The Life and Collected	Works of Tibetan	Loiong Master	Tokmé Zangpo	(1295-1369)

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A Dissertation Presented to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Religious Studies

University of Virginia August, 2015

Abstract

This study concerns the biography and Collected Works of Tibetan Lojong master Tokmé Zangpo (1295-1369). Among diverse Buddhist spiritual exercises, the cultivation of compassion explored in Tibetan Lojong, or mind training, literature is arguably the most prominent and popular teaching about compassion meditation. Beginning in the early twelfth century, texts about Lojong teachings gradually evolved into a category of Lojong literature, which became a shared heritage across various Tibetan Buddhist schools. Tibetan master Tokmé Zangpo is renowned for explaining this material in his Collected Works. Tokmé Zangpo's biography also reflects his Lojong character. This dissertation examines how Tokmé Zangpo is portrayed as a unique compassionate personality in his biography. The research also explores his Collected Works as a source to understand the Lojong tradition.

Chapter 1 investigates the relations between the earliest three Tokmé Zangpo biographies. I compare related information in the contents of these three works, as well as other textual evidence to determine their composition times. In so doing, I discover the true identity of the biographer, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, and that Guide to Your Devotion could be the earliest existing version of Tokmé Zangpo's biography. Chapter 2 chooses three themes with which to analyze Tokmé Zangpo's childhood, educational background, and compassionate actions as described in Guide to Your Devotion. Chapter 3 contributes the first research on the authorship and editorship of four editions of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works. This chapter investigates their compilation history. Chapter 4 analyzes the textual organization in *Degé Collected Works* and divides its one hundred and fourteen texts into ten different categories. This analysis discovers that Degé Collected Works functions as a central source for understanding Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong philosophy. Chapter 5 shows that Tokmé Zangpo's concept for his Lojong lineage was shaped by his involvement with Kadam masters and texts. I argue that the unique element of Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong lineage is the inclusion of the five masters who are associated with Asanga. By so doing, Tokmé Zangpo created a better credibility for his Lojong lineage. In conclusion, this dissertation contributes to the study of Tokmé Zangpo's biography and Collected Works as related to the subject on Lojong.

Acknowledgements

In terms of my studies at the University of Virginia, I am thankful to the committee of Dharma Drum Mountain in Taiwan who provided with me essential financial support. Dharma Drum Mountain also connected me with faculty at U.Va. and institutions in the United States when I decided to pursue my study here.

The research for this dissertation took place in India, Tibet, and China. My field work in these places was funded by the China Times Cultural Foundation, the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange, U.Va.'s East Asia Center and the Weedon-Penn travel grant. I am thankful for their support.

In Beijing, I appreciate the faculty's and my friends' help at Minzu University of China, especially Zhoula, Drakpa Jungné, and Ozhu Cuomu. They were patient with me in deciphering the multiple meanings inherent in literary Tibetan.

In Dharamshala, I appreciate help given by my friends and the librarians at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives. I especially thank Tashi Tsering of the Amnye Machen Institute, who offered me abundant references. I owe the most to two Tibetan monastic scholars, Luosang Wongdui and Sonam Gompo. They never hesitated to answer my questions through Wechat and Skype even after my return to the United States from India.

At U.Va., I thank my advisor Karen Lang who tolerated my slow learning, pointed out possible directions for my research, and gave me emotional support. I thank Kurtis Schaeffer who inspired my research in Lojong and Collected Works. I thank Jalane Schmidt who wrote down her insightful comments throughout my draft. I thank John Shepherd who helped me extend my study in Chinese religions. I thank Paul Groner, who never stops teasing me, which has let me face stress with a more humorous attitude.

I thank TBRC researcher Kelsang Lhamo, Alderman librarian Nawang Thokmey, and Khenpo Khenpo Rikpé Dorjé in Charlottesville. They helped resolve difficult issues presented by colophons and Tibetan printings.

I am lucky to have the following fellows who encouraged my study at U.Va.: Chris Bell, Chris Hiebert, Jue Liang, Christie Kilby, Kamaoji, Manu Lopez, Ben McClintic, Bill McGrath, Alison Melnick, Natasha Mikles, Eva Natanya, Ben Nourse, Ananda Reed, Jann Ronis, Zach Rowinski, Michael Schuman, Brenton Sullivan, Nick Trautz, Jed Verity, Katarina Turpeinen, Alberto Todeschini, Naomi Worth, Jongbok Yi, and many others.

I appreciate my parents and family in Taiwan. While they cannot fully appreciate my career choice in Religious Studies, they still provide me with their best understanding. I thank my editor, Caitlin Conley, who proofread my writing whenever I needed it.

I thank John Ragland, who often brought sweets or dinner when I was confined in my place for writing.

Last, I thank my Emo, the best life coach.

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Introduction

On the hills at Ngülchü Chödzong, located in the Xietongmen County of Shigatse in today's Tibetan Autonomous Region, a shrine of Tokmé Zangpo sits across from various meditation caves. In the afternoon of August of 2013, local people dressed in traditional Tibetan clothes and they visited this small shrine, where they prostrated in front of Tokmé Zangpo's statue. Around forty miles southwest of Ngülchü Chödzong is located Bodong É Monastery. Monks there can still recall Tokmé Zangpo's life story and that he almost rose to be the abbot at Bodong É. Tokmé Zangpo's "Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas" (*Rgyal sras lag len so bdun ma*) is preached to the public in Asia and America and has been translated into various languages. While he passed away in 1369, Tokmé Zangpo is still venerated as a saint even beyond Tibet today.

This dissertation is about the biographies and Collected Works of this fourteenth-century Tibetan scholar Tokmé Zangpo (Thogs med bzang po, 1295-1369) in the context of the Lojong tradition in Tibetan Buddhism. Tibetan Lojong (*blo sbyong*) or "mind training" is arguably the most prominent Buddhist teaching that provides a system of gradual self-cultivation to remove destructive emotions and develop compassion towards all sentient beings. To have universal compassion is not only a crucial goal for Lojong practice, but is also a representative characteristic of Mahāyāna (Greater Vehicle) Buddhist devotees who commit to undertake a career of bodhisattva. While it evolved in

¹ Please see Appendix 1 for pictures of present-day's Ngülchü Chödzong, Tokmé Zangpo's shrine and statue.

the early twelfth century, nowadays Tibetan Lojong meditation has been adopted by many contemporary practitioners of compassion meditation.²

Master Tokmé Zangpo composed Lojong texts, which were included in his Collected Works (gsung 'bum or bka' 'bum) and Fragmentary Collected Works (bka' 'bum thor bu). After his death, scholars started systematically establishing Lojong transmission. They were directly and indirectly influenced by how Tokmé Zangpo built Lojong tradition. This fact implies that the way he evolved the content of his Lojong lineage was a critical point in the development of Lojong literature. As further evidence, the first Lojong anthology was also published in the fifteenth century soon after Tokmé Zangpo's time.

Well-known by other names such as Gyelsé Tokmé Zangpo or Ngülchü Tokmé, Tokmé Zangpo is a renowned Lojong master partly because his "Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas" (*Rgyal sras lag len so bdun ma*) has attracted the most attention from scholars and lay people alike even nowadays. Famous masters such as Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche (Dil mgo mkhyen brtse, 1910-1991), Geshe Jampa Tegchok (1930-2014), the Fourteenth Dalai Lama Tendzin Gyatso, (Bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho, birth 1935), and the Seventeenth Kamapa Orgyen Trinlé Dorjé (O rgyan 'phrin las rdo rje, birth 1985), preached this text to the public. Their speeches were translated into English or Chinese.³

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² For example, Emory University adopts Lojong practice to conduct its Cognitively-Based Compassion training. See https://tibet.emory.edu/cognitively-based-compassion-training/ projects/index.html, accessed on March 20, 2015.

³ Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche's commentary is located in *The Heart of Compassion: The Thirty-seven Verses on the Practice of a Bodhisattva*, (Boston: Shambhala, 2007), 43-204. For Geshe Jampa Tegchok's commentary, please see Jampa Tegchok and Thubten Chodron, *Transforming*

The common ground between Tokmé Zangpo's "Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas" and his commentaries on Chekhawa's work is the cultivation and performance of universal compassion. This common ground is one of the prominent goals that Lojong practitioners want to achieve.

In spite of Tokmé Zangpo's reputation today and his importance mentioned above, Tokmé Zangpo's other writings and his life story have received little academic discussion.

Therefore, through examining Tokmé Zangpo's biographies, this dissertation explains how Tokmé Zangpo is portrayed as a Lojong master who is endowed with compassionate character. The primary resource is Tibetan classical texts, which narrate a saint's life story, "namtar" (rnam thar). This literary genre contains both the biography and hagiography of a subject. The English translations for namtar include sacred biography, religious biography, hagiography liberative life story, life story, biography, or Life. In this dissertation, for the sake of discussion, I use the term biography to render the Tibetan word namtar.

By means of investigating the content and organization of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works, this dissertation shows that Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works are an

Adversity into Joy and Courage: An Explanation of The Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 2005). The Fourteenth Dalai Lama's talk was translated into Chinese both in the video and in the book format. See Tendzin Gyatso, Sanshi qi fozi xing 三十七佛子行, trans. Dianjinsangmo, (Tainan Shi: Tainan Shi ru yi bao ying yin liu tong fo xue hui, 2010). The Seventeenth Kamapa's talk was translated and was accessible on his official website in October, 2012. For an unknown reason, the link is not available now.

⁴ Andrew Quintman, *The Yogin and the Madman: Reading the Biographical Corpus of Tibet's Great Saint Milarepa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 7.

⁵ See Kurtis Schaeffer, *Himalayan Hermitess: The Life of a Tibetan Buddhist Nun* (Oxford University Press. 2004), 5.

important source because they preserve Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong texts and his way to construct the Lojong lineage. Furthermore, other texts in his Collected Works emphasize or reveal information that is not available in Tokmé Zangpo's biographies. At the same time, his biographies offer his educational background, which helps to investigate Tokmé Zangpo's rationale to establish the Lojong lineage. Through reading his biographies and Collected Works side by side, this dissertation discovers the nature of Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong character as it is represented by himself and his biographers.

The Concept and Translation of the Term Lojong

The origin of Lojong instruction in Tibet is associated with Indian scholar Atiśa's (982-1054) visit to Tibet. His arrival in Tibet in 1042 marked a crucial event in the "second dissemination" of Buddhism to Tibet. It was a period when Tibetan society endeavored to reestablish Buddhist discipline and conduct. Atiśa's instructions made Buddhist teaching and practice accessible to the clergy and laity.

In terms of Lojong philosophy, it is related to the prominent spiritual pursuit of bodhisattva practice in Mahāyāna Buddhism. This practice aims to liberate all sentient beings from sufferings during their lifetimes. Dorji Wangchuk explains this focus on deliverance:

Schmithausen has remarked that the Buddhist position on environmental ethics could be described as 'sentient-centric' and not as anthropocentric. We can extend this sentiment and describe Buddhism in general as a 'sentient-centric' religion, for its target is not limited to human beings but is in fact all sentient

beings (including animals). The significance of 'sentient-centrism' becomes more conspicuous in Mahāyāna Buddhism.⁶

This characteristic requires practitioners to remove the boundary between oneself and others so they can generate universal compassion toward all sentient beings. A bodhisattva, to give brief definition, is a sentient being (*sattva*) endowed with universal compassion. Therefore he or she is inspired to attain enlightenment (*bodhi*) for the sake of all beings. The mental state for this resolve, desire, wish, and inspiration is called *bodhicitta*, awakening mind (more discussion on this concept in Chapter 5). The goal of Lojong practice is to cultivate this awakening mind.

While the generation of *bodhicitta* is fundamental to Lojong instruction, there are many ways to approach the Lojong teachings. This fact is reflected by the different translations of the Tibetan term Lojong (*blo sbyong*) that have appeared in scholarship.

The earliest two discussions of Lojong teaching are by R.A. Stein and Giuseppe Tucci. Stein translated the Tibetan term Lojong as "mind exercise." He explained that the Lojong literature is still almost unexplored. It is related to Indian master Atiśa' moral teaching through the use of folk stories. When describing the emergence of the Tibetan Kadam school in the early twelfth century, Tucci explained that Atiśa imported Lojong

⁶ See Dorji Wangchuk, *The Resolve to Become a Buddha: A Study of the Bodhicitta Concept in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism* (Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, 2007), 126.

⁷ See R. A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1972), 267.

instruction, which is about purification of the mind, Buddhist ultimate reality, and compassion.⁸

Michael Sweet has provided an initial article on this topic, asserting that the translation of the Tibetan term Lojong should be "mental purification" instead of mind training. He also states that the earliest texts traditionally considered as the Lojong genre include Kadam texts on the genre of "stages of the doctrine" (bstan rim). Those texts served as models for the later "stages of the path" (lam rim) works by the Geluk school founder, Tsongkhapa (1357-1419). Referring to Tokmé Zangpo's analysis, Sweet credits Śāntideva (ca. eighth century) as a major figure in the transmission of Lojong practice. He proposes that the principal teaching of "giving and taking" (tonglen) in Lojong literature is founded on the practice of "exchanging oneself and others" (bdag dang gzhan du brje ba) as described in the eighth chapter of Śāntideva's Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life (Bodhicaryāvatāra). Sweet further examines two Lojong texts: "Seven-Topic Mental Purification" (blo sbyong don bdun ma) attributed to Chekhawa Yeshé Dorjé ('Chad kha ba ye shes rdo rje, 1102-1176), and "Wheel Weapon Mental Purification" (Blo sbyong mtshon cha 'khor lo) attributed to Atiśa's Lojong master, Dharmaraksita. Sweet argues for the significance of Chekhawa's text because it inspired commentaries by many renowned scholars. Sweet regards Tokmé Zangpo as the first commentator of this text. 10 Furthermore, contrary to the exoteric approach found in Chekhawa's text.

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⁸ Giuseppe Tucci, *The Religions of Tibet* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1980), 23.

⁹ Michael Sweet, "Mental Purification" in Cabezón, José Ignacio, and Roger R Jackson, eds. *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1996), 245-7.

¹⁰ Michael Sweet, "Mental Purification," 249.

Sweet points out that "Wheel Weapon Mental Purification" employs tantric practice to invoke the deity Yamāntaka to destroy one's ethical enemy, one's attachment to self. It is interesting to notice that later, Sweet, in conjunction with Leonard Zwilling, translated Lojong as mind training in their translation of two texts: "Wheel-Weapon Mind Training" (*Blo sbyong mtshon cha 'khor lo*) and "The Poison-Destroying Peacock Mind Training" (*Blo sbyong rma bya dug 'joms*).¹¹

Thupten Jinpa offers a clearer picture of Lojong's development based on his research and translation of the first Lojong anthology, which appeared in the fifteenth century: *Mind Training: The Great Collection (Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya rtsa)*. Jinpa suggests that there is no such work called *Root Lines of Mind Training* attributed to Atiśa, because mind training instruction was spread in Atiśa's "scattered sayings" type of texts. ¹² Atiśa's followers and their disciples compiled those sayings into a coherent text in their own versions of "root lines on mind training," including Chekhawa's *Seven-Point Mind Training (Blo sbyong don bdun ma)*. Jinpa points out six versions that can be distinguished from each other but seem to originate from a common source. Historically, Chekhawa's text dominated the commentarial tradition of Atiśa's mind training teaching. After Chekhawa's student, Sé Chilbu Chökyi Gyeltsen (Se spyil bu chos kyi gyal mtshan,

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¹¹ Sweet did not explain why he changed his translation, but readers can refer to his article mentioned in this paper. See Michael Sweet and Leonard Zwilling, trans. *Peacock in the Poison Grove: Two Buddhist Texts on Training the Mind* (Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 24, note 1.

¹² Thupten Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection* (Boston, Mass: Wisdom Publications, the Library of Tibetan Classics, 2006), 11.

1121-89), Tokmé Zangpo provided the second earliest commentary on Chekhawa's work.¹³

By making use of his advisor Jinpa's research, Thomas Troughton employs a contextual approach in his thesis to argue that the most suitable interpretation of Lojong is mind training. He outlines various types of texts in *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, such as biography, hagiography, five versions of root lines of mind training and their relevant commentaries, etc. Those texts were attributed to Atiśa, Atiśa's masters, Kadampa scholars, and Sakyapa scholars. Heferring to Karl R. Popper's theory of tradition, Troughton proposes that the editors of *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, Könchok Gyeltsen (Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan, 1388-1469) and Zhönnu Gyelchok (Gzhon nu rgyal mchog, ca. fourteenth century), adopted the mind training teaching as a tradition due to Atiśa's influential status in Tibetan society. Those two editors are associated with the Sakya school. Troughton thinks that, by grafting Atiśa's mind training tradition onto the Sakya lineage, the Sakya school presented itself in a position of prestige and influence.

Mind Training: The Great Collection was composed in the fifteenth century, during which the Sakya school was not the main ruling power of Tibet. Further research

¹³ Thupten Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, 12. Without pointing out Sweet's mistaken claim that Tokmé Zangpo was the first commentator, Jinpa asserts that Sé Chilbu Chökyi Gyeltsen was the first commentator.

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¹⁴ Troughton, Thomas. *Tibetan Mind Training: Tradition and Genre*. Master thesis (McGill University Canada, 2008), 74-76.

¹⁵ Ibid, 76-80.

is needed regarding whether the two editors of this text used their work to connect the Sakya school with Atiśa as a way to revive the prestige of Sakya school.

The aforementioned studies offer different approaches to Lojong literature. The composition of *Mind Training: The Great Collection* indicates that as early as the fifteenth century, scholars developed their own methods of enriching Lojong traditions, which crossed sectarian boundaries. In the context of my discussion about Tokmé Zangpo, while I choose the term "mind training" as a better translation for some text titles, I use the Tibetan term Lojong the rest of the time due to its various meanings in Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works and biographies.

Situating Tokmé Zangpo in History

In terms of Tokmé Zangpo's life and writings, they are related to different Buddhist schools. This section briefly summarizes their historical background.

Buddhism was brought to Tibet in the seventh century. It gradually gained royal support, such as from King Songtsen Gampo (Srong btsan sgam po, 616–650), and King Trisong Detsen (Khri srong lde btsan, 755–797). While Buddhism encountered an interlude due to persecution during the reign of Langdarma (Glang dar ma, 836–842), by the end of the tenth century, Buddhism revived in Tibet and monasticism became the central interest.¹⁶ Indian scholar Atiśa was invited to Tibet under this climate. Tibet was

¹⁶ Recent scholarship has challenged the very notion that Langdarma initiated persecutions. See Amy Miller, "Jeweled Dialogues: The Role of *The Book* in the Formation of the Kadam Tradition Within Tibet" (PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 2004), 13.

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eager to acquire authentic Buddhist teachings from its birth land. Later Atiśa's followers established the Kadam, meaning advice, school. Its important teachings are on *bodhicitta* (the awakening mind), Lojong (mind training), and "stages of the doctrine." Along with this movement of establishing the Tibetan Buddhist order, the Kagyü (*bka' brgyud*, oral lineage) and the Sakya (*sa skya*, white earth) school were founded in the eleventh century.

As for these Tibetan Buddhist schools mentioned above and developed before the time of Tokmé Zangpo, their institutions or doctrines are recorded in Tokmé Zangpo's biographies. The Sakya monastery (founded in 1073), and the texts advocated by the Kadam school are especially related to his education.

During Tokmé Zangpo's time, the minority Bodong sect was growing at Bodong É Monastery. This monastery was established in 1049 by Geshe Mudrā Chenpo,¹⁷ and it became a major center for Buddhist study in the fourteenth century. Bodong É Monastery is related most to Tokmé Zangpo's life experience. In "The Succession of Abbots and the History of the Bodong School," Géshé A Yu (2010)¹⁸ mentions that the monks of Bodong É Monastery requested that Tokmé Zangpo become the abbot. Tokmé Zangpo refused this invitation due to his pursuit of religious practice and recommended Lodrö Tenpa (Blo gros brtan pa, 1276-1342) as the candidate instead.

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¹⁷ See Nag-dban-skal-ldan-rgya-mtsho, Guntram Hazod, Hildegard Diemberger, and Pasang Wangdu, *Shel dkar chos 'byung = History of the "White Crystal": Religion and Politics of Southern La stod* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 14.

¹⁸ The author's real name is Géshé Tséringpo. He is the Sakya lineage representative in the Central Tibetan Administration in Dharamshala, India. I interviewed the author in Dharamshala in August 2012. Mr. Tséringpo told me that his reference is Kön Chok Bang's (birth 15th century) *The Biography of Bodong Panchen Phyogs Las Rnam Rgyal*.

These events occurred before the date of Bodong Penchen Choklé Namgyel (Bodong paN chen phyogs las rnam rgyal, 1375-1451), who was regarded as the founder of the Bodong tradition. In 1385, Shelkar (Shel dkar) monastery, affliated with the Bodong tradition, was founded by Drakpa Gyeltsen (Grags pa rgyal mtshan, birth in 1352). According to *Shel dkar chos 'byung (History of the "White Crystal*), Drakpa Gyeltsen studied with Tokmé Zangpo. 19

In the political environment, around the time of Tokmé Zangpo, from 1245 until 1358, Sakya hierarchs were the acknowledged rulers of Tibet, but their influence gradually weakened with the collapse of Mongol control of China (1358-1360). The arising polity Pakmodrupa (*phag mo grub pa*) led by T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen (Ta'i si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan, 1302-1364) replaced the Sakya-Mongol regime. While Sakya political power was declining, renowned Sakya scholars were born, such as Butön Rinchendrup (Bu ston rin chen grub, 1290-1364). Interactions between these figures and Tokmé Zangpo are recorded in Tokmé Zangpo's biographies and also his own writings.

In the fifteenth century, the Geluk (*dge lugs*, virtuous system) school was formed by Tsongkhapa (Tsong kha pa, 1357-1419) and his followers. The line of Dalai Lamas originated in this school. In the seventeenth century, the Geluk school took political leadership in Tibet. The Fifth Dalai Lama and the Geluk monasteries were involved in the preservation of Tokmé Zangpo's writings, as this dissertation will discuss it further.

¹⁹ See Nag-dban-skal-ldan-rgya-mtsho, Guntram Hazod, Hildegard Diemberger, and Pasang Wangdu, *Shel dkar chos 'byung = History of the "White Crystal": Religion and Politics of Southern La stod*, 14 and 72.

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Chapter Summary

In "Chapter One: Editions of Tokmé Zangpo's Earliest Biographies," I investigate the relations between the earliest three Tokmé Zangpo biographies that were composed between the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth century. These three biographies are as follows: 1. The Guide to Your Devotion: Precious Gyelsé Tokmé's Life (Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, hereafter called Guide to Your Devotion), which was composed by Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo (Gzhon nu rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po, birth ca. fourteenth century). 2. The Ray of Altruism: Precious Gyelsé Tokmé's Life (Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer), which was composed by Pelgyi Rinchen (Dpal gyi rin chen, birth ca. fourteenth century). 3. Drops of Ambrosia, the Life of the Precious Gyelsé Tokmé (Rgyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa), which was composed by Penden Yéshé (Dpal Idan ye shes, ca. fourteenth century). I compare related information in these three works, as well as other textual evidence to determine their completion times. In so doing, I discover the identity of the biographer, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, and that Guide to Your Devotion could be the earliest extant version of Tokmé Zangpo's biography.

In "Chapter Two: Tokmé Zangpo's Life Story as Narrated in *Guide to Your Devotion*," I use three chosen themes to analyze Tokmé Zangpo's childhood, educational background, and his compassionate actions as described in *Guide to Your Devotion*.

²⁰ See Tsepon Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 73-82.

Through examining these themes, I explain how he is depicted as a noble Lojong master by his biographer, and how he is remembered by his community. I also point out which parts of his studies were related to the subject of Lojong.

In "Chapter Three: The Editions of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works," I investigate the compilation history of two editions of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works (*bka' 'bum*), and two editions of his Fragmentary Collected Works (*bkar 'bum thor bu*) preserved today. I clarify to what extent these four editions are related to each other. This chapter also examines the role of literature in the formation of religious identity that Tokmé Zangpo's followers created through editing or arranging his writings. The existence of different sponsorships for Tokmé Zangpo's works implies that his reputation continually increased after his death.

Among those four editions, based on the overlapping content and the inclusion of texts, Chapter 4 chooses to analyze the textual organization in: *Collected Works of Great Tokmé Bodhisattva* (*Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, hereafter called *Degé Collected Works* due to printing at Degé). In "Chapter Four: Textual Organization in *Degé Collected Works*," I categorize the one hundred and fourteen texts in *Degé Collected Works*. I specify different writing forms in order to show the editors' rationale by which they physically grouped texts together. This chapter discovers that the quantity of texts that have Lojong in the content comprise around half of *Degé Collected Works*.

In "Chapter Five: Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong Lineage in *Degé Collected Works*," I analyze how the concept of Lojong is used in different contexts. I further clarify that for Tokmé Zangpo, when he constructed his Lojong lineage, the meaning of Lojong

specifically refers to Chekhawa's teaching transmission of seven-point mind training. This chapter presents that the way Tokmé Zangpo constructed his Lojong lineage was shaped by his involvement with Kadam masters and texts, as well as the textual tradition of Asanga. This fact has been neglected by previous scholarly literature. After Tokmé Zangpo's viewpoint of Lojong transmission was inherited by his immediate followers, they continually recorded his Lojong lineage. In this way Tokmé Zangpo's status as a Lojong master has been produced and re-produced by texts.

Chapter One: Editions of Tokmé Zangpo's Earliest Biographies

Introduction

To understand Tokmé Zangpo as a Lojong master, our investigation must begin with an introduction to his life story. Tokmé Zangpo passed away in 1369, and from the fourteenth century onwards, different Tibetan authors have composed different versions of his biographies. The earliest three extant biographies were composed between the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth century. More importantly, these three biographers had personal relations with Tokmé Zangpo so I choose to examine them as the most authentic source of Tokmé Zangpo's life story. They are as follows:

- 1. Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo (Gzhon nu rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po, birth ca. fourteenth century). *The Guide to Your Devotion: Precious Gyelsé Tokmé's Life (Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, hereafter called *Guide to Your Devotion*).²¹
- 2. Pelgyi Rinchen (Dpal gyi rin chen, birth ca. fourteenth century). *The Ray of Altruism:*Precious Gyelsé Tokmé's Life (Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer, hereafter called Ray of Altruism).²²

²¹ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, in *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam thar dad pa'i gsal 'debs dang gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer* [TBRC W1KG1797] (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2008), 1-67. This work is a modern typeset edition.

²² See Pelgyi Rinchen, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer, in Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam thar dad pa'i gsal 'debs dang gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer [TBRC W1KG1797], 68-236. In the colophon, Pelgyi Rinchen refers to his work as "Rgyal sras rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer."

3. Penden Yéshé (Dpal Idan ye shes, ca. fourteenth century). *Drops of Ambrosia, the Life* of the Precious Gyelsé Tokmé (Rgyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa, hereafter called *Drops of Ambrosia*).²³

Scholarly literature has not analyzed the writing times for any biography of Tokmé Zangpo. Thus this chapter is doing the ground-breaking work to investigate the authors and composition times for these three biographies of Tokmé Zangpo in order to narrow down which edition could have been composed the earliest.

The Earliest Versions of Tokmé Zangpo's Biographies

1. The Biographer of Guide to Your Devotion

These three works are different in length, but their content is related. None of these three works have tables of contents. *Guide to Your Devotion* and *Ray of Altruism* are compiled together in one typeset book by the 2008 editors, *Precious Gyelsé Tokmé's Life: Guide to Your Devotion and Rays of Altruism (Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam thar dad pa'i gsal 'debs dang gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer*).²⁴ While the editors of this

²³ See Penden Yéshé, Rgyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa, in Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu [TBRC W2CZ6641] (Thimphu: Kun bzang stobs rgyal, 1975), 1-45. While Penden Yéshé's full name is Drogön Penden Yéshé ('Gro mgon dpal ldan ye shes), he referred to himself as Penden Yéshé in his writings. The English translation of the excerpt of Penden Yéshé's work is in Rab-gsal-zla-ba, and Rgyal-sras Thogs-med Bzan-podpal, The Heart of Compassion: The Thirty-Seven Verses on the Practice of a Bodhisattva: A Commentary, 9-26.

²⁴ There are two versions of this typeset format. One was published by Paltseg Boyig Penying Zhibjug Khan, no publication date. The other was published by Tibetan People Publishing House (Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang) in 2008. The content in these two typeset editions is the same but the latter has fewer typos in Tibetan and has a table of contents. Thus I chose that one for discussion. The TBRC entry number for this work is W1KG1797.

book corrected Tibetan typos and created a table of contents, they do not specify the composition years for *Guide to Your Devotion* and *Rays of Altruism*. Their table of contents clearly summarizes the content of each section of the biographies. This fact shows that the biographers originally did have a rationale in their organization of Tokmé Zangpo's life.

In this work, there are three appearances of pages numbered one to three, and four appearances of pages numbered one to two before the actual content of Tokmé Zangpo's biography. Thus, the following page numbers mentioned in the footnotes refer to those appearing after the table of contents.

The first part of this 2008 work is *Guide to Your Devotion*. In the colophon of *Guide to Your Devotion*, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo referred to Tokmé Zangpo as the Lord of Dharma and continued:

The glorious master, the Lord of Dharma, is the hero who does not exist in these three worlds. Previously, the abbot, Chökyi Özerwa, and virtuous friends Dorjé Gyeltsen etc., from Eastern Island Monastic Center in the glorious Sakya monastery, encouraged me [to write his life story]. In addition, now, virtuous friends from the sanctuary Dharma-Wheel, encouraged me to do so. [Thus, I] the monk of Shakya clan, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, composed this *The Guide to Your Devotion: Precious Gyelsé Tokmé's Life* at the College at the Tsel Gungtang monastery, on the eighth day of August in the Year of the Tiger.

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²⁵ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 66: dpal ldan bla ma chos kyi rje/ 'jig rten gsum na bsnyengs pa mi mnga' ba rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa/ dad pa'i gsal 'debs zhes bya ba 'di nyid/ gdan sa chen po dpal ldan sa skya'i shar gling chen mo'i gdan sa pa mkhan po chos kyi 'od zer ba dang / dge ba'i bshes gnyen rdo rje rgyal mtshan la sogs pa du mas snga gong nas bskul zhing / 'phral nyid du chos 'khor gling pa'i dge ba'i bshes gnyen mang dag gis bskul nas/sh+'akya'i dge slong gzhon nu rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos/ chos grwa chen po tshal gung thang gi gtsug lag khang chen por/ stag lo zla ba brgyad pa'i yar ngo'i tshes brgyad la sbyar ba'o///.

Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo recorded that Tokmé Zangpo passed away on October 20th in the Year of the Rooster, 1369.²⁶ Therefore, the Year of the Tiger mentioned in the colophon could be as early as the Year of the Wood Tiger, 1374.²⁷ Moreover, based on this colophon, we can conclude that the Sakyapa monks and the other monastic fellows from the Dharma-Wheel sanctuary asked Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo to write Tokmé Zangpo's life story. The Dharma-Wheel sanctuary only appears in this colophon, but the Sakya monastery is mentioned many times in Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's work. According to the description in *Guide to Your Devotion*, Tokmé Zangpo studied and taught at Bodong É Monastery and he was even invited to be the abbot there.²⁸

While the earliest completion time of Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's work could have been in 1374 as stated in the colophon, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo had asked

and one of five elements. Each animal is associated with either a male or female aspect. The order of the animals is as follows: rat (male), ox (female), tiger (male), rabbit (female), dragon (male), snake (female), horse (male), goat (female), monkey (male), rooster (female), dog (male), pig (female). The order of the five elements is fire, earth, iron, water, and wood. The way to specify a year is to combine an element with an animal, or an element with a gender and an animal. Sometimes gender is omitted because it can be inferred from the animal sign. The interval between each animal year is twelve years. The interval between a specific element-animal year is sixty years. The correspondence between the western calendar and the Tibetan lunar calendar has been deduced from calculations by scholars. Please see the list in Zhang Yisun 张怡荪, ed. Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo; Zang Han da ci dian 藏漢大辭典 (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1998), 3198-3290. This list is the reference for this dissertation. As for the structure and calculation of Tibetan years and months, please see Svante Janson, "Tibetan Calendar Mathematics" (arXiv:1401.6285 [math.HO], Jan 2014), 1-86.

²⁷ The next Year of the Tiger is the Year of the Fire Tiger, 1386. While 1386 is also a possible composition year, a piece of textual evidence suggests that 1374 should have been the writing year for Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo. I explain my argument later in this chapter.

²⁸ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 24-5.

Tokmé Zangpo to talk about his life story before Tokmé Zangpo's death in 1369. Their conversation is recorded in the beginning of *Guide to Your Devotion*:

The liberation of precious Tokmé's body, mind, and speech is profound and extensive. By our perception, we are not able to understand and express it. I am in the presence of the precious one. After I have generated courage, I asked, "Master, please be aware of your life and [tell it to me]." Thus, [the precious one Tokmé] replied:

- [I]²⁹ received three trainings, but [I] was tainted by the odor of moral faults.
- [I] did things beneficial to others, but [I] did things beneficial to myself [diligently] such as [saving my head from] being burned by the fire.
- [I] heard and contemplated [Buddhist doctrines], but [I] did not obtain a depth similar to that of the words.
- [I] stayed isolated, but [I] passed into the power of laziness.

Having asserted this, [the precious one Tokmé] stated, "As for those who previously said "[they] want [my] life story," [when I] gave that speech [to them], I told [them] my life story as what [I just replied above]. ³⁰

This interview-like dialogue continues and a summary of portions of the content is presented later in this chapter. As *Guide to Your Devotion* is a work of literature and a Tibetan religious biography, its content is mix of fictions and facts. Thus whether their conversations really happened cannot be certainly verified. However, according to

³⁰ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 2: thogs med rin po che de nyid kyi sku gsung thugs kyi rnam par thar pa zab cing rgya che ba rnams ni/_tshur rol mthong ba rnams kyis rtogs pa'am brjod par mi nus kyi/_rin po che nyid kyi drung du/_bdag gis spobs pa bskyed nas/drung gi rnam thar zhig thugs la 'dogs par zhu zhus pas/ bslab gsum blangs pas nyes ltung dri mas gos//_thos bsam byas pas tshig bzhin gting ma rnyed//_gzhan don byas pas rang don med ltar 'bar//_dben par bsdad pas snyoms las dbang du song //_zhes pa 'di byon nas/_sngar yang rnam thar 'dod zer ba rnams la de skad byas/_bdag gi rnam thar de rang lags so gsungs/.

²⁹ Tokmé Zangpo does not use the word "I" (Tib: nga) to describe himself. I insert "I" for the sake of translation.

biographer Pelgyi Rinchen's colophon which states "according to Great Bodhisattva's reply to Zhönnu Gyeltsen,"³¹ Pelgyi Rinchen believed the existence of this interview. Based on their research, the 2008 editors also accept that Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo really met Tokmé Zangpo in person and that he obtained the life story from Tokmé Zangpo's responses.³² Supported by the opinions of Pelgvi Rinchen and the 2008 editors. I accept Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's claim. While it offers a major clue for his composition time and his lifespan, there is still some doubt for the authenticity of this evidence. With this caution in mind, this interview clearly points out that Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo transcribed what Tokmé Zangpo told him. It further implies that there are at least two layers of authorship in Guide to Your Devotion. One is Tokmé Zangpo himself and the other is biographer Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo. Moreover, Tokmé Zangpo's reply indicates that people started writing down his life experiences during his lifetime. Thus it is possible that, beside the three biographies listed in this chapter, there are still some other unknown biographies that were composed within the lifetime of Tokmé Zangpo or right after his death in 1369.

Beside this interview, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo further points out his resources for his composition. Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo gathered information from other people and he says:

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³¹ See Pelgyi Rinchen, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer, Ray of Altruism*, 203. The complete colophon is examined below.

³² This statement is on page 1 in the section of "Explanation of Collection and Arrangement" (bsdu sgrig gsal bshad), which is located before the table of contents, in Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam thar dad pa'i gsal 'debs dang gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer.

If [I] talked here [about precious Tokmé's] few activities that [I] heard from some people who stayed in the presence of [him] for a long time...³³

It is unclear whether Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo gathered information from other people during Tokmé Zangpo's life time or after his death. In any case, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's description displays that the memory of a community helped narrate Tokmé Zangpo's life story, rather than Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo alone. As Annabella Pitkin points out, memorialization is the communal dimension of the biographical process.³⁴ The biographers themselves record that memory. To sum up, three sources construct the identity of Tokmé Zangpo in this text: the subject, the biographer, and the community.

It is interesting to notice that after Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's colophon, Sönam Rinchen (Bsod nams rin chen) gave his utterance as follows:

May it be extensively virtuous, good, and greatly auspicious! [In terms of] this biography of the Master, the Lord of Dharma Gyelsé, once you hear his life story, you will generate faith like firm ground and feel moved. Then, [I] wanted [this biography] so much and I searched for it. Although I could not find it for a long time, by means of the Lord of Dharma's blessing, I found it behind [me]. In terms of merits that are earned from transcribing [this biography], as whatever Master Gyelsé wished, may [these merits be dedicated] to all sentient beings without exception, as extensive as space. [May these merits be dedicated] to [their] engagement in the path of bodhisattva's practices [that bring] achievement of temporary and ultimate welfare. May I never be wavering from dharma and follow the Master, the Lord of Dharma! For this statement, I, Sönam Rinchen, quickly wrote it down.³⁵

³⁴ See Annabella Claudia Pitkin, ""Like Pouring Water into Water:" Buddhist Lineages, Modernity and the Continuity of Memory in the Twentieth-Century History of Tibetan Buddhism" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2009), 74.

³³ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, Guide to Your Devotion, 2: *spyan sngar yun ring du bzhugs pa 'ga' re las thos pa'i mdzad pa'i tshul cung zad 'dir brjod na/*.

³⁵ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 66-67: gyal sras chos rje bla ma'i rnam thar 'di/_mtshan thos dad pa'i sa gzhi rab g.yo bas/ /rnam par 'dod te btsal yang yun ring du/ /ma rnyed mod

This assertion shows that Sönam Rinchen transcribed Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's *Guide to Your Devotion*. It seems that his statement was additional information added to the end sometime after Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's work was complete. In other words, Sönam Rinchen's description was not originally part of the biography. It is not clear who Sönam Rinchen is. He could be a later editor or just a later devotee of Tokmé Zangpo. This figure is not mentioned in any of the three biographies listed above.

A manuscript of *Guide to Your Devotion* supports the assumption that Sönam Rinchen transcribed this work. This manuscript is in the *umé* (*dbu med*, headless) style.³⁶ While the content between the manuscript edition and the typeset edition is the same, the format of Sönam Rinchen's words is different. In the typeset edition, there is no change in the font size or style between *Guide to Your Devotion* and Sönam Rinchen's statement. In the manuscript, as Image 1 shows, there are two different styles of Tibetan handwriting.³⁷ This difference indicates time elapsed between *Guide to Your Devotion* and Sönam Rinchen's claim. I added the arrow to point out the beginning of Sönam Rinchen's sayings. The Tibetan handwriting style in the next line after the arrow is

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kyi chos rje'i byin rlabs kyis/_phyis na rnyed te bris pa'i dge ba ni/_/rgyal sras bla ma'i thugs dgongs ji 'dra bar/_/mkha' mnyam 'gro ba'i tshogs rnams ma lus pa/_/gnas skabs mthar thug phan bde'i 'bras 'byin pa'i/_/byang chub spyod pa'i lam la 'jug par shog/_bdag kyang chos las nam yang ma g.yos par/_/chos rje bla mas rjes su 'dzin gyur cig_/ces smras nas bsod nams rin chen bdag gis/ mgyogs par bris pa lags so//.

³⁶ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras rin po che'i rnam thar*, *Precious Tokmé's Life*, in *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs* [TBRC W1KG10687] (Zi ling: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010), vol. 7, 55-116.

³⁷ Ibid., Image 1 is extracted from the page 116. This image is edited for the sake of discussion.

smaller and in cursive. This style is called *khyuk-yik* (*'khyug yig*, faster letters), a cursive version of the *umé* (*dbu med*, headless) styles.

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Image 1

Khyuk-yik is a common form of handwriting for notes and personal letters. This form indicates that the content before Sönam Rinchen's dedication was finished earlier as a separate text. This implication means that Sönam Rinchen did not participate in the composition of *Guide to Your Devotion*. Moreover, since so far there is no edition of *Guide to Your Devotion* that does not include Sönam Rinchen's dedication, most likely the original *Guide to Your Devotion* was only preserved in Sönam Rinchen's transcription. While the composition time for Sönam Rinchen's manuscript needs further research, it should have been completed before the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617-1682). This assumption is based on the symbol marked at the top of the title page, as shown in Image



Image 2

Image 2 displays a lotus platform. In the middle of the lotus, there are two lines of *umé* scripts that specify the text title. The line with the bigger font means "Precious Tokmé's Life (*rgyal sras rin po che'i rnam thar*)." The second line with the much smaller font means "Guide to Your Devotion" (*dad pa'i gsal 'debs*). Above the bigger font line are Tibetan cursive numbers "*gya dang dūn*" (*brgya dang bdun*), which refer to the number 107. Above this number, there are two cursive Tibetan characters. The one closer to the number reads "la" (*la*). The character above "la" reads "chi" (*phyi*). This cataloguing system was created by the librarians at the Drepung monastery ('Bras spungs dgon pa) in Lhasa during the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama in the seventeenth century.

³⁸ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras rin po che'i rnam thar*, *Precious Tokmé's Life*, in *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 7, 55. Image 2 is extracted from page 55. This

Chapter 2 further discusses this cataloguing system.³⁹ Later, this manuscript (or its copy) could have been the source for the modern typeset editions of *Guide to Your Devotion*. As the editors of the typeset editions do not mention Sönam Rinchen or information related to the manuscripts in the preface, the final conclusion for this possibility is another research topic.

In terms of the biographer, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, it is worth mentioning that his role in Tokmé Zangpo's life, as it manifests in *Guide to Your Devotion*, is different from that given by the record of The Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (hereafter called TBRC), one of the most important organizations that preserves Tibetan texts. In the TBRC record, Zhönnu Gyeltsen, possibly an abbreviation of Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, is listed as Tokmé Zangpo's teacher and the author of *Guide to Your Devotion*. His TBRC entry is P1836 and his primary title is Sakya Lama Zhönnu Gyeltsen (*sa skya bla ma gzhon nu rgyal mtshan*).⁴⁰

While it is possible that Zhönnu Gyeltsen and Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo are the same person, it is more likely that they are actually two different figures. As presented above, when Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo requested Tokmé Zangpo to talk about his life story, he said, "After I have generated courage, I asked, "Master, please be aware of your life and [tell it to me]..." As Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo addressed Tokmé Zangpo as "Master," and as he needed to have some certain degree of courage for his request, this

image is edited for the sake of discussion.

³⁹ I appreciate that Kurtis Schaeffer and TBRC researcher Kelsang Lhamo helped me identify this cataloguing system.

⁴⁰ The website was lastly accessed http://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=P1836, on April 20, 2015.

description indicates that Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's status should be lower than Tokmé Zangpo's. Therefore Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo was not Tokmé Zangpo's teacher, who would have had a higher status than Tokmé Zangpo. Furthermore, none of the earliest three biographies, including *Guide to Your Devotion*, listed in this chapter mention Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo as Tokmé Zangpo's teacher.

Interestingly, some Chinese resources, without mentioning their references, point out that the Sakyapa master Zhönnu Gyeltsen (Chinese: Xun nu jian zan) taught Tokmé Zangpo Buddhist epistemology at the Sakya monastery. This judgment could be due to the name change of a master whose name had Zhön gyel (*gzhon rgyal*) characters recorded in the earliest three biographies when these three works talk about Tokmé Zangpo's learning subject "valid cognition" and his teachers.

Guide to Your Devotion says that Tokmé Zangpo studied Dharmakīrti's Ascertainment of Valid Cognition (rnam nges) with Zhön Gyelwa (gzhon rgyal ba) in Sakya. Similarly, in Ray of Altruism, Pelgyi Rinchen claims that in the presence of great scholar Zhöngyel Jawa (gzhon rgyal bya ba), Tokmé Zangpo learned Dharmakīrti's Seven Treatises on Valid Cognition (sde bdun) at the Sakya monastery. Slightly

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⁴¹ Many Chinese online resources have this claim. One of the examples is in Tokmé Zangpo's introduction, which is situated in the beginning of the Chinese translation of *Fo zi xing quan shi* 佛子行詮釋. See http://www.plbbzs.com/pdfdownload/6070018.pdf, accessed on April 20th, 2015. This work is translated from Tokmé Zangpo's *Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas* (rgyal sras lag len so bdun ma). The Chinese characters for Zhönnu Gyeltsen are 勋务坚赞 (xun nu jian zan).

⁴² See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion,* 9.

⁴³ See Pelgyi Rinchen, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer, Ray of Altruism*, 86.

different but still related, in *Drops of Ambrosia*, Penden Yéshé says that instructor Zhöngyel (*gzhon rgyal*), who is a Valid Person (*tshad ma'i skyes bu*), ⁴⁴ and other instructors taught Tokmé Zangpo the Middle Way philosophy and the generation of awakening mind according to the Mind Only philosophy. ⁴⁵ According to these descriptions, we can notice that the master, whose name is alternatively Zhön Gyelwa, Zhöngyel Jawa, or Zhöngyel, is associated with the Sakya lineage, Buddhist epistemology (*tshad ma*), and Tokmé Zangpo. These three slightly different names could be referring to the same master. It seems that due to the similarities in these three names and their relations with Tokmé Zangpo's education, later, these names were gradually changed into Zhönnu Gyeltsen. ⁴⁶ This explains why Zhönnu Gyeltsen is recorded as Tokmé Zangpo's teacher at the Sakya monastery in some Chinese resources and on the TBRC entry P1836.

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⁴⁴ Valid Person is an honorific term that describes a person who is authoritative, reliable, and has direct realization of the Buddhist four noble truths.

⁴⁵ See Penden Yéshé, Rgyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa, Drops of Ambrosia, in Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu, 10.4-5.

Lozang Gyatso, (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617-1682). Regarding this Zhönnu Gyeltsen's religious lineage, in the Fifth Dalai Lama's Collected Works, Zhönnu Gyeltsen received "Sumpa Lotsāwa's transmission for goddess Sarasvati's empowerment, and the reading transmission of collected texts for practice" (sum pa lo tsA ba nas brgyud pa'i dbyangs can ma'i rjes gnang dang sgrub skor gyi lung brgyud). This lineage does not include Tokmé Zangpo. The three earliest Tokmé Zangpo biographies do not mention this lineage either. See Lozang Gyatso, River Gange's Flow: A Record of Excellent and Extensive Teaching Received (Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las), in Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum, [TBRC W1PD107937] (Pe cin: krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009), vol. 1, 120-121. The other lineage of Zhönnu Gyeltsen is "the transmission of red goddess Sarasvati" (dbyangs can ma dmar mo'i brgyud lugs). Here, he is recorded as "master Zhönnu" (bla ma gzhon nu). This lineage does not include Tokmé Zangpo either. See Lozang Gyatso, Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las, in Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum, vol. 2, 51-52.

While this Zhönnu Gyeltsen is Tokmé Zangpo's teacher, not the biographer Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, the 2008 editors of the typeset book *Precious Gyelsé Tokmé's Life: Guide to Your Devotion and Rays of Altruism*, use both Zhönnu Gyeltsen and Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo to refer to the biographer. The editors clearly point out that "the monk of Shakya clan Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo" (*sh+'akya'i dge slong gzhon nu rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po*) is the biographer of *Guide to Your Devotion*. However, on the copyright page, the entry for the authors (*rtsom pa po*) is Zhönnu Gyeltsen and Tsünpa Pelrin (*gzhon nu rgyal mtshan dang btsun pa dpal rin*). Apparently the editors use Zhönnu Gyeltsen as an abbreviation of Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo.

Neither TBRC's nor the 2008 editors' usage of Zhönnu Gyeltsen, which is shortened from the name Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, is Tokmé Zangpo's teacher. Another Zhönnu Gyeltsen whose name originated from Zhön Gyelwa, Zhöngyel Jawa, or Zhöngyel, is Tokmé Zangpo's teacher but is not the biographer. The fact that the abbreviated name of the biographer is the same with the evolved name of the teacher causes confusion. Most likely this abbreviated form, Zhönnu Gyeltsen, originating from Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, became TBRC's reference for the author of *Guide to Your Devotion*.

This abbreviated name, Zhönnu Gyeltsen, was also previously used by Pelgyi Rinchen. In *Ray of Altruism*, Pelgyi Rinchen referred to Tokmé Zangpo as Great Bodhisattva and he stated that his work was based on Zhönnu Gyeltsen's description:

⁴⁷ This assertion is on page 1 in the section of "Explanation of Collection and Arrangement" (bsdu sgrig gsal bshad), which is located before the table of contents, in Rgyal sras thogs med rin

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All good qualities of [Great Bodhisattva's actions] became [my] description. It is impossible when there is fault [in Great Bodhisattva's actions]. Therefore, it is beyond the [understanding] of an unintelligent person like me [Pelgyi Rinchen]. However, according to Great Bodhisattva's reply to Zhönnu Gyeltsen, who stayed in Gyelwa Yanggönpa's residential monastery and obtained the power of internalized reality, [I] wrote a general idea about [Great Bodhisattva's] birth place, lineage, parents, the way he relied on masters, and the way he realized scriptures of sutras and tantras.⁴⁸

Pelgyi Rinchen's description indicates that his *Ray of Altruism* was based on Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's *Guide to Your Devotion*. Pelgyi Rinchen was aware of Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's contribution and he specified the name in a short form. Also, Pelgyi Rinchen's modesty can be regarded as his device to further bolster Tokmé Zangpo's mastery.⁴⁹

Then, a question arises. Who is Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo? While this figure is one of the earliest biographers of Tokmé Zangpo, he is not mentioned in *Drops of Ambrosia*, which was written by Tokmé Zangpo's student Penden Yéshé. Even though there is not much biographical information about Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, I demonstrate that most likely he composed *Guide to Your Devotion* in 1374. I discovered the textual evidence for this conclusion in a short text titled "The Catalogue of The Lord of Dharma Yanggönpa's Collected Works" (*Chos rje yang dgon pa'i bka' 'bum gyi dkar*

po che'i rnam thar dad pa'i gsal 'debs dang gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer.

⁴⁸ See Pelgyi Rinchen, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer, Ray of Altruism, 203: thams cad yon tan kho na brjod par 'gyur gyi skyon gyi gnas skabs su gyur pa mi srid pa'i phyir/ bdag lta bu'i blo dman pa rnams kyi yul las 'das kyang/ rgyal ba yang dgon pa'i gdan sa rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po bla ma gzhon nu rgyal mtshan gyis zhus pas 'khrungs yul dang rigs rus/ yab yum dang / bla ma bsten tshul dang / mdo rgyud po ti mkhyen tshul rnams thams cad rags rim cig sems dpa' chen po rang gi gsungs pa de la gzhi byas/.

⁴⁹ I appreciate that Jalane Schmidt pointed out this rhetorical strategy to me.

chag, hereafter called Catalogue of Yanggönpa's Collected Works), ⁵⁰ which is also authored by Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo. At the end of "Catalogue of Yanggönpa's Collected Works," Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo states two different times and locations in which he edited Yanggönpa's (Yang dgon pa, 1213-1258) Collected Works. ⁵¹ In response to Gyelwa Zangpo, in the Year of the Earth Male Rat, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo conducted his project at "the place in glorious Chen Mukpo that is in the east of Dricham Chédün that is in the border of India and China." Later in the Year of the Wood Male Tiger, with the help of T'ai Si Tu Gélek Zangpo (Ta'i si tu dge legs bzang po, 1342-1390/1391), the twelfth secular throne holder (*dpon sa*) of the Tselpa Kagyü order, ⁵³ Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo completed his work at the College at the Tsel Gungtang monastery (*chos grwa chen po tshal gung thang gi gtsug lag khang*). ⁵⁴ This monastery was established in 1187 by Lama Zhang (Bla ma zhang, 1122-1193), founder of the Tselpa Kagyü (Tshal pa bka' brgyud) school of Tibetan Buddhism. ⁵⁵ Thus we can

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⁵⁰ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, "*Chos rje yang dgon pa'i bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag*," "Catalogue of Yanggönpa's Collected Works," in A Gön Rinpoché ed., *'bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod chen mo* [TBRC W00JW501203] (Lhasa, s.n., 2004), vol. 48, 554-563.

⁵¹ Ibid., 562.5-563.4.

⁵² See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, "Chos rje yang dgon pa'i bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag," "Catalogue of Yanggönpa's Collected Works," 562.4-5: rgya dkar nag gi so 'tshams/ gri lcam mched bdun gyi shar phyogs dpal bde ba chen smug po'i gnas.

⁵³ See Per K Sørensen, et al. Rulers On the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony In Medieval Tibet: A Study of Tshal Gung-thang (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 635-6.

⁵⁴ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, "Chos rje yang dgon pa'i bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag," "Catalogue of Yanggönpa's Collected Works," 562.5-6.

⁵⁵ The Tsel Gungtang monastery is located in the nowadays Tsel Gungtang town in the Chengguan District in Lhasa City. For the history of Lama Zhang establishing the Tsel Gungtang monastery, please see Carl Shigeo Yamamoto, "Vision and Violence: Lama Zhang and the

assume that Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo was affiliated with the Tselpa Kagyü order, and that he was familiar with the Collected Works of Yanggönpa, a renowned master who is most remembered for his experiential songs. Yanggönpa received teachings from all principal lineages of his time. One of his most important teachers was the great Kagyü master, Gönpo Dorjé (Mgon po rdo rje, 1189-1258). ⁵⁶

In the fourteenth and the early fifteenth century, the Year of the Earth Rat happened in 1348 and 1408. The Year of the Wood Tiger, which follows the Year of the Earth Rat, occurred in 1374 and 1434. T'ai Si Tu Gélek Zangpo's lifespan (1342-1390/1391) plays an important role to determine that the set of years, 1408 and 1434, is not the timeframe for Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's project. Per K. Sørensen and Guntram Hazod point out in their translation and research of "The Gazetteer of the Tsel Gungtang monastery" (*Gung thang dkar chag*):

Thereupon *drung chen Rin po che ta'i si tu* dGe-legs bzang-po [1342-1390/1391 A.D.] [appeared]. He was born as son of *drung chen* Kun-dga' rdorje⁵⁷ in a Horse year [i.e. 1342 A.D.]. Age 13, he was elected to the office of the *dpon sa* [ca. 1354 A.D.]. Winning the favour of the Great Emperor of the East (*shar gong ma rgyal po*) [i.e. Toyan Temür, rl. 1332-1368]), at the same time he was granted the title of *si tu* [Grand Imperial Instructor], as well as...⁵⁸

Dialectics of Political Authority and Religious Charisma in Twelfth-Century Central Tibet" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2009), 89-90.

⁵⁶ See Thupten Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, note 808 in page 636-7.

⁵⁷ T'ai Si Tu Gélek Zangpo's father "Kun-dga' rdo-rje," is also called Tselpa Si Tu Künga Dorjé (*tshal pa si tu kun dga' rdo rje*, 1309-1364), renowned for his *The Red Annals* (*Deb ther dmar po*).

⁵⁸ See Per K Sørensen, et al. *Rulers On the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony In Medieval Tibet: A Study of Tshal Gung-thang*, 202-3. I appreciate that Carl Shigeo Yamamoto helped me find this information about T'ai Si Tu Gélek Zangpo.

While Gélek Zangpo was originally granted the Chinese official title *si tu* (司徒, imperial instructor) by Yuang Emperor Toyan Temür (rl. 1332-1368, posthumously titled *yuan shun di* 元顺帝 in Chinese), he was recorded as T'ai Si Tu in Tibetan, which refers to Chinese *da si tu* (大司徒, grand imperial instructor). As "The Gazetteer of the Tsel Gungtang monastery" presented, the earlier set of years, 1348 and 1374, is therefore when Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo organized Yanggönpa's Collected Works and completed *Guide to Your Devotion*. Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo must have been at least over twenty-five years old because his project needed a certain educational level and amount of textual knowledge. If we go by the assumption previously mentioned that he had an interview with Tokmé Zangpo before Tokmé Zangpo's death in 1369, we may hypothesize that Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo was born between 1310 and 1320. Otherwise, he would have been too young to have a productive conversation with Tokmé

⁵⁹ In the fourteenth century, the most well-known Tibetan master granted by the title *da si tu* is Ta'i Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen (Ta'i si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan, 1302-1364). Both Ta'i Si Tu Gélek Zangpo and Ta'i Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen received teachings from Tokmé Zangpo. I will discuss their relationships with Tokmé Zangpo further in this chapter.

⁶⁰ I deduced the age of twenty-five for Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo from examining the biographies of well-known Tibetan masters in the fourteenth century. Most of them started their education in Buddhism as a teenager and continually studied for around fifteen years. In most cases, they became scholars and began teaching by thirty. Take Tokmé Zangpo for example. He started monastic academic training at the age of fourteen, obtained his scholarly reputation as "Tokmé" (Asaṅga) around twenty, and accomplished his main Buddhist studies from twenty-five to twenty-seven. Tokmé Zangpo's contemporary, Butön Rinchendrup (Bu ston rin chen grub, 1290-1364), a celebrated historian, began his education even earlier than fourteen and completed studies in Buddhist philosophy, commentaries, and tantric practice between twenty-eight and thirty. For more information and cases, please see Lake Yixi Duojie 拉科.益西多杰, Zang chuan fo jiao gao seng zhuan lue zhuan 藏传佛教高僧传略传, The Brief Biographies of Eminent Tibetan Buddhist Monks (Xining: Qinghai ren min chu ban she, 2007), 203-4, 206-7, 236-7, 249, 265.

Zangpo and Tokmé Zangpo's fellows in order to write the biography. Similarly, he would have been too young to arrange Yanggönpa's writings.

In addition, a figure mentioned in one of Tokmé Zangpo's writings seems related to Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo. This reference is in text 97, "Reminder of Commitment: [Advice] for Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen and Many Glorious Ones Who Are from Lama Gyelwa Yanggönpa's Residential Monastery" (bla ma rgyal ba yang dgon pa'i gdan sa pa/_bla ma ri ba gzhon nu rgyal mtshan dpal ba mang bo'i thugs dam gyi gsal 'debs su, hereafter called "Reminder of Commitment") in Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works. According to text 97, "Reminder of Commitment," Tokmé Zangpo reminds lama Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen and his fellows to follow up on their commitment and to cultivate compassion. I suspect that Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen could be the same person as Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo due to the following textual information.

First, in "Catalogue of Yanggönpa's Collected Works," Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo alternatively refers to himself as "the monk of Shakya clan, the hermit Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo." This is pronounced in Tibetan as "shakyé gélong ritrö pa zhönnu gyeltsen pelzangpo" (*sh+'akya'i dge slong ri khrod pa gzhon nu rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po*). If we remove the title "sha kyé gé long," the name is Ritröpa Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo. When we further drop "trö" and "pel zang po," this name becomes "Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen." Therefore this name abbreviates into Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen.

⁶¹ See Tokmé Zangpo, *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum* [TBRC W00EGS1016240] (Sichuan: Sde dge par khang chen mo, no publication date), 404.4-405.1. Chapter 2 examines different editions of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works. Here I refer to the Degé xylographic edition. In this edition, I have identified each text with a number for the purpose of this dissertation. Please see Appendix 2 for the outline of this edition.

Similarly, we have seen that Pelgyi Rinchen specified Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's name using the short form of Zhönnu Gyeltsen. As a Tibetan master can be alternatively called by different names, (more examples are explained in chapter two) the cultural context demonstrates that it is understandable to refer to "Ritröpa Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo" as "Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen."

Second, Tokmé Zangpo points out that Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen is from Gyelwa Yanggönpa's residential monastery (Yanggönpa is alternatively called Gyelwa Yanggönpa). This fact shows that Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen is associated with master Yanggönpa. More importantly, calling Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen as a lama from lama Gyelwa Yanggönpa's residential monastery (*bla ma rgyal ba yang dgon pa'i gdan sa pa*), indicates that Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen must have been a later follower of Yanggönpa's teachings. As presented above, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo was asked to organize Yanggönpa's Collected Works. This shows that he must have been known as a follower of Yanggönpa to some degree. Otherwise, people would not have requested that he conduct this endeavor. Moreover, in *Ray of Altruism*, as quoted before, Pelgyi Rinchen says that "according to Great Bodhisattva's reply to Zhönnu Gyeltsen, who stayed in Gyelwa Yanggönpa's residential monastery and..." ⁶² This statement echoes Tokmé Zangpo's remark, in which he calls Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen a lama from Gyelwa Yanggönpa's residential monastery.

⁶² See Pelgyi Rinchen, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer, Ray of Altruism, 203.*

Third, in text 97, "Reminder of Commitment," Tokmé Zangpo stated to Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen and others, "Keep this [what I said above] in mind and practice." This attitude implies that Tokmé Zangpo's status was higher than Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen.⁶³ Corroborating this information, the content of *Guide to Your Devotion* shows that Tokmé Zangpo's status was higher than Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's.

Last, during this time period, another figure is called Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen and his TBRC entry is P4279. According to Drakpa Jungné's (Grags pa 'byung gnas) research, Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen's lifespan was from 1311 to 1390.⁶⁴ This birth year for Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen is close to my hypothesis that Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo was born between 1310 and 1320. Based on the various related pieces of information, it is possible that these three figures, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo (the author of *Guide to Your Devotion*), Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen (the figure in text 97 "Reminder of Commitment"), and TBRC Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen, are the same person. However, this hypothesis still needs more textual evidence to be proven.

2. The Composition of Guide to Your Devotion

In terms of the time when Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo composed *Guide to Your Devotion*, some of the information presented in the colophon of "Catalogue of

⁶³ See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 404.6: de ltar dgongs nas thugs nyams bzhes par zhu.

⁶⁴ See Drakpa Jungné (Grags pa 'byung gnas) et al. *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod*, *Biographical Dictionary of Prominent Tibetan People* (Lan kru'u: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992), 1602.

Yanggönpa's Collected Works" has counterparts in the beginning and in the colophon of *Guide to Your Devotion*. First, I deduced the time for these two works' composition. The writing time claimed in *Guide to Your Devotion* is August in the Year of the Tiger. This year could be the Year of the Wood Tiger in 1374, or the Year of the Fire Tiger in 1386. As discussed above, the timeframe mentioned in "Catalogue of Yanggönpa's Collected Works" indicates that Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo was born in the early fourteenth century. Thus both 1374 and 1386 are eligible for the possible completion year. I choose that the year of 1374 was the most possible writing year because Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo claimed that he finished both *Guide to Your Devotion* and "Catalogue of Yanggönpa's Collected Works" at the College at the Tsel Gungtang monastery. As examined above, the writing year stated in "Catalogue of Yanggönpa's Collected Works" should have been in 1374. Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo might not have been physically able to compose two works at the Tsel Gungtang monastery in the Year of the Fire Tiger in 1386, if we follow the previous assumption that he was born between 1310 and 1320

Second, I deduced information about places for where these two projects were conducted. In *Guide to Your Devotion*, in terms of Tokmé Zangpo's birth place, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo says:

It is called "Drakya," a place near the glorious Sakya [monastery] which is in the lower west part of Dricham Chédün that is in the border of India and China.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 3: rgya dkar nag gi so mtshams/_'gri lcam mched bdun gyi nub zhol /dpal ldan sa skya dang nye ba na brag skya zhes bya bar/.

This narration can be paralleled to the statement identified as the composition place for "Catalogue of Yanggönpa's Collected Works:"

...the place located in glorious Chen Mukpo where is in the east of Dricham Chédün that is in the border of India and China. 66

Third, I ascertained the association of Tokmé Zangpo with Yanggönpa. In *Guide to Your Devotion*, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo says:

...in terms of the lineage of Victor's Son [Precious Tokmé], it is the same with the Lord of Dharma, Glorious Yanggönpa's lineage.⁶⁷

It is interesting to notice that such information about Tokmé Zangpo's relations with Yanggönpa is not available in another biography, *Drops of Ambrosia*, composed by Tokmé Zangpo's student Penden Yéshé. This fact may partly result from Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's deep involvement in arranging Yanggönpa's writings. This fact also generates more understanding of how Tokmé Zangpo's life is narrated in *Guide to Your Devotion*.

Last but not least, I analyzed the way Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo addresses himself. In both texts, he refers to himself as "the monk of Shakya clan, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo" (*sh+'akya'i dge slong gzhon nu rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po*). This remark

⁶⁷ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 2: rgyal ba'i sras po 'di nyid kyi gdung rus ni/_chos kyi rje dpal ldan yang dgon pa chen po'i gdung rus dang gcig pa.

⁶⁶ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, "Chos rje yang dgon pa'i bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag," "Catalogue of Yanggönpa's Collected Works," 562.4-5.

functions as his signature and a declaration of both his contribution to Tokmé Zangpo's biography and his arrangement of Yanggönpa's Collected Works.

In conclusion, as examined above, the composition time for *Guide to Your Devotion* most likely was in 1374.

3. The Composition of Ray of Altruism

If we follow the conclusion that 1374 is the most possible year for Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's completion of both *Guide to Your Devotion* and "Catalogue of Yanggönpa's Collected Works," this helps us judge the completion time for another early biography, *Ray of Altruism*, written by Pelgyi Rinchen. As presented above, Pelgyi Rinchen acknowledged Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's contribution and used Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's records as his reference for *Ray of Altruism*. At the end of the colophon, Pelgyi Rinchen said:

"The Ray of Altruism: Precious Gyelsé's Life"... the listener, the monk, Pelgyi Rinchen composed [it] at the hermitage in Ribo Drudzin Ngülchu on March thirteenth in the Year of the Pig. ⁶⁸

Because Pelgyi Rinchen's work was based on Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's, this dissertation posits that the completion of *Ray of Altruism* was after *Guide to Your Devotion*. As investigated before, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's work was finished in 1374, the Year of the Wood Tiger. The first three Years of the Pig that came after 1374

⁶⁸ See Pelgyi Rinchen, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer, Ray of Altruism, 236: rgyal sras rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer zhes ...nyan po ba btsun pa dpal gyi rin chen gyis/_phag lo zla ba gsum pa'i tshes bcu gsum la ri bo gru 'dzin dngul chu'i dben gnas su bkod pa'o//.

occurred in 1383, 1395, and 1407.⁶⁹ While there is not much biographical information about Pelgyi Rinchen,⁷⁰ through examining the following pieces of textual information, we can assume that Pelgyi Rinchen met Tokmé Zangpo and that he should have accomplished writing the biography in 1383.

In Drops of Ambrosia, Penden Yéshé narrates:

The noble dharma practitioner, the listener, the instructor Pelrin and so forth, saw about one inch of Khasarpani Avalokiteśvara appearing on the left face of the Lord of Dharma.⁷¹

In this statement, the Lord of Dharma refers to Tokmé Zangpo. It is how he is usually addressed by his biographers. "The noble dharma practitioner, the listener, the instructor Pelrin" refers to Pelgyi Rinchen, because it corresponds to how Pelgyi Rinchen addressed himself in the colophon of *Ray of Altruism*. He called himself "the listener, the monk, Pelgyi Rinchen." "The listener" (*nyan po pa*) is part of his identity. "Pelrin" (*dpal rin*) is an abbreviated form of Pelgyi Rinchen (*dpal gyi rin chen*). This form is also used in *Guide to Your Devotion*, in which he is mentioned as "the listener, the virtuous friend,

⁶⁹ 1383 was the Year of the Water Pig. 1395 was the Year of the Wood Pig, and 1407 was the Year of the Fire Pig.

⁷⁰ Drakpa Jungné's book *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod*, does not have an entry for Pelgyi Rinchen, Pelrin, or Penden Rinchen. The TBRC entry for Pelgyi Rinchen is P4023 but is under the name of Penden Rinchen (*dpal ldan rin chen*). This could be a typo. Their record does not have a biographical entry either.

⁷¹ See Penden Yéshé, Rgyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa, Drops of Ambrosia, in Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu, 19.4-5: chos mdzad dam pa nyan po pa slob dpon dpal rin la sogs 'ga' zhig gis/__chos rje pa'i zhal ras kyi g.yon phyogs na khar sa pa Ni tshon gang ba tsam gcig mthong ba.

Pelrin" (*nyan po'i dge bshes dpal rin*). This usage of Pelrin for Pelgyi Rinchen is also inherited by the 2008 editors. They record Pelrin as the author of *Ray of Altruism* on the copyright page. 73

Since Penden Yéshé described Pelgyi Rinchen as a noble dharma practitioner (*chos mdzad dam pa*) and an instructor (*slob dpon*), Pelgyi Rinchen must have been around the age of twenty-five or even older when he saw Khasarpani Avalokiteśvara's image appearing on Tokmé Zangpo's face. Otherwise, he would not have received enough training to be a dharma practitioner and instructor yet. Then, since so far Pelgyi Rinchen's biography has not been found, in which year did he reach the age of twenty-five? A clue is located in *Guide to Your Devotion*. Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo structured his work chronologically. He also talked about the event mentioned above. He says:

Other people saw one inch of Khasarpani Avalokiteśvara appearing on the left face of [Master Tokmé]. 74

While *Guide to Your Devotion* does not point out Pelgyi Rinchen in this paragraph, it is situated in the book that records events occurring between 1342 and 1344. If Pelgyi Rinchen was twenty-five years old in 1342 or 1344, he would have been born in 1317 or 1319. By following this assumption, when Pelgyi Rinchen completed *Ray of Altruism* in

⁷² See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 63.

⁷³ See *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam thar dad pa'i gsal 'debs dang gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer*. There are two copyright pages. One is in Tibetan and the other is in Chinese. In the Tibetan one, *rtsom pa po* (author) is listed as "*gzhon nu rgyal mtshan btsun pa dpal rin*." "*gzhon nu rgyal mtshan*" refers to Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo. "*btsun pa dpal rin*" refers to monk Pelrin.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 26.

the Year of the Pig that occurred in 1383, he would have been either sixty-six or sixty-four years old. The next Year of the Pig occurred in 1395, in which he would have been either seventy-eight or seventy-six years old. Certainly we cannot exclude the possibility that Pelgyi Rinchen accomplished his writing project at such an age. *Ray of Altruism* has around one hundred and seventy-four pages in the current book edition. It would likely have been around one hundred and fifty-eight pages in the traditional Tibetan block print. ⁷⁵ Composing such a large amount of narration would have required a certain amount of energy. Therefore, most likely 1383 is the more reasonable completion time for Pelgyi Rinchen, when he was younger.

4. The Composition of *Drops of Ambrosia*

In terms of *Drops of Ambrosia*, Penden Yéshé did not mention in which year he finished his work. He did not refer to either *Guide to Your Devotion* or *Ray of Altruism* in this text. At the end of *Drops of Ambrosia*, in section, "Sixth: The Way How Charismatic Activities Continuously Appeared" (*drug pa 'phrin las rgyun mi chad par bstan tshul ni*), Penden Yéshé says that after Tokmé Zangpo passed away, his followers still saw his image as well as many marvelous signs. This description indicates that Penden Yéshé

⁷⁵ So far I have not found the xylographic edition of *Ray of Altruism*. It is difficult to determine how one side of a Tibetan folio equals to one page in a modern book. This measurement depends on various conditions. *Guide to Your Devotion* has 61 pages in the manuscript edition (I count one side of a folio as one page). It has 67 pages in the current book format edition. If we used this manuscript format to transcribe *Ray of Altruism*, which has 174 pages in the book edition, it would be around 158 pages. The manuscript of *Guide to Your Devotion* is located in Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras rin po che'i rnam thar*, *Precious Tokmé's Life*, in *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 7, 55-116.

wrote the biography sometime after Tokmé Zangpo's death in 1369.⁷⁶ More specifically, Penden Yéshé must have read *Guide to Your Devotion* and used it as a reference for *Drops of Ambrosia*. The clues for this hypothesis are located in two places. One is in the content of *Drops of Ambrosia*. The other is in Pelgyi Rinchen's statement quoted below.

After comparing these two texts, I noticed the great similarity of Tibetan phrasing between *Guide to Your Devotion* and *Drops of Ambrosia*. For example, when talking about Tokmé Zangpo's childhood experiences, both of these biographies mention that Tokmé Zangpo was crying because he regarded a piece of leaf as a person that was being carried by the wind to the sky. The Tibetan phrasing for that and for the following story is almost the same. ⁷⁷ It is not remarkable that the story is narrated by two different biographers. However, it is significant that the phrasing is so similar. This fact indicates that one of these texts must have been completed earlier than the other. It also suggests that one of the biographers copied the other's work. Then, the question is, which text was completed first? It is worth quoting the biographer Pelgyi Rinchen's assertion again here:

...according to Great Bodhisattva's reply to Zhönnu Gyeltsen, who stayed in Gyelwa Yanggönpa's residential monastery and obtained the power of internalized reality, [I] wrote a general idea about [Great Bodhisattva's] birth

⁷⁶ See Penden Yéshé, Rgyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa, Drops of Ambrosia, in Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu, 43.2-45.1.

⁷⁷ The Tibetan phrasing is as follows: bu chung smra shes tsam gyi dus su/_nyin gcig yum gyi pang na gnas pa na/rlung po 'khor khyer byed pa gcig gis shing lo gcig nam mkha' la khyer ba gzigs nas drag tu bshums pa la/. This phrasing is located in Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 3. It is also located in Penden Yéshé, Rgyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa, Drops of Ambrosia, 4.5-6.

place, lineage, parents, the way he relied on masters, and the way he realized scriptures of sutras and tantras. ⁷⁸

Pelgyi Rinchen claims that he obtained his reference from Zhönnu Gyeltsen's (also Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo) interview with Tokmé Zangpo. Furthermore, Pelgyi Rinchen believes that Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo had first-hand information for his *Guide to Your Devotion*. This also explains why there are more quotations of Tokmé Zangpo and his fellows in *Guide to Your Devotion* than there are in *Drops of Ambrosia*. Certainly we cannot exclude the fact that Penden Yéshé was also aware of Tokmé Zangpo's life experience. However, for most of the events, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo specified a time and Penden Yéshé did not. An example is provided above when both texts describe Khasarpani Avalokiteśvara appearing on Tokmé Zangpo's face. If Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo copied Penden Yéshé's content, he would not have had the information about the times of different events.

Moreover, in terms of the organization of *Drops of Ambrosia*, Penden Yéshé divided the content into six sections with different titles.⁷⁹ If Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo copied Penden Yéshé's content, he should have also kept these six sections or arranged the content in a similar fashion. Arranging the content with six sections helps the readers follow the biography and it also makes the biography more structured. It would be

⁷⁸ See Pelgyi Rinchen, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer, Ray of Altruism,* 203.

⁷⁹ The titles of those six sections are located in the following order in Penden Yéshé, *Rgyal sras* rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa, Drops of Ambrosia, in *Rgyal sras* thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu, 3.4, 6.5, 11.7, 14.3, 30.2, 43.2.

unreasonable for Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo to disregard and dispose of the titles of those six sections but to keep most phrasing from *Drops of Ambrosia*, if he copied *Drops of Ambrosia* to compose *Guide to Your Devotion*. A more likely scenario could be that Penden Yéshé had read *Guide to Your Devotion*, and he made it briefer and divided it into his own six sections.

While the composition history of Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo and Penden Yéshé remains mainly conjecture, I presume that Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's work was completed earlier than Penden Yéshé's, until it is proven otherwise.

Then, another question arises. If Penden Yéshé used Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's work as his resource, why did he not mention it? A possible answer is that pointing out their references was not always part of Tibetan writers' habits during that time. Tokmé Zangpo is also an example of this custom. The content of Tokmé Zangpo's commentary on *Seven-Point Mind Training*, text 45, "Writings in Oral Transmission of Seven-Point Mind Training, Explained in Fewer Words" (*blo sbyong don bdun ma'i snyan rgyud kyi tshig rnams/yi ge nyung ngu'i sgo nas bkrol ba*), 80 is very much similar to the commentary composed by Sé Chilbu Chökyi Gyeltsen (Se spyil bu bcos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1121-1189, hereafter called Sé Chilbu). 81 Tokmé Zangpo did not mention Sé Chilbu as his main reference. He only says, "These words of 'oral transmission of *Seven-Point Mind Training*'... after supreme yogin Drakpa Gyeltsen earnestly requested again

 $^{^{80}}$ The text is located in Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum [TBRC W00EGS1016240], 187.1-217.6

and again, monk Tokmé composed it..."⁸² This phenomenon, that Tibetan authors did not always acknowledge their references, cannot be interpreted as plagiarism in a modern sense. Such a concept did not exist during that time period in the Tibetan literary world.

We may explain why this custom was accepted through examining the idea of transmission. Chapter two presents various lineages of Lojong transmission. The similarities of which masters are mentioned in those different lineages of transmission are noticeable. It is important for Tibetan Buddhist practitioners to trace back how they obtained a specific teaching. One of their major purposes is to trace back their teaching to the Shakyamuni Buddha. The recording of their transmission legitimates that their lineage originated in India and verifies its authenticity. Similarly, a later master's composition that copies a previous master's represents that this later master accepts the authenticity of the previous master. In this way, perhaps Penden Yéshé had accepted Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's work, so he paraphrased Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's writings without referring to them.

In terms of Penden Yéshé, while there is not much biographical information for him, he seems like Tokmé Zangpo's close disciple. Their interactions are recorded in *Guide to Your Devotion*, in which he is referred to as Pelyé (*dpal ye*). Pelyé was sometimes how Penden Yéshé (Dpal Idan ye shes) referred to himself:

⁸¹ See Sé Chilbu, "*Blo sbyong don bdun ma'i 'grel pa*," in Könchok Gyeltsen and Zhönnu Gyelchok ed., *Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya rtsa* (New Delhi: Institute of Tibetan Classics, 2004), 41-80.

⁸² See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 217.5-6: blo sbyong don bdun ma'i snyan rgyud kyi tshig rnams[...]/theg pa mchog gi rnal 'byor ba grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis/ yang dang yang du bskul nas/ btsun pa thogs med kyis[...]sbyar ba'o/ /.

I Pelyé, the beggar, heard of the only briefly collected Gyelsé Tokmé Zangpo's life story. This history of [Lojong] transmission is only a little bit [of the whole].

This statement is from the colophon of the first section in "Great Hearing Transmission of Mind Training" (*Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo*). The second section of this text has Tokmé Zangpo's lesser-known commentary on *Seven-Point Mind Training*. Penden Yéshé edited this text. I later investigate Penden Yéshé's editorship of this text. In Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works, ⁸⁴ text 6, "Supplication and Praise to Noble Lama, Glorious Lord of Dharma" (*chos rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa la bstod pa gsol 'debs dang bcas pa*), mentions that Penden Yéshé earnestly asked Tokmé Zangpo to compose this text. Penden Yéshé was also the "yigépa" (*yi ge pa*, a scribe) for this text. ⁸⁵ In response to Penden Yéshé's request, Tokmé Zangpo also wrote text 24, "Praise to Mañjuśrī" (*'jam pa'i dbyangs la bstod pa*), and he says:

In terms of this "Praise to Mañjuśrī," [I], Tokmé, the monk [who] preached dharma, composed it after purely virtuous friend Penden Yéshé encouraged [me]. 86

⁸³ See Tokmé Zangpo and Penden Yéshé, *Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo, in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum* [TBRC W00EGS1016240], 451.5-6: /rgyal sras thogs med rnam thar mdor bsdus tsam//yin par sprang po dpal ye bdag gis go/brgyud pa'i lo rgyus zur tsam mo/.

⁸⁴ Here I refer to Degé xylographic edition [TBRC W00EGS1016240].

⁸⁵ Text 6, "Supplication and Praise to Noble Lama, Glorious Lord of Dharma" is located in Tokmé Zangpo, *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 17.4-22.5. Chapter three further discusses its content.

⁸⁶ See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 63.3: 'jam pa'i dbyangs la bstod pa 'di/_yang dag pa'i dge ba'i bshes gnyen dpal ldan ye shes kyis bskul nas/chos smra ba'i btsun pa thogs med kyis sbyar ba'o/.

Similarly, under Penden Yéshé's request and encouragement, Tokmé Zangpo wrote text 67, "The Proper Way to Help and Pray for Those Who Have Harmed [Us]" (gnod byed la phan 'dogs pa'i dam bca' dang smon lam gyi tshul). 87

Conclusion: Selecting Guide to Your Devotion

Among these earliest three extant biographies of Tokmé Zangpo, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's *Guide to Your Devotion*, Pelgyi Rinchen's *Ray of Altruism*, and Penden Yéshé's *Drops of Ambrosia*, this dissertation chooses to summarize and examine Tokmé Zangpo's life story mainly based on Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's *Guide to Your Devotion* for the following reasons.

First, in terms of composition time and the references to the biography, as investigated above, Pelgyi Rinchen's work was most likely finished in 1383, which was after the completion of *Guide to Your Devotion* in 1374. Also, Pelgyi Rinchen clearly pointed out that his *Ray of Altruism* was based on Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's work. Therefore, while the length of *Ray of Altruism* is twice than that of *Guide to Your Devotion*, an analyzing *Guide to Your Devotion* can help future researchers show how Pelgyi Rinchen expanded Tokmé Zangpo's life story.

Second, *Guide to Your Devotion* offers more information than the other two biographies about historical record. This helps us situate Tokmé Zangpo's life in a more

⁸⁸ Ray of Altruism has 168 pages in the book edition published by Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang. Guide to Your Devotion has 67 pages.

⁸⁷ Text 67, "The Proper Way to Help and Pray for Those Who Have Harmed [Us]," is located in Tokmé Zangpo, *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 360.5-362.1.

precise timeframe. For example, if *Guide to Your Devotion* says that Tokmé Zangpo escaped from a war in a specific year, this would help us situate his life in a larger historical context. This kind of analysis will allow more understanding of Tokmé Zangpo's life.

Third, *Guide to Your Devotion* includes events that *Drops of Ambrosia* does not include. These events can reflect more on how Tokmé Zangpo interacted with other religious institutions and political figures. For example, *Guide to Your Devotion* records interactions between Tokmé Zangpo and T'ai Si Tu Gélek Zangpo. "The Gazetteer of the Tsel Gungtang monastery" also mentions that T'ai Si Tu Gélek Zangpo invited Tokmé Zangpo to the Tsel Gungtang monastery for dharma preaching. ⁸⁹ On the other hand, such information is not available in *Drops of Ambrosia*. This partially explains why *Guide to Your Devotion* has more content than *Drops of Ambrosia*. Furthermore, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo arranged *Guide to Your Devotion* from interviews with different followers of Tokmé Zangpo. Therefore his work contains a more comprehensive community memory of Tokmé Zangpo than that in *Drops of Ambrosia*.

Fourth, the 2008 editors created a table of contents for *Guide to Your Devotion*. This fact indicates that Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo not only arranged the biography

⁸⁹ See Per K Sørensen, et al. Rulers On the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony In Medieval Tibet: A Study of Tshal Gung-thang, 204.

⁹⁰ Guide to Your Devotion is in the typeset edition and Drops of Ambrosia is in the xylographic edition. In order to compare their length fairly, Zach Rowinski helped me to convert Guide to Your Devotion into a Word file through Optical Character Recognition (OCR). Because a xylographic document cannot be converted through OCR technology, my friend and I typed Drops of Ambrosia into Word. According to the counts, Guide to Your Devotion exceeds Drops of Ambrosia by around six thousand Tibetan words.

chronologically, but also grouped similar events together. Examining how the 2008 editors created their table of contents can help us understand how they interpreted Tokmé Zangpo's activities in this fourteenth- century text.

Fifth, as analyzed above, *Guide to Your Devotion* was probably the earliest extant work as the resource for *The Ray of Altruism* and *Drops of Ambrosia*. My analysis of *Guide to Your Devotion* and translation of its excerpts will contribute to new endeavors in the research of Tokmé Zangpo's biography. For future research, this endeavor will also establish a foundation that enables us to observe how his life story is re-narrated by later biographers, such as Künga Gyeltsen (Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1432-1506),⁹¹ and Yéshé Gyeltsen (Ye shes rgyal mtshan, 1713-1793).⁹²

As concluded above, the following chapter investigates Tokmé Zangpo's life story as narrated in *Guide to Your Devotion*.

⁹¹ See Künga Gyeltsen, *Bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me* [TBRC W26009] (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2003), 591-605.

⁹² See Yéshé Gyeltsen, "*Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med bzang po dpal gyi rnam thar*," in *Lam rim bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar* [TBRC W1CZ2730] (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1990), 849-891.

Introduction

Through reviewing the section titles in the table of contents created by the 2008 chief editor Orgyen Chöpel (O rgyan chos 'phel) and his team, we can get a general picture of Tokmé Zangpo's life story as it is narrated in *Guide to Your Devotion*. ⁹³ My translation of these titles is as follows and I identify each title with a number for the sake of discussion ⁹⁴

- 1. The Manner of Birth in the Excellent Family Lineage (*rigs rus phun sum tshogs par sku 'khrungs tshul*, hereafter called "Birth and Lineage").
- 2. The Manner of Training the Exalted Mind After Renunciation [As A Novice] (*rab tu byung nas thugs sbyong mdzad tshul*, hereafter called "Training as a Novice").
- 3. The Manner of Benefiting Miserable Sentient Beings with Great Compassion (snying rje chen pos nyams thag gi 'gro ba'i don byas tshul, hereafter called "Benefiting Sentient Beings").

⁹³ Orgyen Chöpel is listed as "tsom drik gen khur ba" (rtsom sgrig 'gan 'khur ba, the editor who takes responsibility) on the Tibetan copyright page. This Tibetan designation was influenced by the Chinese title "ze ren bian ji" (责任编辑, responsible for editing). "Ze ren bian ji" refers to the chief editor.

⁹⁴ In this typeset book, *Precious Gyelsé Tokmé's Life: Guide to Your Devotion and Rays of Altruism (Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam thar dad pa'i gsal 'debs dang gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer*), there are four appearances of pages numbered one to two before the actual content of Tokmé Zangpo's biography. The table of contents for *Guide to Your Devotion* is the fourth page numbered as one.

- 4. The Manner of Hearing Profound Instructions from Masters (*bla ma rnams las zab rgyas kyi gdams pa gsan tshul*, hereafter called "Hearing Profound Instructions").
- 5. The Manner of Being the Residential Manager at the Tara Monastery (*rta ra'i gdan sa ba mdzad tshul*).
- 6. The Manner of Achieving Essential Activities (*sgrub pa snying po mdzad tshul*, hereafter called "Achieving Essential Activities").
- 7. The Manner of Possessing Unimpeded Foreknowledge (*thogs med kyi sngon shes mnga' tshul*).
- 8. The Manner of Directly Removing Others' Sufferings (gzhan gyi sdug bsngal dngos su len nus pa'i tshul, hereafter called "Removing Others' Sufferings").
- 9. The Manner of Engaging in Helping Many People Through [Giving] Material Goods and Spiritual Instruction After [His] Arrival in Whichever Place in Ü-Tsang (dbus gtsang gi sa cha gang sar phebs nas 'gro ba mang por chos dang zang zing gis phan btag tshul, hereafter called "Help People in Ü-Tsang").
- 10. The Precious One's Daily Practice and Series of Dharma Practices (*rin po che 'di nyid kyi nyin zhag phrugs gcig gi chos spyod kyi rim pa*).
- 11. The Way that Shows the Manner of Attaining Nirvāṇa (*mya ngan las 'da' ba'i tshul bstan pa'i tshul*, hereafter called "the Manner of Attaining Nirvāṇa").

These eleven titles show that the 2008 editors distinguished sections in *Guide to Your Devotion* through analyzing its various topics. Before the first section, "Birth and Lineage," there is an untitled introduction. It records Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's

reputed conversation with Tokmé Zangpo, in which he asks Tokmé Zangpo to narrate his life story. Then Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo points out that he used interviews with other people as further resources for his composition. ⁹⁵ This writing method is reflected in his abundant quotations of conversations between Tokmé Zangpo and these people in his work.

These eleven sections include information on Tokmé Zangpo's family and educational background, the way he helped people, his spiritual practice, and the manner of his death. The most pervasive topic in *Guide to Your Devotion* is Tokmé Zangpo's compassionate character. This topic is particularly described in section 3, "Benefiting Sentient Beings," section 6, "Achieving Essential Activities," section 8, "Removing Others' Sufferings," and section 9, "Help People in Ü-Tsang." Another major topic in the biography is Tokmé Zangpo's outstanding knowledge and wisdom. Section 4, "Hearing Profound Instructions," offers detailed information about masters from which Tokmé Zangpo learned Buddhist texts and practices. The learning topics that are associated with Lojong are also mentioned in this section.

Section 11, "The Manner of Attaining Nirvāṇa," narrates Tokmé Zangpo's sickness before he passed away in the Year of Rooster, 1369. After he passed away, this section describes the manifestation of marvelous signs. These signs symbolize Tokmé Zangpo's excellent spiritual achievements.

⁹⁵ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion*, 1-2.

As we reviewed above, the most pervasive topic in *Guide to Your Devotion* is Tokmé Zangpo's compassionate character. In order to investigate which of Tokmé Zangpo's life experiences are related to his Lojong teachings and compassionate actions, I discuss three main themes of Tokmé Zangpo's life story as it is narrated in *Guide to Your Devotion*.

1. An Unusually Empathetic Child Born into an Excellent Family

The high standing of Tokmé Zangpo's family and lineage, and his unusual compassion as a future bodhisattva, is emphasized in the beginning of the text. It is interesting to notice that the connection between Tokmé Zangpo's lineage and Yanggönpa is claimed through the following description:

People said, ⁹⁶ "...in terms of the lineage of Victor's Son [Precious Tokmé], it is the same with the Lord of Dharma, Glorious Yanggönpa's lineage." [Precious Tokmé] said, "The Tö [lineage] is honorable in this world. However, I doubt that I belong to [it]." [People responded to him,] "It is appropriate to say you belong to it." Thus [Precious Tokmé's] lineage is excellent.⁹⁷

The word "Tö" mentioned above refers to Yanggönpa's lineage. 98 This statement shows that actually it was other people, instead of Tokmé Zangpo, who associated him with

⁹⁷ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 2: rgyal ba'i sras po 'di nyid kyi gdung rus ni/_chos kyi rje dpal ldan yang dgon pa chen po'i gdung rus dang gcig pa/_'jig rten na che zhing btsun pa bstod yin la thog byung gis dogs pa la yang /_nged bstod yin gsungs pas thog thub pa yin pas/_gdung rus bzang po yin no/ /

^{96 &}quot;People" refers to those who stayed in the presence of Tokmé Zangpo for a long time.

⁹⁸ From my discussion with scholars at Minzu University of China in Beijing, there are at least three different ways to interpret this paragraph. I decided on my current translation mainly based on my personal conversation with Drakpa Jungné, a professor at Minzu University of China.

Yanggönpa. Such a connection is not mentioned in *Drops of Ambrosia*. As a respectable lineage can promote a master's status, why would Tokmé Zangpo's disciple, Penden Yéshé, not mention this association with such a prestigious master? Even Tokmé Zangpo seems to deny it. Thus I suspect that this connection with Yanggönpa in this text could be partly due to Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's engagement with Yanggönpa's Collected Works, as I presented in Chapter 1.

As for Tokmé Zangpo's family, after saying that Tokmé Zangpo's birth place is at Drakya (*brag skya*) near the Sakya monastery, ⁹⁹ *Guide to Your Devotion* points out that Tokmé Zangpo's father is Könchok Pel (Dkon mchog dpal) and his mother is Bumdrön ('Bum sgron). The text further mentions that Tokmé Zangpo's ancestors were well-off local officials. The uncle of Tokmé Zangpo's grandfather was a renowned official in Sakya and was a close attendant of Chögyel Pakpa (Chos rgyal 'phags pa, 1235-1280). ¹⁰⁰

Chögyel Pakpa was the fifth patriarch of the Sakya school. He was recognized as the ruler of Tibet by Kublai Khan (1215-1294) during the Yuan dynasty. One of Yanggönpa's most important teachers was a Kagyü master, Gönpo Dorjé (Mgon po rdo rje, 1189-1258). Tokmé Zangpo was therefore also related to the Kagyü school through

According to his research, Yanggönpa is from the lineage of Tong (*stong*). Due to similar Tibetan spellings, "Tö" (*bstod*) in this statement could have been another way to say Tong or a misspelling of Tong. Please also see Drakpa Jungné, *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod*, *Biographical Dictionary of Prominent Tibetan People*, 694-5. Moreover, Kurtis Schaeffer pointed out to me that "*stod*" here refers to "*stod 'brug*." In his research, "*stod 'brug*" is the name of Yanggönpa's lineage.

⁹⁹ Please see Map 2 in the "Education" section in this chapter. The map marks the major locations mentioned in *Guide to Your Devotion*.

¹⁰⁰ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 3. The part about the ancestors and Chögyel Pakpa is not mentioned in Penden Yéshé's *Drops of Ambrosia*.

the reputed connection with Yanggönpa. Both Sakya and Kagyü were prominent Tibetan Buddhist schools during the time of Tokmé Zangpo. The family and local political powers that supported these two spiritual lineages were also competing with each other for territory. Whether Tokmé Zangpo's connection mentioned above with these two religious institutions is a historical fact or not, *Guide to Your Devotion* uses this information to highlight Tokmé Zangpo's standing in both the spiritual and secular worlds.

The text rhetorically tells that when Tokmé Zangpo entered his mother Bumdrön's womb, Bumdrön was healthy, happy, and especially endowed with compassion. When Tokmé Zangpo was born in the Year of the Wood Female Sheep, it was well known that "many miraculous signs, such as light and rainbow, etc. appeared." Tokmé Zangpo was named by his parents as Könchok Zangpo (Dkon mchog bzang po). ¹⁰¹

Unpainful pregnancy and marvelous signs at birth are common motifs in a Tibetan saint's biography. Such motifs can be traced back to the Buddha's life story. This narration emphasizes that Tokmé Zangpo was not a regular human being. Similarly, Tokmé Zangpo's compassion is emphasized during his childhood:

People said: As soon as [PreciousTokmé] was born, [he] possessed great compassion, which is a sign of Mahāyāna awakening. When he was a kid and was just able to speak, one day, he sat on his mother's lap. Having seen that the wind blew away one piece of leaf to the sky, he was crying very hard. [His] mother asked "What happened?" Having pointed to [the leaf being taken away by the wind] with [his] finger, he said, "A person is being carried away to the sky!" When he was just able to walk, he went outside one day. Just after a brief

¹⁰¹ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 3.

moment, he came back without wearing clothes. [His mother] asked, "Where are your clothes?" He said, "Because a person was very cold, I covered him [with my clothes]." [Then his mother] went out to check [what happened]. [She saw that] a pile of the plant shomang was covered by gray frost. Having used [his clothes] to cover that shomang [Precious Tokmé] used stones to press down the rim of [his clothes]. 102

These conversations provide a vivid image of Tokmé Zangpo as an unusually empathetic little kid. The text says that this happened when Tokmé Zangpo "was just able to speak," and "just able to walk." This indicates that Tokmé Zangpo may not have been more than three years old at that time. However, his ability to feel the pain of others had matured enough for him to express his empathy at such a young age. As he grew up, regarding his attitude towards his childhood friends, *Guide to Your Devotion* tells that he cried if he saw them beaten in his presence. Tokmé Zangpo also demonstrated his interests in Buddhist teachings when he was a kid. The text describes that if he was sad, after someone put some papers of scriptures in his hand, he would stop weeping. His playing was related to virtuous things, such as listening to dharma explanations and erecting stupas. ¹⁰³

Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo wrote down these childhood activities of Tokmé Zangpo from what he had heard from other people, as he points out that "someone or

¹⁰² Ibid., 3: 'khrungs ma thag nas/theg chen gyi rigs sad pa'i rtags snying rje chen po mnga' ba ni/bu chung smra shes tsam gyi dus su/_nyin gcig yum gyi pang na gnas pa na/rlung po 'khor khyer byed pa gcig gis shing lo gcig nam mkha' la khyer ba gzigs nas drag tu bshums pa la/_yum gyis ci byung dris pa la/_de la phyag mdzub btsugs nas/_sems can gcig nam mkha' la khyer song gsung ba dang /'byon shes tsam gyi dus su/_nyin gcig phyir gshegs song ba dang /_yud tsam zhig nas gos med du byung gos gar song dris pas/_sems can gcig 'khyags__'dug pas de la bkab yod gsungs/_ltar phyin pas/_sho mangs kyi phung po ba mo skya khor ba gcig la g.yog nas mtha' la rdos mnan 'dug

people said..."(gcig yod zer ba). Sometimes even Tokmé Zangpo himself cannot verify to what extent these stories are true and he says:

[One asked,] "[Are such sayings] true?" [Precious Tokmé] replied, "I, by myself, cannot remember those kinds of well-known things at that time. When others do not respect dharma and blame dharma, a huge intolerance generates in me 104

The historical accuracy of Tokmé Zangpo's life story was not the main concern for the biographer. It was more important to Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo that he provided rhetorical strategies modeling Tokmé Zangpo's desirable sanctity. His rhetorical strategies echo Ulrike Roesler's statement about autobiography: "it seems that the autobiography is intended not to render facts about a life, but a different and somehow more essential type of truth about a person." This explains why Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo still chose to include those sayings that even Tokmé Zangpo himself was not able to verify. For the biographer Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, these empathetic actions can illustrate the subject Tokmé Zangpo's essential character as a compassionate figure even at that young age.

Guide to Your Devotion continues by quoting Tokmé Zangpo:

When playing with other children, I was displeased after others were defeated. I cannot bear that...when going out to gather grass and sticks, supposedly [my] friends did not get [some] but I did. Having thought that their parents would

¹⁰³ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 3-4.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 4: bden lags sam zhus pas_/de ltar grags gda' ste bdag rang gis ni mi dran lags dran tsam na chos la gzhan gyis thu yogs la sogs mi gus pa byas tsan/_bdag la mi bzod pa chen po skye zhing.

¹⁰⁵ See Ulrike Roesler, "Introduction" in Covill, Linda, Ulrike Roesler, and Sarah Shaw, eds. *Lives Lived, Lives Imagined: Biography in the Buddhist Traditions* (Boston; Oxford: Wisdom Publications, 2010), 2-3.

have a quarrel with them, a great painful feeling was generated. Thus sometimes I gave away [my grass and sticks]... 106

This description depicts the generous character with which Tokmé Zangpo was endowed as a young child. The actions of generosity express Tokmé Zangpo's compassion in a concrete way. *Guide to Your Devotion* later narrates Tokmé Zangpo's generosity to beggars, a crippled woman, dogs, bandits, etc.¹⁰⁷ One of these behaviors was an action that was apparently deemed extremely moral: Tokmé Zangpo almost sacrificed his life to the lice on his body.

The text continues by quoting Tokmé Zangpo's gratitude for his uncle and grandmother. Tokmé Zangpo tells his audiences that his mother passed away when he was three and his father passed away when he was five. Thus his beloved grandmother took care of him till he was nine. Then his uncle Rinchen Trashi (Rin chen bkra shis) supported his living and education until Tokmé Zangpo took precepts to be a novice monk at age fourteen. After quoting Tokmé Zangpo's love for these two relatives, the text continues to describe Tokmé Zangpo's learning experience as a novice.

In the part about his childhood, Tokmé Zangpo is more like the main storyteller.

After he became a novice monk, the text refers to Tokmé Zangpo as "the Lord of

¹⁰⁶ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 4: byis pa gzhan dang rtse ba na/gzhan pham nas sems mi dga' ba bdag gis mi bzod [...]rtswa shing la sogs thu ru phyin na [...]rang gis rnyed kyang grogs kyis ma rnyed na/khong tsho la pha ma sogs kyis 'thab tu yong snyam nas sdug bsngal chen po yong ba gcig yod pas/res 'ga' rang gi de nas byin/

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 13-15.

Dharma" (chos rje pa). 108 Then the biographer's perspective is more apparent in the rest of the text. This fact highlights that there are probably at least two layers of authorship in Guide to Your Devotion. As presented above, the story is constructed through Tokmé Zangpo's reputed replies to his interviewer Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo (and perhaps including other audience members). Apparently, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo "recorded" and "transcribed" Tokmé Zangpo's sayings. There is no extant autobiography (rang rnam) that Tokmé Zangpo wrote himself; can this description of his childhood memories be considered as his autobiography? There is no precise answer for this inquiry. It is not uncommon for Tibetan religious biographies to have authorships that include both the biographer and the subject. In her research on the life and legacy of Tibetan female saint Sonam Peldren (Bsod nams dpal 'dren, ca. 1328-1372), Suzanne Bessenger untangles multiple authorships in Sonam Peldren's biographies. 109 Both biographies and autobiographies can be a collaborative process of narration, writing, and editing. Guide to Your Devotion in particular fits into this type of writing practice. It has narration reputedly from Tokmé Zangpo and his fellows, as well as writing and editing that is from Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo.

¹⁰⁸ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 6.

¹⁰⁹ See Suzanne Bessenger, "Echoes of Enlightenment: The Life and Legacy of Sonam Peldren" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2002), 83. Bessenger also points out that more discussion about the difficulty to ascribe the labels "biography" versus "autobiography" exists in Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 103.

2. Education

In section 2, "Training as a Novice," the text states that Tokmé Zangpo took novice monk precepts on the morning of June eighth in the Year of the Monkey that occurred in 1308. His preceptor Rinchen Pembarba (Rin chen dpal 'bar ba) was from the Samling (Bsam gling) monastery. Tokmé Zangpo was given a new name, Zangpo Pel (Bzang po dpal), to replace his birth name, Könchok Zangpo. Section 2, "Training as a Novice," narrates the types of monastic education and activities that Tokmé Zangpo conducted from age fourteen to thirty. Section 3, "Benefiting Sentient Beings," describes how Tokmé Zangpo helped people and animals from age sixteen to thirty. Section 4, "Hearing Profound Instructions," offers a long list of masters from whom Tokmé Zangpo learned Buddhist doctrines and commentaries. Section 4 is not in chronological order, but it functions as an appendix or as giving additional notes for section 2. Both sections 2 and 4 are related to Tokmé Zangpo's education. These two sections tell that for the sake of his studies, Tokmé Zangpo mainly travelled between the Samling monastery, Bodong É Monastery (Bo dong e dgon pa), and the Sakya monastery (Sa skya dgon pa). Map 1 displays the Tibetan Autonomous Region in China and its surrounding areas. Map 2 shows the locations of the Sakya monastery, Bodong É Monastery, and Ngülchü Chödzong (dngul chu'i chos rdzong, Tokmé Zangpo's meditation and composition place). 110 The Samling monastery should have been located between the Sakya monastery

¹¹⁰ I created these two maps through Google Maps by using coordinates. These three places marked on Map 2 are in Shigatse. Shigatse is around 175 miles southwest of Lhasa, marked on Map 1, which is the capital of the Tibetan Autonomous Region in China. It is around 53 miles between Bodong É Monastery and the Sakya monastery. G318 and G219 marked on Map 2 represent route numbers in China. Map 2 is of modern Tibet, not of Tokmé Zangpo's time.

and Bodong É Monastery. I am not able to precisely locate the Samling (Bsam gling) monastery. In section 1, "Birth and Lineage," *Guide to Your Devotion* mentions that Tokmé Zangpo visited the Samling monastery at age ten. Because Tokmé Zangpo was born near the Sakya monastery and did not travel before age fourteen, most likely the Samling moanstery was near both his birth place and the Sakya monastery. *Guide to Your Devotion* later says that Bodong É Monastery was a branch monastery of the Samling



Bodong É Monastery, the Sakya monastery, and Ngülchü Chödzong mentioned in *Guide to Your Devotion* are still in the same places today as they were during Tokmé Zangpo's time.



monastery (*bo dong e bsam gling ba'i dgon lag yin pa*). This statement does not sound reasonable to me. *The Ray of Altruism* and *Drops of Ambrosia* do not have this assertion. Bodong É Monastery was an independent institution and educational center at that time. It was not subordinate to any other monastery. Moreover, the text explains that novice monks at the Samling monastery went to Bodong É Monastery for the sake of education. This indicates that the Samling monastery might have been located near Bodong É Monastery. In Hildegard Diemberger's research about Bodong Penchen Choklé Namgyel (Bo dong paN chen phyogs las rnam rgyal, 1376-1451), the founder of the Bodong tradition, she does not mention the Samling monastery. The monastery that

¹¹¹ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 5-7.

she talks about is called Samtenling (Bsam gtan gling), and it is located in Gyam. While Samtenling sounds similar to Samling, they do not refer to the same place. Gyam is in nowadays Dingri County in Shigatse. The Samling monastery mentioned in *Guide to Your Devotion* is in nowadays Sajia County in Shigatse. Those two places are at least around one hundred miles apart from each other. The most helpful textual reference about the Samling monastery I have found so far is located in *Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*. The authors point out that "Samling" is near Sakya but it cannot be located. It therefore suspect that Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's made a mistake in his original Tibetan phrasing "bo dong e bsam gling ba'i dgon lag yin pa." The correct phrasing should be "bsam gling bo dong e'i dgon lag yin pa," meaning "the Samling monastery was a branch monastery of Bodong É Monastery."

Then, due to similar Tibetan spellings and pronunciations, one may suspect that this Samling monastery could refer to the Samding (Bsam sdings) monastery. Samding is a branch monastery of Bodong É, and it is renowned as the residence of Chökyi Drönma (Chos kyi sgron ma, 1434-1467). As Bodong Chole Namgyal's leading female disciple, Chökyi Drönma is also regarded as the first reincarnation of Goddess Dorje Pakmo

¹¹² For Samtenling and Gyam, please see Hildegard Diemberger et al., *Feast of Miracles: The Life and the Tradition of Bodong Chole Namgyal (1375/6-1451 A.D.) according to the Tibetan texts "Feast of Miracles" and "The Lamp Illuminating the History of Bodong* (Clusone (Bergamo): Porong Pema Chöding Editions, 1997), 45, 47, 90, and 116.

¹¹³ See Mkhyen-brtse'i-dban-po et al., *Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet* (Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), 64, 151.

(Vajravārāhī, the Diamond Sow). 114 Samding Dorje Phagmo (Bsam sdings rdo rje phag mo) later became a representative name for the lineage of Chökyi Drönma. In her *When a Woman Becomes a Religious Dynasty: The Samding Dorje Phakmo of Tibet*, Hildegard Diemberger speculates that Chökyi Drönma founded the Samding monastery around 1440. 115 If that is the case, Samding is not the Samling monastery because Tokmé Zangpo passed away in 1369 before the establishment of Samding monastery. Even if Samding was built before Tokmé Zangpo's birth in 1295, 116 its location would have been too far away from the place where Tokmé Zangpo's activities occurred before age fourteen. It is clear that Tokmé Zangpo was near Samling monastery when he was ten and received novice ordination there when he was fourteen. He stayed near the Sakya monastery until he was fourteen. The distance between Samding and the Sakya monastery is around 150 miles. That distance would be unlikely for him to travel. 117 Based on this evidence, I assume that the Samling monastery mentioned in Tokmé

¹¹⁴ See Hildegard Diemberger et al., Feast of Miracles: The Life and the Tradition of Bodong Chole Namgyal (1375/6-1451 A.D.) according to the Tibetan texts "Feast of Miracles" and "The Lamp Illuminating the History of Bodong, 33.

¹¹⁵ See Hildegard Diemberger, *When a Woman Becomes a Religious Dynasty: The Samding Dorje Phakmo of Tibet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 275 and the note 7 in p. 358.

¹¹⁶ Under TBRC entry G412, it records that Samding was built in 1440 or 1250. The source for the year 1250 is unknown. I discussed this issue with TBRC researchers Kelsang Lhamo and Michael Sheehy in June 2015. They are more positive that Samding was established around 1440.

The Samding monastery is located in today's Langkazi County of the Shannan Prefecture located in the south-east of the Tibet Autonomous Region. The Sakya monastery is located in Sajia County in Shigatse.

Zangpo's biographies does not refer to Samding, where Samding Dorje Phagmo resided.

In the beginning of his training as a novice monk, for the sake of his studies, sometimes Tokmé Zangpo and his fellows left the Samling monastery and went to the well-known Buddhist educational center, Bodong É Monastery. *Guide to Your Devotion* points out that Tokmé Zangpo studied the text *Compendium of Abhidharma* (*mngon pa kun las btus pa*) with five masters and finished his studies within five years. Because Tokmé Zangpo hid his good qualities and knowledge, others looked down on his apparent lack of intelligent ability. Tokmé Zangpo also had lessons related to the Perfection Wisdom (*phar phyin*) philosophy, and the Kadam (bka' gdams) tradition. The text does not specify what kind of "Kadam" teachings he learned.

During the summer sessions, Tokmé Zangpo and his fellows visited other monasteries, such as Shalu (Zhwa lu dgon) Monastery, for their practice of debating and clarifying Buddhist doctrines. Gradually Tokmé Zangpo earned a good reputation for his scholarly performance. He obtained his name "Tokmé" at Bodong É Monastery by

¹¹⁸ Of course, unless there is more textual evidence found to confirm that Samding was founded in 1440 after Tokme Zangpo's death in 1369, there is still a possibility that Samding and Samling refer to the same monastery. If this was the case, this would offer interesting information about the establishment of the Bodong tradition. In addition to *Guide to Your Devotion*, Samling is mentioned in Penden Yéshé's *Rgyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa*, *Drops of Ambrosia*, in *Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu*, 7.2-6, and Pelgyi Rinchen, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer*, *Ray of Altruism*, 82, 85, and 97.

¹¹⁹ Visiting other monasteries and begging for alms during the trip is a practice that is called "dra kor" (*grwa bskor*) for. See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 7.

age twenty. 120 "Tokmé" refers to the name of the Indian master Asanga. He received this name due to the following event:

At that time, in the memorial service to Lazhik Jangchup Dorjé, monks sat in rows during the time of tea offering...A scholar called Jamyang Rongpa Nyila Gyeltsen asked, "According to *Treasury of Abhidharma*, it explains that feeling detached from worldly things is suffering. If this is [the result of] the sensation of being detached from worldly things, it is contrary to the definition of suffering. Think about this carefully and give me a reply." Other people cannot give an appropriate answer...Master (Tokmé) replied:

"Although Arhats¹²¹ do not have afflictive emotions,

they perceive them due to the power of karma."

[Thus,] the reasoning that explains the arising of suffering [while detached from worldly things] is established. Then, after [Master Tokmé] refuted that contradiction [in the argument], he defeated the opponent (Jamyang Rongpa Nyila Gyeltsen) according to appropriate Buddhist debate logics. Even though [Master Tokmé] said that "I am not a new Tokmé," he was renowned and called as Tokmé from then on. 122

Asanga was a major Indian scholar of the Buddhist Abhidharma (higher teaching) philosophy. *Treasury of Abhidharma* mentioned above was composed by his brother Vasubandhu. These brothers are considered to be two of the six great commentators by

¹²⁰ Tokmé Zangpo's birth name is Könchok Zangpo. His name as a novice monk is Zangpo Pel.

¹²¹ An "arhat" (Worthy One) attains Nirvana and is detached from worldly things.

¹²² See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 8-9: de dus bla zhig byang chub rdo rje'i dus mchod_ kyi mang ja'i gral du/_rigs grwa byed pa'i rigs chung gi gseb na/[...]'jam dbyangs rong pa nyi la rgyal mtshan bya ba shin du mkhas pa zhig yod pa na re/[...]mngon pa nas/_zang zing med pa'i tshor ba sdug bsngal ba zhes bya ba gcig bshad 'dug ste/_zang zing med pa'i tshor ba yin na sdug bsngal yin pa'i dam bca' bud zer ba 'di la/_bsam mno thong la lan thob zer ba la/_gzhan ni lan thebs pa ma byung /[...]nyan thos dgra bcom pa la zang zing med/nyon mongs med kyang de dag la/las kyi nus pa mthong ba yin //_zhes sdug bsngal 'byung bar bshad yod pa de'i lugs kyi sgrub byed dang /_'gal spong gsungs nas brtsod zla chos dang mthun par pham bar mdzad de/ nga thogs med gsar ma yin gsungs pas/ mtshan yang thogs med ces de nas grags shing /.

Tibetan Buddhists.¹²³ In addition to the compassionate character he possessed as a child, the text emphasizes Tokmé Zangpo's innate perfect intelligence by showing his acquisition of this honored name at such a young age.

Guide to Your Devotion later mentions around thirty names of masters with whom Tokmé Zangpo studied. His learning topics were various, including Abhidharma, epistemology (tshad ma), texts composed by Vasubandhu and Asańga, texts and rituals related to generation of awakening mind (sems bskyed), and the empowerment rituals of tantric deities, to name a few. Most of these topics are not exclusive to an institutional affiliation. For example, in Ngülchu (dngul chu), a place near Bodong É Monastery, even though he was not much affiliated with the Kagyü school, Tokmé Zangpo learned its central teachings: the Great Seal (phyogs rgya chen po), and the Six Yogas of Nāropa (na ro chos drug). The guru yoga practice, however, is particular to the Sakya school. Tokmé Zangpo received the teachings of guru yoga practice from Jampéyang Dönyö Gyeltsen ('Jam dbyangs don yod rgyal mtshan, 1310-1344), the who was the Throne Holder of the Sakya school from 1342 to 1344. In terms of the subject of Lojong, Tokmé Zangpo studied Chékawa's Seven-Point Mind Training with Sönam Drakpa (Bsod nams grags pa, 1273-1345). From Lozangpa (Blo bzang pa), Tokmé Zangpo learned Langri

 $^{^{123}}$ Those six great commentators are called six ornaments ($rgyan\ drug$). They are: Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dignāga, and Dharmakīrti.

 $^{^{124}\,\}mathrm{Ng\"{u}lchu}$ is where Ng\"{u}lchu Chödzong is located. Ng\"{u}lchu Chödzong is marked on Map 2, 40 miles northeast of Bodong É Monastery.

¹²⁵ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, 9.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 17.

Tangpa's (Glang ri thang pa, 1054-1123) *Eight Verses on Mind Training (Blo sbyong tshig rkang brgyad ma*). ¹²⁷ On two separate occasions, Tokmé Zangpo learned Śāntideva's (ca. eighth century) *Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life*. ¹²⁸ Later when he preached this text around age seventy, flowers are said to have rained from the sky. ¹²⁹ This miracle sign shows Tokmé Zangpo's deep realization of *Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life*. This text is an important resource of Lojong philosophy. Tokmé Zangpo completed all his studies by age thirty-two. These various teachings and masters are reflected in Tokmé Zangpo's writings. Chapters 3 and 4 further discuss the transmissions of teachings for which Tokmé Zangpo wrote his praises.

Due to his high standing of scholarly performance, the text states that Tokmé Zangpo was recognized as a spiritual guide at the Sakya monastery at age twenty-seven. He received full ordination there at age thirty and served in the instructor (*zur chen*) position at age thirty-two at Bodong É Monastery. The same year, he became the manager (*den sa pa*) at the Tara (Rta ra) monastery by the requests of monks there. Initially Tokmé Zangpo was reputedly not willing to take this position because he worried that this position would be involved with too many worldly things. Just when the

¹²⁷ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, 18

¹²⁸ Ibid., 10, 17,

¹²⁹ Ibid., 38.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 9.

¹³¹ Ibid., 11, 21.

Tara fellows promised that he would not need to deal with too much administration, he accepted this responsibility. 132

At age thirty-nine in 1333, when Tokmé Zangpo was teaching in Ngülchu in the fall, Jampéyang Dönyö Gyeltsen asked him to be the abbot of Bodong É Monastery. ¹³³ Instead of accepting this invitation, Tokmé Zangpo requested that his teacher Pang Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa (Dpang lo tsA ba blo gros brtan pa, 1276-1342), take this position. Pang Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa accepted and happily said, "Master Tokmé! It is pleasant to hear what you said. This monastery was what my teacher did not obtain [but I am going to get it]." ¹³⁴

In my visit to Bodong É Monastery in August of 2013, monk Lodrö Gyatso could immediately articulate that initially Tokmé Zangpo could have been the abbot, but that he let Pang Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa have that position instead. When I asked him about his reference, Lodrö Gyatso referred to Bodong Penchen Choklé Namgyel's biography. This

¹³² See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, 18-22. For the location of the Tara monastery, I did not find it during my trip in Tibet. This monastery should have been located near Bodong É Monastery or the Sakya monastery. I found another monastery which is also called Tara but with a different Tibetan spelling "*rta rwa*." This monastery is located in Zhongba County in Shigatse, at least 125 miles from Bodong É Monastery. Due to its distance and location, I do not think that Tokmé Zangpo visited there.

¹³³ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 21. For this abbot position, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo wrote abbot in Tibetan as "bla chos." Palgyi Rinchen used "mkhan po." See Pelgyi Rinchen, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer*, *Ray of Altruism*, 104.

¹³⁴ Ibid, 21: gu ru thogs med/_thos pa'i gtam la snyan/_nga'i bla mas ma thob pa'i gdan sa yin gsungs te/.

experience shows that Tokmé Zangpo's life story has been part of the heritage of the Bodong tradition even till nowadays.

3. Tokmé Zangpo as an Ethical Model of Lojong

Guide to Your Devotion tells that Tokmé Zangpo mainly stayed and taught in Bodong É Monastery and Ngülchü Chödzong (dngul chu'i chos rdzong) till age forty-two in 1337. Ngülchü Chödzong literally means the dharma fortress in Ngülchu. Tokmé Zangpo started his retreat in Ngülchü Chödzong after 1337 and rarely met with other people. During this period of retreat, Tokmé Zangpo refused invitations of meeting and teaching. He left the retreat on rare occasions. For example, Tokmé Zangpo visited Pang Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa before he passed away in 1342. This retreat seemed to last around twenty years. It ended when Tokmé Zangpo started travelling to Samye Monastery (Bsam yas dgon pa), the Jokang Temple (Jokhang), and other places in the Ü-Tsang area at age sixty-seven in 1361. In the Year of the Rabbit that occurred in 1363, Tokmé Zangpo returned to Ngülchü Chödzong and had more frequent interactions with disciples and visitors until his death in 1369. Except for his retreat at Ngülchü Chödzong, Guide to Your Devotion provides various examples that describe how Tokmé

¹³⁵ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 23.

¹³⁶ In most of his writings, Tokmé Zangpo specified that he wrote at Ngülchü Chödzong. Thus people alternatively call him Ngülchu Tokmé even nowadays.

¹³⁷ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 24-5.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 33.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 36. It could be possible that Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo met Tokmé Zangpo during this Period.

Zangpo helped others through giving material goods, performing miracles to cure sickness of others or to save them from danger, accepting preaching invitations by religious or political figures, etc. 140 These figures who invited him include well-known people during that time: Butön Rinchendrup (Bu ston rin chen grub, 1290-1364), who was a renowned Sakya historian and the abbot of Shalu Monastery, T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen (Ta'i si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan, 1302-1364), who ruled Central Tibet after 1354, Lama Dampa Sönam Gyeltsen (Bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan, 1312-1375), who was the fourteenth throne holder of the Sakya school, and T'ai Si Tu Gélek Zangpo (Ta'i si tu dge legs bzang po, 1342-1390/1391), who was the twelfth secular throne holder (dpon sa) of Tselpa Kagyü order. Certainly to some degree they were attracted to Tokmé Zangpo's wisdom or compassion. They may also burnish their reputation through their association with Tokmé Zangpo. For Tokmé Zangpo, through interaction with these people, he was building his network.

All these activities portray Tokmé Zangpo's abilities to perform different beneficial actions for others. Among these actions, Tokmé Zangpo's generosity depicted in the text provides us with a perspective to investigate how Tokmé Zangpo acted as a Lojong master. One evening, Tokmé Zangpo took a beggar home and satisfied the beggar with eating and drinking. He handed to that beggar a new fur cloak and furthermore:

[Master Tokmé] transferred that beggar's clothes to himself and nurtured the lice. Thus, [Master Tokmé] seemed to get leprosy and black bull pox. Then, he could not practice dharma as before. All [Master Tokmé's] teachers and friends

¹⁴⁰ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, 31-37.

thought that his behavior was wrong to his health. They went to see [Master Tokmé]...Master Tokmé said:

Some people do not have a purely compassionate mind.

Thus [they] cannot give away this body.

[Master Tokmé] gave such a dharma preaching. Some people asked [Master Tokmé] urgently to abandon the lice and said, "For the sake of us, please do not do something like this!" However, Master Tokmé said, "From beginningless time, many bodies again and again [in the cyclic existence] were meaningless. Now even though [I] die, it is meaningful. Thus, [I] will not abandon these lice." Because [Master Tokmé] nourished those lice, it took around seventeen days for him to get out of this [trouble of] lice. [Master Tokmé] recited mantras many times for all the bodies of [these] lice and made offerings [to them]. [Master Tokmé] upheld [his] wonderful innate nature. He was renowned everywhere with the honorific term "Great Bodhisattva" in addition to his name. [14]

This morally extreme action may not sound understandable and reasonable to a modern reader. Then, for the local readers at Tokmé Zangpo's time, how would they understand this action? As Tokmé Zangpo's name "Tokmé" refers to Indian master Asanga and he is reputed as "New Asanga," his story about lice seems to mirror a similar scenario in Asanga's biography. In *History of Buddhism (Chos-hbyung)*, Butön Rinchendrup (Bu ston rin chen grub, 1290-1364), narrates that Asanga went outside after he felt frustrated

¹⁴¹ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 14-5: kho'i go log kun spos te shig gsos pas/_mdze'am 'brum bu nag po glang gnya' byung ba bzhin song nas chos chag pas/_slob ma dang grogs mched kun gyis sku khams log pa yin nam snyam nas ltar byung bas/[...] /_la las snying rje'i bsam pa ma dag pas/_/lus 'di btang bar mi bya ste/_/zhes sogs kyi chos bshad byed/_la las/_bdag cag gi slad du 'di ltar mi mdzad du gsol zhes/_nan gyis shig 'dor bar zhus kyang /_thog med dus nas/_lus ji snyed blangs kyang don med du song 'dug_/da res shi yang don can yin pas shig mi 'dor gsungs nas/_shig gsos pas/zhag bcu bdun tsam nas shig las grol te/_shig ro kun la gzungs sngags mang po bzlas shing tsha tsha btab pas/[...]ngo mtshar gyi gnas su 'dzin la/_mtshan yang rgyal sras chen po zhes sa steng thams cad du grags/.

¹⁴² I appreciate that Karen Lang points out the similarity between Tokmé Zangpo's lice story and Asaṅga's story about the worms on the dog.

due to a twelve-year retreat but was seeing no sign of success:

...he saw a dog, the lower part of its body was eaten by worms, but the upper part (was still free) and it was barking and biting. (Asanga) became full of Commiseration and, seeing that if he were to remove the worms, the latter would perish and if not, — the dog would die, he became resolved to cut flesh from his body and remove (the worms) by attracting them with it. Accordingly, ...he cut off flesh from his body. Then, thinking that if he would take (the worms) with his hand, they would nevertheless perish, he shut his eyes and was about to take them off with his tongue. (At that moment) the dog disappeared, and he beheld Maitreya, full of light.

We can notice some similarities between Tokmé Zangpo's and Asanga's life story. Tokmé Zangpo attempts to benefit the beggar without harming lice on that beggar's clothes. Then he nurtures the lice with his body and almost sacrifices his life. Asanga attempts to save the dog without harming the worms dependent on the dog. Then, Asanga cuts flesh from his body in order to nurture those worms. Both of their extreme ethical actions represent a bodhisattva's generosity. Butön Rinchendrup recorded this part of Asanga's story and he was Tokmé Zangpo's contemporary. Thus we can assume that certain educated monastic members should be aware of this legend. There is a possibility that Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo composed the lice story of Tokmé Zangpo from some inspiration of Asanga's legend.

Moreover, this morally extreme action depicts Tokmé Zangpo as a "Great Bodhisattva," which reads "gyel sé chen po" (*rgyal sras chen po*) in Tibetan. ¹⁴⁴ This explains why Tokmé Zangpo is alternatively called Gyelsé Tokmé. Tokmé Zangpo's reputation for compassionate actions conveys a model for a Lojong master. The

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¹⁴³ See Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub, *History of Buddhism: (Chos-hbyung)*, trans. E. Obermiller, (Heidelberg: In kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, 1931), 138.

paramount goal of Lojong practice is to cultivate the awakening mind (bodhicitta). When practitioners generate such a mindset, they are in a state of universal compassion, so they are committed to participate in the bodhisattva path, in working for the welfare of others by taking up the practice of the Six Perfections. The list of the Six Perfections (pārāmita) provides virtuous characters of a bodhisattva, namely generosity (dāna), morality (śīla), patience (kṣānti), perseverance (vīrya), meditation (samādhi), and wisdom (prajñā). Guide to Your Devotion particularly emphasizes Tokmé Zangpo's generosity by giving examples at different occasions as presented above. Interestingly, while Lojong practice is a gradual process that leads practitioners to follow the bodhisattva path, Tokmé Zangpo seemed to attain a bodhisattva's state without that cultivation.

In the previous section on Tokmé Zangpo's education, we have seen that *Guide to Your Devotion* shows us how Tokmé Zangpo became a well-known scholar, by completing monastic training in around ten years. He had different subjects to study and he visited monasteries for the sake of debate and clarifying Buddhist concepts. The aforementioned quotation states that Tokmé Zangpo upheld the wonderful nature he was born with. The whole text does not provide any information about how Tokmé Zangpo activated his innate compassion. Through monastic education, he woke up his innate intelligence. For his state of generosity, Tokmé Zangpo was naturally generous and empathetic since he was a young kid.

As this biography is called "Guide to Your Devotion," apparently the target readers at least included Tokmé Zangpo's disciples and prospective followers even today.

^{144 &}quot;Gyel sé" (rgyal sras) literally means the son of the Conqueror, the Buddha.

The stories narrated in the text have pedagogical functions that guide Tokmé Zangpo's devotees to follow his behaviors. Tokmé Zangpo's performance represents the excellence of human character and functions as an ethical model on which his followers could format their character and develop their virtuous qualities. Even then they might have still needed a series of trainings that would enable them to perform like Tokmé Zangpo. This character development is a gradual process. However, practitioners are not obligated to act out a morally extreme activity, such as Tokmé Zangpo almost sacrificing his life by feeding lice as described above. As Dale Wright points out in his *The Six Perfections: Buddhism and the Cultivation of Character*, many heroic patterns in folk tales call one's attention to an ultimate goal. These tales might not be true, but they can inspire Buddhist devotees' ambitions to achieve a bodhisattva's extremely moral actions. ¹⁴⁵

Wright further explains that Mahāyāna texts treat "giving," or performing generous actions, as a type of meditation. This meditation trains one's mind to feel profound generosity and to focus on the welfare of other beings. During such spiritual exercises one imagines the highest level of renunciation, giving one's wealth, family, body, and life. Moreover, Wright quotes from the *Large Sutra on Perfection Wisdom*, a perfect generosity is a "threefold purity:" "Here a Bodhisattva gives a gift, and he does not apprehend a self, a recipient, or a gift; also no reward of his giving." This threefold purity is the highest form of generosity. It is perfect giving endowed with wisdom, the

¹⁴⁵ See Dale S. Wright, *The Six Perfections: Buddhism and the Cultivation of Character* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 36-9.

¹⁴⁶ See Dale S. Wright, *The Six Perfections: Buddhism and the Cultivation of Character*, 22.

most perfect of Six Perfections. It cooperates with the other five perfections: generosity, morality, tolerance, energy, and meditation. Wisdom consists of the realization of emptiness. That realization results from one's absorption of dependent-arising and no-Self teaching. This realization makes one comprehend the giver, gift, and recipient as not inherently existent but conditionally depending on each other. Similarly, Tokmé Zangpo's generosity is not based on blind emotion. As quoted above, he said, "Some people do not have a purely compassionate mind. Thus [they] cannot give away this body." I suggest that what he meant by "a purely compassionate mind," was a combination of his actual realization of emptiness with such compassion.

At the same time, there seems to be a dilemma in Tokmé Zangpo's morally extreme action. His fellows urgently asked him to abandon the lice and they said, "For the sake of us, please do not do something like this!" This statement expresses their worry that Tokmé Zangpo could have died in that situation. In the text, this thing happened when Tokmé Zangpo was thirty years old. By age thirty, Tokmé Zangpo had been acknowledged as a spiritual guide at Bodong É Monastery and the Sakya monastery. If he really had died by sacrificing his life to the lice, this would have made Tokmé Zangpo neglectful of the required judgment concerning what is truly beneficial to his students and others involved. Certainly a saint's biography would never provide a scenario that manifests an unwise decision of Tokmé Zangpo. Admirable people are those who maintain the balance between helping others and cultivating their capacity to help. Definitely Tokmé Zangpo is an admirable master in Guide to Your Devotion. We

can interpret that the text focuses on Tokmé Zangpo's moral concern beyond his own life, and does not focuses on how a practitioner can gradually attain that state.

Conclusion

Because Guide to Your Devotion is a work of literature, sometimes it gives modern readers the challenge of differentiating between historical fact and literary invention. Then, which one is more important for understanding Tokmé Zangpo's life? For example, when we read that story that the rain of flowers descended from the sky after Tokmé Zangpo preached Śāntideva's (ca. eighth century) Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life, we do not devalue this "fictional" feature in the biography. The biographer attracts the readers' attention to notice the symbolic meaning behind this event. It highlights Tokmé Zangpo's deep understanding and profound teaching skills for this text. More importantly, this text portrays an ideal bodhisattva and it is a crucial text for the Lojong philosophy. Thus this chapter focuses on how Guide to Your Devotion functions on one level as a rhetorical device to promote Tokmé Zangpo's sanctity through three themes. These themes construct his image as an intelligent but humble master, as a bodhisattva, and as a model Lojong master. While sometimes these images may look abnormal for a modern reader, such as Tokmé Zangpo's sacrifice to lice, they echo what the local readers might have been previously aware of, such as the legend between Asanga and Maitreya. Sometimes to differentiate which part is fiction and which part is fact would be beyond the ability for modern readers. Researchers need resources outside of biography to prove the validity of events mentioned in biography. I chose a more

accessible way to understand a master's life by examining the symbolic meanings underneath the events. This chapter treats the biography as its own object and interprets it in order to understand how Tokmé Zangpo is described in *Guide to Your Devotion*.

Moreover, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's quotations of conversation between Tokmé Zangpo and others allow Tokmé Zangpo's compassionate character to emerge from the text with vividness. Different voices in the text were worked together by Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo to construct Tokmé Zangpo's identity. *Guide to Your Devotion* is involved in the process of transmitting Tokmé Zangpo's identity into individuals and the community.

As Chapter 1 discussed, the other two earliest biographies, Pelgyi Rinchen's *Ray* of *Altruism* and Penden Yéshé's *Drops of Ambrosia*, are related to Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's *Guide to Your Devotion* to some degree. To analyze how Pelgyi Rinchen and Penden Yéshé, as well as later biographers, used Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's information to compose their works, is a worthy future endeavor.

After investigating how Tokmé Zangpo is represented by others, the following chapters turn our attention to Tokmé Zangpo's own writings in his Collected Works.

Introduction

Tokmé Zangpo's (Thogs med bzang po, 1295-1369) Lojong works are mainly included in his Collected Works and partly in his Fragmentary Collected Works. The Tibetan term for Collected Works, *kabum* (*bka'* '*bum*), sometimes written as *sungbum* (*gsung 'bum*), is not only the name of Tokmé Zangpo's book, but also refers to a Tibetan literary genre. Fragmentary Collected Works (*bka'* '*bum thor bu*) can be considered as a shorter version of Collected Works. As the name implies, Collected Works is a collection of Tibetan monastic scholars or of a practitioners' writings. The editorial principles and literary forms in Collected Works are various. The content of Collected Works also shows the formation and reception of particular doctrinal and spiritual traditions within their institutional contexts. Because Collected Works are subjective, what should be included in one's Collected Works depends on the editors. Before I clarify the structure

¹⁴⁷ The Collected Works genre is a useful source for locating writers' particular teachings. For example, Rachel Pang examines Shabkar Tsokdruk Rangdrol's doctrinal views found in his Collected Works. See Rachel Pang, "Dissipating Boundaries: The *Life*, Song-Poems, and Non-Sectarian Paradigm of Shabkar Tsokdruk Rangdrol (1781-1851" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2011).

¹⁴⁸ In the panel "Biographical Components of Collected Works (*gsung 'bum*) in Tibetan Buddhism," at the 54th Annual Meeting of the Southeast Conference of the Association for Asian Studies (SEC/AAS), Natasha Mikles, Benjamin Wood, and I gave a textual and hermeneutical examination of three Tibetan Buddhist masters' Collected Works in order to investigate the different functions of Collected Works as a genre. Mikles examined three different editions of Künkhyen Pemakarpo's (*kun mkhyen pad+ma dkar po*, 1527-1592) Collected Works and suggested eight editorial rules that were followed in composing them. Wood showed how Losel Tengyong (*blo gsal bstan skyong*, b. 1804) uses Butön Rinchendrup's (*bu ston rin chen grub*,

and content of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works, which provides a critical context for his Lojong interpretation, this chapter investigates the authorship and editorship of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works.

There are at least two editions of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works (*bka'* '*bum*) and at least two editions of his Fragmentary Collected Works (*bkar 'bum thor bu*) preserved today. This chapter examines the four editions which are accessible to the public. For the sake of discussion and avoidance of confusion, this chapter names each edition based on its publication place and sponsorship. The list of these editions is as follows. This list is not in chronological order due to the complicated editorship of these works.

- 1975 Bhutan xylographic edition of Fragmentary Collected Works of Gyelsé
 Tokmé (Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu, hereafter called Bhutan
 Fragmentary Collected Works). 149
- 2. The manuscript edition of Fragmentary Collected Works in *umé* (*dbu med*, headless) styles. The title of this work is *Fragmentary Collected Works Composed by Gyelsé Tokmé* (*Rgyal sras thogs med pas mdzad pa'i bka' 'bum*, hereafter called *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works*). Approximately brought to the Drepung monastery as early as the seventeenth century. ¹⁵⁰

1290-1364) Collected Works to construct Butön's literary character. I appreciate our respondent Kevin Vose giving us insightful comments.

¹⁴⁹ See Tokmé Zangpo and Penden Yéshé, *Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu* [TBRC W2CZ6641] (Thimphu: Kun bzang stobs rgyal, 1975).

¹⁵⁰ See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med pas mdzad pa'i bka' 'bum [TBRC W1CZ1084].

- 3. Degé xylographic edition of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works under the sponsorship of Künga Trinlé Gyatso (Kun dga' phrin las rgya mtsho, 1714-1751). The title of this work is the *Collected Works of Great Tokmé Bodhisattva* (*Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, hereafter called *Degé Collected Works*). TBRC has two digital facsimiles of this work (each of them with 593 scanned pages) and their identification numbers are W1CZ895 and W00EGS1016240. I compared those two works and realized that they are different copies of the same work. The latter version has much clearer images so it was chosen for this dissertation.
- 4. 2011 Labrang (Bla brang) monastery typeset edition of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works. The title of this work is the Collected Works of Tokmé Zangpo Bodhisattva (Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med bzang po'i bka bum, hereafter called Labrang Collected Works). 151

Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works has Tokmé Zangpo's life story as the first part, and one hundred and thirteen texts as a whole for the second part. These one hundred and thirteen texts also appear in other editions, thus I call these texts as a group, the "113 Texts." Both Degé Collected Works and Labrang Collected Works have the same "113 Texts" for the first part, and a 114th text called "Great Hearing Transmission of Mind Training" (Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo) as the second part. The order and the

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¹⁵¹ See Tokmé Zangpo, *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med bzang po'i bka bum* (Lanzhou: Kan su mi rigs dpe skrun khan, 2011).

length of the "113 Texts" in different works are the same. The *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works* only has a partial set of "113 Texts."

The Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works does not have a colophon that provides editorship or other related information. Even though the colophons of the other three works mention that there are one hundred and thirteen texts, the editors did not differentiate each text in the content. I have identified each text with a number for the clarity of this discussion. Appendix 2 offers an outline of the "113 Texts," including their number and location, as well as the translation of their titles. The outline is created according to Degé Collected Works. This work is chosen because it has clearly scanned images of both the "113 Texts" and 114th text "Great Hearing Transmission of Mind Training." (Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo). Moreover, Degé Collected Works was completed before Labrang Collected Works.

The authorship, editorship, and sponsorship of these four editions are various.

This chapter analyzes their compilation history.

Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works

The first work for discussion is *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works*. While this work was reprinted in Bhutan in 1975, the completion of this work could be as early as in

¹⁵² I differentiate each text according to Tokmé Zangpo's writing style. For example, in most cases, at the end of the text, Tokmé Zangpo wrote: "Tokmé, the monk [who] preached dharma, ...wrote at Ngülchü Chödzong." (chos smra ba'i btsun pa thogs med kyis...dngul chu'i chos rdzong du bkod pa). Usually in the beginning of the text, there is a brief prayer to a bodhisattva or to three treasures. Also, sometimes there is a beginning ornament (yig mgo), a cloud-like symbol between the end and the beginning of a text.

the late fourteenth century. There are two parts with their respective colophons in this work. The first part is Tokmé Zangpo's life story, *Drops of Ambrosia*, the Life of the *Precious Gyelsé Tokmé* (*Rgyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa*, hereafter *Drops of Ambrosia*), composed by Penden Yéshé (Dpal ldan ye shes, ca. fourteenth century). The second part has "113 Texts" which is called *Fragmentary Collected Works of Precious Gyelsé* (*Rgyal sras rin po che'i bka' 'bum thor bu ba*) authored by Tokmé Zangpo. 154

In terms of the "113 Texts," the writer of the second colophon makes four puns (in bold) out of Tokmé Zangpo's longer version of his name, Gyelsé Tokmé Zangpo Pel (Rgyal sras thogs med bzang po dpal) and states:

[The person] who combined **Bodhisattva's** (**gyelsé**, *rgyal sras*) wisdom and compassion into one, is called **Tokmé** (**tokmé**, *thogs med*). [He] held teaching and [actual] practice, and performed **noble** (**zangpo**, *bzang po*) activities in that he taught beings according to their needs. Through this and through noble **glory** [**pel**, *dpal*] and riches, [he used his] methods to mature and liberate teachable people. These methods are collected from Buddhist scriptures [which are like] one precious island. [These Buddhist scriptures] make the Collected Works attractive like a ring [set with] precious gems. The number [of these gems] is one hundred and thirteen. [155]

This colophon refers to the one hundred and thirteen texts as Tokmé Zangpo's "Collected

¹⁵³ See Penden Yéshé, Rgyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa, in Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu, 1-45.

¹⁵⁴ See Tokmé Zangpo, *Rgyal sras rin po che'i bka' 'bum thor bu ba*, in *Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu*, 47-433.

¹⁵⁵ I bold each pun. Due to the wording in the fourth pun, one may misread "dpal 'byor bzang po" as a person's name, and mistakenly regard this name as the editor. See Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu, 432.1-3: rgyal sras rnams kyi mkhyen brtse gcig bsdus pa'i/_/thogs med zhes grags bshad sgrub bstan pa 'dzin/_/bzang po'i 'phrin las gang la gang 'dul gyis/_/dpal 'byor bzang pos gdul bya smin grol thabs/_/gsung rab rin chen gling nas legs btus pa'i/_/kun vid 'phrog byed bka' 'bum nor bu'i phreng / /rnam grangs bcu phrag bcu dang bcu gsum ni/.

Works," but it does not explain how they are organized.

This colophon does not mention Penden Yéshé's *Drops of Ambrosia*. Furthermore, Penden Yéshé does not mention one hundred and thirteen texts in his colophon either. These two colophons do not refer to *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works* as a whole work. Therefore, it must have been that another editing team combined Penden Yéshé's text with the "113 Texts" to make the final product we have today: *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works*.

The second colophon later describes that the printing project of the "113 Texts" was sponsored by three officers and Drölma, a female ruler of Chudü. Those three officers are Püntsok Chöpelzang (Phun tshogs chos dpal bzang), Sönam Pelzang (Bsod nams dpal bzang), and Penden Zangpo (Dpal ldan bzang po). They paid the expenses for the paper and woodblocks. Their purposes can be summarized as thus: to acquire major and minor marks of a Buddha, to make their precious human lives meaningful, and to purify the mind of Lord Pékyap (Pad skyabs). So far there is no textual evidence to provide more biographical information about these three patrons and Pékyap.

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 $^{^{156}}$ These names may also refer to two people: Püntsok Chöpelzang and Sönam Pelzang Penden Zangpo.

¹⁵⁷ The pertinent descriptions in the colophon are in Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal sras rin po che'i bka' 'bum thor bu ba, in Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu, 432.3-433.2. I mark the names in bold: shog shing srad bu'i ngos la legs brgyus nas/_dmigs yul mtshan dpe thob phyir bzhengs pa yi/_sbyin bdag drung chen phun tshogs chos dpal bzang /_bsod nams dpal bzang dpal ldan bzang po yis/_dpal 'byor nor dang dal 'byor mi lus la/_don yod bya phyir sbyin pa tshul khrims sogs/_brtson pas lhur len skyed phyir bka' bsgos nas/_mnga' 'bangs khrims gnyis mngon par mtho ba yis/_lhag bsam rnam par dag pas kun bslangs nas/_dmigs yul nang so mgon po pad skyabs zhes/_yid 'phrog lang tsho rgyas pa'i skye mched can/_rang sde dpal dang 'byor pas legs skyong zhing / /gzhan snge dgra thabs dpung gis 'joms byed pa/ /de yi thugs rgyud sgrib

The writer of the colophon in the "113 Texts," Gendün Kyap (Dge 'dun skyabs) from Bodong (*bo dong*) states that this project was complete under Drölma's sponsorship in the Year of the Fire Tiger:

In order to increase success and prosperity of the dominion, in the Year of the Male-Fire Tiger, in January ¹⁵⁸...At Zhichen Trégang, [a place of] ten virtues collected, the high officer Drölma, the ruler of Chudü, was the sponsor who made the woodblock printings [of these one hundred and thirteen texts] well. May [she] reach the state of upholding the Buddha's teaching through this activity out of these good and virtuous motivations! Like magic, [the composition of this Collected Works] was set on the surface of woodblocks by the copyist Gendün Kyap from Bodong, and the engravers: matchless Janglingpa, Namkha Zangpo, who is a noble leader of Zépa, Könpel Namjung, and Köndar, etc., who were scholars from Ü-Tsang. [They] carefully did this work. ¹⁵⁹

This information about the printing time, location, and sponsorship of the "113 Texts" gives clues as to their possible compilation date. The first Fire-Tiger year before Tokmé

pa sbyang phyir dang /_/bstan dang de 'dzin skyes /mchog dam pa rnams/_/yun ring zhabs brtan dpal 'byor rgyas pa dang /_/srid gsum 'gro bas sangs rgyas thob phyir dang /_/phun tshogs 'khor bcas sku tshe rab brtan cing /"

The Tibetan description for January in this colophon is *cho 'phrul rta zla*. See *Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu*, 433.2. *The Great Tibetan Dictionary* states different names for January. Both chontrül (*cho 'phrul*, magical display) and tada (*rta zla*, horse month) are alternative names for January in the Tibetan lunar calendar. See Yisun Zhang, ed., *The Great Tibetan Dictionary*, *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (Beijing: Min zu chu ban she), 1985, 3072. This could also refer to March. For Tibetan astrology, tada (*rta zla*, horse month) means March. The horse month is considered to be the fifth month in the twelve-month circle. Since Tibetan astrology regards November as the first month in a year, the fifth month is March. This information is from a personal conversation with monastic scholar and Tibetan astrologer Khenpo Rikpé Dorjé (Rig pa'i rdo rje) in Charlottesville, Virginia.

bka' 'bum thor bu, 433.2-6: chab srid mnga' thang rgyas shing 'phel phyir du/ me pho stag lo cho 'phrul rta zla la/.../dge bcu 'dzom pa'i gzhis chen bkras sgang du/_/legs par sgrub pa'i spar shing sbyin bdag ni/_/mi dbang chu 'dus drung chen sgrol ma yis/_/rnam dkar thugs dgongs bzang pos mdzad pa yis/_/thub bstan 'dzin pa'i go 'phang thob gyur cig/ mig 'phrul lta bus shog shing ngos bkod pa'i/ yi ge pa ni bo dong dge 'dun skyabs/_/brkos byed 'gran zla bral ba byang gling pa/_/nam mkha' bzang po gzad pa dpon bzang dang/_/dkon dpal ma 'byung dkon dar la sogs pa/_/dbus gtsang mkhas pa rnams kyis legs par gzabs/.

Zangpo's death was 1326 when Tokmé Zangpo was around 31 years old. In Tokmé Zangpo's life story, *Guide to Your Devotion*, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo states that Tokmé Zangpo received full ordination at Bodong É Monastery and started monastic education in 1325. ¹⁶⁰ Also, according to *Guide to Your Devotion*, Tokmé Zangpo obtained greater reputation and had more interactions with disciples and lay followers after he finished his monastic education. In the "113 Texts," there are many letters in which Tokmé Zangpo corresponded with his disciples and devotees. Only a year after his full ordination, in the Year of the Fire Tiger, 1326, he would not have had these disciples yet. In addition, the editors of the "113 Texts" do not compose any long-life prayer for Tokmé Zangpo in the colophon. A long-life prayer is customarily composed when a master is still alive. This fact, the absence of a long-life prayer, indicates that Tokmé Zangpo had already passed away when they compiled this work.

Ultimately these facts show that 1326 is not the compilation year for the "113 Texts." The first three Fire-Tiger years after Tokmé Zangpo's death are 1386, 1446, and 1506. Thus, we can assume that the earliest time for this publication is 1386. It could also have been later in the eighteenth century after the "113 Texts" was published by the Degé Printing House (Sde dge par khang). The next section will further discuss *Degé Collected Works*. *Degé Collected Works* was clearly published in the eighteenth century. Here in this section, the publication period of *Degé Collected Works* is used to investigate whether the compilation year for the "113 Texts" in *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected*

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¹⁶⁰ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 11.

Works is earlier or later than the "113 Texts" published in *Degé Collected Works*. While it is possible that the "113 Texts" in *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works* is a reprint from *Degé Collected Works*, it is most likely that it was completed before *Degé Collected Works*. The reason for this probability is that the sponsorship and the original printing place of the "113 Texts" are situated in the Bodong area.

As the second colophon states, Drölma, the female ruler of Chudü, offered to pay the expenses for printing (most likely also including payment for the engravers) in order to make her dominion prosperous. So far no more biographical information related to Drölma has been found. In terms of her dominion, Chudü (chu 'dus), according to Dzamling Gyéshé's ('Dzam gling rgyas bshad, 1789-1839) The Geography of Tibet, while Chudü is a valley which cannot be identified, it could be located in the Tsang province of Tibet, nowadays called Shigatse, a prefecture-level city of the Tibet Autonomous Region of China. 161 Since this printing project was completed at the settlement Zhichen Trégang (gzhis chen bkras sgang), most likely Chudü could be a place near it. In terms of Zhichen Trégang's name, the second part Trégang can be an abbreviation for Trashi Gang (bkra shis sgang). 162 Trashi Gang is nowadays a township in the Lhatse County in Shigatse, where Bodong É Monastery is located. Potentially, Trashi Gang had the same name in Tokmé Zangpo's time. Also, the writer of this colophon, Gendün Kyap (Dge 'dun skyabs) was from the Bodong area which is located in the west of nowadays Shigatse.

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¹⁶¹ See Lama Tsenpo, *The Geography of Tibet According to the 'dZam-Gling-rGyas-bShad*, trans. Turrell V Wylie (Roma: Instituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1962), 66-67.

The places mentioned above accord with descriptions presented in Tokmé Zangpo's life story, *Guide to Your Devotion*. As the previous chapter examined, Tokmé Zangpo was heavily associated with Bodong É Monastery and was renowned in the Bodong area. Similar descriptions are also narrated in Bodong Penchen Choklé Namgyel's (Bo dong paN chen phyogs las rnam rgyal, 1376-1451) life story, *Feast of Miracles* ¹⁶³

In addition to Gendün Kyap, the engravers were from the Ü-Tsang area where Tokmé Zangpo studied, preached, and travelled. One of the "113 Texts" engravers is Namkha Zangpo (Nam mkha' bzang po). His name is mentioned in text 105 "Advice to Namkha Zangpo" (*Nam mkha' bzang po la gdams pa*). Since the same name may be used by different people even now in Tibet, whether this engraver, Namkha Zangpo, is the same with the Namkha Zangpo in text 105, is open to discussion. If they were the same person, then the "113 Texts" were completed in the Fire-Tiger year, 1386.

In addition, based on the fact that the sponsor and people involved in this printing project were connected to the places of Tokmé Zangpo's activities, most likely this project was initiated as early as 1386. Then later, this edition gradually spread to the Kham (*khams*) area. Because the Degé Printing House is located there, most likely it then became the source for the Degé printings. If that is the case, the "113 Texts" in Bhutan

¹⁶² Another customary abbreviation of Trashi (*bkra shis*) is Tri (*bkris*).

¹⁶³ See Hildegard Diemberger et al., Feast of Miracles: The Life and the Tradition of Bodong Chole Namgyal (1375/6-1451 A.D.) according to the Tibetan texts "Feast of Miracles" and "The Lamp Illuminating the History of Bodong, 41, 108, 119.

¹⁶⁴ Text 105 is located in 413.1-414.1 in Tokmé Zangpo's *Rgyal sras rin po che'i bka' 'bum thor bu ba*, in *Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu*.

Fragmentary Collected Works should have been completed between the fourteenth century and the late seventeenth century.

Another interesting question now arises: who is the editor that arranged the "113 Texts"? The colophon clearly points out that Gendün Kyap, who was the "yigépa" (yi ge pa), and the other engravers from the Ü-Tsang area completed the printing of the "113 Texts." The Tibetan term "yi ge pa" literally means an expert in written characters, a scribe, or a writer. 165 The actual writer for the "113 Texts" was Tokmé Zangpo. Thus the yigépa mentioned in the colophon would have edited or arranged the "113 Texts" to some degree. There are two Tibetan terms for "editor," either zhudakpa (zhus dag pa, editor) or Zhuchen (*zhu chen*, great editor). Even though these terms do not appear in the colophon, it is possible that the yigepa functioned as the editor. By editor, I mean the one who just transcribed the "113 Texts" versus arranging them, and also managed the printing project. At the same time, the order of the "113 Texts" shows that they were not put together randomly. In most cases, texts in similar categories are grouped together (further discussion on this topic is in the next chapter). There must have been an editing team who organized the "113 Texts" before they were transcribed. It is possible that the vigépa, Gendün Kyap, and his coworkers all edited and arranged the "113 Texts." It is interesting to notice that the colophon does not explain the strategy for how they organized the various literary forms and topics. It is not conclusive whether they arranged the "113 Texts" or not. If Gendün Kyap and his team transcribed the "113 Texts," who arranged it

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¹⁶⁵ See Melvyn C. Goldstein, T. N. Shelling, and J. T. Surkhang, *The New Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 994.

in the first place? The candidate could be Tokmé Zangpo's disciple, Gyamapa Yöntenö (Rgya ma pa yon tan 'od). Further discussion on Gyamapa Yöntenö is in the next section about *Degé Collected Works*.

In terms of this *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works*, including the "113 Texts" and Penden Yéshé's *Drops of Ambrosia*, we need more information to locate the possible composition date of *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works*. In *Drops of Ambrosia*, Penden Yéshé did not mention the year of his writing, but his colophon shows that his work was finished after Tokmé Zangpo's death in 1369. *Drops of Ambrosia* could have been completed as early as the late fourteenth century, which could have been before or after the earliest possible arrangement year of the "113 Texts" in 1386. If both *Drops of Ambrosia* and the "113 Texts" were finished in the late fourteenth century, that period would be the earliest time available for the editors to put Penden Yéshé's work and the "113 Texts" together. The latest time could be in the twentieth century when the work was reprinted in Bhutan in 1975.

Compared with the other three works, *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works*, *Degé Collected Works*, and *Labrang Collected Works*, only this *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works* includes Tokmé Zangpo's life story authored by Penden Yéshé'. Why did the editor select Penden Yéshé's work, instead of Zhönnu Gyeltsen's *Guide to Your Devotion*, or others? It is possible that this organization is influenced by the western models of including the biographies of artists before their collected works. *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works* was published in 1975. The editors of this work may have been aware of this common practice in western publication. They may just

have had Penden Yéshé's version of Tokmé Zangpo's life story and published it together with the "113 Texts."

Another possibility is that Penden Yéshé was the editor who put his work together with the "113 Texts." By doing so, Penden Yéshé could have implicitly promoted his identity as an important holder of Tokmé Zangpo's teaching. This possible hypothesis reveals the flexibility in which texts could be included and excluded in editions of Tokmé Zangpo's Fragmentary Collected Works and Collected Works. Sometimes this flexible editorial strategy indirectly points out the editor's motivation for creating that work. The following section further discusses this idea.

As discussed above, there are four layers of authorship and editorship of *Bhutan* Fragmentary Collected Works. In summary:

- 1. One hundred and thirteen separate texts authored by Tokmé Zangpo (1295-1369) before his death.
- 2. *Drops of Ambrosia* authored by Penden Yéshé. Approximately the late fourteenth century after Tokmé Zangpo's death in 1369.
- 3. The "113 Texts" arranged or transcribed together by Gendün Kyap's (Dge 'dun skyabs) team as found in *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works*. Approximately one of the Fire Tiger years between the late fourteenth century (in 1386) to the seventeenth century.

4. Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works, combining Drops of Ambrosia with the "113 Texts," by an unknown editing team or Penden Yéshé, as early as the late fourteenth century after 1386.

Degé Collected Works

Degé Collected Works¹⁶⁶ was published in the Degé Printing House (Sde dge par khang) in the eighteenth century. Degé Printing House is located in today's Dege County, Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province of China. Established in 1729 by the Degé ruler Tenpa Tsering (Bstan pa tshe ring, 1678-1738), Degé Printing House is one of the most important cultural and religious institutions in Tibet. Its comprehensive printing projects, beginning in the eighteenth century, were one of the major activities in the kingdom of Degé. The kingdom of Degé covers most of the historical Kham (khams) area, which is the nowadays Sichuan province and part of Tibetan Autonomous Region. From the seventeenth century till the early twentieth century, the kingdom of Degé was in the middle of two political powers. It was in the eastern frontier of the Ü-Tsang area (Central Tibet) where the Dalai Lama Polity, stemming from the Geluk school, was situated. It was in the western frontier of the Qing Empire. In addition to the Degé royal family's support, printing Tibetan texts, especially the production of the Tibetan Canon,

¹⁶⁶ As described in the beginning of this chapter, TBRC has two digital facsimiles of this work (each of them with 593 scanned pages). Their identification numbers are W1CZ895 and W00EGS1016240. The latter version has much clearer images so it was chosen for this dissertation.

was undertaken in Beijing under the Qing emperors, and the Tibetan rulers. ¹⁶⁷ Tokmé Zangpo's *Degé Collected Works* was produced in such a scenario when various political powers in China and Tibet were enthusiastic to support Tibetan Buddhism for their own purposes.

There are two parts in *Degé Collected Works*. The editors include the "113 Texts" that was likely from *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works* as the first part. The order and the length of the "113 Texts" in both editions are the same. Instead of including *Drops of Ambrosia*, the editors add a 114th text called "Great Hearing Transmission of Mind Training" (*Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo*, hereafter called "Hearing Transmission") at the end in *Degé Collected Works*. Each part has its own colophon and mentions different sponsors. In the first colophon, Tashi Wangchuk (Bkra shis dbang phyug) made a pun (in bold) out of Degé and wrote:

[I] respectfully pay homage to the feet of the glorious and noble one, Gyelsé Tokmé Zangpo Pel. His sayings are much more precious than the wish-fulfilling jewel and they are the same with the Buddha's words. [His sayings are these] one hundred and thirteen texts. In terms of [these texts which are] Buddhist teachings and the communal wealth, [Sönam Gönpo] made [these texts become] an inexhaustible Dharma gift [which is like] the sky, the boundless treasury. At the great and superior state, which has ten **virtues** (**gé**, *dge*) and four **aspects** (**de**, *sde*) of abundances, the ruler, the Dharma King, Sönam Gönpo accomplished this [Dharma gift] in order to make his father's lifespan long and the kingdom strong. The great manager Chökyong Lodrö closely helped [Sönam Gönpo]. May [merits out of] all virtuous actions [make] Buddhism spread widely and the sponsors of Buddhism fulfill their wishes!...monk Tashi Wangchuk wrote [this colophon].

¹⁶⁷ See Ben Nourse, "Canons in Context: A History of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in the Eighteenth Century" (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 2014), 5.

¹⁶⁸ I make the pun in bold. See Tokmé Zangpo, *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum* [TBRC W00EGS1016240] (Sichuan: Sde dge par khang chen mo, no publication date), 425.6-426.5: *mgon dang dbyer med rgyal sras bzang bo dpal/ /dpal 'byor bzang po'i zhabs la gus*

As the colophon points out, Sönam Gönpo (Bsod nams mgon po) sponsored this printing project for the sake of his father's benefit. Sönam Gönpo's father, the Degé ruler Tenpa Tsering, initiated huge projects, such as Kangyur (*bka' 'gyur*, translated words of Buddha), which is part of the Tibetan Canon. ¹⁶⁹ The writer of this colophon, Tashi Wangchuk (Bkra shis dbang phyug), also actively participated in Tenpa Tsering's printing projects. ¹⁷⁰ The patron of printing the "113 Texts," Sönam Gönpo, was the first son of Tenpa Tsering. ¹⁷¹ Tenpa Tsering passed away in 1738. ¹⁷² Sönam Gönpo must have completed this project as late as in 1737 or 1738 before his father's death, since he sponsored this publication in order to "make his father's lifespan long."

Sönam Gönpo did not take the throne of Degé. His younger brother, Püntsok Tenpa (Phun tshogs bstan pa, 1714-1751), also known as Künga Trinlé Gyatso (Kun dga' phrin las rgya mtsho), inherited Tenpa Tsering's position and continued the Degé printing

pas 'dud/_/de gsung rgyal ba'i bka' dang mi gnyis pa'i/_/yid bzhin nor bu las kyang ches lhag pa/_/rnam grangs bcu phrag bcu dang bcu gsum gyi/_/glegs bam bstan dang 'gro ba'i spyi nor du/_/chos sbyin 'dzad med nam mkha'i mdzod kyi bar/_/sde bzhi dge bcu'i mtho ba'i rgyal khab cher/_/yab rje'i sku tshe chab srid brtan pa'i phyir/_/chos rgyal mi dbang bsod nams mgon pos bsgrubs//nyer len gnyer chen chos skyong blo gros kyis/_/bgyis pa'i dge bas gnas skabs thams cad du/ /sangs rgyas bstan pa dar zhing rgyas pa dang / /bstan pa'i sbyin bdag bzhed don

kun 'grub shog/ ... ces dgi slong bkra shis dbang phyug gis bris pa'o/.

¹⁶⁹ See Zhaxia 扎呷, ed., Zang wen «Da zang jing» gai lun 藏文《大藏经》概论 (Xining: Qinghai ren min chu ban she, 2008), 73. For printing projects conducted before Tenpa Tsering, see Ben Nourse, "Canons in Context: A History of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in the Eighteenth Century," (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 2014), 128-132.

¹⁷⁰ See Ben Nourse, "Canons in Context: A History of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in the Eighteenth Century," (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 2014), 132-3.

¹⁷¹ See Joseph Kolmas, ed., *A Genealogy of the Kings of Derge* (Prague: Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1968), 50.

¹⁷² Ibid. 69.

enterprise.¹⁷³ At the end of the 114th text "Hearing Transmission," the second part of *Degé Collected Works*, the colophon shows that Künga Trinlé Gyatso was the sponsor for its publication:

As the sublime Dharma protector, who possesses ten glorious powers, commanded, the great Degé lama Künga Trinlé Gyatso widely spread this continuation of Dharma gift, Gyelsé's path. ¹⁷⁴

The information presented in those two colophons raises some interesting questions about the editorship of *Degé Collected Works*. The first colophon does not mention the 114th text "Hearing Transmission." Therefore, it seems that Sönam Gönpo's team only printed the "113 Texts." The second colophon does not point out either the "113 Texts" or the 114th text. However, from the statement "this continuation of Dharma gift," we can assume that Künga Trinlé Gyatso's team printed both the "113 Texts" and the 114th text as a whole work: *Degé Collected Works*. The printing processes at Degé involved editing, transcribing, proofreading, carving of wood blocks, etc. Both Sönam Gönpo and Künga Trinlé Gyatso were the sponsors for those printing activities. Did Sönam Gönpo's team edit the "113 Texts?" Then later did Künga Trinlé Gyatso's team add the 114th text to create *Degé Collected Works*? In fact, the textual evidence shows that the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617-1682), was likely the editor who combined the "113 Texts" with the 114th text. Note that the Fifth

¹⁷³ See Ben Nourse, "Canons in Context: A History of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in the Eighteenth Century," (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 2014), 50.

¹⁷⁴ See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 593.5-6: rgyal sras lam gyi chos sbyin rgyun 'di yang /_dpal ldan stobs bcu mnga' ba'i chos skyong ba/_/mchog gi bka' ltar sde dge bla ma che/ /kun dga' phrin las rgya mtshos rnam par spel/.

Dalai Lama may not have been involved in actually printing those two separate parts as the published *Degé Collected Works* that we have today. This will be discussed in the following two sections below.

The Fifth Dalai Lama and the "113 Texts"

In one volume of his personal Collected Works, in the text, "The Scripture Transmission of Hearing Gyelsé Tokmé's Collected Works and So Forth" (*gyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum sogs gsan pa'i lung brgyud*), the Fifth Dalai Lama described how he received Tokmé Zangpo's "Collected Works." He included the former text in his *River Gange's Flow: A Record of Excellent and Extensive Teaching Received*. The Fifth Dalai Lama lists Tokmé Zangpo's texts without stating outright that there were one hundred and thirteen of them. He simply asserts:

In terms of the Collected Works of Tokmé Zangpo Pel [who was] the Lord of the World and the Son of the Conqueror¹⁷⁵...

Right after this statement, the Fifth Dalai Lama lists his own titles for each of the one hundred and thirteen texts. In most cases, he combines some words in the first and the last sentences of each text to create a title. Each title ends with the Tibetan character *ma*. Thus, even though he does not number each text, the readers can still differentiate them and see how many there are. For example, the title for text 1 given by Tokmé Zangpo is "Praise to Compassionate Jampéyang Khöntön (*'jam pa'i dbyangs 'khon ston thugs rje*

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¹⁷⁵ See Lozang Gyatso, River Gange's Flow: A Record of Excellent and Extensive Teaching Received, Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las, in Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum, vol. 2, 110: rgyal ba'i sras

can la bstod pa)."¹⁷⁶ Conversely, the title created by the Fifth Dalai Lama for his list is as follows and "ma" is marked in bold: "Practices from Previous Lifetimes: For the Purpose of Tarpapel's Urge, [Writing] Praise to Jampéyang Khöntön with Precious Compassion" (Bshes gnyen thar pa dpal gyis bskul ba'i don du mdzad pa'i 'jam dbyangs 'khon ston thugs rje rin cen gyi bstod pa sngon sbyangs ma/). ¹⁷⁷

It is worth noting that the order of the Fifth Dalai Lama's text titles is the same with the "113 Texts" in *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works*. It is unknown to which extent the content is different between what the Fifth Dalai Lama read in the one hundred and thirteen texts, and what was printed as "113 Texts" in *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works*.

After presenting this title list, the Fifth Dalai Lama refers to himself as Zahor Bandé, a monk from the Zahor family, and describes from whom he received Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works:

This is the transmission [of how I] properly obtained these radiant scriptures: From the Conqueror's Son, Tokmé Zangpo Pel to Gyamapa Yöntenö, to Jangsem Pakpa Lopel, to Chennga Tsültrim Dar, to Chennga Sönam Lhawang, to Chennga Ngakwang Chödrak Gyeltsen, to Drakgön Chennga Zhönnu, to Chöpel Zangpo, to Penjor Lhündrup who was a vajra-holder from [heritage] Pabongkha. Penjor Lhündrup transmitted [them] to Chöying Rangdröl who was omniscient. Chöying Rangdröl bestowed [them] on me, Zahor Bandé. 178

po 'jig rten dbang phyug thogs med bzang po dpal ba'i bka' 'bum gyi skor la/. The Conqueror here refers to the historical Buddha. The Son of the Conqueror means a bodhisattva.

¹⁷⁶ See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 2.4.

¹⁷⁷ See Lozang Gyatso, Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las, in Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum, vol. 2, 110.

¹⁷⁸ Iabd., 115: bar ba ma rnams kyi lung legs par thob pa'i brgyud pa ni/ rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med bzang po dpal/ rgya ma pa yon tan 'od/ byang sems 'phags pa blo 'phel/ spyan snga tshul khrims dar/ spyan snga bsod nams lha dbang / spyan snga ngag dbang chos grags rgyal mtshan/

The people mentioned above were masters and their immediate disciples for the most part. The Palai Lama himself, asserts that he received Tokmé Zangpo's "Collected Works" from his teacher Chöying Rangdröl (chos dbyings rang grol, 1604-1669).

This transmission gives us another possible editorship for the "113 Texts," besides that discussed for *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works*. Since the Fifth Dalai Lama pointed out that Tokmé Zangpo transmitted his "Collected Works" to Gyamapa Yöntenö (Rgya ma pa yon tan 'od), does this statement imply that Gyamapa Yöntenö organized the "113 Texts" and arranged them in a certain order? In Tokmé Zangpo's life story *Guide to Your Devotion*, Gyamapa Yöntenö seems to be a close disciple of Tokmé Zangpo. He took care of Tokmé Zangpo before Tokmé Zangpo's death and even appeared in Tokmé Zangpo's dream. Many of their conversations were recorded in the text. However, *Guide to Your Devotion* does not assert who arranged the "113 Texts." Organizing those one hundred and thirteen texts in a specific order required a certain familiarity with religious literature. If Gyamapa Yöntenö was the editor, *Bhutan*

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brag dgon spyan snga gzhon nu chos dpal bzang po/rdo rje 'chang pha bong kha pa dpal 'byor lhun grub/ zur thams cad mkhyen pa chos dbyings rang grol/ des bdag za hor ban+de la stsal to//.

¹⁷⁹ Except for Chennga Ngakwang Chödrak Gyeltsen (*spyan snga ngag dbang chos grags rgyal mtshan*, ca. fifteenth century). He was not Chenga Sönam Lhawang's (*spyan snga bsod nams lha dbang*, ca. fourteenth century) immediate disciple but received teachings from Chenga Sönam Lhawang's students' disciples.

¹⁸⁰ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 54.

Fragmentary Collected Works should have mentioned his name. Because these is no such textual evidence, it is unlikely that Gyamapa Yöntenö compiled the "113 Texts."

Going into the question of the editorship further, it is important to notice that the order of each text of the one hundred and thirteen texts listed in the Fifth Dalai Lama's "The Scripture Transmission of Hearing Gyelsé Tokmé's Collected Works and So Forth," is the same with that in the second part of *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works*, and in the first part of *Degé Collected Works of Tokmé*. Since the "113 Texts" was first printed in Degé under Sönam Gönpo's command in the eighteenth century after the Fifth Dalai Lama's (1617-1682) time, it is certain that Sönam Gönpo's team did not arrange those one hundred and thirteen texts, but transcribed them from an existing collection.

Furthermore, if the "113 Texts" presented in *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works* was compiled by Gendün Kyap's team as early as in 1386, it implies that the Fifth Dalai Lama referenced the work of Gendün Kyap's group for his list. While the Fifth Dalai Lama could have been the first to arrange the "113 Texts," it is more likely that Gendün Kyap's group had the complete "113 Texts" earlier. The reason for this probability is that the Fifth Dalai Lama's living area, Lhasa, was further away from the Bodong area. The Bodong area was where Tokmé Zangpo lived, and was also where Gendün Kyap's operation took place. In general, a text should have been transmitted from its point of origin to neighboring locations first. Therefore, it makes more sense that Gendün Kyap's "113 Texts" existed earlier than the one that the Fifth Dalai Lama had. Gendün Kyap's team could have obtained it either by arranging it themselves, or by transcribing an existing work.

As discussed above, here is a possible compilation timeline for the "113 Texts." In summary:

- One hundred and thirteen separate texts authored by Tokmé Zangpo (1295-1369) before his death.
- 2. The "113 Texts" arranged or transcribed together by Gendün Kyap's (Dge 'dun skyabs) team in the Bodong area, as found in *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works*. Approximately one of the Fire Tiger years between the late fourteenth century (in 1386) to the seventeenth century.
- 3. The Fifth Dalai Lama in Lhasa received a version of "113 Texts" either from Gendün Kyap's team, or another unknown group who either arranged or edited the "113 Texts."
- 4. Sönam Gönpo's team in Degé printed an extant "113 Texts" as late as in 1737 or 1738.

The Fifth Dalai Lama and Degé Collected Works

Therefore the first arrangement of the "113 Texts" is still open to discussion. On the other hand, the colophon of the second part of *Degé Collected Works*, the 114th text, shows that the Fifth Dalai Lama was likely the editor who put the "113 Texts" and the 114th text together. Including the Fifth Dalai Lama, four people from different time periods were involved in creating *Degé Collected Works*. The following discussion detangles their roles as authors, editors, and sponsors.

The 114th text, "Hearing Transmission" comprises two sections. The first section narrates the history of Lojong transmission. At the end of the first section, Penden Yéshé states:

I Pelyé, the beggar, heard of the only briefly collected Gylsé Tokmé Zangpo's life story. This history of [Lojong] transmission is only a little bit [of the whole]. ¹⁸¹

Pelyé (*dpal ye*) mentioned above is a Tibetan abbreviation for Penden Yéshé (Dpal Idan ye shes). Even though Penden Yéshé refers to his work as a brief life story of Tokmé Zangpo, most of the narration actually is of Atiśa's life story and how his Lojong teachings were transmitted to Tokmé Zangpo. ¹⁸²

After Penden Yéshé's narration, the second section of "Hearing Transmission" is Tokmé Zangpo's lesser-known commentary on Chékhawa's *Seven-Point Mind Training*. Chékhawa's work is brief and in verse style. Thus Tokmé Zangpo mentions that he explained Chékhawa's work at the request of Drakpa Gyeltsen:

This explanation, the speech of "Hearing Transmission of Lojong," from the perspective of a few words, monk Tokmé composed at Chödzong, after Drakpa Gyeltsen, the supreme vehicle of yogin, urged me to do it again and again. 184

¹⁸² The first part of *Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo* is located in *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 431.1-451.6.

¹⁸¹ See Tokmé Zangpo and Penden Yéshé, *Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo* in *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 451.5-6: /rgyal sras thogs med rnam thar mdor bsdus tsam//yin par sprang po dpal ye bdag gis go/brgyud pa'i lo rgyus zur tsam mo/.

¹⁸³ The second part of *Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo* is located in *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 451.6-592.2.

¹⁸⁴ See Tokmé Zangpo and Penden Yéshé, *Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo*, in *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 589.5-6: *blo sbyong snyan brgyud kyi tshig rnams yi ge nyung ngu'i sgo nas bkrol ba 'di/ theg pa mchog gi rnal 'byor pa grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis yang yang bskul nas btsun pa thogs med kyis chos rdzong du sbyar ba'o/.*

Tokmé Zangpo clearly says that he composed this "Hearing Transmission of Lojong," but the authorship is more complicated than the way he described it. The colophon claims that it was Penden Yéshé who recorded Tokmé Zangpo's speech. Right after Tokmé Zangpo's statement mentioned above, Penden Yéshé asserts:

As such, [I] recorded such text: the explanations of the Lord of Dharma (Tokmé Zangpo). In those explanations, some part of them was [his] instruction through personal experience, some part was [his] extensive talk on oral history, and some part was [his] quotations from trustable scriptures. These [three] parts are not in this text [because] I was afraid that there would be too many words if I recorded [that] many sayings. I composed [this text as much as] what I roughly remembered at those times when [the Lord of Dharma gave] talks [on "Hearing Transmission of Lojong"]. 185

This statement shows that Penden Yéshé was the editor of Tokmé Zangpo's commentary on *Seven-Point Mind Training*. The content was selected and shortened by Penden Yéshé's choices. After Penden Yéshé completed his editing, he presented his work to Tokmé Zangpo and said:

I recorded these words only because I was afraid that I would forget [the content] due to my low-intelligence. [I] presented the Lord of Dharma [my record] for his review. [After his review,] the person who corrected [this text] was Penden Yéshé, who was a lazy beggar and became small among the followers of the Lord of Dharma, precious Gyelsé. 186

¹⁸⁶Ibid., 590.2-3: blo dman rang nyid brjed pas 'jigs pa kho nas yi ger bkod de/chos rje ba nyid la gzigs pa phul zhing zhus dag mdzad pa 'di chos rje rgyal sras rin po che nyid kyi bka' 'bangs rnams kyi tha chungs su gyur pa'i sprang po snyom las pa dpal ldan ye shes kyis sbyar ba'o/.

¹⁸⁵See Tokmé Zangpo and Penden Yéshé, Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo, in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 589.6-590.2: /de ltar chos rje bas mdzad pa'i 'grel ba nyid dkyus ji lta ba bzhin bris shing /de dag gi thad so thad sor nyams khrid dam rgyas par gsung ba'i dus na gtam rgyud dang /yid ches kyi lung sbyor mdzad pa dkyus na med pa rnams ji ltar gsungs tshod ltar bris na ni ha cang yi ge mang bas 'jigs shing brjod par yang mi nus la/rags rim rang gi blo la zin tshod kyi gsung sgros rnams skabs de dang der sbyar te/.

This claim shows that Tokmé Zangpo proofread Penden Yéshé's record of "Hearing Transmission." This evidence suggests that this text was complete before Tokmé Zangpo's death in 1369 because Penden Yéshé submitted his work to Tokmé Zangpo. Since the text was created by these two people, the authorship of "Hearing Transmission" is mixed.

Penden Yéshé's colophon does not mention the "113 Texts," the first part of *Degé Collected Works*. Penden Yéshé clearly asserted his editorship or authorship in his works, "Hearing Transmission" and *Drops of Ambrosia*. It is unlikely that he organized the "113 Texts" without mentioning his contribution. Thus, Penden Yéshé is not listed in the timeline above as a possible candidate for the "113 Texts."

It is more than likely that another editing team combined the "113 Texts" with "Hearing Transmission" to make *Degé Collected Works* as a whole. Who is this potential chief editor? It is possibly Zahor Bandé (Za hor ban+de) who is also the Fifth Dalai Lama (Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, 1617-1682). As the previous section showed, the Fifth Dalai Lama referred to himself as Zahor Bandé in "The Scripture Transmission of Hearing Gyelsé Tokmé's Collected Works and So Forth." This same writing style appears in "Hearing Transmission."

After Penden Yéshé's colophon in "Hearing Transmission," Zahor Bandé, the Fifth Dalai Lama, points out five possible lineages of Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong transmission. The examination of these lineages will show us that the Fifth Dalai Lama is

a potential editor who put the "113 Texts" and "Hearing Transmission" together. This examination is our subject for the following discussion.

The Fifth Dalai Lama clearly asserts that he is the last recipient in each possible lineage. What are his references to form these possibilities? Zahor Bandé answers, "It is not clear." It is interesting to notice that Zahor Bandé does not discuss further which lineage is most accurate. He does not explain why he chose those five lineages to present either. It seems contradictory that the order of masters in the lineages is important, while the most accurate lineage is not important. In fact, all of them could be correct because the transmission may not have been just exclusive to one disciple. Ultimately, for Zahor Bandé, it is more important to establish his identity as the last recipient of the Lojong transmission during his time, than to know which transmission is more accurate.

Before Zahor Bandé describes Lineage One, he claims:

These lineages, renowned as the sayings of great hearing transmission of mind-training, [are as follows]. 188

Zahor Bandé uses the term "hearing transmission of mind-training" (*blo sbyong snyan brgyud*), which is the same term that Tokmé Zangpo used before Penden Yéshé's colophon: "This explanation, the speech of "Hearing Transmission of Lojong..." This fact implies that Zahor Bandé was aware of the 114th text "Hearing Transmission."

¹⁸⁷ See Tokmé Zangpo and Penden Yéshé, *Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo*, in *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 593.4: *brgyud pa 'di skor la rtsom pa bo dngos su mi gsal ba*.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.. 592.2: blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo'i gsung sgros mar grags pa'i brgyud pa ni.

Furthermore, the Lojong masters Zahor Bandé mentions in Lineage One, except for Gangpel, are the same as those mentioned by Tokmé Zangpo in text 9, "Verses on Supplication to the Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters" (*Theg pa chen po blo sbyong gi bla ma rgyud pa la gsol ba 'debs p'i tshigs su bcad pa*, hereafter called "Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters"). ¹⁹⁰ Figure 1 lists the twenty-four Lojong masters presented in text 9 by Tokmé Zangpo. ¹⁹¹ Figure 2 lists Lojong masters in Lineage One presented by Zahor Bandé. ¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ See Tokmé Zangpo and Penden Yéshé, *Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo*, in *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 589.5-6: *blo sbyong snyan brgyud kyi tshig rnams yi ge nyung ngu'i sgo nas bkrol ba 'di/*.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 27.2-31.5.

¹⁹¹ Since Tokmé Zangpo gives many adjectives for each master, it would be too long to provide all of his content here. In order to clearly refer to these masters, I extracted their names. In this note, I put the full Tibetan names in parentheses for those masters listed in Figure 1. I do not translate a name based on Tibetan transliteration if that master is better known in other names.

^{1.} The Buddha (shAkya'i tog). 2. Maitreya (mi pham mgon). 3. Asanga ('phags pa thogs med). 4. Vasubandhu (dbyig gi gnyen). 5. Ārya Vimuktisena (rnam grol ste). 6. Bhadanta Vimuktisena (btsun pa rnam grol sde). 7. Gunamitra (gu Na mi tra). 8. Haribhadra (seng ge bzang). 9. Kusulu (ku su lu). 10. Kusulu the Second (ku su lu gnyis pa). 11. Serlingpa (gser gling ba). 12. Atiśa (mar me mdzad). 13. Dromtönpa (rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas ston pa). 14. Potowa (rin chen gsal mdzad pu to ba). 15. Sharawa (yon tan mchog gis grags pa'i sha ra ba). 16. Chékawa ('chad ka ba). 17. Gyelwasé (rgyal ba se). 18. Kyéchoklha (skyes mchog lha). 19. Lhadingpa (lha sdings pa). 20. Lhadingwön (lha sdings dbon). 20. Yöntenpel (yon tan dpal). 21. Dewapel (bde ba dpal). 22. Kazhiba (bka' bzhi ba). 23. Sönam Drakpa (bsod nams grags pa), who is the lord of dharma (chos kyi rje).

¹⁹² See Tokmé Zangpo and Penden Yéshé, *Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo*, in *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 592.2-4.

Text 9



Lineage 1



Figure 2

The names in both Figure 1 and 2 are marked with different colors for the sake of discussion. When comparing these two figures, we can notice that the order of Lojong masters before Tokmé Zangpo, who is marked in green, is almost the same in both Figure 1 and 2. The main difference is that Figure 2 lists Gangpel, who is marked in dark brown, in the middle of Haribhadra and Kusali Great. Some different names refer to the same master between Figure 1 and 2. These names are marked in pink and are listed in the following table. For example, Gyelwasé in Figure 1 and Sé Chilbu Chökyi Gyeltsen in Figure 2 refer to the same person and they are situated after Chékawa and Chékhawa respectively.

Figure 1, Text 9 from Tokmé Zangpo	Figure 2, Lineage One from Zahor Bandé
Gyelwasé (Rgyal ba se, 1121-1189)	Sé Chilbu Chökyi Gyeltsen (Se spyil bu bcos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1121-1189)
Kyéchoklha (Skyes mchog lha)	Lhatön Özer Lama (Lha ston 'od zer bla ma, ca. twelfth century)
Lhadingpa (Lha sdings pa)	Lhadingpa Jangchupbum (Lha sdings pa byang chub 'bum)
Lhadingwön (Lha sdings dbon)	Wön Künga Gyatso (Dbon kun dga' rgya mtsho)
Sönam (Bsod nams)	Sönam Drakpa (Bsod nams grags pa)

¹⁹³ Two masters' names are listed differently but I do not include them in the table. They are Kusulu (*ku su lu*) and Kusulu the Second (*ku su lu gnyis pa*) mentioned by Tokmé Zangpo as presented in Figure 1. These two are the same with Kusali Great and Kusali Small (*ku sA li che chung gnyis*) listed by the Fifth Dalai Lama as presented in Figure 2. In other statements of Lojong transmission, the Fifth Dalai Lama used the name Kusulu. See Lozang Gyatso, "*Rje btsun kun dga' grol mchog gis dka' ba brgya phrag du ma'i sgo nas btsal ba'i 'khrid brgya'i skor*," in Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las, vol. 2, 197.

Here both Chékawa and Chékhawa refer to Chékhawa Yeshé Dorjé ('Chad kha ba ye shes rdo rje, 1102-1176) the author of *Seven-Point Mind Training*. His own student, Sé Chilbu Chökyi Gyeltsen (hereafter Sé Chilbu) composed the earliest commentary of his work. Tokmé Zangpo also used Sé Chilbu's commentary as a reference to compose his own commentary. Instead of stating the full name of Sé Chilbu Chökyi Gyeltsen in his text, Tokmé Zangpo abbreviates the name by combining the word victor (*rgyal ba*) with the word Sé (*se*) to designate Gyelwasé (Rgyal ba se) receiving Lojong transmission from Chékhawa.

In terms of Kyéchoklha (Skyes mchog lha), Tokmé Zangpo situates him after Gyelwasé as presented in Figure 1. This order implies that Gyelwasé must have transmitted Lojong to Kyéchoklha. Similarly, in Figure 2, Lhatön Özer Lama (Lha ston 'od zer bla ma) is also situated after Sé Chilbu (Gyelwasé). The problem is to confirm whether Kyéchoklha and Lhatön Özer Lama refer to the same master. Since the name Lhatön Özer Lama is not mentioned in text 9 or in "Hearing Transmission," we need other texts for his biographical information. In *Lamp Illuminating the History of the Kadam Tradition (Bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me*), Léchen Künga Gyeltsen (Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1432-1506), states that Sé Chilbu transmitted Lojong to Lhachil Özer Lama (Lha spyil 'od zer bla ma), 195 who is also Lhatön Özer Lama. The

¹⁹⁴ See Thupten Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection* (Boston, Mass: Wisdom Publications, the Library of Tibetan Classics, 2006), 87 and note 155 in p. 589.

¹⁹⁵ See Léchen Künga Gyeltsen (Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1432-1506), *Bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron* me, *Illuminating the History of the Kadam Tradition*, [TBRC W26009] (Typeset edition, Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2003), 580-1.

"chil," the second part of "Lhachil," could have originated from "chil" in Sé Chilbu. In another text, this master is called Lhatön instead of Lhachil. For Tokmé Zangpo, it seems that he kept the part *lha* (celestial being) and combined the word *kyécho* (supreme being) as a title. This formation of a name is similar to how Tokmé Zangpo made Gyelwasé from Sé Chilbu. Or, Tokmé Zangpo had read another text that refers to Kyéchoklha as Lhatön Özer Lama. Which case has more possibilities needs more textual evidence. Either way these facts prove that these two names belong to the same master. The following description from the Fifth Dalai Lama offers even more indicative evidence.

In his "Textual Lineage of Lojong Category: Seven-Point Mind-Training and So Forth (*Blo sbyong don bdun ma sogs blo sbyong khag gi lung brgyud*)," the Fifth Dalai Lama clearly points out that Lhatön Özer Lama is Kyéchoklha in his interwoven annotation (in smaller font):

Lhatön Özer Lama is called Jangchup Özer in "Dharma Origins of Jowo." "Lopa Chennga's Record of Teachings Received" shows that [Lhatön Özer Lama] is called Great Kyéchoklha. ¹⁹⁷

This text is not about Lojong but is related to Great Seal practice. See "*Phyag rgya chen po gtan la dbab pa zhes bya ba*" in '*Bri gung bka*' brgyud chos mdzod chen mo [TBRC W00JW501203], vol. 70 (Lhasa: publication place not available, 2004), 542-552.

¹⁹⁷ The function of Tibetan interwoven annotation is similar to the function of a modern footnote. The interwoven annotation usually can be identified because it appears in smaller font. "See Lozang Gyatso, Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las, Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum, vol. 1, 41: lha ston 'od zer bla ma jo bo chos 'byung na byang chub 'od zer dang lo pa spyan snga'i gsan yig na skyes mchog lha chen zer ba snang.

As mentioned above, the name of this master was recorded differently in various texts. ¹⁹⁸ Lopa Chennga, mentioned above by the Fifth Dalai Lama, was around the fifteenth to sixteenth century, which is after Tokmé Zangpo and before the Fifth Dalai Lama. The text that the Fifth Dalai Lama refers to, "Lopa Chennga's Record of Teachings Received" cannot be located and could be lost. Thus it is possible that Lopa Chennga got the name Kyéchoklha from Tokmé Zangpo, or from another text. If Lopa Chennga's resource was Tokmé Zangpo, it implies that Tokmé Zangpo's nomenclature was followed by later scholars.

After Kyéchoklha, Tokmé Zangpo listed Lhadingpa (Lha sdings pa, birth 12th century) followed by Lhadingwön (Lha sdings dbon, birth 12th century) as presented in Figure 1. Zahor Bandé, the Fifth Dalai Lama, listed Lhadingpa Jangchupbum (Lha sdings pa byang chub 'bum) followed by Wön Künga Gyatso (Dbon kun dga' rgya mtsho) as the holders of the Lojong lineage as presented in Figure 2. Even though in Lineage One, Zahor Bandé (the Fifth Dalai Lama) used different names than Tokmé Zangpo, the following information shows that Lhadingpa Jangchupbum and Wön Künga Gyatso presented by the Fifth Dalai Lama are respectively Lhadingpa and Lhadingwön, as mentioned by Tokmé Zangpo.

¹⁹⁸ It is interesting to notice that Lhatön Özer Lama is also called Jangchup Rinchen (*byang chub rin chen*) by the Twenty-Seventh Sakya Throne-Holder, Ngakwang Künga Sönam (*ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams*, 1597-1659/1660). See Ngakwang Künga Sönam, *Collected Works of É Nyézhap Ngakwang Künga Sönam*, *A myes zhabs ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams kyi gsung 'bum* [TBRC W1PD159398], vol. 2 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2012), 78-9.

First, in his statement about the transmission of Atiśa's teaching, the Fifth Dalai Lama acknowledged Kyéchoklha, Lhadingpa and Lhadingwön as recipients after Sé Chilbu. 199 This order and nomenclature are the same with Tokmé Zangpo's list for Lojong transmission. Furthermore, in volume 1 of the Fifth Dalai Lama's personal "Collected Works," the text "Textual Lineage of Lojong Category: Seven-Point Mind-Training and So Forth," the Fifth Dalai Lama listed Lhatön Özer Lama, Lhadingpa Jangchupbum, and Lhading Wönpo Künga Gyatso after Sé Chilbu. 200 Thus, this pattern shows that the Fifth Dalai Lama used a different name for the same master in two different texts: Lhadingpa and Lhadingpa Jangchupbum. Lhadingpa is a short version of Lhadingpa Jangchupbum. Similarly, the Fifth Dalai Lama abbreviated Lhading Wönpo Künga Gyatso to Wön Künga Gyatso in his Lineage One. He abbreviated the name in a another way as Lhadingwön in his statement about the transmission of Atiśa's teaching.

This similarity of names stated in these related transmissions not only confuses modern scholars but also confused Tibetan scholars at that time. The Fifth Dalai Lama's interwoven annotation (in smaller font) reflects this fact:

Lhadingpa Jangchupbum...**Lhading Wönpo Künga Gyatso** those two masters are [regarded as] one [person] and is called Lhadingpa Yöntenpel in three "The Record of Teachings Received" from Tar Tsewa, Jamyang Khyentsé, and Ngakchö. However, it presents as [Lhadingpa Jangchupbum and Lhading Wönpo Künga Gyatso] in three "The Record of Teachings Received" from

¹⁹⁹ See Lozang Gyatso, Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las, in Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum, vol. 2, 64.

²⁰⁰ The name listed for Sé Chilbu in this statement is Chilbupa Chökyi Gyeltsen (*spyil bu pa chos kyi rgyal mtshan*). See Lozang Gyatso, *Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las*, in *Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, 41.

Ngorchen, Lopa Chennga, and Drupkhang. Thus, I think that maybe it is incorrect to write and assemble two masters' names into one. ²⁰¹

This annotation reveals that the Fifth Dalai Lama was aware of possible confusion in readers looking at these various texts concerning who they were about. As he stated above, Lhadingpa Jangchupbum and Lhading Wönpo Künga Gyatso were two different masters, but they were recorded as one person under the name Lhadingpa Yöntenpel by three different texts. The Fifth Dalai Lama thought that it was more correct to identify them as two different masters under the respective names of Lhadingpa Jangchupbum and Lhading Wönpo Künga Gyatso, as noted by the other three texts.

The various names of one master come from his or her birth name, dharma name, and nickname. The choices of what to call them depend on the authors who narrate that master's teaching, lineage, or life experience. Sometimes for the sake of poetic writing, the author restates the name in another way. Tokmé Zangpo did this in text 9 when he made a pun (in bold) out of his Lojong master's name: Sönam Drakpa (Bsod nams grags pa, 1273-1345):

The precious one who is the origin of all happiness and welfare, due to [the collection and combination of his] **merits** (**sönam**, *bsod nmas*) and wisdom, [he] is **renowned** (**drak**, *grags*) in three thousand worlds. [He] is the lord of dharma and compassionate master. [I] pray to him to grant blessings to my mind-stream.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 41: *lha sdings pa byang chub 'bum... lha sdings dbon po kun dga' rgya mtsho thar rtse ba dang/ 'jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse ngag chos gsum gyi gsan yig na 'di gnyis lha sdings pa yon tan dpal zhes gcig tu bgrangs 'dug kyang ngor chen lo pa spyan snga dang sgrub khang pa gsum gyi gsan yig na 'di bzhin byung bas bla ma gnyis kyi mtshan gcig tu 'dus pa'i bris nor byung ngam snyam.*

²⁰² I mark the pun in bold. See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 28.4-5: /phan bde kun gyi 'byung gnas rin po che/ /bsod nams ye shes stobs kyis stong gsum

Instead of saying Sönam Drakpa, as the Fifth Dalai Lama did in Lineage One, Tokmé Zangpo dropped the suffix "pa," and separated "Sönam" and "Drak" in order to compose the verse.

Based on the fact that the same masters are mentioned in the same order by Tokmé Zangpo and Zahor Bandé (the Fifth Dalai Lama), Zahor Bandé must have been aware of the individual text 9. It is unknown why the Fifth Dalai Lama chose different names than Tokmé Zangpo in some cases.

Ultimately, all the masters listed by Zahor Bandé very likely came from Tokmé Zangpo. Therefore, in terms of the editor who combined the "113 Texts" and "Hearing Transmission," we can assume that it was Zahor Bandé, the Fifth Dalai Lama, even though he did not say so explicitly. First, the Fifth Dalai Lama clearly stated how he obtained Tokmé Zangpo's "Collected Works" in his "The Scripture Transmission of Hearing Gyelsé Tokmé's Collected Works and So Forth." That list indicates the Fifth Dalai Lama had a version of the "113 Texts." Second, the Fifth Dalai Lama added information about the five lineages of Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong transmission right after Penden Yéshé's colophon in "Hearing Transmission." Most importantly, the Lojong masters presented in Lineage One are the same as those presented in Tokmé Zangpo's text 9. Apparently a version of the "113 Texts" and "Hearing Transmission" were at the Fifth Dalai Lama's disposal. Regarding the Fifth Dalai Lama's source for the "113

grags/ byams dang snying rje'i mnga' bdag chos kyi rje/_gsol ba 'debs so bdag rgyud byin gyis rlobs/.

Texts," it could be from *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works* as the previous section examined. We may further predict that the Fifth Dalai Lama's combination of these two texts became the source for the Degé printings.

The Printing of Degé Collected Works

In terms of *Degé Collected Works*, it has two different sponsorships that occurred in different times. The sponsorship of the "113 Texts" in *Degé Collected Works* shows the potential printing process and another potential editorship of *Degé Collected Works*. The colophon of the "113 Texts" points out Sönam Gönpo (Bsod nams mgon po) as the patron and does not mention "Hearing Transmission." It is possible that Sönam Gönpo's team only printed the "113 Texts" because they did not have "Hearing Transmission" and the "113 Texts" arranged together as a whole. Or, I think a more likely scenario is that they had both texts but did not realize that they were related.

Then later, Künga Trinlé Gyatso's project team found that those two texts were related. Because of this discovery, they printed those two texts in one work as *Degé Collected Works*. The source for this edition probably was from the Fifth Dalai Lama, even though it is not clear what form the printing team had access to. The evidence is from the Fifth Dalai Lama's outline for his version of "113 Texts." His Lojong Lineage One at the end of "Hearing Transmission" accords, with one exception, with the Lojong transmission in Tokmé Zangpo's text 9. These facts indicate that the Fifth Dalai Lama put his version of "113 Texts" and "Hearing Transmission" together.

As discussed above, the printing history of *Degé Collected Works* could be as follows. In summary:

- One hundred and thirteen separate texts authored by Tokmé Zangpo (1295-1369) before his death.
- Tokmé Zangpo gave lectures about "Hearing Transmission" and Penden Yéshé wrote it down before 1369.
- "Hearing Transmission" could have been edited by Penden Yéshé before or after Tokmé Zangpo's death in 1369.
- 4. The "113 Texts" were arranged or transcribed together by Gendün Kyap's (Dge 'dun skyabs) team as found in *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works*. Approximately one of the Fire Tiger years between the late fourteenth century to the seventeenth century.
- 5. Five lineages of Lojong transmission were added to the end of "Hearing Transmission" by the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) during his lifetime.
- 6. The Fifth Dalai Lama indicated that his version of "113 Texts" and "Hearing Transmission" were related. He might have combined these two parts into a single document during his lifetime.
- 7. Sönam Gönpo sponsored the publication of the "113 Texts" as late as in 1737 or 1738.
- 8. Künga Trinlé Gyatso's (1714-1751) team printed the "113 Texts" and "Hearing Transmission" as a whole work: *Degé Collected Works*.

While *Degé Collected Works* was printed by the Degé Printing House, for an unknown reason, it is not recorded in the Degé catalogues.²⁰³ Further research is needed to explore this implication.

According to Zhaxia, another wood carving of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works was completed under the command of the Degé ruler, Dangze Duoji. 204 This patron was the chief representative for the 44th Degé royal generation and was born in 1811. 205 Zhaxia does not provide the source for his statement. Without further textual evidence, to what extent this edition is different from *Degé Collected Works*, needs more research. Before Dangze Duoji had another edition printed, *Degé Collected Works* was completed. Thus, it is more likely that Dangze Duoji's edition is a reprint of *Degé Collected Works*.

Degé Collected Works became the source of Labrang Collected Works, which was published in a typeset format in 2011. The following section further discusses how Degé Collected Works travelled to the Labrang monastery.

Labrang Collected Works

Scribes, book artisans, and calligraphers, etc. who worked in the Degé kingdom also travelled to other areas. This travelling partly fostered the publication of Buddhist texts in monastic institutions outside of the Degé kingdom, which is in the Kham area.

²⁰³ For example, Tokmé Zangpo's Degé Collected Works is not listed in Zhuchen Tsültrim Rinchen's (Tshul khrims rin chen, 1697-1774) catalogue for Degé Tengyur. I appreciate Ben Nourse's help with this search.

²⁰⁴ See Zhaxia 扎呷, ed., Zang wen «Da zang jing» gai lun 藏文《大藏经》概论, 115.

For example, in 1777, a calligrapher from Degé was invited to the Labrang Trashi Khyil monastery (hereafter called the Labrang monastery) and wrote out texts there. ²⁰⁶ The Labrang monastery is located in nowadays Xiahe County, Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu. This is the traditional Tibetan area of Amdo (*a mdo*). ²⁰⁷ The monastery is around seven hundred miles north of the Degé Printing House. The founder of the Labrang monastery, Ngakwang Tsöndrü (Ngag dbang brtson 'grus, 1648-1721/1722) was born in the Amdo area. He received full ordination from the Fifth Dalai Lama in 1674 and pursued his advanced studies at the Drepung monastery ('Bras spungs dgon pa) in 1676. ²⁰⁸ The Drepung monastery is one of the "great three" Geluk monastic universities and is located around four miles away from the western suburb of Lhasa in central Tibet, which is in the Ü-Tsang area. Ngakwang Tsöndrü later became the tutor of the Sixth Dalai Lama (Tsangyang Gyatso, Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho 1683-1706). In 1700, he was appointed by the Sixth Dalai Lama to be the abbot of the Drepung monastery. In 1709 Ngakwang Tsöndrü returned to Amdo and founded the Labrang

²⁰⁵ His name in Tibetan is Damtsik Dorjé (Dam tshig rdo rje, b. 1811). See Joseph Kolmas, ed., *A Genealogy of the Kings of Derge*, 43.

²⁰⁶ See Ben Nourse, "Canons in Context: A History of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in the Eighteenth Century," (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 2014), 202.

²⁰⁷ The region of Amdo, is around the great Qinghai Lake, located in the nowadays Qinghai province of China. This lake is known by Tibetans as Blue Lake (*mtsho sngon po*), also known as Lake Kokonor. The upper part of Amdo reaches to the Yellow River (Huang He). The river is known in Tibetan as Ma River (*rma chu*). See Jann Ronis, "Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas: Contestation and Synthesis in the Growth of Monasticism at Katok Monastery from the 17th through the 19th Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2009), 34.

²⁰⁸ See Samten Chhosphel, "The First Jamyang Zhepa, Jamyang Zhepai Dorje," http://www.treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Jamyang-Zhepai-Dorje/6646, accessed on March 1st, 2015.

monastery in 1710 under the patronage of Tibetans and Mongolians. After he passed away in 1721, his reincarnation, Könchok Jikmé Wangpo (Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, 1728-1791), was identified in 1743 in the Labrang monastery. The title for this reincarnation lineage is Jamyang Zhepa ('Jam dbyangs bzhad pa).

Similar to his precursor, the second Jamyang Zhepa, Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, also travelled to central Tibet in 1752 and studied in the Drepung monastery. After his return to Amdo in 1759, the second Jamyang Zhepa initiated wood block printing at the Labrang monastery in 1761.²⁰⁹ For the sake of monastic education, the second Jamyang Zhepa prioritized printing textbooks written by the first Jamyang Zhepa, Ngakwang Tsöndrü, in the early stage of publication at the Labrang monastery. Gradually, technical knowledge of printing, calligraphy and block carving was spread from the Labrang monastery to other locations in Amdo and Mongolia by 1790.²¹⁰

In summary, the typeset edition of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works was published in 2011, and its source was from the Labrang monastery. The full title for this Labrang Collected Works is Collected Works of Tokmé Zangpo Bodhisattva (Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med bzang po'i bka bum).²¹¹ It is worth noticing that the content, and the colophons of Labrang Collected Works, are exactly the same with those in Degé

²⁰⁹ See Ben Nourse, "Canons in Context: A History of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in the Eighteenth Century," (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 2014), 204.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 204-5.

²¹¹ Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med bzang po'i bka bum (Lanzhou: Kan su mi rigs dpe skrun khan, 2011). Chinese publication record is as follows: Jiase Tuomei Sangbu嘉色定类布,and Qiari • Gazang Tuomei 恰日 • 嘎爾定美 ed., Jiase Tuomei Sangbu Wenji Xuanbian嘉色定类布文集选编 (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe), 2011.

Collected Works. The preface of Labrang Collected Works does not explain how Degé Collected Works was brought to the Labrang monastery. As previously mentioned, Degé Collected Works was published under the sponsorship of Künga Trinlé Gyatso, who passed away in 1751. The Labrang printing operation started in 1761, which was after the publication of Degé Collected Works. Another proof of Labrang receiving printing advice and sources from Degé Printing House during this period is the record that a calligrapher from Degé went to Labrang in 1777. We can assume that as early as the late eighteenth century, a copy of Degé Collected Works was travelling along with the printing knowledge and technicians from Degé to the Labrang monastery. The presence of Degé Collected Works at Labrang indicates that the transmission of Tokmé Zangpo's teachings was from Ü-Tsang, to Kham, and finally to the Amdo area.

Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works

After examining the three closely related wood block editions of Tokmé Zangpo's works, this last section discusses *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works* in *umé* (*dbu med*, headless) styles. The complete title of this work is *Fragmentary Collected Works Composed by Gyelsé Tokmé* (*Rgyal sras thogs med pas mdzad pa'i bka' 'bum*). This edition only has parts of the "113 Texts." This implies that *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works* is somewhat related to those three wood block editions.

²¹² The preface mentions some texts and their authors that are not related to Tokmé Zangpo or *Degé Collected Works*. See *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med bzang po'i bka bum*, 1-3.

151a

The style of *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works* is distinctive. After text 28, as Image 3 shows,²¹³ a Tibetan character "*cha*" is inside an irregular square. Below this square, there is a title: "Advice to Sönam Özer" (*Bsod nams 'od zer la gdams pa bzhugs so*). Above this irregular turtle-like square, there is cursive script which reads "chi" (*phyi*) on the top, and "la" (*la*) on the bottom. The Tibetan number for 363 is below these two characters "chi" and "la." The left side of this image has the Tibetan character



Image 3

"cha." Below the "cha," there are cursive Tibetan numbers "gya nga chik" (brgya nga gcig) which refer to the page number 151. The Arabic numerals "151a" on the right side were made according to this Tibetan number. The letter "a" refers to the front side of the folio. The left side of each following page has the "cha" character." Kurtis Schaeffer points out that all of these elements are part of the cataloguing system used, but not necessarily created by the editing team who published *The Catalogue for Ancient Texts*

²¹³ This image is extracted from *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works* and edited for the sake of discussion. See *Rgyal sras thogs med pas mdzad pa'i bka' 'bum* [TBRC W1CZ1084], 151a.

Installed in the Drepung Monastery ('Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag, hereafter called Drepung Catalogue) in 2004.²¹⁴

Since *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works* has these catalogue symbols, this fact implies that Tokmé Zangpo's writings were arranged according to the rationale of *Drepung Catalogue*'s editors. The character "chi" in "chi la 363" appears alongside all numbers in *Drepung Catalogue*. The meaning of "chi" is "external" and "outside." Its meaning provides some hints for the source of *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works* found in the Drepung monastery. In the preface, Shérap Zangpo mentions that texts from other libraries, such as the Samdruptsé (*bsam grub rtse*) library, and the library established by Karmapa Rimjön Kyi Nyartsak (*karma pa rim byon kyis nyar tshags*), were moved to the Drepung monastery during the Fifth Dalai Lama's lifetime. The Samdruptsé library is affiliated with the Jonang (*jo nang*) school. The library established by Karmapa Rimjön Kyi Nyartsak is affiliated with the Karma Kagyü school. According to this description, we may speculate that during and after the time period of the Fifth Dalai Lama, librarians in the Drepung monastery used "chi" to mark texts from other libraries. Some of these libraries were not affiliated with the Geluk school. ²¹⁶ If that is

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²¹⁴ I appreciate Kurtis Schaeffer's help in identifying this catalogue numbering system recorded in *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works*. See Tupten Nyima (Thub bstan nyi ma) ed., 'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag [TBRC W28949] (Pe cin: mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004).

²¹⁵ See 'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 1, 7.

²¹⁶. Whether some texts with "chi" were from the Geluk monasteries or institutions needs further research. The meaning of "chi" is also speculated upon by scholars. One of the chief editors, also the project manager of *Drepung Catalogue*, Tupten Nyima (Thub bstan nyi ma, as well as known as Zenkar Rinpoché), informed Khenpo Rikpé Dorjé (Rig pa'i rdo rje) that the character "chi" should referr to the texts brought from other libraries to the Drepung monastery. This

the scenario, *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works* should have been brought to the Drepung monastery from another institution.

The character "la" and the number "363" in these markers "chi la 363," show that the texts are organized according to the Tibetan alphabet and numbering system. These cataloguing markers imply that either the text's title "Advice to Sönam Özer" or the title for the whole work *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works* is listed in *Drepung Catalogue* under the section of "chi la 363." Interestingly, the "chi la 363" section is missing from *Drepung Catalogue*. ²¹⁷ The reason for its absence needs further research. While the "chi la 363" is absent in *Drepung Catalogue*, different Tokmé Zangpo text titles are recorded under "chi la 345," "chi la 355," "chi la 365," and "chi la 378." For example, the text, *Fragmentary Collected Works of Gyelsé Tokmé* (*Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu*) is listed under "chi la 378." Three texts related to Lojong topics are recorded under "chi la 355," such as "Concise Commentary on Hearing Transmission of Seven-Point Mind Training" (*Blo sbyong don bdun ma'i snyan rgyud kyi tshig rnams nyung ngu'i sgo nas bkral ba*). ²²⁰ It remains to be seen to what extent their content is different from the "113 Texts" and "Hearing Transmission."

information is from a personal conversation with the monastic scholar Khenpo Rikpé Dorjé in Charlottesville, Virginia.

²¹⁷ Drepung Catalogue has texts recorded under numbers "chi la 360," "chi la 361," "chi la 362," and "chi la 365." The "chi la 363" and "chi la 364" are absent. See 'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 2, 1655-1659.

²¹⁸ See 'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 2, 1648, 1651-2, 1660, and 1664.

²¹⁹ See 'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 2, 1664.

²²⁰ See 'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag, vol. 2, 1652.

In terms of the "chi la 363" in Image 3, it is located after text 28 and before text 55 in *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works*. Text 28 in this work is from page 11a to 12b.²²¹ The following page is marked 151a, which has this catalogue symbol "chi la 363." The following page is text 55. Text 55 is about Tokmé Zangpo's preaching to Sönam Özer. Thus the title "Advice to Sönam Özer" on page 151a is given by the editor who cataloged this text. The texts from text 29 to text 54 are missing from *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works*.

The similar cataloguing style appears twice more in *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works*, with Tibetan characters "ja" and "nya" inside of their own irregular squares. The page with the catalogue symbol "ja" is 165a. This page appears before text 56. The number above the "ja" square is not clear. The title below "ja," is "Advice to Yajo Yurung Pel, Along with Seven-Branch Practice" (*Ya jo g.yu rung dpal la gdams pa yan lag bdun pa dang bcas pa bzhugs so*).²²² The page with the catalogue symbol "nya" is 205a. Texts situated before and after this "nya" catalogue page are somewhat different than those of the "113 Texts" in *Degé Collected Works*. Furthermore, notes are added to some of the texts in *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works*. Their differences are worth another project.

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²²¹ In Degé Collected Works, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, text 28 is located in 71.4-72.1

²²² This title was probably given by the editor during or after the life of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

²²³ For example, see *Rgyal sras thogs med pas mdzad pa'i bka' 'bum*, 1b, 12a, 12b, 175b, 186a, 194b, 196b, 197b, etc.

Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works ends in text 113 and does not have a colophon. It is unknown who arranged these texts for this work or who transcribed Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works from another work. As we have examined before, the Fifth Dalai Lama had his own version of the "113 Texts." There might be some relations between the "113 Texts" owned by the Fifth Dalai Lama, and the "113 Texts" in Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works. It is unknown when some parts of this work went missing.

Drepung Catalogue shows that many of Tokmé Zangpo's texts found in the Drepung monastery are not included in the editions of his Collected Works examined in this chapter. These texts become the main source for the editors of Kadam Collected Works, when they compiled Tokmé Zangpo's writings along with other Kadam masters.²²⁴

Conclusion

In this chapter we have examined the compilation history of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works and Fragmentary Collected Works in different editions. These works are related to each other in some degree. The first editing team (presumably Gendün Kyap's group) who arranged the content of the "113 Texts" created the original model that people could continue printing from when there was a necessity. The order of the "113 Texts" is the same in editions of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works and Fragmentary

²²⁴ See Catalogue of the Second Kadam Collected Works (Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs thengs gnyis pa) [W1PD89084] (Sichuan: Paltseg boyig penying shibjug khang, 2009), 111.

Collected Works examined in this chapter, except for the missing part in *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works*. This fact tells that the later editing teams, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, accepted the original arrangement of the "113 Texts" and kept it for their printing project. As I was able to categorize ten types of writings in *Degé Collected Works* in Chapter 4, the first editing team must have had certain strategies for their arrangement. How were these 113 texts originally kept by Tokmé Zangpo and his disciples? Under what situation did the first editing team obtain these texts? As Tokmé Zangpo composed much more than these 113 texts, why were only these 113 texts selected for the project? None of the colophons discussed in this chapter explains this process.

Some of these colophons provide more information about sponsorship. Different sponsorships for Tokmé Zangpo's works imply that his reputation continually increased after Tokmé Zangpo's death. Those sponsors: Drölma, who was a female ruler of Chudü, Sönam Gönpo, who was the prince of Degé kingdom, and Künga Trinlé Gyatso, who was the ruler of Degé, they crossed different time periods and contributed to complete various editions of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works. Their sponsorship plays a crucial role in spreading Tokmé Zangpo's writings. What were the mundane goals of these people in power? Drölma's was for the sake of success and prosperity of her dominion. Sönam Gönpo's was for the sake of his father's health and the prosperity of the Degé kingdom. Künga Trinlé Gyatso's was for the sake of his status as a Dharma protector in the religious realm. Whether these patrons read Tokmé Zangpo's writings is uncertain. Interestingly, they believed that supporting the publication of Tokmé Zangpo's writings

could fulfill their purposes. This fact manifests that Tokmé Zangpo established his reputation during his lifetime in the first place. Otherwise, he would not be considered important enough to have his Collected Works printed. Later his reputation was preserved and passed down through various printing projects.

The content of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works further indicates that Tokmé Zangpo's followers, such as Penden Yéshé and the Fifth Dalai Lama, created their own identities through editing or arranging Tokmé Zangpo's writings. In the next chapter we will analyze the organization of *Degé Collected Works*, and investigate how Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong interpretation is presented in this work.

Introduction

Chapter Three examined the compilation history of *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works*, *Degé Collected Works*, *Labrang Collected Works*, and *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works*. The last work does not have the complete "113 Texts." The order and content of "113 Texts" in *Degé Collected Works* is the same with that in *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works*. *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works* does not include the 114th text, "Hearing Transmission." Because *Degé Collected Works* has the complete "113 Texts" and "Hearing Transmission," this chapter first chooses to analyze the textual organization in *Degé Collected Works*. By doing so, the structure of the "113 Texts" in all other editions will be clear. Regarding *Labrang Collected Works*, it is a typeset edition of *Degé Collected Works*, and it was printed after *Degé Collected Works*. Then this chapter investigates how texts that carry the term Lojong are situated in *Degé Collected Works*.

Appendix 2 presents an outline of *Degé Collected Works* that provides the location of each text and the translation of each text's title. In most cases, the titles of these texts accord with their content and show their literary types. At the end of each text, Tokmé Zangpo usually points out who encouraged him to write this text. He also refers to Ngülchü Chödzong (*dngul chu'i chos rdzong*), and sometimes to Bodong É Monastery as

the locations for his writing.²²⁵ While Tokmé Zangpo does not specify the time for his writing, his life story *Guide to Your Devotion* provides some clues. It mentions that Tokmé Zangpo stayed in and taught at Bodong É Monastery and Ngülchü Chödzong between 1321 and 1337.²²⁶ Then Tokmé Zangpo started his retreat in Ngülchü Chödzong after 1337 and rarely met with other people.²²⁷ This retreat seemed to last around twenty years. It ended when Tokmé Zangpo started travelling to Samye Monastery (Bsam yas dgon pa), the Jokang Temple (Jo khang), and other places in the Ü-Tsang area in 1361.²²⁸ In 1363, Tokmé Zangpo returned to Ngülchü Chödzong and had more frequent

The exception is text 50, which was written in the Samtenling monastery (*bsam gtan gling*) in the Yarlung (*yar lung*) valley. In his life story authored by Zhönnu Gyeltsen, Tokmé Zangpo stayed in the Samtenling monastery for four years. See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 204. Bodong É Monastery is recorded as Glorious E (*dpal e* and *dpal ldan e*), or the monastery of E (*e'i gtsug lag khang*) in the following texts: text 25, 30-35, 54, 78, 88, and 107. Tokmé Zangpo does not specify the locations for the following texts: text 5, 23, 24, 40-41, 44, 46, 49, 57, 60, 72, 77, 81, 83, 102-108. The remaining texts were composed in Ngülchü Chödzong (*dngul chu'i chos rdzong*).

²²⁶ Tokmé Zangpo stayed at Bondong E Monastery around 1321. At the age of 30 in the Year of the Mouse, he received full ordination there. He was teaching at Bodong É Monastery at the age of 32, which was 1326. Then he started his retreat in Ngülchü Chödzong in the Year of the Ox, which was 1337. See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion*, 11, 20, and 23.

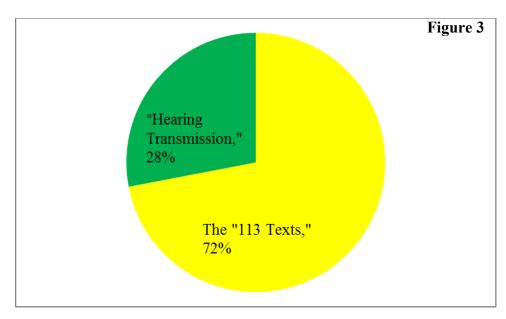
During this period of retreat in Ngülchü Chödzong, Tokmé Zangpo refused many invitations of meeting and teaching. He left the retreat on rare occasions. For example, Tokmé Zangpo visited Pang Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa (Dpang lo tsA ba blo gros brtan pa, 1276-1342) before he passed away in 1342. Pang Lotsaba Lodrö Tenpa became the abbot of Bodong É Monastery many years before due to Tokmé Zangpo's recommendation. See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion*, 24-5.

²²⁸ Tokmé Zangpo was sixty-seven years old at that time, which was the Year of the Ox (*glang gi lo*). See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion*, 33.

interactions with disciples and visitors until his death in 1369. Based on these accounts, we can assume that the texts in *Degé Collected Works* composed at Bodong É Monastery may have been completed between 1324 and 1337. For those texts written in Ngülchü Chödzong, there are many possibilities for the composition years.

The Organization of Degé Collected Works

There are two parts in *Degé Collected Works*. The first part "113 Texts" has 213 folios, ²³⁰ and the second part, the 114th text "Hearing Transmission," has eighty-two folios. ²³¹ Based on the folio count, as Figure 3 shows, this text comprises almost one-third of *Degé Collected Works*. In most cases, texts with similar topics in the "113 Texts"

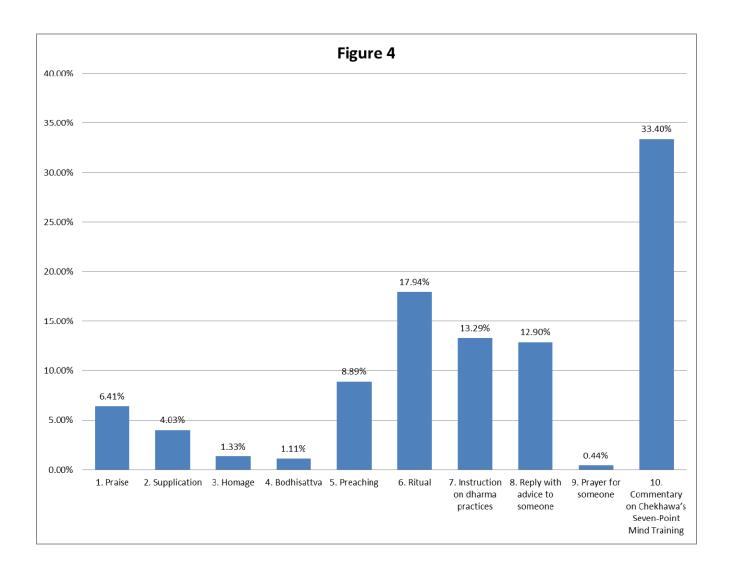


²²⁹ Tokmé Zangpo returned to Ngülchü Chödzong in the Year of the Rabbit (*yos lo*), which was 1363. See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 36.

²³⁰ The "113 Texts" is in Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 1-427.

²³¹ See Tokmé Zangpo and Penden Yéshé, *Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo* in *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 431-595.

are physically situated together. This fact shows that the editors had some rationale for the way they arranged it. Even though they might have had certain categories in mind, they did not specify what they are in their arrangement. According to its content, I categorize *Degé Collected Works* into ten types of writings. Figure 4 shows the percentage of each category within *Degé Collected Works*. These categories are as



follows:

- 1. The praise/eulogy (bstod pa) to the Buddhas, Bodhisattva, and masters.
- 2. The supplication (gsol 'debs) to masters.
- 3. Homage and prostration (*phyag 'tshal ba*) to the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and masters.
- 4. Bodhisattva.
- 5. Preaching.
- 6. Ritual (cho ga).
- 7. Instruction on dharma practices.
- 8. Replying with advice to someone.
- 9. Prayer (*smon lam*) for someone.
- 10. Commentary on Chekhawa's Seven-Point Mind Training.

Some of the titles of these categories are taken from typical Tibetan genres: category 1 "praise" (*bstod pa*), category 2 "supplication" (*gsol 'debs*), category 6 "ritual" (*cho ga*), and category 9 "prayer" (*smon lam*).²³² Category 7 "instruction on dharma practices," can

²³² These four categories are classified by TBRC under the genre entry of liturgy (*chos spyod*).

Under this entry, there are seven categories: 1. liturgy, 2. praise, 3. prayer, 4. supplication, 5. long life, 6. dedication, 7. path literature. Each category has its own subcategories. See Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center http://www.tbrc.org/#!genres/liturgy, accessed on June 1st, 2015.

be regarded as a subtype of the genre of instruction (*zhal gdams*). ²³³ Category 8 "replying with advice to someone," contains two Tibetan genre types. One is questions and responses (*dris lan*), and the other is letters (*spring yig*). ²³⁴ Category 10 "Commentary on Chekhawa's *Seven-Point Mind Training*" can be regarded as a subtype of the genre of commentary (*'grel pa*). ²³⁵ Titles of category 3 "homage," category 4 "bodhisattva," and category 5 "preaching" are my invention for the sake of discussion. ²³⁶

A comprehensive analysis of each text in each category is beyond the scope of the present project. This chapter pays particular attention to the first three categories because they are related to information presented in Tokmé Zangpo's life story. By doing so, this chapter first shows how *Degé Collected Works* functions as a supplement to Tokmé Zangpo's earliest life story *Guide to Your Devotion*. Moreover, it reveals the rationale for writing these texts and why certain texts are physically situated together. In most

²³³ Category instruction (*zhal gdams*) is listed under the term *bslab bya* in the genre entry of dialogue. See Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center http://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=T58, accessed on June 1st, 2015.

²³⁴ These two types are categorized by TBRC under the genre entry of dialogue (*zhal gdams*). Under this entry, there are three categories: 1. dialogue, 2. letters, 3. polemics. Each category has its own subcategories. One of subcategories listed under category polemics is questions and responses (*dris lan*). Please see Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center, http://www.tbrc.org/#!genres/dialogue, accessed on June 1st, 2015.

²³⁵ The commentary (*'grel pa*) is a subcategory listed under the TBRC genre entry of curricular writings (*yig cha 'grel ba*). See http://www.tbrc.org/#!genres/curricular, accessed on June 1st, 2015.

The precise definitions of different Tibetan genres are contested and developing. In some cases, I use the conventional Tibetan genre term, such as ritual (*cho ga*). Sometimes I use my own term when there is no existent genre term to use for the title of categories. The focus of my discussion is to show the organization of *Degé Collected Works*. How each type of writings in *Degé Collected Works* corresponds to Tibetan literature in general is another project.

cases, our examination follows the order of texts and categories in *Degé Collected Works*.

Afterwards, this chapter points out where texts carrying the term Lojong are located in *Degé Collected Works*.

The First Three Categories

In *Degé Collected Works*, the first three categories are "praise," "supplication," and "homage and prostration." The first three categories range from text 1 to text 28 and they comprise around 11.77 percent of *Degé Collected Works*. While they comprise only around one tenth of *Degé Collected Works*, they offer supportive information about Tokmé Zangpo's life experiences. These three categories are addressed to either masters, or to the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Buddhist deities. From text 1 to text 10, and from text 13 to text 18, they are dedicated to masters associated with a certain lineage or a philosophical school. Texts 11 and 12, and texts 19 to 28, are dedicated to Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, or Buddhist deities.

These three categories are physically mixed together. Their content looks similar. One may prefer to group these three categories together as one writing form: praise and supplication. However, since the function of each category is slightly different, I have separated them into three sub-types. The category of praise contains texts about admiration for good qualities and achievement of the subjects, such as masters, Buddhas, or Buddhist deities. The category of supplication presents petitions to these subjects in order to receive their blessings and help for the sake of Buddhist spiritual practices. The category of homage and prostration shows the followers' deep devotion. The following examination reveals that some of the texts in these three categories are related to Tokmé

Zangpo's educational background or institutional affiliations. Furthermore, this section shows that the editors arranged some of these categories together based on broader topics.

Text 1 is "Praise to Compassionate Jampéyang Khöntön ('jam pa'i dbyangs 'khon ston thugs rje can la bstod pa)," in which Tokmé Zangpo extolled his teacher Jampéyang Khöntön. Guide to Your Devotion describes that Tokmé Zangpo started his monastic education at Samling monastery under Jampéyang Khöntön's instruction when he was ten years old. With this master, Tokmé Zangpo studied the generation of awakening mind according to the Middle Way philosophy, meditation and mantra related to Akshobhya, the commentary on Maitreya's Ornament for Clear Realization, three scriptures related to Abhidharma, and ritual practice such as torma (ritual cake) offering to the protector Achima. Among these teachings, the Fifth Dalai Lama particularly points out that Tokmé Zangpo received transmission from Jampéyang Khöntön, who is associated with the "lineage of generating awakening mind according to the Middle Way philosophy." 240

Texts 2, "Verses on Praise to Noble Masters," and 3, "Verses on Praise to Glorious and Noble Masters to Generate Faith," are about the praises to the noble lamas (*bla ma dam pa*). Tokmé Zangpo does not refer to those lamas as specific figures.²⁴¹ On

²³⁷ Tokmé Zangpo wrote this text in response to the request of Tarwa Pel. See Tokmé Zangpo, *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 2.1-3.4.

²³⁸ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 5.

²³⁹ Ibid., 10.

²⁴⁰ See Lozang Gyatso, *Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las*, in *Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, 39.

²⁴¹ See Tokmé Zangpo, *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 3.4-9.6. During Tokmé Zangpo's time, the fourteenth Sakya throne holder or trizin (*tri dzin*), was Sonam

the other hand, in text 6 "Supplication and Praise to Noble Lama, Glorious Lord of Dharma" (*chos rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa la bstod pa gsol 'debs dang bcas pa,* hereafter called "Supplication to Lord of Dharma"),²⁴² Tokmé Zangpo's writing style and other textual references indicate that Sönam Gyeltsen (Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, 1312-1375), is the noble lama. As described in chapter one, both *Guide to Your Devotion* and Sönam Gyeltsen's life story show that Sönam Gyeltsen studied with Tokmé Zangpo. ²⁴³ He also invited Tokmé Zangpo to the Sakya area for the sake of his dharma learning. ²⁴⁴ Sönam Gyeltsen was well-known as Lama Dampa Sönam Gyeltsen (Bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan) and he ascended as the fourteenth throne holder of the Sakya school from 1344 to 1347. Instead of directly mentioning Sönam Gyeltsen, Tokmé Zangpo made a pun of his name (in bold) and stated:

Faithful Lodenpel urged [me] and [he] has faith [in lama]. I am also inspired to have devotion and faith in supreme lama. Then for the sake of writing the devotees' supplication, I wrote this praise. [The lama] has perfectly completed the two accumulations of **merit** (**sönam**, *bsod nams*) and wisdom. Thus [the lama] is like the precious jewel which is a decoration on the top of a **victory banner** (**gyeltsen**, *rgyal mtshan*). ²⁴⁵

Gyalsten. He is also well known as Lama Dampa Sönam Gyeltsen. Thus one may assume that text 2 and text 3 are dedicated to Sönam Gyeltsen. I discussed this possibility with Sakya monastic scholar, Tenzin Choephak, at International Association of Tibetan Studies (IATS) in Ulaanbaatar in 2013. The answer is open to discussion. Text 6 is a similar case but it contains more references.

²⁴² See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 17.4-22.5.

²⁴³ See Lake Yixi Duojie 拉科·益西多杰 Zang chuan fo jiao gao seng lue zhuan 藏传佛教高僧略传, 200.

²⁴⁴ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 15 and 36.

²⁴⁵ I present the pun in bold. See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 17.6-18.1: dad ldan blo ldan dpal gyis bskul ba dang /_/dad byed bla ma mchog la rang nyid kyang /_/dad cing gus pa'i yid kyis kun bslang nas/_/dad pa'i gsol 'debs slad du bstod

The supreme lama's name, Sönam Gyeltsen, is indicated by the pun in bold. This writing style is similar with text 9, "Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters" in which Tokmé Zangpo indicated his Lojong master's name in the same way. The precious jewel in this statement refers to the wish-fulfilling jewel which represents the complete victory of the Buddha's enlightenment. In this way Tokmé Zangpo rhetorically complimented Sönam Gyeltsen on attaining enlightenment like the Buddha. Another piece of textual evidence shows that the subject of text 6, "Supplication to Lord of Dharma," is Sönam Gyeltsen. In "The Scripture Transmission of Hearing Gyelsé Tokmé's Collected Works and So Forth," the Fifth Dalai Lama's title for text 6 is "Virtuous Accumulations of Good Causes: Supplication to Glorious Lama Dampa Sönam Gyeltsen." Even though we do not know the actual content of text 6 at the Fifth Dalai Lama's disposal, the title reveals that he regarded the noble lama (lama dampa, *bla ma dam pa*) as Sönam Gyeltsen.

par bgyi/_/bsod nams ye shes tshogs gnyis rab rdzogs pas/_/rgyal mtshan rtser mchod nor bu rin chen ltar/.

See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 28.4-5: /phan bde kun gyi 'byung gnas rin po che/ /bsod nams ye shes stobs kyis stong gsum grags.

Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong master is Sönam Drakpa (Bsod nams grags pa). I present the pun in bold as follows: The precious one who is the origin of all happiness and welfare, due to [the collection and combination of his] **merits** (**sönam**, *bsod nmas*) and wisdom, [he] is **renowned** (**drak**, *grags*) in three thousand worlds. [He] is the lord of dharma and compassionate master. [I] pray to him to grant blessings to my mind-stream.

²⁴⁷ See Robert Beer, *The Encyclopedia of Tibetan Symbols and Motifs* (London: Serindia Publications, 1999), 179-181.

²⁴⁸ The Fifth Dalai Lama's title for text 6 is "Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan gyi gsol 'debs legs rgyu dge tshogs ma." See Lozang Gyatso, "Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum sogs gsan pa'i lung brgyud' in Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las, vol. 2, 110.

While Tokmé Zangpo was Sönam Gyeltsen's teacher, at the end of text 6, "Supplication to Lord of Dharma," he said that he "became the subject (*bka' 'bangs*) of Lama Dampa."²⁴⁹ As Tokmé Zangpo was affiliated with the Sakya school, he extolled Sönam Gyeltsen as the leader of the Sakya lineage. While Tokmé Zangpo was superior to Sönam Gyeltsen in the realm of monastic education, he was subordinate to Sönam Gyeltsen in the institutional hierarchy. Different versions of Tokmé Zangpo's biographies written by his followers all portrayed Tokmé Zangpo as a revered master by political figures. His biographers expressed their admiration towards Tokmé Zangpo in this way. They emphasize Tokmé Zangpo's superior spirituality and do not mention his lower position in the political hierarchy. On the other hand, Tokmé Zangpo was the author of the "113 Texts" in *Degé Collected Works*. His own text reveals his humble attitude towards other political or religious leaders, and this attitude was not much noticeable in his biographies.

Text 4, "Verses on Supplication to Well Learned and Great Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa," is supplications to masters Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa (Lo tsA ba blo gros brtan pa, 1276-1342). Tokmé Zangpo wrote the text for this master because Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa was important in his life. Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa was one of Tokmé Zangpo's main

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²⁴⁹ See Tokmé Zangpo, *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 22.5: *dpal ldan bla ma dam pa de nyid kyi bka' 'bangs su gyur pa*.

²⁵⁰ Here I meant the three different earliest editions of Tokmé Zangpo's biographies mentioned in this dissertation.

²⁵¹ Text 4 is located in *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 9.6-13.4. Zangpo wrote this text under the encouragement of Lotsāwa Jangchup Tsémo (*lo tsA ba byang chub rtse mo*). It is possible that this Lotsāwa Jangchup Tsémo is the figure Lotsāwa Jangtsé (*lo tsA ba byang rtse*) mentioned in *Guide to Your Devotion*.

teachers.²⁵² He ascended to the position of abbot of Bodong É Monastery under Tokmé Zangpo's encouragement. Their dialogue about Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa's acceptance of this abbotship was recorded in both Tokmé Zangpo's and Bodong Chole Namgyal's (Phyogs las rnam rgyal, 1376-1451) biographies.²⁵³

Text 5, "Verses on Supplication to Omniscient and Precious Butön, the Noble Master and the Lord of Dharma," (hereafter called "Supplication to Butön") ²⁵⁴ is dedicated to Butön Rinchendrup (Bu ston rin chen grub, 1290-1364). Butön Rinchendrup taught Tokmé Zangpo tantric practices, such as empowerment of Vajrasattva, and Drilbupa's transmission of cakrasaṃvara tantra, and the liturgy to Drilbupa. ²⁵⁵ Tokmé Zangpo preached at Shalu Monastery (Zhwa lu dgon) for which Butön Rinchendrup had acted as the eleventh abbot. ²⁵⁶ Tokmé Zangpo composed text 5, "Supplication to Butön,"

²⁵² As chapter one described, some texts that Tokmé Zangpo studied with Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa are important Yogācāra works, such as Asaṅga's Five Treatises on the Levels (sa sde lnga, Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra), and Compendium of Knowledge (mngon pa kun las btus, Abhidharma-samuccay). See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 16-7.

²⁵³ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 24-5. Also, see Hildegard Diemberger et al., *Feast of Miracles: The Life and the Tradition of Bodong Chole Namgyal (1375/6-1451 A.D.) according to the Tibetan texts "Feast of Miracles" and "The Lamp Illuminating the History of Bodong*, 41.

²⁵⁴ See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 13.4-17.3

²⁵⁵ Drilbupa is renowned as a practitioner of cakrasaṃvara tantra and he is one of eighty-four mahasiddhas (great achiever in tantric practice). An example of his image can be found in Skalbzan, *Zang Chuan Fo Hua Du Liang Jing* 藏传佛画度量经 (Di 1 ban. Xining Shi: Qinghai ren min chu ban she, 1992), 93. For other Butön Rinchendrup's teachings for Tokmé Zangpo, see my discussion in chapter one, and see Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 18.

²⁵⁶ In *Guide to Your Devotion*, Zhönnu Gyeltsen states that Tokmé Zangpo went to Shalu Monastery for learning and debate in the summer. In a later version of Tokmé Zangpo's life story, Tokmé Zangpo preached and stayed in Shalu Monastery for one month. See Yéshé Gyeltsen (Ye shes rgyal mtshan, 1713-1793), "*Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med bzang po dpal gyi rnam thar*," in

in response to the request by Jamyang Karpo ('Jam dbyangs dkar po, ca. birth in fourteenth century), who was affiliated with Shalu Monastery and was one of Butön Rinchendrup's eight attendant disciples.²⁵⁷ It is interesting to notice that in different texts of Tokmé Zangpo's life, biographers quoted Butön Rinchendrup's sayings to indicate Tokmé Zangpo's outstanding achievements.²⁵⁸ As Butön Rinchendrup was a renowned scholar at that time, these texts employ his words to emphasize Tokmé Zangpo's high spirituality and intelligence. Tokmé Zangpo's attitude towards his contemporary was rarely mentioned in his biographies. However, text 5, "Supplication to Butön," shows that Tokmé Zangpo has great respect for Butön Rinchendrup. In this way, text 5 presents more information than the biographies do about Tokmé Zangpo's relationship with Butön Rinchendrup.

Text 7, "The Way of Supplication to the Simultaneous Arising and Connection [of the] Great Seal Lineage," (hereafter called "Supplication to Great Seal Lineage") emphasizes how Tokmé Zangpo is associated with the Kagyü (Bka' brgyud) school. When Tokmé Zangpo was twenty-six, he learned the practices of the Great Seal (*phyag*

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Lam rim bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar, [TBRC W1CZ2730] (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang), 875.

²⁵⁷ In terms of biographical information for Butön Rinchendrup's eight attendant disciples, please see Losel Tenkyong, (Blo gsal bstan skyong, birth 1804), "'Khor dag pa rnam brgyud' in The History of the Monastery of Zhwa-lu (Dpal ldan zhwa lu pa'i bstan pa la bka' drin che ba'i skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar lo rgyus ngo mtshar dad pa'i 'jug dgos) [TBRC W19832], (Leh: S.W. Tashigangpa, 1971), 87-96. Jamyang Karpo is mentioned in page 88.

²⁵⁸ For example, see Yéshé Gyeltsen, *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med bzang po dpal gyi rnam thar*, 879, 881.

rgya chen po), and the Six Yogas of Nāropa.²⁵⁹ These two practices are the central teachings of the Kagyü tradition. In text 7, "Supplication to Great Seal Lineage," Tokmé Zangpo made the supplication to the Great Seal lineage masters, ²⁶⁰ such as Nāropa (1016-1100) and Milarepa (Mi la ras pa, 1028/1040)-1111/1123), who are acknowledged as early Kagyü masters. Tokmé Zangpo also "supplicates to the great dharma lord Yanggönpa." As *Guide to Your Devotion* states, the lineage of Tokmé Zangpo is the same with the lineage of great glorious Yanggönpa (Yang dgon pa, 1213-1258). Moreover, Tokmé Zangpo quotes Yanggönpa's sayings for the sake of teaching them. Yanggönpa is regarded as a Lojong master in the first Lojong anthology *Mind Training Collection*, by Könchok Gyeltsen (Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan 1388-1469) and Zhönnu Gyelchok (Gzhon nu rgyal mchog). As chapter two examined, Tokmé Zangpo identifies himself as a Lojong master in text 9. It is interesting to notice that Tokmé Zangpo does

 $^{^{259}}$ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, $Rgyal\ sras\ thogs\ med\ rin\ po\ che'i\ rnam\ par\ thar\ pa\ dad\ pa'i\ gsal\ 'debs,\ Guide\ to\ Your\ Devotion,\ 9.$

²⁶⁰ See "The Way of Supplication to the Simultaneous Arising and Connection [of the] Great Seal Lineage" (phyag rgya chen po lhan cig skyes sbyor gyi brgyud pa la gsol ba 'debs pa'i tshul), in Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 22.5-25.5. Tokmé Zangpo wrote this text at the behest of Pelrin. Pelrin is Pelgyi Rinchen (Dpal gyi rin chen), the author of The Ray of Altruism: Precious Gyelsé Tokmé's Life (Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer). It is interesting to notice that Tokmé Zangpo did not mention his master Ripa Pelshé (Ri pa dpal she), who taught him the Great Seal and the Six Yogas of Nāropa. On the other hand, Tokmé Zangpo praised his Lojong master in text 9.

²⁶¹ See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 24.5: chos rje yang dgon pa chen po la gsol ba 'debs''

²⁶² See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 2.

²⁶³ Ibid 39-40

²⁶⁴ In *Mind Training Collection*, text 35 is "Yangönpa's Instruction on Training the Mind." See Thupten Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, 419-429.

not include Yanggönpa in the Lojong lineage, even though *Guide to Your Devotion* claims that Tokmé Zangpo descended from Yanggönpa's lineage.

Texts 9 and 10 were probably chosen to be situated next to each other in *Degé Collected Works* because they are relevant to the practices that originated in or are exclusive to the Kadam school. At the behest of Shérap Zangpo, Tokmé Zangpo composed text 9 "Verses on Supplication to the Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters." Shérap Zangpo used this text to pray to the lineage of Lojong masters. As presented in Chapter 3, Tokmé Zangpo included Kadampa masters and his own Lojong master Sönam Drakpa (Bsod nams grags pa, 1273-1345) in text 9.

Text 10 is called "Verses on Supplication to the Lineage of Masters Who [Taught] Essence of Interdependence," (hereafter called "Supplication to the Lineage of Essence of Interdependence"). In addition to the Buddha, Maitreya, and Avalokiteśvara, Tokmé Zangpo supplicated to eleven masters. Six of these masters are associated with the Kadam school. These eleven masters are as follows: ²⁶⁵ 1. Serlingpa (gser gling ba). 2. Atiśa (mar me mdzad, 982-1054). 3. Dromtönpa ('brom ston rin po che, 1004-1064). 4. Potowa (rgyal sras pu to ba, 1027-1105). 5. Gyatön Chakriwa (rgya ston lcags ri ba, ca. twelfth century). 6. Chökyi Yungdrung (chos kyi g.yung drung, ca. twelfth century). 7. Kyergom Zhikpo (skyer sgom zhig po, 1144-1204). 8. Gyagom Ripa (rgya bsgom ri pa). 9. Bodong Rinpoché (bo dong rin po che, ca. thirteenth century). 10. Nyenchenpa (nyan

²⁶⁵ See Tokmé Zangpo, "Rten 'brel snying po'i bla ma brgyud pa la gsol ba 'debs pa'i tshigs su

See Tokmé Zangpo, "Rten 'brel snying po'i bla ma brgyud pa la gsol ba 'debs pa'i tshigs su bcad pa," in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 31.5-34.2. The first six masters have more biographical information that is related to the Kadam school.

chen pa, 1222-1317). 11. Chöjé Rinpoché (chos rje rin po che, ca. fourteenth century). It is worth pointing out that the order of these masters in text 10, "Supplication to the Lineage of Essence of Interdependence," is similar with the Fifth Dalai Lama's list of the "instructional lineage of the Buddha within the four deities of the Kadampa" (bka' gdams lha bzhi'i nang gi thub pa'i dbang po'i lha khrid nos pa'i brgyud pa). 266

The Fifth Dalai Lama has a longer list of masters than Tokmé Zangpo does. Except for the sixth master Chökyi Yungdrung, the Fifth Dalai Lama included all masters mentioned in text 10, "Supplication to the Lineage of Essence of Interdependence," and also Tokmzé Zangpo in this lineage. As for some masters in text 10, Tokmzé Zangpo either incompletely provided their names, or wrote puns instead of a full name to praise a master. On the one hand, this style fulfills Tokmzé Zangpo's aesthetic preference for writing Tibetan verse. On the other hand, this literary style sometimes makes it difficult to recognize a particular figure. In contrast, when giving information about a lineage, the Fifth Dalai Lama wrote out the full name of a master. Thus his list helps to identify some masters mentioned in Tokmé Zangpo's text 10, "Supplication to the Lineage of Essence of Interdependence." For example, the Bodong Rinpoché and Chöjé Rinpoché in text 10, are Bodong Rinpoché Tsöndrü Dorjé (Bo dong rin po che brtson 'grus rdo rje), and Rinpoché Shérapbum (Rin po che shes rab 'bum) respectively in the Fifth Dalai Lama's list. The similarities and differences between text 10 and the Fifth Dalai Lama's works is another interesting future research topic. In this context, the Fifth Dalai Lama's list helps

²⁶⁶ See Lozang Gyatso, Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las, in Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum, vol. 1, 160.

confirm that all masters mentioned in text 10, "Supplication to the Lineage of Essence of Interdependence," were affiliated with the Kadam school.

Texts 11, "Prostration to the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Family," ²⁶⁷ and 12, "Praise to Five-Deity Amoghapasha [Avalokiteśvara] Family," ²⁶⁸ are supplication and praise to the bodhisattva family of Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara and Amoghapāśa (Avalokiteśvara with the Unfailing Rope) respectively. These two texts emphasize Tokmé Zangpo's devotion to Avalokiteśvara. On special occasions, Tokmé Zangpo even manifested as Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara. *Guide to Your Devotion* asserts:

When [master Tokmé] performed initiation of the Boundless-Life Buddha, [his] wisdom descended. [Then master Tokmé's] face turned red like vermilion. When expelling obstacles [that impede spirituality], [master Tokmé's] face turned deep black and all [his] hair stood up. Great Lotsāwa Jangtsé saw [Tokmé appearing as] Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara. Other people saw one inch of Khasarpani Avalokiteśvara appearing on the left face of [master Tokmé]. 269

Furthermore, Tokmé Zangpo also received teachings about Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara and Amoghapāśa. In the section "The Manner of Hearing Profound Instructions from Many Masters," *Guide to Your Devotion* mentions:

²⁶⁷ See Tokmé Zangpo, "Zhal bcu gcig po'i rgyud pa la phyag 'tshal ba" in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 31.5-36.3.

²⁶⁸ "Don yod zhags pa lha lnga rgyud pa dang bcas pa'i bstod pa," ibid., 36.3-38.6.

²⁶⁹ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 26: tshe dpag med kyi dbang bskur mdzad pa'i ye shes 'bebs pa'i skabs su/zhal ras li khri ltar dmar por 'gyur ba dang / bgegs skrod pa'i skabs su zhal ras smug nag tu 'gyur zhing / thams cad ba spu _zing byed pa dang / lo tsA ba chen po byang rtse_sa zhal bcu gcig par gzigs pa dang / 'ga' zhig gis zhal ras kyi g.yon phyogs na/khar sa p+'a Ni mtshon gang ba gcig mthong ba dang/. In addition, the Tibetan spelling of Khasarpani

In front of Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa, [master Tokmé Zangpo] learned Asanga's *Five Treatises on the Levels*,...commentary on the chapter on vows in Asanga's *Bodhisattva Levels*,...[and] Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara's dhāraṇī...In front of precious and great scholar Sönam Drakpa, [master Tokmé Zangpo] learned *Seven-Point Mind Training*, [the practice to] generating the aspiration awakening mind and the engagement awakening mind, [the practice] related to Amoghapāśa, [the way to] bring happiness and suffering to the path, empowerment ritual of the Medicine Buddha,...[and] Jowo [Atiśa's] ritual instruction on generating awakening mind²⁷⁰...

This statement shows various categories in Tokmé Zangpo's bodhisattva practices, including mind training, generation of awakening mind, bodhisattva vows, recitation of mantra, and the ritual of Buddhist deities. Most likely Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara and Amoghapāśa were selected as the topics for texts 11 and 12 because they were pertinent to Tokmé Zangpo's training on cultivation of universal compassion.

Similarly, the following texts 13 and 14 are pertinent to bodhisattva practice. Text 13 is "Prostration to the Lineage of Masters [Who Transmitted] Bodhisattva's Vows" (hereafter called "Prostration to the Lineage of Bodhisattva's Vows"). Tokmé Zangpo proclaims his Lojong master, Sönam Drakpa (Bsod nams grags pa) as the last recipient of this transmission. Some masters mentioned in text 13, "Prostration to the Lineage of Bodhisattva's Vows," can be associated with the Mind Only philosophical system. Such

Avalokiteśvara in this text is *khar sa* p+'a Ni. This could be a typo or another spelling. A current spelling is *kha sa rpA* Ni.

²⁷⁰ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 16-18: mkhan chen lo tsA ba blo gros brtan pa'i drung du/sa sde lnga/[...]byang chub gzhung lam/[...]bcu gcig zhal gyi gzungs/[...]mkhan chen rin bo che bsod nams grags pa'i drung du blo sbyong don bdun ma/smon 'jug sems bskyed/don zhags bskor/skyid sdug lam khyer/sman bla'i mdo chog_rjes gnang /[...] jo bos mdzad pa'i sems bskved kvi cho ga.

content reflects in the Fifth Dalai Lama's title for text 13. It is "Wisdom and Compassion: The Supplication to the Mind-Only School's Lineage of Bodhisattva's Vows" (sems tsam lugs kvi byang sems sdom pa'i brgyud 'debs mkhven brtse ma). 272 Text 13, "Prostration to the Lineage of Bodhisattva's Vows," is also related to the institutional Kadam school. In the text, Tokmé Zangpo bows to twenty-two figures and I identify each master with a number for the sake of discussion. Masters number 3 to number 9 are regarded as the Mind Only or the Yogacara Svatantrika Madhyamaka philosophical system. Masters number 10 to number 22, except for number 20, are associated with the Kadam school. These masters are as follows: 1. The Buddha Shakyamuni (thub pa chen po). 2. Maitreya (mgon po byams pa). 3. Asanga ('phags pa thogs med). 4. Vasubandhu (dbyig gnyen). 5. Ārya Vimuktisena ('phags pa rnam grol ste). 6. Bhadanta Vimuktisena (btsun pa rnam grol sde). 7. Chokgidé (mchog gi sde). 8. Dülbédé (dul ba'i sde). 9. Haribhadra (seng ge bzang). 10. Kusulu (ku su lu). 11. Kusulu (ku su lu). 273 12. Serlingpa (gser gling ba). 13. Atiśa (a ti sha). 14. Dromtönpa ('brom ston). 15. Chen Ngawa (spyan snga ba, 1038-1103). 16. Jayülba (*bya yul ba*, 1075-1138). 17. Char Chenpa (*phyar chen pa*, birth 11th cenyury). 18. Drotöndü Tsidrak (gro ston bdud rtsi grags, 1153-1232) 19. Sanggyé Gompa (sangs rgyas sgom pa, 1179-1250). 20. Chimtön (mchims ston) 21. Khétsün Söyé

²⁷¹ See Tokmé Zangpo, "Byang sems sdom pa'i rgyud pa'i bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal ba)" in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 37.1-40.6.

²⁷² See Lozang Gyatso, *Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las*, in *Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, 110.

²⁷³ Spelling is the same with number 10 but refers to a different master.

(*mkhas btsun bsod ye*, birth 13th century). 22. Sönam Drakpa (*bsod nams grags pa*, 1273-1345).

While various versions of Tokmé Zangpo's biographies give information related to the philosophical Mind Only philosophical system and the institutional Kadam school, they do not show Tokmé Zangpo's hermeneutical approach to these schools. Text 13, "Prostration to the Lineage of Bodhisattva's Vows," reveals that, for Tokmé Zangpo, the theories and practice of bodhisattva's vows inherited by the Kadam school correspond to those held by the Mind Only philosophical system. Moreover, this lineage order appears in two other texts that include Tokmé Zangpo in the lineage. One is in the Fifth Dalai Lama's list of the "lineage of attaining awakening mind in the Mind Only philosophical system" (sems tsam lugs kyi sems bskyed thob pa'i brgyud pa). The other is in the lineage of bodhisattva's vows in Compendium of Achievement Means (sgrub thabs kun btus). Compendium of Achievement Means is related to the tantric practice manuals and ritual materials of the Sakya school. This fact indicates that

²⁷⁴ This topic deserves another interesting research project in the future.

²⁷⁵ See Lozang Gyatso, Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las, in Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum, vol. 1, 39-40.

²⁷⁶ See Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo ('Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po 1820-1892), and Jamyang Loter Wangpo ('Jam dbyangs blo gter dbang po, 1847-1914), ed., *Sgrub thabs kun btus*, [TBRC W23681] (Kangara, H.P.: Indo-Tibetan Buddhist literature Publisher, Dzongsar Institute for Advanced Studies, TBRC scanned this work in 2002 in India). The content it contains concerning Tokmé Zangpo's text 13 can be searched for online, but which scanned page corresponds to which printed page is unknown: *thub pa'i dbang po rje btsun mi pham mgon/_thogs med sku mched 'phags pa rnam grol sde/_btsun pa grol sde mchog sde dul ba'i sde/_seng ge bzang po ku sA li che chung/_gser gling pa dang dpal ldan mar me mdzad/_rgyal ba 'brom ston spyan snga tshul khrims 'bar/_bya yul ba dang rgyal sras phyar chen pa/_gro ston bdud rtsi grags dang sangs rgyas sgom/_mchims ston che dang mkhan chen seng ge*

Tokmé Zangpo's perspective on how an institutional school squares with a philosophical system is inherited by later scholars.

Text 14 is "Praise to the Lineage of Masters Who [Had] the Aspiration Awakening Mind and the Engagement Awakening Mind" (hereafter called "Praise to the Lineage of Awakening Mind"). 277 Masters admired for their awakening mind in text 14. "Praise to the Lineage of Awakening Mind," is correlated with the Middle Way philosophical system and the Sakya school. I identify each master in this text with a number for the sake of discussion. Masters number 3 to 7 are associated with the Middle Way philosophical system. Masters number 8 to 10 taught transmission to master 12 before the establishment of the Sakya monastery. Masters number 12 to 17 and master 19 are affiliated with the Sakya school. The list of the masters is as follows: 1. The Buddha Shakyamuni (thub pa chen po). 2. Protector Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva (mgon po 'jam pa'i dbyangs). 3. Nāgārjuna ('phags pa klu sgrub). 4. Āryadeva (Ar+ya de ba). 5. Candrakīrti (zla ba grags pa). 6. Rikpé Khujuk (rigs pa'i khu byug). 7. Lobpé Dorjé (slob pa'i rdo rje). 8. Dralé Namgyel (dgra las rnam rgyal). 9. Dorjé Denpa Chenpo (rdo rje gdan pa chen po, ca 10th century). 10. Dorjé Denpa Nyipa (rdo rje gdan pa gnyis pa). 11. Penchen Punya Shri (paN chen puNya shrI). 12. Bari Lotsāwa (ba ri lo tsA ba, 1040-1112). 13. Künga Nyingpo (kun dga' snying po, 1034-1102). 14. Sönam Tsémo (bsod nams rtse mo, 1142-1282). 15. Drakpa Gyeltsen (grags pa rgyal mtshan, 1147-1216). 16.

skyabs//bsod nams ve shes zhang ston bsod nams grags//rgyal sras thogs med grub chen bud+d+ha shrI/.

²⁷⁷ See Tokmé Zangpo, "Smon 'jug sems skyed kyi rgyud pa'i bla ma rnams la bstod pa" in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 40.6-44.4.

Sakya Penchen (*sa skya paN chen*, 1182-1251). 17. Chögyel Pakpa (*chos rgyal 'phags pa*, 1235-1280). 18. Jamyang Khöntön (*'jam dbyangs 'khon ston*). 19. Jangsem Rinchen (*byang sems rin chen*).

After praising the five Sakya patriarchs, masters number 13 to 17, Tokmé Zangpo praised his teachers Jampéyang Khöntön ('Jam dbyangs 'khon ston) and Jangsem Rinchen (Byang sems rin chen). Tokmé Zangpo studied with Jampéyang Khöntön²⁷⁸ about the generation of awakening mind according to the Middle Way philosophy. Then he learned the generation of awakening mind according to the Sakya tradition with Jangsem Rinchen.²⁷⁹ It is interesting to notice that, in terms of the generation of awakening mind, Tokmé Zangpo incorporates the Middle Way philosophical system into the Sakya school. While the main purpose of Lojong practice is to cultivate the awakening mind, Tokmé Zangpo did not mention any Sakya master in the Lojong lineage that he presented in text 9, "Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters." On the other hand, *Mind Training Collection*, the first Lojong anthology, includes Sakya masters in the Lojong tradition. Chapter 5 will discuss this difference in the construction of Lojong tradition.

As referred to above, in *Guide to Your Devotion*, Tokmé Zangpo devoted himself to learning the bodhisattva's vows and "generation of two awakening minds" for developing universal compassion. He composed text 13, "Prostration to the Lineage of

²⁷⁸ Text 1 is addressed to Jampéyang Khöntön.

²⁷⁹ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, 10.

Bodhisattva's Vows," and text 14, "Praise to the Lineage of Awakening Mind," to express his admiration for the lineage masters who achieved the goal of this training. While texts 11, "Prostration to the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Family," 12, "Praise to Five-Deity Amoghapasha [Avalokiteśvara] Family," 13, "Prostration to the Lineage of Bodhisattva's Vows," and 14, "Praise to the Lineage of Awakening Mind," address different topics, they are actually all associated with bodhisattva practices. This indicates that the editors arranged these four texts physically together based on this common ground.

Texts 13 to 18 are arranged together because they include Tokmé Zangpo's admiration for various lineages of masters. ²⁸⁰ It is worth pointing out that masters mentioned in text 16, "Prostration to the Lineage of Masters Who [Received] Sumpa Lotsāwa's Oral Transmission," are renowned Sakya masters. ²⁸¹ Sakya masters praised in this text receive unspecified teachings which are traced back to Sumpa Lotsāwa (Sum pa lo tsA ba). ²⁸² This transmission also includes Tokmé Zangpo's contemporary, Lama

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²⁸⁰ Please see Appendix 2 for the locations of the following texts: text 13, "Prostration to the Lineage of Bodhisattva's Vows," text 14, "Praise to the Lineage of Awakening Mind," text 15, "Praise to the Lineage of Experts [in] Full-Ordination Precepts," text 17, "Supplication to the Lineage of Masters Who Brought Happiness and Suffering to the Path," and text 18, "Prostration to the Lineage of Masters Who [Transmitted] Three Essential Meanings."

²⁸¹ See Tokmé Zangpo, *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 47.2-6. I identify each master with a number and they are as follows: 1. Sumpa Lotsāwa (*sum pa lo tsA ba*, ca. late twelfth and early thirteenth century). 2. Sakya Penchen (*sa skya paN chen*, 1182-1151). 3. Chögyel Pakpa (*chos rgyal 'phags pa*, 1235-1280). 4. Zhangtön Könchokpel (*zhang ston dkon mchog dpal*, birth 1240/1250). 5. Drakpukpa (*brag phug pa*, 1277-1350). 6. Sönam Gyeltsen (*bsod nams rgyal mtshan*, 1312-1375).

²⁸² Most likely the teachings are related to tantric practices. Before Sumpa Lotsāwa, Tokmé Zangpo prostrated to the tantric deities Diamond Sow (*rdo rje phag mo*, Vajravārāhī) and Jetsun Tārās (*rje btsun sgrol ma*).

Dampa Sönam Gyeltsen. The different biographies of Tokmé Zangpo do not mention Sumpa Lotsāwa at all. While there is little biographical information about him in modern scholarship, Sumpa Lotsāwa is included in the Lojong tradition in *Mind Training Collection*. Interestingly, he is not in Tokmé Zangpo's text 9, "Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters," that gives praises to Lojong masters. ²⁸³ The next chapter will also further discuss the differences between the Lojong lineage presented in Tokmé Zangpo's work and that presented in *Mind Training Collection*.

Texts 19 to 28 are dedicated to Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, or Buddhist deities. Text 19, "Great Adoring Praise to the Buddhas of Ten Directions," and text 23, "Praise to the Supermundane Victor, the Buddha," are praises to different Buddhas. In text 20, "Praise: Supreme Offering to Please the Victor," Tokmé Zangpo praised Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in an order similar to the ritual made by Kadam master Kazhiba Drakpa Zhönnu (Bka' bzhi ba grags pa gzhon nu, 1257-1315). While this master was a contemporary of Tokmé Zangpo, the three earliest editions of Tokmé Zangpo's biographies do not mention whether they interacted. Thus this text provides additional biographical elements. Tokmé Zangpo might have met Kazhiba Drakpa Zhönnu, or read his ritual works about worship. On the other hand, *Guide to Your Devotion* shows that

²⁸³ In *Mind Training Collection*, text 20 is "Sumpa Lotsāwa's Ear-Whispered Mind Training." See Thupten Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, 215-6. The next section will further discuss this text. In note 338, Jinpa points out that Sumpa Lotsāwa transmitted ear-whispered mind training teaching to Sakya Pandita (Sakya Penchen).

²⁸⁴ See Tokmé Zangpo, "Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas la bstod pa rgyal ba mnyes byed" in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 50.1-51.5.

²⁸⁵ "Sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi bstod pa," Ibid., 58.3-61:1.

Tokmé Zangpo learned the guru yoga practice exclusive to the Sakya school,²⁸⁷ but the "113 Texts" does not have a text that is specifically related to this topic.

The subjects of text 21, "Praise to Sixteen Bodhisattvas from the Introduction of Sutra: Vows of the Medicine Buddha of Lapis Lazuli Crystal Radiance and Seven Past Buddhas," 288 and text 22, "Prostration to Deities Who [Surround] Tathāgata [Who Are the] Seven Medicine Buddhas," 289 are Medicine Buddhas and their Bodhisattva attendants. These two texts highlight Tokmé Zangpo's learnings in "empowerment of the Medicine Buddha," and his daily practice in reciting Medicine-Buddha mantra. Similar to text 11 "Prostration to the Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara Family," and text 12, "Praise to Five-Deity Amoghapasha [Avalokiteśvara] Family," discussed above, text 25, "Rhetorical Garland: The Praise to The Noble Lord Avalokiteśvara," and text 26, "Twenty-Five Verses on Praise to The Noble Lord Avalokiteśvara," are arranged together because both of them praise Avalokiteśvara. Text 24, "Praise to Mañjuśrī"

²⁸⁶ "Bstod tshig rgyal ba mnyes pa'i mchod pa bla med," Ibid., 51.5-56.5.

²⁸⁷ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen, Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 17: *sa skya pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor thun mong ma yin pa*.

²⁸⁸ See Tokmé Zangpo, "De bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi sngon gyi smon lam gyi khyad par rgyas pa'i mdo'i gleng gzhi las 'byung ba'i byang chub sems dpa' bcu drug gi bstod pa" in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 56.5-57.4.

²⁸⁹ "Sman bla'i de bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi 'khor gyi lha tshogs la phyag 'tshal ba," Ibid., 57.4-58.3.

²⁹⁰ For example, see Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion*, 17, 18, and 41.

²⁹¹ See Tokmé Zangpo, "'phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug gi bstod pa tshig rgyan me tog gi phreng ba," in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 63.4-67.5.

²⁹² "'phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug la bstod pa sh+lo+o ka nyi shu rtsa lnga ba," Ibid., 67.5-71.4.

praises Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva.²⁹³ While Tokmé Zangpo's biographies do not associate this Bodhisattva with any scripture or mantra practice, this deity is worshiped along with other deities in some texts included in *Degé Collected Works*. Text 27, "Praise to the Supermundane Protector Maitreya," is dedicated to Maitreya, known as the Buddha of the future, and it accentuates Tokmé Zangpo's faith in him.²⁹⁴ Maitreya is also related to Tokmé Zangpo's studies and works on *Five Treatises of Maitreya*, as these five works are traditionally believed to be passed down from Maitreya to Asanga.²⁹⁵ Tokmé Zangpo also recited prayers to Maitreya for his daily practice.²⁹⁶ In his discussion on scripture and reasoning, Tokmé Zangpo confidently said, "I am the residence for Maitreya's followers."²⁹⁷

²⁹³ "'jam pa'i dbyangs la bstod pa," Ibid., 61.1-63.3.

²⁹⁴ "Bcom ldan 'das mgon po byams pa la bstod cing gsol ba," Ibid., 71.4-72.1.

²⁹⁵ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 5, 10, and 41. 2. *Five Treatises of Maitreya* is five different works. Tokmé Zangpo composed commentaries on two of these works. One is *Rays of Light: Illuminating the Definitive Meaning of the UtTārātantra (Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i 'grel pa nges don gsal bar byed pa'i 'od zer), [TBRC W1KG12063] (Sichuan: Sde dge par khang). The other is <i>Precious Garland: A Detailed Commentary on Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra of Asaṅga (Theg pa chen po mdo sde'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa rin po che'i phreng ba*), [TBRC W13914] (Gangtok: Gonpo Tsetan, 1979).

²⁹⁶ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 42. An example of "Prayer to Maitreya" (*Byams pa'i smon lam*) used by modern Tibetan monasteries in India is in *The Sun Benefits All: Necessary Prayers* (*Nyer mkho'i zhal 'don kun phan nyi ma*, Delhi: Sherig Parkhang Tibetan Cultural & Religious Publication Center, no publication date), 323-328.

²⁹⁷ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 10: byams pa rjes 'brang dang bcas pa'i gdan sa nga yin/.

Text 28, "Praise to the Supermundane Victress, Tārā," ²⁹⁸ stresses Tokmé Zangpo's devotion to the different forms of this female tantric deity. Various tantric practices are mentioned in *Guide to Your Devotion*, such as Cakrasaṃvara Tantra, the empowerments of Vairochana Buddha and Tārā, the ritual offering to Vajrakilaya, learning related to Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara and Amoghapāśa, etc. ²⁹⁹ Each practice has its own corresponding deity. Among these deities, Tārā appeared in Tokmé Zangpo's dream and helped him perform miracles. ³⁰⁰ Except for Tārā and different forms of Avalokiteśvara, *Degé Collected Works* does not have an individual text that is dedicated to a tantric deity related to the practices mentioned above.

As presented above, the subjects of texts in the first three categories were not randomly chosen by Tokmé Zangpo. They correspond to his life experience to some degree. As these texts were composed by Tokmé Zangpo, they offer information that is not noticeable in his biographies. The reason could be that his biographers do not focus on Tokmé Zangpo's appreciation of those people. Since there is no extant autobiography of Tokmé Zangpo, *Degé Collected Works* reveals more personal perspectives on his own

²⁹⁸ See Tokmé Zangpo, "Bcom ldan 'das ma sgrol ma la bstod pa," in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 72.1-75.3.

²⁹⁹ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 10, 12, 17-18.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 27, 34-35. While there are twenty-one forms of Tārā, such as White Tārā and Green Tārā, Guide to Your Devotion does not specify which form Tokmé Zangpo was particularly associated with in his dream and his performance of miracles. For discussion on the original forms of Tārā, see Stephan Beyer, The Cult of Tārā: Magic and Ritual in Tibet (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), xiii, 278-279. In terms of Tokmé Zangpo's practice, he chanted Homages to the Twenty-One Tārās. See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 42. As for discussion on Homages to the Twenty-One Tārās, see Stephan Beyer, The Cult of Tārā: Magic and Ritual in Tibet, 63.

life than his biographies do. Moreover, according to the arrangement of these texts, the editors must have read these texts so they could organize them in such a specific order. It was even possible that the editors were familiar with Tokmé Zangpo's life story. In fact, if the texts were arranged right after Tokmé Zangpo passed away, the editors were probably his close disciples.

Other Categories

CATEGORY 4

Among Tokmé Zangpo's works, text 29, "Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas," ³⁰¹ has attracted the most discussion from scholars and lay people alike even nowadays. I therefore single out this text in category 4. Text 29 is also the only text for which *Guide to Your Devotion* gives a description of how Tokmé Zangpo composed it. The biography mentions that people had a pity on Tokmé Zangpo's poor situation of lacking in material goods, so they suggested:

"If [you] bestow tantric empowerment [to others], resources would be generated effortlessly." In reply to those sayings about engagement in practices, [Master Tokmé] said with disagreement, "If I would engage in practice, I would prefer to do something like this." Having said this, [he] composed [Thirty-Seven] Practices of Bodhisattvas. [When Master Tokmé] was editing [Thirty Practices of Bodhisattvas] in [his dwelling place] in the ravine, wind blew away all [pieces of] papers without remaining. [Master Tokmé] said, "This was similar to see banners coming from all directions. However, [the content] was still vivid in [my] mind, so I wrote it again." 302

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³⁰¹ The word "Thirty-Seven" is not given in the title by Tokmé Zangpo. In *Guide to Your Devotion*, the name of the text is "*rgyal sras lag len*." This text is well-known today as "Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas," so I added "Thirty-Seven" to the title. See Tokmé Zangpo, *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 75.3-81.6.

³⁰² This description is not found in Penden Yéshé's *Drops of Ambrosia* or Pelgyi Rinchen's *Ray of Altruism*. See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 11-12: *longs spyod 'bad med du 'byung bas/ lag len*

This description shows that, for Tokmé Zangpo, the application of Buddhist doctrines is to act as a bodhisattva (*byang chub sems dpa'*). Thus the content of text 29 is related to a particular Tibetan Buddhist textual subject. Following TBRC's denomination, I title category 4 as "bodhisattva" which is a subtype of the subject "Buddha and Bodhisattva." ³⁰³ Among the forty-two entries presented in the subject bodhisattva, Tokmé Zangpo's "Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas" is listed under the first and the third entries. The first entry has the root text, ³⁰⁴ and the third entry includes the commentaries. ³⁰⁵ While no recorded commentary was composed between the fifteenth and the eighteenth century, we can assume that one might yet be found. Another well-known text included in the

hal.

bslabs pa drag ces pa'i lan du/kho bo lag len byed na 'di ltar byed gsungs nas/rgyal sras lag len brtsams te/grog nang gcig tu zhus dag mdzad pas/shog gu gcig kyang ma lus par rlung pos khyer song /der phyogs thams cad du dar cha yong ba la lta ba 'dra/yang blo la sa le 'dug pas bskyar nas bris pa yin gsung /.

³⁰³ Please see Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center http://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=T1078, accessed on June 1, 2015.

³⁰⁴ See "*Rgyal ba'i sras kyi lam len su cu so bdun ma*" in Chari Kelzang Tokmé (Cha ris skal bzang thogs med) ed., *Blo sbyong nyer mkho phyogs bsgrigs*, [TBRC W25275] (Lan kru'u: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003), 689-695.

TBRC has eight commentaries of "Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas." They were composed during the nineteenth and the early twentieth-first century. Here is a list of four commentaries that were written in the twentieth century. See 1. Ngakwang Tendzin Norbu (Ngag dbang bstan 'dzin nor bu, 1867-1940) "Rgyal sras lag len lhan thabs" in Rdza sprul ngag dbang bstan 'dzin nor bu'i bka' 'bum, [TBRC W29306] (Kathmandu: Ngagyur dongak choling monastery, 2004), vol. 5, 119-144. 2. Sempa Dorjé (Sems dpa' rdo rje, ca. twentieth century), Rgyal sras thogs med bzang pos mdzad pa'i lag len so bdun ma/ 'grel pa dpal gyi sgron mes brgyan pa, [TBRC W1CZ2397] (Ka sbug: mtsho slob shrI dI wa kar wi hA ra, 2005). 3. Tsültrim Pelzang (Tshul khrims dpal bzang, birth the nineteenth century), Rgyal sras lag len so bdun ma dang de yi mchan 'grel yid kyi mun sel, [W29664] (Karnataka: Namdroling monastic jr. high school, 2000). 4. Gendün Tendzin Gyatso (Dge 'dun bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho, 1852-1912), Lhag mthong chen mo'i dka' 'grel dgongs zab snang ba'i sgron me dang rgyal sras lag len gyi 'grel pa zung 'jug bdud rtsi'i bum bzang, [TBRC W1KG18131] (Lhasa: Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 2009).

subject bodhisattva is Śāntideva's (ca. eighth century) *Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life (Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa*). A common ground in the texts listed under this subject is how one should cultivate oneself to be a bodhisattva, an enlightened being committed to liberate all sentient beings from the sufferings of cyclic existence.

Similarly, in text 29 "Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas," Tokmé Zangpo advocated right attitudes and practices for those who cultivate themselves on the bodhisattva path through following the thirty-seven verses. A quick perusal of this text shows a gradual contemplation and rationale concerning why one needs to engage in such cultivation. The first nine verses explain the precious opportunity to be reborn as a human being and the defects of the cyclic existence. Verse ten thinks of all sentient beings in the past as being one's own mother. Verse eleven emphasizes that the origin of perfect Buddhahood is in benefiting others. This verse mentions the "giving and taking" (tonglen) meditation practice which is to imagine exchanging one's happiness with another's suffering. From verses twelve to eighteen, Tokmé Zangpo mentions that bodhisattva practitioners should give away their wealth and body in order to pay back the sentient beings with loving kindness when bodhisattva practitioners encounter adverse conditions. Verses 25 to 30 are related to the six perfections that are crucial to

³⁰⁶ It is listed in the entry 20 at TBRC, http://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=W3CN1560, accessed on June 1st, 2015. See Śāntideva (Tibetan name is Zhi ba lha), Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa, [TBRC W3CN1560] (Block print, publisher place and date unavailable: Dka' bcu ngag dbang lhun grub).

³⁰⁷ In the original Tibetan text, there are no numbers marked in each of the verses. The repeated phrase "gyel sé lak len yin" (*rgyal sras lag len yin*) is a marker to differentiate each verse. This text has been translated into English, Chinese, and Korean. My reference for this dissertation is

bodhisattva practices: generosity, disciplines, patience, efforts, meditation, and wisdom.

As for the other verses, they present how to transform negative emotions.

Text 29, "Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas," is situated after the previous categories which are praises dedicated to buddhas, bodhisattvas, and masters. It is the first text in which Tokmé Zangpo explains Buddhist doctrines in *Degé Collected Works*. This arrangement implies that the editors must have been aware of the importance and reputation of this text.

CATEGORY 5

The fifth category of texts is "preaching." It ranges from texts 30 to 41, as well as texts 53 and 55. Different from the first three categories, the texts in this category do not extol specific masters or Buddhist deities. Texts in the preaching category are Tokmé Zangpo's teachings on different topics, such as precepts, six perfections, encouragement to spiritual practice, Lojong, etc.

CATEGORY 6

Texts in the sixth category are "ritual" (*cho ga*). They can be further divided into two groups. The first group is from texts 42 to 44, and its topic is the ritual performance to generate awakening mind. Text 42, "Atiśa's Way of Ritual for Generating the Aspiration Awakening Mind and the Engagement Awakening Mind," offers Atiśa's

perspectives on this ritual.³⁰⁸ In text 44, "Great Master Śāntideva's Way of Ritual for Generating the Aspiration Awakening Mind and the Engagement Awakening Mind,"³⁰⁹ Tokmé Zangpo describes the ritual process to cultivate awakening mind based on Śāntideva's viewpoint. It needs further research to uncover Tokmé Zangpo's references and his analysis for Atiśa's and Śāntideva's works in texts 42 and 44. Between the first group and the second group is a commentary text, not a ritual text. This text, number 45, is Tokmé Zangpo's commentary on *Seven-Point Mind Training*. The topic of text 45 is cultivation of awakening mind, which is a crucial practice for one to generate great compassion. The second group is from texts 46 to 48.³¹⁰ Its topic is generating great compassion through different methods, such as recitation, the ceremony of taking precepts, meditation, and torma (*gtor ma*, ritual cake) offering. Most likely the editors chose to put text 45 among the ritual texts because of their similar themes.

CATEGORY 7

Category seven is about "instruction on dharma practices." This category includes texts 49 to 52, text 54, and texts 56 to 59. In this category, Tokmé Zangpo instructs in different texts, either to his followers or dharma friends, how to do a particular type of

³⁰⁸ See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 101.2-141.1.

³⁰⁹ See Tokmé Zangpo, "Slob dpon chen po zhi ba lha'i lugs kyi smon 'jug sems bskyed kyi cho ga," Ibid., 149.6-186.6.

Text 46, "Means of Achievement for Great Compassion [which is] the Great Path of Bodhisattva," text 47, "Concise [Teachings about] Reciting and Meditation of Great Compassion for the Benefits of Beginners," and text 48, "[Ritual of] Offering Torma to Great Compassion, Avalokiteśvara," are located in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 217.6-237.1.

Buddhist practice. For example, text 51, "Guru Yoga," is about guru yoga meditation.³¹¹ Among these texts, it is worth examining text 54, "In Response to Gyeltsenpel, Writing A Master's Life and the Catalogue of Relics," (hereafter called "Catalogue of Relics").³¹² This text is not Tokmé Zangpo's instruction on dharma practice, but is related to his record about the establishment of statues of Shakyamuni Buddha, Maitreya Buddha, etc., for an unknown late master. It is strange that this master's name was not specified if he was important enough for the various establishments of statues. This master passed away at the age of seventy-six. His disciple, Gyelwa Zangpo (Rgyal ba bzang po) and others talked about making statues of the Buddha, Maitreya Buddha, etc. for the sake of this master's good karma.

When I discussed text 54, "Catalogue of Relics," with two monastic scholars in Dharamsala, India, they thought that this unknown master could be Tokmé Zangpo. I disagree with this reading. While this maser's lifespan is seventy-six years, which is close to Tokmé Zangpo's seventy-five, the following reasons prove that this master is not Tokmé Zangpo. First, at the end of the text, Tokmé Zangpo referred to himself as Tokmé Sarma (*thogs med gsar ma*). This is the only text in *Degé Collected Works* that uses this name Tokmé Sarma. Usually Tokmé Zangpo referred to himself as "monk Tokmé"

³¹¹ See Tokmé Zangpo, "Bla ma'i rnal 'byor," in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 285.5-286.4.

³¹² "Rgyal mtshan dpal gyis bskul ba'i ngor mdzad pa'i bla ma'i rnam thar dang de'i sku gdung gi dkar chag," Ibid., 293.4-305.5.

³¹³ See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 305.3-4: /dkar chag 'di ni thogs med gsar ma la/_/rgyal mtshan dpal zhes bya bas legs bskul nas/_/shing glang lo la chos sgra sgrogs pa'i gnas/ /dpal ldan e'i chos grwa chen por sbyar/.

(btsun pa thogs med). In most cases, sarma can be understood as "new schools of Tibetan Buddhism." In this text, sarma should be interpreted as "new." Tokmé Zangpo received full ordination in Bodong É Monastery in 1324. This text was composed in 1325. Thus Tokmé Zangpo could have used the word sarma to describe his new status. Second, the title of text 54, "Catalogue of Relics," created by the Fifth Dalai Lama is "rgyal mtshan dpal gyis bskul ba'i ngor mdzad pa'i byang sems rin cen mgon gyi nang rten dkar chag."314 The Tibetan phrase "bskul ba'i ngor" means "in response to." This usage is the same with the Fifth Dalai Lama's writing style for the text titles that he created for texts concerning Tokmé Zangpo's response to someone. Third, it is not Tokmé Zangpo's disciples' style to merely call him "the noble master" (bla ma dam pa). In Tokmé Zangpo's biographies, he is often addressed as the Lord of Dharma or Great Bodhisattva. They also mentioned which texts should be put inside of the statues. Tokmé Zangpo composed this text in the Year of the Wood Ox (shing glang lo), which was in 1325.315 The writing location was in the Dharma College at the É monastery (dpal ldan e'i chos grwa chen po). This information corresponds with the statement that Tokmé Zangpo stayed in Bodong É Monastery as described in Guide to Your Devotion. 316 Text 54. "Catalogue of Relics," also offers an example of how people dealt with a master's death in that time period.

³¹⁴ See Lozang Gyatso, River Gange's Flow: A Record of Excellent and Extensive Teaching Received, Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las, in Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum, vol. 2, 112.

³¹⁵ 1325 is the only option for the Year of the Wood Ox before Tokmé Zangpo passed away.

³¹⁶ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 11.

Interestingly, text 54, "Catalogue of Relics," is the only text in *Degé Collected Works* in which Tokmé Zangpo specified a writing year. The content shows a rare perspective on how Tokmé Zangpo interacted with his fellows or friends as an observer. Conversely, in the remaining 112 texts, Tokmé Zangpo was the main subject who gave his teachings, advice to specific followers and dharma friends, or stated his praise to masters and Buddhist deities. As text 54, "Catalogue of Relics," is located among texts in the "instruction on dharma practices" category, we can assume that Tokmé Zangpo gave suggestions about this matter. Apparently, for the editors, this event of establishing statues can be considered as a type of dharma practice.

CATEGORY 8

Texts in the eighth category are "replying with advice to someone." They include texts 60 to 109, and text 113. Texts in this category are Tokmé Zangpo's answers and advices to people. The writing forms can be classified either in the genre of "questions and responses" (dris lan), or "letters" (spring yig). According to the way that Tokmé Zangpo addressed recipients in the texts, we can tell that most likely they had asked Tokmé Zangpo about Buddhist doctrines or practice either in person or by letters. At the end of most texts in this category, Tokmé Zangpo said that this content was his "advice" (gdams pa), or the answer to a question (dri ba'i lan), for a particular person. As text 66-2, "Questions Asked by Dzokchenpa Chönyi Gyeltse," is the only case that has a complete question, it is worth quoting here:

Questions: "Nowadays, in this degenerate age [of the Buddhist dharma], While [one] is eager to benefit sentient beings who have afflictive emotions, [one] is

not able to do it. For a situation like this, the inability to accomplish others' welfare, what should [one] do that is appropriate? Among three [practices]: study, reflection, and cultivation, whichever is more beneficial? There are various results of observation, contemplation, and practices, among these, which one is unerring? Among the systems of practices, which one is better?"

Tokmé Zangpo's reply is located in text 66-1, "The Reply to Some Questions Asked by Dzokchenpa Chönyi Gyeltsen," (*bla ma rdzogs chen pa chos nyid rgyal mtshan zhes bya bas dri ba 'ga' zhig bskur ba'i len*) before text 66-2, "Questions Asked by Dzokchenpa Chönyi Gyeltse":

I bow to three jewels. As the degenerate age arrives, while it is difficult to directly help others, strive to think about others' welfare. Then, it will become the welfare of one's own and others'. Among three practices, study, reflection, and cultivation, it is uncertain whichever is best from a one-sided perspective. Perform whichever is most beneficial in accordance with [people's] mental types. For the sake of different disciples, [there are] different results of observation, contemplation, and practices. [One] should abandon partiality for the Buddha's statements, and accomplish [welfare of others] as mentioned above. As [one] possesses the completely pure Three Vows, ³¹⁸ one abandons the attachment of the idea that things truly exist [by themselves instead of existing interdependently]. [Under the condition that after one] abandons this attachment, if [such a one with unattached] body, speech, and mind, helps others, applying this way [to help others] is excellent. May it be beneficial to sentient beings! In terms of this statement, Tokmé, the monk [who] preached dharma, wrote at Ngülchü Chödzong when receiving some questions sent from Dzokchenpa Chönyi Gyeltse.

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³¹⁷ See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 360.3-5: dri ba ni/_deng sang snyigs ma'i dus 'dir/_sems can nyon mongs pa rnams kyi don bya ba'i 'dun pa drag po yod kyang /_nus pa med pas dngos su gzhan don bsgrub par mi nus pa 'di lta bu la ji ltar byas na drag pa yen/_thos bsam bsgom gsum gang byas na don che/_lta bsgom spyod 'bras mi 'dra ba du ma zhig 'dug pa 'di rnams gang ma nor ba yin/_nyams len byed lugs ji ltar byas na legs/_zhes pa rnams so/.

³¹⁸ Three types of moral disciplines: Pratimoksha vows, Bodhisattva vows, and Tantric vows.

See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 359.5-360.3: dkon mchog gsum la 'dud do/_/snyigs ma'i dus la bab pas/_/dngos su gzhan phan dka' yang /_/gzhan phan sems la 'bad pas/_/rang gzhan don du 'gyur ro/_/thos sam bsgom sogs gang legs/_/phyogs gcig nges pa med pas/_/blo yi rigs dang bstun nas/_/gzhan don gang che sgrub bo/_/gdul bya tha dad don du/_/lta bsgom spyod 'bras tha dad/_/rgyal bas gsungs pas phyogs zhen/_/spongs la sngar bzhin bsgrubs mjo da/_/sdom gsum rnam dag ldan pas/_/dngos 'dzin zhen pa spangs

Based on this reply, Tokmé Zangpo thinks that the way to help others is flexible. This flexibility requires one to uphold three types of precepts well and to have wisdom to determine which way is appropriate in various situations. The end of this statement is typical of Tokmé Zangpo's writing style found in *Degé Collected Works*. He mentions his name, the location, and why he composed this text.

It is interesting to notice that while texts 70 and 71 are situated in the eighth category, "replying with advice to someone," they are Tokmé Zangpo's questions and self-addresses respectively. In text 70, "Tokmé's Questions to Glorious Master, the Lord of Dharma," Tokmé Zangpo asked a master about the four bodies of Buddha. The name of this master is not specified and the answer is not included in this text either. In text 71, "Prayer for the Training of Bodhisattva's Actions," Tokmé Zangpo encouraged himself to be a good instructor for those who need protection and want to learn Buddhism. Tokmé Zangpo hoped to attain enlightenment shortly in order to actualize this commitment. This content explains the reason for the Fifth Dalai Lama's title for text 71, "Prayer for the Training of Bodhisattva's Actions: I and My Friends." 322

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nas/_/sgo gsum gzhan don spyad na/_/nyams su len tshul legs so/_/'gro la phan par gyur cig/_ces pa 'di chos smra ba'i btsun pa thogs med kyis/_bla ma rdzogs chen pa chos nyid rgyal mtshan zhes bya bas dri ba 'ga' zhig bskur ba'i len du/_dngul chu'i chos rdzong du sbyar ba'o/_/.

³²⁰ Ibid., 368.3-369.4.

³²¹ See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 369.5-370.3.

³²² See Lozang Gyatso, *Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las*, in *Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, 113: rgyal sras kyi spyod pa la bslab pa'i smon lam bdag gam bdag bshes ma/.

In most cases, people recorded in category 8, "replying with advice to someone," are not mentioned in Tokmé Zangpo's biographies. While the main sponsor to print the extant earliest "113 Texts" was Drölma, a female ruler of Chudü, 323 none of the recipients addressed by Tokmé Zangpo in category 8 was a woman. Based on how Tokmé Zangpo addressed these questioners, such as spiritual friend (*dge ba'i bshes gnyen*), abbot (*mkhan po*), and instructor (*slob dpon*), we can assume that they were monastics. For those questioners without such titles, they could be either lay followers or monastics.

Among those recipients recorded in category 8, "replying with advice to someone," most of them do not have biographical information. The most well-known person Tokmé Zangpo addressed is mentioned in text 65, "Letter Offered to Great Si Tu for the Sake of Protecting A Sinner," (hereafter called "Letter to Great Si Tu"). As Chapters 1 and 2 discussed, Tokmé Zangpo met two different Si Tu (imperial instructor) during his lifetime. One is T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen (1302-1364), and the other is T'ai Si Gélek Zangpo (1342-1390/1391). The Si Tu that Tokmé Zangpo wrote to should be T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen, because Tokmé Zangpo addressed to his recipient as Great King Si Tu (sa skyong si tu chen po). Also, other textual information refers to

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³²³ As Chapter 3 explained, the "113 Texts" in *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works* was printed before the "113 Texts" in *Degé Collected Works*. The content and the order of the "113 Texts" in these two Collected Works are the same. As for Drölma, who sponsored the printing of the "113 Texts" included in *Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works*, please see my discussion in Chapter 3.

³²⁴ I appreciate that Karen Lang helped me discover this ironic fact in category 8, "replying with advice to someone."

³²⁵ See Tokmé Zangpo, "Si tu chen po la nag can zhig skyob pa'i phyir du phul ba'i 'phrin yig," in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 358.1-359.5.

³²⁶ See Tokmé Zangpo, "Si tu chen po la nag can zhig skyob pa'i phyir du phul ba'i 'phrin yig," 358.3.

T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen with a longer title that includes the content "si tu chen po." The longer title is Great T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen (ta'i si tu chen po byang chub rgval mtshan).³²⁷

T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen founded the Pakmo Drupa regime (rl. 1354-1364) and ruled most regions in central Tibet. He was granted the title "t'ai si tu" (grand imperial instructor) by Yuang Emperor Toyan Temür in 1358 due to his political influence in Tibet. 328 T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen eventually led Tibet to obtain its independence from the Mongols. In addition to being a successful military leader and ruler, T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen established the Tsétang monastery (Rtses thang dgon pa) which became one of the major centers of the Pakdru Kagyü school (phag gru bka' brgyud). As for his personal spiritual pursuits, T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen studied under Tokmé Zangpo and Tokmé Zangpo was one of his three major masters. In terms of T'ai Si Tu Gélek Zangpo, he was the twelfth secular throne holder (dpon sa) of the

³²⁷ See Tsültrim Rinchen (Tshul khrims rin chen, 1697-1774), *Zhu chen tshul khrims rin chen gyi gsung 'bum*, [TBRC W00EGS1016703] (Kathmandu: Sachen international, guru lama, 2005). TBRC has scanned pages but the correspondence to the actual page number is unknown.

³²⁸ See Van der Kuijp, "Life and Political Career of Ta'i-Si-Tu Byang-Chub Rgyal-Mtshan (1302-1364)," in Alex McKay ed., *The History of Tibet*, vol. II, (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 430.

³²⁹ See Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History*, 73.

³³⁰ It is located at nowadays Naidong Naidong County of Shannan Prefecture in Tibet Autonomous Region of China.

³³¹ See Van der Kuijp, "Life and Political Career of Ta'i-Si-Tu Byang-Chub Rgyal-Mtshan (1302-1364)," 434.

³³² Ibid., note 16.

Tsel Gungtang monastery.³³³ He reconfirmed with Yuang Emperor Toyan Temür about the scope of the myriarchy (*khri skor*) of Tselpa.³³⁴ In addition to dealing with worldly affairs, T'ai Si Tu Gélek Zangpo invited renowned Buddhist scholars to preach at Tsel Gungtang monastery, and Tokmé Zangpo was one of them.

T'ai Si Tu Gélek Zangpo and T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen had different relationships with Tokmé Zangpo. The former can be considered as a host or a patron who sponsored Tokmé Zangpo's teaching. The latter was Tokmé Zangpo's lay disciple. Both of them were affliated with the Kagyü school, and they conducted leadership in political affairs at different levels. Certainly we cannot exclude the possibility that T'ai Si Tu Gélek Zangpo is the one that text 65, "Letter to Great Si Tu," refers to. However, as T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen ruled Central Tibet, his position fits more squarely with why Tokmé Zangpo addressed him as a king/ruler (*sa skyong*).

Tokmé Zangpo composes this letter with verses in a nine-syllable meter. He presents his petition to request that T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen should forgive a sinner called Sönam Zangpo (Bsod nams bzang po). The letter does not say what fault Sönam Zangpo made, or to what extent Sönam Zangpo did harm to T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen. Tokmé Zangpo expresses that T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen should have a pity on Sönam Zangpo, who made a mistake due to ignorance and whose face turned ugly due to anger. Tokmé Zangpo also humbly suggests that T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen

³³³ In terms of the religious throne (*gdan sa*) and the secular throne (*dpon sa*) of the Tsel Gungtang monastery, please see Per K Sørensen, et al. *Rulers On the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony In Medieval Tibet: A Study of Tshal Gung-thang*, 41-5.

³³⁴ Ibid., 776.

practice forbearance and compassion under this situation, even though this practice may not make sense to common people. At the end of this letter, Tokmé Zangpo says that he will conduct the Buddhist ceremony and recite the Heart Sutra one hundred times as his gifts to T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen.³³⁵

It is interesting to notice Tokmé Zangpo's humble attitude presented in this letter. Even being T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen's master, Tokmé Zangpo calls himself lowly (*nyams chung*). When he addresses T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen, he uses honorific terms, such as *ku yi* (*sku yi*, yours). This shows a hierarchical distance between the master and student. While Tokmé Zangpo was superior to T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen in the realm of monastic education, he was subordinate to T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen in the worldly hierarchy.

As this letter does not mention whether there was a previous letter sent to Tokmé Zangpo, it is uncertain under what circumstance in which Tokmé Zangpo made such a request to T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen. This similar situation is pervasive in other texts included in category 8, "replying with advice to someone." While these texts do not include the complete content of questions or letters sent to Tokmé Zangpo, the topics of their content are mentioned in Tokmé Zangpo's replies. Furthermore, since category 8 probably does not include all Tokmé Zangpo's letters, we can assume that the editors

³³⁵ Christina Kilby has identified sixteen Tibetan letter-writing manuals composed prior to the twentieth century. It is another worthy project to investigate to what extent Tokmé Zangpo's letter composition follows the regulations of those manuals. See Christina Kilby, "Epistolary Buddhism: Letter Writing and the Growth of Geluk Buddhism in Early Modern Asia" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2015), 17-20.

selected certain of Tokmé Zangpo's letters to be included in category 8 based on their own rationale.³³⁷ There must also have been a second copy of these original handwritten letters. Thus there were copies of the letters sent to their recipients. The second copies of the letters were kept somewhere. Later, the editors probably found the second copies of the letters and scribed them on the woodblocks for printing.³³⁸

CATEGORY 9

The ninth category is "prayer (*smon lam*) for someone." Three texts, texts 110 to 112, are arranged together. In these three texts, Tokmé Zangpo wrote a prayer for a specific figure's achievement in dharma practice. Both text 110, "[Writing] the Prayer for the Sake of the Chief, Rinchen Zangpo," and text 112, "[Writing] for the Sake of Long-Term Stay for *Medium Perfection of Wisdom*, Transcribed in Gold by the Chief, Rin," are prayers for local officers. These two texts indicate that Tokmé Zangpo had patrons to some degree. Text 112, "[Writing] for the Sake of Long-Term Stay for *Medium Perfection of Wisdom*, Transcribed in Gold by the Chief, Rin," also shows an

³³⁶ This letter also refers to T'ai Si Tu Jangchup Gyeltsen as "great might one" (*thub chen*). See Tokmé Zangpo, *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum*, 359.1.

³³⁷ Similarly, Christina Kilby points out that most Tibetan letters that are extant today have been selected to survive. Those chosen letters are connected to important figures, Buddhist doctrines, administration, etc. See "Epistolary Buddhism: Letter Writing and the Growth of Geluk Buddhism in Early Modern Asia," 196.

³³⁸ The duplicates of letters are also produced in administrative or political contexts. See Ibid., 195-6.

³³⁹ See Tokmé Zangpo, "Smon lam 'di dpon rin chen bzang po'i don du," in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 412.3-4221.

³⁴⁰ See Tokmé Zangpo , "Dpon rin gyis yum bar ma rin po che gser las bzhengs pa'i rab tu gnas pa'i don du," in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 422.3-423.6.

example of how devotees practiced Buddhism at that time. This text describes a local officer, whose name was Rin, transcribing *Medium Perfection of Wisdom* in gold. Rin asked Tokmé Zangpo to compose the prayer in order to make his transcribed scripture last for a long time.

CATEGORY 10

As Figure 4 showed before, category 10, "Commentary on Chekhawa's Seven-Point Mind Training," comprises around one-third of Degé Collected Works. Text 45, "Writings in Oral Transmission of Seven-Point Mind Training, Explained in Fewer Words," and the 114th text, "Hearing Transmission," are included in this category.

Based on the classification of these ten categories, the following section presents the texts that have the term Lojong and their contexts.

Texts Related to Lojong Teachings in Degé Collected Works

In *Degé Collected Works*, seven texts contain the term Lojong in their content: texts 9, 42, 44, 45, 59, 63, 113, and 114. The following description provides a brief summary of their content.

As Chapter 3 discussed, text 9, "Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters," ³⁴¹ represents Tokmé Zangpo's idea for Lojong transmission and its relation with the Kadam school. Text 9 is in the second category, "the supplication (*gsol 'debs*) to masters." In texts 42, "Atiśa's Way of Ritual for Generating the Aspiration Awakening Mind and the

³⁴¹ See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 27.2-31.5.

Engagement Awakening Mind,³⁴²" and 44, "Great Master Śāntideva's Way of Ritual for Generating the Aspiration Awakening Mind and the Engagement Awakening Mind,"³⁴³ Lojong is mentioned in ritual contexts. Both texts 42 and 44 are in the sixth category "ritual" (*cho ga*).

In text 59, "Advice on the Stages of Lojong to Spiritual Friend, Raptsé," ³⁴⁴ Tokmé Zangpo referred to Lojong as the contemplation practice of awakening mind. Text 59 is located in category seven, "instruction on dharma practices."

In the eighth category, "replying with advice to someone," texts 63 and 113 are related to Lojong. In text 63, "Advice to Shakya Tendzin Zangpo on The Complete Preparation, Main Practice, and Conclusion of Lojong,"³⁴⁵ Tokmé Zangpo told Shakya Tendzin Zangpo about Lojong practices in three steps. In text 113, "Reply to Questions in the Last Will of Virtuous Friend, Gyeltsen, Who Wore One Piece of Silk Cloth, Lojong is mentioned along with the practice of inner heat (*gtum mo*). ³⁴⁶

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³⁴² I name this text according to its content and the sentences at the end of the text: smon 'jug gi sems skyed kyi cho ga_jo bo chen po'i gzhung las ji ltar 'byung ba rnams bla ma rnams kyi phyag len dang sbyar nas/. See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 140.5-141.1.

³⁴³ See Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 149.6-186.6.

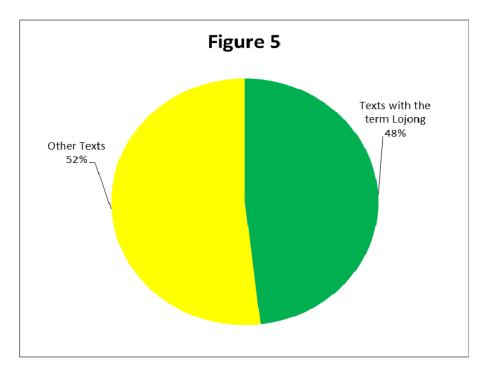
³⁴⁴ See Tokmé Zangpo, "Bshes gnyen rab rtse la gdams pa'i blo sbyong gi rim pa," in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 346. 4-348.5.

³⁴⁵ I name this title according to its content.

³⁴⁶ See Tokmé Zangpo, "Bshes gnyen rgyal mtshan dar ras rkyang ba yi kha chems dris lan," in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, 423.6-425.5.

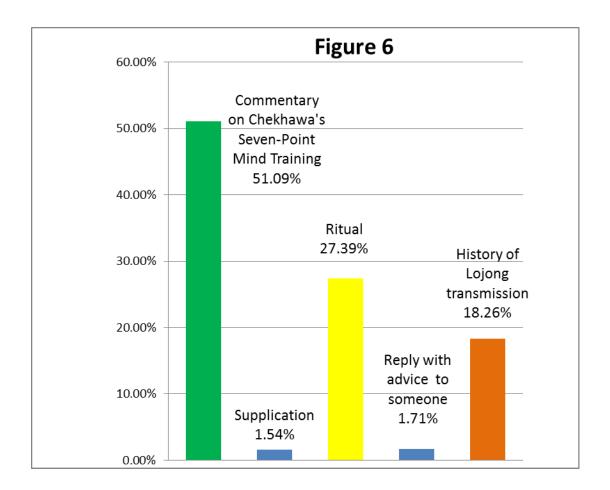
In category 10, text 45, "Commentary on Chekhawa's Seven-Point Mind Training," the term Lojong, for Tokmé Zangpo, is related to Chekhawa's *Seven-Point Mind Training*. In the first section of the 114th text, "Hearing Transmission," Penden Yéshé describes the history of Lojong transmission, Atiśa's life story, as well as the history of the Kadam school. The second part of "Hearing Transmission" is Tokmé Zangpo's lesser-known commentary on Chekhawa's *Seven-Point Mind Training*.

If we simply divide *Degé Collected Works* into two parts, one is related to Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong teachings, and the other is not. As Figure 5 shows, the quantity of texts



that have Lojong in the content comprise around half of *Degé Collected Works*. According to their content and the categories in *Degé Collected Works*, Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong teachings are displayed in five forms below. While these five forms are drawn from the ten categories presented above, they are particularly related to Tokmé Zangpo's

Lojong teachings. Figure 6 shows the percentage of each type. This analysis shows us that *Degé Collected Works* provides a critical context for Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong presentation.



Conclusion

As presented above, texts in *Degé Collected Works* can be divided into ten different categories. *Degé Collected Works* has 114 texts in discernable groups, but the editors do not give a title or category term for them. We can never know exactly what

precise categories were in these editors' minds when they arranged the texts.³⁴⁷ It would have been difficult for me to create clear categories if these texts had been arranged together randomly in the first place. In other words, the classification of these ten categories is not the only way to examine *Degé Collected Works*. The organization of *Degé Collected Works*, especially the first part, the "113 Texts," shows that the editors analyzed each text to some degree in order to group texts with similar topics or writing forms.

These writing forms not only display the variety of Tokmé Zangpo's composition, but also represent different aspects of his interaction with other people. On a personal level, the content of *Degé Collected Works* offers additional biographical information of Tokmé Zangpo. There are many figures mentioned in Tokmé Zangpo's biographies. Only some of them were selected as subjects for Tokmé Zangpo's writings in the first three categories. In his interpersonal level, figures mentioned in *Degé Collected Works*, but not presented in Tokmé Zangpo's biographies, reveal a network, especially in Ngülchü Chödzong, surrounding Tokmé Zangpo. Unlike the Sakya monastery and Bodong É Monastery which were established monastic institutions at that time, Ngülchü Chödzong was a remote retreat place on a hill, and it did not receive much attention until its association with Tokmé Zangpo.³⁴⁸ In most cases, Tokmé Zangpo composed these texts due to certain figures' encouragement, requests, and questions. These figures include Tokmé Zangpo's disciples, Buddhist followers, dharma friends, and patrons. We may

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³⁴⁷ It would be another interesting project to investigate a general strategy to arrange a Tibetan Buddhist master's Collected Works over the history.

hypothesize that these people received copies of Tokmé Zangpo's writings as responses to their requests. We can further consider that the content of *Degé Collected Works* was gradually formed by conversations between these people and Tokmé Zangpo in Ngülchü Chödzong.

The fact that various people are recorded in *Degé Collected Works* raises another question: where were they from? As most writing locations were in Ngülchü Chödzong, and some were in Bodong É Monastery, we can assume that Tokmé Zangpo had the most interaction with people who lived in the area where Ngülchü Chödzong and Bodong É Monastery are located. Interestingly, while Tokmé Zangpo stayed in the Tara (Rta ra) monastery for a few years, the Tara monastery is not recorded as a writing place in *Degé Collected Works*. While Tokmé Zangpo did not stay long at the Sakya monastery and Shalu Monastery, people related to these two institutions were involved in Tokmé Zangpo's writing in some of the texts in *Degé Collected Works*. While these four places, Ngülchü Chödzong, Bodong É Monastery, the Sakya monastery, and Shalu Monastery are in the nowadays Shigatse area, it still takes around three to four hours to drive between just two of these places. ³⁵⁰ If it takes that much time by driving in modern times,

 348 Please see Appendix 1 for scenery in Ngülchü Chödzong.

³⁴⁹ The exact location for the Tara monastery needs further research. To my knowledge, it is located in Zhongba County in Shigatse. Zhongba County is around 12 hours away from the Sakya monastery. Due to time restrictions and my budget of travel expenses, I did not visit the Tara monastery in Zhongba County to investigate whether it is the same with the Tara monastery mentioned in Tokmé Zangpo's biographies.

³⁵⁰ In my one-week trip to Tibet in the summer of 2013, I arrived in Lhasa first and then went to Shigatse city. This trip took around four hours. Then it took around three hours to go from Shigatse city to Bodong É Monastery. We drove around two hours and a half from Bodong É Monastery to Ngülchü Chödzong. Then it took around five hours to drive from Ngülchü

it must have taken at least one day or even more to travel between these locations. This fact indicates that Tokmé Zangpo's reputation reached a long way to these locations in the Shigatse area. Otherwise people would not have been willing to travel that far for a visit. It is also an indication that Tokmé Zangpo gradually created his own charisma by preaching and benefiting others on his trips among these places.

To briefly describe what *Degé Collected Works* is about, it shows which Buddhist masters, deities, rituals, practices, religious lineages, and institutions were related to Tokmé Zangpo's life experience. *Degé Collected Works* also functions as a record of a group of people's inquires about Buddhist doctrines, devotions, and spiritual pursuits. The completion of *Degé Collected Works* exemplifies the success of preserving Tokmé Zangpo's works and his interactions with his fellows after his death in 1369. This success resulted from many factors. First, Tokmé Zangpo established personal scholarly achievements, travelled to preach and teach at different monasteries, helped people with skillful means, and made connections with well-known masters and political leaders. All these activities made Tokmé Zangpo become a master whose works were worthy of printing. Second, Tokmé Zangpo's disciples scribed and organized Tokmé Zangpo's writings or lecture notes. They preserved Tokmé Zangpo's works in the first place. Third, unknown sponsors supported Tokmé Zangpo's studies and retreat. Without their support, it would have been difficult for Tokmé Zangpo to conduct his spiritual pursuit. Those

Chödzong to the Sakya monastery. I did not visit Shalu Monastery. It may take around four hours and a half to drive from the Sakya monastery to Shalu Monastery.

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figures who requested Tokmé Zangpo to compose also made Tokmé Zangpo a productive

writer.

In terms of Lojong, the high percentage of texts related to Lojong teachings in

Degé Collected Works makes this work function as a central source for Tokmé Zangpo's

Loiong philosophy. Such a focus could be one of the editors' purposes, as the editors

could have emphasized other topics in Degé Collected Works. This also represents that

there is flexibility in what should be included in a master's Collected Works. This

flexibility indicates that the editors have the authority to select which topics are important

to them. In the case of *Degé Collected Works*, the image of Tokmé Zangpo as a Lojong

master is emphasized. His image could have been different if the editors had chosen other

topics to include in *Degé Collected Works*. While the colophons of *Degé Collected Works*

do not provide any information about the editors' logic for their arrangement, we can

assume that Tokmé Zangpo as an essential Lojong master is important for editors to point

out for some reason. The next chapter further examines these texts that have the term

Lojong in Degé Collected Works in order to discover Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong

philosophy.

Chapter Five: Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong Lineage in Degé Collected Works

Introduction

As Chapter 4 summarized, there are seven Lojong texts in Tokmé Zangpo's *Degé Collected Works*. The meanings of Lojong in these texts are interrelated, but distinct. This situation does not only exist in Tokmé Zangpo's writings, but is also recognized in *Guide to Your Devotion*. Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo says:

Because [Master Tokmé] performed skillfully in [teaching], [those] monks and *lojong wa* who stayed with him harmonized their own minds in order to apply their virtues to learning, reflection, and meditative stabilization. [Master Tokmé's] state of equanimity did not fade away even for a moment. He advised disciples who have everything at hand to prepare basic necessities for those weak ones, lacking in necessities, who cannot gather food, and drink. [In so doing,] both [those with and without a livelihood can] cultivate virtue. Even though Master [Tokmé] himself did not have basic necessities, having stopped asking for alms in the fall, Master did Lojong [practice]. ³⁵¹

The word "lojong" appears twice in this paragraph. The first is *lojong wa* (*blo sbyong ba*), which can be broadly interpreted as those who cultivate and purify their minds through various practices. Moreover, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo's statement indicates that Tokmé Zangpo knew how to instruct Lojong in a way that was not necessarily restricted to the Kadam mind training practice. The second "lojong" shown at the end, according to this context, could refer to the contemplation practice in which one aims to detach from material goods and comfortable living conditions, or just generally to purify afflictive

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³⁵¹ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 20: thabs mkhas pa'i mdzad pas/_ drung du 'khod pa'i grwa pa/_blo sbyong ba rnams dang /_rang rang gi blo dang 'tshams par thos bsam bsgom gsum gyi dge ba la sbyor zhing /_btang snyoms su yud tsam yang yal bar mi 'dor la/_'tsho ba'i mthun rkyen gyis phongs pa'i nyam chung rnams kyis rgyags chu ma 'dzoms pa yang /_mthun rkyen 'dzoms pa'i bu slob rnams la 'di'i 'tsho ba sbyor gsung ba'i zhal ta mdzad nas/_gnyis ka dge ba sbyor ba dang /_drung pa rang 'tsho ba med kyang ston bsod snyoms bcag nas blo sbyong__mdzad pas/.

emotions of the mind. In contrast, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo used the word Lojong (blo sbyong) to specify Kadam mind training practice in the title of the text: Seven-Point Mind Training (Blo sbyong don bdun ma) and Eight Verses on Mind Training (Blo sbyong tshig rkang brgyad ma).³⁵²

In the other two biographies of Tokmé Zangpo, Ray of Altruism and Drops of Ambrosia, as well as Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong texts, Lojong and another word semkyé (sems bskyed), generation of the awakening mind, are mentioned together. In that case, Lojong is not exclusively referring to the Kadam mind training practice. In order to clarify the usages of Lojong in Tokmé Zangpo's texts in Degé Collected Works, as well as in his biographies, the following discussion first analyzes how the concept of Lojong is used in different contexts. The second section shows that, when Tokmé Zangpo constructs his Lojong lineage, he specifically refers to Lojong as the teaching transmission of seven-point mind training.

Lojong and Bodhicitta

In his definition for Tibetan mind training literature, Thupten Jinpa asserts:

The heart of Tibetan mind training is the cultivation and enhancement of Mahayana Buddhism's highest spiritual ideal, the generation of the awakening mind (*bodhicitta*)—the altruistic aspiration to attain perfect enlightenment for the benefit of all beings. More specifically, "mind training" or *lojong* refers to a specific approach to cultivating the awakening mind.³⁵³

³⁵² See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 18.

³⁵³ See Thupten Jinpa, ed., Mind Training: The Great Collection, 1.

Bodhicitta, awakening mind, is a concept that has different aspects and translations.³⁵⁴ In the context of Lojong, as mentioned in Thupten Jinpa's statement, *bodhicitta* is emphasized through its ethical aspect. The ethical aspect of *bodhicitta* connotes that practitioners reach a stage in which they do not just focus on personal enlightenment, but they enlarge their ethical concerns to all sentient beings. Dorji Wangchuk denotes this ethical dimension of *bodhicitta*:

'Ethico-spiritual' *bodhicitta* is the idea of *bodhicitta* in its most basic sense, that is, the resolve to become a *buddha* out of compassion or altruism, that is, for the sake of other sentient beings. It is only in this sense that the word *bodhicitta* can be translated as 'resolve [to strive] for awakening.'³⁵⁵

When someone completely reaches such a mental stage, that person becomes similar to Śāntideva's (ca. eighth century) description in his *Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life* (*Bodhicaryāvatāra*, *Byang chub sems pa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa*):

May I become the protector of those without protection, the guide for those on the path, the boat, the bridge and the causeway for those wishing to go to the other shore.

May I become a lamp for those desiring a lamp, a bed for those desiring a bed, a slave for all beings desiring a slave.

May I become the wish-fulfilling gem, the miracle urn, a successful mantra, a universal remedy, the wish-fulfilling tree and the wish-fulfilling cow for all beings.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁵ In his comprehensive study, Dorji Wangchuk differentiates and expounds upon five types of *bodhicitta*: (a) ethico-spiritual, (b) gnoseological, (c) ontological, (d) psycho-physiological, (e) semeiological. This dissertation concerns the first type. See Dorji Wangchuk, *The Resolve to Become a Buddha: A Study of the Bodhicitta Concept in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, 196.

³⁵⁴ See Dorji Wangchuk, *The Resolve to Become a Buddha: A Study of the Bodhicitta Concept in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, 144-166.

³⁵⁶ See Francis Brassard, *The Concept of Bodhicitta in Śāntideva's Bodhicaryāvatāra* (N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2000), 46-7.

After translating these verses in his book, Francis Brassard interprets that when someone attains such mental state, this person is "an accomplished Bodhisattva: a person who is, in all aspects of the spiritual as well as material life, of benefit for all sentient beings." This mental stage of *bodhicitta* is the goal that Tibetan Lojong practitioners aim to achieve.

The Tibetan rendering for bodhi is jang chup (byang chub), and for the Sanskrit citta is sem (sems). Then the Sanskrit compound bodhicitta in Tibetan is translated into jang chup kyi sem (byang chub kyi sems). The generation of awakening mind in Tibetan is rendered as semkvé (sems bskved). While Sem (mind, sems) itself has multiple meanings, in this context it specifically refers to jang chup kyi sem (byang chub kyi sems), awakening mind. Kyé (bskyed) means "engender," "produce," and "generate." The purpose of Lojong practice is to cultivate and transform the regular mind state, lo (blo), to eventually acquire a stage of jang chup kyi sem (byang chub kvi sems), bodhicitta, awakening mind. This acquisition is semkyé (sems bskved): generation of awakening mind. When Lojong is put together with the word semkyé (sems bskyed), it refers to such cultivation in which practitioners aspire to generate an awakening mind that has the aspect of universal compassion in which they liberate all sentient beings from sufferings. Thus these two words, Lojong and semkyé (sems bskyed), are interrelated concepts. Semkyé can be regarded as a refined result of Lojong practice. This relation explains why in both Tokmé Zangpo's biographies and

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 47.

his writings in *Degé Collected Works*, Lojong and *semkyé* sometimes are mentioned together.

As presented in Chapter 2, as part of Tokmé Zangpo's education, he learned a variety of Buddhist doctrines. It is interesting to notice that, among occasions of Tokmé Zangpo's preaching mentioned in his earliest three biographies, miraculous signs such as a rain of flowers only occurred when he taught the topics related to the generation of the awakening mind (*semkyé*, *sems bskyed*) and Lojong. In *Ray of Altruism*, Pelgyi Rinchen tells:

It is known that, in Ngülchu, when [Master Tokmé] talked about great bodhisattvas, the Buddha's previous life stories, Lojong, generation of the awakening mind, etc. for great gatherings of lay devotees and monks, a blizzard of flowers from the god realm like snow descended. 358

Similarly, in *Drops of Ambrosia*, Penden Yéshé says:

Furthermore, [Master Tokmé] was also invited to monastic centers, [such as] Pakmodru, Samye, Lhasa, Gungtang, etc. where monasteries are located. When [he] instructed and preached many Buddhist doctrines such as Lojong and generation of the awakening mind, many miraculous signs, [such as] a rain of flowers, occurred in different places. 359

³⁵⁹See Penden Yéshé, Rgyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa, Drops of Ambrosia, in Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu, 26.6-27.1: gzhan yang gdan swa phag mo gru_/_bsam yas/_lha sa/_gung thang sogs chos sde phal cher du'ang gdan drangs shing byon te/_sems bskyed dang /_blo sbyong la sogs chos du ma tshogs chos dang khrid chos su gsungs pas gnas tha dad du me tog gi char sogs ngo mtshar ba'i ltas du ma byung zhing...

³⁵⁸ See Pelgyi Rinchen, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer, Ray of Altruism, 163: dngul chur dge 'dun dang skye bo'i tshogs chen po la sems bskyed _blo sbyong_ dang skyes rabs dang byang chub sems dpa' la sogs pa gsungs pa'i dus su/_lha'i me tog kha ba bu yug 'tshubs pa tsam 'bab ces grag go.

As for *Guide to Your Devotion*, a rain of flowers descended when Tokmé Zangpo preached Śāntideva's *Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life* around age seventy, ³⁶⁰ which is a crucial source of Kadam mind training literature.

Furthermore, one may wonder if there should be a difference between *lo* (*blo*) in the word Lojong, and *sem* (*sems*) in the word *semkyé* (*sems bskyed*). Although both *lo* and *sem* are translated into "mind," the mental state between *lo* (*blo*) and *sem* (*sems*) is distinct in the Lojong literature. This question is related to the Tibetan topic on "Awareness and Knowledge" (*blo rig*), which is the study of consciousness and mind. The following is a general description that is common at least to the Sautrāntika (Sūtra school), Chittamātra (Mind Only philosophical system), and Mādhyamika (Middle Way philosophical system) tenets systems:

Consciousness ($j\tilde{n}\tilde{a}na$, shes pa), awareness (buddhi, blo), and knower (samvedena, rig pa) are synonymous; they are the broadest terms among those dealing with the mind. Any mind (citta, sems) or mental factor (chaitta, sems byung) is a consciousness, is an awareness, is a knower. These terms should be understood in an active sense because minds are momentary consciousness which are active agents of knowing.

While these definitions do not differentiate *lo* from *sems* that much, in this particular context of Lojong practice, practitioners have to cultivate their *lo* (*blo*), in order to transform it to *sem* (*sems*).

³⁶¹ There are four systems of Buddhist tenets studies in Tibet: Vaibhāṣhika (Great Exposition School), Sautrāntika, Chittamātra, and Mādhyamika, in ascending order. See Lati Rinbochay and Elizabeth Napper, *Mind in Tibetan Buddhism: Oral Commentary On Ge-shay Jam-bel-sam-pel's Presentation of Awareness and Knowledge, Composite of All the Important Points, Opener of the Eye of New Intelligence* (London: Rider, 1980), 15.

³⁶⁰ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 38.

The usage of the word Lojong emerged in the early Kadam masters' writings, such as in Potowa's (Po to ba, 1027/1031-1105) letter and Dromtönpa's ('Brom ston rgyal ba 'byung gnas, 1004/1005-1064) sayings. Then finally Sé Chilbu (Se spyil bu, 1121-1189) explicitly employed the term Lojong for his commentary on Chékhawa's ('Chad kha ba, 1101-1175) *Seven-Point Mind Training (Blo sbyong don bdun ma'i 'grel pa*). In these writings, the "giving and taking" (tonglen, gtong len) contemplation practice is mentioned as the primary method to cultivate loving kindness, compassion, and eventually the awakening mind. In text 113, "Reply to Questions in the Last Will of Gyeltsen," in *Degé Collected Works*, Tokmé Zangpo regarded the "giving and taking" practice as the most important aspect of the Lojong teachings.

In Tokmé Zangpo's commentary on *Seven-Point Mind Training*, the word Lojong particularly refers to a set of seven aspects for practitioners to contemplate. The first aspect is the presentation of the preliminaries. One reflects on fortune and the opportunity to be reborn as a human being so that one can practice this supreme mind training.

The second aspect is training in the two awakening minds. One spiritual exercise is to cultivate ultimate awakening mind in which one contemplates the meaning of emptiness. The other is to cultivate conventional awakening mind in which one imagines exchanging one's happiness with another's suffering. This exchange is the "giving and taking" (tonglen) meditation practice. The most common way of starting is to visualize the presence of one's mother and to cultivate loving kindness and compassion toward her. Then one recalls her deep kindness and so thinks to take all her suffering during her cyclic existence. The giving part is to imagine unconditionally offering one's wealth, life,

and virtue to one's beloved mother. The second session of this giving and taking practice is to apply the same process toward all sentient beings.

The third aspect is transforming adversities into the path of enlightenment. This meditation session helps one to recognize that the ethical enemy who obstructs one's relationship with others is self-grasping, the major cause of one's destructive emotions. Based on this understanding, one resolves to destroy this enemy and recognize sentient beings as friends through contemplating that they were one's beloved relatives from past lifetimes.

The fourth aspect is the reflection on a lifetime's practice. This part is about how to employ the five powers to support one's training.

The sixth and the seventh aspects are to reflect upon the commitment and precepts of mind training respectively.

According to the aforementioned description, we can see that this seven-aspect practice is to develop one's character. That cultivation aims to lessen one's self-centered concern and then to extend one's domain of the "self" in order to encompass those who were previously understood to be outside of its sphere. This practice helps one change one's former habitual patterns and learn to have a new mindset and character. When one undertakes this new pursuit, one embarks on self-formation and transformation. That giving and taking meditation supports one in generating compassion toward others who are not originally related to oneself. The third aspect about blaming self-grasping as the single cause of all conflicts reminds one of one's responsibility. One is always responsible for investigating how one's mental status is attached to a certain view,

personal identity, sensual desire, etc. That attachment is combined with self-grasping and it arouses negative emotion, such as hatred. Whenever "I" feel that someone challenges "my" view, "my" self-esteem, "my" benefits, etc., I would feel hatred. Thus, Lojong in this context is the process of character development. This development provides practitioners with a lens to examine the process in which they train themselves to have certain virtues of character. Then they can achieve an ethical goal through such gradual self-cultivation.

Beginning in the eleventh century, Kadam masters discussed a variety of different ways to practice Lojong in order to cultivate their compassionate character. Then, by Tokmé Zangpo's lifetime (1295-1369) in the fourteenth century, the word Lojong expanded its meanings and it could refer to other contemplation practices, such as those aforementioned in *Guide to Your Devotion*. This situation may partly have resulted from the word Lojong having different dimensions. This fact is reflected in different translations of the word in modern scholarship, as presented in the Introduction. Lojong has two syllables. The first syllable *lo* (*blo*) can denote "mind," "thoughts," or "attitude." *Jong* (*sbyong*) can stand for training in a skill, habituating with specific ways of thinking, cultivating certain mental qualities, or purifying negative emotions. ³⁶² Thus, any Buddhist text that aims to transform negative emotions and further generate compassion can be broadly categorized as the Lojong literature. Arranging texts into the Lojong category did not occur until the first Lojong anthology *Mind Training: The Great*

³⁶² See Thupten Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, 1.

Collection (Blo sbyong brgya rtsa, hereafter called Great Collection), which was compiled by Zhönnu Gyelchok (Gzhon nu rgyal mchog, birth 14th century) and Könchok Gyeltsen (Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan, 1388-1469) in the fifteenth century. Great Collection includes texts composed by the Sakya scholars before Tokmé Zangpo's time. While Tokmé Zangpo was affiliated with the Sakya school, as stated in his biographies, his text on Lojong transmission does not include any Sakya master. The different inclusions of Lojong masters between Tokmé Zangpo and the editors of Great Collection indicate that they had different philosophies in defining the Lojong tradition. The following section discusses the concept of Lojong tradition.

The Establishment of Lojong Lineage

The first Lojong text in *Degé Collected Works* is text 9, "Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters." As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, Tokmé Zangpo praised the good qualities of twenty-three masters who transmitted the teachings of Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) Lojong practice. The list of these twenty-three masters represents Tokmé Zangpo's concept of Lojong lineage. These masters are as follows. The way Tokmé Zangpo addressed them is put in parentheses in this list: 1. The Buddha (*shAkya'i tog*). 2. Maitreya (*mi pham mgon*). 3. Asaṅga (*'phags pa thogs med*). 4. Vasubandhu (*dbyig gi gnyen*). 5. Ārya Vimuktisena (*rnam grol ste*). 6. Bhadanta Vimuktisena (*btsun pa rnam grol sde*). 7. Gunamitra (*gu Na mi tra*). 8. Haribhadra (*seng ge bzang*). 9. Kusulu (*ku su*

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Text 9, "Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters," is located in Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, Degé Collected Works, 27.2-31.5.

lu). 10. Kusulu the Second (ku su lu gnyis pa). 11. Serlingpa (gser gling ba). 12. Atiśa (mar me mdzad). 13. Dromtönpa (rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas ston pa). 14. Potowa (rin chen gsal mdzad pu to ba). 15. Sharawa (yon tan mchog gis grags pa'i sha ra ba). 16. Chékawa ('chad ka ba). 17. Gyelwasé (rgyal ba se). 18. Kyéchoklha (skyes mchog lha). 19. Lhadingpa (lha sdings pa). 20. Lhadingwön (lha sdings dbon). 21. Yöntenpel (yon tan dpal). 22. Dewapel (bde ba dpal). 23. Kazhiba (bka' bzhi ba). 24. Sönam Drakpa (bsod nams grags).

In Tokmé Zangpo's list, masters number 13 to number 24 are all affiliated with the Kadam school. Master 12 is Atiśa, who inspired his followers to establish the Kadam tradition. Masters 10 and 11 were Atiśa's teachers, who transmitted to him how to generate awakening mind. Master number 10 Kusulu the Second (*ku su lu gnyis pa*) is alternatively called Maitrīyogi (*byams pa'i rnal 'byor pa*), meaning a person who solely meditated on Maitreya. Sometimes Tokmé Zangpo addressed him Lama Maitrīyogi (*bla ma byams pa'i rnal 'byor pa*).

While Tokmé Zangpo did not explain his theory by which he selected masters to be included in his list, we can have a clue from his chosen twenty-fourth master, Sönam Drakpa (Bsod nams grags pa, 1273-1345). Before Sönam Drakpa, Tokmé Zangpo wrote one or two sentences to praise other masters. For Sönam Drakpa, Tokmé Zangpo addressed him as "The Lord of Dharma" (*chos kyi rje*), and he wrote ten verses (forty

³⁶⁴ See Thupten Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, 8.

³⁶⁵ Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, Degé Collected Works, 187.6, and 432.6.

sentences) to revere this Lord of Dharma. In Tokmé Zangpo's writings, he rarely acclaimed a person with this title. In his three earliest biographies, this title was almost exclusively used by all his biographers when they mentioned Tokmé Zangpo. Thus "The Lord of Dharma" is not just employed out of respect for a master. For Tokmé Zangpo, this title was adopted when there was a closer master-disciple relationship.

In terms of Sönam Drakpa, he taught Tokmé Zangpo Seven-Point Mind Training, and he was mentioned by all three of the earliest Tokmé Zangpo's biographies. In his Lamp Illuminating the History of the Kadam Tradition (Bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me, hereafter called Illuminating the History of the Kadam, Léchen Künga Gyeltsen (Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1432-1506, hereafter called Léchen), lists Sönam Drakpa as the last recipient for the "Lineage of Lojong in Innermost Tantra System" (yang gsang sngags lugs kyi blo sbyong gi brgyud pa). This lineage starts from the goddess Tārā transmitting Lojong to Atiśa, then goes from Atiśa to other Kadam masters, and finally goes to Sönam Drakpa. Apparently, this transmission was exclusive to those Kadam masters. In a later passage, Léchen offers a brief biography of Sönam Drakpa. This brief biography shows that Sönam Drakpa most studied Atiśa's works, Seven-Point Mind Training, Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life, etc.

³⁶⁶ Please see first Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 18. 28. Second, see Pelgyi Rinchen, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer, Ray of Altruism, 125, 161. Third, see Penden Yéshé, Rgyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa, Drops of Ambrosia, in Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu, 18.7, 29.2-3.

³⁶⁷ See Léchen Künga Gyeltsen, *Bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me*, *Lamp Illuminating the History of the Kadam Tradition*, 580-1.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 585-591.

In addition to Sönam Drakpa, Tokmé Zangpo's educational background was influenced in several more ways by the Kadam tradition. In his list, master number 14, Potowa (Po to pa rin chen gsal, 1027-1105), number 15, Sharawa (Sha ra ba yon tan grags, 1070-1141), and number 16, Chékawa ('Chad ka ba, 1101-1175), established the "Kadam lineage of treatises" (*gzhung pa*). This tradition focuses on the study of the six treatises: 1. *Ornament of the Great Vehicle Sutras (mdo sde rgyan)*, 2. *Levels of the Bodhisattva (byang chub sems dpa'i sa)*, 3. *Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life (spyod 'jug)*, 4. *A Garland of Birth Stories (skyes rabs)*, 5. *Compendium of Trainings (bslab pa kun btus)*, and 6. *Sayings of the Buddha (ched du brjod pa'i tshoms)*. Except for the sixth treatise, Tokmé Zangpo studied and taught the other five texts, as described in his biographies. Tokmé Zangpo studied and taught the other five texts, as described in his biographies. He also composed commentaries on *Ornament of the Great Vehicle Sutras*, and *Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life*.

Another piece of textual information indicates that Tokmé Zangpo's construction of his list might have been affected by a Kadam master. This text is *Mahayana Mind*

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³⁶⁹ See Luosang Kaizhu 罗桑开珠, *Zang chuan fo jiao wen hua gai lun* 藏传佛教文化概论 (Beijing: Zhong guo zang xue chu ban she, 2013), 46.

³⁷⁰ Please see first, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 10, 18, 22-23, and 38. Second, see Pelgyi Rinchen, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer, Ray of Altruism*, 86, 89, 91, and 163. Third, see Penden Yéshé, *Rgyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa*, *Drops of Ambrosia*, in *Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu*, 11.2, 13.2-3.

³⁷¹ See Tokmé Zangpo, *Theg pa chen po mdo sde'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa rin po che'i phreng ba*, [TBRC W13914] (Gangtok: Gonpo tsetan, 1979).

³⁷² See Tokmé Zangpo, *Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i 'grel pa legs par bshad pa'i rgya mtsho*, [TBRC W00KG03] (Gser rta rdzong: Gser ljongs bla ma rung lnga rig nang bstan slob grwa chen mo, 2005).

Training (theg pa chen po'i blo sbyong), the authorship of which is unknown. It is text 33, "Mahayana Mind Training," in *Great Collection*.³⁷³ In the traditional homage part in the beginning, and in the colophon at the end of this text, the author points out the following sublime Lojong transmission. The way the author addressed these masters is put in parentheses:³⁷⁴

1. Maitreya (*byams pa*). 2. Asanga (*thogs med*). 3. Serlingpa (*gser gling ba*). 4. Atiśa (*jo bo rja*). 5. Dromtönpa (*stano pa*). 6. Potowa (*pu to*). 7. Sharawa (*shar ra ba*). 8. Chékawa (*mal gro*). ³⁷⁵ 9. Drakmarwa (*brag dmar ba*).

This anonymous author in a later passage mentions that Atiśa received the Lojong teaching from Maitrīyogi (*byams pa'i rnal 'byor pa*). While the authorship of this text is unknown, according to Thupten Jinpa's research, this text was composed before the completion of Sé Chilbu's (Se spyil bu, 1121-1189) commentary on *Seven-Point Mind Training*. Also, because the content of this text is different from Sé Chilbu's work, the Lojong transmission stated in *Mahayana Mind Training* is a separate Lojong lineage. When comparing this anonymous writer's Lojong lineage with that of Tokmé Zangpo, we can notice that both Maitreya and Asanga (ca. fourth and fifth centuries) appear in the beginning of their lists. Then the transmission order from Maitrīyogi to masters number 3

³⁷³ See Thupten Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, 299-312.

³⁷⁴ See "*Theg pa chen po'i blo sbyong*," in Könchok Gyeltsen and Zhönnu Gyelchok ed., *Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya rtsa*, 194.

³⁷⁵ Chékawa or Chékhawa is alternatively called Meldro by this author. Chékawa's original name is Yéshé Dorjé. He founded Chékha Monastery ('Chad kha dgon) in Meldro (mal gro). See Thupten Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, note 473 in page 618.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., note 472, page 617.

to 8 in this *Mahayana Mind Training*, is the same with Tokmé Zangpo's order from masters number 10 to 16, in his text 9, "Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters." The content of Tokmé Zangpo's two commentaries on *Seven-Point Mind Training* is different from the content of this text *Mahayana Mind Training*. However, their similar Lojong transmission order shows that the Lojong transmission recorded in the Kadam text had influence on Tokmé Zangpo's thought in creating his Lojong lineage.

Ultimately, we find that the idea of Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong lineage described in his text 9, "Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters," from masters number 2 to 3, and from masters number 10 to 23, is shaped by his involvement with Kadam masters and texts. It is interesting to notice that masters number 4 to 8 recorded in Tokmé Zangpo's list are not mentioned in any Lojong texts included in *Great Collection*. Thus a question arises. How did Tokmé Zangpo build the rest of his transmission order? A clue is in his educational background.

Master number 1 in Tokmé Zangpo's list is the Buddha Shakyamuni. There is no surprise that Tokmé Zangpo traced back his Lojong lineage to the founder of the Buddhist teachings.

As for master number 3 Asaṅga, I suggest that Tokmé Zangpo embraced him into the Lojong lineage not just because Tokmé Zangpo was following the perspective of that anonymous author of "Mahayana Mind Training," but more because he engaged much with Asaṅga's writings. As his biographers point out, Tokmé Zangpo studied most of Asaṅga's major works, including Compendium of Abhidharma (mngon pa kun las btus

pa),³⁷⁷ Five Treatises on Levels (sa sde lnga), and the five treatises that were believed to be transmitted from the future Buddha Maitreya to Asanga (byams chos lnga). ³⁷⁸ Tokmé Zangpo composed a commentary for one of these five treatises, The Sublime Continuum (rgyud bla ma). ³⁷⁹ Moreover, Tokmé Zangpo was admired as the "new Asanga," and he is called "Tokmé" (Asanga in Tibetan) himself. By including Asanga, as well as the later masters related to Asanga's textual tradition, to the Lojong lineage, Tokmé Zangpo established his identity as a distinctive Lojong master.

For masters 5 to 8, Tokmé Zangpo's biographers do not talk about these Indian masters: Ārya Vimuktisena, Bhadanta Vimuktisena, Gunamitra, and Haribhadra. However, *Guide to Your Devotion* mentions that Tokmé Zangpo studied *Ornament for Clear Realization*. Master number 8 is Haribhadra (Seng ge bzang po, ca. late eighth century), who is a well-known Indian commentator on *Ornament for Clear Realization*

³⁷⁷ While all three biographies mention that Tokmé Zangpo wrote a commentary on *Compendium of Abhidharma (mngon pa kun las btus pa)*, so far I have not found it.

Please see first, Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs, Guide to Your Devotion, 6, 9-10, 16, 20, 41. Second, see Pelgyi Rinchen, Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer, Ray of Altruism, 82, 85, 89, 91, 97-9, 105. Third, see Penden Yéshé, Rgyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa, Drops of Ambrosia, in Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu, 11.1, 12.3, 13.3.

³⁷⁹ See Tokmé Zangpo, *Rgyud bla ma'i 'grel pa nges don gsal bar byed pa'i 'od zer*, [TBRC WIKG12063] (Sichuan: sde dge par khang). For scholarship on *The Sublime Continuum (rgyud bla ma)* and Tokmé Zangpo, please see Tsering Wangchuk, "The *Uttaratantra* in the Age of Argumentation: Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltsen and His Fourteenth-Century Interlocutors on Buddha-Lineage" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2009), 171-5.

³⁸⁰ See Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 10. *Ray of Altruism* and *Drops of Ambrosia* do not have this record.

(Abhisamayālaṃkāra, mngon rtogs rgyan). ³⁸¹ Master number 7 Gunamitra is Haribhadra's teacher. Before Haribhadra, master number 5 Ārya Vimuktisena ('Phags pa rnam grol sde, ca. sixth century) also composed his commentary on *Ornament for Clear Realization*. ³⁸² Ārya Vimuktisena's follower was the master number 6 Bhadanta Vimuktisena (Btsun pa rnam grol sde), who also wrote a commentary on *Ornament for Clear Realization*. There is a possibility that Tokmé Zangpo might have read some of these masters' commentaries on *Ornament for Clear Realization*, which is believed to have been revealed to Asaṅga by the future Buddha Maitreya.

Master 4 Vasubandhu, Asanga's brother, is also related to Tokmé Zangpo's studies. Tokmé Zangpo's biographies say that he learned Vasubandhu's (ca. fourth and fifth centuries) works: *The Treatise in Twenty Verses on Consciousness Only*, and *The Treatise in Thirty Verses on Consciousness Only*, *Reasoning for Explanations (rnam bshad rigs pa)*.³⁸³

Therefore, as presented above, Tokmé Zangpo creates his Lojong lineage through connecting two major Mind Only philosophers, Vasubandhu and Asanga, with the commentators of *Ornament for Clear Realization*, and with the Lojong transmissions

³⁸¹ See Haribhadra, *Mngon rtogs rgyan gyi 'grel pa don gsal*, [TBRC W21662] (Se ra byes kyi par khang). Also, translation is in Āryavimuktiṣeṇa, Haribhadra, Maitreyanātha, *Abhisamayālamkāra with vṛtti and ālokā*, trans. Gareth Sparham (Fremont, Calif.: Jain Pub, 2006), 165-319.

³⁸² Translation is in Āryavimuktiṣeṇa, Haribhadra, Maitreyanātha, *Abhisamayālaṃkāra with vṛtti and ālokā*, trans. Gareth Sparham, 3-161.

³⁸³ Please see Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*, *Guide to Your Devotion*, 10, 16-7. Furthermore, see Pelgyi Rinchen, *Rgyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer*, *Ray of Altruism*, 97-98.

asserted by some Kadam masters. Tokmé Zangpo's educational background and his engagement with the related textual tradition led him to establish such a Lojong lineage.

Tokmé Zangpo's order of this Lojong lineage was inherited by his student Penden Yéshé as well as by the Fifth Dalai Lama. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the 114th text "Hearing Transmission," in *Dege Collected Works* has section one written by Penden Yéshé, and section two composed by Tokmé Zangpo. Then the Fifth Dalai Lama added five lineages of Lojong transmission right after Penden Yéshé's second colophon at the end of text 114.

In the beginning of the first section in text 114, "Hearing Transmission," Penden Yéshé listed the same order of Lojong transmission stated in Tokmé Zangpo's text 9, "Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters," except for an additional master, Gangwa Pel (Gang ba spel). In Tokmé Zangpo's list, between masters number 8 Haribhadra and number 9 Kusulu, Penden Yéshé added master Gangwa Pel. The reason for this addition is unclear. A possible explanation is that Penden Yéshé wanted to fill the time gap between the masters. Gangwa Pel's lifetime was around the ninth to the tenth century, which was between the time of Haribhadra and Kusulu. Furthermore, Gangwa Pel wrote a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Treasury of Knowledge (Abhidharma-kośa)*. As there are many masters related to Asaṅga's textual tradition in Tokmé Zangpo's list,

³⁸⁴ See Penden Yéshé, "Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo," in Tokmé Zangpo, Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, Degé Collected Works, 430.4.

³⁸⁵ Gangwa Pel's original Sanskrit name is Purnavardhana. His TBRC entry is P4CZ15467.

³⁸⁶ See Gangwa Pel, "Chos mngon pa'i mdzod kyi 'grel bshad mtshan nyid kyi rjes su 'brang ba," in Bstan 'gyur, [TBRC W1PD95844] (Pe cin: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008), vol. 81, 936-1808.

Penden Yéshé might have added Gangwa Pel in order to increase the association with Vasubandhu. Later, the Fifth Dalai Lama accepted Penden Yéshé's addition, and he abbreviated Gangwa Pel's name to Gangpel (*gang spel*), as presented in Lineage One in Chapter 3.³⁸⁷

After offering this transmission list, Penden Yéshé narrates the birth of Serlingpa and how Serlingpa became an outstanding master who knew well about the practice of generating the awakening mind. Then Penden Yéshé continues to talk about the birth of Atiśa and the way that Atiśa learned the Lojong practice from Dharmarakşita (*d+harma rak+Shi ta*), Maitrīyogi, and Serlingpa. After Atiśa's arrival in Tibet, Penden Yéshé describes how the Lojong teachings were transmitted to different masters. This part of the transmission corresponds to masters number 13 to 24 as stated in Tokmé Zangpo's list, except for master number 18 Kyéchoklha (*skyes mchog lha*). ³⁸⁸ Finally Penden Yéshé asserts that this Lojong practice transmitted to Gyelsé Tokmé, who became well-known as the second Avalokiteśvara. ³⁸⁹ It is interesting to notice that Penden Yéshé refers to his work as a brief life story of Tokmé Zangpo. ³⁹⁰ Tokmé Zangpo is not mentioned until the end of the text. Most of the narration is Atiśa's life story and how Atiśa brought the

³⁸⁷ See Tokmé Zangpo and Penden Yéshé, "Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo," in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, Degé Collected Works, 592.3.

³⁸⁸ Masters 13 to 16, Dromtönpa, Potowa, Sharawa, and Chékawa are mentioned in Penden Yéshé's narration in the same order as in Tokmé Zangpo's list. The transmission from master 17 Sé Chilbu (who is called Gyelwasé by Tokmé Zangpo) to master 24 Sönam Drakpa, then to Tokmé Zangpo is located in Ibid., 450.5-451.3.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 451.2-3: spyan ras gzigs gnyis par gyur pa'i rgyal sras thogs med ces mtshan yongs su grags pa de la'o/.

³⁹⁰ The first part of "Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo" that was authored by Penden Yéshé is located in Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, Degé Collected Works, 431.1-451.6.

Lojong teachings to Tibet. Apparently Penden Yéshé's purpose is to emphasize the authority and authenticity of Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong transmission that can be traced to Atiśa. A similar strategy was employed by the compilers of *Great Collection*: Zhönnu Gyelchok (Gzhon nu rgyal mchog, birth fourteenth century) and Könchok Gyeltsen (Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan, 1388-1469).

Zhönnu Gyelchok and Könchok Gyeltsen selected forty-three texts to be included in this first Lojong anthology. The first three texts, "Bodhisattva's Jewel Garland," "How Atiśa Relinquished His Kingdom and Sought Liberation," and "The Story of Atiśa's Voyage to Sumatra," are Atiśa's life stories. The authorship of the first two texts is attributed to Dromtönpa (1004-1064), and the third is attributed to Atiśa himself.³⁹¹ Most authorships from texts 5 to 36 can be associated with the Kadam school. Texts 38 to 43 are related to another Lojong teaching, "Parting from the Four Clingings" (*zhen pa bzhi bral*), which was advocated by the Sakya masters. Among these forty-three texts, texts 37, ³⁹² 42, ³⁹³ and 43 ³⁹⁴ were completed after the time of Tokmé Zangpo. While the compilers Zhönnu Gyelchok and Könchok Gyeltsen did not provide a whole transmission

³⁹¹ See Thupten Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, 21-5, 27-55, 57-70. Page 580, note 32. Page 581, notes 40, 41. Page 584, note 100.

³⁹² Text 37 is "Supplement to the Oral Tradition" (*Blo sbyong gsung bgros ma'i kha skong*), composed by Müchen Könchok Gyeltsen (Mus chen dkon mchog rgyal mtshan, 1388-1469). See Könchok Gyeltsen and Zhönnu Gyelchok ed., *Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya rtsa*, 293-367.

³⁹³ Text 42 is discussed below.

³⁹⁴ Text 43 is "A Concise Guide to 'Parting from the Four Clingings'" (*Zhen pa bzhi bral gyi khrid yig*), composed by Gélong Künga Lekpé Rinchen (Dge slong kun dga' legs pa'i rin chen, ca. fifteenth century). See Könchok Gyeltsen and Zhönnu Gyelchok ed., *Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya rtsa*, 386-405, and Thupten Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, p. 652, note 1041.

list to connect the authors of these forty-three texts, including these specific authors indicates their way of constructing the Lojong tradition.

If we regard those forty-three texts as a Lojong lineage, we can notice some interesting similarities and differences between that lineage in *Great Collection* and the lineage stated in text 9, "Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters," in Tokmé Zangpo's *Degé Collected Works*. Both of them include Maitrīyogi, Serlingpa, Atiśa, Dromtönpa, Chékhawa, and Sé Chilbu. To speak more specifically, both of them acknowledge the transmission of seven-point mind training teaching as part of the Lojong lineage.

The noticeable difference is Tokmé Zangpo's exclusion of the Sakya masters from his list. Zhönnu Gyelchok and Könchok Gyeltsen were affliated with the Sakya school. ³⁹⁵ Thus it is understandable for them to embrace the Sakya masters into their textual lineage of Lojong. In the records of his biographies, Tokmé Zangpo studied at the Sakya monastery, received guru yoga empowerment that was exclusive to the Sakya school, was recognized as a spiritual guide at the Sakya monastery, and had interactions with important Sakya scholars. Tokmé Zangpo was associated with the Sakya order in many different ways, but he did not acknowledge any Sakya master in his list in text 9, "Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters," nor did he mention a Sakya scholar in his other Lojong texts in *Degé Collected Works*.

In *Great Collection*, text 39, "Parting from the Four Clingings" (*Rje btsun grags* pa rgyal mtshan gyis mdzad pa'i zhen pa bzhi bral) was composed by Drakpa Gyeltsen

³⁹⁵ See Thupten Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, 13-5.

(grags pa rgyal mtshan, 1147-1216). Text 40, "Unmistaken Instruction on Parting from the Four Clingings" (sa skya paN+Di ta kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyis mdzad pa'i zhen pa bzhi bral gyi gdams pa), was written by Sakya Pandita Künga Gyeltsen (Sa skya paN+Di ta kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1182-1251). 397 These two authors are the third and the fourth Sakva patriarchs respectively. Tokmé Zangpo praised these two prominent Sakva figures in his text 14, "Praise to the Lineage of Masters Who [Had] the Aspiration Awakening Mind and the Engagement Awakening Mind" (smon 'jug sems skyed kyi rgyud pa'i bla ma rnams la bstod pa, hereafter called "Lineage of Masters Who Had Awakening Mind"). 398 Five Sakva patriarchs are all included in this lineage, as previously presented in Chapter 4. According to Tokmé Zangpo's inclusion of the Sakya masters in text 14, "Lineage of Masters Who Had Awakening Mind," and their exclusion in text 9, "Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters," it further shows how Tokmé Zangpo establishes his Lojong lineage. For him, the Lojong lineage is exclusive to the transmission of sevenpoint mind training teachings received by Kadam masters. Even though he praised those Sakya masters who had the awakening mind that the Lojong practices aim to cultivate, they could not count as Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong lineage holders.

While Tokmé Zangpo did not talk about the Lojong teaching, "Parting from the Four Clingings," he was revered by a Sakya scholar who composed a related text on this

³⁹⁶ See Könchok Gyeltsen and Zhönnu Gyelchok ed., *Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya rtsa*, 369-371, and Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, p. 649, note 1011.

³⁹⁷ See Könchok Gyeltsen and Zhönnu Gyelchok ed., *Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya rtsa*, 372, and Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, p. 650, note 1023.

³⁹⁸ See Tokmé Zangpo, *Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum, Degé Collected Works*, 40.6-44.4.

topic, which is *Great Collection* text 42, "A Key to the Profound Essential Points: A Meditation Guide to 'Parting from the Four Clingings'" (*Blo sbyong zhen pa bzhi bral gyi dmigs khrid zab don gnad kyilde'u mig ces bya ba*).³⁹⁹ The author Gorampa Sönam Sengé (Go rams pa bsod nams seng+ge, 1429-1489), referred to Tokmé Zangpo as Gyelsé Chödzong (*rgyal sras chos rdzong*). Then he admired the transmission from Atiśa to Tokmé Zangpo, who received important instructions that were crucial to help practitioners detach from worldly things.⁴⁰⁰

It is worth pointing out that a Geluk scholar, Yéshé Gyeltsen (Ye shes rgyal mtshan, 1713-1793), later composed Tokmé Zangpo's biography and included it into his *Biographies for Lineage of Masters [Who Transmitted] Stages of the Path (Lam rim bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar)*. ⁴⁰¹ The teaching on "stages of the path" (*lam rim*) is advocated by the Geluk school, especially by its founder Tsongkhapa (1357-1419). This teaching emphasizes a gradual method to undertake bodhisattva practice and it originates from the Kadam teaching on "stages of the doctrine" (*bstan rim*). Lojong practice aims to develop *bodhicitta* which is indispensable for bodhisattva practice. Presumably Yéshé Gyeltsen therefore embraced Tokmé Zangpo into his lineage of "stages of the path," even though Tokmé Zangpo himself did not teach this subject or the "stages of the doctrine."

³⁹⁹ See Könchok Gyeltsen and Zhönnu Gyelchok ed., *Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya rtsa*, 375-384, and Jinpa, ed., *Mind Training: The Great Collection*, p. 651, note 1028.

⁴⁰⁰ See Könchok Gyeltsen and Zhönnu Gyelchok ed., *Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya rtsa*, 377.

⁴⁰¹ See Yéshé Gyeltsen, "Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med bzang po dpal gyi rnam thar," in Lam rim bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar, 849-891.

Conclusion

Tokmé Zangpo's life time (1295-1369) was just before the emergence of the first Lojong analogy *Great Collection*. It was a time period in which scholars began establishing their own Lojong tradition. Their educational and affiliation backgrounds affected scholars' mindsets in creating their Lojong lineage. This fact also shows the flexibility they employed in using the Lojong teachings to build their spiritual identity. Unlike the theory of Middle Way philosophy, which created competition and arguments among different Tibetan orders, the Lojong teachings became a less disputed, shared heritage in Tibetan Buddhism. 402

The unique aspect of Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong lineage is his inclusion of the following five masters who are associated with Asanga: Vasubandhu, Ārya Vimuktisena, Bhadanta Vimuktisena, Gunamitra, and Haribhadra. Usually Asanga and Atiśa's masters are included as part of the Lojong lineage. There is a time gap between Asanga (ca. fourth century) and Atiśa's masters (ca. tenth to eleventh century). Tokmé Zangpo used these five masters to create an unbroken transmission that connects the teachings and traces them back to the Buddha Shakyamuni. This transmission order is not recorded in any of those forty-three texts included in *Great Collection*. By so doing, Tokmé Zangpo

⁴⁰² Namkha Pelba (Nam mkha' dpal ba, 1373-1447) discussed "the object of negation" in his commentary on *Seven-Point Mind Training*. That discussion is related to Middle Way philosophy and his viewpoint may not be accepted by all. See Nam-mkha'-dpal, Hor-ston, Brian C. Beresford, and Jeremy Russell, *Mind Training Like the Rays of the Sun = Blo-byong nyi-ma'i 'od-zer* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1992), 107-118.

created a better credibility for his Lojong lineage. In addition, his credibility is rooted in his studies, and the commentarial tradition of Asanga's *Ornament for Clear Realization*. More importantly, Tokmé Zangpo himself was proclaimed as "new Asanga." Embracing a textual lineage of Asanga would not only fill in the time gap of the transmission, but also promote the personal spiritual identity in the community. Especially when that viewpoint of transmission is inherited by immediate followers, such as Penden Yéshé's record in the first section of text 114, "Hearing Transmission," and later accepted by the Fifth Dalai Lama, Tokmé Zangpo's status as a Lojong master is solidified by texts.

Conclusion

This dissertation investigates Tokmé Zangpo's biography and his Collected Works that are related to Lojong teachings. Even though Tokmé Zangpo passed away in 1369 at remote Ngülchü Chödzong, his Lojong character is still alive in biographies, texts, and in communities.

Tokmé Zangpo's unusual empathic attitude as a child, extremely moral behaviors, and intelligence shown at a young age are recorded in his biography Guide to Your Devotion. Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo reputedly interviewed Tokmé Zangpo and those who stayed with him for a long time. Therefore there are three layers of authorship in this biography. Guide to Your Devotion shows that the subject, the biographer, and the community worked together to establish Tokmé Zangpo's identity. While some of the story may not sound reasonable to modern audiences, it invites a modern reader to investigate how Tokmé Zangpo's compassionate image is vividly portrayed in the text. Or, we can trace how his life story could mirror a saint's legend. When interpreting his life story as narrated in Guide to Your Devotion, the real meaning of the biography, as it speaks to us, does not depend on the contingencies of Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo and his original audience. Our interpretation certainly is not identical with theirs, for it is always co-determined by the historical situation or literary world of the interpreters. As Tokmé Zangpo's life story can still be recalled by monks at Bodong É Monastery today, the first three biographers contributed to Tokmé Zangpo's "survival" after his death in the first place. The attitudes of Zhönnu Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, Pelgyi Rinchen, and Penden Yéshé are prostrate toward Tokmé Zangpo as they proclaim his excellent achievements.

However, this rhetorical strategy has an effect of connecting the biographers themselves with this renowned master and bolstering their own lineages and identities.

In addition to his biographies, various editions of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works preserve his identity. While Tokmé Zangpo does not have a reincarnation, his identity as a Lojong master is remembered even today through the Lojong lineage he created. By creating an unbroken transmission line traced back to the Buddha through different Lojong masters, and masters related to his educational background, Tokmé Zangpo indirectly included himself in the legacy of Lojong transmission. He is remembered because he is included in the Lojong transmission by later scholars, such as the Fifth Dalai Lama. This image is emphasized by the inclusion of "Hearing Transmission" and the Fifth Dalai Lama's lineage list presented in *Degé Collected Works*. Through editing or arranging Tokmé Zangpo's writings, Penden Yéshé and the Fifth Dalai Lama associated themselves with Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong transmission. They created their spiritual identities, and at the same time magnified Tokmé Zangpo's identity by such textual formation.

As the editors could have included other works related to Tokmé Zangpo in *Degé Collected Works*, such as his biographies or his commentaries related to other topics, his image could have been different if the editors had chosen other topics to include. This also represents that there is flexibility in what should be included in a master's Collected Works. This flexibility indicates that the editors have the authority to select which topics are important to them. Take the "113 Texts" as an example; texts included in this part are similar to the length of today's articles as they would appear in a book. As Tokmé

Zangpo composed other longer commentaries, the first editing team might have intended to differentiate his shorter writings from longer works.

Sponsors also played a crucial role to sustain Tokmé Zangpo's writings. From the late fourteenth century onwards, different patrons supported the printing projects of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works and Fragmentary Collected Works. The possible earliest patron, Drölma, the female ruler of Chudü, might not even have met Tokmé Zangpo in person. Interestingly, due to Tokmé Zangpo's reputation and her personal devotion, she believed that through printing Tokmé Zangpo's works she could fulfill her mundane goals. Drölma probably contributed to establishing the original model, the "113 Texts," which allowed people to continue printing. In this way, her publication had the effect of canonizing Tokmé Zangpo's writings. The appearance of *Manuscript of Fragmentary Collected Works*, which has the incomplete "113 Texts," indicates that someone or a certain monastery had regarded the "113 Texts" as a sacred scripture that was worth transcribing.

Later, the Fifth Dalai Lama noticed that the "113 Texts" and "Hearing Transmission" were related. He therefore might have combined those two works into a single document. This single document could have become the reference for *Degé Collected Works*. The Fifth Dalai Lama's outline for the "113 Texts" and his list of Lojong lineages added to the end of "Hearing Transmission," offer us information of how Tokmé Zangpo's writings were passed down. He also promoted Tokmé Zangpo's status as a Lojong master in order to authenticate his own Lojong transmission. As for the Degé royal sponsors, Sönam Gönpo and Künga Trinlé Gyatso, similarly to Drölma's

motivation, they meant for the publication of *Degé Collected Works* to bring prosperity to the Degé kingdom. Finally, after this work was brought to the Labrang monastery in the late eighteenth century, *Labrang Collected Works* was printed in the modern book format we have today. The travelling of Tokmé Zangpo's Collected Works through space and time had spread his teachings and prolonged people's memory of him.

One future research topic would be comparing the textual organization between Tokmé Zangpo's and other masters' Collected Works. Among those ten categories of writings in *Degé Collected Works* discussed in Chapter 4, could some of them have been previously adopted? Which form is most unique to *Degé Collected Works*? To what extent is this arrangement similar or different from other Collected Works? The answers for these inquiries may shed light on the formation of Tibetan Collected Works as a genre.

Another further research topic is the concept of lineage in Lojong tradition. Based on the study of Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong transmission, I will look for dialogues with other Buddhist traditions, especially the Chan school, which create their own transmissions to justify their authority and authenticity

In terms of Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong interpretation, future study can take three approaches. One is Tokmé Zangpo's two commentaries on Chekawa's *Seven-Point Mind Training*. His commentary in text 45, "Writings in Oral Transmission of Seven-Point Mind Training, Explained in Fewer Words," is very similar to the first commentary composed by Chekawa's student, Sé Chilbu. The subtle but significant differences between him and Se Chilbu need further investigation. Tokmé Zangpo's second commentary in "Hearing Transmission" is longer and contains Penden Yéshé's writings

in the first section. An analysis of this work and comparison with his text 45 will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of Tokmé Zangpo's Lojong philosophy.

The second approach is about Lojong and ritual performance. There are two ritual texts related to Lojong included in texts: 42, "Atiśa's Way of Ritual for Generating the Aspiration Awakening Mind and the Engagement Awakening Mind," and 44, "Great Master Śāntideva's Way of Ritual for Generating the Aspiration Awakening Mind and the Engagement Awakening Mind." It would be interesting to examine how Tokmé Zangpo differentiates his Lojong practice in the two different ritual systems.

The third approach is Tokmé Zangpo's theory of Lojong, and *bodhicitta* (the awakening mind). There is a manuscript of Tokmé Zangpo not included in any edition of his Collected Works and not discussed in this dissertation. This manuscript is about the generation of *bodhicitta* according to the Mind Only philosophical system. This manuscript could be examined together with Tokmé Zangpo's commentary on Śāntideva's *Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life*, an essential text for Lojong literature and the concept of *bodhicitta*.

Finally, my analysis of *Guide to Your Devotion* contributes to new endeavors in the research of Tokmé Zangpo's biography. For future research, this endeavor establishes a foundation that will enable us to observe how Tokmé Zangpo's life story is differently narrated in *Ray of Altruism* and *Drops of Ambrosia*, as well as re-narrated by later biographers.

Appendix 1



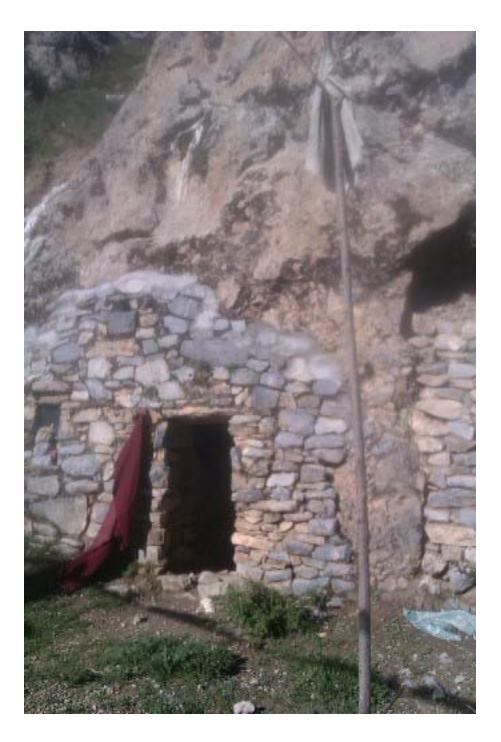
Picture 1. The sign of Ngülchü Chödzong in Tibet.



Picture 2 Scenery of Ngülchü Chödzong



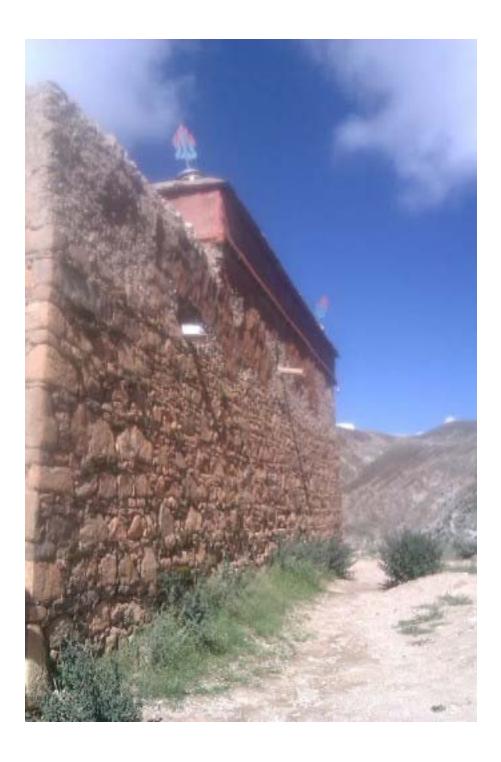
Picture 3. Contemplation places or "caves" in Ngülchü Chödzong. It is unknown when hose caves were built. People were reciting prayers inside when I visited there.



Picture 4. This cave is across from those caves in Picture 3. A local person told me that this is the cave where Tokmé Zangpo practiced before.



Picture 5. I took this picture from inside of the cave in Picture 4



Picture 6. This is Ngülchü Chödzong Monastery that the sign in Picture 1 refers to.



Picture 7. This is Tokmé Zangpo's statue inside of the Monastery in Picture 5.



Picture 8. Local people still come here and prostrate in front of Tokmé Zangpo's statue, as in August 2013.

Appendix 2

Below is an outline of *Degé Collected Works*⁴⁰³ that had yet to be translated into English until now. I differentiate each text according to Tokmé Zangpo's writing style. For example, in most cases, at the end of the text, Tokmé Zangpo wrote: "In terms of this statement, Tokmé, the monk [who] preached dharma...wrote at Ngülchü Chödzong." (chos smra ba'i btsun pa thogs med kyis...dngul chu'i chos rdzong du bkod pa). Usually in the beginning of the text, there is a brief prayer to a bodhisattva or to three treasures. Also, sometimes there is a beginning ornament (*yig mgo*), a cloud-like symbol between the end and the beginning of a text. In the column labeled "the location of text," the first number refers to the side-page number in the folio that is specified by TBRC. The number after the colon refers to the start and the end of each text in the line. There are six lines on each side of the folio. In most cases, the title of the text can be identified at the end of each text. For those texts not given titles, I name their titles according to their content and use the 5th Dalai Lama's outline for Tokmé Zangpo's "113 Texts." ⁴⁰⁴ I also use TBRC's outline for Tokmé Zangpo's Bhutan Fragmentary Collected Works 405 as my reference

⁴⁰³ Rgyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum [TBRC W00EGS1016240] (Sichuan: Sde dge par khang chen mo, no publication date).

⁴⁰⁴ See Lozang Gyatso, Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang+g+A'i chu rgyun las, in Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum, vol. 2, 110-5.

⁴⁰⁵ Tokmé Zangpo and Penden Yéshé, *Rgyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu* [TBRC W2CZ6641] (Thimphu: Kun bzang stobs rgyal, 1975).

The Text Title	The Location of
	Text
Title Page: Collected Works of Bodhisattva, Tokmé Zangpo (rgyal	p. 1
ba'i sras po thogs med bzang po'i bka' 'bum bzhugs so)	
1. Praise to Compassionate Jampéyang Khöntön ('jam pa' dbyangs 'khon ston thugs rje can la bstod pa)	<i>i</i> p. 2:1-3:4
2. Verses on Praise to Noble Masters (bla ma dam pa la bstoc pa'i tshigs su bcad pa)	p. 3:4-7:1
3. Verses on Praise to Glorious and Noble Masters to Generate Faith (dpal ldan bla ma dam pa la bstod pa'i tshigs su bcae pa dad pa skyed byed)	
4. Verses on Supplication to Well Learned and Great Lotsāwa Lodrö Tenpa (<i>mkhan chen lo tsA ba chen po blo gros brtan pa la gsol ba 'debs pa'i tshigs su bcad pa</i>)	
5. Verses on Supplication to Omniscient and Precious Butön the Noble Master and the Lord of Dharma (bla ma dam pe chos rje bu ston rin po che thams cad mkhyen pa la gso ba 'debs pa'i tshigs su bcad pa)	i
6. Supplication and Praise to Noble Lama, Glorious Lord of Dharma (chos rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa la bstod po gsol 'debs dang bcas pa) ⁴⁰⁶	
7. The Way of Supplication to the Simultaneous Arising and Connection [of the] Great Seal Lineage (phyag rgya cher po lhan cig skyes sbyor gyi brgyud pa la gsol ba 'debs pa' tshul)	i i
8. Verses on Prostration to the Lineage of Masters Who [Gave] Direct Instructions (dmar khrid brgyud pa'i bla mo	

⁴⁰⁶ "bla ma dam pa" literally means noble master. Here refers to Lama Dampa Sönam Gyeltsen (bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan, 1312-1375).

la phyag 'tshal ba'i tshigs su bcad pa)	
9. Verses on Supplication to the Lineage of Mahāyāna Lojong Masters (theg pa chen po blo sbyong gi bla ma rgyud pa la gsol ba 'debs p'i tshigs su bcad pa)	p. 27:2-31:5
10. Verses on Supplication to the Lineage of Masters Who [Taught] Essence of Interdependence (rten 'brel snying po'i bla ma brgyud pa la gsol ba 'debs pa'i tshigs su bcad pa)	p. 31:5-34:2
11. Prostration to the Eleven-Faced <i>Avalokiteśvara</i> Family (zhal bcu gcig po'i rgyud pa la phyag 'tshal ba)	p. 31:5-36:3
12. Praise to Five-Deity Amoghapāśa [Avalokiteśvara] Family (don yod zhags pa lha lnga rgyud pa dang bcas pa'i bstod pa)	p. 36:3-38:6
13. Prostration to the Lineage of Masters [Who Transmitted] Bodhisattva's Vows (byang sems sdom pa'i rgyud pa'i bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal ba)	p. 37:1-40:6
14. Praise to the Lineage of Masters Who [Had] the Aspiration Awakening Mind and the Engagement Awakening Mind (smon 'jug sems skyed kyi rgyud pa'i bla ma rnams la bstod pa)	p. 40:6-44:4
15. Praise to the Lineage of Experts [in] Full-Ordination Precepts (bsnyen rdzogs sdom pa'i mkhan rgyud la bstod pa)	p. 44:4-47:2
16. Prostration to the Lineage of Masters Who [Received] Sumpa Lotsāwa's Oral Transmission (sum pa lo tsA ba'i snyan rgyud kyi/rgyud pa'i bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal ba)	p. 47:2-6
17. Supplication to the Lineage of Masters Who Brought Happiness and Suffering to the Path (skyid sdug lam 'khyer gyi rgyud pa'i bla ma la gsol ba 'debs pa)	p. 47:6-48:6
18. Prostration to the Lineage of Masters Who [Transmitted] Three Essential Meanings (<i>snying po don gsum gyi bla ma rgyud pa la phyag 'tshal ba</i>)	p. 49:1-50:1
19. Great Adoring Praise to the Buddhas of Ten Directions	p. 50:1-51:5
	J

(phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas la bstod pa rgyal ba mnyes byed)	
20. Praise: Supreme Offering to Please the Victor (bstod tshig rgyal ba mnyes pa'i mchod pa bla med)	p. 51:5-56:5
21. Praise to Sixteen Bodhisattvas from the Introduction of Sutra: Vows of the Medicine Buddha of Lapis Lazuli Crystal Radiance and Seven Past Buddhas (de bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi sngon gyi smon lam gyi khyad par rgyas pa'i mdo'i gleng gzhi las 'byung ba'i byang chub sems dpa' bcu drug gi bstod pa)	p. 56:5-57:4
22. Prostration to Deities Who [Surround] Tathāgata [Who Are the] Seven Medicine Buddhas (sman bla'i de bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi 'khor gyi lha tshogs la phyag 'tshal ba)	p. 57:4-58:3
23. Praise to the Supermundane Victor, the Buddha (sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi bstod pa)	p. 58.3-61:1
24. Praise to Mañjuśrī ('jam pa'i dbyangs la bstod pa)	p. 61:1-63:3
25. Rhetorical Garland: The Praise to The Noble Lord Avalokiteśvara ('phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug gi bstod pa tshig rgyan me tog gi phreng ba)	p. 63:4-67:5
26. Twenty-Five Verses on Praise to The Noble Lord Avalokiteśvara ('phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug la bstod pa sh+lo+o ka nyi shu rtsa lnga ba)	p. 67:5-71:4
27. Praise to the Supermundane Protector Maitreya (bcom ldan 'das mgon po byams pa la bstod cing gsol ba)	p. 71:4-72:1
28. Praise to the Supermundane Victress, Tārā (<i>bcom ldan 'das ma sgrol ma la bstod pa</i>)	p. 72:1-75:3
29. Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas (<i>rgyal sras lag len so bdun ma</i>) ⁴⁰⁷	p. 75:3-81:6

⁴⁰⁷ The word "Thirty-Seven" is not given in the title by Tokmé Zangpo. In *Guide to Your Devotion*, the name of the text is "*rgyal sras lag len*." This text is well known today as "Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas," so I added "Thirty-Seven" to the title.

30. Verse One on Teaching at Bodong É Monastery ⁴⁰⁸	p. 81:6-82:2
31. Verse Two on Teaching at Bodong É Monastery ⁴⁰⁹	p. 82:2-3
32. Precious Garland: Preaching on the Urge to Practice Dharma (chos la bskul ba'i gtam rin po che'i phreng ba)	p. 82:3-86:6
33. Precious Ornaments: Preaching on the Urge to Practice Dharma (chos la bskul ba'i gtam rin po che'i rgyan)	p. 86:6-89:2
34. Advice about One's Own Mind (rang gi sems la gros 'debs pa)	p. 89:2-91:6
35. Advice to Myself (rang la gros 'debs pa'i gtam)	p. 91:1-92:6
36. Advice to Disciples (slob ma rnams la gdams pa)	p. 92:6-96:3
37. Advice on Encouraging Words to Myself (rang la bskul ba'i gtam)	p. 96:3-98:3
38. Encouraging Words to Myself (rang la bskul ba)	p. 98:4-99:1
39. Ask Yourself about Afflictions [in Your Mind] ⁴¹⁰	p. 99:1-100:2
40. First Instruction at the Door for Those Who Want to Visit Me (sgo yig dang po bdag la phrad 'dod ma) ⁴¹¹	p.100:2-100:5
41. The Remainder of My Previous Karma Is Unextinguished (bdag ni sngon gyi las 'phro mi bzad pa) ⁴¹²	p.100:5-101:2
42. Atiśa's Way of Ritual for Generating the Aspiration Awakening Mind and the Engagement Awakening Mind ⁴¹³	p. 101:2-141:1

⁴⁰⁸ The title is not specified in this text. I name this text according to its content.

 $^{^{409}}$ This short verse is about that fact that one's happiness depends on virtuous friends. The title is not specified in this text. I name this text according to its content.

⁴¹⁰ I name this text according to its content.

⁴¹¹ The title I translate here is given by the Fifth Dalai Lama.

 $^{^{\}rm 412}$ According to the content, I chose the first sentence as the text title.

⁴¹³ I name this text according to its content and the sentence at the end of the text: *smon 'jug gi sems skyed kyi cho ga_jo bo chen po'i gzhung las ji ltar 'byung ba rnams bla ma rnams kyi phyag len dang sbyar nas/*.

43. Ritual for Oneself Taking [Bodhisattva] Precepts and Generating the Awakening Mind (sems bskyed dang sdom pa rang gis blang ba'i cho ga) ⁴¹⁴	p. 141:1-149:5
44. Great Master Śāntideva's Way of Ritual for Generating the Aspiration Awakening Mind and the Engagement Awakening Mind (slob dpon chen po zhi ba lha'i lugs kyi smon 'jug sems bskyed kyi cho ga)	p. 149:6-186:6
45. Writings in Oral Transmission of Seven-Point Mind Training, Explained in Fewer Words (blo sbyong don bdun ma'i snyan rgyud kyi tshig rnams/yi ge nyung ngu'i sgo nas bkrol ba)	p. 187:1-217:6
46. Means of Achievement for Great Compassion [which is] the Great Path of Bodhisattva (thugs rje chen po'i sgrub thabs byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi lam chen po)	p. 217:6-231:6
47. Concise [Teachings about] Reciting and Meditation of Great Compassion for the Benefits of Beginners (thugs rje chen po'i bsgom bzlas bsdus pa / las dang po pa 'ga' zhig gi don du)	p. 231:6-236:1
48. [Ritual of] Offering Torma to Great Compassion, Avalokiteśvara (thugs rje chen po gtor ma)	p. 236:1-237:1
49. Steps of Dharma Practice for Virtuous Beginners (dang po'i las can dge ba la sbyor ba'i chos spyod rim pa)	p. 237:1-276:3
50. Steps [for Practice] of "The Essence of Interdependence" (rten 'brel snying po'i khrid kyi rim pa)	p. 276:3-285:4
51. Guru Yoga (bla ma'i rnal 'byor)	p. 285:5-286:4
52. Concise Explanation of Clear Realization on Purifying the Lower Realms (ngan song sbyong ba'i mngon rtogs shin tu bsdus pa)	p. 286:4-287:6
53. Instruction on Carrying Happiness and Suffering to the Path (skyid sdug lam 'khyer gyi man ngag)	p. 288:1-293:4

⁴¹⁴ I extract from the Fifth Dalai Lama's title.

54. In Response to Gyeltsenpel, Writing A Master's Life and the Catalogue of Relics (rgyal mtshan dpal gyis bskul ba'i ngor mdzad pa'i bla ma'i rnam thar dang de'i sku gdung gi dkar chag) ⁴¹⁵	p. 293:4-305:5
55. Concise Excellent Speech of the Conqueror (the Buddha) and the Conqueror's Children (Bodhisattvas) (rgyal ba rgyal sras gsung rab bsdus pa)	p. 305:5-332:4
56. Seven-Branch Practices for In-Between Meditation Sessions (thun 'tshams chos spyod yan lag bdun pa)	p. 332:4-334:4
57. Seven-Branch Practices from [Śāntideva's] Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life (byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa las gsungs pa'i yan lag bdun pa)	p. 334:4-344:6
58. Writing Advice in Response to Abbot Shérapdrup ⁴¹⁶	p. 344:6-346:4
59. Advice on the Stages of Lojong to Spiritual Friend, Raptsé (bshes gnyen rab rtse la gdams pa'i blo sbyong gi rim pa)	p. 346:4-348:5
60. Advice to Spiritual Friend, Namkhadrup (bshes gnyen nam mkha' grub la gdams pa)	p. 348:5-350:1
61. Advice to Shakya's Follower, Lodrö Zangpöchen (shAkya'i bstan 'dzin blo gros bzang po'i can gdams pa) ⁴¹⁷	p. 350:2-351:6
62. Advice on Practice to Shakya Zangpo, Good Precept-Holder and Upholder of the Tripitaka ⁴¹⁸	p. 351:6-353:5
63. Letter to Shakya Tendzin Zangpo on The Complete Preparation, Main Practice, and Conclusion of Lojong ⁴¹⁹	p. 353:5-354:4
64. Advice to Kadrukpa ⁴²⁰	p. 354:4-358:1

⁴¹⁵ This master's name is Jangsem Rinchen (*byang sems rin cen*) in the Fifth Dalai Lama's outline, but I cannot locate this name in the text.

 $^{^{416}}$ I name this title according to its content.

⁴¹⁷ The title I translate here is given by the Fifth Dalai Lama.

⁴¹⁸ I name this title according to its content.

 $^{^{\}rm 419}$ I name this title according to its content.

⁴²⁰ I name this title according to its content.

65. Letter Offered to Great Si Tu for the Sake of Protecting A Sinner (si tu chen po la nag can zhig skyob pa'i phyir du phul ba'i 'phrin yig) ⁴²¹	p. 358:1-359:5
66-1. The Reply to Some Questions Asked by Dzokchenpa Chönyi Gyeltsen (bla ma rdzogs chen pa chos nyid rgyal mtshan zhes bya bas dri ba 'ga' zhig bskur ba'i len)	p. 359:5-360:3
66-2. Questions Asked by Dzokchenpa Chönyi Gyeltse ⁴²²	p. 360:3-5
67. The Proper Way to Help and Pray for Those Who Have Harmed [Us] (gnod byed la phan 'dogs pa'i dam bca' dang smon lam gyi tshul)	p. 360:5-362:1
68. Precious Oral Instruction on Noble Doctrines (dam chos sgrub la gces pa'i man ngag)	p. 362:1-366:2
69. In Response to Sönampel, Writing the Proper Way to Have [Four:] View, Meditation, Practice, and Result, and [Three:] Ground, Path, and Result ⁴²³	p. 366:2-368:3
70. Tokmé's Questions to Glorious Master, the Lord of Dharma ⁴²⁴	p. 368:3-369:4
71. Prayer for the Training of Bodhisattva's Actions (<i>rgyal sras kyi spyod pa la bslab pa'i smon lam</i>) ⁴²⁵	p. 369:5-370:3
72. Tokmé Offered [This Writing] in front of Jamchen (byams chen pa'i drung du thogs med kyis phul ba)	p. 370:3-6
73. Chenpo Sözang's Strong Request [for My Writing] (chen po bsod bzang ba'i thugs dam bskul ma)	p. 370:6-372:1
74. The Poor Monk Tokmé Offered [This Writing] to the Hand of the Chief, Shakya Zangpo (btsun pa thogs med kyis dpon	p. 372:1-374:2

⁴²¹ The title I translate here is partly from the Fifth Dalai Lama's outline.

⁴²² I number this text as 66-2 since it is the question answered in text 66-1.

⁴²³ I name this title according to its content.

⁴²⁴ I name this title according to its content.

⁴²⁵ The title I translate here is partly from the Fifth Dalai Lama's outline.

1.41 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.	
shAkya bzang bo'i phyag tu phul ba) ⁴²⁶	
75. [Writing] for Teaching Sanggyé Pel, Who Is from Taklung, about Commitment (stag lung pa sangs rgyas dpal gyi dam bca' bstan pa'i don)	p. 374:3-375:3
76. Advice to Preceptor, Namkha Rinchen Pelzangpo (slob dpon nam mkha' rin chen dpal bzang po la gdams pa)	p. 375:3-378:6
77. Writing the Training of Six Perfections after Penjor Zangpö's Urging ⁴²⁷	p. 379:1-385:4
78. Clarification on Two Obstructions at Chökyi Lodrö's Request ⁴²⁸	p. 385:4-386:3
79. Advice to Bonpo Dog-Skin Followers on How to Benefit Your Mind (bon po khyi thul dag gis sems la phan pa'i gdam ngag)	p.386:3-5
80. Reply to Abbot Lotsāwa Jangchup Tsémo's Question (mkhan po lo tsA ba byang chub rtse mo'i dri ba'i lan du)	p. 386:5-388:1
81. Reply to A Virtuous Friend in Sakya about How to Practice Dharma When Sickness And So Forth Happens (sa skyar dge bshes gcig gis nad la sogs pa byung na ji ltar byed dris pa'i lan)	p. 388:1-6
82. Offering to Virtuous Friend, Shakya Sönam (dge ba'i bshes gnyen shAkya bsod nams la phul ba)	p. 389:1-4
83. Offering to the Hand of Preceptor Namkha Pelwa (slob dpon nam mkha' dpal ba'i phyag tu phul ba) ⁴²⁹	p. 389:4-391:2
84. Advice to Preceptor Namkha Pelwa (slob dpon nam mkha' dpal ba la gdams pa)	p. 391:2-392:1
85. Advice to Gyelwang Who Is from Nénying (<i>gnas rnying pa rgyal dbang la gdam pa</i>)	p. 392:2-4

⁴²⁶ I choose the first sentence as the title.

⁴²⁷ I name this title according to its content.

⁴²⁸ I name this title according to its content.

⁴²⁹ I choose the first sentence as the title.

86. Advice to Great Preceptor Drakpa Rinchen (slob dpon chen po drak pa rin chen la gdams pa)	p. 392:4-6
87. Tokmé Composed [This Text] After Preceptor Dongtön's Respectful Request (slob dpon ldong ston gyis gus pas bskul nas thogs med ces byas bkod)	p. 393:1-394:3
88. Advice to Chölo Wönpo (chos blo dbon po la gdams pa)	p. 394:4-396:4
89. Offering to Abbot Chölo Wönpo (slob dbon chos blo dpon po la phul ba)	p. 396:4-397:4
90. For the Sake of Dharma, Chölo Wönpo Künga Gyeltsen Encouraged Tokmé to Compose [This Text] (chos blo dbon po kun dga' rgyal mtshan la//chos la bskul phyir thogs med ces byas sbyar)	p. 397:4-398:2
91. Offering to the Hand of Great Abbot Drosawa (<i>mkhan chen gro sa ba'i phyag tu phul ba</i>)	p. 398:2-3
92. Offering to the Hand of Preceptor Chöchok (slob dpon chos mchog gi phyag du phul)	p. 398:3-401:5
93. Offering to the Hand of Preceptor Chöchok (slob dpon chos mchog gi phyag du phul) ⁴³⁰	p. 401:5-402:5
94. For the Sake of Master Potokpa Who Is from Nartangpu (rnar thang phu'i bla ma po rtog pa'i don du)	p. 402:6-403:3
95. [A Writing] for the Sake of Tokden Sönam Rinchen Who Is from Pütra to Make His Four Commitments Strong, (spud kra'i rtogs ldan bsod nams rin chen gyi dam bca' bzhi bo brtan pa'i don du)	p. 403:3-404:1
96. Advice to Özer Zangpo ('od zer bzang po la gdams pa)	p. 404:1-4
97. Reminder of Commitment: [Advice] for Ripa Zhönnu Gyeltsen and Many Glorious Ones Who Are from Lama Gyelwa Yanggönpa's Residential Monastery (bla ma rgyal ba yang dgon pa'i gdan sa pa/_bla ma ri ba gzhon nu rgyal mtshan dpal ba mang bo'i thugs dam gyi gsal 'debs su)	p. 404:4-405:1

⁴³⁰ Text 92 and 93 are addressed to the same person Chöchok (*chos mchog*).

98. [A Writing] for the Sake of Preceptor Zhönnu Jangchup Who Is From Tsipri to Make His Commitment Strong, (rtsib ri ba slob dpon gzhon nu byang chub kyi dam bca' brtan pa'i don)	p. 405:2-4
99. Advice to Great Meditator Sönam Gyeltsen (sgom chen pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan la gdams pa)	p. 405:4-5
100. [Writing] for the Sake of Lodröpel Who Is from Kham (khams pa blo gros dpal gyi don du)	p. 405:5-406:2
101. [Writing] for the Sake of Gyeltsenbum Who Is from Minyak (mi nyag gi dge bshes rgyal mtshan 'bum gyi don du)	p. 406:2-6
102. Advice to Master, Superior Teacher, Jamyang Drakpa (bla ma rab ston 'jam dbyangs grags pa la gdams pa)	p. 406:6-407:4
103. Advice to Precious Kyoppapel (rin po che skyob pa dpal la gdams)	p. 407:4-408:3
104. Reply to Questions about the Practices of Bodhisattva (rgyal sras lag len gyi dris pa'i lan) ⁴³¹	p. 408:4-409:3
105. Advice to Namkha Zangpo (nam mkha' bzang po la gdams pa)	p. 409:3-410:2
106. Offering to Two Fully Ordinated Monks and Dharma Friends: Chöwang Rinchenpa and Drokché (<i>dge slong chos dbang rin chen pa grogs mched gnyis la phul ba</i>)	p. 410:2-4
107. [Writing] for the Sake of New [Buddhist] Learners	p. 410:4-416:1
108. Candid Saying of One Who Recites Mani Mantra (ma Ni ba'i drang po'i gtam)	p. 416:1-4
109. [Writing] Dedication in Response to Ascetic Dpalgyi Rinchen's Strong Request (bya bral ba dpal gyi rin chen gyis bskul ba'i ngor mdzad pa'i bsngo ba) ⁴³²	p. 416:4-421:3
110. [Writing] the Prayer for the Sake of the Chief, Rinchen Zangpo (smon lam 'di dpon rin chen bzang po'i don du)	p. 412:3-422:1
111. [Writing] the Prayer in Response to a Kham Person Reciting Mani Mantra (khams pa ma Ni bas bskul ba'i ngor	p. 422:1-3

 $^{^{431}}$ I name this title according to its content.

⁴³² I use the title given by the Fifth Dalai Lama for my reference.

mdzad pa'i smon lam) ⁴³³	
112. [Writing] for the Sake of Long-Term Stay for <i>Medium</i>	p. 422:3-423:6
Perfection of Wisdom, Transcribed in Gold by the Chief,	
Rin (dpon rin gyis yum bar ma rin po che gser las bzhengs	
pa'i rab tu gnas pa'i don du)	
113. Reply to Questions in the Last Will of Virtuous Friend,	p. 423:6-425:5
Gyeltsen, Who Wore One Piece of Silk Cloth (bshes gnyen	
rgyal mtshan dar ras rkyang ba yi kha chems dris lan)	
Colophon	p. 425:6-427:3
114. Title Page: Great Hearing Transmission of Mind Training	p. 428
(Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo)	
Section One of Text 114	p. 430:1-454:5
C (T (114	4545 500 6
Section Two of Text 114	p. 454:5-589:6
Colophon of Text 114	p. 589:6-592:2
Cotophici of Tell III	p. 503.0 532.2
Five Lineages of Lojong	p. 592:2-593:6

⁴³³ I use the title given by the Fifth Dalai Lama for my reference.

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