Building Place and Shaping Lives: Nartang Monastery from the 12th through 15th Centuries

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of Nartang monastery in the Tsang region of Central Tibet. Nartang monastery was founded in 1153 and was one of the most influential monastic institutions of the Kadam school until the fifteenth century. In its initial construction, Nartang monastery was a small enclave with limited members. By the mid-thirteenth century the place had significantly grown in physical size, membership, and reputation. This study explores the steady growth and decline of the monastery by examining the lives of the people in charge and their real and symbolic relations within and without the monastic community.

This thesis begins with the Kadam school in the Penyül valley of Central Tibet. Here Nartang's founder Tumtön Lodrö Drakpa (Gtum ston blo gros grags pa, 1106-1166) was educated and inspired to return to his native land in Tsang to build Nartang monastery. I then turn to the effective campaign strategies of Nartang's fourth, fifth, and sixth abbot, who traveled throughout Central Tibet to raise funds for the monastery and to acquire new monastic recruits. Nartang monastery was at its best during the tenure of the seventh abbot Chim Namkha Drak (Mchims nam mkha' grags, 1210-1285). It was during his tenure that the political events on the Eastern Steppe could no longer be ignored in Central Tibet. I show how Chim Namkha Drak and the Nartang community effectively navigated through the Mongolian (re)organization of Central Tibet. I also trace how the Nartang abbots, specifically the eight abbot Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim (Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims, 1219-1299), projected and guided the increasing importance of their monastery at the center of the Buddhist world. I then study the life of Nartang's tenth abbot, his time spent at the Mongol court and his eventual return to Nartang. Finally, I look to Nartang when Gendün Drupa (Dge 'dun grub pa, 1391-1474), posthumously the First Dalai Lama, entered the monastery at the age of seven in 1398. By this time Nartang monastery had well established a standardized curriculum and built a reputation for itself as a preeminent Kadam scholastic institution. I also explore the various factors that left Nartang monastery in a precarious state by the fifteenth century, such as the burgeoning reformist movement in Central Tibet lead by Tsongkhapa Lozang Drakpa (Tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa, 1357-1419), the building of Tashi Lhünpo monastery by Gendün Drupa in 1449, and a decline in Sakya power and the rise of the Pakmodrupa.

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Introduction

The tenth to twelfth century was a period of renewed religious fervor in Tibet. The influx of newly translated Buddhist texts from India, the reformulation of previously existing forms of practice, and the transformation and adaptation of Indian materials to Tibetan cultural context, created an environment of abundant creativity that flowed through the medium of art, architecture, literature, rituals, monastic and lay networks, pilgrim and trade routes, divergent doctrines and new philosophies. Part and parcel of this changing cultural landscape was the lack of a central polity. Fragmented political management, local clans and charismatic figures filled the geopolitical landscape throughout most of the Tibetan plateau.

Toward the end of the twelfth century, regional and sectarian identities began to be formulated along more rigid dichotomies. Monastic principalities and their local clan-based powers began to move beyond their immediate locality in search for territory and influence by forging new alliances and making new nemeses. This reorganization of the geopolitical landscape did not, however, damper the religious fervor of the two prior centuries. Rather, perhaps for the first time since the Late Imperial Period (ca. 610-910), a growing self-confidence emerged in the late twelfth century that would blossom in the thirteenth and fourteenth century as many Tibetans reckoned their importance as not purely a repository and protectorate of Indian Buddhism but as a developed Buddhist land in its own right.

Central to this growing confidence were the ever-expanding monastic institutions, intellectual and patron-clan networks, generous literary and ritual output, and the capacious production of art and architecture of the Kadam (Bka' gdams) school. While the general

importance of the Kadampa's role in shaping the Tibetan religious culture scene from the eleventh through fifteenth century has come to be acknowledged by modern scholarship, either for their influence in the fields of Tibetan scholasticism or in the arena of "popular" forms of religion, to date there is not one detailed study of the important monastic institutions of the tradition, such as Radreng (Rwa sgreng), Sangpu (Gsang phu), and Nartang (Snar thang).

The purpose of this thesis is to fill this gap in scholarship through an assessment of such a place: Nartang monastery. Located in Tsang (Gtsang) of Central Tibet, Nartang monastery was founded in 1153 by Tumtön Lodrö Drakpa (Gtum ston blo gros grags pa, 1106-1166). By definition a Buddhist monastery (*dgon pa*) is a place of isolation— a place removed from the distractions of city, town, and village. This definition of a monastery has its roots in the monastic guidelines that were reportedly spoken by the historical Buddha. The Buddha also taught his monks that nothing exists in isolation, but rather that all things, including the monastery, coexist within a chain of interdependence. Hence while a monastery may have been spatially isolated in theory, it operated on the ground within a chain of both real and symbolic relations: religious, political, historical, economical, communal, local, and international. The internal chain of relations at a monastery consisted of a hierarchy of interactions: master and student, master and abbot, abbot and monastic congregation, abbot and administrators, monks who studied and monks who worked, and so on. In large part the success or failure of a monastic institution was determined by her real and symbolic chain of relations. While this thesis is about a Tibetan Buddhist monastic institution from the twelfth to fifteenth century, it is also about the lives of those in charge of the monastery and their real and symbolic relations to the members within and without of the community.

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Chapter 1 explores the Penyül (’Phan yul) valley of Central Tibet as the breeding ground for the first and second generation of Kadam followers. Here institutions were built, curriculums made, and devotees were indoctrinated. The chapter studies the rise of Nartang’s founder Tumtön Lodrö Drakpa, his time spent in Penyül, and his eventual return to his native Tsang to build a new institution.

Chapter 2 studies the institutional growth of Nartang during the tenures of the fourth, fifth, and sixth abbot. Part of their success, particularly the fourth abbot Dromochewa Dütsi Drak (Gro mo che ba bdud rtsi grags, 1153-1232) and the fifth abbot Zhangtön Chökyi Lama (Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma, 1184-1241), was their effective campaign strategies throughout Tsang and Ü (*Dbus*). These campaigns helped to raise funds for Nartang by establishing new networks of lay supporters and donors. The campaigns also brought new monastic recruits to Nartang. This chapter also examines the political events in India and on the Eastern Steppe with their indirect and direct effects in Central Tibet and Nartang.

Building on the success of his predecessors was Nartang’s seventh abbot Chim Namkha Drak (Mchims nam mkha’ grags, 1210-1285). Unlike Nartang’s six previous abbots, Chim Namkha Drak spent most of his life at Nartang monastery. During his tenure, Chim Namkha Drak gained the reputation as a formidable scholar, prolific author, and able administrator. As studied in chapter 3, this reputation attracted the attention of many leading monastic intellectuals and leaders throughout Central Tibet. One of these leaders included the Sakya (Sa skya) hierarch and “National Preceptor” to the Mongol court, Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen (’Phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan, 1235-1280). While the past three Nartang abbots could watch the events unfolding on

the Eastern Steppe from the sidelines, Chim Namkha Drak could not. It was during his tenure that the Sakya-Mongol alliance furthered their expansion and (re)organization of the geopolitical landscape in Central Tibet and beyond.

Chapter 4 studies the life and times of Nartang's eighth abbot Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim (Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims, 1219-1299). Kyotön ascent to Nartang's throne was also an ascent to a center of the Buddhist world. As mentioned above, many Tibetans by the late twelfth century had reconfigured their understanding and station within the larger Buddhist world. By the thirteenth century the leaders of Nartang calculated the importance of their monastery as not only a qualitative (*yon tan*) center where the teachings of the Buddha thrived, but also a geographical center (*sa tshig*). To reinforce this understanding, Kyotön built a ring of "iron walls/mountains" around the perimeter of the monastery. The blueprint for these walls were based on a standard Buddhist cosmology model found in *Abhidharma* texts, a subject that had been the forte of the Chim clan and Chim Namkha Drak. The walls were also built for security. A decline in Sakya rule, the Drikung Kagyü ('Bri kung bka' brgyud) revolt of 1290, and the proceeding civil war (*gling log*) between Drikung and Sakya, left Nartang monastery in a precarious state.

While Kyotön was securing the fort and his position at the center of Nartang and the Buddhist world, one his students was venturing out beyond the monastery's walls and Tibet's borders. Chapter 5 studies the life of Nartang's tenth abbot Ze'u Dülzin Drakpa Tsöndrü (Ze'u 'Dul 'dzin grags pa brtson 'grus, 1253-1316). In 1292/3 Ze'u Dülzin was summoned to the Mongol court by the emperor Qubilai Khan. He would spend thirteen years at the court before returning to Nartang to serve as abbot. This chapter also examines the lives of the proceeding

three abbots: the eleventh abbot Ze'u Drakpa Sherab (Ze'u grags pa shes rab, 1259-1325), the twelfth abbot Chim Lozang Drakpa (Mchim blo bzang grags pa, 1299-1375), and briefly the thirteenth abbot Khenchen Künga Gyeltsen (Mkhan chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1338-1400/1402). During this period, specifically during the tenure of Nartang's twelfth abbot Chim Lozang Drakpa, there was once again a reorganization of political power in Central Tibet and beyond. By the end of 1354 the lay myriarch (*khri dpon*) of the Kagyü Pakmodrupa (Bka' brgyud phag mo gru pa) sect had garnered a successful revolt against the Yüan-Sakya control of Central Tibet, which came to complete fruition in 1368 with the end of the Yüan dynasty and the start of the Ming dynasty in Central China. Once again another ring of "iron walls" were built around the perimeters of Nartang monastery, this time by the thirteenth abbot Khenchen Künga Gyeltsen. These walls, however, could not protect Nartang or the Kadam sect at large from the reformist movement that was gaining traction in Central Tibet.

Chapter 6 studies Nartang monastery when the child Padmavajra enrolls in the monastery at the age of seven in 1398. By this point Nartang had grown in physical size, enrollment, and reputation since its founding in 1153. The education of Padmavajra, later to be named Gendün Drupa, and posthumously the First Dalai Lama, was based on a curriculum that was centuries in the making. The chapter studies how Padmavajra was taught at Nartang, how scholarship was defined by the institution in the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century, and the larger context of intellectual currents in Central Tibet.

In the end, Gendün Drupa left Nartang for Ü to join the reformist movement of Tsongkhapa Lozang Drakpa (Tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa, 1357-1419). A few years later Nartang's fourteenth abbot Khenchen Drupa Shérap (Mkhan chen grub pa shes rab, 1357-1423)

appointed his nephew Sönam Chokdrup (Bsod nams mchog grub,1399-1452) as his successor. Sönam Chokdrup eventually defected from Nartang to Ü to join the ranks of the Pakmodrupa ruling house. Further, the reformist movement lead by Tsongkhapa and his students in Ü brought unexpected changes to Nartang monastery and the Kadam school. In particular, Gendün Drupa's refusal of the abbotship at Nartang and his building of Tashi Lhünpo (Bkra shis lhun po) monastery in 1449, located a mere 14.6 kilometers from Nartang, left the leadership and community at Nartang searching for answers; answers that they would never be able to fully resolve.

The thesis concludes with three appendices: a register (*gsan yig*) of Nartang's fourth abbot Dromochewa Dütsi Drak, a partial register of Nartang's eighth abbot Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim, and a translation of the biography Nartang's tenth abbot Ze'u Dülzin Drakpa Tsöndrü. Appendix 1, the register of the fourth abbot, is the earliest known record of teachings received by a Nartang abbot. This register provides a glimpse into the early intellectual trends at both Nartang monastery and the intellectual trends of other affiliated Kadam teachers in Central Tibet. Appendix 2, the partial register of the eight abbot, which only includes teachings that he received from past Nartang abbots—fifth, sixth, and seventh abbot—is the last known register of a Nartang abbot. Alongside the register of the fourth abbot, this partial register of the eighth abbot provides a good indication of the intellectual constants, changes, and additions to the curriculum at Nartang during the twelfth and thirteenth century. Appendix 3, a translation of the biography of the tenth abbot Ze'u Dülzin Drakpa Tsöndrü, is different in kind and scope from the available biographies of all past Nartang abbots. The biographies of the past Nartang abbots—abbots four through eight— found in the so-called *A Golden Rosary of Nartang* (see below), are mostly

concerned with their register of teachings. In contrast, the biography of the tenth abbot is less concerned with the teachings he received and more interested in his journey and time spent at the Mongol court, his return to Tibet, his abbacy at Nartang, his new collections of old books, and more. Moreover, the tenth abbot's biography is the last known, complete, biography of a Nartang abbot.

Sources

The primary source that I have used is the so-called *A Golden Rosary of Nartang* (*Snar thang gser phreng*).[1] The title "*A Golden Rosary of Nartang*" does not appear anywhere in the collection of biographies. Rather, *A Golden Rosary of Nartang* is a title given to the collection by modern scholars, most likely taken from similar *Golden Rosary* anthologies that belong to the Kagyü (Bka' brgyud) traditions. As E. Gene Smith has aptly said, "*gser 'phreng* [*Golden Rosary* anthologies] is one of the least studied categories of Tibetan historical literature….such collections of hagiographic writing often enshrine some of the most cherished instructions (*man ngag*) of a tradition….[and] can also serve as some of our most reliable sources of historical data."[2] *A Golden Rosary of Nartang* contains thirteen biographies:

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[1] *Snar thang gser phreng*. C.P.N. catalogue no. 002806 (10). TBRC: W2CZ7888. In the *Bka' gdams chos byung gsal ba'i sgron me*, Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan's refers to these collections of biographies as the *Mchim chen mo.* See Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *Bka' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me* (Lha sa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2003), 52, 166, 432.

[2] See E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 39.

1. Tilopa (988–1069);
2. Nāropa (1016–1100);
3. Ḍombhi pa (d.u.)
4. Atiśa Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna (980–1054)
5. Dromtön Gyelwé Jungné (’Brom ston rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas, 1004/5-64)
6. Potowa Rinchen Sel (Po to ba rin chen gsal, 1027/31-1105)
7. Sharwapa Yönten drak (Shar ba pa yon tan grags, 1070-1141)
8. Chumikpa Shérap Drak (Chu mig pa shes rab grags, b. eleventh century)
9. Pendenpa Dromochewa Dütsi Drak (Dpal ldan pa gro mo che ba bdud rtsi grags, 1153-1232; 4th Nartang abbot)
10. Zhangtön Chökyi Lama (Gnas lnga mkhyen pa zhang ston chos kyi bla ma, 1184-1241); 5th Nartang abbot)
11. Sanggyé Gompa Senggé Kyap (Sangs rgyas sgom pa/seng+ge skyabs, 1179-1250; 6th Nartang abbot)
12. Chim Namkha drak (Mchims nam mkha’ grags, 1210-1285; 7th Nartang abbot)
13. Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim (Skyo ston smon lam tshul khrims, 1219-1299; 8th Nartang abbot)

The authorship of biographies 1-11 is attributed to Nartang’s seventh abbot Chim Namkha Drak. The biography of Chim Namkha Drak (12) was authored by Nartang’s eighth abbot Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim, and the the biography of Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim (13) was authored by Nartang’s ninth abbot Khenchen Nyima Gyeltsen (Mkhan chen nyi ma rgyal mtshan, 1225-1305). Khenchen Nyima Gyeltsen is chronologically the last author in the collection and may have been the key figure in collecting and redacting these biographies at Nartang. There is evidence, however, that Chim Namkha Drak taught biographies 1-11 as a collection to Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim (see chapter 4).

A twenty-one folio biography that is not included in this collection is that of the tenth Nartang abbot Ze’u Dülzin Drakpa Tsöndrü.[3] The authorship and year of composition is not

[3] *Dpal ldan ze’u ’dul ’dzin chen po’i rnam thar gsal byed yid bzhin nor bu bzhugs.* C.P.N. catalogue no. unknown. This biography is twenty folios and written in Tibetan “headed” script (*dbu can*).

known (see chapter 5 and appendix 3). In addition to these biographies, other primary source material includes works from the recent facsimile reproductions of collected writings by early Kadam masters published by the Peltseg Institute.[4]

[4] *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum 'phyogs sgrig*. 90 vols., ed. Karma bde legs et al. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrung khang, 2004, 2007, 2009.

Chapter 2

The Makings of Nartang Monastery

It Takes Community

In 1141 the Kadam teacher Sharawa Yonden Drak (Sha ra ba yon tan grags, 1070-1141) passed away at the age of seventy-two at the monastery he built overlooking the Penyül valley.[5] The valley was one of the oldest settlement areas of Central Tibet dating back to the sixth century. In the eleventh century, Penyül became the home for the Kadam sect.[6] Sharawa's monastery was one of the largest Kadam establishments in the area, located in the north-western part of the valley.[7] A student of Potowa Rinchen Sel, the lineage bearer of the Kadam 'scriptural tradition' (*gzhung pa*), Sharawa was considered a prominent intellectual within Kadam circles and boasted over three thousand monastic pupils. One of these pupils was the native of Tsang Tumtön Lodrö Drakpa (henceforth Tumtön).[8]

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[5] For more on the life of Sha ra ba, see Las chen (2003), 464-73. Snar thang's seventh abbot, Mchims nam mkha' grags, wrote a biography of Shar ra ba, entitled *ShA ra ba'i nam thar*, which is included in the so-called *Snar thang gser phreng*, C.P.N. catalogue no. 002806 (10), 221a-232b. See also TBRC W2CZ7888.

[6] See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), vol.I, 153n.403.

[7] For a map of 'Phan yul and its Bka' gdams monastic sites, see Ulrike and Hans-Ulrich Roesler, *Kadampa Sites of Phempo: A Guide to Some Early Buddhist Monasteries in Central Tibet (*Kathmandu: Vajra Publications, 2004), 11.

[8] Unfortunately, there are few details available on the life of Gtum ston. The 5th abbot of Snar thang, Mnga bdag chos rje kyi bla ma (1184-1241), is said to have written a hitherto non-extant biography of Gtum ston, entitled *The Biography of Bshes gnyen ston pa* (*Bshes gnyen ston pa'i rnam thar*). See *Dpal snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyus* (2011), 30. When listing the main students of Sha ra ba, Stag tshang dpal 'byor bzang po incorrectly states that Gtum ston was a student of Pu to ba/Po to ba. Po to ba died in 1105, one year prior to Gtum ston's birth. See Stag tshang dpal 'byor bzang po, *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo* in *Rgyal rabs mang po'i legs bshad rnam grangs yid 'dzin nor bu'i phreng ba* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 239.

In his early adult life Tumtön studied monastic discipline in Tsang with Gya Dülzin Wangchuk Tsültrim Bar (Rgya 'dul 'dzin dbang phyug tshul khrims 'bar, 1047-1131; henceforth Gya Dülzin). Gya Dülzin was a staunch proponent of monastic reform and discipline, specifically the Eastern Vinaya (*smad 'dul*) school of Lumé Shérap Tsültrim (Klu mes shes rab tshul khrims, b. tenth century).[9] There were various groups under Lumé Shérap Tsültrim that were actively building new monastic communities and temples, as well as reclaiming old ones, in and around Central Tibet and in the valley and hills of Penyül. While these groups laid the foundation for the proliferation of monastic communities, it was Tumtön's teacher Gya Dülzin that is credited with implementing the study of monastic discipline (*vinaya*) as part of the core curriculum at these monastic communities.[10] The Kadampa monks and their monasteries in Penyül were either directly or indirectly members of the Eastern Vinaya lineage and likewise shared a similar monastic ideology based upon Gya Dülzin.[11] Such factors attracted many of Gya Dülzin's's disciples, such as Tumtön, to relocate from Tsang to Ü in order to live and study with the Kadam teachers at their monastic centers in Penyül.[12]

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[9] Klu mes shes rab tshul khrims was lauded as one the "ten men of Ü-Tsang" (*dbus gtsang gi mi bcu*), who had returned to Central Tibet from northeastern Tibet to ordain men and build temples and monasteries. These "ten men" forged new ties with old ruling clans to rekindled and reorganize the religious and political landscape. For more on the "ten men" see Davidson (2005), 92-116. For a list of Tibetan primary sources regarding these 'ten men,' see Ibid., 393n.44.

[10] This is according to according to the 1484 chronicle of the Bka' gdams sect by Lo dgon pa bsod nams lha'i dbang po (1423-1496), and the 1494 chronicle by Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan, (b.1440). See Lo dgon pa bsod nams lha'i dbang po, *bKa' gdams rin po che'i chos 'byung rnam thar nyin mor byed pa'i 'od stong (1484) in Two Histories of the bKa'-gdams-pa Tradition from the Library of Burmiok Athing* (Gangtok: Gonpo Tseten,1977); Vetturini (2007), 98, 187; and Las chen (2003), 137.

[11] For the association of the Eastern Vinaya tradition and the Bka' gdams monasteries, see also Davidson (2005), 111-12.

[12] One such student was Dol pa dmar zhur pa Rog shes rab rgya mtsho (1059-1131), who, after studying *vinaya* with Rgya 'dul 'dzin in Gtsang, then traveled to 'Phan yul to study with Po to wa. See *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.1, 330; Roerich (1976), 270.

By the end of the eleventh century, the Penyül valley was littered with enclaves of Kadam monasteries. There was Gyel Lhakhang (Rgyal lha khang, f. 1012), Rakma Jamkhang (Rag ma Byams khang, f.1015), Langtang (Glang thang, f.1093), Tangsak Ganden Chökhor (Thang sag dga' ldan chos 'khor, f. tenth century), Nézur (Sne zur, f. early twelfth century), Rinchen Drak (Rin chen drag, eleventh century), Drakgyap (Brag rgyab, f. eleventh century), Poto (Po to, f. eleventh century), Puchung (Phu chung, f. eleventh century), Khamlung (Kham lung, f. eleventh century), and Shara monastery (f. late eleventh century to early twelfth century).[13] There was also Radreng (Rwa sgreng, f.1056/7) in the north and the cave hermitages of Drakyerpa (Brag yer pa) in the southeast of the valley.

Most of these Kadam monasteries listed above were named after their founders. For example, the founder of Poto monastery was Potowa Rinchen Sel and the founder of Shara monastery was Sharawa Yonden Drak. Each of the founders of these monasteries, moreover, were born and raised locally around Penyül. These monastic principalities received their political backing and financial support primarily from the founder's ancestral clan, or a sub-set of the clan, many of whom traced their lineage and pedigree back to the Tibetan Imperial Period. Major clan donors in Penyül included the Nyö (Nyos), Zhang, and the Drom clan. These local monastic principalities, however, did not have a viable or long-term strategic plan to sustain the growing numbers of students that were flocking to the valley in the twelfth century. A short-term strategy, which usually occurred after the death of the founder of a monastery, was for a notable

[13] By some estimations there were at least forty temples built in 'Phen yul, Mal gro, Stod lung, and Skyid shod. These temples were built by the first two generations of the Klu 'Bring, Rba, and Rag groups. See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), vol.I, 28. According to Ronald Davidson's numbers, there were 246 temples, caves, or 'residences' used by the Eastern Vinaya monks in Central Tibet by the mid-eleventh century. See Davidson (2005), 102, 473-76.

disciple to muster their own financial support from their respective clan, local rulers, or shareholders of their parent/mother temples (*dgon ma*). If such support was sufficiently gathered, the disciple would then build their own monastery or satellite monastery in the vicinity. More often than not this short-term plan was not strategic but rather occurred out of necessity.

The dependence of these monasteries on their charismatic founders and their founder's clan affiliation often forced the institutions to shift into crisis management after the founder had died and his clan began to scale back, or entirely withdraw their political and financial support. A case in point is Radreng monastery. In 1064, following the death of the monastery's founder Dromtönpa Gyelwé Jungné ('Brom ston pa rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas, 1005–1064; henceforth Dromtönpa), and arguable the 'founder' of the Kadam school,[14] Radreng monastery underwent a changing of the see three times within the next few decades. Circa 1082, Potowa, who had left Radreng to teach and build in the valley, was summoned back to Radreng. Reluctantly, he served as the abbot for a few years before fleeing the monastery under the cover of night. There are various accounts given to explain Potowa's sudden departure, from inauspicious dreams to defamatory rumors.[15] Whatever the case may have been, Radreng was in dire straits after the passing of Dromtönpa. For all intents and purposes, the financial support previously given to the monastery by its two largest benefactors, the Drom and Zhang clans, was halted.[16] This followed

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[14] According to Ulrike Roesler, "The school [of the Bka' gdams pa] originates with the foundation of its first influential monastery, the monastery of Radeng (Rwa sgreng), in 1056." See Roesler (2004), 4. The preferred norm for the major and minor Buddhist traditions/sects in Tibet, however, was to trace their beginnings to Indian origins. By all traditional accounts, the Bka' gdams sect began with the Indian master Atīśa.

[15] See Las chen (2003), 425; Ye shes rgyal mtshan (2011), 384-85; Blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2002), 1237.

[16] See *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.1, 325-26; Roerich (1976), 266-67; Blo bzang 'phrin las (2002), 1273.

a thirty year period in which the abbacy of Radreng remained vacant and the monastery's buildings were used to house livestock and women![17]

Contributing to this decline of Radreng, as discussed above, was the change in locus as the first generation of Kadampas, such as Potowa, were now actively teaching, creating, and expanding their own networks of patronage and monasteries across the mountain in the valley of Penyül. Sometime around the year 1115, a disciple of Dromtönpa, Tashi Gönpa (Mtha' bzhi sgon pa, d.u.), initiated plans to restore Radreng. He enlisted the political backing and financial help of a local nobleman and patron by the name of Zangdü Chudruk (Bzang 'dus bcu drug, d.u.).[18] Tashi Gönpa chastised his fellow Kadam colleagues and monastic administrators for allowing Radreng to fall into ruin. He also admonished them for being solely focused on their own building projects and not volunteering their support in the restoration of Radreng monastery. At the time, the most influential Kadam teacher in the valley was the Zhang descendent, Sharawa Yonden Drak. Among other things Sharawa was known among his colleagues as an efficient administrator. His previous administration projects included the renovation of the courtyard at Potowa's monastery and various building projects at the monastery of Chengawa Tsültrim Bar

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[17] This thirty year period at Rwa sgreng is referred to as "religious famine" (*chos kyi mu ge*). See Las chen (2003), 425-6. Furthermore, this so-called "religious famine" may have been the result of an actual famine or an outbreak of disease. According to Thubten Jinpa, "leprosy had been a major health concern during the lifetime of the early Kadam masters such as Dromtönpa and his immediate disciples in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in central Tibet." See *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, trans. Thubten Jinpa (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006), 586n.114. Ye shes rgyal mtshan states that after the abbacy of Dgon pa ba dbang phyug rgyal mtshan (1016-1082) at Rwa sgreng, the Bka' gdams followers, specifically the so-called Three Brothers (*sku mched rnam gsum*) —Po to ba, Phu chung ba, and Spyan snga ba— could not obtain even a portion (*sha gzug*) of meat to eat. See Ye shes rgyal mtshan (2011), 385. Furthermore, *The Blue Annals* states: "After that [Po to ba's departure from Rwa sgreng] there were several nominal abbots who all passed away before their time [i.e. they died young]." See Roerich (1976), 267; *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.1, 326. Once renovations begun at Rwa sgreng we are told that women, sheep, and goats had to be removed from the buildings (*bud med dang ra lug rnams phud*). See Lo dgon pa in Vetturini (2007), 219.

[18] See Ibid., 15, 219.

(Spyan snga ba tshul khrim ’bar, 1033-1103). Sharawa had also organized, with help from his sister, a Yogurt Festival in the valley that drew a crowd of about eight thousand monks.[19] As expected, Sharawa was the first to respond to Tashi Gönpa’s condemnation with action. With the financial assistance of his patron-clan, Sharawa commissioned and administered the reinforcement of structural pillars in the western section of the main temple at Radreng.[20] The restoration of Radreng would continue well into the mid-thirteenth century with a steady flow of funding and support from the Zhang clan, especially when their clan descendants occupied the abbacy at Radreng.

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Tumtön arrived in Ü circa 1131 at the age of twenty-five. He instantly gravitated towards Sharawa’s scriptural expertise and charisma. By all traditional accounts, Sharawa possessed an uncanny knowledge and an acute memory, reportedly he memorized the entire corpus of Buddhist canonical scriptures (*Bka’ ’gyur*). He was also the advisor, colleague, and clan affiliate to the translator and budding philosopher Patsap Nyima Drakpa (Pa tshab nyi ma grags pa, 1055-1145?; henceforth Patsap). Patsap had returned from his study abroad trip in Kashmir circa 1100 and relocated to Penyül at Gyel Lhakhang.[21] Apparently upon his return to Central Tibet, Patsap’s message and translations were not gaining the attention that he had hoped for. Sharawa

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[19] See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), vol.II, 429n.44.

[20] *khyad par shar ba pa ka gnyis ma’i nub tu dbu rtse ka dgu ma gcig dang por bzhengs pa*. See Lo dgon pa in Vetturini (2007), 219

[21] Both Shar ba pa and Pa tshab nyi ma grags pa were from the *pa tshab rom po* family line, whose base was located in the *pa tshab* district of ’Phen yul. This family line was part of the Zhang family/clan tree. See Las chen (2003), 464.

came to the aid of his fellow clansman by sending his own students to study with Patsap at Gyel Lhakhang.[22] Part of Patsap's problems in initially attracting disciples on his own merits was, in part, due to the intellectual sway held by the monastery of Sangpu Neutok (Gsang phu ne'u thog). Founded in 1073 by the disciple of Atiśa, Ngok Lekpé Shérap (Rngog leg pa'i shes rab, 1059-1110), the monastery become a hub of scholasticism with a focus on epistemology and logic, philosophical discourse, ontology, and debate. Following the passing of Ngok Lekpé Shérap, the abbacy advanced to his nephew, a contemporary of Patsap, Ngok Lotsāwa Loden Shérap (Rngog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab,1059-1109). Like Patsap, Ngok Lotsāwa studied abroad in Kashmir and returned to Tibet shortly before Patsap's return in circa 1091. Both men were translators with different world views (see below) but similar institutional agendas. Unlike Patsap, Ngok Lotsāwa had attracted more than twenty-thousand students in Central Tibet and achieved the type of fame and notoriety that Patsap could only dream about.[23]

Although Sangpu was founded by an immediate disciple of Atiśa, the monastery was only loosely affiliated with the Kadam sect by the turn of the century. One of the reasons for this was due to Ngok Lotsāwa's endorsement of his new tradition of logic and epistemology (*tshad ma gsar ma*), or the "Ngok tradition." For Patsap, Ngok's tradition of logic and epistemology was the antitheses of his own interpretations and translations of Candrakīrti, in which he maintained a

[22] Sha ra ba is also said to have corrected some of Pa tshab's translations. See *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.1, 332; Roerich (1976), 272.

[23] See Ibid., 73.

radical skepticism of all forms of epistemic validity.[24] Another reason, albeit a less intriguing one, for Sangpu tenuous affiliation to the Kadam sect was simply a matter of geography. Although the Kadam sect of the early twelfth century is often understood as *different* local traditions that traced their religious heritage to Atiśa, they were nevertheless predominantly localized in the valley and hillsides of Penyül. As described above, the Kadam monasteries of Penyül, while semi-autonomous, were linked through networks of teachers, students, family, and clans. Sangpu monastery, on the other hand, was geographically distant from these specific networks (about 70 km southwest of the Penyül). This distance gave Sangpu monastery the space to develop, while not necessarily independently, nevertheless, distinctively from their compatriots in Penyül.[25]

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[24] For more on this topic, see Karen Lang, "Pa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags and the Introduction of Prāsaṅgika into Tibet," in *Reflections on Tibetan Culture,* ed. L. Epstein and R.Sherburn (Lewiston: Mellen Press, 1990): 131-142; George Dreyfus and Sara McClintock, *The Svātantrika-Prāsaṅgika Distinction: What Difference Does a Difference Make* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2003); George Dreyfus, *Recognizing Reality: Dharmakīrti's Philosophy and Its Tibetan Interpretations* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997); and George Dreyfus and Drongbu Tsering, "Pa tshab and the origin of Prāsaṅgika," in *Journal of the International Assocaition of Buddhist Studies*, Vol.31, No.1-2, (2009):1-31.

[25] Rgyal lha khang and the monasteries of 'Phan yul were under the jurisdiction of the Klu mes district while Gsang phu was under the 'Bring district. See Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, "The Abbatial Succession of Gsang phu ne'u thog Monastery from ca.1073 to 1250," in *Berliner Indologische Studien* 3 (1987), 103-127. This is not to suggest however that disciples with similar clan and religious associates in 'Phan yul did not live and study at Gsang phu. Nor does it suggest that the succession of leadership at Gsang phu was purely homegrown. Rngog Lo tsa ba is said to have recruited most of his students from Lha sa, Bsam ya, and Gnyal. Zhang descendants, in particular, were part of the demographic of students and leaders at Gsang phu. For instance, one of Rngog Lo tsa ba's students, and biographer, was Gro lung pa blos 'byung gnas (b. eleventh century). Gro lung pa was from the area of Gnyal and belonged to the Zhang clan. Two of his early teachers were the 'Phan yul residents, Khams lung pa ShAkya yon tan (1025-1115) and Shar ba pa's teacher, Po to ba. Following Rngog Lo tsa ba's term as abbot of Gsang phu, Zhang tshes spong chos kyi bla ma was nominated and served as the abbot for thirty-two years. He was followed by a person from Gro lung pa's hometown of Gnyal, Gnyal pa ri lu (d.u.). Two years later a person from Gnam of Skyid smad, Gnam par ba (d.u.), became the abbot. Apparently after Gnam pa ba, Gro lung pa was a candidate for the abbotship but failed to receive the required support for his nomination. Instead, Gro lung pa's student, and Pa tshab's adversary, Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge, received the nomination and was the abbot of Gsang phu for the next eighteen years. See Las Chen (2003), 130-32; Kun dga' rdor rje (1981), 66-73; *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.1, 403-4; Roerich (1976), 331-32; Ralf Kramer, *The Great Translator: Life and Works of rNgog Blo ldan Shes rab (1059-1109)* (Munich: Indus Verlag, 2007), 71-72.

Patsap took over the abbacy of Gyel Lhakhang in Penyül around the same time that Tumtön arrived in the valley from Tsang, circa 1131. While the Kadam monasteries in the valley often bore the name of their founders, Patsap ascent to the throne of Gyel Lhakhang also brought a new name for himself— a name that bore his native district, monastery, and clan: Penyül Gyel Lhakhangpa Zhang Patsap Nyima Drak.[26] He began his tenure at the monastery by overhauling the curriculum, now to be based on his own translations, readings, and oral teachings concerning the seventh-century Indian master Candrakīrti. Like Sharawa, Patsap began to attract a larger contingence of followers from outside of the valley, specifically students formerly following the 'Ngok tradition' at Sangpu under the monastery's sixth abbot, Chapa Chokyi Senggé (Phya pa cho kyi seng ge, 1109-1169).[27]

Sharawa continued to correspond and collaborate with Patsap throughout his tenure at Gyel Lhakhang.[28] In 1140, Patsap died and year later so did Sharawa. Their deaths however in no way signaled an end to their legacies. Monks and scholars from both Gyel Lhakhang and Shara monastery took the words of their teachers throughout Central Tibet and started to build new centers of learning. Take for example the disciple and clansmen of Patsap, Zhang Tangsakpa Yeshé Jungné (Zhang thang sag pa ye shes 'byung gnas, b. eleventh century), who,

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[26] 'Phen yul rgyal lha khang pa zhang pa tshab nyi ma grags. See David Seyfort Ruegg, *Three Studies in the History of Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Philosophy, Studies in Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka*, *Part 1* (Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Arbeitskresi Universität Wien, 2000), 45n.9.

[27] See Leonard W.J.van der Kuijp, "Phya Pa Chos Kyi Seng Ge's Impact on Tibetan Epistemological Theory" *Journal Of Indian Philosophy,* vol.5 (1978), 355-369. Also, Keven Vose, *Resurrecting Candrakīrti: Disputes in the Tibetan Creation of Prāsangika* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009).

[28] According to Las chen, Shar ba pa commissioned Pa tshab to translate the *Sūtrasamuccaya*. The *Sūtrasamuccaya* edition that was to be used for the translation is said to have been brought to Tibet by Atiśa and stored at Ra sgreng monastery. Pa tshab enlisted the help of the Kashmiri Jayānanda (Rgyal ba kun dga') and the Tibetan translator Khu mdo sde 'bar. See Las chen (2003), 468. Also, the only know text written by Pa tshab, entiled the *Dbu ma'i dris lan*, is a serious of answers to Shar ba pa's questions on Madhyamka thought. The text is no longer extant. See Vose (2009), 194n.62.

after the death of Patsap, founded Tangsak monastery in Penyül. Or the disciple of Sharawa, Chekhawa Yeshe Dorje (’Chad kha ba ye shes rdo rje, 1101-1175), who, after the death of Sharawa, founded Chekha monastery in his hometown in eastern Meldro (Mal gro; 70 km to the north-east of Lhasa).[29] Chekhawa, in turn, entrusted his legacy to his student Séchil Buwa Chökyi Gyeltsen (Se spyil bu/phu ba chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1121-1189).[30] Séchil built a ‘New Chekhawa’ monastery in 1164 and later, after the death of Chekhawa, he recruited disciples from the prominent Lha clan to build a monastery in the Lung Shö (Klung shod) region of the Penyül valley.[31] These new recruits used the influence and resources of their clan to continue their teacher’s missionary work, building their own networks of Kadam monasteries in and around Ü and Tsang.[32]

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In the early eleventh century, while Lumé Shérap Tsültrim and his factions remained in Ü, two other men returned home from northeastern Tibet to ordain and build in Tsang: Lotön Dorjé Wangchuk (Lo ston rdo rje dbang phyug, b. tenth century), whose principle territory was Nyangmé (Myang smad); and Tsongtsün Shérap Senggé (Tshong btsun shes rab seng ge, b. eleventh century) in Nyangtö (Myang stod).[33] Lotön Dorjé Wangchuk and his missionaries

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[29] The monastery is said to have housed about nine-hundred monks. See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), vol. II, 72.

[30] Se spyil was ordained by Gsang phu’s abbot Phya pa cho kyi seng ge.

[31] See Las chen (2003), 483-86; *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.1, 336; Roerich (1976), 276.

[32] For a list of Lha clan disciples, see Las chen (2003), 485- 93.

[33] See Vitali (1990), 38; Davidson (2005), 92-98.

worked in earnest to establish and build their own networks of temples, which included Gyengong (Rgyan gong), Tang Lhakhang (Thang lha khang), Taklo Lhakhang (Stag lo lha khang), and others. And in 1040, when Atiśa left India for Tibet, Lotön's student, Chétsün Shérap Jungné (Lce btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas, d.u.), built the temple of Zhalu Serkhang (Zhwa lu gser khang) near Gyengong monastery.

The temple building territory of Tsongtsün Shérap Senggé, the other man from Tsang, consisted of complex networks of monastic communities and civil centers that were organized into major divisional territories (*tsho/tsho skor*), which were further subdivided into five districts (*shabs kyi sgo lnga*).[34] Similar to their counterparts in Ü, these men of Tsang forged new ties and rebuilt old ones with local aristocratic families and clans, such as Gya (Rgya), Lang, Nyang, Ba, Ra, and Ché. The most successful of these new alliances in Tsang was when the prominent Khon aristocratic family allied with the Ché clan to build Sakya monastery in 1073.[35]

Both Patsap and Sharawa also had students from Tsang who returned home from Ü to build after their deaths. For Patsap, two such students were Tsangpa Sarbö (Gtsang pa sar sbos, d.u.) and Tsangpa Drégur/kur (Gtsang pa 'bre sgur/skur, d.u.). Tsangpa Sarbö returned home and built a scholastic college in the Nyang region of Tsang; while Tsangpa Drégur, considered the most learned of all Patsap's students, returned to teach in Nyang at Panam Gadong and at Jarok Tsang (Bya rog tshang).[36] For Sharawa, there was a large contingency of followers at his monastery in Penyül that were from Tsang, ten of whom were considered noteworthy to mention

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[34] See Vitali (1990), 38-9.

[35] See R.A. Stein, "The Evolution of Monastic Power" in *The Tibetan History Reader* (2013), 200.

[36] As mentioned above, Pa rnam sga gdong was the primary residence Rgya 'dul 'dzin, the monastic discipline teacher of Gtum ston. See also Sørensen and Hazod (2007), vol.I, 107n.138; 187n.450.

by name and a handful of whom become his 'renowned' disciples.[37] These handful of 'renowned' disciples were entrusted with specific lineages of Sharawa's legacy and became distinguished primarily through their missionary work.[38] Out of the many of Sharawa's students from Tsang, only Tumtön returned home to build.

Prior to his death, Sharawa gave his final testament to his monastic community in Penyül. Afterwards, he singled out Tumtön and spoke of how his own missionary work had been limited but that he hoped to continue throughout his future lives. He advised Tumtön to carry on his legacy by befriending four ordained monks and building his own monastic community back

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[37] *The Blue Annals* provides a list of over twenty noteworthy disciples of Shar ba pa, one of whom is Gtum ston, without specific transmissions. *The Blue Annals* does provide the native region for each of these disciples and about half of them were from regions in Gtsang. See *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.1, 333-34; Roerich (1976), 272-73. Further, Shar ba pa's teacher, Po to ba, also had 'noteworthy' students from Gtsang, see Ibid., (2003) vol.1, 329; (1976), 269.

[38] Different sources give a varying number of students and also ascribe different transmissions that were assigned to them by Shar ba pa. According to *Yarlung Jowo's Religious History (Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung)* the four famous transmitters of Shar ba pa's legacy are: (i) Chad kha ba, entrusted with the teachings on the mind of enlightenment (*byang byub sems*), (ii) Nyi ma 'dul 'dzin, entrusted with Shar ba pa's testament of liberation (*rnam thar*), (iii) Rnal 'byor shes rdor, served as abbot of the monastery for three years after the death of Shar ba pa and was hence entrusted with his possessions (*longs spyod*), (iv) Stab kha ba, entrusted with his legacy of textual exegesis (*gzhung bshad*). A fifth person, Snar thang pa Cho lung sku gshegs pa, is added on without a specified legacy given. Later, in the same source, Snar thang pa Cho lung sku gshegs pa is identified as Gtum ston blo gros grags pa. See Shākya rin chen, *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2012), 89, 101. Las chen likewise lists the same four but excludes Snar thang pa Cho lung sku gshegs pa. See Las chen (2003), 473. According to *The Red Annals* (*Deb ther dmar po*), the four are: (i) Chad kha ba, with the testament of liberation, (ii) Nyi ma 'dul 'dzin, with possessions, (iii) Rnal 'byor shes rdor, abbot for three years (iv) Stabs kha ba, with textual exegesis, and the addition of (v) Snar thang pa chos lung sku gshegs. *The Red Annals* also identify Snar thang pa chos lung sku gshegs as Gtum ston blo gros grags pa. See Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje, *Deb ther dmar po* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1981), 62. According to the *Scholars Feast: A Religious History (Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston),* the transmitters are: (i) Chad kha pa with the mind of enlightenment; (ii) Nyi ma 'dul 'dzin with the testament of liberation; (iii) Stab ka ba with textual exegesis; (iv) Rong ston shes 'od with realization (*rtogs pa*); (iv) Gtum ston blo gros grags with enlightened activity; and (v) Rnal 'byor shes rdor with possessions. See Dpa bo gtsug lag phreng ba, *Chos 'byung mkha pa'i dga' ston* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), 365. According to a 'register' (*dkar chag*) of Shar ba pa's monastery, the four listed are (i) Stab ka ba with the mind of enlightenment, (ii) Rong ston Shes rab 'od with realization, (iii) Gtum ston blo gros grags with enlightened activity, and (iv) Rnal 'byor pa shes rab rdo rje with possessions. See Roesler (2004), 57-58. And, according to the *Snar thang chos sde,* Gtum ston blo gros grags was entrusted with Shar ba pa's testament of liberation. See *Snar thang chos sde* (2011), 26.

home in Tsang.[39] Why the four monks? Doctrinally, in order for a monastic group to be considered a 'community' (*sangha*), there had to be at least four fully ordained monks living together.[40] Secondly, in order to ordain more monks, in other words, to increase the enrollment numbers at a monastery, there had to be at least four fully ordained monks present for the ordination ceremony. Hence, the foundation for building a monastery, as well as its growth, depended in part on the presence of at least four fully ordained monastic members.

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Shortly after his last testament in 1141, Sharawa passed and Tumtön left the Penyül valley to return home to build. Tumtön was born in Chakhar Tsé Umang (Shab sgo lnga'i lcags mkhar rtse'i dbu mang), an area that was included within the territory of Tsongtsün Shérap Senggé's five districts of Tsang. Tumtön had been away in Penyül for over ten years and there was little to no fanfare when he returned. His ordination preceptor and monastic discipline teacher, Gya Dülzin, had passed in 1131 and Tumtön lacked both the religious and clan-based support to build immediately upon his return home.

It is uncertain what type of reception followers of Atiśa and his second generation of disciples received in Tsang. Atiśa had stayed in Tsang for about half a year in 1046 and purportedly made various prophecies regarding the building of monasteries in the area, such as Sakya and Tumtön's future monastery. According to some sources, however, Atiśa's stay in

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[39] See Yongs dzin ye she rgyal mtshan (2011), 424; *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.1, 344; Roerich (1979), 282; Las chen (2003), 493; *Snar thang chos sde* (2011), 26.

[40] The same is true for a nunnery, at least four ordained nuns would be needed to be a legitimate monastic community. However, since *complete* ordination for nuns in Tibet was practically non-existent, the same rules would not have applied.

Tsang was rife with hardship since he lacked any substantial religious, political, and/or financial support. To some extent, this lack of support was due to the distinct monastic lineage (Lokottaravāda) that Atiśa upheld, a lineage that had been banned in Tibet since the ninth century and was at odds with the monastic school (Mūlasarvāstivāda) of the Eastern Vinaya men.[41] As a result, Atiśa was not permitted to ordain or teach monastic discipline during his sojourn in Tibet.

For Tumtön and other Kadam followers, their monastic lineage was a non-issue since, as discussed above, they subscribed to the monastic lineage that was upheld by the Eastern Vinaya men who had dominated the landscape of Central Tibet. With his sights on new institution building, Tumtön chose not to enroll at any of the monastic temples that were founded by these Tsang Eastern Vinaya men.[42] He instead practiced meditation for ten years in the vicinity of his hometown in the company of family and friends. As Sharawa had suggested Tumtön scouted for land and recruited the four ordained monks to build a community. Finally, in 1153, he laid the foundations for his monastic community, a thatched hut located about fourteen kilometers to the southwest of present day Zhikatsé (Gzhis ka rtse).

Unlike the monasteries of Penyül, however, Tumtön did not name the monastery after himself, his clan, or hometown. Rather, he chose to name the monastery after the uncanny resemblance of the plot of land where the thatched house was built, a plain at the foot of a

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[41] This is not to say that followers of the Eastern Vinaya lineage did not provide patronage to Atiśa. In Gtsang, one of the 'ten men of Dbus-Gtsang,' Sum pa ye shes blo gros (b. tenth century), is said to have invited Atiśa to his monastery of Gya sar gang. Atiśa's patronage, however restricted, came mostly from his followers in Dbus. See Davidson (2005), 110-11.

[42] There was also the Bka'gdams monastery of Bo dong E monastery that was located to the west of present day Gzhis ka rtse. The monastery was founded in 1049 by *dge shes* Mu tra/MudrA chen po. It is said that MudrA chen po offered the monastery to 'Bum phrag gsum pa (Sthirapāla), a Indian teacher of Rngog blo ldan sher rab. See *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.1, 417-18; Roerich (1979), 345-46; also Ngag dbang skal ldan rgya mtsho, *Shel Dkar Chos 'Byung: History of the "White Crystal": Religion and Politics of Southern La Stod*, trans. Pasang Wangdu and Hildegard Diemberger (Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 14-17.

mountain that resembled the outstretched trunk of an elephant (Nargyi Détang; Snar gyi mda'i thang). Later, the monastery would simply be called Nartang. [43]

The Intended Curriculum

Part of the building project for most monastic communities, both large and small, was the creation of a curriculum. Not unlike the construction and renovation of the monastery's physical buildings, the making of a curriculum took time and periodic updates. At its opening, Tumtön's thatched hut was most likely not a place of learning but rather a shelter from the elements and a place of prayer and ritual. Although little is known about the early years of the monastery, the religious interests of Tumtön can be deduced from his collaboration with Sharawa and from the legacy that was entrusted to him.

Sharawa was a student of Potowa Rinchen Sel, the main protagonist of the Kadam 'scriptural tradition' (*gzhung pa*). Similar to his teacher, Sharawa based the curriculum of his monastery in Penyül on the so-called "six authoritative scriptures" (*gzhung drug*) of the Kadam tradition, all of which were of Buddhist Indian origins:[44]

1. Śāntideva's *Compendium of Training* (*Śikṣāsamuccaya*)
2. Śāntideva's *Engaging in the Bodhisattva's Deeds* (*Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*)
3. Asaṅga's *Bodhisattva Stages* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*)
4. Maitreya's *Ornament for the Mahāyāna Sūtras* (*Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra*)
5. Āryāsura's *Stories of the Buddha's Lives* (*Jātakamālā*)
6. *The Collection of Sūtra Statements* (*Udānavarga*)

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[43] See Blo bzang 'phrin las (2002), 1249-50.

[44] Other primary works included: Atiśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa* and *Satyadvayāvatāra*; Nāgārjuna's *Rājaparikathāratnāvali* and *Suhṛllekha*; Candragomin's *Śisya-lekha*; and Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanākrama.* See Las chen (2003), 429.

While Sharawa followed in his teacher's footsteps, he also considerably diverged from them. There was a considerable rift between the Kadam followers of the 'scriptural tradition' and those of the oral transmission of 'pith instructions' (*man ngag pa*). This rift was particularly evident between Potowa and the protagonist of the 'pith instructions' Chen Ngawa Tsültrim Bar. One of the many qualms that Potowa had with the 'pith instruction' teachers was their insistence on openly teaching the genre of teaching known as *mind training* (*blo sbyong*). The central theme of *mind training* is couched around the reduction and eventual elimination of the self-driven egoistical mind. The formulas of the *mind training* teachings are akin to modern day self-help manuals that seek to give pithy everyday advice in times of trouble and consolation. Further, these pithy formulas also had a protective dimension that could be affected through their remembrance, recitation, and contemplation.[45] For Potowa, it was not so much the content or formula of *mind training* that troubled him. It was the origins. As mentioned, the so-called "six authoritative scriptures" of the Kadam tradition were all of Indian Buddhist origins. Potowa's qualms about the origins of *mind training* stemmed from the ingenuity complex of many Kadam and Modernist (*gsar ma*) teachers, who felt that texts, lineages, and so forth, had to find recourse

[45] For example, see the introduction by Gzhon nu rgyal mchog (b. fourteenth century) and Mus chen dkon mchog rgyal mtshan (1388–1469) to 'Chad kha ba's commentary on the *Eight Verses*. See "*Blo sbyong tshig rkang brgyad ma lo rgyus dang bcas pa bzhugs so*," in *Blo sbyong brgya rtsa phyogs sgrig* (Lha sa: Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 2010), 200. For an English translation, see Jinpa (2006), 277.

to Indian Buddhist origins.[46] Although the Kadam proponents of these *mind training* teachings claimed proof of Indian origins by citing passages found in the works of Indian masters, such as Śāntideva and Nāgārjuna, Potowa nevertheless remained unconvinced.

Sharawa, however, did not harbor the same wary feelings towards either the 'pith instruction' teachers or the teachings of *mind training*. Both he and his students sought out teachings from Chen Ngawa and, as discussed, provided assistance in the building of Chen Ngawa's monastery. They also sought teachings from Potowa's student and 'scriptural tradition' colleague Langri Tangpa Dorjé Senggé (Glang ri thang pa rdo rje seng ge, 1054-1123), a person who had attracted a large following of admirers for his teachings on *mind training*. Fortuitously, after the death of Potowa, Sharawa and his students Chekhawa and Séchil became the strongest proponents of *mind training.* Together they established a 'custom' of openly teaching it to the public.[47]

While later historical records explain Nartang monastery as the first Kadam institution to fuse these two Kadam lineages (the 'scriptural tradition' and oral 'pith instruction' lineage),[48] the merger began in fact with these first generation students of Potowa. The merger was also made possible by teachers and students of the 'scriptural tradition' committing the oral 'pith

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[46] Later accounts state that the origins of *mind training* began with the Indian master Atiśa. The term *blo sbyong,* however, is *not* to be found in any of the writings attributed to Atiśa or his Indian teachers. This is not to say that the lexical compound is not found in Pali (*cittam parisodheti*) and Sanskrit (*cittasodhana*) sources. The trope of training or purifying the mind is found all over the place. A source that the Bka' gdams followers drew their inspiration from was Śāntideva's *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*, specifically verse 97 where the compound *sem sbyong ba* is found. For a further discussion on the compound and instances where it is found, see Michael J. Sweet, "Mental Purification (*Blo sbyong*): A Native Tibetan Genre of Religious Literature," in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, eds. José Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications 1996), 244-48.

[47] See *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.1, 335-36; Roerich (1979), 274-75.

[48] See *Mchims nam mkha' grags kyi rnam thar,* 7a.2.

instructions' of *mind training* into writing: Langri Tangpa composed his *Eight Verses* [*of Mind Training*] (*[Blo sbyong] Tshig rkang brgyad ma*),[49] Chekhawa penned the *Seven-Point Mind Training* (*Blo sbyong don bdun ma*), and Séchil authored a commentary.[50]

In addition to the "six authoritative scriptures" and the instructions on *mind training*, another genre of teachings in vogue among Tumtön's teachers and colleagues was the *Stages of the Path* (*Lam rim*) literature. The prototype for this genre was Atiśa's *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment* (*Byang chub lam sgron; Bodhipathapradīpa*). Here Atiśa set forth the progressive and systematic stages of religious practices that can lead an individual to their desire destinations, whether that be a better rebirth, the liberation from the cycle of life and death, or the state of Buddhahood. Atiśa's *Lamp* was short and to the point. Its brevity, however, incited long explanations that took the form of sermons and books. Literature of this type, moreover, was shared among the various Kadam lineages and taught at their monastic centers in Penyül, as well

[49] As Thubten Jinpa tells us, the term *mind training* was later added to the title of *Eight Verses*. See Jinpa (2006), 577n.7.

[50] Se Spyil bu pa authored the earliest known commentary on 'Chad kha ba's *Seven-Point Mind Training.* For an english translation, see Thubten Jinpa (2006), 88-132. There is also a hitherto unknown *mind training* work attributed to Shar ba pa in the catalog for the fourth set of *The Collected Works of the Kadam,* vol.94 (forthcoming), 23-90. The catalog title reads: *Stag mo lus sbyin las brtsams pa'i blo sbyong khrid yig.*

as at Sangpu monastery.[51] Based on Atiśa's *Lamp*, Potowa taught his *Dharma Exemplified: A Mass of Jewels* (*Dpe chos rin chen spung pa*), which illustrates each stage of the path with Indian scriptural citations and Tibetan parables, similes, and examples.[52] Potowa's student Dölpa Shérap Gyatso (Dol pa shes rab rgya mtsho, 1059-1131) also took notes from Potowa's sermons on the *Stages of the Path* and wrote his *Blue Udder* (*Be'u bum sngon po*), which was then organized and commentated on by his student Lhadri Gangpa (Lha 'bri sgang pa, ca.1110-1190). Other students of Potowa, including Sharawa, composed both long and short works on the *Stages of the Path*.[53] Further, as the two Kadam lineages began to amalgamate with the first generation

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[51] At Gsang phu, Rngog legs pa'i shes rab is recorded as authoring a short *Stages of the Path* text (*Lam rim shlo ka drug*), followed by its commentary (twenty folia) by Blo ldan shes rab. A subset of the *Stages of the Path* literature was the *Stages of the Doctrine* (*Bstan rim*), which verged slightly from the systematic stages of the three types of individual into wider considerations of Buddhist doctrine and practice. Reportedly, Atiśa's translator Nag tsho lo tsā ba tshul khrims rgyal ba (b.1011) composed a work, no longer extant, on the *Stages of the Doctrine,* entitled *Nag tsho'i bstan rim.* The catalog to the fourth set of *The Collected Works of the Kadam* (*bKa' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrig thengs bzhi pa,* forthcoming) lists two *Stages of the Doctrine* texts, simply titled *Bstan rim:* vol.101: 3-438; and vol.101: 439-554. According to the catalog, the author is not known. Whether either of these works are Nag tsho's *Stages of the Doctrine* will require further research. The most well known and influential work on the *Stages of the Doctrine* for the Bka' gdams, and later the Dge lugs sect, was composed by a student of Blo ldan shes rab and a teacher of Phya pa chos kyi sen ge, Gro lung pa blo gros 'byung gnas (b.11th century). For Gro lung pa's text, see *Gro lung pa blo gros 'byung gnas kyi gsung chos skor*, vol.5 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009), 69-908. For a general overview and survey of the *Stages of the Doctrine* literature, see David Jackson, "The bsTan rim ("Stages of the Doctrine") and Similar Graded Expositions of the Bodhisattva Path" in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre,* eds. José Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications 1996), 229-43.

[52] The *Dharma Exemplified* was not composed by Po to ba but rather put into writing by his students shortly after his death.These students included Grag pa gzhon nu 'od (b. mid-eleventh century to early twelfth century) and the Tsang native, Brag dkar pa (1032-1111). The only extant version is a commentary by Lce sgom shes rab rdo je (ca.1140/50-1220). For more on the content of *The Dharma Exemplified*, see Ulrike Roesler, "Not a Mere Imitation: Indian Narratives in a Tibetan Context," in *Facets of Tibetan Religious Tradition and Contacts with Neighbouring Culture Areas*, ed. Alfredo Cadonna and Ester Bianchi (Firenze:Orientalia Venetiana XII, 2002), 166-71; and Roesler (2014), 1-18. *The Dharma Exemplified* has also been translated into German by Roesler, see Ulrike Roesler, *Frühe Quellen zum buddhistischen Stufenweg in Tibet: Indische und tibetische Traditionen im dPe chos des Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2011). For more on Lce sgom Shes rab rdo je, see Per K. Sørensen, "The Proflic Ascetic lCe-sgom Śes-rab rdo-rje alias lCe-sgom zhig-po: Allusive, but Elusive,"*Journal of Nepal Research Centre*, vol. XI (1999), 175-200.

[53] Lo dgon pa provides a list of *Lam rim* literature authored by the followers of Po to ba (i.e. scriptural lineage), Spyan snga ba (i.e.pith instructions lineage), and the Rngog tradition lineage. See Vetturini (2007), 161-65.

of Potowa's students, teachers from the 'pith instruction' tradition also followed suit by taking their own notes of *Stages of the Path* sermons and committing them from the spoken word to the written.[54]

As part of Sharawa's inner circle of disciples Tumtön had heard, studied, and read from the "six authoritative scriptures," the teachings of *mind training*, the *Stages of the Path* literature, and the translations and interpretations of Candrakīrti through Patsab. Such doctrines not only shaped his own religious sensibilities but also shaped the intended curriculum at Nartang. For years to come monks from Nartang monastery would continue to study, teach, and write about these scriptures and genres of literature.

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After building his thatched hut to house his fellow four ordained monks, Tumtön would serve as abbot for the next fourteen years. During this time, however, Tumtön did not succeed in gathering the support needed to further build or attract a large following of students.[55] In 1166, Tumtön announced his resignation when he appointed his student, Dotön Shérap Drak (Rdo ston shes rab grags,1127-1185; henceforth Dotön), as the second abbot of Narthang.[56] Tumtön then

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[54] See Ibid., 162-63.

[55] The only source which claims that Gtum ston attracted many monastic students, about a thousand students (*grwa pa stong tsam*), is the *Bka' gdams chos 'byung* by A myes zhab ngag dbang kung dga' bsod nams's (1597-1659/60), written in 1634. See http://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=W1CZ3: 69a. 3.

[56] According to the *Ming mdzod*, Rdo ston was an immediate disciple of Shar ba pa. If this was the case, then Gtum ston's appointment of Rdo ston as the second abbot was a logical choice. However, none of the other sources available for Rdo ston mention that he was a disciple of Shar ba pa. See Grags pa 'byung gnas and Rgyal ba blo bzang mkhas grub, *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992), 899; *Dpal snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyu* (2011), 27; Las chen (2003), 494.

gathered a few provisions and left the monastery to enter into solitary retreat at the hermitage of Tadé Chölung (Rta sde chos lung), located somewhere in North Latö (Stod byang). In the early winter of that same year, on December 23, Tumtön passed away in his hermitage at the age of sixty-one.[57] Unknown to him was that one of his young pupils, Dromochewa Dütsi Drak (Gro mo che ba bdud rtsi grags, 1153-1232; henceforth Dromoche), would later become the fourth abbot of Narthang and successfully expand upon the foundations that he had built.

Shortly after Tumtön's passing the community at Nartang built a reliquary (*stūpa*) to house his remains and to honor his legacy as their teacher and community founder. A few of his students also carried some of his ashes back to Sharawa's monastery in the Penyül valley. Here another reliquary was built to house Tumtön's remains. This reliquary was to honor his legacy as a notable student of Sharawa.[58]

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As is the case with Tumtön, there are scant records about the second and third abbots of Narthang. The second abbot, Dotön, was also a Tsang native and presumably entered Nartang at

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[57] After his death it is said that he became known as Chos lung sku gshegs. See *Dpal snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyu* (2011), 27; Las chen (2003), 494.

[58] There are numerous reliquaries of many different sizes at Sha ra ba's monastery. The monastery and the reliquaries were severely damaged during the Chinese "Culture Revolution." Reconstruction began in 1985. During my 2013 visit to Sha ra ba's monastery, which is now a nunnery, I asked about the whereabouts of Gtum ston's reliquary. Although the nuns in the office had heard the name Gtum ston before, they did not know who he was or which reliquary belonged to him. The nuns then asked an elderly nun, who unwrapped a copy of text. The text was Sha ra monastery's "register" (*dkar chag)*, which describes the layout of both the monastery and the reliquary complex. Together we walked through the reliquary complex with the "register" as our map. After about thirty minutes we located the large reliquary of Gtum ston, which, as the "register" explains, is located at the northeast of the complex. Gtum ston's reliquary stands in front of the reliquary that belongs to the disciple of Mi la ras pa (1052-1135), and one time Bka' gdams follower, Sgam po pa bsod nams rin chen (1079-1153). For a translation of Sha ra monastery's "register" (*dkar chag),* as well as a romanized and photographed Tibetan text, entitled *Gnas mchog gang shar dag snang dgon gyi dkar chag*, see Roesler (2004), 55-74.

a young age.[59] He was forty years of age when Tumtön appointed him as his successor. Dotön served for almost twenty years, both as abbot and chief administrator (*tshogs dpon*). During his tenure he significantly increased the enrollment numbers at the monastery.[60] With the increase of monks, new foundations and housing must have been one of his main priorities. Dotön passed at the age of fifty-nine in 1185. It is uncertain if Dotön had appointed a successor. By some accounts, it was Dotön who gave the name "Nartang" to the monastery.[61] Most accounts, however, state that Dotön gained his repute as "the great person of Nartang."[62] While the accounts differ, the message is similar: it was during the tenure of the second abbot that the monastery achieved a name for itself.

The third abbot, Zhangtsün Dorjé Özer (Zhang btsun rdo rje 'od zer, 1122-1194; henceforth Zhangtsün) became the next in line the same year as Dotön's passing in 1185. A senior of Dotön, Zhangtsün was also a student of Tumtön and presumably a long time resident of the monastery. He was born in upper Tsang and hailed from the Zhang clan, the same clan as Sharawa and other notable religious and political figures from the tenth century forward.[63] Although there are no known records of his teachings or authored works,[64] it is likely that he was a strong proponent of

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[59] He was born in Drang mda'i thu lung, an area that was included in one of the five districts (*shabs kyi sgo lnga)* of Gtsang.

[60] See Las chen (2003), 494; *Dpal snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyu* (2011), 27

[61] See *Deb ther dmar po* (2004), 59.

[62] *Snar thang chos sde* (2011), 27; Las chen (2003), 494; Lo dgon pa in Vetturini (2013), 265-66; *Ming mdzod* (1992), 899.

[63] He was born in Dar lung gi ra zhags, an area that was also included in one of the five districts (*shabs kyi sgo lnga)* of Gtsang. See *Snar thang chos sde* (2011), 27; Las Chen (2003), 494.

[64] The register (*gsan yig*) of Snar thang's fourth abbot, Gro mo che ba bdud rtsi grags, lists two teachings/ transmissions by Zhang btsun rdo rje 'od zer: *dpa' bo cig pa* and *rgyal chen bzhi'i gtor ma*. See appendix 1.

the teachings on *mind training* since he was best remembered as the physical incarnation (*sku'i skye ba*) of the *mind training* teacher Langri Tangpa. Zhangtsün was sixty-three years old when he became abbot and served for nine years until his passing in 1194.

Conclusion

By the end of the eleventh century the Kadam followers had successfully monopolized parts of Penyül valley in Central Tibet. Most of their monastic sites in the valley were small scale institutions that relied on the founder's clan association for financial and political support. The general rule of thumb for these monastic sites was as follows: the more influence and wealth of the founder's clan the better opportunities for the growth of the monastery. This model of relying on the charismatic founder and his clan was not, however, in the best long-term interest for the stability or growth of a monastery. After the founder died, his clan, more often than not, withdrew their support. This model, nonetheless, did allow for the growth of multiple satellite monasteries. As discussed throughout this chapter, a trend for the Kadam followers in Penyül was for a student of a monastery to then muster their own support from their respective clan, local rulers, or benefactors in their founder's monastery, to build their own monastic community.

In the twelfth century, one of the most influential Kadam teachers in Penyül was Zhang Sharawa Yonden Drak. A member of the influential Zhang clan, Sharawa was a capable administrator, builder, and fundraiser. Part of Sharawa's success among Kadam circles was his ability to bridge the two strands of Kadam lineages that were often points of contention and bickering amongst their respective followers. His celebrity brought a large contingent of

followers from not only within the Penyül valley but also beyond it. One of these followers was the Tsang native Tumtön Lodrö Drakpa.

Like many other Tibetan religious figures at the time, Tumtön returned home to build. Although Tumtön was able to find land and a handful of monks to build a thatched hut just southwest of present day Zhikatsé, his inability to build a well-to-do monastery was due to the lack of clan-based support and religious networking in Tsang. Tumtön did, nonetheless, acquire students with connections, in particular: Zhangtsün Dorjé Özer from the influential Zhang clan; and Dromoche Dütsi Drak from the Dro clan. Each of these students went on to become abbots at Nartang and were able to garnish the support needed to build upon the foundations that Tumtön had laid. Part of the institutional success that occurred during their abbacies, specifically Dromoche (see chapter 2), was a result of their willingness not only to rely on old money but to campaign for new donors and monastic recruits. Success in this form would continue at Nartang in the coming decades.

Chapter 2

Branching Out

The fourth Nartang abbot Dromochewa Dütsi Drak (Gro mo che ba bdud rtsi grags, 1153-1232; henceforth Dromoche) was the last abbot directly associated with Nartang's founder and the first abbot to have a detailed biography.[65] Dromoche was born in Tsang at a place called Chugo Lam (Chu dgo lam) in 1153. He enrolled at Nartang monastery at the age of ten and spent the next few years learning how to read and write and to memorize scripture and ritual liturgy. At age thirteen, in 1166, he received his preordination monastic vows with Dingkar Kushek (Sding kar sku gshegs, d.u.) as abbot of the ceremony and Tumtön was the monastic preceptor (*slob dpon*).[66] Shortly after the ordination ceremony Tumtön taught the four noble truths, a confession eulogy (*bshags pa'i stod pa*), a teaching on philosophical tenets (*grub mtha'*), and from two of the "six authoritative scriptures" of the Kadam: Āryāsura's *Stories of the Buddha's Lives* (*Jātakamālā*) and Śāntideva's *Compendium of Training* (*Śikṣāsamuccaya*).[67]

Dromoche's apprenticeship under Tumtön was short lived. Tumtön had resigned as abbot and left for the hermitage, never to return again to Nartang, the same year that Dromoche received his preordination vows and teachings. Dromoche spent the next three years at Nartang, presumably studying with the newly appointed abbot Dotön Shérap Drak and other senior

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[65] The biography of Gro mo che, entitled *Dpal ldan pa'i rnam thar,* was authored by Mchims nam mkha' grags and included in the so-called *Golden Rosary of Nartang* (*Snar thang gser phreng*), C.P.N. catalogue no. 002806 (10): 238a-252a.

[66] The ordination ceremony for Gro mo che ba took place on the seventh day of the *smal po* month. See *Dpal ldan pa'i rnam thar*, 238b.6-239a.2.

[67] This account of his studies with Gtum ston is the only known record of teachings given by Gtum ston. See Ibid., 239a.5-239b.1.

monks, such as Zhangtsün Dorjé Özer. At age sixteen, Dromoche was in his prime to take his novice monastic vows and to continue his studies on monastic discipline. For reasons not stated, Dromoche left Nartang that same year (1169) to pursue ordination and monastic studies closer to his hometown. His decision to seek monastic ordination and training elsewhere may be reflective of Nartang's inability at the time to attract professional monastic instructors. This inability was the result of either the unwillingness, or ineffectiveness, of Tumtön to strengthen relations with the Eastern Vinaya leaders and monastic preceptors in Tsang during the founding of the monastery and his tenure. For the long term, Dromoche's departure from Nartang would prove to be best for his own personal development and for the expansion and growth of the monastery.

After returning to his hometown village, Dromoche spent time with his father memorizing and practicing the ritual liturgy of the twenty-one Tārās. Dromoche sights, however, remained on the study of monastic discipline and the transmissions of scripture. A year later, the scholar Mümenpa Dütsi Charchen (Mus sman pa bdud rtsi char chen, d.u.) was invited to give teachings, transmissions, and blessings at Dromoche's village temple. Mümenpa was also a Tsang native and had spent time in Penyül as a student of Chengawa and Jayülwa Zhönu Ö (Bya yul ba gzhon nu 'od, 1075-1138), both leading figures of the Kadam 'pith instruction' lineage.[68] An invitation from Dromoche's village was later extended to Chumikpa Shérap Drak (Chu mig

[68] Mus sman pa is counted as one of the eight great disciples of Bya yul ba's from ouside of Dbus. For the list of these so-called *eight great outsiders (phyi'i chen po brgyad)*, see Las chen (2003), 341.

pa shes rab grags, d.u.),[69] who gave public discourses and unspecified transmissions and blessings at the village temple. While all three of these teachers stayed only briefly in the village, each had a profound impact on Dromoche. This initial contact with Mumenpa and Chumikpa Shérap Drak was the start of a relationship that would later have a considerable influence on both the life of Dromoche and Nartang monastery.

Dromoche's aspirations to study monastic disciple were fulfilled a few years later when, at age nineteen, he met Tsi Dülzin Zhönu Senggé (Rtsis 'dul 'dzin gzhon nu seng+ge, b. twelfth century), a renowned expert in the field and member of the Eastern Vinaya faction in Tsang. Among others, Tsi Dülzin had been the principle disciple of the Tsang native and monastic discipline pioneer Ja Dülzin Tsöndru Bar (Bya 'dul 'dzin brtson 'grus 'bar, alias Zul phu ba, 1091-1166/1100-1174).[70] Ja Dülzin was also disciple of Drakpa Gyeltsen (Grags pa rgyal mtshan, 1147-1216), the ruling hierarch of Sakya at the time, and a disciple of Ngok Loden Shérap's student Dréchen Shérap Bar ('Bre chen shes rab 'bar, b. later half of the eleventh century).[71] Tsi Dülzin had built his own monastic settlement ('*dul grwa*) in Tsang at Nyangtö Kharlung (Nyang stod mkhar lung). With Tsi Dülzin overseeing the ceremony at his monastic settlement in Nyangtö, Dromoche received the vows of a fully ordained monk at age nineteen in

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[69] Chu mig pa shes rab sgrag came to Gro mo che's village with another teacher by the name of Sgom nag po. See *Dpal ldan pa'i rnam thar*, 239b.6. Mchims nam mkha' grags authored a biography of Chu mig pa shes rab grags, entitled *Slob dpon chu mig pa'i rnam thar*, which is also included in the so-called *Snar thang gser 'phreng,* C.P.N. catalogue no. 002806 (10): 233a-237a. See below for more on the life of Chu mig pa shes rab grags.

[70] For more on Bya 'dul 'dzin brtson 'grus 'bar, see Sørensen and Hazod (2007), vol. II, 695n5.

[71] For more on 'Bre chen shes rab 'bar, See Robert Vitali, "The History of the Lineages of Gnas Rnying Summarized as Its 'Ten Greatnesses': A Survey of the Period from the Second Half of the 8th Century to the Beginning of the Sa Skya Pa Rule," in *Tibet, Past and Present,* ed. Henk Blezer (Leiden: Brill 2002), 95-6, 105.

1172.[72] Shortly after, he began his studies on monastic discipline and the *Stages of the Doctrine* (*Bstan rim)* with Tsi Dülzin.[73]

Dromoche continued to travel throughout Central Tibet to study under some of the leading Kadam figures of his day, such as Gyama Sanggyé Wöntön (Rgya ma Sang rgyas dbon ston, c. 1138-1210), Séchil Buwa Chökyi Gyeltsen, and others.[74] He returned only briefly to Nartang during the tenure of the second abbot to receive ritual transmissions from the elder Zhangtsün, the next in line to the see of Nartang.

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Having studied with the leading Kadam masters in Central Tibet, Dromoche had enhanced his resume, built and strengthened his networks, and bolstered his reputation. He began his teaching career as an independent scholar at the age of thirty-five in 1188. Some years later, circa 1193, he temporarily served for a year as the abbot at the monastic establishment of Lum,[75] a Kadam

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[72] Rtsis 'dul 'dzin was the abbot (*mkhan po*), Bya brgyus [pa] the coordinator (*las mdzad*), and Byar/Bya ra was the private questioner (*gsang ston*). See *Dpal ldan pa'i rnam thar*, 241b.2-3.

[73] According to Gro mo che's biography, Rtsis 'dul 'dzin taught him monastic discipline based on the root text six times and an unspecified commentary three times. See *Dpal ldan pa'i rnam thar*, 241b.3-4. Most likely, this root text and commentary were Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* (*'Dul ba mdo*) and his *Vinayasūtravṛtti ('Dul ba mdo'i 'grel pa*). As for the *Stages of the Doctrine* teachings, Rtsis 'dul 'dzin taught him Rong pa lag sor ba's (fl. mid-eleventh century) text. Rtsis 'dul 'dzin would have received this text from his teacher Bya 'dul 'dzin, who reportedly compiled his own *Stages of the Doctrine* manual based on notes he took during multiple lectures. Bya 'dul 'dzin was considered one of the four 'sons' of Rong pa Lag sor pa and was also the first to record, in writing, the biography of Atiśa. See Helmut Eimer, "The Development of the Biographical Tradition Concerning Atiśa (DīpaṃkaraŚrijñāna)," in *The Journal of the Tibet Society*, vol.2 (1982), 41-51. The *Deb ther dmar po* has Rong pa *Phyag* sor pa rather than *Lag* sor pa. See *Deb ther dmar po* (1981), 65-66. Also see Jackson (1996), 239-40.

[74] For a complete list of the works Gro mo che studied and the people he studied with, see appendix 1.

[75] The Lum pa valley in the district of 'Phrang po/'go/mgo, present day Gong dkar county. For more on the 'Phrang po/'go/mgo district, see Sørensen and Hazod, vol.1 (2007), 180n.428. As will be discussed further below, one of Gro mo che's teachers was Chu mig pa shes rab grags, who, in turn, was a disciple of Lum pa ba ye shes byang chub.

monastery that had been founded in the eleventh century by Lumpaba Yéshé Jangchup (Lum pa ba ye shes byang chub, d.u.). During his year at Lum the monastery saw a significant increase in monks who came seeking teachings, monastic ordination, and residency.

In 1194, Nartang's third abbot Zhangtsün died without appointing his successor. Not unlike the Kadam monasteries in Penyül, Nartang monastery did not have a reliable system in place to appoint a successor. In this case the decision would come in a dream. One night a prominent benefactor (*yon dag*) of the monastery, an elderly man by the name of Senggé Drak (Seng ge grags, d.u.), dreamt that the deceased monastic preceptor of Zhangtsün, Dingkar Kushek, enthroned Dromoche as his successor. After sharing his dream with the senior monk administrators at Nartang, the monastery sent a formal invitation to Dromoche requesting him to accept the job position as the fourth abbot of the monastery. Dromoche readily accepted the invitation and was enthroned that same year in 1194.

Dromoche's first assignment as the newly appointed abbot was to campaign for the monastery. He traveled to various places in Central Tibet, such as in Yeru (G.yas ru), Okha ('O kha), Nyang Shap (Myang shab) district, again to Lum, Yang Wen (Yang dben), Tashu Lung (Rta shu lung), and other places.[76] Although the reasons for this campaign are not given, they were most likely for fundraising, recruitment, and to strengthen old ties, as well as forge new ones, with local benefactors and the religious elites. Dromoche's return to Lum, in particular, would have been to recruit monks that he had ordained and counseled during his brief tenure at Lum monastery. Although there is no record of his activities at Lum during this visit, he would again return in 1200 and in the winter of 1205, where he gave his future successor Zhangtön Chökyi

[76] See *Dpal ldan pa'i rnam thar*, 248a.5. I am unable to identify the places of 'O kha, Yang dben and Rta shu lung.

Lama (Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma ,1184-124) both novice and complete monastic ordination vows.[77] Also, six years prior in 1198, at Yachang (Ya chang) monastery in Tsang, he ordained the nineteen year old and future sixth abbot of Nartang Sanggyé Gompa Senggé Kyap (Sangs rgyas sgom pa seng ge skyabs, 1179-1250; henceforth Sanggyé Gompa).[78] Although the records only mention these specific persons, the ordination ceremonies were most likely a communal event with a good number of men participating.

Dromoche's aspiration to study monastic discipline as a teenager remained a constant throughout his life. Not only did he continue to ordain new monastic recruits but in 1209, at the age of fifty-six, he composed a two hundred and forty-five folio work on monastic discipline.[79] During his tenure at Nartang he was able to increase the enrollment numbers to roughly four hundred permanent resident monks. As the community increased, new foundations and housing became one of Dromoche's priorities. He commissioned the building of a larger temple, the Three Realms Temple (Khamsum Temple; Khams gsum), to support the daily monastic community gatherings of prayer and ritual (a temple that would later be called the Old Central Temple.[80]

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[77] See *Gnas lnga mkyen pa'i rnam thar,* 254b.4-5; 255a.1-4.

[78] Gro mo che served as the abbot of the ceremony, *dge bshes* Grags pa rgyal mtshan as the coordinator (*las mdzad*), and Jo sras [nam mkha' tshul khrims] as the private questioner (*gsang ston*). See *Sang rgyas sgom pa'i rnam thar,* 267a.2-4.

[79] The *'Dul ba'i rnam bshad yid sbyin nor bu'i them skas*. See *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyog sgrig thengs gnyis pa*, vol. 35 (2007), 183-429. According to the colophon, Gro mo che composed the text in the Male Earth-Snake Year (1209/10). See Ibid., 428. In addition to this work on monastic disciple and his *Lam mchog*, see note 158 below, the other extant work of Gro mo che is his commentary on Śāntideva's *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*, entitled*, Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i 'grel pa.* See *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyog sgrig thengs gnyis pa*, vol. 35 (2007), 29-175. Unfortunately, the colophon of this work does not provide the year or place of composition.

[80] Dbu rtse rnying pa. See Las chen (2003), 495. For more, see chapter 4.

Also during his tenure Dromoche established direct ties between Nartang and Radreng monastery in Penyül. The restoration projects that began in the early twelfth century at Radreng were still under construction. One of Dromoche's teachers, Gyama Sanggyé Wöntön, known for his powers of geomancy, was called to Radreng on a few occasions to consecrate the building sites and new temples.[81] Dromoche sent financial support to Radreng monastery on three separate occasions. Among other things, Radreng used Dromoche's donations for the construction of a golden roof ornament on the Central Temple of the monastery.[82] Having the wherewithal to provide financial support to Radreng while, at the same time, build new temples and housing at Nartang, suggests that Dromoche was effective in campaigning for donors during his tenure at the monastery. A probable key to this success was his willingness to venture outside the confines of the monastery to lobby for their cause and to recruit new and old disciples.

Dromoche also continued to revisit his campaign sites throughout Tsang during the later part of his tenure at Nartang. At Okha he presided over a funeral, experienced visions, and performed a ritual offering to avert the death of a monk whose boat had struck a block of ice. During a summer at Tashu Lung he prevented a boulder from crushing the local monastery. At Nyang Shap he organized a conference of local teachers, partly to address a skirmish that took place between one of his own travel escorts and person from Yümé. In Nyangmé he was offered a large amount of barley and wealth, which he evenly divided and offered to their local monastic community. Moreover, at each of these locales in Tsang he provided teachings and ritual

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[81] See Vetturini (2007), 116, 117. At the time, Rwa sgreng had been divided into two factions, referred to as the upper and lower seats, that were occupied by members from separate clan affiliations. See Ibid., 117. Sangs rgyas dbon ston also consecrated a statue and exorcized evil spirits at Gung thang. See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), vol.I, 259.

[82] The ornament was a statue of the deity *khams gsum zil gnon*. See *Snar thang chos sde* (2011), 29; Las chen (2003), 495.

transmissions to both lay and monastic devotees, teachings and transmissions that ranged from the offerings of ritual cakes to *The Stages of the Path* literature.

Dromoche taught *The Stages of the Path* from a unique fusion of Sharawa's exegesis and the eleventh century Kadam teacher Zhang Kamawa Shérap Ö (Zhang Ka ma ba Shes rab 'od, d.u.).[83] In his youth, Dromoche first began the study of *The Stages of the Path* literature with his novice ordination master Dingkar Kushek. In his early adult life he continued to receive different renditions of this genre from various teachers, such as Séchil Buwa Chökyi Gyeltsen.[84] The source for this unique fusion of Sharawa and Zhang Kamawa Shérap Ö's *Stages of the Path,* however, was Chumikpa Shérap Drak.[85]

Chumikpa Shérap Drak was from the district of Chumik, located a short distance just southwest of Nartang.[86] One of Chumikpa's principle teachers was Lumpaba Yéshé Jangchup,

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[83] Tsering Namgyal (2013) confuses *Ka ma* Shes rab 'od as the first *Kar ma* pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110-1193). According to him, "Thereafter the Nartang Lamrim instructions consisted of two transmission lineages, one stemming from Sharawa Yonden Drak (Sha ra ba yon tan grags, 1070-1141), the teacher of the founder of Nartang, Tumton Lodro Drakpa (Gtum ston blo gros grags pa, 1106-1166), and the other stemming from the Karmapa." See http://www.treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Droton-Dutsi-Drakpa/3957.

[84] See chapter 1.

[85] The dates for Chu mig pa are uncertain. Based on the approximate dates of his teachers and students, he was born in the later half of the eleventh century and, based on his biography, he lived until the age of seventy-eight. At age eighteen he received monastic ordination from 'Bre shes rab 'bar (b. later half of the 11th century), a teacher of Gro mo che's monastic preceptor Rtsis 'dul 'dzin gzhon nu seng+ge. Shortly after being ordained, Chu mig pa studied *Madhyamika*, epistemology, and other subjects, with *dge bshes* Khyung rin chen grags (d.u.), the later a teacher of Sa chen kun dga' snying po (1092-1158). Chu mig pa studied with 'Bre shes rab 'bar for six years (until 'Bre shes rab 'bar's passing). He spent two years with the student of Po to ba, *dge shes* Brag kar ba (1032-1111) and a short time with Grab pa gzhon nu 'od (*alias* Pho brangs dings pa). Shortly after, Chu mig pa returned back to Gtsang where he was appointed as the abbot of Ka mo monastery and later abbot at Chu mig. See *Slob dpon chu mig pa'i rnam thar,* 233b-235b. Gro mo che was sixteen years of age when he met Chu mig pa, who at the time must have been advanced in years.

[86] In the thirteenth century the district of Chu mig was counted as one of the thirteen districts (*khri skor*) of Bdus-Gtsang. Within this district was the Bka' gdams monastery Chu mig ring mo, which in the early thirteenth century, became an important site for the Indian scholar Śākyaśrībhadra and the Sa skya sect. See more in chapter 3.

also known a *geshé* Gangpa (*dge bshes* Gangs pa). Lumpaba Yéshé Jangchup had been a student of Potowa and Zhang Kamawa Shérap Ö, as well as an associate of Sharawa.[87] In all likelihood, the fusion of these two strands of *The Stages of the Path* began as oral instructions with Lumpaba Yéshé Jangchup, who then taught Chumikpa, who then, in turn, put them into writing.[88] Dromoche was a strong advocate of this fusion that he learned both from Chumikpa Shérap Drak and from his time spent as the interim abbot of Lumpaba Yéshé Jangchup's monastery. During Dromoche's tenure at Nartang, this *Stages of the Path* fusion became know as *Nartang's Stages of the Path*.[89]

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In the autumn months of 1232/33, the eighty-year-old Dromoche had recovered from a short bout of illness. In the winter of the same year he taught Nāgārjuna's *Compendium of Sutras*

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[87] According Chu mig pa's biography, Shar ba pa had consecrated Lum pa ba's crematorium (*gdung khang*). See *Slob dpon Chu mig pa'i rnam thar,* 234a.2-4.

[88] In the catalog of the forthcoming fourth set of Bka' gdams collections, there is an extensive *Lam Rim* work by a [Chu mig pa?]Shes rab grags. If this work indeed belongs to Chu mig pa Shes rab grags, a detailed study may provide a better understanding of this *lam rim* fusion. See *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs thengs bzhi pa*, vol. 91 (forthcoming), 333-556.

[89] Gro mo che also authored a work entitled: *Yang dag pa'i dge ba'i bshes gnyen gyi zhal gyi dgams pa lam mchog rin po che.* This work is now available in the *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs thengs gnyis pa*, vol.35 (2007), 5-25. Unfortunately, the colophon does not provide any details on when or where Gro mo che composed the text. David Jackson states that according to A khu chin Shes rab rgya mtsho (1803-1875), this work by Gro mo che is listed among the "*lam rim* works proper." See Jackson (1996), 240. However, this not a *lam rim* work 'proper' in the sense of an exegesis on the graduated stages of the path. Rather, Gro mo che's *lam mchog*, or *supreme path*, is a pithy work whose subject matter is the Mādhyamika view on emptiness. Gro mo che traces the lineage for the Mādhyamika view from Nāgārjuna, Atiśa, the "Ra sgreng pa" (i.e. 'Brom ston pa rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas), Po to ba, Shar ba pa, then to the Snar thang "father" (i.e. Gtum ston blo gros grags) and his successive son/disciple (i.e. Rdo ston shs rab grags). Since the third abbot of Snar thang, Zhang btsun rdo rje 'od zer, is not recorded in this lineage, Gro mo che may have composed this text prior to Zhang btsun becoming abbot in 1185. Another teacher cited in this work is [Zhang] Rom po, who was an immediate disciple of Atiśa. Bya 'chad kha ba authored a short work of advice based on Rom po's teachings, entitled *Rom po'i bshad pa'i gdams ngag*. See *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrig thengs dang po,* vol. 11 (2006), 299-305; Las Chen (2003), 495.

(*Sūtrasamuccaya*; *Mdo kun las btus pa*) at Nartang. Dromoche taught this work before. Sometime after the ordination ceremony of Sanggyé Gompa (future sixth abbot of Nartang) at Yachang monastery in 1198, he taught both Nāgārjuna's *Sūtrasamuccaya* and Atiśa's *Sūtrasamuccaya* (*Jo bo'i mdo kun las btus pa*).[90] Again in 1211 at Nyang he taught Nāgārjuna's *Sūtrasamuccaya* to Zhangtön Chökyi Lama (future fifth abbot of Nartang).[91] Although not counted among the "six authoritative scriptures" of the Kadam tradition, Nāgārjuna's work was nonetheless one for which many Kadampas had a particular fondness. A work that is more anthology than compendium, quoting from seventy-one different Indian Buddhist scriptures, the *Sūtrasamuccaya* indirectly outlines the typology of the 'three types of persons' (*skyes bu gsum*), which was the template by which the *Stages of the Path* literature was organized.[92]

On this occasion in 1232, when Dromoche reached the section in Nāgārjuna's *Sūtrasamuccaya* on how to generate the altruistic aspiration to enlightenment, he began to feel ill. The teachings were then put on hold and the monks promptly shifted into ritual mode to promote and support the well being of their abbot. The rituals however did not have the desired effect. Within days Dromoche's illness progressed to the point where the taste of food had become unsavory. Sensing that his death was near he took the throne at the head of the assembly to give his final testament:

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[90] See *Sangs rgyas sgom pa'i rnam thar*, 268b.1

[91] See *Gnas lnga mkyen pa'i rnam thar*, 257a.1.

[92] The 'three types of persons' are classified as: (i) a person of small scope (seeking better rebirths); (ii) middling scope (seeking liberation for oneself); and (iii) great scope (seeking enlightenment for all beings). For a list of the scriptures quoted in the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, see Bhikkhu Pāsādika, "Prolegomena to an English Translation of the *Sūtrasamuccaya*," in *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol.5 (1982), 103-4. As mentioned, Atiśa is said to have brought from India a *Sūtrasamuccaya* manuscript to Ra sgreng monastery. Sha ra ba then commissioned Pa tshab, who worked with Jayānanda and Khu mdo sde 'bar, to translate the text into Tibetan. See Las Chen (2003), 465-466.

> Om Swasti!
>
> The [spiritual masters] of Nartang have been the exemplars of betterment. I also have done whatever I could to not diminish the tradition and their life examples. All the past spiritual masters and abbots were respected, their teachings and advice were in agreement and vividly clear. Now if this monastic seat is to remain unscathed during this time of decline, when beings are wrought with great envy and hardships, you must work to benefit each other. Do not strive only after your self interests but work together with caring affection. Toward each and every being use ethics as the basis of your speech and do not lose your monastic vows. Solely working for your own self interests has never brought gain. Working for the sake of the greater community will benefit both oneself and others. Also, make *others* the object of your prayers. In short, since the hearts of the masters are inexhaustible, do as instructed and you will have continued prosperity and well-being. If you comply, you are in service [of the master]. If not, you will bring shame.[93]

Then on the night of the twenty-third of the fourth lunar month (*nam mthongs*) a meeting was held between Dromoche and a committee of senior monks to discuss the appointment of a successor. Dromoche's first choice was a person by the name of *geshé* Lokya Öpa (Glog skya 'os pa, d.u.). The committee however deemed this *geshé* be too old and feeble for the job. A decision was then reached between Dromoche and the committee of senior monks to appoint two masters (*geshés)* to temporarily serve, one as abbot and the other as monastic preceptor.[94]

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[93] *Dpal ldan pa'i rnam thar*, 251a.1-251b.3. *oM swa sti/ snar thang pa bya ba thams cad kyis yar dpe ru byed pa yin pas da yang thams cad kyis pho rus dang go cha bskyed las chos lugs dang rnam par thar pa ci mi nyams su gyis/ sngar gyi dge bshes gong ma thams cad kyis kyang gdan sa pa bskos pa med kyang thams cad bla ma la gus shing chos dang 'thun la gros che bas 'od lam me byung ba yin/ da na mar dus ngan pa dang sems can kun kyang phrag dog che bas bsham pa dka' yang/ gdan sa 'di kun ma nyams par byung na kun la phan pa yin pas thams cad kyis sgo thar thar ma byed pa spyi gros su ci 'gro dang thugs brtse 'thun par gyis la m nyams par gyis/ sa sar 'gro ba kun gyis kyang tshul khrims ngag pa la gzhi ma gyis la chos mgo thon par gyis/ sgo thar thar byas nas rang mgo ci mthor byas pa la snga phyi bar gsum du khe thon pa med/ spyi che dang spyi gros su ci 'gro byas pas rang gzhan gyi don thams cad 'grub pa yin/ gzhan kun gyis kyang smon pa'i gnas su 'gyur ba yin/ mdor na bla ma rnams kyi thugs kyis mi bas pa re gyis/ de ltar byas na da rung yang phan bde 'byung ba yin no/ 'di nas 'byung ba bzhin ma byas na zhabs 'dren byas pa yin/ 'di ji bzhin byas na zhab thog byas pa yin no*.

[94] *dge bshes phugs ma pa gnyis pos skyongs cig/ mkhan slob tshang bar yod pa yin no gsung skad.* See Ibid., 251b.3-5. A parallel passage is found in the biography of the fifth abbot, Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma. See *Gnas lnga mkhyen pa'i rnam thar*, 262b.3-4.

Dromoche entered into a meditative state and passed away shortly after midnight. The next day on the twenty-fifth, as his body remained in meditative posture, a select group of monks came to his room to make prayers of supplication. On the morning of the twenty-sixth, visitors were allowed to pay their final respects before the body was taken away to be cremated (*byang*). The atmosphere at Nartang remained sober. For the next twenty-one days the entire monastic community gathered at the new temple that had been built by Dromoche to perform the appropriate rituals and prayers for their deceased abbot.

Indian Scholars and Mongol Forces

In the backdrop of Dromoche's abbacy at Nartang were the fluid political events in India and on the Eastern Steppe. By the thirteenth century, Muslim (Afghan-Turkmen) persecution in India had devastated the great Buddhist monastic institutions in northern India, such as Nālānda and Vikramaśīlā. Although wandering Indians and Kashmiris, among others, were not an uncommon sight on the Tibetan plateau since the late tenth century, the changing political landscape in India meant that Tibet had become a haven for those fleeing this final wave of persecution. One such person was the Kashmiri scholar Śākyaśrībhadra (1127/45-1225; hereafter Śākyaśrī), who left Magadha for Tibet in 1204 at the invitation of the Tsang native Tropu Lotsawa Jampa Pel (Khro

phu lo tsA ba byams pa dpal, b.1172/73).[95] Śākyaśrī brought with him to Tibet a wealth of Buddhist Indian manuscripts and a congregation of scholars.[96]

Although Dromoche's biography is mute about Śākyaśrī and his entourage, their presence had to be felt at Nartang. After arriving in Tsang, Śākyaśrī travelled just up the road from Nartang to Chumik. Then after spending the summer months (*dbyar gnas*) teaching and ordaining monks at Tropu Lotsawa's monastery in western Tsang,[97] Śākyaśrī came to Nar Lemoché (Snar klas mo che), located not far from Nartang monastery.[98] Throughout the summer months at Nar Lemoché, Śākyaśrī taught his own brand of *The Stages of the Path* (*Rgyal sras*

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[95] According to his hagiography, Śākyaśrībhadra was invited by Khro phu lo tsA ba Byams pa dpal (b. 1172). We are also told that despite that the fact that the Turkic Muslims were invading Magadha causing Śākyaśrībhadra to flee eastward, he refused Khro phu lo tsā ba's initial invitation to visit Tibet. See David Jackson, *Two Biographies of Śākyaśrībhadra: The Eulogy by Khro-Phu Lo-Tsā-Ba and Its "Commentary" by Bsod-Nams-Dpal-Bzang-Po* (Stuttgard: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), 11-12. Whatever the veracity of this account, we can deduce that although Tibet was a possible haven for those fleeing persecution, it may not have been considered a *safe* haven due to the arduous passage to get there.

[96] The so-called lesser pundits: Sugataśrī, a scholar in Madhyamaka and Prajñāpāramitā; Jayadatta, in Vinaya; Vibhūticandra, in grammar and *Abhidharma*; Dānaśīla, in logic; Saṃghaśrī in the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*; Jīvagupta, in the five books of Maitreya; Mahābodhi in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*; and Kālacandra in the *Kālacakra*. See Verhagen (1994), 185-190; and Tucci (1949) vol.2., 334-336. Vibhūticandra (Rnam 'byor zla ba/Rab 'byor zla ba) became proficient in Tibetan with roughly thirty-three works attributed to him as either author or translator in the Tibetan *Bstan 'gyur*. For a list of such works in the Peking edition of the *Bstan 'gyur*, see Cyrus Stearns, "The Life and Tibetan Legacy of the Mahāpaṇḍita Vibhūticandra," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*. Vol. 19/1 (1996), 159-64. Dānaśīla is also credited as an author and translator. See Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India: Their History and Their Contribution to Indian Culture* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, (1988), 379; and Jonathan C. Gold, *The Dharma's Gatekeepers: Sakya Pandita on Buddhist Scholarship in Tibet* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 187n.34.

[97] According to some accounts, Byang chub dpal (b.1183-1264) was ordained at Khro phu in 1204. Byang chub dpal would be remembered as a prominent student of Śākyaśrī, who upheld and preserved the so-called Middle Region Vinaya (*bar 'dul/ kha che lugs*/*paṇ chen sdom rgyun*) that was introduced in Tibet by Śākyaśrī. For more, see Jörg Heimbel, "The Jo Gdan Tshogs Sde Bzhi: An Investigation into the History of the Four Monastic Communities in Śākyaśrībhadra's Vinaya Tradition," in *Nepalica-Tibetica Festgabe for Christoph Cüppers* eds. Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Petra Maurer (Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2013), 187-242.

[98] Also spelled Snar *blas* mo che and Snar *slas* mo che. See Roerich (1973), 81; 421, 600, 1068, 1069. Roerich also incorrectly glosses the *snar* of Klas mo che as *snar thang*. See Ibid., 1068. See also David P. Jackson, *Two Biographies of Śākyaśrībhadra: The Eulogy by Khro-Phu Lo-Tsā-Ba and Its Commentary by Bsod-Nams-Dpal-Bzang-Po; Texts and Variants from Two Rare Exemplars Preserved in the Bihar Research Society, Patna* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1990), 13, 66.

lam rim), a liturgy for daily practice, and more. Śākyaśrī was then invited back to Chumik to teach at Chumik Ringmo monastery. From Chumik he travelled to Sinpori (Srin po ri), located in the upper part of Yartödrak (Yar stod brag) in Ü. From Sinpori, circa 1207, Dromoche's teacher Sanggyé Wöntön extended his own invitation to Śākyaśrī.[99] After making his rounds at various monastic establishments in Ü, which included the Kadam monastery of Radreng, Śākyaśrī and his entourage returned to Tsang where they spent a considerable time at Sakya monastery, where they mentored and worked with Sakya Paṇḍita Künga Gyeltsen (Sa skya paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1182-1251; henceforth, Sapaṇ).[100]

Despite Śākyaśrī and his entourage teaching and living in close proximity to Nartang, as well as associating with other Kadam persons from both Tsang and Ü, there are no records to

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[99] While at Srin po ri, another invitation was sent by monks of 'Bri gung monastery in 1207 on behalf of 'Jig rten mgon po rin chen dpal (1143-1217). Members of Śākyaśrī's entourage, especially Vibhūticandra, discourage him from accepting the invitation because, according to one account, the Bka' gdams pa and Gdan gcig pa members of his entourage had little or no regard for 'Jig rten mgon po. Although Śākyaśrī rebuts Vibhūticandra, he nevertheless chooses not to accept the invitation and instead sends gifts to 'Bri gung monastery. The reluctance of Vibhūticandra and the Bka' gdams pa and Gdan gcig pa members of his entourage to visit 'Bri gung, was, in part, due to their criticism of the Bka' brgyud pa's theory and praxis of Mahāmudrā and the so-called 'Self Sufficient White Remedy' (*dkar po chig thub*), which emphasized, above other forms of practice and theory, a direct and spontaneous contact with the innate luminous nature of the mind. This criticism appears to have already began in the eleventh century with the first generation of Bka' gdams pas, defended by Lama Zhang in the twelfth century, and then further criticized by members of Śākyaśrī's entourage, specifically, Vibhūticandra, followed by Sa skya Paṇḍita in the thirteenth century. See *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.1, 329; Roerich (1973), 268-269; David P. Jackson, *Enlightenment by a Single Means* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994), 55-66, 72-73; Leanard W.J. van der Kuijp, Review: "Review: On the Lives of Śākyaśrībhadra (?-?1225)," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114.4 (1994), 608. The following year a second request from 'Bri gung monastery would be made while Śākyaśrī was at Rwa sgreng monastery. Again Śākyaśrī politely declines. Some accounts state that Vibhūticandra later felt remorse for dissuading Śākyaśrī to visit 'Jig rten mgon po. As atonement, he commissioned a *stūpa* at 'Bri gung. See D.Jackson (1994), 70.

[100] Sugataśrī taught Sapaṇ Sanskrit grammar, poetics, lexicography, Tantra and drama. The fact that Sugataśrī, a scholar who specialized in *Madhyamaka* and *Prajñāpāramitā,* taught Sapaṇ Sanskrit grammar, poetics, lexicography, and drama, is suggestive of the broader scholastic curriculum of the Buddhist monasteries in India, i.e. Vikramaśīla, from which they came. In addition, Dānaśīla taught Sapaṇ logic, and Saṃghaśrī taught him logic and epistemology, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, Madhyamaka, and Tantra. See David P. Jackson, *The Entrance Gate for the Wise (Section III): Sakya Paṇḍita on Indian and Tibetan Tradition of Pramāṇa and Philosophical debate* (Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1987), 27.

indicate that Dromoche sought out teachings from these Kashmiri and Indian pundits, or attempted to invite them to Nartang monastery. Śākyaśrī and his colleagues left a lasting legacy on Tibetan intellectual and culture life, a legacy that would later be felt and furthered at Nartang monastery.[101]

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[101] According to Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, "The influence wielded by Śākyaśrī over Tibetan cultural and intellectual history can hardly be overestimated. From his transmissions of certain doctrinal cycles, to his activities as an author and co-translator of Buddhist texts, and his establishment of various *vinaya* traditions. Tibet's subsequent intellectual history is unthinkable without him." See Van der Kuijp (1994), 613. Specifically, Śākyaśrī is memorialized with four specific contributions he made during his rendezvous in Tibet. His first contribution was establishing four *vinaya* transmissions/communities (*tshogs pa [sde] bzhi/ jo sdan sde bzhi)*. See D.Jackson (1990), 1; *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.2,1247; Roerich (1976), 1071-2. As van der Kuijp tells us, "The origin and precise meaning of the expression *jo gdan* are obscure. It is, however, already in use in (at least) the beginning of the twelfth century, hence prior to Śākyaśrī's arrival in Tibet, as its variant *jo stan* is used in connection with, for instance, Nag po dar tshul, who was a disciple of Sne'u zur Ye Shes 'bar (1042-1118), a major exponent of the Bka' gdams pa." See Van der Kuijp (1994), 603n.17. Śākyaśrī also had a convoy of Tibetan students and teachers that mostly consisted of Bka' gdams pas and the so-called Gdan gcig pas. David Jackson tells us that the Gdan gcig pas were strict *vinaya* followers of Śākyaśrī. See D. Jackson (1990), 5. Further, the *Blue Annals* describes two of these *vinaya* followers of Śākyaśrī, Rdo rje dpal and Byang chub dpal, as having "taken the vow of a single mat" (*stan gcig gi brtul zhugs 'dzin pa*). See *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.2, 1247; Roerich (1976), 1071; D.Jackson (1990), 21n.11; Van der Kuijp (1994), 608; and Heimbel (2013), 190. However, there were similar *vinaya* groups prior to Śākyaśrī that identified themselves as the "Stan gcig pas" and, according to van der Kuijp, *stan* and *gdan* may be interchangeable variants. See van der Kuijp (1994), 606n.26. These pre-Śākyaśri *vinaya* groups were also connected to the *jo gdan/jo stan* communites. And, according to Jackson, "these early *stan gcig pa* monks thus probably had links originally with Jo bo rje Atiśa's bKa' gdams pa tradition, which was also widely established elsewhere in 'Phan po in the 12th century, and this might explain the "Jo" element of the Jo-stan/Jo-gdan." See D.Jackson (1990), 22n.11. The "*dpal bzang po*" (*śrībhadra*) that accompanies a monk's name in the centuries to follow indicates that his ordination lineage comes from Śākyaśrībhadra. Śākyaśrī's second contribution was collaborating with Sapaṇ to retranslate Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika.* See D.Jackson (1987), 27. Śākyaśrī third contribution was a revamping of Indian Buddhist chronology that dates the death of the Buddha to circa 543 BCE (2020 years prior to the composition of the *Blue Annals*, c. 1476-1480). See *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.2, 1239-40; Roerich (1976), 1063. On the dates for the composition of the *Blue Annals*, see Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, "On the Composition and Printing of the *Deb gter sngon po* by 'Gos lo tsā ba gzhon nu dpal" in *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no.2 (August 2006), 1-46. Śākyaśrī's fourth contribution was his financial and moral support in building the great Maitreya statue at Khro pu in western Gtsang.

While Śākyaśrī and his entourage were traveling in Central Tibet, on the Eastern Steppe in 1206 an assembly of Mongol tribal leaders crowned Temüjin with the title of 'Universal Ruler' (Chinggis Khan/Genghis Khan, d.1227).[102] Chinggis Khan wasted no time in utilizing this title by launching an unsuccessful attack on the Tangut state of Xixia (or Mi nyag) in 1207. The Tanguts had been active participants and financial backers of Tibetan religious life since the mid-eleventh century. In the twelfth century the Tangut court had supported the Kadam followers by providing financial aid to Redreng monastery during the tenure of Zhang Ö Jowa (Zhang 'od 'jo ba, ?-1150). In turn, the disciples of Redreng's abbot served as chaplains to the Tangut king.[103] Most prominently the Tanguts had developed special relations with members of

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[102] See Christopher I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 185; Turrell V. Wylie, "The First Mongol Conquest of Tibet Reinterpreted," *Harvard Journal of Asain Studies* 1 (1977), 103; Karl-Heinz Everding "The Mongol States and Their Struggle for Dominance Over Tibet In The 13th Century," in *Tibet, Past and Present*, ed. Blezer, Henk (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 109; Thomas Allsen, "The Rise of the Mongolian Empire and Mongolian Rule in North China," in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol.6: Alien Regimes and Border States 907-1368*, eds. Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 331-343. Luciano Petech tells us that Mongol accounts claim that the Mongols and Tibet had contacts since the time Temüjin was bestowed the title 'Universal Ruler', which he incorrectly dates as 1026. See Luciano Petech, "Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with Mongols" in *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries*, ed. Morris Rossabi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 179.

[103] See Maho Iuchi, "A Note on the Relationship Between the Bka' gdams pa School and Mi nyag/ Xixia," Journal of Tibetology/*Bod rig pa dus deb*,, vol.8 (2012): 58-62. Also, between 1160-1180 the Tanguts hosted the Indian scholar and cohort of Spa tshab nyi ma grags, Jayānanda. See Davidson (2005), 334.

the Kagyüpa sect, specifically the Tselpa Kagyü sub-sect,[104] who were instrumental in spreading Buddhist esoteric lore at the Tangut court. The popularity of Tibetan esoteric Buddhism at the Tangut court became an important element of imperial Mongol interest in Tibetan Buddhism in the years to come.[105]

A second failed attempt to siege the Tangut state occurred in 1210.[106] However, this time, the Xixia ruler conceded Chinggis as his lord and promised to supply him with troops for future

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[104] Other groups included the Kar ma Bka' brgyud, 'Ba' rom pa,'Bri gung, See Sperling (1987), 32-34; Davidson (2005), 333-34. Also see Elliot Sperling, "Rtsa-mi Lo-Tsa-Ba Sangs-Rgyas Grags-Pa and the Tangut Background to Early Mongol-Tibetan Relations," in *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, ed. Per Kvaerne (Oslo: The Institute of Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994), 803-804; Davidson (2005), 333-334. Two people were of specific importance: (i) the Tangut Tsami Lotsaba Sanggyé Drakpa (Rtsa mi lo tsā ba Sangs rgyas grags pa, fl. 12th century), best known for his promotion of the Kālacakra in Tibet and for introducing the Xia court to protector deity Mahākāla. According to Sørensen, Rtsa mi lo tsā ba "must be considered the single most important figure in forging stable bonds between the Mi-nyag ruling elite and religious circles and the Central Tibetan hierarchs at this early point and his activities and his great impact on Central Tibetan masters also provide evidence that the teaching exchange worked both ways." See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 372-374. And (ii) Barompa Sanggyé Réchen ('Ba' rom pa Sangs rgyas ras chen, 1164/65-1236), a state chaplain (*dbu bla*) of the Tangut emperor, student of Lama Zhang, and also a staunch supporter of Mahākāla. 'Ba' rom pa sangs rgyas ras chen, or Ti shri ras pa, was the Imperial Preceptor (*dishi*) in Xia for almost 20 years (ca. 1206-1226) and founded temples in on the eastern borderlands of Tsong kha, Ganzhou, Lonzhou and Liangzhou (Byang ngos). See Ibid., 371,102.

[105] Sperling highlights the importance of the Mahākāla cult at the Tangut court as a "vital factor" of Mongol interest in Tibetan Buddhism. See Sperling (1996), 804. Although Davidson, in part, agrees with Sperling's statement, he is cautious in overemphasizing the role that Mahākāla played for the Mongol interest since the sources that Sperling cites are from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a period when Mahākāla became especially important. See Davidson (2005), 378n.5

[106] Two years later, in 1212, Śākyaśrī began his exit from Tibet to Kashmir by using a trade route that took him through Gung thang to Lo bo. As David Jackson tells us, "Mustang" (*smon thang*) refers only to the small walled capital city of the larger territory of Lo (Glo bo). Lo's territory embraced all of the upper Kali Gandaki valley, from what is now called Baragaon up to the highest elevations in its watershed." See David P. Jackson, "The Early History of Lo (Mustang) and Ngari," *Contributions to Nepali Studies* No. 4 (1976), 39. The *Blue Annals* tells us that while in Lo, Śākyaśrī left his stock of gold, because of the dangers of bandits as he continued to travel west, with his host and translator Khro phu lo tsā ba. This proved to be a smart move on the part of Śākyaśrī since bandits had twice attempted to rob him en route. According to D.Jackson, "This indicates that an unstable condition existed west of there, but that it was relatively safe to travel from Tsang (gtsang) through Gunthang up to Lo." See D.Jackson (1976), 44. Śākyaśrī died twelve years later in 1225.

military campaigns aimed at other states.[107] During Chinggis's campaign against the Khwarizmians in 1218 and his campaign against the Chin in 1222, the Tanguts however failed to live up to their promise by refusing to send troops.[108] Infuriated, Chinggis turned his attention back to the Tanguts and in 1227, the same year of his death, his military forces finally succeeded in conquering and annexing the Tangut state.

Although news may not have spread quickly on the Tibetan plateau in the early decades of the thirteenth century, the reports of Mongol incursions were known and likely feared in Tibet by the 1230s.[109] While these events on the Eastern Steppe did not have a direct impact on Nartang monastery during Dromoche's tenure, the effects would be felt in the coming years.

Nartang's Fifth Abbot: Zhangtön Chökyi Lama (1184-1241)

Like Dromoche, the fifth abbot of Nartang, whose birth name was Könchok Kyap (Dkon mchog skyabs), was also a Tsang native.[110] Both of his parents died shortly after his birth in 1184 and

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[107] Beckwith (2009),185. As Sørensen notes, the Gung thang dkar chag posthumously claims that these two attacks on the Tanguts by the Mongols failed due to ritual interventions by Lama Zhang and the 'Bri-gung founder, Jig rten dgon po rin chen dpal (1143-1217). See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 103n.125.

[108] Ibid., 188.

[109] See Luciano Petech "The Establishment of the Yüan-Sa-Skya Partnership," in *The History of Tibet*: *The Medieval Period*: *c.850-1895*: *The Development of Buddhist Paramountcy,* vol.2*,* ed. Alex McKay, (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 339. Giuseppe Tucci explains that news about Chinggis Khan planning an attack was known in Central Tibet. As a result, Tibetans chiefs and religious leaders called for an emergency meeting to decide what course of action they should take. See Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1949), 8-9. However, Petech argues that this account of a meeting taken place in Central Tibet is wrong, resulting from both confusion and fabrication found in later sources such as Sum pa mkhan po's *Dpag bsam ljon bzang* (1748) and 'Jig med rig pa'i rdo rje's *Hor chos 'byung* (1819). See Petech (1983), 179-180.

[110] Born in *shab sngo lnga* Sna rings, or Sna rings rtsa rgyad ring mo'i gram. See *Gnas lnga mkyen pa'i rnam thar,* 253b.6; and Las chen (2003), 424.

he was placed in the care of his uncle.[111] The uncle was a man with a liking for local and national politics and had family ties with the local religious and political elite, such as a local chieftain by the name of Jowo Karmo (Jo bo dkar mo, d.u.). Accordingly, he reared his nephew in Tibetan history, religion, and politics. From the age of six Könchok Kyap reportedly taught about the history, religions, and politics of the Tibetan dynasty to the local villagers and laborers, specifically the bricklayers in the village.

At the age of eight the uncle placed his nephew under the care of a *geshé* Tsangkar (*dge bshes* Gtsang dkar, d.u.). Tsangkar was a person who had past ties with the family. Reportedly Tsangkar had been called to ritually assist the mother of Könchok Kyap to conceive a child, that child being Könchok Kyap. Then at age sixteen, at Lum monastery, Könchok Kyap received novice ordination vows from Nartang's fourth abbot Dromoche. From there he traveled to Chumik, just missing Śākyaśrī and his entourage of Indian scholars who had left for Tropu. In 1205 Könchok Kyap then returned back to Lum to take complete ordination with Dromoche.[112] During one of these ordination ceremonies Könchok Kyap was given the name Chökyi Lama.

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[111] His father's was 'Bro rje 'phan lha, mother Jo mo thog thog mo, and uncle, Gtsang pa nam mkha' blo gros. See *Gnas lnga mkyen pa'i rnam thar,* 253b.6.

[112] For the novice monastic ceremony in 1200, Gro mo che served as abbot and *dge shes* Gnyen shak ya shes rab as the preceptor (*slob dpon*). For the complete monastic vow's ceremony in 1205, Gro mo che served as the abbot of the ceremony, *dge bshes* Drang po lung pa was the coordinator (*las mdzad*), and a *dge bshes* 'Dul ba dzin pa was the private questioner (*gsang ston*). See *Gnas lnga mkyen pa'i rnam thar,* 254b.4-5; 255a.1-4.

Since his family came from the Zhang clan, he would be better known as Zhangtön Chökyi Lama (Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma).[113]

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Not unlike Dromoche, Zhangtön Chökyi Lama spent most of his early adult life traveling to different locations in Tsang to study. Traveling monks were in fact not uncommon in Central Tibet. Even for monks who belonged to a monastic institution, the academic-monastic calendar was divided as such to allow periods of recess between the winter, spring, and autumn months. For many monks the recess periods were used to return to their families and relatives in their home districts. For others the recess provided an opportunity to visit various monasteries and teachers in the nearby areas. The only period when travel restrictions were enforced was during the summer months (*g.yar gna*s).[114]

Zhangtön Chökyi Lama spent a significant amount of time at the monastic settlement (*dra sar*) of Tsangdré Shérap Drak (Gtsang 'bre shes rab grags, d.u.) in the Nyangtö district of Tsang.[115] Following a teaching session with Tsangdré, Zhangtön Chökyi Lama travelled in the

[113] The *ston* in his name indicates that Gro mo che, the acting abbot for his ordination, is the person who gave Dkon mchog skyabs his new monastic name. The first, second, and fourth abbots of Snar thang also had *ston* as part of their names, respectively: Gtum *ston* blo gros grags , Rdo *ston* shes rab grags, and Gro *ston* bdud rtsi grags. The first abbot most likely received the name from his teacher, the Bka' gdams master Zhang *ston* Shar ba pa. There are no records of the ordination of Snar thang's third abbot, Zhang btsun rdo rje 'od zer. However, since *ston* is not part of his name, he most likely did not receive ordination from either Snar thang's first or second abbot. Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma would later be also refered to as Mnga bdag chos rje kyi bla ma.

[114] The basis for these travel restrictions are found in monastic discipline textbooks (*vinaya*). According to the *vinaya*, the Buddha did not travel during the summer monsoon months in India to avoid the inadvertent killing of insects. While the killing of insects during the summer months on the Tibetan plateau was not a major issue, the tradition of restricting travel during the summer months was upheld.

[115] The 'Bre clan had been influential in the Nyang district. See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 106n.142.

spring to Ü to make prayers and supplications in front of the Jowo statue at Lhasa's Central Temple. He also took the opportunity to visit the Kadam monastery Rinchen Gang (Rin chen sgang), located in the Gyama (Gya ma) valley, sixty kilometers to the east of Lhasa. Here Zhangtön Chökyi Lama briefly studied with Sanggyé Wöntön, a teacher of Dromoche and a prominent figure within and beyond the Kadam school.[116] As mentioned above, it was at the invitation of Sanggyé Wöntön that Śākyaśrī and his entourage had visited Rinchen Gang in circa 1207, only one or two years before Zhangtön Chökyi Lama's visit to the monastery. [117]

Zhangtön Chökyi Lama returned to Tsang shortly after his teacher Tsangdré Shérap Drak had passed away at his monastery in Tsang. It was here, at the monastery of Tsangdré Shérap Drak in the Nyang district, that Zhangtön Chökyi Lama was reunited with his ordination master, the fourth abbot of Nartang, Dromoche. Dromoche had received an invitation to teach in Nyang and judging from the extensive records of teachings that Zhangtön Chökyi Lama received from him, both men must have spent a good amount of time together in Nyang. What is also evident from these records is the brand of religion still being taught by the Kadam teachers and Nartang abbots. While the thrust of the so-called Later Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet was primarily esoteric studies, the Kadampas remained for the most part exoteric-centered. Like his predecessors Dromoche taught primarily from the "six authoritative scriptures," their Indian and Tibetan compendiums, the *Stages of the Path* and *mind training* literature. The esoteric doctrines

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[116] Rin chen sgang monastery was founded in 1119 by the Bka' gdams pa Dgyer som chen po gzhon nu grags pa (1090-1171). For more on Sangs rgyas dbon ston and Rgya ma rin chen sgang monastery, see Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 707-15; Dan Martin, *Tibetan Histories: A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works* (London: Serindia, 1997), 76-77. The Gya ma valley is also said to be the birthplace of the Tibetan emperor Srong btsan sgam po (seventh century).

[117] Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma also received teachings from a certain *dge bshes* Snyal. The teachings were meditative instructions in accordance with the tradition of the translators (*lo tsha ba*) on the deity Tikshna Mañjuśrī (*'Jam dpal rnon po*). See *Gnas lnga mkyen pa'i rnam thar,* 256a.4.

that he did teach belonged to the ritual class (*kriya*) of the Tantras, such as Uṣṇīṣa, Dzambhala, and Avalokiteśvara.

Two other influential teachers of Zhangtön Chökyi Lama were Chim Lodrö Tenpa (Mchims blo gros bstan pa, aka Mchim thams cad mkhyen pa, d.u.) and Maja Shakya Sengé (Rma bya shAkya seng+ge, b. twelfth century). As will be discussed in chapter 3, the Chim clan was an influential political and religious family during both the Late Imperial Period (ca.610-910) and the Later Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet. A trending pattern during the Later Diffusion was for clans/families to claim esoteric assets and doctrines for their sources of power, authority, and income. The exemplars of this esoteric pattern was the Khön clan of Sakya. Some clans like Chim, however, became specialized and coveted guilds of exoteric systems of knowledge. The exoteric specialization of the Chim clan was the *Abhidharma*. In 1223 Zhangtön Chökyi Lama travelled to Nartang to continue his studies with Dromoche. At the request of Dromoche, Zhangtön Chökyi Lama invited Chim Lodrö Tenpa to teach *Abhidharma* to the monks at Nartang monastery. For his visit to Nartang, Chim Lodrö Tenpa brought along his thirteen year old nephew, future heir to the Nartang throne and *Abhidharma* proponent, Chim Namkha Drak.[118]

The other influential teacher of Zhangtön Chökyi Lama was the Tsang native Maja Shakya Sengé, whose monastery was located near Sakya. Philosophical acumen was the exoteric guild that the Maja clan claimed. Maja Shakya Sengé was a student of the famed Mādhyamika, Maja Jangchup Tsöndrü (Rma bya byang chub brtson ‘grus, d.1185),[119] who, in turn, was counted as

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[118] See *Gnas lnga mkhyen pa’i rnam thar*, 258a.3-4. Also see, *Mchims nam mkha grags kyi rnam thar*, 282a.1-2. For more on Mchims blo gros bstan pa’s relationship with Mchims nam mkha grags, see chapter 3.

[119] See Paul Williams, “Rma bya pa Byang chub brtson ’grus on Madhyamaka Method,” *Journal of Indian Philosphy* 13 (1985), 205-225.

one of the eight principle students of Sangpu monastery's sixth abbot Chapa Chökyi Sengé (henceforth Chapa). Maja Jangchup Tsöndrü was also a student of Śākyaśrī's colleague Jayānanda and Chapa's philosophical nemesis Patsap Nyima Drak. As discussed in chapter 1, Sangpu monastery was a staunch supporter of Dharmakirtian epistemology and logic, and Chapa in particular was a strong critic of Jayānanda's and Patsap's interpretation of Candrakīrti. Some of Chapa's best students left to study with Jayānanda and Patsap during his early days at Sangpu.[120] On account of this, Maja Jangchup Tsöndrü was at a crossroads between the divergent views of his teachers, the views of Chapa verses Patsap and Jayānanda. He ultimately sided with the later but reformulated the interpretation of Candrakīrti's *Mādhyamaka* to allow for a tenable epistemological framework.[121] As a result, Maja Jangchup Tsöndrü became an influential proponent of Candrakīrti in Ü and Tsang, composing several *Madhyamaka* treatises and commentaries. The teachings that Zhangtön Chökyi Lama received from Maja Shakya

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[120] According to Kevin Vose, this "signal[ed] a shift in Central Tibet away from the Sangpu position—which in this period bore the label "Svātantrika"—toward Prāsangika." See Vose (2009), 55.

[121] See Thomas Doctor, *Reason and Experience in Tibetan Buddhism: Mabja Jangchub Tsöndrü and the traditions of the Middle Way* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2014). According to one accoung, during Zhang ston kyi bla ma's tenure at Snar thang, the logician from Gsang phu monastery, Skyel nag grags pa seng ge (d.u.), founded a college at Snar thang for the study of Buddhist dialectics (*mtshan nyid gyi grwa sa*), sometime between 1232-1241. See Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, "A Treatise on Buddhist epistemology and Logic Attributed to Klong Chen Rab 'Byams Pa (1308–1364) and Its Place in Indo-Tibetan Intellectual History," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 31 (2003), 412. According to Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan's account, this college at Snar thang was founded by Skyel nag grags pa seng ge during the tenure of Snar thang's seventh abbot Mchims nam mkha' grags. See Las chen (2003), 522. Both the biography of Zhang ston kyi bla ma, written by Mchims nam mkha' grags, and the biography of Mchims nam mkha' grags, written by Snar thang's eighth abbot Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims, make no mention of this college of Buddhist dialectics being founded at Snar thang. Skyel nag grags pa seng ge was also a teacher of Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims, who taught him Dignāga's *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* (*tshad ma bsdus pa*). See *Skyo ston smon lam tshul khrims kyi rnam thar*, 386b.5. One reason for not mentioning the building of a dialectic college in the biographies of the Snar thang abbots may be due to an ambivalence to its construction. Reportedly, a tea fine was imposed by Chim Namkha Drak during its construction. See Las chen (2003), 522.

Sengé included Maja Jangchup Tsöndrü's *Madhyamaka* treatise *A Thousand Doses of Madhyamaka* (*Dbu ma stong thun*) and Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā.*[122]

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Part of the intellectual scene at the turn of the thirteenth century was for religious specialists to branch out into other fields of knowledge. These other fields of knowledge became classified as the five sciences: (i) linguistic science (*sgra rig pa*, *śabdavidya*); (ii) logical science (*gtan tshigs rig pa*, *hetuvidyā*); (iii) medical science (*gso ba'i rig pa*, *cikitsāvidyā*); (iv) science of fine arts and crafts (*bzo rig pa*, *karmasthānavidyā*); and (v) the inner science of Buddhist religion (*nang rig pa. adhyātmavidyā*).[123] The addition of these fields of knowledge for the religious specialist was introduced and promoted in Tibet by Śākyaśrī and his entourage of Indian scholars. As noted, Śākyaśrī and his entourage spent time in Tsang at Sakya monastery, mentoring and working with Sapaṇ on logic, grammar, poetics, lexicography, drama, philosophy, esoteric doctrines, and more. Based on this education Sapaṇ sought to reformulate the criteria for what it meant to be a good Tibetan Buddhist scholar as someone versed in all five sciences.

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[122] See *Gnas lnga mkhyen pa'i rnam thar*, 259a.4-6. Considering that Rma bya shAkya seng+ge also taught from Chandrakīrti's *Prasannapadā,* it is unlikely that this *Dbu ma stong thun* refers to Phya pa chos kyi seng+ge's *Dbu ma shar gsum gyi stong thun.* As discussed, Sang phu monastery had been a staunch supporter of Dharmakirtian epistemology and logic and Phywa pa's *Dbu ma shar gsum gyi stong thun* contains a lengthy critique of Candrakīrti. For more, see Vose (2009).

[123] See Jonathan C. Gold, *The Dharma's Gatekeeper: Sakya Paṇḍita on Buddhist Scholarship in Tibet* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), 14-24. These five sciences were also complemented by five minor sciences: poetics (*snyan ngag*, *kāvya*), metrics (*sdeb sbyor*, *chandas*), lexicography (*mngon brjod*, *abhidhāna*), theater (*zlos gar*, *nāṭaka*), and astrology (*rtsis*, *gaṇita*).

While Zhangtön Chökyi Lama may not have met Sapaṇ's criteria of a good scholar, he did, nonetheless, come close. In addition to studying the inner science of Buddhist religion, Zhangtön Chökyi Lama also had knowledge of medical science and the science of fine arts and crafts.[124] Regarding medical science, he had an uncanny ability to accurately diagnose sickness from examining other's pulse, as well as the pharmaceutical knowledge to know what medicines to proscribe. As for the science of arts and crafts, Zhangtön Chökyi Lama excelled at painting, tailoring, and decorative wood carvings.[125] He was particularly skilled at painting Buddhas and decorative art for thrones. The style of painting in vogue from the twelfth through fourteenth century was the *Sharri* (*Shar ri; rgya gar shar bris*) style, a blend of artistic techniques and conventions developed in eastern India (Bengal) during the Pala and Sena dynasties (eighth-twelfth century).[126] Although geography and regional influence were often the deciding factor for an artisan's style and artistic sensibilities, this Bengali/*sharri* style was one of the most popular and widespread forms used throughout Tibet in the twelfth and thirteenth century.[127]

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[124] Like Sapaṇ, Zhang ston's biography classifies both medical science and the science of arts and crafts as branches of science that are to be studied and practiced for the sake of others (*gzhan don sgrub pa'i yan lag*). See *Gnas lnga mkyen pa'i rnam thar,* 261b.2.

[125] Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma's skill at tailoring focused on the making of monastic robes. According to his biography, he established a new fashion of monastic attire that would be adopted by his disciples. Unfortunately, no details are provided. His skill at wood carving included the production of various ornamentaions used for printing things (*spar ma*), stupas, and so forth. See *Gnas lnga mkhyen pa'i rnam thar*, 262a.2. Further, Zhang ston also specialized in ritual incantations and was known for his melodious voice. See Ibid., 262a.5.

[126] On the Tibetan name for *Sharri* style, see R. Jackson 2011:1; and 1996: 48-51, 69-72. Some of the features that separate *Sharri* style from the Nepalese Beri style include: (i) multicolored borders of inlaid jewels, (ii) a thicker multicolored head nimbus for the main figure, (iii) decorative arches behind the main figure that often feature animals, and (iv) triangular jewel settings in crowns. For this, see R. Jackson 2011: 2-5

[127] See Steven M. Kossak and Jane Casey Singer, *Sacred Visions: Early Paintings from Central Tibet* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 38-40.

A surviving thirteenth century fresco, or *thangkha* (*thang ka*), now part of the private collection of Thomas Pritzker, identifies the central figure as Zhangtön Chökyi Lama (Zhang ton cho[s] kyi bla ma).[128] The fresco measures 129.7x 114 cm. The central figure is surrounded by Atiśa, Dromtönpa Gyelwé Jungné, and other Kadam lineage masters, possibly including the previous four abbots of Nartang. Toward the end of the twelfth century and early thirteenth century, the depiction of a teacher's lineage on a *thangkha* painting was still relatively new in Tibet. This tradition may have begun a century earlier with paintings by the Kadampas.[129] The style of painting for this thirteenth century *thangkha* of Zhangtön Chökyi Lama is Bengali and shares many stylistic similarities to other extant *thangkhas* that were being produced by the atelier workshop of Taklung (Stag lung) monastery, located near the once Kadam stronghold of Penyül, about three hundred kilometers northwest of Nartang. A relatively common practice to commemorate the death of a master was for his/her students, or their monastic institution, to commission portraits, statutes, reliquaries, and so forth, in their teacher's image. It is plausible that this *thangkha* was commissioned by Nartang monastery shortly after the death of Zhangtön Chökyi Lama in 1241. Considering that the *thangkha* is dated to the thirteenth century and that Zhangtön Chökyi Lama had an invested interest in art as well as being a *thangkha* artist and art

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[128] Heather Stoddard was the first to identify this portrait as Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma (unpublished notes 1993). See Amy Heller, "A Thang kha Portrait of 'Bri gung rin chen dpal, 'Jig rten gsum mgon (1143-1217)," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no.1 (October 2005), 5n.10. Although Stoddard states that the identification of the portrait as Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma remains only tentative, there is ample evidence to suggest that the central figure is Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma. The figures surrounding the central figure are: Atiśa, 'Brom ston, Rngog Legs pa'i shes-rab (?) , Po to ba (?) or Shar ba pa (?), then four figures below them on the right and left sides of the central figure, which may be portraits of the four previous Nartang abbots. Further, the inscription on the lotus seat of the central figure identifies the figure as Zhang ston cho[s] bla ma. For an image of the *thangka*, see Jane Casey Singer and Philip Denwood, *Tibetan Art: Towards a Definition of Syle* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 1997), 64. Also see, Jane Casey Singer, "Painting in Central Tibet, ca.950-1400," *Artibus Asiae* vol.54, no.1/2 (1994), 119, 125.

[129] See R. Jackson 2011: 173.

teacher himself, the commissioning of such a portrait would have been done in the artistic style endorsed by the master.

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Zhangtön Chökyi Lama was forty-nine years of age when the fourth abbot of Nartang passed in 1232. As discussed, Dromoche did not select Zhangtön Chökyi Lama as his successor but rather appointed two interns to temporally fill the administrative and leadership void. Sometime that same year, however, Zhangtön Chökyi Lama took over as the abbot of Nartang and served for the next ten years. Although his priorities during his tenure were teaching and ordaining monks, the political events outside of the monastery had to weigh heavy on his mind.

Already by 1236 tensions were brewing throughout Tibet over the threat of a Mongol invasion.[130] The Mongol general Aljur/Anjur (1195-1263) launched military campaigns on towns in modern southern Kansu and formed an alliance with the Tibetan chieftain K'an-t'o-meng-chia (Tibetan name unknown).[131] Köden (d.1253/1260), the grandson of Chinggis Khan, was now the de facto ruler of the Mongols and was given Tangut as his appanage.[132] In 1239 he launched an unsuccessful military campaign in Liangzhou. Köden then turned his gaze toward Tibet and the following year he sent a sizable army under the command of Dorta (Dor tog, Dorda

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[130] See Luciano Petech, "The Establishment of the Yüan-Sa-Skya Partnership" in *The History of Tibet: The Medieval Period: c.850-1895: The Development of Buddhist Paramountcy,* vol.II*,* ed. Alex McKay (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 339.

[131] See Luciano Petech, "Yüan Organization of the Tibetan Border Areas" in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 4th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Schloss Hohenkammer, Munich 1985*, eds. Uebach, Helga, and Losang P. Jampa (München: Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988), 370.

[132] See Beckwith (2009), 191; (Petech 1983), 181.

Darkhan), who marched from Kokonor into the Penyül valley of Central Tibet.[133] Although the Tibetans reportedly resisted, which included the performance of tantric apotropaic rites,[134] Dorta and his army marched through the valley torching the Kadam monasteries of Radreng and Gyel Lhakhang, reportedly killing five hundred people in the process.[135]

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[133] See Wylie (1977), 103; Petech (1983:181), and Beckwith (2009), 191. Wylie suggests that since Köden did not lead the incursion himself, the main objective of the incursion was reconnaissance with long-range goals in mind. See Ibid., 319-320. How this Mongol incursion affected Eastern Tibet in uncertain but we can presume based on mere proximity that tensions were high. A passage in the *Maṇi bka' 'bum chen mo* tells about Guru chos dbang where, through his clairvoyance, he witnesses the warfare in Eastern Tibet in 1240/41 and calls upon Avalokiteśvara for help: "On the tenth day of the middle summer month in the Ox year, Guru Chos kyi dbang phyug perceived the sounds of Be-re (in Khams) and Hor (Mongolia) as a great cry; and thinking, "Many people have died, been slaughtered, and vanquished," he considered the great hostility and terror which were dispersing from the region….[Guru chos kyi dbang then said] "Hence, for their benefit, I shall exhort them with the compassion of Noble [Avalokiteśvara]." See Bradford L. Phillips, *Consummation and Compassion in Medieval Tibet: The Maṇi Bka'-'bum Chen-Mo of Guru Chos-Kyi Dbang-Phyug* (PhD. diss., University of Virginia, 2004), 180.

[134] The *Blue Annals* says that Ko brag pa (b.1170) summoned twenty-three masters to perform a rite to avert the Mongol incursion. See *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.2, 795; Roerich (1974), 679. Apotropaic rites against the Mongols (*dmag zlog* /*hor dmag zlog pa*) would be used again in the sixteenth century by figures such as Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (155201624). See James D. Gentry, "Representations of Efficacy: The Ritual Expulsion of Mongol Armies in the Consolidation and Expansion of the Tsang (Gtsang) Dynasty," in *Tibetan Ritual*, ed. José I. Cabezón (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 131-163; and Jacob P. Dalton, *The Taming of the Demons: Violence and Liberation in Tibetan Buddhism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

[135] See Wylie (1977), 103; Petech (1983), 181. According to Beckwith, "This classic number of 500 individuals occurs time and again in Tibetan Buddhist accounts, many of which are pious fabrications. It is certainly not a historical number. Accordingly, the entire story is doubtful." See Beckwith (2009), 191n.24. Whether the number of causalities is fabricated, the account of the torching of Rwa sgreng monastery and Rgyal lha khang is most probably not. As Sørensen states, "The devastating destructions and ravages following in the trail of a Mongol invasion, especially the 1240 incident left a lasting impression with the Tibetans, accounting for the permanent fear of future Mongol insurgencies…" See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 458n.104.

The reason for the targeted attack on Radreng and Gyel Lhakhang is uncertain.[136] Both Radreng monastery and Gyel Lhakhang in 1239 were small-scale Kadam monasteries. Even so, both monasteries, especially Redreng, were Kadam heritage sites and held a special place in the hearts of Kadam followers. Zhangtön Chökyi Lama and the monks of Nartang must have been devastated by the news and also concerned for the well-being of their monastery and themselves. In the years to come, Nartang monastery's greatest protector and buffer from Mongol forces was their geographic proximity to Sakya monastery. This proximity allowed for a tenable partnership and alliance with the ruling figures at Sakya monastery. The interaction between Kadam and Sakya masters began when Sönam Tsémo (Bsod nams rtse mo, 1142–1182), the younger son of Sapaṇ,[137] studied at Sangpu monastery with the celebrated logician Chapa.[138] Indirect relations between the two schools continued with the presence of Śākyaśrī and his entourage at both Kadam and Sakya institutions throughout Central Tibet, specially their presence in the Chumik

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[136] The fact that Dorta and his army did not target Bka' brgyud and Sa skya monasteries/temples may have been due to previously existing patronage networks between these sects, the Tanguts, and the Mongols. Petech argues that the evidence to support this reasoning is insufficient. See Petech (1983), 197n.40. This also does not explain why Rnying ma institutions, which had no such networks, were spared. Traditional accounts, however, claim that 'Bring gung monastery was spared because either the abbot Grags pa 'byung gnas (1175-1255), or the chief civil official (*sgom pa*) Shākya rin chen, caused a hail of stones to fall. Stag lung monastery, moreover, which is located on the main route between Rwa sgreng and Rgyal lha khang, was spared because the monastery was shrouded in a dense fog and the Mongols could not see it. The *Blue Annals*, Wylie, and Petech, state that the person responsible for the hail of stones was the abbot Grags pa 'byung gnas. However, citing 'Bri gung pa and Phag mo gru pa sources, Elliot claims the person responsible was the second *sgom pa* Shākya rin chen, who was reportedly captured by the Mongol commander Dorta in 1240 but later released on account of his display of sorcery. According to Elliot, it is significant that the Mongols did not deal with the abbot of 'Bri gung but rather the *sgom pa*, which highlights the military role of the *sgom pa* during this period. See Elliot (2003), 375, 383n.24; *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.2, 680-81; Roerich (1974), 578; Wylie (1977), 319, 332n.11; Petech (1983), 181.

[137] Davidson devotes almost a whole chapter to Sapaṇ, his literary legacy, and his mastery of esoteric ritual and literature. See Davidson (2005), 293-322; and Cyrus Stearns, *Taking the Result As the Path: Core Teachings of the Sakya Lamdre Tradition* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006), 23-125.

[138] Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp tells us how "Phywa pa was essentially non-sectarian although he is frequently met with in the bKa'-gdams-pa biographies." See van der Kuijp (1978), 357.

district. Direct relations would later be solidified between Zhangtön Chökyi Lama's disciple Chim Namkha Drak and Sapaṇ's nephew Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen. In the meantime, another disciple of Zhangtön Chökyi Lama was next in line to become the sixth abbot of Nartang.

Nartang's Sixth Abbot: Sanggyé Gompa (1179-1250)

Zhangtön Chökyi Lama passed away at Nartang two years after these attacks on Radreng monastery and Gyel Lhakhang,.[139] There are no records to indicate that Zhangtön Chökyi Lama appointed a successor to the throne at the monastery. The sixth abbot, Sanggyé Gompa, was five years senior to Zhangtön Chökyi Lama and took the throne in 1241 at age sixty-three.

Born in Tsang in 1179,[140] Sanggyé Gompa came from the Kyo (Skyo) clan, a clan with strong ties with the Nyingma sect. His father was a master (*slob dpon*) of the Nyingma Tantras and reared the young child according to the family's religious traditions.[141] At age eight he traveled to Yachang (Ya chang) in Tsang. While Yachang appears to have been a stronghold for the Kadampas, there was also strong Nyingma presence in the area. Here the child's encounter with Kadam monks is said to have triggered in him a desire to become a monk. This desire however was not outwardly expressed to his family or friends, possibly out fear that he would be reprimanded by his father. Although celibate Nyingma monks certainly existed in Central Tibet

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[139] Zhang ston is said to have composed non-extant biographies of Gtum ston, Po to ba, Shar ba pa, as well as a small collections of ritual manuals (*sgrub skor*). See Las chen (2003), 425; *Dpal snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyus* (2011), 29-30.

[140] His birthplace in Gtsang was a placed called Sgro phu sum.

[141] The name of Sangs rgyas sgom pa's mother was Jo sras mo phur skyid. His father's name is not given. See *Sangs rgyas sgom pa'i rnam thar,* 266b.5. Las chen explains that Sangs rgyas sgom pa was the son of a master of the Nyingma Tantras. See Las chen (2003), 496.

and beyond,[142] the forte of the tradition was the non-celibate tantrist. The expressed desire to become a monk would have signaled Sanggyé Gompa's desire to leave the family's tradition. During his stay at Yachang, Sanggyé Gompa received teachings that were particular to the Nyingma tradition from a master by the name Nyangtön (*lob dpon* Nyang ston, d.u.).[143] Until the age of sixteen he stayed with his father and other Nyingma teachers in Yachang.

Sanggyé Gompa eventually defected from the Nyingma tradition to join the ranks of the Kadam. In 1195, at the Kadam monastery of Yachang, the sixteen year old boy took novice ordination with Yachangpa Senggé Drak (Seng ge grags, d.u.) as the abbot and José Tsültrim (Jo sras tshul khrims, d.u.) as the preceptor of the ceremony.[144] For the next three years Sanggyé Gompa studied texts with Senggé Drak, texts that had part of the Kadam curriculum for two centuries now, such as Atiśa's *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment* (*Bodhipathapradīpa*), Śāntideva's *Engaging in the Bodhisattva's Deeds* (*Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*), Nāgārjuna's *Precious Garland* (*Ratnāvalī*), and others. Then in 1198 the fourth abbot of Nartang, Dromoche, was invited to teach and ordain monks at Yachang. That same year Sanggyé Gompa was granted complete monastic ordination with Dromoche as the abbot, Chumikpa Drakpa Gyaltsen (Grags pa rgyal mtshan, d.u.) as the coordinator, and José Tsültrim as the private interviewer of the

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[142] For a study on KaH thok monastery, founding in 1159 by the Rnying ma monk Dam pa bde gshegs (1122-1192), see Jann M. Ronis, *Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas: Contestation and Synthesis in the Growth of Monasticism at Katok Monastery from the 17th through 19th Centuries* (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 2007).

[143] These teachings included the *Ye shes sku mchog [gi bshags pa], Phur pa'i 'phrin las, 'Jig rten* [*pa'i theg pa*] *bstan pa'i* [*le'u*], *Rdo rje rnam Æjoms* and water libations. See *Sangs rgyas sgom pa'i rnam thar,* 267a.3-4.

[144] See *Sangs rgyas sgom pa'i rnam thar,* 273b.4-5.

ceremony.[145] After briefly studying with both Chumikpa Drakpa Gyaltsen and José Tsültrim, Sanggyé Gompa continued his induction into the Kadampa curriculum with Dromoche.[146]

There is scant information about Sanggyé Gompa's whereabouts after his ordination ceremony in 1198 to his appointment as Nartang's sixth abbot in 1241. He studied with eight different Kadam teachers during this period. Although Zhangtön Chökyi Lama, the acting fifth abbot of Nartang at the time, is often listed as one of his teachers, Sanggyé Gompa was in fact older than Zhangtön Chökyi Lama and his connections to Nartang came primarily from his interactions with Nartang's fourth abbot Dromoche.[147]

Prior to his abbotship Sanggyé Gompa was never a permanent resident of Nartang but rather spent his days at Yachang, Lum monastery, Jayül (Bya yul), and at other monasteries in Tsang. At age fifty-four in 1233, one year after the death of Dromoche, Sanggyé Gompa was active at Lum monastery where he constructed a new crematorium, commissioned the building of many religious objects (*rten*), and built new structural foundations for the monastery. As mentioned, Sanggyé Gompa travelled to Nartang, presumably by invitation, and was appointed abbot in 1241/42, the same year that Zhangtön Chökyi Lama passed away.

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[145] A *slob dpon* Chu mig pa grags pa rgyal mtshan is mentioned in the biography of Snar thangs's eighth abbot sKyon ston smon lam tshul krims (1219-1299). This list of teachings that Kyon ston smon lam tshul khrims received from this Chu mig pa grags pa rgyal mtshan, although more extensive, contains similar works taught by a *slob dpon* Grags [pa] rgyal [mtshan] to Sangs rgyas sgom pa, shortly after his complete ordination ceremony in 1198. In all likelihood, this *slob dpon* Grags [pa] rgyal [mtshan] is the same person as *slob dpon* Chu mig pa grags pa rgyal mtshan. See *Skyo ston smon lam tshul khrims kyi rnam thar,* 349a.2-350a.2; and *Sangs rgyas sgom pa'i rnam thar,* 267b.4-5.

[146] For the list of texts studied with Gro mo che, see *Sangs rgyas sgom pa'i rnam thar,* 267b.5-270b.5.

[147] Las chen states that Sangs rgyas sgom pa studied with Snar thang's two previous abbots, Gro mo che and Zhang ston. See Las chen (2003), 496. However, Mchims nam mkha' grags's biography of Sangs rgyas sgom pa does not give any indication that Sangs rgyas sgom pa studied with Zhang ston.

In 1242/1243 Sapaṇ and his five year old nephew Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen had returned to Central Tibet. Dorta and his army, who were responsible for the mass killings and destruction of Radreng and Gyel Lhakhang, had been summoned back to the Eastern Steppe in 1241 following the death of Köden's father Ögödei. Prior to his return Dorta attempted to persuade the abbot of Drikung ('Bring gung) monastery, Drakpa Jungné (Grags pa 'byung gnas,1175-1255), to return with him to the court in order to teach the Mongols more about Buddhism. Drakpa Jungné politely declined the offer while recommending Sapaṇ for the job. Three years later an official "invitation" along with an envoy of Mongols reached Sapaṇ.[148] Sapaṇ and his two young nephews, the nine year old Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen and the seven year old Chakna Dorjé (Phyag na rdo rje, 1239-1267), traveled to Drikung monastery where they were presented lavish gifts and persuaded to consent to the Mongol's invitation/ultimatum to visit the Mongol camp in Jangngö (Byang ngos; Liang-chou).[149] Sapaṇ and his two nephews left from Sakya in 1244. Sapaṇ was obviously not in a hurry to reach the Mongol camp and made extended stops en route

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[148] For a translation of the letter, see Shakabpa 1967:61-62. From problems on the authenticity of the letter, see D. Jackson 1986:17-23

[149] According to Wylie (1976): "If this story is true, then the lama of 'Bri khung was able "to foist" the Sa skya lama on the Mongols, a trick that turned out to be imprudent, for decades later the 'Bri-khung myriarch was to rebel against the Mongol-imposed Sa-skya regency." See Wylie (1977), 322. See also Petech (1983),181. By some accounts, Köden selected Sapaṇ because of his fame as a Sanskritist and healer. See Ibid., 321; and Shakabpa (1967), 62.

to teach.[150] After sending his two nephews ahead of him, Sapaṇ finally arrived at Liang-chou in 1247.[151] In a year's time Sapaṇ had conceded Tibet to the Mongols and was appointed viceroy. To seal the deal, Gūyūg (1206-1248), who was enthroned as the third ruling Khan in 1246, proceeded to send gifts to Tibetan monasteries.[152] Sapaṇ sent a letter to Tibetan chiefs and monastic leaders advising them to submit to the Mongols and pay tribute. This advice, however, was mostly ignored by both Tibetan chiefs and the monastic leaders.[153] Unseen circumstances, however, would halt any immediate action by the Mongols in Tibet: (i) the death of Gūyūg in

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[150] During their travels in Dbus at this time, Sapaṇ granted 'Phags pa the vows of a novice monk, either at the Jo khang temple or at Zul phu moastery, located on the eastern bank of the Skyid chu river. Both D.Jackson and Shakabpa have the location of ordination as the Jo khang temple. See D.Jackson (1987), 28; and Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 62. However, the *Blue Annal*s and Sørensen give Zul phu monastery as the site. See *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.1, 264;, Roerich (1974), 212; Sørensen and Hazod (2007):184, 420, 690, 695n.5. While Sapaṇ was staying in Dbus, the Bka' gdams pa monk Nam mkha' 'bum expressed his concerns, fears, and reservations to Sapaṇ in accepting the "invitation." Petech (1983), 181. While some accounts explain that Sapaṇ, who was sixty-two years old in 1244, took his two nephews to insure Sa skya influence after his death, Wylie suggests that he had no choice in the matter: "As the next leaders of the Sa skya ruling family, it seems obvious that the nephews were taken by the Mongols to serve as hostages after the death of Sa-skya Paṇḍita, thus ensuring the continuation of Tibet's submission." See Wylie (1976), 322.

[151] By this time Güyük, the son of Ögödei had been elected as the new Khan. Because of this, Köden was not at the Mongol camp when Sapaṇ arrived. See Petach (1983), 181; and Paul D. Buell, "Tibetans, Mongols and the Fusion of Eurasian Cultures" in *Islam and Tibet: Interactions Along the Musk Routes*, eds. Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 195. We are also told that Sapaṇ cured Köden of a sickness when Köden finally arrived at the camp a year later in 1247. As mentioned above, traditional accounts claim that Köden choose Sapaṇ because of his knowledge of medicine (and Sanskrit). Based on the Persian historian Juwaynī (1226-83), Buell suggests that Köden believed the cause of his sickness has witchcraft. See Ibid., 196; also see Beckwith's "Tibetan Science at the Court of the Great Khans" *Journal of the Tibet Society*, 7 (1987): 6-8.

[152] The gifts listed by Petech are: "4 *bre-chen* of gold (1 *bre-chen*=20 *bre*; 1 *bre*=ca.2pints), 20 *bre-chen* of silver; and 200 precious robes." See Petech (1983), 182.

[153] Tucci claims that not all Tibetan chiefs accepted the surrender of Tibet and some also refused to pay tribute. See Tucci (1949), 11. However, according Wylie, Sapaṇ's letter fell on deaf ears: "In spite of its [the letter's] threatening tone, the message seems to have made no appreciable impact on the Tibetan scene. There is no mention of local rebellion against the imposition of Mongol control; nor is it specified that the tribute was actually paid." See Wylie (1976) 322-323.

1248; (ii) the election of his successor Möngke in 1251;[154] and (iii) the death of Sapaṇ at Liang-chou at the end of 1251.[155]

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As with other Tibetan monastic leaders and monasteries during the period, the changing political landscape on the Eastern Steppe and in Tibet had not yet directly affected Sanggyé Gompa and Nartang monastery. Like the fifth abbot's tenure at Nartang, Sanggyé Gompa's tenure was relatively short, lasting for nine or ten years from 1241 to 1250/51. In lieu of the fact that he was appointed as abbot at an advanced age, the administrative duties of the monastery were likely allocated to other high ranking monks. Sanggyé Gompa's primary communal activity was teaching. In the same manner as his predecessors Sanggyé Gompa primarily taught from the "six authoritative scriptures," the *Stages of the Path* literature, *mind training*, and other Indian and Tibetan Buddhist exoteric works. In addition to teaching Sanggyé Gompa composed a work on *mind training* and perhaps a non-extant commentary on Atiśa's *Lamp for the Path to*

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[154] Möngke was the son of Tolui and from a different branch of Chinggis Khan's family than Köden. As Petech explains, the shift in power left Köden deprived of not only the throne but of any substantial power when it came to Tibetan politics. See Petech (1983), 182. Beckwith, however, says that Möngke was chosen as successor because of Köden's chronic sickness (evidently he was not successfully cured by Sapaṇ) and that Köden may haven already been dead by this time. See Beckwith (2009), 191. However, Beckwith's assertion that Köden already died does not seem to be the case since Köden reportedly sent an army into Tibet in 1252. See Petech (1983), 182.

[155] Shakabpa notes that Sapaṇ had given 'Phags pa his conch shell and begging bowl "thus signifying that he had handed over religious authority to him." See Shakabpa (1967), 64. Sapaṇ is also said to have given secular authority of Sa skya to his other nephew, Phyag na. As Buell explains, "This pattern of split authority was standard for the ruling 'Khon family. It provided for a blood succession while the religious chief of the monastery, in theory at least, remained celibate." See Buell (2011), 197.

Enlightenment.[156] His *mind training* work, entitled *The Great Public Explication on Mind Training* (*Blo sbyong tshogs chos chen mo)*, was one of the most extensive commentaries on the genre in the thirteenth century.[157]

On April 5 of 1250/51, during the waxing period of the moon, Sanggyé Gompa fell ill. From the fifth day of the waning moon until the fifth day of the next waxing moon (May 5), the monks at Nartang gathered in the main prayer hall to perform prayers and rituals for the health and long life of their abbot.[158] The monks alternated shifts between the day and night to recite from scriptures and to offer prayers of supplication and devotion to the Medicine Buddha, Tārā, and other deities of the Kadam and Nartang pantheon.

In the midst of the prayers on the eighth day of the waning moon, Sanggyé Gompa, walking gingerly with his cane in hand, made his way from the abbot's residency to the main assembly hall.[159] He walked down the aisles of monks and stopped when he reached the front of the row. Seated there was Chim Namkha Drak. He stood directly in front of Chim Namkha Drak with his walking cane concealed. Then thrusting his walking cane on the floor in front of

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[156] Reference to his *Bodhipathapradīpa* commentary is only found in Lo dgon pa bsod nams lha'i dbang po's *bKa' gdams rin po che'i chos 'byung rnam thar nyin mor byed pa'i 'od stong.* See Vetturini (2007), 267.

[157] The commentary is based on Bya 'chad kha ba ye shes rdo rje's *Seven-Point Mind Training* and its commentary by Se Spyil bu pa chos kyi rgyal mtshan. Sangs rgyas sgom pa also relied on oral instructions that he received from Snar thang's fifth abbot Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma. *The Great Public Explication on Mind Training* was included in the fifteenth century collection of *mind training* texts compiled by Gzhon nu rgyal mchog (b. fourteenth century) and Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan (1388-1496). See *Blo sbyong brgya rtsa phyogs sgrig* (Lha sa: Bod ljong mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2011), 230-327. For an English translation of this work, see Jinpa (2006), 313-417.

[158] See Las chen (2003), 425. The waxing moon period refers to the first fifteen days of a month while the waning period are days fifteen through thirty. However, Tibetan months do not always have thirty days. Days that are rendered to be inauspicious are often subtracted based on annual astrological calculations. The biography of Mchims nam mkha' grags, however, states that prayers were held for twenty-three days. See *Mchims nam mkha' grags kyi rnam thar,* 312a.2.

[159] See above note. Hence the eighth day of the waning period is the twenty-third (15+8=23).

Chim Namkha Drak, Sanggyé Gompa announced Chim Namkha Drak as his successor (*rgyal tshab*) to the Nartang throne, telling him: "from this day the two of us are as one."[160]

On the fifteenth day of the waning moon (April 23) Sanggyé Gompa returned to the assembly of monks to give his final words of wisdom. His advice to the monks, specifically to his successor Chim Namkha Drak, was simple and straightforward. He told them to remain the course paved by himself and the past abbots of Nartang. To not be distracted by the ways of the world but to remain steadfast within the confines of their monastic discipline. He reminded the monks that since he had appointed a successor to the throne there was no need for them to seek out teachers or teachings elsewhere, specifically at the monasteries of Sakya, Drikung, and Chumik.[161]

During the day on April 25 Sanggyé Gompa informed the monastic assembly that he would soon leave the monastery to enter retreat at the hermitage of Tashi Lung (Rta shi lung). He needed nothing else other than two or three attendants and a small amount of barley flour. The following day he relegated all his personal belongings to the monastery. Then on April 30 Sanggyé Gompa and his attendants left the monastery for Tashi Lung hermitage. His time spent in retreat was brief. In the early morning on May 5, 1250/51 Sanggyé Gompa passed away at the age of seventy-two. Funeral arrangements were made both at Nartang and at the Tashi Lung hermitage. Many marvelous signs, such as rainbows and the sounds of melodies, reportedly

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[160] See Las chen (2003), 497. Las chen's source for these events is an unknown *rnam thar* of Sangs rgyas sgom pa. These events are not recorded in the Mchims nam mkha' grags's biography of Sangs rgyas sgom pa. Although Sangs rgyas sgom pa's final testament is found in the biography of Mchims nam mkha' grags, written by Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims, the episode with his walking cane is not. For Sangs rgyas sgom pa's testament, see *Mchims nam mkha' grags kyi rnam thar*, 312a.2-313a.3.

[161] Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims's biography of Mchims nam mkha' grags reads: *sa 'bri chu zhal gang la yang ma gtogs*. See *Mchims nam mkha' grags kyi rnam thar*, 312b.5. Las chen, however, reads: *sa 'bri jo zhwal la sogs pa/ gang gi'ang phyogs la ma gtogs shig*. See Las chen (2003), 427.

filled the skies during the cremation of Sanggyé Gompa's body. Other wonders included the appearance of multiple body-relics and his physical heart remaining intact after the incineration of the body. Two reliquaries (*gdung rten*) were built to house his bodily remains: one at his cliff hermitage in Tashi Lung, which became known as the *reliquary of great enlightenment*, and the other at Nartang monastery.

Conclusion

The growth and expansion at Nartang monastery during the tenure of Dromoche was mostly thanks to his willingness to campaign for the monastery. These campaigns throughout Tsang brought not only new donors and supporters but also new recruits. With the influx of new recruits and the demands for housing much of Dromoche's tenure was spent on building new infrastructures at Nartang and renovating old ones. Dromoche's successor Zhangtön Chökyi Lama spent most of his early adult life traveling to different locations in Tsang and also in Ü. Influenced by the intellectual trends of the day, Zhangtön Chökyi Lama was interested not only in religious doctrine but also medicine, tailoring, and the arts. His successor Sanggyé Gompa also spent most of his life not at Nartang but at other monasteries in Tsang. Sanggyé Gompa became a permanent resident at Nartang only when he became abbot at the advanced age of sixty-eight in 1241.

Each of these abbots time spent away from Nartang proved to be an important factor to the growth of the monastery. By establishing new networks of lay supporters and monastic followers, these abbots were able to successfully expand upon the foundations of the first three

Nartang abbots. None however were to be as successful as the successor of Sanggyé Gompa, Nartang's seventh abbot Chim Namkha Drak.

Chapter 3

Coming of Age: Nartang with Chim Namkha Drak

> The size of his body was just right, completely dignified and resplendent. His skin was without wrinkles like a crystal mirror. Although he aged, his body was like a newly born child. In adulthood he enjoyed good health and his body remained steady like Mount Meru…. The mere thought of him would produce tears and protection from all fear.
>
> Like Candragomin he was an expert in the orthography of words, in poetics, grammatical terminology (*brda' phrad*), enumerations (*rnam grangs*), and more. With his ability to decipher the prior and later connections [of words] and topics, he was like Haribhadra. Like Dignāga he was correctly [able to decipher] meaning.
>
> As a bodhisattva he has been affiliated with the Mahāyāna lineage for an innumerable series of lives. Having mastered the inconceivable trainings and attained stability in loving-kindness, compassion, and the aspiration to attain enlightenment, he is like Avalokiteśvara.[162]
>
> -Kyontön Mönlam Tsültrim (1219-1299)

Like many prominent religious figures during the thirteenth century, the seventh abbot of Nartang was born into privilege. His family hailed from the Chim clan, a clan influential in both political and religious spheres since Tibet's Late Imperial Period (ca. 610-910). A bloodline had been established between clanswomen of Chim and Tibet's emperors since the eight century. For instance, a woman of the Chim clan mothered the grandfather of the Tibetan emperor

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[162] *Mchims nam mkha' grags kyi rnam thar*, C.P.N. catalogue no. 002806 (10), 301a.5-301b. *sku lus che chung 'tsham pa la kun nas lhun chags shing brjid pa/ sku sha shin du rgyas pa la shel gyi me long ltar gnyer ma'i rigs med pa/ dgung lo mang po bzhes kyang/ khye'u btsam pa'i lus ltar/ sku bde zhing gzhon sha chags pa/ rnam pa gang gis ji ltar bzhugs kyang lhun po ltar gyo 'gul med cing brtan pa/...yid la dran pa tsam gyis mchim gyo zhing 'jigs pa thams cad las skyob pa.* Ibid., 302a.5-302b.1. *tshigs gi sdeb sbyor dang snyan ngag dang brda' phrad dang rnam grangs la sogs pa shin du mkhas pa slob dpon tsan tra go mi lta bu/ snga phyi'i mtshams sbyor dang skabs don brda 'phrod pa dpal seng ge bzang po lta bu/ don rnam par dag pa slob dpon phyogs kyi glang po lta bur zhugs te/.* Ibid., 304a.1-2. *theg pa chen po'i rigs dang ldan pa'i byang chub bsems pa'de tshe rabs dpag tu med pa nas sbyangs pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa mnga' zhing byams snying rje byang chub kyi sems la brtan pa thob pa 'phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug lta bur bzhugs te/.*

Trisong Détsen (Kri srong lde btsan, 742-c.800).[163] This royal blood line led to the appointment of clansmen of Chim to the royal court as 'uncle ministers' (*zhang blon*) and chief ministers *(blon chen po*) to the Tibetan emperor Trisong Détsen (Kri srong lde btsan, 742-c.800) and his immediate successors.[164]

In the religious sphere, like other noble clans seeking to protect their ancestral heritage, some members of the Chim clan sought to keep ancestral cults at the forefront of the Tibetan empire and were initially skeptical of the newly imported Buddhist religion.[165] Other members of the Chim clan sided with the new religion and were active participants during the consecration of Samyé (Bsam yas) monastery, as well as the alleged Samyé debate (ca. 792-797). Although aristocratic clans, such as Chim, were temporally out of commission during the collapse of the Tibetan empire (c.950), they nevertheless reasserted themselves during the Later Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet (late tenth-thirteenth century) as a rallying force for the organization and building of new institutions and religious creeds.

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[163] See Brandon Dotson, "At the Behest of the Mountain: Gods, Clans, and Political Topography in Post-Imperial Tibet," in *Old Tibetan Studies: Dedicated to the Memory of R.E. Emmerick*, ed. Christina Scherrer-Scaub (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 190-91.

[164] *Zhang blon* ministers stemmed from the queen's clans. For more on the term *zhang* ("uncle") *blon* ("minister"), see Pasang Wangdu and Hildegard Diemberger, *dBa bzhed: The Royal Narrative Concerning the Bringing of the Buddha's Doctrine to Tibet* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 29n.36. The Mchims clan, along with 'Bro, Tshes pong, and Sna nam clans, was counted as one of the four Zhang, or heir-producing, clans. They were also counted among the "ancient relatives of the four borders" (*gna gnyen mtha' bzhi*). See Brandon Dotson, "A Note on Źaṅ: Maternal Relatives of the Tibetan Relatives of the Tibetan Royal Line and Marriage Into the Royal Family," in *Journal Asiatique* 292.2-2 (2004): 75-99. Sørensen and Hazod (2005), 230n.26. Also Zuiho Yamaguchi, "The Establishment and Significance of the Zhang Lon System of Rule by Maternal Relatives During the T'u-Fan Dynasty," in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bundo* 50 (1992), 57-80.

[165] See Wangdu and Diemberger (2000), 7, 7n.5.

Chim Namkha Drak was born in Nyangtö Taktsel (Nyang stod stag tshal), present day Gyantsé (Rgyal rtse) district (*rdzong*) of the Zhikatsé prefecture (*sa khul*).[166] According to his biography, Nyangtö was reverently referred to as a "little India" and at the center of Buddhist activity in Ü and Tsang during the thirteenth century. Part hyperbole and part truth, since the start of the Later Diffusion in the tenth century, Nyangtö had been an active area for all types of religious teachers and settlements, including the Kadam and past abbots of Nartang, such as Zhangtön Chökyi Lama and Dromoche.[167]

Chim Namkha Drak was the oldest of three sons.[168] His father, Dargön (Dar mgon), was a local chieftain (*dpon*) and a master craftsman. His mother, Lhasa Men (Lha sa sman), was both learned and devoted to religion. During her pregnancy she received the blessings from a master who foretold that the child will uphold the family tradition of his clan grandfathers, which included such figures as: Chim Tsöndrü Sengé (Mchims brtson 'grus seng+ge, d.u.), Chim Tsöndrü Gyeltsen (Mchims rtson 'grus rgyal mtshan, d.u.), and Chim Zhangtsün (Mchims zhang btsun, d.u.), all of whom were religious specialists of *Abhidharma* literature.

As mentioned in chapter 2, beginning as early as the tenth century certain clans formed guilds to monopolize exoteric systems of knowledge for their source of power, authority, income, and station. Like their esoteric counterparts, these guilds used discretion and confidentiality to

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[166] See *Mchims nam mkha' grags kyi rnam thar*, 280b.2; Las chen (2003), 503. Nyang stod stag tshal is also called Nyang stod smin gro'i phu kha'u. See Lo dgon pa in Vetturini (2007), 267; also TBRC: http://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=G877

[167] See chapter 1 and 2. For more on the people and clans associated with Nyang stod, see Robert Vitali, "Glimpses of the History of the rGya Clan with Reference to Nyang stod, Lho mon and Nearby Lands (7th-13th Century)" in *The Spider and the Piglet*, ed. Karma Ura and Sonam Kinga (Thimphu: Centre for Bhutan Studies, 2004), 6-20. Also see chapter 4 for a discussion on Tibet's shift from a place on the periphery to a center of the Buddhist world.

[168] See *Snar thang gi gdan sa pa bdun pa'i rnam thar: Rin chen gter mdzod*, 32a.6

transmit their trade. The exoteric guild of the Chim clan was the *Abhidharma* and the parents and relatives of Chim Namkha Drak sought to ensure that the child would continue the family's trade. From birth until age thirteen the child remained with his parents where he learned reading, writing, and scripture. He also learned art and crafts, such as engraving and painting, from his father.

Chim Namkha Drak's induction into the family's *Abhidharma* guild began at age thirteen under the tutelage of his great paternal uncle, himself a monk, 'the all-knowing' Chim Lodrö Tenpa (Mchims blo gros bstan pa, d.u.). That same year Zhangtön Chökyi Lama had invited Chim Lodrö Tenpa to teach the *Abhidharma* to the monks of Nartang monastery.[169] At the time Dromoche was still the abbot at Nartang monastery and Zhangtön Chökyi Lama was a visiting preceptor (*slob dpon*) at the monastery. The hierarchal structure of the monastery would have necessitated that Zhangtön Chökyi Lama first seek permission from the acting abbot. Dromoche readily complied with the request and in 1223 Chim Lodrö Tenpa and his nephew arrived at Nartang monastery. Apparently, Zhangtön Chökyi Lama was particularly impressed by the thirteen-year-old Chim Namkha Drak's knowledge of the *Abhidharma,* as well as his ability to sit still, listen, and take copious notes during his uncle's lectures.

Both Chim Namkha Drak and his uncle remained at Nartang for short time before returning home in Nyangtö. When Chim Namkha Drak turned sixteen in 1226, he told his uncle of his desire to take novice monastic vows from Dromoche at Nartang. His uncle agreed with his decision and they both set out again for Nartang that same year. En route to the monastery, a

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[169] See chapter 2. Evidence for this is found in both the biography of Mchim nam mkha grags and Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma. See *Gnas lnga mkhyen pa'i rnam thar*: 258a.3-4; and *Mchims nam mkha grags kyi rnam thar*: 282a.1-2.

significant dispute had taken place between the Chumik and Zhelü (Zhal lus*)* districts.[170] The road had been blocked to Nartang and Chim Lodrö Tenpa and his nephew were forced to return home. Once they arrived back in Nyangtö, Chim Lodrö Tenpa explained to his nephew that it would be best to remain put for the time being. Chim Lodrö Tenpa then organized a novice ordination ceremony in Nyangtö for his nephew. With his uncle acting as abbot of the ceremony and Dülwazinpa Bachar Sönam Drak (’Dul ba ’dzin pa ba phyar bsod nam grags, d.u.) as the preceptor, Chim Namkha Drak received his novice monastic ordination that same year in 1226. After the ceremony Chim Lodrö Tenpa reassured his nephew that complete monastic ordination would later be taken at Nartang with Dromoche.

For the next four years Chim Namkha Drak stayed with his uncle and their community of monks where he was reared in the clan’s trade of *Abhidharma* and exoteric scriptures. In 1230 Chim Namkha Drak, his uncle, and Dülwazinpa Bachar Sönam Drak, travelled back to Nartang without incident. Whatever conflict had occurred between the Chumik and Zhelü districts was most likely settled, allowing for safe passage. Their timing of return was also not random. Chim Namkha Drak was now twenty years old and of age to receive his monastic vows of complete ordination.

As his uncle had promised, preparations for the ordination ceremony were made shortly after their arrival at Nartang. Most likely the ordination ceremony of Chim Namkha Drak was not a private affair but a communal event that involved a least a handful of other novices. Preparations had to be made by both the recipients of the vows and by those conferring the vows. For the recipients, offerings had to be procured, monastic robes fitted, and heads cleanly shaved.

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[170] *chu zhal gyi khrug pa chen po.* The reason or nature of the dispute is not given. See *Mchims nam mkha grags kyi rnam thar*: 282a.6-282b.1.

Considering the Chim clan's symbolic and economic status, Chim Namkha Drak's immediate family were probably the primary donors for the ordination ceremony at Nartang. For those conferring the vows, such as the abbot, preceptor, coordinator, and interviewer, preparations included scheduling an auspicious day and time for the ceremony, allocating the offerings within the monastery, purificatory rituals, and so on. Other menial tasks, such as arranging the altar and offerings, sorting of ritual implements and seating, would have been assigned to other monks on a lower tier of the hierarchical scale in the monastery. After such preparations had been made, with Dromoche as the acting abbot of the ceremony, Dülwazinpa Bachar Sönam Drak as the coordinator, and uncle Chim Lodrö Tenpa as the private interviewer, Chim Namkha Drak was granted the vows of complete ordination at Nartang monastery that same year in 1230.[171]

Chim Namkha Drak had a decision to make after his ordination. He could return with his uncle, remain at Nartang, or enroll at another monastic seminary in Tsang or Ü. Moreover, the Chim clan did not appear to have any specific allegiance to the Kadam tradition. Sakya monastery could have been a viable option. Chim Namkha Drak's tutelage under his uncle had lasted for seven years from 1223 to 1230. Based on the record of teachings that he received, his uncle taught him a range of texts that were and were not solely within the fold of the Kadam tradition.[172] Chim Lodrö Tenpa was in fact referred to as someone who was impartial (*phyogs ris med pa*) when it came to teaching religion. This impartiality, combined with specialization, was strategically and practically important as it provided an open market to travel and teach. In the

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[171] Ibid: 282b.4-5. Considering that Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma appears to have been the *de facto* preceptor (*slob dpon*) at Snar thang during the time of Mchims nam mkha' grags's ordination, although not stated, it is possible that Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma also served as the preceptor for the ceremony.

[172] For a list of works taught by Mchims blo gros brtan pa to Mchims nam mkha' grags, see *Mchims nam mkha grags kyi rnam thar*: 283b.2-285a.2.

thirteenth century, the *Abhidharma* was used and studied to different degrees and ends by all Tibetan Buddhist religious sects, such as the Nyingma, Sakya, Kadam, and Kagyü. However, the decision that Chim Namkha Drak faced would be an important factor in deciding his allegiances to not only a particular sect but also an institution.

Although Chim Namkha Drak may have been too young to comprehend the religious landscape of Central Tibet, his uncle would have been aware that the education afforded to him at, for example, Nartang compared to Sangpu, would be substantially different in scope and content. Chim Namkha Drak's first thought was to leave Nartang to study elsewhere.[173] Zhangtön Chökyi Lama, who clearly had ties with Chim Lodrö Tenpa prior to his invitation to teach at Nartang in 1223, pleaded for Chim Namkha Drak to remain at Nartang. In the end, with his uncle's consent and Zhangtön Chökyi Lama's urging, Chim Namkha Drak was officially enrolled at Nartang. As his recruit, Zhangtön Chökyi Lama made sure that Chim Namkha Drak received a level of respect and status among the monastics. One indication of rank among the monastic community was seating. The closer a monk was seated to abbot's throne, the higher in rank. Zhangtön Chökyi Lama had the young Chim Namkha Drak's seat arranged at the head of the assembly, closest to Dromoche's throne. He also bestowed upon him the honorific title of 'preceptor' (*slob dbon po*) and required that the monks use the title when addressing Chim Namkha Drak .

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[173] *yul phyogs kyi dben pa cig tu bzhugs.* See *Mchims nam mkha grags kyi rnam thar*, 283a.1. While *dben pa* often refers to a hermitage or a remote place it can also refers to a monastery. For instance, Snar thang monastery is often referred to as *dben pa'i gnas.* See Ibid., 288a.4; *Skyo ston smon lam tshul khrims kyi rnam thar*, 376b.1.

Shortly after the decision had been made for Chim Namkha Drak to remain at Nartang monastery, his uncle returned home.[174] His uncle's colleague Dülwazinpa Bachar Sönam Drak, who had traveled with them to Nartang in 1230 and was involved in both Chim Namkha Drak's novice and complete ordination ceremonies, remained behind at Nartang. As the title in his name impiles (Dülwazinpa, "one who upholds monastic rules"), Bachar Sönam Drak was an expert in monastic discipline and was assigned to be one of Chim Namkha Drak primary monastic educators, teaching him from Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* (*'Dul ba mdo rtsa ba*). For three winters, from 1230-1232/33, Chim Namkha Drak also studied and received transmissions from Nartang's fourth abbot Dromoche. He learned many of the Indian classics that were the mainstay for the Kadampas and that had formed much of the curriculum at Nartang during the period, such as Atiśa's *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment* (*Bodhipathapradīpa,*), Āryāsura's *Stories of the Buddha's Lives* (*Jātakamālā*), and Śāntideva's *Engaging in the Bodhisattva's Deeds* (*Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*) and *Compendium of Training* (*Śikṣāsamuccaya*).[175]

Dromoche gave his final testament to monks at Nartang shortly before his death in 1232/33. Chim Namkha Drak was one of the monks in attendance as well as an active participant in the premortem and postmortem rituals performed at the monastery.[176] Zhangtön Chökyi Lama took the throne of Nartang as the fifth abbot that same year. As discussed, Zhangtön Chökyi Lama had shown a strong favoritism toward Chim Namkha Drak from the

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[174] Mchims nam mkha' grags's biography only states that he studied with his uncle Mchims Blo gros brtan pa for seven years. Since Mchims nam mkha' grags began his studies with his uncle at age thirteen, in 1223, the period lasted until his complete ordination ceremony at Snar thang in 1230. See *Mchims nam mkha grags kyi rnam thar*, 283b.2.

[175] See appendix 1.

[176] For a translation of Gro mo che's final testament, see chapter 2.

start, undoubtedly due to his connection to the uncle. Continuing where Dromoche had stopped, Zhangtön Chökyi Lama further schooled Chim Namkha Drak in the Kadam curriculum and reaffirmed his vows related to the aspiration to attain enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) in conjunction with teachings on *mind training*.[177] Chim Namkha Drak had first received the two types of *bodhicitta* vows from Dromoche. The first type is the aspiring vow (*smon pa sems*), for which Dromoche conferred the rite based on the three types of individuals as presented in *The Stages of Path.* The second type is the vow of engagement (*'jug pa sems*). Dromoche conferred this vow based on the Mind-Only tradition (Cittamātra; *sems tsam pa'i lugs*) stemming from Maitreya. Unlike Dromoche's conferral of the *bodhisattva* vows based on the Mind-Only tradition, Zhangtön Chökyi Lama conferred the rite based on the Middle Way tradition (Madhyamaka; *dbu ma lugs kyi sems bskyed*) stemming from Mañjuśrī.

While these two different traditions of conferring the vows of *bodhicitta* had Indian antecedents, a distinction between the two was exacerbated by Sapaṇ.[178] Sapaṇ was especially critical of the Kadam teacher Sharawa Yonden Drak, the teacher of Nartang's founder Tumtön Lodrö Drakpa, for his assertion that the two traditions of conferring the *bodhicitta* rite were essentially the same.[179] According to Sapaṇ, the Mind-Only tradition of conferring the *bodhicitta* rite should be discarded and the Middle Way tradition should be the only system that

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[177] Mchims nam mkha' grags also received *bodhisattva* vows from Cho kyi rgyal po [?], Rma bya, sLob dpon gnyan, and others. See *Mchims nam mkha grags kyi rnam thar,* 297b.2-5.

[178] Indian antecedents include those of Śākyaśrībhadra and Vibhūticandra. See Dorji Wangchuk, *The Resolve to Become a Buddha: A Study of the Bodhicitta Concept in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*. Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series 23 (Tokyo: The Internaional Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2007), 172-177; and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch, *Three-Vow Theories in Tibetan Buddhism: A Comparitive Study of Major Traditions from the Twelfth through Nineteenth Century* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2002).

[179] See Wangchuk (2007), 172-73.

is used. Although there was a shift in conferring the *bodhicitta* rite between Nartang's fourth abbot Dromoche (Mind-Only)—which not coincidentally had been bestowed upon Chim Namkha Drak prior to Sapaṇ writing his *Clear Differentation of the Three Vows* (*Sdom gsum rab dbye*) in ca. 1232— and the fifth's abbot Zhangtön Chökyi Lama (Middle Way), bestowed after 1232, the Nartang abbots maintained the position that these two traditions of conferring the vows were essentially the same.[180] Chim Namkha Drak would later write a separate ritual manual on the two types of *bodhicitta* vows—the aspiring vow and vow of engagement—in which he further professes that the Mind-Only and Middle Way traditions of conferring the *bodhicitta* rite are only different in terms of the ritual procedure during the ceremony, not in terms of view or practice.[181] Unlike Nartang's six previous abbots, Chim Namkha Drak spent most of his adult

[180] See Jared D. Rhoton, *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes: Essential Distinctions Among the Individual Liberation, Great Vehicle, and Tantric Systems. The sDom gsum rab dbye and Six Letters* (Albany: State Univeristy of New York Press, 2002).

[181] See *Mchims nam mkha grags kyi rnam thar*, 298a.6. For the work on the aspiring vows, see the *Smon pa sems bskyed kyi cho ga zhes bya ba*, in *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyog sgrig thengs gnyis pa,* vol.47 (2007): 339-363. And for the engagement vows, see '*Jug pa sems bskyed kyi cho ga*, Ibid., vol.61: 97-114.

life at Nartang. In total he had nineteen/twenty-three instructors (*blob dpon*)[182] that were either permanent members of the Nartang community or who had been invited, as his uncle had, to teach at the monastery. In addition to instructions on monastic discipline and Indian and Tibetan exoteric treatises, Chim Namkha Drak also received initiations (*dbang*), blessings (*byin brlabs*), tantric vows (*rig pa dzin pa'i sdom pa*), and transmissions (*rje snang*) in the Tantras (*rgyud sde*/ *gsang sngags rim pa)* from eight teachers.[183] The biography of Chim Namkha Drak does not specify his Tantric teachings or whether his eight tantric teachers were permanent members of the Nartang community. One of these eight tantric teachers would have been his uncle, Chim Lodrö Tenpa. In addition to teaching the *Abhidharma* at Nartang during his first visit in 1223, Chim Lodrö Tenpa also gave initiations and teachings on a host of deities, such as Tārā,

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[182] Mchims nam mkha' grags's biography and his register of teachings (*gsan yig*), both written by Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims, state that there were twenty-three teachers (*blob dpon*): seven teachers having the name *shes rab,* three with *grags,* three with *seng+ge,* two with *nam mkha',* two with the name *blo gros,* and Tshul khrims rtson grus and yon tan tse ba/mo The numbers, however, add up to nineteen teachers. See *Snar thang gi gdan sa pa bdun pa'i rnam thar: Rin chen gter mdzod* in *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyog sgrig thengs gnyis pa,* vol.50 (2007): 46.6-47.1; and *Mchims nam mkha grags kyi rnam thar*, 295b.1-3. The seven teachers having the name *shes rab*: 1.Bla ma dge ba'i bshes bsnyen shes rab rtse mo (Ibid., 290b.2-3); 2. Slob dpon dru ston shes rab brtson 'grus (Ibid., 291a.2-3); 3. Slob dpon 'bras khud pa shes rab 'bum (Ibid., 291a.2-292a.1); 4. Slob dpon gnyan shes rab dpal (Ibid., 292a.2-293a.2); 5. Slob dpon dge ba'i bshes bsnyen yon tan shes rab (Ibid., 294a.6-294b.1); 6.Slob dpon shes rab 'od zer (Ibid., 294b.5-6); 7. Slob dpon shes rab dngos grub (Ibid., 295a.1-2). The three teachers having the name *grags*: 1. Bar phyar bsod nams grags (Ibid., 285b.6.); 2. Gro ston bdud rtsi grags (a.k.a Gro mo che; Ibid., 285.2-285b.3); 3.Slob dpon 'dul ba 'dzin pa rin chen grags (Ibid., 290b.3-5). The three teachers having the name *seng ge*: 1. Sangs rgyas sgom pa seng ge skyabs (Ibid., 288a.4-290a.5); 2. Slob dpon dge ba'i bshes bsnyen shAkya senge ge (Ibid., 293a.2-.293b.3); 3. Slob dpon Sod nams seng ge (Ibid., 295a.2). The two teachers having the name *nam mkha*: 1. Slob dpon Gdong lung pa nam mkha' rdo rje (Ibid., 294b.2-4); 2. Slob dpon nam mkha' gsal (Ibid., 294b.4-5). The biography of Mchims nam mkha' grags states that three of his teachers have the name *blo gros* but only lists two names: 1. Mchims [thams cad] blo gros brtan pa (Ibid., 283b.2-285a.1); 2. Dge ba'i bshes bshes bsnyen bla ma blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (Ibid., 293b.4-294a.2). Two other teachers counted among Mchims nam mkha' grags's "twenty-three" teachers are Slob dpon dge ba'i bshes bsnyan tshul khrims 'bar (Ibid., 294a.2-4) and Slob dpon dge ba'i bshes bsnyen yon tan shes rab (Ibid., 294a.5.294b.1).

[183] Mchims nam mkha' grags's biography also states that he had 'twenty-three' *bla mas*, as opposed *slob dpon*: three masters that gave monastic vows (*thul khrims*), six masters that gave bodhisattva vows, and eight masters that of Tantra (*gsang sngags rim pa*) vows and/or initiation. See Ibid., 299a.6-299b.1. Similar to his twenty-three "instructors" (*slob dpon*), the numbers of masters given does not add up to twenty-three.

Vasundra (*lha mo nor rgyun ma*), Kurukulle, and others. He also taught from the *Sāmānyavidhīnām Guhya Tantra* (*Gsang ba spyi'i rgyud*), a text that belongs to the 'action/ rites' (*kriyā)* class of the tantras.[184]

As discussed, even though Tantra may have been one of the driving forces behind the Later Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet from the tenth century, the Kadampas were exoteric-centered. Although primacy is given throughout Atiśa's *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment* (*Bodhipathapradīpa*) to celibate monasticism and to the systematization of the path under the rubric of the varying capacities of different types of individuals, it is *not* the case however that Atiśa or his followers were unconcerned with Tantra. Rather, in that work, there is an interest in domesticating the esoteric within mainstream institutional Buddhism, not unlike the case at Atiśa's home monastery of Vikramaśīla in India. The known works received, taught, and written by Nartang's first six abbots, as shown in the previous chapters, were nevertheless exoteric-centered. Since the founding of Nartang in 1153, the esoteric is mainly found in the ritual life of the monastery, which primarily consisted of the propagation of specific pantheon of deities who belonged to this 'action/rites' class of the tantras, such as the so-called "four divinities" (*lha bzhi*), Avalokiteśvara, Tārā, Acala, and the Buddha, as well as Jambhala, Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāni, and others.[185] A narrative that many Kadam masters were telling, starting with Atiśa's disciple

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[184] *Sarvamaṇḍala Sāmānyavidhīnām Guhyatantra, Dkyil 'khor thams cad kyi spyi'i cho ga gsang ba'i rgyud,* Sde dge bka' 'gyur, Toh. no. 806, Rgyud *wa,* fols. 141a-167b. See F.D. Lessing and Alex Wayman (trans.), *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass 1998), 135-136; also José Ignacio Cabezón, *The Buddha's Doctrine and the Nine Vehicles: Rog Bande Sherab's Lamp of the Teachings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 119. This list of teachings and initiations is given in the biography of Snar thang's fifth abbot Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma. See *Gnas lnga mkhyen pa'i rnam thar*: 258a.3-259a.3.

[185] For more on the four divinities, see Amy Sims Miller, *Jeweled Dialogues: The Role of The Book in the Formation of the Kadam Tradition Within Tibet* (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2004). These four divinities, with the addition of the three trainings on ethics, wisdom, and meditation, were collectively referred to by Bka' gdams followers as the 'sevenfold divinity and teaching' (*lha chos bdun ldan*).

Dromtön, was that their followers certainly promoted all classes of Tantras, they just did not reveal the practices to others.[186] Kyontön Mönlam Tsültrim, the author of Chim Namkha Drak's biography, makes a similar sentiment by stating how Chim Namkha Drak's Tantric realizations and instructions, just as the past Kadam masters, were kept hidden internally like a radiant light shinning from the inside of a vase.[187] He goes on to tell us how Chim Namkha Drak resembled Padmasambhava, "the best of Tantric yogis," in that he protected his tantric pledges like you would protect the pupil of your eye.[188] Whatever the case may have been, there is a discernible shift in the character sketch of Chim Namkha Drak from the past abbots of Nartang: not only is he a student and teacher (*slob dpon*) of the exoteric curriculum, such as the monastic discipline (*vinaya*) and metaphysics (*abhidharma*), he is also an introverted yogi.

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[186] According to *The Blue Annals*, while at Bsam yas monastery, Atiśa gave on 'Brom ston pa Tantric initiation and instruction. 'Brom ston pa is said to have made a pretense of *not* received Tantric instruction, given that his "chief purpose was to expel persons of immoral conduct who were conducting themselves according to the word of Tantra, from the class held by the Master [Atīśa]." See *Deb ther sngon po*, vol.1 (2003), 319; Roerich (1976), 261. This characterization of 'Brom ston pa echoes the grievances of Lha bla ma Ye shes 'od's (947-1024) ordinance (*bka' shog*) and became a focus of sectarian polemics. See Samten Karmey, "The Ordinance of lHa bla-ma Ye-śes-'od," *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, ed. Michael Aris and Aung San Suu kyi (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1980), 150-162. An illustration of sectarian polemics is Mi la ras pa's (1052-1135) condemnation of 'Brom ston pa for reportedly dissuading Atīśa from openly teaching Tantra. Milarepa states: "The Bka'-gdams-pas certainly have teachings (*gdams ngag*), but they have no tantric learning [and] since a demon entered the heart of Tibet, the Lord Atisha was not allowed to explain the Mantrayana." See *Deb ther sngon po*, vol.1 (2003), 543; Roerich (1976), 455. The 'demon' is in reference to 'Brom ston pa. See Ibid., 261,455; Miller (2004), 20; David L. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors* (Boston, MA: Shambala, 2002), 495. A reaction to this claim reverberates in twentieth century Dge lugs pa doxography, which states: "It is not that the Kadamapas don't have Secret Mantra instructions, therefore, but rather that they don't proclaim them in the marketplace." See Thu'u bkwan chos kyi nyi ma, *Grub mtha' thams cad kyi khung dang 'dod tshul ston pa legs bshad shel gyi me long* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1985), 104. For the English translation, see *The Crystal Mirror of Philosophical Systems: A Tibetan Study of Asian Religious Thought*, trans. and ed., Geshe Lhundub Sopa and Roger R. Jackson (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009), 113.

[187] See *Mchims nam mkha grags kyi rnam thar*, 299a.2-3.

[188] Ibid., 298b.5-6.

In addition to Chim Namkha Draks's ostensibly exoteric lifestyle, the incorporation of Tantra with its concordant practices and rituals were part of his daily routine. Upon completion of his formal education, sometime in his thirties, Chim Namkha Drak spent his day as follows. In the early dawn (*tho rangs*) he would recite, out loud, the three types of individuals from the *Stages of the Path* literature, the two types of *bodhicitta*, and the generation and completion stages (*bskyed rdzogs gnyis*) of the Tantras. He concluded the session by making offerings of ritual cakes (*thun gtor*). Next he turned to editorial practices and made amendments (*shu dag*) to manuscripts, wrote letters, or worked on his own compositions. Then after sunrise (*snga dro*) he would wash his face and recite the extensive seven-limb prayer, mentally offer the universe and its contents (i.e. *maṇḍala*) to his teachers, make offerings of water (*chu sbyin*), and recite whatever *mantras* needed to be done. In the early afternoon (*phyi gro dang po*) he was busy making offerings of different ritual cakes. Then in mid-afternoon he would take requests from others and bestow vows and precepts and/or give teachings and advice. He would also give teachings related to the *Stages of the Path* to either small groups of students or to the entire monastic assembly. For the first part of the evening (*srod*) he would perform ritualized meditations (*thugs dam*) with the assembly of monks. During the assembly tea breaks he would continue to recite *mantras*. After the assembly he would retire to his bedroom, located on the second story (*bar khang*) of the monk's living quarters.[189] Once in his room, as he did in the morning after sunrise, he would recite the extensive seven-limb prayer and mentally offer the universe while thinking of his master. He then engaged, privately, in the ritualized meditations

[189] His biography merely states that his bedroom was located on the second story, or between two other rooms/buildings (*bar khang*). The living quarters for the monks at Snar thang today consists of a two-story structure that encircles the front of the central temple and printing house.

of many different *tantric* deities. Before settling into bed he would reflect on the illusory nature of all things within an unflinching state of meditative concentration.

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In 1250/51 the sixth abbot of Nartang, Sanggyé Gompa, appointed Chim Namkha Drak as the successor to the throne. Unlike Sanggyé Gompa and Nartang's fifth abbot Zhangtön Chökyi Lama, Chim Namkha Drak took the throne at the relatively young age of forty-one. The year 1251 also saw the death of Sapaṇ at Liang-chou and the enthronement of Möngke as the fourth Khan of the Mongol Empire. While the fifth and sixth abbots of Nartang may have been immune to the geo-political changes in both Ü and on the Eastern Steppe during their tenure, Chim Namkha Drak and Nartang could no longer watch from the sidelines.

The integration of Tibet under the Mongol empire had begun with the launch of two military campaigns, one by Möngke and the other by Köden.[190] At the same time Mongol rulers began divvying various Tibetan principalities: Sakya under Köden; Drikung under Möngke; Tselpa (Tshal pa) under Khubilai; Pakmodrupa under Hülegü; and Taklung (Stag lung) under Arigh Böge.[191] These Tibetan apanages were quickly reallocated as Hülegü began forming ties and sending gifts to the Drikung abbot Drakpa Jungné and with Khubilai's claim over Sapaṇ's

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[190] As Petech states, "this two-pronged invasion wrought havoc in Tibet…[t]he invaders penetrated as far as 'Dam [northwest of Lha sa], "killing, looting, burning houses, destroying temples and injuring monks." (Petech 1983:182) Wylie, on the other hand, argues there was no Mongol invasion of Central Tibet at this time and that the military campaigns in peripheral areas (northeastern Tibet?). See (Wylie 1976), 323.

[191] See Everding (2002), 110-111. According to Petech, the Tibetans saw this divvying of various Tibetan principalities as "not an introduction of Mongol quasi-feudalism, but simple the establishment of a *yon-mchod* relation (patron-protégé, donor-recipient, pupil-master) between Mongol princes and Tibetan schools and monasteries, a type of relationship known to them since old times." See Petech (1990), 341.

nephew Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen (henceforth Pakpa) from Köden. In 1259 Möngke died and Khubilai in 1260 was declared the Great fifth Khan and the sole "protector" of all Tibet's apanages. At Khubila's side was Pakpa and his younger brother Chakna Dorjé. On January 9, 1261, Khubilai granted Pakpa with the title "National Preceptor" (*gushi/kuo-shih*).

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By 1261 Chim Namkha Drak was in his thirteenth year as abbot of Nartang. Like the fourth abbot of Nartang, Dromoche, Chim Namkha Drak further rekindled ties with Redreng monastery through material offerings. Redreng was still in the process of rebuilding after the Mongols torched the monastery in 1240. In a letter written to Redreng monastery in 1268, Chim Namkha Drak provides a detailed inventory of the various material offerings that he and the Nartang community had offered in 1261 for the renovations of Redreng, specifically its Central Temple.[192] The inventory of offerings is both informative and suggestive of the material and economic wealth that Nartang had accrued. In terms of material culture, from valuable manuscripts to horses and borax, the inventory provides a sample of goods that were in use and of value to both Nartang and Central Tibet (see Table 1).

[192] *Snar thang nas sgreng du sprengs pa'i 'phrin yig.* See the *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyog sgrig thengs gnyis pa* (2007), vol. 48: 253-295.

Table 1. Chim Namkha Drak's Inventory of Offerings to Redreng Monastery

Amount	Offerings made to represent the Buddha's body: Total of 7 thankas and 3 statues
1	*thanka* (*thang sku*) of Buddha Shakyamuni
1	statue (*lugs ma*) of Buddha Shakyamuni
1	*thanka* of the Medicine Buddha
1	statue of the Medicine Buddha
1	statue of Vajrapāni

Amount	Offerings made to represent the Buddha's speech: Total of 361 manuscripts
1	golden edition of the *Prajñāpāramitā in Eight Thousand Verses*
91	Sūtra manuscripts
57	valuable manuscripts
8	manuscripts of the *Prajñāpāramitā in 100,000 Verses*
39	manuscripts of the *Prajñāpāramitā in 25,000 Thousand Verses*
1	manuscript of the *Prajñāpāramitā in 80,000 Verses*
9	manuscripts of *Prajñāpāramitā in 8000 Verses*
1	manuscript of the *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra*
1	set of manuscripts on the *Vidyādhara Piṭaka* (*Rig pa 'dzin pa'i sde snod*)

Amount	Offerings made to represent the Buddha's mind: Total of 18
1	relic box (*gdung khang*) of Geshé Tapkawa Darma Drak (Stabs ka ba [dar ma grags], 1103-1174)
1	relic box of Shasapa Amé (Sha sa pa a me, d.u.)
1	relic box of the great Gyer Nönpa (Sgyer gnon pa, d.u.)
15	miscellaneous relics

Amount	Other Material Religious Offerings: Total of 45
1	umbrella (*mchis*)
1	precious conch shell
1	auspicious white conch shell
3	precious metal offering mandalas
19	copper mandalas
1	set of 7 bell metal offering bowls
1	set of 7 coper offering bowls

Amount	Other Material Religious Offerings: Total of 45
1	brass votive lamp
17	micellaneous items

Amount	Offerings for the construction of the roof of Redreng's Central Temple: Total 848 (+10oz.)
1	bell
830	brass and precious materials
10oz.	gold coins
7	bundles of turquoise
3	good horses
3	good Dzos (*mdzo*)
1	pack bull
1	tiger
1	leopard (*gzig*)
1	*gung* (type of Tibetan leopard)

Amount	Bales (*ltang tse*) of offerings: Total of 60 plus bales
45	bales of brown sugar
18	bales of *gya skyags* (?)
2	bales of borax (*tsha la*)
2	bales of myrobalan (*a ru ra*)
1	bale of terminalia belerica (*ba ru ra*)

Amount	Bundles (*dos*) of offerings: Total of 120 bundles
1	bundle of good cotton
1	bundle of good white cotton
118	miscellaneous bundles of cloth (*yug*)

Amount	Additional offerings: Total of 198
100	pieces of iron
3	fabric brocades
2	monastic robe attire (*snam sbyar*)
2	cymbols
1	*re bcam* (?)

Amount	Additional offerings: Total of 198
1	large piece of Indian satin (*zab*)
9	pieces of tanned leather (?) (*bse ma bu*)
1	honeycomb (*sbrang dong*)
9	fine cotton clothes (?) (*kha sha*)
1	*rgya bko* (?*)*
17	frying pans (*slang ba*) and iron sieves (*lcags tshags*)
2	*rte chu* (?*)*
1	*og rtog* (?*)*
2	iron spikes (*lcags phur*)
1	iron chain
1	iron *thom* (?*)*
1	iron shovel
1	iron Yag
1	*tsa gri* (?)
2	soft cushions (*'bol tan*)
1	seat cover
1	*g.yang gun* (?*)*
5	pieces of felt (*phying pa*)
3	pieces of woolen cloth
6	*phyar ba* (?)
1	good brass ritual vase (*ra gan*)
1	Zi (*gzi*) stone rosary
1	wooden trough (*gzhong pa*)
2	pieces of Nepalese wool
1	bowl (*kong tshe*)
2	leather bags with iron (handles?)
14	antique saddles (*stan*?) for Dzos and horses
1	victory banner (*ba dan*)

As mentioned, although Redreng monastery remained a small-scale institution, the monastery nonetheless held symbolic capital for the Kadam followers. In his letter to Redreng, Chim

Namkha Drak first details how the Kadam heritage was established at Redreng monastery. He then reminds the leaders of the monastery on the importance of preserving the place and promoting the heritage. Chim Namkha Drak further explains that the many offerings being made to Redreng from the Nartang community are for this very endeavor of preservation and promotion.

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Sometime after Pakpa, his younger brother Chakna Dorjé, and a Mongol cavalry returned to Tsang in 1264, Chim Namkha Drak was appointed as one of Pakpa's many religious teachers.[193] Networks of relationships, whether clan or religious based, had been the primary currency for Tibetan religious schools and institutions. The growth and flourishing of a religious school or institution was in part determined by the amount of vertical ties and horizontal links, i.e., networks. Vertical ties were primarily of masters and pupils. For instance, each Nartang abbot, except for the monastery's founder Tumtön, had studied under or was ordained by a past abbot or abbots. The horizontal links were primarily an informal group membership of intellectual peers. Such networks were a different type of structure from vertical ties. The main utility of horizontal links was to connect lineages and transmit cultural/religious capitol by producing a strong sense of collective membership and participation. Clearly vertical ties can also create strong feelings of collective membership, such as being part of a lineage/school/tradition, as well as participation in such a lineage and receiving transmission. The difference between vertical and

[193] They are said to have stayed en route in Lha sa and Gye re dgon in Skyid chu. See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 184n.440.

horizontal networks was primarily due to the position of the individual within the link of a given network. For a pupil, membership and participation within the vertical network would be more passive and oriented towards reception. However, this position could change when, for instance, a pupil becomes a master or abbot or creates new alliances and rivalries, primarily, though not necessarily, within the horizontal links.[194] The relationship between Chim Namkha Drak and Pakpa, however, was complicated due to their relative positions within their respective networks. Hence while Chim Namkha Drak was nominally the teacher/master and the National Preceptor Pakpa was his pupil, Chim Namkha Drak was also Pakpa's liegeman and would have shown the reverence and compliance that was required from a pupil or subject of Pakpa.

There were various factors in play that allowed for Chim Namkha Drak to be a teacher of Pakpa. Despite the fact the Kadam and Sakya schools were comparatively amicable and shared many similar exoteric doctrines, the interaction between the two schools was restrained. Although certain Sakya members had studied with Kadam teachers, such as Sönam Tsémo and Sapaṇ,[195] the majority of their members however remained at Sakya or at other affiliated institutions, such as Shalu monastery. A coalescence of relations between the two schools in the thirteenth century was strengthened on account of a shared interest in the Kashmiri scholar

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[194] This concept of networks is based on the theory of intellectual networks by Randal Collins. For Collins, intellectual networks are both external and internal structures with individuals, either consciously or subliminally, vying and allying for attention and cultural/symbolic capital. There is no disembodied individual agent existing either out their in the world or within their inner experiences and thoughts.The agents of change are these intellectual "coalitions of the mind" that are in conflict over intellectual resources, positions, and for control of the "attention space" within which ideas are pronounced and become socially credible and laudable. Moreover, for Collins, intellectual change, and I would add institutions in the mix, is in part determined by the amount of vertical ties and horizontal links, i.e., networks. See Randal Collins, *The Sociology of Philosophies: A Global Theory of Intellectual Change*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

[195] Davidson devotes almost a whole chapter to Sapaṇ, his literary legacy, and his mastery of esoteric ritual and literature. See Davidson (2005), 293-322; and Stearns (2006), 23-125.

Śākyaśrībhadra and his entourage of Indian scholars. As discussed in chapter 2, Śākyaśrī and his entourage had taught and/or ordained monks at Sakya, Chumik, and at Kadam institutions such as Radreng and Rinchen Gang monastery. While it is not certain whether Chim Namkha Drak's uncle, Chim Lodrö Tenpa, had directly studied under Śākyaśrī or members of his entourage, he did nonetheless induct his young nephew in the practices and scholastic traditions (*lugs*) of Śākyaśrī.[196]

A direct link between Chim Namkha Drak and Pakpa was the result of previously established networks between Pakpa and members of the Chim clan. In Pakpa's record of received teachings and lineage transmissions (*gsan yig*), the religious forefathers of the Chim clan, which includes Chim Lodrö Tenpa, are counted among Pakpa's teachers and lineage masters. These forefathers of the Chim clan were responsible for transmitting to Pakpa various cycles of exoteric doctrines, such as the *Abhidharma*, and rituals that had been central for many Kadam followers, such as initiations and rituals associated with Tārā.[197] Also included in Pakpa's record of teaching transmissions is Nartang's fifth abbot Zhangtön Chökyi Lama. Other prior ties between Chim Namkha Drak and Pakpa included a direct transmission that Chim Namkha Drak recived from Pakpa's uncle Sapaṇ.[198]

While prior relations and networks were a factor in Chim Namkha Drak becoming a teacher of Pakpa, it was not the only factor. For Chim Namkha Drak, an alliance with Pakpa,

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[196] *Mchims nam mkha' grags kyi rnam thar*, 284a.3; 284b.4.

[197] See Blo gros rgyal mtshan, *'Gro mgon chos rgyal 'phags pa'i gsung 'bum* (*pod bzhi pa*) (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 524-25.

[198] The only teaching/transmission listed is the mantra of Mañjuśrī (*'Jam dpal A ra pa tsa na*). See Ibid., 293b.3-4.

who by 1268 had been Qubilai's chaplain and had been granted the honorific title of *gushi*,[199] afforded Chim Namkha Drak the opportunity to raise his own status and to ensure a network of financial and political backing for the Kadampas in general and for Nartang in particular. Further, by 1268, Chim Namkha Drak was in his seventeenth year as abbot of Nartang and had established himself as a leading intellectual in Tsang and a formable leader of the monastery. Devoid of this reputation as a formable monastic leader and religious scholar, prior relations or networks alone, would not have necessitated Pakpa to seek religious instruction from, or create an alliance with, Chim Namkha Drak.

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The year 1268 moreover was a watershed year for Tibet. Some of the events that were to take place that year, however, had been in the process of brewing for decades, while others were in formation for centuries. At the helm of these events was (re)organization. The first type of reorganization was of the geopolitical type. On the geopolitical front, the Mongols continued to overhaul the geopolitical administrative units in Central Tibet.[200] To begin this process a census (*dud grangs rtsis pa*) was taken by Mongol and Tibetan officers who used the Mongol's six-member household (*hor dud*) as the standard decimal unit of inventory.[201] Although reference is often made to "thirteen myriarches" (*khri-skor*) as part of early Sakya polity, this nomenclature

[199] See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 184n.440.

[200] According to Petech, the year 1268 "may be accepted as the date of the establishment of Mongol domination in Tibet." See Petech (1983), 186.

[201] For details, see Petech (1980), 233-238; (1990), 186; Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 183.

in fact arose as a result of the 1268 census.[202] One of the six myriarchs in Tsang was Chumik. There were four "communities of 1000" (*stong skor*) counted within the Chumik myriarch and the Nartang community was one of them.[203]

The second step that Mongols took in the same year (1268) was the creation of a postal service that was based on twenty-seven major and minor postal stations, with each myriarchy assigned a station from the Chinese border to Sakya.[204] Each of the four communities within a myriarchy were responsible for supplying the postal stations with supplies, such as horses, yaks, drivers, caretakers, and so on. This meant that Chim Namkha Drak, as the acting abbot at Nartang, would have allocated such resources for the administrators of the Chumik myriarchy, who, in turn, would then distribute the resources to their respective postal stations.

The second type of reorganization was of literary culture. Mongol rule in Tibet during the thirteenth century brought economic gains for certain institutions and individuals. Chim Namkha Drak's good standing with Pakpa was both financially and politically profitable for Nartang monastery. Around the same time that the census was being taken, myriarches divided, and postal services created, Chim Namkha Drak's student Chomden Rikpé Reldri was working on his

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[202] See Wylie (1976), 328; Petech (1980), 234. A standard list of thirteen myriarchies includes the three regions of Mnga' ris (*mnga' ris skor gsum*): 1) Gu ge; 2) Pu rang; 3) Mang yul; 4) La stod byang; 5) Chu mig; 6) Zha lu; 7) 'Bri gung; 8) Tshal; 9) Phag mo gru;10) G.ya' bzang; 11) Rgya ma; 12) Stag lung; and 13) Ya 'brog. See Schaeffer (2010): http://places.thlib.org/features/15481/descriptions/92#ixzz29KLoa7gQ. However, according to Petech, Mnga' ris "was outside the territory under the direct administration of the Sa-skya abbots as representatives of the Mongol emperors of China; and indeed it was not subjected to the two censuses carried out by the Mongols in Tibet in 1268 and 1288." See Petech (1977), 22.

[203] The other three "communities of 1000" were Khro phu, Bar sding pa and Dpal sdings/Grang phu lung, which was counted as one community. See Roberto Vitali, "The History of the Lineages of Gnas Rnying Summarised as Its 'Ten Greatnesses': A Survey of the Period from the Second Half of the 8th Century to the Beginning of the Sa Skya Pa Rule" in *Tibet, Past and Present*, ed. Henk Blezer (Leiden: Brill, 2002): 102-103.

[204] See Petech (1983), 187.

circa 1268 catalogue of Buddhist canonical texts at the library in Nartang monastery.[205] Rikpé Reldri's catalogue lists each work according to translator and divides those works that are considered to be the word of the Buddha (*bka'*) from those of Indian authorship (*bstan bcos*). As mentioned, whether this catalogue represented physical texts available at Nartang is uncertain. Most likely the catalog was based in part on physical holdings at Nartang as well as lists from other catalogs.[206] In the biography of Chim Namkha Drak, however, it is stated that the entire collection of scriptures that were designated to be the word of the Buddha (Kangyur; Bka' 'gyur) were recited by the monks at Nartang during his funeral services.[207] Exactly what the "entire Kagyur" meant is ambiguous. However, considering that Rikpé Reldri's catalogue can be dated to ca.1268 and Chim Namkha Drak died in 1285, it is likely that the "entire Kagyur" referred to the list that Rikpé Reldri's designated as the word of the Buddha. This may also suggest that Nartang library did, at least by 1285, own physical holdings of this version of the Kagyur.

Like the geopolitical reorganization, the reorganization of Tibet's literary culture was a process that continued for decades and centuries. Not long after Rikpé Reldri's catalogue, his student Üpa Losel wrote his own catalogue (late thirteenth to early fourteenth century) that focused on texts authored by Indian Buddhist masters (Tengyur; Bstan 'gyur). Üpa Losel's catalogue was based on physical holdings from Nartang's library. And in 1275 Pakpa began his 'golden' Kagyur project with the financial support of the Mongol court. Close to a hundred years

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[205]. See Schaeffer and van der Kuijp (2009).

[206] Also, according to Harrison, "the Sūtra section of the Old sNar thang was based on over a dozen *different sūtra* collections (*mdo mangs*) from the libraries of Sa skya, gTsang Chu mig ring mo, Shog chung, sPun gsum, Zha lu, and other monasteries, together of course with those held at sNar thang itself." Paul Harrison, "A Brief History of the Tibetan Kanjur," in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, eds. José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion, 1996), 77.

[207] *bka' bgyur thams cad kyi gsung sgrogs.* See *Mchims nam mkha' grags kyi rnam thar*, 324a.1.

later and some forty kilometers to the northeast of Nartang, Butön Rinchen Drup would complete his own extensive, though not definitive, catalogue of scriptures.[208]

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One of Pakpa's major political and financial supporters was Qubilai's second son Jingim (Jim gyim; Chinese: Zhanjin, 1243-86). Pakpa returned back from China to Sakya monastery in Tsang in 1275.[209] With Jingim's financial surplus, Pakpa and the scholars, editors, and craftsmen at Sakya, launched a large scale book project at Sakya monastery. The project was complete by 1278. As a way of saying thanks, Pakpa wrote a letter addressed to Jingmim in which he commends the patrons of books, praises the scriptural collection, and extols the value of books.[210]

During the first month of spring that same year Pakpa called upon Jingmin to sponsor a fourteen day religious convocation (*chos kyi 'khor lo*) at Chumik in Tsang. Once the funding had been secured Pakpa appointed Chim Namkha Drak as the convocation's provost (*gral gtso/ dpon*).[211] The convocation was grandiose by traditional accounts. In attendance, so we are told, were more than seventy-thousand monks, many thousands of accomplished scholars, and more than one hundred thousand laypersons. While this number is likely exaggerated, lay and

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[208] See chapter 6 for more details.

[209] Kurtis R. Schaeffer states that Jingim only made part of the trek back to Tibet with 'Phags pa. See Schaeffer (2009), 131.

[210] For a translation of a few of the verses from the letter, see Schaeffer (2009), 131-33.

[211] Petech wrongly states that Mchim nam mkha' grags was a "Karma-pa master." See Petech (1983), 201n.84.

monastic communities from various religious affiliations throughout Central Tibet would have attended, willing or not.

The appointment of Chim Namkha Drak as the provost of the convocation may have simply been a symbolic gesture by Pakpa to appoint one of his teacher who had a reputation in Tsang as as a preeminent intellectual, as well as a teacher from outside the fold of the Sakya school. The convocation was nonetheless Pakpa's event. He was the man in charge, the organizer, the religious instructor and official, and the person who portioned the offerings to the assembly of monks. The most detailed account of the convocation was written by the Sakya historian, Amezhap Ngakwang Künga Sönam (A mes zhabs ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, 1597-1659).[212] His 1629 chronicle of the Sakya Khon lineage makes no mention of Chim Namkha Drak as the provost of the convocation. Likewise, Kyontön Mönlam Tsültrim's biography of Chim Namkha Drak makes no mention of the convocation or of a provost.[213]

While the pretense of the convocation was religion, it was also an opportunity for Pakpa to flaunt his political and economic influence as the National and State Preceptor.[214] Each monk attendee was provided with the best of food, a measure of gold coins (*gser zho*), and new monastic robes. Pakpa also took the opportunity to establish religious ties with the audience, both monastic and lay attendees, by granting the vows of *bodhicitta*. This giving of vows to

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[212] See Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986), 215-19.

[213] Sources that do site Mchims nam mkha' grags as the provost of the convocation include: Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje, *Deb ther dmar po* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrung khang, 1981), 63; Las chen (2003), 503; Stag tshang dpal 'byor bzang po, *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 239.

[214] According to Petech, the convocation "may have had some political implications, such as the final recognition of Mongol sovereignty in Tibet." See Petech (1983):188.

mass crowds meant the enlisting of thousands of new disciples; a move that could further bolster his status as a religious teacher and preceptor in the eyes of the Tibetans and the Mongols.

One accomplished scholar and monk who initially refused to attend the convocation was Rikpé Reldri. At the time of the convocation Rikpé Reldri was living at Nartang. He came to Nartang in his mid-thirties to seek medical treatment from Chim Namkha Drak's student and future abbot, Kyontön Mönlam Tsültrim.[215] According to the historian Amezhap, it was pride that kept Rikpé Reldri from attending the convocation. Rikpé Reldri had never thought highly of his junior Pakpa. He had been especially critical of Pakpa for his close political and cultural ties with the Mongols during their first sojourn to Central Tibet (circa 1266). From Nartang, Rikpé Reldri wrote a verse directed at Pakpa in which he highlights three recent and regrettable developments. The first development was the decline of the Buddhist religion in Tibet. The reasons for this decline are explained in the next two developments. The second regrettable development was that the well-being of Tibetan society and culture had been allocated to secular rule, i.e. Mongol rule. The third recent and regrettable development was that men of the cloth, i.e. ordained monastics, were wearing the fashions of the secular Mongols. The responsible party for these developments, according to Rikpé Reldri, was Pakpa and his Mongol company. Rikpé Reldri's verse ends with a pun on Pakpa's name, a name that means "superior" in the sense of an accomplished saint. Rikpé Reldri writes, "A person who has not realized these three [developments] is indeed not a superior (Pakpa; '*Phags pa*)." [216]

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[215] See more in chapter 5.

[216] '*di gsum ma rtogs 'phags pa min par go.* See Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *Bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs*: [*An Advanced Politcal History of Tibet*] (Kalimpong: Shakabpa House 1976), vol.1: 290-291. Also, Derek F. Maher (trans.), *One Hundred Thousand Moon: An Advanced Political History of Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 223.

In response to Rikpé Reldri's criticism, Pakpa fired back by writing his own verse. He tells Rikpé Reldri that the decline and expansion of the Buddhist religion is necessary, as it had been fortold by the Buddha himself. He responds to the second recent development, the well-being and happiness of the Tibetan people in the hands of secular rule, by reminding Rikpé Reldri that the happiness of the people is really a matter of their actions (*karma*). Pakpa does not directly respond to the third development, the secular fashion of the men of the cloth. Instead Pakpa remarks that whatever type of discipline is adopted, *karma* should not be forgotten. Pakpa's verse ends not with a pun but an insult to Rikpé Reldri reputation as a scholar. He writes, "A person who has not realized these three [facts] is indeed a non-scholar."[217]

This conflict may have stemmed from the fact that the two men were both in the business of books.[218] While Rikpé Reldri was more learned and prolific a scholar than Pakpa, he did not have the financial surplus that Pakpa had access to by viture of his Mongol patrons. A teacher of both Pakpa and Rikpé Reldri, Chim Namkha Drak would have been the arbitrator who channeled the financial resources required by Rikpé Reldri for the growth of Nartang's library and for the production and organization of books. As evident from the offerings that Chim Namkha Drak made to Redreng monastery in 1261 (see Table 1), Nartang monastery had a steady flow of wealth and financial surplus even prior to Chim Namkha Drak relationship with Pakpa.

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[217] *'di gsum ma rtogs mkhas pa min par go.* See Shakabpa (1976), 291.

[218] Another futher reason for the dislike may have revolved around the Kālacakra tantra. Unlike 'Phags pa, Rig pa'i ral gri was not a proponent of the Kālacakra. For Rig pa'i ral gri, the Kālacakra was not a legitimate Buddhist tantra. 'Phags pa, on the other hand, was known for his mastery of the Kālacakra, in particular his mastery of the Kālacakra calendric system. Whether the Kālacakra tantra was another point of contention between the two men is uncertain. See Leonard van der Kuijp, "The Kālacakra and the Patronage of Tibetan Buddhism by the Mongol Imperial Family," (Indiana University: Department of Central Eurasian Studies, 2004), 1-62; Thubten Jinpa, "Rendawa and the Question of Kālacakra's Uniqueness" in Edward A. Arnold (ed.) *As Long as Space Endures: Essays on the Kālacakra Tantra in Honor of H.H.The Dalai Lama* (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2009), 317-330.

Nevertheless, while Nartang and Chim Namkha Drak had other wealthy donors, including members from his own Chim clan, none could match the wealth, resources, and political strength of the Mongols.

The proximity of Chumik to Nartang may it impossible for Rikpé Reldri to ignore the hubbub that the convocation was causing. Daily, Rikpé Reldri witnessed the troves of people making their way to Chumik to attend the religious services. As the story is told, Rikpé Reldri decided to attend the convocation, incognito, on the last day. Various auspicious signs appeared before him along the road from Nartang to Chumik. When he arrived at Chumik he saw a dazzling Pakpa, and presumably Chim Namkha Drak, seated on a throne in the main temple, surrounded by the large audience of lay and monastics devotees. The smell of sweet fragrance and burnt juniper inundated Rikpé Reldri. To make a long story short, Rikpé Reldri's low opinion of Pakpa was no longer. Rikpé Reldri was apparently so moved by the event that he then composed verses in praise of Pakpa.[219] Pakpa, in turn, paid his respect to Rikpé Reldri. As Chim Namkha Drak had calculated from the start, good relations with Pakpa meant good relations with the Mongols. Accordingly, Rikpé Reldri gained his due respect from the Mongol leaders. As a token of this respect, material gifts were given by the Mongols to Rikpé Reldri and to his host monastery of Nartang. [220]

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[219] Titled the *Bstod dbyangs tshangs pa'i 'brug sgra*. See the *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod* (1986), 218.

[220] *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod* (1986), 219. The relevant lines have been translated by Kurtis R. Schaeffer and Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp (2009), 7-8: "It is said that the Emperor, Lord of Man [=Qubilai], too, respected him [Rikpé Reldri; *annotation mine*] as a great scholar and the various people [including] National Preceptor Bing bing, officials and servants, who had been dispatched to the gree see [of Sakya] with wonder gifts, offered [them] to Snar thang."

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Like his predecessors, the abbot Chim Namkha Drak was expected to teach. Also like his predecessors, Chim Namkha Drak taught primarily from a curriculum that had been standard at the monastery and at other Kadam establishments. During the winter months he taught Śāntideva's *Engaging in the Bodhisattva's Deeds* and from the *Stages of the Path* literature. During the summer he taught Śāntideva's *Compendium of Training* and Atiśa's *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment.* While the winter and the summer teaching sessions were strictly for the community of monks at Nartang, about three thousand permanent monastic residents during his tenure, Chim Namkha Drak allowed for outsiders to attend during the autumn and spring months. During the autumn and spring he taught from the canon (*bka' dang bstan bcos*), pith instructions (*man ngag*), histories (*lo rgyus*), topical outlines, (*sa bcad*), commentarial treatises, and the transmissions of texts made by requests.

Unlike the past Nartang abbots Chim Namkha Drak was a prolific author. While the recent facsimile reproductions of early Kadam and other masters, *The Collected Writings of the Kadampas* (*Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs*), contains multiple works authored by Chim Namkha Drak, it does not, however, reflect his complete oeuvre. Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim provides his own list of works authored by Chim Namkha Drak. In most cases Kyotön's list only gives a general topical, or subject title, of the authored work. Hence a comprehensive cross-checking between Kyotön's list and the works published in *The Collected Writings of the Kadampas* is not feasible. The numbers however are telling. To date there are twenty-one titled works of Chim Namkha Drak, plus one letter, reproduced in *The Collected Writings of the*

Kadampas.[221] In contrast, Kyotön, give or take, lists ninety-five works ascribed to Chim Namkha Drak.[222]

When in 1934 the Tibetan scholar Gendün Chöpel (Dge 'dun chos 'phel, 1903-1951) and the Indian scholar Rahul Sankrityayan (1893-1963) came to Nartang in search of Sanskrit manuscripts, they were utterly disappointed. They thoroughly searched through the library(s) at Nartang but were unable to find even a single folio of a Sanskrit manuscript. They did discover, however, more than five hundred volumes of texts attributed to the "Chim masters."[223] While there were more than a handful of Chim masters throughout the centuries that composed texts, none compared to the output of Chim Namkha Drak. Hence judging from the list provided by Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim in the thirteenth century and the observation made by Gendün Chöpel and Rahul Sankrityayan in the twentieth century, the recent publications of texts composed by Chim Namkha Drak may not come close to containing his complete works.[224]

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[221] See *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyog sgrig thengs gnyis pa* (2007), vol.47, 48, 49; *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyog sgrig thengs gsum pa* (2009), vol. 61.

[222] See *Mchims nam mkha' grags kyi rnam thar*, 315b.1-317b.2.

[223] See Dge 'dun chos 'phel, *Rgyal khams rig pas bskor ba'i gtam rgyud gser gyi thang ma* (*stod cha*) in *Mkhas dbang dge 'dun chos 'phel gyi gsung 'bum* (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2013), 27. For an English translation, see Thupten Jinpa and Donald S. Lopez, trans., *Grains of Gold: Tales of a Cosmopolitan Traveler* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 53.

[224] Kurtis R. Schaeffer and Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp make a similar statement about the recently published works of Rig pa'i ral gri, also found in the *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyog sgrig thengs gnyis pa* (2007), vols. 51-7, and in a ten volume edition published in Lha sa by Khams sprul bsod nams don grub in 2006: http://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=W00EGS1017426. See Schaeffer and van der Kuijp (2009), 3n.2, 8.

In 1280 Chim Namkha Drak reached the advanced age of seventy. His physical strength had deteriorated. He lost all his teeth, which as his biographer tells us, made it difficult for him to articulate his words and to teach. Pakpa died at Sakya monastery from an apparent poisoning in December of 1280. There is no indication from Chim Namkha Drak's biography, or otherwise, that he or representatives from Nartang attended Pakpa's funeral ceremonies. Chim Namkha Drak's absence may have been due to the internal unrest that followed Pakpa's death at Sakya monastery. Accusations of a culprit for the poisoning of Pakpa eventually lead to Mongol intervention.[225] A sense of unease and uncertainty swept throughout the Tsang region, a feeling that Chim Namkha Drak and the community of Nartang felt. In effect the death of Pakpa had ended Nartang's direct relations with the Sakya hierarchy and, for the time being, their relations with the Mongols.

Chim Namkha Drak was asked to give commentaries on scripture (*mdo*) during the 1284 annual spring session at Nartang. He readily agreed to the request but advised the audience that they would need to listen carefully in order to parse his words since he no longer had any teeth. He first taught a commentary to the *Perfection of Wisdom in 20,000 Thousand Verses.* He then considered teaching the *Perfection of Wisdom in 8000 Thousand Verses*. At that point, out of concern for Chim Namkha Drak's health, the monastic community requested him to take a break.

Chim Namkha Drak reconvened teaching the monastic community in the summer of 1284. As he had done in past summers he taught Śāntideva's *Compendium of Training* and Atiśa's *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment.* During the fall he taught sporadically while spending most of his time engaged in meditation practices on the Medicine Buddha. As the winter months

[225] For more on the circumstances surrounding the death of 'Phags, see Maher (2010), 226-229.

approached, Chim Namkha Drak's health continued to decline to the point where he could no longer eat solid foods. Despite this, he began to teach the annual winter session at Nartang on December 8, 1284. The monastic congregation requested to Chim Namkha Drak that rituals be performed to improve his health and to extend his lifespan. Although he felt that the rituals would not produce their desired effect, he did nonetheless believe that the rituals would help to reinforce the bond between himself and the community, a bond that was expected to last for lifetimes. When asked to take his medicine, he explained that the medicine would not help his condition. Nonetheless, since those that requested him to take the medicine had faith in him, he would take small doses for their sakes. The monastic congregation proceeded to organize an elaborate long-life ceremony. For days, monks from Chim Namkha Drak's resident house and the rest of the entire monastic community performed rituals for the promotion of his health and long-life, rituals such as the Medicine Buddha, Tārā, the Sixteen Saints (Gnas brtan bcu drug), and so forth. They also, reportedly, recited the entire collection of scriptures that were designated to be the word of the Buddha (Kangyur), including multiple recitations of the *Heap of Jewels* (*Ratnakūṭa; Dkon mchog brtsegs pa*) collection.[226] The monks took shifts throughout the day and night so that the rituals and recitations could continue uninterrupted.[227]

In addition to the rituals, recitations, and medicine, astrologers were also consulted. According to the stars and planets, Chim Namkha Drak would survive the winter months until the beginning of spring in early April. The month of April was normally a festive month that commemorated the enactment of the Buddha's birth, enlightenment, and passing. On April 11,

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[226] The *Ratnakūṭa* collection totals forty-nine *sūtras* and is a topical division found in a Bka' 'gyur. For a discussion on the antiquity of this division, see Jan Nattier, *A Few Good Men: The Bodhisattva Path According to the Inquiry of Urgra (Ugraparipṛcchā)* (Honolulu: Hawai'i, 2003), 31-33.

[227] See *Mchims nam mkha grags kyi rnam thar*, 323b.5-324a.3.

after meeting one last time with his close students and leaders of the monastery, Chim Namkha Drak isolated himself in his room to meditate. In the early morning on April 14 he sat on his meditation cushion where he engaged in purification rituals, the seven-limb prayer, and so forth. As the sun was beginning to rise, Chim Namkha Drak passed away. As was the case for the passing of the Buddha, many marvelous omens appeared in and around Nartang monastery. For five days the community paid their respects with offerings and prayers. During the day on April 19 the monks performed an elaborate funeral that involved the cremation of his body and the construction of a reliquary to house his remains. For the faithful, Chim Namkha Drak was an incarnation of a Sixteen Saint and the embodiment of the Medicine Buddha. For this reason the monks at Nartang would direct their prayers to Chim Namkha Drak's new station in the Pure-Land of the Medicine Buddha. Two of these faithful monks were his students Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim and Ze'u Dülzin Drakpa Tsöndrü (Ze'u 'Dul 'dzin grags pa brtson 'grus, 1253-1316). The former was next in line to the abbacy at Nartang (see chapter 4) while the later would be called to the Mongol court in 1292/3 to perform Medicine Buddha prayers and rituals for the emperor Qubilai Khan (see chapter 5).

Conclusion

Unlike Nartang's past abbots, particularly abbots four, five, and six, Chim Namkha Drak had spent most of his life at the monastery. When he officially enrolled at Nartang in 1230 the monastery was in a good place. As discussed in previous chapters, the success of the monastery during this period was primarily the result of the former three abbots—Dromoche Dütsi Drak,

Zhangtön Chökyi Lama, and Sanggyé Gompa— and their willingness to campaign for donors and recruits in and around Tsang and Ü.

Also unlike Nartang's past three abbots, Chim Namkha Drak could not remain idle to the political events that were unfolding on Eastern Steppe. It was in the midst of his tenure at Nartang that the Sakya-Mongol alliance furthered their rule and (re)organization of the geopolitical landscape in Central Tibet and beyond. Both strategically or fortuitously, Chim Namkha Drak's relations with the Sakya hierarch and National Preceptor to the Mongol court, Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen, gave Nartang a certain type of institutional stability, growth, and economic wealth. With the passing of Pakpa in 1280 and Chim Namkha Drak in 1285, the successor at Nartang would have to find ways to secure the monastery from the changing and volatile situation that was brewing in Central Tibet.

Chapter 4

Securing the Fort: Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim

The passing of Chim Namkha Drak in 1285 meant that Nartang monastery needed a new leader. The monastery still did not have a fixed system in place to elect or appoint a successor. On some occasions the past abbot would make the selection. On different occasions the selection was made by others within the monastic community. The candidates however were predictable. Each abbot from the second on up had been a been a disciple of their immediate and/or past predecessors.

In addition to being a disciple of a past abbot or abbots, the families of the candidates, specifically fathers and uncles, played an important part in their religious upbringing. For instance, Dromoche left Nartang as a teenager to return to his hometown where he spent time with his father memorizing and practicing ritual liturgies. Following the death of his parents, Zhangtön Chökyi Lama was reared in religion and politics by his uncle. As a young child Sangyé Gompa was taught religion by his father, an expert in the Nyingma tantras. As discussed in the last chapter, the uncle of Chim Namkha Drak had a considerable influence in his religious and monastic education. The eighth Nartang abbot Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim (Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims, 1219-1299)[228] was also reared by his father in the family religion, a family with allegiances to both Bön and Buddhist religions. Further, as will be discussed in chapter 6,

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[228] The primary source for Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims is *Skyo ston smon lam tshul khrims kyi rnam thar*, found in the so-called *Golden Rosary of Nartang* (*Snar thang gser phreng*), C.P.N. catalogue no. 002806 (10): 329b-383b.

Gendün Drupa, a one-time Nartang candidate for the abbotship, was sent as a child to study at Nartang because his father had died and his mother's brother was a teacher at the monastery.

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The future eighth abbot of Nartang, whose childhood nickname was Stardom (Snyan grags), was born in Tanak (Rta nag), situated due west of present-day Zhikhatsé in Tsang. His father was both a Bön and Buddhist (*bon chos gnyis ka*) practitioner, his mother a devoted follower. The family priest, also a Bön and Buddhist by the name of Gyaring Shérap Gyeltsen (Rgya rings Shes rab rgyal mtshan, d.u.; henceforth Gyaring), had used his clairvoyant powers to make a predication about the child. If the child was to solely follow the Buddhist path he would become world renowned (hence the nickname Stardom). Evidently not pleased by this prophecy Stardom's father told Gyaring: "If [a son] does not uphold the tradition of [his] forefathers, the son is [as if] not born."[229]

Both of Stardom's parents thought long and hard about what Gyaring had foreseen. In the meantime, from the age of six, Stardom's father taught him to read and initiated him in the basic religious practices of both Bön and Buddhism. His father also entrusted the child under the care of Gyaring, who, despite his predications about the child, taught him both Bön and Buddhist traditions. On the Bön side, Gyaring guided the child through the so-called Nine Successive Vehicles of Bön. He also schooled the child in various Bön tantras, teachings, and ritual practices, such as the *Mighty Wrathful One* (*Khro bo dbang chen*), the *Nine Series of Gapa Texts*

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[229] *Skyo ston smon lam tshul khrims kyi rnam thar*, 331a.5-6. *pha mes kyi rgyud ma zin na bu skyes pa min ba.*

(*Ga pa dgu skor*), and others.[230] Gyaring further instilled in the child the importance of understanding the law of cause and effect, a doctrine shared by Bön and Buddhism alike. To this point Gyaring even quoted from Nartang's fourth abbot Dromoche Dütsi Drak. According to Gyaring, Dromoche had once said, "If a person does not have genuine conviction in the law of cause and effect, then that person cannot even be a Bön religious practitioner. The attainment of liberation is plausible for anyone with genuine conviction [in the law of cause and effect], whatever their religious customs (*cha lugs*) may be."[231] From that point forward Stardom promised to avoid doing wrong and focus on the good.

On the Buddhist side Gyaring requested a Buddhist master by the name of Tsongtön Répa (Tshong ston ras pa, d.u.) to give a ritual initiation of the Buddhist deity Vajravārāhī (Rdo rje phag mo). During the initiation the Buddhist master gave special treatment to the eight-year-old Stardom by allowing him to drink the ritual substance directly from his skull cup. Then on the tenth and final day of the initiation, when material and edible offerings are made to the master and congregation of initiates, the Buddhist master placed his hand on top of the child's head. He spoke to the child about a dream he once had. In this dream there was a child who stopped listing to his father's advice. The child in the dream shunned his father's religious beliefs, he matured to become self sufficient, and he became a Buddhist monk.[232]

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[230] Another teaching/ritual that Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims received is the '*Thing kar mo.* I am unable to locate any information on this teaching/ritual/deity. For more about the *Khro bo dbang chen,* see Dan Martin, *Unearthing Bon Treasures: Life and Contested Legacy of a Tibetan Scripture Revealer with a General Bibliography of Bon* (Leiden: Brill, 2001). For remarks about the *Ga pa dgu skor* also see Ibid., 65.

[231] Ibid., 332b.2-3. *las 'bras la yid ches gsha' ma cig med na chos pas bon kyang mi 'ong*/ *yid ches bden nges pa cig yod na cha lugs ji ltar 'dug kyang thar zin pa'i tshod yin*/.

[232] See Ibid., 335a.3-5.

Stardom's father died not long after his son took the initiation by the Buddhist master. The grief and sorry that struck the child caused him to see the faults of the endless cycle of life and death. His father's death also lead him to doubt the efficiency of Bön ritual and practices. Naturally, in times of trouble, Stardom turned to the family priest and his mentor Gyaring. The advice that Gyaring gave to Stardom was the exact opposite of the advice he had quoted from Dromoche. Gyaring explained to the child that while it is possible to attain the higher states of existence through Bön practices, liberation from the cycle of life and death is only possible by following a Buddhist path.

After much deliberation Stardom decided to enter solely a Buddhist path. His relatives, however, continued to disapprove of his decision and attempted, unsuccessfully, to dissuade him. Stardom was now a teenager and with his father out of the picture and with the support of Gyaring, he began on an exclusively Buddhist path. This path began with Gyaring schooling him in the more generic doctrines of the Kadam tradition. To continue on this path, however, the boy would need a guide that understood the specifics of Buddhist doctrine and practice. With this end in mind, preparations were made for him to visit Nartang monastery, located about a half a day's trek from his birthplace of Tanak.

Stardom shed tears of faith and belonging as he approached Nartang monastery from the hillside. His biography refers to the period of Stardom's life— from meeting the Buddhist master Tsongtön Répa to his arrival at Nartang—as his great awakening to the best of lineages,

i.e. a Buddhist lineage in contrast to his family/clan lineage.[233] This awakening is not exactly a conversion tale, after all his father and first teacher were men that subscribed to both the Bön and Buddhist faiths. Also, at least for his biographer, the awakening was also not merely a matter of personal choice. Stardom's awakening is written as a destiny being played out with the help of prophecies from a Bön and Buddhist family priest, dreams from a Buddhist master, past life propensities, timely tragedy with his father's death, and serendipitous encounters.

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When Stardom entered the assembly hall of Nartang he saw the acting fifth abbot Zhangtön Chökyi Lama at the head of the monastic congregation surrounded by more than a hundred masters and many more monks. After the morning prayers and rituals were concluded, Stardom was granted permission to meet with Zhangtön Chökyi Lama in private. As a sign of reverence the teenager touched his head to the feet of Zhangtön Chökyi Lama. He repeatedly requested that the abbot bestow upon him the Buddhist teachings that would free him from the endless cycle of life and death. Impressed by the child's faith, Zhangtön Chökyi Lama accepted responsibility for training the boy in such a path. Now with his sight solely on following the Buddhist path, Stardom understood that he would have to take monastic ordination to be admitted as a member and resident of the Nartang community. He requested Nartang's chief

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[233] Neither the year or age of Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims is given. However, Skyon ston returned to Snar thang monastery in circa 1238 to receive ordination. It is stated that Skyon ston studied for five years with Snar thang's fifth abbot, who died in 1241. See *Skyo ston smon lam tshul khrims kyi rnam thar*, 339a.5. The five years can be calculated from Skyon ston s first visit to Snar thang to the fifth abbot's death in 1241. Hence Skyon ston was about seventeen years of age (1236) when he first made the trek to Snar thang monastery.

administrator (*nye gnas*), Chökyi Jangchup (Chos kyi byang chub, d.u.), to arrange for his ordination ceremony. Chökyi Jangchup instructed Stardom to first return home and make the necessary preparations with his family and friends to stay long term at Nartang. Dutifully, Stardom returned home for a short period and then set out again for Nartang.

At the conclusion of the winter teaching session in 1238, the twenty-year-old Stardom made offerings of tea to the monastic assembly at Nartang and a scripture, *The Perfection of Wisdom in 25,000 Thousand Verses*, to the abbot Zhangtön Chökyi Lama. The purpose of the offerings were for his monastic ordination ceremony. With Zhangtön Chökyi Lama as the abbot of the ceremony and Chim Namkha Drak as the preceptor of the ceremonies, Stardom received his novice monastic vows. The next day Stardom was given the monastic vows of complete ordination. For this ceremony Zhangtön Chökyi Lama was again the abbot, Chim Namkha Drak the preceptor, Chökyi Senggé Baso Tangpa (Chos seng ge ba so thang pa, d.u.) the private interviewer, plus twenty other fully ordained monks. Back to back days of monastic vow taking was not the common procedure. The common procedure for the past Nartang abbots, and for monks in general, was for novice vows to be taken around the age of sixteen and complete ordination vows taken around the age of twenty or twenty-one. Stardom's situation, however, was unique. Having transitioned to solely a Buddhist path in his late teens meant that the ordination procedure was fast-tracked.[234] During one of these ordination ceremonies Stardom was also given a new monastic name: Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim (henceforth Kyotön).[235]

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[234] It is unknown whether this procedure was used for other men that joined the monastery and/or monk-hood at a more advanced age.

[235] See Ibid., 338b.2-4.

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Kyotön's education at Nartang began under the tutelage of Zhangtön Chökyi Lama, who taught him from both the Kadam 'textualist' and 'pith instruction' lineages. Zhangtön Chökyi Lama died three years later in 1241 and the sixth Nartang abbot, Sangyé Gompa, continued to educate Kyotön. As discussed in chapter 2, Sangyé Gompa was a senior of Zhangtön Chökyi Lama. Appointed as abbot at the age of sixty-three, Sangyé Gompa's tenure lasted until his death in 1250. One of Kyotön's most influential teachers, however, was Nartang's seventh abbot, Chim Namkha Drak. Kyotön began to study under Chim Namkha Drak shortly after his ordination ceremony in 1238.[236] While Kyotön and Chim Namkha Drak were in a student-master relationship, which would have required a certain decorum of interaction, specifically for the student Kyotön, the two monks were also casual friends. Unlike Kyotön's other teachers, Chim Namkha Drak was not much older than Kyotön: in the year 1238 Kyotön was twenty years of age and Chim Namkha Drak was twenty-eight.

Chim Namkha Drak taught Kyotön from an extensive array of Kadam exegesis, a list of works that spans about ten folios in his biography.[237] Included in this register of teachings that Kyotön received from Chim Namkha Drak are the biographies of Tilopa, Nāropa, Ḍombhi pa, Atiśa, Dromtön Gyelwé Jungné, Potowa Rinchen Sel, Sharwapa Yönten drak, Chumikpa Shérap Drak, Dromoche (a.k.a. Pendenpa Drotön Dütsi Drak), Zhangtön Chökyi Lama, and Sanggyé Gompa (a.k.a. Khenpo Jangchenpa). All of these biographies were penned by Chim Namkha

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[236] Evidence for this is the fact that Chim Namkha Drak is refered to as 'preceptor' (*slob dpon)* rather than abbot (*mkhan po).* As mentioned above, Chim Namkha Drak, was the preceptor for Skyon ston's ordination ceremony. See *Skyo ston smon lam tshul khrims kyi rnam thar*, 341b.6

[237] See Ibid., 341b.6-347a.5; and appendix 2.

Drak.[238] Kyotön would later write the biography of Chim Namkha Drak and Nartang's ninth abbot Nyima Gyeltsen (Nyi ma rgyal mtshan, 1225-1305), who was also a student of Chim Namkha Drak, would write Kyotön's biography. Together these biographies are referred to by modern scholarship as *A Golden Rosary of Nartang* (*Snar thang gser phreng*). The fact that Chim Namkha Drak taught these eleven biographies to Kyotön, and in this order, indicates that these works were taught as a collection from early on. Nyima Gyeltsen, the author of Kyotön's biography and chronologically the last author in the collection, may have been the key figure in redacting the biographies by adding Chim Namkha Drak and Kyotön to the collection. Further, Chim Namkha Drak's biography of Atiśa is also found in a separate collection, *The Book of the Kadam (Bka' gdams glegs bam),* which was also redacted at Nartang in 1302 when Nyima Gyeltsen was the abbot at Nartang. This redaction was the product of Nyima Gyeltsen and two other individuals: Namkha Rinchen (Nam mkha' rin chen, 1214-1286); and another student of Kyotön, Drom Kumāramati (a.k.a Zhönnu Lodrö; Gzhon nu blo gros, b.1271).[239]

From 1238 to 1245 Kyotön studied with more than thirty Kadam masters at Nartang. In 1245 he began his own teaching career at the age twenty-six. His first opportunity to teach came

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[238] The Peltsek (Dpal brtsegs) catalogue that accompanies the *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum thengs gnyis pa* incorrectly gives Skyon ston as the author of the following biographies: Chu mig pa chen po, Sangs rgyas sgom pa, and Zhang ston chos bla [ma]. The colophons for these biographies merely state that it was compiled/composed at Snar thang (*snar thang du bsdebs pa'o*). However, these works are in fact the biographies authored by Mchims nam mkha' grags as found in *A Golden Rosary of Nartang.* Here the colophons read: "compiled/composed by the monk Namkha Drak at Nartang's temple" (*snar thang gi gtsug lag khang du dge slong nam mkha grags kyis bsdebs*). Likewise, a biography of Zhang ston chos rje kyi bla ma and Sangs rgyas sgom pa seng ge skyabs is found in volume forty-seven (*tsi*) of the *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam phyogs bsgrigs* (2012), 319-338; 339-354. The Peltsek catalogue that accompanies these volumes states that the author is unknown. The author is in fact Mchims nam mkha' grags and the manuscripts/xylographs appear to be identical to those found under the works falsely attributed to Skyon ston in *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum thengs gnyis pa*, vol.50: 317-351.

[239] The protagonist in *The Book of the Kadam* is 'Brom ston pa rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas. Not coincidently, all three individuals responsible for the book's redaction came from the 'Brom clan.

when ten monks asked him to clarify specific points related to the *Abhidharma*. Initially, Kyotön was reluctant to teach. He sought the advice of Chim Namkha Drak, who explained to Kyotön that he had a moral obligation to teach. Chim Namkha Drak reminded him that the gift of doctrine was the highest form of generosity and crucial to the accumulation of merit. He further advised Kyotön that a good teacher would never consider their own teaching benefits, prestige, and/or handouts. A teaching qualification that the community at Nartang looked for in their teachers was their ability to make difficult points of doctrines both accessible and easy to understand. In addition, the qualifications for a teacher were fourfold: (i) to be charitable with teaching; (ii) to teach in a pleasant tone; (iii) to have purpose; and (iv) to be consistent in words and actions.[240]

Evidently Kyotön possessed all these qualities as well as a general knack for teaching. He spent the next four years teaching the monastic community at Nartang until he began to experience health issues in 1250. This time he turned to the sixth abbot Sangyé Gompa for council. According to Sangyé Gompa, the remedy for Kyotön's illness was for him to discard all activities that interfered with meditation practices, including teaching. There is no indication that retreat or extended periods of meditation was part of the program at Nartang. The past abbots had spent their youths and adult lives consumed with scholastic learning, discourse, and everyday administrative duties. Past Nartang abbots did, however, enter periods of solitary retreat but their decision to do so was prompted by their impeding death. For instance, later that same year (1250), Sangyé Gompa appointed Chim Namkha Drak as his successor, gave his final

[240] These four qualities are referred to as "the four favorable qualities for influencing others," or "the four qualities of a bodhisattva" (*bsdu ba'i dngos po rnam pa bzhi*). See *Skyo ston smon lam tshul khrims kyi rnam* thar, 367a.1.

testament to the Nartang community, then left the monastery for retreat at a hermitage in Tashi Lung where he died a few weeks later.[241]

Kyotön heeded Sangyé Gompa's council and spent the next eleven years in solitary retreat. Kyotön's decision to enter solitary retreat was not, at least initially, for a lofty goal. The primary reason was to heal and avert death. In retreat Kyotön meditated on the generation and completion stages of Tantra with the recitation of Vajrapāṇi's mantra. His meditation focus caused time to stand still, where he was no longer cognizant of whether it was day or night. Slowly but surely he progressed in the stages of meditation until he intuitively understood the nature of reality. In addition, his illness was completely cured.

Immediately after leaving his retreat in 1261, the forty-two-year-old Kyotön resumed his teaching career at Nartang under the supervision of Chim Namkha Drak, who was now in his thirteenth year as abbot of Nartang. Rumors also began to spread throughout Central Tibet that this Kadam master had gained the ability to cure, not only cure his own sickness, but the sickness of others. Included in these rumors were the claims that Kyotön was the earthly embodiment of Vajrapāṇi. It was Kyotön's reputation as a healer that allegedly brought the polymath Rikpé Reldri to Nartang.[242] Rikpé Reldri had been studying near Lhasa at Gawa Dong (Dga' ba gdong) when he began to show symptoms of leprosy. Kyotön did not prescribe solitary retreat, medicine, rituals, or the recitation of mantra for Rikpé Reldri's ailment. Rather, he instructed Rikpé Reldri to recite a text on logic: the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* of Dharmakīrti! After reciting the text a thousand times, Rikpé Reldri was reportedly cured from his leprosy symptoms and took up

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[241] See chapter 2.

[242] See *Deb ther sngon po*, vol.1 (2003), 409-10; Roerich (1976), 337.

semi-permanent residency at Nartang where he became a disciple of both Kyotön and Chim Namkha Drak. More importantly, as discussed in chapter 3, Rikpé Reldri transformed the library at Nartang as well as the appreciation and understanding of books on the Tibetan plateau.

Does the Scholar Dream?

Dreams and visions play an important role in the biography of Kyotön. Like prophecy, dreams can provide a view of the future or reinforce the present. For example, in Kyotön's youth the Buddhist master Tsongtön Répa dreamt that Kyotön would shun his family's Bön lineage to become a Buddhist monk. As a teenager Kyotön had an ecstatic dream in which he and a group of goddesses were making offerings and requesting blessings from a Bön female deity by the name of Ting Karmo ('Thing kar mo). The Buddhist master Tsongtön Répa appears in this dream of Kyotön to sing verses about the joys and bliss that come with being a monk. In terms of the chronology of Kyotön's biography, both of these dreams predate his entrance into the monastic life. After becoming a monk later in life Kyotön would continue to dream as well as have visionary experiences. He would dream and have visions of Vajrapāṇi and the past abbots of Nartang. The dreams and visions of Vajrapāṇi helped to reinforce his special connection to the deity and his reputation as his earthly embodiment. The dreams of Nartang's past abbots helped to reinforce Kyotön connection to Nartang as the rightful successor of the throne.

Although the biographies of past Nartang abbots— the fourth through seventh abbot, as found in the *Golden Rosary of Nartang*—make use of dreams and visions, it is Kyotön's biography where dreams are most prominent. The use of prophecy is used for a similar effect for

the past abbots of Nartang, that is to provide a view of the future or reinforce the present. Prophecy, however, unlike dreams and visions, often lacks the first-person experiential aspect for those involved. While the past abbots of Nartang are portrayed as having high degrees of experience, the overarching emphasis in their life-stories is on scholastic learning. This fact may simply be a matter of authorial intent since the biographies of abbots four through six were written by Chim Namkha Drak while Nartang's tenth abbot Nyima Gyeltsen wrote the biography for Kyotön. However, it was Kyotön who wrote the biography of Chim Namkha Drak, a biography that gives the impression that Chim Namkha Drak did not dream at all but rather spent his days and nights studying, teaching, meditating, and writing.

Aside from authorial intent, dreams and visions had primarily been the domain of esoteric doctrines and experience. Although Nartang claimed to be a fusion of the Kadam textualist and pith instruction lineages, which included the more esoteric and experiential side of Kadam teachings and praxis, the monastery was by and large focused on the exoteric doctrines within their tradition. A reason for the prominence of dreams and visions in Kyotön's biography is because he was unique from the past abbots. Kyotön was raised in household of Bön and Buddhist religious beliefs and practices. As discussed above, he was taught in his youth a variety of esoteric Bön practices. Unlike previous Nartang abbots Kyotön had also spent eleven years in solitary retreat in which he overcame a life threatening illness and experienced the results of meditative practice. His character portfolio, therefore, is that of not only an accomplished exoteric scholar but also a healer and an experienced yogi.

Besides Kyotön, the Nartang abbot who dreamt the most was Dromoche. For instance, one evening Dromoche dreamt of shepherds who were leading their flocks of sheep up and down

the hillside. He asked his teacher Dingkar Kushek to interpret the dream. He was simply told that dreaming of sheep is a good thing. Later, it was Dingkar Kushek who appeared in a dream of Nartang's benefactor Senggé Drak to tell him that Dromoche should be appointed as the fourth abbot of Nartang.[243] Dromoche was also introduced to dreams in a text. Listed among the works studied by Dromoche is *The Interpretation of Dreams* (*Rmi lam brtag pa*). Dromoche studied this work in his youth before the age of nineteen (circa 1171) with Geshé Jagyüpa (Bya brgyus pa, d.u.).[244] Later (circa 1195) Dromoche taught the same work to the nineteen-year-old, future sixth abbot of Nartang, Sangyé Gompa. There are two works entitled *The Interpretation of Dreams* (*Rmi lam brtag pa; Svapnohana*) in the Tengyur. The first was composed/translated by Śākyaśrībhadra's student Vibhūticandra.[245] Although the colophon for Vibhūticandra's *Interpretation of Dreams* does not provide the year of composition/translation, the work had to have been composed/translated much later given that 1204 was the year Vibhūticandra made his first of his three trips to Tibet.[246] Hence *The Interpretation of Dreams* that Dromoche learnt and taught could not be that of Vibhūticandra. Most likely the dream work that was studied by the

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[243] See chapter 2.

[244] Bya brgyus pa was also the private interviewer for Gro mo che's vows of complete monastic ordination. See *Dpal ldan pa'i rnam* thar, 241b.3.

[245] For more on the life of Vibhūticandra, see Cyrus Stearns, "The Life and Tibetan Legacy of the Indian Mahāpaṇḍita Vibhūticandra," in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol.19, no.1 (1996), 127-171.

[246] The colophon states that the scholar from east India, Vibhūticandra, translated the work. See Bstan 'gyur (sde dge), vol.28: 269; TBRC: W23703. Vibhūticandra was born in Varendra, or Varendi, present day northern Bengal. See Stearns (1996), 128-29n.4. It is questionable whether Vibhūticandra is the author/translator of the *Interpretation of Dreams* from the Bstan 'gyur. As Stearns mentions, both Tāranātha and Grag pa rgyal mgyal mtshan question the authenticity of certain works attributed to Vibhūticandra. Part of their skepticism is because the colophons of his works use the third person honorific verb "*mdzad*." The colophon for the *Interpretation of Dreams* attributed to Vibhūticandra likewise uses the honorific "*mdzad*" verb. However, as Stearns states, since all of Vibhūticandra's works use the third person honorific verb, it most likely indicates that none of *the colophons* were written by Vibhūticandra and not necessarily the work itself. See Ibid., 156, 156.n100.

fourth and sixth Nartang abbots was the Indian master Maitripa's (995/8-1075) *Interpretation of Dreams,* translated by the "yogi" Prajñāśrījñānakirti (Dam pa skor nirupa, 1062-1102).[247] At any rate, *The Interpretation of Dreams* studied by the fourth and sixth abbot is not listed as a work studied by Nartang's fifth, seventh, or eighth abbot. Hence, while certain Nartang abbots studied about dreams, and other abbots dreamed more than the others, particularly Kyotön, the interpretation of dreams never became a core part of the curriculum at Nartang.

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After coming out of retreat in 1261, Kyotön continued to dream, teach, and study with Chim Namkha Drak at Nartang. As discussed in chapter 3, Chim Namkha Drak's tenure at Nartang during this period was a time of both large and small scale changes for Central Tibet. By all traditional accounts Kyotön had become Chim Namkha Drak's leading disciple and confidant. Kyotön witnessed the steady renown that Chim Namkha Drak achieved. He was there when Chim Namkha Drak was appointed as abbot in 1250/51 and when he was appointed as the teacher of the "National Preceptor" Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen. As Chim Namkha Drak's confidant, Kyotön would have accompanied him for the fourteen day religious convocation at Chumik in 1278. Likewise, Kyotön would have been in attendance for the various teachings given by Chim

[247] See Bstan 'gyur (dpe bsdur ma), vol.25: 354–357 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008). For more on Prajñāśrījñānakirti (Dam pa skor nirupa), see Kurtis R. Schaeffer, *Dreaming the Great Brahim: Tibetan Traditions of the Buddhist Poet-Saint Saraha* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 66-67. There are also a few works of Atiśa that were translated by a *yogi* Prajñāśrījñānakirti. See Alaka Chattopadhyaya, *Atiśa and Tibet* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1996), 466-475. For more on the content of Maitripa's text, see Serinity Young, *Dreaming in the Lotus: Buddhist Dream Narrative, Imagery, and Practice* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999), 137-143. Young incorrectly renders the author of this as "an Indian scholar named Glorious Advaya (Dpal ldan gnyis su med). See Ibid.,137.

Namkha Drak, at the very least for the winter and summer sessions which were strictly for the community of monks at Nartang. Although there is no evidence to suggest that Kyotön was either directly or indirectly involved in the making of Rikpé Reldri's catalogue of Buddhist canonical texts in 1268, nonetheless, he would have interacted and conversed with his student about his work in Nartang's library. Having established himself among the hierarch at Nartang as an intellectual, healer, meditator, a teacher of Rikpé Reldri and a confidant of Chim Namkha Drak, Kyotön had put himself in position to become a viable candidate for the abbotship at Nartang.

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On the twenty-fifth day of the third Tibetan month (*nam mthong kyi zla ba*) in 1285, a meeting at Nartang was schedule to appoint a successor to the throne. As discussed in chapter 3, Chim Namkha Drak did not appoint his successor. Chim Namkha Drak had passed away a month early on April 14 and the cremation of his body was performed on April 19. The meeting in May was attended by the teachers of Nartang, the community of monks, officials, and patrons from the districts of Chumik, Shalu (Zhal lu) and Gur (Mgur/ 'gur mo).[248] Most likely the hierarch at Nartang had already selected Kyotön as the successor to the throne and the meeting was merely a formality and way to make the announcement known to community and their patrons. According

[248] *Skyo ston smon lam tshul khrims kyi rnam thar*, 369b.4. *chu zhal mgur gsum yon bdag mi che ba*. Mgur mostly likely refers to Tshong 'dus m/'gur mo of Gtsang. As Sørensen notes, "From the very outset of the *bstan pa phyi dar* period it [i.e. Tshong 'dus m/'gur mo] emerged as on the most frequented cross-roads spread all over Tibet for innumerable saints and scholars throughout this early medieval phase of the second Buddhist dissemination, notably starting with Atiśa through Kha-che-PaN-chen [i.e.Śākyaśrībhadra]." See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 131n.289.

to Kyotön's biography, all those in attendance at the conference unanimously agreed that the sixty-seven-year-old Kyotön was the most qualified person for the position. Kyotön was reluctant to accept the offer, but, in the end, he could not refuse. The monks and donors concluded the meeting with prayers and material offerings.

Kyotön's first years in office was an eventful period in Central Tibet and beyond. Chakna Dorjé's (Phyag na rdo rje) son, Dharmapālarakṣita (1268-1287), took the religious throne at Sakya but was called to the Mongol court in 1283 for his appointment as the new Imperial Preceptor. Also during this period, from 1285-1287, Khubilai had sponsored the compilation of a Buddhist canon that compared Chinese and Tibetan canonical literature. This project, at least in name, was under the supervision of the young Dharmapālarakṣita (d+harma pA la rak Shi ta, 1268-1287).[249] For reasons unknown Dharmapālarakṣita resigned from his position as Imperial Preceptor and started his return to Sakya monastery to only die either en route or upon his return.[250] Tibet's mail service was also revamped that same year and a revision of the 1268 census was taken by two imperial commissioners. This revised census resulted in the newly

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[249] Although Dharmapālarakṣita was said to have been the supervisor of the project and other Tibetans are said to have participated, Kurtis R. Schaeffer and Leonard W.J. van der Kujip (2009) explain how "it was nonetheless in every respect and at its very core a thoroughly Chinese Buddhist undertaking." See Schaeffer and van der Kujip (2009), 17.

[250] Petech states that he died en route. See Petech (1983), 188. Wylie, however, states that he died at Sa skya, perhaps of poising. Wylie also states that Dharmapālarakṣita did not resign from his position as Imperial Preceptor but rather was sent by Khubilai to succeed 'Phags pa. See Wylie (1976), 328-29. Chronologically, Petech has Dharmapālarakṣita succeeding 'Phags pa on the throne of Sa skya prior to his departure to the Mongol court in 1283. See Petech (1983), 188.

appointed chief minster Sang-ko (Sam gha/Zam gha)[251] to reorganize and merge the military administration— which had jurisdiction over the three provinces of Central Tibet, Amdo, and Kham— with the administration of Buddhist Affairs (*hsüan-cheng-yüan*).[252] At the same time, possibly taking advantage of this vacuum at Sakya monastery, the Drikungpa and their western Mongol (*stod hor*) allies planned an assault to Sakya rule.

In 1285, members of the Drikung sect destroyed Jayül (Bya yul) monastery, killing nine monks and the abbot Sanggyé Tsangtön (Sangs rgyas gtsang ston, d.u.).[253] Although Jayül had associations with Sakya teachers and rulers, the monastery was by and large a Kadam monastic institution. Jayül had been founded in the early twelfth century by the Kadam master Jayülwa Zhönu Ö, a student of Chengawa Tsültrim Bar and a close associate of Sharawa Yönten Drak.[254] Jayülwa Zhönu Ö had been a specialist in the Kadam pith instruction lineage whose works were studied by Nartang's fourth, fifth, and sixth abbot.[255] After the death of Jayülwa Zhönu Ö in 1138, Jayül monastery merged with the Kadam monastery of Lo, founded in 1095 by his student

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[251] Petech states that Sang-ko "was not an Uighur, as is usually believed, but a Szechwan Tibetan of the bKa'-ma-log clans descended from garrisons stationed on the border by the ancient kings of Tibet. He was first noticed and employed by 'Phags-pa as interpreter…[then] employed in the financial department; his later career as favorite of the emperor and unscrupulous financier and statesman, as well as his downfall and execution in 1291, is an important episode in the history of the Yüan dynasty." See Ibid., 188.

[252] According to Petech, one reason for this restructuring was due to the economic crisis in Central Tibet that also resulted in a tax remission request made by Kung dga' gzhon nu to the imperial government. See Petech (2003), 349.

[253] The first move made by 'Bri gung was the destruction of Bya yul monastery and the murder of the abbot in 1285. See Petech (2003), 364; (1983), 189-90. Bya yul was on of the six myriarchies in Dbus. For a map of the various administrative districts and centers of Dbus, including Bya yul, see Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 566

[254] For more on the life of Bya yul ba gzhon nu 'od, see Las chen (2003), 330-41; *Deb ther sngon po*, vol. 1 (2003), 351-52; Roerich (1976), 289.

[255] Snar thang's fourth abbot, Gro mo che, had studied with Bya yul ba gzhon nu 'od's student Mus sman pa dud rtsi char chen (see chapter 2). The fifth and sixth abbot studied the *bya yul ba'i rab gnas.* See *Gnas lnga mkyen pa'i rnam thar,* 257b.4-5; and *Sangs rgyas sgom pa'i rnam thar,* 271b.1-2.

Chengawa Tsültrim Bar.[256] It was customary since the mid-twelfth century for the abbots of Lo monastery to also serve as abbot of Jayül, either after their term at Lo monastery ended or serving jointly at both monasteries at the same time. Both Lo and Jayül monasteries continued to teach and promote the Kadam doctrines of their monastery's founder. In his 1494 chronicle of the Kadam sect, Léchen Künga Gyeltsen lists the abbots of Jayülwa monastery—before its destruction in 1285 and after the rebuilding project in 1291—as all belonging to the Kadam sect.[257] The promotion of the Kadam sect at Lo and Jayül monastery also continued well into the fifteenth century when the twenty-third abbot of Lo monastery, Sönam Lhé Wangpo, wrote his Kadam chronicle in 1484. Hence, while the Drigungpas saw the attack on Jayül monastery and the slaying of the abbot as an attack on Sakya rule, the Kadampas, such as Kyotön, viewed the attack as an assault on one of their own institutions and the murder of one of their colleagues. The Kadampas of Nartang also understood that if Sakya rule fell to the Drikungpa rebellion, their own institution could be threatened.

Kyotön the Builder: From Periphery to Center

Nartang monastery continued to grow in size since its opening in 1153. Enrollment numbers began to increase during the tenure of the second abbot Dotön Shérap Drak. During the tenure of the fourth abbot, Dromoche, the enrollment numbers reached about four hundred permanent

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[256] After the death of Bya yul ba gzhon nu 'od, the abbot of Lo, Gtsang pa rdo rje rgyal mtshan(1077-1161), served as abbot of Bya yul monastery. This trend of one person serving as abbot of both monasteries continued for the next few centuries.

[257] See Las chen (2003), 342-408.

resident monks. To accommodate for the numbers Dromoche commissioned the building of a larger, six-pillared temple at Nartang, the so-called Three Realms Temple, later known as the Old Central Temple. Also included in the building efforts were monastic dormitories to accommodate for the increase of monks. The fame of Nartang's seventh abbot, Chim Namkha Drak, had increased the enrollment numbers in the thousands, which required the constant construction of new additions to the monastic dormitories. In addition to housing for monks Chim Namkha Drak commissioned and helped design the Temple of Three Thousand (Gsum stong sdongs), which was used to house a larger than life bronze statue of the Buddha. At the same time, Nartang also witnessed the increase of books. To accommodate for the books and for Rikpé Reldri's bibliographic workshop of 1268, the library at Nartang was under constant renovation and continual expansion.

None of these building projects would have been possible without donors and financial savings. Certain abbots of Nartang, such as Dromoche, actively campaigned for the monastery by going on teaching tours in and around Tsang. Other abbots could fall back on their clan associations for financial support, such as the third and fifth abbots (Zhang clan), the sixth abbot (Kyo clan), and the seventh abbot (Chim clan). Chim Namkha Drak relations with the Mongols vis-à-vis Pakpa brought an unprecedented increase and surplus of wealth for Nartang. In addition, after Rikpé Reldri made amends with Pakpa, the Mongols provided financial support to him and his host monastery of Nartang. When Kyotön took office in 1285 the monastery was therefore not only financially stable but had a surplus of funds. As mentioned above, in addition to savings, Kyotön also received the financial backing from multiple influential donors (*yon*

bdag mi che ba) from the nearby districts of Chumik, Shalu and Gur.[258] According to Kyotön's biography, it was during his tenure that "the religious education, enrollment, and wealth [at Nartang] grew like a forest in the summer."[259]

Kyotön began to build at Nartang shortly after he took office in the summer of 1287. His first building project was the construction of walls to encircle the monastery, referred to as the "great iron mountains" (*lcags ri chen mo*). To inaugurate the building project Kyotön first checked the stars for favorable conditions. Then at the start of the summer he invited the Nartang monastic members, laborers, as well as nearby villagers, to join in his blessing of the building site. Considering the size and scale of the proposed fortress walls, construction had to take many years to complete as well as requiring a sizable workforce and costing a tidy sum. When completed the walls formed a square enclosure around Nartang's monastic complex, which, at the time, as mentioned above, included various temples, reliquaries (stupas), dormitories, libraries, and forth.[260] Later, the thirteenth abbot of Nartang, Khenchen Künga Gyeltsen (Mkhan chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1338-1400), would construct another ring of outer walls (*phyi lcags ri*). The remnants of the walls that still stand today at Nartang are these outer walls built by Khenchen Künga Gyeltsen (see chapter 5) and not those of Kyotön.[261]

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[258] *Skyo ston smon lam tshul khrims kyi rnam thar*, 369b.4.

[259] Ibid., 373a.3. *chos dang gdul bya dang dbal 'byor gyi tshogs dbyar gyi nags tshal ltar rgyas pas*.

[260] Most likely, the monastic dorms were also located inside of the walls. A painting, or set of paintings, dating to the eighteen century depicts a group of buildings outside the walls of Snar thang with a group of twelve monks and a master from the Dge lugs pa sect. Whether these buildings outside of the walls were monastic dorms or the small village that developed around Snar thang, which still exists today, is uncertain. For the image, see HAR (item no. 81872):http://www.himalayanart.org/items/81872/images/81872t.

[261] Las chen states that the outer walls built by Mkhan chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan measure about fourteen pisé layers (*gyang rim*) in height. See Las chen (2003), 434. The measurements that were taken during my fieldwork in 2013 also measured fourteen pisé layers. For more, see chapter 5.

In addition to savings and donors, Kyotön also put on hold the renovation of his residency in order to allocate extra funds towards the construction of the walls and his other building project: a new and bigger assembly hall/temple for Nartang. The need for a larger assembly hall/temple was the result of increased enrollment during the later half of Chim Namkha Drak's tenure. The temple project began the last month of summer on the twenty-fifth day, the same year (1287) as the fortress wall building project. Kyotön's plans for the temple included an upper gallery (*khyams stod*) for statues, scriptures, and the like; and a lower gallery (*khyams smad*) for the monks to assemble, sit, and worship. Once completed the temple was called the Great Central Temple (Dbu rtse rin po che/ Gtsug lag khang chen mo). Also upon completion, the Three Realms Temple that Dromoche had built during his tenure become referred to as the Old Central Temple (Dbu rtse rnying pa).[262] To have two large-scale, high-cost, building projects—the temple and fortress walls— taking place at the same time is further evidence of the economic surplus that Nartang had accrued, a surplus that Kyotön acquired and made good use of when he took the throne in 1285.

Kyotön's plan to build fortress-like walls around Nartang monastery was not a novel architectural concept in Central Tibet. There was Samye monastery in Ü built in 775 that included a circular stone wall around the monastery's complex of temples. There was the Gyantse Dzong in Tsang that was rebuilt in 1268 to include fortress walls. In 1280, Sakya monastery completed the construction of the southern branch of the monastery, which included inner and outer walls to encompass the monastery. Theoretically certain monasteries such as Samye and Sakya used the architecture of a maṇḍala, which consists of square or circular interior

[262] See *Skyo ston smon lam tshul khrims kyi rnam thar*, 373a.3-4. Bsam yas monastery and Rwa sgreng monastery had temples called *Dbu rtse rin po che*.

and exterior walls with four directional gates, as a blueprint for the monastery. Practically the fortress walls provided protection from external threats. Although not explicitly stated, Kyotön's choice to build walls at Nartang was in part intended as a defense mechanism against the civil war (*gling log*) between Drikung and Sakya and the real threat posed to Nartang if Sakya should lose. Kyotön had to know about the destruction of Jayül monastery and the fate of the abbot at the hands of the Drikungpas. Now as abbot of Nartang a course of action was needed to insure the safety of his institution and himself.

Unlike Samye and Sakya the blueprint for Nartang's "iron walls/mountains" was not based on a maṇḍala but rather a standard Buddhist cosmology model found in *Abhidharma* texts.[263] According to this model our universe is surrounded at the perimeter by a ring of iron mountains that forms a boundary between this universe and other universes or realms. As discussed in chapter 3, the exoteric guild of the Chim clan was the *Abhidharma*, the study of which became a focal point at Nartang during the tenure of Chim Namkha Drak. Kyotön's use of *Abhidharma* cosmology as a blueprint for the monastery, rather than the more esoteric maṇḍala blueprint, was designed to reinforce and honor Nartang's legacy and image as primarily an exoteric institution now at the *center* of the Buddhist world.[264]

During the first few centuries of Tibet's second diffusion of the doctrine (eleventh and twelfth centuries), the Kadam sect and other religious sects did *not* consider Tibet or their institutions at the center of the Buddhist world. Whether from Tibetan indigenous works such as the *Maṇi Kambum* (*Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*), the religious chronicle by Nyangrel Nyima Ozer (Nyang/

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[263] One esoteric source for Buddhist cosmology is the Kālacakra tantra, which does not appear to have been in use at Snar thang monastery.

[264] There is also a reference to Skyon ston residing at the center of the universe on top of Mt. Meru (*lhun po nyid*) qua Snar thang monastery (*gdan sa rin po che*). See Ibid., 370a.5-6.

myang ral nyi ma 'od zer, 1124-1192),[265] or early strands of the *Kachem Kakhölma* (*Bka' chems ka khol ma*), the overarching motifs of these early twelfth century works tell of a "marginal people" (*mtha' khob*) living in a dangerous untamed land, i.e. Tibet. Of course these Tibetan indigenous Buddhist works tell one type of story, primarily one of Buddhist intervention and the conversion of faiths. At the same time, these works also introduce Tibet as a peripheral zone within Indian cosmology. The shift from periphery to a proximate geographic center, however, would have to wait until the late twelfth century and be further developed in the thirteenth and fourteenth century.[266]

Moreover, this shift from a peripheral zone to the center should be considered in relation to what "center" signified. The first type of "center" is a geographical center (*sa tshig*), which signified none other than the Vajrāsana at Bodhgayā, India. Elena Pakhoutova (2009) claims that at least four monasteries founded in the second half of the eleventh and twelfth centuries had Vajrāsana or Mahābodhi as part of their name: (i) Nartang; (ii) Zhang Zhong (f. early twelfth

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[265] Nyang/myang ral nyi ma 'od zer, *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dbang dpe bskrun khang, 1988).

[266] Dan Martin has collected country-lists from early Bön sources dating approximately to the twelfth century. These lists describe Eighteen Great Countries with Tibet at the center: "That the Eighteen Great Countries concept seems to have emerged in the 12th century is one indication among others that Tibet was at that time recovering its sense of centrality in the world." See Dan Martin, "Tibet at the Center: A Historical Study of Some Tibetan Geographical Conceptions Based on Two Types of Country-Lists Found in Bon Histories," in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, *Fagernes 1992*, vol.1, ed. Per Kværne (Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994), 521.

century in Kham);[267] (iii) Drikhung Tel (’Bri khung thel, f.1179);[268] and (iv) Katok (Kah thog, f. 1159 in Kham).[269] Pakhoutova is not correct however in stating that these monasteries in their early years (second half of the eleventh and twelfth centuries) had Vajrāsana or Mahābodhi attached to their name. The earliest source that Pakhoutova uses to support this claim is the *Blue Annals* (completed in 1476), written at least two hundred years after the founding of these monasteries. To reiterate, the prevalent narrative being told in Tibet during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries was *not* one that valorized their institutions/places, such as Nartang, as being even remotely equivalent with those of India, especially Bodhgayā.[270]

Apart from the geographical center the second type of “center” is a qualitative center (*yon tan*), which referred to any country or place where the Buddhist religion exists.[271] By the twelfth

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[267] Zhang zhong was founded by Khyun po rnal ‘byor (978/990-1127). According to Pakhoutova, the monastery was called “Zhang Zhong Bodhgayā (*rdo rje gdan*).” Her source for this appellation of the place is *The Blue Annals*. However, *The Blue Annals* does not refer to Zhang Zhong monastery as “Zhang Zhong Bodhgayā” but instead tells of Khyun po rnal ’byor’s prophesy that the monastery would *someday* become a center of religion that rivals Vajrāsana. See *Deb ther sngon po*, vol.2 (2003), 859; Roerich (1976), 733. See also Matthew Kapstein, “The Shangs-Pa Bka'-Brgyud: An Unknown Tradition of Tibetan Buddhism,” in *Tibetan Studies in Honor of Hugh Richardson*, ed. M.Aris, et al. (1980), 139. On the problems of Khung po rnal ’byor’s dates, see Kapstein (2005),1-14.

[268] For ’Bri khung thel being called the “second Vajrāsana,” Pakhoutova’s source is the *Mnga’ ris chos ’byung,* written by Gu ge khan chan Ngag dbang grag pa in 1497.

[269] Pakhoutova’s source for Kah thog monastery being called “Kah thog Bodhgayā (*rdo rje gdan*)*”* is a modern work: ’Jam dbyang rgyal mtshan, *Sgang chen bstan pa’i chu ’go rgyal ba kah thog pa’i lo rgyus mdor bsdus rjod pa ’chi med lha’i rnga sgra* (Chengdu: Si khron Mi rigs Dpe skrun khang, 1996), 16-19. See Pakhoutova (2009), 137-139. Jann Ronis’s dissertation makes no mention of Kah thog monastery being called “Kah thog Bodhgayā (*rdo rje gdan)*.” See Jann Ronis, *Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas: Contestation and Synthesis in the Growth of Monasticism at Katok Monastery from the 17th through 19th centuries* (PhD. diss., University of Virginia, 2009).

[270] See also Toni Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn: Pilgrimage and the Tibetan Reinvention of Buddhist India* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008). There are passages in *The Book of the Kadam* (*Bka’ gdams glegs bam*) that compare Rwa sgreng monastery to Bodhgayā. However, as mentioned above, *The Book of the Kadam* was compiled, redacted, and amended at Snar thang in 1302. See Jinpa (2008), 297, 309.

[271] For these two types of “center,” see Martin (1994), 525n.31.

century Tibet was undoubtedly seen as a qualitative center where Buddhism existed.[272] It would take, nonetheless, at least one more century to become a geographical center. One reason for this shift in symmetry from a qualitative center to a geographical center was due to the perilous conditions of Buddhism in India, which threatened not only the survival of the great Buddhist institutions but also the Buddhist religion. Tibetans calculated their importance as not purely in terms of being the repository and protectorate of Indian Buddhism (a qualitative center), but as a developed Buddhist land in its own right (a geographic center), with the new barbaric demons surrounding their own peripheries, i.e. the Afghan-Turkmen Muslims in the south and the Mongols in the northeast.

As for Nartang monastery, Pakhoutova states that from early on the monastery was known as "Nartang Mahābodhi." None of the early sources or biographies of the past Nartang abbots, pre-thirteenth century, however, refer to the monastery by the nomenclature of "Nartang Mahābodhi." The first reference of semblance between Nartang monastery and Vajrāsana is found in Kyotön's biography of Chim Namkha Drak (written in the thirteenth century). As translated in the epigraph of chapter 4, Kyotön compares the scholastic expertise of Chim Namkha Drak to various Indian scholars, such as Chandragomin, Haribhadra, and Dignāga. Kyotön also tells us that Nyangtö, the birthplace of Chim Namkha Drak that is referred to as a "little India," was at the *center* of Buddhist activity in Ü and Tsang during the thirteenth century. Kyotön further explains that Nartang monastery came to resemble "Magadha Bodhgayā" and the

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[272] For instance, Martin paraphrases a Bka' gdams pa teacher Dol pa (b. 1059?): "[W]e (Tibetans) are a marginal people (*mtha 'khob*), qualitatively [we] are like the essence of the center (*dbus-kyi-snying-po*)." See Ibid., 525n.31. And, according to Davidson, "By 1200, Central Tibet had successfully presented itself as a/the place were the Buddha's enlightened activity was fully present…. where the rigorous standards of meditation and scholarship of Indian monasteries could be encountered…. [r]ather than a land desperately in need of Buddhist missionaries, Tibet was now sending out its own monks to imperial courts and foreign potentates." See Davidson (2004), 324.

famed Indian monastery of Vikramaśīla during the sixteen years of Chim Namkha Drak's tenure as abbot.[273]

The association of Nartang's temple with Bodhgayā in Kyotön's biography of Chim Namkha Drak is also for other reasons. Bodhgayā had always been a sacred site in the minds of Tibetan Buddhists since the religion first took root in Tibet during the Late Imperial Period (ca. 610-910). New understandings about Bodhgayā took form during the Later Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet (late tenth through thirteenth century). While Indian Buddhists were fleeing persecution in their homelands, a few Tibetans made the trek to Bodhgayā where they were instrumental to the temple complex's restoration and survival.[274] They also brought back to Tibet detailed descriptions about the temple complex at Bodhgayā. In particular, members of the Chel clan (Dpyal clan), whose pedigree hails back to the Tibetan Imperium, had a family tradition of venturing into Nepal and to Bodhgayā since the late tenth century. Chel Chökyi Zangpo (Dpyal chos kyi bzang po, 1163-1230), a student Śākyaśrībhadra and renown for his expertise in tantric theory and praxis, was in Magadha for twelve years between 1186 and 1197 where he served as abbot of Pulahari (Kashmir) and Odantapuri (present day Bihar). His cousin Chel Amogha (Dpyal A mo gha, fl. thirteenth century) later followed his uncle's footsteps into greater Magadha at a time when the Afghan-Turkmen Muslim military forces were laying siege to Buddhist monasteries and temples. Chel Amogha served as abbot at Bodhgayā for three years

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[273] See *Mchims nam mkha' grags kyi rnam thar*, 313a.4; 313b.6.

[274] Robert Vitali lists seven figures that made the journey during this period to Bodhgayā:: (i) Dpyal chos [kyi] bzang [po]); (ii) Chag dgra bcom pa (1153-1216); (iii) Dpyal A mo gha (?-?); (iv) Dbyil ston khyung rgod rtsal (1235-?); (v) Thar pa lo tsā ba nyi ma rgyal mtshan (?-?); (vi) Man lung pa bsod nams dpal (1235/1239-?); and (vii) U rgyan pa rin chen dpal (1230-1309). See Vitali, "In the Presence of the "Diamond Throne: Tibetans at rDo rje gdan (Last Quarter of the 12th Century to Year 1300)" in *Tibet Journal: The Earth Ox Papers*, vol.35, no. 2 (2009), 161. For a list of "less prominent Tibetans of the same period" at Bodhgayā, see Ibid., 162-163.

followed by another Chel relative, Tarpa Lotsāwa Nyima Gyeltsen (Thar pa lo tsA ba nyi ma rgyal mtshan, b. thirteenth century), who lived in India for fourteen years and was also appointed abbot of Bodhgayā for three years.

Robert Vitali (2009) lists two people connected to Nartang who showed a remarkable knowledge of Bodhgayā: Chim Namkha Drak and Rikpé Reldri. Tridimensional models of Bodhgayā's temple complex dating back to at least the Yung-lo period (1328-1424) of the Ming dynasty in China are reportedly based on a model/design that was made by Chim Namkha Drak at Nartang monastery.[275] Although Chim Namkha Drak had not ventured outside of Tibet, his knowledge of Bodhgayā's temple complex and his skill in craftsmanship can be traced to his education and associations.[276] The home-base for the Chel clan was located not far from Chim Namkha Drak's birthplace in the Nyang region of Tsang.[277] During Chim Namkha Drak's tenure at Nartang another member of the Chel clan, Menlungpa Sönam Pel (Man lung pa bsod nams dpal, b 1239), made his first trek to Bodhgayā from Chumik in 1264 and returned in 1268 to his monastery in the Nyang disctrict of Tsang.[278] As discussed in previous chapters, in addition to Nyang, neighboring Chumik had close ties to Nartang monastery, specifically to Chim Namkha Drak and Rikpé Reldri. While living at Nartang during Chim Namkha Drak's tenure, Rikpé

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[275] One source of this attribution is Dge 'dun chos 'phel's *Rgya gar gyi lam yig*. Vitali has translated the relevant passage: "At sNar thang *dgon pa* there is a black stone model of rDo rje gdan [Bodhgayā], brought from rGya gar [India], and a model of rDo rje gdan [Bodhgayā] in sandalwood according to the design by mChim Nam mkha' grags, brought from China." See Vitali (2009), 17 n.22. Also see Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*, 2 vols. (Honk Kong: Visual Dharma Publications, 2001), 323, 323n.228.

[276] Vitali questions how a model/design of such accuracy could have been made by Mchim nam mkha' grags and/or whether the model is merely just an imitation or a false attribution. See Vitali (2009), 173.

[277] As discussed in chapter 3, Mchims nam mkha' grags was born in upper Nyang (Nyang stod).

[278] For more about Man lung pa bsod nams dpal and his activities at Bodhgayā, see Vitali (2009), 176-187.

Reldri authored a detailed guidebook to the temple complexes at Bodhgayā, entitled *The Flower Ornament: An Extensive Explanation of the Vajrāsana* (*Rdo rje gdan rnam bshad rgyan gyi me tog*).[279] If the tridimensional model of Bodhgayā dating back to Yung-lo period of the Ming dynasty was in fact constructed by Chim Namkha Drak, his detailed knowledge of Bodhgayā's temple complex was the byproduct of both proximity to leading members of the Chel clan, who had first-hand knowledge of the place, and to the person and writings of Rikpé Reldri. Moreover, as discussed in chapter 3, the father of Chim Namkha Drak was an expert artist and craftsman, particularly in sculpting, who taught his son the craft from an early age.[280] Not surprisingly Tibetans returning from their travels abroad brought with them a detailed knowledge of the place and new sensibilities about centers and peripheries.

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Fortunately for Kyotön and for Nartang monastery the fortress walls were never used for defensive purposes, at least not in the thirteenth century. The Mongols decided that it would be best to intervene in the civil war between Sakya and Drikung. In 1290 they sent a fleet of troops under the command of Sang-ko to Central Tibet. With the help of Tibetan militia under the Sakya chief civil administrator Ag-len/Ang-len Dorjé Pel (Rdo rje dpal), Sang-ko's fleet of Mongol and Tibetan troops defeated the Drikung Töhor alliance at Pelmo Tang (Dpal mo thang)

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[279] *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs thengs gnyis pa,* vol.23 (2007), 311-336. Unfortunately, the colophon for Rig pa'i ral gri's guidebook does not provide the year of composition. If Mchims nam mkha' grags did indeed use this guidebook, Rig pa'i ral gri (d.1305) would have had to author the guidebook prior to 1285, the year Mchims nam mkha' grags passed. See more, see Vitali (2009), 174-175

[280] *Mchims nam mkha' grags kyi rnam thar,* 284b.2

and scorched Drikung monastery, reportedly killing over ten thousand people.[281] Following their triumph Ag-len Dorjé Pel and his forces marched south into Dakpo (Dags po), Kongpo, Nyal (Gnyal), and Lodrak (Lho brag), hence incorporating these southern provinces under the Yüan-Sakya rule.[282] To the relief of Kyotön, Sakya had won the war. As a result Nartang monastery could remain shielded for the time being, not only within her fortress walls, but under the Yüan-Sakya rule.

A Day's Work

Kyotön's daily routine as abbot of Nartang was very similar to how Chim Namkha Drak spent his days. During the early mornings and late evenings Kyotön spent his time in private either doing his personal meditation practices (*thugs dam*) or writing. Although he was not as prolific an author as his predecessor, Kyotön did however write a lot. He penned commentaries of classic Indian Buddhist works, Kadam pith instruction and *Stages of the Path* manuals, philosophical

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[281] See Wylie (1976), 330; Petech (1983), 189-90. Wylie also suggests that the 'Bri gung- Stod hor revolt may have been part of a larger foreign military campaign lead by Khaidu Khan against Khubilai. See Wylie (1976), 330. Everding also reiterates and elaborates this point: "It would also have been Khaidu's aim to expand his sphere of influence by incorporating Tibet in his domain as the south-eastern part of his territory, last but not least to bring a decisive blow to Khubilai. At the same time it would have been in 'Bri gung sgom pa's interest, to use the internal dispute of the Mongols to his own advantage in order to reduce the influence of Sa skya and the Yüan in Tibet and thus possible become himself the determining power in Tibet." See Everding (2002), 123.

[282]See Shakabpa (1967), 70.

exegeses, records of teachings received (*gsan yig*), and more.[283] Most of these extant works were short and concise, on average ten folios. Kyotön also followed the footsteps of Chim Namkha Drak by writing two biographies, namely separate prose and verse biographies of Chim Namkha Drak.[284] The longest extant work (fifty-seven folios) by Kyotön is a commentary of Maitreya's *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*Mngon rtogs pa'i rgyan*).[285] Kyotön had a particular affinity the treatises attributed to Maitreya. In addition to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentary he also composed two works about Maitreya's *Uttaratantra Śāstra* (*Rgyud bla ma*),[286] one about the *Māhayānasūtrālaṃkāra* (*Theg pa chen po'i mdo sde rgyan*),[287] and one about the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* (*Chos dang chos nyid*).[288] Almost all of his compositions were either copied or written by his apprentice and scribe Chumikpa Ze'u Drakpa Gyeltsen (Ze'u grags pa

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[283] Skyon ston's biography lists the following six commentaries that he composed: (i) *Tshig gsal gyi tIka snga phyi gnyis*; (ii) *Sa gcod snga phyi gnyis, stong thun*; (iii) '*Grel chung gi tIka*; (iv) *Byung 'tshul*; (v) *Spyod 'jug gi tIka*; and (vi) *Tshad dgag.* See *Skyo ston smon lam tshul khrims kyi rnam thar,* 371a.5-6. It does not appear that any of these commentaries are extant. In the *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum thengs gnyis pa,* vol.50*,* there is a work authored by Skyon ston entitled the *Dbu ma tshig gsal gyi spyi don*. It is unknown whether this work is the same as the commentary given in his biography, the *Tshig gsal gyi tIka snga phyi gnyis.*

[284] The title of the prose biography is *Mchims nam mkha' grags kyi rnam thar,* found in the so-called *Golden Rosary of Nartang* (*Snar thang gser phreng*), C.P.N. catalogue no. 002806 (10), 279a-328a*.* The versified biography is entitled *Snar thang gi gdan sa bdun pa'i rnam thar.* See *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum thengs gnyis pa*, vol. 50: 317-351.

[285] *Gzhi lam 'bras gsum gyi rnam gzhag zhes pa shes phyin mngon rtogs rgyan gyi 'grel ba*. See *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum thengs gnyis pa,* vol.50: 31-147. Likewise, Mchims nam mkha' grags wrote a commentary entitled the *Gzhi lam 'bras bu gsal bar byed pa rin po che gser phreng*. See Ibid., vol.48: 453-555.

[286] *Theg chen rgyud bla ma'i gdams pa* and the *Ye shes kyi bzhag sa*. See Ibid., vol.50: 147-157; 293-305. Karl Brunnhölzl regards both of these works of Skyon ston as "early *gzhan stong* texts in Tibet." Brunnhölzl's evidence to support this claim, however, is not compelling. Interestingly, as Brunnhölzl notes, the Jonang (Jo nang) polymath Tāranātha (1575–1634) lists Skyon ston and Rig pa'i ral gri as *gzhan stong* lineage masters. See Karl Brunnhölzl, *Prajñāpāramitā, Indian "gzhan ston pas", And the Beginning of Tibetan gzhan stong* (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, 2011), 180-194.

[287] *Mdo sde rgyan gyi khrid.* See *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum thengs gnyis pa,* vol.50: 305-311.

[288] *Chos nyid kyi khrid*. See Ibid., 311-317.

rgyal mtshan, d.u.), a person that would be important to the education of Kyotön's student and future tenth abbot of Nartang, Ze'u Dülzin Drakpa Tsöndru (Ze'u 'dul 'dzin grags pa brtson 'grus, 1253-1316).[289]

While private meditation sessions and writing consumed Kyotön in the mornings, his afternoons were filled with communal duties. Such duties included community rituals and prayers, overseeing vow ceremonies, administrative duties, providing managerial assistance, and/or personal advice to his close students. The late afternoons were allotted to formal teachings. As was the tradition at Nartang, the winter and summer months were reserved for teaching only Nartang monks while the autumn and spring months were open to the wider community. Kyotön's teaching did not veer much off the path of his predecessors. He taught from the *Stages of the Path* literature, Śāntideva's *Engaging in the Bodhisattva's Deeds*, and so on. Kyotön's emphasis in teaching and writing, however, was more on the side of the "pith instruction" lineage than the "textualist" lineage. In part, this emphasis on pith instructions rather than convoluted explanations was owning to his character portrait: Kyotön may have been a remarkable scholar and leader of a prestigious monastic institution but he was also an accomplished meditator with more than eleven years of experience. It was a portrait that not only Kyotön embraced but that Nartang monastery had endorsed, to variant degrees, since its founding.[290]

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[289] Ze'u grags pa rgyal mtshan taught Ze'u 'dul 'dzin grags pa brtson 'grus how to read and write. He was also the coordinating preceptor (*las kyi slob dpon*) for his ordination ceremony in 1272. For more, see chapter 5.

[290] The key phrase 'pith instruction' (*man ngag*) appears 45x in Skyon ston's biography. In the biography of Mchims nam mkha' grags, which is close in length to Skyon ston's biography, the phrase *man ngag* appears 37x.

They Feel as if I'm Dying

The community at Nartang monastery had many important events throughout the academic year. There were large gatherings for teachings, monastic ordination ceremonies, twice-monthly monastic community confessionals (*gso sbyong*), and so on. There were also communal ritual celebrations of important Buddhist holidays and anniversaries. Each of these events required foresight and work. No event however was as important, or as taxing on the community, than the death of a predecessor and the appointment of a successor to the throne.

Kyotön's health began to deteriorate at the age of eighty in the year 1299. As previously discussed there was not a hard and fast rule about choosing a successor to the throne. The general rule of thumb at Nartang, since its founding in 1153, was for the tenured abbot to select either interns or appoint his successor to the throne. A successor, moreover, was officially enthroned only after the death of his predecessor. The average lifespan of the first eight Nartang abbots was seventy-nine years.[291] Hence these abbots continued their duties and service to the community well into old age. Kyotön was no exception. He did not allow his advanced age or poor health to interfere with his obligations to the community. During the winter teaching session in January or February that same year (1299), the eighty-year-old Kyotön reflected on his advanced age, feeble body, and busy schedule. He told the monastic community the following: "When you near old age and are close to dying you will have leisure. I do not."[292]

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[291] In total, the combined lifespan for all eight abbots is 632 years. Divide that by 8 to get an average lifespan of 79 years.

[292] Ibid., 380a.4. *rgas dang nye na 'chi dang nye bas khyed la long yod/ de nga la med*.

The final teaching session that Kyotön gave was during the spring of 1299. In the evening on the seventh day it became evident to the monastic community that Kyotön was sick and feeble. Kyotön sensed the community's concern. He paused during the teaching to ask: "Do they feel as if I'm dying?"[293] The following day Kyotön made his way to assembly and taught all day. The next day, on the ninth, he did not show. The monastery then shifted from teaching mode to community rituals to promote the health and long-life their abbot. Kyotön knew the routine, himself being a healer and having participated in the life-extending rituals and post-mortem rituals for Nartang's sixth abbot Sanggyé Gompa and seventh abbot Chim Namkha Drak. The community of monks continuously performed the seven-limb prayer (*yan lag bdun pa smon lam*),[294] rituals related to the Medicine Buddha, and other unspecified healing rites. On the early morning on the tenth, the monks at Kyotön's resident house (*bla brang*) began their own cycle of healing rites. The rituals were not producing the desired affect and Kyotön became more and more ill. Kyotön woke as usual before sunrise on the morning of the fourteenth. He washed and performed his daily mediations and prayers. At midday he sat in his room with his legs crossed and, from within a state of meditation, he passed away.

The usual post-mortem signs of a saint were reportedly witnessed by not only the Nartang community but also the entire world: rainbows filled the sky, the earth was filled with radiant light, gods and humans were temporally freed from confusion, and much more. As was customary for the deceased abbots of Nartang, as well as other saintly persons in Tibet, Kyotön's body was cremated. His remains, which included variant types of relics, his tongue, heart, and

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[293] Ibid., 380b.5. *khong tshos nga 'chi ba rang tsor ram*.

[294] The seven-limbs of the prayer are: 1. obeisance (*phyag 'tshal ba*); 2. offerings (*mchod pa phul ba*); 3. confession (*sdig pa bshags pa*); 4. rejoicing (*rjes su yi rang ba*); 5. requests [to turn the wheel of dharma] (*bskul ba*); 6. requests [for the master to remain in the world] (*gsol ba*); 7. dedication of merit (*bsngo ba*).

so forth, were enshrined in a newly constructed reliquary that was built beside the reliquaries of the past seven abbots of Nartang.[295]

Conclusion

A healer, meditator, dreamer, teacher, author, and more, Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim successfully secured his position within the growing pantheon of Nartang abbots. As was the case for his immediate predecessor Chim Namkha Drak, Kyotön's seat at the head of the monastic assembly was taken as a seat at the center of the Buddhist world. "Iron walls" were built to further enhance this view from the center of Buddhist cosmology. The choice to build these walls was both ideal and strategic. Ideally the "iron walls" reinforced the perception of Nartang monastery as not only a qualitative (*yon tan*) center where the teachings of the Buddha thrived but also a geographical center (*sa tshig*). Strategically the walls provided a safeguard from outside threats. As evident throughout the previous chapters Nartang and her abbots relied, in part, on members of the Sakya ruling family and their alliance with the Mongols for both political and economic support. The Drikung revolt of 1290 and the proceeding civil war (*gling log*) between Drikung and Sakya left Nartang monastery in a precarious state. Thankfully for Kyotön and the Nartang community the "iron walls" were only needed to secure an ideal view of the world and not a real threat from beyond her perimeters.

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[295] The reliquary is called the *Sku 'bum chen po.* See Ibid., 383a.2.

During the end of Kyotön's tenure at Nartang in 1292/3, his student Ze'u Dülzin Drakpa Tsöndrü (Ze'u 'Dul 'dzin grags pa brtson 'grus, 1253-1316) was summoned to the Mongol court by the emperor Qubilai Khan. It was the last time that Kyotön saw him. Thirteen years later the Nartang community welcomed him back to Tsang by appointing him as the tenth abbot of the monastery.

Chapter 5

The Emperor, the Abbot and the Monastery

The successor to the throne at Nartang in 1299 was the elder Khenchen Nyima Gyeltsen (Mkhan chen nyi ma rgyal mtshan, 1225-1305). He was seventy-four years of age when appointed as the ninth abbot.[296] The appointment of a successor of such an advanced age was clearly a temporary fix. As for long-term interests, the elders of Nartang, including Nyima Gyeltsen himself, had someone else in mind.

Circa 1292/93, a disciple of Chim Namkha Drak, Ze'u Dülzin Drakpa Tsöndrü (Ze'u 'Dul 'dzin grags pa brtson 'grus, 1253-1316; hereafter Ze'u Dülzin), was summoned to China by the Mongol emperor Qubilai Khan, first emperor of the Yüan dynasty of China (reigned 1260-94).[297] Ze'u Dülzin was born not far from Nartang in Chumik. As discussed in previous chapters, the Chumik valley was a hotbed of both Kadam and Sakya activity that attracted the likes of the

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[296] There is little available information about the life of Mkhan chen nyi ma rgyal mtshan. He was born into the Ram (Ram) clan. His birthplace was located near Snar thang, a place called (Snar thang gi) Phu'i steng karma kha ri. He entered Snar thang monastery at an early age and studied under Mchims nam mkha' grags and Kyon ston smon lam tshul krims. He also learned the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* from Drom Kumāramati (a.k.a Gzhon nu blo gros). As discussed in chapter 4, Mkhan chen nyi ma rgyal mtshan, along with Drom Kumāramati and Nam mkha' rin chen, redacted the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* in circa 1302. Mkhan chen nyi ma rgyal mtshan also wrote the biography of Kyon ston smon lam tshul krims and may have been the key figure in redacting the collection of biographies known today as *A Golden Rosary of Nartang* (*Snar thang gser phreng*). He served as abbot of Snar thang for seven years, from 1299 until his death in 1305/6. During his tenure at Snar thang, he gained the reputation as a strict disciplinarian. For more on his life, see *Snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyus* (2003), 34; Las chen (2003), 504-5.

[297] The biography of Ze'u 'Dul 'dzin grags pa brtson 'grus, entitiled *Dpal ldan ze'u 'dul 'dzin chen po'i rnam thar gsal byed yid bzhin nor bu bzhugs* (hereafter, in footnotes, *Ze'u 'dul 'dzin rnam thar*), does not give the date of his departure from Tibet. However, the biography does state that he spent thirteen years at the Mongol court in China. Since he returned to Snar thang in 1304/5, the approximate year of his departure to China would be 1291. See *Ze'u 'dul 'dzin rnam thar*, 13a.2. See appendix 3 for a complete English translation of Ze'u 'Dul 'dzin's biography.

Kashmiri scholar Śākyaśrībhadra and others.[298] The Ze'u clan was one of the influential clans in the Chumik district and prominent religious figures of the clan can be traced back to Chumikpa Sherab Drak (b.11th century).[299]

Ze'u Dülzin was enrolled at Chumik Ringmo monastery at a young age to study under his fellow clansmen and abbot of the monastery, Chumikpa Ze'u Drakpa Gyeltsen (Ze'u grags pa rgyal mtshan, d.u.), who was also a close disciple of, and later scribe to, Nartang's eight abbot Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim (appointed in 1285). In 1265, during the tenure of Nartang's seventh abbot Chim Namkha Drak, Nartang's chief administrator (*nye gnas*) Chökyi Jangchup (Chos kyi byang chub, d.u.) invited the twelve year old Ze'u Dülzin to come and study at Nartang.[300] Shortly after arriving at Nartang that same year Ze'u Dülzin received his novice monastic vows from Chim Namkha Drak and began in earnest to learn the curriculum.[301]

In addition to his teachers at Nartang, such as Chim Namkha Drak, Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim, and Rikpé Reldri, Ze'u Dülzin also counted the Sakya hierarch Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen and the Kagyü master Tropu Sönam Sengé (Khro phu bsod nams seng ge, b. thirteenth century) among his primary teachers. Ze'u Dülzin connections to Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen were the result of his tutelage under Chim Namkha's Drak. His connections to Tropu Sönam Sengé are less

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[298] In 1268, Snar thang monastery and it's surrounding townships were under the jurisdiction the Chu mig district (*khri skor*).

[299] Also known by the name Khu le'i kha mo ze'u ston. For more, see chapter 1.

[300] Chos kyi byang chub is the same chief administrator to whom Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims asked to arrange his novice monastic ordination ceremony. See chapter 4.

[301] Four years later, at age nineteen, Ze'u 'Dul 'dzin would receive his complete monastic vows. Mchims nam mkha' grags acted as the abbot of the monastic ceremony, Chu mig pa ze'u grags pa rgyal mtshan was the coordinating preceptor, and 'Dul 'dzin gur ston chen po was the private interviewer. See *Ze'u 'dul 'dzin rnam thar*, 3a.4-6; and appendix 3.

apparent.[302] Tropu Sönam Sengé hailed from the Tropu Kagyü, one of the eight subsidiary Kagyü sects that developed in the Tsang region.[303] He would later become the tutor for the most influential member of the Tropu Kagyü sect, Butön Rinchen Drup (1290-1364). As will be discussed below, Ze'u Dülzin's interactions with the Kagyü sect did not end with his teacher Tropu Sönam Sengé but would continue throughout his adult life.[304]

Ze'u Dülzin was thirty-two years of age when he witnessed the death of his beloved master Chim Namkha Drak in 1285. Like the rest of the Nartang monastic community he participated in the funerary rituals and joined in the recitation of the Buddhist canon in memorandum of his teacher. As discussed in chapter 4, a successor was selected in a meeting that took place a month after the death of Chim Namkha Drak. Ze'u Dülzin, however, had his own aspirations of becoming the successor to the Nartang throne and had lobbyed Chim Namkha Drak while alive. Chim Namkha Drak's response to Ze'u Dülzin was the following:

> I shot an arrow at a target and missed. If [the arrow] would have hit the target, you would have become the immediate successor to occupy my throne. [Instead, since the arrow missed the mark], others will occupy the throne before you.[305]

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[302] There is little biographical information about Khro phu bsod nams seng ge. For the cycle of teachings that he taught Ze'u Dulzin, see *Ze'u 'dul 'dzin rnam thar*, 5a.5-6; and appendix 3.

[303] The Khro phu bka' brgyud sect traced their origins to Rgyal tsha tal phug pa rin chen mgnon (1118-95) and Kun ldan ras pa (1148-1217) from the Shad smad area of Tsang. One influential and well traveled individual of the Khro phu was Khro phu lo tsa ba byams pa dpal (b.1172/73). He is best known for inviting the Kashmiri scholar Śākyaśrībhadra to Tibet and the construction of a large Maitreya statue at Khro phu monastery.

[304] As will be discussed below, the validity of his encounter and support from the 'Bri kung bka' brgyud is questionable.

[305] *Ze'u 'dul 'dzin rnam thar*, 4a.6-4b.2. *ngas mda' gcig rgyab pa de 'ben la ma phog/ 'ben la phog na gzhan gyis bar ma chad par/ nga yi gdan sa 'di khyed kyis 'dzin pa yin pa la/ nga yi gdan sa 'di khed kyis 'dzin par 'dug ste dbar du gzhan 'jug par 'dug*.

In the end, the administrators and elders at Nartang appointed the sixty-seven-year-old Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim over the thirty-two-year-old Ze'u Dülzin as the successor to the throne. Chim Namkha Drak was in fact right on the mark.

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According to the biography of Ze'u Dülzin, entitled *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem that Illuminates the Life of The Glorious Ze'u [Tsünpa] Dülzin [Drakpa Tsöndrü]*, (hereafter *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem*), Ze'u Dülzin gained national repute as a prominent scholar and teacher by his mid-thirties. Whatever the veracity of this claim may be, his national prestige caught the international attention of the Mongol emperor Qubilai Khan. The invitation of Tibetan masters to the Mongol court by the 1290s was nothing novel. Tibetan masters from the Sakya, Kagyü, and Nyingma sects had made visits to the court in China. As for the Kadam sect, although Chim Namkha Drak established indirect ties with the Mongols through his relationship with Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen, Ze'u Dülzin was the first Kadam master to receive an official invitation to the Mongol court.[306]

A Wish-Fulfilling Gem tells us that in circa 1292/93, while on the road to China somewhere in Eastern Tibet (Khams), Ze'u Dülzin met the Nyingma master Druptob U-genpa Rinchenpel (Grub thob u rgyan pa rin chen dpal, 1230-1309). Druptob U-genpa had been invited by Qubilai Khan to the Mongol court on a few occasions. Reluctantly he accepted an invitation and arrived at the court in 1292/93. He stayed at the court for only a few months before returning back to Tibet in 1293. Taking into account this travel chronology of Druptob U-genpa,

[306] Mchims 'jam pa'i dbyangs, who had strong ties to both Snar thang and Sa skya monastery, would later be appointed as the Mongol court chaplain (*mchod gnas*) under Buyantu-qan (1311-1320). See chapter 6.

it is plausible that Ze'u Dülzin did in fact meet him on the road in Eastern Tibet circa 1292/93.[307] Druptob U-genpa was apparently welcoming and hospitable to Ze'u Dülzin. He also spoke about his own experience at the court and predicated a favorable reception for Ze'u Dülzin:

> The Mongol emperor is a Dharma-king. There is not a single trace of dirt in the palace. My behavior is that of a divine madman (*zhig po*) and [the emperor] did not listen [to me]. I am heading back [home]. You, [on the other hand], are an emanation of the [Sixteenth] Saint Aṅgiraja. The emperor and you will get along extremely well.[308]

The contrast that is being described here between a "divine madman" and the more down-to-earth saint has a long history within and between the Buddhist sects in Tibet.[309] On the whole, the Kadam sect promoted moderation when it came to the public display of religious behaviors. Interestingly, Ze'u Dülzin himself was called out by Chim Namkha Drak for his public display of divine madman-like behavior. According to the account, Chim Namkha Drak had been sick and was proscribed medicine to induce vomiting. Ze'u Dülzin drank the vomit for blessings while praying that all his concepts of impurity be erased in the state of non-conceptuality. Chim Namkha Drak was supposedly pleased with this act of devotion but also perplexed by the behavior, asking: "Dülwazinpa, is your behavior that of a divine madman (*zhig po*)?"[310]

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[307] For more on the life and travels of Grub thob u rgyan pa rin chen dpal, see Brenda W. L. Li, *A Critical Study of the Life of the 13th-Century Tibetan Monk U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal Based on his Biographies* (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2011). Also see Roberto Vitali, "Grub Chen U Rgyan pa and the Mongols of China" in *Studies on the History and Literature of Tibet and the Himalaya*, ed. Blezer Henk and Roberto Vitali (Kathmandu: Vajra Publication, 2012), 31-64. None of these sources mention anything about Ze'u 'Dul 'dzin.

[308] *Ze'u 'dul 'dzin rnam thar*, 6a.6-6b.2. *hor rgyal po de chos rgyal du 'dug/ kho'i pho brang de na grib kyi rigs gcig kyang mi 'dug/ ngas ni zhig po'i phyod pa byas te kho dang ma btun* [/*bstun*] *pas yar yong rgyu btub par byung nas yongs pa yin/ khyed ni gnas brtan chen po yan lag 'byung gi sprul pa yin pas gong ma dang 'thun cing shin tu 'phrod par yong*.

[309] For more about "divine madman" in Tibet, see David M. Divalerio, *The Holy Madmen of Tibet* (New York: Oxford Univesity Press, 2015).

[310] *Ze'u 'dul 'dzin rnam thar*, 6a.1-2. *ze'u 'dul 'dzin khyod zhig po'i spyod pa byed dam gsung ba*.

While the Kadam sect may not have been known for their "divine madman" status, members of the sect had been identified with the Sixteen Saints from early on. For instance, the protagonist of the Kadam 'scriptural tradition' (*gzhung pa*) Potowa Rinchen Sel (1027/31-1105) reportedly identified himself as the Saint Aṅgiraja.[311] As discussed in previous chapters, Potowa Rinchen Sel's main disciple was Sharawa Yonden Drak, whose disciple was Nartang's founder Tumtön Lodrö Drakpa. Although the Sixteen Saints may not have been of great significance to Nartang at its founding in 1153, the ritual, artistic, and meditative practices of the Sixteen Saints became a mainstay of the monastery by the late thirteenth century. Chim Namkha Drak, also renowned as one of the Sixteen Saints, was instrumental in the dissemination and development of the "cult" of the Sixteen Saints, not only at Nartang, but also throughout the Central Tibet.[312] Hence Druptob U-genpa's identification of Ze'u Dülzin as Saint Aṅgiraja was not in the least an uncommon nomenclature for the distinguished student of Chim Namkha Drak and potential candidate to the throne at Nartang.

It is unlikely, as reported in the passage, that Druptob U-genpa left the Mongol court because his "divine madman" behavior was looked down upon by Qubilai Khan. Druptob U-genpa had established a reputation as a "divine madman" long before he was invited to the court. In other words, Qubilai Khan knew what he was getting. Druptob U-genpa had in fact

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[311] See Ye shes rgyal mtshan, *Lam rim rnam thar (*1970), 485; *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.1, 328; Roerich (1976), 269; and Davidson (2005), 251.

[312] As Sørensen states, "Both the narrative and the artistic tradition related to the rich transmission of the the sixteen arhats is long and significant; it involved Zur-chen and went back to Klu-mes from whom it spread to rNgog Byang-chub 'byung-gnas and then through a number of important bKa'-gdams-pa masters, esp. the sNar-thang throne-holders, such as mChims Nam-mkha'-grag… The topic of the transmission of Sixteen Arhats and the cult and ritual programme (*sic*) associated with them deserves a detailed study." See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 249n.719. Such a detailed study, however, is beyond the purview of this dissertation. Mchims nam mkha' grag did author various ritual manuals dedicated to the Sixteen Saints, the most extensive being the *Gnas brtan sgrub yig rgyas pa.* See *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum thengs gnyis pa,* vol. 48: 7-105.

maintained a strong dislike of Mongol emperors and their Sakya cohorts. According to Druptob U-genpa's own accounts, his motive for coming to the Mongol court was strictly to help heal the ailing Qubilai Khan, who was suffering from rheumatism and gout. As the story is told, Druptob U-genpa cured his ailments but predicted that the Khan would die within two years unless he was allowed to treat him with acupuncture. On account of a long-standing taboo in Mongol culture, which disallowed their royal blood from being pierced by any object, Qubilai's ministers stopped Druptob U-genpa from performing the treatment on the Khan. Because Druptob U-genpa was not permitted to treat the Khan, and because of his general dislike of court life and the Sakya monks, he is said to have left the Mongol court unannounced.[313]

While Qubilai Khan may have been cured of his rheumatism and gout, he still faced the prognosis that his life would end soon. This prognosis may have been a reason for Qubilai Khan to invite Ze'u Dülzin to the court.[314] In addition to the Sixteen Saints, Nartang monastery was also known for the healing liturgies and long-life practices of the Seven Medicine Buddhas.[315] According Ze'u Dülzin's biography, one of the first things Ze'u Dülzin did after arriving at the court was to give the empowerment of the Seven Medicine Buddhas to Qubilai Khan. At the same time Ze'u Dülzin also gave the emperor a laundry list of things to do that would help lengthen his life. Ze'u Dülzin promised Qubilai Khan that through the empowerment, and by

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[313] For more, see Roberto Vitali (2012), 50-52.

[314] As mentioned in chapter 2, traditional accounts claim that Köden had invited Sa skya pan di ta (Sapaṇ) to the Mongol court in 1247 because of his knowledge of medicine. Sapaṇ reportedly cured Köden of his ailments. See chapter 2.

[315] It was also during the tenure Mchims nam mkha' grags that the rituals and liturgy associated with the Seven Medicine Buddhas become prominent. The Medicine Buddha was one of Mchims nam mkha' grags's principle meditational deities. Further, the Snar thang community performed the rituals of the Seven Medicine Buddhas to help heal both Mchims nam mkha' grags and Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims. For more, see chapter 4.

performing these other activities, his life-span would increase, as would his splendor, power, and sovereignty:

> …Put into effect the bimonthly monastic ceremony for restoring monastic vows (*gso sbyong*) and make offerings to monastics. Recite the names [of the Seven Medicine Buddhas], read the scripture (sūtra), build statues, offer votive lamps and offering banners for forty-nine [days]. As for the amount, size, substance, and time [to offer] the votive lamps: offer seven votive lamps before each of the seven [statues]; [the size] should be about the size of a chariot wheel's spoke; [the amount should be] inexhaustible; and [the time should be] for forty-nine days.[316]

Although Qubilai Khan reportedly agreed to these terms, he explained to Ze'u Dülzin that he could not make the votive lamp offerings because of the fire hazard that the lamps posed to the wood-structured temple and palace.[317]

There was another caveat that Ze'u Dülzin added. If Qubilai Khan was to increase his life-span and power he would have to free all prisoners from the Shingkün Menché (Shing kun man chad) prison. According to Ze'u Dülzin, since Shingkün (Ch. Lintao), located in present day Gansu province, was a territory under the jurisdiction of the Mongol emperor, Qubilai thereby had the authority to free its prisoners. There were a diversity of inmates at Shingkün Menché prison, from murderers to petty thieves, and the punishment leveled was made to fit their specific crimes. Some prisoners had been incarcerated for many years while some only a short period. Ze'u Dülzin was not selective in his request to Qubilai Khan; from the murderer to the petty thief, all the prisoners were to be freed.

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[316] *Ze'u 'dul 'dzin rnam thar*, 7a.6-7b.3. *gso sbyong blang dang/ dge 'dun mchod// mtshan brjod: mdo klog: sku gzugs bzhengs// mar me: ba dan zhe dgus mchod// mar me grangs: tshad: ngo bo: dus// skug gzugs bdun gyi spyan sngar ni// mar me bdun bdun mchod pa 'bul// mar me zhing rta'i 'khor lo tsam// ci nas mar me mi zad 'bul// zhag grangs zhe dgur mar me 'bul//*

[317] Ibid., 7b.5-6.

Why ask for the release of prisoners at Shingkün and not other prisons located throughout the empire? Although Ze'u Dülzin's biography is mute to this question, an answer can be surmised based on Shingkün's location on the Tibetan plateau. Shingkün was a town that bordered Tibet to the east, China to the west, and Mongolia to the north. From 1271 to 1274 the Sakya hierarch Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen had made Shingkün his temporary post. It was here that Pakpa hired both Tibetan and Chinese craftsman to carve the woodblocks for the printing of his *Hevajra Tantra* edition in circa 1273. Shingkün not only bordered the Tibetan plateau to the east but also had sizable population of Tibetans living in the town and its surrounding mountainous terrain. Consequently, for a prison directly under the jurisdiction of the Mongols in China, the Shingkün Menché prison would have had the highest numbers of Tibetans inmates. Whatever the veracity of Ze'u Dülzin's terms to Qubilai Khan may be, his request to release the prisoners at Shingkün Menché would have thus been a calculated attempt to free many of his fellow Tibetan countrymen that were, justly or not, being held prisoner under Mongol rule. As claimed by *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem*, Qubilai Khan dutifully acquiesced to the request and freed all the prisoners.

Celebrations and Relics at the Court

In addition to empowerments, healing-rites, teachings and requests to the Mongol emperor, Ze'u Dülzin also participated in the yearly New Year's celebration held at Qubilai Khan's summer capital in Shangdu. The celebrations had great religious significance for the Buddhists at the court and the region. Stored in the Qubilai Khan's imperial palace in Shangdu were objects of

worship considered by Buddhists throughout Asia to be some of the most sacred of Buddhist artifacts: the four canine teeth of the Buddha, his alms bowl made from stone, and the Sandalwood Statue of the Buddha (*tsan dan jo bo/tsan dan gyi sku*).[318] Beginning on New Year's day the emperor, Ze'u Dülzin, a court priest, and more than hundred monks would reportedly perform ritual supplications to the Sixteen Saints for the entire month. During this time the four canine teeth of the Buddha were placed inside the stone alms bowl where they were ritually bathed and consecrated.

Also during the New Year's celebration, a congregation of Tibetan and Chinese monks and masters would gather inside the temple around the white reliquary (*stūpa*) where the Sandalwood Statue of the Buddha was housed. This Sandalwood Statue of the Buddha was of special significance to the faithful. It was claimed that the statue was built during the life of the Buddha, which eventually found its way to China at the end of the first century B.C.E. An eighteenth century account of the Sandalwood Statue by Chankya Rolpa Dorje's (Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje, 1717-1786) states that Qubilai Khan was especially devoted to the statue and had commissioned the building of a temple to house the statue.[319] *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem* tells us that within this temple there were also twenty-two Buddha statues and sixteen statues of offering

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[318] It appears that the Buddha's robe "relics" were also stored in Shangdu. According to Tshal pa kun dga' rdo rje's account, the Mongol officials rebelled in 1358, setting fire to the imperial palace at Shangdu. The Buddha's teeth, alms bowl, and *religious robes*, were said to have "disappeared without a trace." See Tshal pa kun dga' rdo rje, *Deb ther dmar po rnam kyi dang po* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skhrun khang, 1993), 28. Notably, Tshal pa kun dga' rdo rje does not mention the sandalwood statue of the Buddha. For more on the movement of Buddha's four canine teeth, see John Buescher, "The Buddha's Conventional and Utlimate Tooth" in *Changing Minds: Contributions to the Study of Buddhism and Tibet in Honor of Jeffery* Hopkins, ed. Guy Newland (New York: Snow Lion Publications, 2001), 26-27.

[319] Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje, *Tsan dan jo bo'i lo rgyus skor tshad phan yon mdor sdus rin po che'i phreng ba gsung 'bum*, vol.7 (*ja*) (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 2003), 657-676. See also Baatr Kitinov, "Shakur Lama: The Last Attempt to Build the Buddhist State" in *Buddhism in Mongolian History, Culture, and Society*, ed. Vesna A. Wallace (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 46.

goddesses that encircled the Sandalwood Statue of the Buddha. Further, the throne for the Sandalwood Statue was made of purified gold.

A Wish-Fulfilling Gem also makes use of the Sandalwood Statue to calculate the dates of the Buddha's life and final passing (*parinirvāṇa*). The dating of the Buddha had been of great interest to Buddhist scholars throughout Asia from early on. Various systems of chronology and calculation had been asserted by Buddhist thinkers alike. These calculations were not merely a thing of the past. The dating of the Buddha's life and final passing formed the bases to gauge how long his teachings would remain, decline, and finally disappear in this world. The primary source for determining a chronology based on the Sandalwood Statue is from a work in the Tengyur, entitled *How the Sandalwood Statue Appeared in China.*[320] The use of this work, however, was not the primary source or method by which Tibetans calculated a chronology of the Buddha's life and final passing. Most Tibetan scholars in the thirteenth century had calculated a chronology of the Buddha based on specific Indian Buddhist scriptures (*sūtras*) and the interpretations of these scriptures by their Indian Buddhist interlocutors, such as Atiśa and Śākyaśrībhadra.[321] Nonetheless, there was still not a clear consensus among Tibetan scholars regarding the dates.[322]

The Kadampas at Nartang mostly followed the calculations made by Atiśa in 1051 C.E. According to this calculation, 3187 years had elapsed since the Buddha's final passing in the year

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[320] *Tsan dan gyi sku rgya nag na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul.* Snar thang Bstan 'gyur, Rgyud, vol. 87 (*ru*), 273-290.

[321] See D. Seyfort Ruegg, "Notes on some Indian and Tibetan Reckonings of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa" in *The Dating of the Historical Buddha/Die Datierung des historischen Buddha*, pt.2, ed. Heinz Bechert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1992), 263-290.

[322] For example, Sa skya paṇḍita did not follow the calculations made by his Kashmiri teacher and monastic preceptor Śākyaśrībhadra. Rather, he accepted a different calculation made by the member of this own sect, the Sa skya hierarch Bsod nams rtse mo. See Ibid., 272-73.

1051 C.E. In 1257, Nartang's seventh abbot and teacher of Ze'u Dülzin, Chim Namkha Drak, followed Atiśa's chronology by calculating that 3393 years had elapsed since the Buddha's final passing in 1257. And in 1280, Nartang's bibliographer Üpa Losel calculated a date for the birth of the Buddha to c.2217 B.C.E, which was more or less identical to Atiśa's calculations.[323] The calculation made in *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem*, however, differs from that of Atiśa/Chim Namkha Drak/Üpa Losel:

> From the latter part of the Water-Pig Year 1953 years have elapsed since the creation of the Sandalwood Statue. According to this tradition [of calculation], from the later part of the Water-Pig Year, 1911 years have elapsed since the Buddha's final passing. The Buddha was born on the eighth day of the fourth month in the Wood-Tiger Year.[324]

The first discrepancy between Atiśa/Chim Namkha Drak's chronology and the one given above is the year of Buddha's birth: both Atiśa and Chim Namkha Drak give the year of Buddha's birth as the Earth-Ox year (2216 B.C.E.) rather than the Wood-Tiger year (1029 or 958 B.C.E). This reckoning of the Buddha's birth to the Wood-Tiger Year is based upon a Chinese chronological system that was calculated by a Chinese monk in the seventh century. This year is also established in the aforementioned Tengyur work, *How the Sandalwood Statue Appeared in China.* There is however a discrepancy between the calculation found in this Tengyur work and the calculation made in *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem*. The calculation made in *How the Sandalwood Statue Appeared in China* states:

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[323] See Ibid., 273.

[324] *Ze'u 'dul 'dzin rnam thar*, 10a.2-4.

> …from the erection of this most excellent Sandalwood Statue until the Water-Pig Year, 2055 years have passed. According to this [chronological] system from the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha until [this] Water-Pig Year 2013 years have passed.[325]

This chronology puts the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* to 749/50 B.C.E. and dates the building of the statue to 792 B.C.E. In contrast, *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem* asserts that in the Water-Pig Year 1953 years had elapsed since the creation of the Sandalwood Statue and 1911 years elapsed since the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*; a chronology that establishes the making of the Sandalwood Statue in 690 B.C.E. and Buddha's *nirvāṇa* in 648 B.C.E. *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem* credits this specific chronology to a certain individual, a Tsang native by the name of Changrawa Shak Seng (Lcang ra ba Shag seng, d.u.),[326] who made the calculation while in China at Chong Tong (Cong rtong). The unknown author of *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem* is well aware that this system of chronology differs from his Nartang colleagues as he directs the reader to a different calculation, found in the writings (*phyag yig*) of "the all-knowing" Chim Namkha Drak.[327]

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Despite Ze'u Dülzin's promise to the emperor that the rituals of Medicine Buddhas and the freeing of the prisoners at Shingkün would extend his life, Qubilai Khan died a few years later in 1294 and was succeeded by his grandson Öljeitü Khan (r.1294-1307). *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem* is

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[325] For a complete translation of this passage, see Per K. Sørensen (trans.) *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography, The Mirror Illuminating The Royal Genealogies: An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Tibetan Chronicle: rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 504-506.

[326] The identity of Shag seng[or /ShAkya seng ge] is uncertain. Lcang ra is a place name in the Myang stod area of Gtsang.

[327] The author of Ze'u 'dul 'dzin biography does not provide Mchims nam mkha' grags's calculations but merely directs the reader to his writings. See *Ze'u 'dul 'dzin rnam thar,* 10a.5-6.

silent on this fact, making no mention of Qubilai Khan's death or his successor Öljeitü Khan. The only mention of a Mongol emperor during the timeframe of Öljeitü Khan's rule is when Ze'u Dülzin receives a letter at the court from Nartang monastery in circa 1303/4. The letter from Nartang asks that Ze'u Dülzin return to Tibet in order to serve as the tenth abbot of the monastery. Eager to accept the abbotship at Nartang, and possibly an excuse to return to Tibet, Ze'u Dülzin then seeks and receives permission, along with valuable gifts, from the emperor, who in 1303/04 was Öljeitü Khan.[328]

After leaving the Yüan capital in Dadu (near present day Beijing), Ze'u Dülzin stopped en route at the border town of Shingkün, the town where he reportedly enabled the release of the prisoners. From Shingkün Ze'u Dülzin sent a letter back to the emperor in Dadu using the same carriers from Nartang that had brought him the invitation. In the letter Ze'u Dülzin requests Öljeitü Khan the following:

> When I arrive back in Tibet, [I] will govern the monastic community of Nartang. Wholesome prayers and praise will be made on behalf of the Emperor, the ruler of the people. The Great Emperor will be commemorated [by the Nartang community]. I will send via postal carrier a letter and holy pills and water blessed with invocations and mantras to the Three Jewels made by the [Nartang] monks. [I request the Emperor to allow passage] without hardship and obstruction from anyone, district officials (*mi dpon*) and others. [I] send this written request for the purpose that permission is granted by the Emperor, the ruler of the people.[329]

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[328] For the first time in Ze'u 'dul 'dzin's biography, the emperor is addressed with title *gong ma*: *gong ma rgyal po chen po* (Ibid., 11a.3; 11a.6) and *gong ma mi'i dbang po* (Ibid., 11a.5-6). This shift by the author in addressing the emperor with the title *gong ma* may implicitly be related to the fact that the emperor in question is now Öljeitü and not Qubilai Khan.

[329] Ibid., 11a.5-11b.3. *nged bod du sleb dus: snar thang zer ba'i dgon pa pa tu tsam gcig tu: dge 'thun gyi sde skyong: gong ma mi'i dbang po la smon lam bzang po 'debs zhing stod pa'i dus su/ gong ma rgyal po chen po nyid dran du yong bar 'dug: dran tsa na nged kyi mi zhu yig dang bcas pa dang: dge 'thun rnams kyis dkon mchog gsum la gsol ba btab pa'i gzungs ril bul chu dang bcas pa gong du gtong ba la: mi dpon la sogs pa sus kyang dka' 'gog med par: gong ma mi'i dbang pos de'i lung bzang po gnang: dgos gsung ba'i zhu yig btang bas/.*

This passage is one example of the "donor-preceptor" (*yon mchod*) relationship that had been cultivated between the Sakya heirarchs, specifically Sakya Pandita and Pakpa, and the Mongol emperors of the Yüan dynasty, specifically Qubilai Khan.[330] The relationship between a royal donor and religious preceptor was ideally an alliance between the "mundane" (a lay ruler/donor) and the "supramundane" (monastic preceptor). The monastic preceptor's role in this relationship was to provide religious services; the donor's role was to reciprocate with gifts, titles, seals of authority, and so on. In this example, Ze'u Dülzin tells the emperor that he will uphold his bargain of the relationship as the monastic preceptor. As abbot of Nartang he, along with the monastic community, would commemorate the emperor with prayers and praise. As a token of blessing, holy pills and water would be sent to him via mail. In return for his services Ze'u Dülzin requests that the emperor fulfill his side of the bargain by providing Ze'u Dülzin and his carriers with the necessary travel documents.[331] The emperor responded with the following:

> It is excellent if the emperor is commemorated in this manner. Ze'u Pakshi, his postal carriers of Nartang, together with four horses, are permitted swift passage in any direction, at anytime, noon or midnight.[332]

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[330] The "patrion-priest" relationship is both complex and nuanced and beyond the purview of this example and dissertation. For more, see D.Seyfort Ruegg, "Mchod Yon, Yon Mchod and Mchod Gnas/Yon Gnas: On the Historiography and Semantics of a Tibetan Religio-Social and Religio-Political Concept" in *Tibetan History and Language: Studies Dedicated to Uray Geza on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Ernst Steinkellner (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1991), 441-53.

[331] It not clear as to why Ze'u 'dul 'dzin did not request the emperor for safe passage when he first told Öljeitü of his plans to return to Tibet in Dadu. Most likely, Ze'u 'dul 'dzin met with travel restrictions while attempting to depart at the border town of Shingkün.

[332] Ze'u Pakshi (Dpag shi) was the title given to Ze'u 'dul 'dzin by Qubilai Khan after he performed religious services for the emperor. See *Ze'u 'dul 'dzin rnam thar,* 8a.5; and appendix 3 for translation. Ibid.,11b.3-5. *gong ma dran du yong ba de bzang: de ltar yin na: snar thang pa ze'u dpag shi'i mi gong du btang ba rnams la nyi phyed: nam phyed: dus nam yang: 'u lag rta bzhi phyogs bzhir rgyug tu chug zer ba'i lung bzang po dang bcas pas/.*

As discussed in previous chapters, the Mongols had established, among other things, a Tibetan postal system in 1268. In theory each of the thirteen myriarchies in Tibet were responsible for supplying the postal stations with supplies, such as horses, yaks, drivers, caretakers, and so on.[333] Since Nartang monastery was under the jurisdiction of the Chumik myriarchy, the carriers from Nartang would have used the Chumik postal station for their horses, drivers, and relevant travel documents, before traveling to China.[334] Having a travel permit stamped from the emperor, however, would have saved time and the headache of dealing with local and district officials en route back to Nartang; officials who would have likely asked for monetary bribes from Ze'u Dülzin and his carriers for safe passage. Later, during the tenure of Ze'u Dülzin at Nartang, the emperor himself supplied the horses for the Nartang carriers, who as promised delivered the blessing pills and water. In addition to the horses, the emperor also provided gifts to Nartang monastery, such as large quantities of gold and silver. According to *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem*, Ze'u Dülzin did everything he could to make sure "the donor-preceptor (*yon mchod*) relationship between him and the emperor remained stable and was not broken."[335]

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[333] See Petech (1983),187.

[334] The mail routes and stations, specifically in Central Tibet, had been greatly affected by the 'Bri-gung-sTod Hor revolt in 1285 and the succeeding Mongol interventions to stop the revolt. According to reports, the imperial government, during Qubilai Khan's reign, ordered that the mail stations in Central Tibet be restocked with horses, yaks, and that the postal workers and their families be given compensation paid in silver. See Ibid., 190.

[335] See *Ze'u 'dul 'dzin rnam thar,* 14a.5.

On his way home to Tsang in circa 1304/5, Ze'u Dülzin is reported to have traveled through the Drikung Kagyü territory, located about 120 km to the north-east of Lhasa in Central Tibet. At the center of this territory was Drikung Thil monastery, which served as the administrative and religious headquarters of the Drikung sect. Since Ze'u Dülzin did not leave Nartang for China until 1292/93, he would have been aware of the events that took place in 1285 and in 1290. As discussed in chapter 4, the Drikungpas attacked the Kadam/Sakya monastery of Jayül in 1285, killing nine monks and the abbot. In 1290 the Mongols decided to intervene in the civil war between Sakya and the Drigung Töhor alliance by sending a fleet of troops to Central Tibet to support the Sakyapas. Together the Sakya-Mongol troops defeated the Drigung Töhor alliance and scorched Drikung Thil monastery.[336] *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem* provides its own account of the events of 1290:

> The Mongol army (*hor dmag*) had covertly attacked Drikung Tel[/ Thil monastery]. There were soldiers [disguised] as religious practitioners on the inside that set fire [to the monastery]. Many of the exceptional [Drikung] retreat meditators [escaped by soaring] into the sky. The evil Mongol army on the outside [of the monastery witnessed] these exalted (*'phags pa*) meditators [in the sky] and yelled: "The brute monks (*ban sde*) have escaped in the sky!" Then [the Mongol army] shot arrows into the sky [at them]. It was a time of great fear and torment.[337]

This version of the events of 1290 goes on to say that those that had survived the attack had pleaded with Ze'u Dülzin for his help, albeit fourteen years after the fact. As payment for his services the Drikungpas offered Ze'u Dülzin large swaps of the nomadic territory under their

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[336] For more, see chapter 4.

[337] *Ze'u 'dul 'dzin rnam thar,* 12a..4-12b.1. *'bri khung thel la hor dmag gsang rgyugs su phab ste chos sde dang dmag nang na yod pa rnams me lums la btang: bsgom chen pa lo mtshams pa bzang po mga're nam mkha' la 'phags pa rnams la: sdig pa can gyi hor dmag phyi na yod pa rnams kyis: ban sde ngan pa nam mkha' la shor zer nas: nam mkha' la yang mda' 'phen pa byung ste/ zhin tu 'jigs zhing nyams thag pa'i dus su:.*

jurisdiction. Knowing that he would soon be abbot of Nartang, Ze'u Dülzin arranged a form of payment that would financially benefit Nartang monastery in the short and long term. And to ensure that the payment would be made, he had the agreement put into writing (*yig khrigs*):

> The expected yearly production of butter (*dkar thog*) yielded [by this nomadic territory] is to be delivered to Nartang.[338]

Accordingly the Drikungpas are said to have made yearly payments of a few hundred loads of butter (*mar khal*) to Nartang monastery. The yearly payments are also said to have continued for the duration of Ze'u Dülzin's life as well as the duration of the life of his nephew, Nartang's eleventh abbot Ze'u Drakpa Sherab (Ze'u grags pa shes rab, 1259-1325).

While the details of these accounts in *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem* are questionable, nonetheless, there is the possibility that aid was given by Ze'u Dülzin and that Drikung Thil monastery repaid in kind. Following the destruction of the monastery by Sakya and Mongol forces, Drikung Thil had successfully petitioned Qubilai Khan for permission to rebuild, a project that took more than seven years to complete. By the time Ze'u Dülzin arrived in 1304/5, Drikung Thil was once again up and running under the abbotship of Dorjé Rinchen (Rdo rje rin chen, 1278-1314).[339] Having spent a long thirteen years at the Mongol court in China, Ze'u Dülzin would have arrived back on the scene in Tibet with political and religious clout. He was certainly a wealthier man than when he left Tibet in 1292/93. In addition to monetary gains,

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[338] Ibid., 12a.1-2.

[339] For more, see Elliot Sperling, "Some Notes on the Early 'Bri-gung-pa Sgom-pa" in *Journal of the Tibet Society* (1987), 33-56.

Ze'u Dülzin brought back with him a status that only a handful of Tibetans had achieved.[340] Hence, while it is unlikely that the Drikungpas pleaded for Ze'u Dülzin's aid as described in *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem*, it is plausible that Ze'u Dülzin used his political, financial, and symbolic influence to better the monastery and his own status.[341] As was the pattern for Ze'u Dülzin, reciprocity was in order for his services. This time the payment came in the form of butter.

Abbot at Nartang

As promised Ze'u Dülzin was appointed abbot when he arrived back at Nartang that same year in 1304/5. Like his predecessors Ze'u Dülzin taught during the summer and winter sessions of the monastery's academic calendar. During his tenure, he took advantage of his wherewithal to make renovations inside and outside of the monastery, to produce new collections of books, and to inaugurate a religious observance in honor of Chim Namkha Drak.

The religious observance in honor of Chim Namkha Drak was held for fourteen days, from April 1 through 14. When Ze'u Dülzin took the throne in 1304/05, the Nartang community already had in place a twelve day community religious observance from April 1 through 12, in honor of a certain Nyené Chenpo Drupa Senggé (Nye gnas chen po grub seng ge, d.u.). Community tea was served and gifts were given to the monks on each of these twelve days. Ze'u Dülzin had approached the administrator of this twelve day observance and suggested that

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[340] As previously discussed, this status of serving at the Mongol court was not always look upon favorably by their Tibetan contemporaries. The most notable example is Rig pa'i ral gri's disdain for 'Phags pa (see chapter 3).

[341] It is telling, however, that no secondary sources mention Ze'u 'dul 'dzin's alleged aid to 'Bri gung mthil monastery.

it be changed to fourteen days to honor the memory and legacy of Chim Namkha Drak, who had passed away more than twenty-years prior in the early morning of April 14 in 1285. Ze'u Dülzin told the administrator, a monk by the name of Néten Rinzang (Gnas btan rin zang, d.u.), that he would personally cover the expenses for day thirteenth and that a certain Lopön Zhönu Jungné (Slob dpon Gzhon 'byung, d.u.), would cover for day fourteen. The expenses for the ceremony included payments for community tea and food, material offerings for the altars, and more. Ze'u Dülzin modified not only the day count of the observance but also added to the format. As was customary, the community of monks would gather in the Great Temple (Gtsug lag khang chen mo) built by Nartang's eighth abbot Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim. During different times of the day and night they performed long-established religious services (*chos spyod snying ma*), such as the recitation of the *Perfection of Wisdom* scriptures, the seven-limb prayer, chants of prayer and offerings to the goddess Tārā, and more. During this time, Ze'u Dülzin also had the monks prepare the water and medicinal pills to be blessed. With himself at the lead, accompanied by thirty monk assistants, the Nartang community performed the ritual liturgy of the Seven Medicine Buddhas, the mantra recitation of the five deities of Amoghapāśa (Don yod zhags pa), and supplication prayers to the Sixteen Saints. By these rituals, mantras, and praises, the water and pills were blessed and made ready to be shipped by horse and carrier to the Mongol emperor in China. [342]

As mentioned above, the Mongol emperor repaid Ze'u Dülzin and the Nartang community for the water and pills with gold and silver. Such payments provided Ze'u Dülzin with additional economic wherewithal to renovate and add-on to the existing temple structures

[342] Fore more, see translation in appendix 3.

at Nartang, such as the main temple and the abbot's sleeping quarter. Regrettably the details of the renovations are not given. *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem* does inform us that a large amount of wood was used from Nartang's upper courtyard (*khyams stod*)) for the renovations on both the inside and outside of the main temple. Ze'u Dülzin oversaw the renovations and even asked the workers to install a wood pillar in front of his throne. While the monks were being served their community tea during the fourteen-day religious observance for Chim Namkha Drak, it is said that Ze'u Dülzin would lean his back against this wood pillar and meditate.

In addition to the religious observances and structural renovations, Ze'u Dülzin also produced new collections of old books. According to *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem*, Ze'u Dülzin produced a 'gold' collection (*gser 'bum*) of the *Pefection of Wisdom in 25,000 and 80,000 Verses,* which were later stored on the bookshelves at Chumik Ringmo, the monastery of Ze'u Dülzin's early childhood.[343] He also produced an edition of the collected works (*bka 'bum*) of Chomden Rikpé Reldri,[344] Chim Namkha Drak, Ze'u Drakpa Gyeltsen, and an edition of Drolungpa Lodrö Jungné's *Great Stages of the Doctrine* (*Bstan rim chen mo*). Later in his tenure Ze'u Dülzin was asked by Tishri Rinchen Drak (Ti shri rin chen grags, d.u.) to produce a new golden edition of the Kangyur. Tishri Rinchen Drak, or Gushri (Guoshi) Rinchen Drak, was an Amdo native who spent most of his time in Shingkün where he helped edit Tibetan translations of Chinese dynastic histories.[345] Later, in circa 1325, he would be selected as a national

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[343] See 16b.?

[344] For more on the oevre of Bcom ldan rigs pa'i ral gri, see Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, "A Treatise on Buddhist Epistemology and Logic Attributed to Klong Chen Rab 'Byams Pa (1308-1364) and its Place in Indo-Tibetan Intellectual History," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* vol. 31, no. 4 (2003), 408-9; 431n.91.

[345] Unfortunately there is little information about Ti shri rin chen grags. It is known that he helped translate/edit the *Rgya nag po'i yig tshang.* See Dan Martin, *Tibetan Histories: A Bibliography of Tibetan-language Historical Works* (London: Serindia Publications, 1997), 51. It is not known, however, when Ti shri rin chen grags first traveled to Shingkün or the Yüan court.

preceptor to the Yüan court. As discussed above, Ze'u Dülzin had spent time in Shingkün and reportedly had Qubilai Khan release the inmates from the Shingkün Menché prison. It is hence possible that Tishri Rinchen Drak was in Shingkün, or the surrounding areas, at the same time of Ze'u Dülzin and that the two men became acquaintances during this period (from 1292/3 to 1304/5).

Tishri Rinchen Drak offered Ze'u Dülzin one hundred and eight pieces of textured Chinese red satin (*ta hun*) to be used as book-covers for the production of a new golden Kangyur edition. These satin book-covers were of great value and lavishly decorated:

> The [satin] was decorated with patterns of an eight petaled lotus flower. [Decorated] within [the lotus flowers] were the eight auspicious symbols. The four corners [of the satin] were decorated with [patterns] of vases.

Although Ze'u Dülzin accepted the book-covers he explained to Tishri Rinchen Drak that his advanced age prevented him from overseeing the production of a new Kangyur. He further explained that he would use the satin book-covers for the golden Kangyur volumes (*gser chos*) already on the bookshelves in the monastery's library, which included multiple duplicate volumes of the *Pefection of Wisdom,* the *Heap of Jewels* (*Ratnakūṭa*) collection, and others.[346]

A Succession of Abbots

Even though the succession of abbots at Nartang was not based on heredity, as was the case for Sakya, the succession of an abbot was nonetheless influenced by place of birth and clan

[346] See *Ze'u 'dul 'dzin rnam thar*,16b.2-4; and appendix 3. Sets of golden Bka' 'gyur editions were also know to exist at Sa skya monastery in the thirteenth century. See Schaeffer and van der Kuijp (2009), 28.

association. Regarding birthplace, all the abbots that are dealt with in this thesis were born and raised in the Tsang region. The most influential clans in the succession of Nartang abbots from the twelfth through fifteenth century were: Zhang, abbots three and five; Gro, abbots four and thirteen; Chim, abbots seven and twelve; Ze'u, abbots ten and eleven; and Wang (Dbang), abbots fourteen and fifteen. Ze'u Dülzin helped foster clan association with the succession of a Nartang abbot by appointing his nephew Ze'u Drakpa Sherab (Grags pa shes rab, 259-1325;[347] hereafter Drakpa Sherab) as the successor to his throne. Moreover, Ze'u Dülzin took under his wing a young Chim Lobsang Drak (Mchim blo bzang grags, 1299-1375), who was a member of the Chim clan, nephew of (*dbon po*) of Nartang's seventh abbot Chim Namkha Drak, and the future twelfth abbot of Nartang.

The eleventh abbot, Drakpa Sherab, was six years junior to his uncle Ze'u Dülzin. Most likely Drakpa Sherab enrolled at Nartang monastery not long after his uncle in 1265. He studied under the seventh Nartang abbot, Chim Namkha Drak, the eighth abbot, Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim, and other teachers in residency at the monastery. It was his uncle, however, who reared the child from a young age and who would later appoint him as the successor to his throne in 1314/15. Drakpa Sherab inherited the Nartang throne at a time when the monastery had reached a stage of educational, financial, and political stability. As discussed above, much of this immediate financial and political stability was the result of his uncle's doing.

When Drakpa Sherab took the throne in 1314/15, Üpa Losel Jangchup Yeshé (ca. 1265-1355), a student of the scholar-librarian Chomden Rikpé Reldri and the Mongol court

[347] Also known as Mkhan chen grags pa shes rab.

chaplain Chim Jampé Yang,[348] was busy in the library at Nartang compiling and cataloging a collection of physical holdings that would become known as the Tibetan Tengyur, or "treatises in translation."[349] Üpa Losel's catalogue was completed during the tenure of Drakpa Sherab in ca. 1320. That same year much of the attention in Tsang was focused on Zhalu monastery. In 1320, Butön Rinchen Drup was appointed as the eleventh abbot of Zhalu monastery, located just thirty-eight kilometers down the road from Nartang. Butön organized his own scribal workshop at Shalu for the production of a revised Tengyur. The workshop used the existing Tengyur from Nartang as the bases for textual revision and editing. Although not completed until 1334, nine years after the death of Drakpa Sherab, an exchange of ideas and manuscripts for the Shalu Tengyur would have begun during the end of Drakpa Sherab's tenure at Nartang and the beginning of Butön's tenure at Shalu (between 1320 and 1325). Cooperation through the exchange of ideas, catalogues, and manuscripts, continued between these two neighboring monastic institutions throughout the tenure of Nartang's twelfth abbot Chim Lozang Drakpa.

After the passing of Drakpa Sherab in 1325 the abbot's throne at Nartang monastery remained vacant for twelve years. All available historical records are silent on the reason for the vacancy. However, according to *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem*, the successor to Drakpa Sherab had been predetermined by prophesy and dreams around the same time that Drakpa Sherab was appointed as the eleventh abbot in 1314/15. Accordingly, Drakpa Sherab's successor was

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[348] See chapter 6.

[349] Mchims 'jam pa'i dbyangs had requested Dus pa blo gsal to make copies of the both the Bka' 'gyur and Bstan 'gyur and to store the copies at Snar thang. In addition to Dus pa blo gsal, two others persons were involved in the project: Lo tsA ba bsod nams 'od zer and Rgyang ro byang chub 'bum (? ca. 1270-1330). Based on these Snar thang copies, further copies were then made for the libraries and temples of other monastic institutions on the Tibetan plateau. See *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.1, 410-11; Roerich (1976), 338.

destined to be the nephew of Chim Namkha Drak, Chim Lozang Drakpa.[350] When Drakpa Sherab died at the age of seventy-six in 1325, his prospective successor, however, was only just twenty-six years of age (see table 2. below).

Table 2. Age of Nartang Abbots 1-11 when Appointed

	NARTANG ABBOT	AGE OF APPOINTMENT
1	Tumtön Lodrö Drakpa	47
2	Dotön Shérap Drak	39
3	Zhangtsün Dorjé Özer	63
4	Dromoche Dütsi Drak	32
5	Zhangtön Chökyi Lama	48
6	Sanggyé Gompa	63
7	Chim Namkha Drak	38
8	Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim	66
9	Khenchen Nyima Gyeltsen	74
10	Ze'u Dülzin Drakpa Tsöndrü	52
11	Ze'u Drakpa Sherab	55

The median age of these eleven abbots was fifty-three. The youngest to appointed abbot was the fourth abbot Dromoche Dütsi Drak (age thirty-two). Consequently, although prophesy and dreams had nominated Chim Lozang Drakpa to the throne, the administrators and elders at Nartang most likely deemed that he was not yet of age at the time of Drakpa Sherab's death. Finally in 1337, at the age of thirty-eight, Chim Lozang Drakpa was enthroned as Nartang's twelfth abbot.

[350] The prophecies were made by Ze'u 'dul 'dzin and Rgyang ro paN chen byang chub 'bul/bum. As mentioned above, Rgyang ro byang chub 'bum was involved in Snar thang's canon projects with Dus pa blo gsal in circa 1310-1320. See also Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, "On the Vicissitudes of Subhūticandra's Kāmadhenu Commentary on the Amarakoṣa in Tibet," in *Journal of International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no.5 (Decemeber 2009), 6n.14.

As discussed in previous chapters, being born into a prestigious clan, such as Chim, came with certain advantages, such as religious educational opportunities, economic and political capital, and so forth. It also came with expectations, such as maintaining clan vocation and legacy. These expectations reached beyond the clan into the sphere of religious communities, institutions, political office, and more. These expectations for Chim Lozang Drakpa became of institutional interest when he was brought to Nartang at age eight in 1307. Although Chim Lozang Drakpa never met his uncle Chim Namkha Drak, who died fourteen years before he was born, he felt the weight of his uncle's presence and legacy at Nartang. In the monastery there were frescos and statues in his uncle's image, books in his uncle's name, reliquaries that housed his uncle's remains, and observances in his uncle's honor. From the first day that Chim Lozang Drakpa entered Nartang monastery he made prayers in front of these images and reliquaries, studied his uncle's writings, and performed his uncle's rituals. Under the tutelage of Ze'u Dülzin, Chim Lozang Drakpa was groomed to live out the legacy of not only his clan, but specifically the legacy that his uncle had created at Nartang and the legacy that Nartang had made for his uncle.

Chim Lozang Drakpa's tenure at Nartang lasted for thirty-eight years from 1337-1375. During his tenure, Chim Lozang Drakpa witnessed the reorganization of political powers from afar and near. By the 1350s the stability of the Yüan dynasty in Central China was on a downward spiral as a result of civil wars and environmental disasters, such as droughts, floods, epidemics, and famine.[351] The wane of Yüan political stability in Central China diminished their ability to influence the politics of Central Tibet. In Tsang, the Sakya hierarchies were fighting

[351] See Timothy Brook, *The Troubled Empire: China in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Univeristy Press, 2010).

battles with members of their own family, which eventually caused the family to break into rival lineages and estates.[352] Capitalizing on this turmoil in Central Tibet was the lay myriarch (*khri dpon*) of the Kagyü Pakmodrupa sect, Jangchub Gyeltsen (Byang chub rgyal mtshan, 1302-1364). In brief, by the end of 1354 Jangchub Gyeltsen had fashioned a successful revolt against the Yüan-Sakya control of Central Tibet, which came to fruition in 1368 with the end of the Yüan dynasty and the start of the Ming dynasty in Central China.[353] In the 1350s and 1360s, Jangchub Gyeltsen reorganized the Yüan-Sakya's thirteen myriarchies of Central Tibet into thirteen territorial and administrative divisions, the so-called thirteen great "forts" (*rdzong*).[354] Each of these thirteen administrative forts were mostly staffed with magistrative and revenue officers (*rdzong dpon*) from local estate owning clans and families.

It is not certain how the Nartang community and leadership reacted to this shift of power. As evident throughout these chapters, Nartang monastery developed strong ties with Sakya by the thirteenth century, specifically through Chim Namkha Drak's relations with Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen. As a result of this Nartang was not only in good standing with Sakya but also the Mongol emperors and their cohorts in Central Tibet. Not least of all, Ze'u Dülzin's thirteen years at the Yüan court in the fourteenth century (re)established direct ties between the Mongol emperors and the monastery. Although Nartang may have attempted to distance themselves from Sakya's internal intrigues and Jangchub Gyeltsen's national agenda, the monastery was not

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[352] See Luciano Petech, "The Rise of the Pakmodru Dynasty," in *The Tibetan History Reader*, ed. Gray Tuttle and Kurtis R. Schaeffer (New York: Columbia Univeristy Press, 2013), 250-265.

[353] Byang chub rgyal mtshan died four years before the fall of the Yüan dynasty. When the Yüan dynasty collapsed, the brother and successor of Byang chub rgyal mtshan, 'Jam dbyangs sha kya rgyal mtshan (r. 1364-1373), was the ruler of Central Tibet.

[354] See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 760.

merely a neutral party. Their ties to a fragmented Sakya sect and a crumbling Yüan dynasty left them vulnerable to the new geo-political world of Central Tibet. This vulnerability was felt by Chim Lozang Drakpa and the monastic community when Sakya and Pakmodrupa officials, including Jangchub Gyeltsen, were in tense negotiations just up the road from Nartang at Chumik in 1354. The choice to hold these negotiations at Chumik was most likely not random. As discussed in chapter 3, Chumik was the place where Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen held his 1278 convocation, which was used to recognize Mongol rule and jurisdiction in Tibet. Now the private negotiations and public meetings at Chumik in 1354 centered around the release of political prisoners and the immediate future of administration and rule in Tsang.[355] By the end of the negotiations Jangchub Gyeltsen was pronounced as the "master of the greater Tsang."[356] Jangchub Gyeltsen then appointed his own steward (*nyer pa*) of Chumik, a person by the name of Dorjé Gyeltsen (Rdo rje rgyal mtshan, d.u.).[357] An official ceremony was held for Dorjé Gyeltsen's appointment, an ordeal that required the presence of local lay and monastic dignitaries, including Chim Lozang Drakpa. According to Jangchub Gyeltsen's own testament, the Nartang abbot (*Snar thang mkhan chen*) was introduced to his newly appointed and trusted steward Dorjé Gyeltsen.[358] In effect, by 1354 Chim Lozang Drakpa found himself in charge of a

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[355] For a detail account of these events, see *Medieval Rule in Tibet: The Rlangs Clan and the Political and Religious History of the Ruling House of Phag mo gru pa With a Study of the Monastic Art of Gdan sa mthil* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013), vol. 1, 111-246.

[356] As Olaf Czaja notes, this description is an oversimplification of the events that took place in Chu mig. It was not until 1361 that Byang chub rgyal mtshan recieved "final judicial sanction of his new estates in Gstang." See Ibid., 156.

[357] For more about Rdo rje rgyal mtshan, see Ibid., 160-61n.51.

[358] See Ibid., 160n.155.

monastery that was ultimately under the jurisdiction of Jangchub Gyeltsen with his local governing officers in Chumik and their administrative forts of Tsang.[359]

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Within the walls of Nartang monastery Chim Lozang Drakpa continued to meet clan and institutional expectations by composing his own extensive commentary on the *Abhidharma*,[360] a subject that, as previously discussed, had been a specialty of Chim clan members and a staple of the curriculum at Nartang since at least the seventh abbot Chim Namka Drak. He also made new reforms at the monastery, which included the prohibition of eating meat at the monastery. For reasons unspecified, another one of his reforms was the prohibition of monks from Eastern Tibet (Kham) to join the monastery.[361] This same prohibition apparently did not apply to monks from Amdo. A notable disciple of Chim Lozang Drakpa was the Amdo monk Döndrup Rinchen. As

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[359] The *rdzongs* in Gtsang included the Rin spungs rdzong (est.1352), Rgyal mkhar stag rtse rdzong (est. 1352), and Bsam grub rtse rdzong (present day Zhikatsé, est.1354). The Bsam grub rtse fort was an important office because it was situated along the trade route between Gtsang and the Kathamandu Valley of Nepal. The fort was also located only 14 km to the northeast of Snar thang monastery. As mentioned above, each of these forts where staffed by aristocrats from prominent local clans. What ultimately may have temporarily shielded Snar thang monastery from the rapidly changing geo-political landscape was not her fortress walls, but rather the fostering of local relationships and her networks of clan associations.

[360] "*Chos mngon pa'i gsal byed legs bshad rgya mtsho*," in *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum thengs gsum pa*, vol. 85: 11-616.

[361] The *Snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyus*, which is a contemporary work, replaces *khams pa* with *pham pa*. See *Snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyus* (2011), 37. Here, the term *pham pa* refers to a violation of the root monastic vows. It would seem unlikely that Mchim blo bzang grags would need to make a prohibition on violating the root monastic vows, since, at least in theory, the prohibition would have been established with the founding of the monastic institution. Las chen's *Bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me* and Lo dgon pa's *Bka' gdams rin po che'i chos 'byung* have *khams pa mi bsten*. See Las chen (2003), 506; *Bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me* in *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bgrigs*, vol.3 (*ga*), 512; and Lo dgon pa's *Bka' gdams rin po che'i chos 'byung* in Vetturini (2007), 269.

the story is told, Chim Lozang Drakpa spoke to Döndrup Rinchen about his return home to Amdo and the birth of remarkable child:

> Because you will have disciples [when you return to] Amdo, establish the monasteries of Jakhyung (Bya khyung) and Shadrang (Sha sbrang).[362] More importantly, there is this one remarkable child. As dear as your own eyes, protect him! Bestow upon this child my name.[363]

Döndrup Rinchen took these words of his teacher to heart and dutifully returned from Tsang to his native Amdo to fulfill the prophecy. As the story unfolds, Döndrup Rinchen located the child in Tsongkha (Tsong kha), a region in northeast Amdo. By age three the child was under the tutelage of Döndrup Rinchen. And as instructed by Chim Lozang Drakpa, Döndrup Rinchen founded Jakhyung and Shadrang monasteries and gave the child a new monastic name: Lozang Drakpa.

Döndrup Rinchen continued to mentor the child at Jakhyung, Shadrang, and at other monasteries in Amdo. Then at age sixteen he traveled to Central Tibet to learn from the leading religious figures of the day. In 1375, at the age of nineteen, he traveled from Ü to Tsang in order to visit and study at the various monastic institutions, including Nartang monastery. It may have been no coincidence that he choose to leave Ü for Tsang that year: 1375 was the year that the Nartang abbot Chim Lozang Drakpa would pass away. For Döndrup Rinchen's disciple, later known simply as the person from Tsongkha (Tsongkhapa), it was the first and last meeting with

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[362] Bya khung monastery is located in todays Ba yan (Ch. Hualong) Hui Autonomous County. Sha sbrang [dgon phun tshogs chos gling], founded in 1341, is located in the Reb gong prefecture.

[363] *Dpal snar thang chos sde lo rgyus* (2011), 36. *khyod kyi gdul bya mdo smad du yod pas der song la/ bya khyung dang sha sbrang dgon thob shig lhag tu khye'u ngo mtshar can zhig 'byung bas de nyid mig 'bras la ltar gces par skyongs/ nga'i ming 'di khye'u de la thog shig ces/.*

the person who prophesied his birth, who entrusted his disciple to nurture and educate him since childhood, and to whom his own monastic name, Lozang Drakpa, belonged.[364]

While at Nartang in 1375 Tsongkhapa also paid his respects to the successor of Chim Lozang Drakpa, Khenchen Künga Gyeltsen (Mkhan chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1338-1400/1402; henceforth Künga Gyeltsen). Although Künga Gyeltsen's tenure at Nartang lasted for twenty-seven years, from 1375 to 1402, there is scant information about his life and times at the monastery. Künga Gyeltsen was Chim Lozang Drakpa's right-hand man, serving as his cook, attendant, and in due course, a learned disciple. Hailing from the Dro clan, the same clan of the fourth Nartang abbot Dromoche, was certainly to Künga Gyeltsen's advantage since, as discussed above, clan association with a previous abbot(s) was one of the best ways to receive favorable mention as a nominee to the throne.

During his tenure Künga Gyeltsen added further to the infrastructure of the monastery. Within the monastery-temple complex he built a temple dedicated to the Sixteen Saints and a three-story, multi-door, reliquary (*stūpa*) dedicated to Chim Lozang Drakpa.[365] Outside the monastery he built another ring of outer "iron walls" (*phyi lcags ri*) on the exterior to those built in the thirteenth century by Nartang's eighth abbot Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim.[366] The wall's perimeter from south to north measured one hundred seventy-nine meters; from west to east about two hundred thirty meters. The distance around the walls, which became a path used to

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[364] It is not known whether Don grub rin chen returned to Central Tibet or Snar thang with Tsong kha pa. Since Don grub rin chen is not again mentioned with Tsong kha pa, in all likelihood, he remained in A mdo for the remainder of his life.

[365] The *Snar thang chos sde* gives the name of this stupa as *bkra shis sgo mang gi mchod rten chen po*. See Ibid., 47.

[366] See Las chen (2003), 434. The *Dpal snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyus* incorrectly states that *both* walls built by Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims and Mkhan chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan are called the "outer iron walls" (*phyi lcags ri*). See *Dpal snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyus* (1985), 41, 47.

circle-ambulate the monastery, measured about one thousand one hundred and sixteen meters.[367] When completed, these walls measured more than nine meters in height with about fourteen pisé layers (*gyang rim*).[368]

[367] These measurements were taken during fieldwork at Nartang in 2013. For the most part, the walls have remained relatively intact. Michael Henss gives the measurement of the Nartang walls as c.240 x 240 meters. See Michael Henss, *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet: The Central Regions, Volume II: The Southern Tibetan Province of Tsang* (New York: Prestel, 2014), 683.

[368] See Las chen (2003), 434. For more on the "iron walls" built by Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims, see chapter 4. The "outer iron walls" built by Kun dga' rgyal mtshan measured more than nine meters in height with about fourteen pisé layers, which are the same measurements that were taken during my fieldwork in 2013 on the existing structure.

Chapter 6

A Beginning to an End:
Gendün Drupa at Nartang Monastery

The year is 1398. A seven-year-old child from a nomadic pastoralist family in Tsang has just lost his father. The child, whose name was Padmavajra,[369] was the third of four siblings.[370] His family was not anymore or less religious than most of the nomads in their camp, a camp that was responsible for supplying butter for the protector chapel of Mahākāla (Gur mgon) at the nearby Sakya (Sa skya) monastery.

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[369] It is unclear who named the child. The name would have significance for the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) and his regent Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653-1705) when tracing the many successive incarnations of the Dalai Lamas qua Avalokiteśvara and 'Brom ston pa rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1005-1064). According to their accounts, Avalokiteśvara/'Brom ston pa took birth as an erudite scholar from Nepal by the name of Padmavajra. See Sangs ryas rgya mtsho, "*Drin can rtsa ba'i bla ma ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i thun mong phyi'i rnam thar du kU la'i gos bzang glegs bam gsum pa'i 'phros bzhi pa*," in *Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum bzhugs so,* vol.8 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa de skrun khang, 2009), 172. For an English translation, see Saṅs-rGyas, rGya-mTSHo, *Life of the Fifth Dalai Lama*, vol. 1, Teil 1, trans. Zahiruddin Ahmad (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1999), 182. Sources on the life of Padmavajra/Dge 'dun grub dpal bzang po include: Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, "*Bla ma thams cad mkhyen pa'i rnam thar ngo mtshar mdzad pa bcu gnyis pa bzhugs so*," in *Rgyal dbang sku phren rim byon gyi mdzad rnam:Sku phreng dang po nas bzhi pa'i bar gyi rnam thar* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa de skrun khang, 2010), 89-124. For an english translation of this work, see Glenn H. Mullin, *Selected Works of the Dalai Lama: Bridging the Sutras and Tantras* (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion, 1985), 203-250. Also, Ye shes rtse mo, "*Rje thams cad mkhyen po dge 'dun grub pa dpal bzang po'i rnam thar ngo mtshar mad byung nor bu'i phreng ba zhes bya ba bzhugs*" in *Rgyal dbang sku phren rim byon gyi mdzad rnam: Sku phreng dang po nas bzhi pa'i bar gyi rnam thar* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa de skrun khang, 2010) 1-88. For an English translation of this work, see Joan Carole Kutcher, *The Biography of the First Dalai Lama: Entitled* "*Rje thams cad mkhyen po dge 'dun grub pa dpal bzang po'i rnam thar ngo mtshar mad byung nor bu'i phreng ba zhes bya ba bzhugs*" (PhD diss, University of Pennsylvania, 1979). Also see Shen Weirong, Janice Becker, trans. "The First Dalai Lama Gendun Drup," in *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, ed. Martin Brauen (London: Serindia, 2005), 33-41; and Yongs 'dzin ye shes rgyal mtshan, *Lam rim bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar* (Lha sa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2011), 482-525.

[370] Ye shes rtse mo states that there were five siblings, four brothers (*sras po*) and one sister (*sras mo*). See Ye shes rtse mo (2010), 7.

Two years prior to his father's death, bandits had robbed the family of their land and livestock. The family was forced to relocate from their home in the lower Sé (*srad*) valley to the upper regions of the valley. Here they worked as herders until moving on that same year to a village in Tönmong (Mthon smong), also located in the upper valley, where they worked as goat-herders for a wealthy landholder. By 1398 the family settled in Géten (Dge sten), a valley located not far from Nartang (Snar thang) monastery.[371] It is here in the upper valley of Géten that the father of Padmavajra died. With the death of the father, Padmavajra's mother, Jomo Namkyi (Jo mo nam skyid), felt the household and financial pressures of raising the family alone. Like other Tibetan nomadic and farming families with more than one son, she opts to keep her older son at home and send the seven-year-old to nearby Nartang monastery.[372]

The family had indirect and direct connections to Nartang monastery. The first connection was the indirect association of their clan. Padmavajra's father was from the Gurma Ruwa, or Gung Ruwa clan (Gur ma ru ba /Gung ru ba), a clan whose origins were in Eastern Tibet.[373] The clan had split into four sub-clans: Ngarpa (Ngar pa), Mitrukpa (Mi sprug pa), Tsétrukpa (Tshad sprug pa), and Sok (Bsogs). The Ngarpa sub-clan stemmed from a branch of the Drom ('Brom) clan. An important associate of the Drom clan had been Dromtön Gyelwé Jungné ('Brom ston rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas; 1004/5-64; henceforth Dromtön). Dromtön was an important lay disciple of the Indian master Atiśa (c.982-1054), whose visit to Tibet from 1040

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[371] Nartang is located about 130 km to the south of their Srad valley.

[372] Gianpaolo Vetturini incorrectly states that it was Padmavajra's father that brought him to Snar thang monastery. See Gianpaolo Vetturini, *The bKa' gdams pa School of Tibetan Buddhism, Part 1,* (revised PhD diss., SOAS, 2007), 43.

[373] In Ye shes rtse mo's account, Padmavajra/Dge 'dun grub explains that the clan name should be Gung ru ba, not *Gur* ma ru ba. If correct, the 'mistake' could have taken place in relation to the clan's association with the protector *Gur* mgon, or Mahākāla. See Ye shes rtse mo (2010), 7; Kutcher (1979), 71.

until his death in 1054 contributed to the so-called Later Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet (*stan pa phyi dar*). In 1056 Dromtön founded Radreng (Rwa sgreng) monastery, the first monastic seat of the Kadam school, in the region of the Uru Jang (Dbu ru byang) valley of Central Tibet.[374] Second and third generation students of the monastery began actively teaching and building their own enclaves of satellite monasteries across the mountain in the valley of Penyül (’Phan yul) and in 1153 further expanded their monastic networks with Nartang monastery in Tsang.[375]

If even known to Jomo Namkyi, this paternal clan association to the religious school that Nartang was affiliated with, in all likelihood, had little bearing on her decision to send her son to Nartang. The family’s association to the Drom clan, nonetheless, would become an important identification marker in the child’s later years. The deciding factor to send her son to Nartang was most likely the direct connection: Jomo Namkyi’s brother, a learned monk by the name of Geshé Chöshé (*dge bshes* Chos shes, d.u.), was a resident monk and teacher at Nartang.

By all accounts the monastery that Padmavajra walked into was a hub of scholastic and ritual learning with a sizable library and erudite teachers whose interests not only included the study of books but also art, architecture, calligraphy, languages, and more. Padmavajra’s first glimpse of the place was the fortress-like walls that encircled the monastery.[376] From this

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[374] According to Ulrike Roesler, “The school [of the Bka’ gdams pa] originates with the foundation of its first influential monastery, the monastery of Radeng (Rwa sgreng), in 1056.” See Ulrike Roesler, *Kadampa Sites of Phempo: A Guide to Some Early Buddhist Monasteries in Central Tibet (*Kathmandu: Vajra Publications, 2004), 4. The preferred norm for the major and minor Buddhist traditions/sects in Tibet, however, was to trace their beginnings to Indian origins and by all traditional accounts the sectarian identity of the Bka’ gdams pas began with Atiśa. Also see Ulrike Roesler, “A Palace for Those Who Have Eyes to See: Preliminary Remarks on the Symbolic Geography of Reting (Rwa-sgreng),” *Acta Orientalia Vilnensia* 8, no.1 (2007): 123–144

[375] For more on the ’Phan yul valley, see chapter 1.

[376] The fortress walls of Snar thang in 1287 by the eighth abbot, Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims (1219-1299) and by the thirteenth abbot Mkhan chen kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (1338-1400/1402). See chapter 4 and 5.

vantage point the monastery looked similar to a smaller-scale version of the fortress-like Sakya monastery, located not far from Padmavajra's birthplace. Once inside the fortress-like complex, visitors and newcomers in the fourteenth century would have first paid their respects at the Temple of Three Thousand (Gsum stong sdongs), which housed a towering statue of the Buddha. When Padmavajra made his entrance, Nartang monastery had two colleges, a central temple, twelve to thirteen other auxiliary temples, a printing house, many large and small reliquaries (stūpas), a general assembly hall, and monastic living quarters that housed monks in the thousands.

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Since Padmavajra's family had no economic surplus to offer to the monastery, the child would have to work in exchange for the monastery's food, housing, and education. At the age of seven, Padmavajra was assigned to the monastery's kitchen duties. In addition to labor, his first formal task upon entering the monastery was to take the complete set of lay, or preordination vows (*yongs su rdzogs pa'i dge bsnyen*; *upāsaka*).[377] These vows were conferred to him by the fourteenth abbot Khenchen Drupa Shérap (Mkhan chen grub pa shes rab, 1357-1423), who ascended to the see of Nartang in 1388.[378] Although the boy shaved his head and wore yellow

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[377] The complete set of *upāsaka* includes taking refuge vows, not killing, not stealing, not lying, and not engaging in sexual misconduct.

[378] Vetturnini (2007) also incorrectly states that the boy's name Padmavajra/Padma rdo rje was given to him at this time by Mkhan chen grub pa shes rab. See Vetturnini (2007), 44. His primary source is a modern work: 'Jigs med bsam grub, "*Bka' gdams pa'i grub mtha'i byung khungs dang khyad chos la rags tsam dpyad pa*" in *Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig*, vol.3 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dus deb khang, 1998), 11-25, 44.

clothing to signify his enrollment in the monastery, he was not yet formally among the rank and file of the monastic community.[379]

Padmavajra duties oscillated between the kitchen, classroom, and prayer hall. In the classroom Padmavajra was given his second task: to learn to read and write. Owing mostly to the efforts of the thirteenth century scholar, polymath, and bibliographer, Chomden Rikpé Reldri (henceforth Reldri), Nartang monastery had evolved into a linguistic center where the study of different scripts and written languages became part of the core curriculum. Whether because of the monastery's book holdings, bibliographic catalogues, or the allure of experts in the field, Nartang attracted scholars who had an invested interest in languages, scripts, and books.[380] One such scholar was the fourteenth century grammarian and advanced language instructor of Padmavajra, Lotsāwa Sanghashri (Lo tsA ba sang+g+ha shrI, b. fourteenth century).[381] The

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[379] As Paul Harrison has alluded, doctrinally *upāsaka* does not refer to the general notion of a "layperson" but rather connotes a person who is bordering on ordination status. See Paul Harrison, "Searching for the origins of the Mahāyāna: What are we looking for?" *The Eastern Buddhist* (New Series) 28, no.1 (Spring 1995), 59. However, within a Tibetan social environment, this "preordination status" carries little or no social status, that is, *outside of a monastic setting*, since such vows did not involved any recognizable bodily changes, such as shaving the head or wearing monastic robes. Charlene E. Mackley reiterates this point in the modern context of Labrang monastery, "if one takes the five genyen [*upāsaka*] vows, one is still no different from a householder because *no one knows* [i.e. there are not bodily changes]." See Charlene E. Mackley, "The Body of a Nun: Nunhood and Gender in Contemporary Amdo," in *Women in Tibet: Past and Present*, eds. Janet Gyatso and Hanna Havnevik (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 272-273.

[380] By 'book' I am referring to mostly handwritten loose-leaf handwritten manuscripts. Large scale block printing did not begin in Tibet until 1418. Tibetan names for 'books' were based on how they were formatted, which include: *dpe cha*, *glegs bam*, *deb ther*, and the Central Asia loan word *po thi* (or *pod*). See Agnieszka Helman-Ważny, *The Archaeology of Tibetan Books* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 52; also Agnieszka Helman-Ważny and Sam van Schaik, "Witnesses for Tibetan Craftsmanship: Bringing Together Paper Analysis, Palaeography and Codicology in the Examination of the Earliest Tibetan Manuscripts,"*Archaeometry* Vol. 55, No. 4 (2013), 713-14.

[381] Lo tsA ba sang+g+ha shrI is also known as Snar thang Lo tsA ba or Dpal dge 'dun grags pa. He was a contemporary of Snar thang's fourteenth abbot, Mkhan chen grub pa shes rab, as well as a contemporary of 'Gos lo tsA ba gzhon nu dpal (1392-1481).

known works of Sanghashri include techniques for reading Sanskrit mantras[382] and a commentary on the second chapter of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa,* the famed work on Sanskrit poetics and literary theory.[383]

Padmavajra was clearly a beneficiary of such figures at Nartang. He first enrolled in a reading class with the instructor Gyatön Tsandra (Rgya ston tsandra [de ba], b. fourteenth century) and a writing class with Shakya Pel (ShAkya dpal, d.u.). He learned the science of linguistics, written Tibetan, Sanskrit, written Chinese, the Pakpa script (*hor yig gsar)*, and others. He also studied Tibetan calligraphy.[384] After he gained proficiency in reading and writing, Lotsāwa Sanghashri taught him advanced Sankrit grammar works in Tibetan translation.[385]

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In addition to reading, writing, and grammar, the curriculum at Nartang during the later half of the fourteenth century had evolved considerably since its founding in the twelfth century. This

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[382] *Sngags kyi bklag thabs bsdus pa dang de'i 'grel pa mthong ba don gsa:* http://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=W1KG10582. For more on this work, see Pieter C. Verhagen and Johannes Bronkhorst, *A History of Sanskrit grammatical literature in Tibet: Assimilation into Indigenous Scholarship, Vol.2* (Leiden: Brill 2001), 100,146,149, 188.

[383] The same work is listed under two titles [same title page]: (1) *Snyan ngag me long gi rgya cher 'grel pa* (Kunsang Topgey: Thimpu, 1976.http://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=W27415); and (2) *Snar thang pa'i snyan 'grel* (http://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=W2CZ7881_). The *Kāvyādarśa* is divided into three chapters, and as Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp tells us, the second chapter "catalogues and discusses those poetic figures [from chapter one] that are based on the semantic relationships within a verse…" See Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, "Tibetan Belles Lettres: The Influence of Dandin and Ksemendra" in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, eds. José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion 1996), 395.

[384] See Ye shes rtse mo (2010), 10; Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (2009), 140.

[385] Such as the *Kāvyādarśa*, *Amarakośa*, and the *Sarasvatī-vyākaraṇa-sūtra* (*Dbyangs can sgra mdo*[*'i rtsa 'grel dang mtshams sbyor lnga*]). It is also stated that he later studied Sanskrit and the *Sdeb sbyor rin chen 'byung gnas* under Sgra pa thug rje dpal. It is not clear whether Sgra pa thug rje dpal is the same person known as Lo tsA ba thugs rje dpal (14th-15th century), who translated two works in the Peking Bstan 'gyur, compiled a Bka' 'gyur catalogue in Rgyal rtse, and was the author of a non-extant commentary on Sanskrit grammar. For more on Lo tsA ba Thugs rje dpal, see Verhagen and Bronkhorst (2001), 145-146.

evolution was not unique to Nartang. Whatever the merits of Mongol rule in Tibet during the thirteenth century, their financial support of certain institutions and individuals, which included Nartang, also enabled the production of texts and the growth of libraries. The support and fortunes of libraries mirrored the support of their parent institution. Further, the growth of libraries and their holdings required more complex systems of organizations, which included the development and augmentation of bibliographic databases, or catalogs. Such labor was first initiated at Nartang monastery in the later part of the thirteenth century by Reldri with his c.1268 catalogue of Buddhist canonical manuscripts.[386] Whether this catalog represented physical holdings at Nartang's library is uncertain.[387] Reldri's student Üpa Losel Jangchup Yeshé (Dbus pa blo gsal byang chub yes shes, ca. 1265-1355), however, followed up with his own catalogue using a collection of physical holdings at Nartang. Üpa Losel's catalogue focused on treatises in translation that were authored by Indian Buddhist masters, a catalogue that would become known as the Tibetan Tengyur (Bstan 'gyur).[388]

As studied in chapter 3 and 4, Nartang grew exponentially under the seventh abbot and teacher of Reldri, Chim Namkha Drak. Such growth was, in part, due to the relationship Chim Namkha Drak had with his student, the Sakya patriarch Pakpa Lodro Gyeltsen (henceforth Pakpa). The year 1268 not only saw the creation of a bibliographic catalogue, it was also a watershed year as the Mongol-Sakya alliance began overhauling the geopolitical administrative

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[386] The *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od.* See Kurtis R, Schaeffer and Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature: The Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od of Bcom ldan ral gri* (Cambridge, Mass: Dept. of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University, 2009).

[387] For more, see chapter 3. According to Kurtis R, Schaeffer and Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, the catalog by Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri did not represent a physical collection at Snar thang but was based on lists from other catalogs. See Schaeffer and van der Kuijp (2009), 60.

[388] The evidence that this catalogue represented a physical collection of books is based on his reference to the volume numbers of the collection. See Schaeffer and van der Kuijp (2009), 13.

units in Central Tibet.[389] Pakpa himself was a staunch supporter of the production and collation of Buddhist scriptures and invoked the support of the Mongol princes to help finance their publication.[390] The Mongol Zhenjin (1243-85) had financially supported Pakpa's project of a golden Kangyur edition that began in the late summer of 1275 and completed in the summer of 1278, latter to be housed at Sakya monastery.[391] Further, as discussed in chapter 5, the first known wood-block print, an annotated edition of the *Hevajra Tantra,* was produced by Pakpa and funded by the Mongol court.[392] Being the teacher of Pakpa meant, in turn, that Chim

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[389] According to Luciano Petech, the year 1268 "may be accepted as the date of the establishment of Mongol domination in Tibet." See Luciano Petech, "Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with Mongols," in *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries* ed.Morris Rossabi (Berkeley: University of California Press,1983), 186. A clear pattern had been established by the Mongols during the reign of Ögödei and Möngke in their expansion projects in Northern China that required conquered states to obliged with seven terms: (i) the local ruler was required to come to the Mongol court; (ii) relatives of the ruler were to be given as hostages; (iii) census were to be taken; (iv) taxes were to be paid; (v) military units were to be assigned; (vi) a postal system (*jam*) was to be made; and (vii) a Mongol appointed inspector was to permanently staffed. Although the Mongol strategy was not to exert direct rule over Tibet, each of the terms defined by Ögödei and Möngke had more of less been fulfilled in Tibet by 1268: (i) Sapaṇ went to the Mongol court; (ii) 'Phags pa and Phyag na travelled with Sapaṇ as virtual hostages of the court; (iii) census (*dud grangs rtsis pa*) taken in 1268; (iv) taxes were paid based on six-member household unit and the allocated, at least in theory, into "thirteen myriarchies"; (v) military units were first assigned under the Mongol's ruling family: Sa skya under Köden, 'Bri gung under Möngke, Tshal pa under Khubilai, Phag mo gru pa under Hülegü, and Stag lung under Arigh Böge (then to be consolidated with Khubilai's rise to power); (vi) a Tibetan postal system was established and (vii) the organizational tasks of the postal service were given to the Mongol Dashman (Das sman), who was also appointed as the chief administrator (*rtsa ba'i dpon chen*) of the later named "Court for the Administration of Buddhist Affairs" (*hsüan-cheng-yüan*). See also Turrell V. Wylie, "The First Mongol Conquest of Tibet Reinterpreted," in *The History of Tibet: The Medieval Period: c. 850-1895: The Development of Buddhist Paramountcy* Vol.2, ed, Alex McKay (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 317-337; Luciano Petech, "The Mongol Census in Tibet" in *The Tibetan History Reader* eds. Gray Tuttle and Kurtis R. Schaeffer (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 233-240; also Per K. Sørensen, and Guntram Hazod, *Rulers on the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet. A Study of Tshal Gung-thang*, Veröffentlichungen zur Sozialanthropologie Vol. 361 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 553.

[390] See Kurtis R. Schaeffer, *The Culture of the Book in Tibet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 131.

[391] 'Phags pa wrote an official announcement upon its completion in 1278 in which he describes the three stages of the canon's production. For a detailed account of these stages, see Schaeffer and van der Kuijp (2009), 20-28.

[392] See Ibid., 9.

Namkha Drak received the economic, political, and moral support needed for Nartang to remain relevant and flourish. Another student of Chim Namkha Drak was his fellow clansman Chim Jampé Yang (Mchims 'jam pa'i dbyangs; a.k.a. 'Jam dbyangs pak shi, b. thirteenth century). Chim Jampé Yang had been appointed as the Mongol court chaplain (*mchod gnas*) under Buyantu-qan (1311-1320).[393] From the Yüan court in Peking, Chim Jampé Yang sent gifts of gold, silver, ink, paper and pens to Nartang.[394] Such funding was crucial in the production of these canonical registers and collections and both regional and international aid would continue for Nartang monastery well into the fifteenth century. [395]

Some thirty-eight kilometers to northeast of Nartang, the Sakya scholar Butön Rinchen Drup (Bu ston rin chen grub, 1290-1364) forged his own elaborate and well-funded scribal workshop dedicated to the compilation, collation, and production of Buddhist canonical work at Shalu (Zhwa lu) monastery. As chief editor and principle advisor Butön sought to enhance, revise, and redact the existing Tengyur from Nartang. Butön sent a team of scholars to search throughout Central Tibet to locate manuscripts and translations of works that were not included in the fourteenth century Nartang edition. The workshop at Shalu monastery contained a vibrant

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[393] Once a member of the Snar thang community, Mchims 'jam pa'i dbyangs had been expelled for a prank in which he disguised himself as a "devil" and scarred the wits out of his teacher Ral gri. As tokens of forgiveness, he sent many gifts of gold and silver to Ral gri at Snar thang. Ral gri refused to relent in his displeasure for his student until, so we are told, he received a box of Chinese ink, paper, and pens. See 'Go lo tsA ba gzhon nu dpal, *Deb ther sngon po*, 2 vols. (Sarnath, Varanasi: Vajra Vidya Library, 2003), 410; George N. Roerich, trans., *The Blue Annals* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), 339. Ral gri's displeasure with Mchims 'jam pa'i dbyangs may have also stemmed from his involvement with the Mongol court. Ral gri had been especially critical of 'Phags pa for his political backing of the Mongols during his first sojourn to Central Tibet in 1264. See W.D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 67. See also Schaeffer and van der Kuijp (2009), 7-8; and chapter 3.

[394] See Harrison (1996), 72.

[395] Snar thang monastery received significant international funding by Qubilai (1219-1294) during the life of Snar thang's tenth abbot 'Dul ba 'dzin pa grags brtson 'grus (1253-1316). See chapter 5 and appendix 3 for a translation of 'Dul ba 'dzin pa's biography.

and diverse workforce: from scribal managers and papermakers to goldsmiths.[396] Patronage for this project was homegrown and came from the local nobleman.[397] In December of 1334, the Shalu Tengyur was completed, consecrated, and installed in the temple. This Tengyur outnumbered the Nartang edition by more than one thousand works.[398] Butön, however, did not consider his catalogue to be the end of such work—he recognized that more editing could be done and that unknown manuscripts would be located.

A few decades later Tsang had witnessed another type of political reorganization as territorial and administrative holdings were seized from the Sakya patriarchs in 1354 by the ambitious Pakmodrupa (Pha mo gru pa) ruler Tai Situ Jangchup Gyeltsen (Ta'i si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan, 1302-1364/71). Although Butön's religious allegiances were to the Sakya sect, he adopted well to these political changes by accepting Jangchup Gyeltsen as his student. Not unlike Chim Namkha Drak's relationship with Pakpa, Butön understood the economic, political, and institutional benefits that could procure from such a relationship. Tai Situ was also well aware of the benefits and prestige of aligning himself with one of the leading intellectuals of the day.[399] In the summer of 1362, two years prior to Butön's death,[400] a second scribal workshop

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[396] For a more complete list of the types of workers involved, albeit based on the 1362 scribal workshop at Zhwa lu, see Schaeffer (2009), 26.

[397] The nobleman *sku zhang* Kun dg'a don grub. See Leonard van der Kuijp, "On the Lives of Śākyaśrībhadra (?-?1225)," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114.4 (Oct.-Dec. 1994), 141,146n. 10; also Schaeffer (2009), 21. For more on Kun dg'a don grub, see Roberto Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet*. (London: Serindia Publications, 1990), 102.

[398] Van der Kuijp (1994), 141.

[399] See Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, "Fourteenth-Century Tibetan Cultural History I: Ta'i-si-tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan as a Man of Religion," *Indo-Iranian Journal 37* (1994): 139-149.

[400] After serving as abbot to Zhwa lu for thirty-seven years, Bu ston appointed his successor to the throne in 1356 and retired to a hermitage on the mountains near Zhwa lu. This hermitage, known as Ripuk (Ri phuk), is a site where Atiśa is said to have stayed and meditated. For a short description of Ripuk, see Victor Chan, *Tibet Handbook: A Pilgrimage Guide* (Chico, California: Moon Publications, 1994), 411.

commenced at Shalu and on this occasion the patron was Tai Situ. Further corrections and additions were made to the 1334/5 Shalu Tenjur and the result was a new collection that contained an additional thirty-seven texts, putting the grand total to three thousand four hundred and twenty-nine texts.

It is no coincidence that such activity was undertaken by institutions in such close geographic proximity. Wide scale block printing did not begin in Central Tibet until 1418 and copying, cross referencing, lending, and borrowing continued to be the primary means by which Tibetan books were circulated and catalogued.[401] Copies of the Nartang catalogues and collections further found their way into the monastic libraries of Sakya, Ngari Gungtang (Mnga' ris gung thang), Tsel Gungtang (Tshal gung thang), and Taklung (Stag lung).[402]

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Such labor and financial assistance also allowed for the curriculum of an institution with considerable library holdings and databases to both expand and contract. The expansion took place as these new technologies of information and knowledge, in the form of manuscripts, bibliographic proto-databases, and specialized fields of learning, became readily available and increasingly refined. The accessibility of more books posed a threat for some and further augmented a long-lasting and far reaching debate between book learning and orality. Although

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[401] See Schaeffer (2009), 9-10; also Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, "A Treatise on Buddhist Epistemology and Logic Attributed to Klong chen Rab 'byams pa (1308-1364) and Its Place in Indo-Tibetan Intellectual History," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* Vol. 31 (2003), 381-437, 391, 424, n.30.

[402] See Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts:History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 182-83.

the debate is often couched as a tension between orality and literacy, it was more so about the transmission or dissemination of knowledge and the medium by which it occurs. For some, paper and ink posed a threat to the socioreligious status of the teacher as the sole bearer of esoteric and exoteric forms of religious knowledge. Butön's own teacher had warned him, as his teacher had, against writing down on paper the pith instructions of his masters in fear that the teacher-student oral traditions would be lost to reading words on paper. Those in favor of book culture did not, however, devalue orality as medium to transmit knowledge. A fifteenth-century literate scholar was equally invested in the culture of orality and requested and required the oral transmissions of the texts that he/she read.

In the case of the Kadam sect, as discussed in chapter 1, the teaching transmissions had been divided into the 'scriptural tradition' (*gzhung pa*), descending through Potowa Rinchen Sel (1027/31-1105), and the oral transmission of 'pith instructions' (*man ngag pa*), transmitted through Chen Ngawa Tsültrim Bar.[403] The separation of two distinct lineages was symptomatic of the tensions between the contemplative (oral 'pith instructions') and scholastic (work-based

[403] A third division, the teaching lineage linked with *The Book of the Kadam* (*bKa' gdams glegs bam*), appears to be a later construction that gained credence at Snar thang in the fourteenth century and is associated with Phu chung ba gzhon nu rgyal mtshan (1031-1107/9). Moreover, the third lineage is at times explained as *Stages of the Path* (*lam rim pa*), transmitted from Dgon pa ba dbang phyug rgyal mtshan (1016-1082). Franz-Karl Ehrhard cites early historical works, such as Nyangrel Nyima Özer's (Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer, 1136-1204) *Origins of Buddhism* (*Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud*), which portrays Phu chung ba as solely being occupied with mediation practice and not being affiliated with any sort of transmission or lineage. See Franz-Karl Ehrhard, "The Transmission of the Thig-Le Bcu-Drug and the Bka' Gdams Glegs Bam," in *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism,* eds. Helmut Eimer and David (Leiden; Brill, 2002), 38-46. See also Tsal pa Kun dga' rdo rje, *Deb ther mar po* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrung khang, 198), 61-66; Amy Sims Miller, *Jeweled Dialogues: The Role of the "The Book" in the Formation of the Kadam Tradition within Tibet* (PhD. diss., University of Virginia, 2004), 21; also Blo-bzaṅ-chos-kyi-ñi-ma *The Crystal Mirror of Philosophical Systems: A Tibetan Study of Asian Religious Thought*, trans. Roger R. Jackson and Geshé Lhundub Sopa (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009), 19-20.

'scriptural tradition')[404] traditions of the Kadam sect, specifically the first generation of followers. Constant bickering was commonplace on both sides of the aisle.[405] The 'pith instruction' followers accused their scholastic colleagues of knowing a lot but understanding little. Meanwhile, the 'scriptural tradition' followers claimed that their contemplative colleagues were too lax and content in their approach to understand the difficult points of the doctrine.[406] However, as discussed in chapter 1, the tensions between these two lineages were lessoned by the second and third generation of Kadam followers. By at least the thirteenth century Nartang monastery gained the repute as the first Kadam institution to expand its curriculum by integrating these two lineages.[407] In effect, the attempt to fuse these lineages also signaled an attempt to reinforce what the ideal Buddhist practitioner should be: the contemplative must read and study and the scholar should listen and meditate.

Equally important to a curriculum and the identity of an institution was that which was *not* taught or included. A concern that reverberated from the tenth century onward, particularly for the Modernists schools (*gsar ma*) such as the Kadam and Sakya, were accusations of ingenuity (*rang bzos*), to which both the form and techniques of texts, rituals, lineages, and so

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[404] Roesler has suggested that *gzhung* should be understood as a 'work' and not a book or written text. See Ulrike Roesler, ""As it is said in a Sutra": Freedom and Variation in Quotations from the Buddhist Scriptures in Early Bka'-gdams-pa literature," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* Vol. 43 (August 2014), 16.

[405] See Leonard van der Kuijp, "The Dalai Lamas and the Origins of Reincarnate Lamas," in *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History* ed.Martin Brauen (Zurich: Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich, 2005), 20; also *Deb ther sngon po* (2003) vol.1, 321; Roerich (1976), 260-61.

[406] In one conversation between these two lineage bearers, Po to ba rebukes Spyan snga ba by telling him that he enjoys himself too much. Po to ba then remarks: "Since you [Spyan snga ba] do not have to read the root texts and their commentaries and mark they're corresponding passages, you do not have a lot of work." See Tsong kha pa, *Lam rim che ba bzhugs so* (Mundgod, India: Library of Gaden Shartse Monastic College, 1999),457. For an English translation, see Tsoṅ-kha-pa, Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa, *The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment* Vol 2. eds. Joshua W.C Cutler and Guy Newland (Ithaca, New York": Snow Lion Publications, 2000), 220.

[407] For more on the merger of these two Bka' gdams lineages, see chapter 1.

on, had to find their recourse, at least rhetorically, to Buddhist Indian origins. For instance, Butön choose to exclude from his Shalu Kanjur some three volumes of "Old Tantras" (*Rnying rgyud*) because he deemed them to lack authorial Indian authenticity.[408] Nartang was by and large no exception to this rule. The "classics" that Nartang inherited, specifically from Radreng monastery, consisted of the study of "six authoritative scriptures" *(gzhung drug*), all of Buddhist Indian origin.[409] Padmavajra would eventually study these "six authoritative scriptures" at Nartang but full-fledged membership into the monastic community entailed the vows of monastic ordination.

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In 1406, at the age of fifteen, Padmavajra took the vows of a monastic novice from Nartang's abbot Drupa Shérap. Five years later, from the same abbot, he took the vows of complete ordination. To signal this change in orientation, both personally and communally, Padmavajra was given a new name: Gendün Drupa Pel Zangpo (Dge 'dun grub pa dpal bzang po; henceforth Gendün Drupa). As a full-fledged member of the monastic community he was prepped to begin his studies in earnest. However, being a monk at an institution such as Nartang did not necessitate a life of learning and study. There were various life-careers and vocations that a

[408] See Tadeusz Skorupski, "The Canonical *Tantras* of the New Schools," in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, eds. José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion, 1996), 96n.6

[409] See chapter 1 for more on the "six authoritative scriptures."

monk chose or was assigned to by his superiors. These vocations ranged from the everyday menial monastic worker, temple caretakers, ritual specialists, artisans, accountants, and so on.[410]

Gendün Drupa had expressed his desired vocation to his ordination preceptor (*slob dpon*) Lo Denpa (Blo ldan pa, d.u.). Lo Denpa asked him, "You say you want to be a student (*slob gnyer*), is that true?" Somewhat hesitantly, Gendün Drupa replied, "I think I want to study."[411] Gendün Drupa is then advised by Lo Denpa of two academic tracks at Nartang to choose from: study from one book (*po ti*) or read many. The first track, the study of one book, was designed around the study of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra*(*s)* (*Prajñāpāramitā*). The second track, the study of many books/topics, began with the study of logic (*pramāṇa*). Gendün Drupa explained to Lo Denpa that the track of studying many books suited his religious and intellectual interests best. Thereafter he began his formal education with logic.

As mentioned above, the curriculum at Nartang in 1411 had expanded well beyond the "six authoritative scriptures." While Indian exegetical treaties were still in vogue, Tibetan indigenous works were now commonplace throughout the Tibetan scholastic world as their texts were collated, collected, and filed on monastic library shelves. The shelves at Nartang in 1411 contained the writings of early Kadam scholars and past abbots, particular the writings of Chim

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[410] José Ignacio Cabezón has studied the various types of monastic vocations at Sera monastery in Tibet prior to 1959. Cabezón makes the distinction between two types of monks at Sera: those who study, called "textualists," and those who are made of the workforce. He concludes by estimating that less than 25 percent of the monks at Sera were "textualist." See http://www.thlib.org/places/monasteries/sera/people/#!essay=/cabezon/sera/people/monks/s/b4. Melvyn Goldstein also makes the argument that the majority of monks at Sera and Ganden, prior to 1959, did not pursue a formal education. See Melvyn Goldstein, "Tibetan Buddhism and Mass Monasticism" *The Center for Research on Tibet*, n.d., http://www.case.edu/affil/tibet/currentStaff/goldstein.htm.

[411] Ye shes rtse mo (2010), 14-15; Kutcher (1979), 82-83.

Namkha Drak and his student Reldri.[412] Indigenous Tibetan works were read either in tandem with their Indian exegetical counterpart, alongside the primary Buddhist Indian scripture, with both the primary and exegetical Indian work, or in isolation.[413] This reading strategy is evident throughout Gendün Drupa's formal education at Nartang and even more so during his own teaching career.

Gendün Drupa began his studies with logic by learning Dharmakīrti's commentary on Dignāga's *Compilation of Prime Cognition* (*Pramāṇavārttikakārikā*) in tandem with a Tibetan indigenous commentary by Nyawönpa Künga Pelba (Nya dbon pa kun dga' dpal ba, 1285-1379).[414] Following logic he was educated in the so-called *Three Baskets of Scripture* (*Sde snod gsum*; Skt: *Tripiṭaka*): *Monastic Rule* (*Vinaya*), *Discourses* (*Sūtra*), and *Metaphysics* (*Abhidharma*). For *Monastic Rule* Gendün Drupa studied the Indian root text and four Indian

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[412] See chapter 3. The two most prolific writers requiring the most shelf space were Mchims nam mkha' grags and Ral dri. Based on the recently published facsimile reproductions published by the Dpal rtsegs Institute (2006-present), there are twenty-four works attributed to Mchims nam mkha' grags and Ral dri's collection spans more than seven volumes. For a listing of the works of Mchims nam mkha' grags see the *bKa' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrig* ed. Karma bde legs et al.(Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa/ si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007), vols.. 47, 48, 49. 61. For the works of Ral dri, see Ibid., (2007), vols. 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57; Ibid., (2009), vols. 61, 62, 63. In comparison to catalog of published works that Ral gri apparently made himself, Schaeffer and Van der Kuijp tell us that the Dpal rtsegs catalogue "do[es] not come close to containing his complete works." Schaeffer and Van der Kuijp (2009), 8.

[413] As D. Seyfort Ruegg has stated, "the Indian works included in the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur served both as sources of inspiration and as models, templates or moulds. In developing their Indic elaborations, Tibetan thinkers were able as it were to think along with their Indian sources." See D. Seyfort Ruegg, "The Indian and Indic in Tibetan Cultural History' and Tsoṅ Kha Pa's Achievement as a Scholar and Thinker: An Essay on the Concepts of Buddhism in Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism," *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 32, No.4 (2004), 328.

[414] In the biographies of Dg 'dun grub pa, the author of this commentary is given only as Nya dbon pa. However, in a biography of Tsong kha pa, we are told that, while at Snar thang, Tsong kha pa studied *The Perfection of Wisdom* under the Snar thang dge bshes Nya dpon kun dga' dpal. Presumably, this is the same person. See Blo bzang tshul khrims, *Rje tsong kha pa'i rnam thar chen mo* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2010), 56. Also, Tsong kha pa's principle teacher, Rje btsun Red mda' ba gzhon nu blo gros, studied the *Pramāṇavārttika* under Nya dbon kun dga' dpal ba. See http://www.treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Rendawa-Zhonnu-Lodro/8571.

commentaries.[415] The interpretation of these Indian texts and commentaries were based on the teachings and writings of two of his Tibetan teachers: Martön Penden Rinchen (Dmar ston dpal ldan rin chen, ca. fourteenth century) and Martön Gyatso Rinchen (Dmar ston rgya mtsho rin chen, ca. fourteenth century).[416] When Gendün Drupa began his own teaching career, he used Dharmamitra's *Vinayasūtraṭīka* for his root text but relied on Martön Gyatso Rinchen's commentary for interpretation.[417] As for *Discourses*, he studied their Buddhist Indian commentaries (*śāstras*)! These included the principle works of Nāgārjuna, Śāntideva, Chandrakīrti, and the "six authoritative scriptures" of the Kadam tradition.[418] When teaching the *Discourses*, Gendün Drupa also used Indian authored commentaries together with the Tibetan commentaries of Tsongkhapa Lozang Drakpa (Tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa, 1357-1419;

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[415] Titles of the four commentaries are not given. The corpus of *vinaya* literature in fifteenth century Tibetan monastic institutions consisted primarily of the following texts: Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* (*'Dul ba mdo rtsa ba*), *Vinayasūtravṛtti* (*'Dul ba mdo'i 'grel pa*) and *Vinayasūtravṛttyabhidhānasvavyākhyāna* (*'Dul ba mdo'i 'grel pa mngon par brjod pa rang gi rnam par bshad pa*); Dharmamitra 's *Vinayasūtraṭīka* (*'Dul ba'i mdo'i rgya cher 'grel pa*); and Prajñākara's *Vinayasūtravyākhyāna* (*'Dul ba mdo'i rnam par bshad pa*). Based on Guṇaprabha's texts, Dge 'dun drup would later write his own *vinaya* commentaries. For more about *vinaya* literature in Tibet, see Paul K. Nietupski, "Guṇaprabha's Vinayasūtra Corpus: Texts and Contexts," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no. 5 (December 2009): 1-19. Also Charles S. Prebish, *A Survey of Vinaya Literature* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013), 103-105.

[416] Dmar ston Rgya mtsho rin chen was also a student of Bu ston rin chen grub.

[417] '*Dul ba dmar TIka*. See Las chen (2010), 99.

[418] For a list of texts Dge 'dun drup pa studied, see Las chen kung dga' rgyal mtshan (2010), 95. Interestingly, according to Ye shes rtse mo's accounts, *The Book of Kadam* (*Bka' gdams gleg bam*) was not part of the curriculum at Snar thangs during Dge 'dun drup pa's education at the monastery. This also appears to be the case when Tsong kha pa traveled to Gtsang in 1375/76. According to one of his biographies, we are told that he received the oral transmission of *The Book of Kadam* from the abbot (*mkhan chen*) of Bo dong. See Blo bzang tshul khrims (2011), 55. Later in his life (circa 1446), at the monastery of Bde chen rtse, Dge 'dun drup pa studied *The Book of Kadam* with the grammarian Lo tsA ba thugs rje dpal [bzang po]. Thugs rje dpal told Dge 'dun drup pa that he received the teachings on *The Book of Kadam* from Seng ge rgyal mtshan, who was considered to be an incarnation of 'Brom ston pa rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas. He continues to relate to Dge 'dun drup pa a prophesy from *The Book of Kadam* that tells of a senior monk who requested to hear the book's teaching and how this senior monk is himself an incarnation of 'Brom ston pa. Thugs rje dpal concludes by exclaiming how fortunate he was to have studied *The Book of Kadam* from an incarnation of 'Brom ston pa and for the opportunity to explain the book to an incarnation of 'Brom ston pa (i.e. Dge 'dun drup pa). See Ye shes rtse mo (2010), 32; Kutcher (1979), 117-18.

henceforth Tsongkhapa) and Gyeltsap Darma Rinchen (Rgyal tshab dar ma rin chen, 1364-1432). When studying *Metaphysics* he read from the *Abhidharmakośa* by the Indian pundit Vasubandhu. Later Gendün Drupa taught *Metaphysics* exclusively from the abridged and extensive commentaries of the Tibetan master Chim Jampé Yang.[419]

This trend of reading Indian exegetical texts through Tibetan lenses, while well underway during the fourteenth century, continued to gain traction in the fifteenth century. Although the Indian 'classics' remained venerated on the shelves in libraries and temples, it was Tibetan indigenous works that were primarily being studied in the classrooms, debated in courtyards, and recited in the prayer halls of monastic universities like Nartang. These works, which ranged from extensive philosophical and esoteric treatises to abridged ritual how-to manuals, brought new meanings to sectarian polemics and institutional affinity.

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[419] *Mchims TIka che chung*. See Las chen (2010), 99; Dung dkar blo bzang phrin las (2002:858; 2004:357); Odani Nobuchiyo (1992:193-196); and Tsultrim Kelsang Khangkar (1992:144), all wrongly state that Mchim nam mkha' grags is also known as Mchims 'jam pa'i dbyangs. Although Mchim nam mkha' grags did write a short work on the *Abhidharmakośa,* his *Mngon pa mdzod kyi bsdus don,* the author of the so-called '*Mchims mdzod'* is, however, Mchims 'jam pa'i dbyangs. As mentioned, Mchims 'jam pa'i dbyangs was a student of Mchim nam mkha' grags, Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri (1227-1305), and 'Phags pa, and had spent time at the Mongol court in Peking. This error of authorship appears to be a case of mistaken identity. Although there is no mention of this mistaken identity in Schaeffer and van der Kuijp (2009), they do however tell us that Mchims 'Jam pa'i dbyangs began writing his *Abhidharmakośa* commentary at Sa skya and completed it in Cong-to (Zhangdu/Dadu). The full title of the *Abhidharma* commentary by Mchims 'jam pa'i dbyangs is the *Chos mngon mdzod kyi tshig le'ur byas pa'i grel pa mngon pa'i rgyan.* According to TBRC, "The dating of Mchims 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs and his identification with Mchims Nam-mkha'-grags-pa are still in question." See TBRC: http://www.tbrc.org/#library_work_Object-W1KG10788. As discussed in chapter 3, the Mchims clan and their association and specialization with the *Abhidharma* began with the Rnying ma monk, Gra pa mngon shes (1012-90), also a member of the Mchims clan. As his name implies, he was a "knower (*shes*) of *Abhidharma* (*mngon pa*)." See also Ronald Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press,2005), 104-105.

Significant to these reading strategies and curriculum amendments were the events unfolding in and around the religious scene and monastic establishments of Ü during the late fourteenth century and into the first half of the fifteenth century. Tsongkhapa had relocated from his home in the far north-eastern province of Amdo to Ü and by 1409 had accrued a sizable following of students, while enlisting the financial and political support of local donors, patrons, and officials. Not unlike Chim Namkha Drak and Butön, Tsongkhapa sought out and acquired the financial and political support from the ruling party: the Pakmodru under the leadership of Gongma Drakpa Gyeltsen (Gong ma grags pa rgyal mtshan, 1385-1432).[420] Tsongkhapa was no stranger to the community at Nartang or the Kadam sect. The twelfth abbot of Nartang, Chim Lozang Drak (Mchim blo bzang grags, 1299-1375), had prophesied to his student Döndrup Rinchen (Don grub rin chen, b.1309) the coming of a great scholar-practitioner from Amdo (*Mdo khams smad*). Döndrup Rinchen, himself an Amdo native who was in residence at Nartang, returned back home to fulfill this prophecy. He became Tsongkhapa's first tutor and novice ordination preceptor, giving Tsongkhapa the ordination name of Nartang's twelfth abbot, Lozang Drak.

In 1375, at the age of nineteen, Tsongkhapa traveled from Ü to Tsang to make his rounds at various monastic institutions, which included Sakya and Nartang. The purpose of their visit to Tsang may have also been to pay their final respects to Chim Lozang Drak, whose health was

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[420] See Turrell V. Wylie, "Monastic Patronage in Fifteenth-Century Tibet" in *The Tibetan History Reader*, eds. Gray Tuttle and Kurtis R. Schaeffer (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 266-277. According to Wylie, (ibid.), 273n.3: "A sectarian liaison developed naturally between the older Phag mo gru pa sect and the new Dge lugs pa order because of their shared affinity with the Bka' gdams pa tradition." Tsong kha pa also attracted international attention when in 1408 the Yongle Emperor (r. 1402-1424) sent him an invitation to visit the court in Nanjing. For more on key patrons of Tsongkhapa and his followers, see also Per K. Sørensen and Guntram Hazod, *Rulers on the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet: A Study of Tshal Gung-thang*, Veröffentlichungen zur Sozialanthropologie, Vol. 361 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), vol. I, 48-52.

failing him at Nartang. Later that same year Chim Lozang Drak passed away and Khenchen Künga Gyeltsen (Mkhan chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1338-1400) ascended to the see of Nartang as the thirteenth abbot to serve for the next twenty-seven years. Although Tsongkhapa studied with Künga Gyeltsen, his rendezvous at Nartang was intermediate and rather brief.[421] But the direct impact that Tsongkhapa would have on the Kadam sect in the coming years, and the ripple effect felt at Nartang, would be lasting.

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Prior to his ordination ceremony in 1406/7 Gendün Drupa had entertained aspirations to leave Nartang to study with Tsongkhapa in Lhasa. The desire to relocate to Ü may have been indicative of the times and aspirations of many Kadam and Sakya followers from Tsang and beyond. Gyeltsap Darma Rinchen, also a Tsang native, came to Ü and met Tsongkhapa in circa 1400 at Nyeltö Radrong (Gnyal stod ra grong). In 1406/7, the Tsang native Khédrup Gélek Pelzangpo (Mkhas grub dge legs dpal bzang po, 1385-1438) also left Tsang to study with Tsongkhapa at the Séra Chöding (Se ra chos sding) hermitage in Lhasa.[422] And in 1410, the Nartang monk and teacher of Gendün Drupa, Shérap Senggé (Shes rab seng+ge, 1383-1445), left Nartang to study with Tsongkhapa in Ü and later founded the Lower Tantric College (Rgyud smad grwa tshang, f.1433) in Lhasa.

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[421] It also reported that Tsong kha pa came to Snar thang in 1379 to study a work on epistemology written by the *Snar thang pa,* Lo tsa ba Don grub bzang po. See Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, *Contributions to the Development of Tibetan Buddhist Epistemology From the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century* (Wiesdaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1983), 24.

[422] For more on Se ra Chos sding hermitage, see http://www.thlib.org/places/monasteries/sera/hermitages/pdf/sera_herm_choding.pdf.

Gendün Drupa's initial aspirations to leave for Lhasa were quelled by Nartang's abbot. Ten years later, in 1415/16, Gendün Drupa was finally permitted to travel to Ü. By then Tsongkhapa had established himself as not only a formable scholar but a capable executive and charismatic teacher.[423] In 1402, at the Kadampa monastery of Radreng, Tsongkhapa composed his *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path* (*Lam rim chen mo*), and in 1405 the *Great Exposition of Tantra* (*Sngags rim chen mo*). In 1409, Tsongkhapa inaugurated an annual Great Prayer Festival (*Smon lam chen mo*) as part of the Lhasa's New Year celebrations. Later that same year, Tsongkhapa began a restoration project at the Lhasa Temple (Lha sa gtsug lag khang), or Jokang (Jo khang)[424] and also founded the monastery of Ganden Namgyel Ling (Dga' ldan rnam rgyal gling), some thirty-five miles from the center of Lhasa. Gendün Drupa's arrival to Ü in 1415 was also the year that Tsongkhapa's student Jamyang Choje Tashi Penden ('Jam dbyangs chos rje bkra shis dpal ldan, 1379-1449) founded Drepung ('Bras spungs) monastery on the banks of the Kyi river near Lhasa. Like many of his predecessors and contemporaries from the Modernist sects, Tsongkhapa and his followers identified themselves as conservative traditionalists who sought to revive the monastic ideal and restore the 'true meaning(s)' from classical Buddhist India. The result of this revival and restoration project, however, were newly created institutions, new indigenous esoteric and exoteric exegetical and hermeneutical treatises, and, in Tsongkhapa's case, a group of adherents that were called the Gédenpas (Dge ldan pa).

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[423] According to Rachel M. McCleary and Leonard W.J.Van der Kuijp, Dga' ldan, 'Bras spungs, and Se ra monastery in 1419, were built in close proximity to Lha sa as a strategic move, placing them in close proximity to resources and patrons. See Rachel M. McCleary and Leonard W.J.Van der Kuijp, "The Market Approach to the Rise of the Geluk School, 1419-1642 in T*he Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 69, No.1 (February 2010), 161.

[424] See Gyurme Dorje et al., *Jokhang: Tibet's Most Sacred Buddhist Temple* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2010).

These events of the fifteenth century lead by Tsongkhapa and his students in Ü had a dramatic impact on the religious landscape of Ü and Tsang. Part of Tsongkhapa's appeal was that he promoted himself as a reformer rather than a deserter, a tactic that allowed for large groups of adherents from various sects to join in his mission. While many Sakya adherents followed after Tsongkhapa to join the monastic institutions in Ü, such as Ganden, Sera, and Drepung, the Sakya elite remained intact, thanks in part to their hereditary succession of power. Their monasteries in Tsang, such as Sakya, Shalu, and later Ngor Evam Chöden (Ngor e bam chos ldan, f. 1492), maintained a steady flow of funding and enrollment numbers. For the Kadampas, however, their small enclaves of monasteries in the Penyül valley had already been in decline by the thirteenth century.[425] Restoration of Radreng, as well as other abandoned or demolished Kadam monastic sites in Penyül, continued in the late fourteenth century with Tsongkhapa and his followers playing an important role.[426] They understood that part of reform entailed the need to restore, not only symbolically but concretely.

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Gendün Drupa first met Tsongkhapa at the age of twenty-five in the fall of 1415 at Tashi Dokha (Bkra shis do kha) monastery in Ön ('On), present day Nedong county (Sne gdong rdzong) of the

[425] See chapter 1 and 3.

[426] As mentioned, Tsong kha pa spent a considerable amount of time at Rwa sgreng monastery. The Bka' gdams monastery of Rin chen drag was also reformed/restored, or co-opted, in the fourteenth/fifteenth century by a student of Tsong kha pa, Nyan ston/Nyan po shAkya rgyal mtshan. See Roesler (2004), 42.

Lhokha (Lho kha) prefecture.[427] His time spent with Tsongkhapa however was brief. Tsongkhapa died four years later in 1419. The disciples of Tsongkhapa understood that in order for their master's teaching to spread beyond the confines of the Lhasa valley, they had to return to their native lands to build their own networks of local support and lay the grounds for new religious institutions. Such was the case with Tsongkhapa's student Jangsem Sherab Zangpo (Byang sems shes rab bzang po, c.1395-1457). Jangsem Sherab Zangpo returned from Ü to his native Kham in 1426 to gather support from the local rulers and benefactors in Chamdo (Chab mdo). Eleven years later in 1437 he founded the monastery of Chamdo Chökhor Jampa Ling (Chab mdo chos 'khor byams pa gling). Gendün Drupa soon followed suit. After spending twelve years in Ü, he returned to Tsang in 1427 with his Nartang colleague and Tsang native Shérap Senggé. Neither men stayed long at one location in Tsang. Their missionary work took them to the Tsang monasteries of Jangchen (Byang chen), Lhünpo Tsé (Lhun po rtse), Nartang, and others.

At Nartang in 1418, the fourteenth abbot and teacher of Gendün Drupa, Drupa Shérap, resigned from his post and appointed his nephew Sönam Chokdrup (Bsod nams mchog grub, 1399-1452) as the fifteenth abbot of the monastery. Drupa Shérap maintained an advisory role (*zur bzhugs mdzad*) to his nephew until his passing in 1423, four years prior to Gendün Drupa's return to Tsang. After serving as abbot for sixteen years, Sönam Chokdrup resigned and fled to Ü in 1434/5. According to the *Blue Annals*, Sönam Chokdrup's sudden resignation and departure from Nartang was due to an internal conflict between himself and a monk-attendant, a conflict

[427] Kurtis R. Schaeffer states that Dge 'dun grup was a teenager when he met Tsong kha pa in 1415. See Kurtis R. Schaeffer, "The Rise of the Gelukpa Order: The Founding of Trashilhunpo Monastery," in *Sources of Tibetan Tradition,* eds. Kurtis R. Schaeffer, Matthew T. Kapstein, and Gray Tuttle (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 523.

that reportedly caused fighting and causalities amongst the Nartang monastic community.[428] Sönam Chokdrup's departure, moreover, may have also been the result of the political and religious tensions in Tsang that same year. Members of the Rinpung (Rin spung) family, who had served as ministers to the Pakmodru leaders, broke from the ruling party and seized control of the Samdrup Tsé (present day Zhigatsé) prefecture, located a mere 14.6 kilometers from Nartang monastery. The year 1434 would be remembered among Tibetan historians as a year of great anarchy (*stag lo'i sde gzar chen mo*) and also the year of Pakmodrupa's internal collapse (*phag gru nang zhig gi lo*).[429] On a smaller scale, Sönam Chokdrup defecting from Nartang in 1434 left its own power vacuum for the monastic community: a successor to the Nartang throne was not found until 1438.

In 1438 Gendün Drupa was the prime candidate for the abbotship of Nartang. Gendün Drupa however had his own plans, which did not include serving as abbot of Nartang. To avoid the awkward position of refusing his colleagues and superiors in the institution where he was raised and educated, Gendün Drupa returned to Ü where he remained for the following two years. Part of Gendün Drupa's long-term plan was to build his own monastic establishment to mirror those that were built by Tsongkhapa and his students in Ü. The reasons for Gendün Drupa not accepting the abbotship at Nartang are not stated. Accepting the position, however, would not have granted him the same autonomy as building his own monastic institution, nor would it have allowed him to garner the support of religious and political upstarters. And if legacy was

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[428] See *Deb ther sngon po* (2003), 345; Roerich (1976), 283.

[429] For more on this terminology and the events of this year, see Olaf Czaja, *Medieval Rule in Tibet: The Rlang Clan and the Political and Religious History of the Ruling House of Phag mo gru pa* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, (2014), 220-22.

part of Gendün Drupa's vision, the building of a new monastic establishment was the best course of action.

Upon Gendün Drupa's second return to Tsang in 1440, he continued the missionary work to disseminate the teachings of Tsongkhapa with his trusted companion Shérap Senggé. All the while Gendün Drupa's sights were on institution building.[430] By the late fall of 1447 Gendün Drupa enlisted financial and political support from local patrons and nobleman, especially Sönam Pelzang (Bsod nams dpal bzang, d.u.) of Dargyé (Dar rgyas).[431] Together they garnered the political support and located land and resources near the administrative center at Samdrup Tsé. In 1449 Gendün Drupa opened the gates to his own monastery, the monastery of Tashi Lhünpo (Bkra shis lhun po).[432]

The founding and expansion of Tashi Lhünpo, which by 1474 had roughly 1,500 monks in residence, signaled a decline in revenue and admissions for Nartang and for the Kadam sect at large. Tsongkhapa's followers and their newly found institutions were no longer just reformists but also builders of a new religious sect, a sect that went from being called the Gédenpas to the

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[430] Shes rab seng+ge passed five years later in 1445.

[431] For the names of other patrons, see Weirong (2005), 279n.16. Further, there is some disagreement among sources about who the patron(s) were. See Wylie (2013), 268-69, 275n.25.

[432] Apparently there was continued resistance for the next few decades to the building and expansion of Bkra shis lhun po by members of the Shangs pa bka' brgyud sect in Gtsang, specifically the Gtsang native Thang ston rgyal po, and the Sa skya sect. For instance, in circa 1460 Dge 'dun grup initiated his plans to build a large Maitreya statue at Bkra shis lhun po and sent his to disciple Sangs rgyas dpal rin pa to Dbus in order to collect donations for the project. With the funds in place by 1461, Dge 'dun grup held a conference with teachers at Bkra shis lhun po to help him select which sculptors would be best, the Newars or Tibetans. In the end, their choice was the renowned Tibetan sculptor Bkra shis rin chen from the Byang district. However, Bkra shis rin chen was already working for the famed iron-bridge builder Thang ston rgyal po (1385-1464). Thang ston rgyal po refused Dge 'dun drup's requests for the artist's service, which left Dge 'dun grup no choice but the Newar sculptor. See Ye shes rtse mo (2010), 56-60; Kutcher (1979), 147-49; Vitali (1990), 133; Weirong (2005), 38; David Jackson, *A History of Tibetan Painting* (Vienna:Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 96-98; and Cyrus Stearns, *King of the Empty Plain: The Tibetan Iron-Bridge Builder Tangtong Gyalpo* (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications, 2007), 483-84n.204.

"The New Kadampas" (Bka' gdams gsar ma), and lastly to the Gélukpas (Dge lugs pa). It is unclear whether Gendün Drupa bought this identity reform as a "New Kadampa" for himself or for his institution of Tashi Lhünpo. Gendün Drupa's student and biographer, Paṇchen Yeshé Tsémo (Ye shes tse mo, b.1433), makes no reference to Gendün Drupa or Tashi Lhünpo monastery as belonging under the fold of the Gédenpas, "New Kadampa," or Gélukpa order.[433] Paṇchen Yeshé Tsémo simply refers to Gendün Drupa as a Kadampa and his monastery a Kadam institution. There is also no reference to a "New Kadam" school in the 1474 religious chronicle by Geyé Tsültrim Senggé (Dge ye tshul khrims seng+ge, b. circa fifteenth century), written a year before Gendün Drupa's passing;[434] nor in the *Blue Annals*, written between the years 1476 and 1478; nor in the 1484 chronicle of the Kadam school by Lo Gönpa Sönam Lhewangpo (Lo dgon pa bsod nams lha'i dbang po, 1423-1496).[435] The first religious chronicle to make the division between an 'old' and 'new' Kadam sect is the 1494 chronicle by Léchen Künga Gyeltsen (Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1432-1506),[436] written forty-seven years after the founding of Tashi Lhünpo monastery and twenty years after the death of Gendün Drupa.

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[433] Ye shes tse mo completed Dge 'dun grup's biography in 1494.

[434] *Rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rin po che.* See Khetsün, Shin'ichiro Miyake, Maho Iuchi, and Shoko Metaka (eds.), *History of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism by dGe ye Tshul Khrim seng ge: A Critical and Facsimile Edition of the Tibetan Text with Summary and Index* (Otani: Otani Univeristy Shin Buddhist Comprehensive Research Institute, 2007).

[435] *Bka' gdams rin po che'i chos 'byung rnam thar nyin mor byed pa'i 'od stong.* For a critical edition of this work, see Vetturini (2007).

[436] *bKa' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me.*

Hanging from one of the pillars in Nartang was a red velvet banner with ornate Chinese writing. This banner was a gift given by the Ming ruler, most likely the Yongle emperor (r.1403-1424), to Nartang's fourteenth abbot Drupa Shérap. Gendün Drupa would have seen this red banner hanging from the pillars as he made his way through the monastery on a daily basis as a young man. As discussed, from a young age he had studied many types of writing and scripts, allegedly even Chinese. Whether he could read the ornate Chinese written on the velvet banner is unknown. Around one hundred and eighty years later the monk Sönam Gyatso (Bsod nams rgya mtsho, 1543-1588) traveled to Mongolia at the behest of Altan Khan. Here Sonam Gyatso declared himself to also be a reincarnation of Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen and Altan Khan to be a reincarnation of Qubilai Khan. In return Altan Khan gave the title "Dalai" to Sonam Gyatso, a title that was posthumously applied to Sonam Gyatso's previous incarnation Gendun Gyatso (Dge 'dun rgya mtsho, 1475–1542) and his first (re)incarnation Gendün Drupa. Behind the name calling were the attempts of a monk and a ruler to reestablish the "donor-preceptor" relationship that had been cultivated between the Sakya hierarchs and the Mongol emperors of the Yüan dynasty. While Gendün Drupa would be remembered as the First Dalai Lama, his childhood name Padmavajra would be of significance to his later incarnations in their attempts to trace the many successive incarnations of the Dalai Lama backward in time and space to the 'founder' of the Kadam sect, Dromtönpa Gyelwé Jungné. [437]

[437] See Sangs ryas rgya mtsho (2009), 172; Ahmad (1999), 182.

Conclusion

The education of Padmavajra/Gendün Drupa/First Dalai Lama, was based on a curriculum that was centuries in the making. While the curriculum was unique to Nartang monastery, it was also reflective of the broader intellectual trends of Central Tibet. Although Indian exegetical treaties were still a go-to-source for information and filled monastic bookshelves to be read and venerated, Tibetan indigenous works were now not only commonplace throughout the Tibetan scholastic world but the preferred resource for exegesis and teaching. This is particularly evident in the education that Gendün Drupa received at Nartang and also during his own teaching career.

The events of the fifteenth century lead by Tsongkhapa and his students in Ü brought unexpected changes to Nartang monastery and the Kadam school. In particular, Gendün Drupa's refusal of the abbotship at Nartang and the building of Tashi Lhünpo at Samdrup Tsé in 1449 left the leadership and community at Nartang scrambling for answers. Compounding the situation were the changing political events in Central Tibet. As is evident in the preceding chapters, the growth and stability of Nartang monastery was primarily due to amiable relations with Sakya and Mongol rule. Their decline in power and the rise of the Pakmodrupa in the mid-fifteenth century, coupled with Tsongkhapa's reformist movement, left Nartang vulnerable and alone.

Conclusion and Epilogue: Changing the Guard

> In the past there were two monastic colleges (*grwa tshang*) at Nartang, a main chapel, and around thirteen auxiliary chapels. The primary religious objects included a medicinal clay statue of Maitreya that was brought from India, one [tridimensional model] of Bodhgayā [made from black stone] and one made from [sandal]wood.[438] There also was a gilded [statue] of Buddha Shakyamuni as well as many excellent statues and frescos (*ldebs bris*). There was a considerable amount of antique *thangka* paintings (*sku thang*) from the Ming (1368 to 1644) and Qing (1644 to 1912) dynasties. The reliquary chapel (*gdung rten lha khang*) housed the relics of the past abbots in succession. Within [this chapel] were hundreds of Kadam-style reliquaries that were made of bronze (*li ma*) and varied in height, from large to the size of one-finger span. There was a complete golden edition of the Buddha's Kangyur. But now, other than mere traces, nothing is left.[439]
>
> -Dungkar Lozang Trinlé (Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin-las, 1927-1997)

When in 1398 Jomo Namkyi led her seven-year old son Padmavajra from the Géten valley through the gates of Nartang, the monastery they were entering had a two hundred and forty-five year history, a history that witnessed the coming and goings of thirteen past abbots. While this history may not have been know to the mother and her child, it would have been viscerally felt. Every aspect of the monastery, from the architecture to decor, was infused with traces of the past.

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[438] For more on these tridimensional models of Bodhgayā at Snar thang monastery, see chapter 4.

[439] Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin-las, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2002), 1249-50. *snar thang dgon du de nga grwa tshang gnyis dang mchod khang gtso gras khag bcu gsum tsam yod pa de dag gi nang rten gtso bo rgya gar nas gdan drangs pa'i sman 'jim las grub pa'i rgyal ba byams pa mgon po dang/ rgya gar rdo rje gdan gyi mchod rten dang shing brkos re/ gser zangs kyi shAkya thub pa sogs bzhugs/ de min sku rten dang ldebs bris sogs mang po bzhugs pa phud/ da dung ming dang ching rgyal rab rabs dus kyi sku thang rnying ma yang mi nyung tsam yod/ gzhan yang gdung rten lha khang du gdan rabs rim byon gyi sku gdung li ma las grub pa'i bka' gdams mchod rten che ba thog tshad ma dang/ chung shos mtho gang tsam bar yod pa brgya phrag brgal ba dang/ rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur gser chos cha tshang zhugs pa bcas yin kyang da cha shul tsam las lhag me*.

There were frescos and statues of the founders of the Kadam sect, the past abbots of the monastery, the Sixteen Saints, Seven Medicine Buddhas, and more. There were books, a lot of books, and reliquaries, mementoes from distant emperors, and more.

As discussed in chapter 6, the abbot of Nartang monastery in 1398 was Khenchen Drupa Shérap. Drupa Shérap was born in Rong Gu, a neighborhood not far from Nartang. Like Padmavajra he had entered Nartang at age seven (1364) to be educated under the tutelage of the thirteenth abbot Künga Gyeltsen. There are conflicting reports about the year when Drupa Shérap was appointed as the fourteenth abbot of Nartang and the duration of his tenure.[440] Each of these reports however agree that Drupa Shérap was thirty-two years of age when he became abbot. In accordance with this understanding Künga Gyeltsen retired from the abbacy at age fifty and Drupa Shérap took his place in 1388/89.

While Drupa Shérap may have been an able scholar and capable administrator, his legacy is best remembered for his students, such as: the historian Go Lotsāwa Zhonnu Pel (’Gos lo tsA ba gzhon nu dpal, 1392-1481);[441] the third abbot of Ngor Évam Chöden monastery (Ngor e waM chos ldan), Jamyang Shérap Gyatso (’Jam dbyangs shes rab rgya mtsho, 1396?-1474); the Sakya

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[440] The *Snar thang chos sde’i lo rgyus* tells us that Grub pa shes rab was thirty-two years of age when he became abbot and that his tenure lasted ten years, until the Earth-Dog Year (1418/19). Since Grub pa shes rab would have been thirty-two years of age in 1388/89, the math obviously does not add up. See *Snar thang chos sde’i lo rgyus* (2011), 39. Las chen also explains that Grub pa shes rab became abbot at age thirty-two but says that his tenure lasted for thirty years, until 1418. See Las chen (2003), 507-8. The *Blue Annals* states the Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan took the throne in Wood-Female-Hare Year (1375) and from this year until the Fire-Female-Bird Year (1418)— for forty-three years—the abbots were Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan and Grub pa shes rab. It also states that the fifteenth abbot, Mkhan chen bsod nams mchog grub, became abbot in the Earth-Male Dog Year (1418/19). See *Deb ther sngon po* (2003), 345; Roerich (1976), 283. Further, when Dge ’dun grub took his vows of a monastic novice in 1406, the Snar thang abbot at the time is said to have been Grub pa shes rab.

[441] Reportedly ’Gos lo tsA ba gzhon nu dpal studied *vinaya*, *abhidharma*, and Sanskrit at Snar thang monastery. See Ko zhul grags pa ‘byung gnas and Blo bzang mkhas grub*, Gangs can mkhas grub rim byong ming mdzod* (Lanzhou: Kan su’u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992), 499-500.

scholar Rongtön Shéja Künrik (Rong ston shes bya kun rig, 1367-1449);[442] the founder of Gyümé Tantric College, Shérap Senggé (Shes rab seng+ge, 1383-1445); and of course Padmavajra, who would be known during his life by his monastic name Gendün Drupa and posthumously as the first Dalai Lama.[443]

* * *

In circa 1405/6 Chennga Sönam Gyeltsen (Phyan nga bsod nam rgyal mtshan, 1386-1434), the future religious head of the Pakmodrupa at Densa Til and Tsétang (Rtses thang) monasteries, was traveling throughout Tsang to the various pilgrimage sites and monastic institutions.[444] Whether Nartang monastery was on his itinerary of places to visit in Tsang is not know. It is known, however, that not only did Drupa Shérap and the elder administrators of Nartang invite Chennga Sönam Gyeltsen to visit their monastery, they also ceremoniously offered the monastery to him. This "offer" by Drupa Shérap and the elders at Nartang was nothing more or less than a gesture

[442] See Vetturini (2013), 42. It is also said that Rong ston shes bya kun rig received the vows of complete ordination in 1389 at the Bka' gdams monastery of Gro sa from Snar thang's thirteenth abbot Mkhan chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan. As mentioned in chapter 5, Mkhan chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan was from the Gro clan. Hence even while serving as abbot of Snar thang he could have been influential in terms of teaching and ordaining monks at the Gro sa monastery. See Ibid., 46.

[443] As discussed in chapter 6, Dge 'dun grub left Snar thang monastery for Dbus in 1415/16, during the tenure of Grub pa shes rab.

[444] For a biography of Phyan nga bsod nam rgyal mtshan, see Per K. Sørensen and Sonam Dolma, *Rare Texts from Tibet: Seven Sources for the Ecclesiastic History of Medieval Tibet* (Kathmandu: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2007), 105-143.

of good will towards the new politick in Central Tibet.[445] Chennga Sönam Gyeltsen was the fifth of six male children—later known as the "Six Gonsarpa (Dgon gsar pa) Brothers"—born into the ruling Lang (Rlang) family of the Lower Yarlung valley. His father Shākya Rinchen (ShAkya rin chen, 1347-1426/8) was the estate secretary (*drung chen*) of the Kagyü Pakmodru estate of Gonsar. One of Chennga Sönam Gyeltsen's older brothers was Drakpa Gyeltsen (Grags pa rgyal mtshan, 1347-1432), the fifth Pakmodrupa ruler and regent (*sde srid*) at Tsetang, the capital of the Pakmodrupa ruling family. Hence by ceremoniously offering Nartang monastery to Chennga Sönam Gyeltsen, Drupa Shérap and the elder administrators at Nartang were in effect submitting to the Pakmodrupa myriarchy.[446] This submission, however, would not have involved Nartang's abbacy. For one thing Chennga Sönam Gyeltsen was only nineteen years old in 1405 and by most accounts he did not receive the monastic vows of complete ordination until after 1408.[447] Nartang would not have offered a teenager, who was still not of age to become a full-fledged monk, the abbacy of the monastery. It is also highly unlikely that if such an offer was made to

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[445] According to Sørensen and Dolma, "Such large-scale donations [i.e. the offering of an entire monastery] to ensure patronage and the survival of an institution were commonplace in medieval Tibet. See Ibid., 24n.25. Sørensen and Dolma misidentify the Snar thang abbot Mkhan chen grub pa shes rab as an abbot of Zha lu monastery: "At one point, while on tour in the gTsang province, the Zha-lu mkhan-chen Grub-pa (1357-1423 A.D.) offered Zha-lu lag khang along with dependencies to the *spyan snga*, followed by a grand reception at sNar-thang." See Ibid., 24.

[446] This submission by Snar thang may have been made easier by the fact that Tsong kha pa, who made his first visit to Snar thang in 1375, received extensive patronage and ideological support from the Phag mo gru pa myriarchy. Further, by some accounts, Phyan nga bsod nam rgyal mtshan first received teachings from Tsong kha pa in 1405 and was ordained by Tsong kha pa circa 1408. Later, Phyan nga bsod nam rgyal mtshan asked Tsong kha pa to compose his *Great Treatise on the Stages of Mantra* (*Snags rim chen mo*). He also commissioned a set of Tsong kha pa's *Collected Works* (*Bka' 'bum*). See Czaja (2014), 208-9n.4.

[447] See Ibid., 208-9n.4. Sørensen and Dolma have Phyan nga bsod nam rgyal mtshan receiving complete ordination at age eighteen in 1404. See Sørensen and Dolma (2007), 24.

Chennga Sönam Gyeltsen that he would have accepted it, since his own ruling family had much grander plans for his immediate and distant future, which included the abbacy of Densa Til.[448]

* * *

In 1418 Drupa Shérap appointed his nephew Sönam Chokdrup (Bsod nams mchog grub, 1399-1452) as his successor to throne at Nartang. Drupa Shérap remained at Sönam Chokdrup's side, not only as his uncle, but also an advisor until his passing in 1423. In 1434/5, sixteen years into his tenure, Sönam Chokdrup defected from Nartang to Ü to join the ranks (*go sa*) of the Pakmodrupa ruling house by serving as a religious teacher to many of their leaders, including the Pakmodrupa ruler Drakpa Jungné (Gong ma Grags pa 'byung gnas, 1414-1448; r.1432-1445).[449] That same year (1434) Chennga Sönam Gyeltsen passed away at his private quarters in Tsétang. His death left a power vacuum at not only Densa Til monastery, which remained without an abbot until 1454, but also among the Pakmodrupa ruling house. As discussed in chapter 6, the year 1434 would be remembered among Tibetan historians as a year of great anarchy and the year of Pakmodrupa's internal collapse. On a smaller scale, Sönam Chokdrup defecting from Nartang in 1434 left its own power vacuum at Nartang, and a successor to the Nartang throne was not found until 1438.[450]

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[448] According to some accounts, Phyan nga bsod nam rgyal mtshan become abbot of Gdan sa mthil prior to his complete monastic ordination. His appointment to the throne of Gdan sa mthil in 1408 was due to the premature death of the abbot Phyan nga Dpal ldan bzang po in 1407. See Czaja (2014), 208-9n.4. Sørensen states that although Phyan nga bsod nam rgyal mtshan had been requested by his family to take the abbotship of Gdan sa mthil in 1408, he was not official appointed until 1417. See Sørensen and Dolma (2007), 25-26.

[449] See Las chen (2003), 509; *Snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyus* (2011), 40.

[450] As mentioned in chapter 6, Dge 'dun grub had been a prime candidate but he refused the offer.

* * *

Life continued at Nartang well beyond where this thesis ends. Although those years are beyond the purview of this thesis, they do nevertheless warrant mentioning. As shown in chapter 6, there were various factors that left Nartang monastery in a precarious state by the fifteenth century, such as the burgeoning of Tsongkhapa's reformist movement, the building of Tashi Lhünpo monastery by Gendün Drupa in 1449, and a decline in Sakya power and the rise of the Pakmodrupa. Nartang monastery would gradually lose her enrollment numbers as many Nartang monks and potential recruits enlisted at Tashi Lhünpo monastery to join forces with Tsongkhapa's reformists.

After the death of the twentieth abbot Khenchen Drupa Shérap (b.1424),[451] Nartang was without a monastic leader, reportedly being managed by quasi monk-laymen (*ser khyim pa*). At the same time political turmoil and civil wars plagued much of Central Tibet. After the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617-1682), was enthroned as leader of Tibet in 1642, he, along with Gushri Tenzin Chögyel (Gu shri bstan 'dzin chos rgyal, b.1582) and the regent Sönam Rapten (Bsod nams rab brten/ chos 'phel, 1595-1658),[452] officially assimilated Nartang monstery as a subsidiary monastery of Tashi Lhünpo. This was achieved with the help from the Tsang native and past abbot of Tashi Lhünpo monastery, the Fourth Paṇchen Lama Lobzang Chokyi Gyeltsen (PaN chen blo bzang chos kyi

[451] Not to be confused with the eleventh abbot Ze'u grags pa shes rab. See *Dpal snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyus* (1985), 57

[452] For more on Bsod nams rab brtan, see Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 250n.724

rgyal mtshan, 1570-1662). Circa 1723 the Fifth Paṇchen Lama, Lobzang Yeshe (PaN chen blo bzang ye shes, 1663-1737), began to invest in various restoration projects for Nartang monastery.

During this period there were no more than two hundred monks living at Nartang monastery. The assembly hall at Nartang, which was once filled with monks in the thousands, remained mostly empty. By 1773, with the political and financial support from the aristocratic ruler Polhané Sönam Topgyé (Pho lha nas bsod nams stobs rgyas, 1689-1747), this assembly hall was transformed into a printing workshop. As shown in chapter 3, thanks to the efforts of Chomden Rikpé Reldri, his student Üpa Losel Jangchup Yeshé, and the seventh abbot Chim Namkha Drak, Nartang monastery had a long established history of being in the business of manuscripts and bibliographies. When the woodblock printing of the "Nartang Kanjur" was completed in 1733,[453] Polhané offered the collection, which consisted of one hundred and three volumes, to the Fifth Paṇchen Lama. By 1744 more then seventy-thousand woodblocks were carved in order to print the two hundred and twenty-six volumes of the "Nartang Tengyur." In addition to books, Polhané also commissioned a series of thirty-one xylographic *thangkas* (*shing par thang kha*) to be printed at Nartang. This set of *thangkas* illustrated the many lives of the Buddha and his immediate disciples, a topic that had been included in the curriculum at Nartang since its founding through the study of Āryāsura's *Stories of the Buddha's Lives* (*Jātakamālā*).[454]

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[453] The woodblocks were carved at Shekar (Shel dkar) monastery and then brought to Snar thang for printing. See Schaeffer (2014), 109.

[454] This *thang kha* set is based on the eleventh century Sanskrit anthology by Ksemendra, the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (*Byang chub sems pa'i rtogs pa brjod pa dpag bsam gyi 'khri shing*). This work was translated in Tibetan with patronage from 'Phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan in circa 1270. For an excellent study of this work, as well as the xylographic this set of *thang khas* and more, see Nancy Grace Lin, *Adapting the Buddha's Biographies: A Culture History of the Wish-Fulfilling Vine in Tibet, Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (PhD. diss., University of Berkeley, 2011).

As discussed in chapter 4 and 5, the "iron walls" built by Nartang's eight abbot Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim and thirteenth abbot Khenchen Künga Gyeltsen, were for ideal and real purposes. The ideal was utilized during their tenures to construct a vision that placed Nartang at the center of the Buddhist world. The need to protect the monastery from civil wars and external threats was also very real. While these walls made from mud may have provided protection and an increased sense of security during these abbot's lifetime, the walls would not be able to withstand the onslaught of the twentieth century.

In 1966 Nartang was completely ransacked and razed during the Chinese Cultural Revolution. In the epigraph above the twentieth-century scholar Dungkar Lozang Trinlé tells us about the physical structures and contents that were once Nartang. The monastic colleges and chapels, statues, paintings, frescos, relics, reliquaries, a golden edition of the Buddha's Kangyur, and much more, were no longer. In his own words prior to his death in 1997: "other than mere traces, nothing is left." From 2005 until the present day, a modest reconstruction of new chapels, statues, paintings, frescos, reliquaries, texts, and more, has emerged from "out of these traces" of the past. Now sitting at the center of Nartang's new library, which houses both old and new woodblocks, is a commemorative statue of the bibliographer Chomden Rikpé Reldri. A large Kadam-style reliquary has also been rebuilt to its original size.[455] There are sixteen chapels on the two main floors of this reliquary (twelve on the first level and four on the second). The inner walls of the reliquary are painted with murals of Kadam persons that flourished in the Penyül valley, such as Atiśa, Dromtönpa Gyelwé Jungné, Potoba Rinchen Sel, and Sharawa Yonden

[455] A photograph was taken of the original stupa in circa 1939 by Giuseppe Tucci. See Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 2 vols. (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1949), 188, fig.41. The measurements of this rebuilt stupa are c.15m in height and a side length of 12m. Also see Michael Henss (2014), 685-686.

Drak. The walls are also complete with murals of Nartang persons, such as the founder Tumtön Lodrö Drakpa and the abbots Dromoche Dütsi Drak, Zhangtön Chökyi Lama, Sanggyé Gompa, Chim Namkha Drak, Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim, Khenchen Nyima Gyeltsen, Ze'u Dülzin Drakpa Tsöndrü, Chim Lozang Drakpa, and Khenchen Drupa Shérap. There are murals that depict the life of the Buddha and paintings of Buddhist deities that were favored by these Kadam and Nartang persons, deities such as Avalokiteśvara, Tārā, Vajrapāni, the Medicine Buddha, and the Sixteen Saints. Further added are statues and paintings of Tsongkhapa and leading figures associated with Tashi Lhünpo monastery, such as the successive reincarnations of the Paṇchen Lamas.

Today Nartang monastery remains a subsidiary monastery of Tashi Lhünpo with no more than a dozen of Tashi Lhünpo monks in residency. Still standing on the outside perimeter of Nartang are traces of the large and imposing "iron walls." If these walls could talk, hopefully they would tell a story similar to the one told in this thesis by a person on the outside looking in.

Appendix 1

The Register (*gsan yig*) of Nartang's Fourth Abbot Dromochewa Dütsi Drak (Gro mo che ba bdud rtsi grags, 1153-1232)[456]

Teachings recieved at age 13 (1166) from Nartang's first abbot Gtum ston blo gros grags (1106-1166) [239a.6]:

- **skyes rabs**
- **bslab [pa kun las] btus [pa]**
- **bden bzhi**
- bzhags pa'i stod pa
- **grub mtha'** (unspecified)

At age 16 (1169) from Slob dpon mu sman pa (d.u.) [239b.5-6]:

- don thabs (unspecified)
- lung (unspecified)

At age 16 from *bla ma* Chu mig [pa shes rab grags] (d.u) and Sgom nag (d.u.) [239b.6-240a.1]:

- don thabs (unspecified)
- lung (unspecified)
- **skyabs gro**
- sems bskyed

From an anonymous *dge bshes* [241a.6-241b.2]:

- **'dul ba** mdo (11x)
- **ka ri ka** (2x)
- rngog lo nas brgyud pa'i dam tshig gsum pa'i sgrub thabs
- 'dzam pa la nag po
- rmi lam brtag pa
- **mgon po** dpon g.yog bzhi pa
- **rab gnas** gshegs thabs
- gtor ma'i las tshog mang po cig
- **byangs can ma** dkar mo

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[456] Bold letters indicate that the titles of the works/genres/names, and/or partial title of works/genres/names, were also taught by Snar thang abbot five, six, and/or seven in the register of the eighth abbot Skyon ston smon lam tshul krim. See appendix 2.

At age 19 (1172) from Rtsis ’dul ’dzin gzhon nu seng+ge (d.u.) [241b.3-4]:

- [**’dul ba**] mdo (6x)
- [**’dul ba**] ’grel pa (6x)
- lag sor ba’i btan rim

From *dge bshes* Ba/bya ’dul (d.u.) in ca. 1172 [241b.4-241b.6]:

- [**’dul ba**] mdo (3x)
- [**’dul ba**] ’grel pa
- dpad ma lha lnga ma
- klung gtor che chung
- **lhan cig skyes sbyor**

From Sding kar sku gshegs (d.u.) [241b.6-242a.5]:

- **bslab btus**
- **spyod jug** (many times)
- **mdo sde rgyan** (5/6x)
- **rgyud bla ma** (2x)
- slob ma la srings pa
- bshes pa’i spring yig
- sdom pa nyi shu pa rtsa ’grel
- ting nge ’dzin tshogs kyi le’u
- bshags pa’i stod pa
- **skyes rab**
- **lam sgron**
- **lam rim**
- bden chung
- bden bzhi
- **stobs bzhi**
- rton pa bzhi
- shar ba pa’i rten ’brel/ [**shar ba pa’i**] **’phrin bcwa brgyad**
- **kha rag** pa’i thor bu’u skor
- lam lnga
- **yan lag bdun pa**
- dpa’ bo gcig pa
- kha ’bar ma
- **sdom tshig**
- **’dul ba** mdo’i rnam ’byed
- **ka ri ka**
- sum brgya pa

From Nartang's third abbot Zhang btsun rdo rje 'od zer (1122-1194) [242b.1]:

- dpa' bo cig pa
- rgyal chen bzhi'i gtor ma

From *slob dpon* Shag skya (d.u.) [242b.5-6]

- dmigs pa skor gsum

From Chu mig pa chen po [grags pa rgyal mtshan] (d.u.) for three years (1205/6-1208/9) [242B. 6;243b.5-244a.4]:

- skyes bu chen po'i chos lugs
- shing rta chen po'i srol
- **lam sgron** (6x)
- **lam rim** (6x)
- **bslab btus** (3x)
- **spyod 'jug** (2x)
- bsam gtan yan chad pa
- bden chung
- man ngag
- spyod pa bsdus pa'i sgron ma
- bden bzhi
- rten 'brel
- **dpe chos**
- **yan lag bdun pa**
- kha 'bar ma brgya rtsa dang bcas pa
- **dam tshig gsum pa**
- **thugs rje chen po**'i yi ge drug pa zhal gzigs kyi brgyud pa
- **sgrol ma**
- **mi g.yo pa**
- **bdud bzlog** gi man ngag
- **sku khrus gsol ba**
- **tsha tsha**
- **'du shes bcu gcig**
- srin mo gling gi gtam rgyud
- **spya nga'i yig chung**
- **rin po che'i phreng ba**
- ting nge 'dzin tshogs le'u
- **bshes spring**
- **slob spring**
- **mdo kun las btus**

- **skyes rabs**
- mngon rtogs rgyan/ sdud pa
- **shes rab snying po**
- **sdom pa nyi shu pa** rtsa **'gral** [pa]
- rin chen bzang po nas brgyud pa'i bdud bzlog
- jo bo'i gsol 'debs bzong gsol dang bcas pa

From the *dbon po* of Chu mig [244a.5]:

- ka ma pa'i rab gnas

From *dge bshes* Mu sman pa [244a.5-244b.2]:

- bya yul ba'i rab gnas
- **mgon po** lcam dral
- ku ru ku le
- sna tshogs nor bu
- **tshogs bdag**
- **bcu gcig zhal gyi mngon rtogs**
- dus mchod chen po bzhi'i phan yon
- jo bo yer pa'i zhang la gdams pa
- bya yul ba'i **bden bzhi**
- tshogs chos
- bden gnyis thun 'ga'
- phyag na rdo rje 'gro bzang ma
- **'jam dpal a ra pa tsa na**
- smon 'jug sbags pa

From the *dbon po* of Mu sman pa [244b.2-5]:

- **sgrol ma**
- **thugs rje rje chen po**'i di nyid bcu pa
- **phyag 'tshal nyer gcig** gi gdon thabs 'jigs srung dang bcas pa
- **sangs rgyas rje dran** gyi gdams ngag
- chos kyi gter chen po bzhi
- bdud rtsi tshig grug
- **tsha tsha**
- gtor ma brgya tshar
- **bla ma'i rnal 'byor**
- **gtsug gtor ba**
- mkha' 'gro bzhi'i 'chi kha ma'i man ngag
- gnas khang srung ba'i man ngag

From *dge bshes* Smon pa [244b.5]:

- pad ma'i sgrub thabs

From *dge bshes* Ro skam pa [244b.5-6]:

- pha rol du phyin pa snyan rgyud kyi gdams pa

From *dge bshe*s Gtsang pa chen po [244b.6-245a.3]:

- **dbu ma rtsa ba'i shes rab**
- stong nyid bdun bcu pa
- **dbu ma** la 'jug pa
- byang sa
- **mdo sde'i rgyan**
- **rgyud bla ma**
- **bslab btus**
- **spyod 'jug**
- **sdom pa nyi shu pa**'i rtsa ba
- **sgrub pa snying po**
- **tshe dpag med** kyi lung
- chos chung gi nang nas thabs kyi lam rim
- shes rab kyi lam rim
- sangs rgyas rjes su dran ba mthar phyin pa
- bsgom pa'i man ngag

From *dge bshes* Grags pa seng ge [245b.2-4]:

- **mdo sde'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa**
- **spyod 'jug**
- **byang chub sem 'grel**
- rigs pa drug bcu pa
- 'jig rten bstan pa/ rten 'brel
- 'jam dpal ye shes sems pa'i sgrub thabs 'ga' 'dzam b+ha la ser po
- **skye ba brtags pa**

From *dge bshes* Rin chen sgang pa [245b.4-5]:

- bden gnyis kyi man ngag cig
- **bla ma'i rnal 'byor**

From *dge bshes* Se spyil pa [245b.5]:

- theg pa chen po'i **blo sbyong** gi gdams ngag

From *dge bshes* Gtsang pa rin chen skyabs [245b.5-246a.1]:

- **pho chung pa'i [ba'i] rten 'brel**
- jo bo'i gdams ngag lo tsha ba rin chen bzang po nas brgyud pa'i lam rim
- **sangs rgyas rje dren** gyi man ngag rnam gnyis
- **phyag rgya lnga**'i man ngag
- **ye shes ta la la**
- rjen gtor
- sdig pa bkhru ba
- lus rta ba'i man ngag
- sa dpyad kyi skor

From *dge bshes* Rgyang ro dar ma mgon [246a.2-4]:

- **bzang spyod**
- **sangs rgyas rje dran**
- jo bo'i rdo rje lta ba'i glu
- **na ro pa'i** glu gnyis
- nag po pa'i glu gcig
- me tog phreng 'dzin
- byams pa'i smon lam
- sems can mgu bar bya ba
- **dbyang can ma**
- **seng sdeng nags kyi sgrol ma**'i sgrub thabs
- **mtshan brjod gdon thabs**

From *dge bshes* Nying phug pa [246a.4-5]:

- don yod zhag pa
- **thugs rje chen po**'i mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad pa'i gdon thabs
- **yi ge drug pa'i** mngon rtogs

From *dge bshes* Ston skyabs [246a.5]:

- jo bo'i rnam 'jom kyi man ngag

From Zhang brag dmar ba [246a.5-246b.1]:

- 'jig rten bstan pa

- pan skan
- rnam rgyal gdon thabs
- shes rab blo ’phel
- rdo rje sems pa’i yi ge brgya pa
- **skar ma rab rib** mar me
- **sdud pa gdon thabs**
- zhang rgyal bzang gi kha ‘bar ma dang chu sbyin

From *dge bshes* Snar sgom [246b.1-2]:

- bdud rsti ’khyil pa
- **ba ri** lugs kyi kha ’bar ma’i gtor chen
- **thugs rje chen po**’i chab gtor
- **mi g.yo ba’i** brtag pa
- a pa ra tsi ta

From *dge bshes* Grub thob yol ba [246b.2-5]:

- rim lnga
- mdor byas
- rnam zhag
- dkyil ’khor cho ga
- bdag byin gyis brlab pa
- mngon bar byang chub pa
- **stong thun**
- pho chen pho chung
- rtsa ltung gyi chos
- bstan rim
- **thugs rje chen po**’i de nyid bcu pa
- **chab gtor dri med**
- lag sor ba’i yan lag bdun pa
- zas chog kha ’bar ma
- dpal gsang ba ’dus pa’i rim pa

From *dge bshes* Ra za pa [246b.5-247b.2]:

- rdo rje’i gyud man ngag dang bcas pa
- rje btsun ma dmar chung ma
- ’phags skor rje lugs dang mar lugs gnyis ka’i man ngag
- bla ma lnga bcu pa
- lag sor pa’i mi g.yo dang dam tshig gsum pa’i skor
- lus ngag yid gsum byin gyis brlabs pa
- lha gsal gdab kyi gdams ngag

- **chos spyod** dang rgyud dang sgrub thabs **spyi'i man ngag**
- **gzung chog** spyi dang bye grag gi man ngag
- gsar ma'i bdun tshigs
- bdun tshigs 'gos kyis bsgyur ba'i rgyud byang
- **tsha tsha**
- rjen gtor
- **sku khrus gsol ba**
- sme brtsegs
- **zhal bsro gsum** kyis thog mar mdzad pa'i lag sor ba'i lugs kyi **rab gnas** kyis skor
- **bcu gcig zhal** byang chub sems dpa' zla ba dang yol nas brgyud pa gnyis
- **sgrol ma dkar mo**
- **sdom pa nyi shu pa'i 'grel pa**
- **de bzhin gshegs pa bdun** gyi mchod pa
- rtogs chen gyi gdams ngag
- lag sor ba'i thor bu
- **dbu ma** stod pa'i skor
- don skor dgu pa
- sku gsung thugs kyi gtor ma
- gtor ma cha lnga
- **thugs rje chen po**'i chu sbyin/ gsol 'debs
- **sde snod spyi lung**
- ltung bshags kyi man ngag
- dpa' bo grub pa dang 'bor dbang dang phyi pa'i lha mo can ti ka ste ser bsrung pa'i gdams ngag gsum
- smon 'jug sbags pa
- bcom ldan 'das dgyes pa rdo rje'i rim pa
- bstan rim
- **yan lag bdun pa**

From *dge bshes* Zhang ri phug pa [247b.2-5]:

- **yi ge gcig ma**
- bya yul ba'i bden gnyis
- sbyor ba bzhi
- dal 'byor chud ma zos par byed pa'i chos lnga
- 'chi kha ma'i man ngag rab gnas
- **dam tshig gsum pa**
- 'jam pa'i rdo rje mngon rtogs
- **mi g.yo ba** nang pa
- **gtor chen**
- chu kha'i gtor ma
- **sgrol ma**
- **mi g.yo ba** dang **sgrol ma** gnyi kyi srung pa

From *dge bshes* Mar ston [247b.5-6]:

- phyag na rdo rje lcags sbubs kyi skor
- gzungs grangs lnga'i gdams ngag
- **rnam sras** rgya nag ma

Appendix 2

A Partial Register (*gsan yig*) of Nartang's Eighth Abbot Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim (Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims, 1219-1299)[457]

Teachings recieved from Nartang's fifth abbot Zhang ston chos kyi bla ma (1184-1241) [339a.6-339b.6]:

- **bslab btus** (*)
- **spyod 'jug** (*)
- **skyes rabs** (*)
- **mdo sde rgyan** gyi 'grel pa (*)
- so sor thar pa
- **sgom rim** dang po
- dbu ma (*) tshig gsal gyi rab tu byed pa gnyis pa yan chad
- **skye bo gso thig**
- **dom pa nyi zhu pa'i 'grel pa**
- **lam sgron** (*)
- **man ngag lam rim**
- **dpe chos**
- **pho chung ba'i rten 'brel**
- byang chub ltung bshags
- **phyag rgya lnga'i mdo** gdon thabs
- **yan lag bdun pa** (*)
- **skar ma rab rib**
- **skor ba'i man ngag**
- **zan mgo gcod thabs**
- **za gtor**
- **rgyun gtor**
- **gtor ma lnga pa**
- **dus mchod kyi gtor ma**
- jo bo'i gtor chen
- **shar ba pa'i brgya tshar**
- **ye shes ta la la'i chu sbyin**
- 'kar sa pA Na ding

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[457] The partial register only includes teachings that Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims recieved from Snar thang abbots five, six, and seven. Bold letters indicate that the titles of the works/genres/names, and/or partial title of works/genres/names, were also taught by abbots five, six, and/or seven. The asterious (*) indicates that these same titles, or partial titles, are also found in the register of Snar thang's fourth abbot Gro mo che ba bdud rtsi grags. See appendix 1.

- **’jur ’gyegs kyi chu sbyin**
- **sgrol ma’i** (*) **bzlas lung mngon rtogs**
- **maN Dal bzhi pa**
- **thugs rje chen po’i** (*) **bzlas lung mngon rtogs**
- **’das mchod kyi phan yon**
- ’dge ba’i rtsa ba spel nas bsdo ba
- **stobs bzhi’i** (*) **bshags pa/ bsngo ba ring mo**
- mi khrugs pa’i mngon rtogs bzlas lung
- gshin ba sngo
- za phyag
- bsnyen gnas ’bogs tshul

Teachings recieved from Nartang’s sixth abbot Sangs rgyas sgom pa seng ge skyabs, 1179-1250) [340a.3-341b.4]:

- **skyabs ’gro** thun mo ba/ kyad par can
- smon pa sems bskyed (3x)
- **gzhung bslab btus**
- **spyod ’jug** (*)
- ’grel chung rnying ma
- mdo le brgyad ma
- **skyes rabs**
- **sdom pa nyi zhu pa’i** (*) **’grel pa**
- **sgom rim** rnam gsum
- lam sgron ting nge ’dzin tshogs kyi le’u bden gnyis
- dbu ma’i (*) man ngag
- shes rab snying po (*)
- kun du rgyu sen rings kyis zhus pa
- dkon mchog gsum la skyab su ’gro ba
- rgyal po la gdams pa
- **’da ’ka ye shes**
- **’du shes bcu gcig pa** (*)
- rgyal ba blo gros dang spyan ras gzigs kyis zhus pa’i chos bdun/ rten ’bral
- dge slong rab gsal gzho nu la spring pa
- rgyal po ka nis ka la spring ba
- zla ba’i mdo rnams
- slob sbring
- gsal rgyal dang skor ba’i tshigs bcad
- jo bo’i mdo kun las btus pa’i man ngag
- chos kyi dbyings su lta ba drang
- ’khor ba la nges par ’byung ba’i glu
- chos spyod bcu’i mdo
- spyod bsdus sgron ma

- las rnam ’byed
- dben ba’i gtam
- de bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi mdo/de’i cho ga
- yon tan mtha’ yas par bstong pa
- man ngag la be bum sngon po
- lam rim (*)
- **dpe chos**
- **pho chung ba’i rten ’bral**
- dus mchod bzhi’i phan yon
- cho ’phrul gyi mchod pa bya thabs
- de bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi mchod pa’i man ngag
- klu dbang po’i sgrib thabs
- mig yo ba’i mngon rtogs
- **sgrol ma’i** (*) **bzlas lung mngon rtogs**
- **maN Dal bzhi pa**
- bstong pa ’don thabs
- kun brdzob dang don dam pa’i sangs rgyas rje dran sgom tshul/de’i phan yon
- zhal bsro gsum pa rab gnas (*)
- nyin zhag phrugs gcig gi bya ba
- chos spyod rnying ma
- ’bu ma mchod [pa..]
- sku khrus gsol ba (*)/ rten ’brel
- rnam snang gyi tsha tsha
- yum gyi sgrub pa
- bdud zlog (*)
- mchog gi bsngo ba
- bsu ba byed thabs
- yang dag spong bzhi
- ston pa bzhi
- **stobs bzhi’i** (*) **bshags pa bsngo ba dang bcas pa**
- bstan pa’i gtsang
- g[/b]stan pa’i yud
- gzhan skyong lugs
- shar ba pa’i rnam thar rtsa ’grel
- mchad kha ba’i **grub mtha’** (*)
- sde snod spyi lung (*)
- dge slong ma dpal mo’i chos bzhi
- **dam tshig gsum** (*) bkod kyi mngon rtogs bzlas lung
- **zan mgo gcod thabs**
- **yan lag bdun pa** (*)
- **bskor ba’i man ngag**
- ltung bshags ’don thabs
- **skar ma rab rib**

- rgyun gtor
- **gtor ma lnga pa**
- spya nga'i brgya tshar
- **shar ba pa'i brgya tshar**
- gtor chen (*)
- dpal mgon gyi gtor ma
- rgyal po sde bzhi'i gtor ma
- chab kha'i gtor ma
- drang srong gi gtor ma rgyas bsdus gnyi
- sbya nga'i tor gcig ma
- **dus mchod kyi gtor ma**
- chab gtor dri me (*)
- tig chung ma
-'khar sa pA Ni [chu sbyin]
-**'jur 'gyegs** [**chu sbyin**]
- **ye shes ta la la'i chu sbyin**
- skyes bu gsum gyi khrid
- de bzhin gshegs pa'i yig brgya'i bsnyen pa bya tshul
- blo sbyong (*) gi khrid
- **thugs rje chen po (*)** byin brlab sa ma'i khrid **bzlas lung mngon rtogs** rgyas bsdus

Teachings recieved from Nartang's seventh abbot Mchims nam mkha' grags (a.k.a. Mchim thams cad mkhyen pa, 1210-1285) [341b.6-347a.5]:

- **skyabs 'gro** (*) dang smon pa **sems bskyed** (*) (5x)
- 'jug pa sems bskyed (2x)
- gzhung chos mngon ba mdzod/de'i 'grel chen
- mdo'i ti ka/ **nyi shu pa/** gsum bcu pa
- las sgrub pa
- rnam bshad rigs pa
- phung po lnga pa'i rab tu byed pa rnam
- **mdo sde rgyan** (*)
- **dbus mtha'i** 'gral gnyis
- rten 'brel gyi mdo 'gral
- byams chos lnga'i bshad pa phya pa'i lugs
- mngon rtog rgyan gtsang pa'i lugs
- mdo sbyor dang bcas pa

- Bla ma nyid kyis mdzad pa'i rnam bshad:[458]

[458] *bla ma nyid kyis mdzad pa rnam bshad* refers to either commentarial works composed and/or explained by Mchims nam mkha' grags.

- mdo rgyan gyi bshad pa gtsang lugs
- **dbus mtha'**
- chos nyid
- rgyud bla gsum gyi 'gral bshad
- rgyud bla ma (*) mar lugs
- byams chos lnga la zu lugs kyi gzhung man ngag gi chings dang bcas pa
- 'grel chung rnying ma'i bshad pa
- 'grel chung 'bre tig gi bshad pa
- brgyad stong pa'i mdo dang 'grel pa
- nyi khri le brgyad ma
- 'bum tig
- nyi khri snang ba
- 'phags pa sdud pa mdo 'grel a gyi lugs
- sdud pa thun brgyad ma
- sher snying mdo 'grel
- nyi khri le mangs la bla ma nyid kyis mdzad pa'i bshad pa
- brgyad stong don bsdu
- yi ge cig ma (*)
- sa lu ljang pa
- rdo rje gcod pa
- tshul brgya lnga bcu pa
- kun du rgyu sen rings kyis zhus pa
- gsum la skyab su gro ba
- chos bzhi bstan pa
- ltung ba sde lnga'i 'bras bu bstan pa
- rgyal po la gdams pa
- **'da' ka ye shes**
- **'du shes bcu gcig pa** (*)
- rgyal ba blo gros
- spyan ras gzigs kyis zhus pa'i chos bdun pa
- rten 'bral
- dge slong rab gsal gzhon nu la spring ba
- rgyal po ka nis ka la spring ba
- rgyal po gzungs can snying po la spring ba
- mya ngan bas la ba
- zla ba'i mdo rnams
- rnam par mi rtogs pa la 'jug pa'i gzungs
- chos mngon ba kun las btus 'ban lugs
- theg bsdus
- sa sde lnga
- bslab btus gsar rnying
- sbyod 'jug
- klu sgrub kyi mdo kun las btus (*)

- skyes rabs
- rin po che phreng pa
- bshes spring (*)
- slob spring (*)
- shes rab brgya pa
- **skye bo gso thigs**
- dbu ma rtsa she (*)
- ’jug pa’i ’grel pa
- bzhi brgya pa’i ’grel ba brtag pa brgyad pa man chad
- rtsa chung gsum
- bstong skor
- rnam snang mngon byang gi rgyad
- dbu ma stong thun (*)
- dbu ma (*) bden gnyis rtsa ’grel
- dbu ma (*) rgyan rtsa ’grel
- dbu ma (*) snang ba ting ’dzin tshogs le/ tshul le
- **sdom pa nyi shu pa’i ’grel pa** (*)
- sgom rim rnam gsum
- **skyabs ’gro** bdun bcu pa
- lha las phul byung
- khyad par du ’phags pa
- yon tan mtha’ yas pa
- spel ma’i bstod pa
- dge bsnyen gyis sdom pa brgyad pa
- ched du brjod pa’i tshoms
- gzhon nu ma bdun gyi rtogs brjod
- byang chub sems ’grel (*) gtsang pa’i lugs/

• Bla ma nyid kyis [Mchims nam mkha’ grags] mdzad pa:[459]
- dbu snying po
- lag tshad kyi ’grel pa
- jo bo’i chos chung brgya rtsa
- de bzhin gshegs pa bdun (*) gyi mdo dang cho ga/ tshogs/ spyin pa
- tshul khrims kyi gtam
- spyod bsdus bsgron me
- mdo rtsa
- rgya chen ’grel
- ’od ldan
- sum brgya pa (*)
- ka ri ka (*) lnga
- so thar

[459] Again the list of works provided under *bla ma nyi kyis mdzad pa* refers to either commentarial works composed and/or explained by Mchims nam mkha’ grags.

- ga Na Te
- dge slong la rab gces
- tshul khrims ldan mdo
- **’dul ba** (*) la bstod pa
- ’dul ’dzin bsngags brjod
- sdom tshig (*)
- las chog
- byin brlabs phyir bcos
- las sdom
- gzhi gsum gyi cho ga
- kun sbyong rgyan
- **man ngag lam rim**
- **lam sgron** (*)
- **dpe chos**
- dol pa’i be bum
- pho chung ba’i rten ’brel/ de’i man ngag
- bkra shis be bum
- shar ba pa’i bden bzhi
- blo sbyong (*) chen mo
- bla ma’i man Dal
- dbu ma (*) snying po
- sgrub pa snying po (*)
- rab gnas (*)
- sems bskyed kyi cho ga gong ’od
- dal ’byor don yod pa byed pa’i chos bzhi
- **’du shes bcu gcig** (*)
- don dam kun brdzob kyi sangs rgyas rje dran (*) / de’i phan yon
- **dam tshig gsum** (*) bkod kyi rgyud
- lha nga’i sgrub thabs/ **bzlas lung mngon rtogs**/ las tshogs
- rta mgrin gyi mgnon rtogs
- **sgrol ma’i** (*) **bzlas lung mngon rtogs**
- bstod pa ’don thabs/ de nyid bcu pa
- **maN Dal bzhi pa**
- phyag ’tshal nyer gcig (*) gi sgrub thab
- **seng ldeng nags kyi sgrol ma** (*)
- ’jigs pa brgyad skyob
- rdo rje sgron ma
- **thugs rje chen po** (*)
- **sgrol ma** (*)
- spyi sbrub
- bstod sgrub
- gsang sgrub
- sgrol ma’i (*) mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad pa

- chos spyod mngon rtogs
- chos spyod/ spyi'i man ngag (*)
- bla ma'i **'das mchod** bya thabs/ **phan yon**
- rgyud bde spyi'i man ngag
- mi g.yo ba'i (*) rgyud
- mngon rtogs
- da migs pa bskor gsum
- rnal 'byor srung ba
- gzungs chog spyi'i man ngag
- tshe dpag med (*) gnyis
- tshe sgrub gnyis
- **sgrol ma dkar mo'i** (*) tshe sgrub
- spya nga'i yig chung (*) ro snyoms gsum
- skye ba brtag pa (*)
- **phyag rgya lnga'i mdo**
- ltung bshags/ de'i sgrub thabs
- shar ba pa'i 'phrin bcwa brgyad (*)
- stod 'bum/ smad 'bum/ be bum rnam gsum
- sha'o sgang pa'i be bum rnam gsum
- don zhags kyi skor rnams
- bcu gcig zhal (*) gyi gzungs/ de'i mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad pa/ sgrub thabs/ mngon rtogs/ yi ge drug pa (*) gtso 'kor gsum pa'i zlas lung mngon rtogs
- gtso bo gcig pa
- 'khar sa pA Ni'i mgnon rtogs
- **thugs rje chen po'i** (*) de nyis bcu pa
- sman bla'i rgyal rabs
- mchod pa'i man ngag
- gzungs chog (*)
- yal lag bdun pa gshin chog [/cho ga]
- gtsug gtor (*) rnam rgyal gyi rtog pa
- sgrub thabs gsum
- stong mchod
- gzungs bklag pa'i cho ga
- tshe gcig tu sgrub pa
- mi 'khrugs pa'i mngon rtogs
- gshin chog don bdun ma
- rus chog
- 'jam dpal dkar po
- a ra pa tsa na (*)
- smra seng
- yon yongs su sbyang pa'i gzungs
- nyams grib bsrungs
- gtsug lag khang bzhengs pa'i gnad 'kha ru bas bsdebs pa

- rten bzhengs su gsol ba'i bstan pa snga dar

- Gro lung pas mdzad pa:[460]
  - rnam snang dang rten 'brel gyi tsa tsa gnyis
  - tsha tsha (*) dgu ma
  - dus mchod bzhi'i phan yon
  - jo bos mdzad pa'i mchod pa bya thabs
  - rten 'brel gyi cho ga zhib mo
  - Do bhi pa'i gsol 'debs bzod gsol dang bcas pa
  - ba ri ba'i (*) sgrub thabs brgya rtsa phal che ba
  - gtsang pa'i chos chung brgya rtsa
  - yang tshigs bcad ma
  - jo bo'i chos chungs bcad yan lag dang bcas pa
  - bstan pa'i gtsang
  - bstan pa'i g.yud
  - gzhan skyong lugs
  - klu dbang rgyal po'i sgrub thabs
  - khro bo rme brtsegs kyi mngon rtogs
  - kha rag (*) skor gsum
  - dpal mo'i chos bzhi
  - rtsa phyag gi gsol 'debs
  - sne'u zur ba'i gsang chos
  - pho chung ba'i tshig bzhi pa'i be bum
  - gong ma'i gnas brtan gyi gsol 'debs dang/ sgrub pa/
- Bla ma nyi kyis [Mchims nam mkha' grags] bsdebs pa:
  - gnas brten gyi lo rgyus dang/ spyan 'dren/ gsol 'debs bsdus pa/ chos pa rgyas pa las tshogs dang bcas pa
  - lam mchog
  - gser phreng
  - rin po che'i them skas
  - sgom don rin chen spungs pa
  - bstan pa gsal byed rin po che'i snang ba
  - rin po che dge legs gter
  - rin po che dpal 'byor gyi gter
  - rin po che legs dpyad kyi gter
  - theg chen gsal ba
  - bkra shis phreng ba'i grel pa
  - nor bu'i phreng ba'i 'grel pa
  - nye bar gdams pa zla ba'i 'od zer gyi gdams pa
  - mkha pa 'jug pa sgo
  - chos spyod bcu'i man ngag
  - glang ri thang pa'i man ngag thor bu

[460] Gro lung pa blo gros 'byung gnas (b. eleventh century)

- tshogs bdag (*) glang sna/ spre sna
- na ro pa'i (*) tshogs bdag
- jo bo'i rta mgrin chen mo rta bro dang bcas pa
- rta mgrin sho na bzhi skor
- dzam ba lha nga po'i sgrub thabs/ chu dang gtor ma sbyin pa la sogs brgyad/ bstod pa
- dpal che mo'i mdo/ mgnon rtogs las kha tsar dang bcas pa
- rnam sras (*) zangs dkar ma'i sgrub thabs/ las brtag pa'i cho ga tshang pa/ gsang sgrub/ man ngag rdzogs pa/
- mgon po'i (*) sgrub pa/ gtor ma skul dang bcas pa
- tse dpag med kyi lo rgyus mngon rtogs dang bcas pa lugs gnyis
- phyag rdor mdo lugs
- gtum po'i mngon rtogs rgyas pa
- dbyangs can ma (*) dmar mo'i sgrub thabs
- pa rNa sha ba ri
- mtshan brjod 'don pa'i (*) man ngag cha gnyis
- lha mo 'od zer can gyi bsrung 'khor
- gtsug tor (*) gdugs dkar gyi man ngag
- bzang spyod (*) kyi 'chi bslu
- lhan cig skyes sbyor (*)
- sdud pa gdon thabs (*)
- 'da' ka ye shes kyi man ngag
- 'chi ka ma'i gdams pa
- seng ge sgra'i sgrub thabs las kha tshar dang bcas pa
- bzang spyod (*) gdon thabs
- a sgom ba
- a 'don pa
- bgegs sgra
- bdud rtsi 'khyil pa
- 'bor dbang ma'i ser ba'i bsrung 'khor
- drang srong gi bsrung ba
- bla ma'i rnal 'byor (*) cha gnyis
- rtogs chen gyi mchod pa
- sher snying gi sgrub pa
- rin po che'i phreng ba (*)
- **sgrol ma'i** (*) mngon rtogs rgyas pa las kha tshar dang bcas pa
- bcu gcig zhal (*) gyi las khar tshar dang bcas pa
- gtor ma cha gsum
- rgyan gtor
- **dus mchod kyi gtor ma**
- **shar ba pa** [**brgya tshar**] /sbya nga'i brgya tshar/ gtor chen/ **gtor ma lnga pa**
- zla ba rgyal mtshan nam thugs dam kyi ba rgya tshar
- gzhi bdag gi gtor ma
- rje gtor

- chab gtor dhi pam ma
- mgon po'i (*) 'dzin gtor
- **za gtor**
- chos gtor
- drang srong gi gtor ma cha gnyis
- bsngo sdig bshags
- mchog gi bsngo bo
- gshin bsngo
- rgyan gyi bsngo ba
- chos spyod sil bu sna tshogs
- **zan mgo gcod thabs**
- **yan lag bdun pa** (*)
- spyi bshags
- **skor ba'i man ngag**
- chos spyod rnying ma
- 'bum mchod
- chos skor
- rab gnas (*) rgyas pa
- jo bos mdzad pa'i bsdus pa
- rab gnas (*) kyi rgyud
- zhal bsro gsum pa
- rdo rje phur bu
- ku su lu'i 'jug tshul
- klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa'i dpyad ngo lon dang bcas pa

• Bla mas [Mchims nam mkha' grags] bsdebs pa:
  - te lo pa/ na ro pa (*)/ Dom bhi pa/ jo bo/ dge bshes ston pa/ pu to ba/ shar ba pa/ chu migs pa chen po/ dpal ldan pa/ zhang ston pa/ mkhan po byang chen pa rnams kyi rnam thar [461]
  - sding ma pa'i rnam thar
  - phar phyin brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs
  - khrus bya thabs
  - chab kha'i skam gtor gsher gtor
  - skye bu gsum gyi blo sbyong
  - rnam pa
  - dbu ma (*)
  - spyad pa rnam sbyong
  - thabs bcas bzlas pa
  - skyer sgang ma'i khrid rnams
  - bla ma grub pa

[461] As discussed in chapter 4, the fact that Mchims nam mkha' grags taught these biographies in this order to Skyon ston smon lam tshul krims indicates that these eleven biographies were taught as a collection from early on.

- rang gi bdun tshigs bya thabs
- sku gsung thugs kyi man ngag
- rdo rje gdan pa'i bya rim
- slob dpon zhi lha'i yon tan phar phyin gyi lnga
- sngag kyi brgyud la sogs pa rgya chen po rnams
- bslab btus mngon rtogs
- **spyod 'jug** (*) gi 'khor lo lta bu'i bshad pa
- kha gtam
- gzhung 'dril
- lag khrid
- byang chub kyi sems sbyang ba rnams gsan

Appendix 3:

A Translation of the Biography of Nartang's Tenth Abbot Ze'u Tsünpa Dülzin Drakpa Tsöndrü (Ze'u 'Dul 'dzin grags pa brtson 'grus, 1253-1316)

Title: *A Wish-Fulfilling Gem that Illuminates the Life of The Glorious Ze'u Dülzin*[462]

The master [Ze'u Dülzin] is the enactor of the Three Jewels.
By [his] qualities of realization,
The master [Chim Namka Drak] was pleased.[463]
[Ze'u Dülzin] became a master [himself] by [these] accumulated qualities [of realization].

Through the inconceivable power of the heart (*thugs*),
The bodhisattvas [accomplish] the welfare [of living beings].
Just as [the bodhisattvas], so too is the genuine virtuous teacher.

For incalculable, immeasurable eons,
[The virtuous teachers] have earnestly strove to achieve the two accumulations.
Since the only desire is to help others, they overlook self-interest.

The ocean of things to be know is churned by the power of wisdom.
Delighted by the ambrosia of the Dharma itself,
[The virtuous teacher] compassionately cares for others.

[Childhood]

The complete virtuous friend, widely renowned as an eminent scholar (*mkhan chen*), the great [Ze'u] Dülzin, the tenth abbot of Nartang, was born in the Water-Female-Ox Year (1253) at

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[462] *Dpal ldan ze'u 'dul 'dzin chen po'i rnam thar gsal byed yid bzhin nor bu bzhugs* (hereafter *Ze'u 'dul rnam thar*).

[463] See below for the story about how Mchims nam mkha' grags was both pleased and perplexed by Ze'u 'dul 'dzin's "qualities of realizations."

Khamo Dara (Kha mo sda ra) in the district of Nyangtö Chumik (Nyang stod chu mig). His father was Sébum (Sras 'bum) and his mother was Tashi Dren (Bkra shis 'gren). At the time of his birth, the entire region experienced good harvest, prosperity, and no sickness.

The cause [for Ze'u Dülzin to be born] in the family lineage (*gdung rus*) of the widely renowned "Ze'u lineage of Khamo" was the [2a] excellent two accumulations and past sincere prayers.[464] The result was that working for the welfare of living beings came effortlessly.

At a young age his good acts of the past materialized. He spoke of religion, love and compassion. Amazingly he had acquired disciples [at this young age]. When he was eight, at Chumik (Chu mig) monastery, he became a disciple of the great, incomparable, knower of the three times, the yogi-abbot Chumikpa Ze'u Drakpa Gyeltsen (Ze'u grags pa rgyal mtshan, d.u.). Under his care and blessings [Ze'u Dülzin] became proficient in writing and reading.

At the age of twelve (1265) the chief administrator at Nartang monastery, Chökyi Jangchup (Chos kyi byang chub), invited [Ze'u Dülzin to study at Nartang]. A profound faith and admiration arose [in the Nartang monastic community] when they saw [Ze'u Dülzin's] body and heard his words. The monks [2b] knew that a "master of the Teaching" (*bstan pa'i bdag po*) had rightfully arrived. In the distance, [Ze'u Dülzin] beheld the all-knowing Chim Namka Drak, a "lord of the Buddha's Teaching" (*sangs rgyas bstan pa'i mnga' bdag*).[465] An unimaginable devotion arose [in Ze'u Dülzin] and the immeasurable blessings of the master [Chim Namkha Drak] were absorbed.

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[464] The two accumulations (*tshogs gnyis*) refer to merit (*bsod nams*) and wisdom (*ye shes*).

[465] In 1265/66 Mchims nam mkha' grags was the abbot of Snar thang.

[Ordination and Education]

With Chim Namka Drak as the acting abbot [of the monastic ordination ceremony] and Dülwa Zinpa Tsöndrü (’Dul ba ’dzin pa btson ’grus, d.u.) as the preceptor, [Ze’u Dülzin] received the vows of a novice monk before the faithful monastic community. He was given [a monastic] name that incorporated portions of both the abbot’s and preceptor’s name: Ze’u Tsünpa Drakpa Tsöndrü (Ze’u btsun pa [’dul ’dzin] grags pa btson ’grus).

At age fifteen (1268) [Ze’u Dülzin] himself became a virtuous teacher (*dge ba’i bshes gnyen*). From his first teaching [3a] on monastic discipline [Ze’u Dülzin] achieved the recognition as an expert in the field. He studied *The Perfection of Wisdom* from the eminent scholar Chomden [Rikpé] Reldri (Bcom ldan [rig pa’i] ral gri, 1227-1305). And when [Ze’u Dülzin] taught *The Perfection of Wisdom* he achieved the status as an expert in *The Perfection of Wisdom*. Moreover, he became an expert in orthography (*sgra*), epistemology, *Abhidharma*, Mādhyamika, the treatises of Maitreya, [works that belong in] the ‘performance class’ (*spyod phyogs*),[466] and in all scripture exegeses and reasoning (*lung dang rigs pa*). In brief, just like Chomden [Rikpé] Reldri, [Ze’u Dülzin] became proficient in all [types of] knowledge.

At age nineteen (1272) [Ze’u Dülzin] fully immersed himself in the teachings of the Buddha by taking the vows of complete monastic ordination before the faithful monastic community [at Nartang]. The all-knowing Chim [Namka Drak] acted as the abbot [of the ceremony], Ze’u Drakpa Gyeltsen was the coordinating preceptor (*las kyi slob dpon*), and Dülzin Gurtön Chenpo (’Dul ’dzin gur ston chen po, d.u.) was the private interviewer. [3b]

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[466] Here the ‘performance class’ (*spyod phyogs*) refers to works, such as Śāntideva’s *Compendium of Training* (*Śikṣāsamuccaya*), that focus more on method than philosophical view (*lta phyog*/*stong phyog*).

With undivided faith [Ze'u Dülzin] utterly devoted himself to the all-knowing Chim [Namka Drak] for a long time. [Chim Namka Drak] instructed him in the four great principle Kadam doctrines: (i) the three types of practitioners; (ii) the *mind training* of the Great Vehicle; (iii) the Great Mādhyamika (*dbu ma chen po*); and (iv) [the practices and rituals] of Avalokiteśvara [based] in the Kyer Gangma (Skyer sgang ma/pa) [lineage].[467] Whenever [Ze'u Dülzin] listened to teachings [from Chim Namka Drak] he would promptly take notes in order for it to be retained. [Because of this, Chim Namka Drak] would often delay teaching the monastic community to wait for [Ze'u Dülzin to arrive].

[Ze'u Dülzin] had requested and received, many times, the rite for developing the sublime altruism of the bodhisattvas, the heart-sons (*thugs sras*) of all the Buddhas. [4a] He received the rite for the aspirational mind of awakening (*smon pa sems bskyed*) together with the rite for the exalted engaged mind of awakening (*'jugs pa sems bskyed*). In this way, [Ze'u Dülzin] definitively obtained the initiation (*dbang*) in the bodhisattvas rites. [And, in this way, he] received the blessing of the master [Chim Namkha Drak], who is the essence of all the Buddhas. The all-knowing Chim [Namka Drak] told the great [Ze'u] Dülzin:

> In response to your prayer of supplication, I have discerned an auspicious interplay of events. I shot an arrow at a target and missed. If [the arrow] would have hit the target, you would have become the immediate successor to occupy my throne. [4b] [Instead, since the arrow missed the mark], others will occupy the throne before you.

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[467] The Skyer sgang ma/pa is one of the three major systems/lineages of instructions of the Avalokiteśvara that comes from Atiśa vis–à–vis the Tibetan master Skyer gang pa chos kyi seng ge (1143-1216). See Matthew T. Kapstein, "Remarks on Maṇi Kabum and the Cult of Avalokiteśvara in Tibet" in *The Tibetan History Reader,* ed. Gray Tuttle and Kurtis R. Schaeffer (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 105n.29.

This was the explicit prophecy from a trustworthy source that explained how the highly regarded [Ze'u] Dülzin would become abbot of Nartang. [Ze'u Dülzin] was the third near and exceptional disciple [of Chim Namka Drak] to become abbot [of Nartang].[468] This was [also] the prophecy of a most exceptional person (*gang zag khyad par 'phags pa*), the abbot [Chim Namka Drak]. There are two definitions of "person" (*gang zag*). [The first] is [someone] corrupted [*zag*] by all the impurities and defects. [The second is someone] replete [*gang*] with all the good and virtuous qualities. [Chim Namka Drak is the latter]. [He] is the embodiment (*lus chen*) of innumerable fortune, possessing an immeasurable, continual downpour of scripture exegeses, reasoning, and eloquent aphorisms (*legs bzhad*) of the pith instructions (*man ngag*).

Widely accomplished, the glorious Ze'u Dülzin, the Great Lord of the Nāgas, had many learned masters, [some of whom] are listed by only partial names. He had four principle masters: [i] as detailed above, there was [Chim Namkha Drak]; [ii] Chögyel Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen (Chos rgyal 'phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan, 1235-1280), who taught him about the union of bliss and emptiness according to the new tantra systems; [iii] Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim (Skyo ston smon lam tshul krim, 1219-1299), the holder of the *vajra*, who, through the power of single-minded concentration and wisdom, became the great *siddha* of Vajrapāni. Kyotön Mönlam Tsültrim taught him the doctrines of the Kadam tradition and how the Buddha's teachings are illuminated through making effort in the ten religious activities (*chos spyod bcu*). And [iv], Tropu Rinpoché Sönam Senggé (Khro phu rin po che bsod nams seng ge, b. thirteenth century), [a master who is] a manifestation of the Bhagavan Avalokiteśvara. [Tropu taught him]:

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[468] The other two "near and exceptional" disciples of Mchims nam mkha' grags to become Snar thang abbots were the eighth abbot, sKyon ston smon lam tshul krims, and the ninth abbot, Mkhan chen nyi ma rgyal mtshan.

The Teaching-Cycles of Tropu (*Khro phu ba'i chos skor*), [*Tropu's*] *Hundred Pith Instructions* (*[Khro phu ba'i] man ngag brgya rtsa*), *The Hundred Tantric Liturgies* (*Bsgrub thabs rgya rtsa*), *The Hundred Religious Activities* (*Chos spyod brgya rtsa*), and more.

[His other teachers, listed as sets with only partial names, include]: two having the name Sönam (Bsod nams); two having the name Rinchen (Rin chen);[469] [5b] three having the name Zhönu (Gzhon nu);[470] in addition to the third, there are two, one having the name Gyeltsa (Rgyal tsa) and one having the name Pel (Dpal).[471] These masters were the source of all righteous learning. From them, [Ze'u Dülzin] studied many scripture exegeses and reasonings of the sutras and tantras, as well as the pith instructions.

By virtue of scripture and realization (*lung dang rtogs pa*), [Ze'u Dülzin] completed [his education].

[Qualities of Ze'u Dülzin's Realization]

Here is just one example to illustrate [Ze'u Dülzin's] qualities of realization and he was 'one who had destroyed erroneous appearances'('*khrul pa zhig*).[472]

Once, the all-knowing Chim [Namkha Drak] was sick with a phlegm (*bad kan*) imbalance. His doctor, an expert physician (*bla sman pa*) by the name of Lha Jétsül (Lha rje

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[469] The marginalia have the two Rin chen masters as: Sa skya [rin chen] and Bo dong [rin chen]. See *Ze'u 'dul rnam thar*, 5a.6.

[470] The marginalia have one of the three Gzhon nus as Rkyad dur. See Ibid., 5b.1.

[471] The marginalia have the third as Nyang stod and the one Rgyal tsa as Tshul blo. See Ibid., 5b.1.

[472] Or *'khrul zhig pa.*

tshul, d.u.), proscribed fasting and medicine to induce vomiting. When [Ze'u] Dülzinpa saw the vomit of [Chim Namkha Drak] he pleaded, "This [vomit] is the blessing of the master! Do not toss it out on the ground. Give it to me to drink. As [I] drink [the vomit], may all [concepts] of impurity naturally abide in the state of non-conceptuality." [6a] The master [Chim Namkha Drak] was extremely pleased [by this gesture]. [Chim Namkha Drak asked]: "Dülwazinpa, is your behavior that of a divine madman (*zhig po*)?" In fact this was [an example to illustrate how he was] a great realized yogi who had destroyed erroneous appearances (*rtogs ldan 'khrul zhig chen po*) and how he was as [a person] of great faith.

[Ze'u Dülzin Travels to China]

Now to explain a bit about how [Ze'u Dülzin] benefited living beings in China (*rgya'i yul*). The emperor Gopé (Go pe; Qubilai Khan), the great ruler of the people, had heard about the fame of Ze'u Dülzin and invited [him to the court in China]. [While en route to China], on the road in Khams (Mdo smad), [Ze'u Dülzin] met Druptob U-genpa [Rinchen pel] (Grub thob u rgyan pa rin chen dpal, 1230-1309). [Druptob U-genpa] had finished his religious duties [at the Mongol court] and was returning [to Central Tibet]. He was welcoming and very hospitable to Ze'u Dülzin. He spoke in detail [about his experience at the court] and made the following prophecy:

> The Mongol emperor is a Dharma-king. There is not a single trace of dirt in the palace. My behavior was that of a divine madman (*zhig po*) and [the emperor] did not listen [to me]. [6b] I am heading back [home]. You, [on the other hand], are an emanation of the [Sixteenth] Saint Aṅgiraja. The emperor and you will get along extremely well.

Wherever and whenever [Ze'u Dülzin] traveled the glory and wealth of the place increased. When he arrived at the palace of the emperor Qubilai Khan (Se chen gan), the ruler of the people, [Ze'u Dülzin] spoke profoundly and at length about the holy Dharma. This greatly pleased the emperor and he developed faith.

[Ze'u Dülzin stayed at the court] for a long time, thirteen years, benefiting an innumerable amount of living beings. Specifically, [Ze'u Dülzin] propagated the offering rites to the Seven [Medicine] Buddhas. Once, in the presence of the emperor, [Ze'u Dülzin] was performing the rituals of these meditational deities. [7a] [The emperor] listened carefully. [Ze'u Dülzin] explained the offering procedure of the Seven [Medicine] Buddhas from both sūtra and ritual liturgy. [He told the emperor]:

> Royal (*rgyal rigs*) emperor, bow your head to receive the empowerment on the crown. Focus on the thought of love and compassion for all living beings. Let the prisoners go free!

Saying this and more [Ze'u Dülzin] then spoke at length about the advantages of the ten religious practices (*sbyor ba bcu*). [He added]:

> When in verse, the holy doctrine has these four characteristics:
>
> When accepted, it is easy to implement.
> When explained, it has great value.
> When examined, it is without contradiction.
> When spoken, it is exceptionally poetic.
>
> Out of love and compassion [you should] release the prisoners. [7b] Put into effect the bimonthly monastic ceremony for restoring monastic vows (*gso sbyong*) and make offerings to monastics. Recite the names [of the Seven Medicine Buddhas], read the scripture (sūtra), build statues, offer votive lamps and banners for forty-nine [days]. As for the amount, size, substance, and time [to offer] the votive lamps: offer

> seven votive lamps before each of the seven [statues]; [the size] should be about the size of a chariot wheel's spoke; [the amount should be] inexhaustible; and [the time should be] for forty-nine days.
>
> Emperor of the world, [by doing this], your life-span will absolutely increase, as will your splendor, power, and sovereignty. And you will be free from illness.

The Great Emperor said,

> Although I can arrange for the votive lamps to be the size of a chariot's spoke, I am unable to make the lamp offerings. My buildings are made of wood and there is the danger that a fire could be started. [8a] All other [requests] I can do.

Ze'u Dülzin replied,

> In that case, all the inmates of Shingkün Menché (Shing kun man chad) prison, which is under your jurisdiction, should be freed.[473]

Some inmates at Shingkün Menché prison had been incarcerated for many years, some for a few years. Since there were different orders of punishment [to fit specific crimes], such a killing and so forth, [the inmates] experienced many degrees of suffering. When [the emperor] made the good gesture to release all the inmates, each and every one of them was filled with lasting joy. [On account of this, Ze'u Dülzin earned the epithet]: Ze'u Pakshi (Ze'u dpag shi), the virtuous master from Nartang, who, by performing the ritual of the Medicine Buddhas, had all criminals (*nag las*) released from the Shingkün Menché prison. [8b] His fame spread throughout all directions.

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[473] Shingkün (Ch. Lintao) is located in present day Gansu province.

[Relics at the Court]

One of the three relic wonders of the Buddha on earth are his four canine teeth. There is also the stone alms bowl that was offered [to the Buddha] by the four [directional] kings. [These relics] were kept in the great palace [of the Mongol emperor] at Zhangdo (Zhang mdo; Ch. Shangdu). On New Year's Day the emperor, court priest, and one hundred and eight monks, performed the ritual supplications to the Sixteen Saints for one month. At this time the fourth teeth relics, whose color is like gold and whose size is about the breadth of five fingers, were ritually bathed and consecrated [in the stone alms bowl relic]. The shape and proportion (*phyogs bzhi na mtsams bzhi*) of the stone alms bowl is precisely how it is explained in the *Vinaya Scripture* (*'Dul ba lung*). [9a] Many offerings, rituals, and supplications were made [to the relics] in conjunction with supplications to the [Sixteen] Saints. This excellent New Year's Day tradition took place each year. [Each year] one hundred and eight Nartang monks were invited [to perform the rituals]. This continued every year for the duration of the emperor's life.

Another one [of the three] relic wonders on earth [appeared] when the Buddha turned thirty-eight years of age. [The Buddha's] mother had died and gone to the heaven of Thirty-Three (*Sum bcu tsa gsum lha'i yul*). Remembering the kindness of his mother, [the Buddha transported] to the heaven [of Thirty-Three] to teach her about religion. [The Buddha] stayed [in heaven] for the three months of summer. [While the Buddha was away], king Udayana of Vatsa (*bad sa la*) missed [the Buddha's presence on earth]. [9b] [The king] requested [a disciple of the Buddha], Maudgalaputra, [to transport] artisans to the heaven [of Thirty-Three to create a statue of the Buddha]. With thirty-two artisans and dark-red sandalwood [for material], Maudgalaputra

transported the artists to the heaven [of Thirty-Three]. The Buddha's body, which beautiful to behold, was created [by the artisans], complete with the thirty-two marks, [and brought back to the human realm for the king].

In the Iron-Hare Year, after spending the summer months in the heaven [of Thirty-Three, the Buddha] returned to earth. [When the Buddha saw] the sandalwood statue he touched his forehead [to the statue]. [The statue] then stood up and asked about the well-being [of the Buddha]. The Buddha then extended his hand, touched the head of the sandalwood statue, and spoke the following prophetic words,

> One thousand years after my final *nirvāṇa* you will travel in the realm of the emperor of China (Rgya nag) [10a] in order to bring benefit to both gods and people.

From the latter part of the Water-Pig Year 1953 years have elapsed since the creation of the Sandalwood Statue. According to this tradition [of calculation], from the later part of the Water-Pig Year, 1911 years have elapsed since the Buddha's final passing (*nirvāṇa*). The Buddha was born on the eighth day of the fourth month in the Wood-Tiger Year. After he was nineteen years of age he left home to practice austerities in the snow mountains. At [age] thirty he developed the wonderful aspiration to become a Buddha. This [calculation] was written by Changrawa Shak Seng (Lcang ra ba shag seng) in China at Chong Tong (Cong rtong). [There is also a different calculation] found in the writings (*phyag yig*) of the all-knowing Chim [Namkha Drak].[474]

The sandalwood image was made with the thirty-two [bodily marks of the Buddha]. [10b] There are twenty-two Buddha statues and sixteen offering goddesses surrounding [the

[474] For more about the differences in calcuation, see chapter 5.

sandalwood statue at the palace in China]. The elegant throne [for the statue], which shines like the color of purified gold, is furnished with lotus flowers, sons of the gods (*lha'i bu*), and so forth. The back of the statue does not touch the drapery [of the throne]. There is a tiny space, the width of a horse hair (*rta rnga*), between the feet [of the statue] and the seat. [You can often] hear [people] describe [the statue] as "the one that sits in space."

Blessed and prophesied by the Buddha to benefit both gods and people, [the statue] is a second emanation body [of the Buddha] made from sandalwood. At the site [where the statue resides] is a white stupa where monastic communities and many spiritual masters, who uphold the Dharma, would congregate. At this auspicious time of the year, [during New Years], Nartang monks and a congregation of Chinese monks would perform the ten religious observances.

[Permission to Return to Tibet]

[11a] By the blessing of the Buddha's precious teachings and in accordance with the prophecy of the all-knowing Chim [Namkha Drak], the masters and monks of Nartang all came to the same consensuses: the great [Ze'u] Dülzin should be appointed as [the tenth] abbot of Nartang. A formal written request was sent with a postal carrier [to China]. [After receiving the written request] Ze'u Dülzin asked the emperor [for permission] to return to Tibet (*Bod*). [The emperor] gave his approval and sent him off with fine gifts.

When [Ze'u Dülzin] arrived in Shingkün (Shing kun), he used the messenger from Nartang to send a letter back to [the emperor]. [In the letter] the great [Ze'u] Dülzin made the following requests about his return [to Tibet] to the great emperor,

> When I arrive back in Tibet, [I] will govern the monastic community of Nartang. Wholesome prayers and praise will made on behalf of the Emperor, the ruler of the people. The Great Emperor will be commemorated [by the Nartang community]. [11b] I will send, via postal carrier, a letter and holy pills and water blessed with invocations and mantras to the Three Jewels made by the [Nartang] monks. [I ask the Emperor to allow passage] without hardship and obstruction from anyone, district officials (*mi dpon*) and others. [I] send this written request for the purpose that permission is granted by the Emperor, the ruler of the people.

The emperor replied,

> It is excellent if the Emperor is commemorated in this manner. Ze'u Pakshi and the postal carriers of the Nartangpa, together with four horses, are permitted for swift passage in any direction at anytime, noon or midnight.

[Return to Tibet and Drikung Aid]

When [Ze'u Dülzin] arrived at the Drikung ('Dri khung) territory in Central Tibet, he brought immense benefit to the region. To repay his kindness, [the Drikhungpas] offered [him] large swaps of nomadic territory. [12a] [To seal the deal, Ze'u Dülzin] put together a written agreement (*yig khrigs*):

> The expected yearly production of butter (*dkar thog*) yielded [by this nomadic territory] is to be delivered to Nartang.

As long as the illustrious Ze'u uncle and nephew (*khu dbon*)lived[475] [the Drikungpas] offered a few hundred loads of butter (*mar khal*) to the monastery's kitchen (*thab kha*) each year.

As for how he provided aid to Drikung, at the time there was turmoil between Sakya [Sa kya] and Drikung. The Mongol army had covertly attacked Drikung Tel[/ Thil monastery]. Many of the exceptional [Drikung] retreat meditators [escaped by soaring] into the sky. The evil

[475] The uncle refers to Ze'u 'Dul 'dzin. His nephew refers to his successor at Snar thang, the eleventh abbot Ze'u grags pa shes rab (1259-1325)

Mongol army on the outside [of the monastery, witnessed] these exalted (*'phags pa*) meditators [in the sky] and yelled: "The brute monks (*ban sde*) have escaped in the sky!" [12b] Then [the Mongol army] shot arrows into the sky. It was a time of great fear and torment.

Those that survived the attack said, "There is the unequalled, the great [Ze'u] Dülzin, who has the ability [to help us]." They pleaded for his aid, which he was able to deliver. He provided peace to the monastery and the people. [He also provided the means for] the remnants of this Buddhist monastery [476] to remain and flourish for a long time. This is the enlightened activity of an expert in skillful means.

In short, wherever [Ze'u Dülzin] traveled he worked for the benefit of living beings. At each place he provided an abundant supply of a food, gifts, and resources to whoever was in need, such as spiritual masters, local officials, and the people. [13a] Through this inconceivable enlightened activity [Ze'u] Dülzin, the great being, became an object of worship by all.

[Abbot At Nartang]

[Ze'u Dülzin] arrived back at Nartang in the Wood-Male Dragon Year (1304/5). The acting abbot Khenchen Chöjé [Nyima Gyeltsen] (Khan chen chos rje nyi ma rgyal mtshan, 1225-1305) [and] the monastic community duly appointed [Ze'u Dülzin] as abbot, a "master of the Teaching" (*bstan pa'i bdag po*).[477]

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[476] *sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa 'dzin pa'i chos sde.* Ibid., 12b.3-4.

[477] As discussed above, the monks at Snar thang had felt that Ze'u 'Dul 'dzin was a potential "master of the Teaching" when he first entered the monastery at the age of twelve.

During the summer and winter sessions [Ze'u Dülzin] taught the monastic community the following: the Kadam textualist and pith instructions, the life-story of Atiśa Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna, a magnificent scholar of the five [Buddhist] sciences, and, with a constant flow of tears from his eyes, he taught from the sayings of the all-knowing Chim [Namkha Drak]. During these sessions he also taught the biographies (*lo rgyus*) of Gur Loyongwa (Mgur blo yong wa, d.u.) and others.[478]

[13b] [As abbot, Ze'u Dülzin] inaugurated a wonderful religious observance in honor of the all-knowing Chim [Namkha Drak], someone perfected in skillful means and enlightened activity. Community tea [was served] and religious festivities [were performed] from the first through fourteenth day of the third month. In the evenings the monks would gather in the Great Temple to perform long-established religious services (*chos spyod snying ma*), to recite the [*Perfection of*] *Wisdom* in conjunction with ritual cake offerings, the seven-limb prayer, maṇḍala offerings, and [conclude] with the best and most extensive dedication prayers. The monastic community [also] chanted the liturgy of the Goddess Tārā. The abbot, together with eight monastic attendants, [14a] made ritual prayers accompanied by melodies (*dbyang*) to the Seven [Medicine] Buddhas. With thirty monk assistants [Ze'u Dülzin] performed the mantra recitation of the five deities of Amoghapasha (*Don yod zhags pa*), together with supplications to the Sixteen Saints. The blessing pills and water [that were made from these] mantra recitations [and rituals] were then offered to the [Mongol] emperor. In return [the emperor] sent gifts [to

[478] *mgur blo yong ba la sogs pa lo rgyus dang bcas pa gsung par mdzad do*/. Ibid., 13b.6-14a.1. The identity of Mgur blo yong wa is unknown to me.

Nartang], such as a large measure (*bre*) of gold and silver, groups of horses,[479] and more. For the postal carrier [the emperor] first provided two horses, then three and four. [Ze'u Dülzin made sure] the "donor-preceptor" (*yon mchod*) relationship between [him] emperor remained stable and was not broken.

[Ze'u Dülzin] ingenuity in establishing the grand memorial observance [at Nartang] is as follows. [Previously], Néten Rinzang (Gnas btan rin zang, d.u.) had established a twelve day community tea-religious observance in honor of the "great attendent" (*nye gnas chen po*) Drupa Senggé (Grub [pa] seng [ge], d.u.). [14b] [During these twelve days] gifts of soft fabric, robes and more, were distributed with reverence [to the monastic community]. [Ze'u Dülzin suggested the following to Néten Rinzang],

> If [we were] to change this [twelve day] religious observance for the "attendent" to the religious observance of the great abbot Chim [Namkha Drak], then this would honor the wishes of the teacher (*bla ma*). It would also greatly increase the two accumulations in the mind streams of you, [Néten Rinzang], as well as masters and servants (*dpon g.yog*). [Rather than twelve days] the community tea-[religious observance] service should be for fourteen days. For the two [extra] days of community tea, I will make [the tea offering] for one day and Lopön Zhön[u] Jung[né] (Slob dpon Gzhon nu 'byung gnas, d.u.) [will provide for] the other day. The religious observance will end on the fourteenth, [on the anniversary day of Chim [Namkha Drak's passing].

This grand memorial observance for the great abbot Chim [Namkha Drak] was [hence] properly managed each year by Néten Rinzang for the remainder of his life. [Before his death] Néten [Rinzang] appointed [15a] Tönpa Samten Drup (Ston pa bsam gtan grub, d.u.) as the manager of

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[479] *rta lhun phyi nang.* Ibid., 14a.3-4. This meaning is obscure to me and my translation here is merely suggestive. It may refer to certain breeds of horses that were used between postal stations inside (*nang*) Tibet and breeds that were used for international travel (*phyi*).

the religious observance. [Tönpa Samten Drup] was able to raise a hefty amount of revenue [for the observance] on account of his superb planning.

In [Fire-]Horse Year (1306/7),[480] on the first day of the month of miracles, [Ze'u Dülzin] celebrated the New Year. [Nartang] was filled with monks who abide in the twelve ascetic practices (*sbyangs pa'i yon tan bcu gnyis*). Supplications to the Sixteen Saints were made and the monastics were respectively offered a plentiful amount of food. In the evenings from the first day until the fifteenth the monastic community performed the seven-limbed prayers, followed by supplications to the Goddess Tārā. In between [sessions] the monastics community performed invocations to the Medicine Buddha. [15b] The entire monastic community then made prostrations to the Seven [Medicine] Buddhas and chanted *The Recollections of the Buddha 's* [*Qualities*]. [Ze'u Dülzin] established this order of practice as a custom [during the New Year celebrations at Nartang].[481]

In between the summer and winter sessions and the grand memorial observance, [Nartang] was filled with virtuous teachers who upheld authoritative scriptures and reasoning. [These teachers further] established [the monastic community by teaching] the authoritative scriptures and reasoning. Whenever [Ze'u Dülzin] came to these [teaching] gatherings [he] was filled with joy and inspiration. [He] lauded and praised these preservationists of the Buddhist canon (*sde snod 'dzin pa*). [He would] respectively serve [them] delicious tea and offer gifts.

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[480] Although the element that corresponds with the year is not given, the Fire-Horse Year of the fifth *rab byung* (1306/7) is the only year that corresponds with the chronology of the text and Ze'u 'Dul 'zin's lifespan.

[481] *Sangs rgyas rjes [su] dran [pa bla na med pa bsgom pa]* in *Bstan 'gyur dpe bsdur ma*, Dbu ma, ki (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008).

[Nartang Projects: Temple, Books, Statues, and more]

[16a] A large amount of wood pillars were used from the upper courtyard (*khyams stod*) during the renovations of [Nartang's] main temple. The abbot [Ze'u Dülzin] told [the renovators]: "When you install the wood pillars, place one in front of my throne." In between sessions of the grand memorial service [Ze'u Dülzin] would meditate with his back against [this wood pillar]. A vast of amount of goods were [also] offered [during the renovations], such as a red tail whisk with a jeweled handle, a silver offering maṇḍala, a statue of Khamsum Zilnön,[482] and a pair of symbols that sound of thunder. The roof parapets (*spen bad*) [of the temple] stifled the rain clouds, the space around the roof ornaments (*gan 'ji ra*) glittered with light and the water [from the] copper kettle [brought] mental calm. The monks performed *The One Hundred Ritual Supplications to the Seven [Medicine] Buddhas* for seven days as the finishing touches on the [temple] roof were being made. All the while praises of reverence were made in the Great Temple to the protector of beings (*'gro mgon*). [16b]

[Ze'u Dülzin] produced (*zhengs*) collections of scriptures [using] precious gold [for ink], which are [like] the great ornaments of the earth. [He also produced] the *Ka Tselma* (*Ka tshal ma*) golden collection, so-called because the text was written on paper (*gan shogs*) that had been cut,[483] and a golden collection of the [*Perfection of Wisdom in*] *20,000* and *8000* [*Verses*], both of which are housed (*bzhugs*) at Chumik.

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[482] Ibid., 16a.4. *ding spos por se chen ma khams gsum zil gnon.* This line is obscure and my translation here is merely suggestive. The deity *khams gsum zil gnon* is a form of Hayagrīva. Rwa sgreng monastery used the donations of Snar thang's fourth abbot, Gro mo che bdud rtsi grags, to build a golden statue of *khams gsum zil gnon*, which was used as ornament on the roof of the monastery's temple. See chapter 3.

[483] Ibid., 16b.3-4. *gser 'bum ka tshal ma: gan shog phyed stubs la bris pa la zer*. My translation here is merely suggestive.

[In addition to the golden collections, Ze'u Dülzin also] produced the collected works (*bka' 'bum*) of Chomden [Rikpé] Reldri, the all-knowing Chim [Namkha Drak], and Ze'u Drakpa Gyeltsen. [He also produced a edition of] the *Great Stages of the Doctrine* (*Bstan rim chen mo)* composed by Drolungpa [Lodrö Jungné] (Gro lung pa blo gros 'byung gnas, b. eleventh century), the chief disciple of Ngok Lo[tsāwa Loden Shérap's] (Rngog blo tsA ba blo dan shes rab, 1059-1109).

[Ze'u Dülzin also] built a four-pillared sleeping quarter [at Nartang]. For the ceiling he commissioned the painting of eight large images [of religious figures].

[Ze'u Dülzin] acquired a statue of Ngok Lo from Ü that had been made by Drolungpa Lodrö Jungné. [Ze'u Dülzin remarked] how "this [statue] is an auspicious omen for the advancement of education (*bshad nyan*) [at Nartang]." [This statue] was just one of the hundred and eight statues that he aquired. [He] also acquired a statue of Zhang Sharawa (Zhang shar ra wa [yon tan grags], 1070-1141) from Zhang Lolung (Zhang glo lung, d.u.). [This statue] was made by Chölung Kushek (Chos lung sku gshe; a.k.a Nartang's founder Tumtön Lodrö Drak, 1106-1166). Chölung Kushek once said, "I cannot be separated from this statue. I brought this statue with me to [Nartang] monastery because the statue is a surrogate for my [deceased] teacher [Zhang Sharawa]." This statue was acquired by Zhang Lolung from Ra Chölungpa (Ra chos lung pa, d.u.). [Further], Ze'u Dülzin commissioned a statue of the all-knowing Chim [Namkha Drak] while [Chim Namkha Drak] was still alive. [17b] [He] kept [this statue close to his] heart while traveling through China and elsewhere.

There were also the cloth coverings for the golden collections. Tishri Rinchen Drak (Ti shri rin chen grags, d.u.), who was from Amdo, offered one hundred and eight pieces of textured

Chinese red satin (*ta hun*). The [satin] was decorated with patterns of an eight petaled lotus flower. [Decorated] within [the lotus flowers] were the eight auspicious symbols. The four corners [of the satin] were decorated with [patterns] of vases. [Tishri Rinchen Drak offered the satin to Ze'u Dülzin and] requested that he produce a Kangyur. [Ze'u Dülzin replied], "I am now old and unable to produce a Kangyur. Certain persons [*gang zag*] at Nartang have already made a golden edition (*gser chos*). Offer [the satin cloth] to the [collection] that is already there." The red Chinese satin clothes were therefore offered to this [Nartang] golden edition, which contained: twenty-five volumes (*dum pa*) of the [*Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in*] *20,000 Verses, 8000 Verses* and so forth, made by Tönpa Abum (Ston pa a 'bum, d.u.); eight golden volumes of the *Ratnakūṭa* (*Dkon rtsegs*) made by Tönpa Rinchen Den (Ston pa rin chen ldan, d.u.); [18a] four volumes of the [*Perfection of Wisdom in*] *Twenty Thousand Verses* made by Chukpo Rinchen Gön (Phyug po rin chen mgon, d.u.); a golden book (*glegs bam*) of the [*Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in*] *Twenty Thousand Verses* made by Tönpa Samten Drup (Ston pa bsam gtan grub, d.u.); one golden book made by Tönpa Drak[pa] Rin[chen] (Ston pa grags rin, d.u.); one golden book made by Tönpa Drakpa Pel (Ston pa grags pa dpal, d.u.); one golden book made by Gongpa Chukpo Yeshé Drup (Rgongs pa phyugs po ye shes grub, d.u.); and one golden book made by Nyené Dön Zhönpa (Nye gnas don gzhon pa, d.u.).

While living in China [Ze'u Dülzin] developed good relations with the Sakya master Daknyi Chenpo Zangpo Pelwa (Bdag nyid chen po bzang po dpal ba, 1262-1325).[484] [Ze'u Dülzin] acted as the private interviewer when Lama Daknyi took the monastic vows of complete

[484] Bdag nyid chen po bzang po dpal ba was a nephew of 'Phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan. He returned from China in 1298 and took the throne at Sa skya monastery in 1306. His tenure at Sa skya lasted for seventeen years. See Tsepon W.D Shakabpa, *One Hundred Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet,* trans. Derek F. Maher (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010) 231.

ordination. [In fact, Ze'u Dülzin] had served as the [monastic] preceptor and [ordination] abbot for thousands. [18b] Ze'u Dülzin, whose great name is connected to monastic discipline (*'dul ba*) and [monastic] teaching, and whose true nature is that of an immaculate Saint (*gnas btan*), worked to elucidate the teachings of the Buddha.

[Ze'u Dülzin and Ze'u Khenchen Drakpa Shérap]

In the Male Wood-Tiger Year (1314/15), on the morning of the eighth day of the ninth month (*dbyug pa'i zla ba*), two thrones were arranged in the center of the monastic congregation [in Nartang's Great Temple]. Seated on the two [thrones] were the illustrious Ze'u uncle and nephew (*dbon po*).[485] [Ze'u Dülzin] announced that his successor was [his nephew Ze'u] Khenchen Drakpa Shérap:

> Today I have appointed [the next] abbot. In the same way that respect has been given to me, so to [should] all [of you] respect [the new abbot]. [By doing this], goodness will come. But there are those that have also done the opposite (*go bzlog pa*) [i.e. not shown respect to the abbot]. The past abbots [19a] have provided much service (*bsnyen bkur*) to the community [and] have taught the community what is appropriate. By appointing you as the successor (*rgyal tshab*), you will become an expert in elucidating the Teaching.

[Ze'u Dülzin and Chim Lozang Drakpa]

Ze'u Dülzin also created the excellent conditions for the nephew of the all-knowing Chim [Namkha Drak] to [succeed as the twelfth Nartang abbot]. While tea was being served and gifts given [to the monastic congregation], the master Jotsün Zhönu Sönam (Jo btsun gzhon nu bsod nams, d.u) spoke of the prophecy about the [future twelfth] abbot. In response to this prophecy

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[485] The uncle refers to Ze'u 'Dul 'zin and his nephew is Ze'u mkhan chen grags pa shes rab.

[Ze'u Dülzin] said, "I was extremely delighted to hear that the preceptor (*slob dpon*) Mönlam Sengé (Smon lam seng ge, d.u.) had a son (*sras po*). This nephew of the Lama [Chim Namkha Drak] will be under my care. At age eight, he will come to Nartang from [a place] called Tsétang (Rtsad thang)." [19b] After [speaking about the prophecy], [Jotsün] Zhönu spoke [to Ze'u Khenchen Drakpa Shérap], "I had a dream. The nephew of Lama [Chim Namkha Drak] arrived here from Tsétang. [He] will be a most extraordinary person (*skye bu*) that will bring benefit to this wholesome community (*sde*). Although you are [his] elder, do not act arrogant. Show reverence to master [Chim Namkha Drak's] nephew and offer tea and gifts."

As for the conditions [that were created by Ze'u Dülzin for the success of Chim Namkha Drak' nephew], he was [first] taught to read, the basis of all virtuous attributes. He studied the stages of religious practices, Chim [Namkha Drak's] *Father Teachings* (*Pha chos*) [from the *Kadam Lekbam* (*Bka' gdams glegs bam*)], memorized the Abhidharmakośa as well as longer and medium length sūtras. He also received all transmissions and pith instruction on the *Hevajra Tantra in Two Parts* (*Rgyud rtag [pa] nyis [pa]*).

[20a] At age nine [Chim Lozang Drakpa] made prayers to the Sixteen Saints and others. Ze'u Dülzin himself constantly taught [him] the supplication [to the Sixteen Saints]. At age ten he took the vows of monastic ordination [from Ze'u Dülzin]. [During the ordination ceremony], when it was time to bestow upon him [the monastic] name, [Ze'u Dülzin] said, "The [monastic] name given to you will be of great significance: Chim Lozang Drakpa Pel Zangpo (Mchim blo bzang grags pa dpal bzang po).

[Chim Lozang Drakpa] studied the sūtras, the *Ratnakūṭa*, the collected works of Chim [Namkha Drak], and so forth, from the preceptor Khétsün Zhönnu Jungné (Mkhas btsun gzhon

nu ’byung gnas, d.u). Gyangro Penchen Jangchup Bum (Rgyang ro paN chen byang chub ’bul/ bum, b. thirteenth century) prophesied that [Chim Lozang Drakpa] would become the twelfth abbot of Nartang and how, as someone skilled in method, he would protect and spread the Teaching. [Gyangro Penchen said], “May all the virtuous attributes of Chim [Namkha Drak] be transmitted to this nephew of Chim. It is my hope that he will be abbot of Nartang.” [20b]

[Ze’u Dülzin: Sickness and Death]

In the Wood-Hare Year (1315), on the fifth day in the ninth/tenth month (*smin drug*), [Ze’u Dülzin] showed signs of illness. The entire monastic community continuously performed numerous religious services for removing the conditions [his] illness. [Ze’u Dülzin] showed no attachment or clinging [to this life] whatsoever.

In the [Fire-]Dragon Year (1316) during the middle of the night on the twenty-third day in the sixth month,[486] there was light and the sound of thunder. When the stars had descended [in the early morning] of the twenty-fourth, [Ze’u Dülzin] enacted death (*sku yal ba*). He was sixty-four years of age. His corpse (*spur*) was cremated on the night of the new moon (twenty-ninth or thirtieth). The corpse remained in the crematory for five days. [The remains] were then ceremoniously brought to [Nartang’s] Great Temple. Extensive funeral services were performed for seven days [21a].

On the morning of the first day of the new month, the many thousands of monks [that had gather to perform the funeral services] were offered hot [tea] and monetary donations (*zho*

[486] The translation here is merely suggestive. The text reads *nya bre leb zla ba*. *Bre’i zla ba* is a name for the sixth month according to the Mongolian calendar (*hor zla*).

'gyed). The teacher (*bla ma*) had said, "There was a distinguished sweet aroma of good incense that filled [the air]." There were auspicious omens, such as rainbow lights and so forth, that lasted until the fifth month. For the benefit of living beings his holy bone relics, which are the internal representation of a great being who has seen reality, were housed in the outer representation, the *Reliquary of Parinirvāṇa* (*Myang 'das mchod rten*).

[Concluding Verses of Praise]

The renowned (Drakpa) qualities of all the Buddhas are united as one
by perservance (Tsöndrü).[487] Through this *Wish-Fulfilling Gem that Illuminates the Life of The Glorious* [Ze'u Dülzin], may the highest knowledge be obtained!

The enlightened wisdom activity of all the Buddhas are united in this glorious master. By the renowned (Drakpa*)* merits of worship, whatever that may be, may the highest form of perservance (Tsöndrü) be obtained by all embodied beings.

With firm resolve, may the desires and hopes of the Glorious Ze'u Drakpa Tsöndrü be accomplished. The best teacher possesses the three types of discriminative awareness.
By obtaining the highest form of wisdom,
may the master be delighted.

[487] These verses are partly a poetic play on the meaning Ze'u Dülzin's complete name Drakpa Tsöndrü, which translates as "renowned perseverance."

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