The Development of *'Pho ba* Liturgy in Medieval Tibet

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Abbreviations

Apari I = 大乘無量壽經

Apari 2 = 佛說大乘聖無量壽決定光明王如來陀羅尼經

DTT = *sDe dge edition of Tibetan Tripiṭaka*

NTT = *sNar thang edition of Tibetan Tripiṭaka*

PTT = Peking edition of Tibetan Tripiṭaka

TCT/T = Taisho edition of Chinese Tripiṭaka

THB = Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke

JAAR = Journal of the American Academy of Religion

JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society

JIABS = Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies

JIATS = Journal of International Association of Tibetan Studies

JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

b. = birth

d. = death

fn. = footnote

p. = page

pp. = pages

Skt. = Sanskrit

0. Introduction

In Tibetan culture, 'pho ba is a funeral rite performed shortly after the death so as to project consciousness to a desirable destination, or to help the deceased accomplish this wish. Thus, 'pho ba practice is normally coping with two aspects – trainings for practitioner himself and for others. To ensure a perfect performance at the crucial moment of death, the daily rehearsal of transferring consciousness is therefore recommended. 'Pho ba has also become a celebrated festival such as 'Bri gung 'pho ba chen mo that originated in the district of 'Bri gung¹, around one hundred kilometres northeast of Lhasa. This famous ceremony was documented in the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud tradition since the seventeenth century, whereas the original pilgrimage activity had its roots already in the fourteenth century.² Since two of the 'Bri gung hierarchs, dKon mchog rin chen (1590-1654) and rig 'dzin Chos kyi grags pa (1595-1659), refined the elements of the syncretic tantric practices that were first promoted by their predecessor Rin chen phun tshogs (1509-1557), this celebrated festival has been held in every monkey year of the Tibetan calendar and has been influential up to this day except for a break from 1956 to 1992 due to the political force of PR China. The most compelling part of this festival is to bestow the empowerment and the instruction of 'pho ba to the participants. That is also the reason why the whole pilgrimage festival has become known as 'Bri gung 'pho ba chen mo.

Along with the diaspora of Tibetan people since the mid-twentieth century, Tibetan culture and religious practices have spread all over the world. In 1997 I attended an initiation service of 'pho ba in Taipei that was combined with longevity supplication on Amitābha. The instructor, a Rinpoche from the Karma bKa' brgyud tradition explained that the possible effect of being short-lived caused by the training of 'pho ba can be compensated through beseeching Amitābha. At that time I was not aware of any significance of the combination of 'pho ba and Amitābha practice but was fascinated to witness a straw placed on a lama's crown. That is a method to diagnose whether the practitioner has succeeded in the practice according to some 'pho ba texts.' A few years later while I was preparing my research proposal, I realised that the ritual in which I participated has in fact carried a great deal of weight.

¹ See the location and a brief history of 'Bri gung in Ferrari (1958: 111-112 fn.116).

² See Kapstein (1998: 97-98).

³ For example, it is mentioned in 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba, under the section of "actual sign of limit". See p.169.

In the modern practice, 'pho ba and Amitābha worship have been combined as a set of rituals. It is not clear when these two practices were brought together and by whom. Matthew Kapstein (2004: 16-51) has commented on 'pho ba in his article concerning the pure land orientation in Tibet. It is important to quote his statement here:

"No firm connection with Sukhāvatī is evident in the earliest Bka' brgyud pa instructions for the practice of transference with which I am at present familiar.... We may suppose that the strong association between the transference technique and the goal of rebirth in Sukhāvatī that did emerge over the centuries was due to the confluence of this particular injunction with the general development of the Sukhāvatī orientation within early-second- millennium Tibetan Buddhism." (page 26)

This passage corresponds closely to the subject of this present research. The convergence of 'pho ba and Amitābha worship is the exact point I intend to investigate here. It is also my interest to find out who contributed to the unification of these two teachings that were central to the issue of death. In my preliminary research, I noticed that the treasure text (gter ma) 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba (Transferring of Consciousness, Joyfulness at the Moment of Death) revealed by the rNying ma master Sangs rgyas gling pa (1341-1396)⁴ contains important clues for interpreting the Amitābha tradition developed in medieval Tibet. A further explanation can be seen later.

Apart from that, another means of learning 'pho ba is through Nā ro chos drug, the Six Teachings of Nā ro pa. It is known as a system of tantric teachings that contains six interrelated yogas – inner heat (gtum mo), illusion body (sgyu lus), clear light ('od gsal), dream (rmi lam), transference of consciousness ('pho ba and grong 'jug) and intermediate state (bar do). Conventionally, Nā ro chos drug are believed to be special religious practices which have been preserved in the bKa' brgyud School. Three celebrated masters – Tilo pa (928-1009), Nā ro pa (956-1040), and Mar pa

⁴ The year of Sangs rgyas gling pa's birth is often dated in 1340 i.e. Dudjom Rinpoche (1991: 784) and Dargyay (1998: 246). However it is condrtitory to the precise date given in the biography of Sangs rgyas gling pa. Further discussion can be seen in Chapter 3.

⁵ For example, the note of Cuevas (2003: 47) regarding *Nā ro chos drug:*

Tilopa's distinctive contribution to the tradition was his success in bringing these diverse instructions together and organizing them into a coherent system. He later transmitted the teachings in that form to his disciple Nāropa. This transmission provided the fundamental source for Nāro pa's famous Six Doctrines program.

(1002/12-1097) – are recognised as the early forefathers of this lineage. The great poet yogi, Mi la ras pa (1052-1135), also propagated this practice to his descendents, such as Ras chung rDo rje grags pa (1085-1161) and Dwags po lha rje bSod nams rin chen (1079-1153). This is the view that traditional Tibetan scholars have held, e.g., Padma dkar po (1527-1592). Furthermore, this belief has strongly influenced our understanding of the transmission of these six teachings as well. Though $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug enjoys much attention, the nature of its development is understood rather insufficiently. The basic question that has puzzled me is the connection of 'pho ba and $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug. I have wondered whether 'pho ba teaching has merely evolved under the structure of $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug. The lack of scientific research has left 'pho ba literature in an ignored sphere. Therefore, I decide to take on this study to investigate the possible routes of the development of 'pho ba teachings apart from the renowned structure of $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug. I should elucidate my research questions and the methods of operation below.

Research Questions and Method of Operation

Two specific questions will be addressed in this monograph. They are:

- 1. How had 'pho ba teachings transmitted in the bKa' brgyud traditions?
- 2. What is the significance of the treasure text 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba of Sangs rgyas gling pa?

To operate these two questions, I will apply both historical and philological survey. Although these two questions cover the bKa' brgyud and the rNying ma schools, it is not my intention to make a parallel analysis but rather try to clarify the convergence of 'pho ba teachings from both traditions. The first part of this dissertation will engage in the selected transmission and teachings of 'pho ba in the bKa' brgyud traditions; while the second part will focus on the treasure tradition of the rNying ma school. I believe that at this primary stage, a thorough sketch on the historical background is necessary. I will take a microscopic approach to scrutinise the selected data. The basic sources in the first part are extracted from the gDams ngag mdzod compiled by Kong sprul Blo gros

3

⁶ See *gSan yig* of Padma dkar po: *bKa' brgyud kyi bka' 'bum gsul bu rnams kyi gsan yig* in *Collected Works of Kun mkhyen Padma dkar po*, vol.4: 314-316. I wish to thank Prof. Ulrich T. Kragh who shares this material with me.

⁷ See the literature review below. A brief explanation of *Nā* ro chos drug, see Tucci (1980: 98-100).

mtha' yas (1813-1899, hereafter Kong sprul). To clarify how 'pho ba teachings have been transmitted in the bKa' brgyud traditions, I will consult the relevant biographies and hagiographical literature. Through the record of lineage teachings, I hope some clues will be brought to light regarding the early development of 'pho ba. In additional to that, I will utilise philological study to examine closely the accessible 'pho ba teachings given by the masters mentioned in the historical survey. Because the comprehensive translation of 'pho ba will be done in the fourth chapter, I will paraphrase or summarise the contents of 'pho ba here.

In the first chapter I examine the transmission of 'pho ba teachings in the early bKa' brgyud traditions and the later derivative Karma kam tshang lineage. Three sections are further divided. Firstly I try to reveal the spreading routes of 'pho ba in Tibet through transmission of two teachings – sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi and Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu. The transmission of these two teachings is to be considered as examples rather than evidence to confront the well-known Nā ro chos drug. I have no intention to dismiss the lineage of Nā ro chos drug but to question the statement often seen in the secondary literature that 'pho ba is a component under the group of six teachings. Secondly I survey 'pho ba teachings composed in the collected works of sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen. Thirdly I take a closer look on the Karma kam tshang lineage and try to clarify the transmission of 'pho ba in this tradition. The reason that I particularly emphasise on Karma lineage is because the connections of the Karma pas and the rNying ma masters have been strong. There could be some clues to trace the development of 'pho ba between these two traditions. Since this is the first attempt to uncover 'pho ba literature, it is reasonable to explore this motif within a restraint scope.

In the second chapter, I focus on the distinctive transmission of *Ni gu chos drug* in the lesser known Shangs pa bKa' brgyud traditions. It is my hope to illustrate the diversified

⁸ Kong sprul, a great scholar from the nineteenth century in Tibetan history. Along with his effort on propagating the nonsectarin movement (*ris med*), his enthusiasm for composing several huge corpora make him a grant master of the time. The well-known *Five Treasuries* (*mdzod lnga*) are: *Shes bya kun khyab* (*Encompassment of All Knowledge*), *bKa' brgyud sngags mdzod* (*Treasury of bKa' brgyud Masters*), *Rin chen gter mdzod* (*Jewel Treasury*), *gDams ngag mdzod* (*Treasure of Spiritual Instructions*) and *Thung mong ma yin pa'i mdzod* (*Uncommon Treasury*). For a comprehensive description of Kong sprul's life and his intellecture work, see *THB* 6, Schuh (1976: *Einleitung*) and Smith (2001: 235-272). For the translated version of his autobiography, see Barron (2003). Kong sprul started to compile the collection *gDams ngag mdzod* in 1871 when he resided in rDzong sar. The anthology contains precious instructions of the major and minor Buddhist traditions in Tibet, which reveal the essence of the non-sectarian movement.

diffusion of the "six teachings". I start this chapter by exploring the early transmission and teachings of two legendary figures, Ni gu ma and Sukhasiddhī. Following that, I review the transmission of the so-called seven jewels. Finally, I examine the accessible 'pho ba literature done by the scattering adherents of Shangs pa traditions.

The third chapter highlights on the biography of Sangs rgyas gling pa and the account of his long term career of detecting treasures. My purpose here is to investigate the possible role that Sangs rgyas gling pa played in promulgating the belief on Amitābha. In the fourth chapter I present a thorough translation of 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba. Because there is only one version available in hand, I cannot produce the critical edition. Yet I hope the significance of 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba can be recognised after being forgotten for so long. The main sources in the second part are from Bla ma dgongs 'dus, the collected works of Sangs rgyas gling pa.

To learn how 'pho ba has been perceived so far, I should review the secondary sources that deal with 'pho ba and the funeral rites in a broader sense. As for the "pre 'pho ba" literature, I will explore this motif in this introduction chapter after the literature review below.

Literature Review

In spite of no scientific work has ever addressed on 'pho ba literature, the motif of death and dying in Tibetan culture have been subjects of different research. I will introduce these studies according to their genres. In the type of dharma teachings, I find three books exclusively addressing on "transference of consciousness". They are works of Thubten Yeshe (1991), Chagdud Khadro (1998) and Kelsang Gyatso (1999). Chagdud Khadro's work was based on a 'pho ba teaching revealed by Klong gsal snying po (1625-1692), a manual for practitioners. These books obviously take the reader-friendly approach and therefore, are easy to access for those who are interested in the cognitive science and alike. Furthermore, enormous amount of teachings related to death and rebirth are widely available for public readers. Here are just some examples, e.g., Lati Rinbochay & Hopkins (1979), Lodö Lama (1982), Sogyal Rinpoche (1992), Bokar Rinpoche (1993), Varela (1997), Gyatrul Rinpoche (1998). Recently Karma Lekshe Tsomo (2006) has presented a work with the concern of ethical issues in death and dying.

The most general understanding on 'pho ba is through the teaching $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug. Evans-Wentz (1958: 169-170, 246-252) was the first and probably also the most influential scholar who introduced this esoteric Buddhist practice to the western readers.

His contribution is undeniable and often quoted in secondary literature. However, the textual work he had conducted with his anthropological background still leaves a great space for improvement. A work of Giuseppe Tucci (1980: 98-102) also covers this renowned teachings. Indeed, translations related to $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug came to light from time to time, e.g., Chang, C.C. (1962), Fabrizion Torricelli (1993, 1996, 1997, 1998) and Glenn Mullin (1996, 1997). A common feature among these renditions is that they are simply based on a particular text or lineage but without a thorough examination of pertinent data. Exceptional ongoing research is being engaged in by Ulrich Kragh, in which he surveys the textual history of $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug and re-evaluates the value of certain texts. It is to be expected that this brilliant research will break through the common knowledge on $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug tradition. A closer review of his work can be seen in the first chapter.

The 'pho ba text is also integrated in the cycle of Bar do thos grol (Liberation through Hearing in the Intermediate State) and Zhi khro dgongs pa rang grol (The Self-liberated Mind of the Peaceful and Wrathful Ones). In some augmented 'pho ba texts, the dissolving processes of the five aggregations and four elements are also included. That is to say, a part of 'pho ba text overlaps the component of 'chi kha'i bar do. In the instruction of bar do, emphasis is mostly placed on the importance of recognising the illumination that occurs right at the moment of death, which is believed to be an excellent chance for the yogi to obtain awakening. Under such circumstances the technique of 'pho ba is just mentioned by passing. We should not be surprised that this phenomenon not only exists in the doctrine itself but also persists in the secondary literature. Thus, despite the fact that the teachings of 'pho ba and bar do seem to be closely affiliated, the technique of 'pho ba is regrettably ignored in the prominent studies of bar do and zhi khro, e.g., Detlef Lauf (1977), Henk Blezer (1997) and Bryan Cuevas (2003), and also the translation of 'chi kha'i bar do extracted from Nyi zla kha sbyor done by Giacomella Orofino (1990: 31-59). The deficient study of 'pho ba makes this present research even more necessary.

In addition, scholarly work touching upon the issue of dying, death and rebirth also deserves our attention. Either textual studies or fieldwork reports are equally important for us to gain a panoramic view on the mortuary practices preserved in the extensive Tibetan settlements. It is to be remembered that 'pho ba is not the only strategy to be applied in the distressing occasion. There are other choices can be made as we shall see in the following cases. Stephan Beyer (1978) discussed the illumination of death under the scheme of the Perfection process. He pointed out that the rite of White Tārā has the expanded function of cheating death (1978: 363-75). Tadeusz Skorupski (1983) studied the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra in which a number of rites for the deceased are

included. The general purpose of these rites such as drawing mudrā of the Five Families and the homa sacrifice is to eliminate all evil destinations so as to facilitate a better rebirth (1983: 81-87). Skorupski also suggested that *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra* could be the oldest tantric tradition on which funeral rites are based. He paraphrased the text entitled *Byang gter ro sreg lag len* written by rdo rje brag rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las to illustrate the cremation ceremony according to the Northern Treasure (*byang gter*) tradition (1982: 361-76). The theme of longing for eliminating an unfavourable rebirth constantly appeared in this cremation liturgy. The observation of Martin Brauen (1978: 9-24) and Per Kvaerne (1985, 1997: 494-98) brought light on the operation of the death ritual in the Bon po tradition. This alternate view has widened our understanding of Tibetan mortuary practices.

A series of articles particular to the subject of death lie in the compilation of *Religion of* Tibet in Practice. Donald Lopez (1997: 421-41, 442-57) introduced the passage of contemplation of death that is extracted from the Stages of the Path (Lam rim chen mo). It is followed by a prayer derived from Lam rim chen mo composed by pan chen Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1567-1662). David Germano (1997: 458-93) presented the four phases of bar do elucidated in Klong chen snying thig and the related ritual services. Thus, we learn the details about diagnosing the signs of death ('chi Itas) and the methods of ransoming death ('chi blu), revitalising the dead and the rituals of avoiding rebirth in the evil realms. Françoise Pommaret (1997: 499-510) illustrated an interesting genre, the narrative of returning from the netherworld ('das log rnam thar). These different types of writing pertaining to death are ideal materials for studying the science of Tibetan funerary. The essential issue of death in Buddhism seems to earn more and more scholarly attention lately. Stephen Teiser (2006) explored the history and interpretation of the Wheel of Rebirth by combining visual evidence and textual sources. This colourful work has penetrated through India, Tibet, central Asia and China. Its contribution in the visual culture of popular Buddhism is visible. Recently The Buddhist Dead was edited by Bryan Cuevas and Jacueline Stone (2007), which shares a similar interest as the aforementioned book but expands its concern to a wider scope. The integrated fourteen articles demonstrate a diversity of research through the perspectives of traditional practices, textual discourses and contemporary performance across India, Sri lanka, China, Japan, Tibet and Burma.

The Tibetan mortuary rite is certainly a fascinating ceremony for the ethnologist and anthropologist. Waddell (1958: 488-89) explored what he called "Lamaism" around the Darjeeling and Sikkim regions. He recorded the rite of 'pho ba in the way that "the spirit is then directed how to avoid the dangers which beset the road to the western paradise". Nepal is a popular country for conducting research in the like. Sherry Ortner (1978:

106-09), and Robert Paul (1982: 117-25, 1989: 102-09) observed the rituals of exorcism and sacrificial death in the community of Sherpas. Stan Mumford (1989) carried out his anthropological survey in a Tibetan village located in Gyasumdo of Nepal. His interest is to observe how Tibetan immigrants have accommodated to the local belief and the interplay between these two traditions. Mumford (1989: 195-224) exemplified various steps operated during the mortuary period. First was the attempt to expel the evil spirit from the victim. Once death was certain, the symbolic rite 'pho ba is performed. Here pho ba is described as "a technique of sudden deliverance" by which consciousness "might dissolve into the heart of Buddha Amitābha". Mumford rightly pointed out that the ensuing rites are to be continued under the presumption that the earlier effort of 'pho ba was unsuccessful. What is important next is the calculation of the death horoscope (gshin rtsis), which explains various matters concerning the community such as whether it is a timely death, what the cause of death is, when is the good time to dispose the corpse and to prognosticate the next life of the departed. Finally the severance rite (gcod) marks the end of the funeral through sacrificial exchange. Apart from this work, a recent demographic survey concerning birth, death and migration in the Nubri valley of Nepal was done by Geoff Childs (2004). Under his scrutiny, a lama is invited to cut hair on the crown of the corpse in order to let the "soul" transmigrate to the next life. Prayers will be chanted with the wish of conveying "the soul directly to Dewachen". Childs noted that to be reborn in Dewachen was the aspiration of the laity (2004:145-146). Besides, Martin Brauen (1982: 319-332) introduced a death ceremony performed by both monks and astrologers in Ladakh. Initially the escaped consciousness must be brought back to the dead body so that it could "penetrate to the Buddha Amitābha" under the guidance of the lama. Accordingly, this rite is called "'pho ba 'debs pa". A survey of Todd Lewis (2004: 236-63) regarding the historical background of Sukhāvatī belief among the Newari community sheds light on this pervading custom in Nepal. Further, Brauen (1985: 245-56) took the practice of 'pho ba as an example to demonstrate that a millennial notion is also applicable to the Tibetan refugee in Switzerland. He described 'pho ba as "a trance-like ceremony which enabled the practitioner to reside in the paradise of Buddha Amitābha". These data clearly shows that the ritual of 'pho ba is frequently connected to the belief on Amitābha in the modern practices.

The caution of dealing with consciousness and the corpse of the dead also reveal the anxiety of the community – the dead body might turn into a zombie reanimated by the evil spirits. Turrell Wylie (1964: 69-80) discussed several stories of zombies that circulated in the oral tradition. This study reminds us very well to examine the funeral service from an alternate angle. It will be intriguing to explore whether the famous sky burial and the cremation rite do function as a means to keep the zombie monster away.

Charles Ramble (1982: 333-359) illustrated a number of different burial services in South Mustang of Nepal. According to his observation, the method of disposing of the corpse depends on the social status of each individual such as age, sex, wealth and spiritual achievement. The presented data in a way support the declaration that the great and little Traditions of can be juxtaposed in one community. These two studies concerning the death issue from the social perspective provide a different view on the mortuary rite. It is worth noting the inspiring study of Gregory Schopen (1992: 204-237) on monastic funerals as well here. In spite of only dealing with the vinaya Buddhist world, Schpen's approach toward funeral rite and burial practice is definitely normative.

Finally I shall have a quick review on the tradition of Amitābha in Tibet. It is clear that we shall not view this matter - in Scopen's words - "through a Chinese looking-glass". 10 After all, the Pure Land School has been nourished in Chinese society, which is a creation of joining the thought of the grand masters and the devotion of countless followers. Throughout the history of Tibetan Buddhism, there is no comparable sectarian movement as such. Thus, I do not think that the label "Pure Land School" is applicable to the case of Tibetan Buddhist society. Nevertheless, the writings beseeched to Amitābha have existed since early medieval times and reached their climax in the seventeenth century. The most celebrated authors of this genre were the pair of the guru and the disciple, Karma chags med (1613-1678) and Mi 'gyur rdo rje (1645-1668). A critical edition of Karma chags med's prayer for rebirth in the Sukhāvatī was first translated and interpreted in German by Peter Schwieger (1978). A further study on the same prayer was continued by Skorupski (1994: 375-411) who analysed this prayer in connection with three main Pure Land doctrines and other Mahāyāna sūtra. Jonathan Silk (1993) verified the existence of Sukhāvatī teachings in the Tibetan imperial period. Kapstein (2004: 16-51) described the "Tibetan Pure Land Orientation" by means of a macroscopic approach so that expresses its main feature in history. Several significant motifs are considered in this article. For example, the funerary rites found at Dunhuang, the collection and composition of Sukhāvatī prayers (bde smon),

⁹ The terms "great" and "little" traditions were arose and elaborated by the anthropologist Robert Redfield (1956). The differentiation of the great and the little traditions are normally referred to the studies of the canon, the sacred books or the textual tradition on which the daily life of the ordinary people against. In contrast to this synchronic approach, the chronicle study emphasises more on transformations and continuities of belief systems and thus makes distinction between historical and contemporary religions, i.e. Tambiah (1970). Yet again the studies of oral and literary traditions are alternative approaches to analyse religion and religious life. See Stewart (1996: 267-269).

¹⁰ See Schopen (1977, 2000).

the treasures of the celestial doctrines (*gnam chos*) and naturally the pratices of '*pho ba*. A recent monographic work by Georgios Halkias (2006) also shared the interest in the diffusion of Sukhāvatī literature, which covers the foregoing themes and even beyond. That is the first book that systematically discusses the texts and the practices of Sukhāvatī in Tibet across time.

By reviewing the secondary sources, we get the chance to inspect the funerary studies from various dimensions. Here I should like to narrow down the theme and specifically focus on 'pho ba liturgy. I conducted two preliminary studies in an attempt to explore those questions raised earlier. The first work is a synchronic scan over the 'pho ba liturgy dated in the fourteenth century (2004a: 47-70). To investigate the differences of 'pho ba liturgy transmitted in the bKa' brgyud and the rNying ma Schools, I examine the commentary work of 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang (c.1310-1391, hereafter 'Ba' ra ba)¹¹ and three esoteric scriptures discovered by Klong chen rab 'byams pa Dri med 'od zer (1308-1363, hereafter Klong chen pa)12, Nyi zla sangs rgyas (14th century) and Sangs rgyas gling pa (1341-1396). Through this study, I find that the supplicated deity is normally assigned by the lineage although it is possible to be replaced according to the supplicant's wish theoretically. The flexibility of adjustment makes the whole 'pho ba teaching even more attractive. That is also one of the reasons why I emphasise this issue. I also notice that the 'Pho ba 'jag tshugs ma of Nyi zla sangs rgyas encompasses elements of the other two rNying ma masters' works. With regard to the visualisation of self consecration, many details of Vajravārāhī match the depiction in Klong chen pa's text.¹³ As for the object of projecting the consciousness, unlike Klong chen pa directing to the world of Samantabhadra, the addressing on Sukhāvatī of Amitābha is identical in both texts of Nyi zla sangs rgyas and Sangs rgyas gling pa. Together with other reasons discussed in that article, the result makes Sangs rgyas gling pa the vital figure of my research. 14 Therefore, an investigation on Sangs rgyas gling pa and his treasure

¹¹ See Ardussi (2002: 5-22) for the discussion of 'Ba' ra ba and his lineages.

¹² See Guenther (1975: xiii-xxv) for a brief introduction of Klong chen pa's biographical background and mind teachings.

In this preliminary survey, 'pho ba teachings in the sNying thig ya bzhi by Klong chen pa were not particularly significant compared to what I found in the works of Sangs rgyas gling pa. Therefore I focus on Sangs rgyas gling pa's 'pho ba in this thesis. It is by no means to deny the importance of Klong chen pa and his snying thig system. I believe that examining Klong chen snying thig elsewhere is a better solution.

¹⁴ I should take this chance to declare here that the essential point in the conclusion of that article is to suggest "the combination of Amitābha belief and *'pho ba* teaching took place approximately in the 14th

scripture 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba is required. The second pilot study that explored the early transmission of 'pho ba liturgy puts the traditional view of Nā ro chos drug into question (2004b: 27-42). This is the ground on which my research stands. After reviewing the secondary sources on the studies of 'pho ba, I shall proceed to trace some possible origins of 'pho ba literature recorded in the canon.

The Rise of 'Pho ba Literature

Terminologies

I shall begin the exploration by unfolding the key terminologies used in 'pho ba literature. The yearning for having a prolonged life, for rebirth in a celestial field and achieving the state of non-death are the perennial themes scattered in certain genre of the Mahāyāna sūtras and their extending commentaries or liturgies. We should not be surprised that three practices: transferring consciousness ('pho ba), longevity attainment technique (tshe sgrub) and non-death yoga ('chi med) are eventually encompassed in one liturgy, as we will read soon in the main body of this dissertation. Before that, it is necessary to elucidate the meaning of 'pho ba and the connotation that has been expanded in later 'pho ba liturgy. The basic meaning of 'pho ba given by Jäschke (1975: 357) is "to change" as an intransitive verb. Accordingly, there are several common expressions used in the earlier literature, i.e., tshe 'pho ba which holds the meaning of "changing from one life to another; while the meanings of chi 'pho ba and shi 'pho ba convey "to exchange life" or "to die". Besides that, Jäschke (1975: 331) also registers the equivalent transitive verb spo ba understood as "to alter", "to change". When spo ba is connected with the objects of location (gnas or sa), it means to change, to move, to shift or to transplant something/someone from one place to another. The difference between the intransitive form of 'pho ba and the transitive form of spo ba leads us to speculate their links to the ritual of transferring consciousness performed for oneself and for the others. 15 As far as my reading is concerned, 'pho ba is the only term utilised in both cases. It seems to me that the grammatical distinction of 'pho ba and spo ba was not taken into account when the ritual liturgies are written.

In the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (*Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary*, 1985: 1784-85), two meanings are listed under 'pho ba. One is to transfer, to change or to depart and the

century". It is unfortunately misprinted as "the 9th century". A corrigendum was made in the spring issue of 2005, *Tibet Journal*, vol.xxx.

¹⁵ My thanks go to both Prof. Schwieger and Prof. Schuh for pointing the importance of clarifying the fundamental meanings and difference of 'pho ba and spo ba.

other is to die. The derivative terms carry similar implication such as 'pho skar – the meteor, 'pho skyas – migration, 'pho 'gyur – changing or altering, 'pho nyul – moving from place to place; whereas 'pho chung and 'pho chen are referred to as the small and the big circulation of breath¹⁶ in a day according to Tibetan medicine theory. In modern Tibetan language, 'pho ba is understood as a renowned ritual for the deceased. Goldstein (2001:705) registers the meaning of being transferred or being moved for the verb 'pho and fixed the connotation "transferring of consciousness" for 'pho ba. He explains 'pho ba as "to release consciousness" and "a rite done when someone dies".

There are several Sanskrit expressions corresponding to 'pho ba, e.g., samkrānti, samkrama, samkraman, samcāra, samāropa, samāropana and vitarana. The phrase "transference of consciousness" is a usual English translation for 'pho ba and that is the reason why I apply it here. In terms of 'pho ba teachings, "consciousness" is definitely the main target; however, what is it exactly? There are several terminologies applied to express different conditions of the mind in 'pho ba teachings. It is basically difficult to convey the precise meanings of Asian religions through western languages. Nevertheless, enormous Buddhist teachings and tantric practices have been translated into English for decades. I will try to follow the acknowledged terminologies in my translation. For instance, the terms: shes pa (Skt. jñāna) and rnam shes (Skt. vijñā, abbreviated form of rnam pa shes pa) are understood as "cognitive process" or "consciousness"; sems (Skt. citta), blo (Skt. buddhi) and yid (Skt. manas) are normally read as "mind"; ve shes (Skt. jñāna) as "wisdom" and shes rab (Skt. prajñā) as "perfect wisdom" etc. Detailed discussion concerning the evolution of the state of mind in the process of transference will be given later in chapter four. Here is a brief explanation on the spectrum of consciousness in Buddhist traditions.

Consciousness, the vital psychological experience in Buddhism is no doubt an extremely complicated topic to clarify. I have no intention to illustrate the debate concerning the nature of the mind between Madhyamaka and Yogācāra, nor discussion of the subtle different views that Cittamātrins and Yogacārins have held.¹⁷ Instead of that, I will introduce few key terms and concepts which are relevant to the practice of *'pho ba* and then explain why it is necessary to raise the issue of "consciousness" here.

¹⁶ For example, one of the instruction in *Jo nang khrid brgya* has applied such training, i.e. *gSang 'dus rim Inga'i khrid yig (Instruction on the Five Stages of Guhyasamāja)*. It is contained in the *Zab khrid brgya dang brgyad kyi yi ge*, see *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.18: 245-250.

¹⁷ For instance, the studies of Tsong kha pa's commentary on the mind, see Sparham (1993) and Hopkins (1999), (2002). In regard to the development of the sub-branches of Mind-Only schools and their different views, see Hopkins (1983: 365-397).

Except for the accepted category of six dimensions of mind, i.e., the five-sense consciousnesses and the mental consciousness (sems kyi rnam shes, Skt. manovijñāna), two further subtle distinctive *vijñāna* have been explored in the Yogācāra tradition. One is called klista-mana, the false idea of "I" and the other is ālayavijñāna (kun gzhi rnam shes), the basis of all consciousnesses. 18 Apart from that, in the Lankāvatāra Sūtra, the mind or citta is also discussed through the scheme of eight consciousnesses, i.e., ālayavijñāna, mana, manovijñāna and the vijñāna of five senses. The stream of mind is described as the waves of ocean, which is to be discriminated according to their forms and functions but not in substance. The most subtle or neutral aspect of the mind is ālayavijñāna, which is the womb or storage of all memory or the habitual tendency (bag chag, Skt. vāsanā) accumulated from successive lives before. Furthermore, mana is known as the agent that reflects upon ālayavijñāna to make discrimination between subject and object. Moreover, manovijñān is stimulated by the dualism of subject vs. object divided by mana and makes the five senses respond to the forms or sounds etc. of the external world. This chain of reaction again creates influence on ālayavijñāna and stores both good and bad experience.¹⁹

At the end of the life-span, the physical body will experience a painful process of deterioration. That is to say, the consciousnesses will gradually withdraw from the body. It is known as the dissolution process, in which the eye-vijñāna will be deactivated first. Following that, vijñāna-s of the ear, the nose, the tongue and the body will cease to function one by one. After the ordinary consciousnesses stop functioning, the mind will continue to evolve and proceed toward the passage of bar do. In this crucial moment, the stream of the mind, ālayavijñāna, will be the key factor to decide the destiny of one's next life. That is the reason why it is important to become accustomed to the practice of 'pho ba. The result of performing 'pho ba is normally classified to three types: dharmakāya, saṃbhogakāya or nirmāṇakāya. However, it is hardly well explained in 'pho ba liturgies concerning how it is possible that some well trained yogis could achieve dharmakāya or saṃbhogakāya.

The continuity of each individual is sustained by $\bar{a}layavij\tilde{n}\bar{a}na$, which is a non-stop mechanism that carrys on with long lasting effects of karmas such as the habitual tendency ($v\bar{a}san\bar{a}$) and the afflictions ($kle\acute{s}a$). These negative factors make the mind

¹⁸ For the origin and the early development of *ālayavijñāna*, see Schmithausen (1987). Additionally, explanation of the system of *vijñāna*, see also Snellgrove (2002:98-105), Williams (2009: 84-102).

¹⁹ See Suzuki (1957: 179-192), (1966: 39-44).

²⁰ Collective studies of impurity and its purification, see Sasaki (1975). Particularly see the chapters covering the survey of *kleśa* through early Buddhism, mahāyaāna Buddhism and Tibetan traditions.

become polluted and therefore clinging to the existence of material world. According to the Lankāvatāra Sūtra, Tathāgata-garbha, the embro of Tathāgata is a synonym for ālayavijñāna that contains the seeds of Buddhahood.²¹ The Tathāgata is described as pure and undefiled in its most inner nature and is possessed by all sentient beings; however, it is not recognised by most of them. Only those who are able to detach from the hypothetical creations of the mind can realise it. Thus when the false views on the world are discarded, the *Tathāgata* is purified and will be shining spontaneously. This truth self-realisation is also understood as reaching the ultimate truth and becoming Dharmatā-Buddha. Although the trikāya theory has not yet well developed in the Lankāvatāra Sūtra, the Dharmatā-Buddha is to be known as the dharmakāya later.²² In my understanding, the radiating Tathāgata is probably the clear light ('od gsal) that is often referred to in 'pho ba liturgies. Besides that, the achievement of purified Tathāgata could explain how dharmakāya is obtained in the performance of 'pho ba. A seeming simple ritual applied in the funeral has actually involved with many doctrinal theories. It surely requires more work to reveal the unexplained aspects of 'pho ba liturgies, but I will leave it to future studies.

An intriguing feature of 'pho ba ritual is to promote the effect of transferring a man to the celestial realms even if demerit actions such as killing Brahman or the five inexpiable deeds (mtsam med lnga, Skt. pañcānantarya) are committed.²³ These heinous crimes are: parricide, matricide, killing an Arhat, drawing blood from the body of a Buddha with evil intent and causing disunity in the monastic community.²⁴ In this regard, 'pho ba practice seems to resemble the ritual killing and liberation aimed at the enemy.²⁵ Cantwell (1997: 107-118) has explored this subject in some depth. In her investigation, several Buddhist tantric rituals have the purpose of liberating consciousness of enemies through killing. Even though the whole process is conducted symbolically and targeted at the dough effigy in the offering feast, still the action of

²¹ See Suzuki (1966: 190-193). In addition, discussion on the other doctrinal background of the concept *Tathāgatagarbha*, see Williams (2009: 103-128).

²² See Suzuki (1957: 142-146), (1966: 49-51).

²³ Even it is not always appeared in 'pho ba teachings, this is an intriguing attraction added to this exercise. For example, it is mentioned in Gong du 'pho ba'i man ngag. See the discussion later in this dissertation, pp.37-41.

The five inexpiable deeds is one of the minor theme discussed in *Lańkāvatāra Sūtra*, see Suzuki (1957: 362-365) and (1966: 120-121).

²⁵ I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Schuh for making me aware of the killing oriented rituals that contain the motivation of liberating consciousness of the enemy.

taking life of others needs to be justified. Therefore, the concept of compassion and the understanding of emptiness are brought in to interpret how the principle of karmic retribution can be overridden by the ritual killing. The ambiguous aspect of killing and bodhisattva vows (saṃvara śīla) definitely deserve attention and further studies. Here I shall restrain on clarifying how the practice of 'pho ba has differed from the rituals of taking life. The timing of performing 'pho ba is crucial with no doubt; otherwise, the practitioner will be condemned for the crime of killing. It explains the fact that killing is surely a deed to be avoided in 'pho ba implementation. Unlike the ritual of sgrol/bsgral ba, there is clearly the intention to attack the enemy or hostile forces and obstacles (dgra bgegs). Although the technique of transferring the being's consciousness into a Buddha field has shaped important part in both 'pho ba and rituals like sgrol ba, the reason to conduct such performance is different. At least, I do not encounter any 'pho ba liturgy comprising the enthusiasm of demolishing enemies in the scale of my study in this dissertation.

A more conclusive statement is yet to be made since there are numinous subjects deserving thorough investigation, e.g., 'pho ba in the Bon po literature,²⁸ 'pho ba in the rNying ma rgyud 'bum,²⁹ 'pho ba in the Mani bka' 'bum and 'pho ba in the Dunhung documents³⁰. These collections comprise a gross corpus and therefore, require a significant amount of time. At this stage, I shall try to sketch the texts relevant to 'pho

²⁶ A famous story is the narrative of Buddha's previous life, who decided to take an evil man's life in order to save other 500 innocent merchants. See the information of Cantwell (1997: 110-111, fn.24 & 26). For reference of Chinese *Tripitaka*, see T12: 175c-178b; No. 346 佛說大方廣善巧方便經卷四.

²⁷ As a matter of fact, it is said that the training of 'pho ba is not encouraged at all in the dGe lugs tradition nowadays for there is the potential of taking life of oneself or others if conducted at the wrong time.

A small but interesting point to add here is in regard to the hagiography of Bon founder, sTon pa gshen rab. It is recorded that sTon pa gshen rab once transmitted a teaching called 'Da' kha 'chi brod to his disciples before his death to demonstrate the impermanent life. Textual reference is to be found in *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang chen mo*. See Bonpo Katen vol. 142-8, Sog sde bstan pa'i nyi ma, Lhasa 1998, pp. 295-533. It is a treasure text discovered by Gyer thogs med (b. 1292) in the early fourteenth century. I wish to thank Kalsang Norbu Gurung for sharing this information with me.

²⁹ Special attention should be placed on the Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*) literature. David Germano (2005) has studied the "funerary Buddhism" in the Great Perfection system.

³⁰ Several significant studies that based on the Dunhuang document deserve the highlight here. For examole, Imaeda's (2006) study of history of the cycle of birth and death; Ishikawa's (2001, 2000) surveys of the ancient Tibetan *bla* ritual and Huo's (1995) work on the history of ancient burial system.

ba compiled in the *Tripiṭaka*. The ensuing discussion is meant to be exploratory rather than an exhaustive textual survey. My purpose is to raise the attention on 'pho ba associated to different types of writings. The following study will exemplify that the connotation of "transferring consciousness" has changed in diverse forms of Buddhist texts.

'Pho ba in the *Tripitaka*

I found two sūtras bearing the title of 'pho ba: one is 'Phags pa srid pa 'pho ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (Skt. Ārya-bhavasamkrānti-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra)³¹ and the other is Tshe 'pho ba ji ltar 'gyur ba zhus pa'i mdo (Skt. Āyupattiyathākārapariprcchā -sūtra)³². Both can be found in the Peking, the sDe dge and the sNar thang editions. The first text Srid pa 'pho ba (The Transference of Life) was translated into Tibetan by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye shes sde in the length of four folios. There are three equivalent Chinese translations done by Bodhiruci (菩提流支), Buddhazānta (佛陀善多) and Yi jing (義淨) respectively between the sixth to the eighth century.³³ Among them, Yi jing's translation is the closest one to the Tibetan version. This sūtra recorded the event that King Bimbisāra paid homage to Śākyamuni Buddha at Byakalandaka garden in the outskirts of Rājagriha city. In this occasion, King Bimbisāra raised the questions of why the accumulated karma that had already ceased could appear again when someone is about to die? And since all of the conditioned existences are emptiness, how could the accumulated karma remain inexhaustibly? Śākyamuni Buddha replied to these questions through the example of seeing beautiful girls in the dream. He explained that if one perceived the recallable images of the beauty after being awaken from the dream and became attached to those images, thus the emotion of attachment, hatred and ignorance would raise one after the other. A man who got involved with such chains of mental actions was indeed foolish. So the answer for the first question is that the perceivable images are not real in their existence although they can directly reflect in one's mind when consciousness (mam shes) is about to cease in this life. Considering the second question, Śākyamuni Buddha elucidated that when the previous consciousness had ceased, the subsequent consciousness could immediately ripen and

³¹ See Peking edition (PTT), vol.35: 120-121; sDe dge edition (DTT), vol. Dza.175a-177a, and sNar thang edition (NTT), vol. Tsa. 279b-282b.

³² See PTT vol.39: 64-68; DTT, vol. Sa.145b-155a, and NTT, vol. La.228b-243a.

³³ See TCT, No.575 佛說大方等修多羅王經 (後魏 菩提流支譯) in T14: 948b-949a; No.576 佛說轉有經 (元魏 佛陀扇多譯) in T14: 949a-c, and No.577 佛說大乘流轉諸有經 (唐 義淨譯) in T14: 949c-950b. Here T14: 948b-949a means volume 14, pp. 948b-949a.

reappear in the realm of gods, humans, animals or ghosts etc. Wherever the consciousness occurred again, the stream of the mind would never stop. Nothing could be transferred from this life to the next except the manifestation of the karmic force. Finally, Buddha concluded that when the previous consciousness ceased that was called death, while when the subsequent consciousness raised that was named birth. The previous consciousness does not fix to certain destination while the subsequent consciousness does not have its origin. This was simply the nature of all existences.

A luxurious funerary for a respectable man called Śākya dga' skyes was depicted as the prelude of the second sūtra, Tshe 'pho ba ji ltar 'gyur ba zhus pa (The Request on the Method of Transferring Life)34. After seeing a ritual like that, King Suddhodana started to wonder about the meaning of funerals despite knowing that was a Brahmin custom. Therefore, he raised a series of sophisticated questions concerning what would happen after death. For example, would one be reborn in the same kind as the previous life or born in different race? After death, would one become as non-existent as the ashes or have new life again? If all of the ancestors (from the non-beginning time) did not take a same birth in the afterlife, how could the chain of lineage be maintained? Could the wealth and reputation of a man be transferred into the next life? Would the poor remain in their inferior state while the rich continue to be superior in the next world? Would the funeral offerings done by the relatives bring any benefit to the dead one who therefore was reborn in the pure realm? To answer all these questions, Śākyamuni Buddha first pointed out the false logic behind each of the questions and then expressed his view on how consciousness would transfer from one life to the next. The basic idea is that the stream of consciousness is flowing dynamically, which will never stop even at the end of the life. Besides, the transference of consciousness is not a permanent action, that is to say, it is possible to change due to various causes and the accumulated karma. Yet, there is no agent to manipulate the process of transmigration either. As for the dedicated substances made in the funeral puja, they would have no effect on the deceased. Those who contributed for the puja could gain merit due to their sincere worship. There was a chance for the dead to upgrade his next state if he could confess his sin and take refuge before the impending death. Eight examples are given to explain the way consciousness is transferred. For instance, a student received chanting from his teacher, an image appeared on the mirror, fire was lit up by an extinguished fire, a sprout grew from a seed etc. Would this sūtra be the earliest 'pho ba text we concern? A striking note actually lies at the end of the whole text. It said that this text has not been amended even

³⁴ In the colophon, this text is summarised by a slightly different title: *'Chi 'pho ba ji ltar 'gyur ba bstan pa* (*The Explanation on the Method of Transferring Life*). No Chinese translation can be found.

by simplifying language after being translated during the first spreading of Buddhism in Tibet.³⁵ If this is a trustworthy note, then the text can be surely dated to the seventh or the eighth century. I think a thorough translation of *Tshe 'pho ba ji ltar 'gyur ba zhus pa* is necessary to compare with the later developed *'pho ba* liturgy. Nevertheless, it is beyond the scope of this work.

Apart from that, I found another two treatises named 'pho ba: Srid pa 'pho ba (The Transference of Existence, Skt. Bhavasamkrānti)³⁶ by Nāgārjuna and Srid pa'i 'pho ba'i tīka (The Commentary of transference of Existence, Skt. Bhavasamkrāntitīkā)³⁷ by Maitreyanātha. Both were translated into Tibetan by Zla ba gzhon nu and compiled under the section of dbu ma (Mādhyamika). According to Ui Hakuji's catalogue, Bhavasamkrānti has two more variations in Tibetan. One is entitled Srid pa las 'das pa'i gtam (The Advice for beyond Existence)³⁸ translated by Śrīratha and Grags byor shes rab, which is placed in the section of Letters (spring vig). The other is called Srid pa las 'das pa (Beyond Existence) by the same translators and listed in the section of Jo bo'i chos chung (the collection of small teachings attributed to Jo bo).³⁹ The treatise Bhavasamkrānti is meant to discuss the truth of non-existence. The five motifs comprised in it are: the nature of dharma (chos nyid), the emptiness nature of five aggregations (*Phung po Inga stong pa nyid*), the wisdom (*shes rab*), the skillful means (thabs) and two truths (bden pa gnyis). That is to say, both Nagarjuna's and Maitreyanātha's treatises were focus on different dimension from the theme "transferring of consciousness" that we concern here.

³⁵ The original Tibetan reads: *bsTan pa snga dar pa'i tshe 'gyur ba las skad gsar chad kyis kyang ma bcos pa'o//*.

³⁶ See PTT, vol.95: 70; DTT, vol.Tsa.151a-151b; NTT, vol. Tsa.161b-162a, and Golden Manuscript, vol. Tsa.231a-b. The equivalent Chinese version is in T30: 254.

³⁷ PTT, vol.95: 71-73; DTT, vol. Dza.151b-158a; NTT, vol. Tsa.162a-169a and Golden Manuscript, vol. Tsa.232a-239a.

³⁸ See PTT, vol.129: 202-203; DTT, sPring yig, vol.Ge.167b-168a; NTT, vol. Nge.196b-197b, and Golden Manuscript, vol. Nge.245b-246b.

³⁹ See PTT, vol.103: 275; DTT, Jo bo'i chos chung, vol.Gi.167b-168a; NTT, vol. Gi.216a-217a, and Golden Manuscript, vol. Gi.274b-275b.

In the tantra section of Tibetan Tripitaka, the instruction that attracted my attention is Rang gi sems gong du 'pho ba'i man ngag byin rlabs dang bcas pa (The Blessed Instruction of Transferring One's Own Mind Upward⁴⁰. According to the colophon, it was written by dPal 'dzin and translated by mNgon shes can and 'Gos khugs pa. It has been revised again by Darpana-ācārya and Shes rab rin chen. This text is very condensed, written in verses in the length of two folios. Yet it instructs in details about the methods of how to breathe, how to place the body [posture], how to visualise syllables and how to project consciousness out from the crown of the head. This is the same type of 'pho ba liturgy that we concern in this thesis. The only significant difference is that gShin rie gshed dmar po, the red Yamantaka⁴¹ was the deity to be envisioned and approached. Yamāntaka is the wrathful form of Manjuśrī and represents the wisdom of subduing death. According to the Blue Annals, Darpana-ācārya passed the primary text of gShin rje gshed dmar po with instructions to Glo bo lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen, and they both spread the Cycle of Yamāntaka in central Tibet (dBus and gTsang). 42 Shes rab rin chen was dated around the 12th century, while mNgon shes can and 'Gos khugs pa were from the 11th century.43 Therefore this text should not be written later than the 11th century. The Cycle of Yamāntaka was first brought to Tibet by Atīśa and later circulated in numerous lineages. Since the deity zhe sdang gShin rje gshed (the wrathful Yamāntaka) was referred to in the beginning of Rang gi sems gong du 'pho ba'i man ngag, I reckon this 'pho ba teaching was developed in the Cycle of Yamāntaka. Apart from that, I also noticed the instruction, gShin rje gshed kyi 'pho ba'i man ngag, transmitted by Rin chen rnam rgyal (1318-1388) in the Zhwa lu lineage. Rin chen rnam rgyal was a renowned disciple of Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364). It is clear that the technique of transferring consciousness is not the speciality in Nā ro chos drug.

⁴⁰ See PTT, vol.67: 220; DTT, vol.Tsi.141a-b; NTT, vol. Pi.416b-417a, and Golden Manuscript, vol. Pi.565b-566a. According to the colophon, the blessing part was added when Darpaṇa-ācārya and Shes rab rin chen revised this instruction.

⁴¹ See Beyer (1979: 44, 314-316).

⁴² The chain of this lineage was then continued by blo chen Sangs rgyas, lo tsā ba gChog ldan, bka' bcu pa gZhon nu seng ge. The teaching was also practiced by Bu ston rin po che. See Roerich (1976: 379, 1046).

⁴³ For Shes rab rin chen see *Ming mdzod* (1992: 313). Three instructions related to *gShin rje gshed dmar po* can be found in the list of Shes rab rin chen's translation. The data of 'Gos khugs pa can be seen in the *Ming mdzod*, p.346. Besides, the teacher and disciple – mNgon shes can and 'Gos khugs pa were also involved with the transmission of *Guhyasamāja*. See Roerich (1976: 359-367).

Since Śākyamuni Buddha taught followers who were in different levels of awareness and taught under different circumstances, we get the opportunity to learn of diverse occurrences in the netherworld and plentiful ways of handling the issue of death in the early Buddhist canons. For instance, in the text *Cūlakammavibhangaga* and *Devadūta*, Śākyamuni Buddha declared that those sentient beings that have done evil deeds will be born in the infernal realm, whereas those who have done virtuous actions will be born in the pleasure places or even in the heavens. The sinful man would have gone through the purgatory of Yama until being purified. In my observation, sticking to the principle of karma is a common theme in the Nikāya. No one can escape the karma accumulated by one's own self. Śākyamuni Buddha also provided grief counselling for the bereaved to calm them down and further to accept the fact of losing one's own son or mother, e.g., the text *Piyajātika-sutta* or *Ayyakā* and

In addition, I notice that at least two other Mahāyāna sūtra-s are specified on the transition of consciousness similar to *Tshe 'pho ba ji Itar 'gyur ba zhus pa* discussed above. ⁴⁸ One is entitled *'Phags pa tshong dpon bzang skyong gis zhus pa (Skt. Ārya-bhadrapālaśrestīpariprcchā)* in the section of Ratnakūta (*dkon brtsegs*)⁴⁹. The other

⁴⁴ Two Chinese variations of *Cūlakammavibhangaga* are: No.81 分別善惡報應經 T1: 895b-901b and No.26 (170) 中阿含根本分別品 鸚鵡經/ Madhyamāgama 170, T1:703c-706b. The Pāli origin of *Cūlakammavibhangaga-sutta* is in Pāli *Tripiṭaka* (ed. Pāli Text Society), *Majjhimanikāya*135, vol.3: 202-206. I am fully aware that there are more counterparts of Chinese translations for *Cūlakammavibhangaga-sutta*. The provided information here is only meant to be exemplified for the readers who might have interest to trace further the discussed issue. The same situation is applicable to

the following three texts.

45 The Chinese version No.26 (64) 中阿含王相應品 天使經/ Madhyamāgama 64, T1: 503a-506a. The Pāli origin of Devadūta-sutta is in Majjhimanikāya130, vol: 178-187 (ed. PTS)

⁴⁶ Two Chinese variations for *Piyajātika-sutta* are: No.91 佛說婆羅門子命終愛念不離經 in T1: 915a-916a and No.26 (216) 中阿含愛生經/ *Madhyamāgama* 216, T1:800c-802a. The Pāli origin of *Piyajātika-sutta* is in *Majjhimanikāya* 87, vol.2: 106-112.

⁴⁷ Two Chinese variations for *Ayyakā* are: No.122 佛說波斯匿王太后崩塵土坌經 in T2: 545a-546a and No.99 雜阿含 1127 經/ *Saṃyuktāgama* 1127, T2:335b-c. The Pāli origin of *Ayyakā* is in *Saṃyuttanikāya* 3.22, vol.1: 96-97.

⁴⁸ It definitely requires proper research to tell whether *Tshe 'pho ba ji Itar 'gyur ba zhus pa* and *Bhadrapālaśreṣṭīparipṛcchā* are derived from a same Sanskrit origin. Nevertheless, all six questions discussed in the *Tshe 'pho ba ji Itar 'gyur ba zhus pa* are included in *Bhadrapālaśreṣṭīparipṛcchā*. The contents of the latter are far more detail than the former.

⁴⁹ See PTT, vol. 24: 168-177; DTT, vol. Cha.71a-94b.

is Phags pa bgres mos zhus pa (Skt. Ārya-mahālalikāpariprechā) in the section of variegated sūtra (*mdo sna tshogs*)⁵⁰. There are two equivalent Chinese translations for Bhadrapālaśrestīpariprechā. The first one was made in 591 (Sui Dynasty) by Jñānagupta (闍那崛多). Its original title 移識經 (Transferring the Consciousness) was changed to 賢 護長者會 (Skt. Bhadrapālaśrestī) and integrated in the collection of 大寶積經 (Skt, Mahāratnakūta-dharmaparyāya-śatasāhasrika-grantha). 51 The second Chinese translation of Bhadrapālaśreṣṭīparipṛcchā was done in 681 (Tang Dynasty) by Divākara (地婆訶羅), which was named 大乘顯識經 (The Mahāyāna sūtra that Discloses Consciousness)⁵². Both of these Chinese translations clearly indicate the subject of "transferring consciousness" or "revealing consciousness" in their titles. The time of their translation during the sixth to the seventh century was noteworthy. This clue suggests that before Tshe 'pho ba ji Itar 'gyur ba zhus pa was translated into Tibetan, the sūtra dealing with the same subject had been already brought across the Central Asia and translated into Chinese. If the Sanskrit origins of these sūtra can be identified, we will probably be able to catch a glimpse of teachings on the transition of consciousness in Indian Buddhist context. The commentaries on this topic by the followers of Mādhyamaka School and Chittamātra School are undoubted abundance. However, these philosophical approaches diverge from the ritual orientation concerned here. I should turn back to the theme of longevity (tshe sgrub) and non-death ('chi med) in the next section.

The Promise of Achieving Longevity and Non-death

In fact, the essence of the early Buddhist doctrines is not limited to the explanation of how consciousness transferred, but shows the ways for practitioners to transcend from the circle of *saṃsāra* and eventually to achieve awakening. Later in the Mahāyāna sūtra, concern was placed on developing compassion, *bodhicitta*. In the meanwhile, the door of reaching enlightenment was opened to the laity. No more ascetic disciplines were strictly required except the trust and devotion to the myriad celestial beings. This

⁵⁰ See PTT, vol. 33: 308-310; DTT, vol. Ba.310b-314a; NTT, vol. Pa. 503b-507a. The three corresponding texts in Chinese *Tripiṭaka* are No.559 佛說老女人經 by Zhi qian (吳 支謙譯) in T14: 911c-912b; No.560 佛說老母女六英經 by Gunabhadra (劉宋 求那跋陀羅) in T14: 912b-c and No.561 佛說老母經 (失譯) in T14:912c-913b.

⁵¹ See the Buddhist Catalogue of Kaiyuan (開元釋教錄), "移識經二卷今編入寶積當第三十九會,改名賢護長者會. 初出與唐譯顯識經同本. 開皇十一年十月出十二月訖 學士費長房筆受見長房錄" in T55:548b. It is now accessible in No.310 (39) 大寶積經賢護長者會, T11:608a-623a.

⁵² See No.347 大乘顯識經上下卷 in T12: 178c-186b.

phenomenon reflects particularly on the type of sūtra that promote Buddha fields as the final destination. Among all of the possible choices, Gregory Schopen (1977: 177-210) has concluded that the promise of rebirth in Sukhāvatī was a generalised goal in Mahāyāna sūtra. Schopen definitely has strong evidence to make this statement within the scope of Sanskrit literature he consulted. But what if we consult the sūtra written in other languages and consider a bit of their historical background? For instance, I should suggest reviewing the documents produced in the period of Tibetan domination of the Dunhuang district (781 - 842).

I was not aware of the existence of *Aparimitāyurjñāna sūtra* until several years ago when I explored around the Kern Institute in Leiden. When I picked up the book 敦煌佛 教資料 (*Chinese Buddhist Texts from Tunhuang in Eastern Turkestan*) out of curiosity, a title in the content "無量壽宗要經とその諸寫本" (*The Aparimitāyurjñāna sūtra and Its Various Manuscripts*)⁵³ immediately attracted my attention. To be honest, I was quite confused by the *Aparimitāyurjñāna sūtra* in the first glance. It has never been in the Pure Land doctrines that I am familiar with, yet its title in Chinese resembles the *Amitābhavyūha sūtra* (無量壽經). I wonder what the *Aparimitāyurjñāna sūtra* is. As I read through the article and other relevant data, I gathered that the puzzle is not due to my ignorance but the peculiarity of the text itself.

The manuscripts of *Aparimitāyurjñāna sūtra* were first found by Aurel Stein in the Cave of Thousand Buddhas (千佛河) in Dunhuang. Gradually the manuscripts were revealed in different languages: Sanskrit, Chinese, Khotanese, Tibetan, Uigurian, Mongolian and Manchurian. Here I should only consider the manuscripts written in Tibetan and Chinese. The Tibetan manuscript was first published by Rudolf Hoernle (1910: 834-838) and later edited by Sten Konow (1916: 289-329). In the *bKa' 'gyur*, three texts are extant with the same title *Phags pa tshe dang ye shes dpag tu med pa* (hereafter *Tshe 1*,

⁵³ It is written by Ishihama Zyuntaro & Yoshimura Shyimura (1958: 216-219).

⁵⁴ Three texts have been regarded as the most important doctrines in Chinese Pure Land School. Firstly is the *Amitābhavyūha sūtra* 無量壽經. Five versions of Chinese translations can be found in T12, No.360, 361, 362, 363, 364. Yet one more is included in *Mahāratnakūṭa-dharmaparyāya- śatasāhasrika-grantha* 大寶積經無量壽如來會 in T11, No.310(5). Secondly, two Chinese versions of the smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra* 阿彌陀經 are in T12, No.366, 367. The most recent English translations of each were published by Luis Gomez in 1996. Thirdly, *The Contemplation on Amitāyus*, 觀無量壽佛經, is extant in Chinese canon T12, No.365.

⁵⁵ It has been translated in German by Walleser (1916) and in French by Eracle (1971) as well. See Schopen (1977: 178), footnote 5.

Tshe 2, Tshe 3).⁵⁶ The translators of these three Tibetan texts remain anonymous; therefore, it is difficult to trace their root at this stage. In the case of Chinese, two versions are available. The first one 大乘無量壽經 (T19, no.936, hereafter Apari I) was in fact a Dunhuang manuscript, which only appeared in the canon when Taisho Tripitaka was compiled in the early twenty century. Whereas the second version 佛說大乘聖無量壽決定光明王如來陀羅尼經 (T19, no.937, hereafter Apari 2) was translated by an Indian monk Dharmadeva (法天) between 973-980. This dhāranī sūtra already appeared in the Engraving Sūtra of Fang Shan (房山石經), a long-term project of carving Buddhist texts on rocks that was prepared as early as 605 and completed in 1190⁵⁷. The contents of the Aparimitāyurjñāna sūtra in both Chinese versions are nearly identical, the same case in Tibetan. I introduce the background of the Aparimitāyurjñāna's production because the status of this text is yet disputable.

Giles (1944: 7-8) called Wu liang shou tsung yao ching (無量壽宗要經, Apari 1) an "apocryphal sūtra" simply because it was not included in the canon. The information provided above is enough to reflect his judgment as wrong. In the survey of Ishihama Zyuntaro & Yoshimura Shyuki (1958: 216-219), two routes of transmission are suggested. One was along the places of Khotan, Tibet, Uigur, Mongol and Manchur and the other was prevailed in the inland of China. Therefore, the connection of Tibetan manuscripts with the Apari 1 was closer than the Apari 2. However, whether the Apari 1 was the basis of the Tibetan manuscript or vice versa remains unknown. In addition, Ishihama & Yoshimura also pointed out that the hundred copies of the manuscripts written in Chinese and Tibetan proved the trend of Pure Land belief in Central Asia. This is basically an agreeable statement. However, to be more precise, we must clarify whether Amitāyus and Aparimitāyus are the same one or in fact two Buddhas having similar attribution.

In spite of slightly different spelling in Sanskrit, Amitāyus and Aparimitāyus have the same meaning of "immeasurable life". In their Chinese translations, they turned to be the same one 無量壽佛. In the reading of Tibetan, "*Tshe dpag med*" is the abbreviated form for "*Tshe dpag tu med pa*". The former is normally translated as Amitāyus and the

⁵⁶ *Tshe.1* and *Tshe.2* are extant in five canons: Peking, sDe dge, sNar thang, Co ne and lHa sa editions. I should only record the page number of the first two editions here. PTT, vol. 7: 301-303, 303-305; DTT, vol. Ba: 211b-216a, 216a-220b. *Tshe.3* appears only in PTT, vol.11: 86-88. and DTT, vol. E.57b-62a. As in the case of block print, it is accessible in the Waddell Collection, see Schuh (1981: 317), *THB* 8 Nr.364.

⁵⁷ Further record of 佛說大乘聖無量壽決定光明王如來陀羅尼經 in the Chinese canons can be seen at http://jinglu.cbeta.org/cgi-bin/jl detail.pl?lang=nsid=zuqtpo.

letter as Aparimitāyus. It would be easy if this principle is strictly followed. I find several tantric practices that are associated with Amitāyus/ Aparimitāyus compiled in the Tibetan bsTan 'gyur, which show the inconsistency of the translation. A dhāraṇī text that we should consult here is the Tshe dang ye shes dpag tu med pa'i snying po zhes bya ba'i gzungs (Aparimitāyurjñānahṛdaya-nāma-dhāranī). 58 This text introduces the Tathāgata Tshe dpag med who resided in the world of Sukhāvatī in the west direction and who has another name called 'Chi med rnga sgra'i rgyal po. We are told that whoever recites his name will be reborn in his land; whoever visualises him will be able to see him and all other Buddhas in the ten directions after contemplating for ten days. At the moment of death, the dying person will see Tshe dpag med presenting in front of himself. The characteristics described here are exactly the same as the Sukhāvatīvyūha and the Amitābhavyūha. It seems to prove that Aparimitāyurjñāna is another name for Amitāyus according to this text *Aparimitāyur-jñānahrdaya-nāma- dhāranī*. However, as we should read in the ensuing passage, the Aparimitāyurjñāna sūtra tells a different story. Therefore, it is still unclear for me whether this variation indicates two Buddha traditions or it is a sign of a twist in the process of translation. I had better leave this question here. Now what is said in the Aparimitāyurjñāna sūtra and how does it relate to our *'Pho ba* liturgy?

Simply judging by the structure, the *Aparimitāyurjñāna sūtra* contains the six standard elements that a sūtra normally possesses. It begins by "thus it was heard by me". At one time the venerable Bhagavān was dwelling at Śrāvastī in the grove of Jeta, who was escorted by 1250 bhikśu and the assembly of the great bodhisattva. At that time, Bhagavān spoke to Mañjuśrī about a Buddha, Aparimitāyurjñānasuviniścitarāja whose Buddha field in the upper world was called Aparimitaguṇasaṇcayo (The World of Collection of Immeasurable Virtues). ⁵⁹Then Bhagavān explained to Mañjuśrī that human beings in the Jambudvīpa are short-lived, living less than a hundred years. Many of them are even destined to an untimely death. However, if those who heard the name of Aparimitāyurjñāna Tathāgata⁶⁰would write or cause others to write the teaching of Aparimitāyus, who would compose the sūtra, recite it and make puja for it with flowers,

⁵⁸ This text is actually compiled twice in both PTT and DTT. See PTT, vol.7:305-306/vol.11:88-89; DTT, vol.Ba.220-222/vol.E.621-64a.

⁵⁹ I consult the Sanskrit terms with the edition made by Konow (1916: 296). To note the difference in two Tibetan texts, it is said "*bCom Idan 'das mnyan du yod pa na dze ta'i tshal* ...in *Tshe.1*, p.301.4.8 but "*bCom Idan 'das mnyan du yod na rgyal bu rgyal byed kyi tshal* ...in *Tshe.2*, p.303.5.6.

⁶⁰ In Tibetan it is "De bzhin gshegs pa <u>tshe</u> dpag tu med pa" in Tshe.1, p.301.5.4; but "De bzhin gshegs pa <u>tshe dang ye shes</u> dpag tu med pa in Tshe.2, p.304.1.2.

incense and lamps etc., their life span would be expanded to a complete 100 years. Those who face impending death could prolong their life if they contemplate on the name of Tathāgata. Therefore, those men and women who wish for longevity should write or cause others to write the 108 syllables of Aparimitāyurjñāna Tathāgata. The rest of this sūtra is constructed by twenty nine passages of the same dhāraṇī. The rewards for copying this sūtra are worthy. For instance, one could be reborn in the Buddha field of Aparimitāyurjñānasuviniścitarāja, the World of Collection of Immeasurable Virtues in the next life. Or one will never be reborn in the hell, and eliminate the five inexpiable sins or purify accumulated sins as huge as the mountains. Neither Māra, nor *Yakṣa* and the beings alike could cause troubles or sudden death to him. At the moment of death, 99 *koṭis* of Buddhas would appear directly in his vision and lead him by their hands to wonder around the Buddha fields. One would be reborn in Sukhāvatī of Amitābha with the guidance of four Mahārāja and never reborn as a woman.

What can we learn from a sūtra like this? In spite of having the difficulty to define whether it is a sūtra, a tantric text or even a piece of creation, this ambiguous status will not change slightly the fact that people put it into practice seriously. The great quantity of the manuscripts copied in Chinese and Tibetan alone represent fairly the custom that the populace followed. The note on the colophon also tells us an important message. Having 27 copies of Chinese manuscripts in hand of them dedicate the merit of their copy to their departed family, friends or patrons and pray for rebirth in the pure land of Amitāyus/無量壽佛. It seems to me that the action of copying the Aparimitāyurjāna sūtra also contributed as a part of the post-funeral deeds. I do not have access to the Tibetan manuscripts yet. Nevertheless, considering the great amount of copies, I lean toward supposing that such a custom would be also applicable in

⁶¹ In Tibetan it is "...'di nas shi 'phos nas kyang de bzhin gshegs pa tshe dpag tu med pa'i sangs rgyas kyi zhing khams yon tan dpag tu med pa la sogs par skye bar 'gyur ro'" in Tshe.1, p.302.1.3.

⁶² How many are they actually? In Jonathan Silk's speech for XII IABS assembly on March 23 1999, he mentioned "The number of copies of the *Aparimitāyuḥ sūtra* in Tibetan is so great that they are sometimes not even recorded in the standard catalogues. Marcelle Lalou in cataloguing the Paris collection of Pelliot Tibetan manuscripts simply gave up, and ignored hundreds and hundreds of manuscripts of the very same text – our *Aparimitāyuḥ sūtra*." He also referred to Fujieda Akira and saying that "In the Indian Office collection alone, there are about one thousand copies of the *Aparimitāyuḥ sūtra* in Tibetan." I wish to thank Prof. Silk for sending me his scripted lecture "*The Most Important Buddhist Scripture? The Aparimitāyuṛjāāna and Medieval Buddhism*".

⁶³ There are in total 44 copies of 無量壽宗要經 (Apari. I) preserved in the National Library of Taiwan.

Tibetan community.⁶⁴ If this hypothesis is acceptable, then I would suggest that the Aparimitāyurjñāna sūtra was one of the influential texts for the growing of 'pho ba liturgies. To state the purpose from the very beginning, we read in the Aparimitāyurjñāna sūtra that being short lived and facing untimely death are two inevitable fates of humans. The text kindly provides a way out of mortality i.e., to copy or contemplate on the name of Aaprimitāyus/Amitāyus. Therefore, longevity will be promised and a non-death body will be obtained.⁶⁵ The similar purposes can also be seen in 'pho ba liturgies. The speciality of 'pho ba liturgy is to analyse the moment of death by enlarging the process in very subtle details and to provide methods that lead consciousness to a favourable world. The same wish for being reborn in the Buddha field is described with abstract syntax in Mahāyāna sūtra. As already pointed out, the aspiration and the belief in the Buddha field are the key virtues. These aspects are not emphasised anymore in the esoteric practice of 'pho ba, but instead, the visualisation becomes essential. I reckon that a perfect manual for funeral such as 'pho ba could only be produced by absorbing the elements of literature sketched here. So far in my understanding, the 'pho ba liturgies we will read in this thesis do not results from a single lineage or school but have a broader background. What I have tried here is to illustrate some possibilities of tracing the "pre 'pho ba" sources in Buddhist literature.

[Note]

In this book all Tibetan terms are romanised according to the transcription system of Wylie. Technical terms, teachings and titles of texts are written in italic whereas personal names and places not. The first radical letter in textual title is capitalised, otherwise are all in small letters. In the case of personal names, only the first radical letter of actual name is capitalised; titles and epithets are in small letters, e.g., rig 'dzin Chos kyi grags pa. However, when the name is associated to a place, capital letter is also applied, such as sGam po bSod nams rin chen. Shorten names will be made with indication, e.g., Kong sprul. The biographical dates are marked according to Tibetan sources that I consulted. Otherwise secondary literatures are the sources to be followed. The bibliographical data are divided by languages, i.e., Chinese texts; Tibetan texts and works in other languages. Abridged Tibetan titles will be marked with square bracket and placed before the complete titles. Tibetan titles and terminologies in glossary and index are sorted out in accordance with the order of Tibetan alphabet. Others are registered in English alphabet order.

⁶⁴ The amount of the *Aparimitāyur sūtra* in Tibetan has also arose the attention to Dalton & van Schaik (2006: xxii) in their catalogue work.

⁶⁵ To what extent that the teaching of 'chi med resemblises 'pho ba is yet to be studied.

The Early bKa' brgyud Transmission and Its Offshoot – Karma Kam tshang Lineage

The reference of 'pho ba has been closely connected to the famous six teachings, $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug. However, very little is known in terms of the early development and the transmission routes of 'pho ba. It is fairly clear that the instructions of $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug were not directly written down by the patriarchy of the bKa' brgyud school, but that the authorship was attributed to them by their followers. Without sufficient studies, I think either the "early transmission" of $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug or the so-called "early literature" normally referred to as the primary source of these six teachings is a subject to be clarified still.

Fabrizio Torricelli (1991, 1993, 1996, 1997, 1998) brought out a series of studies and translations on the "root texts". Glenn Mullin (1997) presented two texts from this group as being the direct work of the forefathers. Ulrich Kragh (2006) recently reviewed these texts and presented impressive findings in the 11th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies.⁶⁶ Kragh began his reassessment by an outlook of the later chos drug tradition, namely, the four canonical texts and two non-canonical texts that are compiled in the gDams ngag mdzod by Kong sprul.⁶⁷ Kragh re-evaluates the importance of these six texts through scrutinising the redacted history of the various bsTan 'gyur and checking whether they were quoted by other chos drug literature or by the later commentaries. According to Kragh, none of the six texts listed in the gDams ngag mdzod functioned as primary sources in the early literature. However, he identifies bKa' dpe tshigs su bcad pa (Verses of the Instruction Text, No.16) to be the amplified version of the core *chos drug* literature. He further identifies the core literature into two groups, i.e., the early bka' dpe and the later bka' dpe. Two versions of early bka' dpe are declared to be found; one is in the gSung 'bum of sGam po pa and the other in Mi la ras pa's song dNgos po gsal bar byed pa (The Clarification of Material Things). As for the

⁶⁶ I am grateful to Prof. Ulrich Kragh for sharing his written paper of this presentation and also the revised version that will be published in the *Proceedings of 11th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, Königswinter, 2006.

⁶⁷ These six texts are listed as No.14 - No.19 under the section *Thun min chos drug gi skor* (*Cycle of special six teachings*) in vol.5 of the *gDams ngag mdzod*. The specific discussion of these texts can be expected in the proceeding of this conference.

later *bka' dpe*, except the just mentioned No.16, the other version is *bka' dpe phyi ma* that survives in the sDe dge and the Co ne *bsTan 'gyur*.⁶⁸ We will surely learn more thorough evidence and explanation of how Kragh identifies the *bka' dpe* as the core of *chos drug* in his forthcoming book centralised on the *gSung 'bum of sGam po pa*. At this stage, I would rather reserve my agreement. Basically, I assume tentatively that each of the six teachings derived from different origins and then converged together under the brand of *Nā ro chos drug* after a certain time of development. Based on this assumption, we have reason to question whether the "early *chos drug* literature" ever existed at all. In fact, both Torricelli and Kragh already notice that the "early *chos drug* literature" does not cover all of the six practices but focuses rather on a specific technique, e.g., the training of illusory body or the inner heat yoga. Therefore, it is improper to generalise the case of a prime text of certain yoga to all others.

To support my hypothesis, I will carry out the investigation of the early development of 'pho ba transmitted among the forefathers of the Dwags po bKa' brgyud School.⁷⁰ In the first section I will examine two 'pho ba liturgies in the light of the tansmission and the contents of the teachings. The essential point I shall like to demonstrate is the fact that 'pho ba teaching is not always integrated in the renowned Six Teachings but instead, is extant as an element of other instruction clusters or even in some cases, is taught independently in the bKa' brgyud school. In the second section, I study on relevant 'pho ba teachings composed in the collective works of sGam po pa. In the third section of this chapter, I will move forward to the Karma kam tshang lineage. Only selected masters related to the transmission of 'pho ba teaching will be presented here. The stories might not connect strongly to the issue in concern but they help us to delineate the scenario interwoven with the transmission of teachings in this lineage. Therefore, I believe it is necessary to go through the historical investigation. Through consulting these selected works, we can further clarify their divergence and similarity with the genre of 'pho ba that is embedded in the gter ma tradition, as we shall see in the fourth chapter. Since the centre of this thesis lies on Sangs rgyas gling pa and his longevity

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⁶⁸ It can be accessed through Tohoku catalogue no. 2332. A part of *bka' dpe phyi ma (later text of instruction)* has been translated by Torricelli (1996).

⁶⁹ Torricelli (1997: 251), Kragh (2006: 8-9).

⁷⁰ The spiritual lineage of Mar pa, yet it only gained this name after sGam po pa established a monastery at sGam po in Dwags po district. See Roerich (1976: 451-725) on historicial background of this lineage. A brief list of the four main brances, see Snellgrove (2002: 488-489). Location-wise, see Ferrari (1958: 48, 121fn. 204).

liturgies, I will not apply the same scale of exhausted translation to the following 'pho ba teachings, but rather summarise or paraphrase them with critical analysis.

1.1 Two Examples of the Early Development of *'Pho ba*

A preliminary study on the following two texts has been done elsewhere but it is necessary to include the refined version here to illustrate the concern of the early development of 'pho ba liturgy in Tibet.⁷¹ Hopefully this study will shed some light on this virtually ignored theme.

1.1.1 The Four Special Scrolls of Mar pa

The first text to be scrutinised is: rJe btsun lho brag pa'i khyad par gyi gdams pa snyan gyi shog dril bzhi'i lo rgyus gzhung lhan thabs dang bcas pa (The History of Four Scrolls of Special Instructions Heard from Venerable Lho brag pa Together with The Main Texts, abbreviated as sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi). Five sub-listed texts are: (a) lo rgyus (History), (b) rTsa rlung drwa mig 'khor lo (The Net-Cakra of Nāḍī and Prāṇa) (c) Phyag rgya chen po tshig bsdus pa (The Collected Verses of Mahāmudrā), (d) Gong du 'pho ba'i man ngag (The Instruction of Transferring Consciousness Upward), (e) Bar do blos chod kyi man ngag (The Instruction of Understanding the Intermediate State by Mind). Kong sprul labelled this group of texts as "the cycle of the primary oral transmission" (rTsa ba snyan brgyud kyi skor) of Mar pa bKa' brgyud. I will consult the catalogue (dkar chag) of the gDams ngag mdzod at the end of this section to see how this group of teachings had come down to Kong sprul. Furthermore, I will try to infer the possible date of the author of sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi.

1.1.1.1 The Transmission of sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi

In the history account, we learn in detail about how Mar pa received teachings from Nā ro pa and Maitrī pa, and how successively these teachings were circulated among the followers.⁷³ The story began with the appeal of Mi la thos pa dga',⁷⁴ who asked Mar pa

⁷¹ See Mei (2004b: 31-32, 34-36).

⁷² See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.8: 203-233.

⁷³ In the hagiography of Mar pa, this event was said to happen on Mar pa's third journey to India. Here I refer to the English translation *The Life of Marpa: the Translator* translated by the Nālandā Translation Committee in 1982. Besides, I also consult one Tibetan edition of this hagiography with the help of Mr. Kalsang Norbu. This text is currently stored at the Kern Institute Library in Leiden University (categorised numbers: 2740/H245). It is called *sGra bsgyur mar pa lotstsha'i rnam par thar pa mthong ba don yod* (abbreviated as *Mar pa rnam thar*).

for teachings that could liberate him to achieve Buddhahood without making effort. Under this request, Mar pa made a journey toward India to seek for teachings that could satisfy his disciple's wish. There Nā ro pa entrusted Mar pa two teachings: *rTsa rlung dra mig 'khor lo* and *'Pho ba spyi brdol ma (Haphazardly Transference).*⁷⁵ Nā ro pa also gave some words of warning. That is, the rare teachings should be handed down only to the proper receivers. In addition, Mar pa obtained another two teachings – *Phyag rgya chen po tshig bsdus pa* and *Bar do blos chod kyi man ngag* from Maitrī pa with the same reminder. Mar pa scrolled these four teachings and carefully bound them on his neck.⁷⁶

According to the above source, Mar pa gained the teachings of 'pho ba and the technique of breath control from Nā ro pa, whereas the teachings of $Mah\bar{a}mudr\bar{a}^{77}$ and bar do were from Maitrī pa. Except for $Mah\bar{a}mudr\bar{a}$, the other three teachings are actually the elements of the so-called $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug. Does it suggest that these teachings were extant in their own right before the *Lho brag shog dril bzhi* was composed? This transmission history seems to challenge the traditional view that states the single lineage of $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug. Regarding the reason of Mar pa's journey to India, the narrative in the sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi is principally consistent with the biography of Mar pa, except for a few more details. It is important to examine this account here carefully. It is stated that Mi la encountered a beautiful lady in the dream during his retreat period. She told him the following words:

You have the *mahāmudrā* and the six yogas of Nā ro pa, which bring Buddhahood by long-lasting practice; but you don't have the special

⁷⁴ This is another given name of Mi la ras pa.

⁷⁵ *Tho ba spyi brdol ma* is the alternating title for *Gong du 'pho ba'i man ngag*, which appears again at the end of the text.

⁷⁶ See historical account of sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi in gDams ngag mdzod, vol.8: 204.2-205.5.

⁷⁷ The term *mudrā* means the hand gesture or sign, symbol etc. It can be further specified into four kinds: *karmamudrā*, *samayamudrā*, *dharmamudrā* and *mahāmudrā*. Regarding the four *mudrā*, see Snellgrove (2002: 249, 265-269). The *mahāmudrā* refers to the final goal of the tantric practice. See Snellgrove (1971: 136-137).

⁷⁸ *The Life of Marpa* was written by gTsang smyon Heruka. The slight discrepancy was that when Mar pa was about to leave for Tibet on his second trip, Nā ro pa urged him to go back India again by saying "I have the transference of conscious, some profound oral instructions of the oral teachings. You shall definitely come back once more". See *The Life of Marpa*, Nālandā Translation Committee (1982: 66). *Mar pa rnam thar*, p.31b.

teachings of the ejection and transference of consciousness, which bring Buddhahood with little effort.⁷⁹

In my view, it is yet to be clarified when the term $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug was applied to the well-known Six Teachings. Anyhow, 'pho ba yoga was excluded from this group. ⁸⁰ If the term of $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug was already utilised at this time as claimed in The Life of Marpa, it might refer to different content from that which we understand nowadays. However, we should also keep in mind that this biography was written in the sixteenth century, a rather late compilation. Its accuracy might not be entirely trustworthy. For instance, I find many inconsistencies in regard to the relation of 'pho ba yoga and $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug in this biography. On several occasions, 'pho ba yoga is separated from the six teachings but sometimes it is regarded as a part of the group. ⁸¹ A similar account is described in Mi la ras pa's biography, Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa, ⁸² in which only grong 'jug teaching⁸³ is distinguished from the Six Teachings. As recorded in The Life of Marpa, Mar pa entrusted various teachings to his chief disciples, depending on their own interests and the circumstances. Accordingly, caṇḍālī yoga (gtum mo)⁸⁴ was given

⁷⁹ Ibid, p.73. *'Pho ba grong 'jug* seems to be considered as one teaching. See *Mar pa rnam thar*, p.34a.

⁸⁰ In *The Life of Marpa*, 'pho ba is translated as ejection and grong 'jug as transference of consciousness, but here I distinguish these two terms as "transference of consciousness" and "transferring consciousness into another body". A futher discussion of grong 'jug can be seen below.

⁸¹ For example, 'pho ba is excluded from the group teaching, see Nālandā Translation Committee (1982:73, 170). Otherwise, it was considered as a part of the six teachings, see pp.94-97.

⁸² See *Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa*, edited by Evans-Wentz (1928: 144-145). The editor counts *bar do* and *'pho ba* yoga as the fifth and sixth yogas which makes the whole context more reasonable.

⁸³ Cf. Ulrich Kragh (forthcoming: 3). *Grong 'jug* is the abbreviated form for "*grong khyer la 'jug pa*". The Tibetan term "*grong khyer*" means a large inhabited place. However, it seems to echo the Sanskrit word "pur", which contains the wider meanings such as the town, the wall, the castle or the body etc. See *Cologne Digital Sanskrit Lexicon* at this site http://webapps.uni-koeln.de/cgi-bin/tamil/recherche.) Here the teaching clearly shows the way of transferring consciousness into another corpus/body. Additionally, *grong 'jug* is a term recorded in modern Tibetan dictionary, e.g., Goldstein (2001:205), as "a type of tantric practice whereby a person's spirit after he dies can come to life again". Goldstein seems to avoid the connotation of "body-entering" in his explanation.

The inner heat yoga is a practice that requires the involvement of a female partner, a necessary experience for the training of completion stage (*rdzogs rim*) according to tantric theory. By controlling the flow of inner energy, the goddess *caṇḍālī* resided at the navel *cakra* will be awakened. Thus the generated heat will ascend through the central channel and reach the upper *cakra*. In Tibetan tantric practice, the goddess is more often replaced by various form of Vajrayoginī. This practice is believed to

to Mi la and 'pho ba yoga to mTshur ston dBang nge. 85 Now we shall move on to the second part of the lineage history of sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi for the further analysis.

The second half of the lineage concentrated on mTshur ston dBbang nge, one of Mar pa's four main disciples. So In this history account, mTshur ston dBbang nge was desperate to find a method that could liberate him from saṃsāra. Thus he approached to Mar pa particularly for teaching that can fulfil his wish. Initially Mar pa intended to pass these four teachings only to his son Dar ma mdo sde but he died already at that time. In addition, Mi la ras pa, the one who requested these teachings, did not show up. Under these circumstances, Mar pa reckoned that it is better to hand down these teachings rather than let them die out. Therefore, mTshur ston dBang nge obtained all of the four teachings and scattered them around with little hesitation. The teaching 'Pho ba spyi brdol ma' was given to his brother, and then in turn passed down to 'Dza' phu rgya gar, sTod lung 'ga' ras, Nyi ma lung pa and bDe gshegs rin po che. All of them achieved the signs of success in their practices. The following narrative seems to provide further details about this transmission, however, appears to be in disarray.

It is said, a student of Ras chung pa⁸⁷ offered mTshur ston dBang nge a piece of turquoise that was the value of three hundred horses in order to request the four teachings (*shog dril bzhi*) of Mar pa. The author suggested that this person was sNyag sgom dgos chung ba. Afterwards these four teachings were bestowed to Dwags po mdo rtse. Later on when slob dpon Nyi ma lung pa met Dwags po mdo rtse, he raised the issue that most of Mar pa's instructions were planned to keep for his son and therefore, became extinct eventually. The two exceptional cases were the four scrolls teachings passed to mTshur ston dBang nge and the three instructions of mixture (*bSre ba gsum*

derive from Hindu tantric practice of *kundalinī śakti*. See Dasgupta (1974: 172-173), Samuel (1993: 240-241), Mullin (1996: 63-69) and Snellgrove (2002: 209, 291-294). Further textual reference of *gtum mo* and *me dbang* can be found in *THB* 12, Schwieger (1999: 85-87).

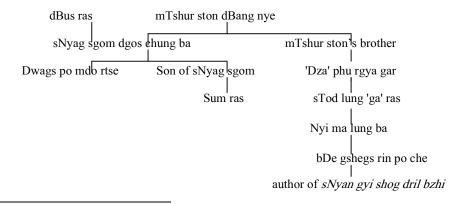
⁸⁵ For the other two students Mar pa gave oral instruction on tantras via four methods and six aims to rNgog chos rdor, and passed the clear light yoga to Mes ston tshon po. See *The Life of Marpa*, Nālandā Translation Committee (1982:190-191). *Mar pa rnam thar*, p.85. Also see *Tibet's Great Yogī Milarepa*, Evans-Wentz (1928:154-155).

⁸⁶ The so-called four great pillars (*ka chen bzhi*) are: rNgog Chos rdor, 'Tshur (mTshur) dBbang nge, Mes tshon po and Mid (Mi) la. See Roerich (1976: 403, 405)

⁸⁷ Details on the biographies of Ras chung pa (1084-1161), see Roberts (2007).

kyi gdams ngag)⁸⁸ passed to Mes ston Tshon chung ba. Dwags po mdo rtse indicated that he had the four scrolls teachings of Mar pa but refused to impart detail information. So Nyi ma lung pa turned to sTod lung 'ga' ras to asked for the instructions of 'Pho ba spyi brdol ma. After that, bDe gshegs rin chen had a chance to converse with Nyi ma lung pa about Mar pa's four scrolls of teachings. With significant amount of offerings, Nyi ma lung pa agreed to transmit all of them to bDe gshegs rin chen. Nevertheless, only 'Pho ba spyi brdol ma' was allowed to spread freely. The other three teachings were requested to keep in secret until the death of Nyi ma lung pa. In due course bDe gshegs rin chen handed down these instructions to the author.

The ensuing part explains how the primary scrolls (*rtsa ba'i shog dril*) were handed down. The author raised the issue that both primary scrolls: *Pho ba spyi brdol* and *Phyag rgya chen po tshig bsdus* had been transmitted in the lineage one after the other, while another two scrolls: *rTsa rlung drwa mig 'khor lo* and *Bar do blos chod* had somehow become lost in the record. It seemed that sNyag sgom dgos chung ba did not have all of these original scrolls of Mar pa from mTshur ston. Later he heard the dharma song of grub thob dBus ras and therefore transformed his perception. Immediately grub thob dBus ras untied the scrolls from his neck and gave them to sNyag sgom dgos chung ba. Although sNyag sgom passed on the instructions to Dwags po mdo rtse, he kept the scrolls of grub thob dBus ras to his own son as a single lineage. Later on, lama Sum ras provided medical care for the son of sNyag sgom when he became ill for six months. To return this favour, the four instructions were given to Sum ras addition to the allowance of making one copy from the original scrolls. That is to say, the complete four scrolls had arrived in the hand of lama Sum ras. This is the point where the story ends. A diagram of the transmission could be helpful here:



The three instructions of mixture are: *Chang dang bsam gtan bsre ba* (*The mixture of samādhi and wine*), *gNyid dang bsam gtan bsre ba* (*The mixture of samādhi and sleep*) and *Thig le dang bsam gtan bsre ba* (*The mixture of samādhi and bindu*). See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.8: 207.

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⁸⁹ See gDams ngag mdzod, vol.8: 206-209.

This lineage account appears to be quite unique when compare to information recorded in the *Blue Annals*, where mTshur ('Tshur) ston dBang nge was associated to the teaching of *Guhyasamāja*. His name is first mentioned by passing regarding the lineage of *Guhyasamāja* teachings and later more details in terms of his relation with Mar pa and his three descending lines. Besides, the name 'Tshur ston dBang nge appears again with regard to the transmission of *Ras chung snyan brgyud*. Except that, I do not find any information in the *Blue Annals* about all the other aforementioned figures. To locate the time of the anonymous author of the *sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi*, I consulted Kong sprul's index (*dkar chag*) of the *gDams ngag mdzod* and found a positive clue there.

According to Kong sprul's record, *sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi* came down to him through the successive lineage: mTshur ston dBang nge, gShan sgom sgom chung, Dwags po mdo rtse, slob dpon Nyi ma lung pa, bDe gshegs rin po che Tog rtse sgang pa, sNye mdo thams cad mkhyen pa chos rje Kun dga' don grub (b.1268) and then g.Yung ston rDo rje dpal (1284-1365) etc. ⁹³ Compare this line of transmission to the abovementioned lineage, the anonymous author could be Kun dga' don grub who received the teachings from bDe gshegs rin chen. If not, at least it is fair to suggest that the author was around the same time of Kun dga' don grub. It means that the text *sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi* could have been written in the late thirteenth century. Both Kun dga' don grub and g.Yung ston rDo rje dpal had close connection to the Karma Kam tshang lineage. Kun dga' don grub was the student of U rgyan Rin chen dpal (1230-1309), the heir of Karma Pakshi (1204/06-1283). As for g.Yung ston rDo rje dpal, he was the disciple of Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339). I shall have a closer investigation on this lineage later.

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⁹⁰ See Roerich (1976: 364, 399-426). The story about 'Tshur ston dBang nge's effort to earn the trust of Mar pa by performing black magic to cause the death of Mar pa Mon nag is particually intriguing. 'Tshur ston dBang nge was also called dBang gi rdo rje. His teachings were passed on through three main disciples: Ro mnyam rdo rje, 'Khon Gad pa Kīrti and bSod nams rgyal mtshan. Similar data can be seen in *Ming mdzod*, pp.1405-1406.

⁹¹ See Roerich (1976: 436-440).

⁹² Although there is a figure called Sum ston ras pa referred in the system of *gcod*, I reckon he was different from lama Sum ras. See Roerich (1976: 990, 999).

⁹³ See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.18: 496. The complete lineage record can be seen in the appendix of this chapter.

Furthermore, it is important to explore what could be the basis of Kong sprul's works. ⁹⁴ In the anthology of *gDams ngag mdzod*, Kong sprul seems to be inspired by previous *gdams ngag* traditions represented through the scheme of the eight categories. ⁹⁵ Among the earlier *gdams ngag* collections, *Jo nang khrid brgya rtsa brgyad* (*One Hundred and Eight Instructions of Jo nang pa*) is worthy of our attention here. In the last volume of *gDams ngag mdzod* we find the entire *Jo nang khrid brgya rtsa brgyad*, which are initially written down by Kun dga' grol mchog (1507-1566) and later revised or enlarged by followers. Several concerned teachings can be found in the *Jo nang khrid brgya rtsa brgyad* such as *sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi*, *Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu* as well as *Nā ro chos drug*, *Ni gu chos drug* and *Su kha chos drug* etc. To concentrate on *sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi*, I will extract the earlier transmission from the lineage supplication (*Khrid brgya brgyud 'debs*) and compare to Kong sprul's list in a table below.

By Kong sprul	By Kun dga' grol mchog ⁹⁶	By Chos kyi grags pa ⁹⁷
1. mTshur ston dBang nge	1. mTshur dbang	1. mTshur ston dBang
2. gShan sgom	2. gNyags sgom	2. gNyags sgom
3. sGom chung	/	3. 'Gro mgon dge chung
4. Dwags po mdo rtse	3. dMar po mdung rtse	4. Dwags po mdung rtse
5. Nyi ma lung pa	4. Nyi ma lung	5. Nyi ma lung pa
6. bDe gshegs rin po che	5. mGar ras	6.mGar yas
7. Tog rTse sgang pa	6. rTse gang	7. Tog rTse sgang pa
8. sNye mdo Kun dga' don grub	7. sNye mdo	8. sNye mdo Kun dga' dngos grub
9. g.Yung ston rDo rje dpal	8. g.Yung ston pa	9. g.Yung ston rDo rje dpal
10. Rol pa'i rdo rje	9. bSod bzang	10. bSod nams bzang po
11. mKha' spyod dbang po	10. Tshul khrims mgon po	11. Tshul khrims mgon po
12. De bzhin gshegs pa	11. bSod nams rgyal mtshan	12. bSod rgyal

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⁹⁴ I wish to thank Prof. Schwieger for pointing out this concern.

⁹⁵ Kong sprul grouped these teachings according to their original lineages and compiled them into a coherent order in accordance with the eigth major classificatories. Namely, the cycles of rNying ma tradition, bK' gdams tradition, Sa skya tradition, Mar pa bKa' brgyud, Shangs pa bKa' brgyud, teachings of Zhi byed tradition and yoga instructions related to the *kālacakra-tantra*. See Kapstein (1996: 276-280).

⁹⁶ See *Khrid brgya'i brgyud 'debs brjod bde brgyud pa'i mtshan sdom cung zad gsal bar bkod pa* in *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.18: 29.

⁹⁷ See *Shog dril bzhi'i brgyud rim gsol 'debs in gSun 'bum/Chos kyi grags pa*, vol.14, pp.35-39.

From the table above, we can see that both transmissions are very alike except for a few variant of orthographies and lineage holders. The line of transmissions has diverged after g.Yung ston pa. In Kong sprul's case, it connected to the Karma kam tshang lineage; while for Kun dga' grol mchog, it turned to bSod bzang, Tshul khrims mgon po and bSod nams rgyal mtshan etc. ⁹⁸ Kun dga' grol mchog has clarified in *Khrid brgya spyi chings* that he obtained the four scrolls teachings from the lineage of rNgog pa. ⁹⁹ Additionally, the transmissions of *sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi* also reached at 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud. Evidence can be found in the collected works of 'Bri gung rig 'dzin Chos kyi graga pa (1595-1659), as presented on the third column above. I reckon that both works of Kun dga' grol mchog and Chos kyi graga pa could have influenced Kong sprul on his edition of *sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi*.

1.1.1.2 The Instruction of Transferring Upwards

As mentioned, four texts have been compiled under the general title *sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi*. The prior historical account shows that the teachings of *rtsa rlung* and *'pho ba* are derived from Nā ro pa, but the teachings of *phyag chen* and *bar do* were from Maitrī. However, the order of these four texts is interlaced. They are probably arranged in accordance with the classification of main instructions and supplemented teachings. The trainings of channel (*Skt. nāḍī*) and breath (*Skt. prāṇa*) are fundamental techniques in *'pho ba* practice, we should have an overview on them first.

The instruction of rTsa rlung drwa mig 'khor lo (The Net-Cakra of Nāḍī and Prāṇa) 100 covers two aspects of trainings. The first training is to light up the fire of blissful heat and further melt it into the body energy. Thus the path of the central channel $-avadhūt\bar{t}$ will be as vivid as the sky with clear light. The effect of such training is to be reborn in the higher realm. The second training is to implement the wind circulation in the web of channel in order to control the movement of bindu. The purpose of this training is to

⁹⁸ This particular Jo nang transmission will be discussed again later in chapter 2.

⁹⁹ Most likely, it refers to one of Mar pa's four great disciples, rNgog pa Chos kyi rdo rje (1036-1102). See *Khrid brgya'i spyi chings rnam par spel ba ngo mtshar chos kyi sgo mang* in *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.18: 64. Further record about rNgog pa Chos rdor, see Roerich (1976: 403-404, 407).

The training involves with controlling the breath (*rlung, Skt. prāṇa*) and the mind is a special feature of the *anuttara-tantra* (the fourth grade) of the New Tantra. The three main imagined channels (*rtsa, Skt. nāḍī*) are: the central channel (*rtsa dbu ma, Skt. avadhūtī*), the right channel (*rtsa ro ma, Skt. rasanā*) and the left channel (*rtsa rkyang ma, Skt. lalanā*). These three main channels are said to joint at the *cakra* points in the body. The purpose of such training it to prevent the mind from wandering. See Tucci (1980: 72, 85, 262 fn.16). For *rTsa rlung drwa mig 'khor lo*, see *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.8: 211-216.

eliminate the *saṃṣṣāra* in the lower realms. These two aspects of trainings are also referred as upper door (*steng sgo*) and lower door (*'og sgo*).

Gong du 'pho ba'i man ngag (Instruction of Transferring Consciousness to a Higher Place) 101 consists of three sections. The alternative title 'Pho ba spyi brdol ma (Haphazardly Transference) appears at the very end of the first section. Three concise points are mentioned here. First of all, it assures the result of exercising 'pho ba even if the practitioner commits the sins of killing Brahman and the deeds of five inexpiable actions (mtsams med lnga). Secondly the involved techniques are deity yoga and visualising syllables in the three main channels through controlling the breath. The training in the day and the night is counted as one session. Thirdly when the death is ascertained, consciousness will be circulated by the rainfall of flowers, be escorted by umbrellas and banners and led to the celestial realm.

The second section is to locate the position of 'pho ba yoga in Buddhist tantra. Accordingly, the path of skilful means (thabs lam, Skt. upāya-marga) is under the category of anutarayoga-tantra (rnal 'byor bla na med pa'i rgyud), which consists of two parts, i.e., the development stage (bskyed rim) and the completion stage (rdzogs rim). The completion stage is further divided to main practice and auxiliary two parts. In the main practice, the training of the upper door utilises the inner heat yoga and the training of the lower door is through Karmamudrā yoga (las rgya'i rnal 'byor). As for the auxiliary practice, it includes instructions of 'pho ba, grong 'jug, sgyu lus, 104 'od

¹⁰¹ See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.8: 219-226.

These two stages of practices make anuttarayoga-tantra distinct from the other tantra. The development stage is a method or process of evocating and visualising deity. The completion stage is a method of achievement for the yogi who has spiritually matured. In completion stage, it involves the practice of subtle body that is constructed by psychic centres (cakra) and channels ($n\bar{a}d\bar{n}$) in which the psychic energy ($pr\bar{a}n\bar{a}$) is flowing. For the practice of subtle body, see Tucci (1980: 58-61, 108-109) and Samuel (1993: 236-239).

¹⁰³ *Karmamudrā* yoga, or the action seal, is the tantric practice that involves with feminine partner. Further explanation of *Karmamudrā* and its link to the four kinds of pleasure can be seen in Dasgupta (1974: 174-178), Shaw (1994: 170-171), Mullin (1996: 69-73) and Snellgrove (2002:142-143).

There are three dimensions in the training of illusory body yoga, i.e. the illusory nature of appearance, the illusory nature of dreams and the illusory nature of *bar do*. The latter two aspects are elucidated in the teachings of dream yoga and *bar do* yoga. In theory, the illusory body will manifest when the yogi's body, speech and mind three aspects are purified and refined. See Mullin (1996: 73-81).

gsal, 105 rmi lam^{106} and bar do. It continues to address the fact that there are many methods to prepare 'pho ba. Naturally, this 'Pho ba spyi brdol ma is the most sacred and spontaneous one. The involved four steps of practice are: meditation training, clear envision on the $n\bar{a}d\bar{t}$, manipulating the dynamic wind and recognising the mind.

The third section focuses on the signs of death, which comprise the inner, outer and secret three folds of symbols. Unlike the description in other texts that normally emphasise the physical symptoms obviously occurring on the head, here we learn the abstract indications that might appear in the dream¹⁰⁷ at the night, and the conditions of the body and mind appear during the day time. The scenarios to occur in the dream are interesting, such as going to an unknown place, nakedly riding a donkey toward the way facing the north or plucking red flowers in the rGya skag Mountain etc. The symptoms of body are losing abilities of the four senses, namely the functions of the ear, the eye, the nose and the tongue. Besides, the following signs could appear in mind, i.e., feeling sad about one's own residence or being unable to maintain samādhi. 108 In regard to the inner signs of death, it is diagnosed by controlling the circulation of the wind from the right to the left six times and again the other way round. When one is unable to make circulation in both directions but only inhale the air from certain side, then it is the inner sign of death. Actually the survival side of breath has been decided already when one was born. That is to say, if the air was inhaled from the left side at one's birth, it will last until the very end of one's life. We also learn that the patient's death can be predicted

The practice of clear light yoga covers two phases, i.e. during the period of wakening and during sleep. There are various meanings that the clear light can be referred to. When the clear light is pointed as object, it means the emptiness of all phenomena. It is understood as the consciousness that perceives emptiness when referred as subject. Further detailed explanation, see Mullin (1996: 81-85). For instructions on transferming the dream state into the clear light, see Gyatrul (1998: 161-168). Concerning the clear light that occurs at death, see Beyer (1978: 139-140), Lati Rinbochay & Hopkins (1979: 44-51).

The key point of training dream yoga is to recognise the dream state as a dream so as to maintain the contemplative mind without a break. See Tenzin Wangyal (1998) for the practice of dream yoga from the perspective of Bon po. A comparative study of dream yoga and western science of lucid dreaming is by Laberge (2003). Further discussion on various levels of consciousness and dream yoga, see Varela (1997: 111-130).

The method of examining signs of death through dream is also described in the medical text. See Aris (1992: 49, 51). Additionally, certain signs of death are believed to arouse by the demonic possession. The method of discovering it is through pulse examination. See Aris (1992: 137, 143).

¹⁰⁸ Samādhi is a state of mental concentration that can lead the mind toward enlightment. See Tucci (1980: 77-78), Snellgrove (2002: 38, 120, 136)

based on the frequency of such one-sided circulation.¹⁰⁹ As for the secret sign of death, it is not mentioned here.

The ritual of cheating death ('chi bslu)¹¹⁰ should be performed before reaching half-way of the predicted date of death. If this deceiving ritual cannot avoid impending death, then the preparation of 'pho ba will be made. Indeed it is very important to catch the right moment to conduct the 'pho ba ritual. Otherwise it will lead to the result of killing god and surely fall into the hell. This is seriously a crucial ritual because it will either lead consciousness to the celestial realm or to the miserable hell. This text finishes with the quotation from Tantra that specifies the destinations of sentient beings' next life. That is very much depending on the hole where consciousness finally leaves the body.¹¹¹

This 'pho ba text, Gong du 'pho ba'i man ngag or 'Pho ba spyi brdol ma is rich in terms of structure. I should summarise its contents below.

- I. Gong du 'pho ba'i man ngag
 - (i) Introduction
 - (ii) Meditation exercising deity yoga, control over the channel and the wind
 - (iii) Effect to be guided to the celestial realm
- II. 'Pho ba spyi brdol ma
 - (i) Label the category of 'pho ba
 - (ii) Four steps of training placing body posture, envisioning the $n\bar{a}d\bar{t}$, controlling the dynamic air and grasping the mind
 - (iii) Application at the time of death

¹⁰⁹ The description here very likely mirrors the theory documented in Tibetan medicine. It can be an interesting angle to investigate whether this custom can survive nowadays under the trend of "modernisation" propagated by the strong political power.

The ritual of ransoming from death ('chi bslu') is not only implemented in the funeral ritual but also in Tibetan medicine practice. Same ritual principle can also be applied on the case of serious illness in oder to prolong life. In that case, it is called bla 'gugs, tshe 'gugs or bla bslu. Lessing (1976: 31-43) has studied the ritual of 'chi bslu that covers the preparations, the actual performance and the methods of examining the result in his article "Calling the Soul". The Tibetan source that Lessing relied on is a work of Thu'u kwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma. Also see Beyer (1978: 367-375), Kvaerne (1985: 14) and a MA thesis on 'chi bslu of Herko van Bergen (1990). Further textual reference of tshe 'gugs can be found e.g., THB 12, Schwieger (1999: 87, 108).

For example, it states that if one departs from the mouth he will be reborn as a hungry-ghost; if from the nose then one becomes a *Yakṣa*, or becomes a god in case of departing from the ears.

III. Applied rituals

- (i) Ritual to diagnose the signs of death The outer and inner signs
- (ii) Ritual to deceive death
- (iii) The disadvantage of unknowing 'pho ba

IV. The destination in the next life

In general, this well structured 'pho ba liturgy is lacking in detailed instructions but clear enough in expressing ideas that need to be known. It is only mentioned in passing that consciousness will be led to the celestial realm but without further illumination on any particular place.

1.1.2 The Mind Teaching, Wish-fulfilling Jewel

1.1.2.1 The Transmission of Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu

Similar to the compilation of the previous case, three texts are pieced together under the heading, *Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu'i lo rgyus*. The three texts are: *Lo rgyus (History)*, *Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu (Mind Teaching, the Wish-fulfilling Jewel)* and *'Pho ba don gyi grong 'jug (The Actual Transference of Consciousness, Transferring Consciousness into another Body)*. These teachings were rediscovered by Dung mtsho ras pa (1267-c.1329), and later became a part of the *Zur mang snyan brgyud*. It is not my concern here to investigate how *Zur mang snyan brgyud* developed but to focus on the alleged discoverer, Dung mtsho ras pa, and his associative lineage.

I will begin with the story recorded in the *Lo rgyus* and compare it to other historical sources. It is stated that lama Telo (Ti lo) pa entrusted teachings of *Yid bzhin nor bu* (*The Wish-fulfilling Jewel*) and *Lus med mkha' 'gro'i chos skor* (*The Cycle of Formless Pākinī*) to Nā ro, Ri ri and Ka so ri according to a prophecy. Later, Telo pa was instructed by a Pākinī to request teachings from Chos kyi bdag mo. That was how

The Zur mang monastery was founded in 1423 by rMa se rtog ldan (b.1386) at Khams in eastern Tibet. Thus this tradition was later known as *Zur mang snyan brgyud*. rMa se rtog ldan had many teachers, among whom the most famous was the Fifth Karma pa, De bzhin gshegs pa (1384-1415). See *Ming mdzod*, pp.1318-1319.

¹¹² See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.8: 408-416; 416-423; 423-428.

¹¹⁴ See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.8: 408. Cf. *The Life of the Mahāsiddha Tilopa*, see Torrocelli & Sangye Naga (1995: 43).

There are dynamic images and symbols of Pākinī (mKha' 'gro ma) in tantric traditions. The range is so wide which can down to a class of harmful female demons and yet up to the female awakened beings.

Telo pa obtained *Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu* and *'Pho ba don gyi grong 'jug* two practices. A command to be followed was that these teachings should be transmitted in a single lineage for four generations. The Dakina also predicted that there would be a Bodhisattva named 'Tsho byed gzhon nu in the Northern Tibet, who would make these teachings flourish. Afterwards, Telo pa gave the teachings to Nā ro pa, and made a prophecy that the worthy recipients of these teachings would be Mar pa, Mi la and sGam po pa.¹¹⁶

The story continues to depict how these teachings had been passed down. The direct cause for Mar pa's journey to India was owing to the challenge that he confronted. Some local people questioned him for teachings that could lead one to Buddhahood without making effort on meditation. With this reason, Mar pa approached his guru Nā ro pa. Then Mar pa was brought to Mt. Pulaha where he was entrusted with *Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu* and *Tho ba don gyi grong 'jug*. It is said that a girl appeared and brought fire on Mar pa's hand. Nā ro pa interpreted it as the sign of purifying all obstacles.

The following event was the most intriguing part of the story. Mar pa planed to transmit these teachings to his own son Dar ma mdo sde although they had been appointed to Mi la according to the prophecy. Many obstacles had emerged as a consequence of that decision. Dar ma mdo sde passed away in due course. In spite of wishing to keep Mi la as an attendant for his wife, Mar pa realised that he was the destined recipient of these teachings. After conveying the teachings to Mi la, Mar pa recovered from his illness and misfortune.¹¹⁸

The depicted narrative in regard to Mar pa's connection with $N\bar{a}$ ro pa was similar to the story we learn in the earlier section, despite being involved with different teachings. In my reading, these teachings, no matter as a set or individually, were depicted as

mKha' 'gro ma literally means the female sky walker. In Buddhist tantric context, Pākinī is often depicted as the female partner of the yogins or the guardian of treasures who giving signs to the treasure hunters to unearth the hidden treasures. A comprehensive description of Pākinī, see Snellgrove (1957: 175). Illustrations of different types of Pākinī, see Beyer (1978: 45-47). A comparative study of Jung's psychological theories and Tibetan thoughts of mKha' 'gro ma, see Katz (1977: 13-43). For the symbolic meaning of Pākinī in anuyoga practice, see Dowman (1984: 253-273). A review of western studies on Dākinī, see Willis (1987: 57-75). For Pākinī's actual functions in practice, see Simmer-Brown (2003).

¹¹⁶ See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.8: 410-411.

¹¹⁷ See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.8: 412-413.

See gDams ngag mdzod, vol.8: 414.

deriving from the prominent masters for the sake of their authority. It is likely that this pattern was imitated to various teachings in order to establish their Indian origin and associate closely to the famous master Nā ro pa. According to this account, Dar ma mdo sde did not have the teaching of *Pho ba don gyi grong 'jug* eventually. This part of story is completely different from the description in *The Life of Marpa*. It is said, Dar ma mdo sde became skilful in the techniques of *'pho ba* and *grong 'jug* after receiving oral instruction from his father. When Dar ma mdo sde later became paralysed, Mar pa guided him to perform *grong 'jug* with the intention of prolonging his life. Unfortunately there was no human body available, only the corpse of a pigeon. Thus Dar ma mdo sde transferred his consciousness into that pigeon first, and then it flew to India and again projected consciousness into a Brahman boy's body before the cremation. This resurrected boy was re-named as Ti phu pa. ¹¹⁹ This legend was repeatedly told and became an example to "display" the possibility of transferring consciousness into another body.

The legendary nature of this narrative does not disqualify Ti phu pa's importance for being the lineage holder in its early development. Teachings like *Lud med mkha' 'gro'i chos skor* (*The Teaching Cycle of Bodyless Þākinī*) and *Ro snyoms skor drug* (*Six Cycles of Even Taste*) are said to reach Ras chung pa through him. ¹²⁰ It is worthy to note here that *'Chi ba lam du khyer ba* (*The Practice of Taking Death as the Path*), one practice of *Ro snyoms skor drug*, shares the similar idea as *'pho ba* yoga. Namely, to

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Interestingly, the story of *grong 'jug* often involves with a bird. For example, an intriguing story is recorded in the *bKa' gdams glegs bam*. It is stated that in the city bDe ldan where lived a king sKyabs sbyin and his queen Chags med ster. Once there was an elephant falt in the well and later became decaying. This happening made the Nāgā angried and thus who drained off the water. In order to releave the residents' suffering of lacking water, the king transferred his own consciousness into the elephant and asked his minister to guard the body. However, when the elephant came out off the well, king's body was occupied by the minister who returned to the palace as the king. As for the corpse of minister, it was badly damage and therefore, the real king could only transfer to the body of a parrot. Then the parrot flew to the palace and revealed the situation to the queen. Both set up a plot to enable the real king returning to his original body. See *THB* 8, Schuh (1981: 22-23).

In *Blue Annals* it records that Mi la's pupil, Ras chung pa, went to India to receive complete teachings of *Lus med mkha' 'gro'i chos skor* from Ti phu ba who turned out to be disciple of both Nā ro pa and Maitrī. See Roerich (1976: 437). The transmissions of *Lud med mkha' 'gro'i chos skor* and *Ro snyoms skor drug* can also be found in *Jo nang khrid brgya brgyud 'debs.* See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.18: 29-30.

transfer consciousness into the clear light ('od gsal) or an illusory body (sgyu lus). 121 I will come back to this point in the second part of this thesis, the textual studies.

In the last passage of this lineage history, it states that Mi la handed down *Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu* and *'Pho ba don gyi grong 'jug* to dBus pa sTon pa, and authorised him to distribute these two practices. dBus pa sTon pa gradually attracted many disciples and was known as sGam po pa later. He considered that teachings of *snyan rgyud* and *chos drug* were sufficient enough for his pupils, and decided to hide *Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu* and *'Pho ba don gyi grong 'jug* at the black maṇḍala lake (mTsho maṇḍala nag po) behind the sGam po gdar Mountain. Here again, we confront another statement that differentiates *'pho ba* from the *Six Teachings*. We need to consider carefully this inconsistency appearing time after time.

Apart from the *Lo rgyus*, a short passage is extant between *Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu* and *'Pho ba don gyi grong 'jug*. It explains who would be the suitable practitioner to learn *'pho ba*. For instance, those monks who have no time to exercise *Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu* or those lay believers who have fear of the intermediate state (*bar do*). In addition, a list of the lineage is mentioned, i.e., sKyes bu ye rdor, Dung mtsho ras pa, 'Khrul zhig chen po, mtshan ldan Chos dbying dbang phyug, rin po che Shes rab bzang po and then the author. Besides, the author also claimed that he received teachings from Kun dga' rgyal mtshan.¹²³

In order to figure out the possible date of the author of this historical account, I investigated the aforementioned statement in regard to Dung mtsho ras pa's discovery. In the *Blue Annals* there is a lineage record of *Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu.*¹²⁴ It states that Dung mtsho ras pa was the incarnation of sKye bo ye rdor, a student of sGam po pa. When Dung mtsho ras pa studied with 'Khrul zhig khams pa, his teacher suggested him to go to the lake Ba yul. Dung mtsho ras pa acted accordingly and discovered many treasures concealed by sGam po pa. Dung mtsho ras pa searched further and revealed the hidden objects in the year of 1316. A similar but simplified account can be seen in

¹²¹ See *dPal mkha' sbyod dbang pos mdzad pa'i ro snyoms skor drug gi khrid yig*, in *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.10: 107-113.

See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.8: 415-16. This lack behind sGam po gdar Mt. was also the place where Nyi zla sangs rgyas helped his son, Karma gling pa, to excave the treasure of *Bar do thos grol* teachings. See Cuevas (2003: 92-93, 220 fn.61).

¹²³ See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.8: 423.

¹²⁴ See Roerich (1976: 717-722).

the *Ming mdzod* as well.¹²⁵ Moreover, I found another parallel account about Dung mtsho ras pa in *gTer ston brgya rtsa'i rnam thar*, where states that the treasures were buried by both sGam po pa and sKyes bu ye rdo.¹²⁶ Anyhow the *Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu* and the *'Pho ba don gyi grong 'jug* are listed among the revealed texts. These sources all verify the aforesaid statement that Dung mtsho ras pa unearthed these two texts. Despite the fact that no precise date of Dung mtsho ras pa can be tracked, he was surely from the early fourteenth century, if the recorded year of his discovery in the *Blue Annals* is reliable.¹²⁷

Through examining the descendants of Dung mtsho ras pa recorded in the *Blue Annals*, I found that the teaching of *Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu* was transmitted to 'Khrul zhig sNa'u pa and then to Chos dbyings dbang phyug (b.1324). This account corresponds to the given list mentioned above. However, the author's name and date remain ambiguous mainly due to the difficulty of identifying his previous pedigrees, rin po che Shes rab bzang po and Kun dga' rgyal mtshan. An interesting clue deserves attention though: Chos dbyings dbang phyug once studied under lama paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan at the age of twelve. ¹²⁸ If these two Kun dga' rgyal mtshan were identical, it could imply that the author of this *Lo rgyus* was a contemporary of Chos dbyings dbang phyug. It leads us to consider that this text was probably written around the second half of the fourteenth to fifteenth century.

1.1.2.2 The Ultimate Transferring Consciousness into another Body

Kong sprul compiled *Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu* under the category directly associated with the teachings of the Dwags po tradition. Although the title *'Pho ba don gyi grong 'jug* drops the hint that the teaching involves skills to transfer consciousness into another body, it does not deal with this issue.

It starts by differentiating the character of *Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu* and *'Pho ba don gyi grong 'jug*. The former is a teaching that requests the practitioner to make effort on meditation training, while the latter does not. We are also told that if one has obtained the mind teaching (*sems khrid*) with experience of meditation, then *'pho ba* is not needed. Otherwise *'pho ba*, the teaching of achieving Buddhahood by hearing, should be applied to the dying person. This account explains why *sems khrid* and *'pho ba* are edited

¹²⁵ See *Ming mdzod*, p. 825.

¹²⁶ See *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol.1: 515-516.

¹²⁷ According to Gene Smith (2001: 42), this event happened in 1315.

¹²⁸ See Roerich (1976: 722).

alongside in order to suit practitioners in different levels. The claim that 'pho ba is a "teaching of achieving Buddhahood by hearing" seems to refer to other group of practices, such as the so-called *Five Teachings of Achieving Buddhahood Without Meditation* (Ma bsgoms sangs rgyas chos Inga/drug) and the Six Types of Liberation (Grol ba drug). These two cases support my hypothesis that 'pho ba yoga has been extensively drawn into various cycles of teachings that cross the boundaries of traditions.

Concerning the actual training, it highlights on the aspect of visualising the five Buddhas in the heart. That is to say, Buddha Vairocana (rNam par snang mdzod) resides in the centre, Vajrasattva (rDo rje sems dpa') locates in the East, Ratnasambhava (Rin chen 'byung Idan) in the South, Amitābha (sNang ba mtha' yas) in the West and Amoghasiddhi (Don yod grub pa) in the North. ¹³⁰ A cubic maṇḍala ¹³¹ is thus constructed. Then consciousness is first transformed into a white syllable *Aḥ* and then encircling around the five Buddhas. After circling for some time, the white syllable flies up like a bird escaping from a broken pot that is hit by the ascending wind. The curved flight path of consciousness is also like a strong man shooting an arrow into the sky. ¹³² There is also instruction on how to control and guide the syllable to travel inside the channels, but I will skip this part here. The method of imagining five Buddhas as a group who reside in the heart of the practitioner distinguishes itself from the other 'pho ba liturgy. This particular method seems to be adopted in the text 'Pho ba zhe sdang rdo rje'i shog dril samayatiguhya composed by Chos kyi dbang phyug (1584-1630). I will study this text in the later section.

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These five methods are: *btags grol* (liberation through wearing), *reg grol* (liberation through touching), *myong grol* (liberation through tasting), *mthong grol* (liberation through seeing), and *thos grol* (liberation through hearing). Sometimes it is also said to be a group of six teachings. In this case, liberation through remembering is added. According to Chögyam Trungpa, this set of practices was recorded together with the sādhanā of one hundred peaceful and wrathful deities, composed by Padmasambhava and Yeshe Tsogyal. See Fremantle & Chögyam Trungpa (Foreword, 1975). Nevertheless, we need more investigation into this issue to verify their origins.

Regarding the Buddha families, see Snellgrove (2002: 189-213).

According to Tucci, the mandala is not only a cosmogram but also a psycho-cosmogram. Through exercising the mandala, the migical reflection of the universe, the psychological experience of liberation will be induced. The indepth explantion of theory and practice of mandala can be seen in Tucci (1961) and Snellgrove (2002: 198-213). Besides that, Zeff (2005: 813-841) has discussed the various features of mandala particuarly in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra*.

¹³² See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.8: 424-425.

When the dying person cannot contemplate such a complex picture, he will be taught to envision the five Buddhas right in front of his eyes. This part is also considered to be a teaching of *bar do*. The yogi can perform *'pho ba* for the departing man if he cannot make even this simplified visualisation, or for dying animals. The person who takes this task for other beings could be a monk, or any devotee man and woman. Instead of the five Buddhas, the imagined object can also be the group of five Dākinī-s.¹³³

The outline of 'Pho ba don gyi grong 'jug is:

I. Characterisation

II. Trainings:

- (i) Visualisation five Buddhas in the heart
- (ii) Applying the simplified bar do teaching
- (iii) Ways to remove obstacles
 - a. The imagined fire under the navel burning down all obstacles
 - b. Massaging the limbs

III. Performing for other beings

Tibetan scholars seem to have the tendency of gathering texts as a group. That might be the reason why we sometimes find rTsa rlung dra mig 'khor lo in sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi, sometimes in the Lus med mkha' 'gro'i chos skor. It also holds true for 'pho ba yoga that the same principle of the yogic technique is named differently and further combined with a variety of teachings. As a result, we learn Gong du 'pho ba'i man ngag in the sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi, while 'Pho ba don gyi grong 'jug in the Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu. Furthermore, we find 'pho ba yoga existing as part of Ma bsgoms sangs rgyas chos lnga or as part of Nā ro chos drug.

After having a review of those historical accounts and the textual analysis that we have been through in the first section, I believe that it is necessary to reconsider the connection of 'pho ba yoga and the so-called $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug teachings. On several occasions, we notice that 'pho ba yoga is excluded from the group of six teachings. When the term "chos drug" is applied, there is a lack of explanation mostly. The two examples that I have presented are not in accordance with the traditional view of 'pho ba, i.e., as a component included in $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug. Not incidentally, there is a text entitled bDe mchog snyan brgyud kyi rdzogs rim steng sgo rnam par grol ba'i chos drug gi khrid yig (The Oral Instruction of bDe mchog: the instruction of six teachings that are perfect

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¹³³ Ibid, pp.427-428.

paths to liberate one from the upper door)¹³⁴ in the oral tradition of Ras chung pa. The six teachings described in this oral teaching are for the most part identical to the renowned $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug.¹³⁵ It is too early to draw any direct link between Ras chung snyan brgyud and $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug since more studies are expected. Anyhow, there might be a possibility that the six teachings transmitted in the bDe mchog snyan brgyud might have inspired Tibetan masters to establish $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug to honour the grand masters of their common predecessors.

1.2 sGam po bSod nams rin chen (1079-1153)¹³⁶& His 'Pho ba Liturgies

Concerning sGam po bSod nams rin chen, the essential source that I rely on is the *gSung 'bum*, the *Collected Work of sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen.*¹³⁷ The *gSung 'bum* has two parts regarding the biography of sGam po pa. One deals with his previous life and the other the present. sGam po pa was born in the region gNyal¹³⁸ to the family sNyi as the second of three sons. Many astonishing miracles had occurred at his birth. He was also called Dar ma grags and sNying po kun dga'. sGam po pa began his religious studies with dge bshes Mar yul Blo ldan shes rab at Dwags po. At the age of twenty-six, he was ordained and given the name bSod nams rin chen. He received many tantric practices from Mar yul Blo ldan and many oral instructions from Byang chub sems dpa'. During this period, sGam po pa already had significant experiences in meditation. In addition, he was also said to have mastered the teachings of bKa' gdams pa.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.7: 501-533. Studies on the transmission of *bDe mchog snyan brgyud*, see Sernesi (forthcoming).

The only difference is that *bar do* yoga is omitted and *grong 'jug* is separated from *'pho ba* yoga. Thus, it consists of completely the same teachings as the "varja verses" attributed to Mar pa. The English translation of *sNyan rgyud rdo rje'i tshig rkang* can be seen in Mullin (1997: 31-41).

¹³⁶ Western studies on sGam po pa, see Samuel (1993: 478-480), MA thesis of Kragh (1998) and Snellgrove (2002: 492-497).

There are at least three editions of *gSung 'bum* of sGam po pa. The first edition is entitled *Selected Writings of sGam po pa bSod nams Ihun grub*, published in Dolanji (1974). The second edition, *Collected Works (gSung 'bum) of sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen*, was reproduced from a manuscript from the Bkra-śis-chos-rdzong Monastery in Miyar Nala Lahoul by Khasdub Gyatso Shashi and published in Delhi (1975). The third one was by Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang in West Bengal, Darjeeling (1982). Here I consult the 1975 edition and refer to it as *gSung 'bum/ sGam po pa* for the sake of convience.

¹³⁸ See Ferrari (1958: 51, 127 fn.258).

¹³⁹ *gSung 'bum/ sGam po pa*, pp.61.6-65.3.

Occasionally, sGam po pa heard the name of Mi la ras pa through three beggars and decided to approach to the great yogi. When sGam po pa confronted Mi la, he faced the criticism that the bKa' gdams teachings he had learned before were imperfect. Thus he received many initiations and oral instructions from Mi la such as the inner heat (*gtum mo*) and dream yoga (*rmi lam*), and started his retreat trainings. After experiencing various signs caused by meditation, Mi la confirmed his achievement eventually. Afterwards, he went back to his home place in dBus as commanded by Mi la. An interesting question I would like to address here is that it has never been clear to us whether Mi la transmitted the whole set of *Nā ro chos drug* to sGam po pa. Similar to the issue I address in the earlier section, it is likely that the group of six teachings had not been brought together under this rubric at this point of its development. I will come back to this point in the following discussion.

Traditionally speaking, sGam po pa was a renowned master in *Mahāmudrā* doctrine. Moreover, he earned his reputation by uniting *Mahāmudrā* and the teachings of bKa' gdam pa. He went to dGas lha sgam po and planned to conduct long-term retreat practices several times. However, more and more disciples gathered around to request teachings. Not to disappoint his followers, sGam po pa handed down all Dharmas he had received. The results of his tutorial were very much fruitful. The tradition of Dwags po bKa' brgyud was thus gradually established. His descendants had furnished this tradition and further developed several important branches. Among them, the best-known heirs were Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110-1193), Phag mo gru pa (1110-1170), 'Ba' rom pa Dar ma dbang phyug and Tshul khrims snying po (1116-1169), the nephew of sGam po pa. I have no intention to trace how the four major and eight minor branches have developed here, but rather limit my focus on the Karma kam tshang lineage for this is the line to which Sangs rgyas gling pa was closely associated. The ensuing discussion will focus on 'pho ba liturgies of sGam po pa.

1.2.1 The Teaching Transmitted Like Pearls

I have gone through the contents of sGam po pa's gSung 'bum and figured out that the actual 'pho ba teachings are to be found in four texts. I will summarise these instructions on 'pho ba and then provide my critical analysis. First though a brief review on a text bears the title of 'pho ba but has no actual discussion in the body of text. It is called dMar khrid gsang chen bar do'i dmar khrid 'pho ba dmar khrid zhal gdams dang bcas (The Great Secret of Practical Guidance: practical gudiance of bar do, practical guidance of

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¹⁴⁰ See *gSung 'bum/ sGam po* pa, pp. 66.2-93.2.

'pho ba together with advice). ¹⁴¹ This text was studied by Shen (2004) recently. Shen claims that it is "an extensive commentary on the Six Doctrines of Nāropa". This is a rather striking statement. There is no indication as such in the title or in its context. This case clearly illustrates how easy it can be to transplant the title of *Nā* ro chos drug into a somewhat similar context.

The first text I will examine is Khrid chos mu tig tsar [star?] la brgyus pa (The Teaching Transmitted like [a chain of] pearls). 142 There are seven instructions included under this text: bde mchog 'khor lo'i gsang sngags, gtum mo, 'od gsal, rmi lam, sgyu lus, 'pho ba and bar do. Concerning the instruction of 'pho ba, it contains three types of trainings and one operational method. Among those three types of trainings, the best situation is to transfer consciousness by meditating on the luminosity or the nature of awareness ('od gsal gyi 'pho ba), otherwise by illusory body (sgyu lus kyi 'pho ba) or by generating visualisation (bskyed pa'i rim pa'i 'pho ba). The techniques of visualisation and breath-control are applied in all cases. To transfer by the luminosity, one is taught to meditate on a syllable *Hūm* that exists at one's heart. The syllable *Hūm* melts into itself gradually from the bottom to the top and then completely transforms to emptiness in due course. This method is recommended for those who fail in achieving Mahāmudrā. At the moment when the breath stops, the self-existence will meet the nature of luminosity and turn into awakening. For those who are in the intermediate level, the practice of illusory body is taught. The training is taught to envision one's mind appearing on top of the Armolika stone in the 33rd Heaven. 143 The stone is described as softness when one presses it. On top of the stone was the resident palace of rDo rje 'chang. The exact time to utilise this training in the process of dying is at the moment when the four elements of the body are dissolving one by one. Further, one shall realise that the appearances of gods (in the *bar do*) are like the images reflecting on the mirror that have no self-nature. Supposedly, one will achieve awakening from the state of the illusory body if performing the teaching rightly. This concept is also the core message that is edified in the *chos nyid bar do*, known under the teachings of *six bar do*. 144

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¹⁴¹ See *gSung 'bum/ sGam po pa*, vol.2: 32.4-58.5.

¹⁴² See *gSung 'bum/ sGam po pa* vol.2: 1-32 (*'Pho ba*, pp.16.6-18.7).

Regarding to this point, I consulted to Garje Khamtrul Jamyang Dhondrup Rinpoche on 14th September 2005 in Taipei. According to him, this metaphor is derived from a Buddhist legend. It is said that Śakyamuni Buddha once taught in the 33rd Heaven in order to liberate his mother from *saṃṣāra*. Lady Maya indeed was reborn at a Buddha field at the end of this story. Therefore, the 33rd Heaven here indicates a based-ground to transfer one's consciousness to the realm of Buhha.

¹⁴⁴ Commentary on teachings of the six *bar dos*, see Gyatrul (1998).

As for those who belong to the basic level, they need to activate the visualisation. First imagine a syllable Ah at one's navel, $H\bar{u}m$ at the heart and Kasha at the crown. By the power of holding breath as a vase ($rlung\ bum\ pa\ can$)¹⁴⁵, one shall envision the Ah at the navel flying up and dissolving to the $H\bar{u}m$ at the heart. Then imagine the $H\bar{u}m$ going upward and reaching that Kasha at the crown. Afterwards, both $H\bar{u}m$ and the Ah descend down to their original places. The length of time for such training is measured by circling the knee three times without touching it by hand and then snapping fingers. In this way, the training shall be repeated 108 times, otherwise 72 times or at least 36 times. About the actual time of death, one shall envision a deity or lama in the sky. Then consciousness is suddenly drawn out from the crown like a bright light, and dissolves to the heart of deity who exists in the state without self-nature. When the breath stops, the consciousness of the dead integrates with luminosity and thus the awakening is achieved. The operating method in the instruction of 'pho ba is called (b)Tsan thabs kyi 'pho ba (Forceful Transference). The same practice that we read above is taught. The envisioned object is also free to whatever suitable deity.

The structure can be listed as:

- I. Three ways of training
 - (i) Transference of the luminosity
 - (ii) Transference of illusory body
 - (iii) Transference of generating visualisation
- II. Operating method Forceful Transference

1.2.2 The Reminder of Oral Lineage

The second 'pho ba liturgy that I will examine is comprised in sNyan brgyud brjed byang ma (The Reminder of Oral Lineage). Six teachings are covered under this title, they are: gnad gsum, rmi lam bzhi, bar do gsum, 'pho ba gsum, 'od gsal and sgyu lus. The structure of this 'pho ba liturgy is identical with the one discussed above. However, unlike the early case, the focus of the whole liturgy has obviously shifted to the operating method, bTsan thabs kyi 'pho ba (Forceful Transference). The practitioner is taught to kneel down on the ground and join two hands on the back of his neck. He

That is a technique of breath control in Tibetan trantric practice, which is also known as *Kumbhaka* in Hindu tantra. Accordingly, the air is to be inhaled and held as long as possible in the belly. See Dowman (1985: 400).

¹⁴⁶ See *gSung 'bum/ sGam po pa* vol.2: 88.1-101.6 (*'Pho ba*, pp.93.4-97.6)

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, pp.94.5-97.6.

further leans the spine on a stick and then contemplates on consciousness that moves upward and downward and shall repeat the sound "Hik ka" strongly. Thus the consciousness is said to project to the blissful land (bDe ba can). When one is about to sleep, he shall envision $H\bar{u}m$ at the heart, and then imagine the $H\bar{u}m$ leaving from the crown and dissolving to the heart of deity who exists above the crown. Otherwise, he can also imagine the $H\bar{u}m$ going to the blissful land. Concerning the breath practice, technically he shall try to hold the breath as long as possible. Besides, he shall find an assistant alongside to count the breathing-circulation by rosary. When one becomes skilful in breath control, he can proceed with 'pho ba practice. Consequently he must block the nine holes of the body to avoid consciousness departing through these inauspicious gates. It is stated that the syllable Kashyum shall exist at the cranial aperture and the lower parts, $H\bar{u}m$ at two eyes and in between, Yam at two ears and two holes of the nose, Sum at the mouth, $H\bar{u}m$ and the navel. The ensuing practices are very much similar to what we saw above, no need to repeat here.

This liturgy seems to be inheritance from *gDan bzhi* (*The Four Seat Tantra*) because there are several quotations from it. In view of that, one shall start the training of 'pho ba before any sign of diseases or death ever occur. He shall arrange a place for meditation decorated with a deity in painting or in status, and with other offerings. Then he can invoke deities and Buddhas in the ten directions caused by the power of *samādhi*. There is one more detail in meditation exercise. The visualisation is said to have ten Yam syllables appearing on two soles of the feet, on two sides of waist and two shoulders, while other four syllables Yam surround the heart-lotus. These Yams are said to circulate in the shape of a bow with thundering noise. Therefore, this flowing energy becomes the supporting power to lift consciousness up from the bottom. The Yam is traditionally regarded as the syllable of wind.

1.2.3 The Instructions of Transferring Consciousness

The third 'pho ba liturgy is enclosed in the text entitled: gNas lugs gnyis kyi man ngag dang go cha gnyis kyi man ngag (The Instructions of Two Conditions and the Instruction

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¹⁴⁸ Traditionally it is believed that the consciousness of the dead will depart from any holes of the body. Each of these holes indicates an associated realm which the consciousness can possibly approach. The associated three realms are all in the circle of *saṃsāra*.

¹⁴⁹ It is not clear to me why blocking the cranial aperture is supposed to be the gate to reach Buddha field, perhaps to avoid an untimely death for the practitioner.

of Two Weapons). ¹⁵⁰ In gNas lugs gnyis kyi man ngag, thirteen teachings are included. They are:

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gTum mo dgu bskor gyi zhal gdams (The Teachings of Nine Circles of Inner Heat)<sup>151</sup>
'Khor lo drug gi gdams pa (The Teachings of Six maṇḍala)<sup>152</sup>
mChog gi gtum mo'i gdams pa (The Teachings of Superior Inner Heat)<sup>153</sup>
sGyu lus lnga ldan (The Five-Aspect Practices of Illusory Body)<sup>154</sup>
'Od gsal gyi gdams pa (The Teachings of Clear Light)<sup>155</sup>
De kho nyid sgom pa'i gdams pa (The Teachings of Meditating on the Nature State)<sup>156</sup>
sKu bzhi rang chas ma (The Nature Attributes of Four Kaya)<sup>157</sup>
'Chi ka'i man ngag (The Instructions of the Moment of Death)<sup>158</sup>
Bar do'i man ngag (The Instructions of the Intermediate State)<sup>159</sup>
'Pho ba'i man ngag (The Instructions of Transference Consciousness)<sup>160</sup>
rMi lam gyis 'byams sel (To Expel Illusion by Dream [Yoga])<sup>161</sup>
Bar do sku bzhi'i ngo sprod (The illustration of Four Kaya in Bar do)<sup>162</sup>
Lus gnad kyi man ngag (The Instructions of Body Posture)<sup>163</sup>
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The elements of the so-called $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug can be traced in the list above. The nature of the inter-relationship among these teachings, as well as the reason of gathering them together is to be examined yet. What is clear is the fact that the elements of the six teachings had not been selected and labelled in the way we are taught traditionally.

¹⁵⁰ See *gSung 'bum / sGam po pa* vol.2: 329.5-378.5.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, pp.332.3-333.7.

¹⁵² Ibid, pp.334.1-335.2.

¹⁵³ Ibid, pp.335.3-338.1

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, pp.338.2-341.3.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, pp.341.4-342.1.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, p.342.2-342.6.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, pp.342.7-343.2.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, pp.343.3-344.4.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, pp.344.5-348.6.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, pp.348.6-349.4.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, pp.349.5-350.5.

¹⁶² Ibid, pp.350.5-352.1.

¹⁶³ Ibid, p.352.1-352.5.

1.2.4 The Treasure of Secret Instructions

The fourth 'pho ba liturgy is found in a long-listed title: bKa' tshoms dang phyag rgya chen po lnga ldan, lam mchog rin chen phreng ba, chos bzhi mdor bsdud, nyams len mdor bsdus, gnad kyi gzer gsang, zhal gdams gsang mdzod ma, dom bhi ba'i gtum mo, 'khrul 'khor gyi gtum mo, bar do'i gdams pa, 'pho ba'i zhal gdams. 164 As the title shows, this is again an assembly of a big cluster of teachings. Concerning the instructions on bar do and 'pho ba, they are not only discussed in the very end of the whole text but also occupy in the Zhal gdams gsang mdzod ma (The Treasure of Secret Instructions)¹⁶⁵. Here bar do is differentiated into three periods: skyed shi bar do (the period between birth and death), rmi lam bar do (the period between deep sleep and awakening) and srid ba'i bar do (the period from death till next birth). They are characterised in terms of their existing forms (lus), preliminary states (sngon 'gro), connection (mtshams sbyor) and the mental conditions.¹⁶⁶ Could it be possible that these three phases of bar do were the matrix of the six bar do that was later claimed to be revealed by the treasure explorer Karma gling pa (14 th century) in the rNying ma School? Of course, this is just a primitive assumption that comes to my mind. More systematic studies are yet to commit.

In the Zhal gdams gsang mdzod ma, 'pho ba is taught in three ways: the training of transference (sbyangs de 'pho ba), the forceful transference (btsan thabs su 'pho ba) and the transference by means of "modifying" the body (lus bcos te 'pho ba). The early two methods have been elucidated already above. The third method is especially for people who are not able to engage in regular trainings or to execute the forceful transference. First, one shall lie in the posture of "sleeping-lion", i.e., to lie on the right side and face to the west; to stretch out the legs but bend slightly and pile two ankles together; place

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, pp.378-429.

¹⁶⁵ Zhal gdams gsang mdzod ma, pp.391.6-412.2.

The three bodies (*lus gsum*) are formed respectively by ripened karma (*mam smin lus*), by habitual tendency (*bag chags kyi lus*) and by consciousness (*yid kyi lus*). The three preliminaries (*sngon 'gro*) are: luminary of all dharmas (*chos thams cad 'od gsal*), deep sleep (*gnyid 'thug bo*) and the luminary occurs at death (*'chi ka'i 'od gsal*). The three connections (*mtshams sbyor*) are: the experience of three powers (*dbang gsum pa'i nyams*), strong desire (*'dun pa drag po*) and parents (*pha ma gnyis*). The three mixed mental states are: mixing of attachment and contemplation (*'dod chags dang bsam gtan bsre ba*), mixing of ignorance and contemplation (*gti mug dang bsam gtan bsre ba*) and mixing of hatred and contemplation (*zhe sdang dang bsam gtan bsre ba*). In this redaction of *gSung 'bum/ sGam po pa*, there is another text deal with the threefold *bar do: Bar do dmar khrid la gsum.* This is a rather introductory text, which expresses the principle method that one shall apply in three *bar do.* See vol.2: 53.5-58.5.

the right palm against the right cheek and the left hand above the leg. Simply by "modifying" the body in this way, one will avoid being born in the lower realms. Otherwise, one can also sit in the meditation posture and concentrate on the vision that consciousness is flying as a rope thrown up to the sky and transfer into the envisioned deity. This is a simplified way of visualisation.

Next, we should move on to *'Pho ba'i zhal gdams* (*The Instruction of Transferring Consciousness*) that is compiled at the very end of the whole text.¹⁶⁷ Two themes are covered: *'Pho ba'i gdams pa* and *Lus kyi 'khrul 'khor gyi 'pho ba*. In the beginning of *'Pho ba'i gdams pa*, it points out that the method of transferring consciousness has already been elucidated in some tantric work, such as *dGyes pa rdo rje mkha' 'gro ma gur* (the chapter of *rDo rje slob dpon sku 'gyur*), *Saṃpuṭa, rDo rje gdan gzhi(bzhi?)* and *rDo rje mkha' 'gro ma* etc.¹⁶⁸ The structure of this instruction is conventional, which includes elements of daily training, diagnosis of signs of death (*'chi ltas*) and the ritual of deceiving death (*'chi blu*). In addition, the destination of the next life is also notified according to *Saṃpuṭa* and *rDo rje gdan gzhi(bzhi?)*.¹⁶⁹ The daily training that blocks the nine gates by various syllables and the vocal training on "Hik ka" can be found in the 15th chapter of *rDo rje gur – rDo rje slob dpon 'da' ba*, and again in *Saṃpuṭa* and *rDo rje gdan bzhi* as well.¹⁷⁰ Those quotations are important hints for us to trace back the matrix of *'pho ba* in the tantric traditions.

Lus kyi 'khrul 'khor gyi 'pho ba is supplemented as a ritual manual to 'Pho ba'i gdams pa. It begins with the diagnosis of death and subsequently the time and circumstances of the impending death are predicted. Additionally, a series of rituals are suggested. ¹⁷¹ A

¹⁶⁷ See *gSung 'bum/ sGam po pa* vol. 2: 418.7-425.4.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, p.419.2.

¹⁶⁹ For example, if one transfers through navel (*Ite ba*), then he will be born as a god in the Realm of Desire ('dod khams kyi lha). If the transfer is from the ripen drop (smin bar gyi thig le), then one will be born as a god in the Realm of Form (gzugs khams kyi lha). If the transfer is by the crown (spyi tsug) then one will be born as a god without physical form (gzugs med kyi lha). These are the best three situations. In the intermediate level, one can become Yakṣa due to the transference through the gates of the nose, being the god of Vidyadhara by the gates of the ear and being the universal ruler by the eyes. As for the worst three cases, one can become a ghost, animal or hell-being if consciousness departs from the mouth (kha), urethra (chu lam) and anus (bshang lam) respectively.

¹⁷⁰ See gSung 'bum' sGam po pa vol. 2: 422.4. The titles of both texts differ from what mentioned before.

The ritual guidance is like this: go to a temple where no people around on a clear sky day. Prepare a mandala and then worship deities. To fold four mudrā of life at the time when the sun arises in the east, sets in the west, or the case of moon rising and setting. At the end, one shall tie the hair, stand upright and

note-worthy description appears at the last passage of this text. It states two ways of 'pho ba: one is to transfer consciousness to the realm of Sukhāvatī and the other to syllable $H\bar{u}m$ at the heart of deity. Finally the text ends with the promotion of exercising 'pho ba and the advantage of being born in Sukhāvatī. It represents the structure often appears in the Mahāyāna literature.

A few remarks can be made here after having a close investigation on these four 'pho ba liturgies.¹⁷³ It is quite certain that the phrase $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug has never been utilised as a rubric that refers to the renowned six teachings in the entire gSung 'bum of sGam po pa. On the other hand, I find 'pho ba has been integrated with various teachings under different titles. Therefore, I would suggest that the tag of $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug did not appear yet at the time when this gSung 'bum was compiled. Regarding the ultimate destination, it seems to me that Sukhāvatī was only an optional choice from the belief of guru yoga. The idea to project consciousness to Sukhāvatī only appears once at the very end of the last 'pho ba liturgy – Tho ba'i zhal gdams. As for Amitābha, it is never pointed to as an object of visualisation and therefore, plays no significant role in these 'pho ba liturgies.

1.3 The Transmission and Teachings of *'Pho ba* in Karma kam tshang Lineage

In this section, only selected masters related to the issue in concern will be presented. The offspring of Karma Kam tshang – the Zhwa dmar lineage will be taken into account as well. The importance of investigating the second zhwa dmar pa mKha' spyod dbang po (1350-1405) and his transmission network has been sketched elsewhere. ¹⁷⁴ Considering the fact that very limited work of the early lineage holders is available to us,

stretch out two arms at the suitable time. Next is to concentrate at the heart of one's own shadow without blinking the eyes. When the eyes become tired, then look into the sky and examine the arising form (deity?) in the sky. If it is not possible to do this, then one shall sit in a cross-legged posture. See *gSung 'bum / sGam po pa*, vol. 2: 423.5-423.7.

The original Tibetan reads: *De nas 'pho ba ni lugs gnyis te/ Rang gi shes pa bde ba can gyizhing khamsu 'pho ba am/ yang na/ rang gi shes pa snying kar hum la lhan gyis bsdus te.* See p.424.5

I am aware that there is a commentary on the Eight Verses of Mar pa (*Mar pa'i tshigs bcar brgyad ma'i 'grel gtam*). However, it only mentions in passing three *bar do* and the integrated exercise with 'pho ba. Since this issue has been just discussed in *Zhal gdams gsang mdzod ma*, I should skip it here. Except for *bar do bsre 'pho*, the other three issues explained in this commentary are: *rmi lam, sgyu lus* and *rigs gsum gtum mo*. See *gSung 'bum /sGam po pa*, vol. 2: 467.1-474.7.

¹⁷⁴ Mei (2004a:52-53).

I will take a more detailed look at their biographical sources according to the chronological order. Through this investigation, I hope to find clues that reveal the transmission of 'pho ba within this period. The main source discussed here is sGrub brgyud karma kam tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba (abbreviated Karma rnam thar). Other relevant sources will also be consulted in order to mark the significant differences.

1.3.1 The Lineages of Karma bKa' brgyud

1.3.1.1 The 1st Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110-1193)

Dus gsum mkhyen pa was born at Tre shod (valley), in the eastern part of mDo smad.¹⁷⁵ He was born to yogin parents, rDo rje mgo and Lha thog bza' sgar lcam ming 'dren. Before he entered the monastic circle, he was already an experienced practitioner and was renowned for his marvellous power. At the age of sixteen, he received ordination from ācārya Chag seng ge grags and mChog gi bla ma, the abbot of bKa' gdams monastery. The bestowed name was Chos kyi grags pa.¹⁷⁶

When he reached the age of thirty, he arrived at Dwags po brag kha (face of the cliff of Dwags po) were he met dge bshes Sha pa gling pa and ācārya sGom tshul. From the latter he obtained the tantric teaching *gDan bzhi*, and experienced a vision of White Tārā. He approached to the monastery Dwags po to request teachings from sGam po pa. Under the master's supervision, he first studied *Lam rim* of bKa' gdams pa, and then the training of *Hevajra* (*dkyes rdor*) ¹⁷⁷. After being approved by sGam po pa, he continued to learn various instructions from different teachers. For example, from disciples of Mi la he received *Mahāmudrā*, from Rod pa 'gar dge and sPan phug pa ston rgyal he obtained the initiation of *Cakrasaṃvara* (*bde mchog*)¹⁷⁸, the six precious ornament practices that connected to Vajrayoginī¹⁷⁹etc. Moreover, he also studied the instructions of Hevajra from Mes tshon po's disciple, rKyang mo spang kha ba.

¹⁷⁵ That is in the Amdo region. See Wylie (1962: 104, 112).

¹⁷⁶ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.4-5.

¹⁷⁷ Regarding the origin and the development of Hevaja tantra, see Snellgrove (1971).

Further information about *Cakrasaṃvara* tantric practice, see e.g., Beyer (1978: 41-42), Snellgrove (2002: 153 f). As for Dakinī practice in the *Cakrasaṃvara* tradition, see Kalff (1978: 149-162). A recent annotated translation and study of the *Cakrasaṃvara tantra*, see Gray (2007).

The teaching is called *rDo rje phag mo chos spyod 'brel pa rin chen rgyan drug*. Regarding Vajrayoginī – the diamond yogin laday, see iconographic examples in Beyer (1978: 45-46). For the related rituals and practices of Vajrayoginī, see English (2002).

Dus gsum mkhyen pa once practiced at Ga thung in the region of Mon. 180 The chief of this region became his patron. On his way back to Tibet, he met Ras chung pa at Lo ro¹⁸¹. He received various teachings of Nā ro pa and Metri (Maitrī) pa, such as *chos drug*. 182 Apart from that, he also obtained guidance from Mi la's student rTse mo Nam mkha' gsal sgron. As we learn in the biography, he contemplated at various sites where sGam po pa commanded, and always went back to sGam po for consultation. That is to say, though he studied with many masters during this period, sGam po pa functioned as the main guru. After the guru passed away he returned to sGam po monastery and spent eight years at Gru bzhi hermitage. At this stage only about forty disciples gathered around him. 183 In his fifties, he was active in Khams 184 and Tre, where he attracted many followers. Five years later, he returned to gNas nang¹⁸⁵ and remained there for a long time. During this period, he experienced many visions of deities and Bodhisattvas, and therefore obtained a great amount of instructions. On one special occasion, he saw sGam po pa in his vision and obtained the teaching of mNgon dga'i 'pho ba. 186 Unfortunately we have no access to this teaching. As far as the title shows, it is probably a teaching of transferring consciousness to the Realm of True Joy/the Buddha-field of Aksobhya. Dus gsum mkhyen pa began to construct the mTshur phu monastery in his eighties. 187 His successor was 'Gro mgon ras chen (1148-1218) who upheld the seat until the end of his life. The position was then handed over to sPom brag pa (1170-1249).

1.3.1. 2 The 2nd Karma pa Karma Pakshi (1204/06-1283)

Karma Pakshi was born as the son of father rGya dbang tshur tsha sprang thar and mother Seng nge bza' mang skyid at the place dKyil le'i tsag to. He was named Chos 'dzin in his childhood. He met his first teacher sPom brag pa at Sha 'bom on his way to central Tibet. At 'Og mgul located between Sil ko and Zhe kho, sPom brag pa again received signs indicating the child was the destined one. Therefore, Chos 'dzin was

Mon is the region located in the south of the Yar lung valley and southeast of Lho brag. See Wylie (1962; 55, 119 fn.51). It is nowadays the border district among Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal.

Lo ro situates in the upper basin of the Manas. See Ferrari (1958: 51, 127 fn.259).

This event is also recorded in Roerich (1976: 476) and Douglas & White (1976: 34).

¹⁸³ See Karma rnam thar, pp. 8-12.

¹⁸⁴ See Wylie (1962: 97-98).

gNas nang is between sTod lung and mTshur phu. See Ferrari (1958: 74, 169 fn. 705)

¹⁸⁶ See Karma rnam thar, pp.14-17. It is mentioned no where in the Blue Annals.

¹⁸⁷ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.21-24. For mTshur phu monastery, see Ferrari (1958: 69, 74, 168 fn.703) and Wylie (1962: 78, 126 fn.104, 150 fn.329).

recognised as the reincarnated Karma pa. At the age of eleven, he became a novice monk initiated by sPom brag pa and named with the title Chos kyi bla ma. He was then taught the Doha of Saraha and *Mahāmudrā* of Dwags po sGam po pa together with many other instructions of this lineage. Then he received full ordination from Kah thog pa Byams pa 'bum.¹⁸⁸

Soon after that, Karma Pakshi devoted himself to a long-term meditation practice. During this period, he seemed to experience numerous visions and obtain teachings from the celestial spheres. The phenomenon of seeing the sacred kept happening throughout his whole life. As we learn in this hagiography, Karma Pakshi benefited mostly from divine beings rather than being trained by the worldly teachers. His hagiography is the longest one among other Karma pa. The narratives of his activities and all sorts of miracles grew over the time, which clearly echo his importance in this lineage. Karma Pakshi has continued to be alive in the minds of his followers. Hence, I think the exaggerated discourse is actually a way to enhance and secure the system of reincarnation as far as the tradition is concerned.

There are several conventional practices created by Karma Pakshi. The most significant part is the association with Avalokiteśvara and the practice of reciting the six-syllable mantra. It is stated that when Karma Pakshi meditated at the rock of Sil ko, he encountered eleven faces of Avalokiteśvara with Amidhewa (Amitābha), and from them the light emanating in the ten directions. He saw the six-syllable on the thread of each light, and the rainbow lucidly occurred in the sky and then the six-syllable dissolved into himself. Since then, he propagated the chanting of *Maṇi*. There are similar stories continue to represent Karma Pakshi as the emanation of Avalokiteśvara.

Karma Pakshi travelled in several places to disseminate Buddha's teachings such as the gNas nang valley and sPungs ri district. During this period, he encountered immeasurable Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Pākas and Pākinīs, particularly Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara. At this circumstance, he was again entrusted to spread the six-syllable

¹⁸⁸ See Karma rnam thar, pp.82-84.

¹⁸⁹ See the discussion of Wylie (1978: 579-586) for the political purpose behind the reincarnation system.

¹⁹⁰ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.84-85. A very similar story can be seen again on page 101 of *Karma rnam thar*.

¹⁹¹ See *Karma rnam thar*, p.90.

¹⁹² It is said that Karma Pakshi obtained the complete *sādhana*s of Avalokiteśvara, such as *gsham na dbang ma*, *lung ma mnos pa* and *slob dpon gyi chos ma*. His activities were said to be as great as Avalokiteśvara.

mantra. In addition, he became a master in the practice of *'chi 'pho*. ¹⁹³ Karma Pakshi had been to China twice. His contribution to the flourishing of Buddhism in China and Mongolia was depicted extensively. ¹⁹⁴ He is said to have influenced countless people in China, Mongolia, Mi nyag ¹⁹⁵ and Yu gu (Uigur) during his service for two Mogolian emperors. ¹⁹⁶

Karma Pakshi went back to Kam po gnas nang and then to mTshur phu to continue his religious endeavours until the last stage of his life. In the Water Horse year (1282), many clues of death occurred. At this time a great siddha called U rgyan Rin chen dpal (1230-1309) came to him. Karma Pakshi transmitted the instructions of the bKa' brgyud lineage to Rin chen dpal, particularly the practice *bSre 'pho'i zhal gdams* and many books such as *sKu gsum ngo sprod*, together with a black hat. ¹⁹⁷ As miracles constantly occurred in Karma Pakshi's life, there was no exception before and after his death. He entrusted the responsibility of guarding the whole sangha and the task of finding the next incarnation to Rin chen dpal. On the third day of the ninth month in the Water Sheep year (1283), he transformed into the stainless *dharmakāya*, ¹⁹⁸ the highest result one can

¹⁹³ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp. 86-90. Unfortunately, there is no written source about *'pho ba* from Karma Pakshi that has survived to us.

¹⁹⁴ For example, he installed the disciplines within one month and educated people to give up non-virtues deeds. Thus everybody became good-hearted and practiced the six-syllable mantra. In addition, his magic could also end the natural disasters and pandemics. See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.107-112.

¹⁹⁵ Mi nyag situates between Nyag chu (Yalung river) and Dar rtse mdo (打箭鑪, nowadays 康定). See Wylie (1962: 102, 183 fn.630).

In 1260 the emperor Mong gor gan passed away. Go be la came to power by putting down his nephew A li pho ga. The new emperor Go be la felt offened because Karma Pakshi was close to Mong gor gan, so he ordered soldiers to arrest him. However, Karma Pakshi seemed to remain harmless no matter what kind of torture conducted on him. Eventually, Go be la set him free and confessed his wrong doing. Karma Pakshi stayed in China for sometime to flourish dharma teachings. See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.113-124.

¹⁹⁷ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.124-145.

¹⁹⁸ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.156-158. The *dharmakāya* or the body of dharma, is the result of achieving the absolute Buddha nature in one's practice. In the early Buddhist doctrines, only two forms of Buddha bodies are differentiated. They are the body of manifestation ($r\bar{u}pak\bar{a}ya$) and the body of dharma. Later in the Mahāyāna doctrines, a trinity of Buddha bodies is then created. For the development of the concept of Buddha bodies, see Snellgrove (2002: 36-37, 115-116). An explanation of *chos sku* as the basic teaching of rNying ma tradition, see *THB* 9, Schwieger (1985: LXX-LXXIII). A reference of the three Buddha bodies will be given on a footnote in chapter three.

expect in performing 'pho ba. In the Blue Annals, it even states that Karma Pakshi transferred his consciousness into a dead boy's body. However, the boy's parents pierced needles into his eyes to prevent the reanimation of the body. Anyhow, it indicates that Karma Pakshi mastered at the rite of grong 'jug. This intriguing practice was still kept at the thirteenth century.

1.3.1.3 The 3 rd Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339)

Rang byung rdo rje was born at Ding ri glang 'khor²⁰⁰ on the eighth day of the first month in the Wood Monkey year (1284). Many unusual signs occurred after his birth. At the young age, he was brought to grub chen U rgyan pa (1230-1309), who was in charge of finding the reincarnation of the second Karma pa.²⁰¹ After being confirmed, Rang byung rdo rje received inter-lineage initiations from U rgyan pa such as the *Phur pa, Ma mo* and *sGyu 'phrul dra ba* of tantric practice evolved in the rNying ma tradition, ²⁰² *bDe mchog* of Dril bu tradition. He also obtained teachings like *Ro snyoms sgang dril, sKu gsum ngo sprod, bSre 'pho, Khrid chen brgyad, rGyal ba rgya mtsho, Do ha* and *Lhan cig skyes sbyor* (of Maitrī pa). At the age of seven, he became the novice monk in the presence of Kun ldan shes rab.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ Regarding the date of Karma Pakshi's death, it was also recorded as the third day of the third month in 1283. See Roerich (1976: 487-488).

²⁰⁰ It is also known as Langkor. See Ferrari (1958: 154 fn.544). Ding ri, northward across Gung thang mountains, see Wylie (1962: 65-66, 133 fn.154).

The recorded year of their meeting was inconsistent among the sources I use here. In most of the sources, the recorded event took place when the 3rd Karma pa was five year old. See Roerich (1976: 488). Douglas & White (1976: 47); Karma Thinley (1980: 55). However, it is recorded at age three in *Karma rnam thar*, p.191.

According to the rNying ma tradition, tantric teachings are categorised into six levels, namely, the three outer tantras: *Kriyāyoga*, *Caryāyoga*, *Yogatantra* and the three inner tantras: *Mahāyoga*, *Anuyaga* and *Atiyoga* or *Mahāsandhi*. Instructions leveled in the inner tantras often involve with two stages of trainings: the generating stage and the perfect stage. See Thondup (1997:17, 39). Depanding on the class, different techniques and emphasises are applied. Further details on the elements of each training, see Tucci (1980: 71-73, 76-81).

²⁰³ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp. 190-194.

During his journey to mTshur phu, he received a great amount of instructions that descended from Mi la and Ras chung pa.²⁰⁴ He also studied various doctrines and interdisciplinary trainings.²⁰⁵ He completed his monastic ordination at the age of eighteen in front of gZhon nu byang chub and dGe dun rin chen. He learned abhidharma, all types of sūtra and logic together with treatises. Furthermore, Rang byung rdo rje unified *Mahāmudrā* of the bKa' brgyud tradition with *rDzogs chen* of the rNying ma tradition²⁰⁶. He was portrayed as the founder of *Karma snying thig.*²⁰⁷ The text is accessible in the *Rin chen gter mdzod.*²⁰⁸ In his twenties, he stayed at mTshur pu for further religious trainings. With sNye mdo Kun dga' don grub, he not only received tantric teachings such as *Kālacakra*²⁰⁹, *Zhi khro, rDo rje bdud rtsi* but also studied many

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For example, from Shes rab dpal, he received *rGyun 'grel gnyis ka* together with commentary. From Ye shes 'od he obtained *dgyes rdor* and *spyod 'jug*. From gNyan ras dge 'dun 'bum he was granted *Chos drug dang bsre bskor gsum*, *Chos drug ka dpe*, *Tshigs bcad ma*, *Tshigs lhug ma*, *Man ngag tshigs bsdus* and *Phyag rgya chen po* etc.

According to the hagiography, he was also taught *Do ha skor gsum*, the realisation song of Saraha. He studied the commentary of *Four Kinds of Tantra* written by Dus gsum mkhyen pa. From the lineage of dPyal and gNur he learned *Phag mo'i gzhung drug*. Further more he was trained according the lineages of Kah thog pa, Nyang (*ral nyi ma 'od zer*) and rGa lo for practices such as *Phur pa*, *sNying thig* and *mGon po phyag bzhi* respectively. Together with Myang ral pa can and Guru Chos kyi dbang phyug (1212-1270), he learned many treasure texts. From lama gNam mtsho ba he was instructed with teachings of *Zhi byed, Mahāmudrā* and *rDzogs chen*. See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.194-98.

²⁰⁶ *rDzogs chen*, the Great Perfection, belongs to higest level in the system of rNying ma doctrines, see Dargyay (1998: 17-61). About the features of *rdzogs chen* philisophy, see Karmay (1988).

²⁰⁷ In this regard, a story was told when he visited the monastery built by Dus mkhyen in Karma. One day around the daybreak when he dwelt at the hermitage Yang dgon, he saw Vimalamitra coming from a graceful light circle, which then dissolved into his forehead. After that, he perfectly comprehended on the meaning of *rdzogs chen* and thus proceeded to compose the *sNying thig* document. See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.198-99.

²⁰⁸ It is entitled *Nyams len lag khrigs ma'i khrid ngo mtshar can*, see *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol.86: 423-70.

Regarding the history of the *Kālacakra-tantra* in India, see Roerich (1976: 753-766). The account on the dissemination of the *Kālacakratantra* in Tibet, see Newman (1985: 76-78; 1995: 284-289). The Panchen lamas of the bKra shis lhun po monastery were particularly engaged in the practice of the *Kālacakra*. A translated version of the famous work of the third Panchen lama Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes (1738-1780), *Shambhala'i lam yig* (*The Way to Shambhala*), see Grünwedel (1915). Regarding the *Kālacakra-tantra* and Tibetan calendar, see Schuh (1973). A comprehensive elucidation of the view of the individual in *Kālacakra-tantra*, see Wallace (2001).

doctrines like *Ratnakūta*, *sNying rje chen po pdama dkar po* etc. From Tshul khrims rin chen he obtained many old and new tantras²¹⁰. Under Ri khrod ras pa, he learned *rDzogs chen gsang skor*, *'chi med* and *Ni gu chos drug*. With lama Kumarāja, he studied *gSang skor snying thig*. Traditionally it is believed that he studied all kinds of sūtras, expositions and had received all instructions and teachings in Tibet.²¹¹ Rang byung rdo rje is depicted and remembered as a learned scholar. The interdisciplinary teachings he obtained is very interesting. It should also be stressed that his creation of the *Karma snying thig* is a significant example of the textual reprocessing.

Several miracles also happened to the 3rd Karma pa. In the Water Hare year (1303), when he discussed the dharma with Sa skya 'jam dbyangs Rin chen rgyal mtshan, he saw numerous Buddhas and Bodhisattvas gathered. He considered that as a sign to prolong his life span and activities. Besides, one night in his dream he saw the world of the West appearing in a second, which had the even ground and was surrounded with precious stūpas. He realised that it must be the famous Sukhāvatī. Another time he received the flow of *amṛta* from Avalokiteśvara's hand.²¹² After having all sorts of knowledge and teachings in mind, Rang byung rdo rje continued to perfect his meditation techniques. In the Iron Dog year (1310), Rang byung rdo rje met g.Yag sde pan chen (1299-1378) whom he respected as the root lama and from whom he requested *'pho ba* teaching.²¹³ Regrettably, there is no further detail about the transmission of this teaching here. What we can tell is that besides his intellectual achievement, Rang byung rdo rje was also experienced in numerous trainings.²¹⁴

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The old tantra refers to those esoteric teachings transmitted in the rNying ma tradition, which are compiled into what is called the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. The new trantra (*gsar ma*) are exercised by the other schools found after the eleventh century, namely the dGe lugs, Sa skya and the bKa brgyud Schools. The new tantra are edited in the conventional canon. Normally the new tantra is devivded into a fourfold scheme: Action Tantras (*kriyātantra*), Performance Tantras (*caryātantra*), Yoga Tantras (*yogatantra*) and Supreme Yoga Tantras (*anuttarayogatantra*). Detailed information see Tucci (1980: 71-76) and Snellgrove (2002: 119-170). As for the definition of tantra, see Davidson (2002:118-123).

²¹¹ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.201-03.

²¹² See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.199-200.

The original Tibetan reads: ... zhabs la spyi bos gtugs nas sprul pa'i sku rin po che zhes rtsa ba'i bla ma mchog tu 'dzin/ 'Pho ba zhus pas rnams shes tshangs bug nas 'pho ba yin gsungs/. See Karma rnam thar, p.204.4-204.5.

See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.204-05. He was also an expert in astrology and has written a treatise on this science. It is indispensable to study *the Collected Work of Rang byung rdo rje* in the future for a better understanding of Rang byung rdo rje's thought and contribution.

Rang byung rdo rje settled in the upper bDe chen²¹⁵ region for about five years. There he gradually received instructions from six masters²¹⁶ and many blessings from celestial deities. He built many retreat centres in holy sites and composed piles of commentaries on profound teachings such as *Zab mo nang don*. Later he proceeded to Karma to renovate temples as other Karma pa did in the past. In addition to the substantial buildings, he was also a productive scholar composing treatises in various subjects. Before his death, he foretold that his next incarnation would be found in the Kong po district.²¹⁷ Then he passed away on the fourteenth day of the sixth month in 1339.²¹⁸

1.3.1.4 The 1st Zhwa dmar pa Grags pa seng ge (1283-1349)

Traditionally the lineage of Zhwa dmar pa is regarded as a subdivision of the Karma kam tshang lineage, which was began by Rang byung rdo rje's disciple Grags pa seng ge. However, one should note that the reincarnation of this line was actually started by Khol po dga', a disciple of Ti lo pa. Later in Tibet this line of reincarnation went on to gZhon nu gsang chol, Tshul khrims dpal (1096-1132)²¹⁹, Nam mkha' 'od (1133-1199), bKra shis grags pa (1200-1282) and Grags pa seng ge. They were disciples of the pre-eminent masters of their time. Since his childhood, he constantly envisioned celestial deities such as Hayagriva, White and Green Tārā. At the age of thirteen, he took the novice vows in front of Blo gros grags pa and rGyal rje ston pa, and obtained the name Grags pa seng ge. He also studied with Ye shes seng ge around the age of seventeen, from whom he received *chos drug*. He was also known as dBrang 'gu ras pa.²²¹

²¹⁵ See Wylie (1962: 77, 149 fn.324).

²¹⁶ These six masters were: g.Yung ston, sMan lung sprul sku Shāka gzhon, Slob dpon rgyal mtshan, rTogs ldan se rgyal, Slob dpon ye shes rgyal mtshan, and 'jam dpal brTson 'grus seng ge. See *Karma rnam thar*, p.207.

²¹⁷ See Ferrari (1958: 48, 122 fn.210).

²¹⁸ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.213-27.

²¹⁹ A Bon po master who founded the bZang ri monastery was called Tshul khrims dpal chen (1096-?). Further study is needed to ensure whether they were actually the same person.

See Roerich (1976: 520-523). Accordingly, gZhon nu gsang chol was student of Mi la. Tshul khrims dpal studied with sGam po pa (uncle and nephew), Ras chung pa and Dus gsum mkhyen pa. Nam mkha' 'od was pupil of the 1st Karma pa and sTag lung thang pa (1142-1209/10). bKra shis grags pa learned with the 2nd Karma pa and Sang rgyas yar byon (1203-1272) respectively. These clues seem to indicate an intimate connection between sTag lung and Zhwa dmar lineages, which I shall examine later on. Same data are recorded in *Thu'u bkwan Grub mtha'*, p.118.

²²¹ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.233-235.

Grags pa seng ge first met Rang byung rdo rje and received instructions of channel, wind and the drop (*rtsa*, *rlung*, *thig le*) ²²². After he became experienced, they met again to exercise the combined teachings, *chos drug* and *rje btsun ma rkyang pa*. ²²³ From lama Byang sems chen po, he received the instruction of *sbyor drug*²²⁴.

Grags pa seng ge spent more than ten years at bDe chen, which enabled him to receive most teachings of the Karma lineage. In this biography, Si tu pan chen summarised in great detail about Grags pa seng ge's spiritual genealogy, which transcended the barriers between schools and lineages. The most interesting point is that he had received *chos drug* from six different masters through out his life. To be precise, except for having *chos drug* from Phag mo gru pa, Ye shes seng ge and Rang byung rdo rje; he received *Te phu chos drug* and *Ni gu chos drug* from Grub chen pa. He got *Mar pa chos drug* from grub thob sKyer sgang pa and inherited *Karma pa chos drug* from Byang sems chen po.²²⁵ It is unknown to what extent these *'pho ba* teachings differ from each other but certainly this record shows a diversity of *chos drug* transmissions.

Regarding how the title *Zhwa dmar* started, there are different explanations. ²²⁶ In any case, it is apparently that the red hat was used as a symbol to tie up the connection between the Karma kam tshang lineage and its inherited descendants. ²²⁷ Concerning the disciples of Grags pa seng ge, two outstanding heirs are g. Yag sde pan chen (1299-1378) and Dar ma rgyal mtshan (14th century). In the *Blue Annals* it states that g. Yag sde pan chen inherited $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug from Grags pa seng ge. However, the description

These are key elements in subtle body theory. Further clarification, see Snellgrove (1971: 135), Tucci (1980: 85-87) and Samuel (1993: 236-239) .

²²³ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.237-241.

Literally means six unions. That is one of the eight practices in the system of $K\bar{a}lacakra-tantra$.

See *Karma rnam thar*, pp. 248-252. *Mi la bsre 'pho* is one of the teachings handed by grub thob sKyer sgang pa. Whether *bsre 'pho* is a type of *'pho ba* or an alternate name of *chos drug* still requires examination.

According to Si tu's description, the previous Karma pa predicted that a man who wore a red hat would act as the regent of this lineage at a certain time. See *Karma rnam thar*, p.256. However, in *Ming mdzod* it states that Grags pa seng ge received a red hat together with other official authorisation from Mongolian court through Rang byung rdo rje, (pp.1488-1490). More traditional views on this issue can also be seen at http://www.shamarpa.org/sham-lineage/01.htm

Except the line of Grags pa seng ge, gradually other inheritors of Karma pa such as Tai Si tu, Gyal tsab as well as Karma chag med all had the red hat. Further reference see Richardson (1958: 139-164) and (1959: 1-18).

conflicts with what we learned above.²²⁸ To complicate the issue further, gYag sde panchen was also a disciple of Sangs rgyas gling pa. A study on these ambiguous relations has yet to appear. As for Dar ma rgyal mtshan, he was a disciple of both Rang byung rdo rje and Grags pa seng ge. First he received ordination from Rang byung rdo rje in upper bDe chen, and then studied instructions such as *Nā ro chos drug* and *sbyor drug* from Grags pa seng ge.²²⁹

1.3.1.5 The 4th Karma pa Rol pa'i rdo rje (1340-1383)

The Fourth Karma pa was born in the clan of Bye brag ku cor that located at sPang dkar in the valley of A la, in Kong po district. At the age of three, his parents bSod nams don grub and mDza' za brtson 'grus rgyan brought him to Nyang po²³⁰. There he claimed himself to be the incarnated Karma pa. Ever since his childhood, Rol pa'i rdo rje faced many inquiries about the legend of his previous life. He managed to respond to questions in a convincing manner.²³¹ Around the age of nine, mGon po rgyal mtshan bestowed on him instructions like *Nā* ro chos drug and sbyor drug together with others. Since then he gradually received teachings from various masters.

A few years later he travelled to central Tibet to visit the sites related to the forefathers, the places like sGam po, Phag mo gru²³² etc. In the Water Snake (1353) year when Rol pa'i rdo rje stayed in mTshur phu, he was given the name Chos kyi grags pa for his noviciate. Right after this ceremony, he had a clear vision of bDe ba can (Sukhāvatī). Similar experiences kept appearing along with his religious practices. He continuously envisioned splendour images like the celestial Buddhas, deities and their realms. Among them, the most frequently mentioned visions are Avalokiteśvara, Amitābha and Sukhasiddhī. Particularly a story was told that when he resided in bDe chen hermitage for retreat, he had the vision of Sukhasiddhī in details. On that occasion, he saw

Earlier we learned that he was the root lama and the one who transmitted 'pho ba teaching to Rang byung rdo rje. However, he was said to be the recipient of Rang byung rdo rje here. Besides $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug, Rang byung rdo rje also passed down Ras chung snyan brgyud together with other important teachings of the bKa' brgyud transmission. He learned rDzogs chen snying thig from Kumarāja and studied old tantras with g.Yung ston pa. He also approached to Bu ston Rin chen grub to have the initiation of $K\bar{a}$ lacakra. A monastery founded by him was called Evam. Later on this monastery was taken by 'jam dbyangs Chos mgon pa. See Roerich (1976: 532-536).

²²⁹ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.265-68.

²³⁰ See Ferrari (1958: 48, 122 fn.208), Wylie (1962: 96, 176 fn.571).

²³¹ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.322-30.

The residence of Phag mo gru pa was called gDan sa mthil. See Ferrari (1958: 47, 120fn. 195).

Amitābha in person and requested instruction from him. It is said that Amitābha placed a bottle of nectar on his head for empowerment and then put the *amṛṭa* water on his palms.²³³ He was believed to be good in longevity teaching of Amitābha. The account of his direct connection with Amitābha deserved attention. Unlike the narrative stressed on Avalokiteśvara in Karma Pakshi's story, the focus had been switched to Amitābha here. In fact, this is the first time Amitābha was brought to light in the hagiography of this lineage.

Besides inheriting the legacy of the Karma lineage, Rol pa'i rdo rje also practiced with masters of the rNying ma²³⁴ and the Sa skya²³⁵ traditions. Like his predecessor, Rol pa'i rdo rje was also educated with interdisciplinary.²³⁶ Ironically, Rol pa'i rdo rje did not have a long life in spite of his close association with Amitābha practice. He passed away at the age of 43. It is worthy to note that *Nā ro chos drug* was the practice often mentioned in his teachings. We do not know how much this hagiography reflects the reality through the eyes of Karma dkon mchog gzhon nu (14th century), who originally composed this biography.²³⁷ What certain to us is that, Rol pa'i rdo rje's connection to the teachings of Amitābha was relatively high among the forefathers of the Karma kaṃ tshang lineage. Unfortunately, there is no work of Rol pa'i rdo rje extant up to this day in my knowledge. It is difficult to clarify to what extent the worship of Amitābha dominated in his personal training. We might be able to find some traces from his close disciples and descendants.

1.3.1.6 The 2nd Zhwa dmar pa mKha' spyod dbang po (1350-1405)

mKha' spyod dbang po was born in Byang gnam gzhung in Northern Tibet, a son of father lHa rgyal and mother 'Brog mo. At the age of six, he was recognised as the incarnation of Grags pa seng ge by mkhas grub Dar rgyal ba and brought to mTshur phu and gNas nang. One year later he met Rol pa'i rdo rje in lower mTsho. Apart from

²³⁴ For instance, g.Yung ston rDo rje dpal (1284-1365) instructed him the teaching cycles of *So'i rig pa gter mthong, Zhi byed, bDen bzhi*, and the exercises of *mKha' 'gro rgya mtsho*, *mKha' 'gro snying thig* and so on. See *Karma rnam thar*, p.344.

²³³ See Karma rnam thar, pp.342-43.

²³⁵ He was also given the *sādhana* of *Red Mañjuśrī* (*'Jam dbyangs dmar po'i sgrub thabs*) by Sa skya lama bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375). See *Karma rnam thar*, p.350.

²³⁶ Apart from that, as we shall see later in the record of the Fifth Karma pa's biography, Rol pa'i rdo rje also practiced with Sangs rgyas gling pa, although it is not mentioned here.

²³⁷ Karma dkon mchog gzhon nu was a student of Rol pa'i rdo rje. See the colophon at the end of this biography. See *Karma rnam thar*, p.392.

receiving the vows of lay disciples (*dge bsnyen, Skt.* upāsaka)²³⁸ and other initiations, he also obtained the instructions of *Mahāmudrā* and *chos drug*. Furthermore, he was ordained with the name Ye shes dpal in front of rin chen Don grub dpal ba and Rol pa'i rdo rje in bDe chen. Through these two masters, he was entrusted with most of the bKa' brgyud teachings.²³⁹

While settled in gNas nang hermitage, he learnt the cycle of sNying thig from 'Od zer rgyal mtsho; obtained not only the old tantric doctrines but also the teachings of the upper and lower treasures.²⁴⁰ Gradually, he wandered all over Kong po district, and dwelt in Byin legs of new Tsā ri for a long time. Rol pa'i rdo rje handed down the teachings of Nā ro chos drug to him along with the essential Mādhyamaka texts such as dBu ma rtog ge 'bar ba etc. At Tsā ri²⁴¹, he visualised many marvellous signs when Rol pa'i rdo rje passed away. Also he had a vision of Dākinī Sukhasiddhī and received instruction from her.²⁴² In the Fire Hare year (1387) he invited the Fifth Karma pa, De bzhin gshegs pa to sTag rtse²⁴³ and provided him teachings with offerings. The master and the disciple travelled together to central Tibet and contributed much of the welfare of mTshur phu and other sacred places. In front of the gate of Seng ge, mKha' spyod dbang po transmitted the *chos drug* teachings to the Fifth Karma pa and then returned to gNas nang. 244 mKha' spyod dbang po continued to reside in gNas nang and Tsā ri region for practice. During this period, he came across many visions in meditation and in dreams. Interestingly, he had several experiences related to Sukhāvatī as well. For example, once in his dream he saw a sacred place manifested with all kinds of beautiful ornaments. There were myriad palaces appearing on top of each lotus leaf. Among them an immeasurable palace existed in the centre where Buddha Amitābha was accompanied by Avalokiteśvara on his right and mThun chen (Mahāsthāmaprāpta) on his left. They were surrounded by countless Bodhisattvas. A girl holding an Utpala flower on her hand

²³⁸ The *dge bsnyen* and *dge slong* (monks) are two groups to be considered as the insiders who follow the disciples of Buddha. The five vows for the lay disciples are: no killing, no stealing, being chaste, no lying and no alcohol drinking. See Tucci (1980: 111).

²³⁹ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.398-400.

The original Tibetan reads: *gTer kha gong 'og gi bka' lung*. The so-called *Upper gter ma* was revealed by Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1136-1204) and the lower by Guru Chos kyi dbang phyug (1212-1270).

Tsā ri (Tsa ri) has been regarded as a sacred place and pilgrimage frequently takes place there. See Ferrari (1958: 51, 127 fn.262) for the location. See Huber (1997) for the pilgrimage activities.

²⁴² See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.401-403.

²⁴³ See Wylie (1962: 92, 172 fn.532).

²⁴⁴ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.404-405.

told mKha' spyod dbang po that the blessed land was Sukhāvatī. Apart from that, mKha' spyod dbang po also envisioned Maitreya, Mi bskyod rdo rje (Akṣobya) and rDo rje phag mo (Vajravārāhī) in his dream. Here an unknown text *rNam thar gsang sgron* was quoted several times in this biography. One particular quotation deserves our attention:

Our incomparable and true guru is Avalokiteśvara. He is the essential existent of Amitābha. One can reach Sukhāvatī just in a second by one's strong intention and by the leading of the supreme guru's compassion.²⁴⁶

Although Sukhāvatī was not the only celestial realm that mKha' spyod dbang po encountered, it is obviously mentioned more frequently compared to others. Such highlighting on Sukhāvatī and Avalokiteśvara is likely to suggest that Amitābha cult had already been flourishing at that time.

1.3.1.7 The 5th Karma pa De bzhin gshegs pa (1384-1415)

The fifth Karma pa De bzhin gshegs pa was born at Myang 'dam²⁴⁷ in the Nyang po region to his father Gu ru rin chen, a tantric yogi and mother lHa mo skyid. Similar to what his predecessors did, De bzhin gshegs pa also declared himself to be the incarnated Karma Pakshi. The news was soon heard by the head lama of mTshur phu monastery. In the Fire Hare year (1387), rtogs ldan Ye shes dpal ba presented the black hat to the new Karma pa. Ensuing to that, De bzhin gshegs pa went to upper gNyan mo where the throne was set up.²⁴⁸ An interesting event should be noted here. When he visited rTse lha sgang, he met Sangs rgyas gling pa who had seen the Fourth Karma pa before. De bzhin gshegs pa reminded Sangs rgyas gling pa to bring back the hand stick and whip that Rol'i rdo rje left behind. Due to this revelation, Sangs rgyas gling pa generated great trust on the new Karma pa.²⁴⁹

When De bzhin gshegs pa reached the age of seven, in rTse lha sgang he received ordination and was given the name Chos dpal bzang po. He then concentrated on religious trainings. When he moved to Karma and mDo khams, he gave important teachings like dBu ma sems bskyed, Chos drug, Bla ma'i rnal 'byor to the assembly of

²⁴⁵ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.416-417.

²⁴⁶ See Karma rnam thar, p.429.

²⁴⁷ Probably means the bog of Myang. See the location of Myang stod in Wylie (1962: 54, 115fn.11).

²⁴⁸ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.437-442.

²⁴⁹ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.448-449.

monks and lay people. In the Water Horse year (1402), De bzhin gshegs pa became fully ordained. Around the age of twenty two, he launched a journey to China due to the call of the Chinese emperor, Cheng zu of the Ming Dynasty (明成祖). He arrived in the Southern Palace in Nan jing (南京) in the Fire Pig year (1407). The emperor welcomed him at the gate of the palace and presented plentiful gifts to honour him. De bzhin gshegs pa brought several precious objects as gifts for the emperor, in which *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, the treasure text of Sangs rgyas gling pa was included. Besides this, he also performed the required rituals to fulfil the emperor's political interests. Teachings like the *chos drug* were transmitted to the royal families. During the time of ritual performance, spectacular miracles were said to appear day after day. Ming Cheng zu awarded him the title: *De bzhin gshegs pa rin po che chos kyi rgyal po nub phyogs kyi byams pa chen po zhi ba dbang phyug gi sangs rgyas (Thatāgata, Precious King of Doctrine, Buddha of Lord of Peaceful Compassion of the West).* De bzhin gshegs pa returned to Karma monastery in 1409, and from there he moved to mTshur phu. He passed away in 1415, at the age of thirty-one.

1.3.2 *'Pho ba* Liturgies in the Karma kam tshang Lineage

Among the early five Karma pa, only Rang byung rdo rje's work has survived as far as I know. Similar situation also happened to the branch of Zhwa dmar pa. Therefore, very few texts can be used for our investigation here. In fact, the teachings of *chos drug* are repeatedly mentioned in the hagiographical data as we have learned. The explanation of lacking written sources would probably because they were preserved in the oral transmission or simply have been lost. In this section, apart from *'pho ba* teachings done

http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-BJ006/bj006 13.htm

Further discussion on this event, see Schuh (1976: 209-244) and Sperling (1980: 280-287).

²⁵⁰ See Karma rnam thar, p.450 ff.

²⁵¹ Dudjom Rinpoche (1991:787)

According to the Chinese historical source, Ming Cheng zu seized the throne from his brother by brutal means in 1403. Right after that, a scripture called *Da ming ren xiao huang hou meng gan fo shuo di yi xi you gong de jing*《大明仁孝皇后夢感佛說第一希有大功德經》was released. The wife of Cheng zu claimed that she received a prophecy from Guan yin (Avalokiteśvara) in her dream several years earlier. Subsequently, Cheng zu invited foreign priests to Nan jing to perform rituals. Many spectacular signs were said to appear. Historians believed these were all tricks to justify Cheng zu's undeniable destiny, to be the emperor. See Cao, Shi bang (1991).

²⁵³ See *Karma rnam thar*, pp.456-69. The awarded title in Chinese is: 圓覺妙智慧善普應佑國演教如來 大寶法王西天大善自在佛.

by Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339) and mKha' spyod dbang po (1350-1405), I will also consult the work of the Sixth Zhwa dmar pa Chos kyi dbang phyug (1584-1630), which will illustrate the complex form of 'pho ba liturgy that developed after the fourteenth century.

1.3.2.1 *Pho ba* Teachings of Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339)²⁵⁴

Rang byung rdo rje's commentary on $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug is entitled Zab lam $n\bar{a}$ ro chos drug gi gsal byed spyi chings khrid yig dang bcas pa (The General Guidence of Clarification of the Profound Doctrine, the Six Teachings of $N\bar{a}$ ro pa, Together with Practical Manual). In the scope of my research, this is actually the first text that precisely deals with the six teachings that are identical to the traditional view on $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug. I consider it as an important work because of the systematic composition of these six teachings. If this was not the first, then it was likely being one of the earliest texts presented in such a way.

Regarding the work of 'pho ba, it is only in the length of two folios, a rather abbreviated form. The first constantly to the early part of the text. Rang byung rdo rje categorised 'pho ba into two types, i.e., transferring consciousness into a basisless sphere (rten med du 'pho ba) or into another physical body (rten can du 'pho ba/ grong 'jug pa'o). The first type can be further divided into three cases: transference to the luminosity ('od gsal la 'pho ba), to the illusory body (sgyu lus la 'pho ba) and to the body of the deity (lha sku la 'pho ba). The first two methods are omitted because they have been already explained in the earlier part of the text. Theoretically it is to grasp the chance and to recognise the luminosity before the confusion state of bar do appears at the moment of death. The exact method of identifying the luminosity is referred to the teaching of 'od gsal. Besides, the alternative method is to recognise various visions of bar do as dream or illusory body. But the method of implementing dream yoga and illusory body yoga are again omitted in this context. Concerning the case that transfers consciousness into the body of god, the key point is to control the movement of the wind and the syllables. Due to the condensed formulation, many details remain unclear and supposedly will require oral

Except for the teaching we study here, there is also a text bears the title of 'pho ba in Rang byung rdo rje's work of astrology and the calendar calculation (rtsis). It is called Nyi khyim 'pho ba hru ba sgra gcan 'pho ba dang gza' bsdus pa. In this context, it refers to the phenomenom that the sun enters the signs of the zodiac from one to the other. Further clarification, see the motif "changing month" in Schuh (1973: 107f). I wish to thank Prof. Schuh for making me aware of this motif.

²⁵⁵ See *gDams nga mdzod*, vol.9: 17-61.

²⁵⁶ Ibid, pp.59-60.

instruction from a guru.²⁵⁷ As for the measurement, the method of circling the knee three times without touching it by the palm and then snaps the fingers is taught. The same way has been taught as well in sGam po pa's text – *dMar khrid gsang chen bar do'i dmar khrid 'pho ba dmar khrid zhal gdams dang bcas.*²⁵⁸ Lastly, the forceful transference (*btsan thabs kyi 'pho ba*) is only mentioned without further explanation. Regarding the second type that transfers consciousness into another body, it is essential to obtain the skill over breath control and a new dead body. The outline of this *'pho ba* is:

I. Baseless transference

- (i) Transferring into the luminosity
- (ii) Transferring into illusory body
- (iii) Transferring into the body of god
 - a. Types of training
 - b. Measurement
 - c. Forceful Transference

II. Transference with base (into another body)

Some comments are added at the end of the text. Accordingly, the practices of *gtum mo*, *sgyu lus*, *rmi lam* and *'od gsal* are the root instructions, while *bar do* and *'pho ba* are adherent types of trainings.

1.3.2.2 *'Pho ba* Teachings of mKha' spyod dbang po (1350-1405)

mKha' spyod dbang po authored a remarkable amount of writings gathered in his collected work; however, the present collection is incomplete. The fourth volume of his collected work encloses several interesting pieces. A text called *sNying gtam skal ldan bung ba'i dga' ston* (*The Heartfelt Advice like the Feast for the Fortune Bees*)²⁵⁹ is included under a general title *gSung sgros thor bu sna tshogs kyi skor* (*The Cycle of Miscellaneous Advices*)²⁶⁰. The essential issue dealt in *sNying gtam skal ldan bung ba'i dga' ston* is about "the glorious stainless yoga" (*rnal 'byor dri med dpal ldan*). It was written in the way of replying questions (*dris lan*) expressed in abridged form. The last theme in it is about the vajra verses of *chos drug*. The passage of *'pho ba* is rather simple,

²⁵⁷ There are several questions occurring in this vague description. For example, who are the four consorts? And what are the syllables of them, and yet from where do they appear?

²⁵⁸ See the earlier section 1.2.1.

²⁵⁹ See gSung 'bum/ mKha' spyod dbang po, vol.4: 259-271.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, pp.125-461.

i.e., to transfer consciousness from the cranial aperture and then project it to a pure realm. The transference can be done in various forms, such as transferring to the luminosity ('od gsal 'pho ba), to the illusory body (sgyu lus 'pho ba), or to be achieved by training (sbyang 'pho), by modifying the body (bcos 'pho), and by forceful means (btsan thabs 'pho). These diverse names are merely listed without further explanation.²⁶¹

Except for the instructions we read above, I did not find other commentaries on chos drug made by mKha' spyod dbang po. However, I have noticed a text called Ro snyoms skor drug gi khrid yig (the Instruction of Six Cycles of Equal Taste) that also covers the issue on death. The general theme of Ro snyoms skor drug is to turn six kinds of obstacles into positive energy. The six obstacles are: the discursive thought (*rnam rtog*), the affliction (nyon mongs), god and demon (lha 'dre), the sorrow of samsāra (sdug bsngal), the illness (na tsha) and the death ('chi ba). In the case of death, three points are taught. The first is the teaching to recognise the subtle luminosity²⁶² and achieve dharmakāya. The second is to realise all phenomena like illusion and therefore achieve liberation. The third is the instruction to block the gates of rebirth, to search for a good family and to obtain supreme achievement in the next life. The former two teachings are clearly identical with 'od gsal 'pho ba and sgyu lus 'pho ba. The last teaching is generally seen in the trainings of bar do and 'pho ba. This is another example to demonstrate that a teaching could be labelled by different names and lumped with different title. As a matter of fact, traditionally Ro snyoms skor drug was also said to have been passed down by Nā ro pa. Probably the same legend is also applied in many ways.

1.3.2.3 *Pho ba* Teachings by Chos kyi dbang phyug (1584-1630)

There are two *chos drug* texts written by Chos kyi dbang phyug available for me. One is Chos drug sngon 'gro (The Preliminary of the Six Teachings) and the other is Chos drug dril ba rdo rje'i mgur (The Vajra Song of the Condensed Six Teachings). Naturally, I shall only focus on the part of 'pho ba teaching but not extend the discussion to the whole. The text Chos drug dril ba rdo rje'i mgur contains the teaching of grong 'jug, which is unanticipated to me. I will therefore pay more attention on this part.

²⁶¹ Ibid, p.267.

²⁶² There are different types of luminosity appearing during the dying process such as the ground luminosity (gzhi'i 'od gsal), the path luminosity (lam gyi 'od gsal), the realsization luminosity (rtogs pa'i 'od gsal) and the nature Luminosity (rang bzhin gyi 'od gsal).

Chos drug sngon 'gro²⁶³

The six teachings included in *Chos drug sngon 'gro* are identical with Rang byung rdo rje's work. Among them, the sixth one is called 'Da' ka 'pho ba gser 'gyur gyi gdams pa (The Instruction of Alchemical Transference at the Moment of Death). As before, it is sorted into three groups: 'od gsal 'pho ba, sgyu lus 'pho ba and lha sku 'pho ba. Further on lha sku 'pho ba is again divided into sbyangs te 'pho ba, lus bcos te 'pho ba and btsan thabs su 'pho ba. These categories are alike to mKha' spyod dbang po's divisions.

In regard to the training (*sbyangs te 'pho ba*), the practitioner should exercise it before the signs of death occur. The preparation consists of five steps: prepare oneself in the meditation posture; envision oneself as Vajrayoginī and block the holes of body; imagine the *avadhūtī* penetrating the body which connects to the root lama or rDo rje 'chang on the top of one's head; supplicate to achieve the three kāya and to be reborn at the world of Pākinī; visualise three syllables moving upward and downward by the force of wind. The actual operation should be applied when the signs of death appear although one should also endeavour to reverse death. If such effort does not yield any result, he should confess his wrong doings of this life to dharma friends who possess pure *samaya*. Then a puja must be arranged. Next, it comes to the essential moment – to transfer consciousness into the heart of rDo rje 'chang as rehearse before. If the dying person cannot carry out the transference by the methods mentioned above, he can utilise the method of modifying the body (*lus bcos 'pho ba*), an abbreviated version of transference. As for the forceful means (*btsan thabs su 'pho ba*), it is not explained.

Chos drug sras mkhar ma²⁶⁴

Chos kyi dbang phyug's second text on *chos drug* is extant in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* under a general title *Chos drug sras mkhar ma*. The main body of *Chos drug sras mkhar ma* is divided in three sections that cover fourteen vajra scrolls. These three sections are: *smin byed dbang (ripening empowerment)*; *grol byed lam (the path to liberation)* and *bka' srung chos skyong gi skor ro (the circle of teaching guardian)*. The second section, *grol byed lam*, consists of three parts: the view (*Ita ba*), the development stage (*bskyed rim*) and the completment stage (*rdzogs rim*). It is in the category of *rdzogs rim* where

²⁶³ It is entitled *Zab mo nā ro'i chos drug gi nyams len thun chos bdud rtsi'i nying khu zhes bya ba sgrub brgyud karma kam tshang gi don khrid* (*The Essential Instruction of the Karma kam tshang Lineage, the so-called Essence Nectar of Six Practice Sections of the Profound Doctrine of Six Teachings of Nā ro pa*). See *gDams ngag mdzod*, Vol.9: 188-229.

²⁶⁴ See *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol.85: 111-65.

we find *Chos drug dril ba rdo rje'i mgur* (*The Vajra Songs that condense into Six Teachings*). Though having the title of six teachings, it actually includes eight instructions.²⁶⁵ Among them *'pho ba* and *grong 'jug* will be examined below.

The text is entitled 'Pho ba zhe sdang rdo rje'i shog dril samayatiguhya (The Scroll pf Transferring Consciousness of Rage Vajra), 266 which involves the training of breath control, the visualisation of nādī and the drop (thig le, Skt. bindu). The visualisation is extremely complicated. First of all, Buddha Ratnasambhava, Aksobhya, Amitābha and Amoghsiddhi should be envisioned to appear from the mandala at the navel, heart, throat and the crown respectively. Furthermore; Vairocana comes into view on the crown of each Buddha. In between, it is also necessary to imagine the consorts of these five Buddhas, the symbolic syllables and colours. Secondly, one should imagine the bindu and the avadhūtī. For instance, a blazing bindu in the form of the sun obtained from the mother becomes visible at the bottom of avadhūtī. The fire generating from the sunrays burns all of the outer appearances and inner thoughts. In contrast, a bright bindu in the form of the moon obtained from the father comes at the top of avadhūtī. A lucid ray like a stream of water purifies all outer and inner substances. Through such training, the practitioner's mind resides in the luminosity of emptiness. Thirdly, one by one the syllables of the Five Families block the nine holes of the body. When applying it to the actual situation at the moment of death, one should lie on the right side and point the head to the north. Along with the vanishing of the power of four senses during the dying process, the four Buddhas dissolve one by one into the heart of Vairocana who appears at the crown. Further, the five kinds of ignorance are also said to transform into the wisdom of five Buddhas.

That is a pattern of 'pho ba liturgy shaped in the seventeenth century. Except for the basic elements such as the wind, the channel and syllables, the viewing techniques also engage with the four cakra-s, two bindu and Five Buddha Families together with their consorts, colours and syllables. In addition, the dissolving process of the five senses is operated according to the vanishing of the mandala. Even further, it converts the five kinds of ignorance into five ultimate wisdoms. To some extent, the second part intermingles with the thoughts normally taught in the teaching of bar do. This text also

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See Rin chen gter mdzod, vol.85: 111-79. These eight instructions are: sTeng sgo gtum mo 'dod chags rdo rje'i shog dril; 'Og sgo'i thabs lam las kyi rdo rje'i shog dril; sGyu lus sgyu 'phul rdo rje'i shog dril; 'Od gsal gti mug rdo rje'i shog dril; rMi lam phrag dog rdo rje'i shog dril; 'Pho ba zhe sdang rdo rje'i shog dril; Bar do nga rgyal rdo rje'i shog dril; Grong 'jug sgyu 'phul rdo rje'i shog dril. As we can see in these titles, it draws a parallel between eight kinds of negative emotion with eight trainings.

²⁶⁶ See *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol.85: 156-65.

includes three signs of death and the ritual of deceiving death in the ending passage. Original sources might be traced in the texts like *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa* and *Las kyi sgron me*, which are quoted often.

What really surprises me is the existence of the text *Grong 'jug sgyu 'phrul rdo rje'i shog dril (The Vajra Scroll of Magical Display to Enter One's Consciousness into another Corpse*). ²⁶⁷ It begins with the statement that the oral instruction of O rgyan (Padmasambhava?) is the abbreviated and essential teaching of all Dakinā-s. In the colophon, it mentions that the teaching obtained from Nā ro pa was preserved with seven honorific seals and concealed at Puśrapahari. Besides, in the short lineage account of this text, another story is told. It says, in an Indian city, ācarya Jñāna siddhi was seen to enter a dead elephant. That big elephant collapsed after walking miles and then its body vanished. People in this city were happy and became amused; in the meantime they were curious to know how it happened. It is said that a teaching of transferring consciousness into another corpse exists in Tantra like *Vajra Pākinī*, which was brought by ācarya Nāgārjuna and practiced by ācarya Jñāna siddhi.

The text comprises three parts: practice, activation and application. To be a qualified practitioner, one must be expert in controlling the breath and the mind, comprehend all appearances as dreams and illusions, and have great compassion. First it is suggested to exercise in an isolated hermitage with attendants who can prepare offerings. Then a maṇḍala in black should be drawn on the ground where one stays. The object for exercising is a skull on which the syllable $H\bar{u}m$ is written in the centre by a magical stone. The nape of the skull is against the earth and the front side faces to the practitioner. Then he should concentrate on the $H\bar{u}m$ while holding his breath deeply. When the skull becomes warm, moves, leaps or cracks, it means the training in this stage is done.

The further training is the so-called activation. The same techniques are executed, but the object becomes a corpse of a sheep or a bee. In addition to the signs mentioned above, blue smoke should be seen as well. When the smoke rises, it is the right moment to enter one's consciousness (*rnam shes*) into the corpse. Then it goes on to the actual performance. If one is unable to meditate due to the aging of the body, then he is eligible to apply this skill on a selected corpse. The cause of death must not be infectious disease, or stupid action, injury, rotting or decay. The corpse must be washed with perfumed water and clothed with fine ornaments. Consequently, a double triangle maṇḍala should be prepared, in which a five-petal lotus is drawn. The syllable Ah is fixed in the middle of the lotus and surrounded by syllables of Five Buddas. Thus the corpse is placed in the

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²⁶⁷ Ibid, pp.175-179.

centre of that mandala. In addition, a required tool is a bamboo stick smeared with wax at one side. If all elements are ready, the visualisation can be executed. The adept first envisions his bodhicitta filling up the bamboo that is inserted in the left nostril of the corpse. By blowing the breath through the bamboo stick, the wind reaches to the corpse's brain. Subsequently the adept visualises the corpse as a deity called Samayasattva (Dam tshig sems dpa') and himself as Jñānasattva (Ye shes sems dpa'), which dissolves into the deity. In the following, the adept connects his right nostril with the corpse's left one, and imagines consciousness constantly reaching at the heart of the corpse along the breath. He should also imagine a white *bindu* appearing from *Hūṃ* at the heart. At this point, all of the attention should be placed on the corpse. The adept should ignore the breath of his original body. If he can do so without distraction, the corpse will be raised and he himself will die. After the adept successfully transfers consciousness into another body, the assistants should conceal the new corpse and remove it, otherwise, consciousness might revert to the original body. This work should be done on the day of 'Byung po, which is either on the tenth or fourteenth day of each month. This fascinating technique described in such details might suggest that it was still exercised in the seventeenth century.

On the whole, 'pho ba teaching by Chos kyi dbang phyug is a complicated written liturgy. This is very different from the narrative of Rang byung rdo rje's text that is obviously close to sGam po pa's work. Such a contrast exemplifies how 'pho ba teachings proliferated throughout history, even in the same lineage. Concerning the envisioned deity, it is not specified by Rang byung rdo rje. In Chos kyi dbang phyug's case, it maintains the lineage of rDo rje 'chang and Vajrayoginī. In addition, Amitābha only appears as one member of the Five Buddha family.

1.3.3 *'Pho ba* Teachings of 'Ba' ra ba (c.1310-1391)²⁶⁸

In the traditional view, the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud was founded by Gling ras Padma rdo rje (1128-1188), which had been further extended to five subdivisions that spread to different sites in the 'Brug district.²⁶⁹ It was mGon po rdo rje (1189-1258) who settled at the upper 'Brug. This line of transmission was subsequently continued by Yang dgon pa rGyal mtshan dpal (1213-1258) and soon reached 'Ba' ra ba, who was recognised as the reincarnation of mGon po rdo rje and was a celebrated master at his time. Since then, his offspring were marked as 'Ba' ra bka' brgyud.²⁷⁰ The reason of bringing 'Ba' ra ba's

²⁶⁸ A preliminary study on this section can be seen in Mei (2004a: 48-51).

²⁶⁹ See Wylie (1962: 61, 126 fn.105), Ferrari (1958: 51, 72) and Snellgrove (2002: 489)

²⁷⁰ Ardussi (2002: 5-6). 'Ba' ra bka' brgyud gser phreng chen mo, vol.2: 21-235.

work into our discussion here is to illustrate one example that can be compared to the 'pho ba teachings in the Karma bka' brgyud lineage.

There are five 'pho ba teachings complied in the thirteenth volume of rJe 'Ba' ra ba chen po rgyal mtshan dpal bzang gi bka' 'bum (The Collected Works of Master, the Great 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang, Abbreviated 'Ba' ra bka' 'bum'). Among them, two texts are more elaborate and the other three are rather abbreviated. 272 The first elaborated text is called Zab lam na ro'i chos drug las 'pho ba ma bsgom sangs rgyas kyi khrid yig (The Practical Manual of Transferring Consciousness - Achieving Buddhahood without Meditation – from the Profound Doctrine of Six Teachings of Nā ro pa). 273 Just as before, the trainings on breath control as well as the internal and external visualisations are required. Concerning the internal visualisation, it is very much alike to sGam po pa's 'pho ba instructions²⁷⁴. A remark shall be made here about the envisioned Buddha, which is clearly addressed to rDo rje 'chang in the highest realm ('Og min). Two tantric references, the rDo rje gdan bzhi and the bDe mchog sdom byung gi rgyud, are quoted here as enhancing the importance of analysising death before the performance of 'pho ba. 'Ba' ra ba distinguished the results of conducting 'pho ba into three cases. The best achievement is to transfer consciousness into luminosity, i.e., 'od gsal du 'pho ba. The second possibility is to integrate consciousness into the heart of the lama or tutelary deities, which is labelled as sgyu lus kyi 'pho ba. The last case is to transfer consciousness into the heart of rDo rje 'chang in 'Og min, which is named as "transferring to another realm and world" (gling dang skye gnas su 'pho ba). 'Ba' ra ba converged the achievements of 'pho ba and sorted them out in different ways. Obviously he placed the illusory body and the image of lama or deity in the same level, and further combined the destination of celesitial realm into the category. In this way I think it provides a ground for any Buddha and Buddha field to be associated with the ritual of 'pho ba.

²⁷¹ It is edited by Ngawang Gyaltsen and Ngawang Lungtok, Dehradun, 1970, IASWR microfiche edition, R-430, pp.93-123.

As there is no significant deviation in these three short versions of 'pho ba, therefore, they will not be studied here. A minor point though, about the text rDzas kyi 'pho ba zab mo bzhugs so: unlike others, it is stated in the colophon that Ye shes rdo rje revealed the teaching from the mTshang cha las kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud, and was later written down by 'Ba' ra ba. It also mentions that Ye shes rdo rje was a student of sGam po pa. Anyhow, the identity of Ye shes rdo rje shall be investigated elsewhere.

²⁷³ 'Ba' ra bka' 'bum, vol.13: 94-99.

²⁷⁴ See the earlier section 1.2.1 & 1.2.4.

The longest 'pho ba texts in 'Ba' ra bka' 'bum is called 'Pho ba' i gdams pa [...] bzhugs.²⁷⁵ In addition to the above-mentioned teachings, 'Ba' ra ba expressed the method of diagnosing death in details. The idea that one shall imagine the manifestation and direction of the aspired world is repeated in this text. Further on, another quotation from the tantric texts Dus 'khor nang le'i 'grel pa (The Commentary of the Inner Section of Kālacakra) is highlighed.²⁷⁶ 'Ba' ra ba suggested in several passages that one should always keep in mind the name of Buddha and his field that one wishes to go.²⁷⁷ Nevertheless, he addressed rDo rje 'chang and 'Og min in his instruction. The indication of rDo rje 'chang and 'Og min that we see here is a significant change when compared to other earlier forms. It might show a possibility that the tendency to associate the 'pho ba ritual with a certain Buddha had started. If this is a right inference, it is in fact easier for the religious specialists to promulgate the 'pho ba teachings and ritual to the mass of lay believers.

In the first section of this chapter, I examine the early transmission of 'pho ba in bKa' brgyud traditions with two examples. The lineage accounts written in sNyan kyi shog dril bzhi and Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu suggest that there were assorted possibilities in the transmission of 'pho ba and bar do. I reckon that they were integrated with other teachings as a set at a certain point. Much more studies about 'pho ba literatures have yet to be engaged. In connection to this, we might also have a reconsideration of the actual time of the compilation of Nā ro chos drug. In the ensuing chapter, more examples will come to light to reveal the diverse development of 'pho ba. My studies on gSung 'bum of sGam po pa show that the rubric of Nā ro chos drug has never appeared in this collected work. Contrast to the traditional view on 'pho ba regarded as a branch of Nā ro chos drug, it has been integrated rather with other diverse of teachings. It is not proper to take it for granted and to refer 'pho ba teaching always as a part of Nā ro chos drug without careful investigation.

²⁷⁵ See 'Ba' ra bka' 'bum, vol.13: 101-110. There are some letters unreadable in the title.

²⁷⁶ Ibid, p.105.

²⁷⁷ The original Tibetan reads "gang du 'pho ba'i zhing khams de'i sangs rgyas gyi rnam par bzhugs par bsgom" or "gang du 'gro 'dod pa", see p.102, 103, 104, 105, 106 etc.

The reincarnation system has featured a remarkable characteristic of the Karma kam tshang lineage. Since very few works of the earlier lineage holders have survived to us, I try to find some useful hints through their biographies. Unfortunately, not much information about the technique of transferring consciousness has been documented in their hagiographies. Some clues can be summarised here, though. For instance, Dus gsum mkhyen pa obtained the teaching mNgon dga'i 'pho ba (the transference of profound joy) from sGam po pa in his vision. Karma Pakshi was said to be an expert in the practice of 'chi 'pho. He passed down the bSre 'pho'i zhal gdams (the oral instruction of mixing transference) to Rin chen dpal, which was then transmitted to Rang byung rdo rje. At this point, the influence of rNying ma teachings on 'pho ba seemed to appear in this lineage. Paradoxical accounts have surrounded on g.Yag sde pan chen, who was either the instructor or the recipient of Rang byung rdo rje. The significant element seen in the story of Rol pa'i rdo rie has to be his association with Avalokiteśvara, Amitābha and Sukhasiddhī. The same depiction continued to appear in mKha' spyod dbang po's story. This phenomenon could be interpreted as a sign of the booming of Amitābha worship. Finally, De bzhin gshegs pa's personal contact with Sangs rgyas gling pa and taking his treasure texts Bla ma dgons 'dus as a gift for the Chinese emperor explain the influence of rNying ma teachings in the Karma kam tshang lineage.

Appendix: Linage of sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi Recorded by Kong sprul

- 1. mTshur ston dBang nge
- 2. gShan sgom
- 3. sGom chung
- 4. Dwags po mdo rtse
- 5. Nyi ma lung pa
- 6. bDe gshegs rin po che
- 7. Tog rtse sgang pa
- 8. sNye mdo Kun dga' don grub
- 9. g. Yung ston rDo rje dpal
- 10. Rol pa'i rdo rje
- 11. mKha' spyod dbang po
- 12. De bzhin gshegs pa
- 13. Drung rma se Blo gros rin chen
- 14. Chos dpal ye shes
- 15. Blo gros grags pa
- 16. Bya btang Blo gros rgya mtsho
- 17. Don grub bkra shis
- 18. Legs bshad sgra dbyangs
- 19. Blo gros rnam rgyal
- 20. Sangs rgyas rin chen
- 21. Drung rin po che Kun dga' rnam rgyal
- 22. Gar dbang Karma bsTan skyong
- 23. bSod nams 'gyur med
- 24. dKon mchog bstan 'dzin
- 25. sGrub brgyud bstan pa rnam rgyal
- 26. gSung rab rgya mtsho
- 27. Chos kyi 'byung gnas
- 28. dGe legs rab rgyas
- 29. Drung 'gyur med bstan 'phel
- 30. bsTan 'dzin dGe legs nyi ma
- 31. Kong sprul

2. The Transmission of *'Pho ba* in the Shangs pa bKa' brgyud Tradition

The tradition of Shangs pa remains the most mystical lineage in Tibetan Buddhism. The teachings of Shangs pa once flowed through a wide spreading of followers during the thirteenth to fourteenth century and have been gradually absorbed into other established schools. However, due to the lack of central institution, this tradition did not survive as a whole in any particular lineage. Presently this tradition is known by the name of Shangs pa bKa' brgyud.²⁷⁸ Its association with the great bKa' brgyud family is in dispute.²⁷⁹

Traditionally, Shangs pa bKa' brgyud is distinguished from Mar pa bKa' brgyud and is famous for the five golden dharmas of Ni gu ma (*Ni gu'i gser chos lnga*). The characteristics are often described with the metaphor of a tree: the roots *Ni gu chos drug*, the trunk *Phyag chen ga'u ma*, the branches *Lam khyer gsum*, the flowers *mKha' spyod dkar dmar* and the fruits *Lus sems 'chi med.*²⁸⁰ The proposing subject, *'pho ba* teaching, is included in the *Ni gu chos drug* which has a similar structure to *Nā ro chos drug*. Both *chos drug* are said to be parallel teachings, ²⁸¹ however no comparative study has yet been done.

Four eminent branches inherited the core teachings of Shangs pa.²⁸² These successive lineages were converged by a holder of Jo nang pa lineage, Kun dga' grol mchog (1495-1566). Around a century later Jo nang pa fell under repression, which led the Shangs pa tradition into an ambiguous state. In the mid-nineteenth century, three prominent masters revived the teachings of Shangs pa and re-established the tradition.

²⁷⁸ Shang is the lower valley of Shang chu on the north bank of gTsang po revier. It is said that Khyung po rnal 'byor established 108 monasteries there. See Ferrari (1958: 68, 159 fn.600), Wylie (1962: 71, 140 fn.236, 141 fn.239).

²⁷⁹ Matthew Kapstein (1980: 138-144) questions the "general" interpretation of Shangs pa tradition as a sect of bKa' brgyud lineages. To what extent it differs from the whole is an interesting subject which deserves more careful studies.

²⁸⁰ This category is made by mKhyen brtse'i dbang po. See Smith (1970: 2).

²⁸¹ Such claim can be seen in Mullin (1985: 92-151), and Samuel (1993: 606).

²⁸² The recognised four are: Jo nang pa, Thang lugs, 'Jag pa and Nyang smad bsam sdings transmissions. However, I think it is misleading to call any one of them as the "Jo nang pa transmission". I will discuss this point in section 2.3.

These three are: Zhwa lu ri sbug pa Blo gsal bstan skyong (b.1804), 'jam dbyangs mKhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820-1892) and Kong sprul (1813-1899). Especially Kong sprul compiled the scattered texts and oral teachings of Shangs pa, and systemised those data in his work, *gDams ngag mdzod.*²⁸³ His views on the tradition of Shangs pa have surely influenced later scholars' work.

I will present the history of Shangs pa in the medieval period, which started with the antecedent Khyung po rnal 'byor (978/990?–1127?) and covers through Tāranātha (b.1575) and his contemporises.²⁸⁴ By exploring the accessible data in hand, I attempt to review its development in medieval Tibet. The doctrines of Ni gu ma and Sukhasiddhī centralise the transmissions of Shangs pa. To reveal how the practices of Shangs pa have been transmitted, it is essential to study the *Shangs pa bka' brgyud gser 'phreng*, the collective biography of masters in the Shangs pa tradition. There are at least ten editions of *Shangs pa gser 'phreng*, among them three have been published.²⁸⁵ They are: *Shangs pa bka' brgyud pa'i rnam thar dang gsung skor*,²⁸⁶ *Shangs pa gser 'phreng*,²⁸⁷ and *Shangs pa bka' brgyud bla rabs kyi rnam thar* (hereafter *Shangs pa rnam thar*).²⁸⁸ So far only the latter two texts are accessible to me.²⁸⁹

I hope to display the appointed methods of 'pho ba and see whether they establish any association with Buddha Amitābha. Special attention will be given to two relevant teachings, non-death yoga and longevity ritual, in order to facilitate our understandings on the Shangs pa's precept of immortality. Owing to the insufficient sources related to

²⁸³ Together with other traditions, Kong sprul summarised the doctrines and the brief history of Shangs pa in the index (*dkar chag*) of *gDams ngag mdzod*.

The exact date of Khyung po rnal 'byor remains uncertain. However, it is probably acceptable to date him around the late eleventh to twelfth centuries. See Kapstein (1980:139,143 fn. 8; 2005).

²⁸⁵ I am grateful to Mr. Gene Smith for sharing this information to me. Besides, *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* is the origin on which Nicole Riggs (2001) based for her English translation *Like an Illusion: Lives of the Shangpa Kagyu Masters*.

²⁸⁶ It was published at sumra in Himachal Pradesh in 1977 and believed to be the oldest among the extant texts.

²⁸⁷ This edition is reproduced from dPal spungs tsa 'dra hermitage by Tashi yangphel tashigang in 1970.

²⁸⁸ This Lhasa edition was published in the series of *Gangs can rig mdzod* in1996. I appreciate Prof. Schwieger's generosity to lend me this book.

²⁸⁹ It is noteworthy that Kong sprul's biographical work – *dPal Idan shangs pa bka' brgyud kyi ngo mtshar rin chen brgyud pa'i rnam thar la gsol ba 'debs pa Udumba'i phreng* – does not bear significant difference from these two texts. It is likely that he summarised earlier biographic texts in the form of verses. Due to this reason, I will not refer to the work of Kong sprul below.

the Shangs pa tradition, only limited liturgies will be studied here. Works attributed to Sukhasiddhī, Thang stong rgyal po (1361-1485) and Tāranātha (1575-1634) who were affiliated to this tradition are selected. In addition I will scrutinise the *'pho ba* practice that documented by Bo dong paṇ chen (1376-1451) as well as the *'pho ba* transmitted by Bo dong pa's follower, ras chen dPal 'byor bzang po (15th century).²⁹⁰ Multiple features of *'pho ba* will hopefully be presented.

2.1 The Early Transmission & Teachings

The founder of the Shangs pa tradition was believed to be Khyung po rnal 'byor who obtained various instructions and teachings from 150 siddhas.²⁹¹ Among them two yoginīs and four root lamas are specially celebrated. It is impossible to sketch out each of his gurus and the teachings he received since most of them did not survive.²⁹² The most famous five golden dharmas are transmitted by Ni gu ma. Another prominent teaching in the Shangs pa tradition is the practice of Mahākāla²⁹³ in six-armed form (*Myur mdzad ye shes kyi mgon po phyag drug pa*) which was taught by Maitrī pa. Here I will focus on Khyung po rnal 'byor's two female instructors, Ni gu ma and Sukhasiddhī.

2.1.1 The Story of Ni gu ma

Contradictory to her fame, only a very limited source pertaining to Ni gu ma is accessible. This information is shrouded in mystery. Born in the city of dPe med, an

To this point I know very little about Ras chen dPal 'byor bzang po. His name was mentioned by Guru bkra shis in the context of disciple lineages (*slob brgyud*) of Bo dong pan chen. See *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (1990: 726). This name also appears as one of the teachers of Kun dga' rnam rgyal (1432-1496). [TBRC: P3183, P9938, P2627]. Therefore, I assume he was a figure from the 15th century.

It is stated in *Blue Annals* that Khyung po rnal 'byor mainly had practiced with six lamas such as rDo rje gdan pa chen po, Maitrī pa, sBas pa'i rnal 'byor, Rahula and Ni gu ma, Sukhasiddhī. Relevant sources about these teachers can also be found in Kong sprul's biography work just mentioned above. See Roerich (1976: 218). Beside that, a brief history of Shangs pa is included in *Shes bya kun khyab* (1970: 528-533).

²⁹² It is interesting to notice that during his youth Khyung po rnal 'byor had studied with rNying ma pas and a Bon po master, g.Yung drung rgyal ba or g.Yung drung rgyal mtshan. Two of his eminent pupils: rMe'u ston pa and g.Yor po rgya mo che also seemed to be Bon po. Considering their geographical connection with Zhang Zhong, we have reason to suspect that there are elements of Bon po teachings included in the Shangs pa transmission. Unfortunately, I have to leave this issue here owing to my ignorance of relevant sources.

²⁹³ Relevant ritual practices of Mahākāla, see *THB* 12, Schwieger (1999: 137-184).

illusive city manifested by a magician in the region of Kashmir, Ni gu ma was the daughter of Zhi ba'i go cha and the sister of Nā ro pa. Apart from that, she was recounted to achieve the tenth level of Bodhisattva and received the four complete initiations from Vajradhara. After transmitting teachings to Khyung po rnal 'byor, Ni gu ma demanded that her teachings should be kept in secret for seven generations. She also promised that all the followers of this lineage could have an ultimate rebirth in the pure realm of Pākinī. ²⁹⁴ Ni gu ma and Vajradhara were counted in the line of "seven generations".

A deliberate narrative about the encounter of Ni gu ma and Khyung po rnal 'byor can be found in the *Blue Annals*. Khyung po had searched for a master who had received direct teachings from Vajradhara. Thus he was recommended to the sister of Nā ro pa, Ni gu ma, who was said to achieve the Pure-State (Dag pa'i sa) and had transformed herself into a rainbow body that is almost completely invisible to humans. Accordingly, Khyung po sought for her at the cemetery ground and recognised her manifestations in the sky. Ni gu ma accepted Khyung po's offerings and bestowed him the practice of illusory body and dream yoga. What happened thereafter was that Ni gu ma took Khyung po rnal 'byor to the summit of gold-mountains in the dream state, where he received the *Six Teachings* from Vajravārāhī (rDo rje btsun mo).

The characters of Ni gu ma seem to sustain some similarities with Varjrayoginī in the above narrative like the cemetery residing and the fleshing-eating habits. In fact, George Roerich (1976) indicates that rDo rje btsun mo is Ni gu ma in his interlined note.²⁹⁶ It would be interesting to explore whether these two deities are emanations from a common source such as the wrathful Hindu Goddess. If so, then it will help us to learn more about Pākinī Ni gu ma.

2.1.2 The Story and Teachings of Sukhasiddhī

Sukhasiddhī does not receive much attention as Ni gu ma, despite the fact that her teachings have served as the foundation of Shangs pa tradition. In the historical description of Sukhasiddhī (*Sukhasiddhī'i lo rgyus*),²⁹⁷ there is a story about a poor old woman in Kashmir. It is said that her generous alms-giving behaviour became irritating for her husband and sons, which eventually led her into exile. She wandered to U-rgyan

²⁹⁴ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 37-48).

²⁹⁵ See Roerich (1976: 730-731).

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.12: 280-285.

region and earned her own living by making exceptional wine. Her business was very successful and attracted the attention of *avadhūtī*, who often bought wine for her guru – Birvaba. After knowing a tantric practitioner existed in the dense jungle, the old woman generated strong faith and offered the best wine to Birvaba through *avadhūtī*. Due to this offering, the old woman's destiny changed entirely. Birvaba delightfully granted her the complete four initiations of navel practices together with the instructions of *Six Teachings* and others. Owing to the power of receiving initiations and achieving siddhi²⁹⁸, the sixty-one year old woman's body became self-purified and transformed into a radiant rainbow body that was extremely beautiful and young. She was therefore called wisdom Dākinī Sukhasiddhī, the female Buddha bDag med ma.

The third part of this lineage history goes on with the lives of the successors. Just as Khyung po rnal 'byor who had the vision on Sukhasiddhī, the following three successors also received secret sāddhana of the *Six Teachings* and many other oral instructions and prophecies. It is believed that the teachings of Sukhasiddhī are very powerful, which can liberate the practitioners from *saṃṣṣāra* if the training has been made for one year and one month.

The transmission of Sukhasiddhī's teachings is recorded as: Chos rje ston pa (1207-1278), mkhas grub Shangs ston (1234-1309), mKhas btsun pa, Khyung po Tshul mgon (13th century), Ri khrod ras chen (14th century), Shangs pa dkar po (1353-1434), Sangs rgyas dpal bzang (14th century), Nam mkha' mtshan can (14th/15th century), and sku skye rin po che sangs rgyas chos kyis kun dga' bKra shis ngag dbang rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po. The author of this historical account was Byams pa Rin chen bzang po. He and his antecedent both are difficult to identify at this moment. Except for these two unknown figures, this part of transmission was also declared by the Jo nang pa followers.²⁹⁹

Teachings of Sukhasiddhī

There are two main teachings of Sukhasiddhī comprised in the *gDams ngag mdzod*. They are *Zab lam Sukha chos drug gi brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs bde chen char 'bebs* (*Prayers to the Lineage of Sukhasihhdī's Deep Instructions of Six Teachings*,

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²⁹⁸ The Sanskrit term *siddhi* means the success or accomplishment of the highest religious goal or magical power. See Snellgrove (2002: 130-131).

²⁹⁹ There is another lineage of Sukhasiddhī recorded by Kong sprul which contains no significant difference from the above list in the early ten generations. See Appendix II at the end of this chapter.

abbreviated Sukha chos drug),³⁰⁰ and gSang sgrub Ite ba sprul 'khor (Secret Practices of the Navel Cakra)³⁰¹.

2.1.2.1 The Principal Method

The accessible data show that most of Sukhasiddhī's teachings are associated with the so-called navel yoga. Take the *gSang sgrub lte ba sprul 'khor* as example, the practitioner is taught to visualise a four-leaf lotus emerging inside the *avadhūtī* at the navel and to perceive himself in the form of Vajravārāhī. Consequently five syllables with colours appear above the lotus: white *Aḥ* at the anther, red *Ri* on the right leaf, white *Ni* at the back, yellow Sa on the left and blue *Ha* in the front. Then imagine Birvaba (Sukhasiddhī's direct guru), who is indivisible from Hevajra, appears in the sky companied by immeasurable Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Subsequently three syllables *Oṃ Aḥ Hūṃ* flow out from the flute held in Birvaba's hand as a stream of pearl beads. The stream of syllables penetrates through the yogi's cranial aperture on the crown, which goes down till the navel and dissolves into syllable *Aḥ* that exists in the centre of the envisioned lotus. The lotus is gradually rotating when the yogi is reciting the four-syllable mantra. As the ritual carries out, the light radiates from syllable *Aḥ* at the navel and ejects out through the cranial aperture to the sky. After that, the light descends and returns back to the navel again.³⁰²

The principle of navel yoga is not only applied in the *gtum mo* practice that in general has a direct connection with the navel chakra, but also is associated with all of the *Six Teachings of Sukhasiddhī* (*Sukha chos drug*), ³⁰³which consists of a prayer to lineage holders, the method of visualisation and the elucidation of the six teachings. The method of visualisation is actually quite similar to the navel yoga mentioned above. Except for a few of differences such as the envisioned object is attributed to Sukhasiddhī, the mantra *Oṃ Sukhasiddhī Hūṃ* is recited, and the mudrā of non-birth was introduced. ³⁰⁴ The description on the characteristics of Sukhasiddhī is identical to Vajrayoginī. In addition, the flute of Birvaba also reminds us of Indian Lord Shiva. Certain features of Indian tantric training are visible here.

³⁰⁰ See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.12: 297-313.

³⁰¹ See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.12: 286-89.

³⁰² See Sukha'i lo rgyus, gDams ngag mdzod, vol.12: 286-89.

The Six Teachings of Sukhasiddhī are: *gtum mo, sgyu lus, rmi lam, 'od gsal, 'pho ba* and *bar do.* See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.12: 303-09.

³⁰⁴ See Sukha chos drug, gDams ngag mdzod, vol.12: 299-303.

2.1.2.2 Teaching of 'Pho ba

Without a big deviation from Sukhasiddhī's principal teachings on navel yoga, 'pho ba replicates the exercise of emerging and dissolving of the four syllables: Ri, Ha, Ni and Sa. Here these four syllables actually indicate the symbols of four elements – the earth, the water, the fire and the wind. Therefore, this process of dissolving further signifies the phenomenon happenning in the intermediate period (bar do). Above all, no specific deity or Buddha is mentioned.

2.2 The Transmission of the Seven Jewels

The alleged seven jewels (*Rin chen bdun pa*) are the transmission of Vajradhara, Ni gu ma and the five succeeded saints: Khyung po rnal 'byor, rMog lcog pa (1110-1170), dBon ston sKyer sgang pa (1154-1217), Ri gong sangs rgyas gnyan ston Chos kyi shes rab (1175-1255) and Sangs rgyas ston pa 'gro ba mgon (1207-1278).³⁰⁵ I will examine the hagiography of these five masters below.

2.2.1 Khyung po rnal 'byor (978/990? – 1127?)

Historical accounts show that Khyung po rnal 'byor travelled widely across India, Nepal and Tibet and founded one hundred and eight monasteries during his long life. According to these two sources that I consult, Khyung po encountered Amitābha in several occasions. I will extract some interesting passages here. It is said that on the daybreak of the thirteenth day of the first spring month, Amitābha appeared and manifested the panorama of Sukhāvatī (bDe ba can) to Khyung po rnal 'byor. Further, Amitābha told him that he would have his final birth in Sukhāvatī as well as his disciples who had heard the name of Amitābha. In particular, the successive lineage holders were guaranteed to have this destiny. 306

On another occasion, Khyung po rnal 'byor met a scholar called 'Ga' pa chos rgyal who had put a great deal of effort in practicing longevity and generating compassion; however no sign of success arose. 'Ga' pa chos rgyal lamented for the short life of his family and asked for help from Khyung po rnal 'byor. In response, Khyung po went to the five celestial realms by the power of dream yoga and asked for instructions on behalf of 'Ga' pa chos rgyal. Firstly, he obtained the teaching of *mThar thug skye med rnam gsum* (*Three Attributes of Ultimate Non-birth*) in 'Og min (*Skt. Akaniṣṭha*). Later

³⁰⁵ See *Shes bya kun khyab*, p.530.

³⁰⁶ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970:123.3-124.5), Riggs (2001:80-81) for English translation, and *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996: 47-48).

on he went to Sukhāvatī to meet Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara, where he received the instructions of *bDud rtsi bum pa'i tshe sgrub* (*Longevity Practice of Amṛta Vase*). Next he went to Potala to imbibe the practice of *sNying rje mkha' khyab kyi ting nge 'dzin* (*Samādhi of All-Pervading Compassion*). There he also obtained teachings from the realms of lCang lo can³⁰⁷ and U rgyan. Consequently, Khyung po transmitted all those practices to 'Ga' pa chos rgyal. In the end 'Ga' pa chos rgyal comprehended the meaning of ultimate non-birth, gained the vision of Amitābha and experienced the *samādhi* of all-inclusive (*phyogs ris med pa*) compassion.³⁰⁸

Another interesting detail I found is that Khyung po was invited to the residence of Sukhāvatī by Amitāyus in his vision. However, Khyung po refused this invitation for the reason that he preferred to remain in this world in order to disseminate dharmas. It is also known that Amitāyus repeated three consecutive times a prophecy, which said if Khyung po's body remained un-cremated after his death, his lineage would flow like a river and the area of Shangs would be the second Bodhgayā. Afterwards, we are told that Khyung po encountered four great gods and other semi-gods who requested him not to extinguish into *nirvāṇa*. Khyung po recited the prophecy he obtained from Amitāyus and precisely claimed that he would go to Sukhāvatī soon. He repeatedly instructed his disciples to pray for a rebirth in Sukhāvatī.

Khyung po's connection to Amitābha again occurred during the period of his death. It is said that Khyung po announced to his disciples that he was going to Sukhāvatī to achieve Buddhahood there. He entrusted Rin chen brtson 'grus to gather flowers and deliver the news of his leaving to the local leaders. Thus Khyung po made offerings and ordered rMog lcog pa to do the same thing. At that time Ni gu ma, Sukhasiddhī, Amitāyus and many celestial beings were said to appear. In front of those local leaders, Khyung po taught in the manifestations of various deities. He told them the prophecy of Amitāyus and instructed them to neither cremate his body nor forget praying on Sukhāvatī. He then demonstrated the technique of 'pho ba and projected his

³⁰⁷ The Buddha field of Vajradhara.

³⁰⁸ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 126.3-30.4), Riggs (2001: 82-84) and *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996: 49-52).

³⁰⁹ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 133.3-134.3), Riggs (2001: 86-87) and *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996: 54-55).

³¹⁰ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 137.2-138.4), Riggs (2001: 88-89) and *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996: 57-58).

consciousness through the crown of his head and transformed his consciousness to the light in the sky.³¹¹

If we can believe all those accounts were composed by Khyung po's direct pupils as indicated at the colophon,³¹² but not by the later historians, it shows that the belief in Amitābha and the aspiration to have a rebirth in Sukhāvatī were very influential during Khyung po's time. Since Khyung po repeatedly claimed his spiritual destination was Sukhāvatī, it is possible that the 'pho ba yoga he performed was associated with Amitābha and Sukhāvatī. However, it is doubtful for the depiction of Amitābha in this hagiography. First, we do not find similar accounts in the *Blue Annals*, which is supposedly a more trustworthy source considering the date of its composition.³¹³ Second, if 'pho ba yoga already developed in such a delicate form, why did Khyung po's main successor, rMog lcog pa yet require the instructions of *chos drug* from sGam po pa? Did not he obtain these teachings directly from Khyung po since he had accompanied his guru till the last moment? Third, as we shall see later, the following generations of Khyung po did not have a close connection to Amitābha at all.

2.2.2 rMog lcog Rin chen brtson 'grus (1110-1170)

Traditionally, rMog lcog pa was regarded as the main heir of Khyung po rnal 'byor. However, if we examine his biography carefully we will find that the statement generates many doubts. As recorded, rMog lcog pa was born in the grassland lHa phu at the Shangs village. He met Khyung po rnal 'byor during his youth but could not build up the discipleship. That finally led him to study with others.³¹⁴ rMog lcog pa left Shangs village at the age of twenty-one. At this time, under the influence of g.Yor po rgya mo che, rMog lcog pa was indecisive on whether he should focus on practice or simply study doctrines.³¹⁵ Later, he stayed with lama A seng. After finishing their retreat practices, they found a cottage hidden in the mountains. Lama A seng pointed to him the place of the hermit Bur sgom nag po who inherited the teachings of Ras chung pa.

³¹¹ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 138.4-142.2), Riggs (2001: 90-91) and *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996: 59-61).

³¹² It is stated that the text is composed with the source provided by Zhang sgom Chos seng, sMe'u ston pa, rMog cog pa and Khyung po's attendant Rin chen rdo rje. See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 142.6-143.1), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996: 61).

³¹³ See Roerich (1976: 733-735).

³¹⁴ See Shangs pa gser 'phreng (1970: 147.2-148.1), Riggs (2001: 93), Shangs pa rnam thar (1996: 65).

³¹⁵ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 150.6-152.4), Riggs (2001: 93-94), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996: 67-68).

After hearing that, rMog lcog pa aroused great admiration and decided to practice with him. In order to pursue Bur sgom nag po to entrust teachings on him, rMog lcog pa expressed his strong admiration of Nā ro pa's instructions. Thus Bur sgom nag po granted him the initiation and oral instructions of *Liberation practices* (*smin grol*). We are told some details about the perfected methods of oral instructions in the ensuing lines. There are four systems of teachings to be introduced: the transmissions of 'pho ba and grong 'jug, 'od gsal, gtum mo, and sgyu lus in which rmi lam is included. After some years of studying with Bur sgom nag po, rMog lcog pa became a master in dream yoga and succeeded in having a vision of rJe btsun ma.

rMog lcog pa again met Khyung po rnal 'byor, who demanded to hear the report of his experiences. Khyung po rnal 'byor then challenged his achievements and asked him to leave right at the midnight. It turned to be a trick to eliminate the jealousy of other disciples. Khyung po later explained to rMog lcog pa that he had a vision on Amitābha and received a prophecy. That prophecy indicated that rMog lcog pa should be the successor of Khyung po's lineage. Khyung po rnal 'byor quickly gave a large amount of teachings to rMog lcog pa because of his ageing. In a long list of transmitted teachings, the *Pho ba ye shes skar khung ma* is mentioned. It is said that Khyung po rnal 'byor continued to manifest himself into various forms of deities, thus more instructions were given such as general initiation of illusory body, dream yoga of Ni gu ma and the whole of the *Six Teachings*. 320

After the death of Khyung po rnal 'byor, rMog lcog pa consulted with sGam po pa due to his uncertainty on the practicing of *chos drug*. sGam po pa confirmed to him that he already had good training and understanding but some instructions were needed to settle his views. sGam po pa further explained that he was unable to spread the six teachings

³¹⁶ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 156.6-157.3), Riggs (2001: 94), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996: 71-72).

³¹⁷ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 157.5-159.6), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996: 72-74). The contents of these four transmissions are known as *chos drug*. This is again an example to suggest that each of the *Six Teachings* had their own routes of transmissions but later was brought together as a set of teachings.

³¹⁸ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 159.6- 162.2), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996: 74-75).

³¹⁹ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 164.1-166.3), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996: 77-78). The list is actually an important source to analyse the alleged Shangs pa transmissions. However, I shall leave it unresolved in this present article. Besides, it is rather brief in the *Blue Annals* with respect of Khyung po's transmissions giving. See Roerich (1976: 736-737).

The practice of 'pho ba is mentioned again twice in the passage. See Shangs pa gser 'phreng' (1970:166.3-170.2), Shangs pa rnam thar (1996: 79-81).

due to his pledge. Nevertheless, since rMog lcog pa was good at dream yoga, certain instructions were passed on in the dream. That was how rMog lcog pa received guidance from sGam po pa. The next day, rMog lcog pa confirmed with sGam po pa. On that occasion, two extra oral instructions: *'pho ba* and *grong 'jug* were bestowed to fulfil his wish.³²¹

In rMog lcog pa's biography, we learn that he did not spend a long period of time to study with Khyung po rnal 'byor in spite of receiving a great amount of instructions at the very last moment. rMog lcog pa trained devotedly on various traditions. For example, he exercised the dream yoga, which was transmitted from the Ras chung tradition. He also went to sGam po pa to clarify the six teachings and was therefore imparted two extra oral instructions. Here again, this description shows that 'pho ba and grong 'jug are excluded from the "Six Teachings". Through these stories, it also becomes clear to us that the essential teachings of Shangs pa lineage had already intermingled with other transmissions at the early stage.

2.2.3 dBon ston sKyer sgang pa (1154-1217)

dBon ston was from the family of 'Bal in the upper part of Nang area³²². In his youth, he took the monastic vows from his uncle 'Bal Thams cad mkhyen pa. Later on, due to his aspiration for having a vision of Avalokiteśvara, he went to 'Phags pa lche sgom pa to receive the initiation. dBon ston had determination for practice, and even his family expected him to study. He eventually achieved the goal of having the vision of Avalokiteśvara.³²³ His uncle suggested him to study with Tsha ri sgom pa, a disciple of Ras chung pa. Therefore, he received the complete initiations of Ras chung tradition.³²⁴

Later dBon ston heard the reputation of rMog lcog pa and became admired for his achievements. On his way to sKung lung, rMog lcog pa's place, auspicious signs arose. rMog lcog pa decided to impart the single transmission of *Ni gu chos drug* entirely on him. Thus, the general and the separated initiations of each six teachings were given to dBon ston. dBon ston was also very good at dream yoga and was recommended by

See Shangs pa gser 'phreng (1970: 182.2-183.5), Shangs pa rnam thar (1996: 91-92). It seems to indicate that the Ni gu chos drug has no difference from Nā ro chos drug except the last two yogas, 'pho ba and grong 'jug. The possibilities are either that rMog lcog pa simply did not grasp the points of these two yogas while learning from Khyung po, or they are indeed diverse in both systems.

³²² If it means Nang chen region, see Farrari (1958: 48, 123 fn.215).

³²³ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 225.2-229.6), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996: 123-126).

³²⁴ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 230.1-231.6), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996: 127-128).

rMog lcog pa to spread teachings.³²⁵ During his meditation practice, three hundred monks approached him with the news of his uncle's death. Consequently dBon ston was expected to take the seat of sKyer sgang monastery even though he was not interested. He accepted the situation only because rMog lcog pa's order.³²⁶ Afterwards, dBon ston continued his practice of dream yoga and had constant visions of celestial beings. He received numerous initiations and teachings from Avalokiteśvara and others such as Tārā, Heruka, Padmasambhava, Sukhasiddhī etc in the state of dream.

It is clear that dBon ston was an established yogi in the dream yoga and a devoted practitioner of Avalokiteśvara tradition. Although he had practiced with rMog lcog pa, there seems to be no significant association with the "Shangs pa lineage". His connection with rMog lcog pa did not last long, and was interrupted because of his duty to inherit the seat of 'Bal monastery. We also learn that despite his intention to submit offerings to rMog lcog pa, this plan was turned down by the old monks from 'Bal monastery.³²⁷ All of these examples show that the two lineages were secluded. From my point of view, having the vision of Sukhasiddhī seems to be a common experience of these masters. This might be a reason to conjoin them in the Shangs pa lineage for later historians.

2.2.4 Ri gong pa gNyan ston Chos kyi shes rab (1175 – 1255)

Ri gong pa was born at the valley Yol³²⁸ which belonged to the gNyan clan. The narrative indicates that he had renounced all worldly matters and became entirely committed to dharma practice from his youth. At the age of eleven, he practiced with sTon ye at Khong bu mkhar. Subsequently, he received the noviciate disciplines from Byang chub sems dpa' and became fully ordained under bZad pa. Meanwhile, he studied with lama Grags pa rgyal mtshan and received tantric teachings of *Zhi byed*, *Phag mo chos drug kha rag bskor gsum*, *Nā ro chos drug* and so on.³²⁹ Later he spent thirteen years to practice at sKyer sgang, where received the entire precepts of Shangs pa transmission. The teaching *'Chi med 'phrul 'khor* is particularly mentioned. It is a very

³²⁵ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 232.2-236.1), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996:128-131).

³²⁶ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 238.2-239.2), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996:133), Roerich (1976: 739).

³²⁷ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 245.5-246.6), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996:138-39), Roerich (1976: 740-41).

³²⁸ See Farrari (1958: 78 fn.6).

³²⁹ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 301.5-302.5), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996:181), Roerich (1976: 741).

powerful method to eliminate all obstacles that one has accumulated in the countless *saṃsāra*.³³⁰ Same as his predecessors, Ri gong pa also had Mahākāla who was active as his servant. He also had visions of many deities such as Avalokiteśvara, Sukhasiddhī, Cakrasaṃvara (bDe mchog 'khor lo) and Vajravārāhī (rJe btsun ma phag mo).³³¹

The last passage that deserves our attention is regarding Sukhasiddhī's prophecy. It is said that Sukhasiddhī presented herself in Ri gong pa's vision and introduced her name as bDe ba'i dngos grub. Whoever prays to her can achieve ultimate realisation because her mind is full of unpolluted wisdom. After explaining the meaning of her name, Sukhasiddhī transmitted four complete initiations and the fundamental instructions of secret *sādhana*³³² to Ri gong pa. She also predicted that whoever sees or hears Ri gong pa's name would be saved from the inferior realms. Furthermore, those who had received initiations from him or practiced with him would unquestionably be born at the pure-manifesting field in the East (*Shar phyogs mngon dag'i zhing khams*).³³³

We do not see any clear association with Amitābha in Ri gong pa's life story, nor the remarkable connection to Avalokiteśvara as the other earlier Shangs pa masters. On the other hand, we do learn that his ultimate resident was located in the celestial realm of the East. The teachings – *'Chi med 'phrul 'khor* was emphasised and introduced as a method to expel the practitioner's obstructions. This instruction does not show any relationship with Amitābha as the title suggest.

2.2.5 Sangs rgyas ston pa 'Gro ba mgon (1207 – 1278)

Sangs rgyas ston pa was born at a Bon po family in Sil ma. He took ordination vows from lama Tsa ri ras pa at the age of thirteen. From his youth, he received many religious teachings from various masters. For example, bZang yul pa bestowed him the initiation of Amitāyus for seven days and claimed that his life span would be prolonged due to this ritual. In addition, Sangs rgyas ston pa was entrusted to keep this practice in secret until his thirties.³³⁴

³³⁰ See *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996:183-84), *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 304.2-306.4). The title of this teaching does not appear in the *Shangs pa gser 'phreng*.

³³¹ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 307.3-310.2), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996:185-87).

³³² Sādhana is a ritual performance which involves with visualisation of the deity through the methods of meditation and recitation of the secret formula (mantra). See Snellgrove (1971: 137).

³³³ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 326.1-327.2), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996:199-200).

³³⁴ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 341.1-341.4), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996:212) and Roerich (1976: 744).

Sangs rgyas ston pa heard from his two teachers, rDog ston and gZhung pa nag pa, about the achievement of Ri gong pa. Ri gong pa was said to have many visionary experiences, and became a master in the illusory body as well as perfecting the dream yoga. Later when he met Ri gong pa in person, he requested the teachings of Shangs pa lamas.³³⁵ Ri gong pa first referred the essence of all his teachings to the three bodies theory (*Lus gsum po*)³³⁶ and then indicated that many offerings were needed for the initiation of illusory yoga. As a result, Sangs rgyas ston pa beseeched the instruction of illusory body together with the blessings of all lineage holders. After that, Ri gong pa foretold that he himself would be born at the Eastern Buddha field called Me tog bkram pa in order to achieve the awakening with the title of Padma'i dpal.

There are two other brief stories of Sangs rgyas ston pa included in *Shangs pa gser 'phreng*. They are: *Sangs rgyas ston pa'i nang gi rnam thar (The Inner Biography of Sangs rgyas ston pa)*³³⁷ and *Rin po che sangs rgyas ston pa'i rnam thar mya ngan 'das chung ma (The Short Biography of Liberation of the Precious One, Sangs rgyas ston pa)*³³⁸. There is one inconsistent description regarding Sangs rgyas ston pa's association with Buddha field. In the *Inner Biography*, it describes that bZang yul pa imparted the initiation of Amitāyus to Sangs rgyas ston pa, who was predicted to be the emanation of Amitāyus, and therefore, that he would be reborn in bDe ba can.³³⁹. However, in the other two texts Sangs rgyas ston pa was said to associate with the Buddha field in the East, where his guru Ri gong pa had resided. This inconsistent description illustrates the fact that to appoint a specific Buddha field on the hagiography was rather flexible when the lineage history was written.

2.3 *'Pho ba* Liturgies of the Scattering Adherents

The "single-lineage" of Shangs pa was said to open up after Sangs rgyas ston pa although some related branches already progressed prior to him.³⁴⁰ Then again, no sufficient sources survive for further investigation. The traditional view indicates that

³³⁵ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 344.3-347.1), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996:214-216) and Roerich (1976: 745-46).

The three bodies are: *rNam smin lus, Bag chags kyi lus* and *yid kyi lus*. See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 349.2-349.6) and *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996:216) for details.

³³⁷ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 393-400).

³³⁸ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 401-420).

³³⁹ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 395.3-396.5), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996:267-68).

³⁴⁰ Gene Smith (1970, *introduction*) points out that the earliest branches of Shangs pa was likely founded by La stod pa bkon mchog mkhar, which is known as *gNas rnying dkar brgyud pa*.

four main branches spread out from Sangs rgyas ston pa's two disciples: mkhas grub gTsang ma shangs ston (1234-1309) and bSam sdings gZhon nu grub (d.1319). In the following is a brief review of these four lineages and the relevant 'pho ba teachings.

2.3.1 Transmission of 'Jag pa

It is said that after meeting with Sangs rgyas ston pa at Ri gong in Yol phu area³⁴¹, gTsang ma shangs ston was given the complete teachings of Shangs pa lineage and soon became a master of illusory body and dream yoga as well as the exercise of *Mahāmudrā* and non-death yoga.³⁴² Further on, gTsang ma shangs ston studied the *Path and Fruit* (*lam 'bras*) with a Khams pa lama rGon mo lhas pa and turned out to be skilful in the exercise of breathing. It is also stated that gTsang ma shangs ston chose to follow his teacher, Sangs rgyas ston pa, in order to have a rebirth in the Eastern Pure Land.³⁴³

Later gTsang ma shangs ston settled at the region 'Jag and earned his title as 'Jag chung dpal. Thus this transmission took its root at 'Jag. It was rGyal mtshan 'bum (1261-1334) and his nephew 'Jag chen Byams pa dpal (1310-1391) who made the tradition of 'Jag pa became influential. According to his biography, rGyal mtshan 'bum received initiation of Amitāyus many times from various teachers. This empowerment seemed to benefit his life, which was supposed to be short according to the divination. We are told repeatedly that rGyal mtshan 'bum was born in Sukhāvatī at the end. Soon afterwards, many of his disciples had dreams that signified rGyal mtshan 'bum had been born Sukhāvatī. I think such description echoing the trend of Amitābha cult that had been circulating at rGyal mtshan 'bum's time and his active region. The transmission of 'Jag pa had an effect on Tsong kha pa, who was trained by 'Jag chen Byams pa dpal and thus

³⁴¹ See Ferrari(1958: 71, 164 fn.661)

It is worthwhile to look into the so-called complete teachings of the Shangs pa lineage at this point. They are: initiation of each six yogas, initiation of bar do; white and red tārā, deep instructions of single lineage, five deities of bde mchog, initiation and exercise of five tantras, initiation and exercise of Amitāyus, the tradition of Avalokiteśvara transmitted by sKyer sgang pa, secret sadha na, oral instruction of gCod, the circle of the six-arms wisdom protectors and so on. See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 430.3-434.2), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996:280-83).

³⁴³ See Shangs pa gser 'phreng (1970: 449.2-449.4), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996:294).

³⁴⁴ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 598.3-600.5), *Shangs pa rnam thar* (1996: 325-27).

³⁴⁵ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 600.5-604.1). The details of those dreams are omitted in *Shangs pa rnam thar*.

handed down the Shangs pa teachings to his disciples.³⁴⁶ The following successor of 'Jag chen was said to be Chos 'byung rin chen, whose activities had a close link to the region gNas rnying.³⁴⁷

2.3.2 Transmission of *Thang stong nye brgyud*

One of gTsang ma shangs ston's disciple, Mus chen rGyal mtshan dpal bzang (14th century) disseminated the teachings of Shangs pa at the Mus valley³⁴⁸ and built up an important lineage there. We learned that Mus chen went twice to Taitu Palace under the request of two Mongolian emperors, Ayuwara and Gan pa chen po. At the end of Mus chen's life, he was said to enter Sukhāvatī.³⁴⁹ The recipients of Mus chen's teachings were mkhas grub rDo rje gzhon nu (14th century) and Mus chen Nam mkha'i rnal 'byor (14th century). mkhas grub rDo rje gzhon nu had a long life due to his accomplishment of the non-death exercise.³⁵⁰ As for Nam mkha'i rnal 'byor, he was seen by others to dissipate into Sukhāvatī.³⁵¹ Among his disciples, bka' lnga pa dPal 'byor shes rab and Thang stong rgyal po (1361-1485) were especially prominent.³⁵² Thang stong rgyal po also received the transmission of Shangs pa (*ring brgyud*) from Byang sems sByin pa bzang po as well. Thang stong rgyal po had experienced several visions of Ni gu ma when he studied with Byang sems sByin pa bzang po. From then, a direct transmission of *Thang stong nye brgyud* began to develop.³⁵³

'Pho ba Teachings in Thang stong nye brgyud

The text entitled Ye shes mkha' 'gro ni gu ma'i chos drug gi khrid kyi gnad yig snying po kun 'dus (The compendium of the Essential Instructions of Six Teachings of Wisdom

Gene Smith (1970, *introduction*). Apart from that, it is also believed that the father of the Second Dalai lama, Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1432-1506), who inherited from the lineage of rTa nag rdo rje gdan, was responsible for introducing Shangs pa teachings to his son. Thus the teachings of Shangs pa eventually flowed into dGe lugs sect. As for Second Dalai lama, his interpreted work on *Ni gu chos drug* is considered to be "one of his greatest literary creations". See Mullin (1985:24).

³⁴⁷ See Roerich (1976: 748-49).

³⁴⁸ See Ferrari (1958: 68, 158 fn.595).

³⁴⁹ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 657-663.5).

³⁵⁰ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 664.2).

³⁵¹ See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 666.5).

³⁵² See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 665.6-666.2).

³⁵³ See Janet Gyatso's studies (1980, 1981, 1992) on Thang stong's long life and the great amount of literature attributed to him.

Pākinī Ni gu ma)³⁵⁴ is believed to possess the essential instructions of Ni gu chos drug that were transmitted from Ni gu ma directly to Thang stong rgyal po. According to the colophon, Thang stong rgyal po was inspired while he meditated at Zhal dkar lha gdong in Thar pa gling³⁵⁵, in the region of Ri bo che. It was bka' bcu pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan who wrote down this text.³⁵⁶

As Gyatso (1981) has noted, Thang stong rgyal po only left a brief comment on the Six Teachings.³⁵⁷ The section of 'pho ba is discussed in a common structure that divides practitioners into three categories. Accordingly, meditation techniques or prayers are introduced to the suitable person. For example, the practitioners in the first grade who have sharp minds are taught to utilise their mental strength in transferring their consciousnesses into *dharmakayā* directly. As for the practitioners in the second grade, the skills of visualisation are taught. Mostly the visualised deities are appointed at Cakrasamvara and Vajravārāhī who reside in the realm of 'Og min. Finally, the faith and prayers are methods for the ordinary believers to attain a realm that is better than their destiny. In this case, reciting the name of Buddha is suggested but no restriction on certain Buddha's name. The abbreviated teaching of 'pho ba in the Thang stong nye brgyud is not particularly impressive. Through studying the relevant secondary sources I became aware that the instruction of 'pho ba can also be found in the Avalokiteśvara text cycles, in the genre of direct instruction (dmar khrid).358 Certainly this is not an unexpected finding as discussed in the introduction that the concept of transferring consciousness has already existed all the way in the Tripitaka. It is very likely in the Mani bka' 'bum as well. Unfortunately I will not explore this dimension within the scope of this work. A thorough and systematic investigation should be conducted elsewhere.

³⁵⁴ See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.12: 147-179.

³⁵⁵ See Ferrari (1958: 60, 144 fn. 136).

³⁵⁶ See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.12: 178-179.

³⁵⁷ See Gyatso (1981:192).

³⁵⁸ See Gyatso (1981:103-04,128). In fact, Gyatso points out very interesting sources, which are: *Zla rgyal dmar khrid* and *sKyer sgang dmar khrid* contained in Kun dga' grol mchog's *Zab khrid brgya dang brgyad kyi yi ge* (*The Documents of 108 Profound Instructions*). See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.18: 121-353. Except for the deity visualisation, both texts also highlight on the practice of *'khyer so gsum* – experiencing one's body, speech and mind as the guru's. That is the essential yoga to be applied in the *bar do*. The name of Amitābha is mentioned in the visualisation training, but affiliated to the worship of Avalokiteśvara. There is a possibility that the prominent role of Amitābha in *'pho ba* took its shape alongside the populace of Avalokiteśvara cult. A proper study on this issue should be done in the future.

2.3.3 Transmission of "Jo nang pa"

This transmission of Shangs was not associated to Jo nang tradition until the sixteenth century. To be more specifically, it was at the time of Kun dga' grol mchog (1507-1565/66). Therefore, I think it is rather difficult to mark this lineage as the Jo nang transmission.³⁵⁹ Born in the Shangs area, Tshul khrims mgon po (14th century) was also affiliated with the Khyung family. Being benefited from gTsang ma Shangs ston, Tshul khrims mgon po further went to a Jo nang pa, Tshul khrims dpal, to take ordination vows. However, this transmission was not converged with Jo nang tradition at this point. One minor, but noteworthy point is that Tshul khrims mgon po transmitted a teaching *mKha' spyod dkar mo'i 'pho ba* (*Transferring the Consciousness to the White Celestial Realm*) to Ras chen Sangs rgyas seng ge (14th century). The title of this *'pho ba* teaching suggests the associated celestial realm. As for Ras chen, he was said to be reborn at bDe ba can of the western direction. This is a hint to suggest that during this period there was already a tendency to classify *'pho ba* with certain divine lands.

The prominent figure Kun dga' grol mchog is regarded to be the lineage holder of both Jo nang and Shangs pa traditions. Kun dga' grol mchog was not only granted from Legs pa rgyal mtshan (15th century) but had also congregated other scattered Shangs pa teachings. In conjunction with the direct instructions he received from Ni gu ma, he was believed to mingle twenty five complete versions of Shangs pa transmissions. Kong sprul categorised the lineage of Kun dga' grol mchog as a "very direct transmission" (*shin du nye brgyud*). Kun dga' grol mchog bestowed these teachings widely to lamas of Sa skya, rNying ma and dGe lugs traditions. And it was his Jo nang pa successor, Tāranātha who composed and commented on the influential teaching *Ni gu chos drug*.

It is traditionally believed that the forefather of Jo nang was Yu mo Mi bskyod rdo rje in the eleventh century. Afterwards, Thugs rje brtson 'grus (1243-1313) erected the Jo nang monastery at Phun tshogs gling of Jo mo, at the west of gZhis ka rtse. The seat of abbots continue as: Yon tan rgya mtsho (1260-1327), Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292-1361), Blo gros dpal bzang (1299-1353/54), Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1306-1386), Kun dga' blo gros (14th century), dKon mchog bzang po (14th century), Nam mkha' chos skyong (15th century), Kun dga' grol mchog (1507-1565/66). See *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (1993: 878). As for the remarkable philosophy of *gzhan stong* and its propagator Shes rab rgyal mtshan, see *The Buddha from Dolpo*, Stearns (1999).

³⁶⁰ See *Shes bya kun khyab*, p.529. See also Gyatso (1981: 187).

³⁶¹ See *Ming mdzod*, p.610.

'Pho ba Teachings in the "Jo nang" Transmission

Contrast to Thang stong rgyal po's short commentary on 'pho ba, Tāranātha has conveyed more extensive explanations of this issue. There are two representative texts: the Practice Manual – Zab lam Ni gu chos drug gi khrid yig zab don thang mar brdal ba zhes bya ba bklags chog ma ³⁶² (abbreviated as Ni gu chos drug bklags chog ma) and its appendix – Zab lam ni gu chos drug gi gzhung khrid ma mo'i lhan thabs kha skong ³⁶³ (abbreviated as Ni gu chos drug kha skong). According to Tāranātha, the technique of 'pho ba is not utilised merely at the moment of death but continues to function in the period of bar do. Four kinds of 'pho ba are categorised in the Ni gu chos drug bklags chog ma. The first grade is called the transference of the nature of dharmakāya (chos sku de bzhin nyid kyi 'pho ba). ³⁶⁴ It says that if the practitioner can recognise the illumination arising at the moment of death, then he could liberate himself into dharmakāya. Otherwise, the following exercises of visualisation should be applied.

The second grade of teaching is the practice *transference of union with deity* (*zung 'jug yi dam gyi 'pho ba*). The yogi is taught to envision himself as a god and a deity emerging on the top of his crown with the distance of one arrow. The suggested deity is Cakrasaṃvara or Hevajra. Next he should imagine the *avadhūtī* in white, penetrating at the secret place³⁶⁵ with a close end, and the upper part of the channel reaches the cranial aperture with an open mouth. Then imagine a white syllable $A\underline{h}$ appears at the navel and a blue $H\overline{u}\underline{m}$ exists at the lower part of the channel. The white $A\underline{h}$ and blue $H\overline{u}\underline{m}$ symbolise consciousness and the nature of breath respectively. Thus the yogi should gently exhale the stale breath and contemplate on syllables $A\underline{h}$ and $H\overline{u}\underline{m}$. After that, exhale breath by strong force as long as possible either from the mouth or the nose. Consequently, the $H\overline{u}\underline{m}$ moves and brings up the syllable $A\underline{h}$ in the channel by the energy of breath. Both syllables constantly go up and depart from the cranial aperture. Eventually they dissolve into the deity's heart. At this stage, the yogi is supposed to maintain his mind in the state of non-thought for a while. To end this practice, the syllables $A\underline{h}$ and $H\overline{u}\underline{m}$ should descend to their original places. The envisioned deity then

The Liturgy of Extensive Profound Meaning of the Instruction of the Profound Doctrine Ni gu chos drug. See gDams ngag mdzod, vol.12: 86-92.

³⁶³ The Amplificated Appendix of the Textual Instruction of the Profound Doctrine Ni gu chos drug. Ibid, pp.120-23.

³⁶⁴ See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.12: 86.

³⁶⁵ In tantric practice, the three main channels are believed to congregate at the five *cakra*-s in the body, i.e. the *cakra* at the crown, throat, heart, navel and genitalia. The secret place is referred to the lowest *cakra*. See Aris (1992: 33).

turns into light. In the end, the light radiating from the blue $H\bar{u}m$ blocks the cranial aperture at the crown. In this way, the yogi continues this exercise daily until the signs of success occur.³⁶⁶

The third grade of teaching is the *transference of lama's blessings* (*byin rlabs bla ma'i 'pho ba*). Except for two variations, the principal method is the same as before. The first difference is to focus on the yogi's own guru, instead of contemplating on a particular deity. In addition, the envisioned two syllables are replaced by a yellowish white *bindu* that exists at the navel. In general, this method extremely relies on the mercy of one's guru and therefore, the sincere supplication and strong devotion are needed.³⁶⁷

The fourth grade of teaching is called *the unerring transference to the celestial realm* (*'chug med mkha' sbyod kyi 'pho ba*). This particular practice is said to be very unique and can only be taught in secret. Therefore, no further information in regard to this practice is indicated. Yet the teaching of *unerring transference* is actually accessible in the appendix text *Ni gu chos drug kha skong*. The image described in the *Ni gu chos drug kha skong* is indeed quite sophisticated. Based on the appendix text I will summarise the essential points below.

It is said that the sign of yantra emerges on the yogi's crown. Both triangles are circulating and radiating peacefully. Vajrayogini in red appears from the middle of the yantra. She has a vajra on her right hand that points to the sky. A skull filled with blood is held on her left that is placed at the heart. She resides on the seat of the lotus and the sun complete with ornaments and countless retinue. Next, the yogi should imagine a syllable Ram that symbolises the nature of fire arising from the conjunction point of his crossed legs and the secret place. The fire is blazing and gradually melts the whole body, which then transforms into wisdom *amṛta* and fills the skull cup on Vajrayogini's hand.

She and all of her retinue drink the *amṛṭa* and become satisfied and happy. Afterwards, the yogi's body becomes Heruka. The following visions in regard to the *avadhūtī* and two syllables *Aḥ* and *Hūṃ* are the same as before. Subsequently, the mixing syllables enter Vajrayoginī's bottom and reach at her heart. The yogi's mind and Vajrayoginī dissolve to emptiness one by one and then remain in the state of equanimity. The yogi's mind becomes indivisible with the blessing of Vajrayoginī. The unity reforms to the

³⁶⁷ Ibid, pp.87-88.

³⁶⁶ Ibid, pp.86-87.

³⁶⁸ See *Ni gu chos drug kha skong* in *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.12: 120-122.

³⁶⁹ That is a form shaped by two layer triangles; one points upward and the other downward. I will come back to it later.

stream of *amṛta* and flows down through the crown to the body of the yogi, the manifested Heruka.

Gradually the stream of *amṛta* fills the chakra of the crown, the throat, the heart and the navel. In this way, four types of empowerments (*dbang*) are complete.³⁷⁰ Furthermore, all of the yogi's channels overflowed with *bodhicitta* that make him enjoy the incredible bliss. At the time of having a break, the yogi should imagine Vajrayoginī and the yantra melting into light and then dissolving into him. The syllable Bam turns upside down and flies up to block the crown with flaming brightness.

In the manual text, the Ni gu chos drug bklags chog ma, there is a further instruction on mediation. In this passage a three dimensional triangle is depicted. The syllable Ah is said to exist in the centre of it. Detailed guidances are then given to elucidate how the syllable can possibly jump up. The downwardly pointed triangle is likely to help the exercise of the breath circulation (rlung bum ba can). In fact, if we compare Tāranātha's teaching to Sukhasiddhī's, it is clear that the fundamental structure taught by Sukhasiddhī was elaborated in Tāranātha's teachings. It seems to indicate that the pho ba teachings in the Shangs pa tradition has expanded from the navel yoga of Sukhasiddhī.

2.3.4 Transmission of bSam sdings

gZhon nu grub first studied with Sa skya masters at his early twenties. Later he approached teachers from several lineages and became skilful in practice. During his solitary retreat with Sangs rgyas ston pa, he imbibed important teachings of Shangs pa.³⁷¹ In addition to being trained by the Shangs pa, he also obtained oral instructions of 'Bri gung pa, 'Drug pa and Tshal pa bKa' brgyud etc.³⁷²

gZhon nu grub founded the centre bSam sdings³⁷³ at lower Nyang and taught the doctrines of Sa skya pa and bKa' brgyud pa to his pupils. This lineage was known as Nyang smad bsam sdings in the Tibetan sectarian history. His immediate successor was

The four empowerments are: empowerment through vase (*bum dbang*), empowerment through the secret (*gsang dbang*), empowerment of transcendent knowledge (*shes rab ye shes kyi dbang*) and empowerment through words (*tshig gi dbang*). Further explanation, see Tucci (1980: 57-58).

³⁷¹ Very similar to Shangs ston, gZhon nu grub also received the initiation of Five Tantras, Chakrasamvara and Amitāyus, and instructions of *chos drug*, *sems 'chi med*, *'chug med*, *phyag chen* and *lus 'chi med* etc.

³⁷² See *Shangs pa gser 'phreng* (1970: 515.5-516.3).

³⁷³ See Ferrari (1958: 73, 144 fn.271).

gSer gling pa bKra shis dpal (1292-1365). This lineage was in turn passed down to Brag po che pa rDo rje dpal and Chos sgo ba Chos dpal shes rab.³⁷⁴

2.3.5 Bo dong Traditions

Apart from these four direct branches, it is notable that Bo dong pan chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1376-1451), a prominent scholar in medieval Tibet, also contributed to preserve the teachings of Shangs pa. Evidence can be found in his collected work as we shall see below. What we know about "Bo dong teachings" nowadays are actually referred to Bo dong pan chen's inspiring work.³⁷⁵ Bo dong E monastery³⁷⁶ that was located in the West Tibet was founded by a bKa' gdams pa scholar Mu tra pa chen po in the mid 11th century. It is believed that Mu tra pa chen po offered his monastery to an Indian scholar mkhyen chen Bum khrag sum pa as an education base. Since then, Bo dong monastery became one of the greatest centres for Buddhist study at that time.³⁷⁷ Many eminent scholars were associated with this monastery such as the translator Blo gros brtan pa (1276-1342/45), bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375) and naturally Bo dong pan chen, who was also known by the name 'Jigs med grags pa or Chos kyi rgyal mtshan.

2.3.5.1 Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal

There are various instructions connected to the lineage of Shangs pa bka' brgyud documented in the collected work of Bo dong pan chen. Among them, I will take the text *Lam gyi gzhung chos drug gi man ngag* as an example. It is significant to have an overview of the entire text first. Some principal methods of meditation are introduced before *Ni gu chos drug* is explained. The principal methods include drawing the

³⁷⁴ See Roerich (1976: 749-51).

A brief history of Bo dong tradition and the explanation on his works, see Smith (2001: 179-208).

³⁷⁶ See Ferrari (67, 156 fn.568) and Wylie (1962: 73).

A comprehensive monographic work is yet needed to clarify how the "Bo dong tradition" grew and fell apart. There are few identical lines of transmission: Bo dong Rin chen rtse mo, sTag sde Seng ge rgyal mtshan (1212-1294), Shong tsā ba rDo rje rgyal mtshan (13th century) and Blo gros brtan pa (1276-1342/45). It was then passed on to Byang chub rtse mo, Grags pa rgyal mtshan and finally to Bo dong pan chen. Information obtained from http://www.buddhistview.com/site/epage/3026 225.htm.

³⁷⁸ I notice three texts in *Bo dong gsum 'bum* which concern this issue. The first text is *Ni gu ma'i gdam ngag skor mkhas grub khyung po rnal 'byor gyi lugs*, see vol.57: 115-466. The second one is bKa' rgyud kyi lag len lhan thabs rnams (*All Practices with Appendix of the bKa' rgyud Tradition*), see vol.93: 1-527 [pp.25-28]. The third one is *Lam gyi gzhung chos drug gi man ngag*, see vol.103: 209-351.

boundary of maṇḍala, inviting the myriad celestial beings and conducting four kinds of initiations. In the case of preparing maṇḍala, the boundary is drawn with the shape of two double-triangle (*chos 'byung*) signs, in between with the lotus and the flame of fire. This double-triangle or known as yantra is a tantric symbol of cosmic unity, which signifies the feminine energy of creation. The sign of yantra is not only applied on the preparation of maṇḍala, but as we should see later, is also addressed in the exercise of visualisation. This highlighted method distinguishes Shangs pa teaching from other bKa' brgyud lineages.

Concerning the *Ni gu chos drug*, each of the six teachings are elucidated with ripening empowerment (*smin byed dbang*) and method of liberation (*grol byed kyi lam*) two parts. As for '*pho ba* teaching, it is divided into four groups, which are identical as what we have learned in Tāranātha's work. The sign of yantra is taught to generate under the navel, at the end of the *avadhūtī* where the syllable starts to travel. The goal for the syllable to project is the body of the guru, a deity or Pākinī. These celestial beings will then proceed to the realm 'Og min. When this part of visualisation is complete, the goal of longevity is also said to be achieved.³⁷⁹ This simple phrase is quite significant for us in understanding the development of '*pho ba* liturgy. In my view, it is evidence showing the convergence of '*pho ba* and longevity practice. The rest of the text conveys the idea about the right time and the benefit of performing '*pho ba*. Many quotations address to the tantric text *rDo rje gdan bzhi*.

2.3.5.2 Bo dong ras chen dPal 'byor bzang po (15th century)

The 'pho ba liturgy transmitted in the lineage of ras chen dPal 'byor bzang po comprises two parts, 'Pho ba mkha' spyod ma'i los rgyus and 'Pho ba 'jag tshug ma.³⁸⁰ It is described that Khyung po rnal 'byor went to Dākinī Ni gu ma in India for learning numerous secret teachings. When he went back to Tibet, Ni gu ma foretold that she would only pass on 'pho ba teaching to his next life in the future because that was the right time to do so. Then the story jumps to ras chen dPal 'byor bzang po who was believed to be the reincarnation of Khyung po rnal 'byor. ras chen dPal 'byor bzang po was originally a renowned Sa skya pa scholar. One day in his meditation exercise, he received the prophecy of a Dākinī who instructed him to practice a profound teaching that could rapidly lead him to the liberation. After consulting the opinion of his teacher, he went to a temple with an enshrined statue of Vajravarahī and practiced there, expecting the achievement. In due course Ras chen got the message that he should go to

³⁷⁹ *Bo dong gsum 'bum*, vol.103: 334.

³⁸⁰ See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.17: 175-183.

a place between Shangs and U yug. He was supposed to meet Ni gu ma there and requested instruction. He launched the journey accordingly and found an old woman. However, she was not the right one but an old woman claiming herself to be Sukha ma. Again, ras chen dPal 'byor bzang po was pointed to another destination over the mountains. Finally, Ni gu ma showed up and agreed to grant him the profound teaching of 'pho ba, which is also known as 'Chug med mkha' spyod 'pho ba'i gdams ngag (The Instruction of Unerring Transference to the Celestial Realm).³⁸¹ We have seen the similar title above as one of the four 'pho ba in Tāranātha's work. This secret form of 'pho ba was omitted in Sangs rgyas gling pa's explanation. Here we might get the clue why it is skipped in 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba.

The text is also referred to as golden dharma 'Pho ba 'jag tshug ma and only in the length of less than two folios. Yet the image contained is impressive. It contains the daily training and the application in two sections. In the daily training, the yogi is taught to visualise his root lama appearing in the form of Vajrayoginī, the same imagery as described in Tāranātha's work. The second step is to imagine a three legged hearth in front of the yogi. Vajrayoginī appears from the heart of the lama. She cuts her own skull off from the point between the eyes with a sword on her right hand, and then places the skull on top of that three legged hearth. That skull is quite big with white on the outside and red on the inside. Again, she cuts above her waist and then throws that which she cuts into that big skull. With the continuing recition of the mantra *Phat*, five fleshes turn to be the nature of five kinds of nectar and wisdom. Thus the lama becomes very happy. Vajrayoginī dissolves into the heart of the lama. The following step is to visualise the avadhūtī that is built from the point below the navel up to the crown, which connects with Vajrayoginī's avadhūtī. The nature of the yogi's consciousness manifests as the syllable Ah appearing at the lower part of the avadhūtī. By pronouncing E or Hi Kra, the syllable Ah flies up and conjoins with the syllable $H\bar{u}m$ at the heart of the lama. As for the practical application, it differentiates between the method utilised for oneself and for others. The principle operation is the same as that which we have learned in the earlier chapter. I will not repeat it here.

The part of visualising Vajrayoginī who cut off her own head and waist is rather awful. It is not entirely clear to me why the three-legged hearth is mentioned in this context. What does it indicate to throw her body into that big skull? These ritual details possibly derive from an Indian tantric origin, which can only be clarified elsewhere. In general, except for this brutal part of the visualisation, the 'Chug med mkha' spyod 'pho ba does not differ from other 'pho ba liturgies. This bloody imagery might explain why Sangs

³⁸¹ Ibid, pp.175-180.

rgyas gling pa left 'Chug med mkha' spyod 'pho ba out of his text. Another point deserveing mention here is that we have seen the exact title 'Pho ba 'jag tshug ma in Nyi zla sangs rgyas' work as well. It will be interesting to explore whether they belong to the same textual strand if sufficient data come to light.

2.4 Non-Death Yoga and Longevity Liturgy

The practice of 'pho ba is not particularly emphasised in the Shangs pa tradition compared to the dream yoga. On the other hand, I find the exercises of non-death yoga and longevity ritual relatively significant. All three rites are propagated under different contexts but with the same concern, that is, to achieve immortality. As we have just seen an example of the conjunction of 'pho ba and longevity, there is no doubt of their combination. Here I should like to discuss a bit further the issue of non-death yoga and longevity.

2.4.1 Non-Death Body and Mind (Lus sems 'chi med)

Except for *Ni gu chos drug*, another practice related to Ni gu ma found in *Thang stong nye brgyud* is called *Ni gu'i yan lag phyag chen ga'u ma'i khrid.*³⁸² There are other three texts included in this bibliography title, one which came to our attention, *Lus sems 'chi med kyi khrid.*³⁸³ Besides that, several verses in regard to the issue of non-death are composed in *Shangs pa bKa' brgyud mgur mtsho* (*The Spiritual Song of the Shangs pa bKa' brgyud Tradition*).³⁸⁴ Among these surviving sources, Thang stong rgyal po's view of non-death yoga is assessed to be "the most extensive single text".³⁸⁵

The preliminary exercise of non-death yoga seems to involve with certain complicated techniques of channel (*rtsa*), *bindu* (*thig*) and breath control (*rlung*), which unfortunately have not survived to us. What remains is the complicated visualisation, which is of course applied extensively in the tantric trainings. The principal idea of

³⁸² Such as the one transmitted in *Thang stong nye brgyud*, see *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.12: 181-205. The same practices are also explained in *Zab khrid brgya dang brgyad kyi yi ge* written by Kun dga' grol mchog.

³⁸³ See *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.12: 192-198.

³⁸⁴ The complete title is *dPal Idan shangs pa bka' brgyud kyi do ha rdo rje'i tshig rkang dang mgur dbyangs phyogs gcog tu bsgrigs pa thos pa don Idan byin rlabs rgya mtsho* in *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol.11: 463-559. Several selected verses are translated in *Shanpa Kargyu Golden Dharmas Part II: Non-death Yoga* by Matthew Kapstein (1981).

³⁸⁵ Kapstein (1981).

non-death yoga is to visualise the self as deity, in this case Cakrasamvara and his consort Vajravārāhī, one transforms the impermanent human form into the state of deity that is "luminosity and emptiness" (*gsal stong*). In addition to that, the practitioner is taught to contemplate on the sophisticate theory of non-duality. Consequently, one is supposed to taste the nectar of immortality after making such elaborative mental effort.

2.4.2 Sādhana of Longevity (Tshe sgrub nye brgyud)

Concerning the issue of searching for immortal nectar, we should not overlook the lifeprolonging ritual, in which the *amrta* often becomes the essential element. Since Gyatso (1981) already studied Thang stong rgyal po's literature in depth, I will not examine the history of 'Chi med dpal ster cycle, but rather extract some key points from Nye brgyud tshe sgrub kyi tshe 'gugs 'chi med 'od snang (The Luminosity of Immortal Force of Life of Longevity Practice in the Short Lineage), which is said to be the oldest among the existing liturgies.³⁸⁶ The text begins with a preparation ritual that includes the expulsion of evil spirits and the visualisation of wrathful deity, Hayagriva. The following part consists of an impressive amount of teachings quoted from other doctrines. The aim is to persuade the practitioner to live a fruitful life that is only possible to achieve under the condition of having a long span of life. In the actual practice, the practitioner is taught to envision Amitāyus and lamas of the lineage to appear on the crown. Then he should recall lost lives by the power of reciting mantras, which are collected into the syllable Hri presents at the heart. In this way, the yogi obtains the blessing of amrta. The continuing visualisation is to receive initiations. The vision is depicted as that: from visualised deities, the stream of amrta radiating with five colours that flows down and enters through the crown of the yogi. The stream slowly fills up the yogi's body and thus he is purified. This longevity teaching is attributed to Thang stong rgyal po. Accordingly, he received this practice from Padmasambhava who was in the form of Hayagriva affiliated with the sKyer sgang tradition.³⁸⁷ In fact, the initiation of longevity is similar to 'pho ba as we have discussed above.³⁸⁸ Both visualisations share a similar structure that probably derives from the same origin such as the exercise of guru yoga.

³⁸⁶ See *sGrub thabs kun btus*, vol.13: 600-622 and Gyatso (1981:187). Also reference of *Tshe sgrub* teaching by Thang stong rgyal po, see Schwieger (2009: 333-334).

³⁸⁷ See *sGrub thabs kun btus*, vol.13: 617.

³⁸⁸ More discussion on the longevity practice will be seen in chapter four.

By examining the hagiographical sources of the early Shangs pa masters, some interesting points are revealed. Although *Ni gu chos drug* remains a prominent symbol of the Shangs pa lineage in the traditional account, its variations from other bKa' brgyud branches seem to be limited. Right at the early stage of the development of the Shangs pa tradition, the Ras chung tradition that imparted from Mar pa's transmission had already infused into it. The significance of Ni gu ma gradually had faded away and was only mentioned in passing. On the other hand, the descriptions regarding the visions and instructions of Sukhasiddhī have been constantly repeated and emphasised. If there is any differentiation to be pointed to between the Shangs pa and the Mar pa bKa' brgyud, it must be the role and teachings of Sukhasiddhī rather than Ni gu ma.

At first glance, Amitābha and Amitāyus seem to be the important Buddha that related to the lineage holders of the Shangs pa tradition. However, a careful second look clarifies that both are often connected in the context of longevity ritual. From time to time, we find that the Eastern Pure Land was described as the ultimate destination of the masters. The impressive amount of stories related to Amitābha in Khyung po rnal 'byor's biography indeed raises some suspicions. Being believed and portrayed as the founder of Shangs pa lineage, Khyung po rnal 'byor's biography probably has been frequently rewritten and therefore, more and more elements could have been added. Based on the data we have went through, the depiction on Khyung po rnal 'byor's performing on 'pho ba ritual contradicts to the accounts that related to his successors. The exercises of illusory body and dream yogas were more essential for the heirs. There was hardly any attention placed on 'pho ba.

In addition, I also intend to explore whether Amitābha plays any significant role in 'pho ba liturgy transmitted in the Shangs pa traditions. There is no strong evidence to prove the position of Amitābha in the 'pho ba practices here. If the belief of Amitābha already took place in the exercise of 'pho ba at Khyung po's time as told in the hagiography, it does not make sense that not a single clue shows such association in the 'pho ba liturgies of Thang stong rgyal po and Tāranātha. The worship on Amitāyus was very prominent in the context of long-life ritual though. In fact, Thang stong rgyal po's liturgy on prolonging life is believed to be one of the significant systems. Nevertheless, he seemed to do nothing to introduce Amitāyus, the figure vividly symbolising immortality, into 'pho ba practice. It is also worthy of note that the idea of amṛṭa is emphasised in Tāranātha's 'pho ba text, yet the figure of Amitāyus or Amitābha is not characterised. Therefore, I reckon that the syncretism of Amitābha and 'pho ba liturgy did not emerge in the Shangs pa tradition in medieval Tibet.

Appendix I. Table of The transmission of Shangs

rDo rje 'chang chen

Ye shes mkha' 'gro Ni gu ma

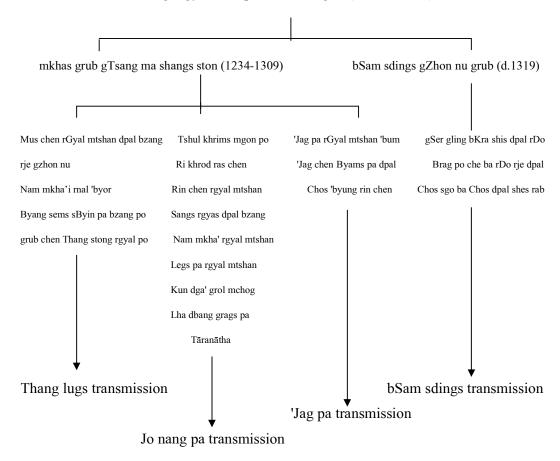
Khyung po rnal 'byor (978/990? – 1127?)

rMog lcog Rin chen brtson 'grus (1110 – 1170)

[dBon ston sKyer sgang] Chos kyi seng ge (1154 – 1217)

Ri gong pa gNyen ston [Chos kyi shes rab] (1175 – 1255)

Sangs rgyas ston pa 'Gro ba mgon (1207 – 1278)



Appendix II. Lineage of Sukhasiddhī Traced by Kong sprul

- 1. bDe chen rab dgyes dPa' bo Heruka
- 2. gZhon med dbyings kyi dPa' mo rNal 'byor ma
- 3. Kha sbyor lha yi sku grub Bi ru pa
- 4. Sa bcu'i dbang phyug Sukhasiddhī
- 5. mkhas grub kun gtso Khyung po rje
- 6. rMog lcog pa
- 7. Chos kyis seng ge
- 8. gNyan ston Ri gong pa
- 9. sTon pa 'gro ba'i mgon
- 10. Shangs ston
- 11. Rig pa'i rdo rje
- 12. Khu ston Tshul mgon
- 13. 'Dren mchog Chos dpal bzang
- 14. Tshul khrims rgyal mtshan
- 15. mKhyen rab Chos kyi rje
- 16. gZhon nu chos grub sems kyi mdud grol
- 17. lHa dbang grags pa
- 18. rje btsun sGrol ba'i mgon
- 19. Ye shes rgya mtsho'i sde
- 20. sNying po blo gros
- 21. Grub brnyes
- 22. Kun bzang dbang
- 23. Tshe dbang nor bu
- 24. 'Khrul zhig Chos dbyings
- 25. Kun bzang chos 'byor
- 26. Blo bzang mthu stobs
- 27. Nyi ma chos 'phel
- 28. Blo gsal stan skyong
- 29. mKhyen brtse('i) dbang po

3. The Life of Sangs rgyas gling pa (1341-1396)

In my preliminary study, I explored three rNying ma pa masters who produced the instructions of 'pho ba in their work.³⁸⁹ Among them, I discovered that Nyi zla sangs rgyas (14th century) and Sangs rgyas gling pa were closely associated with the Karma kam tshang lineage; while Klong chen pa (1308-1363) and his work had less connection with the issue that concerns my work. The results of previous studies have led me to believe that Sangs rgyas gling pa's work on 'pho ba is likely earlier than Nyi zla sangs rgyas' work.³⁹⁰ In addition, I noticed a contemporary figure of Sangs rgyas gling pa, rDo rje gling pa (1346-1405) who had exposed the teaching of 'pho ba as well.³⁹¹ rDo rje gling pa's work on 'pho ba is relatively brief and has no significant relationship with the worship of Amitābha.³⁹² For these reasons, I will continue my investigation on the following chapters on Sangs rgyas gling pa in a greater detail pertaining to his life, his 'pho ba liturgy and other relevant teachings such as tshe sgrub.³⁹³ I hope a broader view on the influential position of Amitābha can therefore be presented.

In addition to that, one can also find *rNam shes 'pho ba'i man ngag* by Ratna gling pa. See *THB* 10, Schwieger (1990:53). *Myur lam 'pho ba'i sngon 'gro'i skyabs sems* by Chos rje gling pa. See *THB* 11, Schwieger (1995: 426).

³⁸⁹ See Mei (2004a), especially on section 3 & 4.

Detailed investigations in regard of the transmission of Nyi zla sangs rgyas and his son Karma gling pa have been done by Cuevas (2003). A recent doctoral study, Halkias (2006), has enhanced the interest in Nyi zla sangs rgyas' discovery text 'Pho ba 'jag tshugs ma. However, I do not agree with his view that 'Pho ba 'jag tshugs ma was the oldest treasure text showing Sukhāvatī orientation.

³⁹¹ I am thankful to Ulrich Timme Kragh for pointing out this *gter ston* and sharing his brilliant thoughts.

The Collected gter ma Rediscoveries of gter chen rDo rje gling pa – reproduced from manuscript from Bhutan at the order of Dingo Chhentse Rimpoche, edited by Dordrup Sangye Lama (1976). In the first volume rDzogs chen hūm skor snying thig, there are three texts related to zhi khro teachings (pp.143-72). Seveal ritual instructions connect to the death ritual such as 'chi rtags (pp.275-282), 'chi slu (pp.283-286), bar do (pp.287-93) and 'pho ba grong 'jug (pp.293-296).

³⁹³ *Tshe sgrub*, the longevity practice, is a teaching of prolonging the practitioner's life through magical devine power. A comprehensive explanation of the notion – long life and relevant rituals in Tibetan culture can be seen in Beyer (1978: 363- 398). Furthermore, the specification of the magical rites related to the "soul" – *bla* and *srog*, see Tucci (1980: 191-193). Further textual reference of *tshe sgrub*, see *THB* 12, Schwieger (1999: 28, 245-247, 299)

The gter ston, treasure revealers apparently have played an essential role in the activity of rediscovering religious precepts in both Buddhist and Bon po traditions. In the case of the Buddhist circle, the gter ston are seen as reincarnations of Padmasambhava's close disciples, who excavated the concealed teachings or blessed objects at the prophesied place on the prophesied time for the sake of all sentient beings. Teachings brought to light in such a way are branded as the direct transmission (nye brgyud gter ma), which in contrast to the long transmission of oral teachings (ring brgyud bka' ma) that have been passed down from the masters to their pupils successively.³⁹⁴ As we will read the biography of Sangs rgyas gling pa below, three elements are necessary in the process of treasure finding. They are the authorisation, the prophecy and the guardian's protection.³⁹⁵ The hidden teachings are normally connected to these three features to guarantee their "authentication". That is to say, only the destined gter ston will receive the prophecy or guidance of a celestial being like Dākinī and then have the power to detect the location of treasures. The extracted things vary from sacred items to yellow scrolls and longevity water and so on, which are believed to possess the power of blessing. Therefore, the activity of discovering treasure has been welcomed by the local community. However, in Sangs rgyas gling pa's case, we will learn the negative effect of treasure hunting. Such a story has never been told, at least not to my knowledge, and thus should be told here.

The main source that records Sangs rgyas gling pa's life is entitled *sPrul sku Sangs* rgyas gling pa'i gter 'byung chen mo (Hereafter gTer 'byung chen mo). A concise version of it, gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma, will be consulted as well.³⁹⁶ According to the colophon, this biography was composed by an anonymous disciple of Sangs rgyas gling pa, who also gathered information from lama rin po che Bya khyung pa to fill in the gaps.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁴ See Thondup (1997: 46-49) and further details of clarification in Dargyay (1998: 12-61, 62-73).

Regarding the hidden place and the qualification of the *gter ston*, see Urgyan Lingpa (1978: 610-618, 639-643). A panorama view on the transmission of *gter ma* cycle and the combination of the *trikāya* concept, see *THB* 9, Schwieger (1985: *Einleitung*). In addition, a comprehensive introduction on *gter ma*, see *THB* 10, Schwieger (1990: *Einleitung*). I wish to thank Timon Reichl for his help in reading German. For the authentication of the treasure texts, see Gyatso (1993: 97-134), (1996: 147-169).

³⁹⁶ See *gTer 'byung chen mo* in *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, vol.1: 21-115. *gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma* in *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, vol.1: 1-20. In addition, see the short biography of Sangs rgyas gling pa in Dudjom Rinpoche (1991: 784-788) and Dargyay (1998: 132-139).

³⁹⁷ See *gTer 'byung chen mo*, pp.113-115.

3.1 The Life and the Discovery of Sangs rgyas gling pa

Sangs rgyas gling pa was born on the 29th day of the 12th month in the male Iron Dragon year (1341) in Kong po valley.³⁹⁸ His father was from mDo khams, a yogi called sTag lung smyon pa, and mother from Brag gsum³⁹⁹, whose name was Aḥ Hūṃ rgyan. Sangs rgyas gling pa received upāsaka vows from mkhan po Nya ra ba gzhon nu dpal at the age of five. Since then, he had recited the *Maṇi* syllables and constantly saw them manifested on the earth or the rocks. Some years later, he received the initiation of *Thugs rje chen po rgyal ba rgya mtsho* (*Ocean of Victorious One, Avalokiteśvara*)⁴⁰⁰ from rtogs ldan Ye shes rgyal mtshan in Nags phu. Occasionally visions came to him, which persuaded him to go south. These unusual experiences made his childhood very difficult, and were interwoven with abuse by his stepfather. His destiny changed when Pho bo gZhon nu ye shes and a monk named Shes rab dpal took him to the place Tsa ri.⁴⁰¹ He happily left home with them and was finally brought to chos rje Rol pa'i rdo rje, the fourth Karma pa.

Above La rgyab lhun grub in Tsa ri, he received monastic disciplines from mkhan po mChog tu gyur pa, Byang chub rdo rje and slob dpon Śākya ye shes with the bestowed name Sangs rgyas bzang po. A significant vision occurred while he was staying with lama Byang chub rdo rje. Once when he herded horses with a friend and later noticed the horse of their master was missing. So Sangs rgyas gling pa went to Chab dkar Mt. to search for the missing horse. He went into a willow forest that was filled with Shang dril flowers. Suddenly he saw a small boy who folded his hands over his heart and appeared from the flowers with intense white light. He thought that was an illusion of nāga's boy. He ran to find his friend and told him what he had seen. When they returned to that spot, the baby was gone already. They plucked some of the flowers and brought them back to lama (Byang chub rdo rje). The master surmised that the boy appearing among flowers was an emanation of Avalokiteśvara. Those plucked flowers were dried up and used as a ritual substance. The vision was drawn on a Thangka. Byang chub rdo rje instructed Sangs rgyas gling pa to take Avalokiteśvara as his main deity and then

³⁹⁸ According to the conversion of calendars calculated by Schuh (1973: 81), the year 1341 began on 18th January. Therefore, the 29th day of the 12th month had already fallen into year 1341. The precise date of Sangs rgyas gling pa's birth was on 17th January 1341. I am grateful to prof. Schuh for learning this detail accuracy.

³⁹⁹ Also in the Kong po district. See Wylie (1962: 97, 176 fn.575).

⁴⁰⁰ That is a pracitce related to Avalokitesvara.

See gTer 'byung chen mo, pp.25-28.

initiated him with thirteen secret practices. Afterwards Sangs rgyas gling pa concentrated on reciting *Mani* syllables and in due course had the vision of the same boy surrounded by flowers again and again.⁴⁰² He envisioned many different forms of Avalokitesvara as well.

Later Rol pa'i rdo rje also arrived at Tsa ri and expressed his wish to have Sangs rgyas gling pa as his attendant. Byang chub rdo rje agreed with this suggestion. Therefore Sangs rgyas gling pa stayed closely to Rol pa'i rdo rje and became a spiritual heir of the fourth Karma pa. Rol pa'i rdo rie's special attention on Sangs rgyas gling pa aroused jealousy of other attendants. At the time when Rol pa'i rdo rje was about to leave for central Tibet, he gave some personal belongings such as status and the foot print of Buddha to Sangs rgyas gling pa. 403 His situation became worse when Rol pa'i rdo rje was gone. The other attendants beat him whenever they could. Byang chub rdo rje therefore recommended him to return home. However, he was not welcomed by his stepfather and was thrown out from the house. At that point he had no choice but to wander around the country. Yet that was the chance for him to meet various masters. For example, in Nyang po, he obtained teachings from mkhan po Kun dga'. He met 'Bri khung rin po che Chos kyi rgyal po and received Phyag rgya chen po Inga. At a hermitage called mKha' gdong in Lang po, he was granted the teaching cycle of gCod yul from lama Chos dbying rdo rje. He also had the opportunity to practice with lama Rin chen seng ge, lama Kro shing pa, and lama gCod smyon. He came to a place called Sang rong spang where he saw lama Chos kyi blo gros as Avalokiteśvara. 404 In this period, he had several remarkable dreams and revelations that indicated his task of finding treasures.

Sangs rgyas gling pa's adventure of finding treasures began in the winter of 1363. He was guided by a child named Rin chen bzang po to a cave at Lhun grub⁴⁰⁵ for a retreat. After being there for 25 days, at midnight he dreamt of a huge man who entered the cave and gave him three yellow scrolls. After telling him to take care of the scrolls, the man scattered away into the darkness. Sangs rgyas gling pa became very afraid when he awakened in a cold sweat. When the sun arose, he discovered three differently sized scrolls. He examined the small one first. It was called *gTer gyi Ide mig gsal ba'i me long (The Clear Mirror of Guide of Treasure*), and contained the keys (*Ide mig*) to

⁴⁰² See gTer 'byung chen mo, pp.29-30.

⁴⁰³ See *gTer 'byung chen mo*, pp.31-32. A similar account is recorded in the Fifth Karma pa's biography that we learned of already in earlier chapter.

⁴⁰⁴ See gTer 'byung chen mo, pp. 33-40.

⁴⁰⁵ If it means Lhun grub rdzong valley, see Ferrari (1958: 83 fn.28, 84 fn.30), Wylie (1962: 162 fn.446).

unearth the tradition of *Thugs rje chen po nang nor bu* and *Phyi rgyal po.*⁴⁰⁶ He found the prophecies of the treasures in the middle scroll. Furthermore, the largest scroll contained *gTer sgrub gsal ba'i me long* (*The Clear Mirror of Treasure Practice*); *Zhal gdams thugs kyi tshal pa* (*The Oral Instruction on the Fragment of Mind*), and *gTer gyi them byang* (*Treasure Inscription*). Sangs rgyas gling pa was extremely happy but the joy did not last long, because many local people began to gossip about the validity of the scrolls. Chos kyi blo gros also had doubts. To prove the authenticity of the yellow scrolls, a retreat was then arranged. Some auspicious signs were witnessed by the assistant monks appointed by Chos kyi blo gros. Therefore, lama Chos blo agreed to provide necessary resources for his further investigation. In the meantime, lama Chos blo also commanded that any discovered treasures must be brought back to him. So Sangs rgyas gling pa set off to a cave called Phug mo che in Phu ri Mt. for his exploration.⁴⁰⁷

Three men were appointed to help Sangs rgyas gling pa but they ran away because of the potential risks in the journey. After enduring many difficulties, he finally uncovered his first and most well-known findings, *Bla ma dgongs 'dus pa'i skor (The Cycle of Collected Thought of the Teacher*) together with *Guru zhi sgrub bskyed rdzogs ma bu cha lag (The Supplementary of Sādhana of the Generating and the Perfect Stages [like] Mother and Son of the Peaceful Master)* and a waxed jar. On the 25th day of the middle autumn month of the male Wood Dragon year (1364), he went back to the monastery in Lhun grub to met lama Chos blo. The chief lama of that monastery conducted a 14-day feast ritual for the following revelation. Consequently *'Phags pa spyan ras gzigs nang nor bu lugs (The Precious Inner Tradition of Avalokiteśvara*)⁴⁰⁸ along with additional

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⁴⁰⁶ A series of instructions are available in the section of Avalokiteśvara in *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol.35: 311-527.

⁴⁰⁷ See *gTer 'byung chen mo*, pp.51-57. It seems to me that Phu ri is the mountain in Phu mdo rdzong. See Wylie (1962: 86, 163 fn.455), Ferrari (1958: 110 fn.114).

The inserted note marks two texts under the title of *Nor bu lugs*. They are: *Zhi khro rta mgrin dmar nag* and *mKha' 'gro gsal byed me long skor dbang phyug dmar po'i skor*. They are not included in the collection of *Bla ma dgons 'dus*. It could be useful hint to investigate Sangs rgyas gling pa's thoughts on funeral liturgy in a broader view. That would be also helpful to compare with Karma gling pa's *Zhi khro* Cycle for the sake of clarifying their relationship. Further, their contemporary, rDo rje gling pa also had *Zhi khro* texts revealed as mentioned earlier in footnote 230. A comparision study on various *Zhi khro* Cycles in this time phrase will be interesting topic.

liturgies, were exposed from the jar. This event made the whole community happy. Sangs rgyas gling pa earned the respect he deserved and was referred to as " $gTer\ ston\ pa$ ".

The motif in the following chapters of gTer 'byung chen mo is about Sangs rgyas gling pa's ensuing treasure discovery. However, the values of these stories are not just about how, when and where he excavated the hidden treasures but also involved a broader context such as the tension that existed between the treasure hunter and the local community. I shall briefly go through this biography and present selected passages that could be useful sources for future studies.

It is said that on the 8th day of the waxing moon period of the 8th month in 1364, Sangs rgyas gling pa revealed the key information of treasures concealed at rTse chen brag dmar and dGye'o rong in Kong po district from the place called dKar zug 'phrang. On the 15th day of the same month, he exposed many scrolls hidden in vessels, along with sacred objects such as ritual pills, the image, the hand rosary and the lotus crown of Padmasambhava.⁴¹¹ The next finding occurred on the 15th day of the summer in the female Wood Snake year (1365) at black rock of Phu ri in Kong po valley.⁴¹² By tracing the obtained key information, he reached dKar ting gdong on the first day of the first

In gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma, it is stated that Sangs rgyas gling pa discovered 30 complete scrolls. Except for Bla ma dgongs 'dus, the listed titles are: 'Phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang gi chos skor (The Cycle of Initiation of Avalokiteśvara), Yid bzhin nor bu (Wish-fulfilling Jewel), Yi dam rta mgrin dmar nag (Dark-Red Hayagriva Deity), mKha' 'gro gsal byed me long skor (The Cycle of Illuminist Mirror of Dākinī) and 'Jig rten dbang phyug dmar po (The Red Lord of the World). See gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma, p.4.

See gTer 'byung chen mo, pp.57-60.

⁴¹¹ It is said that he revealed about 127 scrolls in total, which included *zhi* (*pacifying*) *rgyas* (*increasing*) *dbang* (*empowerment*) *drag* (*subjugating*), the Four Activities exercised in tantra. The registered titles are: the cycle of *dGos* 'dod kun 'byung, Zhi khro sgrub pa bka' brgyad, rDzogs chen spyi ti, Phur sgrub thugs kyi nying khu and Nor sgrub dngos grub nor 'dzin. The cycle of rMongs po srid spel gces phrar, Srog mthu mgon po par nag, three cycles of sPu gri, gTad rgyud phung byed dug rigi, and four scrolls of zhi khro dgos 'dod kun ba byung. Also the various ways of removing evil omens such as Phra men nag mo. See gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma, pp.5-6, and also gTer 'byung chen mo, pp.62-65.

⁴¹² The revealed texts are: *gTad khram ru sbal nag po, Cho 'phrul rgyal po lta khang, Kha skong gser thur man ngag, Zhing sel skye ba rgyun gcod, Srog thun dug chu khol ma, the key of Kar tir gdong (dKar ting gdong in gTer 'byung chen mo).* See *gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma*, p.6, and *gTer 'byung chen mo*, pp.66-67.

winter month in 1365, where he meditated for seven days after revealing more texts. After that, he travelled to Nyang po to excavate treasure at rGya mda' glang po Mt. On the morning of the 27th day of the middle spring month of the Fire Horse year (1366), he uncovered the key to the treasures at bSam yas mchims phu and the key of Buddha's last teaching and some relics of Buddha.

The following discovery took place on the first day of the last spring month in 1366, which deserves special attention here. We are told that Sangs rgyas gling pa was with a group of assistants who arrived at a stūpa called Byang sde in Long po⁴¹⁷ where they noticed the symbol of a key inside the stūpa. They decided to break down the wall in order to uncover the treasure. While they were deconstructing the stūpa, some pilgrims passed by and were offended by the hunters' behaviour. The group of hunters took away 20 pieces of relics of Buddha and left only one under the earth. Later when Sangs rgyas gling pa and his entourage reached the shore of Gying glang klu River, they met people from upper and lower Glang po gling. The local people were offended by the action of these treasure finders and started to fight with them. The fighting was calmed temporarily by mkhan po Nya ra ba. Later Sangs rgyas gling pa arrived at Chu 'og where people gathered in the local temple. They asked Sangs rgyas gling pa to give the initiation ritual of Vajrapāni – Phyag na rdo rje dregs pa kun 'dul. A feast was held the next day. Then Sangs rgyas gling pa heard a voice of Dākinī who warned him of the impending danger and advised him to lock the door of the temple. As he did so according to Dākinī's word, suspicion arose in the people's minds. Shortly thereafter, a troop of Kong po approached and circulated the temple. They demanded that the stolen treasures should be returned otherwise the temple would be set on fire. The feast was continued uninterrupted because the people in the temple were protected by Dākinī. At the same time, the treasure guardians also showed many miracles. All these signs indicated the divine beings were on the side of Sangs rgyas gling pa. Therefore, the violent attack turned into a peace talk. The troop of Kong po asked to learn the teachings taken from their stūpa. Since no teaching, but rather sacred objects were

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⁴¹³ There he disclosed *mKha' 'gro ma nag mo'i skor, bZo rgyud, bsTan pa spyi'i lung bstan, Daki'i mtshan 'bum gser gyi rdo rje* etc. See *gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma*, pp.6-7, and *gTer 'byung chen mo*, pp.68-69.

⁴¹⁴ If it refers to rGya mda rdzong, see Wylie (1962: 176 fn.571)

⁴¹⁵ That is the mystical place where Padmasambhava buried many treasures. See Ferrari (1958: 45, 115 fn.145).

See gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma, pp.7-8 and gTer 'byung chen mo, pp.70-71.

⁴¹⁷ See Ferrara (1958: 48, 122 fn.209).

revealed this time, Sangs rgyas gling pa showed the four scrolls of key information that he had obtained earlier. About one week after this event, he uncovered the key of *Thugs rje chen po yang gsang lugs* from the rock pillar in Lang po.

On the first mid-autumn month in 1366, Sangs rgyas gling pa travelled to rKyen dung la brag that located in mchims yul of Tsa ri to excavate more treasures. This time the people of that village were happy with his exploration but declared the right to keep any exposed treasures in advance. Sangs rgyas gling pa unearthed many scrolls from a well that he found by the power of mantra. 419 At that time, he met Padma rdo rje and his disciples. Then he travelled to Phu ri where he exercised those practices written on treasure sources. Subsequently, at the spot of Breg nag 'gong po chags pa, he found the cycle of *Phags pa spyan ras gzigs yang gsang bla med.* He gave this cycle of texts to sTod pa bSod nams ye shes. Since then this line of transmission had been passed down. 420 Several days later, Sangs rgyas gling pa had a dream that gave him a clue to find more treasures. He went to Bya rgod gshong where he was surrounded with various colours of rocky-mountains. In the valley called lJon pa rta mgo, he exposed 30 complete scrolls in different length from a treasure vase. The vase was unwrapped several months later in the spring of the Fire Sheep year (1367).⁴²¹ Sangs rgyas gling pa's activities of detection aroused lots of attention. People criticised him for never studying, never practicing and never settling down in one place.

When bSod nams rin chen arrived at Gong po, Sangs rgyas gling pa was required to do a three-year, three-month and three-day retreat. Three disciples of a yogi rNam rgyal dkar po – Tshul khrims mgon, Sangs rgyas seng ge, and Chos dpal were chosen to assist in this retreat. These three assistants required to have the teachings that Sangs rgyas gling pa found, especially the complete copy of *Zhi khro dgos 'dod kun 'byung gi skor*.

See gTer 'byung chen mo, pp.71-75.

What he had revealed included *Phyag na rdo rje khyud gsang ba yang khol gyi rgyud* together with mother & son, an accessory of the guardian's command. Inside of this scroll, there were also *U rgyan yab yum gyi byang sems dkar dmar*, the scroll of cycle of *mDzeg so 'tsho byed gzhon nu, Ngan sngags mun pa dgu rgyug*, and the cycle of *Phung thal nag po rdzas*, the cycle of *mKha' 'gro spyi rgyud rgya mtsho* etc. See *gTer 'byung chen mo*, pp.76-78; *gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma*, p.8.

⁴²⁰ See gTer 'byung chen mo, pp.79-81; gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma, p.8.

⁴²¹ Inside of the vase, there were: *Thugs rje chen po'i rgyab chos, bCud len bdud rtsi zag med, dBang phyug chen po'i rlung zhags, dBang sdud me'i glog phreng, gShin rje sha zan spu gri, gZa' rgod cig brdud, A tsa ra dgu rgyug* and many introduction (*kha byang*) of treasures, and the key of *bKra shis phug ring* etc. together with some sacred items such as 7 rebirth pills and mirrors. See *gTer 'byung chen mo*, pp.81-87; *gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma*, p.9.

Furthermore, they insisted that this Zhi khro text should be kept confidential and remain inaccessible for lama Chos blo. They also asked for the relic of Buddha and the paintings that Sangs rgyas gling pa had discovered. Not long after the retreat started, lama Bya khyung pa came to visit Sangs rgyas gling pa and saw him transcribing the Zhi khro text. Unable to refuse lama Bya khyung pa, the text and the prophecy were exposed. After seeing these documents, lama Bya khyung pa tried to persuade Sangs rgyas gling pa to reveal longevity water right away. However, Sangs rgyas gling pa only agreed to do it after the retreat. What happened afterwards was that a written order from lama Chos blo was brought to Sangs rgyas gling pa, which required him to search for the water immediately. Hence, the oath of retreat was broken. Guided by Chos dpal and Ri ba Tshul mgon, Sangs rgyas gling pa arrived at Dom tshang rong through rGyud ma mdo valley in Tsa ri. Local people gossiped that a treasure revealer of Karma pa would come to take the treasures. The people were worried that their precious resources might be lost. They decided to stop the treasure revealer from unearthing the treasure by any means. However, at this time they were already engaged in a war between rDza khrod shar ma pa and mChen bying po. There was little chance that anyone would detect Sangs rgyas gling pa and prevent him from his activity. Sangs rgyas gling pa did ask mkhan po Kun dga' rgyal mtshan from Zur mkhar⁴²² to help him. They both wandered around at dGyer bye ma dkar po and excavated the key information of long-life water (tshe chu) as well as the practice of Klu rgyal mgrin bzang (The Loud Voice of the Nāga King) on the 23rd day of the middle winter month in 1367. 423

Sangs rgyas gling pa went to lama Chos blo to report the progress of his discovery of the long-life water. He transferred the power of revealing to his brother dBang drag and some delegates of 'Bri gung pa. Afterwards, he visited mkhan po Kun dga' rgyal mtshan together with lama Chos blo. He continued on his journey and reached at the river bank of Chu rong brag 'thab in gTsang po.⁴²⁴ In the evening of the 8th day of the first summer month, he entered a cave at dGyer bye ma dkar po Mountain where he found a case that he had already expected. He returned to the nearby village and gave the initiation of Avalokiteśvara to the local residents. Since his mission was completed, mkhan po Kun dga' rgyal mtshan invited him again. There Sangs rgyas gling pa met a person claiming to be the main patron and disciple of Karma pa. He demanded that the case should be opened. Under this pressure, Sangs rgyas gling pa opened the case and exposed the items such as the crown of Cakrasaṃvara, some longevity pills of Avalokiteśvara and

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⁴²² See Ferrari (1958: 46, 117 fn,161).

⁴²³ See gTer 'byung chen mo, pp.88-97.

⁴²⁴ It is recorded as Chu rong brag mtha' in Dwags po in gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma, p.10.

most importantly, the scroll of *Tshe sgrub nyi zla kha sbyor* (*The Unification of the Sun and the Moon*). This discovery made everyone happy but that was not the end of the story. Sangs rgyas gling pa returned to the upper part of Lhun grub. In the presence of lama Chos blo, he broke a vajra⁴²⁵ into three pieces and took out a vase filled with longevity water from the centre. The water was said to be sweet and smelled like medicine in light blue colour. Afterwards, Sangs rgyas gling pa practiced the *sādhana* of *Tshe sgrub nyi zla kha sbyor* for 11 days.⁴²⁶ Because auspicious signs occurred, lama Chos blo trusted him and the authenticity of his discoveries. Sangs rgyas gling pa then offered longevity water to the Fourth Karma pa and distributed it to the public and to whomever needed it.

Even though Sangs rgyas gling pa had become a recognised *gter ston*, tension still existed from time to time when the issue of treasure revealing took place. For example, when he travelled to sNe'u gdong⁴²⁷, the minister of that region, rGyal mtshan bzang po invited all high masters in that region to test him. The result was very positive. All of them were happy to receive the blessing of long life water. After that, Sangs rgyas gling pa revealed the maṇḍala of *Tshe sgrub nyi zla kha sbyor* at the tomb of Srong btsan sgam po⁴²⁸. He gave teachings to sMan lung pa Śākya gzhon pa chen po, who was the reincarnation of Yar lung. In return, he was given the teachings of *sGyu 'phrul zhi khro'i bka' lung yongs rdzogs* (*The Complete Prophecy of Illusory Manifestion of Peaceful and Wrathful Deities*) and *Guhyagarbha Tantra*.⁴²⁹

Afterwards, he left for bSam yas and revealed several scrolls at Seng gdong in mChims phu brag at dawn of the 25th day of the last summer month. Then he had wandered around in many places. He offered the blessed longevity water to Chos rje pan chen and Bring gung rin po che and exchanged teachings. He visited sPyan mnga' Chos kyi rgyal po and requested instructions such as *Tshe dpag med kyi dmar khrid* and *bDe mchog*

The vajra was originally the divine weapon of Indra in the vedic times. It symbolises the indestructible and also bears the meaningn of diamond. See e.g., Snellgrove (1971: 140). Here the vajra refers to the ritual bell.

⁴²⁶ See gTer 'byung chen mo, pp.98-105. This text is extant in Rin chen gter mdzod, vol.29: 337-381.

⁴²⁷ See Wylie (1962: 77, 148 fn.313).

⁴²⁸ About the tomb of Srong btsan sgam po, see Ferrari(1958: 53).

⁴²⁹ See *gTer 'byung chen mo*, pp.106-112.

⁴³⁰ Concerning the year of this revealing, it is not recorded in either source. It was probably in the year 1368 or afterwards. The most well-known teachings he discovered here are *Thugs rje chen po rgyal po, Nor bu lugs kyi kha tshangs*. See *gTer 'byung chen mo*, pp.112-113; and *gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma*, p.10.

snyan rgyud. Again he presented *Tshe sgrub nyi zla kha sbyor* together with the other revealed teachings as returning gifts. ⁴³¹

3.2 The Sangs gling Transmission

The last episode of Sangs rgyas gling pa's life stroy is in fact incomplete. We are told that Sangs rgyas gling pa's disciples asked him for a set of teachings; however, he passed away before completing his teaching. 432 Unfortunately, we do not know much about the development of Sangs rgyas gling pa's lineage. According to bDud 'joms' rNying ma'i chos 'byung, Sangs rgyas gling pa set up his monastery at bDe chen bsam sgrub in sNyi phu. He passed away in 1396 in Byang chub gling. Most of his doctrines were received and taught by his son Ye shes rdo rje and his main disciple Bya khyung pa Seng ge⁴³³. Some of the teachings were also given to rTse le and Ta bla. The second incarnation of Sangs gling was born at Nel pa sme 'ur, but he passed away in childhood. The next incarnation was called Sangs rgyas dpal ldan. Despite a precise trace of reincarnation line had lost, Sangs rgyas gling pa's revealed teachings have been assimilated in the mDo khams district and further on became influential in the southern part, such as in Bhutan and Sikkim. 434 There are several lines of the succession of his Bla ma dgongs 'dus teachings. Apart from the Fourth Karma pa, the other recipients are: zhwa dmar mKha' spyod dbang po (1350-1405), sNe'u gdong Gong ma chen po (1302-1373), Sa skya bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), and 'Bri gung Chos kyi rgyal po (1335-1407) etc. It is also said that the seventh descendant of Sangs rgyas gling

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There are actually two more events of discovery recorded in *gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma*. The times of findings were on the 13th day of mid-summer in the female Iron Pig year (1371), and the 18th day of first autumn in Tiger year (1374). So the last instructions he had ever exposed are 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen phyag babs and U rgyan chen pos phyi rabs don. See *gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma*, pp.11-12.

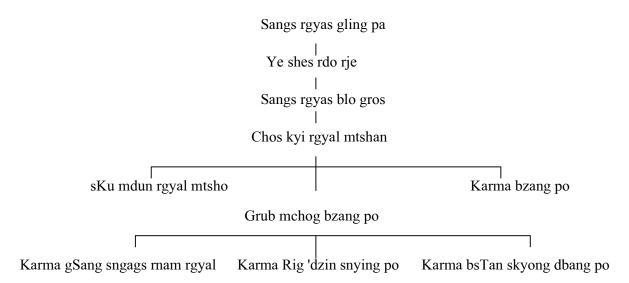
⁴³² According to Dargyay (1998: 137), the last teaching Sangs rgyas gling pa performed was the *bdud rtsi sman sgrub*.

⁴³³ Dargyay (1998: 137, 221) has marked that dPal ldan seng ge was a member of Bya khyung bshad sgrub gling monastery that is located on the left bank of the Yellow river.

⁴³⁴ See Dargyay (1998: 137-138). Accordingly, *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* teachings was particually disseminated through the transmission of rTse le monastery in the region of lower Khams. Besides, another significant dissemination was spread out from Rig 'dzin snying po through the Bhutan ruler mthu chen Ngag dbang rnam rgyal. The influence of Sangs gling teachings in Bhutan is said to be strong up to this date.

pa, Rig 'dzin snying po, passed down teachings to Zhabs drung mthu chen Ngag dbang rnam rgyal (1594-1651), who later became an expert on these treasure teachings. 435

We learn a bit more detail in *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*. It is said that the transmission of *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* was first preserved in the family lineage (*gdung brgyud*) and later opened to the spiritual transmission (*chos brgyud*) after seven generations. The genealogical tree was:



The transmission of *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* also came into Guru bKra shis's lineage. Grub mchog bzang po's unnamed brother, who settled in mKhar rgya bo, played an important role in propagating both family and spiritual lineages. There were twenty-one successive lineages that served as the chief priests in that region up to the nineteenth century when the author recorded it. Then Rig 'dzin snying po passed on *dgongs 'dus* teachings to bDe chen dar rgyas who was born at Nyang po. The latter granted all of *dgongs 'dus* teachings to lCub ri grub chen Kun bzang rang grol, a yogi also from Nyang po. Next these teachings were given to Kun bzang rang grol's two main disciples, rig 'dzin Thugs mchog rdo rje and Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin chen po. It was Thugs mchog rdo rje who transmitted *dgongs 'dus* to Guru bKra shis's teacher, Padma theg mchog bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan.⁴³⁶

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⁴³⁵ See Dudjom Rinpoche (1991: 787-788).

⁴³⁶ See Gu bkra'i chos 'byung, pp.743-745.

In examining the life of Sangs rgyas gling pa, we find some characteristics that meet our general impression about the treasure revealers. For example, the visionary power of meeting celestial beings, the ability to discover sacred objects, the ability to bless and preach to the public, the ability to guide pilgrimages and the ability to calm social unrest. Except for the positive performance, ironically Sangs rgyas gling pa's activity of discovery also caused problems. From the narrative, we see two specific lines of tension; one is between the local residents and the treasure revealer, the other between the treasure revealer and religious leaders. First for the local people, it was wonderful to learn that they had treasures in their territory; however, having an outsider come in and take these treasures away is another story. A perfect example that illustrates the ambivalence was the event took place at Byang sde 'bum pa in Long po'. Sangs rgyas gling pa and his entourage uncovered some relics of Buddha from a stūpa. The anger of the local people would be understandable, just imagine a stupa turned into a heap of stones. As previously noted, an armed force was organised to chase Sangs rgyas gling pa's group away. An interesting question that we should consider is who has the right to claim the ownership of the treasures? Should it be the treasure revealer who physically mined them out or should the local people who have control over their own territory? Second, for the religious leaders, the issue involved here was about the authenticity of the treasures and probably a bit of a power game as well. After the treasures were accepted, these local masters approached to the treasure revealer and insisted to have a part of sacred objects or a copy of the unearthing teaching for various reasons. To some extent, the treasure revealer from outside could threaten their social status and wealth that partly depended upon the lay believer's donations. Therefore, it was important to have what the treasure revealer had discovered.

This story also provides information about the close connection of Sangs rgyas gling pa and the Karma bKa' brgyud lineage. The region where Sangs rgyas gling pa found treasures was the parish that belonged to the bKa' brgyud tradition. It is also obvious that the main recipients of *Bla ma dgons 'dus* cycle were leaders associated with this School. Late in the life of Sangs rgyas gling pa, he distributed longevity water to many people and taught the relevant teachings to other masters, yogi and lay people. To certain extent, it is fair to say that Sangs rgyas gling pa merged ritual practices and meditation techniques of the rNying ma and the bKa' brgyud Schools. We will see the concrete textual evidence in the following chapter.

4. Longevity Liturgies of Sangs rgyas gling pa

As far as I am aware, the treasure text entitled 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba⁴³⁷ excavated by Sangs rgyas gling pa was probably the oldest 'pho ba liturgy that contained significant association to the cult of Amitābha. The other genre, tshe sgrub, also has close connection to the worship of Amitābha as anticipated.⁴³⁸ In this chapter I will study these two types of teachings enclosed in Sangs rgyas gling pa's treasure cycle – Bla ma dgongs 'dus. Relevant texts appearing elsewhere will be taken into account as well. By examining these texts, I hope the importance of the Amitābha worship in the context of gter ma tradition can be demonstrated. It is also important to clarify that there are 'pho ba liturgies associated to other deities transmitted in the rNying ma tradition; ⁴³⁹ however, to concentrate on investigating the link with Amitābha, I will not extend my study beyond the concerned scope.

Instead of using the term "funeral liturgy", I utilise longevity liturgy to cover 'pho ba and tshe sgrub these two teachings. In this way, I emphasise more the characteristic of daily practice that is operated by all practitioners, and avoid giving the connotation that they are only used in the occasion of a funeral conducted by ritual specialists. Inevitably both teachings are performed out of the aspiration of immortality for the departed. Before we examine these texts thoroughly, it is necessary to have a brief review on the surviving work of Sangs rgyas gling pa.

4.1 The Collected Thought of the Teacher

Bla ma dgongs 'dus was the most well-known collected work of Sangs rgyas gling pa, but it is not the only work bearing such a title. Two more precepts of Sangs rgyas gling pa are extant in Kong sprul's Rin chen gter mdzod – Tshe sgrub nyi zla kha sbyor

⁴³⁷ See *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, vol.13: 853-906.

⁴³⁸ Furthermore, in the cycle of *Thugs rje chen po* in *Rin chen gter mdzod*, the teachings of *'pho ba* is listed next to *tshe sgrub*. See *THB* 11, Schwieger (1995: 285).

⁴³⁹ For instance, the teaching *'Pho ba'i man ngag* is affliated with rDo rje sems dpa'. See *THB* 10 Schwieger (1990: 20). See also the *Yang zab 'pho ba'i gdams ngag*, in *THB* 11, Schwieger (1995: 404-405); and the practice of achieving rainbow body by great transference (*'ja' lus 'pho ba chen po'i sku*), Schwieger (1995: 541).

⁴⁴⁰ Not to confuse with the text cycle *Bla ma dgongs 'dus snying po (The Essence of Collected Thought of the Teacher)* discovered by mChog gyur gling pa (1829-1870). See e.g., *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol.14: 375-427.

(*The Unification of the Sun and the Moon*) and *Thugs rje chen po nor bu skor gsum* (*The Three Precious Cycles of Avalokiteśvara*). Both are categorised in the section of specific *sādhana*; the former is associated with Amitāyus and the latter with a peaceful form of Avalokiteśvara. According to *gTer 'byung chen mo*, the scroll of *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* was discovered in 1364, at the very beginning of Sangs rgyas gling pa's long-term treasure hunting. Three editions of *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* exist nowadays, yet only the oldest one is accessible to me. The Gangtok edition of *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* consist of 13 volumes, which are included in the *Ngagyur nyingmay sungrab Collection* (vol.44-56). The teachings of *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* involve not only Buddhist precepts but also a wide range of Tibetan culture as we will see later. This cycle was enriched and partly reinterpreted from time to time by its recipients. 443

For example, rTse le sNa tshogs rang grol (b.1608) adapted the genre of medicine sādhana (sman sgrub)⁴⁴⁴ and fire puja (sbyin sreg)⁴⁴⁵; 'Gyur med Tshe dbang mchog

See the former in *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol.29: 337-381; and the latter vol.35: 331-527. I am thankful to Prof. Schwieger for lending me the *Index of Rinchen gter mdzod chenmo* compiled by Yeshe Zangmo (1984). The *Rin chen gter mdzod* is another significant work of Kong sprul. He made a great amount of effort to gather the scattered instructions that belong to the *gter ma* cycle in order to prevent them from vanish. See Smith (2001: 263).

⁴⁴² *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* was first published in 1972 by Sonam Topgay Kazi in Gangtok. It was a reproduction of Dudjom Rinpoche's xylographic print. The second edition was presented in Para, Bhutan by Lama Ngodrup and Sherab Drimey during 1981 to 1984, which was based on an illustrated manuscript kept at mTshams brag dgon pa. The latest version (*Bla ma dgongs 'dus kyi sgrub skor*) was edited by Pema Norbu Rinpoche at Bylakuppe in South India in 1984, which was reproduced from the manuscript originally from the Dar than monastery in 'Go log district. Information extracted from TBRC [code: w18978].

⁴⁴³ The following information was gathered primarily from TBRC [code: T1339]. Some inconsistencies of editions and page numbers have been corrected.

dbang dang bcas pa phyag bzhes ji Itar bya tshul gyi sa bcad zin bris su bkod pa in The Collected works (gsun 'bum) of rTse-le sNa-tshogs-ran-grol, vol.3: 387-422. This five volumes gSun 'bum is a work reproduced from manuscripts extant in the library of Dudjom Rinpoche, New Delhi: Sanje Dorji, 1974. The medicine sādhana is a ritual to consecrate medical herbs with healing power, or transform the herbs into nectar (bdud rtsi). See Tucci (1980: 122), Dargyay (1998: 137, 221 fn.209). For relevant rituals of sman mchod associated with rDo rje phag mo, see THB 12, Schwieger (1999: 7, 18, 36).

⁴⁴⁵ See sByin sreg gi skabs don 'ga', ibid, vol.5: 277-282.

grub (1761-1829) remarked on the method of recitation (*bsnyen sgrub*)⁴⁴⁶; and 'Jigs med gling pa mKhyen brtse 'od zer (1729/30-1798) had extensive commentaries on meditation and ritual practice.⁴⁴⁷ Kong sprul made explanation of the practice of recitation and meditation (*bsnyen sgrub*)⁴⁴⁸, the peaceful fire puja (*zhi ba'i sbyin sreg*)⁴⁴⁹ and the empowerment (*dbang bskur*)⁴⁵⁰. He also composed the benedictory verses⁴⁵¹ that are followed by a clarification manual for Thangka painting (*thang ka bkod yig*)⁴⁵². The 15th Karma pa mKha' khyab rdo rje (1870/71-1921/22) elucidated on the subjects of empowerment ritual (*dbang chog*)⁴⁵³, fulfilment rite (*skong chog*)⁴⁵⁴, the rite of

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⁴⁴⁶ See *Bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa'i bsnyen sgrub kyi lag len gsal bar byed pa'i yi ge nyung ngu rnam gsal sgrub gnyis 'jod 'jo*, in *gSun 'bum of 'Gyur med Tshe dbang mchog grub*, khreng tu'u edition, 2001, vol.nga: 369-395.

⁴⁴⁷ See *Bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa'i cho ga'i rnam gzhag dang 'brel ba'i bskyed rdzogs zung 'jug gi sgrom mkhyen brtse'i me long 'od zer brgya ba*, in gSun *'bum of 'Jigs med gling pa*.

⁴⁴⁸ See *Bla ma dgongs 'dus las: dpa' bo rkyang sgrub dang gsal byed thugs kyi nor bu'i bsnyen sgrub kyi yi ge bdud rtsi stong gi zab bcud, in rGya chen bka' mdzod*, Paro (Bhutan): Ngodup, 1976, vol.4: 559-641. For a summary of this teaching and the colophon information, see *THB* 6, Schuh (1976: 101-102).

⁴⁴⁹ See *Bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa'i dbang chen sogs la nye bar mkho ba'i lhan thabs zhi ba'i sbyin sreg blugs bsdus pa zla ba snang ba*, ibid, vol.5: 21-34. The fire puja or burnt offering (homa) is a part of the mandala performance. See Snellgrove (2002: 225, 238-240). Further reference see *THB* 6, Schuh (1976: 102).

⁴⁵⁰ See *rTsa gsum snying bcud bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa'i dbang bskur yong rdzogs gyi lag len dngos grub rgya mtsho'i chu rgyun*, ibid, vol.4: 419-557. The ritual of empowerment is to grant the practitioner with the authority to study and to exercise the mystical teaching. In general, there are four ways of obtaining empowerment: the empowerment of jar (*bum dbang*), the secret empowerment (*gsang dbang*), the empowerment of wisdom (*shes rab ye shes kyi dbang*) and the empowerment of syllable (*tshig dbang*), see Lessing & Wayman (1968: 309-325). According to Beyer (1978: 407-431), this ritual is the first and the most important step for the practitioner to engage in the training. Further reference see *THB* 6, Schuh (1976: 100-101).

⁴⁵¹ See *Bla ma dgongs 'dus kyi par byang*, ibid, vol.11: 585-95. Further reference see *THB* 6, Schuh (1976: 227).

⁴⁵² See *Bla ma dgongs 'dus gtso dgu bka' gter srung ba'i dbang po gnyis dang bcas pa'i zhal thang gra tshar bcu gcig gi zhal thang,* ibid, vol.11: 597-601. That is about the 11 Thakas paintings of the mandala of *Bla ma dgongs 'dus.* Further reference see *THB* 6, Schuh (1976: 239).

⁴⁵³ See *Sangs gling bla ma dgongs 'dus kyi dbang chen mo'i slob ma rjes 'dzin gyi mtshams sbyor mdor bsdus snying por dril ba*, in the *gSung 'bum of mKha' khyab rdo rje*, Paro (Bhutan): Ngodup, 1981, vol. 3: 173-97. [Delhi, 1994, vol.2: 219-243].

subjugation (*mnan thabs*)⁴⁵⁵, the method of evocation (*sgrub thabs*)⁴⁵⁶, the fire puja⁴⁵⁷, the daily practice (*rgyun khyer*)⁴⁵⁸, the consecration (*rab gnas*)⁴⁵⁹, the assembly and medicine *sādhana* (*tshogs sgrub sman sgrub*)⁴⁶⁰, the permission to invoke (*rjes gnang*)⁴⁶¹, and longevity practice (*tshe sgrub*)⁴⁶². Although there are an impressive amount of commentaries on *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, no specific interpretation of *'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba* exists, at least not in my knowledge. Therefore, I can only try to make the following translation as faithful and comprehensive as possible.

4.2 The Way of Dying with Joy

4.2.1 Introduction

'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba is the manual that explains 'pho ba in the most detailed manner ever seen by me. The six sections included cover various issues such as who, where and

⁴⁵⁴ See *Bla ma dgongs 'dus kyi rtsa gsum zhi khro'i skong chog chen mo'i lag len 'don 'grigs grub pa'i ngag gi me long*, ibid, vol.14: 109-114. [Delhi, 1994, vol.10: 263-68].

⁴⁵⁵ See *Bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa'i bsnyen sgrub las sbyor la mkho ba'i mnan pa'i lag len ngag 'don 'khor lo nag po'i 'thib gnon*, ibid, vol.3: 149-171. [Delhi, 1994, vol.2: 195-217].

⁴⁵⁶ See *Bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa'i las byang me tog phreng mdzes kyi mngon rtogs cung zad spros pa dang nyer mkho'i zur 'debs nyung ngu rin chen snying po'i ze'u 'bru,* ibid, vol.2: 425-70. [Delhi, 1994, vol.2: 1-46]. Example of the evocation applied in the ritual, see Beyer (1978: 255-261).

⁴⁵⁷ See *Bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa'i las bzhi'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga shin tu bsdus pa bklag chog mar bkod pa yid bzhin 'phrul gyi 'dod 'jo*, ibid, vol.3: 65-147. [Delhi, 1994, vol.2: 111-93].

⁴⁵⁸ See *Bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa'i phrin las rgyun khyer lus dkyil gtsor bton gyi lugs shin tu bsdus pa snying po dam pa'i rgyan*, ibid, vol.3: 1-27. [Delhi, 1994, vol.2: 47-74].

See *Bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa'i rab gnas kyi cho ga bkra shis brtsegs pa nyin gcig ma'i 'don zin mdor bsdus*, ibid, vol.3: 199-211. [Delhi, 1994, vol.2: 245-57]. The consecration (*Skt. pratiṣṭhā*) is a means to purify the practitioner, or transform the material substances such as paintings, statues or ritual cakes etc by the divine power. See Tucci (1949: 309-316). The example of consecration can be found in Beyer (1978: 233-234, 460) and Snellgrove (2002: 226-230). A monagraphic work on consecration, see Bentor (1996).

⁴⁶⁰ See *Bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa'i tshogs sgrub sman sgrub sbrel ma dang 'brel bar sgrub dbang tshang ma bskur skabs kyi gtong thun*, ibid, vol.3: 29-63. [Delhi, 1994, vol.2: 75-109].

⁴⁶¹ See *Bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa'i 'jam dbyangs blo 'phel shes rab ral gri'i rjes gnang gi sgrub pa'i yig cha'i zung 'debs nyung bsdus*, ibid, vol.3: 213-19. [Delhi, 1994, vol.2: 259-65]

⁴⁶² See *Bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa'i tshe sgrub bdud rtsi'i rgya mtsho*, ibid, vol.3: 221-31. [Delhi, 1994, vol.2: 267-77]. Further discussion on *tshe sgrub*, see section 4.3.

how to practice the transference, the advantage of knowing and the disadvantage of unknowing this teaching, and finally the actual instruction. The previous five sections carefully define the characteristic of the issue in concern. In the sixth section, the actual instruction begins by categorising the three embodiments, *dharmakāya* (*chos sku*), *saṃbhogakāya* (*longs sku*) and *nirmāṇakāya* (*sprul sku*). This is a standard way to label the results of performing *'pho ba*. Yet the actual instructions are given only in regard to the achievement of *nirmāṇakāya*. The former two results, *dharmakāya* and *saṃbhogakāya* are to be achieved by other tantric practices and hardly explained.

There are three points included in the illustrated teaching: skilful training, maintaining limitation and the actual application at the moment of death. In the skilful training, it clarifies again the importance of avoiding unsuitable conditions and to fit the suitable situation in the respect of person, time and place. Yet in the actual training the yogi must keep the body, speech and mind in balance. The essential issue is to comprehend the subtle state of the mind (sems pa), the awareness (rig pa) or consciousness (rnam shes) by virtue of controlling one's breath circulation skilfully. Due to the fact that such training might bring harm to the yogi's life, it is important to know when to make limit and remove the obstacles occurring during the practice. Except for knowing the right moment to implement 'pho ba by the yogi himself, there are methods that apply 'pho ba on other practitioners, on ordinary people, on sinful ones or the animals. In general, this illustrated teaching is a paradigm that requires regular training on visualisation and breathing technique. There are naturally other ways to meet the needs of different people. Sangs rgyas gling pa listed the other two ways of transference. One is the transference that relies on the blessing of lama and the other is the unerring transference to the celestial realm. Nine examples are given to demonstrate the free style of transference. The passage first appears in the method of preparing the mind under the category of preliminary preparation. It is again repeated at the very end of the whole text. These methods show the flexibility of projecting the consciousness. Before we move on to the translation, I shall like to add few lines concerning the different state of consciousnesses evolved during the practice and at the actual moment of death. Besides

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Regarding the theory of Buddha-bodies, see Snellgrove (2002: 115-116, 250-251). It is believed that the complete scheme of the three aspects of Buddha-bodies was developed in the Mind Only school. *Dharmakāya* is the body of the dharma sphere, which is the ultimate nature of mind and consciousness. *Saṃbhogakāya* is the body of enjoyment, which is the diverse manifestations of *dharmakāya*. It is also the existing form of Buddhas when they teach in the Buddha fields. *Nirmāṇakāya* is the body of emanation and the presenting form of Buddhas in the phenomenal world. See also Dudjom Rinpoche (1991: 115-119).

that, I will also make a short elucidation of the key technique of breathing control.

In the 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba, different terms associated to the mind have been applied in various contexts. First of all, during the regular practice of visualisation, the focus is on rig pa, which I translate as "the awareness" throughout this text. According to Jäschke (1975: 526-527), three meanings of rig pa can be differentiated in the form of noun, i.e., (a) knowledge, talents (b) science, literature and (c) soul. Here rig pa is close to the meaning of soul that contrasts to the physical body. To avoid using the word "soul" that could be perceived differently, I choose the word "awareness" for it has also the expression of knowing something. The next stage is to remember the visualisation that one has experienced. Therefore, we encounter the word dran pa, 464 which means to remember something from the past or being mindfulness.

In the section of preparation, 465 three phrases have appeared: 'chi kha ma'i rnam shes, rig pa'i ngo bo and sems rig. Although rnam shes is simply translated as consciousness, theoretically what to be transformed at the moment of death is ālayavijñāna. The nature of the awarenss, rig pa'i ngo bo radiating at death is possibly referred to the purified Tathāgata as explained briefly in the introduction of this dissertation. 466 As for sems rig, it is likely a description of the mind that is in the state of awareness. I have to admit that it is not entirely clear for me regarding the differentiations of rig pa'i ngo bo, rnam shes kyi ngo bo and rnam shes rig pa. 467 In my understanding, the term rig pa is used in the context of contemplating on one's ordinary consciousness, whereas rnam shes is the most subtle mind, ālayavijñāna, to be transferred from one life to another. Concerning the expression of rnam shes rig pa, I reckon that ālayavijñāna is manifesting with the function of awareness.

According to the 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba, when the gross dissolutions of the mind become completed, the outer breath will stop but the inner breath remains. That is the moment to perform 'pho ba for others. At the moment when all of the gross and subtle factors of the mind have dissolved, the white bindu and red bindu will be pushed by the

⁴⁶⁴ See pp. 150-151 for the phrase *dmigs pa dran pa* – remembering the visualisation.

⁴⁶⁵ See pp. 156-157 for *rig pa'i ngo bo* – the nature of awareness and *sems rig* –the mind that is in the state of awareness.

⁴⁶⁶ Another referene to add here. According to a Chinese sect of Yogācāra (攝論宗), when the eighth consciousness stops functioning, the so-called ninth consciousness (*amalavijñāna*) turns to shine in its own purity. See Williams (2009: 99).

⁴⁶⁷ See pp.162-163. *Rig pa* and *rnam shes* are utilised in different stages of meditation practice. Besides that, is to be seen on pp. 182-183.

wind and then mingle at the heart. For the practitioner himself, this very moment of unification of two bindu-s is the right time to project his own consciousness (rnams shes) to the anticipated divine realm. 468 The flow of the wind has played an important role in the practice of 'pho ba. According to tantric medicine tradition, there are five types of winds running in the body. The so-called rlung lnga are: (1) Srog 'dzin rlung, the sustaining breath controls not only the functions of breathing, swallowing and salivation but also the transmission of thoughts and cognitions; (2) Gyen rgyu rlung, the upward moving wind that assists speech and memory; (3) Khyab byed rlung, the pervasive wind that assists muscular motions and the flux of all fluids; (4) Me mnyam rlung, the fire-accompanying wind that assists digestion and assimilation; and (5) Thur sel rlung, the downward moving wind that assists secretion. 469 The wind that is most essential and remaining till the last is the sustaining breath, referred as *srog rlung* in this text. It is this exact type of wind to make the visualised syllable or *rnam shes* moves according to the required technique. There is a special skill called *rlung bum pa can*, which is a method to inhale the wind and press it down to the lower part of the body that makes an imagined shape of vase.

Some principles of my translation should be explained here. Because there is only one version available for me, I cannot make a critical edition yet. Due to this reason, the difficulties resulting from several confusing words or phrases remain unsolved. I will provide the suggested spelling of these words in the footnotes. In case of the inserted notes in Tibetan origin, I will translate them in the main text and mark with the square bracket in smaller font. To make the translation more comprehensible, occasionally some words are added in the square bracket as well. I convert some extremely long Tibetan sentences into shorter sentences in English. The round bracket and footnote in the translation are used in the conventional way. Regarding the value of the 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba, it will be analysed in the section 4.4.

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⁴⁶⁸ See pp. 178-181. It is also described in Lati Rinbochay & Hopkins (1979: 32-46).

⁴⁶⁹ Explanation of the five winds, see Aris (1992: 49). Regarding the changing of the winds happened at death, see Lati Rinbochay & Hopkins (1979: 31-32).

⁴⁷⁰ I am grateful to Kalsang Norbu Gurung for solving my problems and refining the translation. My thanks also go to Thupten Rikey who kindly read through the translation and gave comments. Nevertheless, I take the whole responsibility for any remaining mistakes.

4.2.2 Structure

Section One: The practitioners: three types of person (855.1-856.3)

Section Two: The places of transference (856.3-857.1)

Section Three: The methods of transference (857.1-857.5)

Section Four: The disadvantage of not having the instruction of 'pho ba (857.5-858.5)

Section Five: The advantage of having the instruction of 'pho ba (858.5-859.3)

Section Six: The main instructions (859.3-904)

- I. Transfer into luminosity the aimless of *dharmakāya* (860.2-860.6)
- II. Transfer into the illusory body the unification of *saṃbhogakāya* (860.6-861.6)
- III. Transfer into the body of a god –the manifestation of *nirmāṇakāya* (861.6-900.3)
 - 1. Practice:
 - (A) Suppress unsuitable conditions:
 - (i) People (862.1-862.4)
 - (ii) Time (862.4-863.2)
 - (iii) Place (863.2-863.6)
 - (B) Carry out with suitable conditions:
 - (i) People (863.6-864.3)
 - (ii) Time (864.3-865.2)
 - (iii) Place (865.2-865.5)
 - (C) Actual practice:
 - (i) Preliminary preparation (865.5-871.4)
 - (a) Body preparation (865.6-866.4)
 - (b) Speech preparation (866.4-868.1)
 - (c) Mind preparation (868.1-871.4)
 - place (868.3-868.5)
 - focus (868.5-870.1)
 - method (870.1-871.4)
 - (ii) Main practice (871.4-879.5)
 - (a) Settle the mind (871.5-872.1)
 - (b) Recognise the awareness (872.1-873.5)
 - (c) Settle the awareness (873.5-879.5)
 - (iii) Conclusion (879.5-880.4)

- 2. Maintain limitation:
 - (A) The actual signs of limit (880.4-881.4)
 - (B) Antidotes (881.4-883.5)
 - (C) Dispel obstacles (883.5-885.4)
 - (D) Harmless visualisation (885.4-888.6)
- 3. Application:
 - (A) Measure the time (889.1-892.1)
 - (B) Method for the yogi himself (892.1-895.1)
 - (C) Methods for others (895.1-899.6)
 - (i) For practitioners (895.2-896.4)
 - (ii) For ordinary people (896.2-898.2)
 - (iii) For sinful person (898.2-899.1)
 - (iv) For animals (899.1-899.6)
- IV. Extensive ways of transference (900.4-904.1)
 - 1. The way of a traveller on a journey (900.4-901.1)
 - 2. The way of transference by a well rope (901.1-901.4)
 - 3. The way of sending off a friend (901.4-901.6)
 - 4. The way of transcending accompanied by a friend (901.6-902.2)
 - 5. The way of wandering on the street (902.2-902.3)
 - 6. The independent transference (902.3-902.4)
 - 7. The transference for the sake of sentient beings (902.4-903.1)
 - 8. The transference of holding one's place undisturbed (903.1-903.4)
 - 9. The forceful transference in a hurried condition (903.4-904.1)

$\sharp_{\overline{A}}.\mathsf{A}.\mathsf{A}.\mathsf{L}_{\underline{A}}.\mathsf{A}.\mathsf{A}.\mathsf{C}.\mathsf{L}_{\underline{A}}.\mathsf{L}_$

 $[854]^{\text{MS}} = \frac{1}{3} \cdot \frac{1}{3}$

[855]

ભ્રમ્भ મામુક્રેશ્વા મામુક્રિયા મામુક્રિયા

4.2.3 Translation

The Instruction of Transference, [having] Joy at the Moment of Death, [which is] extracted from the Collected Thought of the Teacher.

Prostrate to the teacher, to the god (deity), and to the sky-traveler (Dākinī).

Those human beings [who] purpose the supreme enlightenment [should] practice the instruction of transference such as this mind teaching – *the Instruction of [having] Joy at the Moment of Death*, to make this attainment of leisures and endowments⁴⁷¹ become meaningful. Here, the instruction of transference will be explained through [the following] six sections:

- 1. The person whoever [make] transference,
- 2. The place wherever [one will] transfer,
- 3. The method of how to transfer,
- 4. The disadvantage of not having the instruction of transference,
- 5. The virtue of having the instruction [and]
- 6. The actual instruction of transference.

The first section [contains] three types of persons. Regarding the superior human beings [who] possess the ability of practice, [they will] achieve enlightenment at the same time [when they are] liberated from [their] body, [thus] with not regard to the instruction of 'pho ba. [The second type of persons are those who] do not accumulate merit from former lives; but [they have] obtained human body in this life and have rested to enjoy the karmic results of [their past lives]. As [they] committed inexpiable sins due to the diffusion of the evil force, the implement of 'pho ba will not be succeeded. It is said somewhere [in the text] that [the consciousness] will be liberated if 'pho ba [is] succeeded. However the result of successful 'pho ba may be only to obtain the body of god and human, the result of being awakened will not be achieved. Nevertheless, because of that [effort], it will become upwardly connected since the seed of liberation will progress. In this way, the upwardly and downwardly two penetrations are like the snake enters a bamboo tube. It is like [that the snake] has no other way out except from the upward or downward two [exits].

Translation Committee (2000: 117-120).

⁴⁷¹ The term *dal 'byor* is the abbreviation of *dal ba brgyad* (*eight leisures*) and *'byor ba bcu* (*ten endowments*). The most desirable human life is to have these 18 blessing condictions so that one can pursue for dharma practice. Further clarification of *dal 'byor*, see *Lam rim chen mo*, Lamrim Chenmo

[857]च.तेर.चंट. चे.एस्.चंट्र.चंथ्याच्थाः चर्थाः च्याच्याः चर्याः च्याः च्याः

$$\begin{split} & (\nabla \widehat{\varphi}_{1} - \widehat{\eta}_{1} - (\nabla \widehat{\varphi}_{1} - \nabla \widehat{\varphi}_{1}$$

⁴⁷² Read as: ম'মাই

⁴⁷³ The phrase has appeared again later as শ্রুণা শুরুণা শুরুণ, it is to be read in the same way here.

People [who] are not [in these] two [groups] such as the old, the adult, the young, [the yogi who] have entered the (spiritual) path⁴⁷⁴, ordinary human, male, female or neutral whatsoever, will understand [how to have] "joy at the moment of death" in a single instant after they possess the instruction of 'pho ba.

The second section is about the place wherever [one will] transfer. The upper penetration is to transfer upward to the realm of Buddha, in which [the yogi will become] liberation at the same time when [his] breath stops. The lower penetration is to transfer to the Avici Hell. [He] will fall there at the same time when [his] breath stops. Furthermore, it is not like [that he] must meet [someone] at a place far away but mainly depending on the individual feeling, [when he enters death, he] will [transfer] to the place at the same time without having the time of early or later return. People [who] possess the instruction of 'pho ba can transfer to wherever wanted realm. Therefore, they should practice by [being] accustomed to the place of 'pho ba as mentioned in the instruction.

The third section is [about] the method of how to transfer. [It contains two parts]: the transference with basis, i.e., the instruction of resurrection, and the transference without basis [that is] free from [any] support. Regarding the transference with basis, now [the yogi shall] obtain the acquired intellectual power over [holding] breath, [shall] understand all dharmas that comprise saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are like dreams or illusions, and [he shall] concentrate the mind on the visualised field of whomever without waving. [Afterwards the yogi] should first practice, then bring down the concentration by the sign of experience, and finally at the desired time [he] performs 'pho ba to the new corpse [that is] not temporary died [and] without engaged in damage. The instruction of that will not be mentioned here. Regarding the transference without basis: [the best case is] transference of aimless dharmakāya; [the intermediate case is] transference of indivisible saṃbhogakāya; [the least case is] transference of practice nirmāṇakāya; [general] transference of the blessing of lama [and the secret path] of unerring transference in the celestial realm. One [should] perform 'pho ba in order like that.

⁴⁷⁴ To enter the path means that the practitioner reaches the stage of achieveing Buddhahood. The Path can be categories in various ways depending on the tradition. See Tucci (1980: 49-50) for Five Paths. For Kong sprul's teachings on how to enter the path as a beginner, see Harding (2002).

Here *rten can du 'pho ba* is understood as transferring consciousness to an actual target, i.e., a fresh corpse as explained in the following text. I translate the term *grong 'jug* as "resurrection" for the sake of shorten the sentence. Discussion on this term can be found in several footnotes in earlier chapters, e.g., pp.31-32, p.43. As for the transference without basis, it refers to the goals in the transcendental spheres, e.g., the *trikāya* and the celestial realm.

प्रकृ.तप्प्रंश्च प्रमान क्षेत्र, तप्प्र, व्यक्ष, व्यक्ष, तप्प्र, व्यक्ष, व्य

 $\frac{2}{3} \cdot \tilde{\xi}_{4} \cdot \tilde{g}_{1} \cdot \tilde{\chi}_{1} \cdot \tilde{\chi}_{2} \cdot \tilde{\chi}_{3} \cdot \tilde{\chi}_{4} \cdot \tilde{\chi}_{1} \cdot \tilde{\chi}_{4} \cdot \tilde{\chi}_{1} \cdot \tilde{\chi}_{1}$

The fourth section is in regard to the disadvantage of not having the instruction of 'pho ba. It is like a person who has the strength and the wish to go to somewhere such as rDo rje gdan (Bodhgayā), who has all necessary provisions [he] needs on the way [and] the requisite of journey to [be] there. [He] travels with enthusiastic energy and has confidence [that] no fear of enemy whatsoever will occur [on his way]. [However], when [he] reaches at four-way crossroads of the bank of [a] wide road, if he did not go with someone⁴⁷⁶ [who] has knowledge to guide [the way] unerringly, he will not reach the desired destination because of [being] confused on the way. [Besides, he might] have the danger of wandering [around and keep] returning [from somewhere that is] not [the right way]. To go with [someone who] has knowledge [is] similar to [the situation of] reaching the aimed place quickly without suspicion in mind. 477 Also [in the same way] here, [when a] person has the virtue of practice ability, [who wish to] go through supreme enlightenment, [who] possesses abundance of favourable conditions [and yet] without unfavourable conditions in the Path⁴⁷⁸ [of religious practice], if [he] does not have the instruction of 'pho ba at the moment of death, there will be danger of wandering in some irrelevant paths.

<u>The fifth section</u> [will explain] the virtue of [being] transferred [if someone] possesses the instruction of 'pho ba. Every karmic action [that is] accumulated from the lives in the beginning-less of saṃsāra and the obstacles and hindrances of affliction together with habitual tendency will be purified instantly like cleaning the dust on the mirror.⁴⁷⁹ The virtues maintained by the instruction of 'pho ba is beyond expression. For instance, the best progress [is to become] awakened in sufficiency.

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⁴⁷⁶ Literally the term *shan ba* means "the master or rower of a boat", see Jäschke (1975: 557). However, it does not fit into the context of this passage. I render *shan ba* as "someone" that will be characterised in the following sentences.

⁴⁷⁷ *Blo* is rendered simply as the mind here. However, it is associated with various mental operations. For example, Jäschke distinguishes it as (a) the intellectual power in man, (b) thought, memory and (c) sentiment, desire, etc. See illustrations in Jäschke (1975: 384-385) & Das (1976: 902-904).

⁴⁷⁸ According to *Abhidharmakoṣa*, there are various delusions and views to be cast on the Path of meditation and the Path of seeing. Details of the delusions and views, see Rigzin (1993: 58-59, 127-128). The Path of seeing and the Path of meditation are categorised as the fourth stage of meditation on emptiness. Further detailed explanations, see Hopkins (1983: 96-98, 99-109).

⁴⁷⁹ A thorough discussion on the concepts of *nyon mongs* (*kleśa*) and *bag chags* (*vāsanā*), see Snellgrove (2002: 100-105). Regarding the rituals in relation to eliminate the defilement and obscuration accrued in the past lives and the present, see Tucci (1980: 47, 59, 87, 152).

બર્સુ-૧૫ સ્વારા ત્યાર્સુ માર્ચુ મા

⁴⁸⁰ Read as: ₹[₹]

The medium [progress is to become] awakened in the realm of *dharmakāya* by purifying completely the hindrances of [the views that need to be] abandoned [on the Path of] seeing and [the delusions that need to be] abandoned [on the Path of] meditation. [Afterwards], the image of two united [deities] in the intermediate state will appear. Finally, [one] will become awakened and will be protected from the fear of illness and condemnation because of the continuity of good deeds through the holy and special body of god or human gradually in each rebirth. In brief the result of transference is definitely to engage in the spiritual sphere of three embodiments/bodies.⁴⁸¹

<u>The sixth section</u> [of] the actual instructions of 'pho ba, is said to have many [methods]. The best [is] to transfer into luminosity, the aimless dharmakāya. The medium [method] is to transfer into an illusory body, the united saṃbhogakāya. Finally [is] to transfer into the body of a god, the practice nirmāṇakāya. [Besides, there are two other ways, such as] the all-pervasive transference [that] relies on devotion with sufficient remembrance on lama and the unerring transference to the celestial realm [that] makes intercourse in the secret way. [One] should spare [some time] to practice 'pho ba [by] any of these [methods as] soon [as] having time. Even if [he] does not practice, [he shall] modify the body [posture] of the dying person [and then] advice [the method of] 'pho ba. If it is too much hurry or having no time, [one shall] implement 'pho ba by forceful means. [It is said] in the scripture:

"Those [who have] special superior and the moderate intellectual power [will] just transfer to the five sense-objects. The superb beings [will] transfer from the secret path into *dharmakāya*. [The beings] under that [will] transfer to *saṃbhogakāya*, under that [will] transfer to *nirmāṇakāya*, under that [will] transfer to Tuṣita Heaven. ⁴⁸² It is the path [for] all practitioners by connecting knowledge to the desired realm."

This is [quotation] from the scripture called *mNyam sbyor*.

I. Transfer into luminosity⁴⁸³

First, [it is] regarding the superior [method of] transferring into luminosity – the aimless of $dharmak\bar{a}ya$. If [the yogi] has accustomed to memorise [the teaching of] luminosity previously and has connected the vision of the day and the vision of the night, then [he should] focus [his] awareness on that [vision] without distraction.

⁴⁸¹ It refers to the Buddha fields manifested by the three aspects of Buddha bodies. They can be named differently along with different Buddha. See *THB* 9, Schwieger (1985: xvii-xxi).

⁴⁸² About the celestial realm Tusita Heaven, see Snellgrove (2002: 7, 61, 314).

⁴⁸³ The following underlined titles are emphasised by me for clarification.

યાં સે માર્યા સે માર્યા સે માર્યા ત્રાપ્ત સે માર્યા તરા ત્રે ત્યાર્ સે માર્યા ત્રાપ્ત સે માર્યા તરા સે માર્યા તરા સે માર્યા સે માર્યા માર્

To focus the awareness on the eyes, [that is to say, let] the air and the awareness [go through the path that] penetrates from inside of the heart to the eyes [like a] thread of white silk or the hole of [a] straw pipe. After focusing the eyes on the vision of pure sphere, [he] should place [his] own awareness in simplicity. That is the sphere of activity that the noble beings have accustomed on the meaning of luminosity before with diligence. It will be the best if [he can] accustom a bit on the key point of direct perception. That person will be awakening in aimless *dharmakāya*.

II. Transfer into the illusory body

The second [is] regarding the intermediate [method] of transferring into illusory body – the unification of sambhogakāya. Some people have practiced [the yoga of] recognising the dream and the illusory body from the past, [so at] the time of death [they will] know the bar do as bar do and [will] concentrate on thinking the necessity of practicing [all existence] as illusion. Thereupon, when the visions appear in the bar do, [they will] generate the recognition of bar do, and the confidence [that] all dharmas [that] comprise of phenomenal existence, samsāra and nirvāna⁴⁸⁴ are like dreams or illusions. [They will] completely remember the perfect realm of sambhogakāya Buddha such as the Five Buddha Families. Only by memorising like that, that person will transfer to wherever place [that] the awareness has focused because of the accustomed power [obtained] before, [and because of] no body tied by substantial material in the bar do, [so he] will achieve awakening in the united sambhogakāya. Therefore, the transference of aimless dharmakāya and the transference of united sambhogakāya [these] two are spheres of activities [for those who] have gained the power of [being] accustomed to practice from the past. The visualisation appears in the mind at the same time of the liberation. For example, [after] the son of awareness display dissolves into the mother of *dharmata*⁴⁸⁵, [he will] obtain irreversible stability, [which] is like a small river dissolves into the scope of big ocean.

III. Transfer into the body of god

The third [is] regarding the basic [method] of transferring into the body of a god, the practice *nirmāṇakāya*. [There are] three [parts]: the first practice, the second maintaining limitation and the third applying into action.

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⁴⁸⁴ Regrading the concepts of *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, see Snellgrove (2002: 11-28).

⁴⁸⁵ That is the essence or the reality state of all phenomenal existences. Explanation of dharmatā, see Tucci (1980: 56, 220), Snellgrove (2002: 89, 96, 126).

$$\begin{split} & \qquad \qquad \text{તે } \vec{Q} \vec{C} \cdot \vec{A} \vec{Q} \vec{S} \cdot \vec{Q} \cdot \vec{Q} \vec{S} \cdot$$

⁴⁸⁶ Read as: धेर दे

1. Practice

There are three [points] in [the section of] practice: to hinder unsuitable [conditions], to carry out [with] suitable [conditions], and the [actual] training.

A. Suppress unsuitable conditions

(i) People

The unsuitable people are [as following]. People [who has] haste breath should not practice. Likewise, [the following] people should not practice 'pho ba: who has distracted mind, [who] has [disturbance of] the life-sustaning wind, 487 [who] has physical illness, [who] is possessed by evil spirit, 488 the pregnant woman, [who] is in deep grief, or whose strength of actions repeatedly occur, and who has time to be angry or scared. If people as such practice ['pho ba], it will cause untimely death and will have the fault of taking [their] own life.

(ii) Time

The unsuitable times are [as follows]: when the wisdom descends,⁴⁸⁹ when continuing the practice of the secret mantra, on the sacred days of the month such as the three [special] days – the 8th, 15th and 30th, when [one] suffers from physical illness, when the mind is distracted because of grief and depression, when the body is intoxicated by food and drink, when [one] is physically exhausted due to hunger and thirst, when recovers from tiredness after heavy work, or when [the feeling of] very gloomy and sorrow arise.

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⁴⁸⁷ In Tibetan medical theory, the imbalance of *srog rlung* can cause mental problems. Further explanation see Ketzer & Crescenzi (2002: 307-308). *Srog rlung* is also in control of transferring thoughts and sensory impulses. See Aris (1992: 47). Besides, it is believed that during sleep when the subtle consciousness arises along the flow of *srog rlung*, the dream will then arise. See Young (1999: 70-71).

Regarding the possible results cause by the evil spirit *gdon*, see Tucci (1980: 173-175).

⁴⁸⁹ I reckon that is referred to the last stage of dissolutions happened during death. According to Lati Rinbochay & Hopkins (1979: 16-19, 32-48), between the first and the fourth dissolution, the "basic wisdom" remain as ordinary consciousness; while from the fifth dissolution onwards, the subtle body starts to evolve and thus various levels of the mind will manifest. Particulally in the eighth dissolution when the clear light of death appears, that is the moment to establish the "wisdom truth body". See also Hopkins (1983: 118-120) for the achievement of the "wisdom body". We will read the explanation of the dissolutions later in section III.3 (A). In this 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba, the author has referred wisdom as the nature or essence of one's own consciousness (*rang gi rnam shes kyi ngo bo*). See page 190.

प्रदार प्रमुत्त प्रम

⁴⁹⁰ Read as: ব্রীমা

⁴⁹¹ Read as: ম'55'্থ

⁴⁹² Read as: नुषाप्यम

In brief, [the yogi] should not practice 'pho ba when [the mind is] distracted and when the connections of the body, speech and mind [are] unpleasant and weak. In case [he] practices during the time like these, the biggest [risk] is to cause his death. The medium [risk is] unable to reach the constancy [of concentration]. Finally, [the risk is] not to perceive the visualisation. Therefore these times are not suitable.

(iii) Place

The unsuitable places [are]: various places [where are] defilement and impurity,⁴⁹⁴ place of inferior people such as village and city, inauspicious place with heaps of roads, on a very high place, on a cliff, at a diverted and distracted place, the empty temple where evil demons stay, the cemetery, and the cross-road. [There will be] many disadvantages [if one] practices at [places] like these.The visualisation cannot be maintained and the kep point cannot be fulfilled, [or the goal] cannot be established at the required time. He should know the similar [situations] of these types and eliminate those unacceptable [cases].

B. Carry out with suitable conditions

(i) People

To carry out [with] suitable [conditions], the most suitable people [are those who have] accustomed [the practice of] breath, the middle [are who have] accustomed *samādhi* and the least [are who] are afraid of the pitiable abyss of the lower realms. People [who] should practice are: those who [possess five] organs senses [as the] best [case]; [who encounter] many signs of death [as] the intermediate [case] and finally [who] reach death and aged. Because life [will be] consumed if the practice [is] too much, [he] should not forget to do [it] just to keep the right measure and stabilise the visualisation. Because [he does] not know when death [will come], to measure any connection [that might] cause death, [he] should either practice one section per day or only three times per month. In brief, it is important to accustom directly to [the practice].

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⁴⁹³ It is vague regarding what to be maintained with constancy. However, judging by the context of the practice, I reckon that having the concentration of the training or the constancy of the visualisation is the case here.

⁴⁹⁴ There are a wide range of meanings associated with *grib* and *mi gtsang* in Tibetan culture. According to Tucci (1980: 173, 200-201), several kinds of impurity can cause by man who has done evil deeds or simply in connection with misfortune. In the case of food, it is considered as impure if offered by a criminal or a widow. In certain area, the craft of smith is believed to be impure for there is a potential link of dangerous. Except for the meaning of defilement, the word *grib* also has connotation of shadow, spot or darkness.

क्ष्यश्चातास्त्रास्त्रात्त्र हुँ स्याप्त्र वायस्य स्वायस्य स्वयस्य स

495 Read as: ¶5

(ii) Time

The suitable times [are]: in general, [when there are] auspicious [signs] ⁴⁹⁶ of increasing life and not entering [the conditions that might cause] danger to life. For example in the spring when trees and plants are budding, and in the autumn when fruits and grains etc. are ripened. Those [who] wish to cut off the tie with [this] world, to reverse attachment, and to reduce manifold thoughts, they should practice in the autumn when the cracked grain contains elixir inside, and when all leaves [are] fallen on the ground. [That is because people will] have intention [of being] diligent quickly for teachings during these times. In particular, [the yogi] will maintain the visualisation if [he] practices from the dawn till the morning, at the evening and at midnight. Especially, [the yogi] should practice during the period of good health and pure spirit⁴⁹⁷, when the body, speech and mind are well, when hunger and satisfaction [are in] balance, and when [the mind] is free from distraction. There are many purposes, such as in the short-term, [that of] increasing one's experience of practice, and in the long-term, [that of] benefiting the wanted life.

(iii) Place

In general, the suitable places [are those] without noise and distraction, a quiet place [where having] a cheerful and pleasant atmosphere, the places [where can] improve spontaneously virtuous practice, and particularly the place [from where one can] see the spacious sky, the snow and a big river (or lake). Especially, when [the yogi] practices at the place [where is] in harmony with [his] own mind, [he] is able to transfer into another body by practicing 'pho ba [as] the best [result]. [He can] go without interruption to the place wherever the awareness concentrates [as] the medium [result]. At the least, [he] will hold the visualisation unerringly. Therefore, the person [who wish to] practice 'pho ba should practice [it] as ordinary by knowing any type of suitable [condition], time, place and person.

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⁴⁹⁶ *rTen 'brel*, the abbreviation of *rten par 'brel bar gyur ba*. It is known as one of the fundamental Buddhist principle, the twelve causes of existence. I take the meaning of auspicious signs here. Further elucidation on the twelve factors, see Lamrim Chenmo Translation Committee (2000: 315-325).

⁴⁹⁷ Rig pa is basically rendered as the awareness in this text. However, to adjust the context here, I translate rig pa dangs as pure spirit.

ક્રળાર્સુંદ ન ન ને દ્રાયાના સુઆ સેક ર્સન તર્ને ને ના નિક દેવા ર્સેક

હૈ.ભર.મ્થર.ज.चैरः जम.त.भ३भ.च७म.मु.सेम.कै.प२७.च२.चૈष्टः २तिट.त.मूर.मेर्च्य.जैर.मट.रा.टु.शूचः भूचेश.प.लैयाश.मी.लैय.ची.जै.प२७.चयंचः १.लट.जेश.मू.च.चूचा.लैय.त.चुट्यः भूचेश.चच्चेतः भूट.त.भट्य.जैय.चच्चेटः

C. Actual practice

The three actual practices [are]: the preliminary preparation, the main part and the conclusion.

(i) Preliminary preparation

First regarding the preliminary preparation, [the yogi should] settle the body [as] the key point of yogic exercise⁴⁹⁸, settle the speech [as] the key point of holding the breath and settle the mind [as] the key point of *samādhi* visualisation. In this way, [after having] settled the key points of the body, speech and mind three [aspects], at the time of application [it] will be sufficient only [by] modifying the body [posture], [by] holding the breath and [by] remembering the visualisation. [Thus he] will transfer to the place wherever [he] wants without much effort. For example, it is like a person [who] has practice the skill of shooting arrow, [after being] accustomed [to such skill, he] will hit at wherever aimed target without much effort.

(a) Body preparation

Further more, in regard to the posture of body, [the yogi] should cross each of the legs as [the form of] eyes, straight up the waist like [an] arrow, brandish the shoulders like the wings of vulture, bend forward the neck like [an] iron hook, bring the eyes down on the tip of nose, stick the tongue together with the palate and place the hands evenly in meditation gesture.⁴⁹⁹

(b) Speech preparation

Regarding the key point of speech, after modifying the body [posture] like that, [the yogi should] exhale the stale breath three times from each of the right, left and central three [$n\bar{a}d\bar{d}$]. After being relaxing for a while, [he should] inhale a new breath continuously and press it at the stomach gently. At the same time, bring the lower air (rlung) up and hold it in the mouth as a vase. ⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁸ *Khrul 'khor* has the meaning of "wheel of confusion". However, it refers to the technique of yogic exercise in this context, e.g., the teaching *Lus kyi 'khrul 'khor gyi 'pho ba* mentioned earlier (p.54). Additionally, the term *lus gnad* here seems to indicate the seven physical posture that the yogi should maintain in the practice of meditation. See Jäschke (1975: 309). I will render *lus gnad* simply as "body posture" in the following.

⁴⁹⁹ In tantric practice, along with the recitation of mantras, certain parts of the body must be touched. The way to proceed is called *phyag rgya* or mudrā. It is often translated as seal or hand gesture. See Tucci (1980: 96). For various mutrā in the application of rituals, see Beyer (1978: 143-179), Hopkins (1987: 79-90, 95-100, 115-131).

⁵⁰⁰ Another way of reading is to take "kha sbyor bum pa can" as the name of a practice.

કું. સ્તા. તર્શેલ. તરુલ. તર

If [the breath] is held too strong, the obstacle [may] occur; therefore [he] should hold [the breath] within the possible time. When exhaling the breath, [one] should let it flow slowly, continuously and smoothly [from the nose] but not from the mouth. In brief, [the yogi] should equal the period of inhaling the wind, holding it inside and exhaling it out three [steps] and practice [it until becoming] accustomed. Particularly for [those who] wish to transform into another body, it is important to obtain the stability [in the practice] of breath. Regarding the limit of obtaining the stability, [one should] be able to inhale and exhale [his] breath without choosing the doors of sense organs, and [should] gain control to hold the breath as long as [he] wishes, and have the capacity to control the exhaling air.

To hold the breath circulation as a vase (*rlung bum pa can*), [there are] the gentle and the harsh two [types of methods]. The harsh breath can consume the life, so [it should be] abandoned. In some texts, it is said that the practice of strong and harsh breath can obtain the achievement [much] quicker. However, if [the practice] is not associated with the power of *samādhi* but only with the harsh breath, [it can] consume the physical body in the meanwhile. [The yogi] cannot obtain the achievement just by [utilising] the karmic wind (*las rlung*)⁵⁰¹ because [it will] consume the life in the end. The power of breath alone cannot give the best [result]. Therefore, [one should] hold the gentle breath slowly for a long time and hold it evenly on its place, then the session [of meditate can be] settled. Regarding the phase of training session, the best [case is to practice] 108 times, the medium 72 times and at the least 36 times. To accustom and stabilise the breath circulation as a vase in any general or particular [practice] is the key point. As long as as [the breath] is stabilised, [the yogi] will be able to transfer to wherever desired [destination], therefore [he] will obtain self control over rebirth and enter [another body].

According to tantric teachings, the karmic wind is believed to circulate in the right and left channles of the subtle body. The counter part of the wind remains as ordinary consciousness. However, when the karmic wind is drawn into the central channel, it will then be transformed and named as wisdom wind (*ye she rlung*). In this case, the transcendent consciousness will be achieved as well. See Aris (1992: 39), Stearns (1999: 99-100, 265). Explanation of the process of transformation of *sems* and *rlung* that occurs at death, see Tucci (1980: 106-109).

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⁵⁰² Read as: ৭ সুব

⁵⁰³ Read as: 55

(c) Mind preparation

In regard to the key point of *samādhi* visualisation, [as mentioned] before, [the yogi] should either acquire the power over [holding] the breath or become accustomed to the technique of [holding] breath at the end. By meditating [as such, he will] achieve whatever [he] wishes. Although it is said that [there are] many varieties of visualisations, the key points can be summarised in three parts: the place of transference; the visualising focus of transference; and the method of transference. Furthermore, the key points of the place of transference are: transfer without aim in the sphere of reality (*dharmadhātu*), [which is] free from visualisation; transfer [with] target of visualisation, i.e., toward the heart of the teacher, the deity and the Pākinī; transfer [with] union of luminosity toward the pure sphere; and transfer [with] devotion toward the desired place of the yogi himself. The visual focus of transference [is] the awareness of the natural display of one's mind, i.e., emptiness (*śūnyatā*)⁵⁰⁴.

When that [visual focus] is integrated with the original mother [state] of emptiness of the mind, [it will] depart from the awareness and transfer without reliance. Regarding the dependent [transference, there are various aspects of visualisations]. [For instance, visualise [through] one's awareness on the manifesting body such as rDo rje sems dpa' or Avalokiteśvara, whoever is intended. [The intended body is to be visualised] as subtle yet prominent, small yet beautiful, visible yet without self-produced nature⁵⁰⁵. Visualise the manifestations of speech like the syllables *Oṃ Āṃḥ Hūṃ Phaṭḥ* in white, red, blue, yellow, green and dark-blue. This vision is, as stated before, small [size of sesame seed] yet beautiful, subtle [as a horse tail cleaved in eight pieces] yet prominent and visible yet without self-produced nature [like the rainbow in the sky or the reflection on the mirror]. Visualise the manifestations of mudrā of mind as the five-pronged golden vajra [the [appearance] is, as stated before, subtle yet prominent, small yet beautiful, visible yet without self-produced nature. The colours are also as [mentioned] earlier], as the radiating jewel, the lotus, the crossed [vajra], the sword, the trident (*kha-ṭwaṃ*), the dagger, the wheel, the circle with two crescents⁵⁰⁶, the stūpa etc.

Regarding emptiness of the mind, see Hopkins (1983: 381-383, 396-397, 616-617). See also Karma Phuntsho (2005) for the debates and dialectics on Emptiness of Mi pham.

In the view of Chittamātrins, all the appearances of forms are not different from the perceiving consciousness. This philosophical background explains why the vision focus is visible yet without self-produced nature. For the introduction of Mind Only School, see Hopkins (1983: 365-397). Comparable views in terms of non-self, see Karma Phuntsho (2005: 4-5, 24-28).

⁵⁰⁶ See Goldstein (2001: 217) under dga' 'khyil.

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⁵⁰⁷ Read as: ₹

⁵⁰⁸ Read as: ৭র্থ

The support of emanation [is] a small boy of radiance and the *bindu* manifesting in white, yellow, red and green. The teacher [or] the *siddhi* [who] obtains the acquired power over the breath and the mind will [perform] the visualisation through the *samādhi* of meditation to guide consciousness of other being toward *dharmadhātu* etc. at the time of death. The [processes of] visualisation are: visualising the light-blue [syllable] Nri for human, the white Āḥ for god, the green Su for Asura, the dark-red Tri for animal, the light-green Phre for hungry ghosts and the smoked colour Du for the hell beings. [When] the nature of awareness [is] illuminated as such, the transference [will be] done.

Transferring without visualisation [by] the method of transference [is to] project the mind [that is in the state of] awareness together with the wind from the doors of eye-organs, and shoot [it] to the sky like the sphere of sky [is] spread with the sunlight. There are various methods to perform transference such as the method of spreading the mind – the awareness into the pervading space completely; and the method of transference by departing from the door of cranial aperture [at] the crown, like [an] arrow shot by [a] skilled archer; and also the method of transference in the way [that] a traveller enters the road [as] the rays of light crossing over distance. The method of transference by the way [that a piece of] long clothes or rainbow [is] grasped [or a] rope [is] pulled out of water; the method of transference by the way [that someone is] escorted [or] received; and the method of transference by the way of joining friends; the method of transference casually [and] firmly; the method of transference by generating *bodhicitta* [and] making benefits for sentient beings; the method of transference by embracing one's natural state without movement [as] the spacious sky.

Furthermore, the sharp visualisation is the weapon of the yogi, so [he should] not wander [away from] any held vision but concentrates single-mindedly without being interrupted by any other subtle or gross [thoughts that are] stirring or moving around. It is very important to meditate on [a vision] that is very clear, firm and still. As long as [the yogi maintains his] vision clear, certain and still, [he] is able to see and wander in all Buddha-fields instantly, to scatter countless emanations, to go beyond all appearance and existence. In brief, [the yogi] can bring those whatever emanations into realisation by [his] mind. The unclear and uncertain vision [is] due to the successive conceptual thoughts. Needless to say, the success result [is yet] to wish. It is known as falling into the uninterrupted circle in the wheel of saṃsāra. The method of samādhi will be explained below.

२६ँ अग्विः स्वाः श्रुद्धः विद्याः वि

⁵⁰⁹ Read as: ₹₹

⁵¹⁰ Read as: WINK

(ii) Main practice

Regarding the main practice, [after] possessing the key points of body and speech as before, [the yogi should] firstly practice to bring the nature of [his mind] into order, then recognise the awareness (*rig pa*), and finally settle the awareness and practice it.

(a) Settle the mind

First, regarding [the way of] bringing the nature of mind into order, if the mind [has already] been identified earlier, then [he] should practice the recognition. If not been identified, then [he shall] identify the entire appearance in the mind; identify the mind in the emptiness; identify the appearance and the emptiness in the non-duality; and identify the non-duality in self-liberation. Furthermore, identify the five poisons and the six aggregations as self-liberation. Thus these identifications should be understood as it is [in usual practice].

(b) Recognise the awareness

Second, in regard to the recognition of awareness, [one should remain] the nature of mind in the state of emptiness that is free from edge, centre, arising, ceasing and dwelling, [should] recalls everything [that is] not to be remembered, wanders everywhere [that should] not be wandered, and changes [the mind] from usual [state] many times within an instant. The awareness is [sometimes able] to know [whatever happen], [is sometimes] flickering, conceivable and momentarily. Once the [awareness] joining the wind that causes the [mind]⁵¹¹ stirring, [they will] deal with countless good or bad activities of samsāra and nirvāna. Therefore, it is important to make [the awareness] dissolve into the state of mother by understanding the definition of it. If [the mind] slips into unbridled, it would become [a] delusive movement. If [the awareness] is liberated naturally in the state of mother, [the yogi] will experience the supreme enlightenment. In this regard, it is important to achieve the enlightenment without separating the mother and the son, and to clear misconception and liberate the awareness in the state of mother in this superior life, i.e., the period between birth and death. 512 For those who do not [achieve] in this way, they should recognise the awareness and become completely liberated by remembering the instruction clearly during the bar do of dying.

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In my reading, the wind that makes movement ('gyur byed), stirs the mind and therefore, cause lots of thinking. Here the mind refers to its ordinary state.

The state of mother refers to the source of all mental activities. Here the mother and son are metaphors to indicate the state of awakening and the awareness of the yogi. For mother and son clear light, see Lati Rinbochay & Hopkins (1979: 47-48).

 $[873] \alpha \tilde{\mathbf{u}} \cdot \mathbf{u} \cdot \mathbf{u$

ড়ः त्या भव्रतः त्रवः व्या निक्षः सं विष्णः मार्चे मार्चे

[875]^시국ː ਹੁਨ੍ਹੰ៖

⁵¹³ Read as: ৰ্ভিন

As soon as the body falls apart, the awareness will dissolve into the space of true nature, [thus he] should practice now to accustom with [these procedures].

The so-called 'pho ba is a method of dissolving the awareness into the space of true nature at the moment of death by recognising [it] and by driving [it] to [the right] way before loosing [control] into the path of delusion. [This is a method of] simply revealing different [ways] in a moment. That is also known as the conductor [leads] the big sinner to [achieve] enlightenment by words. That also includes the instruction of key point of bar do or [the method] of liberating lazy [person] at the time of death. It is important to exercise thoroughly these key points as many as possible. This union [of the wind and the awareness] at the moment of death is crucial, [thus] very holy. Even for those [who] wish for the best, there is the danger of having mistake at this time, so please be careful and be concentrated. It is important to differentiate the two, the breath and the awareness, and focus on the space of great extensive wisdom.

(c) Settle the awareness

Finally [about] settle the awareness, [one should] practice like this. [The yogi should] possess the key points of the body, speech and mind as before and sit on a comfortable cushion at a very solitary place. [Then] take refuge and generate super bodhicitta. [He] should contemplate [that] all of the sentient beings [who] wander in this samsāra have been my father and mother once. It is a pity that these gracious fathers and mothers are wandering in the trap of suffering samsāra. For the sake of those people, I should practice 'pho ba and achieve Buddhahood in order to liberate all sentient beings from the ocean of suffering samsāra. From the state of thinking to do [so], [he should] generate the vision immediately [that] the ordinary body is not an aggregation of material flesh and blood, [but] has the form of deity or god [Whomever one is devoted to]. That [body] is made of rainbow and light without self-produced nature. [He should then visualise] a central channel (avadhūtī) planted between the crown of the head and the secret place [that is] like a crystal hollow pillar in the size of arrow shaft with empty inside. The visualised [avadhūtī is] as an open window (rgya mthong) on the upper tip at the cranial aperture. 515 [He should visualise] Buddha Amitābha in the sky about [the distance of an arrow [from the head], [whose] body [is] in red colour with one face, two arms, in the form of *nirmānakāya* without no self-produced nature, [that is] in the same size as the one's body, equally as one.

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This sentence might also be read as: this practice at the time of death, the crucial point, is very tense.

I could not make sense out of the term *kha dang deb* in this context. Since it is already described as a open window on the top of the visualised channel, I reckon that is acceptable to leave the image of "open mouth" aside, if this is the case.

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⁵¹⁶ Read as: गुरुषायसम्

[At this moment, one should visualise one's own root lama or the embodiment of all Buddhas [such as] Glorious Vajrasattva, the god of deity or the consort Vajravārāhī. In brief [one should visualise] on whomever devoted to and whomever most generated and accustomed].

After that, one's natural awareness on the heart in the central channel concentrates on the glorious Vajrasattva, [whose] body colour [is] white with one face [and] two arms, [sitting] cross-legged in the appearance of sambhogakāya, [who] holds vajra [and] bell in the right and the left hands crossing at the heart with a smiling appearance. [Focus on] a bright white [syllable] Ah at the heart of body [that is] visible [yet] emptiness like illusion in whatever colour. [The syllable Ah] is written by [a brush made from] hairs of a horse-tail [that is] cleaved into eight [pieces]. [One should] meditate until the mind (yid) becomes stable from the state of no moving [in] the body, no word [in] the speech and no distraction [in] the mind. In this way, [one] prays the visions becoming clear and stable, and Vajrasattva remaining steadily. [Then one] brings out the white Ah at the heart upwardly, expels [it] through the cranial aperture and [let it] dissolve into the heart of Amitābha above. That [white $A\underline{h}$] enters through the secret path of Amitābha and dissolves into the bright and shinning bare red Hrī at the heart [of Amitābha]. In the same way, imagine the countless white [syllable] Ah moving upwards one by one and dissolving gradually into Hrī at the heart of Amitābha. [This contemplation] should be done as the practice in the daytime.

At the end of the session, [the yogi should] focus on consciousness (*shes pa*) for a while after Amitābha going down and entering [the yogi's] cranial aperture on the crown in the travel path of [the syllable] $A\dot{p}$. In that $avadh\bar{u}t\bar{t}$, the nature of one's consciousness (*rnam shes*) dissolves into the radiating Vajrasattva, and joins together inseparably. That [integration] transforms into a bud of light, [which is] about the size of a broad bean in the complexion of white tinged with red colour. After that, the bud of light along with the body turns into the state like the rainbow vanishing from the sky, [then] remains in balance unconditionedly. [He] should contempate that the trace of Amitābha's descending—the cranial aperture on the crown—is blocked like [a] covered window. Furthermore, regarding the method of blocking the holes of sense organs, [the yogi] should visualise as [the methods] mentioned below.

When the time of the evening [practice] arrived, [the activities] are the same as before, such as taking refuge and generating *bodhicitta*; contemplating one's body [as] bright [as] the devoted deity and Amitābha on top of the manifesting *avadhūtī*;

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Here *mnyam par bzhag* indicates the state of equanimity, but I render it literally as remain in balance or evenly. For the clarification of equanimity, see Lamrim Chenmo Translation Committee (2002: 68-71).

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and arranging the body and speech [according to] the key points. In particular, contemplate on a blue Hūṃ [or] whatever colour [appearing] at the centre of one's navel. That Hūṃ falls down to the secret place with radiating of immeasurable light in the appearance of red Hrī like sparkles of blacksmith. Those [sparkles] burn and tame all of the evil spirit that cause diseases, obstacles and hindrance together with the habitual tendency of affliction of the body, speech and mind three [aspects]. [Therefore] the whole inside of the body becomes like a pitched tent of red silk.

Again from that $H\bar{u}m$, many yellow *Phaṭḥ* radiating in the appearance of light like made out of the most excellent gold. [The Phaṭḥ] blocks the two lower doors: anus and urinary organ, blocks the two doors of eyes [that] function for seeing. [It also] blocks the two ears, the two nose-holes, the mouth, the pores of the body and the main door of mindful consciousness (*dran shes*)⁵¹⁸ [at] the heart, then [it] should remain at the mouth of cranial aperture on the crown. That blue $H\bar{u}m$ or whatever colour, [which is] no difference from one's consciousness, is slowly pulled up from the secret place to the navel and rests at the navel until one circulation of breath (*rlung khug*). Again having arisen slowly to the heart, in the same way to the throat, and then departs from the cranial aperture on the crown. [It] enters into the secret place of Amitābha and slowly reaches upward at his crown (usnīsa) of head through the *avadhūtī*. After proceeding continuously, [it] remains [there] for three circulations of breath.

Contemplate again that $H\bar{u}m$ descending downward. [It] descends slowly as before through the throat, the heart, the navel, [then] reaches and rests at the secret place. In this way, focus one's mind on the movement of upward and downward from the crown of Amitābha to the lower part of one's $avadh\bar{u}t\bar{t}$. Then [the yogi] should slowly hold the breath circulation as a vase, relax consciousness ($shes\ pa$) at ease and also hold the visualisation slowly. It is important to bring the outer wind and the inner awareness together, [then] combine the held breath and the apprehended visualisation. Since the breath and the awareness are combined, the awareness on the focus of $H\bar{u}m$ will be held and stabilised by pressing the air. When the awareness becomes stabilised on the focus of $H\bar{u}m$, the technique of breath will be penetrated with interconnection. It is important [to do it] very slowly because obstacles [can] occur if the passage of $H\bar{u}m$ [is] strong and busy. [Therefore], it is important to maintain the vision very clear without moving from the beginning.

Dran shes bears the same meaning as dran pa. It refers to the case that the sense-object is apprehened by the momory of consciousness. See Wallace (1998: 278). For the concept of "memory of the past" or "mindfulness" in Buddhist traditions, see Gyatso (1992).

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If [the vision] is not captured and not clear from the beginning, it will not be clear later no matter how much [the yogi] concentrates. As long as [the vision] is clear from the beginning, it will appear vividly in the future just by focusing on the awareness. It is impossible not being successful when the key point of [the transference] is performed at the moment of death.

In this way, [the yogi should] practice until become exhausted. When [the yogi becomes] exhausted and [wants to] break the session, [he should] contemplate on $H\bar{u}m$, which dissolves into the heart of Amitābha. Then Amitābha slowly melts into light that descends at one's cranial aperture. For example, it is like filling the melted copper fluid in the fine hole of the cast statue [that is] pervaded complete by fire. [The light] falls in the $avadh\bar{u}t\bar{t}$ and fills up the whole body slowly in red. [He] should remain equally in the state of no conceptual thought.

In this way, the arrangement of the visualisation support and the practice should be understood by continuing the meditation of day and night. [The yogi] should make effort to practice as mentioned above on the visualisation, e.g., particularly as explained before, transform the body [into] the complete body [of deity], [transform] the speech into syllables, [transform] the mind into mudrā, [and transform] the support of emanation into the light-sphere. These are the teachings [regarding] the methods of the actual practice.

(iii) Conclusion

Concerning the conclusion of the practice, [the yogi] should dedicate⁵¹⁹ the virtuous roots derived from that [practices before] to all sentient beings for their awakening. [He should] purify the body, speech and mind three [aspects] during the [training] session, [and] transform all phenomenon and existence to manifestation [that is] like dream and illusion. At the time of practice, [the yogi] depends on nutrition [such as] food and drink. [He] should massage the body with sesame oil and generate strongly the overwhelmed devotion, pray to the teacher, invoke the stream of mind by [thinking] of the impermanence of death. Meditate many times in a short session. Regarding this, the best [case] is to practice for a month, the medium 21 days or at least 11 days, not being disturbed by any other activity of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* [without break in between]. In the future, [he] should visualise from time to time without forgetting [it]. The others to be done afterwards are general and common dharma activities.

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Dedication is an important activity to conclude the yogi's practice in both Mahāyana and Vajrayana traditions. The concept has derived from the concern of generating *bodhicitta* and the altruistite motivation. See Samuel (1993: 242-243).

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⁵²⁰ Read as: མར

2. Maintain limitation

Four [points] of keeping limitation [are]: the actual signs of limit, depending on [an] antidote to suppress [negativity], removing obstacles, and depending on the visualisation [that will] not consume life.

A. The actual signs of limit

First, in regard to the signs of limit, the practice of [controlling] the breath and the awareness in the visualisation of 'pho ba, [the following signs] will come to the most intelligent or diligent person, e.g., the bone on the crown [will] swell, the extra muscle grows, [a] stalk [can be] fixed in the cranial aperture, and [hearing] rustling sound of the wind. To the medium intelligent and the average diligent person, there will be [signs] such as feeling dizzying in the head, brimming yellow fluid at the crown and flickering the steam and the drop on their heads. To the inferior and less diligent [person], there is the feeling of itching at the crown, going into shock, flashing pain, and the window at the crown [is] open. [It is] also possible [that] some people will see no sign at all. When [the yogi] elucidates, stabilises and obtains power over visualisation, it is alright [if] no [sign] occurs. When the visualisation is not clear and the action is unsuitable, [it is] meaningless [even if] the hair of the crown falling out [and] the forehead lumps up. [Therefore], it is important to gain control over the awareness such as sending the awareness to wherever [he wishes to] reside and let it go straight away to any [devoted] place.

B. Antidotes

In regard to the method [that is] depending on [an] antidote to suppress [negativity], [the yogi should] bring the visualisation down a little bit, [then] generate [the vision] of the consort Vajravārāhī in red, [who] is young and decorated with various ornaments at the secret place. First, the white Ah and blue Hūm appear at the heart of Amitābha [who exists] on the top. The white Ah and Vajrasattva are the same as [mentioned] before. The ornamented red Hūm appears at the centre of the Five-pronged vajra of Hūm. When the day or the night breaks, [the red Hūm] gradually descends downward and arrives on the crown of Vajravārāhī [who exists] at the secret place. [The red *Hūm*] reaches at [the yogi's] secret place from Vajravārāhī's cranial aperture through [her] avadhūtī. After visualising [like that], [the yogi] remains evenly for a while in the state of aimless. Bring [the vision] down again as earlier and repeat the practice for 21 times. Depending on the breath circulation as a vase like before; at this time, contemplate syllable Ah also in red colour. In this way, by contemplating on [syllables] $H\bar{u}m$ and Ah in red the experience of bliss and emptiness will arise. The limitation of longer or shorter period [for practice] is controlled by the breath, so [the yogi] should accustom [himself] a bit to the key points of breath.

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⁵²¹ Read as: 95

If [the yogi is] not accustomed with [the practice of breath], [he should] establish the limit by the mind (sems). [That is to say], when the awareness rests in the circle of [moving] upward from the bottom and [moving] downward from the top these two practices, [the yogi] first takes one breath circulation, then two and then three [times]. [In total] five times of each [movement] from the top and the bottom. [He] should know the method of reverse, i.e., when bring [the breath] downward, do same as how it [moves] upward. In some cases, [the yogi] need the visualisation of the light [that] radiates from unmoving entity such as the meditative support of [syllables] $A\dot{p}$ and $H\bar{u}\dot{m}$. [The light is] thrown upward [but] not falling down afterward. Although it is said [that] it is not necessary to suppress the visualisation of moving upward and downward as one [circle], if only practice the visualisation of 'pho ba, the practice will have [damages] such as weakening the strength of body, idolising the blessing, consciousness becomes certain [to be] cut, the heat of body will be gone little bit and the senses [become] unclear; so it is important to practice a bit of bringing the vision down for the suppression.

If the yogi focuses on the descending vision too intensive, there will be the fault [that] [the awareness] cannot not be guided upward, [therefore] when estimating the measurement, it is important to make one descending vision after each hundred times of ascending visions. Thus the damages [mentioned] earlier will not occur. In case [the awareness] is transferred in below, it is necessary to transfer it to the heart of the consort Vajravārāhī.

C. Dispel the obstacles

In regard to removing obstacles, the breath [might] stop [if] the practice of 'pho ba is overdone, [one should] knock at the heart [with] sparkling water, hit the bottom of the foot, play loud music or make noise at the ears to reverse [the situation]. It is important to stabilise and limit the visualisation because there is a risk to transfer [if] the visualisation is too sharp and if the effort is too intensive. [One] should modify the breath as general [practice] when any of these [situations] occur: feeling the arising air, vomiting, being dizziness, the mind (shes pa) [becomes] confused and extensive delusion. When [the yogi feels] comfortable, [he should] prolong the distracted practice slowly. [He should] rest a little bit from the practice and search for a peaceful place when these [situations] occur: when the mind becomes anxious, emotional, empty inside as if [he is] in shock, feeling unhappy by thinking that death is certain in any case, not being delighted and not engage in virtuous practices. [The yogi] remains evenly after contemplating that the countless lama, deity and Pākinī dissolve to the heart simply by supplicating and meditating guru yoga at the heart.

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⁵²² Read as: শূর্জার ক্রমান

⁵²³ Read as: শুর্তের্বার

The body, speech and mind – all three [aspects] remain in the nature sphere. When the visualisation of meditation [becomes] vivid, if the unhappy [feeling] occurs because of strong wave of depression, [he should] focus the awareness on the vision of golden crossed vajra [that exists] under the navel. If the visualisation is unclear because of dullness and gloom, [the yogi should] exalt the mind (shes pa) and go to meditate at a place where the fresh wind blows or on the high roof of a building. When [the thought] is wandering and exciting like losing control and the awareness is not in balance, [he should go to meditate at a darkness place and a place with low energy. If the mind (shes pa) is depressed, degraded, mindless in neutral feeling, and falling into obscurity, [he should] meditate intensely the developing stage of deity and god, then recite [mantra] a little bit. After that, [he] should continue the remaining process of practice again. Furthermore, if any uncomfortable [feeling] occurs at the stream of the body, speech and mind three [aspects] due to the practice of 'pho ba, [he should] supplicate and meditate guru yoga, let the body, speech and mind three [aspects] free then search for a pleasure level to rest equally in the state of free from mental complexities. When [the three aspects] become delightful, [he should] prolong the distracted practice again. In brief, [he] should enter the way⁵²⁴ by exercising purely without obstacle.

D. Harmless visualisation

The method of depending on visions [that will] not consume life is very important. It is said that the [activity of] meditation and practice of 'pho ba is [a] rasp [that consumes] life, but it mostly depends on the instruction. [The yogi should] contemplate on the three [main] channels⁵²⁵: avadhūtī, rasanā and lalanā, [which are] inserted in the centre of the interior empty body like pillars erected in the middle of [a] roofed tent in red colour. [Imagine] each of them upright between the crown to the secret place, [in which] the red Aḥ appears in the central avadhūtī, the white Oṃ [appears] in the right rasanā and the blue Hūṃ [appears] in the left lalanā. By reciting three syllables (yi ge 'bru), [the yogi] visualises [that] three letters ('bru) emanate in the way of lighting with sound from each syllable (yi ge). Thus the empty red body is filled entirely by various colours of the three syllables (yig 'bru).

⁵²⁴ I understand it as the right way that can lead one to accomplish the goal of practice.

⁵²⁵ Kun 'dar ma is a synonym of rtsa dbu ma. See Zhang (1985: 19). In Tibetan medical tradition, the left channel and its branches are designated as the white channels (rtsa dkar), in which the water element is sustained. The right channel and its branches generate the blood vessels and therfore are described as the black channels. The central channel below the navel carries the wind. Further illustration on the structure of human body in terms of the channels, see Rechung Rinpoche (1973: 38-42); Aris (1992: 33, 41).

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As [the body] is filled by fire, [the yogi should] rest [the mind] evenly in the state without projecting and gathering [his thoughts] as long as [he can]. [If he] wants to leave his thought from that state or to discard the session [of practice], [he should] collect all syllables into the three primary syllables. The two syllables of the right and the left with the central [channel in total] three and together with the body all dissolve into the [syllable] $A\dot{h}$. Focus the awareness on transferring the [syllable] $A\dot{h}$ into a red bindu for a moment. Thereupon, the red bindu in the left dissolves into dharmadhātu. [He] should remain equally in the state of visualising nothing.

According to another method, [one should] contemplate Amitābha's body that appears without self-produced nature. In his red hollow interior inside, the nature of three channels [is like] a red trident vajra [that is] made by lotus ruby and has a hollow inside. The upper and lower two tips are blocked by various vajras. The four tips – the upper and lower tips of the $rasan\bar{a}$ and the $lalan\bar{a}$ – are bent toward the $avadh\bar{u}t\bar{i}$. In the middle of the vajra [that is] transparent in the midst, [there] exists a charm box (ga'u) of the sun and the moon. Imagine inside the charm box, the nature of one's consciousness turning to be the red syllable $A\dot{h}$, then remain in this state as long as possible. If [one] wants to move or arise from that [state], [he should] visualise as before. In this way, if [he] meditates on any aspired vision at the break of 'pho ba practice, [his] life will not be consumed [but] will become increase.

Again according to one method, [one should] visualise Amitābha on the crown [that] connects with the avadhūtī of one's body. The avadhūtī is like [a] life-tree of stūpa [that] connects the uṣṇīṣa of Amitābha and one's secret place [againist] the moon maṇḍala of lucid openness. Visualising a red Hūṃ [as the size of a] barley grain emerging from one's own awareness in the avadhūtī [that is] like an intestine filled with air [and] blocked by the sun maṇḍala at the lower part. By holding the breath circulation as a vase, the karmic wind is purified and turning into bodhicitta wind. That Hūṃ was stirred [by the wind] and went to the heart of Amitābha by stretching. After being blessed by the compassion of Amitābha, again the red Hūṃ becomes lustrous and strongly blazing with radiance, then falls downward at one's secret place. After extending [the wind] to the upper and lower two ends, the breath circulation [should] remain evenly either after three times if [it can be held] for a long period, or five times in the medium, or seven times in a short period.

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⁵²⁶ It is said that enlightenment is to be achieved when the mind is conducted by the wind of wisdom (*ye shes kyi rlung*). Otherwise, the mind continues to be dominated by the karmic wind, and remain as ordinary consciousness. See Aris (1992: 39). Here I reckon that the *bodhicitta* wind is in the process of approaching to the awakening.

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ૹેર્ડ્ર માર્ટ્સ માર્ચ્યા માર્ગ્યા માર

રે.તે માલયામાં માલયાળા ક્રિયા વાષ્ટ્રીયા વા

In regard to blocking all other doors of organs by yellow Phaṭḥ, it is the same as before. At the end of [the training] session, [one] should gather all [visions] at the heart and rest in the state of free from mental complexities. Perform the training like a dream or illusion, yet [it] will contribute to increase life. The practice of [projecting] the consciousness⁵²⁷ into the syllable will make the transference easy. The practice of mudrā together with syllable will increase the enjoyment. The practice of [visualising] deity with syllable will prolong life. [One] should know [that it is] applicable to all [other practices] by repeating those [methods]. In brief, if [one] obtains the stability of samādhi visualisation, whatever [he] does, [he] can turn into visualisation. Whatever [he] turns, [he] can put into action. [One] should practice [according to] these stages and exercise 'pho ba in the spared leisure time.

3. Application

After the practice, [there are] three applications at the end, i.e., the teaching about the time of applying 'pho ba, the method of meditation [by] oneself and the method of applying for others.

A. Measure the time

In regard to the time, in general [when] the yogi see the certainty of death after the signs of death (*'chi rtags*) have completed such as the omen of death (*'chi Itas*) occurs to himself or to other sick person, ⁵²⁸ the application of *'pho ba* is not only practiced by [the yogi] himself [but he] should also apply the practice to affect the vision slowly on others. Especially the outer appearances will gradually dissolve from one into the other. [When] the form dissolves, the eyes become unclear and cannot see material form. [When] the sound dissolves, the organ of ears cannot hear other sound. [When] the smell dissolves, the nose cannot smell anything. [When] the taste dissolves, the tongue cannot taste any flavour of eating and drinking. [When] the touch dissolves, the body cannot feel the softness or harshness touch. [When] the nature dissolves, the mind (*yid*) becomes losing control [which is] unable to stop or cultivate [anything].

⁵²⁷ *rNam shes* is the abbriviated form of *rnam par shes pa*. In the definition of Jäschke (1975: 315), it has the connotation of perfect knowledge and consciousness or cognition, i.e. one of the six aggrigations of human beings. In the situation of daily practice, here *rnam shes* is referred to the ordinary consciousness. It is different from the subtle consciousness that appears in the dying process as we will read later, e.g., *rnam shes rig pa* (p. 181) or simply *rnam shes* (p.189).

⁵²⁸ In medical tradition, the signs of impending death are categorised into four kinds, i.e. far relevant signs (*ring ba'i ltas*), close relevant signs (*nye ba'i ltas*), undertain signs (*ma nges pa'i ltas*) and the certain signs (*nges pa'i ltas*). Further clarification see Rechung Rinpoche (1973: 47-49); Aris (1992: 47).

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⁵²⁹ Read as: €N' (after)

The details of these dissolutions are uncertain [because] they would also arise from diverse illness, so [one] should know the difference. The other [dissolution process] are: dissolution of gross [factors], the dissolution of subtle [factors], the dissolution of spreading, the dissolution of attainment and the dissolution of elements with consciousness at the heart.

Therefore, regarding the dissolution of the gross [factors], [one is] unable to hold the body after the earth dissolves into the water. In the same way, when the water dissolves into the fire, the mouth and the nose become dry and scratch. When the fire dissolves into the wind, the heat will turn away from the tip. It is explained in the tantra that "the heat of the sentient beings of the lower realms will come back again; [while] the heat of the sentient beings of the higher realms will fade away." However, it is not definitely so. When the wind dissolves into the consciousness, the outer breath stops but the inner breath does not stop much at all. The performances of 'pho ba for others should be applied at this moment.

Concerning the dissolution of subtle [factors], when the [mind of] appearance dissolves, first the outer sign is the appearance that looks different from before. The inner sign is consciousness [that] appears in the mist-like smoke. Then the outer sign appears to be utterly white [that is] like the splendour of a rising moon and the inner sign is like fluctuating mirage [that] chattering in the fire. [It is said that thirty-three kinds of conceptual thoughts [derive] from hatred will stop]. At that time, [one should] hold [the mind] with recollection and meditate on 'pho ba [that one] has meditated before.

In regard to the dissolution of spreading, the outer sign is like the arising sun [that] makes everything red. The inner sign appears like fireflies [that are] sometimes clear [sometimes not]. [It is said that the forty kinds of conceptual thoughts [derive] from desire will stop]. ⁵³¹ At this time, the signs appear on the top and the bottom, such as the the virtuous beings [will be] welcomed by god⁵³² and the sinful beings [will be received by] messengers of Yāma. Therefore, at this crossroad, [one] should make effort on the teachings of practice such as *'pho ba* and the prayer of pure land.

At this stage, the trained yogi is supported to experience the mind of white appearance. Otherwise, the 33 kinds of conceptual thoughts will involve. Further details of the 33 kinds of conceptual thoughts, see Lati Rinbochay & Hopkins (1979: 38-40).

This is the second stage of subtle dissolution. The yogi is to experience the mind of red spreading light. Explanation of the 40 kinds of conceptual thoughts, see Lati Rinbochay & Hopkins (1979: 40-41).

Sun ma is derived from the verb bsu ba, which means to receive or welcome someone. See Goldstein (2001: 1167). Relevant ritual like mkha' 'gro sun zlog, see THB 13, Schwieger (2009: 349-352).

୍ଥ୍ୟ ପ.ମ.୯ୂ. ୷୶୰.ଫ.ଅୁଖ.୳୶.ନ୍ମି.ୡ୷୶.କିଏ.ମ.୯ଖି୷.ମ.ଜିୟ.୰୷.ଥୁଖ.ମ.୯ପିଁ୯.୫ ୯୯.ୡ୷୶. [નફે.જોન.ળજાની ૧.૧૪.ફ્રેન.ત.વર્યે ૧.૧૫ને ૧.૧૪.૧૫ની] જોય. નિંદ . ટી. મુંચ, જો. તકુનાજા. ત. છો. વી. હીં દ. ફ્રો ːধ৴ː৸ৠৄ৴ː৳ঃ ઽ૮.ઌ૱ૹ.ત.¥ૹૹ.ઌૹ.૾ૢૢ૽ૺ.^{ઌૢૺ}ૼ૮.ઌૄૢૹ.ઌૹ૽૾ૼ૱ૡૹ.ૹ૾ૢૢ૾૮.ઌ૱ઌૡૼ૨.કૢ૮ઃ૾૽૽૽ૢ૾ૢૢ૾૮.ઌ.૪ૢ૽ઌ૾ઌૢ.૨૾૾ઌ૱ઽ CZ જાતા તું ત્રામાં ત્રામાં ત્રામાં કેવા તાલું તાલ घ्टा.र्ने.प्र्मे.च.र्ट.ः ૡૡ૿૽ૼઌઃકૂ૾ૣ૾ૣૣૣ૽ઌૺૺ૾ૼૺ૾૾૱૾ૡૢૼ૱૱ઌ૽૱૱ઌ૽૱૱ઌૢ૱૱ <u> કે.ઌૺૺૹ.ઌૣૼ</u>૾૾૱ૹૹ.ૹ૪.ઌૼૢૼ૾ૹ,ઌૢ૱ૺઌઌૢ૱ઌૢ૱ઌૣૹ૱ઌૡ૱૱ઌ૽૽ૼઌ૱ઌ ૾શુૼઽૻઌઌ૽ૢ૿ઽૻઌ૽ૼઽૢૹૹઌૹ૾ૹઌ૱ઌૢૹઌઌઌૢૼૹઌ૱૱૱૱ૢૼઌૢઌૹૢ૿ૣઌઌૢૢૻ૱ઌઌ૿ૢૢૼૢઌ૱[892]ઌ૽ૢૺઽૺૢૼ૾ <u>ૢ૽ૺઌૢ૱ૼૺ૱ઌૹૢ૱૱૱</u>ૹઌઌઌૢ૽ૼ૱ઌ૱ઽ૽ૢ૱ઌૡૼૡૢઌ૽૽૱૾૽૾૽ૢૼૡૢ૱ઌ૽૾ૢ૽ૺૡૢ૱ઌ૽ૼ૱ૡૼઌૹ૽ ૡ૾ૼ੶૬ૣਜ਼ૢ੶ઌ੶ૹૼਜ਼ੑঌ৽৴৻ঀৣ৾ৼ৾৽৻ঽ৽৽৽৽য়ৼ৽ড়য়৻৻৽য়ৣ৾৽ঢ়৻৽৻য়ঢ়ৄৼ৽ড়য়৻ঀৣ৾ঌ৽ঢ়ৢ৽ <u>ઋદ. મું. કુંદ. મું. થેથા બોત્તરાર્ધા યા.જા. તેથા બોતારા પર્યું. તર્બે મોરા સૂચાના પ્રાથમિત પર્યા</u> દેશ. ધુ. ક્રમ્ય લાક્ષેદ શ. તંતુ. ત્રીસશ. તૈયા શ. શ્રા. તાર. તે. તે જાય જાય ક્રો. તાર. તે શ્રી મારા જોવા ત્રા. હિંદ ક ત્રાળા છે. ફ્રી. ત્ર્યું પ્રત્યું ત્રાયા આ ફિંગા ગૌદાક કૃતા તા માદા ટે. ઉર્મે. વયા શ્રેદા વા જાયા જાયા જાયા છે ત્રું અન્ના ફ્રેં વના ગ્રું. દેવદ . ઘોન્યા વાદ . દેજા વાના પણ . ઘેવાના . પ્રાપ્ત વાદ . દ્રજ્યાં ન પ્રાપ્ત કે વ મુંદ્રિ' ક્ષારા મુસરા ગુંદ વર્ષા મુંગામાં મુંગામાં મુંચાયા વર્ષ્ય માના મુંગામાં મુંગામાં મુંગામાં મુંગામાં મું

When the dissolution of attainment [turns] into the clear light, the outer sign is darkness like clouded obscurity and the inner sign is like lifting a lamp in a dark room. [It is said that seven conceptual thoughts [derive] from delusion will stop]. ⁵³³ In this way all of the six senses, the objects, subjects [of the six senses], the external and internal elements together with consciousness all dissolve at the heart. The white *bindu* on the top and the red *bindu* at the bottom [of *avadhūtī*] are gathered by the karmic wind and then meet at the heart. At the very moment of unification ⁵³⁴ when the mixture of the white and the red *bindu* falls on the heart, it will become the dividing point such as going to the penetration of the upper or lower [points], entering to deluded thoughts or recognising the clear light. Those [who] understand the awareness with practice will go upward, otherwise will go downward. Those [who] do not recognise the nature [due to] their unintelligent mentality, and those [who are] deluded [and] unclear-minded will experience the illusion of *bar do* after transferring [their] consciousness.

B. Method for yogi himself

Rinbochay & Hopkins (1979: 41).

After explaining the time, [this is] about the method of transference for the yogi himself. When there are [occasions] such as being affected by a suddenly disease, attacked by knife and poisoned, [he] should open the window on the crown immediately and project the consciousness to the heart of devoted lama, deity or Pākinī who exists in the sky above himself. [The projected consciousness] is like an arrow to be shot by a skilled archer [who is in the state of] mindful-awareness, which is thrown without support. Due to the power of [being] accustomed in practice before, [it] will reach wherever visualised. Even if the awareness is not lifted at the crown, [he] can transfer the awareness to the heart of whoever visualised such as Amitābha, lama, deity or Pākinī by a bit of concentration and by the power of meditation.

At the time of death, when there is the time to contemplate gradually the vision together with the method of dissolution of elements, [the yogi] should cut off the complex of three poisons⁵³⁵ after the outer signs appear.

This is the third stage of subtle dissolution. Regarding seven kinds of conceptual thoughs, see Lati

The meaning of the whole phase - sdangs yed pa gcig byung ba is not clear to me. Here I only put emphasis on the meaning of sdangs and interpret it as unification to fix into the context.

As we will read in the ensuing explanations, the three poisions are: desire-attachment ('dod chags), hatred-anger (zhe sdang) and ignorance (gti mug).

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⁵³⁶ Read as: শ্রীসাম্ম (laziness).

[One should] not attach to anything aroused from desire but turn [them] shaking behind the mind. For example, [the attachement of] the outer enjoyment of food and wealth, the inner [attachment] of flesh and blood, the son, the husband, the wife, the father, the mother, the teacher, the student, the friend, particularly the beloved one and relative. [One should] not be disturbed by any anger and hatred towards the enemy outside, the torment and illness within [oneself], and the demon or devil in neutral [which are] aroused by hatred, but handle [them] by love, compassionate and bodhicitta without hostility and estimation. [One should] not be overruled by the power aroused by ignorance [such as] dullness, intoxication, laziness, and the strong feeling of pain of illness. Concentrate on the awareness of consciousness (mam shes rig pa)⁵³⁷ seriously, then visualise those accustomed [methods that he] practices before. Generate strong devotion to the assembly of lama, deity and Dākinī. Place the body in a sitting posture or lie down on the right side. After [transforming one's] body into devoted deity, then meditate Amitābha and lama inseparably on the crown. Focus one's awareness of consciousness on the white *Hūm* inside the envisioned *avadhūtī* [that is] like an erecting pillar of crystal stone⁵³⁸. Leave the cranial aperture on the crown open. That white $H\bar{u}m$, the nature of awareness, has been presented slowly by bodhicitta wind from bottom, and gone in the avadhūtī up to the open mouth above. [It then] departs from the crown and immediately dissolves at the heart of Amitābha. [The yogi] should place the mind (blo) without change in the state [that] Amitābha progressing into the natural presentation.

At that time, the consciousness does not descend downward. [When it] is not the right time to transfer, do not exalt the vision. Even if death is certain, do not transfer by forceful means but gradually exalt the awareness with $H\bar{u}m$. [When] the outer breath stops, there will be a clear path inside [for] the awareness, $H\bar{u}m$. At this moment, it is important to shoot straight upward without obstruction. If [one] transfers strongly without being accustomed and not having the instruction of key point, two faults will occur. Temporary, [one] will be disturbed by wild thoughts⁵³⁹ of being unwilling to transfer, then [he] will fall down. In case [the consciousness] is transferred, [one] will only be born in [the realm of] gods with a short life and [his] higher virtue will not increase.

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In my understanding, during the practice of 'pho ba it is the awareness (rig pa) on which the yogi has accustomed to contemplate. At this stage of actual performance, what to be projected is the kun gzhi rnam shes (ālaya-vijñāna) assisted by the awareness.

⁵³⁸ A precious stone transforms from old ice-block. See Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las (2005: 1295).

⁵³⁹ Literally *mi dran dgu dran* means to recall everything that is not to be remembered. Here I take the metaphor of "wild thoughts" to fix into the sentence.

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Therefore, it is important to [become] accustomed and have the instruction of key point in order to perform 'pho ba smoothly at the time of knowing if [it is the right time] to transfer. Furthermore, in accordance with all upper [and] lower steps of methods of one's [own] transference, [one] should be ascertained by experience and transfer without obstruction at the desired time.

C. Methods for others

Concerning the methods of giving ['pho ba] to others, there are methods of performing 'pho ba for sentient beings at the time of death such as reminding those [who have] practiced before and [become] accustomed, performing 'pho ba for ordinary people, performing 'pho ba for sinful people and for animals.

(i) For practitioners

First [one should] modify the body of the patient [who] is about to die [in the position of] uprighting or [let him] lie down on the right side with some supports. [Then] offer ritual cakes, whatever have been prepared or gathered, to Dākinī and the Dharma protectors (Dharmapāla). Engage in the activity of removing obstacles on the path and the bhūmi. Invite lama, deity, Dākinī, Buddha and Bodhisattva in the sky in front and offer them maṇḍala with other offerings, [then] request for blessing. Besides, if there is enough time, [one should] do prayer [for being born] in the pure land and recite hundred thousand names of Buddha. If there is no time, when the patient's outer breath stops [but] the inner breath has not yet stopped, a lama or a dharma friend [whose] view is alike with himself [should be invited]. If they are not available, a person [who] has not broken the vows [should be invited]. [He should] sit at the side of the patient's head and tell [him] slowly near the ear with a loud voice about the methods [that he has] practiced before. Repeat three times that "follow the activity as how [you] practice in the past, visualise your awareness at white $H\bar{u}m$ and transfer it to the heart of Amitābha in the sky above."

The signs of reaching [the end of practice] are: eyes look upward, the nape bends backward, dew drops sparkle at the head and steam floats on the crown.

⁵⁴⁰ In *Rin chen gter mdzod*, there is a section of *sādhana* of mKha' 'gro ma and Chos skyong. A considerable amount of *sādhana* of mKha' 'gro ma and Chos skyong can be found in *Rin chen gter mdzod*. Further clarification see *THB* 12, Schwieger (1999: Einleitung).

⁵⁴¹ The ways and stages of attainment of Bodhisattva. See Tucci (1980:55-57).

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(ii) For ordinary people

Concerning the method of giving 'pho ba to ordinary people, [the yogi] should modify the body [posture] as before, then give ritual cake to the obstructing spirits, karmic creditors and ghosts. Then expel them by saying that "you obstructing spirits and ghosts [who] have karmic credits from the series of life before and have done harm incidentally to this patient so and so, [you should] take these offered cakes. Do not make interruption and cause any obstacle or misfortune in the Path and Bhūmi for this so and so. Go back to your own place. Flee! Go away! Do not stay! In case you do not go away and make harm, the furious Lord of Death will burn [you]. [Your] body will be burnt badly by the fire of torture and be smashed into particles by the rain of weapons." In this way, his rivals, the karmic creditors and the ghosts will be expelled and released.

When the patient's outer breath stops [but] the inner breath has not stop, [invite] a lama or a monk [who shares] the same method [of transference] to sit at his bedside. Pull a little bunch of hair from the crown and slowly say "the fortunate son, Buddha Amitābha has arrived on your crown [If [he] has any devoted Buddha before, say the name of this Buddha], [you] should focus [your] mind on his heart. Imagine your awareness in the white light [that] transfers to the heart of Amitābha. [Tell [him] to meditate on the red or white Hūṃ with devotion if [he] knows]". [The lama] should touch [his] hair on the crown and pull a bit. When the visualisation is too much, [it] cannot be grasped, so [he] should do it in brief. The signs of success are the same as before. It is important to recite the name of Buddha, supplication, dhāraṇī and prayer as much as possible. It is also said in the Sūtra *Rab brtan* that "when a person is about to die, [he] is at the dividing point between this and next life. [Lama] should read on this person's ear about the meaning of teachings and the limitless prayers of Buddha. By the [recitation], instantly even the evil beings will be liberated definitely."

(iii) For sinful person

Concerning the method of giving ['pho ba] to the sinful beings, at the time when the sinful person is about to die, [lama] should remind [him] repeatedly before the outer breath stop that "meditate without distraction on a white Avalokiteśvara [who] holds rosary and white lotus in hands [existing] at your heart."

દુશ. ત્રન્ડ. શ્રુંન. ત્રન્ડ. પ્રશું સુષ્ટ. ખેશાને સ્વાર્ગ કરે. [899] શ્રુંન. ત્રન્ડ. શ્રુંન. ત્રન્ડ. ખેશાને સામ સ્વાર્ગ સ્વારા ત્રન્યા સુષ્ટ. પ્રત્યા સુષ્ટ. પ્રત્ય સુષ્ટ. સુષ્ટ સ

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 Then when the outer breath stops, [lama] should call [his] name from the crown on top of his head and tell [him] three times: "Avalokites vara is at your heart to keep company with you. [You] should transfer to the heart of Amitābha". After that, [he] should recite dhāraṇī and mantra such as the six-syllable and the name of Buddha. Thus [the transference] will be successful and the signs of success will be the same as before. The best [result] will be liberation, the intermediate is to obtain special body of god or human, and at least, to escape certainly from the Abyss of the lower realms.

(iv) For animals

Regarding [the method of] giving ['pho ba] to sentient beings such as animals at the time of death, imagine oneself as Amitābha and the other dying animal as Avalokitesvara. The light emanates from the sparkling red Hri at the heart of Amitābha, oneself, immediately touches the white Hri, i.e., the nature of consciousness of the other being, at the heart of Avalokiteśvara. [The white Hri] is taken like the metal powder is fetched by the magnet stone, [which] dissolves to the [red] Hri at one's heart, [and then] the Hri goes straight into the world of Sukhāvatī. Touch that [sentient being] by the body. Recite the six-syllable or the essence [mantra] of lama, deity and Dākinī by the speech. Generate a loving compassion on that [sentient being] by the mind. By doing that, after the sentient being has passed away, [it will] be guarded by the consideration of noble being and finally reach the end of samsāra. Besides that, Buddha's name and dhāranī should be recited on the ear, then complete prayers should be given. Thus, in regard to the training of 'pho ba by oneself, the performance for others and the extensive elaboration, whatever wishes as taught above, the yogi should combine the experience of the place of performing 'pho ba, the vision support of 'pho ba and the methods of 'pho ba. [That is to say, he] should combine the practice and the application. These methods are teachings for transferring into *nirmānakāya* through practice. Samaya. 542

IV. Extensive ways of transference

The transference by the blessing of lama and the unerring transference to the celestial realm are as [mentioned earlier in the main text.⁵⁴³ Particularly it is explained in the section of the methods of transference.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴² Literally samaya means "coming together". It has also the connotation of sacrament. See Snellgrove (1971: 137-138).

⁵⁴³ See Section Three and Section Six.

⁵⁴⁴ See Section Six, III.1.C.i.c. These nine examples are repeated exactly again here.

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⁵⁴⁵ Read as: ¾5 (string).

Here the transference through the ray of light [is like] the method [that] a traveller enters [his] journey. For example, it is similar to a traveller [who is] on his journey and has aimed [his destiny]. [He] will travel through the main road without crooked until reach the place where aimed. Similarly here, the visualisation of going to the heart of Buddha without crooked is [to project] the consciousness with any vision support of the body, speech and mind into the path of string, [which is] like the ray of white light [or like] a fine arrow of the sunlight, between the cranial aperture on the crown and the heart of the envisioned Buddha.

The method of transference [like pulling] a well rope: [he should] simply pay devotion and yearing to lama, deity and Pākinī during the practice of 'pho ba, [and] imagine the light of compassion stretches from the body, speech and mind of lama, deity and Pākinī—like a rainbow or an extending piece of woollen cloth. [Imagining] the stretched tip of [the light] was grasped by the awareness of one's consciousness, Hūṃ etc., [which was] received upward and dissolved into the heart of lama, deity and Pākinī. For instance, it is like fetching water from the well by pulling the rope.

In the same way, regarding the method of welcoming and seeing off, [one should] contemplate the awareness of consciousness appearing as [a] deity, [who is] welcomed by th son and the daughter of god, the male and the female of Vidyādhara from celestial realm with sound of music, incense and the rain of flowers. [He] is also escorted upward by the protectors, the warriors and the Pākinī from below with music and then enters into the world of Buddha.

Regarding the transference in a manner of accompanying a friend, visualise one's consciousness as a little boy of awareness marked with Nri at the heart. [It is] supported by a deity on the right and a Dakini on the left, [and then] goes out straight by departing from the window of the crown through the path of *avadhūtī* [where] the root lama existing on the top.

The method of watching a public show is the transference that visualises the essence of one's consciousness as the eyes of primordial wisdom, [which] departs from the doors of the eyes and goes to the place of Vidyādhara and the unlimited world of Buddha.

To transfer independently and firmly, [it is] to transfer consciousness without basis and without visual purpose to the unlimited sky, like an arrow to be shot in the sky by a powerful man.

प्रकृत, ता. श्री २. तका. पर्सू. तका. तम्बी. तम् अका. के. त्या. तम्बी. त

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Regarding the transference with *bodhicitta* for the benefit of sentient beings, [it is] not enough for oneself alone to become awakening but need to transfer for the purpose of all sentient beings [who] have wandered in the *saṃsāra*. For the sake of them, depending on the special human body, I visualise the doors of the upper organs and transfer consciousness after selecting the womb [that is] marked with white $A\dot{h}$ in the corner of Nriḥ from the state of possessing the hope to make benefit for sentient beings through the doors of various methods.

The transference [that] retains one's own place without movement [is to] dissolve the awareness into the sphere of empty nature of the mind. Then set [the awareness] all-embracing evenly in the state of unlimited and non-doing. Leave it in the result of being free from [the place] to be transferred, [the vision that supports] the transference, the [action] of transference and the person [who] performs the transference. No matter which way of transference [the yogi] applies, after [being] accustomed on the breath, [he should] investigate the characteristic of the awareness. In brief, it is important to make the breath and the mind finely attuned, to generate special undivided faith and devotion to lama, to know [that] the saṃsāric phenomena are worthless, to be tired of worldly action, to be afraid of the abyss of hells and [look] for lightness.

Regarding the transference by forceful means [when there is] no [spare] time, in case of encountering [the situation] to be killed by someone due to karmic power, [he] must hold the breath strongly, press down the $n\bar{a}d\bar{l}$ of waves of ocean, and visualise the awareness alone as $H\bar{u}m$ in dark blue, and then shoot it completely to the place of 'Og min. By bringing these three [steps] together at once, [it] will be transferred. This is very secret.

When the lama hands down the instruction of 'pho ba to the disciples, [they] should present the gathering feast and ritual cake to lama, deity and Dakin, offer the golden mandala to lama and recite prayers. Then the visualisation should be granted.

In general, all the key points of transference rely on devotion. [One] should make effort to generate the devotion and to pray in order to remember lama regularly [in two types of transferences], i.e., the transference of remembering [the blessing of] lama and the unerring transference to the celestial realm by intercouring through the narrow path.⁵⁴⁶ [He] should think clearly about the Buddha field and remember all visions of *'pho ba*.

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⁵⁴⁶ Explanation of sextual yoga, see Gray (2007: 103-131).

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In summary, there is no need to act for a bit of fear at death when the son separates from the mother. Because of having rejoice, after the awareness separates from the corpse, the karmic wind is purified and ultimately turns into the bodhi wind, [it] will be the liberation at the same time.

If [the situation] is not like that, [it] will be [too] late to give 'pho ba for people, e.g., those [who] are disturbed by actions of worldly illusion, [who] are covered by the hindrance of afflictions, [whose] senses lose into free-flowing, or otherwise, those [who] are exhausted in wandering without purpose. When [they] reach the passage of death, [their] bodies are tormented by illness, [their] feeling falls on the base, [their] senses are like severed, [their] eyes look without focus, [their] legs and [their] arms lose control to struggle with death and [they] think "I have no time to live longer in this life", and [their] throat have dried out.

However, at that moment if the senses are not disturbed by other [things] and if [he] is concentrated with the key point of meditating 'pho ba, the power at that very moment is bigger than the aggregated virtues gathered in many kalpa. [Because it] will be great benefit, [thereforehe] should give priority to the instruction of 'pho ba and focus on consciousness scrupulously but not being lazy [or] not be controlled by the pain.

The Instruction of Transference, [having] Joy at the Moment of Death, is written by me Padmasambhava in Bre gu dge'u of mChims phu for the sake of the lord, the father and the son at the present, and the followers in the future.

May it be found by the fortunate son of speech.

May this teaching be guarded by the assembly of rTa nag deity, their consorts, sons, retinues and eight kinds of spirits.

May this treasure be protected by the wild bTsan spirit 'bar ba and the seven kinds of upasaka brothers.

May this [treasure] be entrusted to the hand of a noble man when the time is appropriate and be always protected and be guarded.

Seal of commitment, sealed, sealed, sealed.

Seal of concealment, seal of entrustment, seal of treasure. Kha tham, dha thim I thi.

Sangs rgyas gling pa revealed this [treasure] from the cave, Phug mo che in Phu ri.

4.3 The Way of Attaining Longevity

In this section, I shall explore a bit further on Sangs rgyas gling pa's other work. I will concentrate on longevity liturgies included in the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* and continue with the *Tshe sgrub nyi zla kha sbyor*⁵⁴⁷ that is compiled in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. First though, a brief review on the long-life ritual is necessary here. The concept of longevity is clearly not a promoted theme in the early Buddhist doctrines. It has become popular in the Mahāyāna literature most probably due to the necessity of fulfilling the common wish of the lay followers. This trend has continued and further elaborated in later Vajrayāna tradition. The aspiration of having an extending life might appear to be driven away from the superb idea of achieving liberation, yet a compassionate motivation is often emphasised in the instruction. In the rNying ma tradition, the rite of longevity is particularly prominent. ⁵⁴⁸ That has to do with their grand master Padmasambhava who is regarded as the emanation of Amitābha. ⁵⁴⁹

The first step to approach the wish of longevity is to receive the long life initiation called *tshe dbang*. It is normally a public ritual though sometimes it can also engage in the private meditation trainings. The whole concept of *tshe dbang* is actually a form of consecration. That is to say, the ritual specialists must evoke the divine spirit or energy and transfer the ritual substances such as herbal pills, ritual cakes or water into the pills of life (*tshe ril*), the cake of life (*tshe gtor*) or the elixir nectar (*tshe chu or bdud rtsi*). When these consecrated things are distributed to the participants, the sacred power of extending life will then become functioning on the receivers. The demand of this ritual is rather high; therefore, it can be arranged when someone's life is endangered or simply as a regular ceremony for the whole community. The deities that associate to this ritual can be various; nevertheless the most popular group are the Tshe lha rnam gsum

⁵⁴⁷ See *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol.29: 337-381.

For example, Mi pham rnam rgyal (1846-1912) contributed several liturgies related to longevity. See information in *THB* 5, Schuh (1973: 123-124, 184-187). Kong sprul also edited some rNying ma rituals related to Amitāyus, see *THB* 6, Schuh (1976: 170-171, 179). Furthermore, a lot of instructions connected to Amitāyus and Amitābha can be found in *Rin chen gter mdzod* vol.30-32. For example, the reference of longevity teaching of Padma gling pa, see *THB* 13, Schwieger (2009: 327-328). And the motif of *rTa mgrin and Tshe dpag med*, see *THB* 13, Schwieger (2009: 328-333).

⁵⁴⁹ See Dudjom Rinpoche (1991: 468-474).

The most comprehensive study of longevity practice is that of Beyer (1978: 373-398). See also Snellgrove (1961: 141-146) for an actual performance done in rNying ma community. And the clarification of Tucci (1980: 126, 191-192).

(three deities of long life): Tshe dpag med, sGrol dkar and rNam rgyal ma. I reckon that by tracing the dissemination of longevity practice, it will also help to shed some light on the transmission history of Amitābha and Amitāyus.⁵⁵¹

4.3.1 Longevity Practice for Oneself and Others

Three liturgies can be found in the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*. They are *Tshe sgrub gdams* pa, 552 gZhan don sgrub <math>pa, and rGyun khyer gyi gdams <math>pa. The third text is an abridged version of the previous two, so it will not be consulted in the ensuing discussion. *Tshe sgrub gdams pa* begins with an invoking prayer that is dedicated to Amitābha in the form of $dharmak\bar{a}ya$, Avalokitesvara in $sambhogak\bar{a}ya$ and Padmasambhava in $nirm\bar{a}nak\bar{a}ya$. In the preliminary preparation, the yogi should modify his body in meditation posture, exhale impure air nine times and then keep the breath in a gentle and steady circulation. Furthermore the yogi should also supplicate to the Trinity of deities for being granted the essence of life, the immortal Vidyādhara.

In the main training, the first part is to envision a *maṇḍala*, the world of the divine beings, which derives from a red syllable Hri that is the nature of the yogi's consciousness. The first emerging vision is an eight-petal lotus in the middle of the splendour palace that locates right in the centre of the *maṇḍala*. Then the red syllable Hri appears in the core of the lotus, which transforms to be Skull Garland Powerful One (*Thod phreng rtsal*), the secret name of Padmasambhava. To zoom in the image of Padmasambhava, we find Amitābha on his crown, Avalokiteśvara on his throat and mKha' 'gro gSang ba ye shes (Þākinī Guhyajñāna?) on his heart. Further on, three

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For instance, Shaw (1994: 117-122) points out a very interesting transmission of longevity practice through an Indian yoginī Siddharājñī. It is believed that Siddharājñī had encountered Amitāyus directly and thus received sufficient teachings from him. Then Ras chung pa was imparted with this teaching and brought it back to Tibet. This type of long-life ceremony designed by Siddharājñī is still alive nowadays although many practitioners might not be aware of its origin.

The complete title is: *Tshe sgrub kyi gdams pa bdud rtsi snying po'i yang zhun zhes bya ba bdag don sgrub pa'i thabs (The Instruction of Longevity, the Refined Essence of Nectar – the method of achievement for one's own purpose).* See *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, vol.1: 519-550.

The complete title is: *sPros bcas gzhon don du sgrub pa'i gdams pa (The Elaborated Instruction of Longevity for the Purpose of Others).* Ibid, pp.551-575.

The complete title is: *Tshe sgrub rgyun khyer gyi gdams pa rang gzhan gnyis ka la gces pa rdo rje'i snying po (The Instruction of Daily Practice for Longevity, the Essence of Vajra Which is Useful for Both Oneself and Others).* See *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, vol.7: 373-376. It is also extant in *Rin chen gter mdzod*. See further information in *THB* 13, Schwieger (2009: 326).

syllables *Oṃ Aḥ Hūṃ* come into view on the hearts of these three figures respectively. Then the focus shifts to the eight petals of lotus. At this time, Vajrasattva, Ratnasaṃbhava, Vairocana and Amoghasiddhi arise in the east, the south, the west and the north directions one after the other. Four of them are in the appearance of *saṃbhogakāya*. In addition, four wrathful deities are positioned at the four corners. Four protectors from each of the Buddha Families guard at the four gates of maṇḍala. All these celestial beings embrace their consorts and hold the nectar vase on their left hands. Besides, they all have *Oṃ Aḥ Hūṃ* three syllables on their crown, their throat and their heart, same as the emanated Padmasambhava in the centre.

The second part of the main training is to add mantra-recitation along with the continuous visualisation. The three syllables *Om Aḥ Hūm* at the centre spread out to all divine beings of the ten directions. Owing to the supplication of the yogi, all of the sacred beings dissolve into the light and then return to the body of Padmasambhava. This procedure is repeated three times and hence the initiations of the body, speech and mind are complete. Subsequently, Amitāyus and his consort appear at the heart of Padmasambhava. A stem of a lotus becomes visible in the midst of ocean-like amrta that derives from syllable Bam at the heart of Amitāyus. Then a golden five-pronged vajra come to our sight in the lotus. In the middle of the vajra, syllable Nr is surrounded by Om Ah Hūm. The luminosity of these syllables stretches to all Buddhas of the ten directions, collects their blessing and then returns to syllable Nr. After that, the marvellous radiance splits and melts into syllable E and syllable Bam on the top and at the bottom of the vajra respectively. Both syllables then turn to be white and red nectar on the two ends. These two colours of nectar intermingle and overflow the lotus. It then drops down upon the head of the yogi. This section ends with prayers that invoke for blessing, for longevity, for expelling obstacles and for displaying the sign of achievement.

The third part of the main training provides instruction when the yogi needs to take a break. The key point is to maintain strong faith and devotion. The imagined deities and gods melt one by one and become absorbed into the yogi's heart. As for the long term practice, it is said that to take a break on the full moon date or the beginning of each month will be better. Finally, the signs of achievement are explained in the last part. It is said that the yogi's body will be very strong without any illness and will not even have the grey hair. Altruistic thoughts will increase in his mind, and unstained pleasure will last very long. The ultimate goal of this training is to be reborn in the magnificent world like Sukhāvatī.

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⁵⁵⁵ Regarding the visualisation of five Buddhas and their symbolic meanings, see Beyer (1978: 73-74).

Next in the teaching of *gZhon don sgrub pa* (*The Practice for Others*), it shares the same techniques mentioned above. That is to say, the yogi assimilates the energy of life that is invoked from sacred assembly in order to prolong the life span of his own as well as the patron's life through visualising the radiance that transforms from his consciousness. When the yogi stops the performance for a break, he should recite the mantra according to *Amitāyus sūtra* (*Tshe mdo*). In addition, several substances such as grains, herbal pills, beer or water that are consecrated during the ritual can be eaten or drunk. It is believed that people who eat or drink these substances will also obtain the force of life. In the colophon of this text, it states that gZa' mtsho rgyal bdag wrote the teaching that was given by Padmasambhava and then concealed in a secret place.

4.3.2 The Unification of the Sun and the Moon

As we learn in chapter three, Tshe sgrub nyi zla kha sbyor was the most important teaching that Sangs rgyas gling pa propagated in the last period of his life. He extensively disseminated this practice and granted the water of longevity to the public. Tshe sgrub nyi zla kha sbyor consists of immense visualisation and mantra recitation alongside the prayers of blessing. The main deity to be envisioned here is the four arms Avalokiteśvara who holds Amitābha on his crown and bears mTsho skyes rdo rje (Padmasambhava) at the heart. All of them are with their consorts and have the vases that contain long life water in their hands. On this base, a four-petal lotus unfolds and gradually the configuration of a mandala is established in the yogi's vision. Then step by step the imagination focuses on each of these celestial groups regarding their colours, dressing and hand gestures. Naturally the common feature is the long-life vase grasped in their left hands. By imagining the stream of longevity nectar that infuses into the yogi's body from his crown, it is believed that the yogi will achieve the vajra body of immortality. That body is said to have the power of maintaining a changeless life without any obstacle, which is just like the everlasting sun and moon. Additionally, a ritual of summoning the force of life is operated, which is followed by four kinds of initiations. In the end there is a long prayer expressing the wish to absorb all essences of nectar in order to increase the span of life.

It will be improper if I skip the inlaid history (*lo rgyus*)⁵⁵⁶ of this text. The narrative was at the time of king Khri srong lde btsan, who intended to learn methods that led him to achieve longevity Vidyādhara (*tshe'i rig 'dzin*). Padmasambhava explained to him that by training with *samādhi* one could obtain rainbow body; by training with *nāḍī* and *prāṇa* one could achieve non-death; by receiving the initiation of longevity granted by

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⁵⁵⁶ See *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol.29: 346-349.

deities one could attain longevity Vidyādhara; and if one drank longevity water he would be able to live for thousands years. Obviously the king wished to live that long. He and the royal families offered impressive fees for the empowerment. A prophecy said that if incidents (rten 'brel) such as having this empowerment or Amitābha appeared in person or if one drank the nectar water; then one could live up to seven-thousand years. What happened next was that the king saw Amitābha with a vase in his dream. The king took that as a strong indication and therefore jumped on a horse right after waking. Two of his ministers, Klu gang and Klu dpal, stopped his horse and did not let him go. They expressed their anxiety that the king could be killed if the nectar water was poisoned and subsequently the whole kingdom could be robbed by an Indian who wanted this land very much. In other words, they worried that a conspiracy might be set up by their neighbour country where the ācārya came from. The king was convinced and the initiation ritual did not go through. Some of the ministers noticed that there was steam coming out from the vase. They asked to try a bit of the amrta water and subsequently, their bodies became luminous. Padmasambhava scattered some water on the ground from where a lotus emerged miraculously. The suspicion was cleared away. He distributed the remaining water in 25 vases and concealed them into treasures. The king was regretful for missing the initiation but also realised that was due to his lack of merit. Although the omen of having longevity Vidyādhara was incorrect, the king again insisted to learn methods that can extend his life. Master Padmasambhava therefore transmitted various initiations, prophecies and instructions to the king and the prince Dam 'dzin. He predicted that in the future the incarnation of the prince would expose these treasure vases to benefit the sentient beings.

This lineage history was written in the conventional format of treasure literature. That is to say, the original event was constructed to happen in the court of king Khri srong lde btsan and the religious instructor was surely Padmasambhava. A clear message comes to us is that the quality of *amṛṭa* water was beyond all doubt. It will be one's own loss to suspect the water. As required in most of the ritual practices, a strong faith and devotion to the sacred substance must be built up. Through invoking mind as such, the practitioner can rejoin the sacred time and the sacred place again and again in daily training. Another point to notice is that Sangs rgyas gling pa was indicatated to be the reincarnation of the prince Dam 'dzin according to this narrative.

4.4 The Best Solution for Life and Death

The longevity liturgies that we have read through in this chapter reveal the common aspiration of human beings. The practices of longevity guide people toward the wish of prolonging the life; while the instructions of transference explain the ways to have a joyful death that eventually lead to the liberation. In Sangs rgyas gling pa's *tshe sgrub* liturgies, he delicately depicted Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara and Padmasambhava in the form of *dharmakāya*, *saṃbhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*, which construct a trinity. The manifestation of this trinity is either as Padmasambhava or Avalokiteśvara. In the process of generating *maṇḍala*, the position of Amitābha (the trinity group) was shifted to the centre, whereas Vairocana was marginalised to the west side. Therefore, Amitābha gains the central position in the display of Five Buddha Families, and thus his importance was declared.

In the case of 'pho ba liturgy, it provides sufficient flexibility to mould the life after death. The essential principle of 'pho ba is to eliminate the danger of degenerating and to lift up consciousness to a more joyful realm by any possible way. The timing of applying 'pho ba does not only limit to the moment of death, but extend to the period of bar do. The instruction of 'pho ba has partly overlapped with the teaching of bar do. In fact, there is another liturgy entitled bSre 'pho in Sangs rgyas gling pa's treasure collection. In the text bSre 'pho sgyu ma gsum khug gi gdams pa (The Ultimate Combination and Transference that Change Three Illusions), 557 it utilises a lot of philosophical terms to discuss bar do in five different phrases of time. 558 We learn the state of five bar do and the antidotes to reverse possible illusion in the abstract way. It does not refer to any technique of transferring consciousness. That is the way how bSre 'pho is distinguished from 'pho ba liturgy we study here.

Except for those highly experienced yogis who manage to liberate before the *bar do* of dying, there are various chances to transfer consciousness for general practitioners from the moment of death until another birth takes place. The practical technique of *'pho ba* is therefore evolving in order to accommodate the situations in different contexts. As a result, we find the contents of visualisation diminish from the complexity into simplicity. Besides that, the elasticity of contemplating on any devoted deity also becomes diminished to suit the level of the general practitioners or the lay public. What remains in the end are the image of Amitābha to be envisioned and the name of Amitābha to be

⁵⁵⁷ See *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, vol.11: 379-98.

⁵⁵⁸ Namely, *bar do* of nature state, *bar do* of *samādhi*, *bar do* of dream, *bar do* of dying and *bar do* of becoming/birth.

recited. Sangs rgyas gling pa pointed out that if the practitioners could continue the vision of Amitābha in the break of training, then their life span will be increased. In my opinion, the worship of Amitābha was integrated in the 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba. I think this passage might hasve become one of the textual support for the later development of combining 'pho ba and Amitābha worship in a set of rituals.

By investigating longevity liturgies in this chapter, we find the trace of how *tshe sgrub* and *'pho ba* would possibly be converged in one ceremony at later development. It was their common association – Amitābha who function as a bridge to fasten them together. There is no reason for us to deny that the cult of Amitābha or Amitāyus has disseminated around Tibet via these kinds of longevity liturgies since they have remained alive among Tibetan cultural settings throughout history.

⁵⁵⁹ See Section Six. III. 2 (D).

5. Conclusion

I commenced this dissertation by recalling the history of 'Bri gung 'pho ba chen mo and an initiation service of 'pho ba that took place in Taipei in 1997. An essential question that puzzles me is how 'pho ba practice and the Amitābha belief were converged. Therefore, I took the initiative to study the development of 'pho ba in medieval Tibet. I built the framework of this dissertation by two research questions. The first question is in regard to the transmission of 'pho ba in the bKa' brgyud traditions around the eleventh to fourteenth century. I assume that 'pho ba practice had its own routes of development before it was gathered under the group of Nā ro chos drug. The second question is concerning the significance of Sangs rgyas gling pa's text 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba. I assume that Amitābha worship was promulgated in his treasure text.

Before approaching the first question, I explored some canonical sources to see whether there is any doctrinal support for 'pho ba liturgies. I found four 'pho ba sūtras particularly important because several fundamental motifs were discussed such as how consciousness transmigrates from one life to the other together with the force of accumulated karma. The function of the extravagant funeral rite held in Indian society, meant to help the departed, became questionable. I investigated various genres of canonical literature and the derivative manuscripts to illustrate the possibilities of tracing "pre 'pho ba" writings. While this is only an experimental try, the presented examples show that the concept of transferring consciousness has existed all the way through Theravāda, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna traditions with different manifestations and is still indispensable in the lives of many believers up to this day.

To investigate the transmission routs of 'pho ba in the bKa' brgyud traditions, I started my survey through several cases. In the first section of chapter one, I observed the transmission history of sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi and Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu. I found the same principle of yogic technique could be named differently and then incorporated within diverse teachings. Under this context, we can read 'pho ba in Nā ro chos drug as one type of composition among the other examples. In the second part of chapter one, I did not notice any grouped teaching entitled Nā ro chos drug in the entire gSung 'bum of sGam po pa. However, I did learn that 'pho ba teaching was bound with various instructions. I would suggest that the selected six teachings were clustered as a set of teachings with the authorship attributed to their forefathers in order to suit the need of building up the patriarchy identity and to enhance the coherence of the lineage. In the studies of "early literature of Nā ro chos drug", only certain training such as the illusory body or the inner heat yoga was found. I think it is improper to generalise from

a primary text of a particular yoga to the whole group. Of course, I admit there is "early literature" of $N\bar{a}$ ro chos drug, but that existed only after these six teachings were grouped together.

In the third section of chapter one, I expected to discover the referential data through the biographies of the Karma kam tshang lineage but did not find much. Nevertheless, I managed to piece together the scattered information. We can delineate the instruction of 'pho ba in the Karma kam tshang lineage first by Dus gsum mkhyen pa, who received mNgon dga'i 'pho ba from sGam po pa in his vision. Then Karma Pakshi transmitted bSre 'pho'i zhal gdams to Rin chen dpal, from whom it in turn went down to Rang byung rdo rje. The commentary of Nā ro chos drug done by Rang byung rdo rje deserves our attention. This is the first commentary focusing on the six teachings that are identical to the famous *chos drug* among all others studied in this thesis. In Rol pa'i rdo rje's time, the description of his perceiving Avalokitesvara and Amitābha started to emerge. The similar account continued in mKha' spyod dbang po's story. This phenomenon might be a hint of the prevalence of Amitābha worship. I also consulted some works of the sixth Zhwa dmar pa Chos kyi dbang phyug (1584-1630) since very few commentaries on Nā ro chos drug done by the early lineage holders can be found. Chos kyi dbang phyug demonstrated a delicate form of 'pho ba in his 'Pho ba zhe sdang rdo rje'i shog dril. Involved in this training are not only the techniques of breath control and visualisation that are generally required, but also to engage with the chakras, the white and the red *bindu*-s, the Five Buddha Families escorted by their consorts, their associated colours and their syllables etc. This is an example to show how complicated the 'pho ba liturgy can be in the time of development. Apart from that, the grong 'jug instruction by Chos kyi dbang phyug was another unexpected case. The incredible details described in it might reflect the fact that the method of transferring consciousness into another body was yet practiced in the seventeenth century. I made a brief sketch on 'Ba' ra ba's 'pho ba liturgies at the end of the first chapter. The reason for that is simply to extend our understanding of 'pho ba developed in the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud. Although 'Ba' ra ba had a slightly different way of categorising the results of 'pho ba performance, the key principles remain consistent with other liturgies we have learned.

The study on the Shangs pa bKa' brgyud in chapter two clarify the ambiguity of this lineage to a certain extent. In my observation, the traditional claim on the diverse teachings of the Shangs pa and the Mar pa bKa' brgyud seems unsound. I found the teachings of Ras chung tradition already integrated into Shangs pa school from an early stage. The significance of Ni gu ma in terms of transmitting Shangs pa doctrines was in fact overshadowed by another yoginī Sukhasiddī according to the materials I read in this

work. In regard to the associated Buddha, the emphasis on Amitābha or Amitāyus only appears in the hagiography of Khyung po rnal 'byor but no other lineage holders except occasionally some indications of Sukhāvatī are seen in the 'Jag pa transmission. Considering the practice of 'pho ba, I only detect that the application of navel yoga is different from other 'pho ba teachings. Through my investigation in the first part of this dissertation, I found no significant clue of the combination of 'pho ba and Amitābha.

In the second part of this work, I turned my attention to 'pho ba liturgy discovered by the rNying ma treasure revealer, Sangs rgyas gling pa. Since the biography of Sangs rgyas gling pa was rarely mentioned, I presented the major events of his life such as his excavation of all kinds of treasures from various spots. The unexpected tension between the treasure revealer and the local residents recorded in this biography was intriguing for me. In the fourth chapter, I engaged with the translation of 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba as well as the textual studies on longevity liturgies. 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba is the most detailed manual on 'pho ba that covers a wide scope of teachings relevant to the suitable and unsuitable conditions, the actual training, the importance of limit and the flexibility of practical application on vital occasions. It is clearly demonstrated that Amitābha worship was brought into the 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba. For the advanced practitioners, 'pho ba is an elaborated training of visualisation that means to cultivate the dispassionate mentality in order to handle the great moment of death. While for the laity, 'pho ba is a tantric ritual that aims for a better result in the next life through generating strong devotion to Amitābha. In this multifunctional text, the instruction of visualisation also turns from complexity to the simplicity for people with less capacity. Apart from the aspect of death, I also explore longevity texts of Sangs rgyas gling pa. The position of Amitābha was moved from the west to the centre in the mandala. I reckon that is a deliberate way to express the importance of Amitābha. Through my investigation in the fourth chapter, I would suggest that Sangs rgyas gling pa's works could be one of the important sources, if not the oldest one, for the integrated rituals of 'pho ba and longevity practices developed later.

Discussion on the subtle differences of the mind appears no where among 'pho ba teachings that I have consulted in this dissertation. After all this is a ritual liturgy rather than a philosophical illumination. Yet, I think the exploration of doctrinal background in this regard could help us understand 'pho ba literature in further depth. Additionally, I also notice Sangs rgyas gling pa's other relevant works that deserve to be emphasised here. For example, the implement of sacred medicine (sman sgrub)⁵⁶⁰ and the method of

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⁵⁶⁰ A section of practices involved with amrta medicine can be found in *Rin chen gter mdzod*. See *THB* 11, Schwieger (1995: 469-539).

extracting essences from herbal plants (*bcud len, Skt. rasāyana*)⁵⁶¹ in order to delay the ageing. In this regard, it echoes to the external alchemy (外丹) in the Daoist tradition. The meditative techniques covered in the last chaper also match the Daoist practice called internal alchemy (內丹). Even more strikingly, the cultivation of immortal embryo through an inner body that eventually exits from the crown of the adept called "deliverance from the womb" also resembles to the concept of 'pho ba. ⁵⁶² It will be interesting to investigate how these two comparable techniques of meditation have taken their shapes. This study will eventually lead us to face the integration of Chinese Chan and Daoist tradition in Tibetan tantric practice. Furthermore, the route or source that Sangs rgyas gling pa obtained his knowledge of "abstention from grain" (*bcud len* or 避穀 in Daoist practice) is another theme to be explored. The result of such study can possibly contribute to the understanding of Tibetan medicine and healing system in due course.

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For the textual sources, see *sMan gyi lha mo'i sgrub thabs gsal byed* (vol.7: 579-591), *sMan rag gtor gsum bdud rtsi'i mchod sprin* (vol.2: 727-771), *sMan sgrub bdud rtsi rgya mtsho* (vol.1: 577-665) and *bCud len snying po bsdus pa* (vol.7: 283-334) in *Bla ma dgongs'dus*.

⁵⁶² See Kohn (2005: 213-218); for longevity meditation, see e.g., Despeux & Kohn (2003:19-20, 177-243), Ni (1992) and Kohn (1989).

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 - 2. Tshe sgrub kyi gdams pa bdud rtsi snying po'i yang zhun zhes bya ba bdag don sgrub pa'i thabs in vol.1: 519-50.
 - 3. sPros bcas gzhon don du sgrub pa'i gdams pa in vol.1: 551-75.
 - 4. Tshe sgrub rgyun khyer gyi gdams pa rang gzhan gnyis ka la gces pa rdo rje'i snying po in vol.7: 373-76.
 - 5. 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba in vol.13: 853-906.
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- Zab khrid brgya dang brgyad kyi yi ge by Kun dga' grol mchog in gDams ngag mdzod, vol.18: 127-353.
- Zab lam nā ro chos drug gi gsal byed spyi chings khrid yig dang bcas pa by Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339) in gDams nga mdzod, vol.9: 17-61. <'Pho ba, pp.59-61>
- Zab lam 'pho ba'i gdams pa 'jag tshugs ma'i lo rgyus gdams ngag khrid yig dang bcas pa bzhugs so by Nyi zla sangs rgyas (14th century) in *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol.32: 547-599.
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 - 5. bKa' tshoms dang phyag rgya chen po Inga Idan, lam mchog rin chen phreng ba, chos bzhi mdor bsdud, nyams len mdor bsdus, gnad kyi gzer gsang, zhal gdams gsang mdzod, dom bhi ba'i gtum mo, 'khrul 'khor gyi gtum mo, bar do'i gdams pa, 'pho ba'i zhal gdams, in vol.2: 378-418 < 'Pho ba, pp.405.2-418.7>.

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Glossary

Note

This glossary includes words and technical terms extracted from the text 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba. They are listed in the order of Tibetan alphabet according to the radical letters. The definitions of words and terms are referred to the meanings used in the translation. Alternative meanings in different contexts will not be mentioned here.

Tibetan	English	Sanskrit
-Ka-		
kun rdar ma	the central channel	avadhūtī
dkar lam pa	utterly white	
sku gsum	three embodiments/ Buddha bodies	trikāya
bkra mi shis pa	inauspicious	
skye 'gag gnas	arising, ceasing and dwelling	
skyel ba	to escort	
skyon	disadvantage, fault	
(b)skyod pa	to stir, to arouse	
rkyen	cause, condition	
bskrad pa	to expel	
bskyed pa	to generate	
bskyed rim	developing stage	
bskyil ba	to keep, to hold	
-Kha-		
kha yan	to free-flowing	
khams	body	
mkha' 'gro (ma)	sky-travellers	Pāka/Pākinī
mkha' sbyod	the celestial realms	
'khor 'das	cyclic existence and transcendence	saṃsāra & nirvāṇa
'khor ba thog ma med pa	the beginning-less samsāra	
-Ga-		
gang zag	person, individual	
(b)gegs	obstacle, hindrance	

go bzlog pato reversegoms pato accustomgoms 'dristo be familiar

grong 'jug transferring [consciousness] into another body

grol ba liberation

dga' ldan the Joyful Heaven Tuşita

dge sbyor virtuous practice

dgongs pa thought

'gal rkyen unfavourable conditions 'gag (don) crucial point, key point

'gegs pa to hinder

'gyu byed to make (mind) move or stir, thinking

'gyed pa to emanate
rgya mthong window

rgyus yodto be familiar withsgro 'dogsmisconceptionsgrib baobstructionsgyu lusillusory body

bsgrims pa to focus, to concentrate
(b)sgom pa to meditate, to contemplate

bsgom spang object to be eliminated in the path of meditation

-Nga-

ngal bso to rest ngan shugs evil force

nges shes confidence, certainty

ngo bo nature
ngo sprad/sprod to identify

ngo(s) zin/bzung ba to recognise, recognition

dngos gzhi main practice

mngon du byed pa to bring something into realization

mngon sum direct perception

sngon 'gro preliminary preparation snga log phyi log early or later return

-Ca-

bcad pa to break, to cut off bcos pa to modify, to change

-Cha-

chags zhenattachment and desirechar bato arise, to appear

chos lam requisite

chos skureality dimension of awakeningdharmakāyachos nyidthe realitydharmatāchos dbyingthe sphere of realitydharmadhātu

'chi rtags sign of death
'chi ltas omen of death

'chi kha (ma) the moment of death

'chi brodjoyful death'chug medunerring'chor bato lose

-Ja-

'jag ma stalk *'jigs* fear

dgra 'jigs – fear of enemy

nad gcod kyi 'jigs pa – fear of illness and condemnation

bag 'jigs — fear
'jig rten the world
brjod pa to recite

-Nya-

nyon mongs affliction kleśa

nyams pa to experience, to deteriorate (vows)

nyams rtags sign of exercise

nyams lenexercisenyams su longs/ blangs pato practicegnyen poantidotesnyug dongbamboo tubemnyam par bzhag pato remain evenly

-Ta-

ting nge 'dzin meditative stabilisation samādhi

tur tur po sometimes clear sometimes not

gtad/gtod pa to focus, to concentrate
gtan la dbab pa to settle down into order

gtan du bca' ba to settle

gtugs pa to meet, to reach gtor ma the ritual cake

rtags sign

nang rtags – inner signphyi rtags – outer signrten med aimless

rten 'breldependent connection, interconnectionrtog paconceptual thoughts, to investigate

btang/gtang ba to let go

btang snyoms neutral feeling

brtan pa stability

btab ba to implement, to apply

bstim/thim pa to dissolve

-Tha

tha dad to separate, differentiate

tha mal pa ordinary

thal ba to overdo, to go beyond

thang chad pa to be tired

thig le drop bindu

thim pato dissolvethugs rjecompassionthe tshomdoubt

thebs pa to progress, to succeed

thog ma med pa beginning-less

thog ma nyid nas from the very beginning mthun rkyen/gyur favourable conditions

mthud pa to continue

mthong spang object to be eliminated in the path of seeing

mthong khung window

-Da-

dad pa faith

dal 'byor leisure & endowments

dam tshig vow samaya

dus mtshungs pa at the same time

dran pa to recollect, to remember smrti

dran rigmindful awarenessdran shesmindful consciousness

gdab pa to apply gdams pa instruction

bliss and emptiness

bdo ba become vivid

'da' ka the moment of death

'dun pa intention
'dres pa to intermingle

rdo rje rtse lnga pa the five-pronged golden vajra

sdig sgrib obstacles, hindrance

sdug bsngal suffering bsdongs pa to unite

-Na-

gnad the key point

mnar med pa'i dmyal ba the incessant hell Avici

rnam shes consciousness

rnam shes rig pa awareness of consciousness

rnam g.yeng distraction

rnal 'byoryogi, practitionersnang sridphenomenal worldsnang bavision, appearancesnang ba dag pa'i sbyingsthe pure sphere

snang ba mtha' ya name of a Buddha Amitābha

-Pa-

sprul pa emanation

sprul sku manifest dimension of awakening nirmāṇakāya

spyi khyab all-pervasive spyi bo the crown

spyod pa to exercise, to engage in something

spyod pa skyong ba to continue a practice spyod yul the sphere of activity

spyan ras gzigs name of a Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

spro bsdu thinking or concentrating

spro ba rejoice

spros bral free from mental complexities

-Pha-

phog pa to hit, to touch

phyag mtshan hand gesture mudrā

phral ba to eliminate
phyir mi ldog pa irreversible
'phel ba to increase

'phen pa to shoot, to throw

'pho ba to transfer, to change, to die 'phro rgod wandering and exciting

'phro ba to radiate

-Ba-

bag chagshabitual tendencyvāsanābar dothe intermediate stateantarābhava

bem poa corpse, a lifeless objectbla med byang chubsupreme enlightenmentblo sna bathoughts, perceptionsbye brag phyed/'byed pato know, to understand

byin rlabs blessing dbugs breath

nang dbugs– the inner breathphyi dbugs– the outer breathdbab pato bring down, to settledbab 'byorintellectual power

dbyung bato exhaledbyer medindivisible'bul bato offer'brel baconnectionsbyang(s) bato practicesbyong bato purify

-Ma-

man ngaginstructionmi ldog pairreversiblemi rtag paimpermanence

mi dran dgu dran to recall everything that is not to be remembered mun pa

obscurity, darkness

mos gus devotion

myos pa to be intoxicated, to lost control

dmigs pavisualisation, visiondmigs rtenmeditative support

dmyal thag chad paexhaustedrmi lamdreamsmon lamprayer

-Tsa-

gtsug tor crown protuberance uṣṇṣṣa

btsan thabs by forceful means

btsugs pa to erect

rtsathe channels in the bodynāḍīrtsa dbu ma– the central channelavadhūtīrtsa ro ma– the right channelrasanārtsa rkyang ma– the left channellalanā

rtsal sbyong to practice

-Tsha-

tshangs bug the cranial aperture tshad/tshud/tshod bzung ba to maintain the limit

tshud pato penetratetshe rabssuccessive livestshe 'phel baprolonging life

tshe la gzan pa to consume one's life

mtshan nyid characteristic, definition

mtshams med pa'i las continuously deeds

mtshams sbyor connection, union, practice

-Zha-

zhe sdang hatred zhing khams realm

gzhug pa to inhale, to participate

-Za-

za zi confuse, unclear zang thal penetration

zin pa to maintain, to perceive

zung 'jug two united [deities/somethings]

gzan pa to consume

gzungs sngags spell dhāraṇī

-'a-

'od gsal the clear light, luminosity

'od khyim the light-sphere

-Ya-

yad yud momentary

yal ba to vanish, to fade away

yig 'bru syllable yid mind

yul lnga five sense-objects yo lang shifting thoughts

yon tan virtue
g.yang sa the abyss

-Ra-

rang bzhin self-nature svabhāva

rang sa zin pa embrace one's natural state

rig pathe awarenessrig pa dangspure spiritrig rtsalcreative mind

rig 'dzin knowledge holder Vidyādhara

rlungair, breath, windrlung khungbreath circulationrlung rothe stale breath

rlung bum pa can the circulation of breath as a vase

rtsub rlung — the forceful breath
'jam rlung — the gentle breath

las kyi rlung– karmic windkarma prāṇabyang chub sems kyi rlung– compassionate windbodhicitta prāṇa

-La-

lam 'khyal ba irrelevant path

las 'bras karmic results, karmic connections

las la sbyar ba to apply into practice, application

lan chags karmic creditor

lu gu rgyud uninterruptedly interlink

longs sku dimension of the full richness of being sambhogakāya

log non suppressing negative force

log min du 'khyams pa wandering around

longs spyod enjoyment

-Sha-

shes pa consciousness, to know

shel spug crystal stone gshed rival or destroyer

bshad pa to explain

-Sa-

sa bon seed syllable

sangs rgya ba become awakened, enlightened

sangs rgyas kyi zhingfield of Buddhasems pato contemplatesems nyidthe nature of mind

sems sems po conceivable

so mtshamsthe dividing pointsrid pabecoming, existencesroglife force, vitality

srog shing life-tree

srog rlung life-sustaining wind

gsal gdab pa to visualise

gsol ba btab/gdab pa to invoke, to request

bsring ba to prolong

-Ha-

had po mindlesshur po concentrationlhod kyis klod pa to relax at ease

Index

Note

This index comprises three parts: personal names and places, titles of teachings and texts, and finally the general index. They are urther divided according to languages, i.e., Tibetan, Sanskrit and others. Tibetan names and teachings are arranged in accordance with Tibetan alphabet order. Same principle is applied to Sanskrit. In the case of names, only the radical letters of the actual name are capitalised, while titles and epithets are written in small letters. However, the names of place where one associated are also capitalised. All the titles of teachings and texts are written in italics.

I. Names & Places

(a) Tibetan

- (C) = celestial realm
- (D) = deity
- (n) = personal name
- (p) = place

-Ka-

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Zusammenfassung

In der tibetischen Kultur versteht man unter 'pho ba einen Sterbe- bzw. Todesritus, der, kurz nach dem Eintreten des Todes durchgeführt, das Bewußtsein des Verstorbenen an ein wünschenswertes Ziel hinführen beziehungsweise den Verstorbenen dabei unterstützen soll, seine nächste Existenz seinen Wünschen gemäß annehmen zu können. Um die perfekte Durchführung des Rituals zum kritischen Zeitpunkt des Eintretens des Todes zu gewährleisten, wird schon zu Lebzeiten die Rezitation der Ubertragung des Bewußtseins ('pho ba) empfohlen. Die Tradition des 'pho ba ist auch in ein berühmtes Fest eingegangen, das sogenannte 'Bri gung 'pho ba chen mo, das im hundert Kilometer nördöstlich von Lhasa gelegenen Distrikt von 'Bri gung ins Leben gerufen und weiterentwickelt worden ist. Die im Zusammenhang hiermit stehende weithin bekannte Abfolge von Ritualen wurde innerhalb der 'Bri gung bka' brgyud Tradition im 17. Jh. dokumentiert, wohingegen sich die Wurzeln dieser Tradition bis ins 14. Jh. zurückverfolgen lassen. Nach modernem Usus wiederum sind 'pho ba und die Amitābha Verehrung zu einem System von Ritualen vereinigt worden. Es war jedoch bisher nicht klar, wann und durch wen dies geschah. Genau diese Zusammenführung von 'pho ba und Amitābha Verehrung ist das Themenspektrum, in das ich in der vorliegenden Arbeit Klarheit bringen möchte. Ich bin ebenso daran interessiert, herauszufinden, wer zur Zusammenlegung dieser beiden Traditionen beitrug, die so zentrale Bestandteile der tibetischen Konzeption über das Sterben sind.

Abgesehen vom Aspekt der rituellen Durchführung ist das Studium der *Nā ro chos drug*, der *Sechs Lehren des Nā ro pa* ein weiteres Mittel, *'pho ba* zu studieren. Dieses *Nā ro chos drug* ist als System tantrischer Lehren bekannt, das sechs miteinander zuammenhängende *Yogas* enthält: Das Yoga der Inneren Hitze (*gtum mo*), das Yoga des Illusionären Körpers (*sgyu lus*), das Yoga des Klaren Lichts (*'od gsal*), des Traums (*rmi lam*), der Übertragung des Bewußtseins (*'pho ba* und *grong 'jug*) sowie das Yoga des Zwischenzustands (*bar do*). Nach anerkannter Lehrmeinung besteht die Auffassung, daß die *Nā ro chos drug* spezielle in der bKa' brgyud Schule überlieferte religiöse Praktiken verkörpern, wobei die drei berühmten Meister, Tilo pa (988-1069), Nā ro pa (1012-1100) und Mar pa (1002/12-1097) als die frühen Gründerväter dieser Überlieferungslinie anerkannt sind. Auch der große Dichter-Yogi Mi la ras pa (1028/52-1135) verbreitete diese Lehre unter seinen Schülern wie z.B. Ras chung rdo rje grags pa (1085-1161) und Dwags po lha rje bSod nams rin chen (1079-1153). Danach entwickelten sich diese *Sechs Lehren* im Zuge der Herausbildung der sektarischen

Bewegungen weiter. Diese Ansicht vertreten die traditionellen tibetischen Lehrmeister, nachzulesen z.B. im Werk *gSan yig* des Padma dkar po (1527-92), die in starkem Maße auch unser heutiges Verständnis der Übertragungslinien der *Sechs Lehren* beeinflußt. Meiner Meinung nach wird, gemessen an der großen Aufmerksamkeit, die ihnen zuteil wird, der eigentliche Kern der Entwicklung der *Nā ro chos drug* im Grunde genommen unzureichend verstanden. Mich bewegte die grundlegende Frage, welche Beziehung zwischen *'pho ba* und den *Nā ro chos drug* besteht, nämlich ob sich die *'pho ba* Lehre lediglich aus der Tradition des *Nā ro chos drug* entwickelt hat. Obwohl es unwahrscheinlich ist, auf diesem Wege voranzukommen, empfand ich es als unzureichend, dass sich bisher keine wissenschaftliche Untersuchung mit dieser Fragestellung beschäftigt hat. Deshalb entschied ich mich, in der vorliegenden Studie die möglichen Entwicklungsrouten der *'pho ba* Lehre zu untersuchen, abgesehen von der bekannten Struktur des *Nā ro chos drug*. Ich werde im Folgenden meine wissenschaftlich-methodische Vorgehensweise erläutern.

Zwei grundlegende Fragen bilden das Grundgerüst der vorliegenden Arbeit:

Die erste Frage bezieht sich auf den bereits oben angesprochenen Zusammenhang zwischen 'pho ba und den Nā ro chos drug, und zwar nach der Art und Weise, wie sich diese beiden Traditionen innerhalb der bKa' brgyud Schule im Zeitraum zwischen dem 11. und dem 14. Jh. entwickelt haben. Ich vertrete die Auffasung, daß die Praxis des 'pho ba ihre eigene Entwicklungsgeschichte durchlief, bevor sie in die Gruppe der Sechs Lehren eingereiht wurde. Die zweite Frage betrifft die Rolle des rNying ma Meisters Sangs rgyas gling pa (1341-96) bei der Verbreitung der Tradition der Amitābha Verehrung. Im Zuge meiner Nachforschungen bemerkte ich, daß der durch Sangs rgyas gling pa gehobene Schatztext (gter ma) 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba wichtige Hinweise zur Interpretation der Entwicklung der Amitābha Verehrung im mittelalterlichen Tibet geben könnte. Deshalb bin ich daran interessiert, die Signifikanz dieses Schatztextes 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba zu erforschen.

Zur Behandlung dieser beiden Fragestellungen verwende ich sowohl historische als auch philologische Forschungsansätze. Entsprechend behandelt der erste Teil dieser Arbeit ausgewählte Übertragungen und Lehren des 'pho ba in den bKa' brgyud Traditionen während sich der zweite Teil mit dem Schatz der tradierten rNying ma Schule beschäftigt. Da in dieser Hinsicht bisher keine wissenschaftliche Untersuchung existiert, muss ich notwendigerweise einen Rahmen skizzieren, der den Zugang zu dieser ersten Arbeit erlaubt. Ich gehe nach einem mikroskopischen Ansatz vor, um die ausgewählten Daten zu analysieren. Um zu klären, wie die 'pho ba Lehren in die bKa' brgyud Traditionen

übergeführt wurden, werde ich die relevanten Biographien und die hagiographische Literatur heranziehen. Durch das Studium der historischen Abfolge der Lehren erwarte ich Hinweise, wie die Lehren des *'pho ba* außerhalb der Strukturen des *Nā ro chos drug* überliefert wurden. Zusätzlich beschäftige ich mich mit philologischen Studien, um die zugänglichen *'pho ba* Lehren der im ersten Teil genannten Meister näher zu untersuchen. Weil die umfassende Übersetzung des *'pho ba* im vierten Kapitel präsentiert wird, gebe ich im Folgenden den Inhalt des *'pho ba* nur summarisch wieder.

Ich beginne meine Studie mit der Diskussion der in den 'pho ba Liturgien verwendeten Terminologie. Der Wunsch nach einem möglichst langen Leben, nach einer Wiedergeburt in himmlischen Gefilden und die Erreichung des Nichttod-Zustands sind die immer wiederkehrenden Themen, die sich in einem bestimmten Genre von Mahayāna-Sūtras bzw. in den korrespondierenden Kommentaren und Liturgien mannigfach wiederfinden lassen. Kein Wunder, daß die drei Grundideen von 'pho ba, tshe grub und 'chi med letztendlich in einer Liturgie zusammengeführt wurden, wie wir im Hauptteil meiner Dissertation sehen werden.

Zuvor jedoch erscheint es notwendig, die Bedeutung des Begriffs 'pho ba und dessen Bedeutungsbreite, die in der späteren 'pho ba Liturgie noch zunahm, näher zu erklären. Nach Jäschke (1975: 357) ist 'pho ba sowohl ein intransitives Verb mit der Bedeutung "den Ort verändern", "wandern", "ziehen", als auch das in der frühen Literatur meist gebräuchliche Wort für Tod. Jäschke erwähnt ebenfalls, daß in Zentraltibet, speziell in dBus und gTsang der Begriff 'pho ba generell in der Bedeutung "häuten", bzw. "herausfallen" (z.B. des Korns bzw. Getreides aus der Kornhülse) verwendet wird. Im Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo (1985:178-85) werden zwei Bedeutungen unter dem Lemma 'pho ba angeführt: Die erste Bedeutung ist "hinüberbringen", "übertragen", "verändern", "(sich) auf die Reise begeben", die andere "sterben". Die Derivativa wiederum tragen eine ähnliche Bedeutung, wie z.B. 'pho skar, der Meteor, 'pho skyas, "Migration", 'pho 'gyur, wechseln, verändern, 'pho nyul, "von einem Ort zum anderen ziehen", während 'pho chung und 'pho chen in der tibetischen Medizintheorie in Bezug auf die kleine und große Zirkulation des Atems während des Tagesablaufs verwendet wird. Goldstein (2001:705) "being transferred" (übernahm die für 'pho und fixierte die Bedeutung "transferring of consciousness" Bedeutung) (Übertragung des Bewußtseins) für 'pho ba. Ebenso wird nach ihm 'pho ba im Kontext von "das Bewußtsein freisetzen", bzw. "a rite done when someone dies" (ein Ritus, der durchgeführt wird, wenn jemand stirbt) verwendet. Es ist offensichtlich, daß im modernen

tibetischen Sprachgebrauch unter 'pho ba ein elaboriertes Ritual für einen Verstorbenen verstanden wird. Es existieren mehrere mit 'pho ba korrespondierende Sanskrit Termini, wie z.B. saṃkrānti, saṃkrama, saṃkramaṇa, saṃcāra, samāropa, samāropaṇa und vitaraṇa.

In den verschiedenen Textgattungen der buddhistischen Literatur fand ich zwei Sūtras, die den Begriff 'pho ba in ihrem Titel enthalten: Beim ersten handelt es sich um das 'Phags pa srid pa 'pho ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (Ārya-bhavasaṃkrānti-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra), das zweite ist das Tshe 'pho ba ji ltar 'gyur ba zhus pa'i mdo (Āyuṣpattiyathākārapariprcchā-sūtra). Beide finden sich in den Peking-sDe-dge und Nar thang-Editionen des tibetischen Kanjur. Der erste Text Srid pa 'pho ba (Der Wechsel der Existenz) wurde von Jinamitra, Dānaśila und Ye shes sde ins Tibetische übersetzt und umfaßt vier Folios. Hier existieren drei äquivalente Übersetzungen ins Chinesische durch Bodhiruci (菩提流支), Buddhazānta (佛陀善多) und Yi jing (義淨), die respektive zwischen dem 6. und 8. Jh. angefertigt wurden. Unter ihnen stellt Yi jing's Übersetzung diejenige dar, die die größte Nähe zur tibetichen Version aufweist.

Dieses Sūtra berichtet über die Verehrung des Buddha Śākyamuni durch den König Bimbisāra im in den Außenbezirken der Stadt Rajagṛha gelegenen Byakalandaka-Garten. Bei dieser Gelegenheit stellt König Bimbisāra dem Buddha die Frage, warum angesammeltes Karma, das bereits vergangen war, zum Zeitpunkt des Todes wieder wirksam werden könne. Da alle der vom Karma abhängigen Existenzen letztendlich leer sind, warum können sie dann gleichzeitig unerschöpflich bleiben? Der Buddha antwortet mit dem Beispiel des Sehens schöner Mädchen im Traum: Er erklärt, daß, wenn man die wieder aufrufbaren Erinnerungen der Schönheit auch beim Aufwachen aus dem Traum vor Augen habe, so wären als Konsequenz Gefühle des Genusses oder sogar Anhaften an diesen mentalen Bildern und in der Folge Emotionen von Anhaftung, Haß und Unwissenheit möglich. Ein Mann, der sich in derartigen Kettenabfolgen mentaler Bewußtseinsabläufe verstricke, wäre in der Tat ein Tor. Deshalb ist die Antwort auf die erste Frage, daß die erfahrbaren Gedankenbilder nicht real existent sind, obwohl sie direkt im Intellekt des Betrachters Gestalt annehmen können, auch zu dem Zeitpunkt, da das Bewußtsein in den Prozeß des Vergehens (hinsichtlich dieser Existenz) eintritt.

Die zweite Frage überdenkend, führt der Buddha Śākyamuni aus, daß zu dem Zeitpunkt, da das Bewußtsein der gerade vergangenen Existenz aufgehört hat, das darauf folgende Bewußtsein sofort in der Lage ist, zu reifen und sich in Konsequenz in den Bereichen der Götter, Menschen, Tiere, Geister etc. zu manifestieren. – Wo auch immer das Bewußtsein

erneut sich manifestiert, der Strom des Bewußtseins hört niemals auf. Nichts anderes als die Manifestation der Kraft des Karma kann von dieser in die nächste Existenz transferiert werden. Das Vergehen des Bewußtseins der vergangenen Existenz wird "Tod", das Aufsteigen des darauffolgenden Bewußteins wird "Geburt" genannt. Nach ihm gibt es weder ein Ziel für das vormalige, vergehende Bewusstsein noch für das nachfolgende Bewusstsein. Gerade dies sei die Natur aller Existenzen.

Die Beschreibung einer luxuriösen Begräbniszeremonie für eine angesehene Persönlichkeit namens Śākva dga' skyes ist der Ausgangspunkt des zweiten Sūtra, das *Tshe 'pho ba ji ltar* 'gyur ba zhus pa (Die Bitte der Erklärung der Art und Weise der Transferierung der Existenz). Nachdem König Suddhodana einem Ritual wie diesem beigewohnt hat, beginnt er über die Bedeutung von Begräbniszeremonien nachzudenken, obwohl er weiß, daß es sich hierbei um ein von Brahmanen vollzogenes Ritual handelt. Aus diesem Grunde stellt er eine Reihe von elaborierten Fragen danach, was nach dem Tod passiert: Wird man in der Art und Weise wiedergeboren wie in der vergangenen Existenz oder z.B. als Angehöriger einer anderen Rasse? Wird man nach dem Tod leblos wie Asche oder nimmt man eine neue Existenz an? Gesetzt den Fall, nicht alle Vorfahren – zurückgerechnet bis zum allerersten Anfang – nehmen in der darauffolgenden Existenz dieselbe Wiedergeburt an, wie kann dann eine Linie ununterbrochen weiterbestehen? – Besteht die Möglichkeit, daß ein Mann seinen Reichtum und seine Reputation aus der vergangenen Existenz mit in seine neue Existenz hinübernimmt? Verbleiben die Armen auf ihrem niederen sozialen Status, während die Reichen weiterhin ein gehobenes Leben führen werden? Werden die Opfer, die von den Verwandten bei der Trauerfeier dargebracht werden, dem Toten irgendeinen Nutzen bringen, so daß er in Konsequenz in einem reinen Bereich wiedergeboren wird?

Um all diese Fragen zu beantworten, zeigt der Buddha Śākyamuni zuerst die falsche Logik hinter jeder dieser Fragen auf. Hierauf artikuliert er seine eigene Ansicht darüber, wie das Bewußtsein von einer Existenz zur nächsten transferiert wird: Im Grunde genommen fließt der Bewußtseinsstrom dynamisch, weshalb er nicht am Ende einer jeweiligen Existenz versiegt. Die Transferierung des Bewußtseins ist kein permanent gleichbleibender Prozeß, d.h., es ist möglich, daß er sich im Laufe der Zeit aufgrund mannigfaltiger Gründe ebenso wie aufgrund des angesammelten Karma verändert. Trotzdem gibt es keinen Agens, der den Prozeß der Transmigration beeinflussen könnte. Was die während der Opferzeremonien der Trauerfeier dargebrachten Substanzen anbelangt, so haben diese keinen Einfluß darauf, in welcher Art und Weise der Verstorbene wiedergeboren wird. Die Opfernden können jedoch

aufgrund ihrer aufrichtigen Ausrichtung Verdienste erwerben. Es gibt dennoch eine Möglichkeit für den Sterbenden, seine zukünftige Wiedergeburt positiv zu beeinflussen, nämlich, wenn er die Möglichkeit hat, kurz vor Eintreten des Todes seine Sünden zu bekennen und dazu Zuflucht zu nehmen. Acht Beispiele, wie das Bewußtsein transferiert wird, werden gegeben. Zum Beispiel, ein Schüler hört den Gesang seines Lehrers, ein Abbild erscheint in einem Spiegel, ein Feuer wird durch ein erlöschendes Feuer entfacht, aus einem Samen erhebt sich ein Spross usw. Ist es möglich, daß es sich bei diesem Sūtra um den frühesten 'pho ba Text handelt, den wir kennen? In der Tat finden wir eine bemerkenswerte Notiz am Ende des Textes: Hier wird angeführt, daß dieser Text bei seiner Übersetzung ins Tibetische, die während der ersten Verbreitungsperiode durchgeführt wurde, frei von jedweden vereinfachenden sprachlichen Zusätzen belassen wurde. Gesetzt den Fall, es handelt sich hierbei um eine zuverlässige Angabe, dann besteht die Möglichkeit, diesen Text definitiv ins 7. oder 8. Jh. zu datieren. Ich denke, daß eine genaue und umfassende Übersetzung des Tshe 'pho ba ji Itar 'gyur ba zhus pa notwendig wäre, um das Ergebnis mit den Textzeugen der später herausgebildeten Pho ba Liturgie vergleichen zu können. Dies liegt jedoch jenseits der Zielsetzung der vorliegenden Arbeit.

Abgesehen von diesen o.a. Werken war es mir möglich, zwei weitere Lehrtexte aufzufinden, die den Begriff 'pho ba im Titel tragen, nämlich das von Nāgārjuna verfaßte Srid pa 'pho ba (Bhavasamkrānti) sowie den dazugehörigen Kommentar Srid pa'i 'pho ba'i tīka (Bhāvasamkrāntitīka) aus der Feder des Maitreyanātha. Beide Texte wurden von Zla ba gzhon nu ins Tibetische übersetzt und in die Abteilung dBu ma (Mādhyamika) eingereiht. Diese beiden Lehrtexte unterscheiden sich von unserem Thema "Übertragung des Bewußtseins". Im Tantra Abschnitt der tibetischen Tripitaka bin ich auf die Instruktion Rang gi sems gong du 'pho ba'i man ngag byin rlabs dang bcas pa (Die gesegnete Anweisung, wie man sein Bewußtsein in höhere Sphären überträgt) aufmerksam geworden. Deren Version ist sehr kurz in Form von Versen auf zwei Seiten niedergeschrieben worden. Sie umfasst jedoch die Instruktionen, wie man atmet, welche Körperhaltung man einnehmen soll, wie man (heilige) Silben visualisiert und wie man sein Bewußtsein aus dem Schädeldach heraus projiziert. Dies ist typisch für die 'pho ba Liturgie, mit der wir uns in dieser Dissertation beschäftigen. Der einzige signifikante Unterschied besteht darin, daß gShin rje gshed dmar po, die rote Yamantaka die Gottheit ist, die man vergegenwärtigen und der man sich nähern soll. Yamāntaka entspricht der zornigen Erscheinung des Manjuśri and repräsentiert das Wissen um die Kontrolle des Sterbens.

Darüber hinaus gilt es zu bemerken, daß wenigstens zwei weitere Mahayāna Sūtras in ähnlicher Art und Weise wie das oben besprochene *Tshe 'pho ba ji Itar 'gyur ba* die Übertragung des Bewußtseins behandeln: Das erste Sūtra trägt den Titel *'Phags pa tshong dpon bzang skyong gis zhus pa (Āryabhadrapālaśreṣṭīparipṛcchā*) in der Abteilung Ratnakūta (*dkon brtsegs*). Das andere ist das *'Phags pa bgres mos zhus pa (Ārya-mahālalikāparipṛcchā*) in der Abteilung der vermischten Sūtras.

Für das *Bhadrapālaśreṣṭīparipṛcchā* existieren zwei äquivalente chinesische Übersetzungen. Die erste stammt aus dem Jahre 591 (Sui Dynastie) und wurde von Jnanagupta (闍那崛多) durchgeführt. Die zweite wurde im Jahre 681 von Divakara (地麥訶羅) (Tang Dynastie) besorgt. Ihr wurde der Name 大乘顯識經 (*Das Mahāyana Sūtra, das das Bewußtsein offenbart*) verliehen. Beide Übersetzungen ins Chinesische weisen in ihrem Titel auf die Thematik der "Übertragung des Bewußtseins" bzw. der "Enthüllung des Bewußtseins" hin. Die Zeit ihrer Übersetzung, eben das 6. und 7. Jahrhundert, ist bemerkenswert: Diese beiden Texte wurden eben schon vor der Übersetzung des *Tshe 'pho ba ji Itar 'gyur ba* ins Tibetische, das sich ja mit derselben Thematik befaßt, auf dem Weg über Zentralasien ins Chinesische übersetzt. Wenn es uns gelingt, die urprünglichen Sanskrittexte dieser Sūtras aufzufinden, dann werden wir m.E. in der Lage sein, Einblick in die Lehren der Übertragung des Bewußtseins im indisch buddhistischen Kontext zu nehmen. Die Kommentare zu diesem Thema aus dem Kreis der Mādhyamaka und der Chittamātra Schulen existieren jedenfalls ohne Zweifel in großer Zahl. Wie auch immer, die philosophischen Ansätze weichen ab von der rituellen Ausrichtung der Texte, mit denen ich mich befaßt habe.

Ich gebe im Folgenden eine kurze Zuammenfassung des Inhalts der einzelnen Kapitel.

Im ersten Kapitel untersuche ich die Übertragung 'pho ba Lehren in die frühe bKa' brgyud Tradition und ihre spätere, abgeleitete Karma kam tshang Nachfolge. Es besteht aus drei Abschnitten: Erstens benütze ich zwei Übertragungen – sNyan gyi shog dril bzhi und Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu – um die Ausbreitungsrouten des 'pho ba in Tibet zu dokumentieren. Zweitens untersuche ich die gesammelten Werte des sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen um aufzuzeigen, wie die 'pho ba Lehre in dieses Sammelwerk eingefügt wurde. Drittens befasse ich mich näher mit der nachfolgenden Karma kam tshang Lehre und versuche die Ausbreitung des 'pho ba in dieser Tradition zu klären. Der Grund, warum ich mich besonders mit der Karma Überlieferung beschäftige, liegt in den Verbindungen zwischen den Karma pas und den rNying ma Meistern. Anhand dieser Quellen können speziell die Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede innerhalb des 'pho ba Genre, wie sie innerhalb der gTer

ma Tradition anzutreffen sind, herausgearbeitet werden. Da das Hauptaugenmerk der vorliegenden Arbeit auf Sangs rgyas gling pa und seine Langlebensliturgie gerichtet ist, gebe ich in diesem Abschnitt nicht eine Gesamtübersetzung der Quellen, sondern eine Zusammenfassung bzw. Paraphrase der relevanten Textstellen, wobei ich diese einer kritischen Analyse unterzogen habe. Ich möchte anmerken, daß diese ausgewählten Texte hier nicht strikt nach ihrer chronologischen Reihenfolge behandelt werden.

Im zweiten Kapitel konzentrierte ich mich auf die weniger bekannte Shangs pa bKa' brgyud Tradition. Auf diese Weise war ich in der Lage, die unterschiedliche Verbreitung der 'pho ba Lehren herauszuarbeiten. Ich würde die Shangs pa Tradition als die "mystischste" Linie innerhalb des tibetischen Buddhismus bezeichnen. Die Lehren des Shangs pa wurden durch eine weit verzweigte Schar von Schülern während des 13. und 14. Jh. weitergegeben und so nach und nach von den anderen etablierten Schulrichtungen absorbiert. Aufgrund des Fehlens einer zentralen Institution war es dieser Tradition jedoch nicht vergönnt, als Ganzes in irgendeiner speziellen Überlieferungslinie zu überleben. Der Tradition zufolge unterscheidet sich die Shangs pa bKa' brgyud Schule von der Mar pa bKa' brgyud Schule und ist in besonderem Maße durch die Lehren der fünf goldenen Dharmas der Ni gu ma (Ni gu'i gser chos Inga) bekannt geworden.

Die Charakteristika dieser Lehrtradition werden mittels der Metapher eines Baumes beschrieben: Die Wurzeln bilden die *Ni gu chos drug*, der Stamm ist das *Phyag chen ga'u ma*. Die Zweige werden von den *Lam khyer gsum*, die Blüten vom *mKa' spyod dkar dmar* und die Früchte vom *Lus sems 'chi med* gebildet. Untersucht man die hagiographischen Quellen der frühen Shangs pa Meister, so offenbaren sich hier einige interessante Gesichtspunkte: Obwohl die *Ni gu chos drug* in der traditionellen Betrachtungsweise ein herausragendes Symbol der Shangs pa Überlieferungslinie bleiben, so scheinen doch die Unterschiede zu den anderen Zweigen der bKa' brgyud Tradition bergrenzt zu sein. Schon in den frühen Anfängen der Herausbildung der Shangs pa Tradition hatte sich die Ras chung Tradition von der Mar pas Überlieferungslinie losgelöst und sich selbst in die Shangs pa Tradition inkorporiert. Die Bedeutung Ni gu ma, die allmählich abgenommen hatte, wurde nur beiläufig erwähnt. Auf der anderen Seite sind die Beschreibungen der Visionen wie auch die Instruktionen der Sukhasiddhī konstant wiederholt worden und haben gleichbleibende Aufmerksamkeit erhalten. Wenn es zwischen den Schulen der Shangs pa und der Mar pa bKa' brgyud Traditionen eine erwähnenswerte Unterscheidung gibt, so ist diese

Unterscheidung eher im Hinblick auf den Stellenwert und die Lehren der Sukhasiddhī, weniger im Hinblick auf den Stellenwert und die Lehren der Ni gu ma zu treffen.

Im dritten Kapitel beschäftige ich mich mit der Biographie des Sangs rgyas gling pa sowie mit dem Bericht über seine Laufbahn als Schatzfinder. Im Zuge meiner Studien über das Leben des Sangs rgyas gling pa fand ich mehrere Charakteristika, die unserer allgemeinen Vorstellung von einem *gter ston* (Schatzfinder) entsprechen, wie zum Beispiel seine visionäre Kraft, mit himmlischen Wesen zusammenzutreffen, seine Fähigkeit, geheiligte Objekte aufzufinden, seine rhetorische Begabung, öffentlich zu predigen und den Versammelten seinen Segen zu spenden, ferner seine Fähigkeit, Pilgerfahrten zu begleiten und anzuleiten. Hierzu gehört ebenfalls seine Gabe, sozialen Unfrieden zu schlichten. Obwohl er bei der Durchführung seiner Schatzauffindungen erfolgreich war, so war es – ironischerweise – gerade dieser Erfolg, der Anlaß zu Problemen gab.

In der Erzählung werden zwei Arten von Spannungen offenkundig: Es entstehen Spannungen zwischen der lokalen Bevölkerung und dem *gter ston*, wie auch zwischen dem *gter ston* und den religiösen Führungspersönlichkeiten der Region. Für die lokale Bevölkerung war es anfangs naturgegeben wunderbar zu erfahren, daß sich in ihrem Gebiet Schätze befänden. Daß diese jedoch von einem "Fremden" entdeckt und in der Folge mitgenommen würden war eine ganz andere Geschichte! Die Biographie zeigt die enge *Verbindung zwischen* Sangs rgyas gling pa und der Karma bka' brgyud Überlieferungslinie. Die Region, in der Sangs rgyas gling pa seine Schätze auffand, war ein Gebiet, das zur bKa' brgyud-Tradition gehörte. Gerade in dieser Quelle wird offensichtlich, daß die Hauptempfänger des *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* Zyklus religiöse Persönlichkeiten waren, die dieser Schule angehörten. Im späteren Abschnitt seines Lebens teilte Sangs rgyas gling pa vielen Leuten Langlebenswasser aus (relevant für die Erörterung der Langlebenszeremonie) und unterwies andere Meister, Yogis und Laien in den relevanten Lehren. In gewisser Weise erscheint es gerechtfertigt zu sagen, daß Sangs rgyas gling pa rituelle Praktiken und Meditationstechniken der rNying ma und der bKa' brgyud Schulen miteinander vereinte.

Im vierten Kapitel befasse ich mich mit der Übersetzung des 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba und mit Studien hinsichtlich der Langlebens Liturgie. Das 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba ist ein höchst detailliertes Manual des 'pho ba, das ein weites Feld von Lehren umfasst, wie z.B. passende und unpassende Umstände, aktuelles Training, die Wichtigkeit, Grenzen beim Training zu kennen, und die Flexibilität in praktischen Anwendungen bei vitalen Geschehnissen. Das wesentliche Prinzip des 'pho ba ist die Gefahr von Degeneration auszuschließen und das

Bewußtsein möglichst auf eine freudevollere Stufe emporzuheben. Der Zeitpunkt der Anwendung des 'pho ba ist eigentlich nicht auf den Moment des Sterbens beschränkt sondern erstreckt sich auf den Zeitraum des bar do. Die Instruktionen des 'pho ba überlappen sich teilweise mit den Lehren des bar do.

Abgesehen von den in hohem Maße verwirklichten Yogis, die dazu in der Lage sind, sich schon vor dem *bar do* des Sterbens zu befreien, existieren für die normalen Praktizierenden verschiedene Möglichkeiten, das Bewußtsein vom Moment des Todes an bis zur nächsten Geburt zu transferieren. Aus diesem Grunde beschreibt Sangs rgyas gling pa die verschiedenen Anwendungstechniken des *'pho ba* Rituals, angepaßt an die unterschiedlichen Situationen, Bedingungen und Zusammenhänge. Als Resultat sehen wir jedoch, daß die Inhalte der möglichen Visualisationen in ihrer Komplexität vereinfacht bzw. vereinheitlicht dargestellt werden. In gleichem Maße vereinfacht Sangs rgyas gling pa das Spektrum der Möglichkeiten bei der auf eine bevorzugte Gottheit gerichteten Meditation, um den Fähigkeiten der normalen Praktizierenden wie auch der Laien gerecht zu werden. Am Ende sind es das Bildnis und der Name des Amitābha, die visualisiert und respektive rezitiert werden sollen. Indem ich in diesem Kapitel ebenfalls die Langlebensliturgien untersuche, zeige ich die Spur auf, wie *tshe grub* und *'pho ba* m. E. in ihrer späteren Entwicklung zu einer Sammlung von Zeremonien vereinigt worden sind, wobei der Amitābha Kult die Verknüpfung zwischen diesen beiden Traditionen herstellt.

Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, daß Sangs rgyas gling pa offensichtlich durch seinen Schatztext 'Da' ka 'chi brod 'pho ba eine signifikante Rolle bei der Förderung und Verbreitung der Amitābha Verehrung gespielt hat. Ich halte es für gegeben, daß die zusammengeführten Lehren die Wünsche und Bedürfnisse der Gläubigen auf unterschiedliche Art und Weise zufrieden stellen. Meiner Interpretation zufolge war die Integration der Amitābha Verehrung in die 'pho ba und Langlebensliturgien eine intelligente Vorgehensweise, um den Sukhāvatī Glauben zu verbreiten. Die Aussicht auf ein langes Leben und einen angenehmen Tod sind mit die besten Wünsche, die jeder Gläubige hegen kann. Die Strategie, zwei vormals unabhängige Traditionen zu einem neuen System zusammenzuführen, mag nicht neu sein im tibetischen Buddhismus; trotzdem war seiner Unternehmung großer Erfolg beschieden. Dies könnte auch der Grund sein, warum die 'pho ba Praxis bis heute an allen Orten lebendig geblieben ist, wo Tibeter sich niedergelassen haben.