This paper discusses the Tangut textual heritage relating to the subject matter of Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia in order to uncover the “systematic nature” of the Tibetan dimension of Tangut Buddhism. That is, in what follows I will try to recover rudiments of the systematic approach which the Tangut Buddhists probably used in dealing with a variety of Tibetan traditions which became available to them during the 12th century.

Key words: Tangut Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism, Bka’ brgyud, Bka’ gdam, Atiśa, doctrinal Buddhism.

Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia emerged as a combination of a variety of yogic lineages together with a broad repertoire of the doctrinal compositions, revolving around the famous Entry into the Two Truths by Atiśa. The first part of the paper explores, in a brief introduction, the general context of Tibetan Buddhism in the Tangut Empire. The second part of the paper investigates the available Tangut texts pertaining to the subject matter of the “Two Truths”, including the Tangut translations of the Satyadvayavatāra and commentaries pertaining thereto. The conclusion of the paper is that Tibetan Buddhism in the Tangut state emerged not as a collection of random esoteric transmissions and practices, but, rather, took shape as a result of conscious effort by the Tangut Buddhists to reproduce a coherent system of doctrinal learning and esoteric practice modelled after the contemporaneous Tibetan Buddhism.

To demonstrate the role of Atiśa in the formation of Tangut Buddhism, apart from the text directly associated with Atiśa and his circle, one needs to survey the existing repertoire of the Tangut texts pertaining to the Tibetan subject matter. Another step is to examine a Tangut text known as #2885 from Khara-Khoto collection, which can serve as the basic source for the history of esoteric Buddhism in Xixia.
Facets of Tibetan Buddhism in the Tangut State

Introduction

Despite the diversity of the repertoire of the Tangut texts pertaining to the realm of Tibetan Buddhism, many of these texts are traceable to one major source of textual production, which can provisionally be identified as the Bka’ brgyud.

The existence of a substantial layer of Tibetan “doctrinal” writings (i.e. texts devoted to the doctrinal and philosophical aspects of Buddhism) was identified by Nishida Tatsuo (西田龍雄) as early as in 1975.¹ Nishida’s identifications were fully

¹ Notes on translations and transcriptions

In the paper the term “Tibetan text” indicates “the texts of Tibetan subject matter translated into Tangut”. In the discussion below I provide titles of Tangut works in the original (accompanied with the transcription, in the footnotes transcriptions are omitted as well as the tone marks) and in English translation. I only make corrections to Kychanov’s readings where I can see obvious mistakes or typos in the original text of his Catalogue of the Tangut Buddhist Texts from the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (Kychanov 1999). Reconstructions of the Tibetan titles and reverse translations from Tangut into Tibetan are all done by myself, if not otherwise specified. Reconstructions and tentative readings are marked with *. In the phonetic reconstructions I am generally following Hwang-cherng Gong system; in some specific cases Sun Bojun (2010) is helpful.

Major translation tool used here is Nevskij (1960) and abridged version of his dictionary by Hwang-cherng Gong. In general, the texts discussed in this paper do not have Chinese versions, and are either translated from Tibetan or composed in Xixia; thus Chinese characters roughly corresponding to the Tangut graphs are provided for reference purposes only. If title in Chinese is provided, it is a literal substitution of Tangut graphs with the Chinese ones, similar to the method used in Kychanov (1999); hereafter referred to as Catalogue. Although this mode of translation is generally incorrect, it allows the reader to locate the discussed texts in the Catalogue. No Chinese “reconstructions” of original texts are provided; these are only helpful for the texts with the Sinitic subject matter. Some of the texts discussed in the paper, especially the works of Atiśa, are quite straightforward and linguistically transparent; thus they do not pose much difficulty for translation. Others, such as #2825, tend to reproduce Tibetan syntax in a manner which is not obvious at a first glance, making translations of such texts more complicated. Cases of uncertain translation are marked as “tentative”. Monastic names are given in transcriptions of their Chinese versions.

Many of the texts used in this research have already been studied with varying degree of diligence, especially Sun Bojun (2014, pp. 71–109) studies more texts than mentioned in this paper, partially overlapping with its content. Although I consulted these translations (or paraphrases), all translations are my own; when accepting other’s readings, it is specified. This paper owes a lot to my colleagues who guided and helped me throughout its course; I thank the anonymous reviewers of this paper, and especially Dan Martin and Sam van Schaik for their most valuable suggestions. All the mistakes in the paper are solely my responsibility and originate from my general lack of scholarship.

References to the Chinese Buddhist texts are according to the CBETA edition (2014), punctuation all mine; Tibetan works are mentioned under the numbers from The Catalogue of the Tibetan Tripitaka. Peking Edition kept in the Library of the Ohani University, edited by Daisetz T. Suzuki, Tokyo–Kyoto, TTRI, 1961 (hereafter Peking Catalogue).

² Nishida’s identifications of Tibetan texts are to be found in the 3rd volume of his fundamental study of the Tangut version of the Avatamsaka sūtra (Nishida 1975–1977, vol. 3, pp. 13–59).
reproduced by E. Kychanov in his *Catalogue of the Tangut Buddhist Texts in the Collection of the Institute of Orienta T Studies*. However, neither Nishida nor Kychanov ever followed up on their observations about the nature of the Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia, so that this substantial stratum of Buddhist literature remained somewhat neglected, and the general understanding of the Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia as a collection of esoteric instructions continues in modern scholarship. Despite the overall legitimacy of this point of view, the research of the available Tangut materials requests certain modifications of such an approach.

This means that the cache of Tibetan Buddhist texts available from P. K. Kozlov’s collection and other repositories should be understood as a reflection of a systematic effort to reproduce the entirety of Tibetan Buddhism as it was available to the Tanguts in the mid-12th century. This version of Buddhism included the elements of doctrinal authority revolving around the teaching of Atiśa (982–1052, Dīpaṃkara) combined with the ritual manuals and meditation guides of various origin. Study of this cache of texts might be revealing in clarifying the process of Tangut appropriation of Buddhism and locate Tangut Buddhism within a more general framework of Buddhist history of East and Central Asia.

### Texts of Tibetan Subject Matter in Xixia

#### 1. Chronological Considerations

The imaginary division of the Tangut Buddhist history into its Sinitic and Tibetan stages is not as evident as general scholarship would have us to believe. On the contrary, available textual data suggests that the inflow of Sinitic “doctrinal” texts (i.e. various Huayan and Chan Buddhist compilations, which date back to the second half of the 12th century) into Xixia is simultaneous with the increase of Tibetan Buddhist presence in Xixia. Growth of Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia should be dated to the early and middle 12th century, when the area known in Tangut as *tsow-ka* (宗喀, to the east from Qinghai lake) was incorporated into the Tangut Empire by the Emperor Qianshun (乾順, Chongzong 崇宗) around 1130s. If this timeline is correct, the successful career of the Tangut Buddhist scholar Rtsa mi lotsāwa Sangs rgyas grags pa (fl. early 12th century) in India and Tibet – generally seen as the symbol of the efflorescence of the Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia – is an exception rather

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3. The research into this particular topic was promoted by Shen Weirong in a number of publications, e.g. Shen Weirong (2006, pp. 23–34).

4. For details see Solonin (2013b).

5. Another Tangut denomination for the Tsongkha area in Tangut was “*mi you pha*” (彌有蕃, *mi shu Bo* 彌屬蕃, possible translation ‘Bod belonging to the Mi [nyang] people’); this term was probably used to distinguish between Tibet proper *Xibo Zhongguo* 西蕃中國 (*lji phəə luig* 出蕎廢且, “Western Mādhyadeśa of the Bod people”, *Bod yul dbus* and parts of Tibet belonging to the Tangut realm.
than a reflection of the dominant position of the Tibetan teachings within the Tangut Buddhist complex.6

Apart from the Kashmiri monks of great renown, such as Jayānanda (mid-12th century, Dzja ja a njia djia 顶嘉跋陀; 择也阿難援) and his Tibetan associate Ānandakīrti (Kun dga’ grags) who emerge in the Tangut colophons with the dates around mid-12th century, and translator Sumatikīrti (fl. mid-late 11th century, Sju njia tji kji rji tji 速略跋陀; 速略跋陀), once one of the masters and collaborators of Rngog lotsāwa Blo ldan shes rab, 1059–1109), another dated encounter between the Tangut translator Dehui and the Tibetan master Brtson ’grus occurred in 1152 at the earliest, and took place in an unidentified location in the Tsongkha area.7 Such historical works

6 Chronology for Rtsa mi lotsāwa is established by E. Sperling in a series of publications on the Tangut Tibetan relations. Rtsa mi is specifically discussed in Sperling (1994, vol. 2, pp. 801–821). Before more evidence is discovered, one should consider that Rtsa mi had limited relationship with the traditions of Tibetan Buddhism which circulated in the Tangut state; his name in the particular form “Rtsa mi lotsāwa” (tsar mji lu t stricter mi) emerges only once in the Tangut texts known to me. This occurrence is seen in the “Attainment of the Four Consecrations through dhāraṇī” (gzungs kyis dbang bskur bzhi'i sgrub; Tang 308, #821, Catalogue #547, p. 541). Here he emerges in the 3rd line of the left half of p. 2. The first character in the name tsar is used in phonetic capacity and probably reads as “tsa”, whereas the second “mji” is the phonetic sign used, among other things, to render the Tangut imperial surname Weiming. This makes it an actual Tangut word and not a collation of Tibetan name for Xixia (Rtsa) with a Tibetan personalising affix “mi” (man) as Davidson suggested; see Davidson (2008, pp. 334–333). However, the meaning of the name still remains obscure. Rtsa mi lotsāwa under his honorific Jingang zuo 金剛座, i.e. ’abbot of Vajrāsana’ emerges in one of the Chinese texts from Khara-Khoto.

7 One clearly established date for Jayānanda in Xixia is 1149; his translations mention one of the early titles of the emperor Renzong’s (仁宗, Renzong 仁宗, 1139–1193); this also confirms mid-12th century (van der Kuijp 1993, pp. 188–197).

The date 1152 for the initial reception of Mahāmudrā teachings in Xixia is established on the basis of the record of the encounter between Tangut translator Dehui and Tibetan master *Brtson ’grus in Tsong-kha. The date is renshen 壬申 year, which can be either 1152 or 1212; on the basis of other information on Dehui, the earlier date is more probable (see Suoluoning 2013a, pp. 264–267). The date 1152 is established on the basis of the following Tangut paragraph discovered in the commentary to the Tangut text “The Ultimate Collection of Mahāmudrā” (Tang 345, #7163 and Tang 345, #2858) composed by Dehui, which reads as follows:

"The completeness of the master", is Master lotsāwa Sing (i.e. Brtson ’grus) from the Tibetan Mādhyadeśa; "completeness of surrounding audience", is Lama Dehui and other fifteen of Tibetan Masters who are outstanding [in their region]; “the completeness of the place”, Tangut Bod, place called “? Tśja”, the monastery called “Pho?" Through the actions of *Vajrasattva, these masters were called up (tentative), and [Dehui] heard this ultimate dharma of amanasikāra. To the North of *Xiliang fu there is *Ridaowo (日道臥) [All these locations are unidentified]; "completeness of time": by the year, it is renshen (壬申); by the month, it is the 11th month; by the day, it is the 25th day; by hour, it is the “pig hour". "Completeness of the Dharma" is the Dharma of this Ultimate collection.
as Mdo smad chos 'byung and the Blue Annals indicate that close affiliation once existed between the Bka' brgyud monks and Tangut rulers during the middle of the 12th century. This again corroborates the date around the 1130s as the terminus post quem for the expansion of Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia.

2. Variety of Textual Material

Despite salient “practical” or “applicable” tenor of the Tibetan textual repertoire in Xixia, current scholarship has identified a number of “doctrinal” compilations of Tibetan origin in Tangut translation. Most of these texts are connected with Atiśa and the early Bka’ gdoms circle. Numerous compositions on “valid cognition” discovered in the Tangut translations probably also relate to this circle. In the following I try to analyse the nomenclature of some of these texts and delineate their position within generally esoteric background of the Tangut version of Buddhism.9

Kychanov’s Catalogue (which is incomplete, but representative of the textual repertoire of the available Buddhist texts in Tangut) lists 768 items (i.e. texts under separate call numbers), covering the mass of 374 independent texts (that is, there are several entries for the different parts or versions of the same text). Out of these, about seventy (the figure may vary)10 texts are Mahāyāna sūtras and translations of Sinitic doctrinal literature: Mahāyāna sūtras, Āgamas, Vinaya, Mahāyāna Abhidharma and Vijñānavāda treatises, Avatamsaka and Chan school texts, Sinitic and Tibetan compositions on the Pure Land etc. About ten texts are various “hymns”, “laudations” of Prajñāpāramitā; another group of texts (about five pieces) belongs to “valid cognition” subject matter.

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1“Renshen” year mentioned here is either 1212 or 1152, on the basis of other available information I am inclined to accept the earlier date (see Suoluoning 2014). The place name Tsongkha emerges earlier in the text. The meaning of the paragraph is generally clear, but requires further elaboration. Sumatikīrti (late 11th century) is responsible for a variety of Tangut texts, and probably has travelled to Xixia (Wei Wen 2013, pp. 316–326).

2 I am referring to the Chinese translation of the text: Zhiguanga Gongjiehu danba raoji (1989). In the outline of the early period of Buddhism in Amdo, the text contains information on the encounters between the Tangut rulers and Tibetan masters. According to the calculations in the text, the first Tangut ruler mentioned as Sihegeju (司赫格居, Tib. Sa hu'i ga'i ju) is probably the first Tangut Emperor Yuanhao; then the fifth Emperor known in Tibetan as Thehu (Chin. 太和) who contacted Du gsum mkhyen pa should be Renxiao (仁孝 reign 1139–1193, Renzong 仁宗). However, if the Tibetan historians followed traditional Tangut chronology, known from the Tangut “Ode to Ancestors of the Lhwi people” (抌鈿袁惜楠) the first Emperor would be Li Jiqian (李繼遷, 963–1004). Thus the fifth Emperor Taihu will be not Renxiao but Bingchang (秉常, 1068–1086, Huizong 惠宗). However, the Amduo Zhengjiao shi (Zhiguanga Gongjiehu danba raoji 1989, pp. 25–26) gives an account of the Tangut territory which is contemporaneous with the later period of Renxiao. Here and throughout I refer to the Russian edition of the Blue Annals (2001).

3 Very little of what follows would have been possible without the thoughtful guidance of senior colleagues, especially of Dan Martin, who directed my attention to several important matters which constitute the core of this research.

10 Shi Jinbo gives figure 300, meaning all the available Tangut translations of sūtras (see Shi Jinbo 1988, pp. 65–71). Kychanov concurs with Shi on this figure.

Apart from these, a group of texts revolves around the teaching of the “two truths” (or “two realities”) as exposed by Atiśa. This group currently lists about six texts directly dealing with the “two truths” subject matter. Still another major category includes the works on “generating bodhicitta”; this category is rather uniform and lists five independent compositions, one of them represented by a number of copies testifying to its substantial circulation.

This leaves about two hundred texts, which can be provisionally defined as “Tibetan”, but not necessarily “esoteric” or “tantric”; the majority of these texts are of Bka’ brgyud subject matter: the texts are distributed between Mahāmudrā, Vajravārāhī, Six Dharmas of Nāropa, Lam ‘bras, Cakrasaṃvara and a few other systems generally originating from Maitrīpa (1007–1085), Tilopa (988–1069) and Nāropa (1016–1100).

The number of the texts in each of the above categories can be established only with a degree of approximation: currently about thirty titles are affiliated with the Vajravārāhī system; about ten titles relate to the Six Dharmas of Nāropa and affiliated traditions; together with bardo texts this totals up to fifteen or even twenty

As of now, one can provisionally discriminate one major line of the Six Yogas transmission: i.e. the one which was transmitted by Yarlungs pa otherwise known as Tsjiir katsij (Fa Shizi, 法獅子, *Chos kyi seng ge). Currently we have several systematic expositions of the Six Dharmas. The first one is a collection of Six Yoga texts transmitted by Tsjiir katsij (Fa Shizi, *Chos kyi seng ge who also emerges under the title of dweer swew lhhij dzijij (鈾囌謂祠). *Jueming guoshi 聰明國師) from “The Temple of the Great Deliverance of the People”. The collection consists of six texts, each one devoted to one of Nāropa’s dharmas: the first is “Upadeśa on attainment of samādhi of Inner heat in the yogic practice of attaining enlightenment” (鈾囌謂祠材遵爬), exposition of the gtum mo practice. The transmission lineage of this text includes: Nāropa (nja rjo pja 能商 1016–1100), who received prophecy on a cemetery and met Tilopa (988–1069; Trilopa in Tangut; tji riji lo pja 鐘鈾商). Kamalaśīla (Kjamja sjilja誇騰竃, i.e. Dampa Sangs rgyas). The second text in the collection “Upadeśa on Attaining samādhi of illusory body in the practice of enlightenment in a dream” (鈾囌謂祠材遵爬), contains no lineage as well as the third text “Upadeśa on attainment of the samādhi of light in the practice of enlightenment in awakening” (鈾囌謂祠材遵爬). The fourth text in the collection: “Upadeśa on Entry into the realm of other” (鈾囌謂祠材遵爬). From a Tibetological perspective such a repertoire and titles are rather obvious for the collection of the texts on the Six Dharmas of Nāropa; in terms of Tangut Buddhist studies this is an example of systematic exposition of Nāropa’s teaching (Tang 209, #2545 Catalogue #564, pp. 547–548).

Yarlungs pa’s Vajravārāhī texts include “Ritual of Laudation according to the [sādhanā] of Vajravārāhī using the Pure Vase” (Tang 260, #2557, Catalogue #541, p. 539); a bardo text as well as few others. Another systematic exposition of the Six Yogas is “Upadeśa commanding attainment of union between desire and joy” (Tang 325, #5116, Catalogue #593, p. 558; in fact the title adopted by Kychanov only represents the first treatise in the collection). The text under this title is a collection of short treatises on the Six Yogas, generally originating from Tilopa, Nāropa, Milarepa, transmitted by Yarlungs pa and translated by Huizhao, a translator monk from the Temple
items; three texts belong to lam 'bras (Bka' brgyud version) tradition but in a variety of copies, which attests to its substantial circulation.\textsuperscript{12} Mahāmudrā system of Maitrīpa (1007–1085) is represented by six texts accompanied by several Mahāmudrā compositions identified in Yuan–Ming period compilation Dasheng Yaodao miji 大乘要道密集;\textsuperscript{13} texts of the Cakrasaṃvara system introduced by Sumatikīrti are probably the most numerous totalling approximately 20 items.\textsuperscript{14} The real number of independent works is higher: many of the titles mentioned in the Catalogue are anthologies, including several compositions rather than one specific text. The study of colophons, prefaces and votive laudations attached to the texts demonstrates that in some cases Vajravārāhī system and Six Yogas were transmitted by a similar group of people or are traceable to one master, e.g. Yarlungs pa (ja ljow sji pja 效佛性時), who emerges in the Tangut texts under a variety of names. In many cases the same group of translators and “transmitters” were as well responsible for the texts belonging to the cult of “Thirty Five Buddhas”, “Pure Land”, etc.\textsuperscript{15}

Below I have specified several groups of texts according to their uniform transmission lineages or common subject matter. The exposition is not fully exhaustive of the Manifestation of Five Wisdoms (see below). Identification between Yarlungs pa, Jueming guoshi and Fa Shizi is discussed by Sun Bojun (2013, forthcoming).

\textsuperscript{12} The best account of the Tibetan esoteric texts in Chinese, available from Khara-Khoto, see in Shen Weirong (2013, pp. 58–61; 68–70). The most influential lam 'bras text in Xixia seems to be Potj kjīrij kyeslī̊t sja lji myri jīrij dējūsja lyji. The Tibetan title of this work can be provisionally reconstructed as *Byang chub sens dpa' lam 'bras bslab bya’i don gsal 'grel gyi sgron ma, and its author Ljī katji (Chinese: *Bao shizi, 寶獅子, *Dkon mchog seng ge) in all probability can be identified as Gtsang po pa Dkon mchog seng ge (?–1219), Dus gsum mkhyen pa’s disciple, as discussed in Dunnell (2009, pp. 57–58). The Tangut text of Tśja mjaa nyuusjoo sji nji gji ḷjī phie sji la 龍是尼餘亂席尼結結結, which, as Sun Bojun observed, is independent form the composition with similar title from Dasheng Yaodao miji 大乘要道密集. The researches of the Tangut lam 'bras texts is currently underway, so I omit discussion here. One major observation to be made here is that although the texts of lam 'bras found in Tangut have similar titles with the compositions identified in Dasheng Yaodao miji, the actual reading into these texts demonstrates substantial deviations between the Chinese and Tangut versions.

\textsuperscript{13} Maitrīpa’s understanding of Mahāmudrā is discussed in Mathes (2009, pp. 5–32) and Tatz (1987, pp. 695–711). Mahāmudrā texts from Khara-Khoto and the ones found in Dasheng Yaodao miji are partially identical; only Tangut repertoire is much broader (see Suoluoning 2013a, pp. 238–243).  

\textsuperscript{14} For Cakrasaṃvara system’s spread in Xixia we have some actual information from both Tangut and Tibetan texts: Wei Wen (2013, pp. 301–331).

\textsuperscript{15} Even a brief scan of Kychanov’s Catalogue returns the texts of Sanshīwū Fōsu lichān yaaun 三十五佛臨懺要語 (Catalogue #103 梵諦佛臨懺懺要語, more correct translation will be: 依三十五佛懺罪要語). The text probably is a work of Sino-Tibetan Buddhism: according to the colophon, the text was composed by the famous Dehui (德慧, 德慧), major proponent of Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia probably on the basis of Bukong’s original text; another Tangut text pertaining to the “repentance of thirty five Buddhas” is: 聲梵三十五佛懺罪要語 (Catalogue #513; Chinese: 佛說如來一切總持三十五佛懺罪法事), probably another version of Bukong’s Foshuo sanshīwū fo lichān wen (佛說三十五佛臨懺文, Taishō 326, Tangut text “edited” during Renxiao’s reign).
but allows an insight into the structure of the texts belonging to the realm of Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia. Most of the texts discussed below are traceable to two clearly identifiable locations: most of our textual evidence was produced by a group of translators active in the “Samgharāma of the Great Deliverance of the People”, probably one of the state sponsored institutions; *tha sji gji ji mjii 譔鸇禎鸇禎鸇, Dadu min si 大度民寺, and “Samgharāma of Manifestation of Five Wisdoms” (Chinese: *Wuming xianchu zhonggong 五明顯出眾宮). The texts on Atiyoga are located outside of the Bka’ gdams/Bka’ brgyud system of the Tangut Buddhism and will be specifically dealt with elsewhere; the text on Cakrasaṃvara, lam ‘bras and Six Yogas obviously belong therein, but warrant a specific study; thus these categories will be excluded from the discussion below.

This repertoire only describes part of the Tibetan Buddhist heritage in Xixia; below I will briefly deal with the texts on Mahāmudrā, Vajravārāhī, bodhicitta, as well as with some of the doctrinal compositions and the texts on valid cognition. The final part of the paper will cover the available Tangut texts pertaining to the realm of Atiśa’s teachings.

3. Mahāmudrā and Vajravārāhī Lineages

One important source for reconstructing the basic Bka’ brgyud context in Xixia is a fragment known as #2885; with a tentative title “Master Tilopa’s Exposition of the nature of mind” (*Tjɨrjjr lo pja 聠菠疹綿, *de mə rtwę 諫袁縫). Generally, the text is a first person narrative concerning the attainment of various tantric teachings by a certain master whose name is unidentified.

Among other things, the text introduces the transmission lineage of the yoginī tantras (lit. ‘female’, ma rgyud; *yin benxu 陰本續) and the yogi tantras (lit. ‘male’, pha rgyud; *yang benxu 陽本續; it is possible to read Tangut expressions as the “Sun” and “Moon” tantras). The lineage for “the male tantras” as explained in #2885 is twofold:

2. Ḍombi Heruka (dowbjii xarjurkjaa 蔣縩舨鮫蟒), Bhinasavajra the “Wineseller” (*maiju mu 竉酒母, i.e. bji nja bja dzii jjar o *zi mja 鼯駄駄鸛鸛鸛鸛鸛鸛), Lawapa (*lja wa pja 薦鎂綿, i.e. Kambala), Trilopa (*Tjɨrjjr lo pja 聠菠絡礽, i.e. Ti-lopa).

Lineage for the yoginī tantras is also twofold:

16 The importance of Da du min si for both Sinitic and Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia was suggested by Nie Hongyin as early as 2003: Nie Hongyin (2012, pp. 261 – 266). The original Tangut place name uses “ji mjii 譎鸇 zhonggong 硏宮” instead of “si 寺, as in the corresponding Chinese texts.
17 As suggested by Kychanov, this temple was probably located in the Khara-Khoto area.
18 See, however, Sun Bojun (2014) which attempts a discussion on the Six Yogas lineage in Xixia.
3. Sumati the Wise (*Sumati the Wise sji mja tji nji mee 數理數數), *Samantabhadra (the name can also be reconstructed as Sumatikīrti), Caryāpa (śjiw lo pja 鍾理), *Śjarapa. *Tharpa (thā lo pja 鍾理, probably Thar pa Lam ston, i.e. Jñānagarbha/Kukkuripa), Kanaripa (kjaa nja rjir pja 鍾理), Tilopa.

4. The last lineage consists of Brahman Saraha (pho lo mē pja sja rjar xa 鍾理), Lūipa (lju ji pja 鍾理), Dengipa (djiij kji pja 鍾理), Tilopa.19

The lineage in #2885 sets a framework for the transmission of the Six Dharmas and respective tantras in the Tangut Empire. Earlier in the text Dīpaṃkara is mentioned as the source of upadeśas, which puts the Indian master within the general context of the esoteric transmission in the Tangut State (see below). Other available lineages are presented below.

1. Mahāmudrā

The contents of the Mahāmudrā texts discovered in Khara-Khoto or identified in the Dasheng Yaodao Miji 大乘要道密集 are not specifically tantric and concentrate on the attainment of the “indiscriminative insight” (amanasikāra, la miji 鍾理; i.e. Chinese wunian 無念); this again implies their origination from the early Bka’ brgyud.

One important text from the Dasheng Yaodao Miji, “Da shouyin yinglou deng sizhong yaomen” (大手印金瓔珞等四種要門) has become the focus of scholarly attention (e.g. Sun Bojun 2014). This anthology contains four smaller treatises with Vajravārāhī and Mahāmudrā lineages almost completely congruent with the ones known from the excavated Kara-Khoto texts. Corroborative data are available from the “Praise for Eighty Five Mahāsiddhas” (“Chengjiu bashiw u shi daozhu” 成就八十五師禱祝) composed by Jinggang zuo (金剛座, probably Rtsa mi Lotsāwa; further “Praise”)20 and “Laudation for the Manifestation of Virtues of Stimulus and Response of the Lama Wusheng” (“Wusheng shangshi chuxian ganxying gongde song” 無生上師出現感應功德頌; further “Laudation”), also preserved in the Dasheng Yao-

19 The persons within the above-mentioned name list are easily identifiable in the traditional Mahāsiddha lineages (e.g. Abbhayadatta (1979); however, in the Tibetan sources they do not necessarily emerge in the order presented in the Tangut text (see Chökyi Nima 2009, pp. 117–118). Less known personalities include Matanga (Matangi) who is one of Nāgārjuna and Aryadeva’s disciples (Tāranātha 2004, pp. 128–129; Seyfort Ruegg 2010, p. 329); Taropa (correct Tangut reconstruction is probably *Tarpa) is probably a Tangut reading of Thal pa, i.e. Jñānagarbha/Kukkuripa; Caryāpa is the second name for Kṛṣṇacārya (Chökyi Nima 2009, p. 435, n. 413; Tāranātha in Seven Instruction Lineages seems to discriminate between the two, see Tāranātha (1983, pp. 22–23); however cf. Tāranātha (2004, p. 259); Tachikawa (1987, pp. 47–48). Identification of Sumati the Wise with Samantabhadra is based on the meaning of the Tangut 普賢 (Chinese Puxian 普賢). The above paragraph was originally studied by Nishida Tatsuo and Sun Bojun (Sun Bojun 2014, pp. 104–105); however, their translations are in need of substantial corrections and identifications.

20 Most of the personages in the aforementioned tantric lineages occur in the “Praise”: Zhongbi xiluge 鍾必兮魯葛 for Ḍombi heruka; Luxiba 魯兮巴 for Lūipa; Binasha 必捺莎 for Bhinasavajra; Lawaba 辣斡巴 for Lawapa; Zariyapa 暨理牙巴 for Caryāpa; Dingjiba 蛋吉巴 for Dengipa, etc.
Therefore, one can infer the existence of two related Mahāmudrā lineages in Xixia.

a. In a generalised form, the Tangut Mahāmudrā lineage as represented by both the texts from Dasheng Yaodao miji and excavated Tangut texts, appears as follows: originating from the Buddha himself (Mingman 明滿 in the Dasheng Yaodao Miji, i.e. translation of Tib. Sangs rgyas), the transmission follows on to Saraha (薩囉曷, 醒貍燉), Saropa (薩囉巴, 醒貍綿), Avadhūtpa (啞斡諾帝, 崇鎂肥豬綿), Lama Marpa (辣麻馬巴, 塽奘娜綿), Milaraspa (銘移辣囉悉巴, 疾誓把貍醒綿), Lama Lhazhe (辣麻辣征, 塽娜伋耍), provisionally identified with Sgam po pa Bod nams rin chen, as suggested by Shen Wei'rong), Imperial Preceptor Xuanmi (玄密帝師, otherwise known in Tangut as ŧwer mjijMu[隆], emerges in Dasheng Yaodao Miji as Wubi 無比, 'Incomparable'), Lama Dabao (大寶), State Preceptor Xuanzhao (玄照國師).21 The transcription techniques utilised both in the texts from Dasheng Yaodao miji and in Tangut materials demonstrate similarities; whereas the Tibetan version of “The Golden Garland” reveals deviations in both transcription and subject matter.22

21 The concluding part of the lineage is missing from Tangut text; thus no actual Tangut names can be reconstructed for these persons. Apart from this, a Tangut Mahāmudrā compilation Tangut #7216 from Kozlov’s collection is a Tangut version of another text from Dasheng Yaodao miji: “Da shoyin yin yinding yaomen”, of which Tibetan text has not survived, but which clearly overlaps with the aforementioned Mahāmudrā texts (see Suoluoning 2013a, pp. 240–241). “The Golden Garland” is available only in Chinese and Tibetan, the Tangut names are provided on the basis of the aforementioned Tangut texts (see also Sun Bojun 2014, pp. 84–91).

22 The transcriptions of personal names as found in Dasheng Yaodao miji Mahāmudrā texts demonstrate linguistic proximity with the ones discovered in the excavated texts, whereas “The Golden Garland of Mahāmudrā” sometimes employs different translation techniques as compared to other texts; thus it probably stems from a different source tradition.

The Mahāmudrā texts from the Dasheng Yaodao miji can be divided into two groups: one is a collection of small texts whose repertoire fully reproduces the contents of the Tangut collection of Mahāmudrā texts known as Tang 348, #2841; detailed account in Suoluoning (2013a, pp. 237–239). Another Tangut text is one Tang 342, #7216, known as Da shouyin yinding yaomen (大手印引定 which includes materials from “Da shouyin gatuozhi yaomen” 大手印伽陁支要門 and “Da shouyin yinding yaomen” (Suoluoning 2013a, pp. 240–243). The Tangut text appears to be more detailed and contains a commentary available in the Chinese version. Tang 342, #7216 includes quotations from several masters which warrant consideration: Chinese text of Dayin yinding introduces “Dangjingwa” (*Deṅgipa) for him Tangut is tow tsijij wa 蕭砲扴; Tilopa, 啞呤浪巴 for him Tangut is ti pja 對a浪, i.e. Trilopa. The above ones are transcriptions, whereas 舔麪筋 (語交績飾) for Chineese; *吐穀筋 (持精持劍) and *吐穀筋 (妙好) are translations.

The Tibetan text of “The Golden Garland” edited by Lü Cheng identifies “Dangjingwa” (Deṅgipa) as Tog tse pa, for which both Chinese 當精斡 and Tangut 蕭砲扴 (tow tsijij wa, *當精斡) are correct representations. “The Praise” mentions in this stead “Dojjeba 杂夥巴”, which is an alternative reading. “The Golden Garland” further mentions 啞呤浪巴, representative not of the standard pronunciation of “Tilopa”, but of Trilopa. The above ones are transcriptions, whereas 穴穀筋 (語交績飾) for Chinese; *吐穀筋 (持精持劍) and *吐穀筋 (妙好) are translations.

The relevant slot in “The Golden Garland” has Phyogs kyi glang po; the Chinese version of “The Golden Garland” has “Yada Jianjia” 啞達堅甲 (‘Yada with strong armor’) and Chinese
b. A specifically Tsongkha version of Mahāmudrā lineage is recorded in *Tha tij nji dzjwa tshigsjo* (“Ultimate Upadeśa of the Great Seal”) which was obtained by the famous Tangut translator Dehui (*Dehui 德慧*). The lineage includes the following personages: Śakyamuni (*śja rjar xa 慈慧*, Nāgārjuna (*wephu 威摩*, Longshu 龍樹, based on the Chinese translation), Savāripa (*ngol ra 昼縵*, Mountain Cemetry, probably Tib. *ri khrod*), Maitrīpa (*cishi 慈師*, based on the translation of the name in Chinese manner), Master Prajñākīrti (*sjij dźwoow 智稱*, plausible identifications: Tilopa, Kor Nirūpa, 1061–1062, Prajñāśrijñānakīrti); “Lord of Speech” (*ŋwuu dzjuu 回滑*, the Tangut version clearly represents Tib. *Ngag dbang*). The details of this master’s biography as preserved in the Tangut text allow his identification as Balpo Asu, i.e. Balpo Skye med (a Nepalese Mahāmudrā master) (Suoluoning 2013a, pp. 260–261). His successor was a Tibetan master *Brtsun ’grus*, who finally transmitted the teaching to the famous Tangut translator Dehui in the “Tangut Tibet”. The text contains a doctrinal taxonomy with noticeable Rnying ma overtones which warrants further study.

2. Vajravārāhī Lineages

a. The Vajravārāhī lineages known from the Tangut sources are more diverse than those of Mahāmudrā. One version of Tangut Vajravārāhī lineage in “Shicheng deng chu feng jilun yi” (*Shi Cheng deng chu feng jilun yi*, one text from “The Golden Garland”) includes Savāripa 薩斡哩巴, Maitrīpa 銘得哩斡, Vajrapāṇi 金剛手, Balpo Skye med (巴波無).
The Mahāmudrā lineage from "The Golden Garland" (preserved only in the Chinese version, but not in the Tibetan one) is identical with the above: Śavaripa, Maitrīpa, Vajrapāṇi, Balpo Skye med (i.e. Balpo Asu), Vajraguru, Imperial Preceptor Xuanmi, Zhi Jingang and State Preceptor Xuanzhao. All the above lineages seem to revolve around the figure of Asu (Skye med), who probably had special importance for Tangut Buddhism.

b. An alternative version of the Vajravārāhī system was transmitted by Yarlungs pa (蓉洌撲綿, *Ya lia sipa; reading "Yarlungs pa" originally suggested by Nishida Tatsuo), a Tibetan monk mentioned in the accounts concerning Ti-shīr Ras pa’s activities in Xixia. Yarlungs pa’s brief biographical account has survived within the text known as #2885: from this text one might infer that Yarlungs pa was a disciple of Milarepa (and possibly of Lama Zhang [1123–1193] on the basis of other accounts).25

24 “Shicheng deng chu feng jilun yi” 師承等處奉集論儀 (‘Ritual of offering gaṇacakra for the lineage of the masters’, a text included into “The Golden Garland”). The identity of Zhi Jingang with Budong Jingang and Zhi Jingang 知金剛 (from the colophons of the texts (Cakrsaṃvara tantra and others) discovered in Shanzui gou, warrants further study.

25 Initial study of this text was carried out by Nishida Tatsuo who also provided a paraphrase of its parts, although with very substantial and serious omissions (Nishida Tatsuo 1999, pp. xxxix–xl). Sun Bojun in “Xixia Guoshi Fashizi kao” provides partial translation of the paragraph below, but also with important omissions.

The text #2885 is written in what can be called the “Tibetan style” of Tangut translations, closely imitating the style and syntax of Tibetan texts. Current scholarship is only superficially familiar with this type of Tangut writing, so the translations in many cases are tentative. Yarlungs pa entry reads as follows:

(Note on punctuation: here and below I punctuate the text according to the normally accepted rules of Tangut grammar. However, several instances require clarification: I treat Tangut 增 as the Tibetan “khyang” and 厾 as the Tibetan “dang”, therefore the commas are inserted after these characters.)

[Tentative translation] Then, his disciple [Milarepa is mentioned in the previous paragraph]. “Ya lia sipa (*Yarlungs pa): The place where he was born and grew up was the country *Yur Yarlung (彊鮫蓉洌, ju rjur ja ljow, tentative reading, Nishida translated the first two graphs as 薛市). His surname was Ya (jar 隻). When he was small, his parents died, and he went to *Lama Lu’s (ljamja lu, 塽奘摇) place and served him righteously for eight years, and received oral transmissions of Prajñā and many other dharmas, and then started the mind practice. [He] took a vow to visit bodhisattva Ćandradhvaja (Byang sems Zla ba’i rgyal mchan, 造縁, 月幢) in the Tsar Country (tsar lji 順隆, probably transcription of Tibetan “Tsari”, the second character means ‘country’). But the road was cut off, so although
Yarlungs pa often emerges as the holder of a Vajravārāhī lineage originating from Indrabhūti (ji tji rja po tji 萬劫師地師) and Kambala (kja mji pja lja 禪師地師), one of Indrabhūti’s disciples, identified with Lawapa (Blue Annals 2001, p. 293).26 The lineage is continued by Lakṣmīṇkarā (ljij zj ɨ mji kja rja 親誓疙蟒貍), Avadhūti (a wa du tji 軍誓), followed by Virūpa (Birwapa, bjii rja wa pja 魁師). The lineage also includes a number of persons which I currently fail to identify. Still another colophon connects Yarlungs pa with the Marpa lineage; this locates him within general Bka’ brgyud context.27

he set off on the journey, but could not reach [the place of destination]: while he was going to the place of Lama Be (lja mja pjij 塽奘扭), one night he heard upadeśas in a dream and manifested the signs of mental joy from the yogic practice (嶺芑呈匜髮, *xiuxi sui anle 修習隨安樂; *rnal 'byor gyi yid bde) and the state of non-discrimination arose. Because the joy was so great, his body trembled in sleep, and when he woke up from the sleep, [he] did not lose what [he] realised before (i.e. during his sleep; here Tangut 灱(to wake up) is probably a mistake for 饉‘to know, wisdom’). His body trembled, and those nearby were asking each other; when [the trembling] stopped, [they] said: “Go ask the master.” Then, when the master came nearby, [Yarlungs pa] pronounced the upadeśa in the same way [as he has received them] in the dream; and his contemplation and wisdom arose in the same way as in the dream; the master said: “Remarkable.” You truly attained the seal. […]

Čandradhvaja emerges on several occasions in the Blue Annals and other Tibetan sources, Yarlungs pa’s interest in him might be explained by the fact that this person was considered an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara. Here and throughout I refer to the Russian edition of the Blue Annals: Blue Annals (2001). For Čandradhvaja (11th–12th centuries) see the Blue Annals (2001, pp. 529–531); he is one of the masters of Sachen Kun dga’ snying po (1092–1158).

26 Alternative version would be that Lavapa was Indrabhūti’s teacher.
27 More detailed discussion of Yarlungs pa is to be found in Sun Bojun “Xixia Guoshi Fáshìzi kào” 西夏國師法獅子考 (unpublished), where she identifies him as a disciple of Sachen Kun dga’ snying po (1092–1158). This places him within the Sakya lineages, whereas the teachings he transmitted are clearly Bka’ brgyud, even if one considers that there really were no scholarly divisions at the time of Yarlungs pa and others. Nonetheless, Sun’s identifications should be reconsidered. The lineage of Vajravārāhī sādhanā transmitted by Yarlung s pa reads as follows: *yelo rnal 'byor ma'i bsam gtan kyi rim pa. On the other hand, one of the works collected in “Attainment of the Four Consecrations through dhāraṇī” 緞痳嬌嫌蕙煨謂(*gzungs kyi dbang bskur bzhi'i sgrub; Tang 308, #821, Catalogue #547, p. 541) contains the following entry:

[Testive translation] “The Great Sacred (殿侍, 大吉祥, dpal chen po, heruka) *Yelo attained real manifestation of siddhi (殿侍, dngos grub, 成就)” in the great forest cemetery (殿侍, 寒林墓地, 房堂林 in Dasheng Yaodao miji) and saw the face of the assembly of Buddhas on Cakrasamvara mandala (殿侍, dkyil 'khor, 中圍) and revered [them]; following the text which he composed on the consecrations [according to what he saw], and relying on some (殿侍, this is the formula for the general question, I translated it here as “some”) krama ritual (殿侍, rim pa) in possession of *Zhang G.yu-brag-pa, *Dharma Lion Yarlungs pa collected this text.

If I determine the sequence of pages correctly, the text of “Four Consecrations” was transmitted by Ya lia sipa (Yarlungs pa) on the basis of the text and according to the rules established by the master Śja sing juu rjarkəpja 庉珀蟾貍晝綿, which can be provisionally reconstructed as *Sang
Still another Vajravārāhī lineage is found in the Blue Annals (Haimu erzhuan jiwen). The Chinese version of the text preserved in Khara-Khoto allows a more profound insight into the nature of transmission lineages in Xixia (see Sun Penghao 2012). The part of the text discussed below is located on pp. 4–6 of the original Tangut text. The Chinese version of the text protected in Khara-Khoto allows a more profound insight into the nature of transmission lineages in Xixia (see Sun Penghao 2012). The original of the text TK-329 is reproduced in Ecang Heishui cheng wenxian, vol. 5, pp. 116–120. According to the Tangut text, Kṛṣṇapāda (Nag po chen po, heruka) was taught in Nāropa’s teachings (Blue Annals 2001, p. 376). The name of the first person in the above lineage reads as jwar lo, which can be tentatively reconstructed as *Yelo. Considering the honorific stūpa (大吉祥 dpal chen po, heruka) attached to the name, I tend to reconstruct the name as Dpal Chen Rgwa lo (11th century, the Blue Annals chapter devoted to lama Zhang, see Blue Annals 2001, pp. 375–376). I am not sure of the relation between Dpal Rgwa lo and Yerpawa: “Mal Yer-pa-ba’i Rnam-thar Bskal-pa Dpag-med-ma” (Martin 2012, p. 219). Thus the lineage in the Tangut text is: Dpal Rgwa lo, Lama Zhang, Yer-pa-ba’i Rnam-thar Bskal-pa Dpag-med-ma” (Martin 2012, p. 219).
mission, one is reluctant to identify this Skye med with Balpo Asu; a plausible identification is one between this master and famous Tangut translator Dehui. Other Tangut documents allow further identification between Dehui and the Imperial Preceptor Xuanmi (\textit{Xuami dishi}, 玄密帝師).\footnote{My identification is based on the interpretation of the verses contained in the “Laudation” (p. 330), which I understand as coinciding with some of Dehui’s activities known otherwise; partially I follow Chen Qingying’s observations in “Xixia Dasheng Xuanmi Dishi de shengping”. The verses (also quoted in Sun Bojun 2014, pp. 71–109) in question include the following:}

\texttt{\begin{verbatim}
辭王化利夏國大臣民
僧俗求請奉金捺辣
受與耳傳四字亥母法
甚深無生師處我讚禮
\end{verbatim}}

\texttt{Rje nagpo zhabs \[chung ba\], reconstruction by Sun Bojun). Kṛṣṇapada’s name is transcribed into Chinese as Nagchong 捺乙鍾 (according to the Tangut rules of transcription 乙 indicates final nasalised consonant -ng; see Hwang-cherng Gong 2005, p. 503). This person should be Nag chung, that is, historical Pha Dampa Sangs rgyas (\textit{Dam pa rgya gar nag chung ‘Supreme Black One from India’}; see www.tbrc.org/#!rid=P1243) and not Kṛṣṇapada-Kaṇha. However, both texts are certain in translating the name as ‘Kṛṣṇapada Small’, thus creating certain confusion: that is, Dampa Sangs rgyas would have transmitted to himself the teaching he already had as Kamalaśīla.

The teaching then went to \textit{Ljamja tši w dži} 聖確珍, a Lama Chudi who corresponds to lama 辣麻周乙, *Lama Zhong in the Chinese text. From him the teaching went to \textit{Tši sji tow tšiow xij} 鮮透囂, who corresponds to Xiexi dangzhangchi 斜悉當章吃 of the Chinese text. “Oral Transmission” translates this name as Puzong 普宗. Finally, the transmission reached to lama Sumpa (whose name probably has to be modified with an -ng, due to the character 性 attached as a notation, reflecting Tangut rules of transcription). This probably is the author of the text, whose name in Chinese is given as Sanlijie zhangguang 散哩結章光 and translated as Zhengjue baochang 正覺寶昌. Sun Bojun connects 散哩結 with 正覺 (sangs rgyas, ‘complete enlightenment’), and reads 性 literally, and thus arrives at a conclusion that the text implies “master Sangs rgyas from the Sumpa clan”, as Chen Qingying once suggested (see Chen Qingying 2000).

I believe that this conclusion better applies to another character in the “close” lineage: “sweepja” 極綿, direct predecessor of Skye med, especially as long as the Tangut text does not add anything to the name of Songpa. The first Tangut graph in “sweepja” 極綿 renders Chinese “sun”; this makes him “Su[m]pa”, i.e. ‘from the Sumpa clan’. As far as Zhengjue baochang is concerned, I cannot suggest plausible identification. Through the mediation of this person the teaching came to Skye med, Xijianming 悉兼名 of the Chinese text, which is Xixia Chinese transcription of “Skye med”. Sun Bojun has prepared a study of both Chinese and Tangut texts (see Sun Bojun 2014), where she goes into some detail concerning identification of the personages above; see also Sun Penghao (2012); above are my previous considerations which are close to Sun Bojun’s, but deviate from her in some details, especially considering that her study is overly dependent on the Chinese text, rather than on the Tangut one.

In my understanding, the Tangut text is not very straightforward: that is, the graphs 軾 (su) and 舫 (swe) are phonetically distinct, but the chart in the text mentions these two persons directly after one another, which might be interpreted as an indication of their identity. Generally, Sun Bojun’s identification of the dākinī Luki (especially a notation that “貿身” which Sun Bojun believes to be similar in meaning with the “dākinī Xima cang 悉麻倉”?) as well as several others should be corrected on the basis of the above.

\texttt{My identification is based on the interpretation of the verses contained in the “Laudation” (p. 330), which I understand as coinciding with some of Dehui’s activities known otherwise; partially I follow Chen Qingying’s observations in “Xixia Dasheng Xuanmi Dishi de shengping”. The verses (also quoted in Sun Bojun 2014, pp. 71–109) in question include the following:}
The resemblance between the lineages of Mahāmudrā and Vajrayoginī lineages in Xixia was determined by their original parallelism in India and further in Tibet and is obvious from the perspective of Tibetan Buddhism. The abundance of the texts associated with Maitrīpa’s Mahāmudrā, Six Yogas and Vajrayoginī practices in Tangut allows us to suggest that the source tradition from which these texts originated was in some way resembling the Indian system represented in the so-called “Sham Shere” manuscript, and further developed into Bka’ brgyud tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. One could further infer that Mahāmudrā/Vajravārāhī/Six Yogas domination of the agenda of Tangut Buddhism is a reflection of a systematic reproduction of Bka’ brgyud curriculum in Xixia.

So far I was able to identify only two texts of the Hevajra cycle in Tangut: a fragment of commentary to the Hevajra tantra and one sādhana text. Here not only the quantity of the texts is conspicuous, but rather the fact that both these texts originate from the same person provisionally identified as Rams Btsan can (11th century).
This identification puts the author of both Tangut texts within the Rngog lineage of commentaries. This lineage in turn stemmed from Nāropa and Marpa, alternative to the Virūpa system. If this is the case, the origins of the Hevajra cycle in Xixia are also traceable to the Bka’ brgyud rather than to the Sakya tradition, which is implied by the history of the Hevajra transmission in India. The tentative timeline for the transmission for this tradition could be established during the late 11th and mid-12th century (Sobisch 2008, pp. 46–48).

This does not mean that the clearly defined “Bka’ brgyud school” ever existed in the Tangut Empire: in the texts known to me, the word Karma pa (kja rja mja pjia 諸路崩時) can be tentatively reconstructed only once in a fragment of a commentary to one of the “bodhicitta texts” (see below), which does not allow us to establish its privileged position in Tangut Buddhism against other schools and lineages.

4. Bodhicitta Texts

(The texts which probably relate to the “Awakening of Faith” category of the Tiansheng Law Code)

1. “Bodhicaryāvatāra” (Potjij kjirsjij jij džii kha šijj dzjwa 諸路崩時崩時崩時崩時) by Śāntideva (fl. 8th century, Śja tja thew wa 諸路崩時崩時崩時崩時); another work by Śāntideva identified among Khara-Khoto findings is the Śiksāsamuccaya. Bodhicaryāvatāra survived in two Tangut translations. One belongs to Huizhao (Žjirszew 錫悟; 慧照) from the “Samgharāma of the Great Deliverance of the People”; another translation was produced by the monk-official Zhengyuan (正源, tšhjaɤjow 開鋒) by the imperial order. Huizhao’s version of Bodhicaryāvatāra is available in three fragments; two of these belong to woodblock edition, whereas one is a manuscript (Catalogue #682, p. 589). The text was translated by dge slong (貞囝, 善起) Huizun 群吧. Another text is #2877 (Tang 327, 2877, Catalogue #682, p. 589), which is a lengthy work with a title: 聚kna 聚kna 聚kna (tentative Tibetan title might be *Kye'i rdo rje dang de tshin gshegs dgu'i skyil 'khor la bdag bskur rim pa), which might be translated as ‘Ritual of consecration on the Hevajra mandala of the Nine Buddhas’. This is a lengthy text of 73 pages devoted to the description and practice of Hevajra mandala, mantras, root syllables, appearances of deities, etc. The author of this work is also Rams Klu-gong-ba.

32 The text in question (#4691) is a commentary to Byang chub kyi sems byed pa dang yidam blang pa'i choga (see following discussion). This is a fragmented text written in cursive script; I suspect that the names Bka’ gsalams and Sakya are written next to the word Karma pa, but the issue is currently unresolved. The three Tangut characters can also read as the Tangut transcription of the Sanskrit “krama”.

logue #400, pp. 493–494; Tang 118, #5272); Zhengyuan’s translation is also a woodblock printed edition. Considering Zhengyuan’s position as the “State Preceptor”, his translation was probably an “official” version of the text, whereas Huizhao’s translation might have been produced by his temple.\(^{33}\) The date of Zhengyuan’s translation can be established with relative certainty as the period of Renzong’s rule: the text contains one of Renzong’s titles datable to the first half of his reign (Catalogue pp. 8–9).

Tangut translation of one of the commentaries to the Bodhicaryāvatāra survived as well: Potijī jīrijī jī jīzī ‘o jī jīzī la (i.e. The Notes to Bodhicaryāvatāra) translated also by Huizhao (Catalogue #402, p. 494–495; Tang 119, #899).\(^{34}\)

2. “The Practice of Standard rituals for [the attainment] of Bodhicitta” Potijī njīj lījī ju wji lī tsīr da was composed by Jitāri and translated into Tibetan by Sumatikīrti and Blo ldan shes rab.\(^{35}\) This particular text appears in both woodblock and manuscript formats; the woodblock dates to 1206, but bears special indication that it was “newly prepared”, indicating the existence of an earlier version.\(^{36}\)

\(^{33}\) This title indicates his high position in the monastic hierarchy of the Tangut Empire; his title sounds as *倆鵲損杓蕙吭肜蛹鍍且伻 (譯傳理知主, *The State preceptor expounding sūtras, śāstras and vinaya, chief [official] responsible for the transmission and translation). Catalogue #402, p. 494; Tang 118, #944.

\(^{34}\) Nishida has originally identified this text as #5279, Peking Catalogue (reproduced in Kychanov’s Catalogue), i.e. Byang chub sens dpú’i spyod pa la ‘jug pa’i rnam par bshad pa. This identification was made on the basis of the title only; given the number of various commentaries to Śāntideva’s text, the identification might change. Another text previously identified as a commentary to Bodhicaryāvatāra (#2621) is in fact a lam ’bras composition, the title “Commentary to Bodhicaryāvatāra” is found on the reverse side of the text.

\(^{35}\) Catalogue #411–420, pp. 497–500 lists altogether 9 copies of the text, including one commentary.

\(^{36}\) The page title of the composition contains Tangut transcription of the Sanskrit title: 蒤鵲 = Sanskrit: botji tsjitha sja mu dja pja a dia bji thi (舎利頂覩半几寺舎利頂覩半寺), which supposedly represents Bodhicittotpadasamādānavīdhī (Peking Catalogue #5406, identified by Nishida, reproduced by Kychanov). However, the Tangut transcription represents something like: *Bodhicittotpadasamādānavīdhī*. If one compares the Tangut version of the title: 蒤鵲 = 菩提頂覩半几寺舎利頂覩半寺, it will partially coincide with the Tibetan version of the title: Byang chub kyi sens byed pa (こ舎利頂覩半寺舎利頂覩半寺, Tangut omits verb) dang (凜) yidam blang pa’i choga (凜). The Tangut translator used Chinese numbers to indicate correspondences between Sanskrit and Tangut, thus samādāna and Tibetan yidam blang pa are represented by Tangut 舎利頂覩半寺舎利頂覩半寺. The text contains notation: “Because Sanskrit words have many meanings, they are not translated; […] what is called bodhi has compassion and wisdom as its substance” (Tang 116, #801, p. 1). In general, the Tangut translation of the title is close to the Sanskrit version reproduced in the Tangut transcription of the title, which allows a suggestion that the Tangut translator might have had access to some Sanskrit version of the text.

Notation in the text interprets the name of the author Dzjiitjarjir 贞羲球, *正覺智足* Bodhijñānapāda, instead of more traditional Dgra las rnam par rgyal ba, “The one who overcame various enemies.”

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Yet another work in this category bears an almost similar title: “The Treatise on Initiating Bodhicitta and Standard Rituals for [maintaining the reof]” which was also known in both printed and manuscript formats, datable to the period around 1197 (Catalogue #510, pp. 528–529, Tang 115, #6966). The author of this composition is identified as *Bodhisiṃha (*Potji, *Byang chub seng ge), known in the Tangut State as one of the major holders of Atiśa’s tradition.

The number of the texts on “bodhicitta” allows specifying them as an independent dimension of Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia. Monk translator Huizhao, who is responsible for the Tangut versions of many of these compositions, was also one of the main translators of Six Yogas texts and some of Vajravārāhī texts, which again suggests combined circulation of these traditions in the Tangut state.

**Doctrinal Compositions**

So far, several paragraphs from the Tangut texts allow an insight into the nature of the doctrinal transmission in the Tangut Empire. A crucial paragraph dealing with the transmission of the doctrinal teachings in Xixia is found in the transmission records from the aforementioned *Ultimate Upadeśa of the Great Seal*.

The entry on Balpo Asu reads as follows:

This seventh root teacher, was from Balpo (Nepal), his secular name was Baro; he pursued the wisdom of “six syllables”; removed the cataract from the eye of “five wisdoms”; maintained “three groups of precepts” and drank the water of the “ten pure contemplations”. The ḍākinīs from twenty-four places assembled together on his bodhimaṇḍa; the maṇḍala of the sixty-two Buddhas appeared before him and he received consecration; he attained “the four lords” and reached the stage of “warmth, head knot and patience”. He explained “five characteristics” and made

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37 The difference in titles is one character 囝 in the title of the second text.

38 In fact this composition is a better candidate for identification with *Bodhicittotpādasamādānāvadhi* (Byang chub kyi sems byed pa dang yidam blang pa'i choga): Tangut 蕃悉佉佛薩 is not the correct translation of Tibetan Byang chub kyi sems byed pa, using Tangut sīj 耳 as nominaliser in the capacity of the Tibetan byed pa. The issue will be resolved after the versions are compared.

39 The references in the paragraph can be reconstructed as follows: “ten contemplations (sāmādhi, the term is based on the Chinese 定)”; “ḍākinīs of the twenty-four places” indicate the goddesses of the twenty-four sacred locations in India; “sixty-two Buddhas” refer to Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala; “four lords” (based on the Tangut wording, Chinese 主受)
clear the emptiness of “man” and “dharma”. He truly upheld the joy of 
non-discrimination and cut off the false wisdom and practised the way 
of non-attachment. He subjugated the false thoughts and later became 
the root teacher for Brtson ’grus and transmitted upadeśas to him.

This paragraph demonstrates a combination of both esoteric and doctrinal quali-
fications of the Master Asu: together with the esoteric concentrations and encounter 
with the dākinīs, the Master is trusted with the basic Buddhist teachings of “five character-
istics” (五相 gzhi lnga; pañca vastu) and double emptiness.40

Another important entry on Master *Brtson ’grus from the same text states the 
following:

This eighth root teacher was from Tibet; his secular name was *Sing; he 
carried three robes on his body, overcame three poisons and liberated 
his mind, he practised “the four all embracing” (i.e. 四攝法, bsdu ba’i dngos po bzhi) and vowed to transcend the four types of sentient be-
ings; he established “Seven divisions” (of valid cognition) and three types 
of reasoning by pakṣa (宗), hetu (因), drṣṭānta (喻); [taught] “Six col-
lections” of the Middle way in order to discriminate between two truths 
of true and false; taught sūtras, śāstras and vinaya. Every day he was 
translating Sanskrit texts and practised discipline, contemplation and 
wisdom; during the night he was collecting Tibetan texts (roots) and 
brought minds into harmony. He established the way of Awakening and 
collected the auxiliary means (i.e. he was on the “stage of preparation”, 
sambhāravasthā, ishtos kyi lam, ziliang wei 資糧位); with every thought 
turned away from the dust of sensual objects and subjugated the kleśas.

Finally he became the root teacher for Dehui and transmitted upadeśas 
to him (Suoluoning 2013a, pp. 261–262).41

should be understood as the “four consecrations”. “Warmth, head knot (elimax) and patience” (based 
on Chinese 縈師頂忍) are indicative of the state of “exertion” (jiaxing wei 加行位; brtson pa’i lam). There are several ways to interpret these terms; given the overall tenor of the text, I am in-
clined to connect “warmth, head knot and patience” with the second of the “five stages” (五位) as 
described in Cheng Weishi lun 成唯識論. These terms are often attested in the Tangut texts from 
Dasheng Yaodaoren Ji (see also Obermiller 1933, pp. 8–9).

40 That is: “matter” (gzungs, se 色), “mind” (sems, xin 心), “mental factors” (sems las byung pa, xin xiangying xing fa 心相應行法), “[dharms] disassociated with the mind” (lida ma bu byed, xin bu xiangying xing fa 心不相應行法) and “capable of producing meaning” (don byed par nus pa or ‘dus ma byas, wawei 無為).

41 Here I would like to thank Gao Shanshan 高山杉 who indicated my original erroneous 
interpretation of the terms in the paragraph.

This paragraph clearly indicates that Brtson 'grus’s curriculum included the so-called “Seven divisions”, i.e. Dharmakīrti’s seven treatises on valid cognition (sde bdun); and the “Six collections”, i.e. six major treatises by Nāgārjuna. Despite the fact that the most of the actual texts of the “Seven divisions” and the “Six Collections” were probably never translated into Tangut, the above indications show that the Tanguts had at least superficial knowledge of the doctrinal and ritual compositions popular in Tibet during the 11th–13th centuries.

Among the compositions dealing with the overall exposition of the Buddhist doctrine, one should mention:

**a. The Collected Notes Exposing the Two Truths** according to all schools (rjur mar njij dějit tsew wo tshijij sjoo la, 藺譯編流通藍鼓閣露 Tang 464, #5878) which is a grub mtha’ composition, contains fragments of the traditional doctrinal taxonomy indicative of the Tangut familiarity (at least superficial) with the basic doctrines of Buddhists and tīrthika. The opening verse reads as follows (the text is damaged; characters in squares are added by me, empty squares represent missing graphs):

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[...]
"聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞闻聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞聞闻
To say the main about the Lesser Vehicle; there are discriminations and …;
There are many divisions in the evil teachings; generally there are five groups;
These are “harmonious speech”, “victorious discussion”, “without clothes” and “valid cognition”;
If these five groups are collectively examined, two tenets of permanence and nihilism…;
Out of these “harmonious speech” adheres to nihilism; other four are tīrthika teachings of permanence;
Those who teach about adhering to the true substance are refuted through explaining the basic mind…

Apart from the above, among the category of the doctrinal writings translated from Tibetan one should provisionally specify the following texts:

b. Śīksāsamuccaya (yiewlew zii sjo la). In Chinese the title would appear as “Sastra [expounding] the verses from the Collection of what has to be learned”, i.e. *Bslab pa kun las btsus pa’i tshig le’i bstan bcos*, i.e. Śīksāsamuccaya. This identification is on the basis of the title only, so the actual reading might prove this conclusion irrelevant. Yet another text titled 鷄覓齖 (yiewlew zii sjo la) also qualifies for the Tangut version of Śīksāsamuccaya (Catalogue #439, p. 507; Tang 494, #6464; Catalogue #636, p. 574, Tang 445, #4852).

c. The Explication of the True Nature of the Middle Way (gu tšga yie tshi tshji tšja 華藏中道). Currently a lengthy fragment of the first juan of the text was identified (Tang 169, ##889, 5035; Catalogue ##487, 488, p. 520). The title of the composition can be analysed as follows: Tangut 華藏 is reproduction of the Tibetan dbu ma’i lam or dbu ma (cf. Chinese zhongdao 中道); whereas 中道 normally translates Sinitic zhenxing 真性. In case of translating Tibetan works (e.g. Satyadvayāvatāra) it renders chos nyid (dharmatā, cf. 法性) or de kho na nyid (tattva or tathatā). Tangut 華 (根) can be interpreted as ‘treatise’. Tangut 根 normally translates a variety of terms meaning ‘explanation’ (e.g. snang, [don] 'grel, etc.), used as generic term for commentarial literature. The text is arranged in a traditional commentarial scheme: major topics directly quoted from a yet unidentified source accompanied with a lengthy explanation section. The subject matter of the texts includes the relationship between “non-abiding” and “producing illusion” aspects of the “two truths”; identity and difference in “substance” (kwar 質, dngos) between dharmatā (tshiir tshiir 質態, chos nyid) and dharmin (tshiir jiij 質理, chos can); relevance, reliability and consequences of using “valid cognition” for the analysis of “conventions” (mjii’i da 西論, lit. ‘things and names’, i.e. tha snyad, vyavahāra) and other topics. This allows locating the

43 There is a possibility that the beginning of the scroll will be discovered among the unidentified fragments in St. Petersburg.
44 The relationship between the Tangut and Tibetan terms in this paragraph is established on the basis of correspondences in the Tangut translation of Satyadvayāvatāra. The semantic field of Tangut terms is different from their Tibetan originals: e.g. Tib. dngos (‘explicit’) is translated through
text within the circle of svātantrika/prāṣangika debates; however, any positive identification of the text has to be postponed until a full translation is completed.45

Valid Cognition

By far, only one of the seven treatises by Dharmakīrti had been identified in the Khara-Khoto collection. However, the texts pertaining to the realm of valid cognition occupy substantial position in the Tangut Buddhist corpus.

a. The translation of the Nyāyabinduprakaraṇa (Rigs pa’i thigs pa shes bya ba’i rab tu byed pa) by Dharmakīrti. The Tangut title reveals that the translation was done from the Tibetan text: Tshja wo giwv rjargiijnjir (i.e. 正理滴特殊造): although Tshja wo giwv 魁衆造 is probably based on the Sinitic zhengli di 正理滴 (‘drops of valid reasoning’), Tangut rjar giij yijir 魁衆造 (‘specially prepared’) derives from the Tibetan rab tu byed pa.46

b. The title of the second text in this category reads Tshja wo giwv jij giwi wo dzju śja 魁衆造爾衆造, which translates as “Elucidation of the Meanings of the Phrases of from Nyāyabindu” (Tang 231, ##861, 862, 863, and 5022).47 Tangut colophon mentions Čjrivwie 智力 (‘Power of Wisdom’), “the Great Master from Tibetan Mādhyadesa” as the “compiler” of the text, indicative that the above work is probably a native Tibetan text. Parts of the examined contents of the text allow it to be associated with the Candrakīrti’s system.48

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Tangut kwor which is based on the Sinitic ti 體 (meaning ‘substance’), which in turn implies not “explicit” but “implicit” true reality concealed by the appearances. Tha snyad is translated into Tangut as mjiij da 感霏, meaning ‘names and things’.

45 My provisional identification of De kho na nyid snang ba’i rab tu byed pa by Kamalaśīla (Peking Catalogue 5288) has to be reconsidered.

46 Text is available in two copies: Tang 233, #5609 is the final part of the third chapter of the text: “Gshan gyi don rjes su dpag” (Tangut: 采暖頌揚; Peking Catalogue 5711); Tang 232, #4363 contains full text of the third chapter and part of the second chapter of Dharmakīrti’s work: “Bdag gi don gyl rjes su dpag” (Tangut 營氟箑飄).

47 Nishida’s original identification was with Peking Catalogue 5732, i.e. Rigs pa’i thigs pa’i don bsdus pa (Nyāya bindu pīndartha) by Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi and Yeshes sde. This identification is highly probable, since the name of the compiler in Tangut might be reconstructed as Yeshes sde. However, the Tangut 瓊礦 (義顯) translates back into Tibetan as “don gsal (ārthasaṁgraha)”. Tangut གན is a grammatical particle with nominalising meaning. Thus, additional research is needed for positive identification. Tangut ཀན translates Tib. tshig or tshing le.u, “sentence” or “chapter”. That is, the identification has to be confirmed.

48 The name of the compiler can be retranslated into Tibetan in a number of ways which impedes direct identification. The text actually includes phrases from a text which is reproduced in an abridged manner, and its subject matter is really concerned with the exposition of terms found in Nyāyabindu prakaraṇa. At least one paragraph containing criticism of Kamalaśīla was found in the text. For the moment any direct identification of this work is tentative.
c. Text Tang 234, #5951, 873 under the title Tšhja wo giwrr lew tsew wo la 鎮餘齋齋 (正理滴一第義略記): Tibetan title could provisionally be reconstructed as *Rigs pa'i thigs pa'i don dam 'grel ba'i bshad or bskyed byang). On the basis of the title only one might infer the connection of the text with Nyāyabindupiṇḍartha, which still has to be confirmed. The above list is not exhaustive, future research would reveal even more texts associated with “valid cognition”.\(^{49}\)

d. A topical explanation of the Nyāyabinduprakaraṇa attached to the Tangut translation of the Satyadvayāvatāra (Tang 296), probably composed by Blo ldan shes rab.

Although the above exposition is not exhaustive, one can infer that Tibetan doctrinal Buddhism in Xixia revolved around several important compositions which generated commentarial tradition. Currently, the list of these texts includes such works as Nyāyabinduprakaraṇa, Bodhicaryāvatāra, and Bodhicittoptādāsamādānavidhi. Probably this repertoire could be enhanced in the course of further studies; however, the text which enjoyed most prestige was The Entry into Truths by Atiśa, which will be discussed in the next part.

(To be continued)

References


\(^{49}\) Probably, one or two other texts can be related to this category. One is Seew jii o jii dzju šja liuu tshiij 鑲鋼鍾塊鍼鍼 (Tang 314, #5114), which translates as “Adornment of the Entry into Reasoning”. According to the colophon of the text (though extremely cursive), its Sanskrit title is provisionally reconstructed as: Tja rjar? kja ava Ḫiirjar jjiirjar skjaa 訂界側. 歹鸞裁糖/or 糖糖 鑲鋼鍾塊鍼鍼. *Tarka avatara pradipika īlamkāra* 鑲鋼鍾塊鍼鍼, composed by *Potjii’jit 訂界側. *Byang chub ’grus from Tibet. Given the name, one might be tempted to identify the author as Rma bya Byang chub Brtson ’grus (d. 1185), however, more research into the text would allow positive identification.


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