



Universiteit
Leiden

The Netherlands

A Dunhuang Tibetan Poem Praising Amitābha and Its Rebirth Among the Gter ma

Silk, J.A.

Citation

Silk, J. A. (2022). A Dunhuang Tibetan Poem Praising Amitābha and Its Rebirth Among the Gter ma. *Revue D'etudes Tibétaines*, 64, 516-613. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3454692>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Creative Commons CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 license](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3454692>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

A Dunhuang Tibetan Poem Praising Amitābha and Its Rebirth Among the *Gter ma*

Jonathan A. Silk
(Leiden University)

כְּאִשֶּׁר הָעֶבֶר מֵבִיט הַשָּׁמַיְמָה
זוֹ הִרְמַת הַסִּיּוּם כְּלָם,
גַּם חַי עֶבֶר רָחוּק עַד מָאֵד.

When the past looks up at the heavens
this is the raising up of life itself,
all of it, even the life of the very faraway past.

Zelda, בְּאוֹתוֹ עֶבֶר מוֹנֵר, trans. David Shulman

he literary treasures of the Roof of the World may give the impression of being almost inexhaustible.¹ Strictly speaking, this obviously cannot be true, but one could easily be forgiven a feeling of immensity in the face of seemingly endless printed collections and individual works, not to mention those surviving only

¹ I am grateful for the help of many friends whose advice greatly improved this paper. Péter-Dániel Szántó first offered corrections to my translation of the *Praise Poem*. Later Cathy Cantwell kindly offered several remarks, which I quote in notes where relevant. Leonard van der Kuijp went above and beyond in reading with me line by line through all the texts, for which my gratitude is unlimited. Since I am not very familiar with native Tibetan literature, especially in regard to the translations from the non-Dunhuang texts I have largely followed his advice, also for translation equivalents. Charles Ramble generously (and even via Skype from a train!) offered very helpful corrections. Finally, Berthe Jansen carefully read through a nearly final version of the paper, solved a number of remaining cruxes, and greatly improved my understanding at several points. My debt to all of these friends is profound. Needless to say, none of them, however, is responsible for my errors! I must further emphasize my debt to the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the British Library, which hold the relevant Dunhuang documents, and vitally to the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC), without whose freely available scans of essential materials this paper would not have been possible. One manuscript in the British Library otherwise unavailable was very kindly photographed for me by Sam van Schaik, to whom my thanks are again due. This work was supported by the European Research Council (ERC) under the Horizon 2020 program (Advanced Grant agreement No 741884).

in manuscript, uniquely or in multiple copies. Given the vastness of this literary ocean, connections between works when not recognized within the tradition itself may long rest undetected. This *terra incognita*—if we may mix our environmental metaphors—is only rendered more intractable by the fact that some pieces of Tibetan literature lay quite literally out of reach until modern times, the relevant case here being those uniquely preserved in the caves of Dunhuang. Many of these (though certainly not all) have been catalogued, and thus we do have a growing, if still quite incomplete, picture of the scope of these compositions.² Among these manuscripts not a few, dating to the period of the 9th–11th centuries, contain texts apparently otherwise unknown, either because they were later lost or because they were—it has usually been thought—not ever transmitted outside the Dunhuang region, where they were likely composed.

We may juxtapose this situation with another: one of the most important genres of Tibetan Buddhist literature is that generally termed *gter ma*, treasure texts, works which, the tradition tells us, were concealed, often by Padmasambhava or an incarnation of his, later to be “discovered” or “revealed” by *gter ston*. Much modern scholarship has been very critical if not cynical about such claims, with one obvious hypothesis being that the *gter ston* manufactured the texts they claimed to discover, transparently in order to give authority to their content.³ It is gradually becoming clear, however, that while this was no doubt sometimes the case, there are also instances in which it is now demonstrable that a “revealed treasure” was in fact a genuine older text. The present paper, combining the investigation of a hitherto unknown Dunhuang text with a likewise (nearly) unexamined piece of *gter ma* literature, treats precisely one such example.

The first text edited, translated and studied below is a poem in praise of the buddha Amitābha and his land, known in Sanskrit as *Sukhāvati*, the Realm of Bliss, or as it is commonly referred to under

² In addition to the well-known collections in London and Paris, as well as a number of smaller collections, listings of which have been published in one fashion or another, there are unrecorded (or at least unpublished) Tibetan manuscripts whose provenance is likely to be Dunhuang held in private (and even some public) collections. Many years ago I came across two Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts in the Oriental Library at UCLA, and others in the library of the Faculty of Letters at Kyoto University, and this is only to mention, essentially at random, collections I personally was able to explore. A concerted effort to take stock of such materials would constitute a solid contribution to the field, all the more so as the International Dunhuang Project appears at the moment to be in stasis. While it is true that these manuscripts (that is, those in Tibetan) are probably for the most part copies of the *Aparimitāyurjñāna*, as were those I located, and thus not very exciting, save perhaps for their colophons, one never knows. Regional musea in China, for instance, may well hold a few items of greater interest.

³ See the measured review of Hirshberg 2016: 85–139.

East Asian influence, the Pure Land. I will call this work the *Praise Poem*. This poem belongs, from one thematic and typological perspective, to the group of texts composed in Dunhuang in Tibetan, probably under considerable Chinese influence (though this need not necessarily mean that the composition took place strictly within the limited span of time during which Dunhuang was under direct Tibetan political and military control). The poem shares a close affinity with two others I published earlier, all three being Tibetan language poems praising Amitābha and his land, and all three, if I am correct, composed in Dunhuang or its environs. The first of these (Silk 1993, 2019) I will call the *Praise of His Mighty Name*, and the second (Silk 2020) the *Aspirational Prayer*. When I earlier examined these two poems, I attempted to trace their connections with, and influences from, other literature, and was able to identify several Chinese textual sources which may well have inspired the poets, or which at any rate contain materials similar to those which stimulated them. The same type of catalyst is likely to have also informed the author responsible for the poem presented below.

But in the present case, something different has also happened. As far as is known, the other poems I studied were born and, if one may put it this way, died in Dunhuang; there is no known trace of these works elsewhere in Tibetan literature. However, with this third *Praise Poem*, a textual link to later tradition presents itself. In the course of preparing my edition and study, I suddenly became aware of its later reproduction or recasting in two extremely influential *gter ma* collections, the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* and the *Padma bka' thang* (perhaps better known as the *Padma thang yig*),⁴ and subsequently in another work

⁴ On the title of the second text, see Dorji Wangchuk <http://philologia-tibetica.blogspot.com/2012/04/on-bkai-thang-yig-or-bka-thang.html>, who refers to the titles as *Padma bka'i thang yig* or *Padma dka' thang* [sic]. It is sometimes called the *Bka' thang Shel brag ma*. The influence of the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* on the *Padma bka' thang* has long been known, and this influence is certainly operative in the present case as well. I first became aware of the presence of the *Praise Poem* in these *gter ma* by noticing a comment in Sørensen 1994: 98n252. His interest in this source lay in the context of his study and translation of the 14th c. *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, and he translates that text's version of the poem on pp. 98–99, and see pp. 510–511. (For what it is worth—and according to Sørensen 1994: 36n102, overall that is not much—an edition is found in Kuznetsov 1966: 24.12–25.9. Despite Sørensen's scathing appraisal, at least for these verses the edited text appears to me generally fine.) One of the first in the West to notice this portion of the text was Pallas 1801: 396, who wrote, “Die Einleitung enthält einen Begriff von dem Seelen-Paradiese des Abida Burchan, Sukawadi-Oron genannt, und lehret wie es bestehe in unbeschreiblicher Glück- und Ruhseligkeit der selig gesprochenen, und nun unsterblichen Seelen, die aus diesem Leben geschieden sind. Alle irdische Herrlichkeiten seyen gegen diese Seligkeit nicht zu vergleichen und können nur etwan als Gleichnisse im Ausdruck gebraucht werden.” Note that despite the publication date the work was finished at least 25 years earlier (the first volume appeared in 1777); no

closely related to the latter, the *Bka' thang gser phreng*, and it is doubtless to be found in other collections as well.⁵

Despite their evident influence, since the verses studied below have themselves remained unknown, their relationship to these *gter ma* has also, naturally, hitherto not been noted. Given this, despite the fact that I would certainly not dare to call myself a Tibetologist, I hope that the present paper might constitute a small contribution to our knowledge of Buddhist traditions not only in 9th–10th century Dunhuang, and to Amitābha and Sukhāvātī traditions in Tibet, but also to *gter ma* studies and to some aspects of the general situation of Buddhist traditions in Central Tibet in the 12th century and after, a topic of central interest to our honorand.

Part I

The Praise Poem

The first work addressed here consists of 206 lines of verse. Its title is not entirely clear (see below), but it constitutes a praise of the good qualities of the buddha most commonly known as Amitābha and his land, Sukhāvātī, though the latter is never named as such in the text.

reason is known for the delay in its publication. According to Vostrikov 1970: 52, the credit for the summary goes to “the translator Erig.” I see now that this same passage was already noted by Kara 1973: 23n9 (who incorrectly hypercorrects *etwan* to *etwas*). I owe to Alexander Zorin the observation that “Erig” (in Russian Иериг; the form must go back to Vostrikov’s English translator) was the much studied Johannes Jähriq (1747–1795), on whom see Zorin 2020: 28–30. Zorin notes (28n49) that Isaak Jacob Schmidt (1779–1847) had none too high a regard for Jähriq’s German translations: “Jähriq replaced almost all the places in Buddhist books that he could not understand (and there were quite a few of them) with high-flown, meaningless phrases of his invention, and Pallas, without correcting anything essential, just clothed this nonsense in more understandable expressions” (Zorin’s translation from Russian), though as Zorin comments, these translations remain “an extraordinary achievement for the 18th century.”

⁵ I think in particular of the texts related to the *Padma bka' thang*, discussed by Doney 2016. I have not attempted to further trace the basic material, although it is very likely that it found a place in the literature Doney has discussed, texts such as *gter chen Rig 'dzin Rdo rje gling pa's* (1346–1405) *O rgyan padma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs lo tsha'i 'gyur byang rnam thar rgyas par bkod pa* (W23642), and *gter rgyal Rin 'dzin O rgyan Padma gling pa's* (1450–1521) *Sangs rgyas bstan pa'i chos 'byung mun sel sgron me*. Blondeau 1980: 49 wrote: “The *gSer-phreng* discovered by Sangs-rgyas gling-pa (1340–1396) often seems to be an interpretative gloss on the *Shel-brag-ma*, from which it nevertheless differs on a number of points. The links between these two texts remain to be elucidated.... At the beginning of the sixteenth century, in 1513 at bSam-yas according to the colophon, Padma gling-pa discovered his *bka'-thang* which also sticks closely to the *Shel-brag-ma*.” Doney 2016 sets the stage for the required future, more detailed comparison.

There are a number of indications that the work was probably composed in Dunhuang or nearby, in an environment influenced by Chinese Buddhism. It seems to me quite unlikely, however, that it represents a translation from Chinese, although such translations have been identified.⁶

As was also the case with the other two poems I studied earlier, this work was first noticed by Akamatsu Kōshō 赤松孝章 (1986), who presented it in paraphrase; although he seemed to promise a complete translation, it never appeared.⁷ Akamatsu's study remains, to the best of my knowledge and aside from the catalogue entries cited below, the only to even notice the existence of the text, which is attested in six manuscripts in the Paris and London collections. Whether, as the title of Akamatsu's paper suggests, the text should be seen as reflecting a "Tibetan reception of Pure Land Thought" is, however, debatable. I doubt that, for the period in question, it is legitimate to identify or speak of "Pure Land" as a specific tradition (anywhere, much less in Tibet), and would rather suggest that it should better be understood as yet another strand of the vast Mahāyāna tapestry. In this regard I would here simply repeat what I have said elsewhere, namely that it is important to consciously work to free ourselves of the teleological lenses through which traditions chronologically preceding the development of Pure Land Buddhism in medieval Japan—something which came about under the influence of Hōnen and Shinran in the 12th and 13th centuries—are classified as belonging to or associated with this tradition. In this light, while I believe that the notion of "proto" traditions makes sense only retrospectively and teleologically, and therefore from a historical perspective it is inappropriate to classify our text even as "proto-Pure Land," nevertheless phenomenologically and synchronically it is certainly true that its themes are of a piece with those centrally focused on by some later, more properly "Pure Land," traditions. In this latter sense, it may indeed be helpful to consider our text and those like it as associated—again, phenomenologically and synchronically only—with Pure Land Buddhism.

In addition to his assumption of its Pure Land identity, based on some of its content Akamatsu wondered whether our text was

⁶ See for instance Silk 2017, and the very interesting example of other praise poems in Gong 2021, who draws attention, *inter alia*, to bilingual manuscripts. If Gong's study were to be translated into English it would surely provoke serious attention.

⁷ Akamatsu 1986: 61: 全体の訳文とあわせて、別の機会に報告したいと思う。Akamatsu also identified all extant manuscripts, save for Pelliot tibétain 226, which somehow escaped his eagle eye.

composed “from a Madhyamaka-Yogācāra standpoint.”⁸ While certainly some notions normally associated with these doctrinal positions do appear in the poem, I do not see that reading the work as a whole from such a perspective would appreciably improve our understanding. I would also point out that in this respect too, as in others, there are close parallels with the related poems. In the *Praise of His Mighty Name* we also find references to doctrinally developed concepts. In the context of my study of that text, I wrote (Silk 2019: 501) that “the last portion of the poem concerns the correct understanding of rather abstruse philosophical doctrines, including abandoning being and nonbeing (52), the Buddha’s *dharmatā* (53), non-apprehension of the two extremes (54), the lack of self-nature even in illusions (56), the not-one-not-many (57), and even some ideas reminiscent of the Rdzogs chen, such as the use of the deeply resonant term *gzhi*. The doctrinal content, then, is vastly inclusive, if anything tending toward the philosophical and monastic or renunciant, rather than the devotional.” The same may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, about the *Praise Poem*. Especially if one were to begin with the idea that this work is a “Pure Land” poem, with the accompanying expectations that this expression may imply of a world of medieval Japanese (largely lay) devotion, this doctrinal content would certainly raise questions about the intended audience of the text, and about who its author may have been.

Manuscripts

Before going further, we must introduce our sources. As far as I know, the work is witnessed only by six Dunhuang manuscripts, one of which is very partial, another less so but still missing a great deal of the text. Five of the manuscripts are now preserved in Paris, one in London. I have been able to examine these only through photographs. They are listed in their respective catalogues as follows:

A: Pelliot tibétain 67

Lalou 1939 says of it “23 f. (9.6 x 31) paravent; 5 sont écrits d’un seul côté. Le papier, épais, est gaufré comme pour imiter la peau.” Of the second section, that which contains our text, she says: “Début: *snang ba mtha’ yas kyi yon tan la* | *rnal ’byor pas bstod pa* ... Fin: *snang ba mtha’ yas kyi zhing gi yon tan rdzogs s+ho* ‘Les qualités (*guṇa*) du *kṣetra* d’*Amitābha*’.” The first text in the manuscript is identified as “*Suvarṇaprabhāṃṛdaṅga*,”⁹ while Lalou could not identify the third, and I have done no better. Our text begins on the the first line of the ninth folio, or what is numbered on the

⁸ Akamatsu 1986: 61: 今まで述べてきたように内容的にも中観・唯識の思想的影響の強いことを考え合わせると、本文献が「瑜伽行中観派」的立場から著述されたのではなかろうかと想像されるのである。

⁹ See Pelliot tib. 63, 64, 66, 523, 525, 526.

folios in pencil as 7, ending on 34 l. 2.

B: Pelliot tibétain 99

Again a manuscript of three texts, of which ours is this time the third, starting on folio 51a1. The first is the *Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā*, and the second the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*. Lalou 1939 describes the manuscript as follows: "55 f. (8.2 x 50) pag. en rouge ka 1 – ka 55; 5 l., marges et cercle rouges, trou central. Très bon état." The manuscript is carefully written with five lines of writing per side. It is a very good manuscript, though not always correct, as one can see in comparison with the other witnesses.

C: Pelliot tibétain 158

Only the fragmentary beginning of the text is preserved on this leaf, inscribed on only one side. After citing the line *snang ba mtha' yas kyi yon tan*, Lalou 1939 says seven lines are "sur un morceau déchiré (24 x 16)." The longest preserved line, the last and seventh line, has space for 33 letters; large amounts of text even from the extant portion are lost.

D: Pelliot tibétain 759

Noting that the text is complete, Lalou 1939 says: "4 f. (5.5 x 50) pag. au verso ka, kha, ga nga; 3 l.; écrits sur des morceaux de grands feuillets." There are three lines of writing per folio side, except for the last folio which adds a fourth, obviously to finish the text economically.

E: Pelliot tibétain 226

This is a single sheet, which ends at l. 82. Lalou 1939 says: "Texte dont la fin manque. Début: *phyogs bcu mtha' yas 'jig rten na* || *chos sbyings mnyam ba'i sangs rgyas zhing* || ... s'arrête: ... *'jig rten rlung gi mying yang myed* || *chos kyi dkyil 'khor 'od 'phro bas* || *nyi ma zla ba'i mying yang myed* || *'phags pa'i shes rab 'od gsal bas* || *nyin dang mtshan gyi mying yang myed* || *chos rgyal snang ba nyid* — En haut: *ston sla rab la* (lire: *ston zla ra ba* "du milieu d'Août au milieu de Septembre" ?). 1 rouleau (29 x 49.5); marges bien tracées. La fin manque." I have not so far located the remaining portion of this manuscript, but it is not impossible that it is extant in some Dunhuang collection.

F: IOL Tib J 452

A concertina, 9 x 30.5cm, and as with A, above, the manuscript begins with the *Suvarṇaprabhāṃśaṅga*, followed by the *Dgyod sangs gyi smon lam*, our text then comprising the third section. The manuscript is described by Dalton and van Schaik 2005: 194–195 as follows: "Prayer to Amitābha and the aspiration to be reborn in his pure land (*zhing mchog*). The prayer states (v15.3–4) that rebirth in the pure land will be attained by renouncing the four wrong views (*phyin ci log bzhi*) and meditating on the path of non-duality (*gnyis su myed pa'i lam*). The theme of non-duality permeates the prayer, which in this respect is similar to the Dunhuang Amitābha prayers transcribed in Silk 1993. Apart from this, the prayers are different. They are also not related to the Amitābha mindfulness

prayer found in the Bka' 'gyur (Q.154a)."¹⁰

Title

Our manuscripts offer variations of the title, both in their incipits and explicits. Manuscript A has as incipit *snang ba mtha+ yas kyi yon tan la rnal +byor pas bstod pa*; C, partly damaged, has *snang mtha+ yas kyi yon tan (r)na(l) [X X] bstod pa+* (since only the beginning survives, there is no explicit); D has (as explicit, there being no incipit) *snang ba mtha+ yas kyi yon tan rnal 'byord pa la bstod pa*; and F has, obviously to some extent corrupt, as incipit *snang ba mtha yas gyi yon tan 'byor pa stan pa'* (and in the explicit *sung snang pa tha yas*).¹¹ None of these versions mention any (buddha) field or land. However, in contrast Manuscript B has as its title instead *snang ba mtha+ yas kyi zhing gyi yon tan la rnal +byor pas bstod pa*, which in regard to the mention of field matches what A has in its explicit, namely *snang ba mtha+ yas kyi zhing gi yon tan*. These differing versions raise a number of questions. To what does the *la* apply, indicating the grammatical patient of the verb *bstod*? It seems most likely, indeed almost certain, that it is the good qualities (*yon tan*) which are being praised, though D (doctrinally incoherently) makes the yogin the patient of the praise. Second, should we consider the term for field (*zhing*), which we had best assume to be that of Amitābha, namely Sukhāvātī, as an integral part of the title? Another way to understand this question is: Is the text praising the good qualities of the (buddha) field of the buddha 'Endless Radiance,' a rendering of Amitābha, or is the praise rather directed at the good qualities of that buddha himself? The content of the text could support either interpretation, with l. 22, for instance, directly stating that it is the good qualities of the field which will be discussed. Moreover, manuscript B is generally carefully written and accurate, which might be an argument that its wording is not to be easily dismissed. Finally, and perhaps most challengingly, who is this yogin who is apparently offering this praise? The text itself gives no overt hint toward a resolution of this problem. In fact, there is nothing whatsoever in the poem itself which evokes, much less refers to explicitly, any yogin, and thus the mention in the title remains mysterious.

¹⁰ I am in debt to Sam van Schaik for his great kindness in providing me very clear photos of this manuscript. All others were obtained from the French Gallica website, equally available (ideally) via the International Dunhuang Project. I am happy to be able to acknowledge with gratitude my appreciation for these resources.

¹¹ E, having no title at the beginning and missing its end, cannot contribute to this discussion.

Text and Translation

In presenting the main text, while I have not regularized the orthography overall, retaining archaic spellings, I have not marked differences between *i* and *ĩ* (*gi gu log*), nor do I note in the main text the use of the *'a-rten* with a flag on its right shoulder ཁྲ. But in the apparatus reporting variant readings I transcribe the sources exactly, rendering the common Dunhuang *'a-rten* with +; in this I may have been overly scrupulous, since as far as I know neither of these orthographic features indicates anything significant. Concerning the establishment of the text, in any number of cases, there are disagreements among our sources over wording, and it is hard to know upon what bases one should select the main reading. The notes are separated into those reporting readings which might have an impact on the meaning of the text, which I print directly below the text, and those I consider to be either purely orthographic variants, or simply mistakes. This division is doubtless to some degree subjective.¹²

I have not indicated the folio or line breaks of the individual manuscripts, since the text is so short. However, I have numbered the lines of verse, to allow standard reference and coordination between text, apparatus and comments, and the references to the reuses of the text we will consider below.

*

Incipit

A: *snang ba mtha+ yas kyi yon tan la | rnal +byor pas bstod pa*, and see explicit.

B: *snang ba mtha+ yas kyi zhing gyi yon tan la | rnal +byor pas bstod pa | |*.

C: *snang ba mtha+ yas kyi yon tan (r)na(l) [X X] bstod pa+*.

D: See explicit.

E: Lacks an incipit, and does not contain the end of the text.

F: *snang ba mtha yas gyi yon tan rnal 'byor pa stan pa' | |*.

The yogin's praise of the good qualities of the land of [the buddha]
Endless Radiance

¹² Especially in the texts published later in the paper, I print the possessive *'i* separately from the word it follows when metrically indicated to obtain the proper number of syllables in a line.

ཕྱགས་བཅུ་མཐའ་ཡས་འདིག་རྟེན་ན ། ཆོས་དབྱེངས་མཉམ་བ་སངས་རྒྱས་ ཞིང ། སྐྱ་གསུམ་དབྱེར་བྱེད་ནམ་ཀ་བཞིན ། མཆན་མ་ཀུན་དང་ཡོངས་བྲལ་ཡང ། ཡོན་ཏན་ཆེན་པོ་བསམ་གྱི་བྱབ །^[5] མ་རིག་ཐུན་ནག་སེལ་པར་མཛད ། ཡིད་བཞིན་ནོར་བུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་འདྲ ། བདུད་ཅི་ཆར་ནི་རབ་དུ་འབེབས ། བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་བྱ་སྦྱིད ། རྣམ་ཐར་འབྲས་བུ་སྦྱིན་བར་མཛད །^[10] དེ་འདྲའི་མགོན་པོ་ཇི་སྟེད་ལ ། དག་པའི་སེམས་ཀྱིས་གུས་བྱས་འཆོལ །	In the endless worlds of the ten directions, In a buddha field equal to the <i>dharmadhātu</i>, [Is a buddha whose] triple body is indivisible, like the sky; Even though entirely free of all marks whatsoever, His enormous good qualities are inconceivable. ^[5] He clears away the darkness of ignorance; Like the king of wish-fulfilling gems, He rains down a shower of nectar on all. ¹³ Growing the sprout of the aspira- tion to awakening, He brings to maturity the fruit of liberation [for everyone]—^[10] With a pure mind, folding my hands I offer homage To such a great Protector as that!
2: chos dbyings, A, B] D: chos bying; E: chos sbyings; F: chos bzhin; C is missing here. mnyam ba] A: mnyam bas 4: bral yang] B: bral ba; C is not preserved. 12: dag pa'i] A: dang bzhi; F: bdag gä	
དེའི་གས་པ་བྱེད་པས་རྟག་དུ་མཆོད །	Always worshipping without reification, ¹⁴

¹³ That is, his action is spontaneous and effortless, just as wishes are fulfilled by the wish-fulfilling gem.

¹⁴ We might understand also something like "Without any actual object in mind, without the idea that there is something real toward which one directs one's thoughts, still constantly worshipping" But I am not certain what theological background should be assumed here.

མཉམ་བཞིན་གྱིས་སྒྲིག་ཀྱང་བཤགས་། རེ་བ་བྱེད་པའི་སྒྲོན་ལམ་འདེབས་། [15] ཐོབ་བ་བྱེད་པའི་འབྲས་བྱར་ཤོག་།	As well as confessing transgressions with equanimity,¹⁵ Offering an aspirational prayer without expectation [of reward], [15] May [this seed] bear the fruit which is non-attainment!
14: nyid gyis] A, B: nyid kyī; C is not preserved.	
བདེར་གཤེགས་ཡོན་ཏན་མཉམ་བས་ན་། ཁིང་ནམས་ཐའ་དད་དབྱེར་བྱེད་ཀྱང་། སེམས་ཅན་བག་ཆགས་བྱི་མཐུན་བས་། ཁིང་གི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཐ་དད་སྣང་། [20]	Although, because the good qualities of [all] Sugatas are equal [to each other], Their [buddha] fields are undifferentiated and indistinguishable, still Because the inclinations of beings are different, The good qualities of [this particular buddha] field appear in a differentiated fashion. [20]
དེ་བས་སྣང་བ་མཐའ་ཡས་ཀྱི་། ཁིང་གི་ཡོན་ཏན་མདོ་ཙམ་སྒྲོས་། ཁིབ་དུ་སྒྲོས་ན་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་ལང་།	Therefore, I will speak only briefly of the good qualities of the [buddha] field Of [the buddha] Endless Radiance— [For] if I were to speak of them in detail, I could never finish describing them.
23: lang] C, D, E, F: langs	
རུབ་ཕྱོགས་སྤྱིད་པའི་ཁིང་རབ་ན་། དཔལ་གྱི་འོད་འབར་སྣང་བ་བཞུགས་། [25] དེའི་ཡོན་ཏན་བསམ་བྱི་བྱབ་།	In the west, in the best [buddha] field of joy, Dwells [the buddha] Splendid Bright Radiance. [25] Although his good qualities,

¹⁵ Generally I would reserve the English term “equanimity” for *upekṣā*, *btang snyoms*, but here rather than “equality” this seems to be the sense of *mnyam ba nyid* (for which we would perhaps expect *mnyam pa nyid*, but I follow the reading of all sources, which is also found not uncommonly in Dunhuang documents).

བཟོད་དང་བཤད་ཀྱིས་ཕྱི་ལངས་ཀྱང ། སེམས་ཅན་ནམས་ནི་དང་བའི་ཕྱིར ། ཡོན་ཏན་ཆ་ལྷགས་བཞུགས་ཚུལ་སྟོས །	being inconceivable, Are inexpressible and indescribable, I will speak of the good qualities, adornments and bearing, Which he displays in order to lead beings [there].
25: C: ends here with bzhug ///. E: skips this line and resumes only with l. 30 (eye skip). 27: bshad kyis] A: bsam gis; D: bshad gyis; F: bshags gyis 29: cha lugs, D, F] A: cha las; B: che la	
དཔལ་གྱི་སྒྲུང་བ་བཞུགས་པའི་ཚུལ ། [30] ཉིང་འཛིན་གྱི་གཡོ་རྒྱུ་མཆོལས ། རྣམ་ཤེས་མ་ཆགས་པད་མོ་འཁྱུངས །	As for the bearing of [the buddha] Splendid Radiance, [30] From the ocean of his immovable contemplation Emerges the lotus of his aware- ness and non-attachment.
ཆགས་པ་ཕྱེད་པའི་པད་མོལ ། ཆད་ཕྱེད་བཞི་འེག་དན་ཁྱི་བཞིང ། སྤྱགས་རྩེ་སྟོམས་པའི་རྒྱན་གྱིས་བརྒྱན ། [35] དཔལ་གྱི་སྒྲུང་བ་ཕྱི་གཡོ་བཞུགས །	Having spread the seat of the four immeasurables¹⁶ On the lotus of non-attachment, and Ornamented it with the orna- ments of compassion and equanimity,¹⁷ [35] The [buddha] Splendid Radiance rests [there] immovable.
36: E omits	
སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གཞལ་ཕྱེད་ཁང ། སྤྱ་དང་མཐའ་ཡང་དཔག་དུ་ཕྱེད །	His incomparable palace of emptiness, Its borders and its limits immea- surable,

¹⁶ More usually *gdan khri* means something like “throne,” and perhaps *bting* here should be understood not as “spread out,” then, but as “set up”?

¹⁷ Or perhaps “equal compassion”?

མངོན་ཤེས་དྲུག་གི་སྐར་ཁུང་གསལ ། མྱེ་མཁྱེན་མྱེ་གཟིགས་ཡོངས་ཡེ་མེད ། [40] ཐེག་ཆེན་ཆོས་ནི་གདུགས་སུ་སྦྱབ ། བྱང་ཚུབ་ཡན་ལག་པན་དང་རྒྱན ། བདུད་བཞི་འཛམས་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཆན་ བསྐྱེད ། མཉམ་བཞིན་གྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བྱས ། ཆགས་པ་མེད་པའི་པད་མོ་བགྲམ ། [45] རྣམ་དག་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་སྟོན་གྱང་འབྱུལ ། སུས་གྱང་མ་བྱས་ལྷན་གྱིས་སྦྱབ །	Its clear windows the six higher knowledges, [Through which] there is nothing [that buddha] does not fath- om, nothing he does not observe; [40] Its parasol, the teaching of the Great Vehicle, raised; Ornamented with the silk hang- ings of the [seven] factors of awakening;¹⁸ Its victory banner of subduing the four Māras elevated; Constructed with the maṇḍala of equality,¹⁹ Laid out with the lotuses of non- attachment, [45] Scented with the perfumes of pure morality, Unconstructed by anyone, it is self-arisen.
43: 'joms pa'i] A, D: bcom ba'i; F: 'jom ba+i 46: 'thul] D, F: gtul	
སྟོབས་བརྒྱ་མེད་འཛིགས་སྐྱེའི་རྒྱན ། དཔེའ་བྱད་མཆན་བཟངས་བསྟར་མྱེ་ བཟོད །	The ten powers and the [four] fearlessnesses ornament [that buddha's] body. One never tires of looking upon his [thirty-two] major and [eighty] minor auspicious bodily marks.²⁰

¹⁸ The spelling *pan* may be understood as *phan*, a suggestion for which I thank Charles Ramble. The term also appears as *ka* [']*phan*, and refers to temple hangings, or hanging fringes, tassels or ribbons. For an illustration see Lange 2020: 118, in the middle of the lower row. Berthe Jansen, on the other hand, suggests that *pan* may be an abbreviation of *ba dan*, which we find in l. 48 of the *Bka' thang gser phreng*, below. This term, she further points out, is a translation of Sanskrit *patākā* (variously spelt, perhaps more correctly with *ṭ*), a sort of banner.

¹⁹ In l. 122, the equality is stated to be between good and evil. Otherwise we might expect something like *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, as implied below in l. 142.

²⁰ Although I have understood *bzangs* here as equivalent to *bzang*, as Berthe Jansen points out to me, the word *bzangs* means a storeyed house (cp. *khang bzangs*, palace), and it is possible that the author intended this allusion also.

འོད་གཟེར་དག་ནི་གཞུང་བཞིན་འཁོར་༥༥ [50] འོད་གཟེར་དག་ནི་ཕྱགས་བཅུར་འཕྲོ་༥༥ འཁོར་མང་དག་ནི་སྒྲིན་བཞིན་འདུ་༥༥ འཁོར་ནི་སྒྲིས་བུ་མཐུ་ལྷན་བ་༥༥ ཞལ་དུ་ལྷ་བ་དང་བའི་ཡིད་༥༥	Rays of radiance encircle him like a rainbow;²¹ [50] [Those] rays of radiance spread through the ten directions. His multitudinous retinue gathers like clouds.²² This retinue of his consists of powerful beings, Who gaze upon him [to serve him], pure in heart.²³
50: 'od gzer, B] A: +od bzangs; D: 'od bzang; E: 'od bzangs; F: +od zer 51: 'od gzer, B, D] A, F: +od zer E omits 54: dang ba'i yid] A: dang ba yin; D: dang ba nyid; F: dang ma yid	
དེ་ལྟར་མཐུ་ཆེ་དཔལ་འབར་བ་༥༥ [55] ཕྱི་གསུང་ཕྱི་གཡོ་མཉམ་བཞག་ཀྱང་༥༥ སྒྲིན་གྱི་སྒྲོན་ལམ་སྒྲུགས་དམ་གས་༥༥ འོད་ཟེར་མང་པོ་ཕྱགས་བཅུར་འཕྲོ་༥༥ འོད་ཟེར་དག་ནི་རེ་རེ་ལས་༥༥ སྒྲུལ་པ་དག་ནི་གངས་ཕྱེད་འཕྱེད་༥༥ [60] དཔག་དུ་ཕྱེད་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་སྒྲོལ་༥༥ འདུ་ཞིང་འཕྱེད་པ་གངས་ཕྱེད་ཀྱང་༥༥ ཆོས་ཉིད་ལ་ནི་སྒྲེ་འགྲིབ་ཕྱེད་༥༥	Although he, being as described, of great strength and radiant in glory, [55] Is unspeaking, unmoving, and in meditative equipoise, still, By virtue of his previous vows and pledges, His many rays of radiance diffuse in the ten directions, and From each of those rays of radi- ance Are emitted innumerable mani- festations,²⁴ [60] Which save limitless beings, and Although [the rays with their manifestations] are retracted and emitted over and over

²¹ My thanks to Berthe Jansen for pointing out to me that *gzha'* is an Old Tibetan equivalent of 'ja', rainbow. See *Ma ni bka' 'bum* I l. 60, below.

²² While *sprin* is perhaps properly "rain cloud," here I think the image does not suffer from the simple use of "cloud," although certainly the idea that they are heavy, dark clouds is not inapposite.

²³ The sense here is that the beings gaze upon him expecting to serve.

²⁴ What I translate here as "manifestation" is *sprul pa*, which in l. 148, below, is more fittingly "magical creation."

	again, In his essence there is no increase or decrease.
57: sngon gyi A: sngon gī; D, E, F: sngun gyī 58: 'od zer B: +od gser; D: 'od gzer 59: 'od zer B: +od gser; D: 'od 'phro re re las A, E, F: re re la (E has sa added slightly above la in later, much bigger hand) 62: F has for the entire line: bdud bzhī skyel ba'i rgyal mtshan skreng 63: ni skye 'grib myed D: nī skye +bri/+gri? myed; E: nī skye 'brī myed; F: yang nī skyeb +grī myed	
དཔལ་གྱི་འོད་འབར་ཞིང་རབ་ན ། འཕགས་པ་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་གནས་པས ། [65] རྒྱུ་བྱུག་འཁོར་བའི་བྱིང་ཡང་བྱེད །	Since none who dwell in that best land of [the buddha] Splen- did Radiance Are any other than Nobles, [65] Even the words 'the six destinies which constitute saṃsāra' do not exist there. ²⁵
65: 'phags pa D: sems can; F: sems shan 66: rgyud B, E, F: rgyu	
རིན་ཅེན་སྣ་ཚོགས་བརྒྱན་པས་ན ། ས་དང་རྩི་འཁྱིང་ཡང་བྱེད །	Since [that buddha field is] adorned with all sorts of precious things, Even the words 'earth and stones' do not exist there.
བྱང་ཆུབ་ཤིང་ནི་རབ་བརྒྱན་པས ། ཅི་ཤིང་སྣ་ཚོགས་བྱིང་ཡང་བྱེད ། [70]	Since it is ornamented by Bodhi trees, Even the words 'various trees' do not exist there. [70]

²⁵ I owe to Charles Ramble the indication that the sense of *rgyud* here is something like "environs," and indeed we find this in Franke et al. 2011: 454b, s.v. *rgyud* 7" "Gebiet, Daseinsberich," also quoting dictionaries which define for instance *rgyud lnga'i lam* as 'khor ba.

69: brgyan pas] D, E: rgyas pas; A: brgyan pas na; F: rgyan bas	
ཉིང་འཛིན་བརྒྱད་ལྷན་ཆུ་འབབ་པས ། ལྷ་ཚོགས་ཆུ་འཛིན་ཡང་མེད །	Since the river flowing [in that buddha field] is that of the eight contemplations, Even the words ‘various types of rivers’ do not exist there.
71: F: omits the line 72: F: omits the line	
ཡེ་ཤེས་དཔལ་གྱི་མེ་འབར་བས ། འཛིག་རྟེན་མེ་འཛིན་ཡང་མེད །	Since the splendid flame of wis- dom burns [in that buddha field], Even the words ‘ordinary flames’ do not exist there.
73: ye shes dpal] B: shes rab dpal; F: ye shes ‘bal	
རྫམ་གྲོལ་སྒོས་གྱི་དྲི་ལྷང་བས ། [75] འཛིག་རྟེན་སྒྲུང་གི་མེ་འཛིན་ཡང་མེད །	Since the fragrance of the per- fumes of liberation rises [in that buddha field], [75] Even the words ‘ordinary wind’ do not exist there.
75: dri ldang bas] A: dri ltang bas; D: dri hard to read: da on top of da? (in any event, no vowel and not dri); F: dri ldan pas	
ཚེས་གྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་འོད་འཕྲོ་བས ། ཉི་མ་ལྷ་བའི་མེ་འཛིན་ཡང་མེད །	Since the orb of the Dharma shines through [that buddha field], Even the words ‘sun and moon’ do not exist there.
འཕགས་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་འོད་གསལ་བས ། ཉིན་དང་མཚན་གྱི་མེ་འཛིན་ཡང་མེད ། [80]	Since [that buddha field] is brightly illuminated with the wisdom of the Noble One, Even the words ‘day and night’ do not exist there. [80]

79–80: F omits the lines.	
ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྤང་བ་ཉིད་བཞུགས་པས ། རྒྱལ་པོ་སློན་པོ་འི་བྱིང་ཡང་བྱེད །	Since the Dharma king Luminosity resides [in that buddha field], ²⁶ Even the words '[ordinary] king and ministers' do not exist there.
82: E ends with r(gya)l (p)o (bl)o(n).	
བྱང་ཚུབ་སྦྱིད་པའི་ལམ་སྦྱོད་པས ། འཇིག་རྟེན་ལམ་གྱི་བྱིང་ཡང་བྱེད །	Since one practices the happy path toward awakening [in that buddha field], Even the words '[ordinary] path' do not exist there.
བདག་དང་བདག་གིར་བྱི་ལྟ་བས ། ^[85] འཐབ་ཅིང་ཚྱད་པའི་བྱིང་ཡང་བྱེད །	Since one does not see I or mine [in that buddha field], ^[85] Even the words '[ordinary] conflict and quarrel' do not exist there.
85: bdag gir] F: gzhan du	
ཉིང་ངེ་འཇིན་གྱི་ཟས་ཟ་བས ། ཟས་ཤེས་བྱ་བའི་བྱིང་ཡང་བྱེད །	Since one eats the food of meditative contemplation [in that buddha field], Even the words '[ordinary] food' do not exist there.
88: zas shes] A: zas kyī; D: zas gyī; F: zas zhes. The reading in A, D would parallel l. 90, but it is not necessary.	
ཚུ་ལ་ཁྲིམས་གཙང་མའི་གོས་གྱུན་བས ། གོས་གྱི་བྱ་བའི་བྱིང་ཡང་བྱེད ། ^[90]	Since [in that buddha field] one is clad in garments of pure morality, ²⁷ Even the words '[ordinary]

²⁶ The reference here is of course to Amitābha.

²⁷ Or equally, the pure robes of morality; in the end, the meaning probably does not change.

	garments' do not exist there. [90]
90: gos kyi] B: gos kyis; F: gos zhes	
པད་མོའི་སྤྱང་དུ་རྩལ་སྐྱེ་པས ། སྐྱེ་བ་གནས་བཞི་ཁྱེད་ཡང་ཁྱེད །	Since [in that buddha field] one is spontaneously born atop a lotus, Even the words 'four kinds of birth' do not exist there. ²⁸
91: steng du] A: steng na; D: nang nas rdzus skye pas] A: brdzus skye bas; B: rdzus skyed pa; D: rdzu skyes pas; F: rdzu 'khrungs pas 92: gnas bzhi] A: gnas bzhi +i; D, F: rnam bzhi'i	
སྐྱེ་གི་ཁྱེད་པའི་ལམ་བསྐྱོམས་པས ། སྐྱེ་ཁྲིང་འཆི་བའི་ཁྱེད་ཡང་ཁྱེད །	Since one cultivates the path free from birth and death [in that buddha field], Even the words 'being born and dying' do not exist there.
དཔལ་གྱི་ཁྲིང་རབ་དེ་ན་ནི ། [95] ཐམས་ཅད་བྱང་ཆུབ་སྐྱིད་སྦྱོང་པས ། ཁྱི་བདེ་གཞོན་པའི་ཁྱེད་ཡང་ཁྱེད །	In that best splendid [buddha] field, ²⁹ [95] Since all happily practice toward awakening, Even the words 'displeasure and harm' do not exist there.
བདེ་འོ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཁྲིང །	Wonderful! ³⁰ To that field of bodhisattvas and buddhas

²⁸ What is odd here is that spontaneous birth is itself one of the four kinds of birth: *mingal* (womb) *sgong* (egg), *drod* [g]sher (moisture) and [b]rdzus (spontaneous).

²⁹ Although it would be possible to understand "field of the Splendid One," in a work of the 17th c. Karma chags med (1613–1678), *Bde smon phyogs bsgrigs*, we find precisely the expression *dpal gyi zhing rab bde ba can de na* (bdr:11PD83979, p. 158–159).

³⁰ It does not appear that this usage of *bde* 'o' is attested elsewhere, but I follow the suggestion of Leonard van der Kuijp, *faute de mieux*. While simply reading **bde* 'i, though perhaps not entirely unthinkable (I find not a single example in the online Old Tibetan text corpus), would be difficult, it would perhaps be possible to follow the reading of the parallel line in the *Ma ni bka'* 'bum l. 39 (see below), and read

ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱན་ནི་དེར་འདོང་རིགས་ ། དེར་འགྲོ་འདོད་པའི་བྱི་མཆོག་ནམས་ ། [100] བྱང་ཆུབ་སྐྱིད་པའི་ལམ་སྦྱོང་དོ །	All had best go. Those best of persons who aspire to go there [100] Should practice the happy path to awakening.³¹
101: skyid pa'i lam] A: spyad pa skyid; D: kyī ni lam; F: gyī na lam	
བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་ནི་གང་ཞེན ། འདོད་པ་ལྔ་ནི་རབ་སྤངས་ལ ། བྱིས་ནས་བྱིས་ཟུང་རབ་བྱུང་སྟེ ། དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་ཉེན་བཅའ་བར་བྱ ། [105]	What is the path to awakening? One must reject the five sense objects, Renounce the home for the home- less life, and Seek out spiritual good friends. [105]
105: bar bya] A: bar gyis; D: bar gyis	
དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་གང་ཞེན ། སངས་རྒྱས་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་དང ། ངེས་པར་གསུངས་པའི་གསུང་རབས་དང ། གང་ཟག་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིག་ཅན་ནམས ། དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་ཉེན་སངས་རྒྱས་གསུངས ། [110] དེ་དག་ནམས་ལ་བསྟོན་ཅིང་མཆོད །	Who are the spiritual good friends? Buddhas, bodhisattvas, Texts which speak with certain- ty,³² and People who possess the Dharma eye— These the Buddha called spiritual good friends; [110] One should revere and honor them!

here instead *bde ba'i*, then construing the entire line as "To that buddha field of happy awakening," or some such thing.

³¹ I am uncertain here whether we should not understand "path to happy awakening." In any event, *skyid pa* should probably be associated with what is elsewhere *bde ba (can)*, the normal term for *Sukhāvati*.

³² I am uncertain here; it might be more convincing if this line would refer to scholars who have mastery over texts, for instance, but here the text seems to be saying that the texts themselves are the good friends. I do not know that there are other examples of inanimate objects being considered good friends, but I have not made a thorough search.

ཡང་ནས་ཡང་དུ་བསྐྱེན་བྱས་ན ། བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་ནི་གོམས་པར་འགྱུར ། བྱང་ཆུབ་དམ་པ་གོམས་བྱས་ནས ། ཞིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར ། [115]	Having repeatedly revered them, One will cultivate the path to awakening, And having cultivated the highest awakening, One will be reborn in that excel- lent [buddha] field. [115]
114: byas nas] A, F: byas na	
ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་གཙང་མའི་སྣོད་བྱས་ལ ། ཉིང་འཛིན་དག་པའི་ཆུ་ལྷགས་ན ། ཤེས་རབ་དག་པའི་འོད་བྱང་བས ། ཞིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར །	When one, having made oneself into a vessel of stainless morality, Has poured out the water of pure contemplation and Emitted the radiance of pure wis- dom,³³ One will be reborn in that excel- lent [buddha] field.
118: dag pa'i] A: kyis ni; D: gyi; F: gyi na	
ཕྱི་དགེ་བཅུ་ནི་སྤངས་བཏང་ནས ། [120] དགེ་བ་བཅུ་ལ་སྦྱར་བྱེད་ཅིང ། དགེ་སྤྱིག་མཉམ་བའི་ལམ་བསྐྱོམས་ན ། ཞིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར །	When one, having rejected the ten unvirtuous actions, and [120] Having applied oneself to the ten virtuous actions, Has cultivated the path which levels good and evil,³⁴ One will be reborn in that excel- lent [buddha] field.
འདོད་ཆགས་ཞེ་སྤང་གཏི་ཟླག་གི ། དུག་ཆེན་དེ་དག་རབ་སྤངས་ཏེ ། [125] འདོར་ཆགས་མཉམ་བའི་ལམ་བསྐྱོམས་ན །	When one, having rid oneself of the [three] great poisons of Lust, hatred and delusion, [125] Has cultivated the path which

³³ I think “water of pure contemplation” is probably best seen in parallel with other usages in the text, but note that “pure water” would here make equally good if not better sense. Note that in the three lines here we have the well-known category grouping of *śīla*, *samādhi* and *prajñā*, the *triśikṣā*.

³⁴ See ll. 44, above, and 126, immediately below.

ཞིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར །།	levels rejection and lust, ³⁵ One will be reborn in that excellent [buddha] field.
124: sdang gti mug gi] A: stang gti mug gi; F: stang gti mugs gyis 126: 'dor chags] conj. for 'dod chags of all witnesses	
ཕྱིན་ཅི་ལོག་ནི་བཞི་སྤངས་ནས །། བདེན་བ་བཞི་ལ་སྦྱོར་བྱེད་ཅིང །། གཉིས་སུ་བྱེད་པའི་ལམ་བསྐྱོམས་ན །། [130] ཞིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར །།	When one, having rejected the four perverted views, ³⁶ and Having applied oneself to the four truths, Has cultivated the path of non- duality, [130] One will be reborn in that excellent [buddha] field.
128: Whole line in F: phyin cu ga, o over ca cancelled, then log bzhi rab spangs nas	
མ་རིག་ལུགས་བཞིན་འབྱུང་བ་ཡི །། སྐྱེ་ཤི་བར་ནི་རབ་སྤངས་ཏེ །། མ་རིག་ཆོས་དབྱིངས་ཉིད་བསྐྱོམས་ན །། ཞིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར །། [135]	When one, having rejected birth, death and the intermediate state That arise following on ignorance, Has cultivated ignorance as the very <i>dharmadhātu</i> , ³⁷ One will be reborn in that excellent [buddha] field. [135]

³⁵ The text is evidently faulty, all manuscripts reading 'dod chags. We need a binary opposition here, and in view of the term *dge sdig* immediately above, we would expect that 'dod is wrong. I follow the suggestion of Charles Ramble, which graphically speaking is almost beyond doubt, and emend to 'dor. In order to bring out the contrast better we might translate "rejection and attraction," for instance, but then we would lose the literal connection to the three poisons.

³⁶ Namely, the *caturvoparyāsa*: taking the impermanent to be permanent, the painful to be delightful, the impure to be pure, the selfless to be a self (*mi rtag pa rtag pa, dka' ba sla ba, mi sdug pa sdug pa, bdag med pa bdag pa*).

³⁷ I follow the suggestion of Berthe Jansen, who notes that this paradoxical formulation is characteristic of some forms of Tibetan thought.

རོར་པར་མཐོང་བའི་ཕུང་པོ་ལྟེ ། སྒྱུ་མ་ཉིད་དུ་ཤེས་བྱས་སྟེ ། སྒྱེ་འགག་ཕྱེད་པའི་ལམ་བསྐྱོམས་ན ། འིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྒྱེ་བར་འགྱུར །	When one, having understood the falsely perceived Five aggregates as nothing but illusory, Has cultivated the path [toward understanding] the absence of [real] creation and destruc- tion, One will be reborn in that excel- lent [buddha] field.
སེམས་དང་ཡིད་དང་རྣམ་ཤེས་གསུམ ། [140] སྒྱག་བསྐྱེལ་འཁོར་བའི་རྒྱ་ཡིན་བས ། སྒྱེ་རྟོག་མཉམ་བའི་ལམ་བསྐྱོམས་ན ། འིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྒྱེ་བར་འགྱུར །	Since the triad of mind, thought and cognition³⁸ [140] Is the cause of transmigration [which is inherently] suffering, When one has cultivated the path of the nonconceptual leveling [of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa], One will be reborn in that excel- lent [buddha] field.
142: A: omits ll. 142–144	
ཁམས་གསུམ་སྣང་བ་སེམས་ཡིན་བས ། མཁས་པ་གང་གིས་ཤེས་འགྱུར་ན ། [145] འིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྒྱེ་བར་འགྱུར །	Since the appearance of the triple world is [only] mental, Whichever wise one will come to know this³⁹ [145] Will be reborn in that excellent [buddha] field.
ཆོས་རྣམས་ཐམས་ཅད་རི་སྟོད་པ ། སྒྱེ་ལམ་དང་ནི་སྒྱུལ་པ་དང ། སྒྱག་རྒྱ་འདྲ་བར་རབ་ཤེས་ན །	When one truly understands that all things Are just like a dream, a magical

³⁸ I understand these three to be synonymous. This is precisely stated in the *Vinśikāvṛtti* I(c): *sems dang yid dang* | *rnam par shes pa dang* | *rnam par rig pa zhes bya ba ni rnam grangs su gtogs pa'o*, "Mind, thought, cognition and manifestation are synonyms."

³⁹ More literally, "When any wise one will come to know this, then s/he will be"

ཞིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར ། [150]	creation,⁴⁰ And a mirage, One will be reborn in that excel- lent [buddha] field. [150]
149: smyug rgyu] B: smrigs rgyu; F: smyugs rgyur rab shes na] A: kun shes na; F: shes +gyur na	
དམིགས་པ་ཕྱེད་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་དང་ལ ། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་གཙང་མའི་སྣོད་བྱས་ན ། ཞིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར །	When one has given away posses- sions in a manner free of referential objectification,⁴¹ and Made oneself a vessel of pure morality, One will be reborn in that excel- lent [buddha] field.
151: myed par, A] B, D, F: myed pa+i rgyags btang la] A: rgyags btags te; D: brgyags btags te; F: rgyags btags nas	
བཟོད་པ་མཆོག་གི་ཡ་ལང་དང ། བཙོན་འགྲུས་ཀྱི་ནི་ཉ་ཞོན་ན ། [155] ཞིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར །	When one [has put on] the armour of the supreme patience and Has mounted the horse of energy, [155] One will be reborn in that excel- lent [buddha] field.
བསམ་བརྟན་གྱི་ནི་གཞུ་བརྟུངས་ནས ། ཤེས་རབ་མགྲོགས་པའི་མདངས་འཕངས་ཏེ ། རྣམ་ཤེས་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དགྲ་བསད་ན །	When one has drawn the bow of meditative concentration, Loosed the speedy arrow of wis- dom, and Killed the enemies which are the eight consciousnesses,⁴²

⁴⁰ Here *sprul pa* is “magical creation,” but elsewhere I have translated “manifestation.” In this verse of course the word is negative, while elsewhere in this poem it is used to refer to a projection of the Buddha Amitābha.

⁴¹ Here begins a sequence of the perfections: *dāna śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna* and *prajñā*.

⁴² This category, in Sanskrit *aṣṭavijñāna*, also termed *rnam shes tshogs brgyad*, adds to the normal six *vijñānas* the *ālayavijñāna* (*kun gzhi rnam par shes pa*) and (*kliṣṭa*)-*manas*. It is probably reasonable to see here a Yogācāra influence.

ཁིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར ། [160]	One will be reborn in that excellent [buddha] field. [160]
157: gzhu btungs nas, D] A: gzhu brdungs nas; B: gzhung btungs la; F: gzhu rtungs nas	
བྱང་ཚུབ་ཕྱོགས་གྱི་བསྐྱེན་བྱས་ཏེ ། མཉམ་བ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལམ་བསྐྱོམས་ན ། ཁིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར །	When one has relied on the [thirty-seven] factors of awakening and Cultivated the path of equality, One will be reborn in that excellent [buddha] field.
161: phyogs gyi, D] A: mchog gi; B: phyogs ni; F: phyogs gyi sa [for: gyis] bsten byas te, B] A: sems bskyed de; D: bsel byas te; F: sel byas ste 162: Whole line in F: nyam ba nyid gyi lam bskoms na	
གནས་པ་ཁྱེད་པའི་དགོན་པ་དང ། ཆགས་པ་ཁྱེད་པའི་ཕྱག་དར་དང ། [165] ཐང་དོར་ཁྱེད་པའི་བཟོད་སྦྱང་ན ། ཁིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར །	When one has engaged in the isolation free from [the bondage of] the house,⁴³ The sweeping up free from attachment,⁴⁴ and [165] The patient acceptance free from preference, One will be reborn in that excellent [buddha] field.
སེམས་ཅན་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་དབྱིགས་ཀྱང ། འཁྱུལ་པའི་སེམས་ཀྱིས་འཁོར་བ་ལ །	When, although one does not apprehend any real intrinsic nature in beings, One has developed deeply felt

⁴³ I suspect that *gnas pa med pa* here is used in the sense of the Sanskrit technical term *aniketa*, which refers to freedom from attachment, e.g. to a home. It would perhaps be possible to translate “homelessness” save for the meaning this has acquired in contemporary English, and that I have tried to show the parallelism of the three instances of *myed pa*. The overall meaning of this set of three expressions, however, remains obscure to me.

⁴⁴ Charles Ramble has suggested that the image may be that one sweeps but does not let the dust settle. In this sense, we could understand “sweeping up without [dust] which settles down [anywhere],” but I feel that this does not make things dramatically more clear.

སྙིང་ཇེ་ཆེན་པོ་རབ་བསྐྱེད་ན ། [170] བྱིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར །	great compassion toward those who Transmigrate on account of their deluded minds, [170] One will be reborn in that excel- lent [buddha] field.
168: Whole line in F: sems dang sems bzhan myigs kyang	
ཆོས་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་ནམ་དག་པས ། བྱིང་མཆོག་དེ་ཡང་དག་པ་ཡིན །	Because the nature of reality itself is pure,⁴⁵ That excellent [buddha] field too is pure.
རྟོག་པའི་སེམས་ཀྱིས་དེར་བྱི་འགྲོ ། འཁམས་གསུམ་ལ་ཡང་བྱི་རྟོག་ཅིང ། [175] བྱི་བ་ལ་ཡང་བྱི་གནས་ན ། བྱིང་གི་རང་བཞིན་དེ་ཡིན་ནོ །	One does not go there with a con- ceptualizing state of mind and, When one does not either con- ceptualize oneself as in the triple realm, [175] Or dwell in [ultimate] peace—⁴⁶ <i>That</i> is the intrinsic nature of the [buddha] field.
བྱི་རྟོག་བཞིན་དུ་མཆན་བརྗོད་ན ། བསྐྱེད་པ་གངས་བྱེད་ལྷོག་ཀྱང་འབྱུང ། བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་ཀྱི་མཆན་བརྗོད་ན ། [180] མཆན་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་གཉིས་སུ་བྱེད །	When one offers praise free of conceptualization, This purifies even the evil deeds of innumerable aeons. When one offers praise of the aspiration to awakening, [180] Praise and awakening are non- dual.
གཉིས་སུ་བྱེད་པའི་སེམས་རྟོགས་ན ། བྱང་ཆུབ་ཡོན་ཏན་ཐམས་ཅད་རྫོགས ། མ་ལུས་སེམས་ཅན་སྟོལ་བར་འགྱུར །	When one understands the mind to be non-dual, and Perfects all the virtues of awaken- ing, One will save all beings without exception.

⁴⁵ See the *Praise of His Mighty Name*, 57d, and below.

⁴⁶ That is, one is neither in saṃsāra nor nirvāṇa. Sukhāvātī is located neither in saṃsāra nor in nirvāṇa.

182: myed pa'i, B, E, F] A: rgyu ba+i; D: rgyu ba'i sems] B: don rtogs na, B] A: myed na; D: byed na; E, F: rgyu nas 184: sgrol bar 'gyur] B: sgrog bar +gyur; F: skrol par +gyur	
ཁིང་རྣམས་ནམ་ཀའི་རང་བཞིན་ཤེས ། [185] ཁིང་གི་ལྷོ་མ་སེམས་ཁྱིའབྱུང་ན ། ཁྱིམ་ཆོག་དེ་ནི་ཁིང་དེར་འགྲོ ། དེ་བས་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་ལྡན་བྱ །	When, understanding [buddha] fields to have the intrinsic nature of sky, [185] One is not arrogant about [one's future rebirth in] that field, Just that excellent person will go to that [buddha] field. Thus one should possess the aspiration to awakening.
185 shes] <i>ex. conj.</i> for zhes.	
བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་ཤེས་བྱ་བ་ནི ། དུས་གསུམ་དུ་ཡང་ཁྱིའབྱུགས་ཏེ ། [190] དཔྱེགས་པའི་སེམས་ཉིད་མཉམ་བ་ཡིན ། རྟོག་པ་ཅན་གྱིས་ཁྱིའབྱུགས་ཏེ ། རྟོག་ཟེད་འཇགས་པའི་སྟོན་ཡུལ་ལོ །	The “aspiration to awakening,” Unperceived in any of the three times, [190] Is equal to the nature of the perceiving mind.⁴⁷ Those with conceptions do not comprehend this, for The nonconceptual is the domain of [only] the Noble One.⁴⁸
191: Whole line in F: dmyigs myed mnyam ba nyid gyi chos	
དཔྱེགས་པས་ཁྱིའབྱུང་ཏེ་འདུག །	One does not attain nirvāṇa by reifying thought,

⁴⁷ I follow here the suggestion of Cathy Cantwell concerning how to understand *nyid*. An alternative is “equal to the perceiving mind itself.”

⁴⁸ I have not found a way to convey in English the word play in the Tibetan, which rests on the repetition of etymologically identical words in somewhat different senses. The assertion that only the Buddha can really understand ultimate reality is fairly common. Noble One might be plural and thus a more general claim about the domain of knowledge of all buddhas, though the point does not appreciably change.

མྱ་དེ་མྱེགས་པས་ཀྱང་མ་ཡིན་ནོ། [195] དེ་མྱེགས་དང་མྱ་དེ་མྱེགས་མཉམ་བ་སྟེ། དེ་ནི་ཚོས་དབྱིངས་ཉིད་ཡིན་ནོ།	Nor does one obtain it by the absence of reifying thought. [195] Reification and non-reification are equal— That is the nature of the <i>dharma-</i> <i>dhātu</i>.
196–197: F omits these lines	
དེ་འདྲའི་ཚོས་ལ་རབ་མོས་ན། བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་ཡང་མྱ་རིང་ངོ།	If one has faith in such teachings, The path to awakening too is not far off.
དམ་ཚུལ་འདི་བརྗོད་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱིས། [200] དགེ་བཤེས་ཚོས་ཐུལ་སྟོན་པོ་དང། ཡོན་བདག་པ་མ་གཉེན་བཤེས་དང། མཐའ་ཡས་སེམས་ཅན་དེ་སྟེད་པ། ཉེས་པའི་སྟོན་ནམས་ཀྱན་བྱང་ནས། བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དང་ལྡན་བཞིན་དུ། [205] ཞིང་མཆོག་དེར་ནི་སྟེ་བར་ཤོག།	Through the merit [produced by my] praise of this Holy Teaching [200] May as many spiritual good friends, religious kings, ministers, Patrons, parents, relatives and friends and Beings without end as there are [in the world], Being [through this] cleansed of all transgressive faults, Come to possess the aspiration to awakening, and thus [205] Be born in that excellent [buddha] field!
202: gnyen bshes dang] B: sloba dpon dang 205: ldan bzhin du, A, D] B: ldan +gyur te; F: ldan bar smon	

Explicit:

A: *snang ba mtha+ yas kyī zhing gī yon tan rdzogs s.ho* | |

B: *rdzogs s.ho* | | | |

D: *snang ba mtha+ yas kyī yon tan rnal 'byord pa la bstod pa rdzogs so* | |

F: *sung snang pa tha yas rdzogs so* | |⁴⁹

Structure

In some places the overall structure to these verses, that is to say, of the poem as a unit, is very clear, in others somewhat less so, and it is not always easy to discern the transition from one idea to another. Below I offer one possible scheme (all numbers refer to lines).⁵⁰

Homage to the Buddha [Amitābha]: 1~12

Aspiration: 13~16

Qualities of the buddha: 17~20

Intention of the author: 21~29

The land, its buddha and its beings: 30~63

Qualifications of the land: 64~97

The path to the land and those who assist: 98~111

Conditions of certain rebirth there: 112~171

The nature of the land: 172~184

The aspiration: 185~193

The *dharmadhātu*: 194~197

Faith and its results: 198~199

Dedication of merit: 200~206

After offering homage to a buddha, as yet unnamed and unindicated, in the first 12 lines, using terminology and ideas which could apply to any buddha, the author speaks of himself and his own offering. He then explains that although actually no such distinctions genuinely exist, in order to conform to the desires of beings the buddha manifests a particular configuration to his land. The expression in ll. 17~20 bears some similarity to that in the *Aspirational Prayer*, ll. 7~9:

sems can mtha' dang thugs rjer
mnyam | |
+dren pa dmyal ba yan cad de
|
spyod pa rdzu 'phrul thabs kyis
mdzad | |

Equal in their compassion
toward all living beings,
The guides, making use of
their magical skillful means,
Carry out their activities [all
the way] down to the hells.

Furthermore ll. 30~34 of the *Aspirational Prayer* read:

⁴⁹ I have no good idea what *sung* could mean here. I do not know even whether it is Tibetan (could it be a Chinese word?).

⁵⁰ Note that this significantly differs from the brief analysis offered by Akamatsu 1986: 57–58.

sangs rgyas yon tan mtshungs
 mnyam ste ||
 che chung khyad bar bye brag
 myed ||
 sems can dad pa myi mthun
 phyir ||
 sangs rgyas so sor mtshan re
 bstan ||
 'gro ba rang dbang smon bzhin
 skye ||

The good qualities of the
 buddhas being equal,
 There are no distinctions of
 importance among them.
 But because living beings have
 different propensities of
 faith,
 The buddhas taught them
 under different names,
 And creatures generate
 [different pieties] according
 to their own abilities and
 wishes.

It is not surprising to see this sort of commonality among texts which even on the surface seem to be closely related.

Our author continues that although the good qualities of the field are infinite, here he praises them only selectively. He then, in *l.* 24, for the first time indicates that he is speaking of the Western Paradise, and in *l.* 25 for the first time uses one of his several variant forms of the name of the buddha of this land, here 'Od 'bar snang ba (see below for the variety of forms of the name as they appear in the poem). There then follow a number of expressions which I have not been able to trace, at least in this form, elsewhere, though it is possible that some are to be found in, or at least inspired by, Chinese sources. Aspects of the land of the buddha are framed in doctrinal terms, as in *ll.* 37–40, and following. The buddha's radiance becomes the subject from *l.* 49. In *l.* 56, the buddha is said to be, while immensely strong, silent, unmoving and composed. There follows (*ll.* 58–63) the assertion that from his rays of radiance appear manifestations (*sprul pa*) which work to save beings, an image closely corresponding to that in the 10th of the 16 contemplations in the so-called *Pure Land Contemplation sūtra* (*Guan Wuliangshoufo jing*):⁵¹

From the *ūrṇā* between the eyebrows [of Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva], the color of the seven jewels, emerge 84,000 rays of light, and each ray of light has limitless and uncountable thousands of transformation buddhas, and each transformation buddha has uncountable transformation bodhisattvas as attendants, freely altering their appearance

⁵¹ 觀無量壽佛經, T. 365 (XII) 343c20–23: 眉間毫相備七寶色, 流出八萬四千種光明, 一一光明有無量無數百千化佛。一一化佛, 無數化菩薩以為侍者, 變現自在滿十方世界。This and several other connections were already noted by Akamatsu. Here as elsewhere, the translations are mine unless otherwise credited.

and filling the worlds of the ten directions.

Slightly different but in tenor similar is a passage in the Larger *Sukhāvataṣṭya* sūtra, in which the rays of light radiate from lotus flowers in the Pure Land, save that here no explicit mention is made of transformation bodies:⁵²

And from [each] jeweled lotus emerge in all directions thirty-six billion rays of light, and from each ray of light emerge all around thirty-six billion buddhas, with golden-colored bodies equipped with the thirty-two characteristic marks of the great man (that is, of a buddha), and each one of them goes to limitless incalculable world realms in the eastern direction, and teaches the Teaching to beings. In the same fashion, they go to the world realms in the south, west, north, to the zenith and the nadir and to the worlds in the intermediate compass points, and teach the Teaching to beings there.

What follows in our verses is a series of expressions, sixteen in number, all but the final one (95–97) of two lines, and all ending in *mying yang myed*. That is, the first line expresses some quality of the land, the second states that for that reason some words are not even known there: the expression is a rhetorical emphasis punctuating the unique and otherworldly nature of the land, which is so pure than ordinary worldly states are completely unknown. The first asserts that since all born there in that land are Nobles (Ārya, that is, they are advanced on the path of bodhisattvas, and thus no longer *prthagjanas*, ordinary beings not yet entered into the *bhūmis*), even the words *rgyud drug 'khor ba* do not exist there. It is not clear from this particular expression whether we should take the first two terms and the second two as belonging to the same expression, but the parallels that follow suggest that perhaps two things are meant, the “the six destinies” and “saṃsāra,” although the definition of the latter is of course none other than the former. The expression “six destinies” as *rgyud drug* is paralleled in the *Aspirational Prayer* (ll. 151–152), also referring to the same sequence of spiritual advancement with the words *ngan song rgyud drug lam bcad cing* | | *theg pa'i skas la rim 'dzeg ste*, “Cutting off the six paths, [beginning with] unfortunate destinies, / One ascends in stages the ladder of the Vehicles.” The point in the *Praise Poem* here is that since all beings born in the land are highly advanced on the path

⁵² Fujita 2011: 38.14–21: *sarvataś ca ratnapadmāt śaṭtriṃśadbuddhakoṭisahasrāṇi niścānti* | *sarvataś ca raśminmukhāt śaṭtriṃśadbuddhakoṭisahasrāṇi niścānti* | *suvarṇavarṇanīḥ kāyair dvātriṃśannmahāpuruṣalakṣaṇadharair yāni pūrvaśyāni diśy aprameyāsāṃkhye-yāsu lokadhātuṣu gatvā sattvebhyo dharmāni deśayanti* | *evāṃ dakṣiṇapaścimottarāṣu diśv adha ūrdhvaṃ anuvīdīkṣv aprameyāsāṃkhyeyāṇi lokadhātūn gatvā sattvebhyo dharmāni deśayanti*.

toward awakening, even the very words which refer to the tumult of transmigration are entirely unknown, much less the reality of such mundane things. We have to do here more with poetic expression than with rational theological argument, though in fact these two modes are inseparable: poetry is theology.

Further lines list other cases in which even simple words are not known, much less the actual (comparatively negative) thing, including reference to ordinary land with its earth and stones, ordinary trees, rivers, fires, wind, sun, moon, day and night, kings and ministers, conflicts and quarrels, ordinary food or garments, the usual forms of birth (the Indian Buddhist list of four is birth from an egg, womb, moisture and by transformation), likewise birth and death and suffering itself are unknown there. This idea in general certainly echoes, and may well have been directly inspired by, that presented in the Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, which states in regard to the birds in the land,⁵³ and the absolute distance of Sukhāvatī from the realms of saṃsāra, “Were those beings born in animal wombs? You certainly should not imagine that! Why? In that buddha-field even the very words ‘hell,’ ‘animal destiny,’ and ‘world of the king of the dead’ do not exist.” Furthermore, in the same sūtra the land itself is described as of golden sands, and therefore not ordinary soil, with jeweled (rather than ordinary) trees, and so on. We see a close reflex of this also in the *Aspirational Prayer*:

snang ba mtha' yas de zhing na sa gzhi gser gyi bye ma bdal [70]	In the land of that [buddha] Endless Radiance, The surface of the ground is spread over with golden sands. [70]
rīn cen dra ba bla re bres +phreng ba sna tshogs lda ldi bkye phyogs mtshams ma lus rgyan gyis spus	Jeweled nets and canopies are spread out, and A multitude of garlands shoot out tassels, Which adorn everything in all directions.
mun pa mtshan mo gnag pa dang gnyi zla mye'i 'od kyang	There is no darkness or black night, No radiant light of sun, moon

⁵³ Fujita 2011: 87.2–5: *tat kiṃ manyase śāriputra tiryagyonigatās te sattvāḥ | na punar evaṃ draṣṭavyaṃ | tat kasmād dhetoh | nāmāpi śāriputra tatra buddhakṣetre nirayāṇān nāsti tiryagyonīnān yamalokasya nāsti.*

myed [75] mtshan ma dmyiḡs pa+i gzugs rnam dang sbu ba sgyu ma log 'gro myed de bzhiṅ gshegs pa+i byin rlabs kyis ston pa mdzad pa ma gtogso 	or fire; [75] There are no characteristic marks, no apprehensible forms, No bubbles of foam, no illusions, no erroneous destinies, Except for those created, in order to teach, By the Tathāgata's magical power.
snang ba mtha' yas de zhiṅ na [80] sems can skye ba thams cad kyang rin cen pad mo'i nang nas skye	In the land of that [buddha] Endless Radiance, [80] Every one of the living beings born there Is born from within a jeweled lotus.

The next section of the text introduces ideas of how one might gain rebirth in this wonderful place, which are unambiguous in advocating the monastic life (ll. 103–104). Persons who wish for this rebirth need a spiritual good friend, a *kalyāṇamitra*, and this figure is described.

Next follows a section (ll. 112–171) in which we have four line verses, the final line of which is invariably *zhing mchog der ni skye bar 'gyur*, “One will be reborn in that excellent [buddha] field.” In a number of cases this is preceded by “When one has cultivated ...,” ~*bsgoms na*. Here the practices necessary to obtain rebirth are mentioned, including reverencing the *kalyāṇamitra*; upholding morality, concentration and wisdom; acting virtuously, rejecting lust, hatred and delusion; concentrating on the four truths and nonduality; having mental attitudes free of concepts such as being and nonbeing; cultivating nonconceptualization; recognizing that the world is only mind, that things in ordinary perception are illusory, and on and on in a similar manner. In this recounting we meet ideas that at least elsewhere may be identified with the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra traditions, something we also saw in the *Praise of His Mighty Name*, which speaks (vs. 52–59) of similar ideas such as the *dharmadhātu*, non-duality, non-conceptual mental cultivation (55c, *rtog pa med par bsgoms*), natural purity (57d, *rang bzhiṅ rnam dag*), and so on. The portion of our text in ll. 174–184 has especially strong similarities to the closing portion of the *Praise of His Mighty Name*.

The final portions of the *Praise Poem* are harder to classify, although in my division of lines into units I have attempted to meaningfully

identify separate components. What one comes away with, perhaps importantly for its possible conceptual contrast with some later Pure Land traditions, is that the path advocated by this text is not a simple one of faith in the Buddha Amitābha as sufficient for rebirth in his land; indeed, it is very far from it. Rather, the author of the text demands of practitioners doctrinally sophisticated understandings as the key to such rebirth. The text ends with a dedication of the merit produced by the process of composition of the *Praise Poem* itself, and the wish that this assist all beings in obtaining birth in Sukhāvātī.

In addition to the parallels and similarities noted above, and many others that could be identified proximately or more distantly in the Larger *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha sūtra* in particular, our verses show other similarities to the *Praise of His Mighty Name* and the *Aspirational Prayer*. The former, written entirely in lines of seven syllables and in four line units, has verses 3~11 linked by their common fourth line, *de bas spyi btud phyag kyang 'thal*, "Thus folding my hands together I pay homage." Verses 20~25 share their third and fourth lines, *sangs rgyas yon tan de dag dang | rnam dag zhing der yongs su grub*, "Those buddha virtues and that pure field are completely perfected." Finally, verses 32~59 have as their final line *rnam dag zhing der skye bar 'gyur*, "One will be born in that pure field," in verses which each list certain conditions, practices and attitudes, which lead to that result. This is remarkably similar to the above-mentioned section of our text, ll. 112–171, in which four line verses share the final line *zhing mchog der ni skye bar 'gyur*, "One will be reborn in that excellent [buddha] field."

There is every reason to believe that the three poems, *Praise of His Mighty Name*, *Aspirational Prayer* and *Praise Poem*, belong to very much the same circle, and we are probably not too far off the mark to consider it one of Buddhist adherents in the Dunhuang area in around the 10th century or so, inspired by Chinese Amitābha worship and aspiration for rebirth in Sukhāvātī, but who functioned in what was, at least as far as the evidence of the poems is concerned, a primarily Tibetan language environment. What is more, the manuscript tradition of the *Praise of His Mighty Name* evidences a Sinitic ritual context of the recitation of that poem, some manuscripts having after every line of verse the invocation *A mi ta pur* (and variants thereof), that is in Tibetan script but Chinese language *Amituofo* 阿彌陀佛, (Homage to) Amita Buddha. That poem was, I believe, as I think were all three, composed in the Tibetan language, in an environment strongly sharing Chinese elements, this influence evident in terms of the composition and likely also decisive for the ritual deployment of the poems in recitation.

This Sinitic influence extends to the very name of the Buddha.⁵⁴ The *Praise Poem* offers various forms of the name of the buddha Amitābha (no forms equivalent to Amitāyus appear):

Snang ba mtha' yas (l. 21)
 Dpal gyi 'od 'bar snang ba (l. 25)
 Dpal gyi snang ba (ll. 30, 36)
 Dpal gyi 'od 'ba (l. 64)
 Chos rgyal snang ba (l. 81)

Although the use of *dpal*, an honorific prefix used in translations from Sanskrit to render Śrī, appears among the three texts only here, and the variation exhibited here is also unique in this small corpus, all the forms are easily recognizable as renditions of the name of Amitābha and its related forms.

Genre

We know, at least in one sense, into what genre the *Praise Poem* should fall, because it tells us in its title: it is a *bstod pa*. But what does this mean? This term may be adequately translated as 'hymn,'⁵⁵ and though *bstod pa* commonly renders Sanskrit terms including *stuti*, *stava*, and *stotra*, it is questionable whether the genre(s) associated with such Sanskrit terminology are helpful in understanding what must be seen as an indigenous Tibetan composition. The title of the text which I called *Praise of His Mighty Name* is actually not known, but one of its manuscripts, P. tib. 112, seems to call it a *brjod pa*, something like an exposition. The *Aspirational Prayer* calls itself a *smon lam*, an aspirational vow/prayer text, hence my English title. We thus have three works which appear to us conceptually related, not only in terms of their doctrinal content but also in sharing a significant amount of imagery and poetic compositional patterns, but if we are to judge by apparent titles alone, they were seen by their authors or tradents as belonging to different genres. At least this is so as far as we can judge from the scanty evidence; but of course, a more parsimonious hypothesis is that such titles are not, after all, to be interpreted as genre labels at all.

One thing that these works have in common is their metre,

⁵⁴ Blondeau 1977: 80 already noted the likelihood that the form Snang ba mtha' yas was created under Chinese influence. Although I had in my earlier publications overlooked her observations, she had also remarked on the just mentioned Chinese transcription forms such as *A myi da phur* and *A mye da phur*, referring in that context to modern Korean Amidapul, which she cites on the information of Jean-Noël Robert. Cp. also Coblin 2009.

⁵⁵ In Tibet there are a great many indigenous texts styled *bstod pa* which have little in common with our text. See for instance, Nemoto 2016 on Tsong kha pa's *Rten 'brel bstod pa*, although to me Nemoto's main argument seems somewhat circular.

consisting in lines of seven syllables. This is, however, by far the most common metrical pattern in Tibetan, and thus not particularly characteristic. While all three works are clearly poems, they do not fit into the typologies usually offered for Tibetan poetry. Certainly they are not *kāvya*, a genre developed in Tibet based on Indian models, but evidently not as early as the period to which these verses belong; this genre is well discussed by Martin 2014. They are likewise not classifiable as *mgur*, *glu* or any of the other denominations under which songs and the like may be understood. They do conform to the common expectation of a seven syllable verse, consisting of units of 2 + 2 + 3 or 2 + 2 + 1, with stress áb éđ éf ġ.⁵⁶ They have, as discussed above, repeated verse-final lines which serve to punctuate the poem, and which would have provided a rhythm for recitation. I am not able to offer any further theorization on this point, but it seems to me an area which has, so far as I know, not been sufficiently addressed by scholars.⁵⁷

Part II

A Miraculous Rebirth

The *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*

The history of the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*, a work belonging to the genre of *gter ma* or 'Treasure text,' has been a topic of some discussion.⁵⁸ Among the results of earlier researches is a clear conclusion that, like most similar texts, it is a pastiche, and thus it is mere tautology to say that its sources are various. Dan Martin (2020: 58, §25) dates the work to the mid- or late 1100s, although it was surely compiled into the form(s) in which we know it significantly later. While the compilation is attributed in "authorship" to the Imperial period Srong btsan sgam po,

⁵⁶ Discussed in Vekardi 1952: 223–224.

⁵⁷ To my knowledge Sujata 2005 offers the most detailed examination of Tibetan poetry in any language I read, but little relevant to our case appears there. To my regret Zorin 2010, the title of which promises so much, remains a closed book to me. However, thanks to the kindness of the author, I was able to read its English summary, which shows that most of the book deals with translations from Sanskrit. One section of the summary (p. 356) touches on "The early original Tibetan hymns," although its claim that "the first hymns written by Tibetans could have appeared by the 11th century" seems, especially in light of current studies, to place this development too late.

⁵⁸ The text is said to have been heavily influenced at the very least in some portions by the *Bka' chems Ka khol ma*, attributed to *Atiśa (better perhaps Adhīśa), but at least as far as I have noticed, the passage of interest to us here does not appear in that text (or rather, text corpus).

the operative identification is of the *gter ston* who revealed it, stated by the tradition to have been chiefly *grub thob* Dngos grub (12th c.),⁵⁹ Myang/Nyang ral Nyi ma/ma'i 'od zer (1124–1192)⁶⁰ and *rje btsun* Shākya bzang po (d.u.). Of these, Dngos grub is credited with the first section, and Nyi ma 'od zer is held to be responsible for the third cycle (*Zhal gdams skor*, on which see below). However, according to Ehrhard (2013: 147) the initial setting, the *Lo rgyus chen mo*, the first text of the *Mdo skor* or “Cycle of Sūtras,” and the section which contains the first passage cited below, is “regarded now as a treasure find of rJe-btsun Sākya bzang-po.”⁶¹ Setting aside such large and important questions of the overall composition of the collection, we must allow ourselves to focus below instead on the question how the *Praise Poem* made its way into the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*.

The basic claim of *gter ma* is that some previously hidden treasure was, at an appropriate time and by an appropriate *gter ston*, “discovered” or “revealed.” In the present case, these diverse sources were then compiled into the form we know as the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*. What historicity could there be to such a picture? We need not guess at an answer. While we may not have as yet such clear evidence for Dngos grub or Shākya bzang po, Cathy Cantwell (Mayer and Cantwell 2010) already found that “a substantial component text from one of the most important early terma collections,” the *Bde gshegs 'dus pa* of Myang ral Nyi ma 'od zer, “corresponds exactly to the Dunhuang manuscript IOL TibJ 331.III.” While, as Mayer and Cantwell state, the relevant text is also found in “a historically transmitted Nyingma tantra called the ‘Perfection of Activities Tantra’ (*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*),” they doubt that this is the proximate source of the *gter ma*, and suggest instead that “the most likely hypothesis is that Nyang ral found an old stand-alone manuscript corresponding to IOL TibJ 331.III, perhaps one that had been lost for some time, and put it back into circulation.”⁶² Cantwell has recently argued that Myang ral Nyi ma 'od zer drew on earlier materials, stating (2020: 75), “In Myang ral’s time, before the rNying ma system of Treasure revelations had been fully developed, it seems likely that some Treasure revelations literally consisted of old re-discovered manuscripts, which may have been hidden away following the collapse of institutionalised support for Buddhism in the

⁵⁹ On this figure in particular, see Blondeau 1984.

⁶⁰ He is called the “most famous redactor” of the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* by Phillips 2004: 21.

⁶¹ On these attributions see Sørensen 1994: 642–643, and 17n39. Sørensen states the three cycles of Avalokiteśvara are attributed to Dngos grub, which does not agree with Ehrhard’s more recent information.

⁶² In a comment to the blog post dated 21 September 2010, Cathy Cantwell wrote that “there is no doubt that the text, start to finish, is the same. ... the only possibility is that Nyang ral found the text intact.” Hirshberg’s citation of this (2016: 135) does not clearly credit this conclusion to Cantwell.

Imperial period. ... Alongside visionary encounters and tantric realisations, Myang ral, then, may have been concerned as much with gathering together, editing and systematising textual materials inherited and recovered from previous generations—in much the same way as scholarly monastics compiling doctrinal treatises for the early »New Transmission« (*gsar ma*) schools.” Hirshberg’s characterization (2016: 136–137) of the same figure parallels Cantwell’s:

Nyangrel was not exclusively a fabricator of apocryphal scriptures and an artisan of fake relics but an excavator and editor of old manuscripts who incorporated excerpts if not whole texts into new collections.... Always sensitive to a critique of fabrication, treasure revealers consistently describe their quarry as found whole, but I suspect that while the early treasures signify material items extracted from hidden caches as a basis, this never precluded significant editorial work and compilation on the part of the revealer. A process of redaction and reformulation was a necessary step not in the initial excavation of the treasure but in its full revelation, which culminated in its reintroduction to the general populace. ... At least some early treasures do not warrant the general accusation of falsification leveled by many indigenous and academic critics.

The fundamental logic proposed here as lying behind such treasure discoveries is clearly captured by Robert Mayer (2015: 232): “Treasure revelation ... is primarily an exercise in continuity of lineage and tradition. ... Treasure Revealers ... offer, in communion with their spiritual companions of the past and present, their contributions as tradents, that is to say, as transmitters of the ancient traditions within lineage communities deemed authentic.” There seems no good *a priori* reason not to accept, as implicitly suggested by Hirshberg, that whichever *gter ston* was actually responsible for the opening section of the *Ma ñi bka’ ’bum*, he acted in precisely the same way, finding a genuine old text, repurposing it and presenting it as a portion of his revelation.

Given this, in answer to the question how we are to account for the identity we will see below between the *Praise Poem* and its reflex in the *Ma ñi bka’ ’bum*, it is not far-fetched to imagine that some old copy of our poem lay mouldering in a temple archive, only to be rediscovered before or when the *Ma ñi bka’ ’bum* was being assembled. In fact, this seems to be virtually the only possible explanation. As we will further see, if we accept that the source drawn upon was similar to the poem edited above, a process of reorganization—of editing—also evidently took place. It should not be forgotten that this scenario also requires the *Praise Poem*, which as above I hypothesize to have been composed in Dunhuang, to have been transported to the Lhasa area at some point after its composition, probably earlier rather than later, for reasons

discussed below.

Our text in the *Ma ñi bka' 'bum*, setting the stage for the introduction of Avalokiteśvara, describes the buddha field of Amitābha. This raises another question: why would a setting dedicated to Amitābha be repurposed to refer to Avalokiteśvara? How would this have been possible? The answer is simple: for the *Ma ñi bka' 'bum*, according to its three body (*trikāya*, *sku gsum*) theory, Amitābha is a/the Dharmakāya, and Avalokiteśvara a/the Sambhogakāya, and thus they are in this sense identical.⁶³ The broader question of the relation between Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara has been discussed by scholars to some extent, but to my knowledge remains to be explored in sufficient detail.

We should turn now to the text itself, which presents the material quoted below in what it calls the *sangs rgyas snang ba mtha' yas kyi zhing kham*s kyi phan yon bstan pa'i le'u, "Chapter on the teaching of the virtues of the field of the buddha Amitābha." The full integration of this material into the *Ma ñi bka' 'bum* is signified by its denomination as "chapter," *le'u*, though whether this division and nomenclature is the work of the compilers or of later editors is not clear.⁶⁴

Ma ñi bka' 'bum I

ཨ་མ་ཁེ་ལྷ་མོ།	Om mañipadme hūm! With folded hands I do obeisance to the Noble Avalokiteśvara,
---------------	---

⁶³ Sørensen 1994: 8. At least for some the corresponding *nirmāṇakāya* is Srong bstan sgam po, from whom the *gter ma* was transmitted to Padmasambhava, or the latter was himself the *nirmāṇakāya*. See Appendix I.

⁶⁴ My edition here relies on:

A: Samten 1975: 12a2–13a2. purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW19225.

B: purl.bdrc.io/resource/W4CZ78; purl.bdrc.io/resource/W3CN22331 is another print of the same blocks.

C: Derge block print of the *Ma ñi bka' 'bum*, BDRC. purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1KG10871: 1b1~2b4.

The passage has been translated by Trizin Tsering Rinpoche at <https://sites.google.com/site/manikabumenglish/Home/chapter-1>. Perhaps its ambiguous relation to the source may be explained by the discussion of the translation process at <https://sites.google.com/site/manikabumenglish/Home/chp-1>. I have not been able to see the complete translation in two volumes, Trizin Tsering 2007, but I expect that it corresponds to the online version.

For the textual history of the *Ma ñi bka' 'bum* see Ehrhard 2000, and especially 2013. For all editions below from the *Ma ñi bka' 'bum*, *Padma bka' thang* and *Bka thang gser phreng*, I do not note abbreviated spellings in the manuscripts and xylographs. Further, I adopted the punctuation of the first witness I collated, though on reflection this may not always be the most meaningful. To have adjusted it later, however, would have caused chaos with the line numbering, and so I have kept it, but it certainly does not represent that of all witnesses.

ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་འཕགས་པ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་ཕྱག་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆལ་ལོ།།	the greatly compassionate one.
ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་བདེ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་ཞིང་ཁམས་པར་ཅན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ།	In the west there is a blissful [buddha] field called ‘Lotus-filled.’⁶⁵
རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྒྲ་ཆོགས་གྱི་ས་གཞི་ལ་མིག་མངས་རིས་སུ་བྲིས་པ་ལས། ས་དང་རྫོང་མིང་ཡང་མེད། ^[5]	Since a checkerboard pattern is painted on the surface of [that field’s] variously bejeweled ground, Even the words ‘[ordinary] earth and stones’ do not exist there.
བྱང་ཆུབ་གྱི་ཤིང་གིས་རབ་རྒྱ་བརྒྱན་པ་ལས། ཅི་ཤིང་དང་ནགས་ཆལ་གྱི་མིང་ཡང་མེད།	Since [that field] is ornamented by Bodhi trees, Even the words ‘[ordinary] trees and forests’ do not exist there.
ཉིང་ངེ་འཛིན་བརྒྱད་ལྷན་གྱི་ཆུ་འབབ་པ་ལས། སྒྲ་ཆོགས་ཆུའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད།	Since the rivers descend [in that field] with the water of the eight kinds of [virtuous qualities of] contemplation,⁶⁶ Even the words ‘various [ordinary] rivers’ do not exist

⁶⁵ My translation is slightly interpretive. The name *padma can* is perhaps equivalent to something like Sanskrit *Padmavati, though I do not know that this is attested in the required sense. The attributive expression *bde ba can gyi zhing khams* contains the term generally used for Sukhāvati.

⁶⁶ I know of no category of eight kinds of contemplation, *samādhi*. What is likely is that there is a connection with the water of eight virtuous qualities filling the ponds in the Pure Land, as mentioned in the Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, and thus I have interpreted the text. The sūtra (Fujita 2011: 85.3) describes the ponds in the Pure Land as *aṣṭāṅgopetavāriparipūrṇāḥ*, but it does not clarify what the eight are. The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* offers a list as follows (Pradhan 1975: 160.14–15): *pāṇīyaṃ śītaḥ ca svādu ca laghu ca mṛdu cācchari ca niṣpratikaṇi ca pibataś ca kaṇṭham na kṣīṇoti pītaṃ ca kuṣṇiṃ na vyābādhat*, cool, sweet, light, soft, clear, free from odor, when drunk not harming the throat, when sipped not damaging the stomach. It seems most likely that the only version of the Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha* to contain a list, that of Xuanzang, actually borrowed it from this passage in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, a text likewise translated by Xuanzang. For a detailed discussion of the category see Unebe 2004.

	there.
ཡེ་ཤེས་དཔལ་གྱི་མེ་འབར་བ་ལས ། ^[10] འདིག་རྟེན་སྟེག་པའི་མེའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད །	Since the splendid flame of wisdom is ablaze [in that field], ⁶⁷ Even the words 'ordinary burning flames' do not exist there.
ནུས་གྲོལ་སྟོན་གྱི་ངད་ལྗང་བ་ལས ། འདིག་རྟེན་སྟེག་གི་མིང་ཡང་མེད །	Since there is a wafting up of the aromatic aroma of liberation [in that field], Even the words 'ordinary wind' do not exist there.
ཆོས་གྱི་དབྱིངས་ཀྱིས་གཞི་བཅལ་བ་ལས ། འབྲུང་བ་སའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད ། ^[15]	Since the foundation of [that field] is covered by the <i>dharmadhātu</i> , Even the words 'earth element' do not exist there.
ཡེ་ཤེས་གསལ་བའི་གདུགས་གསལ་བ་ལས ། ཉི་མ་དང་ཟླ་བའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད །	Since [that field] is illuminated by the canopy of luminous wisdom, Even the words 'sun and moon' do not exist there.
འཕགས་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་འོད་གསལ་བ་ལས ། ཉིན་མོ་དང་མཚན་མོའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད །	Since [that field] is brightly illuminated by the insight of the Noble One, ⁶⁸ Even the words 'day and night' do not exist there.
ཆོས་གྱི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་རང་ཤར་བ་ལས ། ^[20] རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་སློན་པོའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད །	Since [that field] is spontaneously regulated by the reign of the Dharma, Even the words 'king and ministers' do not exist there.
བདག་དང་བདག་གིར་མི་འདྲིན་པ་ལས ། འཐབ་ཅིང་ཚྱད་པའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད །	Since one does not grasp I or mine [in that field], Even the words 'conflict and

⁶⁷ As in the case with many such expressions, it is not clear whether *dpal gyi* is better connected with *ye shes* or, as I have taken it, with *me*, but in this case at least, it does not seem to make much difference.

⁶⁸ It is not clear to me whether we had best understand noble insight, insight of the Noble One = the Buddha, or of the Noble Ones = multiple buddhas.

	quarrel' do not exist there.
ཉིང་ངེ་འཛིན་གྱི་ཟས་ཀྱིས་འཆོ་བ་ལས ། ཟས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་འི་མིང་ཡང་མེད ། ^[25]	Since one lives on the nourishment of meditative contemplation [in that field],⁶⁹ Even the word 'food' does not exist there.
ཡིད་བཞིན་བདུད་ཅིའི་ཆུ་གསོལ་བ་ལས ། སྒོམ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་འི་མིང་ཡང་མེད །	Since one drinks the nectar-like water [of the teachings] to one's heart's content [in that field], Even the word 'thirst' does not exist there.
ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་གཙང་མའི་གོས་གྱོན་བ་ལས ། གོས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་འི་མིང་ཡང་མེད །	Since one is clad in the garments of pure morality [in that field], Even the words '[ordinary] garments' do not exist there.
བསྐྱེད་ལྟེང་དུ་རྩུབ་ཏེ་སྐྱེ་བ་ལས ། ^[30] སྐྱེ་བ་ནམ་བཞིའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད །	Since one is spontaneously born atop a lotus [in that field], Even the words 'four kinds of birth' do not exist there.
གཡུང་དྲུང་ཆོལ་མངའ་བརྟེན་བ་ལས ། ཆས་ཤིང་རྒྱད་པ་འི་མིང་ཡང་མེད །	Since one obtains power over eternal life [in that field], Even the words 'aging and decrepitude' do not exist there.
སྐྱེ་ཤི་མེད་པ་འི་ལམ་བསྐྱོམས་པས ། སྐྱེས་ཤིང་ཤི་བ་འི་མིང་ཡང་མེད ། ^[35]	Since one cultivates the path free from birth and death [in that field], Even the words 'being born and dying' do not exist there.
སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཁམས་དེ་ན་ཐམས་ཅད་ བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་ལམ་ལ་སྦྱོད་བ་ལས །	Since in that buddha field all will practice the path to awakening, Even the words 'unhappiness and

⁶⁹ This is a reference to what is known as *dhyānāhāra* (*bsam gtan gyi zas*), although here we would rather imagine a Sanskrit equivalent as **samādhyāhāra* (though of course our text is not a translation from Sanskrit at all). The term *dhyānāhāra*, attested in Buddhist sources such as the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka* (Yamada 1968: II.16.15–16), is also used in the non-Buddhist *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* III.26.

མི་བདེ་གཞིན་པ་འི་མིང་ཡང་མེད།	harm' do not exist there. ⁷⁰
36 spyod pa las] C: spyod cing skyid pa las, probably more meaningful but metrically less likely.	
བདེ་བའི་བྱང་ཆུབ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་དེ་ ན། སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གཞུལ་ཡས་ཁང། [40] རྒྱ་དང་མཐའ་ནི་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད། ཕྱི་ནང་མེད་པར་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས། མངོན་ཤེས་དྲུག་གི་སྐར་ཁུང་གསལ། མི་མཆོད་མི་གཟེགས་ཅི་ཡང་མེད།	In that buddha field of happy awakening, ⁷¹ [Is the buddha's] immense palace of emptiness, Its extent and its borders unlimit- ed, The <i>dharmadhātu</i> free of outside or in. Its clear windows are the six high- er knowledges, [Through which] there is nothing [that buddha] does not fathom, nothing he does not observe.
ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གདུགས་ཕུབ་པ། [45] བྱང་ཆུབ་ཡན་ལག་གི་འཕམ་དར་ཕྱར་པ། བདུད་བཞི་འཛོམས་པ་འི་རྒྱལ་མཆན་ བསྐྱེད་བ།	Its parasol, the teaching of the Great Vehicle, is raised; Its pennant of the limbs of awak- ening is elevated; Its victory banner of subduing the four Māras is elevated.
མཉམ་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བྱས་པ། ཆགས་པ་མེད་པ་འི་བསྐྱེད་བཀྲམ་པ།	It is constructed out of the maṇḍala of equality. It is laid out with the lotuses of non-attachment.
རྣམ་དག་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་སྟོན་གྲང་འབྲུལ། [50]	It is scented with the perfumes of pure morality.

⁷⁰ The parallel here is not clear. Note that the metrical regularity of lines of 8 syllables found above is utterly ignored here, which may be significant as well.

⁷¹ It is difficult to understand this line. Another possibility, quite a bit less likely I should think, may be "in that field of the buddha who possesses happy awakening." See the *Praise Poem* l. 98, and compare also its l. 24: *nub phyogs skyid pa'i zhing rab na*, which I translated "In the west, in the best [buddha] field of joy." See the *Padma bka' thang*, l. 37.

སྤྱུང་ཁྱེད་མ་བྱས་ལྷན་གྱིས་བྱུང་།།	Unconstructed by anyone, it is spontaneous.
ཉིང་འཛིན་མི་གཡོ་རྒྱ་མཆོལ་ས།། ནམ་ཤེས་མ་ཆགས་པད་མ་འཁྲུངས།།	[In it] from the ocean of immovable contemplation Emerges the lotus of awareness and non-attachment.
ཆགས་མེད་པད་མའི་འོད་ལྷན་ལས།། ཆད་མེད་བཞི་ཡི་གདན་ཁྲི་བཅིགས།། ^[55]	It has built up the throne of the four immeasurables From the radiant lotus of non-attachment.
ཐུགས་རྗེ་སྟོམས་པའི་རྒྱན་གྱིས་བརྒྱན།། དེ་ན་སྤང་བ་མཐའ་ཡས་བཞུགས།།	It is ornamented with the adornments of compassion and equanimity. On it dwells the [buddha] Splendid Radiance.
སྟོབས་བརྒྱ་མི་འཇིགས་སྐྱུ་ཡིས་བརྒྱན།། མཆན་བཟང་དཔེ་བྱད་ལྷ་མི་ངོམས།། འོད་བཟང་སྒྲ་ཆོགས་འཇའ་བཞིན་འཁོར།། ^[60] ཐུགས་རྗེའི་འོད་ཟེར་ཕྱགས་བརྒྱ་འཕྲོ།།	His body is ornamented by the ten powers and the [four] fearlessnesses. ⁷² One cannot be sated in gazing upon [that body, which is adorned with the thirty-two] major marks and [eighty] minor marks. ⁷³ Variegated rays of excellent light encircle him like a rainbow, and Those radiant beams of compassion spread through the ten directions.
དཔལ་གྱི་སྐྱེས་བུ་མཐུ་ལྷན་བ།།	Splendid powerful beings Are never content with gazing at

⁷² Taking seriously the grammar of *sku yis*, it is possible that we should understand here rather something like "[The *dharmakāya* buddha Amitābha] is ornamented by a body possessing the ten powers and [four] fearlessnesses," that is, it possesses a *rūpakāya* as well, or something along those lines. However, note *Padma bka' thang* l. 54 which has *sku yi rgyan rab mdzes*.

⁷³ Although the text is of course not Indic, the idea here is that expressed in Sanskrit by the term *lakṣaṇavyaṇjanārahkṛtasastra*.

ཁམས་ཀྱི་པན་ཡོན་བསྟན་པའི་ལུ་སྟེ་དང་ པོའོ།། ^[76]	buddha Amitābha.
--	------------------

This reworking of a portion of the *Praise Poem* is remarkably close to its source. The wording is often very similar if not identical, and structurally speaking, the manner in which the source text has been rearranged can be easily illustrated, as shown in the table below. The numbers on the left refer to the line numbers of the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* text, and those on the right to the line numbers of the edition of the *Praise Poem*, as edited in the first part of this paper:

4–13	67–76
14–15	∅
16–21	77–82
22–25	85–88
26–27	∅
28–31	89–92
32–33	∅
34–38	93–97
39–51	37–47
52–57	31–36
58–64	48–52
65–75	55–66

Lines in the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* (left) corresponding to those in the *Praise Poem* (right)

We see that with only a few exceptions, namely six lines in addition to the incipit and explicit, everything in the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* I is drawn from the *Praise Poem*; although there are elements of the latter which have been omitted, and only a portion was adopted, since nothing

after l. 97 finds a place in *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* I.⁷⁶ In regard to the ordering of verses, we cannot reject out of hand the possibility that the *gter ston* responsible for the revision discovered a version somewhat different from that known to us from Dunhuang. Regarding the verses in the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* not now to be found in the Dunhuang poem, these could have been found in the version which provided the direct source for the treasure compiler, so close are they in tone and language to the rest of the *Praise Poem*, although they could also easily have been added as well. Indeed, much of the wording, as one easily sees, is precisely copied from the *Praise Poem* as we have it, or nearly so. Given that we should not assume that the form of the poem available in Central Tibet corresponded precisely to that which circulated in Dunhuang, we can hardly conclude otherwise than that the *gter ston* responsible for this subsection of the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* did indeed discover an old work, identical to the *Praise Poem* as discovered in Dunhuang, or very nearly so, and “revealed” it to a new age, in precisely the manner the tradition claims for the process of treasure revelation.⁷⁷

One thing that must be noted here is the metrical inconsistency of the text. Now, of course this may be due to the way I have edited, based on only a few witnesses. However, at least as we have it now, from the beginning through l. 9 it is hard to recognize the text as metrical at all. From line 10 it seems to settle down to an eight syllable line, until l. 36, when this breaks down completely. Line 38 has 8 syllables, but I can find no pattern in l. 39. In ll. 40–44 we get seven syllable lines, in ll. 45–47 lines of nine syllables, in ll. 48–49 back to eight, and in ll. 50–75 back to seven syllable lines. Such variety at the very least calls for some notice, all the more so since I see no correspondence between this pattern and the obvious source of the reworking.

Ma ṇi bka' 'bum II

As mentioned above, the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* is a sort of anthology, and its editing clearly took place over a period of time. This may in part account for the presence later in the work, in its third cycle, the *Zhal gdams kyi skor*, Cycle of Precepts, of another text also clearly inspired by the *Praise Poem*, what I call *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* II. On the one hand, it gives the strong impression of being a revision of what is found in the

⁷⁶ Thus, what I considered above (page 541) the last seven divisions of the *Praise Poem* were not reused here, but see below in *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* II, vs. 11, and the note there.

⁷⁷ I do not enter here into a discussion of the relevance of this discovery for the recently much discussed idea of “text reuse,” although certainly it would be apropos to do so.

opening of the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* I itself, the text we have just read above. However, there are also decisive reasons to see its author's/ compiler's direct familiarity with the *Praise Poem*. For instance, nothing of the *Praise Poem*'s image in ll. 154–156 of the horse of energy is found in *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* I, but in *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* II it appears in vs. 11, from which, however, the imagery has been much modified. What in the *Praise Poem* is an image of the necessity of *kṣānti* and *vīrya*, the latter of which is compared to mounting a horse, is here made into a feature of *Sukhāvātī*, in which there are no ordinary horses! It is difficult to imagine what the author was thinking here.⁷⁸

This second *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* text, credited to Nyang/Myang ral Nyi ma 'od zer, is reported to have also been separately transmitted under the title *Ri po ta lar skye'i smon lam*, "Aspirational Prayer for Birth on Mount Potala."⁷⁹ Here we immediately notice that the location and ownership, as it were, of the wonderful land in question have shifted from *Sukhāvātī* and *Amitābha* to *Potalaka* and its resident *bodhi-sattva*, *Avalokiteśvara*.⁸⁰ While the imagery and even wording demonstrate their debt to the depictions of *Sukhāvātī* and *Amitābha*, these are now applied to new objects.⁸¹

⁷⁸ The martial image in *Praise Poem* ll. 157–160 which immediately follows this, leading one to imagine a mounted archer, is absent from *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* II.

⁷⁹ Phillips 2004: 273.

⁸⁰ Surprisingly little work has been done on *Potalaka*. See however Läänemets 2006, and with less relevance here Döll 2012.

⁸¹ Edition (folio numbers include the verses cited in the next note):

A. Samten 1975: II.97–100 = *wam* 49a3–50b1.

B. Modern typeset edition: *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* (glog klad par ma). Par gzhi dang po par thengs dang po. (Zi ling: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe bskrun khang, 1991). Chinese title: *Mani quanji* 嘛呢全集 (Xining: Qinghai minzu chubanshe 青海民族出版社). <http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW4CZ46031>. *wam* 43a3–44b4

C. Derge edition: *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* (sde dge par ma). (Sde dge: Sde dge par khang, 2000). <http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1KG10871>. *wam* 36a1–36b5.

D. Newark folio in Doney 2020b: 101–102. This does not contain the interjections *om ma ṇi padme hūm*, nor the additional verses.

My translation differs rather appreciably from that of Phillips 2004, to whom I am nevertheless much indebted, since I learned of the passage from his work. Since this text is clearly divided into stanzas, I number these instead of the lines. The text is preceded by other verses which, although considered part of the same unit in the arrangement of the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*, do not correspond otherwise. I transcribe them in Appendix II.

Ma ṇi bka' 'bum II

ཨྱཱ་ཁྱེ་པལྱེ་རྩྱུ། སྐྱུན་རས་གཟིགས་ལ་བྱག་འཛལ་ལོ། སྐྱུན་རས་གཟིགས་ལ་སྐྱབས་སུ་མཆི།	<i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūm.</i> With folded hands I do obeisance to Avalokiteśvara.⁸² I take refuge in Avalokiteśvara.
བདེ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་གནས་མཆོག་ཏུ། སྐྱུན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཁམས་སུ། ཕྱི་ནང་མེད་པའི་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་། འདིག་རྟེན་ཁང་བྱིམ་མིང་ཡང་མེད། རི་པོ་ཏྲ་ལར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག། ཨྱཱ་ཁྱེ་པལྱེ་རྩྱུ། [1]	[Since] in the supreme location, Sukhāvātī, In the field of Avalokiteśvara, Is his immense palace, without outside or in, Even the words ‘ordinary dwelling’ do not exist there. May I be reborn on Mount Potalaka!⁸³ <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūm.</i>
གཟུགས་ཀྱི་བྱེ་བྲག་དེ་སྟོན་པ། སྐྱུན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱུར་སྣང་བས། ཡུང་བོ་ཤ་ཁྲག་མིང་ཡང་མེད། རི་པོ་ཏྲ་ལར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག། ཨྱཱ་ཁྱེ་པལྱེ་རྩྱུ། [2]	As many kinds of forms as there are, Since [all] appear [in that land] as the body of Avalokiteśvara, Even the words “[body made of] aggregates, flesh and blood’ do not exist there.⁸⁴ May I be reborn on Mount Potalaka! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūm.</i>
སྐྱུ་བྱ་གྲག་པ་དེ་སྟོན་པ།	As many kinds of voices as there are,

⁸² The Tibetan here has, perhaps for metrical reasons, the very common *spyān ras gzigs*, therefore strictly speaking Avalokita. This form is well attested also in Sanskrit, as in Śāntideva’s *Bodhicaryāvatāra* II.51a, where the signification is made clear by the commentator Prajñākaramati, who glosses the word with *āryāvalokiteśvara*. See Staël-Holstein 1936. For ease of understanding, I continue to use the more common English full form of the name.

⁸³ This certainly seems to suggest a doctrinally difficult (or at least innovative) cosmology, in which Potalaka is located in Sukhāvātī, or in fact is identical with it, as we will note below seems sometimes to indeed be the case.

⁸⁴ This translation may be slightly too Indic; as Berthe Jansen reminds me, *phung po* may rather refer primarily to the physical body in a less technical sense than *skandha*. In any event, these three verses refer to the body, speech and mind, and given that, although *sgra* is broader than “voice” *per se*, I have kept it in preference to “sound.”

ཡི་གེ་དྲུག་པ་རྩོམ་པོ་སྟེང་། ཁྲོ་ཆོག་ང་རོའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད་། རི་པོ་ཉ་ལར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག་། ཨོྭ་མ་ཁེ་པ་རྩི་རྩྱུ་།^[3]	Since [all in that land] have the adamantine voice of the six syllables, Even the words 'censure and wailing' do not exist there. May I be reborn on Mount Potalaka! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ.</i>
སེམས་ཀྱི་དྲན་རྟོག་རི་སྟེང་པ་། རང་རིག་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད་གསལ་བས་། དྲུག་ལྡན་ཆོག་མིང་ཡང་མེད་། རི་པོ་ཉ་ལར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག་། ཨོྭ་མ་ཁེ་པ་རྩི་རྩྱུ་།^[4]	As many kinds of thought as there are, Since [all in that land possess] the radiant light of self-cognizant wisdom, Even the words 'the five poisons and conceptual thinking' do not exist there.⁸⁵ May I be reborn on Mount Potalaka! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ.</i>
འོད་ཀྱི་སྒྲུང་བ་རི་སྟེང་པ་། ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྒྲུང་བ་རྒྱུན་མི་འཆད་། ཉིན་དང་མཚན་མོའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད་། རི་པོ་ཉ་ལར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག་། ཨོྭ་མ་ཁེ་པ་རྩི་རྩྱུ་།^[5]	As many kinds of appearances of radiant light as there are, Since [in that land] the light of the Dharma is uninterrupted, Even the words 'day and night' do not exist there. May I be reborn on Mount Potalaka! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ.</i>
འབྲུང་བའི་བྱེ་བྲག་རི་སྟེང་པ་། ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྡན་ཡི་འོད་ཟེར་ལས་། འབྲུང་བ་ལྡན་མིང་ཡང་མེད་།	As many kinds of elements as there are, Since [all in that land] have the radiant light of the five wisdoms,⁸⁶ Even the words 'five elements' do

⁸⁵ The five poisons are pride, desire, anger, envy and delusion, *nga rgyal*, 'dod chags, zhe sdang, phrag dog, gti mug.

Note that these three verses 2–4 refer to body, speech and mind.

⁸⁶ The five wisdoms are the *dharmadhātu*, mirror-like, equality, discriminating and all-accomplishing wisdoms, *chos dbyings*, *me long*, *mnyam nyid*, *sor rtog*, *bya grub*. The image in this verse is not very clear to me, if it refers to anything other than the coincidence of categories of fives.

རི་པོ་ཏ་ལར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག ། ཨི་མ་ཁི་པ་སྐྱེ་རྒྱུ་།^[6]	not exist there. May I be reborn on Mount Potalaka! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ.</i>
སྐྱེ་ཤིང་བྱེ་བྲག་རི་སྟེང་པ ། པ་སྐྱེ་འི་སྟེང་དུ་རྩལ་སྐྱེས་པས ། སྐྱེ་བ་ནམ་བཞིའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད ། རི་པོ་ཏ་ལར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག ། ཨི་མ་ཁི་པ་སྐྱེ་རྒྱུ་།^[7]	As many kinds of birth and death as there are, Since [all in that land] are born through spontaneous birth atop a lotus, Even the words 'four types of birth' do not exist there. May I be reborn on Mount Potalaka! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ.</i>
ཟས་ཀྱི་བྱེ་བྲག་རི་སྟེང་པ ། འཆི་མེད་བདུད་ཅིང་ཟས་བ་བས ། ཐུང་པོ་ཁམ་ཟས་མིང་ཡང་མེད ། རི་པོ་ཏ་ལར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག ། ཨི་མ་ཁི་པ་སྐྱེ་རྒྱུ་།^[8]	As many kinds of food as there are, Since all [in that land] eat the ambrosial food of immortality, Even the words 'items of food' do not exist there.⁸⁷ May I be reborn on Mount Potalaka! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ.</i>
སྐྱོམ་ཀྱི་བྱེ་བྲག་རི་སྟེང་པ ། བདེ་ཆེན་རྒྱུན་གྱི་རྒྱ་འཕུངས་པས ། འཇིག་རྟེན་སྐྱོམ་གྱི་མིང་ཡང་མེད ། རི་པོ་ཏ་ལར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག ། ཨི་མ་ཁི་པ་སྐྱེ་རྒྱུ་།^[9]	As many kinds of thirst as there are, Since [all in that land] are quenched by the flowing water of great bliss, Even the words 'ordinary thirst' do not exist there. May I be reborn on Mount Potalaka! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ.</i>
གོས་ཀྱི་བྱེ་བྲག་རི་སྟེང་པ ། མཉམ་པ་རིས་མེད་གོས་ཀྱི་ཐུན་པས ། འཇིག་རྟེན་གོས་ཀྱི་མིང་ཡང་མེད །	As many kinds of garments as there are, Since [all in that land] wear the garments of equality and impartiality,

⁸⁷ The word *kham zas* implies food of the desire realm, the coarse food of our world, here in obvious contrast to divine food.

རི་པོ་ཏ་ལར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག ། ཨྱི་མ་ཁི་པ་རྒྱེ་རྩྱུྃ ། [10]	Even the words 'ordinary garments' do not exist there. May I be reborn on Mount Potalaka! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ.</i>
བཞོན་པའི་བྱེ་བྲག་རི་སྟེང་པ ། བཙོན་འགྲུས་ལྷུང་བའི་རྟ་ཞོན་པས ། འཇིག་རྟེན་རྟ་ཡི་མིང་ཡང་མེད ། རི་པོ་ཏ་ལར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག ། ཨྱི་མ་ཁི་པ་རྒྱེ་རྩྱུྃ ། [11]	As many kinds of mounts as there are, Since [all in that land] mount the swift horse of energy, Even the words 'ordinary horses' do not exist there.⁸⁸ May I be reborn on Mount Potalaka! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ.</i>
གྲོགས་ཀྱི་བྱེ་བྲག་རི་སྟེང་པ ། ཐབས་དང་ཤེས་རབ་གཉིས་མེད་པས ། སྐྱེས་པ་བྱད་མེད་མིང་ཡང་མེད ། རི་པོ་ཏ་ལར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག ། ཨྱི་མ་ཁི་པ་རྒྱེ་རྩྱུྃ ། [12]	As many kinds of companions as there are, Since [in that land] means and insight are nondual, Even the words 'male and female' do not exist there. May I be reborn on Mount Potalaka! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ.</i>
འཁོར་ཀྱི་བྱེ་བྲག་རི་སྟེང་པ ། རང་རིག་རང་ཤར་རང་གྲོལ་བས ། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྟོན་པོའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད ། རི་པོ་ཏ་ལར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག ། ཨྱི་མ་ཁི་པ་རྒྱེ་རྩྱུྃ ། [13]	As many kinds of retinues as there are, Since [all in that land] are self-aware, self-emergent and self-liberated, Even the words 'king and ministers' do not exist there. May I be reborn on Mount Potalaka! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ.</i>
ནོར་ལྡན་བྱེ་བྲག་རི་སྟེང་པ ། ཉིང་འཛིན་ལོངས་སྟོན་འཛད་མེད་པས ། འཇིག་རྟེན་འདོད་ཡོན་མིང་ཡང་མེད །	As many kinds of wealth as there are, Since [all in that land] take pleasure in the unceasing enjoy-

⁸⁸ See *Praise Poem ll.* 154–156, and the remarks here above, p. 336.

རི་པོ་ཏ་ལར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག ། ཨྱི་མ་ཁི་པ་རྒྱེ་རྩྱུྃ ། [14]	ment of meditative contemplation, Even the words 'ordinary pleasures' do not exist there. May I be reborn on Mount Potalaka! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūm.</i>
མགོན་པོ་སྐུན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་ཚུད ། དང་པོ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཐུགས་བསྐྱེད་ནས ། ལམ་ལྔ་ས་བརྒྱ་བཟོད་བྱས་ཤིང ། པ་རེ་ལ་བྱིན་པ་བརྒྱ་རྒྱུ་ཤིག ། འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་དུ་སྐྱེ་བཞུགས་པ ། བདག་ནི་འཆི་བའི་དུས་ཀྱི་ཆེ ། རི་པོ་ཏ་ལར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག ། ཨྱི་མ་ཁི་པ་རྒྱེ་རྩྱུྃ ། [15]	You, Protector Avalokiteśvara, Having first produced the aspiration to awakening, Traveled through the five paths and ten stages [of the bodhi-sattva],⁸⁹ and Consummated the ten perfections, Are embodied for the sake of beings. When I reach the time of my own death, May I be reborn on Mount Potalaka! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūm.</i>
རི་པོ་ཏ་ལར་སྐྱེས་ནས་ཀྱང ། སྐུན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་འབས་བྱང་དུ ། སྐྱེ་ཤི་མེད་པའི་སྐྱེ་བཞེས་ནས ། ཆོས་ཀྱི་བདུད་རྩི་འཕྲུང་བར་ཤོག ། ཨྱི་མ་ཁི་པ་རྒྱེ་རྩྱུྃ ། [16]	And once being born on Mount Potalaka, In the presence of Avalokiteśvara, Having obtained a body free of birth or death, May I drink the nectar of the Dharma! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūm.</i>
བདག་གིས་སྒྲོན་ལམ་འདི་བཏབ་པས ། འགྲོ་བ་རིགས་བྱུག་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས ། སོ་སོའི་ཐྱིག་སྒྲིབ་ཀྱན་བྱང་ནས ། སྐྱུག་བསྐྱེད་མ་ལུས་ཞི་གྱུར་ཏེ །	Through my pronouncing this aspirational prayer, May all the evil deeds and hindrances of each and every Being in the six transmigrational states of beings be purified,

⁸⁹ The *pañcamārga* are the *saṃbhāra-*, *prayoga-*, *darśana-*, *bhāvanā-* and *āśaikṣā-mārgas*. The ten *bhūmi* are of course well known. One scheme includes the latter among the last three of the former (first *bhūmi* = *darśanamārga*, second through seventh = *bhāvanāmārga*, eighth through tenth = *āśaikṣāmārga*). I cannot say how much of this doctrinal development should be read into our passage here.

བྱང་ཚུབ་ལམ་ལ་རབ་ཞུགས་ནས ། ཁམས་གསུམ་འཁོར་བ་སྟོང་པར་ཤོག ། ཨོཾ་མ་ཎི་པ་རྒྱེ་ཏུ། ^[17]	Their sufferings without exception be pacified, And they be settled in the path toward awakening, [and thus] May transmigration comprised of the three realms be emptied [of beings]! <i>Oṃ maṇipadme hūm.</i>
ཡི་གེ་བྱག་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་བསྟོན་པ་བྲག་ ཤེས་སྟོན་ལམ་དང་བཅས་པ། ཆོས་ སྟོང་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྟོང་བཅའ་སྒྲམ་པོས་ མཛད་པ་རྫོགས་སོ། ། མངའ་བདག་ཕྱང་གི་གཏེར་མཛོ། ། བརྒྱད་པོ་དེ་ཡི་གེ་བྱག་པའི་གསུང་གི་ ཞལ་གདམས་ཀྱི་སྟོར་ཡིན་ལོ། །	This praise of the good qualities of the six syllable [mantra], together with its auspicious aspirational prayer, written by the Dharma-protecting king, Srong btsan sgam po, is complete. It is a treasure [discovered by] <i>mnga' bdag</i> Myang [Nyi ma 'od zer]. Those eight parts consist of the Cycle of Precepts of the expression of the six syllables.⁹⁰

Despite the colophon's explicit claim to the authorship of Srong btsan sgam po, the relation of this section of text to the prior section of the same *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*, our *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* I, is beyond dispute, just as it must be seen as a further adaptation of the core source. It appears to be, poetically speaking, a revision, condensation and polishing of the earlier version, but also with reference to elements of the *Praise Poem* not used by *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* I. In terms of modifications, not only, as mentioned above, does this version dramatically shift the focus to Potalaka, it forthrightly equates Sukhāvātī and Potalaka. This is doctrinally odd, since, whereas the latter is usually credited with an earthly locale, whether in South India or an island off the Chinese coast, Sukhāvātī belongs to a realm somehow separate from both

⁹⁰ I am very uncertain of the meaning of this sentence. It might refer to some structure of the text of which I am unaware, in which there are a number of parts, or some other structural element. Alternatively, as Charles Ramble suggests, while something of a stretch it is not entirely impossible that we should emend to **rgyal po de yi yi ge ...*, in which case we could understand, "This is the Cycle of Precepts of the teaching of that king [Srong btsan sgam po] on the six syllables," or something similar. This last sentence is not translated or noted by Phillips 2004: 276.

nirvāṇa and any samsāric location. Here, moreover, the earlier versions' aspirations for rebirth in Sukhāvātī have been entirely transferred to Potalaka. A good treatment of this innovation will be possible only through a broad-ranging study of Potalaka in the Tibetan imagination.⁹¹

Now, while both *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* texts clearly demonstrate their authors' direct access to the *Praise Poem*, the secondary status of the reworking in the later *Padma bka' thang*, to which we now turn, is beyond doubt.

The *Padma bka' thang* (*Padma thang yig*)

Some two to three centuries after the initial compilation of the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*, our same basic text makes a reappearance in another *gter ma*, the *Padma bka' thang*, credited to Yar rje Ö rgyan gling pa (1323–?), a work Dan Martin dates to 1352.⁹² As with the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*, here too at the very beginning of the text we find a description of what appears to be the land of the buddha whom we know otherwise—for the text does not explicitly tell us so—to be Amitābha. However, initially rather than being named Sukhāvātī or *Padma can*, as in *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* I, here the land is called *Padma bkod*, Lotus Array,⁹³ although later (I.

⁹¹ We may note, for instance, that the thangka reproduced at <https://rubinmuseum.org/collection/artwork/bodhisattva-avalokiteshvara-in-his-pure-land-mount-potalaka-C2012-4-5> does not depict Potalaka in any way resembling the description in this text. All images I have seen follow virtually the same pattern. A good discussion by Jeff Watt is found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YozrVaJwh6E>.

⁹² Martin 2020: 132, §141. I owe my knowledge of the relevance of this text in the first place to the same note of Sørensen 1994: 98n252 from which I also learned of the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* connection. Concerning the relation of the two works, Sørensen says that in comparison with the presentation in the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*, the text here “is also found embodied with a slightly more detailed wording and longer metrum, in the first chapter.” Although the passage cited here appears in the translation of the text by Toussaint 1933: 6–8 (and in fact already in 1920: 16–18), and this in its turn was rendered into English in 1978: 4–7, it has in both forms become nearly unrecognizable. This was pointed out for the French already by Tucci 1937: 516, who retranslated a portion in his review of Toussaint. Note that the entire beginning portion of the text is not translated in Schlagintweit 1901, who otherwise was one of the first, if not the first, to deal with the work in the West. Our passage was rendered into English by Bischoff 1973: 39–42, though one can hardly escape the suspicion that despite the claims of the translator he relied extremely heavily on the Mongol—at least, his translation does not reflect the Tibetan very closely. Incidentally, by citing these texts here, the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*, *Padma bka' thang* and *Bka thang gser phreng*, I obviously mean in no way to suggest that these are the only sites in which our basic text makes a reappearance.

⁹³ I do not know what, if any, relation there may be between this name and the famous (actual physical) Padma bkod in the south-eastern border region of Tibet.

37) it indeed receives the name Bde can, Sukhāvati. The text here takes in its first portion a rather odd metrical structure—assuming that it is indeed metrical, as seems to be the case—namely it has 11 syllables in the first portion, followed by 13 in the second line of each couplet. I have not found any reference to this type or pattern, even in the extensive listing of Poucha 1950.⁹⁴ However, the regularity of this pattern in the lines which follow seems to be as close to a guarantee as we will get that we do indeed here have to do with a metrical text.⁹⁵

It is further of considerable interest that this text has (at least) two distinct recensions, since the old Leiden manuscript (F) contains

Likewise, I do not know how links between this earthly Padma bkod and Avalokiteśvara were understood. In this regard, Elizabeth McDougal 2016: 29 quotes the *Rtsa gsum dgongs pa kun 'dus las: Yang gsang pad shel gnas yig ma rig mun sel sgron me* revealed by Bdud 'joms drag sngags gling pa (ca. 1871–1929), thus modern but nonetheless interesting. This text includes the statement “This phenomenal land, known conventionally as Pemakö, the innermost hidden land of the lotus, is a terrestrial Sukhavati, an earthly Pure Land of Great Bliss.” I thank Cathy Cantwell for drawing this article to my attention.

⁹⁴ Under irregular metres, for “strophes à deux vers,” p. 215, Poucha lists only lines of 9+10 and 9+11 syllables; no combinations of 11 and 13 syllables occur elsewhere in his listings.

⁹⁵ I have based the text printed here on the following sources:

- A: BDRC purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW8LS29353. NGMPP PKT xy1 70054, Ms.No. 1300, Reel No.AT126/5: 3a3–4b5.
- B: Peking print. Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje, 1779 (Kapstein 2015 dates it to 1755). BDRC purl.bdrc.io/resource/W1KG16912: 3a4–5b5.
- C: 2001, from Sku 'bum byams pa gling. BDRC purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW22346. 3a3–5a2.
- D: *Gu ru pad ma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar*. BDRC purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW8LS29338. NGMPP PKT ms 70322, Ms.No.1385, Reel No.AT133/9: As scanned, the leaves are not in the correct order, and the leaf with the beginning of the text is apparently missing. The text begins at folio 4a1 in l. 7 of the text, and ends on 7a1.
- E: Modern printed edition: 2016. *O rgyan padma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs rnam par thar pa rgyas par bkod pa padma bka'i thang yig* (Lhasa: Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe mnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang). BDRC purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1KG25186. Text on ages 2.5–4.11. I ignore its few readings, which are evidently, with one or two possible exceptions, typographical errors.
- F: *U rgyan ghu ru'i rnam par thar pa dang lo tshtsa'i 'gyur byang brgyas pa bkod pa*. Leiden manuscript I.KERN 2740/M405. Although not explicitly indicated in the record, this belongs to the Van Manen collection. On the basis of the paper and handwriting we know that the first two leaves (actually one full leaf and another written on only one side) belonged to a different manuscript. The first script is a rather blocky *dbu med*, after which we find a much more fluid *dbu med* hand. ka 2b2–4a4. Although photos are available (<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:334506> = BDRC purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW0LULDC334506), I consulted the original in the Rare Books room at the Leiden University library. On the textual history of this work, see Kapstein 2015, and van der Kuijp 2013: 138ff.

readings which sometimes differ from those in the text printed here.⁹⁶ In some places below where I find significant differences, I quote F as well. By following this strategy, I do not wish to imply a claim about priority; F may well represent an older form, and printing its readings in smaller type is only done for the sake of convenience, but the true relation between this manuscript and other sources will only become clear from an overall comparison, one not limited to this small section.⁹⁷

Padma bka' thang

དེ་ལ་རྒྱབ་ཕྱོགས་པད་མོ་བཀོད་པའི་ཞིང་ ཁམས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ ུ	In that context, in the west there is a [buddha] field called the Lotus Array.
གསེར་གྱི་ས་གཞི་མིག་མངས་རིས་སུ་ ཆགས་པ་ལས ུ ས་གཞི་རི་རབ་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་བཅལ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟོན་པ ུ	Since the surface of the ground [in that field] appears in the form of a checkerboard, Even the words '[ordinary] sur- face of the ground and Mount Sumeru' are not at all mention- ed.
3 sa gzhi ri rab] F: sa zhes bya ba'i	
བྱང་ཚུབ་ཤིང་གི་ལོ་འདབ་མེ་ཉོག་རྒྱས་པ་ ལས ུ ཆེ་ཤིང་ནགས་ཆལ་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་བཅལ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟོན་པ ུ [5]	Since leaves and flowers of Bodhi trees abound [in that field], Even the words '[ordinary] trees and forests' are not at all mentioned.
ཉིང་འཛིན་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་ལྷན་ཚུ་བོ་ འབབ་པ་ལས ུ	Since rivers descend [in that field] with water of the eight qualities of meditative contem- plation,

⁹⁶ This is the witness I call F (see the note immediately above). The manuscript is in appearance rather old, and on quite thick paper, with the exception of the initial leaves. Inside the wooden cover of the manuscript something is written in very cursive *dbu med*, but I cannot make it out. The text uses several spelling archaisms and abbreviations. Without further investigation of other sources I would not dare to speculate, but I wonder whether F could present an older version of the text than that transmitted in the other sources (A–E) listed in the previous note.

⁹⁷ I print the text with the *gter shad*, but not all sources use it.

སྣ་ཆོགས་ཚུ་ཡི་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་བཅལ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ་ ུ	Even the words '[ordinary] rivers' are not at all mentioned.
རིག་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད་ལྔ་རང་མེ་འབར་བ་ ལས ུ འཇིག་རྟེན་མེ་ཡི་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་བཅལ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ་ ུ	Since the spontaneous flame of the five rays of wisdom of liberating awareness burns [in that field], Even the words 'ordinary flames' are not at all mentioned.
8 F: rig pa ye shes lnga rang mo 'bar ba las	
ནམ་པར་དག་པ་སྟོན་གྱི་ངོ་རྒྱུ་ལ་ ལས ུ [10] འཇིག་རྟེན་སྤང་གི་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་བཅལ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ་ ུ	Since there is a wafting up of the aromatic aroma of perfect purity [in that field], Even the words 'ordinary wind' are not at all mentioned.
ཁྱབ་གདལ་ཚོས་གྱི་དབྱིངས་ལ་ཕྱོགས་སྤྱང་ མེད་པ་ལས ུ འབྱུང་བ་ནམ་མཁའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་ བཅལ་ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ་ ུ	Since the all-encompassing <i>dharmadhātu</i> is without parts [in that field], Even the words 'element of empty space' are not at all mentioned
དབྱིངས་རིག་ཡེ་ཤེས་གསལ་བའི་ཁྱི་ གདུགས་བཟུང་བ་ལས ུ ཉི་མ་ལྔ་བའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་བཅལ་ཀྱང་ མི་རྟེན་པ་ ུ [15]	Since the illuminating canopy of liberating awareness and gnosis of the [<i>dharmad</i>]<i>dhātu</i> spreads [over that field], Even the names 'sun and moon' are not at all mentioned.
རྒྱལ་བ་འཕགས་པའི་རང་འོད་ལྔ་རྩ་འབར་ བ་ལས ུ ཉིན་དང་མཚན་གྱི་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་བཅལ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ་ ུ	Since the five spontaneous light rays of the noble Victor are ablaze [in that field], Even the words 'day and night' are not at all mentioned.

མཆོག་ལུན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་རང་ཤར་རང་ གྲོལ་སྤྱོད་བ་ལས ཅུང་ རྒྱལ་པོ་སློན་པོའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་བཅའ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟོན་པ ཅུང་	Since the reign of the excellent Dharma safeguards [beings in that field thanks to] its spon- taneous emergence and spon- taneous liberation, Even the words ‘king and ministers’ are not at all mentioned.
བདག་དང་གཞན་གཉིས་ཐ་མི་དད་པར་ གཅིག་པ་ལས ཅུང་ [20] འཐབ་ཅིང་ཚྱོད་པའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་ བཅའ་ཀྱང་མི་རྟོན་པ ཅུང་	Since self and other are absolutely not different [in that field], Even the words ‘conflict and quarrel’ are not at all mentioned.
འཆོ་བ་ཉིང་འཛིན་ཟས་ཀྱི་འཆོ་བས་ཆེ་ བ་ལས ཅུང་ ཟས་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་བཅའ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟོན་པ ཅུང་	Since [all in that field] are satiated by the nourishment of the food of meditative contemplation, Even the words ‘[ordinary] food’ are not at all mentioned.
སློམ་དུ་ཡིད་བཞིན་བདུད་ཅིང་ཚུ་རྒྱན་ འཐུང་བ་ལས ཅུང་ སློམ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་བཅའ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟོན་པ ཅུང་ [25]	Since to quench one’s thirst [in that field] one drinks as one wishes from the flowing current of nectar , Even the words ‘[ordinary] thirst’ are not at all mentioned.
24 skom du yi bzhin] F: skom du	
གོས་སུ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་གཙང་མའི་གོས་བཟང་ གྱོན་པ་ལས ཅུང་ གོས་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་བཅའ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟོན་པ ཅུང་	Since one wears the fine garments of pure morality for garments [in that field], Even the words ‘[ordinary] gar- ments’ are not at all mentioned.
སྐྱེ་བ་པ་སྤྱི་འོད་དུ་རྒྱས་ཏེ་སྐྱེ་བ་ལས ཅུང་	Since birth [in that field] is to be spontaneously born atop a lotus,

སྐྱེ་བ་གཞན་གྱི་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་བཅུ་ལ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ་ ཅུག་	Even the words 'other forms of birth' are not at all mentioned.
ཟག་མེད་དོན་རྟེན་བྱུང་ཆེ་ལ་མངའ་བརྟེན་ པས་ ཅུག་ [30] ཆས་ཤིང་རྒྱད་པའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་བཅུ་ལ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ་ ཅུག་	Since one obtains power over one's longevity [in that field] as if it were an inexhaustible adamant, Even the words 'aging and decrepitude' are not mentioned.
སྐྱེ་ཤི་མེད་པའི་ས་ལ་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་འདྲོག་ པ་ལས་ ཅུག་ སྐྱེ་ཞིང་འཆི་བའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་བཅུ་ལ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ་ ཅུག་	Since one is perfectly established in that place free from birth and death, Even the words 'being born and dying' are not at all mentioned.
དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱུན་གྱི་ཞིང་མཆོག་ དེ་ན་ནི་ ཅུག་ མ་ལུས་ཐམས་ཅད་བྱང་ཆུབ་ལ་སྦྱོང་སྦྱིད་ པ་ལ་ ཅུག་ [35] མི་བདེ་སྤྱད་བསྐྱེད་མིང་ཡང་མི་གྲག་ བཅུ་ལ་ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ་ ཅུག་	In that excellent field of all buddhas of the three times, Since everyone without exception delights in practicing to attain awakening, Even the words 'unhappiness and suffering' are not at all mentioned.
བདེ་ཅན་བྱང་ཆུབ་རྫོགས་སངས་རྒྱུན་གྱི་ ཞིང་དེ་ན་ ཅུག་ ངོ་བོ་རང་བཞིན་སྣོད་པ་ཉིད་གྱི་གཞུང་ ལས་ཁང་ ཅུག་ ངོས་གཏིང་ཟབ་ལོགས་རྒྱ་དང་སྤངས་ནི་	In the field of that perfect buddha, Blissful:⁹⁸ Is his immense palace, in essence and by nature emptiness, There are surfaces profoundly broad, walls lofty and wide, [both] immeasurable. Without distinction of inside and

⁹⁸ See above p. 331, note 71.

ཚད་མེད་པ་ ུ ཕྱི་ནང་མེད་པ་ཆོས་དབྱིངས་མངོན་ཤེས་ ལྟར་ཁྱེད་གསལ་ ུ [40] མི་མཐུན་པ་དང་མི་གཟིགས་པ་ནི་གཅིག་ གྲུང་མེད་ ུ	out, its clear windows are the higher knowledges of the <i>dharmadhātu</i>, [Looking through which] there is not even the slightest thing [that buddha] does not fathom, does not observe.
37 F: bde ba'i byang chub sangs rgyas zhing de de na 39 F: ngos su gting zab logs la rgya dang tshad ni dpag med pa 41 gcig kyang med] F: gags yang med	
སྟེང་ན་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གདུགས་ ཐུབ་པ་ ུ	Above, its parasol of the Great Vehicle is spread out.
འོག་ན་ཆགས་མེད་པ་སྒྲོ་འོད་ལྡན་ཁྱི་ བརྟེགས་པ་ ུ	Below is constructed a stainless, radiant lotus throne.⁹⁹
43 F: 'og nas chags pa med pa padma 'od ldan pa	
དགའ་བཞི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཚད་མེད་བཞི་ཡི་གདན་ བརྟེགས་པ་ ུ	Its seat of the four immeasurables is built up from the wisdom of the four kinds of joy.¹⁰⁰
ཕྱོགས་བཞི་མཆོམས་བརྒྱད་བྱང་ཚུབ་ཡན་ ལག་འཕན་ཕྱར་བ་ ུ [45]	The banner of the limbs of awak- ening is raised in the four primary and the eight inter- mediate directions.
ཆོས་རྣམས་ཕྱོགས་མེད་མཉམ་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ད་	It is constructed out of the

⁹⁹ Padma 'od is the name of the celestial palace of Padmasambhava.

¹⁰⁰ There appear to be various lists, one of which is *dga' ba*, *mchog dga'*, *khyad dga'* (? *dga' bral gyi dga' ba*), *lhan skyes kyi dga' ba*, joy, supreme joy, special joy and innate joy (Skt. *ānanda*, *paramānanda*, *vīramānanda*, *sahajānanda*). There is also a sexual interpretation of the term, but I doubt it is relevant here.

ལ་བྱས ུ ¹⁰¹	maṇḍala of the equality and impartiality of all things.
46 kyi da la byas] F: dkyil 'khor byas	
རེ་དོགས་སྤང་སྤང་གཉིས་སྤང་མེད་པའི་ པདམོ་བཀའ་ུ	Its lotuses, which are freedom from the dualities of hope and fear and rejection and acceptance, are laid out.
ཡེ་དག་དྲི་མཆོག་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་སྤོས་ཀྱི་དྲི་ ངད་འཕྱལ་ ུ	The supreme primordially pure fragrance of morality rises in the air.
སྤྱུང་ཀྱང་མ་བྱས་ཡེ་ནས་རང་བྱུང་ལྷན་ ཀྱིས་བྱུབ་ ུ	Unconstructed by anyone, it is primordially spontaneously self-arisen.
ཉིང་འཛིན་མི་གཡོ་ཆོས་དབྱིངས་རྒྱ་མཆོ་ དངས་པ་ལ་ ུ ^[50] ནམ་ཤེས་མ་ཆགས་ཡེ་བྱུང་པདམོ་ཀྱན་ རྫོགས་འཁྲུངས་ ུ	From the clear ocean of immovable contemplation, the <i>dharma-dhātu</i> , Lotuses of awareness and non-attachment perfectly emerge.
50 ting 'dzin mi g.yo] F: mi g.yo	
འགྲོ་བ་མ་ལུས་སྤྱུགས་རྩིས་སྟོམས་པའི་རྒྱན་ ཀྱིས་བརྒྱན་ ུ	It is ornamented by equally applied adornments through compassion for each and every being— ¹⁰²
ཕོ་བླ་དེ་ན་སངས་རྒྱུ་འོད་དཔག་མེད་ པ་བཞུགས་ ུ	In that mansion dwells the buddha Amitābha.

¹⁰¹ It is very difficult to know what to do with the wording here. I follow both the reading of F and the suggestion of Cathy Cantwell that *da la* is a short-hand for *maṇḍala*. See also *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* I l. 48. However, other sources available to Cantwell read (evidently seeing not *da* but *nga*) *ngang la byas*, which, as she says, makes sense, but may represent an editorial attempt to sort out a difficult reading.

¹⁰² Translation uncertain.

53 pho brang de na] F: de na	
སྟོབས་བཅུ་མི་འཇིགས་ནམ་བཞི་སྐྱེ་ཡི་ རྒྱན་རབ་མངོས ུ	The ten powers and the four fearlessnesses thoroughly beautify the ornament of his body.
54 F: stobs bcu mi 'jigs sku'i rgyan rab mdzes par brgyan	
སྐྱེ་ལུས་བཀོད་པ་མཚན་བབང་བལྟ་བས་ མི་ངོམས་ཤིང ུ [55]	One is not sated gazing upon his body's appearance and lovely [thirty-two major bodily] marks;
ཐོ་བྱི་ཐམས་ཅད་འོད་ཟེར་སྒྲ་ཚོགས་འངའ་ འོད་འཁྲིགས ུ	Variegated rays of light filling the entire sky encircle him like a rainbow.
ཐུགས་ཐེའི་འོད་ཟེར་དཀར་དམར་སྒྲ་ ཚོགས་ཕྱོགས་བཅུར་འཕྲོ ུ	[These] radiant variegated rosy beams of compassion spread through the ten directions.
རྫོགས་པའི་སང་རྒྱས་དཔལ་ལྡན་སྐྱེས་བུ་ མཐུ་ལྡན་པ ུ སྐྱེ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཡོན་འཕྲིན་ལས་བལྟ་བས་ ཚོག་མི་ཤེས ུ	No one, contemplating the body, speech, mind, qualities and activities of a powerful being possessed of the splendor of perfect buddhahood, Could ever be content [with that contemplation].
59 yon 'phrin las blta] F: yon tan lta	
རྒྱལ་བ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་འཁོར་མང་དག་ནི་སྤྱིན་ ལྷར་གཉིབས ུ [60]	The multitudinous retinues of the Ocean of Victors gather like clouds. ¹⁰³
མིག་ནི་མི་གཡོ་བདེ་ཆེན་དང་ལ་མཉམ་	He is primally serene, his eyes unmoving, blissful,

¹⁰³ The term *rgyal ba rgya mtsho* as a well-known epithet of Avalokiteśvara, on which see Solmsdorf 2019.

པར་བཞག མུ་	
བཅེ་བའི་ཐུགས་རྩི་འོད་ཟེར་དུ་མ་ཕྱོགས་ བཅུར་འཕྲོ མུ་	His many radiant beams of loving compassion spread throughout the ten directions.
འོད་ཟེར་རེ་རེའི་ཚེ་ལས་སངས་རྒྱལ་སྤུལ་ པ་འབྱེད མུ་	From the tip of each of those rays of radiance are emitted buddha manifestations.
བསམ་གྱིས་མི་བྲས་གངས་མེད་བཟོད་དུ་ མེད་པ་འཕྲོ མུ་	They spread inconceivably, innumerably, inexpressibly.
གང་ལ་གང་འདུལ་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པས་འགྲོ་ དོན་མཛད མུ་ ^[65]	Converting each according to their appropriate manner, they promote the welfare of beings limitlessly.
ཞིང་ཁམས་དེ་ན་འཕགས་པ་མིན་པ་ གཞན་མི་གནས མུ་	In that [buddha] field, there are none other than Nobles.
སྤུལ་པ་ཡང་སྤུལ་ཉིད་སྤུལ་ཐོར་བུ་བསམ་ མི་བྲས མུ་	It is inconceivable [how many] manifestations, further manifestations [from those manifestations], and individual manifestations there are. ¹⁰⁴
ལྷ་རྒྱལ་གྱ་རུ་པར་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིས་ རབས་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་རྒྱས་པར་ བཀོད་པ་ལས མུ་ རུབ་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་བསྟན་ པའི་ལུ་སྟེ་དང་པོའོ མུ་ ^[69]	From the extended life-story narrative of the liberation of U rgyan gu ru Padma 'byung gnas, The first chapter, teaching about the Western [buddha] field of Bliss.

The relation of this text to that in *Ma ni bka' 'bum* I is direct, with only very small variations. I represent the correspondence in a table, with

¹⁰⁴ I have little confidence about my understanding of this line.

the line numbers of the *Padma bka' thang* on the left and those of the *Ma ñi bka' 'bum I* on the right:

1	3
2–36	4–38
37–40	39–43
41–42	44–45
43–44	54–55
45–51	46–53
52–65	56–70
66	73–75

Lines of the *Padma bka' thang* (left) corresponding to those of the *Ma ñi bka' 'bum I* (right)

As mentioned above, manuscript F appears to present an older form of the text. A more systematic study of the entire witness is obviously needed, not limited to this small section of text, but we can note, for instance, that F reads l. 37: *bde ba'i byang chub sangs rgyas zhing de de na*, against the *bde can byang chub rdzogs sangs rgyas kyi zhing de na* of the otherwise transmitted text. Any number of other cases even for this very short sequence of lines could be cited, and the variance seen here certainly calls for consideration.¹⁰⁵

The *Bka' thang gser phreng*

Finally, turning to the last full version we will consider, only slightly later than the *Padma bka' thang* Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340–1396) produced the *Bka' thang gser phreng*,¹⁰⁶ and as far as the passage of interest to us here is concerned, it is remarkably close to the *Padma bka' thang* in its prior portion, before diverging rather significantly, but

¹⁰⁵ Just as I was preparing to send off this paper, Lewis Doney wrote to me suggesting that F appears not to be a manuscript of the *Padma bka' thang* but rather the text he, in Doney 2016, calls LTGB, namely the *Orgyan pad ma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs lo tsha'i 'gyur byang rnam thar rgyas par bkod pa*, for which he refers *inter alia* to W23642. He further writes of the interest of F since “the manuscript I used for Doney 2016 lacks most of the first chapter and so it is great to perhaps be able to fill in that gap. Incidentally, the NGMCP manuscript no. 46493 (Microfilm reel L 142/4) may also be an exemplar of this text.”

¹⁰⁶ This is more fully titled *U rgyan gu ru Padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam par thar pa Gser gyi phreng ba thar lam gsal byed*. Martin 2020: 130, item #137, places it in the “late 1300's.” Doney 2016 is largely devoted to this work, and he seems to have gathered a great many sources on the basis of which a critical edition could be essayed. On the author see Mei 2012.

even in the overlapping portions some wording is different.¹⁰⁷ It is certainly, in this sense, to be considered a separate revelation, even though from a text-historical point of view its debt to the *Padma bka' thang* is patently obvious. As discussed rather often in discussion of *gter ma*, it is an open question how works which so obviously rely on other known works may still be considered revelations, but as Cathy Cantwell has remarked to me, "There is no problem revealing a new *gter ma* which incorporates large amounts of previously familiar material. ... If Guru Rinpoche taught one teaching at one time, why should it be remembered differently? But it is wonderful if different students are reborn at different times and receive it fresh again." Emically speaking, then, the following should not at all surprise us in its similarity to the work noticed immediately above.

Bka' thang gser phreng

དེ་ལ་རྒྱབ་ཕྱོགས་པར་བཀོད་པའི་ཞིང་ ལམས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ན།	In that context, in the west there is a field called the Lotus Array.
གསེར་གྱི་ས་གཞི་མངས་རིས་སྤྱུ་ཆགས་པ་ ལ། ས་གཞི་རི་བྲག་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲག་བཅས་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟོན་པ།	Since the surface of the ground [in the field] appears in the form of a checkerboard, Even the words '[ordinary] sur- face of the ground and Mount Sumeru' are not at all mentioned.
བྱང་ཆུབ་ཤིང་གི་མེ་ཉོག་གི་འབྲས་སུ་རྒྱས་ པ་ལས།	Since the fruits of the flowers of Bodhi trees abound [in that field],

¹⁰⁷ Sources for the text:

- A: *U rgyan guru rin po che'i rnam thar rgyas pa gser gyi phreng ba*. In BDRC: Sangs rgyas gling pa, *Bka' thang gser phreng ma*. BDRC purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW8LS29365. Folio 3a2–5b6. Hirshberg NGMPP, SP ms 47714.pdf, filmed in Dzaden, Helambu, on: 1990-01-29, reel: L/269/2.
- B: *Bka' thang gser phreng*, BDRC W1PD89340, 2b1–4b3.
- C: *U rgyan guru padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar rgyas pa gser gyi phreng ba thar lam gsal byed*, 17th c. Spungs thang. BDRC W27933, 2b2–4b3.
- D: *Padma bka' thang*. [Mang yul gung thang]: Zhang blon Dri med bsam grub rdo rje dang Rgyal mo kun dga bu khrid, dating to 1535. BDRC purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW4CZ45306. Some text on every folio side is written in red, but I cannot determine its significance. It does not appear to be in any way related to the content. Each folio side up to 5b bears two color illustrations. 4a2–6a4.

ཅི་ཤིང་ནགས་འཆལ་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲག་ བཅའ་ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ། ^[5]	Even the words '[ordinary] trees and forests' are not at all mentioned.
ཉིང་ངེ་འཛིན་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་ལྡན་ཚུ་བོ་ འབབ་པ་ལས། སྤྲུལ་ཆོགས་ཚུའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲག་བཅའ་ཀྱང་ མི་རྟེན་པ།	Since rivers descend [in that field] with water of the eight qualities of meditative contem- plation, Even the words '[ordinary] rivers' are not at all mentioned.
རིག་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་རང་མེ་འབར་བ་ལས། འཛིག་རྟེན་མེའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲག་བཅའ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ།	Since the spontaneous flame of the wisdom of liberating awareness burns [in that field], Even the words 'ordinary flames' are not at all mentioned.
ནམ་དག་སྒོས་ཀྱི་དྲི་ངད་ལྡང་བ་ལས། ^[10] འཛིག་རྟེན་རླུང་གི་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲགས་ བཅའ་ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ།	Since there is the wafting up of an aromatic aroma of perfect purity [in that field], Even the words 'ordinary wind' are not at all mentioned.
ཁྱབ་གདལ་ཆོས་དབྱིངས་ཕྱོགས་ལྷུང་མེད་ པ་ལས། འབྱུང་བ་ནམ་མཁའའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲག་ བཅའ་ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ།	Since the all-encompassing <i>dharmadhātu</i> is without parts [in that field], Even the words 'element of empty space' are not at all mentioned.
དབྱིངས་རིག་ཡེ་ཤེས་གསལ་བའི་སྒོ་ གདུགས་གདལ་བ་ལས།	Since the illuminating canopy of the Wisdom of Space-and- Awareness spreads [over that field], ¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ The journal's editor Jean-Luc Achard kindly offered me the following observation, and I follow his advice for the translation here: "The compound *dbyings rig ye shes* is a classical Rdzogs chen expression in which *dbyings* means Space in the sense of the infinite primordial space (of one's natural state) in which the visions of *rig* (-pa) manifest in various modes such as *thig-les*, diamond chains, and so forth. In this context, *ye shes* is the sapiential state in which one's mind abides when contemplating these visionary displays of Awareness (*rig*) within Space (*dbyings*). This is actually an indirect reference to the practice of *thod-rgal*. In this context, *dbyings-rig* refers to the visions of Space and Awareness (Space=the blue background covered

ཉི་མ་ལྷ་བའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲག་བཅས་ཀྱང་ མི་རྟེན་པ། ^[15]	Even the names 'sun and moon' are not at all mentioned.
རྒྱལ་བ་འཕགས་པའི་རང་འོད་ལྷ་རུ་འབར་ བ་ལས། ཉིན་དང་མཚན་གྱི་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲགས་ བཅས་ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ།	Since the five spontaneous light rays of the noble Victor are ablaze [in that field], Even the words 'day and night' are not at all mentioned.
མཆོག་ལྡན་ཆོས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་སྤིང་རང་ཤར་ རང་གྲོལ་སྦྱོང་བ་ལས། རྒྱལ་པོ་སློན་པོའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲག་བཅས་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ།	Since the reign of the excellent Dharma, safeguards [beings in that field with] its spontaneous emergence and spontaneous liberation, Even the words 'king and minis- ters' are not at all mentioned.
བདག་དང་གཞན་གཉིས་ཐ་མི་དད་པར་ གཅིག་པ་ལས། ^[20] འཐབ་ཅིང་ཚྱད་པའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲག་ བཅས་ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ།	Since self and other are absolutely not different [in that field], Even the words 'conflict and quarrel' are not at all mentioned.
འཆོ་བ་ཉིང་འཛིན་ཟས་ཀྱིས་འཆོ་བས་ཆེན་ པ་ལས། བགྲས་སྟོགས་ཞེས་བྱའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲགས་ བཅས་ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ།	Since [all in that field] are satiated by the nourishment of the food of meditative contemplation, Even the word 'hunger' is not at all mentioned.

with brocade displays, and Awareness=the *thiglës* and diamond chains, etc.)—i.e., the visionary aspect of the natural state (*gnas-lugs*)—that is experienced by “Wisdom” (*ye shes*)—i.e., the sapiential aspect of the natural state. In fact, outwardly (on a linguistic level) they appear as subject (*ye shes*) and object (*dbying-rig*) but in reality they are not separated: they arise as if the subject (*ye shes*, the sapiential aspect) contemplates its own display (*dbying-rig*, the visionary aspect) without being separated from it. The experiential proof of that is that *dbying-rig* can only be seen in the state of *Rigpa* or in this case the state of Wisdom (which basically amounts to the same), implying that these visions cannot be seen by a third party. We might further observe that since *khri-gdugs* is also a *kāvya* code-name for the sun, the line may also be interpreted as ‘Since the blazing sun of the Wisdom...’”

སྒོམ་དུ་ཡིད་བཞིན་བདུད་ཅིང་ཆུ་རྒྱན་ འཐུང་བ་ལས ། སྒོམ་པ་བུའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲག་བཅའ་ཀྱང་ མི་རྟེན་པ ། [25]	Since to quench one's thirst [in that field] one drinks as one wishes from the flowing current of nectar, Even the words '[ordinary] thirst' are not at all mentioned.
གོས་སྤྱ་ཚུལ་བྲིམས་གཙང་མའི་གོས་གཙང་ ཁྱོན་པ་ལས ། འདིག་རྟེན་གོས་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་ བྲག་བཅའ་ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ །	Since one wears the fine garments of pure morality for garments [in that field], Even the words 'ordinary garments' are not at all mentioned.
སྦྱེ་བ་པ་ལྔ་འི་རྟེན་དུ་རྩལ་ཏེ་སྦྱེ་བ་ལས ། སྦྱེ་བ་རྣམ་བཞིའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲག་བཅའ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ །	Since birth [in that field] is to be spontaneously born atop a lotus, Even the words 'other forms of birth' are not at all mentioned.
ཟག་མེད་དོ་རྩེ་ལྷ་བུའི་ཆོ་ལ་མངའ་མཉེས་ པས ། [30] ཀས་ཤིང་རྒྱད་པའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲག་བཅའ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ །	Since one obtains power over one's longevity [in that field] as if it were an exhaustible adamant, Even the words 'aging and decrepitude' are not at all mentioned.
སྦྱེ་འཆི་མེད་པའི་ས་ལ་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་འདྲིག་ པ་ལས ། སྦྱེ་ཞིང་འཆི་བའི་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲག་བཅའ་ ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པ །	Since that place free from birth and death is declared to be entirely perfect, Even the words 'being born and dying' are not at all mentioned.
དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཞིང་མཆོག་ དེ་ན་ནི ། མ་ལུས་ཐམས་ཅད་བྱང་ཆུབ་ལས་སྦྱོད་ བསྦྱེད་པ་ལས ། [35]	In that excellent field of all buddhas of the three times, Since everyone without exception delights in practicing to attain awakening, Even the words 'unhappiness and suffering' are not at all

མི་བདེ་སྐྱུག་བསུལ་མིང་ཡང་མི་བྲག་ བཅའ་ཀྱང་མི་རྟེན་པའོ། ༥།	mentioned.
དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་སངས་རྒྱུ་གྱི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ནམ་ པར་དག་པ་དེ་ན། ངོ་བོ་རང་བཞིན་སྣང་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གཞུལ་ཡས་ ཁང་ཆེན་པོ་གྲུ་བཞི་སྟོ་བཞི་རྟ་བབས་ ཆེན་པོ་བཞི་དང་ལྗན་པ། དེ་ཡི་ངོས་དང་སྤྱང་དང་འོག་དང་ལོགས་ དང་རྒྱུ་ཆད་དུ་ནི་དཔག་ཆད་དཔག་ ཏུ་མེད་པ།	In such an entirely pure buddha field: Is his immense palace, in essence and by nature emptiness, square, furnished with four doors and four great gates, Its sides, top, bottom, sideposts, and width, in extent [all] immeasurable and limitless,
ཕྱི་ལྟས་ན་ནང་གསལ་བ་ནང་ལྟས་ན་ཕྱི་ གསལ་བ། [40]	Looking at its exterior, its interior is transparently visible; look- ing at its interior, its exterior is transparently visible;
ཕྱི་ནང་མེད་པ། རྒྱ་ཆད་མེད་པ། ཕྱོགས་སྤྱང་མེད་པ།	It has no exterior or interior; Its has no extent or measure; It does not incline to either one side or the other.
ཆོས་དབྱིངས་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་སྐྱར་བྱང་གསལ་ བ།	Its palace of the wisdom of the <i>dharmadhātu</i> is lucidly clear.
སྤྱང་ན་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གདུགས་ ཕུབ་པ། [45]	Above, a parasol of the Teaching of the Great Vehicle is spread out.
འོག་ན་མ་ཆགས་པ་སྤྲེའོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲི་བརྟེན་གསལ་ བ།	Below is constructed a stainless radiant lotus throne.
དགའ་བ་བཞིའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་དང་ཆད་མེད་པ་	Its walls of the wisdom of the

བཞིའི་ཆེགས་པ་བཞིགས་པ།	four joys and the four immeasurables are built up.
བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་ཀྱི་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་དང་ ལྷན་པའི་བ་དན་ཕྱོགས་འཛམས་སུ་ འབྱར་བ།	The pennant of the eight limbs of the aspiration to awakening is raised in the primary and intermediate directions.
ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཕྱོགས་རིས་མེད་ཅིང་ མཉམ་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར། དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ལྷན་གྱིས་སྤྱབ་པ། ^[50]	Because of the nondistinction and self-sameness of all things, A maṇḍala spontaneously appears.
རེ་དོགས་སྤང་བླང་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པའི་ཕྱིར། པདམོ་བཀྲ་བ།	Because of the nonduality of hope and fear and rejections and acceptance, the lotuses are laid out.
ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་དྲི་ངད་དང་ལྷན་པའི་བརྒྱར་ མེ་ཉོག་དང་སྒོས་ཀྱི་དྲི་ངད་འཕྱུལ་བ།	The perfumed fragrance of flowers and powdered incense endowed with the scent of morality rises into the air.
སྤྱང་གྲང་མ་བྱས་ཏེ་ཡེ་ནས་རང་བྱུང་ལྷན་ གྱིས་སྤྱབ་པའི། སངས་རྒྱུ་ཀྱི་ཉིང་ངེ་འཛིན་མི་གཡོ་བ་ཆོས་ ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཆོ་དངས་པ་ལས། ^[55] ནམ་ཤེས་མ་ཆགས་ལྷན་གྱིས་སྤྱབ་པའི་པད་ ཕྱོང་འཕྲུངས་པ།	Unconstructed by anyone, primordially spontaneously self-arisen— From that clear ocean of the <i>dharmadhātu</i> , [characterized by] immovable contemplation of the Buddha, Lotuses of awareness and non-attachment spontaneously emerge.
སེམས་ཅན་མ་ལུས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐུགས་རྗེས་ སྒྲོམས་པར་གཟིགས་པའི། རྒྱ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱན་པའི་ཕོ་བྲང་ ནམ་པར་དག་པའི་གཞུང་ཡས་ཁང་	Gazing upon all beings without exception with compassion, In that mansion, an immense great palace, entirely pure, ornamented with all adornments,

ཆེན་པོ་ན། མ།	—*—
སངས་རྒྱལ་འོད་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་ལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་བ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་ ནས་བཞུགས་སོ།	The buddha Amitābha dwells amid a retinue of Oceans of Victors [= Avalokiteśvaras].
དེ་ཡང་མཚན་བཟང་པོ་སྟུང་བཅུ་སོ་གཉིས་ དང་དཔེ་བྱད་བཟང་པོ་བརྒྱ་བཅུ་སྟུ་ ལ་བརྒྱན་ཏེ། ^[60]	Moreover, he is ornamented with the thirty-two major marks and the eighty minor marks [of a buddha].
སྐྱུ་བྱད་ནི་ལྟ་བུས་ཚོགས་མི་ཤེས་པ།	One is not sated gazing upon his body.
དར་དང་རིན་པོ་ཆའི་རྒྱན་སྣ་ཚོགས་པས་ བརྒྱན་པའི་སྐྱུའི་བཀོད་པ་ནི་ཚད་མེད་ པ།	His body's array ornamented by silk and precious substances is without limit.
ཐོ་བྱི་ཐམས་ཅད་ནི་འོད་ཟེར་སྣ་ཚོགས་དང་ འཇའ་འོད་འཁྲིགས་པ།	All the perfections encircle him like a rainbow with variegated rays of light.
སྤྱགས་མེད་འོད་ཟེར་དཀར་དམར་སྣ་ ཚོགས་ཕྱོགས་བཅུ་འཕྲོ་བ།	[They, his] radiant variegated rosy beams of compassion, spread through the ten direc- tions.
སྟོབས་བཅུ་དང་མི་འཇིགས་པ་བཞི་དང་ནི་ ལྟན། ^[65]	He possesses the ten powers and the four fearlessnesses.
སྐྱུ་གསུང་སྤྱགས་ཡོན་ཏན་འཕྲིན་ལས་ནི་ ཟད་མི་ཤེས།	His meritorious deeds of body, speech and mind are inexhaustible.
སངས་རྒྱལ་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ནི་ སྤྲིན་ལྟར་དུ་སྟོབས།	He is surrounded by buddhas and bodhisattvas, as if they were clouds.

སྤྱན་མི་གཡོ་སྟེ་ཉིང་ངེ་འཛིན་ལ་སྤྱགས་ མཉམ་པར་བཞག།	His eyes unmoving, he rests in meditative contemplation.
བརྟེ་བའི་འོད་ཟེར་ནི་དུ་མ་ཕྱོགས་བརྒྱར་ འཕྲོ་ཞིང་།	His radiant beams of love spread severally throughout the ten directions.
འོད་ཟེར་རེ་རེའི་ཆེན་གསུལ་པ་གྲངས་ མེད་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་བརྗོད་དུ་མེད་པ་ འཕྲོ་ཞིང་། [70]	From the tip of each of those rays of radiance spread out manifestations, numberless, unlimited, indescribable.
ཡང་སྤྱུལ་ཉིད་སྤྱུལ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གང་ལ་ གང་འདུལ་དང་དེ་ལ་དེར་སྟོན་གྱིས་ འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་དཔག་དུ་མེད་པ་མཛད་ པར་སྤྱུལ་ལོ།	Acting immeasurably for the sake of beings by demonstrating repeated manifestations there to whomever should be con- verted, he manifests [himself].
དེ་ཡང་སངས་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཁམས་དེ་ན་ གནས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ནི་སེམས་ཅན་མ་ ཡིན་ཏེ། འཕགས་པ་ཤ་སྟག་གོ།	Once again, all who dwell in that buddha field are not [ordinary] beings, but only Nobles.
ཡུ་རྒྱུན་གྱ་རུ་པར་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱི་སྟེ་ རབས་རྣམ་ཐར་རྒྱས་པར་བཀོད་པ་ ལས། རྒྱབ་བདེ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་ཞིང་ཁམས་བསྟན་པའི་ ལུ་སྟེ་དང་པོའོ། ལ། [75]	From the extended life-story narrative of the liberation of U rgyan Padma 'byung gnas, the chapter, the first, teaching about the Western [buddha] field of Bliss.

While the initial portions of the the *Padma bka' thang* and *Bka' thang gser phreng*, through their mutual l. 36, correspond very closely, thereafter they diverge significantly, although their mutual relation remains demonstrable with much borrowed language and somewhat modified structure. Even when the overall tenor is very much in line, the verbal expressions can vary. On chronological grounds alone we assume the priority of the *Padma bka' thang*. As noted above, it is extremely likely

that further revisions of the same basic material are to be found in Tibetan literature, but a search for these remains a task for the future.¹⁰⁹

By Way of Conclusion

The *Praise Poem* is one of a trio of Amitābha-related Tibetan poems from Dunhuang. No others having been identified so far, our entire knowledge of this genre—if we are justified in assessing it as such—must rest on these three texts. Were it not for its own rebirth in the (pure) land of Central Tibet, the *Praise Poem* might not call for much more attention than that granted the first two to be given modern scholarly editions, the *Praise of His Mighty Name* and the *Aspirational Prayer*. There is however a slightly bigger context: taken together, and along with several other finds including Tibetan translations from Chinese of the Larger and Smaller *Sukhāvītyūha* sūtras, also found at Dunhuang (both of which I am in the course of editing), they provide a window into an aspect of Dunhuang Tibetan Buddhism which has so far remained underappreciated. These materials, and especially the *Praise Poem*, raise a host of questions, or it would be better to say, they remind us of questions we might have set aside. What, for instance, was the nature of communication between the frontier and the center, especially in the post-Imperial period? To what extent did translation and composition projects in the two regions interact with each other? We have already, of course, for long been aware that the traditional accounts of the so-called Bsam yas debates have seriously underplayed the role of Chinese materials and influence in the formation of Tibetan Buddhism. Recent research has also begun to suggest that even Tibetan translations nominally made from Sanskrit scriptural sources could in some cases have taken Chinese sources into account as well.¹¹⁰ Now, if the hypotheses offered above are accepted, we must further consider the idea that texts composed on the periphery made their way into the geographical center, where they could have been, even if only after a passage of years, then incorporated into key collections that in their turn played an important role in the formation of a central Tibetan mythology, that concerning the place of Avalokiteśvara in Tibetan identity. The evidence offered above demonstrates, if such further demonstration were necessary, that accounts of the *gter ma* literature need not have been, in all cases, mere “cover stories” for new and innovative literary productions, but in some cases

¹⁰⁹ It is not necessarily true, of course, that all literature sharing similar images need be even indirectly connected. See Appendix III.

¹¹⁰ See in particular the important work of Li 2016, 2021.

might conserve genuine accounts of the recovery of theretofore lost sources.¹¹¹

One of the results of the research offered here, then, relates to an observation of the scholar to whom, with great gratitude and affection, it is dedicated. Dan Martin (2001: 29) wrote:

If the *gter-ma* are not “entirely fabricated,” or simply ‘pulled from a hat,’ then it becomes necessary to trace the transmission of some of the elements that compose them, in hopes of being better able to assess probable routes, lines of causation. For, even if the *gter-stons* composed their *gter-mas* (as our contemporary philologists presume, given their professional refusal to accept the possibility of any prophetic utterance whatsoever), they could not have done so in a total vacuum.

This is undoubtedly correct; philologists, among whose number I count myself (and whether he likes it or not, I would consider Dan Martin also to be a philologist in the same sense), do not, in fact, credit the possibility of any prophetic utterance whatsoever, at least *stricto sensu*. At the same time, I think no one will reject out of hand (or even, out of hat) the idea that genuinely preserved texts from a prior time could indeed have been (re)discovered. I submit that here we have a crystal clear example of precisely such a case. For the *Praise Poem* to have effectively functioned in the context of the *Ma ñi bka’ ’bum* (and later texts as well) as a revelation, as a *gter ma*, I believe it most probably had come to be otherwise entirely unknown, either by virtue of its rarity in the political and cultural center or because, while once known, it fell out of favor, so far as to have become forgotten.¹¹² There could have been many causes for this disappearance, which could well have taken place in the times of confusion and chaos after the fall of the Tibetan empire.¹¹³ If the text had not been forgotten, it would have simply looked like what we now know it to be: the incorporation of an older piece of literature into a new work, a transparent example of textual reuse. But, perhaps needless to say, a forgotten past is not

¹¹¹ Cathy Cantwell suggests to me that there is no need for the sources to have been lost; they may well have been known, as indeed has been the case in more recent times.

¹¹² Again, Cathy Cantwell writes to me: “No, it need not be unknown. Of course, perhaps in this case it was, and perhaps there are many such cases in the early days of *gter ma*, but not necessarily. In later times, there is no problem to be revealing material which is well known. Dudjom Rinpoche’s *bla sgrub* is called *gter kha bdun ’dus*, because it repeats the words of 6 previous *gter stons* (starting with *gu ru chos dbang*). And much of the liturgy is word-for-word the same in all 7!” See Cantwell 2016. Likewise, we see in the continued revelation which followed the *Ma ñi bka’ ’bum* that material freely reused, and in this case there is certainly no implication that the earlier versions were at all unknown.

¹¹³ See, on the general situation, the interesting remarks of Vitali 2020.

ontologically equivalent to an entirely imaginary past, one which is appealed to as a source of authority but did not actually exist. Certainly we (we philologists, I am tempted to say) are inclined to suspect that some claims of discovery are merely translucent curtains draped in an attempt to hide innovation and new textual creation. How, then, we should ask ourselves, are we to distinguish between objects that stand on a continuum: from genuine rediscovery of textual antecedents, through reworking and reimagining, up to wholly new creations (inspired, we may certainly grant, by such profound immersion in a tradition that one can believe oneself to have discovered a treasure hidden in one's own mind)? Do all such revelations have the same authority, and the same validity? It is too simplistic to say that authority comes from the past, but Holly Gayley captures the most fundamental logic involved here when she asserts (2008: 226) that "Through the discovery of treasures, *tertöns* make the ongoing presence of the past available to others" It is not only the content of the revelations but access to the idealized past, the golden age of sages, a time (and place, and space) when awakened beings—paradigmatically, Padmasambhava—were present and accessible.¹¹⁴ The discovery of a textual antecedent to a later revealed treasure does not bridge this ontological chasm between past and present in nearly the same fashion as, emically, the *gter ston*'s discovery does, but for the philologist it is every bit as much of a treasure recovery.

The *Praise Poem* even in its reworkings and resettings does not function as many *gter ma* do, since it is not (so far as I know) connected with a ritual cycle or practice tradition, although its visual imagery, at least in part drawn from the *Pure Land Contemplation sūtra*, surely would lend itself to visualizations. I would not, therefore, be surprised to see it made use of in some visualizations or even realized (in whole or in part) in paintings, although I am not aware of any so far identified. This nonritualization may be one reason that the very presence of the section at the beginning of the *Ma ni bka' 'bum*, *Padma bka' thang* and *Bka thang gser phreng* has escaped scholarly attention, even that of those otherwise drawn to study these collections, who seem to have (on the whole, though there are certainly exceptions) devoted almost all their deliberations so far to the hagiography of Padmasambhava proper which, after all, lies at the core of these

¹¹⁴ Cathy Cantwell states it perhaps even more emphatically when she write to me: "When you have a fresh *gter ma*, it brings the immediacy to the connection with Padmasambhava and the idealised past. Once again, the students are present, and can tap into the *byin rlabs*, and everyone who receives the teaching now has that amazing link to the source. The past is brought to life again – the *gter ston* and the *chos bdag* are rebirths of the former students."

works.¹¹⁵ But even had scholars wondered about these few lines found at the beginnings of these *gter ma*, while they might have suggested some connection of the visual symbolism with scriptural sources on Sukhāvātī, in particular the Smaller *Sukhāvātīvyūha-sūtra* and its depictions of the Pure Land, and the *Pure Land Contemplation sūtra* with its often vividly visualized imagery, the preservation of the direct source material—the *Praise Poem*—only among the Dunhuang manuscripts would have prevented any recognition of the true nature of this rediscovered text. Now, thanks to a chance observation, it has been possible to draw a straight line connecting an otherwise unknown Tibetan poem to several fundamental works of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions. I flatter myself to imagine that my friend Dan Martin, for whom creative connections seemingly come naturally and spontaneously, will find this one of some interest.

¹¹⁵ It should not escape our notice, of course, that not all sources, even if otherwise closely related, offer parallels. Doney 2016: 81 remarks that “The opening section of ZL [= *Zangs gling ma*] follows a short prologue, both paying homage to the three *kāyas*—Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara and Padmasambhava—and also promising to tell the life-story of the latter while detailing his qualities. ZL chapter one and the main narrative begins this task by setting the scene surrounding King Indrabodhi”

Variant readings I (*Praise Poem*):

- 1:
bcu] A: cu;
'jig] A: +jīs
2:
chos dbying] E: chos sbyīng
mnyam ba] E: mnyam ba'i
3:
gsum dbyer] F: gsung dbyar
nam ka] C: nam ka'
5:
myi khyab] F: myi 'gyab
6:
ma rig] D: ma rigs
sel par mdzad] B: sel bar mdzad; D: seld
par mdzod, with perhaps an attempt
to erase the vowel; C is not
preserved.
7:
yid] B: ac yod, pc yid
rgyal po] F: rgyal bo
'dra] C: +dra+; F: a.c. +dru, with vowel
cancelled p.c..
8:
D:
bdud] F: bdur
9:
byang chub] A, E: byang cub
kyi] F: kyīs
myu gu skyed] B: myu gu bskyed; D: myi
gur skyes; F: dmyi gu bskyed; C not
preserved
10:
nam thar] D: rnam thard; F: rnam tar
smyin bar] A, D: smyin par; E: smyīn par
11:
de 'dra'i D] A: de +dra i; B: de +dre+i; F:
a.c. de +dri +i, with i cancelled (the
cancellation mark overlaps with that
of l. 7, above); C not preserved
ji snyed] C: ci snyed; E, F: ci snyed
14:
sdig] F: stīg
bshags A, D, F] B: bshegs; C not preserved
15:
myed pa'i] C: myad pas; D: myed pas
smon lam +debs] D: smon lam btāb; F:
spon lam +debs
16:
thob pa myed] C: thob myed
myed pa'i +bras] F: nyīd kyis sbras
17:
bder gshegs] C, D: bde gshegs; F: bder
gshags
mnyam bas na] A: mnyam pas na; E:
bmyam bas na
18:
zhing rnam] E: zhing rnam ma
tha dad, A, D, F] B: mtha+ dad; C not
preserved.
19:
sems can] C: sems chan; F: sems shan
mthun] C: +thun; D: +thun;
20:
zhing gi] F: zhing gyi
tha dad] E: mtha dad; F: tho dad
21:
kyi] E, F: gyīs
22:
zhing gi] F: zhing gyi
mdo] A: mdod; F: dod
23:
smos na brjod] F: brjod na smo
24:
nub phyogs] E: nu phyogs
rab na] E: // / na'
25:
'od bar snang ba] B: snang ba +od +bar;
F: 'od bar snang ba+
27:
myi langs kyang] A: myi lang yang
28:
sems can] F: sems shan
drang ba'i] D: +drang ba+i
29:
yon tan] D: zhing gi yon tan
smos] A: smon
30:
dpal gyi] A: dpal gi
31:
rgya mtho las] E: rgya mtsho la
32:
rnam] F: rnam
pad mo 'khrungs] E: pad ma 'khrung
33:
chags pa] E: chags pa'i with i vowel
cancelled but 'a rten intact; F: chags
ba
la] B: las
34:
A: gtan
35:
thugs rje] B: thugs rjes

snyoms] F: bsnyoms

kyis] D, E, F: gyis

36:

dpal gyi] A: dpal gi

myi g.yo bzhugs] D: bzhugs pa'i tshul

37:

kyi] D, F: gyi

38:

mtha' yang] F: mtha+ yas

E end of line damaged and omits dpag,
but following line has empty space
into which the word perhaps could
have fit?

39:

mngon shes] E: rnam shes

drug gi skar khung] E: drug gi skar kung;

F: drugs gyi skar kung

gsal] D: bsal

40:

myi mkhyen] F: myi mkhen

yongs] A, B, E: yong

ye myed] B: yang myed (A: a.c. myid, p.c.
myed)

41:

theg chen] D: theg cen; F: thegs cen

42:

byang chub] A: byang cub

pan] D, E: phan

43:

'joms pa'i] E: bcom[s] ba'i

bsgreng] D: bsgrengs; F: bskreng

44:

kyi dkyil] D: gyis 'kyil; F: gyis dkyil

45:

chags pa] F: chags pa+

pad mo] E: pad ma

bkram] F: bgam

46:

spos kyang 'thul] E: spos kyī nad (? dad?)

47:

kyis] D: gyi; E, F: gyis

48:

bcu] B: bcus

sku'i] B: sku yi

49:

dpe+ byad] D: dpe byad; F: dbye byad

mtshan bzangs] D, F: mtshan bzang

bltar] F: blta

bzod] D: bzad

50:

gzha+ bzhin] D: <erasure of ±7
characters> gzha' bzhin; E: gzha
bzhin (' omitted); F: gzhin [below:
bzhi]

52:

+khor mang] E, F: 'khor mangs

sprin bzhin du] E: sprin bzhin 'du'

53:

mthu ldan ba] B, E: mthur ldan bas

55:

che] B: chen,

dpal +bar ba] E, F: dbal 'bar ba'

56:

gsung] F: gsun

mnyam bzhag kyang] E: gnyan bzhag
kyang

57:

thugs dam gis] D: thugs dam gyis; E:
mthur ldan bas; F: thugs dam
gyis

58:

+phro] A: +phros; B: +gyed; E: 'phro'

59:

dag ni] B: de dag

61:

dpag du] F: dbag du

sems can sgrol] F: sems shan skral

62:

+gyed pa] D: 'gyes pa

64:

dpal gyi] A: dpal gi

'od 'bar] B: zhing rab

zhing rab na] B: de na ni; F: zhing rab sa
(read: rabs) na

E: whole line: dpal gyi zhing rabs de na ni

65:

my gnas pas] F: g?zhan myi gnas (some
letter was started then abandoned
without cancellation in the middle of
the word)

67:

rin cen] E, F: rin chen (F corrected?)

sna tshogs] F: sna 'tshogs

brgyan pas na] D: brgyan bas na; E: gcal
[gtsal?] bkram bas

69:

byang chub] A, E, F: byang cub; D: byang
chu

shing ni] A: shing rab

70:

sna tshogs mying yang myed] F: nags
mchal mying ya myed

71:

brgyad ldan] A: brgyad ltan

73:

mye +bar bas] F: myed 'bar bas

75:

nam grol] E: nam 'grol

spos kyi] F: sbos gyi
 76:
 rlung gi] F: rlung gyi
 77:
 chos kyi] F: chos gyi
 dkyil +khor] F: dkhyl 'khor
 +od +phro bas] F: 'od 'phros pas
 79:
 E: between 'od and gsal two lines skipped
 on the lined paper of the manuscript
 80:
 mtshan gyi] A: mtshan gi
 82:
 rgyal po] F: rgyal po'i;
 blon po'i] B: blon po
 83:
 byang chub] A, F: byang cub
 skyid pa'i lam] F: spyod pa+i lam
 spyod pas] D: a.c. spyod pas; F: sbyod
 pas
 84:
 lam gyi] A: lam gi; D: lam kyī; F: lan kyī
 85:
 lta bas] D: blta bas
 86:
 'thab cing] B: +thob cing; F: 'thab cīn
 rtsoḍ] F: rtson
 87:
 ting nge +dzin] A: ti nge +dzin; D: ting
 +dzin
 gyi] A: gi; D: gyi ni; F: gyis
 zas za bas] F: zas zos bas
 89:
 tshul khriḡs] F: tshul khriḡ
 gtsang ma+i] D: gtsang ba'i; F: gtshang
 ma +i
 gos] F: gas
 gyon bas] D: gyon pas
 91:
 pad mo'i] B: pad ma'i
 93:
 lam bsgoms pas] F: lams bskoms pas
 94:
 skye zhiḡg] F: skye zhiḡn
 +chi ba+i] D: shi ba'i <erasure>
 95:
 dpal gi] D, F: dpal gyi
 zhiḡg rab] F: shiḡg rabs
 96:
 thams cad] D: thams chad; F: thams shad
 byang chub] A: byang cub
 97:
 myi bde] A: myi bad, with ga added
 below apparently for bdaḡ

98:
 byang chub] A: byang cub
 99:
 thams cad] D: thams chad; F: thams shad
 kun ni der +dong rigs] F: gun yang der
 +gror rigs
 100:
 der +gro] F: der 'gror
 101:
 byang chub] A: byang cub
 102:
 byang chub] A: byang cub;
 zhe na] F: gang zhes
 103:
 spangs la] A: spang la; F: spangs na
 104:
 khyim nas] A: khyim mnas (some
 correction but not clear in photo?)
 byung ste] F: 'byung ste
 105:
 bshes nyen] B: bshes gnyen
 106:
 bshes nyen] B: bshes gnyen; D: bsashes
 nyen
 gang zhe na] F: gang yin na
 107:
 byang chub] A: byang cub
 sems dpa+ dang] F: sems pa dang
 108:
 gsung rabs] B: gsung rab
 dang] A: dag
 109:
 kyi] F: gyi
 dmyig can rnamḡs] D: myig can rnamḡs; F:
 myi can dang
 110:
 dge ba'i] F: dge pa+i
 bshes nyen] B: bshes gnyen; D: bshes
 shes <below: nyen>
 111:
 bsnyen cing] D: <erasure> a.c. bsnyon
 cing; F: snyen cing
 mchod] D: a.c. mchog, p.c. mchod
 112:
 bsnyen] F: snyen
 113:
 byang chub] A: byang cub
 114:
 byang chub] A: byang cub
 115:
 skye bar] F: skye par
 116:
 byas la] F: byas na
 117:

- blugs na] B: blangs te
 118:
 +od byung bas] B: +od byung na; D, F:
 'od 'byung bas
 119:
 der ni] A: der na
 bar 'gyur] B: rab +gyur
 120:
 myi dge] D: <erasure> myi dge; F: myi ge
 btang nas] A: bar nas
 121:
 dge ba bcu la] F: dge bcu la (a.c. de
 written, vowel cancelled for dge)
 122:
 bsgoms na] D: bsgoms byas na; F: sgoms
 na
 123:
 bar 'gyur] B: rab +gyur
 125:
 dug chen] D: dug cen; F: dug 'chen
 spangs te] F: spangs ste
 126:
 +dod chags] B: mnyam kyib
 mnyam ba'i lam] B: nyid kyi lam
 bsgoms na] F: skoms na
 129:
 bden ba bzhi la] F: bden bzhī la
 byed cing] D: byed cing na; F: byed chīn
 130:
 bsgoms na] F: skoms na
 131:
 zhing mchog] F: zhīng mcog,
 skye bar +gyur] F: skye par +gyur
 132:
 ma rig] D: ma rigs
 ba'i] B: ba yi; F: ba na
 133:
 skye shi] A: skye shī+i
 bar ni] F: rab ni
 spangs te] F: spangs ste
 134:
 nyid bsgoms na] F: nyid rab skoms na
 135:
 bar +gyur] F: rab 'gyur
 136:
 nor par] D: nor pas
 mthong ba+i] A: mthong pa+i
 137:
 sgyu ma] F: skyu ma
 byas ste] A: bya ste; D: byas te; F: 'byas
 na
 138:
 skye +gag] F: skye +gyeg
 bsgoms na] F: skoms pas
 139:
 bar +gyur] F: par +gyur
 140:
 yid gyi] A: yid kyī ; B: yid dang
 rnam shes gsum] A: rnam shes gsum;
 B: shes rnam gsum
 141:
 sdug bsngal] F: sdug sngal
 142:
 bsgoms na] F: skoms sna
 144:
 gsum] F: sum
 145:
 gang gis] F: gang gyīs
 147:
 thams cad] F: thams shad
 ji snyed pa] A: ci snyed pa; F: cī snyed
 ba+
 148:
 rmyi lam] A: rmi lam; F: myī lam
 sprul pa] D: spruld pa
 152:
 byas na] F: byas ste
 153:
 skye bar +gyur] F: skye par +gyur
 154:
 mchog gi] F: mchog gyī
 155:
 +grus kyi] F: grus gyīs
 zhon na] F: zhon nas
 157:
 bsam brtan] A: bsam gtan; F: bsam rtan
 gyi ni] F: gyīs ni
 158:
 shes rab mgyogs pa+i] A: shes rab kyīs ni
 +phangs te] F: +phangs ste
 159:
 rnam shes] F: rnam shes
 brgyad kyi] D: brgyad gyi; F: brgyad grīs
 dgra bsad na] F: bsad nas
 160:
 skye bar +gyur] F: skye par +gyur
 161:
 byang chub] A: byang cub
 162:
 nyid kyi] D: nyid gyī
 164:
 myed pa'i] F: myed ba+i
 dgon pa] A: dgong
 165:
 chags pa] F: chags ba
 166:
 blang] F: llang (la written over la),
 spyad na] F: spyod na

- 169:
+khrul] B: +khruls (s cancelled)
sems kyis] F: sems gis
170:
bskyed] B: skyed
171:
bar +gyur] F: par +gyur
172:
chos kyi] D: chos gyi; F: chos gyi
dag pas] D: +dag pas
174:
sems kyis] D, F: sems gyis
175:
+khams gsum] A, D: khams gsum; F:
kham sum
176:
gnas na] D: gnas te
177:
zhing gi] F: zhing gyi
yin no] F: yin +o
178:
mtshan brjod na] D: mtshan ma brjod na
179:
bskal pa] D: bskaId pa; F: skal pa
sdig kyang] A: sdig kyang
180:
byang chub] A, D: byang cub
sems kyi] B: some letter erased after kyi;
D: sems gyi; F: sems gi
181:
byang chub] A, D: byang cub
gnyis su] F: a.c. gnyi ga su, p.c. gnyis su
183:
byang chub] A: byang cub
thams cad] D: thams chad; F: thams shad
184:
sems can] F: sems shan
185:
nam ka'i] B: nam ke
rang bzhin zhes] F: rang bzhin yin
186:
zhing gi] F: zhing gyi
187:
de ni] F: de yang
188:
de bas] F: de pas
byang chub] A: byang cub
ldan bya] D: shes bya
189:
byang chub] A: byang cub
shes bya ba] A, F: zhes bya ba
190:
dmyigs te] F: dmyigs ste
191:
dmyigs pa'i]
sems nyid] B: sems ni
mnyam ba yin] B: mnyam ba na yin
192:
gyis] A, F: gis
rtogs te] A, F: rtog ste
193:
rtog myed] D: rtog nyid; F: rtogs myed
+phags pa'i] A: +phags ba+i
yul lo] F: yul +o
194:
mya ngan] F: mye ngan
+da+ ste] F: +da+ sto
195:
myi dmigs pas] F: myi dmyigs pa
kyang] F: yang
yin no] F: yin +o
197:
de ni, A, D] B: +di ni (F omits this line)
198:
de +dra'i] B: +di +dra +i
chos la rab mos na] F: chos la rams nas na
199:
byang chub] A: byang cub
ring ngo] F: ring +o
200:
kyis] D, F: gyis
201:
dge bshes] F: bshes nyen
203:
sems can] F: sems shan
ji] D: ci; F: ci
204:
nyes pa'i] F: nyes ba+i
kun byang nas] B: yong byang nas
205:
byang chub] A: byang cub
206:
skye bar shog] B: skye bar +gyur

Ma ṇi bka' 'bum I:¹¹⁶

1:

om̐ ma ṇi padme hūm̐ |] A: om̐ ma ṇi
padme hūm̐ | dus gsum gyi sangs rgyas
thams cad kyis dbang bskur ba |

2:

thugs rje chen po] A: thugs rje'i bdag po

4:

mangs] B: mang

8:

brgyad ldan] A: yan lag brgyad ldan

11:

sreg pa'i] A: bsreg pa'i

35:

skye shing 'chi ba'i] A: skyes shing shi
ba'i

42:

med par] A: med pa

64:

gtibs] A: bstibs

71:

sprul ba'i] A: sprul ba

¹¹⁶ Reference here to verse numbers.

Ma ŋi bka' 'bum II:

1.

mchog tu] D: mchog na
 khams su] D: khams der
 med pa'i] D: med par

2.

gzugs kyi] D: gzugs snang
 ji snyed pa] D: ji snyed kun, and so again
 in 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14

4

dran rtog] D: dran rtogs

5

'od kyi snang ba] D: 'od snang bye brag
 chos kyi snang ba] D: chos kyi nyi ma
 rgyun mi 'chad] D: rgyun chad med

7

padma'i steng du] D: padma'i nang nas

8

kham zas] D: kha zas

11

bzhon] D: zhon

13

grol bas] C: gol bas

14

longs spyod] D: yon byed

'dod yon] D: nor gyi

15

thugs bskyed nas] D: mchog tu sems
 bskyed nas

bgrod byas shing] D: bsgrod byas nas

sku bzhugs pa] D: bzhugs nas

16

spyen ras gzigs kyi zhabs drung du] D:

khams gsum 'khor ba stongs par

////[folio ends

Padma bka' thang:

4

'dab] F: 'dabs

5

grag] F: grags

7

grag] F: grags

11

grag] F: grags

20

F: dang added in dbu can below line

F: cig] F: gcig

21

F: paper carrying the first three words extremely torn and illegible, but probably 'thab cing tsod

In F, folio 3a begins repeating l. 21: cing rtsod pa'i ming yang mi grag rtsal kyang mi rnyed pa. This proves that the original folios, before being supplanted with what is now folio 2 and 2a, had something else, and that the missing word here would have been 'thab; what is now folio 2a carries text which duplicates what was on the older leaf, but did not match up precisely in folio division. Note also the spelling difference, found below, rtsal rather than btsal.

25

btsal] F: rtsal, and so in all cases below.

29

gyi] F: kyi

30

brnyes pa] F: brnyes pa las

31

F: from ya of yang the remainder of the expression is abbreviated with X, and so in subsequent lines

32

yongs] F: ye

33

skye zhing] F: skye shing

yang] F: kyang, and then abbreviated

35

la] F: las

37

bde can] D: bde chen

40

skar] F: dkar

42

steng na] F: steng nas

44

dga'] F: dga' ba

bzhi] F: bzhi'i

45

'phan] A: 'phen

phyar ba] F: 'char ba

47

re] A: ri

gnyis snang] F: ø

48

ye dag] F: ye

49

byung] F: bzhin

51

rdzogs] F: tshogs

55

blta bas] F: ltas

ngoms shing] F: ngoms

56

'od zer] D: 'od gzar; F: 'od

57

thugs rje'i] F: thugs rje

phyogs bcur] F: phyags por

58

ldan pa] F: ldan pas

60

gtibs] D: gtib; F: 'thibs

61

dang la] D: ngung

62

rje] F: rjes

'od zer] D: 'od gzer

du ma phyogs] F: phyogs

bcur] F: btsur

'phro] D: 'phre

63

re re'i rtse las] F: rtse la

'od zer] D: 'od gzer

67

thor bu] F: 'thor bus

bsam] F: bsams

68

u rgyan gu ru] D: u rgyan ghu ru; F: u

rgyan gyi gu ru rin po che

69

bde ba chen po'i] F: bde ba can gyi

bstab pa] F: btan pa'i

Bka' thang gser phreng:

2
gzhi] C, D: gzhi mig
la] C: las
3
brag] B: grags; C, D: grag, and below for
all
mi rnyed pa] D: mi bsnyed pa
4
byang chub shing] D: byang chub kyi
shing
me tog gi] C, D: me tog
rgyas pa las] C, D: smin pa las
5
rnyed pa] D: snyed pa
6
ting nge 'dzin] C, D: ting 'dzin
yan lag] A: yan lags
8
rang me] D: rang bzhin me
9
me'i] B: me yi
10
rnam] A: rnams
ngad ldang] A: ngan ldan
11
gi] D: gyi
12-13
D added below line
14
dbyings rig] A: dbyings rigs
gdugs] A: 'dugs
20
bdag dang] D: bdag
gcig] A: cig
22
'tsho ba] A: btsho ba; D: mtsho bas, below
line
zas kyis] B, C: zas kyi
23
bya'i] A: bya ba'i
24
rtsi'i] A, D: rtsi
'thung] A: 'thang
25
bya'i] A: bya ba'i
26
gtsang] C, D: bzang
28
rdzus] B: brdzus
30
mnyes pas] C, D: brnyes pas
31
rgas shing rgud] A: rgas shing dgud; D:

rgas shi rgud
33
skye zhing] D: skye shing
35
ma lus] A: mi yul
bskyed] A: skyed; B: skyid
39
de yi] C, D: de'i
dpag tshad dpag tu] D: dpag tu
40
ltas] B bltas (twice)
42
rgya tshad] A: brgya tshad; B rgya chad
43
lhung] A: lhungs
45
kyi] A, B, D: kyis
46
padma 'od] D: padma 'og
brtsigs] D: rtsigs
47
rtsigs pa brtsigs pa] B, D: rtsig pa rtsigs
pa
48
'tshams su 'phyar ba] B: mtshams su
'phyar ba; D: tshams su phyar ba
49
cing] A: bcing
51
spang blang] A, D: spangs blangs; C:
spangs blang
padmo] D: padma
52
brdar] A: bdar
54
byung] D: 'byung
grub pa'i] C: grub pa
55
dngas pa las] B: dwangs pa la
56
pad sdong] A: pad mo
58
rgyan] A: brgyan
brgyan pa'i] D: rgyan pa'i
rnams] D: rnam
59
dpag tu med pa] A: dpag med pa
mtsho'i] A: mtsho yi
kyis] D: kyi
60
bcu rtsa] A: bcu so; B: cu rtsa
bcus] B cus
brgya] C: brgyad
61

chog] D: mchog

62

rgyan] A: brgyan

63

tho phyi thams cad ni] A: phyi rol thams

cad; D: tho phyis thams cad ni

64

bcu] B: bcur

66

phrin las ni zad] A: 'phris ni zas

67

stibs] B: gtibs; C: bstibs; D: thibs

68

ste] D: te

thugs mnyam par bzhag] A: mnyam par

bzhags; D: thugs mnyam par gzhag

69

brtse] A: rtse

'phro] D: phro ba

71

la sogs] A: las sos

'dul] A: gdul

gyis] D: gyi

med pa mdzad par] A: med par mdzad

pa

73

shas stag] A, D: shas stag

74

u rgyan gu ru] A; dbu brgyan; D: u rgyan

ghu ru

Appendix I

(see note 63, above)

The way in which the three buddha bodies (*trikāya*, *sku gsum*) are portrayed in our sources here appears to be unique to Tibetan Buddhism. As far as I know, for Indian doctrine, were Amitābha a *dharmakāya* he could not have had any land at all, since it is only a *sambhogakāya* who inhabits a buddha field such as Sukhāvati.¹¹⁷ Tibetan doctrine, however, at least for the Rnying ma pa, is clearly different. This understanding goes back at least to a work credited to Nyi ma 'od zer, the *Slob dpon padma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs chos 'byung nor bu'i phreng ba*, perhaps more widely known as the *Bka' thang zangs gling ma* or simply *Zangs gling ma*. In this we read:¹¹⁸

chos sku snang ba mtha' yas §
longs sku thugs rje chen po §
'phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug §
sprul sku padma 'byung gnas te §
sku gsum gyi lha la phyag 'tshal lo §
zhing khams thams cad las khyad par du 'phags pa § *nub phyogs bde ba can gyi zhing*
khams nas § *sangs rgyas snang ba mtha' yas zhes bya ba des* § *sprul sku shākya thub*
pa'i zhing khams § *mi mdzed 'jig rten gyi khams* § *lho phyogs dzambu'i gling* § *u rgyan*
dang rgya gar gyi yul § *khyad par du bod kha ba can gyi zhing khams thams cad* § *'phags*
pa spyan ras gzigs kyi § *'dul ba'i phyir* § *sprul sku padma 'byung gnas zhes bya ba de* §
sku che ba'i yon tan dang rnam thar ji lta bu dang ldan zhe na §

The passage is translated, somewhat freely, by Kapstein (2004: 24) as follows:

Dharmakāya Amitābha,
 Sambhogakāya Avalokiteśvara,
 Nirmāṇakāya Padmasambhava—
 I bow before the divine Trikāya!

Among all fields, the most exalted is the western Sukhāvati field. There, the Buddha called Amitābha—in order that Ārya Avalokiteśvara might tame Oḍḍiyāna, India, and especially all the realms of snowy Tibet, in the southern Rose-Apple Continent (Jambudvīpa), in the field of the Nirmāṇakāya Śākyamuni, the Sahā realm—emanated the Nirmāṇakāya Padmasambhava in order to fulfill the goals of living beings.

¹¹⁷ See for instance Nagao 1973: 36, who in speaking of Yogācāra doctrine refers to the *sāmbhogikakāya* as the concretization of the *svābhāvikakāya*, that is, the *dharmakāya*.

¹¹⁸ I cite the edition used by Kapstein, which he quotes as "*Slob dpon Padma'i rnam thar zangs gling ma* (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun-khang, 1989), 3," and is to be found also as Myang Nyi ma 'od zer, *Bka' thang zangs gling ma*, BDRC, purl.bdrc.io /resource/MW7956. Note that this book has an astonishing way of numerating pages and the relevant page 3 is in fact image 31 on the BDRC website.

A different passage of what seems to be another recension of this text is cited by Doney 2020a: 198n12 as containing the expression *u rgyan padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar las chos sku long sku sprul sku gsum gyi dbye ba'i le'u ste gnyis pa'o*, which Doney understands to mean that the second chapter of the work claims to “distinguish between the *dharmakāya*, *sambhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*’ of Padmasambhava.”¹¹⁹ In this understanding, then, all bodies actually belong to Padmasambhava.

An understanding of the assignment of three bodies closer to that cited above from the *Zangs gling ma* is likewise clear in a work of Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1552–1624), a Rnying ma pa, in his *Bla ma go 'jo'i zhu lan ma bsgom sangs rgyas kyi brtsod spong*.¹²⁰

sprul sku zhiḡ po gling pa'i ma bsgom sangs rgyas kyi ril bu 'di la | |
chos sku 'od dpag med dang gos dkar mo | |
longs sku spyān ras gzigs dang dā ki ma | |
sprul sku padma lha ljam mandha ra'i | |
byang sems dkar dmar sangs rgyas rab bdun gyis | |
gdung las sgril ba'i ril bu khyad par can | |

It is taught in Emanation Body Zhikpo Lingpa's *Buddhahood without Meditation Pill*:

This is a special pill rolled from the white and red seminal fluids from the *dharmakāyas* Amitābha and Paṇḍaravāsini, the *sambhogakāyas* Avalokiteśvara and Dākimā, and the *nirmāṇakāyas* Pema Lha (Padma lha) and Jam (Ljam) Mandharava, along with the bones of the seven generations of buddhas.

These passages show that the Tibetan understanding of the three bodies of Amitābha as *dharmakāya*, Avalokiteśvara as *sambhogakāya*, and a separate *nirmāṇakāya*, variously identified, is rather widely held. Moreover, that this idea is apparently not strictly limited to the Rnying ma but found also among the Dge lugs pa is shown by a reference in a work of Dalai Lama V, Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682), the '*Dod khamḡ bdag mo dpal ldan dḡag zor ma rje khol gyis kyi dbang rjes gnang ji ltar nos tshul skor*'.¹²¹ Describing the transmission lineage of a *gtor ma* practice, FitzHerbert explains that “it passes through the Padma family of compassionate buddhas:

¹¹⁹ His ZLf, attributed to Nyang Nyi ma 'od zer, a 1989 microfilm of *U rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar 'bring po zangs gling mar grags pa*. NGMCP MyCoRe Object ID number 54683; reel AT 28/2. 148: 13b2. Much of Doney's work is devoted to trying to sort out the various versions of the *Zangs gling ma*, and I will not attempt to reproduce his conclusions here. See among others Doney 2014.

¹²⁰ Ed. and trans. Gentry 2017: 278–279, with n290, quoting *Collected Writings of Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan*, vol. 2 (Delhi: Sanji Dorje, 1975): 192.4ff.

¹²¹ In *Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009); BDRC W1PD107937, vol. 2, 322, cited by FitzHerbert 2018: 94 with n152. I thank Dan Martin for directing me to this passage in FitzHerbert's article.

Amit[ā]bha (as *chos sku*, *dharmakāya*), Avalokiteśvara (as *longs sku*, *sambhogakāya*), and Padmasambhava (as *sprul sku*, *nirmāṇakāya*); then, through further emanations (*yang sprul*), to Songtsen Gampo and the Third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso; and then to himself [that is, Dalai Lama V] via his two main gurus, Géluk and Nyingma respectively, namely Phabongkha and Zur Chöying Rangdröl." While found in a work, then, of a Dge lugs hierarch, the influence of the Rnying ma here is evident, as it is elsewhere in the writings of the Dalai Lama V, and I do not know how far the idea can be said therefore to be shared by the Dge lugs pa.

This Tibetan formulation is foreign also to Chinese sources. As briefly discussed by Chappell (1977: esp. 37, 40–41), for instance, in Daochuo's 道綽 (562–645) *Anleji* 安樂集 (T. 1958 [XLVII] 5c11–16), the argument is whether Amitābha is a *sambhogakāya* or *nirmāṇakāya*, and the *dharmakāya* does not come up. See also Sowa 2004.

As evidenced by Kitagawa 2020, even in the Japanese Shingon school, which one might suspect of having some greater conceptual similarities with Tibetan thought, the same two choices are debated. However, as Robert Sharf kindly points out to me, for Kūkai the Dharmakāya (although not identified with Amitābha, but rather Vairocana) does preach; see Abé 1999: 213–219, Payne 2018: 78–79. However, in a footnote to statement that in Indian Buddhism Amitābha is identified as *sambhogakāya* (2018: 111), Payne does add (2018: 290n56), unfortunately without any references, "later Pure Land teachers in Japan will identify Amitābha as the *dharmakāya*." A deeper study of this whole issue would be welcome.

Appendix II

(Samten 1975: II.96–97 = *wain* 48b2–49a3. See above note 81)

Note: this text is not critically edited:

ཨ་མ་ཏི་པད་མེ་རྩྱུ།

དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྤྱོད་གསུང་བྱགས་॥

འཕྲོ་བྱུག་གྱུན་ལ་བྱགས་ཇི་འཕྲོ་བྱུག་གིས་གཟིགས་॥

བྱམས་དང་བྱགས་ཇི་འཕྲོ་བྱུགས་ཀྱིས་སྦྱོབ་མཛད་པའི་॥

འཕགས་པ་སྤྱོད་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་བྱ་ཤིས་ཤོག།

ཨ་མ་ཏི་པད་མེ་རྩྱུ།

ཡི་གེ་དྲུག་མ་ཤེས་རབ་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་ཡུམ །
 རོར་བུ་འཛིན་པ་དབྱིངས་ལས་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཤར །
 རིག་སྤྲུགས་འཛིན་མ་ཆོས་དབྱིངས་མཉམ་པའི་ངང །
 ཐུགས་རྩེ་ཆེན་པོ་འཁོར་བཅས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག །
 ཨོ་མ་ཁྱི་པད་མེ་རྩྱུ།

བདེ་གཤེགས་རིགས་དྲུག་སྐྱུ་དྲུག་ཡེ་ཤེས་དྲུག །
 ས་རོལ་ཕྱིན་དྲུག་འཁོར་བའི་ས་རོལ་སོན །
 ཐུབ་དྲུག་སྐྱུ་ལ་སྐྱུ་འགྲོ་དྲུག་སྐྱུ་ག་བསྐྱེད་སྐྱོང་།
 འཁོར་གྱི་ལྷ་ཆོགས་ནམས་ཀྱི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག །
 ཨོ་མ་ཁྱི་པད་མེ་རྩྱུ།

འདས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱུ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ན་གནས །
 ད་ལྟར་སངས་རྒྱུ་སེམས་ཅན་འགྲོ་དོན་མཛད །
 མ་འོངས་སངས་རྒྱུ་འགྲོ་ཀུན་དོན་ལ་དགོངས །
 དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱུ་སྟོང་གི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག །
 ཨོ་མ་ཁྱི་པད་མེ་རྩྱུ།

ཡི་གེ་དྲུག་པ་ཐུགས་རྩེ་སྐྱུ་པའི་སྐྱུ །
 འགྲོ་དྲུག་སྐྱུ་བ་སྐྱོང་འཁོར་བའི་གཡང་ས་གཅོད །
 བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་འབྲེན་སྐྱུ་གསུམ་ས་ལ་འགོད །
 སྤྱིང་པོ་ཡི་གེ་དྲུག་པའི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག །
 ཨོ་མ་ཁྱི་པད་མེ་རྩྱུ།

སྤྲན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་འགྲོ་དྲུག་ཡོངས་ལ་གཟིགས །
 ཐུགས་རྩེ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྤྱིང་རྩེ་རྒྱུན་མི་འཆད །
 འཇིག་རྟེན་དབང་ཕུག་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་མགོན །
 འགྲོ་བའི་སྐྱུ་བས་གནས་མཆོག་གི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག །

ཨ་མ་ཁི་པད་མེ་རྩྱུ།

ལོ་བརྒྱ་འཛིན་ལྷོ་ན་བརྒྱ་མཐོང་བ་དང །

ལོངས་སྤྱད་རྒྱས་ཤིང་བསམ་དོན་འགྲུབ་པ་དང །

ཆོས་ལ་བར་ཆད་མེད་ཅིང་སྤྱུབ་པ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་ནས །

བརྒྱད་འཛིན་བྱིན་གྱིས་བསྐྱབས་པའི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག །

Appendix III

(see note 109, above)

The *Thugs rje chen po'i bsgom bzlas 'Gro don mkha' khyab ma*

At one point I wondered whether we should also consider as related, directly or indirectly, to the material cited above a passage extracted from a text of great currency, also in the modern day, a short work called *Thugs rje chen po'i bsgom bzlas 'Gro don mkha' khyab ma*, authored by Thang stong rgyal po (1385–1464).¹²² I now think that this is probably less likely than that many texts concerning Amitābha and his land tend to share imagery, as one would naturally expect. Nevertheless, in order to illustrate such similarities I quote from this text in part as follows:

དེ་ལྟར་ཅེ་གཅིག་གསོལ་བཏབ་པས ། འཕགས་པའི་སྐུ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས ། མ་དག་ལས་སྒྲང་འབྲུལ་ཤིས་སྤངས །	Thanks to the single pointed supplication [of the prayer offered] in the manner above [here omitted], Radiant rays of light have emanated from the body of the Noble One. They have purified impure karmic
---	---

¹²² A version is translated by Gyatso 1996, but apparently the sources from which she worked lacked the end of the text. My translation has been assisted by hers. Earlier Gyatso 1981: 100–141, esp. 109–111, 117–132, in her PhD thesis dedicated to the author, discussed this work in some detail, calling it “perhaps his most well-known work.” There too, however, the work lacks the ending found in the versions I consulted. I found the Tibetan text at <https://www.lotsawahouse.org/tibetan-masters/thangtong-gyalpo/drodon-khakhya-bma-avalokiteshvara>, and see also BDRC W1KG4450, folios 10a–11a, numerated 19–21, this version published by Pal Nyammay Kagyupay Sangha Monlam Chenmo. It is found in numerous other sources as well.

ཕྱི་སྟོན་བདེ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་ཞིང་ བྱང་བཅུད་སྐྱེ་འགྲོའི་ལུས་ངག་སེམས་ ལྷན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་སྐྱེ་གསུང་ ལྷགས་ ལྷང་གྲགས་རིག་སྟོང་དབྱེར་མེད་ལྷུར་	appearances and mistaken cognition. The external surroundings have become the field of Sukhāvati. The inner contents—the body, speech and mind of beings— Have become the body, speech and mind of Avalokiteśvara, His appearance, voice and aware- ness have become inseparable from emptiness.¹²³
བདག་གཞན་ལུས་སྣང་འཕགས་པའི་སྐྱེ་ ལྷ་གྲགས་ཡི་གེ་དྲུག་པའི་དབྱངས་ དན་རྟོག་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཆེན་པོའི་སྟོང་ དགེ་བ་འདི་ཡིས་ལྷུར་དུ་བདག་ ལྷན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་འབྲུབ་ལྷུར་ བས་ འགྲོ་བ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་ལུས་པ་ དེ་ཡི་ས་ལ་འགོད་པར་ཤོག་	The appearance of my body and those of others are the body of the Noble One. Our voices are the melody of [his] six syllables [<i>om maṇipadme</i> <i>hūm</i>]. Our thoughts are the great expanse of [his] insight. Through the virtue produced by this [prayer], may I quickly, Having gained the attainment of Avalokiteśvara, Settle every single being without exception In his state as well.
འདི་ལྷར་སྟོན་བསྐྱེས་བཀྲིས་པའི་བསོད་ བྱས་ཀྱིས་ བདག་དང་བདག་ལ་འབྲེལ་ཐོགས་འགྲོ་བ་ ལྷན་ མི་གཙང་ལུས་འདི་བོར་བར་ལྷུར་མ་ཐག་	By the merit of cultivating in this manner and quietly reciting [the six-syllable mantra], May I and all beings connected with me, Immediately after we have cast off this impure body, Be spontaneously born in Sukhā- vati!

¹²³ I see no way to indicate in English the differing sets of terms for body, speech and mind, which are first unmarked, but then in the second instance all honorific terms, and third another set again, a usage that befits reference to a buddha or bodhi-sattva. More usual are the first two sets, but perhaps the third is also common in Tibetan contexts, with which I am not very familiar.

བདེ་བ་ཅན་དུ་བརྒྱས་ཏེ་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག ། སྐྱེ་མ་ཐག་དུ་ས་བརྒྱ་རབ་བསྐྱོད་ནས ། སྤྱུལ་པས་ཕྱོགས་བརྒྱར་གཞན་དོན་བྱེད་ པར་ཤོག །	Immediately after our birth there, traversing the ten bodhisattva stages [and becoming Avaloki- teśvara ourselves], May we, through [our] manifesta- tions, work for the benefit of others in the ten directions!
---	--

Although given the large number of Amitābha/Sukhāvatī *sādhana*s in existence, as stated above, we need see here no special connection with the *Praise Poem*, the passage is worth citing as evidence for the pervasive presence of some central imagery. An overall survey of such imagery remains a desideratum.

Literature

- Abé, Ryūichi. 1999. *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Akamatsu Kōshō 赤松孝章. 1986. "Tonkō Shahon yori mitaru Chibetto no Jōdo Shisō Juyō," 敦煌写本より見たるチベット浄土思想受容 [The Tibetan reception of Pure Land Buddhism in the light of the Dunhuang documents]. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 35.1: 57–61.
- . 1987. "Tonkō Chibetto Bunken no Jōdokyō Kankei Tekisuto," 敦煌チベット文獻の浄土教関係テキスト [Dunhuang Tibetan texts related to Pure Land Buddhism]. *Indotetsugaku Bukkyōgaku (Hokkaidō Indotetsugaku Bukkyō Gakkai)* 印度哲学仏教学(北海道印度哲学仏教学会) 2: 195–220.
- . 1988. "Tonkō Chibetto Bunken no Jōdokyō Kankei Shiryō: P. tib. 153 ni tsuite," 敦煌チベット文獻の浄土教関係資料: P. tib. 153 について [Dunhuang Tibetan materials related to Pure Land Buddhism: P. tib. 153]. *Indotetsugaku Bukkyōgaku (Hokkaidō Indotetsugaku Bukkyō Gakkai)* 印度哲学仏教学(北海道印度哲学仏教学会) 3: 216–228.
- . 1991. "Amidabutsu ni genkyū suru Tonkō Chibetto-bun Shiryō Gaikan" アミダ仏に言及する敦煌チベット文資料概観 [An outline of Dunhuang Tibetan materials concerning Amida Buddha]. *Indotetsugaku Bukkyōgaku (Hokkaidō Indotetsugaku Bukkyō Gakkai)* 印度哲学仏教学(北海道印度哲学仏教学会) 5: 191–209.
- Bischoff, F[rédéric] A[lexander]. 1973. "The First Chapter of the Legend of Padma-sambhava – a translation." In Rudolf Kaschewsky, Klaus Sagaster, and Michael Weiers, eds., *Serta Tibeto-Mongolica: Festschrift für Walther Heissig zum 60. Geburtstag am 5.12.1973* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz): 33–46.
- Blondeau, Anne-Marie. 1977. "Conférence de Mme Anne-Marie Blondeau." *École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses. Annuaire* 86, 1977–1978: 77–88.
- . 1980. "Analysis of the Biographies of Padmasambhava According to the Tibetan Tradition: Classification of Sources." In Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, eds., *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Oxford 1979* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips): 45–52.
- . 1984. "Le 《Decouvreur》 du Mañi bka'-'bum – était-il Bon-po?" In Louis Ligeti, ed., *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Csoma de Kőrös*. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 29.1 (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó): 77–123.
- Cantwell, Cathy. 2016. "Re-presenting a Famous Revelation: Dudjom Rinpoche's Work on the 'Ultra Secret Razor Life- force Vajrakīlaya' (*yang gsang srog gi spu gri*) of Pema Lingpa (*padma gling pa*, 1450–1521)." *Buddhist Studies Review* 33.1.2: 181–202.
- . 2020. "Myang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1124–1192): Authority and Authorship in the Coalescing of the rNying ma Tantric Tradition." *Medieval Worlds* 12: 68–79. Special Edition on *Rethinking Scholastic Communities & Ideologies of Translation II*, Pascale Hugon and Birgit Kellner, eds.
- Chappell, David W. 1977. "Chinese Buddhist Interpretations of the Pure Lands." In Michael Saso and David W. Chappell, eds., *Buddhist and Taoist studies I*. Asian Studies at Hawaii 18 (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press): 23–53.
- Coblin, W South. 2009. "The Phonetic Values of the Tibetan Letter *r* in Tibeto-Chinese Transcriptional Texts from Dunhuang." *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 32.2: 103–106.
- Dalton, Jacob, and Sam van Schaik. 2006. *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts from Dunhuang*:

- A Descriptive Catalogue of the Stein Collection at the British Library*. Brill's Tibetan Studies Library 12 (Leiden: Brill).
- Döll, Steffen. 2012. "Manifestations of the Mountain: Preliminary Remarks on the Utopian Study of Potalaka in Pre-modern East Asia." *Review of Asian and Pacific Studies* 37: 83–102.
- Doney, Lewis. 2014. *The Zangs gling ma: The First Padmasambhava Biography*. Monumenta Tibetica Historica, Abteilung II, Band 3 (Andiastr: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies).
- . 2016. "A Richness of Detail: Sangs rgyas gling pa and the *Padma bka' thang*." *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 37: 69–97.
- . 2020a. "A Note on the Canonical Attribution of Treasure Texts: Ratna gling pa and the *Zangs gling ma*." In Jeannine Bischoff, Petra Maurer and Charles Ramble, eds., *On a Day of a Month of the Fire Bird Year: Festschrift for Peter Schwieger on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute): 195–212.
- . 2020b. "A Yak, Na rak and Potalaka: Folios of the So-Called 'Gyalpo Kachem' in US Museum Collections." *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 55: 79–120.
- Ehrhard, Franz-Karl. 2000. "The Transmission of the *dMar-khrid Tshem-bu lugs* and the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*." In Christine Chojnacki, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Volker M. Tschannerl, eds., *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka: Festgabe für Adelheid Mette*. Indica et Tibetica 37 (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag): 199–215.
- . 2013. "The Royal Print of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*: Its Catalogue and Colophon." In Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Petra Maurer, eds., *Nepalica-Tibetica: Festgabe für Christoph Cüppers*. Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung 28 (Andiastr: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies): 143–171.
- FitzHerbert, Solomon George. 2018. "Rituals as War Propaganda in the Establishment of the Tibetan Ganden Phodrang State in the Mid-17th Century." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 27: 49–119.
- Franke, Herbert, et al. 2011. *Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache*. 14 (Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften).
- Fujita Kōtatsu 藤田宏達. 2011. *The Larger and Smaller Sukhāvatoṣṭha Sūtras / Bonbun Murōjyūkyō Bonbun Amidakyō 梵文無量壽經 梵文阿彌陀經* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法藏館).
- Gayley, Holly. 2008. "Ontology of the Past and its Materialization in Tibetan Treasures." In Olav Hammer and James Lewis, eds., *The Invention of Sacred Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 213–240.
- Gentry, James Duncan. 2017. *Power Objects in Tibetan Buddhism: The Life, Writings, and Legacy of Sokdokpa Lodrö Gyeltsen*. Brill's Tibetan Studies Library 40 (Leiden: Brill).
- Gong Likun 龔麗坤. 2021. "*Shi dadizi zan de Zanghan duizhaoben ji zangyiben*" 《十大弟子讚》的藏漢對照本及藏譯本 [Comparative Tibetan-Chinese text of the "*Shi dadizi zan* and a translation of the Tibetan text]. *Tonkō shahon kenkyū nenpō* 敦煌寫本研究年報 15: 111–136.
- Gyatso, Janet. 1981. *The Literary Transmission of the Traditions of Thang-stong rgyalpo: A Study of Visionary Buddhism in Tibet*. PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley.
- Gyatso, Janet. 1997. "An Avalokiteśvara Sādhana." Donald S. Lopez, Jr., *Religions of Tibet in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press): 266–270.
- Hirshberg, Daniel A. 2016. *Remembering the Lotus-Born: Padmasambhava in the History of Tibet's Golden Age* (Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications).
- Kapstein, Matthew. 1992. "Remarks on the *Maṇi bka'-'bum* and the Cult of Avalokiteśvara in Tibet." In S.D. Goodman and R.M. Davidson, eds., *Tibetan Buddhism: Reason and Revelation* (Albany: State University of New York Press): 79–93, 163–169.
- . 2004. "Pure Land Buddhism in Tibet? From Sukhāvati to the Field of Great Bliss." In Richard K. Payne, and Kenneth K. Tanaka, eds., *Approaching the Land*

- of Bliss: Religious Praxis in the Cult of Amitābha. Studies in East Asian Buddhism 17. (Honolulu : University of Hawai'i Press): 16–51.
- . 2015. “Gter-ma as Imperial Treasure: The 1755 Beijing Edition of the *Padma bka' thang*.” *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 31: 167–187.
- Kara, György. 1973. “Une version mongole du *Maṇi bka'-bum*: le colophon de la traduction Abaga.” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27.1: 19–41.
- Kitagawa Shinkan 北川真寛. 2020. “Hōjin hōdo ni tsuite: Shingon mikkyō no rongisho o chūshin ni” 報身報土について: 真言密教の論義書を中心に [On Saṃbhoga-kāya and the Pure Land: Focus on the Debate Texts of the Shingon School of Esoteric Buddhism]. *Chisan gakuho* 智山学報 69: 257–277.
- van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J. 2013. “On the Edge of Myth and History: Za hor, its Place in the History of Early Indian Buddhist Tantra, and Dalai Lama V and the Genealogy of its Royal Family.” In Wang Bangwei 王邦维, Chen Jinhua 陈金华 and Chen Ming 陈明, eds., *Fojiao shenhua yanjiu: wenben, tuxiang, chuanshuo yu lishi* 佛教神话研究: 文本、图像、传说与历史 (*Studies on Buddhist Myths : Texts, Pictures, Traditions and History*) (Shanghai: Zhongxi Book Company 中西書局): 114–164.
- Kuznetsov, B[ronislav] I[vanovich]. 1966. *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (The Clear Mirror of Royal Genealogies). Scripta Tibetana 1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill).
- La Vallée Poussin, Louis de. 1962. *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-Huang in the India Office Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Läänemets, Mart. 2006. “Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*.” *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Studies* 10: 295–338.
- Lalou, Marcelle. 1939. *Inventaire des Manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale* 1. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve.
- Lange, Diana. 2020. *An Atlas of the Himalayas by a 19th Century Tibetan Lama: A Journey of Discovery*. Brill's Tibetan Studies Library 45 (Boston: Brill).
- Li Channa. 2016. “Translationship Lost in Transmission: Elusive Attributions of Two Tibetan Sūtra Translations.” *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 37: 207–230.
- . 2021. “A Survey of Tibetan Sūtras Translated from Chinese, as Recorded in Early Tibetan Catalogues.” *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 60: 174–219.
- Martin, Dan. 2001. *Unearthing Bon Treasures: The Life and Contested Legacy of an Eleventh-Century Tibetan Scripture Revealer, with a General Annotated Bibliography of the Bon Religion*. Brill's Tibetan Studies Library 1 (Leiden: Brill).
- . 2014. “Indian *Kāvya* Poetry on the Far Side of the Himalayas: Translation, Transmission, Adaptation, Originality.” In Yigal Bronner, David Shulman and Gary Tubb, eds., *Kāvya, Innovations and Turning Points: Toward a New History of Sanskrit Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 563–608.
- Martin Dan, with Yael Bentor. 2020. *Tibetan Histories A Bibliography*. Revised edition, published online.
- Mayer, Robert. 2015. “gTer ston and Tradent Innovation and Conservation in Tibetan Treasure Literature.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 36/37: 227–242.
- Mayer, Robert, and Cathy Cantwell. 2010. “Early terma as found manuscripts.” <https://blogs.orient.ox.ac.uk/kila/2010/09/17/early-terma-as-found-manuscripts/>.
- McDougal, Elizabeth. 2016. “Drakngak Lingpa's Pilgrimage Guides and the Progressive Opening of the Hidden Land of Pemakö.” *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 35: 5–52.
- Mei, Ching Hsuan. 2012. “Sangs rgyas gling pa (1341-1396) & His Longevity Teachings.” *Zhengguan zazhi* 正觀雜誌 63: 191–226.
- Nagao, Gadjin. 1973. “On the Theory of Buddha-Body (*Buddha-kāya*).” *The Eastern Buddhist*, new series 6.1: 25–53.

- Nemoto, Hiroshi. 2016. "Buddhism and Poetry in Tibet: A study of Tsong kha pa's *rTen 'brel bstod pa*." *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 64.3: 1283–1290 (241–248).
- Pallas, Peter Simon. 1801. *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über die mongolischen Völkerschaften*. Vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: Kayserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften).
- Payne, Richard K. 2018. *Language in the Buddhist Tantra of Japan: Indic Roots of Mantra* (London: Bloomsbury Academic).
- Phillips, Bradford Lyman. 2004. *Consummation and Compassion in Medieval Tibet: The Mani bka'-'bum chen-mo of Guru Chos-kyi dbang-phyug*. PhD thesis, University of Virginia.
- Poucha, Pavel. 1950. "Le vers tibétain." *Archiv Orientalní* 18.4: 188–235.
- Pradhan, Prahlad. 1975. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*. Tibetan Sanskrit Works 8 (Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute).
- Samten, Trayang and Jamyang, eds. 1975. *Ma ni bka' 'bum: A collection of rediscovered teachings focussing upon the tutelary deity Avalokiteśvara (Mahākaruṇika)*. Reproduced from a print from the no longer extant *Spuis-thaṅ (Punakha)* blocks (New Delhi: Bhrigyaśol 'debs dan lo rgyus skor, Sgrub thabs kyi chos skor). BDRC: W19225.
- Schlagintweit, Emil. 1901. "Die Lebensbeschreibung von Padma Sambhava, dem Begründer des Lamaismus 747 n. Chr. I. Teil: Die Vorgeschichte, enthaltend die Herkunft und Familie des Buddha Çākyamuni." *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften* 21 (II. Abtheilung [1898–1899]): 417–444.
- Silk, Jonathan. 1993. "The Virtues of Amitābha: A Tibetan Poem from Dunhuang." *Ryūkyō Daigaku Bukkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 龍谷大學佛教文化研究所紀要 32: 1–109.
- . 2017. "The Ten Virtues of Loudly Invoking the Name of Amitābha: Stein Tibetan 724 and an Aspect of Chinese *Nianfo* Practice in Tibetan Dunhuang." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 137.3: 473–482.
- . 2019. "In Praise of His Mighty Name: A Tibetan Poem on Amitābha from Dunhuang." In Georgios T. Halkias and Richard K. Payne, eds., *Pure Lands in Asian Texts and Contexts*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press: 496–539.
- . 2020. "A Dunhuang Tibetan Aspirational Prayer for Rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land." *Sōka Daigaku Kokusai Bukkyōgaku Kōtō Kenkyūjo Nenpō* 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 / *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University* 23: 65–87.
- Solmsdorf, Nikolai. 2019. "The Ocean-Like Conqueror (*rgyal ba rgya mtsho*): A Jina Sāgara Thangka in Mang yul Gung thang." In Volker Caumanns, Marta Sernesi, and Nikolai Solmsdorf, eds., *Unearthing Himalayan Treasures. Festschrift for Franz-Karl Ehrhard*. Indica et Tibetica 59 (Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag): 433–447.
- Sørensen, Per K. 1994. *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography: The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies: An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Tibetan Chronicle: rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long*. Asiatische Forschungen 128. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Sowa Yoshiro 曾和義宏. 2004. "Dōshaku no Busshin Butsudan ron no tokuisei" 道緯の仏身仏土論の特異性 [Characteristics of Daochuo's View of the Pure Land]. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 53.1: 169–171.
- Staël-Holstein, Alexander von. 1936. "Avalokita and Apalokita." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 1.3–4: 350–362.
- Sujata, Victoria. 2005. *Tibetan Songs of Realization: Echoes from a Seventeenth-Century Scholar and Siddha in Amdo*. Brill's Tibetan Studies Library 7 (Leiden: Brill).
- Toussaint, Gustave-Charles. 1920. "Le Padma thaṅ yig." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 20.4: 13–56.

- . 1933. *Le Dict de Padma. Padma Thang Yig. MS. de Lithang*. Bibliotheque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises 3 (Paris: E. Leroux). In its turn rendered into English by Kenneth Douglas and Gwendolyn Bays, *The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava* (Berkeley: Dharma Publications, 1978).
- Trizin Tsering Rinpoche. 2007. *Mani kabum: Prophecies and Teachings of Great Compassion: Oral Instructions of Hundred Thousand Jewels* (Singapore: Publisher not stated). [With Ives Waldo and Rinchen Khadro.]
- Tucci, Giuseppe. 1937. Review of Toussaint 1933. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1937.3: 514–516.
- Unebe Toshihide 邨部俊英. 2004. “*Amidakyō ni okeru hakkudokusui ni tsuite*” <阿弥陀經>における「八功德水」について [On ‘the water of the eight good qualities’ in the Smaller *Sukhāvativyūha*]. *Dōhō daigaku ronsō* 同朋大学論叢 89: 1–30 (238–209).
- Vekerdi, József. 1952. “Some Remarks on Tibetan Prosody.” *Acta Orientalia: Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 2.2–3: 221–233.
- Vitali, Roberto. 2020. “Lha sa’s Hectic years ca. 975–1160.” In Jeannine Bischoff, Petra Maurer and Charles Ramble, eds., *On a Day of a Month of the Fire Bird Year: Festschrift for Peter Schwieger on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute): 849–867.
- Vostrikov, Andrei Ivanovich. 1970. *Tibetan Historical Literature*. Trans. Harish C. Gupta (Calcutta: Indian Studies Past and Present).
- Yamada, Isshi. 1968. *Karuṇāpundarīka*. 2 vols. (London: The School of Oriental and African Studies).
- Yamada Meiji. 1984. *The Sūtra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life*. Kyoto: Ryukoku University.
- Zorin, Alexander V. (Зорин, А. В.). 2010. *U istokov tibetskoi poëzii. Buddiiskie gimny v tibetskoi literature VIII—XIV vv* У истоков тибетской поэзии. Буддийские гимны в тибетской литературе VIII—XIV вв. [At the Source of Tibetan Poetry: Buddhist Hymns in Tibetan Literature 8th–14th Century] (Saint Petersburg: Saint Petersburg Centre for Oriental Studies Publishers).
- . 2020. *Tibetan Studies in Russia: A Historical Sketch*. *Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series* 38 (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies).

