



BuddhistRoad

Dynamics in Buddhist Networks in Eastern Central Asia 6th–14th Centuries

BuddhistRoad Paper 1.5

INTRODUCTION TO SPECULATIVE THINKING: A HITHERTO UNKNOWN WORK OF MAJA JANGCHUP TSÖNDRÜ (D. 1185, RMA BYA BYANG CHUB BRTSON 'GRUS) IN TANGUT TRANSLATION

ZHOUYANG MA





BUDDHISTROAD PAPER

Peer reviewed

ISSN: 2628-2356

DOI: 10.46586/rub.br.244.221

BuddhistRoad Papers are licensed under the Creative Commons—Attribution NonCommercial—NoDerivates 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0).

You can find this publication also on the BuddhistRoad project homepage:

<https://buddhistroad.ceres.rub.de/en/publications/>

Please quote this paper as follows:

Ma, Zhouyang, “Introduction to Speculative Thinking: A Hitherto Unknown Work of Maja Jangchup Tsöndrü (d. 1185, rMa bya Byang chub brtson ’grus) in Tangut Translation,” *BuddhistRoad Paper 1.5* (2022).

CONTACT:

Principal Investigator: Prof. Dr. Carmen Meinert

BuddhistRoad | Ruhr-Universität Bochum | Center for Religious Studies (CERES)

Universitätsstr. 90a | 44789 Bochum | Germany

Phone: +49 (0)234 32-21683 | Fax: +49 (0) 234/32- 14 909

Email: BuddhistRoad@rub.de | Email: carmen.meinert@rub.de

Website: <https://buddhistroad.ceres.rub.de/>

BuddhistRoad is a project of



Centrum für Religionswissenschaftliche Studien
Center for Religious Studies

RUHR
UNIVERSITÄT
BOCHUM

RUB

SPONSORS:



European Research Council

Established by the European Commission



This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 725519).

INTRODUCTION TO SPECULATIVE THINKING:
A HITHERTO UNKNWON WORK OF MAJA JANGCHUP
TSÖNDRÜ (D. 1185, TIB. RMA BYA BYANG CHUB BRTSON
'GRUS) IN TANGUT TRANSLATION*

ZHOUYANG MA

Abstract

This paper is a study of a Tangut Buddhist text translated from a Tibetan treatise on Buddhist epistemology and logic (Skt. *pramāṇa*, Tib. *tshad ma*), titled *Sew² 'jij¹ 'o² śjij¹ dzju¹ sji² lju² tshjij²* 𐞗𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙 [The Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking] (Tib. **rTog ge la 'jug pa gsal bar byed pa'i rgyan*). The paper identifies the author of the text, 'Master Bodhi Diligence of Central Tibet' (Tang. Lji² phə¹ gu² lhjij² Po¹ tjij¹ jir² dzjij² 𐞗𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙), with Maja Jangchup Tsöndrū (d. 1185, Tib. rMa bya Byang chub brtson 'grus). Based on an appraisal of the content of the work, this paper observes that the treatise belongs to the genre of summary (Tib. *bsdus pa*) in the Sangpu Neutok (Tib. gSang phu ne'u thog) scholastic tradition of Buddhist epistemology. In addition to the text's content, this paper also discusses some features of Tangut manuscripts themselves and attempts to peer into the classroom of Tangut monks. The paper further explores the connection between Maja and the Tangut Empire, especially Maja's ties to Mt. Mati (Chin. Mati shan 馬蹄山). It concludes that he might have been the same person as 'Grand Master Diligence' (Tang. Khu¹ dzjij¹ mər² dzjij² 𐞗𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙), who transmitted certain teachings of the Great Seal (Skt. *mahāmudrā*, Tib. *phyag rgya chen po*) to the Tanguts.

* I would like to express my thanks to my reviewers—Prof. Carmen Meinert, Dr. Pascale Hugon, and Prof. Romain Lefebvre, and my sincere gratitude to all the people who raised questions and gave comments in my lecture on the topic on June 10th, 2021. I would also like to thank Prof. Leonard van der Kuijp, Prof. Kirill Solonin, and Prof. Thomas Doctor for reading my paper with great interest and providing valuable advice. The research leading to these results received funding from the Robert H. N. Ho Family Foundation Dissertation Fellowships in Buddhist Studies 2020 under the project title “Inner Asian Buddhist Revolution: The Rise of Tibetan Buddhism in the Tangut Xia State.”



1. Introduction

The fact that Tibetan Buddhism has been a phenomenon not only within Tibet but also beyond it is attested by the growth of its followers in the modern western world, as well as its success among many peoples of pre-modern Asia. In seeking to understand the dynamics that have made Tibetan Buddhism such a phenomenon, scholars' interests are often directed to the Tangut Empire (ca. 1038–1227, in Chinese sources known as Xixia 西夏), where Tibetan Buddhism made a significant early stop on its journey of transmission outside Tibet. Although Tibetan historical sources provide sporadic clues regarding the rise of Tibetan Buddhism in the Tangut Empire, the texts discovered in Karakhoto¹ (a military town on the northern border of the state) undoubtedly constitute a major corpus of materials for studying that history. Among the Karakhoto collection, the many Buddhist texts translated from Tibetan, whether in Tangut or Chinese, have allowed scholars to understand what teachings were introduced to the Tangut Empire and, in some cases, how they were transmitted and assimilated.²

The current research on these Buddhist texts that have Tibetan origins is, however, not without its blind spots. The emphasis at present is put unevenly on tantric materials,³ thus largely overlooking their non-tantric

¹ For a general introduction to these texts, see Shi Jinbo, *Tangut Language and Manuscripts: An Introduction*, trans. Hansong Li (Leiden: Brill, 2020), chap. 2.

² See Shen Weirong, “Reconstructing the History of Buddhism in Central Eurasia (11th–14th Centuries): An Interdisciplinary and Multilingual Approach to the Khara Khoto Texts,” in *Édition, éditions l'écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir*, ed. Anna Chayet, et al. (Munich: Indus Verlag, 2010), 337–362.

³ See, for example, Sun Changsheng 孙昌盛, *Xixiawen 'Jixiang bianzhi kouhe benxu' zhengli yanjiu* 西夏文《吉祥遍至口和本续》整理研究 [An Edition and Study of the Tangut *Samputatantra*] (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2015); Sun Bojun 孙伯君 and Nie Hongyin 聂鸿音, *Xixiawen zangchuan fojiao shiliao: 'Dashouyin' fa jingdian yanjiu* 西夏文藏传佛教史料: ‘大手印’法经典研究 [Tangut Sources of Tibetan Buddhism: A Study of Mahāmudrā Scriptures] (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 2018); Carmen Meinert, “Embodying the Divine in Tantric Ritual Practice: Examples from the Chinese Karakhoto Manuscripts from the Tangut Empire (ca. 1038–1227),” *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 50 (2019): 56–72; Carmen Meinert, “Production of Tantric Buddhist Texts in the Tangut Empire (11th to 13th c.): Insights from Reading Karakhoto Manuscript φ 249 + φ 327 金剛亥母修習儀 *Jingang haimu xiuxi yi* [The Ritual of the Yogic Practice of Vajravārāhī] in Comparison with Other Tantric Ritual Texts,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 44 (2021): 441–484; Kirill Solonin 索罗宁, *Dapeng zhanchi: Zangchuan xin jiu mizhou zai Xixia de chaunbo* 大鵬展翅: 藏傳新舊密

counterparts. Tangut texts of a doctrinal or scholastic nature of course exist, and we can obtain general ideas with respect to their contents based on the descriptions of the catalogues; yet, to date, most of these texts remain untouched.⁴ It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that our picture of Tibetan Buddhism in the Tangut Empire will remain partial if we do not take these doctrinal and scholastic texts into consideration. In addition to their value in terms of facilitating a more comprehensive understanding of Tibetan Buddhism as seen through the eyes of the Tanguts, some of them are also essential in assisting us in making more sense of its development in the early years of the second diffusion of Buddhism (Tib. *phyi dar*) in Tibet. The main reason for this is that some Tibetan works that are unavailable to us have been preserved in their relatively faithful Tangut translations. Consequently, these Tangut translations of the Tibetan originals that concern doctrinal and scholastic topics have the potential to make a particularly important contribution to the study of Tibetan Buddhist philosophy.

The recent publication of the 28th volume of the facsimiles of Karakhoto texts housed in Russia showcases a group of Tangut translations of Tibetan works on Buddhist epistemology and logic (Skt. *pramāṇa*, Tib. *tshad ma*).⁵ Among these texts, I have identified the Tangut translation of *Tshad ma yid kyi mun sel* [Epistemology—The Dispeller of the Mind’s Darkness] (henceforth *Epistemology*), the major work on

咒在西夏的傳播 [A Phoenix Spreading Its Wings: The Transmission of Old and New Tibetan Mantras in the Tangut Empire] (Shanghai guji chubanshe, forthcoming).

⁴ Related studies are largely limited to Krill Solonin’s pioneering research on the texts related to the Kadam school (Tib. *bka’ gdams pa*). See Kirill Solonin, “Dīpaṅkara in the Tangut Context: An Inquiry into the Systematic Nature of Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia (Part 1),” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 68.4 (2015): 425–451; Krill Solonin, “Dīpaṅkara in the Tangut Context: An Inquiry into the Systematic Nature of Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia (Part 2),” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 69.1 (2016): 1–25; Kirill Solonin and Kuowei Liu, “Atiśa’s *Satyadvayāvātāra* (*Bden pa gnyis la ’jug pa*) in the Tangut Translation: A Preliminary Study,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 45.1 (2017): 121–162.

⁵ *Eluosi kexueyuan dongfang yanjiusuo Sheng Bidebao fen suo cang Heishuicheng wenxian* 俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所藏黑水城文獻 [Karakhoto Manuscripts Collected in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences], 30 vols., comp. Eluosi kexueyuan dongfang yanjiusuo Sheng Bidebao fen suo 俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所, Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan minzu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院民族研究所, and Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996–2021, hereafter ECHC.

BuddhistRoad Paper 1.5. Ma, “Introduction to Speculative Thinking”



epistemology by Chapa Chökyi Senggé (1109–1169, Tib. *Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge*).⁶ I have also studied the Tangut translation of Dharmakīrti’s *Nyāyabindu* (Tib. *Rigs pa’i thigs pa*), and concluded that this translation was based on the Tibetan version translated and revised by Ngok Lotsawa Loden Shérap (ca. 1059–1109, Tib. *rNgog lo tsā ba bLo ldan shes rab*).⁷ On the basis of these results and preliminary observations of the other texts in this collection, I have made the tentative conclusion that the Tibetan Buddhist scholasticism received by the Tanguts came mainly from the Sangpu Neutok (Tib. *gSang phu ne’u thog*, henceforth Sangpu) tradition.⁸

In the present study, partly as a way to further substantiate my assumption, I shall provide a preliminary examination of one of these works, titled *Sew² jji¹ o² śjji¹ dźju¹ sji² lju² tshji²* 噶 孛 務 雜 娘 效 孩 [The Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking] (Tib. **rTog ge la ’jug pa gsal bar byed pa’i rgyan*), the Tibetan original of which is not available. I shall first review previous scholarship and describe the extant fragments of the Tangut translation, after which I shall attempt to identify the author with the twelfth-century Tibetan scholar Maja⁹ Jangchup Tsöndrü (d. 1185, Tib. *rMa bya Byang chub brtson ’grus*). In section 3, I provide a brief examination of the content of the work, and compare it with other works that had probably influenced it. This

⁶ Ma Zhouyang 马洲洋, “Xixia yi Zhengli chu yi zhi an chu tan 西夏译《正理除意之暗》初探 [A Preliminary Analysis of the Tangut Translation of *Tshad ma yid kyī mun sel*],” *Zhongguo zangxue* 中国藏学. *China Tibetology* 3 (2021): 138–145. For the most recent comprehensive examination of Chapa and his *Epistemology*, see Pascale Hugon and Jonathan Stoltz, *The Roar of a Tibetan Lion: Phya pa Chos kyī seng ge’s Theory of Mind in Philosophical and Historical Perspective* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2019).

⁷ Zhouyang Ma, “The *Nyāyabindu* in Tangut Translation,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 49.5 (2021): 779–825.

⁸ This will be discussed extensively in my forthcoming dissertation, “Inner Asian Buddhist Revolution: The Rise of Tibetan Buddhism in the Tangut Xia State,” Harvard University. On the Tibetan side, for a general introduction to Sangpu Neutok scholasticism, see Pascale Hugon, “Enclaves of Learning, Religious and Intellectual Communities in Tibet: The Monastery of *gSang phu ne’u thog* in the Early Centuries of the Later Diffusion of Buddhism,” in *Meanings of Community across Medieval Eurasia: Comparative Approaches*, ed. Eirik Hovden, Christina Lutter, and Walter Pohl (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 289–308.

⁹ The accurate pronunciation of the combination of the two Tibetan syllables *rma* and *bya* would be ‘Mabja’. However, in strict accord with the rules of the system of phonetic transcription established by the Tibetan Himalayan Library, I use ‘Maja’ consistently in this paper.

examination is followed by a study of certain multilingual features of the manuscripts. By putting this work in the context of the transmission of Tibetan Buddhism in the Tangut Empire, section 5 discusses the significance of the work. The final section of the present paper is a transcription and translation of the beginning of this work from Tangut.

2. Identification of Cat. no. 314

2.1 Cat. no. 314 and Previous Scholarship

It was in their 1963 catalogue that Zoya I. Gorbacheva and Evgenij I. Kychanov first realised that several Tangut fragments, namely #5073, #5114, #5801, and #7905 are parts of a single work, presumably because these fragments bear the same title at either their beginning or end. Hence, they assigned them one catalogue number 314 (henceforth cat. no. 314).¹⁰ Gorbacheva and Kychanov correctly identified and recorded the Tangut title as 𐞗𐞙𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡, yet they translated this into Chinese inaccurately, as ‘Ornament that Verifies the Notes According to the Introduction of Examination’ (Chin. *Cha ru shun ji yan zhuangyan* 察入順記驗莊嚴), which does not make much sense. The four fragments were not mentioned by Nishida Tatsuo in his 1977 catalogue,¹¹ and they were revisited only by Kychanov in his 1999 catalogue, where he gave some detailed descriptions of the four fragments.¹² For some reason, Kychanov added the character *lja*¹ (𐞗), ‘verse’, at the end of the Tangut title in the 1963 catalogue, making it *Sew*² *jij*¹ *o*² *sjij*¹ *džju*¹ *sji*² *lju*² *tshjij*² *lja*¹ (𐞗𐞙𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞗). There seem to be no grounds for this addition, however, since the character does not appear in the title of any fragment. Hui Hong (惠宏) and Duan Yuquan (段玉泉), in their 2015 catalogue,

¹⁰ Zoya I. Gorbacheva and Evgenij I. Kychanov, *Tangutskiye rukopisi i ksilografiy / Tangutskie rukopisi i ksilografiy* [Tangut Manuscripts and Xylographs] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoy literatury / Издательство восточной литературы, 1968), 114, 153.

¹¹ Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄, “Seika yaku batten mokuroku 西夏譯佛典目錄 [A Catalogue of Tangut Buddhist Scriptures],” in *Seikabun Kegonkyō* 西夏文華嚴經 [The Tangut Avatamsakasūtra] (Kyoto: Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University, 1977), 1–59.

¹² Kychanov, Evgenij I., *Katalog Tangyckix byddiycckix pamyatnikov Institut Vostokovedeniya Rossiyskoj Akademii Nauk / Katalog Tangutских буддийских памятников Института Востоковедения Российской Академии Наук* [Catalogue of Tangut Buddhist Texts, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences] (Kyoto: University of Kyoto Press, 1999), 509–510.



followed in general the description in Kychanov’s 1999 catalogue, retaining the character *lja*¹ (𑖗𑖛) at the end, but they changed the Chinese translation of the title to ‘The Verses of the Ornament that Summarises the Teaching of the Introduction to Examination’ (Chin. *Cha zhi ru fa quan she zhuang yan ji* 察之入法詮攝庄严偈).¹³ This translation, despite its coherence, is flawed because Hui and Duan added, in addition to Kychanov’s modification, ‘teaching’ (Chin. *fa* 法), which is not in the Tangut title.¹⁴

With the publication of the facsimiles of the fragments in EHC 28, we are now obliged to return to the ground on which Gorbacheva and Kychanov stood in 1963, and confirm that the title is *The Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking* (Tang. *Sew*² *·jjj*¹ *·o*² *šjjj*¹ *džju*¹ *·sji*² *lju*² *tshjjj*² 𑖗𑖛 𑖗𑖛 𑖗𑖛 𑖗𑖛 𑖗𑖛 𑖗𑖛 𑖗𑖛 𑖗𑖛 𑖗𑖛). EHC 28 also contains another fragment of the work, namely #5112,¹⁵ which was not mentioned in any previous catalogue. Consequently, we now have five fragments in total of the work at hand, all of which are manuscripts. For the convenience of description, I rename them as F1–F5. Although they seem to be different volumes¹⁶ of the work, none of them is complete. They lack either a beginning or an end. Table 1 summarises their sizes, formats, and contents, based on Kychanov’s 1999 catalogue.

Kychanov noticed that F1 preserves the Sanskrit title of the work in the form of Tangut phonetic transcription (see fig. 1),¹⁷ yet he did not try to transcribe the title in his catalogue. My transcription and reconstruction of the title are the following:

𑖗𑖛 𑖗𑖛

*Tja*¹ *rjir*² *kja*¹ *·ja bja*² *tja*¹ *rjar*¹ *pji*¹ *rjar*¹ (*swa*¹?) (?) *kja*¹ *·ja lja*² *ŋə*² *kja*¹ *rjar*¹ *nja*² *mja*¹

¹³ Hui Hong 惠宏 and Duan Yuquan 段玉泉, *Xixia wenxian jieti mulu* 西夏文献解题目录 [A Descriptive Catalogue of Tangut Literature] (Yinchuan: Yangguang chubanshe, 2015), 297.

¹⁴ They most likely took the nominalizer *šjjj*¹ (𑖗𑖛) as *tsjir*¹ (𑖗𑖛).

¹⁵ However, EHC 28 recorded it incorrectly as #5119, presumably because the editors misread the numeral ‘2’ written on the manuscript as ‘9’.

¹⁶ At the beginning or end of each fragment, a volume number is indicated. I use ‘volume’ consistently in this paper to translate the Tangut word 𑖗𑖛, which is a loanword of the Chinese *juan* (卷).

¹⁷ Kychanov, *Katalog Tangyckix bydijckix pamyatnikov Institut Boctokovedeniya Poccijckoy Akademii Hayk*, 509.

Tarka-avatāra-pra(sva?)(?)ka-alaṃkāra-nāma

Inventory number	Volume number	Size and Format	Content
#5114 (F1)	One	21 × 64 cm 21 characters a line in the prose part	Beginning of the first volume. Opening verses and some prose written in a cursive style.
#5112 (F2)	One	About the same size as #5114. 19 characters a line in the prose part	Beginning of the first volume. Clearly by a different hand from #5114.
#5073 (F3)	Two	19.5×593 cm 22 characters a line	Beginning of the second volume.
#5801 (F4)	Two	19.5×51 cm 22–23 characters a line	End of the second volume. Might be the same manuscript as #5801 because of the similar size and format.
#7905 (F5)	Eight	20×487 cm 26 characters a line	Beginning of the eighth volume. This fragment is further broken into several pieces. ¹⁸

Table 1. Description of the five fragments of the text.

¹⁸ The contents of some of these pieces do not seem to form coherent narratives in relation to the others. It is possible, therefore, that some pieces of F5 are in fact from other volumes, rather than from volume eight.

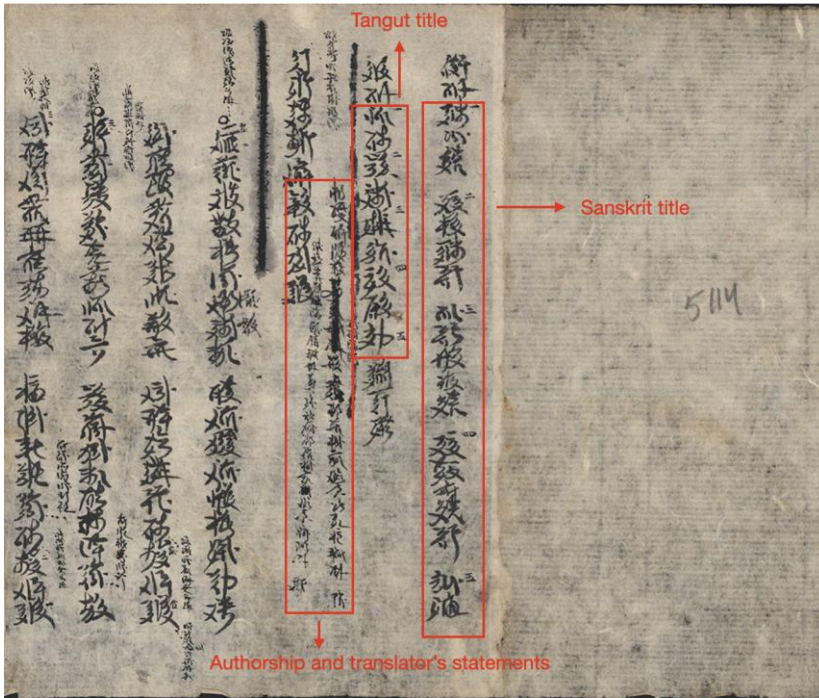


Figure 1. The beginning of Fl. Karakhoto. #5114, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.

Even though there are two illegible characters in between,¹⁹ with the hint of the reconstructed Sanskrit title, we can now safely and accurately translate the Tangut title as *The Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking*. In particular, because the Sanskrit title starts with *tarka*, it is more reasonable to translate the Tangut word *sew*² (𑖧𑖩), literally meaning ‘conceptual thought’, as ‘speculative thinking’.²⁰

Of course, the fact that the work has a Sanskrit title does not in itself warrant its being considered a translation from Sanskrit. Kychanov had already recorded correctly in his catalogue the name of the author that

¹⁹ If we take the first character of these two as *swa*¹ (𑖧𑖩), then it seems we can at least decide the term for ‘to clarify’ stems from the root *pra-sad*.

²⁰ *Sew*² (𑖧𑖩) is normally used to translate Tibetan *rtog pa*, literally meaning ‘conceptual thought’. In this case, as *tarka* indicates Tibetan *rtog ge*, I use ‘speculative thinking’ to translate *sew*² (𑖧𑖩). Tibetan *rtog ge* can be seen as *rtog pa*, plus an intensifier.

appears at the beginnings of F3 and F5.²¹ The Tangut reads ‘Master Bodhi Diligence of Central Tibet’ (Tang. *Lji² phə¹ gu² lhji² Po¹ tji¹ jir² dzji²* 懶夔辭續 類 類 類 類). Hence, it is clear that the work was composed by a Tibetan, and that the Sanskrit title is merely an artificial construction. It is likely that, when the treatise was translated, the Tangut translator translated the Tibetan title but left the Sanskrit one in phonetic transcription. Based on the Tangut and Sanskrit titles, a possible reconstruction of the Tibetan title is **rTog ge la ’jug pa gsal bar byed pa ’i rgyan*. The catalogues do not discuss the identity of the author or give other bibliographic information related to the work. These are the primary issues addressed in the following sections.

Before we turn to that discussion, however, more information can be extracted from the fragments. The highest volume number of these fragments is eight, thus showing that the work consisted of at least eight volumes in its Tangut translation. Based on the lengths of the extant fragments of the second volume, we can safely deduce that this was a relatively long Tibetan treatise. Also, the fact that F1, F2, F3, and F5 were likely written by different hands bespeaks the plausibility that the Tangut translation was copied onto several different manuscripts which were used by multiple persons. This shows that the work was a rather popular one among the Tanguts, at least the ones in Karakhoto.

2.2 Authorship

Let us now examine the name of the author which appears in the authorship statement found by Kychanov. The Tangut name is composed of two parts, the first part consisting of the two characters *po¹ tji¹* (類 類) which phonetically represent Sanskrit *bodhi*.²² The second part is the character *jir²* (類), which means ‘diligence’, as in Tibetan *tsöndrü* (*brtson ’grus*). Hence, *po¹ tji¹ jir²* (類 類 類) reflects Tibetan *jangchup tsöndrü* (*byang chub brtson ’grus*). Despite its being a rather common religious name in Tibetan history, considering the context and the period, the first choice is to take Jangchup Tsöndrü as Maja Jangchup Tsöndrü.

This assumption, of course, requires more evidence to support it. Unfortunately, since accounts of Maja’s life are rare, finding evidence that

²¹ Kychanov states that the colophon also appears at the beginning of F1; however, we cannot see it there (see appendix).

²² Although ultimately a phonetic transcription of Sanskrit, the Tangut word likely derived from its Chinese antecedent, *pu ti* (菩提).



can associate him with the Tanguts is a scholarly challenge. The relatively substantial source that is often quoted is the biographical sketch of him in the late fifteenth-century *Deb ther sngon po* [Blue Annals].²³ According to that text, his teachers included Chapa, Patsap Nyima Drak (1055?–1145?, Tib. Pa tshab Nyi ma grags), Khu Dodébar (fl. late 11th to early 12th c., Tib. Khu mDo sde 'bar), and the Kashmirian Paṇḍita Jayānanda (fl. 12th c.). He was skilled in Buddhist scriptures (Tib. *lung*), Buddhist epistemology, and the Middle Way (Tib. *dbu ma*, Skt. *madhyakama*), and wrote commentaries on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (Tib. *dBu ma rtsa ba tshig le 'ur byas pa*); Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* (Tib. *Tshig gsal*); and Jayānanda's *Tarkamudgara* (Tib. *rTog ge tho ba*). It is also because of the *Blue Annals* that we know he died in 1185: “the 17th year after Chapa's death in the earth-female-ox year [1169]”.²⁴ In general, Maja is viewed in Tibetan intellectual history as an important early figure of the Kadam school, who promulgated the *prasaṅgika* (Tib. *thal 'gyur*), position of consequence of the Middle Way.²⁵ No mention is made of his connection with the Tanguts in the *Blue Annals*, and there is likewise no mention that he wrote a work bearing the title, *The Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking*.

Three of his works are available to us. The first one, *'Thad pa'i rgyan* [Ornament of Reason], is his commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*.²⁶ Another one is his *dBu ma rig pa'i tshogs kyi rgyan de kho na nyid snang ba'i rtsa ba* [Root Verses of the Ornament of the Collection of Reasoning of the Middle Way: Appearance of Reality].²⁷ The third one, which bears the same title as the former with only ‘root verses’ left out, is his auto-commentary on the former.²⁸ None of these three works can be said to have a strong connection to the Tangut translation with which we

²³ See *Deb sngon*, 406–407. For a translation of this passage, see George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (Delhi, Patna, Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1949), 354.

²⁴ *Deb sngon*, 400.6–7: *phywa pa sa mo glang la gshegs nas lo bcu bdun la rma bya byang brtson gshegs* /.

²⁵ Thomas Doctor, *Reason and Experience in Tibetan Buddhism: Mabja Jangchub Tsöndrū and the Traditions of the Middle Way* (London: Routledge, 2014), 11.

²⁶ See *'Thad rgyan*. For a translation of the text, see Mabja Jangchub Tsöndrū, *Ornament of Reason: The Great Commentary on Nāgārjuna's 'Root of the Middle Way,'* trans. Dharmachakra Translation Committee (Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 2011).

²⁷ See *sNang ba'i rtsa ba*. For a translation of the text, see Thomas Doctor, *Reason and Experience in Tibetan Buddhism: Mabja Jangchub Tsöndrū and the Traditions of the Middle Way* (London: Routledge, 2014).

²⁸ See *sNang ba*.

are dealing at present, because all of them concern primarily the Middle Way. The *Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking*, in contrast, is a treatise that aims at expounding Buddhist epistemology.²⁹ Therefore, available Tibetan sources cannot assist us very far in determining Maja’s authorship of the work extant in Tangut translation.

Returning to the Tangut text itself, however, we find more traces that can serve this purpose. When examining F2, I observed two more lines of the colophon that are written in a smaller size at the very right of the fragment. These two lines are severely damaged due to the beginning’s having been torn off. They are barely legible in the facsimile published in ECHC 28, but are better shown on the coloured image I obtained from the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg (see fig. 2).³⁰ Based on this observation, I realised that these two lines are also written on F1, immediately after the Tibetan title in small, cursive script, which is also quite illegible (see fig. 1). Both lines contain some critical bibliographic information. While the second line will be discussed in section 4 of the present paper due to its relevance to that section, the first line of F2 is transcribed and translated below:



Composed by Master Bodhi Diligence, the monk from the Great Peacock Monastery in Central Tibet who is skilled in [...] the Three Vehicles.

This line is obviously also an authorship statement, yet it adds more qualifiers to the author. The key phrase here is *wor¹ le²* (𑖓𑖔), literally meaning ‘peacock’—which is the exact meaning of the place name from which Jangchup Tsöndrü might have come: *rma bya* (maja)! The only issue that needs further elaboration in this instance is that the sentence does not say ‘Peacock Bodhi Diligence’ directly; instead, it says he is “from the Great Peacock Monastery in Central Tibet”. Thomas Doctor remarks, Maja “comes across as an unusual name or title for a person in Tibet”.³¹ According to the Tangut colophon, then, Jangchup Tsöndrü acquired the title because of his relationship to the monastery named after

²⁹ This is already implied by the term ‘speculative thinking’ in its title. See section 3 of the present paper for further discussion on its content.

³⁰ My sincere gratitude to Ms. Alla Alekseevna Sizova at the IOM for helping me obtain the images of F1 and F2.

³¹ Doctor, *Reason and Experience in Tibetan Buddhism*, 6.

his home region, Maja. In any case, with the name ‘Bodhi Diligence’ and the qualifier ‘peacock’, the argument that the author is different from the Maja introduced above is difficult to sustain.

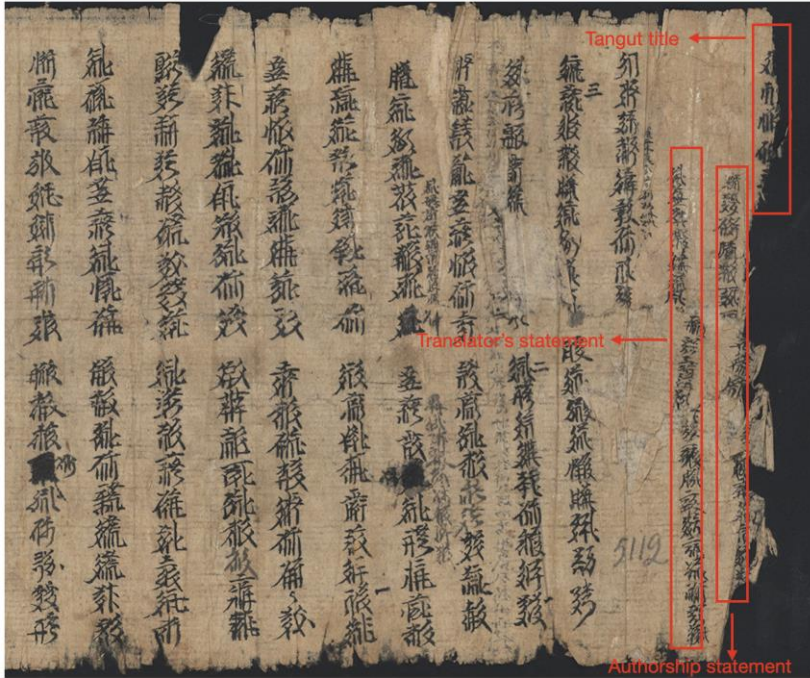


Figure 2. The beginning of F2. Karakhoto. #5112, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.

2.3 Further Evidence

If the information in the colophon does not seem completely satisfactory, further evidence in support of the argument that Maja is the author exists, of course, in the Tangut text. These textual signs become highly persuasive if we believe that Maja, like many other Tibetan scholars, had intentionally designed his works with some of his idiosyncrasies. Of course, no piece of evidence from the following list alone can prove Maja’s authorship; instead, considered together, they delineate the profile of Maja.

First of all, we notice that Maja was inclined to begin (or conclude, in Tibetan)³² his titles with ornament (Tib. *rgyan*), which is attested by all three of the works attributed to him in Tibetan, mentioned above. Implanting one's 'signature' into their titles was not uncommon for Tibetan scholars. We can easily recall here that one of Maja's Kadam successors, Chomden Rikpé Reldri (Tib. Bcom ldan Rig[s] pa'i ral gri), alias Darma Gyeltsen (1227–1305, Tib. Dar ma rgyal mtshan), in most of the cases began (or concluded, in Tibetan) his titles with ornament of flower (Tib. *rgyan gyi me tog*). Here, the author of the Tangut translation also began (or concluded, in Tangut) his title with 'ornament'. Granted, ornament, as part of the title, is not uncommon throughout Buddhist history; but it is not such a known quantity among the Tibetan works from that period.

Next, let us examine the opening verses of the Tangut translation preserved in F1 and F2. What we notice immediately from the verses is that every line consists of nine characters, thus indicating nine syllables. As the Tanguts normally kept the original number of syllables when translating Tibetan verses, we can deduce that the Tibetan original of *The Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking* likely had nine syllables per line at its beginning. Interestingly, the opening verses of Maja's *Ornament of Reason*, the verses in his *Root Verses of the Ornament of the Collection of Reasoning of the Middle Way*, and the opening verses of his auto-commentary on the former all have nine syllables per line. Hence, the Tangut translation does not pose an inconsistent case. It is possible that Maja intentionally formatted the opening verses of his works in this way.

Beyond these considerations, we can also observe a shared ethos between the opening verses in the Tangut text and those in Maja's *Ornament of the Collection of Reasoning of the Middle Way*. Some words and expressions in the opening verses of this Tibetan treatise on the Middle Way have perfectly matching equivalents in those of the Tangut text. The table below shows the correspondence between them. The numbers following the words and expressions are those of the lines in which they are found:

³² English, an SVO language, would have the qualified head noun at the beginning of a clause. Contrarily, Tibetan, an SOV language, would have the head noun at the end of a clause. Tangut, having the same typology as Tibetan does, follows the same SOV syntax.



Tibetan in <i>The Ornament of the Collection of Reasoning of the Middle Way</i>	Tangut in <i>The Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking</i>	Meaning
<i>zab cing rgya che</i> (3)	𐽄𐽀𐽄𐽀 (1)	deep and broad
<i>zhabs la spyi bos 'dud</i> (8)	𐽄𐽀𐽄𐽀𐽄𐽀𐽄𐽀 (12)	to bow down one's head to the feet
<i>rtse cig yid kyis</i> (11)	𐽄𐽀𐽄𐽀 (6)	with a focused mind ³³
<i>skye bo phal cher</i> (14)	𐽄𐽀𐽄𐽀𐽄𐽀 (15)	living beings, usually
<i>chags sdang rmong pa</i> (14)	𐽄𐽀𐽄𐽀 (21)	desire, anger, ignorance

Table 2. Related words and expressions in the Tangut and Tibetan texts. The numbers in brackets indicate the lines in which they are found.

The most striking fact is that line 17 in the Tangut text reflects exactly what is found in line 15 in the Tibetan text. In the following passage, I shall first list the Tangut line and translate it. I shall then provide the Tibetan line and its translation:

𐽄𐽀𐽄𐽀𐽄𐽀𐽄𐽀𐽄𐽀 (17)

[Living beings] cannot distinguish between fine and faulty explanations.

/ legs bshad nyes bshad rnam par mi phyed pas / (15)

[Because living beings] do not distinguish between fine and faulty explanations [...]

The two lines have not only almost identical meanings, but also share a solid philological bond. While *tshijj*¹ (𐽄𐽀) has the same meaning as *bshad*, *legs* and *nyes* are mirrored in *śjwi*² (𐽄𐽀) and *dźjar*² (𐽄𐽀). Therefore, *śjwi*² *tshijj*¹ *dźjar*² *tshijj*¹ (𐽄𐽀𐽄𐽀𐽄𐽀𐽄𐽀) establishes a ‘morpheme-to-

³³ While *rtse cig* means ‘focused’, it would literally mean ‘pure’; yet, it is possible that the Tangut translator rendered the phrase rather freely. Also, *phji*¹ (𐽄𐽀) matches well with *yid*, as does the instrumental particle *ṅwu*² (𐽄𐽀) with *kyis*.

morpheme' translation of *legs bshad nyes bshad*. Further, *mə² jji¹* (𐞗𐞘) is a Tangut equivalent of the Tibetan *rnam pa*; and, *phie²* (𐞗), as a verb, properly translates *phyed*. The only difference between the two lines is that the Tangut line ends with a modal verb *njwi²* (𐞗), 'can', which is not manifested in the Tibetan line. Even so, we may deduce that the original Tibetan line on which the Tangut translation was based was almost identical to the line from Maja's *Ornament of the Collection of Reasoning of the Middle Way*.

It should be noted, however, that this line is not exclusive to Maja.³⁴ It also appears in the concluding verses of Ngok Lotsawa's commentary on difficult points in Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (Tib. *Tshad ma rnam nges*),³⁵ yet the contexts are slightly different.³⁶ Nevertheless, the close ties between Maja's work and the Tangut translation in terms of word- and phrase-usage in their opening verses show that their structures and contents are related as well. Both texts begin by paying homage to the Buddha, then to the Indian masters. In *The Ornament of the Collection of Reasoning of the Middle Way*, the homage is directed to Nāgārjuna; in the Tangut text, the homage is paid, as expected, to Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. In particular, they discuss in their final sections why living beings cannot realise the truth, and what should be done to solve this problem. Readers can refer to appendix 1 of the present paper for a translation of the opening verses of the Tangut text, and compare it with the Tibetan.

Finally, one more place in the opening verses of *The Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking* requires our special attention. In lines 9–12, the author pays homage to his lama (Tib. *bla ma*), literally high master. These lines read:

I bow down my head reverentially,
to the lotus feet of the high master, the venerable one, the lion,

³⁴ My thanks to Dr. Pascale Hugon for pointing this out to me.

³⁵ *dKa' gnas*, 144a3: / *legs bshad nyes bshad rnam par mi phyed pa* // *gzu lums rnam kyis da lta 'di na 'jig* / ("The presumptuous ones who cannot distinguish between fine and faulty explanations now crumble here in this work").

³⁶ See the previous note. It is interesting to notice here that Maja used this line to express the necessity of composing his work, while Ngok Lotsawa wrote this line, together with the following one, to show the consequence of having composed his work.



who clarifies the mode of being of what is knowable, the intention of the sage, with the correct agent of beholding—the two eyes of knowledge!³⁷

What draws our attention at once is the expression ‘lion’ (Tang. *ka² ts’ji²* 鞞𑖀𑖂). Recall that one of Maja’s primary teachers was Chapa, whose religious name, Chökyi Senggé, means ‘the lion of religion’. Although Chapa is famous for his thoughts on the Middle Way, his writings on Buddhist epistemology were also seminal in the development of the field of Tibetan intellectual history.³⁸ Here, the expression, ‘the two eyes of knowledge’ is undoubtedly describing quality of the ‘lion’ being a master in Buddhist epistemology, since the ‘two eyes’ can metaphorically mean the two means of knowledge—namely, direct perception (Skt. *pratyakṣa*, Tib. *mngon sum*) and inference (Skt. *anumāna*, Tib. *rjes dpag*). Interestingly, the rhetoric and wording here resemble, albeit in a loose way, one verse in Maja’s *Ornament of Reason* in which he describes the qualities of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*. Note the bifurcated metaphor and words such as ‘clarify’ in the verse:

The deep and profound *vajra*-like words of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* clarify exactly the basis, path, and result of the Middle Way, which destroys all imagined mountains of the two extremes while not abiding in either eternalism or nihilism, or in existence or pacification.³⁹

Considering the weight of the aforementioned evidence, whether direct or indirect, we could conclude with confidence that *The Ornament of the Collection of Reasoning of the Middle Way* is a Tangut translation of a hitherto unknown work of Maja from the twelfth century. This argument can be substantiated further by the next section of the present paper because, when examining the content of the work, it is apparent that some of Maja’s ideas originated in the works of his teachers.

³⁷ Appendix 1: 鞞𑖀𑖂終鞞𑖀𑖂菟鞞𑖀𑖂𑖀, 鞞𑖀𑖂菟鞞𑖀𑖂鞞𑖀𑖂鞞𑖀𑖂, 鞞𑖀𑖂菟鞞𑖀𑖂鞞𑖀𑖂鞞𑖀𑖂.

鞞𑖀𑖂菟鞞𑖀𑖂鞞𑖀𑖂鞞𑖀𑖂, 鞞𑖀𑖂菟鞞𑖀𑖂鞞𑖀𑖂鞞𑖀𑖂.

³⁸ For Chapa’s thoughts on the Middle Way and epistemology, see Pascale Hugon, “Can One be a Mādhyamika, a Crypto-Vaiḥāṣika, and a Faithful Interpreter of Dharmakīrti? On Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge’s Doxographical Divisions and His Own Philosophical Standpoint,” *Zangxue xuekan* 藏学学刊. *Journal of Tibetology* 15 (2016): 51–153. See also Hugon, Pascale, and Jonathan Stoltz, *The Roar of a Tibetan Lion*, chap. 1.

³⁹ *Thad rgyan*, 1b2–3: / *mtha’ gnyis brtags pa’i ri bo kun ’joms shing / / rtag chad srid zhir mi gnas dbu ma yi / / gzhi lam ’bras bu ji bzhin gsal byed pa / / shes rab rtsa ba zab yangs rdo rje’i tshig /.*

3. A Brief Examination of the Content of the Work

3.1 Overview

The available fragments of *The Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking* allow us to examine parts of its contents in volumes one, two, and eight. In volume one (F1 and F2), having finished his opening verses, Maja divides his work into two parts: the cognitive object (Tang. *mji²* 訶, Tib. *yul), and the object-bearer (Tang. *mji² lhew²* 訶繼, Tib. *yul can) or cognition (Tang. *sjij²* 牒, Tib. *shes pa). He then further compartmentalises the cognitive object as three types—namely, the real particular (Tang. *wo² jji¹ tsjir² rjar¹* 鑿翳毘羶, Tib. *don rang [gi] mtshan nyid), the concept (Tang. *wo² gu²* 鑿徧, Tib. *don spyi), and the cognitive object of non-conceptual erroneous cognition (Tang. *sew² mjij¹ lha¹ jji¹ mji²* 徹徧羶訶, Tib. *rtog med 'khrul pa 'i yul). Following the outline is his very brief discussion of each of the three types. He claims, “in terms of the different ways the cognition engages [the cognitive object], there are three types of the object” (Tang. *sjij² jji¹ o² sjij¹ tji² do² ya¹ bju¹, mji² so¹ ma² we² ηwu²* 牒訶訶徧徧毘羶, Tib. *gzung yul), the intentional object (Tang. *zji¹ mji²* 徧訶, Tib. *zhen yul), and the engaged object (Tang. *o² mji²* 訶訶, Tib. *jug yul). Maja starts his analysis of the apprehended object by stating that it includes “any object that appears to the cognition” (Tang. *lji¹ kji¹ sjij² ya¹ sja² jji¹ mji² ηwu²* 輒發牒徧羶訶). He further says that only the object of non-conceptual non-erroneous cognition, in this case, is conventionally true, whereas the other two objects—of conceptual and of non-conceptual erroneous cognitions—are conventionally false. Having said that, he presents a variety of interesting opinions on this issue held by “some holders of philosophical systems” (Tang. *sjij¹ bju² jji¹ mjij² tshiw¹* 訶徧徧羶, Tib. *grub mtha' 'dzin pa kha cig). However, our text unfortunately ends there, preventing us thereby from probing further into his thoughts in this volume. Appendix 1 of the present paper is a translation of the part available to us in volume one.

The second volume starts with a discussion (F3) of the workings of definition (Tib. *mtshan nyid*). The text begins with the topic, “Second, the definition of the definiendum” (Tang. *nji¹ tsew², nur¹ lew¹ jji¹ tsjir² rjar¹* 牒徧, Tib. *gnyis pa mtshon bya 'i mtshan nyid). The topic



following it on the same level is “Third, the definition of the definitional instance” (Tang. *sɔ¹ tsew², tsjir² mji¹ jji¹ tsjir² rjar¹* 散殊, 咸比託不而咸形, Tib. **gsum pa mtshan gzhi'i mtshan nyid*). Hence, we know the topic preceding these two is likely “First, the definition of the definiens” (Tib. **dang po mtshan nyid kyi mtshan nyid*).⁴⁰ These three elements, which form the basis of definition,⁴¹ are followed by further analysis of definition. The stock example of the cow (Tang. *gur¹* 牦, Tib. **ba lang*) defined by the definiens ‘hump’ (Tang. *phow²* 峯, Tib. **nog*) and ‘dewlap’ (Tang. *lji² thji¹* 犍頰, Tib. **lkog shal*) with the definitional instance, ‘the white mottled cow’ (Tang. *zewr¹ gur¹* 斑牦, Tib. **dkar zal*), is often used. The detailed topical outline (Tib. *sa bcad*) imbedded in this portion of the text allows us to view, in part, the structure of the second volume. Based on the logical connections of these topics, I have reorganised all of the upper-level topics shown in F3 with the multi-level list below. The beginning several topics are reconstructed in square brackets without Tangut.⁴² Then, each topic is presented with the English translation of the Tangut original, which is transcribed in round brackets. The Tangut line is followed by its position in the fragment. The position of the text is cited in the following form: ‘frame number. line number’; therefore, ‘1.4’ would mean the fourth line of the first frame of the fragment:

1. [The way what is knowable is included in the three properties.⁴³]
2. [Bringing to conclusion the nature of the three properties, which include what is knowable.]
 - 2.1. [Identifying the nature of the three properties.]

⁴⁰ It would seem strange at first glance that the volume does not begin with the first topic. However, this does not contradict the Tanguts’ practice of translation elsewhere. I have pointed out that the way of deciding the length of a volume for the Tangut translation of Chapa’s *Epistemology* is not qualitative but quantitative. This means that the translator would arbitrarily conclude a volume based on a certain number of Tibetan words translated, regardless of whether the end of a volume forms a logical conclusion. See Ma, “Xixia yi Zhengli chu yi zhi an chu tan,” 143.

⁴¹ For the mechanism of definition discussed in early Tibetan epistemological works, especially in those of Chapa, see Pascale Hugon, “The Origin of the Theory of Definition and Its Place in Phya pa Chos kyi señ ge’s Philosophical System,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 32.1–2 (2010): 319–368.

⁴² The reconstruction is based on Tsangnakpa’s commentary, which assists us greatly in this case. See section 3.3.

⁴³ The ‘three properties’ (Tang. *sɔ¹ tsjir¹* 散視, Tib. **chos gsum*) here obviously refer to the definiens, the definiendum, and the definitional instance. The term should not be confused with the ‘three properties’ used by Chapa to define the definiens of the definiens.



- 2.1.1. [The definition of each of the three properties.]
 - 2.1.1.1. [The definition of the definiens.]
 - 2.1.1.2. Determining the definition of the definiendum (Tang. *nur¹ lew¹ jji¹ tsjir² rjar¹ thju¹ thju¹ phji¹* 骸纒循威形解解祇, 1.4).
 - 2.1.1.3. The definition of the definitional instance (Tang. *tsjir² mji¹ jji¹ tsjir² rjar¹* 威比龍循威形, 2.14).
- 2.1.2. Because the three properties are mutually⁴⁴ [dependent], the analysis is threefold (Tang. *so¹ tsjir¹ jji¹ gu² ηwu² jiw¹, tshji² kjji¹ jji¹ so¹ ηwu²* 散禪壽解散骸, 解威循散骸, 3.5).
- 2.1.2.1. Identifying the categorical exclusion property⁴⁵ (Tang. *jji¹ lhjwo¹ mjo¹ lju²* 壽熾緣發, 3.7).
- 2.1.2.2. How those are connected⁴⁶ (Tang. *thja¹ ηewr² thji² sjo² bej¹ wə¹ jji¹ tji²* 禪散壽解骸⁴⁷解循威, 3.17).
- 2.1.2.3. The means of knowledge that determines the condition of connection (Tang. *bej¹ jiw¹ thju¹ thju¹ sji² tshja² kar¹* 骸緣解解統纒緣, 3.24).
- 2.1.3. Having determined their connections with definition, the way each one is indicated⁴⁸ (Tang. *tsjir² rjar¹ rji² bej¹ wə¹ dja² thju¹ thju¹ zji¹, lji¹ lji¹ nur¹ sjji¹* 威形茲骸緣壽解解骸, 骸骸骸纒, 4.17).
- 2.1.3.1. The indication that involves the categorical exclusion property (Tang. *jji¹ lhjwo¹ ηwu² nur¹* 壽熾散骸, 4.19).
- 2.1.3.2. The indication that does not involve other exclusion properties⁴⁹ (Tang. *dzji² lhjwo¹ nja² nur¹* 骸熾慣骸, 4.23).

⁴⁴ *jji¹ gu²* (壽解), Tib. **phan tshun*.
⁴⁵ *jji¹ lhjwo¹* (壽熾), Tib. **rang ldog*.
⁴⁶ *bej¹ wə¹* (骸緣), Tib. **'brel ba*.
⁴⁷ *bej¹* (骸) em.; (骸) F3.
⁴⁸ *nur¹ sjji¹* (骸纒), Tib. **mtshon pa*.
⁴⁹ *dzji² lhjwo¹* (骸熾), Tib. **gzhan ldog*.



2.1.3.3. Rejecting objections with regard to that (Tang. *thja¹ ya² tshiq² dzjir¹* 耗耗爾似, 5.12).

2.2. The object established by that [=the set of the three properties] (Tang. *thja¹ ηwu² dja² sjij¹ jji¹ wo²* 耗救蕞爾爾, 9.17).

2.3. While establishing it like that, eliminating the confusion of the ignorant persons whose intellect does not go into it (Tang. *thja¹ sju² dja² sjij¹ kha¹, thja¹ ya² phji¹ mji² tshew¹ we¹ mjiij² ηewr² jji¹ lha² ?* 耗耗蕞爾爾, 耗耗爾似, 10.12).

3. The way of positing⁵⁰ all the phenomena, the identity⁵¹ and the exclusion property, as so and not so by means of that so-examined set of three properties (Tang. *wji² kji¹ ki⁰ jji¹ tsjir¹ so¹ m² thja¹ ηwu² d² tsjir² lji¹ lhjwo¹ tsjir¹ ηowr² ηowr² thja¹ lji¹ thja¹ nja² thu¹ phjij¹ sjij¹ tji²* 耗救蕞爾爾, 耗救蕞爾爾, 14.7).

3.1. Identifying the phenomena that depend on the identity and the exclusion property, which are to be posited (Tang. *thu¹ lew² d² tsjir² lji¹ lhjwo¹ ya² gi² tsjir¹ mjor¹ lju²* 耗蕞爾爾, 耗蕞爾爾, 14.10).

3.2. The definiens and what is not the definiens⁵² of those being so and not so (Tang. *thja¹ ηewr² thja¹ lji¹ thja¹ nja² jji¹ tsjir² rjar¹ lji¹ tsjir² rjar¹ nja²* 耗救蕞爾爾, 耗救蕞爾爾, 14.11).

3.3. The way that indicates so and not so (Tang. *thja¹ ηwu² thja¹ lji¹ thja¹ nja² nur¹ sjij¹ tji²* 耗救蕞爾爾, 耗救蕞爾爾).

3.4. Rejecting objections with regard to that (Tang. *thja¹ ya² tshiq² dzjir¹* 耗耗爾似).

⁵⁰ *thu¹ phjij¹* (耗蕞爾爾), Tib. **rnam 'jog*.
⁵¹ *d² tsjir²* (蕞爾爾), which literally means ‘the nature of a thing’. Based on Tsangnakpa’s commentary, it is likely the translation of *ngo bo* here.
⁵² *tsjir² rjar¹ nja²* (蕞爾爾), Tib. **mtshan nyid ma yin pa?* This expression is a bit strange, and is absent from the corresponding topic in Tsangnakpa’s commentary. Due to the missing content of this part, we can only surmise that this term means the definiens for positing something as not another thing.
⁵³ Since the fragment is torn off at the beginning of topic 3.1, we do not have access to the positions of the following three topics in the text.

Although we are not privy to the content of the middle part of the second volume, which is missing, we know that the end of the volume (F4) is a discussion of direct perception (Tang. *mjor*¹ *ju*² 繡繡, Tib. *mngon sum*). Based on the general structure of a Sangpu epistemological work (see 3.3), we can deduce that the missing part likely addresses the definition of knowledge as accepted by Maja, which would be of great interest. However, this part remains a mystery for the time being.

It is difficult to form a coherent understanding of volume eight, due to the highly fragmentary status of the manuscript of that volume (F5); however, it is clear that volume eight elaborates mainly on the different ways of formulating inference for others, and the reasons for doing so. Several quotations contained in this volume will be discussed in the following section of the present paper.

3.2. Citations and Quotations

Making sense of the citations and quotations in a text is critical for understanding the author's intellectual milieu, yet I have not been able to identify many such citations and quotations in my preliminary examination of the fragments of *The Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking*. There is no obvious sign of citing the viewpoints of Indian or Tibetan masters. This disinterest is in sharp contrast to another Tibetan treatise on Buddhist epistemology translated into Tangut, cat. no. 231, in which a number of Tibetan scholars from Sangpu Monastery are cited.⁵⁴ I have, however, been able to identify four places where passages from canonical works are quoted directly. I shall discuss these passages briefly, below.

The first one, a verse, appears at the very beginning of the work in F1 and F2. Since a translation is given in appendix 1 of the present paper, I shall not repeat it here. Maja does not cite the source of the verse, the substance of which underscores the importance of reasoning, comparing it to grinding gold with fire. This is a fairly well-known verse in canonical texts, and somehow 'floats' in a variety of works. It can be found, for example, in Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha*,⁵⁵ which itself is a milestone in Buddhist epistemology.

⁵⁴ Ma, "The *Nyāyabindu* in Tangut Translation," 790.

⁵⁵ For a detailed discussion of the quote, see appendix 1.



The second place is in F5, where two statements from the first chapter of Dharmakīrti’s *Pramāṇaviniścaya* are quoted. The Tangut passage reads:

後翻者：所說諸教，非謂能辨，而後辨，此則非也。教，
非：能說諸教，非謂能辨，而後辨，此則非也。⁵⁶

The text also says, ‘because, by means of teaching the cognitive object, one is made to remember the relation between the object-bearer [and the object]’, and ‘because, by means of teaching the reason, [‘non-existent’], one establishes the convention for an ignorant person’.

The first statement matches with:

yul bstan pas zhugs pa 'i yul can gyi 'brel pa dran pa 'i phyir te /⁵⁷

The second statement matches with:

[med do zhes] rgyu mtshan nye bar bstan pas rmongs pa la tha snyad sgrub par byed de /⁵⁸

The only difference here is that the *niow*¹ (繼), ‘because’, at the end of the Tangut translation of the second statement is not contained in the Tibetan original.⁵⁹ These two statements appear at the beginning of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, where Dharmakīrti argues for the validity of inference for cognitive objects that do not exist. Maja here quotes the statements to discuss the relationship between a cognitive object and the convention. An observation here is that the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* is cited as *jwir*² (後, Tib. **gzhung*), ‘text’.

The third passage, which is a single direct quotation, is found also in F5. The text quotes the same source, the first chapter of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*. The Tangut text reads:

辯勝後教，非謂能辨，而後辨，此則非也。
能說諸教，非謂能辨，而後辨，此則非也。
能說諸教，非謂能辨，而後辨，此則非也。

⁵⁶ F5, 5.10–12.

⁵⁷ Tilmann Vetter, *Dharmakīrti’s Pramāṇaviniścayaḥ: 1. Kapitel: Pratyakṣam. Einleitung, Text der tibetischen Übersetzung, Sanskritfragmente, deutsche Übersetzung* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1966), 34.

⁵⁸ Vetter, *Dharmakīrti’s Pramāṇaviniścayaḥ*, 34.

⁵⁹ Cf. the Sanskrit text: *tannimitopadarśanenānupalabdher nāsītī vyavahāraḥ sādhyate mūḍhaṃ prati* (Pvin, 3). The Sanskrit text confirms the reading of the Tibetan text.

癡繳形癡鋒癡癡，癡癡癡癡癡癡癡。⁶⁰

Like the sensation of things such as desire,
when the self is formulated as the cognitive object,
the comprehended, the comprehending, and the result of comprehension
abide in it.

This should be expressed for all cases.

Because those are the essence of experience,
it is suitable that they exist as the experiences themselves. Therefore, the
existence of the suitability itself is claimed to be the means of knowledge,
the self the comprehended, the reflexive awareness the result.

These lines match with verses 56–57 in the first chapter of the
Pramāṇaviniścaya:

/ dper na 'dod chags sogs tshor bzhin /
/ der bdag yul du bzhag pa na /
/ gzhal bya 'jal byed 'bras gnas pa /
/ di ni kun la sbyar bar bya / (I.56)

/ de la'ang nyams myongs bdag nyid phyir /
/ de dag rang bdag myong bar rung /
/ de'i phyir rung nyid de tshad bdag /
/ gzhal bya rang rig 'bras bu yin / (I.57)⁶¹

Both verses are conveyed by Dharmakīrti to explain the function of reflexive awareness (Tib. *rang rig*, Tang. *jij¹ tsji¹* 癡癡), taking the awareness itself as the cognitive object. Maja cites the verses to elaborate on the same concept,⁶² but he does not cite *jwir²* (癡), meaning ‘text’, this time; instead, he merely writes, *thja¹ dq²* (癡癡, Tib. **ji skad*), literally meaning ‘it says’. Several places in the Tangut translation are slightly different from the Tibetan text in the canonical version. For example, the finite verb of verse 57 reads *yin*, ‘to be’. The Tangut translation, however, has *gji²* (癡, Tib. **'dod*), literally meaning ‘to claim’. Also, in the first line of this verse, while the Tibetan text starts with *de la'ang*, meaning ‘further, in that connection’, the Tangut text has in the same place *thja¹ ηewr²* (癡癡,

⁶⁰ F5, 7.13–16.

⁶¹ Vetter, *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścayaḥ*, 98.

⁶² This is one place that begs the question of whether all pieces of F5 belong to volume eight. It is difficult to suppose that Maja would only introduce this concept, which is connected closely to that of direct perception, in such a late part in his work.



Tib. **de dag*), ‘those’.⁶³ If we believe that the ‘morpheme–morpheme’ principle of translation was strictly enforced, then Maja could have used a source different from the canonical version of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* which we have today, or he could have used his ‘creative memory’ for the verse.

Finally, there is yet another direct quotation in F5, quoting three lines from a verse. The Tangut text reads:

𐰀𐰃𐰏𐰐: 𐰄𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏 𐰄𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏. 𐰄𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏 𐰄𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏. 𐰄𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏. 𐰄𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏. 𐰄𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏.⁶⁴

The *sūtra* says, ‘The external object is not to be grasped. A mind disturbed by predispositions appears to be the object’.

Although these lines reflect a famous ‘floating verse’ that is inserted across many works, since Maja clearly cites ‘*sūtra*’ (Tang. *lwər*² 𐰀𐰃, Tib. **mdo*) here, they are most likely from the *Lankāvatārasūtra*, which has in its last chapter of verses:

/ phyi rol gyi ni don med do // bag chags kysis ni dkrugs pa'i sems // don du snang ba shin tu 'byung ⁶⁵

While the Yogācāra position indicated by these lines is obvious, the context in which Maja cites it is not altogether clear because of the limited information given on the small piece of fragment. The passage immediately before the quotation points to the fact that “separate identities of subject and object do not exist”.⁶⁶

3.3 Significance of the Work in Tibetan Intellectual History

I have mentioned in the introduction of this paper that the Tanguts likely practiced a Tibetan Buddhist scholastic tradition that stemmed from Sangpu Monastery. The discovery of Maja’s *Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking* can apparently further substantiate this idea. Given that Maja was a student of Chapa, one would already be inclined to assume that the work is in line with Chapa’s *Epistemology*. This is indeed so; and it can be observed from two aspects—namely, the structure and the content.

⁶³ Cf. the Sanskrit text for this verse, *Pvin*, 42: *tatrāpyanubhavātmavātte yogyāḥ svātmasaṃvidi | iti sā yogyatā mānamātmā meyaḥ phalaṃ svavit ||*. This text aligns the canonical version more closely with *tatra api* for *de’ang*, and without an *iṣ* verb for *’dod*.

⁶⁴ F5, 15.2–3.

⁶⁵ *Lankāvatārasūtra* (Derge Tōhoku no. 107), in *bKa’ ’gyur* 49, 405.

⁶⁶ F5, 15.1–2: 𐰀𐰃𐰏𐰐𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏.

The beginning of Maja's first volume, a typical presentation of the typology of awareness, obviously mirrors the narratives at the beginning of Chapa's work.⁶⁷ The beginning of the second volume echoes the beginning of the second chapter of *Epistemology*, where Chapa discusses "how the definiendum is indicated by the definiens" (Tib. *mtshan nyid kyis mtshon bya mtshon pa'i tshul*, *Outline*, 211⁶⁸).⁶⁹ The end of the second volume may be in line with Chapa's discussion of direct perception in his third chapter. Much of the content in the eighth volume can be matched with parts of the fourth and fifth chapters of Chapa's treatise. Chapa and Maja's structures reflect the typical outline of a Sangpu epistemological 'summary', the genre that aims at elucidating the systematic knowledge in this field. In this regard, Maja's work is, of course, similar to many other Sangpu epistemological summaries, including the *Tshad ma de kho na nyid bsdus pa* [Summary of the Essential Nature of Epistemology], whose author has only recently been identified with Jépa Zhönnu Jangchup (ca. 1150–1210, Tib. 'Jad pa gZhon nu byang chub), another master belonging to the Sangpu intellectual tradition.⁷⁰

In the first volume of Maja's treatise, traces of Chapa's influence on Maja's thoughts on epistemology are clearly reflected as well. For example, Chapa's idea of whether a certain kind of apprehended object is true or false is clearly inherited by Maja. Also, Maja's claim that certain cognitive objects involve correct conventional truth, whereas others involve mistaken conventional truth, is also stated clearly by Jépa in his work. These are presented in detail in appendix 1 of the present paper. Lastly, Maja's familiarity with Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, as shown in section 3.2, is a reflection of the general interest in the texts of Sangpu masters.⁷¹

⁶⁷ For a translation of the first chapter of Chapa's work, see Hugon and Stoltz, *The Roar of a Tibetan Lion*, chap. 2.

⁶⁸ The outline numbers of Chapa's *Epistemology* used in this paper are based on Pascale Hugon's outline. See Pascale Hugon, *Sa bcad of Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge's Tshad ma yid kyī mun sel*. Last updated 3 April 2017. Accessed February 6, 2022. <https://www.oew.ac.at/fileadmin/Institute/IKGA/PDF/forschung/tibetologie/Sabcadmuns el.pdf>.

⁶⁹ This part in Chapa's *Epistemology* is discussed in Hugon, "The Origin of the Theory of Definition and Its Place in Phya pa Chos kyi seṅ ge's Philosophical System."

⁷⁰ See *Tshad bsdus*. For the authorship, see Jonathan Stoltz, "On the Authorship of the *Tshad ma'i de kho na nyid bsdus pa*," *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 56 (2020): 48–69.

⁷¹ Sangpu masters' general interest in Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* is an important feature of the later phase of the Pre-Classical Period of Buddhist epistemology in Tibet. See

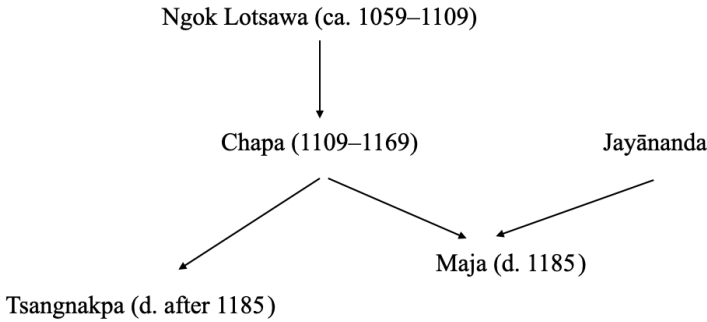


Figure 3. Master-disciple relationships of the main figures discussed in this paper.

Perhaps the most striking fact about the connection between Maja’s treatise and the Sangpu epistemological tradition is that Maja’s narratives on the theory of definition match closely those in the commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* composed by Tsangnakpa Tsöndrü Senggé (d. after 1185, Tib. gTsang nag pa brTson ’grus seng ge).⁷² Tsangnakpa was also a student of Chapa, and his commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* was one of the first post-Chapa works on epistemology (see fig. 3). At the beginning of his commentary, having discussed the statement of purpose (Tib. *dgos ’brel*) in Dharmakīrti’s composition, he elaborates on the definition of knowledge with an extensive presentation of the theory of definition in general. Here, he compartmentalises his presentation into three topics:

Further, it will be ascertained with three topics: (1) the way what is knowable entails the three properties; (2) bringing to conclusion the nature of the three properties, which are entailed; (3) the way the three properties posit what is knowable.⁷³

Leonard. W.J. van der Kuijp, *An Introduction to Gtsang-nag-pa’s ‘Tshad-ma-rnam-par nges-pa’i ṭi-ka legs-bshad bsdu-s-pa’: An Ancient Commentary on Dharmakīrti’s Pramāṇaviniścaya* (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co, 1989), 11–22.

⁷² For an introduction to Tsangnakpa and his commentary, see van der Kuijp, *An Introduction to Gtsang-nag-pa’s ‘Tshad-ma-rnam-par nges-pa’i ṭi-ka legs-bshad bsdu-s-pa.’*

⁷³ *Ṭi ka*, 7a4–5: *de yang shes bya la chos gsum gyis khyab pa’i tshul dang / khyab byed chos gsum gyi rang bzhin gtan la dbab pa dang / chos gsum gyis shes bya rnam par ’jog pa’i tshul gsum gyis nges par bya ba.*

In particular, the third topic is reframed in its section with the following phrase: “The way of positing the identity and the exclusion property, those which are knowable, as so and not so by means of the three properties”.⁷⁴ Therefore, it would match almost entirely with the Tibetan original of topic 3 of the corresponding part in Maja’s treatise (see section 3.1). Although we do not know the exact title of topic 2 in Maja’s work, its content and all the lower-level topics are closely in line with those of the second topic in Tsangnakpa’s commentary. Moreover, the first three topics under topic 3 of Maja’s text also serve quite well as parallels to the three lower-level topics of Tsangnakpa’s third topic.⁷⁵ Only topic 3.4, “rejecting objections”, is missing from Tsangnakpa’s work; but that omission is, of course, understandable, since the topic aims only at getting rid of potential challenges.

The connections between the two texts are not limited to the level of structure. While entirely identical sentences are few, they are closely related in the way they develop their arguments. An immediate example is the discussion of identity (Tang. *dā² tsjir²* 齊識, Tib. *ngo bo) at the beginning of their third topic. Maja’s text reads as follows:

齊識非多維顯繼形而多變情識，爾爾相繼而終識終列顯效者齊識能執執
成非執非執非。齊識非執執非情識執非執非執非者齊識非執執非
識執非齊識執非執非執非者[情識]⁷⁶，然繼則既顯則繼顯非。⁷⁷

‘Identity’ here is not stated as that which is casually efficient, because the unreal is also posited by means of a single identity in particular for the representation of a double moon and the concept. It is not established self-sufficiently, either, because its representation is also posited as nominally existent. It is not the case that the identity is stated as the particular and the exclusion property is stated as the universal, either, because there is no identity that does not exist within the exclusion property.

Compare the corresponding passage in Tsangnakpa’s commentary:

*'dir ngo bo'am rdzas zhes bya ba dngos po nyid ni ma yin te / spyi dang zla
gyis la yang grags pas so / rang dbang du grub pa'ang ma yin te btags yod*

⁷⁴ *Ti ka*, 15a5: *chos gsum gyis shes bya mams ngo bo dang ldog pa de dang de ma yin du rnam par jog pa'i tshul*.

⁷⁵ See *Ti ka*, 15a5: *ngo bo dang ldog pa'i don dang / de dang de ma yin gyi mtshan nyid dang / des de dag de dang de ma yin du mtshon pa'i tshul gsum /*.

⁷⁶ It seems that we need to supply these two characters to make the sentence grammatically complete. It is likely that the scribe forgot to include them.

⁷⁷ F3, 14.10–14.



*la'ang rdzas cig dang tha dad 'jog pas so / phyi rol pa'i ltar chos can dang chos la rdzas dang ldog par brjod pa'ang ma yin te / ldog pa las ma gtogs pa'i rdzas nyid myed pa'i phyir ro /.*⁷⁸

Here, 'identity' or 'substance' is not reality, because it is also heard in the concept and the double moon. It is not established self-sufficiently either, because the same and different substances are also posited as nominally existent. It is not the case that, like the externalists, the substance and exclusion property are stated as the property-bearer and the property either, because there is no substance that excludes the exclusion property.

In addition to the strong resonance between the contents of the two texts, some philological bonds are also worth noting. The Tangut construction *nja² ywu² [...] niow¹ lji¹* (𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃 [...] 𐽄𐽅𐽆), meaning '...is not..., because of...,⁷⁸' is well reflected in Tsangnakpa's commentary as *ma yin te [...] pas so* or *phyir ro*. Interestingly, the Tibetan particle at the beginning 'dir' ('here') is faithfully indicated by *thju²* (𐽇𐽈) in Maja's text. Some terms, though different, are synonyms. For example, being 'casually efficient' (Tang. *gjjj¹ yie² wji¹* 𐽋𐽉𐽊𐽌, Tib. *don byed*) and being 'real' (Tib. *ngos po*) are not substantially different in Buddhist epistemology.

The intellectual connection between Maja and Tsangnakpa is partly an expected one, since both of them were among the 'Eight Great Lions'⁷⁹ of Chapa. However, the connection is somehow also a curious one, because many of their narratives—the passage discussed above, for example—are not found, to my knowledge, in Chapa's epistemological texts.⁸⁰ So, did one author copy from the other? Or did both of them reuse a text composed by a third author? These questions undoubtedly require further research to answer.

Finally, non-Sangpu overtones are also heard from Maja's text. At the opening of his treatise, Maja claims:

𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃, 𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿.

⁷⁸ *Ti ka*, 15a5–6.

⁷⁹ The eight major students of Chapa, because they all inherited the name 'Senggé' (i.e. 'lion') from Chapa, are called the 'Eight Great Lions'. For the position of the 'Eight Great Lions' in Tibetan epistemological history, see Hugon and Stoltz, *The Roar of a Tibetan Lion*, 51–52.

⁸⁰ Here, I mean the two texts available to us—namely, Chapa's *Epistemology*, and his commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*.

For that reason, in order to easily make known the nature of the means of knowledge that is introduced through the force of one's own essence, I composed this [work].

This sentence, especially its middle part, echoes exactly the very first two lines of Jayānanda's *Tarkamudgara*:

/yul dngos stobs kyis zhugs pa yi // tshad mas de nyid rtogs so zhes ⁸¹

By means of the means of knowledge that is introduced through the force of the real object, the reality is realised.

The expression 'the means of knowledge that is introduced through the force of one's own essence' (Tang. *·jij¹ kwər¹ ·jij¹ yie¹ bju¹ ·o² tshja² wo²* 秀爾帶 示而 緘 劫 薩 該 知 比 丹 珍) maps well onto the Tibetan phrase *yul dngos stobs kyis zhugs pa yi tshad ma*. The only difference is that it normally translates *ngo bo* ('essence') instead of *dngos po* ('real thing'); however, that discrepancy is minor, since the two terms are sometimes used interchangeably. As mentioned in section 2.2, Maja was also a student of Jayānanda, and, most intriguingly, he is reported to have written a commentary on Jayānanda's *Tarkamudgara*. We should not forget that Maja's work is titled *The Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking*, thus containing the exact phrase, speculative thinking (Skt. *tarka*). While Maja's work is by no means that commentary (i.e., because it is obviously a summary), the influence of Jayānanda on Maja's thoughts on epistemology seems present.

But this resonance may also lead us to an extraordinarily curious issue in intellectual history.⁸² While Jayānanda cites 'the means of knowledge that is introduced through the force of the real object' (Tib. *yul dngos stobs kyis zhugs pa yi tshad ma*) as a viewpoint held by some followers of Dharmakīrti, he does not hold the statement as valid since it contradicts the position of the Middle Way that the means of knowledge, which functions on the conventional level, cannot warrant something ultimately 'real.'⁸³ Maja also regards the statement as problematic in his works of the Middle Way.⁸⁴ Therefore, why would he compose the treatise 'in order to

⁸¹ *Tarka*, 1876.

⁸² My thanks to Prof. Thomas Doctor for pointing this out to me.

⁸³ See Kevin A. Vose, *Resurrecting Candrakīrti: Disputes in the Tibetan Creation of Prāsaṅgika* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009), 76–77.

⁸⁴ See The Yakherds, *Knowing Illusion: Bringing a Tibetan Debate into Contemporary Discourse, Volume 1: A Philosophical History of the Debate* (New York: Oxford University



easily make known the nature of the means of knowledge that is introduced through the force of one's own essence'? A tentative answer might be that he authored the treatise quite early in his life when he was still a faithful follower of Chapa. Or could he have written the work in the Tangut Empire as an entry-level textbook for the Tanguts who might not be prepared for sophisticated philosophical inquiries? It is also possible that Maja might have regarded his epistemological work as representing a different intellectual tradition that was not detrimental to his position of the Middle Way. Although our current evidence is not sufficient for providing a satisfactory answer, the issue undoubtedly remains an interesting one for further examination.

In short, the Tangut translation of Maja's *Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking* provides us with another important text that falls into the Sangpu epistemological tradition. In particular, the strong intellectual bonds between Maja and Tsangnakpa is of great interest, and traces of Jayānanda's influence on Maja are also attested, albeit in a curious way. These all shed new light on the study of the post-Chapa development of Buddhist epistemology in Tibet.

4. Certain Multilingual Features of F1 and F2

In addition to the content of the Tangut text, the presentation of the fragments themselves is also significant in helping us make sense of the context in which these manuscripts were copied and used. Especially in F1 and F2, the extensive annotations alongside the body text show that these manuscripts were not only copied, but also used for scholastic training. For example, in F1, next to the word *mju² nji²* (菽菹) in line 9 of the opening verses, the annotation *njwi² mjijr²* (窺彦) is used. While the former is a phonetic transcription of the Sanskrit *muni*, the latter is a translation, meaning 'sage'. Many of these glosses suggest that the readers of these manuscripts were making efforts to understand the meaning of the text. While it is possible that the annotations were made by the scribes, they were most likely traces of the readers who attended a reading or

Press, 2021) 33–40; Thomas Doctor, "What If Madhyamaka Is a Stance? Reading Nāgārjuna with the Help of Mabja Jangchub Tsöndrü and Bas van Fraassen," *Journal of Buddhist Philosophy* 3 (2017): 163–164.

learning session with the teacher giving explanation on things such as the meaning of *muni* described above.

A remarkable phenomenon is the multilingual features of F1 and F2. Specifically speaking, Chinese numerals ‘one’ 一, ‘two’ 二, ‘three’ 三, ‘four’ 四, ‘five’ 五 (etc.) are ubiquitous alongside the body text in both F1 and F2. F1, particularly, has, in addition to Chinese numerals, Tibetan letters *ka* ཀ, *kha* ཁ, *ga* ག, *nga* ང, *ca* ཅ (etc.) in many places as well. The meaning of these numerals and letters remains largely unclear. In F2, the Chinese numerals are generally written not in the normal sequence of one–two–three, but three–two–one. It is difficult to discern the exact internal logic of these signs at this time, without other clues.

In one place, however, it is clear: the Sanskrit and Tangut titles in F1. For the phonetic transcription of every Sanskrit word, a Chinese numeral is assigned. For example, ‘one’ marks *tja¹ rjiv² kja¹* (𑖔𑖑𑖔𑖑𑖔𑖑), the phonetic transcription of *tarka*; ‘two’ marks *ja bja² tja¹ rjar¹* (𑖔𑖑𑖔𑖑𑖔𑖑𑖔𑖑), the phonetic transcription of *avatāra*; and so on. Accordingly, for every Tangut word in the Tangut title, the Chinese numeral is also assigned, which means *sew² jij¹* (𑖔𑖑𑖔𑖑), meaning ‘to speculative thinking,’ is marked by ‘one’; *o² sjij¹* (𑖔𑖑𑖔𑖑), meaning ‘introduction,’ is marked by ‘two’; and so on. Hence, the words marked by the same Chinese numeral have the same meaning, but are from different languages. Let us now try to make sense of this method of annotation. The reader of this manuscript was no doubt a Tangut, yet the Tangut also had knowledge of Chinese and Tibetan scripts. When using this text, our reader wanted to know the Sanskrit equivalents of the Tangut Buddhist terms. For this reason, Chinese numerals were used as markers to establish equivalences between the two languages.

At the same time, this does not seem to be all the requirements of our reader’s reading or learning session of this text. Would this reader not also want to know the Tibetan equivalents of these terms, since the text was originally composed in Tibetan? It is possible our reader also possessed the Tibetan version of the text, and both texts were read jointly in the session. Likewise, the Chinese numerals were also marked on the Tibetan text, to which we now have no access. This would then explain the randomness of the Chinese numerals and the Tibetan letters in F1. The apparent randomness would disappear, however, if we found the same terms in a Tibetan text of the work also marked by the same markers in the Tangut manuscripts.

Tangut disciple of Maja, and one who had mastered Tibetan. Finally, the place of translation is the Great Enlightenment (Tang. *Tha¹ dwewr²* 鞞羅, Chin. Dajue 大覺) Monastery. We do not know about this monastery, as it was not mentioned in the Tangut sources previously studied; however, we do know that it was located in Mt. Mati (Tang. *Bia² thji² ηər¹* 鞞羅山, Chin. Mati shan 馬蹄山, Tib. rTa rjes dgon)⁸⁶ literally meaning ‘the Mountain of Horseshoe’. Mt. Mati, of course, is a well-known Buddhist site in the history of the Tangut Empire. It belonged to the Prefecture of Ganzhou (甘州), and is still called Mt. Mati today (see the map 1 in section 6). The remains of Buddhist statues and monastic cells are still visible on the cliffs.⁸⁷

In light of the foregoing, we can now safely conclude that Maja himself had been to the Tangut Empire. Although we do not know if he had ever spent time at the imperial court in Xingqing (興慶), it is clear that he was active in the north-western part of the empire, where there was a significant Tibetan population. He recruited some Tangut disciples, who helped him translate his works into Tangut and studied them. The fragments in Karakhoto represent a further expansion of his influence to the north.

The next question then follows: why would Maja go to the Tangut Empire? To this, our answer can remain only hypothetical, but not without some persuasive reasons. Here, we need to bring up again Jayānanda, the figure connected to both the Tangut Empire and to Maja. The stories of this Kashmirian scholar in the Tangut Empire have been well told.⁸⁸ He was most renowned for holding the title of state preceptor (Tang. *Lhji² dzji²* 國師, Chin. *guoshi* 國師) of the Tangut court. He wrote the *Madhyamakāvataṛāṭikā* at the Tangut court, and helped translate the *Ratnaḡaṣaṃcayagāthā* into Tangut. His prestige and influence in the empire were thus presumably high.

⁸⁶ The Tangut name *Bia² thji²* is a phonetic transcription of the Chinese Mati.

⁸⁷ Building projects on Mt. Mati started in the fourth or fifth century, and the mountain served as a crucial Buddhist site along the silk roads ever since. See Bianca Horlemann. “Buddhist Sites in Amdo and Former Longyou from the 8th to the 13th Century.” In *Old Tibetan Studies*, ed. Cristina Scherrer-Schaub (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 126, 147.

⁸⁸ See Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, “Jayānanda. A Twelfth Century Guoshi from Kashmir Among the Tangut,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 37.3–4 (1993): 188–197. See also Duan Yuquan 段玉泉, *Xixia ‘Gongde bao ji Hugo’ kua yuyan duikan yanjiu* 西夏《功德宝集偈》跨语言对勘研究 [A Multilingual Textual Critical Study of the Tangut *Ratnaḡaṣaṃcayagāthā*] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014), 56–60.



We have already seen the bond between Maja and Jayānanda in a few instances, since the former was a student of the latter; but we should add here that the bond was a strong one, perhaps stronger than his bond with Chapa. The *Blue Annals* noted the attitude of Maja towards both of his teachers in this way:

Further, comparing to Master Chapa's system of thought, he had more faith in the systems of people like Jayānanda.⁸⁹

Though he enjoyed his glory in the Tangut Empire, Jayānanda appears to have had an unpleasant experience in Tibet. He was probably forced to leave due to his defeat in a public debate with Chapa at Sangpu Monastery, when Chapa was the abbot of that monastery from 1152 to 1169.⁹⁰ Maja, because of his faith in Jayānanda, had a reason to leave with him for the Tanguts. It was possibly at this time that Maja parted with Chapa and departed with Jayānanda. According to such a scenario, it is not difficult to imagine that Maja was treated by the Tanguts as a junior colleague of Jayānanda, and given opportunities to preach in the empire.

5.2 Maja and 'Grand Master Diligence' of the Great Seal

Our journey to trace Maja's activities in the Tangut Empire has not yet concluded. In some Tangut sources, there emerges another 'Grand Master Diligence' (Tang. Khu¹ džjij¹ mər² dzjjj² 𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃).⁹¹ This elusive figure appears to be critical in transmitting some of the teachings of the Great Seal or *mahāmudrā* to the Tanguts.⁹² The major disciple who received his teachings was the renowned Tšhja źjir (fl. late 12th century, 𐽀𐽁, Chin. Dehui 德慧), the state preceptor of wisdom and radiance in Mt. Lan (Tang. lā¹ ηər¹ sjij¹ swew¹ lhijj¹ dzjjj¹ 𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃).⁹³ The identity of this

⁸⁹ *Deb sngon*, 406–407: 'di yang slob dpon phywa ba'i lugs las / ja ya ānnda la sogs pa'i lugs la lhag par dad par mdzad /.

⁹⁰ For this debate, see van der Kuijp, "Jayānanda", 193.

⁹¹ Note here the word 'diligence' (𐽀𐽁) is written differently in Tangut (before it was 𐽀𐽁). For a discussion of this, see below.

⁹² See Kirill Solonin 索罗宁, "Xixiawen Dashouyin wenxian zakao 西夏文'大手印'文献杂考. Studies on the 'Mahāmudrā' Literature in Tangut," in *Han zang foxue yanjiu: wenben, renwu, tuxiang, he lishi* 汉藏佛学研究: 文本, 人物, 图像和历史. *Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Studies: Texts, Figures, Images, and History*, ed. Shen Weirong 沈卫荣 (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 2013): 235–266.

⁹³ For a sketch of Tšhja źjir life, see Ruth W. Dunnell, "Translating History from Tangut Buddhist Texts," *Asia Major*. 22.1 (2009): 47–78.



Two points are worth noting here. The first one is the region Tsongkha (Tib. Tsong kha), where the Tsongkha Tibetan tribal confederation ruled until the early 12th centuries, was at this time under the civil administration of the Tangut Empire.⁹⁹ Tsongkha had long been a hub of intensive religious exchanges between the Tibetans and other peoples.¹⁰⁰ Maja's presence in Mt. Mati has already been attested above. Likewise, the distance between Mt. Mati and Tsongkha was not far, the two places being connected by a major road that went through the Qilian Mountain Range (Chin. Qilian shan 祁連山) via the Biandu Pass (Chin. Biandu kou 扁都口) (see map 1). The second point is about the teachings. It seems Grand Master Diligence offered sessions on the Middle Way and Buddhist epistemology, in which he was presumably an expert. Maja, of course, was an expert in both fields.

Let us now turn to an examination of the basic text itself, the *Notes on the Collection of the Ultimate Instruction of the Great Seal*. Its preface narrates how the teachings originated in India and were transmitted ultimately to Grand Master Diligence. According to the narrative, there were altogether eight generations of grand masters (Tang. *mər² dzijj²* 禿髻). While the first seven masters were all of Indic origin, only the

⁹⁹ The Tsongkha region was traditionally known in Chinese sources as the region of Hehuang (河湟). The Tsongkha tribal confederation consolidated by Tibetan chieftain Gusiluo (Chin. 唃廝囉, Tib. *Rgyal sras) in the early 11th century first allied to the Northern Song (960–1127, 北宋) to fend off the offence of the Tanguts. In the late 11th century, due to the increasing Song aggressions, the confederation shifted its alliance to the Tanguts. The confederation was finally conquered by the Northern Song in 1104. However, following the collapse of the Northern Song in 1127, its land was further taken by the Tangut Empire, which transformed the region into four prefectures. For the Tsongkha confederation, see Bianca Horlemann. "The Relations of the Eleventh-Century Tsong kha Tribal Confederation to Its Neighbour States on the Silk Road." In *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Brandon Dotson (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 79–101; Zhu Qiyuan 祝启源. *Qintang sheng shuai: Gusiluo zhengquan yanjiu* 青唐盛衰：唃廝囉政权研究 [The Rise and Fall of Qingtang: A Study of the Gusiluo Regime], (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 2010).

¹⁰⁰ For example, Dunhuang manuscript P. T. 996 attests a Tibetan Chan practitioner meeting with his Chinese master in Tsongkha probably in the first half of the 9th century. See Carmen Meinert, "People, Places, Texts, and Topics: Another Look at the Larger Context of the Spread of Chan Buddhism in Eastern Central Asia during the Tibetan Imperial and Post-Imperial Period (7th–10th C.)," in *Buddhism in Central Asia III—Doctrines, Exchanges with Non-Buddhist Traditions*, ed. Lewis Doney, Carmen Meinert, Yukiyo Kasai, and Henrik H. Sørensen (ca. 40 pp.) (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2023).

eighth, Grand Master Diligence, was Tibetan. A passage in his biography is worth quoting in full here:

This eighth grand master was a Tibetan person. His surname was Senggé.¹⁰¹ Having worn the three robes,¹⁰² his mind was awakened for destroying the three poisons; having practiced the four holdings,¹⁰³ he made the aspiration to transcend the four births,¹⁰⁴ With the seven treatises of Buddhist epistemology,¹⁰⁵ he formulated the three: thesis, logical reason, and example. With the sixfold collection of the Middle Way,¹⁰⁶ he differentiated the two truths: the ultimate and the conventional. While teaching the *sūtras*, discipline, and treatises, he translated Sanskrit texts day by day; while familiarising himself with ethical conducts, meditative absorption, and insight, he composed Tibetan works night by night. With every intention in harmony with enlightenment, he accumulated the provisions for the path to enlightenment; with every thought in contradiction with defilement, he subdued the suffering of defilement. Later, he became the grand master of Tśhja Ĵjir and transmitted to him the quintessential instruction.¹⁰⁷

This passage, written beautifully in Chinese four-six prose (Chin. *pianwen* 駢文) style, discloses also two important pieces of information.

¹⁰¹ See the following passages for a discussion of the name.

¹⁰² I.e., the *tricīvara*. According to the *vinaya*, the Buddha decided that the monk and nun need only three robes (the larger outer one, the upper one, and the lower one) to stay warm. Here, the text indicates that Grand Master Diligence adhered to the *vinaya* strictly.

¹⁰³ I.e., *saṃgrahavastu*. It refers to the four conducts, such as using kind words. Buddhists are expected to engage in these acts to attract more followers.

¹⁰⁴ The four births, such as viviparous birth, exhaust all the modes of birth all beings experience. Transcending the four births amounts to being free from cyclic existence.

¹⁰⁵ I.e., the seven treatises on Buddhist epistemology composed by Dharmakīrti, including the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*.

¹⁰⁶ Nie (*Xixia fojing xu ba yizhu*, 56, n. 59) understands *tśhjiw¹ tśiow¹* (修翫) as a translation of the Chinese six faculties (Chin. *liu jū* 六聚) (i.e., eyes, ears, etc.). This is likely incorrect. The ‘sixfold collection of the Middle Way’ (Tang. *tśhjiw¹ tśiow¹ gu² tśja¹* 修翫解藏) here most likely reflects the ‘sixfold collection of reasoning of the Middle Way’ (Tib. *dbu ma rigs pa'i tshogs drug*), which refers to the six works of Nāgārjuna on the Middle Way. This understanding is much more plausible, considering the expression about the seven treatises of Dharmakīrti in the previous segment. Surprisingly, Maja was known to be the foremost advocate of this concept in Tibet. See, for example, his ‘*Thad rgyan*, 7a5–9a4, where he elaborates this idea in detail. For a translation of this section, see Mabja Jangchub Tsöndrū, *Ornament of Reason*, 99–103.

¹⁰⁷ #824, 4.a6–b3; #2526, 5.b2–8:

說因辨諸辯藏，變隨華嚴，翻講藏壽。散龍鬚髮，散兀騰祥批劇；
網羅視龍，網非羅稱龍龍。資龍龍龍，龍龍結散發批；修翫解藏，修翫龍龍龍龍。
說龍龍龍，網龍龍龍龍龍龍；說龍龍龍，說龍龍龍龍龍。修翫龍龍，修翫龍龍龍龍龍；
網羅龍龍，修翫龍龍龍龍龍。說龍龍龍龍龍龍龍，修翫龍龍龍龍龍龍龍。



The first reinforces the point mentioned above—that is, that the expertise of Grand Master Diligence in the Middle Way and Buddhist epistemology was well known to the Tanguts at his time. The second piece is his surname, which is recorded as Sji¹ ɲə¹ (薺彘). As the second character is written in smaller size, the two characters should be read as a single, compounded syllable. It should be noted here that there is no definite way of forming the compound. Normally, when the second syllable is smaller and starts with a nasal consonant, the consonant is taken by the previous syllable as an ending, and the vowel of the second syllable is, accordingly, lost. Therefore, in this case, the compound could be read as something similar to ‘sing’.¹⁰⁸

It is, however, extremely difficult to come up with a surname in Tibetan history that bears such a sound. Therefore, I argue that Sji¹ ɲə¹ in fact transcribes Senggé (Tib. *seng ge*), ‘lion’ in Tibetan. Instead of removing a vowel in the two syllables, the compound here could reflect rapid speech, in which the two syllables are read so fast that they sound just like one. The reason for doing so was likely to imitate the Tibetan *sengge* (script: རེག་གེ), the way *seng ge* (script: རེག་གེ) was sometimes compounded. Although something like ‘sing’ would be an unusual name in Tibetan society, Senggé could well be a religious name.¹⁰⁹ We have seen already that Chapa had *seng ge* in his religious name, and his eight main disciples were known to be the ‘Eight Great Lions’ because every one of them had Senggé as a part of their religious names.¹¹⁰ Among these eight disciples, Maja Tsöpé Senggé (Tib. rMa bya rTsoḍ pa’i seng ge, the ‘lion of debate’) has been identified with Maja Jangchup Tsöndrü.¹¹¹ Hence, Sji¹ ɲə¹ (薺彘) could be the religious name derived from Chapa—and Maja possessed that very name.

The third text, which is also a commentary on the basic text of *The Collection of the Ultimate Instruction of the Great Seal*, provides some very useful details of the situation in which Tśhja² źjir¹ first heard the teachings of the Great Seal from Grand Master Diligence. The passage

¹⁰⁸ See Nie, *Xixia fojing xu ba yizhu*, 55, n. 54.

¹⁰⁹ The roar of a lion is a metaphor for eloquence and cogency in Buddhist teaching and debate. Thus, Senggé has become a very popular name in Tibetan society until the present day.

¹¹⁰ See section 3.3’s discussion of the connection between Tsangnakpa and Maja.

¹¹¹ Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, “Phya-pa Chos-kyi Seng-ge’s Impact on Tibetan Epistemological Theory,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 5.4 (1978): 356, n. 12.



or early 1153; Maja could have arrived in Tsongkha just around that time.

- (e) Both Grand Master Diligence and Maja had ‘diligence’ as a part of their religious names.

If it were the case that only two or three pieces of the evidence listed above were available, we would not be able to ascertain that Grand Master Diligence and Maja were the same person; but, with all five points in place, it is difficult to see these facts as completely coincidental. Therefore, based on the available evidence, it is relatively reasonable to claim that Grand Master Diligence and Maja were one and the same figure.

There are, however, two more issues—and they may form the basis of a challenge against this claim—which need further clarification. The first one is related to the different ways diligence (Tib. *brtson ’grus*) was translated for both names. While for ‘Bodhi Diligence’ it was translated as *dzji²* (𣎵), for ‘Grand Master Diligence’ it was translated as *khu¹ dzji¹* (𣎵𣎵). We should note here that there was, of course, some freedom when different Tanguts were translating the same Tibetan terms.¹¹⁵ Also, even equivalences between Tibetan and Tangut terms in the same work were not fixed. For example, in the Tangut translation of the *Verses on the Collection of Precious Qualities*, ethical conducts (Tib. *tshul khrims*) is translated both as *kie¹* (𣎵) and *dzji¹ wer¹* (𣎵𣎵).¹¹⁶ For these reasons, an inconsistency in rendering *brtson ’grus* into Tangut is not unusual.

The second issue calls for the rejection of a certain bias. The question arises: how could Maja, a scholar known only for his expertise in Buddhist philosophy, also be a master of the Great Seal that aims at meditative realisation? It is indeed the case that Tibetan Buddhists, especially those in the early periods of the second diffusion, are generally labelled as either scholastic thinkers (like the Sangpu masters) or great *yogis* (like Marpa and his disciples) in Tibetan sources; yet, these narratives cannot reflect the entire ethos of a figure. For example, despite being one who was

¹¹⁵ For example, two Tangut translations (#0728, #7578) of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, although both are translated from Tibetan, chose to translate the term *bcom ldan ’das* (Skt. *bhagavat*) differently. While one translates it literally as *tšji¹ dju¹ dzji¹* 𣎵𣎵𣎵 (‘destroy–have–transcend’), the other one uses the phonetic transcription of *bhagavat*, i.e. *ba² wə¹ ba²* 𣎵𣎵𣎵. See Zhang Yongfu 张永富, “*Zhengshiming jing* Xia Han yiben kao lue 《真实名经》夏、汉译本考略 [A Brief Study of the Chinese and Tangut Translations of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*],” *Xixia xue* 西夏学. *Tangutology* 2 (2021): 192–193.

¹¹⁶ The former literally means ‘abstention’, while the latter means ‘the way of rules’. See Duan, *Xixia ‘Gongde bao ji ji’ kua yuyan duikan yanjiu*, 147, 272–273.

interested primarily in the thoughts of the Middle Way, Atiśa (982–1054), the father of the Kadam school, wrote several works that discussed the teachings of the Great Seal.¹¹⁷ If we believe the accounts of the preface to *The Collection of the Ultimate Instruction of the Great Seal*, then Grand Master Diligence received the teachings from a Newar master called ‘Lord of Speech’ (Tang. 𑄎𑄣𑄳¹ dzju² 𑄎𑄣𑄳𑄣𑄳, Skt. *Vagīśvara, Tib. *Ngag gi dbang phyug), thus independent of the early Kagyü (Tib. *bka’ brgyud*) lineages. This could explain the silence of Grand Master Diligence in the accounts of the Kagyü school.

We should also note that the primary interest of Tśhja źjir was tantric practices,¹¹⁸ which could be the main reason for his promulgation of the teachings of Grand Master Diligence, even though the primary interest of the Master does seem to be the Middle Way and Buddhist epistemology. Due to the lack of collective efforts, the actual influence of *The Collection of the Ultimate Instruction of the Great Seal* is doubtful compared to that of the mainstream Great Seal teachings, which were transmitted by multiple influential Kagyü masters. Solonin argues that the tradition of *The Collection of the Ultimate Instruction of the Great Seal* could have already died out by the dawn of the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368, 元) because, unlike the mainstream teachings on the Great Seal that were further translated into Chinese, there is no sign that *The Collection of the Ultimate Instruction of the Great Seal* was translated any further.¹¹⁹

6. Conclusion

Based on the key information “peacock” in the colophon and other pieces of internal evidence in the text, we can conclude that ‘Master Bodhi Diligence of Central Tibet,’ the author of *The Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking* is no other than Maja Jangchup Tsöndrü. The treatise, which is a typical ‘summary’ on Buddhist epistemology and logic in the Sangpu tradition, closely parallels the works on the same topic composed by Chapa, Tsangnakpa, and other Sangpu masters in terms of its content and structure. Various annotations left on

¹¹⁷ James B. Apple, “Atiśa’s Teachings on Mahāmudrā,” *The Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies* 18 (2017): 1–42.

¹¹⁸ Tśhja źjir was the translator of a large number of tantric texts. In contrast, no text about Buddhist scholasticism currently available is known to have been translated by him.

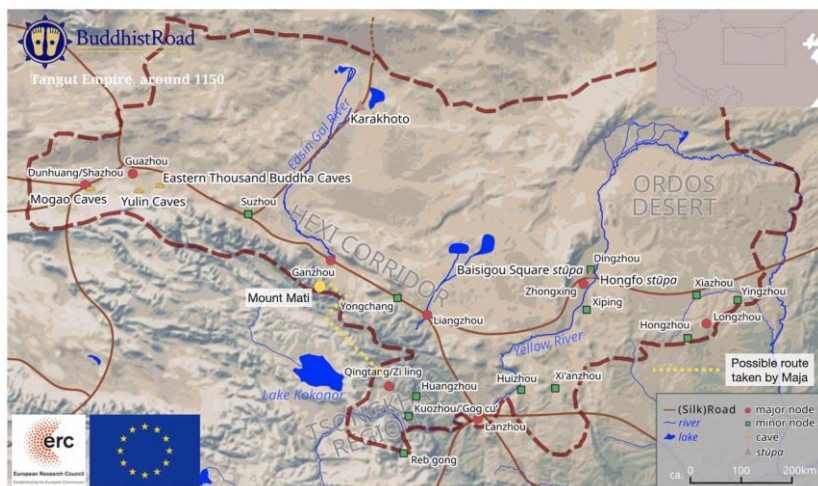
¹¹⁹ Solonin, “Xixiawen Dashouyin wenxian zakao,” 263; Solonin, “Xixia Dehui shangshi liangzhong chuancheng yu han zang fojiao yuanrong,” 137.



the fragments of the Tangut translation attest to the scholarly engagement of Maja's Tangut audience.

Section 5 surely contains some courageous moves towards reconstructing a complete picture of Maja's activities in the Tangut Empire, based on some flashes of evidence that are not seen in Tibetan historical accounts such as the *Blue Annals*. What we can confidently determine, based on the translator's colophon in F1 and F2, is that Maja had been to Mt. Mati and had taught in the Tangut Empire. The other parts of the reconstruction, relying heavily upon the assumption that Maja and Grand Master Diligence were the same person, must, of course, remain only tentative until justified by further studies. Nevertheless, if we consider the chain of evidence in this section to be reasonable, then we may appreciate the following summary of Maja's activities in the Tangut Empire.

Maja originally learned from both Chapa and Jayānanda. In early or mid-1152, when Chapa had just become the abbot of Sangpu Neutok Monastery, a public debate was carried out between Chapa and Jayānanda. The latter was defeated in the debate, and thus had to leave Tibet. Maja, because of his preference for Jayānanda over Chapa, left Tibet for the Tangut Empire, together with Jayānanda. In late 1152, they arrived in Tsongkha. While Jayānanda was invited to the court to become a state preceptor, Maja remained in Tsongkha, where the population was mainly Tibetan, to teach, chiefly, the Middle Way and Buddhist epistemology. At that time, Tshja zjir heard of his name and went to his session. Tshja zjir, interested primarily in tantric teachings, received some oral instructions on the Great Seal from Maja. Later, Tshja zjir wrote these instructions down in Tangut and titled them *The Collection of the Ultimate Instruction of the Great Seal*. Having gathered some Tangut students who could also read Tibetan, Maja collaborated with them to translate his Tibetan works into Tangut. Maja's *Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Speculative Thinking* was translated at this time in Mt. Mati. Both this text and *The Collection of the Ultimate Instruction of the Great Seal* later arrived in the north, and were utilised by Tangut Buddhists in Karakhoto. Following the deduction in this chronological outline, Maja then only completed his works of the Middle Way after 1152, though we do not know if he finished them in the Tangut land or Tibet, where he might have later returned.



Map 1. Possible route taken by Maja in the Tangut Empire¹²⁰

This reconstruction, if accepted, is significant, as it reveals a fundamental aspect of the history of the rise of Tibetan Buddhism in the Tangut Empire. The agency of the Tibetan masters, not the importance of the teachings themselves, was critical in forming the structure of the assimilation of Tibetan Buddhism into the land of the Tangut Empire. Modern studies intend to find a structure in Tangut Buddhist texts on which teachings from different schools as we know them today—Nyingma (Tib. *nying ma*), Kadam, Kagyü, Sakya (Tib. *sa skya*), and so on—can be mapped. However, as we have seen in the case of Maja, the teachings one master could offer were sometimes random and lacking a systematic nature. This is quite different from some cases in the history of Chinese Buddhism, in which, for example, Xuanzang (602–664, 玄奘) was very conscious of the Yogācāra scriptures he was looking for before he departed for India. Tibetans and masters from the subcontinent, once

¹²⁰ Map base: © ERC *BuddhistRoad*, 2020. Tangut Empire, around 1150. Published in “Buddhism in Central Asia I: Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage,” ed. Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 253–254 <https://buddhistroad.ceres.rub.de/en/visual-aids/>. See also Carmen Meinert, “People, Places, Texts, and Topics,” map 4, “Network of Buddhist sites in the region of the Blue Lake before the Chinese and Tibetan conquests (1st–7th c.).” Despite reflecting an earlier period, the map also indicates the route from Tsongkha to Mt. Mati as one of the Silk Roads.



invited, were granted complete freedom to teach. Hence, these teachings, faithfully preserved in Tangut materials, display a remarkable diversity that we do not see in the later institutionalised and formalised systems, as in the case of the Great Seal teachings that came to be dominated by members of the Kagyü and Sakya traditions. These local voices of Buddhist teachings forgotten by the mainstream players will now undoubtedly help us better appreciate the mellifluous variations of the Buddhist theme in Inner Asia.

Appendix 1: Transcription and Translation of F1 and F2¹²¹

勿邪姪翻編駁循祇戮!

I pay homage to the youthful Mañjuśrī!

纒禪級散牂纒經纒¹²²漚, 駁旋¹²³統¹²⁴牂¹²⁵駁¹²⁶駁¹²⁷駁¹²⁸
纒¹²⁹彥¹²⁹駁¹²⁹纒¹²⁹駁¹²⁹駁¹²⁹駁¹²⁹

I pay homage reverentially to he who is the authoritative person¹²³,
the one who does not deceive living beings, Siddhārtha¹²⁴, the
Savior¹²⁵,
who dispels¹²⁶ the unrealised, the mistakenly realised, and the
doubtfully cognised,
with respect to the profound and broad¹²⁷ mode of being¹²⁸ of what
is knowable¹²⁹!

¹²¹ I did not repeat here the titles and the colophonic information, which are discussed in section 2.

¹²² *mji¹ ηewr²* (牂駁), literally meaning ‘domains,’ written alongside *džiji¹ šji¹* (經纒) in F2.

¹²³ *tšja² wo² gor¹ kie²* (纒¹²³駁¹²³纒¹²³), Tib. **tšhad ma’i skyes bu*.

¹²⁴ *gji¹ šji¹* (駁¹²⁴), Tib. **don grub*, thus further translating the Sanskrit proper noun *siddhārtha*.

¹²⁵ *gju¹ mjijr²* (纒¹²⁵彥), Tib. **dren pa*. *Gju¹* (纒) means ‘to save,’ ‘to rescue.’ Although *dren pa* literally means ‘guide,’ the Tanguts frequently translated it as ‘savior.’

¹²⁶ *rjar¹ gjij¹ wja²* (駁¹²⁶駁¹²⁶), Tib. **rab tu sel*.

¹²⁷ *žji² na¹ wa² lji²* (纒¹²⁷駁¹²⁷駁¹²⁷), Tib. **zab mo rgya che*.

¹²⁸ *džiji¹ šji¹* (經纒), Tib. **gnas lugs*.

¹²⁹ *šji² lew²* (牂¹²⁹纒), Tib. **šes bya*.



𑖀𑖂𑖄𑖆𑖈𑖊𑖌𑖎𑖐, 𑖒𑖔𑖖𑖘𑖚𑖜𑖞𑖠𑖢𑖣,
𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨? 𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮? 𑖯𑖰, 𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴? 𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺.

I pay homage reverentially to the one who, with his pure mind,
composed the brief work¹³⁰,
out of the subject matter¹³¹ of correct conceptual thought, the sole
traversal of the path of softness¹³²,
and, to the one who, possessing the power of knowledge, has
destroyed the inferior systems of his opponents,
the author of the *Vārttika*¹³³ on what is knowable!¹³⁴

𑖀𑖂𑖄𑖆𑖈𑖊𑖌𑖎𑖐¹³⁵𑖒𑖔𑖖𑖘𑖚𑖜𑖞𑖠𑖢𑖣,
𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨¹³⁶𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮¹³⁷𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺.

¹³⁰ *ljow*² *wo*² (𑖀𑖂𑖄) seems to match well with the Tibetan term *bsdus don* in a morpheme-to-morpheme manner. I take the ‘brief work’ here as meaning Dignāga’s *Pramāṇasamuccaya*.

¹³¹ *ljū*² (𑖀𑖂), Tib. **lus*, which literally means ‘body.’

¹³² *wə*¹ *tšja*¹ (𑖀𑖄𑖆), Tib. **jam lam*? It seems the only way to make sense of the phrase ‘path of softness’ is to explain it as the way of Mañjuśrī. The connection between Dignāga and Mañjuśrī is expounded by Xuanzang, Jinendrabuddhi, Jñānaśrī, and Dharmottara. In general, Mañjuśrī once appeared to Dignāga and promised to become his guide to enlightenment. See Leonard W.J. van der Kuijpp and Arthur P. McKeown, *Bcom ldan ral gri (1227–1305) on Indian Buddhist Logic and Epistemology: His Commentary on Dignāga’s “Pramāṇasamuccaya,”* (Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 2013), lxiv–lxix. The legend fits well the context here. Also, cf. the very first two lines after the homage in Maja’s *Root Verses of the Ornament of the Collection of Reasoning of the Middle Way*: “The meaning of the Middle Way that is free from extremes, the single traversed path, the subject matter of what is to be elucidated and known among the words of the Tathāgata” (*sNang ba’i rtsa ba*, 1a1: / *de gshegs gsung gi brjod bya shes bya’i lus // bgrod pa gcig lam mtha’ bral dbu ma’i don /*).

¹³³ Although the identification of the two characters is not completely certain, *mə*² *gji*² (𑖤𑖥) would fit ideally the context. Despite previous unattested in Tangut sources, *mə*² *gji*² (𑖤𑖥) would match well with the Tibetan *nam ’grel* (i.e. *Pramāṇavārttika*) in a morpheme-to-morpheme manner. *mə*² *gji*² *yji*¹ (𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧), Tib. **nam ’grel mdzad*, the ‘author of *Pramāṇavārttika*,’ would then stand for Dharmakīrti.

¹³⁴ While this line can be, following the discussion of the last note, effectively reconstructed as *shes bya nam ’grel mdzad la gus phyag ’tshal*, *shes bya* here would be curious. I temporarily take it as the object on which the *Pramāṇavārttika* comments.

¹³⁵ *njwi*² *mji*² (𑖩𑖪𑖫), Tib. **thub pa*, literally meaning ‘the sage’, written alongside *mju*² *nji*² (𑖬𑖭), the phonetic transcription of *muni*, in F1.

¹³⁶ *phju*² *dzji*² (𑖱𑖲𑖳) < Chin. *shang shi* (上師), Tib. **bla ma*.

¹³⁷ *pju*¹ *mji*² (𑖵𑖶𑖷) F1; *njwi*² *we*² (𑖸𑖹), meaning ‘he who is capable’ (F2).



I bow down my head reverentially,
to the lotus feet of the high master, the venerable one, the lion,
who clarifies the mode of being of what is knowable, the intention
of the sage,
with the correct agent of beholding—the two eyes of knowledge!¹³⁸

登 蔭 順 而 諺 難 熾 統 效， 弄 殺 融 殺 娑 而 爾 爾 效。

I will explain the reality of contradiction and relation with
compassion,
[in]¹³⁹ the *Ornament that Clarifies the Introduction to Correct
Speculative Thinking*.

難 茲 難 難 而 融 融 而 殺， 嫩 難 融 而 殺 殺 而 難 難，
難 難 而 難 難 難 效 效 效， 難 難 而 難 難 效 效 效 效，

Because their eyes of their discriminating intellect are confused by
a biased¹⁴¹ and disturbed intellect,
living beings, usually,
cannot distinguish between fine and faulty explanations.¹⁴²
It is difficult for them to delight in this decent explanation that is
extraordinarily correct.

難 難 難 而 登 蔭 融 融 效， 融 融 而 融 融 難 難 效，

¹³⁸ For a discussion of this verse, see section 2.3. Also, cf. two lines in Tsangnakpa’s opening verses of his commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*: “I pay homage to the masters, the parallels to the Victorious One, who have bestowed [me] the agent of observing, the two eyes of knowledge!” (*Ti ka*, 1b2: / *lta byed tshad ma ’i myig gnyis sbyin mdzad pa ’i // rgyal mtshungs bla ma rnam la phyag ’tshal lo /*).

¹³⁹ While the line of the work title is not marked by a locative particle, it is not reasonable to assume the text is the agent of explanation. Therefore, I take “I” as the inexplicitly stated agent here while putting the work title as the place of explanation.

¹⁴⁰ *zji*¹ *yej*¹ (登蔭) here can be reconstructed in two ways: (1) the adjective *yang dag pa*, thus meaning ‘correct’; (2) the prefix *yongs su*, which, by grouping together with *sew*² (融), Tib. **rtog pa*, would indicate just ‘speculative thinking.’ The translation here follows the former.

¹⁴¹ *rji*² *zow*² (嫩難), Tib. **phyogs ’dzin*.

¹⁴² We can find an almost exact match of this line in Maja’s *Ornament of the Collection of Reasoning of the Middle Way*, see section 2.3.



效烈多厥殊，散散散散散。散散散散散，散散散散散，
散散散散散，散散散散散。散散散散散，散散散散散，
散散散散散，散散散散散。

Following the aforementioned way, one examines [it] in a threefold manner. One should know [it] by means of the experience¹⁴⁹ that is like unadulterated fine gold, the logical reason¹⁵⁰ that is endowed with the threefold definition, and the words that are believed. With respect to the three domains of what is to be cognised, the speculative thinkers¹⁵¹ should engage in what is not undermined by the two types of knowledge and the scriptures that are believed and engage in what is established by those.

效烈多厥殊，散散散散散¹⁵²散散散散散，散散散散散。

For that reason, in order to easily make known the nature¹⁵³ of the means of knowledge that functions through the force of one’s own essence,¹⁵⁴ I composed this [work].

效烈多厥殊，散散散散散，散散散散散，散散散散散。

Moreover, here, there are two topics:

better match would be the version in texts such as Śāntarakṣita’s *Tattvasaṃgraha*: / *dge slong dag gam mkhas rnams kyi* // *bsregs bcad brdar ba’i gser bzhin du* // *yongs su brtags la nga yi bka’* // / *blang bar bya yi gus phyr min* / (*bsTan* ‘gyur 107, 319–20).

¹⁴⁹ *dwewr² lhji²* (散散) < Chin. *jue shou* (覺受), Tib. **nyams myong*.

¹⁵⁰ *niow¹* (繼), Tib. **gtan tshigs*. This character is used exclusively for ‘logical reason’ (Skt. *hetu*), as attested by the Tangut *Nyāyabindu*. See Ma, “The *Nyāyabindu* in Tangut Translation,” 821.

¹⁵¹ *sew² dzji² mjij² ηewr²* (散散散散), Tib. **rtog ge pa rnams*.

¹⁵² *tshja² wo²* (散散), F2; F1 om.

¹⁵³ *jij¹ tsji²* (散散) < Chin. *zi xing* (自性), Tib. **rang bzhin*.

¹⁵⁴ This sentence echoes the very first two lines of Jayānanda’s *Tarkamudgara*, see section 3.3.



The second, regardless of whether or not the particular is possible¹⁶⁶ for the thing to be cognised, involves the phenomena capable of appearing to conceptual thought. It is devoid of causal efficacy. And, with the representations¹⁶⁷ of time and place mixed up, it is the manifest feature¹⁶⁸ that is not clear¹⁶⁹.

𑖀𑖂𑖃𑖄, 𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏. 𑖐𑖑𑖒𑖓𑖔𑖕, 𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙𑖚𑖛𑖜𑖝.

The third is that which has the capacity of appearing to the non-conceptual erroneous (cognition). It is devoid of causal efficacy, such as the representation of a double moon.

𑖀𑖂, 𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎, 𑖏𑖐𑖑𑖒𑖓𑖔𑖕, 𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙𑖚𑖛𑖜𑖝𑖞𑖟𑖠𑖡.

Further, in terms of the different ways the cognition engages [the cognitive object], there are three types of the object—the apprehended object¹⁷¹, the intentional object¹⁷², and the engaged object¹⁷³.

𑖀𑖂𑖃𑖄, 𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋 [end F1]𑖌𑖍, 𑖎𑖏𑖐, 𑖑𑖒𑖓𑖔𑖕, 𑖖𑖗𑖘
𑖙𑖚𑖛𑖜𑖝𑖞𑖟𑖠, 𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲
𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾.

The first one is any object that appears to the cognition (end F1)—successively, the apprehended objects of non-conceptual non-erroneous, of conceptual, and of non-conceptual erroneous cognitions, because they well exhaust the scenarios of whether the entity of the

¹⁶⁶ *tjij² mo¹ mji¹ tjij²* (𑖀𑖂𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆), Tib. *srid dam mi srid.
¹⁶⁷ *jij¹* (𑖇𑖈), Tib. *rnam pa.
¹⁶⁸ *mə² :jij¹ lhəw²* (𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌), Tib. *rnam ldan. Because of this reconstruction, I use the term ‘manifest feature’ here following Hugon and Stoltz’s translation of the term in Chapa’s philosophy. For a discussion on the term, see Hugon and Stoltz, *The Roar of a Tibetan Lion*, 15.
¹⁶⁹ *mji¹ dzju¹ sja²* (𑖏𑖐𑖑𑖒), Tib. *mi gsal ba.
¹⁷⁰ *mə² we² ḡwu² zow² mjē² ljī¹ zjij¹ mjē² ljī¹ ·o² mjē²* (𑖓𑖔𑖕𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙𑖚𑖛𑖜𑖝𑖞𑖟𑖠𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲) missing from F1.
¹⁷¹ *zow² mjē²* (𑖓𑖔), Tib. *gzung yul.
¹⁷² *zjij¹ mjē²* (𑖕𑖖), Tib. *zhen yul.
¹⁷³ *·o² mjē²* (𑖗𑖘), Tib. *jug yul.

apprehended object is true or not true¹⁷⁴, and whether the cognition that cognises the apprehended object is erroneous or not^{175, 176}.

癡現散現，猶有現現現現現現？現，現現現現現現現現；
現現現現現現現現？現，現現現現現現現現現現。

Following what is stated as such, the former one [object of the three], on the basis of the non-erroneous [...] of the conventional cognition¹⁷⁷, is posited, in terms of truth¹⁷⁸, as the correct conventional truth¹⁷⁹; the latter two [objects of the three], on the basis of the erroneous [...] of the conventional cognition, are posited, in terms truth, as the mistaken conventional truth^{180, 181}.

現現，現現現現？現現：現現現現現現現現現現，現現現現現現現現現現。
現現現現現現現現；現：？現現？現現現現現現，現現現現現現現現現現。
現現現現現現現現現現現現現現現現，現現現 [...] [end F2]

¹⁷⁴ *z̧jir¹ mji¹ z̧jir¹* (癡現現), Tib. **bden mi bden*.

¹⁷⁵ *lha¹ lji¹ mji¹ lha¹* (散現癡現), Tib. **'khrul dang mi 'khrul*.

¹⁷⁶ The passage here well resonates Chapa's threefold typology of the apprehended object. For a discussion on the typology, see Hugon, "Can one be a Mādhyamika, a Crypto-Vaibhāṣika, and a Faithful Interpreter of Dharmakīrti?" 59–61.

¹⁷⁷ *mji² da² sji²* (現現現現), Tib. **tha snyad [kvi] shes pa*.

¹⁷⁸ It is difficult to effectively reconstruct *z̧jir¹ nyu²* (癡現) in Tibetan. Since *z̧jir¹* (癡) has the meaning of 'truth' and is an instrumental particle, I temporarily understand the term as meaning "in terms of truth," which can fit relatively well into this context.

¹⁷⁹ *z̧jir¹ yiej¹ rjur¹ mur¹ dz̧jir²* (癡現現現現現), Tib. **yang dag pa 'i kun rdzob; rjur¹ mur¹ dz̧jir²* (現現現現) < Chin. *shisu di* (世俗諦), literally meaning 'conventional truth,' is a Tangut Buddhist term that has Chinese origin.

¹⁸⁰ *tshji² tshju² rjur¹ mur¹ dz̧jir²* (現現現現現現現現), Tib. **log pa 'i kun rdzob*.

¹⁸¹ The correct conventional truth and the mistaken conventional truth are mentioned by Jépa (see section 3.3) as the two components of the apprehended object of his 'own system' (Tib. *rang gi lugs*): "In accordance with the Vaibhāṣikas of the Śrāvakas, it follows that both the concept and the referent of the non-conceptual erroneous cognition are unreal. They are also the mistaken conventional truth on the occasion of the Middle Way. The real particular is real. It is also the correct conventional truth in the context of the Middle Way." (*Tshad bsdu*s, 5: *nyan thos bye brag tu smra ba dang mthun par don spyi dang rtog med 'khrul ba 'i dmigs pa gnyis ni dngos por ma yin par thal / dbu ma 'i skabs su yang log pa 'i kun rdzob bo / don rang gi mtshan nyid ni dngos por yod de / dbu ma 'i skabs su'ang yang dag pa 'i kun rdzob yin no /*). These concepts are also discussed in Maja's *Ornament of the Collection of Reasoning of the Middle Way*. See Doctor, *Reason and Experience in Tibetan Buddhism*, 21–22.



With respect to this, some holders of philosophical systems¹⁸² say that even all apprehended objects that are categorised as external are only real because of being true as the essence of the cognition; and, some say that the real external object is false¹⁸³ even on the conventional level. The reason why the claims are unacceptable is that, when positing the result of the perceptual knowledge of transitive awareness¹⁸⁴, the claims¹⁸⁵ (end F2).

¹⁸² *śjij' bju² jji' mjij²* (霸祿纒修), Tib. *grub mtha' 'dzin pa.

¹⁸³ ? (纒), Tib. *brdzun pa.

¹⁸⁴ *dzij² tsji'* (駭戲), Tib. *gzhan rig.

¹⁸⁵ The claims presented here, despite unstated, seem to map well onto the positions of the representational idealism (Tib. *sems tsam rnam bcas pa*) and non-representational idealism (Tib. *sems tsam rnam med pa*). Both positions are refuted in Chapa's *Epistemology* before Chapa's own position is given. See Hugon, "Can one be a Mādhyamika, a Crypto-Vaibhāṣika, and a Faithful Interpreter of Dharmakīrti?," 114–128.

Appendix 2: Photos of F1 and F2



Figure 4. Manuscript F1. Karakhoto. #5114, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.

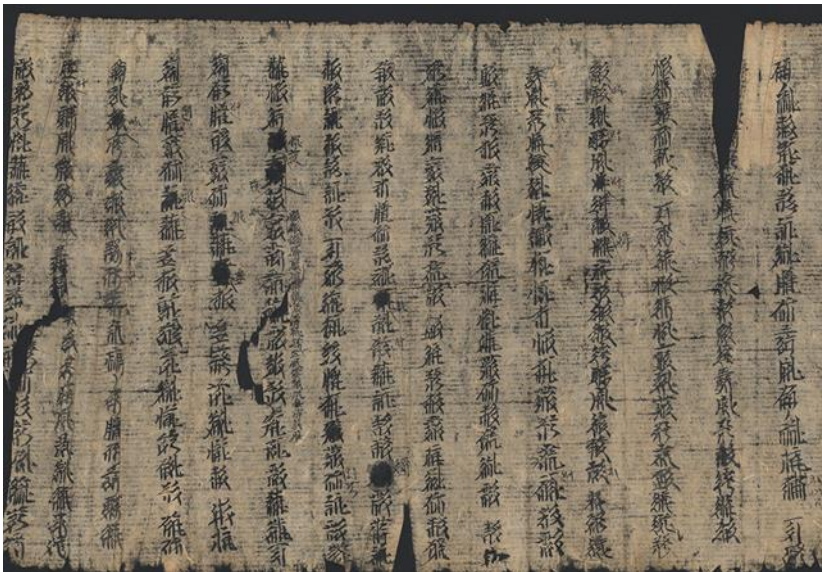




Figure 5. Manuscript F2. Karakhoto. #5112, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.

Abbreviations

#	Inventory number of items assigned by the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg.
Tang. character + 	Legible character, transcribed with less certainty
	Character legible, but cannot be transcribed with certainty
cat. no.	Catalogue number in Zoya I. Gorbacheva and Evgenij I. Kuchanov, <i>Tangutskiiye rukopisi i ksilografy / Тангутские рукописи и ксилографы</i> [Tangut Manuscripts and Xylographs] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoy literatury / Издательство восточной литературы, 1968).
<i>Deb sngon</i>	'Gos Lo tsā ba. <i>Deb ther sngon po</i> [The Blue Annals]. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984.
ECHC	<i>Eluosi kexueyuan dongfang yanjiusuo Sheng Bidebao fen suo cang Heishuicheng wenxian</i> 俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所藏黑水城文獻 [Karakhoto Manuscripts Collected in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences], 30 vols, comp. Eluosi kexueyuan dongfang yanjiusuo Sheng Bidebao fen suo 俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所, Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan minzu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院民族研究所, and Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996–2021.
F1	#5114, in ECHC 28, 82–83. (3 frames).
F2	#5112, in ECHC 28, 83. (1 frame).
F3	#5073, in ECHC 28, 84–88. (14 frames).
F4	#5801, in ECHC 28, 88. (1 frame).
F5	#7905, in ECHC 28, 89–94. (18 frames).
<i>dKa' gnas</i>	rNgog Lo tsā ba. “Tshad ma rnam par nges pa'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam par bshad pa [Explanation of the Difficult Points of the Pramānaviniścaya].” In KDSB 1, 419–705.
<i>bKa' 'gyur</i>	<i>bKa' 'gyur dpe bsdur ma</i> [Critical Edition of the Kangyur], 109 vols, comp. Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 2006–2009.
KDSB	<i>bKa' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs</i> [Collective Writings of the Kadam Sect], 120 vols, comp. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006–2015.
<i>Mun sel</i>	Phya pa. “Tshad ma yid kyi mun sel [Epistemology—The Dispeller of the Mind's Darkness].” In KDSB 8, 434–626.
<i>sNang ba</i>	rMa bya. “dBu ma rigs pa'i tshogs kyi rgyan de kho na nyid snang ba [Ornament of the Collection of Reasoning of the

BuddhistRoad Paper 1.5. Ma, “Introduction to Speculative Thinking”



- Middle Way: Appearance of Reality].” In KDSB 13, 753–820.
- sNang ba'i rtsa ba* rMa bya. “dBu ma rigs pa'i tshogs kyi rgyan de kho na nyid snang ba'i rtsa ba [Root Verses of the Ornament of the Collection of Reasoning of the Middle Way: Appearance of Reality].” In KDSB 13, 745–748.
- Pvin. Dharmakīrti. *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścaya*, Chapters 1 and 2, ed. Ernst Steinkellner. Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House; Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007.
- Ṭi ka* gTsang nag pa. “Tshad ma rnam par nges pa'i ṭi ka legs bshad bsdu pa [Commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*: Summary of Elucidation].” In KDSB 13, 13–431.
- bsTan 'gyur* *bsTan 'gyur dpe bsdur ma* [Critical Edition of the Tengyur], 120 vols., comp. Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994–2008.
- Tarka* Jayānanda. “Tarkamudgara [Hammer of Speculative Thinking] (Derge Tōhoku no. 3869).” In *bsTan 'gyur* 60, 1876–1879.
- 'Thad rgyan* rMa bya. “dBu ma rtsa ba shes rab kyi 'grel ba 'thad pa'i rgyan [Commentary on the Root Verses of Madhyamaka: Ornament of Reason].” In KDSB 65, 11–321.
- Tshad bsdus* 'Jad pa gZhon nu byang chub (wrongly attributed to Klong chen rab 'byams pa). *Tshad ma'i de kho na nyid bsdus pa* [Summary of the Essential Nature of Epistemology]. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2000.

Bibliography

Resources

- Eluosi kexueyuan dongfang yanjiusuo Sheng Bidebao fen suo cang Heishuicheng wenxian* 俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所藏黑水城文獻 [Karakhoto Manuscripts Collected in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences], 30 vols, comp. Eluosi kexueyuan dongfang yanjiusuo Sheng Bidebao fen suo 俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所, Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan minzu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院民族研究所, and Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996–2021.
- bKa' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs* [Collective Writings of the Kadam Sect], 120 vols., comp. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006–2015.
- bKa' 'gyur dpe bsdur ma* [Critical Edition of the *Kangyur*]. 109 vols, comp. Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 2006–2009.

BuddhistRoad Paper 1.5. Ma, “Introduction to Speculative Thinking”

bsTan 'gyur dpe bsdur ma [Critical Edition of the *Tengyur*]. 120 vols, comp. Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994–2008.

Primary Sources

- #824 *Lji*² *tji*² *nji*² *dźjwa*¹ *tshji*¹ *śiō*¹ 散鞞織髻髻髻髻 [The Collection of the Ultimate Instruction of the Great Seal]. In ECHC, 91–98 (20 frames).
- #2526 *Lji*² *tji*² *nji*² *dźjwa*¹ *tshji*¹ *śiō*¹ 散鞞織髻髻髻髻 [The Collection of the Ultimate Instruction of the Great Seal]. In ECHC 30, 98–107 (28 frames).
- #2851 *Lji*² *tji*² *nji*² *dźjwa*¹ *tshji*¹ *śiō*¹ *la*¹ 散鞞織髻髻髻髻髻 [Notes on the Collection of the Ultimate Instruction of the Great Seal]. In ECHC 30, 107–116 (26 frames).
- #2858 *Lji*² *tji*² *nji*² *dźjwa*¹ *tshji*¹ *śiō*¹ 散鞞織髻髻髻髻 [The Collection of the Ultimate Instruction of the Great Seal]. In ECHC 30, 116–123 (22 frames).
- #7163 *Lji*² *tji*² *nji*² *dźjwa*¹ *tshji*¹ *śiō*¹ 散鞞織髻髻髻髻 [The Collection of the Ultimate Instruction of the Great Seal]. In ECHC 30, 139–150 (33 frames).
- Dharmakīrti. *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścaya: Chapters 1 and 2*, edited by Ernst Steinkellner. Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House; Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft, 2007.
- 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal. *Deb ther sngon po* [The Blue Annals]. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984.
- 'Jad pa gZhon nu byang chub (wrongly attributed to Klong chen rab 'byams pa). *Tshad ma 'i de kho na nyid bsdur pa* [Summary of the Essential Nature of Epistemology]. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2000.
- Jayānanda. *Tarkamudgāra* (Derge Tōhoku no. 3869). In *bsTan 'gyur* 60, 1876–1879.
- rMa bya Byang chub brtson 'grus. *dBu ma rigs pa 'i tshogs kyi rgyan de kho na nyid snang ba 'i rtsa ba* [Root Verses of the Ornament of the Collection of Reasoning of the Middle Way: Appearance of Reality]. In KDSB 13, 745–748.
- rMa bya Byang chub brtson 'grus. *dBu ma rigs pa 'i tshogs kyi rgyan de kho na nyid snang ba* [Ornament of the Collection of Reasoning of the Middle Way: Appearance of Reality]. In KDSB 13, 753–820.
- rMa bya Byang chub brtson 'grus. *dBu ma rtsa ba shes rab kyi 'grel ba 'thad pa 'i rgyan* [Commentary on the Root Verses of Madhyamaka: Ornament of Reason]. In KDSB 65, 11–321.
- rNgog Lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab. *Tshad ma rnam par nges pa 'i dka' ba 'i gnas rnam par bshad pa* [Explanation of the Difficult Points of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*]. In KDSB 1, 419–705.
- Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge. *Tshad ma yid kyi mun sel* [Epistemology—The Dispeller of the Mind's Darkness]. In KDSB 8, 434–626.
- gTsang nag pa brTson 'grus seng ge. *Tshad ma rnam par nges pa 'i ti ka legs bshad bsdur pa* [Commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*: Summary of Elucidation]. In KDSB 13, 13–431.

Secondary Sources

- Apple, James B. “Atiśa’s Teachings on Mahāmudrā.” *The Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies* 18 (2017): 1–42.

BuddhistRoad Paper 1.5. Ma, “Introduction to Speculative Thinking”



- Doctor, Thomas. *Reason and Experience in Tibetan Buddhism: Mabja Jangchub Tsöndrü and the Traditions of the Middle Way*. London: Routledge, 2014.
- Doctor, Thomas. “What if Madhyamaka is a Stance? Reading Nāgārjuna with the Help of Mabja Jangchub Tsöndrü and Bas van Fraassen.” *Journal of Buddhist Philosophy* 3 (2017): 161–182.
- Duan Yuquan 段玉泉. *Xixia ‘Gongde bao ji ji’ kua yuyan duikan yanjiu* 西夏《功德宝集偈》跨语言对勘研究 [A Multilingual Textual Critical Study of the Tangut *Ratnagūṇasamcayagāthā*]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014.
- Dunnell, Ruth W. “Translating History from Tangut Buddhist Texts.” *Asia Major* 22.1 (2009): 41–78.
- Gorbacheva, Zoya I., and Evgenij I. Kychanov. *Tangutskije rukopisi i ksilografy / Тангутские рукописи и ксилографы* [Tangut Manuscripts and Xylographs] Moscow: Izdatel’stvo vostochnoy literatury / Издательство восточной литературы, 1968.
- Horlemann, Bianca. “The Relations of the Eleventh-Century Tsong kha Tribal Confederation to Its Neighbour States on the Silk Road.” In *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, edited by Matthew T. Kapstein and Brandon Dotson, 79–101. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Horlemann, Bianca. “Buddhist Sites in Amdo and Former Longyou from the 8th to the 13th Century.” In *Old Tibetan Studies*, edited by Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, 119–157. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Hugon, Pascale. “The Origin of the Theory of Definition and Its Place in Phya pa Chos kyi sen ge’s Philosophical System.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 32.1–2 (2010): 319–368.
- Hugon, Pascale. “Can One be a Mādhyamika, a Crypto-Vaibhāṣika, and a Faithful Interpreter of Dharmakīrti? On Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge’s Doxographical Divisions and His Own Philosophical Standpoint.” *Zangxue xuekan* 藏学学刊. *Journal of Tibetology* 15 (2016): 51–153.
- Hugon, Pascale. “Enclaves of Learning, Religious and Intellectual Communities in Tibet: The Monastery of gSang phu ne’u thog in the Early Centuries of the Later Diffusion of Buddhism.” In *Meanings of Community across Medieval Eurasia: Comparative Approaches*, edited by Eirik Hovden, Christina Lutter, and Walter Pohl, 289–308. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Hugon, Pascale, and Jonathan Stoltz. *The Roar of a Tibetan Lion: Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge’s Theory of Mind in Philosophical and Historical Perspective*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2019.
- Hui Hong 惠宏 and Duan Yuquan 段玉泉. *Xixia wenxian jieti mulu* 西夏文献解题目录 [A Descriptive Catalogue of Tangut Literature]. Yinchuan: Yangguang chubanshe, 2015.
- van der Kuijp, Leonard. W.J. “Phya-pa Chos-kyi Seng-ge’s Impact on Tibetan Epistemological Theory.” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 5.4 (1978): 355–369.
- van der Kuijp, Leonard. W.J. *An Introduction to Gtsang-nag-pa’s ‘Tshad-ma-rnam-par nges-pa’i ṭi-ka legs-bshad bsdu-pa’*: An Ancient Commentary on Dharmakīrti’s *Pramānaviniścaya*. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co, 1989.
- van der Kuijp, Leonard. W.J. “Jayānanda. A Twelfth Century Guoshi from Kashmir Among the Tangut.” *Central Asiatic Journal* 37.3–4 (1993): 188–197.
- van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J., and Arthur P. McKeown. *Bcom ldan ral gri (1227–1305) on Indian Buddhist Logic and Epistemology: His Commentary on Dignāga’s ‘Pramānasamuccaya’*. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 2013.

- Kychanov, Evgenij. I. *Katalog Tangyckix byddiycckix pamyatnikov Institut Vostokovedeniya Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk / Каталог Тангутских буддийских памятников Института Востоковедения Российской Академии Наук* [Catalogue of Tangut Buddhist Texts, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences]. Kyoto: University of Kyoto Press, 1999.
- Ma Zhouyang 马洲洋. “Xixia yi Zhengli chu yi zhi an chu tan 西夏译《正理除意之暗》初探 [A Preliminary Analysis of the Tangut Translation of *Tshad ma yid kyi mun sel*].” *Zhongguo zangxue* 中国藏学. *China Tibetology* 3 (2021): 138–145.
- Ma, Zhouyang. “The *Nyāyabindu* in Tangut Translation.” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 49.5 (2021): 779–825.
- Mabja Jangchub Tsöndrū. *Ornament of Reason: The Great Commentary on Nāgārjuna’s ‘Root of the Middle Way.’* Translated by Dharmachakra Translation Committee. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 2011.
- Meinert, Carmen. “Embodying the Divine in Tantric Ritual Practice: Examples from the Chinese Karakhoto Manuscripts from the Tangut Empire (ca. 1038–1227).” *Revue d’Études Tibétaines* 50 (2019): 56–72.
- Meinert, Carmen. “Production of Tantric Buddhist Texts in the Tangut Empire (11th to 13th c.): Insights from Reading Karakhoto Manuscript ϕ 249 + ϕ 327 金剛亥母修習儀 *Jingang haimu xiuxi yi* [The Ritual of the Yogic Practice of Vajravāhī] in Comparison with Other Tantric Ritual Texts.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 44 (2021): 441–484.
- Meinert, Carmen. “People, Places, Texts, and Topics: Another Look at the Larger Context of the Spread of Chan Buddhism in Eastern Central Asia during the Tibetan Imperial and Post-Imperial Period (7th–10th C.).” In *Buddhism in Central Asia III—Doctrines, Exchanges with Non-Buddhist Traditions*, edited by Lewis Doney, Carmen Meinert, Yukiyo Kasai, and Henrik H. Sørensen (ca. 40 pp). Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2023.
- Nie Hongyin 聶鴻音. *Xixia fojing xu ba yizhu* 西夏佛經序跋譯註 [Annotated Translations of the Prefaces and Colophons of Tangut Buddhist Scriptures]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2016.
- Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄. “Seika yaku batten mokuroku 西夏譯佛典目錄 [A Catalogue of Tangut Buddhist Scriptures].” In *Seikabun Kegonkyō* 西夏文華嚴經 [The Tangut *Avatamsaka-sūtra*] 1–59. Kyoto: Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University, 1977.
- Roerich, George N. *The Blue Annals*. Delhi, Patna, Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1949.
- Seyfort Ruegg, David. *Three Studies in Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Philosophy*. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 2000.
- Shen, Weirong. “Reconstructing the History of Buddhism in Central Eurasia (11th–14th Centuries): An Interdisciplinary and Multilingual Approach to the Khara Khotō Texts.” In *Edition, éditions l’écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir*, edited by Anna Chayet, Christina Scherrer-Schaub, Françoise Robin, and Jean-Luc Achard, 337–362. Munich: Indus Verlag, 2010.
- Shi, Jinbo. *Tangut Language and Manuscripts: An Introduction*. Translated by Hansong Li. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- Solonin, Kirill. “Mahāmudrā Texts in the Tangut Buddhism and the Doctrine of No-thought.” *Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan* 西域歷史語言研究集刊 *Historical and Philological Studies of China’s Western Region* 2 (2009): 277–305.



- Solonin, Kirill 索罗宁. “Xixiawen Dashouyin wenxian zakao 西夏文‘大手印’文献杂考. Studies on the ‘Mahāmudrā’ Literature in Tangut.” In *Han zang foxue yanjiu: wenben, renwu, tuxiang, he lishi* 汉藏佛学研究:文本,人物,图像和历史. *Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Studies: Texts, Figures, Images, and History*, edited by Shen Weirong 沈卫荣, 235–266. Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 2013.
- Solonin, Kirill. “Dīpaṃkara in the Tangut Context: An Inquiry into the Systematic Nature of Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia (Part 1).” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 68.4 (2015): 425–451.
- Solonin, Kirill. “Dīpaṃkara in the Tangut Context: An Inquiry into the Systematic Nature of Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia (Part 2).” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 69.1 (2016): 1–25.
- Solonin, Kirill 索罗宁. “Xixia Dehui shangshi liangzhong chuancheng yu han zang fojiao yuanrong 西夏德慧上师两种传承与汉藏佛教圆融 [Two Teachings Transmitted by the Tangut Master Dehui and Sino-Tibetan Syncretic Buddhism].” *Zhongguo zangxue* 中国藏学. *China Tibetology* 3 (2021): 130–137.
- Solonin, Kirill. *Dapeng zhanchi: Zangchuan xin jiu mizhou zai Xixia de chaunbo* 大鹏展翅: 藏传新密咒在西夏的传播 [A Phoenix Spreading Its Wings: The Transmission of Old and New Tibetan Mantras in the Tangut Empire]. Shanghai guji chubanshe, forthcoming.
- Solonin, Kirill and Liu Kuowei. “Atiśa’s *Satyadvayāvātāra* (*Bden pa gnyis la ’jug pa*) in the Tangut Translation: A Preliminary Study.” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 45.1 (2017): 121–162.
- Stoltz, Jonathan. “On the Authorship of the *Tshad ma’i de kho na nyid bsdu pa*.” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 56 (2020): 48–69.
- Sun Bojun 孙伯君 and Nie Hongyin 聂鸿音. *Xixiawen zangchuan fojiao shiliao: “Dashouyin” fa jingdian yanjiu* 西夏文藏传佛教史料: ‘大手印’法经典研究 [Tangut Sources of Tibetan Buddhism: A Study of Mahāmudra Scriptures]. Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 2018.
- Sun Changsheng 孙昌盛. *Xixiawen ‘Jixiang bianzhi kouhe benxu’ zhengli yanjiu* 西夏文《吉祥遍至口和本续》整理研究 [An Edition and Study of the Tangut *Saṃputatantra*]. Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2015.
- Vetter, Tilmann. *Dharmakīrti’s Pramānaviśāyāḥ: 1. Kapitel: Pratyakṣam. Einleitung, Text der tibetischen Übersetzung, Sanskritfragmente, deutsche Übersetzung*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1966.
- Vose, Kevin A. *Resurrecting Candrakīrti: Disputes in the Tibetan Creation of Prāsaṅgika*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009.
- The Yakherds. *Knowing Illusion: Bringing a Tibetan Debate into Contemporary Discourse, Volume 1: A Philosophical History of the Debate*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2021.
- Zhang Yongfu 张永富. “Zhengshiming jing Xia Han yiben kao lue 《真实名经》夏、汉译本考略 [A Brief Study of the Chinese and Tangut Translations of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*].” *Xixia xue* 西夏学. *Tangutology* 2 (2021): 185–195.
- Zhu Qiyuan 祝启源. *Qintang sheng shuai: Gusiluo zhengquan yanjiu* 青唐盛衰: 唃廝囉政权研究 [The Rise and Fall of Qingtang: A Study of the Gusiluo Regime]. Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 2010.