

Knowledge and Authority in Tibetan Middle Way Schools of Buddhism:

A Study of the Gelukba (*dge lugs pa*) Epistemology of Jamyang Shayba

(*'jam dbyangs bzhad pa*) In Its Historical Context

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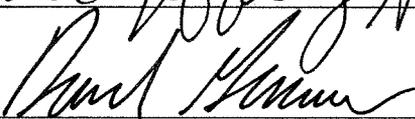
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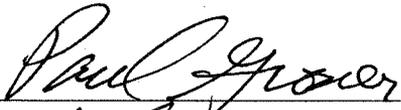
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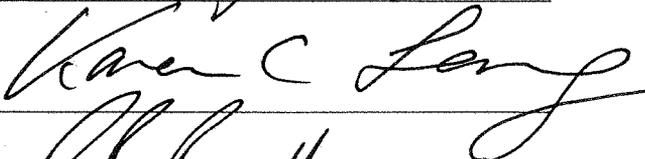
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Abstract

This dissertation argues that the authority religious figures are able to wield is a reflection of the legitimacy they have been granted by their followers. That legitimacy is, in turn, acquired through a variety of historically-conditioned narrative strategies. Relying upon Max Weber's analyses of these issues, I demonstrate some of the ways religious traditions are legitimized and religious authority is exercised in Buddhist Tibet. In particular, I examine the life and historical context of Jamyang Shayba (1648-1722, *jam dbyangs bzhad pa*), an astute textbook author of the Geluk School (*dge lugs*), whose analytical writings are studied at Gomang Monastery, Labrang Monastery, and scores of other institutions in Tibet and Mongolia.

In order to illustrate the different types of narrative strategies that were employed to assert the claim that Jamyang Shayba was religiously legitimized, I explore various genres of traditional literature, including his autobiography, a biography of him written by his subsequent incarnation, and a compendium of biographies of a number of his previous incarnations written by the same figure. The strategies utilized include a comprehensive account of his education, a detailed discussion of his many teachers and the teachings he received from them, an overview of the range of his scholarship, and his polemical and commentarial writings. I focus on Jamyang Shayba's efforts to uphold the epistemological doctrines of his school's founder, Dzongkaba, which lies at the core of the Geluk claim to legitimacy.

I elaborate a narrative of the larger historical context in which he lived in order to demonstrate some of the ways that he deployed his authority. I explore how his scholarship provided him access to significant political figures and important Tibetan and Mongolian

patrons. I discuss his participation in many of the consequential political events of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, including his involvement with the Fifth and Sixth Dalai Lamas and Tibet's Regent, Desi Sangyay Gyatso, as they worked to legitimize the rule of a theocratic Geluk-dominated government envisioned by the Fifth Dalai Lama. Finally, I examine his founding of Labrang Monastery which enabled him to extend his religious influence to eastern Tibet and the Mongolian cultural regions beyond.

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Acknowledgments

I was initially introduced to the works of the polymath Jamyang Shayba (1648-1722, *jam dbyangs bzhad pa*), the subject of this thesis, by Professor Jeffrey Hopkins. Over a period of several years he and I had a weekly tutorial in which he taught me the craft of translation as we pored over the philosophical writings of that great scholar from Gomang Monastery in Tibet. As I studied his abstruse monastic textbook, the *Great Exposition of the Middle Way*, I had planned that my thesis would be a detailed study of Jamyang Shayba's philosophical presentation of the role of valid cognition (*pramāṇa, tshad ma*) in the Middle Way School (*mādhyamika, dbu ma*). I resolved to write a biographical study of the seventeenth century author as a way of contextualizing his thought. However, this historical investigation took on a life of its own, eventually growing into the present work.

Throughout the twists and turns of my inquiry, Jeffrey Hopkins has been an indispensable guide. In addition to his precise and exacting methods of translation, he always brought a wealth of background knowledge to every topic we have studied together. It would be quite impossible to measure the vast amount of information I have learned from him. Yet, perhaps even more valuable, Professor Hopkins has taught me, through his example, what it means to be a scholar. Those of us who have had the good fortune to be his students know the relentlessly inquiring nature of his mind. On the rare occasion when he has not had a ready understanding of some difficult subject, it has been my pleasure to watch the lively play of his mind as he tested theses and evaluated various possibilities. His passion for learning, his tireless commitment to it, and his playful humor have made my work with him

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Although I never met him, the late Tsepon Shakabpa has exercised a considerable influence on my understanding of Tibetan history through his exceptional history book, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, which I translated. His brother, Gungngo Khenchung, answered hundreds of questions on that book. The late Geshe Thubten Gyatso of Gomang Monastery helped me to understand various aspects of Jamyang Shayba's life and thought. Geshe Lobsang Tseden explained several aspects of Middle Way philosophy to me. The last three figures are all from the Tibetan Buddhist Learning Center, and I am pleased also to extend my gratitude to Joshua and Diana Cutler who direct that institute and whose kindness and generosity made possible all of my studies there.

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Technical Note

It is highly regrettable that at this stage in the history of Tibetan Studies, there is no consensus on the best way to render Tibetan proper nouns in an English language book so that the English reading non-specialist can pronounce them accurately. European and American scholars, English-readers interested in Buddhism, and Tibetans writing in English all find themselves in the business of trying to portray sounds in an unfamiliar context with accuracy and simplicity. A wide variety of approaches have been employed, with drastically varying success. Happily, there is a reliable and consistent system for transliterating Tibetan words, which was developed by David Snellgrove and Terrell Wylie.¹ A good transliteration scheme should enable the specialist to reproduce the proper Tibetan spelling from a rigorously consistent letters and symbols in another language. The “Wylie system” reliably and elegantly fulfills this requirement with the standard English alphabet and two punctuation marks.

The duties of a phonetic system, however, are quite different. Among other things, such a system ought to represent the sounds of words in one language in a fashion that is

¹ Turrell Wylie, “A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription,” *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 22 (1959): 261-7. Now generally called the “Wylie system,” it was based on an earlier effort developed by David Snellgrove. See David Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya* (Oxford: Cassirer, 1957), 299-300. Actually, since Wylie used capital letters at the beginning of syllables, even when those letters are silent, and most contemporary scholars now follow Snellgrove in not doing that, the standard now in use might have been called the “Snellgrove system”.

swiftly, intuitively, and easily understandable for readers whose native language is different. A phonetic system should be simple and unambiguous. Only in this way can the general reader be expected to pronounce, recognize, and remember Tibetan proper nouns. This problem is acute for Tibetan names because of the large number of silent letters in the language. Readers unfamiliar with the Tibetan language are understandably befuddled by clusters of letters such as the figure featured in the present study, whose name is written in the Wylie system as 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa and which is pronounced as "Jamyang Shayba". Jeffrey Hopkins has observed, "Tibetan names must be rendered in a pronounceable form if Tibetan Buddhist studies are to rise out of the arcane, and thus it is necessary to devise a system specifically for that purpose."² So long as the general reader cannot remember Tibetan names, the field will remain an intellectual cul-de-sac, mistakenly perceived as having little to contribute to larger intellectual discourses.

Consequently, the practice of using Wylie transliteration to write proper names in the body of articles and books, a practice followed by many of the finest scholars of Tibetan Studies, is sure to perpetuate the isolation of our field. To the extent that scholars in this field employ an impenetrable code, we will remain on the periphery of interdisciplinary academic exchanges. Specialists, because they are familiar with Sanskrit, Pali, and Tibetan, often write in a way that guarantees that people outside of their own immediate area of expertise within Asian studies will be unable to understand their work completely. For example, what is the non-specialist to make of a sentence like the following: "Bzhad pa'i rdo rje's son, G.yung mgon rdo rje, the 'Brug pa Kun legs incarnation of Dre'u lhas in Gnyal, was also an extremely interesting forerunner of the nonsectarian movement."³ While this is

² Jeffrey Hopkins, *Meditation on Emptiness* (London: Wisdom, 1983), 19.

³ E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 245.

perfectly clear to people immersed in the field, even a well-educated general reader will be unable to unpack such writing.

It is my belief that Indian and Tibetan Buddhist philosophy have much to contribute to the larger world's intellectual discourse, and it is hoped that this thesis will be of interest and use to specialists and non-specialists alike. Hence, I have hoped to strike a balance between the needs of those two audiences. Other scholars before me have identified the same problems, and various solutions have been offered. Hence, a new problem has emerged in that too many inconsistent and overlapping systems have been introduced. The name of 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa has been variously phoneticized as Jamyang Shayba, Jam-*yang*-shay-*ba*, Jamyang Zhepa, Jamyang Shepa, or in an odd mixture of transliteration and phoneticization, Jamyang Shedpa.⁴ Consequently, non-specialists are in the troubling position of having to comprehend several competing phoneticizations as representing the same name. This situation is also untenable.

In part this problem is due to the fact that scholars writing for a western audience have learned their Tibetan pronunciation from an array of native speakers who themselves speak widely diverging dialects. Some scholarly studies may rely to a great extent on linguistic regionalisms per se. Localized ethnographies may involve isolated language groups in which particularized pronunciation pattern may differ dramatically from other parts of the Tibetan-speaking world. For example, in Ladakh, many letters are pronounced that are silent in other regions and vowel sounds in Amdo have drifted in relation to other dialects. In cases

⁴ These phonetic spellings are employed respectively in the present work; Jeffrey Hopkins, *Meditation on Emptiness* and elsewhere; Matthew T. Kapstein, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 134; and Geoffrey Samuel, *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 90 and 332. As a clear sign of how confused the situation is, both of the last two spellings noted above are used by the same author in the same book.

other than these types, it seems advisable, even urgent, for scholars to attempt to reach a consensus on a uniform phonetic system, even though no single system will sound just right to all native speakers. Out of necessity, a certain degree of convergence has begun to occur amidst the Tibetan refugee communities in India, as Tibetans from many regions come into close contact with one another for the first time. No such trend is evident among academics. The problem is only compounded by the fact that many European and American scholars are not fluent speakers of Tibetan and/or do not pronounce the language according to any systematic indigenous dialect.

A system of the sort described, known as “essay phonetics”, was developed by Jeffrey Hopkins.⁵ This system closely approximates the Lhasa dialect, which is highly desirable since that is the system of pronunciation that is most widely understood by native Tibetan speakers themselves. The following chart depicts the relationship between the Wylie transliteration system on the left and the Hopkins essay phonetics system on the right:

ka/g̃a	kha/ka	ga/ga	nga/nga
ca/j̃a	cha/cha	ja/ja	nya/nya
ta/d̃a	tha/ta	da/da	na/na
pa/b̃a	pha/pa	ba/ba	ma/ma
t̃sa/d̃za	tsha/tsa	dza/dza	wa/wa
zha/sha	za/sa	'a/a	ya/ya
ra/ra	la/la	sha/s̃a	sa/s̃a
ha/ha	a/a		

⁵ Hopkins, *Meditation on Emptiness*, 19-22.

The letters $\bar{g}a$, $\bar{j}a$, $\bar{d}a$, $\bar{b}a$, and $\bar{d}a$ are high tones, pronounced with a higher pitch and more abruptly.

Given how accurately this system captures the Lhasa dialect, it is surprising it has not caught on widely among scholars. This may be due to its graphic complexity. Daniel Cozort has suggested two modifications that seem to offer greater simplicity, even though they diminish the precision of Hopkins' system.⁶ Cozort proposed to eliminate the hyphens between syllables, and he forgoes the use of tonal marks. These modifications not only make the system easier to read on the page, but they address a concern of some Tibetans who do not like to see Tibetan names spelled with hyphens, a practice they regard as Sinification as it reminds them of the Wade-Giles system for rendering Chinese words.

Some Tibetan personal names and place names are written as they have commonly come to be written. For example, I follow prevailing custom in spelling the name of the Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso, well known place names like Lhasa, or the names of Tibetans who have decided for themselves how they wish to have their names spelled in English, like the author K. Dhondup. I have also written the name of the large lake in Amdo as "Blue Lake", translating the most common Tibetan name for it (*mtsho sngon*), in order to avoid the confusion over the several traditional names used for it. I have also followed traditional Lhasa dialect rules that modify standard pronunciations for reasons of euphony, as in the case of Ganden Monastery. This and other pronunciation rules are familiar to the specialist and irrelevant to the non-specialist and so will not be discussed here.⁷

⁶ Daniel Cozort, *Unique Tenets of the Middle Way Consequence School* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1998), 9-11.

⁷ The interested reader can consult the sources already cited or Joe B. Wilson, *Translating Buddhism From Tibetan: An Introduction to the Tibetan Literary Language and the Translation of Buddhist Texts from Tibetan* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1992), *passim*.

Non-specialists cannot be presumed to know a large number of Sanskrit words, nor they be expected to learn an unlimited number of them in the course of reading a book. In general, I usually translate all Tibetan and Sanskrit words, with a few exceptions. A number of Sanskrit words have earned their place as standard English words, including Bodhisattva, Buddha, karma, maṇḍala, sūtra, tantra, and yogi. They are written unitalicized. In some contexts, it has seemed to be desirable to maintain a rich array of meanings conveyed by a Sanskrit word, rather than settling upon a single English equivalent. The most notable example of this type of word is *pramāṇa*, which is a central concept in this thesis. Other scholars have variously translated it as “valid cognition,” “prime cognition,” “authority,” “means of valid cognition,” “means of knowledge,” “validating cognitions,” “evident,” “true,” and so forth. In some contexts I have settled upon one of these meanings, while elsewhere, I have retained the Sanskrit word. In any case, technical terms will be followed by parenthetical transliterations of the proper Tibetan spelling in Wylie and, where appropriate, the Sanskrit spelling.

The problem of transliteration is far easier to solve with respect to Sanskrit words than Tibetan because the latter has so many silent letters and the latter has none. Once the special Sanskrit diacritics are understood, even the non-specialist can approximate proper pronunciation. Those unfamiliar with diacritics should know a few simple rules. There are six retroflex letters, which requires that the tongue be curled back slightly in the mouth. They are written with a subscribed dot as follows: ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, and ṣ. Two additional nasals deserve mention, ṅ and ñ, which are pronounced like the “ng” in “song” and the “ny” in the company name “Sanyo,” respectively. Also for ease of pronunciation for non-specialists, I use “ch” for “c”, “chh” for “ch”, “sh” for “ś”, and “ṣh” for “ṣ”. Finally, “th” and

“ph” are not pronounced as in “think” and “phone”, but are instead aspirated version of the initial letters “t” and “p”, as in “butte” and a particularly voiced “p” in “pancake”.

Maps

Map 1

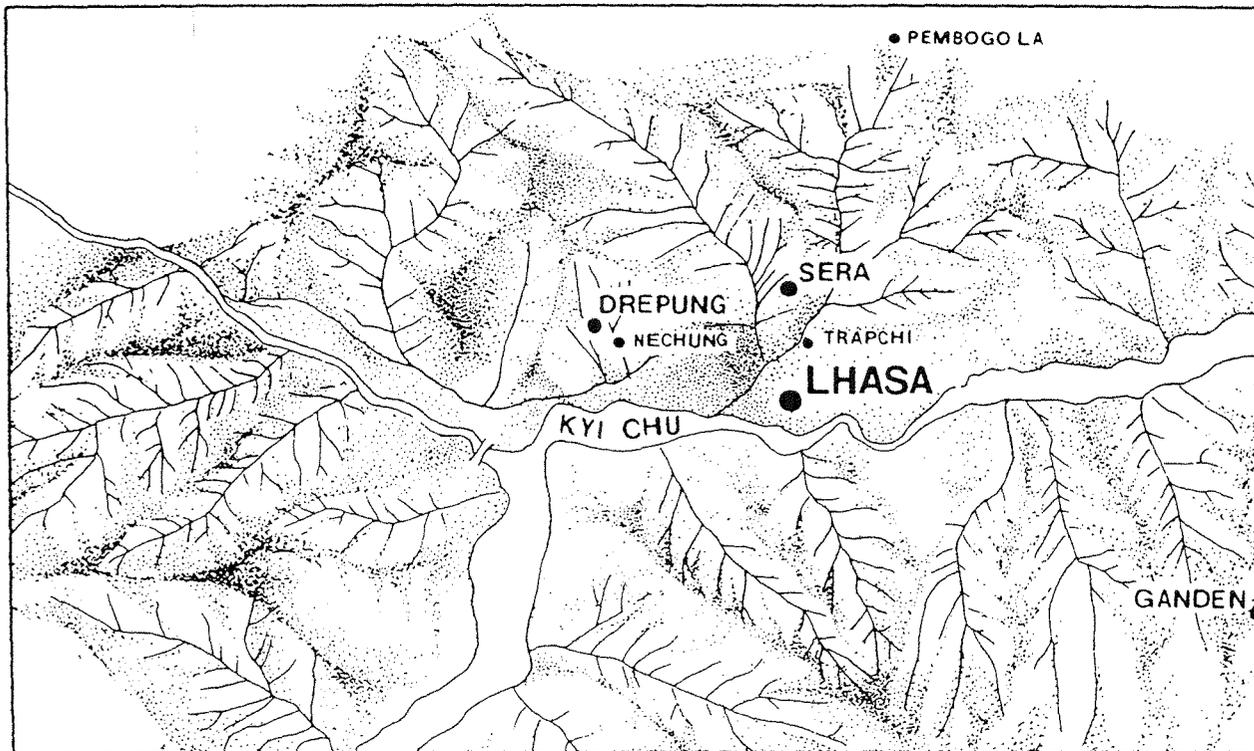
Melvyn Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet 1913-1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), xxvii. The map depicts the region immediately surrounding the Kyi chu River Valley in Central Tibet. The relative position of Lhasa and the three big Geluk monastic seats, Ganden, Drebung, and Sera Monasteries, are shown. (Goldstein spells Drebung as “Drepung”.)

Map 2

R. A. Stein, *La Civilisation tibétaine* (Paris: Dunod Editeur, 1962; revised and reprinted as *Tibetan Civilization*, trans. J. E. Stapleton Driver [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972]), 104-105. This map shows most of Tibet, although it unfortunately cuts off Tibetan cultural regions in the east. Together with the inset, it depicts the relationship between Lhasa and Shigatse. (Stein spells Drashi Hlunbo Monastery as “Trashilhünpo”.)

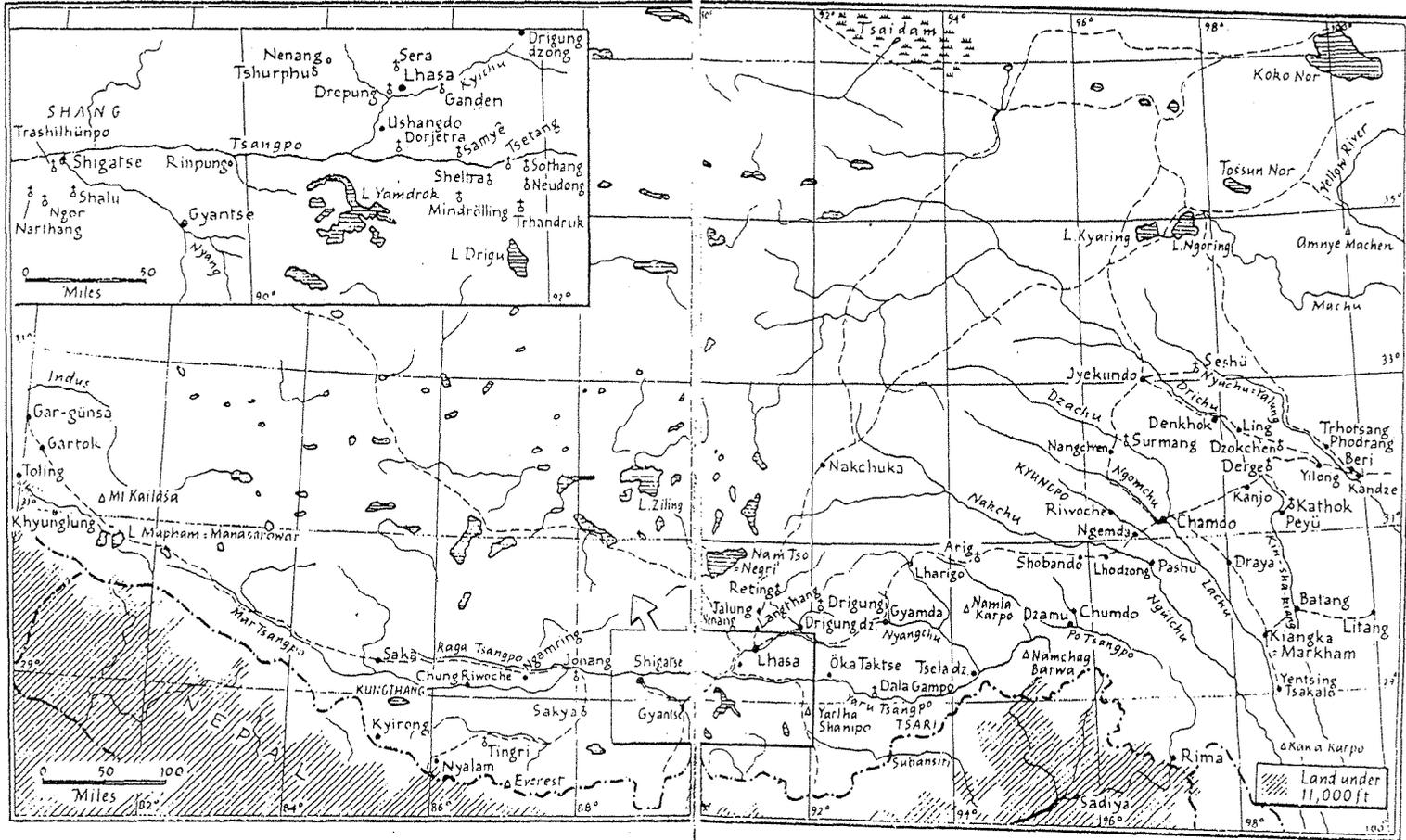
Map 3

John F. Avedon, *In Exile From the Land of Snows: The Dalai Lama and Tibet since the Chinese Conquest* (New York, Harper Perennial, 1984), frontispiece. This map show all of Tibet. In Amdo, located in the northeast, it show the relationship between the Blue Lake, Kumbum Monastery, and Labrang Drashi Kyil Monastery. (Avedon gives the Mongolian name for the Blue Lake, which is Kokonor. He also spells Labrang Drashi Kyil Monastery as “Tashikhiel”.)

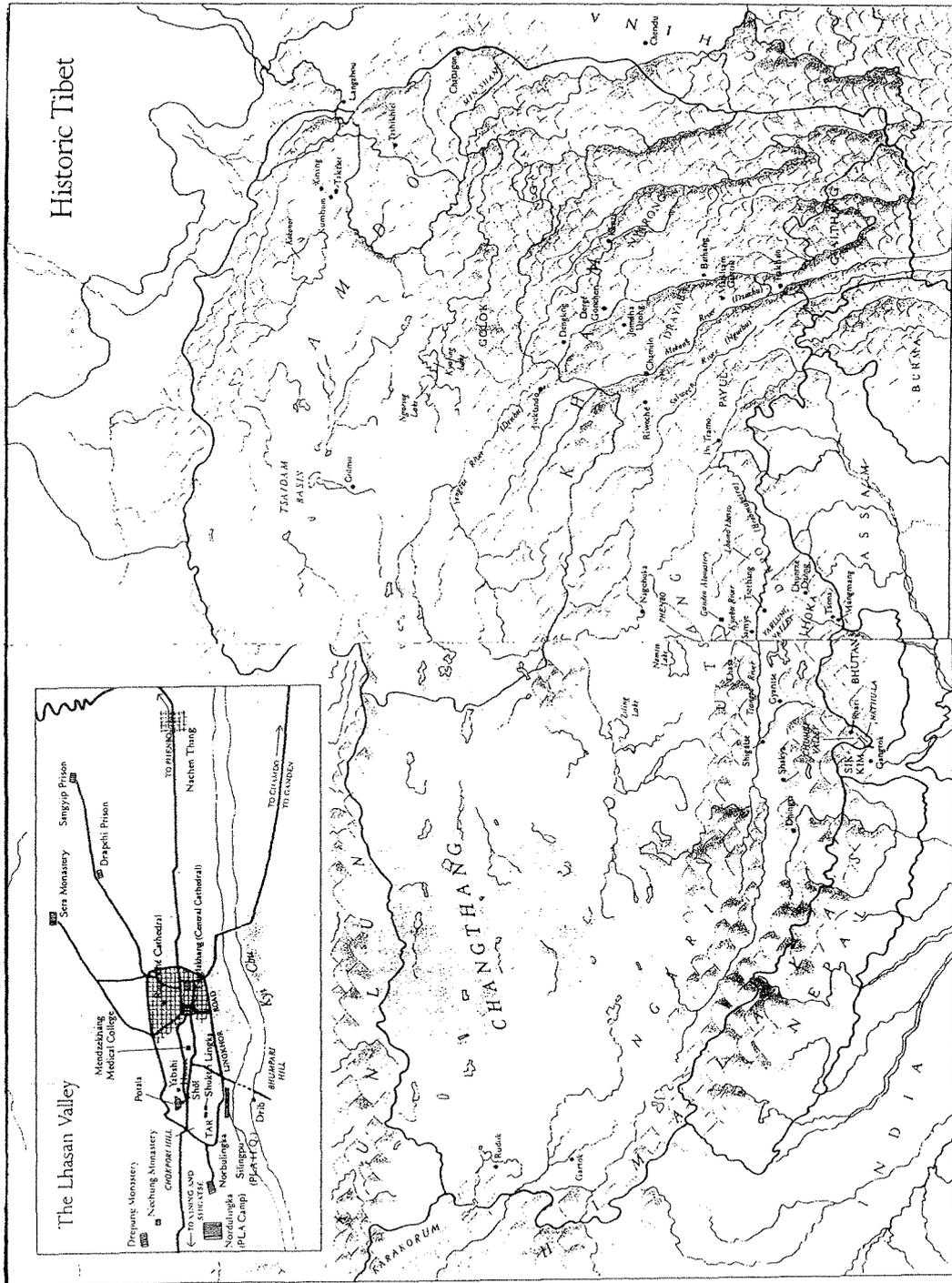


0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
MILES

The Lhasa valley



III. Modern Tibet: places and physical features



PART ONE

Setting the Stage

The mere fact of recognizing
the personal mission of a charismatic master
established his power.

Max Weber⁸

⁸ Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, vol. III (New York: Bedminster, 1968; reprinted Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 1115.

Introduction

One of the most significant differences between the study of Asian and European philosophy arises from the fact that comparatively little is known about the lives of important thinkers in Asian intellectual history. It is common, when discussing the thought of important European philosophers, to place the subjects within a richly textured historical context, to position them relative to the intellectual movements of their time, to locate them within well-understood social structures, and to discuss the influence on their ideas of meaningful personal experiences. These approaches are rarely employed in the study of Asian thought for a variety of reasons. In some cases, only scattered bits of historical and biographical information are known. In others, even if there is sufficient knowledge about the subject's personal life, little is understood about the larger environment in which the person lived. There is inadequate insight into the general flow of intellectual currents through time. A consequence of this latter deficiency is that it is almost impossible to develop any scheme periodizing Indian, Chinese, or Tibetan philosophy that is both coherent and specific. There is little wonder that such a problem exists in India since it is difficult to establish firmly the chronology of some significant thinkers, never mind the precise dating of many of the more consequential texts.

In both Tibet and China, however, where there has long been a keen interest in history, lineages, succession, and the like, there are sufficient historical resources to ask and to answer some of these questions. Yet, in Tibet at least, few contemporary scholars have concerned themselves with investigating the biographies and historical contexts of great masters. Some penetrating studies have been done of disparate luminaries including Yeshe

Tsogyel (*ye shes mtsho rgyal*),⁹ Dzongkaba Losang Dragba (1357-1419, *tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa*),¹⁰ Milarepa (*mi la res pa*),¹¹ Shabkar (1781-1851),¹² Janggya Rolbay Dorjay (*lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje*),¹³ Jigmay Lingba (1730-1793, *'jig med gling pa*),¹⁴ and several of the Dalai Lamas,¹⁵ particularly the present one, Tenzin Gyatso (b. 1935, *bsten 'dzin rgya*

⁹ Keith Dowman, *Sky Dancer: the Secret Life and Songs of the Lady Yeshe Tsogyel* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 1996) and Namkhai Nyingpo and Gyalwa Changchub, *Lady of the Lotus-born: the Life and Enlightenment of Yeshe-Tsogyal* (Boston: Shambhala, 1999).

¹⁰ Robert Thurman, ed., *Life and Teachings of Tsong Khapa* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1982) and William Magee, "Two Faces of Charisma in Fifteenth-Century Tibet," *Fifteenth Century Studies* 25 (2000).

¹¹ Milarepa's life has been retold many times. See for example, Francis V. Tiso, *A Study of the Buddhist Saint in Relation to the Biographical Tradition of Milarepa* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1989); Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, *The Life of Milarepa* (London: Granada, 1979; reprinted New York: Viking Penguin, 1992); and Eva van Dam, *The Magic Life of Milarepa* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1991).

¹² Matthieu Ricard, *The Life of Shabkar: the Autobiography of a Tibetan Yogin* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1994).

¹³ Jeffrey Hopkins, *Emptiness Yoga* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1987) and Hans-Rainer Kämpfe, *Ñi ma'i 'od zer / Naran-u gerel: Die Biographie des 2. Pekinger Lcañ skya-Qutuqtu Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786)* (Monumenta Tibetica Historica, 2 (1). Sankt Augustin: Wissenschaftsverlag, 1976).

¹⁴ Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

¹⁵ Glen Mullin has written a series of books on many of the Dalai Lamas, including *Selected Writings of the Dalai Lama I: Bridging the Sutras and Tantras* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1985) and *Selected Writings of the Dalai Lama II: Tantric Yogas of Sister Niguma* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1985). Additionally, the Sixth Dalai Lama has attracted scholarly attention. See Michael Aris, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: A Study of Pemalingpa (1450-1521) and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683-1706)* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1989) and G. W. Houston, *Wings of the White Crane: Poems of Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho (1683-1706)* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1982).

mtsho).¹⁶ However, at this early stage of Tibetan Studies, scores of the most prominent figures in Tibetan history are hardly known.

This situation is to be regretted because several substantial benefits would accrue from a systematic inquiry into Tibetan biography and history. Detailed expositions of the lives of a large number of important figures will allow us to see more clearly the patterns in Tibetan intellectual history. The ingenious and revolutionary contributions of a number of Tibetan masters will be more apparent when we are able to perform mature comparisons with other figures of their era. Likewise, the significance of religious and philosophical currents through time will be more fully appreciated when they can be related to non-religious and non-philosophical contexts, political, military, economic, and the like. Most importantly, the field of Tibetan Studies will be enriched when a large number of detailed biographical investigations have been conducted on a diverse array of interrelated figures. For example, when the two or three dozen of the most consequential authors of the Geluk (*dge lugs*) School's philosophical texts have been closely examined in terms of both their philosophical positions and their life stories, it may become possible to notice philosophical trends that are presently transparent.

I will contribute to this large and demanding project by examining the life and thought of Jamyang Shayba (1648-1722, *'jam dbyangs bzhad pa*). Born in Amdo in eastern Tibet, he grew up in the cultural ferment where Chinese, Mongolian, and Tibetan cultures encountered one another. Like other promising youths from the periphery of the Tibetan Buddhist sphere of influence, he journeyed to the center, Lhasa, where he furthered his education at Drebung Monastery, one of the most important centers of power of the Geluk

¹⁶ More is known about the Fourteenth Dalai Lama than any other Tibetan, due in significant part to his two autobiographies, *My Land, My People* (New York: Warner Books, 1997) and *Freedom in Exile* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 2000).

School and the locus of significant political power as well. He studied with many of the foremost scholars and yogis of his time, became a renowned scholar in his own right, and found himself involved in the highest circles of religious and political influence. Eventually, he left his own decisive mark on both the religious and political dimensions of the Geluk School, becoming an advisor to powerful patrons and an Abbot of one of Tibet's great monasteries, Gomang (*sgo mang*) Monastery, one of the primary organizational units within Drebung.

Jamyang Shayba came into prominence during a pivotal time in Tibet, a time of great change, particularly for the Geluk School. Three centuries earlier, the ostensible founder of the tradition, Dzongkaba, had fashioned a new interpretation of Buddhism grounded in a pronounced attention to both ethics and epistemology. According to the narrative the tradition tells about itself, Dzongkaba felt that many of his contemporaries had lapsed in their adherence to ethics standards. In this view, that occurred because conventional appearances were undervalued as a consequence of an overemphasis on tantric practices in which reality is visualized as an effervescent illusion. The tendency to doubt reality as given was one of the central features of Buddha's innovative insight; the extent of this skeptical attitude has been one of primary factors giving rise to different schools of Buddhism. For Dzongkaba, his many of his contemporaries had fallen to an extreme position of denying conventional reality altogether, thereby undermining the basis for ethical conduct. Hence, he built his interpretation on a strong foundation of epistemology, emphasizing that although it was correct to refute the inherent existence of phenomena, things do still exist. He felt that this distinction was critical to the maintenance of Buddhist ethics.

In the ensuing centuries, the Geluk School that emerged out of Dzungkaba's inspiration was systematized and an advanced scholastic tradition grew up within it. The first period of Gelukba history, during which the main monasteries were built, was characterized by a sometimes uneasy relationship with the other major Tibetan religious schools — Nyingma (*rning ma*), Sagya (*sa skya*), and Kagyu (*bka' rgyud*). As the emerging Geluk School began competing for attention, adherents, and patronage, various interscholastic tensions erupted, regionally and episodically. Throughout this period, major Geluk institutions were found only in Shigadzay and the area around Lhasa. Outside of these immediate regions, conflicts between Gelukbas and members of other schools generally occurred in a context in which the Gelukbas were the weaker party.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the influence of the school began to expand as the Third and Fourth Dalai Lamas formed close relationships with royal Mongolian patrons. These alliances permitted the construction of Geluk monasteries on a wider scale and in more far-flung areas. Significantly, the military might of Mongolians allowed the Gelukbas to operate more forcefully in their traditional areas of influence, primarily the region around Lhasa and in Shigadzay. They could stand up to the allies of other schools when they felt persecuted. However, the Geluk alliance with the Mongolians represented a challenge to the secular power of the King of Dzung, the closest thing to a centralized power in Tibet at the time. These circumstances elevated tensions and eventually spiraled out of control as open military confrontation erupted.

At length, events reached a climax as the Dzung forces were defeated in 1642, when the Qoshot Mongolian Gushri Khan (1582-1655, *gu shri khān*) consolidated political power over Tibet and entrusted it in the hands of his lama, the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Losang

Gyatso (1617-1682, *ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho*). This shift inaugurated the efforts to establish a Geluk theocratic state. By co-opting symbols, rituals, and narratives from the Imperial Period, particularly those used in the Nyingma School, the Fifth Dalai Lama attempted to transform his Geluk leadership into a latter-day version of the unified Tibet that existed then. He also elaborated the mythology of the Dalai Lama as Avalokiteshvara, the Buddha of Compassion. All of these efforts were intended to construct for himself and his government the legitimacy that would permit him to rule all Tibetans and not just provide the religious leadership for the Geluk School, as previous Dalai Lamas had done. Upon his death, his youthful Regent, Desi Sangyay Gyatso (1653-1703, *sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho*), attempted to perpetuate the Fifth Dalai Lama's plan, at first by concealing the Fifth Dalai Lama's death and later by the careful manipulation of his successor, the Sixth Dalai Lama Tsangyang Gyatso (1683-1706, *tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho*), hand-picked and raised by the Desi himself. The plan ultimately ended in disaster when the Mongolian warlord, Labsang Khan (d. 1717, *bla bzang khān*) deposed the Desi, setting in motion events that eventually resulted in the chaotic dissolution of the Fifth Dalai Lama's plans, the murder of the Regent, the suspicious death of the Sixth Dalai Lama, and the 1717 intervention of the Dzungar Mongolians. In the end, the Dzungars overturned the efforts to construct a state structure with broad religious appeal, instead imposing a strictly Geluk ideology and violently suppressing other schools. These events mark the transition to the third period of Geluk history, a time when the Geluk School came to dominate most aspects of governmental power, even as the Chinese Manchu Empire began to insinuate itself into Tibetan politics in varying ways.

Jamyang Shayba's lifetime (1648-1722) coincides almost precisely with the theocratic

era of Geluk history outlined above, commencing with the 1642 triumph of Gushri Khan and terminating with the 1717 Dzungar invasion and the 1720 arrival in Lhasa of a Manchu representative. Jamyang Shayba was shaped by these compelling historical currents, and he in turn influenced events to a degree. He came of age as a Gelukba monk during the very years that Geluk power was in its most dramatic ascent. By the time he arrived in Central Tibet at the age of twenty in 1668, the Fifth Dalai was busy elaborating the instruments of power that were intended to cement the dual religious and political leadership of the Geluk. One of the most potent symbols of this assertion of authority was the construction of the Potala Palace, which called upon the symbolic potency of King Songdzen Gambo (d. 649, *srong btsan sgam po*) who had sponsored the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet and who had constructed a small fortress at the top of the mountain on which the Potala was built. Significantly, King Songdzen Gambo was also regarded as an incarnation of Avalokiteshvara. The construction of the Potala also permitted the formal seat of power of the Geluk theocracy to shift from Ganden Podrang Offices at Drebung Monastery to the Palace near Lhasa. Jamyang Shayba frequented both locations, living at Drebung Monastery where he received the bulk of his monastic training and frequently visiting the Potala where he received advanced instruction from the Dalai Lama and others.

During the 1680's and 1690's, Jamyang Shayba composed many of the extensive and exhaustive commentaries that earned him renown and respect as a scholar. By virtue of his reputation, he was appointed as the Abbot of Drebung-Gomang Monastery, one of the largest Geluk monastic universities. He attracted a large monastic following in Central Tibet, and he became the teacher of the Sixth Dalai Lama, the Regent of Tibet Desi Sangyay Gyatso, and Labsang Khan. Most significantly, just as events in Central Tibet were swirling

out of control, Jamyang Shayba returned to Amdo to found Labrang Drashi Kyil Monastery (*bla brang bkra shis 'khyil*), the largest and most important Geluk institution in eastern Tibet. The monastery was built with the patronage of many strong Mongolian leaders in the region, and through these alliances, Jamyang Shayba was instrumental in fortifying the Geluk-Mongolian bonds that would sustain the school's influence in Central Asia even as Geluk political power ebbed and flowed in Central Tibet. Jamyang Shayba rose to a position of great influence within the Geluk School and became one of the most authoritative interpreters of Dzongkaba's systematic philosophy.

The social and historical dynamics involved in the acquisition of authority is a complex and intriguing problem to which Max Weber devoted considerable attention. He defines authority, which he calls "dominance", as "the probability that commands will be obeyed by a given group of people". He argues that people have a variety of motives for complying with such commands voluntarily. People who have allegiance to a given figure grant their obedience in order to realize material advantage, in reaction to a disparity of power, in observance of a traditional custom, as a result of familial or other relational bonds, or for other reasons. In many cases, the offer of obedience results in unstable power structures. For example, if obedience is offered for monetary payment, then some third party could offer more money. Hence, Weber observes:¹⁷

In everyday life these relationships, like others, are governed by custom and material calculation of advantage. But custom, personal, advantage, purely affectual or ideal motives of solidarity, do not form a

¹⁷ Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, vol. I (New York: Bedminster, 1968; reprinted Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 213.

sufficiently reliable basis for a given domination. In addition there is normally a further element, the belief in *legitimacy*.

Even if some other motivation for obedience is operative, Weber argues, every power structure attempts to supplement it with a declaration of its own legitimacy.

While figures in whom authority is invested attempt to cultivate legitimacy, those over whom they exercise authority often have their own interests in freely granting obedience by acknowledging the authority's legitimacy. Participation in a power structure, even as a member of the dominated group, may enable people to realize greater benefits in terms of access to resources, power, or status. This is particularly the case once the authority has the power to mobilize resources, deploying or withholding them.¹⁸ However, that sort of exchange is usually not possible at the point that a figure is attempting to gain legitimacy. At that time, other less tangible motives are involved, such as, for example, the creation of spiritual meaning.

Weber identifies three pure types of legitimate authority. A person may gain authority through being acknowledged as the valid locus of power by virtue of some legally enacted rules. For example, people who are elected or who become officials in some legally sanctioned fashion have gained *legal authority*. Alternatively, authority may be attributed to a person for *traditional* reasons by virtue of the sanctity of age-old rules. These rules may be related to governance by elders, governance by particular rules of inheritance, or governance by other particular social groups. The third type of authority is based upon *charismatic* grounds. Weber explains his use of the term as follows:¹⁹

¹⁸ Morris Zelditch, Jr. and Henry A. Walker, "Legitimacy and the Stability of Authority," in *Status, Power and Legitimacy: Strategies and Theories*, eds. Joseph Berger and Morris Zelditch, Jr. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1998), 329.

¹⁹ Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, vol. I, 241.

The term “charisma” will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a “leader.”

Even before a figure is able to deploy resources or earn the loyalty of others in a way that they will grant their obedience, that leader can gain the devotion of his followers by possessing “exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character”.

Charisma has a special potency to generate loyalty and solidarity even when it opposes material benefit or other factors that may sometimes form the basis of authority. Consequently, it frequently has a destabilizing influence on the status quo. In the face of dynamic shifts in power represented by charismatic forces, established interests often attempt to “routinize” the disrupted social structures surrounding the emergent authority. The intimates around the charismatic figure also eventually have an interest vested in stabilizing such dynamic and uncertain forces as well. Weber argues that it is impossible for charismatic authority to remain stable for long; it always settles into a new pattern of legal or traditional authority or a combination of the two. As charisma is domesticated, a new stable structure is established reflecting the material and other needs of the community. Economic interests, succession, and other factors become more prominent concerns and the experience of ecstatic

charisma recedes into the background, even if it is still referenced in formal structures.²⁰

It is quite common in a religious context for charisma to play a decisive role in legitimizing emerging leaders. Depending upon the religious values embraced by a given tradition, varying personal qualities or accomplishments will serve that function. Religious figures can be charismatically validated by way of their miraculous ability to heal the sick, through their yogic prowess enabling them to fly through the air, walk through walls, or control their physical bodies, through their shamanic visitations to realms beyond, through their revelations of sacred scriptures, holy tablets, blessed objects from the sky, under the earth, or on the mountaintop, through claims to a potent allegiance-generating identity, through command of reality-revealing reason, and so forth.

In each case, strategies for establishing legitimacy are employed that make sense in terms of, and therefore reflect, the values, ontology, and religious agenda of that tradition. A certain menu of possibilities, for example, is made available to particular monotheistic religions by virtue of their adherence to the notion of a creator god who interacts with the creation. Shamanic traditions have other particular solutions to the legitimizing problem because their ideology makes possible transit to other levels of existence. The religions of India have still other possibilities available to them because of their acceptance of the notion of reincarnation, the operation of karma, and their ideologies concerned with yoga. In Buddhism, the liberative power of knowledge has come to play a dominant role in claims to legitimacy.

The sūtras tell us that when Buddha attained enlightenment after his long spiritual quest, the key to his new insight into the workings of the world consisted of an epistemological corrective to the perception of the world as it is given to our senses. He

²⁰ Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, vol. I, 246-254.

understood the dissonance between how things appear to the senses and to the mind and how they actually exist. The *Bhayabherava Sutta*,²¹ for example, recounts how Buddha, during the period of time just before his final enlightenment, experienced four “meditative levels” (Pali, *jhāna*), which sequentially transformed the nature of his mind. By the end of that process, he had the “purity of mindfulness due to equanimity.”²²

Through the course of the night during which he is said to have become enlightened at Bodhgāya, the soon-to-be Buddha is said to have gained three types of true insight into reality. During the first watch of the night, we are told he gained knowledge of his former lives. In the second watch, “with the perfectly pure heavenly eye he looked upon the entire world, which appeared to him as though reflected in a spotless mirror.”²³ Seeing the world rightly for the first time, he understood the arising and passing away of phenomena. During the third watch of the night, the subtle mechanics of cause and effect dawned on him. He

²¹ *Bhayabherava Sutta* is translated in Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1995), 102-7.

²² The *Bhayabherava Sutta* (in Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha*, 23-6), describes the four *jhānas* as follows: (1) when Buddha was “secluded from sensual pleasures and unwholesome states,” the first *jhāna* arose, “accompanied by applied and sustained thought, with rapture and pleasure born of thought;” (2) when applied and sustained thought was stifled, he entered the second *jhāna*, which has “self-confidence and singleness of mind,” “with rapture and pleasure born of concentration;” (3) when rapture itself faded away, he was “mindful and fully aware,” whereupon he enter the third *jhāna*. The nature of the third *jhāna* is such that the “Noble ones announce, ‘He has a pleasant abiding who has equanimity and is mindful;” and (4) when pain and pleasure were abandoned, he entered the fourth *jhāna*, which has “purity of mindfulness due to equanimity.”

For a different account of the four *jhānas*, see Steven Collins, *Selfless Persons: Imagery and thought in Theravāda Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 122-3 and 215-8.

²³ Edward Conze, *Buddhist Scriptures* (London: Penguin Books, 1959), 50.

understood, “as it actually is,” suffering, the causes of suffering, its cessation, and the path leading to that cessation. The *Bhayabherava Sutta* continues:²⁴

When I knew and saw thus, my mind was liberated from the taint of sensual desire, from the taint of being, and from the taint of ignorance. When it was liberated, there came the knowledge: “It is liberated.” I directly knew: “birth is destroyed, the holy life has been lived, what had to be done has been done, there is no more coming to any state of being.”

Seeing the world as it actually is, unencumbered by innate beginningless ignorance, he became a Buddha.

For many Buddhists,²⁵ this most exalted religious state of Buddhahood is not believed to be achieved merely through the performance of prescribed actions, through the maintenance of a particular belief, through penitential practices, or even simply through virtuous behavior. Instead, the transcendent sacred state is achieved by correctly understanding the true state of affairs in the world. This does not mean that ethics, rituals, or

²⁴ *Bhayabherava Sutta* in Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha*, 32.

Conze (*Buddhist Scriptures*, 49-51), basing himself upon Ashvagosa's *Acts of a Buddha*, enumerates four watches of the night. The two schemes do not correspond precisely to one another. In the three watches presentation of the *Bhayabherava Sutta*, the third represents the attainment of liberation. See Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha*, 106 and especially n. 66, p 1175. Conze's presentation has Siddhārtha reaching “the state of all-knowledge” only in the fourth watch of the night. In either case, however, the essential point is maintained: Siddhārtha attained enlightenment and became a Buddha by virtue of having gained liberative knowledge.

²⁵ Some Pure Land schools would take issue with this characterization as they assert that one can attain high states through faith in Buddha.

beliefs are irrelevant in the Buddhist context. Such matters are of pivotal concern for Buddhists and constitute the very core of practice for the vast majority of adherents in much of the Buddhist world. Rather, for many Buddhists, those other religious modes are best understood in relation to a practitioner's ultimate search for a clear cognition of reality. As is to be expected, Buddhists' understandings of this enterprise of cognitive reorientation grew in complexity throughout the millennia, reaching a high level of sophistication in the Tibetan Gelukba School, which has been referred to as "one of the most philosophically sophisticated schools (some would say *the* most philosophically sophisticated school) that has emerged within the Buddhist tradition."²⁶

In this thesis, I will explore a variety of legitimizing strategies elaborated by Jamyang Shayba and his followers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in their quest to fortify Jamyang Shayba's personal authority. On the surface, these efforts would seem to have been mainly oriented to establishing his reputation as a qualified interpreter of Dzongkaba's Gelukba philosophical system. However, it is evident that these legitimizing maneuvers were also deployed in order to ensure Jamyang Shayba's status in his own right. It is commonly observed in different contexts within Tibetan culture that supporters of a given figure demonstrate fierce allegiance to their local groups in spite of, or perhaps because of, the general lack of stable centralized organizing identities.²⁷ Hence, people attribute an exaggeratedly exalted status to the reincarnate lama (*sprul sku*) in whose monastic estate (*bla brang*) they live, the Abbot of their monastery, the author of their monastery's textbooks, the

²⁶ Frank E. Reynolds, "Foreword" to José Ignacio Cabezón, *Buddhism and Language: A Study of Indo-Tibetan Scholasticism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), xiii. The parenthetical comments belong to Reynolds.

²⁷ Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 120.

founder of their religious school, and so forth. A person to whom allegiance is granted is not just a great person, but is omniscient, an adept, a Buddha. By attributing such high status to the object of their reverence, people's own path is made meaningful and their own religious status is enhanced.

Jamyang Shayba and his advocates promoted his case in a variety of ways. To this day, his name is hardly mentioned by his followers without prefixing to it the adulatory praise "Omniscient One" (*kun mkhyen*), and among monks from Gomang Monastery where his works serve as the official monastic textbooks, he is known simply as the "Precious Omniscient One" (*kun mkhyen rin po che*). At both Gomang and Labrang monasteries, his texts are privileged even over those written by Dzongkaba, and many monks rarely read anything besides his textbooks. In both his autobiography and in the biography of him written by his subsequent incarnation, Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo (1728-91, *dkon mchog jigs med dbang po*), elaborate attention was given to detailing the depth and breadth of his studies and the high quality of his many teachers. An impressive lineage of preincarnations, including many luminaries from both Indian and Tibetan Buddhist history, was identified for him and at least one highly significant role was assigned to him in a prophecy. As we have already noted, he served as the spiritual teacher to a number of notable contemporaries. In his lifetime, two Dalai Lamas and a Regent requested that he write particular texts, a sign of particular respect in Tibetan culture.

All of this approbation was directed to Jamyang Shayba by virtue of the renown he gained as a brilliant scholar. While other respected and authoritative figures in Tibetan history gained attention through their ability to reveal hidden treasures (*gter ma*), through their tantric prowess, through their great ability to teach, or for other reasons, his reputation

was initially built upon his scholarship. Buddhism, like some other world religions, has a pronounced emphasis on scholasticism in some of its manifestations and not in others.²⁸ The Geluk tradition to which Jamyang Shayba belonged placed great value on rationality, argumentation, and the art of the commentarial tradition, concerns that are central to scholasticism. Jamyang Shayba's deft command of these dimensions of scholarship are at the root of his influence. Given those values, he was promoted at someone who was skilled at the refutation of opponents, the exegesis of pivotal philosophical literature, the assertion of claims to knowledge, possessed of penetrating insight into claims to knowledge about knowledge, and so forth. His knowledge and scholarship were the foundation of the brand he and his followers developed for him. Once authority had been attributed to him by virtue of that brand, other stock features associated with Tibetan charismatic figures were elaborated for him, such as mythologized connections to scholars from the past, impressive yogic feats, and astounding roles in prophetic visions of the future. The pronounced emphasis on knowledge and doctrines relating to knowledge acquisition is sensible in the context of Buddhism's central concern with liberative insight.

Relatedly, one of the most distinctive legitimizing maneuvers employed within the Gelukba tradition has its roots in the attempt by Dzongkaba to provide a philosophical foundation for knowledge of the conventional level of reality, which became the hallmark of the Gelukba School. He insisted that all phenomena must be established by valid cognition (*tshad mas grub pa, pramāṇasiddha*). This philosophical move is central to his larger mission of grounding Buddhist ethics in ontology as a counterweight to what he regarded as the nihilistic tendencies of his time. Equally, he was anxious to refute what he regarded as the

²⁸ Cabezón, *Buddhism and Language, passim* argues for the thesis that scholasticism can be employed as a category in the comparative philosophy of religion.

opposite philosophical error of over-reifying phenomena, attributing to them an exaggerated status. His deep concern for both of these issues animates the Geluk systematic philosophy.

Like other important commentators, Jamyang Shayba attempted to create a consistent and comprehensive interpretation of Dzongkaba's thought; hence he attempted to correct perceived errors of previous Gelukba commentators, to respond to non-Gelukba critics of Dzongkaba's system, and to reconcile the disparate teachings of Dzongkaba and his two closest disciples, Gyeltsap Darma Rinchen (1364-1432, *rgyal tshab dar ma rin chen*) and Kaydrup Gelek Belsang (1385-1438, *mkhas grub dge legs dpal bzang*). The Gelukba School is not univocal; each commentator elaborated his own interpretation in light of his own philosophical predispositions and preoccupations. In general, these philosophical choices are framed by many factors, including the author's position with respect to his own school, his own monastery, and his own patrons. In some circumstances, it might be quite significant if the commentator was a member of a school or some other sub-group that was socially powerful in some fashion. Some perspectives such scholars make may depend upon whether they lived at a time when the school was new or when it was philosophically mature. These and countless other social, political, historical, and religious factors might different legitimizing approaches more useful in varying contexts.

Jamyang Shayba was the last of the four major commentators of the Gelukba School. The other three — Jaydzun Chögyi Gyeltsen (1469-1546, *rje btsun chos kyi rgyal mtshan*), and Pañchen Sönam Dragba (1478-1554, *pañ chen bsod nams grags pa*), and Denba Dargyay (1493-1596, *bstan pa dar rgyas*), — were all born in the century of Dzongkaba's founding of Ganden (*dga' ldan*) Monastery in 1409. They lived at a time when the Geluk School was still a minor tradition without great royal patrons, without an extensive network of affiliated

monasteries, and without strong political allies. The school was primarily restricted to U and Dzang, having little presence in either Amdo or Kam. Religiously and philosophically, Gelukbas were more unified than they would ever be again.

By the time that Jamyang Shayba thrived two centuries later, the Geluk School had spread throughout Tibet, Mongolia, and Central Asia. It had acquired the most powerful patrons in Central and East Asia, the Mongolian Khans and Chinese Emperors. Geluk hierarchs held political power, and potent political alliances assured the standing of Gelukba partisans in large and small ways. Affiliated monasteries from all across the map were sending vast amounts of patronage and also their most promising youths to the great Geluk monasteries in U-Dzang. The internal unity notable in the early history of the school had begun to give way to various regional, factional, and doctrinal divisions. Eventually the tension between the Kagyu and Geluk Schools would be replicated as internal Geluk divisions between the Dzang province and the Pañchen Lama on the one hand and the U province and the Dalai Lama on the other. By the early eighteenth century, tensions emerged between Gelukbas in U and those in Amdo. However, already by the middle of the seventeenth century, internal Geluk divisions were evident. A rivalry between the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Third Pañchen Sönam Dragba, for example, resulted in factionalism even within Drebung Monastery.²⁹ As the Fifth Dalai Lama incorporated Nyingma practices into his state and personal rituals, an internal Gelukba debate emerged between factions supporting the Dalai Lama's syncretism and those preferring "pure" Geluk.

All of these altered circumstances influenced Jamyang Shayba and his contemporaries in various ways. It is quite difficult, however, to ascertain clear connections between

²⁹ It should be noted that Pañchen Sönam Dragba and his later incarnations are not the same incarnation lineage as the Pañchen Lamas.

particular historical shifts on the one hand and particular doctrinal positions on the other hand. Nonetheless, some differences can be identified between the style and tenor of the early textbook authors and Jamyang Shayba. These distinctions are, in some cases, suggestive rather than specific; further studies on the early textbook authors will be required before precise conclusions can be drawn. However that may be, it is notable that more than other commentators, Jamyang Shayba set forth his interpretation of Dzongkaba's system by constructing consistency between his texts and the original Indian sources accepted as authoritative representatives of the Middle Way School (*dbu ma, mādhyaṃika*). His writings are replete with quotations from sūtras and Indian commentaries. It is also evident that whereas the early textbook authors were not reluctant to criticize Dzongkaba's main students, Gyeltsap and Kaydrup, Jamyang Shayba took great care to couch implied contrasts with their positions in terms that would avoid direct criticism. This change correlates with a purposeful effort in the seventeenth century to mythologize Dzongkaba and his direct disciples, attributing to them larger than life status as a way of fortifying the school's credentials, a process that had commenced even during Dzongkaba's lifetime.

In this thesis, I will endeavor to elaborate the biographical and historical context in which Jamyang Shayba lived. Such a quest involves a variety of methodological problems that deserve discussion. Understanding itself calls for readers of a text³⁰ to creatively engage the material under examination, and this very act requires one to create meaning. In order to make a text meaningful, readers must bring it into dialogue with their own universe of meaning. All along the line, the thinkers of each era frame their understanding of received tradition in light of their own pressing concerns and the contending explanations of the

³⁰ I mean "a reader of texts" to stand as a paradigm of the countless other interpretive acts. Hence, one could also speak of "the observer of rituals," "the hearer of poetry," and so forth.

world that are in play in their own time and setting. This is not a loss of the essential past that calls for remediation. They cannot do otherwise.

Modern scholars also cannot avoid operating from within the presumptions of their time, place and intellectual milieu. Hans Gadamer comments that:³¹

Every age has to understand a transmitted text in its own way, for the text is part of the whole of the tradition in which the age takes an objective interest and in which it seeks to understand itself. The real meaning of a text, as it speaks to the interpreter, does not depend [solely] on the contingencies of the author and whom he originally wrote for... It is always partly determined also by the historical situation of the interpreter and hence by the totality of the objective course of history... That is why understanding is not merely a reproductive, but always a productive attitude as well.

The productive — that is, creative — contribution of the reader (isogesis) is both unavoidable and desirable. Tuck observes that, “Isogesis is inevitable in all readings of texts; it is not a failure of understanding, but evidence of it.”³²

Nāgārjuna (circa 2nd century), the founder of the Middle Way School in India, interpreted the Buddha’s original teachings in light of his own intellectual landscape, molded in part by his confrontation with contemporary Brahmanical schools. Chandrakīrti (circa 600-650) utilized Nāgārjuna’s thought in a novel way given the dialectical demands placed

³¹ Cited in Andrew P. Tuck, *Comparative Philosophy and the Philosophy of Scholarship: On the Western Interpretation of Nāgārjuna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 14-5.

³² Tuck, *Comparative Philosophy and the Philosophy of Scholarship*, 10.

upon him in relation to the inter-sectarian Buddhist debates of his time. Atīsha (982-1054) reconfigured what he had received in a fashion that enabled him to meet the challenges he confronted in his own time, challenges caused in part by the declining fortunes of Buddhism in India as Muslim power ascended, by his attempt to promote the Middle Way School in the new environment of Tibet, by the prominence of tantra, and by other diverse factors. Dzongkaba elaborated a new reading of all of the previous figures in light of the demands of fourteenth century Tibet, a land in which, as he understood it, many people had fallen to the philosophical extremes of nihilism or permanence and consequently had lost their moral compass. Finally, Jamyang Shayba addressed an entirely new situation, upholding, defending, and fortifying the newly dominant Gelukba ideology in light of drastically altered political realities which placed political power in the hands of his school for the first time. And so also, in the present work, I cannot help but understand all of these scholars in light of my own conceptions about history, the nature of Buddhism, the practice of philosophy, a modern scientific orientation, and countless other elements.

If new readers are inevitably bound to construct new meaning out of received tradition, are they then doomed perpetually to create novel and subjective fancies? Are there no limits to what counts as an interpretation? It must be said in reply that there are good interpretations and bad interpretations. A good reading is one that manages to frame the issues in a way that others find productive, one that has explanatory value. For example, Georges Dreyfus' *Recognizing Reality: Dharmakīrti's Philosophy and Its Tibetan Interpretations*³³ is a good interpretation of a vast swath of Indian and Tibetan philosophy because he was able to capture a tremendous range of magnificently complex material in a simpler and more comprehensible fashion by borrowing terminological distinctions from

³³ Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *Recognizing Reality: Dharmakīrti's Philosophy and Its Tibetan Interpretations* (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publication, 1997).

western philosophy. Those categorical distinctions were not native to Tibetan Buddhists' own manner of understanding the world; yet they help to make meaningful connections between a variety of doctrines and concepts that otherwise would appear to be disconnected. This interplay of emic and etic discourses provides a particularly valuable avenue for cross-cultural interpretive studies.³⁴

Another interpretive strategy that demonstrates special promise is that of historical contextualization. This approach, which connects indigenous self-perceptions to larger currents of history and philosophy, endeavors to overcome some of the parochialism that sometimes threatens to isolate Buddhist Studies from other contemporary discourses. In the present study, this operates on two levels. First of all, the development of a textured historical narrative will provide a richer field of meaning offering the reader more background toward understanding some facets of Jamyang Shayba's works and life, the Gelukba order, the Middle Way School, and Buddhism in relation to other Buddhist scholars, the other three Tibetan orders, other schools of Buddhism, and other religions in South Asia and beyond. Moreover, it is hoped that this approach will contribute to the reader's ability to position Jamyang Shayba and his philosophy in relation to broader realms of discourse outside of Tibetan studies or Buddhist studies, counteracting what Cabezón calls "intellectual hermeticism". In this connection, he notes the call for:³⁵

³⁴ Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 55-70 captures a corresponding distinction with his use of Heinz Kohut's terms, "experience-near" and "experience-distant". Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Other People's Myths: The Cave of Echoes* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), *passim* and especially 1-24 raises similar methodological questions with her symbolic figures, the hunter and the sage.

³⁵ José Ignacio Cabezón, "Buddhist Studies as a Discipline and the Role of Theory," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 18, no. 2 (1995): 266.

...greater cultural contextualization, where the objects of study of the field (written texts, institutions, art, rituals etc.) are investigated not only against a particular Buddhist background, but vis a vis the larger cultural context in which those objects — and Buddhism itself — exist.

Contextualization can take many forms and serve many purposes.

Étienne Lamotte identifies his own scholarly task in the classic *History of Indian Buddhism* as having been “to replace Buddhism within the historical framework it lacked, to extract it from the world of ideas where it deliberately confined itself.”³⁶ Whether or not Buddhists themselves can justifiably be charged with excessive intellectualism, as Lamotte seems to allege, it is the case that many scholars of Buddhism tend to see the religion as a primarily philosophical enterprise, cut off from the practices engaged in by participants, separate from the social milieu inhabited by actual Buddhists, and without regard for the historical processes that animate the religion *in situ*. Indeed, some studies of Buddhism are so abstracted from the lived experience of the tradition, that some people find it plausible to raise the question of whether Buddhism is even a religion, a question that could hardly occur in the setting of the living tradition in Tibet or Japan, for example, populated as they are by malevolent and benevolent spiritual forces.

Where Lamotte sees a need for greater historical analysis, David Seyfort Ruegg makes the complementary point that Buddhist Studies ought to place more emphasis on elaborating the philosophical core of the religion:³⁷

³⁶ Étienne Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism* (Paris: Institut Orientaliste, 1988), xxii.

³⁷ David Seyfort Ruegg, “Some Reflections on the Place of Philosophy in the Study of Buddhism,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 18, no. 2 (1995): 145.

Even though the philosophical component in Buddhism has been recognized by many investigators since the inception of Buddhist studies as a modern scholarly discipline more than a century and a half ago, it has to be acknowledged that the main stream of these studies has, nevertheless, quite often paid little attention to the philosophical. The idea somehow appears to have gained currency in some quarters that it is possible to deal with Buddhism in a serious and scholarly manner without being obliged to concern oneself with philosophical content.

Others will see a need for greater emphasis on ritual behavior, lay practice, sociological dimensions, and so forth. Each of these preferences signifies a choice, and the pursuit of any of them will define a different type of study.

Since in this study, I am approaching a particular form of Tibetan Buddhism from a historical perspective, a few comments on the nature of the available sources are in order. In the Tibetan context, as elsewhere in the Buddhist world and beyond, the distinctions between history, biography, legend, and hagiography can be quite flexible. Nonetheless, the legendary accounts surrounding Jamyang Shayba's previous incarnations, for example, are significant to the present study because they help to explain how he and his fellow Gelukbas saw him and themselves in relation to the great pioneers of Tibetan and Indian Buddhism in general and Middle Way philosophy in particular. Since Jamyang Shayba and his Tibetan Gelukba predecessors felt they were the legitimate intellectual heirs to Nāgārjuna,

Chandrakīrti, Atīsha, and Dzongkaba, it is important to position these figures in the meaningful context envisioned by those Tibetans. Hence, the elaborate legends surrounding them can be as useful to contemporary scholars as are the far fewer historical facts we know about them. Regardless of one's views about the validity of reincarnation, it is a significant fact about Jamyang Shayba that his immediate successors regarded him as the later reincarnation of Chandrakīrti and other luminaries critical to the unfolding Buddhist history. In this sense, the legendary context projected into ancient India and the early days of Buddhism in Tībet is a vital component of understanding the intellectual and historical landscape of seventeenth and eighteenth century Tībet.

Michael Aris makes the astute observation that Tibetans are preoccupied, “sometimes to the point of obsession, with the lines of continuity that link present institutions... to both divine and human origins.” This fascination with the past and one's connection to it has contributed to the proliferation among Tibetans of all sorts of historical writing, including biographies, chronicles (of towns, regions, families, or monasteries), lineages (of incarnated lamas, monastic abbacies, office holders, and royal or political dynasties), political histories, religious histories, and so on. Aris continues by noting that in Tībet, histories perform the function of “legitimizing present conditions or aspirations through the vigorous assertion of authority.”³⁸ Moreover this validating maneuver is not confined to historiography.

Rather, legitimizing authority is drawn from the past in philosophical and religious writings as well. For some, arguments in monastic textbooks become more persuasive when they are peppered liberally with quotations from the ancient and famous. In particular,

³⁸ Michael Aris, “Foreword” to Dan Martin's *Tibetan Histories: A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works* (London: Serindia Publications, 1997), 9. The paucity of historical curiosity in India, evidenced in part by the fact that most of the detailed information we have about Buddhism in India comes from Tibetan and Chinese sources, is a mystery that calls for investigation.

Indian sources are accorded special authority, both because of their antiquity and because of their proximity to the headwaters of Buddhism. At certain points in Tibetan history, texts were only regarded as legitimate if an original Sanskrit text could be found. This preference for the ancient among many Tibetan Buddhists resulted in such a pronounced preference for Indian antecedents that even obviously innovative scholars were required by convention to pretend they were merely upholding, repeating, or recalling the past. Hence a brilliant scholar is not a pioneer, but is a reincarnation of some truly creative figure from long ago. An intelligent child is not simply precocious, but is the reincarnation of another noted figure who died in recent years. A previously unknown text, in the case of the Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras, was held by the aquatic serpent deities, the *nāgās*, and in the case of a vast number of tantric texts, was a treasure (*gter ma*) hidden from human view until proper vessels for those secret teachings appeared.

Repeatedly, in Tibet, there is the sense that either (1) the circumstances of the world have declined from an ideal past, in which case a reformer is needed to restore the lost greatness or (2) the circumstances of the world have not yet matured, in which case, some fragments from the past must await the proper conditions. In either situation, the past is called upon to legitimize the present. This appeal to the ideal authority begins with Buddha, who is regarded as an “authoritative person” (*tshad ma’i skyes bu, pramāṇapurusa*). In the Pāli literature, the Buddha’s authoritativeness is discussed in *The Questions of Upasiva Sutta*, in which Buddha explains that other unenlightened beings cannot speak of his valid cognitive experience because they lack the measure (Pali, *pamāṇa*) of his authoritative experience.³⁹ As Buddhist and Brahmanical schools contended with one another on matters of epistemology

³⁹ For a translation of *The Questions of Upasiva Sutta* and an essay on the meaning in *Mind Like Fire Unbound*, see <http://www.accesstoinsight.org>. Note that the Pali *pamāṇa* is equivalent to the Sanskrit cognate *pramāṇa*.

over the ensuing millennia, the operative Sanskrit term, *pramāṇa* (Tibetan *tshad ma*) came to have the primary meaning of “valid means of knowledge” or “valid cognition”. However, *pramāṇa* continues to resonate with the older meaning of “standard measure,” “validity,” “authority,” “legitimacy,” and related notions. Command of logic (*tshad ma rig pa*) and reason were regarded by some as the real arbiters of truth and the validity of knowledge.

The present study will be concerned to chart how various sorts of religious and political legitimacy were mediated in various contexts. Additionally, we will investigate how the power derived from that legitimacy was deployed as authority. These interpenetrating senses of the various terms for authority frame the etic lens through which the present inquiry focuses on Jamyang Shayba’s life and times.

Part One, which includes this Introduction, sets the theoretical and historical stage for this study. In Chapter One, I provide the broad outlines of the historical development of the Gelukba School in Central Tibet from the time of Dzungkaba in the fourteenth century through to the its attainment of political power in the seventeenth century. In this narrative, I will be primarily concerned to articulate the shifts in the balance of power in the Tibetan political, military, and patronage that are most closely connected to the fortunes of the Gelukbas. Equally, I will be interested to elaborate the ways that Gelukbas viewed their own historical ascent because that is important in understanding how late seventeenth century figures saw themselves. No effort is made to provide a comprehensive history of the period, which is beyond the scope of this work.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ For a quite comprehensive political, diplomatic, and military history of Tibet, see Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, trans. Derek F. Maher, forthcoming. The fourteenth to seventeenth centuries are covered in volume one, chapters five through eight.

Part Two concerns the life and work of Jamyang Shayba. In Chapter Two, I develop a detailed account of Jamyang Shayba's own early life, first examining his education as reported in his own autobiography evidently written in his late twenties. I also draw upon several other traditional and contemporary sources in an effort to identify his primary teachers, his relationship to other non-Gelukba traditions, and other general aspects of Tibet at the time. Throughout this chapter, I endeavor to explore how Jamyang Shayba uses the genre of autobiography to claim legitimacy for himself.

In Chapter Three, I discuss Jamyang Shayba's middle years, when the majority of his most enduring scholarship was completed. This material is built around a biography of him written by his subsequent incarnation, Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo (1728-91, *dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po*). As in the previous chapter, I will be concerned to examine how biographical writing was employed to fortify Jamyang Shayba's status and authority after his death. I supplement that discussion with a narrative exploration of his fifteen volume Collected Works, describing the breadth of his scholarship and the impact it had on the development of his Gelukba School. This chapter also draws from many other historical sources in elaborating the general flow of history during that pivotal time and Jamyang Shayba's role in events. As we have seen, he lived at a time when political power had been consolidated in the hands of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the hierarch of his Gelukba School. While the Dalai Lama, his Regent, and their important Mongolian patrons were working to establish political hegemony in Tibet, Jamyang Shayba was laboring to develop his own consistent interpretation of Geluk. He eventually became the Abbot of the prestigious Gomang Monastery and then founded the most significant monastery in northeastern Tibet, Labrang Drashi Kyil. I identify the key Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese figures of political,

religious, and military significance, and I examine Jamyang Shayba's role as a subsidiary figure in many of the most consequential intrigues of the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. Most of this information is derived from biographies, chronicles, and histories of the period. I also discuss Jamyang Shayba's highly successful efforts to expand the influence of the Geluk School and his own interpretation in Tibet and in wider areas of Central Asia.

In Chapter Four, I explore a particularly potent method of legitimization by investigating an unusual genre of literature, the Birth Lineage (*kbrungs rabs*), that purports to identify Jamyang Shayba's previous incarnations. His status is reflected by the prestige attached to the figures included in his birth lineage. I complement the basic text, which was written by Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, Jamyang Shayba's subsequent incarnation, with biographical, legendary, and philosophical sources in order to build a picture of the significance attached to this lineage by Jamyang Shayba's followers. The collective qualities and achievements of these various figures provide a catalogue of the spiritual and intellectual values of the tradition. I endeavor to show how the Birth Lineage genre is employed to claim a very elevated status for Jamyang Shayba.

In Chapter Five, I explore the role of polemics in the seventeenth century, taking the First Pañchen Lama and Jamyang Shayba as paradigms of an enduring tradition of disputation. Like many other commentators, Jamyang Shayba worked to fashion a coherent and consistent interpretation of the views of the early Gelukba luminaries. This analytical chapter attempts to position Jamyang Shayba's scholarship within the general intellectual milieu of the time. I examine some of his arguments against other interpretive lineages and argue that he saw himself as having to enforce or create orthodoxy within the Gelukba

School.

In Chapter Six, I discuss the tension between different pathways to religious knowledge; while some religious figures, like Dzongkaba, have claimed that such knowledge ought to be based in reason and the valid establishment of phenomena, others have claimed that knowledge is gained through states of awareness that transcend reason. This strain between these religious modes had ancient roots in Tibet by the time it was raised again in Jamyang Shayba's time, as the Fifth Dalai Lama attempted to incorporate Nyingma symbolism into his Geluk-dominated theocratic rule. I examine the evidence concerning Jamyang Shayba's reaction to those efforts. Finally, I explore three non-Geluk responses to the Geluk system's emphasis on reason.

In Chapter Seven, I provide a summary of Dzongkaba's interpretation of the Middle Way philosophy highlighting his views on ethics and epistemology. I show that he responded to what he perceived as a religious shortcoming of his contemporaries by authoring a unique fusion of the Middle Way School of Nāgārjuna and Chandrakīrti and the Buddhist epistemological tradition of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. I then turn to Jamyang Shayba's efforts to fortify Dzongkaba's interpretation through his commentary, the *Great Exposition of the Middle Way*. I examine some of his commentarial strategies intended to uphold the legitimacy of Dzongkaba's view.

Part Three includes two appendices. In Appendix One, I briefly examine Jamyang Shayba's Collected Works. I translate the titles of his texts and provide additional information where possible. In Appendix Two, I give the dates and transliterated spellings (where appropriate) and dates of important Chinese, Indian, Mongolian, and Tibetan people who figured in this study. There are also extensive bibliographies of works cited.

Chapter 1

The Ascent of the Geluk School

and Claims to Legitimacy

The present Fourteenth Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso (b. 1935, *bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho*) is concerned to promote ecumenism among the world's religions and particularly between the various Tibetan religious traditions. The latter is demonstrated, for example by the fact that prominent teachers from the other non-Geluk Buddhist schools and the non-Buddhist Bön tradition are often invited to participate in large teachings, such as the Kālachakra Tantra initiations in New York's Madison Square Garden in 1991. He also frequently comments in public talks on the essential unity of the various Buddhist traditions. For example, in 1981, he gave a talk in Virginia on the similarities between the Tibetan philosophical schools based on the Old (*snying ma*) and New (*gsar ma*) translation lineages.⁴¹

However, the present Dalai Lama's open-minded stance must be regarded as a rather exceptional case within the history of the Gelukba School. More commonly, prominent Gelukba scholars and leaders, as is the case within the other Tibetan schools, have endeavored to promote their own lineage's interpretation of Buddhism to the exclusion of

⁴¹ Fourteenth Dalai Lama, "Union of the Old and New Translation School," in *Kindness, Clarity, and Insight*, trans. and ed. by Jeffrey Hopkins (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1984), 200-224.

other schools.⁴² Geluk strategies have often required prominent scholars to elaborate their own theories by refuting the views of scholars from other traditions. These endeavors were at their most creative from the beginnings of the Geluk School in the early fifteenth century until it reached its peak in the late seventeenth century; throughout that time, the philosophical presentation of the school was subject to a systematic critique by adherents of other traditions. Additionally, there was a sense among some Gelukbas in the seventeenth century, including Jamyang Shayba, that the integrity of their school was threatened from within by the syncretic inclinations of some important figures, including the Fifth Dalai Lama. These twin concerns frame the historical processes that unfolded during Jamyang Shayba's lifetime in the half dozen decades following 1642 when the Gelukbas ascended to political and ecclesiastical prominence. These tensions in the seventeenth century are best understood in the context of a complex sweep of history that reaches back to the origins of the Gelukba School. This chapter will summarize these broad historical forces.

Dzongkaba and the Gandenbas

Initially, Dzongkaba Losang Dragba (1357-1419, *tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa*) and his followers were known simply as the residents of Ganden Monastery, the "Gandenbas" (*dga' ldan pa*). Founded in 1409 by Dzongkaba himself, the monastery was about twenty miles to the southeast of Lhasa. Ganden is the Tibetan word for Tushita, the Sanskrit name of the special heavenly abode of Maitreya, who is thought to be the future Buddha. "Gandenba" primarily carries the meaning of "Those from Ganden Monastery". In the last years of

⁴² An exception to this is the "Non-Sectarian Movement" (*ris med*). For more information on this movement, see E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 227-272.

Dzongkaba's life, two other monasteries that later became tremendously important to the Geluk School were founded by his followers. Jamyang Chöjay (1379-1449, *jam dbyangs chos rje*) founded Drebung Monastery in 1416, and Jamchen Chöjay (*byams chen chos rje*) founded Sera Monastery in 1419, the year of Dzongkaba's death. Both of those monasteries were much closer to Lhasa than Ganden. (See figure 1.) As the emerging tradition grew beyond Ganden Monastery, it began to outgrow its earlier name. Certainly by the late fifteenth century, the members of Ganden Monastery and its associated institutions began to be known collectively by the name "Gedenba" (*dge ldan pa*), "Those Possessing Virtue." For example, the chapter on Dzongkaba and his followers in Gö Lotsāwa Shönnu Bel's (1392-1481, *gos lo tsā ba gzhon nu dpal*) *Blue Annals*, published in 1478, refers to them collectively as the Geden (*dge ldan*).⁴³ The same term was evidently still in common usage in 1574 when Padma Garbo (1527-1592, *pad ma dkar po*) wrote his autobiography.⁴⁴

The first time that Tsepon Shakabpa uses the term "Gelukba" (*dge lugs pa*) in his *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet* is in his narration of the tensions between Dzongkaba's heirs and the Karma Gagyubas during the early seventeenth century.⁴⁵ However, he does not cite any contemporary sources that employ the term. The Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography, *The Good Silk Cloth*, which was completed in mid 1681, uses the word "Gelukba" occasionally.⁴⁶ The Fifth Dalai Lama's Regent — a slightly younger contemporary of Jamyang Shayba — Desi Sangyay Gyatso, uses the word "Gelukba" in his 1698 *Religious History of the Gandenbas*, which chronicles the rise of the school from the origins to its heights of power in the later seventeenth century. For example, the Regent

⁴³ George Roerich, *Blue Annals*, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1949), 1080.

⁴⁴ Padma Garbo, *The Theater of Great Compassion*, 108a.4. See for example, the quotation cited on p. 52 below.

⁴⁵ Tsepon Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, forthcoming, vol. 1, 391.

⁴⁶ One such passage is translated below; see p. 64.

describes the Fourth Ganden Throne Holder Legba Gyeltsen as a “Patron of Gelukbas” (*dge lugs pa'i yon bdag*).⁴⁷ However, the term seems not to have been preferred over the earlier term “Gandenba”, as is evident even from the title of his text.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, “Gelukba” appears to have been more in common usage. Sumba Kenbo (1704-1788, *sum pa mkhan po*), a self-described student of Jamyang Shayba, uses the term in his *Chronology*, published in 1748, but does not also seem to have also used the terms “Gandenba” or “Gedenba” as appellations for the entirety of Dzongkaba’s followers. When he uses the term Ganden, his referent is either Ganden Monastery or the Throne Holder of Ganden.⁴⁸ Similarly, Shakabpa routinely uses the term “Gelukba” in the chapters relating to the post-Fifth Dalai Lama period.⁴⁹ From these preliminary inquiries, I hypothesize that the term “Gelukba” was used for Dzongkaba’s followers as early as the middle seventeenth century and came into common usage by the early or middle eighteenth century.⁵⁰

The drift towards this self-promoting terminology seems to correspond in time to the rise in political power of the “Geluk”, “The System of Virtue”. This shift in vocabulary reinforced the myth-making process that was already well underway by that time, a self-definition through which members of the school depicted Dzongkaba as a reformer and the Gelukba School as representing a return to an idealized past in India and Tibet through

⁴⁷ Desi Sangyay Gyatso, *Religious History of the Gandenbas*, 76. For a discussion of Legba Gyeltsen as a previous incarnation of Jamyang Shayba, see p. 189ff below.

⁴⁸ See Bireshwar Singh, trans. and ed., *The Chronology of Tibet According to the Re'u-mig of Sum-pa-mkhan-po* (Patna: Bihar Research Society, 1991), 92 and 98 in the English and 190.19 and 195.2-3 in the Tibetan.

⁴⁹ Tsepon Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, chapter 8-23.

⁵⁰ Leonard van der Kuijp informs me that he has seen the term used in China as early as the 1420's, although not as a referent of Dzongkaba's followers. A broader survey of particular texts will be required to settle the question definitively.

which Buddhism was restored to its ethical foundation.⁵¹ These efforts were undertaken within the context of the growing criticism of the school and its ascendant political fortunes. Georges Dreyfus comments on this dynamic:⁵²

These hostile critiques in turn strengthened the sense of orthodoxy that was developing among the Ga-den-bas, who gradually came to see themselves as forming a separate tradition claiming to possess the right view and hence to represent the apex of Tibetan Buddhism. This claim is reflected in the highly loaded name of the *Ge-luk-pas* (the virtuous ones) that they chose for themselves. The sectarian process was further strengthened by the political climate of the times, particularly the power struggle between the forces of Tsang (the southwestern province whose capital is Shi-ga-tse) and the forces of Central Tibet. It is these events, more than intrinsic doctrinal differences, that led to the rigid division that has characterized Tibetan Buddhism in the last few centuries.

Although their efforts became more systematic in the wake of the triumph of pro-Gelukba Mongolian and Tibetan military forces in 1642, Gelukba partisans had been working to construct legitimacy for the school in various ways throughout the increasingly polarized

⁵¹ It is of course true that other Tibet schools made competing claims to represent the single authentic, or perhaps the most authentic, interpretation of Buddhism, claims that were based on entirely different religious values. See Chapter Six below.

⁵² Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 27.

struggles for patronage, religious influence, and political authority through the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.

Although Dzongkaba developed his own system of interpretation, he was not overtly partisan the way that some later figures were. He studied with a wide range of lamas from many different traditions.⁵³ He seems to have been accepted and respected by many of his contemporaries from various affiliations. In opposition to the assertions of later Gelukbas, there are also suggestions to support the idea that Dzongkaba did not intend to found his own school. Georges Dreyfus articulates this idea basing his view, in part, on the writings of one of Dzongkaba's main students, Gyeltsap Darma Rinchen (1364-1432, *rgyal tshab dar ma rin chen*), adding that:⁵⁴

⁵³ According to the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (hereafter TBRC) web site, Dzongkaba's Gagyü teachers include Chögyi Gyelbo (1335-1407, *chos kyi rgyal po*), Döndrub Sangbo (b. 14th century, *don grub bzang po*) Döndrub Rinchen (1309-1385, *don grub rin chen*), and Fourth Karmaba Rolbay Dorje (1340-1383, *rol pa'i rdo rje*). He was ordained by the Fourth Karmaba. His Sagya teachers include Sönam Gyeltsen (1312-1375, *bsod nams rgyal mtshan*) and, famously, Rendawa Shönnu Lodrö (1349-1412, *red mda' ba gzhon nu blo gros*). He had several lamas from the Shaluba/Kälachakra lineage including Chöbel Sangbo (b. 14th century, *chos dpal bzang po*), Chögyi Belba (1316-1397, *chos kyi dpal pa*), Shönnu Sönam (b. 14th century, *gzhon nu bsod nams*), and Rinchen Namgyel (1318-1388, *rin chen rnam rgyal*). He studied with many Gadamba teachers including Shönnu Jangchub Ö-ser (b. 14th century, *gzhon nu byang chub 'od zer*), Chögyab Sangbo (b. 13th century, *chos skyabs bzang po*), Chögyab Belsang (b. 14th century, *chos skyabs dpal bzang*), and Namka Gyeltsen (1326-1401, *nam mkha' rgyal mtshan*). He studied with two renowned Jonang lamas, Choglay Namgyel (1306-1386, *phyogs las rnam rgyal*) and Kunga Bel (1345-1439, *kun dga' dpal*). Dzongkaba also had some very famous Nyingma teachers, including Lhodrag Drubchen. On the latter, see Franz-Karl Ehrhard, "The Vision of rDzogs-chen: A Text and Its Histories," *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, volume 1, 47-58. Dzongkaba's later followers have Lhodrag Drubchen to thank for the fact that their school's inspired founder did not leave Tibet to study in India, as he had planned to do. (p. 50)

⁵⁴ Georges Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 26.

Even Gyel-tsap, his immediate successor as the Holder of the Throne of Ga-den (*dga' ldan khri pa*, the head of the Ga-den tradition), seems to have understood some of his later works as being in the Sa-gya tradition.

He adds that late in life, Gyeltsap wrote a commentary on Sagya Paṇḍita's views on epistemology that accords with the views of the Sagya scholar and teacher of Dzongkaba, Rendawa Shönnu Lodrö (1349-1412, *red mda' ba gzhon nu blo gros*).

In dependence on a close reading of Dzongkaba's other primary disciple, Kaydrup Gelek Belsang (1385-1438, *dge legs dpal bzang*), Thupten Jinpa articulates the opposite view:⁵⁵

It appears that by the end of Khedrup's life there was already a strong perception that Tsongkhapa's followers constituted a distinct school of thought in Tibet.

However, later Gelukbas are not entirely unjustified in construing Dzongkaba as the founder of a new tradition. Even during his lifetime, Dzongkaba and his followers had begun the myth-making process intended to elaborate a separate identity for the Gelukba School. One of the key strategies involved the construction of legendary connections between Dzongkaba and prominent Indian Buddhists. Dzongkaba personally made efforts to portray himself as a latter-day Atīsha (982-1054), the charismatic yogi and scholar who had inspired the creation of the Tibetan Gadamba School in the eleventh century. For example, Dzongkaba began his

⁵⁵ Thupten Jinpa, *Self, Reality and Reason in Tibetan Philosophy: Tsongkhapa's Quest for the Middle Way* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 190, n. 18.

magnum opus, *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path*, by what appear to be a claim identifying himself with Atīsha:⁵⁶

In particular, the text for this work is Atisha's *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment*; hence, the very author of the *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment* is also the author of this [work].

The second line⁵⁷ is quite easy to read as indicating that Dzongkaba felt he was a later incarnation of Atīsha or that he had some other profound spiritual connection to the Indian master. It is evident that this interpretation existed by the seventeenth century since Jamyang Shayba attempts to undercut it. He does so by saying that since Atīsha's *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment* is the root text for Dzongkaba's *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path*, Atīsha can be considered the author of the second text as well.⁵⁸ It is difficult to say which of the conflicting readings was intended by Dzongkaba.

Later Gelukba scholars endeavored to enhance the legendary connections between Atīsha and Dzongkaba. Tugen Losang Chögyi Nyima (1737-1802, *thu'u bkan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma*), who was the student of Jamyang Shayba's student, Sumba Kenbo (1704-1788, *sum pa mkhan po*), may have had this precise passage in mind when he noted that "The Great rGyal-ba Tsoñ-kha-pa was in fact (spiritually) the same as the incarnation of Jo-bo-je

⁵⁶ Joshua W. C. Cutler, ed., *The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment*, volume 1 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 2000), 35-36.

⁵⁷ P6001, vol. 152, 37.4-5. *khyad par du 'di'i gzhung ni byang chub lam gyi sgron ma yin par de mdzad pa po nyid 'di'i yang mdzad pa po'ol*

⁵⁸ Elizabeth Napper, "Ethic as the Basis of a Tantric Tradition: Tsong kha pa and the Founding of the dGe lugs Order in Tibet," in *Changing Minds: Contributions to the Study of Buddhism and Tibet in Honor of Jeffrey Hopkins*, ed. Guy Newland (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 2001), 126, n. 9.

[Atīsha].”⁵⁹ Like Tugen, Desi Sangyay Gyatso — who had a particular interest in fortifying the Gelukba pedigree because he presided over the Gelukba political hierarchy through the stormy late seventeenth century — promoted a strong identity between Dzungkaba and Atīsha. To this end, the Desi collected a number of prophecies that connect the two figures.⁶⁰ The capstone to these efforts to identify the two figures is evidenced by the fact that the Gandenbas were sometimes called the “New Gadambas”.

In addition to narrative connections to Atīsha, efforts were made to connect Dzungkaba to other early Indian Buddhists, including Buddha himself. One particularly powerful example of this is a prophecy that was instrumental in the self-identity of the emerging tradition:⁶¹

In a previous incarnation, at the time of Buddha Shakyamuni, Tzong-k’a-pa was a young boy. One day he went to see Lord Buddha [at Bodh Gaya] and presented him with a clear crystal rosary. In return the Buddha gave the boy a conch shell. Afterwards the Buddha called his disciple Ananda to Him and prophesied that the boy would be born in Tibet and would found a great monastery... The Buddha gave the young boy the future name of Lo-zang dr’ag-pa. He also said that this person would present a crown to the statue of the Buddha in Lhasa and that the Buddhist teachings would flourish in Tibet.

⁵⁹ Alaka Chattopadhyaya, *Atīša and Tibet* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1967), 391.

⁶⁰ Eva K. Dargyay, “Tsong-kha-pa and His Relation to Atīša and Padmasambhava,” in *Buddhist Thought and Asian Civilization*, eds. Leslie Kawamura and Keith Scott (Emeryville, California: Dharma Publishing, 1977), 22-24.

⁶¹ Cited in William A. Magee, “Two Faces of Charisma in Fifteenth-Century Tibet,” *Fifteenth Century Studies* 25 (2000): 3-4. A photograph of the conch shell can be seen in Nebojša Tomašević, ed. *Tibet* (London: Bracken Books, 1981), photograph 180, p. 239.

Dzongkaba himself commented on this prophecy:⁶²

Previously, in Bodh Gaya, I presented Shakyamuni Buddha with prayer beads of white crystal. A partial effect of that has been my generation of the altruistic mind of enlightenment.

It is reported that when he founded Ganden Monastery, the very conch shell that Buddha had given him in the past was unearthed at the ground-breaking ceremony. Moreover, in fulfillment of the prophecy, Dzongkaba oversaw the renovations of the Buddha image at the Jokang Temple, supplying it with a crown of gold; this is accounted as the third of Dzongkaba's four great deeds.⁶³ These maneuvers represent clear attempts to burnish the image of Dzongkaba and to grant credibility to his teachings.

There are other lines of evidence that suggest that Dzongkaba may have conceived himself as founding a new and separate tradition. At least in his major works, he does not often seem to have followed the usual Tibetan custom in which authors signal their reliance upon their personal teachers in the customary opening of a text called the "Expression of Worship".⁶⁴ Instead, he usually mentions the names of the great Indian scholars from the

⁶² Translated in William A. Magee, "Two Faces of Charisma in Fifteenth-Century Tibet," *Fifteenth Century Studies* 25 (2000): 4.

⁶³ Robert Thurman, ed. *Life and Teachings of Tsong Khapa* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1982), 26

⁶⁴ Gareth Sparham (*Ocean of Eloquence: Tsong kha pa's Commentary on the Yogācāra Doctrine of the Mind* [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993], 16-17) identifies two texts in which Dzongkaba offered praise to two particular Sagya teachers, Döndrup Rinchen (b. fourteenth century, *don grub rin chen*) and Rendawa. Sparham also observes that both of these are very early texts.

distant past.⁶⁵ Moreover, he encouraged his prominent followers to found monasteries during his lifetime. Additionally, when he inaugurated the Great Prayer Festival (*smon lam chen mo*) in Lhasa, an annual event of tremendous importance in securing patronage and fostering unity, he placed it under control of the Ganden monks, not Sagya monks at large. Finally, according to the iconographic representation of Dzongkaba, he also distinguished himself from contemporary red-hatted Sagya lamas by wearing a yellow hat. In fact, his followers continue to be called the Yellow Hats up to the present day.

In this connection, it would be revealing to investigate whether any of the great monasteries connected with him had images of Sagya Paṇḍita (1182-1251, *sa skya paṇḍita*) in the very earliest days. If Dzongkaba had considered himself to be a perpetuator of the Sagya lineage, it is likely that he would have encouraged veneration of that charismatic predecessor. His works do not make frequent reference to Sagya Paṇḍita's writings in his major works. For example, Dzongkaba does not quote him in his *Essence of Eloquence*, volumes one or three of the English translation of his *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path*, the first three sections of his *Great Exposition of Secret Mantra*, or the first five chapters of his *Illumination of the Thought*.⁶⁶ Dzongkaba does make infrequent reference to Sagya Paṇḍita in some of his less well known works, including his *Presentation of the Mind-Basis-*

⁶⁵ See for example, Joshua W. C. Cutler, ed., *The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment*, volume 1, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 2000), 33-34 and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Emptiness in the Mind-Only School of Buddhism: Dynamic Responses to Dzong-ka-ba's "The Essence of Eloquence,"* Part I (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 66-68.

⁶⁶ See translations of these texts in Jeffrey Hopkins, *Emptiness in the Mind-Only School*; Cutler, ed. *The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment* volume 1 and volume 3 (Ithaca, Snow Lion, 2002); XIV Dalai Lama, Tsong-ka-pa, and Jeffrey Hopkins. *Tantra in Tibet* (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1977; reprint Ithaca, Snow Lion, 1987), XIV Dalai Lama, Tsong-ka-pa, and Jeffrey Hopkins. *The Yoga of Tibet* (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1977; reprinted as *Deity Yoga*. Ithaca, Snow Lion, 1987); and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Compassion in Tibetan Buddhism* (Ithaca, Snow Lion, 1980), respectively.

Of-All and Afflicted Intellect.⁶⁷ Although Dzongkaba's *Chapter on Ethics* does not refer to Sagya Paṇḍita directly, there are several references to Dragba Gyeltsen (1147-1216, *grags pa rgyal mtshan*), his uncle.⁶⁸ If Dzongkaba did consider himself a part of the Sagya lineage, it would have been expected that he would more frequently cite early figures in the lineage.

Whether or not he explicitly intended to found a new tradition, Dzongkaba, like any charismatic teacher, strove to distinguish himself from his contemporaries in the particularly vigorous and dynamic intellectual scene of fourteenth and fifteenth century Tibet, an era that saw the emergence of a number of extremely important and influential religious figures. These include the great polymath Buddōn Rinchendrub (1290-1364, *bu ston rin chen grub*), the Jonang scholar Dolboba Shayrab Gyeltsen (1292-1361, *dol po pa shes rab rgyal mtshan*), the Nyingma scholar-adept Longchen Rabjamba (1308-1364, *klong chen rab byams pa*), and Dzongkaba's own Sagya master Rendawa. In the contest for patrons, students, and other types of support, each of these figures strove to promote his own interpretive tradition, each in his own way.

Dzongkaba employed various strategies in his effort to differentiate himself from his contemporaries. He tried to distinguish his novel interpretation by representing himself as a direct disciple of Manjushrī, the Buddha of wisdom. At the same time, he explicitly portrayed himself as blazing a brand new pathway within Tibetan Buddhism, as is evidenced from his declaration in the opening verses of his *The Essence of Eloquence*.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Gareth Sparham, *Ocean of Eloquence: Tsong kha pa's Commentary on the Yogācāra Doctrine of Mind* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1993), 75.

⁶⁸ Mark Tatz, *The Complete Bodhisattva: Asaṅga's Chapter on Ethics with the Commentary of Tsong-kha-pa* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1987), *passim*. I am grateful to Gareth Sparham for shedding new light on this question and for directing my attention to this and the previous citation.

⁶⁹ Jeffrey Hopkins, *Emptiness in the Mind-Only School*, 68.

Many who had much hearing of the great texts,
 Who worked with much weariness also at the path of reasoning,
 And who were not low in accumulation of the good qualities of clear
 realization
 Worked hard but did not realize this topic which,
 Having perceived it well through the kindness of the smooth protector
 and guru [Manjushrī],
 I will explain with an attitude of great mercy.

In attributing his unique and penetrating insight to his tutelage by Manjushrī, he attempted to transfer the legitimizing authority of the “smooth protector and guru” to his own understanding of reality. Manjushrī was not only the very embodiment of transcendent wisdom, but he was also counted among the direct disciples of Shākyamuni Buddha. Thus, Dzongkaba’s claim to be his disciple is doubly meaningful.

Ultimately, these efforts were successful as the Geluk School rose in prominence. Even within Dzongkaba’s lifetime, important patrons allied themselves with his efforts, including Dragba Gyeltsen (d. 1432, *grags pa rgyal mtshan*), the King of Nedong Palace (*sne gdong gong ma*), and his chief minister, Namka Sangbo (b. fourteenth century, *nam mkha’ bzang po*). The three great monastic seats that thrived up until the Chinese invasion in 1959 — Ganden, Drebung, and Sera — were all founded while he lived. The Great Prayer Festival was established as the focal point of the calendar for the ever increasing number of people who identified themselves as followers of Dzongkaba. The beginnings of a new and dynamic religious movement that would ultimately dominate much of the landscape had

taken root.

The Ascent

Although the Sagya School had enjoyed a position of political supremacy at an earlier time (1253-1368), by the time Dzungkaba was formulating his own interpretation in the late fourteenth century, no single centralized entity held religious and political authority throughout the Tibetan region.⁷⁰ Instead, a period of chaotic and ever-shifting alliances between various regional and religious factions prevailed for approximately three centuries (1368-1642). Eventually, the period was marked by tensions between Central Tibet (*dbus*) and Dzang (*gtsang*), by episodic interference from Mongolia and China, and also by ongoing disputes between the increasingly influential Gelukbas and the long-established Nyingma, Gagyu, and Sagya Schools. Throughout the latter part of this period, however, relations between the Gelukbas and both the Nyingmabas and the Gagyubas were particularly heated. Here, we will briefly survey some of the events that molded this time period. We will be particularly interested to see how these events were understood in the perspective of Dzungkaba's followers.

The Gagyu School had become influential on a regional basis earlier in the fourteenth century when the Third Karmaba Rangchung Dorje (1284-1339, *rang byung rdo rje*) — the first incarnate lama in Tibet — was invited to the Mongolian court. According to

⁷⁰ Unless otherwise noted, the following discussion depends upon the following sources: Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Rome: Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1970), *passim*; K. Dhondup, *Water-Horse and Other Years: A History of the 17th and 18th Century Tibet* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1984), 1-33; Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, chapters 5-7; and Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome: La Libreria Dello Stato, 1949), 39-80.

Turrell Wylie, the invitation was intended to provide a counterpoint to the Sagya School that had been politically most powerful in Tibet for several generations. The Sagyabas transmitted the regency of the country through patrilineal bloodlines, a system that had become troublesome for the Mongolians. A reincarnating lama, it was theorized, would be more tractable for the Mongolians than a well-established indigenous Tibetan family with its own complex interests and power base since the Mongolians could involve themselves in the selection of the new incarnation and disrupt the indigenous power structures at each new generation.⁷¹ The Fourth Karmaba Rolbay Dorje (1340-1383, *rol pa'i rdo rje*) and the Fifth Karmaba Doshin Shegpa (1384-1415, *de bzhin gshegs pa*) also made the journey to China, the latter in 1406-7, just as Dzungkaba was working to establish his own monasteries around Lhasa. The Karmabas, in addition to building a strong relationship with Mongolian and Chinese patrons, had a strong power base in the Dzung province to the south of Lhasa, where the regional governor supported them.

Dzungkaba, meanwhile, had fortified his power base among the patrons in Central Tibet. He was strongly supported by the most powerful ruler in that region, the Nedong King Dragba Gyeltsen and his minister Neu Namka Sangbo. With their patronage, Dzungkaba founded Ganden Monastery and inaugurated the Great Prayer Festival in 1409. In the following years, he refurbished countless religious artifacts in Lhasa, including notably the image of Shākyamuni Buddha in the Jokang Temple, which was mentioned in the prophecy just above. Like the Karmaba, Dzungkaba was also invited to China on several occasions. It is difficult to know how things might have changed if he had accepted the invitations. However, in the end, he merely sent his student Jamchen Chöje Shākya Yeshey

⁷¹ Turrell Wylie, "Reincarnation: A Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism," in *Proceedings of the Csoma Koros Memorial Symposium*, ed. by Louis Ligeri (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1984), 581-6.

(1354-1438, *byams chen chos rje śākya ye shes*), who later founded Sera Monastery.⁷² By the time Dzungkaba passed away in 1419, the rivalry between Central Tibet and Dzung, between their corresponding ruling families – the Phagmodruba (*phag mo gru pa*) and Rinbung (*rin spungs*) respectively – and between the Gelukbas and the Karma-Gagyubas had become well-fortified.

With the death of Dzungkaba's former patron, Dragba Gyeltsen in 1432, the position of the Gelukba School seemed in peril. K. Dhondup comments:⁷³

By 1434, the collapse of the house of Phamodrupa was confirmed. The very next year, Dhondup Dorjee of Ringpung captured Shigatse. Seeing Dhondup Dorjee's open opposition to Nedong throne [of U], numerous smaller Tsang leaders allied themselves with him. For the next few decades, U's and Tsang were continuously involved in a fierce power struggle whose leaders supported either the Gelug or the Karma Kagyud sects. Donyod Dorjee, the ambitious younger son of Ringpung Norsang was a staunch Karmapa supporter.

Throughout the remainder of the century, a wide variety of conflicts emerged between the two schools, many of them resulting from trivial misunderstandings, some of them from purposeful manipulations by vested interests, and others a consequence of one side's purposeful attempt to gain supremacy over the other.

After establishing a Patron-Priest relationship with the Seventh Karmaba Chödrag Gyatso (1450/1454-1506, *chos grags rgya mtsho*) in 1479, the Rinbung hierarch Dönyö Dorje

⁷² Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 339-341.

⁷³ K. Dhondup, *Water-Horse and Other Years*, 4.

(*don yod rdo rje*) founded a Kagyu monastery at a place called Yangbajen (*yangs pa can*) near Lhasa. This was very unwelcome to the Gelukba monks who felt that the Kagyubas were encroaching upon their traditional area of influence; consequently, they were angered by what they saw as a provocation, and they destroyed the monastery.⁷⁴ In turn, this action prompted a severe counter-response from the pro-Kagyü faction. Rinbung forces captured Gyantse in 1488. Subsequent attacks closer to the Gelukba stronghold eventually brought them additional conquests, and Lhasa itself was seized in 1498. In an act calculated to infuriate the Gelukbas, the Seventh Karmapa ordered that Gelukba monks from the three big monasteries around Lhasa – Ganden, Sera, and Drebung – should be prevented from participating in the Great Prayer Festival that had been initiated by Dzongkaba and had always been organized by his followers. Moreover, according to the Karmapa's command, these same monks were to be prevented from entering Lhasa. The order indicated that this situation, unbearably insulting to the Gelukbas who had until then considered the Festival their exclusive preserve, was to endure for twenty years.

While these political machinations were unfolding, the nascent Geluk School was taking on a new form under the leadership of the lineage of the Dalai Lamas. The first in the series,⁷⁵ Gendun Drup (1391-1474, *dge 'dun grub*), had been a student of Dzongkaba and is sometimes identified as his foremost student.⁷⁶ This assertion appears to be a pious retrospective vote of confidence rather than an accurate depiction of their relationship. Instead, it would seem that Gyeltsap Je Darma Rinchen (1364-1432, *rgyal tshab rje darma rin chen*) and Kaydrup Je Gelek Bel Sangbo (1385-1438, *mkhas grub rje dge legs dpal bzang*

⁷⁴ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 353.

⁷⁵ As will be detailed below, the Third Dalai Lama was given the Mongolian title "Dalai" or "Ocean" when he visited Mongolia in 1578. The title was then retrospectively projected back onto his two previous incarnations.

⁷⁶ Dhondup, *Water-Horse and Other Years*, 6.

po) were more qualified for this boast, a view that is buttressed by the fact that after Dzungkaba they served as the Second and Third Throne Holders of Ganden, a post Gendun Drup never held. Nonetheless, he was a capable scholar who authored some influential texts interpreting Dzungkaba's philosophical position. In 1447, he founded Drashi Hlunbo Monastery in Shigatse, which would eventually become the permanent seat of the lineage of Panchen Lamas in 1607, and he spent most of his life in Dzang fortifying the Gelukba position there.

The Second Dalai Lama Gendun Gyatso (1475-1542, *dge 'dun rgya mtsho*), also born in Dzang, reportedly declared his own identity as the reincarnation of the First Dalai Lama when he was only two years old.⁷⁷ He was installed at Drashi Hlunbo Monastery, but eventually changed his hereditary seat to Drebung Monastery in Central Tibet. The first two Dalai Lamas were famous in their own time as exceptional teachers of Buddhism, and they are largely responsible for maintaining the vitality of Dzungkaba's tradition through this initial period.

It was also during this time period that three excellent Gelukba scholars worked to enhance the status of the school by promoting the rigor of the monastic education:⁷⁸ Denba Dargyay (1493-1596, *bstan pa dar rgyas*), Jaydzun Chögyi Gyeltsen (1469-1546, *rje btsun chos kyi rgyal mtshan*), and Panchen Sönam Dragba (1478-1554, *pan chen bsod nams grags pa*). All three were contemporaries of the Second Dalai Lama and authored important series of monastic textbooks that continue to be studied at numerous Gelukba monasteries. Denba Dargyay was the twenty second Throne Holder of Ganden. Jaydzun Chögyi Gyeltsen became the Abbot of Sera Monastery and later replaced the Dalai Lama as the Abbot of

⁷⁷ Glenn Mullin, *Mystical Verse of a Mad Dalai Lama* (Wheaton, Illinois: Theosophical Publishing, 1994), 51-52.

⁷⁸ These three textbook authors and Jamyang Shayba are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 below.

Drashi Hlunbo when the latter left for Drebung in 1538. Pañchen Sönam Dragba served as the Abbot of the Tantric College of Upper Lhasa, was appointed by the Second Dalai Lama as the Abbot of Loseling in 1526, and later became the Fifteenth Ganden Throne Holder and the Abbot of Drebung.

For our narrative, it is the Third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso (1543-1588, *bsod nams rgya mtsho*) who is of special interest. Born in the vicinity of Lhasa, he became renowned in eastern Tibet and Mongolia in his own lifetime, far beyond the traditional area of Gelukba influence in Central Tibet. By 1559, already famous for his scholarship as a teenager, he was invited to visit Nedong Palace by King Dragba Jungnay (b. 16th century, *grags pa rgyal mtshan*), a descendant of King Dragba Gyeltsen, Dzongkaba's patron. He bestowed extensive teachings and the empowerment of White Tāra on the King, forming an important spiritual bond with him. After the lama left, a conflict erupted within the King's ministers, and the lama returned to mediate the dispute. It seemed that the emerging school was settling into a period of normalcy. There was even a harmonious meeting between the Third Dalai Lama and the important Gagyü lama Padma Garbo, which the latter recounted in his autobiography, *The Theater of Great Compassion*.⁷⁹

Since it appears that he is the supreme jewel of the Yellow Hat sect of Gedenba, I went out to meet him in front of the Temple. I regarded this incarnation as cordial, and he saw me as a Geshe. As a display of

⁷⁹ Cited in Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 372.3-9. *khong dge ldan pa'i zhwa ser thog gi gtsug gi nor bur snang bas/ nged kyis gtsug lag khang steng du bsu ba la phyin/ phyag rtse sprod kyis dpyod gzhi la/ sprul pa'i sku de jo bzang ba dang/ nged la dge bshes bzang po'i mthong gis/ pha tshad nas dbu zhwa zul gyis phud/ phyag mdzad snang/ nged kyis kyang rgyang rgyong sbug sbug med par 'phral mar lan phul bas shin du mdzes pa dang/ zhes dang/ bzbug stan gcig la gdan chags pa sogs thugs ka thun mong ma yin pa'i nye bar byung/*

this, we offered prostrations to one another. From a distance, he removed his hat. It seems that he respected me. Since I reciprocated immediately, without hesitation, it was quite wonderful... There was an uncommon closeness between us, as is evidenced by such occurrences as our having sat together on the same couch.

While Padma Garbo seems to have been personally genial, he was also among the first generation of Gagyü lamas to respond to the criticisms that had been launched by the more dialectically-oriented Sagya and Geluk authors. We will discuss this issue in Chapter Six below.⁸⁰

Throughout the 1570's, the powerful chieftain of the Tumay (*thu med*) Mongolians, Alten Khan (1505-1582, *al than khān*), worked to consolidate his hold over the Blue Lake region in northeastern Tibet, defeating one enemy after another. In 1575, he issued an invitation to the Third Dalai Lama, which was politely declined.⁸¹ Soon thereafter, the old struggle between Central Tibet and Dzang was renewed as the Rinbung hierarch attacked various pro-Gelukba strongholds in both Central Tibet and Dzang. The former were powerless against the onslaught of the latter; according to Shakabpa, the assault was only reversed by lightning that had been created by a tantric ritual.⁸² When Alten Khan renewed his invitation to the Third Dalai Lama in 1577, this time offering to meet him in Amdo, the Tibetan immediately accepted the invitation and soon left Central Tibet for the east. It is difficult to say whether the Dalai Lama simply had a change of heart or whether the renewed

⁸⁰ Michael Broido, "Padma dKar-po on the Two *Satyas*," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 8, no. 2 (1985): 7-59.

⁸¹ Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, 88.

⁸² Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 372-3.

conflict with Dzang and the weakness of his Central Tibet patrons inspired him to reconsider his earlier decision.

Whatever his reasons may have been, both the Dalai Lama and the Khan stood to gain a significant boost in their own personal status from a harmonious exchange between them:⁸³

As Khubilai Khayan had invited the 'Phags-pa Lama, of the Sa-sKya-pa sect of Tibet, to his court, so Alten Khan invited the Dalai Lama. Thus Alten Khan would impress on all that he was, indeed, the great Khayan reborn.

One has the sense that both the Khan and the Dalai Lama were conscious of repeating the paradigm laid down by their thirteenth century predecessors, the Mongolian Kublai Khan (1215-1294, *kub la'i khān*) and the Tibetan Lama Pagba Rinpochoy. That trailblazing alliance had provided for the Sagya School an environment in it flourished and prospered. Alten Khan expected a boost in his political status, with which, according to Ahmad, he hoped to recreate the unified Mongol Empire. As for the Dalai Lama, he hoped to gain the means that would eliminate the recent attacks on Gelukba interests in Tibet and he hoped to promote the spread of his school beyond Central Tibet. His commitment to these objectives is evident from the fact that he spent such a long time in Mongolia, the Blue Lake region, and eastern Tibet in general. When he left Drebung in 1577, he could not have known that he would never return to Lhasa before his death eleven years later.

In the summer of 1578, Gelukba fortunes took a turn when the Dalai Lama and

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Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, 93.

Alten Khan met near the Blue Lake. Upon their first meeting, Alten Khan read a long proclamation bemoaning the lax moral standards among the Mongols and recalling the glorious past when his predecessors had patronized the Sagya School following the visit to Mongolia by Sagya Paṇḍita and his nephew Pagba Rinpoḥay. That was the event that had inaugurated the period of Sagya leadership of Tibet. It had also brought renown, respectability, and the Buddhist religion to the Mongolians. Eventually, however, chaos returned to both Tibet and Mongolia as they went their separate ways again and each fell into a degree of internecine conflict. At the initial meeting with the Third Dalai Lama, Alten Khan recalled the intervening dark period:⁸⁴

We gained our enjoyment from sinful activities and the consumption of just flesh and blood, as in a place like a lake of dark blood. Through the kindness of the Patron and the Priest [the Khan himself and the Third Dalai Lama respectively], who are like the sun and the moon, the path of the supreme religion has been given. This transformation of a lake of blood into milk is a great kindness.

The Khan then instituted a ten-precept moral code for his people to follow. The Dalai Lama taught both the royal family and the public the basic precepts of Buddhism and instructed them in the recitation of mantra of Avalokiteshvara, the Buddha of Compassion of whom

⁸⁴ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 374.16-19. *las su sdiḡ pa dang/ zas su sha khrag kho na la longs su spyod pas mun nag khrag mtsho'i ḡling lta bur/ mchod yon nyi zla zung gi bka' drin las/ dam pa'i chos kyi lam gtod/ khrag mtsho 'o mar bsgyur ba 'di bka' drin che ba...*

the Dalai Lama is thought to be a reincarnation.⁸⁵ After receiving an exalted title from the Dalai Lama, the Khan bestowed a series of sumptuous gifts on his new lama along with the title “Dalai” or “Ocean”. As noted earlier, the title “Dalai Lama” was then applied retrospectively to Gendun Drup and Gendun Gyatso, who then came to be known as the First and Second Dalai Lamas, respectively.

Through the generations, the vicissitudes of the Gelukbas tracked closely with the degree of support they obtained from various Mongolian factions. This had also been true for the Sagya School, which had enjoyed the potent protection of Kublai Khan and his descendants for more than a century, but which had gone into decline when the Mongolian Patrons grew disinterested in Tibet and political factionalism emerged there once again. Similarly, the Drigung (*'bri gung*) Gagyus, who were closely allied with the Karma Gagyus, had a long history of attempting to build relations with Mongolian patrons, but they never succeeded in forming a strong alliance like the Sagyabas or Gelukbas had.⁸⁶ In consequence perhaps, they remained a marginal tradition within Tibet.

Although it has taken many forms as the identities of the Patrons and Priests have shifted, the Patron-Priest relationship (*mchod gnas dang yon bdag*) animated Tibet's connection to her eastern neighbors episodically through as many as six and a half centuries. It began with the formal acknowledgment of the relationship between Sakyabas and Mongolians in Kublai Khan's 1253 *Pearl Edict*, continued with the 1642 arrangement

⁸⁵ This ideology was elaborated by the Fifth Dalai Lama, whose biography of the Third Dalai Lama Shakabpa relies on in this passage. See discussion of the ideological uses of biographical writing below, p. 115ff.

⁸⁶ Elliot Sperling, “Notes on References to 'Bri-Gung-pa - Mongol Contact in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,” in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, ed. by Shoren Ihara and Zuiho Yamaguchi, Monograph Series of the Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies, Occasional Papers, 2 (Chiba-ken, Japan: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992), 742ff.

between the Gelukbas and the Qoshot Mongolians, and, some would argue, came to an end with the collapse of the Manchu Dynasty in 1911 and the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's issuance of his 1913 "Declaration of Independence".⁸⁷ Ahmad identifies the essential features of the arrangement, taking the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama as a paradigm:⁸⁸

This relationship... can be summed up as a three-fold relationship: (1) the Dalai Lama as the Object of Worship, the Khan as a Worshipper; (2) the Dalai Lama as an Object of Patronization, the Khan as a Patron; and (3) the Dalai Lama as an Object of Protection from his "doctrinal enemies", the Khan as a Protector.

The great care and attention the Third Dalai Lama had heaped upon the Mongolians showed promise of bearing fruit into the distant future. However, since both Alten Khan and his eldest son During Khan (b. 16th century, *dū ring khān*) both preceded the Dalai Lama in death, it also seemed possible that the powerful connection they had established might die with them.

This outcome, highly undesirable for both sides, was obviated when the Fourth Dalai Lama Yönden Gyatso (1589-1617, *yon tan rgya mtsho*) was born into Alten Khan's family as his great grandson. This occurrence cemented for generations the bond between the

⁸⁷ The question of when the Patron-Priest relationship came to an end is a complex one with respect to which many passionately held positions could be discussed. It would seem that to the extent it continued to exist in the early twentieth century, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama regarded it as having elapsed with the termination of the Manchu Empire. See Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 246-259 and his far more elaborate case in *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, chapter 16.

⁸⁸ Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, 79.

Gelukbas and Alten Khan's Tümay clan. The Fourth Dalai Lama passed his youth in Mongolia, although a large number of teachers had been imported from Tibet so that his education could commence in the traditional fashion. Back in Tibet, in the absence of the charismatic person of the Dalai Lama, the rival Kagyu School began to become more influential. "At this time," observes K. Dhondup:⁸⁹

The Kagyud sect was reviving its strength in Tsang under the patronage of Karma Tensung Wangpo, who had become the Depa Tsangpa at Shigatse after the death of his father Tselen Dorjee. The Gelug official[s] and monks in Lhasa felt the extreme necessity of the presence of the Fourth Dalai Lama Yonten Gyatso in Lhasa as a rallying point.

A delegation was sent to Mongolia to urge the family of the Dalai Lama to permit him to leave for Tibet, a request they had deflected in the past. Eventually, the Mongolian royals relented; the youth was formally recognized as the Dalai Lama in 1601, and he arrived in Tibet in 1603, taking up residence in at Ganden Podrang, the seat of Geluk power situated at Drepung Monastery.

His affairs were managed primarily by Sönam Dragba (*bsod nams grags pa*), an exceedingly partisan advocate of Gelukba dominance. Calculatedly, Sönam Dragba overlooked an entire series of opportunities for reconciliation between the Kagyu and Geluk Schools. Even an apparently innocent letter of congratulations to the Kagyu Lama, the Sixth Shamarpa Chökyi Wangchug (1584-1630, *zhwa dmar chos kyī dbang phyug*), sent to the

⁸⁹ Dhondup, *Water-Horse and Other Years*, 10.

Dalai Lama when he took his novice vows was misconstrued. Shakabpa comments on the episode:⁹⁰

At that time, the Omniscient Shamar Garwang Chögyi Wangchug sent a message of congratulations in verse. It had a positive tone to it and discussed how the Dalai Lama would have to listen hard and think well about the five inner and outer sciences including sūtra and tantra. Although the response to that message should have been consistent with its tone, through the cynicism of officials of the previous Dalai Lama, Chöjay and Shukang Rabjamba Gayleg Hlundrub are known to have made a reply that displayed their own faults without being related [to the positive message from Shamarba]

Entrenched officials rejected the tentative gesture of goodwill from the Gagyü lama Shamarba. When Shamarba attempted to arrange a meeting with the Dalai Lama, the same officials took great pains to prevent a letter from being smuggled past them to their young charge, even going to the extraordinary lengths of searching people who were granted an audience with the Dalai Lama to make certain a letter did not slip past their watchful eyes. Both the Dalai Lama and the Throne Holder of Ganden objected to the disruptive efforts of these Gelukba officials.

⁹⁰ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 385.18-386.5. *skabs de'i tshé zhwa dmar thams cad mkhyen pa gar dbang chos kyis dbang phyug gis legs bya'i zhu shog snyan tshig dang ldan pa zhig phul pa'i nang/ mdo sngags sogs phyi nang rig pa'i gnas lngar gsan bsam mdzad dgos tshul sogs kyi snyan sgron legs po zhig mdzad 'dug par/ de'i bka' lan 'brel chags shig dgos rgyu yang sku gong ma'i dpon po rise dga' nas chos rje dang/ bzhu khang ran 'byams pa dge legs lhun grub gnyis nas 'brel med rang mtshang ston pa'i lan zhig gnang bar grags/*

A few years later, when Shamarba visited the Jokang Temple in Lhasa, he left a greeting scarf on which an obscure metaphoric poem was written. A monk at the Temple took it to the Dalai Lama's attendants at Drebung. They interpreted the poem as an affront to the Gelukba School, supposing that it was disparaging the Gelukbas and praising the Gagyubas.⁹¹ Evidently, some Gelukba officials felt they would benefit from perpetuating the conflict between the two schools. In 1611, Karma Puntsog Namgyel (*ka rma phun tshogs nam rgyal*), the Governor of Dzang and an ally and patron of the Gagyubas, requested an audience with the Dalai Lama, but Sönam Dragba rejected the meeting on the grounds that he was "an enemy" of the Gelukba School.⁹² Even though some elements on both sides urged caution, the tensions only multiplied.

Hostile relations between the Geluk and Gagyu Schools had begun to boil again in 1612 and 1613, the Water-Rat and Water-Ox years, respectively.⁹³ These tumultuous events are known as the Rat-Ox Civil War. Initially, the Dzang Governor Puntsog Namgyel, who was the primary patron of the Tenth Karmaba Chöying Dorje (1604-1674, *chos dbyings rdo rje*), attacked a number of minor regional leaders who were allied with the Gelukbas. Emboldened by his successes, he decided to build a combined Gagyu and Nyingma monastery in the area between Drashi Hlunbo Monastery and the town of Shigatse. Gathering stones and dirt from the hill behind Drashi Hlunbo, a large monastery was enclosed with high walls and a gate. A sign above the door read "Suppresser of Drashi Hlunbo" (*bkra shis zil gnon*). Large stones were rolled down the hill onto Drashi Hlunbo Monastery during construction, damaging the Gelukba monastery. This incited a new round of recriminations. A contingent of Chokur Mongolians who were on a pilgrimage in Central Tibet retaliated by stealing herds of the

⁹¹ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 391-392.

⁹² Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History*, 99.

⁹³ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 361 and 397ff.

Karmaba's yaks. In reprisal, a large number of Dzang troops attacked Central Tibet, and many hundreds of Gelukba monks and Central Tibetan soldiers were killed on the hill behind Drebung Monastery, where the Dalai Lama was staying. The monks of Sera and Drebung Monasteries were forced to flee, some traveling as far as the Blue Lake in Amdo. By 1617, both Padma Garbo and the Fourth Dalai Lama had died, and both restraint and goodwill were in short supply within either factions.⁹⁴

In the aftermath of these events, a contingent of Halha Mongolians who were supporters of the Gelukbas marched on Lhasa, providing support and protection for the monks of Sera and Drebung. Fighting broke out in the city again in 1618, and more than a thousand Dzang troops were compelled to surrender to the Mongolians. Shakabpa continues the narrative:⁹⁵

Many brave Dzang soldiers reached the top of the hill behind Drebung Monastery in their attempt to conquer it. Daiching galvanized his troops, and the Mongolians struck into the center of the Dzang forces, killing them without permitting even a single Dzang soldier to flee.

The following day, the Dzungbas established a military camp even larger than before on the bank of the Gyichu River. The Mongolian

⁹⁴ Numerous episodes of increasing tension between the Gelukbas and the Gagyubas are collected in Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 385-396.

⁹⁵ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 398.3-12. *gtsang dmag gi dpa' bo mang pos 'bras spungs 'joms rtsis kyis rgyab ri'i rtser 'byor bal da'i chings kyis dmag sna drangs te sog dmag gtsanbg dpung dbus su rgyugs pas gtsang dmag gcig kyang ldog rgyu ma byung bar bsad/ phyi nyin skyid chu'i 'gram du gtsang pas dmag sgar sngar las che ba btab pas/ sog dmag skrag te bros 'go brtsams/ glo bur se 'bras kyi bisun pa rnam dang/ sde pa skyid shod pa sogs skya po rnam kyang 'ur te 'phan yul dang/ byang stag lung phyogs su bros/ dwags gtsang dmag gis se 'bras bjoms shing/ 'bras spungs kyis rgyab rir skya ser grangs med pa bkum/ skyid shod pa'i rdzong gzhis thams cad blangs pas/... dge lugs pa'i grub mtha' mang po bsgyur//*

forces were frightened, and they began to escape. Suddenly, the Sera and Drebung monks, the Governor of Gyishö, and the common people were startled, and they fled to Penyul and northern Dagleung. Dagpo and Dzangba troops destroyed Sera and Drebung Monasteries, killed countless monks and lay people on the hill behind Drebung, and captured all the Gyishö estates... Many Gelukba Monasteries were converted.

Karma Puntsog Namgyel, the victorious governor of Dzung, placed severe restrictions on the Gelukba monks. Their movement were circumscribed, and they were prevented from going to Lhasa. Worst of all, it was declared illegal for the Gelukba to search for the new incarnation of the Dalai Lama, the Fourth having just recently died.⁹⁶ Desi Sangyay Gyatso, the Regent of the Fifth Dalai Lama in the latter decades of the seventeenth century, says that the Dzung forces had wrought such havoc at the Geluk monasteries that when the monks were finally able to return home, they found that there were no doors or windows on their rooms. Hence, they had to carry their valuables around with them until repairs could be made.⁹⁷

In 1621, a large contingent of Mongolians arrived in Central Tibet in support of the Gelukbas. Just as they were about to eliminate the Dzung forces who were oppressing the Gelukbas, the First Panchen Lama Chögyi Gyeltsen (1567-1662, *chos gyi rgyal mtshan*) intervened and saved the lives of the Dzung troops. A settlement was reached that resulted in the return of all pro-Gelukba property and the restoration of Gelukba monasteries. In particular, all of the monks exiled from Sera and Drebung monasteries were permitted to

⁹⁶ Dhondup, *Water-Horse and Other Years*, 13-14.

⁹⁷ Cited in Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 399-400.

return. For the Gelukbas, this return to the *status quo ante bellum* was particularly welcome since the Fourth Dalai Lama had died in 1617, and the search for his reincarnation was secretly underway. At last, the new incarnation was discovered and brought to Drebung Monastery in 1622.⁹⁸

Meanwhile in eastern Tibet, Gelukbas were again experiencing persecution. A large number of Mongolian allies of the Gelukbas had recently settled in an area near the Blue Lake in Amdo. A local Mongolian ruler, Chahar Legden (b. 16th century, *cha har legs ldan*), attacked and disbursed a group of Halha Mongolians. This event disrupted their leadership and enabled one figure, Halha Chogtu (*hal ha chog thu*), to gain a strong hold over the entire Blue Lake region. He happened to be a strong opponent of Buddhism in general and of the Gelukba School in particular, and so he took advantage of his newfound power, killing a large number of Gelukba monks and wreaking havoc throughout the area. At the same time, another local opponent of the Geluk School, the Bönbo leader Dönyö Dorjay (b. 16th century, *don yod rdo rje*) took vengeance upon the Gelukbas. The Fifth Dalai Lama reports that, “Since he particularly did not like Gelukba, he murdered many lamas and monks and cast others into prison.”⁹⁹ These two figures, much despised by Gelukbas in eastern Tibet, attempted to form a grand anti-Gelukba alliance with the Dzang governor, the Gelukba’s primary foe in western Tibet.

It was in this intensely hostile environment that Sönam Chöpel (d. 1656, *bsod nams chos ’phel*), the main attendant of the Fourth Dalai Lama, and others in Central Tibet settled on a plan to seek protection from the powerful Mongolians. Messengers dispatched to the Blue Lake region reminded the pro-Gelukba Mongolians of the strong bond that the Third

⁹⁸ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 401–403.

⁹⁹ The Fifth Dalai Lama, *The Good Silk Cloth*, vol. 3, 78b.5. Cited in Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 407. *hlag par dge lugs par mi dga’ bas bla ma dnagl grwa ba mang po bkums pa dang khrims rwar bcugs pal*

Dalai Lama had established with the Genghis Khan's family, a bond that had been solidified forever by the fact that the Fourth Dalai Lama was born into the Mongolian royal family. The Qoṣot Mongolians in particular were moved by this argument, and one of their number, Gushri Khan (1582-1655, *gu shri khān*), volunteered to lead an army to Central Tibet in order to uphold the struggling Gelukbas and combat their persecutors. As Gushri Khan was assembling his forces in 1635, he heard that Halha Chogtu had left for Central Tibet with ten thousand troops so that he could harass the Gelukba monasteries around Lhasa. According to the Fifth Dalai Lama's account of these events in his auto-biography, *The Good Silk Cloth*, the Dzang-Karmaba alliance had an accord in which it was agreed that:¹⁰⁰

Ordinary people were to treat religious systems such as the Sagya with indifference, and the Gelukba were to be destroyed without a trace. The Karma Gagyü and the Drugba Gagyü religious systems were to be patronized.

In a fashion that is lost to history, Gushri Khan managed to dissuade Halha Chogtu from his plan to attack the Gelukbas. The Khan then quickly gathered his troops and defeated the other opponents of the Qoṣot-Gelukba faction in the Kokonor region in 1637. He later marched to the south and west, capturing the remainder of Amdo and Kam during 1639-1641. Finally, in 1642, he reached U-Dzang with a substantial contingent of Mongolian forces.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Cited in Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 407-9. *sa lugs sogs grub mtha' dmangs rnams btang snyoms dang/ dge lugs pa dmigs med gtor/ kar 'brug gnyis kyī sbyin bdag byed pa'i gshom ra byas//*

¹⁰¹ Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, 65.

Uncertain as to what he would find in Central Tibet, Gushri Khan entered Lhasa in disguise. He met with the Dalai Lama, his closest aide Shelngo Sönam Chöpel, and other prominent Gelukbas, and together they formed a close alliance. Shelngo was strongly in favor of battling the forces allied with the other schools and under the leadership of the Governor of Dzang. However, the Dalai Lama was more cautious and forgiving. According to his own account, the Dalai Lama responded to his advisors as follows:¹⁰²

It seems to me that we cannot prevent civil unrest simply by relying on the special qualities of the altruistic attitude that considers oneself and others to be equal. Even if I could just pretend that it would be effective, I could not behave in a way that would be shameful in others' eyes. Shardzö Dzangba, who has great love for me, is searching for sponsors for Ge(luk) monasteries out of his sincere regard for religion.

As for the attacks on Sera and Drebung Monasteries, already there has been too much dissension in Lhasa and Rigo [for us to consider retaliation]. As for the Sagya Gongma, the Karmabas, and the Jonangbas, they are the root lamas of the Dzang governor. Thus, why should I challenge them? That being settled, the loyalty of the Gelukba

¹⁰² Cited in Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, 413. *rang ngos kyi cha nas bdag gzhan mnyam brje'i byang chub kyi sems dang ldan pa'i yon tan khyad par can la brten nas sde gzar bzhol ba min pas/ de 'dra'i ao zob byas kyang/ gzhan khrel ba las mi yong/ rang la gces pa'i shar tshod gtsang pas dge (lugs) phyogs chos sde rnams la mchod gnas 'tshol ba'i chos mthong yang dga' mo 'dug/ se 'bras la dmag 'phogs pa nil hla sa dang/ ri mgor sde gzar de 'dra byung bas lan gda'/ sa skya gong mal ka rma pal jo nang pa gsum nil (sde pa gtsang pa'i) rtsa ba'i bla mar song bas 'gran zla ci la yod/ de phyin dge lugs bstan pa'i lar rgya dang/ dga' ldan pho brang sgos kyi stobs 'byor gyis kyang 'thus pa nas/ byed rgyu mang na sngar kha yar* byung 'dug pa ltar/ da lta yod pa 'di 'ang dmigs med du rgyas 'debs pa yong nyen che ba... *Read kha g.yar for kha yar at 413.14.*

School and especially the power and riches of Ganden Podrang are perfectly adequate. If we involved ourselves in a lot of machinations, the old pretexts [for attacking us] could be brought out again. Accordingly, even the *status quo* could be in great jeopardy were we to engage in futile actions.

This pacific and measured tone is particularly surprising considering the recent capture and apparent murder of the Dalai Lama's father, an act that had been blamed on the Dzang Governor.

The night of that speech and in the presence of the Dalai Lama, Shelngo Sönam Chöpel gave extensive instructions to the messenger who was to ride off to Gushri Khan's camp. His instructions were entirely in accordance with the generally peaceful intentions of the Dalai Lama. The only military action the Dalai Lama sanctioned was the attack on the Beri Chief, Dönyön Dorjay, the advocate of the Bön religion who had been accused of atrocities against Gelukba monks. Other than that, Gushri Khan was not to undertake any further actions. In fact, he was to return to the east after the successful completion of that mission. However, outside of the Dalai Lama's presence, Shelngo gave different instructions to the messenger.

He conveyed through the messenger that the Mongolians were to eliminate all of the enemies of Gelukba. After defeating the Beri Chief, he was to proceed to Kam and then on to U-Dzang, defeating all Gelukba enemies, including the Dzang Governor and his Gagyu allies. When the Dalai Lama later realized what had happened, he was deeply disturbed, and eventually, Shelngo admitted what he had done. The Dalai Lama commented on the fact

that his instructions had been altered out of his earshot saying, “It hadn’t occurred to me that the trill of the flute had changed into the whistle of an arrow.”¹⁰³ At the time, he considered going out into the battlefield to prevent the Khan from causing further destruction, but he decided against this course of action on the basis of a divination he had performed.

The Beri Chief and other members of the anti-Gelukba opposition in the east were executed in 1640.¹⁰⁴ The following year, the entirety of Kam and Amdo were brought under Gushri Khan’s control. As the Mongolians moved into Central Tibet, the Dzang troops retreated to Shigatse where they hoped to resist. The Mongolians laid siege to the region and sent spies into their encampments. The Dzang forces had a great deal of food and water, and so they intended to outwait the Mongolians’ siege. Pro-Gelukba reinforcements arrived, including a large number of Drebung monks who had not received full ordination and so could take up arms without breaking their vows. When they attacked, their victory was swift and decisive. They had taken the Dongar Fort (*gdong dkar*) by afternoon tea. Stray groups of pro-Karmaba forces fled or were captured. The Dzang Governor was among those taken prisoner. Early in 1642, Gushri Khan’s troops captured Drashi Silnön, the monastery above Drashi Hlunbo Monastery that had been the source of such anguish for the Gelukbas. Soon thereafter, the major regions of Tibet were under the control of the pro-Gelukba forces.

Gushri Khan immediately sent word to the Dalai Lama, asking him to travel to Dzang. They both saw their meeting as an opportunity to recall the thirteenth century origins of the Patron-Priest relationship between Kublai Khan and the Sagya hierarch Pagba Rinpochoy. Gushri Khan, explicitly cast himself in the role of the Patron Kublai Khan when he presented various offerings to the Priest, the Fifth Dalai Lama, among which was a bell

¹⁰³ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 414.11. *mda’ skad gling bur bsgyur yod bsam pa ma byung!*

¹⁰⁴ This paragraph and the next are condensed from Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 414-424.

made of a yellow colored jade that had once belonged to Pagba Rinbochay. There can be little doubt that the Dalai Lama also had those symbolic origins in mind. After an initial ceremony on April 13, 1642, in which symbolic connections were drawn between the Dalai Lama and the rule of the Pagmodrup lineage that had been supplanted by the Dzang King, a second and symbolically revised ceremony was held on April 23, 1642 which was designed to resonate with the paradigm of the relationship between Kublai Khan and Pagba Rinpochoy. Ahmad comments on the symbolic significance of that second offering ceremony, which took place in Shigatse:¹⁰⁵

In making the second offering, Guši Khan stepped into the position of Khubilai Khan, of whom there had been no mention in the first offering. At the second offering, therefore, the Dalai Lama re-created, as between himself and Guši Khan, as the third Dalai Lama had done between himself and Altan Khan in 1578, the relationship which had existed between the 'Phags-pa Lama and Khubilai Khan.

A grand ceremony was held in the great hall of Samdrub Dzay Castle. The Dalai Lama was seated on a throne held up by snow lions, and Gushri Khan and Shelngo Sönam Chöpel were seated on either side of him in thrones that were slightly lower than his. According to the Fifth Dalai Lama's account, the Khan formally turned over to the Dalai Lama control over the entire land of Tibet, promising that he and his descendants would always offer their support to the Geluk School.

This is the context in which the followers of Dzungkaba came to prominence in the

¹⁰⁵ Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, 138.

middle of the seventeenth century. They perceived themselves as having been beleaguered and in peril throughout the previous decades. They had competed with members of the other religious schools for patronage, political influence, and adherents, and their success in these approaches had been uneven. However, once the Gelukbas began to form alliances with powerful Mongolian factions, their fortunes improved. As they began to enjoy more enduring support, they rose in prominence in the religious and political landscape. This in turn invited more focused resistance from other schools, particularly the Gagyus, who had in recent times been the most powerful and well connected.

These altered realities created new opportunities for the Gelukbas. Finally free of the most destabilizing tumult and competition that had marked recent generations, they began to develop the institutions of state-Buddhism that endured into the twentieth century. A full-scale study of the form of the Tibetan government and the claims to authority under the Fifth Dalai Lama has yet to be written. Nonetheless, some of the outlines can be suggested preliminarily. His primary objective was to have his claims to leadership over all of Tibet acknowledged by the Tibetan people and by his neighbors, including the Chinese Emperor and Mongolian Khans. It has already been noted that the Dalai Lama employed some symbols, narratives, and rituals from the Nyingma School and the Imperial Period in his articulation of power. For example, he even founded a Nyingma monastery in 1651 at Chushur (*chu shur*) called Jangchub Ling (*byang chub gling*), assigning to it the performance of set rituals intended to allay the interference of malevolent spiritual forces in matters of state. It is also true that later in life much of his own personal practice was devoted to tantric rituals more commonly performed among Nyingmabas. His *Secret Autobiography* is rife with visions of figures associated with the Nyingma School, including both the Indian yogi

Padmasambhava and his Tibetan consort Yeshe Tsogyel (b. eighth, *ye shes mtsho rgyal*).¹⁰⁶

Additionally, in the decade following 1642, the Fifth Dalai Lama made several significant efforts to assimilate the symbolic connotations of King Songdzen Gambo (d. 649, *srong btsan sgam po*) and the other Imperial Kings. He spent considerable sums of money to renovate sites associated with King Songdzen Gambo. He also visited several Imperial sites, including significantly, Tibet's first monastery at Samyay (*bsam yas*), which was founded by King Trisong Detsen (d. 841, *khri srong lde btsan*). Both of those kings had long been regarded by all of the major schools of Tibetan Buddhism as incarnations of the Buddha of Compassion, Avalokiteshvara. The Fifth Dalai Lama went further, however, asserting that the lineage of Dalai Lamas was also connected to that Buddha by virtue of being reincarnations of the Imperial Kings. He posited a connection between himself and King Songdzen Gambo in his own autobiography asserting that when he visited the King's tomb, "Five-colored clouds in the shape of the eight auspicious signs as depicted in Buddhist paintings filled the sky, astonishing everybody, and flowers also rained down."¹⁰⁷ The implied spiritual bond between them is made even more explicit in the biographies of the Third and Fourth Dalai Lamas authored by the Fifth, in which he includes the Imperial Kings in the list of their previous incarnations.

The Dalai Lama was also anxious to reinforce the notion that he was a manifestation of Avalokiteshvara outside of Tibet. During his 1652-1653 journey to Mongolia and China, he performed the ceremonies and rituals connected to the Buddha of Compassion dozens of times, initiating people into the recitation of the six-syllable mantra, granting permission to

¹⁰⁶ See Samten Karmay, *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama* (London: Serindia Publications, 1998) and the more extensive discussion of the Fifth Dalai Lama's management of inter-sectarian symbolism in Chapter Six.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted in Ishihama Yumiko, "On the Dissemination of the Belief in the Dalai Lama as a Manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara," *Acta Asiatica* 64 (1993): 38-56.

perform the associated rituals, and so forth.¹⁰⁸ Along the way, he forged new bonds with a wide array of Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese tribes, serving as a recipient of merit-generating patronage from some and distributing those same resources to others, but generating goodwill and enduring connections in either case.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the Fifth Dalai Lama asserts that the Third Dalai Lama performed these same ceremonies with Altan Khan and the Mongolian royal family when he visited Mongolia starting in 1578.¹¹⁰

Although some his efforts were directed toward including non-Geluk traditions in a formal way, there can also be no doubt that the Dalai Lama, and particularly the other members of his leadership, remained primarily interested in promoting the Geluk School and its institutions:¹¹¹

The dominant Ge-luk school established its institutions, philosophy, and religious practices as normative, ignoring the other schools, who resented the political dominance of the Ge-luk as well as its intellectual and religious hegemony.

There is even evidence that, despite his involvement in certain dimension of Nyingma practice, the Dalai Lama made an official appeal to the Chinese Emperor requesting that the recitation of Nyingma Tantras be prohibited in China, a request with which the Emperor

¹⁰⁸ Ishihama Yumiko, "On the Dissemination of the Belief in the Dalai Lama as a Manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara," 50-53.

¹⁰⁹ Gray Tuttle, "The Fifth Dalai Lama's Journey to Beijing: Seventeenth-century Social History of Tibetan Influence in Asia," *Symposium on Tibetan History and Historiography*, University of Virginia, March 15, 2003.

¹¹⁰ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 375-6.

¹¹¹ Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 29.

evidently complied.¹¹² This should not be surprising since he was the foremost incarnated lama of the Geluk School, and when he came to power in 1642, he was the Abbot of Drebung Monastery, the center of Geluk power.

Evidence for the Dalai Lama's promotion of exclusive Geluk interests can be seen in the leading part he played in founding Geluk monasteries and other sorts of institutions. For example, he founded Yerba Dratsang Monastery (*yer pa grwa tshang*) in Tagdzay (*stag rtse*) in 1647, Chökor Yangdzay Monastery (*chos 'khor yang rtse*) in Chushur (*chu shur*) in 1648, Dönyi Ling Monastery (*don gnyis gling*) in Hlodrag (*lho brag*) in 1649, Tarba Ling Monastery (*thar pa gling*) at Chushur in 1650, Tösam Dargyay Ling Monastery (*thos bsam dar rgyas gling*) at Yardö (*yar stod*) in 1651, and Ganden Chö Ling Monastery (*dga' ldan chos gling*) in 1669.

The Fifth Dalai Lama also embarked on a concerted plan to employ the prestige and the legitimizing power of a group of important protector-deities to fortify and uphold the Geluk theocracy he was erecting. Pelden Lamo (*dpal ldan lha mo*), Begdzay (*beg rtse*), and Gönbo Bramsay (*mgon po bram ze*), deities that had been revered by both Gelukbas and non-Gelukbas, were conscripted to protect his religio-political enterprise. He accomplished this by building temples and monasteries devoted to these protectors throughout Tibet and beyond. This had the dual effect of building devotional bridges to all Tibetans and of domesticating more far-flung regions. Amy Heller comments on this process:¹¹³

He also integrated the worship of protective deities of other monastic orders into public celebrations in order to gain the support of their

¹¹² Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, 203-204.

¹¹³ Amy Heller, "The Great Protector Deities of the Dalai Lamas," in *Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century: The Capital of the Dalai Lamas*, ed. Françoise Pommaret (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 81.

followers for the ideal of a central government and to reinforce positive relations among the various monastic schools. The geographic zone of influence of the protective deities grew as political power was extended beyond the zone of the early Gelukpa monasteries in the Lhasa region, eventually encompassing under the Great Fifth a territory stretching from Ladakh to some of the regions of Sichuan.

These efforts enabled the Dalai Lama to extend the influence of his tradition to other regions and other schools. Simultaneously, he took great care to establish the internal Geluk credentials of these protectors by featuring stories connecting them to the earlier Dalai Lamas in the biographies he wrote about them.¹¹⁴

With the virtually unlimited patronage and resources at his disposal, even projects as massive as the construction of the Potala Palace became possible. The initial phase of construction on the Potala, the White Palace, was completed between 1645 and 1648. This impressive structure, now almost completely obscured by the late seventeenth century addition of the Red Palace, would nonetheless have been awe-inspiring. Erected so that it stood out starkly against the background and could be seen for many miles along the Lhasa Valley, those who approached it would have had a long time to appreciate its scale and the potent associations Marbori Mountain (*dmar po ri*) had with Avalokiteshvara and King Songdzen Gambo. Even that impressive sight was later dwarfed by the Red Palace, which forms the majority of what is now visible looming above Lhasa. The shell was completed by Desi Sangyay Gyatso between 1691 and 1693, years after the Fifth Dalai Lama's death, and

¹¹⁴ In chapter three, we will return to discuss the Fifth Dalai Lama's skillful use of biography as a tool for constructing legitimacy. See p. 115 below.

the interiors were completed the following year. As various times, as many as five thousand laborers from the sundry crafts worked on the structure.¹¹⁵

The Dalai Lama's construction of the Potala Palace and the later additions that were built by the Regent were important dimensions of the Gelukba legitimizing narrative. Marbori was an ideal place for the Geluk center of power to be located, in part because it afforded natural fortifications. Just as important, however, was the legendary account that King Songdzen Gambo had built a palace there. Secondly, it was said that an image of Avalokiteshvara that had belonged to the King had once resided on the mountain. By the 1640's, the image had found its way into Mongolian hands. When the first phase of the Potala was completed, Gushri Khan's wife brought the image back from the Kokonor region for the consecration ceremony.¹¹⁶ Thirdly, the mountain was declared to be the second home of Avalokiteshvara. All of these claims helped to make the Potala much more than simply the seat of government. It became a sanctified divine throne from which the Dalai Lama could rule with authority.

Tremendous streams of patronage, corvee labor, and taxes were required to construct and support these ambitious projects. In 1648, the Dalai Lama dispatched officials to many regions, particularly in eastern Tibet, to implement new tax policies. New local officials were appointed to conduct fresh surveys of the population, assess land holdings, and the like. In some cases, such as among the Mongolian tribes near the Blue Lake, taxes were primarily diverted to the central treasury, with only nominal amounts being reserved for local use.¹¹⁷ In other cases, locally collected taxes were primarily utilized to provide for local monasteries,

¹¹⁵ Anne Chayet, "The Potala, Symbol of the Power of the Dalai Lamas," in *Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century: The Capital of the Dalai Lamas*, ed. Francoise Pommaret (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 39-52.

¹¹⁶ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 429-430.

¹¹⁷ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 501.

local services, and the maintenance of local militia. Surpluses were then funneled to the Lhasa government for centrally controlled projects, like the construction of the Potala. Fifty-six official tax books were disbursed to the various revenue zones.¹¹⁸

It was into this exalted and highly charged atmosphere that Jamyang Shayba was born. As we will see, he was born just a half dozen years after Gushri Khan's victory over the anti-Geluk alliance. The five year old boy stood in the crowds to receive the blessing of the triumphant Fifth Dalai Lama as the great man traveled through Amdo on his way to China. Jamyang Shayba grew up watching the influence of the already powerful Geluk School spread throughout central Asia. Finally, he came to make his own contributions to elaborating the institutions of Geluk hegemony.

¹¹⁸ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 433. Interestingly, twenty-one of those tax books were later offered as evidence of the enduring Tibetan control over the respective areas during the 1914 Simla conference between China, Tibet, and England.

PART TWO

The Lives and Time of Jamyang Shayba

I keep my good qualities secret and disclose my shortcomings
Because it is the supreme general system of the King of the Subduers [Buddha].
People like me, who do not proclaim even our good qualities,
Certainly ought not write them down because of negative
circumstances [in cyclic existence].

Jamyang Shayba¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography of the Omniscient Jamyang Shaybay Dorjay*, Collected Works of Jamyang Shayba, vol. 1 (Mundgod, India: Gomang edition, 1994), 6.2-4. Hereafter, this text is referred to as the *Verse Autobiography*.

Chapter Two

The Making of a Scholar

Despite the fact that Tibet's two most significant sources of cultural influence, India and China, did not develop an active practice of autobiography until the vitality of Buddhism had begun to ebb in each of those countries, that literary form took on special significance in Tibet. Janet Gyatso argues, "The radical overthrowing of the past and the construction of a new cultural identity that occurred with the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet was the principal factor that made for the development and flourishing of autobiography."¹²⁰ The influence of Buddhism was so decisive in nearly every aspect of Tibetan culture that even non-religious dimensions of power and authority came to be grounded in it. In the centuries following the introduction of Buddhism in the seventh century and the decline of centralized royal power in the imperial period, circa eighth and ninth centuries, various types of power were decentralized and relocated in regional foci. While traditional authority declined in the wake of the collapsed empire, individual religious figures gained considerable leeway for self-assertion, and the religious virtuosos alone became the primary locations of legitimacy. As Buddhism infiltrated more and more dimensions of life, political figures, military powers, economic interests, nobility, and other governmental and social structures obtained their legitimacy in part through being endorsed by charismatic religious figures. Eventually, even

¹²⁰ Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 119.

powerful Mongolian khans and Chinese warlords along the Tibetan borderlands gained a significant portion of their authority through their association with religiously potent spiritual teachers.

In that environment, biography and autobiography became valued tools in the sectarian competition that emerged in the eleventh century and expanded in later years. As individual lamas tried to gain attention and adherents in the swirling marketplace of religious allegiances, these literary forms were deployed so that individuals could stake their claims to religious authenticity, spiritual potency, or scholarly brilliance. Through the ensuing half dozen centuries, Tibet was unified only fleetingly, and so Tibetans could not appeal to nationalism or other large-scale collective identities as the basis for self understanding. However, as Gyatso points out, the counterpoint to the fractured nature of the country's political structure was that Tibetans themselves developed intense loyalty within various groups.¹²¹ Localized nodes of allegiance developed around local monasteries, great yogis, clever scholars, or other principles of religiously-oriented organization.

As charismatic lamas of various types became the focus of authority and power, they deployed different types of autobiographical accounts to fortify their disparate claims, depending upon the type of religious appeal that gained them attention in the first place. For example, authority would accrue to accomplished yogis by virtue of their accounts of visionary experiences or meditative powers.¹²² Treasure revealers would often authenticate their transmitted doctrines through narrative accounts of how they discovered their

¹²¹ Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self*, 120.

¹²² See, for example, the many retellings of Milarepa's life including: Francis V. Tiso, *A Study of the Buddhist Saint in Relation to the Biographical Tradition of Milarepa* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1989); Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, *The Life of Milarepa* (London: Granada, 1979; reprinted New York: Viking Penguin, 1992); and Eva van Dam, *The Magic Life of Milarepa* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1991).

treasures.¹²³ Great scholars would assert their legitimacy by elaborating the breadth of their own scholarship and the brilliance of their teachers. Jamyang Shayba's autobiography, discussed in the present chapter, serves as an example of this third type of autobiographical strategy.

Each of these approaches serves to attract different types of adherents and supporters and does so on a different basis. For example, the treasure revealer primarily seeks to have his or her revelation respected as authentic. They may also seek patronage, disciples, or other types of support, but those results would be ancillary and dependent upon the acceptance of the treasure they revealed. In contrast, charismatic figures that seek to legitimize themselves by detailing their scholarly credentials are primarily concerned with being perceived as an authentic articulator of canonically-approved scholars from the past. Their claims, then, will be adjudicated in dependence upon the breadth and depth of their training, the quality of their teachers, and their ability to explain complex philosophical topics. This last criterion is measured by the extent of the person's scholarship and the influence their writings have on others.

In Tibet, it came to be expected by the seventeenth century that important lamas would write their own life story, especially in the wake of the Fifth Dalai Lama's monumental three-volume autobiography and his many other autobiographical writings. As he understood better than most, autobiographical writing enables authors to manage their own narrative, just as biographical writing helps the author to mold perceptions of history. Tibet has a variety of traditional forms of autobiography. An outer biography (*phyi'i nam thar*) recounts the public aspects of the subject's life, the circumstances of their birth, their family background, their assumption of vows, their general education, their teachers, the

¹²³ See, for example, Janet Gyatso's discussion of the treasure-revealer Jigmay Lingba (1730-1798, 'jigs med gling pa) in her *Apparitions of the Self*.

monasteries or mountain retreats at which they lived and studied, the topics and texts they studied, and the like. This genre, much like the main Western style of autobiography, generally concerns exoteric matters. An inner biography (*nang gi rnam thar*) records the subject's esoteric training. It includes narratives of when, where, and from whom various meditative practices and tantric initiations were received. It also identifies the retreats and the meditative lineages in which the person participated. A secret biography (*gsang ba'i rnam thar*) describes the results of spiritual practice, including meditative attainments, visions, dreams, encounters with spiritual beings, and the like.¹²⁴ Although most autobiographies employ some mixture of these elements, the particular emphasis will have different benefits depending on the context.

Although it is not known when Jamyang Shayba wrote his *Verse Autobiography*, the narrative comes to an abrupt halt at a point when he was still a young man of thirty-one years of age in 1679, long before he had gained the respect and prestige that vaulted him to the heights of the Tibetan intellectual landscape. Nonetheless, it is evident that when he composed it, he already had a sense of himself as a scholar in need of fortifying his own credentials. That agenda is manifestly evident as he recounts his educational training in great detail, elaborating the vast range of his learning, the astounding speed with which he learned complex material, the incredible power of his memory, and the impressive collection of seventeenth century scholars and adepts who served as his teachers. The text reads like a recipe for the creation of an exemplary scholar.

¹²⁴ Janice D. Willis, *Enlightened Beings: Life Stories from the Ganden Oral Tradition* (Boston: Wisdom, 1995), 5-29.

Youth and Education¹²⁵

Jamyang Shayba was born in the Yellow Earth-Mouse year, the twenty-second year of the eleventh sexagenary cycle, 1648. Reports vary widely on the name of his birthplace,¹²⁶ but he himself comments that he was born in a small town called Hlaytra Ding (*blas khra ting*) in the region to the east of Blue Lake (*mts'ho sngon*) in Amdo Province. At that time, as now, it was a place where many diverse peoples crossed paths.¹²⁷ Though primarily in the Tibetan cultural sphere, local people were never unaware of the influence of the Mongolians who were so powerful at the time and the Chinese who soon would be. According to his own account,¹²⁸ his ancestors of the Dong (*ldong*) Tribe were sinful war-like people and not religious. He goes on to explain, however, that his parents were both possessed of great

¹²⁵ The bulk of this section, “Youth and Education”, and the next, “Education at Drebung-Gomang Monastery and the Tantric College,” are drawn from Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography of the Omniscient Jamyang Shaybay Dorjay*, Collected Works of Jamyang Shayba, vol. 1 (Mundgod, India: Gomang edition, 1994), 5-18. I read this text with Geshe Sherab, the librarian of Gomang Monastery in Mundgod, India. Many of the supplemental comments, identifications of text titles, and identities of other figures mentioned come from his commentary. I have given specific references to the *Verse Autobiography* when long passages are translated. When information is derived from other sources, those references are provided.

¹²⁶ Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 7.2, says he was born in “Hlay-tra-ding” (*blas khra ting*) at “Sang-gi-do-gay” (*bsang gi rdo ge*). *The Drebung Gomang Lineage*, n.p., 49, calls the place “Ding-ring-hlay-tra” (*ring ring blas khra*). Lokesh Chandra, “The Life and Works of hJam-dbyaṅs-bzhad pa,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 7, no. 4 (1962): 265, refers to a place called “Rgañ gyahi-ltan riñ”. *The Great Dictionary of Tibetan and Chinese*, vol. 1, 889, says, “He was born in the Shaho region of Gansu.” This region is to the east of the large Blue Lake in northeastern Amdo, Tibet. He lived until the age of 73 or 74. For discussion of the disagreement over the year of Jamyang Shayba’s death, see n. 298 below.

¹²⁷ Hence, Paul Nietupski’s descriptive account of the history of the monastery Jamyang Shayba founded in Amdo is called *Labrang: A Tibetan Buddhist Monastery at the Crossroads to Four Civilizations* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1999). The four he has in mind are the Tibetan, Chinese, Mongolian, and Islamicate civilizations.

¹²⁸ Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 7.2-3.

character and loved to give to other people. Just before Jamyang Shayba was born, his grandfather had a variety of religious dream visions. In one, a conch shell, an emblem of Buddhism, was sounded. In another, he saw images of Buddhist scriptures being written. Reports of such premonitions are stock elements of autobiographies and biographies in India and Tibet.

Jamyang Shayba explains he suffered from ill health from his earliest youth. However, it seems that an event in his fifth year marked a dramatic turning point in his life. In early 1652, the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Losang Gyatso (1617-1682, *ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho*) was prevailed upon by his patron, Gushri Khan (1582-1655, *gu shri khān*), to journey to China to meet with Emperor Shun-chih, the supreme sovereign of the Manchurian Dynasty, which was then the emerging power in Asia.¹²⁹ As the Dalai Lama traveled east, crowds gathered to see and to receive the blessings of the great and famous lama. The five-year-old Jamyang Shayba, who would eventually gain such renown in Central Tibet, was among the people gathered at Blue Lake. Jamyang Shayba remarks that an enduring spiritual connection was established between them when the Dalai Lama placed his hands on the child's head.¹³⁰ Once again, this evident anointment by the most revered lama of the time is an example of the sort of foreshadowing of greatness that permeates such literature.

¹²⁹ In Chapters Five and Six below, we will return to discuss the larger political environment at this time.

¹³⁰ The implication seems to be that Jamyang Shayba's childhood illness were overcome through the Fifth Dalai Lama's blessing.

When he was seven, he began to learn how to read and write under the guidance of his uncle, Sönam Hlundrub (*bsod nams hlun grub*), an ordained monk. His extensive career as a man of letters had an auspicious beginning for the precocious youth:¹³¹

When the Master had reached seven years of age, his uncle, the monk Bsod nams hlun grub who was proficient in reading of all types, took the youth on his lap and taught him the alphabet. [The Master] said, “You don’t know how to teach! Make a sample, and I’ll study it.” Everyone was horrified that he said this. Then [his uncle] the monk made a sample and he studied it, and within the day he knew the alphabet pretty well. In no time at all he became adept in all reading and writing.

Jamyang Shayba reports that predispositions from previous lives enabled him to learn to read and do other things very quickly and easily. He also says that he remembered monasteries, mountain retreats, various forms of meditation, and other things from previous lives, including Poti Temple.¹³² Jamyang Shayba comments on these memories from past lives in a understated voice that hardly betrays the gravity of the claim he is making; generally speaking, only spiritually advanced people recall their past lives. As is evidenced in the

¹³¹ Kurtis R. Schaeffer, “Printing the Works of the Master: Tibetan Editorial Practice in the Collected Works of ’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa’i rdo rje I (1648-1721),” *Acta Orientalia* 60 (1999): 162.

¹³² It is unclear what place Jamyang Shayba means by the Poti Temple (*po ti bla khang*). The name literally translates as “Book Temple”, and it is possible that there is a place that is half temple and half library that is known by this name. Such a place, however, was unknown to the several Tibetan scholars I asked.

epigraph to this chapter, Buddhists place a high value on humility; yet, on several occasions Jamyang Shayba forthrightly stakes a claim to remember details from previous existences.

At the age of thirteen, he received permission to become a monk from Lama Kyuchog Yeshay Gyatso (*bla ma khyu mchog ye shes rgya mtsho*), and he “entered the door of religion by learning to write, read, and recite.” That same year, he also received an initiation into the deity practice of *Yamarāja* (*gshin rje*) and “attained the power of the deity through meditation”.¹³³ In the following few years, he became learned in land-examination, medicine, and astrology, and he received the quintessential instructions for a number of meditative practices, including the practice known as transference of consciousness (*'pho ba*).¹³⁴ He did practices associated with both peaceful and wrathful deities, and he also

¹³³ S. K. Sadhukhan, “Biography of the Eminent Tibetan scholar 'Jam-dbyangs bshad pa 'Nag-dbañ brtson 'grus (A.D. 1648-1722),” *Tibet Journal* 16, no. 2 (1991): 20 and n. 6, p. 32. Sadhukhan speculates that the deity is *Yamarāja*, which is confirmed by Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism*, vol. 5 (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1973), 650. Khetsun Sangpo compiled his *Biographical Dictionary* by collecting passages from other sources. The material on Jamyang Shayba comes from the *Lineage of Abbots at Labrang Drashi Kyil Monastery* by Gönchok Gyeltsen (1764-1853, *dkon mchog rgyal mtshan*).

¹³⁴ The first part of the sentence is from S. K. Sadhukhan, “Biography of the Eminent Tibetan scholar 'Jam-dbyangs bshad pa 'Nag-dbañ brtson 'grus (A.D. 1648-1722),” *Tibet Journal* 16, no. 2 (1991): 20; the remainder is from the *Verse Autobiography*, 8.3. Daniel Cozort, *Highest Yoga Tantra* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1986), 98 describes this practice:

One of the practices of the tantric system known as the six yogas of Nāropa, [the transference of consciousness] can be used to transfer one's mind into the body of someone who has just died or to gain rebirth in a Highest Pure Land at the time of death. It involves the ejection of the fundamental wind and mind, in the form of a deity, from the top of the head by means of wind yoga and repeated imagination. However, transference of consciousness merely separates the coarse and subtle bodies without also leading to the attainment of an illusory body.

Jamyang Shayba's presentation of this topic is to be found in his brief text, *Explanation of Transference [of Consciousness]*, Collected Works of Jamyang Shayba, vol. 3 (Mundgod, India: Gomang edition, 1994), 593-605.

undertook silent retreats, repeated mantra, and learned to read signs and omens. Thereafter, he observes, he was able to get by with very little sleep.

Between the ages of eighteen and twenty, he was primarily concerned with reciting mantras, performing rituals on behalf of lay people, and studying the medical tantras. He also obtained various empowerments from Puchung Incarnation Gyelsay Rinpoche (*phu chung sprul sku rgyal sras rin po che*) to perform practices, including significantly the Guru Yoga practice of Dzongkaba.¹³⁵ His *Verse Autobiography* captures his general state of mind at that time:¹³⁶

Through merely seeing a drawing in a mountain retreat
 Of a sacred painting depicting ten places where religious discussions
 were taking place,
 I became quite averse to cyclic existence, seeing it as like a continent of
 demons.
 During the day or at night until I fell asleep,
 This discrimination spontaneously appeared to me very powerfully,
 like the current of a strong river.

Jamyang Shayba did a six-month retreat by himself during which he did not speak to others, performed mantra repetitions, performed prostrations, and read texts. Eventually, however,

¹³⁵ See Dzongkaba, *The Fulfillment of All Hopes: Guru Devotion in Tibetan Buddhism*, trans. and ed. by Gareth Sparham (Boston: Wisdom, 1999).

¹³⁶ Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 8.5-6. *chos kyi gleng mo gnas bcu'i zhal thang gi/ ri khrod ri mo mthong ba tsam gyis nil 'khor bar skyo shas srin mo'i gling lta bu'i/ 'du shes nyin mtsan gnyid dus tshun chad dul 'char ba shugs drag chu klung rang bzhin gyur!!*

he felt “tormented by a mental thorn,” feeling cut-off from his teachers. Thus, he went to many different teachers requesting instructions from them all.

He reports that he assimilated Buddhist teachings to the point that when he would see people perform negative actions he would feel as if he himself had committed them, and he came to understand how his own personal actions affected other beings. He comments that upon realizing that his own wandering to and fro was harmful to other beings, he abandoned such travels. At that time, he read Dzongkaba’s *Songs of Spiritual Experience, Expression of Realization*.¹³⁷ The text was so inspiring to him that he memorized it. In this way, he explains, an especially powerful aspiration to liberate all sentient beings emerged in his heart.

The portrait he paints of himself as a youth is indeed remarkable. His religious inclinations seem natural and unforced. In the responsibility he appears to feel for others and his untrained aversion to the vicissitudes of cyclic existence, he seems to embody the very values the tradition hopes to instill in beginning practitioners. Moreover, his scholarly gifts are presented as extensive and spontaneous. Finally, these are claims to spiritually-inspired visions and past life memories. Many of these elements exemplify stock autobiographical themes.

Education at Drebung-Gomang Monastery and the Tantric College

¹³⁷ Geshe Sherab of Gomang Monastery told me the *Songs of Spiritual Experience, Expression of Realization*, (*nyams mgur rtogs brjod*) was by Dzongkaba, but a careful search of various sources has not yielded any such text among Dzongkaba’s writing. A text called *The Song of Je Dzongkaba, a Commentary on the Meaning of the “Condensed Stages of the Path”* (*rje tsong kha pa’i nyams mgur lam rim bsdu don gyi ’grel pa*), which was written by Ngawang Dragba (b. 15th century, *ngag dbang grags pa*), is possibly the one meant by Jamyang Shayba.

Jamyang Shayba left for central Tibet in 1668. However, he visited his teacher Lama Kyuchog Gyatso before departing so that he could say goodbye and present him with a horse. The lama advised Jamyang Shayba that if he were to do the practice of the Black Manjushrī, his degenerations and defilements would be dispatched. Just below a place called Ladang Pass (*la ldang la*), many visions appeared to him, and he observes, “some small signs of illness were dispelled by the visions”. Along the way, Jamyang Shayba stopped to pay his respects at Ratreng Monastery (*rwa sgreng*), the first monastery of the Gadamba (*bka' gdams pa*) School founded by Dromdön (1005-1064, *'brom ston pa*), the foremost student of Atīsha (982-1054).¹³⁸ Jamyang Shayba's reference to this simple act in his autobiography brings into focus the tremendous emphasis Gelukbas place on the continuity between Atīsha, Dromdön, and the other early Gadambas on the one hand and Dzongkaba and his followers on the other. Thematic connections between them permeate biographical writings on many prominent Gelukbas.

Further along towards the capital, Jamyang Shayba visited various caves and monasteries, where he saw visions of deities. Upon arriving in Lhasa, he immediately went to the Jokang Temple (*jo khang hla khang*) in the center of the city. According to the oral tradition, it was at this time that the young man offered a silk scarf to an image of Manjushrī, the Buddha of wisdom. Foreshadowing of his future scholarly achievements, the image smiled at him. It is due to this event that he came to be known as Jamyang Shayba, the “One Upon Whom Manjushrī has Smiled.” Although he does not recount that story himself, Jamyang Shayba's account of having reached his destination is quite moving:¹³⁹

¹³⁸ George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), 253.

¹³⁹ Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 10.2-5. *hla sar slebs 'phral jo bor mjal bar phyin/ smon lam yang yang btab cing dad 'dun skyes/ sa yi nyi zla se 'bras zung grags pa'i/ ser theg chen gling du mchod mjal byas/ dad pa che bar skyes skabs dge bshes gnyis/ bgro gleng mdzad par mthong nas lngan chad kyil/ dka' ba'i sdug sangs skra gzeng snying 'phar tel re zhig 'gro ba lus nas*

Arriving in Lhasa, I went [directly] to the two statues of Jowo
Shākyamuni.

Again and again, I offered prayers and generated faith and aspirations.

I made offerings at Sera Monastery, Park of the Mahāyāna,

Which is renowned as one half of the pair, Sera and Drebung, the sun
and the moon on earth.

When I generated great faith, I [saw] two geshes debating;

Thereupon all of my difficult sufferings up to that point were purified.

My hair stood on end and my heart soared.

For the moment, I could not move and stood gazing into the distance.

After that, I arrived at the glorious Drebung Monastery,

The place where lamas, deities, and religion protectors manifestly
reside,

The source of the scholars of the world,

The match to Bodhgayā, [the Vajra-seat] of the manifest Buddha

(*mngon bar sangs rgyas*) [Shākyamuni]¹⁴⁰

*rgyangs bltas byas/ de rjes 'dzam gling mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas dang/ gangs can mgon po phyag na
padma yis/ mngon bar sangs rgyas rdo rje gdan gyi zla/ bla ma hla dang chos skyong mngon sum
dul bzhugs pa'i dpal ldan 'bras spungs chos sder slebs//* I have skipped two lines because they
seemed to interrupt the beauty of his verse. He merely noted that he was ashamed by his
coarse woolen traveling clothes, and that he was anxious to change clothes and enter the
monastery.

¹⁴⁰ The Tibetan name for Bodhgaya, the site of Shākyamuni Buddha enlightenment is
the Vajra-seat. At the risk of appearing to repeat myself, I have included both turns of phrase,
as the reader of Tibetan would understand both.

Through being the lotus in the hand of the Protector of the Land of
Snows [Avalokiteshvara].

By merely seeing [this monastery], I resolved, "I will remain here!"

Arriving in the midst of this thoroughly joyful place,

My faith and aspiration [for enlightenment] contended with each other
[for supremacy].

He goes on to recount that various parts of Drebung Monastery accorded well with dream images he had seen before he left Amdo, including the Temple of the Stages of the Path (*lam rim bla khang*) which is on top of the Assembly Hall and the Bhairava Temple (*jigs byed bla khang*) in the Mantra College.

In 1668, at the age of twenty-one, Jamyang Shayba began to study under the great Lama Vajradhara Lodrö Gyatso (1635-1688, *blo gros rgya mtsho*), the Abbot of Gomang Monastery.¹⁴¹ He also began to learn the Collected Topics.¹⁴² Astoundingly, he reports that

¹⁴¹ Born in Lubum (*klu 'bum*), Lodrö Gyatso was the Abbot of Gomang Monastery when Jamyang Shayba arrived. He later became the Abbot of the Tantric College of Lower Lhasa and eventually the 44th Throne-Holder of Ganden. He is also famous for having traveled to Mongolia in 1686 in order to negotiate a peace treaty between the rival Chalk and Orö factions.

In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century a scholar of the same name lived at Labrang Drashi Kyil Monastery and wrote a commentary on Jamyang Shayba's *Great Exposition of the Middle Way*, published in 1912, called *Decisive Analysis of (Jamyang Shayba's) "Great Exposition of the Middle Way", the Sun Clarifying the Thought and the Meaning of the Profound Treasury of Scripture and Reasoning, Opening the Eye Seeing the Profound Path*.

¹⁴² The genre of "Collected Topics" texts includes a metaphysical account of what exists and of the logical relationships between different phenomena, an epistemology that corresponds to it, and a variety of complicated logical puzzles. The texts are also rife with definitions and divisions to be used in debate. For a detailed analysis of one such text, see

he was able to debate after only two classes. In fact, he continues, he did so well in his debate classes that he became known by all as someone who had studied religion in a previous lifetime. During the winter of that same year, Jamyang Shayba received his novice vows (*dge tshul*) at the Potala Palace from the “Omniscient [Great Fifth Dalai Lama] Ngawang Losang Gyatso, the Lord of the World.”¹⁴³

He received initiation into the thirteen deities of *Vajrabhairava Tantra* from Pabongka Rinpochoy Jamyang Dragba (b. 17th century, *pha bong kha 'jam dbyangs grags pa*), who he refers to as his root lama.¹⁴⁴ Jamyang Shayba says that he had strong intimations about this initiation ritual in a dream, one of many dreams and visions he experienced during this period. He reports that from the time of his initiation onward, he never wavered in his faith. Master Tsultrim Tsenjen (*tshul khrims mtshan can*), the Abbot of the Tantric College of Drebung Monastery gave him further instruction.¹⁴⁵ In 1669, Vajradhara

Daniel Perdue, *Debate in Tibetan Buddhism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1992). For a fascinating first-person account of debate and its importance in Tibetan monastic education, see Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), *passim* and esp. 195-291.

¹⁴³ Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 11.4-5. Lokesh Chandra, (“The Life and Works of hJam-dbyaṅs-bzhad pa.” *Central Asiatic Journal* 7, no. 4 [1962]: 265), reports that Jamyang Shayba had an audience with the Pañchen Lama at this same time, in 1668. The Second Pañchen Lama Losang Yeshe (1663-1737, *pañ chen blo bzang ye shes*) would have only been five.

¹⁴⁴ This Pabongka Rinpochoy is not an earlier incarnation of the early twentieth century person by the same name whose teachings are published in *Liberation in the Palm of Your Hand*, trans. by Michael Richards (Boston: Wisdom, 1991). Instead, the two men were referred to by the same title by virtue of having been the senior teacher at Pabongka Monastery outside Lhasa. The more recent Pabongka Rinpochoy was very renowned for the practicality and directness of his teaching style and also for his extreme Geluk partisanship. One of his foremost disciples was Trijang Rinpochoy, the senior tutor to the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.

¹⁴⁵ At present, Drebung Monastery, as reconstituted in India, has only two major subdivisions, Loseling and Gomang. Often these are called “colleges”, but Georges Dreyfus (*The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* [Berkeley:

Pabongka gave him extensive explanations on the *Guhyasamāja*,¹⁴⁶ *Vajrabhairava*, and *Sarvavid Vairochana Tantras*.¹⁴⁷

During that same year, Jamyang Shayba memorized an astonishing amount of textual material that had been taught to him by Gaju Noyön (*dka' bcu no yon*),¹⁴⁸ including Maitreya's *Ornament for Clear Realization*,¹⁴⁹ Chandrakīrti's *Supplement to [Nāgārjuna's] 'Treatise on the Middle Way*,¹⁵⁰ and the first twenty-five sections of the *Presentation of*

University of California Press, 2003], 49) takes issue with this now widespread usage. According to him, the larger unit of organization, like Drebung or Ganden, ought to be called a "seat" (*gdan sa*), whereas the subdivisions, like Gomang and Loseling, ought to be termed "monasteries" (*gura tshang*). Dreyfus argues for this terminology as a way to highlight the fact that within the culture a monk's identity as a member of Gomang or Loseling supersedes his connection to Drebung.

Founded in 1416 by Jamyang Chöjay Drashi Belden (1379-1449, *'jam dbyangs chos rje bkra shis dpal ldan*), within decades Drebung was several distinct administrative units. Geshe Gedun Lodrö (*Religious History of Drebung Monastery* [Wiesbaden: Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1974], 146-154) lists the seven divisions: Gomang (*sgo mang*), Loseling (*blo gsel gling*), Dayang (*bde yangs*), Tantric College (*sngags pa*), Dulwa (*'dul ba*), Shagor (*shag skor*), and Gyayba (*rgyas pa*). The second name of this lama, "Tsenjen," is supplied by Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 5, 651.

¹⁴⁶ The root text is partially translated in Alex Wayman, *The Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977). The edited Sanskrit text is published as Benoytosh Bhattacharya, ed. *Guhyamsamāja Tantra or Tathāgataguhya*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series LIII (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931; reprinted 1967).

¹⁴⁷ According to Jeffrey Hopkins, the first two are Highest Yoga Tantras, whereas the third, the "All-Seeing" (*sarvavid, kun gzigs*) *Vairochana* is a Yoga Tantra.

¹⁴⁸ Tarab Tulku (*A Brief History of Tibetan Academic Degress in Buddhist Philosophy* [Copenhagen: NIAS, 2000], 13-5) notes that the title "Gaju" indicated that the bearer of the title was expert in ten (*bcu*) texts, which are identified variously. According to one system, the ten are the five texts of Indian Buddhist and their respective commentaries. Tarab Tulku notes that Gyeltsap Dharma Rinchen was the first Sagya monk to gain this title. That was before he became one of Dzongkaba's foremost students.

¹⁴⁹ P5184, vol. 88. For an English translation, see Edward Conze, *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, Serie Orientale Roma VI, (Rome: I.S.M.E.O., July 1954).

¹⁵⁰ P5261, vol. 98 and P5262, vol. 98. This text, together with Chandrakīrti's own (*Auto-*)*Commentary on the Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) 'Treatise on the Middle Way*," *Madhyamakāvātārabhāṣya, dbu ma la 'jug pa'i bshad pa*, P5263, vol. 98 are the primary

*Tenets, Ship for the Fortunate*¹⁵¹ written by the Second Dalai Lama Gendun Gyatso (1475-1542, *dge 'dun rgya mtsho*). The latter includes sections covering the twelve links of dependent-origination,¹⁵² minds and awarenesses,¹⁵³ and signs and reasonings.¹⁵⁴ Later that year, he also studied the *Seventy Topics*¹⁵⁵ and the *Perfection of Wisdom*.¹⁵⁶

Indian sources for the study of Mādhyamika philosophy in Gelukba monasteries. See the Bibliography for references to English translations. Dzongkaba's *Illumination of the Thought, Extensive Explanation of (Chandrakīrti's) Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) "Treatise on the Middle Way"* provides the central Gelukba interpretation of this important source, but there are several important Tibetan sub-commentaries, including one authored by Jamyang Shayba. See the Bibliography for references to English translations of the other portions of Jamyang Shayba's sub-commentary.

¹⁵¹ "Tenet" texts typically present the tenet systems of a series of schools of Buddhism and sometimes non-Buddhist systems according to rather idealized schema, including usually the purported four schools of Indian Buddhism and varying lists of non-Buddhist schools. For a translation and analysis of one such text, by the subsequent incarnation of Jamyang Shayba, Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, see Geshe Lhundup Sopa and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Cutting Through Appearances: Practice and Theory of Tibetan Buddhism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1989). In Jamyang Shayba's *Great Exposition of Tenets*, he mainly discusses twelve non-Buddhist Schools, whereas Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo describes six. Jamyang Shayba makes the further point that non-Buddhist Schools are very numerous. See Jeffrey Hopkins, *Maps of the Profound* (forthcoming).

¹⁵² The "Twelve Links of Dependent-Origination" is a canonical theme discussing the law of karma and rebirth. It is set forth in the *Rice Seedling Sūtra, śālistambasūtra, sā lu'i ljang pa'i mdo*, P876, vol. 34. The Dalai Lama comments on this important material in his *Meaning of Life: Buddhist Perspectives on Cause and Effect* (Boston: Wisdom, 2000), 38-41 and *passim*.

¹⁵³ Texts of the "Minds and Awarenesses" genre specify and categorize the types of awarenesses. In Geluk, it is when studying this topic that monks learn about epistemology in a detailed way. For the translation and analysis of two such texts, see Lati Rinpochoy and Elizabeth Napper, *Mind in Tibetan Buddhism*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1980) and Geshe Rabten, *The Mind and Its Functions*, translated and edited by Stephen Batchelor (Le Mont-Pélerin, Switzerland: Rabten Choeling, 1978).

¹⁵⁴ Texts of the "Signs and Reasonings" genre train their readers in the use of various types of logical statements. For a translation and analysis of one such text, see Katherine Rogers, *Tibetan Logic: A Translation, with Commentary, of Pur-bu-jok Jam-ba-gya-tso's The Topic of Signs and Reasonings from the 'Great Path of Reasoning, Explanation of the Collected*

Topics Revealing the Meaning of the Texts on Valid Cognition" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1980).

¹⁵⁵ Although Jamyang Shayba does not specify which text he studied on the "Seventy Topics", it is probably the one by Gungru Chökyi Jungnay (*gung ru chos kyī 'byung gnas*), also known as Chökyi Jungnay Jamba Hlundrub (*chos kyī 'byung gnas 'jam pa hlun grub*). He was a very well known scholar who wrote on many topics and was the author whose writings mainly served as the standard textbooks of Gomang Monastery until they were supplanted by Jamyang Shayba's at the dawn of the eighteenth century. At Gomang and its affiliates throughout Tibet, Mongolia, and beyond, later Gomang commentators refer to his texts as the old textbooks (*yig cha snying pa*). It is difficult to know how indebted Jamyang Shayba's own textbooks are to his predecessor because only two of Gungru's texts are available. There are no listings for any text written by him in the Library of Congress or the University of Virginia's collection. One text, the *Decisive Analysis of Madhyamaka*, is identified on the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center web site index as having been written by him. In the future, I will do a comparative study of that text and Jamyang Shayba's own *Great Exposition on Madhyamaka*.

Until recently, it seems to have been the conventional wisdom among Gomang scholars that Gungru's works were no longer extant. It is difficult to know if that might be due to the general disorder following 1959 or if it might have already been semi-official policy at a much earlier period to discontinue printing and studying his texts out of allegiance to Jamyang Shayba. In 1988, Hopkins came into possession of a copy of a new printing from Gumbum Monastery in Amdo of Chökyi Jungnay's *Decisive Analysis of (Dzongkaba's) "Differentiating the Interpretable and the Definitive, The Essence of Eloquence": Garland of White Lotuses*. Hopkins went through a substantial portion of Jamyang Shayba's own commentary on Dzongkaba's text (see p. 122 below), highlighting all of the words in Jamyang Shayba's text that also appeared in Chökyi Jungnay. According to my calculation, approximately three-quarters of his words were copied directly from Chökyi Jungnay, although sometimes Jamyang Shayba interpolated clarifications, expansions, or novel explanations comprising the other quarter of the portion Hopkins marked.

I have heard that Chökyi Jungnay's text on the *Seventy Topics*, thought to have been lost, is said to have been a very long and difficult presentation of the subject. Jamyang Shayba wrote his own version, which again may be just an overhaul of Chögyi Jungnay's text, a revision of his language and a "correction" of any mistakes Jamyang Shayba perceived. "Occasionally," Hopkins says, "Gungtang and other later Gomang commentators prefer Chökyi Jungnay's presentation of a topic over Jamyang Shayba's." The latter's text, *The Oral Instructions of Mi-pam Lama, The Good Explanation of the Presentation of the Eight Categories and the Seventy Topics* is found in his *Collected Works of Jamyang Shayba*, vol. 15, (Mundgod, India: Gomang edition, 1994), 113-175.

In the Gelukba curriculum, students study the Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras, the "Seventy Topics", and the topic known as "Grounds and Paths" [to Enlightenment] along

The sheer volume of teachings listed here is breath-taking. It would be impressive enough for someone to study all of this material in some detail during the course of a decade. However, he goes further, claiming to have memorized what amounts to hundreds of pages of text in that one year. Such feats of memory are well-known in Tibet, and there is good reason to believe that Jamyang Shayba himself had committed vast amounts of Buddhist canonical literature to memory. His quotation of texts frequently includes very minor variations that do not affect the meaning, perhaps indicating that he retrieved the lines from memory instead of reading them from the page. Still, his declaration that he memorized so much in so short a time sounds very much like bragging.

Jamyang Shayba read Dzongkaba's extremely difficult *Essence of Good Explanations, Treatise Differentiating the Interpretable and the Definitive* in 1670.¹⁵⁷ He then studied the commentaries on that text written by Chogyi Jungnay Jamhlun, whose textbooks were used at Gomang monastery before Jamyang Shayba's were adopted at the turn of the century, and Chödrag Namgyel (*chos grags nam rgyal*), the Abbot of Gomang Monastery at that time.

with Maitreya's *Ornament for Clear Realization*. For a translation and analysis of a text of the "Grounds and Paths" genre but from the viewpoint of the Prāsaṅgika School, see Jules Levinson, *The Metaphors of Liberation: A Study of Grounds and Paths According To the Middle Way Schools* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1994).

¹⁵⁶ Jamyang Shayba's presentation of the vast and complex topic of the *Perfection of Wisdom* is large enough to fill almost 1400 pages and two volumes of his Collected Works. He composed his own work as a commentary on Maitreya's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* and Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti*. See p. 162 below.

¹⁵⁷ P6142, vol. 153. For a translation of the Mind Only chapter of this text, together with an exhaustive analysis of the text and its many commentaries, see the three-volume series by Jeffrey Hopkins, *Emptiness in the Mind-Only School of Buddhism: Dynamic Responses to Āzong-ka-bā's "The Essence of Eloquence" Part I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), *Reflections on Reality: Dynamic Responses to Āzong-ka-bā's "The Essence of Eloquence" Part II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) and *Absorption in No External World: Dynamic Responses to Āzong-ka-bā's "The Essence of Eloquence" Part III* (forthcoming). See also Robert Thurman, *The Speech of Gold: Reason and Enlightenment in the Tibetan Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984; reprint Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989).

Thereafter, Jamyang Shayba studied the Second Dalai Lama Gendun Gyatso's *Lamp Illuminating the Meaning, Difficult Points Commentary on (Dzongkaba's) 'Essence of Good Explanations'*. Later in the year, he worked at memorizing the entirety of Dzongkaba's text.

Next, he turned his attention to studying various texts on "Dependent-Arising" and "Twenty Stages of the Spiritual Community".¹⁵⁸ He asserts that simultaneously, he read eight different texts on the topic of the "Four Concentrations and the Four Formless Absorptions".¹⁵⁹ He comments, "I memorized many of these, and some I merely read."¹⁶⁰ Once again, this claim runs afoul of Buddhist humility. Even though there is no reason to think he is not telling the truth, the assertion that he read eight separate sources on the topic strikes me as excessive. A more restrained author would not have felt it necessary to point out how thorough a scholar he was. Clearly, Jamyang Shayba was trying to make a strong case for his scholarly talents.

He continues noting that in 1671, he memorized texts relating to the "Perfection of Wisdom" topic including Gyeltsap Dharma Rinchen's (1364-1432, *rgyal tshab dar ma rin*

¹⁵⁸ The "Twenty Stages of the Spiritual Community" is a topic within the *Perfection of Wisdom* curriculum relating to the stages on the path to enlightenment. These are explained very briefly in Geshe Lhundup Sopa and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Cutting Through Appearances*, 212-213.

¹⁵⁹ Unfortunately, Jamyang Shayba did not identify the authors of the eight texts he read. Advanced meditative practices and states of consciousness are taught under the rubric of the "Four Concentrations and the Four Formless Absorptions". For a treatment of these topics, see Lati Rinbochay, Denma Lochö Rinbochay, Leah Zahler, and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Meditative States: The Concentrations and Formless Absorptions* (London: Wisdom, 1983). The two primary meditative practices are discussed in depth in Gedun Lodrö, *Calm Abiding and Special Insight: Achieving Spiritual Transformation Through Meditation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1998). See also Gen Lamrimba, *Calming the Mind: Tibetan Buddhist Teachings on Cultivating Meditative Quiescence* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 1992) and B. Alan Wallace, *The Bridge to Quiescence* (Peru, Illinois: Open Court, 1998).

¹⁶⁰ Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 12.3. *mang po phal cher bzung zhing la lar bltas*.

chen) *Presentation of the Perfection of Wisdom, Ornament of the Essence*,¹⁶¹ Dzongkaba's *Golden Rosary of Eloquence*,¹⁶² Difficult Points commentaries on both those texts, and Haribhadra's *Lesser Commentary*.¹⁶³ The same year, Jamyang Shayba memorized Dzongkaba's *Illumination of the Thought*, which, together with his *Ocean of Reasoning* and Kaydrup Jay Geleg Belsang's (1385-1438, *mkhas grub rje ge legs dpal bzang*) *Compilation, Opening the Eyes of the Fortunate*, form the primary Gelukba interpretation of the philosophy of the Middle Way School.¹⁶⁴ He also studied various texts on both Monastic Discipline (*vinaya, 'dul ba*) and Higher Knowledge (*abhidharma, chos mngon pa'i mdzod*) composed by Pañchen Dayleg Nyima (b. 16th century, *pañ chen bde legs nyi ma*), Jaydzun Chökyi Gyeltsen (1469-1546, *rje btsun chos kyi rgyal mtshan*), and Pañchen Sönam Dragba (1478-1554, *pañ chen bsod nams grags pa*). Moreover, he recounts, he read and reflected on texts like the *Gyo Tikā*, two texts on common and supreme feats, three texts on the Precious Openers of the Chariot Ways (*shing rta'i srol 'byed*), Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga,¹⁶⁵ Vasubandhu's *Auto-Commentary on the "Treasury of Higher Knowledge"*,¹⁶⁶ and various sub-commentaries on the latter treatise. He comments

¹⁶¹ Collected Works, Toh. 5433, vol. 2.

¹⁶² P6001, vol. 154.

¹⁶³ Haribhadra's *Lesser Commentary* is his *Commentary on (Maitreya's) "Ornament for Clear Realization, Treatise of Quintessential Instructions on the Perfection of Wisdom,"* P5191, vol. 90.

¹⁶⁴ Dzongkaba, *Illumination of the Thought*, P6143, vol. 154. This is partially translated in Tsong-ka-pa, Kensur Lekden, and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Compassion in Tibetan Buddhism* (London: Rider and Company, 1980; repr. Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1980). Dzongkaba, *Ocean of Reasoning*, P6153, Vol. 156. Chapter 2 is translated in Jeffrey Hopkins, *Ocean of Reasoning* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1974).

¹⁶⁵ Everything in this list from the *Gyo Tikā* up to this point remains unidentified.

¹⁶⁶ P5591, vol. 115. Buddhist canonical literature consists of sūtras, monastic discipline (*vinaya, 'dul ba*), and higher knowledge (*abhidharma, chos mngon*), the three scriptural collections (*tripitika, sde snod gsum*). The abhidharma literature arose from a systematic categorization of Buddhist philosophy as found in the sūtras. Such texts give a metaphysical and ontological account of reality. Topics covered include: types of phenomena, the constituents of sentient beings, sensory perception, cosmology, types of sentient beings,

that he gained great clarity with respect to these topics, "like seeing pebbles in a very clear spring."¹⁶⁷

Thereafter, he read Dzongkaba's *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path*,¹⁶⁸ his *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Secret Mantra*,¹⁶⁹ and many other texts on the stages of

dependent-origination, causality, cosmic scale of time, accounts of karma in various scriptures and in various Buddhist schools, meritorious behavior, defilements, the structure of the path to enlightenment, the four noble truths, the categorization of types of knowledge, the qualities of a Buddha, the different types of meditative states, and the refutation of the person.

The classic European study on the subject is Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* (Paris: Geunther, 1923-31). That monumental work is translated into English in Leo M. Pruden, *Abhidharmakośa Bhāṣyam*, 4 volumes (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991). See also Herbert Guenther, *Philosophy and Psychology in the Abhidharma* (Lucknow: Buddha Vihara, 1957). In India, Vasubhandu and his brother Asaṅga were the authors of the most enduring examples of this type of literature. Along with Vasubandhu's *Treasury of Higher Knowledge* (P5590, vol. 115) and his own *Auto-Commentary on the "Treasury of Higher Knowledge."* Asaṅga wrote the influential *Compendium of Knowledge* (P5550, vol. 112). For an interesting account of the development of the abhidharma literature, see Pruden, *Abhidharmakośa Bhāṣyam*, vol. 1, xxx-lxi.

¹⁶⁷ Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 12.6. *chu dwangs rde'u ltar*.

¹⁶⁸ P6001, vol. 152. This text has been translated into English as *The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment*, 3 volumes, ed. by Joshua W. C. Cutler (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, vol. 1, 2000; vol. 2, forthcoming; and vol. 3, 2002). Taking his cue from Atisha, Dzongkaba outlines the process of transforming oneself on the path to enlightenment in this voluminous text.

¹⁶⁹ P6210, vol. 161. Dzongkaba categorized and presented the four classes of tantra in this text, outlining the various stages of practice in a general way. The first section of this text, which discusses the features common to all of the tantric systems and the differences between the sūtra and tantra practices, has been translated and commented upon in XIV Dalai Lama, Tsong-ka-pa, and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Tantra in Tibet* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1977; reprint Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1987). The second and third sections of Dzongkaba's text, which presents the practices of Action and Performance Tantras, have been translated and commented upon in XIV Dalai Lama, Tsong-ka-pa, and Jeffrey Hopkins, *The Yoga of Tibet* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1977; reprinted as *Deity Yoga*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1987). The fourth section of Dzongkaba's text will be published as XIV Dalai Lama, Tsong-ka-pa, and Jeffrey Hopkins, *The Path in Yoga Tantra*, forthcoming.

generation (*bskyes rim*) and completion (*rdzogs rim*), as well as many tantric commentaries concerning *Vajrabhairava*. In this connection, he also learned a little about drawing maṇḍalas and *yantras*. At the same time, he obtained the empowerments of *Guhyasamāja*, *Vajrabhairava*, and the *Sarvavid Vairochana Tantras* as well as the Long-Life Rite from his root lama Pabongka Jamyang Dragba. The latter also gave Jamyang Shayba the oral transmissions of the retinues of the three deities — Hlamo (*hla mo*), Chöje (*chos rje*), and Gönbo (*mgon po*) — the manifest maṇḍalas of *Guhyasamāja* and *Vajrabhairava*, and so forth.

Another important teacher of his during this time period was the new Abbot of Gomang Monastery Döndrub Gyatso (b. 17th century, *don grub rgya mtsho*), who Jamyang Shayba refers to as his “root lama, the great Conqueror’s Son renowned as having attained the path of preparation.”¹⁷⁰ The Abbot taught Jamyang Shayba the remaining material from the two most advanced topics, the *Perfection of Wisdom* and *Prāsaṅgika*. Jamyang Shayba notes that during that winter, “Agreement with the textbooks of Je [Dzongkaba] was induced by valid cognition (*tshad ma, pramāṇa*),”¹⁷¹ by which he means that he realized the profound view taught by Dzongkaba in a fashion that transcends mere book learning.

According to his own account, throughout this period, his personal realization of the spiritual truths of Buddhism continued to grow. He writes:¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ The sign of having attained the path of preparation is that one has gained a union of calm abiding and special insight with emptiness as the object of meditation. See Jeffrey Hopkins, *Meditation on Emptiness* (London: Wisdom, 1983), 94.

¹⁷¹ Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 13.3. *rje yi yig cha dang mthun tshad mas drangs.*

¹⁷² Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 13.4-5. *dpyod ldan ngang mos brgal brtag dbyangs snyan kyang/ log smon bya rog der snying mi dga' lol' dzam gling gsal byed bju gnyis bdag po 'di/ sprin dang khug sna rdul gyi nyes pa yis/ mi sdod gling bzhir nyin byed tshal bzhad nal rgyal sras tshogs gnyis can rnams ji ltar sdod.*

Being possessed of an analytical mind, I heard the song of disputation
and investigation, like a swan's call.

Yet, I was not pleased with the perverse aspirations that arose in my
heart, like a crow's caw.

While this twelve-fold Lord [the Sun] which makes this world clear,

Does not remain within the dusty faults of clouds and mist,

But causes flowers to bloom in the four continents,

So I will remain, like the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who are possessed
of the two collections, [wisdom and merit].

By that time, Jamyang Shayba was twenty-four years old, and he had been at Drebung Monastery for less than four years.

The retired Abbot of Gomang, the "Manjushrī Protector" Lodrö Gyatso, with whom Jamyang Shayba had studied when he first arrived, then transmitted to him the oral teachings on a large number of topics, including the five root texts:¹⁷³ Maitreya's *Ornament for Clear Realization*, Dharmakīrti's *Commentary on (Dignāga's) "Compendium of Valid Cognition,"* Chandrakīrti's *Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) "Treatise on the Middle Way,"* Vasubandhu's *Treasury of Knowledge*, and Guṇaprabha's *Aphorisms on Monastic Discipline*. Kensur Lodrö Gyatso then taught him the compendium of various texts known as *The Thoroughly Clear [Explanation] of Religious Activities* and Dragba Gyeltsen's (*grags pa rgyal*

¹⁷³ These are the classic "Five Books" (*bhoti lnga*) of Indian Buddhism that serve as the basis for Gelukba monastic curriculum. See bibliography for references and translations. Georges Dreyfus (*The Sound of Two Hands Clapping*, 113-118) discusses a typical procedure for studying the Five Books in Gelukba monasteries.

mtshan) *Three Basic Rituals*.¹⁷⁴ Drubchen Shawo (*grub chen sha bo*) taught him the *Collection of Smaller Scattered Texts* by the First Panchen Lama Losang Chögyi Gyeltsen (1570-1662, *pañ chen blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan*).

Panchen Gangyurwa Jinba Gyatso (1629-1695, *pañ chen bka' gyur spyin pa rgya mtsho*) taught Jamyang Shayba various topics connected to the *Chakrasamvara*, *Guhyasamāja* and *Vajrabhairava Tantras*, including the maṇḍalas. He also conveyed all of the respective instructions on the stages of generation and completion, as well as the special instructions, and both of the stages relating to the accomplishment of *Vajrabhairava Tantra*. Ngödrub Gyatso (b. 17th century, *ngos grub rgya mtsho*) taught Jamyang Shayba the instructions on the stages of generation and completion and the burnt offerings of the four tantra sets.¹⁷⁵ Jamyang Shayba praises the tremendously impressive knowledge of this scholar, the Great *Vajradhara* Ngödrub Gyatso of Sayba Monastery (*srad pa*), saying that such a person "Appears more rarely than even a star during the daytime."¹⁷⁶

Jamyang Shayba then received transmissions on the following important texts: Dzongkaba's *Ocean of Reasoning, Explanation of (Nāgārjuna's) "Treatise on the Middle Way," Illumination of the Thought, Extensive Explanation of (Chandrakīrti's) "Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) 'Treatise on the Middle Way,'" and Essence of Good Explanations, Haribhadra's Commentary on (Maitreya's) "Ornament for Clear Realization, Treatise of Quintessential*

¹⁷⁴ The three basic rituals are the fasting vow, the summer retreat, and the ritual at the end of the summer retreat. The fasting vow is performed on the fifteenth day of each month. The summer retreat ritual is conducted from the sixteenth day of the sixth month until the twenty-ninth day of the seventh month. The third ritual is done as the end of the summer retreat, on the thirtieth day of the seventh month.

¹⁷⁵ The four Tantra sets are Action, Performance, Yoga, and Highest Yoga Tantra. See XIV Dalai Lama, Tsong-ka-pa, and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Tantra in Tibet*, 151-64 and 201-9.

¹⁷⁶ Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 14.3. *nyin mo'i skar ma pas kyang dkon bar snang!*

Instructions on the Perfection of Wisdom,” Nāgārjuna’s Six Collections of Reasonings,¹⁷⁷ both the root text of Guṇaprabha’s *Aphorisms on Monastic Discipline* and Shākya Ō’s *Three Hundred Verse Commentary on (Guṇaprabha’s) “Aphorisms on Monastic Discipline,”* Dharmakīrti’s Seven Treatises on Valid Cognition,¹⁷⁸ Dignāga’s *Compilation of Prime Cognition* and his *Auto-Commentary*, Dzongkaba’s *Great Exposition on the Stages of the Path* and his *Small Exposition on the Stages of the Path*,¹⁷⁹ a *Guide to Earlier and Later Conquerors* and a *Guide to the Panchens*,¹⁸⁰ and other texts. These were orally transmitted to Jamyang Shayba and a large group of other people by the Fifth Dalai Lama during a three-month period.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Nāgārjuna’s Six Collections of Reasonings are: *Precious Garland of Advice for the King*, *Refutation of Objections*, *Seventy Stanzas on Emptiness*, *Sixty Stanzas of Reasoning*, *Treatise Called the Finely Woven*, and the *Fundamental Treatise on the Middle Way*, Called “Wisdom.” See Bibliography for editions and translations.

¹⁷⁸ Dharmakīrti’s Seven Treatises on Valid Cognition are: *Analysis of Relations*, *Ascertainment of Prime Cognition*, *Commentary on (Dignāga’s) “Compilation of Prime Cognition,”* *Drop of Reasoning*, *Drop of Reasons*, *Principles of Debate*, and *Proof of Other Continuums*. See Bibliography for editions and translations.

¹⁷⁹ Toh. 5393. Collected Works, vol. 14.

¹⁸⁰ The latter two texts are unidentified.

¹⁸¹ All of these texts collectively amount to many thousands of pages. Since they were transmitted in the span of only three months, it would seem that they were read and thereby transmitted but that the Fifth Dalai Lama did not explain them. This oral transmission, known as *lung* in Tibetan or *āgama* in Sanskrit, is effected when a teacher who himself has received *lung* reads the texts aloud for the student. For more information on the nature of the oral tradition of Tibetan scholarship, see Anne C. Klein, *Path to the Middle: Oral Mādhyamika Philosophy in Tibet* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994; reprint Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1994), 1-28. Klein (p. 9) comments on the attitude required:

During the transmission of *lung*, the text is read so rapidly that conceptual grasp of it is minimal; this is a time when the spoken word must be heard, not necessarily understood. Complete *lung* is achieved when recited by a teacher out of compassion for a student who has faith in that teacher and focuses full attention on the reading. Merely hearing the words, or mere unfeeling articulation of them, does not fully accomplish the giving of *lung*, although there may still be some effect.

Just before that three-month period, Jamyang Shayba received a series of teachings from Mergen Lama Ngawang Lodrö (b. 17th century, *mer rgan bla ma ngag dbang blo gros*), who is described as “a treasure of bodhisattvas, a storehouse of the Conqueror’s teachings, and a peerless protector of mine.” He also says that this Mongolian lama had “the excellent aspiration to increase the teachings of Dzongkaba.”¹⁸² From him, Jamyang Shayba learned Dzongkaba’s *Stages of the Path*, Sangyay Yeshay’s (*sangs rgyas ye shes*) *Outer, Inner, and Secret Achievements of Merciful Observations*, and other texts. He remarks on the strong relationship he had with Ngawang Lodrö:¹⁸³

From that time he protected me with his compassion, like a father
 [protects] his son,
 At all times, continuously, inseparably;
 Whatever religious [knowledge] I bear is due to his kindness.

Around this time, for a period of a couple of weeks, Jamyang Shayba posed detailed questions to Jamyang Ngögyur Prajñadāna Shayrab Jinba (*jam dbyangs dngos dgyur pra dznyā dā na shes rab spyin pa*) on the difficult points relating to Dharmakīrti’s *Commentary on (Dignāga’s) “Compendium of Valid Cognition,”* Guṇaprabha’s *Aphorisms on Monastic Discipline*, and Maitreya’s *Ornament for Clear Realization*. Sometimes, he reports, they would stay up through the night, analyzing issues until dawn. Gangyurwa Jinba Gyatso and Mergen

See also Leonard van der Kuijp, *Contributions to Tibetan Buddhist Epistemology* (Wiesbaden: Frank Steiner, 1983), 1-8.

¹⁸² Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 14.5. *shel la legs smon byang chub sems kyī gter/ rgyal ba’i chos mdzod bdag gi mgon zla med//*

¹⁸³ Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 14.6. ...*de nas thugs rjes dus kun tu/ pha dang bu bzhin mi ’bral rgyun du bskyongs/ nga yis chos tshugs zin tsam ’di’i drin yin*. In the next line of verse read *chu byi’i lo* for *chu bya’i lo*, that is, the Water-Mouse Year.

Lama Ngawang Lodrö bestowed many teachings on Jamyang Shayba, including instructions on the First Dalai Lama Gendun Drup's (1391-1474, *dge 'dun grub*) *Precious Garland Commentary on Monastic Discipline*.

In 1672, when he was twenty-five years old, Jamyang Shayba was advised to go on a debating tour. He had completed his study of the great books of Indian Buddhism, and he had been granted the degree called "Gaju" (*dka' bcu*) meaning "[One Who Has Overcome] Ten Difficulties."¹⁸⁴ It was customary for scholars to make tours of this type in order to test their knowledge and debating skills.¹⁸⁵ In preparation for this tour, he composed a set of eighteen theses, which represented his own interpretations of Dharmakīrti's *Commentary on (Dignāga's) 'Compendium of Valid Cognition*.¹⁸⁶ He presented this text at Sangpu Monastery (*gsang phu*), which had been founded by Loden Shayrab (1059-1109, *blo ldan shes rab*), a student of Atīsha's. By the time Jamyang Shayba would have gone there, it had long since become a bastion of the Sagya School.¹⁸⁷ It was also famous as a debating monastery. His eighteen assertions upheld Dzongkaba's interpretation of Buddhist philosophy, and he invited all the local monks to debate them. It is well known that Dzongkaba, who initially trained with many lamas from the Sagya tradition,¹⁸⁸ set himself apart from that interpretive

¹⁸⁴ Tarab Tulku, *A Brief History of Tibetan Academic Degrees in Buddhist Philosophy* (Copenhagen: NIAS, 2000), 13.

¹⁸⁵ Tarab Tulku, *A Brief History of Tibetan Academic Degrees*, 12.

¹⁸⁶ This text, which is no longer extant, is not to be confused with Jamyang Shayba's much larger treatment of Dharmakīrti's text, *Decisive Analysis of (Dharmakīrti's) 'Commentary on (Dignāga's) 'Compendium of Valid Cognition*." Collected Works of Jamyang Shayba, vol. 13 (Mundgod, India: Gomang edition, 1994), 1-870.

¹⁸⁷ Shunzo Onoda, "The Chronology of the Abbatial Successions of the *gsan phu sne'u thog* Monastery," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 33 (1989): 203-213.

¹⁸⁸ Kensur Losang Denba says that Dzongkaba was never a Sagya monk himself, but that he only studied with a number of teachers from that School. In contrast, Georges Dreyfus (*The Sound of Two Hands Clapping*, 26) suggests that Dzongkaba and at least

lineage with his unique presentation of the connection between valid cognition and the Middle Way School. Sangpu Monastery was also renowned as a place where logic studies and debate practice were of particularly high caliber. It is difficult to know if Jamyang Shayba decided to go there simply because he knew that he could find some good debate challengers or if he went there with the objective of defending Dzongkaba's interpretation against Sagya critics.¹⁸⁹ The latter possibility is suggested by the fact that through his later years, he seems to have regarded himself as having to defend Gelukba against criticism from other schools, particularly the vehement Sagya critic of Dzongkaba, Daktsang Lotsāwa (b. 1405, *stag tshang lo tsā ba*).

During his examination at Sangpu, he reports that he was questioned on each of the five books of Indian Buddhism on successive days. He was also examined on other topics, and throughout the duration of the examination he did not sleep. Nor, he proclaims, did he falter under the questioning. In fact, he reports that the questioning on valid cognition barely required any effort. As the questions and answers flew back and forth, he explains that he experienced tremendous joy. Jamyang Shayrab Jinba proclaimed at Sangpu that Jamyang Shayba had attained the educational qualifications a Rabjamba (*rab 'byams pa*) since the previous year.¹⁹⁰

Gyeltsap may not have regarded themselves as “separate from the broader Sa-gya school to which he and most of his disciples belonged.” See more detailed discussion above, p. 39ff.

¹⁸⁹ Personal communication: Georges Dreyfus is of the opinion that there is little justification in supposing Jamyang Shayba had a highly partisan motive at that point in his life. He also remarks that many Sagya monks at that time were quite well disposed towards Gelukba.

¹⁹⁰ According to Tarab Tulku (*A Brief History of Tibetan Academic Degrees in Buddhist Philosophy* [Copenhagen: NIAS, 2000], 15-7), the Rabjam degree “implied that the holder had knowledge of numerous philosophical topics.” It emerged in the Sagya tradition in the fifteenth century and was adopted by the Gelukbas at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Seven of Rendawa's students were accorded this title, including Dzongkaba.

Several sources report that in 1674, at the age of twenty-seven, Jamyang Shayba took the vows of full ordination.¹⁹¹ Oddly, he does not take note of that momentous occasion in his own *Verse Autobiography*. Instead, all he comments upon is that he received many transmissions and permissions to teach a variety of topics in both sūtra and tantra, including notably Dharmakīrti's *Commentary on (Dignāga's) 'Compendium of Valid Cognition'* and monastic discipline. In 1675, he completed his study of both Vasubandhu's *Treasury of Knowledge* and Dharmakīrti's *Commentary on (Dignāga's) 'Compendium of Valid Cognition.'*

In 1676, he entered the glorious Tantric College of Lower Lhasa (*rgyud smad*), which he extols as "the place where the glorious *Guhyasamāja*, the King of all Tantras, Summit of Sūtra and Mantra, is taught and practiced."¹⁹² He was declared to be a suitable vessel for tantric teachings by two teachers he calls, "the actual Vajradhara Lodrö Gyatso and Heruka who is the incarnation of the supreme Janggya Losang Chöden."¹⁹³ Jamyang Shayba received from them all of the quintessential instructions relating to drawing maṇḍalas and making various types of lingums. He also learned about wrathful incantations and *torma* offerings at Jugotse (*'jug sgo tshal*) and Ralungba (*rwa lung pa*). He asserts that through the power of all of these various instructions, he had an array of visions when he was around sacred places, such as the statue of Jowo Shākyamuni in the Jokang Temple.

The close relationship between Janggya Losang Chöden (1642-1714, *lcang skya blo bzang chos ldan*) and Jamyang Shayba began when they were fellow students at Gomang

¹⁹¹ Lokesh Chandra, "The Life and Works of ḥJam-dbyaṅs-bzhad pa," *Central Asiatic Journal* 7, no. 4 (1962): 265; S. K. Sadhukhan, "Biography of the Eminent Tibetan Scholar 'Jam-dbyaṅs bshad-pa ṅag-dbañ brtson-'grus (A. D. 1648-1722)," *Tibet Journal* 16, no. 2 (1991): 20; and *The Drebung Gomang Lineage*, 54.

¹⁹² Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 15.6. ...*mdo sngags rtse mo rgyud kun gyi/ rgyal po dpal ldan gsang 'dus bshad sgrub grwal.*

¹⁹³ Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 16.1-2. *rdo rje 'chang dngos blo gros rgya mtsho dang/ lcang skya mchog gi sprul sku he ru kal/ blo bzang chos ldan rnam gnyis...*

Monastery; eventually, they became teacher and disciple, respectively, at the Tantric College. E. Gene Smith comments on their early association:¹⁹⁴

After studying for some time at Dgon lung, [Janggya Losang Chöden] journeyed to Central Tibet where he studied in the Sgo mang Grwa tshang of 'Bras spungs with Hor Dka' bcu pa Ngag dbang 'phrin las hlun grub and La mo Khri chen Blo gros rgya mtsho. He and the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa received from the Rgyud chen Dkon mchog yar 'phel the most profound esoteric teachings of the Srad pa lineage, instructions that this guru had been previously unwilling to pass on for want of suitable disciples until that time.

The relationship between these two important figures also extended to their subsequent incarnations. Upon the death of the First¹⁹⁵ Janggya Losang Chöden in 1714, Jamyang Shayba oversaw the identification of the Second Janggya Rolbay Dorjay (1717-1786, *lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje*). In turn, the Second Janggya participated in the ordination ceremony of

¹⁹⁴ E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts: History & Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* (Boston: Wisdom, 2001), 164-5.

¹⁹⁵ There appears to be some confusion as to how the Janggya incarnations should be enumerated. The enumeration in the body of this thesis — identifying Losang Chöden as the First Janggya and Rolbay Dorjay as the Second Janggya — is the common practice among Tibetans with whom I have spoken. This usage is also confirmed by Jeffrey Hopkins and also the front pages by E. Gene Smith in *The Collected Works of thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma*, volume 1 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1969) 1-12 and appendix 1. That appendix also lists thirteen previous incarnations of Janggya Losang Chöden and then seven incarnations who carried the name Janggya starting with Losang Chöden. The web site of the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center counts Losang Chöden as the Second Janggya and starts with Dragba Öser (d.1641, *grags pa 'od zer*) as the First Janggya. There may be competing traditions among Tibetans on this point.

the Second Jamyang Shayba Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo (1728-1791, *dkon mchog jigs med dbang po*). The latter eventually became the foremost disciple of the Second Janggya. The Second Jamyang Shayba even visited the Second Janggya in Beijing in order to receive teachings from him. At the request of the Second Jamyang Shayba, the Second Janggya succeeded him as the Abbot of Labrang Drashi Khyil Monastery. Thus, the spiritual connections between them were deep and enduring.¹⁹⁶

During his lifetime, Dzongkaba had a vision of the divine retinue of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* while he was at Chumiglung (*chu mig lung*) Monastery. Based on this vision, he prophesied that in the future the divine assembly of Guhyasamāja would in fact appear there. It is likely for this reason that Jamyang Shayba went to that auspicious place in order to gain the blessings of the place as he received the raw instruction (*dmar kbrid*) on the five stages of *Guhyasamāja Tantra*. That spring, he went to Sang Ngagkar (*gsang sngags mkhar*) Monastery near Drebung to receive teachings on the Guhyasamāja maṇḍala and the instructions on the drops (*bindu, thig le*), which are part of the tantric physiological system.¹⁹⁷ However, the very learned Mönba U-dzay (*mon pa dbu mdzad*), who he describes as “able to propound hundreds of texts,” told him to go home, meaning that his education was complete and there was nothing more for him to learn from others. Still, he remained and received some additional teachings for a second time, including the instructions on manipulating the yogic drops. He then entered into the Guhyasamāja maṇḍala for half a

¹⁹⁶ Jeffrey Hopkins, “The Tibetan Genre of Doxography: Structuring a Worldview,” in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, ed. by José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1996), 173 and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Emptiness Yoga* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1987), 23-9.

¹⁹⁷ Daniel Cozort, *Highest Yoga Tantra* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1986), 41-7 and Lati Rinbochay and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Death, Intermediate States, and Rebirth in Tibetan Buddhism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1979), *passim*.

month, whereby, he reports, he enhanced his predispositions towards Secret Mantra and developed an attitude of caretaking towards all sentient beings.

In the winter term of that year, Jamyang Shayba performed a pilgrimage to Ganden Monastery, which he extols as “the second Bodhgaya, where the Second Buddha Dzongkaba, who was prophesied in many sūtras and tantras, overcame the demons, became a buddha, and turned the wheel of doctrine.”¹⁹⁸ He reports that he learned some things about the object of meditation in the five stages of *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, and also studied the Sagya teaching of “Path and Result” (*lam 'bras*).¹⁹⁹ Additionally, he remarks that he received the oral instructions passed through the generations from one person to another on Dzongkaba’s *Lamp Thoroughly Illuminating* (Nāgārjuna’s) “*The Five Stages*”: *Quintessential Instructions of the King of Tantras*, *The Glorious Guhyasamāja*²⁰⁰ and Kaydrup Jay’s *Ocean of Feats, the Stage*

¹⁹⁸ Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 17.4. ... *mdo rgyud du mar lung bstan pa/ rgyal ba gnyis pas bdud bcom sangs rgyas zhing/ chos 'khor bskor gnas rdo rje gdan nyis pa/*.

This poetic passage has many allusions that would be understood by most Tibetan readers. Bodhgayā is the place where Shākyamuni Buddha was enlightened. Dzongkaba is said to have achieved enlightenment, not at Ganden Monastery, but in the heavenly realm called Ganden (Sanskrit, *tushita*), which is the home of the future Buddha Maitreya. Jamyang Shayba is drawing a parallel between Bodhgayā and Ganden, where the first and second Buddhas, Shākyamuni and Dzongkaba, respectively, reached enlightenment. He is simultaneously saying that Ganden Monastery is more than just the namesake of the heavenly realm.

¹⁹⁹ See Ngorchon Koncog Lhundrub, *The Beautiful Ornament of the Three Visions*, trans. Lobsang Dagpa and Jay Goldberg (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1991); reprinted as *The Three Visions: Fundamental Teachings of the Sakya Lineage of Tibetan Buddhism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 2002) and Deshung Rinpoche, *The Three Levels of Spiritual Perception* (Boston: Wisdom, 1995).

²⁰⁰ Collected Works, vol. 7, Toh. 5302.

of *Generation*.²⁰¹ He comments that he developed a tremendous impartial faith in Dzongkaba, observing:²⁰²

Day and night I generated the faith and belief in the doctrinal practice
Thinking that joyous direct perception would be attained if I meditate.

At that time, 1679, the thirty-one year old Jamyang Shayba was on the threshold between his life as a student and his life as a scholar and teacher.

Throughout his early years, he learned from many of the most prominent scholars and yogis of the Gelukba order, including Gomang Abbot Jamyang Lodrö Gyatso, Gangyurwa Jinba Gyatso, Bodhisattva Mergen Rinpochoy, Pabongkaba Jamyang Dragba, Tantric Master Tsultrim Tsenjen (*sngags pa dpon slob tshul khrims mtshan can*), Lubum Gyatso, Drubchen Shawoba, Losang Chödrag (b. 17th century, *blo bzang chos grags*), Sönam Hlundrub (b. 17th century, *bsod nams Hun grub*), Gönchok Yarpal (b.1602, *dkon mchog yar 'phel*), Ngawang Lodrö (b.17th century, *ngag dbang blo gros*), the First Janggya Ngawang Losang Chöden (1642-1714, *ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan*), the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Losang Gyatso, and Yeshe Gyatso (*ye shes rgya mtsho*).²⁰³ His immediate students would eventually become even more numerous, and his influence would extend far beyond Tibet.

It is reasonable to assume that he wrote this autobiography while he was in his early thirties since it halts at that point in his life, although it is possible that he wrote it much

²⁰¹ Collected Works, vol. 7.

²⁰² Jamyang Shayba, *Verse Autobiography*, 18.2. *bsgoms na mngon sum rab dga' thob snyam pa'i chos la yid ches dad pa nyin mtshan skyes!*. Thus concludes Jamyang Shayba's *Verse Autobiography*.

²⁰³ Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 5, 651 and www.tbrc.org, P423.

later in life and for some reason just did not complete it. Whenever it was composed, it is evident that Jamyang Shayba already saw himself as a public figure. The Buddhist value of humility generally militates against self-promotion. That Jamyang Shayba presumed to compose an autobiography already implies that he felt others would be interested in knowing about his life. More than just presenting an interesting story, however, autobiographies serve the function of presenting a model for others to follow and they stake a claim for the religious legitimacy of their author.

Jamyang Shayba presents his scholarly credentials on numerous fronts. The amount of material he learned, already impressive among the learned monks of any generation, is made even more astounding given the dramatic speed with which he completed his studies. While it is fairly common for Geluk candidates for the Geshe degree to require two decades to complete their studies, Jamyang Shayba mastered this material between 1668 and 1672. In his autobiography, he frequently touts his prodigious feats of memory and the ease with which he learned to debate, both highly esteemed traits among Tibetan scholars. Moreover, there is the extravagant, even excessive, praise he heaps upon his teachers. It is true that he could count many Abbots and other well-regarded lamas among his primary teachers; still, the custom of tacking elevated appellations onto their names, a practice not unique to Jamyang Shayba, has the added effect of raising the status of the student.

Additionally, Jamyang Shayba takes pains to promote his status as an advanced spiritual being. He frequently cites memories from previous lives. He recounts how predispositions from previous lives made various facets of his training come to him quite naturally. He explains how certain key experiences enabled him to gain the view of Dzongkaba, generate a spontaneous aversion to cyclic existence, and achieve other valued

spiritual milestones. Jamyang Shayba's tantric credentials seem to be a less impressive part of his life story. This may be due to the fact that he is providing in this text an account of his exoteric education; the esoteric dimension to his background would be reserved for his secret biography.²⁰⁴ Overall, Jamyang Shayba effectively pleads his case as an authoritative bearer of Dzongkaba's intellectual lineage. He presents himself as a great scholar, with sufficient formal knowledge about tantra. However, the focus of his claim to authority is clearly as an intellectual.

²⁰⁴ Jamyang Shayba never wrote a full-fledged secret biography, although his Collected Works does include two small works adding up to 4 pages that are collectively known by the title of *Secret Biography of Jamyang Shayba*, Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, vol. 1 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973), 18-21. However, these pages merely consist of the recounting of one visionary experience and a short letter to Janggya. There is another brief text of the same name in vol. 15, 35-44 that discusses some other visions.

Chapter 3

Manjushrī's Smile

In the Tibetan literary tradition, if someone wishes to criticize or challenge a rival political or religious faction, it is usually done through the medium of history writing.²⁰⁵ Philosophical challenges are taken up in polemical monastic texts.²⁰⁶ The vehicle for criticism of contemporary figures is often done by way of posters or street songs.²⁰⁷ In contrast, throughout Tibetan history, it has been far more common for an author to take up a pen in order to heap praises upon another person, and the most common literary vehicle for that is biographical writing. Beginning in the post-Imperial Period, it became quite common for scholars to write biographies of their teachers, for abbots to recount the deeds of their predecessors, for yogis to set forth the tales of previous figures in their teaching lineage, and later for incarnate lamas to write about their previous incarnations.

The Second Jamyang Shayba Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo (1728-1791, *dkon mchog jigs med dbang po*), a fairly prolific author of biographies, exemplifies several of these relationships. He wrote a biography of his teacher, the Third Pañchen Lama Belden Yeshay

²⁰⁵ See, for example, the Fifth Dalai Lama's hastily written *Dynastic History*, composed in 1643, just one year after assuming power. In it, he attempted to write his erstwhile rival, the Dzang King, entirely out of history, thereby fortifying the adage that the victor writes the history. See the translation in Zahiruddin Ahmad, *A History of Tibet* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1995).

²⁰⁶ See the more extensive discussion of polemics in Chapter Five below.

²⁰⁷ See for example, Melvyn Goldstein, "Lhasa Street Songs: Political and Social Satire in Traditional Tibet," *Tibet Journal* 7 (1982): 79-112.

(1738-1780, *dpal ldan ye shes*). He also wrote a biography of his previous incarnation, the First Jamyang Shayba, as well as a separate text providing biographical sketches of many of Jamyang Shayba's previous births. In addition, he penned biographies of both Kaydrup Gelek Belsang (1385-1438, *mkhas grub dge legs dpal bzang*), one of Dzongkaba's two primary disciples, and the First Janggya Ngawang Losang Chöden (1642-1714, *ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan*), an important teacher of the First Jamyang Shayba.²⁰⁸ In each of these cases, it is quite easy to understand why Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo wanted to extol his respective subjects. His own teaching lineage, his own incarnation lineage, and his own school were enhanced because he had directed the bright light of praise upon these several figures who stand as his variously defined predecessors. Hence, biography can be employed indirectly to enhance one's own claims to legitimacy. That motivation is particularly evident in the case of authors who write biographies of their previous incarnations; since the author and the subject have, in some sense, the same identity, praise of one redounds to the other's benefit.

Relatedly, authors of biographies often undertake to promote the status of their subjects in order to enhance the reputation of some institution with which both are affiliated. By writing glowing accounts of the deeds of some figure, they may intend to benefit a particular religious school, monastery, region, or the like. For example, generally all Gelukbas benefited from the elevation of Dzongkaba's status to that of "the Second

²⁰⁸ These biographies can be found in the Collected Works of Dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dbang-po, the Second 'Jam-dbangs-bzad-pa of La-brañ bKra-sis-'khyil, (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo edition, 1971) as follows: *The Biography of the [Third Panchen Lama] Belden Yeshay*, volume 3, 1-715 and volume 4, 1-581; *The Biography of the Scholar Jamyang Shayba*, volume 2, 75-319; *The Biography of the Dharma Lord, the Omniscient Jamyang Shaybay Dorjay*, volume 2, 1-73; *The Biography of [Kaydrup] Gelek Belsang*, volume 5, 699-723; and *The Biography of [Janggya] Ngawang Losang Chöden*, volume 2, 589-620. The second and third texts form the bases of this chapter and the next. See below, n. 216 and n. 313 for full titles.

Buddha”, since it resulted in increased patronage, greater membership in the school, more political influence, and so forth. Members of a given monastery will benefit quite directly from the high regard exhibited to their founder or textbook author; even centuries after the death of Jamyang Shayba, monks at Labrang Monastery (*bla brang*) were receiving gifts and alms at least partly due to the great reputation of “The Omniscient One”, even long after the luster of his reincarnations had dimmed. Moreover, these transactions are not limited to material advantages. The young monks at Gomang Monastery (*sgo mang*) are able to redeem the elevated status of Jamyang Shayba, the monastery’s textbook author, in the form of greater religious meaning for themselves. Each time they hear this important figure being called omniscient, it reinforces for them the belief that they are engaged in a meaningful endeavor, for them, perhaps the most meaningful path possible.

Additionally, biographical writing can be employed to promote ideological agendas. Trent Pomplun discusses how the Jesuit missionary, Ippolito Desideri, used his historical-biographical narrative of events and personalities in early eighteenth century Tibet to advance his own political and religious programs.²⁰⁹ On the Tibetan side too, such narratives were routinely constructed with some further agenda in mind. For example, the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682, *ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho*), an even more productive author of biographies than Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, wrote skillful biographies of the Third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso (1543-1588, *bsod nams rgya mtsho*) and the Fourth Dalai Lama Yönden Gyatso (1589-1617, *yon tan rgya mtsho*) that upheld the narrative he was constructing for the institution of the Dalai Lama.²¹⁰ Two examples will serve to illustrate the Fifth’s political use

²⁰⁹ Robert Trent Pomplun, *Spiritual Warfare: The Jesuits and the Dalai Lama 1716-1733* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2002).

²¹⁰ Fifth Dalai Lama, *Biography of the [Third Dalai Lama] Sönam Gyatso*, Collected Works, volume 28, 100 folios and *Biography of the Fourth Dalai Lama [Yönden Gyatso]*, Collected Works, volume 28, 52 folios.

of biography. First, as we have briefly noted above, he elaborated the ideology of the Dalai Lama as Avalokiteshvara in order to promote the status of the lineage of the Dalai Lamas. While it was then commonly believed among Tibetans that Tibet was under the special protection of the Buddha of Compassion, Avalokiteshvara, and that the early Tibetan Kings, most notably King Songden Gambo (d. 649, *srong btsan sgam po*), had been manifestations of this Buddha, the explicit identity of the Dalai Lama and Avalokiteshvara did not occur prior to the 1642 triumph of pro-Geluk forces. When the Fifth wrote the biographies of his two predecessors in 1646 and 1652 respectively, he pointedly made the connection. It is evident that the Fifth regarded these maneuvers as extremely important since, in a relatively speedy process, he had these texts carved in woodblocks so that a large numbers of copies could be printed as early as 1653.²¹¹

The second example of the Fifth Dalai Lama's ideological use of biography concerns protector deities. We have already noted that he had purposefully set out to create the perception that a particular group of protector deities were bound to the service of the lineage of Dalai Lamas. In recounting the Third Dalai Lama's journey to Mongolia to meet Altan Khan during the 1570's, the Fifth Dalai Lama tells a series of stories about all of the obstacles that impeded his predecessor's progress. In each episode, the Third Dalai Lama's relationship with the protector deities is decisive in overcoming the difficulty. In one case, Gönbo Bramsay intervenes to protect the Dalai Lama from a rampaging wild yak. In another, the Dalai Lama bound to the service of Buddhism a group of threatening Mongolian demons led by the protector Begdzay.²¹² Through these stories, the Fifth Dalai

²¹¹ Ishihama Yumiko, "On the Dissemination of the Belief in the Dalai Lama as a Manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara," *Acta Asiatica* 64 (1993): 38-56.

²¹² Amy Heller, "The Great Protector Deities of the Dalai Lamas," in *Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century: The Capital of the Dalai Lamas*, ed. Françoise Pommaret (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 94. See also p. 72ff above.

Lama was domesticating protectors that were important to various groups of people who might not otherwise have felt an allegiance with the essentially pro-Geluk endeavor he was then undertaking.

Finally, biographical writing can serve the function of providing inspiration. A significant paradigm for this sort of biography is the Indian text called *The Lives of the Eighty-Four Siddhas*. Hovering between myth, legend, and history, these stories purport to convey the biographies of a lineage of great tantric yogis in India. Short on personal detail, each account is rife with stock legendary elements. *The Lives*, written in Sanskrit in the twelfth century, was very well-received when it was translated into Tibetan, providing narrative fodder for generations of biographers to come. Those stories are built around certain stock elements that are shuffled and varied, again and again. The subject's name, caste, country, and occupation are given, followed by some narrative particular to each figure, but often involving items from a limited menu of magical yogic abilities such as flying, walking through walls, and the like.²¹³ Observing that myths about saints allows them to “‘humanize’ the transcendent,” James Robinson comments on the way these stories inspire their readers:²¹⁴

They make the status of an enlightened being accessible to the human level. They give living focus for devotion. They exemplify spiritual triumph in ways understandable to those who still struggle. They give hope in the sense that if they were able to achieve their goal, so might

²¹³ Keith Dowman, *Masters of Mahamudra* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985) and James Robinson, *Buddha's Lions* (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1979).

²¹⁴ James Burnell Robinson, “The Lives of Indian Buddhist Saints: Biography, Hagiography and Myth,” in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1996), 67.

the aspirant who makes the requisite effort. And the symbolic levels of the stories reveal how such a transition may take place.

Such stories, which are often quite literally incredible, nonetheless serve to inspire faith in the believer that it is possible to progress religiously and that she too will be able to reach great religious heights.

In Tibet, however, unlike the case in India, biographers ordinarily supplement the generally legendary approach of Indian biography with a pronounced emphasis on historical methodology. Thus, indigenous Tibetan compendia of biographies that owe much to *The Lives* also include marvelous detail about the lives and times of their subjects.²¹⁵ In fact, such biographies often provide the most useful primary sources for historians. It is the magnificent feats of the yogi that stir the imagination, but it is the grounding in historical reality that inspires the adherent's faith that the subject's life could serve as a model for their own.

The Second Jamyang Shayba Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo had many overlapping interests in elevating the First Jamyang Shayba through his recounting of the great man's biography. As we have noted, since he was the subsequent incarnation of Jamyang Shayba, all of the praise and accolades directed at his predecessor would indirectly reflect back on him. He would have also had a general interest in providing an interesting narrative that would inspire and encourage his readers in their own spiritual practice. Significantly also, it fell to Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo to mold the judgment history would cast on Jamyang Shayba. He often highlighted Jamyang Shayba's contribution to events, whereas the Second Panchen Lama's narration of those same events, for example, barely mentioned him. In this regard, also, it is often the case that what Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo left out was as important

²¹⁵ See, for example, Janice D. Willis, *Enlightened Beings: Life Stories from the Ganden Oral Tradition* (Boston: Wisdom, 1995),

as what he included. Given the detailed nature of what he wrote, it is surprising that some significant issues are barely mentioned. For example, to what extent was Jamyang Shayba himself favorably inclined towards the Nyingma School? How close were Jamyang Shayba and Labsang Khan, and what impact did their relationship have on the ultimate fate of Desi Sangyay Gyatso? Despite such gaps, Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo presented his subject in a vivid and favorable light.

Perhaps most important of all, Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo also succeeded Jamyang Shayba to the abbatial throne of Labrang Monastery, the construction of which was left largely to him. He was responsible for raising huge sums of money from Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese patrons to sustain the ever-increasing monastic population, to expand the monastery, to prepare and print the works of the Master, and so forth. As time went on, fewer and fewer of the potential patrons would have known Jamyang Shayba personally. Hence, it was up to Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo to ensure the vitality and endurance of the Jamyang Shayba brand. The following narration of Jamyang Shayba's life as a scholar, teacher, and abbot is based largely upon Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo's account. As we investigate Jamyang Shayba's life, we will also inquire into Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo's biographical strategies.

The Scholar and Teacher Jamyang Shayba

His education largely complete, Jamyang Shayba retreated from active life in the monastery for a period of reflection, meditation, and writing that lasted twenty years. He had studied widely with many of the best Gelukba scholars and teachers of his time. Gönchok Jigmay

Wangbo says, however, that the First Jamyang Shayba had realized he needed to look into his own heart, and so he decided to go to a mountain retreat in the Iron-Monkey year, 1680.²¹⁶ He was thirty-three years old when he arrived at the Riwo Gepel Cave (*ri bo dge 'phel*) up above Drebung Monastery (*'bras spungs*).²¹⁷ The Fifth Dalai Lama was to die two years later,²¹⁸ but the Regent Desi Sangyay Gyatso (1653-1705, *sde srid sang rgyas rgya mtsho*) had already assumed control over most of the affairs of state. The stable situation that had endured in Tibet for several decades was on the verge of being upset. Nonetheless, for several years to come, Jamyang Shayba would remain relatively uninvolved in the political machinations that were afoot in Lhasa and beyond.

Most of Jamyang Shayba's time during these early years was devoted to rigorous spiritual practice, contemplation, and writing. In particular, Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo comments that the Master (1) brought to mind the thought of renunciation, which sees all of cyclic existence (*samsāra*, *'khor ba*) as a continent of demons, (2) cultivated the mind of enlightenment, which seeks the liberation of all sentient beings, and (3) generated the correct view of emptiness.²¹⁹ Gönchok continues, observing that he worked at the stages of the paths

²¹⁶ Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Scholar and Adept, the Omniscient Jamyang Shayba, A Harbor for the Fortunate, A Marvel*, Collected Works of Dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dbang-po, the Second 'Jam-dbangs-bzad-pa of La-bran bKra-sis-'khyil, vol. 2 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo edition, 1971), 124.2. Unless otherwise stated, the majority of this section comes from that text, 122.4-164.5. Hereafter, this text will be referred to as *The Biography of the Scholar*.

²¹⁷ Lokesh Chandra ("The Life and Works of hJam-dbyaṅs-bzhad pa," *Central Asiatic Journal* 7, no. 4 [1962], 265) places Jamyang Shayba at the retreat for 22 years or until 1702. However, he became the Abbot of Gomang Monastery in 1700, and so it is unlikely that he continued to live in the retreat.

²¹⁸ As we will see in more detail below (p. 127ff), for fifteen years beginning in 1682, Desi Sangyay Gyatso concealed the Fifth Dalai Lama's death from all but a handful of people. Likely Jamyang Shayba remained unaware of his death.

²¹⁹ These are the three practices identified by Dzongkaba in his *Three Principal Aspects of the Path*. The text has been translated into English several times. The root verses and the

of sūtra and tantra with single-pointed focus, including both the stages of generation and completion. Both of these are very pat expressions of religious practice, one exoteric and one esoteric.

Sometimes, he would leave the retreat for more instruction. For example, one time he was invited to the Potala Palace in order to obtain empowerments, oral transmissions, and quintessential instructions for various tantric practices from Pabongka Jamyang Dragba (b. 17th century, *pha bong kha jam dbyangs grags pa*). He also transmitted to other people the experiential instructions on the stages of the four yogas of the generation and completion stages of the *Vajrabhairava Tantra*, instructions for accomplishing the union of the common and uncommon peaceful and wrathful aspects of deities, explanations on many of the difficult points of the *Kālachakra Tantra*, and extensive experiential instructions on the six yogas of Nāropa. When he was thirty-six years old, Jamyang Shayba was once again invited to the Potala by Jamyang Dragba who Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo praises by referring to him by the tantric appellation “Dorjay Chang”. Thereupon, Jamyang Shayba received the oral transmission (*lung*) of all of Dzongkaba’s Collected Works, the five great tantric instructions, and so forth. In the ensuing years, he continued to receive a great variety of instructions on sundry tantric practices, which Gönchok continually chronicles.

commentary of the Fourth Panchen Lama appear in Geshe Wangyal, *The Door of Liberation* (New York: Lotsawa, 1978), 126-60. Dzongkaba’s root verses are translated in Robert Thurman, ed. *Life and Teachings of Tsong Khapa* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1982), 57-8. The root verses together with the commentary of the Fourth Panchen Lama also appear in Geshe Lhundup Sopa and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Practice and Theory of Tibetan Buddhism* (London: Rider, 1976; revised and reprinted as *Cutting Through Appearances: Practice and Theory of Tibetan Buddhism* [Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1987]), 41-107. A translation of a contemporary oral commentary is found in Geshe Sonam Rinchen and Ruth Sonam, *The Three Principal Aspects of the Path* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1999).

In addition, Jamyang Shayba found time to teach in various contexts, including delivering a fifty-lecture series on Dzongkaba's *Stages of the Path*.²²⁰ He performed consecration rites for large and small groups of people, and he also gave instructions on many practices within Highest Yoga Tantra and taught various people about sūtra practices and philosophical subjects. These teachings took place in both monastic and public contexts.

It was during this period that several of his most significant philosophical works were completed. At the age of thirty-eight, Jamyang Shayba wrote the first of his major treatises, the *Decisive Analysis of (Dzongkaba's) 'Differentiating the Interpretable and the Definitive', Storehouse of White Lapis Lazuli of Scripture and Reasoning Free from Error, Fulfilling the Hopes of the Fortunate*.²²¹ Three years later, in 1688, he completed the *Treatise on the Presentations of the Concentrations and Formless Absorptions: Adornment Beautifying the Subduer's Teaching, Ocean of Scripture and Reasoning, Delighting the Fortunate*²²² which sets forth the various meditative states that can be cultivated and provides instruction on how to cultivate them. The short titles for these texts are the *Great Exposition of the Interpretable and the Definitive* (*drang nges chen mo*) and the *Great Exposition of the Concentrations and Formless*

²²⁰ S. K. Sadhukhan, "Biography of the Eminent Tibetan Scholar 'Jam-dbyaṅs bshad-pa ṅag-dbañ brtson-'grus (A. D. 1648-1722)," *Tibet Journal* 16, no. 2 (1991), 24. Jamyang Shayba's unfinished text, *Treasury of Scripture and Reasoning, An Explanation of (Dzongkaba's) Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment*, is to be found in the *Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje*, vol. 4 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973), 337-477.

²²¹ *Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje*, vol. 11 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973), 3-288. On dating this text, see Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Scholar*, 136.6.

²²² *Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje*, vol. 12 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973), 3-379. For English sources, see n. 159. On dating this text, see Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Scholar*, 137.6-138.1.

Absorptions (*bsam gzugs chen mo*), and they are two of the four texts he wrote that were accorded particular respect by being called “*Great Expositions*.”²²³

The other two set forth explanations of the Middle Way School (*mādhyamika, dbu ma*) and the tenet systems (*siddhānta, grub mtha'*) of Indian philosophy. In 1689, Jamyang Shayba wrote the root text for the major *Great Exposition of Tenets* (*grub mtha' chen mo*) textbook he would complete a decade later. The root text is called *Presentation of Tenets, Roar of the Five-Tufted [Lion] Eradicating Error, Precious Lamp Illuminating the Good Path to Omniscience*.²²⁴ After it was completed, several people, including Namka Hlundrub (b. seventeenth century, *nam mkha' hlun grub*), beseeched him to write a commentary explaining that terse and difficult text. Consequently, he began the ten-year project that culminated in 1699 with the completion of his *Explanation of Tenets, Sun of the Land of Samanthabhadra Brilliantly Illuminating All of Our Own and Others' Tenets and the Meaning*

²²³ “Great Expositions” are texts that approach their subject matter from a variety of philosophical viewpoints. It is not simply a matter of the length of the text. Hence, even though Jamyang Shayba’s major text on the Perfection of Wisdom (about which see below, p. 162) is the longest text he ever wrote, filling two entire volumes of his Collected Works, it is not called a *Great Exposition* because it does not approach the topic from many perspectives.

²²⁴ Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, vol. 14 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973), 1-31. There are two other versions of this text with additional notes. The first of these includes annotations that E. Gene Smith supposes may have been written by Jamyang Shayba himself, while the second has notes that may have been added by someone else. See Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973), vol. 1, 750-802 and vol. 3, 807-852. See also, Jeffrey Hopkins, *Meditation on Emptiness*, 909-910. As of this writing, Jeffrey Hopkins is translating the root text with extensive selections from Jamyang Shayba’s commentary and other sources, to be published in 2003 under the title, *Maps of the Profound: Buddhist and Non-Buddhist Tenets*. On dating Jamyang Shayba’s *Presentation of Tenets*, see Göñchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Scholar*, 138.1-2.

of the Profound [Emptiness], Ocean of Scripture and Reasoning Completely Fulfilling All Hopes of All Beings. This text is known by the short title, *Great Exposition of Tenets*.²²⁵

Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo explains that during this time, Jamyang Shayba received extensive and extraordinary instructions on aspects of Dzongkaba's *Stages of the Path* from various lamas, including the Abbot of Nyagri Monastery, a teacher from Loseling-Dreibung Monastery, and the Abbot of Litang Monastery.²²⁶ The latter, in particular, helped Jamyang Shayba understand many difficult points in both Dzongkaba's *Stages of the Path* and throughout his Collected Works. During these several years, Jamyang Shayba received oral

²²⁵ Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, vol. 14 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973), 33-1091. Jeffrey Hopkins, *Meditation on Emptiness* (London: Wisdom, 1983), 564-5 identifies the thirteen chapters of this book as follows:

1. Discussion of Tenets in general
2. Refutation of nihilism: Chārvāka
3. Refutation of an extreme of permanence: Sāṃkhya and Kāpila
4. Refutation of an extreme of permanence: Brāhmaṇa, Vyākaraṇa, Vedānta, Guhyaka
5. Refutation of an extreme of permanence: Vaiṣṇava and Mimāṃsaka
6. Refutation of an extreme of permanence: Shaiva, Naiyāyika and Vaiśeṣika
7. Refutation of an extreme of permanence: Nirgrantha (Jaina)
8. Introduction to Buddhist Tenets in general and presentation of Vaibhāṣika
9. Sautrāntika
10. Introduction of the Mahāyāna and presentation of Cittamātra
11. Introduction to Mādhyamika, its history, refutation of wrong views about Mādhyamika, and presentation of Svātantrika
12. Prāsaṅgika
13. Elimination of doubts about the Vajrayāna.

Anne C. Klein, *Knowledge and Liberation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1986), 7, comments that she read Chapter 9 of this "most detailed Gelukba analysis" of Sautrāntika as background for the research published in that volume. Likewise, Donald S. Lopez, *A Study of Svātantrika* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1987), 9, says he translated some portions of chapter 11 in his research on Svātantrika. Approximately a third of chapter 12 on Prāsaṅgika is translated and published in Jeffrey Hopkins, *Meditation on Emptiness*, 583-697. Another portion is translated in Daniel Cozort, *Unique Tenets of the Middle Way Consequence School* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1998), 289-423.

²²⁶ These three figures are not identified.

transmissions on the same material. It is unusual that Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo would attribute to the Abbot of Litang Monastery a significant role in molding Jamyang Shayba's evolving understanding of Dzongkaba's philosophy, while simultaneously being so vague about his and the other lamas' identities. Perhaps he wanted to further the notion that Jamyang Shayba continued to study and learn throughout his life without taking the attention away from the real subject of his biography. He may have felt that by naming these perhaps minor teachers, it would have devalued Jamyang Shayba's intellectual maturity at a point in his life when he was already composing major treatises. In contrast, Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo repeatedly names names when he is speaking of marquee lamas or those from famous monasteries or governmental positions.

Various geshe had made requests to Jamyang Shayba that he write a treatise on the Middle Way School (*dbu ma, mādhamika*), among them Daychen Chöjay Dragba Gyatso (b. seventeenth century, *bde chen chos rje grags pa rgya mtsho*). Jamyang Shayba fulfilled these appeals in 1695, at the age of forty-eight, when he completed his extensive *Analysis of (Chandrakīrti's) "Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) 'Treatise on the Middle Way': Treasury of Scripture and Reasoning, Thoroughly Illuminating the Profound Meaning [of Emptiness], Entrance for the Fortunate*,²²⁷ the short title of which is the *Great Exposition of the Middle Way (dbu ma chen mo)*. It is the primary venue in which he sets forth his views on the philosophical system regarded by Gelukbas as the most sublime and philosophically sophisticated. However, he did explore various aspects of Middle Way philosophy in several other texts. The *Great Exposition of Tenets*, mentioned just above, explains a large number of

²²⁷ Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, vol. 9 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973 and also Gomang edition, 1994). These two editions derive from the same original woodblocks, although the pagination differs by one folio, that is, two sides. Hereafter, I refer to the page numbers in the Gomang edition. On dating this text, see Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Scholar*, 143.4.

non-Buddhist and Buddhist philosophical systems, but devotes almost half of its more than one thousand pages to the Middle Way School. Jamyang Shayba also articulates the Middle Way view of reality and how to gain meditative realization of that view in his brief, but highly practical, meditative manual, *Treasury of Achievement, Free From Extremes*.²²⁸ Jamyang Shayba wrote *Compendium Commentary on (Chandrakīrti's) 'Clear Words'*, a detailed exegesis of the section in chapter one of Chandrakīrti's text in which Dignāga's position on valid cognition is refuted.²²⁹ The colophon does not indicate the year this text was composed.

²²⁸ Collected Works of Jamyang Shayba, vol. 3 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973), 853-870 and (Mundgod: Gomang edition, 1994), 849-866.

²²⁹ Jamyang Shayba, *The Extensively Clear and Thoroughly Profound Explanation of Valid Cognition, Compendium Commentary on (Chandrakīrti's) 'Clear Words,' One Hundred Blazing Lights of Valid Cognition Clearing Away the Darkness in the Heart of the Fortunate Eon*, Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, vol. 11 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973), 483-619 and (Mundgod: Gomang edition, 1994), 481-617. This text is partially translated into German in Chizuko Yoshimizu. *Die Erkenntnislehre des Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka: Nach Dem Tshigs Gsal Stoṅ Thun Gyi Tshad Ma'i Rnam bśad des 'Jam Dbyaṅs Bžad Pa'i Rdo Rje*. (Vienna: Wiener Studien Zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 1996).

David Seyfort Ruegg (*Three Studies in the History of Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Philosophy: Studies in Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Thought Part 1*. [Vienna: Wiener Studien Zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 2000], 52-53, n. 107) remarks on the term *stong thun*, noting that the *Great Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary*, 1109, defines it as, "general meaning condensing many myriad of points." José Cabezón renders the phrase as "Dose of Emptiness" in his translation of Kaydrup's text of that name in *A Dose of Emptiness: An Annotated Translation of the sTong thun chen mo of mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992; reprint Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1993). Jeffrey Hopkins, *Emptiness Yoga* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1987), 441 translates the same title as *Thousand Dosages*. The term *stong* can mean both "emptiness" as in *stong pa nyid* and "thousand" as in *stong phrag*. Geshe Lhundup Sopa and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Cutting Through Appearances*, 255 glosses the term as "a distillation of the manifold into something more manageable." Hopkins also says that Kensur Ngawang Lekden glossed the term as "equal to a thousand texts" (*gzhung lungs stong dang mthun pa*). These comments accord well with Ruegg's suggestion for translating this term as "compendium".

It should also be noted that Jamyang Shayba's *Compendium Commentary on (Chandrakīrti's) 'Clear Words'* is regarded as a polemical attack on criticisms lodged against Dzongkaba by Daktsang Lotsāwa. See p. 234 below.

However, it must have been written before the *Great Exposition of the Middle Way*, since the latter text is mentioned in passing in the *Compendium Commentary*.²³⁰ He also wrote a short text called *The Condensed Explanation of the Great Prāsaṅgika*, exploring various views on the definition and divisions of the Prāsaṅgika School, as well as the types of logical statements that should be employed by its proponents.²³¹

Once again, Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo records his subject's ongoing education. He observes that in 1696, Jamyang Shayba received bare instructions on the stages of the bodhisattva path, and he received extensive oral transmissions and explanations of the generation and completion stages of Highest Yoga Tantra and Dzongkaba's *Stages of the Path*.

The following summer in 1697,²³² Desi Sangyay Gyatso, the powerful Regent of the Fifth Dalai Lama, was compelled by events to admit to the Abbots of Sera and Drebung Monasteries that the popular and respected leader had passed away in 1682. The secret became widely known among the public during the following weeks and months. The reasons for the Regent's deceit are numerous. The Dalai Lama had designated Sangyay Gyatso as the Regent at a time when the latter was still too young to assume the responsibilities of the office.²³³ When he later did take full control of the government at the

²³⁰ Jamyang Shayba, *Great Exposition of the Middle Way*, 760.6.

²³¹ Collected Works of Jamyang Shayba, vol. 2 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973), 775-793 and (Mundgod, Gomang edition, 1994), 771-789. The colophon does not reveal when this short text was composed.

²³² Except where noted, the following historical overview is distilled from Tsepon Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, trans. by Derek Maher (forthcoming), chapter 8.

²³³ Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century: History of the Establishment of Chinese Protectorate in Tibet* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950), 9. Petech gives voice to the usually whispered street rumors:

age of twenty-six, he did so with an extraordinary degree of authority. Tsepon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa notes that:²³⁴

Since it was clear that [Sangyay Gyatso] was unlike previous Regents, it was written that, "An action undertaken by Desi Sangyay Gyatso is no different from one undertaken by the Dalai Lama."

The Fifth Dalai Lama's last piece of advice to the Regent before he died was that widespread knowledge of his passing would result in great instability in Tibet and beyond. Already, Mongolian patrons of Tibet in Mongolia and in the Blue Lake region were trying to seize territory. Additionally, it was believed that if any new disagreements emerged within the Mongolian royal family, instructions purportedly from the Dalai Lama might pacify disturbances. In this way, the Regent would be able to keep the factions united, bringing great benefit both to the Mongolians and to Tibetan Buddhism. On the other hand, if people knew

Since the seventies of the 17th century, the all-powerful man in Tibet was the Dalai Lama's natural son Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o, who in 1679 was formally appointed as *sde srid*.

It may be impossible to prove or disprove this assertion. Nonetheless, it must be accounted as odd that the Dalai Lama would have invested so much trust in this youth, appointing him as Regent in 1679 when he was only twenty-six years old. Michael Aris (*Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: A Study of Pemalingpa (1450-1521) and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683-1706)*. [London: Kegan Paul International, 1989], 123] reports that Sangyay Gyatso was the nephew of the Dalai Lama's second regent. From the age of eight, the boy had served as the attendant of the Dalai Lama while he was groomed for the Regency.

²³⁴ Tsepon Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, 454. *khong la sde srid gong ma gzhan dang mi 'dra ba'i dmigs bsal rtsi bdag rkyen dang// khong gis gang mdzad rnam's rgyal dbang mchog gi mdzad pa dang khyad par med tshul rtsa tshig la...* The full text of the decree is included in Hugh E. Richardson, "The Fifth Dalai Lama's Decree Appointing Sang-rgyas rgya- mtsho as Regent," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XLIII, no. 2 (1980): 329-344. This order was written on the walls of the Potala and was sealed with the Dalai Lama's handprint.

the Dalai Lama had died, there was fear that Chinese provocations might succeed in destabilizing relations among the Mongolians. Moreover, since the Potala had not been completed, it was felt that the Dalai Lama's death had to be kept secret, lest patronage be compromised. Finally, it must be mentioned that the Regent must have hoped to maintain his own personal power, an objective that surely would have been jeopardized if the truth were widely known.

All sorts of elaborate ruses were required in order to maintain the secret. Sometimes a body double was used. Each day, the Desi's closest attendants would carry food into the inner rooms of the Dalai Lama's residence within the Potala Palace. Drums and bells would be sounded within his private temple in order to simulate the performance of rituals as if the Dalai Lama was still alive. This task was often given to Gyurmay Dorjay Terdag Lingba (1646-1714, *'gyur med rdo rje gter bdag gling pa*), the Nyingma lama who founded Mindro Ling Monastery (*smin grol gling*), was a close disciple of the Fifth Dalai Lama, and who would later initiate the Sixth Dalai Lama Dalai Lama Tsangyang Gyatso (1683-1706, *tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho*) into many Nyingma tantric practices.

Meanwhile, the Desi had searched for the new incarnation, sending his trusted proxies far and wide. Silnön Dorjay (b. seventeenth century, *gzil gnon rdo rje*) headed the party that identified the new incarnation in a youth on the Tibetan border with Bhutan. Politically speaking, the child was an ideal choice to further the Regent's plans to subsume both Geluk and Nyingma symbols under the institution of the Dalai Lama. He was born in Mönnyul (*mon yul*), a region that was strongly associated with Padmasambhava. Significantly also, it an economically important area into which the Regent would have liked to extend his influence.²³⁵ The Sixth Dalai Lama was descended from the great Nyingma treasure revealer

²³⁵ Pomplun, *Spiritual Warfare*, 168.

Bayma Lingba (1450-1521, *padma gling pa*) and the Imperial religious kings, as the Regent went to great lengths to explain.²³⁶ Meanwhile, the Desi managed to provide for the education of the youth without revealing his identity as the Sixth Dalai Lama. Jamyang Dragba (b. seventeenth century, *'jam dbyangs grags pa*), one of Jamyang Shayba's most important teachers and one of the key people involved in upholding the secret of the Fifth's death, was sent to serve as the primary tutor of the Sixth Dalai Lama.²³⁷ It is also notable that this lama was himself trained in both Nyingma and Geluk lineages, a credential that made him a key member of the Regent's secretive coalition.

Nonetheless, despite their best efforts, suspicions eventually began to accumulate. Halfway through 1696, a small number of people in the government began to penetrate the secret. Before the year was out, emissaries were sent to the Manchu Emperor K'ang-hsi to inform him of the true course of events. By the time the existence of the new incarnation was widely known he was already fourteen years old. The Emperor, who had reason to suspect the truth beforehand, was angered by the deceit. Many of the Mongolian factions were shocked by the news. For all concerned, the revelation resulted in a series of dramatic changes; allegiances that had previously been held in check by the charisma and authority of the Fifth Dalai Lama began to drift as soon as his death was known.²³⁸

The Fifth Dalai Lama's plan of establishing a theocracy under the institution of the Dalai Lama continued to be the main objective of the Regent after his master passed away. As we have seen, Desi Sangyay Gyatso conscripted Nyingma and Geluk lamas and nobles to

²³⁶ Aris, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives*, 111-117. See the chart of the Sixth Dalai Lama's lineage that Aris drew primarily from Desi Sangyay Gyatso's *An Account of the Transition of the Conqueror from the Fifth Dalai Lama to the Sixth Dalai Lama*.

²³⁷ Aris, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives*, 181.

²³⁸ These shifting alliances have been charted most thoroughly by Trent Pomplun, *Spiritual Warfare*, 161-165 and *passim*.

this end. However, in order to counteract the influence competing indigenous and foreign power centers, he was also compelled to ally himself with a military force. He found that his interests coincided with the Dzungar Mongolians who also envisioned a Dalai Lama-dominated theocratic state. The Regent and the Dzungars also shared an abiding suspicion of both the Chinese Emperor, whose influence in Tibet they hoped to check. The Dzungars did not, however, approve of the strategy of mixing Nyingma ideology into the pure Geluk religio-political structure they hoped to create, an issue that would take on pronounced significance when they would go on a vigorous rampage persecuting Nyingmabas in Central Tibet. In their opposition to Nyingma influences, the Dzungars had common cause with the primary institutional interests of the big Geluk monasteries in Central Tibet.

The other Mongolian faction most active in Tibet was the Qoshots; they were descended from Gushri Khan, the warrior who had delivered Tibet into the hands of the Fifth Dalai Lama in 1642. Centered in the Blue Lake region in Amdo, they had strong ties with many of the prominent Gelukba lamas from Amdo, including notably Jamyang Shayba. The Qoshot enjoyed mostly stable relations with the Manchu Emperor; the Qoshot had acknowledged the Emperor's formal sovereignty over them, while the Emperor had recognized the Qoshot's territorial claims.²³⁹ The Qoshot in the Blue Lake region also shared strategic interests in opposing the Dzungars and the Desi (*sde srid*), as Petech observes:²⁴⁰

The *sde-srid* had always been notoriously pro-Dzungar, and was known to have entered a compact with dGa'-ldan, ruler of the Dzungars from 1676 to 1697. If the Dzungars succeeded in drawing the Dalai-Lama

²³⁹ Luciano Petech, "Notes on Tibetan History of the 18th Century," *T'oung Pao* 52 (1965-1966): 269.

²⁴⁰ Petech, *China and Tibet*, 10.

to their side, this would seriously affect the loyalty of the Mongol princes, who occupied an important strategic position and supplied China with a considerable percentage of the troops serving on the Western frontier.

The Mongol princes Petech has in mind are the Qoshot descendants of Gushri Khan.

The Qoshot Mongolians also had close patronage ties to the Geluk monasteries in Amdo. Even back in Central Tibet, these regional affiliations were meaningful; as we will see, Jamyang Shayba had a patron-priest relationship with Labsang Khan (d. 1717, *hla bzang khān*), the Qoshot hierarch in Central Tibet after 1703. However, not all Gelukbas were so favorably inclined towards the Qoshot. In addition to the Regent's antipathy for them, many other Central Tibetans wished to see their influence wane. In contrast, in the Dzang region to the south of Central Tibet, there was greater acceptance of both the Emperor and Qoshots who, they felt, would serve as a check on the Regent's power in Central Tibet. This dynamic would later take on a life of its own as the Chinese Emperor sought to drive a wedge between the Dalai Lamas and the Panchen Lamas, although it is evident even as early as 1703.²⁴¹

In the autumn of 1697, soon after he had been enthroned at the Potala Palace, the young Sixth Dalai Lama Tsangyang Gyatso sent an invitation to Jamyang Shayba so that they could become acquainted. Although Jamyang Shayba was in the midst of a meditation retreat, he went to see the youth as a consequence of the great value he placed on his own

²⁴¹ Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 256.

spiritual connection to the boy's predecessor.²⁴² In this way, they established a religious connection that was to endure until the death of the Sixth Dalai Lama. At the time, Jamyang Shayba was one of the most prestigious Gelukba lamas in Central Tibet, equaled in stature by perhaps only one other lama, the Second Pañchen Lama Losang Yeshey (1663-1737, *blo bzang ye shes*). Jamyang Shayba served as a spiritual advisor to the Sixth Dalai Lama, counseling him on meditative practices,²⁴³ instructing him, and encouraging him to behave as was expected of a young incarnated lama of such stature. The Pañchen Lama also put a tremendous amount of effort into teaching Tsangyang Gyatso. Even still, the combined efforts of Desi Sangyang Gyatso, the Pañchen Lama, Jamyang Shayba, and other interested parties was not sufficient to cause the Dalai Lama to study, practice, and vigilantly protect his vows.

The youth had been given novice vows by the Pañchen Lama when he was on his way to Lhasa. However, when he reached twenty years of age, the customary age for a novice monk to receive full ordination, the Dalai Lama demonstrated great reluctance to fulfill this expectation. The Regent wrote to the Pañchen Lama, beseeching him to intervene with the Dalai Lama and to invite him to his monastery in order to persuade him to take his ordination vows. Eventually, Tsangyang Gyatso did agree to fulfill his role as Dalai Lama by taking ordination. In the summer months of 1702, a large party consisting of important Abbots (including Jamyang Shayba who was then the Abbot of Gomang Monastery), incarnate lamas, the medium of the Hlamo Oracle, nobles, the important Mongolian Patron

²⁴² Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Scholar*, 147.4-6.

²⁴³ On at least one occasion, the Sixth Dalai Lama submitted particular questions about his meditation practice to Jamyang Shayba. See Jamyang Shayba, *A Garland of Wish-Fulfilling Gems, Jamyang Shayba's Answer to a Question from the [Sixth Dalai Lama] Losang Rinchen Tsangyang Gyatso*, Collected Works of Jamyang Shayba, vol. 3 (Mundgod, India: Gomang edition, 1994), 523-538.

Labsang Khan, and the young Dalai Lama left for Drashi Hlunbo Monastery (*bkra shis hlun po*), the residence of the Panchen Lama. When they finally arrived, the young incarnation once again became reluctant, even in the face of repeated appeals from his parents and the Abbots of Ganden, Sera, and Drebung Monasteries.

Tsepon Shakabpa recounts the extensive efforts by the government and monastic officials to convince the young man to modify his conduct:²⁴⁴

Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo's biography of Jamyang Shayba, [*The Biography of the Scholar and Adept, the Omniscient Jamyang Shayba, A Harbor for the Fortunate, A Marvel*,] says:²⁴⁵

Having prostrated to the Dalai Lama Rinpochoy three times, [Jamyang Shayba] said, "Since you are the only source of refuge in Tibet, think compassionately toward Buddhism and toward all sentient beings, and do not behave in this way."

One day, prostrating three times on the threshold of Panchen Rinpochoy's room, the Dalai Lama shouted, "Now I give up the

²⁴⁴ Tsepon Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, 477. 'jam dbyangs bzbad pas gong sa rin po cher phag gsum bisal tell khyed gangs can gyi skyabs gnas gcig pu yin pas bstan 'gro kun la brtsebs dgongs te de ltar mi gnag ba zhull zhes gdung shugs drag pos gsol 'debs mdzad kyang// gdul bya'i bsod nams dman pa'i dbang gis gsan dgaongs ma gnag bar// nyin gcig pan chen rin po che'i gzim chung gi mdo nas sku phag gsum 'tshal te da nga'i dge tshul gyi bslab pa phul yod do zhes gsung shugs chen pos zhu gnang gis do nas bzungs na bza' skya chas bzhes// skabs de'i dus zhabs 'bring gras nas de mo sprul sku nam mkha' 'jam dbyangs sogs kha shas nas kyang bslab pa phul yod pall de mo sprul sku sgo man mkhan po'i slob mar brten khong la spyan 'bur tshugs su gzigs nas gzhan gyis 'di ltar byed na yang// khyed kyis tshangs par spyod pa'i brtul zhugs 'dor phod dam//

²⁴⁵ Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The River Crossing of the Marvelous Fortunate Eon*, in *Collected Works of dKon mchog 'jigs med dba'i po the Second 'Jam dbya'ns bzad pa of bla bra'i bkra sis 'khyil*, vol. 2, 47-na-6.

teachings on the vows of full ordination." Hence, from that point on, [the Dalai Lama] wore the clothes of a layman. At that time, several other people among the ranks of the attendants, such as Demo Incarnation Namka Jamyang (b. seventeenth century, *de mo sprul sku nam mkha' jam dbyangs*), also gave up their vows. Since the Demo Incarnation was a student of the Gomang Abbot, there is a story that Jamyang Shayba, looking wide-eyed with astonishment, scolded his student saying, "Even if others behave in this way, how are you able to forsake the code of pure conduct?"

In the end, after seventeen days in Shigatse, the Dalai Lama refused to take the vows of full ordination, and he left, feeling despondent. Subsequently, he surrounded himself with a coterie of young nobles and wayward monks who shared his passion for archery, hunting, and cavorting with Lhasa's young ladies. Jamyang Shayba singled out the Demo Incarnation for special criticism since he was the one who explained to the Dalai Lama how to renounce his vows to the Panchen Lama. Years later, an eyewitness places Demo and others of the Dalai Lama's attendants at a party "drunk and behaving badly." According to the story, the Dalai Lama was the only one unaffected by alcohol.²⁴⁶

Meanwhile, on the international front, there was considerable unrest in both Mongolia and China. Among the Qoshot, tremendous tensions erupted within the family of the great Khan of the time, Denzin Dalai Khan (d. 1699,²⁴⁷ *bstan 'dzin ta la'i khān*), the son of the great Gushri Khan who had been the Patron of the Fifth Dalai Lama and who had given him command over Tibet. The Regent Desi Sangyay Gyatso was compelled to

²⁴⁶ Michael Aris (*Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives*, 159-161.

²⁴⁷ Petech, *China and Tibet*, 286 has the alternate death date of 1696.

intervene in the dispute, and eventually the conflict was pacified. However, when the Khan died later in the year, a new settlement had to be negotiated between his sons after the funeral rites were complete. It was agreed that the elder son, Denzin Wangyel (*bstan 'dzin dbang rgyal*), would remain in Mongolia, while the younger son, Labsang Khan, would stay in Tibet. At the same time, the Chinese were fomenting upheaval in the frontier region. Tensions between the Dzungars and the Chinese Emperor were also reflecting tensions back into Tibet between their respective allies.

For example, some people in China attempted to have the Janggya incarnation (*lcang skya sprul sku*)²⁴⁸ replaced, a maneuver that has been attempted with varying success several times throughout history.²⁴⁹ Also, powerful figures in China were quite upset that the Panchen Lama had not traveled there, despite the Emperor's repeated invitations. Evidently, he was reluctant to do so because of a smallpox epidemic, but the Chinese authorities were unsatisfied with this reason. Finally, there were a variety of border disputes around Dardzaydo in Kham. Instability from within Tibet and from without threatened to ignite chaos.

²⁴⁸ This is Janggya Ngawang Losang Chöden.

²⁴⁹ Chinese and Mongolian machinations in Tibet have frequently involved attempts to manipulate the identification of an esteemed lama. The most notable recent example concerns the present Panchen Lama, who was seized by the Chinese government at the age of six. China has put forward a rival candidate in the attempt to gain control over the political authority vested in the Panchen Lama by the perceived charisma of his lineage of predecessors. The religious and political dimensions to these events are discussed in Fourteenth Dalai Lama, *Advice on Dying And Living a Better Life*, translated, edited, and introduced by Jeffrey Hopkins (Atria Books, New York, 2002), 20-32. See also Isabel Hilton, *The Search for the Panchen Lama* (New York: Norton, 2001). We will see below how Labsang Khan attempted to substitute his own hand picked replacement for the Sixth Dalai Lama; see p. 152.

Through all of this, Jamyang Shayba maintained his teaching and writing schedule, continuing to spend a good deal of time at Riwo Gepel Cave.²⁵⁰ In 1698, he was invited to visit Gyormo Lung (*skyor mo lung*) Monastery to the south of Lhasa, where he gave the empowerment of the *Sarvavid Vairochana Tantra* to more than a thousand monks, including the Abbot and esteemed lamas and geshe from the surrounding areas. He also received the complete empowerments of the cycle of a hundred practices related to the god *Mitra* from the scholar-adept Wangchug Kenchen Losang Dzunba (*dbang phyug mkhan chen blo bzang btsun pa*). In 1699, he was invited to the Tantric College of Lower Lhasa, where he had once been a student. There he bestowed the empowerments of the *Guhyasamāja*, *Chakrasamvara*, and the *Vajrabhairava Tantras* on many hundreds of geshe. At the same time, he gave instructions on Dzongkaba's *Stages of the Path*.

It is evident that the Regent had a good relationship with Jamyang Shayba around the turn of the century. That same year, Desi Sangyay Gyatso asked Jamyang Shayba to judge debates at Drebung Monastery. While Jamyang Shayba was there, the Desi submitted a number of questions on various topics to him, and the lama was able to eliminate his confusions. In particular, the Regent submitted some questions to Jamyang Shayba on the Collected Topics literature of logic and debate. Unfortunately, Jamyang Shayba's written replies do not seem to have been preserved. In response to another set of particular questions from the Desi on Sanskrit grammar, Jamyang Shayba wrote a brief text called *Eliminating Doubts on the Difficult Points of [Sanskrit] Composition From the Four Great Sutras on Language, Music Pleasing Manjushri*.²⁵¹ From these examples, it is clear that Desi Sangyay

²⁵⁰ Except where noted, the balance of this section is based on Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Scholar*, 151-164.

²⁵¹ Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyañs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, vol. 1 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1972), 719-724. This is one of several brief pieces Jamyang Shayba wrote on

Gyatso appealed to Jamyang Shayba as a teacher, despite the conflict and opposition that eventually emerged between them.

In 1700, the Regent requested that Jamyang Shayba compose a sub-commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Commentary on (Dignāga's) 'Compendium of Valid Cognition'*. E. Gene Smith notes that:²⁵²

The Sde-srid [Regent] wished that the commentary should be written stressing the views of Dharmottara. The Sde-srid, it should be remembered, had a curious antipathy to Mkhas-grub Rje. Instead 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa, a great admirer of that student of Tsong-kha-pa, quoted often in his work from the *Rigs pa'i rgya mtsho*, the presentation of the *Pramāṇavārttika* of Mkhas-grub Rje. This would seem to have provoked the wrath of the Sde-srid. It is said that when the first chapter was completed and presented to Sang-rgyas-rgya-mtsho he made no comment about the completion of the remaining chapters of the *mtsha'-dpyod*, an action of calculated rudeness.

Thirteen years later, Jamyang Shayba completed the second and third chapters of the text. By that time, everything had changed. Desi Sangyay Gyatso had been murdered. The Sixth

various aspects of Sanskrit grammar. They are all at the end of volume 1 of his *Collected Works*.

²⁵² E. Gene Smith, "Introduction" in *Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje*, vol. 13 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973). In this connection also, see also Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Scholar*, 159ff. The completed text occupied the entirety of volume 13 of his *Collected Works*. Jamyang Shayba, *Decisive Analysis of (Dharmakīrti's) "Commentary on Dignāga's 'Compendium on Valid Cognition,"* *Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje*, vol. 13 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1972), 1-870.

Dalai Lama had died, perhaps by another's hand. Labsang Khan had risen to great heights of power, from which he soon fell. Jamyang Shayba had returned to Amdo to found the Labrang Drashi Kyil Monastery. And despite the best efforts of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, foreign hands once again became thoroughly involved in Tibet's political affairs.

Jamyang Shayba had mainly lived at the Gepel Cave from the age of thirty-three up to the age of fifty-three. During all of that time, according to Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, he continuously devoted himself to religious practice. He studied under many of the great lamas of the three big Gelukba monasteries near Lhasa, Sera, Drebung, and Ganden, and he gave extensive instructions to others on all sorts of topics, including Dzongkaba's *Stages of the Path*, the generation and completion stages of Highest Yoga Tantra, practices connected with tutelary deities and protector deities, Nāgārjuna's *Treatise on the Middle Way* and Chandrakīrti's *Supplement* to that text, Dzongkaba's *Essence of Eloquence*, and many other great treatises. His literary output by the end of that phase of his life was already sufficient to accord him deep respect in a culture that so highly values intellect and scholarship. Although he had never been entirely cut off from the world throughout this twenty-year period, his relatively private life was about to come to an end.

The Public Life of Jamyang Shayba²⁵³

Beginning in 1700, the fifty-three-year old Jamyang Shayba became an important public figure in Lhasa, ascending eventually to the highest strata of Tibet's intellectual elite. He was already famous for his acute scholarship and for his teaching. But that year, he gained an

²⁵³ Unless otherwise noted, this section is based upon Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Scholar*, 164.5-213.1 and Tsepon Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, 479-521.

official position in the Geluk hierarchy when the Sixth Dalai Lama appointed Jamyang Shayba as the Abbot of Gomang Monastery,²⁵⁴ undoubtedly at the instigation of Desi Sangay Gyatso. Jamyang Shayba held the position for seven years.

During those years, he continued producing scholarly treatises. In 1704, he completed his immense analytical discussion on the monastic code called *Analysis of the Difficult Points of (Gunaṅrabha's) "Aphorisms on Monastic Discipline", Abandoning Objections, Necklace for Those of Clear Minds, Beautifying a Sandalwood Garland, Satisfying All Wishes of the Fortunate.*²⁵⁵ In 1707, he completed a treatise on another of the five fundamental Indian treatises studied by Gelukbas, his *Commentary on the Thought of (Vasubandhu's) "Treasury of Knowledge," Jewel Treasury of the Subduer's Teaching, Clarifying Every Meaning Asserted by the Conquerors of the Three Times.*²⁵⁶

The political instability that had emerged in the wake of the Regent's revelation of the Fifth Dalai Lama's death continued to increase. This was due, in no small part, to the disappointing behavior of the Sixth Dalai Lama Tsangyang Gyatso. Not only had he refused full ordination and abandoned his novice vows, but scandalously, he was also said to have gone hunting behind the Potala Palace and to have cavorted in the brothels and gambling

²⁵⁴ The document for Jamyang Shayba (P423) on the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center web site mistakenly remarks that he became the Abbot of Gomang in 1690. Clearly, at that time he was living in Gepel Mountain Retreat. Instead he became the Abbot in 1700 at the age of fifty-three according to Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Scholar*, 165.2, and Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism*, vol. 5, 654.4-6.

²⁵⁵ Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, vol. 6 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973), 3-949.

²⁵⁶ Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, vol. 10 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973), 2-1353.

houses of Lhasa.²⁵⁷ In addition to his wayward behavior, the Sixth Dalai Lama is most renowned for his love poetry. Petech remarks:²⁵⁸

The [Sixth] Dalai Lama grew up as a gifted but high-living and dissolute youth, who has come down to history as one of the finest poets of Tibet, nay, as the only erotic poet of that country.

His irreligious behavior was disconcerting throughout the big Geluk monasteries and among the Tibetan nobles. The rumors on the streets of Lhasa were rampant. Many of the more conservative Gelukba monks blamed the Dalai Lama's behavior on "his initiation to what they considered to be some of the more questionable non-Dge-lugs rituals."²⁵⁹

Desi Sangyay Gyatso was so concerned with the public relations problem entailed by the Dalai Lama's behavior that he asked Jamyang Shayba to employ his prestige in persuading the public not to think badly of their spiritual leader. Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo's *The Biography of the Scholar and Adept, the Omniscient Jamyang Shayba*:²⁶⁰

²⁵⁷ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, 478.1-8.

²⁵⁸ Petech, *China and Tibet*, 9. For translations of his poems, see K. Dhondup, *Songs of the Sixth Dalai Lama*, (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981); G. W. Houston, *Wings of the White Crane: Poems of Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho (1683-1706)* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1982); and Coleman Barks, *Stallion On A Frozen Lake: Love Songs Of The Sixth Dalai Lama*, (Athens, Georgia: Maypop Books, 1992).

²⁵⁹ Pomplun, *Spiritual Warfare*, 170.

²⁶⁰ 58a.6. Cited in Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, 479, n. 18. *sde srid rin po ches sgo mang mkhan po 'jam bzhad la phyag bris rtsal nas/ sku zhabs kyi mdzad par mi dmangs kyi log blta byed kyin 'dug pas/ deng dus khyed bstan pa'i srog shing chen po yin gshis gsung chos kyi zhar la dmigs bsal gyi zhal bkod gnang dgos gsungs par brten/ dbyar gyi gleng bsrer/ rje 'dis thog ma'i spyi bshad skabs/ bod gangs can 'phags pa spyan ras gzigs kyi 'dul zhing yin pa dang/ spyan ras gzigs gyi sprul pa rim par byon nas bod rnams bka' drin gyis bskeyangs tshul dang/ da lta sku zhabs rin po che'i mdzad pa 'di 'dra yin kyang/ phal cher dus dang sems can gyi gshis*

Desi Rinpochoy appealed to the Gomang Abbot Jamyang Shayba, saying:

The common people are having misconceptions about the His Excellency's²⁶¹ (*sku zhabs*) activities. These days, you are the great axis of Buddhism. Thus, when you give public religious teachings, you must give special advice to them.

yin pas dad log byas na mi rung zhes gtan tshigs dang bcas tshogs gnam gnuang// Read *gling bsrer* for *gleng bsrer*.

Successive Dalai Lamas are thought to be the incarnation of the bodhisattva *Avalokiteshvara*. It is interesting that Jamyang Shayba seems to regard the Dalai Lama's actions as resulting from the debased morals of the "times and the people".

²⁶¹ In his English-language book, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967, 134) Tsepon Shakabpa comments on the usage of this honorific term, *sku zhabs*, in reference to the rival candidate who was designated as a replacement for the initial Sixth Dalai Lama:

Once the sixth Dalai Lama was deposed, Lhazang Khan made an announcement declaring that the sixth had not been a true incarnation of the previous Dalai Lama. He then put forth a young monk, Ngawang Yeshe Gyatso, as the true rebirth and enthroned him in the Potala as the real sixth Dalai Lama. The previous Dalai Lamas had been addressed as *Thamchad Khyenpa* ("The Omniscient One"); but the people referred to the new encumbant (sic.) as *Kushab* ("Mister"). He was not generally accepted as the true incarnation of the Dalai Lama by the people.

Shakabpa's point here is that the common people expressed their skepticism towards this substituted Sixth Dalai Lama by referring to him as *sku zhabs*, which I translate as "His Excellency".

However, nine years later, when Shakabpa published his far more extensive Tibetan-language history, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, he had explored many new sources. It is evident from some of these sources, including Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo's *The Biography of the Scholar and Adept, the Omniscient Jamyang Shayba*, that the term *sku zhabs* is used to refer to the initial Sixth Dalai Lama as well, as in the present quotation. Hence, it seems to have been the case that both the initial Sixth Dalai Lama and Labsang Khan's later substitute were regarded as different from the early Dalai Lama's since they were both referred to by a title less exalted than "Omniscient One".

During the summer, when Jamyang Shayba was giving general explanations at Lingsay (*gling bsre*), he gave reasoned advice:

Snowy Tibet is the special realm in which *Avalokiteshvara* teaches, and his incarnations, having successively come to Tibet, have sustained Tibetans with kindness. Although the activities of the Precious Excellency are like that at present, his actions are mostly a consequence of the nature of the times and of the people. Therefore, it is inappropriate to lose faith.

Even from the time period of the following generation, when Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo wrote the biography cited above, there have been currents of interpretation in which even the very unconventional behavior of the Sixth Dalai Lama was portrayed as having a profound, even mystical, significance. G. W. Houston suggests that he might have been “an adherent of a Tantric erotic cult, perhaps, even a shady one.”²⁶²

Glenn Mullin reports a discussion he had with the present Fourteenth Dalai Lama on the entire lineage of the fourteen Dalai Lamas. He outlined a meta-narrative in which the birthplaces, life’s work, and strategic alliances of the various incarnations are depicted as components of a large “masterplan” reaching across the successive lives of the early Dalai Lamas. According to Mullin’s retelling of this plan:²⁶³

²⁶² G. W. Houston, *Wings of the White Crane*, x.

²⁶³ Glenn Mullin, *Mystical Verse of a Mad Dalai Lama* (Wheaton, Illinois: Theosophical Publishing, 1994), 12-13.

The First [Dalai Lama] developed a spiritual support base in Tsang, southwestern Tibet; the Second extended this to central and southern Tibet; the Third further extended it to the Kham and Amdo provinces of eastern Tibet, and also to Mongolia; while the Fourth cemented the Lhasa-Mongolia spiritual alliance, with the Dalai Lama's office at the heart of this bond. Thus when the Great Fifth appeared on the scene, all the pieces were in place, and the role of spiritual and temporal leadership of a united Tibet fell effortlessly into his hands.

This narrative portrays the series of births as fulfilling a plan whereby the Fifth Dalai Lama was able to consolidate spiritual and temporal power in his hands. While it might be thought that the appearance of the Sixth Dalai, who conventionally speaking was so highly inappropriate to the role, would undermine the purposefulness of this "masterplan", the Dalai Lama continued his explanation with an account of a second "masterplan", again retold by Mullin:²⁶⁴

The Sixth felt that as the leader of the Tibetan people it would be inappropriate for him to remain as a "reincarnation," because between lifetimes there would always be a power vacuum of approximately twenty years from the time of the death of one Dalai Lama until the discovery, education, and growth of the successor.

Thus the Sixth refused to become a monk, feeling that it would be better to follow the spiritual model of the Sakya School of Tibetan

²⁶⁴Mullin, *Mystical Verse of a Mad Dalai Lama*, 13.

Buddhism, in which the religious throne passes by blood lineage.

The Sagya (*sa skya*) method for transmitting religious authority and leadership is unusual in Tibetan religious history. Religious and political authority were consolidated in Sagya Paṇḍita's (1182-1251, *sa skya paṇḍita*) hands in 1247 when he formed a deep religious bond with Goden Khan (d. circa 1251), the grandson of Genghis Khan (d. 1227). A patron-priest relationship was cultivated between their successors, Sagya Paṇḍita's nephew Chögyel Pagba Lodrö Gyeltsen (1235-1280, *chos rgyal 'phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan*) and Goden Khan's son Kublai Khan (d. 1294). Some degree of centralized religio-political authority remained in the hands of the Sagya lineage until 1358.²⁶⁵

Even after the Sagya hierarchs no longer retained political authority, the religious mantle continued to be handed down from generation to generation under the title of the Throne Holder of Sagya (*sa skya khri 'dzin*). At present the 41st Throne Holder is Sagya Trindzin Ngawang Kunga (b. 1945, *ngag dbang kun dga*). Unlike the Gelukba School in which the title of Dalai Lama passes from one incarnation to the next, the title of Sagya Throne Holder alternates between two linked families that trace their lineage back to the Imperial Period. The lineage has been hereditary since it was founded by Kōn Gönchok Gyelbo (1034-1102, *'khon dkon mchog rgyal po*). Because authority is transmitted between the eldest male member of the two families, the hierarchs of the two families must marry in order to produce the next generation of leaders.²⁶⁶ According to the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, the Sixth Dalai Lama felt the Sagya paradigm was a model to be admired since it avoided the problematic time period when the hierarch is a minor and power must be vested in a Regent (*rgyal tshab* or *sde srid*).

²⁶⁵ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, chapter 4.

²⁶⁶ Jeff Watt, ed., *Sakya Resource Guide*. <http://mypage.direct.ca/w/wattj/default.html>.

However that may be, it is clear that the libertine ways of the young Tsangyang Gyatso were not well received by some key elements of the Tibetan population, the Gelukba monastic authorities, the Tibetan nobles, and some of the all-important Mongolian patrons of Geluk. His licentious lifestyle was disconcerting in that it enabled people to entertain various undesirable possibilities which I think would include the following: (1) that he was not the true incarnation of the Fifth Dalai Lama, (2) that even if he was, he was not worthy of the axiomatic awe that was justified in the case of his predecessor, and (3) that his questionable legitimacy might endanger the relative tranquillity Tibet had experienced since 1642.

Despite his wayward behavior,²⁶⁷ the Dalai Lama was still accorded profound respect and deference by most common people because it was generally believed that he carried the spiritual charisma of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, who was widely regarded with deep admiration. However, since many people were alarmed by the volatile situation, the Qoshot warlord Labsang Khan saw a pretext for promoting his own cause. He realized that he himself would be unable to fully realize his own potential in Tibet so long as religio-political authority rested in the person of the Dalai Lama and the potent Regent Desi Sangyang Gyatso. Hence, he resolved to upset this balance of power. He found a willing ally in the person of the Chinese Emperor K'ang-hsi (ruled 1661-1722). The Emperor had his own designs on Tibet and, at the same time, he was hoping to check the rising power and influence — on his northwestern border — of the Dzungar Mongolians, who were allied with the Dalai Lama and the Desi, twin objectives he felt would be advanced by aiding

²⁶⁷ The following sketch is based upon Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, chapter 8; Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Dharma Lord*, 164.5ff; Petech, *China and Tibet*, 9-24; and Luciano Petech, "The Dalai Lamas and Regents of Tibet: A Chronology," in *Selected Papers on Asian History* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1988), 125-147.

Labsang Khan. Their shared interests happened also to coincide with those of both the Second Panchen Lama and perhaps Jamyang Shayba in that they opposed the Regent's schemes, blamed the Nyingma influence for the Dalai Lama's discomfiting behavior, and were favorably inclined to both the Qoshots and the Manchu Emperor.

Despite the centrifugal forces that were swirling in Tibet, Sangyay Gyatso labored to unify Tibetan resolve. He called together the most prominent Tibetan figures, including Jamyang Shayba and the other Abbots of the large monasteries around Lhasa. The Gomang Abbot, having originally come from northeastern Tibet, had a close relationship with many different Mongolian patrons, including especially Labsang Khan.²⁶⁸ Hence, Jamyang Shayba was particularly concerned that open conflict could erupt between Tibetans and the Qoshot Mongolians. At the same time, Desi Sangyay Gyatso was attempting to turn the tide against Labsang Khan. Shakabpa gives an account of the pivotal events of the meeting the Regent had called during that year's Great Prayer Festival. Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo's *The Biography of the Scholar and Adept, the Omniscient Jamyang Shayba*.²⁶⁹

Sangyay Gyatso asked the lamas (Abbots) what would happen if Labsang Khan were arrested. The lamas said nothing at all. Then Jamyang Shayba spoke up:

²⁶⁸ Jambel Shayrab, *The Transparent Mirror, the Exposition of How the Precious Teachings [of Buddhism] Spread in the Kingdom of the Great Hor [Mongolians] During Three Periods*, 53.

²⁶⁹ 54a.2. Quoted in Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, 481.17-482.4. *sde srid nas bla ma (mkhan po) tsho lall rgyal po bzungs na ji ltar yong gros dris pas// bla ma gzhan rnams ni cang mi gsungs// rje 'dis rgyal po 'dzin rgyu yin nall nga de'i gros nang na med// mtsho kha na rgyal po'i nye rigs thams cad yod pas de rnams kyis nged tsho la yag po byas mi yong zhes zhus par brten bla ma gzhan rnams kyis kyang de dang phyogs mthun par zhus pas 'dzin ma nus//*

If Labsang Khan is to be seized, then I will have no part in this discussion. All of the Khan's close family members are in Tsoka (Blue Lake), and they will not act well towards us.

The other lamas indicated their agreement, and thus Sangyay Gyatso was unable to make the arrest.

Shakabpa speculates that this meeting might have leaked to the Qoshot Mongolians. Whatever may be the case, Labsang Khan made his move in the summer of 1705, according to Petech, with "the friendship and moral support of the emperor." As the Mongolian Khan:²⁷⁰

marched on Lhasa with his army, Sañs-rgya-rgya-mts'o had gathered the Tibetan troops in the neighborhood of Lhasa and tried to offer resistance, but was defeated and took refuge in the fort of sTod-luñs sNañ-rtse [west of Lhasa]. Surrounded there by Lha-bzañs Khan's troops, he was persuaded to surrender by a false order feigning issue from the Dalai Lama; he gave himself up, and on... September 6th, 1705, he was put to death.

When the Desi was captured, Jamyang Shayba and other high lamas left Drebung hoping to intervene, apparently at the urging of the Dalai Lama.²⁷¹ The Pañchen Lama also tried to pacify the tense situation.

²⁷⁰ Petech, *China and Tibet*, 10.

²⁷¹ Aris, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives*, 163.

Every place the lamas went, they heard rumors that the Desi had been taken in another direction. Jamyang Shayba decided that it would best simply to follow the Mongolian forces. He persisted, traveling all over the local area. Finally, he and his party arrived at the camp of Labsang Khan's Queen Tsaying Drashi (*tshé ring bkru shis*). Shakabpa provides insight into what happened next:²⁷²

[Jamyang Shayba's attendants] asked, "Where is the Desi?" [The Queen] said, "He isn't." The monks said, "Do not speak like that. We must meet with him today." The Queen replied, "Since he has been killed, that is not possible. Most likely, his corpse has not even lost its warmth." She went on to ask if they would like to stay there and leave after lunch.

With a flaming heart, the Gomang Abbot [Jamyang Shayba] scolded the [Mongolians], "There is no one more base than you. If you have assassinated the Desi, what is the problem with allowing me to hear of it?" That day, Jamyang Shayba was so upset that it is said that he was unable to recite his usual daily prayers. It is related in some oral traditions that Jamyang Shayba was led on a wild goose chase because he and Labsang Khan had a Patron-Priest relationship.

²⁷² Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, 483.13-484.1. *sde srid gang na yod gsung par// med zer ba lall khyod tsho 'di 'dra ma zer// nga tsho de ring cis kyang njal 'phrad dgos yod gsungs pas// bkrongs nas med zer// phal cher sku pur sku pur la drod ma yal tsam red ces gleng// rgyal mos khyed rnam 'dir bzhugs la gdung tshigs mdzad nas phebs na zhus pas// sgo mang mkhan po thugs 'tshigs nas// khyod tsho las ma rabs pa mi 'dug// sde srid bkrongs rgyu yin na nga la thos bcug na ci skyon gsungs nas bka' bkyon mdzad cing// de nyin thugs 'khrugs te rgyun gyi zhal 'don yang chag zer// 'ga' shas kyis sgo mang mkhan po hla bzang dang yon mchod stabs ched mngags 'gor lam nas 'khrud tshul ngag rgyun du'ang gleng//* This passage is based on Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo's *The Biography of the Scholar and Adept, the Omniscient Jamyang Shayba*.

The implication of the last line is that since Labsang Khan and Jamyang Shayba had a Patron-Priest relationship, the Khan would have found it difficult to disobey a direct request had Jamyang Shayba been able to ask him personally to spare the Desi's life. There is another oral tradition indicating that Jamyang Shayba encountered the Khan on the road when the latter was on his way to capture Desi Sangyay Gyatso, but that he had evaded the Lama's direct inquiries about his intentions.

In the end, an agreement was reached wherein both the Khan and the Regent would retire from active involvement in Central Tibet. The Khan was to return to northeastern Tibet and the Regent was to depart for a remote estate. However, the substitute Regent, Sangyay Gyatso's son Ngawang Rinchen (d. 1706, *ngag dbang rin chen*), was unable to pacify the situation and that unfortunate man too would be executed within a year. The Khan claimed, however, that the supposedly retired Regent still held all of the power. He may even have continued to reside at the Potala Palace, instead of withdrawing to the estate as had been agreed. This was the provocation that resulted in Labsang Khan's attack on the capital and his arrest of the Desi. Hugh Richardson records an oral tradition that says the Desi and Labsang Khan were rivals for the affection of Tsaying Drashi, and that they settled the question by playing a game of chess, which Labsang Khan won.²⁷³ If the story is true, it is particularly ironic that the Queen would ultimately become the instrument of Sangyay Gyatso's murder.

With the death of the Desi, the Qoshot Khan turned his attention to the young Dalai Lama. He and the Emperor realized they had to tread carefully if they were to avoid inspiring resistance among the Tibetans they hoped to influence and dominate. In particular,

²⁷³ Hugh E. Richardson, "The Fifth Dalai Lama's Decree Appointing Sang-rgyas rgya-mtsho as Regent," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XLIII, no. 2 (1980): 343.

they had to be careful not to alienate the center of power located in the great Geluk monasteries of Central Tibet. They could be certain, also, that the Dzungars would be incited by any diminishment in the status of the Dalai Lama. Labsang Khan first pressured prominent lamas in Central Tibet to withdraw from Tsangyang Gyatso their recognition of him as the Dalai Lama. They refused to do that, but they did agree to declare that “the spiritual enlightenment (*bodhi*) no longer dwelt in him (the Dalai Lama).”²⁷⁴ The Khan felt this provided him with sufficient theological cover that he could seize the young lama the following summer.

Under the pretense of taking him to China at the invitation of the Emperor, Labsang Khan tried to whisk him out of Central Tibet. According to Pomplun, When, however, the procession passed close to Drebung Monastery, the monks poured out of the monastery obstructing the passage of the Qoshot troops. Fighting with inadequate weapons but with greater zeal, the monks were able to free the Dalai Lama and secure him at Drebung Monastery. Eventually, though, under the threat that the Mongolians would sack and pillage the monastery, the young Dalai Lama did leave the monastery, voluntarily offering himself for arrest. Despite this courageous act on the Dalai Lama’s part, the Mongolians attacked the monastery as Labsang Khan left for China with his helpless prisoner.

Along the way, likely near Blue Lake, something happened and the young man passed away. Some scholars, including Shakabpa, Petech, and Aris²⁷⁵ assert that the Dalai

²⁷⁴ Aris, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives*, 164. Petech (*China and Tibet*, 12) adds that the Ganden throne holder was a party to this declaration.

²⁷⁵ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, 493.19-494.3, Petech, *China and Tibet*, 13, Aris, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives*, 166. Sumba Kenbo, a protégé of Jamyang Shayba and a recipient of Qoshot patronage, wrote an apologetic defense of Qoshot Mongolians throughout this period. In his telling, Labsang Khan seems merely to have been following the Emperor’s orders in conveying the Dalai to China when he died, apparently innocently. It is interesting also that he blames most of the problems leading up to this point

Lama died of natural causes. However, it was commonly believed among the public at the time, as recorded by Desideri, the Italian missionary then living in Lhasa, that Lobsang Khan had murdered the Sixth Dalai Lama in transit to China.²⁷⁶ The Khan asserted that the youth had never been the incarnation of the Fifth Dalai Lama and swiftly appointed a replacement who had been born soon after the death of the revered previous Dalai Lama. Indeed, it was even rumored that the replacement was actually Lobsang Khan's son.²⁷⁷ This figure, perceived as a pretender to the Potala's throne by many, never gained the support of the public in central Tibet. Instead of the expected groundswell of faith in the replacement, Tibetans remained skeptical of the Khan's intentions. In 1707, the Panchen Lama, willingly or not, granted his seal of approval to the Khan's plans when he enthroned Baygar Dzinba (b. 1686, *pad dkar 'dzin pa*) as the replacement Sixth Dalai Lama.²⁷⁸

Despite that, when it was reported the following year in 1708 that the original Sixth Dalai Lama had reincarnated in Litang in eastern Tibet, people were reminded of a previously cryptic verse penned by Tsangyang Gyatso:²⁷⁹

White crane,

Lend me your wings,

on the Regent. See Ho-Chin Yang, *The Annals of Kokonor* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1969), 45 and *passim*.

²⁷⁶ Noted in Petech, *China and Tibet*, 13. Pomplun (*Spiritual Warfare*, 179) charges Desideri and later missionaries with spreading this account. Other contemporary scholars are inclined to believe that Tsangyang Gyatso was murdered, including K. Dhondup, *The Water-Horse and Other Years: a history of 17th and 18th Century Tibet* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1984), 34.

²⁷⁷ Petech, "The Dalai Lamas and Regents of Tibet: A Chronology," 128.

²⁷⁸ Aris, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives*, 172.

²⁷⁹ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, 494.16-18. *bya de khrung khrung dkar poll gshogs rtsal nga la g.yor dang// sa thag ring por mi 'groll li thang bskor nas slebs yong//*

And I will not fly far away.

I will come from the environs of Litang.

This development represented a crisis for many involved parties. The Pañchen Lama had invested a measure of his prestige in the replacement Dalai Lama, only to have doubt cast upon him. Eventually, the Pañchen Lama would have to confirm that he had been in error to confer the status of the Dalai Lama on Baygar Dzinba when, in 1720, he had to affirm the child from Litang as the Seventh Dalai Lama Kelsang Gyatso (1708-1757, *skal bzang rgya mtsho*).

More critically, the Dzungar Mongolians, the Qoshot Labsang Khan, and the Emperor each desperately needed to gain control over the young incarnation if they were to implement their respective designs. The Dzungars were furious at what they perceived as Labsang Khan's usurpation of the authority of the only legitimate leader of Tibet, the Dalai Lama. If they were to further their long-standing objective of building a theocracy under the leadership of the Dalai Lama, they would have to lay hold of the incarnation in Litang. Labsang Khan would have liked to maintain the substitute Sixth Dalai Lama he had placed on the Potala throne. Clearly, the Litang candidate, since he had popular support, threatened this scheme. The Chinese Emperor, having supported Labsang Khan up to that point, recognized the intense resistance the imposition of a substitute Sixth Dalai Lama had inspired among both the Tibetan and Mongolian faithful. If he could control the Litang candidate, he might be able to undercut Labsang Khan's rival aspirations.

When reports of the Litang child first surfaced, Labsang Khan did not react to them. However, once public opinion began to shift from the Khan's substitute Sixth Dalai Lama to

the new incarnation of the Seventh Dalai Lama, he had to act. He sent a delegation to investigate the child. However, the child's family resolved to hide him from the Khan's representatives, moving him to Dergay Monastery (*sde dge*). The child had been placed under protection by a number of Qoshot Mongolian chieftains from the Blue Lake region, including Erdeni Jinong.²⁸⁰ This is the very figure who, in 1695, had invited Jamyang Shayba to return to his birthplace in Amdo in eastern Tibet in order to found a monastery. From this point on, there is a clearly identifiable split within the Qoshot, with Labsang Khan and Erdeni Jinong representing the two poles.

Meanwhile, the Emperor decided to withhold recognition of Labsang Khan's substitute Sixth Dalai Lama in order to evaluate if it might be more advantageous to shift his support to the Litang candidate. Even before he granted his recognition, he came to an agreement with the Blue Lake Qoshot whereby the Litang child would be moved to Kumbum Monastery (*sku "bum*) in Amdo. By the time the Emperor did grant his recognition, the big Gelukba monasteries in Central Tibet had already demonstrated their allegiance to that course of action. Thus, even though the Emperor had approved of the Khan's murder of the Regent and had been complicit in the removal of the Sixth Dalai Lama, he now found it possible to distance himself from Labsang Khan in the minds of many Tibetans.²⁸¹ This earned him a significant degree of goodwill among various interested parties, including the big Geluk monasteries and the nobles of Central Tibet who both loathed the rule of the Khan, the Blue Lake Qoshot who were caring for the Litang child,

²⁸⁰ The name of this important figure is given by Petech, *China and Tibet*, 17, as "Junwang dGa'-Idan Ärdani Ju-nañ". Paul Nietupski, *Labrang: A Tibetan Buddhist Monastery at the Crossroads to Four Civilization* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1999), 21 has "Henan Qinwang" "Prince Erdeni Jinong".

²⁸¹ Shakabpa, *One hundred Thousand Moons*, volume 1, 499-501.

and the Amdo Gelukbas including Jamyang Shayba, who were favorably inclined to the Chinese at any rate.

The successful maneuvers of Jamyang Shayba's patron, Erdeni Jinong, and the other Blue Lake Qoshot had secured the Litang child. Jinong had recognized the Litang child as the Seventh Dalai Lama earlier than most, and from that point he had worked to protect him through his youth. Undoubtedly with the support of Jamyang Shayba, who was by then at Labrang Monastery in Amdo at the behest of Erdeni Jinong, the latter had first secured the child at Dergay Monastery in Kam, later brought him to the Blue Lake in Amdo, reached an agreement on his behalf with the Emperor (even withstanding the Emperor's repeated requests to have the child brought to the Chinese capital), and later settled him at Kumbum Monastery where he was safe from harm.

Once Erdeni Jinong had secured the Emperor's support for the Litang child, his status as the Seventh Dalai Lama was assured. This alliance had successfully outflanked Labsang Khan, who became increasingly isolated. Also suffering in prestige was the Panchen Lama, who even as late as 1712 declined to shift his recognition from Labsang Khan's substitute Sixth Dalai Lama to the Litang Seventh Dalai Lama. After an inept attack on Bhutan in 1717, Labsang Khan was forced to retreat in disarray. He traveled to Drashi Hlunbo Monastery to confer with one of the few parties whose interests still seemed to correspond to his own, the Panchen Lama. The Khan's aspirations for his Tibetan kingdom appeared to be in shambles.²⁸²

Instability and disorder had overtaken Central Tibet, and things were to worsen dramatically before they improved. Before long, outright war broke out, in the process consuming a tremendous number of Central Tibet's youths, a great deal of her treasure, and

²⁸² Petech, *China and Tibet*, 19-24.

most of her attention. The machinations of Labsang Khan, the conflicting interests of the various Mongolian interests, the Chinese Emperor's maneuvering, and internal Tibetan factions would result in decades of chaotic public life in the central region of the country.

Labsang Khan's fate was sealed as it became evident that the interests of the Dzungar Mongolians and the Qoshot Mongolians in the Blue Lake region were in harmony. Although they had entirely opposite relations with the Emperor, they found themselves in agreement on their most important aspiration; both wanted to place the Litang child on the Potala throne as the Seventh Dalai Lama. Still the two groups were not ready to make up, in part because the Dzungars attempted to capture the young Dalai Lama from Kumbum Monastery. Nevertheless, with the support of the three great Geluk monasteries in Central Tibet and many of the nobles, the Dzungar King, Tsewang Rabten (b. seventeenth century, *tshe dbang rab brtan*), determined to attack Labsang Khan. The latter's isolation is evidenced by the fact that Tibetan troops guarding the city put up little resistance.²⁸³

The triumph of the Dzungars was not met with universal happiness, however. As they swiftly imposed their pro-Geluk rule in Central Tibet, Nyingmaba monks and their monasteries were subjected to particular persecution. The unbridled destruction the looting Dzungars wreaked upon them inevitably spilled over onto Bönbos and other religious orders. Ultimately, they even alienated the Gelukbas who they had ostensibly come to protect. A general Tibetan uprising against the Dzungars and the approach of an army from China eventually drove the Dzungars back into central Asia. The Seventh Dalai Lama was finally able to appear in Lhasa in 1720, and so to that extent things had returned to normal. However, the institution of the Dalai Lama would never be the same.

²⁸³ These events are discussed in great detail by Petech (*China and Tibet*, 25-41) and Shakabpa (*One Hundred Thousand Moons*, volume 1, 503-512).

Later Years at Labrang Drashi Kyil Monastery

In the midst of those tumultuous events, Jamyang Shayba met in Central Tibet with various Mongolian and Tibetan patrons of Buddhism, including notably Erdeni Jinong, the Mongolian chieftain of the Qoshots settled at the Blue Lake in Amdo. They renewed their request for him to return to eastern Tibet in order to found a new monastery there. Although Jamyang Shayba had declined the invitation in the latter part of the seventeenth century due to his many commitments in Central Tibet, in 1709, when he was sixty-one years old, he saw things differently and decided to return to his homeland. The following year, he departed Central Tibet accompanied by about two hundred followers from Gomang Monastery. With the patronage and support of Erdeni Jinong and other prominent chieftains in the region he founded Labrang Drashi Kyil (*bla brang bkra shis 'khyil*) Monastery, which would eventually become the largest and most influential monastery in northeastern Tibet. This move enabled Jamyang Shayba to elude the chaotic scene in the heart of Tibet.

His move also had a decisive impact on the future successes of the Gelukba School in northeastern Tibet and throughout Central Asia. As we have noted, alliances between Mongolian Khans and Tibetan Buddhist lamas reach all the way back to the thirteenth century meeting between Sagya Paṇḍita and Goden Khan in 1247. Neither the Nyingma or Gagyū Schools ever developed enduring relationships with significant Mongolian patrons, and the formerly close bonds between the Yüan Empire and the Sagyabas had long since declined. Henry Serruys notes that from the middle of the fifteenth century until the latter part of the sixteenth century, there are no “direct indications” of the presence of Tibetan lamas, Sagya or otherwise, in Mongolia. The next time Tibetan lamas appear on the

Mongolian stage they are overwhelmingly Gelukbas.²⁸⁴ In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Third Dalai Lama and especially the Fourth and Fifth Dalai Lamas had fortified relations between the dominant Mongolian patrons and the Gelukba School in particular. As we have seen, the Fifth Dalai Lama's relationship with the Qoshot Mongolian Gushri Khan cemented the influence of the Geluk School among the Qoshots and created an environment in which many Mongolians became ever more closely involved in Tibetan politics.

Jamyang Shayba's move to the Amdo gave him a particularly high profile in the grasslands of the Blue Lake region, in Mongolia, and in Mongolian-occupied lands to the west. As a consequence, for generations, he and his subsequent incarnations were held in particularly high esteem throughout these regions, and Mongolians have a long historical association with both Gomang and Labrang Monasteries as both patrons and monks. Moreover, Jamyang Shayba's textbooks are studied at a disproportionate number of monasteries throughout the Mongolian cultural region. From as far away as the Volga River Valley where the Kalmuks — recently converted to Gelukba Tibetan Buddhism — had

²⁸⁴ Elliot Sperling, "Notes on References to 'Bri-Gung-pa - Mongol Contact in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, ed. by Shoren Ihara and Zuiho Yamaguchi, Monograph Series of the Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies, Occasional Papers, 2 (Chiba-ken, Japan: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992), 742-743 and Turrell Wylie, "Reincarnation: A Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism," in *Proceedings of Csomo de Koros Memorial Symposium*, ed. by Louis Ligeti (Budapest: Akademiak Kiado, 1984), 582. Sperling and Wylie note the very minimal contacts there were between Gagyubas and the Mongols. Wylie also says the Sagya influence in the Mongol court came to an end in 1333. Likely most other contacts between them would have declined quite rapidly after the collapse of Sagya central authority in 1358. Henry Serruys, "Early Lamaism in Mongolia," *Oriens Extremus* X (1963): 201-202.

settled in the early seventeenth century,²⁸⁵ youths who aspired to be scholar monks often traveled to either Central Tibet or Amdo, frequently studying the texts of Jamyang Shayba at Gomang near Lhasa or Labrang in Amdo. Charlene Makley describes the relationship Labrang maintained with communities beyond the monastery itself:²⁸⁶

The charisma and learning of the first five 'Jam-dByangs bZhad-pa's (sic.) attracted the patronage and loyalty of commoners and elites alike, and by the first half of the twentieth century, Labrang had expanded its religious and political influence over "branch" monasteries (tib. *dgon lag*) and "patron" (i.e., subject) tribes (tib. *lha sde, chos sde, mi sde*) into Qinghai, Sichuan and Mongolia.

She also notes that:

In its heyday during the 19th and 20th centuries, Labrang is said to have accumulated 108 branch monasteries. That number is actually symbolic; it is a sacred Buddhist number. [Various sources] all list 94 such monasteries... In addition, the monastery is traditionally said to

²⁸⁵ Henry Howorth, *History of the Mongols: From the 9th to the 19th Century*, Part I (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1876), 516. Howorth (497-498) discusses the usage of the name "Kalmuk". According to his investigations, the people so designated did not use the name themselves. Rather European and Russian historians, taking their cue from Central Asian Turkic tribes, called many of the western Mongols "Kalmuks". The term has an ancient history and is the name by which those people "were known to Abulghazi Khan, the historian of the Mongols, who wrote in the seventeenth century."

²⁸⁶ Charlene Makley, *Embodying the Sacred: Gender and Monastic Revitalization in China's Tibet* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1999), 133-134. The following quotation is from n. 42, p. 134.

have had eight great patron tribes directly ruled by the monastery, yet again there were actually many more groups that maintained other types of relationships with the monastery.

Especially today, young Mongolian monks from far-flung regions of Asia under Mongolian cultural influence, including Kalmykia on the Caspian Sea and Buryatia around Lake Baykal, go to the re-established Gomang Monastery in south India for their monastic education.

Soon after Jamyang Shayba arrived in Amdo, tents were erected to serve as the initial home of the new monastery while construction was under way. At the time, Jamyang Shayba's primary patron, Erdeni Jinong, "the preeminent ruler in Amdo south of the Ma chu/Yellow River," was renowned as "Sogpo Gyalpo," the Mongolian King, throughout the area:²⁸⁷

By the early eighteenth century, the Mongol tribes [living in the area] had largely adopted Tibetan language, lifestyles, and religion. Of all the peoples present in the region the Mongols enjoyed the strongest sense of solidarity and peaceful coexistence with the Tibetans. This was doubtless the result of the Mongol sponsorship of the monastery and the Mongols' faith in Tibetan Buddhism. The local Mongols, with a royal palace located at Labrang, were responsible for financing much of the original construction of Labrang Monastery in the early eighteenth century and maintained significant but gradually declining political influence [up to the early twentieth century].

Founded precisely 300 years after Dzongkaba established Ganden Monastery as the seat of the Gelukba School, the monastery gradually became the focus of the local religious and political landscape. However, according to Ngawang Drashi (1678-1738, *ngag dbang bkra shis*), one of his close disciples, Jamyang Shayba himself did not play an active role in these affairs after the first two or three years, instead assigning the actual operation of the Monastery.²⁸⁸

Ngawang Drashi, who was born in Lower Amdo, entered Gomang where he studied the five topics of the monastic curriculum, excelling particularly in his logic and epistemology classes.²⁸⁹ He studied Middle Way philosophy directly under the by-then famous Jamyang Shayba. It is said that he tried to hang himself as a result of some unspecified inner conflict. When his attempt failed he became extremely ill, and his revered Amdo teacher sent him an amulet and some water, which effected his recovery. He eventually followed Jamyang Shayba into the Tantric College of Lower Lhasa. Years later, when Jamyang Shayba accepted the invitation to return to Amdo, Ngawang Drashi was prominent among two hundred monks who accompanied him. While Jamyang Shayba was the official Abbot, he appointed Ngawang Drashi as the disciplinarian of the prayer assembly (*tshogs chen dge bskos*). The latter oversaw the creation of the formal regulations of Labrang, including everything from the form of monastic dress to the curriculum of study. Ultimately,

²⁸⁸ Vladimir L. Uspensky, "The Life and Works of Ngag-dbang bkra-shis (1678-1738), the second Abbot of the Bla-brang bkra-shis-'khyil Monastery," in *Proceeding of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, vol. II (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften, 1997), 1007.

²⁸⁹ This biographical sketch of Ngawang Drashi is based on Uspensky, "The Life and Works of Ngag-dbang bkra-shis (1678-1738), 1005-1010. Uspensky (1006) mistakenly asserts that Jamyang Shayba founded the Gomang College of Drebung. This is contradicted by the many references in Jamyang Shayba's own *Verse Autobiography* to his having studied with various previous Abbots of Gomang Monastery.

he took over the real operation of the Monastery as Jamyang Shayba's Regent, running the monastery for almost thirty years. In addition to directing the monastic training, he was responsible for overseeing the construction of the initial buildings and preserving and printing the works of the Master.²⁹⁰

Jamyang Shayba continued to teach at the monastery, particularly the advanced students. In addition, he gave public teachings at Labrang and beyond. Through the final decade of his life, he traveled throughout the Blue Lake region, the nearby Chinese territories, and most importantly among the nomadic groups in Mongolia. These teaching tours served to consolidate the position of Labrang throughout the region, provoking as they did, intense devotion to Jamyang Shayba personally, to Labrang Monastery, and finally to the Geluk School. Notably also, the relationship that grew out of these personal appearances resulted in substantial patronage, reportedly even in excess of the massive patronage the Fifth Dalai Lama had received when he traveled through those same lands in Jamyang Shayba's youth. This important issue remains a topic for future research.

As for his scholarship, in 1713, he completed the second and third chapters of the sub-commentary Desi Sangyay Gyatso had commissioned on Dharmakīrti's "*Commentary on Dignāga's 'Compendium on Valid Cognition'*" so many years before.²⁹¹ Over a period of several years he composed his voluminous commentary on the last of the five classics of Indian Buddhist philosophy studied in Geluk, Maitreya's *Ornament for Clear Realization*.²⁹²

²⁹⁰ Kurtis R. Schaeffer, "Printing the Works of the Master: Tibetan Editorial Practice in the Collected Works of 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje I (1648-1721)," *Acta Orientalia* 60 (1999): 168.

²⁹¹ Jamyang Shayba, *Decisive Analysis of (Dharmakīrti's) "Commentary on Dignāga's 'Compendium on Valid Cognition,'"* Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyangs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, vol. 13 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1972), 1-870.

²⁹² Jamyang Shayba, *Decisive Analysis of (Maitreya's) 'Ornament for Clear Realization,' The Jewel Lamp that Illuminates All Meanings of the Perfection of Wisdom,* Collected Works of

Chapter 2 and 3 were finished in the very productive year of 1713. The following year, he presented these chapters to the youthful Seventh Dalai Lama Kelsang Gyatso, then safely ensconced at Kumbum Monastery.²⁹³ Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo says Jamyang Shayba also composed a commentary on Dzongkaba's *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path* in 1713. However, the version that was eventually included within his Collected Works, mentioned above, was unfinished.²⁹⁴ The other chapters of his commentary on Maitreya's text were completed over the ensuing years. In 1718, Jamyang Shayba revisited the *Ornament for Clear Realization* one last time, writing a revised version of chapter eight. Both versions are included in his Collected Works. In 1714, Jamyang Shayba completed a lengthy and comprehensive account of the *Vajrabhairava Tantra* in both India and Tibet.²⁹⁵ In 1715, he finished a translation of an important Sanskrit lexicon, Amarasimha's *Immortal Treasury*. It is reported that he prepared an edition of this work that is now lost to us, but which employed

²⁹³ Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1972), vol. 7, 1-715 and vol. 8, 1-673.

Evidently, the seventh chapter written by Jamyang Shayba was lost during unrest in the region soon after his death. Ngawang Drashi himself is said to have composed a substitute. See Kurtis R. Schaeffer, "Printing the Works of the Master," 169.

²⁹⁴ Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Dharma Lord*, 262.3-264.2.

²⁹⁵ Jamyang Shayba, *Treasury of Scripture and Reasoning, An Explanation of (Dzongkaba's) Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment*, Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, vol. 4 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973), 337-477.

²⁹⁵ Jamyang Shayba, *The Religious History of the Glorious Vajrabhairava, Conqueror over the Three Realms, A Treasury of Feats*, Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, vol. 5 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973), 1-835. E. Gene Smith (front pages to the Collected Works, vol. 5) and A. I. Vostrikov (*Tibetan Historical Literature* [Soviet Indology Series No. 4. trans. by H.C. Gupta. Calcutta: 1970; reprinted by Surrey: Curzon, 1994], 178) are in agreement that this work was completed in 1718, but Sumba Khenbo's Chronology identifies the year as 1714. See Bireshwar Singh, trans. and ed., *The Chronology of Tibet According to the Re'u-mig of Sum-pa-mkhan-po* (Patna: Bihar Research Society, 1991), 105. See note 298 for discussion of the reliability of Sumba Kenbo's dates.

both the Tibetan and the Sanskrit *devanāgarī* scripts.²⁹⁶ His final entry in his *Chronological Tables* was for the year 1715, making it probable that he did not return to that work in later years.²⁹⁷

Throughout his later life, Jamyang Shayba became even less involved in the affairs of the monastery, and Ngawang Drashi became the de facto Abbot. Jamyang Shayba's literary production diminished also. Instead, he turned his attention more and more to his own spiritual practice and to the guidance of his close disciples. At his death, in either 1721 or 1722,²⁹⁸ he left a legacy that continues to provide a focus for religious life among Tibetans

²⁹⁶ Jamyang Shayba, *Treatise on Rhetoric, Amarasimha's Treasury, mngon brjod kyi bstan bcos 'chi ba med pa'i mdzod*, Collected Works (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973) volume 15, 567-791. Kurtis R. Schaeffer, "Printing the Works of the Master: Tibetan Editorial Practice in the Collected Works of 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje I (1648-1721)," *Acta Orientalia* 60 (1999): 172-173. See also Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Dharma Lord*, 270.6. Another multi-lingual lexicon in Chinese, Mongolian, Sanskrit, and Tibetan has been reprinted in Lokesh Chandra, *Quadrilingual Mahāvvyutpatti* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1981).

²⁹⁷ Collected Works, volume 1, 81-132. This text is translated with added notes from Sumba Kenbo in Alaka Chattopadhyaya and Sanjit Kumar Sadhukhan, *Tibetan Chronological Tables of Jam-dbyaṅs bžad-pa and Sum-pa mkhan-po* (Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1993).

²⁹⁸ There is some question about when Jamyang Shayba passed away. Lokesh Chandra, "The Life and Works of hJam-dbyaṅs-bzhad pa." *Central Asiatic Journal* 7, no. 4 (1962): 265; the same author's *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*, vol. 1 (New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1963), 46; Jeffrey Hopkins, *Meditation on Emptiness* (London: Wisdom Publications, 1983), 777, and Kurtis Schaeffer, "Printing the Works of the Master: Tibetan Editorial Practice in the Collected Works of 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje I (1648-1721)," *Acta Orientalia* 60 (1999): 159, maintain that he died in 1721. In contrast, several other sources identify his death year as 1722, including Alaka Chattopadhyaya and Sanjit Kumar Sadhukhan's *Tibetan Chronological Tables of Jam-dbyaṅs bžad-pa and Sum-pa mkhan-po* (Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1993), 255; Sadhukhan, "Biography of the Eminent Tibetan Scholar 'Jam-dbyaṅs bshad-pa ṅag-dbañ brtson-'grus (A. D. 1648-1722)," *Tibet Journal* 16, no. 2 (1991), 19; Bireshwar Singh, trans. and ed., *The Chronology of Tibet According to the Re'u-mig of Sum-pa-mkhan-po* (Patna: Bihar Research Society, 1991), 106; E. Gene Smith *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 329, n. 805; and A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetan Historical*

and Mongolians throughout a vast region of eastern Tibet, Mongolian areas, and beyond.

Literature (Soviet Indology Series No. 4. tr. H.C. Gupta. Calcutta: 1970; reprinted by Surrey: Curzon, 1994), 10, n. 14. The disagreement is not simply a matter of the discord between the solar and Tibetan lunar calendar as is often the case. The Tibetan sources themselves are in conflict over whether he passed away in the Tibetan years designated as the Iron-Ox (1721) or the Water-Tiger (1722).

In the midst of such disagreement, it seems best to rely on Tibetan sources written by people close to Jamyang Shayba. Some would regard Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo as the most reliable source on such matters since he was the subsequent incarnation of Jamyang Shayba. His relative proximity in time lends credence to his declaration that Jamyang Shayba passed away in 1721, the Female-Iron-Ox year, at the age of 74. Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Dharma Lord*, 307.2.

However, Sumba Kenbo (1704-1788, *sum pa mkhan po*) is on the other side of the question. He would have been 17 or 18 when Jamyang Shayba died and describes the lama as “My Master Rinpochoy Jamyang Shayba Ngawang Dzöndru” (*bdag gi slob dpon rin po che ’jam dbyangs bzhad pa ngag dbang brtson ’grus*). In the introduction to Singh’s translation of Sumba Kenbo’s *Chronology*, xii-xiii, he notes that as a youth, Sumba Kenbo lived at several different monasteries, evidently not including Labrang, which was founded during this exact time period. Singh comments that “a scholar named Kun-mkhyen showed much favour to Sum-pa-mkhan-po and arranged essential commodities for him.” The TBRC web site (P339) indicates also that he was recognized as an incarnate lama and was brought to the Sumba Labrang (*sum pa bla brang*) of Gönlung Jamba Monastery (*dgon lung byams pa gling*) in 1712.

It is possible that the “Kun-mkhyen” mentioned by Singh was Jamyang Shayba, who is still commonly called by that name, the “Omniscient One”. The very year that Sumba Kenbo says Jamyang Shayba died, 1722, he himself left eastern Tibet to continue his education at Gomang Monastery. If all of these fragments fit together in this way, it would seem that Sumba Kenbo would have been close-at-hand during Jamyang Shayba’s last days. His account of the year of Jamyang Shayba’s death, then, would have to be privileged, even in the face of Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo’s contrary view. The date of 1722 is also posited as the year of Jamyang Shayba death by the comparatively late, but authoritative, *Ocean Annals*, volume 3, (completed in 1865) by the 49th Abbot of Labrang, Gönchok Denba Rabgyen (b. 1801, *dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyan*).

Oddly, the English language preface to the Tibetan printing of Lodrö Gyatso’s (1851-1928/1930, *blo gros rgya mtsho*) *The Sun Clarifying the Thought and the Meaning of the Profound Treasury of Scripture and Reasoning* (of Jamyang Shayba’s “Decisive Analysis of [Chandrakīrti’s ‘Supplement to Nāgārjuna’s ‘Treatise on the Middle Way’]”, mentions Jamyang Shayba’s dates as 1646-1718, expressing a view not held, to my knowledge, by anyone with respect to both the birth year and the death year.

Even in the early decades of the twentieth century, Jamyang Shayba continued to have a status among his followers in those regions nearly rivaling that of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama.²⁹⁹

The overarching impression Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo's biography of his predecessor creates is a picture of a reclusive scholar devoted to his writing, a yogi trained by the foremost Geluk lamas of his time, an articulate exponent of the Geluk School, and a charismatic lama who guided the religious education of the elite and the ordinary, Tibetans and Mongolians, monks and lay people, all while leading a life remote from the affairs of the world. Yet he was involved in many of the most consequential events of his time, an era that determined, to a great extent, the future course of Central Asian history. It was also a time period during which an often uncomfortable mixture of religion and politics caused religious figures to find themselves involved in deeply regrettable events. Perhaps it is for this reason that Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo is sometimes cagey about his subject's actual involvement with the notable political events and personalities of his day.

Jamyang Shayba and Desi Sangyay Gyatso seem to have had a cordial and harmonious relationship through the initial phases of the latter's regency. The Regent often called upon Jamyang Shayba to assist him in efforts that were directed at promoting the interests of the Geluk School. We have already noted the occasions when Jamyang Shayba was asked to intervene with the wayward Sixth Dalai Lama. At times, he was asked to promote some dimension of the Fifth Dalai Lama's intra-Geluk religious agenda, such as when he was asked to refute Panchen Sönam Dragba's monastic texts.³⁰⁰ It does not seem to

²⁹⁹ Joseph Rock, *The Amnye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions: A Monographic Study* (Rome: Is. M. E. O., 1956), 33.

³⁰⁰ See discussion below, p. 216.

be the case, however, that Jamyang Shayba was ever conscripted into of the efforts to assimilate Nyingma ideology into the Geluk religio-political structure. The two men also appear to have had a teacher-student relationship, and relatedly, the Regent early on asked the lama to compose a text for him. The fact that Jamyang Shayba was appointed as the Abbot of Gomang Monastery must also be taken as a sign that the men had agreeable relations as late as 1700.

Nonetheless, as the new century began, tensions increasingly emerged between them. The evident irritation the Regent displayed towards Jamyang Shayba on the occasion of receiving the first chapter of the text he commissioned the Abbot to write is likely a sign of a deeper unease between them. It seems reasonable to assume that, in part, the Regent's unhappiness with the Abbot can be traced to the latter's increased involvement with Labsang Khan. The long affinity between eastern Tibetans and their Mongolian neighbors undoubtedly fostered the development of a relationship between Jamyang Shayba and Labsang Khan. They had known each other at least since the 1702 meeting convened in Shigadzay in an effort to encourage the young Dalai Lama to assume monastic ordination. Their closeness is evident by 1703 when Jamyang Shayba treated Labsang Khan and his close aides for a severe case of poisoning, evidently authored by the Regent. The Regent must have also felt Jamyang Shayba was taking sides with the Khan during the fateful meeting in which the Regent tried to persuade the abbots of the great Geluk monasteries to arrest Labsang Khan; it was Jamyang Shayba's refusal that preserved the Khan.

Despite Desi Sangyay Gyatso's apparent fears to the contrary, there was also tension between Jamyang Shayba and Labsang Khan. The Abbot was among those who negotiated the agreement intended to resolve the conflict between the Regent and the Khan that would

have kept the Khan out of Central Tibet. When he returned to Lhasa and set in motion the events that resulted in the Regent's murder, we see evidence that the Lama attempted to exercise some restraining influence over the Khan. This is shown by the Khan's acquiescence to the Abbot's demand that he not retaliate against the Sera monks, for instance. The oral tradition indicating that the Khan was evasive with Jamyang Shayba when they met on the road as he was on his way to arrest the Regent similarly indicates that the Abbot held moral authority in the Khan's eyes. Soon thereafter, however, Jamyang Shayba was incensed when the Khan's Queen murdered the Regent.

This marked a sharp break between the two figures. Rarely did their interests coalesce after that time. Although they both encouraged the young Sixth Dalai Lama to go to China, it would seem that their motivations were quite different. For Labsang Khan, the Emperor's insistence that the Dalai Lama be sent to the east offered him the prospect that he would more easily be able to realize his desire for paramount power in Tibet. Nonetheless, he also understood sentiments on the ground more thoroughly than the Emperor did, and so, he understood how risky it would be to have the monasteries and the public regard the departure of the Dalai Lama as a case of his being arrested. Jamyang Shayba had a greater trust in the Chinese than he did in Labsang Khan. It is reasonable to assume that he felt the Emperor might be able to rectify the tumultuous situation that had resulted from the tensions between the Regent and the Khan, from the Regent's concealment of the Fifth Dalai Lama's death, and perhaps from the pro-Nyingma leanings of so many of the key figures in the Geluk power structure over the previous half century.

It is difficult to come to a determination with regard to this last item, however. Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo does not explain Jamyang Shayba's stance on the Fifth Dalai

Lama's plan to universalize the Dalai Lama institution through assimilating Imperial Period symbols and Nyingma rituals. Below, we will return to this issue and discuss the balance of evidence that can be gleaned as to Jamyang Shayba's feeling on the question.³⁰¹ Still it is interesting to wonder why Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo might have been reluctant to clarify this issue. Similarly, the question has already arisen as to why Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, and also incidentally Ngawang Drashi, the second Abbot of Labrang, might have wanted to portray Jamyang Shayba as apolitical and uninvolved in the daily course of events. It would appear that in both cases, these two figures, both with a strong interest in furthering Jamyang Shayba's reputation, sought to cast an image of a retiring intellectual-yogi who did not dirty his hands with worldly affairs. In the rough and tumble of late seventeenth and especially early eighteenth century Tibetan politics, religious leaders found themselves implicated in assassinations, poisonings, religious persecution, violence of varying types, and other intrigues. As primary guardian of his predecessor's reputation, the Second Jamyang Shayba sought to present him in an idealized fashion by focusing as much as possible on his scholarly achievements and by remaining silent on historical questions that might have cast a negative light on the Master. It is, after all, Jamyang Shayba's scholarly credentials that constitute his strongest claim to religious legitimacy, and it was on that basis that he was able to deploy the authority he was thereby granted.

³⁰¹ See p. 252ff below.

Chapter 4

The Lives of Jamyang Shayba

One of the most distinctive features of Tibetan culture, the institution of reincarnating lamas (*sprul sku*), lineages of religious figures who are regarded as taking rebirth as a series of identified personages. The authority and legitimacy of a particularly potent spiritual teacher is perpetuated even after death as his³⁰² identity passes from one lifetime to another. Although the concept of incarnation, the idea that living beings cycle through many lifetimes as they progress toward spiritual release, is suggested as early as the eighth or seventh century B.C.E. in the *Bṛhad-āranyaka Upaniṣhad*,³⁰³ the notion of identifiable reincarnations did not emerge until the fourteenth century in Tibet.

The fourteenth century was a time of great political turmoil, a fact that displeased the Mongolians, who were then the dominant power in Asia. After a period of unremitting squabbles within the Tibetan family in which the regency was invested, Tibet's Mongolian patrons grew tired of the instability and intrigues. Divisions sprang up among the hierarchs of the Sagya (*sa skya*) religious order that held political power, and the traditional practice of succession through bloodlines became untenable. Although new and complex problems eventually emerged in the power centers that formed around reincarnated lamas, advantages

³⁰² Female incarnations are not entirely unknown, but they are rare indeed. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 228 mentions the reincarnated Abbess Dorje Pagmo (*rdo rje phag mo*).

³⁰³ *Bṛhad-āranyaka Upaniṣhad*, IV.3.37-4.13. See, for example, S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1953), 269-276.

to the practice were quickly realized in the form of greater social and political stability and continuity. Instead of having rival siblings contending for power at the death of each patriarch, authority was transmitted from one charismatic personality to another, a person whose spiritual credentials alone commanded respect and obedience.³⁰⁴ Their spiritual pedigree granted both religious and political authority to the Karmabas (*kar ma pa*), the Dalai Lamas (*ta la'i bla ma*), the Panchen Lamas (*pan chen bla ma*), and other such reincarnated lamas.

In addition to being an agreeable arrangement for the Mongolian overlords, the institution of reincarnation brought into being indigenous Tibetan constituencies that likewise had an interest in maintaining the stability afforded by it. Often, a reincarnation would possess substantial material holdings, including monasteries, religious estates (*bla brang*), annual remittances from land taxes, control over land, properties, endowments, and the like. The infrastructure required to oversee such wealth was itself quite extensive, and customarily, the attendants of one incarnated person would be responsible for locating, rearing, educating, and protecting the new reincarnation (*yang srid*). Often, the attendants of an important incarnation would wield considerable power and influence over a period of decades between the death of one lama and the adulthood of the successor and even thereafter. In the case of the Dalai Lamas, there was an extensive period of time (1806-1875) during which four successive Dalai Lamas (ninth through twelfth) failed to reach the age of maturity.³⁰⁵ The Regents (*sde srid* or *rgyal tshab*), who ruled in their place, managed vast

³⁰⁴ Turrell Wylie, "Reincarnation: A Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism," in *Proceedings of Csomo de Koros Memorial Symposium*, ed. by Louis Ligeti (Budapest: Akademiás Kiado, 1984), 579-586.

³⁰⁵ The Ninth Dalai Lama Lungtog Gyatso (1806-1815, *lung rtogs rgya mtsho*) died of pneumonia. The Tenth Dalai Lama Tsultrim Gyatso (1816-1837, *tshul khrims rgya mtsho*) suffered ill health throughout his short life. The Eleventh Dalai Lama Kaydrup Gyatso

fortunes and ran the country as they wished. For all of these reasons, the institution of reincarnating lamas was fostered and promoted by various factions whose interests it served. Through most of Tibetan history since the invention of reincarnations, these figures or their representatives have dominated the power structures throughout almost all levels of society in Tibet.

On a regional level, the lineage of Jamyang Shayba's incarnations commanded the power structure of the eastern Tibetan area of Amdo (*a mdo*) for a good part of the last three centuries. As we have seen, the originator of the series, Jamyang Shaybay Dorjay Ngawang Tsöndru (1648-1722, *'jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje ngag dbang brtson 'grus*), was a gifted scholar who composed an enormous number of texts in all branches of Buddhism, found fame in Central Tibet as the Abbot of Gomang (*sgo mang*) Monastery, and returned to his homeland in 1709 to found the most influential monastery in Amdo, Labrang Drashi Kyil Monastery (*bla brang bkra shis 'khyil*). Additionally, he was a capable defender of the Geluk School that had been initiated by the Dzongkaba Losang Dragba (1357-1419, *tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa*) almost three centuries before Jamyang Shayba reached his prime.³⁰⁶ Moreover, he portrayed himself as the promoter of Gelukba orthodoxy in the face of syncretic trends from within the tradition.

The Second Jamyang Shayba, Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo (1728-1791, *dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po*), was the primary builder of Labrang Monastery, Abbot of Labrang and Kumbum Monasteries, the composer of many philosophical treatises and biographies, and the source of a great deal of valuable historical information. His next incarnation was Losang Thubden Jigmay Gyatso (1792-1856, *blo bzang thub bstan 'jigs med rgya mtsho*). He was not

(1838-1855, *mkhas grub rgya mtsho*) died of an unspecified illness. The Twelfth Dalai Lama Trinlay Gyatso (1856-1875, *'phrin las rgya mtsho*) died only four days after a solar eclipse.

³⁰⁶ This dimension of Jamyang Shayba's career will be explored in the next chapter.

a renowned scholar, but he was quite famous for his fidelity to his vows and his tremendous meditative practice. He also served as the Abbot of both Labrang and Kumbum Monasteries. The Fourth Jamyang Shayba, Gelsang Thubden Wangchug (1856-1916, *skal bzang thub bstan dbang phyug*), was born in Kam (*kham*s) and brought to Labrang as a youth. He built the Hevajra Temple at Labrang Monastery when he became the Abbot. He also traveled widely to teach and to raise money for further building projects at the monastery. He was also a skilled diplomat, and this ability enabled him to maintain friendly relations with the Chinese authorities whose interests in Tibet were then on the rise.

A great deal is known about the fifth incarnation in the lineage because a family of American missionaries living near Labrang during his lifetime have left a rich written and photographic record of events at Labrang from 1921-1949.³⁰⁷ Losang Jamyang Yeshey Denbay Gyeltsen (1916-1947, *blo bzang 'jam dbyangs ye shes bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan*) was identified by the Ninth Panchen Lama and was a member of the politically well-connected Alo clan. His family, like Tibet at large, spent the unsettled decades between the collapse of the Manchu (Qing) Empire in 1911 and the triumph of the Communist Party in 1949 navigating the ever-changing military and political tides. Various family members studied in Chinese schools, accepted government posts from both Tibetan and Chinese factions, or worked in the management of Labrang Monastery. One half-brother even married into a royal Mongolian line. These diverse relationships with the local regional power brokers helped Labrang to maintain its independence for a time, until warring Muslim militias attacked barracks at Labrang in 1923, sending the Fifth Jamyang Shayba into temporary exile to the southeast. A formal alliance with the Chinese Nationalists of Chiang Kai-shek led

³⁰⁷ This paragraph and the next are based on Paul Nietupski, *Labrang: A Tibetan Buddhist Monastery at the Crossroads to Four Civilizations* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1999). 81-106.

to a period of stability from 1928-1949, but eventually invited greater reprisals when the Communists consolidated their position.³⁰⁸

Even in the uncertain situation, the Fifth Jamyang Shayba managed to attract patronage for continued construction at Labrang. He also worked at collecting and preserving rare Tibetan manuscripts at the monastery's library. Moreover, he took steps to modernize the educational system at the monastery, incorporating secular classes alongside the traditional monastic curriculum. Secular classes were offered to both the public and the monks. In these efforts, the Fifth Jamyang Shayba was mirroring the modernizing efforts the Thirteenth Dalai had undertaken in Central Tibet some years earlier.

Jetsun Losang Jigmay Thubden Chökyi Nyima Belsang (b. 1948, *rje bisun blo bzang jigs med thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma dpal bzang*) was formally identified only after Chinese troops took control of the area around Labrang in 1950, following their takeover in China. Thus, he grew up under the control and jurisdiction of the Chinese. The youth continued his traditional education only until 1958. The first five incarnations of the Jamyang Shayba lineage were all monks. However, the present incarnation, the sixth, never took ordination. Eventually, he served in various minor government posts. In this sense, his cultural importance among the local Tibetans was marginalized by events.

³⁰⁸ Charlene Makley (*Embodying the Sacred: Gender and Monastic Revitalization in China's Tibet* [Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1999], 136) explains the extent of the power exercised by Labrang and the Fifth Jamyang Shayba's family:

Officials complained that all real power remained solidly with the monastery... From 1927 up until 1949 the family of the 5th 'Jam-dByangs bZhad-pa, led by the wily negotiating skills of A-pa A-bLo, 'Jam-dByangs bZhad-pa's older brother and head of the Labrang militia forces, was able to maintain firm control of the region. All movements and projects of outsiders within Labrang's jurisdiction required papers indicating the permission of the monastic government and armed escorts provided by the monastery.

The First Jamyang Shayba, however, was a tremendously charismatic figure who inspired great respect and devotion among his followers. Because he was distinguished from his contemporaries in these various ways, he attracted many students, and he drew the attention of a large number of wealthy eastern Tibetan and Mongolian patrons who sponsored the construction of Labrang Monastery. This became the base through which he and his successors extended their authority and influence throughout the region of northeastern Tibet and beyond. Paul Nietupski's *Labrang: A Tibetan Buddhist Monastery at the Crossroads to Four Civilizations* explains how the continuity of the lineage and the monastery were mutually reinforcing.³⁰⁹

A "labrang" is... a Tibetan teacher's personal property. It may include religious books and materials as well as buildings, land, wealth, and even tax revenues. Labrang [Monastery] was the "labrang" of the lineage of the Jamyang Shaybas. After the death of the First Jamyang Shayba, the Second through Fourth Jamyang Shaybas inherited, or more accurately, continued the lineage of Jamyang Shayba in their office (i.e., their "labrang") at Labrang. The Tibetans believed that these boys were enlightened or powerful beings, the living emanations of the First Jamyang Shayba.

In addition to promoting continuity, the identification of incarnations could serve strategic purposes, something we have already seen in the context of the purported "masterplan" of the Dalai Lamas.³¹⁰ Potent and enduring bonds were established between the emerging

³⁰⁹ Nietupski, *Labrang*, 21-2.

³¹⁰ See above p. 143ff.

Gelukba School and the Mongolians when the Fourth Dalai Lama Yönden Gyatso was born into the powerful royal family, great grandson of Alten Khan.³¹¹ Primarily these are cases in which the reputation and legitimacy of a particular lama is projected forward in time; the charisma of a past figure is employed in the service of a current context.

Another way in which the notion of reincarnated lamas has been used to promote legitimacy is by reaching backwards in time. In these cases, the doctrinal legitimacy and personal charisma of a current lama can be created or fortified by appealing to the luster of a previous figure. The strategy of constructing a lineage of pre-incarnations has been employed again and again in Tibetan history.³¹² It is no wonder then that the faithful followers of Jamyang Shayba, including his next incarnation, Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo (1728-1791, *dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po*), wrote extensive accounts of his previous lifetimes.³¹³

³¹¹ Tsepon Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, trans. Derek Maher (forthcoming), volume 1, 382.1-12.

³¹² Another example of a lineage of pre-incarnations is to be found in Nawang Tsering Shakso, "The Role of Incarnate Lamas in Buddhist Tradition: A Brief Survey of Bakula Rinpoche's Previous Incarnations," *Tibet Journal* 24, no. 3 (1999): 38-47.

³¹³ I have found three separate titles on the subject: (1) Jamyang Shayba II Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Dharma Lord, the Omniscient Jamyang Shaybay Dorjay, An Account for the Faithful, the River Course of the Marvelous Ganges*, in *Collected Works of dKon mchog 'jigs med dbaṅ po*, volume 2, 1-73. (2) Losang Jigmay (b. 1764, *blo bzang 'jigs med*) aka. Rigbay Reltri (*rigs pa'i ral gri*), *The Biography of the Lineage of Incarnations of the Omniscient Great Jamyang Shayba Dorjay Losang Tubden Jigmay Gyatso, Meaningful to Behold, the Precious Wish-Fulfilling Tree*, discussed in A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetan Historical Literature* (Surrey, England: Curzon Press, 1994), 98-9. (3) Thubden Chökyi Nyima, (1883-1937, *thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma*) *The Lineage of Jamyang Shayba's Incarnation, A Supplication*. Additionally, (4) Gedun Lodrö, *Religious History of Drebung Monastery* (Wiesbaden: Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1974), 314-5 cites a list of fifteen incarnations of Jamyang Shayba in connection with his biography. Losang Jigmay's and Thubden Chökyi Nyima's texts are unavailable to me, but Vostrikov provides a thumbnail sketch of the former.

The lists in these sources differ from each other in small ways. Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo presents brief biographies on the following ten people: Vimalakīrti, Buddhapālita, Dignāga, Chandrakīrti, and Jetāri from India along with Potowa Rinchenel, Umaba Tsöndru Sengay, Shaluba Jogchungwa Legba Gyeltsen, Gyuchen Tsöndruchag, and Ngagchang Gönchok Gyatso from Tibet. A. I. Vostrikov mentions that Losang Jigmay's list in *The Biography of the Lineage of Incarnations of the Omniscient Great Jamyang Shayba* begins with five mythical personages. He then commences his list of the four famous Indian teachers with Buddhapālita. Either Losang Jigmay has excluded Vimalakīrti or Vostrikov regards him as a mythical figure. Geshe Gedun Lodrö's list is similar to Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo's, except that he places Dignāga after Chandrakīrti. This must be an error, since Dignāga is criticized by Chandrakīrti; hence he must have lived before or during the life of Chandrakīrti. Additionally, he gives slightly different forms of the names of some of the Tibetans; while Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo writes the names as (1) Umaba Tsöndru Sengay, (2) Shaluba Jogchungwa Legba Gyeltsen, and (3) Gyuchen Ngagchang Gönchok Gyatso, Geshe Gedun Lodrö has recorded them as (1) Umaba Bawo Dorjay, (2) Je Legba Gyeltsen, and (3) Gyuchen Gönchok Gyatso, respectively.

The fame and prestige of these mythical and historical people were called forth to shine upon the reputation of the Amdo Master. In order to understand what people in the eighteenth century thought when they found Jamyang Shayba associated in this way with exalted personages from the past, it will be helpful to sketch briefly some of what is known about them. These efforts will also reveal that the authors hoped to promote Jamyang Shayba's reputation, thereby enhancing his perceived reliability in matters of doctrine, encouraging patronage to his monastery, and perpetuating the religious and political

authority he enjoyed among his successors.

Vimalakīrti, the first figure mentioned in Jamyang Shayba's pre-incarnation lineage, is the protagonist of the eponymous Mahāyāna sūtra, wherein he is portrayed as a direct disciple of Buddha.³¹⁴ It is to be expected that the followers of Jamyang Shayba who were responsible for constructing his lineage would have assigned him a pre-incarnation during Buddha's lifetime, since in the Buddhist context that would have to be regarded as the most significant biographical association. At first it is a little surprising, however, to find that Jamyang Shayba should be connected with a worldly layman, albeit a prominent one who was unusually wise and insightful. Ikeda describes Vimalakīrti:³¹⁵

The rich merchant of the city of Vaishali, eloquent in speech, highly skilled in debate, of prodigious memory – he is a figure of endless fascination and mystery. Unlike the major disciples of Shakyamuni, who seem completely removed from the everyday world and almost prim in their enlightenment, he lived the kind of full unfettered life appropriate to the true layman. He represents the complete opposite of the arhat ideal upheld by the Hinayana sects, a living embodiment of the Mahayana spirit in its rejection of narrow monasticism and its insistence that Buddhism be made to flourish throughout society as a whole.

³¹⁴ Robert A. F. Thurman, *The Holy Teaching of Vimalakīrti: A Mahāyāna Sūtra* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976; reprint Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1991).

³¹⁵ Daisaku Ikeda, *Buddhism, the First Millennium*, trans. Burton Watson (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1977), 96.

Vimalakīrti is the paragon of Mahāyāna ideals. He is active in the world, striving to bring Buddhist teachings to the masses, wherever they may be found. He is primarily focused on teaching and helping other people, and it is through doing these sorts of things that he enacts his religious strivings. Moreover, throughout the Sūtra that bears his name, he is repeatedly depicted as outshining the stodgy, rigid, and conservative disciples of Buddha through his wisdom and cleverness. With his witty repartee, he bests even Shāripūtra and Mañjuśrī, who are the usual models of wisdom in other sūtras. In a certain sense, then, it may be that Vimalakīrti is the best person to be chosen as a pre-incarnation of Jamyang Shayba from among Buddha's intimates since he best exemplifies the practical intelligence so valued among Tibetans.

Buddhapālita is the first figure mentioned in the lineage who is known to have actually lived.³¹⁶ As the first person to comment systematically upon Nāgārjuna's *Treatise on the Middle Way*, the foundational text of the Middle Way School (*mādhyamika*, *dbu ma*), his legacy was bound to endure. However, he is also regarded by Jamyang Shayba and some of his followers as the founder of the Prāsaṅgika branch of the Mādhyamika School;³¹⁷ he advocated the form of reasoning in which illogical and unwanted consequences (*prasaṅga*, *thal ba*) of the opponents' positions are flung at them, in an effort to undermine his wrong views of reality. In an interesting parallel with Jamyang Shayba (whose name means the "One Upon Whom Mañjuśrī Smiles"), it is said that Buddhapālita had a direct vision of Mañjuśrī's smile, whereupon the two became like student and disciple. By identifying Jamyang Shayba with Buddhapālita, the Gelukba preference for the Prāsaṅgika interpretive

³¹⁶ Except where noted, the following comes from Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Dharma Lord*, 25.4-27.1

³¹⁷ Jeffrey Hopkins, *Meditation on Emptiness* (London: Wisdom, 1983), 359-360.

lineage was fortified. Moreover, a connection was established to the early phase of the Mādhyamika School since it was believed that Buddhapālita was a direct student of Nāgārjuna.

Khetsun Sangpo quotes a succinct summary of Buddhapālita's life from *The Lineage of the Teachers of the Stages of the Path*.³¹⁸

Through his training in the Three Baskets of the Canon (*tripitika*) and in the Four Tantra sets, he crossed to the other shore of an ocean of Buddhist and non-Buddhist tenets. He served at the feet of the Superior Nāgārjuna, receiving from him the quintessential oral instructions on sūtra and tantra. He practiced intently, due to which he actually achieved [meeting with] Manjushrī, made progress on the stages of the path, and proceeded to a high level of yogic achievement. He realized the thought of the Protector Nāgārjuna, just as it is, and elucidated the thought of [Nāgārjuna's] *Fundamental Treatise on Wisdom, The Treatise on the Middle Way*, which is widely known as the *Buddhapālita [Commentary]*.

Buddhapālita is an ideal precursor to be included in Jamyang Shayba's lineage because of his impeccable credentials as the founder of the Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika school. His centrality

³¹⁸ Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism*, volume 1 (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1973), 486. *sde snod gsum dang rgyud sde bzhi la sbyangs pas rang dang bzhan gyi grub pa'i mtha' rgya mtsho lta bu'i pa rol tu son// 'phags pa klu sgrub kyi zhabs la bsnyen te mdo sngags kyi man ngag rnam bsan// sgrub pa lbur len mdzad pas rje btsun 'jam dpal dbyangs dngos su grub cing lam rim gyis bgrod de grub pa'i go 'phang mthon por gshegs nas mgon po klu sgrub kyi dgongs pa ji lta bar rtogs te rtsa shes kyi dgongs pa bkral te buddhapālita zhes yongs su grags soll*

to the Gelukba School is shown by the fact that during an intensive retreat on the view of the Mādhyamika School, Dzongkaba had a vision of Nāgārjuna and his principal disciples. In this vision, Buddhapālita touched the top of Dzongkaba's head with a copy of his own commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Treatise*, indicating that Dzongkaba should rely upon his Prāsaṅgika interpretation.³¹⁹ By claiming that Jamyang Shayba had been Buddhapālita, the source of Dzongkaba's inspiration, in a previous life, he is given priority over even Dzongkaba.

Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo reports that **Dignāga** was the immediately succeeding incarnation after Buddhapālita. There may be a chronological problem in suggesting that Jamyang Shayba was both Buddhapālita and Dignāga in previous lives, for both of them are thought by some modern scholars to have lived in the decades overlapping the fifth and sixth centuries. Still, others hold that Buddhapālita may have lived "earlier, in the fifth century."³²⁰ The precise relative chronology of these two figures remains uncertain.

However that may be, it is widely acknowledged that Dignāga was a peerless scholar among his contemporaries. He was born into a royal lineage in South India, and he excelled

³¹⁹ Robert A. F. Thurman, ed. *Life and Teachings of Tsong Khapa* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1982), 21.

³²⁰ David Seyfort Ruegg, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy in India* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981), 60. As Ruegg notes:

— Buddhapālita represents a conservative current in Madhyamaka thought that resisted the adoption of the logico-epistemological innovations which were at the time being brought into Mahāyānist philosophy (e.g. by Dignāga, c. 480-540).

There is no clear evidence that it was Dignāga himself who had inspired resistance in Buddhapālita.

While Ruegg regards Buddhapālita and Dignāga as contemporaries, he notes that Frauwallner argued for an earlier date for Buddhapālita. The next line is from Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Dharma Lord*, 27.3. Except where noted, the following also comes from that text (27.2-36.2).

at the worldly sciences in his younger years. Eventually he became very learned in both Buddhist and Hindu philosophy, earning a reputation as one of the finest scholars of epistemology throughout Indian history. He studied with Vasubandhu and commented upon his writings in a book called *Explanation of the Essential Meaning, Commentary on [Vasubandhu's] "Treasury of Knowledge"*. He is also noted for having had a direct vision of the face of Manjushrī, who then promised to be Dignāga's guide until he attained the stages of a bodhisattva.³²¹ Thereafter, he attained a one-pointed concentration while he was residing in a cave called Bhorasila, an achievement that enabled him to compose several incisive treatises on valid cognition.

Dignāga was not an adherent of the Mādhyamika School, but he and his most significant commentator, Dharmakīrti,³²² were both critically important in the Gelukba systematic philosophy because of their elaboration of valid cognition (*pramāṇa, tshad ma*) and the science of epistemology. Represented by Buddhapālita and Dignāga, then, we have the two principal doctrines that would animate Dzongkaba's presentation of Buddhism, the Prāsaṅgika presentation of emptiness and Dignāga's articulation of the valid means of knowledge by way of perception and conception. There is also a great affinity between Dignāga and Jamyang Shayba in terms of their vast knowledge of the entire spectrum of philosophical schools, their abilities to reason and argue, and their wide-ranging erudition.

Chandrakīrti (circa 600-650) is the next person listed as a pre-incarnation of Jamyang Shayba, and his status in the Gelukba hierarchy cannot be over-emphasized.

³²¹ The first half of the sentence is from Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Dharma Lord*, 27.3, whereas the second part is from E. Obermiller, *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet* (Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1932), 152.

³²² Shāntarakṣhita (eighth century) regarded Dharmakīrti's *Commentary on (Dignāga's) "Compilation of Valid Cognition"* as a Mādhyamika treatise. See also n. 331 below.

Chandrakīrti was born in a place in south India called Samanta,³²³ where he studied all of the sciences during his youth. After becoming a monk, he studied all of Nāgārjuna's texts, and he reportedly received the quintessential oral instructions from Buddhapālita's student, Kamalabuddhila. Since he was the foremost scholar of his time, Chandrakīrti became the Abbot of Nālanda Monastery. We are told that although there were many paṇḍitas at Nālanda, none of them could beat the Hindu scholars in debate, but that Chandrakīrti was able to triumph over them through the great force of his intellect. During one debate he proved to his opponent that appearances are deceptive through the compelling demonstration of milking a cow depicted in a wall painting.

Although Jamyang Shayba and others formally credit Buddhapālita with founding the Prāsaṅgika School, it is Chandrakīrti who formalized the distinction between the two interpretive branches of Mādhyamika by refuting Bhavaviveka's Svātantrika interpretation in the first chapter of his *Clear Words*.³²⁴ Interestingly, in that same chapter, Chandrakīrti also criticizes Dignāga's epistemology, objecting to Dignāga's characterization of both valid cognition and perception.³²⁵ This would not be the last time one figure in this incarnation lineage would criticize another. Chandrakīrti also wrote the *Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) "Treatise on the Middle Way,"*³²⁶ which continues to be the most well known and most important exposition on the subject. Both Dzongkaba and Jamyang Shayba wrote

³²³ Except where noted, the following comes from Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Dharma Lord*, 36.2-40.5 and Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, 223-233. Obermiller, *The History of Buddhism*, 134 identifies his birthplace as "Samana."

³²⁴ P5260, vol. 98.

³²⁵ See Mark Siderits, "The Madhyamaka Critique of Epistemology: Part II," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 9 (1981): 121-160. In an interesting nexus of three purported members of this series of rebirths, Jamyang Shayba's *Compendium Commentary on (Chandrakīrti's) "Clear Words"* discusses the very section of Chandrakīrti's text in which he criticizes Dignāga.

³²⁶ P5261 and P5262, vol. 98

commentaries on this text,³²⁷ clearly indicating their belief in Chandrakīrti's great authority in their interpretive lineage. Despite the primacy given to Buddhapālita, his texts are seldom read in Tibet, and even in the Gelukba School, which formally honors him so greatly, there are no significant commentaries on his writings. In contrast, many monks commit the whole of Chandrakīrti's *Supplement* to memory in "childhood or adolescence" as preparation for their study of Mādhyamika.³²⁸ In addition to those monumental works of philosophy, Chandrakīrti wrote commentaries on Nāgārjuna's *Sixty Stanzas on Reasoning* and *Seventy Stanzas on Emptiness*, as well as Āryadeva's *Four Hundred Stanzas*.³²⁹

³²⁷ Dzongkaba's text, *Illumination of the Thought, Extensive Explanation of (Chandrakīrti's) 'Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) "Treatise on the Middle Way"'* (P6143, vol. 154) provides the general meaning (*spyi don*) of the root text. Jamyang Shayba's *Great Exposition of the Middle Way, Analysis of (Chandrakīrti's) 'Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) "Treatise on the Middle Way,"* Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bṅad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, vol. 9 (Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973) is a decisive analysis commentary (*mtha' dpyod*).

³²⁸ Anne C. Klein, *Path to the Middle. Oral Mādhyamika Philosophy in Tibet* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 10.

³²⁹ Chandrakīrti, *Commentary on (Nāgārjuna's) "Sixty Stanzas on Reasoning," Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti*, P5265, vol. 98. For English translation of the root text, see Christian Lindtner, *Master of Wisdom: Writings of the Buddhist Master Nāgārjuna* (Berkeley: Dharma, 1986), 72-93. Chandrakīrti, *Commentary on (Nāgārjuna's) Seventy Stanzas on Emptiness, Śūnyatāsaptatīvṛtti*, P5268, vol. 99. For an English translation of the root text, see Christian Lindtner, *Master of Wisdom*, 94-119. For another translation that appeals to Chandrakīrti's *Commentary*, see David Ross Komito and Geshe Sonam Rinchen, *Nāgārjuna's "Seventy Stanzas"* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1987). Chandrakīrti, *Commentary on (Āryadeva's) "Four Hundred Stanzas," Catuḥśatakatīka*, P5266, vol. 98. For an English translation of the root text that appeals to Chandrakīrti's *Commentary*, see Ruth Sonam and Geshe Sonam Rinchen, *Yogic Deeds of Bodhisattvas: Gyel-tsab on Āryadeva's Four Hundred* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1994). Note that the latter two translations were based on oral commentary by the same lama, the resident scholar at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives in Dharamsala. Another source that makes use of Chandrakīrti's *Commentary on (Āryadeva's) "Four Hundred Stanzas"* is Tom Tillemans, *Materials for the Study of Āryadeva, Dharmapāla, and Chandrakīrti*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Wiener Studien Zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 1990). The root text, Āryadeva's *Four Hundred Stanzas* is translated in Karen Lang,

It is evident that the formulators of Jamyang Shayba's reincarnation lineage hoped to portray him as a highly authoritative voice in the interpretation of the Mādhyamika School, in particular the Prāsaṅgika branch of the school. It is nearly excessive for both Buddhapālita and Chandrakīrti to be included, for they are not only authoritative voices; they are the formulators of that sub-school. Among Indian representatives of the Mādhyamika School, only Nāgārjuna and his student Āryadeva are more respected. Even within this exalted company, however, Chandrakīrti remains the focal point of the monastic curriculum because of his clear and thorough presentations and because of the breadth of his scholarship. Jamyang Shayba makes extensive use of Chandrakīrti's interpretation of the Mādhyamika School, quoting him more frequently than any other scholar.

The final Indian figure mentioned in Jamyang Shayba's lineage is **Jetāri**, a lesser-known Mādhyamika scholar of the tenth and eleventh centuries.³³⁰ He was a proponent of the Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Mādhyamika School. His syncretism is further evidenced by the fact that he regarded Dharmakīrti as a proponent of Mādhyamika instead of a Yogācāra, a view held by both contemporary and ancient scholars of Buddhism.³³¹ This attempt to create harmony out of the seeming contradictions between the Nāgārjuna-Buddhapālita-

Āryadeva's Catuḥśataka: On the Bodhisattva's Cultivation of Merit and Knowledge (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1986).

³³⁰ David Seyfort Ruegg, *Literature of the Madhyamaka School*, 100. His name is sometimes spelled Jitāri.

³³¹ Shirasaki Kenjō's thesis that Dharmakīrti was a Mādhyamaka is analyzed in Ernst Steinkellner, "Is Dharmakīrti a Mādhyamaka?" in *Earliest Buddhism and Madhyamaka*, ed. by David Seyfort Ruegg and Lambert Schmithausen (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), 72-90. See also Ruegg, *Three Studies in the History of Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Philosophy; Studies in Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Thought Part 1* (Vienna: Wiener Studien Zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 2000), 28-31 where he connects Jetāri/Jitāri's view to that of Ngok Loden Sherab (1059-1109, *rngog blo ldan shes rab*) who believed that "The ultimate intent of Dharmakīrti's seven treatises accords with Nāgārjuna."

Chandrakīrti Middle Way view on the one hand and the Dignāga-Dharmakīrti epistemology tradition on the other hand once again brings together the strands of thought that occupied Dzongkaba so thoroughly. Jetāri also wrote some tenet texts, paralleling Jamyang Shayba's interest in that form as a teaching vehicle.

However, Jetāri's most significant contribution to the philosophical lineage upheld by Jamyang Shayba is that he was one of the teachers of Atīsha (982-1054),³³² the great scholar-monk who became the Abbot of Vikramashīla Monastery. Late in life Atīsha was invited to Tibet, and in that land he earned the most comprehensive respect and admiration for his efforts to translate texts, to systematize the vast range of Buddhist teachings, and to fortify the monastic tradition. For these reasons, any connection Jamyang Shayba's followers could construct between him and Atīsha would be automatically redeemable in added respect and legitimacy. Dzongkaba himself was acutely aware of Atīsha's symbolic importance, and hence, opened his most comprehensive text, *The Stages of the Path*, with an elaborate discussion of Atīsha's pivotal presentation of corresponding material. In fact, both Dzongkaba and his followers frequently promoted doctrinal, biographical, and other parallels between Dzongkaba and Atīsha.³³³ The high status reflected back on Jamyang Shayba by the claim that he was once a teacher to that great Indian guru is evident.

The first Tibetan identified in Jamyang Shayba's incarnation lineage is **Potowa Rinchen** (1027-1105, *po to ba rin chen gsal*). He was renowned as one of the "Three Cousins" who were instrumental in spreading the influence of the Gadamba (*bka gdams pa*)

³³² George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1949), 243.

³³³ Eva K. Dargyay, "Tsong-kha-pa and His Relation to Atīsha and Padmasambhava," in *Buddhist Thought and Asian Civilization*, eds. Leslie Kawamura and Keith Scott (Emeryville, California: Dharma Publishing, 1977), 16-26. This article discusses claims that have been made of connections between Dzongkaba and both of those pivotal Indian figures as set forth in traditional prophecies.

School in the years after Atīsha's death.³³⁴ He was a direct disciple of Dromdön (1005-1064, *'brom ston*), Atīsha's foremost Tibetan student and the founder of Ratreng Monastery, which Jamyang Shayba visited when he first went to Central Tibet. Potowa himself served as Abbot of Ratreng Monastery for three years, and it is said of him that, "The virtuous conduct of the [Gadamba] sect and its spread are due to [Potowa]."³³⁵ He was also renowned as an accomplished meditator and a great teacher; ordinarily more than a thousand students would follow him around as he traveled. He is even credited with having powers such that lepers were cured merely by stepping on a place where he had stood.³³⁶

Interestingly, the *Blue Annals* mentions Dusum Kyenba (1110-1193, *dus gsum mkhyen pa*), the main disciple of Gamboba (1079-1153, *sgam po pa*), as a subsequent incarnation of Potowa Rinchensel. The same source further identifies several other Indian pre-incarnations of Dusum Kyenba, indicating that in a previous life, he was Prajñālamkāra, a direct disciple of Nāgārjuna.³³⁷ Gamboba was trained in the lineage of Atīsha, but he eventually went on to organize the Gagyü order.³³⁸ Thus, both Gagyübas and Gelukbas appear to be seeking to legitimize their own traditions by appealing to the prestige of Potowa. More than once in Tibetan history, these two schools found themselves contending for supremacy, a rivalry that was particularly incendiary during the seventeenth century when open military conflicts between their supporters marred several decades. Of course, it would

³³⁴ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 73. The other two were Jen Ngawa Tsultrimbar (*spyän snga ba tshul 'khrims 'bar*) and Puchungwa Shönu Gyeltsen (*phu chung ba gzhon nu rgyal mtshan*). *Blue Annals*, 263-9, gives a different year for Potowa's birth, 1031. The dates, 1027-1105, are from Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Dharma Lord*.

³³⁵ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 269.

³³⁶ See also Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 5, 38-41 and Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Dharma Lord*, 44.4-52.2.

³³⁷ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 473-4.

³³⁸ Herbert V. Guenther, *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation by sGam.po.pa* (Boston: Shambhala, 1986), xi-xii.

not be possible for Potowa to have been both Buddhapālita and Prajñālamkāra during the lifetime of Nāgārjuna. It may be the case that all of these interlocking reincarnation lineages are full of such mutually conflicting claims and that they become a hopelessly snarled web in the end.

The next figure mentioned in the sources on Jamyang Shayba's pre-incarnations is **Umaba Tsöndru Sengay** (b. 14th century, *dbu ma pa brtson 'grus seng ge*), a figure of tremendous importance in the life story of Dzongkaba himself.³³⁹ Lama Umaba, as he is commonly known, was a famous meditator and adept from Amdo who, like the founder of Geluk, wandered far and wide across Tibet seeking religious teachings. It was in this context that he met Dzongkaba when the two men were still quite young. Tsöndru Sengay was more of a visionary than a scholarly monk, and he turned out to be the conduit through which Dzongkaba received a variety of teachings from the Buddha of wisdom, Manjushrī.³⁴⁰ He had maintained a very strong faith in Manjushrī ever since he was very young, and the murmuring sound of the bodhisattva's mantra, "*Om a rab a tsa na dhih,*" could be heard within Tsöndru Sengay's house. He is reported to have been able to see the black color of the bodhisattva's body directly.

When he heard teachings on the practice of Manjushrī, he strove assiduously, experiencing many appearances of the bodhisattva's body and speech. For many years, he lived at Sangpu Monastery where he worked diligently at practice and studies. Many marvelous things, such as the appearance of deities, arose by virtue of his close relationship with his tutelary deity. Eventually, he went to Samyay Monastery, where he received the quintessential oral teachings on the primary Sagya teaching, "Path and Result" (*lam 'bras*).

³³⁹ This material comes mainly from Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Dharma Lord*, 52.2-57.1.

³⁴⁰ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 1048-9.

Dzongkaba and Lama Umaba initially met through their mutual students, and they served as one another's teacher on different occasions. Soon after meeting, they studied Chandrakīrti's *[Auto]-Commentary on the "Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) 'Treatise on the Middle Way'"* together. Dzongkaba would pose questions on the text, and Lama Umaba would then transmit the queries to Manjushrī in his visions. The responses would be conveyed back to Dzongkaba through Lama Umaba. They studied many different topics in both sūtra and tantra in this way. Over time, Dzongkaba bestowed various teachings on Lama Umaba as well. The latter initiated Dzongkaba into the tantric practice of Manjushrī Dharmachakra, and the two of them entered into a retreat at Gawa Dong (*dga' ba gdong*) near Lhasa, where Dzongkaba had his own direct visions of Manjushrī. Soon after this retreat, Dzongkaba was able to gain direct realization of emptiness, the final nature of reality.³⁴¹

The inclusion of Lama Umaba in Jamyang Shayba's birth lineage is of great importance. First of all, it establishes an important link between Jamyang Shayba and Dzongkaba. It helps his biographers impute profound insight to Jamyang Shayba since only such a wise person could serve as a teacher to the founder of the Gelukba school, the man known as the Second Buddha. Additionally, it enhances Jamyang Shayba's standing as an interpreter of Dzongkaba's systematic philosophy since it also portrays him as a direct disciple of the master. Moreover, the personal achievements of Lama Umaba add to Jamyang Shayba's credentials, for the Lama was far more of an adept than a scholar. As a mystically oriented meditating adept prone to visions and direct access to transcendent states, he offers a balance to Jamyang Shayba's more scholastic orientation.

The next person among Jamyang Shayba's pre-incarnations was **Jogchungwa Legba**

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Thurman, *Life and Teachings of Tsong Khapa*, 14-17.

Gyeltsen (1375-1450, *cog chung ba legs pa rgyal mtshan*).³⁴² Born in Shalu, Tsang, he was ten years older than one of Dzongkaba primary disciples, Kaydrup Geleg Belsangbo (1385-1438, *mkhas grub dge legs dpal bzang po*), who nonetheless served as his teacher for many years. He was also a direct student of Dzongkaba. Legba Gyeltsen was renowned for his great tantric accomplishments, attaining stability in both the stages of generation and completion. Moreover, he was particularly adept in his cultivation of the wrathful aspect of Vajrapāṇi, and he was well known for being able to generate Vajrapāṇi's maṇḍala. He had a very good voice, and so he was appointed to lead the prayer assembly at Ganden Monastery, an office he held for a long time. This esteemed lama is mainly known for having been appointed as the Fourth Throne Holder³⁴³ of Ganden Monastery (1439-1450) at the age of sixty-four or sixty-five years. This is significant because he is the first functionary to hold this post after the first three luminaries of the Gelukba school, Dzongkaba, Gyeltsap Dharma Rinchen (1364-1432, *rgyal tshab dharma rin chen*), and Kaydrup.

Legba Gyeltsen became a great patron of many Gelukba causes, for example, founding Riwo Daychen Monastery (*ri bo bde chen*) in the Chongyay Valley (*'phyong rgyas*), overseeing the creation of golden images of Buddha, and building reliquaries for his

³⁴² Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 1079-1080. The rest of the information on Legba Gyeltsen comes from Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 6, 120-1; Desi Sangyay Gyatso's *Religious History of the Gandenbas*, 76.17-77.1; and Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Dharma Lord*, 57.1-60.6. These latter two sources differ by one year in their account of when he ascended to the throne of Ganden Monastery. Gönchok (58.5) says this happened in the Earth-Sheep year of 1439, whereas Khetsun Sangpo (121.7) identifies the year as Earth-Horse 1438.

³⁴³ The Throne Holder of Ganden (*dga' ldan khri pa*) is the official head of the Gelukba School. Traditionally, the person appointed to this position will have previously held posts as the leader of his monastery's prayer assembly (*dbu mdzad*) and as its abbot (*mkhan po*). Having retired from the abbacy (*mkhan zur*), he would then have been appointed as the abbot of either of the two tantric colleges in Lhasa. Only the rare lamas who have traversed this career path can become the Ganden Throne Holder.

predecessors. None of his written works survive, but he left his mark on history by extending the influence of the nascent religious movement. He was the first Gelukba to form religious ties with the influential Mongolian power brokers that were to play such a significant part in the future of the School. At the end of his life, he even spent six months in Mongolia promoting the Gelukba tradition. The efforts he began in this direction finally bore fruit two hundred years later when Gushri Khan conquered Tibet and gave it to the Fifth Dalai Lama as a gift.³⁴⁴

By including the Fourth Throne Holder of Ganden among Jamyang Shayba's pre-incarnations, the latter is favorably associated with the founding and expansion of the Gelukba institution. Additionally, Legba Gyeltsen's Mongolian connections are of note. Jamyang Shayba himself had very strong ties to several important Mongolian patrons both in Central Tibet when he was the Abbot of Gomang and when he returned to eastern Tibet to found Labrang Drashi Kyil Monastery. Labrang eventually grew to great prominence throughout Mongolian cultural regions. Consequently, monasteries throughout Mongolia and beyond looked to Labrang as their father monastery, and Jamyang Shayba's textbooks were used far and wide at institutions affiliated with Gomang and Labrang Monasteries.

The penultimate person in the lineage is **Gyuchen Tsöndrupag** (b. fifteenth century, *rgyud chen brison 'grus 'phags*).³⁴⁵ He was born at Hlunbo Dzay (*hlun po rtse*) to the southeast of Lhasa and was possessed of a good solid mind. After moving to Central Tibet, he received numerous teachings from many other scholars and adepts, becoming a fine scholar in his own right. Thereafter he entered the Tantric College of Lower Lhasa where he studied the manuals on all of the secret practices, including stages of generation and completion of the

³⁴⁴ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 424.8-425.4
³⁴⁵ Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Dharma Lord*, 60.6- 63.1.

Guhyasamāja Tantra. He composed a book called the *Commentary on the Thought of the Root Guhyasamāja Tantra*, and he was appointed to lead the assembly at the Tantric College. He became so knowledgeable in the tantras that he was henceforth known by the appellation Gyuchen, “Great Tantrika”.

The final person in the lineage of Jamyang Shayba’s pre-incarnations is **Gyuchen Ngagchang Gönchok Gyatso** (1558/9-1628, *rgyud chen sngags ’chang dkon mchog rgya mtsho*).³⁴⁶ He was born in Wangden in Dzang. Upon taking monk’s vows, he carefully studied Dharmakīrti’s Seven Treatises on Valid Cognition. He traveled to Sang Tantric College (*srang rgyud*), where he learned from many knowledgeable people. He received extensive empowerments from many lamas in the *Guhyasamāja*, *Kālachakra*, *Vajrabhairava*, *Vajrapāṇi*, *Mahākāla Tantras* and various other practices, eventually becoming highly skilled in these traditions himself. Among his teachers was a lama called Sangyay Gyatso³⁴⁷ (b. sixteenth century, *sangs rgyas rgya mtsho*), who had been a disciple of Gyuchen Tsöndrupag, the previous person in the lineage.

Neither of these final two people in the lineage is very well known. It would seem, however, that they were included in the lineage because they are primarily tantric practitioners. It is possible that the authors who constructed this lineage may have thought their inclusion was necessary in order to buttress his yogic credentials in the face of the emphasis of earlier incarnations on scholastic expertise. The esteem accorded people who are able to balance these two facets is demonstrated by the respectful appellation directed to such people, “Scholar-Adept” (*mkhas grub*). Jamyang Shayba is more commonly known by the also respectful, but unbalanced, designation, “Omniscient One” (*kun mkhyen*). There can be

³⁴⁶ Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, *The Biography of the Dharma Lord*, 63.1-72.6.

³⁴⁷ This Sangyay Gyatso is not Desi Sangyay Gyatso (1653-1705) who served as the Regent of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama and was a student of Jamyang Shayba.

no doubt that Jamyang Shayba was exceedingly knowledgeable about tantra, meditation, and spiritual practice. Approximately twenty percent of his extensive writings in his *Collected Works* are devoted to such matters.³⁴⁸ Nonetheless, it may be that there was a perceived need to fortify his reputation on the side of spiritual practice.

The list of characteristics attributable to these ten Indian and Tibetan scholars and yogis collectively capture just about every quality that is admirable in Tibetan culture. Tsöndrupag and Gönchok Gyatso are to be admired for their exceedingly fine mastery of tantra. So surpassing are their abilities in this regard that they are called Gyuchen, “Great Tantrikas”. Lama Umaba is an intuitive, yogic figure who transcends the emphasis on reason that predominates within Gelukba. He does not need to access the reality through reason because he can know it directly. There is the highly accomplished institutional hierarch in Legba Gyeltsen. There is Potowa who seems to combine Legba’s organizational efficiency with Lama Umaba’s quasi-magical potency. Then we have a string of philosopher-monks from India, including Buddhapālita, Dignāga, Chandrakīrti,³⁴⁹ and Jetāri. Finally, there is Vimalakīrti, the clever lay benefactor who exemplifies Mahāyāna ideals by combining wisdom with compassionate activism. This collection of people manifest the values of the

³⁴⁸ Three entire volumes of his fifteen volumes *Collected Works* are devoted to contemplative and tantric-oriented issues. Volume 2 includes twenty short writings on a wide variety of tantric issues in 766 pages. Volume 5 consists of an exhaustive *Religious History of the Vajrabhairava Tantra* in 835 pages. Volume 12 includes a comprehensive discussion of the “Concentration and Formless Absorptions”. Many other brief texts on related matters are to be found scattered throughout volumes 3, 4, and 15.

³⁴⁹ For Gelukba, Chandrakīrti, in addition to being a vital source on exoteric topics, is also credited with providing inspiration and guidance in tantric matters as well. Contemporary scholars hold that there were two Chandrakīrti’s, the scholar we have been discussing and a later tantric figure. On the latter, see Ronald M. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 253-257.

Gelukba tradition. It bridges the divide between the scholar and the ecstatic visionary, and it brings together the creative theoreticians of the Prāsaṅgika and valid cognition theories so vital to Dzongkaba and the unique Gelukba viewpoint. This lineage illuminates the biography of Jamyang Shayba by collecting together the fine attributes of his predecessors, reflecting their charisma onto him.

This lineage of Jamyang Shayba's pre-incarnation, first formulated by Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, the subsequent incarnation of Jamyang Shayba, was intended to employ these connections as a tribute to his own fine character, to certify the authenticity of what he taught, and to legitimize his own future incarnations and the institutions that depended on them. These maneuvers helped to foster stability on the frontier — a not inconsequential matter in turbulent early eighteenth century eastern Tibet — and instilled confidence in Labrang Monastery's patrons. To this extent, the endeavor can only be regarded a success. Along with the four great Gelukba monasteries of Central Tibet,³⁵⁰ Labrang Monastery was one of the largest monasteries in the world, housing as many as five thousand monks. Its large size and notable stability over the centuries were maintained partly through the reverence local supporters felt toward the various incarnations of Jamyang Shayba; the charisma of the original figure, conveyed across generations, continued to inspire patronage among the laity and scholastic excellence among the monks.

Even into the twenty-first century, Labrang Monastery still plays an important cultural role.³⁵¹ Despite great turmoil in the 1958 when Tibetans resisted Chinese reforms

³⁵⁰ The “four great Gelukba monasteries of Central Tibet” are Ganden (*dga' ldan*), Drebung (*'bras spungs*), and Sera (*se ra*) Monasteries in the Lhasa area, and Drashi Hlunbo (*bkra shis hlun po*) Monastery in Shigatse.

³⁵¹ For a detailed account of religious life at Labrang Monastery during recent years, see the anthropological study Charlene Makley, *Embodying the Sacred: Gender and Monastic Revitalization in China's Tibet* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1999).

and again during the Cultural Revolution (especially 1966-1968), official Chinese policy now permits Labrang to maintain a large population of monks who are actively engaged in traditional studies.³⁵² Meanwhile, the current Sixth Jamyang Shayba, Jetsun Losang Jigmay Thubden Chökyi Nyima Belsang (b. 1948, *rje btsun blo bzang 'jigs med thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma dpal bzang*), continues to inspire Tibetans even though he is not a monk and does not display the great learning of his predecessors. This is evidenced, for example, by the fact that Gomang Monastery, which has been re-established in exile in southern India, prominently features a photograph of the Sixth Jamyang Shayba on fund-raising literature.

In their efforts to legitimize Jamyang Shayba, his followers have not only constructed his lineage of pre-incarnations, but they have also cast him in a prominent role in at least one future-looking eschatological prophecy. According to this tradition, in the year 2425, a great war will erupt from the land of Shambhala during which barbarous forces will be defeated forever. Thereafter, no other significant religious traditions will remain. Jamyang Shayba will be the chief general of those Buddhist armies.³⁵³

³⁵² Charlene Makley, *Embodying the Sacred*, 140-141. I have been told there were six or seven hundred monks at Labrang in the 1990's. This is far below the level of 3000 monks who lived there in the 1940's (20-25% of traditional numbers). Drebung Monastery, near Lhasa, has a similar number of official monks and even more who are unofficial. However, this number is proportionally much lower than is the case at Labrang when compared to Drebung's traditional population of 7700 or the actual 1959 population of 10,000 (7-10%). Melvyn Goldstein, "The Revival of Monastic Life in Depung Monastery," *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity*, eds. Melvyn Goldstein and Matthew Kapstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 45.

³⁵³ The date of the war is given in H.H. the Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, *The Kālachakra Tantra: Rite of Initiation for the Stage of Generation*, translated, edited, and introduced by Jeffrey Hopkins (London: Wisdom, 1985; 2d rev. ed., 1989), 65. The prophecy concerning Jamyang Shayba's generalship is mentioned in Jeffrey Hopkins, *Reflections on Reality: Dynamic Responses to Ḍzong-ka-ba's "The Essence of Eloquence"* Part II (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 7.

Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, and others involved in these efforts, managed to build up the image of Jamyang Shayba to the extent that he outshone even Dzungkaba and his direct disciples. Even though there is an explicit deference to figures of the past, the legitimizing strategy we have explored in this chapter demonstrates how that deference was employed to glorify a later figure. Out of their intense loyalty to Jamyang Shayba and their fervent desire to legitimize him, they elaborated his splendid qualities until he outshone all others; by appropriating to him the identities of so many of the authoritative figures from the past, they, in essence, construed him as the author of the entire Geluk School.

Chapter 5

Polemics and the Quest for Legitimacy

Tibetan culture places such a high value on the authority and legitimizing power of the past that conservative adherence to the idealized origins of a tradition often stands in the way of any overt recognition of innovations. Even tremendously creative people are compelled by this convention to portray themselves as merely repeating what authoritative figures from the past have done, thought, or said; they must pretend they are merely presenting those original ideas in a fashion that is clear enough to be understood by contemporary people whose capacity for understanding is thought to have diminished since former times. This ideology derives partly from Indian cosmological notions that depict the present time as the degenerate era (*kalīyuga*) in which people are presumed to be not quite as capable as those from the past, and it also depends upon the extravagant emphasis Buddhists placed upon the insight of founders and the legitimacy of key canonical scriptures. Hence, it is thought that Buddha, Nāgārjuna, and other figures of suitable stature gained profound spiritual insight into reality that inspired their philosophical views, and those insights caused them to become authoritative people (*tshad ma'i skyes bu, pramāṇabhūta*). According to this ideology, other less spiritually advanced people cannot hope to do anything more than approximate those founders' wisdom.

Yet, these cultural presumptions belie the tremendous originality of a whole series of imaginative thinkers, certainly including Dzongkaba. Despite the official line, inventive

people throughout Tibetan history have taken the gems from the past and recast them in a way that spoke to their contemporaries in novel ways in light of changed social and historical circumstances. In Tibet, however, the culture militates against the overt declaration of innovation. Despite that societal prohibition, as Paul Ricoeur explains, any act of understanding necessarily implies the creative act of interpretation:³⁵⁴

Tradition..., even understood as the transmission of a *depositum*, remains a dead tradition if it is not the continual interpretation of this deposit: our "heritage" is not a sealed package we pass from hand to hand, without ever opening, but rather a treasure from which we draw by the handful and which by this very act is replenished. Every tradition lives by grace of interpretation, and it is at this price that it continues, that is, remains living.

Each person who seriously engages a tradition and finds meaning within it simultaneously changes it by bringing it into relation with their own preconceptions, judgments, and historical context.

This is particularly true of the revolutionary figures who stand at the turning points in a lineage of thought. For example, Dzongkaba fashioned a vital new synthesis from the disparate threads of Indian Buddhism by reflecting his values through received tradition in a new way. Likewise, many lesser-known creative and innovative scholastics have contributed to Tibet's intellectual evolution by interpreting their tradition anew. Often this reconfiguration involves the resolution of perceived inconsistencies in the thought of

³⁵⁴ Paul Ricoeur, *The Conflict of Interpretations: Essays in Hermeneutics* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1974), 27.

previous figures they regarded as authoritative. Among the many notable people who have participated in this ongoing exegetical tradition within the Geluk School are the authors of the various monastic textbooks, lamas who provide oral commentary, and debaters contending with puzzling contradictions at the debating courtyard. Throughout time, these and other interpreters have refashioned meaning as social and historical forces called forth new problems and novel solutions to them

José Cabezón has convincingly demonstrated that scholasticism is a cross-cultural category that permits comparison between Indo-Tibetan intellectual history and the European context in which the concept originally emerged. Relying on Paul Masson-Oursel's analysis, he says scholasticism is ordinarily recognized by:³⁵⁵

its systematicity, its preoccupation with scriptures and their exegesis in commentaries, its rationalism and its reliance on logic and dialectics in defense of its tenets, its penchant for lists, classification and categorization, and its tendency toward abstraction.

As in the case of their medieval European counterparts, Indian and Tibetan Buddhist scholars in different times and places engaged in their interpretive enterprise in a fashion that included many of these features. Following Dzongkaba's lead, the Geluk School, in particular, places a premium on constructing a systematic and internally coherent presentation of Buddhist teachings. His own writings and those of his successors are replete with extravagantly detailed explanations intended to bring order to disparate canonical

³⁵⁵ José Cabezón, *Buddhism and Language: A Study of Indo-Tibetan Scholasticism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 15.

teachings. Dzongkaba's *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path* and his *Great Exposition of the Stages of Secret Mantra* are exemplars of this systematizing agenda. The fact that the monastic education is structured around five key Indian texts demonstrates the Geluk preoccupation with scriptures. Their method for learning those five topics relies upon exacting commentaries and sub-commentaries that explore the root texts in ever finer detail. Moreover, the academic Gelukba monk engages in scores of hours of debate each week in order to investigate the theoretical underpinnings of his tradition. Finally, anyone who has ever explored the Collected Topics or the Seventy Topics genres of literature will bear witness to the Geluk "penchant for lists, classification and categorization". Those texts develop elaborately refined taxonomies of their respective subjects.

Yet these seemingly endless intellectual excursions are not intended as mere mind games. As we have already noted, in many Buddhist philosophical systems (perhaps excluding Pure Land traditions), enlightenment depends in part upon an epistemological corrective to the way the world is experienced by an innately ignorant consciousness. Individual practitioners, in this model, must overcome beginningless impediments to the enlightened view of the world by transforming their minds. Through reliance on reading valid scriptures and listening to authoritative teachings on them, they gain the wisdom arisen from hearing (*thos byung gi shes rab*). Practitioners must then reflect for themselves on the meaning of what they have heard from those authoritative sources. If successful, this personal interpretive exercise manifests the wisdom arisen from thinking (*bsam byung gi shes rab*). Finally, internalizing that corrected cognition of reality through contemplative reflection, they gain the wisdom arisen from meditation (*sgom byung gi shes rab*). The process described draws the practitioner into a personal process of critical reflection on their most basic

cognitive connection to the world. Thus, interpretation, exegesis, and commentary are central to the project of mind-training that lies at the heart of Buddhist practice; they are not activities restricted to the intellectual elite but are, ideally, a lively part of each Buddhist's engagement with their religion.

Still, in Tibet, it was among the many skillful commentators who wrote the monastic textbooks that interpretation was brought to a high art form. Notable among these figures was Jamyang Shayba. Like the other major Gelukba textbook authors,³⁵⁶ he came to prominence through his authorship of commentaries on foundational Indian texts. He earned the respect of his contemporaries through providing sophisticated and revealing explanations of the received tradition. Evidently, Jamyang Shayba and the other authors were able to formulate their writings in a way that spoke to the people of their generation. Additionally, each of these major textbook authors drew attention to their interpretation of Dzongkaba's systematic philosophy by refuting other thinkers. They each redeemed the legitimacy they gained through their scholastic commentaries and through their polemical writings in the form of authority they exercised within the School. All four of the most influential textbook authors became abbots of significant monasteries and held other important posts. Before we investigate this aspect of Jamyang Shayba's life and its relationship to legitimacy, we must pause for a moment to describe briefly the nature of the great Geluk monasteries, the education of monks, and the social role of the textbooks authors in the monastic culture at large.

³⁵⁶ A more detailed discussion of the different Gelukba textbook authors occupies much of this chapter.

Scholarship and the Geluk Monasteries

By the middle of the fifteenth century, Dzungkaba and his followers had established four monastic seats (*gdan sa*) that were to remain the most influential institutions of the tradition for three centuries. Dzungkaba founded Ganden Monastery (*dga' ldan*) in 1409, and Drebung Monastery (*'bras spungs*) and Sera Monastery (*se ra*) were founded by two of the Master's students, Jamyang Chöjay (1379-1449, *'jam dbyangs chos rje*) in 1416 and Jamchen Chöjay (*byams chen chos rje*) in 1419, respectively. All three of these monastic seats are located in Central Tibet in the vicinity of Lhasa. (See Map 1.) To the west of Lhasa, the First Dalai Lama Gendun Drup (1391-1474, *dge 'dun grub*) founded Drashi Hlunbo Monastery in Shigatse in either 1447 or 1453.³⁵⁷ (See Map 2.) Drashi Hlunbo, which is in the Dzang province, eventually became the seat of the Panchen Lamas. Three hundred years after the founding of Ganden, Jamyang Shayba inaugurated Labrang Drashi Kyil Monastery, the largest and most influential Geluk monastery in Amdo. (See Map 3.) Each of these monasteries had varying numbers of monastic colleges (*gwra tshang*), each with its own curriculum, academic orientation, and customs. Drebung, for example, traditionally had seven monastic colleges.³⁵⁸ Some of the colleges were principally focused on the study of medicine or tantra. Whatever their focus, however, it is a general characteristic of Geluk monasteries that they were venues for the rigorous study of texts.

The curricula at the academically oriented Geluk monastic colleges are based on five fundamental Indian texts: Maitreya's *Ornament for Clear Realization*, Dharmakīrti's *Commentary on (Dignāga's) "Compendium of Valid Cognition,"* Chandrakīrti's *Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) "Treatise on the Middle Way,"* Vasubandhu's *Treasury of Knowledge*, and

³⁵⁷ Both dates are given on www.tbrc.org, G104 and P80 respectively.

³⁵⁸ See n. 145 above. I use the past tense not because these institutions no longer exist, but rather because they have undergone such dramatic change since the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1959.

Guṇaprabha's *Aphorisms on Monastic Discipline*.³⁵⁹ Students on the academic track in these Geluk institutions typically begin to memorize the root texts as teenagers while they are still engaged in preliminary studies of epistemology, logic, and reasoning. By the time they enter each of the classes in which they will study the five root texts, they have committed that root text to memory entirely. Often, students will memorize vast portions of the monastic textbooks as well. Particular classes are structured around the textbook employed in each monastery. So, for example, while all scholastically-oriented Gelukba monks learn about the Middle Way School by memorizing Chandrakīrti's *Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) "Treatise on the Middle Way,"* the monks at the Loseling monastic college study the meaning of the text in dependence upon the commentaries written by Pañchen Sönam Dragba (1478-1554, *pañchen bsod nams grags pa*) while the monks at the Gomang monastic college study the same Indian text in light of Jamyang Shayba's commentary. Thus, even though these two monastic colleges are both a part of the monastic seat of Drebung, they study different commentaries. Similarly, the monks of the Jay monastic college (*rje*) of Sera Monastery (*se ra*) study the textbooks of Jaydzun Chökyi Gyeltsen (1469-1546), while those at the May college (*smad*) of Sera use the textbooks of Denba Dargay (1493-1596). (See Table 1.)

Generally, monks have intense loyalty to their own monastic college. In part, this loyalty is fostered by the institution itself through promoting faith in the textbook author, the most visible point of reference with respect to which a group identity at the college level can be created. To this end, the textbook author is idealized, lionized, and praised in an

³⁵⁹ These are the classic "Five Books" (*bhoti lnga*) of Indian Buddhism introduced above, 100. See bibliography for references and translations. See also Georges B. J. Dreyfus *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 113-118. Dreyfus also provides a detailed picture of the typical monastic education in both Geluk and non-Geluk institutions.

extravagant manner. At the same time, rivals are disparaged and denigrated. Ironically, it is often the case that the people who are singled out for special criticism are those who are in

Monastery	Textbook Author
Drebug-Gomang	Jamyang Shayba (1648-1722)
Drebug-Loseling	Panchen Sönam Dragba (1478-1554)
Ganden-Jangdzay	Jaydzun Chökyi Gyeltsen (1469-1546)
Ganden-Shardzay	Panchen Sönam Dragba
Sera-Jay	Jaydzun Chökyi Gyeltsen
Sera-May	Denba Dargyay (1493-1596)
Labrang Drashi Kyil	Jamyang Shayba

Table 1 — Each of the large monastic colleges has firm allegiance to its own textbook author

closest proximity to the group without being in the group. In cultivating a group identity within the major Geluk monastic colleges, criticism is not directed at non-Buddhists or at non-Gelukbas; rather it is the members of another college within one's own monastic institution who are attacked. Jeffrey Hopkins tells the amusing and vivid story of a teacher of his who on a few occasions turned his head and spit on the carpet at the mention of the author of the textbooks from the other college within his own monastery.³⁶⁰ Through such displays, through the repeated assertions that the textbook author of one's own college is error-free and without contradiction, through calling him "the Omniscient One", through praise of him in daily morning prayer assemblies, and so forth, intense loyalty is inculcated in

³⁶⁰ Jeffrey Hopkins, "Tibetan Monastic Colleges: Rationality Versus the Demands of Allegiance," in *Imagining Tibet*, eds. Thierry Dodin and Heinz Rather (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 263-264.

the monks. By the time the student actually encounters their college textbook author's commentaries on the five Indian texts, they have a strong presumption of his correctness. Then when they are confronted with various problems of interpretation, points of conflict between, for example, some explicit statement of Dzongkaba's or a canonical Indian source on the one hand and an argument put forward by Jamyang Shayba on the other, they experience a powerful need to resolve the apparent contradiction. The psychological and even emotional tension created by those conflicts drive the monks to engage in their own creative exegesis of the text, a balancing act circumscribed by their allegiance to their orthodox predecessors and the dictates of reason.

As monks progress through the college's curriculum, their memorization and their textual study, together with the exegesis of their teacher, are complemented by the extensive practice of debate. Often, monks will spend hours a day debating with their classmates in clamorous throngs. Students work out their own solutions to the thorny problems of interpretation they encounter in their reading and their classes as they struggle to construct consistency out of the most troubling passages in the literature. Their mastery of the minutia of the topic they are studying is further tested by their having to adopt pro and con positions on the same question. Cabezón remarks on the centrality of debate in Geluk pedagogy:³⁶¹

Tibetan monastic debate (*rtsod pa*) came to replace commentary as the prevalent form of scholastic exegesis. Religious vitality is here preserved through the internalization of doctrine via oral tradition, specifically, that of memorization, oral commentary, and monastic debate.

³⁶¹José Cabezón, *Buddhism and Language*, 84

It is the primary means by which monks discover meaning for themselves. While the scholastic education Gelukba scholar-monks receive, focused as it is on memorization of canonically-approved scriptures, appears merely to recreate the insights of the past, the emphasis on debate demands that each new student both relive the tensions of contradiction within the tradition and creatively resolve those tensions anew. Thereby, the tradition itself is renewed.

According to Georges Dreyfus, within the Geluk School an increased emphasis was placed on debate as one dimension of a larger project of creating “ideological unity”, an objective he sees as having begun as early as Kaydrup, Dzongkaba’s student. In the sixteenth century and especially in the post-1642 era in which Geluk influence was spreading across the Tibetan landscape, structural changes were implemented in an effort to circumscribe the range of acceptable opinion within the Geluk School. A new generation of textbooks were accepted by the large monasteries; the “old textbooks” they replaced were no longer printed or studied much and are, in many cases, no longer extant. Smaller monasteries were affiliated with the larger institutions (Ganden, Sera, Drebung, and Labrang primarily) as branch monasteries, thereby minimizing the variety of voices heard within outlying Geluk monasteries. Significantly, Dreyfus also sees the approach of Geluk monastic textbooks as serving to confine the range of debate that monks can legitimately explore. He remarks, “Differences are considered, but only acceptable ones.”³⁶²

The large monastic universities about which we are speaking housed many thousands of monks in pre-1959 Tibet. They were substantial cities unto themselves. Yet not all monks were engaged in the pious study of texts and daily debates. Rather the vast majority of the monks, 71% at Sera-May in the early twentieth century according to anthropologist Melvyn

³⁶²Georges Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping*, 125-126.

Goldstein, were not even engaged in the monastic education.³⁶³ Others who did begin to learn texts would find at some point that they were unable to keep up with the demands of the increasing complex curriculum. All of these monks would take up one of the many jobs that had to be done in order for the monastery to function smoothly. These could include farming, construction, book printing, sewing, cooking, secretarial work, or serving the needs of incarnate lamas, teachers or senior scholar-monks.

As we have noted, monks pursuing the academic track within their monastery are presented with many opportunities and much encouragement to cultivate a fierce allegiance to their monastic college through generating faith in the author of their college's textbooks. The allegiance of non-scholar monks must be cultivated in other ways since they have much less contact with the textual tradition that is the author's primary claim to allegiance. On the affirmative side, Tibetan society privileges monasticism over lay life, asserting that monkhood is meritorious for the monk and for the monk's family. Moreover, it is believed that greater spiritual advancement is possible for a monastic, either because the lifestyle is conducive to spiritual practice or because the monastic vows themselves activate some propensity for personal development.

In another way, various social forms in Tibetan culture prevent monks from renouncing their monastic vows once they have assumed them. People often become monks at their parents' discretion while they are still teenagers or preteens, and upon being ordained, they abandon any claim to their patrimony, including farmland. Thus, if they renounce their vows, many monks are left with few obvious alternative means of support. If they remain in the monastery, they can expect to receive a room, food, tea, occasional spending money arising from donations from lay people, and the like. Moreover, the

³⁶³ Melvyn Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet 1913-1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 24.

monasteries are organized in a way such that there are no substantial impediments to a monk remaining. Goldstein notes that there were no exams or other such obstacles that might be insurmountable by some monks. Additionally, he says, "Barring murder and heterosexual intercourse, the breaches of monks were not punished by expulsion."³⁶⁴

All of this does not explain why these non-scholar monks generate loyalty to their own monastic college. Nonetheless, it seems that they often do. In part, the group identity provided by membership in one of the nation's most esteemed institutions appears to provide meaning to the monks. In addition, Tibetan culture so highly values scholarship that both lay people and non-scholar monks are rather in awe of academically-talented people. The oral traditions that extol the intellectual gifts of famous lamas, including particularly the locally heroic figures, like the textbook authors of a given monastery, are numerous and are invoked frequently as vehicles for teaching religious principles. Such luminaries are not remote and forgotten shadows from the past. Instead, Atisha, Padmasambhava, Dzongkaba, and figures like Jamyang Shayba are very much part of the emotional present for Tibetans. Homilies about these figures help even non-scholar monks generate faith that their religious vocation is meaningful and important. Similar strategies for asserting legitimacy are employed in various other Tibetan contexts, as is witnessed by David Germano's study of a contemporary Nyingma community in Tibet.³⁶⁵

³⁶⁴ Melvyn Goldstein, "Tibetan Buddhist Monasticism: Social, Psychological, and Cultural Implications," in *Tibet Journal* 10 (1985): 17.

³⁶⁵ David Germano, "Re-membering the Dismembered Body of Tibet: Contemporary Tibetan Visionary Movements in the People's Republic of China," *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity*, eds. Melvyn Goldstein and Matthew Kapstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), *passim*.

Jamyang Shayba as Textbook Author

Jamyang Shayba's particular intellectual gifts and his position in history cast him in a special role in the seventeenth century Geluk School. Possessed of an unusually acute intellect, he was able to write tremendously detailed and subtle analyses of philosophical topics. Like other textbook authors before him, he saw himself and was seen by his contemporaries as working to maintain — or perhaps we can say create — Geluk orthodoxy.³⁶⁶ Unlike the earlier textbooks authors, however, Jamyang Shayba, along with the First Pañchen Lama Losang Chögyi Gyeltsen (1567-1662, *blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan*), came to prominence at a time when (1) Dzongkaba's tradition had been subjected to almost three centuries of broad-ranging critiques from members of other schools, (2) the Gelukbas had been widely persecuted by various factions in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and (3) the Fifth Dalai Lama had gained command over the entirety of Tibet with the military and political support of the Qoshot Mongolians. For the first time in four centuries, religious and political authority were firmly in the hands of a single defined group.

In this drastically altered environment, the monastic elite of the Geluk School found they had brand new duties that had not been required of previous generations. Now in possession of political power, they had to establish the ecclesiastical authority that would

³⁶⁶ Many people within the Geluk tradition would say that Jamyang Shayba was merely upholding the meaning originally realized by Dzongkaba, which was the meaning he had rescued from obscurity from the texts of Buddhapālita and Chandrakīrti, and so on, back through Nāgārjuna to Buddha. By saying that Jamyang Shayba and the other textbook authors were creating orthodoxy, I mean to indicate that they were engaged in the type of creative reinterpretation that breathes new life into tradition, as is suggested in the quotation from Ricoeur at the beginning of this chapter. I am not claiming that Jamyang Shayba merely discovered Dzongkaba's, Chandrakīrti's, or anyone else's intended meaning. Nor am I claiming that Jamyang Shayba was more or less successful in that quest than any of the other textbooks authors or other commentators.

justify their new status in the world. A range of strategies — sometimes in conflict with each other — were employed in this pursuit of legitimacy. In earlier chapters, we discussed the broad historical context within which the Fifth Dalai Lama and other Gelukbas endeavored to create a government that appealed to many religious groups by incorporating more universal symbolism and rituals. In this chapter, we will explore the opposing strategy, the polemicists' efforts to justify Geluk supremacy by attempting to demonstrate the consistency, cohesion, and completeness of Dzongkaba's systematic philosophy, in part by criticizing other traditions. It was this effort, in part, that occupied Jamyang Shayba.

He does not rank up in the stratospheric extremes of literary production of Bodong Pañchen Choglay Namgyel (1376-1451, *bo dong pañ chen phyogs las rnam rgyal*), who reportedly would keep several scribes busy simultaneously and whose Collected Works fill 137 volumes. Nor was he a revolutionary pioneer, fashioning a new intellectual synthesis from received tradition, like Dzongkaba. Nonetheless, Jamyang Shayba's scholarly output is impressive by any standard. Kurtis Schaeffer summarizes the numerical extent of his writing:³⁶⁷

The Bkra shis 'khyil xylograph redaction of the Collected Works includes 143 individually titled works, totaling 6343 folios, or 12,686 separately carved wood-block sides.

³⁶⁷ Kurtis R. Schaeffer, "Printing the Works of the Master: Tibetan Editorial Practice in the Collected Works of 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje I (1648-1721)," *Acta Orientalia* 60 (1999): 160.

Gönchok Gyeltsen's *Lineage of Abbots at Labrang Drashi Kyil Monastery* mentions that several items were not included in the Collected Works.³⁶⁸ Jamyang Shayba's *Decisive Analysis of [Atiṣha's] "Two Truths" in the Middle Way*, a commentary to Atiṣha's *Introduction to the Two Truths*, was lost. Jamyang Shayba's version of Amarasimha's *Immortal Treasury*, written in both Sanskrit and Tibetan scripts, also has not survived.³⁶⁹ Chapter Seven of Jamyang Shayba's *Decisive Analysis of [Maitreya's] Ornament for 'Clear Realization,' the Precious Lamp Illuminating All Meanings of the Perfection of Wisdom*, was apparently lost during the upheaval in the Blue Lake region in the years immediately following the Master's death. Reportedly, the original autographs were moved for safekeeping during a military conflict, and that particular chapter could not be found later. His disciple, Ngawang Drashi (1678-1738, *ngag dbang bkra shis*), who served as the second Abbot of Labrang Drashi Kyil Monastery after Jamyang Shayba, wrote a substitute Chapter Seven.³⁷⁰ It is also clear that Jamyang Shayba had additional writing projects in the works. Schaeffer notes, for example, that an unfinished commentary Jamyang Shayba was writing on Dzongkaba's *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path* was found among Ngawang Drashi's papers.³⁷¹

Another way to assess his contribution to Tibetan literature is by noting the great breadth of Jamyang Shayba's work, which covers most major aspects of Buddhist philosophy

³⁶⁸ Cited in Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 5, 659. Read *skabs bdun pa* for *skabs bcu bdun pa*.

³⁶⁹ See p. 163 above.

³⁷⁰ Kurtis R. Schaeffer, "Printing the Works of the Master," 168-169 and Vladimir L. Uspensky, "The Life and Works of Ngag-dbang bkra-shis (1678-1738), the second Abbot of the Bla-brang bkra-shis-'khyil Monastery," in *Proceeding of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, vol. II (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften, 1997), 1007.

³⁷¹ Jamyang Shayba, *A Treasury of Scripture and Reasoning, Explanation of [Dzongkaba's] "Stages of the Path to Enlightenment"*, Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, vol. 4 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1972), 337-477. Kurtis R. Schaeffer, "Printing the Works of the Master," 168.

including extensive commentaries on the five treatises of Indian Buddhism that form the foundation of the Geluk curriculum, elaborate discussions of tantric traditions, meditation, and other elements of Buddhist practice, a major historical study of a particular cycle of tantric teachings, an important historical chronology, extensive commentaries on the writings of Dzongkaba and Chandrakīrti, a translation of a Sanskrit lexicon, notes and letters on Sanskrit grammar, advice on the proper epistolary forms, interpretations of visions, ritual manuals, and so forth.³⁷²

He wrote the most detailed and extensive monastic textbooks (*yig cha*) to be found in the Geluk School. Frequently, when addressing similar topics, he would write many times the volume of the other textbook authors. (See Table 2.) In perhaps the most extreme particular example of this disparity, where Pañchen Sönam Dragba (1478-1554, *pañ chen bsod nams grags pa*) wrote about four folios (eight sides) presenting his views of the nature of

	Denba Dargyay	Jaydzun Chögyi Gyeltsen	Pañchen Sönam Dragba	Jamyang Shayba
Perfection of Wisdom	225 pages	684 pages	727 pages	1385 pages
Valid Cognition	—	306	514	870
Middle Way	546	663	534	1500
Treasury of Knowledge	—	300	228	1350
Monastic Discipline	722	162	228	1022
Concentrations and Absorptions	50	72	—	432
Collected Works		7 volumes	6 volumes	15 volumes

Table 2 — The five topics of Indian Buddhism around which the Gelukba curriculum is structured, the topic of the Concentrations and Formless Absorptions, and the number of volumes in their Collected Works are listed on the left. The next four columns indicate the number of pages each of the four primary textbook authors wrote, when known, on each of those topics in their major works.

³⁷² See Appendix One which outlines the contents of Jamyang Shayba's Collected Works.

valid cognition in the Middle Way School, Jamyang Shayba wrote well over one hundred and fifty folios (300 sides) in his three main texts addressing the school. Georges Dreyfus makes the general case about the extent of Pañchen's writings:³⁷³

Because most of Pañ-chen's textbooks are not very extensive, the monks from Lo-se-ling and Ga-den Shar-tse, whose curriculum relies on those works, are assailed by their Ge-luk colleagues as having a limited textual knowledge.

Guy Newland draws a stylistic comparison between Jamyang Shayba and the other primary textbook authors of the Gelukba school, Jaydzun Chögyi Gyeltsen (1469-1546, *rje btsun chos kyi rgyal mtshan*) and Pañchen Sönam Dragba:³⁷⁴

Born in the same century during which Tsong kha pa and his immediate disciples died, and flourishing prior to the sect's attainment of political supremacy, rJe btsun pa and Pañ chen see the founder and his early followers in the light of a charisma slightly less magnificent than that appreciated by later generations. Pañ chen, in particular, boldly overthrows the assertions of mKhas grub and rGyal tshab when they conflict with his own conclusions. The works of rJe btsun pa and Pañ chen are quite terse when compared to 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa's

³⁷³ Georges Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping*, 370, n. 30.

³⁷⁴ Guy Newland, "Debate Manuals (Yig cha) in dGe lugs Monastic Colleges," in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1996), 208-9. We will return in Chapter 6 to discuss other historical circumstances that set Jamyang Shayba apart from both Jetsun Chögyi Gyeltsen and Pañchen Sönam Dragba.

elaborate grappling with myriad doctrinal complications. 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa's Madhyamika manual is more ambitious than others in its attempts (1) to demonstrate the fidelity of Tsong kha pa to his Indian sources and (2) to reconcile apparent contradictions among Tsong kha pa, mKhas grub, and rGyal tshab. Thriving in the heyday of dGe lugs pa power, 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa is also more deferential to Tsong kha pa's spiritual "sons" (*sras*) — mKhas grub and rGyal tshab. When he cannot reconcile a literal (*tshig zin*) reading of mKhas grub and rGyal tshab with his own understanding of Tsong kha pa, he worked to reconcile the intentions (*dgongs pa*) behind their words.

Jamyang Shayba exhibits greater reverence than these predecessors towards the founding figures, who had by that time been extravagantly mythologized. At the same time, however, he is bold enough to suggest frequent corrections to their writings under the guise of positing their thought (*dgongs pa bzhag*).

Jamyang Shayba's temporal distance from those early scholars also provided him a vantage point from which he could write far more detailed and extensive treatments of each topic. He had the commentaries of his predecessors to reflect upon and to react to, both Geluk and non-Geluk. All of these factors make Jamyang Shayba's work as a commentator quite distinctive. Dreyfus comments on the general similarity of the major Geluk textbooks:³⁷⁵

[They] contain similar material, differing only on their standpoints toward

³⁷⁵

Georges B. J. Dreyfus *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping*, 124-125.

that material; the texts by Jam-yang-shay-ba offer slightly different content. That the Ge-luk manuals present very similar views is not surprising given that many questions have already been settled by Dzong-ka-ba and his two main disciples.

I am not here disputing his comparison of the textbooks authors, an issue of which Dreyfus is far better judge. The overlap between the different Geluk textbooks is indeed quite extensive. However, in general, Jamyang Shayba considered a wider variety of opinions and explored more broad-ranging distinctions than the others, particularly in the context of his presentation of the Middle Way School. This view is so widely held among Tibetans that young Gelukba monks I met from monasteries other than Gomang would suck in their breath, open their eyes wide, and express their sympathies to me when I told them I was studying Jamyang Shayba's textbooks.

Following on Jamyang Shayba's heels, the trend in commentarial literature among some of his successors was towards simplification. For example, Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo wrote a condensed version of Jamyang Shayba's *Great Exposition of Tenets* called *Precious Garland of Tenets*. Likewise, Gönchok's *Lamp for (Jamyang Shayba's) "Scripture and Reasoning, Decisive Analysis for Entering into (Jamyang Shayba's) Great Treatise [on Chandrakīrti's 'Supplement to Nāgārjuna's Treatise on the] Middle Way"* is more of a condensation of Jamyang Shayba's text than a commentary on it. Losang Gönchok's *White Crystal Mirror, Word Commentary on [Jamyang Shayba's] "Root Text on Tenets"* provided a series of succinct summaries of the various parts of Jamyang Shayba's much larger *Great Exposition of Tenets*. The latter text frequently adds helpful commentary as well.

In a similar connection, Jeffrey Hopkins comments on the relationship between Jamyang Shayba's *Great Exposition of Tenets* and Janggya Rolbay Dorjay's later text on the same topic, *Presentation of Tenets*.³⁷⁶

[Jang-gya] frequently introduces the reader to complex issues but does so within abbreviating many minor points to which Jam-yang-shay-ba gives major attention... The two texts [by Jang-gya and Jam-yang-shay-ba] complement each other in that Jam-yang-shay-ba's attention to detail often makes Jang-gya's abbreviation of such points more accessible and Jang-gya's generous presentation of the great issues often puts Jam-yang-shay-ba's vast array of information in perspective.

Although it will have to remain a subject for future inquiry, I am tempted to suppose that the incisive and far-reaching nature of Jamyang Shayba's scholarship was such that later Gelukba commentators, at least within Middle Way studies, had to contend with the terms of his analyses. It would be interesting to explore how often the major post-Jamyang Shayba Gelukba commentators on Middle Way philosophy could be understood as either following his lead or reacting to his presentation.

Before his own literary career had made him renowned, Jamyang Shayba found himself in the middle of an intra-Gelukba struggle for religious and philosophical authority that was centered in the allegiance of various monasteries to their respective textbook authors. In the years before Jamyang Shayba's own authorship of the textbooks that would eventually become so popular in eastern Tibet and the Mongolian areas, the Fifth Dalai

³⁷⁶ Jeffrey Hopkins, *Emptiness Yoga* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1987), 34-35.

Lama had written a series of monastic textbooks which he hoped would be adopted by Loseling-Drebung Monastery. Despite considerable pressure from him, Loseling retained the textbooks it had used for more than a century, those written by Pañchen Sönam Dragba. Eventually, the Fifth Dalai Lama's textbooks were adopted by the far less prestigious Deyang-Drebung Monastery (*bde yangs 'bras spungs*). Years later, Desi Sangyay Gyatso asked Jamyang Shayba to write a refutation of Pañchen Sönam Dragba's interpretation of Dzongkaba's systematic philosophy, but the lama rebuffed the Regent's appeal.

Since his earliest years, the Fifth Dalai Lama had been a rival of Dragba Gyeltsen (1618-1655, *grags pa rgyal mtshan*), the third incarnation of Pañchen Sönam Dragba. Both children were finalists in the search for the Fifth Dalai Lama. Dragba Gyeltsen is said to have regarded himself as a disciple of the Dalai Lama later in life. Yet conflict remained between their retainers. When Dragba Gyeltsen died a violent death at a young age, it was believed that he posed a disembodied threat to the Dalai Lama. Stories about this question indicate that their disagreement was based upon the mixing of non-Geluk influences into the pure Geluk tradition. However, there does not seem to be any evidence for tension between them on this issue while Dragba Gyeltsen was alive.³⁷⁷ It is possible that this rivalry carried over to the Fifth Dalai Lama's and Desi Sangyay Gyatso's views of the First Pañchen Sönam Dragba himself. This episode, combined with Jamyang Shayba's own later success as a textbook author, may have provided even more impetus for the growing rift between Jamyang Shayba and the Desi.

When Jamyang Shayba did begin composing textbooks, he had a broader agenda in his scholarly writings than the earlier textbook authors. He was the first textbook author to

³⁷⁷ See Georges Dreyfus, "The Shuk-den Affair: History and Nature of a Quarrel," in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21, no. 2 (1998): 229-234 and *passim*.

live after Gushri Khan had concentrated political power in the hands of the Fifth Dalai Lama (aside from the Dalai Lama himself). A provocative parallel can be drawn between efforts to fortify Geluk secular authority undertaken by the Dalai Lama, Desi Sangyay Gyatso, and the Mongolian patrons of Geluk on the one hand, and efforts to promote a Geluk systematic philosophy on the other. Georges Dreyfus observes:³⁷⁸

Under the protection of the government, the Ge-luk school became by far the most powerful. Its main institutions were established and its monasteries grew exponentially. In particular, the great seats of Drebung, Ga-den, and Se-ra, which had close ties with the political establishment, began to accumulate the resources and political pull that would enable them to exercise political influence and intellectual hegemony almost unchallenged.

The fact that the Geluk School had gained supreme political authority suggests that its intellectual luminaries had to make the case for Geluk religious and philosophical legitimacy. It would also seem that Jamyang Shayba would have been among the most important figures involved in enforcing some kind of Gelukba orthodoxy.

As we have noted, Jamyang Shayba was unlike his fellow Gelukba commentators in that he wrote on a greater variety of topics. He wrote more extensively on most topics that he did address. He was also quite distinctive in his elaborate use of Indian sources. Very often, he cited the particular passage from an Indian source upon which a certain Geluk doctrine rested, even if Dzongkaba or other well-known commentators had not cited it previously.

³⁷⁸Georges Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping*, 28.

Additionally, we have previously noted Jamyang Shayba's greater success in extending the influence of the Geluk School and also his noted success in extending the influence of his own interpretation of Dzongkaba through the wide distribution of his textbooks.

In many other ways, however, his work was not so different from the other important textbooks authors. Like them, he frequently framed his approach to a topic by way of the stylistic device of debates in which philosophical positions are set forth and refuted. He used this traditional literary genre, called "Decisive Analysis" (*mtha' dpyod*), to great effect in confronting what he regarded as the wrong views of non-Gelukbas and Gelukbas alike. Sometimes, the target for criticism would be an unnamed person or perhaps an idealized position not actually held by any actual opponent.³⁷⁹ He begins one debate by saying, "Some old Tibetan scholars and fools say..."³⁸⁰ Elsewhere in the same text, he names names; he begins two debates by targeting statements by Chöjay Gyensangba (*chos rje rgyan bzang pa*), one of Dzongkaba's direct disciples.³⁸¹ In either case, Jamyang Shayba could be relentless in his mockery of positions he considered to be wrong or, even worse, foolish. At times, he mocked a position by adducing an avalanche of supposed contradictions resulting

³⁷⁹ For an incisive discussion of the various polemical strategies, see José Cabezón, "On the sGra pa rin chen pa'i rtsod lan of Paṅ chen bLo zang chos rgyan," *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques*, XLIX, no. 4 (1995): 646. In part, he comments on strategic reasons for not identifying an opponent:

This is a fairly well known rhetorical strategy. To cite opponents by name is to grant them an official status as someone worthy of response, something that polemicists — especially those who represent traditions in power — are often loathe to do.

³⁸⁰ Jamyang Shayba, *Great Exposition of the Middle Way*, 743.5. *bod ryan mkhas blun kha cig na re...*

³⁸¹ Jamyang Shayba, *Great Exposition of the Middle Way*, 751.1 and 808.3. *chos rje rgyan zang pa na re...*

from it.³⁸² Alternatively, he sometimes engaged in humorous name-calling, particularly, it seems, with respect to the Sagya critic of Dzongkaba, Daktsang Shayrab Rinchen (b. 1405, *stag tshang shes rab rin chen*). For example, he calls Daktsang a “spouter of disconnected discourse through possession by the madness causing one to mouth ignorance” or “one who wishes to do a dance having cut off the head of a crazy dancing peacock and hung it on his behind”. Elsewhere, he observes that Daktsang’s comments were mere “raving (?) due to being severely drugged with sleep or to severe *timara*-disease.” Mockingly, he also asks the question, “Now how did it happen that you have flung these wrong-headed assertions at the precious lord, [Dzongkaba]?”³⁸³

Jamyang Shayba took aim at a range of views that seemed to conflict with his own unified system of interpretation that had grown out of Dzongkaba’s inspiration. Hence, like many of his predecessors, he criticized the Jonang doctrine of other-emptiness (*gzhan*

³⁸² Many examples of this type of refutation in which Jamyang Shayba beats a “wrong position” into the ground can be found in his *Great Exposition of the Middle Way*.

³⁸³ The first two insults appear in Jamyang Shayba’s *Great Exposition of Tenets*, and are quoted from Jeffrey Hopkins, *Meditation on Emptiness* (London: Wisdom Publications, 1983), 576. The third insult is translated from Jamyang Shayba’s *Great Exposition of Tenets* in Helmut Tauscher, “Controversies in Tibetan Madhyamaka Exegesis: sTag tshan Lotsāba’s Critique of Tsoñ kha pa’s Assertion of Validly Established Phenomena,” *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* XLVI, no. 1 (1992): 433, n. 84.

Timara-disease is an optical ailment, which I take to be similar to the condition known as ophthalmia. That condition of the eye is characterized by inflammation of the deep tissue of the eyeball or scarring of the retina through the formation of varicose veins. Blurred and otherwise impaired vision results. According to the India tradition, *timara*-disease similarly results in various peculiarities in vision. Notably, it causes those who suffer from it to have the appearance of falling hairs. Chandrakīrti mentions that disease to illustrate that appearances can be deceptive. The parenthetical question mark is Tauscher’s. The fourth comment appears in his *Great Exposition of the Middle Way*, 759.6. *de rje rin po che la khyod kyis ltag chod ’phangs pa ji ’dra byung!*

stong),³⁸⁴ the Gagyü practice of Mahāmūdra, and various doctrines attributed to Hoshang Mohoyen, Kamalashīla's Chinese Ch'an foil in the eighth century Samyay debate.³⁸⁵ Again, like many of his predecessors, he took issue with ancient scholars who preceded Dzongkaba by centuries and who presented views that differed from his Geluk synthesis.³⁸⁶ Similarly, he also criticized the views of people who followed in Dzongkaba's wake and who had attacked him. For example, Jamyang Shayba attacked the view of Shākya Chogden (1428-1507, *shākya mchog ldan*)³⁸⁷ and Migyö Dorjay (1507-1554, *mi bskyod rdo rje*).³⁸⁸ As Jamyang

³⁸⁴ See his refutation of "other-emptiness" at Jamyang Shayba, *Great Exposition of Tenets*, Ngawang Gelek edition, 663.5-669.4.

³⁸⁵ Jamyang Shayba comments on Mahāmūdra and Hoshang at *Great Exposition of Tenets*, 648.5-652.3.

³⁸⁶ An ancient scholar Jamyang Shayba criticizes is Majaba Jangchub Dzöndru (eleventh century, *rma bya pa byang chub brtson 'grus*). David Seyfort Ruegg has noticed inconsistencies in the philosophical views Jamyang Shayba attributed to this figure. Paul Williams has given careful and detailed attention to unraveling what he identifies as Jamyang Shayba's mistaken attribution of views to that scholar; in the end he proposes that Jamyang Shayba was guilty of some polemical sleight of hand. See David Seyfort Ruegg, "Thesis and Assertion in the Madhyamaka/dBu ma," in *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Koros*, eds. Ernst Steinkellner and Helmut Tauscher, vol. 2 (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1984), 205-241 and Paul Williams, "rMa bya pa Byang chub brtson 'grus on Madhyamaka Method," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 13 (1985): 205-225.

³⁸⁷ Shākya Chokden's view is discussed in David Seyfort Ruegg, "The Jo nañ pas: A School of Buddhist Ontologists According to the Grub mtha' šel gyi me loñ," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83, no. 1 (1963): 89-90. For Shākya Chokden's critique of Dzongkaba, see Komarovski Iaroslav, *Three Texts on Madhyamaka* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 2000), 5, 39-40, and *passim*. Jamyang Shayba replies briefly at *Great Exposition of Tenets*, 663.5-664.1 and 671. For the Gelukba counter-critique, see (1) Jetsun Chögyi Gyeltsen, *Replies to the Refutations [of Dzongkaba] by both Goramba and Shākya Chokden*, Collected Works, Volume 8, 175-518; (2) Chizuko Yoshimizu, "The Madhyamaka Theories Regarded as False by the dGe lugs pas," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Sudasiens* 37 (1993): 207; and (3) David Seyfort Ruegg, *Three Studies in the History of Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Philosophy; Studies in Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Thought Part 1* (Vienna: Wiener Studien Zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 2000), 36.

Shayba himself points out in his *Great Exposition of Tenets*, earlier Gelukba scholars had responded to these criticisms.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁸ For Migyö Dorjay's critique of Dzongkaba's philosophical view, see Paul Williams, "A Note on Some Aspects of Mi bskyod rdo rje's Critique of dGe lugs pa Madhyamaka," in *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 11 (1983): 125-145 and David Seyfort Ruegg, "A Kar ma bKa' brgyud work on the Lineages and Traditions of the Indo Tibetan Dbu-Ma (Madhyamaka)," in G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti, eds. *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata* (Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, LVI, volume 3, 1988), 1249-1280. We will return to some aspects of Migyö Dorjay's philosophical differences with Dzongkaba in the Chapter Six.

Interestingly, Migyö Dorjay, who was the Eighth Karmaba and hence the head of the important Karma Gagyü School, also wrote a beautiful poem praising the target of his criticism. See Robert Thurman, ed., *Life and Teachings of Tsong Khapa* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981), 243-245. In part, it reads:

At a time when nearly all in this Northern Land
Were living in utter contradiction to Dharma,
Without illusion, O Tsong Khapa, you polished the teachings.
Hence I sing this praise to you of Ganden Mountain.

When the teachings of the Sakya, Kargu, Kadam
And Nyingma sects in Tibet were declining,
You, O Tsong Khapa, revived Buddha's Doctrine,
Hence I sing this praise to you of Ganden Mountain.

Manjushri, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, gave to you
Special instructions on the thought of Nagarjuna.
O Tsong Khapa, upholder of the Middle Way,
I sing this praise to you of Ganden Mountain.

It is odd that Migyö Dorjay singled out for praise Dzongkaba's contributions to Mādhyamika philosophy since this is the precise domain in which he criticized him.

For references to Jamyang Shayba's critique of Migyö Dorjay, see also Chizuko Yoshimizu, "The Madhyamaka Theories Regarded as False by the dGe lugs pas," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Sudasiens* 37 (1993): 207. Jamyang Shayba's comments on Migyö Dorjay are comparatively brief, perhaps because Jaydzun Chögyi Gyeltsen had already responded to his criticisms of the Gelukba view in his *A Reply to Gar(maba Migyö Dorjay), An Ornament for the Thought of Nāgārjuna*.

³⁸⁹ Jamyang Shayba, *Great Exposition of Tenets*, 663-666. As mentioned above, notes 387 and 388, Jetsun Chögyi Gyeltsen wrote polemical replies to some of Dzongkaba's early critics. In this connection, see Donald S. Lopez, "Polemical Literature (*dGag lan*)," in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1996), 216-228.

Of all those figures Jamyang Shayba identified by name, surely his most frequent target is the Sagya scholar famous for having criticized Dzongkaba's presentation of the Middle Way Consequence School (*dbu ma'i thal 'gyur, prāsaṅgika-mādhyamika*), Daktsang Shayrab Rinchen, commonly known as Daktsang the Translator.³⁹⁰ Daktsang, who was just fourteen when Dzongkaba passed away, grew up to become one of his harshest early critics. He wrote several texts that earned him respect from many quarters, even evidently among prominent Gelukbas.³⁹¹ These texts include his treatise on monastic discipline and his well-

³⁹⁰ Jamyang Shayba, *Great Exposition of the Middle Way*, Gomang edition, 744.6 *yang stag lo sogs kha cig na re*, 748.4. *mkhas pa stag tshang pa na re...*, among many other references throughout this text.

³⁹¹ José Cabezón ("On the sGra pa rin chen pa'i rtsod lan of Paṅ chen bLo zang chos rgyan," *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques*, XLIX.4 [1995]: 658, n. 42) observes that the Fifth Dalai Lama had such respect for Daktsang that he arranged to have a couple of his works printed, including his *Understanding All Tenets*. In the same article, Cabezón suggests that one of Daktsang's students may have been Lodrö Rinchen Senge, the founder of the Jay College of Sera Monastery, one of the great Gelukba institutions. These observations are echoed in Ngawang Belden's *Annotations for (Jamyang Shayba's) "Great Exposition of Tenets"* (*stod, kha*, 21.6) which records an observation from Gungtang which indicates that the Fifth Dalai Lama described Daktsang Lotsāwa as "one who is praised as the pinnacle of error-free scholars." *kun gzigs lnga pa chen pos 'khrul bral mkhas pa'i yang rtser bsngags pa stag tshang lo tsā ba'i grub mtha' kun shes su...*

These affirmations of respect by prominent Gelukbas towards a critic of the founder of their tradition would be unusual enough, but S. K. Sadhukhan, "Biography of the Eminent Tibetan Scholar 'Jam-dbyangs bshad-pa nāg-dbañ brtson-'grus (A. D. 1648-1722)," *Tibet Journal* 16, no. 2 (1991): 21, makes an even more startling comment:

This time he [i.e., 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa] brought Grub-mtha' kun-śes of sTag lo-tsa-ba. He placed that extraordinary book on a high bookshelf so that the book could not be roughly used. He worshipped it. Placing it attentively, he at times did religious discourses by wrapping the sacred cloth (used on the upper body) round the waist.

The fact that some Gelukbas seem to have openly admired Daktsang Lotsāwa is rather puzzling in light of the vigorous and even venomous polemical reaction he inspired. It would seem to be particularly uncharacteristic in Jamyang Shayba's case. Unfortunately, no reference is provided for Sadhukhan's brief note.

known tenet textbook, *Explanation of "Freedom from Extremes through Understanding All Tenets": Ocean of Eloquence*.

Daktsang formulated a thorough-going indictment of Dzongkaba's philosophy, which José Cabezón discusses in the context of analyzing the First Pañchen Lama Losang Chögyi Gyeltsen's polemical refutation of it:³⁹²

The issue becomes even more entangled upon noticing a passage from the Fifth Dalai Lama's *Pleasing Melodious Song* translated by E. Gene Smith (*Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* [Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001], 244):

Certain adherent of the Dwags rgyud pa have been following these writings of Stag tshang pa and joining together words intended to cast snide aspersions on Lord Tsong kha pa. These Bka' brgyud pa master meditators are like [timid and cowardly] offspring of the fox skulking into the midst of battling tigers and lions, the Sa skya pa and Dge lugs pa scholars, perfect in strength of their intellect and knowledge of canon, engaged in debate. Beware! This behavior is very offensive.

Smith notes that the passage is intended to warn the "Brug pa literati not to play where adult logicians are at work!" Nonetheless, the passage also makes evident the Dalai Lama's disapproval of Daktsang.

Geshe Tandhar of Sera Jay Monastery has told me that later in life, Daktsang is supposed to have written some verses praising Dzongkaba. Evidently, they are included in Purbujog Ngawang Jamba's (1682-1762, *phur bu lcog ngag dbang byams pa*) *Diamond Fragments, Answer to the Objections [to Dzongkaba] by Daktsang the Translator*. Further investigation will be required in order to understand the complex and fascinating issue of the relationship between the Gelukbas and Daktsang.

This strategy of undermining the critique of one's school by a rival by claiming that later in life that figure converted to one's school is a quite common method for co-opting one's critics. Both Taranātha, an advocate of the "other-emptiness" view (*gzhan stong*) that Dzongkaba attacked so vigorously, and Shakya Chokden, the critic of Dzongkaba's system, are supposed to have repented later in life. See Cyrus Stearns, *The Buddha from Dolpo: A Study of the Life and Thought of the Tibetan Master Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltsen* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 72-73.

³⁹² José Cabezón, "On the sGra pa rin chen pa'i rtsod lan of Pañ chen bLo zang chos rgyan," *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques*, XLIX, no. 4 (1995): 658. The square brackets are mine. Cabezón also translates the entire list of "contradictions" in his *Dose of Emptiness: An Annotated Translation of the sTong thun chen mo of mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992; reprint Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1993),

391-392. He later refined his translation of two items in the list in the article just cited, 664, n. 50.

There seems to be some uncertainty about the precise identity of Daktsang's *rTsod yig*. It is quite clear from this quotation that Cabezón thinks the text is no longer extant. In conflict with this view is Helmut Tauscher's "Controversies in Tibetan Madhyamaka Exegesis: sTag tshan Lotsāba's Critique of Tsoñ kha pa's Assertion of Validly Established Phenomena," (*Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* XLVI, no. 1 [1992]: 413, n. 7) where he equates the *rTsod yig* with Daktsang's *Understanding all Tenets*, mentioned in the previous footnote. The latter text is the very one said to have been revered by the Great Fifth Dalai Lama and by Jamyang Shayba. Either Cabezón is mistaken to suppose that the *rTsod yig* is unavailable or Tauscher is mistaken to equate that text with *Understanding All Tenets*, which is available.

For a couple of reasons it is tempting to suppose, with Cabezón, that there must be two different texts. First of all, as difficult as it is to believe that a Gelukba partisan like Jamyang Shayba could express admiration for a text written by someone who criticized Dzongkaba (see n. 391 above), it would be almost impossible to believe he would praise the very text in which that critique is set forth. Secondly, there does not appear to be a clear statement to indicate that the two titles by Daktsang under discussion are the same text in Jamyang Shayba's *Great Exposition of Tenets*, his *Compendium Commentary on (Chandrakīrti's) "Clear Words"*, the Pañchen Lama's *Roar of the Lion*, or Purbujog Ngawang Jamba's *Diamond Fragments, Answer to the Objections [to Dzongkaba] by Daktsang the Translator*.

However, Daktsang's root text for *Understanding All Tenets*, 23.3-24.3, includes a version of the "eighteen contradictions". There are several minor differences between the list of contradictions in the root text and in the Pañchen Lama's text, suggesting that the Pañchen Lama was working with some other version of the list. Tauscher's equation of the *rTsod yig* and *Understanding All Tenets* is further supported by the admittedly cryptic reference to the verses on the contradictions in the commentary. In referencing the first several items, Daktsang typically cited just the first one or two syllables of each line of verse, adding merely "and so on" (*sogs*). Later items are only identifiable from context. The commentary to the contradictions are to be found as follows: (1) 223.4; (2) 224.1; (3) 227.4; (4) 228.1; (5) 231.1; (6) 233.4; (7) 234.1; (8) 234.3; (9) 235.1; (10) 235.3; (11) 235.3; (12) 235.5; (13) 236.6; (14) 237.4; (15) 238.1; (16) 238.3; (17) 238.4; and (18) 239.4. Of course, it remains possible that Daktsang explained the eighteen contradictions more elaborately in another text called the *rTsod yig* or *Record of Arguments*. That would explain the variants in the Pañchen Lama's citation of the contradictions.

We also know from the present text of the Paṅ chen bla ma's that he [i.e., Daktsang] composed a polemical work (with commentary) directed against Tsong kha pa's Madhyamaka and Pramāṇika synthesis, which Paṅ chen bLo bzang chos rgyan cites simply as the *rTsod yig* (lit. Record of Arguments). It is one of the virtues of the Paṅ chen's text that it preserves for us several passages from the latter work. Especially important in this regard are the so called "18 Great Burdens of Contradiction" (*'gal khur chen po bco rgyad*), a list of philosophical points in regard to which Tsong kha pa is alleged to have seriously erred.

The Paṅchen Lama took great pains to reply to Daktsang's criticisms in a detailed manner in his *Roar of the Lion of Scripture and Reasoning, Response to the Polemics of [Daktsang the Translator] Draba Shayrab Rinchenbo*.³⁹³ He addressed each of the eighteen contradictions in turn. Moreover, he crafted a general argument against two of Daktsang's underlying presuppositions: (1) that the Middle Way tradition does not call for an epistemological foundation and (2) that epistemology is a mundane science, like grammar, and not an intrinsically Buddhist science.

In his *Roar of the Lion*, the First Paṅchen Lama quotes the second of Daktsang's criticisms directed at Dzongkaba, which cuts to the heart of his assault on the Geluk School. Daktsang charged:³⁹⁴

³⁹³ Collected Works of blo bzañ chos kyi rgyal mtshan, vol. 4 (New Delhi: Lama Gurudeva, 1973), 559-648.

³⁹⁴ Daktsang Lotsāwa, *Root Text for "Understanding All Tenets,"* 23.3 and Losang Chögyi Gyeltsen, *Roar of the Lion*, 594.5. *yul der 'khrul dang de la tshad ma 'gal*.

It is contradictory for [a consciousness] that is mistaken with respect to an object to be a valid cognition with respect to it.

In his commentary, Daktsang cites the argument that if a consciousness could be a valid cognition with respect to some object, despite being mistaken with respect to it, then all consciousnesses would be valid cognitions.³⁹⁵

To this, the Pañchen Lama replied, in part:³⁹⁶

[You claim] there is a burden of contradiction in saying that an ordinary person's sense consciousness is mistaken and that an undamaged sense consciousness is a valid cognition that posits (i.e., certifies, *rnam par 'jog pa*) forms and so forth...

³⁹⁵ Daktsang Lotsāwa, *Understanding All Tenets*, 224.1-227.1.

³⁹⁶ Losang Chögyi Gyeltsen, *Roar of the Lion*, 594.5-6. *so skye'i dbang shes 'khrul dang gnod med kyil/ dbang shes gzugs sogs rnam par 'jog pa yil/ tshad ma gsungs la 'gal khur yod ces pa... 595.2-596.2 tshur mthong gi mig shes ma 'khrul bar grags pa 'di chos can/ gzugs la tshad ma ma yin par thal/ gzugs la 'khrul shes yin pa'i phyir/ rtags grub stel/ de bden 'dzin gyis bsad pas/ gzugs la 'khrul shes su gsungs shing/ dngos su khas kyang blangs pa'i phyir tel/ tshur mthong gi mig shes del/ 'khrul shesu* gsungs shing/ khas blangs pa'i phyir/ zer ba mi 'thad del lugs 'dir tshur mthong gi mig shes ma 'khrul ba med pa'i phyir/ yang tshur mthong gi mig shes 'khrul ba la bsams nal/ rtsa bar ma khyab bol/ des nal lam rim chen mor/ rnam pa gzhan du gnas pa'i dngos lal/ rnam gzhan du snang ba'i phyir rol/ zhes gsungs pas/ dbang po'i shes pa lal/ gzugs sgra sogs/ rang gi mtshan nyid kyis grub par snang lal/ snang ba ltar gyi rang gi mtshan nyid tha snyad du yang med pas/ nal slob dpon 'di/ tha snyad du yang 'di dag 'khrul par bzhed pa yin nol/ zhes gsungs pa'i phyir/ de yang/ gzugs de gzugs 'dzin mig shes la gzugs su yang snang/ rang gi mtshan nyid kyis grub par yang snang mod/ 'on kyang/ des gzugs gzugs su gzhal gyil/ gzugs rang gi mtshan nyid kyis grub par ma gzhal/ gzugs 'dzin mig shes del/ gzugs dang gzugs gyi snang ba dang/ gzugs rang gi mtshan nyid kyis grub pa'i snang ba gsum char la tshad mar song yang/ gzugs rang gi mtshan nyid grub pa la tshad mar song ba ma yin nol/ Read rnam par 'jug pa for rnam par 'jog pa. 594.6. *Read 'khrul shes su gsungs for 'khrul shesu gsungs. 595.3.*

[You are saying:] It [absurdly] follows that the subject, an eye consciousness of one who looks nearby [i.e., an ordinary being] that is renowned as non-mistaken, is not a valid cognition with respect to a form because of being a consciousness that is mistaken with respect to the form. The reason is established because that [consciousness] is polluted by an apprehension of true existence, due to which it is said to be a consciousness that is mistaken with respect to the form, and you have also explicitly asserted this; since that consciousness of those who look nearby is said to be a mistaken consciousness and you have asserted this.

[To that I respond:] It is not suitable to say that because in this system, non-mistaken eye consciousnesses of those who look nearby do not exist, [and thus your subject does not exist.] Moreover, if you were thinking of mistaken eye consciousnesses of those who look nearby, then [I respond that] your initial consequence lacks entailment, [that is, the predicate of the consequence—“is not a valid cognition with respect to a form”—is not entailed by your reason—“being a consciousness that is mistaken with respect to the form”]. This is because Dzongkaba’s *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path* says:

Things that abide in one way, appear otherwise.

And hence forms, sounds, and so forth appear to a sense consciousness

as established by way of their own character, but even conventionally, they do not exist as established by way of their own character as they appear to, due to which, this Master [Dzongkaba] says:

Even conventionally, these [consciousnesses] are asserted to be mistaken.

Moreover, form appears as a form to an eye consciousness apprehending form, and indeed it also appears as established by way of its own character; however, that [consciousness] comprehends the form as a form, but it does not comprehend the form as established by way of its own character. That consciousness apprehending form comes to be a valid cognition with respect to the three: (1) the form, (2) the appearance of form, and (3) the appearance of the establishment by way of the [form's] own character. Nonetheless, it does not come to be a valid cognition with respect to the form's establishment by way of its own character.

Pañchen Losang Chögyi Gyeltsen's critique of Daktsang Lotsāwa draws out the conflicting way that Daktsang and Dzongkaba used the language under discussion.

Both Daktsang and Dzongkaba would agree that living beings are affected by a fundamental cognitive fault that prevents them from seeing the world accurately. For Daktsang, this mistakenness about the world is of such importance in his way of describing

the plight of living beings that he highlights it in his use of language; for him, all consciousnesses are not only mistaken, but they are invalid as well. In contrast, Dzongkaba is anxious to draw attention to those aspects of cognitive experience that are accurate. He agrees with Daktsang that the cognitions of ordinary beings are mistaken, but he asserts that they are nonetheless valid with respect to their own appearances. In making this point, the Panchen Lama was quite restrained in his polemical voice.

Losang Gönchok (b. 1803, *blo bzang dkon mchog*) catalogued a broad array of wrong views in his *White Crystal Mirror, Word Commentary on (Jamyang Shayba's) Root Text on Tenets*, summarizing the views refuted in an extensive fashion by Jamyang Shayba in the section of his *Great Exposition of Tenets* entitled "The General Refutation of the Divisions of Those Possessing Error":³⁹⁷

³⁹⁷ 170.5-172.4 *bod 'dir kun rdzob thams cad ri bong gi rwa ltar ji yang med ces smra ba'i rgya nag hwa shang dang/ de'i rjes 'brang gi bod mang po dang/ yongs grub ni gzhan dbang dang kun btags ma yin pa'i tshul gyis stong pas gzhan stong mchog yin zer ba dang/ rtag pa'i bdag yod par smra ba'i jo nang dol bo shes rab rgyal mtshan rjes 'brang dang bcas pa dang/ kun rdzob tshad mas ma grub la don dam bden grub ltos med kyi rdzas su yod par smra ba'i pañ chen shākya mchog ldan dang/ bstan 'dzin chen po kha cig gis don dam bden pa shes bya ma yin par 'dod pa dang/ thang sag pa sogs chos thams cad tha snyad du med par 'dod pa dang/ yang de'i rjes 'brang 'ga' zbig bden 'nyis tha snyad du yod kyang yod go mi chod zer ba dang/ byang brtson dang/ gangs rgya dmar sogs dbu ma pa la rang phyogs dang/ rang lugs med par 'dod pa dang/ kha cig tshad mas grub pa med par 'dod pa dang/ tshad ma'i ming don sogs gang yang mi 'thad par 'dod pa de thams cad kyi lugs de dbu mar rlom kyang rtag chad ches mi rung ba'i mthar ltung bas na/ dbu ma pa'i phyogs tsam yang min no!*

The first three figures are well known exponents of views contrary to Dzongkaba's Geluk: Hoshang Mohoyen (eighth century, *hwa shang mo ho yan*), Jonang Shayrab Gyeltsen (1292-1361, *shes rab rgyal mtshan*), and Panchen Shākya Chokden (1428-1507, *pañ chen śā kya mchog ldan*).

The subsequent figures are less well known. Thangsagba is Yeshay Jungnay (11th century, *thang sag pa ye shes 'byung gnas*), a student of Patsab Nyima Drag (b. 1055, *spa tshab nyi ma grags*) who "introduced the Prāsaṅgika interpretation of Madhyamaka into Tibet." Karen Lang, "Spa-tsab Nyi ma grags and the Introduction of Prasangika Madhyamika into Tibet," in *Reflections On Tibetan Culture: Essays In Memory Of Turrell V. Wylie*, ed. Lawrence Epstein & Richard F. Sherburne (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 127. See also

Here in Tibet, (1) the Chinese Hoshang [Mohoyen] and many of his Tibetan followers who propound that all conventionalities do not exist at all, like the horns of a rabbit, (2) the Jonang Shayrab Gyeltsen and his followers (a) who say that thoroughly established natures are empty in the sense of their not being other-powered natures or imputed natures, due to which other-emptiness is supreme and (b) who propound that a permanent self exists, (3) Pañchen Shākya Chokden who propounds that conventionalities are not established by valid cognition, but ultimates are substantially existent in that they are truly existent and independent, (4) a certain great bearer of the teachings (*bstan 'dzin chen po*) who asserts that ultimate truths are not objects of knowledge, (5) Thangsagba and others who assert that conventionally all phenomena do not exist, and also some of his followers who say that although the two truths exist conventionally, it is not suitable to understand them as existent, (6) Jangdzön, Gang Gyamar, and others who assert that in the Middle Way School, one does not have a

David Seyfort Rugg, "The Jo nañ pas: A School of Buddhist Ontologists According to the Grub mtha' šel gyi me loñ," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83, no. 1 (1963): 89. Jangdzön is likely intended to be Majaba Jangchub Dzöndru. See note 386 above for sources discussing the aptness of this attribution. Gang Gyamar (*gangs rgya dmar*) may be Gyamarba Jangchub Drag (11th century, *rgya dmar ba byang chub grags*), who was a student of the Master Sharwaba (*sha ba pa*) along with Patsab Nyima Drag. See George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1949), 272. More research will be required on this identification.

While Losang Gönchok's summary is 2 pages, Jamyang Shayba's detailed discussion runs for almost thirty pages of much smaller type and more lines per page. Jamyang Shayba's *Great Exposition of Tenets*, 647.3-673.6.

position of one's own (*rang phyogs*) or a system of one's own (*rang lugs*), (7) Someone who asserts that there is no establishment by valid cognition and who asserts such things as that the name and the meaning of valid cognition are not at all suitable, although [all of those] laid claim to the system of the Middle Way School, they have fallen to very unsuitable extremes of permanence and annihilation. Hence, these are not even slightly Middle Way positions.

In the next section of Jamyang Shayba's *Great Exposition of Tenets*, called "The Detailed Refutation of the Heap of Collected Contradictions," he provides a sustained examination of Daktsang's views. Losang Gönchok summarizes this extensive discussion succinctly.³⁹⁸

Since Daktsang Lotsāwa Shayrab Rinchen directed many unsuitable contradictions at this Great Lord [Dzongkaba], the Great Fifth [Dalai Lama] the All-Seeing Lord of Conquerors issued a general appeal that [Dzongkaba's] followers ought to reply by refuting [Daktsang]. Thereupon, the Omniscient Pañchen Losang Chökyi Gyeltsen just

³⁹⁸ Losang Gönchok, *White Crystal Mirror*, 172.5-174.1. 'gal 'du'i phung po bye brag tu dgag pa la/ stag tshang lo tsā ba shes rab rin chen bya bas/ rje bdag nyid chen po la mi 'os pa'i dgag pa mang du btang bas/ rgyal ba'i dbang po kun gzigs lnga pa chen pos/ 'di la rjes 'jug dag gis dgag lan byed dgos tshul bkas bskul ma spyir mdzad pa nal pan chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan gyis dgag pa'i dngos lan tsam zbig gnang zhing/ de nas kun mkhyen bla ma 'di nyid kyis stag tshang ba'i rang lugs thams cad 'gal 'du'i phung po 'ba' zbig tu bstan nas sun dbyung ba rgyas par mdzad pa 'di ltar yin tel/ khyad par zla ba'i lugs rlom kun mkhyen la/ kun tu dgrar 'dzin khyod la 'gal 'khrul man/ zhes pa sngar gyi nyes smra de dag las khyad par du stag tshang lo tsā shes rab pa rang nyid zla ba grags pa'i lugs yin par rloms/ The embedded passage from Jamyang Shayba is translated by Hopkins in *Maps of the Profound* (forthcoming).

replied to [Daktsang's] actual refutations. Thereafter, this Omniscient Lama [Jamyang Shayba] extensively refuted Daktsang, demonstrating that his entire system is just a heap of contradiction. [Jamyang Shayba's *Root Text on Tenets*] says:

In particular, boasting that you hold Chandrakīrti's system, but in all ways taking the omniscient great Dzongkaba as the foe, you—Translator Daktsang—have many contradictions and mistakes.

In contrast even to the faulty propounders mentioned above [i.e., listed in the previous citation], Daktsang Lotsāwa Shayrab Rinchen has the conceit of [upholding] the system of Chandrakīrti...

In the corresponding section in Ngawang Belden's (b. 1797, *ngag dbang dpal ldan*) *Annotations for [Jamyang Shayba's] "Great Exposition of Tenets"*, he lists the various figures implicitly or explicitly refuted by Jamyang Shayba, briefly commenting on each of them in turn. Thereafter, he turns to Daktsang Lotsāwa's claim to have discovered eighteen great burdens of contradiction in Dzongkaba's system. Dismissively, Ngawang Belden observes:³⁹⁹

Although there are very many subtle contradiction in how Daktsang explained [his criticism of Dzongkaba], when just the coarse ones are summarized, twenty-seven great burdens of contradictions are explained in [Jamyang Shayba's *Great Exposition of Tenets*.]

³⁹⁹ Ngawang Belden, *Annotations for (Jamyang Shayba's) "Great Exposition of Tenets": Freeing the Knots of the Difficult Points, Precious Jewel of Clear Thought*, 17.7-8.

Clearly, Daktsang's bold condemnation of Dzongkaba's systematic philosophy struck a nerve among these Gelukba scholars.

Most of Daktsang's criticisms of Dzongkaba's view relate to the latter's assertion that phenomena are "established by valid cognition". Daktsang believed that this assertion was tantamount to an assertion of inherent existence, which all agree should be anathema to all followers of the Middle Way. Jamyang Shayba took great care in refuting Daktsang's position in his *Great Exposition of Tenets* and in the root text upon which it is based. Not to be outdone by Daktsang's identification of eighteen contradictions in Dzongkaba's system, he identified twenty-seven contradictions in Daktsang's work.⁴⁰⁰ This systematic assault on this Sagya lama's presentation was not his first refutation of Daktsang; Jamyang Shayba had already offered a wide-ranging refutation of his interpretation of the Middle Way School in his *Compendium Commentary on (Chandrakīrti's) "Clear Words."* Reportedly, that text was composed specifically in order to refute Daktsang's view that valid cognition has no role to

⁴⁰⁰ Jamyang Shayba, *Great Exposition of Tenets*, Gomang edition. Jamyang Shayba uses the rubric of refuting Daktsang to cover a vast array of issues in his "Introduction to the Middle Way", but he also concerns himself with many other topics. The twenty-seven contradictions are to be found as follows in the Gomang edition: 1. 673.6; 2. 690.6; 3. 695.3; 4. 700.2; 5. 706.6; 6. 707.1; 7. 710.2; 8. 719.2; 9. 720.2; 10. 720.2; 11. 737.5; 12. 739.4; 13. 739.4; 14. 746.3; 15. 746.3; 16. 762.1; 17. 771.2; 18. 771.2; 19. 775.2; 20. 776.5; 21. 776.5; 22. 784.4; 23. 801.4; 24. 801.4; 25. 807.5; 26. 808.2; and 27. 808.2. Note that the enumeration of the twenty-seven contradictions is slightly different in the Taipei edition for numbers 23-26. The Taipei edition lists 23 (464.18) separately and groups 24 and 25 together (471.12) and 26 and 27 together (475.10). In contrast, the Gomang edition groups 23 and 24 together (801.4) and 26 and 27 together (808.2), while 25 is listed separately (807.5). Jeffrey Hopkins has addressed this difficulty in his forthcoming *Maps of the Profound*.

A terse form of the contradictions is found in the root text, Jamyang Shayba, *Presentation of Tenets, Roar of the Five-Tufted [Lion] Eradicating Error, Precious Lamp Illuminating the Good Path to Omniscience*, Gomang edition, 18.4-19.5.

play within the Middle Way School and to rebut his criticism of Dzongkaba. In the opening pages of that text, Jamyang Shayba says:⁴⁰¹

Many who pretend to be Consequentialists (*thal 'gyur pa, prāsaṅika*) here in Tibet deny [the existence of] valid cognition. However, the Foremost Father [Dzongkaba] and his Spiritual Sons [Kaydrup and Gyeltsap], together with their followers, have refuted this [false view] well and only the mere name remains, [whereupon] all those qualified,⁴⁰² learned people will keep away [from that view].

Nevertheless, Daktsang the Translator, being attached to gain and honor and seeking the recognition of sponsors, also says — despite the fact that Consequentialists explain both direct perception and inference, and therefore have the meaning of valid cognition — “Those are not accepted as valid cognitions, for the designation of ‘valid cognition’ does not apply to those.” This statement is entirely incorrect because Chandrakīrti used the designation “valid cognition” with respect to them.

⁴⁰¹ Jamyang Shayba, *Compendium Commentary on (Chandrakīrti's) 'Clear Words'*, Collected Works, volume 11, 484.5-485.1. *bod 'dir thal 'gyur bar rlom pa mang pos kyang tshad ma bkag lal/ de rje yab sras 'brang dang bcas bas legs par bkag cing ming tsam zbig lus bar byas la mkhas pa tshad ldan thams cad kyis yi ring mdzad** kyang/ yang rnyed bkur la zhen pa dang sbyin bdag gi ngo 'dzin ched du stag los kyang thal 'gyur bas mngon sum rjes dpag dag bshad pas tshad ma'i don yod kyang de dag tshad mar mi 'dod del de dag la tshad ma'i tha snyed med do zhes zer ba'ang gtan nas mi 'thad del de dag la tshad ma'i tha snyad zla bas bshad pa'i phyir!!
*Read *yid ring mdzad* (486.6) for *yi ring mdzad*.

⁴⁰² The word *tshad ldan* could mean “those possessed of the measure,” that is to say, “qualified people”. Alternatively, it could mean “those possessed of *tshad ma* or valid cognition”, i.e., *tshad ma dang ldan pa*. In that case, it would mean, people who validly understand things.

Out of all proportion to his importance within the Sagya School, Daktsang has attracted a great deal of attention from the Fifth Dalai Lama, Jamyang Shayba, the First Panchen Lama, and other Gelukbas because of his direct assault on Dzongkaba.

Jamyang Shayba often seemed to have Daktsang in the back of his mind, raising criticisms of him in a wide variety of contexts.⁴⁰³ For example, in his study of several Geluk texts on the theme of the Unique Tenets of the Middle Way Consequence School, Daniel Cozort notes:⁴⁰⁴

Daktsang (at least according to Jamyang Shayba) explicitly asserts the contraries of many of the points found on Jamyang Shayba's list [of unique tenets], and can be construed, with a little work, to assert even more; thus Jamyang Shayba found many more topics, indeed, twice as many as Dzongkaba, to assemble under the rubric of "unique tenets." At least five of Jamyang Shayba's topics (1, 2, 5, 8, and 13) are connected with accusations he makes against Daktsang.

Jamyang Shayba also rejected Daktsang's position on the basis of division of the two truths and the nature of a Buddha's cognition.⁴⁰⁵ The two scholars were in disagreement on

⁴⁰³ We have already noted the extensive critique of Daktsang in Jamyang Shayba's *Great Exposition of Tenets*. See n. 400 above.

⁴⁰⁴ Daniel Cozort, *Unique Tenets of the Middle Way Consequence School* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1998), 61.

⁴⁰⁵ See Guy Newland, *The Two Truths in the Madhyamika Philosophy of the Ge-luk-ba Order of Tibetan Buddhism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1992), 46 and 192, respectively.

questions relating to the issue of whether philosophical views are posited in the Middle Way School.⁴⁰⁶ Jamyang Shayba takes issue with Daktsang on many other issues as well.

At the same time, he was frequently ready to refute or correct Gelukba or non-Gelukba scholars he felt had strayed into an improper interpretation. He often carefully revised definitions of his predecessors, created elaborate refinements in the terminology and the explanations of Dzongkaba and his direct disciples, and responded to a variety of different critics.⁴⁰⁷ Throughout his writings, he, like other textbook authors, sought to create a single coherent interpretation of Geluk systematic philosophy. In a future study, I will examine some of the ways Jamyang Shayba critiqued and revised other Geluk discussions of the Middle Way School.

The Panchen Lama and Jamyang Shayba did not arrive at their concern for Dzongkaba's critics without encouragement. Rather, the Fifth Dalai Lama had previously brought attention to various critics of Dzongkaba, asking his fellow Gelukbas to respond to scholars who had attacked Dzongkaba's interpretation of the Middle Way School.⁴⁰⁸ In his *Sacred Word of Manjushri*, the Fifth Dalai Lama undertook some of this work himself. In discussing emptiness meditation, he took issue with some scholars who assert that analytical

⁴⁰⁶ David Seyfort Ruegg, *Three Studies in the History of Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Philosophy; Studies in Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Thought Part 1* (Vienna: Wiener Studien Zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 2000), 188 and n. 123.

⁴⁰⁷ See, for example, Guy Newland, *The Two Truths in the Madhyamika Philosophy of the Ge-luk-ba Order of Tibetan Buddhism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1992), 138-145 for an explanation of a context in which Jamyang Shayba elaborated a very complex terminological distinction in an effort to create consistency in Kaydrup's presentation of the two truths.

⁴⁰⁸ I have been unable to locate this passage in the Fifth Dalai Lama's text, but it is mentioned by Losang Gönchok. See the quotation translated above, p. 232. Jamyang Shayba also mentions (*Great Exposition of Tenets*, Taipei edition, 639) that the Fifth Dalai Lama had issued that request in his *Ship for Entering the Ocean of the Great Vehicle Treatises of the Middle Way*.

and stabilizing meditation are necessarily separate. He singles out some Sagyabas, some Dagbo Gagyubas (*dvags po bka' brgyud*), and even some Gelukbas:⁴⁰⁹

Many scholars and fools, such as some Sa (Sa-skya) and Dak (Dvags), say that when there is thought, the Madhyamika view is absent. They say that to have meditation on the view there must be no diffusion of collection of the intellect. Some Ge-luk-pas (wrongly) refute this saying that the leaping up of the small fish of special insight is not possible in the unmoving water of calm abiding. Also, many followers of our own (Ge-luk-pa) party proclaim with a loud voice that the initial position (of Sa and Dak scholars and fools) is a final essential of the path.

As we have noted, Jaydzun Chögyi Gyeltsen, Pañchen Sönam Dragba, and others had reacted to opponents of the Geluk School in the generations after its founding. Clearly, these efforts continued even as the Geluk School became politically dominant during the seventeenth century. There was an urgency among Geluk partisans to respond to critics and to attempt to weed out illegitimate views from within the tradition and to marginalize non-Gelukba opponents. However, the fact that the Geluk hierarchy had come into political power meant that their polemical critiques could have an impact on the ground. Not only could they argue against other traditions, but they could use their position to marginalize them in more tangible ways.

A notable example of the way that the Gelukbas employed their new political power arises in the context of the suppression of the Jonang School in the mid-seventeenth century.

⁴⁰⁹ Jeffrey Hopkins, *The Practice of Emptiness* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1974), 19-20.

This involved the conversion of Jonang monasteries to the Geluk curriculum, the impounding of woodblocks for printing Jonang texts, and the burning and banning of some of their literature. Just as Jamyang Shayba had been particularly concerned to refute Daktsang, so similarly, Dzungkaba had made great efforts to refute the “other-emptiness” view (*gzhan stong*) of the Jonang Master Shayrab Gyeltsen (1292-1361, *shes rab rgyal mtshan*). Gelukbas and Jonangbas continued to joust with each other through the generations, and this contentiousness came to a head in the early seventeenth century when Tāranātha (1575-1635, *tā ra nā tha*), the great scholar who worked to revive the Jonang School, allied himself with the anti-Geluk coalition discussed in Chapter One. Despite the fact that the Fifth Dalai Lama’s mother had family connections to Tāranātha and Tāranātha had given the Fifth Dalai Lama his childhood name, his Geluk government took action against the Jonangbas. After Tāranātha’s death, a boy, Losang Denbay Gyeltsen (1567-1662, *blo bzang bstan pa’i rgyal mtshan*), was recognized as his reincarnation. This child grew up to become a close disciple of the Dalai Lama himself, although he was educated largely in Mongolia. According to the Fifth Dalai Lama’s own account, Losang Denbay Gyeltsen was the primary instigator in the suppression of the Jonang School.⁴¹⁰ Cyrus Stearns comments on this ironic turn of events:⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ This maneuver of co-opting the incarnation of a rival philosophical school or a rival political faction is well-known in Tibet. It is, in fact, not unlike Labsang Khan’s efforts to impose his own candidate as the Sixth Dalai Lama in the early eighteenth century and the Chinese efforts to impose their candidate for the Eleventh Panchen Lama in the late twentieth century. See p. 152 and p. 136, respectively.

⁴¹¹ Cyrus Stearns, *The Buddha from Dolpo: A Study of the Life and Thought of the Tibetan Master Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltsen* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 68-77. Other information is derived from David Seyfort Ruegg, “The Jo nañ pas: A School of Buddhist Ontologists According to the Grub mtha’ šel gyi me loñ,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83, no. 1 (1963): 77-78; E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 242-243 and 250;

Although the Jonang school itself certainly did not accept this enforced recognition of its great master as a Geluk teacher who demanded the conversion of a Jonang monastery into a Geluk establishment, they had no choice in a country now ruled by Geluk political administration and Mongolian might.

Between 1650 and 1658, restrictions were enacted that all but eliminated the Jonang teachings in Central Tibet. Even non-Jonangbas who taught the “other-emptiness” doctrine were proscribed. Shakya Chokden’s *Collected Works* were only preserved because copies had survived in Bhutan long after the Fifth Dalai Lama had suppressed them in Central Tibet.⁴¹²

Many factors contributed to the marked success Jamyang Shayba enjoyed as a promoter of the Geluk School. In his quest to create a consistent interpretation of Dzongkaba’s religious and philosophical system, Jamyang Shayba engaged in the scholastic enterprise, attempting to construct consistency out of the received authorities — Dzongkaba, Kaydrup, Gyeltsap, Nāgārjuna, Chandrakīrti, Atīsha and others — by creatively interpreting their writings. His writings gained broad acceptance. Through his textbooks, he sought to discredit non-Geluk interpretations of Buddhism as well as other Geluk interpretations of Dzongkaba’s philosophical presentation. Like other commentarial authors, Jamyang Shayba employed a variety of polemical strategies to further his aims, including mocking, ignoring, or relentlessly piling contradictions upon his opponents. He was also able to undertake a

and David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet* (New York: Praeger, 1968), 179-180; and 196-197.

⁴¹² Dudjom Rinpoche, *Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, vol. 2 (Boston: Wisdom, 1991), 90, n. 1303.

reasoned and measured refutation of his foe. All of these strategies are evident in his treatment of Daktsang Lotsāwa.

While Jamyang Shayba elaborated his commentarial textbooks in the same intellectual universe as his predecessors had, the political environment had shifted since the fifteenth century when the Geluk School was a fairly minor tradition without potent political connections. By the time he wrote his books in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Gelukbas were in firm control of the instruments of power. This fact provided Jamyang Shayba with greater access to patronage, contact with the most powerful figures in Tibetan society, and a well-connected forum from which he could articulate his vision of Buddhism. His high profile enabled him to extend his influence from Central Tibet to eastern Tibet, and eventually to many parts of the Mongolian cultural region.

Like the other textbook authors, Jamyang Shayba served as a focal point of monastic allegiance. Through stories told about him, appellations applied to him, and the high regard demonstrated towards him by their elders within their monastery, great faith was generated both in non-scholar-monks and in scholar-monks. In addition, a vigorous commitment to him — and thereby to the monastic institutions of which he represents the most public face — is generated in scholar-monks through the training they receive. A strong belief in his capacity to interpret the tradition is used as a foundation, and monks are then drawn into the exegetical exercise of creating consistency between Jamyang Shayba's interpretations and the canonical sources he commented upon.

His incisive and penetrating treatises gained him attention from the Fifth Dalai Lama, Desi Sangyay Gyatso, and other Tibetan power brokers in addition to Labsang Khan and other important patrons. Their confidence in his ability to interpret Geluk thought in a

compelling manner granted him status and legitimacy. Thereby, he became an authoritative figure within the religio-political structure of the Geluk School. His own personal talents were prodigious, and he was fortunate to have been able to study with the fine mentors he found throughout his life. The extended period of reflection, study, and writing during which he primarily lived at the mountain retreat above Drebung (1680-1700) was undoubtedly of decisive importance to him also. His abbotship of Gomang Monastery put him in the limelight at the center of Geluk power in Central Tibet. Moreover, he continually found generous patrons, which enabled him to realize some of his more consequential aspirations, such as the creation of Labrang Monastery. Perhaps most importantly, Jamyang Shayba had the good fortune to be a Gelukba partisan in an era when the school was in the ascendant and not subject to the persecution of an earlier age. He eventually had a greater impact on the spread of the Geluk School, partly as a consequence of the political authority that stood behind him and the patronage that allowed his voice to be heard.

Chapter Six

Religious Legitimacy and

Pathways to Knowledge

As was the case with members of other schools, many Gelukbas worked to promote the Geluk School as the truest representation of what they regarded as authentic Indian Buddhism. Simultaneously, contradictory efforts were being made, sometimes by some of the same people, to build bridges to other schools. These latter endeavors took many forms, doctrinal, ritual, political, and otherwise. As we have seen, the Fifth Dalai Lama and Desi Sangyay Gyatso in particular hoped to legitimize their theocratic government and to broaden its appeal beyond members of the Geluk School. In order to affect this transformation, the Dalai Lama had to portray himself in a fashion that would be acceptable to people from many different religious and philosophical traditions. In part, they did this by appropriating religious and political symbolism from the Imperial Period when Buddhism was first being introduced to Tibet in the seventh to ninth centuries; of particular appeal were any connections to King Songdzen Gambo (d. 649, *srong btsan sgam po*), the great Indian yogi Padmasambhava (b. eighth century), and the latter's Tibetan consort Yeshay Tsogyel (b. 757, *ye shes mtsho rgyal*). Since that symbolic universe was more connected to the Nyingma School, some Gelukbas and some of the Mongolian factions that patronized the Geluk School resented the impact these maneuvers had on the perceived purity of their own tradition.

The tension provoked by these efforts animated the religious and political landscape throughout Jamyang Shayba's life. Indeed, similar tensions have existed episodically throughout much of Tibetan history. At certain points in history, such conflicts have been cast in the form of disagreements over the legitimacy of certain religious practices, such as sexual yoga. At other times, they have been represented as conflicts between rival ways of knowing. The Fifth Dalai Lama's efforts to incorporate Nyingma and Imperial Period symbolism reignited a new version of this age-old tension. In this chapter, we will more fully elaborate how various Gelukbas and others responded to the Fifth Dalai Lama's legitimizing strategy. In particular, we will attempt to unravel how Jamyang Shayba regarded it. We will then examine the historical events surrounding the anti-Nyingma reaction in the early eighteenth century. Finally, we will inquire into earlier manifestations of corresponding religious conflicts, and we will examine some responses from non-Gelukbas.

Universal Symbolism or Impure Geluk

The Fifth Dalai Lama was a complex figure who, in different contexts, worked to reconcile differences between religious traditions and labored to promote his own Geluk School at the expense of others. It might be said that the Fifth Dalai Lama was born to his syncretic tendencies. At his birth, his parents were affiliated with the Gagyü School. His father's family had strong historical connections to the Nyingma School, and his mother's family had been associated with the Jonang School and the great Jonang scholar Tāranātha (1575-1634).⁴¹³ Although he was identified as the supreme incarnation of the Geluk School when he was just three, his education included the exoteric and esoteric teachings of the Sagya and Nyingma

⁴¹³ Samten Karmay, *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama: The Gold Manuscript in the Fournier Collection* (London: Serindia Publications, 1998), 3.

Schools, in addition to the Geluk transmissions. Moreover, as he became an adept himself, he transmitted precepts to the hierarchs of the Sagya School, the Drigung (*'bri gung*), Daglung (*stag lung*), and Drugba (*'brug pa*) sub-divisions of the Gagyü School, the Panchen Lama, and many senior lamas of the Geluk School.⁴¹⁴

It is not the case, however, that the Fifth Dalai Lama was uniformly receptive to other traditions. After his consolidation of political power in 1642, he concerned himself with refuting opponents, encouraging other scholars to assist him in the effort.⁴¹⁵ In the 1650's, he enacted a ban on the Jonang School, converting many of their prominent monasteries to the Geluk curriculum and suppressing some texts.⁴¹⁶ This was partly because Tāranātha had worked against Geluk interests in Dzang, siding with the Dzang governor and other members of the anti-Geluk alliance discussed above in Chapter One. E. Gene Smith describes this decision:⁴¹⁷

The machinations of Tāranātha in support of his Gtsangs patrons against the Dge lugs pas were of such a nature that the Fifth Dalai Lama and his less tolerant advisors could not allow the Jo nang pa to go unpunished, and they decided to suppress the Jo nang pa in Central Tibet completely.

⁴¹⁴ Dudjom Rinpoche, *Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, vol. 1 (Boston: Wisdom, 1991), 822-824.

⁴¹⁵ See also p. 232 and n. 408.

⁴¹⁶ Cyrus Stearns, *The Buddha from Dolpo: A Study of the Life and Thought of the Tibetan Master Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltsen* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 70-71.

⁴¹⁷ E Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 242.

While the Jonangbas were suppressed, the Gagyubas, who were even more involved in the anti-Geluk alliance, did not end up being subjected to the same treatment. They were compelled to restore to the Geluk School monasteries that had been forcibly converted, but otherwise the Dalai Lama worked swiftly to normalize relations with several Gagyu factions. This comparatively gentle treatment was aggravating to some of the more partisan Gelukbas. It is perhaps also the case that the Jonangbas were subjected to particularly oppressive measures because of philosophical differences; Dzungkaba himself had been quite anxious to refute their doctrine of “Other-Emptiness” (*gzhan stong*).

As he sought to eliminate some offensive non-Geluk opponents, he also attempted to appeal to other non-Geluk elements. In part, the Fifth Dalai Lama renewed the symbols of ancient Imperial Tibet in order to reemphasize the Tibetan character of his rule, in contrast to the Mongolian influence of recent decades. Thus, his second Regent Losang Tutob (b. seventeenth century, *blo bzang mthu stobs*) called for the wearing of traditional clothing from the Imperial Period on ceremonial occasions.⁴¹⁸ More importantly, however, the Dalai Lama was intent on assimilating to his office the universal religious authority only an appeal to the ancient roots of Tibetan Buddhism could provide. Dreyfus summarizes this aspect of the Dalai Lama’s quest:⁴¹⁹

When the Fifth Dalai-Lama assumed power in 1642, he attempted to build a broad-based rule legitimized by a claim to reestablish the early Tibetan empire. This claim was supported by an elaborate ritual

⁴¹⁸ Hugh E. Richardson, “The Fifth Dalai Lama’s Decree Appointing Sang-rgyas rgya-mtsho as Regent,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XLIII, no. 2 (1980): 339.

⁴¹⁹ Georges B. J. Dreyfus, “The Shuk-den Affair: History and Nature of a Quarrel,” in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21, no. 2 (1998): 260.

system, which sought to reenact the perceived religious basis of the Tibetan empire. This ritual system was not limited to the practices of the Ge-luk tradition but included teachings and figures closely associated with the Nying-ma tradition, the Buddhist school that for Tibetans has a close association with the early empire.

Dreyfus continues, saying that many of the rituals the Dalai Lama introduced revolved around “devotion to Padmasambhava, the semi-mythical founder of the Nying-ma tradition.”

The Fifth Dalai Lama elaborated a rich array of mythological connections between himself and the luminaries from the glorious royal origins of Buddhist Tibet. Many of these were conveyed in the form of visions he had of King Songdzen Gambo, Padmasambhava, the latter’s Tibetan consort Yeshe Tsogyel, and other imagery from the ancient period. Samten Karmay discusses the link between these visions and the Dalai Lama’s political agenda:⁴²⁰

Through the visions therefore we see a re-play of the imperial period in a new setting in the seventeenth century where historical personages with divine connections continue to manifest and re-transmit the early tantric teachings thereby assisting the Great Fifth in his efforts to reunify Tibet. These teachings were a fundamental part of Buddhism, and we see how under his sway the state religion was being indelibly interwoven with politics in the evolving lamaist state of Tibet.

⁴²⁰Samten Karmay, *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama*, 1.

The Imperial Kings had long before become legendary figures of unimpeachable and universal appeal. By the eleventh century, Kings Songdzen Gambo, Trisong Detsen (d. 798?, *khri srong lde bstan*), and Ralbajen (d. 836, *ral pa can*) were credited with being emanations of the Avalokiteshvara, Manjushrī, and Vajrapāṇi, respectively. By attaching himself to the authority of those figures, the Fifth Dalai Lama felt he could legitimize his own plan for unifying Tibet as it had not been unified since they held power. Likely, he was motivated to establish his power base in Lhasa and build the Potala Palace as a way to recall the fact that Songdzen Gambo's Nepalese Queen, Bhrikuti Deva, had built the Red Palace at the same site in the seventh century.⁴²¹

The Dalai Lama recorded his meditative visions from as early as age six. Occasionally, figures like Atīsha, who were so important in the Geluk symbolic universe up to that point, made an appearance. Also, he sometimes saw images of Dzongkaba as Manjushrī, an allusion to the more conventional self-perception of traditional Geluk. More commonly, however, he saw images of Padmasaṃbhava, visualized receiving initiations from him, heard instructions on what practices he should do to maintain “the stability of the theocratic state,” and so forth. Padmasaṃbhava is by far the most frequent figure in his visions. At another time, Yeshe Tsogyel appeared to the Dalai Lama, conveying “prophecies concerning what rites should be performed for the welfare of the Tibetan people.” Moreover, he had many visions of being initiated into practices or performing practices that were more closely connected to the Nyingma School. Several times he had visions of himself as liberating (*sgral ba*) demons with a ritual red dagger. Additionally, he had visions of himself entering into sexual union (*sbyor ba*) with Yeshe Tsogyel and other women.⁴²² As we will see

⁴²¹ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, 147.

⁴²² Samten Karmay, *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama*, 14-32. The quoted phases earlier in the paragraph are from the same source.

below, these two practices are the source of a good deal of tension and misunderstanding between different religious traditions in Tibet. Both practices were condemned by the Gadamba (*bka' gdams pa*) followers of Atisha, by Dzungkaba, and by various figures in the intervening period.

The legitimizing power of the Imperial Period, which the Fifth Dalai Lama had regarded as so vital to the grounding of Geluk authority, is similarly valued by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. He sees an explicit connection between the Fifth Dalai Lama and one of the "Great Religious Kings" of Tibet:⁴²³

From the series of incarnations of body, speech, and mind, qualities and activities of the Religious King Trisong Detsen, who was so kind to the Snow Land of Tibet, that have appeared from time to time, the great Fifth Dalai Lama, who inaugurated the Gaden Podrang Government, was an incarnation of his activity.

The Fourteenth Dalai Lama, like the Fifth, is concerned to represent the views of all of the Tibetan people. As was the case in the seventeenth century, he has feared that disunity among Tibetans throughout recent decades could create an opening for the Chinese to undermine Tibetan interests. Hence, whereas the Seventh through the Thirteenth Dalai Lamas had discontinued the Nyingma rituals instituted by the Fifth, the present Fourteenth Dalai Lama has resurrected them to an extent.⁴²⁴

⁴²³ Fourteenth Dalai Lama, "Foreword," in Samten Karmay, *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama*.

⁴²⁴ Georges B. J. Dreyfus, "The Shuk-den Affair," 261-262.

Aside from the political dimensions to his appropriation of royal imagery from the Imperial Period and meditative practices from the Nyingma School, the Fifth Dalai Lama also found that the “Great Perfection” (*rdzogs chen*) and other Nyingma practices appealed to him personally. He had many important Nyingma lamas, including Chöying Rangdrol (1604-1669/1610-1657, *chos dbyings rang grol*) and Gönchok Beljor Hlundrup (1561-1637, *dkon mchog dpal 'byor lhun grub*). One of the Dalai Lama’s closest aides, Jamyang Dragba (b. seventeenth century, *'jam dbyangs grags pa*), although he was a Gelukba and at one time the Abbot of Pabongka Monastery, was also a noted authority on the Nyingma Great Perfection tantric practice. Interestingly, this is the same figure Jamyang Shayba frequently mentions as one of his important teachers.⁴²⁵ He was also a trusted intimate of Desi Sangyay Gyatso, as is evidenced by the fact that he was appointed primary tutor of the Sixth Dalai Lama.⁴²⁶

In his quest to legitimize his rule over all of Tibet despite the fact that formally he was only the leading religious figure in the Geluk School, the Fifth Dalai Lama had to develop a symbolic language that would accommodate most Tibetans. Simultaneously, however, he was concerned to deflect criticism from those within his own school who were opposed to his syncretic agenda. If he was to establish a universally recognized authority over Tibet, the Fifth Dalai Lama would have to squelch the Gelukba opposition to his efforts. Loseling Monastery, the traditional seat of the incarnation lineage of Pañchen Sönam Dragba, was a focal point for some of this resistance. This was the home of the Third Pañchen Sönam Dragba, Dragba Gyeltsen (1618-1655, *grags pa rgyal mtshan*), who we have previously mentioned was a rival candidate for the identification of the Fifth Dalai Lama. As part of this long-time opposition between the two men, the Dalai Lama had tried to persuade Loseling Monastery to replace the First Pañchen Sönam Dragba’s textbooks with

⁴²⁵ See p. 91ff above.

⁴²⁶ Michael Aris, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives*, 181.

his own. When that failed, the Regent Desi Sangyay Gyatso asked Jamyang Shayba to refute Panchen's interpretation of Dzongkaba's system, but he refused to be involved in the dispute.⁴²⁷ It has been suggested that his reluctance may have been due to the fact that he was not sympathetic to the Fifth Dalai Lama's broader syncretic agenda. We will return to examine this issue below.

In the wake of the Fifth Dalai Lama's death, Desi Sangyay Gyatso, who was similarly inclined towards Nyingma practices and was also committed to creating a stable and united Tibet under the office of the Dalai Lama, attempted to carry out the Fifth Dalai Lama's plans. As part of his larger endeavor to establish the office of the Dalai Lama as an institution imbued with the Imperial symbols that would enjoy the respect of all Tibetans, he selected as the new Dalai Lama a child who came from a prominent Nyingma family from the eastern Himalayas near Bhutan. The boy was a descendant of the brother of Bayma Lingba (1450-1521, *pad ma gling pa*), the renowned Nyingma treasure revealer (*gter ston*).⁴²⁸ As we have seen in Chapter Three, the Regent's efforts ultimately did not succeed. They were opposed by a variety of forces from within the Geluk School. Conservative clerics from Central Tibet, the Dzungar Mongolians, and some Qoshots from Amdo who were suspicious of the Dalai Lama's mixed ritual practice could only endure events while the Dalai Lama was alive, but when the Fifth's death became known, they opposed Sangyay Gyatso's continuing efforts to implement these plans. Georges Dreyfus characterizes the situation as follows:⁴²⁹

[The Regent] attempted to continue the Fifth's tradition by appointing his candidate, Tsang-yang Gya-tso (*tshangs dbya'is rgya mtsho*), as the

⁴²⁷ Georges B. J. Dreyfus, "The Shuk-den Affair," 229-237.

⁴²⁸ See Michael Aris, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives*.

⁴²⁹ Georges B. J. Dreyfus, "The Shuk-den Affair," 235.

Sixth Dalai Lama. But with the latter's failure to behave as a Dalai Lama, Sang-gye Gya-tso lost the possibility to continue the task started by the Fifth. A few years later (1705) he was killed after being defeated by a complex coalition of Ge-luk hierarchs led by Jam-yang-shay-ba, the Dzungar Mongols and Lhab-zang Khan backed by the Manchu Emperor.

I have been unable to find concrete evidence that Jamyang Shayba was in any sense a "leader" of this opposition or even that he may have been implicated in the murder of Desi Sangyay Gyatso. In this regard, we have already noted the Pañchen Lama's comments that seem to indicate Jamyang Shayba was unaware of Labsang Khan's schemes against the Regent. We have also observed that the Pañchen Lama, whose own syncretic tendencies had once allied him with the Regent, had come to support Labsang Khan's plans to depose the Regent. Since he and Jamyang Shayba agreed on that latter point, the Pañchen Lama would have had an interest in minimizing any role Jamyang Shayba might have had in the Regent's murder. Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo is also not forthcoming on this question either, but his interest in protecting Jamyang Shayba's reputation is even more pronounced. If we are to discover evidence about his role in those events, it is more likely to be circumstantial.

It seems quite believable that Jamyang Shayba would have opposed the general efforts to incorporate Nyingma ritual into the state religion along with the more conservative Gelukbas at the big monasteries in Central Tibet, the Dzungars, and the Amdo Qoshots. As we saw in Chapter Four, he had worked very hard through his career to fortify the philosophical view of the Geluk School, and it would therefore seem *prima facie* that he

would have been just the sort of person who would have wanted to maintain the purity of the Geluk School by strictly following the model established by Dzungkaba. A number of contemporary scholars have drawn more resolute conclusions about Jamyang Shayba's involvement. As indicated in the previous citation, Georges Dreyfus sees Jamyang Shayba as leading the coalition against the Regent. Trent Pomplun cites Dreyfus's remarks with approval, suggesting Jamyang Shayba's complicity in the conspiracy.⁴³⁰

Dreyfus seems to depend on two lines of evidence to fortify his presumption that Jamyang Shayba was, in some sense, a leader of the drive against Desi Sangyay Gyatso that resulted in his 1705 murder by Labsang Khan's wife. First, he references Luciano Petech's summary of the Regent's life. Yet all that source has to say about Jamyang Shayba is that the Regent "proposed to seize and kill the Khan. But an influential churchman, the sGo-maṅs Bla-ma 'Jam-dbyangs-bṅad-pa, was against it and nothing was done."⁴³¹ This repeats the version of events given by Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo, where it appears that Jamyang Shayba's biographer and successor is merely attempting to show that his subject is involved in these consequential events.⁴³² Neither Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo nor Petech are implying anything negative about Jamyang Shayba for not agreeing on the Regent's plan to arrest the Khan. Secondly, Dreyfus argues that the resistance of Jamyang Shayba, "one of the leading lamas opposing the Fifth and his third prime minister Sang-gye Gya-tso," "had come to the fore" over the issue of Jamyang Shayba's refusal to refute the textbooks of Panchen Sönam Dragba.⁴³³ However, that refusal took place in the first half of the 1690's, before Jamyang

⁴³⁰ Robert Trent Pomplun, *Spiritual Warfare: The Jesuits and the Dalai Lama 1716-1733* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2002), 173, n. 13.

⁴³¹ Luciano Petech, "Foreword," in *Vaidūrya-Ser-po*, ed. by Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1960), xi-xii.

⁴³² The relevant passage from Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo's *Biography of the Scholar* is quoted above, p. 147.

⁴³³ Georges B. J. Dreyfus, "The Shuk-den Affair," 235-237 and n. 13 and 15.

Shayba had authored his own textbook on the Middle Way School in 1695. That Jamyang Shayba and the Regent continued to be on good terms for a long time afterwards is shown by the fact that Jamyang Shayba was appointed the Abbot of Gomang Monastery in 1700.

Pomplun's suspicion of Jamyang Shayba appears to be based upon his reading of the aforementioned comments from Dreyfus and upon Pomplun's own construction of the notion of what he calls the "A-mdo dGe-lugs", a term he glosses with a passage from Matthew Kapstein:⁴³⁴

The worldview of these churchmen bore a strange resemblance to that of medieval Latin Christendom, with the Manchus filling the role of imperial Rome and the Gelukpa [Dge-lugs-pa] hierarchy that of the Catholic Church. These were not the products of a denomination under fire but rather represented the synthesis of a peerless salvific vehicle with a universal temporal order. Not personally threatened by the Central Tibetan feuds, they could afford to regard the situation there only with equanimous compassion.

Yet, Kapstein's remarks are not meant to characterize Jamyang Shayba who was very much in the middle of "the Central Tibetan feuds".

Instead, Kapstein is discussing a later generation — sixty to ninety years later than Jamyang Shayba — of Amdo Gelukba lamas whose concerns and experiences and historical environment were quite different from the founder of Labrang. His particular reference is to Tugen Losang Chögyi Nyima (1737-1802, *thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma*), the

⁴³⁴ Matthew Kapstein, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 130.

student of Jamyang Shayba own disciple, Sumba Kenbo (1704-1788, *sum pa mkhan po*), and Janggya Rolbay Dorjay (1717-1786, *lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje*), who Jamyang Shayba identified as the reincarnation of his own teacher, the First Janggya Ngawang Losang Chöden (1642-1714, *ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan*). These figures were almost entirely based in eastern Tibet and China. The Second Janggya was so sinified that he was raised and received his early education with the Chinese princes in the palace in Peking. The Manchu court cultivated these Amdo Gelukba incarnate lamas as a counterweight to the power located in the Tibetan capital and in Dzang.⁴³⁵

Jamyang Shayba's situation was far more complex, as is shown by his long residence in Central Tibet, his participation in the power structure of the big Central Tibetan Geluk monasteries, and the fact that he lived during the unsettled times when the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Regent were trying to reformulate the Tibetan political landscape. He shares many characteristics and values with those later figures, such as a generally pro-Chinese orientation. Indeed, many of the figures Kapstein has in mind can be construed as Jamyang Shayba's followers in some sense; they were members of his own teaching lineage, had lived at Labrang Monastery, or were connected to him in some other fashion. Yet, these later Gelukbas from Amdo lived in an entirely different time. By the time they came to prominence, the Fifth Dalai Lama's dream of a Dalai Lama-dominated theocratic empire based on universalized religious symbolism had vanished, rampant and overt religious persecution of Nyingmabas had ravaged that School, the Chinese foothold in Central Tibetan politics was assured, and Amdo was all but annexed by China. Hence, it is unwarranted to lump Jamyang Shayba in with his successors as if they are a monolithic group.

⁴³⁵ Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 256ff.

An alternate perspective on Jamyang Shayba's attitude towards Nyingma is suggested by Matthew Kapstein's remark that the contemporary Nyingma Master Gönbo Tseden (*mgon po tshe brtan*) told him "Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa'i-rdo-rje, the first two Lcang-skya hierarchs, and the first two Thu'u-bkwan hierarchs are all remembered as protectors of the Rning-ma-pas in Amdo." Elsewhere in the same article, published in 1989, Kapstein remarks that "Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa, the founder of Bla-bang monastery, is generally remembered among Rnying-ma-pas from Amdo as a protector of their tradition."⁴³⁶ The notion that Jamyang Shayba may have been tolerant of other religious traditions is further suggested by the fact that both Nyingmabas and Jonangbas in Amdo are reported to have complemented tantric studies in their own institutions with philosophical studies undertaken at Labrang Monastery where they learned the textbooks of Jamyang Shayba.⁴³⁷ Yet, on closer scrutiny, these reports cannot serve as proof for the Abbot's religious tolerance since it is unclear whether the Nyingmabas and Jonangbas studied at Labrang during Jamyang Shayba's lifetime or with his approval. Moreover, Kapstein revised the article cited just above for inclusion in his book, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism*, published in 2000, wherein he altered the two relevant notes in a fashion that excludes Jamyang Shayba.⁴³⁸

That being said, as I noted above, it seems possible to me, and even likely, that Jamyang Shayba would have been disinclined to support the pro-Nyingma orientation of the Regent, even if he was not a leader in the opposition to him, involved in the Regent's

⁴³⁶ Matthew Kapstein, "The Purificatory Gem and Its Cleansing," 241, n. 78 and 234, n. 53.

⁴³⁷ Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping*, 148.

⁴³⁸ Matthew Kapstein, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism*, 256, n. 62 and 258-259, n. 107. With the additions underlined, the altered passages read as follows: (1) "The fourth Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa'i-rdo-rje, the first two Lcang-skya hierarchs, and the first two Thu'u-bkwan hierarchs are all remembered as protectors of the Rning-ma-pas in Amdo." (2) "Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa, the founder of Bla-bang monastery, whose successors were generally remembered among Rnying-ma-pas from Amdo as a protector of their tradition. (sic.)"

murder, or complicit in the anti-Nyingma pogroms. The vigorously anti-Nyingma polemics of Jamyang Shayba's student, Sumba Kenbo, cannot automatically be reflected back onto his teacher. This is shown, for example, by the fact that Sumba Kenbo's student, Tugen Losang Chögyi Nyima was a noted Gelukba defender of the Nyingma School and an opponent of the "intolerance and hostility" represented by his teacher.⁴³⁹ Nor can Jamyang Shayba automatically be blamed for the persecution of Nyingmabas at the hands of the Dzungar Mongolians from Amdo or the Dzungar Mongolian lama from Gomang Monastery, Losang Puntsog.⁴⁴⁰ Jamyang Shayba does not have to have been tolerant of other religious traditions in order to escape the charge that he led the opposition to the pro-Nyingma program engineered by the Fifth Dalai Lama and Desi Sangyay Gyatso. It is my strong suspicion that Jamyang Shayba walked the line between those more extreme positions. However, further research will be required to resolve this question.

The opposition of some members of the Geluk hierarchy to the syncretism of the Dalai Lama had both contemporary and ancient roots. In the context of the seventeenth century, many conservative elements within the Geluk School continued to be angry at the way their school had been treated by people from other schools when it was weak. They were disheartened by the fact that the Fifth Dalai Lama had embraced some non-Geluk practices and supported some non-Geluk institutions. Now that their *de facto* leader held political authority over Tibet and now that he had the backing of the powerful Gushri Khan, they

⁴³⁹ Matthew Kapstein, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism*, 130 and *passim*.

⁴⁴⁰ Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century: History of the Establishment of Chinese Protectorate in Tibet* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), 53-54.

wanted him to exact retribution for the harm they had endured in the past. Dreyfus describes these sentiments:⁴⁴¹

The resentment against the power of the Fifth Dalai Lama was primarily connected to a broad and far-reaching issue, the desire of some of the more sectarian Ge-luk hierarchs to set up a purely Ge-luk rule. Some even seem to have argued for the suppression of the schools against which they had fought for more than a century, particularly the Kar-ma Ka-gyü tradition. The Fifth seems to have realized that such a rule would have had little support and would have exacerbated the inter-sectarian violence that had marred the last two centuries of Tibetan history. To avoid this, he attempted to build a state with a broader power base, [a] state which he presented as the re-establishment of the early Tibetan empire. His rule was to be supported by the Ge-luk tradition, but would also include groups affiliated with other religious traditions.

Instead, these conservative figures hoped to exact retribution against the Gagyubas and others they regarded as the agents of the humiliation Gelukbas had endured in the past.

While the conflicts with the Gagyubas had mainly been political, for the conservative figures within the Geluk School, the Nyingmabas had posed a religious threat to the purity of their tradition. The means for redressing this perceived wrong came in the form of the

⁴⁴¹ Georges B. J. Dreyfus, "The Shuk-den Affair," 234.

Dzungar Mongolians.⁴⁴² In the decade following the murder of Desi Sangyay Gyatso and the death of the Sixth Dalai Lama, Labsang Khan, with the support of the Chinese Emperor, had endeavored to consolidate his control over Tibet. At the same time, the Dzungar Mongolians, a rising power in Central Asia for the previous half century and one of the diminishing numbers of unsettled peoples, hoped to assume the traditional role of Tibet's Patron. Both sides realized that the key to gaining the upper hand in Tibet lay in who controlled the person of the Seventh Dalai Lama. As we saw in Chapter Three, he was under the protection of the Mongolian Qoshot Chieftain Erdeni Jinong, Jamyang Shayba's primary patron in Amdo. Labsang Khan, still hoping that he could rescue his regime, clung hopelessly to the figure he had attempted to impose as the reincarnation of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

Instead, in 1717, the Dzungars invaded Lhasa, arrested and executed Labsang Khan, sent his substitute Sixth Dalai Lama back to his home monastery of Jagbori, and then set about restoring what they perceived of the pure Geluk order under the leadership of the real Seventh Dalai Lama. Previously, they had informed the Abbots of Sera, Drebung, and Ganden Monasteries of their plans and had received their offers of support. With their help and with puritanical zeal, the Dzungars then set about to purge the Lhasa power structure and to settle old scores. Labsang Khan's aides, many of whom were prominent Nyingmabas, were imprisoned. Shakabpa describes some other actions taken against other pro-Nyingma figures:⁴⁴³

⁴⁴² Unless otherwise noted, the following is based on Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Rome: Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1970), 330-333; Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet*, 8-54; and Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, Chapters Eight and Nine .

⁴⁴³ Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, 512-513. *tshes 24 nyin bla brang steng du dbus gtsang gi bla dpon rnams 'dus pa'i dbus sul tshes ring don grub/ gdugs dkar/ chos 'phel ja'i sang gsum nas rnying lugs rtsa ba nas byas mi chog/ sku gsung thugs rten rnams dor dgos*

On the twenty fourth day [of the eleventh month of 1717], in the midst of an assembly of the senior lamas and leaders of Central Tibet and Dzang on top of the Labrang [of the Potala Palace], it was legally proclaimed that Tsaying Döndrub, Dugar, and Chöpel Jaisang were not permitted to follow the Nyingma Tradition and that they must dispose of their Nyingma sacred objects. That evening, such people as Min[dro]ling Lochen Dharma Shri, Dorjay Dzinba Losang Denbay Gyeltsen and his younger son, Bayma Gyurmay Gyatso were taken to the bank of the Gyichu River and killed...

Similarly, the doors were sealed shut on many sacred places that the second Buddha of Oddhiyāna, Padmasambhava, had founded. Monasteries such as Dor, Mindro Ling, Chushur Tarba Ling, and Sangag Changchub Ling were utterly destroyed. The religious books of Min[dro] Ling were piled up like an earthen hill and people were caused to trample back and forth upon them.

Even some of the most vigorous anti-Nyingma elements among the Gelukba clerical establishment must have been alarmed by the fury of religious intolerance unleashed by the Dzungars, which Petech characterizes as “a clear-cut programme of persecution of the rNyiin-

kyi khrims bsgrags/ de nub smin gling lo chen dha rma shri ri/ rdo rje 'dzin pa blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan/ gdung sras padma 'gyur med rgya mtsho sogs skyid chu'i 'gram du 'khrid de bkrongs/... de mtshungs o rgyan sangs rgyas gnyis pa'i sgrub gnas mang po'i sgor zhal ba byas/ rdor smin/ chu shur thar pa gling/ gsang sngags byang chub gling sogs mi dmigs pa'i dbyings su btab/ smin gling gi phyag dpe yod tshad su phung ltar spungs nas de'i steng phar 'gro tshur 'gro byed bcug//

ma-pa school.”⁴⁴⁴ The Dzungars also went on to oppress various Bön institutions. Eventually, they even began to interfere in several Geluk monasteries, ejecting people whose moral behavior they questioned.

History of the Conflict

The inter-religious tensions between a conservative, logic-based, clerical model of religiosity, exemplified by those who were seeking the “pure Geluk” in the seventeenth century, and a model of religiosity that privileges meditative immediacy over reason, represented by the Nyingmabas, was not newly created by the syncretism of the Fifth Dalai Lama.⁴⁴⁵ Rather, corresponding ideologies contended with each other for centuries before that time. In the eighth century, people were debating whether tantras of the Highest Yoga class, which included oblique references to sexual yoga, should be practiced according to their literal instructions. Because of the apprehension they engendered, prohibitions were placed on their translation and transmission.⁴⁴⁶ As early as the end of the ninth century:⁴⁴⁷

A Kashmiri philosopher..., Jayantabhatta, has discussed the question of the validity (*pramāṇatva*) of religious and philosophical systems in his

⁴⁴⁴ Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet*, 44

⁴⁴⁵ Despite formal parallels in the contrast I am suggesting here, I do not wish to evoke the cleric-shaman heuristic developed in Geoffrey Samuel, *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 3-23.

⁴⁴⁶ Samten Karmay, “The Ordination of IHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-’od,” *Tibetan Studies in honour of Hugh Richardson*. ed. Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1979), 151.

⁴⁴⁷ David Seyfort Ruegg, “Problems in the Transmission of Vajrayāna Buddhism in the Western Himalaya About the Year 1000,” Naritasan Shinshoji, *Acta Indologica* 6 (1984): 372-377.

Nyāyamañjarī. In this connexion he explains that the validity of a tradition rests on the fact that it is well-known to a large number of persons and is accepted by those who are learned (*śiṣṭa*), and also on the fact that it is not unprecedented (*apūrva*), that it is not the product of greed (or confusion), and that it does not give rise to scandal.

That Jayantabhaṭṭa felt compelled to clarify this hermeneutic suggests that he lived at a time when people were engaged in practices some regarded as questionable. The contest between these contending visions of what should be regarded as valid sources of religious insight has continued to mark Indo-Tibetan Buddhism.

In the middle of the tenth century, some Indians and Tibetans in Tibet were accused of engaging in illicit sexual intercourse (*sbyor ba*) and ritualized killing (*sgrol ba*) in the name of tantric practice.⁴⁴⁸ Others condemned these behaviors, alarmed that monastics were violating their vows and that lay people were running terrible karmic risks.⁴⁴⁹ This is the historical context that inspired the monk-king of western Tibet, Hla Lama Yeshe-Ö (d. eleventh century, *lha bla ma ye shes 'od*), to invite Atīṣa to Tibet. Believing that people were seeking spiritual advancement by means that were illegitimate, he hoped the Indian Abbot would be able to restore Tibetan Buddhism to an ethical foundation he felt had declined. Ultimately, he died before realizing his plan.

⁴⁴⁸ It will be recalled that both of these practices were evoked by the Fifth Dalai Lama. See p. 248.

⁴⁴⁹ Alaka Chattopadhyaya, *Atīṣa and Tibet* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1967), 387-388 and David Seyfort Ruegg, "Problems in the Transmission of Vajrayāna Buddhism in the Western Himalaya About the Year 1000," Naritasan Shinshoji, *Acta Indologica* 6 (1984): 372-377.

However, his nephew, Jangchub-Ö (d. eleventh century, *byang chub 'od*), was able to bring Atīsha to Tibet.⁴⁵⁰ The latter responded to these persistent concerns by writing *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment*, in which he clearly delineated the order in which vows and the corresponding practices were to be undertaken. He urged practitioners to cultivate love, compassion, and the altruistic attitude as the pre-requisites for later practice (verses 10-20). He also encouraged a strong foundation in ethics (verses 28-32), meditative techniques (verses 33-41), and the cultivation of wisdom (verses 42-59). Only then did he advise people to prepare themselves for tantra by taking the appropriate vows (verses 60-63). Moreover, he explained that monastics or lay people who had taken vows of celibacy were forbidden from doing sexual practices (verse 64).⁴⁵¹ It was this paradigm of careful sequencing of religious practice that inspired Dzongkaba's approach in his *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path*.

It can be deduced from the fact that Atīsha and Dzongkaba felt the need to present such a carefully ordered approach to Buddhist practice that they saw some of their contemporaries as being in need of correction. Advocates of efforts to reform what they regarded as improper practices in Tibet have long attempted to discredit competing ideologies by labeling them as “spurious”, “heretical”, “false”, “perverse”, or “a blend of doctrines of Mu-stegs-pa (*tīrthika*) in India and that of the Bon-po in Tibet.”⁴⁵² The Nyingma practice of “Great Completeness” (*rdzogs chen*) came in for special criticism in this regard.

⁴⁵⁰ Samten Karmay, “The Ordinance of lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od,” 150-162.

⁴⁵¹ Geshe Sonam Rinchen and Ruth Sonam, *Atisha's Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1997).

⁴⁵² Samten Karmay, “A Discussion on the Doctrinal Position of rDzogs-chen From the 10th to the 13th Century,” *Journal Asiatique* 263 (1975): 150-155.

As we noted in Chapter One, Dzongkaba presented himself as a latter-day Atīsha, using parallels with the Indian guru's life and work as a way to promote his own agenda.⁴⁵³ We can now understand these efforts in a richer context as part of the centuries-long polemical effort to dispute the authenticity of a variety of tantric practices and to promote a particular set of religious and philosophical values. Elizabeth Napper summarizes this component of Dzongkaba's strategy:⁴⁵⁴

He was concerned about a degeneration of the Buddhist tradition in Tibet, in particular about a degeneration in ethics leading to impure behavior. Ethics can be lost... through affirming the tantric tradition in such a way as to declare that it is beyond vows and supersedes those of the lower traditions... Atīša is the exemplar who stamped [this out]. Unstated, but implicit, is that Tsong kha pa finds Tibet at yet another such juncture, and he is invoking Atīša's name to "purify" the teachings again.

It is this perspective on Dzongkaba's systematic philosophy that caused his later followers to name his tradition "Gelukba", the "Virtuous Ones".

The counter-reaction to the syncretism of the Fifth Dalai Lama may be understood as a conservative reaction to a drift towards a competing religious model. The Fifth Dalai Lama's Gelukba critics evidently felt that the Geluk School had to be purified once again

⁴⁵³ See p. 40 above.

⁴⁵⁴ Elizabeth Napper, "Ethics as the Basis of a Tantric Tradition: Tsong kha pa and the Founding of the dGe lugs Order in Tibet," in *Changing Minds: Contributions to the Study of Buddhism and Tibet in Honor of Jeffrey Hopkins*, ed. Guy Newland (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 2001), 116.

from illicit external influences. Similarly, the Dorjay Shukden affair in the contemporary Tibetan refugee communities in India can be seen as a reaction by some Gelukba clerics against what they regarded as the dilution or diversion of the pure Geluk system.⁴⁵⁵ Whether the critique comes from the eleventh century founding of the Gadamba School, from Dzongkaba himself, from late seventeenth century Mongolian and Tibetan opponents of the Fifth Dalai Lama and Desi Sangyay Gyatso, or from contemporary Gelukbas concerned about the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's mixed practice, reformist rhetoric has served the dual purpose of (1) legitimizing its own interpretation by appealing to the pure doctrine from the past and (2) deligitimizing what it designates as in need of reform.

Other Ways of Knowing

Generally speaking the traditions that were attacked by such self-proclaimed reformers "did not try to develop a unified philosophical view systematically exposed in scholarly treatises" until the Geluk system had been articulated.⁴⁵⁶ Since the middle of the sixteenth century, various prominent non-Geluk figures have worked to develop counter-responses intended to uphold their patterns of religiosity and to grant authority to their methods for gaining access to spiritual truths. Here we will briefly examine the perspective of three such figures: the Eighth Karmaba Migyö Dorjay (1507-1554, *mi bskyod rdo rje*), the Gagyü lama Padma Garbo (1527-1592, *pad ma dkar po*), and the Nyingma Master Dudjom Rinpoche Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje (1904-1987, *bdud 'jom rin po che 'jig 'bral ye shes rdo rje*).

⁴⁵⁵ Georges B. J. Dreyfus, "The Shuk-den Affair," 227-270.

⁴⁵⁶ Michael Broido, "Padma dKar-po on the Two Satyas," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 8, no. 2 (1985): 7-8.

Migyö Dorjay was the incarnate lama who led the Karma branch of the Gagyü School during a time when his school enjoyed the patronage and protection of the powerful Dzang Governor. At that time, the Geluk School was on the rise, but was still a generation away from surpassing the Gagyus in its political and patronage connections. Soon after the Eighth Karmaba's death, however, the Third Dalai Lama was to travel to Mongolia from where Geluk fortunes would swiftly ascend. Migyö Dorjay's life overlapped the lifetimes of some of the great early Gelukba textbooks authors who were then systematically articulating the Geluk monastic education.⁴⁵⁷ It was in this context that the Eighth Karmaba formulated a clear and systematic response to the upstart school; he wrote commentaries on four of the five classic Indian texts around which the Geluk education was built, leaving out only Dharmakīrti's "*Commentary on Dignāga's 'Compendium on Valid Cognition'*".

According to Paul Williams's analysis of his work, Migyö Dorjay trained himself in the use of logic "in active and crusading opposition to the systematic and sophisticated interpretations dGe lugs pa scholars were presenting."⁴⁵⁸ He argued that Dzongkaba had misunderstood Chandrakīrti's view of emptiness. Gelukbas assert that the emptiness of a particular phenomenon is itself an existent thing, it is the nature (*rang bzhin*) of that phenomenon, and emptiness itself is established as existing. For Migyö Dorjay, Dzongkaba's presentation of the view of the Middle Way School:⁴⁵⁹

...is based on an incoherent attempt to establish the everyday world.

But it is also an *inadequate* emptiness, an emptiness which is not

⁴⁵⁷ See Table 1 for names and dates of the main Geluk textbook authors, p. 212.

⁴⁵⁸ Paul Williams, "A Note on Some Aspects of Mi bskyod rdo rje's Critique of dGe lugs pa Madhyamaka," in *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 11 (1983): 125.

⁴⁵⁹ Paul Williams, "A Note on Some Aspects of Mi bskyod rdo rje's Critique of dGe lugs pa Madhyamaka," 132.

adequate as a support for religious strivings, and which embodies an immature spiritual outlook.

According to Migyö Dorjay, Chandrakīrti's statements about emptiness being the nature of phenomena were intended as provisional accounts for people of limited capacity. He denies that emptiness is existent, and hence that it could be the nature of phenomena. Moreover, the emptiness put forward by Dzongkaba, for Migyö Dorjay, could not serve as a basis for liberative insight. Instead, he felt that the final nature of reality is inexpressible and ungraspable by reason. For him, access to the ultimate nature of reality is gained through tantric practice. Dzongkaba insists that emptiness must be understood by way of reason.⁴⁶⁰

The religious visions of the contemporaneous Gagyü lama, Padma Garbo, are broadly similar to Migyö Dorjay's presentation. Both Gagyübas understand tantra as being seamlessly unified with Middle Way philosophy from the earliest stages of practice, whereas Dzongkaba was anxious to present sūtra practices in isolation from and as a preparation for the eventual tantric practices an individual would undertake later in life. For Padma Garbo, the states experienced in the higher reaches of tantra are carried over to the early stages of the path and are posited as the framework through which it is to be understood.

He even explains the main terminological distinctions employed in Chandrakīrti's writings on Middle Way philosophy primarily through their correspondences to concepts that arise out of tantric thought. For example, Padma Garbo defines the two truths (*bden pa gnyis, dvayasatya*) in relation to pure (*dwangs ma*) appearances evoked in tantric visualization; ultimate truths (*don dam bden pa, paramārthasatya*) are great bliss (*bde ba chen po*) or radiant

⁴⁶⁰ Ironically, Migyö Dorjay also wrote a poem praising Dzongkaba for, among other things, his understanding of the Middle Way School. See n. 388 above.

light (*'od gsal*), while conventional truths (*kun rdzob bden pa, samvṛtisatya*) are the illusory body (*sgyu lus, māyādeha*), the vajra-body (*rdo rje'i lus, vajrakāya*), or the associated maṇḍalas (*dkeyil 'khor*) that are visualized. Accordingly, the two truths “always arise together, and may never be separated for the purposes of analysis.”⁴⁶¹ This is in sharp contrast to Dzongkaba’s presentation of the same topic in which the two truths are seen as two mutually exclusive categories of existent objects. For Padma Garbo, this explanation causes the Gelukbas to fall to both philosophical extremes at once; with respect to the ultimate, they are charged with falling into nihilism, while they are charged with falling into eternalism with respect to the conventional. For this reason, among others, Padma Garbo, along with Migyö Dorjay, felt that Dzongkaba’s account of the Middle Way School and his view of emptiness could not lead to the acquisition of religious insight that could liberate beings.

Michael Broido asserts that during the period of the most active polemical exchanges between Tibetan schools commencing in the sixteenth century, Nyingmabas “do not seem to have been much involved in these exchanges.”⁴⁶² In more recent times, they seem to have become more active. For example, the Nyingma Master Mipam Jamyang Namgyel Gyatso (1846-1912, *mi pham 'jam dbyangs rnam rgyal rgya mtsho*) wrote a series of commentaries on key Indian texts, one of the first Nyingma scholars to do so. These texts have come to serve as the curriculum for some Nyingma monasteries, much as Geluk monasteries rely on their respective textbooks.⁴⁶³ In a recent book, Dudjom Rinpoche, the head of the Nyingma

⁴⁶¹ Michael Broido, “Padma dKar-po on the Two Satyas,” 10 and 24-25.

⁴⁶² Michael Broido, “Padma dKar-po on the Two Satyas,” 8.

⁴⁶³ See Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping*, 125 and 128-132 for details on (1) how Mipam’s works form the backbone to the Nyingma curriculum at particular institutions and (2) “the degree to which Ge-luk scholasticism has become dominant and provided the norm that other scholastic traditions seek to emulate.” On Mipam’s authorship of commentaries and polemical treatises, see E. Gene Smith, “Mi pham

School until his death in 1987, included a section called "A Rectification of Misconceptions Concerning the Nyingma School," in which he responded to criticisms that have been directed at his tradition; some of the critiques he addresses are now perhaps a thousand years old. He began that section with a note saying:⁴⁶⁴

Now, the errors of those partisans who, in the past, have wrongly viewed the teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School must be refuted.

He goes on to defend the continuity of the Nyingma School, the authenticity of the Nyingma tantras, the coherence of the religious vision embodied in the Great Perfection, the validity of the treasures (*gter ma*), and other issues. For our purposes, the most relevant defense he offered has to do with the role of reason. We have already observed that Dzongkaba believed that a practitioner must initially realize emptiness by the power of reason.

Dudjom Rinpoche takes a different tack on this question, agreeing with both Migyö Dorjay and Padma Garbo that reason does not reveal reality. However, he goes a step further, indicating that he feels reason can present a distraction from liberative knowledge. Referring to a compendium of criticisms called the *Rejections of Perverse Doctrines*, he comments that:⁴⁶⁵

and the Philosophical Controversies of the Nineteenth Century," in *Among Tibetan Texts*, 229-233 and the "Introduction" to Jamgön Mipham, *Introduction to the Middle Way*, 44-51.

⁴⁶⁴ Dudjom Rinpoche, *Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, vol. 1 (Boston: Wisdom, 1991), 895.

⁴⁶⁵ Dudjom Rinpoche, *Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, vol. 1, 929.

When fair-minded persons examine them in detail many appear to have been composed in order to see just how much it was possible to get away with. If all the doctrines refuted by learned and accomplished Tibetans were false, no authentic doctrine at all would be found.

He identifies a long series of well-regarded figures who were “refuted” by other luminaries, indicating that if their teachings have to be cast aside, then Tibetans would almost be required to abandon Buddhism altogether. He next discusses a variety of individual cases in which prominent members of particular religious schools were attacked by parochial members of their own school for straying from the perceived party-line. This section culminates with his comments on the Fifth Dalai Lama:⁴⁶⁶

The all-knowing Great Fifth, having studied and meditated upon the authentic teaching impartially, was very nearly excluded from the Gedenpa [i.e., Gelukpa] order. The obscuration of those who believe such perverse accusations and, having regarded [these pure masters] perversely, so come to abandon the doctrine, is immeasurable.

Referring to the reproach some Gelukbas had directed towards the Fifth Dalai Lama for his embrace of Nyingma practices, Dudjom Rinpoche supposes that clever disputations can obscure one’s ability to recognize wise teachers.

He concludes by asserting that people “who have not acquired the pure eye of the doctrine” should not engage in endless analysis of philosophical positions. Instead, people

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Dudjom Rinpoche, *Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, vol. 1, 931.

who are truly possessed of wisdom should articulate the religious insights they have gained through their spiritual practice. He implies that others should then make use of those wise beings' insights out of faith, without themselves falling into the critical analysis of philosophical positions that will, in his view, only lead to further and endless disputation and mutual recrimination. For him, the truly valuable knowledge that will enable one to progress spiritually can only be gained through contemplative practice.

In this chapter, we have developed a broad historical and philosophical context within which the Fifth Dalai Lama's efforts to appropriate Nyingma and Imperial symbols must be understood. As we have seen, while he felt this maneuver was necessary in order to gain legitimacy in the eyes of most Tibetans and to acquire the authority that would enable him to rule, some of his Gelukba contemporaries, perhaps including Jamyang Shayba, were disturbed to varying degrees by his inclusion of non-Geluk rituals, practices, and symbols. The tension this created resonated with earlier episodes in Tibetan history in which rival religious groups contended with one another over the legitimacy of their respective religious practices. Moreover, such conflicts continued into Dzungkaba's time and on to more recent decades. Frequently, debates about what counts as a legitimate religious practice has turned out to be entwined with questions about how religious knowledge is acquired. In the final chapter, we will examine this issue more directly.

Chapter Seven

Means of Knowledge

According to Weber, one of the key methods that charismatic religious figures employ to stake their claim to religious legitimacy is through revealing or ordaining novel normative patterns of life or a new social order.⁴⁶⁷ While they may initially gain public attention through their personal charisma, the enduring success of a new religious movement is frequently based upon the power and clarity of the narrative they articulate about how life should be lived. These pioneers must identify some pattern of life that is problematic and provide an alternative vision for a reformed normative approach to religious behavior. Dzongkaba provided just such an account for his followers. He offered a thorough-going critique of both the religious practices and the interpretations of Buddhist philosophy he observed among some of his contemporaries. Additionally, he provided a different religious vision that he felt was both a philosophically correct interpretation of his Indian predecessors and a soteriologically efficacious approach to Buddhist practice.

Part of Dzongkaba's appraisal of the contemporary religious environment resonated with a tension between different visions of religiosity that, as we saw in Chapter Six, had endured since the earliest days of Buddhism in Tibet. In the context of exploring the larger agenda behind Dzongkaba's *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path*, Elizabeth Napper

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Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, vol. I, 215.

argues that his pervasive concern was ethical conduct.⁴⁶⁸ The point can be generalized to many aspects of his philosophy. Seemingly quite distinct issues throughout his writings ultimately promote his primary objective of grounding ethics. Crucially, according to Dzongkaba, even the correct understanding of emptiness relates back to this central concern:⁴⁶⁹

According to Tsongkhapa, a deepening of one's understanding of emptiness must naturally lead to a deepening of one's belief in the principles of causality and *karma*. In other words, profound awareness of the truly empty nature of things and events must manifest in compassionate ethical behavior... In the ethical sense, this refers to living a totally altruistic way of life, for all actions that pertain to others now stem from a perspective that is no longer rooted in the notion of a 'truly' important, egoistic self.

At that point in the path, the selflessness (i.e., the absence of self) of emptiness enfolds back on the selflessness (i.e., concern for others) of altruism; this combination of the two guiding principles of the Great Vehicle enables one to respond compassionately in the world without attachment.

Dzongkaba demonstrated another deep connection between the view of reality and ethics. In the "Great Exposition of Special Insight" section of his *Great Exposition of the*

⁴⁶⁸ Elizabeth Napper, "Ethics as the Basis of a Tantric Tradition: Tsong kha pa and the Founding of the dGe lugs Order in Tibet," in *Changing Minds: Contributions to the Study of Buddhism and Tibet in Honor of Jeffrey Hopkins*, ed. Guy Newland. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 2001), 123.

⁴⁶⁹ Thupten Jinpa, *Self, Reality and Reason in Tibetan Philosophy*, 183.

Stages of the Path, he catalogues the various faults that arise when the object negated by emptiness is not properly identified.⁴⁷⁰ His concern is that if people mistakenly negate too much during the critical analysis entailed by emptiness meditation, they will undervalue the status of phenomena that do exist in the world. In other words, he urges his followers to make a sharp distinction between “inherent existence”, the over-reified status mistakenly imputed to phenomena and negated by the realization of emptiness, on the one hand and “mere existence”, the real status of phenomena, which is unharmed by proper analysis on the other hand. If people negated too much, as he believed many of his contemporaries did, they could come to believe that the conventional world did not exist. Thereby, they could believe that actions and their consequences did not exist. In this way, ethical norms could come to have no meaning. Dzongkaba was anxious to set forth a clear and unambiguous path structure that provided a solid foundation for ethics. In this chapter we will briefly summarize Dzongkaba’s alternative vision. We will conclude by examining how Jamyang Shayba attempted to fortify Dzongkaba’s interpretation in his commentary on the Middle Way School.

Epistemology in the Middle Way School

Theories of epistemology have played a role in the articulation of the Middle Way School since its earliest days. After composing his far-reaching critique of inherent existence (*rang bzhin gyis grub pa, svabhāvasiddhī*) in his monumental work, the *Fundamental Treatise on the Middle Way*, Nāgārjuna (second century) subjected a number of particular philosophical

⁴⁷⁰ Elizabeth Napper, *Dependent-Arising and Emptiness: A Tibetan Buddhist Interpretation of Mādhyamika Philosophy Emphasizing the Compatibility of Emptiness and Conventional Phenomena* (London: Wisdom Publications, 1989), 311-321 and William A. Magee, *The Nature of Things* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1999), *passim*.

views to close scrutiny. The non-Buddhist Logic School (*nyāya*), which elaborated a realist view that the world exists as we experience it and that real entities correspond to our conceptualization of them,⁴⁷¹ was the focus of two different works. In his *Treatise Called "The Finely Woven"*, Nāgārjuna targeted their ontological doctrines by attacking their presentation of valid cognition (*tshad ma, pramāṇa*).⁴⁷² Similarly, in his *Refutation of Objections*, he explored the metaphysical underpinnings of the Logic School.⁴⁷³ In both texts, Nāgārjuna refuted what he saw as the ontologically reifying implications of the epistemological doctrines put forth by those non-Buddhist opponents. They posited the existence of valid cognitions capable of ascertaining real objects that corresponded to them. In refuting the real objects, Nāgārjuna has sometimes been seen, by contemporary and ancient observers, as a thorough-going skeptic who refuted the possibility of valid cognition as well.⁴⁷⁴ However, he was not regarded in that way by Geluk thinkers. Dzongkaba, Jamyang Shayba, and other Gelukbas see Nāgārjuna as endorsing the Logic School's

⁴⁷¹ Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *Recognizing Reality: Dharmakīrti's Philosophy and Its Tibetan Interpretations* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997; reprint, Delhi: Sri Satguru Publication, 1997), 52-54.

⁴⁷² P5226, vol. 95 and P5230, vol. 95, verses 2-20. The first text has just the verses, while the second also include Nāgārjuna's commentary. See also Fernando Tola and Carmen Dragonetti, *Nāgārjuna's Refutation of Logic (Nyāya): Vaidalyaprakaraṇa* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1995), 58-70.

⁴⁷³ P5228, vol. 95, verses 31-51. See also Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, E. H. Johnston, and Arnold Kunst, *The Dialectical Method of Nāgārjuna: Vīgrahavyāvartanī* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1978), 115-125.

⁴⁷⁴ See for example, Mark Siderits, "The Madhyamaka Critique of Epistemology: Part I," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 8 (1980): 307-335. Members of the Logic School likewise believed that Nāgārjuna refuted valid cognition itself. Later Buddhist scholars, such as Dignāga, made similar charges against the Middle Way School.

presentation of the four valid cognitions, while he (i.e., Nāgārjuna) rejects their assertion of real particulars.⁴⁷⁵

Chandrakīrti (seventh century), Nāgārjuna's most influential Indian commentator, authored a similar critique against a very different interlocutor, the Buddhist epistemologist Dignāga (circa 500). Dignāga attempted to construct a clear and unambiguous epistemological and ontological construct that would account for reality. In his system, non-conceptual perceptions realize real particulars (*rang mtshan, svalakṣhaṇa*), while conceptual cognitions ascertain constructed universals (*spyi mtshan, sāmānyalakṣhaṇa*).⁴⁷⁶ He arranged his simple system in the hope of avoiding the metaphysical commitments that he felt inevitably attached themselves to non-Buddhist philosophers by virtue of their epistemological systems. The problem with his approach, according to Chandrakīrti, is that Dignāga's system defies common sense and conventional linguistic usage. For example, according to a common reading of Dignāga, a conceptually constructed whole object, such as a cow or a patch of blue, are not perceivable objects because they are mentally constructed, conventionally existent things. His position is different from the Middle Way view that all phenomena are merely conventionally existent because, for Dignāga, conventionally existent universals can only exist in relation to real particulars.⁴⁷⁷ In other words, while the Middle Way School asserts that all phenomena are only nominally existent, Dignāga supposes this is only true for universals. In Geluk readings of the Middle Way School, both particulars and universals are alike in that they are both merely nominally existent. Still, Dzongkaba asserts

⁴⁷⁵ On Jamyang Shayba's supposition that Nāgārjuna accepted the four valid cognitions, see *Great Exposition of Tenets*, 1035.1

⁴⁷⁶ Masaaki Hattori, *Dignāga, On Perception, Being the Pratyasaparicheda of Dignāga's Pramānasamuccaya* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 23-31.

⁴⁷⁷ Mark Siderits, "The Madhyamaka Critique of Epistemology: Part II," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 9 (1981):130ff.

that both universals and particulars are existent phenomena that can be realized by a valid cognition.

In reaction to the counter-intuitive result that wholes become imperceptible, Chandrakīrti modified Dignāga's system in two important ways. He said that it is wrong to sharply bifurcate perception and conception. Dignāga characterizes perception (*mngon sum*, *pratyakṣha*) as "free from conceptuality" (*rtog pa dang bral*, *kalpanāpodha*). He goes on to specify that conceptual construction is "the association of name, genus, etc. [with a thing perceived, which results in verbal designation of the thing]."⁴⁷⁸ Referring to this viewpoint, Chandrakīrti's *Commentary on (Āryadeva's) 'Four Hundred Stanzas on the Yogic Deeds of Bodhisattvas'* says:⁴⁷⁹

[The Proponents of True Existence] say "consciousness is direct perception (*pratyakṣa*, *mngon sum*)." [They are asked] "What kind of consciousness?" [They respond] "That which is free from conceptuality." [They are asked] "What is a conceptual consciousness?" [They say] "It is a determinative⁴⁸⁰ discrimination (*'du shes g.yer po*)

⁴⁷⁸ Masaaki Hattori, *Dignāga, On Perception*, 25.

⁴⁷⁹ Toh. 3865, 196b.3-4. See Jamyang Shayba's discussion of this passage at 754-756 in the Gomang edition.

⁴⁸⁰ The Tibetan word translated as "determinative" is *g.yer po*. Gomang Kensur Losang Denba glosses this term by saying that the consciousness thinks, "This is that and this other thing is that other thing." Such a mind comes to decisions about how to think about its objects. Chandrakīrti is characterizing conceptual consciousnesses as minds that are extremely discriminative in the sense of determining their object. In this way, he is eliminating sense consciousnesses which, though they are discriminating minds, are not determinative. Tom Tillemans (*Materials for the Study of Āryadeva, Dharmapāla, and Chandrakīrti*, vol. 1, Vienna: Wiener Studien Zūr Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 1990, 177 and 274, n. 367) renders *'du shes g.yer po* as "Any clear and distinct notion". His phrasing mistakenly implies that it is not a consciousness.

which is involved in the superimposition of names and types on objects. Because [direct perception] is devoid of that, the five sense consciousnesses are said to operate on just the inexpressible⁴⁸¹ own-character. Therefore, these consciousnesses are called direct perception because they depend⁴⁸² on the multiple sense powers."

Chandrakīrti rejected Dignāga's systematic epistemology and his stance on wholes, instead accepting what he regarded as the Logic School's common sense use of language.⁴⁸³ However, Chandrakīrti simultaneously upheld Nāgārjuna's critique of the Logic School's ontological commitments.

Different advocates of the Middle Way School disagree on the type of epistemology that ought to be paired with Nāgārjuna's ontological view. Dzongkaba created his interpretation of the Middle Way School by assimilating important conceptual distinctions and terminology from the epistemology of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. Some Tibetan critics, Daktsang the translator, Migyö Dorjay, Padma Garbo, and others have argued that this maneuver committed Dzongkaba to the reified ontology the Buddhist epistemologists hoped to uphold with their analyses. Dzongkaba is also accused of conceiving of the ultimate as too substantial for his view to be regarded as representing the Consequentialist Middle Way School (*dbu ma thal 'gyur pa*); instead, there are suggestions that his presentation accords

⁴⁸¹ Gomang Kensur Losang Denba says it is called inexpressible because it is not involved in conceptual thought.

⁴⁸² The word *gnas*, which usually means "to abide," has been translated here as "depend," *rten* in accordance with Jamyang Shayba's interpretation, *Great Exposition of the Middle Way*, 754.6.

⁴⁸³ Mark Siderits, "The Madhyamaka Critique of Epistemology: Part II," 128.

more with the Autonomy Middle Way School (*dbu ma rang rgyud pa*).⁴⁸⁴ These questions form the background to the reaction of Dzongkaba's critics.

Dzongkaba was not the first Tibetan to reflect on the possibility of incorporating epistemological insights from the broader Indian intellectual atmosphere into Middle Way philosophy. David Seyfort Ruegg observes:⁴⁸⁵

A clear and explicit treatment of *pramāṇa* did not occupy a prominent place in Candrakīrti's [*Clear Words Commentary*, Chapter One], so that the Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika has sometimes been suspected of having discarded *pramāṇa* entirely. Whereas Tsoñ kha pa — and indeed for much of the Tibetan philosophical tradition — the (valid means of) correct knowledge (*tshad ma*), reasoned knowledge (*rigs šes*) and cognitive ascertainment (*ñes pa*) were problems of central importance also for Madhyamaka philosophy.

Ruegg also observes that Dharmakīrti's writings had been closely studied at Sangpu Monastery (*gsang phu*) for about three hundred years (eleventh – fourteenth centuries) and had been a subject of great interest to Sagya Paṇḍita (1182-1251, *sa skya paṇḍita*). Similarly, some Indian advocates of the Middle Way School, such as Shāntarakṣhita (eighth century) and Kamalashīla (circa 740-795), had been concerned with harmonizing insights from the Dignāga-Dharmakīrti epistemological theories with Nāgārjuna's view. Still earlier,

⁴⁸⁴ Paul Williams, "A Note on Some Aspects of Mi bskyod rdo rje's Critique of dGe lugs pa Madhyamaka," in *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 11 (1983): 137.

⁴⁸⁵ David Seyfort Ruegg, *Three Studies in the History of Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Philosophy; Studies in Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Thought Part 1* (Vienna: Wiener Studien Zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 2000), 273.

Bhavaviveka had attempted to incorporate some elements of Dignāga's logic and epistemology into his interpretation of Nāgārjuna's thought.⁴⁸⁶ We have already noted the attempts by Jetarī — the tenth and eleventh century figure included in Jamyang Shayba's lineage of pre-incarnations — to combine the Middle Way ontological views of Nāgārjuna, Buddhapālita, and Chandrakīrti with the epistemological insights of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti.⁴⁸⁷

Dzongkaba's interpretation of these two Indian philosophical sources — the Middle Way and Dignāga/Dharmakīrti — brought them into unique combination.⁴⁸⁸ The first element of his synthesis concerns the status of conventional phenomena. As we have noted above, Dzongkaba felt that many of his contemporaries had adopted a philosophical view that diverged from the insights of the great Indian Middle Way predecessors. He felt that some Tibetans had lost their footing in the Buddhist scriptures because they were too critical of the conventional everyday reality. In Geluk terminology, they negated too much. Thupten Jinpa characterizes the dangers of this view, which he calls "philosophical naivety":⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁶ Seitetsu Moriyama, "The Later Mādhyamika and Dharmakīrti," in *Studies in the Buddhist Epistemological Tradition*, ed. by Ernst Steinkellner (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991), 199-210 and David Seyfort Ruegg, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka school of philosophy in India* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981), 61.

⁴⁸⁷ See p. 185 above.

⁴⁸⁸ Given that I am comparatively unfamiliar with a vast number of non-Gelukba interpretations of the Middle Way School, my assertion that Dzongkaba's presentation of the relation between these two systems is "unique" is based on the declarations of other scholars I take to be well-informed on the subject. See for example, Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 26; David Seyfort Ruegg, *Three Studies in the History of Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Philosophy*, 296-304; and Thupten Jinpa, *Self, Reality and Reason in Tibetan Philosophy: Tsongkhapa's Quest for the Middle Way* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 14-36.

⁴⁸⁹ Thupten Jinpa, *Self, Reality and Reason in Tibetan Philosophy*, 25.

In its most extreme form, Tsongkhapa believed, this denial derives from a literal reading of Madhyamaka literature, and asserts that ‘things are neither existent nor non-existent.’ ‘Naivists’ also include those who conceive emptiness to be mere nothingness. According to this view, the world becomes nothing but mere illusion.

Perhaps the extensive use of visualization and the dissolution of such imagery in tantric practice and the philosophical doctrine of the Mind Only School that external objects do not exist both fostered the notion that the world is merely an illusion.

However, Dzongkaba is careful to say that “the illusory nature of reality” should not be taken to mean that reality is an illusion. Instead, he argues, the Middle Way principle that phenomena lack inherent existence should be taken to mean that reality is like an illusion in that both reality and illusions do not exist as they appear. Things are illusion-like, without being illusions. If the phenomenal world could be cast into such comprehensive doubt, Dzongkaba feared, then there would be no foundation upon which to base ethics. Instead, he wanted to fortify the epistemological reliability of cause and effect by creating a philosophical structure in which the two truths⁴⁹⁰ — conventional truths and ultimate truths — were reconciled and emptiness and dependent-arising were compatible. As a result, Dzongkaba insisted that conventional reality be given a firm grounding; he accomplished this by asserting that conventional reality must be validly established. For him, conventional truths, the stuff of everyday life, are established by valid cognition, and their existence cannot be undermined by ultimate analysis. An ultimate consciousness (i.e., ultimate analysis) can only

⁴⁹⁰ See Guy Newland, *The Two Truths* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1992).

evaluate whether or not a particular object inherently exists. When such a consciousness determines that an object lacks inherent existence, that fact does not impact the mere existence of the object whatsoever. The mere existence of the object is only adjudicated by a conventional consciousness.

The second feature of Dzongkaba's synthesis of the Middle Way School and the Buddhist epistemologists concerns the status of the ultimate, that is, emptiness. In setting forth his view of emptiness, Dzongkaba utilized the Dignāga-Dharmakīrti doctrines in two primary ways. First, particular conceptual distinctions that grew out of the Buddhist epistemologists' theory help Dzongkaba and his followers tease apart different aspects of cognition in a way that enables them to account for their presentation of emptiness. Dharmakīrti made a distinction between the appearing object (*snang yul*) and the object of engagement (*'jug yul*). In the case of a direct perception (*mngon sum, pratyakṣha*) of, for example, a pot, these two refer to the same thing, the actual object being perceived, that is, the pot itself. With respect to a conceptual consciousness (*rtog pa, kalpanā*) of a pot, the object of engagement is the actual object, the thing being understood, that is, the pot. However, the appearing object is just the meaning generality (*don spyi, arthasāmānya*) of the object, that is, the generic image of pot.

This distinction serves different purposes when wielded by Dharmakīrti and the Gelukba Middle Way theorists. Dharmakīrti's primary objective was to maintain Dignāga's parsimonious ontology. However, Dzongkaba and his followers use the distinction in order to privilege the real objects of perception over mentally constructed conceptual objects, while still maintaining some means of distinguishing between mistaken and non-mistaken thought consciousnesses. Dreyfus describes the distinctions elaborated by Dharmakīrti:⁴⁹¹

⁴⁹¹ Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *Recognizing Reality*, 316.

Nondeceptiveness does not come about because conceptions reflect reality accurately, for inferences are mistaken, but because of their causal connection with reality via perception. We must distinguish between nondeceptiveness, which is a function of the appropriate causal relation that a cognition has with reality, and nonmistakenness, which is a function of the cognition's accurate apprehension of things as they are.

Perceptions, for Dharmakīrti, are non-deceptive or incontrovertible (*mi slu ba, avisamvādi*) in that they arise appropriately from contact with real things, like atoms,⁴⁹² and they are non-mistaken (*ma 'khrul ba, abhrānta*) in that they accurately cognize those real things. In contrast, conceptions can never be non-mistaken because they do not have direct access to real things; they only have access to generalities, which are constructed by thought. At best, conceptual consciousnesses, such as inferences, can be non-deceptive in that they lead to practical success. At worst, conceptual consciousnesses can be mere fantasies. Both types of conceptual consciousnesses, however, are equally mistaken in that they do not have direct access to particulars. The Gelukbas differ in their interpretation of the ontology of the Sūtra School Following Reasoning, which they see Dharmakīrti as advocating. Instead of saying that only atoms are accessible to the senses, they assert that wholes, like a pot or a table, are real things.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹² Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *Recognizing Reality*, 85.

⁴⁹³ Geshe Lhundup Sopa and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Practice and Theory of Tibetan Buddhism* (New York: Rider, 1976; rev. ed., *Cutting through Appearances: Practice and Theory of Tibetan Buddhism*, 109-322. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1989]), 229.

In Dzongkaba's presentation of the Middle Way School, even though the ontology of the Buddhist epistemologists is not embraced, their dissection of the anatomy of conceptuality is employed. For him, their terminology was helpful in that the distinction between appearing objects and objects of engagement enabled him to articulate how a single consciousness, such as a consciousness apprehending a table as inherently existent, can be valid with respect to the mere existence of the table (i.e., the object of engagement), even though it is mistaken with respect to the appearance of inherent existence (i.e., the appearing object). In the Geluk presentation of the Middle Way School, all dualistic consciousnesses — conceptual and perceptual — are mistaken in the sense that the appearance of inherent existence dawns to them, but some can nonetheless be valid with respect to the mere existence of the object they cognize. Kaydrup articulated this distinctive tenet of the Consequentialist School:⁴⁹⁴

Moreover, in the system of the Autonomy School and below, whatever is a valid cognition is necessarily non-mistaken with respect to the object of comprehension concerning which it has come to be a valid cognition. However, here [in the Consequence School], (1) valid cognitions in the continuums of ordinary beings and (2) valid cognitions that analyze conventionalities (*tha snyad*) and are affected by

⁴⁹⁴ *Opening the Eyes of the Fortunate*, 459.15-460.2. *de yang rang rgyud pa man chad kyī lugs la tshad ma yin na rang gang la tshad mar song ba'i gzhal bya la ma 'khrul bas khyab kyang/ 'dir ni so so skye bo'i rgyud kyī tshad ma dang/ 'phags pa'i rgyud kyī yang gnyis snang 'khrul ba'i bag chags kyis bsal pa'i tha snyad dpyod byed kyī tshad ma rnams rang gang la tshad mar song sa'i gzhal bya la yang 'khrul shes yin la...* Compare José Ignacio Cabezón, *A Dose of Emptiness: An Annotated Translation of the sTong thun chen mo of mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992; reprint Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1993), 372.

the predispositions of the mistakenness of dualistic appearances in the continuums of Superiors are also mistaken consciousnesses with respect to the object of comprehension concerning which they have come to be valid cognitions.

According to this interpretation, all consciousnesses except for a Buddha's consciousness or the consciousness of a Superior (*'phags pa, ārya*) who is directly realizing emptiness are mistaken in that inherent existence appears to them. Still, even the consciousnesses of ordinary beings can be valid cognitions with respect to their objects of engagement. This interpretation helps the Gelukbas to ground epistemic practice in common sense results even while launching the very counter-intuitive critique of reality entailed by the Middle Way philosophy.

In addition to their use of Dharmakīrti's distinction between appearing object and object of engagement, Gelukba theorists also employ doctrines of the Buddhist epistemologists in a second way as they articulate their presentation of the Middle Way view of emptiness. They use the Buddhist epistemologists' assertion on the two truths as a useful stepping stone to the Geluk presentation of Middle Way ontology. Anne Klein explains this aspect of the Geluk approach to Dharmakīrti's thought:⁴⁹⁵

In Tibet, the systems considered lower than the Mādhyamika are studied not only for their own sake but because they aid comprehension of Mādhyamika... Points of Gelukba Sautrāntika, such as its description of ultimate truths, are not carried over but are

⁴⁹⁵ Anne C. Klein, *Knowledge and Liberation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1986), 20.

considered pedagogically essential. For, in order to realize emptiness or selflessness as explained in Gelukba presentations of Indian Mādhyamika, it is necessary to understand well the ‘self’ — inherent existence — which is negated. What the Gelukba Sautrāntika system presents as the meaning of an ultimate truth comes to be negated in the Mādhyamika theory of selflessness.

In contrast to the way some scholars understand Dignāga, Gelukbas regard Dharmakīrti as asserting that wholes, such as tables, are ultimate truths. He is said to assert that tables exist just as they appear. This is the view that is negated in the Geluk Middle Way.

Jamyang Shayba’s Presentation of Middle Way Epistemology

In his corpus of writings, Jamyang Shayba provides two different extensive discussions of the nature of valid cognition in the Middle Way School. He devoted a chapter to the subject in his *Great Exposition of Madhyamaka*, which is structured as a commentary on Chandrakīrti’s *Entry to the Middle Way*. Jamyang Shayba’s other presentation, *Compendium Commentary on (Chandrakīrti’s) ‘Clear Words*, is a stand-alone text commenting on Chandrakīrti’s critique of Dignāga’s epistemology in the first chapter of his *Clear Words*. Early in that text, Jamyang Shayba contextualizes his presentation of the topic within the Indian sources:⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁶ 487.6-488.2. 'dir rje yab sras kyi gsung rab na rang lugs mdor bsdud tsam las ma gsungs la mkhas pa dag gis kyang ma bshad pas/ rtogs dka' bar snang bas gzhan gyi tshad ma bkag tshul dang/ rang lugs kyi tshad ma 'phros dang bcas ba bzhi brgya pa rtsa 'grel dang rigs pa drug cu pa'i 'grel pa dang rtsod zlog rta 'grel dang gtso bor tshig gsal ltar bshad par bya'o

Here in our own system [of the Consequence Middle Way School, these topics of epistemology] are not spoken of more than briefly in the scriptures of the Foremost Father [Dzongkaba] and his Spiritual Sons [Kaydrup and Gyeltsap] and since other scholars also do not explain it, it appears difficult to realize. Therefore, I will explain the manner of refuting valid cognition in others' [systems] and I will explain valid cognition in our own system, together with the related topics, according to Āryadeva's *Four Hundred Stanzas on the Yogic Deeds of a Bodhisattva* and Chandrakīrti's commentary [on that text], Chandrakīrti's *Commentary on (Nāgārjuna's) 'Sixty Stanzas of Reasoning'*, [Nāgārjuna's] *Refutation of Objections* and his [auto-]commentary on it, and mainly on Chandrakīrti's *Clear Words*.

In both of Jamyang Shayba's extensive treatments of this question and also in his brief explanation in his *Great Exposition of Tenets*, he worked to formulate a consistent interpretation of the operation of valid cognition in the larger interpretative framework of the Geluk Middle Way School.

When he perceived inconsistencies between the writings of Dzongkaba and his two principal disciples or between their writings and the great Indian masters of the Middle Way, such as Nāgārjuna, Atīsha, and particularly Chandrakīrti, he devoted considerable energy to harmonizing their views. He also worked to correct what he perceived to be errors in the writings of previous textbook authors. Additionally, he attempted to deflect criticisms that had been launched at the Geluk system by non-Geluk scholars. In the balance of this

chapter, we explore two major themes through which Jamyang Shayba conveys his interpretation of Middle Way epistemology: the valid establishment of phenomena and the enumeration of the valid cognitions. As we do so, we will attempt to illuminate some of the commentarial strategies identified above.

Valid Establishment of Phenomena

Perhaps the most significant feature of Dzongkaba's presentation of Geluk Middle Way epistemology is his assertion that all phenomena are established by valid cognition (*tshad mas grub pa, pramāṇasiddha*). This is a vital part of his interpretation in that it enables him to provide a foundation for his ethical system. However, this issue is also the locus of many of the criticisms that non-Gelukbas have directed at him. Other scholars have criticized him on the grounds that he reified both ultimates (i.e., emptinesses) and conventionalities. On the one hand, a significant dimension of Migyö Dorjay's critique of Dzongkaba concerns the latter's claim that ultimates are existent phenomena established by valid cognition. We have already seen that he believed emptiness is not accessible to reason and that any reified object that would be accessible to reason could not serve the soteriological purpose Dzongkaba had designated for it.⁴⁹⁷

On the other hand, the root of many of Daktsang the Translator's criticisms of Dzongkaba's systematic philosophy is the latter's assertion that conventionalities are established by conventional valid cognition. For example, Daktsang's *Understanding All Tenets* says:⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁷ See p. 266ff.

⁴⁹⁸ 215.5-6. *rang tshugs mi thub na tshad mas grub pa 'gal tel' tshad grub kyi don ni bslu med dang bslu med kyi don ni tshugs thub las ma 'das pa'i phyir rol* See also the extended discussion of Daktsang in Chapter Five.

If something is not able to set itself up, then it is contradictory for it to be established by valid cognition because the meaning of "established by valid cognition" is "incontrovertible" and the meaning of "incontrovertible" does not pass beyond "being able to set itself up."

It is axiomatic for a follower of Chandrakīrti that nothing is inherently existent, a synonym for "being able to set itself up."⁴⁹⁹ Daktsang thinks that Dzongkaba implicitly asserts that things are inherently existent by assigning such a substantial role to valid cognition. To say that phenomena are established by valid cognition would, in his view, entail granting phenomena a reified status.

So central is this question to upholding Dzongkaba's view that Jamyang Shayba replied to this assertion on at least four occasions.⁵⁰⁰ Towards the end of his *Great Exposition of Tenets*, Jamyang Shayba addresses Daktsang's position by presenting his affirmative

⁴⁹⁹ For a list of synonyms for this key concept, see Jeffrey Hopkins, *Meditation on Emptiness* (London: Wisdom, 1983), 36.

⁵⁰⁰ In the *Great Exposition of the Middle Way* (744.6ff), Jamyang Shayba attributes to Daktsang the view that, "Although there is no *pramāṇa*, one is able to posit all phenomena." He challenges that contention merely by citing brief quotes from Nāgārjuna and Chandrakīrti that seem to indicate they accept that valid cognitions exist. Jamyang Shayba addressed Daktsang's terminology of "able to set itself up" in the root text for his tenet text, *Roar of the Lion*, and in volume two of his auto-commentary, *Great Exposition of Tenets*. Both of these are translated and discussed in Jeffrey Hopkins, *Maps of the Profound* (forthcoming). Jamyang Shayba describes the fourth discussion, also in his *Great Exposition of Tenets* (1041.1-1042.5).

conception of what causes a sense consciousness to qualify as a valid cognition. He remarks:⁵⁰¹

A sense direct perception apprehending a pot comes to be a valid cognition with respect to the pot because (1) that [consciousness] apprehends the pot as existing, and (2) [that apprehension] is also not harmed by either valid cognitions analyzing the ultimate or valid cognitions analyzing the conventional.

For a person afflicted with a vision-distorting eye disease, who sees the appearance of falling hairs where none exist, their eye consciousness is routinely overturned by another person's sense consciousness. In that case, their perception of the falling hairs is not valid. A sense consciousness apprehending a pot cannot be contradicted by another consciousness analyzing the ultimate because the latter consciousness merely investigates whether a phenomenon inherently exists or not; the sense consciousness in his example is apprehending the pot, and it is with respect to the "pot as existing", that is, it is with respect to the "mere existence" of the pot, that the consciousness is valid. It cannot be undermined by a consciousness analyzing the ultimate because mere existence and inherent existence are different objects. Hence, Jamyang Shayba argues, that a sense consciousness can be incontrovertible and a valid cognition with respect to the pot.

Although Daktsang does not say so in the passage cited from his *Understanding All Tenets* above, when Jamyang Shayba comments on Daktsang's argument that it is possible to

⁵⁰¹ 1041.2-3. *bum 'dzin dbang mngon bum pa la tshad mar song ba yin tel des bum pa yod par bzung ba la don dam dpyod byed dang tha snyad dpyod byed tshad ma gnyis gang gis kyang mi gnod pa'i phyir!*

assert the existence of all phenomena without needing to posit that they are established by valid cognition, Jamyang Shayba attributes to him the additional assertion that for a consciousness to be incontrovertible, it must also be true. According to Jamyang Shayba's presentation, Daktsang takes this in the extreme sense that a valid consciousness must reliably grasp the true nature of its object. Daktsang refuses to say that an ordinary consciousness can have a true picture of its object.

According to Dzongkaba's account of the Consequence School, phenomena appear to an awareness as inherently existent, a status they do not in fact possess, but the consciousness can be valid with respect to the mere appearance of the object and other factors. For Dzongkaba and Jamyang Shayba, a consciousness can be reliable with respect to certain features of an object without having a true and correct understanding of that object's real or final nature, an understanding that only arises when one has realized emptiness. Thus, Daktsang sets the standard for a consciousness's being valid at an extremely high level; it must be correct with respect to the mere appearance of the object and with respect to its final nature. Dzongkaba and Jamyang Shayba instead structure their account around what is right about the way even ordinary consciousnesses apprehend reality.

How Many Valid Cognitions?

The concept of valid cognition has been a source of great interest in Indian philosophy for well over two thousand years, perhaps since the composition of the *Nyāya Sūtras* in the third century B.C.E. Even the simple enumeration of the types of valid cognition has ignited controversy through the years, with rival schools claiming as few as one and as many as

eleven.⁵⁰² We have already seen that Dignāga and Dharmakīrti assert only direct perception (*pratyakṣa*) and inference (*anumāna*). Chandrakīrti rejected the reified ontology implied by what he regarded as Dignāga's needlessly abstract philosophical system. Instead, he opted for the epistemology of the Logic School in which four valid cognitions were posited: perception, inference, verbal testimony (*āptavacana*), and analogy (*upamāna*). At the same time, as we have noted above, he did not also commit himself to the realist ontology of the Logic School. When expounding their presentation of Middle Way philosophy, Dzongkaba and his followers found themselves in a complex situation with regards to these Indian predecessors. They wanted to maintain fidelity to the declared fount of inspiration of the Middle Way School, Chandrakīrti, by asserting four valid cognitions. However, at the same time, they wanted to make use of the theories of the Buddhist epistemologists, Dignāga and Dharmakīrti, who posit only two.

With an eye to creating consistency, in the *Great Exposition of Tenets* Jamyang Shayba weaves several quotes together in a way that helps him to arrive at the desired philosophical position. He begins by explicitly allying himself with Chandrakīrti's clearly stated position in his *Clear Words* which says, "Accordingly, the four *pramāṇas* are posited"⁵⁰³

⁵⁰² The Lokāyata assert that all valid cognitions are direct perceptions (*pratyakṣa*). The Buddhist epistemologists, Dignāga and Dharmakīrti, posit the two, direct perception and inference (*anumāna*). Sāṃkhya posit three by adding verbal testimony (*śabda* or *āptavacana*). The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika assert four, adding analogy (*upamāna*). The Vedānta assert six valid cognitions, adding to the previous list of four, negative proof (*abhāvapratyakṣa*) and inference from circumstance (*arthāpatti*). Sir Monier-Williams (*A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988], 685) also mentions that "other schools" posit nine by adding the following three: equivalence (*sambhava*), fallible testimony (*aitihya*), and gesture (*ceshtā*). I have heard one Indian non-Buddhist school posits eleven, but I do not know the details.

⁵⁰³ Read *ḥog* for *ḥeg*. 1034.5

as realizing worldly objects.”⁵⁰⁴ Jamyang Shayba then goes on to cite passages from both Nāgārjuna’s *Refutation of Objections* and the *Sūtra Unraveling the Thought* that mention the four valid cognitions.⁵⁰⁵ While the sūtra quoted clearly endorses valid cognition as means through which “analysis of logical correctness is purified,” it is not decisively evident that Nāgārjuna approved of the four valid cognitions. As we discussed above,⁵⁰⁶ it may be the case that he merely mentioned the views of the Logic School in order to refute them.

Having established the Buddhist pedigree of the notion of four valid cognitions, Jamyang Shayba then cites a further passage from Chandrakīrti’s *Clear Words*:⁵⁰⁷

... because the determination of the number of valid cognitions is done
by virtue of the objects of comprehension.

In the ontology developed in the beginning phases of the Geluk monastic curriculum, called the Collected Topics, the category of “objects of comprehension” (*gzhal bya*) is identical with the category “existents”.⁵⁰⁸ Once Jamyang Shayba is able to connect the enumeration of the

⁵⁰⁴ P5260, vol. 98, 13.4.7-8. This passage is cited at Jamyang Shayba, *Great Exposition of Tenets*, 1034.5 and Jamyang Shayba, *Great Exposition of the Middle Way*, 793.5. See also Kaydrup, *Opening the Eye of the Fortunate*, 460.

⁵⁰⁵ P5228, vol. 95, 14.3.7-14.4.1 and P774, vol. 29. John Powers, *Wisdom of Buddha: Saṃdhibīrṃocana Mahāyāna Sūtra* (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1995), 290.10-12 and 291.

⁵⁰⁶ See n. 474 above.

⁵⁰⁷ P5260, vol. 98, 13.3.3-4.

⁵⁰⁸ Daniel Perdue, *Debate in Tibetan Buddhism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1992), 269. According to Georges B. J. Dreyfus (*Recognizing Reality*, 300), Dharmakīrti sometimes used the word “object of comprehension” to denote “the prima facie or direct object (*dnegos yul*)” of a consciousness. In that context, according to Dreyfus, the Sanskrit is *meya*, whereas in the ordinary usage of the Geluk ontology, the Tibetan word *gzhal bya* renders the Sanskrit word *prameya*. Karen Lang (personal communication) comments that “*dnegos yul* is a Tibetan term that has no Sanskrit equivalent” and that the term “*meya* is not used in the sense of an object

types of valid cognition to types of existents, he shows what is similar between the two schools of thought Dzongkaba has linked:⁵⁰⁹

We two [followers of the Consequence School and the Buddhist epistemologists⁵¹⁰] agree that the number of valid cognitions is posited through the force of the objects of comprehension, but by reason of the fact that there are four types of objects of comprehension, the three groups -- manifest objects, slightly hidden objects, and very hidden objects -- and hidden objects in which there is an association of an example and a meaning, it must mainly be explained that there are the four divisions: direct valid cognition, inferential cognition by the power of the thing, scriptural valid cognition, and the valid cognition that comprehends [by way of] examples.

of perception.” It would be interesting to know how Chandrakīrti meant to use the term. Likewise, it would be instructive to know how Dignāga used this language. If that cognitive usage originated with Dharmakīrti, then it would be more likely that Chandrakīrti regarded the term as the Gelukbas do.

⁵⁰⁹ *Great Exposition of the Middle Way*, 761.6-762.2. *tshad ma'i grangs gzhal bya'i dbang gis 'jog pa la rang re gnyis mthun snang yin la de ltar na gzhal bya la yul mngon gyur dang/ cung zad lkog gyur dang/ shin tu lkog gyur te gnas gsum dang/ dpe don 'dres pa'i lkog gyur te gzhal bya'i khyad par bzhi'i dbang gis mngon sum tshad ma dang/ dngos stobs rjes dpag dang/ lung gi tshad ma dang/ dpe nyer 'jal gyi tshad ma'i dbye ba bzhi gtso bor bshad dgos pa'i phyir/*

⁵¹⁰ Jamyang Shayba is justified in saying that both schools relate the number of valid cognitions (*pramāna*) to the number of objects of knowledge (*prameya*) because Dharmakīrti's *Pramānavarttika* (3.1.1) says, “Because *prameyas* are two, *pramāṇas* are two.” At this point, of course, the question of whether Dharmakīrti and Chandrakīrti understand this term in the same fashion become even more pressing.

The relations between the four valid cognitions and their respective objects of comprehension are summarized in Table 3 below.

Having portrayed the four valid cognitions as conceived by the non-Buddhist Logic School and accepted by Chandrakīrti, Jamyang Shayba then proposes to collapse them into the two set forth by Dignāga in accordance with Dzongkaba's presentation. This move enables the Gelukbas to make use of the simplified ontology of the Buddhist epistemologists upon which Dzongkaba's synthesis depends. Georges Dreyfus comments on the philosophical tension this creates:⁵¹¹

This usage of Dharmakīrti's concepts and ideas is not unproblematic for Ge-luk thinkers since they accept Candrakīrti's type of Madhyamaka philosophy, which is quite opposed to the account of Buddhist epistemologists. This tension is usually overlooked in the Geluk tradition, where Candrakīrti's remarks on epistemology often end up paradoxically as little more than footnotes to a revised Dharmakīrtian epistemology.

Dreyfus dramatically under-represents the degree to which Gelukba commentators make use of Chandrakīrti's thought. Jamyang Shayba, for one, cites Chandrakīrti's *Clear Words* and his *Commentary on (Āryadeva's) 'Four Hundred Stanzas on the Yogic Deeds of Bodhisattvas'* repeatedly in his exposition of epistemology in his *Great Exposition of the Middle Way*, which is an elaborate attempt to create consistency between Dzongkaba and Chandrakīrti. Nonetheless, Dreyfus accurately conveys the essential point that Dzongkaba's synthesis leaves

⁵¹¹ Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *Recognizing Reality*, 455.

some tensions unresolved.

Given the weighty burden that is placed on the switch from Chandrakīrti's presentation of the four valid cognitions to the stripped-down system of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti, it is surprising how sparse Jamyang Shayba's evidence turns out to be. He cites a two-part reason to justify the interpretive switch. First, he says that the four valid cognitions "are included in the two, direct valid cognition and inferential valid cognition, because objects of comprehension are definitely enumerated as the two, manifest and hidden."⁵¹² This reason is simply a repetition of a well-known quote from Dharmakīrti, "Because objects of knowledge (*prameyas*) are two, valid cognitions (*pramāṇas*) are two." However, this reasoning would do nothing to persuade a reluctant advocate of the Middle Way who remained inclined towards Chandrakīrti's critique of Dignāga.

Table 3 Valid Cognitions and Their Respective Objects of Comprehension

Valid Cognition	Object of Comprehension	Example
Direct Perception	Manifest phenomena	Visual perception of a pot
Inference	Slightly hidden phenomena	Realizing the existence of fire due to the reason of there being smoke
Scriptural testimony	Very hidden phenomena	Ascertainment of the karmic connection between the practice of generosity and being wealthy in a subsequent life based on a scriptural passage
Analogy	Hidden phenomena with respect to which there is an association of an example and meaning	Realization that a wild ox (i.e., a gayal) (<i>ba men</i>) is similar to an oxen (<i>ba lang</i>)

Table 3 — The four valid cognitions on the left are posited by the Logic School and accepted by Chandrakīrti. The Buddhist epistemologists posit only the first two, subsuming scriptural testimony and analogy under inference.

⁵¹² *Great Exposition of Tenets*, 1035.2-3. *de la mngon sum tshad ma dang rjes dpag tshad ma gnyis su 'du stel gzhal bya mngon lkog gnyis su grangs nges pa'i phyir!*

The second reason Jamyang Shayba offers is similarly unsatisfying. He quotes a further passage from Chandrakīrti, this time presented as evidence that Chandrakīrti himself endorses the two valid cognitions model. Chandrakīrti's *Commentary on (Āryadeva's) 'Four Hundred Stanzas on the Yogic Deeds of Bodhisattvas'* says, "It is not that all things are known by direct perception, there are also objects realized by inference."⁵¹³ At first glance, this passage seems to uphold Jamyang Shayba's point. It seems to be saying that one category of things are known by direct perception and another category of things are known by inference, as Dignāga would have it.

However, this passage occurs in Chandrakīrti's commentary to a passage in Āryadeva's *Four Hundred Stanzas on the Yogic Deeds of Bodhisattvas* which says:⁵¹⁴

Whoever comes to have doubts with respect to Buddha's speech on
hidden phenomena,
Should come to believe in just that, through relying upon emptiness in
this system.

Āryadeva is actually making a simple point that does not relate to Dignāga's system of two valid cognitions at all.

⁵¹³ P5266, vol. 98, 254.2.4-5. *dingos po thams cad mngon sum du shes pas go bar bya ba ni ma yin gyi rjes dpag pas rtogs par bya ba yang yod dol*

⁵¹⁴ P5246, vol. 95, XII.5. *buddhokṛteṣu parokṣeṣu jāyate yasya saṁśayah/ ihaiva pratyayas tena kartavyah śūnyatām pratil/ and sang rgyas kyis gsungs lkog gyur lal gang zbig the tshom skye 'gyur bal de yis stong pa nyid bsten tel 'di nyid kho nar yid ces byal/* See also Karen Lang, *Āryadeva's Catuḥśataka: On the Bodhisattva's Cultivation of Merit and Knowledge* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1986), 110-111.

Instead, he means that if people come to have doubts about phenomena that are inaccessible to them, such as the existence of other realms of existence mentioned in the sūtras, the subtle workings of karma, the effectiveness of renunciation, and so forth, they should reflect on the fact that Buddha was authoritative when he spoke about such complex and subtle concepts as emptiness, the two truths, and so forth. Chandrakīrti's comment on the passage merely confirms Āryadeva's point by saying that not everything can be known by direct perception. There are some things that are inaccessible to direct perception, but doubts with respect to them can be resolved through inference. This reading of the passage is confirmed by Gyeltsap's *Explanation of [Āryadeva's] "Four Hundred Stanza's"*.⁵¹⁵ The passage in Āryadeva's text occurs in the context of his exhortation to renounce the world.

The way the commentarial game is played is that certain key figures, such as Dzongkaba, Chandrakīrti, and Nāgārjuna are presumed to be precisely correct in their accounts of Buddhist philosophy. Any evident inconsistencies must then be dissolved or explained away by the elaboration of distinctions that do not themselves appear in the texts. The commentator "posits the thought" of the author, that is, he explains what the trusted figure must have meant by a particular passage. One of the most satisfying dimensions to Jamyang Shayba's commentaries is his effusive elaboration of these interpretive difficulties. He details minute conflicts between Dzongkaba and others.

Even though one cannot help but be surprised that Jamyang Shayba could not develop stronger evidence for a position — the enumeration of the valid cognitions — that is so important to the Geluk synthesis, it is admirable that he presented all of the evidence so

⁵¹⁵ See Geshe Sonam Rinchen and Ruth Sonam, *Yogic Deeds of Bodhisattvas: Gyel-tsap on Āryadeva's Four Hundred* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1994), 241-242. The Fourteenth Dalai Lama discusses the same issue without reference to Āryadeva's passage at XIV Dalai Lama, Tsong-ka-pa, and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Tantra in Tibet* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1977; reprint Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1987), 31-33.

the reader could evaluate the effectiveness of his commentary. He laid out the quotes and even directed the reader to the precise section of Āryadeva's text, thereby inviting his reader to experience the interpretive tension he had struggled to resolve. By presenting this example I do not mean to suggest that Jamyang Shayba was dishonest in his approach to writing commentaries. Rather, it provides a window into the critical centrality of interpretation in the Buddhist path. Individual practitioners, like the great and esteemed monastic textbook authors, must grapple with the whole array of Buddhist teachings in order to create consistency for themselves. This is most evident in the formal debates that figure so prominently in the monastic education of Gelukba monks. Yet it is also vital for each practitioner as they work to correct the ingrained patterns of thought and the reactive patterns of behavior that keep them in cyclic existence. Jamyang Shayba, like Dzongkaba before him, was providing a normative vision of reality through his interpretive works and simultaneously demonstrating how to contend with inconsistencies and to creatively construct meaning out of them.

Conclusion

In his major three-volume *Economy and Society*, Max Weber developed an empirical and comparative schema of domination as part of his larger sociological inquiry into the ways in which power relationships are structured and mediated in society. His descriptive account explores how legitimacy is willingly granted by individuals to their aspiring leader. Weber identifies three species of authority that derive from different forms of legitimacy: legal authority, traditional authority, and charismatic authority. He also indicates that the authority possessed by dominant figures can be deployed in the form of power, whereby the dominant person can actualize their aspirations and enforce their will over their subjects.

While Weber intended for his typology to provide a universally applicable characterization of domination, he did not fully take account of one of the primary dimensions of charisma among Indian religions; since the time of the early Upanishads, a wide range of Indian thinkers have asserted that liberation is attained through the possession of liberative knowledge. Their ruminations have impelled a wide variety of different systematic philosophies that attempt to evaluate and legitimize religious claims. Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike have spawned elaborate formal ontological and epistemological doctrines intended to buttress superseding religious or metaphysical ideologies, and often, these systems of thought are ultimately based upon some grounding religious knowledge. Possession of *gnosis* serves as one of the most widespread and fundamental bases of religious legitimacy in India. This intellectual heritage was largely assimilated by Tibetan Buddhists, who have, therefore, perpetuated many of the Indian philosophical preoccupations they inherited. If the possession of sacred knowledge or liberative insight is granted the same

status Weber attributes to other forms of charismatic grounds of authority, then his theory applies quite broadly. His discussion of both legal and traditional authority describes the Indian and Tibetan contexts without requiring any modification.

In the case of Jamyang Shayba, we have seen that he and his followers worked purposefully to establish his credentials as a legitimate religious figure on several fronts. His autobiography is an obvious appeal for the respect and support of others in relation to his status as a spiritually advanced being. He consciously employed many stock devices that are intended to portray himself as an exceptional person. His recounting of the Fifth Dalai Lama's anointment of him when he was just five years old, a motif that appears in many biographies of this type, is meant to suggest that he was destined for greatness. His claims to have remembered both temples and complex philosophical material from previous lives is one of the means by which the culture designates exalted personages. The lineage biography composed by his subsequent incarnation Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo is a forthright claim that Jamyang Shayba was not just an advanced being, but, given the values of the Geluk School, represented him as one of the most transcendent figures in Indo-Tibetan religious history. As we observed in Chapter Four, Jamyang Shayba is construed as the author of the Geluk School itself by being identified as Chandrakīrti, Dignāga, Lama Umaba, and other luminaries who were highly regarded in the tradition. In the end, he virtually displaces Dzongkaba.

Jamyang Shayba himself stakes an assertive claim to his standing as an intellectual leading light of his time. He argues for the authenticity and surpassing excellence of his own training by cataloguing the extensive teachings he received, an impression that is further fortified by the incredible, almost mind-boggling, speed with which he completed his

studies. He pays heed to a convention of Tibetan autobiographical writing by identifying many of his teachers and praising them with elaborate estimations of their good qualities. Despite the fact that this aspect of his account is formulaic, it also has the effect of reflecting back onto him their high status as abbots, incarnations, and the like. Clearly, he was regarded as a legitimate scholar, not only because of the success of unjustified rhetorical stratagems, but rather because he actually was a profoundly skilled debater, an intelligent and nuanced thinker, and a precise and articulate author who was well-versed in an extensive range of canonical sources. We have recounted in great detail the breadth of his own writings, his polemical strategies, and his commentarial style. It is through those works that Jamyang Shayba initially was recognized as a legitimate voice in the tradition by the Fifth Dalai Lama, Pabongka Jamyang Dragba, Döndrub Gyatso, and others. Even today, those scholarly writings continue to provide the foundation for the exalted status attributed to him by his followers.

Legitimacy is converted into authority which is expressed as power. Jamyang Shayba deployed his considerable authority in the interpenetrating religious and political environment of Tibet. During the years that he lived at the Riwo Gepel Cave above Drebung Monastery (1680-1700), he established religious relationships with a wide variety of people, traveling to monasteries where he gave religious teachings and bestowed tantric initiations. It was during this time that he came into prolonged contact with the politically powerful figures surrounding the Fifth Dalai Lama's government. He was called upon to participate in upholding the Geluk School through his scholarship. Additionally, through the 1690's, he increasingly became personally embroiled in the lives of the powerful, including particularly Desi Sangyay Gyatso, Lobsang Khan, the Sixth Dalai Lama, the Second Pañchen

Lama, and others. During the first decade of the 1700's, he became one of the most influential clerics in Central Tibet, serving as the Abbot of Gomang-Drebung Monastery. At that time, the hierarchs of the three large Geluk monasteries constituted one of the pivotal centers of power in Tibetan politics. Through those same years, he developed increasingly important relationships with Qoshot Mongolian patrons from Amdo, led by Erdeni Jinong, and these connections ultimately permitted him to establish his own focus of influence, creating a new node of power of the Geluk School to go along with Lhasa and the Dalai Lama on the one hand and Drashi Hlunbo Monastery and the Panchen Lama in Shigatse on the other.

Jamyang Shayba's life serves as a potent demonstration of Weber's analysis of the dynamics of legitimacy and authority. Not only does his experience exhibit many of the features of charismatic authority described by Weber, but Jamyang Shayba's successors also illustrate his account of how such charisma ultimately must be domesticated and routinized if it is to afford stable social structures. In order to preserve the authority and influence Jamyang Shayba accumulated through his life, his followers transformed the potency of his dynamic charisma into more stable forms of traditional authority. The institution of incarnation, abbatial succession, the authorship of sub-commentaries on his primary textbooks, and other means were employed to provide a stable enduring context from which Jamyang Shayba continues to inspire.

PART THREE

**Appendices
And
Bibliographies**

Appendices

Appendix One

Table of Contents of Jamyang Shayba's Collected Works⁵¹⁶

Volume 1

- 1-3 *Table of Contents for Volume 1*
- 5-18 *The Verse Biography of the Omniscient Jam-yang-shay-bay-dor-jay*
Summarized in the present volume. See Chapter 2.
Possibly completed 1679.
- 19-26 *The Biography of the Omniscient Lama and the Good Explanations of the Replies to the Questions of [Janggya Ngawang Chöden]*
- 27-31 *The Liberating Vajra Words, An Annotated Commentary of a Dream of the Venerable Great Dzongkaba*
- 33-60 *The Catalogue of the Great Ganden Monastery*
- 61-82 *The Great Illuminator of the Doctrine, The Yearbook of Events that Occurred in Tibet, An Understanding of Small Difficulties In Scriptural Words Set Before the Eyes, Dispersing Golden Rays of the Sun*
Published 1716
- 83-134 *Chronological Tables, Set Before the Eye*
Translated and published Alaka Chattopadhyaya, in collaboration with Sanjit Kumar Sadhukhan, *Tibetan Chronological Tables of Jam-dbyaṅs bžad-pa and Sum-pa mkhan-po*. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1993.

⁵¹⁶ Unless otherwise noted, the pagination is based on the Mundgod edition of Jamyang Shayba's Collected Works published in 1991. In preparing this appendix, I relied upon the valuable series of Table of Contents written by E. Gene Smith for each volume of the New Delhi edition published in 1974 and Lokesh Chandra, "The Life and Works of HJam-dbyaṅs-bzhad pa." *Central Asiatic Journal* 7, no. 4 (1962): 264-269.

Published 1716

- 135-179 *How to Supplicate the Lamas pi ha ti Sam from The Brief Joining in Proper Order*
- 181-219 *A Collection of Praises of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Personal Deities, and Dharma Protectors of the Supreme Dharma from The Brief Joining in Proper Order*
- 221-273 *Presentation of Tenets, Roar of the Five-Tufted [Lion] Eradicating Errors, Precious Lamp Illuminating the Good Path to Omniscience*
 One of three separate versions of this verse text on tenets, this one has annotations added.
 Published in 1689.
 See n. 224
- 275-294 *Poetic Correspondence*
- 295-299 *Some Poetic Verse*
- 301-359 *A Scriptural Treatise Which Illuminates Poetry, One Hundred Thousand Luminous Suns*
 Published 1684
- 361-427 *A Presentation of Writing, An Earring of a Clear Mind, the Beautiful Garland of Sinadhuvara*
- 429-434 *Advice on "Cutting", How to Practice the Unification Exercises*
- 435-482 *Extending Good Fortune, the Great Treasury of Döndrub Gayleg, Through Reading the Consecration Rite*
- 483-499 *The Fortunate Consecration, Ornament of a Corn Kernel, Treasury of All Necessities.*
- 501-508 *The Condensed [Explanation] of the Drops and Channels of the Eight Stūpas*
- 509-534 *The Earth Ritual from The Joining in Proper Order*

- 535-547 *Cleansing, Purifying, and Protection of the Lord of the Nāgās*
- 549-551 *Praise of the Lord of the Nāgās*
- 553-574 *Abandoning Errors in the Application of Dharani, the Essence which Reveals the Sun*
- 575-587 *The Supplement to Offering Dharani, the Means of Achievement of the Retinue of the Yaksas and Ganesha*
- 589-604 *Collections of the Important Points of Cherished Lectures, Self-Liberation from Neck Shackles*
Notes on Sanskrit grammar
- 605-607 *A Finely-Grated Presentation of Poetics*
- 609-617 *Melodious Necklace, Slightly Clarifying the Definitions of Poetics*
Notes on rhyme and meter.
- 619-781 *The Great Commentary on Kalāpa, The Clear Explanation*
Notes on Sanskrit grammar.
- 783-787 *Questions of Lochen Losang Öser and Replies of Jamyang Shayba*
Another reply to a query on Sanskrit grammar.
- 789-794 *Eliminating Doubts on the Difficult Points Which is Composed from the Four Great Sutra Terms, Music Which Pleases Manjushrī*
Reply to questions from Desi Sangyay Gyatso on Sanskrit grammar.
See p. 137 above.
- 795-804 *A Brief Differentiation of the Three Reasons, a Harbor for Clear Minds, Beautiful Ornament of Textual Knowledge*
Notes on gender in Sanskrit grammar.
- 805-819 *Prayers of Dedication from the "Joining in Proper Order"*

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- 1-4 *Table of Contents of Volume Kha*
- 5-15 *Guru Yoga, Oral Knowledge, the Guide to the Essential Points Connected with the Hundred Deities of Tushita*
- 17-125 *Stage of Generation of the Glorious Guhyasamāja, the Conqueror of All the Tantras, the Complete Highway of the Knowledge Bearers, the Outline of Guidance*
- 127-153 *How to Practice the Stage of Completion of the Glorious Guhyasamāja*
- 155-183 *The Preliminary Practices of the Guide to the Essential Points of the Stage of Completion of the Glorious Guhyasamāja, Together with the Observation of the Actual Basis, Setting Forth the Oral Tradition of the Lama*
- 185-210 *How to Practice the Guide to the Essential Points of the Fifth Stage of the Profound Path of the Glorious Guhyasamāja, the Conqueror of All the Tantras*
- 211-290 *The Union of Exhortation and Words of the Glorious Guhyasamāja, Virtuous in the Beginning, Middle, and End, the Complete Ocean From a Raincloud of Actual Accomplishments, an Excellent Dispersion of Clouds Fulfilling All Hopes of the Fortunate*
- 291-301 *How to Practice the Quintessential Instructions of the Systems of the Individual Great Achievements Which Are Explained by Guhyasamāja*
- 303-323 *Notes on Tantric Topics*
- 325-345 *Outline of the Explanation of the Stage of Generation of Chakrasamvara*
- 347-452 *The Uncommon Profound Guidance of the First Stage of the Glorious Vajrabhairava, Highway for All Lord Who Accomplish the Oral Instructions of the Second Conqueror [Dzong-ka-ba], Harbor for the Fortunate*
- 453-519 *The Stage of Completion of the Glorious Vajrabhairava, Guide to the Essential Points of the Six Cherished Stages of the Four Yogas, Ornament for the Thought of the Tantras and the Great Accomplishment, Oral Instructions of Manjushrī,*

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- 521-529 *Clear Realization of the Two-Handed Vajrabhairava, Guide to the Essential Points on the Visualization, the Source of Actual Accomplishments*
- 531-571 *Explanation of Seventh Realization of the Root Tantra of the Glorious Vajrabhairava, Harbor for the Fortunate, Ocean of Actual Accomplishments*
- 573-616 *Letters Which Approximate the Three Action for Achieving Approximation of the Glorious Vajrabhairava, Oral Instructions of Manjushrī, Harbor for the Fortunate Siddhārtha Through Reading the Excellent Clouds of Complete Actual Accomplishments*
- 617-631 *The Three Action for Achieving Approximation of the Glorious Vajrabhairava*
- 633-689 *Explanation of [Means of] Achievement Connected With the Peaceful and Wrathful Aspects of Manjushrī, Treasury of All Desires, Harbor for the Fortunate, Beautiful Garland of Sandalwood*
- 691-730 *Explanation of the Mass of Vajra Words of the Uncommon Accomplishments Connected With the Peaceful and Wrathful Aspects of Manjushrī, Secret Treasury of the Peaceful and Wrathful Aspects of Manjushrī, Opener of One Hundred Doors of the Supreme Accomplishment, Fulfilling All Hopes of the Fortunate*
- 731-743 *Secret Treasury of the Mass of Vajra Words of the Uncommon Accomplishments Connected With the Peaceful and Wrathful Aspects of Manjushrī, Opener of One Hundred Doors of the Supreme Accomplishment, Fulfilling All Hopes of the Fortunate*
This is a simplified version of the previous item.
- 745-747 *Replies to the Questions from the Kyagay Master Lodrö Gyatso*
This very short text consists of Jamyang Shayba's replies to questions concerning the maṇḍalas of various Tantra deities, *Guhyasamāja*, *Chakrasamvara*, and so forth. Although this is the same name as Jamyang Shayba's great tantric teacher, it is highly unlikely that he was responding to questions from that lama. See Chapter 2 above.
- 749-767 *Presentation of the Timing of Transmigration, Entering the Dead, and so forth and the Methods for Relying on the characteristics of Seals, the Storehouse of*

Knowledge Bearers which Purifies Forgetfulness Gathered from the Tantra of the Vajradakinis

The final page of this volume lists the Japanese and American sponsors of this particular Gomang printing

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- 1-17 *Supplementary Presentation on the Turning of the Wheel [of Dharma]*
- 19-63 *Annotations of [Panchen Losang Chögyi Gyeltsen's] Guru Yoga Ritual, the Chariot Inducing Union*
- 65-165 *Bare Instructions on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment, the Sayings of Happy Lamas Conveying the Practice Condensing the Essence of [the Fifth Dalai Lama's] "Sacred Word of Manjushrī,"*
- 167-213 *Garland of Jewels, Reply to Queries on [Dzongkaba's] "Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path" and his "Small Exposition of the Stages of the Path"*
- 215-229 *Instructions on the Three Doors, Beautiful String of jewels of Others' Benefit*
- 231-258 *Explanation of Initiation, Opening the Door Clarifying the Profound Meaning, Pure Arrangement of the Expression of the Key to the Secret Treasury*
- 259-278 *Sacred Word of the Wrathful and Peaceful Aspects of Manjushrī Together With the Single Deity of Vajrabhairava, Storehouse of Appearing Feats*
- 279-284 *The Ancient Example of the Stages of Pure Yoga, Bound to the Forty-Nine Suchnesses, In Accordance with the Deeds of Kaydrup Norsang, A Commentary on the Later Tantra Bound to the Four Branches of Approach and Accomplishment, According to Nāropa's Advice*
- 285-355 *Elaborations on the Empowerments for the Hundred [Rites] of the Translator Bari*

- 361-369 *Oral Explanations of the Empowerments for the Hundred [Rites] of the Nartang Canon*
- 371-475 *Liturg of the Fivefold and Threefold Vaishravana*
- 477-514 *Empowerment of Clear Realization for Oceans of Means of Achievement*
- 515-526 *Beautiful Ornament for Accomplishments, Answers to Questions on the Essential Points of Spiritual Practice*
- 527-542 *A Garland of Wish-Fulfilling Gems, Jamyang Shayba's Answer to a Question from the [Sixth Dalai Lama] Losang Rinchen Tsangyang Gyatso*
- 543-571 *Commentary on the [Dzongkaba's] Reply to the Questions of Je Rendawa*
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- 573-592 *A Garland of Wish-Fulfilling Gems, Answers to Questions [of Gyelsay Shiwa Hla Incarnation]*
- 593-605 *Explanation of Transference [of Consciousness]*
- 607-718 *The Colors White and Red*
Fundamental text on Buddhist logic and reasoning
- 719-774 *Good Explanation of the Presentation of the "Collected Topics"*
- 775-793 *Condensed Presentation of the Great Prāsaṅgika*
- 795-806 *Condensed Supplement of the Difficult Points on Epistemology from the Second Chapter of Dharmakīrti's Commentary on (Dignāga's) "Compilation of Valid Cognition"*
- 807-852 *Presentation of Tenets, Roar of the Five-Tufted [Lion] Eradicating Errors, Precious Lamp Illuminating the Good Path to Omniscience*
One of three separate versions of this verse text on tenets, this one has extensive notes added.
Published in 1689.
See n. 224

- 853-870 *Treasury of Achievement, Free From Extremes*
- 871-878 *The Way to Proceed with the One Hundred and Eight Topics*
A topic in the Perfection of Wisdom literature.
- 879-890 *Some Guidance in Enumeration*

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- 1-123 *The Arrangement in One Place of Whatever Separate Spoken and Written Words are Found: Part I*
- 125-191 *How to Hear About the Sūtra Topics in the Collection of Buddha's Word from What is Spoken and Written: Part II*
- 193-283 *The Means of Attainment of the Precious Tantra Sets, the Source of Secret Mantra from the Oceanic Scholars, Who Teach Instructions: Stage Three*
These first three texts indicate which exoteric (parts 1 and 2) and esoteric (part 3) teachings Jamyang Shayba received from his various teachers. The transmission lineages of his teachers are also indicated.
- 285-336 *The Biography of the Great Venerable Dzong-ka-ba, the Manner of a Painting, a Garland of One Hundred and Three Beads of Sandalwood, a Great Ocean of Play of Benefit and Happiness, Increasing the Subduer's Teachings*
- 337-477 *The Explanation of the Stages of Enlightenment, A Treasury of Scripture and Reasoning*
This incomplete commentary is discussed at p. 163 above.
Perhaps completed in 1715.
- 479-510 *Various Items from The Arrangement in a Desirable Order of Separate Materials*
- 511-536 *A Song of Oral Advice from The Arrangement in a Desirable Order of Separate Materials*

- 537-549 *Elimination of Doubts Regarding the Vows of Individual Liberation from the Arrangement in a Desireable Order of Separate Materials*
On monastic vows.
- 551-620 *Explanation of Dorma Offerings, the Thoroughly Clear Meaning of the Texts on the Conqueror's Pleasant Path*
Ritual preparation of offerings.
- 621-628 *Water Offering Ceremony, the Source of all Accomplishments*
- 629-638 *The Suchness of the Life of Yamāntaka, Which was Composed by Darpana Dzaryasa (Darpañācārya)*
- 639-665 *The Annotated Commentary of Dobakoṣha of Saraha from The Arrangement in a Desireable Order of Separate Materials*
- 667-680 *The Explanation of Consecration*
- 681-853 *The Stages Concerning the Accomplishment of Personal Deities from The Arrangement in a Desireable Order of Separate Materials*
- 855-897 *Supplication and Offerings to Protectors of the Teachings from the Arrangement in a Desireable Order of Separate Materials*
- 899-905 *Prayers and Benedictions of the Glorious Vajrapāṇi and the Great Assembly, Clarifying All Important Points of the Secret Sound of Laughter Which Conquers Over Demons*

Volume 5

- 1-2 *Outline of Volume Ca*
- 3-835 *Religious History of the Glorious Vajrabhairava, Conqueror of Karma of the Three Worlds, Treasury of Feats*
Completed in 1718.
See p. 163 above.

Volume 6

- 1-2 *Outline of Volume Cha*
- 3-633 *Analysis of the Difficult Points of Monastic Discipline, Abandoning Objections, Necklace for Those of Clear Minds, Beautifying a Sandalwood Garland, Satisfying All Wishes of the Fortunate, Part I*
- 635-949 *Analysis of the Difficult Points of Monastic Discipline, Abandoning Objections, Necklace for Those of Clear Minds, Beautifying a Sandalwood Garland, Satisfying All Wishes of the Fortunate, Part II*
Completed in 1704.
See p. 140 above.

Volume 7

- 1-4 *Outline of Volume Ja*
- 1-579 *Decisive Analysis of [Maitreya's] Ornament for 'Clear Realization,' the Precious Lamp Illuminating All Meanings of the Perfection of Wisdom, Part One*
- 581-665 *Decisive Analysis of the Perfection of Wisdom, Necklace of Scholars Beautifying the Garland of Jewels, Part Two*
- 667-713 *Decisive Analysis of the Perfection of Wisdom, Necklace of Scholars Beautifying the Garland of Jewels, Part Three*

Volume 8

- 1-4 *Outline of Volume Nya*

- 1-225 *Decisive Analysis of the Perfection of Wisdom, the Ganges River that Clears Away Error, Oral Instructions of the Unconquered [Maitreya], Part Four*
- 227-301 *Decisive Analysis of the Perfection of Wisdom, the Ganges River that Clears Away Error, Oral Instructions of the Unconquered [Maitreya], Part Five*
- 303-313 *Decisive Analysis of the Perfection of Wisdom, the Ganges River that Clears Away Error, Oral Instructions of the Unconquered [Maitreya], Part Six*
- 315-332 *Decisive Analysis of the Perfection of Wisdom, the Ganges River that Clears Away Error, Oral Instructions of the Unconquered [Maitreya], Part Seven*
- 333-535 *Decisive Analysis of the Perfection of Wisdom, the Ganges River that Clears Away Error, Oral Instructions of the Unconquered [Maitreya], Part Eight*
- 537-671 *Decisive Analysis of the Perfection of Wisdom, Opening the Eye of the Fortunate, Beautifying the Garland of Wish-Fulfilling Jewels of Mental Increase, Part Eight*
The second version of Chapter 8 was completed in 1718. The other chapters were written over a number of years, primarily between 1712 and 1718. See p. 162 above.
- 677-681 *Sponsors*

Volume 9

- 1-2 *Outline of Contents of Volume 9a*
- 3-883 *Analysis of (Chandrakīrti's) 'Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) "Treatise on the Middle Way"', Treasury of Scripture and Reasoning, Thoroughly Illuminating the Profound Meaning [of Emptiness], Entrance to the Fortunate.*
Published 1695.

Volume 10

- 1-2 *Outline of Contents of Volume Tha*
- 3-1353 *Commentary on the Thought of [Vasubandhu's] "Treasury of Knowledge," Jewel Treasury of the Subduer's Teaching, Clarifying Every Meaning Asserted by the Conquerors of the Three Times*
Published 1704.

Volume 11

- 1-2 *Outline of Volume Da*
- 3-288 *Great Exposition of the Interpretable and the Definitive/Decisive Analysis of (Dzongkaba's) "Differentiating the Interpretable and the Definitive": Storehouse of White Lapis-Lazuli of Scripture and Reasoning Free from Error: Fulfilling the Hopes of the Fortunate*
Published 1685.
This text is discussed in Jeffrey Hopkins, *Emptiness in the Mind-Only School of Buddhism.: Dynamic Responses to Ḍzong-ka-ba's "The Essence of Eloquence" Part I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), *Reflections on Reality: Dynamic Responses to Ḍzong-ka-ba's "The Essence of Eloquence" Part II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), and *Absorption in No External World: Dynamic Responses to Ḍzong-ka-ba's "The Essence of Eloquence" Part III* (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming).
- 289-331 *Supplementary Notes on (Dzongkaba's) "Differentiating the Interpretable and the Definitive"*
- 333-447 *Decisive Analysis of Dependent-Origination, Treasury of Scripture and Reasoning, Beautiful Garland Which Clarifies and Pleases the Mind*
- 449-481 *The Lesser Decisive Analysis of the Profound Dependent-Origination*
- 483-619 *The Extensively Clear and Thoroughly Profound Explanation of Valid Cognition, Compendium Commentary on (Chandrakīrti's) 'Clear Words,' the One Hundred Blazing Lights of Valid Cognition Clearing Away the Darkness in*

the Heart of the Fortunate Eon

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- 621-659 *General Teaching on the Monastic Discipline*
- 660-691 *Explanation of the Four Noble Truths, the Great Sun of Scripture and Reasoning which is Free of Error*

Volume 12

- 1-525 *Treatise on the Presentations of the Concentrations and Formless Absorptions, Adornment Beautifying the Subduer's Teaching, Ocean of Scripture and Reasoning, Delighting the Fortunate*
 This topic is partially presented in Leah Zahler, Lati Rinpochoy, Denma Locho Rinpochoy, and Jeffrey Hopkins. *Meditative States: The Concentrations and Formless Absorptions*, London: Wisdom, 1983, although primarily from the viewpoint of Pañchen Sönam Dragba. Geshe Gendun Lodrö's commentary in that text is partly drawn from the present text by Jamyang Shayba
 Published in 1688.
 See p. 122 above.
- 527-582 *Discourse on the Concentrations and Formless Absorptions, the Beautiful Garland of Wish-Fulfilling Gems, the Necklace of Proclamations of Reasoning, Making Scholars Joyful*
- 583-619 *A Presentation of the Three, Hearing, Thinking, and Meditating*
- 621-704 *The Condensed Analysis of [Dzongkaba's] "Discrimination of the Definitive and the Interpretable," a Necklace for Those of Clear Thought*

Volume 13

- 1-11 Outline of the Contents of Volume Pa
- 1-611 *Decisive Analysis of [Dharmakīrti's] "Commentary of Dignāga's 'Compendium on Valid Cognition'", Chapter 1*
Composed in 1700
- 612-836 *Decisive Analysis of [Dharmakīrti's] "Commentary of Dignāga's 'Compendium on Valid Cognition'", Chapter 2*
Composed in 1713
- 837-870 *Decisive Analysis of [Dharmakīrti's] "Commentary of Dignāga's 'Compendium on Valid Cognition'", Chapter 3*
Composed in 1713
On dating the chapters, see p. 138ff

Volume 14

- 1-31 *Presentation of Tenets, Roar of the Five-Tufted [Lion] Eradicating Errors, Precious Lamp Illuminating the Good Path to Omniscience*
Published 1689.
- 33-611 *Exposition of Tenets, Sun of the Land of Samanthabhadra Brilliantly Illuminating All of Our Own and Others' Tenets and the Meaning of the Profound [Emptiness], Ocean of Scripture and Reasoning Completely Fulfilling All Hopes of All Beings, Part One*
- 613-1092 *Exposition of Tenets, Sun of the Land of Samanthabhadra Brilliantly Illuminating All of Our Own and Others' Tenets and the Meaning of the Profound [Emptiness], Ocean of Scripture and Reasoning Completely Fulfilling All Hopes of All Beings, Part Two*
Published 1699.
For discussion of both the root text and the commentary, see p. 123 above.
Approximately a third of chapter 12 on Prāsaṅgika is translated and published in Jeffrey Hopkins, *Meditation on Emptiness* (London: Wisdom,

983), 583-697. Another portion is translated in Daniel Cozort, *Unique Tenets of the Middle Way Consequence School* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1998), 289-423. Jeffrey Hopkins is translating the root text, substantial portions of the auto-commentary, and other supplementary commentary from other authors in *Maps of the Profound* (forthcoming).

Volume 15

- 1-31 *Guru Yoga, the Inner Heart of the Beautiful Garland of Dzin-ta-ma-ni*
Notes arranged in 1743 by a Mongolian disciple.
- 33-42 *The Secret Biography of Lord Jamyang Shayba Dorjay*
Visionary experiences of Jamyang Shayba.
- 43-50 *The Root Text and Annotations the Secret Biography of Omniscient Jamyang Shayba Dorjay*
The annotations are made by Jamyang Shayba's Regent at Labrang Monastery, Ngawang Drashi.
- 51-59 *A Supplication to the Succession of Rebirths of the Precious One Possessed of the Three Kindnesses [Jamyang Shayba], That He Will Quickly be Reborn to Extend His Blessings*
Perhaps written by Sumba Kenbo
- 61-69 *Praises of the Lord of All Reasoning and Maṇḍalas, the Pervasive Sovereign Lama Gönchog Tsenjen, the Harmony which Establishes Knowledge-Bearers*
- 71-109 *The Brief Important Points in the Ritual of the Actions of Discipline*
On the ordination ritual.
- 111-173 *The Oral Instructions of Ajita [Maitreya], The Good Explanation of the Presentation of the Eight Categories and the Seventy Topics*
- 175-299 *A Presentation of Signs and Reasonings, the Good Explanation which is slightly Clear, the Beautiful Garland of Gold*

- 301-371 *A Presentation of Minds and Awarenesses, the Good Explanation which is slightly Clear, the Beautiful Garland of Gold*
- 373-483 *A Presentation of the Greater Collected Topics, Opening the Golden Door of the Path of Reasoning, the Storehouse of Scripture and Reasoning, Clear Mind, Clearing Away Mental Obscuration, the Harbor for the Faithful Fortunate Ones*
The previous three texts serve as the beginning monastic textbooks at Gomang Monastery, Labrang Monastery, and other affiliated monasteries.
- 485-506 *The Basic Text of the Treasury of Reasoning, the Compendium of the Essence Connected to the Summary*
- 507-590 *Treatise Clarifying the Particulars of Tibetan Terminology, Notes on [Belkang Chödzay's] "A Lamp for Scholars Speech"*
- 591-815 *A Treatise on Expression, the Treasury of Amarasimha*
This is one version of Jamyang Shayba's annotated copy of the Amarasimha's *Treasury*, a lexicon of technical terminology. A different edition written in Tibetan and Sanskrit scripts by Jamyang Shayba's own hand has been lost. See p. 163 above.
Published 1715.
- 817-824 *A Source of Benefit and Happiness*
Monastic regulation for a Gelukba Monastery.

Additional Materials

Some items Jamyang Shayba wrote did not appear in his Collected Works. For example, *The Four Interwoven Commentaries on (Dzong-ka-ba's) "Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path"* was co-written by four scholars, including Jamyang Shayba. (See bibliography under Dzongkaba's name.) Additionally, Gönchok Gyeltsen's *Lineage of Abbots at Labrang Drashi Kyil Monastery* mentions that several texts were not included in Jamyang Shayba's Collected Works for various reasons.⁵¹⁷ These include a variety of ritual manuals, verse on astrology, text on the Perfection of Wisdom, monastic discipline, and making offerings. Jamyang

⁵¹⁷ Cited in Khetsun Sangbo, *Biographical Dictionary*, 659.

Shayba's edition of Amarasimha's *Immortal Treasury*, written in both Sanskrit and Tibetan scripts, was also lost. Notably also, Jamyang Shayba's *Decisive Analysis of [Atīsha's] "Two Truths" in the Middle Way* was lost before the Collected Works was compiled.

E. Gene Smith (TBRC website document P423 and connected links W8369) adds that a text called *A Commentary on "Garland of Wish-Fulfilling Gems"* was not included in the Collected Works.

Appendix Two**Indian Chronology**

Vedas	1200-700 B.C.E.
Upaniṣhads	800-300
Buddha	c. 448-370
King Ashoka	268-233
Nāgārjuna	2 nd century CE
Āryadeva	2 nd century
Asaṅga	3 rd to 4 th century
Vasubandhu	3 rd to 4 th century
Buddhapālita	c. 470-540?
Dignāga	6 th century
Bhāvaviveka	c. 500-570?
Chandrakīrti	c. 600-650
Dharmakīrti	7 th century
Shāntideva	early 8 th century
Padmasambhava	8 th century
Atīsha	982-1054

Mongolian Chronology

Genghis Khan	1162-1227
Kublai Khan (grandson of Genghis)	1215-1294

Tümay Mongolians

Alten Khan	1505-1582
During Khan (son of Alten)	b. 16 th century
Fourth Dalai Lama Yönden Gyatso	1589-1617
yon tan rgya mtsho	
(great grandson of Alten)	

Qoshot Mongolians

Gushri Khan	1582-1655
Denzin Dalai Khan (son of Gushri)	d. 1699

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Labsang Khan (son of Gushri) d. 1717

Dzungar Mongolians

Ganden ruled 1679-1697

Tsewang Rabden ruled 1697-1727

Chinese Chronology

Manchu Emperors

Shun-chih ruled 1644-1661

K'ang-hsi ruled 1662-1722

Jamyang Shayba's Incarnations

Jamyang Shaybay Dorjay Ngawang Tsöndru 1648-1722
'jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje ngag dbang brtson 'grus

Gönchok Jigmay Wangbo 1728-1791
Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po

Losang Thubden Jigmay Gyatso 1792-1856
blo bzang thub bstan 'jigs med rgya mtsho

Gelsang Thubden Wangchug 1856-1916
skal bzang thub bstan dbang phyug

Losang Jamyang Yeshey Denbay Gyeltsen 1916-1947
blo bzang 'jam dbyangs ye shes bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan

Losang Jigmay Thubden Chökyi Nyima Belsang b. 1948
blo bzang 'jigs med thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma dpal bzang

Tibetan Chronology

King Songdzen Gambo srong btsan sgam po	d. 649
Yeshay Tsogyel ye shes mtsho rgyal	b. 757
Dromdön Gyelway Jungnay 'brom ston rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas	1005-1064
Patsab Nyima Drag pa tshab nyi ma grags pa	b. 1055
Gunga Nyingbo kun dga' snying po	1092-1158
Sagya Paṇḍita sa skya paṇḍita	1182-1251
Pagba Rinpochoy Lodrö Gyeltsen 'phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan	1235-1280
Budön Rinchen Drup bu ston rin chen grub	1290-1364
Longchenba Drimay Öser klong chen pa dri med 'od zer	1308-1364
Rendawa Shönnu Lodrö red mda' ba gzhon nu blo gros	1349-1412
Dzongkaba tsong kha pa	1357-1419
Gyeltsap Darma Rinchen rgyal tshab dar ma rin chen	1364-1432
Kaydrup Gelek Belsang dge legs dpal bzang	1385-1438
Dalai Lama I Gendun Drup dge 'dun grub	1391-1474
Daktsang Lodzāwa Shayrab Rinchen stag tshangs lo tsā ba shes rab rin chen	b. 1405

Dalai Lama II Gendun Gyatso dGe 'dun rgya mtsho	1475-1542
Panchen Sönam Dragba pañchen bsod nams grags pa	1478-1554
Dalai Lama III Sönam Gyatso bsod rnams rgya mtsho	1543-1588
Panchen Lama I Losang Chökyi Gyeltsen blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan	1569-1662
Dalai Lama IV Yönden Gyatso yon tan rgya mtsho	1589-1617
Dalai Lama V Ngawang Losang Gyatso ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho	1617-1682
Janggya I Ngawang Losang Chöden ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan	1642-1714
Jamyang Shayba I 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa	1648-1722
Desi Sangyay Gyatso sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho	1653-1705
Panchen Lama II Losang Yeshay blo bzang ye shes	1663-1737
Ngawang Drashi ngag dbang bkra shis	1678-1738
Dalai Lama VI Tsangyang Gyatso tshang dbyang rgya mtsho	1683-1706
Dalai Lama VII Kelsang Gyatso bskal bzang rgya mtsho	1708-1757
Janggya II Rolbay Dorjay lcang skya II Rol pa'i rdo rje	1717-1786

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Chakrasaṃvara Tantra
'khor lo bde mchog

Compendium of Doctrine Sutra

Dharmasamgītisūtra
chos yang dag par sdud pa
P904, Vol. 36.

Guhyasamāja Tantra (a root Highest Yoga Tantra)

sarvatahāgatakāyavākcittarahasyaguhyasamājanāmamahākāparāja
de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi sku gsung thugs kyi gsang chen gsang ba 'dus pa zhes
bya ba brtag pa'i rgyal po chen po

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P760, vol. 22-4

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śālistambasūtra
sā lu'i ljang pa'i mdo
P876, vol. 34.

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'jam dpal rtsa rgyud

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byang chub sems dpa'i sde snod kyi mdo
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āyusmannandagarbhāvākṛāntinirdeśa
tshe dang ldan pa dga' bo mngal du 'jug pa bstan pa
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blo gros mi zad pas bstan pa
P842, vol. 34

Vajrabhairava Tantra

Vajrabhairava Tantra
rdo rje 'jigs byed

Pali, Sanskrit, and Tibetan Treatises

Abhayadatta (twelfth century)

The Lives of the Eighty-Four Siddhas

grub thob brgyad 'bcu tsa bzhi'i lo rgyus

Amarasimha

Immortal Treasury

amarakosha

'chi med mdzod

P5787, vol. 140.

Āryadeva (second to third century, 'phags pa lha)

Four Hundred / Treatise of Four Hundred Stanzas / Four Hundred Stanzas on the Yogic Deeds of Bodhisattvas

catuḥśatakaśāstrakārikā

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Commentary on (Nāgārjuna's) "Seventy Stanzas on Emptiness"

śūnyatāsaptativṛtti
stong pa nyid bdun cu pa'i 'grel pa
P5268, vol. 99.

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Commentary on (Nāgārjuna's) "Sixty Stanzas of Reasoning"

yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti
rigs pa drug cu pa'i 'grel pa
P5265, vol. 98.

Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) "Treatise on the Middle"

madhyamakāvatāra
dbu ma la 'jug pa
P5261, vol. 98; P5262, vol. 98.

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(Auto-) Commentary on the Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) "Treatise on the Middle Way"

Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya
dbu ma la 'jug pa'i bshad pa
P5263, vol. 98.

Chögyi Gyeltsen, Jetsun (1469,-1546, *rje btsun chos kyi rgyal mtshan*)

Decisive Analysis of (Vasubandhu's) "Treasury of Knowledge,"

mngon pa mdzod kyi mtha' dpyod

General Meaning of (Guṇaprabha's) "Aphorisms on Monastic Discipline"

'dul ba'i spyi don

Collected Works, volume 8.

A Reply to Gar(maba Migyö Dorjay), An Ornament for the Thought of Nāgārjuna

kar lan klu sgrub dgongs rgyan

Collected Works, vol. 6, 69-173.

Replies to the Refutations [of Dzongkaba] by both Go(ramba) and Shā(kya Chokden)

go shak gnyis kyi dgag lan

Collected Works, vol. 8, 175-518

Daktsang Shayrap Rinchen (born 1405, *stag tshang lo tsā ba shes rab rin chen*)

Explanation of "Freedom from Extremes through Understanding All Tenets": Ocean of Eloquence

grub mtha' kun shes nas mtha' bral grub pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos rnam par bshad
pa legs bshad kyi rgya mtsho

Thimphu, Bhutan: Kun-bzang-stobs rgyal, 1976.

The Great Commentary on the Root Sūtra, (Guṇaprabha's) "Aphorisms on Monastic Discipline"

'dul ba mdo rtsa'i tika chen

Dayleg Nyima, Pañchen (b. 16th century, *pañ chen bde legs nyi ma*)

General Meaning of (Vasubandhu's) "Treasury of Knowledge,"

mngon pa mdzod kyi spyi don

Commentary on (Guṇaprabha's) "Aphorisms on Monastic Discipline"

'dul ba'i 'grel pa

Collected Works, volume 1.

Dharmakīrti (seventh century, *chos kyi grags pa*)

Seven Treatises on Valid Cognition

1. *Analysis of Relations*

sambandhaparīkṣā

'brel pa brtag pa

P5713, vol. 130.

2. *Ascertainment of Prime Cognition*

pramānaviniścaya

tshad ma rnam par nges pa

P5710, vol. 130.

3. *Commentary on (Dignāga's) "Compilation of Valid Cognition"*

pramānavārttikakārikā

tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi tshig le'ur byas pa

P5709, vol. 130. Also: Sarnath, India: Pleasure of Elegant Sayings Press, 1974.

Sanskrit: Dwarikadas Shastri. *Pramānavārttika of Āchārya Dharmakīrti*. Varanasi, India: Bauddha Bharati, 1968.

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4. *Drop of Reasoning*

nyāyabinduprakaraṇa

rigs pa'i thigs pa zhes bya ba'i rab tu byed pa

P5711, vol. 130.

English translation: Th. Stcherbatsky. *Buddhist Logic*. New York: Dover Publications, 1962.

5. *Drop of Reasons*

hetubindunāmaprakaraṇa

gtan tshigs kyi thigs pa zhes bya ba rab tu byed pa

P5712, vol. 130.

6. *Principles of Debate*

vādanyāya

rtsod pa'i rigs pa

P5715, vol. 130.

7. *Proof of Other Continuums*

saṃtānāntarasiddhināmaprakaraṇa

rgyud gzhan grub pa zhes bya ba'i rab tu byed pa

P5716, vol. 130.

Dharmottara

Explanation of (Dharmakīrti's) 'Drop of Reasoning'

Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā

tshad ma rnam par nges pa'i 'grel bshad

P5727, vol. 136.

Dignāga (sixth century, *phyogs kyi glangs po*)

Compilation of Prime Cognition

pramāṇasamuccaya

tshad ma kun las btus pa

P5700, vol. 130.

English translation (partial): M. Hattori. *Dignāga, On Perception*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Examination of Objects of Observation

ālabanaparīkṣa
dmigs pa brtag pa
P5703, vol. 130.

Explanation of the Essential Meaning, Commentary on [Vasubandhu's] "Treasury of Knowledge"

Abhidharmakośavṛttimarmapradīpa
chos mngon pa'i mdzod kyi 'grel pa gnad kyi sgron ma
P5596; Toh. 5596.

Summary Meanings of the Eight Thousand Stanza Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra

prajñāpāramitāpīṇḍārtha / prajñāpāramitāsamgrahakārikā
brgyad stong don bsduṣ / shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin ma bsduṣ pa'i tshig le'ur byas
pa
P5207, vol. 94.

Dragba Gyeltsen (*grags pa rgyal mtshan*)

Three Basic Rituals

gzhi gsum cho ga

Dzongkaba Losang Dragba (1357-1419, *tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa*)

Extensive Commentary on the Difficult Points of the Mind-Basis-of-All and Afflicted Intellect: Ocean of Eloquence: Ocean of Eloquence

yid dang kun gzhi'i dka' ba'i gnas rgya cher 'grel pa legs par bshad pa'i rgya mtsho
P6149, vol. 154. Also: Delhi: Ngawang Gelek, 1975. Also: Delhi: Guru Deva, 1979.

English translation: Gareth Sparham. *Ocean of Eloquence: Tsong kha pa's Commentary on the Yogācāra Doctrine of Mind*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1993.

The Essence of Eloquence: Treatise Differentiating the Interpretable and the Definitive: The Essence of Eloquence

drang ba dang nges pa'i don rnam par phye ba'i bstan bcos legs bshad snying po
"Delhi NG dkra shis lhun po": from *The Collected Works of Rje Tsoñ-kha-pa Blo-bzañ-grags-pa*, vol. 21 pha, 478-714 (Delhi: Ngawang Gelek, 1975); photographic reprint of the old dkra shis lhun po edition. At the end, after an identification of the scribe, bsod nams blo gros, it finishes with "mangalam". (uses a single *shad* after a quotation)

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Ḍzong-ka-bā's "The Essence of Eloquence" Part II (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) and *Absorption in No External World: Dynamic Responses to Ḍzong-ka-bā's "The Essence of Eloquence" Part III* (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming).

Four Interwoven Annotations on (Ḍzong-ka-bā's) "Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path" The Lam rim chen mo of the incomparable Tsong-kha-pa, with the interlineal notes of Ba-so Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan, Sde-drug Mkhan-chen Ngag-dbang-rab-rtan, 'Jam-dbyangs-bshad-pa'i-rdo-rje, and Bra-sti Dge-bshes Rin-chen-don-grub
lam rim mchan bzhi sbrags ma/ mnyam med rje btsun tsong kha pa chen pos mdzad pa'i byang chub lam rim chen mo'i dka' ba'i gnad rnam mchan bu bzhi'i sko nas legs par bshad pa theg chen lam gyi gsal sgron
New Delhi: Chos-'phel-legs-ldan, 1972

The Fulfillment of All Hopes of Disciples

bla ma lnga bcu pa'i rnam bshad slob ma'i re ba kun skong
P6187, Toh. 5270.

English translation: Gareth Sparham, *The Fulfillment of All Hopes: Guru Devotion in Tibetan Buddhism*. Boston: Wisdom, 1999.

Golden Rosary of Eloquence / Extensive Explanation of (Maitreya's) "Ornament for Clear Realization, Treatise of Quintessential Instructions on the Perfection of Wisdom" as Well as Its Commentaries: Golden Rosary of Eloquence

legs bshad gser 'phreng / shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i rgya cher bshad pa legs bshad gser gyi phreng ba

P6150, vols. 154-155. Also: Delhi: Ngawang Gelek, 1975. Also: Delhi: Guru Deva, 1979.

Great Exposition of Secret Mantra / The Stages of the Path to a Conqueror and Pervasive Master, a Great Vajradhara: Revealing All Secret Topics

rgyal ba khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang chen po'i lam gyi rim pa gsang ba kun gyi gnad rnam par phye ba

P6210, vol. 161. Also: Dharmasala, India: Shes rig par khang, 1969. Also: New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek, 1975. Also: Delhi: Guru Deva, 1979.

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Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path/ Stages of the Path to Enlightenment Thoroughly Teaching All the Stages of Practice of the Three Types of Beings

lam rim chen mo/ skyes bu gsum gyi rnyams su blang ba'i rim pa thams cad tshang bar ston pa'i byang chub lam gyi rim pa

P6001, vol. 152. Also: Dharamsala: Shes rig par khang, 1964. Also: Delhi: Ngawang Gelek, 1975. Also: Critical edition edited by Tsultrim Kelsang Khangkar, Kyoto: Japanese and Tibetan Buddhist Culture Series, 2001.

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Illumination of the Thought, Extensive Explanation of (Chandrakīrti's) "Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) 'Treatise on the Middle Way'"

dbu ma la 'jug pa'i rgya cher bshad pa dgongs pa rab gsal

P6143, vol. 154. Also: Sarnath, India: Pleasure of Elegant Sayings Press, 1973

English translation (first five chapters): Jeffrey Hopkins, *Compassion in Tibetan Buddhism*. Valois, New York: Snow Lion, 1980.

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Lamp Thoroughly Illuminating (Nāgārjuna's) "The Five Stages": Quintessential Instructions of the King of Tantras, The Glorious Guhyasamāja

rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal bsang ba 'dus pa'i man ngag rim pa lnga rab tu gsal ba'i sgron me

P6167, vol. 158; Also, Varanasi: 1969.

Middling Exposition of the Stages of the Path/ Small Exposition of the Stages of the Path To Enlightenment

lam rim 'bring/ lam rim chung ngu/ skyes bu gsum gyi nyams su blang ba'i byang chub lam gyi rim pa

P6002, vol. 152-3. Also: Dharamsala: Shes rig par khang, 1968. Also: Mundgod: Ganden Shardzay, n.d., (edition including outline of topics by Trijang Rinbochay)

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Ocean of Reasoning, Explanation of (Nāgārjuna's) "Treatise on the Middle Way"/ Great Commentary on (Nāgārjuna's) "Treatise on the Middle Way"

dbu ma rtsa ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa shes rab ces bya ba'i rnam bshad rigs pa'i rgya mtsho

P6153, vol. 156. Also: Sarnath, India: Pleasure of Elegant Sayings Printing Press, no date. Also: in *rje tsong kha pa'i gsung dbu ma'i lta ba'i skor*, vol. 1 and 2, Sarnath, India: Pleasure of Elegant Sayings Press, 1975.

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Praise of Dependent-Arising/ Praise of the Supramundane Victor Buddha from the Approach of his Teaching the Profound Dependent-Arising, The Essence of Eloquence

rten 'brel bstod pa/sang rgyas bcom ldan 'das la zab mo rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba gsung ba'i sgo nas bstod pa legs par bshad pa'i snying po

P6016, vol. 153

English translation: Geshe Wangyal, *The Door of Liberation*. New York: Lotsawa, 1978, 117-25. Also: Robert Thurman. in *Life and Teachings of Tsong Khapa*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1982, 99-107

Songs of Spiritual Experience, Expression of Realization

nyams mgur rtogs brjod

Authorship not certain. See n. 137 above.

The Three Principal Aspects of the Path

lam gtso rnam gsum/ tsha kho dpon po ngag dbang grags pa la gdams pa

P6087, vol. 153.

English translation: Geshe Wangyal, *The Door of Liberation*. New York: Lotsawa, 1978, 126-60. Also: Geshe Sopa and Jeffrey Hopkins. in *Practice and Theory of Tibetan Buddhism*. New York: Grove Press, 1976, 1-47. Also: Jeffrey Hopkins. Including commentary from the Dalai Lama, in Tenzin Gyatso's *Kindness, Clarity, and Insight*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1984, 118-56. Also: Robert Thurman. in *Life and Teachings of Tsong Khapa*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1982, 57-8. Ruth Sonam and Geshe Sonam Rinchen. *The Three Principal Aspects of the Path*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1999.

Gendün Drup, First Dalai Lama (1391-1474, *dge 'dun grub*)

- Precious Garland Commentary on [Guṇaprabhā's] "Aphorisms on Discipline" / Essence of the Entire Discipline, Eloquent Holy Doctrine*
 legs par gsungs pa'i dam chos 'dul ba mtha' dag gi snying po
 Collected Works of the First Dalai Lama dge-'dun-grub-pa. Gangtok, Sikkim:
 Dodrup Lama Sangye, 1978-1981.
- Gendün Gyatso, Second Dalai Lama (1476-1542, *dge 'dun rgya mtsho*)
Presentation of Tenets, Ship for the Fortunate
 grub mtha' rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru rdzings
 Collected Works, vol. 3.
- Lamp Illuminating the Meaning / Commentary on the Difficult Points of "Differentiating the Interpretable and the Definitive" from the Collected Works of the Foremost Holy Omniscient [Dzong-ka-bā]: Lamp Thoroughly Illuminating the Meaning of His Thought*
 rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa'i gsung 'bum las drang nges rnam 'byed kyi dka'
 'grel dgongs pa'i don rab tu gsal bar byed pa'i sgron me
 n.d. [blockprint borrowed from the library of H. H. the Dalai Lama and
 photocopied] volume 'a
 Collected Works, vol. 2.
- Gendun Lodrö (1924-1979, *dge 'dun blo gros*)
Religious History of Drebung Monastery
 'bras spungs chos 'byung
 Wiesbaden: Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1974
- Gönchok Denba Rabgyen, 49th Abbot of Labrang (b. 1801, *dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyan*)
Ocean Annals, A Clear Expression of the Spread of Buddhism in Amdo
 yul mdo smad kyi ljongs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod
 pa deb ther rgya mtsho
 Delhi, 1974. Completed in 1865.
- Gönchok Gyeltsen (1764-1853, *dkon mchog rgyal mtshan*)
Lineage of Abbots at Labrang Drashi Kyil Monastery
 bkra shis 'khyil gyi gdan rabs
 Collected Works of Gönchok Gyeltsen, vol. 1, 1-613. New Delhi: Gyaltan Gelek
 Namgyal, 1974.
- Gönchok Jikmay Wangbo (1728-1791, *dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po*)
The Biography of [Kaydrup] Gelek Belsang
 dge legs dpal bzang gi rnam thar
 Collected Works of dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dbang-po, the Second 'Jam-dbangs-
 bzad-pa of La-bran bKra-sis-'khyil, vol. 5, 699-723. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek
 Demo edition, 1971.
- The Biography of [Janggya] Ngawang Losang Chöden*
 ngag dbang blo bzang gi rnam thar

Collected Works of dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dbang-po, the Second 'Jam-dbangs-bzad-pa of La-bran bKra-sis-'khyil, vol. 2, 589-620. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo edition, 1971.

The Biography of the Dharma Lord, the Omniscient Jamyang Shaybay Dorjay, An Account for the Faithful, the River Course of the Marvelous Ganges

chos kyi rje kun mkhyen 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje'i rnam par thar pa dod pa dang ldan pa dag la gtam du bya ba ngo mtshar gangga'i chu rgyun

Collected Works of dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dbang-po, the Second 'Jam-dbangs-bzad-pa of La-bran bKra-sis-'khyil, vol. 2, 1-73. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo edition, 1971.

The Biography of the Scholar and Adept, the Omniscient Jamyang Shayba, A Harbor for the Fortunate, A Marvel

mkhas shing grub pa'i dbang phyug kun mkhyen 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar skal bzang 'jug ngogs

Collected Works of dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dbang-po, the Second 'Jam-dbangs-bzad-pa of La-bran bKra-sis-'khyil, vol. 2, 75-319. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo edition, 1971.

The Biography of the [Third Panchen Lama] Belden Yeshay

dpal ldan ye shes kyi rnam thar

Collected Works of dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dbang-po, the Second 'Jam-dbangs-bzad-pa of La-bran bKra-sis-'khyil, vol. 3, 1-715 and volume 4, 1-581. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo edition, 1971.

Sub-Commentary/A Lamp for (Jamyang Shayba's) "Scripture and Reasoning, Decisive Analysis for Entering into (Jamyang Shayba's) Great Treatise [on Chandrakirti's 'Supplement to Nāgārjuna's Treatise on the] Middle Way"

bstan bcos chen po dbu ma la 'jug pa'i mtha' dpyod lung rigs sgron me

Gomang edition, n.d.; Also Collected Works of dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dbañ-po, vol. 6, 1-484. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1972. Completed in 1779

Precious Garland of Tenets / Presentation of Tenets: A Precious Garland

grub pa'i mtha'i rnam par bzhag pa rin po che'i phreng ba

Tibetan: K. Mimaki. Le Grub mtha' rnam bzhag rin chen phreñ ba de dkon mchog 'jigs med dbañ po (1728-1791), *Zinbun* [The Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University], 14 (1977): 55-112. Also, Collected Works of dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dbañ-po, vol. 6, 485-535. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1972. Also: Xylograph in thirty-two folios from the Lessing collection of the rare book section of the University of Wisconsin Library, which is item 47 in Leonard Zwilling. *Tibetan Blockprints in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries, 1984. Also: Mundgod, India: blo gsal gling Press, 1980. Also: Dharamsala, India:

Tibetan Cultural Printing Press, 1967. Also: Dharamsala, India: Teaching Training, n.d. Also: A blockprint edition in twenty-eight folios obtained in 1987 from Gomang Monastery in Lhasa, printed on blocks that predate the Cultural Revolution.

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Guṇaprabha (*yon tan 'od*)

Aphorisms on Discipline

vinayasūtra

'dul ba'i mdo

P5619, vol. 123.

Gungru Chōjung /Gungru Chōgyi Jungnay (c. sixteenth century, *gung ru chos 'byung / gung ru chos kyi 'byung gnas*)

Decisive Analysis of (Dzongkaba's) "Differentiating the Interpretable and the Definitive, The Essence of Eloquence": Garland of White Lotuses,

drang ba dang nges pa'i rnam par 'byed pa legs bshad snying po zhes bya ba'i mtha' dpyod padma dkar po'i phreng ba.

Decisive Analysis of the Middle Way

dbu ma'i mtha' dpyod

Garland of White Lotuses / Decisive Analysis of (Dzongkaba's) "Differentiating the Interpretable and the Definitive, The Essence of Eloquence": Garland of White Lotuses

drang ba dang nges pa'i rnam par 'byed pa legs bshad snying po zhes bya ba'i mtha' dpyod padma dkar po'i phreng ba

sku bum, Tibet: sku bum Monastery, n.d. [blockprint in the possession of Jeffrey Hopkins].

Gyeltsap Dharma Rinchen (1364-1432, *rgyal tshab dar ma rin chen*)

Presentation of the Perfection of Wisdom, Ornament of the Essence,

phar phyin rnam bshad snying po'i rgyan

Collected Works of Rgyal-tshab Rje Dar-ma-rin-chen, vol. 2, Toh. 5433.

Essence of Good Explanations, Explanation of [Āryadeva's] "Four Hundred Stanza's"

dbu ma bzhi brgya pa'i rnam bshad

Collected Works of Rgyal-tshab Rje Dar-ma-rin-chen, vol. 1, Toh. 5428.

Haribhadra (late eighth century, *seng ge bzang po*)

Clear Meaning Commentary / Commentary on (Maitreya's) "Ornament for Clear Realization,

Treatise of Quintessential Instructions on the Perfection of Wisdom

sputhārtha / abhisamayālamkāranāmaprajñāpāramitopadeśasāstravṛtti
 'grel pa don gsal / shes rab kyī pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon
 par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa
 P5191, vol. 90.

Sanskrit: Unrai Wogihara. *Abhisamayālamkāraṅlokā Prajñā-pāramitā-vyākhyā*, *The Work of Haribhadra*. 7 vols. Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1932-1935; reprint, Tokyo: Sankibo Buddhist Book Store, 1973.

Jambel Sampel, Geshe (died 1975, 'jam dpal bsam 'phel)

Presentation of Awareness and Knowledge, Composite of All Important Points: Opening the Eye of New Intelligence

blo rig gi rnam bzhag nyer mkho kun 'dus blo gsar mig 'byed
 no data [modern blockprint].

English translation: Napper, Elizabeth and Lati Rinpochoy. *Mind in Tibetan Buddhism*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1980.

Jambel Shayrab ('jam dpal shes rab)

The Transparent Mirror, the Exposition of How the Precious Teachings [of Buddhism] Spread in the Kingdom of the Great Hor [Mongolians] During Three Periods

chen po hor gyi rgyal khams su dam pa'i chos rin po che lan gsum du dar pa'i tshul
 las brtsams pa'i gdam dwangs gsal me long

Mundgod, India: Drebung Gomang Dratsang College, 1991.

Jamyang Shaybay Dorjay (1648-1722, 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje)

Analysis of the Difficult Points of (Gunaprabha's) "Aphorisms on Monastic Discipline", Abandoning Objections, Necklace for Those of Clear Minds, Beautifying a Sandalwood Garland, Satisfying All Wishes of the Fortunate

'dul ba'i dka' gnas rnam par dpyad pa 'khrul spong blo gsal mgul rgyan tsinta ma
 ni'i phreng mdzes skal bzang re ba kun skong

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 6: 3-949. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

Brief Decisive Analysis of (Dzong-ka-ba's) "Differentiating the Interpretable and the Definitive"

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 12, 473-456. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

Chronological Tables

bstan rtsis re'u mig

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 1, 81-132. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

English translation: Alaka Chattopadhyaya and Sanjit Kumar Sadhukhan, *Tibetan*

Chronological Tables of Jam-dbyaṅs bḥad-pa and Sum-pa mkhan-po. Sarnath:
Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1993.

Completed 1715.

Commentary on the Thought of (Vasubandhu's) "Treasury of Knowledge," Jewel Treasury of the Subduer's Teaching, Clarifying Every Meaning Asserted by the Conquerors of the Three Times

dam chos mngon pa mdzod kyi dgongs 'grel bstan bcos thub bstan nor bu'i gter
mdzod dus gsum rgyal ba'i bzhed don kun gsal

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bḥad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 10: 2-1353. New
Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

The Condensed Explanation of the Great Prāsaṅgika

thal 'gyur che ba'i rnam gzhag mdor bsduṣ

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bḥad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 2, 775-793. New
Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

Decisive Analysis of [Aṛiṣha's] "Two Truths" in the Middle Way

dbu ma'i bden gnyis kyi mtha' dpyod

No longer extant.

Decisive Analysis of (Dharmakīrti's) "Commentary on Dignāga's 'Compendium on Valid Cognition'"

tshad ma rnam 'grel mtha' dpyod

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bḥad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 13: 1-870. New
Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1972.

Decisive Analysis of (Maitreya's) "Ornament for Clear Realization" / Decisive Analysis of the Treatise (Maitreya's) "Ornament for Clear Realization": Precious Lamp Illuminating All of the Meaning of the Perfection of Wisdom

bstan gcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi mtha' dpyod shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin
pa'i don kun gsal ba'i rin chen sgron me

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bḥad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volumes 7-8 (entire). New
Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973. Also: Sarnath, India: Guru Deva, 1965.

Eliminating Doubts on the Difficult Points of [Sanskrit] Composition From the Four Great Sutras on Language, the Music which Pleases Manjuśri

sgra mdo chen po bzhi las brtsams pa'i bka' gnad kyi dogs gcod 'jam dbyangs dgyes
pa'i rol mo.

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bḥad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 1: 719-724. New
Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

Explanation of Transference [of Consciousness]

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bḥad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 3: 593-605. New
Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

The Extensively Clear and Thoroughly Profound Explanation of Valid Cognition, Compendium Commentary on (Chandrakīrti's) 'Clear Words,' One Hundred Blazing Lights of Valid Cognition Clearing Away the Darkness in the Heart of the Fortunate Eon
tshig gsal stong thun gyi tshad ma'i rnam bshad zab rgyas kun gsal tshad ma'i 'od
brgya 'bar ba skal bzang gi mun sel

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 11: 483-619. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973).

Partial German translation: Chizuko Yoshimizu, *Die Erkenntnislehre des Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka: Nach Dem Tshigs Gsal Stön Thun Gyi Tshad Ma'i Rnam bśad des 'Jam Dbyaṅs Bžad Pa'i Rdo Rje*. Vienna: Wiener Studien Zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 1996.

Great Exposition of the Concentrations and Formlessnesses / Treatise on the Presentations of the Concentrations and Formless Absorptions: Adornment Beautifying the Subduer's Teaching: Ocean of Scripture and Reasoning, Delighting the Fortunate

bsam gzugs chen mo / bsam gzugs kyi snyoms 'jug rnam kyī rnam par bzhag pa'i
bstan bcos thub bstan mdzes rgyan lung dang rigs pa'i rgya mtsho skal bzang dga'
byed

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 12: 3-379. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

Great Exposition of the Interpretable and the Definitive / Decisive Analysis of (Dzong-ka-bā's) "Differentiating the Interpretable and the Definitive": Storehouse of White Lapis-Lazuli of Scripture and Reasoning Free from Error: Fulfilling the Hopes of the Fortunate

drang ba dang nges pa'i don rnam par 'byed pa'i mtha' dpyod 'khrul bral lung rigs
ba'i dūr dkar pa'i gan mdzod skal bzang re ba kun skong

Edition cited: Buxaduor: n.d. Also: Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 11, 3-288. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973. Also: dga' ldan pho phrang [blockprint obtained by the author in 1987].

Great Exposition of the Middle / Analysis of (Chandrakīrti's) "Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) 'Treatise on the Middle'": Treasury of Scripture and Reasoning, Thoroughly Illuminating the Profound Meaning [of Emptiness], Entrance for the Fortunate

dbu ma chen mo / dbu ma 'jug pa'i mtha' dpyod lung rigs gter mdzod zab don kun
gsal skal bzang 'jug ngogs

Edition cited: Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 9 (entire). New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973. Also: Buxaduor, India: Gomang, 1967.

Great Exposition of Tenets / Explanation of "Tenets": Sun of the Land of Samantabhadra Brilliantly Illuminating All of Our Own and Others' Tenets and the Meaning of the Profound [Emptiness], Ocean of Scripture and Reasoning Fulfilling All Hopes of All Beings

grub mtha' chen mo / grub mtha'i rnam bshad rang gzhan grub mtha' kun dang
 zab don mchog tu gsal ba kun bzang zhing gi nyi ma lung rigs rgya mtsho skye
 dgu'i re ba kun skong

Edition cited: Musoorie, India: Dalama, 1962. Also: Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 14 (entire). New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

English translation (beginning of the chapter on the Consequence School): Jeffrey Hopkins. *Meditation on Emptiness*, 581-697. London: Wisdom, 1983; rev. ed., Boston: Wisdom, 1996. More complete translation is forthcoming in Jeffrey Hopkins, *Maps of the Profound*.

Notes on (Dzong-ka-ba's) "Differentiating the Interpretable and the Definitive"

'jam dbyaṅs bzhad pa'i rdo rjes mdzad pa'i drang nges rnam 'byed kyi zin bris
 Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 11, 289-331. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

The Oral Instructions of Ajita [Maitreya] Lama, The Good Explanation of the Presentation of the Eight Categories and the Seventy Topics

dngos po brgyad don bdun cu'i rnam bzhag legs par bshad pa mi pham bla ma'i zhal lung

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 15: 113-175. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

Presentation of Tenets, Roar of the Five-Faced [Lion] Eradicating Error, Precious Lamp Illuminating the Good Path to Omniscience

Grub mtha'i rnam par bzhag pa 'khrul spong gdong lnga'i sgra dbyaṅs kun mkhyen lam bzang gsal ba'i rin chen sgron me

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 14, 1-31. Alternate versions in volume 1: 750-802 and volume 3: 807-852. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973. Complete translation is forthcoming in Jeffrey Hopkins, *Maps of the Profound*.

The Religious History of the Glorious Vajrabhairava, Conqueror over the Three Realms, A Treasury of Feats

dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi chos 'byung khams gsum rnam par rgyal ba dngos grub kyi gter mdzod

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 5: 1-835. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

A Garland of Wish-Fulfilling Gems, Jamyang Shayba's Answer to a Question from the [Sixth Dalai Lama] Losang Rinchen Tsangyang Gyatso

rgyal dbang blo bzang rin chen tshangs dbyaṅs rgya mtshos 'jam dbyaṅs bzhad pa'i rdo rjer dri ba gnac ba'i bka' lan tsanta maṅi phreng ba

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 3: 523-538.

Treasury of Achievement, Free From Extremes

mtha' bral grub pa'i gter mdzod

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 3: 849-866. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

Treasury of Scripture and Reasoning, An Explanation of (Dzongkaba's) "Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment"

lam rim gyi ṭika lung rigs gter mdzod

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 4: 337-477. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

Unfinished work.

Treatise on Rhetoric, Amarasimha's Treasury

mngon brjod kyi bstan bcos 'chi ba med pa'i mdzod

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 15: 567-791. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

Treatise on the Presentations of the Concentrations and Formless Absorptions: Adornment Beautifying the Subduer's Teaching: Ocean of Scripture and Reasoning, Delighting the Fortunate

bsam gzugs kyi snyoms 'jug rnam kyi rnam par bzhag pa'i bstan bcos thub bstan mdzes rgyan lung dang rigs pa'i rgya mtsho skal bzang dga' byed

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 12, 3-379. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

Verse Autobiography of the Venerable Jamyang Shayba

rje btsun 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar bka' rtsom tshigs bcad ma

Collected Works of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rdo-rje, volume 1, pp. 5-18. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1973.

Janggya Rollbay Dorjay (1717-1786, *lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje*)

Presentations of Tenets/ Clear Exposition of the Presentations of Tenets: Beautiful Ornament for the Meru of the Subduer's Teaching

grub mtha'i rnam bzhag / grub pa'i mtha'i rnam par bzhag pa gsal bar bshad pa thub bstan lhun po'i mdzes rgyan

Edition cited: Varanasi, India: Pleasure of Elegant Sayings Printing Press, 1970.

Also: Lokesh Chandra, ed. *Buddhist Philosophical Systems of Lcañ-skya Rol-pahi Rdo-rje*. Śata-pitaka Series (Indo-Asian Literatures), vol. 233. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1977. Also: An edition published by gam car phan bde legs bshad gling grva tshang dang rgyud rnying slar gso tshogs pa, 1982.

English translation of Sautrāntika chapter: Anne C. Klein. *Knowing, Naming, and*

Negation, 115-196. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1988. Commentary on this:
Anne C. Klein. *Knowledge and Liberation: A Buddhist Epistemological Analysis in Support of Transformative Religious Experience: Tibetan Interpretations of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1986.

English translation of Svātantrika chapter: Donald S. Lopez Jr. *A Study of Svātantrika*, 243-386. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1986.

English translation of part of Prāsaṅgika chapter: Jeffrey Hopkins. *Emptiness Yoga: The Middle Way Consequence School*, 355-428. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1983.

Jñānagarbha (c. 700, *ye shes snying po*)

Discrimination of the Two Truths

Satyadvayavibhaṅga

bden gnyis rnam 'byed

Toh. 3881. Not listed in Peking.

English translation: Malcolm David Eckel. *Jñānagarbha's Commentary on the Distinction Between the Two Truths*. Albany: State University of New York, 1980.

Kalyāṇadeva (*dge ba'i lha*)

Commentary on (Shāntideva's) "Engaging in the Bodhisattva's Deeds"

bodhisttvacaryāvatārasaṃskāra

byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i legs par sbyar ba

P5275, vol. 100.

Kamalashila (eighth century, padma'i ngang tshul)

Commentary on (Shāntarakṣhita's) Compendium of Principles on Pramāna

tattvasaṃgrahapañikā

de kho na nyid bsdus pa'i dka' 'grel

P5765, vols. 138 and 139.

Illumination of the Middle

Madhyamakāloka

dbu ma snang ba

P5287, vol. 101.

Kaydrup Gelek Belsang (1384/5-1438, *mkhas grub dge legs dpal bzang*)

Clearing Away Mental Darkness [with respect to the Seven Treatises] An Ornament of Dharmakīrti's 'Seven Treatises on Valid Cognition

tshad ma sde bdun gyi rgyan yid kyi mun sel

Toh. 5501.

Compendium on Emptiness /Opening the Eyes of the Fortunate, Treatise Brilliantly Clarifying the Profound Emptiness

stong thun chen mo / zab mo stong pa nyid rab tu gsal bar byed pa'i bstan bcos skal

bzang mig 'byed

Collected Works of the Lord Mkhas-grub rje dge-legs-dpal-bzan-po, vol. 1, 179-702

(edition cited). New Delhi: Guru Deva, 1980. Also: Collected Works of Mkhas-grub dge-legs dpal, vol. 1, 125-482. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1983. Also: New Delhi: n.p., 1972.

English translation: José Ignacio Cabezón. *A Dose of Emptiness: An Annotated Translation of the stong thun chen mo of mkKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang*, 21-388. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1992.

English translation of the chapter on the Mind-Only School: Jeffrey Hopkins. *Ke-drup's "Opening the Eyes of the Fortunate": The Mind-Only School*. Unpublished manuscript.

Great Kālachakra/ Means of Achievement of the Complete [Mandala of] Exalted Body, Speech, and Mind of the Glorious Kālachakra: Sacred Word of the White Lotus

dus kyi 'khor lo'i sku gsung thugs yongs su rdzogs pa'i sgrub thabs padma'i dkar po'i zhal lung)

The Collected Works of the Lord Mkhas-grub rje dge-legs-dpal-bzañ-po, vol. 6. Also the third work in a volume entitled: *dpal bcom ldan 'das dus kyi 'khor lo'i sku gsung thugs yongs su rdzogs pa'i dkyil 'khor gyi sgrub thabs mkhas grub zhal lung*, 13-157. No publication data.

Ocean of Feats, the Stage of Generation/ Ocean of Feats, King of All Tantras, the Stage of Generation of Guhyasamāja

bskyed rim dngos grub rgya mtsho/ rgyud thams cad kyi rgyal po dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i bskyed rim dngos grub rgya mtsho

Toh. 5481, vol. 59.

Ocean of Reasoning, Extensive Explanation of the Great Treatise (Dharmakīrti's) "Commentary on (Dignāga's) 'Compendium of Teachings on Valid Cognition'"

rgyas pa'i bstan bcos tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi rgya cher bshad pa rigs pa'i rgya mtsho

The Collected Works of the Lord Mkhas-grub rje dge-legs-dpal-bzañ-po, vols. 8 and 10.

Khetsun Sangpo (*mkhas btusun bzang po*)

Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism

10 volumes, Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1973.

Lodrö Gyatso, (1851-1928/1930, *blo gros rgya mtsho*)

The Sun Clarifying the Thought and the Meaning of the Profound Treasury of Scripture and Reasoning (of Jamyang Shayba's "Decisive Analysis of [Chandrakīrti's 'Supplement to Nāgārjuna's 'Treatise on the Middle Way'"], Opening the Eye Seeing the Profound Path

dbu ma'i mtha' dpyod lung rigs gter mdzod kyi dgongs don gsal bar byed pa'i nyin byed snang ba zab lam lta ba'i mig 'byed

completed 1912.

Losang Chögyi Gyeltsen, First Pañchen Lama (1570-1662, *blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan*)

Collection of Smaller Scattered Texts

gsung thor bu pa phyogs gcig tu bsdebs pa

Collected Works of blo bzañ chos kyi rgyal mtshan, Pañchen Lama I, New Delhi:
Lama Gurudeva, 1973, volume 5.

The Royal Highway, the Root of Mahāmudrā of the Precious Geden-Gagyū

dge ldan bka' brgyud rin po che'i phyag chen rtsa ba rgyal ba'i gzhung lam
Drashi Hlunbo edition, Toh. 5939.

*Roar of the Lion of Scripture and Reasoning, Response to the Polemics of [Daktsang Lodzāwa]
Draba Shayrab Rinchenbo*

sgra pa shes rab rin chen pa'i rtsod lan lung rigs seng ge'i nga ro

Collected Works of blo bzañ chos kyi rgyal mtshan, Pañchen Lama I, New Delhi:
Lama Gurudeva, 1973, vol. 4: 559- 648.

Losang Gönchok, 44th Throne Holder of Labrang (1803-?, *blo bzang dkon mchog*)

White Crystal Mirror, Word Commentary on [Jamyang Shayba's] Root Text on Tenets

grub mtha' rtsa ba'i tshig tika shel dkar me long

Three Commentaries on the Grub mtha' rtsa ba dgoñ lña'i sgra dbyañs of 'Jam-
dbyañs-bzad-pa'i-rdo-rje Nag-dbañ-brtson-'grus; Delhi: Chopel Legden, 1978.

Losang Jigmay (b. 1764, *blo bzang 'jigs med*) aka. Rigbay Reltri (*rigs pa'i ral gri*)

*The Biography of the Lineage of Incarnations of the Omniscient Great Jamyang Shayba
Dorjay Losang Tubden Jigmay Gyatso, Meaningful to Behold, the Precious Wish-Fulfilling
Tree*

thams cad mkhyen pa chen po 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje'i yang sprul mthong
ba don ldan blo bzang thub bstan 'jigs med rgya mtho'i 'khrungs rabs rnam par
thar pa rin po che'i ljon shin

Maitreya (*byams pa*)

Ornament for Clear Realization

abhisamayālamkāra

mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan

P5184, vol. 88.

Sanskrit: Th. Stcherbatsky and E. Obermiller, eds. *Abhisamayālamkāra-
Prajñāpāramitā-Updeśa-Śāstra*. Bibliotheca Buddhica, 23. Osnabrück, Germany:
Biblio Verlag, 1970.

English translation: Edward Conze. *Abhisamayālamkāra*. Serie Orientale Rome.
Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1954.

Mātrcheta (Ashvagoṣha) and Dignāga

Interwoven Praise

miśrakastotra

spel mar bstod pa

P2041, vol. 46.

Nāgārjuna (first to second century C.E., *klu sgrub*)

Hundred Syllables

Akṣaraśataka
 yi ge brgya pa
 P5234, vol. 95.

Six Collections of Reasonings1. *Precious Garland of Advice for the King*

rājaparikathāratnāvalī
 rgyal po la gdam bya ba rin po che'i phreng ba
 P5658, vol. 129.

Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese: Michael Hahn. *Nāgārjuna's Ratnāvalī*, vol. 1. *The Basic Texts (Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese)*. Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1982.

English translation: Jeffrey Hopkins. *Buddhist Advice for Living and Liberation: Nāgārjuna's Precious Garland*, 94-164. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1998. Supersedes that in: Nāgārjuna and the Seventh Dalai Lama. *The Precious Garland and the Song of the Four Mindfulnesses*, translated by Jeffrey Hopkins, 17-93. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1975; New York: Harper and Row, 1975; reprint, in H.H. the Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso. *The Buddhism of Tibet*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983; reprint, Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1987.

English translation: John Dunne and Sara McClintock. *The Precious Garland: An Epistle to a King*. Boston: Wisdom, 1997.

English translation of chap. 1, 1-77: Giuseppe Tucci. "The *Ratnāvalī* of Nāgārjuna." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1934):307-324; reprint, Giuseppe Tucci, *Opera Minora*, II. Rome: Giovanni Bardi Editore, 1971, 321-366. Chap. 2, 1-46; chap. 4, 1-100: Giuseppe Tucci. "The *Ratnāvalī* of Nāgārjuna." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1936):237-252, 423-435.

Japanese translation: Uryūzu Ryushin. *Butten II, Sekai Kōten Bungaku Zenshu*, 7 (July, 1965): 349-372. Edited by Nakamura Hajime. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō. Also: Uryūzu Ryushin. *Daijō Butten* 14 (1974):231-316. *Ryūju Ronshū*. Edited by Kajiyama Yuichi and Uryūzu Ryushin. Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha.

Danish translation: Christian Lindtner. *Nagarjuna, Juvelkaeden og andre skrifter*. Copenhagen: 1980.

2. *Refutation of Objections*

vigrahavyāvartanīkārikā
 rtsod pa bzlog pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa
 P5228, vol. 95.

Sanskrit: E. H. Johnston. *The Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantrāsāstra*. Patna, India: Bihar Research Society, 1950.

Edited Tibetan and Sanskrit: Christian Lindtner. *Nagarjuniana*, 70-86. Indiske Studier 4. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1982.

English translation: K. Bhattacharya, E. H. Johnston, and A. Kunst. *The Dialectical Method of Nāgārjuna*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978.

English translation from the Chinese: G. Tucci. *Pre-Dīnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources*. Gaekwad's Oriental Series 49. Baroda, India: Oriental Institute, 1929.

French translation: S. Yamaguchi. "Traité de Nāgārjuna pour écarter les vaines discussion (Vigrahavyāvartanī) traduit et annoté." *Journal Asiatique* 215 (1929): 1-86.

3. *Seventy Stanzas on Emptiness*

śūnyatāsaptatikārikā

stong pa nyid bdun cu pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa

P5227, vol. 95.

Edited Tibetan and English translation: Christian Lindtner. *Nagarjuniana*, 34-69. Indiske Studier 4. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1982.

English translation: David Ross Komito. *Nāgārjuna's "Seventy Stanzas": A Buddhist Psychology of Emptiness*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1987.

4. *Sixty Stanzas of Reasoning*

yuktiṣaṣṭikākārikā

rigs pa drug cu pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa

P5225, vol. 95.

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5. *Treatise Called the Finely Woven*

vaidalyasūtranāma

zhib mo rnam par 'thag pa zhes bya ba'i mdo

P5226, vol. 95.

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6. *Treatise on the Middle / Fundamental Treatise on the Middle, Called "Wisdom"*

madhyamakāśāstra / prajñānāmamūlamadhyamakakārikā

dbu ma'i bstan bcos / dbu ma rtsa ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa shes rab ces bya ba

P5224, vol. 95.

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Annotations for (Jamyang Shayba's) "Great Exposition of Tenets": Freeing the Knots of the Difficult Points, Precious Jewel of Clear Thought

grub mtha' chen mo'i mchan 'grel dka' gnad mdud grol blo gsal gces nor

Sarnath, India: Pleasure of Elegant Sayings Press, 1964. Also: Collected Works of Chos-rje ñag-dbañ Dpal-ldan of Urga, vols. 4 (entire)-5, 1-401. Delhi: Guru Deva, 1983.

Ngawang Drashi (1678-1730, *ngag dbang bkra shis*)

Gomang Monastery Collected Topics

sgo mang bsodus grwa

Ngawang Losang Gyatso, Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682, *ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho*)

Biography of the [Third Dalai Lama] Sōnam Gyatso

bsod nams rgya mtsho'i rnam thar

Collected Works of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Potala edition, volume 28, 100 folios, composed 1646.

Biography of the Fourth Dalai Lama [Yönden Gyatso]

yon tan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar

Collected Works of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Potala edition, volume 28, 52 folios, composed in 1652.

Clarification of (Chandrakīrti's) "Supplement to (Nāgārjuna's) 'Treatise on the Middle Way'"

dbu ma la 'jug pa'i gsal byed

Collected Works of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Potala edition, volume 28

Difficult Points Commentary on the "Mirror of Poetry," Pleasing Melodious Song.

snyan ngag me long gi dga' 'grel dbyangs can dgyes pa'i glu dbyangs

composed 1656.

Varanasi, India: 1966. Collected Works of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Potala edition, volume 20.

Dynastic History, The Song of the Queen of Spring

rgyal rabs dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs

English translation: Zahiruddin Ahmad, *A History of Tibet*. Bloomington: Indiana University, 1995.

Good Silk Cloth, Auto-Biography of the Ngawang Losang Gyatso

rang rnam du kū la'i gos bzang

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Instructions on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment: Sacred Word of Mañjushrī

byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i 'khrid yig 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi zhal lung

Thimphu, Bhutan: kun bzang stobs rgyal, 1976.

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Collected Works, volume 12, Toh. 5639.

Pabongkaba Jamba Dendzin Trinlay Gyatso (1878-1941, *pha bong kha pa byams pa bstan 'dzin 'phrin las rgya mtsho*)

Liberation in the Palm of Your Hand

lam rim rnam 'gro lag bcangs

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Padma Garbo (1527-1592, *pad ma dkar po*)

The Theater of Great Compassion

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Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1973-1974, vol. 3: 339-597.

Purbujog Ngawang Jamba (1682-1762, *phur bu lcog ngag dbang byams pa*)

Diamond Fragments, Answer to the Objections [to Dzongkaba] by Daktsang Lotsāwa

stag tshang lo tstsha ba'i brgal lan rdo rje'i gzegs ma

Collected Works, New Delhi: 1973, Toh. 6154

Sangyay Gyatso, Desi (1652-1703, *sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho*)

Religious History of the Gandenbas/ The Teachings of those from the Glorious Peerless Ganden Mountain, the Yellow Lapis-Lazuli Mirror Clarifying the Roots of All Religious Doctrines which Fixes the Crown on the Yellow Hat

dga' ldan chos 'byung/ dpal mnyam med ri bo dga' ldan pa'i bstan pa zhwa ser cod

pan 'chang ba'i ring lugs chos thams cad kyi rtsa ba gsal bar byed pa baidūrya ser

po'o me long

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Shakabpa, Tsepon Wangchuk Deden (dbang phyug bde ldan zhwa sgab pa, 1907/1908-1989)

One Hundred Thousand Moons/A Clear Exhibition of the Political History of Great Religious-Secular Government of Tibet, the Land of the Snows, A Pond Reflecting One Hundred Thousand Moons or An Ocean of Enjoyment

gangs ljongs bod chos srid gnyis ldan gyi rgyal khab chen po'i srid don gyi rgyal rabs gsal bar ston pa zla ba 'bum phrag 'char ba'i rdzing bu'am blo gсар bung ba dga' ba'i rol mtsho

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Shakya Ö (*shākya 'od*)

Three Hundred Verse Commentary on (Guṇaprabha's) "Aphorisms on Monastic Discipline"

Shāntarakṣita (eighth century, *zhi ba 'tsho*)

Compendium of Principles

tattvasaṃgrahakārikā

de kho na nyid bsdud pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa

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byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa

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'dul ba'i legs bshad lung rigs nyi ma

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May whatever merit
there is in this work
benefit all beings throughout space.