


The Life and Identity of mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal (1487-1542) – the Outstanding Master from Mustang, the “Ordinary Bodily Being”

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he Great Pundit of mNga' ris, Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje (Ngari Paṅchen Pema Wangyal Dorjé, 1487–1542) passed away more than five hundred years ago. But he remains well-known and recognizable in the Tibetan religious world until today. His oeuvre *Ascertaining the Three Vows* (*sDom pa gsum rnam par nges pa*) is included in the monastic curriculum of many rNying ma pa institutions.¹ mNga' ris Paṅ chen stood at the source of the cult of Tsi'u dmar po (Tsiu Marpo), a protective deity and the oracle residing at bSam yas (Samyé) monastery.² Also, he had a prominent role in the transmission lineages of various treasure cycles (*gter skor*) in the Dolpo area and 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*).³ The importance of his figure in the transmission of the Northern Treasures has been well-addressed in the earlier scholarship.⁴ After all, it was mNga' ris Paṅ chen who initially inspired his younger brother Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje (Lekden Dūdjom Dorjé, 1512–ca. 1580) to seek teachings from Shākya bzang po (Śākya Zangpo, fl. 15th–16th cent). The former was eventually recognized as a reincarnation of rGod [kyi] ldem ['phru] can dNgos grub rgyal mtshan (Gödem Truchen Ngödrup Gyaltsen, 1337–1408/1409)⁵ and hold the title of the 2nd Rig 'dzin (Rikdzin), a lineage of incarnation that will finally settle at rDo rje brag (Dorjé Drak, 29°19'41.27"N,

¹ See Smith 2001, p. 17

² See Akester 2016, p. 316, fn. 43.

³ See Ehrhard 2000 and 2013a.

⁴ See Boord 2010, Ehrhard 2013b, Valentine 2013, and Dalton 2016.

⁵ Jay Valentine provides a case study on the formation and the passage of authority within an incarnation lineage and serves as an excellent source on Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje and Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las. For the account of mNga' ris Paṅ chen urging Legs ldan rdo rje to go and meet Shākya bzang po, see *ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

91° 6'27.93"E), the headquarters of the Northern Treasures.⁶ Thus, mNga' ris Paṅ chen had a crucial role in the formation of the Northern Treasures and its passage from South-Western to Central Tibet. Nevertheless, his life, projects, and affiliations have not been studied in detail. This article is prepared in the hope to fill some gaps in knowledge on this remarkable spiritual master.⁷

1. Introduction

What makes mNga' ris Paṅ 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 *gter ston*, and a righteous monk who attained according to tradition mundane and supramundane *siddhis*, along with the status of a *vidyādhara* – and all of that he managed to combine in one lifetime.⁸ According to Gene Smith, it is unusual to hear of an ordained *gter ston*, as most of them ought to have a female partner.⁹ This signifies that mNga' ris Paṅ chen possessed the utmost expertise in combining the three kinds of vows – that of the *prātimokṣa*, the *bodhisattvayāna*, and the *tantrayāna*.

mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal was born at the end of the 15th century in Mustang to 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan (Jamyang Rinchen Gyaltzen, 1445/1473–1558).¹⁰ The former was a *sprul sku* of Mar pa Lo tsā ba Chos kyi blo gros (Marpa Lotsāwa Chökyi Lödro, 1012-1097) and a direct prodigy to the Gung thang ruling family owing to the fervid temperament of his father Chos rgyal Nor bu lde (Chögyal Norbu Dé, 1450-1484) who was involved into an extramarital affair with 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan's mother.¹¹ When Padma dbang rgyal was born, the power was in the hands of A seng rdo rje brtan pa (Aséng Dorjé Tenpa, d. ca. 1496) and bDe legs rgya mtsho (Délek Gyatso, d. ca. 1500), the brothers of one of mNga' ris Paṅ chen's primary spiritual masters, Glo bo mKhan chen bSod nams lhun

⁶ Jakob Dalton meticulously documented the efforts of Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las in raising rDo rje brag to prominence, and the conflict that evolved around the recognition of mNga' ris Paṅ chen's *sprul sku* (see Dalton 2016, pp. 78-96).

⁷ I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Alexander Schiller for proof-reading this article and for providing me with the digital input of mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal's autobiography.

⁸ This unique combination was also noted and admired by his biographer Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (See *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pena Triné*, p. 310.6-311.1).

⁹ See Smith 2001, p. 330, fn. 818.

¹⁰ Karl-Heinz Everding provided solid arguments why 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan's year of birth should be taken as 1473 (see Everding 2000, p. 548, fn. 410).

¹¹ See Everding 2004, p. 269

grub (Lowo Khenchen Sönam Lhündrup, 1456-1532).¹² After bDe legs rgya mtsho passed away, he was succeeded by his brother mGon po rgyal mtshan grags pa mtha' yas (Gönpo Gyaltzen Drakpa Thayé), the uncle of Glo bo mKhan chen. As for mNga' ris Paṅ chen's maternal descend, he was an ancestor of 'Brom ston Lo tsā ba rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (Dromtön Lotsāwa Gyalwé Jüngné, 1008/1017-1064/1076).¹³ Padma dbang rgyal left from Mustang in the direction of Central Tibet in his forty-second year, in 1528. He passed away in 1542 in 'On (the Öñ valley), south of Lhasa, and never came to visit his homeland again.

It is necessary to remark on the protagonist's full name, mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje Grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang. "mNga' ris" designates a geographical area. Before the 18th century, the native homeland of Padma dbang rgyal, Glo bo (Lowo), was a part of mNga' ris.¹⁴ Thus, the first part of his title refers to his origin.¹⁵ "Paṅ chen" is an abbreviation for *paṅḍita chen po*, the great pundit. Thus, "mNga' ris Paṅ chen" is a respectful title under which Padma dbang rgyal is renowned: the Great Pundit of mNga' ris. "Padma" is his *gotra* (*rigs*), and "dBang rgyal rdo rje" is the name he was given at birth.¹⁶ As for "Grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang," mNga' ris Paṅ chen received this name upon taking his *bhikṣu* ordination.¹⁷

2. The Homeland of mNga' ris Paṅ chen

Most of the biographies on mNga' ris Paṅ chen, such as his well-known hagiography by Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (Rikdzin Pema Trinlé, 1641–1718), speaks of a certain lHun grub chos sdings (Lhündrup Chöding) of Glo bo Ma thang (Lowo Mathang) as his birthplace.¹⁸

¹² For the translation of his autobiography and a catalogue of his collected works, see Kramer 2008.

¹³ See *A Talk by the Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 2v3.

¹⁴ According to Jackson 1984 (p. 5 and 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 Paṅ chen speaks of Upper Ngari (mNga' ris stod) as his native place. Cf. *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by the Fifth Dalai Lama*, p. 166.

¹⁵ Valentine 2020, p. 130 suggests another possible explanation why Padma dbang rgyal was renowned under the name "the Great Pundit of Ngari" (*mNga' ris Paṅ chen*). He was a direct descendant of the lineage of the ruling family of Gungthang, "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, a native of Glo bo who directly belonged to its ruling family, was famous under the title *Glo bo mkhan chen*, the "Great Scholar of Lowo" (and not of mNga' ris). In addition, some biographical accounts report that mNga' ris Paṅ chen belongs to the "royal lineage of Gungthang in mNga' ris" (*mnga' ris gung thang rgyal po'i gdung*, see *The Historical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 233.2). See *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 305.6

¹⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 315.6.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 315.1: *khrungs yul ni glo bo ma thang gi lhun grub chos sdings*.

Should an inquisitive reader try to locate this place, he or she will be highly disappointed because modern maps do not provide information on any locality in Mustang that goes by this name.

“Lo” (Glo) or “Lowo” (Glo bo) is the name of the Lo Kingdom, an area that is called “Mustang” nowadays. 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).¹⁹ Tibetan written sources interchangeably adapt two spellings of that name: *sMon thang* and *sMan thang*.²⁰ For this reason, one might at first assume that “Mathang” (*Ma thang*) from mNga’ ris Paṅ chen’s hagiography is also a corruption of “Mönthang” (*sMon thang*) and designates either the area of Mustang in general (as did the non-native speakers do) or its capital 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 Padma ‘phrin las’s “Glo Ma thang” (Lo Mathang). However, a closer look will prove that the birthplace of mNga’ ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal is not the capital of Mustang. It rather turns out to be an old spelling of what we see as “Marang” on modern maps.

Glo bo (Lowo) 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 not likely that Padma ‘phrin las would refer to the whole territory of Glo as *Glo Mathang*. He is rather talking of a particular place in Glo, the *Ma thang* situated in Glo (Mustang). Even though it is common to find spelling mistakes in the names of 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 Mustang, a large-scale political and religious center that was often mentioned in all kinds of literature. Furthermore, the toponym “Mathang” is clearly differentiated from “Mönthang” in mNga’ ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal’s autobiography, the primary source of the biography written by Padma ‘phrin las.²¹ “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 “IHun grub chos sdings.”

Thus, IHun grub chos sdings had to be a notable landmark, but it

¹⁹ See Jackson 1984, pp. 5-7 and Dhungel 2002, pp. 185-186.

²⁰ See Dhungel 2002, p. 186.

²¹ *A Talk by the Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 22r6: *ma thang*; fol. 23v2 and fol. 27v1: *smon thang*.

can't be found on modern maps (as is the case with Mathang). The residents of modern Mustang whom I asked do not recall any ruins or any area by the same name. But lHun grub chos sdings was certainly a monastery, not a fortress. Firstly, its name has a religious connotation and secondly, mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal refers to it as "his [native] monastery"²² and Padma 'phrin las as well states that this is a monastery.²³

Some locals, such as mKhan po Ngag dbang 'jigs med (Khenpo Ngawang Jigmé), a Sakya-affiliated modern researcher of Glo's History, reports that lHun grub chos sdings stood south of Ghar monastery, on the western mountain ridge of the upper Marang valley en route to the Marang pass. This assumption is made on the ground that locals call this area "Omo Lhündrup."²⁴

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



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

²² *A Talk by the Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 21v3: *rang nyid kyi dgon pa lhun sdings*. On another instance mNga' ris Paṅ 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 Panchen, p. 209.6.

²³ *The Biography of Jamyang Rinchen Gyaltzen*, p. 215: *ma thang lhun grub dpal gyi chos sdings dgon pa*. Cf. *The Biography of Lekden Dudjom Dorjé* by Pema Trinlé, p. 340: *glo bo ma thang lhun grub chos sdings dpal gyi dgon pa*.

²⁴ 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.

A comparatively recent publication from 2001 authored by a Sakya-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 Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal "lHun grub chos gling" (*Lhündrup Chöling*) and asserts it is located in Sag ra in Marang.²⁵ Sag ra is labeled as "Saukre" on modern maps and lies in the upper part of the Marang valley, not so far from "Omo Lhündrup."

Apart from the data given by Padma 'phrin las, there is another description of mNga' ris Paṅ chen's birthplace provided by the Fifth Dalai Bla ma who cites the *gter ma* text *Essential Summary of General Instructions* (*Spyi lung mdor bsduṣ snying po*) in his own writings.²⁶ It does not mention lHun grub chos sdings, but it does provide a descriptive account of mNga' ris Paṅ 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 of the Naga Subjugation Temple [of] Ge gar, 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.²⁷ The words "south from Yang 'dul spra dun 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 gnon) in Ge gar. The legends report that the Ghar Monastery in Ge gar was founded in the 8th century by Gu ru Rin po che (Guru Rinpoché, fl. 8th century) 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 (Gekar), or dGes sgar (Gegar) monastery.²⁸ On Google maps, we see it as "Ghar gompa." The account provided by the Fifth Dalai Bla ma further says that the birthplace is in "the upper part of the so-called Ma thang [of] Glo bo." Ghar 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 Marang 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

²⁵ *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*.

²⁶ See *The Flow of the River Ganggā*, vol. 4 (nga), p. 174.

²⁷ See *ibid*, vol. 4 (nga), p.174.5-6: *yang 'dul spra dun rtse yi lholl ge gar klu yi kha non byangll ri rgyal glang chen 'gying 'dra'i 'dabll chu chen drag po 'bab pa'i 'gramll glo bo ma thang zhe bya'i phurll*

²⁸ Alternative spelling is dGe sgar. The name dGe sgar means "White Virtue" (*dGe dkar*) and *dGes sgar* means "Encampment of Virtue." 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.

with the local villagers had confirmed that the names “Mathang” and “Marang” are used interchangeably.²⁹ The rest of the account from the work of the Fifth Dalai Bla ma bolsters mKhan po bKra shis bstan 'dzin's statement that lHun grub chos sdings was situated in Sagra (or Saukre on the maps) because Sagra does stand on a bank of a river and on a mountainside. Although the modern-day Sagra actually lies to the east of Ghar 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 Sagra (Saukre) village. This then would perfectly fit into the description given in the *gter ma* text that it is north of the dGe sgar (Ghar) temple. The communication with locals of Marang village had revealed that they think of Sagra as lying to the north of Ghar 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” and according to this account, his own residence and temple were not hardly affected.³⁰ This leads us to the conclusion that the residence of Padma dbang rgyal's father was located in Marang. To sum up, the descriptions of mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal's birthplace found in the old and the new textual sources³¹ point out that it was at the Sagra (Saukre) village situated in the upper part of Marang valley.

And so do the testimonies of Marang's local inhabitants who have no doubts that the area to the north of their village, namely, the upper part of the Marang valley, is the place where 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan's family was active. The Marang valley has several places associated with the deeds of mNga' ris Paṅ chen and 'Jam dbyangs rin chen. For example, the local villagers know the place located in Marang where 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan 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 Marang village and to the south from Sagra we find a footprint attributed to mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal.

²⁹ Dawa Sunduk, oral communication in May 2020.

³⁰ 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 Paṅ chen, see Jackson 2002.

³¹ 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*.



Fig. 2 — The footprint found on the mountainside between the villages of Sagra and Marang that the locals ascribe to mNga' ris Paṅ chen (29° 7' 5.38" N, 83° 54' 27.70" E)

mKhan po bKra shis bstan 'dzin cites the verses from mNga' ris Paṅ chen's biography describing how he reversed the flood and says that this event took place in Marang.³² North of Sagra we find a *stūpa* commemorating this event that happened in 1498 when Padma dbang rgyal was able to stop the horrible flood when he was only twelve years of age.



Fig. 3 — The remains of the Flood Commemoration Stūpa (29° 7' 32.37" N, 83° 53' 35.66" E)

³² *The Register of the Progressive Spreading of the Doctrine in the Land of Lowo*, p. 230

The inhabitants of Marang also believe that mNga' ris Paṅ 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 “a cave below the valley.”



Fig. 4 — The “Oglungpa” (*'Og lung pa*) meditation cave of mNga' ris Paṅ chen (29° 6' 51.40" N, 83° 54' 21.16" E)

To the north-west of Marang village, we find another cave that according to oral testimonies goes by the name of Golékha (*sGo le kha*). It is situated just across the river from the Sagra settlement, on a slope of a hill to the south of Ghar monastery.



Fig. 5 — Golékha cave (approximate coordinates: 29° 7' 19.03" N, 83° 53' 21.09" E)

The autobiographical details confirm that this cave is located in Gagar.³³ The biography by Padma 'phrin las describes how in 1513 mNga' ris Paṅ chen had made a retreat on Avalokiteśvara from the Northern Treasures tradition in Golékha cave and had visions of three different forms of Mahākāla.³⁴



Fig. 6 – The interior of the Golékha cave

The question of the exact location of lHun grub chos sdings, namely whether this monastery was standing on the western or the eastern bank of the river in the upper part of Marang 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 Sagra 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.

³³ *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 19r7: *dgun gyi dus su glo bo ge gar gyi/ sgo le khu yi phug tu spyan ras gzigs/ 'gro ba kun sgrol (=grol) bsgrubs pas gur mgon gyi/ sku yi bkod pa lan grangs gsum du mthong*.

³⁴ *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 317.1-2.



Fig. 7 — The ruins above Sagra village in the upper part of Marang valley (29° 7' 17.10" N, 83° 54' 16.58" E)

The Sagra settlement is located on the eastern bank of the river and has ruins of residential houses to its north, whereas on the western bank (below 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 Sagra (Fig. 7) as resembling an elephant. Given those facts, we could carefully assume that this speaks in favour of the eastern location of lHun grub chos sdings (Fig. 7). 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.

3. Tibetan sources on mNga' ris Paṅ chen

Tibetan indigenous sources provide very little first-hand early biographical information on mNga' ris Paṅ 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 Öñ valley ('On) in Central Tibet.³⁵ 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

³⁵ The fact that a community of monks formed around mNga' ris Paṅ chen's residence is evident from his biography by Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (See *ibid.*, p. 330.1, 332.4).

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 the *dākinīs*, furthermore, of becoming proud and uprooting the virtuous qualities (*yon tan*) that "arise in secrecy."³⁶

The known Tibetan biographical sources on mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal can be summarized as follows.

A. Autobiographical Accounts (16th century)

- A1. mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje. *Yongs rdzogs bstan pa'i mnga' bdag nges pa don gyi pan chen mnga' ris pa padma dbang rgyal rdo rje grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rtogs pa brjod pa rin chen 'phreng ba*. (*Lus can ske bo'i gtam yang zer*). In Padma dbang rgyal, *gSung thor bu*, 48 fols. No date, no place. BDRC W3CN18537.
- A2. mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje. *gSang ba'i rnam thar rin po che'i rna rgyan*. (not available at present).
- A3. mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje. In *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa'i 'chad thabs mun sel nyi zla'i 'khor lo*. In Nyi ma 'od zer, *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa'i chos skor*. Gangtok, Sikkim: Sonam Topgay Kazi, 1978. BDRC W1KG12075. (An autobiographical narration is partly present, see 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*. In *rGyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 8, pp. 155-161. Beijing: Khung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009. BDRC W1PD107937
- 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*. In *Smanrtsis shesrig spendzod*, vol. 37, pp. 304-335. Leh: S.W. Tashigangpa, 1972. BDRC W21523.
- B3. Ngag dbang blo gros, sTag sgang mkhas mchog alias Gu ru bkra shis (b. 18th cent.). In *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung = bsTan pa'i snying po gsang chen snga 'gyur nges don zab mo'i chos kyi byung ba gsal bar byed*

³⁶ See *A Talk by the Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fols. 37v7-38r2.

pa'i legs bshad mkhas pa dga' byed ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho, vol. 2, pp. 32-41. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1992. BDRC W20428

- B4. Chos kyi dbang phyug, Brag dkar rta so sprul sku (1775-1837). *Chos kyi rgyal po tshangs pa lha'i me tog*. In *Chos kyi dbang phyug gsung 'bum*, vol. 13, pp. 634-642. Kathmandu: Khenpo Shedup Tenzin, 2011. BDRC W1KG14557.
- B5. Blo gros mtha' yas, 'Jam mgon kong sprul (1813-1899). In *gTer ston brgya rtsa'i rnam thar: zab mo'i gter dang gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsduḥ bkod pa rin chen bai dūrya'i phreng ba*, pp. 156-158. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2007. BDRC W1PD83972.
- B6. Kun bzang nges don klong yangs (alias rDo rje gsang ba rtsal, b. 1814). In *Bod du byung ba'i gsang sngags snga 'gyur gyi bstan 'dzin skyes mchog rim byon gyi rnam thar Nor bu'i do shal*, pp. 266-268. Dalhousie, Himachal Pradesh: Damchoe Sangpo, 1976. BDRC W19708.

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

- C1. 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje, bDud 'joms (1904–1987). In *bDud 'joms chos 'byung = Bod snga rabs pa gsang chen rnying ma'i chos 'byung legs bshad gsar pa'i dga' ston gyi dbu 'dren gzhung don le'u'i ngos 'dzin*, pp. 474-478. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1996. BDRC W20827.
- C2. Chos dbyings khyab brdal, Bya bral (1920–1997).³⁷ Byang gter thub bstan rdo rje brag gi chos 'byung, fol. 231-302. In *sNga 'gyur byang gter chos skor phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 62. [S. l.]: Byang gter dpe sgrig tshogs chung, 2015. BDRC W2PD17457.
- C3. sNga 'gyur rig 'dzin (ed.). *mNga' ris paṅ chen padma dbang rgyal gyi mdzad bsduḥ*. In *sNga 'gyur rig 'dzin dus deb*, no. 32 (2017-03/04), pp. 46-50. Lausanne: Thegchok Ling, 2017.

The majority of the above-listed Tibetan biographical accounts and “stories of liberation” (*rnam thar*) available on mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje are either a paraphrase or a summary of the mid. 17th century's biographies by Padma 'phrin las (B2) or by the Fifth Dalai Bla ma (B1), except for the *History of the Nyingma School* by bDud 'joms Rin po che (C1). At present, the most comprehensive account on mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal is the biography in the recently published *Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery* (C2). All of these works largely rely on mNga' ris

³⁷ This name was adopted according to Valentine 2020, p. 115, fn. 3. The author thanks Stéphane Arguillère who helped to identify the authorship.

Paṅ chen's autobiographical account *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland* (A1). At some points, the text of that autobiography seems to make no sense for the outside reader. On some occasions it looks as if the verses are comprised of just some keywords put together, naming places, persons, and treatises. On other occasions, the reader finds informal dialogues and descriptions of the author's personal, intimate feelings. It seems as if mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal wrote the *Talk by the Ordinary Bodily Being* 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.

4. Padma 'phrin las's Biography of mNga' ris Paṅ chen

The principal source for the summary of mNga' ris Paṅ chen's biography is his hagiography composed by Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las in the second half of the 17th century, roughly one hundred and forty years after the protagonist's passing. As mentioned above, this hagiography closely follows the versified autobiography by mNga' ris Paṅ chen that ends with Padma dbang rgyal's forty-seventh year of age (1533). The hagiography of mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal is a part of Padma 'phrin las's extensive composition on the biographies of masters that stay in the rNying ma pa's transmission lineage of the *Sūtra Empowerment*, *bKa' ma mdo dbang gi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar* (*The Accounts of Eminent Masters*). Padma 'phrin las composed this work in about one and a half months in the Yang dben 'chi med Pho brang (Yangwen Chimé hall) of rDo rje brag monastery in the summer of 1681 at the age of forty-one.³⁸ At that age, he had already received the transmission of the *Sūtra Empowerment* (*mdo dbang*) five times in his life.³⁹ Both mNga' ris brothers received the *Sūtra's* lineage from their father, 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan, and later forwarded it to sKyi ston Tshe ring dbang po (Kytön Tsering Wangpo).⁴⁰ Padma 'phrin las traces the lineage of the *Sūtra* empowerment through Legs ldan rdo rje,⁴¹ who is the "original source" of the *Sūtra Empowerment's* transmission.⁴² In the introductory sentences to Padma dbang rgyal's biography, Padma 'phrin las states that "the transmission [of the *Sūtra Which Gathers All Intentions*] should continue with the chief of the

³⁸ See the colophon to *The Accounts of the Eminent Masters*, p. 420.6: "thub bstan e waṃ lcoḡ sgar gyi chos smra ba'i dge slong bya bral ba padma 'phrin las kyis rang lo zhe gcig pa lcaḡs mo bya'i lo dbyar zla rva 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 [...]"

³⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 419.1: "da lta rang lo zhe gcig pa phan la mdo dbang tshar lnga song ba sogs [...]"

⁴⁰ See his biography in the *Accounts of Eminent Masters*, pp. 376–379.

⁴¹ See Dalton 2002, p. 171.

⁴² This remark made by the Fifth Dalai Bla ma can be found in Karmay 1988, p. 52.

lineage, Rig 'dzin rJe."⁴³ 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 Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal neither explicitly mentions sKyi 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 Paṅ chen into the lineage. Besides, Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje belongs to the direct reincarnation lineage (*skyes rabs*) of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem can, and thus he is of utmost importance for the *Sūtra's* transmission lineage of Padma 'phrin las. Although Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje is the youngest son in his family, he is the "chief of the lineage" (*brgyud pa'i gtso bo*).

Thus, it wasn't strictly necessary to include the biography of mNga' ris Paṅ chen in the collection. The author explains his decision in the two first sentences of the biography, saying that since mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal was one of Legs ldan'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.⁴⁴ This stipulation sounds almost like an apology to justify the inclusion of mNga' ris Paṅ 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 Paṅ 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. Some of those sources are lost to the present day,⁴⁵ 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 Paṅ chen's life, about eight years before 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 Paṅ chen can not be underestimated.

Padma 'phrin las cites four sources that he used for the compilation of mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal's life: (1) the extensive versified autobiography, [*A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being,*] *the Precious Garland* (*rgyas par rnam thar rin chen 'phreng ba*), (2) *The Collected Works* (*bKa' 'bum*), (3) *The Record of Teachings Received* (*gSan yig*), as well as (4) the autobiographic, presumably versicular, *Secret Account of Complete Liberation, The Precious Ornament for the Ears* (*gSang ba'i rnam thar Rin po che'i rna rgyan*).⁴⁶ Only the first text survived to the present day, the

⁴³ 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.

⁴⁴ See *The Biography of Ngari Panchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 304.5-6.

⁴⁵ See the paragraph below.

⁴⁶ Cf. *The Biography of Ngari Panchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 332.5-6.

other three seem to have been lost at some point in the tumultuous events of Tibetan history.

Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las's account of Padma dbang rgyal's life takes about thirty large-sized pages, each page has six lines of text. About sixty-five percent of this work closely follows the above-mentioned autobiography in verses, with minor additions from the *Record of Teachings Received*. Padma 'phrin las makes a remark, 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. Likely, that the events describing the supposedly visionary meeting with Blo chen bSod rnam rnam rgyal (Lochen Sönam Namgyal, 1400–1475) at Byams pa gling (Jampaling) monastery, the clear visions, and the prophecies⁴⁷ were borrowed from the autobiographical *Secret Account*. At the same time, it is reasonable to suggest that the events describing the invitation of 'Bri gung pa Rin chen phun tshogs (Rinchen Püntsook of Drikung, 1509–1557), the building of a residence in Ön, and the post-mortal arrangements were complemented from the *Biography of Lekden Dorjé* (Rig 'dzin rje'i rnam thar). Padma 'phrin las makes some minor remarks based on some of mNga' ris Pañ chen Padma dbang rgyal's works. For example, the reference to Nam mkha'i rnal 'byor (Namkhé Neljor) as a highly realized master who was “able to hover in the air, unhindered like a bird”⁴⁸ originates from mNga' ris Pañ chen's autobiographical narration in *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa'i 'chad thabs mun sel nyi zla'i 'khor lo*.⁴⁹

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

⁴⁷ See *The Biography of Ngari Pañchen by Pema Trinlé*, pp. 326.5–328.6. For translation, see Sukhanova 2021, pp. 117–118.

⁴⁸ See *The Biography of Ngari Pañchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 324.4.

⁴⁹ See *The Wheel of the Sun and the Moon that Dispels the Darkness by Ngari Pañchen*, fol. 213.5.

at some point⁵⁰ he decided to give up the 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 Paṅ chen several pages to describe. For example, the thirty-eighth year of age that takes about two folios of autobiographical verses describing the events in Dolpo,⁵¹ 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 Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal's life is condensed to one observation: "he did a lot of studies and contemplations."⁵² The difficulty of an effort of trying to convey some ninety-six pages full of events in one work is thoroughly understandable; however, Padma 'phrin las skips some important events, such as, for example, mNga' ris Paṅ chen's activities in Gungthang: 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 Paṅ chen with the "heart disciple" (*thugs sras*) of Go rams pa bsod nams seng ge (Gorampa Sönam Sengé, 1429–1489), Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (Künga Gyaltzen).⁵³ 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 Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal'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 explicitly marked. The life events are ordered according to the protagonist's age, similar to the autobiographical verses. Since the author provides his

⁵⁰ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen* by Pema Trinlé, p. 315.2.

⁵¹ Cf. *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fols. 36v5-37r6. For a rough translation of those events, see Sukhanova 2021, p. 104, fn. 751.

⁵² *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen* by Pema Trinlé, p. 320.3.

⁵³ Cf. *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 20v1-2. This seems to be Kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po, see Sukhanova 2021, p. 96, fn. 713.

date of 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, the verses are copied truthfully to their autobiographical 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 Paṅ 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.

What follows is a summary of mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal's life based on Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las's biography in *The Accounts of the Eminent Masters* with some minor additions from the former's *Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland* and *The Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*.⁵⁴

5. A Descriptive Summary of the Life and Deeds of mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal

The child who eventually is to be renowned as mNga' ris Paṅ chen was born in the Marang valley of Mustang. He starts his education at the age of eight. His father, 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan, "one of the most important religious personalities in Mustang,"⁵⁵ transmits him the principal empowerments and teachings of Maha-, Anu- and Atiyoga. The gifted scion of 'Jam dbyangs rin chen's family came to the attention of the local ruler (*mi dbang*) right away: the latter invited Padma dbang rgyal to give a public exposition. The nine-year-old child was able to defeat a certain Blo bzang (Lobsang), the "Great Pundit of mNga' ris" (*mNga' ris kyi Paṅ chen*).⁵⁶ At the age of twelve, Padma dbang rgyal had his first vision of a deity. It was Dhūmāṅgārī (Dhūmavatī, Düsöl Lhamo).⁵⁷ Pad ma 'phrin las remarks that Padma dbang rgyal saw specifically that goddess because the latter's father was an

⁵⁴ For the full translation of the biography of mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal by Padma 'phrin las, see Sukhanova 2021, pp. 74-128.

⁵⁵ Everding 2004, p. 269.

⁵⁶ And the ruler pronounced that this special child is "certainly a *tulku*" (*sprul pa zhig yin par the tshom med*). See *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 3v3-5.

⁵⁷ *Dud sol lha mo* or Dhūmavati. 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' brgyud lineage and in particular, in the rNgog lineage, see *ibid*, pp. 109-112.

emanation (*rnam sprul*) of Mar pa Lo tsā ba. At the same age, Padma dbang rgyal reverses the flood that threatened the very existence of local inhabitants of Marang valley. The remains of a *stūpa* commemorating this event can still be seen in the upper part of the valley (see Fig. 3). In the next year mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal will have a vision of Bhurkumkūṭa (rMe brtsegs). At the age of fourteen he begins practicing austerities (*dka' spyad*), the extraction of nutrients (*bcud len*), and *Equal Taste* (*Ro snyoms*). These activities were interrupted by having to put his skills to serve the royal household of the ruler of Mustang, who quickly came to appreciate the talents of the young prodigy. As to be expected, Padma 'phrin las at this point omits that apart from long-life and *sādhana* rituals,⁵⁸ Padma dbang rgyal also performed rituals for repenting the Mongol armies (*hor dmaḡ*).⁵⁹ After mNga' ris Paṅ chen was done with the service at the ruler's court (a service that presumably was difficult to refuse), he continues to take special oaths (*dam 'bca*), to practice austerities, such as keeping silence (*ngag bcad*) and staying in solitude (*them spang*). He will intensively engage in such practices until the age of eighteen. At the same age he will vow to be a vegetarian.⁶⁰

Already in his fifteenth year of life, the future-to-be Pundit of mNga' ris shows interest in teachings from masters other than that of the rNying ma tradition. Padma dbang ryal goes to receive instructions from Glo bo mKhan chen at Brag dkar theg chen gling monastery⁶¹ and at the palace of 'Khor lo sdom (Cakrasaṃvara) situated at the mKha' spyod (Khachö) hill.⁶² About two years later Glo bo mKhan chen will invite Padma dbang ryal to travel and to attend some masters of the Sa skya tradition. He is unable to follow this invitation because his father commands him to stay home.⁶³ But the young Padma dbang rgyal does not give up his interest in the Sa skya pa. Upon hearing people praising

⁵⁸ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 309.1.

⁵⁹ *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 6v5-7.

⁶⁰ See *ibid.*, fol. 11v5.

⁶¹ Brag dkar theg chen dar rgyas gling (Drakar Thegchen Dargyé Ling) 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, 1427–1428. After a series of calamities, the monastery was eventually moved to another place (see 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. Cf. Kramer 2008: "According to G. Tucci (1956), p. 18 note 3, this monastery was located at the east of sMon-thang."

⁶² This place started to serve as the residence of Mustang rulers starting with A ma dpal (alt. A me dpal, 1380–ca.1440). The Cakrasaṃvara temple was consecrated by Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po in 1436 (see Heimbel 2017, p. 281). For the first account of meeting with Glo bo Mkhan chen, see *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 8r2.

⁶³ *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 10r2-3.

a certain Sa skya pa master⁶⁴ Chos bstan bzang (Chöten Zang)⁶⁵ Padma dbang rgyal goes to seek for him. This master eventually grants Padma dbang rgyal numerous instructions on the *sūtra* and the *vinaya*, and explanations on classical Buddhist treatises.⁶⁶ At the age of twenty-one Padma dbang ryal “skillfully sweeps away [the notions] of clan and familial lineage, as if it was a spit on the ground,” and relies on all the scholars with great devotion.”⁶⁷ Timely, in the next year, his father has a dream where he saw numerous Indian and Tibetan spiritual masters of different traditions uttering “I am Padma dbang rgyal” and dissolving into his son.⁶⁸ He continues to receive teachings from Glo bo mKhan chen, especially the exegesis on *Lam 'bras* that included the general (*Tshogs bshad*) and the esoteric exposition (*Slob bshad*).⁶⁹ His faith in Glo bo mKhan chen grows,⁷⁰ and he decides to follow his footsteps even more closely. Thus, in 1511 in his twenty-fifth year, he takes the full *bhikṣu* ordination at bSam grub gling (Samdrupling, 29°11'9.40"N, 83°54'25.32"E) monastery.⁷¹

In his autobiography mNga' ris Paṅ chen casually describes how he flew in the air, walked on a surface of a lake, entered the face of a cliff.⁷²

⁶⁴ This master likely belonged to the Sa skya pa as well, because he stayed at Brag dkar (Drakar) monastery. See *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 310.2

⁶⁵ Dūdjom Rinpoché calls this master “Nor bstan bzang po” (see Dudjom 1991, p. 805 and Dargyay 1998, p. 156).

⁶⁶ 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, Mūlamadhyamakārikā)*, *The Four Hundred Verses (bZhi brgya pa, Catuḥśataka)*, *The Compendium of Instructions (bSlab btus, Śikṣasamuccaya)*, *Entering the Bodhisattva's Way of Life (sPyod 'jug, Bodhicaryāvatāra)*, *The Eight Principal Subjects and Seventy Topics (dNgos brgyad don bdun cu)*, see *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 312.6. Other early teachers of mNga' ris Paṅ chen included Slob dpon **Namka** (*ācārya* Nam mkha'), 'Jam dbyangs chos skyong (Jamyang Chökyong), sDom brtson Tshul khriṃs dpal (Domtsön Tsültrim Pel), Dri med dam pa Rin chen seng ge (Drimé Dampa Rinchen Sengé), 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi rgyal po (Jamyang Chökyi Gyalpo). See *ibid.*, pp. 313.1-3.

⁶⁷ Tib. *mkhas grub kun la dkon pa'i sems kyis bsten// rigs rus cho 'brang mchil ma'i thal ba ltar// thabs kyis spangs nas*, see *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 13v7. The words *mchil ma'i thal ba ltar* is a common idiomatic expression that is used to convey a notion of something that has a zero value.

⁶⁸ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, pp. 314.1-315.1

⁶⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 315.2-3.

⁷⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 315.3: *de'i tshe yang bla ma nyid dgyes mdzad rdo rje dngos su gzigs*.

⁷¹ This monastery lies about five kilometers to the west of Mönthang. As the seat of Glo bo Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (Lowo Lotsāwa Sherab Rinchen, b. 13th century), it is strongly associated with the Sa skya school. Glo bo mKhan chen resided and passed away here in 1532 (see Ehrhard 2013a, p. 325, fn 20 and Kramer 2008, p. 77). For references on this monastery, see Heimbel 2017, p. 327, fn. 482. For a brief historical sketch, a detailed description of the ruins and its restoration plans, see Kitamura 2010, pp. 148-159.

⁷² See *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 310.3-4 and *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 9v3-4. In my opinion, this bolsters the

Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las's remark⁷³ demonstrates that in the 17th century Padma dbang rgyal was in the first place renowned as the great ordained pundit, not as a *gter ston* or a *siddha*.

In his eighteenth year, Padma dbang rgyal conducts his first visit to sKyid grong (Kyirong) and pays respects to the image of 'Phags pa wa ti (Padmapāni Lokeśvara) that was enshrined in the 'Phags pa lha khang (Phakpa Lhakang).⁷⁴ According to the autobiography, the statue miraculously talked on this occasion, and Padma dbang rgyal had clear visions of the geographical places he had a karmic connection with. In the future mNga' ris Paṅ chen will regularly pay his respects to this shrine and undertake a renovation of its *maṅḍalas* around 1521.⁷⁵ The autobiography mentions his visit to the temple dedicated to Buddha Maitreya, Byams sprin lha khang (Jamtrin Lhakhang) only once.⁷⁶ Padma dbang rgyal started his frequent travels by visiting Dolpo in 1512. He stayed in retreat at the Shel gyi ri bo 'brug sgra (the Crystal-Mountain Dragon's Roar, 29°21'10.5"N, 82°56'00.6"E).⁷⁷ Padma 'phrin las omits that mNga' ris Paṅ chen contributes in building a temple (*gtsug lag khang*) in the vicinity of sTag phug (Tagphuk) monastery that was supposed to repent foreign invaders (*mtha' dmag bzlog*) from the

hypothesis that the autobiography was not meant to be shared with the wider public, since the same author later refused to give a permission for writing his *rnam thar* out of several concerns that include the notion of secrecy as being indispensable for nurturing virtuous qualities (*yon tan*), see *ibid.*, fol. 38r2.

⁷³ "Nowadays, some teachers of ourselves and others maintain that mNga' ris Paṅ 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 like a bird, entering the boulder of a rock without any obstacles like a mouse, running across the precipice and so forth." See *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen* by Pema Trinlé, pp. 310.6-311.1: *deng sang rang gzhan gyi bshes gnyen 'ga' zhig mnga' ris paṅ chen mkhas btsun tsam yin zer yang/ mtsho'i steng du 'byon pa dang/ brag la [311] bya ltar 'phur ba dang/ ri brag la thogs pa med par byi ltar 'dzul ba/ g.yang sar rgyug pa sögs grub rtags kyi ngo mtshar 'di las che ba rang grub par khas len pa rnam la yang med 'dra snyam.*

⁷⁴ The self-arisen statue of Padmapāni Lokeśvara was housed in the temple of 'Phags pa lha khang (28°23'47.64"N, 85°19'39.38"E) until 1959. Afterward, 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 Decler 2006, p. 78, p. 97. For the translation of the history, or "biography," (*rnam thar*) of this statue that was accidentally discovered within when it was transported from Nepal to India, see Ehrhard 2004.

⁷⁵ Padma dbang rgyal visited 'Phags pa lha khang for at least five times: in 1504, 1518, 1520, 1521, and 1522. See *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 10v7, 23v6, 28r2, 33r2, 34r2.

⁷⁶ See *ibid.*, fol. 24r7.

⁷⁷ On this mountain, see Mathes 2019, pp. 299-321.

region.⁷⁸ In the future, from 1523-1524, mNga' ris Paṅ chen will spend two years in Dolpo meditating and exchanging Dharma teachings.⁷⁹ In the same year when Padma dbang rgyal journeys to Dolpo the first time (1512), he also goes on a pilgrimage to Purang (Tib. [s]Pu hrang), a journey he will once again undertake in the company of Glo bo mKhan chen in 1518. On his first journey in 1512, mNga' ris Paṅ chen visits the citadel of sKu mkhar Nyi ma'i gzung,⁸⁰ the Kho char (alt. 'Khor chags, 30°11'43.5"N, 81°16'03.9"E) monastery⁸¹ and en route encounters "Mongolian robbers" (*hor gyi jag pa*).⁸² He eventually composes a guidebook (*lam yig*) that includes a description of his visions and auspicious signs he encountered en route.⁸³ On his second visit to Purang in 1518, he visits Byang chub gling (Changchub ling, 31°20'33.58"N, 79°46'53.87"E), the "summer dwelling of Lord Atiśa, the place of Bāri Lotsāwa,"⁸⁴ where Glo bo mKhan chen bestows some

⁷⁸ See *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 18r6. Cf. *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 316.2-3.

⁷⁹ Padma 'phrin las limits the description of these years to saying that "at the age of thirty-eight he widely turned the Dharma wheel of the New and the Old Schools. At the age of thirty-nine he again continued numerous studies and contemplations." See *ibid.*, p. 320.3. For the autobiographical description of those two years, see *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fols. 34r4-37r6. For the rough summary in English, see Sukhanova 2021, pp. 104-105, fn. 751. mNga' ris Paṅ chen was "the unifying figure for the different transmissions [in Dolpo] in the 15th and the 16th centuries." (Ehrhard 2013a).

⁸⁰ This citadel was built in the early 10th century by sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon (Kyide Nyima Göñ) and Glo bo Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (Lowo Lotsāwa Sherab Rinchen, fl. 13th century) translated many texts in the 13th century here (see Stearns 1996, p. 135). The visit to the Nyi gzung fortress is not mentioned in Padma 'phrin las's biography of mNga' ris Paṅ chen and was complemented from the autobiography (see *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, 19r2).

⁸¹ 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 Khorchag, its sitemap, historical survey, and colorful photos, see Gyalpo et. al 2015

⁸² And by virtue of taking refuge, he was veiled from their sight (see *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 19r7). This account is omitted in *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*.

⁸³ See *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 19r6. This guidebook seems to be inaccessible at the present. Cf. Dowman 1983 for a hypothesis that mNga' ris Paṅchen wrote the earliest guidebook on Nepal for pilgrims (*gnas yig*). It is based on the fact that [Tenzin] Chos kyi nyi ma (Chökyi 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*, not to mNga' ris Paṅ chen (see Decler 2006, p. 104; Wylie 1970, p.18).

⁸⁴ See *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 24r2-3: jo bo a ti shas// dbyar gnas kyi sa cha byang chub gling// snying rje can ba ri lo tsā'i gnas / /

special instructions and empowerments to the public.⁸⁵

The first mention of Shākya bzang po in mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal's autobiography comes in his twenty-seventh year. In 1513, Padma dbang rgyal makes a six-month retreat under the guidance of Padma 'Bum. He applies "experiential instructions" (*nyams khrid*) on the Boundless Vision (*dGongs pa zang thal*) and on the *Blue [Cycle of] the Mind Sādhana (Thugs sgrub sngon po)*.⁸⁶ Later in the same year, he meets sPrul sku Shākya bzang po at the capital of Glo bo.⁸⁷ From him [Ngari Paṅchen] receives many empowerments and teachings such as the *Three Sādhana Cycles of the Northern Treasures (Byang gter sgrub skor gsum)*. In the sGo le kha cave (29°07'17.8"N, 83°53'20.4"E, see Fig. 5-6) he performs an initiatory retreat (*bsnyen pa*) on "Avalokiteśvara from the Northern Treasures" (*Byang gter spyan ras gzigs*), *Avalokiteśvara Who Liberates All Living Beings (sPyan ras gzigs 'gro ba kun grol)*⁸⁸ and sees three different appearances of Pañjaranātha Mahākāla (mGon po gur). In the course of his life, mNga' ris Paṅ chen strives to use every opportunity of meeting and receiving instructions and transmissions from Shākya bzang po. In 1518 and in 1520 at Gung thang and at dKar ye respectively, he receives the Nyang Cycles, *Hayagrīva [according to] the Nyang [tradition] (rTa mgrin nyang lugs)*, the *Great Yoga of Padmasambhava (O rgyan gyi rnal 'byor chen mo)* and *The Ngadak's Precious Ornament of the Dakinis (mNga' bdag gi mkha' 'gro nor bu 'phreng)*.⁸⁹ Padma dbang rgyal later gave the transmissions of Nyang cycles to 'Bri gung pa Rin chen phun tshogs, and thus it became an important element of the 'Bri gung bka' brgyud tradition.⁹⁰ Besides, mNga' ris Paṅ chen also met Shākya bzang po in 1521 at sKyid grong. On that

⁸⁵ See *ibid.* Padma 'phrin las limits the description of this journey by saying "at the age of thirty-two, he traveled to Purang as an attendant of Glo bo mKhan chen." (See *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen* by Pema Trinlé, p. 317.4).

⁸⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 316.4-5. Cf. *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 18v6.

⁸⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 19r6.

⁸⁸ Whereas Padma 'phrin las speaks of *byang gter spyan ras gzigs* (see *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen* by Pema Trinlé, p. 317.1), the autobiography provides the full name of this cycle: *spyan ras gzigs 'gro ba kun sgrol (=grol)*. See *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 19r7. mNga' ris Paṅ chen eventually transmits this cycle to rNam grol bzang po (Namdröl Zangpo, fl. 16th century). See Ehrhard 2013a, p. 327.

⁸⁹ See *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 24v4-5, 28r2. Cf. the biography of Legs ldan 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)*, Śākya Zangpo's autobiography, prophecies, and treasure practices revealed at the Red Stupa [at Samyé]." (Valentine 2013, p. 140).

⁹⁰ Akester 2016, p. 169.

occasion mNga' ris Paṅ chen made lavish offerings to the Drang so sPrul sku 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)*.⁹¹ Their final meeting took place in 1527 at dGon pa bDe grol (Dedrol monastery)⁹² in Byang ngam ring (Northern Ngamring). Shākya bzang po stayed there with Thugs sras Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (Thuksé Namkha Gyaltsen, b. 1454–d.1541).⁹³ Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las remarks that on this occasion Legs ldan rdo rje received the *Boundless [Vision] (Zang thal)*.⁹⁴

mNga' ris Paṅ chen went on a pilgrimage to Nepal in 1522. He visited the Stūpas of Svayambhūnāth (Shing kun) and Bodhnāth (Byarung kha shor), and Pharping (Pham mthing). In Tham Vihāra in Kathmandu⁹⁵ he saw a *yogī* playing a huge *dāmaru*, wearing maroon clothes and bone ornaments.⁹⁶ Padma 'phrin las reports that mNga' ris Paṅ chen saw the great Indian *siddha* Śāvarīpa (Sha ba ri pa).⁹⁷ mNga' ris

⁹¹ See *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 28v2, 32v3-5.

⁹² This was the family estate of the Mes (Mé) family, “which had strong familial connections to the Northern Treasure Tradition” (Valentine 2018, p. 105, p. 107) and the seat of Thugs sras Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, b. 1454–d.1541 (see Ehrhard 2013b, p. 125, fn. 9). For the discussion of his life and the translation of his biography, see Valentine 2013.

⁹³ For the discussion of his life and the translation of his biography in English, see Valentine 2013.

⁹⁴ *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 321.5. Cf. *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 39v2.

⁹⁵ *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, 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 Dipaṅkara 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 vihara.” (Dowman 1983, p. 231). The geographical coordinates of what is known as “Bhagawan Bahāl” or “Bikramśīla Mahavihār” in Thamel are 27°42'56.05"N, 85°18'45.23"E.

⁹⁶ In his autobiography, mNga' ris Paṅ chen does not explicitly mention the name of this person (cf. *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 33r4-6).

⁹⁷ For a biographical sketch on this *siddha*, see Stearns 1996, pp. 139-141, fn. 46; Burghart 2017, p. 68, fn. 222. Śavarīpa was the guru of Maitrīpa (ca. 1007–ca. 1085) and lived much earlier than mNga' ris Paṅ chen. His possible dating ranges from the 10th up to the 15th century (see Mathes 2008, p. 249). For this reason, the account of their meeting is problematic. Perhaps, Padma 'phrin las makes this statement because of the existing belief that Śavarīpa 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, Śavarīpa 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

Paṅ chen stayed in Yang le shod (Yanglesho, 27°36'59.73"N, 85°15'51.05"E)⁹⁸ for seven days. He had a vision of Padmasambhava (O rgyan chen po) surrounded by the deities of the *Eight [Great] Sādhanas*. From the Nepalese guru Jñānaśrī and his disciples (Jñā na shrī yab sras) mNga' ris Paṅ 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)*, and *Vajravārāhī (Phag mo)*.

On his route back home in 1523, Padma dbang rgyal stays in a meditation retreat in dGe lung in lower Glo bo (Glo bo smad).⁹⁹ With a help of a *ḍākinī*, he realizes that he was once born as Ācārya Abhayākara.¹⁰⁰ Thereupon, mNga' ris Paṅ chen then decides he must receive the initiation of the *Vajra Garland [Vajrāvalī] (rDo rje 'phreng ba)*. So, he travels to see Lo chen dKon mchog chos skyabs, a master who previously acted as the presiding abbot (*mkhan po, upādhyāya*) at Padma dbang rgyal's monastic ordination at bSam grub gling in 1511.¹⁰¹ According to Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las, at the age of forty mNga' ris Paṅ chen completed all the approximation rites (*bsnyen par rdzogs pa*) on all the *maṅḍalas* of the *Vajra Garland (rDo rje 'phreng ba'i dkyil 'khor)*, and that is something that deserves very high esteem.¹⁰²

happened at the exact same place where mNga' ris Paṅ 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 Paṅ chen suggests that the latter must have seen Śavaripa himself at Stham Vihāra (cf. *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 33r4-6) and why Padma 'phrin las, basing his work on the autobiography, later wrote that the protagonist had actually met Śavaripa. The immortal *siddhas* are not considered to be something unusual in the Tibetan world (see Mathes 2008, p. 249, fn. 26).

⁹⁸ For the legendary accounts of Padmasambhava connected to this place according to various Tibetan sources, see Dowman 1983, pp. 249-254.

⁹⁹ Literally, "The Valley of Virtue." This village is nowadays sometimes spelled as *sger lung*, the "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, whereas Padma 'phrin las refers to it dGe lung in Glo bo smad (see *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 319.5).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 319.5-6. Franz-Karl Ehrhard understood this passage in a way that the *ḍākinīs* prophesized dKon mchog chos skyabs, not mNga' ris Paṅ chen, as an incarnation of Abhayākara Gupta (see 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 Paṅ chen (cf. *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 34r6).

¹⁰¹ *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 316.4. Cf. Ehrhard 2013a, p. 319. On another occasion, mNga' ris Paṅ chen refers to this master as "the one who speaks two languages, pundit Chōjé" (see *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 16v4: *skad gnyis smra ba'i paṅ chen chos kyi rje|| 'khor lo sdom pa dkon mchog chos skyabs*). The title of this person, '*khor lo sdom pa*, suggests his affiliation with the temple at mKha' spyod.

¹⁰² *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 320.3-4.

Inspired by Glo bo mKhan chen in 1527, mNga' ris Paṅ chen decided to go to Tibet to “restore the precious teaching of the Victorious One” together with his younger brother Legs ldan rdo rje. Padma 'phrin las meticulously underlines that this journey took place after both 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan and the local governors (*sde bdag*) granted their blessings and permission to do so.¹⁰³ Prior to arriving in Lhasa, mNga' ris Paṅ chen and Legs ldan rje spent one year in Tsang.¹⁰⁴ Upon their arrival to Lhasa, they visit principle pilgrimage sites of Lhasa – the Ramoché temple and “the palaces on the Marpori and the Chakpori hill” (*pho brang dmar lcags*), and mNga' ris Paṅ chen yearns for the *Doctrines of Ngok* (*rNgog chos*) and *Pacification* (*Zhi byed*).¹⁰⁵ At Barkhor he is approached by the protectress dPal ldan lha mo (*dpal lhas*)¹⁰⁶ who advises him to seek those doctrines from rNgog ston gZhung pa, the rNgok Teacher of gZhung. When the mNga' ris brothers arrive to Nya mo skyur (Nyamo Kyur, 29°17'30.01"N, 90°56'23.15"E), the goddess Dhūmāṅgārī welcomes them.¹⁰⁷ At gZhung spre'u zhing (Zhung Tre'u Zhing, 29°12'38.20"N, 90°57'50.47"E)¹⁰⁸ and Thar pa gling (Tharpaling, 29°16'24.52"N, 90°55'22.49"E)¹⁰⁹ they met rNgog Rin po che bSod nams bstan 'dzin (Ngok Rinpoché Sönam Tenzin, fl. 16th century)¹¹⁰ and obtained the entirety of transmissions of the *rNgog dkyil* (*Ngok Maṅḍalas*).¹¹¹ Later in 1533, mNga' ris Paṅ chen again returns to the valley of gZhung and receives all the remaining doctrines of rNgog (*rNgog chos*), as well the [teachings on] the *Merging and Transference* (*bSre 'pho*).¹¹² Besides, sometime after 1528 in Grwa thang (Dratang), the mNga' ris brothers receive the *Cycle of Red Yamāri* (*gShed dmar*) and other teachings from Zhwa lu Lo chen Chos skyong bzang po (Lotsāwa Chökyong Zangpo

¹⁰³ See *ibid.*, p. 320.6-321.2

¹⁰⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 321.6.

¹⁰⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 322.1.

¹⁰⁶ In his autobiography mNga' ris Paṅ chen does not explicitly name this lady “*dPal ldan lha mo*,” but he cites her telling that she “is a goddess in a female body, the guardian of this area.” Cf. *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland* fol. 40r5: *nga bu mo'i lus can lha'i rigs/ gnas 'di nyid kyi bdag po yin*. For detailed arguments why *dpal lhas* refers to dPal ldan lha mo, see Sukhanova 2021, p. 107, fn. 757.

¹⁰⁷ *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 322.5.

¹⁰⁸ See Ferrari 1958, p. 55. Also, see Ducher 2017, pp. 358-359.

¹⁰⁹ This monastery was founded in the late 15th century as a residence for the Gyaltsa (rGyal tsha) branch of the hereditary lineage of rNgog (see Ducher 2017, p. 141).

¹¹⁰ He is the last master of “rNgog about whom something substantial is known” (for a brief summary of his activities see Ducher 2017, pp. 350-351).

¹¹¹ *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 322.6.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 325.4.

of Zhalu, 1441–1527/1528).¹¹³ Also, mNga' ris Paṅ chen highly praises the master Nam mkha'i rnal 'byor (Namké Neljor) whom he meets at the White monastery, dGon dkar (Gönkar).¹¹⁴ The teachings he received from Nam mkha'i rnal 'byor include *The Assembly of the Sugatas of the Eight Pronouncements* (*bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*). This transmission was the last one out of total twenty-five times that mNga' ris Paṅ chen receives it in his life, and he feels that it is the authentic one.¹¹⁵ Around 1529 mNga' ris Paṅ chen meets a certain “Guru of Lhodrak” (lHo brag gu ru pa),¹¹⁶ with Kaḥ thog pa Chos rje bSod nams rgyal mtshan (the Dharma Lord Sönam Gyaltzen of Kaḥtok, 1466–1540),¹¹⁷ and with Kong chen Rin po che Nam mkha' dpal ldan rgya mtsho (Kongchen Rinpoché Namkha Palden Gyatso, fl. 16th century)¹¹⁸ in 'Phreng phu O rgyan chos rdzong (The Dharma Fortress of Oddiyana in the upper Treng valley).¹¹⁹

¹¹³ Based on his date of death, Cécile Ducher proposes that “it may be wiser to accept the dates for mNga' ris Paṅ 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 mNga' ris Paṅ chen's autobiography 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 Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal's birth, then this should have been between 1529–1532). Cf. *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 41v5.

¹¹⁴ This monastery was situated in Lhodrak in Tsendro (bTsan gro), see Ahmad 1999, p. 168. bTsan gro lies in gTam shul, see Akester 2016, p. 450.

¹¹⁵ *The Biography of Ngari Panchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 324.2. Throughout the course of his entire life mNga' ris Paṅ chen strived to find the “actual paper of the Treasure (*gter shog dngos*) of Nyang ral's *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa* cycle” (Gyatso 1986, p. 33, fn. 44). mNga' ris Paṅ chen's descriptive autobiographical account of his quest is found on pp.165-229 in “*The Wheel of the Sun and the Moon that Dispels the Darkness*.” (*bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa'i chad thabs mun sel nyi zla'i 'khor lo*). For a bibliographical reference, see Bibliography.

¹¹⁶ I was unable to identify this person. Cf. *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 42r1: *lho brag gi bla ma gu ru pa// sku mched mkhan chen seng rgyal sogs*.

¹¹⁷ In his autobiography, bSod nams rgyal mtshan lists the mNga' ris brothers as his disciples (for an analysis of his life based on his autobiography, see Ehrhard 2013, pp. 379-391). For a reference to this meeting, see *ibid.*, p. 390.

¹¹⁸ The biography of Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje mentions that this master acknowledges mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal as the emanation of the *qualities* of the king Khri srong lde btsan (Trisong Detsen), and his younger brother as the speech emanation of rDo rje bdud 'joms (Dorjé Düdjom), see Valentine 2013, p. 148.

¹¹⁹ The entrance to the valley of Treng (Trang) lies east of rDo rje brag, on the northern shore of the Tsangpo (Brahmaputra) river, 29°21'23"N, 91°08'11"E. 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 Trango in Western Tibet (Tib: Phrang sgo, Chinese pinyin: chang guo xiang, which lies about eighty kilometers to west from Saga). 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 Rin chen phun tshogs (Sørensen & Hazod 2007, p. 180, fn. 428), a

mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal's activities as a renowned Dharma-master included presiding over the great accomplishment ceremony (*sgrub chen*) on the *Gathering of Intentions* (*dGongs 'dus*) in Yar res sNye mo¹²⁰ and giving teachings on the *Assembly of Sugatas* (*bDe 'dus*) at Phung po ri bo che (Phungpo Riwoché, 29°18'9.66"N, 89°15'24.32"E)¹²¹ in 1532.¹²² In the same year he held activity rituals (*las kyi cho ga*) at the monasteries of Ngor Ewaṃ chos ldan (Ngor Ewaṃ Chöden, 29° 7'9.74"N, 88°49'31.08"E)¹²³ and Thub bstan gser mdog can (Thubten Serdokchen, 29°19'2.92"N, 89° 2'0.42"E).¹²⁴ He also visited

spiritual ally and student of mNga' ris Paṅ chen and Legs ldan rdo rje, whom they likely first met at bSam yas monastery. The mNga' ris brothers later invited Rin chen phun tshogs to perform consecration ceremonies at bSam yas together (see *The Biography of Ngari Panchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 330.3-4). For more references on this valley and its connection to various historical figures, see Sørensen & Hazod 2007, p. 180, fn. 428. Eva Neumaier-Dargyay in her translation of mNga' ris Paṅ chen's biography names here a certain *Phreng so O rgyan chos bzang* who gave teaching to the mNga' ris brothers along with Kong chen Nam kha' dpal ldan (see Dargyay 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. It seems that "Orgyan" (*O rgyan*) was supplemented later by Padma 'phrin las (Cf. *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 42r: *de nas kyang phreng bu'i chos rdzong du/ grub chen gyi rgyal po nam mkha'i mtshan/ kong chen la 'jam dpal bshes gnyen dang/*)

¹²⁰ The modern Nyemo County lies about 150 kilometers to the east from Shigatsé, on the northern bank of the Yarlung Tsangpo river. Its former capital was Dar grong (Dardong), 29°26'22.94"N, 90° 9'4.68"E.

¹²¹ This sacred mountain lies about forty kilometers to the east of Shigatsé at the southern bank of the Yarlung Tsangpo 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).

¹²² The explanation on the *Assembly of Sugatas* by mNga' ris Paṅ chen bears the ornamental title "*The Wheel of the Sun and the Moon that Dispels the Darkness.*" Full title: *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa'i chad thabs mun sel nyi zla'i 'khor lo*. For a bibliographical reference, see Bibliography.

¹²³ This famous monastic institution was founded by Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (Ngorchen Künga Zangpo, 1382–1456). The abbot in 1533 was lHa mchog seng ge (Lhamchok Sengé, 1468–1535, see Heimbel 2017, p. 518), who paid a visit to Mustang in 1523. mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal attended lHa mchog seng ge's teachings upon returning from Nepal in 1523 (Padma 'phrin las refers to lHa mchog seng ge as Ngor chen lHa mchog bzang po, see *The Biography of Ngari Panchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 319.5).

¹²⁴ This monastery was founded in 1469 by Shākya mchog ldan (Śākya Chokden, 1428–1507, see Ferarri 1958, p. 70; p. 162, fn. 625). It is situated to the north-east of Shigatsé, on the southern bank of the Yarlung Tsangpo river. This was one of the monasteries in Central Tibet where monks from Mustang traveled to for obtaining the *bka' bcu pa* title (see Heimbel 2017, p. 308, fn. 399). This title means "the one who had mastered ten texts." For the history of its founding and for a detailed

and gave teachings at Nyang stod (Upper Nyang)¹²⁵ and Zhwa lu (Shalu, 29° 7'40.38"N, 88°59'34.54"E).¹²⁶ All those places belong to the gTsang (Tsang) province of Tibet.

In fact, mNga' ris Paṅ chen hopes to depart to gTsang earlier. But he follows the urge of Kaḥ thog Chos kyi rje bSod rgyal (Sogyal, the Dharma Lord of Kaḥtog, 1466–1540),¹²⁷ and rather unwillingly¹²⁸ accepts the request of a certain sPrul sku Chos kyi dbang po (Tulku Chökyi Wangpo) to come to lHo brag (Lhodrak) in 1530.¹²⁹ mNga' ris Paṅ chen visits bSam grub bde ba chen po'i gtsug lag khang (Samdrup Dewa Chenpo Temple, 28°22'0.93"N, 90°38'11.24"E),¹³⁰ mKhar chu (Kharchu, 28°05'36.0"N, 91°07'36.5"E),¹³¹ lHa bro (Lhadro),¹³² sMra bo lcog (Mawochok, 28°27'25.33"N, 91°26'46.81"E),¹³³ and Gro bo lung (Drowolung, 28°10'43.26"N, 90°49'38.45"E). Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las omits that apart from sPrul sku Chos kyi dbang po, mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal also gave teachings to “the king of lHo brag, Khra pa” (*lho brag gi rgyal po Khra pa*).¹³⁴ At Zha stod (the Upper Sha) and bTsan gro (Tsendro) mNga' ris Paṅ chen presides over a “great

account of its development during the times of Shākya mchog ldan, see Caumanns 2013. I was unable to find any evidence in support of Martin Boord's claim that mNga' ris Paṅ chen was the founder of that monastery (see Boord 1993, pp. 28-29).

¹²⁵ Alt. Myang stod. This district corresponds with the modern area of Gyantsé (rGyal tse), see Ryavec 2015, p. 38 map 10. The present-day Nyang valley lies to the south of Gyantsé. References: Sørensen & Hazod 2007, p. 312 (map).

¹²⁶ See *The Biography of Ngari Panchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 325.2

¹²⁷ Full name: Kaḥ thog pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (Sönam Gyaltzen of Kaḥtok). See *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 42r2-3: *ka (=kaḥ) thog gi chos rje bsod rgyal* and *ibid.*, 42r7: *ka (=kaḥ) thog gi ches rtes (=ka thog gi chos rje)*. For the analysis of Kaḥ thog pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan's life based on his autobiography, see Ehrhard 2013, pp. 379-391.

¹²⁸ Cf. *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 42r7.

¹²⁹ See *The Biography of Ngari Panchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 323.4

¹³⁰ Alternative name: La yags gu ru lha khang (Layak Guru Lhakang). “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).

¹³¹ For a detailed description of this site see Chan 1994, p. 693 (map). Also, see Ferrari 1958, p. 136.

¹³² This site in western part of Lhodrak is associated with Guru Chöwang (see Ehrhard 2002, p. 59)

¹³³ This was the residence of the descendants of Nyangrel Nyima Özer (*ibid.*, 2002, p. 26). In addition, one account reports that it was here that Ngari Paṅchen acquired the prophetic guide to the treasures that he will later reveal at bSam yas at the age of forty-six, see *The Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 279.3-4.

¹³⁴ See *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 43r1.

accomplishment ceremony" (*sgrub chen*)¹³⁵ on the *Eight Pronouncements* (*bKa' brgyad*).

After in 1532 Padma dbang rgyal was finally done with exchanging teachings with sPrul sku Chos kyi dbang po and giving "all sorts of explanations of his own tradition to the descendants of Myang, those of sGang zur and others," thus fulfilling his obligations for the Padmasambhava's prophecy "granted to Myang Rin po che (Nyang Rinpoché, 1124/1136–1192/1204) that mNga' ris Paṅ chen Rin po che [should] restore the deteriorated doctrine's lineages,"¹³⁶ to come true, he straight away went to bSam yas.

At bSam yas, mNga' ris Paṅ chen gives teachings on *The Heart Essence of the Dākinīs* (*mKha' 'gro snying thig*) and on *The Five Stages of Guhyasamāja* (*gSang 'dus rim lnga*) to the descendants of the divine royal dynasty, the ones from the Bu tshal ba (Butselwa) clan.¹³⁷ Later, when mNga' ris Paṅ chen again stayed at bSam yas in 1533, he resides at the Bu tshal (Butsel) temple.¹³⁸ Here, in 1532, he composes *The Commandment, the Splendour of the Flaming Vajra* (*bka' yig rdo rje 'bar ba'i gzi byin*).¹³⁹ This text serves as the monastic constitution (*bca' yig*) for the

¹³⁵ "Drupchen" is a public ritualistic ceremony that may last for several days. It usually focuses 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. For this reason, the participants usually take turns 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 *maṅḍala* of awakened deities and their pure realm." (Gentry 2017, p. 58).

¹³⁶ *The Biography of Ngari Panchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 323.5-6: *myang rin po cher o rgyan dngos kyis lung bstan tel mnga' ris paṅ chen rin po ches 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 mdzad/ sprul sku chos kyi dbang por yang chos mang du gsan cing phul/*

¹³⁷ Tib. *chos rgyal lha'i gdung rnams/* (see *The Biography of Ngari Panchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 324.6). The autobiography mentions that those persons belonged to the *bu tshal* lineage (see *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 43v6: *de dus su chos rgyal lha yi brgyud/ bu tshal gyi chos rje dpon slob kyis*). The Bu tshal ba [clan] used to rule at bSam yas (see Smith 2001, p. 319, fn. 675). According to *The History of Treasures of Zablungpa* (*Zab lung pa'i gter 'byung*), those persons were lHa btsun Chos kyi rgyal po (Lhatsün Chökyi Gyalpo) and lHa rigs rNam rgyal grags pa (Lharig Namgyal Drakpa), see *The Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 289.6.

¹³⁸ *The Biography of Ngari Panchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 326.3. In some sources the Bsam yas bu tshal temple is referred to as the *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-maṅḍala (see Klimburg-Salter et al. 1997, p. 174).

¹³⁹ See *The Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 297.6. mNga' ris Paṅ chen writes that he composed the text in the third month of the dragon year (without specifying its element). On the discussion why the dragon year should be considered to be 1534, see Sukhanova 2021, p. 126, fn. 845.

rDo rje brag monastery. Besides, he contributes to the renovation of bSam yas. In 1542 the mNga' ris brothers together with 'Bri gung pa Rin chen phun tshogs reconsecrated the bSam yas complex.¹⁴⁰

In 1533, mNga' ris Paṅ chen granted extensive teachings on the Northern Treasures. At Zangs mdog sgrags phu ri (The Copper-colored Mountain of the upper Drak valley)¹⁴¹ he taught the *Three Cycles* (*sGrub skor gsum*),¹⁴² *The Eight Pronouncements: Natural Arising* (*bKa' brgyad rang shar*), as well as the *Unimpeded [Realization]* (*Zang thal*), and the *Viśuddha–Vajrakīla* (*Yang phur*).

As a *gter ston*, mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal is known to have revealed treasure texts on one occasion in his life.¹⁴³ This event took place at the bSam yas monastery when he was forty-six years old. According to Padma 'phrin las, mNga' ris Paṅ chen employed Legs ldan rdo rje's *kha byang* the latter acquired at lHo brag srin mo sbar rjes can (The Demoness's Claw Cliff of Lhodrak).¹⁴⁴ Another account says that the prophetic guide was carried by the wind and fell into the hands of mNga' ris Paṅ chen when he was visiting sMrā bo lcog.¹⁴⁵ The treasures consisted of *The Full Gathering of the Gurus, the Awareness Holders* (*Bla ma rig 'dzin yongs 'dus*) and *The Full Gathering of the Gurus, the Eight Pronouncements* (*Bla ma bka' brgyad yongs 'dus*).¹⁴⁶ There were several hagiographies of Padmasambhava, one of them was the *Great Comprehensive Account of Liberation of the Exalted One* (*'Phags pa grangs nges kyi rnam thar chen mo*).¹⁴⁷ Padma 'phrin las refers to mNga' ris Paṅ chen's treasures as *The Five Former and Latter Profound Treasures* (*sNga phyi zab gter lnga*).¹⁴⁸

Sometime after 1534, the mNga' ris brothers build a residence in 'On. Many disciples settle in its vicinity. Padma 'phrin las refers to this

¹⁴⁰ See Akester 2016, p. 317; *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 330.3.

¹⁴¹ This mountain is the birthplace of gNubs sangs rgyas ye shes (Nupchen Sangyé Yeshe), one of the twenty-five principal disciples of Padmasambhava. Besides, this is 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.

¹⁴² Cf. *A Talk by an Ordinary Bodily Being, the Precious Garland*, fol. 44v1: *thugs sgrub gsum*. It included the *gDung sgrub sādhana*, see *ibid.*

¹⁴³ That is, apart from his endeavour in finding the "actual paper" (*gter shog dngos*) of *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa's*, see fn. 114.

¹⁴⁴ *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 324.6.

¹⁴⁵ See *The Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 279.3-4.

¹⁴⁶ According to Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Christoph Burghard, *Bla ma bka' brgyad yongs 'dus* and *Rig 'dzin yongs 'dus* designate the same cycle (see Ehrhard 2015, p. 161, fn. 26, and Burghard 2017, p. 68, fn. 223). This statement requires further research. Cf. *The Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 279.5-6.

¹⁴⁷ For the full listing of the treasures revealed by mNga' ris Paṅ chen on this occasion, see *ibid.*, fol. 279.4-281.1.

¹⁴⁸ *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 325.1.

community as “the monastic encampment of the *vajra*-holders” (*rdo rje 'dzin pa'i lcog grwa*).¹⁴⁹ mNga' ris Paṅ chen passes away in his residence 'On smon ldan gyi bla brang (The Guru's Residence of Öñ Mön-den)¹⁵⁰ on 11th September, 1542.¹⁵¹ Legs ldan rdo rje managed the distribution of mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal's heritage. It included the materials pervading to the Sa skya, bKa' gdams, rNying ma pa, and bKa' rgyud traditions.¹⁵²

Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las lays an emphasis that mNga' ris Paṅ chen served “the Old and the New Schools without bias.”¹⁵³ Some later biographers call mNga' ris Paṅ chen “the non-sectarian sovereign of the *Sūtric* and the *Tantric* teachings” (*mdo sngags bstan pa'i ris med kyi bdag po*).¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 332.4.

¹⁵⁰ This residence is also referred to as 'On smon thang (Öñ Mönthang), see *Historiographical Account of the Northern Treasure's Thubten Dorjé Drak Monastery*, p. 288.2. Oral communication with the monks of Dorjé Drak revealed that there should be four destroyed *stūpas* with relics of mNga' ris Paṅ 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 the Ke ru temple, in turn, reported that the ruins above Ke ru used to be a nunnery by the name of 'On smon thang (not smon ldan) affiliated with the rDo rje brag monastery (November 2020. I am greatly indebted to Tenzin Namgyal who agreed to drive from lHa sa to 'On to conduct the interview). Approximate coordinates of the ruins of 'On smon thang are 29°22'40.78"N, 91°49'31.48"E.

¹⁵¹ *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 332.6. The exact date according to the Western calendar is given according to Ahmad, 1999, p. 170. For arguments why the year of death provided by Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las is correct, i.e. 1542, not 1544, see Sukhanova, 2021, p. 124, fn. 845.

¹⁵² See *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 334.1-2.

¹⁵³ See *The Biography of Ngari Paṅchen by Pema Trinlé*, p. 320.4.

¹⁵⁴ *The Jewel Necklace*, p. 268.5-6



Fig. 7 – Places connected to Ngari Paṅchen in the Marang Valley of Mustang

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 The Oglungpa ('Og lung pa) cave | 4 Golékha cave (sGo le kha) |
| 2 mNga' ris Paṅ chen's footprint | 5 Ruins with a red wall |
| 3 "Omo Lhündrup" | 6 The Flood Commemoration Stūpa |

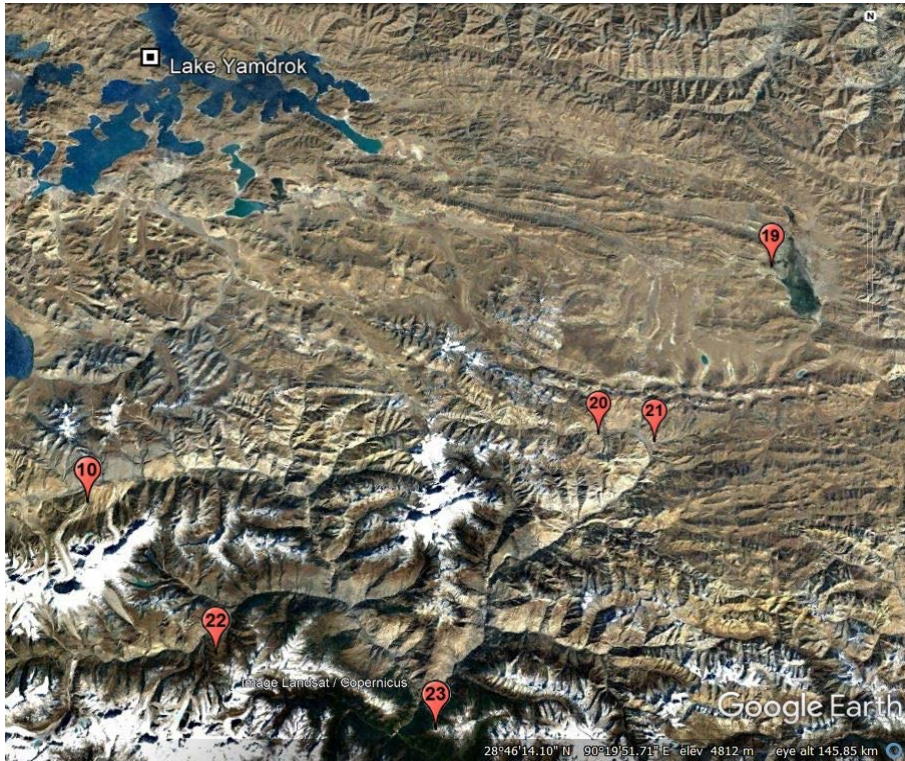


Fig. 8 – Places connected to Ngari Pañchen in lHo brag

10 Gangzur (sGang zur)

19 Trigu (Gri gu)

20 Guru Layak Temple
(bSam grub bde ba chen po'i gtsug
lag khang)

21 Mawochok (sMra bo lcog)

22 Drowolung (Gro bo lung)

23 Kharchu (mKhar chu)

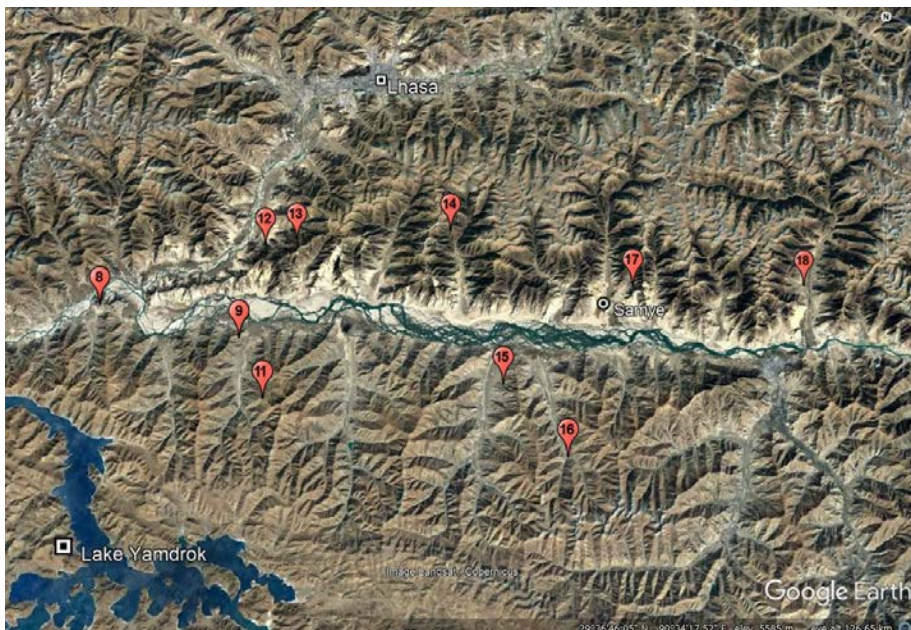


Fig. 9 – Places connected to Ngari Paṅchen in Central Tibet

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--------------------------------------|
| 8 | Mt. Chuwo (dPal chen chu bo ri) | 14 | Drak Yangdzong (sGrags yang rdzong) |
| 9 | Tharpaling monastery (Thar pa gling) | 15 | Jampaling monastery (Byams pa gling) |
| 11 | Shung Tre'u Shing (gZhung spre'u zhing) | 16 | Mt. Chakri (lCags ri) |
| 12 | Ushangdo temple ('U shang rdo) | 17 | Chimpu hermitage (mChims phu) |
| 13 | Nyiphu valley (sNyi phu) | 18 | Ön Mönden ('On smon ldan) |

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