

## JĀBIR, THE BUDDHIST YOGI\*

### PART ONE

Tantric collectanea in Tibetan will expand our knowledge of Indo-Tibetan religious culture for a long time to come. As an example, volume 48 of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* and volume 11 of the *Sgrub thabs kun btus*<sup>1</sup> contain groups of texts centering around one Dza-bir or Dza-ha-bir.<sup>2</sup> This is certainly the Tibetan rendering of the Arabic name Jābir, referring in particular, as will be discussed below, to Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, the Islamic alchemist extraordinaire who lived from ca. 721 to 815 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

The present study of this Indian Jābir will discuss his life (with an estimation of his career) and the cycles of teachings related to him. Subsequent articles will translate and study some specific teachings from these cycles.

### I

According to Sle-lung Rje-drung Bzhad-pa'i-rdo-rje (b. 1697),<sup>4</sup> Jābir was born in Nagarkot in western India<sup>5</sup> as the son of its king<sup>6</sup> and was given the name Maṇikanātha, but is (in the seventeenth century) "famed as an immortal yogi under the name Mahāsiddha Jābir."<sup>7</sup> This is apparently the only narrative of his life found in Tibetan sources.

Evidence from the Tibetan materials studied here shows Jābir to have been primarily a Nātha Siddha. This is clear from his name, ending in **-nātha**, from mentions of Gorakṣanātha and others (Vajranātha chief among them) in the transmission lineages given in II. below, and from the list of his eight principal disciples.<sup>8</sup> I have otherwise not found Jābir mentioned in Nāthist materials.

The Nātha Siddhas were great practitioners of *haṭhayoga*,<sup>9</sup> and it is in this connection that Jābir is important in Tibet's tantric tradition. According to A-khu-ching Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho (1803–1875), Jābir

stands between Padmasambhava and Vajranātha<sup>10</sup> in the transmission of *rlung gi bcud len* teachings, which Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho describes there as “famed as the teachings on *rlung* (the vital wind) according to Jābir” (*Dza-bir rlung khrid du grags pa'i rlung bcud len*).

*Rlung gi bcud len* (\**prāṇarasāyana*?), “extracting the essence of the wind”, is one of a group of yogic/alchemical techniques aimed at allowing the yogin to live on the essence of the elements (air, fire, water, ether and earth) or of rocks, flowers, etc. These are practiced within the highest (*anuttarayoga*) tantra cycles in Tibet, the purpose being to lengthen life, enabling practitioners to continue and expand their bodhisattva careers. Jābir’s “extraordinary instruction”, translated in Part II of this article, is the basic teaching on this sort of *rasāyana* practice in Tibet, and would seem to be the earliest extant work on *rlung gi bcud len*.

Discussing Jābir involves us in an appraisal of Buddhist, Nāthist and Muslim (i.e., Sufic) esoteric practices. An objective evaluation of this situation will reveal a closer working rapport between these groups than has usually been described, for they are still often treated as separate topics in the mediaeval religious history of India.<sup>11</sup> Texts in the sacred and profane sciences in particular show that such divisions are largely artificial and were often disregarded.<sup>12</sup>

The very idea of a Buddhist named Jābir is indicative here,<sup>13</sup> but also typical of what is already known about the openness of the Nātha system to students of all persuasions. As exemplified by Matsyendranātha, the tradition’s founder, the emphasis was on a complete yogic practice rather than a distinct set of doctrines.<sup>14</sup> His disciple, Gorakṣanātha, so prominent in the materials here, had at least two “Buddhist” names: Anaṅgavajra and Ramaṇavajra;<sup>15</sup> according to Purohit Swami, he also had a Muslim name.<sup>16</sup> Gorakṣanātha also had a disciple, a Siddha, by the name of Ismail.<sup>17</sup>

More speculative and interesting, but approaching a probability, would be a disposition Jābir, as a Muslim, could have had to practice Buddhism. Jābir ibn Ḥayyān was a Shi’ite and supporter of the Barmakids at the Abbasid court.<sup>18</sup> Khālīd ibn Barmak, whose father had been educated in medicine and other sciences in Kashmir,<sup>19</sup> and was a chief advisor to the caliph al-Manṣūr in the construction of his capital, Madīnat al-Salām, has now been described as “a converted

Inner Asian Iranian Buddhist Priest”.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, the very name of the Barmakids, the court advisors to the Abbasids, comes from the Sanskrit *pramukha*, “chief”, a title used, among other things, for hereditary superiors of Buddhist monasteries in Balkh, from whence came this Khālid.<sup>21</sup> His son, Yaḥyā, is listed directly after Jābir ibn Ḥayyān by Ibn al-Nadīm in his list of those “who knew the Art”, i.e., alchemy.<sup>22</sup> This information would seem sufficient to demonstrate a tradition combining elements of Islamic and Buddhist practice with esoteric science in Iran. A later result of this would seem to be a certain Maṇikanātha, born in Nagarkot, practicing alchemy as a Sufi who came to be known to the Tibetans as a Vajrayanist named Jābir.<sup>23</sup>

There is difficulty in establishing a chronological relationship between the important personalities in these teachings, i.e., Jābir, Gorakṣanātha and Padmasambhava. The latter must have been a near-contemporary of Jābir ibn Ḥayyān; his dates are often thought to be ca. 716 to ca. 762. The famous Gorakṣanātha has been dated variously over a range of centuries, the eighth the earliest.<sup>24</sup> While it is certain that the teachings transmitted here are genuinely Nāthist, and that Jābir was a Nātha, the presence of Padmasambhava in the lineages is problematic. As a sort of Hermes to Tibetan tantrism, Padmasambhava is often cited as a vehicle for revelation and the seal of acceptability for a practice. Hence, his appearance here actually compromises the historical value of these *paramparas*.<sup>25</sup> The close proximity of Jābir and Gorakṣanātha may indeed point to a great antiquity, however, and speak for an earlier date for Gorakṣa. (There is no reason to doubt that later Buddhists would have preserved at least a relative chronology for the entry of these practices; a strictly correct transmission lineage is necessary to demonstrate the integrity of such practices for Muslims and Hindus, as well as for Buddhists.)

## II

The three cycles of teachings sketched here vary both in content and general tenor. E.g., while the first two emphasize more a historical transmission, the latter is a product of the *dgongs gter* tradition of the Rnying-ma-pa, wherein revelations pass directly in visions from an

enlightened being such as Samantabhadra or Padmasambhava. Whatever origin or transmission those teachings might have had before their revelation is not considered important and usually not given.<sup>26</sup>

These three cycles were gathered and edited by 'Bri-gung Rin-chen-phun-tshogs, 'Jams-dbyangs Mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug and Nyi-zla-klong-gsal respectively.<sup>27</sup>

Parts of these cycles are also found in GDAMS PA and SROG BCUD BUM BZANG; the contents of these are noted at the end of this list. The goals of several of the short instructions in the first cycle — on longevity, alchemy and control over hail, for example — accord well with what we know of Nātha specialties.<sup>28</sup>

#### CHIG BRGYUD MA<sup>29</sup>

1. Mantras for longevity (to be recited while drinking consecrated water), to protect against poisons, to gather power, and to protect one against enemies (*byad*) and *lha* and *'dre*. It was transmitted from Jābir to Vajranātha; he then achieved power over the mind wind<sup>30</sup> by it and gave it over to Rin-chen-phun-tshogs. (338.1—342.1)

2. *Mtshon srung* (mantras used with knives). (—344.5)

3. Mantras used to empower water to cure leprosy and *pho nad*, with a sketch of the ritual; it “has not appeared before in Tibet” (*sngon chad Bod 'dir byung ba med*). An *upadeśa* of “the Indian yogi”, Rgya-gar Dzo-ki. (—346.1)

4. A mantra of Vajranātha against cancer (*skran*). Homage to Gorakṣanātha; a teaching of Jābir to his direct disciple Devanātha. (—346.6)

5. A mantra of Rje-btsun Ratna (i.e., Rin-chen-phun-tshogs), an *āyuhśādhana* on Jābir. (—347.5)

6. Mantras for long life used to bless water (a teaching of Jābir); a mantra for long life using that water, based on a Vajrayoginī *sādhana*, and a description of the rite (a teaching of “the Yogi”; is this Vajranātha?). Includes a supplementary ritual invoking Gorakṣanātha in a *dhārāṇī*. (—350.2)

7. A mantra to overcome madness; includes drinking consecrated *chang*. (—350.5)

8. A mantra for the *āyuhśādhana* “of the yogi”, using earth, a teaching of Balanātha (Bha-la-na-tha). (–351.1)
9. Mantras for gathering power; Siddhaguru Gorakṣanātha is mentioned. (–351.3)
10. A ritual for gathering power by Vajranātha. (–352.3)
11. A mantra from the spiritual heart of Samantabhadra (the mantra is not given); the transmission: Gorakṣanātha → Jābir → Vajranātha → Maṇikanātha → Rin-chen-phun-tshogs. (–352.5)
12. A ritual for various benefits. From “the O-rgyan Meditator”; is this Padmasambhava? (–353.3)
13. A mantra for alchemical practice, from the Yogi Pañcanātha. (–353.4)
14. A ritual for one meeting a thief on the road, by Ma-ni-na-tha, no doubt Maṇikanātha. (–354.2)
15. A mantra for stopping rain or snow, from Guru Nātha. (–354.3)
16. A mantra (*bden tshig*) for realizing anything one wants, by Yogi Bhadra. (–355.1)
17. Worship of Caturbhuja Mahākāla, a tradition of “the Yogi”, including material by Guru Devanātha which has an homage to Jābir. (–357.4)
18. A *sādhana* cycle on Vajrayoginī, a tradition of Maṇikanātha. (–359.6)
19. Teachings on the vital wind: the wind of swift-footedness, the serpent wind (*sbrul rlung*), the wind which clears up mental torpor. (–360.5)
20. Mantras to be written on cloth, etc. By Dkon-mchog Ratna, i.e., Dkon-mchog-rin-chen, 1590–1654, A ‘Bri-gung-pa. (–361.5)
21. A mantra for *āyuhśādhana* transmitted from *Gorakṣanātha* to Brahmanātha. (–362.4)
22. The profound oral transmission (*snyan brgyud*) of Jābir. The transmission: Padmasambhava → Mahānātha → Jābir; these teachers achieved the rainbow body through it. Rin-chen-phun-tshogs then met his guru, Vajranātha, in his twenty-fourth year, when he was given these teachings.<sup>31</sup> The teaching concerns the vital winds and achieving the rainbow body; it is similar to the text translated in Part III of the present article. (–376.4)

23. The *Nam mkha' zhal mjal* of Rin-chen-phun-tshogs, with an homage to Ratnaguru Jābir. (–377.1)
24. A profound oral transmission on the vital wind, written by Rin-chen-phun-tshogs. (–378.1)
25. Basic verses on yogic techniques for the vital wind, also by Rin-chen-phun-tshogs. (–379.3)
26. Eliminating the *bgegs* forces which disturb the elements and cause illness. From Jābir's teachings on the vital wind as written down by Rin-chen-phun-tshogs. (–388)
27. A teaching on the vital wind by Jābir, called '*Ja' lus mngon gyur* (The rainbow body manifested) or *Bcud len 'ja' lus mngon gyur*. This teaching was delivered by Blo-bzang-byams-pa to Lha-btsun Ngag-dbang-phun-tshogs, whose notes on it are here. (389–404)

#### BRGYUD PA BAR PA

1. *Grub-pa'i-dbang-phyug Dza-ha-bhir yi gdams ngag thus mong ma yin pa*, "The extraordinary teaching of Siddheśvara Jābir," the text translated in Part III of the present article. A revelation to Mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (see fn. 31), ordered written down by Stobs-ldan-'od-zer. (405–408.3)
2. A profound teaching on the immortal *bhru* wind, an experiential commentary (*snyams khrid*) on the first text, also translated in Part III of the present article. By Mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug. The transmission is as follows: Padmasambhava → Jābir → Brahmanātha → Maṇikanātha → Mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug → Byams-pa-skal-bzang → Dbang-phyug-rab-brtan → Khyab-bdag Zha-lu-pa → Rgyal-dbang Lnga-pa-chen-po (the Fifth Dalai Lama; see fn. 32) → Rig-'dzin Padma-phrin-las, etc., until Kong-sprul (1813–1899). (–414)

#### BRGYUD PA PHYI MA

1. *Bla ma rgyud pa'i rnam thar Nor bu do shal*, biographies of teachers in the lineage, beginning with 'Bri-gung Rin-chen-phun-tshogs (see fn. 31). (415–426.4)

[The following texts come from the cycle '*Ja' lus 'od phung rang grol*, "The glowing heap (of the *skandhas*), a rainbow body, liberated

by its own nature". Unless otherwise stated, they were written by Nyi-zla-kong-gsal.]

2. *Lo rgyus Nyi zla zung 'grel*, "A history, the sun and moon arranged together." On the three natures of the *skandhas*, a teaching of Jābir, written as a reminder (*brjed tho*) by 'Ja'-lus Snag-stong-rang-grol (i.e., Nyi-zla-kong-gsal). (−434.5)

3. An introduction to the 'Ja' lus 'od *phung rang grol*. (−438.6)

4. An empowerment to practice the 'Ja' lus 'od *phung rang grol*. (−450.3)

5. *Dmar khrid Sangs-rgyas lag 'chang snying gi thig le*, "An experiential commentary, the heart-drop held in the Enlightened One's hand." (No author given.) (−458.3)

6. On *gtum mo* in the completion stage. (No author given; part of a *sādhana* on Jābir.) (−465.6)

7. The cultivation of Shes-rab-ma. (No author given; homage to Jābir.) (−470.4)

8. The rainfall of *bdud rtsi* which clears away hindrances, with success quickly found. (No author given.) (−477.2)

9. Clearing away the hindrances of the elements with the eight great teachings (*khrid*) (of Jābir) which are truly exalted. (No author given.) (−483.4)

10. One medicine for a hundred diseases, procuring spiritual benefit; a *bdud rtsi* overcoming death. (No author given; homage to Jābir.) (−486.6)

11. A commentary on basics about yogic techniques dealing with this practice. (−495.4)

12. A *gurusādhana* on Jābir. (No author given.) (−503.3)

13. A prayer to the planetary gods and Rāhu, protector of teachings, for quick release from *dgra* and *bgegs* spirits. (−506.2)

14. A text on control of the winds during *gurusādhana* on Jābir. (No author given.) (−509.4)

15. A *gsol 'debs* (prayer to spiritual guides). (−510.1)

16. A ritual, *Dag pa rab 'byams*, centering on a *sādhana* on Jābir. (No author given.) (−516.1)

17. A text on yogic techniques and the winds. (−520.2)

18. Methods for clearing obstacles using mantras, a particularly exalted teaching of Jābir. (−529.4)

19. A song (*glu*) about understanding the rainbow body. (–533.6)
20. *Snang 'khrul rdzun tshig phreng ba*, “A garland of falsehoods and illusions”, a revelation to Nyi-zla-klong-gsal by Ekajātī, a guardian of treasures (*Gter srung*). It is a defense of the *gter ma* system and Rdzogs chen practice. (–536.3)
21. A collection of rituals (*las tshogs*). Homage to Jābir. (–543)
22. *Smin byed bde chen bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun gyi lag len gsal bar bkod pa, padma rā ga'i bum bzang*, “The good ruby vessel, a handbook for the flowing *bdud rtsi*, the great bliss causing spiritual ripening.” Written by Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas (1813–1899). Homage to Jābir; a schema of the rituals and *sādhana*s for Jābir's teachings, preceded by a short history of the transmission: Padma-sambhava → Mahānātha → Jābir → Vajranātha → 'Bri-gung Rin-chen-phun-tshogs. Kong-sprul's special teachings, given here, came through Tshul-khrims-sangs-rgyas → 'Od-gsal-mchog-ldan → Bres-gshod Bla-chen Chos-rgyal-rdo-rje → Nyi-zla-klong-gsal → Kong-sprul. (545–564)

## GDAMS PA

1. Another edition of text 1 of the BRGYUD PA BAR PA (113.2–115.3)
2. Another edition of text 2 of the BRGYUD PA BAR PA (–119.5)
3. Another edition of text 27 of the CHIG BRGYUD MA (–129)

## SROG BCUD BUM BZANG

1. Another edition of text 1 of the BRGYUD PA BAR PA (405.5–421.5)

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> The teachings discussed here come from the 1976 edition of the *Rin chen gter*



*mdzod chen mo* ("Great precious treasury"), Paro, Bhutan and the 1970 edition of the *Sgrub thabs kun btus* ("Sādhana's all collected together").

As they are cited here:

CHIG BRGYUD MA (*Dzo-ki Badzra-nā-tha'i gdams ngag Chig brgyud ma, Brgyud pa dang po*): 337–404;

BRGYUD BAR PA (*Grub-pa'i-dbang-phyug Dza-hā-bhir yi gdams pa thun mong ma yin pa, Brgyud bar pa*): 405–414;

BRGYUD PA PHYI MA (*Zab chos 'ja' lus 'od phung rang grol, Brgyud pa phyi ma*): 415–543.

[These three are from the *Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo*.]

GDAMS PA (*Grub-pa'i-dbang-phyug Dza-hā-bhi-ra'i gdams pa thun mongs ma yin pa*): 112–129 of the *Sgrub thabs kun btus*.

Short titles of other works cited frequently here are:

BOD RGYA TSHIG MDZOD CHEN MO, edited by Chang I-sun, Peking, 1985.

DASGUPTA (Shashibhusan Dasgupta, *Obscure religious cults*, Calcutta, Firma Mukhopadhyay, 1969).

BRIGGS (George W. Briggs, *Gorakhnāth and the Kānpātā yogis*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1973).

PUROHIT SWAMI (Shree Purohit Swami, *Avadhoota gita*, New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1979).

SROG BCUD BUM BZAG (*Gsang ba ye shes kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag Dza-bhir gyi rlung khrid kyi gsal byed Srog bcud bum bzang*), p. 394–422 of *Sle-lung Bzhad-pa'i-rdo-rje's Gsang ba ye shes kyi chos skor*, vol. 8, published by Sanje Dorje at New Delhi in 1975.

<sup>2</sup> These are the most frequent spellings; Dza-hā-bir, Dza-hā-bhir, Dza-hā-bir, Dza-bhir, Dza-bir and Dza-hā-bhi-ra also occur.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Science and civilization in Islam*, Cambridge, Harvard U. Press, 1968, p. 42f. Even if we had no corroborative information, *Jābir* is so rarely used as a Muslim name that there is no question for whom he was named.

<sup>4</sup> This scanty material comes from the SROG BCUD BUM BZANG: 396.

<sup>5</sup> Na-girko-ta in the text. This is probably the town said to be near Sirhind (S. A. A. Rizvi, *A history of Sufism in India*, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1978, v. I, p. 407), another small town in East Panjab, ca. 30 mi. west of Chandigarh. Thus, it isn't really in either "eastern" or "western", but more accurately, north-central India. (Less a possibility is a Nagarkot nine miles SSW of Dharamsala, north of the Nagarkot discussed above. This was a Rajput stronghold until plundered by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1017, who described it as a 'mine of heathenism'; cf. Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian subcontinent*, Leiden-Köln, E. J. Brill, 1980, p. 38. This town is now shown on detailed maps of the area as Nagrota.)

(Once [CHIG BRGYUD MA: 390.2] *Jābir* is described as a Mahāsiddha from eastern India, but this may only be where he later established himself.)

<sup>6</sup> So many tantrics are reported to be the sons of kings, or otherwise of noble birth, that we would be wise to consider Herbert Guenther's observation, *à propos* Saraha's father's appellation, that "king" was an administrative title not implying royal blood (*The royal song of Saraha*, Seattle, U. of Washington Press, 1969, p. 7f.).

<sup>7</sup> *Grub-chen Dza-hā-bi-ra*. “Mahāsiddha” as an honorary title does not literally mean membership in lists of the eighty-four most famous Mahāsiddhas (as studied, e.g., in DASGUPTA, 202f.); it is a frequently-used epithet in Tantric biography.

<sup>8</sup> BRGYUD PA PHYI MA: 417.2–3 gives them: Vajranātha, Brahmanātha, Devanātha, Śrīnātha, Dzindha-bhi-ra (?), Maṇikanātha, Paṇḍita Saukhya and Amarasukha. According to this same source, they all achieved bodies of light (*’od lus*) without passing out of their bodies first (i.e., without dying: *’pho med*). Attainment of a rainbow body (*’ja’ lus*) is also constantly mentioned in these materials, clearly indicating that pursuit of this state was as important for the Nātha Siddhas as for the Vajrayāna Buddhists.

This practice is today the specialty of the Rnying-ma Tibetan Buddhist tradition; see the discussion by Tulku Thondup on p. 192–3 of his *Tantric tradition of the Nyingmapa* (Marion, MA, Buddhayana, 1984).

<sup>9</sup> The best discussion of the Nātha Siddhas remains DASGUPTA (p. 191–255 especially). He points out in particular that various esoteric yogic groups used the same practices and terminologies for goals only slightly different; just *how* different is difficult to say.

<sup>10</sup> His *Gsan yig*, in volume six of *Collected works of A-khu-ching Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho* (New Delhi, Ngawang Sopa, 1974): 726.4. The lineage here is “Buddhacized”: Vairocana → Avalokiteśvara → Padmākara [i.e., Padmasambhava] → Mahānātha → Jābir → Vajranātha → ‘Bri-gung Rin-chen-phun-tshogs → Sangs-rgyas-tshul-khrims → Mkhas-mchog ‘Od-gsal-rgya-mtsho → Ras-chen Chos-rgyal-lhun-grub, etc.; this list is in notes (*zin bris*) taken by Ge-re Ngag-dbang-phun-tshogs.

A similar lineage is given in *Thob yig of the 17th century* (Dalhousie, 1980), a collection of Rnying-ma-pa traditions. That abbreviated list is: Jābir → Brahmanātha → Maṇikanātha → Mkhien-brtse’i-dbang-phyug → Gzhon-nu-stobs-ldan → Dbang-phyug-rab-brtan → Zha-lu-pa → Bzhad-pa-rdo-rje → Rig-’dzin Padma-phrin-las → Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho → Bya-btang Ngag-gi-dbang-po → Mes-ston Mkha’-gro’i-dbang-phyug → Kun-bzang-klong-yangs → Mdo-chen-pa Nor-bu-bde-chen, whose *thob yig* this is part of. (This list is substantially the same as that at the end of BRGYUD BAR PA.)

On the role of Vajranātha in introducing *rlung gi bcud len* to Tibet, see note 31.

<sup>11</sup> In general, modern scholarship has tended to perpetuate sectarian views, rather than observe the religious situation in mediaeval India from a more objective viewpoint. DASGUPTA represents a step away from this, as do PUROHIT SWAMI and the works of S. A. A. Rizvi (*q.v.* note 5).

<sup>12</sup> To deal only with material in the Tibetan *Tripitaka*, we may note here the Śaivite astrological text, the *Yuddhavijayatantra*, also known as the *Yuddhajayārṇava*, as well as Śaivite alchemical texts such as those studied by Prafulla Chandra Ray in his *History of chemistry in ancient and mediaeval India* (Calcutta, Indian Chemical Society, 1956). Not surprisingly, works on Sanskrit grammar in the *Tripitaka* are frequently of Hindu authorship.

<sup>13</sup> BRGYUD PA PHYI MA: 429.3 refers to him as *Dge-slong Dzā-bir*, which could be interpreted as his full acceptance as a Buddhist rather than in a literal sense (“the fully ordained monk Jābir”). Were he ordained, he would not have had the name Jābir; on the other hand, perhaps his ordination name simply never became well known.

<sup>14</sup> PUROHIT SWAMI: 55 "But the founder of the order, Matsyendranāth, seems to have been a Tantrik once, and probably a Vajrayāna Buddhist too: and though his *Kaula-jnana Nirṁaya* mostly propounds Avadhutism, it has Tantrik significance."

<sup>15</sup> An *Anarigavajra* is mentioned in the *Grub thob chen po brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i lo rgyus* or Biographies of the Eighty-four Mahāsiddhas (reported in Anton Schiefner, *Taranatha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, St. Petersburg, 1869). *Ramanavajra* is given in BRIGGS: 151, along with the author's evaluation that it is obvious that Vajrayāna Buddhism greatly influenced early Nāthist beliefs. It should be noted, however, that neither of the above names is particularly Buddhist, especially the latter. But, does that matter?

<sup>16</sup> PUROHIT SWAMI: 61. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find confirmation for this unattributed statement.

<sup>17</sup> DASGUPTA: 390.

<sup>18</sup> Nasr, *op cit*, fn. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Khālid's father also never became a Muslim, as his father had; the story of Khālid's family and his learning in Kashmir is told by Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī; see the translation by Henri Massé, *Abrégé du livre des pays*, Damascus, 1973, p. 384.

<sup>20</sup> Christopher I. Beckwith, "The plan of the City of Peace; Central Asian Iranian factors in early 'Abbāsī design", in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* XXXVIII/1–2, 1984, p. 150.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157 (note 50).

<sup>22</sup> His *Fihrist* (edited and translated by Bayard Dodge, New York, Columbia U. Press, 1970), v. 2, p. 850.

<sup>23</sup> The obvious Buddhist content of several of the teachings in these cycles also reinforces the view of Gorakṣanātha as a practicing Vajrayanist. Are the works in these cycles the collection referred to in DASGUPTA: 200?

<sup>24</sup> GRIGGS: 277; see, e.g., Gunter Unbescheid (*Kānpaṭā: Untersuchungen zu Kult, Mythologie und Geschichte śivaitischer Tantriker in Nepal*, Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1980, p. 172) and John K. Locke (*Karuṇamaya*, Kathmandu, Sahayogi Prakashan, 1980, p. 428) for later dates.

<sup>25</sup> That Padmasambhava would precede a later Jābir in texts here does allow us to consider these lineages historically; however, Padma is nowhere connected, in the extensive literature on him, with either Gorakṣanātha, the Nāthas, or the Eighty-four Mahāsiddhas. Note that it is the mythologized Padmasambhava of the 'Padma-ist' view of Rnying-ma-pa teachings who dominates most of these transmission lineages, even being considered a preincarnation of Mahānātha (cf fn. 31).

<sup>26</sup> On *dgongs gter* and the idea of visionary (*dag snang*) teachings in the Rnying-ma system, see Thulku Thondup, *Hidden teachings of Tibet*, London, Wisdom Publications, 1986, esp. p. 46–9 & 63–6.

<sup>27</sup> Of these three teachers, Nyi-zla-klong-gsal is least known and not represented in secondary sources. He was born in the tenth *rab byung* (the sixty-year cycle that was the basis for dating in Tibet), i.e., between 1567 and 1626 (this from historical notes by Mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po [1829–1892] in *Mkhyen-brtse on the history of the Dharma*, Leh, 1972, p. 221.1).

According to his biography in Ngag-dbang-bstan-'dzin-nor-bu's *Gcod yul nyon mongs zhi byed kyi bka' gter Bla ma brgyud pa'i nram thar Byin rlabs gter msho*

(Gangtok, Sonam Kazi, 1972, p. 120–180), he was born in Spu-rangs, southwest Tibet, the son of Gu-ru Chos-'phel.

Some data from this work pertinent to the present study include:

He discovered the water of life (*tshe chu*) in the Guru's (i.e., Padmasabhava's) meditation cave, Sgo-ched, at the age of 13. When he was 14, numerous military actions in Gu-ge reduced the population there to a diet of meat alone, rice being scarce. Determined to avoid eating such food, which was condemning all sentient beings there to hell, he took a vow to give up for some years the harmfulness which results from eating meat and drinking beer. More austerities and dietary practices engaged in for some time resulted in Nyi-zla requesting his lama, Chos-rgyal-rdo-rje, for the story of the earlier transmission of teachings on diet, etc., whereupon Chos-rgyal said, "You are very stout-hearted." He then gave Nyi-zla explanations and commentaries to many various *rasāyana* cycles, in particular the teachings of Jābir, along with its exercises (*phyag len*). Later, Nyi-zla took a vow to give up "human food" (*mi zas*) altogether and remained for seven years absorbed in the practice of various sorts of *rasāyana*. His austerities then included drinking just water all the time, and sometimes living on the amount of barley left over from beer brewing (*sbang rtsam*) that would fit in a spoon. He continued practices like these through his life. [. . . *Gu-ru'i sgrub phug Sgo-ched nas tshe chu sogs spyang drangs* [122.6]; . . . *Gu-ger gnas skor la phebs / yul de rnam su dmad khrug mang po byung bas rkyen gyis biab 'bras dkon pas sha kho nar long spyod dgos pas / der thugs la thams cad ngan song du 'gro dgos pa'i bza' btung 'di 'dra bza' ba las spangs na dgongs sa chang gi nges dmigs kyi lo shas spong ba'i dam bca' zhes nas spangs* [124.5–25.1]; . . . *gong gi lo rgyus gsol bas thugs shin tu mnyes te khyed snying stobs can gcig yod pa red gsungs / bcud len skor rigs mi gcig pa mang po'i lung khrid dang khyad par grub thob Dzā-hā-bīr gyi gdams zab yongs rdzogs phyag len dang bcas pa ghang* [133.2–3]; . . . *mi lo bdun gyi ring mi zas mi bza' ba'i dam bca' mdzad nas bcud len gyi rigs mang po re mos kyi nyams bzhes la gzhol / rgyun par chu kho na dang / skabs skabs su sbang rtsam thur 'go re la brten nas dka' thub kho na mdzad*] [133.6–134.2].

<sup>28</sup> The particular yoga of Nāthas is the effort to achieve longevity and immortality through alchemy (*rasāyana*) [e.g., DASGUPTA: 193]. Control over hail and rain — stopping or bringing them — centers today in cults surrounding Gorakṣanātha and Masyendranātha in Nepal, although it is known of Nātha yogis elsewhere [BRIGGS: 129 & 195ff; Veronique Boiullier, "La caste sectaire des Kānpṭhā Jogi dans le royaume du Nepal," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême Orient* LXXV/1986: 129f]. *A propos* of another influence of Tantric practice on Indian Sufism, Muhammad Enamul Haq notes "curing chronic and incurable diseases by the internal or external application of simple but charmed water" (*A history of Sufi-ism in Bengal*, Dacca, Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 141), which recipes are well represented here.

<sup>29</sup> CHIG BRGYUD MA means the teachings transmitted to just one disciple at a time (*mi re kho nar rim brgyud* — BOD RGYA TSHIG MDZOD CHEN MO), i.e., from Vajranātha directly to Rin-chen-phun-tshogs. I take BRGYUD PA BAR PA and BRGYUD PA PHYI MA, the "intermediate" and "later" teachings, to refer to the chronology of their transmission, although Nyi-zla-klong-gsal was only one generation after Mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (1524–1568).

<sup>30</sup> *rlung sems*. Control of the "winds" or vital forces which cause instability of our "minds" is important in both Vajrayāna and Nātha yoga, being the basic practice of

*prāṇayama*. There are coarse minds resulting from coarse winds, and then more subtle minds from subtler winds. The goal is to concentrate these winds and withdraw them, allowing the consolidation of consciousness. Some of these winds are discussed in texts here (for example, the *bhrū* wind is analyzed in the text presented in part III). On how some categories of winds are described by Vajrayānists and Nāthas, see Daniel Cozort, *Highest yoga tantra* (Ithaca, NY, Snow Lion, 1986), p. 42–45 and BRIGGS: 305–307 respectively.

<sup>31</sup> According to the BRGYUD PA PHYI MA, a ‘Padma-ist’ text, Padma incarnated as the Indian Mahāsiddha Mahānātha, who gave his teachings on attaining a body of light without first transferring consciousness (i.e., dying) to Jābir, who then passed them on to his disciples. Vajranātha, having arrived in Tibet at the appropriate time, offered the tradition of these teachings to the Sa-skyā-pa and the Karma-pa, but no correct karmic connections could be established with them because of their haughtiness and lack of courage. Not long after, when the former were reported to be destitute of descendants and the latter of teachings, in accordance with prophecy, Rin-chen-phun-tshogs was incarnated as ‘Bri-gung as the last of a series of propitious pre-existences. At the age of twenty, while in meditative retreat at ‘Bri-gung, he was visited by Vajranātha and ten of his disciples and received the outer, inner and secret teachings on *rlung* of Jābir, as well as teachings on sky travel and attaining the rainbow body in this life.

[416f: *Sprul-sku Padma-'byung-gnas zhes bya ba / ... Rgya-gar Grub-thob Chen-po Maha-na-tha zhes par sprul / de nyid kyi Rnal-'byor-dbang-phyug Dza-ha-bir zhes pa 'pho med du 'od lus 'grub pa de nyid la gnang / ... khyad par rig gnas kun la mkhyen pa rgyas par mdzad pa Badzra-na-thas bla ma'i lung bstan dang gdul bya'i dus babs dang bstun Bod yul du phebs nas / Sa-skyā-pa dang Karma-pa gnyis la bka' babs yod pa'i lo rgyus phul bas / sku sgrob dang sku 'gongs kyi Sa Kar gnyis la rten 'brel ma 'grig / dus mi ring bar / Sa-skyā-pa gdung gis phongs shing / Karma-pa bstan pas phongs pa gcig yod dam gsungs / slar yang bla ma'i lung bstan bzhi du ... Dbur stod 'Bri-khung Dkon-gnyer Sgang zhes par / ... sku blams / ... de nas gdung lo nyi shu bzhes pa'i dus / 'Bri-khung Ti-sgron-sgrub-pa la bzhugs pa'i dus / Paṇḍi-ta Chen-po Badzra-nā-tha dpon slob bcu gcig byon nas / tshe gcig lus gcig la 'ja' lus mkha' spyod sgrub pa'i dgams ngag Dza-ha-bir lung khrid phyi nang gsang gsum yongs rdzogs kyi bka' babs so]*

The story above notes that the Sa-skyā-pa were spurned by Vajranātha, but the SROG BCUD BUM BZANG\* tells how ‘Jam-dbyangs Mkhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug, a Sa-skyā-pa, received teachings on the *bhrū* wind in particular: Jābir went to Tibet three times to find a guru to carry his teachings. The first time, he didn’t see (Mkhyen-brtse) because he was still in the womb; the second time, taken by him while Mkhyen-brtse was only a young boy, he stayed for some time, just watching him from a distance. The third time, when Mkhyen-brtse said, “I am that one to meet you on the path”, Jābir was very happy and made him his disciple. This was said to have happened when Mkhyen-brtse was seventeen.

[\*This story comes from the “teaching” (*bka'*), i.e., the biography of Mkhyen-brtse by Tshar Chen Chos-kyi-rgyal-po: [397.1–5: ... Mkhyen-brtse de nyid gdung lo bcu bdun bzhes pa'i lo Grub-pa'i-dbang-phyug Dza-ha-bhi-ra dang mjal / Bka' las / gu ru 'tshol ba la / Bod du lan gsum ma 'ongs / snga ma'i dus su ma'i rum na yod pas ma mthong / bar ma'i dus su byis pa chung ngu zhig skyes pa zhig gis bzung nas 'dug pa

*rgyan tsam has mthong byung / phyi ma ni nga lam 'phrad pa 'di yin zhes gsungs te  
shin tu dgyes shing rjes su 'dzin par mdzad / bhru rlung la sogs pa'i man ngag mang  
po gnang]*

<sup>32</sup> The Fifth Dalai Lama, 1617–1682, was an important later interpreter; Sle-lung Bzhad-pa'i-rdo-rje's commentary is based on his notes [SROG BCUD BUM BZANG: 416.1; his place in the lineage: 403.4]. No text that would appear to center on Jābir's teachings is listed in the Tohoku catalog of his works, but the study of Jābir's yoga is mentioned by the 'Great Fifth' in his *Gsan yig*.