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Margaret Coberly

*Department of Psychology University of Hawai'i*

S. I. Shapiro

*Department of Department of Psychology University of Hawai'i*

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## Death and Dying in the Tibetan Buddhist Tradition<sup>1</sup>

Margaret Coberly and S. I. Shapiro

Department of Psychology

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

U.S.A.

*The merciless Lord of Death kills  
All beings without discrimination.  
Hence for so long as he has not come,  
The wise live in mindfulness.*

--A Letter to King Kanika<sup>2</sup>

In both living and dying, the centrality of the human mind as the source and agent of self-liberation is paramount in Tibetan Buddhism. Within the heritages of the different sects of Tibetan Buddhism, a vast collection of materials exists concerning death and dying. Some of these works contain finely detailed descriptions of phenomena of consciousness, which, however daunting to a beginner, reflect a psychological richness and immediacy not easily dismissed. And although the literature is often complex and recondite, an understanding of the Tibetan Buddhist vision of death and dying is vital for Western psychologists who wish to expand their understanding of the art of dying as well as the art of living. The following overview is offered as an introduction to the Tibetan Buddhist perspective.

In the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, life and death are sometimes described as a continuum consisting of six periods: (a) the *bar.do* of life; (b) the *bar.do* of the dream state; (c) the *bar.do* of meditation; (d) the *bar.do* of dying; (e) the *bar.do* that is the intermediate state between death and rebirth; and, (f) the *bar.do* of becoming, in which the search for rebirth takes place (Chökyi Nyima Rinpoche, 1991; Lauf, 1977). The first three *bar.do* periods pertain to living; the last three, to death and dying--the focus of this study.

#### English-Language Resources

Mullin (1986) suggests that the original Tibetan Buddhist literature on death and dying can be divided into the following categories:

1. Instructive manuals guiding trainees in death meditation during this lifetime.
2. Poetry and prose to inspire practice.
3. Inspirational accounts of the deaths of great yogis, meditators, and saints.
4. Occult materials concerning methods of divining prophetic signs of untimely death.
5. Methods for achieving longevity by warding off untimely death.

6. Methods for training the mind in *pho.wa*, the transference of consciousness out of the body at the time of death.

7. Ritualistic texts to be read aloud to help a person achieve self-liberation at the time of death or during the period after death.

8. Doctrinal analyses of the process of death, dying, and rebirth.

9. Accounts of people who died, but soon after returned to life.

10. Various other topics such as mummifying the dead or bringing the dead back to life.

Until recently, only a few of the Tibetan texts and commentaries on death and dying had been translated into English or into any other Western language. Happily, this situation is beginning to change.

The first English-language translation from the Tibetan Buddhist literature on death and dying was published in 1927. The translation, provided by Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup and edited by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (1927), consisted of seven chapters from a longer work, designed to be read aloud to help a person achieve self-liberation at the time of death or during the after-death period. This translation has since appeared in two additional editions (1949, 1957) and several reprintings.<sup>3</sup> The main title given to the

translated work by Evans-Wentz was The Tibetan Book of the Dead,<sup>4</sup> and it is by this title that the work has become best known in the West. Although commonly referred to in the singular as the Tibetan Book of the Dead, the work edited by Evans-Wentz is only one among a number of variant texts in the *Bar.do'i.thos.grol* (liberation through hearing in the *bar.do*) literature used for guiding one through the process of dying and the period after death (Lauf, 1977). Some of Evans-Wentz's other works (e.g., 1967, 1968), and the writings of Herbert Guenther (e.g., 1963), also contained material relevant to the Tibetan Buddhist view of death and dying.

In 1972, Frank J. MacHovec published a much shorter translation of a text in the *Bar.do'i.thos.grol* literature in which he attempted to use simple language and avoid specialized terms. A few years later, a translation entitled The Tibetan Book of the Dead: The Great Liberation through Hearing in the Bardo, was published by Francesca Fremantle and Chögyam Trungpa (1975). At present, we are aware of two new translations scheduled to be published, one in late 1993 (Thurman, in press), and the other in early 1995 (Gyurme Dorje & Coleman, in press).

In 1977, an English translation of Detlef Lauf's work in German, Secret Doctrines of the Tibetan Books

of the Dead, was published. It contains a detailed analysis of the origin, content, and structure of the Tibetan Books of the Dead. A few years later, Lati Rinbochay and Jeffrey Hopkins (1979) published a translation of an eighteenth century Tibetan text that discusses the process and stages of dying and the after-death period. The book, Death, Intermediate State and Rebirth in Tibetan Buddhism, is notable for its details on these subjects.

In addition to the works previously mentioned, in recent years, the number of books in English about the Tibetan Buddhist view of death and dying has grown. Some of the books are translations of much older texts, others contain discussions of Tibetan Buddhist theories and meditation practices relevant to the art of living and dying (e.g., Chagdud Tulku Rinpoche, 1987; Chang, 1986; Chögyam Trungpa, 1992; Chökyi Nyima Rinpoche, 1991; Clifford, 1984; Lama Lodö, 1987; Mullin, 1986; Reynolds, 1989; Sogyal Rinpoche, 1992; Tsele Natsok Rangdröl, 1989).

The increasing international visibility of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, since his exile from Tibet in 1959, and the recent award to him of the Nobel Peace Prize, as well as the growing number of publications by Tibetan and Western teachers and scholars, have contributed to a growing public

awareness of Tibet and its richly detailed psychological teachings.

### Karma and Rebirth

According to the Tibetan Buddhist view of death and dying, death should be prepared for long in advance; indeed, throughout one's lifetime. This view of life and death is intimately related to the concept of karma, literally meaning "action"--physical, verbal, or mental--and connoting the law of cause and effect. In the Buddhist view, every action an individual performs, whether positive, negative, or neutral, effects an imprint on his or her mind, and each imprint then becomes a subconscious predisposition towards acting in that same manner again (Tenzin Gyatso, 1984). Thus, our actions and deeds of the past strongly determine what we are today, and our actions today are greatly influencing the course our life will take in the future. In Buddhism the idea of rebirth is fundamental,<sup>5</sup> and at the moment of death the karmic predispositions imprinted on the mind powerfully influence the future evolution of that mind (Hopkins, 1980; Lama Lodö, 1985, 1987; Lati Rinbochay & Hopkins, 1979). There is a danger that the mind will be affected by the three poisons--attachment/desire, anger/hatred, and delusion/ignorance. As Chagdud Tulku Rinpoche (1987) states: "The poisons of the mind

create the karmic experiences to which each being is subject" (p. 12).

In Tibetan Buddhist psychology, the most subtle level of consciousness, the mental-continuum, with all its predispositions (the karmic imprints accumulated throughout a lifetime), leaves the physical body at death and continues into another cycle of existence--the intermediate state between death and future rebirth. The state of mind that predominates at death will be the impelling force that drives the mental-continuum towards the quality of its next rebirth (Soni, 1978; Tenzin Gyatso, 1984).

The mind can be trained during one's lifetime to focus upon positive thoughts and actions, enabling it to more readily enter the after-death period in a beneficial manner. To enter the after-death state in a negative frame of mind triggers negative predispositions that can lead to an unhappy rebirth; conversely, to enter the after-death state in a positive frame of mind triggers positive predispositions that can lead to a happy rebirth (Tenzin Gyatso, 1977). Moreover, various opportunities exist during one's lifetime, as well as at the moment of death, and afterwards, to achieve liberation from the continual cycle of birth and death and its attendant sufferings.



Rebirth, in the Buddhist tradition, takes place in one of the six realms of existence outlined below (Geshe Rabten, 1984). (The six realms can also be seen as psychological attitudes manifesting themselves in everyday human behavior (Chögyam Trungpa, 1992).) The first three realms are called the "lower realms":

1. The realm of hell-beings is characterized by violence and aggression. A person is propelled here through the strength of angry thoughts.

2. The ghost realm is characterized by intense greed. A person is propelled here through strong attachments and desires.

3. The animal realm is characterized by ignorance (the suffering that occurs from not having intelligence). A person is propelled here by being slothful and petty-minded.

The remaining three realms are considered to be higher rebirths, giving rise to the following:

4. The human realm, characterized by both pleasure and pain.

5. The demigod realm, characterized by jealousy and fighting.

6. The god realm, characterized by comfort and beauty, but tainted by the painful awareness that such beauty and comfort are temporary, and that beings in

the god realm must eventually yield to death and then fall into a lesser realm.

Achieving a rebirth in one of the three higher realms is accomplished primarily by possessing a large amount of positive karma, accrued through moral discipline and altruistic actions. The most positive actions of all are those conducted with *bodhicitta*--the desire to attain enlightenment for the sake of liberating all beings.

Of the three higher realms, human rebirth is considered the most fortunate because it affords the greatest opportunity to develop a virtuous disposition through the practice of the Buddha's doctrine of compassion, altruism, and *bodhicitta* (Geshe Rabten, 1984; Lama Lodö, 1984; Lama Yeshe & Zopa Rinpoche, 1982; Tenzin Gyatso, 1990). A virtuous disposition guides one away from actions that will incur negative karma (Jigme Tenpe Nyima, 1990). A virtuous disposition can be achieved by a deep realization of the impermanent nature of all composite phenomena, and thus the fundamental futility of clinging to objects, circumstances, or people (Patrul Rinpoche, 1990).<sup>6</sup>

#### Impermanence and Liberation

The soteriological thrust of Buddhism is to achieve liberation from the sufferings of repeated

rebirth, or, in the Mahāyāna tradition, the full enlightenment of a Buddha. Enlightenment develops from great compassion and a state of "wisdom understanding emptiness" based on a recognition of the transitory nature of the universe. In the Buddhist tradition, nothing exists of its own accord, but is dependent upon other conditions; thus, existence, which consists of continually changing conditions, is rooted in impermanence (Cozort, 1986). Therefore, the search for satisfaction and security in life by obtaining and maintaining any one set of conditions, can ultimately only lead to dissatisfaction and suffering. However, "Impermanence is not itself suffering. Human beings suffer because they fail to realize that all things change. Desiring constancy they think their hopes are betrayed when they fail to find stability in a world that cannot offer it" (Mizuno, 1987, p. 114). A mind that recognizes the transitory nature of the material world and the false sense of permanence that it generates, will not be subject to the same degree of suffering as a mind which strives for security and permanence. Moreover, through awareness of impermanence and death "we lose attachments to meaningless endeavors and gain a deeper sense of our humanity" (Mullin, 1986, p. 227).

Tibetan Buddhism maintains that a human being can ultimately evolve to a state of awareness that enables liberation from suffering, and that liberation can occur at any time during one's life, or at the time of death, or after death. This tradition teaches that the dying should face death with a prepared mind, remaining calm and clear-headed, overcoming fear with understanding. Developing a resolute perspective to face death in this way ideally begins long before actually facing death. In either case, whether far in advance or at the time of death, achieving such a perspective is grounded in recognizing the principle that phenomena and the self are impermanent and empty of inherent existence (Tenzin Gyatso, 1984).

The recognition of impermanence can be developed through different means. One of the most profound is said to be that of meditation on death, practiced daily throughout one's life. The current Dalai Lama has stated: "In my daily practice, I meditatively pass through the stages of dying six or seven times" (Tenzin Gyatso, 1984, p. 181). The psychological significance of death meditation is that "in the Tibetan Buddhist view, the control of mind and the understanding of reality one has gained during life will determine one's ability to understand the experience of death and to

control the course of consciousness there" (Clifford, 1984, p. 108).

### Stages of Dying

The stages of dying according to the Tibetan Buddhist tradition are based on the idea that the human body is made up of five elements:

1. Earth: Related to flesh and bone.
2. Water: Related to blood and fluids.
3. Fire: Related to digestion and internal heat.
4. Wind: Related to breath and circulation.
5. Consciousness: Related to mental processes.

Death takes place when these five factors have dissolved. The stages of dying are also associated with an elaborate psycho-physical theory of winds or currents of energy. To avoid fear at the time of death, when the dissolution of the elements takes place, it is important to understand and recognize the stages of dissolution. The following synoptic description of what happens during the stages of dissolution is based primarily on material found in Clifford (1984), Lati Rinbochay and Hopkins (1979), and Tenzin Gyatso (1984), but other, variant descriptions exist.

Stage 1: Dissolution of the earth element.

During this time the person loses strength and feels a great heaviness and sinking. Even the sheet on the bed can be experienced as a great weight and the person might say something like "Pull me up." His or her body becomes very heavy and difficult to move. Mentally, one is said to experience a mirage-like vision. The dissolution of the earth element paves the way for the dissolution of the water element.

Stage 2: Dissolution of the water element.

The secretions dry up and the dying person may experience a feeling of tremendous thirst. Mentally, one is said to experience a vision of misty smoke, like smoke billowing up from a chimney. The dissolution of the water element paves the way for the dissolution of the fire element.

Stage 3: Dissolution of the fire element.

During this period the person's respiration becomes difficult. The inspirations become short, the exhalations, long and labored. The dying person may feel very cold, as internal body warmth fades. The mind becomes increasingly unfocused. At this point, sometimes there is no material awareness at all, and the person may lose control of voluntary bodily functions such as urination and defecation. Internally, the person is said to experience a vision of tiny dots of red light, like fireflies or scattering

sparks. The dissolution of the fire element paves the way for the dissolution of the wind element.

Stage 4: Dissolution of the wind element.

The dying person's respiration rattles (the death rattle in Western medicine) and then the last breath is exhaled. At this point, in Western medicine--when the patient is no longer breathing, has no pulse and is without any blood pressure--an individual is pronounced clinically dead. Tibetan Buddhism, however, maintains that even though the gross bodily functions have now ceased, the mind easily becomes disturbed and different experiences and visions can arise according to the dying person's karma. People who are disposed to violence may feel they are being attacked and see terrifying images. Peaceful people will experience more serene images, and people who are religious may experience deities or familiar people such as relatives and friends coming to take them to another existence. The dissolution of the wind element paves the way for the dissolution of the element of consciousness.

Stages 5-8: Dissolution of the consciousness element. In stages 1-4, only the coarse sense consciousnesses have dissolved, but four other levels of consciousness still remain to be dissolved. These remaining levels dissolve sequentially from grosser to

subtler levels. In the fifth stage, conceptuality dissolves (80 varieties are enumerated); in the sixth stage, the mind of white appearance dissolves; in the seventh stage, the mind of red increase dissolves; and, in the eighth stage, the mind of black near-attainment dissolves. This is the point of actual death in the Tibetan Buddhist system and it precipitates an especially auspicious event--the manifestation of the most subtle consciousness, the mind of the clear light of death. This primordial luminosity of the mind can be compared to "an immaculate dawn sky in autumn, without any other appearance" (Tenzin Gyatso, 1984, p. 177).<sup>7</sup>

Death affords an especially propitious occasion for this primordial luminosity to be recognized, because, at death, consciousness is no longer obscured by conventional thoughts or negative emotions (Sogyal Rinpoche, 1992). "The consciousness of a spiritually mature person becomes identified with the light that shines out at the time of death and perceives the identity between that light and its own radiant essence" (Tucci, 1980, p. 64). Although the manifestation of the clear light of death is considered to be the most providential moment for achieving liberation by realizing the fundamental luminosity of



the mind, other opportunities also come into being after death.

A practitioner who has learned in his or her lifetime to recognize that the primordial luminosity is generated from within will not feel afraid or separate from it. Without doubt or fear, the mind can unite with the light, "like a child jumping into its mother's lap" (Chökyi Nyima Rinpoche, 1991, p. 11), and thereby become liberated.<sup>8</sup> However, due to the lack of deeper consciousness about one's inner light--which can be cultivated through spiritual and meditational practice --the opportunity to recognize the inner light and obtain liberation is usually lost. Instead, a vivid darkness prevails and the mind sinks into unconsciousness, or literally blacks out. After three or four days, the mind-continuum recovers from its swoon and leaves the body altogether,<sup>9,10</sup> entering the *bar.do* between death and rebirth (Fremantle & Chögyam Trungpa, 1975; Lama Lödo, 1987).

#### The Intermediate After-Death State

Following the *bar.do* of dying, the intermediate state between death and rebirth commences.<sup>11</sup> Awakening from its swoon, the mental-continuum begins to experience various psychological phenomena in the intermediate state. If the primordial luminosity at the time of death has gone unrecognized, the

intermediate state after death affords other opportunities for liberation. In this *bar.do*, the deceased experiences lights, sounds, and colors, and a series of peaceful and wrathful deities (Chökyi Nyima Rinpoche, 1991; Sogyal Rinpoche, 1992). The peaceful and wrathful deities have various symbolic meanings, and are related to the expansive Tibetan Buddhist pantheon. The visions of the peaceful and wrathful deities are elaborated in great detail as to their appearance, associated colors, sounds and mantras, spatial directions, psychic centers, etc. All these visions are interpreted in terms of Tibetan Buddhist doctrine (Lauf, 1977).

The after-death process--from the time of the clear light of death to the end of the search for rebirth--can last up to 49 days.<sup>12</sup> If a place of birth appropriate to one's karmic dispositions is not found during the first seven days, a "small death" occurs and one is reborn into another intermediate state. This cyclic process can occur for as many as seven times, each covering a period of seven days (Lati Rinbochay & Hopkins, 1979). Those adept in certain yogic practices are not subject to the after-death *bar.do* experiences. They can attain liberation from the cycle of birth and death and be transported to a spiritually paradisaical

realm, "Pure Land," or choose to be reborn as a human being dedicated to helping others.

The *Bar.do'i.thos.grol* texts may be read aloud so that the dead person can hear the instructions and be guided by them through the *bar.do* of dying and the period after death. The deceased is first guided to recognize the dying process and the manifestation of the primordial clear light at the moment of death. Then, following death, the visions of the intermediate state are described so that they can be recognized. Most importantly, the readings remind the individual that no matter what visions are being experienced, they have no inherent reality but are projections of the perceiver's mind. As one of the prayers in the *bar.do* literature states:

Now when the bardo of dharmatā dawns  
upon me, I will abandon all thoughts of  
fear and terror, I will recognize  
whatever appears as my projection  
and know it to be a vision of the bardo;  
now that I have reached this crucial  
point, I will not fear the peaceful and  
wrathful ones, my own projections.

(Fremantle & Chögyam Trungpa, 1975,  
p. 99)

Not only is it repeatedly emphasized that the *bar.do* visions arise from within the perceiver's mind, but it is also repeatedly stated that if the individual can recognize the externalized forms as reflections of his or her own internal processes--empty of inherent reality and impermanent like all other phenomena--then liberation can be achieved (Fremantle & Chögyam Trungpa, 1975; Lama Lodö, 1987). In the words of Kalu Rinpoche, "Liberation arises at that moment in the after-death state when consciousness can realize its experiences to be nothing other than mind itself" (in Sogyal Rinpoche, 1992, pp. 279-280). The possibility of recognizing the externalized visions as reflections of an internal process can also be seen as another opportunity for apprehending the mind's innate luminosity. However, unless one has practiced extensively, such insight becomes increasingly more difficult to achieve as one progresses further along into the after-death intermediate state.

The intermediate state after death is followed by the *bar.do* of becoming, in which the search for rebirth takes place. In this period, habitual tendencies (karma) are reactivated and influence the course of rebirth (Sogyal Rinpoche, 1992). Even in this *bar.do*, methods can be read aloud to the deceased to facilitate liberation and to avoid rebirth by closing the womb

entrance to another birth, or, failing this, to be drawn into a more favorable realm of rebirth (Sogyal Rinpoche, 1992).

#### Bringing Death to Life

The Tibetan Buddhist view of death is remarkable in many ways, especially the vision that an innate wakefulness or awareness of our inner nature, termed "the light within" in some systems, can be apprehended by each of us. This primordial luminosity denotes ultimate clarity of mind--enlightenment. The message the *Bar.do'i.thos.grol* literature reflects is that in any given moment--during either life or death--a person has the opportunity to become liberated by transforming his or her perceptions of reality and apprehending the natural, clear light state of the mind and its inherent quality of emptiness.

Tibetan Buddhist doctrine maintains that transformation begins to occur by recognizing the fundamentally transient, impermanent nature of existence. Viewed in the context of impermanence, death is simply one moment among many in an ongoing sequence of change (Bowker, 1991). As the current Dalai Lama points out, birth and death are two sides of the same coin (Tenzin Gyatso, 1990). Life and death are components of a single continuum, an endless cycle

of unsatisfying states of existence, until liberation is achieved.

The way in which death is viewed determines the way in which life is lived. In the words of Dag Hammarskjöld (1966):

No choice is uninfluenced by the way in which the personality regards its destiny, and the body its death. In the last analysis, it is our conception of death which decides our answers to all the questions that life puts to us. (p. 160)

In the Tibetan Buddhist perspective, "life and death are in the mind, and nowhere else" (Sogyal Rinpoche, 1992, p. 46). As an opportunity for transformation, each passing moment can itself be regarded as a kind of *bar.do*--a transition point holding forth the promise of emancipation.

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## Footnotes

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<sup>2</sup> In Mullin (1986, p. 44).

<sup>3</sup> The work may contain some errors or misinterpretations (Fremantle & Chögyam Trungpa, 1975; Reynolds, 1989), perhaps unavoidable, in this pioneer translation of a complex work (Lama Govinda, in Evans-Wentz, 1957).

<sup>4</sup> Evans-Wentz adopted this title because it seemed "to be the most appropriate short title for conveying to the English reader the true character of the book as a whole" (1957, footnote 1, p. 2).

<sup>5</sup> The Buddha used the term rebirth to suggest "causal continuity" rather than the word reincarnation which "might imply that a single soul were reincarnated in several consecutive bodies" (Becker, 1989, p. 111).

It is not the previously existing person who appears in a new incarnation, but the embodiment of that person's karma. Ordinarily we are restricted by our ignorance, preconceptions, and conditioning which obstruct awareness of the mind. Thus we tend to be unaware of or dismiss such claims about rebirth simply because we do not at present consciously remember any particular past life (Mizuno, 1987). During meditation, however, subconscious memory stores of past experience can be tapped (Lama Yeshe, 1985; Namkhai Norbu, 1987). Although one might argue that no one who has not returned from death can authoritatively talk about after-death phenomena, Buddhists would answer that no person or being has not returned from death (Lama Govinda, in Evans-Wentz, 1957, p. liii).

<sup>6</sup> The Western psychologist, Eric Fromm (1987), explores this theme in a recent work in which he points out that without desire and possessiveness, worldly concerns such as fame, wealth, praise, and pleasure lose their seductive attraction, leaving one free to act fully in the moment without ulterior motives for personal gain.

<sup>7</sup> In some accounts, the primordial clear light itself is divided into five stages: (1) like a visionary reflection; (2) like a moon; (3) like the

Sun; (4) like a dawning; and, (5) like the cloudless vault of heaven (Lauf, 1977, p. 95).

<sup>8</sup> "The clear light of death is the 'mother' clear light, whereas that which dawns through the power of meditation, during sleep and the waking state while on the spiritual path is called the 'son' clear light" (Lati Rinbochay & Hopkins, 1979, p. 47).

<sup>9</sup> In some accounts, two aspects of the clear light of death are described: The primordial clear light of death occurs at the moment of death, and a secondary clear light is manifest immediately after death (Evans-Wentz, 1957; Fremantle & Chögyam Trungpa, 1975).

<sup>10</sup> The body of a dead person in Tibet is usually not disposed of for at least three days in order to avoid interfering with consciousness while it may still remain in the body. Handling the body, particularly roughly, prior to the exit of consciousness from it, might result in a lower rebirth (Tenzin Gyatso, 1990).

<sup>11</sup> In some accounts, this *bar.do* is divided into a series of progressive stages of consciousness, such as: (1) space dissolving into luminosity; (2) luminosity dissolving into union; (3) union dissolving into wisdom; (4) wisdom dissolving into spontaneous presence; and (5) spontaneous presence dissolving into primordial purity (Chökyi Nyima Rinpoche, 1991).

<sup>12</sup> References to "days" or other time constructs in the Tibetan Buddhist description of the stages of dying and the after-death period do not necessarily correspond to conventional human time periods. Also, there are variant texts with differing time periods and associated phenomena.

<sup>13</sup> The names of Tibetan authors have not been inverted. The following notes also apply to the cited names for some Tibetan authors: (a) *Geshe*: Literally, "virtuous spiritual friend." The word is also used as a title for certain masters, usually of the Kadam (now the Gelugpa) tradition; the term can also refer to a monastic degree analogous to the Doctor of Theology degree. (Geshe Rabten, 1984); (b) *Lama*: A term in Tibetan Buddhism for a religious teacher venerated for explicating and being an embodiment of the Buddhist teachings; (c) *Rinpoche*: An honorific title meaning "greatly precious," which is bestowed upon certain qualified masters, especially recognized reincarnate lamas; (d) *Tenzin Gyatso*: The fourteenth, and contemporary, Dalai Lama (b. 1935). The term Dalai Lama has its origins in Tibet and Mongolia, literally, "teacher whose wisdom is as great as the ocean." (Fisher-Schreiber et al., 1989); (e) *Tulku*: A term in Tibetan Buddhism for a person who is recognized as the



reincarnation of a respected lama or accomplished practitioner.