairs of stets of deities. On the following page a typical example of the prayer-formulas in the Chos thid bar do'i gsal 'debs and the Sman rgyud bar do thos grol Ṣi khro bar do 'phran 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 'phran grol gzi smon lam incorporated into the Chos thid bar do'i gsal 'debs by the Bar do 'phran grol gzi smon lam a later compilation from the verses appearing in the Chos thid bar do'i gsal 'debs, which, together with similar prayers, for the sake of reference, was included in Kar glu ৎ khrus-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 'phran grol gzi 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 Tathāgatas and consorts as a whole\(^\text{\textsuperscript{27}}\), 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 Sman rgyud bar do thos grol and the Ṣi khro bar do 'phran grol also show signs of editing of the prayer cited. The descriptions of the guardians of the peaceful mandala and wrathful mandalas are followed by formulas of prayer\(^\text{\textsuperscript{28}}\) 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.

\(^{25}\) According to the title-description by Karmay in his Catalogue of Bopon Publications (1977, p.55, no.47) this text was redacted by dpal ston lha ram rgyud mu (1175-?) from Lha stod bar gzi ye ba. The presentation of a "Bon"-set of deities by Ludo (1973, pp.178-187) mainly follows the mandala described in this text.

\(^{26}\) See Appendix I.

\(^{27}\) See Káluṅ 1khang (1969), p.38, l.5-10, this was brought to my attention by a comment in Thérèsa (1994, p.106).

\(^{28}\) See the edition in Appendix II, folios 645f. and 661f. of the Sman rgyud bar do thos grol and folios 288f. and 308 of the Ṣi khro bar do 'phran grol.
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 Či kho'  phyag bsags šams chag skoñ byed na rag pañ bkon rgyal po (bskan ba)\(^\text{233}\), 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 Čhos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs/Či kho'  nes don sñih po-and the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol/Či kho'  bar do 'phrañ 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 Či kho'  bar do 'phrañ 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 'phrañ grol gyi smon lam, a (more or less separate) text\(^\text{234}\) which is extant in the Čhos ŋid 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 Čhos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs and the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol/Či kho'  bar do 'phrañ 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 'phrañ grol gyi smon lam incorporated into the Čhos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs or is the Bar do 'phrañ grol gyi smon lam a later compilation from the verses appearing in the Čhos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs, which, together with similar prayers, for the ease of reference, was included in Kar glin Či kho'-cycles as an "appendix"? As far as the Čhos ŋid 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 'phrañ grol gyi smon lam contains several verses less than are contained in the Čhos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs (to wit, the verses pertaining to the five Tathāgata-s and consorts as a whole\(^\text{235}\)), suggesting an adaptation, in this case extension, of the prayer to fit the needs of the arrangement in the Čhos ŋid bar do-text. It is interesting to note here that the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol and the Či kho'  bar do 'phrañ 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\(^\text{236}\) 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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\(^\text{233}\) 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.

\(^\text{234}\) See Appendix I.

\(^\text{235}\) See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.38, l.5-10, this was brought to my attention by a comment in Thurman (1994, p.109).

\(^\text{236}\) 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 Či kho'  bar do 'phrañ grol.
Chos rgyud bar do'i gsal 'debs

sNaN rgyud bar do thos grol and Zi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol

pair/group of deities

[by samsāric category(ies)]

[Enlightened quality(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 śes sgo bţi, seems doubtful, first of all since it is mentioned as a group-name in the prayer of the Zi khrö 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 sŏN rgyud bar do thos grol and the Zi khrö bar do ‘phran grol moreover disagree in the reading of the prayer. The sŏN 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 khrö 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 khrö 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 bţi, therewith awkwardly doubling the appearance of this group-name in the prayer-formula. Obviously the Me tog ma bţi 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 khrö 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 sŏN rgyud bar do thos grol and the Zi khrö bar do ‘phran grol had to work with two groups of gate-keepers cum consorts including the four Me tog ma bţi, while at the same time having only one prayer-formula available. This might imply that both the mandala and the prayer pre-date the sŏN rgyud bar do thos grol- and the Zi khrö 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 riid bar do’i gsal ‘debs and the sŏN rgyud bar do thos grol Zi khrö 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 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 ston grub thob ji las byon pa’i lo rgyus mdor bdus bkod pa rin chen bai du rya’t phreṅ by ’Jam mgon kohn sprul blo gros mtha’ yas (1813-1899) this gter ston is reported as a reincarnation of the translator Klü’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

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237 The Me tog ma bţi, 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.


239 Included in his Rin chen gter mdzod Vol.1, pp.291-759.
of (amongst others) the important Äryāmitābhavyahūtamanahāyānasūtra. This Klu'i rgyal mtshan of Cog ro is said to have been sent to India by king Khri sron lde btsan on behest of Nān tiṇ ne 'dzin btsan 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. Though she admits to have no further evidence supporting this, she considers the possibility that the party of Klu'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 regarding Dargyay's hypotheses. Amitābha definitely occupies a special position, see for instance the mention in the inceptive verse of the Chos ſid 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 Amitābha or Sukhavati, texts on 'pho ba emphatically excepted, of course. The association of Karma glin pa with Amitābha- and Sukhavatī-cults, however, because of his traditional association with Klu'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 Amitābha-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 ſid 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 rluṅ-practices.

A most interesting reference is to be found in the Chos ſid bar do'i gsal 'debs itself:

See PTT. 5.110.3.4-127.3.5.
See Dargyay (1977a), pp.57ff..
SECTION 1.3, CONFLATION BAR DO AND 2I KHRO
When the adept regains consciousness (after experiencing the (first) clear light of death) in the chos niid 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), where we can read that the term bskyed pa'i tshul is used in the Man nag lla 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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs is hence most probably a reference to practitioners of Anuyoga. That is to say that the Chos niid 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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs gives some general information regarding the appearance of the deities (which reads like an instruction for visualisation). It is significant that this description is virtually identical with one extant in the Ni 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 tradition', 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 Ni zla kha sbyor. Thus, in the Chos niid 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 Ni 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 rlu')-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 Ni zla kha sbyor than in the Chos niid 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 'phran grol -- nor the Ni zla kha sbyor, nor the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs borrowed from each other on a large scale. The "Bon"-bar do thos grol-texts and the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs share a similar prayer that was probably incorporated from a familiar source. The Ni zla kha sbyor and the Chos niid 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 wholesale 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 rlun-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 ŋid 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 ((bag 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 ŋid and srīd pa'i bar do-s (e.g. in the Chos ŋid 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. Perceptual in such a state seemed to demand a faculty fit to perceive. It is at this point in the Chos ŋid 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 mandala 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 mandala 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 ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs. After the elaborate and quite sophisticated description (in terms of rtsa, rlun, 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 ēi khro-mandala

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38 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 šku gsum gyi rnam bzag rah gsal sgron me tesar bya ba bzung so (XL.0696), composed by the eighteenth-century dGe lugs pa-sechör dByahs can diq' ha'i blo gros or A kya yongs 'dzin.
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 redactor(s) seems appropriate. Apparently, 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 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 (do ri sems dpa'i khol sen gi lam tes bya'o), which as mentioned above, appears in both the Ni zla kha sbyor286 and the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs287. The colours of the wisdom-lights attributed to the first two Tahāgata-s are reversed288. 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 Tahāgata-s289. 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 Tahāgata-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 zla kha...
sbyor and the Chos niid 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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs and in the "Bon"-bar do thos grol-texts, the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol and the Öi khro bar do 'phrañ 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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs. The Ni zla kha sbyor might draw on the Rig pa rañ sar chen po'i rgyud here, which tantra is actually referred to in an interpolation290, but unfortunately the volume of the rNin ma'i rgyud bcu bdun-edition291 in which the Rañ sar 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 niid 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 Dharmarāja in the chos niid bar do and the srid pa bar do.

Regarding the above evidence it seems likely that the early chos niid bar do Öi 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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs thus comprises:

- a prayer (shared with the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol and the Öi khro bar do 'phrañ grol) probably to be identified as, or alike to, the Bar do 'phrañ 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 rañ sar should be investigated as one of the possible candidates);
- and a Öi 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 Öi 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 Zhi khro-Mandala-s

In this chapter we shall examine some traditional "interpretations" offered for the (kar glin) zhi khro as they are extant in the Chos riid 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 riid bar do'i gsal 'debs, additional information has to be extracted from the mandala extant in the Zhi khro sgyu 'phrul, which is, generally speaking, especially for the less familiar deities, more explicit on the point of interpretation. The late Zhi khro nes don stiin 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 Zhi khro nes don stiin po to know more than the Chos riid 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 stiin po and the "Bon"-texts, the sNan rgyud bar do thos grol and Zhi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol, will also be attempted here. A more in-depth discussion of these diverging mandala-s, however, is not feasible within the limits of this study.

Much work in classifying categories associated with zhi khro has been done already by Lauf (1975). He made use of several texts, which are listed in part VIII of his study, Literaturverzeichnisse; the Zhi khro nes don stiin 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 zhi khro-mandala 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 sês kyi 'khor lo or thugs kyi 'khor lo)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deities and Characteristics</th>
<th>Lauf (1975):</th>
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<tr>
<td>Samantabhadra (Tib. Kun tu bzaṅ po) with Consort Samantabhadri (Tib. Kun tu bzan mo)</td>
<td>awareness (rig pa) dharmatā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Tuhāgata-s (Tib. rGyol ba'i rigs lha)</td>
<td>5 skandha-s 5 buddhañña-s (5 kleśa-s) 5 cakra-s as areas of karmic activity (Skt. karmamāndala) 5 elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Consorts (Tib. bDe giегs yum lha)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Mahaḥbodhisattva-s (Tib. Byan chub sens dpa' chen po brgyad) 8 Consorts (Tib. Byan chub sens ma brgyad)</td>
<td>8 forms of perception (Skt. viśyāna, Tib. rnam šes brgyad) 8 realms of perception (Skt. viṣaya, Tib. rnam šes 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 4 Consorts (Tib. sGo ma bzi) (somewhat wrathful)</td>
<td>4 limitless states (Skt. catur-apramitā, 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deities and Characteristics</th>
<th>Lauf (1975):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vidyādhara-s (Tib. Rig 'dzin lha) with Consorts</td>
<td>5 cakra-s as realms of karmic activity (Skt. karmamāndala)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
58 Wrathful deities, associated with the mahāsukhacakra (Tib. bde chen gyi 'khor lo)

(Mahāśrīheruka (Tib. mChe mchog heruka) with
Consort Krodhisvari (Tib. transliterated), generally absent)

5 Heruka-manifestations of the Tathāgata-s (Tib. Khrag 'thun yab lha)
5 Consorts (Tib. dbYihts phyug yum lha)
8 Ke'u ri ma-s (Skt. vijñāna, Tib. rnam sūs brgyad)
8 'Phro men ma-s (Skt. viśaya, Tib. rnam sūs yul brgyad)

8 Female Gatekeepers (Tib. Go ma bī or sGo skyon khr Otto bī)

28 Powerful animal-headed female Yogini-s (Tib. dbA phug rnal 'byor ma rGor brgyad) (including 4 female Gatekeepers)

Associated with the nirmāṇacakra:

5 Jhānadhākini-s (Tib. Ye sēs mkha' 'gro ma bī)

Associated with the sukhapālacakra:

Vajrakīla or Vajrakumāraheruka with (sexual) desire (Skt. kāma, Tib. 'dod pa)
Consort (3) klesa-s

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 skyor gi 'khor lo) respectively

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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs, the Ži khr o sgyu 'phrub, the Ži khr o nes don sfiin po, the gSa n ba'i sfiin po (and one of its commentaries (comm.2293)), and lastly also in the "Bon"-text, the sNaN rgyud bar do thos grol and Ži khr o bar do 'phrān grol.

2293 See paragraph 1.2, most of the information that can be gathered from this commentary is said to be extracted from the dPal gsa'n ba'i 'dus pa (see XX.83.32.3.7).
### CHAPTER 2, TRADITIONAL "INTERPRETATIONS"

**Chos sind bar do’i gsal 'debs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Five Tashiqa'is and consorts</th>
<th>Buddha-kṣetra (Zin kham)</th>
<th>Quarter (Phyag)</th>
<th>Colour light</th>
<th>Colour body</th>
<th>Throne (Khrūl gDon)</th>
<th>Mudrā (Phyang gyu)</th>
<th>Skandha Bhūta (Phu'i pol 'Ryin ba)</th>
<th>Samsāric category</th>
<th>Enlightened quality/colour</th>
<th>Juxtaposed realm/colour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sNam par thon mtsad</td>
<td>Thig le'i brdal ba</td>
<td>centre</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>'khor lo rtsibs brya'ad</td>
<td>rnam par Jets</td>
<td>gi'mug</td>
<td>rdo rje rta lha pa</td>
<td>guNig</td>
<td>rDol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nam mkha'i sbyi'ha phyug ma</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nam mkha'i thams cad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sDo rje sens gyur</td>
<td>mDo par dgo' ba</td>
<td>east</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td>giN po che'i gDon</td>
<td>rdo rje rta lha pa</td>
<td>guNig</td>
<td>le gZhan</td>
<td>mDo la ba'i ye Jets</td>
<td>akar po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakti gen gyur spyon ma</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rin chen 'byun ldan</td>
<td>dPal dam ldan 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>iShor ba</td>
<td>na gnyal</td>
<td>mDo am pa rdo kyi ye Jets ser po</td>
<td>mDo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṃsāki</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sNam ba mthu' yas</td>
<td>bDe ba con</td>
<td>west</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>rma byi gi gDon</td>
<td>padma</td>
<td>'du Jets</td>
<td>'dind chuNg po' ser zna</td>
<td>ser po</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gos dkar mo</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don yid grub po</td>
<td>Rab brsegs pa</td>
<td>north</td>
<td>green</td>
<td>green</td>
<td>rna mkha' ldīh sān sān</td>
<td>rdo rje rgya gram</td>
<td>'du byed</td>
<td>phraNg lag</td>
<td>bya ba grub po' ye Jets</td>
<td>don po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dam tshig grol mo</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The attribution of the elements to the consorts is not explicit in the Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs but is inferred from the other texts used.*
### Five Tathāgatas and consorts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Throne (Khri gDon)</th>
<th>Mudrā (Phyag rgya)</th>
<th>Skandhā Bhūta (Phun po 'Byur ba)</th>
<th>Buddha-quality</th>
<th>Enlightened quality</th>
<th>Power resulting from enlightened quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nam par mtha'ud mi jigs pa sen ge'i khrim kuns brtan ma(!)</td>
<td>=nam mkha' 'dbyiṣṭ phuṅ ma</td>
<td>'khor lo</td>
<td>'gongs nam mkha'</td>
<td>de bzin glegs pa'i sku zhi bdag ltid</td>
<td>son pa 'ld m kyi ye sles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De rje sms dpam 'mi bkhyed gnam po che'i gdon pa</td>
<td>=rdo rje =nams 'phyang ma</td>
<td>rnam par sles pa</td>
<td>de bzin glegs pa'i lhugs kyi bdag ltid</td>
<td>me lha la bu'i ye sles</td>
<td>skye sles dun pho 'gyur gyi stog pa mi mtha ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rin chen 'byun ldan Mṇamki =Rin chen 'dbyiṣṭ phuṅ ma</td>
<td>rin po che 'bar ba shes ba chu(!)</td>
<td>=den pa chen rtsis 'khrim</td>
<td>de bzin glegs pa'i yon tan kyi bdag ltid</td>
<td>mla sm pa 'ld m kyi ye sles</td>
<td>ma g-yar par che ba'i yon tan thams cad 'byun ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=Nam ba mtha' 'ya m dbyes 'hya byo'i khrim padma =dus sles</td>
<td>de bzin glegs pa'i sgron kyi bdag ltid</td>
<td>=na bza' 'dkar ma =pa =dus gsum gyi sgyod ba kun gyi sgyod mthog ma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don yod grub pa can sles 'tan lai 'gyur lai</td>
<td>dbyed rdo rje rgya 'grum</td>
<td>'dus sles</td>
<td>don yod grub pa</td>
<td>de bzin glegs pa'i 'phrin las kyi bdag ltid</td>
<td>bya ba grub pa'i ye sles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes

* All the names of the consorts are preceded by Yum chen mo.
### Chapter 2, Traditional "Interpretations"

**Zi kcro nes don sün po**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Five Tathāgatas and consorts</th>
<th>Quarter (Phyag)</th>
<th>Colour body</th>
<th>Throne (Khrod) (Dum)</th>
<th>Mudrā (Phyang rgya)</th>
<th>Skanda-Sri Bhūta-s (Phuṣ pa' Byaṅ ba)</th>
<th>Sansāric category</th>
<th>Enlightened quality</th>
<th>Colour wisdom-light</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rNam par snod mna'ad</td>
<td>central above</td>
<td>chor gsal</td>
<td>khor lo dril</td>
<td>phuṣ pa' lha'</td>
<td>gii mng</td>
<td>chos dbiśa ye sses</td>
<td>'od lha'^</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yum mchog dblys phug ma</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>dker sky</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo rje sogs dpa' Mi hskyad pa</td>
<td>east</td>
<td>mthu gsal</td>
<td>rdor rje dril</td>
<td>phuṣ pa' lha</td>
<td>sê sles</td>
<td>me lon ye sses</td>
<td>'od lha'^</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sute gnyas gyan ma</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>mthu sky</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rin chen 'byaṅ ldan</td>
<td>south</td>
<td>ser gsal</td>
<td>rin chen dril</td>
<td>phuṣ pa' lha</td>
<td>na rgyal</td>
<td>mthu bîl ye sses</td>
<td>'od lha'^</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mimaṅkt</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ser sky</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shNar ha mthu'goc</td>
<td>west</td>
<td>dmor gsal</td>
<td>padma dril</td>
<td>phuṣ pa' lha</td>
<td>'bud chags</td>
<td>sor rigns pa'i ye sses</td>
<td>'od lha'^</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gya dkar ma</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>dmor sky</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don yad grub pa</td>
<td>north</td>
<td>ljam gsal</td>
<td>rgya grarn dril</td>
<td>phuṣ pa' lha</td>
<td>phrog dog</td>
<td>hya grub ye sses</td>
<td>'od lha'^</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dum thig grub ma</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ljam sky</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### gSaṅ ba'i snīṅ po

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Five Tathāgata-s and consorts</th>
<th>Skandha-s Dhiḥās (Phuṅ po Khams) comm.2</th>
<th>Samādhi quality comm.2</th>
<th>Quality Tathāgata-s comm.2</th>
<th>Bija Quality bija toot-anira</th>
<th>Quality bija comm.2</th>
<th>Colour wisdom-light</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mi bekyod pa</td>
<td>rnam par säs pa</td>
<td>tse sdaṅ</td>
<td>chos kyi dgyiṅs kyi ye säs</td>
<td>sgyu 'phruṅ rdo rje säd</td>
<td>'da</td>
<td>dro bas mthun 'ngid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iDe rje dgyiṅs kyi.dboṅ phyug ma</td>
<td>num mthun khang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 0N ma po snaṅ mchod (comm.2) | (gṛugs)                               | (gii mug)               | melon tsa ba'i ye säs | surn bu'i sgyu 'phruṅ rda dbyun ma ntid | tsho                 | dra sbs dbyun pa ntid | ri deks sar tha ra'i kha 'dra bva | 0d bhu'kha 'dra bva' |
| San layug sbyun mo (comm.2)  |                                        |                       |                          |                              |                     |                     |                     |                     |

| Rin chen 'byun ldan (comm.2) | (svs bra)                              | (na rgyal)              | mthun pa rda kyi ye säs | sgyu 'phruṅ yid dbyun ntid | tsha ntid           | dra bas thun ma ntid | mchus 'gro kha 'dra bva | 0d bhu'kha 'dra bva' |
| Mānub (comm.2)               |                                        |                       |                          |                              |                     |                     |                     |                     |

| shun ba mtha' yab (comm.2)   | (0s sde)                               | (de bcha)              | sa ra kun 'rtag pa'i ye säs | sgyu 'phruṅ rnam dags rda dbyun ma ntid | dha                 | dra bas 'khril pa ntid | han pa'i kha 'dra bva | 0d bhu'kha 'dra bva' |
| Na bra' rwa ma (comm.2)       |                                        |                       |                          |                              |                     |                     |                     |                     |

| Don we'd po grub pa (comm.2)  | (du byed)                              | (phrug dog)             | byu ba grub pa'i ye säs | kun tu sgyu 'phruṅ rda kun tu 'gyur | na                 | dro bas kun tu 'gyur | sens sde la'i kha 'dra bva | 0d bhu'kha 'dra bva' |
| Dam tshig sgo bras (comm.5)   |                                        |                       |                          |                              |                     |                     |                     |                     |

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar bar gregs rigs lha</th>
<th>Quarter*</th>
<th>Nāḍī</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Throne (Khrid gDon)</th>
<th>Clothing (Na bha)</th>
<th>Mudrā (Phyag rgyu)</th>
<th>Enlightened category</th>
<th>Sanskrit category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Drun ba'i yam chen lha&quot;</td>
<td>(Phrog)</td>
<td>(bTuo)</td>
<td>(Khrid gDon)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kga-tu wu khyen pa bde bar gregs thugs kyi lha</td>
<td>cinto</td>
<td>cino gmo rtsa</td>
<td>akor gool</td>
<td>sech gyi bi zla padma'i gdon</td>
<td>sel dkar nu bzu</td>
<td>g-yos 'khor lo g-yon tags pa</td>
<td>stoh hrid ye ses</td>
<td>dzadpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Njam mtho'i lha ma yum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gsal bu rum byin bde bar gregs sku yi lha</td>
<td>cinto</td>
<td>mishar pa'i gsum risu</td>
<td>gser po</td>
<td>gluh chen hi zla padma'i gdon</td>
<td>gser gyi na bzu</td>
<td>g-yos chugs shi g-yon 'khor lo</td>
<td>me lon ye ses</td>
<td>gti mug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa yi lha ma 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 bar gregs yon tan lha</td>
<td>nath</td>
<td>gho ba'i gsum risu</td>
<td>yuan gu</td>
<td>rta mchog ni zla padma'i gdon</td>
<td>'in tra'i na bzu</td>
<td>g-yos chugs shi g-yon 'khor lo</td>
<td>mdam hrid ye ses</td>
<td>na rgyal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rlung 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 chug dmar med bde bar gregs gsan gi lha</td>
<td>west</td>
<td>mchun pa'i gsum risu</td>
<td>damar po</td>
<td>'brug chen hi zla padma'i gdon</td>
<td>dor damar na bzu</td>
<td>g-yas chugs shi g-yon 'khor lo</td>
<td>sar rigst ye ses</td>
<td>'ded chugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bka' yi lha ma yum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dGo' ba don grub bde bar gregs phrin las lha</td>
<td>nath</td>
<td>mkhari ma'i gsum risu</td>
<td>mthi'a grol</td>
<td>khyen chen ni zla padma'i gdon</td>
<td>baidara na bzu</td>
<td>g-yas chugs shi g-yon 'khor lo</td>
<td>gya grub ye ses</td>
<td>'phrag dag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu yi lha ma yum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</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 niid 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. gti mug, Skt. moha). The arising of this skandha is said to be associated with the element (Tib. 'byun ba, Skt. bhūta) of empty space (Tib. nam mkha', Skt. ākāśa) personified by the Tathāgata's consort Nam mkha'i dbyihs phyug ma (Skt. Ākāśadhāviśvārī). Recognition of the development that was triggered by ignorance as essentially a manifestation of one's own dharmadhūtu-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 dbyihs phyug ma, two Bodhisattva-s, Sa yi sāin po (Skt. Ksitigarbha) 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, sanījñā, saṃskāra-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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs, the peaceful deities are said to come from the diverse quarters of the heart (loths sku'i lha tshogs bzi bcu rtsa griis rahn gi sniñ kha'i nañ nas phyir ('thon nasi ...) and the wrathful deities appear from the

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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.

quarters of the brain (ran gi klad pa'i nañ nas ('thon nas...). The wrathful deities are said to be a transformation of the peaceful deities (khrag 'thun khrö bo lha tshogs 'bar ba lha bcu rtsa brya'gi don gi 'zi ba'i lha tshogs gnas 'gyur nas 'char du 'on no). The Vidyādhara-s are, elsewhere, 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 was then 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 cakra. Thus a Mahāyoga-description of deities appearing on the one hand, based on external visualisation, and a rtsa rlun-yoga-approach focusing on vital breath or energy (prāna) moving through subtle channels, eventually causing droplets of vital essence, thig le, to arise and descend through various cakra-s along the central nādi, the avadhūti (Tib. rtsa 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 rtsa rlun-terminology while the more recent chos fiid 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 Chos fiid 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-arising/emerging of perception and of the various other 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 srid pa'i bar do-text-- where, by the way, we meet so many statements already familiar from Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakosabhāṣya, that I am inclined to say, as indicated before, with Back (1979), that this bar do was styled after the antarābhava described there (amongst others). And a little after that we get a considerably more

296 Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.48, II.16f...
297 E.g. the Zhi khrö nes don sfin po, private copy, recent edition from Tashiljong-monastery: p.57, II.4f.: mgrin pa lobs spyon 'khor lo'i rtsa 'bad lai....
298 Here used as the sum of what is conventionally conceived of as mental processes, not as a designation for the most subtle level (vijñāna) into which all subtle and coarse mental manifestations are said to dissolve (see the late description of the 'chi kha'i bar do in the gZi sku gsum gyi rnam bṣag rgas gsal sgron ma (XL.0696) by dByangs can dga' ba'i blo gros or A kya yonis 'dzin (eighth century AD)).
299 Even though we do not as yet exactly know when this "then" was.
300 As at times also are each of the Tathāgata-s and other individual deities.
301 See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.71, II.14ff...
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 antarabhava in the Abhidharmakosabhāṣya, 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 appears 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-siddhas, 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 gZhi sku gsum rab gsal sgron me, or in the Kālacakra-description of dying).
303 See e.g. Kern 28.536.3. (k): folios 162r,1.4, 163r,1.2, and 167v,1.4.
the second (chos niid kyi) bar do successively; for what would the second bar do, the chos niid bar do, be without an experience of the chos niid 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 niid 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 khrö" 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 onto 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 khrö-mandala as for instance described in the Chos niid 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 khrö. This discussion is recorded in a work on bar do-s by a seventeenth-century rin ma pa-scholar from south-eastern Tibet, rtShe le sna tshogs ran grol (1608-?), called Bar do spyi'i don thams cad rnam par gsal bar byed pa dran pa'i me lon309. This short consideration touches upon so many interesting points that it deserves to be quoted in full:

309 See The collected works (gSuil 'bum) of rtShe 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) sNin 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 sNan 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 Yogini-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 sKor ba, here, not the usual mam šes.
Being phrased thus, this too, seems to be in accordance with the chos ŋid bar do of the rNin ma school and its meaning. ...

Notwithstanding rTse le sna tshogs raṅ 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 raṅ 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 ŋid 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 ŋid bar do with a ži 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 raṅ grol I should like to proceed towards the next chapter, in which a further interpretation of traditional "interpretations" of ži khro will be attempted.
An Attempt at "Translating" the Kar glin zi khro

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, nightdreams 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 skimmed 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 'rid 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 Lama Kazi
Dawa-Samdup, edited by Evans-wentz (1927), pp.xxxv-lii\(^{316}\). 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\(^{317}\) 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 Délà 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 riid bar do presented in a discussion in a section on "Le Livre des Morts tibétains (Bardo thos grol)\(^{318}\). The descriptions of the chos riid bar do that are here compared to the text of the Chos riid 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 btsun spyan ras gzigs kyi sprul pa 'das log sañas rgyas chos 'dzom gyis zag bdun mar dmyal kham s dan yar zin kham bcas mjal ba'i lo rgyus rnam thar khyad par can\(^{319}\) --, 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 riid 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 zi khro, which appear to all deceased. At another (later) point she also makes mention of the five Tathāgatas-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 spyī'i don than with that in the Chos riid bar do'i gsal 'debs). On pp.108f. Pommaret neatly lists these experiences in combination with similar ones described in the Chos riid 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\(^{320}\), since the order and context in which these passages occur make the accordance appear much less convincing than her conspectus suggests.

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 sgsen in eastern Bhutan.
320 References provided in the conspectus on pp.108f. are to the Thimphu-edition, not to her summarising translation.
CHAPTER 3. FURTHER INTERPRETATION

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 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:

- 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;
- 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 ņid 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

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31 A Gallup poll in 1982 revealed that about five percent of the interviewed Americans reported a near-death-experience.


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 loṅ, situates this point earlier in the 'chi kha'i bar do. He calls upon the authority of the Bar do 'phraṅ 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 (snar riogs kyi 'phra rag gi thim rim rnam), the process of dying is irreversible324.

The contemporary rDzogs chen-teacher Sogyal Rinpoche, in his "Tibetan Book of Living and Dying"325, 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 'das log-accounts correspond not only to bar do-teachings, such as contained in Bar do thos grol-texts, but also to near-death-experiences326.

3.1.6 Hypnotic Regression

These considerations bring us to recent research of Joel Whitton327. 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 her328. 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

327 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 chaos iilid 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 intend 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\textsuperscript{330}, 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 hyllic 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 hylisch pluralisme\textsuperscript{331}. 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\textsuperscript{332} 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\textsuperscript{333}. 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 \textit{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

\textsuperscript{330} See for comparative studies amongst many others Poucha, P. (1952), Lanf (1975, esp. pp.201-228), Toynbee, et al. (1979); some studies on death-ritual among "\textit{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 \textit{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 Judeo-Christian traditions is to be found in McDannell and Lang (1988); a study on Greek customs concerning death can be found in Garland (1985).

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{332} See Poortman (1958), Vol.IV(III), and van Dongen and Gerding (1993), pp.64-84.

\textsuperscript{333} See van Dongen and Gerding (1993), pp.83f.
\textit{a\v{g}o\v{e}i\v{d}e\v{s} \pi\nu\v{e}\varphi\alpha \text{ and } a\v{g}o\v{e}i\v{d}e\v{s} \dot{o}\nu\varphi\mu\alpha}\textsuperscript{33b}) controls the functions of sense-perception and imagination}\textsuperscript{33c}. 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 \textit{tantric} practices of internal or external visualisation employing a subtle mental body do also exist in classical occidental literature.

### 3.2 Chos ñid bar do

We shall now take a closer look at the (kar glin) \textit{\tilde{z}i khr}o of the \textit{Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs} and examine their traditional "interpretations" a little further. In the introductory verse the deities are referred to as \textit{lobs spyod rdo rje sku padma'i \tilde{z}i khr}o \textit{tha}\textsuperscript{33d}. The experience of the \textit{\tilde{z}i khr}o-deities is, not surprisingly, relegated to the colourful and emotional level of the \textit{sambhogakāya}, but what is more remarkable is that they are also explicitly associated with the \textit{Padma-family} and with \textit{Amitābha} (here \textit{sNan ha mtha' yas}). \textit{Amitābha}, here associated with the \textit{dharmakāya}\textsuperscript{33e}, is presiding over a triad which is completed with \textit{Padmasambhava} as the \textit{nirmāṇakāya}-manifestation. That \textit{Kar glin ñid khr}o-texts are associated with \textit{Padmasambhava} need not surprise us for a \textit{rNir}ml\textit{rDzogs chen-gter ma}, but the connection with the \textit{Padma-family} and its presiding \textit{Buddha Amitābha} needs some explanation. As indicated before\textsuperscript{33f} the fact that \textit{Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtsan}, associated with the translation of \textit{Sukhāvatī}-texts, is claimed as an earlier incarnation of \textit{Karma glin pa} might be a traditional way of suggesting \textit{Amidist} proclivities on the side of \textit{Karma glin pa}, possibly indicating that such influences might be extant in his \textit{gter ma-s} in the \textit{Kar glin ñid khr}o-cycles. The popular cults surrounding \textit{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 \textit{Buddha} of infinite light at the moment of death\textsuperscript{33g} -- 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 \textit{Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs}\textsuperscript{33h}. Moreover, there might well be some relation between the experience of the clear light of death and the vision of the \textit{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 \textit{Buddhist rtsa rlwa'-yoga}, there seems to have been some degree of cross-fertilisation with devotional \textit{Amidist} thought and practice. As indicated in the third paragraph of the first section, when discussing the prayer cited in the \textit{Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs}, \textit{Amitābha} is, apart from the points mentioned, not treated differently from the other \textit{Tathāgata-s} here; but still, the \textit{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 \textit{Amitābha} is not involved; the only and, admittedly, vague and indirect clue is contained in \textit{Na rag don do sprug(s)-texts}, where the names of \textit{\tilde{z}i khr}o are invoked in

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\textsuperscript{33a} See Finamore (1985), n.54 on p.161 (ad p.144).

\textsuperscript{33b} See Finamore (1985), p.147 (see n.57).

\textsuperscript{33c} See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.5,1.2.

\textsuperscript{33d} See Schwieger (1978), pp.13f..

\textsuperscript{33e} In section 1.3.


\textsuperscript{33g} E.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.5, II.14f. and p.8, I.15.
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 निर्मिति to the
sambhogakāya, and the fact that release in the चोस निर्मिति is said to amount to
becoming a Buddha in one of the buddha-fields on a sambhogakāya-level (... निर्मिति दुः
... निर्मिति क्षमा सु लोक ज्वाला पशु ऐशुल दु सन्ह र्ग्यात्स पर 'ग्युर रो)
, indicate a
quality of experience that is apparently associated with the appearance of these deities
in the चोस निर्मिति. The concrete qualities of a sambhogakāya-experience can be
deduced from the descriptions of the deities provided in the Chos निर्मिति do 'debs: they are described as very vivid, extremely clear, bright, and colourful, having a
dream-like quality 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 cakras, to wit, the ये 'सै क्षी 'क्षण 'लो or थूग्स क्षी 'क्षण 'लो (Skt. ज्ञानक्र) in the heart, the लोक 'स्पयो क्षी 'क्षण 'लो (Skt. संभोगक्र) in the throat and the ब्द्रे चेन 'ग्यी 'क्षण 'लो (Skt. महासुक्खक्र) in
the crown of the head successively. In the course of time a quite elaborate tantric
theory grew around these cakras. Lauf (1975) summarises some of the material
relevant to निर्मिति 'देहभ. Since the Chos निर्मिति do 'देहभ 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 cakras 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 mandalas.
Mainly based on their names and descriptions, and on the fact that they appear

together with large numbers of dakinis, we might provisionally associate them with
vitality and vital energy (prāṇa), 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 वाच, 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 निर्मिति नेस 'दोन स्त्रियाँ पो 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


Not explicit in the Chos निर्मिति do 'देहभ, an explicit reference is to be found in the निर्मिति खात श्योर, see Orofino (1985), p.117, l.24.

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 glin) \( \ddot{z}i \) \( \dot{k}hro-mandala \), 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 glin) \( \ddot{z}i \) \( \dot{k}hro-mandala \) as a concept used in the theory of a chos \( \ddot{\text{n}}id \) 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 \( \ddot{z}i \) \( \dot{k}hro \) are presented in the Chos \( \ddot{\text{n}}id \) bar do'i gsal 'debs.

Important for the understanding of the kar glin \( \ddot{z}i \) \( \dot{k}hro \) 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:
Venerable Sir, on the moment that your body and mind have separated, the clear light of \textit{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 \textit{dharmata}, do recognise!

From within the light the natural sound of \textit{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 \textit{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)\(^{\text{390}}\) because there is no

\(^{\text{390}}\) Possibly, "you have ..., but 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
depprivation 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
sbyor⁶⁶, like e.g., the Ći ba bar do lam gyi mshpan riid, 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 riid 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

⁶⁶ Read: rkyun pa'n.
⁶⁷ The particle na is, regarding the other readings, apparently redundant here.
⁶⁸ I do not understand the expression 'khor ba'i ru, ru is provisionally translated as "division".
⁶⁹ See section 1.3.
previous paragraph\textsuperscript{398}, not a one to one match in the experiences listed nor is the order of their appearance fully corresponding; at the beginning of the \textit{kho bo'i bar do} the \textit{zi ba'i bar do} is referred to as being composed of seven stages\textsuperscript{399}). Moreover the Vidyādhara-s and wrathful deities appear in the Chos niid 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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs these two \textit{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 \textit{zi kho-ro-\textit{mandala}} appears (i.e. the second stage, the wrathful deities appear first, no \textit{mandala} of Vidyādhara-s is mentioned\textsuperscript{400}).

This seems to affirm the impression with which we left the discussion in section 1.3 of affiliation between texts like the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs on the one hand and texts like the \textit{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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs cannot be explained as a \textit{Ni zla kha sbyor} that was extended with elaborate descriptions of the three main \textit{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 \textit{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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs the \textit{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 \textit{kar gli\=in \=zi kho-ro} 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 \textit{rTse le rin po che}, let alone to opponents of the \textit{rNin ma} and \textit{rDzogs chen}-traditions. I certainly do not want to rule out the possibility that an adept very much conversant with the \textit{kar gli\=in \=zi kho-ro-\textit{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 \textit{tantric} theory within the framework of a \textit{chos niid bar do}; thus leaving us with a reference to \textit{tantric} theory and related practices relevant or important at the time of conception of the chos niid 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 niid 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 \textit{zi kho-ro-\textit{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 \textit{kar gli\=in \=zi kho-ro} 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 \textit{\textit{mandala}}, and the filling in of details were very much subject to the conventions

\textsuperscript{398} See section 1.3.
\textsuperscript{399} See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.43, ll.8f..
\textsuperscript{400} Sogyal Rinpoche (1992) apparently tries to harmonise the Chos niid 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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs but includes the wrathful deities (after the peaceful \textit{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 zi 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 ņid 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 zi 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 rlun-terms or in "iconographical" visualisation-based concepts. The reason why the descriptions at a certain point in the Chos ņid 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 ņid bar do, switch from rtsa rlun-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 rlun-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 zi 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 zi khro and in the "old tantra-s" and gter 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 zi 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 zi 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 antarābhava 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 antarābhava appears in later works, like the Mahāvibhāṣā, the Yogācārabhūmi, the Abhidharmasamuccaya, the Abhidharmakośa and Bhāṣya, and the Saddharmaśṛṣṭīpustākānasūtra. The picture of an antarābhava that emerges, for instance from the Abhidharmakośa and Bhāṣya, has many features in common with later descriptions of a srid pa'i bar do, as for instance extant in Kar glin zi khro-cycles. The opinion that there is a substantial relation between an antarāparinirvāyin and an antarābhava, as apparently maintained in the AbhidharmakośaśŚāhāṣya, 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 antarāparinirvāyin 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 viśñāna in death, rebirth and possibly in an intermediate state. Especially the reconciliation of the impermanent skandha viśñāna with the gandharva-like concept of viśñāna 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 niṅ 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 niid 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 niid bar do (notwithstanding the reference to a chos niid 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 sprod from the Ka dag rañ 'byaṅ rañ šar-cycle does not mention a chos niid bar do either.

The (bKa' rgyud pa-)siddha-s seem to represent a separate strand, they do not discuss a chos niid bar do and are very much focusing on rtsa rlun-yoga. rDzogs chen-texts like the niṅ zla kha sbyor and dependents (the Ži ba bar do lam gyi mthun niid in the (mKha' 'gro yaṅ thig of the) sNiṅ thig ya bī, the Bar do spyi'i don, and later presentations like Sogyal Rimpocbe (1992)) represent another line; they feature a chos niid bar do, mention a ži khro-mandala, but do not spell it out completely, they rather focus on general experiences of luminosity. The Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs is the main source of yet another strand of speculation featuring a chos niid bar do including a full description of the (kar glin) ži 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 gSaṅ ba ye sles kyi mtha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dāṅ pho bai ma man nag gis gsal byed gian gyi lam grogs is directly derived (largely by copying) from the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs. The late 'ja' tshon ži khro as extant in instance the Ži khro nes don s büi po seem to be adapted from the kar glin ži khro.

The "Bon"-rDzogs chen-text rDzogs pa chen po 'tan Žuṅ sīna 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 ži khro-mandala, here descriptions of experiences of luminosity are dominant. The "Bon"-ži khro-texts, the sīna rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo and Ži khro bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi thos grol las byaṅ bag chags raṅ grol do feature a ži khro-mandala, but one that diverges strongly from the kar glin ži 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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs (and the Bar do 'phraṅ 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 sīna rgyud bar do thos grol (and Ži khro bar do 'phraṅ grol) on the other hand do share sources with the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs, then the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs, for which an eight-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 ži khro which appear in the Chos niid bar do'i gsal 'debs probably derive from ži khro extant in the Guhyagarbha-cycle. But the kar glin ži khro- and gSaṅ ba'i s büi 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 don sprug(s)-texts and related literature. It does seem likely that the closest relative, read: ancestor, of the kar glin ži 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 niid bar do'i gsal 'debs.

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

The Chos niid 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 niid bar-do-texts) are described. The arising of the mandala no doubt refers to the re-arising/emerging 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 viśñāna was thought to be required in order to enable any experience of or in a bar do, while this very skandha viśñāna 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 more 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, viśñāna. In short, the reason might lie in the awkward double-r6le of viśñāna, 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 ņid bar do in, for instance, the 'das log-stories in a biography of Sāṅs rgyas chos 'dzom⁴⁰¹ have several features in common with descriptions in the Chos ņid 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 spyi'i don than with that in the Chos ņid 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 ņid bar do'i gsal 'debs or reports of 'das log-s.

⁴⁰¹ The rJe hisun spyan ras grigs kyi sprul pa 'das log suhs rgyas chos 'dzom gyis žag bdun mar dmyal khams daṅ yar žin khams heas mjal ba'i lo rgyas mthun 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 cho ril bar do in, for instance, the ‘das log-stories
in a biography of Sants rgyas chos ldog’ have several features in common with
descriptions in the Chos ril bar do’s gsal ldebs, 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 spyi’s don than with that in the Chos ril bar do’s
gsal ldebs.

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experience (most research seems to have been conducted in the United States of
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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 ril bar do’s gsal ldebs or reports of ‘das log-s.

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The rile bstan snyan rgyas brtse ldog sdes rgya chos 'dog cig lag bzan mar
shud dkar dun ye dmar bstan snyan bya ba lo rgya rgyas rnam thar fhyug gar cem.
Appendix I, Bibliographies of Tibetan Texts on Zi khro and Bar (ma) do

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Reference-Numbers Used in Tibetan Sources on Zi khro and Bar do
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II Bar do thos grol, a block-print of Lama Sherab Gyaltse Amipa in Rikon/ZH, identical with the block-print of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project.

III Zab chos zi khro dgoñs pa rañ grol las sku gsum bla ma'i mal 'byor gyi gsol 'debs dug gsum span rañ grol, a block-print from India, o.O. and o.J..

IV Zi khro dgoñs pa rañ grol gyi chos skor, a collection of gter ma of Kar ma gliñ 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; sign.: Libr. tibet.128, the block-print in the "Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin".

VI Zab chos zi khro dgoñs pa rañ grol las bar do thos grol gyi skor, a reduced reprint from an Indian block-print, o.O. and o.J..

VII Kar ma gliñ pa'i zi khro dgoñs pa rañ grol gyi chos skor. A Collection of Zi khro Texts Revealed by gter ston Kar ma gliñ pa, 3 volumes, reproduced from a manuscript-collection from the library of Dudjom Rinpoche, Gangtok 1975.


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 gliñ zi khro-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 gliñ zi khro-cycle containing forty-seven texts (private copy); si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khan gis bskrun nas bkraml si khron can y'i a par 'debs bzo grvas dpar), ISBN7-5409-0259-0/B.9.

XIII Miscellaneous Zi khro dgoñs pa rañ 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 Zi khro dgoñs pa rañ grol-cycles and texts in XL.1232-1236, and 1238.

XV Zi khro dgoñs pa rañ grol gyi chos skor, volumes II and III in XL.1239-1240.


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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^a Numbers I-IX adapted from Back (1987), pp.103-113.
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).

Block-prints in the cycle Kun tu btsan po'i dgoN 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.

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.

Block-prints in the cycle mKha' 'gro gsaN ba ye sgs 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.

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).

Miscellaneous texts from the gDams ngag mdzod by KoaN sprul blo gros mtha' 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).


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) dgoN pa raN groL (las/gyi/gYi)\(^{*}\) and the concluding: (ces/ ges bya ba) bZugs so/ bZugsol bZugs sho are omitted! Regarding the complex nature of the Tibetan titles, capitals are not used in the transliterated titles.

\(^{*}\) 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.
### APPENDIX I, TIBETAN SOURCES

#### Kar glin Zi khro

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Collection</th>
<th>Bibliographical Code</th>
<th>Date Composition</th>
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<td>kar glin zi khro</td>
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<td>not yet known</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>dbu med, reprint of manuscript</td>
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<td>kar glin zi khro</td>
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<td>yes</td>
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### bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur

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<td>Smtṛjñānakūṭī</td>
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### Na rag Don sPrugs

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<td>rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gsān ba'i sñīṅ po'i 'grel pa</td>
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<td>them yig med pa'i skor las dam tshig gi ņams chags gso ba'i skon btags fies pa kun sel 'khor ba don sprugs dkyil 'khor gyi ide mig gsal ba'i me lon</td>
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ži kho na rag don sprug | ņams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bsags pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprug | XLI.264.Br.79/H289
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ži kho na rag don sprug | na rag don sprugs kyi cho ga 'khor ba kun sgrol | XL.0994
ži kho na rag don sprug | na rag don sprug skon bsags | XXIX.66.185-201
ži kho na rag don sprug | ži kho sgyu 'phral gyi phyag 'tshal na rag don sprugs mal byor gyi spyi 'khrus | XLI.336b
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Collections of "Bon"-Zhi Khro-Texts

Collections

dhak ldan zu yi rin lugs kyi zi khro'i sgrub skor (collection of 41 "Bon"-texts)
hor bla ma khri'yi yid 'byin rgyal ba'i lugs sam hor lugs kyi zi khro'i sgrub skor (collection of 51 "Bon"-texts)
zi khro sgrub skor (collection of 53 "Bon"-texts)

Compiler (Date) Bibl. graph. Code Date Printing Place Printing Folios

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<td>there are contributions as late as those by Ni ma bsan 'dzin or Ni ri del 'dzin (1813-). Hor pa yid 'byin rgyal ba ushul khrims (ca. 1651-7).</td>
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<td>1238pp.</td>
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Individual Texts

Title

dzi khro'go nthun kyi rin 'dzin lugs kyi ni kho'i sgrub skor. (collection of 11 "Bon"-texts)
spyi sgrub sgrub pa'i phyag bdes ma dang nang sgrub byed pa'i lede mig grul ba'i sgron ma
rgyud khyer mar ma'i dam 'ten 'phun gyi ba'i sgron ces bya ba skyabs ston rin chen 'od zer gyis bsdad pa'o
zi ba g-yun dren yongs dzogs kyi mug rgyug ro 'dzin gsal ba'i sgron ma
zi ba yun dzogs kyi sgrub 'dzob pa'i sa'i skor ma la
zi ba g-yun dren yon rgyug kyi mug rgyug
khro bo no mtsas rgyad pa'i mug rgyug rdo ba'i dngos bsdad u'don sgrub
spyi sgrub sgrub ba'i mian bskyed
khro bo no mtsas rgyad pa'i kho'ch lo dang pa la 'skyabs ston rin chen 'od zer gyis bskyed pa
(skyabs ston rin chen 'od zer gyis bskyed pa)

Author (Date) Code Text/Place Date Composition Plate Composition Folios

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lamb sgrub kyi yig chu ga d areng mdo g nes pa'i zur rgyan
"bra sgrub kyi yig chu ga d areng mdo g nes pa' zor rgyan
(a dak bstan pa rgyas byed)
gnangs mkhar rin po che spis spunts kyi nas nas gi ba 'bring po thig le dbyin bskyed khor bo 'bzin po gzen ba 'dus pa las thig le
zi ba dbyin kyi gsal thug

naa ba thugs kyi brags pa khor bo gsal thug
(spyi spunts kyi 'drel 'bza gnas 'gro gsal dbyangs)
grol 'debs
(bar de 'dus grol gyi 'dzab bloa)
zi khor bar de 'phrul grol gyi thos grol las byan bag chags ral grol

(thos grol gyi bka ma mkhas 'gro'i bsad phyag zur bkod chu skyes do sal)
(thos dbags dri ma mchog bya ba
rigs drug ral skye gyi gshas pa zah sma
(mam lai'si smon lam)
zi khor nyag pa'i zins rna 'gan gsal gyon ma

zi khor thugs bsgyas 'byic po'i lag ren rab dkar chu sel dba po
zi khor thugs bsgyas bslus pa'i lag las dneys sel me lobs

(zi khor glin tu bsdus pa' zins nos)

dban chen so mshar rgyas blozreg neb gsal byed 'phrul gyi me lobs

spis spunts zi 'khor'i sgo nas thugs dar mar me bsgyas tsar 'bal thabs kyi lag len srid pa'i gsal gyon ma 'od kyi 'khor lo

zi bya gyu dma' yons su rinos gyi gshis (zi bja)
(sman mchod)
(zi bya gyu dma' yons kyi 'phro ma sma gam)
gnas mkhar zi bya gyu dma' yons rinos dars kun bo dban chen gnyi 'dzab da phyag rgya gars gnyi lag len (dzhab)

spis spunts khor bo 'to mshar rgyas pa'i slo grolis bskar chuab (tshogs bskas)
gnas mkhar rin po che spis spunts kyi zi 'khor ye 'dzin bskar rinos chen sno (bskna ba)

"khor bo dban chen spis spunts (spis spunts)
g-ya gn 'dams skabs kyis 'phreis ba (skabs phrin)
khoro bo dban chen gyi pho 'da (pho 'da)
khoro bo dban chen gyi ma thugs skor guan
khoro bo dban chen rtags sgrub (rugts sgrub)
khoro bo no mshar rgyas pa'i rtags sgrub chen mo

gros rtags
(agsal ba'i fang chub)
APPENDIX I, TIBETAN SOURCES

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(sman phud kha 'byon)
(gsal mikhar rin po che'i ba g-yun drug yongs su rgyad pa'i phyag gi sogs chen) (phyag)
zi ba g-yun drug yongs rgyad kyi sbyag pa'i sogs chen (sbyags pa)

gsal mikhar rin po che'i spyi spungs zi ba g-yun drug yongs su rgyad pa'i phrin las

Rediscovered by rgya ston srol 'dzin (1092)

sNyin brgyud bar do thos grol gsol sgron chen mo

Dran pa'i rnam rgyal (8th AD), rgyal rgyal dam pa ma grol (1149) (sgrub ston)
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Literature concerning Chos drug and Bar do-s

skyes mchog ’ba ra ba rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ gis māzad pa’i bla sgrub phyag chen chos drug bcas mdo’ bsdus sṅiṅ por dril bai rje blo gros chos ’phel gi yis zab gter (XXVIII.1362.II.B.s)
mkhās sgrub mti’am med dpal ldan nā ro pa’i rnam thar pa dri med legs bṣad bde chen ’brug sgra (Guenther ed./trsl., 1963)
mkhās mchog nā ro paṅ chen gyi rnam thar pa dri med legs bṣad bde chen ’brug sgra žes bya ba (XLI.80)
mkhās mchog nā ro paṅ chen gyi rnam thar (XLI.146c)
mīmāṃ svaḥ dpal ldan ’brug pa’i gdam nas ngas las sgo pa nā ro’i chos drug gi khrid kyi žal ’ses zab mo go bder bkod pa rnoṅs mun śes byed ni ’od (XL.4182)
chos drug rdo rje’i gziṅ (XXVIII.1362.II.B.t)
chos drug bṣad rtsi śnīṅ kyi ston ’gro bshes grub myur stsl (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.i, XL.4156, v. 3258)
chos drug bṣad pa’i zin bris (Evans-Wentz, 1958, XXVIII.1362.II.B.c, XL.3707)
’chi med mtsan’i lī’i bṣryud ’debs (XL.1354)
jo bo nā ro pa’i khyad chos bsre ’pho’i gziṅ ’grel rdo rje ’cheṅ dgoṅs pa gsal bar byed pa (XL.1890)
jo bo nā ro pa’i khyad chos bsre ’pho’i khrid rdo rje’i theg par bRGB pa’i śin rta chen po (XL.1891)
rje btsun nā ro mkha’ spyod ma’i ’pho ba’i gdam nas gsal ba’i sgron me (XL.1805)
rje btsun maṅ pa lo tsa’i’i gdam nas pa chos drug sras mkhar ma’i skor rnam bžugs sŏlLi gu ru chos dbuṅ rin po che’ti gter byon (XXIX.22.454=XXIX.85.51-201)
rje btsun ma la rong pa’i rnam thar rgyas pa phyi ma’i mgur ’bum (Kern 28.536.3, XL.1539, XL.255 (2x))
gtum mo zāṅ gsum ma’i dṇmyi bzin bris (XLI.1169)
gu ru’i thugs sgrub yas śnīṅ ‘dus pa’i gsal khyi khyi bṣog rnam gsal byed ni sla kha sbyor bde chen chos su’i mū bṣthugs (XXIX.20.172)
nā ro’i chos drug gi rtag pa don gyi bṣryud pa la gsal ’debs pa tshig ’nuṅ nūr byas pa (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.a)
nā ro’i chos drug gi dṇmyi skor lag tu len tshul bṣad pa rje’i gzuṅ pa bāṅ sems dpa’ chen po kun bzaṅ pas bsksd pa (XLI.677b, IASWR.LMpj.021.009.9)
pan chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzaṅ chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ po’i gzuṅ ’bum na pa’i dkar chag! nā ro’i chos drug gi zab khrid gser gyi le de mig (XLI.395p)
ni gu chos drug gi khrid yig zab don ihad mar bṛda la bā śes bya ba bklags chod ma (XLI.14)
ni gu chos drug rgyas pa khrid yig ye śes mṭka’ ’gro ma’i żal luṅ (Mullin, 1982)
dpal ldan nā ro chos drug gi khrid tig mṭka’ gi gra chen dan gsaṅ spyod dṇog sgo m gya khrid yig zil non seng ge’i nā ra (not yet located, v. XLI.15)
dpal nā ro chos drug gi khrid yig ye zin dga’i gyi nor bu (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2b’)
dpal nā ro pa chen po’i ge khri bhia’i man ni (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.m)
dpal nā ro pa’i chos drug las rtsa ba tsanā’i lī dan po’i las ca rnam kyi bgo skal du rnam pa phye ba’i sin ris skal bzaṅ ku ma ta ’dzum pa’i la sles (XL.1135)
dpal ’bri gu ni pa’i lags kyi chos drug dril ba’i gdam nas pa (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.z)
phag mo zab rgya’i chos mo rgu bskal gis bris mdo’ bṣadus (XL.MS1312)
dpal ldan sāns pa’i gser chos las rtsa ba ni gu chos drug gi khrid(?) bṣadus stang thog cig ma’i fṇams len ye śes rja kyi żal luṅ (XXIX.20.234)
zab mo nā ro'i chos drug gi ņams len thun chos bdud risi ŋin khu žes bya ba sgrub bgyud *karma_ 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 risi'i ŋin khu žes bya ba sgrub bgyud *karma_ 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 'khriz pa'i rim pa (Dargyay, 1978 (1977)⁴³)
zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khriz pa'i rim pa yid ches gsun ldam (XL.2617, XLI.677a, FTTL.160.208.3.3-161.13.2.8, IASWR.LM8p.021.009.9)
zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi gsal byed spyi chins khrid yig dañ bcas pal karma pa ran byuñ rdo rjes mdzad pa'i chos drug gser žun mar grags so (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.b)
žus don bdud risi gser phreñl 'od gsal (XXIII.1318.1.n)
ñes don sāññ pol 'od gsal 'khor la (XXIII.1321.1.i)
ñes don sāññ pol 'od gsal phra khrid (XXIII.1321.1.q)
ñes don sāññ pol 'od gsal 'bubs 'jug (XXIII.1321.1.k)
bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor gyi risa ishig rnam'⁴⁴ (XL.3169)
bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor spyi'i snon rjes kyi rim pa rnam s kyi zin brjed byañ blo dman dga' bskyed (XL.3170)

³⁴ By rJe Tshoṅ kha pa, folios 41vff., Gangtok (1972).
⁴³ Nā ro'i chos drug.
⁴⁴ Nā ro'i chos drug.
Specific Texts concerning 'Pho ba

mgon po 'od dpag med la brten pa'i 'pho khrid (Dargyay, 1978 (1977), p.100)\(^4\)
pa' chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzañ chos kyi rgyal mskyen dpal bzañ po'i gsun 'bum na pa'i dkar chag' rgyal ba 'byams pa la brten pa'i 'pho ba legs pa cig (XL.I.395u)
'chi mskyen rtags pa dañ tshe grub 'pho ba'i rnam bshad (Mullin, 1986)
'chi med klong gsal bdo rje'i rseg bsgrub las 'jai las rdo rje'i gsain lam 'pho ba mkha' spyod myur lam (XL.I.1145)
(ze dgu ma\) rnam sles goñ du 'pho ba' rgya cher bshad pa gser gyi sgo byed pa (XL.I.800o)
'pho ba 'jag tshug ma thar lam gsals la sion (XL.I.1313)
dpal gar gyi dbañ phyug gsain ba ye sles kyi (mkha' 'gro'i) 'pho ba'i man nag mchog lam yan rtse XXVI.271\(^43\)
(ze dgu ma\) 'pho khrid kyi rtsa tshig brtag pa brgyad pa rañ tu byed gsum pa (XL.I.800n)
nde mchog drik bu pa' bla bryud gsol 'debs das bde mchog drik bu lha lha' aban chog bde chen sñin po 'pho khrid dba' bo gyul 'jug gyi lhan thabs zin bris (XL.I.347z)
'pho ba dran pa rañ grol (Dargyay, 1978, p.199)
\(\text{'}zus len bdud rsi gser phren 'pho ba (XXIII.1318.1.y)\)
\(\text{bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus 'pho ba skar khun mda' 'phans kyi rim pa (XL.I.1029)}\)
\(\text{bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las 'pho ba skar khun mda' 'phans kyi rim pa)}\)
\(\text{bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las 'pho ba skar khun mda' 'phans than thabs gsals byed myur 'gyogs bde chen pho na bzung so (XL.I.1303)}\)
klong chen sñin thig le las 'pho ba ma bsgoms sans rgyas (Dargyay, 1978, pp.199f.)\(^4\)
gzi snah ye sles sgron me 'pho ba' od gsal sñin po (XXIII.1316.1.x)
\(\text{[} 'pho ba' man nag] phag chen 'phrul mdzod (XXVI.178)\)
\(\text{myur lam 'pho ba' nyal 'byor dpal 'brug pa'i ŏams bšes 'jags tshugs ma (XL.I.604)}\)
yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las zab lam 'pho ba' gdams pa skar khun mda' phan (XL.I.1459)
zab lam 'pho ba' gdams pa 'jag tshugs ma'i ro rgyus gdams nag khrid yig dan bcas pa bzung so
\(\text{\(\/n\)} la sans rgyas gser byon (XXIX.20.655)
sñan rgyud gsain ba mthan thug la zab lam 'pho ba' gdams pa sñin gi thig le (Evans-Wentz, 1958)
\(\text{rje btsun bla ma dfongs can grub pa'i rdo rje'i bka' 'bum ga pa'i dkar chag' 'od dpag med kyi 'pho ba bka' rgya ma'i bka' zin (XL.I.242bb)}\)
gsain ba ye sles kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dba' pho ba' man nag gi gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs (XXVI.235)
gsain ya dañ 'brel ba' pho ba bklags chog ma (XXVI.236)
gsain lam 'pho ba' gdams pa las tshe 'das rnam sles spar ba'i dmigs pa (Evans-Wentz 1958)

\(^{43}\) The bracketed mkha' 'gro'i, was added by the authors of the catalogue (Dieter Schuh and Peter Schwieger).
\(^{43}\) In sñin thig pod gñis (two volumes) of gnas chun grva tshun, Vol.I, pp.4ff.
Tibetan Sources on Zi khro and Bar do-s, General List

kar gliṅ zi khro'i gnas 'dren gyi mtshams sbyor sṅīn po dril ba (XII.34)
kar gliṅ zi khro'i gnas 'dren gyi mtshams sbyor sṅīn po dril ba phan miha' yas pas bris pa (*XIV.1236)
kun tu bzaṅ po'i dgoṅs pa zaṅ thal du bstan pa'i rtsa rgyud (XXIV.84)
kun tu bzaṅ po'i dgoṅs pa ye šes zaṅ thal gyi sgron ma (XXIV.97)
kloṅ bṣags brjod pa raṅ groł (*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 rnal 'byor gyi gsol 'debs (*III.1)
sku gsum gsol 'debs kloṅ yaṅ s raṅ groł (*XII.4, *XIV.1234,1236)
skon bṣags (*XIII.MS1446)
skon bṣags ūams chag raṅ groł gyi thugs dam bskan ba'i rim pa rnams (*IV.1.25, *XIV.1235)
skon bṣags ūams chags raṅ groł gyi dbaṅ bskur gnas spar 'gro drug raṅ groł (*VII.1.8)
skon bṣags ūams chags raṅ groł lasl dbaṅ bskur gnas spar 'gro drug raṅ groł (*XIII.1445c)
skon bṣags ūams chags raṅ groł lasl dbaṅ gi sṅīn 'gro lhan grubs zin bris (*XIII.1445c)
skye šī bar do'i rnam bzęg (Lati Rinbochay, 1979)413
skyes mchog 'ba ra ba rgyal mshan dpal bzaṅ gis mdzad pa'i bla sgrub phyag chen chos drug bcas mdor bsdu sṅīn po dril ba rje blo gros chos 'phel gyi zab gter (XXVIII.1362.II.B.s)
bskaṅ bsdu (*XIV.1238)
bskaṅ ba ūams chag raṅ groł gyi bskyed rim sṅīn 'gro'i lhan thabs (*XIV.1235)
bskaṅ bṣags ūams chags raṅ groł gyi sṅīn 'gro lhan thabs (*IV.1.4, *VII.1.13)
bskaṅ bṣags ūams chags raṅ groł gyi cha lag ishe 'das gnas 'dren 'gro drug raṅ groł (*IV.2.5, *XIV.1234)
bskaṅ bṣags ūams chag raṅ groł gyi thugs la bskan ba'i rim pa (*XII.27)
bskaṅ bṣags ūams chags raṅ groł gyi thugs dam bskan ba'i rim pa (*IV.1.25, *VII.1.20, *XIV.1238)
bskaṅ bṣags ūams chags raṅ groł gyi thugs dam bskan ba'i rim pa rgya ga ra ba nam mkha' rgya mtshos bris (pa) (*XIV.1234,1236)
bskyed rim sṅīn 'gro lhan thabs (*IV.1.4, *XIII.MS1447)
bskyed rim sṅīn 'gro lhan thabs! rga btsun nam mkha' chos kyi rgya mtshos bris pa (*XIV.1234)
bskyed rim lhan thabs 'dzab 'dgoṅs grags ston ištans dbyangs bzlas ištad raṅ groł snags 'chan chos 'byun gis sbyar ba (*IV.1.13, (*XIV.1234))
kha 'bar ma nag po'i 'chi bslu bsdu pa (XL.1251)
khā hil dharma sengs so (XIV.1234)

410 Reading: span.
411 Omitting: rnal 'byor gyi.
412 Omitting: rnal 'byor gyi.
413 Cited from "The Collected Works of Nam dbaṅ mkhas grub = Kya'i rdor mkhan po of Urga (1779-1838) Vol.1, pp.459-474, Leh, S.W. Tashigangpa (1972)."
dam chos rdzogs pa chen po no spro dkyi skor las kham pa'i mi mo la brten nas rnam 

*b'ya'un* 'jag gnas gsum no spro d (*VII.2.21)

rdor sems thugs kyi sgrub pa'i khad par gyi rdzogs rim san bzh'i man nag gi khrid

yig mnon sum 'od gsal 'khor lo (XXIX.20.046)

nes don sini pol khrul san no spro d (XXIII.1321.1.m)

khrus gsol bsdu pa (XII.30)

zab bdu rgyud zab sgyu sprul lasi khrö bo dam pa bsdu pa'i lam sgrub thabs sini

por bsdu (XXIX.20.067)

*žus* len bdud rtsi gser phren khro bo bar do gnad kyi sgron me (XXIII.1318.1.i)

khrö bo bar do gsal 'debs thos grol (XLII.4)

khrö bo'i bar do 'char tshul bstan pa (I.2, V.2, VI.4, VIII.2, X.12.2,=19.2,=187.2,  

XI.10, XIV.1233, XIV.1237=XI.10)

*žus* len bdud rtsi gser phren mkha' 'gro gsum mo khad par can (XXIII.1318.1.o)

mkhas grub kun gyi gtsug brgyant pan chen na ro pa'i rnam thari no mtshar rnam  

bya'un (Guenther ed./trsl., 1963)

mkhas sgrub mnam med dpal ldnas ro ra pa'i rnam par thar pa dri med legs bsad bde

chen 'brug sgra (Guenther trsl., 1963)

mkhas mchog na ro pa' ro pan chen gyi rnam thar pa dri med legs bsad bde chen 'brug sgra

žes bya pa (XLI.146c)

mkhas mchog na ro pa' ro pan chen gyi rnam thar (XLI.80)

'khör lo'i man nag (XX.P'TT. 79.150.1.1-2.5)

gan zag žams len can la thugs dam gsal 'debs su byed thabs bar do'i no spro kun

bzan žal lu'n (XL.3484)

gar gyi dban phyug gsan ba ye shes kyi mkha' 'gro ma'i 'phrin las kyi le lag srog gi

skyabs gcig (chi ba blu ba'i cho ga) (XXV.150)

ghuru rad na gling pa' rm'i lam ralan san 'khrul grol bar do gnad kyi phran grol žes

bya pa ma dzod kha'n skabs dgu pa (XXVII.2069.12)

glegs bam brugs byan akar chang (*VII.1.22)

mgon po 'od dpag med la brten pa'i 'pho khrid (Dargyay, 1978 (1977), p.100)\(^{44}\)

'gyod tsha'ns rgyal po'i byu'n kunhs lo rgyus dan bcas (VII.1.2)

rgya btsun nam mkha' chos kyi rgya mthos mchos bris pa (XIV.1234)

dga' ldnas la brgya ma'i khrid yig mdor bsdu'i rgyal ba kun gyi yab gcig rje btsun  

'jam pa'ai abyang zi khro sprags sgrub kyi dmigs skor thun mo' na da'i thun mo'n

ma yin pa žams su len tshul sku gsum go 'pha'n mthon bar brgod pa' theim skus bla

na med pa (XLI.112e)

pa'n chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bza'ns chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzan po'i gsun

'bun na pa' ai dkar chang rgyal ba 'byams pa la brten pa'i 'pho ba legs pa cig  

(XLI.395u)

rgyal ba zi khro tshe dpag med la bcu gsum gyi dkyil 'khör chen po sgrub ci'n mchod  

pa'i cho ga yid bzin sprin phun ('XXIX.20.370)

rgyas pa'i sbyin sreg gud du bstan pa'i yig chu'n (*VII.2.3)

rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gsan ba'i sini po'i 'grel pa (XX.P'TT.82.248.1.5-  

279.5.1.1)

mnam med dpal ldnas 'brug pa'i gdams nag las sgom pa na ro'i chos drug gi khrid kyi  

žal žes zab mo go bder bkod pa rmo'ns mun žes byed ni'i 'od (XL.4182)

sgom rim than skyes ye žes (*IV.1.9, *VII.1.16, *XIV.1234)

zi khro sgom rim than skyes ra'n grol (XIV.1234)

sgyu 'phrul drwa' ba'i rgyud kyi mchan 'grel ni' la sini po (XL.1051)

\(^{44}\) In the Collected Works of Gun thain dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me edited by N. Gelek Demo in  

APPENDIX I, TIBETAN SOURCES

sgyu 'phrul 'zi khor 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)
sgrīb sbyon (XII.21, XIV.1236)

sgyon ma drug gi 'no spro dšes rig ran grol 'dshes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag (VII.3.1)

ñas don sñin po 'sgyon ma bźi skor (XXIII.1321.1.1)
brgya phyag sdiq sgrīb ran grol (*III.10, *IV.2.3, *XIV.1234)
brgya phyag bsdsu pa (XIV.1236)
brgyud pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdsu nor bu'i phren ba (*VII.1.5)
brgyud pa'i gso' 'dabs bdud rtsi'i char rgyun (XIV.1235)

ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyon ba (XX.P'TT.7.198.4.2-7)

ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyon ba 'dza bya ba 'cho ga'i bya ba mdró bsdsu pa (XX.P'TT.77.27.1.5-29.5.1)
brcom ldan 'das de bźi gsegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdo'gspa pa'i sans rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyon ba gei brjyd kyi rgyal po rgyud kyi rgyal po cheñ poi rnam par heād mząlases pa rgyun (XX.P'TT.76.105.1.1-202.1.3)

ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyon ba gei brjyd kyi rgyal po briags pa snañ ba'i rgyan (XX.P'TT.76.202.1.3-237.1.1)
brcom ldan 'das ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyon ba gei brjyd kyi rgyal po kun rig rnąm par snañ mząl cad kyi cho ga'i nag 'don gyi rim pa chu 'bebs su bkod pa thabs mkhas ded dpon (XL.3009)

'phags pa ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyon ba gei brjyd kyi rgyal po 'dshes bya ba cho ga žib mo'i rgyal po chen poi rgya cher 'grel pa (XX.P'TT.76.52.2.7-105.1.1)
de bźi gsegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdo'gs pa pa'i sans rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyon ba gei brjyd kyi rgyal po 'dshes bya ba 'brtag pa' pa heād pa (XX.P'TT.76.237.1.1-284.1.6)
de bźi gsegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdo'gs pa pa'i sans rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyon ba gei brjyd kyi rgyal po rto'gs pa (XX.P'TT.5.83.2.1-99.5.2)
de bźi gsegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdo'gs pa pa'i sans rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyon ba gei brjyd kyi rgyal po rto'gs pa phyogs gcig pa (XX.P'TT.5.99.5.2-121.5.4)

ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga (XX.P'TT.77.6.5.3-12.5.1)
dpal ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga thugs rje'i 'phren ba (XX.P'TT.76.297.2.7-5.1.6)

ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa (XX.P'TT.77.12.5.1-16.5.5)

ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor chen poi sgrīb thabs (XX.P'TT.299.1.31-297.2.5)
dpal ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyon ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga (XX.P'TT.77.1.6-6.5.3)

ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyon ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga (XX.P'TT.17.6.5.5-27.1.5)

ñan soñ sbyon ba 'gro ba rigs drug gi cho ga (XX.P'TT.75.137.5.1-140.2.4)

415 Reading: lags.
416 Reading: lags.
417 Reading: lags.
"nan sön bskyon ba'i don gyi 'bru 'grel (XX.PT. 76.15.3.2-52.2.7 (comm. 76.52.2.7-77.29.5.1))
"nan sön las grol ma'i sgrub thabs (XX.PT. 81.4.1.4-2.5)
ño sprod (IV.2.14, XIV.1234)
ño sprod thams cad kyi sñón 'gro dur khrōd ba ra bskyal ba la brten nas mi rtag pa'i bskul bar no sprod pa (*VII.2.20)
ño sprod mthon ba ra grol gyi mar me no sprod kyi than thabs (VII.3.4)
ño sprod mthon ba ra n grol gyi gzi'i 'od gsal no sprod ky i than thabs (VII.3.3)
gzi sñan ye sès sgron mel no sprod dran pa'i me loṅ (XXIII.1316.1.1)
žus len bdud rtsi gser phreni mthon gsum no sprod (XXIII.1318.1.h)
sna(?) 'chani(?) cho s'bun g sbyar(?) ba (XIV.1234)
sna.g bsags sđig sgrīb ran grol (IV.2.4)
bcam ldan 'das 'jam dpal 'i khrō'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 sñon du 'gro ba gzi bdag raṅ bgegs la gtīr ma 'bul thabs! rig 'dzin Ji ma grags pas spyan rans pa (XIV.1236)
cho ga sđig sgrīb nram par bskyon ba (*XXIX.20.056=*XXIX.4.189-281)
bka' srun(s) dam can sde bdun cho sskyon kun 'dus kyi mdāns bskaṅ gdug pa raṅ grol (*IV.1.26, *VII.3.19, *XII.28, *XIII.MS1443, (*XIII.MS1445d), *XIV.1235,1236)
bka' srun dam can sde bdun cho sskyon kun 'dus kyi mdāns bskaṅ gdug pa raṅ groll nam mkha' 'rgya mthos bris pa (*XIV.1234)
chos sskyon kun 'dus dam can sde bdun gyi las byaṅ chun 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 s monstr lam dan bca s pa (XIV.1235)
žus len bdud rtsi gser phreni cho s'nid bar do yon tan (XXIII.1318.1.1)
chos s'nid 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 s'nid ži ba'i bar dor no sprod pa'i thos sgrīl chen mo (*V.1)
chos drug gi man nāg (XX.PT. 82.34.4.2-35.1.1)
chos drug rdo rje'i gsum (XXVIII.1362.II.B.x)
chos drug bdud rtsi sīn kū'i sīn 'gro dnos grub myur stsol (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.i, XL.4156, v. 3258)
chos drug bsdu s pa'i zin bris (Evans-Wentz, 1958, XXVIII.1362.II.B.c, XL.3707)
chos sphyod bsgrigs phyag sđig sgrīb ran grol (XII.1.2)
chos sphyod bag chags ran grol žes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag(s) (*I.7, *II.5, *VII.1.11, *VIII.17, *XI.8=XIV.1238, *XIV.1234,1237= XI.8,1238)
chos bśad (XII.32)
mchod (b)stod (XII.15, (XIV.1236))
mchod rlab (XIV.1234)
bka' srun sde bdun mchod gsum mdor bsdu pa (*IV.1.18)
žus len bdud rtsi gser phreni 'chi kha bar do'i gsal 'debs (XXIII.1318.1.k)

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418 Reading: lags.
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'chi litas kyi 'chi ba'i mtshan ņid daň rtsa 'chod pa'i mdor bs dus chen po (XX.PTT. 46.186.1.1-194.5.5)
gi snan ye ņes sgron mel 'chi litas dran pa'i me loň (XXIII.1316.1.t)
'chi litas mtshan ma raň grol (legs par) (*I.9)
bde gišeši rigs lia'i sgrub thabs padma ston ldan 'chi ba brtag bslu'i man ņag ņi zla gza 'bral (XXIII.1321.2.d)
'chi ba bslu bai'i bs dus don (XX.PTT. 86.19.2.2-5.7)
'chi ba bslu bai'i man ņag (XX.PTT. 86.21.2.1-30.4.1)
'chi ba stlu ba (XX.PTT. 86.121.4.1-5.7)
'chi ba stlu bai'i gdams pa (XX.PTT. 79.130.2.5-130.4.5)
'chi ba'i stlu bai'i sgrub thabs (XX.PTT. 81.2.1-6.2.4)
'chi ba'i bslu bai'i man ņag (XX.PTT. 59.103.5.2-110.3.8)
rje btsun blo baň dpal ldan ye ņes dpal baň po'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor rnam chabs gcig tu bsdešs pul 'chi bslu'i skor rnam (XLI.252j)
'chi bslu'i bs dus don (XX.PTT. 86.19.5.7-21.2.1)
gi snan ye ņes sgron mel 'chi bslu dran pa'i me loň (XXIII.1316.1.u)
'chi med grub pa-cycle on rtsa, thig le, rlun, sems, zla ba, etc. (XX.PTT. 87.155.2-161.5.2)
'chi med tsanda lia'i brgyud 'debs (XL.1354)
'chi mtshan raňgs pa daň tshe grub 'pho bai'i rnam bšad (Mullin, 1986)
'chi mtshan raňgs par raň grol (Mullin, 1986)
'chi slu bai'i man ņag gi sgrub ma'i sgrub thabs (XX.PTT. 81.4.3.1-4.7)
'chi bslu bai'i gdams pa chu ston zlog gi man ņag bklag chog tu bkod pa (XXIX.22.259)
rdzogs pa chen po'i lo rgyus las 'chi bslu zab mo (II.8, XIV.1237)
rdzogs pa chen po'i lo rgyus mdo byaň po ti smug chuň las 'chi bslu zab mo (I.10, ~II.8, III.9, VII.3.9, XI.3)
'chi b(s)lu'i skor (XIII.252)
jo bo thugs rje chen po 'phags pa spyan ras giši nian soň raň grol (XL.3501)
jo bo na ro po'i khyad chos bsre 'pho'i gzun 'grel rdо rje 'chan dgon pa sgsol bar byed pa (XL.1890)
jo bo na ro po'i khyad chos bsre 'pho'i khrir rdo rje'i theg par brgod pa'i šin rta chen po (XL.1891)
rje'i rnam thar šin tu gsan bai na no mtshar rnad du byuň bai'i gtam 'jam dbyašs ti khro sbrags sgrub thun moň ma yin pa (XLI.261b)
'chi med kloň gsal rdo rje'i srog bsgrub lasš 'ja løš rdo rje'i gsan lam 'pho ba mkha' spyod myur lam (XL.1145)
rje btsun na ro mkha' spyod ma'i 'pho bai'i gdams pa gsal bai'i sgron me (XL.1805)
rje btsun ma yi bzin 'khor loi sgo nas 'chi bslu 'brel bai' britan bsgugs 'bul tshul 'chi med grub pa'i dga' ston (XL.2663)
rje btsun mar pa lo tsai'i gdams pa chos drug sras mkhar ma'i skor rnam bsgugs soñ il gu ru chos dbaň rin po che'i gter byon (XXIX.22.454=XXIX.85.51-201)
rje btsun mi la ras po'i rnam thar rgyas par phye ba mgur 'bum (Kern 28.536.3, XL.1539, XLI.255 (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 bzi (VII.3.10)
rje'i rnam thar šin tu gsan bai na no mtshar rnad du byuň bai'i gtam 'jam dbyašs ti khro sbrags sgrub thun moň ma yin pa (XLI.261b)
ñams chags(s) sdiṅ sgrīb thams cad bsags pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprugs (XII.24, XIV.123649, XXIX.21.25=XXIX.66.171-184, XL.1823, XLI.26350 (3x:Br.-79/H189, 2740/288,440), Kern 28.542.54)

bka' brgyad gsal ba 'yons rdzogs kyi a il'i don khrid kyi gzun'i ñams chags bsags pa na rag don sprugs (XLII.MS1021dd)

rīṇ ma spyi'i sron 'gro skyabs šems dañ dkar bgegs kyi gtor ma (XIV.1238)

sīṇ rgyud rig pa gcer mtho'i (XL.0435 ('Bon'))

bsiṇ yig mdor bsdu rnam grol don gsal (*VII.2.9, *XXIX.20.054)

tantra thams cad kyi rtsa bar gyur pa 'phyug 'phrub drwa ba gsal ba sīṇ po de kha na

nīd nes pa rtsa ba'i rgyud sogs (XXI.14)

gsum mo 'zag gsam ma'i dmigs rim zin bris (XLII.MS1169)

gu ru'i thugs sgrub yan sīṇ 'dus pa'i gsal khrid rigs la la'i gsum mo'i khrid kyi

bsgom rim gsal byed rī zla kha sbyor bde chen chos sku mju bshugs (XXIX.20.172)

gter kha gnis 'dus rtsa rlun thig le'i khrid zin mdor bsdu 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 raṅ grol (*IV.1.20)

gtor dbaṅ reg pa don ldan (*VII.1.9, *XII.46, *XIII.MS1445b, *XIV.1236, *XIX.053)

bsags grol gyi skor rnam (XLII.24)

bsags grol ston gsal til mha'i dbus dral (XLII.25)


bsags grol phun po ran grol gyi don bsdu ran grol (*II.6)


bsags grol phun po ran grol nas zur khol du bkod pa'i bsags grol 'khor lo chen mo žes bya ba lag len zin bris (*VII.1.21)

bsags grol yid bzin nor mcog (*V.16, VIII.16, X.12.16=187.16, XIV.1233)

Two 'Das log Manuscripts from the Library of Lha khan Bla ma'53 (XL.4380)

them byaṅ zin bris (VII.1.1)

thabs lam sgam pa'i rnal 'byor (XX.PTT. 82.60.5.5-61.2.1)

thabs lam gsum mo sgam pa (XX.PTT. 82.60.4.6-5.5)

thugs kyi thigs pa (XX.PTT. 83.82.1.4-3.6)

thugs kyi thig pa'i mna 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 rdzogs pa chen po'i sku gsum no spro d bar do thos grol gyi cha laṅ (*VII.2.23)

gsan snags spyi chiṅs kyi gdsams pa zab mo them yig med pa'i skor las dam tshig gi ñams chags gso ba'i skong bsags nes 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 ñams chags gso ba'i skong bsags nes pa kun sel 'khor ba don sprugs dkyil 'khor gyi lde mig gsal ba'i me loṅ (*XXIX.21.254=XXIX.66.261-272)

49 Reading: sprugs.
50 Reading: chags.
51 Reading: por.
52 Reading: las.
53 Reading: 'dzin bzhod pa chos kyi daṅ phyug and karma dhaṅ 'dzin gyi rnam thar.
APPENDIX I, TIBETAN SOURCES

185

dam tshig thams cad kyi 'iams chags sko`n ba'i lu`n ina (XLI.5)
don brgyud gsal 'debs min tshig ra`n grol (*IV.2.1)
don brgyud gsal 'debs mi`n tshig ra`n grol padma mdo snags bstan 'dzin gyis bris pa
(*XIV.1234)
drag po'i sbyin breg gud bu bstan pa (*VII.2.5)
gdams nag mar gyi yan `zin gdam pa 'chi kha'i no sprod (XL.2088)
bde chen 'zin gi ro sreg cho ga yan so`n gnas 'dren sdug bshal mtsho skem gral bde rab
'bar (XL.1205)
bka' srin dam can sde bdun gyi mdags bskan gdug pa ra`n grol (*IV.1.26)
'tdas log karma dban ldan gyi rim nam yar (XL.1277)
'dod chags ra`n grol gyi na`n nas riggs brgyud bshag thabs da`n mna`l sgo 'gags thabs khol
du byun ba (VII.3.16)
rdog rje theg pa snags kyi sgo sbyon bdud rtsi rol mtsho (XLI, p.28, n.26)
rdog rje theg pa'i cho spod thun b`zi rnal 'byor shon 'gro ra`n rgya spod byed
(*XII.1, cf. gsan snags rdo rje theg pa'i cho spod thun b`zi rnal 'byor sems n`id
ra`n grol (*IV.1.1, *VII.1.11, *XIV.1235))
rdog rje phag mo'i zab khrid las zab lam gtum mo'i ni ma'i dkyil 'khor (XLI.MS1233)
rdog rje phag mo'i zab rgya las khrid yig (XXIV.27)
rdog rje'i phag mo'i zab rgya drug gi rtsa rlu'n gnad kyi ma`n nag (XXIV.26)
rdo'or sems bsgom bglas (XII.20)
sde bskul (XII.8)
spyan ras ge'gs kyi sprul pa 'das log byan chub se'nge'i dmyal sna`n sar ba las dge sdi`g
gi s`an dbye dan gsin rje cho kyi rgyal po'i prin yig rgyas pa (XL.3211)
ldan khrus (XII.31)
na rag sko`ni(bskan) bshags 'iams chag(s) ra`n grol gyi cha lag tshe 'das gnas 'dren 'gro
drug ra`n grol (*XII.294, *XIV.1236)(?)
na rag han so`n dan na sprugs pa'i cho ga bsags 'hum rin chen sru`pa's pa (XL.3798)
na rag don sprug skon bsags (XXIX.21.252=XXIX.66.185-201)
na rag don sprugs (XLI.372)
na rag don sprugs kyi khrid yig zab lam sna`n byed (XXVIII.1356.II. B.)
na rag don sprugs kyi cho ga 'khor ba kun sgral (XL.0994)
na rag don sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus (XXIV.276)
na rag don sprugs phya`g rgya gcig pa'i rgyan khyer ya`n zab sfin` Po (XL.0093)
na rag bskan bshags 'iams chag ra`n grol gyi cha lag tshe 'das gnas 'dren 'gro drug ra`n
grol (*IV.2.5, *VII.2.1)
n`a ro'i cho s drug gi riag pa don gryi brgyud pa la gsal 'debs pa tshig nun nur byas pa
(XVIII.1361.II.2.a)
n`a ro'i cho s drug gi dmigs skor lag tu len tshul bs dus pa rje'i gsun pa bzin sems dpa'
chen po kun bzan bas bs kodo pa (XLI.677b, IASWR.LMPj.021.009.9)
p-a`n chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bza`n cho kyi rgyal mtsan dpal bza`n po'i gsun
'bum na pa'i dkar chags n`a ro cho s drug gi zab khrid gser gyi lde mig (XLI.395p)
ni gu cho s drug gi khrid yig zab don thad mar bral ba `zes bya ba bkglag s`og ma
(XII.14)
ni gu cho s drug rgyas pa khrid yig ye `ses mkha' 'gro ma'i `zal luh (Mullin, 1982)
no title (XL.3558)
gnam chos thugs gter sna`n brgyud dam pa rigs brgya'i sgrub thabs kyi lhan thabs
gsos byan `du thabs bs dus pa'o (XXIX.XII.264=XXIX.66.553-560)

424 Reading: chags.
425 Reading: bskan.
426 Liturgical collection used in funeral rites.
(臧 dgu ma) rnam gos go'n du 'pho ba'i rgya cher bSad pa gser gyi sgo byed pa (XLI.800.0)

rnal 'byor gyi dbaan phyug chen po rje btsun bSad pa rdo rje'i rnam thar rgyas par phyed ba mgur 'bum (XLI.386)
gsan shangs spyi chin gi gdams nag zab mo them yig med pa'i skor las; rnal 'byor 'chi btsag bsu' ba'i man nag bcud len da'n bcas pa (XXIX.22.233)
gnas 'dren 'gro drug ran grol 'khrigs su bkod pa (*IV.1.28, *XIV.1234)
gnas phyag (XLI.35, XIV.1236)
gnas lu'n gi cho ga da'n dbaan bskur sogls la ye bar mkho bai' zur 'debs phran bu (*VII.2.8)

dpal gar gyi dbaan phyug gsan bai ye sRet kyi (mkha' 'gro'i) 'pho ba'i man nag mchog lam yari rite XXVI.271\textsuperscript{427}\textsuperscript{428}

dpal gar gyi dbaan phyug gsan bai ye sRet kyi mkha' 'gro'i rtsa shangs kyi rnam bSad mkha' 'gro'i sphiin khrag (XXVI.272)

bla ma'i rnal 'byor la brten nas lam rim nams su len pai' man nag byan chub bde lam\dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed la bstod pa'i tshig don rnam par bSad pa 'jam dpal zi khrO dgyes byed legs bSad bai' mechod sprin (XLI.583)

dpal ldan na ro cho drug gi khril tig mchog gi gra chen dan gsan spyod zlog gom gyi khril yig zil non sen ge'i na ro (not yet located, v. XLII.15)

dpal na ro cho drug gi khril yig yid bzin gyi nor bu (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.b')
dpal na ro pa chen po'i gegez gser lua'i man nag (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.m)
dpal na ro pa'i cho drug las rtsa ba tsanpa lai dan po'i las can rnam kyi bgo skal du rnam par phyed bai' zin ris skal bza'n ku nu ta 'dzum pa'i zla' tshes (XLI.1135)
dpal 'bri gun pa'i lags kyi cho drug dri'l bai' gdam pa (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.z)
dpal gsa'n bai' sphiin po'i rgyud kyi khog dbub\textsuperscript{28} (XL.4103)
dpe'u ris skor (VII.1.23)

spyi spuns zi khor'i tshogs dan mar me bhrgya rtsar 'bul thabs bcas da'n 'brug gsa's rtsa sgrub kyi cha lag gzan yani mchod bstod sna tshogs bsuds pa (XL.3756)

spran byan chub sems dpa'i dmyal ba da'n bar do'i rnam thar (XLI.MS1308)

phag mo zab rgya'i stum mo ras rkyan gi zin bris mdor bsuds (XLI.MS1312)

phun po sreg sbyon gi kha sko'n (IV.2.12, XIV.1234)

phyag 'tsal bsuds pa (XI.22)

bka' 'dus sphiin po yid bzin nor bu las; phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po ti khrOi las byan rgyud kun sphiin khu nes don sphiin po (XXIX.20.058=XXIX.4.347-375)

bka' 'dus sphiin po yid bzin nor bu las; phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po ti khrOi las byan gi kha sko'n ru thu'n bzi'i bSags pa rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus na rag don sprugs (XXIX.20.059=XXIX.4.377-395)

bka' 'dus sphiin po yid bzin nor bu las; phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po ti khrOi sphiin byed ma bug sprad pa las chog tu bsdebs pa kun tu bza'n po'i khrus chu (XXIX.20.060=XXIX.4.397-447)

phra bai' rnal 'byor (XX.PT. 69.215.2.7-3.4)

phrin bcol'i (dharma sa'nge so) (XIV.1234)

bka' sru'i dam can sde bdun gyi phrin las chos skyon kun 'dus dgra bgegs g Henderson dge pa ran grol (~*IV.1.17, *VII.3.18)

bka' sru'i dam can sde bdun gyi phrin las chos skyon kun 'dus dgra bgegs g Henderson dge pa ran grol gyi las byan (*XIV.1236)

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

\textsuperscript{428} Eleventh-century history of the gspa' bai' sphiin po.
APPENDIX I, TIBETAN SOURCES

bka' srūn dan cam sde bdun gyi phrin laschos skyon kun 'dus dgra bgegs gdug pa raṅ grol gyi las byañ chun ba (*XII.16, *XIV.1235)
bka' srūn dan cam sde bdun gyi phrin laschos skyon kun 'dus dgra bgegs gdug pa raṅ grol gyi las byañ chun ba1 nam mkha'rgya mishos sbyar ba (*XIV.1234)
(ze du ma) jpho khrid kyi rtsa tshis brtag pa bryag pa'i rab tu byed gsum pa (XLI.800n)
bde mchog dril bu pa'i bla bryud gsol 'debs danl dpal 'khor lo bde mchog dril bu tha lha iñi iñi chog bde chen sini pol jpho khrid dpal bo gyul 'jug gyi lhan thabs zin bris (XLI.347z)
(jpho bde bas thugs rje'i lcags skyu (XXXIX.20.656)
žus len bdud rtsi gser phreñi jpho ba (XXXIII.1318.1.y)
bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus jpho ba skar kun mdal phans kyi rim pa (XLI.MS1029)
bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus lasl jpho ba skar kun mdal phans kyi rim pa (XLI.MS1030)
bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las lpho ba skar kun mdal phans kyi rim pa (XLI.MS1030)

bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las lpho ba skar kun mdal phans lhan thabs gsol byed myur 'gyogs bde chen jpho ha bžugs so (XLI.MS1031)
(jpho ba jatshug ma thar lam gsol la ston (XLI.MS1313)
(jpho ba dran pa raṅ grol (Dargyay, 1978, p.199)
klon chen sini thig le las jpho ba ma bsgoms sanis rgyas (Dargyay, 1978, pp.199f.)

gzi snañ ye ñes sgron mel jpho ba 'od gsol sini po (XXXIII.1318.1.x)
(jpho ba man nag phag chen 'phrub mäzod (XVI.178)
žus len bdud rtsi gser phreñi bar do no spro (XXXIII.1318.1.m)
bar do lha'i no spro (XXV.127)
bar do 'jigs skyobs ma (XIII., v. infra ba do'i smon lam 'jigs skyobs ma)
bar do thos grol gyi yan sini chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol (XLI.1)
bar do thos grol gyi gsol 'debs (XIII.MS1350)
bar do thos grol gyi gsol 'debs rim ba (*) tshogs raṅ grol (II.1)
bar do drug gi rtsa tshig (IV.2.10)
nes don sini pol bar do gnad kyi sgon me (XXXIII.1321.1.v)
bar do'i spyi'i don thams cad rnam pa gsol bar byed pa dran pa'i me lon (X.L.2352/2353, Kunsang 1987, (XLI.11))
bar do(r) 'phrani sgrol gyi smon lam (I.4a, V.5, VI.7, VIII.3, X.12.3.-19.3.-187.3, *X.I1.9a, XII.147, XIV.1233)
bar do 'phrani grol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs grol gyi dpa' bo ñes bya ba dan de'i 'grel ba dañ bde'i bsl ba ster byed zla zer (X.L.0171)
bar do 'phreni sgrol gyi gsol 'debs kyi 'grel pa gan bde'i bsl ba ster byed zla zer (X.L.1450)
bar do 'phrani sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo'i rnam bsad pañ chen dgon rgyan ñes bya ba (X.L.1405)
byañ chub lam gyi rim pa'i ñamar khrid thams cad mkhyen par brjod pa'i bde lam gyi lhan thabs nag 'groš su bkod pa bar do 'phrani sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo'i rnam bsad pañ chen dgon rgyan (XLI.503)
bar do 'phrani sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo'i 'grel bsd lekhra nkhaß brag ri 'joms pa'i rdo rje'i thog mdal (X.L.1404)
bla ma mchod pa bde ston ñgyer med ma'i don sgrigs tshan lam nor bu dan ñe par mkho bo'i chos spyod 'ga' zig phyogs gcig tu bkod pa rgyal ba'i gzun laml bar do

419 In siiiri thig pod gtils (two volumes) of gnos chuñ grva tshan, Vol.1, p.4ff.
420 The title ends with: ni.
421 Reading: bar 'dor.
422 Reading: bar do'i.
'phraṅ sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' ho'i 'grel bsd 'khrul snaṅ brag ri 'joms pa'i rdo rje'i thog mda' (XL.I.525)
nes don sini pol bar do shubs 'jug (XXIII.1321.1.a)
bar do 'od gsal sgron ma (XXIV.92)
kun tu bzaṅ po'i dgoṅs pa zaṅ thal gyi bar do ran snaṅ gi rgyud (XXIV.94)
rdzogs pa chen po kun tu bzaṅ po ye 'ses gsal kar ston pa'i rgyud phyi ma'i phyi mal
bar do gsan ba phyi ma'i rgyud (XXII.2624.2.f)
bar do'i no sprod (LXI.MS.1352)
 žus len bdud rtsi gser phren'i bar do'i no sprod (XXIII.1318.1.g)
bar do'i chos bsd a thos pas rnam grol (XXIX.21.268=XXIX.66.501-521)
bar do'i ñams khrdi dgoṅs pa raṅ grol gyi sron 'gro raṅ rgyud 'dul byed lhan thabs
 (*VII.2.13)
 žus len bdud rtsi gser phren'i bar do'i mishan nid bsd a po daṅ skye gnas rnams kyi
rgyu bstan pa (XXIII.1318.1.i)
 žus len bdud rtsi gser phren'i bar do'i gdam pa 'byun ba 'dus pa 'bral ba rtags kyi rim
pa (XXIII.1318.1.i)
bar do'i rtsa tshig (1.4b, V.6, VI.6, VIII.4, X.12.4,=19.4,=187.4, XII.I.12, XI.9b,
XIV.1323)
rdzogs chen sniṅ po hām skor lasr bar do'i ma yig (XXIX.22.485)
bar do'i smon lam dgoṅs gcig rgya msho (XIII.MS.1352, XIV.I.23)
bar do'i smon lam 'jigs skyobs ma (1.4d, V.8, VI.10, VIII.8, X.12.8,=187.8, XI.9c,
XIV.1323)
bar do'i smon lam rnam gsun (~I.4, ~II.4, *III.6, ~V.3,4.5.8, ~V.15,6,7,10, ~VII.3.14,
~VIII.3,4.5.8, ~IX.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 mchen 'grel nūn bsdus thar lam sīn rta (XLI.39)
bar do'i gsol 'debs thos grol chen mo bklag chog tu bkod pa 'khrul snaṅ raṅ grol
(XLI.7)
bum bsgrub (XIV.1324)
bum dbaṅ bsdus par bskur tshul daṅ sīn tu bsdus pa gser dbaṅ bcas gcig tu sdebs nas
'gros su bkod pa thos tshad raṅ grol (*XIV.1325)
bum pa a mri tas bsaṅs (IV.1.14)
bum bzlas rgyun khyer (XII.11)
bdod mi'i 'das mchod (XL.4299)
bya brgyud (XII.45)
byaṅ seṅs thigs pa'i man nāg (XX.PTT. 57.103.3.3-103.4.5)
byin 'bebs (XII.37, XIV.1236)
bla ma brgyud pa'i phyag 'tshal byin rlaus sprin phuṅ ( *IV.1.23)
zi khro bla ma brgyud pa'i phyag 'tshal byin rlaus sprin phuṅ 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 daṅl de'i zab
khrdi(?) man nāg bka'rgya ma'i zin bris gza' nīl(?) ma mthun(?) gaṅ ma'i ñams len
khyer bde bcas'i di rnam la dbaṅ daṅ 'khrdi rgyun ma thob pas blta bar mi bya'o
(XLI.527f)
bla ma rig 'dzin gyi mdoṅs(?) skoṅ(?) rtag sgrib raṅ grol bu 'bor bkra sīs rgya mthos
bcoms (XIV.1234)
bla ma' thugs grub bar chad kun sel gir bla ma smra bai' seṅ ge 'jam dpal pha rol
rgol 'joms kyi cha lag 'chi ba bslu bai' cho ga 'chi bdag gdoṅ zlog (XXIX.22.252)
bla ma' thugs grub yan sīn' dus pa' bu ddba thod phren' gi mug gi no bsa bsoṅ ba
rm'i lam 'od gsal khrdi kyi zur rgyan bslas gsal (XXIX.20.174)
rje btsun bla ma rdo rje 'chaṅ thams cad mkhyen pa dbyaṅs can grub pa'i rdo rje dpal bshan po'i žal sna nas la rnam thar gyi sgo nas gsal ba 'debs tshul byin rlabz nor bu 'dren pa'i śiṅ rnal bla ma daṅ 'jam dpal zi khrö dbyer med pa'i rnal 'byor nyams su len tshul dnos grub gter mdzod (XLI.246k)
bla ma'i thugs grub rdo rje drug rtshal las žal gdam las lam ye sès sniṅ po padma sam bha'i sniṅ tig go (XLII, p.28, n.23)
bram ze duṅ gi phren ba can gyi lo rgyus (XIV.1236, v. zi khrö na rag bsaṅ bcags las bram ze duṅ phren can gyi lo rgyus zur tsaṅ (IV.2.14, VII.1.3))
dbaṅ bsdkur 'brin po 'gro drug raṅ grol (XLII.p.93, n.68)
dbaṅ bsdkur 'brin po 'gro drug raṅ grol pad ma gar dbaṅ blo gros mthas yas (?) pa'i sdes (?) sbyar ba (XIV.1234)
dbaṅ gi dnos gi 'phrad tshad raṅ grol gyi spros bca's bum dbaṅ chen mo (*IV.2.6, *VII.1.6)
dbaṅ gi sta gon shon 'gro rin chen sgron ma'i lhan thabs gsal bar bkod pa the tshom raṅ grol (*IV.2.6, *XXIX.20.051)
dbaṅ gi gbinyin sreg gud du ston pa'i yig chuṅ (*VII.2.4)
dbaṅ chuṅ (XIV.1236)
dbaṅ ldan žu gi rin lugs kyi ži khro'i sgrub skor (XL.0684/5, collection of 41 "Bon"-texts)
dbaṅ bs dus (pa) (*XII.38, XII.43, (XIV.1236))
dbaṅ bži 'phrad tshad raṅ grol gyi rgyud pa'i lo rgyus (*XIII.MS1445)
dbaṅ bži 'phrad tshad raṅ grol gyi rjes kyis rim pa gsal ba'i me tog(iloŋ) (*VII.1.10, *XII.400, *XIV.1236)
dbaṅ bži 'phrad tshad raṅ grol gyi snaṅ dbaṅ bde chen raṅ grol la sogs dbaṅ goṅ ma gsum gyi zab gsal khyad par can (*IV.2.7, *VII.1.7)
dbaṅ bži 'phrad tshad raṅ grol snaṅ dbaṅ bde che na raṅ grol la sogs dbaṅ goṅ ma gsum gyi gsal gsal kyad par can (*IV.2.7)
nes don sniṅ po dbyaṅs snaṅ no sproḍ (XXIII.1321.1.o) dbongs pa zaṅ thal gyi man Ňag kḥug pa ba'i sgrams pa (XXIV.90/1-2)
rdzogs pa chen po sniṅ thig gi man Ňag kḥug pa ba'i sgrams nag (XXIV.91)
man Ňag sniṅ gi dbongs pa rgyud rdo rje sans dpas gsum pa (XXIV.96)
mi pham mgon po la bstod pa'i 'chi sgu ma (XX.PT.81.289.5.1-8)
myur lam 'pho ba'i rnal 'byor dpal 'brug pa'i nyams bṣes 'jags tshugs ma (XLI.604)
thugs grub yan sniṅ 'dus pa las dmar khrīd rīs la sra ma tna thod phren mniṅ niid phyag rgya chen po'i khrid kyis zur rgyan bta's gsal (XXIX.20.175)
bla ma'i thugs grub yan sniṅ 'dus pa las dmar khrīd rīs la'i rdo rje thod phren že sda gi no bo spyod pa sgyu lus bar do'i khrid gyi zur rgyan bta's chog tu bkod pa (XXIX.20.173)
rdor sans thugs kyi sgrub pa'i rmi lam gyi khrīd yig zin bris su spel ba Ňin 'khrul raṅ grol (XXIX.20.047)
nes don sniṅ po rmi lam 'bubs 'jug (XXIII.1321.1.n)
smiṅ grol rgyab rten dan bca's pa'i bṛgyud tshul gyi gsal 'debs byin rlabz bdud rts'i'i gru char! blo gros rab gsal zla ba dbyaṅs can bdud rts'i'i laṅ tsho'am zur sprul rgyal sras pa gsum sas bzi (XIV.1236)
smiṅ byed sgo 'byed dbaṅ skur 'brin po 'gro drug raṅ grol la kha skoṅ phyag bṣes kyis bṛgyaṇ 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 dkon mchog spī 'dus kyi 'khrīd yig gu ru'i dbongs rgyan Ňin byed sniṅ po las rdzogs rim khrīd yig khams gsum yoṅs grol tshe dpag

433 Reading: me loṅ.
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 šangs pa'i gser chos las! rtsa ba ni gu chos drug gi khrid(?) bsdu stan thog cig ma'i ŋams len ye sës rja ki'i žal luḥ (XXIX.20.234)

rtsa rlun mkha'i 'gro gsan mdzod cha išaṅ dān mgur ma byaṅ khrid bcas kyi gsuṅ po (XL.1429)

rtsa rlun gi sgo nas rnal 'byor gyi spyod pa (XX.PTT. 69.206.1-8)

dam iṣhig bkod pa bẋi'i rgyud! rtsa rlun thig le'i rgyud 'jam dpal 'dus pa'i rgyud las bsdu pa (XXIII.2626.16b)

rtsa rlun la sogs 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 sês kun grol (XXIX.21.234)

bka'i rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus rtsa gsum zi khor sbrags sgrubs kyi las byaṅ blas chog tu bkod pa padma'i dgoṅs rgyan (XL.1083)

rtsa gsum rab 'byams kyi bsaṅ 'dus rin chen 'bar ha'i phren ba (XIV.1238)

rtsa'i rigs 'byun ha'i mdor bsdu sden po (XX.PTT. 46.183.3.1-186.1.1)

tshe 'das gnas 'dren 'gro drug raṅ grol (*XIII.1448)

tshe 'das gnas 'dren bsdu sden pa (XIV.1234)

tshe 'das gnas 'dren bsdu pa thugs rje'i lcags skyu (XIV.1238)

rtsa 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)

rtsa dpag med zi ba lha maṅ gi cho ga 'chi med 'dod pa'i re skoṅ nag gros su bkod pa (XL.1931)

tshogs bgags(?) (XIV.1236)

tshogs phud (XIV.1235)

tshogs las gaṅ rigs la sbyar chog pa'i tshogs bsdu (IV.1.27)

mtshams sbyor (XII.94.5,9,12,36,39,44)

misho rgyal gi gsun po'i zab lam yid bźin nor bu sēs bya ha rtsa rlun gichos skor (XXVII.2069.7)

'dzab dagons sniṅ po raṅ grol (*XIV.1234)

'dzab bzlus tshans pa'i sgra dbyaṅs 'khor 'das raṅ grol (*XIV.1235)

'dzab bzlus tshans pa'i sgra dbyaṅs 'khor 'das raṅ grol baṅ bstan(?) paṅ bgyis pa'(o) (*XIV.1234,1236)

rdzu 'phrul sgyu ma'i be bum no mtshar ston ldan (XL.1584)

rdzogs chen 'khor 'das raṅ grol las btags grol baṅs thabs (VII.3.13)

kun bzaṅ dgoṅs pa zaṅ thal las rdzogs pa chen po chos niṅ mṅon sum ẑi khor lhun sgrub kyi phrin las (XXIV.40, XL.2111,2112)

rdzogs pa chen po kloṅ chen sniṅ thig gi sṅon 'gro'i khrid yig kun bzaṅ bla ma'ī žal luḥ (XLII.P, 28.n, Kern 28.236.9, XL.0852, XL.644)

rdzogs pa chen po kloṅ chen sniṅ thig gi sṅon 'gro'i khrid yig kun bzaṅ bla ma'ī žal luḥ gi zin bris (XL.1677)

rdzogs pa chen po kun tu bzaṅ po ye sēs gsal kar ston pa'i rgyud phyi ma'ī phyi ma la rdzogs pa chen po bar do gsaṅ ha'i rgyud sēs bya ba rdzogs so (XXII.2624.2.e)

rdzogs pa chen po rtsa gnas lus kyi 'khor lo (XXIV.20)

rdzogs pa chen po<o> 'zi khor bka' 'dus sniṅ po'i las byaṅ kun bzaṅ mchog gi myur lam (Kern 28.542.**)}

rdzogs pa chen po'i rtsa rlun gnad kyi gron ma (XXIV.101)

rdzogs pa chen po'i no sprod hi su rtsa gcig (XXIV.93)

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4 All different interludes(?).
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rdzogs rim bar do drug gi yig las ñams khrid dgoṅs pa raṅ grol gyi daṅ po skye gnas
bar do'i khrid yig kun gi raṅ grol (*VII.2.14)
rdzogs rim bar do drug gi khrid yig dgoṅs pa raṅ grol gyi spyi don gūs pa rmi lam
bar do'i khrid yig khruṅ pa raṅ grol (*VII.2.15)
rdzogs rim bar do drug gi khrid yig spyi don gsam pa bsam gian bar do'i khrid yig rig
pa raṅ grol (*VII.2.16)
rdzogs rim bar do drug gi khrid yig spyi don bēi pa pho ba dran pa raṅ grol 'chi kha
bar do'i gdams nag (*VII.2.17)
rdzogs rim bar do drug gi khrid yig spyi don hva pa chos ñid bar do'i khrid yig mthon
ba raṅ grol (*VII.2.18)
rdzogs rim bar do drug gi khrid yig spyi don drug pa srid bar do'i khrid yig srid pa
raṅ grol (*VII.2.19)

brdzab (l'dzab) bzlas tshaṅs pa'i sgra dbyan's raṅ grol (*IV.1.12, *XII.1345)
ka' brgyad gsaṅ ba yonis rdzogs kyi a t'i do'n khrid kyi gzhun zhi khro bka' brgyad yois
rdzogs kyi dam can dgos su bsgrub pa'i thabs (XL.I.MS1012g)
zi khro bka' dbyas by O rgyan glin pa (Dargyay, 1977, p.48, n.53)
zi khro dgoṅs pa raṅ grol gyi chos skor (XL.3559)
zi khro sgo nas phun po bsregs sbyon ba'i lag len (IV.2.11)
zi khro sguy 'phrul gyi phyag tshaṅ na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus
(XLI.336b=653,650=336b)
de bzin gsegs pa ñams kyi mtshan brjod bskal bzaṅ rgyan gyi 'phreṅ ba lal zhi khro sguy
'phrul gyi phyag tshaṅ na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus (XLI.336b)
pp.31-36)
zi khro sgrub skor gleg sgsam gyi dbut'i rdul len thar lam 'dren byed (XL.2678, bon)
zi khro na son sbyon ba'i cho ṣgrig(by)s khrom(by)s dgrugs gsal ba'i rgyan žes bya ba
kļaṣγs khoγ(s) mar bkoγ pa (XL.I.65145=13t47, XL.II.2745)
zi khro nes don sfiṇ po (XL.652)
zi khro nes don sfiṇ po (XL.3505)
yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las zhi khro nes don sfiṇ po mthon rīogs (XL.I.MS1460)
yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus daṅ zhi khro nes don sfiṇ po'i phyag len cho ṣgrig(by)s
bklays cho ṣ tu bkoγ pa' ja' tshon dgoṅs pa rgyan (XL.1399)
yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus daṅ de'i ča lag zhi khro nes don sfiṇ po'i las byaṅ don
gsal khyer bdun bsgrigs pa padma'i dgoṅs bhrγyγa (XL.1079/1083)
zi khro 'dus pa'i tshogs mchod (XIV.1235)
zi khro 'dus pa'i las byaṅ rtar(ll), 'phreṅ tshor ba raṅ grol (*IV.1.6, *VII.1.14,
*XÏ.643, *XIV.1235,1236)
zi khro na rag bsaṅ bṣags las bram ze duṅ phreṅ can gyi lo rgyus zur tsam (IV.2.14,
VII.1.3)
zi khro na rag doṅ sprug gi skoṅ bṣags thugs rje'i zla' od (XXIX.20,070=XXIX.5.153-
187)
zi khro na rag doṅ sprug gi dbaṅ chog bdud rts'i gaṅ gā (XXIX.20,077=
XXIX.5.189-213)
zi khro na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus 'gyod tshaṅs kyi cho ga dri med
bṣags rgyud (XL.1827, Kern 28.542.40)

415 Reading: 'dzab.
425 Reading: sgrigs khrom.
447 Reading: sgrigs khroms (in Nebesky-Wojkowitz-catalogue only).
434 Reading: sgrigs khrom.
449 Reading: risul.
rdo rje sems dpa’ thugs kyi sgrub pa las gsun pa’i ‘zi khrọ na rag don sprugs thabs (XXIX.20.069=XXIX.5.119-151)
‘zi khrọ na rag don sprugs rnal ‘byor gyi spyi khrus ‘gyod tshans kyi cho ga dri med bzags rgyud (XLI.10)
‘zi khrọ rab ‘byams kyi b스니en sgrub kyi dmigs rim grub mchog ṭal luṅ bstan po (XXIV.42)
bka’ brgyad gsan ba yoṅs rdzogs kyi a ti’i don khrid kyi gṣün ‘i ‘zi khrọ yoṅs rdzogs kyi byin sreg (XLIM.1021ii)
bka’ brgyad gsan ba yoṅs rdzogs kyi a ti’i don khrid kyi gṣün ‘i ‘zi khrọ yoṅs rdzogs sgo nas ro bsreg sbyan (XLIM.1021jj)
yan tig ye šes mthön grol las ‘zi khrọ raṅ gsal gyi phrin las bklags chog mar bkod pa (XL.3189)
kun bzaṅ dgon pa kun ’dus laś ‘zi khrọ gsan kyi las byaṅ khyer bder dril ba rin chen sgron me (XXIX.22.497)
kun bzaṅ dgon pa kun ’dus las ‘zi khrọ gsan ba’i ’dus pa’i las byaṅ padma’i ’phren ba (XLI.4)
‘zi khrọ’i kloṅ bsags ŋams chag raṅ grol gyi cha rkyen(?) gyi bskar(?) bsdus! blo gros rgyal mshan gyis so (XIV.1234)
‘zi khrọ’i bka’ sras dam can sde bdun gyi ’phris chos skyon kun ’dus dgregs(?) bdug pa raṅ grol gyi las byaṅ chuṅ ba (XIII.MS1438)
grol tig dgon pa raṅ grol gyi chos sdel ‘zi khrọ’i bskyed rdzogs kyi phrin las khrigs su bsdebs pa’od gsal stīṇ po (XXIX.20.057=XXIX.4.283-346)
‘zi khrọ’i sgo nas phun po bsreg sbyon bya’i lag len (XIV.1234)
‘zi khrọ’i sgom rim chuṅ ba lhan skyes raṅ grol (IV.1.10, XLI.654)
kun bzaṅ dgon pa kun ’dus ‘zi khrọ’i chog gṣün gso’l ’debs byin brlabs chu rgyun (XLI.3)
kun bzaṅ dgon pa kun ’dus las ‘zi khrọ’i bdag dbaṅ (IV.1.15, XIV.1234)
‘zi khrọ’i mdun bskeyed śín tu bsdus pa snod bcud raṅ grol (IV.1.11, XIV.1234)
rdzogs pa chen po lta ba kloṅ yāṅs las ‘zi khrọ’i dbaṅ bskur śín tu bsdus pa gtor dbaṅ phra thig sgrub thabs bcas gṣan phan kloṅ yāṅs (XXIX.22.481)
‘zi khrọ’i phyag ’ṭshal bsdus pa (IV.1.22, VII.1.18)
rdzogs chen lta ba kloṅ yāṅs las ‘zi khrọ’i tshes sgrub ’od zer drwa ba’i phrin las ltan thabs kyi bskyen pa’chi med’od zer (XXIX.20.585)
rdzogs chen lta ba kloṅ yāṅs las ‘zi khrọ’i tshes sgrub ’od zer drwa ba’i tshes dbaṅ rin chen ’khor lo bklags chog tu bsdebs pa bṣud rṣi’i ’od zer (XXIX.20.586)
‘zi khrọ’i las byaṅ mchod pa’i skabs su mshan sngs khā hī bṣud pa (IV.1.8)
‘zi khor dgyes pa dzaṅ bha la’i sgrub thabs (XX.PTT.81.48.4.7-49.1.2)
bka’ brgyad gsan ba yoṅs rdzogs kyi a ti’i don khrid kyi gṣün ‘i ba’am pa rigs bskyi’g sgrub thabs (XLIM.1021au)
žus len bṣud rṣi gser phrenl ‘i ba bar do lam gyi mshan ŋid (XXIII.1318.1.h)
‘zi ba’i sbyin bṣreg gud du bṣtan pa’i yig chuṅ (VII.2.2)
‘zi ba’i laṭi’i rnam par ṭhar ba rin chen phren ba (XL.1053)
‘zi byed skor bṣun gyi las tshogs sbyin sregl bya’i bar kḥurs byad(?) dkyi’l ‘chi bṣul rnam gsal bar bkod pa tu tig chun po (XXIX.22.071)
ži’i khams sna’i smon lam thos pa raṅ grol (XLII.3)
gzi sku gsum gyi rnam bṣag rab gsal sgron me (XL.0696)
bṣugs bzaṅ bad tshal ’byed pa’i bṣten yig dri bzaṅ ŋan ldan kun tu bzaṅ po’i žal ŋol kun bzaṅ phan gyis bgyis (*XIV.1236)
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zab bdun rgyud zab sgyu sprul lasl zangs byan ma'i chos sde khol bo dam pa rgyan gyi dkyil 'khor du dban bsuk ba'i cho ga rgyud lu n siiin po (XXIX.20.068)

zab bdun rgyud zab sgyu sprul lasl zangs byan ma'i chos sde rdor sens zi ha bzi bcu rtsa gnis kyi dkyil 'khor du dban bsuk ba'i cho ga no mtshar siiin po (XXIX.20.066)

zab bsukl (XII.10)

zab ros zi khol nes don siiin po'i sgo nas ra'n (da'n) gzan gyl don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las/ir rim 'khor (l'tshol) ba'i mun geoms kun bzan thugs rje'i sna'n mdzod (XLI.667, XLI.9, private copy41, XL.1416)

zab ros zi khol aegois pa ra'n grol cho skor (XL.3556)

zab mo nā ro'i chos drug gi nas leon thunchos bsdud rtsi nii khus bya ba sgrub brygyud karma kam tshan gi don khrid (XL.3258, v.XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.j, and XII.13)

zab ro nā ro cho sgrub drug gi nas leon thunchos bsdud rtsi nii khus bya ba sgrub brygyud karma kam tshan gi don khrid (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.j, v. XII.13, and XL.3258)

nes don siiin pol zab lam bde chen rgya mtsho (XXIII.1321.1.h)

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

zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa yid chos gsum ldan (XL.2617, XLI.677a, PIT.160.208.3.3-161.13.2.8, IASWR.LMPj.021.009.9)

zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi gsal byed spyi chins khrid yig dan bcas pa 'karma pa ra'n byun rdos rjes mdzad pa'is chos drug gser 'sun mar grags so (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.b)

yin zab don mchog spyi 'dus las zab lam 'pho ba'i gdam pa skar khhun mda' phan (XL.IMS.1459)

zhn gsal gser pa'i mha'n thug las zab lam 'pho ba'i gdam pa siiin po gi thig la (Evans-Wentz, 1958)

zas bsho (XII.41)

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

'og sgo bde ba chen po'i khrid 'dod chags ra'n grol (VII.3.15)

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

'zhens bdead rtsi gser phreni 'od gsal (XXIII.1318.1.n)

nes don siiin pol 'od gsal 'khor lo (XXIII.1321.1.i)

nes don siiin pol 'od gsal phra khrid (XXIII.1321.1.q)

nes don siiin pol 'od gsal 'bubs 'jug (XXIII.1321.1.k)

kun bzan thugs gter lasl yan dag zi khol phur gsum gyi phrin las byan(?) bu(?) grub gnis nor bu rgya mtsho (XXIX.20.856)

kun bzan thugs gter lasl yan dag zi khol phur gsum gyi dha'n gi cho ga grub gnis bsdud rtsi'i rgyun 'bebs (XXIX.20.857)

rdor sens thugs kyi sgrub pa'i yan lag zab lam 'pho ba'i man niag gi zin bris kun bza'n myur lam (XXIX.20.049)

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

yi dam spyi yi bya'n chog s'i sog gsdon sog gan byed kyan 'brel tshad don ldan bde chen 'zin gi lam bza'n (XXIX.21.265=XXIX.66.535-551)

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

42 Only this BP. distinctly has lum.

43 By rJe tsha'n kha pa, folios 41vff., Gangtok (1972).
yan gan bla na med pa rdzogs pa chen po rig pa ye yes ran gsal bali rgyud
(XXIV.83)
ran las rtsa yi 'khor lo (XX.PTT.82.61.2.1-7)
rig pa no sprod gcer mtho空 ran grol (*II.9, *IV.2.2, *V.10, *VI.14, *VII.2.22,
rig pa ran sar chen po rgyud (Rangdröl, 1989, p.29, n.2; in rgyud'bum Khyentse-
edition)
rig 'dzin padma gliṅ pa'i bka' 'bum yid bön gter mdzod (XLI.1, p.28. n.25)
rigs bryjug sprul sku bTag thabs 'dod chags lam khyer (*III.1449)
rdzogs pa chen po dgoös pa zan thal las rigs drug 'khor ba' gnas 'dren (XXIV.43)
rigs drug thar pa chen po'i mdo guun lhos grol bar do 'phraṅ grol chen po skye sgo
gcod pa'i mdo (XL.2144, bon)
rigs drug gnas 'dren (*IV.2.16)
rigs[s] drug gnas 'dren run bsod sgrigs chags (*XIV.1235)
rigs drug gnas 'drenl padma rig 'dzin gyis bko'd pa (*XIV.1234,1236)
rigs drug gnas 'dren bsdu pa (*XII.42)
rin 'shes'i cho ga sgrub pa'i rnam par bTag pa 'chi bTag slu ba'i rtog pa'i don 'grel tshe
dban dga' ba' khyil ba'i thig le (XXIX.20.168)
Rituals 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. until1 62.163.5.1.1))
rim lam dan 'chi ltas 'ja' tshon sgra byun bai litas bcas la brtag pa byed tshul skyes pa
dan bud med mi dnyad brtag pa bya rog skad bcas la brtag pa bya tshul rnam par
gsal bai'i me loň (XL.1337)
ro bsreg gi cho ga (XX.PTT.79.131.2.7-3.8)
ro sreg gi cho ga ye yes 'od bar la 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 yan zab akon mchog spyi 'dus kyi las byan khrigs su bko'd pa
'khrul med rab gsal dhos grub mchog ster (XXI.38)
bka' srun dam can sde bdun gyi las byan dgra breg gi dug pa ran grol (*IV.1.17)
las byan chun ba tshor ba ran grol (gyi) sriin po (*IV.2.2, *VII.1.15,
*XIV.1234,123843, *XXIX.20.10.050)
las byan bsdu pa (XIV.1235)
las byan tshor ba ran grol sriin po (*XII.7, *XIV.1235(2x),1236)
las byan rtsa phrein tshor ba ran grol (*IV.1.6, *XIV.1234)
lon bstan bka' rgya (*ran grol) dan thugs rje chen po padma Ži khro las VII.1.24)
rlun khrugs 'bum gyi yan sriin gšin rje'i srog sgrub me yi spu gri glog žags dug gi
'khor lo (XXIX.85.37-43)
rlun khrugs 'bum gyi yan sriin gšin rje'i srog sgrub me yi spu gri glog žags dug gi
'khor lo'i dpe bris bca' gši'i sog khra yod (XXIX.85.45-50)
nes don sriin po rlun drug rdo rje'i chins (XXIII.1321.1.f)
nes don sriin po rlun sbyor ye yes drwa ba (XXIII.1321.1.g)
si bai'i sems can sdiq pa las thar bar byed pa'i ro bsreg pa'i cho ga dug sbyon gsal
ba'ime loň (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 no sprod mtho'i ba ran grol žes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag (VII.3.2)
sa bcad lde mig ran grol (*VII.2.10)
sā tshoša'i 'debs pa'i gsal byed legs tshogs lhu grub la ho gyi bandes bris pa (XIV.1236)
sān srgyas dañ byañ chub sems dpa' rnam la ra mda'(lr) sg(b)ran pa'i smon lam (V.3, VI.54, VIII.3, X.12.3=187.3, XIV.1233)
sān srgyas dañ byañ chub sems dpa' rnam ra mda'(lr) btraî pa'i smon lam 'jigs pa ran grol dañ bar do 'rtsa tshig dañ bar do 'phrañ grol dañ bar do 'jigs skyobs ma bcas(rnam) (*I.4, *II.4, *III.6, *XIV.1234,1236, 1237)
sān srgyas dañ byañ chub sems dpa' rnam ra mda' sman pa'i smon lam 'jigs pa ran grol dañ bar do 'jigs skyobs ma rnam (*XIV.1235)
sān srgyas dañ byañ chub sems dpa' rnam ra mda' sprañ pa'i smon lam 'jigs pa ran grol dañ bar do 'rtsa tshig dañ bar do 'jigs skyobs ma bcas (*XI.9)
srid pa bar do'i gde sdig ran gzugs bstan pa'i gams pa srid pa bar do ran grol (*VI.17, *VIII.11, *X.12.11=187.11)
srid pa bar do'i gde sdig ran gzugs bstan pa'i lhan thabs (*V.12, *VI.18, *X.12.11=187.11, *XIV.1233)
bar do thos grol chen mo las srid pa bar do'i no sprod (V.6, VI.8, VIII.6, X.12.6, XIV.1233)
srid pa bar do'i no sprod lhan thabs sbyan sman la'i gandhe (~*VII.3.7)
slob dpön padma mdzad pa rgyud sde bṡ'i yam smin ** bde gsgs ti khrö'i smin khrag gcig tu bsdus pa mthson sruñ rdo rje'i go khrab(?/?) rgyun thuñ(b?) sruñ bā'i rgyal po bri rgyun zāb pa'i mthar thug (XXIX.22.103)
gsān sṅags rdo rje theg pa'i cho spyd thun bā'i rnal 'byor sems ṇid ran grol (*IV.1.1, *VII.12.12, *XIV.1235)
gsān sṅags rdo rje theg pa'i cho spyd thun bā'i rnal 'byor sems ṇid ran grol chos rje glin pa'i žal gams gu ru sūrya candra ra smin yi ger 'god (*XIV.1234)
gsān ba ye sēs kyi mkha' 'gro'i sgo nas 'chi blu bā'i cho ga srog gi bcud len (XXVI.151)
gsān ba ye sēs kyi mkha' 'gro'i sgo nas rig sugs 'dren gyi cho ga (XXVI.149)
gsān ba ye sēs kyi mkha' 'gro'i sgo lūn gi cho ga'i rnam bṣad mkha' spyd snañ bā'i mdzes rgyan (XXVI.153)
gsān ba ye sēs kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dañ pho bā'i man nāg gi gsal byed gian gis lam groms (XXVI.235)
gsān ba ye sēs kyi gnas lūn gi cho ga'i rnañ don mkha' spyd snañ bā (XXVI.154)
dpal gsān bā'i snię po phyi ma (XXI.14.62-67)
gsān bā'i sṇīñ po de kho na ṇid nes pa (XX.PTT.10.36.3.7-77.3.7)
gsān bā'i sṇīñ po de kho na ṇid nes pa (XXI.14.1-61)
gsān bā'i sṇīñ po de kho na ṇid nes pa (XXI.14.67-317)
gsān bā'i sṇīñ po de kho na ṇid nes pa sgyu 'phrul brgyad pa 'es bya bā'i rgyud (XXI.14.549-571)
dpal gsān bā'i sṇīñ po de kho na ṇid nes pai(i) rgya cher bṣad bā'i grol pa (XX.PTT.83.1.1.1-70.3.7)
gsān bā'i sṇīñ po de kho na ṇid nes pa'i sgyu 'phrul dr(y)a ba bla ma chen po (XXI.14.572-639)

441 Reading: mdr shran.
442 Reading: rnam.
443 Reading: mdr.

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gsan ba'i sniin po de kho na 'nid 'nes pa'i bla ma chen po (XX.PTT.10.98.2.5-108.4.8)
'phags pa rtags pa'i rgyal pol sgyu 'phrul dr(va) ba le'u ston phrag bgya pa lasl
mishan 'nid dan rgyud thams cad lung gi spyad pal de bzin gnegs pa thams cad kyi
gsan ba'i gsan ba'i sriiripo de kho na 'nid 'nes pa'i le'u lasl sgyu 'phrul le lhag
(XXI.14.415-549)
dpal gsan ba'i sriiripo de kho na 'nid rnam par 'nes pa (XX.PTT.10.1.1.3-9.4.3)
dpal gsan ba'i sriiripo'i don bsdus 'grel pindartha (XXI.PTT.83.177.1-88.4.6)
dpal gsan ba'i sriiripo'i rimp pa gnis kyi don/i? (XXI.PTT.83.262.2.4-3.6)
dpal gsan ba'i sriiripo de kho na 'nid 'nes pa (XXI.14.317-415)
gsan ba'i thigs pa (XXI.PTT.83.82.3.6-5.1)
gsan ba'i thigs pa'i man nag gi 'grel pa (XXI.PTT.83.255.2.5-259.1.2)
gsan ba'i man nag 'jam pa'i thigs (XXI.PTT.83.253.2.5-255.2.5)
gsan ye dan 'brel ba'i pho ba bklangs chog ma (XXVI.236)
gsan 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)
gsan lam 'pho ba'i gdams pa las tshe 'das rnam 'ses spar ba'i dning pa (Evans-Wentz
1958)
gsol 'debs sku gsum klo ghans ran grol (*IV.1.2, *VII.2.11, *XIII.MS1444,
*XIV.1235, *XLI.661)
bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor gyi rtsa tshig rnam*47 (XLI.3169)
bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor spyi'i shon rjes kyi rim pa rnam kyi zin bris brjed byan blo
dman dga' bskyed*48 (XLI.3170)
'sam ze dun gi phreng ba can gyi lo rgyus (XII.33)
sems kyi thig le hams 'nid bsgom pa'i rimp pa (XXI.PTT.69.208.1.8-2.8)
hams yig sems 'nid thig le bsgom pa'i rimp pa (XXI.PTT.69.208.4.4-5.6)
hor bla mu khri yid bzin rgyal bai'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 lu'n bstan da'n kun btsun pa bla ma brgyud pa'i rimp pa
rnams (VII.1.4)

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47 Nâ rt'i chos drug.
48 Nâ rt'i chos drug.
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