

FURTHER REMARKS APROPOS OF THE 'BA'-ROM-PA AND THE TANGUTS

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The 'Ba'-rom-pa subsect of the Tibetan Buddhist Bka'-brgyud-pa sect played an instrumental role in establishing the cult of Mahākāla at the court of the last Tangut emperors. The cult was a major element in ritual Tibetan Buddhist practices utilised to empower these Tangut emperors in the mundane world. It is from this tradition that the practice of propitiating Mahākāla came to be adopted by the Tangut state's Mongol conquerors. Over the last several years, a number of new sources have become available that detail aspects of the 'Ba'-rom-pa role at the Tangut court. Using them allows for a deeper understanding of the life of Ti-shrī Ras-pa, the last Tibetan imperial preceptor at that court, and of his place in the transmission of teachings that included the explicitly power-oriented Mahākāla instructions transmitted by Rtsa-mi lo-tsā-ba. These sources also cast new light on the existing accounts of the Mongol siege of the Tangut capitol, from a Tibetan perspective, and permit us to make some reasonable identifications of the Tangut emperors mentioned in Tibetan sources with those mentioned in Chinese sources.

Key words: 'Ba'-rom Bka'-brgyud-pa, Tanguts, Xixia, Mahākāla, Rtsa-mi lo-tsā-ba, Ti-shrī Ras-pa, Mongol Conquest.

In two papers published several years ago, I examined some aspects of Tibetan links to the Tangut state, particularly the presence of Tibetan Buddhism at the Tangut court. These earlier pieces dealt with two specific subjects: the ties that connected the Tangut court to the Karma-pa and 'Ba'-rom-pa subsects of the Bka'-brgyud-pa, and the relevance of the career of Rtsa-mi lo-tsā-ba Sangs-rgyas grags-pa to the development of Tangut interest in the cult of Mahākāla – an interest subsequently transmitted to the Mongols, among whom it became the basis for imperial involvement with Tibetan Buddhism as an esoteric means to worldly power.¹

A few years ago Tashi Tsering of the Amnye Machen Institute, Tibetan Centre for Advanced Studies, Dharamsala, kindly placed at my disposal a collection of three as yet unpublished texts relating to 'Ba'-rom-pa history. Shortly thereafter he passed

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¹ The papers in question are Sperling (1987a) and (1994).

on to me a related text, similarly unpublished. While I had not planned at the time to delve further into the question of Tangut-Tibetan relations, two of these texts provided me with much new information; so much so that I feel a return to the topic at this time is warranted, as it is now possible for me, using this new data, to establish more clearly the link between Rtsa-mi lo-tsā-ba's career and the 'Ba'-rom-pa presence among the Tanguts.²

The three texts making up the large collection of 'Ba'-rom-pa historical materials I received from Tashi Tsering are: *'Ba'-rom Bka'-brgyud Gnam Tshang-gsar-dgon-gyi dkar-chags* [sic] *rab-gsal lha-yi me-long*, a brief historical account of the 'Ba'-rom-pa monastery of Tshangs-gsar gnam-dgon in Nang-chen and its successive abbots;³ *'Ba'-rom Dar-ma dbang-phyug-gi rnam-thar ngo-mtshar nor-bu'i sprin-chen*, a biography of the founder of the 'Ba'-rom-pa subsect written by his disciple Ti-shrī Ras-pa (1164/1165–May 7, 1236), himself the subject of much of what follows in this paper; and *Dpal-ldan 'Ba'-rom Bka'-brgyud-gyi rnams-thar* [sic] *chos-'byung mdor-bśdus gsal-byed sgron-me*, an historical account of the 'Ba'-rom-pa subsect. Both the first and the third of these texts are modern works, written in 1988/1989 and 1985, respectively, by one Ma-ti ratna (i.e. Blo-gros rin-chen). Of the three it is the third, the largest in the collection, that is of particular interest to us, due to its extensive account of the life of Ti-shrī Ras-pa.⁴ The author refers to certain unspecified sources for his work, as well as to the writings of one Karma rab-gsal; and in fact a brief history of the 'Ba'-rom-pa by Karma rab-gsal constitutes the fourth text subsequently placed at my disposal by Tashi Tsering. This last text, descriptively entitled *'Ba'-brom Bka'-brgyud dang nang-so gnyis ri-khag bco-brgyad-kyi 'Byung-khung gsar-bar byed-pa sngon-med gsal-ba'i rnams-thar* [sic] *'di ni stag-gi gzung-'dzin dbang-po'i lcags-kyu*, is also of great interest to us. Its composition dates to 1684/1685,⁵ which makes it three centuries older than Ma-ti ratna's 'Ba'-rom-pa history; actually, much of its account of the lives of both Ti-shrī Ras-pa and his successor among the 'Ba'-rom-pa, Ras-pa dkar-po (1198/1199–April 9, 1262), is repeated by

² In addition to acknowledging Tashi Tsering's generosity I would also like to thank Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp for kindly sharing his detailed notes on Ti-shrī Ras-pa with me, and Thubten Jigme Norbu for his guidance on certain problematic passages in the Tibetan texts.

³ N.b., that the name of the cloister is given as Gnam Tshang-gsar-dgon in the title of the work (f. 1r) but as Tshangs-gsar gnam-dgon in the text itself (f. 2r).

⁴ Ma-ti ratna (n.d., ff. 105r–116v).

⁵ Karma rab-gsal (1981, 19a). On the final pages of this text we find references (15a and 17b) to the 9th Karma-pa Dbang-phyug rdo-rje (1556–1603) giving monastic ordination to two clerics. The first one, mentioned on p. 15a, is Karma snyan-grags dpal-bzang-po. He is said to have died at age 79, allowing us to assume that he was younger than Karma Dbang-phyug rdo-rje. There follows a very short notice on Karma rab-gsal (15a–15b), whom I assume to be our author. Since Karma rab-gsal, on the last page (19a), gives the period of the first three days (*rgyal-ba dang-po*) of an unnamed month of the Wood-Male-Mouse Year as the date of the text's composition, it must be assumed that this was in the eleventh *rab-byung* cycle, the year in question thus being 1684/1685. A further note asking for corrections and excusing errors, dates the preparation of this hand-written version of the text to the eighth month of the Iron-Bird Year (i.e., 1981).

Ma-ti ratna, although it is clear that Ma-ti ratna has used other sources as well.⁶ For his part Karma rab-gsal makes general mention of the “believable” (*yid-ches-pa*) sources for his work, including various 'Ba'-rom-pa *gser-'phreng*, both condensed and extensive, as well as one or more unspecified Mi-nyag *rgyal-rabs*, i.e., Tangut histories.⁷

These two 'Ba'-rom-pa histories by Ma-ti ratna and Karma rab-gsal are works of the twentieth and seventeenth centuries respectively; but a significant portion of information contained in them is drawn from earlier accounts. This was made clear to me with the appearance in 1994 of yet another important biography of Ti-shrī Ras-pa, that contained in the fifteenth-century *Lho-rong chos-'byung* by Rta-tshag Tshe-dbang rgyal. The existence of this work inside Tibet has been known since the early 1980s,⁸ but until 1994 no copies of it were available. With its publication one can now see that at least some of the data on Ti-shrī Ras-pa given by the later 'Ba'-rom-pa histories has a basis in an earlier tradition. Moreover, portions of the biography of Ti-shrī Ras-pa in the *Lho-rong chos-'byung*⁹ are clearly presented in the first person, evidence of Rta-tshag Tshe-dbang rgyal's use of autobiographical materials by the 'Ba'-rom-pa hierarch. Finally, a new, recently published modern work also provides material on the 'Ba'-rom-pa and Ti-shrī Ras-pa. This is the 'Ba'-rom *gser-'phreng*, found in volume two of the *Khams-stod-kyi lo-rgyus thor-bsdus-su bkod-pa gangs-phrug bsu-ba'i shing-rta*. This work, though marked by some divergences here and there, is largely a reiteration of a portion of Ma-ti ratna's history of the 'Ba'-rom-pa.¹⁰

⁶ In my earlier articles I gave Ti-shrī Ras-pa's name as Sangs-rgyas ras-chen, since that was how the 'Ba'-rom-pa sources I used at the time give it at the beginning of their biographical notices on him. In addition, however, they also mention his ordination name, Shes-rab seng-ge, in the Sanskrit form Prajñāsengha; see *Bka'-brgyud rdo-rje 'chang-nas bzung gsang-bdag phyag-rdor dngos-byon karma dznya-na'i du-byon-pa* [sic] *grub-pa brnyes-pa'i sgrub-brgyud bstan-pa'i srog-shing dpal-ldan Ba-sgrom-pa'i rnam-mgur thos-grol nyin-byed 'od-stong phyogs-las rnam-par rgyal-ba'i phreng-ba*, f. 48v; *Bka'-brgyud rdo-rje 'chang-nas bzung gsang-bdag phyag-rdor dngos-byon karma dznya-na'i bar-du byon-pa grub-pa brnyes-pa'i sgrub-brgyud bstan-pa'i srog-shing dpal-ldan 'Ba'-rom-pa'i rnam-mgur thos-grol nyin-byed 'od-stong phyogs-las rnam-par rgyal-ba'i phreng-ba*, f. 36r; and Skyo-grwa Sku-rgyal (1985, p. 30). Concerning these sources and their biographical notices on Ti-shrī Ras-pa and Ras-pa dkar-po, see Sperling (1987a, pp. 42–43). The newer materials at my disposal tend to emphasise Shes-rab seng-ge as his name, e.g., when Ma-ti ratna (n.d., f. 105r), and Karma rab-gsal (1981, 3a), mention “Rje 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po Ti-shrī Shes-rab seng-ge” in their lists of Dar-ma dbang-phyug's disciples. The name Sangs-rgyas ras-chen also shows up, however, as when Ma-ti ratna (f. 125v) mentions Ras-pa dkar-po, Ti-shrī Ras-pa's disciple, requesting an edict from Qubilai to allow for the construction of a *stūpa* for “Gro-mgon Ti-shrī Sangs-rgyas ras-chen”. Karma rab-gsal's biography of Ti-shrī Ras-pa is found on pp. 3a–6a. Ma-ti ratna and Karma rab-gsal both provide short biographical notices for Ras-pa dkar-po on ff. 116v–118v and pp. 6a–7a, respectively.

⁷ Karma rab-gsal (1981, 18b).

⁸ See the references to it in Dung-dkar blo-bzang 'phrin-las (1981, pp. 81 and 137).

⁹ Rta-tshag Tshe-dbang rgyal (1994, pp. 213–220).

¹⁰ Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje (1997). Pages 1–61 of this work are entitled 'Ba'-rom *gser-phreng*; the biography of Ti-shrī Ras-pa is on pp. 26–38. This *gser-phreng* essentially parallels those portions of Ma-ti ratna's work dealing with figures specifically within the 'Ba'-rom-pa branch of the Bka'-brgyud-pa (i.e., Ma-ti ratna [n.d., ff. 88r–137r]). Thus, the lives of the Bka'-brgyud masters preceeding Dar-ma dbang-phyug, are omitted. Following the *gser-'phreng*, two other sections also closely parallel the contents of Ma-ti ratna's text. These are the sections

As noted at the outset, these sources enable me to establish a clear link between the 'Ba'-rom-pa, who were prominent at the Tangut court just before the destruction of the Tangut state, and Rtsa-mi lo-tsā-ba, the figure linked to the Tangut royal family who travelled to Tibet and India, where he established his prominence in the transmission of texts relating to the tradition of Mahākāla. Of particular interest is his transmission of one specific text which presents a formula for usurping royal government through the intermediation of Mahākāla; the existence of this text, I felt, went far in establishing a Tangut basis for the later Mongol traditions of venerating Mahākāla within the context of imperial empowerment.

Although Rtsa-mi lo-tsā-ba flourished well before the time of Ti-shrī Ras-pa and the 'Ba'-rom-pa presence at the Tangut court, he was far from an unknown figure to the 'Ba'-rom-pa. I have previously noted that two texts authored by him are found in a collection of 'Ba'-rom-pa materials dealing with Mahākāla – specifically the four-armed Mahākāla (*Mgon-po phyag-bzhi-pa*). More to the point, however, Ti-shrī Ras-pa (who is the author of two short texts in the same collection¹¹) was himself in the transmission lineage of Mahākāla texts descending through Rtsa-mi. Thus we should not be too surprised to find that Ti-shrī Ras-pa's decision to set out for the Tangut realms was somewhat inspired by Rtsa-mi. According to Ma-ti ratna, "[W]hen he was dwelling for several days at the [place] called Yob-chen, Dpal-ldan lha-mo rematī in full majesty came to him one night and prophesied 'Your field of conversion is the realm of Rtsa-mi; by all means you must go to the Tangut land!'"¹²

concerning the history of Nang-chen (pp. 62–78; cf. Ma-ti ratna [n.d., ff. 137r–148r]), and the eighteen 'Ba'-rom-pa cloisters in Nang-chen that form the *dgon-ri khag bco-brgyad* (pp. 88–106; cf. Ma-ti ratna [n.d., ff. 148v–166v]). There are, of course, some places in which the two texts do diverge, but by and large Ma-ti ratna's text can be clearly traced in this work. This is not surprising, however, since Ma-ti ratna's work figures visibly among those cited in the bibliographical remarks in the introduction (p. 1). Also mentioned there are several other 'Ba'-rom-pa *gser-phreng* that have yet to surface outside Tibet.

In addition to the works cited, a recent compilation on the monasteries of the Nag-chu region, Blo-bzang thub-bstan dbang-phyug chos-grags and Bstan-pa shes-rab. (1993), contains a small chapter on 'Ba'-rom Bka'-brgyud bshad-sgrub chos-'khor gling (pp. 68–80), the main 'Ba'-rom-pa monastery, that includes a very brief account of Ti-shrī Ras-pa's life (p. 72). Finally, with regard to the historiography of the 'Ba'-rom-pa subsect, we might note that Dar-ma dbang-phyug, the sect's founder, has been considered an earlier incarnation of Jo-nang Kun-dga' grol-mchog; as such, a brief account of his life, *'Bab-rong-pa Dar-ma dbang-phyug-gi rtogs-pa brjod-pa'i yal-'dab lnga-pa*, is found among the autobiographical and past life accounts in *Kun-dga' grol-mchog blo-gsal rgya-mtsho'i gsung-'bum* (vol. 1, ff. U 1r–12r).

¹¹ Ti-shrī Ras-pa (1985, ff. 63r–65r [355–359]; the work is untitled, and the colophon simply notes "... composed by Ti-shri Ras-pa" [... *Ti-shri Ras-pas mdzad-pa'o*]), and Ras-pa chen-po (1985, ff. 5v–6r [430–431]). I here correct an erroneous reference to the second text that I made in an earlier article (Sperling 1994, p. 819). We may note too that a "*sādhana* cycle for the four-armed Mahākāla" (*Mgon-po phyag bzhi-pa'i sgrub-skor*) figures among the writings of Ti-shrī Ras-pa mentioned by Karma rab-gsal (1981, p. 6a), which also include, among other works, a Bka'-brgyud *gser-'phreng* and a collection of 'Ba'-rom-pa, 'Bri-gung-pa and Stag-lung-pa biographies (*'Bab-brom 'Bri-khung Stag-lung gsum-gyi nram-thar yid-bzhin nor-bu*).

¹² Ma-ti ratna (n.d., f. 111v): *De-nas Yob-chen zhes-par zhag-'ga' bzhugs-par nub-gcig Dpal-ldan Lha-mo re-ma-ti gzi-brjid dang bcas-pas 'byon-nas khyed-kyi gdul-bya Rtsa-mi'i rgyal-*

The origins of Ti-shrī Ras-pa's awareness of Rtsa-mi lo-tsā-ba are not too difficult to fathom if we look briefly at the biographical data on him to which we now have access. Ti-shrī Ras-pa was born in 1164/1165 to a local chieftain in the nomadic area of 'Dam-shod and at birth given the name Hor-grags ("Renowned [among the] Hor"; the apocryphal tenor of this name should not be overlooked). Typically, his biographies recount his early education in various subjects and his predisposition – manifested at a young age – toward the 'Ba'-rom-pa founder Dar-ma dbang-phyug. He naturally sought instruction from a variety of teachers, including Dar-ma dbang-phyug (1127/1128–1203), the 'Bri-gung-pa 'Jig-rten mgon-po (1143/1144–1217),¹³ Stag-lung Thang-pa Bkra-shis dpal (1142/1143–1209),¹⁴ and Zhang Rin-po-che G.yu-grags-pa Brtson-'grus grags-pa (1123/1124–1193/1194).¹⁵ His encounter with Zhang Rin-po-che is particularly significant, for the evidence from the biographies indicates quite convincingly that it was under Zhang Rin-po-che's tutelage that the foundations were laid for Ti-shrī Ras-pa's subsequent intimate involvement with the cult of Mahākāla as a means toward worldly empowerment. We are told that:

When he reached the age of fifteen he went to Zhang Rin-po-che for a name. As he met up with him while he was engaged in battle, [Zhang] said to him "You must fight in my battle!" He went into the battle lines, transporting stone projectiles and launching whirling-tipped [arrows?]; as a result, victory was gained. Rin-po-che said "Whatever I do, I don't go beyond Mahāmudrā!" Immediately, [Ti-shrī Ras-pa] entered into a state of blessing.¹⁶

*kham*s yin-pas *Me-nyag yul-du cis-kyang byon zhes lung-bstan*/. On Dpal-ldan lha-mo rematī, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1975, p. 33). See the full translation of this section of the text below.

¹³ Concerning 'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten mgon-po, see Sperling (1987b, pp. 34 and 43).

¹⁴ Concerning Stag-lung Thang-pa, see Roerich (1976, pp. 610–621); and the two accounts of his life by Stag-lung-pa Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (1979), and a shorter one found at the beginning of *Chos-'byung ngo-mtshar rgya-mtsho-las brgyad-pa Stag-lung Bka'-brgyud-kyi rnam-thar rgyas-par bshad-pa*, in Stag-lung Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (1972, *nya* ff. 8r–29v). Both of the latter works state that Stag-lung Thang-pa died on the 19th day of the eleventh month of the Earth-Female-Serpent Year, i.e., December 16, 1209; see ff. 98v–102v of the first text and ff. 28r–28v of the second. The same year of death is given by Dung-dkar Blo-bzang 'phrin-las in his notes to Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje (1981, p. 431). Obviously I accept it as well. However, *The Blue Annals* fixes his death on the same day of the Tibetan calendar, but in the Horse Year, i.e., 1210; see Roerich (1976, pp. 620–621). The prominence of *The Blue Annals* being what it is, many secondary sources have adopted the 1210 date without comment. Even the English-language table of contents for the volume containing Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal's long biography of Stag-lung Thang-pa gives that date, ignoring what is stated in the very work it introduces.

¹⁵ On Zhang Rin-po-che see the notes by Dung-dkar Blo-bzang 'phrin-las in Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje (1981, pp. 445–446) and cf. the comment on Zhang Rin-po-che's dates in Sperling (1994, p. 808).

¹⁶ Ma-ti ratna (n.d., ff. 105v–106r): *dgung-lo bco-lnga bzhes-pa'i skabs mtshan-du Zhang Rin-po-che mjal-du byon/ 'khrugs-pa mdzad-pa dang mjal-bas khyod-kyis nga'i 'khrug-pa byed-dgos gsungs/ khong 'khrug-gral-du byon-nas rgyog-rdo bskyal-ba dang/ bsgul-tog 'phan-pa sogs mdzad-pas 'khrugs-pa rgyal-ba dang/ Rin-po-che-nas* [106r] *ngas ji-ltar byed-kyang phyag-rgya*

Zhang Rin-po-che's injunction to a disciple to take up arms is hardly out of character, considering what is known about him; indeed, his use of militant and violent means to expand his influence and authority in Tibet are well attested. But more than that, his methods were perceived to be linked to religious practice. Thus Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag phreng-ba states that:

As he undertook violent actions such as warring against those who would not draw together under his seals, there were many among his disciples in whom Mahāmudrā insight was born on the battle lines. The officer Dar-ma gzhon-nu had a vision of Saṃvara (Bde-mchog) on the battle lines.¹⁷

Thus, when we see that Ti-shrī Ras-pa's first task in the service of Zhang Rin-po-che involved the successful deployment of weapons in defeating certain enemies of his new lama, we should bear in mind the existence of links between Rtsa-mi lo-tsā-ba and Zhang Rin-po-che that ultimately involve Ti-shrī Ras-pa. In one of his autobiographical works Zhang Rin-po-che mentions his acquisition of teaching transmissions (*lung*) that originated with Rtsa-mi.¹⁸ We further find that Zhang Rin-po-che passed on teachings concerned with Mahākāla to Ti-shrī Ras-pa. Specifically, in addition to Ti-shrī Ras-pa's acquisition of Mahāmudrā, Lam-'bras, and other teachings, from a variety of preceptors, Zhang Rin-po-che granted him the complete cycle of Mahākāla teachings that had been transmitted through Rgwa lo-tsā-ba; i.e., teachings that had been imparted by Rtsa-mi (Rgwa lo-tsā-ba's teacher); hence the significance of Dpal-ldan lha-mo's pronouncement as recorded by Ma-ti ratna.¹⁹ Zhang Rin-po-che was, after Dar-ma dbang-phyug, probably the most important teacher of Ti-shrī Ras-pa; it was he who bestowed upon him the ordination name Shes-rab seng-ge. Although Ti-shrī Ras-pa was thirteen when he first encountered Dar-ma dbang-phyug – on the occasion when his father's tribal clan (*rus*) was hosting the 'Ba'-rom-pa cleric²⁰ – Zhang Rin-po-che was the first major teacher from whom he received

chen-mo-las mi-'da' gsungs-nas de-ma-thag byin-rlabs zhugs/. Cf. 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje (1997, p. 27), and Karma rab-gsal (1981, 3a–3b).

¹⁷ Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag phreng-ba (1986, p. 808): *rgya-'og-tu mi-'du-ba rnams-la dmag-g.yul ngo-sogs drag-po'i 'phrin-las mdzad-pas slob-ma-rnams-la'ang 'khrug-gral-du Phyag-rgya chen-po'i rtogs-pa skyes-pa mang-du byung-zhing dpon Dar-ma gzhon-nus 'khrug-gral-du Bde-mchog zhal-mthong/*. See also the unpublished paper by Dan Martin, "Zhang Rinpoche and the Development of Sectarian Polity in Twelfth Century Tibet", for a translation and discussion of the larger passage from which this quote is drawn and for comments on the "seals" and Dar-ma gzhon-nu, mentioned here.

¹⁸ Two such *lung* are designated by Zhang Rin-po-che: *Sems-sbyong rin-po-che'i 'phreng-ba* and *Snying-po'i yi-ge nyi-shu-rtsa-gsum-pa*. See Zhang G.yu-brag-pa Brtson-'grus grags-pa (1972, *ka*, f. 10v).

¹⁹ Ma-ti ratna (n.d., f. 106r). On Rtsa-mi's relationship to Rgwa-lo, see Ariane Macdonald (1970, pp. 177–178) and Sperling (1994, pp. 801–802).

²⁰ According to Ma-ti ratna (n.d., f. 105r), Ti-shrī Ras-pa was of the Ltong *rus*; his father, Dar Khra-bo, was chief of the Stong-'dzem yig-tshang, one of four chiefs within that *rus*. Karma rab-gsal (1981, 3a), says that of the two lineages (*gdung*), Gtong and Rtong, he was of the Rtong; while Rta-tshag Tshe-dbang rgyal (1994, p. 213), says that his lineage was one of petty chieftains,

extensive instruction. Moreover, such instruction was bestowed only after Ti-shrī Ras-pa had proven himself, as noted, in warfare. The connection between the Mahākāla teachings transmitted through Rtsa-mi lo-tsā-ba and the militant circumstances of Ti-shrī Ras-pa's tutelage by Zhang Rin-po-che are quite evident in our sources and deserve to be emphasised: Zhang Rin-po-che holds a firm place within the lineage of teachings propounded by Rtsa-mi lo-tsā-ba that drew upon Mahākāla in the usurpation of state power and authority. His bestowal on Ti-shrī Ras-pa of initiations and *siddhi* of the four-armed *dharmapāla* (*chos-skyong*; i.e., in this instance Mahākāla) as part of the worship preparations for an imminent battle amply reflects this heritage.²¹ The import of this becomes clearer when we examine the information now at our disposal concerning Ti-shrī Ras-pa's sojourn in the Tangut realms. Starting with the remarks of Ma-ti ratna, we read:

After the Tangut king had died, the *dharmarājā* called Tha'i-hu moved and sat on the throne. His merit was great. Several lamas of Dbus-Gtsang [110v] dwelled there as objects of veneration. These words incited a desire to go to Mdo-smad, and as a result [Ti-shrī Ras-pa] couldn't get to sleep that night. The next day he made a request of Lama Rin-po-che ['Ba'-rom-pa Dar-ma dbang-phyug], saying "The desire to go to Mdo-smad and the Tangut land has come over me; thus I seek your permission." Therefore ['Ba'-rom-pa] said "Though it would be pleasing if we, father and son, were to dwell together, since it is your wish to go, then go to the East; there are beings to be converted there!" Then, having decided to go he made departure preparations. He thought about requesting blessings, supports, mementos and the *siddhi* of Jo-bo Jambhala. As he went before the lama, without having to make a request Rin-po-che gave him satisfaction, providing mementos as supports. He said "This is the very *siddhi* of Jambhala." He also gave him very excellent material gifts to take. At that his body hair stood up. When he departed he wore a five-pointed silk hat, saying "There are five lamas from whom I've obtained kindness. Being taken by the hand and introduced to the wish-granting jewel of mind essence was the kindness of Lama 'Ba'-rom Rin-po-che. The view that is like the brandishing of a spear in the heavens was the kindness of Lama Zhang Rin-po-che. The thorough understanding of tantric dharma [111r] was the kindness of Lama Sangs-rgyas sgom-pa Rin-po-che.²² The arising of an impartial vision of dependent origination was the kindness of Lama 'Bri-gung Rin-po-che. Unceasing respect was the kindness of Stag-lung

and among them he was of the Tong (*gdung rje'u-rigs/ de'i nang-tshan Tong*). Most correctly, perhaps, 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje (1997, p. 27), give his *rus* as Ldong. On Ldong, one of the earliest Tibetan clan names, see R. A. Stein (1961, pp. 31–41). In his index (p. 96), Stein infers that Ltong is simply a variant of Ldong.

²¹ Ma-ti ratna (n.d., f. 106r); cf. also Karma rab-gsal (1981, 3b).

²² I.e., the well-known abbot of the Bka'-gdams-pa monastery at Bya-yul, Sangs-rgyas sgom-pa (1160–1229); see Roerich (1976, pp. 300–301).

thang-pa. Thus, my five root lamas are symbolised in my wearing a five-pointed silk hat.”

All told, he stayed for seven years at 'Ba'-rom and on the 17th day of the *khrum* [i.e., eighth] month of the Wood-Male-Rabbit Year [= August 24, 1195], together with some travelling companions who had appeared on the scene, he was given a short escort by Lama Rin-po-che, the teacher, and his entourage.²³ As he was asked “When will we come back up [i.e., to Tibet]”, he said “You will know and then we will come”. Then, doing extensive auspicious prayers, they went. And so, travelling during the latter part of the month via the northern route, at the place called Gli-thu a friend, Byang-grags, hosted him and he stayed there for about three months.²⁴ There he had a vision of the fierce king Hayagrīva, and as a result there was manifested the auspices of deliverance from the path of impediments. Then he came to Gdan-klong-thang [“the see of Klong-thang”] and when a bad auspice arose he thought to go back up and arrived at Zhal-bu mdo. In a dream that night a golden man riding a light bay horse, wearing golden armour and a golden hat with a peacock feather peak, and holding on his right a banner and on his left a mongoose, [111v] said “My palace is in the East; go there!” He thought it was Rma-[chen] pom-ra; and it was no more. He said, “This is what was in a prophecy made by Vaiśravaṇa”.²⁵ Then, when he was dwelling for several days at the [place] called Yob-chen, Dpal-ldan lha-mo rematī in full majesty came to him one night and prophesied “Your field of conversion is the realm of Rtsa-mi; by all means you must go to the Tangut land!” Otherwise, he said that there was a welcome from all the local deities. He went to Tri-rong monastery in Tsong-ka. *Slob-dpon* Yar-lung-pa Seng-ge rgyal-mtshan and *dge-bshes* De'u Se-ba both welcomed and lodged him well. Then, after the king heard of his arrival at Lingzhou 靈州 [?],²⁶ he dispatched

²³ On this date the *Lho-rong chos-'byung* has him going “*dpon-slob*” to Khams; see Rta-tshag Tshe-dbang rgyal (1994, p. 214). It also has his full ordination (*bsnyen-rdzogs*) on the 18th day of the seventh month of the Rabbit Year [= July, 28/29, 1195], at age 34 (*loc. cit.*).

²⁴ Most of the places along Ti-shrī Ras-pa's route named here (e.g., Gli-thu, Gdan Klong-thang, etc.) remain unidentified, save for what information is directly provided in this and the following narratives. Unless otherwise noted, most of the people named here are unidentified as well.

²⁵ We have already seen Jambhala introduced into the narrative; now we encounter Vaiśravaṇa, another form of “the Buddhist god of wealth”, described in the forms of Jambhala, Vaiśravaṇa and Kubera by Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1975, pp. 68–81). While it is well known that Vaiśravaṇa is a protector of the northern realms of the world, at least one Tibetan tradition has located his particular field (Tib. *zhing-khams*) in the Tangut realms (much as Mañjuśrī's field is in China); see Brag-dgon-pa Dkon-mchog bstan-pa rab-rgyas (1982, p. 20).

²⁶ Tib. Ling-cu. As can be seen in the transliterated passages elsewhere in this paper, the name of this city is also rendered as Ling-chu, the transcription cited by Stein (1961, p. 73), as the Tibetan rendering of Liangzhou 涼州, one of the most prominent cities in the Tangut realm. However, it must be noted that Ling-cu or Ling-chu would more closely transcribe Lingzhou, the name of another important Tangut city, while Liangzhou is most commonly referred to in Tibetan as

imperial envoys; An edict was proclaimed stating that he should maintain a monastery where the area was rich in water and wood. In his 35th year he founded the monastery of Karñ-chu Gu-tub.²⁷ He met King Bha-tir.²⁸ There he founded Gzi-dga' monastery. He founded several great dharma centers such as Bla-chen monastery at Mkhar-lung,²⁹ Go-ra monastery in Tsong-ka, and Byang-sa monastery. At these times there were numerous apparitions and sights conferring blessings: actual lineage lamas, tutelary deities, and assemblages of *ḍākinī*, seen by all among the clouds in the sky uttering "*bkra-shis*" [112r] and beating the *cang-te'u ḍāmaru*; rainbows; and rains of flowers. *Saṅgha* of more than 10,000 each arose.³⁰ Then the king invited him to the palace of the Xia

Byang-ngos; see note 49, below. Concerning the various "prefectures" (or "*zhou*" 州) of the Tangut state, see Zhang Xun 章巽 (1984, pp. 230–247).

²⁷ 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje (1997, p. 33), give the monastery's name as Ka-chu Gu-rub. The date for its founding would presumably be 1198/1199. However, the *Lho-rong chos-'byung*, has Ti-shrī Ras-pa going to Kam-chu at age 37, in the Monkey Year (i.e., 1200/1201); see the translation below of the relevant passage in Rta-tshag Tshe-dbang rgyal (1994, p. 214). Karñ-chu/Kam-chu clearly denotes Ganzhou 甘州; see Stein (1961, p. 73).

²⁸ In place of this sentence we read in 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje (1997, p. 33): "*Acarya Yar-lung-pa served as an intermediary, and he met with the Tangut king spyan-snga Bha-tir (Zhao Chunyou). The king dwelled in the citadel. The lama went to Lingzhou. In the Mouse Year [1204/1205]... [Slob-dpon Yar-lung-pas mjal-sna byas/ Mi-nyag rgyal-po Spyān-nga (sic. = spyān-snga) Bha-tir (赵纯祐) mjal/ rgyal-po mkhar bzugs/ bla-ma Ling-chur byon/ Byi-ba'i lo-la...]*." Of interest here is the reference to a Tangut king bearing the name Bha-tir. The modern authors, as we can see from the passage cited, give a clear identification of this King "Bha-tir". Nevertheless he doesn't figure in previously available Tibetan accounts of the Tangut realm. The *Lho-rong chos-'byung* doesn't mention Bha-ti or Bha-tir, while Karma rab-gsal (1981, 4b), has essentially the same language as Ma-ti ratna: "He went to meet the Bha-tid king. The king came to the Bha citadel" (*Bha-tid rgyal-po mjal-du byon/ rgyal-po Bha-mkhar-du phebs*). The language is ambiguous enough to leave some leeway (except in the account by 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje [1997]) as to whether Bha-tir/Bha-tid is the name of a king or a place (wherein was located the Bha citadel). N.b., the *dbu-med* script used in both texts is such that Bha-tid could easily be construed as an error for Bha-tir, i.e., Bha-ti (as a place name) plus a *la-don* suffix, indicating the meaning "at Bha-ti".

In addition, note must be taken of 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje's identification of the "Tangut king *spyān-snga* Bha-tir" with the Tangut emperor Huanzong 桓宗, or Weiming Chunyou 嵬名純祐 (r. 1194–1206; instead of "Weiming", 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje refer to him with the surname Zhao 趙, the imperial surname the Song Dynasty accorded the Tangut rulers). As will be seen later, such an identification is problematic; the most probable solution, I believe, is to view Bha-tir/Bha-tid as a Tangut prince ruling the area of the Bha-tir/Bhatid citadel. It is significant that he is mentioned in the '*Ba'-rom gser-'phreng* by 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje only with regard to his meeting Ti-shrī Ras-pa and *not* with regard to his ascent to the Tangut imperial throne.

²⁹ Though this monastery seems to be within the sphere of Tangut power, cf. the identically named monastery in western Nang-chen. See the map published by the A-myes Rma-chen Bod-kyi rig-gzhung zhib-'jug-khang (1998, I 20). Note too that Dmu-dge Bsam-gtan refers to a Mkhar-lung but places it in the vicinity of Dmu-dge and Zung-chu (= Ch. Songpan 松潘). See Dmu-dge Bsam-gtan (1997, p. 369).

³⁰ 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje (1997, p. 33) add "over a period of two and-a-half years [*lo-phyed-gsum-tsam-la*]".

夏 citadel [*mkhar*; i.e., the capital³¹]. He made unparalleled veneration. A *sku-rim* [ceremony] for the king's illness was done by both the *kalyāṇamitra* Gtsang-pa-ba [= Gtsang-po-pa³²] and him. The king was saved from his illness.

Then the *dharmarāja* Tha-hu departed the royal government and his son, Rgyal-rgod was raised to the throne.³³ For a short time Mongol troops surrounded the Xia citadel; they diverted the rivers, and were about to scale the walls. Therefore, he did a great *gtor[-ma]* of Mahākāla to turn back the troops and when he flung it, all the while intoning exhortations of the cemetery of Bsil-tshal, he had a vision then of the four-armed Mahākāla surrounded by three Karma Mahākālas.³⁴ He thereupon saw the Mongol troops scattering. The water was turned back, leaving the Mongol troops defeated and [the Tanguts] unharmed.³⁵

³¹ N.b., Karma rab-gsal (1981, 4b), translated below, has *pho-brang* ("palace") in place of *mkhar*. The "Xia citadel" is undoubtedly a reference to Zhongxing 中興, the Tangut capital, located on the site of the present-day city of Yinchuan 銀川 in the modern Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. On Zhongxing as the Tangut capital, and the relationship of Liangzhou to Zhongxing, see Dunnell (1989, pp. 52–66).

³² I.e., Gtsang-po-pa Dkon-mchog seng-ge (?–1218/1219), a disciple of Karma Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa. Concerning him, see Sperling (1987a, p. 33).

³³ N.b., Karma rab-gsal (1981, 4b), translated below, writes that the king's government dissipated and a kinsman's son (Tib. *gnyen-sras*), the prince Rgyal-rgod, was raised to the throne.

³⁴ The cemetery of Bsil-tshal was located to the south of Vajrasana (i.e., Bodhgayā); see Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1975, p. 41), particularly with regard to its connection to the various forms of Mahākāla. N.b., the Tōhoku catalogue lists several *sādhana* and one *sūtra* connected with it (nos. 2123, 3244, 3381, 3589, and 562, respectively). On the Karma Mahākāla, cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1975, p. 48: "The *mGon po* of *karma*...").

³⁵ From the beginning of the paragraph until this point 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje (1997, pp. 33–34), provide a divergent text, one which seems to rely in large part on the *Lho-rong chos-'byung* (cf. the translation below of Rta-tshag Tshe-dbang rgyal 1995, p. 215): "In the Ox Year (1205/1206) Rgya-rgyud Dkon-mchog chung-ba invited him. In the first month of the Fire-Tiger Year [January 11–February 9, 1206], the Tibetan Calendar Year 5201 and the Western Year 1206, *Spyan-snga* Sho-ho'i (Zhao Anquan) left the royal government and his son Rgyal-rgod was raised to the throne. In that year he was offered the position of *guoshi* 國師. When the lama was residing in the place called Mgo-ra-nya he saw signs indicating that the Mongol troops were coming. From Lingzhou he arrived in Ro-khri-kha in Rma-co. Imperial envoys came there to invite him, and so then he went to the Xia citadel. In the Earth-Male-Dragon Year [1208/1209] he saw that the see-holder of 'Ba'-rom had died and Dbon Shes-rab byang-chub dwelled upon the see. In the seventh month of the Snake Year [August 3–September 1, 1209] he had a dream of the Xia citadel surrounded by the Mongols. [34] In the first month of the Horse Year [January 27–February 25, 1210] the Mongol troops surrounded the Xia citadel. As Shri Phug-pa, Rtsang-po-ba and the lama [i.e., Ti-shri Ras-pa] did rituals to turn back the troops, on the 1st day of the third month [March 27, 1210] the citadel was surrounded by water. We did a *gtor-ma* to turn them back and on the 6th [April 1, 1210] at midnight the water fell back and many Mongol troops were swept away. On the 14th [April 9, 1210], using the king's daughter, peace was made. The lama dwelled at Gzi-mga' monastery. In the Sheep Year [1211/1212] when a great drought arose I called for rain, and so a great rain fell. The king Sho-ho left and the Tangut Rgyal-rgod (Zhao Zunxu) obtained and dwelled on the throne. Looking into the number of years he'd have on the throne, it was eight; a prediction that it would be thirteen, due to five that Lama Rin-po-che added, was hand-written [by

The king Rgyal-rgod believed very much and requested initiation. He presented unimagineable presentations, such as the position of *dishi* 帝師, which in Tibetan means “the lama who initiates the king from the crown of the head”, a crystal image of 'Ba'-rom [112v] and a *vaidūrya* volume. Accordingly, from youths on up, for the innumerable Tangut, Chinese and Tibetan lamas, *kalyāṇamitra*, *saṅgha* assemblages, the king, his queens and ministers, male and female beings, he produced those things that are, like the fruit of the *dpag-bsam* tree, seeds of liberation: turning for refuge to those who are suitable vessels; the eight classes of individual liberation vows of the *upāsaka*, etc.; the generation of *bodhicitta*; initiation onto the path of maturation; and the instructions on the path of liberation, etc. And all the material necessities [for this] were also meant to increase the merit of the full assembly of patrons [who provided them]. For all of the ordained ones at the sees of the actual lineage there was infinite reverence; and on numerous occasions there were dispatched to those at the sees many volumes, such as a gold-ink [Prajñāpāramitā] in 100,000 verses, collected *tantra* and collected *sūtra*, etc.; and gold, silver, and clay images³⁶ of particularly unique manufacture. Otherwise, as for the manner in which he dis-

the lama] and dispatched. In the Ox Year [1217/1218] he sensed in his heart that the lord 'Brig-gung-pa had died. Going into a dream about what field he had departed to, he saw him dressed as Heruka. “This was the reason for constituting an assembly for carrying out funeral rites” he said. In the north he carried out the consecration for the erection of the temple and interior supports for the passing of Rtsang-po-ba. In the Rabbit Year [1219/1220] Rgyal-rgod invited him to the Xia citadel.” ([33] *Glang-lo-la Rgya-rgyud Dkon-mchog chung-bas gdan-drangs/ rabs-lo 5201/ phyi-lo 1206/ rab-me Me-stag-lo zla-ba dang-po nang/ Spyān-nga Sho-ho'i* [赵安全] *rgyal-srid 'phos-te sras Rgyal-rgod rgyal-sar bton/ lo-'dir gu-shrī'i las-ka phul/ bla-ma Mgo-ra-nya bya-bar bzhugs-pa'i tshel Hor-dmag 'ongs-pa'i ltas gzig-te Ling-chu-nas Rma-chu'i Ro-khri-kha-na slebs/ der gdan-'dren-gyi gser-yig-pa phebs-nas Mgar-mkhar-du song/ Sa-pho-'brug-gi lo-la 'Ba'-rom-gyi gdan-sa-pa gshegs-nas Dbon Shes-rab byang-chub gdan-sar bzhugs-par gzig/ Sbrul-lo zla-bar bdun-par Mgar-mkhar Hor-gyi bskor-ba'i rmi-lam* [34] *shar/ Rta-lo zla-ba dang-po-la Hor-dmag-gis Mgar-mkhar bskor/ Shrī Phug-pa dang/ Rtsang-po-ba/ bla-ma rnam-gsum-gyis dmag-bzlog mdzad-pas/ zla-ba gsum-pa'i tshes gcig-la Mgar-mkhar chu'i bskor/ gtor-bzlog brgyab-pas tshes-drug-gi nam-phyed chu phyir-babs-nas Hor-dmag mang-po chus phyags/ bcu-bzhi-la rgyal-po'i bu-mo byas-nas dum-byas/ bla-ma Gzi-mga'-dgon-du bzhugs/ Lug-lo-la than-chen byung-bar char-'bod mdzad-pas char-chen babs/ Sho-ho rgyal-po bzhag-nas Mi-nyag Rgyal-rgod* [赵遵頊] *rgyal-sar bzhugs-pa thob/ rgyal-sa lo ci-thub brtag-pas lo-brgyad dang/ Bla-ma Rin-po-che'i lo-nga snan-pas lo-bcu-gsum thob-pa'i lung-bstan phyag-bris bskur/ Glang-lo-la Rje 'Bri-gung-pa gshegs-pa nyams-s nang-la byung/ zhing-khams gar-bzhugs rmi-lam bzung-te phyin-pas He-ru-ka'i cha-byad-du zhal-mjal/ 'das-mchod-du tshogs-'khor byed-pa' rgyu-mtshan de-yin gsungs/ byang-phyogs-su Rtsang-po-ba 'das-pa'i lha-khang dang nang-rten bzheng-pa'i rab-gnas mdzad/ Yos-lo-la Rgyal-rgod-kyis Mgar-mkhar-du gdan-drangs/.)*

Concerning Shrī Phug-pa, see note 48, below. Concerning Rtsang-po-ba, more commonly written Gtsang-po-pa, see note 32, above. On the role of the Tangut ruler's daughter in concluding a peace, see note 48, below.

³⁶ While the text has *btags-sku*, cf. 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje (1997, p. 34), which has *'dag-sku*. On the use of the terms *rgyud-'bum* and *mdo-mang* (“collected tantra” and “collected sutra”), see Skorupski (1996, p. 97) and Harrison (1996, p. 77).

played marvellous transformations and miracles, in the biography written in praise of him he was lauded thus:

When he was consecrating the imperially decreed
 images, scriptures, reliquaries and *vihāra*,
 unlimited supports of body, speech and mind,
 [113r] to some there sounded the fierce sound *hūm*;
 in some places water in pots boiled of themselves;
 in some places lotuses sprouted from wood;
 in some places light rays appeared on ritual supports;
 for some, flowers naturally linked up;
 and for some, garden flowers were produced.
 Prostrations of praise to you, the one who receives excellent
 prophecies,
 the *rin-po-che* who guides beings via the four means of
 assembling disciples,
 the *dharmasvāmin* who causes the ten million, king, ministers
 and subjects
 of the pure realm, the land of dharma practice,
 the land of peoples with eight different languages,
 to attain undiluted faith and
 not abandon the holy dharma, even for the sake of their lives!

Again, using extensive materials, he renovated the interior and exterior of the particularly exalted temple called Tsīr-khab, the residence of the *tathāgata* Kāśyapa in the border area called Jus-zi-nam in the north, which had become an old ruin. And afterwards, just like the perfect consecration he made, renewing the old and building the new, the construction of supports for faith within the world and among its sentient inhabitants, divine and human, surpassed talk of the miraculous. Then, when he was adhering to his vows and dwelling at the Xia citadel, [113v] the king protector of the kingdom, Rnam-thos-sras, appeared as if fleeing far away on horseback, after which Gnam-thel dkar-po with the body of a scorpion, his head filling the heavens, his mouth agape, appeared from the East at the Xia citadel; and at that he very much generated the mind of compassionate love, erected an image of the tutelary deity Cakrasaṃvara and then went before the sentient beings. He smiled and said “From outside the great king is manifest in anger”. “This time you won’t be lost [i.e., to the Mongols], but basically you won’t be let go of”, he thus prophesied.³⁷

And so, it wasn’t that the soldiers weren’t turned back: from the Iron-Monkey Year [1200/1201] to the Wood-Bird Year [1225/1226],

³⁷ Given the clear identity of Gnam-thel dkar-po as a deity linked to the Mongols (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, p. 99: “...a tutelary deity of the Hor tribes...”), the connection between the apparition and the ultimate inevitability of the Mongol triumph is obvious.

26 years, the soldiers were turned back. Ultimately, as the *bhagavat* said, "It is nothing but karma and the maturation of karma". And so it was. At the age of 63, when he went from there to Tibet, although the king and ministers made delays, he was not hindered and went to Tibet.³⁸

³⁸ Ma-ti ratna (n.d., ff. 110r–113v): [110r] *Me-nyag rgyal-po 'das nas chos-rgyal Tha'i-hu bya-ba rgyal-sar 'phos-nas yod/ Khongs bsod-nams-kyang che/ Dbus-* [110v] *Gtsang-gi bla-ma 'ga'-yang mchod-gnas-su bzhugs zer/ der tshig des rkyen-byas Mdo-smad-du 'gro-'dod-pa zhig-gis de-nub mnal-yang ma byung/ phyi-nyin Bla-ma Rin-po-che-la bdag Mdo-smad dang Me-nyag yul-du 'gro-'dod-pa zhig byung-bas bka'-gnang-bar zhu gsol-bas/ 'o-skol pha-bu mnyam-du sdod-pa dga'-yang khyod 'gro-'dod-pas shar-phyogs-su song dang gdul-bya-yang yod gsungs/ der 'gro-ba'i thag-chod-nas 'gro-grab byas/ byin-rlabs rten phyag-rjes dang Jo-bo Dzambha-la'i sgrub-thabs zhig zhu snyams-nas bla-ma'i mdun-du byon-pas/ zhu ma-dgos-par Rin-po-che'i tshims gcig dang phyag-rjes rten-du gnang/ Dzambha-la'i sgrub-thabs 'di-ka-rang yin gsungs/ zang-zing-gi rdzong yang bzang-po gnang/ der lus-spu zings-se song/ der byon-pa-tsam-na dar-zhwa rtse-lnga bzhes-te/ de'ang rang-la drin thob-kyi bla-ma lnga yod-do/ sems-nyid yid-bzhin-gyi nor-bu lag-bcang-du ngo-sprad-pa de Bla-ma 'Ba'-rom-pa'i bka'-drin yin/ lta-ba nam-mkha' la mdung-bskor-ba 'dra ba de Bla-ma Zhang Rin-po-che'i bka'-drin yin/ gsang-sngags-kyi chos-la rang- [111r] byan tshud-pa de Bla-ma Sangs-rgyas sgom-pa Rin-po-che'i bka'-drin yin/ rten-'brel phyogs-med-du 'char-ba de Bla-ma 'Bri-gung Rin-po-che'i bka'-drin yin/ mos-gus rgyun-ched med-pa de Stag-lung Thang-pa'i bka'-drin yin/ de-ltar rtsa-ba'i bla-ma lnga yod rtags-su dar-zhwa rtse-lnga gsol-ba yin-gsungs/ de'ang 'Ba'-rom-du nga-phyir lo bdun bzhugs Shing-yos-bu lo khrum-zla'i tshes bcu-bdun-la 'gro-ba'i grogs-po 'ga' byung-ba dang bcas/ Bla-ma Rin-po-che ston-'khor-gyis skyel-thung mdzad/ rang-nas nam-tsam yar yong zhus-pas khyod-rang shes-nas 'ongs gsungs-nas bkra-shis smon-lam rgya-cher mdzad-de byon/ de-nas byang-lam brgyud zla-smad Gli-thu zer-bar grogs-po Byang-grags-kyi gnas-po byas der zla-ba gsum-tsam bzhugs/ der khro-bo'i rgyal-po Rta-mgrin zhal-gzigs-pas bar-chad 'phrang-las grol-ba'i rten-'brel-du snang/ de-nas gdan Klong-thang-du phebs-pa dang rten-'brel ngan-pa zhig byung-bar yar-log snyam Zhal-bu-mdor slebs/ de nub rmi-lam-du rta ngang-pa chibs-pa'i mi-ser-po gser-khrab gser-zhwa rma-bya'i sgro-'phru-can/ g.yas phyar-dar g.yon ne'u-le 'dzin-pa [111v] zhig-gis nga'i pho-brang shar-phyogs-su yod-pas der 'deggs zer-ba-la Rma-pom-ra yin bsam-pa-la min-par 'dug/ Rnam-thos sras-kyis lung-bstan-par gda' gsungs/ de-nas Yob-chen zhes-par zhag 'ga' bzhugs-par nub-gcig Dpal-ldan Lha-mo re-ma-ti gzi-brjid dang bcas-pas 'byon-nas khyed-kyi gdul-bya Rtsā-mi'i rgyal-khams yin-pas Me-nyag-yul-du cis-kyang byon zhes lung-bstan/ gzan-yang yul-lha kun-gyi bsu-ba byung gsungs/ Tsong-ka'i Tre-rong-dgon-du byon/ Slob-dpon Yar-lung-pa Seng-ge rgyal-mtshan dang Dge-bshes De'u se-ba gnyis-nas bsu-ba sna-len bzang-po mdzad/ de-nas Ling-cur byon-pa rgyal-pos gsan-nas gser-yig-pa btang-ste chu-shing 'dzom-par dgon-pa zung zhes-pa'i bka'-lung rtsal/ dgung-lo so-lnga-la Kam-chu Gu-tub-dgon btat/ Bha-tir rgyal-po mjal/ der gzi-dga'-dgon btat/ Mkhar-lung-du Bla-chen-dgon/ Tsong-ka'i Go-ra-dgon/ Byar-sa-dgon zhes chos-sde chen-po 'ga'-zhig btat/ de-dag tshe dngos-brgyud bla-ma yi-dam mkha'-'gro'i tshogs-rnams bar-snang-gi sprin-gseb-nas kun-gyis mthong-ba'i bkra-shis brjod-cing [112r] cang-te'u dā-ma-ru 'khrol 'ja'-'od me-tog-gi char bcas byin-'bebs-pa'i mthong-snang du-ma byung/ grwa-tshogs-kyang khri-phrag lhag-tsam re-byung/ de-nas rgyal-pos 'Ga'-mkhar pho-brang-du spyen-drangs/ bsnyen-bkur zla-med byas/ rgyal-po bsnyun-pa'i sku-rim dge-ba'i bshes-gnyen Gtsang-pa-ba dang/ khong-rnams gnyis-kyis mdzad/ rgyal-po bsnyun-las grol-bar gyur/ de-nas chos-rgyal Tha-hus rgyal-srid 'phos-te sras Rgyal-rgod rgyal-sar bton/ dus re-zhig-na Hor-dmag-gi 'Ga'-mkhar bskor-ba dang chu-log-gis lcags-ri 'dzig-la khad-pa byung-bas/ der dmag-zlog-tu Mgon-po'i gtor-chen mdzad-nas 'phangs-pa'i dus bskul-pa dur-khrod Bsil-tshal gyen-ring skabs Mgon-po phyag-bzhi-pa Las-Mgon gsum-gyis bskor-ba zhal-gzigs-nas phar Hor-dmags phyogs-su chas-pa mthong/ chu-ldog-pas Hor-dmag pham-te 'tshe-ba med-par gyur/ de rgyal-po Rgyal-rgod shin-tu dad-te dbang-bskur zhus/ ti-shrī zhes Bod-skad-tu rgyal-bo'i spyi-bo-nas dbang-bskur-ba'i bla-ma zhes-pa'i las-ka dang/ 'Ba'-rom shel-sku [112v] Baidūrya'i glegs-bam sogs 'bul-ba bsam-mi-khyab-par phul/ de-nas zhin khye'u phyin-chad Me-*

The information provided by Ma-ti ratna should now be supplemented by the account of Ti-shrī Ras-pa's activities among the Tanguts provided by Karma rab-gsal. Though the latter's remarks are briefer, they are still useful to us, not least because they pre-date Ma-ti ratna's work by three centuries. According to Karma rab-gsal:

nyag Rgya-Bod-kyi bla-ma dge-ba'i bshes-gnyen dang/ dge-'dun-gyi tshogs dang/ rgyal-po dang
 btsun-mo blon-po skye-bo pho-mo grangs-las 'das-pa-rnams-la snod dang mtshams-par skyabs-
 'gro dang dge-bsnyen sogs so-thar rim-brgyad byang-chub sems-bskyed dang smin-lam dbang-
 bskur/ grol-lam gdams-khrid sogs thar-pa'i sa-bon dpag-bsam shing-gi 'bras-bu ltar bskrun-par
 mdzad-jing dngos-po'i yo-byad thams-cad-kyang sbyin-bdag tshogs-rdzogs bsod-nams 'phel-ba'i
 phyir/ dngos-brgyud-kyi gdan-sa rab-byung thams-cad-la phun-sum tshogs-pa'i bsnyen-bkur
 mtha'-klas-pa dang/ gser-'bum dang rgyud-'bum dang mdo-mang sogs pu-sti grangs mang-po-dag
 dang/ gser-sku dngul-sku btags-sku sogs bzo khyad dpe-med-pa rnams gdan-sa rnams-la 'bul-skyel
 lan mang-du mdzad-pa'o/ gzhan-yang rdzu-'phrul dang ngo-mtshar-ba'i bkod-pa ston-par mdzad-
 pa'i tshul ni nram-thar bstod-pa-las/ sku-gzugs gsung-rab mchod-rten gtsug-lag-khang/ grangs-las
 'das-pa sku-gsungs-thugs-kyi rten/ mnga'-gsol rab-tu gnas-pa mdzad- [113r] pa'i tshe/ la-la-dag-tu
 khro-bo huōm-sgra sgrogs/ la-la'i gnas-su bum-chu rang-bzhin khol/ la-la'i gnas-su shing-las
 padmo rdol/ la-la'i gnas-su rten-la 'od-zer byung/ la-la-dag-la me-tog rang-'byar-ste/ la-la-dag-la
 ldum-ra'i me-tog chags/ dag-pa'i rgyal-khams chos-la spyod-pa'i sa/ mi-rigs mi-mithun skad-rigs
 brgyad-kyi yul/ rgyal-blon-'bangs dang bcas-pa bye-ba-rnams/ srog-gi phyir-yang dam-chos mi-
 gtong-zhing/ mi-phyed dad-pa thob-mdzad chos-kyi rje/ bsdu-bzhis 'gro-ba 'dren-pa'i rin-po-che/
 lung-bstan mchog thob khyod-la phyag-'tshal-bstod/ zhes-pa ltar-ro/ de-nas byang-phyogs Jus-zi-
 nam zhes-pa'i sa-mtshams-su bde-gshegs 'Od-srung bzhugs-gnas Tsīr-khab zhes-pa'i lha-khang
 khyad-'phags yod-pa rnying-hrul-du gyur-pa nyid/ slar dngos-po rgya-chen-po phyi-nang gsar-
 bskrun khyad-'phags grub-rjes rab-gnas phun-tshogs bgyis-pa de lta-bu'i rnying-pa gsar-bzos
 dang gsar-pa bzo-bskrun bzhengs-pa sogs phyi-snod nang-bcud 'dzom-pa lha-mi'i dad-pa'i rten-du
 bzhengs-pa ngo-mtshar brjod-las 'das/ yang 'Ga'-mkhar- [113v] du thugs-dam-la bzhugs-pa'i tshe/
 yul-khams skyong-pa'i rgyal-po Rnam-thos-sras rta-la chibs-nas bros-pa ltar ring-par byon-pa'i
 rjes-su gnam-thel dkar-po sdig-pa'i gzugs-can mgo-bos nam-mkha' khengs-pa kha-gdangs-pa
 shar-ngos-nas 'Ga'-mkhar-du byung-zhing/ der byams-pa'i thugs rab-tu bskyed-de yi-dam 'Khor-
 lo sdom-pa'i skur bzhengs-nas sems-can de'i thad-du byon-pas/ de-nyid kha-btsum-nas rgyal-chen
 phyi-nas phar khros-par snang gsungs/ de lan mi 'chor lar ni mi-gtong zhes lung-bstan-par mdzad/
 de'ang dmag ma-bzlog-pa ma-yin-te/ lcags-sprel-nas shing-bya bar-gyi lo nyer-drug-la dmag-
 bzlog-pa yin-te/ mthar ni bcom-ldan-'das-kyis las dang las-kyi nam-par smin-pa ni ma-gtogs-pa
 zhes gsungs-pas ltar-ro/ dgung-lo re-gsum thogs de-nas Bod-du 'byon-pa-la rgyal-blon sogs-kyis
 bshol-btab-kyang ma-theb-par Bod-du byon/

The text is largely paralleled by that given in 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje (1997, pp. 31–36). There are some minor differences between the two works with regard to spelling, an occasional dropped word, and a few additional lines here and there. The latter have been rendered in English in preceding footnotes, but we should also note that the final paragraph given here is substantially different in 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje (1997, pp. 35–36), wherein once more the text essentially mirrors that of the *Lho-rong chos-'byung* (cf. the translation below of Rta-tshag Tshe-dbang rgyal 1994, p. 216): “When the Mongol troops appeared he provided protection; so the Mongol commander died and the troops then withdrew. Moreover, when 160,000 Khitan troops surrounded [the city], as he did rituals to turn back the troops the auspices of a *dharmapāla* appeared and the troops were defeated and fled. And the Chinese siege of Liu [? Gle'u] citadel turned out as before. In the first month of the Dog Year [January 30–February 27, 1226] Rgyal-rgod died. For 49 days there was virtuous behaviour. Gnam Phe-yor (Zhao Dewang) was appointed to the throne. Knowing that he would not accede to the Mongol troops coming he went up to Tsong-kha. Generally, from arriving in Mi-nyag at age 33 in the Fire-Male-Dragon Year [1196/1197], for up to 31 years [36] he protected the assembly there. Until age 63, the Fire-Male-Dog Year (1226/1227), he dwelled there.” ([35] *Hor-dmag byung-ba-la srung-ba mdzad-*

[3b] When [Ti-shrī Ras-pa] had gone to 'Bab-brom [i.e., 'Ba'-rom³⁹] and was dwelling there, there came a short guard to watch over the fire, wearing a yellow cloak and a straight tall hat. Asked where he had come from, he said from Mdo-smad. No matter what he was asked, [4a] he said that after the Tangut king had died the throne had gone to his son, the king Tha'i-hu, well known as a rebirth of the *siddha* Matigi,⁴⁰ his merit was very great. There is no further word as to where he then went.

As soon as he heard this...⁴¹ a great desire to depart [4b] arose. He couldn't sleep. The next day he said to Lama Rin-po-che 'Bab-brom-pa "I will go to Mdo-smad and the Tangut land", and so he was given permission. Lama Rin-po-che gave him a tooth as a support for his faith and he made preparations to leave. In all, he dwelled at 'Bab-brom for seven years. On the 17th day of the eighth month of the Rabbit Year [= August 24, 1195], having gotten together with some travelling companions who had appeared on the scene and having gotten some silver *ṭam*, they went via Skor-sum-mdo and together dwelled at a friend's place for three months. He had a vision of Rdo-rje phag-mo. He came to 'Dan-rlong-thang via Gying-thang. The auspices he'd sought arose and he thought to advance. And at that thought he saw Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa in the East; he said "Come to my palace", and he remained there.

After that he went to Ro-kha and Dbang-grong. He had a vision of Hayagrīva. Passing through Tre-rong he had a vision of Caṇḍikā.⁴² He went to Lingzhou. The king knew of this and so, with regard to what the imperial envoys reported, he ordered that he should maintain a monastery where the area was rich in water and wood. At age thirty-five he founded the monastery of Kañ-chu Gu-tub. He went to meet the Bha-tid king. The king came to the Bha citadel. There he founded Gzi-'gal monastery. After two and-a-half years a *saṅgha* of more than two

pas dmag-dpon-de shi-nas dmag-rnams phyir log yang Khri-than-gyi dmag khri-tsho bcu-drug-gi skor-ba'i tshel/ dmag-bzlog mdzad-pas chos-skyong-gi rten-'brel byung-nas dmag-rnams pham-ste bros/ Gle'u-mkhar Rgya-dmag-gis bskor-ba'ang snga-ma bzhin gyur/ Khyi-lo zla-ba dang-po-nang Rgyal-rgod 'das/ zhag zhe-dgu-bar dge-sbyor mdzad/ Gnam-phe-yor [赵德旺] rgyal-sa bskos/ Hor-dmag 'ongs-ba mi-gter-ba mkhyen/ yar-byon-nas Tsong-mkhar slebs/ spyir dgung-lo so-gsum Me-pho-'brug-la Mi-nyag-yul-du phebs-nas lo so- [36] gcig der tshogs-pa bskyangs/ drug-cu-rtsa-gsum Khyi-lo phan-la de skor-du bzhugs/.)

³⁹ There are several variant spellings of the name 'Ba'-rom. See Blo-bzang thub-bstan dbang-phyug chos-grags and Bstan-pa shes-rab (1993, p. 71) and Sperling (1987a, p. 33).

⁴⁰ This is most likely a reference to Mātāṅgi (also Mātāṅgīpāda; Tib. Mātāṅgi-pa). See Lokesh Chandra (1991, p. 459) and Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, pp. 464, 502 and 596).

⁴¹ At this point the text is interrupted mid-sentence with what is almost a page-length note (marked off with the designation "mchan") dealing with other aspects of early Tangut contact with Tibet.

⁴² Caṇḍikā (Tib. Tsaṇḍi-ka) is a consort of the four-armed Mahākāla. See Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1975, pp. 46 and 48 ["*Tsandika*"]); and Lokesh Chandra (1991, p. 323).

thousand had arisen. He founded many meditation centers, such as Mkhar-'dus yid-rab nyi-ma'i sde, Ra monastery [in] Lha-lung, Blachen, Byar-pa, etc. The assemblies of monks were more than 10,000. The king invited him to the Xia palace and made unparalleled veneration. A *sku-rim* [ceremony] for the king's illness was done by both the great *kalyāṇamitra* Gtsang-po-pa and him. As he made a prediction that the king would be saved from his illness [the king] believed a bit. Although the illness was transformed into the terror of the Mongols, he was not at fault and afterwards the king greatly believed and offered him presentations. Then the royal regime of the *dharmarāja* Tha-hu dissipated and a kinsman's son, the prince Rgyal-rgod, was raised to the throne.

For a short time Mongol troops surrounded the Xia citadel. When they were close to diverting the river the king was extremely frightened. At that he eased his fear and did a *gtor-ma* of the eight tranquilities to cast out and turn back the troops, and intoned the *Skul-pa Dur-khrod Bsil-tshar-ma*.⁴³ He had a vision at this time of the four-armed Mahākāla with three Karma Mahākāla-led retinues.⁴⁴ One made them come toward his lips and said "It is longer than the sphere of the plains!" Thus, he said "At this time [5a] it needs to be long!" The length and breadth [of the Mongol engineering works] were all breached and shattered. The Mongols were defeated. The king Rgyal-rgod believed very much and requested initiation. He presented unimaginable presentations, such as the title of *dishi*, which in Tibetan means "the lama who initiates the king on the crown of the head", the position of *dishi*, a crystal image of 'Ba'-rom, a *vaidūrya* volume, etc. And though the king asked him to remain always, he didn't grant this.⁴⁵

⁴³ I.e., "Exhortations of the Cemetery of Bsil-tshar". Bsil-tshar obviously indicates Bsiltshal, concerning which see note 34, above.

⁴⁴ A few words are inserted here as a short note (designated "mchan") but they are not fully legible.

⁴⁵ Karma rab-gsal (1981, 3b–5a [n.b., emendations in brackets reflect unclear or effaced text at the ends of lines]): [3b] *de-nas 'Bab-brom-du byon-nas bzugs-pa'i dus/ nyin-gcig me-so thung-ba ral-gu ser-po dang zhwa-mo cog-cog gyon-pa gcig byung/ gang-nas 'ong byas-pas/ Mdo-smad-nas 'ong zer/ ci-yang-la* [4a] *dris-par Mi-nyag rgyal-po 'das-nas de'i sras grub-chen Ma-ti-gi'i skye-bar grags-pa chos-rgyal Tha'i-hu bya-ba-la rgyal-sa 'phos-na yod/ khong bsod-nams-kyang che-ste zer gar-song cha-med/ gsan-ma-thag/... byon-'dod-* [4b] *pa gcig byung/ gzim-yang ma-byung/ phyi-nyin Bla-ma Rin-po-che 'Bab-brom-pa-la bdag Mdo-smad dang Mi-nyag yul-du 'gro zhus-pas b[ka']?]* *gnang/ Bla-ma Rin-po-ches tshem gcig dad-brten-du gnan-nas 'gro-grab byas spyir 'Bab-brom-du lo-bdun bzugs/ yos-lo zla-ba brgyad-pa'i bcu-bdun-la 'gro-ba'i grogs-po 'ga' byung-ba dang 'grogs-nas dngul tam 'dzin Skor-sum-mdo brgyud-kyis thu-na grogs-po gcig-gis rtsar zla-ba gsum bzugs Rdo-rje phag-mo'i zhal-gzigs/ Bying-thang brgyud 'Dan-rlong-thang-du phebs/ rten-'brel [zhus?]-pa gcig byung-nas yar phebs snyam-pa-la/ Rgyal-chen Rnam-sras shar[-la?] gzigs-nas nga'i pho-brang-du phebs zer-nas bzugs-do/ de-nas Ro-kha da[ng?] Dbang-grong-du phebs/ Rta-mgrin zhal-gzigs/ Tre-rong-rgyud/ Tsan-di-ka zhal-gzigs/ Ling-cur byon/ rgyal-pos gsal-te gser-yig-pas zhu-bskor/ chu-shing 'dzom-par dgon-pa zung zhes-pa'i bka' byung/*

At this point we should turn to an even earlier source, the fifteenth-century *Lho-rong chos-'byung* and its account of the same events. This work predates the others with which we have been dealing and supplies a more detailed chronology, as well as additional facts, concerning Ti-shrī Ras-pa's stay among the Tanguts. Most striking, however, is its first person narrative form, indicating that part of it, at least, is taken directly from writings of Ti-shrī Ras-pa. According to the *Lho-rong chos-'byung*, after going to a place called Rbas-rong in the Dragon Year (1196/1197) he stayed several years in Tsong-kha and Liangzhou. Then,

[214] At age 37, in the Monkey Year [1200/1201], he went to Ganzhou 甘州.⁴⁶ He met *dge-bshes* Gtsang-po-pa and maintained Gu-rub and Dbyar-pa monasteries; many monks gathered there. Then the Tangut king invited him and so he went to Ganzhou. *Ācārya* Yar-lung-pa presented him and he had an audience with the king. Afterwards the king stayed at Xia [i.e., the Xia capital]. The lama went to Lingzhou. In the Mouse Year [1204/1205] he founded Gzer-mga' monastery and in two and-a-half years more than 2,000 monks [215] had collected. In the Ox Year [1205/1206] he was invited by Rgya-rgyud Dkon-mchog chung-ba. In the first month of the Tiger Year [January 11–February 9, 1206] *spyān-snga* Sho-ho was made king. I was given the post of *guoshi* 國師. While staying at the place called 'Go-ra-nya signs of the Mongol advance came; then I came to Cog-ro khri-kha on the Rma[-chu] from Lingzhou. After imperial envoys arrived I went to Xia. In the Earth-Male-Dragon Year [1208/1209] I saw Dbon Shes-rab byang-chub take the see of 'Ba'-rom after the see-holder died.⁴⁷ In the seventh month of

dgongs-lo so-lnga thog Kam-chu Gu-tub-dgon btāb/ Bha-tid rgyal-po mjal-du byon/ rgyal-po Bha-mkhar-du phebs/ der Bzi-'gal-dgon btāb/ lo-phyed-gsum-nas dge-'dun-pa nyis-stong lhaḡ 'tshogs-pa byung/ Mkhar-'dus yid-rab nyi-ma'i sde Lha-lung Ra-dgon Bla-chen Byar-pa sogs sgrub-grwa du-ma btāb/ grwa-'tshogs-kyang khri-phrag lhaḡ-tsam byung/ rgyal-po Gha'i pho-brang-du spyān-drangs bsnyen-bskur zla-med byas/ rgyal-po bsnyung-ba'i sku-rim dge-ba'i bshes-nyan chen-po Tsang-po-ba dang khong-gnyis-kyi mdzad/ khong-gi rgyal-po bsnyung-las grol-ba'i lung-bstan mdzad-pas cung-zhig dad/ bsnyung-pa Hor-gyi 'jigs-par gyur-kyang skyon-med-nas phar cher-dad-nas 'bul-ba byas/ de-nas chos-rgyal Tha ['i]-hu'i rgyal-srid gshos gnyen-sras rgyal-bu Rgyal-rgod rgyal-sar bton/ [dus]-re-zhig Hor-dmag-gi Gha-mkhar bskor-ba dang/ chu'i phyogs-la nye-ba'i tshe rgyal-po shin-tu bred-pa-la mi-'jigs-pa'i dbug-byin-pa dang/ dmag-zlog-gi gtor-ma bde-brgyad bskul-pa dur-khrod Bsil-tshar-ma gyur-ring mdzad/ de'i dus Mgon-po phyag-bzhi-pa las-mgon-gyi gtsos 'khor-gsum zhal-gzigs... gcig-gis mchu-la 'ong byas-nas thang-ngang-las ring-bar 'dug gsung-pas/ skabs- [5a] der ring dgos-par 'dug gsung/ chu ral-zheng thams-cad gtol/ Hor-dmag phams/ rgyal-po Rgyal-rgod shin-tu dad-de dbang-bskur zhus/ ti-shri zhes Bod-skad-du rgyal-po'i spyi-bo-na dbang-bskul-ba'i bla-ma zhes-pa-te/ ti-shri'i las-ka dang/ 'Bab-brom shel-sku dang/ bai-dūrya'i glegs-bam sogs 'bul-pa bsam-gyis mi-khyab-pa phul-zhing rtags-par bzhuḡs-par zhus-kyang ma-gnang-ste/.

⁴⁶ Tib. Kam-chu; see note 27, above.

⁴⁷ The 'Ba'-rom-pa *gdan-rabs* given in 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje (1997, p. 52) describes the tenure of members of the nephew ("dbon") lineage of Dar-ma dbang-phyug in the abbacy of 'Ba'-rom. The first of these was Bon-rgan Rgyal-ba grags-pa, who held the see of 'Ba'-rom while his younger brother Shes-rab dbang-phyug held that of Rtsi-ko-mdzo monastery. The next person mentioned in the nephew lineage of abbots is one Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan.

the Snake Year [August 3–September 1, 1209] I had a dream that the Xia citadel was surrounded by Mongols. In the first month of the Horse Year [January 27–February 25, 1210] the Mongols surrounded the Xia citadel. Shri Phug-pa,⁴⁸ Rtsang-po-pa and I, we three, took steps to repulse the troops. On the 1st day of the third month [March 27, 1210] the citadel was surrounded by water. We did a *gtor-ma* and on the 6th [April 1, 1210] at midnight the water fell back and many Mongol troops were swept away. On the 14th [April 9, 1210], using the king's daughter, peace was made.⁴⁹ I went to Gzer-mga' monastery and dwelled there. In the Sheep Year [1211/1212], when a great drought arose I called for rain, and so a great rain fell. Sho-ho rgyal-po departed [the throne] and Rgyal-rgod obtained it. I looked into the number of years he could have on the throne, and it was eight; I added five and it was seen that he could have thirteen. Therefore I set it down in writing and dispatched the information. In the Ox Year [1217/1218] I sensed in my heart that the lord 'Bri-gung-pa had died. Going into a dream about what field he had departed to, I saw him dressed as Heruka. This was the reason for constituting an assembly for carrying out funeral rites. In Byang-ngos [= Liangzhou]⁵⁰ I carried out the consecration for the erection of the temple and interior supports marking the passing of Rtsang-po-pa. In the Rabbit Year [1219/1220] I was invited to the Xia [capital]. After initiation was requested the post of *dishi* was [216] presented. Then, when the Mongol troops appeared I provided protection; the Mongol commander died and the troops then withdrew. Moreover, when 160,000

It is possibly Shes-rab dbang-phyug, mentioned also in the same source (p. 26) as one of Dar-ma bang-phyug's close disciples (*thugs-sras... Dben-po* [sic] *Shes-rab dbang-phyug*), who is the person referred to here as Shes-rab byang-chub.

⁴⁸ Shri Phug-pa was one of 'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten mgon-po's disciples and is mentioned as such in 'Bri-gung Bstan-'dzin padma'i rgyal-mtshan (1989, p. 104). One page later, on p. 105, Tishri Ras-pa is similarly named as one of the 'Bri-gung-pa founder's disciples. The short note on Shri Phug-pa states "As for Dpal-chen Shri Phug-pa, he commanded innumerable miraculous powers and established a great monastery; his works were unimagineable" (*Dpal-chen Shri Phug-pa ni/ 'rdzu-phrul dpag-tu med-pa mnga'-zhing chos-sde chen-po yang btab/ 'phrin-las bsam-gyis mi khyab*). See too, *The Blue Annals* (Roerich [1976, p. 607]): "dPal Śrī-ri Phug-pa: He studied under 'Jig-rten mgon-po and obtained spiritual realisation. He journeyed to Amdo (mDo-smad), performed there various works, and built the temple of Yul-skyon" (cf. 'Gos-lo Gzhon-nu dpal [1984, p. 714]). The very name of the temple mentioned in *The Blue Annals*, the "Realm-Protecting Temple" (Tib. *Yul-skyong lha-khang*), is indicative of the activities undertaken by Shri Phug-pa and the others in the Tangut state and the reference to Mdo-smad in *The Blue Annals* may well indicate that the temple was indeed located there. However, what relationship, if any, this temple may have had to the earlier Huguosi 護國寺 ("State-Protecting Temple") in Liangzhou, described by Dunnell (1996, pp. 87 ff), cannot be deduced from the sparse Tibetan information.

⁴⁹ This refers to one element of the peace thus concluded, the marriage of the Tangut ruler's daughter to Činggis Qayan. See Cleaves (1982, p. 185), Dai Xizhang (1988, p. 634), and Martin (1981, p. 119).

⁵⁰ On Byang-ngos as the Tibetan name for Liangzhou, cf. the equivalence provided in one of the Ming-era Sino-Tibetan glossaries studied by Nishida Tatsuo (1970, p. 112).

Khitans troops from China surrounded [the city], as I did rituals to turn back the troops the auspices of a *dharmapāla* appeared and the troops were defeated and fled. And then the Chinese sieges of Lanzhou [? Glen-ce'u] fort and Liu [? Gle'u] fort turned out as before.⁵¹ In the first month of the Dog Year [January 30–February 27, 1226] the king died. For 49 days there was virtuous behaviour. Gnam Phe-yor was appointed to the throne. Knowing that he would not accede to the Mongol troops coming I went up to Tsong-kha. Generally, from my arrival in the Tangut realm at age 33 in the Fire-Male-Dragon Year [1196/1197], for up to 31 years I protected the assembly there. Until age 63, the Fire-Male-Dog Year (1226/1227), I dwelled here.⁵²

Several points make these narratives significant, particularly the account drawn from the *Lho-rong chos-'byung*. Most strikingly, they place Ti-shrī Ras-pa at the Mongol siege of Zhongxing, the Tangut capital, in a significant capacity. It is well known that the Tangut campaign was the first major military confrontation between the Mongol armies and a sedentary civilisation and the attack on Zhongxing, a well

⁵¹ It goes without saying that by this time significant numbers of Khitans, Chinese and others constituted units in the Mongol forces. On the assimilation of Khitan troops see Martin (1981, pp. 150–152 and ff.).

⁵² Rta-tshag Tshe-dbang rgyal (1994, pp. 214–216): [214] *sum-cu-rtsa-bdun Sprel-lo-la Kam-chur byon/ dge-bshes Gtsang-po-pa dang mjal/ Go-rub dgon-pa dang Dbyar-pa dgon-pa bzung/ grwa-pa mang-po 'tshogs/ de-nas Mi-nyag rgyal-po gdan-'dren byed-pas Kam-chur byon/ slob-dpon Yar-lung-pas mjal-sna byas/ rgyal-po mjal/ de-nas rgyal-po Mgar bzhugs/ bla-ma Ling-chur byon/ Byi-ba-lo-la Gzer-mga'i dgon-pa btab/ lo-phyed-gsum-la grwa-pa nyis-stong lhag-* [215] *tsam 'dus/ Glang-lo-la Rgya-rgod Dkon-mchog chung-bas gdan-drangs/ Stag-lo zla-ba dang-po-la spyang-snga Sho-ho rgyal-po-la bskos/ nged-la gu-shrī'i las-ka byin/ 'Go-ra-nya bya-bar yod-pa'i tshel/ Hor-dmag 'ong-ba'i ltas gzigs-nas Ling-chu-nas Rma'i Cog-ro khri-kha-na slebs/ der gdan-'dren-gyi gser-yig-pa phebs-nas Mgar-byon/ Sa-pho-'brug-gi lo-la 'Ba'-rom-gyi gdan-sa-ba gshegs-nas Dbon Shes-rab byang-chub gdan-sa-la bzhugs-pa gzigs/ Sprul-lo zla-ba bdun-pa-la Mga'-mkhar Hor-gyis bskor-ba'i rmang-lam byung/ Rta-lo zla-ba dang-po-la Hor-dmag-gis Mga'-mkhar bskor/ Shri Phug-pa Rtsang-po-ba nged-gsum-gyis dmag-bzlog-pa'i thabs byas/ zla-ba gsum-pa'i tshes gcig-la Mkhar chus bskor/ nged-rnams-kyis gtor-ma brgyab-pas tshes drug-gi nam-phyed chu phyir babs-nas Hor-dmag mang-po phyags/ bcu-bzhi-la rgyal-po'i bu-mo byas-nas dum byas/ nged-kyis Gzer-mga'-dgon-du song-nas bsad/ Lug-lo-la than-chen byung-ba-la/ char-'bod zhus-pas char chen-po babs/ Sho-ho rgyal-po bzhag-nas/ Rgyal-rgod rgyal-sar bzhugs-par thob/ rgyal-sar lo ji thub bltas-pas brgyad dang/ ngas lnga bsnan-pas bcu-gsum thub-par snang-bas yi-ge byas-nas bskur/ Glang-lo-la Rje 'Bri-gung-pa gshegs-pa nyams snang-la byung/ zhing-khams gar bzhud rmi-lam bzung-nas phyin-pas He-ru-ka'i cha-byed-du zhal-mjal/ 'das-mchod-du tshogs-'khor byed-pa'i rgyu-mishan de yin/ Byang-ngos-su Rtsang-po-ba 'das-pa'i lha-khang dang/ nang-rten bzhengs-pa'i rab-gnas byas/ Yos-lo-la Mgar gdan-drangs/ dbang zhus-nas ti- [216] shrī'i las-ka phul/ de-nas Hor-dmag byung-ba-la srung-ba mdzad-pas dmag-dpon de shi-nas dmag-rnams phyir-log/ yang Rgya Khri-than-gyi dmag khri-tsho bcu-drug-gis bskor-ba'i tshel/ dmag-zlog mdzad-pas chos-skyong-gi rten-'brel byung-nas dmag-rnams g.yul-pham-nas bros/ yang Glen-ci'u-mkhar/ Gle'u-mkhar Rgya-dmag-gis bskor-ba-yang snga-ma bzhin-du gyur/ Khyi-lo zla-ba gcig-pa'i nang-du rgyal-po 'das/ zhag zhe-dgu'i bar-du dge-sbyor mdzad/ Gnam-phe-yor rgyal-sar bskos/ Hor-dmag 'ong-ba mi-ster-bar mkhyen-nas yar-byon-nas Tsong-khar slebs/ spyir dgung-lo so-sum Me-pho-'brug-la Mi-nyag-yul-du phebs-nas lo so-gcig der 'tshogs-pa bskyangs/ drug-cu-rtsa-gsum Me-pho-khyi-lo phan-la de-skor-du bzhugs/.*

fortified city, was a new challenge for those armies. In this case their tactics were ineffective. Although they'd tried to divert the waters of the Huanghe 黄河 (the Yellow River, which flowed by the capital) in order to inundate the city, their engineering work did not hold up; it collapsed with a significant loss of life to the attackers. The result was a peace agreement alluded to in some of our Tibetan sources (and mandating, among other things, the marriage of the Tangut emperor's daughter to Činggis Qayan) and a Mongol withdrawal.⁵³ Not unexpectedly, given what we now know about Tangut and Tibetan interest and involvement with certain teachings concerning Mahākāla, our new materials ascribe the Mongol failure to the rites undertaken by Ti-shrī Ras-pa and directed towards that figure.

Given this, it's worth reiterating some of what I've outlined in previous articles on Tibetan links to the Tanguts. It was the perceived ability of Tibetan clerics to exert esoteric skills in bringing forth tangible political and military consequences that made Tibetan Buddhism an object of imperial faith in the last decades of the Tangut state. And it is this ability that is clearly the central element in the Tibetan narrative of the siege of the Tangut capital, wherein the propitiation of Mahākāla by Ti-shrī Ras-pa and others leads to the collapse of the Mongol engineering works and the scattering of the Mongol troops. Finally, this tradition is adopted by the Mongols for their own ends. It is extremely significant that Mongol imperial interest in Tibetan Buddhism in any substantive way really surfaces first at the princely court of Köden, the Mongol prince who comes to rule over the former Tangut realms. The import of this is further magnified by the Tibetan accounts that make of Köden the very incarnation of the Tangut emperor Rgyal-rgod, mentioned in the narratives above.⁵⁴

The story of the siege in Tibetan sources presents us with a slight chronological problem. The *Yuanshi* 元史 describes the siege as occurring in the fourth year of Činggis Qayan's reign, i.e., 1209/1210.⁵⁵ Elsewhere the failed attempt to inundate the city and the subsequent conclusion of a peace is placed between the ninth and twelfth months of that year, i.e., from October 1, 1209 to January 26, 1210.⁵⁶ These are the dates that are generally accepted for the siege and I am by no means suggesting that they be rejected. However, since the *Lho-rong chos-'byung* dates it to the Horse Year (1210/1211, albeit with the climax of the siege coming in March and April, 1210) it is clear that we have a one-year discrepancy between our Chinese and Tibetan sources with regard to the specific year in which the Tangut capital was first besieged by the Mongols. There can be no doubt, of course, that their accounts deal with one and the same event. The only mitigating factor that can be adduced in this confusion is the existence of at least one other Chinese source that similarly places the siege in the year 1210/1211: the Yuan-era *Shengwu qinzheng lu* 聖武親征錄.⁵⁷

⁵³ On the first Mongol campaign against the Tangut state, see Dai Xizhang (1988, pp. 632–634), and Martin (1981, pp. 115–119). It was the Mongol perception that the Tanguts had failed to honour the terms of this peace (thus causing severe Mongol military losses) that precipitated the campaign that ended with the destruction of the Tangut state.

⁵⁴ See Sperling (1987a, pp. 36–37).

⁵⁵ Song Lian (1976, 1:14).

⁵⁶ Dai Xizhang (1988, pp. 633–634).

⁵⁷ *Shengwu qinzheng lu* (1927, 55:13b–14a). Cf. Wu Tianchi (1980, pp. 131–132).

Another significant feature of the the narratives cited above is the light they throw on the Tibetan chronology of the Tangut emperors. Once more the *Lho-rong chos-'byung* is of particular utility, as it allows us to consolidate the information so far available in Tibetan sources and to supply Tibetan dates for some of the Tangut emperors with whom the Tibetans were familiar. Moreover, for the first time we can reasonably link these emperors with those named in Chinese sources. We've already seen one of our modern Tibetan sourcers attempting this, albeit somewhat haphazardly. However, the *Lho-rong chos-'byung* makes this relatively easy by its inclusion of several dates pertinent to the reigns of the emperors. Thus, we can place the emperors encountered in our sources within the following time frame: Tha'i-hu, ?–1206; Sho-ho, 1206–1211/1212 (?); Rgyal-rgod, 1212/1213–1226; and Gnam Phe-yor, 1226–1227. If we correlate these dates with the well-accepted dates for the last Tangut emperors that we have in Chinese sources⁵⁸ we can draw up the following parallels:

Tibetan Name	Dates according to the <i>Lho-rong chos-'byung</i>	Chinese Name (with Temple Name)	Dates according to Chinese Sources
Tha'i-hu	?–1206	Weiming Chunyou 嵬名純祐 (Huanzong 桓宗)	1194–1206
Sho-ho	1206–1211/1212	Weiming Anquan 嵬名安全 (Xiangzong 襄宗)	1206–1211
Rgyal-rgod	1212/1213–1226	Weiming Zunxu 嵬名遵頊 (Shenzong 神宗)	1211–1223
		Weiming Dewang 嵬名德旺 (Xianzong 獻宗)	1223–1226
Gnam Phe-yor	1226–[1227]	Weiming Xian 嵬名峴	1226–1227

As can be seen here, the *Lho-rong chos-'byung*, the Tibetan text with the most explicit chronology for the last Tangut emperors and the earliest of our sources on Ti-shrī Ras-pa's sojourn among the Tanguts, comes close to matching the data that the more detailed Chinese sources provide. The one notable discrepancy is the apparent absence on the Tibetan list of a figure corresponding to Weiming Dewang. 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje, the authors of the *'Ba'-rom gser-*

⁵⁸ Concerning the dates for the Tangut emperors as given in Chinese sources, see Dunnell (1996, pp. xvii–xix), Li Fanwen (1983, insert following p. 320), and Wu Tianchi (1980, p. 43).

'*phreng*, in the *Khams-stod-kyi lo-rgyus thor-bsdus-su bkod-pa gangs-phrug bsu-ba'i shing-rta*, one of the modern Tibetan sources mentioned at the beginning of this paper, make some of the same connections, however their information on the Tangut emperors differs in some crucial respects with what we find in the *Lho-rong chos-'byung*. Most conspicuously, their '*Ba'-rom gser-'phreng* mentions a king whose name is given in Tibetan as Bha-tir. He is also mentioned by Ma-ti ratna, and by Karma rab-gsal as Bha-tid. 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje, as we have seen, equate him with Weiming Chunyou, the Tangut emperor who died in 1206. He is unmentioned in the *Lho-rong chos-'byung* and, significantly, none of the sources that mention him speak of his accession to the Tangut throne, just of his encounter with Ti-shrī Ras-pa. Given that they do speak specifically of other Tangut rulers taking the throne, I would propose that he was most likely a Tangut imperial prince who received Ti-shrī Ras-pa in his own domains.⁵⁹ Additionally, 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje equate Sho-ho with Weiming Anquan, the Tangut emperor whom Chinese sources tell us came to the throne in 1206, and then have Rgyal-rgod taking the throne when Sho-ho's rule (and not that of Tha'i-hu, as described in the texts of Ma-ti ratna and Karma rab-gsal) dissipates. But only a few lines later they place the transition from Sho-ho to Rgyal-rgod *after* the Mongol siege.⁶⁰ This internal contradiction undermines their reconciliation of the Tibetan and Chinese lists of emperors; it most likely derives from an attempt to integrate information from Ma-ti ratna with that found in the *Lho-rong chos-'byung*. We may note, though, that Rgyal-rgod's ascent is described accurately by Karma rab-gsal, given his identification with Weiming Zunxu. Though Karma rab-gsal omits mention of Sho-ho, he does indicate that Rgyal-rgod was not in the direct line from Tha'i-hu, but rather was the son of a kinsman (Tib. *gnyen-sras*). So too, Chinese sources make clear that Weiming Zunxu was a paternal cousin (Ch. *zuzi* 祖子) of his deceased predecessor Weiming Anquan.⁶¹

At this point we may briefly note that the fortunes of the '*Ba'-rom-pa* didn't dissolve with the Tangut state. As I noted in a previous article, the Mongol emperor Qubilai is said to have granted six places to Ras-pa dkar-po, Ti-shrī Ras-pa's disciple and successor, as part of the arrangement of relations between the Mongols and the '*Ba'-rom-pa*.⁶² Further details can now be added to what I wrote earlier. The six places in question were located in the valley of the Zla-chu (i.e., the upper waters of the Rdza-chu).⁶³ Each place was divided into two in order to create a total of twelve

⁵⁹ Since the Tibetan sources refer to all of the Tangut rulers as "king" (Tib. *rgyal-po*), we may surmise that he bore the Chinese title *wang* 王, which can denote a king or a prince, depending on the context.

⁶⁰ See note 35, above.

⁶¹ Dai Xizhang (1988, p. 637).

⁶² Sperling (1987a, pp. 34–35).

⁶³ The Zla-chu denotes the confluent streams of the Ngom-chu and the Rdza-chu after they converge at Chab-mdo; see Zhang Yisun et al. (1985, pp. 2476–2477). However, here it clearly indicates the upper waters of the Rdza-chu as it passes through Nang-chen. Moreover, note that Rdza and Zla are sometimes interchangeable in geographical references in this region. Note the variant names Rdza-gying-thang and Zla-gying-thang for the same place in note 65, below.

myriarchies, all subject to the 'Ba'-rom-pa. Of course, they could in no way be considered comparable to the thirteen myriarchies associated with Qubilai's grant to 'Phags-pa.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, their creation is indicative of a continuing awareness of and, one might add, respect for the role of the 'Ba'-rom-pa in harnessing the esoteric power inherent in the cult of Mahākāla to political and imperial enterprises. Not only is the grant of the myriarchies described as the basis for the development of an intertwined religious and secular system under the 'Ba'-rom-pa, but the myriarchies were specifically meant to provide the financial support for the reliquary *stūpa* erected by Ras-pa dkar-po for the remains of Ti-shrī Ras-pa, and a *vihāra* that was erected in front of it.⁶⁵

As recounted by both Ma-ti ratna and Karma rab-gsal, the six places along the Zla-chu valley constituting the twelve myriarchies of the 'Ba'-rom-pa were bestowed upon the sect during the lifetimes of both Qubilai and Ras-pa dkar-po, when Mongol troops traversed the Zla-chu area en route to A-mdo. Whether twelve myriarchies were actually designated as such may be questioned, but there seems little doubt that the 'Ba'-rom-pa, at this time, did enjoy authority – in accomodation with Mongol domination – in the area of Nang-chen where the myriarchies were to be found.⁶⁶

The authority of the 'Ba'-rom-pa derived from the subject's association with practices and doctrines relating to power that were part of a cult of Mahākāla. These rites find an early expression in texts linked to Rtsa-mi lo-tsā-ba, a Tangut of putative royal origins who travelled to Tibet and India in search of such teachings. I have

⁶⁴ Coincidentally we may note that twelve myriarchies – the same number accorded the 'Ba'-rom-pa – are said to have been established by the Mongols in the Jo-nang-pa region of 'Dzam-thang. See Ngag-dbang blo-gros grags-pa (1992, p. 123).

⁶⁵ See Ma-ti ratna (n.d., f. 117v), and 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje (1997, p. 40).

⁶⁶ Essentially the same story is recounted by Ma-ti ratna (n.d., f. 117v), 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje (1997, pp. 39–40), and Karma rab-gsal (1981, 6b–7a). When the Mongol armies under Qubilai were passing through the area Ras-pa dkar-po and an official whose title and name are variously written recorded as "*Gung-pa A-'u*" or "*Gung-sgom A'u*" went to meet the force. As a result, the former was appointed lama within the sphere of the dharma (Tib. *lha-chos*) and the latter "official" (Tib. *dpon*) within the sphere of the mundane world (Tib. *mi-chos*). Note the term *gung-sgom* for the secular official, an echo of the term *sgom-pa* as used by the 'Brig-gung-pa for their secular officials. *Gung-sgom A'u* is later enumerated by all of these sources as one of Ras-pa dkar-po's students (Ma-ti ratna [n.d., f. 118v], 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje [1997, p. 41], and Karma rab-gsal [1981, 7a]). The references to Qubilai indicate that this was during the time when he was still a prince. This most probably alludes to the incursions of Mongol troops in eastern Tibet under Uriyangqadai in 1253–1257, during the reign of Möngke. At that time troops were dispatched into A-mdo to man relay stations. See Petech (1990, pp. 61–62). The six places from which the twelve myriarchies were formed are named by Ma-ti ratna as: Stam-khar-skyā, Cham-mkhar-dmar, Rdza-gying-thang, Lcen-bde-khu, Lho Rta-shod, and ... (unclear) rag-thag. 'Jam-dbyangs tshul-khrims and Mkhan-po rdo-rje name them as: Stam-khar-skyā, Khyam-mkhar-dmar, Zla-gying-thang, Lce-dbe-khu, Rta-shod, and Rag-thag. Karma rab-gsal gives them as: Sti-mkhar-skyā, Cham-mkhar-dmar, Rdza-gying-thang, Lci... (unclear)-dbe-khung, Lho Rta... (unclear)-shod, and Ta-na rag-thag. Cf. the mention of a "Gying-thang" in Ti-shrī Ras-pa's itinerary en route to the Tangut realms in the passage from Karma rab-gsal, cited above.

viewed Rtsa-mi's career as indicative of Tangut interests in esoteric Buddhist doctrines concerning the acquisition of power. I must note that I have yet to come across references or evidence concerning Rtsa-mi's later career, specifically the nature of any direct contact he might have had with the Tangut realm and its rulers during and following the high period of his career in India. Nevertheless we can see in the accounts we have examined here one route that his teachings took in reaching the Tangut court, specifically from Rtsa-mi to Rgwa lo-tsā-ba; then, significantly, to Zhang Rin-po-che and finally to Ti-shrī Ras-pa. Seen from this perspective we can put the political activities of Zhang Rin-po-che, Ti-shrī Ras-pa's teacher, in a very specific light. His actions did not simply represent one person's use of force to attain territorial dominion; rather they represented the visible application, inside Tibet, of the teachings that Rtsa-mi had propounded. And it was these teachings that his disciple, Ti-shrī Ras-pa carried with him to the Tangut lands – "the realm of Rtsa-mi".

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