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„The Life and Deeds of mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang
rgyal According to His Biography by Rig 'dzin Padma
'phrin las“

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Dedicated to my mother Natalia

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List of Abbreviations

Institutions:

TAR Tibetan Autonomous Region

Digital Archives:

BDRC Buddhist Digital Resource Center. Website: <http://tbrc.org>

KNAB Place Names Database produced by the Institute of the Estonian Language.
Website: <http://www.eki.ee/knab/valik/cn54inf.htm>

SRC Sakya Research Center. Website: <http://sakyaresearch.com>

TTT TAR toponym search tool of the Tibetan Tumulus Tradition project. Website:
<http://www.oeaw.ac.at/tibetantumulustradition/tar-toponym-search/>

Literary works and catalogues:

NGB *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* (*The Hundred Thousand Tantras of the Nyingma school*).

Notes on Transliteration and Translation

The present thesis adopts the “academic” Wylie method for transliteration of Tibetan (i.e., paṇ chen instead of paN chen).¹ Tibetan proper names and geographical locations are phonetically rendered into THL Simplified Phonetic Transcription of Standard Tibetan developed by David Germano and Nicolas Tournadre on their first appearance in the text.² The first time a name of a person appears in the text, their dates, if known, will be given in a footnote along with the transliteration of the name and, depending on availability, a reference ID to the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC) and/or to the Sakya Research Center (SRC). The root letter of transliterated Tibetan proper names and geographical locations is capitalized and no hyphen is used between words (i.e., bSod nams instead of Bsod-nams). The geographical names will be followed by coordinates in degrees, minutes and seconds (if known). The coordinates are the result of my own research if not otherwise noted.

Emendations and additional information are given in square brackets (i.e., “female fire-sheep year [1487]”). Some terms translated from Tibetan into English or Sanskrit are followed by an italicized transliteration in parentheses, for example, “treasure (*gter ma*).” The words “Path,” “Dharma,” and “Enlightenment” are capitalized when they appear in a Buddhist context.

The names of textual cycles, tantras, and treatises are given in italics and followed by an italicized transliteration of their respective Tibetan names in parentheses with a capitalized root letter, for example, “*The Sūtra of Gathering [of Intentions]* (*’Dus pa mdo*).” Proper names of the deities are not italicized (i.e., “he had a vision of Cakrasaṃvara”). Tibetan terms that were translated into Sanskrit are italicized and given with diacritics (i.e., *maṇḍala*).

The age of a person is given according to Tibetan tradition that considers a person to be one year old at the time of birth and advancing one year in age at the Tibetan new year (*lo gsar*) that usually falls one to two and a half months after December, 31. This means, that a person born in December is going to be two years old just one or two months later. This might explain some occasional discrepancies in the dating of some historical figures.

¹ See Wylie 1959, Schwieger 2009, p. 22.

² <http://www.thlib.org/reference/transliteration/#!essay> (accessed 09.02.2021)

Introduction

mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje Grags pa rgyal mtshan (Ngari Paṇchen Pema Wangyal Dorjé Drakpa Gyaltsen, 1487–1542) was born at the end of the 15th century in Mustang, known among Tibetan speakers as Glo bo (Lowo).¹ This was the era when Glo bo was at the peak of its independence, and involved in several wars with the neighbours.² The power was in the hands of A seng rdo rje brtanpa (Aséng Dorjé Tenpa, d. ca. 1496) and bDe legs rgya mtsho (Délek Gyatso, d. ca. 1500), the brothers of Glo bo mKhan chen bSod nams lhun grub (Lowo Khenchen Sönam Lhündrup, 1456–1532).³ The latter was one of the primary gurus of mNga' ris Paṇ chen. After bDe legs rgya mtsho passed away, he was succeeded by his brother mGon po rgyal mtshan grags pa mtha' yas (Gönpo Gyaltsen Drakpa Thayé), whose uncle, Glo bo mKhan chen, was involved in a conflict with the Rin spungs pa (Rinpunga) ruler.⁴

mNga' ris Paṇ chen grew up in the Marang valley of Mustang.⁵ He was related to the Gung thang royal family by kinship ties due to the fervid temperament of his grandfather Chos rgyal Nor bu lde (Chögyal Norbu Dé, 1450–1484) who fathered 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan (Jamyang Rinchen Gyaltsen, 1445/1473–1558) in an extramarial affair.⁶ Unfortunately, the relationships between the family members living in Mustang and those in Gung thang seem to have been ragged.⁷ 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan, the father of mNga' ris Paṇ chen, was an emanation (*rnam sprul*) of Mar pa Lo tsā ba Chos kyi blo gros (Marpa Lotsāwa Chökyi Lödro, 1012–1097), and “one of the most important religious personalities in Mustang.”⁸

¹ For a discussion of the toponym Lowo (Glo bo) see Jackson 1984, pp. 5-7

² See Dhungel 2002, pp. 95-96.

³ For a translation of his autobiography and a catalogue of his collected works, see Kramer 2008.

⁴ See Kramer 2008, p. 26. For the description of the period of mGon po rgyal mtshan grags pa mtha' yas's rule, see Dhungel 2002, pp. 97-99.

⁵ For a discussion why the toponym “Mathang” is congruous to “Marang,” and for the description of places associated with mNga' ris Paṇ chen in that valley of Mustang, see Part One, 3. The Homeland of mNga' ris Paṇ chen, and p. 129 in the Appendix for corresponding map.

⁶ See Everding 2004, p. 269. BDRC P1700. 'Jam dbyangs rin chen's alternative name is lHa btsun Kun dga' rnam rgyal (Lhatsün Künga Namgyal see Everding 2004, p. 69), the “only remaining biological heir to the throne of Gung thang.” (Valentine 2020, p. 130). For his biographical details in Tibetan, see *The Biography of Jamyang Rinchen Gyaltsen*. For an argumentation why 'Jam dbyangs rin chen's birth-year should be taken as 1473, see Everding 2000, p. 548 fn. 410.

⁷ See Everding 2000, pp. 548-549. mNga' ris Paṇ chen visited Gung thang around 1521 (cf. Part Two, p. 98, fn. 717).

⁸ Everding 2004, p. 269.

It is necessary to remark on the protagonist's name, mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje Grags pa rgyal mtshan. “mNga' ris” is a rough designation of a geographical area of Western Tibet.⁹ Before the 18th century, the native homeland of Padma dbang rgyal, Glo bo, was a part of mNga' ris.¹⁰ Thus, the first part of his title refers to his origin.¹¹ “Paṇ chen” is an abbreviation for *paṇḍita chen po*, the great pundit. Thus, “mNga' ris Paṇ chen” is a respectful title under which Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje is renowned: the Great Pundit of mNga' ris. “Padma” is his *gotra* (*rigs*), and “dBang rgyal rdo rje” is his birth name. As for “Grags pa rgyal mtshan,” Padma dbang rgyal received this name upon taking his *bhikṣu* ordination. Tibetan authors, as well as the modern sources most frequently refer to him as “mNga' ris Paṇ chen” or “Padma dbang rgyal.” In this thesis, the title “mNga' ris Paṇ chen” and the name “Padma dbang rgyal” will be used to refer to the protagonist of this thesis.

What makes mNga' ris Paṇ chen truly distinguished amongst the great number of Tibetan spiritual figures of the 15-16th century, is that he was a learned scholar, a tantric practitioner, a treasure revealer (*gter ston*), and a righteous monk who attained according to tradition mundane and supramundane *siddhis*, along with the status of a *vidyādhara*¹² – and all of that he managed to combine in one lifetime.¹³ Besides, mNga' ris Paṇ chen came in contact and received transmissions from almost every tradition of Tibetan Buddhism.¹⁴ Thus, along with his guru Glo

⁹ The term “Western Tibet” is a European construct that designates a geographical, not a political area (see Everding 2000, pp. 253-254).

¹⁰ According to Jackson 1984 (p. 5; p. 10, fn. 21), Glo bo was a part of eastern, or Lower Ngari (mNga' ris smad). At the same time, a prophecy relating to mNga' ris Paṇ chen speaks of Upper Ngari (mNga' ris stod) as his native place. Cf. *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen by the Fifth Dalai Lama*, p. 166.

¹¹ Valentine 2020, p. 130 suggests another possible explanation why Padma dbang rgyal was renowned under the name “the Pundit of Ngari” (mNga' ris Paṇ chen). He was a direct descendant of the lineage of the ruling family of Gung thang, “the seat of power of the entire region of mNga' ris” (Valentine 2020, p. 130). This suggestion is bolstered by the fact that bSod nams lhun grub (Sönam Lhündrup), a native of Glo bo who directly belonged to its ruling family, was famous under the title of “**Glo bo** mKhan chen,” the “Great Scholar of **Glo bo**” (and not of mNga' ris). In addition, one biographical account directly reports that mNga' ris Paṇ chen belongs to the “royal lineage of Gung thang in mNga' ris” (*mnga' ris gung thang rgyal po'i gdung*, see *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 233.2).

¹² For the explanation of this term, see Part One, p. 13.

¹³ This unique combination was also noted and admired by his biographer Padma 'phrin las (see Part Two, 3. Translation, p. 84).

¹⁴ I could not find any evidence of him coming in contact with the early dGe lugs pas. It is not likely that mNga' ris was “bTsong kha pa's teacher” (Everding 2004, p. 269) because Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (Tsongkhapa Lobsang Drakpa) died in 1419 (see Buswell & Lopez 2014, p. 2268).

bo mKhan chen, Padma dbang rgyal truly exemplified “the eclecticism that flourished in the Nepalese borderlands during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.”¹⁵

The name of mNga' ris Paṇ chen, who passed away more than five hundred years ago, remains well-known and recognizable in the Tibetan religious world. When conducting field research, one often hears that he was “a great lama.” However, if one asks what exactly makes him great, the collocutors often can not specify their estimation. The main goal of this thesis is to shed more light on the circumstances of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's life, and to define the specifics that had been handed down about mNga' ris Paṇ chen in the narrative tradition of his religious school. This goal is achieved by translating his hagiography composed by Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (Rikdzin Pema Trinlé, 1641–1718) in the second half of the 17th century, roughly one hundred and forty years after the protagonist's passing. This particular work by Padma 'phrin las is comprehensive and seems to be “the best source for the life of Padma dbang rgyal,”¹⁶ except for his autobiography, which served as the foundation of Padma 'phrin las's account. This study is undertaken with the prospect of identifying the teachers, students, and spiritual friends of mNga' ris Paṇ chen, to document his activities, travels, and projects, as well as finding specific geographical places where he was active. This information will serve as a basis for further research of spiritual lineage's histories, transmissions of ideas and teachings within the Tibetan regional-cultural area, and their consumption within the exegesis of Tibetan Buddhist lineages.

This study is limited to the translation of the hagiography by Padma 'phrin las, complemented at some points with the autobiographical narrative (see footnotes in the translation in Part Two). The thesis is divided into two main parts. Part One is a summary of data based on the narrative accounts of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's life. It includes the overview on primary Tibetan sources, the state of current research, a brief sketch of the figure of Padma 'phrin las's life and activities, a description of the circumstances of its composition, and observing remarks regarding its formal aspects. The first part concludes with a chapter about mNga' ris Paṇ chen's native homeland where he grew up. Thanks to modern technologies and the enormous generosity and help of Dawa Sunduk, I was able to obtain several photos of important places in Marang associated with mNga' ris Paṇ chen and locate them on the map. By comparing oral accounts and legends with the geographical data provided by the Fifth Dalai Bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang

¹⁵ Smith 2001, p. 111.

¹⁶ Ehrhard 2013a, p. 317, fn.8.

rgya mtsho (Dalai Lama Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso, 1617-1682) in his hagiography of Padma dbang rgyal, it was possible to locate the area where mNga' ris Paṇ chen was born. Part Two is comprised of the edition of Padma 'phrin las's biography of mNga' ris Paṇ chen and its translation into English. Lastly, the Appendix presents two maps with places associated with Padma dbang rgyal in Mustang and his activities in Central Tibet.

PART ONE. The Life and Deeds of mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal

1. The State of Previous Research

A few hundred years after mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal's passing, his name is perhaps first of all associated with his work *The Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*, or *Ascertaining the Three Vows* (*sDom pa gsum rnam par nges pa*). As Gene Smith puts it, Padma dbang rgyal “is known best for the *Sdom gsum rnam nges* [...] This great treatise has become one of the basic texts for study by rNying ma pa students.”¹⁷ It deals with the three categories of vows practiced by the adepts of Tibetan Buddhism: the monastic vows of “individual liberation” (*prātimokṣa*), the bodhisattva and the tantric vows. It is deemed to explain how these vows not only do not contradict each other but even build together a harmonious whole. It was perhaps the *Commentary on Ascertaining the Three Vows* by Ngag dbang chos dpal rgya mtsho (Ngawang Chöpel Gyatso, Lotsāwa Dharmaśrī, 1654–1717) and the acute relevance of this topic in the rNying ma tradition that brought fame to mNga' ris Paṅ chen in the wider readership audience for this particular cryptic work consisting in large parts of “certain key words strung together.”¹⁸ Even some learned native Tibetan readers from the 17th century Tibet evaluated mNga' ris Paṅ chen's writing difficult to comprehend (*rtogs dka'*).¹⁹ Despite its ambiguity, this work ought to be profound and insightful. For it is hard to imagine anyone who possibly could have deeper expertise in this field than a highly learned scholar who also happens to be a seasoned tantric practitioner, the son of a famous rNying ma adept. mNga' ris Paṅ chen took monastic ordination relatively late, in his 25th year. Prior to that, he followed the Path as a lay tantric adept. He eventually revealed several treasure texts (*gter ma*) at the age of forty-six. Gene Smith remarks that it is unusual for a *tertön* (*gter ston*) to remain “a monk, whereas the prerequisite for the majority of *gter ston* is that they have a female partner.”²⁰ However unusual this might look to an outsider on the first glimpse, it is in my opinion, explicable that a *tertön*, a tantric practitioner who took monastic ordination, possesses the utmost expertise in explaining the compatibility of the three vows. Further, rDo rje dbang phyug (Dorji Wangchuk) noted that mNga' ris Paṅ chen in

¹⁷ Smith 2001, p. 17.

¹⁸ Sobisch 2002, p. 394.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 397. Another Tibetan author politely characterizes this work by saying that it contains “few words with numerous meanings [behind them].” Cf. *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 289.1.

²⁰ Smith 2001, p. 330, fn. 818.

his *Ascertaining of the Three Vows* posits an exception to Sa skya Paṇ ḍi ta Kun dga' rgyal mtshan's (Sakya Paṇḍita Künga Gyaltsen, 1182–1251) view of the impossibility of generating absolute *bodhicitta* through a ritual by asserting that it is throughout possible in the tantric context.²¹

An attempt to translate *Ascertaining the Three Vows* into English was made by Sangs rgyas mkha' 'gro (Sangyé Khandro). The resulting work has been published under the title “*Perfect Conduct: Ascertaining the Three vows.*”²² Even though the author's name is given as mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyi rgyal po, the work can be more accurately described as “a transcript of the translation of an oral teaching by mKhan po 'Gyur med bsam 'grub (Khenpo Gyurmé Samdrup) on bDud 'joms Rin po che 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje's (Düdjom Rinpoché Jikdrel Yeshé Dorje, 1904–1987) commentary to mNga' ris Paṇ chen's explanation of the three vows.”²³ In other words, this is a commentary on another commentary on mNga' ris Paṇ chen's *Ascertaining the Three Vows*. mNga' ris Paṇ chen's root verses were translated, too, but this translation according to Samdrup & Sangye should be read with caution.²⁴ Samdrup & Sangye 2014 provides a very brief summary of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's life by g.Yang thang sPrul sku Rin po che (Yangthang Tulku Rinpoché, 1929–2016) based on Padma 'phrin las's biography of the former.²⁵ Jan-Ulrich Sobisch's “*The Three-Vow Theories in Tibetan Buddhism,*” too, gives a brief summary of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's life based on the account by bDud 'joms Rin po che. In addition, the author of this monumental and carefully thought-through work translates some of the root verses of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's oeuvre as a part of Dharmaśrī's commentary.²⁶

English translations of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's biography can be found in several works of relatively modern scholarship. The full and close-to-text English translation of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's life according to bDud 'joms Rin po che was made by Eva Dargyay.²⁷ Another, later translation of the very same text is found in “*The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism.*”²⁸ Both translations complement each other: whenever the first one misses a sentence or has an unclear

²¹ See Wangchuk 2007, p. 172, pp. 258-259.

²² Samdrup & Sangye 2014.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁴ For a more detailed explanation and argumentation, see *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

²⁵ See Samdrup & Sangye 2014, pp. xv-xvii.

²⁶ See Sobisch 2002, pp. 391-394.

²⁷ See Dargyay 1998, pp. 156-160.

²⁸ See Dudjom Rinpoche 1991, pp. 805-808.

point, it can be complemented from the other work, and vice versa. Another English translation of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's biography by the 5th Dalai Bla ma is presented as a part of the work by sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (Desi Sangyé Gyatso, 1677–1705).²⁹ This biography is surely authored by the Great Fifth, not by his regent, since this text can be found in the former's collected writings, too.³⁰ In addition, mNga' ris Paṇ chen's account by 'Jam mgon kong sprul Rin po che Blo gros mtha' yas (Jamgön Kongtrul Rinpoché Lödro Thayé, 1813–1899) in the *The Lives of the Hundred Tertöns* was rendered into English.³¹ Harry Einhorn in the online database *Treasury of Lives* provides a brief summary of his life based on his biography by Padma 'phrin las.³²

Notably, all the above-mentioned works provide us with a translation of mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal's biography only. Neither do they deal with his role in the transmission lineages, nor do they analyze the framework of the protagonist's life. Those translations serve as an excellent basis for further research.

Besides mNga' ris Paṇ chen's widely noticed writing on the three vows, the recent scholarship has primarily been dealing with mNga' ris Paṇ chen's position in the *terma* (*gter ma*) transmission lineage of the Northern Treasures (*Byang gter*). The importance of this figure to the Northern Treasures was acknowledged by Jay Valentine who examined the development of the “Rikdzin” (*Rigs 'dzin*) lineage of incarnation (*sprul sku*). The work provides a lot of biographical information on mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal in the passages from Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje's biography. In addition, the author sketched the complex karmic relationships between the mNga' ris brothers and the prominent holder of the Northern Treasures, Shā kya bzang po (Śākya Zangpo, fl. 15th–16th cent).³³ In his in-depth study of the *Vajrakīla* ritual texts of the Northern Treasures,³⁴ Martin Boord claims that “the teachings of rGod-ldem-can came to be the central field of study for a community of ordained *bhikṣus* [surrounding mNga' ris Paṇ chen].”³⁵ As we shall see below, the fact of the community being focused exclusively on the

²⁹ See Ahmad 1999, pp. 164-170.

³⁰ See *The Flow of the River Ganggā*, pp. 173.5-174.4.

³¹ See Gyamtso 2011, pp. 229-232.

³² <https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Ngari-Panchen-Padma-Wangyal/3006> (accessed on 03.21.2021).

³³ See Valentine 2013.

³⁴ See Boord 1993 and Boord 2010.

³⁵ See Boord 1993, p. 28. The author's further assertion that mNga' ris Paṇ chen established the monastery of Thub bstan gser mdog can (*ibid.*, pp. 28-29) seems to be mistaken (see Part Two, fn. 775).

Northern Treasures was not the case. Jakob Dalton undertook thorough studies of the *Gathering of Intentions Sūtra* (*dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo*).³⁶ mNga' ris Paṇ chen stands in line of transmission of the *Sūtra Initiation* (*mdo dbang*). Among many other things, Dalton meticulously documented the efforts that Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las, the abbot of the Northern Treasure's headquarter at rDo rje brag (Dorjé Drak) monastery, undertook for the revival and the reconstruction of this lineage.³⁷ Perhaps, because the biography of mNga' ris Paṇ chen was included in the master's hagiographies of the *Sūtra Initiation*'s transmission lineage by Padma 'phrin las, who is the patriarch in the line of rebirths of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem – the father of the Northern Treasures tradition, Jakob Dalton, too, mentions mNga' ris Paṇ chen's name exclusively in connection to the Northern Treasures. Thus, he is “the founder” of the Northern Treasures community.³⁸ Like Martin Boord, Jakob Dalton, too, maintains that “the Northern Treasures was the primary focus of the early community,” but cautiously adds that “the Spoken Teachings were also carefully nurtured.”³⁹ Also, Jakob Dalton provides an excellent analysis of the reasons that might have lead to the conflict between the patriarchs of the Northern Treasures and the gTsang pa (Tsangpa) rulers: the reason behind that was most likely the dispute over the identity of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's *sprul sku*.⁴⁰

As my translation of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's biography by Padma 'phrin las will demonstrate, he was not exclusively the patriarch of the Northern Treasures. Alongside his relationships with the 1st Yol mo sPrul sku Shā kya bzang po, Franz-Karl Ehrhard has also described the former's prominent role in the transmission lineages of various treasure cycles (*gter skor*) in the Dolpo area.⁴¹ Besides, mNga' ris Paṇ chen also stood in the lineage of the Mahākaruṇika's [Avalokiteśvara, the Great Compassionate One's] practice according to the system of Songtsen Gampo (*thugs rje chen po'i rgyal lugs*).⁴² Lastly, the work of Christopher Bell

³⁶ See Dalton 2002 & Dalton 2016.

³⁷ For the discussion of the context and the framework of Padma 'phrin las's oeuvre on the transmission lineage of the *Sūtra* based on Jakob Dalton's research, see Part One, 2.2.

³⁸ Dalton 2016, p. 81. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 79, p. 90.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴⁰ See *ibid.*, pp. 91-92. For a reference to some “interesting details of the episode,” see Ehrhard 2015, p. 148, fn. 12.

⁴¹ See Ehrhard 2013a and Ehrhard 2013b.

⁴² See Ehrhard 2000, p. 213.

deals with the history and iconography of Tsi'u dmar po (Tsi'u Marpo),⁴³ a protective deity and the oracle residing at Samyé (Bsam yas) monastery. mNga' ris Paṇ chen stood at the source of its cult, since he discovered that deity's "root text (*gter gzhung*)" in form of a *gter ma*,⁴⁴ *The Warlord's Tantra with Accompanying Sādhana*s (*dMag dpon gyi rgyud sgrub thabs dang bcas pa*)⁴⁵ and *The Heart Tantra of the Red-razored One* (*sPu gri dmar po snying gi rgyud*).⁴⁶

2. The Tibetan Sources on mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal's Life

Apart from the hagiography by Padma 'phrin las and from the hagiography composed by the Fifth Dalai Bla ma,⁴⁷ Tibetan indigenous sources provide very little biographical information on mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal. He was doubtlessly an eminent and well-respected spiritual teacher, with numerous followers who settled around him in his new residence in 'On (Ön) valley in Central Tibet.⁴⁸ Yet, unlike many other prominent *lamas*, Padma dbang rgyal's biographies composed by his disciples seem to be non-existent. An explanation to this fact can be found in his versified autobiographical writing, *A Talk by the Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland* (*Lus can skye bo'i gtam rin chen phreng ba*). According to the author, when he was in his forty-first year, several close disciples (*bu chen*) approached him with a request of allowing them to write down his biographical "account of liberation" (*rnam thar*). But the protagonist refused the requests out of several concerns, such as the fear of breaking the secret oaths that he gave to his guru and to the *ḍākinīs*, furthermore, of becoming proud and uprooting the virtuous qualities (*yon tan*) that "arise in secrecy."⁴⁹ At some points, the verses of that autobiographical account seem to make no sense for the outside reader. On some occasions it looks as if the verses are comprised of just some key words put together, naming places, persons, and transmissions.⁵⁰ On other occasions, the reader finds informal dialogues and descriptions of

⁴³ BDRC T331. For more references on this deity, see Bell 2006, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5, p. 23.

⁴⁵ For a bibliographical reference to the *Warlord's Tantra with Accompanying Sādhana*s, see *ibid.*, p. 219. Unfortunately, its colophon doesn't mention the date and the place the composition took place (see *ibid.*, p. 79).

⁴⁶ See Akester 2016, p. 316, fn. 43.

⁴⁷ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen by the Fifth Dalai Lama*.

⁴⁸ The fact that a community of monks formed around mNga' ris Paṇ chen's residence is evident from his biography by Padma 'phrin las (For the translation of corresponding parts, see Part Two, p. 121, p. 124).

⁴⁹ See *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen*, fols. 37v7-38r2.

⁵⁰ This situation resembles the evaluation of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's another writing, *The Ascertaining the Three Vows* (*Sdom gsum rnam nges*) as being "difficult to comprehend (*rtogs dka'*)," see Part One, p. 5.

intimate personal feelings. To sum up, it seems as if mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal wrote the *Talk by the Ordinary Bodily Being* (*Lus can skye bo'i gtam*) solely for himself. It was meant to serve as a sort of a diary, and he did not plan to share it with the wider public. In an additional short autobiographical account, mNga' ris Paṇ chen describes his search of the “old” text of *The Assembly of Sugatas of the Eight Pronouncements* (*bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*).⁵¹ The autobiographical account *The Secret Biography by mNga' ris Paṇ chen* seems to have been lost.⁵² Concerning the non-autobiographical accounts, the above-mentioned account by Padma 'phrin las was composed roughly in the same period as that of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, in the mid. 17th century.⁵³ Next comes a concise account by Brag dkar rta so sPrul sku Chos kyi dbang phyug (Chökyi Wangchuk, the Tulku of Drakar Taso, 1775–1837).⁵⁴ His biography of mNga' ris Paṇ chen bears a poetical title “*The Lord of the Dharma, the Pure Flower of the Gods*” (*Chos kyi rgyal po Tshangs pa lha'i me tog*).⁵⁵ This title alludes to the connection between Khri srong lde btsan (Trisong Detsen) and mNga' ris Paṇ chen. Padma dbang rgyal's later biographies written in the 19th century include 'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas's (Jamgön Kongtrul Lödro Thayé) narrative in *The Lives of the Hundred Tertöns* (*gTer ston brgya rtsa'i rnam thar*),⁵⁶ the biography by sTag sgang mKhas mchog Gu ru bkra shis (the Great Scholar of Tagang, Guru Tashi)⁵⁷ and a noticeably concise account of the two brothers, mNga' ris Paṇ chen and Legs ldan rdo rje in *The Jewel Necklace* (*Nor bu'i do shel*).⁵⁸ The 20th-century biography by bDud 'joms Rin po che was translated into English in 1991.⁵⁹ *The Biography of mNga' ris Paṇ chen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*⁶⁰ seems to be the most extensive work on mNga' ris Paṇ chen's life that is available today. It is based on

⁵¹ See *The Wheel of the Sun and the Moon that Dispels the Darkness* by Ngari Paṇchen.

⁵² At least, I was unable to find it.

⁵³ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen by the Fifth Dalai Lama*. The text was translated into English in Ahmad 1999, pp. 164-170).

⁵⁴ BDRC P5630, SRC P1590.

⁵⁵ For the bibliographical reference, see Bibliography, p. 132.

⁵⁶ See *The Lives of the Hundred Tertöns*, pp. 156-158. For its translation into English, see Gyamtso 2011, pp. 229-232.

⁵⁷ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen by Guru Tashi*.

⁵⁸ See *The Jewel Necklace*, pp. 266.5-268.6.

⁵⁹ See Dudjom Rinpoché Jikdrel Yeshe Dorjé, Gyurmé Dorje and Kapstein Matthew (eds.) 1991, pp. 805-808.

⁶⁰ Cf. *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 233.1.

Padma 'phrin las's account, but this work cites and comments on about two times more autobiographical verses than that of Padma 'phrin las. It occasionally cites other works that briefly mention mNga' ris Paṇ chen.⁶¹ This work even includes the full text of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's *Command (bKa' yig)* on the code of conduct for "Chökgar" (*lCog sgar*), the Dharma-encampment⁶² that grew around mNga' ris Paṇ chen's residence in the 'On (Ön) valley.⁶³ Finally, the most recent and relatively short biography of mNga' ris Paṇ chen is provided in the *Ngagyur Rigdzin Magazine*.⁶⁴

The primary biographical sources on mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal can be summarized in a list as follows:⁶⁵

A. Autobiographical Accounts (16th century):

- A1. mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje. *Lus can skye bo'i gtam rin chen phreng ba*.
- A2. mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje. *gSang ba'i rnam thar rin po che'i rna rgyan*. (not available)
- A3. mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje. In *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa'i 'chad thabs mun sel nyi zla'i 'khor lo*. (An autobiographical narration is partly present, on pp. 165-229).

B. Traditional Hagiographies (17th–19th century):

- B1. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, Dalai bla ma 05 (1617–1682). *Bod gangs can du 'phags pa'i thugs rje 'jug tshul las rgyal blon byang sems dang 'brom ston la sogs pa'i rnam par byon tshul*.
- B2. Padma 'phrin las, rDo rje brag rig 'dzin 02 (1641-1717). In *bKa' ma mdo dbang gi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar ngo mtshar dad pa'i phreng ba*.
- B3. Ngag dbang blo gros, sTag sgang mkhas mchog alias Gu ru bkra shis (b. 18th cent.). In *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*.

⁶¹ Such as, for example, the *History of Treasures of Zablungpa (Zab lung pa'i gter 'byung)*, the *Thuken's Text on Philosophical Systems (Thu'u bkan grub mtha')*, and the *Catalogue of the Collected Tantras by Rikdzin Jigmé Lingpa (Rigs 'dzin 'Jigs med gling pas mdzad pa'i rGyud 'bum dkar chags)*. See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 263.3, 287.3, 289.3, 289.5.

⁶² *The Commandment, the Splendour of the Flaming Vajra (bka' yig rdo rje 'bar ba'i gzi byin)*, see *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen* by Pema Trinlé, p. 332.5

⁶³ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, pp. 292.2-298.3

⁶⁴ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen by the Ngagyur Rigdzin Magazine*, No. 32 (2017/3-4), pp. 46-50.

⁶⁵ For bibliographical details on each text, see the Bibliography, pp. 130-132.

- B4. Chos kyi dbang phyug, Brag dkar rta so sprul sku (1775-1837). *Chos kyi rgyal po tshangs pa lha'i me tog*.
- B5. Blo gros mtha' yas, 'Jam mgon kong sprul (1813–1899). In *gTer ston brgya rtsa'i rnam thar*.
- B6. Kun bzang nges don klong yangs (b. 1814). In *Nor bu'i do shal*.

C. Modern Hagiographies (20th–21st century):

- C1. 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje, bDud 'joms (1904–1987). In *bDud 'joms chos 'byung*.
- C2. Chos dbyings khyab brdal, Bya bral (1920–1997).⁶⁶ In *Byang gter thub bstan rdo rje brag gi chos 'byung*.
- C3. sNga 'gyur rig 'dzin (ed.). *mNga' ris paṇ chen padma dbang rgyal gyi mdzad bsdu*. In *sNga 'gyur rig 'dzin zla zung dus deb*.

3. The Biography of mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal by Padma 'phrin las

3.1. Slob bzang Padma 'phrin las: the Author of mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal's Biography

Slob bzang Padma 'phrin las (1641–1718)⁶⁷ was born at Mon mkhar (Mönkhar, southern Central Tibet) at rNam sras gling (Namsé Ling)⁶⁸ to a wealthy and powerful family.⁶⁹ He was recognized as a reincarnation of Ngag gi dbang po at the age of six and was enthroned⁷⁰ as the 4th Rig 'dzin in the successive incarnation lineage of the Rig 'dzin of rDo rje brag (Dorjé Drak Rikdzin).

The title “Rigdzin” (*rig 'dzin*) is an abbreviation of *rig pa 'dzin pa*, a Tibetan rendering of the Sanskrit term *vidyādhara* that literally means someone who holds (Skt. *dhara*) knowledge or wisdom (Skt. *vidyā*). In Indian literature, this term refers either to a human or to a divine being

⁶⁶ This name was adopted according to Valentine 2020, p. 115, fn. 3. The author thanks Stéphane Arguillère who helped to identify the authorship.

⁶⁷ Blo bzang padma 'phrin las. Substantial information on his life and historical role is provided by Dudjom Rinpoche 1991, pp. 719–720; Dalton 2002, pp. 165-202; Boord 2010, pp. xviii-xxvi; Valentine 2013, pp. 183-232. The *Treasury of Lives* website (<http://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Padma-Trinle/9169> (accessed 30.03.2021) provides a list of primary Tibetan-language sources on Padma 'phrin las.

⁶⁸ Mon mkhar rnam sras gling, 29°13'56.7"N, 91°31'58.7"E. BDRC G2813, SRC L240.

⁶⁹ See Valentine 2013, pp. 196-197. According to Samten Chhosphe, this family belonged to the clan of Janak (Bya nag), see <http://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Padma-Trinle/9169> (accessed 30.10.2020). Dudjom Rinpoche reports that Padma 'phrin las's father was from the “Canak” clan (see Dudjom Rinpoche 1991, p. 719). We do not find the affiliation of the clan *bya nag* in Padma 'phrin las's autobiography (see Valentine 2013, pp. 307-338).

⁷⁰ For the details on his recognition and enthronement, as well for the analysis and the translation of his autobiography up to the age of ten, see Valentine 2013, pp. 183-232 and pp. 247-305.

who possesses supernatural powers.⁷¹ In Tibetan Buddhism, this term denotes highly realized tantric masters who possess mundane and spiritual supernatural powers. One of those spiritual powers is the ability to dwell in or to hold to (*'dzin pa*) the state of intrinsic awareness, Rigpa (*rig pa*). Along with “Knowledge holder,” *rig 'dzin* can thus be translated from Tibetan as “Awareness holder,” too. In the fourteenth century, this term was also used as an honorary title to rGod [kyi] ldem ['phru] can dNgos grub rgyal mtshan (Gödemchen Ngödrup Gyaltsen, 1337–1408/1409), the revealer of specific *terma* (*gter ma*) teachings that became known as the “Northern Treasures” (Byang gter). Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje (Lekden Dündjom Dorjé, 1500/1512–1565/1580),⁷² the younger brother of mNga' ris Paṇ chen, was posthumously recognized as the reincarnation of rGod ldem can and thus became the Second Rig 'dzin in his religious tradition. Starting with the successive rebirth of Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje, the Third Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po (Ngagi Wangpo, 1580–1639), the lineage's main seat was established at the monastery of rDo rje brag.⁷³

Ngag gi dbang po, the predecessor of Padma 'phrin las, was a descendant of the 'Phyong rgyas (Chöngyé) family from his mother's side⁷⁴ and a cousin of the Fifth Dalai Bla ma.⁷⁵ A few years before passing away, Ngag gi dbang po gave a long-life empowerment to the Fifth Dalai Bla ma who later authored his biography.⁷⁶ The Fifth Dalai Bla ma received in his secret visions (*gzigs snang*) the transmissions of the Northern Treasures teachings from bKra shis stobs rgyal

⁷¹ See Buswell & Lopez 2014, p. 878.

⁷² For problems of his dating, see Valentine 2013, pp. 162–165. As one of the possible explanations of the discrepancies in the lifespan of Legs ldan rdo rje, Jay Valentine suggests to sacrifice the common belief that Legs ldan rje lived for 113 years and suggests that he might have died in 1580 (see Valentine 2013, p. 164). In addition, the father of the mNga' ris brothers, 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan (b. 1445/1473–1558), would have been either too young to father mNga' ris Paṇ chen or, if we take 1445 as his birth year, sixty-seven years old in the year of 1512. Although not entirely impossible, it is quite hard to father a child at that age due to natural decrease in fertility. On the other hand, Legs ldan rdo rje's father was likely to be thirty-nine years old in 1512, as Karl-Heinz Everding provided solid arguments why 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan's birthday should be taken as 1473 (see Everding 2000, p. 548, fn. 410). Interestingly, Padma 'phrin las does not provide the exact birth year of Legs ldan rdo rje in his biography (cf. *The Biography of Lekden Dündjom Dorjé*). According to the Fifth Dalai Bla ma, Legs ldan rdo rje was born in the year of the ape (see *The Flow of the River Ganggā*, vol. 4 (nga), p. 175.3). The years of the ape are 1488 (earth-ape), 1500 (iron-ape) and 1512 (water-ape). The year 1488 would have been too early for Legs rdo rje to be born because 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan fathered five children between mNga' ris Paṇ chen (born in 1487) and Legs ldan rdo rje. For this reason, we might consider that along with 1512, the year of 1500 might have as well been the birth year of Legs ldan rdo rje.

⁷³ Thub bstan rdo rje brag e waṃ lcog sgar. BDRC G11, SRC L351.

⁷⁴ See Valentine 2013, p. 166.

⁷⁵ See Gentry 2017, p. 390.

⁷⁶ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho. *Byang pa rig 'dzin chen po ngag gi dbang po'i mam par thar pa ngo mtshar bkod pa rgya mtsho*. BDRC W4CZ302329.

(Tashi Topgyal, fl. 16th century) the reincarnation of mNga' ris Paṇ chen and the father of Ngag gi dbang po, who married into the 'Phyong rgyas family, as well as from Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje and Padmasambhava himself.⁷⁷ Along with Yol mo pa bsTan 'dzin nor bu (Yölmopa Tenzin Norbu, 1589–1644)⁷⁸ and Zur chen Chos dbyings rang grol (Zurchen Chöying Rangdröl, 1604–1669),⁷⁹ the teacher of the Fifth Dalai Bla ma, the 'Phyong rgyas family also took part in approving the recognition of Padma 'phrin las as the Fourth Rig 'dzin of rDo rje brag.⁸⁰ Thus, the Fifth Dalai Bla ma was closely related to the Northern Treasures by spiritual and kinship ties. Moreover, Yol mo pa bsTan 'dzin nor bu, who played the main role in finding the reincarnation of Ngag gi dbang po and recognizing Padma 'phrin las as the Fourth Rig 'dzin, was appointed as the regent of rDo rje brag by the Fifth Dalai Bla ma.⁸¹ The latter immediately took patronage of the young reincarnation of his cousin, the patriarch of Northern Treasures: it was the Great Fifth who gave Padma 'phrin las his ordination name,⁸² granted him both the novice and the full ordination vows, empowerments of the Northern Treasures⁸³ and used to call Padma 'phrin las “his favorite disciple.”⁸⁴ The close political and spiritual alliance⁸⁵ between the two patriarchs of the Northern Treasures and the dGe lugs pa continued throughout their lifetimes: Padma 'phrin las presided over the consecration of the Potala Palace, served as a state-level ritual master on

⁷⁷ See Boord 1993, p. 30, Boord 2010, pp. xx-xxii. See Karmay 1988, p. 30, 37, 47, 57 and pp. 60-61 for the description of those visionary encounters.

⁷⁸ BDRC P1690.

⁷⁹ BDRC P560.

⁸⁰ Padma 'phrin las describes the day of his official recognition in the autobiography: “*rje gong ma'i gnag dbon lha khang zhabs drung snying snying gis nged la tshod bgam pa'i phyir byon pa*” (Valentine 2013, p. 319). Jay Valentine prefers to translate *gnag dbon* as the “ill-reputed nephew” (see *ibid.*, p. 271), but *gnag dbon* could indicate the maternal nephew. The mother of Ngag gi dbang po belonged to the 'Phyong rgyas family (see *ibid.*, p. 166) and thus, the nephew who arrived to the Mon mkhar estate in rNams sras gling in 1644 together with Yol mo pa bsTan 'dzin nor bu (Yölmopa Tenzin Norbu) to officially recognize Padma 'phrin las was from the 'Phyong rgyas family as well.

⁸¹ Dalton 2010, p. 179, fn. 28.

⁸² The first name of Padma 'phrin las was Kar ma tshe dbang phun thogs (Karma Tsewang Püntso), granted by Yol mo pa bsTan 'dzin nor bu on the occasion of Padma 'phrin las's birth, and the full name granted by the Fifth Dalai Bla ma on the occasion of his ordination is Blo bzang padma 'phrin las theg mchog dbang gi rgyal po yongs 'du'i sde (Lobsang Pema Trinlé Thegchö Wangi Gyalpo Yondü Dé), see Valentine 2013, p. 200, p. 218.

⁸³ Padma 'phrin las describes the empowerment ceremonies held at the Potala Palace in commemoration of bKra shis stobs rgyal in his autobiography. For an English translation, see Valentine 2013, pp. 220-222.

⁸⁴ Boord 2010, p. xxiv.

⁸⁵ Their relationship was not purely political, it was also a spiritually sincere friendship. See Valentine 2013 pp. 215-216, and Boord 2010, p. xxvii.

behalf of the Fifth Dalai Bla ma,⁸⁶ performed the long-life rituals for the young Sixth Dalai Bla ma and took part in his official recognition,⁸⁷ as well as played an important role in facilitating the concealment of the Fifth Dalai Bla ma's death.⁸⁸

Padma 'phrin las was not the only illustrious prodigy of the rNam sras gling family at his time. His younger brother, dKon mchog chos grags (Könchok Chödrak, 1646–1718)⁸⁹ proved to be a talented grammarian, editor, and translator. Besides, dKon mchog chos grags was well-versed in Tibetan medicine⁹⁰ and renowned as the “*Mahāpaṇ[ḍita]*” of rNam gling (the Great Pundit of Namling). The two brothers were both patronized by the Fifth Dalai Bla ma and they maintained a close friendship with each other throughout their lives. The mNga' ris brothers, Legs ldan rdo rje and mNga' ris Paṇ chen, served as role model for Padma 'phrin las in the relationship with his brother.⁹¹

The education of Padma 'phrin las began at the age of four, even before his official enthronement. At the same age, he started to receive a lot of transmissions, but due to some political and sectarian biases of his attendants, he could not receive all that he wished.⁹² Among his main teachers⁹³ were Zur chen Chos dbyings rang grol (Zurchen Chöying Rangdröl, 1604–1669),⁹⁴ the founder of the sMin grol gling (Mindroling) monastery sMin gling gter chen 'Gyur med rdo rje (Minling Trichen Gyurme Dorjé, 1646–1714),⁹⁵ mGon po bSod nams mchog ldan (Gönpo Sönam Chokden, 1603–1659),⁹⁶ sMan lung pa Blo mchog rdo rje (Menlungpa Lomchok Dorjé, 1595–1671),⁹⁷ Se ston Thugs mchog 'od bar (Setön Tukchog Öwar)⁹⁸ and Lha btsun Nam mkha' 'jigs med (Lhatsün Namka Jigmé, 1597–1650).⁹⁹

⁸⁶ See Valentine 2013, pp. 223–224.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 227.

⁸⁸ See Valentine 2013, pp. 224–225.

⁸⁹ BDRC P2382.

⁹⁰ See Gyatso 2015, p. 88.

⁹¹ See Valentine 2013, p. 209.

⁹² See Gentry 2017, p. 409.

⁹³ See Boord 1993, p. 30, fn. 93.

⁹⁴ BDRC P650.

⁹⁵ BDRC P7.

⁹⁶ BDRC P3256.

⁹⁷ BDRC P2668. His biography is provided in *The Accounts of Eminent Masters*, pp. 388–409.

⁹⁸ BDRC P9480.

⁹⁹ BDRC P1691. He was a master of rDzogs chen who engaged in restoration works at Bsam yas monastery in the 2nd quarter of the 17th century (see Akester 2016, p. 316, fn. 43).

Later throughout his life, Padma 'phrin las positioned himself as a non-sectarian master, emphasized the importance of this approach, and continued to gather transmissions and teachings from different masters without bias.¹⁰⁰

Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las had continued the work of his predecessor, the Third Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po who founded rDo rje brag monastery in 1632.¹⁰¹ When in 1646 Padma 'phrin las undertook the abbotship of the recently founded monastery,¹⁰² rDo rje brag had not yet become a significant center of rNying ma education. The next logical step would be to strengthen the positions of rDo rje brag and establish it as a respectable, powerful and major center within the rNying ma school.

To strengthen the positions and to consolidate the authority of the Rig 'dzin lineage seated at rDo rje brag, Padma 'phrin las worked in two main directions by addressing both main bodies of the rNying ma School's doctrine: the Spoken (*bka' ma*) and the Treasure (*gter ma*) lineages. To address the latter, Padma 'phrin las composed comprehensive ritual manuals of the Northern Treasures based on the summary of instructions coming from all the three lineages that originated from rGod ldem 'Phru can – the Mother, the Son, and the Disciple lineages and thus united them into one.¹⁰³

To address the “Spoken lineage” (*bka' ma*) and to fulfill the request of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Padma 'phrin las worked on the *Sūtra Which Gathers All Intentions*. The reason for this judicious choice was that “by the seventeenth century the *Sūtra Empowerment* had become a grand ceremony that was thought to embody the very heart of the *bka' ma* transmission”¹⁰⁴ and “in [the] seventeenth century, this *Sūtra* had become a requirement for any major institution of the Rnying-ma school.”¹⁰⁵ Padma 'phrin las worked on the *Sūtra* by writing two major works: an elaborate three-volume ritual manual on the *Sūtra*'s empowerment ceremony, *Embarking on the*

¹⁰⁰ See Valentine 2013, p.p. 209–211.

¹⁰¹ The foundation date is given according to Dalton 2002, p. 166. The Preface to the *Accounts of Eminent Masters in the Transmission Lineage of the Sūtra Empowerment* gives the date around 1610 (see the Preface to the *Accounts of Eminent Masters in the Transmission Lineage of the Sūtra Empowerment*).

¹⁰² See Valentine 2013, p. 217.

¹⁰³ See Boord 2010, p. xxiv–xxv. Padma 'phrin las was highly proficient in organizing ritual systems. As Jay Valentine puts it, “if we consider his accomplishments by way of an analogy to sheet music, he collected random chord charts from folk musicians and transformed them into a score for a world-class symphony.” (Valentine 2013, p. 223).

¹⁰⁴ Boord 2010, p. xxv.

¹⁰⁵ Dalton 2010, p. 167.

Ocean of Maṇḍalas: Empowerment Ceremonies of the Sūtra Which Gathers All Intentions ('Dus pa mdo'i dbang chog dkyil 'khor rgya mtsho'i 'jug ngog)¹⁰⁶ and the *Accounts of Eminent Masters in the Transmission Lineage of the Sūtra Empowerment* (bKa' ma mdo dbang gi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar). Padma 'phrin las's collected works fill thirteen volumes.¹⁰⁷

When Padma 'phrin las was about fifty years old, in 1690, he de-facto retired from his abbotship and undertook a one-year long pilgrimage to gTsang in order to visit the sacred places connected to the Northern Treasures tradition. Upon his return to rDo rje brag he acted as abbot only nominally. “Even after his return to rDo rje brag as abbot emeritus, he tends to dispatch the young incarnate lama [the reincarnation of Zur chen Chos dbyings rang grol (Zurchen Chöying Rangdröl, 1604-1657/69), Ngag dbang Kun dga' bsod nams (Ngawang Künga Sönam), who, as well as Padma 'phrin las, was born at rNam sras gling (Namséling)]¹⁰⁸ more and more as he increases in age. A highpoint of his career occurred in 1699 when he was commissioned to be the master of ceremonies for a large-scale ritual performance including one hundred monks that was intended to stave off military attacks.”¹⁰⁹

In 1718, at the age of seventy-seven, Padma 'phrin las and his younger brother were tragically killed by the invading Dzungar Mongol army who raided the rNying ma and the Gelugpa institutions that they believed were at fault of polluting the pure dGe lugs pa teachings with extraneous elements.¹¹⁰ “Following the Dzungars' departure, both rDo rje brag and sMin grol gling were restored with the help of Tibet's new leader, Pho lha nas bSod nams stobs rgyas (Polhané Sönam Topgyé, 1689–1747), and their former relations with the Dalai Bla mas resumed.”¹¹¹

3.2. *The Accounts of Eminent Masters in the Transmission Lineage of the Sūtra Empowerment:* the context and the framework of its composition

¹⁰⁶ This ritual manual is used up to our days exclusively in the rNying ma monasteries affiliated to rDo rje brag. In contrast, all other rNying ma monasteries employ the “simplified” ritual manual based on Terdak Lingpa's works created at sMin grol gling with the intent to carry out a large-scale public festival (see Dalton 2002, p.p. 205-206).

¹⁰⁷ See Dudjom 1991, p. 720.

¹⁰⁸ Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (17th century). BDRC P8LS12648.

¹⁰⁹ Valentine 2013, pp. 231-232. In addition, the Byang gter masters helped defeating the Tsang pa rulers by employing “enemy-destroying rituals (*Drag po'i las*).” Akester 2016, p. 354.

¹¹⁰ See Shakabpa 2010, p. 382 and Akester 2016, p. 355.

¹¹¹ Dalton 2016, p. 113.

The biography of mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal, the subject of the present thesis, forms a part of Padma 'phrin las's extensive composition on the biographies of masters in the transmission lineage of the *Sūtra Which Gathers All Intentions*. For this reason, I will briefly describe the circumstances and grounds for the creation of this work.

Padma 'phrin las wrote the *Accounts of Eminent Masters* in about one and a half months in Yang dben 'chi med Pho brang (the Yangwen Chimé hall) of the rDo rje brag monastery in the summer of 1681 at the age of forty-one.¹¹² At that age, he had already received the transmission of the *Sūtra Empowerment (mdo dbang)* five times in his life.¹¹³

The work begins with a brief account of Buddha Śākyamuni based on his Twelve Deeds (Skt. *dvadaśabuddhakārya*; Tib. *mdzad pa bcu gnyis*)¹¹⁴ and continues with the short description of Padmasambhava's life based on his Eleven Deeds (*mdzad pa bcu gcig*). After discussing how the tantras were translated and promulgated in Tibet, as well as how the three inner tantras of Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga were transmitted through human and non-human lineages, Padma 'phrin las goes on to the life account of the semi-mythical figure of dGa' rab rdo rje (Garab Dorjé). What follows are the biographies of about twenty-three individuals in the transmission of the *Sūtra* before the lineage finally lands in the hands of the author, Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las.

Both mNga' ris brothers received the *Sūtra*'s lineage from their father, 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan, and later forwarded it to sKyī ston Tshe ring dbang po (Kytön Tsering Wangpo)¹¹⁵ Padma 'phrin las traces the lineage of the *Sūtra* empowerment through Legs ldan rdo rje,¹¹⁶ who is the “original source” of the *Sūtra Empowerment*'s transmission.¹¹⁷ In the introductory sentences to mNga' ris Paṅ chen's biography the author says that “the [transmission of the *Sūtra Which Gathers All Intentions*] should continue with the chief of the lineage, Rig

¹¹² See the colophon to *The Accounts of the Eminent Masters*, p. 420.6: “*thub bstan e waṃ lcog sgar gyi chos smra ba'i dge slong bya bral ba padma 'phrin las kyis rang lo zhe gcig pa lcags mo bya'i lo dbyar zla rwa snron gyi zla bar 'go btsams/ dbyar 'bring chu stod kyis nya ba'i dbang phyogs bzang po dang po'i tshes la yongs su tshang bar 'og min bla ma'i gdan sa thub bstan rdo rje brag gi yang dben 'chi med pho brang du [...]*”

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 419.1: “*da lta rang lo zhe gcig pa phan la mdo dbang tshar lnga song ba sogs [...]*”

¹¹⁴ For enumeration of the Twelve Deeds, see, for example, Buswell & Lopez 2014, p. 2271.

¹¹⁵ BDRC P10123. Biography in the *Accounts of Eminent Masters*, pp. 376–379.

¹¹⁶ See Dalton 2002, p. 171

¹¹⁷ This remark made by the Fifth Dalai Bla ma can be found in Karmay 1988, p. 52.

'dzin [Legs ldan rdo] rjé.”¹¹⁸ The reason why the younger, not the older brother is the chief of the lineage, is perhaps due to the fact, that the autobiography of mNga' ris Paṇ chen neither explicitly mentions sKyī ston Tshe ring dbang po nor gives the date and place of this event. For this reason, Padma 'phrin las was unable to explicitly include mNga' ris Paṇ chen into the lineage. In addition, Legs ldan rdo rje belongs to the direct reincarnation lineage (*skyes rabs*) of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem 'Phru can and thus he is of utmost importance for the *Sūtra*'s transmission lineage of Padma 'phrin las. Although Legs ldan rdo rje is the youngest son in his family, he is the “chief of the lineage” (*brgyud pa'i gtso bo*).

Legs ldan rdo rje bestowed the transmission on sKyī ston Tshe ring dbang po in bSam 'grub rtse (Samdruptsé).¹¹⁹ sKyī ston later gave the transmission to 'Bres gshongs pa Chos rgyal rDo rje (Dreshongpa Chögyal Dorjé, 1607–1677)¹²⁰ and the latter gave it in secrecy to the teacher of Padma 'phrin las, sMan lung pa Blo mchog rdo rje upon an insistent request of the Great Fifth.¹²¹

The composition of the *Accounts of Eminent Masters* pursued two goals. The first one was to reconstruct or to revive Padma 'phrin las's transmission lineage of the *Sūtra* that had been lost to the Northern Treasures community during the time of bKra shis stobs rgyal and Ngag gi dbang po.¹²² To hold an authentic lineage of that particular *bka' ma* teaching was of crucial importance for any major reputable rNying ma institution.¹²³ The second goal was to exclude other existing transmission lineages of the *Sūtra*¹²⁴ and that the “control of this key ritual system would be taken away from the Dalai Bla ma's enemies and tilt the balance of political authority

¹¹⁸ See *The Biography of Ngari Panchen* by Pema Trinlé, p. 304.5: “*brgyud pa'i gtso bo rig 'dzin rje las brgyud dgos shing*.” Cf. Valentine 2013, p. 151: “Thus, there is reason to believe that as the elder brother, Padma Wangyel, was being groomed for a leadership position. The superiority of his role in the family practice and his centrality in the relationship with Shā kya bzang po may be reflected in his identification as an emanation of King Khri strong lde btsan. This perspective is strengthened below as Padma Wangyel's reincarnation is even more clearly presented as a patriarch of the tradition. Nevertheless, tradition maintains that the most important link is that which is forged between Śākya Zangpo and Lekden Dorjé.”

¹¹⁹ See Dalton 2002, pp. 170–171.

¹²⁰ BDRC P1688. See his biography in *The Accounts of the Eminent Masters*, pp. 379–388.

¹²¹ See Dalton 2002, pp. 170–171.

¹²² *Ibid*, pp. 178–179.

¹²³ *Ibid*, p. 167.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 181–182.

in his favour.”¹²⁵ In pursuing this goal, Padma 'phrin las went to great lengths claiming that the other two lineages were either not authentic or distorted and that it was him who exclusively has the authentic and legitimate lineage of the *Sūtra* empowerment.¹²⁶

These “enemies of the Dalai Bla ma” were the gTsang rulers and the rNying ma masters they granted their support to. The same two groups also happened to be the adversaries of Padma 'phrin las – the ally, friend and disciple of the Fifth Dalai Bla ma. The gTsang rulers, who opposed the growing power of the Dalai Bla ma’s institution, banned his recognition, captured and separated the young future Fifth Dalai Bla ma from his father,¹²⁷ were also Padma 'phrin las’s antagonists because it was them who exiled bKra shis stobs rgyal, the father of the Second rDo rdrag Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po, from the headquarters of the Northern Treasures in gTsang and caused him to wander around.¹²⁸ gTsang rulers’ rNying ma allies and in particular, Zhig po gling pa (Zhikpo Lingpa, 1524–1583),¹²⁹ used to throw accusations at Legs ldan rdo rje.¹³⁰ Zhig po gling pa’s main student was Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (Sokdokpa Lodrö

¹²⁵ See Boord 2010, p. xxv. In addition, the Fifth Dalai Bla ma not only commissioned to write the *Sūtra* empowerment’s manual, he also urged sMan lung pa to give the empowerment of the *Sūtra Which Gathers All Intentions* to Padma 'phrin las, and sMan lung pa even made special arrangements for Padma 'phrin las to become the exclusive holder of the lineage (see Dalton 2002, p.p. 173-176).

¹²⁶ See Dalton 2002, p. 169.

¹²⁷ Karmay 1998, p. 507.

¹²⁸ Those gTsang rulers were Zhing shag tshe brtan rdo rje (Shingshak Tseten Dorjé, alias Shingshakpa, d. 1566, BDRC P506), also known as Ka rma tshe brtan (Karma Tseten) and his son Kun spangs pa lHa dbang rdo rje (Künpang Lhawang Dorjé, d. 1605, BDRC P1370). According to Tsepon Shakabpa, Zhing shag pa died around 1566 (see Shakabpa 2010, p. 247), other sources provide 1599 as the year of his death (see Gentry 2014, p. 138; Bogin 2005, ix). Zhing shag pa’s son, Kun spangs pa lHa dbang, supported bKra shis stobs rgyal’s elder brother in the conflict they had, presumably over the family estate. Zhing shag pa forced bKra shis stobs rgyal into exile (see Shakabpa 2010, p. 281). The fact that the gTsang rulers would have chosen to support bKra shis stobs rgyal’s antagonist in any given conflict is not surprising, since their spiritual allies from the rNying ma sect were previously known to have a conflict with Legs ldan rdo rje (see Gentry 2017, pp. 394-397) who recognized bKra shis stobs rgyal to be the reincarnation of his influential elder brother mNga' ris Paṇ chen. Jakob Dalton writes that bKra shis stobs rgyal was expelled together with his brother (see Dalton 2002, p. 194) based on the account given by bDud 'joms Rin po che: “*zhing zhag pas dbang btsong byas nas byang gdag bkra shis stobs rgyal dang ma mthun pas/ khong dang byang pa nam mkha' rgyal mtshan bsdongs nas bkra shis stobs rgyal yul bston te/*” (see Dalton 2002, p. 195, fn. 52). The personal pronoun *khong* might refer either to Zhing shag pa or to bKra shis stobs rgyal. Since the verb in the last sentence is *bsdongs* which I prefer to read as “to befriend [someone], to be united, to associate” rather than “to [physically] accompany [someone],” I understand that sentence as “having befriended the Byang pa ruler Nam mkha' rGyal mtshan (Namkha Gyaltsen), he [i.e. Zhing shag pa] expelled bKra shis stobs rgyal out [of his home]land.” Thus, the version that bKra shis stobs rgyal was expelled alone by Zhing shag pa who allied with the elder brother of bKra shis stobs rgyal seems to be plausible. For a reference to some “interesting details of the episode,” see Ehrhard 2015, p. 148, fn. 12.

¹²⁹ BDRC P640.

¹³⁰ Gentry 2017, p. 396.

Gyaltzen, 1552–1624)¹³¹ and the latter was the guru of Gong ra Lo chen gZhan phan rdo rje (Gongra Lochen Shenpen Dorjé, 1594–1654).¹³² The Fifth Dalai Bla ma called them “the triad of Nang, Sok and Gong” (*sNang sog gong gsum*), all of them “closely worked with the gTsang kings against the Mongols invaders.”¹³³ It was probably the rNying ma adepts of that same group who spread rumors that Padma 'phrin las did not in fact receive the transmission of the *Sūtra* empowerment from sMan lung pa.¹³⁴

The oeuvre of Padma 'phrin las excluded not only the sNang sog gong (Nang, Sok and Gong) faction from the three existing transmission lineages of the *Sūtra* empowerment: the author also accused the Kaḥtok liturgy of being overcomplicated and confusing.¹³⁵ In the colophon to his *Accounts of Eminent Masters*, Padma 'phrin las states that his ritual manual *Entering the Ocean of Maṇḍalas* perfectly unites the obscure old manuscripts of the Zur (Zur), the Kaḥ thog (Kaḥtok), the gLan (Len), and the Se (Sé) traditions.¹³⁶ “While Padma 'phrin las did succeed in creating a new *Sūtra* empowerment lineage, he was ultimately unable to obliterate the other two [the one that came to sMin grol gling through Zur mo dGe 'dun 'bum (Zurmo Gendün Bum, fl. 14th century)¹³⁷ and the other one that arrived at Kaḥtok through sGrol chen Sangs rgyas rin chen rgyal mtshan dpal bzang (Drölchen Sangyé Rinchen Gyaltzen Pelzang, 1350–1441¹³⁸].”¹³⁹

3.3. Padma 'phrin las's Biography of mNga' ris Paṇ chen

As was mentioned above, Padma 'phrin las traces the lineage of the *Sūtra* empowerment masters through Legs ldan rdo rje.¹⁴⁰ As the author puts it, “[the transmission] should pass on with the

¹³¹ BDRC P645. The title “*Sog bzlog pa*” literally means “The Mongol-Repeller.”

¹³² BDRC P1689.

¹³³ Dalton 2002, p. 185.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 171-172.

¹³⁵ For a discussion on the possible reasons behind this position of Padma 'phrin las, see Dalton 2002, pp. 197–200.

¹³⁶ See the colophon to *The Accounts of Eminent Masters*, p. 416.6: “*dgongs pas byin gyis brlabs pa sogs kyis thabs zur lugs/ kaḥ thog lugs/ glan lugs/ se lugs sogs kyi yig rnying gzhan gyis gsal bar ma nus pa'i dka' gnas mtha' dag legs par bkrol ba'i chog khrigs dkyil 'khor rgya mtsho'i 'jug dogs kyi rtsom pa [...]*”

¹³⁷ BDRC P2903.

¹³⁸ BDRC P4174.

¹³⁹ Dalton 2002, p. 168, p. 202.

¹⁴⁰ See Part One, pp. 15-16.

chief of the lineage, Rig 'dzin rje (Rikdzin Jé).”¹⁴¹ Thus, it wasn’t strictly necessary to include the biography of mNga' ris Paṇ chen in the collection. The author explains his decision in the two first sentences of the biography, saying that since mNga' ris Paṇ chen was one of Legs ldan rdo rje’s main spiritual masters and that the former’s activity was of enormous benefit for the Dharma, he decided to write about Padma dbang rgyal, too.¹⁴² This stipulation sounds almost like an apology to justify the inclusion of mNga' ris Paṇ chen’s biography into his *Accounts of Eminent Masters*.

That decision turned out to be of utmost significance and benefit for the future generations and researchers since the greatest part of consecutive biographers of mNga' ris Paṇ chen depended on Padma 'phrin las’s work that summarized the known textual sources on the life of this outstanding master that were available at that time.¹⁴³ Some of those sources are lost to the present day,¹⁴⁴ and the surviving autobiography in verses is a voluminous text that requires cumbersome work for its summarization, and ends in the forty-eight year of mNga' ris Paṇ chen’s life, about eight years prior to his passing. We can thus be assured that Padma 'phrin las’s effort prevented some bits of knowledge from falling into oblivion, and his role in preserving knowledge on mNga' ris Paṇ chen can not be underestimated.

Padma 'phrin las cites four sources that he used for the compilation of mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal’s life: (1) the extensive versified autobiography, *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being*, (2) the *Collected Works*, (3) the *Record of Teachings Received*, as well as (4) the autobiographic, presumably versicular, *Secret Account of Complete Liberation*.¹⁴⁵ Only the first text survived to the present day, the other three seem to have been lost at some point in the tumultuous events of Tibetan history.

Padma 'phrin las’s account of mNga' ris Paṇ chen’s life takes about thirty large-sized folios, each folio has six lines of text. About sixty-five percent of this work closely follows the

¹⁴¹ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen* by Pema Trinlé, p. 304.5: *brgyud pa'i gtso bo rig 'dzin rje las brgyud dgos shing*.

¹⁴² For the corresponding Tibetan transliteration and the edition of *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen* by Pema Trinlé, see Part Two, pp. 39-73.

¹⁴³ For the discussion of primary sources to the life of mNga' ris Paṇ chen and the possible reason why the early biographical sources on his life are very scarce, see Part One, 2. Tibetan Sources on mNga' ris Paṇ chen, p. 9.

¹⁴⁴ For a discussion on the sources that Padma 'phrin las had employed for his work, see the paragraph below.

¹⁴⁵ For the translation of the source’s titles that Padma 'phrin las names, see Part Two, 3. Translation, p. 125. Cf. *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen* by Pema Trinlé, p. 332.3 and Part Two, p. 70 for its transliteration in Wylie.

above-mentioned autobiography in verses, with minor additions from the *Record of Teachings Received*.¹⁴⁶ Padma 'phrin las remarks that starting with the protagonist's forty-seventh year of age (1534), the events in the autobiographical account are not given in full, so he will continue the hagiography by employing the *Secret Account* and Legs ldan rdo rje's biography. Since other sources available to Padma 'phrin las (the *Secret Account*, the *Record of Teachings Received*, and the *Collected Works*) are not extant to this day, it is difficult to evaluate to which extent Padma 'phrin las utilized them. It is likely that the events describing the supposedly visionary meeting with Lochen Sönam Namgyal (Blo chen bSod rnam rnam rgyal, 1400–1475) at Jampaling (Byams pa gling), the clear visions, and the prophecies¹⁴⁷ were taken from the autobiographical *Secret Account*. At the same time, it is reasonable to suggest that the events describing the invitation of rJe 'Bri gung pa Rin chen phun tshogs (Rinchen Püntsoḡ, the Dharma Lord of Drikung, 1509–1557), the building of a residence in 'On, and the post-mortal arrangements were complemented from the *Biography of Lekden Dorjé* (*Rig 'dzin rje'i rnam thar*).¹⁴⁸ Padma 'phrin las makes some minor remarks based on some of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's works. For example, the reference to Nam mkha'i rnal 'byor (Namké Neljor) as a highly realized master who was “able to hover in the air, unhindered like a bird” comes from mNga' ris Paṇ chen's *Wheel of the Sun and the Moon that Dispels the Darkness*.¹⁴⁹

The verses comprise about one-third of the whole text. They are followed or preceded with a commentary by the author; all of them, except the concluding ones, are citations from bibliographical sources available to Padma 'phrin las. Thus, the concluding devotional verses were composed by the latter.

Roughly eighty percent of the entirety of verses employed by Padma 'phrin las derive from the autobiography, *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being*, a voluminous manuscript of ninety-six folios with six lines of text on each folio. In the first part, comprising about one-fourth of his entire work, Padma 'phrin las extensively cites the biographical verses, provides many details, including some subsidiary events, until at some point¹⁵⁰ he decided to give up the

¹⁴⁶ For an example of such addition, see Part Two, 3. Translation, p. 111. Cf. *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 324.3.

¹⁴⁷ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen by Pema Trinlé*, pp. 326.5–328.6. For the translation, see Part Two, 3. Translation, pp. 117–118.

¹⁴⁸ See Part Two, 3. Translation, p. 116, pp. 121–127.

¹⁴⁹ See *The Wheel of the Sun and the Moon that Dispels the Darkness by Ngari Paṇchen*, fol. 213.5.

¹⁵⁰ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 315.2.

citations of verses and paraphrase them in prose. Interestingly, Padma 'phrin las abridges some of the years of the protagonist's life to just one sentence, even though the events that happened in those years took mNga' ris Paṇ chen several folios to describe. For example, the thirty-eight year of age that takes about two folios of autobiographical verses describing the events in Dol po,¹⁵¹ is summarized into just one sentence: "he widely turned the Dharma wheel of the New and the Old [Schools]." Likewise, the thirty-ninth year of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's life is condensed to one observation: "he did a lot of studies and contemplations."¹⁵² The difficulty of an effort of trying to convey some ninety-six folios full of events in one work is thoroughly understandable; however, Padma 'phrin las skips some important events, such as, for example, mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal's activities in Gung thang: the names of the persons and the teachings he received and transmitted prior his departure to Nepal. Another major omission concerns the meeting of mNga' ris Paṇ chen with Go rams pa bSod nams senge's (Gorampa Sönam Sengé, 1429–1489) principal disciple (*thugs sras*) Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (Künga Gyaltzen).¹⁵³

Unfortunately, the scope of this work does not allow me to study the autobiography in full and in detail. However, even a cursory comparison of the autobiography to Padma 'phrin las's biography shows that the emendations of names, places, and transmitted teachings seem to be substantial. This stands in contrast to the first third of the biography, where Padma 'phrin las largely cited the autobiographical verses. The reader can not help but have the feeling that even though the author was surely acquainted with the autobiography, he did not plan the scope and contents of the forthcoming biographical project. It almost seems that Padma 'phrin las underestimated the volume of the autobiography, and as if he suddenly realized that he has to substantially abridge its contents in the course of writing. For this reason, the autobiographical contents are not presented proportionally: while the episodes from the younger years of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's life are cited thoroughly, many important events that took place later in his life were left out.

But even so, Padma 'phrin las's work is undisputable well-structured, the sentences are unambiguous, and the citations are clearly marked. The life events are ordered according to the protagonist's age, similar to the autobiographical verses. Since the author provides his date of

¹⁵¹ Cf. *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen*, 36v5-37r6.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 320 line 3. For the translation of the autobiographical events omitted by Padma 'phrin las, see Part Two, fn. 728.

¹⁵³ See *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen*, fol. 20v1-2. Cf. Part Two, p. 94, fn. 713.

birth from the very start, this enables the reader to identify the dating of events without great difficulties. Except for some minor unintentional omissions, presumably made by the scribe,¹⁵⁴ the verses are copied truthfully to their autobiographic source. Even though, as seen above, some autobiographical events are omitted, the author didn't miss any crucial ones: the occasions of taking vows and ordinations, receiving transmissions, and paying visits to important places are meticulously documented, including the person's names involved. To sum up, the biography of mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal by Padma 'phrin las is a reliable source for assessing the chronicle of events and the history of religious transmission lineages.

3.4. The outline of mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal's biography by Padma 'phrin las

A. Introduction

B. The main body of the biography

1. Conception, birth and the family lineage

2. Life in Glo bo

2.1. Early education and practice, 1487–1501

2.1.1. Taking vows of a lay practitioner and receiving tantric instructions

2.1.2. Initial tantric practice, spiritual accomplishments and clear visions

2.1.3. Serving as a ritual master for the ruler of Glo bo

2.1.4. Taking special vows

2.2. Young age, 1502–1511

2.2.1. Seeking for the guru

2.2.2. Demonstrating miracles

2.2.3. Taking further special vows and the deepening of studies

2.2.4. First pilgrimage to sKyid grong and the experience of clear visions

2.2.5. Obtaining signs of realization and the father's prophecy

2.2.6. Monastic ordination

2.3. Extensive studies under different masters and travels, 1512–1526.

2.3.1. Retreat in Dol po and pilgrimages in mNga' ris

2.3.2. The sojourn to [s]Pu hrang with Glo bo mKhan chen, 1518.

¹⁵⁴ For an example of such omission, see Part Two, p. 68, fn. 640.

- 2.3.3. A Journey to Ku thang, 1520.
- 2.3.4. The Pilgrimage to Nepal in 1522 and activities in Glo bo (1523 – 1526).
- 3. Departure from Glo bo and the route to lHasa, 1527–1529
 - 3.1. Pilgrimages to Ri bo bKra bzang; the Ngam ring and the gTsang province, 1527
 - 3.2. Arrival to lHasa and departure to Gung thang, 1528
 - 3.3. Travels around the valleys of Yar klung
- 4. Activities as a renowned Dharma-master, 1530–1533
 - 4.1 Journey to Lho brag to restore the deteriorated lineages
 - 4.2. Teaching at Bsam yas and the *gter ma* revelation (1531/1532)
 - 4.3. Giving teachings, presiding over large-scale rituals and ceremonies in gTsang
 - 4.4. The prophecy on rDo rje brag (1532/1533)
 - 4.5. Residing and teaching at Bsam yas
- 5. The concluding part of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's life: after 1534
 - 5.1. The autobiographical Song of Realization
 - 5.2. Building a residence in the 'On (Ön) valley
 - 5.3. Performing extensive ceremonies at Bsam yas with rJe 'Bri gung pa Rin chen phun tshogs
 - 5.4. The sources for this biography
 - 5.5. Monastic guidelines for the community
- 6. Rituals and post-mortals arrangements made by Legs ldan rdo rje, 1542
- C. Concluding devotional verses by Padma 'phrin las

4. The Homeland of mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal

The hagiography composed by Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las, the main source for the present work, names the birthplace of mNga' ris Paṇ chen “Lhündrup Chöding of Lowo Mathang” (*Glo bo ma thang gi lhun grub chos sdings*).¹⁵⁵

“Lo” (Glo) or “Lowo” (Glo bo) is the name of the Glo Kingdom, an area that is called “Mustang” nowadays. It should be noted that the territory of modern Mustang does not exactly correspond to the territory of the former Glo Kingdom. Nevertheless, “Mustang” and “Lo” are synonymous nowadays. Glo was divided into lower and upper parts (as is Mustang) with its capital Mönthang in its upper part.¹⁵⁶ At some point in time the non-native non-tibetan speakers started to refer to the whole territory of the Kingdom as “Mustang,” a corruption of its capital’s name “Mönthang” (sMon thang).¹⁵⁷ Tibetan written sources adapt two spellings of that name: “sMon thang” and “sMan thang.”¹⁵⁸ For this reason, we might at first assume that Ma thang (Mathang) from mNga' ris Paṇ chen’s hagiography is also a corruption of sMon thang (Mönthang) and designates either the area of Mustang in general (as did the non-native speakers do) or its capital sMon thang (Mönthang) in particular. This assumption is substantiated by the fact that “Lo Manthang” is one of the five modern administrative subdivisions of the Mustang region of Nepal. Furthermore, some modern maps name the capital of Mustang “Lo Manthang” which sounds very similar to “Lo Mathang.” However, a closer look will prove that the birthplace of mNga' ri Paṇ chen, “Mathang,” does not correspond to the “Mönthang” capital of Mustang. It rather turns out to be an old spelling of what we see as “Marang” on modern maps.

Glo bo in Tibetan indigenous literature designates the Glo Kingdom, i.e. Mustang. Its natives sometimes refer to its villages and towns by putting “Lo” before each of their names: for example, the Drakmar village is on some occasions called Lo Drakmar, the Tsarang village “Lo Tsarang” and so forth. Thus it is unlikely that Padma 'phrin las would refer to the whole territory of Glo as “Lo Mathang” (Glo ma thang). He is rather talking of a particular place in Mustang, the “Ma thang” situated in Glo. Even though it is common to find spelling mistakes in the names of

¹⁵⁵ *Biography of Ngari Paṇchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 315.1: *khungs yul ni glo bo ma thang gi lhun grub chos sdings*.

¹⁵⁶ For a short, but an informative historical sketch on Mustang, see Lo Bue 2010, pp. 11-23. For a more detailed analysis of the periods of Mustang’s history, see Dhungel 2010.

¹⁵⁷ See Jackson 1984, pp. 5-7. See also Dhungel 2002, pp. 185-186.

¹⁵⁸ See Dhungel 2002, p. 186.

toponyms in Tibetan indigenous literature, it is unlikely that Padma 'phrin las could have misspelled the name of sMon thang because this name refers to the capital of Glo, a large-scale political and religious center that was often mentioned in all kinds of literature. Furthermore, the toponym Ma thang (Mathang) is clearly differentiated from sMon thang (Mönthang) in mNga' ris Paṇ chen's autobiography, the primary source of the biography written by Padma 'phrin las.¹⁵⁹ “Mathang” in Padma 'phrin las's account is also not a name of a city or a village, for if that would have been the case, there would have been no need to provide a further elaboration such as lHun grub chos sding.

lHun grub chos sding thus used to be a notable landmark, but it can't be found on modern maps (as is the case with Ma thang). The residents of modern Mustang whom I asked do not recall any ruins or any area by the same name. But lHun grub chos sding was certainly a monastery, not a fortress. Firstly, its name has a religious connotation and secondly, mNga' ris Paṇ chen refers to it as “his [native] monastery”¹⁶⁰ and Padma 'phrin las as well states that this is a monastery.¹⁶¹



Fig. 1 — Ruins at Omo Lhündrup, 29° 6'51.52"N, 83°53'19.05"E (March 2020, © Dawa Sunduk)

¹⁵⁹ *The Autobiography by Ngari Panchen*, fol. 22r6: *ma thang*; fol. 23v2 and fol. 27v1: *smon thang*.

¹⁶⁰ *The Autobiography by Ngari Panchen*, fol 21v3: *rang nyid kyi dgon pa lhun sdings*. On another instance mNga' ris Paṇ chen refers to it as “*lhun grub dpal gyi chos sde*,” see *The Wheel of the Sun and the Moon that Dispels the Darkness* by Ngari Paṇchen, p. 209.6.

¹⁶¹ *The Biography of Jamyang Rinchen Gyaltsen*, p. 215: *ma thang lhun grub dpal gyi chos sdings dgon pa*. Cf. *The Biography of Lekden Düdjom Dorjé*, p. 340: *glo bo ma thang lhun grub chos sdings dpal gyi dgon pa*.

Some locals, such as for example mKhan po Ngag dbang 'jigs med (Khenpo Ngawang Jigmé), a Sa skya-affiliated modern researcher of Glo's History, reports that lHun grub chos sdng stood south of dGe dkar (Ghar) monastery, on the western mountain ridge of the upper Ma rang valley en route to the Ma rang pass. This assumption is made on the ground that locals call this area “Omo Lhündrup.”¹⁶²

But apart from the similarity in the soundings of the names, this theory is not substantiated by any other arguments.

A comparatively recent publication from 2001 authored by another Sa skya-affiliated mKhan po bKra shis bstan 'dzin (Khenpo Tashi Tenzin), *The Register of the Progressive Spreading of the Doctrine in the Land of Lowo*, names the birthplace of mNga' ris Paṇ chen “Lhündrup Chöling” and asserts it is located in Sa gra (Sagra) in Marang.¹⁶³ Sag ra is labeled as “Saukre” on modern maps and lies in the upper part of the Ma rang valley, not so far from “Omo Lhündrup.”

Apart from the data given by Padma 'phrin las, there is another description of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's birthplace provided by the Fifth Dalai Bla ma who cites the *gter ma* text *The Essential Summary of General Instructions (Spyi lung mdor bsdus snying po)* in his own writings.¹⁶⁴ It does not mention lHun grub chos sdng, but it does provide a descriptive account of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's native land as follows: it is situated to the south from the Yang 'dul (Yangdül) [temple located on] the Peak of sPra dun (Pradün), to the north to the Naga Subjugation Temple (*Klu yi kha non*) [of] Ge gar (Gegar), on a side of a great mountain that resembles a mighty elephant, on the bank of a forceful grand river and in the upper part of Ma thang valley.¹⁶⁵ The words “south from Yang 'dul sPra dun (Yangdül Pradün) temple” hint in the direction of Mustang. The sentence “north of the Naga Subjugation Temple” narrows the area down by talking of a certain “Naga-Subjugation [Temple]” (*Klu yi kha non*) in Ge gar. The legends report that the dGe dkar (Ghar) Monastery in Ge gar was founded in the 8th century by

¹⁶² I am very grateful to Dawa Sunduk (Zla ba bsam grub) for sharing locations and local legends of Marang. All further photos were as well generously provided by Dawa Sunduk.

¹⁶³ *The Register of the Progressive Spreading of the Doctrine in the Land of Lowo*, p. 230: *sngon ma rang zhes pa de ru gter ston padma dbang rgyal sag ra lhun grub chos gling du sku 'khrung pa'i padma dbang rgyal*.

¹⁶⁴ See *The Flow of the River Ganggā*, vol. 4 (nga), p. 174.

¹⁶⁵ See *ibid*, vol. 4 (nga), p.174.5-6: *yang 'dul sprā dun rtse yi lho// ge gar klu yi kha non byang// ri rgyal glang chen 'gying 'dra'i 'dab// chu chen drag po 'bab pa'i 'gram// glo bo ma thang zhe bya'i phur//*

Guru Rin po che himself on a place where he subjugated the *nagas*. This monastery at times is referred to by the name of the area where it stands: the dGe dkar (or Ge gar) monastery.¹⁶⁶ On Google maps we see it as “Ghar gompā.” The account provided by the Fifth Dalai Lama further says that the birthplace is in “the upper part of the so-called Ma thang [of] Glo bo.” dGe dkar monastery (i.e. the *Ge gar klu yi kha gnon*) is indeed located in the upper part of a valley called nowadays “Marang” and this might mean that Ma rang used to go by the name of “Mathang,” at least until the middle of the 17th century. Afterward, this name has at some point (perhaps even recently) been changed to “Marang” and the personal communication with the local villagers had confirmed that the names “Mathang” and “Marang” are used interchangeably.¹⁶⁷ The rest of the account from the work of the Fifth Dalai Lama bolsters bKra shis bstan 'dzin's statement that lHun grub chos sding was situated in Sag ra (“Saukre” on the Google maps) because Sag ra does stand on a bank of a river and on a mountainside. Although the modern-day Sagra is technically to the east of dGe dkar monastery (not to the north), it could have happened that due to the continued land desiccation its inhabitants moved slightly to the south and the main village in former times was located a few hundred meters further to the north of the modern-day Sag ra (Saukre) village. This then would perfectly fit into the description given in the *gter ma* text that it is north of dGe dkar temple. My personal communication with seasoned Tibetologists, who have a large experience in reading indigenous Tibetan texts, had shown that they often have an impression that directions and distances are quite often given not quite accurately. The communication with locals of Ma rang village had revealed that they think of Sag ra as lying to the north of dGe dkar monastery and they do call sometimes the mountain to the east of the village “the Elephant's Mountain” because it looks like an elephant to them.

Furthermore, the biography of 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan “vividly describes the shocks felt at **Marang** in upper Glo bo in 1505”¹⁶⁸ and according to this account, his own

¹⁶⁶ Tib. dGe dkar/dGes dkar or dGe sgar. The former name means “[Temple of] White Virtue” (*dGe dkar*) and the latter means “Encampment of Virtue” (*dGe sgar*). Its foundation is closely connected to Padmasambhava, who, according to a legend, tamed demons here en route to Central Tibet. The temple is also believed to be the first place where a treasure-text (*gter ma*) was ever discovered, see Ehrhard 2013, p. 242, fn. 5; p. 247.

¹⁶⁷ Dawa Sunduk, oral communication in May 2020.

¹⁶⁸ Jackson 2002, p. 151.

residence and temple were not hardly affected.¹⁶⁹ This leads us to the conclusion that the residence of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's father was located in Ma rang.

To sum up, the descriptions of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's birthplace found in the old and the new textual sources¹⁷⁰ point out that it was at the Sag ra (Saukre) village situated in the upper part of Ma rang valley. And so do the testimonies of Ma rang's local inhabitants who have no doubts that the area to the north of their village, namely, the upper part of the Ma rang valley, is the place where 'Jam dbyangs rin chen's family was active. The Ma rang valley has several places associated with the deeds of mNga' ris Paṇ chen and 'Jam dbyangs rin chen. For example, the local villagers know the place located in Ma rang where 'Jam dbyangs rin chen in his childhood was met by a party of *lamas* who came from Central Tibet looking for Mar pa Lo tsā ba's reincarnation. To the north of Ma rang village and to the south from Sag ra we find a footprint attributed to mNga' ris Paṇ chen.



Fig. 2 and Fig. 3 — The footprint found on the mountainside between the villages of Sag ra and Ma rang that the locals ascribe to mNga' ris Paṇ chen (29° 7'5.38"N, 83°54'27.70"E).

¹⁶⁹ For the account of this earthquake that took place in June 1505 and the descriptions of this event by the locals including the father and the spiritual master of mNga' ris Paṇ chen, see *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Such as *The Register of the Progressive Spreading of the Doctrine in the Land of Lowo*, Jackson 2002, and *The Flow of the River Ganggā*.

mKhan po bKra shis bstan 'dzin cites the verses from mNga' ris Paṇ chen's biography describing how he reversed the flood and says that this event took place in Ma rang.¹⁷¹ North of Sag ra we find a *stūpa* commemorating this event that happened in 1498 when mNga' ris Paṇ chen stopped the horrible flood when he was only twelve years of age:



Fig. 4 — remains of a stūpa (29° 7'32.37"N, 83°53'35.66"E) commemorating the miracle of reversing the flood performed by mNga' ris Paṇ chen.



Fig. 5 — The Flood Commemoration Stūpa.

¹⁷¹ *The Register of the Progressive Spreading of the Doctrine in the Land of Lowo*, p. 230

The inhabitants of Ma rang also believe that mNga' ris Paṇ chen used a cave below the valley for one of his manifold meditation retreats. They call it the “Oglungpa” cave (*Og lung pa'i phug*), a provisional name that literally means “the cave below the valley.”



Fig. 6 — The “Oglungpa” (*Og lung pa*) meditation cave of mNga' ris Paṇ chen, 29° 6'51.40"N, 83°54'21.16"E

To the north-west of Ma rang village lies another cave that according to oral testimonies goes by the name of sGo le kha (Golékha). It is situated just across the river from the Sag ra settlement, on a slope of a hill to the south of dGe dkar monastery.



Fig 7 — Golékha cave (approximate coordinates: 29° 7'19.03"N, 83°53'21.09"E)

The autobiographical details confirm that this cave is located in dGe dkar.¹⁷² The biography by Padma 'phrin las describes how in 1513 mNga' ris Paṇ chen had made a retreat on Avalokiteśvara from the Northern Treasures tradition in sGo le kha cave and had visions of three different forms of Mahākāla.¹⁷³



Fig. 8 and 9 — The entrance and the interior of the sGo le kha (Golékha) cave

The question of the exact location of lHun grub chos sding, namely whether this monastery was standing on the western or the eastern bank of the river in the upper part of Ma rang valley, remains open. To the west is the “Omo Lhündrup” area with some minor ruins (see Fig. 1) and to the east, just above the Sag ra village we also find ruins of something that could have been that of a monastery or a fortress. According to the eyewitnesses, one of the ruined walls seems to have been painted red which indicates that this was a wall of a monastery.

¹⁷² *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen F*, fol. 19r7: *dgun gyi dus su glo bo ge gar gyi/ sgo le khu yi phug tu spyen ras gzigs/ 'gro ba kun sgrol (=grol) bsgrubs pas gur mgon gyi/ sku yi bkod pa lan grangs gsum du mthong*.

¹⁷³ *Biography of Ngari Paṇchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 317.1-2. See the translation of this event in Part Two, pp 95-96.



Fig. 10 — The ruins above Sag ra village in the upper part of Ma rang valley (29° 7'17.10"N, 83°54'16.58"E)



Fig. 11 and Fig. 12. A closer shot of the ruins above Sag ra village.

The Sag ra settlement is located on the eastern bank of the river and has ruins of residential houses to its north, whereas on the western bank (the “Omo Lhündup” area, see Fig. 1), we find neither active settlements nor any signs of ruined settlements. Besides, the oral communication with local villagers revealed that they talk of the mountain to the east of the river just above Sag ra (Fig. 10-12) as resembling an elephant. Given those facts, we could carefully assume that this speaks in favour of the eastern location of lHun grub chos sding (Fig. 10-12). However, this remains mere speculation, and let us hope that in the future some new textual or archeological evidence will shed light on the long-vanished yet not forgotten witnesses of the spiritual greatness of Mustang’s masters from the past.

PART TWO. Edition and Translation of mNga' ris Paṅ chen's Biography by Padma 'phrin las

1. The Texts and the Method of Editing

(1) The Biography Composed by Padma 'phrin las

In order to complete the edition of the Tibetan text of mNga' ris Paṅ chen's biography composed by Padma 'phrin las, the author of the present thesis consulted one blockprint as the only ancient textual witness and compared it to four modern redactions, all included in the same collection, Padma 'phrin las's *Accounts of Eminent Masters*.

A: The old block print (1681, dGa' ldan phun tshogs gling)

The first witness (A) is a volume that contains the block print of the *Accounts of the Eminent Masters* and the biography of Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po (Rikdzin Ngagi Wangpo). Date and place of the printing are given in the printer's colophon (A, p. 425). The block was carved and printed in the iron-bird year (*lcags bya*), 1681, the same year of its composition. In the colophon we find an auspicious prayer by a certain "Mad tantric adept of Zahor," Za hor gyi sngags smyon Zil gnon bzhad pa rtsal (Zilnön Shepa Tsel). This is another name of the Fifth Dalai Bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso, 1617-1682).¹⁷⁴ The volume was published in Leh in 1972 with the information that it contains xylographic prints acquired in Lhasa (BDRC, W21523). As the only ancient textual witness, it is taken as the basis for edition.

Modern Redactions:

B: Computer input published in December 2017

The *Accounts of the Eminent Masters* published by Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang (the Tibetan Printing House of Old Manuscripts) is a part of a series of volumes prepared by a bureau affiliated to the "Hao" Monastery in Tibet that is dedicated to collecting and compiling the Early Translations' manuscripts (Bo ljongs snga 'gyur rig mdzod bsdu sgrig khang). Each semantic section of the biography comes with a new paragraph. This shows that the input was not done without giving the contents a thought. The readings are clear and legible.

C: Computer input published in 2004

The volume was published by Dharmacakra Press, Odiyan. It contains colorful plates. Each page contains a relatively small amount of text and it is done in a style of Tibetan handwriting. Such

¹⁷⁴ See MacDonald & Imadea 1997, p. 121.

books are nowadays often employed at Tibetan monasteries. The computer input was prepared by the members of *Yeshe Dé* Project.¹⁷⁵ Unfortunately, it does not have a preface and does not provide information regarding the source of the input. However, upon examination of the available texts, it is evident that the source of the input were either the xylographic block prints from Lhasa or the Leh edition that is based on those block prints. We find at least three instances with illegible characters in the Leh version where the U.S.A. edition provides a misleading spelling that is alternative to the other three versions of the text.¹⁷⁶

D: Handwritten folios published in 1999

The next edition (D) is a part of one hundred and twenty volumes of the Canonical Transmission (*bka' ma*) of the rNying ma school, published in Chengdu in 1999. It contains handwritten folios in *dbu chen* prepared at Kaḥ thog (Kaḥtok) monastery by the students of mKhan po Mun sal (Khenpo Münsel, 1916–1993) and mKhan po 'Jam dbyangs (Khenpo Jamyang).

E: Computer input published in 2015

The input was done in a form of a traditional Tibetan *pecha* (*dpe cha*). The volume is a part of a total of sixty-three volumes constituting a collection of texts related to the Northern Treasures. The goal of this publication was to preserve Northern Treasures texts that were not available in form of a block print. It seems that the computer input was done rather hastily, since this last version contains the majority of orthographical mistakes. It is certain that the input was done based on the handwritten folios made at Kaḥ thog monastery (D), because the scribe who prepared the latter version interfused some parts of the text, perhaps due to the folios of the original work getting mixed up.¹⁷⁷ The computer input of 2015, unlike the three other versions, follows the handwritten folios of Kaḥ thog. In addition, it contains relatively many scribal errors and we find orthographical mistakes in syllables, which are illegible in the handwriting of Kaḥ tog.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ This project was founded by Tarthang Tulku Rinpoche in 1983. Website: <http://volunteer.ratnaling.org/yeshe-de-text-preservation-project-2/> (accessed on 09.02.2021).

¹⁷⁶ For example, the 1972 Leh edition (A) has a syllable *gyang* that is not illegible and visually resembles a *byang*. Only upon taking a very close look, we can see that this syllable is indeed *gyang*. Here, the C edition provides *byang*, while all other three versions agree with *gyang*. The same situation we find with such syllables as *gi* and *smon*, see Part Two, 2. The Edition of the Tibetan Text, p. 60, fn. 442, p. 71, fn. 565, fn. 567.

¹⁷⁷ See *ibid.*, pp. 65-66, fn. 509, fn. 515.

¹⁷⁸ For an example, see *ibid.*, p. 70, fn. 561.

To sum up, the two editions, the blockprints printed in Leh (A) and the handwriting from Kaḥ tog (D), stand out as self-contained texts.

(2) The Autobiography by mNga' ris Paṇ chen

Padma 'phrin las, the author of the biography, extensively cited parts of the versified autobiography by mNga' ris Paṇ chen, *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland* (*lus can skye bo'i gtam rin chen phreng ba*). The author of the present thesis compared all the verses of Padma 'phrin las's work to the two available editions of the autobiography in a presumptuous effort to draw as close as possible to the authentic original (*ma dpe*).

F: The old block print (no date, no place)

This block print contains a total of ninety-six folios with seven lines of text on each side. This autobiography by mNga' ris Paṇ chen is a part of a volume containing *Miscellaneous Writings by mNga' ris Paṇ chen* (*gsung thor bu/ pad ma dbang rgyal*) that has been made available thanks to the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (W3CN18537). It is interesting to note that whereas the other texts in this volume are written in *dbu med*, the autobiography was reproduced in *dbu chen* on block prints that seem, at least visually, to be older than the Leh edition of 1972.

G: A modern redaction of the autobiography (Lhasa, December 2017)

The second version of the autobiography (G) is a recent edition done with computer input in form of a modern book. It was published by the same printing house and at the same time as the second edition of the biography (B). It is evident that the source of that input was different from that of the autobiography on block prints, because these two versions of the autobiography provide disparate readings quite frequently (for example, *khyed* and *khyod*).

The modern textual editions and the old block prints of the autobiography were employed as an assistance in reading the ancient edition (A) whenever the latter came with an unconventional, a false or an illegible reading. The goal was to remove as many errors as possible. To achieve this, the author collated all available editions (including the autobiography whenever its verses were used) and the old one, and selected the best reading. Furthermore, the autobiographical textual witnesses were employed for an evaluation of how close did the author of the biography keep to the autobiographical source, and to complement the translation of the biography with some details that the author had left out (such additions are given in footnotes or in square brackets in the English translation).

The text is presented in Wylie transliteration, so that it can be conveniently searched through in its digital form. The pagination of the Tibetan text is given according to the textual witness A.

2. The Edition of the Tibetan Text

[A.]

de ltar bka' drin mnyam pa med pa'i rje btsun des rigs sras paṇ chen mched la stsal pa yin kyang/
brgyud pa'i gtso bo rig¹⁷⁹ 'dzin rje las¹⁸⁰ brgyud dgos shing/ 'on kyang gcen mnga' ris paṇ chen
nyid gcung legs ldan zhabs kyi yongs 'dzin gyi gtso bor¹⁸¹ yang bzhugs shing/ bstan pa yongs
rdzogs la bka' drin shin tu che bas/ 'dir brgyud tshul dngos la mi dgos kyang dad pa'i rjes su
'brangs te¹⁸² [305] rnam par thar pa cung zad cig gleng bar¹⁸³ bya ba la/

[B.]

[1.]

'khrungs yul ni glo bo ma thang gi lhun grub chos sdings dang / yab ni rje btsun 'jam dbyangs rin
chen¹⁸⁴ rgyal mtshan dang/ yum 'bro lcam khrom pa rgyan yin la/ rigs rus¹⁸⁵ sogs ni gong du
smos pas 'dir brjod ma dgos/ de yang lhums su zhugs pa'i tshe yab kyi lhar bskyed cing dbang
bskur ba sogs mdzad de/ paṇ chen nyid kyi zhal gsungs¹⁸⁶ ma rnam thar tshigs bcad las/

grub thob kyi rgyal po rdo rje 'chang//
mnga' ris kyi sngags 'chang mkhyen rtogs¹⁸⁷ can// [...]
de nyid kyi brgyud¹⁸⁸ pa bdun ldan gyi//
dang po yi rjes su skyes pa'i dus//
ya mtshan gyi rtags bcu kun la grags//

¹⁷⁹ BCDE rig : A rigs

¹⁸⁰ ABC rje las : D rje la : E rjes

¹⁸¹ ABCD bor : E bo

¹⁸² ABCE 'brangs te : D 'brang ste

¹⁸³ ABCE bar : D ba

¹⁸⁴ CDE chen : AB cen

¹⁸⁵ AC rus : BE rgyud : D rgyus

¹⁸⁶ ACDE gsungs : B gsung

¹⁸⁷ BDEFG rtogs : AC rtog

¹⁸⁸ ABCDEG brgyud : F rgyud

bde skyid kyi longs spyod lo bdun bskyangs¹⁸⁹//
 lo brgyad kyi sngon du ma yi rum//
 de nyid du zhugs¹⁹⁰ pa'i srid pa¹⁹¹ la//
 lha sku ru bskyed¹⁹² nas dbang drag gi¹⁹³//
 dbang bskur dang byin rlabs tshul bzhin thob// ces gsungs la/

 me mo lug lo la sku bltams pa'i tshe lung bstan dang mtshan 'dogs mdzad tshul yang de
 nyid las/

skal bzang gi skyes bu grub thob kyi//
 rig¹⁹⁴ 'dzin rgyal po brgyad kyi sras¹⁹⁵//
 padma¹⁹⁶ yi rigs kyi rtags 'chang ba//
 the tshom dang bral lo ming 'di bzung¹⁹⁷//
 padma yi rigs las¹⁹⁸ dbang chen rgyal//
 rdo rje sems dpa' kun tu bzang//
 grags pa yi rgyal mtshan phyogs brgyar 'dzin//
 de ma brjed ma¹⁹⁹ yi yid la bzung²⁰⁰//
 ma khyod²⁰¹ kyang 'brom²⁰² ston lo tsā ba//
 mtshungs [306] bral gyi bshes gnyen brgyud par ldan//
 mkha' 'gro yi rtags dang ldan pa de²⁰³//

¹⁸⁹ ABCFG bskyangs : DE skyongs

¹⁹⁰ ACFG zhugs : BDE bzhugs

¹⁹¹ ABCDE srid pa : FG bar srid

¹⁹² ABCFG bskyed : DE bskyod

¹⁹³ ABCFG gi : DE ni.

¹⁹⁴ BCDEFG rig : A rigs

¹⁹⁵ ABCFG brgyad kyi sras: DE sras brgyad kyi

¹⁹⁶ ABCDEF padma : G pad ma

¹⁹⁷ ABCDEF bzung : G zungs

¹⁹⁸ ABCDE las : FG la

¹⁹⁹ ABCFG ma : DE bu

²⁰⁰ ABCDEF bzung : G gzung

²⁰¹ ABCDEF khyod : G khyed

²⁰² FG 'brom : ABCDE 'bro

²⁰³ ABCDE pa de : FG pas te

don de nyid la rnam thar mdzod cig gsungs²⁰⁴//

zhes dang/

[2.]

[2.1. 1487–1501]

[2.1.1.]

dgung lo brgyad pa la dge bsnyen du bsgrubs shing thugs bskyed dbang bskur mang du
gsan/ yab dkyil 'khor gyi gtso bor gzigs pa sogs yin te/ de nyid las/

lo brgyad kyi dus su dge bsnyen gnang//

sems bskyed kyi sdom pas rgyud sbyangs nas//

rgyud kun gyi rgyal po mtshan brjod dang//

sgyu 'phrul gyi rgyal po rdo rje sems//

zhi khro yi dkyil 'khor chen por bcug/

khrag 'thung gi rgyal po yang dag thugs//

drug dang brgyad kyi bdag nyid can//

de bzhin du lnga bcu rtsa brgyad pa//

nyi shu yi bdag nyid 'khor ldan pa//

bco brgyad me dgu²⁰⁵ rnams su bcug//

rgyud lung dang man ngag ci yang nos// [...]

dkyil 'khor gyi bdag por pha jo mthong//

mos gus kyi bsam pa zhe²⁰⁶ nas tshims²⁰⁷/ zhes dang/

lo dgu yi steng du sems ngo sprad//

chos bdag med kyi pho sgo²⁰⁸ lan cig²⁰⁹ mthong//

gzhung sgyu 'phrul dang sems phyogs snying thig²¹⁰ nyan// zhes dang/

lo bcu yi dus su 'chi ba dran//

cir snang kun bden pa med pa la//

²⁰⁴ ABCDEG gsungs : F gsung

²⁰⁵ ABCDEF me dgu : G mi dgu

²⁰⁶ ABCDEG zhe : F zhad

²⁰⁷ ABCDE tshims : FG tshim

²⁰⁸ FG pho sgo : ABCDE pho go

²⁰⁹ ABCDE lan cig : FG lhan cig

²¹⁰ ABCDE thig : FG tig

dingos 'dzin du zhen pa thams cad la²¹¹//

tshad med kyi snying rje chu ltar brdol²¹²//

zhes sogs gsungs/

dgung lo bcu gcig la rgyud sder thos bsam dang/ bcu gnyis la bshad pa mdzad pa'i tshul
yang de nyid las/

bcu gcig gi lo la rgyud sde la//

bshad sbyar gyis²¹³ gtan la legs [307] phab nas//

sgyu²¹⁴ 'phrul gyi²¹⁵ rtsa rgyud²¹⁶ gsang snying la//

rgya gar gyi slob dpon sgeg pa yi//

bshad 'grel dang rgya gzhung mang po dang//

g.yung ston gyi t̃ikka kha dmar can//

sum ston gyi t̃ikka²¹⁷ la sogs pa//

phal cher zhig zla ba bdun la bzung// [...]

khyad phar can dgongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo//

phal cher zhig blo la byang bar byas//

zhes dang/

bcu gnyis kyi dus su²¹⁸ yul²¹⁹ phyogs kyi//

mkhas tshogs 'dus pa'i dbus nyid du//

jo bo dang nu bo²²⁰ bdag dang gsum//

khri steng du²²¹ bzhag nas dar gdugs phub//

gzhung bskyur²²² dang bcas te bshad gsar byas//

zhes dang/

de skabs ngo mtshar gyi ltas byung ba yang/

²¹¹ ABCDE la : FG ni

²¹² ABCDE ltar brdol : FG rdol ltar

²¹³ G gyis : ABCDEF gyi

²¹⁴ ABCDEG sgyu : F rgyu

²¹⁵ FG 'phrul gyi : ABCDE 'phrul

²¹⁶ ABCDEG rgyud : F brgyud

²¹⁷ BDE [*kha dmar can sum ston gyi t̃ikka*] is omitted.

²¹⁸ ABCDE: dus su : FG steng du

²¹⁹ ACFG yul : BDE yum

²²⁰ ABDEG: nu bo : C chu bo : F no bo

²²¹ ABCDEG du : F su

²²² ABCDFG bskyur : E bsgyur

de dus su dgun gyi cho 'phrul la//
me tog gi char pa zhag²²³ bdun babs// zhes so/

[2.1.2.]

de nas bsnyen sgrub kyi thog mar mdzad tshul yang/ de nyid las/

de mtshams nas lhun grub chos sdings su//
gcen po dang lhan cig sgrub pa byas//
bla ma yi sgrub pa gsang 'dus dang//
bde gshegs zhi khro sgyu 'phrul dang//
rta mchog dpal dang dbang drag rtsal//
bsnyen sgrub kyi²²⁴ gtan la phab pa'i tshe// zhes dang/

gzigs snang gi thog²²⁵ mar yab rje mar pa lo tsā'i rnam sprul yin pas de'i rgyu mtshan
gyi²²⁶ dud sol lha mo'i zhal gzigs te/ de nyid las/

mthongs kha²²⁷ na²²⁸ dpal ldan dud sol ma//
gsal ba ru yang yang bdag gis²²⁹ mthong//
lta ba dang bsres shing mchod bstod byas// zhes so/

grub mtshan gyi thog mar shwa 'od²³⁰ bzlog [308] tshul yang/ de nyid las/

shwa bud²³¹ kho lan gcig²³² song ba las//
yul phyogs kyi zhing khal sum brgya bshal//
gnyis pa la kho bo sa der rtol²³³//

²²³ ABCDE zhag : FG lan

²²⁴ ABCDEG kyi : F kyi

²²⁵ ABDE thog : C thob

²²⁶ ACDE gyi : B gyis

²²⁷ AC mthong kha : BDE mthongs kha : G mthongs ka : F mthong ka

²²⁸ ABCDEG: na : F nas

²²⁹ ABCDEG gis : F gi

²³⁰ ABCD shwa 'od : E shā 'od.

²³¹ ABDE shwa bud : C shwa 'od : FG shwa sbud

²³² BDEGF gcig : AC cig

²³³ ABCDEF rtol : G brtol

phur pa zhig gdengs pas khyil gyis²³⁴ 'khyil//
 sdigs²³⁵ mdzub cig bstan pas²³⁶ thog so²³⁷ bdun//
 gyen phyogs su log ste²³⁸ 'khyil²³⁹ nas song//
 gsum pa zhig byung ba rdo nag la//
 sngags 'phreng zhig bzlas nas 'phangs²⁴⁰ pa las//
 nub phyogs su rtol²⁴¹ nas thengs²⁴² bdun bzlog// ces gsungs pa dang/
 bcu gsum gyi lo la 'od gsal bskyangs//
 bla ma yi dam bstod tshogs brtsams// zhes dang/

 gzhan yang rme brtsegs kyi zhal gzigs tshul yang/

 rme brtsegs kyi sgom bzlas byas pa'i tshe//
 nam mkha' 'di sngo sangs gting thug²⁴³ bral//
 mka' 'gro yi dbang mo sol ba'i mdog//
 dag byed kyi bum pa shel ltar dwangs²⁴⁴//
 mthong tsam na²⁴⁵ sku las²⁴⁶ me 'od 'bar//
 me sgra ni ga rkham dzi rkham²⁴⁷ gi²⁴⁸/
 sngags sgra ru khrol khrol lhan ne mthong//
 lha sku la sems zin nyi phyed tsam//
 rtog med kyi ngang du lhan ne ba// zhes dang/

²³⁴ ABCDEG gyis : F gyi

²³⁵ ABCE sdigs : DFG sdig

²³⁶ ABCDEG pas : F pa'i

²³⁷ ABCDEG so : F zo

²³⁸ ABCDE ste : FG nas

²³⁹ ABCDE 'khyil : FG khyil

²⁴⁰ ABCDEG 'phangs : F 'phang

²⁴¹ ABCDEF rtol : G brtol

²⁴² ABCDEG thengs : F theng

²⁴³ GF gting thug : ABCD ting thug : E ting thub

²⁴⁴ BFG dwangs : ACDE dangs

²⁴⁵ FG na : ABCDE nas

²⁴⁶ ABCDE las : FG la

²⁴⁷ ABC ga rkham dzi rkham : E khad dzar khang : D gar khang dzar khang : FG gar khams tsir kham

²⁴⁸ ABCDE gi : F gis : G gyis

dgung lo bcu bzhi par gsang sngags kyi phyag len mtha' dag legs bar sbyangs shing/ thugs
dam dka' spyad mdzad tshul yang/ de nyid las/

bcu bzhi yi thog tu lon tsam na// [...]
bka' brgyad dang ma gshin rta mgrin sogs//
sgrub khrigs²⁴⁹ kyi lag len mang du bsalabs// [...]
sgrub thabs kyi rgyal po bla ma'i lam//
gsang 'dus sogs sngags kyi grangs la skyon²⁵⁰// [...]
bdud gcod²⁵¹ [309] kyi²⁵² ro snyoms lo 'ga' byas// [...]
bye ma dang chu rdel me tog sogs//
dka' spyad²⁵³ dang bcud len lo bdun tsam// zhes dang/

[2.1.3]

bco lnga yi lo la mi dbang gi/
sku rim dang sgrub mchod gtso bor byas// [...]
sman rak dang bdud rtsi mtsho bzhin khol// [...]
gtor brdeg²⁵⁴ gi dus su sa steng du²⁵⁵//
khru re tsam ma reg bar snang²⁵⁶ la//
khro rgyal gyi dpung tshogs dang bcas pa²⁵⁷// [...]
bdud dmag gi phyogs su gtor sgyogs²⁵⁸ 'phangs//
[bcu drug gi lo ru ...]²⁵⁹ nyin mtshan du thub pa'i bstan pa bsams²⁶⁰//
sha khrag gi yo lang ring du spangs²⁶¹//

²⁴⁹ ABCDE khrigs : FG khrid

²⁵⁰ ABCDE: skyon : FG bskyon

²⁵¹ BDEG gcod : AC spyod : F bcod

²⁵² ABDEG kyi : F kyis

²⁵³ ABCG spyad : DE spyod : F dbyad

²⁵⁴ ABCFG brdeg : D brdog : E bzlog

²⁵⁵ ABCDEF steng du : G stengs su

²⁵⁶ ABCDE bar snang : FG bar gnang

²⁵⁷ ABCDE pa : FG par

²⁵⁸ FG sgyogs : ABCDE rgyogs

²⁵⁹ According to the autobiography, the following events took place in his sixteenth year of age. See *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* (F fol. 6v4; G p. 64).

²⁶⁰ AC bsams : BDEFG bsam

²⁶¹ AEG spangs : BCDF spang

rang 'khor la yig drug nyams len bsblabs²⁶²//
 bsnyung gnas dang gso sbyong mang du byas//
 rigs drug gi 'dren pa spyang ras gzigs//
 zhal mthong gi snang ba thengs bdun thob// [...]

[2.1.4.]

them spang²⁶³ gi dam bca' lo gsum dang//
 ngag bcad kyi dam bca' lo gsum byas//
 mnyam med kyi mkhas grub du ma la//
 phyag 'tshal dang chos zhus nyams su blangs²⁶⁴// [...]
 lo gcig tu bla ma gsang 'dus kyi//
 gdams ngag la gcig zhus gcig bsgom²⁶⁵ byas// zhes sogz/

mang du gsungs ba'i²⁶⁶ don gtso che ba re re tsam bsdu te bris pa yin la/
 gzhan yang dam pa mang du bsten nas chos gsan tshul yang/ tshigs bcad de'i 'phros las mang bar
 yod cing/ 'dus pa mdo'i dbang gsan tshul yang/ de nyid las/

mdo rgyud²⁶⁷ kyi lung la²⁶⁸ bshad sbyar dang//
 dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga dbang dang bcas//
 theg dgu yi rgyal po mdo dbang dang//
 'phrin las kyi rgyud [310] rgyal phur pa nyan//
 blo sems kyang bde ba'i tshad du byung//
 pha jo yang sangs rgyas rdo rje 'chang//
 khrag 'thung gi rgyal por²⁶⁹ kho thag chod// ces dang/
 khyad par can sgrub pa bka' brgyad kyi//
 them²⁷⁰ yig la yang yang nan chags byas//

²⁶² ABCDEG bsblabs : F bsblab

²⁶³ ABCDE spang : GF spangs

²⁶⁴ ABCDEG blangs : F blang

²⁶⁵ BDE sgom : ACF bsgom : G bsgoms

²⁶⁶ ACDE pa'i : B ba'i

²⁶⁷ ABCDEG rgyud : F brgyud

²⁶⁸ ABCFG la : DE las

²⁶⁹ ABCFG por : DE po

²⁷⁰ ABCDEF them : G them

[2.2. 1502–1511]

[2.2.1.]

bcu drug gi lo la dgra bcom pa//
mkhas btsun gyi rgyal po chos bstan bzang//
mtshungs bral gyi bla ma yin no zer//
de nyid kyi drung du 'jol gyin²⁷¹ phyin//
chos grwa yi rgyal po brag dkar gyi//
bar gling du mjal bas dran med brgyal²⁷²// zhes sogs/

bla ma bsten tshul dang/

[2.2.2]

gzhan yang sngon du shā 'od²⁷³ bzlog pa nas bzung²⁷⁴ grub rtags du ma bstan mod/ dgung lo bcu
drug pa 'di'i thog tu grub rtags khyad par can bzhag pa'i tshul yang de nyid las/

brag dmar gyi mtsho la ro snyoms byas//
smun nags²⁷⁵ kyi chu la rdog pas brdzis²⁷⁶//
lha lung gi brag la bya ltar lding//
ba gam can brag la byi ltar 'dzul//
mgo bo can brag gi logs la rgyugs²⁷⁷//
grogs sher seng dang sher dpal rgyal bzang gsum//
byang rgyal dang bla ma rin seng pa//
skyes pho mo 'gas²⁷⁸ grub thob grub thob zer//
deng²⁷⁹ grub thob kyi go sa²⁸⁰ nga mi len//

²⁷¹ ABCD 'jol gyin : E 'jal gyin : G mjal bar : F 'jal bar

²⁷² ABCDEG brgyal : F rgyal

²⁷³ A sha bud : B shwa bud : C sha 'od : DE shā bud

²⁷⁴ ABC nas bzung : DE nas

²⁷⁵ ABCDEG nags : F nag

²⁷⁶ ABCDEG brdzis : F rdzis

²⁷⁷ ABCDEG rgyugs : F rgyug

²⁷⁸ FG 'gas : ABCDE 'ga'

²⁷⁹ ABC deng : DE der : G ding : F dring

²⁸⁰ C sa : ABDEGF ba

chos nyams²⁸¹ blangs kyi nyams snang thob²⁸² tsam yin//
 don 'pho 'gyur²⁸³ bral ba ma rtogs na//
 lus sgyu ma yi²⁸⁴ cho 'phrul bya byis²⁸⁵ ston// zhes gsungs pas/

deng sang rang²⁸⁶ gzhan gyi bshes gnyen 'ga' zhig mnga' ris paṇ chen mkhas btsun tsam yin zer
 yang/ mtsho'i steng du 'byon pa dang/ brag la [311] bya ltar 'phur ba dang/ ri²⁸⁷ brag la thogs pa
 med par²⁸⁸ byi ltar 'dzul ba/ g.yang sar rgyug pa sogs grub rtags kyi ngo mtshar 'di las che ba
 rang grub par khas len pa rnams la yang med 'dra snyam²⁸⁹/

[2.2.3]

gzhan yang khyad par can gyi dam bca²⁹⁰ mang du mdzad de/ de nyid las/

bcu bdun gyi lo la zhe dam byas²⁹¹//
 dge 'dun la mthong phyag 'tshal ba dang//
 pha yul du zhag bdun²⁹² mi mang bar//
 dben gnas dang ri khrod 'grim²⁹³ pa dang//
 rgyal sa²⁹⁴ yi sgo la lan²⁹⁵ gsum du//
 'grim 'grul²⁹⁶ gyi bya ba spang ba²⁹⁷ dang//
 tshong khe dang gral 'go²⁹⁸ mi 'dzin zhing²⁹⁹//

281 ABCDEG nyams : F nyam

282 C thob : ABGF thol: DE thos

283 ABCDE 'gyur : GF 'gyur dang

284 ACGF ma yi : B ma'i : DE ba'i

285 ABCDE byis : GF byi'ang

286 ABCD rang : C rnag

287 ABCD ri : E rig

288 AC par : BDE pa

289 ABC snyam DE snyams

290 ABC bca' : DE bcas

291 ABCDE byas : FG bcas

292 ABCDE bdun : FG bdun las

293 ACDFG 'grim : BE 'grims

294 ABDE sa : C ma : FG po

295 ABCDE lan : FG lo

296 ABDEFG 'grul : C 'thul

297 ABCDE spang ba : FG spangs pa

298 ABCDE 'go : FG mgo

299 ABCDE zhing : FG cing

ro chog³⁰⁰ dang dbu gtso mi byed par//
 bsod snyoms kyi zas la brten byas nas//
 sgrub pa dang thos bsam dam bca' byas//
 yul phyogs kyi ri brag³⁰¹ chu klung dang//
 dur khrod dang khang stong bya skyibs su//
 bka' gdams kyi gdams pa³⁰² lhur du³⁰³ blangs³⁰⁴//
 spyod yul gyi man ngag snying la bzha//
 sgo gcig³⁰⁵ pa'i brtul zhugs tshul bzhin bzung//
 rdzogs chen gyi nyams len phu thag bcad// ces gsungs/

gzhan yang/

bco brgyad kyi lo la dgra bcom pa//
 mkhas btsun gyi rgyal po chos bstan bzang//
 rnam rgyal dang seng ge brag sogs su//
 yang yang du bsnyen³⁰⁶ nas dam chos zhus//
 'dul ba dang mdo sde'i gdams³⁰⁷ pa 'ga'//
 snying gtam du bka' gdams³⁰⁸ lag len³⁰⁹ bsblabs³¹⁰//
 nā ro pa'i gdams pa mkha' spyod ma³¹¹//
 snyan rgyud³¹² dang zhal gdams tshang bar zhus//
 bskyed rdzogs kyi snying [312] po dmar khrid³¹³ bskyangs// zhes dang/

³⁰⁰ ABCDEG chog : F mchog
³⁰¹ ABCDE brag : FG brag dang
³⁰² ABCDEF gdams pa : G gtad sa
³⁰³ F lhur du : ABCDEG lhu ru
³⁰⁴ ABCDEG blangs : F blang
³⁰⁵ ABCDE sgo gcig : GF sgong cig
³⁰⁶ ABCDE bsnyen : F brton : G bsten
³⁰⁷ ABCDEG gdams : F gdam
³⁰⁸ ABCDEG gdams : F gdam
³⁰⁹ ABCDE len FG chen
³¹⁰ ACDFG bsblabs : BE bsblab
³¹¹ ABCDEF ma : G la
³¹² BDEF rgyud : ACG brgyud
³¹³ ABCDFG khrid : E khri

[2.2.4]

skyid grong gi 'phags pa wa ti mjal// [...]
jo bo yi gsung byon zer ba yi//
grags pa yang³¹⁴ ljongs³¹⁵ der khyab na yang//
lam rtags la zhen pa rmi lam ltar// zhes gsungs/

de'i dus su sngon rgya bod kyi mkhas grub du mar 'khrungs tshul rnams thugs la shin
tu gsal bar byung yang/ 'dir yul phyogs rjes su dran tshul tsam zhig gsungs te/

yul rgya gar³¹⁶ bal po spu³¹⁷ rangs dang//
kha che dang dol po dbus gtsang dang//
khyad par du la stod³¹⁸ shrī³¹⁹ dang//
ya mtshan can chu dbar³²⁰ yid la shar//
de bzhin du dpal ldan sa skya dang//
bo dong dang shab stod shab smad³²¹ dang//
snar thang dang lho brag zab lung dang//
yar klungs dang bsam yas 'phan³²² yul dang//
'chad ka dang gsang phu³²³ mkha' reg³²⁴ dang//
rgya ma dang yol phu³²⁵ grwa³²⁶ dol dang//
rngog³²⁷ gzhung gi snang ba lam lam shar//
pha ma dang spun zla bya byed dang//

³¹⁴ FG yang : ABCDE yis

³¹⁵ FG ljongs : ABCD phyogs

³¹⁶ ABCDE gar : FG gar dang

³¹⁷ ABCEG spu : F bu

³¹⁸ ABCDEG stod : F bstod

³¹⁹ ABCDE shrī : FG rtsib ri

³²⁰ ABCDE dbar : FG bar

³²¹ ABCEFG smad : D rmad

³²² ABCDEG 'phan : F phan

³²³ ABCFEG phu : D phud

³²⁴ ABCDE mkha' reg : F kha rag : G kha reg

³²⁵ ABCDEF phu : G bu

³²⁶ ABCDEG grwa : F gra

³²⁷ ABCG rngog : DEF rdog

dam chos dang yi dam lham me³²⁸ dran//

zhes gsungs pa yang ngo mtshar bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i gnas yin par rtogs so//

[2.2.5]

gzhan yang 'phros las/

bcu dgu yi lo la pha yul gyi//

'gro ba la yig drug chos 'khor bskor//

me tog gi char pa bcu gsum babs//

'ja' 'od kyi gur khang³²⁹ rgyun du byung// zhes dang/

nyi shu'i lo la byams³³⁰ chos sde lnga dang//

phar phyin tshad ma dbu ma rtsa shes³³¹ dang//

bzhi brgya pa dang bslab³³² btus spyod 'jug dang//

dngos brgyad³³³ don bdun cu sogs phal cher gyi//

gzhung [313] rnams khong bcug 'ga' zhig dgra bcom pa//

chos bstan bzang po slob dpon nam mkha' la³³⁴//

legs par mnyan³³⁵ cing gzhung lugs brgya phrag gcig//

bltas shing khong du chud par byas nas kyang//

zhes gsungs pa³³⁶ 'di gcig pu yang mdzad pa 'gangs che bar sems so// gzhan yang de nyid las/

nyi shu gcig nas 'jam dbyangs chos skyong dang//

mkhas pa'i dbang po sdom brtson tshul khrims dpal//

dri med dam pa rin chen seng ge sogs//

mkhas grub kun la dkon pa'i sems kyis³³⁷ bsten// zhes dang/

³²⁸ ABCDE me : FG mer

³²⁹ ABCFG khang : DE khar

³³⁰ ACDEG byams F byam

³³¹ ABCDE shes : F she : G sher

³³² ABCFG bslab : DE bslabs

³³³ AC brgyad : BDE brgya

³³⁴ ABCDE la : GF las

³³⁵ FG mnyan : ABCDE nyan

³³⁶ ABC pa 'di : DE pa/ 'di

³³⁷ ABCDEG kyis : F kyi

'jam dbyangs chos rje³³⁸ rgyal po'i zhabs bsten³³⁹ nas//
 gshin rje³⁴⁰ gshed dmar spros³⁴¹ med la sogs pa'i//
 dbang dang gdams pa rgyud dang sgrub thabs 'ga'//
 brtse ba'i thugs rjes thos shing po ta lar//
 dgun³⁴² zla gnyis su³⁴³ bsgrubs³⁴⁴ pas zhag bdun na³⁴⁵// [...]

'jam dbyangs dpa' bo³⁴⁶ gshin rje gshed dmar de//
 gsal bar mthong ba [*rtag tu dran tsam na*³⁴⁷//
*de nyid mngon par*³⁴⁸ *mun nang du 'ang*//
mngon du gyur pa]³⁴⁹ mi chos bla ma med// [...]

kha dog dmar po mthong tsam nyid na yang//
 gu ru drag po rta mgrin mka' spyod ma//
 gshin rje gshed dmar nyid du lham³⁵⁰ me ba// zhes dang/
 nyi shu gnyis kyi lo la pha jo yi//
 gdams pa kun gyi zhun thar³⁵¹ legs par dpyad³⁵²//
 bka' brgyad bsgrub³⁵³ dus dgun dus bdud rtsi khol³⁵⁴//
 me mar chung ngus³⁵⁵ zhag gsum bar du thub³⁵⁶//

³³⁸ FG rje : ABCDE kyi

³³⁹ ABCDEG bsten : F brtan

³⁴⁰ ABCDE rje : FG rje'i

³⁴¹ ABCDEG spros : F sprod

³⁴² ACGF dgun zla : B dgu zla : DE dgu zlas

³⁴³ ABCDEG su : F po'i

³⁴⁴ B bsgrubs : AC sgrubs : DEFG sgrub

³⁴⁵ ABCDE na : FG nas

³⁴⁶ ABCFG dpa' bo : D dpa'o

³⁴⁷ FG rtag tu dran tsam na : ABCDE mi chos bla ma med

³⁴⁸ F par : G par gsal tsam

³⁴⁹ This text in brackets is omitted in Padma 'phrin las's biography (A to E) and was complemented from the autobiography (see *The Autobiography by Ngari Panchen* G p. 79, F p. 14r3.

³⁵⁰ ABCDE lham : FG lam

³⁵¹ ABCDEG thar : F bar

³⁵² ABCDE dpyad F spyad : G bcad

³⁵³ ABCDEF bsgrub : G sgrub

³⁵⁴ ABCDE khol : FG 'khol

³⁵⁵ CDEG ngus : ABF dus

³⁵⁶ ABCDEG thub : F thug

'khyags pa'i dngos po zhu zhing rlangs pa thon//
 rnga dang rol mo kun la me 'od 'bar// zhes pa dang/ [314]

de'i tshe yab rje dam pa nyid la gzigs snang dang mthun par lung bstan tshul yang/ de nyid las/

de'i tshe³⁵⁷ pha jo rdo rje 'chang chen des//
 'dus pa'i dbus su bka' stsal 'di skad gsungs//
 bu kyod tshe la bar chad³⁵⁸ ma byung na//
 'jig rten 'dir³⁵⁹ ni chos kyi 'khor lo sgyur³⁶⁰//
 mdang sum³⁶¹ dkyil 'khor mtha' la³⁶² kun bskor nas//
 bla ma zur chen rngog³⁶³ ston chen po dang//
 rje btsun grags pa 'phags pa³⁶⁴ rin po che//
 nam mkha'i³⁶⁵ snying po bsod nams bla ma dang//
 'gro mgon myang dang ras chung rdor grags³⁶⁶ dang//
 rgyal sras dbang chen glo bo yab sras dang//
 chag lo chos dpal khro phu lo tsā dang//
 nag tsho lo tsā kun mkhyen mus sradd pa//
 mkhas grub bsod bzang grub chen dmar zhabs dang//
 dam pa sangs rgyas bē ro bi³⁶⁷ mā³⁶⁸ la//
 o rgyan³⁶⁹ yab yum rgyal po khri strong dang//
 ma gcig³⁷⁰ lab sgron zhang lo ras chen pa³⁷¹//

³⁵⁷ ABCDE de'i tshe : FG de dus

³⁵⁸ ABCDE chad : FG gcod

³⁵⁹ ABCG 'dir : DEF 'di

³⁶⁰ ABCD sgyur : EFG bsgyur

³⁶¹ G mdang sum : ABCDEF mdang gsum

³⁶² ABCDE la : FG ma

³⁶³ ABEG rngok : CDF rdog

³⁶⁴ ABCD pa : GF chen

³⁶⁵ BCDEF mkha'i : AG mkha'

³⁶⁶ ABCDG grags : E drags

³⁶⁷ ABCDE bi : FG bhi

³⁶⁸ ABC mā : DEFG ma

³⁶⁹ ABCDEG o rgyan : F u rgyan

³⁷⁰ AC gcig : BDEFG cig

³⁷¹ BCDEFG pa : A ba

khams pa sga³⁷² lo rgya gar paṇ chen lnga³⁷³//
 gcig la gcig blta³⁷⁴ 'dzum zhing bzhad pa la³⁷⁵//
 kun kyang nga ni³⁷⁶ padma dbang rgyal yin//
 smra zhing thams cad khyod la thim nas song//
 snyan brgyud³⁷⁷ thob pa khyod la dam chos kun//
 rang byan tshud³⁷⁸ par³⁷⁹ 'dug go a pho³⁸⁰ yi³⁸¹//
 kha la nyon cig bshad sgrub brgyud pa bzung³⁸²//
 khyod³⁸³ kyi mi brgyud sum cu rtsa bzhi'am³⁸⁴//
 slob brgyud sum cu rtsa gnyis tshul bzung³⁸⁵ nas//
 phyogs mthar bstan pa'i rgyun lam yong bas na//
 sman gtor rakta rdul tshon³⁸⁶ tshags³⁸⁷ gyis³⁸⁸ la// [315]
 sangs rgyas bstan pa 'dzin skyong dbang bskur ro//
 de skad ces sogs lo rgyus mang po gsungs//

zhes pa'i rnam thar 'di kho na yang blo'i rwa³⁸⁹ ba las 'das pa'i ngo mtshar gyi gnas so//
 'di man chad mdor bsdus pa'i phyir³⁹⁰ rnam thar tshigs bcad kyi don lhug par bshad pa ni/
 dgung lo nyer gsum pa la 'jam dbyangs glo bo lo tsā ba'i³⁹¹ gsung ngag rin po che lam

³⁷² ABCDE sga : FG rga
³⁷³ FG lnga : ABCDE la
³⁷⁴ ABCDEF blta : G lta
³⁷⁵ ABCDE bzhad pa la : FG bzhad ya la la
³⁷⁶ ABCDEG nga ni : F ni
³⁷⁷ ABCDEG brgyud : F rgyud
³⁷⁸ ABCDFG tshud : E chu
³⁷⁹ ABCEFG par : D bar
³⁸⁰ FG pho : A po : C pha : BDE bo
³⁸¹ ACGF yi : BDE ye
³⁸² G zungs : ABCDE bzung : F bzungs
³⁸³ ACF khyod : BDEG khyed
³⁸⁴ ACDEG bzhi'am : B bzhi 'am : F bzhi yi
³⁸⁵ ABCDEG bzung : F bzungs
³⁸⁶ ABCDEG tshon F mtshon/mchon
³⁸⁷ ABCDF tshags : E chags
³⁸⁸ ABCDE gyis : FG bgyis
³⁸⁹ BCDE rwa : A ra
³⁹⁰ ABCD phyir : E phyi'i
³⁹¹ C glo bo lo tsā ba'i : A glo bo lo tsā bar/ba'i : BDE glo lo tsā bar

'bras bu dang bcas pa tshogs bshad dang slob bshad gnyis gsan tshul dang/ de'i tshe yang
 bla ma nyid dgyes mdzad rdo rje dngos su³⁹² gzigs/ dgung lo nyer bzhi pa la yang lam
 'bras tshar³⁹³ gcig gsan pa/

[2.2.6]

nyer lnga pa la bsam grub gling du glo bo mkhan chen bsod nams lhun grub kyis mkhan
 po/ 'khor lo sdom pa dkon mchog³⁹⁴ chos skyabs kyis³⁹⁵ slob dpon/ rab 'byams kun dga'i
 mtshan can gyis gsang ston/ rab 'byams rgyal mtshan skyabs kyis grib tshod pa/ rab
 'byams bsod nams dpal bas grogs dan/ mkhen chen kun bsod pa/ 'jam dbyangs blo gros
 dpal mgon/ mkhas dbang tshul khriims bzang po sogs dad pa'i dge slong nyi shu rtsa lnga'i
 dbus su/ bu ston rin po che'i las chog gzhir bzhag la/ nam bsod pa dang 'phags pa rin po
 che'i las chog sogs las bshad sbyar dang bcas te nyi phyed³⁹⁶ la dge bsnyen/ phyi ma red
 dge tshul/ de'i phyi ma dge slong gi dngos por gyur te tshul gsum yongs su rdzogs [316]
 pa'i tshul khriims rnam par dag pas thugs rgyud yongs su gtams pa'i mtshan dge slong
 padma dbang rgyal grags³⁹⁷ pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan du
 gsol lo/ de nas mkhan slob de rnams las chos kyang mang du gsan/

[2.3. 1512–1526]

[2.3.1]

nyer drug pa la shel gyi ri bo 'brug sgra sogs kyis dben pa bsten³⁹⁸ cing/ chos gos gsum dang glegs
 bam/ 'khar³⁹⁹ gsil/ lhung bzed las gzhan pa'i yo byad spangs shing sgo gcig pa'i brtul zhugs bzung
 ste mnga' ris kyis gnas rten⁴⁰⁰ rnams mjal zhing dag snang dang lung bstan 'ga' yang thob cing/
 dad ldan rnams la dam pa'i chos kyang ci rigs su stsal/ slar yang glo bor phebs te/ yab rje dam pa
 nyid las rgyud lung man ngag rgya cher gsan zhing/ glo bo mkhan chen la dgra gdong 'jigs byed/
 gshed dmar/ gsang 'dus sogs mang du gsan/

³⁹² ABCE dngos su : D dangs su

³⁹³ ABCE tshar : D tshad

³⁹⁴ BDE mchog : AC cog

³⁹⁵ AC kyis : BDE kyis

³⁹⁶ ABCD phyed : E byed

³⁹⁷ BCDE grags : A thags

³⁹⁸ BC bsten : DE brten

³⁹⁹ AC 'khar : BDE mkhar

⁴⁰⁰ ACD rten : BE brten

nyer bdun pa la mkhas btsun nam mkha'i mtshan can dang padma 'bum sogs la chos gsan cing/
 po ta lar zla ba drug tu sku mtshams mdzad cing nyams khrid bskyangs/ glo bo mkhan chen
 dang/ gu ge paṇ chen rnam rgyal dpal bzang dang/ 'jam dbyangs blo gros dpal mgon rnam la
 sgra tshad/ brtag⁴⁰¹ gnyis kyi bshad pa dbang gdams ngag sogs mang du gsan/ spu rang⁴⁰² dang
 te se kho char sogs gnas rten rnam mjal/ slar yang glo bor byon te/ drang so⁴⁰³ gter ston shā kya
 bzang po dang mjal zhing byang gter sgrub skor [317] gsum sogs dbang chos mang du gsan/ sgo
 le kha'i phug par byang gter spyān ras gzigs kyi bsnyen pa mdzad pas/ mgon po gur gyi sku'i
 rnam 'gyur mi 'dra ba gsum gzigs/

nyer brgyad bzhes dus glo bo mkhan chen las chos mang du gsan cing/
 dgung lo nyer dgu pa la⁴⁰⁴ 'jam dbyangs kun bsam pa'i drung du bde mchog skor sogs mang du
 gsan/ 'di lo dam pa mang por chos kyi bka' drin⁴⁰⁵ mang du gsan/ gnas skor dang bde kye gsang
 gsum/ ma gshin phur pa/ yang dag rnam la bsnyen sgrub du ma mdzad/
 dgung lo sum cu par 'jam dbyangs blo gros dpal mgon la rdo rje gur sogs chos mang du gsan/
 dgung lo so gcig par glo bo mkhan chen las gsan bsam mang du mdzad/

[2.3.2]

so gnyis par glo bo mkhan chen gyi⁴⁰⁶ zhabs 'bring du spu rang⁴⁰⁷ sogs la byon/ de nas mkhan
 chen pa'i gsung bzhin slar yang skyid grong du byon nas jo bo mjal zhing / grub chen dkar po
 zhes⁴⁰⁸ lo brgya dang so drug lon pa'i drung du gsang 'dus ye shes zhabs lugs/ bka' brgyad sogs
 gsar rnying⁴⁰⁹ mang du gsan/ slar yang glo bo mkhan chen la lam 'bras kyi zhor chos gsan/
 sngags 'chang shā kya bzang por⁴¹⁰ rta mgrin nyang lugs skor gsan/ phyir 'khor nas glo bo'i
 rma⁴¹¹ bya shug rung gi phug par bde mchog lhan skyes dang mgon po zhal gyi bsnyen pa mdzad
 pas/ zhal bram gzugs dngos su byon nas gtor ma gsol zhing sgrub [318] thabs kyi gnad gsungs/

⁴⁰¹ AC tshad/ brtag : BDE tshad brtag

⁴⁰² ABCE rang : D rong

⁴⁰³ ABCE so : D po

⁴⁰⁴ AC pa la : BDE pa

⁴⁰⁵ ABCE bka' drin : D bkrin

⁴⁰⁶ ABCE gyi : D kyi

⁴⁰⁷ ABE rang : C rangs : D rong

⁴⁰⁸ ABDE po zhes : C po pa la 'de ba

⁴⁰⁹ ABCE rnying : D snying

⁴¹⁰ BD por : C por dkar yer

⁴¹¹ AC sma : BDEGF rma

thag gcod gling zhes bya bar shing sdong gog po'i nang du thugs rje chen po'i srub pa mdzad pas/
 yang snying 'dus par sangs rgyas stong gis bskor⁴¹² ba zhal gzigs/
 dgung lo so gsum par slar yang lam 'bras gzhung bshad dang bcas pa/ bde mchog lo nag dril
 gsum/ dus 'khor 'grel chen sogs mang du gsan/

[2.3.3]

so bzhi par ku thang phyogs su byon/ slar yang skyid grong gi 'phags pa mjal/ sngags 'chang
 shākya bzang por nyang gi gter skor mang du gsan/
 so lnga par ku thang rtsum gyi rtsig pa rkang thil⁴¹³ phug tu rab 'byams chos rje las chos mang du
 gsan zhing gzhan yang dam pa du mar zab chos nos/ gsang bdag gnyis pa rje sangs rgyas
 skyab⁴¹⁴ la phyag rdor che ba brgyad skor⁴¹⁵ gsan phyir gangs la sogs la dka' ba mang du spyad
 de byon nas phyag rdor skor gsan dus re rer yang ngo mtshar gyi ltas mang du byung zhing/
 khyad par u tsa ya drag sngags kyi che ba'i dbang gi dus/ bla ma gsang bdag tu gyur pa'i zhal nas
 ha ha dang hi hi hūṃ hūṃ gsung zhing / phyag gi rdo rje las me dpung thul thul chad cing nam
 mkha' la khyung gi dmag dpung 'khrigs pa sogs byung zhing / chos bsgugs mang du 'gos⁴¹⁶ pa
 byung yang tshang bar gsan cing / bla mas⁴¹⁷ kyang/ mnga' gsol lung bstan⁴¹⁸ du ma mdzad de
 phyir byon nas/ gang⁴¹⁹ phebs su chos kyi 'phrin⁴²⁰ las rgya cher bskyangs/ rab 'byams dkon cog
 [319] bsam grub⁴²¹ pa'i drung du ras chung snyan brgyud⁴²² kyi dbang khrid gdams pa rdzogs par
 gsan cing / gzhan yang phyag chen/ sbyor drug/ o rgyan bsnyen sgrub/ yang dgon pa'i ri chos
 sogs mang du gsan/ dgung lo so lnga par slar yang skyid grong phyogs su byon nas sngags
 'chang shā kya bzang por nyang gi bla ma zhi drag/ khros nag sogs chos lhag ma rnams rdzogs
 par gsan te bal por byon/

⁴¹² AC bskor : BDE skor

⁴¹³ ABCD thil : E thig

⁴¹⁴ DE skyab : ABC skyob pa

⁴¹⁵ B skor : ACDE bskor

⁴¹⁶ A 'gos: BCDE dgos

⁴¹⁷ ABCE mas : D ma

⁴¹⁸ ABC gsol lung bstan : DE gsol

⁴¹⁹ ABCD gang : E gar

⁴²⁰ AD 'phrin : BCE phrin

⁴²¹ AC grub : BDE 'grub

⁴²² ABC brgyud : DE rgyud

[2.3.4]

so drug par⁴²³ bal yul shing kun/ bya rung kha shor/ pham mthing/ yam bu sogs mjal zhing / yam
bur⁴²⁴ rgya gar gyi grub chen sha ba ri pa dang mjal/ bal yul yang le shod du zhag bdun bzhugs/
o rgyan chen po la sgrub sde brgyad kyī lhas bskor ba'i zhal gzigs/ bal po'i bla ma jñā na shrī yab
sras las mi g.yo ba⁴²⁵/ grwa⁴²⁶ lnga/ sgrol ma/ yo ga/ dgyes rdor/ phag mo'i skor sogs gsan/ rim
bzhin bla ma dang gnas rten mjal zhing nyan bshad kyis dus 'da' ba nas glo bor byon te ngor chen
lha mchog bzang por yang lam 'bras tshar gcig dang zab chos mang du gsan/
dgung lo so bdun pa la glo bo smad dge lung du thugs dam mdzad/ slob dpon a bhya kā⁴²⁷ ra'i
skye bar mkha' 'gros lung bstan te/ lo chen dkon cog chos skyabs las rdo rje 'phreng ba'i dbang
rdzogs par gsan dus thog mar bla ma des dbang mi gnang ba'i rtsis mdzad pa'i tshe mtshan lam
du bde mchog sku gsung⁴²⁸ thugs dkyil yongs su [320] rdzogs pa'i dkyil 'khor gyi gtso bo pañ
chen padma dbang rgyal gyis mdzad de/ de yang zhal bzhi phyag bcu gnyis pa'i rnam par gyur pa
zhig 'dug par/ mkha' 'gro ma'i cha byad cig gis bsrungs nas nang du ma btang ba'i ltas byung bas
thugs 'gyod cing dbang bskur yongs rdzogs dang lam 'bras dmar ma sogs gnang zhing shel⁴²⁹ gyi
sum mdor bde mchog bong zhal can gyi ljags bsnyen mdzad pas/ thun gcig la gnam sa thams cad
khrag 'thung sum cu so bdun du gzigs/
so brgyad pa la gsar rnying gi chos 'khor rgya cher bskor/
so dgu pa la yang gsan bsam mang du mdzad/
bzhi bcu pa'i dgung lor⁴³⁰ rdo rje 'phreng ba'i dkyil 'khor thams cad la bsnyen par rdzogs pa⁴³¹
mdzad pas/ deng sang gi 'phreng⁴³² ba mkhan po rnams kyī tshod⁴³³ na 'di gcig pu⁴³⁴ yang ngo
mtshar che ba 'dra/

⁴²³ ABC drug par : DE drug

⁴²⁴ B bur : DE bu

⁴²⁵ ABC g.yo ba : DE g.yo

⁴²⁶ CDFG grwa : ABE gra

⁴²⁷ ABC kā : DE ka

⁴²⁸ ACD gsung : BE sung

⁴²⁹ ABCDE shel : FG shes

⁴³⁰ ABC lor : DE mor

⁴³¹ BDE pa : AC par

⁴³² ABC 'phreng : DE phreng

⁴³³ ABDE tshod : C tshad

⁴³⁴ ABCE pu : D su

zhe gcig pa la yang glo bo mkhan chen pa'i phyag phyir byon te zab chos du ma gsan cing/ gsar rnying ris su ma bcad pa'i dbang khrid gdams pas gdul bya mang po bskyangs/ yab rje 'jam dbyangs chen po'i bka'i bsdu ba rnams mdzad/ de nas glo bo mkhan chen pa'i bkas bskul nas dbus gtsang gi phyogs su gsar rnying ris su ma chad pa'i chos rgyun nyams pa rnams gso ba'i phyir 'byon par bzhed de/ yab rje 'jam dbyangs rin cen rgyal mtshan la gnang ba zhus/ de bzhin du glo bo'i sde bdag sogs kun la khrol cha zhu bar mdzad [321] dus/ yab rje dam pa nyid kyis kyang khyod 'di phyogs su sdad⁴³⁵ na dgos pa'i khyad par 'ga' zhig 'dug mod kyang/ yang yang 'gro stabs bcag pas da res ci bde bar mdzod cig ces bslab bya/ zhal gdams/ lung bstan mang po gnang/ phyi phyag mdzad de dbus gtsang gi phyogs su rgyal ba'i bstan pa rin po che gso ba'i thugs bskyed rnam par dag pa dang bcas te byon no// 'di yan chad du mnga' ris glo bo skyid grong sogs kyis mkhas btsun rnams la dam pa'i chos kyis⁴³⁶ gsan bsam mdzad cing/ gtso bor 'jam dbyangs zhal gnyis zhes yab rje 'jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan dang glo bo mkhan chen bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas nyid kyis zhabs phyir bcar bzhugs mdzad de gsan bsam mdzad pa yin no//

[3. 1527–1529]

[3.1]

de nas rim bzhin byon te zang zang lha brag dang ri bo bkra bzang du byon smon lam dang gnas gzigs mdzad/ byang ngam ring gi sa'i cha dgon pa bde grol du thugs sras nam mkha' rgyal mtshan dang / drang so sngags 'chang shākya zang po gnyis bzhugs pa dang mjal/ gcung legs ldan rje yang der zang thal gsan pa'i skabs yin pas/ dgung lo zhe gnyis par sku mched lhan du dbus la phebs te gtsang sa⁴³⁷ phug tu sngags 'chang rgya hor rdo rje dang mjal te 'od gsal gsang skor dang sgyu 'phrul tshe dbang sogs gsan/ rin spungs nas rong chung brgyud 'di bar gtsang du lo gcig bzhugs nas [322]

[3.2]

zhe gsum par chos 'khor lha sar phebs te/ lha sa ra mo che/ pho brang dmar lcags⁴³⁸ sogs la phyag skor dang smon lam mdzad de rngog chos dang zhi byed kyis⁴³⁹ chos la thugs

⁴³⁵ ACDE sdad : B bsdad

⁴³⁶ AC chos kyis : BDE chos

⁴³⁷ ABC sa : DE pa

⁴³⁸ ABC lcags : DE lcang

⁴³⁹ ABCD byed kyis : E byed

'dun⁴⁴⁰ bstad⁴⁴¹ de smon⁴⁴² lam mdzad pas/ rje btsun ma sgrol ma'i lung bstan dang / khyad par
dpal lhas⁴⁴³ bar skor gsum gyi ring dngos su byon te gsung gleng mang du mdzad cing lung bstan
pa/

khyed⁴⁴⁴ dri med lta⁴⁴⁵ ba'i gdeng thob⁴⁴⁶ kyang //
rigs⁴⁴⁷ 'gro ba⁴⁴⁸ drug gi don bsam pa⁴⁴⁹ //
dus⁴⁵⁰ da lan tsam las len mi 'tshal⁴⁵¹ //
chos sdug bsngal gyi phung po zhi byed de //
dus myur du khyed kyis⁴⁵² longs par nges //
rje nā⁴⁵³ ro dang mai⁴⁵⁴ tri'i⁴⁵⁵ gdams ngag la //
dus da lta rngog ston gzhung pa⁴⁵⁶ mkhas //
gnad⁴⁵⁷ bsre 'pho de re⁴⁵⁸ zhig tsam nas longs //
dus da lan gung thang phyogs su song //
don smra rgyu bral ba'i⁴⁵⁹ blo thag chod // ces gsungs pa ltar

[3.3]

gung thang du byon nas phyag skor mdzad/ de nas slar yang zhi byed dang rngog
chos kyī khungs lung bstan bskyar ma byung ba'i don bzhin sku mched gnyis kas

⁴⁴⁰ BDE 'dun : AC mdun
⁴⁴¹ AC bstad : BDE gtad
⁴⁴² ABCE smon : D smol
⁴⁴³ ABDE lhas : C lha sa
⁴⁴⁴ ABCDEG khyed : F khyod
⁴⁴⁵ ABCDEG lta : F 'dra
⁴⁴⁶ FG gdeng thob : ABCDE don rtogs
⁴⁴⁷ ABCGF rigs : DE ring
⁴⁴⁸ ABCGF 'gro ba : DE 'gro
⁴⁴⁹ ABCDE bsam pa : FG sems pa
⁴⁵⁰ FG dus : ABCDE lus
⁴⁵¹ ABCDEG 'tshal : F tshal
⁴⁵² ABCDEG khyed kyis : F khyod kyī
⁴⁵³ CGF nā : ABDE na
⁴⁵⁴ ACF mai : DG me : BE mi
⁴⁵⁵ ABCFG tri'i : DE tra'i
⁴⁵⁶ ABCFG pa : DE ba
⁴⁵⁷ ABCDE gnad : FG gnas
⁴⁵⁸ ABCDEF re : G res
⁴⁵⁹ ABCDFG bral ba'i : E bsam pa'i

klung⁴⁶⁰ brgyud⁴⁶¹ 'u shang rdo⁴⁶² mjal zhing / kam⁴⁶³ pa la'i rtse nas gzhung la phyag
mchod mdzad/ lum pa grur byon pas gzhung mda' nya mo skyur du⁴⁶⁴ dud⁴⁶⁵ sol mas
bsu ba'i tshul du zhal bstan/ gzhung spre'u zhing dang khyad par thar pa gling du
rngog rin po che bsod nams bstan 'dzin la rngog dkyil nams legs par gsan zhing
thugs thag chod/ grwa thang du zha lu lo chen chos skyong bzang po la gshed [323]
dmar skor sogs gsan/ chos 'khor bsam yas su phyag phebs te gnas rten nams mjal
sngon gyi bag chags du ma sad/ bar khang du bka' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa'i dkyil
'khor sogs mang du bzhengs nas sgrub mchod dang smon lam mdzad/ lho brag gu⁴⁶⁶
ru ba⁴⁶⁷ sogs la dam chos mang du gsungs/ kaḥ thog pa chos rje bsod nams rgyal
mtshan sogs bshes gnyen mang po dang chos skyes 'bul res mdzad/ de nas 'phreng
phu o rgyan chos rdzong du byon nas/ kong chen rin po che nam mkha' dpal ldan rgya
mtsho la bla ma dgongs 'dus sogs gsan cing thugs yid 'dres/ yang rdzong⁴⁶⁸ dang
mchims phur byon thugs dam mdzad pas rtsa gsum mang po'i zhal gzigs/

[4. 1530–1533]

[4.1]

slar yang gtsang phyogs su phyir thegs bzhed kyang gu ru chos dbang gi gdung rabs brgyad pa
sprul sku chos kyi dbang po'i bka' bzhin lho brag tu dgung lo zhe bzhi par⁴⁶⁹ byon nas zhe lnga'i
bar du bzhugs shing / lho brag mkhar chu/ bsam grub bde ba chen po'i gtsug lag khang/ lha bro
dang smra bo lcog/ gro bo lung la sogs par phebs/ myang rin po cher o⁴⁷⁰ rgyan dngos kyis⁴⁷¹
lung bstan te/ mnga' ris paṇ chen rin po ches⁴⁷² chos brgyud kyi nyams pa gso bar gsungs pa'i
don mngon du gyur te mnyang gi gdung sgang zur sogs la rang lugs kyi nyan bshad sna tshogs

⁴⁶⁰ ABC klung : DE klur

⁴⁶¹ ABC brgyud : DE brgyad

⁴⁶² BCD rdo : AE rngo

⁴⁶³ ABD kam : E ka ma : C gam

⁴⁶⁴ FG mo skyur du : ABC mo gyur du : D mo kyur ru : E mo/ ru

⁴⁶⁵ ABCD dud : E dung

⁴⁶⁶ ABCEFG gu : D ghu

⁴⁶⁷ ABCDEF ba : G pa

⁴⁶⁸ ABCG rdzong : D rdzogs : E rdzongs

⁴⁶⁹ ABC par : DE bar

⁴⁷⁰ ABC o : DE u

⁴⁷¹ B kyis : ACDE kyi

⁴⁷² ACB ches : DE che

mdzad/ sprul sku chos kyi dbang por⁴⁷³ yang chos mang du gsan cing phul/ lha bkod/ [324]
 gzungs zhugs⁴⁷⁴/ khong gi sku dgra la zhag gsum nas rtags ston pa sogs zhabs tog mang du
 bsgrubs/ lho brag tu sdig can zhig la gnas spor mdzad de 'ja' 'od kyis⁴⁷⁵ bar snang bkang ba sogs
 snga 'gyur chos kyi che ba bton/ lho brag zha⁴⁷⁶ stod dang btsan gro sogs su bka' brgyad sgrub
 chen mdzad de sman sgrub dang skye bdun gyis 'gro don mdzad/ khyad par bka' brgyad bde
 gshegs 'dus pa tshar nyer lnga gsan pa'i phyi ma khungs btsun zhing thugs thag chod pa dgon
 dkar du grub chen bde gshegs 'dus pa nam mkha'i rnal 'byor las/ bde 'dus/ gsangs rdzogs/ dong
 sprugs sogs mang du gsan nas 'di la bsngags brjod shin tu che ba rnam thar dang gsan yig tu gsal
 zhing / grub chen 'di yang ri brag la thogs pa med par bya ltar lding/ mthar zhing du byon skabs
 ngo mtshar gyi ltas du ma bstan pa zhig yin pas/ pañ chen rin po ches mdzad pa'i bka' brgyad bde
 gshegs 'dus pa'i 'chad thabs mun sel nyi zla'i 'khor lor gsal/ lho brag phyogs su rnying ma bka'
 gter gyi 'chad nyan mang du mdzad nas phyir gri gu brgyud bsam yas su phebs te/

[4.2]

zhe drug par bsam yas bar khang du mkha' 'gro snying thig/ gsang 'dus rim lnga sogs bsam yas su
 chos rgyal lha'i gdung rnams la gsungs/ de'i tshe gcung legs ldan rjes lho brag srin mo sbar rjes
 can gyi kha byang rnyed pa dang bstun nas/ bsam yas dbu rtse'i steng khang rnam snang gsang
 [325] sgrom nas zab chos rigs 'dzin yongs 'dus sogs gter nas spyang drangs/ snga phyi⁴⁷⁷ zab gter
 lnga spyang drangs par⁴⁷⁸ grags/

[4.3]

de nas re zhig gtsang du byon te yar res snye mor dgongs 'dus sgrub chen btsugs/ phung po ri bo
 cher bde 'dus kyi 'chad nyan mdzad/ ngor e waṃ chos ldan dang thub bstan gser mdog can sogs
 su byon nas/ de rnams su dge tshul slong gi las kyi cho ga mang du mdzad/ nyang⁴⁷⁹ stod⁴⁸⁰
 zhwa lu sogs la phebs te gnas skor⁴⁸¹ dang 'gro phan 'chad nyan rgya cher mdzad nas/

⁴⁷³ ABCD por : E po

⁴⁷⁴ B zhugs : ACDE bzhugs

⁴⁷⁵ ABC kyis : DE kyi

⁴⁷⁶ AB zha : C zhwa : DE zhal

⁴⁷⁷ D phyi : ABCE phyir

⁴⁷⁸ AC par : BDE bar

⁴⁷⁹ ACD nyang : BE myang

⁴⁸⁰ ABDE stod : C stong

⁴⁸¹ AC bskor : BDE skor

zhe bdun par⁴⁸² rong chen brgyud dbus phyogs su⁴⁸³ slar phebs te dpal chen chu bo ri nas snyi⁴⁸⁴
 phur byon/ de nas sgrags phu ri zangs mdog tu byang gter sgrub skor gsum dang bka' brgyad
 rang shar zang thal/ yang phur sogs 'chad nyan rgya cher mdzad/ de nas gzhung du byon nas
 rngog chos kyi lhag ma rnams dang bsre 'pho sogs gsan cing/ bde mchog dang birwa pa/ bdag
 med lha mo bco lnga/ gur⁴⁸⁵ lcam dral sogs kyi dag snang dpag med shar/

[4.4]

de nas phyir byon te lum pa gru brgyud rdo rje brag gi dgon pa btab ma zin kyang de skabs da lta
 dgon pa yod sar⁴⁸⁶ grong khyim zhol 'dra yod tshod nas der bzhugs shing / sku tshe'i rten 'brel
 'grig tshul/ brag phur⁴⁸⁷ pa'i rten 'brel sogs las phyogs der gsang sngags kyi bstan pa dang rjes
 'jug 'byung ba'i brda sogs shar tshul yang / gsung las/

brag rdo rje ru nub gcig ngal gsos pa⁴⁸⁸// [326]
 lo skor⁴⁸⁹ gcig tu⁴⁹⁰ tshe srog 'khyol ba'i brda//
 sa de nyid nas slar yang shar la⁴⁹¹ phyin//
 brag phur⁴⁹² pa'i⁴⁹³ dbal kha thur du zug//
 brda de kun yang⁴⁹⁴ snang stong zung 'jug gi//
 lam bskyed rdzogs kyi bstan pa zin pa'i brda//
 slar de nas kyang rjes 'jug rnam pa brgyad//
 mi bdag nyid la rjes su phyir⁴⁹⁵ 'brang ba//

⁴⁸² BDE par : AC bar

⁴⁸³ ABC phyogs su : DE su

⁴⁸⁴ ABCG snyi : FDE snying

⁴⁸⁵ ABDE gur : C phur

⁴⁸⁶ ABC sar : DE par

⁴⁸⁷ ABC phur : DE phug

⁴⁸⁸ B gsos pa : AC bsos pa : D gsol : E gsos : G sos pa : F sos pas

⁴⁸⁹ ABCDEG lo skor : F pho bskor

⁴⁹⁰ FG gcig tu : ABCDE gcig

⁴⁹¹ ABCDE la : FG du

⁴⁹² ABCGF phur : DE phug

⁴⁹³ ABCDE pa'i : FG pa yi

⁴⁹⁴ ABDEFG yang : C kyang

⁴⁹⁵ ABDE phyir : FG phyis

phyogs mtshams brgyad nas brgyud 'dzin yong⁴⁹⁶ ba'i brda⁴⁹⁷// zhes gsungs pa/
 thub bstan rdo rje brag tu paṇ chen sku mched byang pa⁴⁹⁸ yab sras nas rim brgyud snga 'gyur
 gyi bstan pa dang khyad par rje btsun nyid kyi rjes 'jug brgyud⁴⁹⁹ 'dzin 'byung ba'i lung bstan rdo
 rje'i gsung du go/

[4.5]

de nas phal cher bsam yas bu tshal gyi lcog tu bzhugs shing phyogs bral gdul bya'i re 'dod
 skong⁵⁰⁰ ba dang / rgyal ba'i bstan pa rin po che mtha' dag gso zhing / snga 'gyur bka' gter dam
 pa'i chos kyi 'phrin⁵⁰¹ las bskyangs pas dgung lo zhe bdun yan zhal gsung⁵⁰² kho na ltar gung
 bsgrigs⁵⁰³ pa yin/

[5. 1534–1542]

'di man chad lo rtsis sogs zhib par ma gyur kyang rig⁵⁰⁴ 'dzin rje'i rnam thar dang paṇ chen rang
 gi gsang ba'i rnam thar sogs las dpyad de cung zad⁵⁰⁵ 'dri na/ byams pa gling du lo chen bsod
 nams rnam rgyal la sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor gsan cing/ mkha' 'gro⁵⁰⁶ snying thig gi dbang khrid
 rnams phul te thugs yid gcig 'dres su gyur pa rnams dang/ rje btsun bsod nams rgyal mchog las
 byams gling⁵⁰⁷ pa'i chos skor gzhan rnams gsan pa sogs [327] ni gsung las/

mnga' ris stod kyi ma thang pa//
 padma dbang rgyal rdo rje yis//
 chos phyir lus srog thed la bor//
 rgya gar yul gyi sa mtshams nas//
 dwags kong bar gyi sa ru phyin//

⁴⁹⁶ ABCDEG yong : F yongs

⁴⁹⁷ ABCDEG brda : F brda'

⁴⁹⁸ ACBE pa : D ba

⁴⁹⁹ AC brgyud : BDE rgyud

⁵⁰⁰ ABC skong : DE bskong

⁵⁰¹ ACD 'phrin : BE phrin

⁵⁰² B gsung : ACDE gsungs

⁵⁰³ B gung bsgrigs : AC gungs bsgrigs : DE gung sgrigs

⁵⁰⁴ BCDE rig : A rigs

⁵⁰⁵ ABC cung ze : DE cung

⁵⁰⁶ AC 'gro : BDE gro'i

⁵⁰⁷ ABDE gling : C khrid

dam chos khungs ldan thams cad btsal//
 bka' dang bstan bcas du ma nyan//
 khyad par g.yo ru grwa nang gi⁵⁰⁸//
 byams pa gling du rje dang mjal//
 spyi bshad⁵⁰⁹ sngags 'dul che sogs zhus//
 de nas grwa phyir rgya ston gyi//
 dgon gnas lcags ri zhes byar phyin//
 bya spyod rgyud kyi nram bshad zhus// zhes sogs gsungs/

gzhan yang nyan thos nram pa bdun/ bde mchog chos skyong sde lnga la sogs kyi zhal mang po
 gzigs/ bsam yas mchims phur rgyal ba mchog dbyangs kyi phug par sku mtshams⁵¹⁰ mdzad dus/
 chos rgyal khri srong dang gu ru chos dbang gi sprul par lung bstan thob/ bka' brgyad 'dus pa'i
 bdag nyid du dbugs dbyung zhing dam can rnam bran du 'khol ba'i lung bstan gzugs med pa'i
 sgra las 'di ltar byung ste/

bde ba can na rang byung ba//
 po ta la ru mngon par snang//
 padma rgyal po thod 'phreng rtsal//
 khyod ni khri srong lde'u btsan//
 bde gshegs thams cad gcig yin te//
 rig⁵¹¹ 'dzin kun kyang de bzhin no//
 gcig dang tha dad med pa yi//
 sprul pa thams cad bsdus pa ni//
 chos kyi dbang phyug 'gro ba 'dren//
 rdo rje'i⁵¹² brag ltar mnyam sbyor ba//

⁵⁰⁸ ABDE gi : C ki

⁵⁰⁹ The D and the E editions emended a relatively huge amount of text between the words *spyi bshad* and *dkyil 'khor nam mkha' gang* (see *The Biography of Ngari Panchen by Pema Trinlé* D fol. 648.4 and E p. 339.6). The emended text starts with the words *sngags 'dul che* (see p. 327.2 in the A edition) and ends with *rgyud sde kun gyi* (see p. 328.5 in A edition). In the D and the E editions this piece of text was instead inserted between the words *gdul bya bskyangs/ khyad par* (cf. D fol. 650.3; E p. 341.4) and *rig 'dzin rje dang sku mched* (see D fol. 652.3; E p. 343.1). This seems to be a mistake of the scribe and we follow here the A, B and C editions.

⁵¹⁰ ABC mtshams : DE 'tshams

⁵¹¹ C rig : A rigs : BDE ting

⁵¹² ADC rje'i : BE rje

ded dpon sum cu phyi bzhin 'brang// /zhes [328] gsungs/
gzhan yang bla ma rig⁵¹³ 'dzin gyi khrom tshogs 'dus te 'di skad gsungs so//

khyod ni rigs 'dzin padma rgyal//
chos kyi dbang phyug 'gro ba 'dren// zhes sogs dang/
khyod kyi srog pa rtsa nyid las//
che mchog yon tan gter rnam 'byung//
snying la yang dag thugs gter 'byung//
sha la 'jam dpal sku yi gter//
lce dang khrag la padma gsung//
rgyu ma nang rol⁵¹⁴ nyid la ni//
rbod gtong ma mo'i gter chen 'byung//
klad pa la ni rdo rje dbyings//
rus pa rtsig khyim rkang rnam las//
phur pa 'phrin las gter rnam 'byung//
rkang dang khu ba mig dang tshil//
bla med don rdzogs rnal 'byor gsum//
chos rnam snying po gter gyi mdzod//
khyod nyid yin par mngon brjod bya// zhes sogs gsung/

yi dam zhal gzigs tshul yang bka' las/

che mchog rdor dbyings rdo rje thod pa dang//
dus 'khor bde mchog 'khor chen gdan bzhi dang//
bka' brgyad dkyil 'khor dgu yi gzhal yas khang//
rgyud sde kun gyi⁵¹⁵ dkyil 'khor nam mkha' gang//
orgyan⁵¹⁶ yab yum gsang 'dus gshed dmar sogs//
gang snang lha yi 'khor lor gyur pa kun//

⁵¹³ BCDE rig : A rigs

⁵¹⁴ AC rol : BDE khrol

⁵¹⁵ The end of emendation in the D and the E editions (starting on page 327.2 after *dang mjal/ spyi bshad*).

⁵¹⁶ ABC o rgyan : DE u rgyan

gnas lugs lta ba nyid dang⁵¹⁷ bsdebs te byas// zhes gsungs/

[5.1]

bstan pa yongs rdzogs kyi bshes gnyen chen po yin tshul yang / nyid kyi gsung⁵¹⁸ las/

chos rdzogs chen gyi ri rgyal rtse mor phyin//
gnad grub chen gyi bka' brgyad gling bzhir gdal//
lam 'bras [329] bu yi nyi zla mkha' la 'char//
dus 'khor lo'i dbyings su rtsal snang rdzogs//
chos phyag chen gyi 'dod yon ro brgya myong//
lam chos drug gi zlos gar ci yang rtse⁵¹⁹//
rdzong dbu ma'i khang par⁵²⁰ skyid nyal byas//
bka'⁵²¹ mdo sde'i dkor nor ci yang bsags//
lung 'dul⁵²² ba'i skyed⁵²³ tshal kun nas mdzes//
g.yog bsre 'pho'i⁵²⁴ bang phyin⁵²⁵ thabs re mkhas//
rgyu blo sbyong gi⁵²⁶ sa rgya mang du bcad//
dgra jag gi⁵²⁷ steng du gco⁵²⁸ yul bskyangs//
bdud zhi byed kyi sman pa mkhas pas zin//
gnas rigs gsum⁵²⁹ kha lo 'khor lo sdom//
sangs rgyas kyi sa ru gsang ba 'dus//
rig 'dzin gyi gral du dgyes rdor nga⁵³⁰//

⁵¹⁷ ABDE dang : C ngang

⁵¹⁸ ACB gsung : DE gsungs

⁵¹⁹ FG rtse : ABCDE rtse

⁵²⁰ ABCDEG par : F sar

⁵²¹ ABCDEG bka' : F bkar

⁵²² ABCDG 'dul : F gdul

⁵²³ BEFG skyed : AC skyid: D skye

⁵²⁴ ABCDE pho'i : FG 'pho yi

⁵²⁵ ABCDEG phyin : F chen

⁵²⁶ BDEFG gi : AC gis

⁵²⁷ ABCD gi : FG pa'i

⁵²⁸ BDEFG gcod : AC spyod

⁵²⁹ ABCDE gsum : FG gsum gyi

⁵³⁰ ABCDEF nga : G dang

bdud bzhi yi dgra la nag cing rngams⁵³¹//
 gdong drug gi nga ro phyogs brgyar sgrog//
 srid zhi⁵³² yi dgra bo 'jigs⁵³³ par byed//
 nga bdag gi rtsa ba⁵³⁴ gshed dmar po//
 sgyu ma yi chos la chen por⁵³⁵ rol//
 sangs rgyas kyi sa ru mnyam sbyor ba//
 dpal chen mchog gi⁵³⁶ rdo rje sems//
 mkha' 'gro'i tshogs su rgya mtshor 'khyil//
 rnam rtog⁵³⁷ dra⁵³⁸ ba chos skur sdom//
 rang byung gi ye shes kun tu bzang//
 lam 'bras kyi rnal 'byor padma dbang//
 blo gros la nang byan rnyed nas gda'//
 snang ba sems su rtogs nas gda'//
 sems nyid kyang gsal stong rdo rje dbyings//
 mi nga rang dang dkon cog⁵³⁹ gcig tu 'dres//
 don 'di nyid kyang rang byung rang gi rtsal//
 rang grol gyi ngang nas khrol lo lo//
 rang gsal gyi rnam thar kun tu shar//
 thams cad [330] kyang de don bsam shes na⁵⁴⁰//
 rang nyid dang dbyer med rdo rjer⁵⁴¹ 'gyur⁵⁴²// zhes gsungs/

⁵³¹ ABCDF rngams : G rngam : E ngoms

⁵³² ABDCEG zhi : F bzhi

⁵³³ ABDEFG 'jigs : C 'deg

⁵³⁴ ABCDE ba : FG bar

⁵³⁵ FG por : ABCDE po

⁵³⁶ ABCDE dpal chen mchog gi : FG mchog gi dpal chen

⁵³⁷ ABCDE rtog : FG rtog gi

⁵³⁸ ABDEFG dra : C drwa

⁵³⁹ ABCDE cog : FG mchog

⁵⁴⁰ ABCDEG na : F nas

⁵⁴¹ ABCFG rjer : DE rje

⁵⁴² ABCDE 'gyur : FG gyur

[5.2]

de ltar mnga' ris paṇ chen mkhyen rab dbang phyug⁵⁴³ de nyid skabs 'gar⁵⁴⁴ yar⁵⁴⁵ 'on phyogs su byon nas gdul bya bskyangs/ khyad par⁵⁴⁶ rigs 'dzin rje dang sku mched lhan cig par 'on smon ldan du gzims khang btab nas rgyun ring bar bzhugs/

[5.3]

gcung legs ldan rjes thugs 'khos mdzad de bstan 'gro'i bde thabs su gzig nas bsam yas su rje 'bri gung pa rin cen⁵⁴⁷ phun tshogs spyen drangs te/ mnga' ris paṇḍi ta chen po mched gnyis dang / chos rgyal 'bri gung pa rin cen⁵⁴⁸ phun tshogs te bla ma dam pa gsum gyis rab gnas mnga' gsol sogs rten 'brel mang du mdzad pas/ bod khams su lo bcu gsum gyi bar bde skyid 'byung ba'i rten 'brel 'grig/ zla⁵⁴⁹ gcig gi ring zhabs tog tshang ma rig⁵⁵⁰ 'dzin rjes mdzad pa yin/ de nas gcung legs ldan rje lho 'bras mo gshongs kyi gnas sgo 'byed pa sogs la phebs/ paṇ chen rin po ches 'on bsam gnyis su bzhugs nas bstan 'gro'i don rgya cher mdzad do/ mdor na bla ma dam pa 'di nyid ni bod yul du grags pa'i mdo sngags gsar rnying gi gzhung lugs yongs su grags pa phal cher dang/ rig pa'i gnas mtha' dag la⁵⁵¹ mkhas shing nges pa don gyi paṇḍi ta chen po tshad med pa'i mkhyen rab can 'chad rtsod rtsom gsum gyi gter chen por gyur pas sdom gsum rnam nges sogs kyi gsung rab kyang mang du [331] mdzad pa'i tshig don thams cad zab cing brling⁵⁵² / so so thar pa'i tshul khriims rnam par dag pa/ sdor dkar gdan gcig gi brtul zhugs bzung nas chos gos rnam pa gsum sogs dge slong gi mkho ba'i yo byad dang/ sku gsung thugs rten dbang rdzas dang dkyil 'khor sgrub pa'i yo byad 'ga' zhig las bdag tu mi 'dzin pa bka' gdams kyi dge ba'i bshes gnyen shin tu gtsang⁵⁵³ ba'i mthar thug pa rnams kyi dpe zlar 'os shing btsun pa/ byang chub sems kyi sdom pas thugs rgyud yongs su gtams te sems can kho na'i don las skad cig kyang mi g.yel ba'i brtse ba chen po/ gsang sngags rdo rje theg pa'i sdom pa dang dam tshig rnams ji ltar rgyud las

⁵⁴³ ABC phyug : DE bskur

⁵⁴⁴ BE 'gar : ACD 'ga'

⁵⁴⁵ ABC yar : DE yang

⁵⁴⁶ Here starts the formerly omitted part of the D and the E editions of the *Biography of Ngari Paṇchen* by Pema Trinlé.

⁵⁴⁷ AB cen : CDE chen

⁵⁴⁸ AB cen : CDE chen

⁵⁴⁹ ABCD 'grig /zla : E 'grig zla

⁵⁵⁰ BCDE rig : A rigs

⁵⁵¹ ACD dag la : BD dag

⁵⁵² ABC brling : DE brlings

⁵⁵³ ABDE gtsang : C btsang

bshad pa ltar tshul bzhin du bsrungs⁵⁵⁴ bas nyes ltung gi dri ma thams cad dang bral zhing / dkyil
 'khor rgya mtsho'i khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang chen po/ gsar rnying gi rim gnyis zab mo rnam
 thun bzhir brtson pas nyams su bzhes shing / gtso bo⁵⁵⁵ 'od gsal rdzogs pa chen po'i dgongs pa
 khor⁵⁵⁶ yug tu gdal bas 'khor 'das rig pa'i klong du rang sar grol ba'i grub pa mthar phyin pa'i
 rtags tshad du ma mngon sum du ston nus pa/ de'i dbang gis 'phrin las rnam pa bzhi la thogs pa
 med pa nus pa'i bdag nyid can/ gu ru pad mas zab mo'i gter kha rnam las gsal bar lung gis bstan
 cing / khyad par rang gter rig⁵⁵⁷ 'dzin yongs 'dus dang gu ru drag po sogs las/ o⁵⁵⁸ rgyan [332]
 chen po rig⁵⁵⁹ 'dzin brgyad sogs dang dgongs pa gnyis su med par lung bstan cing / tha na zhal
 chab dang gsang chab myong zhing mtshan lan gcig thos pa rnam kyang 'khor ba mtha' can du
 'gyur bar gsungs pa'i 'brel tshad don ldan gyi skyes bu chen po ste/

[5.4]

mdor na dam pa 'di'i rnam par thar pa ni bdag sogs tshur mthong gi blo can gyis brjod pa'i yul du
 ma gyur kyang/ 'dir dad pa'i sa bon tsam du mdo tsam zhig bris pa yin la/ rgyas par rnam thar rin
 chen⁵⁶⁰ 'phreng ba dang / gsang ba'i⁵⁶¹ rnam thar rin po che'i rna rgyan dang / gsan yig dang bka'
 'bum sogs las shes par bya'o//

[5.5]

de ltar re zhig zhing 'di'i gdul bya rdzogs par mkhyen nas/ nye gnas rin rdor ba sogs sku 'khor
 rnam la zhal gdams dang / khyad par pañ chen rin po che rang gi nye bar gnas pa'i 'khor sum
 ldan rdo rje 'dzin pa'i lcog grwa chung ngu yang dag pa'i bsam gtan pa/ bstan pa yongs rdzogs
 kyi sde nyung zad cig yod pa de la gnas skabs su dgongs shing/ ma 'ongs pa na dgos pa rgya
 chen por gzigs te/ lcog sgar bsgrigs⁵⁶² kyi bka' yig rdo rje 'bar ba'i gzi byin zhes pa zhal gdams su
 bzhag pa deng sang yang e waṃ lcog sgar ba'i bca' yig gi rtsa ba yang de yin no//

[6.]

⁵⁵⁴ B bsrungs : ACDE bsrung

⁵⁵⁵ DE bo : ABC bor

⁵⁵⁶ ABC khor : DE 'khor

⁵⁵⁷ BCDE rig : A rigs

⁵⁵⁸ ABC o : DE u

⁵⁵⁹ BCDE rig : A rigs

⁵⁶⁰ CDE chen : AB cen

⁵⁶¹ ABCD ba'i : E bzhi

⁵⁶² ACDE bsgrigs : B sgrigs

de nas mdzad pa tha ma ni 'on smon ldan gyi bla brang du stag lo zla ba brgyad pa'i tshes gnyis
la 'ja' 'od rol mo'i sgra dang bcas te zab mo chos kyid byings su mnyam par bzhag pa'i tshul
[333] bstan/ sku gdung rin po che mchod de sbyangs shing ngo mtshar gyis⁵⁶³ kun tu khyab
bo⁵⁶⁴// gdung yid bzhin gyi nor bu zhugs la phul ba'i gyang⁵⁶⁵ logs la bkra shis sgo mang gi
mchod rten bris pa deng sang yang smon ldan bla brang na yod do// de ltar dgongs rdzogs kyid
bya ba rnams grub rjes nye gnas sangs rgyas snying pos/ gcung legs ldan zhabs lho 'bras gshongs
kyid phyogs su bzhugs pa spyang drangs te/ 'on du phebs nas phyi rten du rje btsun dam pa mkhyen
rab dbang phyug nyid kyid gzims mal sku 'dra/ o⁵⁶⁶ rgyan rin po che'i sku dang/ thugs rten mchod
rten rnams sman⁵⁶⁷ 'dam las bzhengs/ 'di skabs pañ chen mched gnyis ka mkhas btsun grub pa'i
sa la gangs can gyi ljongs 'dir 'gran pa'i zla thams cad dang bral ba zhig yin na'ng / 'jig rten zang
zing gi thad nas deng sang gi bla chen lta bur⁵⁶⁸ rta zhon ber gyon gyi chos brgyad la bskyed
'phel gtong mkhan ma yin par/ mched gnyis ka bya bral kun tu rgyur song bas bla ma zhing la
gshegs pa'i sku chas hab thob⁵⁶⁹ la mi 'cham par 'khrug long byed mi dgos shing / khyad par pañ
chen rin po che 'dod chung chog shes kho na la gtso bor 'don pas zang zing gi yo byad ma mchis
la/ phyag dpe dbang rdzas rnams kyang gcung legs ldan rje rang gis bdag gir⁵⁷⁰ ma mdzad par
zhal slob so sor gnang ba yin te/ rigs 'dzin rjes 'di ltar bka' stsal te/

rin po [334] che'i dgongs pa rdzogs byed du⁵⁷¹ sa skya pa'i⁵⁷² dpe cha lha rten
rin rdor bas bzung la 'chad nyan gyis/ bka' gdams dang mtshan nyid skor dbon
po shes rgyal bas gyis/ bka' rgyud⁵⁷³ skor sangs rgyas snying pos gyis/ rnying⁵⁷⁴
ma bka' gter skor re zhig ngas⁵⁷⁵ bzung / lo shas nas dbon po 'jam dbyangs pas e
yong / rten bzheng rnams 'o skol bya btang yin pas chen po byed rgyu med/

⁵⁶³ ABC gyis : DE gyi

⁵⁶⁴ ACE bo : B ba : D so

⁵⁶⁵ ABDE gyang : C byang

⁵⁶⁶ ABC o : DE u

⁵⁶⁷ ABDE sman : C smon

⁵⁶⁸ AC bur : BDE bu

⁵⁶⁹ BCDE thob : A theb

⁵⁷⁰ ABCE gir : D gis

⁵⁷¹ ABCD du : E dus

⁵⁷² C pa'i : ABDE ba'i

⁵⁷³ ABDE rgyud : C sgyur

⁵⁷⁴ BCDE rnying : A snying

⁵⁷⁵ ABCD ngas : E ngos

phran bu gros mthun byas⁵⁷⁶ chog/ dgon pa'i gdan sa dbon po gnyis gang 'thad
 du byas⁵⁷⁷ chog/ rin po che bshad sgrub rang la dgyes pas/ de nyid la 'o skol
 tsho ma lhod pa gyis/ des⁵⁷⁸ rten rnam yig rigs tha dad dang/ spyir gyis la⁵⁷⁹
 dgos pa byung dus bed⁵⁸⁰ spyod sus⁵⁸¹ kyang byas chog/ lo gsum nas sprul pa
 zhis 'byon no skad na/ de dus kho rang la tha dad nas 'phrod pa zhis spyi mthun
 du gyis

gsungs pa ltar byas shing / lo gsum nas byon pa'i sprul pa'i sku chos kyi rgyal po bkra
 shis stobs rgyal nyid yin pas rgyas par gzhan du gsal lo//

[C.]

rgya chen chos kun mkhyen pa'i paṇḍi ta//
 padma'i⁵⁸² rgyal tshab rig 'dzin dbang gi rgyal//
 mkhyen rab dbang phyug rje btsun 'jam pal⁵⁸³ dbyang//
 grags pa'i rgyal mtshan 'dzin der snying nas 'dud//
 sdom gsum rnam dag thub bstan yongs rdzogs kyi//
 bshes gnyen bstan pa'i sgron ma⁵⁸⁴ 'gro ba'i mgon//
 rgya bod gsar rnying mkhas grub ma lus pa'i⁵⁸⁵//
 thugs rje gcig tu 'dus pa⁵⁸⁶ lung [335] gis grub//
 de phyir skyabs kun 'dus pa'i bdag nyid la//
 rnam kun mi phyed dad pas gsol 'debs na//
 tshe rabs kun tu⁵⁸⁷ dam pa khyod nyid kyi//

⁵⁷⁶ AC byas : BDE byed

⁵⁷⁷ AC byas : BDE byed

⁵⁷⁸ DE des : ABC dpe

⁵⁷⁹ ABC gyis la : DE gyis

⁵⁸⁰ ABC bed : DE bde

⁵⁸¹ ABC sus : DE dus

⁵⁸² ABDE padma'i : C pa dam 'i

⁵⁸³ BE dpal : ACD pa'i

⁵⁸⁴ ABCD ma : E me

⁵⁸⁵ ABCE pa'i : D pa'

⁵⁸⁶ DE pa : ABC par

⁵⁸⁷ BCDE tu : A du

sku gsung thugs kyi gsang bas rjes⁵⁸⁸ 'dzin shog// ces smras so//

⁵⁸⁸ ABC rjes : DE dgyes

3. Translation

[A. Introduction]

Thus, this exalted master of unequaled kindness ['Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan] had bestowed [the transmission of the *Sūtra Which Gathers All Intentions*] upon the sons of [his family] lineage (rigs sras), the Paṇchen siblings (Paṇ chen mched). [The transmission] should pass on with the chief of the lineage, Rig 'dzin [Legs ldan Dudjom rdo] rje (Rig 'dzin rje).

Nevertheless, mNga' ris Paṇ chen, the elder brother of the honorable Legs ldan [Dudjom rdo rje], was among his chief spiritual tutors (*yongs 'dzin*). [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] was of great boon for the entire Doctrine [of the Buddha]. And even though it is unnecessary to explicate here how the lineage was passed on [through mNga' ris Paṇ chen, I will] briefly discuss [his] life account out of my devotion. [305]

[B. The main body of the biography]

[1. Conception, birth and the family lineage]

[His] birthplace is lHun grub chos sding (Lhündrup Chöding) in Ma thang, [the upper part of the Marang valley in Upper] Mustang.⁵⁸⁹ His father's [name] is rJe btsun 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan⁵⁹⁰ and his mother's name is 'Bro lcam khrom pa rgyan (Drocham Trompa Gyan). Since his family lineage and other details were priorly discussed [in the present work, I] won't mention it [again]. When mNga' ris Paṇ chen had entered his mother's womb, his father visualized [his child] as a deity and conferred empowerments and so forth. From the autobiography in verses narrated by mNga' ris Paṇ chen himself:

When I was born after the first one

In the sevenfold lineage⁵⁹¹ of the king of the accomplished ones,

Vajradhāra, the knowledgeable mantra-holder of mNga' ris [i.e. my father],

There were ten extraordinary signs known to all. [...]

⁵⁸⁹ Glo bo ma thang Lhun grub chos sdings. The reasons for identifying *ma thang* as “Marang” on modern maps are explained in Part One, 4. The Homeland of mNga' ris Paṇ chen (pp. 27-35).

⁵⁹⁰ BDRC P1700. See Part One, fn. 6.

⁵⁹¹ 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan had eight sons (compare Everding 2004, p. 269: “seven or eight sons”). Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje was the second child and after him, 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan fathered another six children, eight in total. The fifth and the sixth child died in infancy. See *The Biography of Jamyang Rinchen Gyaltzen*, p. 299 line 1-3.

For seven years I was brought up in happiness and comfort.
Eight years prior to that, when I entered the womb of [my] mother,
[I was] visualized as the deity's body and
Obtained magnetizing and subjugating empowerments (*dbang drag gi dbang bskur*)
Along with blessings in a proper manner.

This very [autobiography in verses describes] the prophecy made at the time of his birth in the female fire-sheep year [1487] and how [he was] granted a name:

Fortunate being, [you are] the son
Of the eight accomplished victorious awareness holders (*rigs 'dzin rgyal po brgyad*),
[You] hold the sign of the lotus family.
Doubtlessly [you should] bear the following name:
The Mighty Conqueror from the Lotus family (*Padma yi rigs las dBang chen rgyal*),
Vajrasattva Samantabhadra (*Rdo rje sems dpa' kun tu bzang*).
[You will] uphold the renowned victory banner [of the Doctrine] (*grags pa'i rgyal mtshan*) in hundreds of directions.
This should not be forgotten [and] should be kept in [your] mother's mind.
Mother, you too belong to the lineage of the unrivaled [306] spiritual master
'Brom ston lo tsā ba (Drömtön the Translator).⁵⁹²
[You are] endowed with a sign of a *ḍākini* and for this reason,
You should attain full liberation.⁵⁹³

[2. Life in Glo bo]

⁵⁹² Alias 'Brom ston pa rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas (Drom Tönpa Gyalwé Jungné, 1008/1017-1064/1076). BDRC P2557. For his biography, see Vetturini 2013, pp. 104-112. All editions of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's Biography by Padma 'phrin las talk about *'bro ston lo tsā ba* (see Part Two, 2. The Edition of the Tibetan Text, fn. 202). Should we have relied on them, then we would confer that *'Bro ston lo tsā ba* refers to 'Bro Lo tsā ba Shes rab grags (Dro Lotsāwa Sherap Drak), a master from the 12th century and the founder of the *'Bro (Dro)* transmission lineage of the *Kālacakra* tantra. However, I think that we should follow the readings of *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* (i.e., *'Brom*) because even though 'Bro Lo tsā ba's name sounds similar to the name given by Padma 'phrin las ('Bro ston), it does not include *ston*. On the other hand, we can find a person whose name is actually 'Brom ston (Dromtön) and who visited Western Tibet (see Vitali 1996, p. 298). For this reason, it seems appropriate to follow here the editions of *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* (*'Brom ston Lo tsā ba*) and render this name as "Dromtön the Translator." (see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 2v3).

⁵⁹³ Tib. *don de nyid la rnam thar mdzod cig*. Alternative translation: "you should compose a biography mentioning all that."

[2.1. Early education and practice, 1487–1501]

[2.1.1. Taking vows of a lay practitioner and receiving tantric instructions]

At the age of eight [in the year 1494, mNga' ris Paṇ chen] was ordained as a layperson, gave rise to *bodhicitta*, and received many [tantric] empowerments. He perceived his father as the chief of the *maṇḍala*. From that [same source]:

At the age of eight I was granted [vows] of a lay practitioner.

Having purified my mind through *bodhicitta* vows,

I was admitted into the great *maṇḍalas* of [Mañjuśrī] *nāmasaṃgīti*, *the King of All Tantras* (*rGyud kun gyi rgyal po Mtshan brjod*),⁵⁹⁴

Into the *maṇḍala* of *Vajrasattva*, *the King of Magical Emanations* (*sGyu 'phrul gyi rgyal po rDo rje sems*)⁵⁹⁵ and

Into the *Maṇḍala of the Peaceful and Wrathful deities*.⁵⁹⁶

I also entered the [maṇḍalas of] *Viśuddha*⁵⁹⁷ – the king of [all] Herukas, [and of]

⁵⁹⁴ Full title: *'phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yang dag par brjod pa*. NGB: Derge Vol. 10 (tha:3) 194.

⁵⁹⁵ This might refer to the text *do rje sems dpa'i sgyu 'phrul dra gsang ba thams cad kyi me long zhes bya ba'i rgyud, vajrasattvamāyājālaguhyasarvādarśa-nāma-tantra*. NGB: Derge Vol. 11 (da: 4) 202.

⁵⁹⁶ Zhi khro. BDRC T1316. This *maṇḍala* is generally considered to be a part of the *Guhyagarbhatantra*, the general root tantra of the *Mahāyoga* section. “The Zhi khro literature of the rNying ma School (...) is derived from Guhyagarbha tantra” (Coleman 1994, p. 318; pp. 358–359). Perhaps the most renowned piece of such rNying ma literature in the West nowadays is the so-called “Tibetan Book of the Dead,” a section of Kar ma Gling pa’s (Karma Lingpa) treasure (*gter ma*) cycle *The Peaceful and Wrathful Deities, the Self-Liberation of Intention* (*zhi khro dgongs pa rang grol*) revealed in the 14th century. However, the *Sādhana Class*, i.e. the *Practice Series* (*sgrub sde*) of the *Mahāyoga Section* also contains a text named *The Tantra of Hundred Thousand Peaceful and Wrathful [Deities]* (*zhi khro 'bum rgyud*, NGB: Derge Vol. 18 (tsha:15) 304) which belongs to the *Viśuddha/Śrī Samyak Cycle* (*yang dag thugs skor*), one of the eight deities of the *Eight Pronouncements* (*sgrub pa bka' brgyad*). All the above-mentioned texts are a part of the *Mahāyoga* class of scriptures within the threefold division of the Inner Tantras according to the *Collected Tantras of the Ancients* (*rnyingma rgyud 'bum*). If we assume that the *Maṇḍala of the Peaceful and Wrathful Deities* derives from the *Guhyagarbha Tantra*, then we could assume that all those texts belong to the Tantra Section of the *Mahāyoga* literature (the other section is *The Practice Series of the Eight Pronouncements' Deities, sgrub sde bka' brgyad*).

⁵⁹⁷ Yang dag thugs. One of the eight Heruka deities and one of the deities of the *Eight Great Sādhana Teachings* (*sGrub pa bka' brgyad*). Following the classification of the rNying ma School that divides all the treatises into the gradual Nine Vehicles, all texts and *sādhana*s on the Viśuddha (Tib. Yang dag) deity belong to the *Mahāyoga* section, the lowest of the three inner tantras.

The Embodiment of the Six and the Eight [deities].⁵⁹⁸

Likewise, I entered [the *maṇḍala* of the] *Fifty-Eight* [wrathful deities],⁵⁹⁹

[The *maṇḍala* of] *The One Endowed with a Retinue* [of] *Twenty Sovereigns*

(*nyi shu yi bdag nyid 'khor ldan pa*),

[The *maṇḍalas* of] *The Eighteen* [Teachings] (*bco brgyad*)⁶⁰⁰ and

Into *The Nine Flames* (*me dgu*).⁶⁰¹

I received all sorts of tantras, transmissions, and pith instructions.

I perceived my father as the chief of the *maṇḍalas* and

My devotion was complete from the depth of my heart.

After I turned nine years old, I was introduced into the nature of mind.

Once I witnessed the power (*pho go*) of the selflessness of phenomena.⁶⁰²

I listened to the expositions on the *Magical Display* [Tantras] (*sgyu 'phrul*) and

On the *Heart Essence of the Mind Section* (*sems phyogs snying thig*).⁶⁰³

At the age of ten, I became mindful of death.

Boundless compassion to all those [beings]

Who grasp on whatever appears but lacks true existence [so,]

⁵⁹⁸ Tib. *Drug dang brgyad kyi bdag nyid can*. “Six” might refer to the Six Buddha Families, to the Yoga of the Six Deities, to the Six Characteristic Deities, or to the Six Classes of Tantra (the three inner and the three outer tantras). “Eight” might refer to the *Eight Deities Sādhana* (*sgrub pa bka' brgyad*), the *Eight Sādhana Sets* (*sgrub sde brgyad*). For this reason, it is hard to define with certainty to which texts do “Six” and “Eight” refer.

⁵⁹⁹ Tib. *lnga bcu rtsa brgyad pa*. The ending ‘*pa*’ could indicate here that this particular teaching was written in fifty-eight stanzas. Unfortunately, I could not identify this work with certainty and my understanding of *lnga bcu rtsa brgyad pa* as the *maṇḍala* of the fifty-eight wrathful Heruka deities from the *Guhyagarbha* tantra remains a mere hypothesis. It might also refer to the text the *Fifty-Eight Deity Cycle of Yangdak* (*yang dag gi sgrub skor lha lnga bcu nga brgyad pa*), see. Cabezon 2013, p. 50, fn. 38.

⁶⁰⁰ Tib. *bco brgyad* might refer either to the *Eighteen Teachings of the Mental Class* [of Atiyoga] (*sems sde bco brgyad*) or to the *Eighteen Roots* (*rtsa ba bco brgyad*), a.k.a. the *Eighteen Great Tantrapiṭakas* (*tantra chen po sde bco brgyad*), alias the *Eighteen* [Mahāyoga] *Great Cycles* (*sde chen po bo brgyad*).

⁶⁰¹ Tib. *me dgu* may refer to the text “*The Ninefold Lamp of Yangdak*” (*Yang dag mar me dgu pa*), cf. Cabezon 2013, p.50, fn. 38.

⁶⁰² In addition, at the age of nine Padma dbang ryal demonstrated exquisite skills in debate and in explanation. His fame reached the ruler (*mi dbang*) who summoned Padma dbang rgyal to come and discuss (*dri ba dang dris lan byed*) the teachings in the midst of a public gathering (*khrom*). He defeated all the learned opponents, and for one time, he even left a certain “Great Scholar of Ngari” (*mNga' ris kyi Paṇ chen*) Blo bzang (Lobsang) speechless. The ruler pronounced that this special child is “certainly a *tulku*” (*sprul pa zhig yin par the tshom med*). See *The Autobiography of Ngari Paṇchen F*, fol. 3v3-5.

⁶⁰³ The term designating the teachings of “Mind Series” or the “Mind Section” (*sems phyogs*) is synonymous with Semde, the Mind Class (*sems sde*) and is one of three classes of Atiyoga (*rDzogs chen*) teachings. See Stearns 2001, p. 4 and pp. 215-216, fn.46. The Heart Essence, in turn, is a transmission lineage within the Mind Class. More on this lineage, see Dudjom 1991, pp. 554-574.

As if it was real,
Gushed forth like a [stream of a] river.

So it was said.

This very [autobiography also discusses] how [he] studied and contemplated on tantras at the age of eleven [in 1497] and taught at the age of twelve:

At the age of eleven, I perfectly established the understanding of the
Tantra Class [of *Mahāyoga*] (*rGyud sde*) by utilizing connected
explanations.⁶⁰⁴ [307]

After that, [in] seven months, I mastered most of the explanative
commentaries and Indian treatises⁶⁰⁵ of Ācārya Vilāsavajra,⁶⁰⁶

The Indian commentary on *The Red Mouth*⁶⁰⁷ by g.Yung ston (Yungtön),⁶⁰⁸

The commentary of Sum ston (Sumtön)⁶⁰⁹ and others.

In relation to Guhyagarbha,⁶¹⁰ the root tantra of *The Magical Emanation* (*sGyu 'phrul
rtsa rgyud gsang snying*).⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁴ Tib. *bshad sbyar*. A connected explanation is an explanation that combines the root text with its commentary.

⁶⁰⁵ Tib. *bshad 'grel dang rgya gzhung*. One of the commentaries written by Vilāsavajra on Guhyagarbha Tantra is *Śrīguhyagarbhamahātantrarājaṭīkā, rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gsang ba'i snying po'i 'grel pa* (In *bKa' ma rgyas pa*. TBRC W19229. For a full list of Vilāsavajra's works translated into Tibetan see Tribe 2016, pp. 393-395.

⁶⁰⁶ Slob dpon sGeg pa (Lobpön Gegpa) or sGeg pa'i rdo rje (Gegpé Dorjé). Vilāsavajra lived in the late 8th to middle 9th century. He is not to be confused with Lalitavajra: see Tribe 2016, pp. 21-22.

⁶⁰⁷ Tib. *ṭikka kha dmar can*. Unfortunately, I could not identify this work. Whether this term refers to the commentary on Guhyagarbha Tantra authored by g.Yung ston, the [*Mirror that Clarifies the Essential Meaning of Glorious Guhyagarbha*,] *dpal gsang ba snying po'i rgyud don gsal byed me long* (BDRC W25983), requires further research.

⁶⁰⁸ Full name: g.Yung ston rDo rje dpal ba (Yungtön Dorjé Pelwa, 1287-1365). BDRC P1454.

⁶⁰⁹ There are several possibilities as to whom this name in the present biography might refer. Most likely it is Sum ston Byang chub blo gros (Sumtön Jangchub Lodrö) born in the 14th century, the 12th abbot of Kaḥ thog Monastery, renowned for its emphasis on Guhyagarbha Tantra. BDRC P5225. In theory this also might be Sum ston Ras pa bSod nams shes rab (Sumtön Repa) alias Dharmavajra, mentioned in the Blue Annals as a disciple of Rog ban Shes rab 'o (Rokben Sherab Ö). Dharmavajra was a prolific author and an important figure in the transmission of gCod (Chöd). BDRC P3322. Third, Sum ston Yes 'bar (Sumtön Yebar) who lived in the 11th century, the attendant of the translator Rin chen bzang po (Rinchen Zangpo, 958–1855) and a disciple of the translator rNgog Legs pa'i shes rab (Ngok Lekpé Sherab). Sum ston himself had a lot of students. BDRC P3390.

⁶¹⁰ Tib. *gSang snying*. This tantra's title is an abbreviation for *gsang ba'i snyin po*, literally the "Gathering of Secrets." Jakob Dalton maintains that this title is better rendered with "Guhyagarbha" instead of "Guhyakośa" (see Dalton 2016, p. 149, note 1).

⁶¹¹ Full title: *rgyud thams cad kyi rgyal po dpal sgyu 'phrul rtsa ba'i rgyud gsang ba snying po*. Derge 193, vol. 10, 113b.7-123a.6. TBRC W1KG4884.

In particular, I memorized most of the *Sūtra Which Gathers All Intentions*.⁶¹²

At the age of twelve, I was put on a throne [under] an unfurled parasol

Together with my older and younger brothers.

The three of us gave our first public exposition (*bshad gsar*)

On the scriptures' main points amidst the gathering of

Learned men [who came] from neighboring regions.

On that occasion miraculous signs had appeared:

At that time, a winter miracle – shower of flowers, poured for seven days!⁶¹³

[2.1.2. Initial tantric practice, spiritual accomplishments and clear visions]

Then [the autobiography discusses the] initial practice of approach and accomplishment [stages of tantric deities]:

From this time on, I devoted myself to the meditation practice

At lHun grub chos sding together with my elder brother.

This was the time when I established [myself in the] practice of

The *Master as the Gathering of Secrets* (*Bla ma yi sgrub pa gsang 'dus*),⁶¹⁴

As well as the *Magical Emanation of the Peaceful and Wrathful Sugatas* (*bDe gshegs zhi khro sgyu 'phrul*),

The *Glorious Aśvottama* (*rTa mchog dpal*) and

The *Play of Powerful Wrath* (*dBang drag rtsal*)

By means of approach and accomplishment (*bsNyen sgrub*).

⁶¹² Tib. *Dgongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo*. Full title: *de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi thugs gsang ba'i ye shes; don gyi snying po rdo rje bkod pa'i rgyud; rnal 'byor grub pa'i lung; kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo; theg pa chen po mngon par rtogs pa; chos kyi rnam grangs rnam par bkod pa zhes bya ba'i mdo*. In *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, Derge 162, vol. 7 (ja) 110a.7-314a.7.

⁶¹³ The flowers here “refer to snow whose flakes are patterned like flowers” (Heimbel 2017, p. 384 fn. 768). In contrast to the biography by Padma 'phrin las, the autobiography by mNga' ris Paṇ chen speaks of seven times (*lan bdun*), see Part Two, p. 41, fn. 210.

⁶¹⁴ Tib. *Bla ma'i thugs sgrub gsang ba 'dus pa*. A *gter ma* discovered by Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug (Guru Chökyi Wangchuk, 1212–1270). BDRC P326.

Since [his] father was an emanation (*rnam sprul*) of Mar pa Lo tsā ba, [mNga' ris Paṇ chen's] initial vision was that of the goddess *Dhūmāṅgārī*.⁶¹⁵ From that very [autobiography]:

Again and again I clearly perceived the glorious Smoke-clad lady (Dud sol ma)

In the light opening [of my chamber].

I made offerings and praises while maintaining the [right] view.

Moreover, as an initial sign of realization [he] stopped a flood coming from the mountains. [308]
From this very [autobiography]:

Because of the mountain torrents that once came,

three hundred units (*khal*) of neighboring land was washed away.

When [it happened] for the second time, I arrived in that area.

After I raised the ritual dagger, [the water] swirled up.

As I demonstrated the threatening *mudrā*,

[The water] weltered upwards in the height of seven floors and whirled away.

When [the flood] happened for the third time,

I recited one bead of mantra upon a black stone and

Threw [it] into the water, so [it] flowed westwards.

I turned [it] back for seven times.

At the age of thirteen [in 1499 I] maintained [the state of] clear light [and]

composed praises to [my] gurus and tutelary deities.

Moreover, [he had] a vision of [Krodhīni] Bhurkumkūṭa (rMe brtsegs):

When I did meditative recitation on Bhurkumkūṭa,

I beheld [in the] depthless clear blue sky the mistress of the *ḍākinis*.

[Her body was] of charcoal color, [her] purification vase crystal-clear,

Flames blazing out of [her] body.

The fire resounded the *Garkham-Dzirkham* mantra.

I fixated [my] mind on the deity's body [and remained]

⁶¹⁵ Dud sol lha mo or Dhūmavatī. According to Cécile Ducher, *Dhūmāṅgārī* is the best rendering for *dud sol lha mo* (see Ducher 2017, p. 110, fn. 385). For the goddess's role in the transmission of the bKa' brgyd lineage and rNgog in particular, see *Ibid.*, pp. 109-112.

In a non-conceptual tranquil state for about half of the day.

At the age of fourteen, [in 1500 he] thoroughly trained in the entirety of the secret mantra's rituals. This is how [he] practiced *sādhana*s and austerities (*thugs dam dka' spyad*):

When I attained fourteen years of age [in 1500, I] received extensive training
On the ritualistic procedures of the *sādhana* manuals (*sgrub khrigs kyi lag len*)
Of the *Eight Pronouncements* (*bKa' brgyad*),⁶¹⁶
Mātarāḥ and *Yamāntaka* (*Ma gshin*), *Hayagriva* (*rTa mgrin*) and so forth.⁶¹⁷
I accumulated mantras of the king of [all] *sādhana*s, the *Unsurpassable Path* [of]
Guhyasamāja (*Bla ma'i lam gsang 'dus*)⁶¹⁸ and so forth. [309]
For a few years I practiced *Equal Taste* (*Ro snyoms*)
According to the [method of] the *Severance of Māras* (*bDud gcod*).
For about seven years I practiced austerities
And the extraction of nutrients (*bcud len*) [from] sand, river stones, flowers, and alike.

[2.1.3. Serving as a ritual master for the ruler of Mustang]

At the age of fifteen, [in 1501, I] mainly performed
Long-life ceremonies and *sādhana* rituals for the ruler (*mi dbang*).
Amrita, *rakta* (*sman rak*) and nectar boiled like [a stormy] ocean.
At the time of the *torma* ceremony,
I threw the *torma* missile towards the demons' army
Together with the troops of their fierce leader

⁶¹⁶ On the lineage of *The Eight Pronouncements*, alt. *The Eight Great Sādhana Teachings*, alt. *The Eight Transmitted Precepts*, see Dargyay 1998, pp. 33-38.

⁶¹⁷ He practiced the singing of mantras (*sngags dbyangs*), the melodies that are sung in the course of the ritual dances, and the ceremonial dances themselves (*dbyangs 'cham dang gar*). In Padma dbang rgyal's own words, up until now there is no person who is more seasoned in those skills than himself. See *The Autobiography of Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 5v6-7.

⁶¹⁸ *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen* by Pema Trinlé, p. 308.6: *sgrub thabs kyi rgyal po bla ma'i lam/ gsang 'dus sogs sngags kyi grangs la skyon*. *gSang 'dus* usually refers to the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, but here it might also refer to the practice of [Taking] the Guru's [blessings onto] the Path (*gsang 'dus bla ma'i lam khyer*) which, in turn, probably belongs to the cycle of *Bla ma gSang 'dus* (*Lama Sangdū, the Guru as the Gathering of Secrets*). Should this be the case here, then the translation should be: "I accumulated mantras from the king of [all] *sādhana*s, the *Path of the Guru* (*Bla ma'i lam*) [from] the [Guru as] the *Gathering of Secrets* (*gSang 'dus*) and so forth."

Who appeared in space about one *khru* above the ground.⁶¹⁹
 [At the age of sixteen,]⁶²⁰ day and night I contemplated
 On the teachings of the Able One [i.e. the Buddha].
 I utterly abandoned [all] things connected to meat and blood.
 I taught the practice of the Six Syllables (*yig drug nyams len*) to my entourage,
 I made a lot of fasting rituals (*bsnyung gnas*) and vows' restoration ceremonies (*gso sbyong*).
 Seven times I attained a vision of Avalokiteśvara,
 The guide of the sentient beings of the six realms.

[2.1.4. Taking special vows]

I kept the vows of not going out (*them spang*) and keeping silence (*ngag bcad*)
 for three years.
 I prostrated towards numerous unequaled realized masters,
 Asked for Dharma teachings, and put them into practice.
 I requested oral instructions on the *Master as the Gathering of Secrets*⁶²¹ and
 Meditated solely [on it] for one year.

[Next, I am going to] summarize a few crucial main points out of many things that had been told.
 The verses further provide a lot [of information] regarding how [Padm dbang rgyal] received
 Dharma teachings by relying on many noble beings. That very [source, the autobiography]
 describes how [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] attended the initiation ceremony of the *Sūtra Which Gathers
 All Intentions* ('*Dus pa mdo'i dbang*):

⁶¹⁹ In his autobiographical account, Padma dbang rgyal reports that when he was fifteen years of age (1501), the mongol armies (*hor dmag*) approached (*lhags*). So he composed instructions (the author calls them “methods,” (*thabs*) for overthrowing the mongol armies. He sent those “methods” to local governors (*yul phyogs kyi mi bdag*), as well as to mNga' ris and to the dBus (Ü) and the gTsang provinces (*dbus gtsang*). But to the author's deep despair, no one listened to his advice. He then performed the rituals of repenting the hostile armies (*bdud dmag*) for three times. See *The Autobiography of Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 6v5-7.

⁶²⁰ *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F (see fol. 6v4) reports that the following events took place in his sixteenth year of age.

⁶²¹ *Bla ma gsang 'dus*. BDRC T515. A *gter ma* discovered by Gu ru Chos dbang. Jay Valentine translates this title as the *Embodiment of the Master's Secret* and remarks that “[it] is not a Great Perfection text; it is, however, an integral part of the yearly *Mahāyoga* ritual cycle at monasteries that are affiliated with rDo rje brag.” (Valentine 2018, p. 99).

I listened to the connected explanation on the transmission of the *sūtras* and the *tantras*, to the *maṇḍala* ritual together with [its] initiation, to the king of the nine vehicles, *The Sūtra Initiation (mdo dbang)*,⁶²² as well as to *Kīlaya (Phur pa)*, the king of activity tantras.⁶²³ [310]

[My] mind and spirit attained a [high] degree of happiness.

I became certain that [my] noble father is also Buddha Vajradhāra, the king of Herukas.

In particular, I earnestly studied again and again the registry of sections (*them yig*) of the *Eight Sādhana Pronouncements (sGrub pa bKa' brgyad)*.

[2.2. Young age, 1502–1511]

[2.2.1. Seeking for the guru]

When I was sixteen years old, people used to say that the *arhat (dgra bcom pa)* Chos bstan bzang (Chöten Zang),⁶²⁴ the lord of [all] the learned noble [monks], is an unequalled master. So I humbly went⁶²⁵ into his presence.

Once I met him at the middle building (*bar gling*) of Brag dkar (Drakar) [monastery],⁶²⁶ the king of [all] monastic schools, I fell unconscious.

This is how [he] followed the guru.

[2.2.2. Demonstrating miracles]

⁶²² “No major commentaries were composed on the *Sūtra [Which Gathers All Intentions]* between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. Now a canonical tantra, the *Sūtra [Which Gathers all Intentions]* became a kind of sepulcher that was worshipped only through the empowerment ritual.” Dalton 2002, p. 133.

⁶²³ One of the 18 *Mahāyoga* tantric cycles. More on the *Eighteen [Mahāyoga] Great Cycles*, see Dargyay 1998, pp. 28-30.

⁶²⁴ Tib. bDud 'joms Rin po che calls this master “Nor bstan bZang po” (see Dudjom 1991, p. 805 and Dargyay 1998, p. 156).

⁶²⁵ Tib. 'jol gyin phyin. Lit. “went by dragging [i.e. bowing] myself down,” which implies the meaning of making oneself small, i.e. humble.

⁶²⁶ This is likely to refer to Brag dkar theg chen dar rgyas gling (the Drakar Thegchen Dargyé Ling) monastery. This monastery of the Sa skya tradition was founded by Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (Ngorchen Künga Zangpo, 1382–1456) on his first visit to Glo bo. After a series of calamities, the monastery was eventually moved to another place (cf. Heimbel 2017, pp. 289-290). For a photo of its ruins, see *The Register of the Progressive Spreading of the Doctrine in the Land of Lowo*, p. 48, image no. 33. The ruins are located at 29°11'11.3"N, 83°57'46.9"E. “According to G. Tucci (1956), p. 18 note 3, this monastery was located at the east of sMon-thang.” (Kramer 2008, p. 21, fn.61).

Moreover, ever since he stopped the flood in the past, he indeed demonstrated many [more] signs of accomplishment. When he was sixteen years old, he posited exceptional signs of realization:

I practiced the Equal Taste (*ro snyoms*) at the Brag dmar (Drakmar) lake,
I trampled on the waters of Smun nags (Münag) with strides,
I hovered like a bird at the lHa lung (Lalung) cliff,
I entered the Ba gam can (Bagamchen) cliff like a mouse,⁶²⁷
I ran across the face of mGo bo can brag (the Gowochan boulder).
The three friends, Sher seng (Sherseng), Sher dpal (Sherpäl) and rGyal bzang (Gyalzang),
[As well as] Byang rgyal (Jangyal), Bla ma rin seng pa (Lama Rinsengpa) and
Several men and women exclaimed: “*siddha, siddha!*”
Currently, I do not accept the status of a *siddha*.
I merely attained the spontaneous visionary experience of practicing Dharma.
If one does not cognize that phenomena lack change (*'pho 'gyur*),
The bird and the mouse will demonstrate
That the body is an illusionary magical manifestation.

Nowadays, some teachers of ourselves and others maintain that mNga' ris Paṇ chen was just a learned noble monk. However, I think that among people who consider themselves to be accomplished there isn't anyone who has the greater awesomeness of accomplishment signs such as walking on [the surface] of a lake, flying above a cliff [311] like a bird, entering the boulder of a rock without any obstacles like a mouse, running across the precipice and so forth.

[2.2.3. Taking further special vows and deepening of studies]

Furthermore, he took many special oaths (*khyad par can gyi dam bca'*). From [the autobiography]:

⁶²⁷ *Ba gam* literally means “a dome,” a descriptive name of a hill. Another spelling of this locality is *Pa.sgam* or *Par.sgam* (see Vitali 1996, p. 254).

At the age of seventeen, I took a [special] oath from the bottom of the heart.⁶²⁸

To bid farewell to the *Samgha*,⁶²⁹ to [stay] in [my] homeland for no longer than seven days and to wander to secluded places and hermitages.

At the entrance to the king's residence (*rgyal sa'i sgo*) I vowed for three times to practice, to listen and to contemplate [on the teaching] while relying on food from alms, to avoid the activities of traveling, of making profit and taking seat at the head of the row, performing funerary rituals or leading ceremonies.

I earnestly adopted the bKa' gdams pa's instructions (*bKa' gdams kyi gdams pa*)⁶³⁰ in the neighbouring rocky mountains and river valleys, at the cemeteries, abandoned houses and rock clefts.

I took the pith instructions on the activity sphere (*spyod yul gyi sman ngag*) to [my] heart and held the ascetic restraints of the Single Door (*sGo gcig pa'i brtul zhugs*) in a proper manner.

I was resolved in the practice of *rDzogs chen* (Dzogchen).⁶³¹

Furthermore,

When I was eighteen years old, [in the year of 1504,]

I approached the arhat, the lord of the learned and the righteous ones,

Chos bstan bzang again and again

At Rnam rgyal (Namgyal) and at Seng ge brag (the Sengé Cliff)

And requested [him] for the holy Dharma.

[He] gave [me] several instructions on *Vinaya* and *Sūtra*, as well as

On the bKa' gdams pa's practices as a heart advice (*snying gtam*).

⁶²⁸ Tib. *zhe dam byas*. I understand this to be an abbreviation for *zhe thag pa'i dam bca'*

⁶²⁹ Tib. *dge 'dun la mthong phyag 'tshal ba*. I propose reading here *thon phyag* (to bid farewell) instead of *mthong phyag*.

⁶³⁰ One of the two editions of the autobiography speaks here of *gtad sa* instead of *gdams pa* (see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen*, G, p. 71). The early *bKa' gdams* School has a teaching of *gtad sa bzhi*, the Four Aims or the Four Objectives which “belong to the ten innermost jewels of the bKa' gdams Lineage” (Zhong 2017, p. 75, fn. 54).

⁶³¹ In addition, mNga' ris Paṇ chen received manifold teachings from sPrul sku Rab gsal zla ba (Tulku Rabsel Dawa, *sprul pa'i sku rab gsal gyi mtshan ldan zla ba'i zhabs*, cf. BDRC P4029) of Rin chen gling (Rinchenlingpa) and from Kaḥ thog Chos kyi rje Nam mkha' yi 'od zer (The Dharma Lord of Kaḥtog, Namkhé Özer) at sDom gsum gling dpal gyi ri shing (Domsum Ling Pelrishing, cf. Heimbel 2017, p. 295). See *The Autobiography of Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 10r3-7.

I requested the complete oral transmission and instructions [on] Nāropa's teaching
[on] Kecaṛī.⁶³²

I followed the essential direct instructions (*dmar khrid*), [on] the essence of
generation and completion [stages]. [312]

[2.2.4. First pilgrimage to sKyid grong (Kyirong) and clear visions]

Furthermore,

I paid my respects to Āryawati of sKyid grong.⁶³³

The fame [resulting] from people saying that

The Lord [Padmapāni's statue] talked⁶³⁴

Had spread throughout the area.

But craving the signs of [accomplishment on] the Path is like [craving] a dream.

At this moment, the way how [he was] born as numerous former Indian and Tibetan masters
arose very clearly in [his] mind. However, here, in the [autobiography he] only addressed how he
remembered [certain important] places.

The regions of rGya gar (India), Bal po (Nepal), sPu rangs (Purang), Kha che
(Kashmir), Dol po (Dolpo),⁶³⁵ the dBus (Ü) [and] the gTsang (Tsang)
[provinces], especially the La stod shrī (Latö Śrī)⁶³⁶ and

⁶³² Tib. mKha' spyod ma. "[The] special form of Vajrayogini, or Vajravahni, [is] known as Khecari (*mkha' spyod ma*)." (Stearns 2002, p. 229). The Nā ro pa's teachings on mKha' spyod ma (Kachöma or Kecaṛī) is also a part of the so-called "Thirteen Golden Dharmas" (*gSer chos bcu gsum*) of the Sa skya tradition." (Stearns 2006, p. 656). Topic at BDRC T583.

⁶³³ The self-arisen statue of Padmapāni Lokeśvara was housed in the temple 'Phags pa lha khang (Phakpa Lhakang) in the sKyid grong area (28°23'47.64"N, 85°19'39.38"E), near the modern Tibetan-Nepalese border. SRC L527. In 1959 it was "evacuated" to India and since then it is kept in the private quarters of the XIV Dalai Lama. A rare photograph of this statue is found in Decleer 2006, p. 78, p. 97. For the translation of the history, or "biography," (*rnam thar*) of this statue that was accidentally discovered within it during the time of its transportation from Nepal to India, see Ehrhard 2004. mNga' ris Paṇ chen regularly made a pilgrimage there, his autobiography mentions him visiting 'Phags pa lha khang for at least five times: at the age of eighteen (1504), thirty-two (1518), thirty-four (1520), thirty-five (1521) and thirty-six (1522). On the occasion of his last visit, he undertook some renovations of the *maṇḍalas*, see *The Autobiography of Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 33r2.

⁶³⁴ This is a rare but not an exclusive occasion on which the Ārya Wa ti bZang po statue was known to give a talk. Other accounts are briefly mentioned in Ehrhard 2014, p. 25.

⁶³⁵ Dol po. A Tibetan cultural region located in the north-west of modern Nepal, east of Glo sMon thang.

⁶³⁶ This might refer to rGyal gyi shrī ri (The Holy Mountain of Gyal, Gyalgi Śrī Mountain) in La stod (Latö), renowned as one of the places connected to Mi la re pa and the place where *gter ma* of the Northern Treasures

The amazing Chu dbar (Chuwar)⁶³⁷ arose in [my] mind.
 In the same manner, the visions of the glorious Sa skya,⁶³⁸ Bo dong
 (Bodong),⁶³⁹ Shab stod Shab smad (the Upper and the Lower Shab),⁶⁴⁰
 Snar thang (Narthang),⁶⁴¹ lHo brag (Lhodrak),⁶⁴² Zab lung (Zablung),⁶⁴³ Yar
 klung (Yarlung),⁶⁴⁴ Bsam yas (Samye),⁶⁴⁵ 'Phen yul (Phenyul),⁶⁴⁶ 'Chad ka
 (Cheka),⁶⁴⁷ gSang phu (Sangpu),⁶⁴⁸ mKa' reg (Khareg),⁶⁴⁹ rGya ma
 (Gyama),⁶⁵⁰ Yol phu (Yolpu),⁶⁵¹ [Lho]dra,⁶⁵²

were found in the 14th century by bZang po grags pa (Zangpo Drakpa). The editions of *The Autobiography by Ngari Pañchen* talk of La stod rtsib ri (Latö Tsibri), which is not a contradiction: Rtsib ri (the Tsib Mountain) is another name of the Shrī ri (Śrī Mountain), “it is located immediately northeast of Dingri and west of Shelkar in Latö.” (Wangmo 2005, p. 14). BDRC G3140.

⁶³⁷ Alt. Chu 'bar. This monastery (28° 2'34.42"N, 86° 19'17.06"E) is associated with Mi la re pa and is located in the Rongshar valley in southern Tibet close to the modern Nepali-Tibetan border. See Chan 1994, p. 255 (map) and p. 256 for description.

⁶³⁸ BDRC G210. For a description of the area, see Chan 1994, pp. 880-883.

⁶³⁹ Bo dong is a name of a place and it seems that in most available sources it is synonymous with the Bo dong E Monastery located in g.Yu thog (Yutok), in modern bKra shis sgang shang (Tashi Gangshang). See Ferarri 1958, p.67.

⁶⁴⁰ BDRC G953.

⁶⁴¹ See Chan 1994 p. 834, p. 833 (map).

⁶⁴² An area north of the Bhutanese border in Southern Tibet. Chan 1994, p. 682, p. 684 (map); BDRC G3CN58.

⁶⁴³ Tib. Zab pu lung, Zam bu lung. North of gZhis ka rtse in the Shang valley where a cave shrine dedicated to Padmasambhava is located. BDRC G3CN392. Chan 1994, pp. 877-888.

⁶⁴⁴ Yar klungs. A region in Central Tibet. BDRC G1145. Chan 1994 pp. 515-516.

⁶⁴⁵ The name of a valley and the first Buddhist monastery located in the Yar klung region. BDRC G2088, G287. Chan 1994, p. 295. Ferarri 1958, pp. 44-45.

⁶⁴⁶ A valley north of lHa sa, closely connected with the second diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet, it is the location of Nālānda and Langtang monasteries. Chan 1994, p. 194, 626 (map).

⁶⁴⁷ Alt. 'Chad kha. A bKa' gdams pa monastery located in Central Tibet, in the area of Meldro Gungar. BDRC G2066. Ferarri 1958, p. 110.

⁶⁴⁸ BDRC G3CN166, G226. A valley in the southern vicinity of lHa sa, the location of Gsang phu ne'u thog (Sangphu Ne'u thok) monastery. In the past it was a renowned non-sectarian center of Buddhist scholarship. See Chan 1994, p. 490 & p. 626 (map), Ferarri 1958 p. 165.

⁶⁴⁹ Alt. Kha reg/Kha rag. BDRC G1423, G1AG90. The Kha reg or Kha rag region (SRC L50) and the mountain by the same name (29°15'5.45"N, 90°20'32.00"E) lies between the dBus (Ü) and the gTsang (Tsang) provinces in Central Tibet.

⁶⁵⁰ The rGya ma khri khang, the Gyama[shing] valley. This valley lies south-east of Meldro Gungar in Central Tibet (29°45'55.38"N, 91°39'55.55"E) and is renowned as the Srong btsan sgam po's birthplace and “the stronghold of the bKa' gdams pa Sect before the rise of dGe lugs pa” (Chan 1994, p. 546). Map: *ibid.*, p. 547 (“Gyalmashing valley”). For description, see Ferrari 1958, p.109.

⁶⁵¹ Alt. Yol bu. The Yol valley (29°20'21.43"N, 90°35'31.33"E; SRC L638) is located south-west of lHa sa on the northern bank of the Yar klung river. Its upper part (*phu*) is the location of the Ri gong monastery (29°20'59.00"N, 90°34'49.00"E), coordinates based on SRC L402.

⁶⁵² Drwa. Area in lHo ka, SRC L76.

Along with [Nang] dol (Nangdöl)⁶⁵³ and mDog gzhung (Dokshung)⁶⁵⁴
 Had appeared in flashes [one after the other].
 I vividly recollected the deeds of [my] parents and relatives,
 The holy Dharma and the tutelary deities.

[So one] understands that [those areas] are places of inconceivable amazement.⁶⁵⁵
 Also further from [his autobiography]:

At the age of nineteen [in the year of 1505, I]
 Turned the wheel of Dharma on the six syllables to [my] countrymen.
 The rain of flowers [poured] thirteen [times] and
 The dome of rainbow light appeared constantly.
 At the age of twenty [in 1506, I] mastered most of the scriptures
 [Such as] *The Five Treatises of Maitreya* (*Byams chos sde lnga*),
The Perfection of Wisdom (*Phar phyin, Prajñāpāramitā*), *The Valid Cognition*
(Tshad ma, Pramāṇa), *The Root Stanzas on the Middle way* (*dBu ma rtsa shes*,
Mūlamadhyamakakārikā), *The Four Hundred Verses* (*bZhi brgya pa*,
Catuḥśataka), *Compendium of Instructions* (*bSlab btus, Śikṣāsamuccaya*),
Entering the Bodhisattva's Way of Life (*sPyod 'jug, Bodhicaryāvatāra*),
The Eight Principal Subjects and Seventy Topics (*dNgos brgyad don bdun cu*). [313]
 Several [other treatises I] thoroughly studied
 Under the *arhat* Chos bstan bzang and Slob dpon Nam mkha' (*Ācārya* Namka).
 I internalized hundreds of scriptural traditions [just] by reading [them].

I think that just this sole [event] that had been told is of utmost significance.
 Furthermore, this very [autobiography] says:

From the age of twenty-one [1507],
 I relied on all realized scholars with great devotion,

⁶⁵³ An area in lHo ka, SRC L331.

⁶⁵⁴ Some editions read *rdog gzhung* which is probably a corruption of *mdog gzhung* (see fn. 327). mDog gzhung lies in the western part of gTsang Province in the vicinity of the modern Ngam ring county. SRC L392.

⁶⁵⁵ Shortly after this vision, mNga' ris Paṇ chen took the vow to be a vegetarian (*sha mi za'o*). See *The Autobiography of Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 11v5.

Such as on 'Jam dbyangs chos skyong (Jamyang Chökyong),
 Sdom brtson Tshul khrims dpal (Domtsön Tsültrim Pel), the chief of the wise ones,
 And on Dri med dam pa Rin chen seng ge (Drimé Dampa Rinchen Sengé).
 While serving 'Jam dbyangs Chos kyi rgyal po (Jamyang Chökyi Gyalpo),
 I studied with heartfelt appreciation empowerments and instructions, tantras, and
 Several accomplishment methods (*sgrub thabs*) of the *Unconceptual Red Yamāri*.⁶⁵⁶

[2.2.5. Obtaining signs of realization and the father's prophecy]

[And then at the age of twenty-one,] I practiced at Potala⁶⁵⁷ for two winter months.
 On the seventh day I beheld the heroic Mañjuśrī, Raktayamāri [with my own eyes.
 I was mindful of the deity at all times, and it clearly appeared even in the darkness].⁶⁵⁸
 This is not [a lie about] spiritual attainments.⁶⁵⁹
 Whenever I merely glimpsed the color of red,
 The very Wrathful Guru,⁶⁶⁰ Hayagriva (rTa mgrin),
 Kekarī (mKha' spyod ma), and Raktayamāri [themselves] were vividly [present].
 At the age of twenty-two,
 I thoroughly scrutinized the complete teachings of [my] father.
 When in winter I practiced the *Eight Pronouncements* (*bKa' brgyad*),
 The nectar boiled, the [flame of a] small butter lamp lasted for three days,
 The frozen objects iced out and emitted steam,
 The drum and the cymbals blazed with firelight. [314]

At that time [his] father gave a prophecy following a vision that he had:

On that occasion [my] father, the great Vajradhāra [in person],

⁶⁵⁶ Tib. *gShin rje gshed dmar spros med*. BDRC T2102.

⁶⁵⁷ Tib. *Po ta lar*. A place by the name of “Potala” in Mustang is not known nowadays. In his autobiography mNga' ris Paṇ chen mentions that Potala is a fortress in his neighborhood called rDo rje rdzong (Dorjé Dzong, see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen*, F fol. 37v2: *rang gi nye 'khor po ta lar/ rdo rje rdzong zhes bya bar/*).

⁶⁵⁸ It seems that the scribe missed a few autobiographical lines by accident and thus these lines were complemented from the autobiography (see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen*, G p. 79, F fol. 14r3).

⁶⁵⁹ Tib. *mi chos bla ma med*. I understand as *mi chos bla ma['i rdzun] med*. On the term *mi chos*, see Jackson 1984, p. 76.

⁶⁶⁰ Tib. Gu ru drag po. This deity is the wrathful form of Padmasambhava with consort, from the *gter ma* Lineage of Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (Nyangrel Nyima Özer, 1124–1192).

Proclaimed the following speech at the middle of an assembly:

'Son! If there will be no obstacles in your life,

[You] will turn the wheel of Dharma in this world.

Last night, encircling the edges of a *maṇḍala* [there stood] Bla ma Zur chen

(Guru Zurchen),⁶⁶¹ rNgog ston Chen po (The great Teacher of Ngok),⁶⁶²

rJe btsun Grags pa (Jetsün Drakpa),⁶⁶³ Phags chen rin po che (Phakpa

Rinpoché),⁶⁶⁴ Nam mkha'i snying po (Namkhé Nyingpo),⁶⁶⁵

bSod nams Bla ma (Sönam Lama),⁶⁶⁶ 'Gro mgon Myang (Drogön Nyang),⁶⁶⁷

Ras chung rDor grags (Rechung Dordrak),⁶⁶⁸

rGyal sras dbang chen (Gyalsé Wangchen),⁶⁶⁹

Glo bo yab sras (The Glo bo Father and [his] Sons),⁶⁷⁰

Chag lo Chos dpal (Chaglo Chöpel),⁶⁷¹ Khro phu Lo tsā ba (Tropu Lotsāwa),⁶⁷²

Nag 'tsho Lo tsā ba (Nagtso Lotsāwa),⁶⁷³

⁶⁶¹ Alt. *shākya 'byung gnas*, 1002–1062). TBRC P2889.

⁶⁶² Full name: rNgog Chos sku rdo rje (1036–1106). One of the main disciples of Mar pa. BDRC P0RK1289, SRC P443.

⁶⁶³ Full name: rJe btsun Grags pa [rgyal mtshan] (1147–1216). The 3rd Sa skya patriarch. BDRC P1614, SRC P19.

⁶⁶⁴ Full name: Phags chen rin po che [Blo gros rgyal mtshan] (1235–1280). The 7th Sa skya patriarch. BDRC P1048, SRC P26.

⁶⁶⁵ [Gnubs] Nam mkha'i snying po, b. early 8th century. One of twenty-five Padmasambhava's disciples. BDRC P7743.

⁶⁶⁶ Full name: [sKyo ston] bSod nams bla ma, fl. 11th century. Guru of Ma cig Lab sgron (Machig Labdrön, 1055–1149). BDRC P3311.

⁶⁶⁷ Full name: mNga' bdag 'Gro ba mgon po Nam mkha' dpal, 12th–13th century. Myang ral Nyi ma 'od zer's (Nyangel Nyima Özer) son and the abbot of sMra bo lcog (Mawochok) monastery.

⁶⁶⁸ Full name: Ras chung rDo rje grags pa (1085–1161). A disciple of Mi la re pa. BDRC 4278.

⁶⁶⁹ Full name: rGyal sras Padma dbang chen, 13th century. BDRC P7173.

⁶⁷⁰ This is likely to refer to Amépel (A me dpal/A ma dpal, 1380–ca. 1440; see Heimbel 2017, p. 553), who "is regarded by many Tibetan sources as the great founder of the royal line of Glo-bo." (Kramer 2008, p. 19). Two of his four sons, A mgon bzang po (Amgön Zangpo, b. 1420) and A mo gha badzra (Amogavajra, d. 1482) "were responsible for maintaining and extending the military dominance of their family after A-ma-dpal's passing."

⁶⁷¹ Chag lo Chos [rje] dPal (1197–1263). BDRC P1025.

⁶⁷² Full name: Khro phu Lo tsā ba Byams pa dpal (1173–1236). A reincarnation of sNa nam rdo rje bdud 'joms (Nanam Dorjé Dudjom), the uncle of the king Khri strong lde btsan and one of the five innermost disciples of Padmasambhava (see Boord 1993, p. 23). BDRC P4007.

⁶⁷³ Full name: Nag 'tsho Lo tsā ba Tshul khri ms rgyal ba, 1011–1064. BDRC P3456.

Kun mkhyan Mus sradd pa (The Omniscient Müsēpa),⁶⁷⁴ mKhas grub bSod bzang (The Realized Scholar, Sö[nam] Zang[po]), Grub chen dMar zhabs (Mahāsiddha Marshab),⁶⁷⁵ Dam pa Sangs rgyas (Dampa Sangyé),⁶⁷⁶ Bai ro tsa na (Vairocana),⁶⁷⁷ Bi ma la mi tra (Vimalamitra),⁶⁷⁸ Guru Padmasambhava with consort (O rgyan yab yum), Khri srong lde btsan (Trisong Detsen),⁶⁷⁹ Ma cig lab sgron (Machig Labdrön),⁶⁸⁰ Zhang Lo tsā ba (Shang Lotsāwa),⁶⁸¹ Ras chen pa (Rechenpa),⁶⁸² Khams pa sGa lo (Khampa Galo),⁶⁸³ and the Five Great Pundits from India (*rGya gar paṇ chen lnga*). They looked at each other smiling and [joyfully] laughing. All of them uttered: ‘I am Padma dbang rgyal.’ [Then] they all departed by dissolving into you. You have acquired the [direct] oral transmission (*snyan brgyud*) [and] Possess insight into the entirety of the genuine Dharma. Listen to me and uphold the lineage of teaching and practice. [Padma dbang rgyal,] after you will seize The thirty-fourfold family lineage or The thirty-twofold disciple lineage in a proper manner, The continuity of the teaching will spread in every direction. Therefore, [I] will collect the medicinal substances, sacrificial offerings,

⁶⁷⁴ Full name: Kun mkhyan Mus sradd pa Byams pa rdo rje rgyal mtshan, 1424–1498. BDRC P5302, SRC P208. This name might also refer to Mus sradd pa Shes rab rdo rje (Müsepa Sherab Dorjé, 1294–1372. BDRC P3205, SRC P2031, P588.

⁶⁷⁵ Full name: Grub chen dMar zhabs [Ras pa], mid. 13th–14th century. A treasure (*gter ma*) discoverer and a disciple of Gu ru Chos dbang (BDRC P326).

⁶⁷⁶ Dam pa Sangs rgyas, mid. 11th–early 12th century. A *yogin* from India, traveled to Tibet and started the transmission of Zhi byed (Shijé) doctrine. BDRC P1243, SRC P776.

⁶⁷⁷ Fl. 8th to 9th centuries. Translator, student of Śrī Siṃha (dPal gyi seng ge) who received an ordination among the first seven Tibetan monks by Śāntrakṣita. BDRC P5013.

⁶⁷⁸ Fl. 8th century. A prominent Indian scholar. BDRC P5011.

⁶⁷⁹ Khri srong lde btsan (742–800). BDRC P7787.

⁶⁸⁰ Ma gcig lab sgron (1055–1149). BDRC P3312.

⁶⁸¹ Full name: Zhang Lo tsā ba grub pa dpal, alias Zhang Lo tsā ba Phur pa skyabs (b. 1237). A disciple of Abhayākara Gupta. BDRC P5897.

⁶⁸² Full name: Sangs rgyas Ras chen dpal grags (1148–1218). BBRC P4171.

⁶⁸³ Khams pa sGa lo[tsā ba], late 8th–9th centuries. Translator, student of Vairocana. BDRC P0RK367. Not to be confused with dPal chen sGa lo (Pelchen Galo), also known as Karma bdud rtsi (Karma Dütsi) who lived in the mid. of 16th century. If we follow the reading given in the autobiography which is “*rga lo*” (and not “*sga lo*”), then this might refer to rGwa Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal (Ga Lotsāwa Shönnu Pel, b. 1110/1114–d. 1198/1202), a native of rGa (Ga) in mDo khams (Dokham), see Sørensen & Hazod 2007, p. 78 fn 30. BDRC P3674.

Rakta, powdered colors and [315] give you the initiation
For upholding and preserving the teaching of the Buddha.'
[My father] told me many accounts like this one.

Just this mere [event of his] account of liberation exceeds the boundaries of mind and is a ground of amazement.

Following this, for the sake of brevity, I will convey the contents of [his] autobiographical verses in prose.

[The autobiography describes] how at the age of twenty-three [in 1509, he] studied *Glo bo lo tsā ba*'s (Lowo Lotsāwa) precious instructions on the *Path and Result* (*Lam 'bras*) along with the general (*Tshogs bshad*) and the esoteric exposition (*Slob bshad*)⁶⁸⁴ under 'Jam dbyangs [Chos rje].⁶⁸⁵ At that time [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] perceived [his] guru as the actual [embodiment of] Hevajra.

At the age of twenty-four [in 1510, he] once more listened to the teachings [on] the *Path and Result* (*Lam 'bras*): [*The Three Appearances* (*snang gsum*) and *The Three Continua* (*rgyud gsum*)].⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸⁴ Tib. *tshogs bshad dang slob bshad*. “The explication to the assembly and the explication to disciples are two methods of transmitting *Lam 'bras*, [the *Path and Result*].” (Van Shaik 2016, p. 242).

⁶⁸⁵ Tib. *dgung lo nyer gsum pa la 'jam dbyangs glo bo lo tsā ba 'i* [BDE: *glo bo lo tsa bar*] *gsung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa tshogs bshad dang slob bshad gnyis gsan tshul dang* (*The Biography of Ngari Paṇ chen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 315.3). This sentence is ambiguous for several reasons. First, some editions (BDE) provide another reading. If we would accept the reading given in other editions (BDE: *glo bo lo tsa bar*), then this would be erroneous, because *Glo bo Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen* (Lowo Lotsāwa Sherab Rinchen, b. 13th century) lived much earlier (BDRC P1061) and could not have had given any teachings to mNga' ris Paṇ chen. Second, the name of the teacher is not given in full ('Jam dbyangs), which is somewhat peculiar. The autobiography, the basis for Padma 'phrin las 's present compilation of this particular year of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's life, does not mention any “translator” (*lo tsā ba*). Instead, it speaks of a certain “Jamyang Chöjé” ('Byams dbyangs chos rje, see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇ chen* F, fol. 15r2). It is possible that 'Byams dbyangs chos rje is the same person as Chos kyi rJe 'Jam dbyangs dngos grub Blo gros dpal mgon (Chöjé Jamyang Ngödrup Lodrö Pelgön), who took part in mNga' ris Paṇ chen's ordination and is also mentioned in the 30th year of his life (see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇ chen* F, fol. 22v6). However, this could have also been *Glo bo mKhan chen 'Jam dbyangs bsod nams lhun grub* (Lowo Khenchen Jamyang Sönam Lhündrup). In one of the available readings of the autobiography, mNga' ris Paṇ chen refers to *Glo bo mKhan chen* as “translator” (*lo tsā*), see *ibid.*, G, p. 98. Cf. *ibid.* F, fol. 23v3: *la tsa*.

⁶⁸⁶ Tib. *dnang gsum dang rgyud gsum*. Complemented from the autobiography (see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇ chen* F, fol. 16r6). “The *Three Perceptions* (*sNang gsum*) are texts comprising the preliminary practices for the *Lam 'bras* (*Lamdré*). The term refers to three levels of perception: the impure (*ma dag pa*) perception of an ordinary being, the visionary or “experiential” (*snyams*) perception of a *yogin*, and the pure (*dag pa*) perception of a buddha.” (Dhonthog 2016, p. 249). “texts comprising the main practices of the *Lam 'bras*. The term refers to the continuum of the universal basis or *ālaya* (*kun gzhi*), which is the cause, the continuum of the body (*lus*),

[2.2.6. Monastic ordination]

At the age of twenty-five [in the year of 1511], at bSam grub gling (Samdrupling) monastery⁶⁸⁷ [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] had indeed become a lay practitioner at midday, a novice monk at eventide and after that a fully ordained monk. [The ceremony took place] amidst twenty five fully ordained faithful monks, [including] mKhen chen Kun bsod pa (Khenchen Künsopa),⁶⁸⁸ 'Jam dbyangs blo gros dpal mgon (Jamyang Lodrö Pelgön),⁶⁸⁹ [as well as] mKhas dbang Tshul khrims bzang po (Khewang Tsültrim Zangpo). The liturgy of Bu ston Rin po che (Butön Rinpoché) was taken as a basis [for the ordination] and was supplemented by the connected explanations from the liturgies of Nam bsod pa (Namsöpa) and 'Phags pa Rin po che (Phakpa Rinpoché).

Glo bo mKhan chen bSod nams lhun grub⁶⁹⁰ acted as the presiding abbot (*mkhan po*, *upādhyāya*), 'Khor lo sdom pa dKon mchog skyabs (Könchok Chökyab of the Cakrasaṃvara [Palace])⁶⁹¹ acted as the counselor (*slob dpon*, *ācārya*), the one by the name of Rab 'byams Kun dga' (Rabjam Künga)⁶⁹² acted as the secret preceptor (*gsang ston*, *raḥonuśāsaka*), Rab 'byams

which is the path, and the continuum of the *mahāmudrā* (*phyag rgya chen po*), which is the result.” (Dhongthog 2016, p. 239).

⁶⁸⁷ Tib. dPal bSam grub gling. Located about five kilometers to the west of Mönthang: 29°11'9.40"N, 83°54'25.32"E. This monastery is strongly associated with the Sa skya school, the seat of Glo bo Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (Lowö Lotsāwa Sherab Rinchen). For references on this monastery, see Heimbel 2017, p. 327, fn. 482. Glo bo mKhan chen, one of the main gurus of mNga' ris Paṇ chen, resided at this monastery (see Ehrhard 2013a, p. 325 fn 20). For a brief historical sketch, a detailed description of the ruins and its restoration plans, see Kitamura 2010, pp. 148-159.

⁶⁸⁸ BDRC P461, SRC P463. This name might refer to Sa skya Lo tsā ba 'Jam dbyangs kun-dga' bsod nams (Sakya Lotsāwa Jamyang Künga Sönam), alias. Sa skya Lo tsā ba 'Jam pa'i rdo rje (Sakya Lotsāwa Jampé Dorjé, 1485–1533, another illustrious student of Glo bo mKhan chen and the twenty-second throne holder of Sa skya. He composed a biography of Glo bo mKhan chen that is not extant these days (see Kramer 2008, p. 48).

⁶⁸⁹ The student of Glo bo mKhan chen who composed his biography in 1534 (see Kramer 2008, p. 48).

⁶⁹⁰ Full name: Glo bo Chos mdzad 'Jam dbyangs bsod nams lhun grub Legs pa'i 'byung gnas rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po, 1456–1532. TBRC P782, SRC P56. Commonly known under the name “Lowö Khenchen” (*Glo bo mKhan chen*), the Great Scholar of Glo bo (Mustang). He was one of the main principle gurus of mNga' ris Paṇ chen. For a translation of his biography and the catalogue of his collected writings, see Kramer 2008.

⁶⁹¹ Franz-Karl Ehrhard proposes to identify this person with the translator dKon mchog skyabs, the one who gave the empowerment of *Vajrāvalī* to mNga' ris Paṇ chen (see Ehrhard 2013a, p. 319). This assumption is confirmed by the autobiography that characterises dKon mchog skyabs as “the one who speaks two languages, pundit Chöjé” (see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 16v4). The title of this person, *khorlo sdom pa*, suggests his affiliation with a temple called “the Cakrasaṃvara palace” at mKha' spyod (Khachö), the residence of Glo bo rulers starting with A ma'i dpal (Amäpel). This temple was consecrated by Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po in 1436 (see Heimbel 2017, p. 281).

⁶⁹² The autobiography calls this person “The Dharma-Conqueror (Chos kyi rgyal po) who demonstrates himself in a human form, Rab 'byams Chos kyi rgyal po Kun dga'” (*rgyal ba mi gzugs tshul ston pa// rab 'byams chos kyi rgyal po kun dga'i mtshan//*, see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 16v5). *Chos rgyal* (Skt: *dharmarāja*) was also a royal title (see Dhungel 2002, p. 84, fn. 8). Thus, this person could have belonged to a ruling family.

rGyal mtshan skyabs (Rabjam Gyaltzen Kyab) as the timekeeper (*grib tshod pa, chāyā*), and Rab 'byams bSod nams dpal (Rabjam Sönam Pel) as an assistant (*grogs dan*).

[mNga' ris Paṇ chen] was granted the [following] name: dGe slong Padma dbang rgyal Grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po bsTan pa'i rgyal mtshan (*bhikṣu* Padma dbang rgyal Drakpa Gyaltzen Pelzang, the Victorious Banner of the Doctrine). Therewith his mindstream was purified with the ethical discipline [316] that was perfect in three ways.

Subsequently [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] also listened to many teachings from those scholars and masters.

[2.3. Extensive studies under different masters and travels, 1512–1526]

[2.3.1. Activities in Dolpo and pilgrimages around mNga' ris]

At the age of twenty-six [in the year 1512, he] dwelled in solitude at the Crystal-Mountain Dragon's Roar.⁶⁹³ Except from the three dharma robes, scriptures, a rattlestick,⁶⁹⁴ and a begging bowl, [he] rejected all other material possessions and undertook the ascetic restraints of the *Single Door*. [He] paid visits to sacred places of mNga' ris and again acquired several visionary revelations (*dag snang*) as well as prophecies. [He] likewise bestowed the holy Dharma to the faithful ones in a proper manner.⁶⁹⁵

Once again [he] returned to Glo bo and received extensive [instructions on] tantras, scriptural transmissions, and pith instructions⁶⁹⁶ from [his] noble father. From Glo bo mKhan chen [he as well] received many teachings, such as the *Hostile Faced Yamantaka* (*dGra gdong 'jigs byed*), *Raktayamāri* (*gShed dmar*), and *Guhyasamāja* (*gSang 'dus*).

At the age of twenty-seven [in 1513, mNga' ris Paṇ chen] studied Dharma under the one by the name of mKhas btsun nam mkha (Khetsün Namkha), Padma 'bum (Padma Bum), and others.

⁶⁹³ Shal gyi ri bo 'brug sgra. A sacred mountain in Dol po (29°21'10.5"N, 82°56'00.6"E). On this mountain, see Mathes 2019, pp. 299-321.

⁶⁹⁴ Tib. *'khar gsil*, Skt. *kakkhara*. A cane or a stick with cymbals attached to its upper end is one of the ritual belongings of a fully ordained monk. It is believed that small sentient beings on the ground upon hearing the sound of the cymbals go out of the monk's way thus preventing the monk from involuntarily taking their life by stepping on them.

⁶⁹⁵ In addition, Padma dbang rgyal contributed in building a temple (*gtsug lag khang*) in the vicinity of sTag phug (Tagphuk) monastery. It served for repenting foreign invaders (*mtha' dmag bzlog*) from the region of Yol mo. See *The Autobiography of Ngari Paṇchen F*, fol. 18r6.

⁶⁹⁶ Tib. *rgyud lung man ngag*. This “refers to the teachings of Mahayoga, Anu Yoga, and Ati Yoga respectively. Can also refer to the three categories of the fundamental teachings of rDzogs chen.” (Palmo 2008, p. 336).

[While] conducting a six-month solitary retreat at Potala,⁶⁹⁷ he applied experiential instructions⁶⁹⁸ [on the *Boundless Vision (dGongs pa zang thal)*, on the *Blue [Cycle of] the Mind Sādhana (Thugs sgrub sngon po)*,⁶⁹⁹ on the *Progressive Stages to Enlightenment According to the System of Padmasambhava (Padma lam rim)* and *Guhyasamāja*].⁷⁰⁰ [He] received many explanations, empowerments and oral instructions on epistemology and on the *Two Chapters [of the Hevajra tantra]* from Glo bo mKhan chen, Gu ge paṇ chen rnam rgyal dpal bzang (Guge Paṇchen Namgyal Pelzang)⁷⁰¹ and 'Jam dbyangs blo gros dpal mgon.⁷⁰²

[He] went on pilgrimage to sacred sites and shrines of [s]Pu hrang [such as to the Nyi gzung (Nyizung) fortress],⁷⁰³ to Ti se (Kailash) and Kho char (Khorchak) [monastery],⁷⁰⁴ as well as other places.⁷⁰⁵

[mNga' ris Paṇ chen] once again returned to Glo bo (Mustang). [At the capital]⁷⁰⁶ he met Shā kya bzang po, the treasure revealer from Drang so (Drangso).⁷⁰⁷ From him [mNga' ris Paṇ

⁶⁹⁷ On this area, see Part Two, p. 89, fn. 657.

⁶⁹⁸ Tib. *nyams khrid*. This term can also be translated as “a guide to spiritual experience” (see Ehrhard 2002, p. 25).

⁶⁹⁹ Tib. *dGongs pa zang thal*, *Thugs sgrub sngon po*. Cycles of the Northern Treasures (Byang gter) revealed by Rig 'dzin rgod ldem dngos grub rgyal mtshan (1337–1408/09, BDRC T1889, W18557). mNga' ris Paṇ chen later transmitted *thugs sgrub sngon po* to rNam grol bzang po (Namdröl Zangpo), see Ehrhard 2013a p. 327.

⁷⁰⁰ The names of these texts were complemented from the autobiography (see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen F*, fol. 18r6).

⁷⁰¹ BDRC P2JM143. The religious preceptor of the Gu ge's king, patron of Glo bo mKhan chen (see Kramer 2008, p. 74). He might very well be this same person, a “certain mKhas pa dPal-ldan bzang-po” (Ehrhard 2013a, p. 325), who ordained rNam grol bzang po (Namdröl Zangpo) at Bsam sgrub gling monastery.

⁷⁰² He previously took part in the ordination of Ngari Paṇchen in 1511 and gave him teachings in 1516 (see Part Two, p. 93, p. 97).

⁷⁰³ Full name: sKu mkhar Nyi ma'i gzung. This citadel was built in the early 10th century by sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon (Kyidé Nyima Göñ) and Glo bo Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (Lowo Lotsāwa Sherab Rinchen) translated many texts in the 13th century here (see Stearns 1996, p. 135). It is not mentioned in Padma 'phrin las's biography and was complemented from the autobiography (see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen F*, 19r2).

⁷⁰⁴ Alt. 'Khor chags monastery (30°11'43.5"N, 81°16'03.9"E). BDRC G1AG108. For the numerous variations of its spellings, a brief description and references, see Heimbel 2017 p. 297, fn. 355. For a brief historical survey see Buswell & Lopez 2014, p. 431. For detailed descriptions of the modern monastic complex of 'Khor chags, its sitemap, historical survey and colorful photos, see Gyalpo et. al 2015.

⁷⁰⁵ Padma dbang rgyal composed a guidebook (*lam yig*) that includes a description of his visions and auspicious signs he encountered en route (see *The Autobiography of Ngari Paṇchen F*, fol. 19r6). This guidebook seems to be inaccessible at the present time. In addition, mNga' ris Paṇ chen reports that he encountered some “mongolian robbers” (*hor gyi jag pa*) on the road. By virtue of taking refuge, he was veiled from their sight (see *ibid.*, fol. 19r7).

⁷⁰⁶ Tib. *de dus glo bo'i rgyal sar*, see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen F*, fol. 19r6.

⁷⁰⁷ This master is also renowned as the 1st Yol mo sPrul sku. SRC P1785, BDRC P1698. Shā kya bzang po worked on restorations of the Bodhnāth and the Swayambhūnāth *stūpas* in Nepal (the account of the renovation of the latter one belongs to a late, corrupt tradition, see Ehrhard 2013b, p. 123) gave many transmissions of the

chen] received many empowerments and teachings such as the *Three Sādhana Cycles of the Northern Treasures* (*Byang gter sgrub skor gsum*). [317] In the sGo le kha (Golékha) cave⁷⁰⁸ [he] had performed an initiatory retreat (*bsnyen pa*) on *Avalokiteśvara from the Northern Treasures* (*Byang gter spyen ras gzigs*), [*Avalokiteśvara Who Liberates All Living Beings*]⁷⁰⁹ and beheld three disparate appearances of Pañjaraṇātha Mahākāla.⁷¹⁰

As he reached the age of twenty-eight [in 1514], he received numerous teachings from Glo bo mKhan chen.⁷¹¹ [mNga' ris Paṇ chen also realized that he was *dge slong* Nam mkha' bzang po rgyal mtshan (*bhikṣu* Namkha Zangpo Gyaltsen) and Chag lo Chos dpal bzang po (Chaglo Chöpel Zangpo)⁷¹² in his previous lives].⁷¹³

Northern Treasures to the mNga' ris brothers. Shā kya bzang po was active at the royal court of Glo bo as the preceptor of the prince (see Ehrhard 2013b, p. 125). To learn more about his activities and interactions with Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje, see *ibid.*, pp. 125-126. His birthplace, the region of *Dramso* (Drang so or Gram so, BDRC G983) lies in western gTsang province to the east of Shel dkar (see *ibid.*, p. 124-125, fn.8).

⁷⁰⁸ Tib. sGo le kha'i phug (29°07'17.8"N, 83°53'20.4"E) is located just three hundred meters south from Gar (dGe dkar, alt. dGes dkar) monastery in the upper Ma rang valley in the vicinity of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's birthplace.

⁷⁰⁹ The autobiography does not specifically mention "Northern Treasures," but provides the full name of this cycle instead: *spyen ras gzigs 'gro ba kun sgrol (=grol)*. See *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 19r7. mNga' ris Paṇ chen eventually gave the transmission of this cycle to rNam grol bzang po (Namdröl Zangpo, fl. 16th century). See Ehrhard 2013a, p. 327.

⁷¹⁰ Tib. mGon po gur. BDRC T1599, SRC D7.

⁷¹¹ Such as special transmissions and empowerments (*dbang lung ched gtad*) of specific tutelary deities (*yi dam*): Guardian Mahācakra (mGon po 'khor lo chen po), Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa (gTum po chen po), Vajravīdārana (rNams 'joms), the Blue-Clad One (Gos sngon can), Hayagrīva (rTa mgrin) and Kīlaya (Phur pa). Upon studying the eighteen Indian treatises concerned with Mahācakra ('Khor lo chen po), Padma dbang rgyal composed his own writings on that topic (see *The Autobiography of Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 20r2-4).

⁷¹² This person has also appeared in 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan's vision, see Part Two, p. 90.

⁷¹³ Padma 'phrin las omits mentioning previous lives of mNga' ris Paṇ chen. It was supplemented from the autobiography that contains a vivid and a moving description of how the protagonist experienced the awakening (*sad*) of karmic imprints from his past lives (*bag chags*). It occurred when Glo bo mKhan chen demonstrated Padma dbang gyal the painting of the Bodhgayā temple made by Chag lo Chos dpal. mNga' ris Paṇ chen suddenly remembered that he took it all the way from India to Tibet in his previous life as Chag lo Chos dpal (see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fols. 19v1-21r3). In particular, mNga' ris Paṇ chen speaks of his special connection with Gu ru Chos dbang (1212–1270, BDRC P326) and hints that he was his son Padma dbang chen (Pema Wangchen, fl. 13th century. BDRC P7173). See *The Autobiography of Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 20v1-2. Padma 'phrin las also does not mention the occasion of mNga' ris Paṇ chen receiving teachings from the "sublime spiritual son of Go rams pa" (*Go rams pa'i thugs sras dam pa*), Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (Künga Gyaltsen). This person seems to be Kun dga' rgyal mtshan dPal bzang po (Künga Gyaltsen Pelzanpo), one of the "Three Dharma Lords, Brothers from Tingkyé" (gTing skyes Chos rje sKu mched nam gsum), "who was appointed abbot of gSer mdog can after Shā kya mchog ldan's death (...)." (Heimbel 2017, 351-52, fn. 602). His brother, Bya btang rje Kun dga' mchog ldan (The Great Renunciate Künga Chokden), was also Go rams pa's (Go rams pa bSod nams seng ge, 1429–1489) disciple (Heller 2019, p. 144, fn. 2) and the teacher of lHa mchog Seng ge (see Heimbel 2017, pp. 351-52, fn. 602), the 9th abbot of Ngor, from whom mNga' ris Paṇ chen later received the Lam 'bras cycle upon returning from Nepal in 1523 (see Part Two, p. 103, fn. 745). mNga' ris Paṇ chen requested Kun dga' rgyal mtshan for *The Cakrasaṃvara According to the System of Lūhipadā* (*bDe mchog lo hi pa*), *Nāro Kekarī* (*Nā ro mkha' spyod*), the *Dakinīvajrapañjara*[-tantra] (*mKha' 'gro rdo rje gur*),

At the age of twenty-nine [in 1515 mNga' ris Paṇ chen] had studied various cycles of Cakrasaṃvara from 'Jam dbyangs [rab 'byams] kun bsam pa (Jamyang [Rabjam] Künsampa).⁷¹⁴

[In the course of] this year he received many Dharma [teachings] from many noble ones out of their kindness. He traveled around certain places and performed retreats of approaching and accomplishing (*bsnyan grub*) Cakrasaṃvara, Hevajra and Guhyasamāja (bDe kye gsang gsum), Mamo, Yamāntaka and [Vajra]kīlaya (Ma gshin phur pa), [as well as] Viśuddha (Yang dag).

At the age of thirty [in the year 1516, he] received manifold teachings from 'Jam dbyangs blo gros dpal mgon,⁷¹⁵ such as the *Vajrapañjara Tantra* (*rDo rje gur*), [the empowerments of *Amoghapaśa* (*Don zhags*), *Vajradākinī* (*rDo rje mkha' 'gro*), *Nairātmyā* (*bDag me ma*), the sequence of the *Ninety-Six Methods of Accomplishment* (*sGrub thabs kyi rim pa dgu bcu drug*) by Bāri Lo tsā ba]⁷¹⁶ and so forth.

At the age of thirty-one [in the year of 1517, Padma dbang rgyal] received and contemplated on [many teachings given] by Glo bo mKhan chen, [such as the *General Presentation, the King of All Tantric Systems* (*rGyud sde'i rgyal po spyi nram*)⁷¹⁷ and the *Tree of Realization* (*mNgon rtogs ljon shing*)].⁷¹⁸

[2.3.2. Sojourn to [s]Pu hrang with Glo bo mKhan chen, 1518]

Nairātmya (*Bdag med ma*), *Vajravidāraṇī According to the System of Bari Lotsāwa* (*Ba ri nram 'joms*), [the *Sādhana* of] *Pañjaranatha* [*Mahākāla*] (*Gur mgon*) and *The Black Hayagrīva-Lohakhaḍga* (*rTa mgrin nag po lcags ral can*), as well as for the *tshe tsug* of Mañjuśrīguhyaka ('Jam dpal gsang ldan). See *The Autobiography of Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 21v2.

⁷¹⁴ The autobiography provides more titles of this person: '*jams pa'i dbyangs mkhas btsun rgyal po rab 'byams pa/kun bsam* (see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 21v3).

⁷¹⁵ This person was present at the ordination and previously gave mNga' ris Paṇ chen teachings, see Part Two, p. 93, 95.

⁷¹⁶ The titles in the square brackets were complemented from *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen*, see fol. 23r5.

⁷¹⁷ Glo bo mKhan chen composed *The Clarification to the General Presentation of the Tantric Systems* (*rgyud sde spyi nram gsal byed*) in a form of a commentary to the *General Tantric Presentation* (*rgyu sde spyi nram*) of an illustrious Sa skya master Slob dpon bSod nams rtse mo (Sönam Tsemo) who lived in the 12th century (1142–1182). The full title of Glo bo mKhan chen's work goes by the name of "*The Sunrays Clarifying the Tantric Systems' General Presentation of the master Sönam Tsemo*" (*slob dpon bsod nams rtse mos mdzad pa'i rgyud sde spyi yi nram par bzhag pa'i gsal byed nyi ma'i 'od zer*) and was likely composed in 1506 (see Kramer 2008 p. 71 and p. 182 No. 100).

⁷¹⁸ Glo bo mKhan chen composed a commentary the *Precious Tree of Tantra's Realization* (*rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing*) by rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (Jetsün Drakpa Gyaltsen, 1147-1216) in 1506 (see Kramer 2008, p. 71, p. 184 No. 101). Both titles in the square brackets were complemented from *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 25r5.

At the age of thirty-two [in 1518, mNga' ris Paṇ chen] traveled to [s]Pu hrang (Purang) as an attendant of Glo bo mKhan chen.⁷¹⁹ Then following his advice, [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] once again went to sKyid grong and paid respects to the Lord [Ārya wati].

Thereafter [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] received many [teachings of] the New and the Old schools (*gsar rnying*), such as the *Guhyasamāja tradition of Jñānapāda* (*gSang 'dus ye shes zhabs lugs*) and the *Eight Pronouncements* (*bKa' brgyad*) from Grub chen dkar po (Drupchen Karpo)⁷²⁰ who [at that time] reached his one hundred and thirty-sixth year of age.

And again [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] received additional teachings on the *Path and Fruit* (*Lam 'bras*) from Glo bo mKhan chen.⁷²¹ [From] the tantric master Shā kya bzang po [whom he previously met in sMon thang five years before,⁷²² mNga' ris Paṇ chen] requested [practice manuals (*sgrub thabs*) and the empowerment in form of an authorization (*rjes gnang*) on]⁷²³ the *Hayagrīva* [according to] the *Nyang* [tradition] (*rTa mgrin nyang lugs*).⁷²⁴

⁷¹⁹ At Byang chub gling (Jangchub Ling, BDRC G2220, SRC L804), the “summer dwelling of Lord Atiśa, the place of Bāri Lotsāwa,” (*jo bo a ti shas// dbyar gnas kyi sa cha byang chub gling// snying rje can ba ri lo tsā'i gnas//*), Glo bo mKhan chen bestowed some special (*khyad par can*) instructions and empowerments to a great gathering of people, see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, 24r2-3.

⁷²⁰ If we assume this master had indeed reached this age, then this could have been dKar po brag pa Rin chen seng ge (Rinchen Sengé of the White Cliff, fl. 14th century). BDRC P4575, SRC P192. For his autobiographic sources, see Heimbel 2017, p. 144 fn. 407. “That *lama* was [so] pleased, [that he] requested me [for the explanation of] some crucial points on rDzogs chen” (*bla ma de dgyes nas bdag nyid la// rdzogs chen gyi gnad 'ga' zhu bar mdzad//*). See *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 24r6.

⁷²¹ For the account of meeting the sGo mang gi chos rje Kun rgyal (Lord of Gomang, Küngyal), Nam gling gi mKhan po dPal ldan pa (the Khenpo of Namling, Paldenpa), and Sher pa yi mkhan po (the Khenpo of Sherpa) at dGa' ldan rnam rgyal (Ganden Namgyal) in Gung thang, see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 24v1-3.

⁷²² For the first meeting in 1513, see Part Two, p. 95.

⁷²³ See *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 24v4-5.

⁷²⁴ Padma dbang rgyal later gave its transmission to rJe 'Bri gung pa Rin chen phun tshogs. “Thus, a current of ‘old translation’ *Sādhana* associated with Nyang ban became a significant element in the second flowering of the 'Bri gung bka' brgyud tradition after 1550.” (Akester 2016, p. 169). In the autobiography, we see that mNga' ris Paṇ chen requested several *sādhana*s (*sgrub thabs*) and authorization empowerments (*rjes gnang*) on the [*Hayagrīva who*] *Overpowers Arrogant Spirits* (*dregs pa yi zil gnon*) from the same master, Shā kya bzang po (*rta mgrin gyi skor la myang gi lugs/ dregs pa yi zil gnon la sogs pa/ sgrub thabs dang rjes gnang mang du zhus/*), see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 24v4. Cf. the biography of Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje: “They received the Mahākaruṇā and the Awareness-Holder cycles [of the Northern Treasure Tradition], the root empowerment for the *Assemblage of Sugatas* (*bDe 'dus rtsa dbang*) cycle, the longevity practice from the *Radiant Longevity Benediction* (*Tshe sgrub 'od zer dra ba*), *The Hayagrīva cycle of the Nyang Tradition* (*rTa mgrin Nyang lugs lcags ral can*), Shā kya bzang po's autobiography, prophecies, and treasure practices revealed at the Red Stupa [at Bsam yas].” (Valentine 2013, p. 140).

Upon returning to Glo bo, [Padma dbang rgyal] performed retreats on Sahajasamvara (bDe mchog lhan skyes) and the [Four-]faced Mahākāla⁷²⁵ in rMa bya shug rung (the Peacock Junipers' ravine cave, Mabja Shukrung).⁷²⁶ Brāhmaṇarūpa[-Mahākāla]⁷²⁷ had evidently appeared, accepted the oblation offering (*gTor ma*) [318] and explained the key points of the *sādhana*.

Within a withered [juniper] tree in a place called Thag gcod gling (Thagchö Ling)⁷²⁸ mNga' ris Paṇ chen had practiced the *sādhana* of the *Great Compassionate One* (*Thugs rje chen po*) and had a vision of [Avalokiteśvara as] the *Embodiment of the Quintessence*⁷²⁹ surrounded by a thousand buddhas.

At the age of thirty-three [in 1519, he] once again extensively studied textual commentaries on the *Path and Fruit*⁷³⁰ along with the *Three Cakrasamvara* [*Traditions of*] *Lūhipāda*, *Kṛṣṇacārin*, and *Ghaṇṭāpāda* (*bDe mchog lo nag dril gsum*), as well as the *Great Commentary on the Kālacakra*, [*Vimalaprabhā*] (*Dus 'khor 'grel chen*) and so forth.

[2.3.3. The Journey to Ku thang]

⁷²⁵ Tib. mGon po zhal. *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* reads *gdong bzhi mgon po* (*The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen*, F fol. 26v3; G p. 103), the protector with four faces thus confirming that it was the four-faced form of Mahākāla. BDRC T924, SRC D1.

⁷²⁶ Alt. rMa bya shug rong. This cave is a part of the Chos rdzong (Chödzung) hermitage (see *The Register of the Progressive Spreading of the Doctrine in the Land of Lwo*, p. 146) to the east from Glo sMon thang, approximate coordinates: 29°11'03.1"N, 84°03'25.4"E.

⁷²⁷ Tib. Zhal bram gzugs. Mahākāla who takes the appearance of a *brahmin*. An image of a 15th century statue is found in Huntington 2003, p. 340. Thangkha images: <http://www.himalayanart.org/items/343> and an outline: <http://www.himalayanart.org/pages/brahmarupa/index.html> (accessed on 15.04.2020).

⁷²⁸ An area in the vicinity of Chos rdzong (Chödzung, see Part Two, fn. 726) where many kinds of juniper trees used to grow. There also used to be a big withered juniper tree named Ma chen rgyug thung (Machen Gyugthung) with many remains of retreat houses around it (cf. *The Register of the Progressive Spreading of the Doctrine in the Land of Lwo*, p. 148).

⁷²⁹ *Yang snying 'dus pa*. A *gter ma* text on Avalokiteśvara revealed in mKhar chu of lHo brag by Guru Chos dbang (1212–1270). Full title: *thugs rje chen po yang snying 'dus pa*. BDRC W8LS16401.

⁷³⁰ Padma 'phrin las does not mention the exact names of the teachings related to the Sa skya tradition that mNga' ris Paṇ chen had studied. Here is what the autobiography states: “(...) the *Black and the Red Books of the Path and Fruit* (*Lam 'bras kyi pod nag ma/ dmar ma*) and oral instructions on *Sedönma* (*Sras don*). I also received empowerments, transmissions and instructions on the Sa skya pa's *Trilogy of the Red Ones* (Sa skya pa'i *dMar po skor gsum*) and on the *Biryapa's Vajrāvidaraṇa* (*birya pa'i rnam 'joms*). I studied the *Virūpa's protection practice* (*Bir bsrung*) and the *Profound Path* (*Zab lam*).” See *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 27v6-7.

At the age of thirty-four [in 1520 he] traveled around [many holy places] in Ku thang (Kutang)⁷³¹ and once again paid respects to Ārya wati of sKyid grong.

[In dKar ye (Karye) he] extensively studied the *gter ma Cycles of Nyang* (*Nyang gi gter skor*)⁷³² under the tantric master Shā kya bzang po.

At the age of thirty-five [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] listened to many teachings from Rab 'byams Chos rje (the Dharma Lord Rabjam) at the rTsig pa rkang mthil (Tsikpa Khang Thil) cave⁷³³ in the Tsum valley of Ku thang. Furthermore, he received a lot of profound teachings from many noble teachers. To be able to receive the *Cycle of the Eight Great Vajrapāṇis* (*Phyag rdor che ba brgyad skor*) from gSang bdag gNyis pa rJe Sangs rgyas skyab (the Second Vajrapāṇi, Lord Sangyé Kyab), [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] had to endure a lot of difficulties [on the road]: snow and so forth. Upon [his] arrival⁷³⁴ [he] listened to the [teachings on] the *Vajrapāṇi Cycle* (*Phyag rdor skor*), and a lot of miraculous signs appeared again and again.

⁷³¹ A region in the modern-day Gorkha district of Nepal in the environs of Mt. Manaslu in the lower part of the Nub ri Valley. For a short description and useful references, see Sørensen & Hazod 2007, p. 129, fn. 275. The autobiography says that mNga' ris Paṇ chen went around many holy places in Ku thang and gave teachings at Ko ron (Korön). After that he went to sKyid grong via 'Or ma (Orma). Tib. 'or ma yi gangs la gshags nas kyang/ skyid grong du 'phags pa wa ti mjal), see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 28r1; G pp. 105-106.

⁷³² The exact cycles are listed in the autobiography: the *Great Yoga of Padmasambhava* (*O rgyan gyi rnal 'byor chen mo*) and the *Ngadak's Precious Ornament of the Ḍākinīs* (*mNga' bdag gi mkha' 'gro nor bu 'phreng/*), see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 28r2; G p. 106.

⁷³³ One of the twelve important meditation retreats of Mi la re pa. According to Andrew Quintman, rTsig pa rkang mthil is located in the lower part of Rong shar Valley, very close to the modern Tibetan-Nepali border (28°03'17.2"N, 86°20'04.9"E). The coordinates are based on the map provided by Quintman 2008, p. 387, as well as on a meticulous description of the area given by Chan 1994, p. 254 (Victor Chan does not provide the caves' names). There is a slight problem with this proposed location of rTsig pa rkang mthil because it is not in the vicinity of Tsum valley in Ku thang. Andrew Quintman names two other meditation retreats of Mi la re pa that are close to Tsum valley: Rag ma byang chub rdzong (Ragma Changchub Dzong) and sKyang phan Nam mka' rdzong (Kyangpen Namkha Dzong), both are close to each other and lie on the side of the modern Chinese border, about 10 kilometers to the north of sKyid grong township and south from Brag dkar rta so (Drakar Taso, see the map in Quintman 2008, p. 386). This location is still not exactly within the Tsum valley of Ku thang, although extremely close: the sKyid grong valley is just the next valley on the other side of the mountain ridge from Tsum valley. At the same time, the autobiography of mNga' ris Paṇ chen does not speak of rTsig pa rkang mthil and gives another location where the meeting with Rab 'byams Chos rje took place: the rTsig Cave in Ku tang rTsom (*de bar la ku thang rtsom du phyin/ rtsig phug tu rab 'byams rje dang mjal*). See *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen*, fol. 28r3). If we would suppose that *tsom* is just another variation or an old spelling *tsum*, then the rTsig cave might have been a part of a renown hermitage (*ri khrod*) of Tsum valley, one of the "much-sought retreat sites for ascetism" (Sørensen & Hazod 2007, p. 129, fn. 275). It is not likely that Andrew Quintman might have provided a wrong location of rTsig pa rkang mthil. Perhaps Padma 'phrin las was not well acquainted with the geography of that particular region and thus thought that the Tsik Cave mentioned in the autobiography is identical to the rTsig pa rkang mthil Fortress.

⁷³⁴ This meeting took place in O rgyan gling (Orgyan Ling) in rTsam rje (Tsamjé) area (*de nas kyang rtsam* (F: *rtsam*) *byed yul du phyin/ o rgyan gyi gling zhes grags pa der/*). See *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F fol. 28r4, G p. 106.

In particular, during the empowerment of Utsaya,⁷³⁵ the [most] superior among [all] the fierceful mantras, the guru turned into the Master of Secrets, [Vajrapāṇi in flesh] who uttered: “*Ha ha, hi hi*” and “*hum hum*.” The mass of fire emitted from the *vajra* in his hand went out and an assembly of garuda’s troops appeared in space. Even though he had to wait a long time for the teachings, he received them in full. In addition, [his] guru had [granted] a lot of initiations, and prophecies. [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] went back and wherever he went, he maintained vast Dharma activities. [319] He received empowerments, explanations and instructions on *Rechungpa's Aural Transmission Lineage*⁷³⁶ from Rab 'byams dKon mchog bsam grub pa (Rabjam Könchok Samdrup) in full. Besides that, he studied a lot of teachings on *Mahāmudrā (Phyag chen)*, the *Six-fold Yoga [of Kālacakra] (Sbyor drug)*, the *Propitiation and Attainment from Oḍḍiyana*,⁷³⁷ *Yangönpa's Teachings for Retreat (Yang dgon pa'i ri chos)* and many others.⁷³⁸

At the age of thirty-five [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] once again went to sKyid grong and received the remaining teachings on [the *gter ma Cycles of*] *Nyang: the Peaceful and Wrathful [Aspects of the] Guru (Bla ma zhi drag)* and the *Black Wrathful [Lady, Tröma Nagmo] (Khros nag)* from the tantric master Shā kya bzang po.

After that [mNga' ris Paṇ chen visited the royal seat of Gung thang and]⁷³⁹ left for Nepal.

⁷³⁵ The G edition of the autobiography speaks of a *maṇḍala* of nine Utsa[ya] deities (*utstsha lha dgu yi/ dkyil 'khor*), whereas the F edition mentions the *maṇḍala* of “Utsa Bha gu” (sic?). See *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* G p. 111 and F fol. 30v5.

⁷³⁶ *Ras chung snyan brgyud*. For references on this “specific tradition of the six yogas of Nāropa fostered by Ras-chung-pa rDo-rje grags pa,” see Ehrhard 2013, p. 501.

⁷³⁷ *O rgyan bsnyen sgrub*. BDRC T1542. This is another name for the teachings of *rdo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub*, “*Propitiation and Attainment of the three Adamantine States*” that was brought to Tibet by O rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (Orgyanpa Rinchen Pel, 1230-1309), see Stearns, 2001, p. 5. This is a rare tradition (see Buswell & Lopez 2014, p. 706).

⁷³⁸ For the full list of teachings that mNga' ris Paṇ chen received from Rabjam Könchok Samdrup, see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fols. 32r5-32v3.

⁷³⁹ The capital of the Gung thang kingdom at that time was rDzong dkar (Dzonkha, see Heimbel 2017, p. 286, p. 278). Padma 'phrin las omits the contents of the autobiography where mNga' ris Paṇ chen speaks of his activities in the capital of Gung thang. Here is a rough translation of the events that took place: “and again I went to the capital of Gung thang. There, I listened to many teachings from various masters. [I received] the empowerment of *Vajrabhairava's Thirteen Deities Maṇḍala According to the Tradition of Ra Lotsawa ('Jigs byed rwa lugs bcu gsum ma)* and the reading transmission (*lung*) on the root texts of the Ra Tradition (Rwa pod rtsa ba) and on the scriptures of rGya ston lugs kyi pu ti'i lung (the Gyatön's Tradition). I listened to all different kinds of treatises on the *Bhairava tradition ('Jigs byed lugs)* composed by the latter masters, such as the *Longevity Lord Yamantaka (gShin rje tshe bdag)* and *Udāyin ('Char ka)*. From gnas brtan Blo gros mtha' yas (the senior monk Lödro Thayé) I received [an explication on] the treatises composed within the lineages of the Indian and the Tibetan masters [concerning the following deities]: the Pañjaranatha Mahākāla (mGon po gur

[2.3.4. The pilgrimage to Nepal and return to Glo bo]

At the age of thirty-six [in 1522], he paid visits to [sacred places of] Nepal: the Shing kun (Svayambhūnāth), Bya rung kha shor (Bodhnāth), Pham mthing (Pharping) and Yam bu (Kathmandu).⁷⁴⁰ In [Tham Vihāra in] Kathmandu⁷⁴¹ he saw the great Indian *siddha* Śāvaripa.⁷⁴² [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] stayed in Yang le shod (the Yanglesho [cave])⁷⁴³ for seven days. There [he] beheld the Great Padmasambhava (O rgyan chen po) surrounded by the deities of the *Eight*

mgon), the authorization empowerment (*rjes gnang*) of the Four-Faced [Mahākāla] (gDong bzhi pa), [Citipati,] the Lord of the Charnel Grounds (Dur khrod bdag po'i) and the Eight Deities With Their Consorts and Retinue (lHa brgyad lcam dral rjes gnang). And then I wrote it all down. I also obtained the entirety of [treatises belonging to] Ngor rdzong lugs (the Ngordzong Tradition) including the *Cakrasaṃvara of Śāvaripa* (*Sha ba ri pa'i bde mchog*) and the cycle of *Nāro Kekarī* (*Nā ro mkha' spyod skor*).” See *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen F*, fols. 32v5-33r1, G p. 115: *slar yang gung thang rgyal sar phyin/ bla ma mang thos rgya mtsho la/ 'jigs byed rwa lugs bcu gsum ma'i/ dbang dang rwa pod rtsa ba dang/ rgya ston lugs kyi pu* [F: su] *ti'i lung/ bla ma phyi ma thams cad kyi* [F: kyis] *'jigs byed lugs kyi yig sna kun/ gshin rje tshe bdag 'char ka sogs/ ma lus tshang bar bdag gis thos/ gnas brtan blo gros mtha' yas la/ mgon po gur mgon lha mang* [F: mangs] *dang/ lha brgyad lcam dral rjes gnang* [F: rje de] *dang/ gdong bzhi pa yi rjes gnang dang/ dur khrod bdag po'i rjes gnang sogs/ de dag rnams kyi* [F: kyis] *yig cha yang/ 'phags yul dang ni bod yul gyi* [F: gyis] *bla ma brgyud pas mdzad pa kun/ tshang bar thos shing yi ger bris/ sha ba ri pa'i bde mchog dang/ nā ro mkha' spyod skor rnams kyang/ ngor rdzong lugs rnams ma lus thob/*

⁷⁴⁰ “Yam bu ... is equivalent to the northern part of modern Kathmandu, generally known as Thamel.” (Roberts 2007, p. 146).

⁷⁴¹ *Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen F*, fol. 33r4 reads *yam bur thang bhi ra*. “Thang Bihari [...] is the Tham Bahil or Tam Vihara in the present-day Thamel area of Kathmandu. Also known as Vikramaśīla, it was founded, or re-founded, by Atiśa Dipaṃkara in 1040. [...] It appears to have been a popular residence of Tibetans.” (Roberts 2007, p. 172). “However, of the plethora of names - Thang Baidhari, Stham Vihāra, Tham Vihāra, Vikramaśīla Mahavihāra, and Thamel Bāhāl - which have been used to describe this supposedly same Vihāra, only the last two are known to the Newars of today, and more research is necessary before we can definitely identify Thamel Bāhāl with Atiśa's viihara.” (Dowman 1983, p. 231). Here are the coordinates of what is known as “Bhagawan Bahāl” or “Bikramśīla Mahavihār” in Thamel: 27°42'56.05"N, 85°18'45.23"E.

⁷⁴² Sha ba ri pa. BDRC P3277. For a biographical sketch, see Stearns 1996, pp. 139-141, fn. 46; Burghart 2017, p. 68, fn. 222. Śāvaripa was the guru of Maitrīpa (ca. 1007–ca. 1085) and lived much earlier than mNga' ris Paṇ chen. His possible dating ranges from the 10th up to 15th century (see Mathes 2008, p. 249). For this reason, the account of their meeting is problematic. In his autobiography, mNga' ris Paṇ chen does not directly say that he met Śāvaripa. He rather describes his encounter with a certain *yogī* playing a huge *dāmaru*, wearing maroon clothes and bone ornaments at Stham Vihāra in Kathmandu. When mNga' ris Paṇ chen later tells this story to his master, the master says that it must have been Śāvaripa (cf. *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen F*, fol. 33r4-6; G p. 116.6-11). This statement could have been made on grounds of an existing belief that Śāvaripa was “known to have obtained the state of deathlessness because of his tantric practice” (Ehrhard 2002, p. 48, fn. 17) and realized emptiness (see Mathes 2008, p. 249). Besides, Śāvaripa is known to have given visionary teachings to Vanaratna (1384–1468, see Ehrhard 2002, p. 48, fn. 17) and Vibhūticandra (12th–13th century); the visionary meeting with the latter took place at exactly the same place where mNga' ris Paṇ chen is said to have met him, at Thām or Stham Vihāra (see Stearns 1996, pp. 139-140). Perhaps this is the reason why the master of mNga' ris Paṇ chen suggests that the latter must have seen Śāvaripa himself at Stham Vihāra and why Padma 'phrin las, basing his work on the autobiography, later wrote that mNga' ris Paṇ chen actually met Śāvaripa. The immortal *siddhas* are not considered to be something unusual in the Tibetan world (see Mathes 2008, p. 249, fn. 26).

⁷⁴³ Coordinates: 27°36'59.73"N, 85°15'51.05"E. BDRC G01AG03004. For legendary accounts of Padmasambhava connected to this place according to various Tibetan sources, see Dowman 1983, pp. 249-254.

[Great] *Sādhana*s. From the Nepalese guru Jñānaśrī and his disciples (Jñā na shrī yab sras) [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] received the *Cycles of Acala* (*Mi g.yo ba*), the *Five [Great] Dhāraṇīs* (*Grwa lnga*), *Tara* (*sGrol ma*), *Yoga* (*Yo ga*), *Hevajra* (*dGyes rdor*), *Vajravārāhī* (*Phag mo*) and other [teachings].

He paid visits to gurus and pilgrimage places one after the other, spent his time studying the teachings, and after that went [back] to Glo bo.⁷⁴⁴ Besides that, he also received the *Lamdré* once, as well as many [other] profound teachings from Ngor chen lHa mchog bzang po (Ngorchen Lhamchok Zangpo).⁷⁴⁵

At the age of thirty-seven [in 1523, mNga' ris Paṇ chen] practiced meditation in dGe lung (Gelung)⁷⁴⁶ in lower Glo bo. [At that time] a *ḍākinī* revealed [to mNga' ris Paṇ chen his] birth as Ācārya Abhayākara [in former times].⁷⁴⁷

[mNga' ris Paṇ chen] received the initiation of the *Vajra Garland* [*Vajrāvalī*] (*rDo rje 'phreng ba*) from Lo chen dKon mchog skyabs⁷⁴⁸ in full. Initially, that master was not planning to give this initiation. [However,] at that time he saw in [his] dream mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal as the chief of the perfect [320] *maṇḍalas* of Cakrasaṃvara's body, speech, and mind. [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] manifested in a form [of the *Cakrasaṃvara* deity] with four faces and twelve arms. [The *maṇḍala* was] guarded by a guise of a *ḍākinī* [who] did not let [that master] inside.

⁷⁴⁴ Keith Dowman suggests that it might have been mNga' ris Paṇ chen who wrote the earliest guidebook on Nepal for pilgrims (*gnas yig*), basing this suggestion on the fact that [bsTan 'dzin (Tenzin)] Chos kyi nyi ma (Chokyi Nyima) and Bla ma btsan po (Lama Tsenpo) mention a certain “mNga'-ris Pan-chen” in their works (Dowman 1983, pp. 186-187). However, this hypothesis has yet to be substantiated, since Bla ma bTsan po refers to “mnga' ris grub chen” (see Decler 2006, p. 104 and Wylie 1970, p.18) and we do not thus have enough evidence yet of mNga' ris Paṇ chen composing that guidebook to holy places (*gnas yig*).

⁷⁴⁵ This person can be identified with lHa mchog seng ge (Lhamchok Sengé, 1468–1585), the 9th abbot of Ngor (tenure: 1524–1534). BDRC P2509. He visited Glo bo two times, in 1516 and in 1523–1524 (see Heimbel 2017, p. 337).

⁷⁴⁶ Tib. dGe lung, the “Valley of Virtue.” This village is nowadays sometimes spelled as *sger lung*, “Private Valley” (see Jackson 1984, p. 35). Modern maps give the following variants: “Geling,” “Gheling,” “Chiling Gaon,” “Ghiling Gaon.” At present, this village administratively belongs to Upper Mustang.

⁷⁴⁷ Franz-Karl Ehrhard understood this passage in a way that the *ḍākinīs* prophesized Lo chen dKon mchog skyabs (not mNga' ris Paṇ chen) “as an incarnation of Abhayākara Gupta” (Ehrhard 2013a, p. 319). However, if we read the autobiography, then it is evident that the karmic imprints of Abhayākara Gupta had awakened in mNga' ris Paṇ chen (cf. *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 34r6; G p. 119).

⁷⁴⁸ Lo chen dKon mchog skyabs. In 1511, he took part in the ordination of mNga' ris Paṇ chen as the counselor (*slob dpon*), see Part Two, p. 93.

After [this kind of] sign appeared, that master regretted his [initial] decision [to refuse mNga' ris Paṇ chen the initiation]. So he granted the full initiation and the [transmission of] the *Red Volume of Lamdré teachings* (*Lam 'bras dmar ma*).

[mNga' ris Paṇ chen] performed a mantra recitation [retreat] on the Donkey-Faced Cakrasaṃvara⁷⁴⁹ at the Crystal Junction, [Shel gyi sum mdo (Shelsumdo) in Dol po].⁷⁵⁰ Just after one session [he] perceived all the sky and the earth as [the *maṇḍala* of] thirty-seven Herukas.

At the age of thirty-eight [in 1524 mNga' ris Paṇ chen] widely turned the Dharma wheel of the New and the Old [Transmissions in Dol po].⁷⁵¹

⁷⁴⁹ Tib. bDe mchog bong zhal, Skt. Cakrasaṃvara Kharamukha, the Donkey-Faced Cakrasaṃvara.

⁷⁵⁰ The autobiography reads *shes* instead of *shel*, (see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 36r4; G p. 125). This is the same place where the Shel Sumdo monastery in the present-day Shes (Shey) village stands. The reading *shes kyi sum mdo* in the autobiography comes between two other passages that name certain places in Dolpo: the previous passage tells us about mNga' ris Paṇ chen's activities in rTa rap (Tarap), Ban tshang (Bantsang), and Nang khong (Nangkong, *rta rabs ban tshang nang khong sogs/*) and the following passage begins by talking of a certain monastery of the Dragon's Roar Mountain: mNga' ris Paṇ chen calls the Shel kyi sum mdo (Shel Sumdo) monastery "that monastery of the Dragon's Roar Mountain." (*Ri bo 'brug sgra'i dgon pa der*). See *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 36r4.

⁷⁵¹ Up to this passage, Padma 'phrin las based the narration very close to the autobiography. At this point, he substantially abridged the contents by condensing two folios of the autobiography into just one sentence. Here are some of the autobiographical events that Padma 'phrin las did not mention. mNga' ris Paṇ chen postponed his departure and went to 'Gran gyi lung (the Valley of Dren), where he gave teachings on generating the enlightened intent (*bodhicitta*) to a public gathering. He also gave empowerments of the Two-Faced One (Zhal gnyis) and the *Entirety of Teachings for Retreat* (*Ri chos yongs rdzogs*). mNga' ris Paṇ chen visited the temple in Sa ldang (Saldang, 29°25'38.24"N, 83°4'9.81"E), Kha char phug (Khachar Phuk) and Rin sgang (Ringang), where he granted tantric teachings, pith instructions and empowerments. He also transmitted to sNgags 'chang bKra shis bzang po (the tantric master Tashi Zangpo) every doctrine the latter desired: the *Assembly of the Sugatas of the Eight Pronouncements* (*bka' bgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa'i dkyil 'khor*) along with related pith instructions and scriptures, the *Black Wrathful [Lady, Tröma Nagmo]* and the *Black Protector from the Nyang [cycles]* (*khros nag nyang dang mgon nag nyang*), the *Buddhist Conduct* (*nang spyod*), the *Black Dzambala* (*dzam nag*). In the course of five months, mNga' ris Paṇ chen gave Dharma teachings in Ko mangs (Koma, 29°25'56.98"N 83° 8'24.69"E) and Shi men (Shimin, 29°26'54.29"N, 83°11'7.26"E). He taught *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Hevajra* and *Guhyasamāja* (*bDe kye gsang 'dus*), *Yamāntaka* (*'Jigs byed*), *Māyājāla* (*Ma ya sgyu 'phrul*), the *Combined Practice of Viśuddha and Vajrakīlaya* (*Yang phur*), the Kriya-, Caryā and Yogatantras (Bya spyod rnal 'byor rgyud), and so forth. mNga' ris Paṇ chen requested instructions on the *Single Initiation of the Thousand-Armed Mañjuśrī* (*'Jam dpal phyag rgya gcig pa'i dbang*) from 'Khar pa dPal ldan shes rab (Palden Sherab of Khar), and the Black Yamāri (Kha thun nag po) from 'Jam dbyangs sher rgyal (Jamyang Shergyal) of dGon chung (Göñchung). From Rab 'byams Chos rje Kun rgyal (The Dharma Lord Rabjam Küngyal) mNga' ris Paṇ chen requested the initiation and instructions into the *Sarvadurgatipariśoḍhanatantra* (*sByong rgyud*), the *Twelve Commandments* (*bKa' bcu gnyis*), into all the *Lamdre* [instructions] without interruption (*Lam 'bres chag med*) and the *Guhyasamājatantra system of Jñānapāda* (*Ye shes zhabs kyi gsang 'dus*). And then mNga' ris Paṇ chen gave a lot of transmissions to rGyal ba tshul khribs bzang po (Gyalwa Tsültrim Zangpo): the *Mind Training* (*blo sbyong*), *Chöd* (*gCod yul*), the *Gradual Path* (*Lam rim*), the *Collected Works of Master Zhang* (*Bla ma zhang gi bka' 'bum*), initiation and instructions on the *Mahākarunika Who Tames Living Beings* (*Thugs rje chen po 'gro 'dul*), the *Empowerment of Vajracāṇḍa* (*rDo rje gtum po'i dbang bskur*), the *Guru as the Gathering of Secrets* (*gu ru gsang 'dus*), the *Six Groups of the Eight* (*bRgyad tshan drug*), the *Red Furious One* (*Drag dmar*) and many other doctrines. In the course of this year, mNga' ris Paṇ chen again received teachings from his noble father and from Glo bo mKhan chen (for the full list of teachings mNga' ris Paṇ chen gave to

At the age of thirty-nine [in 1525 he] again continued numerous studies and contemplations.⁷⁵²

At the age of forty [in 1526 mNga' ris Paṇ chen] had perfectly completed the approximation rites (*bsnyen par rdzogs pa*) on all the *maṇḍalas* of the *Vajra Garland* (*rDo rje 'phreng ba'i dkyil 'khor*). If [you] compare this to the present-day masters of the [*Vajra*] *Garland*, then this alone is [a deed] of great amazement.

At the age of forty-one [in 1527, mNga' ris Paṇ chen] again went to attend Glo bo mKhan chen and listened to many profound teachings. He trained many disciples through [granting] empowerments, explanations, and instructions on [both] the Old and the New [Schools] without bias. He [also] made a compilation of all the teachings of [his] great Noble Father Jamyang (Yab rje 'Jam dbyangs).

Afterwards, at the request of Glo bo mKhan chen, [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] intended to undertake a journey to the dBus and the gTsang Provinces in order to restore without bias the deteriorated streams of [both] the New and Old Schools' Doctrines. [He] asked for permission from [his] noble father 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan for this.

rGyal ba tshul khriṃs bzang po, see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen F*, fols. 36v5-37r2 and fol. 37r4-6. See *ibid.* for the rest of the events in mNga' ris Paṇ chen's thirty-eighth year of age. Interestingly, neither the biography nor the autobiography explicitly mentions here the transmission of Myang ral Nyi ma 'od zer's, dNgos grub rgyal mtshan's and Gu ru Chos dbang's treasure lineages that were passed from mNga' ris Paṇ chen to Blo gros dbang phyug (Lodrö Wangchuk), Blo gros 'od zer (Lodrö Özer), and rNam grol bzang po (Namdröl Zangpo). Whereas the biography of the former clearly describes the circumstances how he received the cycles of *Guru Chemchok Marpo* (*Gu ru che mchog dmar po*) and the *Glorious Four-Armed One* (*dPal mgon phyag bzhi pa*), see Ehrhard 2013a, pp. 316-321. Perhaps this happened on another occasion or those personalities are referred to by another name. A certain scholar by the name of rNam grol (Namdröl) and others (*mkhas pa rnam grol sogs*) is mentioned in the autobiography in passing, but the text does not specify which teachings the latter received from mNga' ris Paṇ chen (see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen F*, fol. 36r6). We find those cycles a biography of rNam grol byang po: *The Blue Mind Sādhana* (*Thugs sgrub sngon po*), *Avalokiteśvara Who Liberates All Beings* (*'Gro ba kun grol*) and *Saṃsara Overturned from Its Depths* (*'Khor ba gdong sprugs*), see Ehrhard 2013, p. 327.

⁷⁵² At the age of thirty-nine, mNga' ris Paṇ chen followed his venerable guru (*rje btsun bla ma*) [Glo bo mKhan chen] to dGe lung (on this area, see Part Two, fn. 746) and listened to the teachings on Vajrakīla (*rDo rje phur pa*), the *Ascetic Virtues of Cakrasaṃvara according to the Tradition of Kambala* (*lwa ba pa'i bde mchog sbyangs pa'i yon tan*), the *Donkey-Faced Cakrasaṃvara* (*Bong zhal can gyi bde mchog*), the *jenang* and empowerment (*rjes gnam dbang bskur*) of the Four-Armed Mahākāla (Ye shes mgon po phyag bzhi), the *Trilogy of the Red Ones* [Kurukullā, Gaṇapati and Ṭakkirāja] (*dMar po skor gsum*), the *Method of Restoring the Broken Continuity of the Path of Lamdré* (*Lam 'bras kyi lam dus chag pa gso lugs*) and [some] parts of the collected works (*bka' 'bum cha shas*). 'Jam dbyangs blo gros dpal mgon gave mNga' ris Paṇ chen instructions on Lam 'bras, the initiation of Vajradāka-Cakrasaṃvara (bDe mchog rdo rje mkha' 'gro), many explanations on tantras (*rgyud kyi rnam bshad du ma*), three Indian texts on the *Kāyamaṇḍala of Rilwupa* (*Ril bu pa yi lus dkyil*), the stainless discourses of the [spiritual] father rTsemo [and his spiritual] sons (rTse mo yab sras), as well as the *Five Essential Instructions* (*rim lnga'i khrid nyid*) that allow obtaining the Five Profound States (*zab don rgyud lnga*). Cf. *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen F*, fols. 37r6-37v2.

Likewise, when [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] was requesting the permission of Mustang's provincial governors (*sde bdag*), [321] [his] noble father said: “even though there is a certain necessity for you to stay here [with us in Mustang], the opportunity to go [to Ü and Tsang] might not be present again. So this time do as you please!” [Then the father] bestowed [upon him] plenty bits of advice, instructions, and predictions.

Having bid farewell, [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] departed towards the Ü and the Tsang [Provinces] with a pure aspiration in his mind to restore the precious teaching of the Victorious One.

Until this time [he] listened and contemplated on the genuine teachings of all the learned noble [masters] of mNga' ris, sKyid grong, and Glo bo (Mustang). [He] primarily attended and served closely the so-called Two-faced Mañjughoṣa: [his] great father 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan and Glo bo mKhan chen Sönam Lündrup Lekpé Jüngné, [thus] studying and reflecting [the doctrine under their guidance].

[3. Departure from Mustang and the route to Lhasa, 1527–1528]

[3.1. Pilgrimages to Ri bo bKra bzang, Ngam ring and the gTsang province]

In the course of his way [to Central Tibet, Padma dbang rgyal] performed aspirational prayers and visited sacred places in Zang zang lha brag (Sangsang Lhadrak) and at Ri bo bKra bzang (Riwo Trazang). At bDe grol (Dedrol) monastery⁷⁵³ in Byang Ngam ring (Northern Ngamring) he met with Thugs sras Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (Thuksé Namkha Gyaltsen, 1454–d.1541)⁷⁵⁴ and the tantric master Shā kya bzang po from Drang so (Drangso) who stayed [there]. This was the occasion when [his] younger brother Legs ldan rJe received the *Boundless [Vision] (Zang thal)*.⁷⁵⁵

At the age of forty-two [in 1528, mNga' ris Paṇ chen] together with his sibling arrived in the dBus province. [There,] in [a monastery of] gTsang sa phug (Tsang Sapuk)⁷⁵⁶ they met the

⁷⁵³ Dedrol (bDed grol) was the family estate of the *Mes* family, “which had strong familial connections to the Northern Treasure Tradition” (Valentine 2018, p. 105, 107) and the seat of Thugs sras Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (see Ehrhard 2013b, p. 125 fn.9).

⁷⁵⁴ BDRC P5597. For the discussion of his life and the translation of his biography, see Valentine 2013.

⁷⁵⁵ This was the final meeting between Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje and Shā kya bzang po, when the former took spiritual oath to uphold the Northern Treasures (see Ehrhard 2013b, p. 126).

⁷⁵⁶ Literally, it was “a cave monastery in the vicinity of Tsang.” See *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 39v2: *gtsang 'khris kyi sa phug dgon pa*.

tantric master rGya hor rDo rje ([Zurwang] Gyahor Dorjé) and listened to the *Secret Cycle of Luminosity* ('Od gsal gsang skor), to the *Longevity Lord of Magical Emanation* (sGyu 'phrul tshe dbang) and other teachings [for the course of three days]. Before they passed to Rong chung (Rongchung) from Rin spung (Rinpung), they stayed in gTsang [province] for one year. [322]

[3.2. Arrival to Lhasa and departure to Gung thang]

At the age of forty-three [in 1529 mNga' ris Paṇ chen and his brother] arrived at Chos 'khor lHa sa (the Dharma capital of Lhasa). [They] made circumambulations and aspirational prayers at the Ra mo che (Ramoché), at the palace on the dMar po ri and the lChags po ri (Pho brang dmar lcags) hills and other places. [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] yearned for the *Doctrines of Ngok* (rNgog chos) and *Pacification* (Zhi byed), so [he] performed aspirational prayers. The exalted goddess Tara gave [him] a prophecy.

In particular, when [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] made the three circumambulations of Barkhor, the glorious goddess [dPal ldan ldan lHa mo (Palden Lhamo)] (*dpal lhas*)⁷⁵⁷ appeared in the flesh, had many conversations [with mNga' ris Paṇ chen] and gave [him the following] prophecy:

Even though you reached confidence in [your] stainless view

[And] think of the benefit of the beings who are wandering in the six realms,

You will not get [this opportunity] except in this [life]time.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁷ The autobiography reads that when mNga' ris Paṇ chen supplicated Tara at the southern corner of Barkhor, there appeared a lady shining with light, wearing white clothes and playing cymbals, her eyes radiated white light. She tightly took his hand and said the prophecy (see *The Autobiography of Ngari Paṇchen* F, fols. 39v6-40r2). mNga' ris Paṇ chen does not name the lady “dPal ldan ldan lHa mo,” but he cites her telling that she “is a goddess in a female body, the guardian of this area.” (*nga bu mo'i lus can lha'i rigs/ gnas 'di nyid kyi bdag po yin/*, *Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 40r5; G p. 130.7). The guardian of Lhasa is dPal ldan ldan lHa mo and her image is enshrined in the Jo khang (lha sa gtsug lag khang) temple. For this reason, it is highly possible that Padma 'phrin las implies dPal ldan lHa mo when he speaks of *dpal lhas*. Besides, the 5th Dalai Bla ma, a close ally of Padma 'phrin las, said he had received teachings on dPal ldan ldan lHa mo from bKra shis stobs rgyal, the reincarnation of mNga' ris Paṇ chen, in his visions (see Boord 2010, p. xxiii, fn.13). This signifies a certain connection between the Northern Treasures and dPal ldan ldan lHa mo. The author of a recent biography of mNga' ris Paṇ chen agrees that the protagonist speaks of dPal ldan ldan lHa mo (see *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 273.5). Regarding the prophecies of the goddess Tara, the autobiography only mentioned her to give a speech earlier, when mNga' ris Paṇ chen was forty-two years old (*dus gcig na lha mo sgrol ma'i gsung/ lhang lhang tsam thos nas nges ston rtogs*, see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 39r5, G. p. 129.7).

⁷⁵⁸ This translation follows the reading of the *Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F fol. 40r2: *dus da lan tsam las len mi 'tshal*. If I would follow the reading of the biography composed by Padma 'phrin las, “*lus da lan tsam las len mi 'tshal*” (*Biography of Ngari Paṇchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 322.2-3), then the translation should go like that: “you should not take [the human] body [again] except for this time.” This latter reading could put Padma 'phrin

With certainty, you will swiftly obtain the *Pacification* (*zhi byed*) of the object (*chos*)
– The [physical] aggregates of suffering.

Nowadays, rNgog ston gZhung pa (the Ngok Teacher of Zhung)

Is knowledgeable in the oral instructions of Nāropa and Maitripa.

[You will] obtain the vital points (*gnad*) of *Merging and Transference* (*bSre 'pho*)⁷⁵⁹ in an instance.

This time [you] should go to Gung thang.

Be resolute and doubtless in mind regarding

The authentic meaning [of rNgog Teacher's] explication.

[3.3. Travels around the valleys of Yar klung]

As [the two brothers] traveled through Gung thang, [they] made prostrations and circumambulations. Then, in accordance with the repeated prophecy regarding the authentic transmission of the *Pacification* (*Zhi byed*) and the *rNgog* doctrines, the two brothers crossed the Klung (Yarlung) valley and paid their respects to the 'U shang rdo (Ushangdo) temple.⁷⁶⁰ On the peak of the Kam pa (Kamba) pass⁷⁶¹ they prostrated and made offerings in direction of gZhung.

Upon [their] arrival to Lumpadru (Lum pa gru), in Nya mo skyur (Nyamo Kyur)⁷⁶² of gZhung mda' (lower Zhung), the goddess Dhūmāṅgārī⁷⁶³ welcomed them by revealing her face.

las, the 4th Rig 'dzin of rDo rje brag, in a precarious position, since the 2nd Rig 'dzin Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje recognized the rebirth of his deceased older brother as bKra shis stobs rgyal, and this “choice was not without complications” (Dalton 2016, p. 91).

⁷⁵⁹ Tib. *bsre 'pho*. “The form of the Six Doctrines of Nāropa (*Nā ro chos drug*) practiced in the Rngog tradition (...) especially related to the Hevajratantra” (Ducher 2019, p. 148).

⁷⁶⁰ Alt. 'On chang rdo, temple stands at 29°25'45.53"N, 90°57'15.15"E and is presently destroyed. For a detailed and vivid description of its appearance in the past, see Chan 1994, p. 491. See Ferarri 1958, p.166. SRC L546.

⁷⁶¹ Coordinates 29°11'42.45"N, 90°37'0.68"E. This pass that divides the holy Yar 'brog (Yamdruk) lake from the Yar klung valley does not lie en route from 'U shang rdo to Lum pa. It is spelled either *gam pa* or *kam pa*, the name derives from the valley that leads up to this mountain pass. The source for the present biography, the *Autobiography by Ngari Panchen* F fol. 41v2 reads “from the Peak of Liberation on [our] land journey” (*skam pa la thar pa'i rtse mo nas*). For this reason, the “Kamba pass” (*Kam pa la*) in the present biography might have been a misspelling of *skam pa la*, and the mountain pass where mNga' ris Paṇ chen and his brother made prostrations and offerings lay on the “Tharpa,” or “Liberation” Peak (*Thar pa'i rtse mo*). On the other hand, it is also possible that “The Peak of Liberation” is just a poetical metaphor for their spiritual land journey (*skam pa*). Another possibility is that this is perhaps not a misspelling: the brothers might have had made a detour on their way from 'U shang rdo to Nya mo gyur to enjoy the superb views of the holy lake and the gNod sbyin khang bzang's (Nöjin Kangtsang) Peak that the Kam pa pass offers.

⁷⁶² Alt. Nya mo gyur, 29°17'30.01"N, 90°56'23.15"E. Coordinates are based on SRC L716.

⁷⁶³ Dud sol ma, Skt. Dhūmāvātī previously appeared to mNga' ris Paṇ chen at the time of one of his initial retreats, see Part Two, p. 80.

In gZhung spre'u zhing (Zhung Tre'u Zhing)⁷⁶⁴ and particularly in Thar pa gling (Tharpa Ling)⁷⁶⁵ [they] thoroughly listened to [the teachings on] the entirety of *Ngok Maṇḍalas* (*rNgog dkyil*) from rNgog Rin po che bSod nams bstan 'dzin (Ngok Rinpoché Sönam Tenzin, fl. 16th century).⁷⁶⁶ [Their] minds became filled with resolution.

In Grwa thang (Dratang) [they] heard the *Cycle of Red Yamāri* (*gShed dmar*) and other teachings from Zhwa lu lo [tsā ba] chen [po] Chos skyong bzang po (the Great Translator Chökyong Zangpo of Zhalu, 1441–1527/1528).⁷⁶⁷ [323] Upon [his] arrival to the religious center of Bsam yas, [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] paid visits to sacred places, and many karmic imprints from the past had awakened [in his mind]. After [he] had constructed numerous *maṇḍalas* of the *Assembly of the Sugatas of the Eight Pronouncements* (*Bka' bgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa'i dkyil 'khor*) at the middle floor [of the central building of Bsam yas, and] performed *sādhana* ceremonies (*sgrub mchod*) together with aspirational prayers.

[He] gave many sacred teachings to lHo brag gu ru ba (The Guru of Lhodrak) and others. [mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal] exchanged Dharma gifts with the Kaḥ thog pa Chos rje bSod nams rgyal mtshan (Dharma Lord Sönam Gyaltzen of Kaḥtok, 1466–1540)⁷⁶⁸ and with many [other] spiritual teachers. Afterward [he] went to 'Phreng phu O rgyan chos rdzong (The Dharma Fortress of Oddiyana in the upper Treng).⁷⁶⁹ From Kong chen Rin po che Nam mkha'

⁷⁶⁴ Coordinates 29°12'38.20"N, 90°57'50.47"E. This monastery was the seat of the masters of the rNgog lineage. It is located in Central Tibet, south of the modern Gonggar County and the Yar klung tsang po river. See Ferrari 1958, p. 55. BDRC G4202. Coordinates are given based on SRC L282. For the modern geographical description, see Ducher 2017, pp. 358-359.

⁷⁶⁵ Coordinates 29°16'24.52"N, 90°55'22.49"E. The coordinates are given according to SRC L736. It was founded in the late 15th century as a residence for the rGyal tsha (Gyaltza) branch of the hereditary lineage of rNgog (see Ducher 2017, p. 141).

⁷⁶⁶ BDRC P7601. bSod nams bstan 'dzin was the head of the rGyal tsha line within the rNgog lineage and the last master of “rNgog about whom something substantial is known” (for a brief summary of his activities, see Ducher 2017 pp. 350-351).

⁷⁶⁷ BDRC P856. SRC P116. Based on his date of death, Cécile Ducher proposes that “it may be wiser to accept the dates for mNga' ris Paṇ chen's journey to gZhung given by bDud 'joms Rin po che, namely that it occurred ‘starting from his 38th year,’ i.e. from 1524 onward.” (Ducher 2017, p. 350). However, this is problematic because the autobiography that was written by mNga' ris Paṇ chen himself, clearly places this visit between his forty-third and forty-sixth year of age (that is, if we take 1487 as the accurate date of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's birth, then this should have been between 1529–1532). Cf. *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F fol. 41v5.

⁷⁶⁸ BDRC P7637. In his autobiography bSod nams rgyal mtshan lists the mNga' ris brothers as his disciples (for the analysis of his life based on his autobiography, see Ehrhard 2013, pp. 379-391). For a reference to this meeting, see *ibid*, p. 390.

⁷⁶⁹ The entrance to the valley of 'Phreng (Treng, alt. Trang) lies east of rDo rje brag, on the northern shore of the gTsang po (Brahmaputra) river. This valley nowadays belongs to Gongkar County. Other spellings include *'phreng po*, *phreng po*, *phreng bu*, *'phreng 'go* or *'phrang 'go* (not to be confused with 'Phrang sgo (Trango) in

dpal ldan rgya mtsho (Kongchen Rinpoché Namkha Palden Gyatso)⁷⁷⁰ [he] received the *Summary of the Guru's Intention*,⁷⁷¹ [*Mañjuśrī Yamāri*]⁷⁷² and mingled [the teachings] with his mind. [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] went to [Drak (Grags)] Yangdzong (Yang rdzong)⁷⁷³ and mChims phu (Chimpu) [where he] practiced meditation and beheld the faces of the numerous Three Roots.

[4. Activities as a renowned Dharma-master 1530–1533]

[4.1. A journey to lHo brag to restore the deteriorated lineages]

In spite of [his own] wish to return back to gTsang, [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] followed the command of the 8th successor (*gdung rabs*) of sPrul sku Chos kyi dbang po (Guru Chöwang, Tulku Chökyi Wangpo) and went to lHo brag in his forty-fourth year, [1530. He] stayed there until he was forty-five [1531].⁷⁷⁴ [He] visited Mkhar chu (Kharchu) in lHo brag,⁷⁷⁵ the bSam grub bde ba

Western Tibet (Tib: 'Phrang sgo, Chinese pinyin: chang guo xiang), which lies about eighty kilometers to west from Saga). Coordinates (KNAB): 29°21'23"N, 91°08'11"E. The exact location of the Dharma Fortress of Oddiyana, O rgyan Chos rdzong, within the valley seems to be unclear. This hermitage was founded by rJe 'Bri gung pa rin chen phun tshogs, 1509–1557 (Sørensen & Hazod 2007, p. 180, fn. 428), a spiritual ally of mNga' ris Paṇ chen and Legs ldan rdo rje, whom they likely first met at Bsam yas. The mNga' ris brothers later invited rJe 'Bri gung pa Rin chen phun tshogs to perform consecration ceremonies together. See Part Two, p. 122, fn. 837. For more references on this valley and its connection to various historical figures, see Sørensen & Hazod 2007, p. 180, fn. 428. Eva Neumaier-Dargayay in her translation of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's biography names here a certain "O-rgyan-chos-bzang" who gave teaching to the mNga' ris brothers along with Kong chen Nam mkha' dpal ldan (see Dargayay 1998, p. 158). However, upon consulting the autobiography, we can rest assured that O rgyan Chos rdzong is a name of a place, not of a person, and that *bzang* is probably just a misspelling of *rdzong* that found its way into the Tibetan sources that the author used for her translation. The autobiography speaks of the "Dharma fortress" (*chos rdzong*) of Phreng phu (Trengpu). "Orgyan" (*o rgyan*) was supplemented later by Padma 'phrin las (see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen*, F fol.42r3-4: *de nas kyang phreng bu'i* (G: *phu'i*) *chos rdzong du/ grub chen gyi rgyal po nam mkha'i mtshan/ kong chen la 'jam dpal bshes gnyen dang/*).

⁷⁷⁰ BDRC P5596. The biography of Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje mentions that this very master recognizes mNga' ris Paṇ chen as the emanation of the king Khri srong lde btsan's *qualities* (Khri srong lde btsan gyi *yon tan* gyi sprul pa) and his younger brother, Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje, as "the speech emanation of sNa nam rdo rje bdud 'joms" (rDo rje bdud 'joms kyi *gsung* gi sprul pa), see Valentine 2013, p. 148. In his autobiography, mNga' ris Paṇ chen reveals numerous insights regarding his previous births, but we do not find Khri srong lde btsan among them (Khri srong lde btsan only appears in the pure vision of his father, standing at the edge of a *maṇḍala* (see Part Two, p. 91).

⁷⁷¹ Tib. *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*. A treasure cycle discovered by Sangs rgyas gling pa (Sangyé Lingpa, 1340–1396). Alternative English translation is "The Embodiment of Wisdom" (see Dudjom 2011, p. 115 fn. 22).

⁷⁷² 'Jam dpal gshin rje. Padma 'phrin las omits this transmission that mNga' ris Paṇ chen received from Kong chen Rin po che on the same occasion. It was supplemented from the *Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen*, F fol. 42r4.

⁷⁷³ 29°26'32.0"N, 91°14'50.2"E. BDRC G2812.

⁷⁷⁴ Cf. *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 276.5: he stayed there until 1530 (the iron-tiger year).

⁷⁷⁵ Coordinates: 28°05'36.0"N, 91°07'36.5"E. For a detailed description see Chan 1994, p. 693 (map). Also, see Ferrari 1958, p. 136.

chen po'i gTsug lag khang (Samdrup Dewachenpo temple),⁷⁷⁶ lHa bro (Lhadro),⁷⁷⁷ sMra bo lcog (Mawochok),⁷⁷⁸ Gro bo lung (Drowolung)⁷⁷⁹ and so forth.

The prophecy granted to Myang Rin po che (Nyang Rinpoché)⁷⁸⁰ by Padmasambhava himself, that mNga' ris Paṇ chen Rin po che [will] restore the deteriorated doctrine's lineages, was [thus] fulfilled. He exchanged all sorts of explanations of his own tradition with the descendants of the Myang (Nyang) [Lineage], like those of sGang zur (Gangzur)⁷⁸¹ and others.⁷⁸²

[mNga' ris Paṇ chen] also exchanged many doctrines with sPrul sku Chos kyi dbang po (Tulku Chökyi Wangpo). [324] They performed many [religios] services, such as arranging statues, filling [them with] *dharanī* (*gzungs zhugs*), and demonstrating [magical] signs to the enemies [of sPrul sku Chos kyi dbang po] in the course of three days.

[When mNga' ris Paṇ chen] performed [consciousness] transference for one evildoer in lHo brag, the rainbow-light that filled the space and other [signs] demonstrated the greatness of the doctrine of the Early Translation lineage.

In particular, [only] the last time of the twenty-five times [in total] that [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] received *The Assembly of the Sugatas of the Eight Pronouncements* (*bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*) was authentic and filled [his] mind with resolution. [This took place] in [the White Monastery,] dGon dkar (Gonkar) [in lHo brag]⁷⁸³ when the master greatly accomplished in *the Assembly of Sugatas*, Nam mkha'i rnal 'byor (Namké Neljor), transmitted [to Padma dbang rgyal]

⁷⁷⁶ Approximate coordinates: 28°22'0.93"N, 90°38'11.24"E. A temple built by Guru Chos dbang. According to Treasury of Lives P326, it is also known as La yags gu ru lha khang (Layak Guru Lhakhang) which is located 6 kilometers to the west from lHa lung (Lalung) monastery. See Chan 1994, p. 705. "For information on the Gu-ru lha-khang in La-yags (also known as the bSam-grub bDe ba chen-po'i lha-khang) and the rather few details on the descendants of Gu-ru Chos-[kyi] dbang[-phyug] who kept the family residence in lHo-brag, see the historiographical work of Guru bKra-shis, p. 653.6-12; the site came in the 16th century into the hands of the lHo-brag gSung-sprul incarnations from the tradition of Rig-'dzin Padma gling-pa (1450–1521)." (Ehrhard 2002, p. 76 fn. 42).

⁷⁷⁷ Site in the western part of lHo brag associated with Gu ru Chos dbang (see *ibid.*, p. 59)

⁷⁷⁸ Coordinates 28°27'25.33"N, 91°26'46.81"E. Small yet important rNying ma monastery (see Chan 1994, p. 685), the residence of the descendants of Myang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (see Ehrhard 2002, p. 26). In addition, some texts say it was here that mNga' ris Paṇ chen acquired the prophetic guide to the treasures that he will later reveal at Bsam yas at the age of forty-six, see below, p. 112, fn. 795.

⁷⁷⁹ This monastery in lHo brag stands on the site of Mar pa's family residence. 28°10'43.26"N, 90°49'38.45"E.

⁷⁸⁰ Full name: Myang ral Nyi ma 'od zer. 1124/1136–1192/1204. BDRC P364.

⁷⁸¹ Coordinates 28°28'0.00"N, 91°21'59.95"E. Coordinates according to TTT.

⁷⁸² The autobiography also mentions rGa thang (Gathang) and 'Od gsal sgang (Öselgang), see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen*, F fol. 42v4; G p. 135.2.

⁷⁸³ Tib. dGon dkar. This monastery was situated in lHo brag in bTsan gro (Tsendro), see Ahmad 1999, p. 168. bTsan gro lies in gTam shul (Tamshul), see Akester 2016, p. 450.

the *Assembly of Sugatas* (bde 'dus), the *Consummation of All Secrets*,⁷⁸⁴ and *Shaken From Its Depths* (dong sprugs). It is evident from the biography and from the *Records of Teachings Received* (gsan yig) that [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] highly praised him. That [master] was also able to hover in the air, unhindered like a bird.

At Zha stod (Upper Zha) and bTsan gro (Tsendro) in lHo brag [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] performed the great accomplishment ceremony⁷⁸⁵ of the *Eight Pronouncements* (bKa' brgyad) and benefitted sentient beings [by handing out] medicinal [ambrosia]⁷⁸⁶ and the Seven-rebirth [pills].⁷⁸⁷

When at the end [that master] departed to the [buddha-]field, he had shown many wondrous signs. This is evident [in] Paṇ chen Rin po che's *Explanation Manual On the Assembly of the Sugatas of the Eight Pronouncements, the Wheel of the Sun and the Moon that Dispels the Darkness*.⁷⁸⁸

After [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] had given numerous explanations on [both] the Canonical and

⁷⁸⁴ Tib. *gsangs rdzogs*. A *gter ma* cycle by Guru Chöwang (1212–1270). BDRC T1183.

⁷⁸⁵ Tib. *sgrub chen*. “Drupchen” is a collective ritual ceremony and practice that may last for several days and is focused on a certain deity (in this case, the deities of the Eight Pronouncements). The sound of the mantra of the particular deity on which the ceremony is focused may not be interrupted and for this reason, the participants usually take turns for participating in sessions that run twenty-four hours around the clock. “The goal of a great accomplishment rite is for a group of ritualists and participants to communally realize the ultimate awakened state of Buddhahood through materializing and experiencing themselves and their immediate environment as a *maṇḍala* of awakened deities and their pure realm.” (Gentry 2017, p. 58).

⁷⁸⁶ Tib. *smān grub*, lit. “medicine of accomplishment” The “accomplished medicine ambrosia, otherwise known as amṛta, is an edible compound formed from a wide range of ingredients; it is believed to confer health, power, spiritual attainments, and other positive benefits through ingesting it. Much like edible Treasure substances such as the seven-times born Brahmin flesh, the successful ritual ‘accomplishment’ of this concoction is often said to animate it, causing it to waft fragrant odors, grow in volume, overflow, boil, and on some occasions, take flight. [...] its ritual production share many features with the seven-times-born Brahmin flesh and its ritual treatment.” (Gentry 2017, p. 69).

⁷⁸⁷ Tib. *skye bdun*. “Pills purportedly formed from the bodily flesh of a person born for seven consecutive lives as a Brahmin are extolled in several Indian Buddhist tantras as an especially potent substance that confers a range of mundane and soteriological powers when eaten, especially the power of flight. [...] Brahmin flesh is typically treated in collective ritual performances called “great accomplishment” (*grub chen*). [...] When great accomplishment rites center on the production of edible substances of power such as Brahmin flesh pills, the flesh concoction is mixed with other substances and formed into pills in the course of ritual proceedings. [...] The consumption of ritually “accomplished” Brahmin flesh pills promises, according to Treasure traditions, “liberation through tasting” (*myong grol*).” (Gentry 2017, pp. 58-59). On the significance of the use of certain substances in the accomplishment ceremonies, as well as its implications on the social and political material world, see Gentry 2017 and for the ways of preparation of the Seven-rebirth pills and the medical ambrosia, as well as for their differences, see *ibid.* pp. 291-331.

⁷⁸⁸ The explanation on the *Assembly of Sugatas* by mNga' ris Paṇ chen bears the ornamental title “*The Wheel of the Sun and the Moon that Dispels the Darkness*.” For the bibliographical reference, see Bibliography, p. 135. BDRC W1KG12075.

the Treasure lineages (*bKa' gter*) of the rNying ma school in lHo brag, [he] traveled back to Bsam yas via Gri gu (Drigu).⁷⁸⁹

[4.2. Teaching at Bsam yas and the *gter ma* revelation]

At the age of forty-six [in 1532],⁷⁹⁰ at the middle storey of the Bsam yas [Ütse] temple, [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] taught the *Heart Essence of the Ḍākinīs*⁷⁹¹ and the *Five Stages of Guhyasamāja*⁷⁹² to the descendants of the divine royal dynasty⁷⁹³ of Bsam yas.⁷⁹⁴

At the same time, [acting] in accordance with the prophetic guide (*kha byang*) acquired by [his] younger brother Legs ldan rJe⁷⁹⁵ at the Demoness Claw [Cliff] in lHo brag,⁷⁹⁶ [mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal] had discovered and revealed the profound doctrine – *the Full Assembly of Awareness Holders* (*Zab chos rigs 'dzin yongs 'dus*) from an [old maroon-colored]⁷⁹⁷ chest [325] concealed in [the statue of] Vairocana [at] the upper unit of Ütse (dBu rtse), [the principal temple] of Bsam yas monastery.⁷⁹⁸

⁷⁸⁹ Coordinates: 28°42'23.35"N, 91°38'33.01"E.

⁷⁹⁰ Cf. *The Biography of Ngari Paṇ chen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 279.1: at the age of forty-six in the iron-hare year, 1531.

⁷⁹¹ Tib. *mkha' 'gro snying thig*. This treasure cycle (*gter ma*) on Padmasambhava's rDzogs chen teachings was revealed by Padma Ledrel Tsel (Pad ma las 'brel rtsal, 1231/1248–1259/1315), BDRC P7628.

⁷⁹² Tib. *gsang 'dus rim lnga*. BDRC T1562.

⁷⁹³ The autobiography mentions that they belonged to the *bu tshal* lineage (see *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇ chen* F fol. 43v6; G p. 137.7: *de dus su chos rgyal lha yi brgyud/ bu tshal gyi chos rje dpon slob kyi/ ...*). The Butselwa (Bu tshal ba) [clan] used to rule at Bsam yas (see Smith 2001, p. 319 fn. 675). On the Bu tshal temple, see fn. 822. According to *The History of Treasures of Zablungpa* (*Zab lung pa'i gter 'byung*), it was Lhatsün Chökyi Gyalpo (lHa btsun Chos kyi rgyal po) and Lharig Namgyal Drakpa (lHa rigs rNam rgyal grags pa), see *The Biography of Ngari Paṇ chen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 289.6.

⁷⁹⁴ On that occasion, mNga' ris Paṇ chen had also given explications on the *Vajrapāṇi Tradition of Sugati* (*phyag rdor 'gro bzang*), on Vaiśravaṇa (rNam sras), and on the King of Glorious Protectors, the Four-faced One [Mahākāla] (dPal mgon gyi rgyal po gdong bzhi). The teachings lasted for one month (*zla gcig tu*). See *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇ chen* F fol. 43v6, G p. 137.6-7.

⁷⁹⁵ Another version maintains that the prophetic guide was carried by the wind and fell into the hands of of mNga' ris Paṇ chen when he was dwelling at sMrā bo lcog. *The Biography of Ngari Paṇ chen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 279.3-4.

⁷⁹⁶ Tib. lHo brag srin mo sbar rjes can. This place lies outside gNas gzi (Neshi/Nezhi) town, to the south of the modern rTso me county center. It is associated with Myang ral Nyi ma 'Od zer (1124–1192) who made a discovery of a treasure text (*gter ma*) here. See Ferrari 1958, p. 56 and p. 136.

⁷⁹⁷ Tib. *snying mdzod smug po*. See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇ chen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 279.4.

⁷⁹⁸ Around that time, mNga' ris Paṇ chen also recovered the *gter ma* on the protector and the oracle deity of Tsi'u dmar po, *The Heart Tantra of the Red-razored One* (*sPu gri dmar po snying gi rgyud*), see Akester 2016, p. 316, fn. 43. mNga' ris Paṇ chen's work *The Warlord's Tantra with Accompanying Sādhana* (*Dmag dpon gyi rgyud sgrub thabs dang bcas pa*) serves as the foundation of research in the iconography and the history of that deity (see Bell 2016, p. 6).

[mNga' ris Paṇ chen] is famous for revealing *The Five Former and Latter Profound Treasures* (*sNga phyi zab gter lnga*).⁷⁹⁹

[4.3. Giving teachings, presiding over large-scale rituals and ceremonies in gTsang]

After a short while [mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal] traveled to gTsang [province]. At sNye mo (Nyemo)⁸⁰⁰ [he] instituted the great accomplishment ceremony (*sgrub chen*) of the *Gathering of Intentions* (*dGongs 'dus*). At Phung po ri bo che (Phungpo Riwoche)⁸⁰¹ [he] gave teachings on the *Assembly of Sugatas* (*bDe 'dus*).⁸⁰²

⁷⁹⁹ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 279.4-5: on this occasion mNga' ris Paṇ chen revealed the *Intermediate [Cycle of] the Gathering of the [Eight] Pronouncements* (*bKa' 'dus bar pa*), which is also known as “*The Full Gathering of the Gurus, the Awareness Holders*” (*Bla ma rig 'dzin yongs 'dus*), the “*The Full Gathering of the Gurus, the Eight Pronouncements*” (*Bla ma bka' brgyad yongs 'dus*, cf. Ehrhard 2015, p. 161, fn. 26 and Burghard 2017, p. 68, fn 223: *Bla ma bka' brgyad yongs 'dus* and *Rig 'dzin yongs 'dus* designate the same cycle). Furthermore, this cycle contained *The Full Gathering of the Bodhisattvas* (*Byang sems yongs 'dus*), *The Full Gathering of the Awareness Holders* (*Rig 'dzin yongs 'dus*), *The Full Gathering of the [Deities] of the Eight Pronouncements* (*bKa' brgyad yongs 'dus*), *The Full Gathering of The Peaceful Ones* (*Zhi ba yongs 'dus*), *The Full Gathering of the Wrathful Ones* (*Khro ba yongs 'dus*), *The Full Gathering of the Dakinīs* (*mKha' gro yongs 'dus*). The cycle of the *Full Gathering of Awareness Holders* (*Rig 'dzin yongs 'dus*) contained two types of volumes (*pod*): volumes on the peaceful and on the wrathful deities (*zhi pod khrod pod gnyis*). The former was *The Method of Accomplishment of the Prayer in Seven Chapters, the Completion Stage of the All-Encompassing Activities* (*gSol 'debs le'u bdun ma'i sgrub thabs Las rab 'byams rdzogs rim*). The latter included the *Nine-Headed and Eighteen-Handed Wrathful One* (*Drag po dbu dgu phyag bco brgyad pa*). There were several life stories (*rnam thar*) of Padmasambhava, one of which included the so-called *Great Comprehensive Account of Liberation of the Exalted One* (*'Phags pa grangs nges kyi rnam thar chen mo*). The text also mentions the *Cycle of the Minor Wrathful Guru* (*Gu ru drag po chung ba*) with one face and two arms (*zhal gcig phyag gnyis*). For the full list of recovered texts, see *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, pp. 279.4-281.1

⁸⁰⁰ Yar res snye mo. The sNye mo County lies about 150 kilometers to the east from gZhis ka rtse (Shigatsé), on the northern bank of the Yar klung tsang po river. Its former capital was Dar grong (Dardong), 29°26'22.94"N, 90° 9'4.68"E.

⁸⁰¹ BDRC G00AG01696. This sacred mountain lies about forty kilometers to the east of gZhis ka rtse at the southern bank of the Yar klung tsang po river near the modern-day airport. This place has a hermitage of Padmasambhava and is associated with discoveries of several treasure-texts (see Dorje 2004, p. 288). g.Yung ston rDo rje dpal (Yungtön Dorjé Pel, 1284–1365) used to have this place as his residence (see Ferarri 1958, p. 70; p. 162, fn. 628). One finds another *Ri bo che* in Mustang, where Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po had consecrated the Cakrasaṃvara palace (see Heimbel 2017, p. 281).

⁸⁰² As mentioned above, mNga' ris Paṇ chen authored a commentary on the *Assembly of Sugatas* (see Part Two, p. 112 fn. 788).

As he traveled to [the monasteries of] Ngor Ewaṃ chos ldan (Ngor Ewaṃ Chöden)⁸⁰³ and Thub bstan gser mdog can (Thubten Serdokchen),⁸⁰⁴ he performed many activity rituals (*las kyi cho ga*) for the novice and elder monks. During [his] visit to Nyang stod (Nyangtö)⁸⁰⁵ and Zhwa lu (Shalu),⁸⁰⁶ he conducted pilgrimages and gave extensive [Dharma] teachings for the benefit of sentient beings.

At the age of forty-seven [in 1533]⁸⁰⁷ mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal] again returned to Central Tibet via Rong chen (Rongchen).⁸⁰⁸ [Then] from dPal chen chu bo ri (The Glorious Chuwo Mountain)⁸⁰⁹ [he] went to the upper Nyi valley.⁸¹⁰ At the Copper-colored Mountain (Zangdok Ri) in the upper Grags (Drak) valley,⁸¹¹ [Padma dbang rgyal] gave extensive

⁸⁰³ Coordinates: 29° 7'9.74"N, 88°49'31.08"E. BDRC G211, SRC L118. This famous monastic institution was founded by Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po. The abbot in 1533 was lHa mchog seng ge (Lhamchok Sengé, 1468–1535, see Heimbrel 2017, p. 518), who paid a visit to Glo bo in 1523. mNga' ris Paṇ chen had attended lHa mchog Seng ge's teachings upon returning from Nepal in 1523 (see Part Two, p. 99) and received teachings from the latter's teacher, Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (see Part Two, p. 96, fn 713).

⁸⁰⁴ SRC L435, BDRC G 391. This monastery was founded in 1469 by Shā kya mchog ldan (Śākya Chokden, 1428–1507, see Ferarri 1958, p. 70; p. 162, fn. 625). It is situated to the north-east of gZhis ka rtse, on the southern bank of the Yar klung tsang po river. Coordinates: 29°19'2.92"N, 89° 2'0.42"E. This was one of the monasteries in Central Tibet where monks from Mustang traveled for obtaining the *bka' bcu pa* title (see Heimbrel 2017, p. 308 fn. 399). This title means "the one who had mastered ten texts." For the history of Thub bstan gser mdog can's founding and for a detailed account of its development during the times of Shā kya mchog ldan, see Caumanns 2013. I was unable to find any evidence in support of Martin Boord's claim that mNga' ris Paṇ chen was the founder of that monastery (see Boord 1993, pp. 28–29).

⁸⁰⁵ Alt. Myang stod district corresponds to the modern area of rGyal tse (Gyantsé), see Ryavec 2015, p. 38 map 10. The present-day Myang valley lies to the south of rGyal tse. References: Sørensen & Hazod 2007, p. 312 (map); SRC L676, BDRC G971.

⁸⁰⁶ This valley and the monastery by the same name lies about twenty kilometers to the south from gZhis ka rtse: 29° 7'40.38"N, 88°59'34.54"E. References: SRC L119, BDRC G275.

⁸⁰⁷ Cf. *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 281.3: in 1532.

⁸⁰⁸ A valley in Rong chu in gTsang (see Ferarri 1958, p.162, fn. 630).

⁸⁰⁹ SRC L519. This sacred mountain lies at the junction of the sKyid chu and the gTsang po rivers. The lCags zam (Chaksam) village below the mountain is named after the iron-chained bridge built there by Thang stong rgyal po (Tangtong Gyalpo, 1361–1485), the guru of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's father 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan. Unfortunately, during the times of the so-called Cultural Revolution around 1978, the bridge was completely destroyed. This sacred site is known at least since the times of king Khri srong lde btsan (see Chan 1994, p. 478). Alternative name: lCags zam chu bo Ri (Chaksam Chuwo Mountain). In the vicinity of the former location of the destroyed bridge, on a hill, we find a cave associated with mNga' ris Paṇ chen's younger brother Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje (see Ferarri 1958, p. 71).

⁸¹⁰ Snyi phu. Alternative spelling: *snye phu* (Sørensen & Hazod 2007, p. 178, fn. 426). SRC L707.

⁸¹¹ Tib. sGrags phu ri zangs mdog. This mountain is located in the same valley as the renowned Grags Yang rdzong hermitage. The Zangs mdog mountain in Grags valley is the birthplace of gNubs sangs rgyas ye shes (Nubchen Sangyé Yeshe), one of the twenty-five principal students of Padmasambhava, and the location of a hermitage of the 9th-cent. rGya 'Jam dpal gsang ba (Gya Jampel Sangwa), see Sørensen & Hazod 2007, p. 179, fn. 427). The Grags valley: SRC L646.

teachings on the Northern Treasures: on the *Three Cycles* (*sGrub skor gsum*),⁸¹² [including the *Vidyādhara's Lineage Sādhana* (*gDung sgrub*),]⁸¹³ on the *Eight Pronouncements: Natural Arising* (*bKa' brgyad rang shar*), as well as on the *Unimpeded [Realization]* (*Zang thal*) and on the *Vajrakīla* (*Yang phur*) [cycles].⁸¹⁴

Afterwards he traveled to the valley of Zhung⁸¹⁵ and received all the remaining doctrines of *Ngok* (*rNgog chos*), as well the [teachings on] the *Merging and Transference* (*bSre 'pho*).⁸¹⁶ [He] had boundless pure visions of Cakrasaṃvara, Virūpa⁸¹⁷ and of the Fifteen Goddesses' [*maṇḍala* of] Nairātmyā,⁸¹⁸ as well as of [the protector] Pañjaranātha Mahākāla with Consort and Retinue.⁸¹⁹

[4.4. The prophecy on rDo rje brag (Dorjé Drak)]

Then mNga' ris Paṇ chen traveled back and en route, he passed Lumpadru. Even though at that time the monastery of rDo rje brag was not yet founded, there likely used to be a kind of a village settlement below [the mountain] at the [same] place where the [rDo rje brag] monastery stands nowadays. mNga' ris Paṇ chen stayed there [overnight].

Due to the conformity of the interdependent circumstances [concerning his] lifespan and due to the auspiciousness of the cliff in form of a ritual dagger, there appeared omens that in this [very] place the teachings of the secret mantra and its followers will come forth [in the future. As he] said in [his autobiography]:

One evening I eased my weariness at the “Vajra Cliff” [rDo rje brag].⁸²⁰ [326]

[The] sign that [my] life will be concluded within one [twelve-]year cycle

[Foretells that it] once again will come forth from this very place.

⁸¹² Cf. *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 44v1: *thugs sgrub gsum*.

⁸¹³ See *ibid.* F, fol. 44v1.

⁸¹⁴ All the above-mentioned cycles were revealed by Rig 'dzin rGod ldem dNgos grub rgyal mtshan (1337–1408/09). SRC P1781, BDRC P5254.

⁸¹⁵ Tib. gZhung. SRC L378. This is mNga' ris Paṇ chen's second visit to the region. The first one occurred when mNga' ris Paṇ chen went for the first time to receive the teachings on the *Ngok Maṇḍalas* from bSod nams bstan 'dzin, see Part Two, p. 108.

⁸¹⁶ This is the second occasion when mNga' ris Paṇ chen receives the rNgog teachings. See Part Two, p. 108 for the first occasion.

⁸¹⁷ Bir wa pa. One of the eighty-four legendary *mahāsiddhas*. SRC P385, BDRC P3293.

⁸¹⁸ Tib. bDag med lha mo bco lnga. BDRC T630

⁸¹⁹ Gur lcām dral. TBRC T2GS1226. For the description of this deity, see Nebesky-Wojtkowitz 1996, p. 49.

⁸²⁰ For an explanation why this place was called rDo rje brag, see Akester 2016, p. 355, fn. 40.

The tip of the cliff's ritual dagger is piercing downwards.
 All those signs also indicate that the doctrine of the [tantric] Path
 Of the generation and the perfection [stages],
 That unites the appearances and emptiness will be completed [here].
 And again, this is a sign that later on the eight types of disciples
 Will follow the master of men
 And that the lineage holders will come [here] from the eight directions.

This prophecy should be understood as *vajra*-speech that [predicted] the advent of the lineal transmission of the doctrine of the [rNying ma] Ancient Translation [School] (*snga 'gyur gyi bstan pa*) at Thub bstan rDo rje brag coming forth from the Paṇ chen brothers [and from] the Jangpa father and the son;⁸²¹ and in particular, the emergence of successive lineage heirs to the venerable master [mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal] himself.

[4.5. Residing and teaching at Bsam yas]

Afterwards, [Padma dbang rgyal] mainly resided in the room above (*lcog tu*) the Bu tshal (Butsel) temple of Bsam yas.⁸²² [He] impartially fulfilled the wishes and the hopes of his disciples, upheld the entirety of the precious teachings of the Victorious One and sustained the noble Dharma activities of the Ancient Translation School's Canonical and Treasure lineages.

[5. The concluding part of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's life: after 1534]

Up to [his] forty-seventh year I arranged [his] life account exactly according to how [he] told it. Following this, the dating [in the autobiography] is not precise. But I will still write a little bit based on the analysis of Rig 'dzin [Legs ldan rdo r]jé's life account and [mNga' ris] Paṇ chen's *Secret Autobiography*.

⁸²¹ Byang pa yab sras. The “Jangpa father and the son” are bKra shis stobs rgyal (1550–1607) from the Byang (Jang) clan and his son Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639). The younger brother of mNga' ris Paṇ chen, Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje, recognized bKra shis stobs rgyal to be the reincarnation of his older brother. Later bKra shis stobs rgyal recognizes his own son, Ngag gi dbang po, as the reincarnation of Legs ldan rdo rje.

⁸²² Bsam yas bu tshal. In some sources, the name of this temple appears as Bu 'tshal gser khang gling (Butsel Serkang Ling, see Wangdu et al. 2000, p. 68, fn. 227. This temple was built in form of a Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (see Klimburg-Salter et al. 1997, p. 174). For the names of lamas affiliated to this temple (*bsam yas dbu tshal pa*) who received teachings from mNga' ris Paṇ chen, cf. Part Two, fn. 793.

[mNga' ris Paṇ chen] studied the *Union of the Buddhas*⁸²³ under Lo chen bSod nams rnam rgyal (Lochen Sönam Namgyal)⁸²⁴ at Byams pa gling (Jampaling).⁸²⁵

[He] offered the empowerment and instructions on the *Heart Essence of the Ḍākinī* (*mkha' 'gro snying thig*) [to Lo chen bSod nams rnam rgyal] and their minds mingled into one. [Padma dbang rgyal] received all other Dharma-cycles of Byams gling pa (Byams gling pa'i chos skor)⁸²⁶ from the venerable bSod nams rgyal mchog (Sönam Gyalchok). [327] As it was said:

The one from Mathang in Upper mNga' ris,
Padma dbang rgyal rdo rjé,
Had given his life and limb for the sake of Dharma.
He journeyed from the borderlands of India
As far as to Dag po and Kong po.
He sought all the authentic noble doctrines and listened to numerous treatises.
In particular, he met the Lord (*rJe*) at Byams pa gling in g.Yo ru grwa nang.⁸²⁷
He requested general explanations (*spyi bshad*) [on] the expanse
Of the *Mantra* and the *Vinaya* [doctrines].⁸²⁸
Then he went to the monastic residence of rGya ston (Gyatön)

⁸²³ Tib. *sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor*. Full title: *dPal sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba mkha' 'gro ma sgyu ma bde ba'i mchog ces bya ba'i rgyud phyi ma*, Skrt. *Śrīsarvabuddhasamāyogaḍḍākinījālasambaranāmauttaratantra*. This tantra belongs to the five root tantras of the eighteen tantra sections of Mahāyoga. NGB (Derge) Vol. 11 (da:10) 208, 313a.7-354a.6. TBRC T1377.

⁸²⁴ Alias Byams pa gling pa (Jampa Lingpa, 1400–1475. BDRC P993, SRC P117. Based on the dating of this person, we could assume that this was a visionary teaching. Interestingly, this is not the only account that reports someone's meeting with Byams gling Paṇ chen after 1475: for example, according to *The Feast For the Scholars* (*mkhas pa'i dga' ston*), the Seventh Karma pa Chos grags rgya mtsho (Karmapa Chödrak Gyatso) met the latter in 1482 (see Ehrhard 2002, p. 25 fn. 21). Perhaps the life-prolonging ritual (*tshe sgrub*) for Byams gling Paṇ chen performed by Lo tsā ba bSod nams rgya mtsho (Lotsāwa Sönam Gyatso, 1424–1482, see Ehrhard 2002, p. 82) was successful to such a degree that it caused some astonishing effects.

⁸²⁵ Byams pa gling. SRC L236, BDRC G4CZ1550. This monastery in Grwa nang (Dranang) valley on the southern bank of the Yar klung tsang po river in lower Grwa nang is not identical with Byams pa gling of Glo bo, where the ordination of Glo bo mKhan chen took place (cf. Kramer 2008, p. 63, fn. 73).

⁸²⁶ Byams pa gling pa bSod nams rnam rgyal. 1401–1475. BDRC P993.

⁸²⁷ Phonetic rendering: Yoru Dranang. Tib. g.Yo ru (SRC L29, BDRC G3176), the “left horn” of the “three horns” used to be an administrative division of the Ü province of Tibet that corresponds to modern-day lHo ka where Grwa thang valley also belongs.

⁸²⁸ Tib. *spyi bhad sngags 'dul che*. The term *spyi bshad* literally means “general explanations.” The term *sngags 'dul che* may also refer to the treatise by Byams pa gling pa, *The Great Mantra Discipline* (*sngags 'dul chen mo*). SRC S2702.

At the so-called “Iron Mountain” in Grwa phyi (Drachi).⁸²⁹

He requested detailed explanations on the *kriyā* and *chārya* tantras (*bya spyod rgyud*).

So it was said.

Furthermore, [mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal] had many visions of the Seven Śrāvakas (Nyan thos rnam pa bdun), Cakrasaṃvara, the five classes of dharma protectors (chos skyong sde lnga) and of other [deities].

When [Padma dbang rgyal] was on a solitary retreat in the cave of rGyal ba mchog dbyangs (Gyalwa Chöyang)⁸³⁰ at Bsam yas mChims phu, he obtained a revelation that [he is] the emanation of the Dharma King Khri srong lde btsan and Gu ru Chos dbang.

A voice resounding from space (*gzugs med pa'i sgra*) prophecized that [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] is the lord of the Assembly of the Eight Pronouncements and that he will bind the protectors into serving [the Dharma]. It went like this:

Self-arisen in [the pure land of] Sukhāvatī,

Padma rgyal po Thod 'phreng rtsal (Lotus King Thötreng Tsel)

Manifested at [the pure land of] Potala.

[Padma dbang rgyal,] you are the king Khri srong lde btsan.

All the *sugatas* are one

[And] the Awareness holders like that as well.

Powerful lord of the doctrine, [you] guide sentient beings

[And] unite all the [*nirmanakaya*] manifestations that are neither same nor different from each other.

[You are their] union, [indestructible] like a *vajra*-cliff,

The Thirty Chieftains⁸³¹ follow after you. [328]

⁸²⁹ Tib. *grwa phyir rgya ston gyi/ dgon gnas lcags ri*. Grwa phyi (SRC L338, BDRC G2814) is the neighboring valley to the east of Grwa thang and Byams pa gling where the renowned sMin grol gling monastery (sMin grol gling) is located. We find the lCags ri (Chakri) monastery (lCags ri, SRC L530) in a lateral valley in the upper part of the Drachi valley, about seven kilometers further south of sMin grol gling. rGya ston (Gyatön) is none other than Byang chub nam rgyal dge legs (Changchub Namgyal Delek, b. 1420-?), the abbot of the lCags ri monastery (SRC P90, BDRC P8423).

⁸³⁰ A disciple of Padmasambhava and one of the first seven Tibetans to take an ordination of a monk. BDRC P2JM167.

⁸³¹ Ded dpon sum bcu. This is likely to be another spelling of *sde dpon sum bcu*, a group of thirty leaders of spirits of the *dregs pa* class. For their listing and descriptions, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1996, pp. 267-330.

Furthermore, the following was said amidst the public assembly of gurus, the Awareness Holders (*bla ma rig 'dzin*):

Vidyādhara Padma rGyal,

Powerful lord of the Dharma, you guide sentient beings!

And it was also said:

Out of your very life veins

Emerge the quality treasures (*yon tan gter*) of Mahottara Heruka (Che mchog).

At your heart appears the treasure of Viśuddha (Yang dag thugs).

In your flesh [appears] the treasure of Mañjuśrī's Body ('Jam dpal sku).

At [your] tongue and [your] blood emerges the Lotus Speech (Padma gsung).

From [your] very bowels and guts

Emerges the great treasure of Bötong Mamo (rBod gtong ma mo).

In [your] brain [manifests] *vajradhātu* (*rdo rje dbyings*),

From [your] bones, joints and feet

Appear the treasures of Kīlaya Activity (*Phur pa 'phrin las*).

[Your] marrow, body fluids, and fat [are]

The Three Yogas (*rNal 'byor gsum*) [of] the unsurpassed complete meaning.

It should be clearly stated that you are

The quintessential treasure chest of [all] the doctrines.

The pronouncements also [describe] how [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] beheld the countenance of the tutelary deities:

Mahottara [Heruka, the *maṇḍala* of] Vajradhātu, Vajrakapāla, Kālacakra,

[Cakra]saṃvara [together with his] great retinue, Catuḥpīṭha the divine palace

of the nine [deities'] *maṇḍalas* of the Eight Pronouncements: the space is full with *maṇḍalas* of all tantra classes.

Padmasambhava with consort, Guhyasamāja, Rakta[yamāri] and so forth,

Whatever appears transforms into [those] deities' *maṇḍalas*.

I united the fundamental nature of phenomena with the [right] view.

[5.1. The Song of Realization]

[mNga' ris Paṇ chen] was a great spiritual master of the entire [buddhist] doctrine. In his own words:

I reached the peak of the royal mountain – the doctrine of *rDzogs chen*.
The essential points of great accomplishment – the Eight Pronouncements (*bKa 'brgyad*)
Expand on the four continents. [329]
The Sun and the Moon of the Path and Result (*Lam 'bras*) rise out in space.
The vibrant manifestations are complete in the sphere of Kālacakra.
I enjoyed a hundred tastes – the sensual pleasures of the Mahāmudrā doctrine.
I performed all sorts of plays on the *Six Doctrines'* (*Chos drug*) Path.
I slept soundly in the fortress of *Madhyamaka*.
I gathered all sorts of riches from the *sūtra* precepts.
I thoroughly adored the pleasure grove of the *Vinaya* transmission.
I am skillful in the carrier means of the *Merging and Transference* (*bSre 'pho*) servant.
I had cut through the manifold grounds of the causal [practice] of Mind Training.
I carried the *Cutting Object* (*gcod yul*) against the hostile bandits.
I skillfully applied the remedy of demons' *Pacification* (*Zhi byed*).
I tightly bound the helm of the *Three Spheres*.⁸³²
I gathered [all the] secrets⁸³³ on the level of Buddhahood.
Among awareness holders [I was] Hevajra [and]
Raged [with] a dark gaze at the four hostile demons.
The roar of the Six-Faced One [Yamāri/Vajrabhairava] resounds in hundred
directions and daunts the enemies of *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* (*srid zhi*).
My own essence, Rakta[yamāri], takes great delight in illusionary phenomena.
The indestructible mind (*rdo rje sems*) of the Great Glorious One [Heruka]
(dpal chen mchog)

⁸³² Tib. *gnas rigs gsum*. Zahiruddin Ahmad understands this to be *gnas 'gyur thar phyin pa gsum* (Zahiruddin 1999, p. 387) and refers to Rigdzin Tsepak who defines *gnas 'gyur thar phyin pa gsum* as “the three types of perfect transformation” (see Rigdzin 1986, p. 231).

⁸³³ Tib. *gsang ba 'dus*. Here mNga' ris Paṇ chen plays with words while referring to the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, the *gsang ba 'dus rtsa rgyud*. Its name literally means “The Gathering of Secrets” and the Tibetan word '*dus* can also function as a verb meaning “to gather, to collect.”

Is the Union [of all the buddhas] (*mnyams byor ba*) on the level of Buddhahood.
 [It] swirls in the assembly of the *dākinīs* like an ocean
 And binds the web of conceptualization into *dharmakāya*.
 Self-arisen primordial wisdom – Samantabhadra,
 The *yogin* of *The Path and its Fruit* (*Lam 'bras*), Padma Wang[yal],
 Had found definitive understanding in [one's own] intelligence
 And cognized all appearances as [one's own] mind.
 The nature of the mind is the clear and empty *vajradhātu*.
 [I] mingled myself with the rare and the sublime into one.
 This very reality is also the self-arisen natural play [of mind],
 Resounding from within the state of natural freedom.
 [Thus] my self-luminous account of liberation radiantly dawns, [330]
 And if one knows how to contemplate its meaning,
 One will attain the *vajra* [body and] become inseparable with me.⁸³⁴

[5.2. Building a residence in the 'On (Ön) valley]

Thus mNga' ris Paṇ chen, the powerful lord of the supreme knowledge himself, traveled on some occasions upwards in the direction of 'On to guide [his] disciples.⁸³⁵
 Notably, he built a residence in 'On smon ldan (Ön Mönden)⁸³⁶ together with his brother Rig 'dzin [Legs ldan bdud 'joms rDo] rje and lived there for a long time.

⁸³⁴ These are the concluding verses of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's autobiography. The last sentence reads: *rang nyid dang dbyer med rdo rjer 'gyur*, see *The Autobiography of Ngari Paṇchen*, fol. 48r5.

⁸³⁵ According to *The History of Treasures of Zablungpa* (*Zab lung pa'i gter 'byung*), the abbot of Ra lung monastery, 'Brug pa Ra lung pa Ngag dbang chos kyi rgyal po (Drukchen Ngawang Chögyal, 1465–1540, BDRC P873, SRC P169) was mNga' ris Paṇ chen's disciple, too. See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 289.5–6. The autobiography does not mention that name.

⁸³⁶ This residence is sometimes referred to as “Ön Mönthang” ('On smon thang), see *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 288.2. Oral communication with the monks of rDo rje brag revealed that there should be four destroyed *stūpas* with relics of mNga' ris Paṇ chen in the valley of 'On located to the north of Brag dmar ke ru lha khang (Drakmar Keru temple), 29°22'44"N, 91°49'49"E. The monks of Ke ru temple, in turn, reported that the ruins above Keru used to be a nunnery by the name of “Ön Mönthang” (not “Mönden”) affiliated with the rDo rje brag monastery (November 2020. I am greatly indebted to bsTan 'dzin rnam rgyal (Tenzin Namgyal) who agreed to drive from lHasa to 'On to conduct the interview). Approximate coordinates of the ruins of “Ön Mönthang” are 29°22'40.78"N, 91°49'31.48"E.

[5.3. Performing extensive ceremonies at Bsam yas with 'Bri gung pa rin chen phun tshogs]

The younger brother Legs ldan rJe fulfilled important tasks. Keeping in mind the method of [bringing forth] the well-being of the teachings and the sentient beings, [he] invited rJe 'Bri gung pa Rin chen phun tshogs (Rinchen Püntsoḳ, the Dharma Lord of Drikung)⁸³⁷ to come to Bsam yas. [And so] these three high masters – the great pundit of mNga' ris, [his younger] brother [Legs ldan rdo rje] and rJe 'Bri gung pa Rin chen phun tshogs created numerous auspicious interdependent conditions by [performing] consecration and sanctification ceremonies and so forth. [This] ensured the auspicious circumstances of happiness and well-being to come forth in Tibet for the next thirteen years.⁸³⁸

The younger brother Rig 'dzin rJe performed all of the service for the duration of one month. Then he left to the south to open the gates to the [sacred] land of 'Bras mo gshongs (Sikkim)⁸³⁹ and so on. [mNga' ris] Paṇ chen Rin po che [Padma dbang rgyal] lived both in 'On [and] in Bsam yas,⁸⁴⁰ extensively working for the benefit of the doctrine and the sentient beings.

In short, this high master was learned in the most renowned mainstream traditions of *Sūtra* and *Tantra* of the new and the old [traditions] known in Tibet, as well as in the entirety of knowledge fields.

The great pundit of ultimate meaning possessed immeasurable supreme knowledge [and] was [like] a great treasure in explanation, debate, and writing. Thus, the entirety of words and meanings in the numerous writings he composed, such as *Ascertaining the Three Vows* and

⁸³⁷ Tib. rJe 'Bri gung pa Rin chen phun tshogs (1509–1557). The 17th throne holder of 'Bri gung mthil (Drikung Til, BDRC P399. Alias *tertön* gNam lcags me 'bar (Namchag Mebar, see Smith 2001, p. 329, fn. 810). He took part in education of Shā kya bzang po's reincarnation, the second Yol mo sPrul sku Nam mkha' brgya byin (Yolmo Tulku Namkha Gyajin), see Ehrhard 2013b, p. 127. In addition, he was the “master of the teachings” (*chos bdag*) of the treasure cycles discovered by mNga' ris Paṇ chen (see Ehrhard 2015 p. 161, fn. 26). On this figure, see Burghart 2017. The author also suggests, that Rin chen phun tshogs might have played a certain role in helping mNga' ris Paṇ chen in his search of the “old” scriptures of *The Assembly of Sugatas of the Eight Pronouncements* (*bka' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*). See *ibid.*, p. 135, fn. 601.

⁸³⁸ According to 'Jam dbyangs mkhyan brtse dbang po, this event took place in 1542. In addition, the author states that mNga' ris Paṇ chen is well-known for his contribution in renovating the temple complex at Bsam yas (see Akester 2016, p. 316, fn. 43). I am grateful to Mathias Fermer for bringing my attention to this fact.

⁸³⁹ Franz-Karl Ehrhard notes that since Rig 'dzin Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje was the incarnation of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, he followed the footsteps of his predecessor and went to open the doors to this sacred site. However, according to Ehrhard, this event took place in 1542, after the death of mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal (see Ehrhard 2003, p. 87, fn. 18).

⁸⁴⁰ In addition, he occasionally visited rDzing kha (Dzinka) and Ke ru lha khang. See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 288.5. I did not find any references to these places in the autobiography.

others, [331] is deep and profound. [His] ethical conduct of individual liberation [vows] was utterly pure [and he also] embraced the ascetic discipline of the single-mat, [eating only vegetarian food in a single session per day].⁸⁴¹ He did not own [any material belongings] aside from the three kinds of Dharma-garments, the material necessities of a fully ordained monk, empowerment articles symbolizing enlightened body, speech, and mind, as well as several implements for the construction of *maṇḍalas*.

[This] Noble [One is] worthy of comparison with all the spiritual masters of the bKa' gdams pa, [the masters of] flawless ultimate perfection. His mindstream [was] entirely permeated with *bodhicitta* vows and his great loving-kindness didn't even for a moment lose its focus on the sole benefit of living beings.

By virtue of guarding the entirety of the *vajrayāna* vows and oaths of the secret mantra in a proper manner, just how they were explained in the tantras, [he is] devoid of any stains of transgressions.

The great Vajradhāra, the lord of the ocean of *maṇḍalas*, exerted himself in the two profound levels of the Old and the New [transmission lineages] by performing four sessions [per day], thus putting [them] into practice. He disseminated the fundamental enlightened intent of the Great Perfection's luminous clarity (*'od gsal rdzogs pa chen po*) around [him]. Thus, he was able to evidently demonstrate a great extent of signs of having perfectly accomplished the spontaneous (*rang sar*) liberation of [the phenomenal existents of] *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* into the expanse of intrinsic awareness (*rig pa'i klong*). For this reason, [he] personified the power of the four types of activities. This was clearly prophesied in the profound [*gter ma*] treasures concealed by Padmasambhava. In particular, [mNga' ris Paṇ chen's] own *gter ma* cycles, [such as] *the Full Gathering of the Awareness Holders* (*Rig 'dzin yongs 'dus*), *the Wrathful Guru* (*Guru drag po*) and others, [332] prophesize that [his] mind is indivisible with the great Padmasambhava and the Eight Awareness Holders. [He was] a great individual benefitting anyone who comes into connection with him. For, it is said that anyone who would merely taste his spittle [or] urine and hear [his] name [just] once, will put an end to *samsāra*.

⁸⁴¹ Tib. *sdor dkar gdan gcig gi brtul zhugs*. Glo bo mKhan chen bSod nams lhun grub, mNga' ris Paṇ chen's spiritual master, was also a proponent of this practice established by Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po who "emphasizes the importance of giving up the consumption of both meat and alcohol as a highly important practice for an adherent of Ngor chen's tradition." (Heimbel 2019, p. 83).

[5.4. The sources for this biography]

In short, the [life story of] complete liberation of this superior [being] is not [something that can be] expressed by ordinary intellectuals [like] myself and others. However, merely [out of my] faith I briefly wrote here some things [basing my] knowledge on the extensive [auto-]biography [by mNga' ris Paṇ chen,] the *Precious Garland* (*rin chen 'phreng ba*),⁸⁴² the *Secret* [Account of] *Complete Liberation*, the *Precious Ornament* [for the] *Ears*,⁸⁴³ [his] *Record of Teachings Received* (*gSan yig*), *Collected Works* (*bKa' 'bum*) and so forth.

[5.5. Guidelines for the community]

Thus, soon after mNga' ris Paṇ chen had recognized that the disciples in this region are mature, he contemplated on the guideline instructions (*zhal gdams*) for his retinue, [for his] disciple Rin rdor ba (Rindorwa) amongst others, and especially for his own close entourage of disciples, the encampment of *vajra*-holders possessing the three kinds [of vows]. Even though [that encampment] was small, [he] thought at that time of the few [individuals who made up a] group of authentic meditators and [followers of] the perfect doctrine. Since [he] perceived [it] to be of great value for the future, [mNga' ris Paṇ chen] established as guideline instructions the so-called *Commandment, the Splendour of the Flaming Vajra* (*bKa' yig rdo rje 'bar ba'i gzi byin*) for the Chögar [encampment] (*lcog sgar*).

Nowadays, those [regulations] are still [used as] the foundation of the monastic guidelines for [Thub bstan rDo rje brag] E waṃ lcog sgar (Éwam Chögar).⁸⁴⁴

[6. Rituals and post-mortals arrangements made by Legs ldan rdo rje, 1542]

⁸⁴² Tib. *rgyas par rnam thar rin chen 'phreng ba*. The autobiography by mNga' ris Paṇ chen bears the title *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland* (*Lus can skye bo'i gtam rin chen phreng ba*), see the Bibliography of the current work.

⁸⁴³ Tib. *gSang ba'i rnam thar rin po che'i rna rgyan*. This secret autobiography by mNga' ris Paṇ chen seems not to be extant to this date.

⁸⁴⁴ For the explanation of the Sanskrit word *e waṃ*, which alludes to the set of the 84.000 teachings of the Buddha, see Heimbel 2017, p. 262 and Akester 2016, p. 354, fn. 16.

[His] final deed [took place] on the second day of the eighth month of the [water-]tiger year [11th September 1542]⁸⁴⁵ in the master's residence (*bla brang*) of 'On smon ldan.⁸⁴⁶

[There,] accompanied by lights of rainbows and sounds of music [he] demonstrated the way of establishing [meditative] equipoise in the profound expanse of *dharmadhātu*. [333] [His] precious remains were worshipped and cremated, [and] all-pervading wondrous [signs had appeared].

The *stūpa* of Many Doors of Auspiciousness (bKra shis sgo mang gi mchod rten) that was painted on the wall where [mNga' ris Paṇ chen 's] precious remains were offered to the fire, can still be seen at Smon ldan Bla brang.

After the venerable younger sibling Legs ldan had accomplished the entirety of funerary services, [his] attendant Sangs rgyas snying po (Sangyé Nyingpo) invited him to [come to] the

⁸⁴⁵ The exact date was complemented from Ahmad, 1999, p. 170. The account of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's life given in the *Ngagyur Rigdzin* magazine (which is based on the autobiography and on *The History of the Northern Treasures* (*byang gter chos 'byung*) agrees that mNga' ris Paṇ chen died on the second day of the eighth month, but provides the year of the wooden-dragon (1544) instead of 1542, the year of the water-tiger (see *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Ngagyur Rigdzin Magazine*, p. 50). Unfortunately, the inscription on a post-mortem statue of mNga' ris Paṇ chen does not serve for clarification of this discrepancy in dating: its text reads that it was made in the female water-sheep year (1583), but this could have been a scribal error (see Heller 2010, pp. 94-96). The notion of the death year 1544 in the *Ngagyur Rikdzin* magazine was most likely adopted from the *Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery* that dedicates two folios of extensive explanation of why mNga' ris Paṇ chen's death year should be taken as 1544, not 1542 (see *ibid.*, fols. 297.6-300.1). The author gives two main arguments. The first one is that at the age of forty-seven (*sic?*) in 1532 mNga' ris Paṇ chen prophesized that his life will be concluded within one twelve-year cycle (“*lo skor gcig tu tshes srog 'khyol ba'i brda,*” *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen* F, fol. 46v4). However, in my opinion, the words “within one twelve-year cycle” (*lo skor gcig tu*) do not necessarily mean “**after** one twelve-year cycle.” The second argument is based on mNga' ris Paṇ chen's colophon to the *Commandment, the Splendour of the Flaming Vajra* (*bka' yig rdo rje 'bar ba'i gzi byin*). mNga' ris Paṇ chen writes that he composed the text in the third month of the dragon year (without specifying its element). Based on that, the author further assumes that it must have been the year of the wooden-dragon of the 9th *Rabjung*, 1544. In author's opinion, the date in the colophon to the *Commandment* should prove that mNga' ris Paṇ chen died shortly afterwards, i.e. in 1544, and not in 1542, because according to Padma 'phrin las, mNga' ris Paṇ chen's *Commandment* was supposed to serve as the latter's last testament (cf. *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 299.2). But since mNga' ris Paṇ chen, unfortunately, did not specify the element of the dragon's year in his colophon to the *Commandment*, it also might have been 1532, the year of the water-dragon, when Glo bo mKhan chen passed away. Luckily, the colophon names the place of the *Commandment*'s composition: Bu 'tshal gser khang gling, see *ibid.*). This temple belonged to the Bsam yas monastery and mNga' ris Paṇ chen used to stay there (see Part Two, p. 117, fn. 822). mNga' ris Paṇ chen built a residence in 'On after 1534, where he eventually passed away. According to *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen by Pema Trinlé*, the protagonist visited Bsam yas at the age of forty-six, which in my opinion could have been 1532/1533, not 1531 (see Part Two, p. 112, fn. 790). Thus, taking into account the place of the *Commandment*'s composition, I think that it was composed in 1532. Another argument that adds to taking 1542 as the year of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's death, is the biography of rJe 'Bri gung pa Rin chen phun tshogs which says that mNga' ris Paṇ chen passed away in 1542 (cf. Bughart 2017, p. 139).

⁸⁴⁶ Another name of this residence is 'On smon thang, see Part Two, p. 122, fn. 836.

south [and] stay in Sikkim. Upon his arrival to the 'On [valley, Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje] built a statue of [mNga' ris Paṇ chen], the Venerable Sublime Lord of the Supreme Knowledge (rJe btsun dam pa mkhyen rab dbang phyug), at his [death]bed, as well as an image of the precious [guru from] Oddiyana and [commemoration] *stūpas* from medicinal clay to serve as outer [reliquary] supports (*phyi rten*).

In that period of time, both Paṇ chen siblings were unrivaled by anyone at the level of scholarship and accomplishment in the Land of Snows. [And] despite that, [they] didn't show any interest in the eight worldly concerns, such as riding horses and wearing brocade cloaks, unlike the chief lamas of the present days.

Both siblings turned into complete renunciates, and therefore, there wasn't any point to scramble and to unappeasably dispute [over] the belongings of the master who departed to the pure realms.

In particular, since Paṇ chen Rin po che [Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje] considered fewness of wishes and contentment alone to be of utmost importance, [he] didn't own [any] material possessions. The younger brother Legs ldan rJe did not take possession of any scriptures or ritual implements [of his older brother] and distributed it to various disciples. Rig 'dzin rJe commanded as follows: [334]

To fulfill the intent of [our] precious master, Rindorwa (Rin rdor ba) should take the scriptures and the statues belonging to the Sa skya tradition and engage in teaching and learning. As for the cycles concerned with bKa' gdams pa and logic, nephew (dbon po) Shes rgyal ba (Shegyalwa)⁸⁴⁷ should [hold them]. Sangs rgyas snying po (Sangyé Nyingpo)⁸⁴⁸ should [hold the] bKa' brgyud cycles. I will hold the Canonical [and] the Treasure cycles of the rNying ma [tradition] (*rnying ma bka' gter skor*) for a while. Then in a few years, nephew (dbon po) 'Jam dbyangs pa is perhaps going to arrive.

As for the construction [of reliquary] supports, since we are renunciates, there is no need to construct any large-scale ones. It is appropriate to prepare [only] a

⁸⁴⁷ This person could be Gangs ri ba Shes rab rgyal mtshan (Gangriwa Sherab Gyaltzen), a disciple of mNga' ris Paṇ chen who composed an “instructional work” (*khrid yig*) on the practice of Mahākaruṇika according to the system of Srong btsan sgam po (*rgyal lugs thugs rje chen po'i khrid yig*). See Ehrhard 2000, p. 209.

⁸⁴⁸ This seems to be the same person who invited Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje to come to Sikkim.

few [of them]. Concerning the throne of the monastery, the two nephews (*dbon po gnyis*) may arrange it in whatever way suitable.

Since it was the study and the practice (*bshad sgrub*) that pleased [our] precious master [above all], we shouldn't loosen [our effort] in this regard.

For this reason, anyone may use the diverse scriptures and sacred objects, whenever one generally has a need. It was said that the *sprul sku* is going to come three years later. At that time you should bestow him appropriate [objects] out of all other ones in common agreement.

And so they did as it was said. It is explained in detail elsewhere that the reincarnation that arrived three years later was none other than Chos kyi rgyal po bKra shis stobs rgyal (The Dharma Lord Tashi Topgyal).

[C. Concluding devotional verses by Padma 'phrin las]

From the bottom of my heart, I pay homage to the great pundit,
The lotus-like regent [of the Buddha],
The powerful king of awareness holders, the exalted Mañjuḥṣa,
The lord of supreme knowledge, the one who holds the renown banner of victory.
The spiritual master of the entirety of Buddhist teachings
[With] impeccable three [kinds of] vows,
The lamp of the doctrine, protector of wandering beings!
The prophecies confirm that [you] embody the compassion
Of all the accomplished Indian and Tibetan masters of the past and the present into one. [335]
For this reason, should one at all times
Supplicate with unshakable devotion
To the one who embodies the assembly of all the refuges,
Then may one in all the lifetimes be protected
By the secret [qualities] of your body, speech, and mind, oh Noble One!

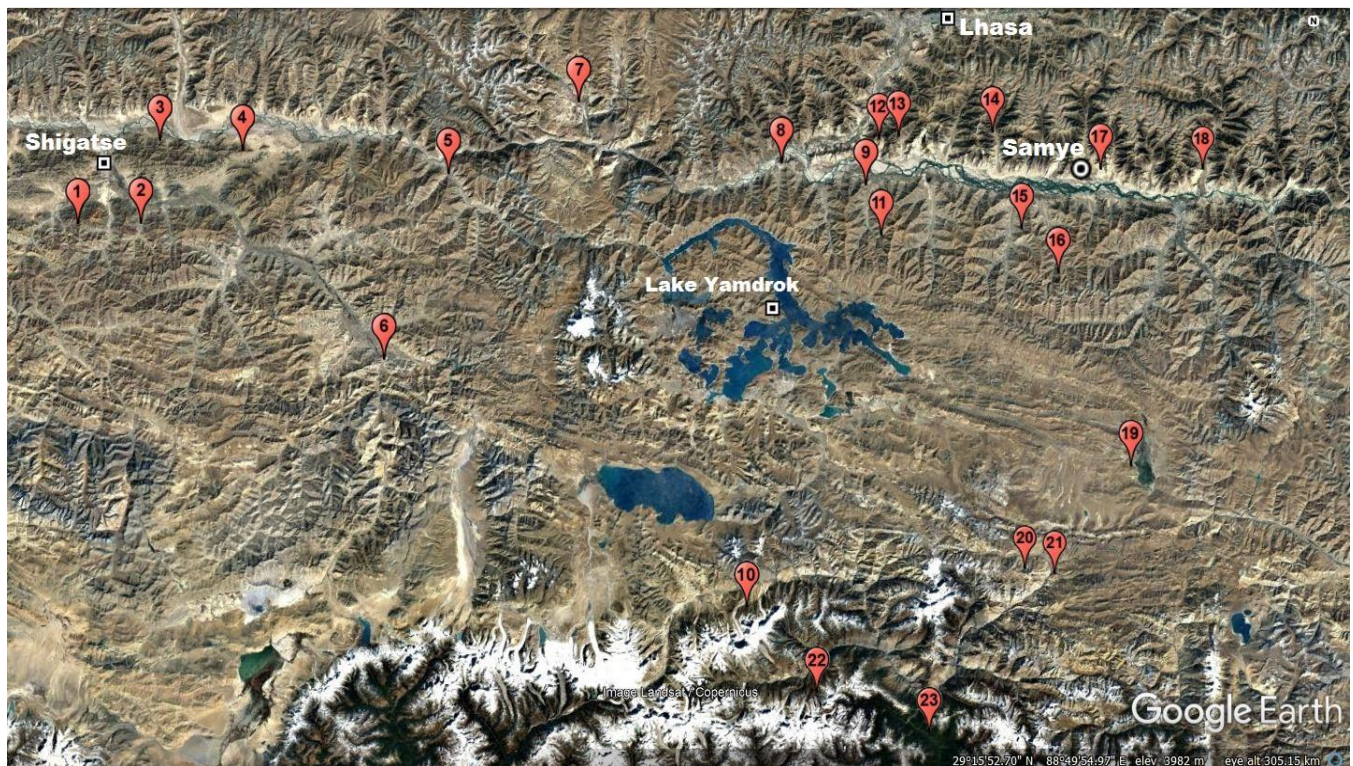
Appendices

Map 1. Places Connected to mNga' ris Paṇ chen in the Marang Valley of Mustang



- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1 mNga' ris Paṇ chen's meditation cave ('Og lung pa) | 4 Golékha cave (sGo le kha) |
| 2 mNga' ris Paṇ chen's footprint | 5 Ruins with a red wall |
| 3 "Omo Lhündrup" | 6 The Flood Commemoration Stūpa |

Map 2. Places visited by mNga' ris Paṇ chen in lHo brag, the gTsang and the dBus Provinces



- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Ngor monastery (Ngor ewam chos ldan) | 12 Ushangdo temple ('U shang rdo) |
| 2 Shalu monastery (Shwa lu) | 13 Nyiphu valley (sNyi phu) |
| 3 Serdokchen monastery (Thub bstan gser mdog can) | 14 Drak Yangdzong (sGrags yang rdzong) |
| 4 Phungpo Riwoche (Phung po ri bo che) | 15 Jampaling monastery (Byams pa gling) |
| 5 Rinpung (Rin spungs) | 16 Mt. Chakri (lCags ri) |
| 6 Nyangtö (Nyang stod) | 17 Chimpu hermitage (mChims phu) |
| 7 Nyemo (sNye mo) | 18 Öñ Mönden ('On smon ldan) |
| 8 Mt. Chuwo (dPal chen chu bo ri) | 19 Trigu (Gri gu) |
| 9 Tharpaling monastery (Thar pa gling) | 20 Gangzur (sGang zur) |
| 10 Guru Layak Temple
(bsam grub bde ba chen po'i gtsug lag khang) | 21 Mawochok monastery (sMra bo lcog) |
| 11 Shung Tre'u Shing (gZhung spre'u zhing) | 22 Drowolung (Gro bo lung) |
| | 23 Kharchu (mKhar chu) |

Concluding Remarks

“[Next, I am going to] summarize a few crucial main points out of many things that had been told.”⁸⁴⁹

In the present thesis I analysed the interrelation of disparate biographical sources on mNga' ris Paṇ chen's life. Most of the known Tibetan biographical accounts and “stories of liberation” (*rnam thar*) available on mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal rDo rje,⁸⁵⁰ are either a paraphrase or a summary of the mid. 17th century's biographies by Padma 'phrin las⁸⁵¹ or by the Fifth Dalai Bla ma.⁸⁵² At present, the most comprehensive account on mNga' ris Paṇ chen is the biography in the recently published historiography of rDo rje brag monastery.⁸⁵³ All of these works largely rely on mNga' ris Paṇ chen's autobiographical account, which was not meant to be shared with a wider public.⁸⁵⁴

The reason for the discrepancy that such a renowned, respected, and influential master as mNga' ris Paṇ chen lacked biographies composed by his contemporaries, is explained in his autobiographical writing.⁸⁵⁵

A closer examination of Padma 'phrin las's oeuvre on mNga' ris Paṇ chen reveals that the latter was not exclusively a master in the tradition of the Northern Treasures as often emphasized. Strictly speaking, it would even be misleading to call mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal a “rNying ma pa lama.” He was a non-sectarian, universal master who held numerous transmissions and teachings of the bKa' gdams pa, the Sa skya pa, the bKa' brgyud pa, and the rNying ma pa traditions. Padma 'phrin las constantly underlines how mNga' ris Paṇ chen paid attention to “the Old and the New [Schools] without bias.”⁸⁵⁶ After studying his biography, one can not but agree with a later biographer who aptly characterized mNga' ris Paṇ chen as a

⁸⁴⁹ Rig 'dzin Padma 'prin las. *Accounts of the Eminent Masters*, p. 309.5

⁸⁵⁰ See Part One, pp. 9-12.

⁸⁵¹ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen* by Pema Trinlé.

⁸⁵² See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen* by the Fifth Dalai Lama

⁸⁵³ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen in the Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*.

⁸⁵⁴ See *The Autobiography by Ngari Paṇchen*.

⁸⁵⁵ See Part One, p. 9.

⁸⁵⁶ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen* by Pema Trinlé, p. 320.4.

“non-sectarian sovereign of the *Sūtric* and the *Tantric* teachings” (*mdo sngags bstan pa'i ris med kyi bdag po*).⁸⁵⁷

As for the biographical details on mNga' ris Paṇ chen from the previous studies, I was able to clear some gaps and inaccuracies. The birthplace of mNga' ris Paṇ chen can with certainty be identified with the valley of Marang, between Sag ra (Saukre) and Marang villages in modern Mustang.⁸⁵⁸ In addition to what we know of his paternal ancestry by which he was directly related to the ruling house of Gung thang, he was an ancestor of 'Brom ston Lo tsā ba on his mother's side.⁸⁵⁹ mNga' ris Paṇ chen's year of death should be taken as 1542, not 1544 unless future research will prove otherwise.⁸⁶⁰

mNga' ris Paṇ chen's Dharma-encampment (*lcog sgar*) in 'On and the Ewaṃ lcog sgar established by Ngag gi dbang po⁸⁶¹ were not located in the same place.⁸⁶²

Furthermore, the early community of the “*vajra*-holders possessing the three kinds [of vows]”⁸⁶³ that was formed around the residence of mNga' ris Paṇ chen in the 'On valley, was not only focused on the Northern Treasures. It was not even focused exclusively on the rNying ma pa teachings. From the speech of Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje, we understand that the community of mNga' ris Paṇ chen was engaged in the practices of the bKa' gdams pa, Sa skya, and rNying ma traditions alike.⁸⁶⁴

⁸⁵⁷ *The Jewel Necklace*, p. 268.5-6

⁸⁵⁸ See Part One, 4, pp. 27-35 and Map 1, p. 129.

⁸⁵⁹ See Part Two, p. 75, fn. 592.

⁸⁶⁰ For the analysis of the year of his death, see Part Two, p. 126, fn. 845.

⁸⁶¹ See Boord 1993, p. 29.

⁸⁶² Cf. Dalton 2016, p. 79, pp. 87-88. For the approximate geographical coordinates of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's Dharma encampment, see Part Two, p. 122, fn. 836.

⁸⁶³ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṇchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 332.4 and Part Two, p. 125 for translation.

⁸⁶⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 334.1-4, and Part Two, p. 127.

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⁸⁶⁵ The sigla on the left side to the Tibetan sources refers to their usage in the text edition, see Part Two, 1. The Texts and the Method of Editing, pp. 35-37.

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Abstract

The main subject of this thesis is the figure of mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1487–1542). The recent scholarship has primarily dealt with mNga' ris Paṇ chen's position in the *terma* (*gter ma*) transmission lineage of the Northern Treasures (*Byang gter*). The primary Tibetan sources on this figure are relatively scarce. With the hope to fill some gaps in knowledge on this remarkable spiritual master from the 16th-century Mustang, the thesis provides a full translation of the latter's hagiography composed in the second half of the 17th century by Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1641–1718). The thesis includes an edition of this hagiography, describes the framework of its composition and an gives the analysis of Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las's possible motives behind writing the biography of mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal. In addition, one chapter is dedicated to the description of mNga' ris Paṇ chen's birthplace and the landmarks associated with him in the Marang valley of modern Mustang.

Diese Arbeit beschäftigt sich hauptsächlich mit der Person mNga' ris Paṇchen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1487–1542). Die rezente Forschung befasste sich primär mit der Funktion mNga' ris Paṇchens im Zusammenhang mit der Terma (*gter ma*) Übertragungslinie der Nördlichen Schätze (*Byang gter*). Tibetische Quellen zu ihm selbst sind nur spärlich vorhanden. In der Hoffnung, einige Wissenslücken über diesen bemerkenswerten spirituellen Meister aus dem Mustang des 16. Jahrhunderts schließen zu können, verfasste ich eine vollständige Übersetzung seiner Hagiographie, die Rig 'dzin Padma' phrin las (1641–1718) in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts geschrieben hat. Die Arbeit enthält eine Edition dieser Hagiographie, beschreibt die Hintergründe ihrer Entstehung und bietet auch eine Analyse möglicher Motive von Rig 'dzin Padma' phrin las, die hinter seinem Interesse, diese Biografie von mNga' ris Paṇchen Padma dbang rgyal zu verfassen, gestanden haben könnten. Darüber hinaus ist ein Kapitel der Beschreibung des Geburtsortes von mNga' ris Paṇchen und der mit ihm in Verbindung gebrachten sakralen Stätten im Marang-Tal des modernen Mustang gewidmet.