CHAPTER ONE

The Life Story of Haribhadra

Haribhadra lived in India during a time of great philosophical diversity. The aftermath of the post-Gupta, pre-Islamic era witnessed a proliferation of Purāṇas, the flowering of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava philosophy, early phases of the *bhakti* devotional movement in the south, the dawn of Tantra with a correlating emphasis on goddess worship, and the ongoing observance of the Vedic sacrificial system. Buddhism and Yoga were both strong presences within India and offered the most direct competition to Jainism, in that all three systems share an emphasis on self-effort in the quest toward spiritual uplift and liberation. In this book we will explore one particular text, the *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya*, that highlights Haribhadra's response to this complex religious landscape.

Haribhadra, according to one account, was the son of Śankarabhatṭa and his wife, Gaṅgā, born into the Brahmin caste. He lived either in Brahmapurī or in Citrakūṭa, which is "identified with Chittor, the capital of Mewar in Rajasthan." He eventually became a Jaina monk of the Vidyādhara gaccha, headed by Jinabhaṭa, and he wandered throughout Western India as a member of the Śvetāmbara order.

This brings us to the question: when did Haribhadra live? Traditionally, Jainas have placed his dates from 459 to 529 C.E., which fits within the post-Gupta, pre-Islamic time frame. However, in 1919, Muni Jinavijayaji, a Jaina monk and scholar, published an extensive critique of these dates, noting that Haribhadra had quoted prominent authors who flourished after

his supposed dates. As a result of this essay, Jaina and Western scholars alike have accepted later dates for Haribhadra, also known as Haribhadrasūri, from 700 to 770 of the Common Era. However, R. Williams contends that, in fact, some of the texts attributed to Haribhadra could have been written in the sixth century and suggests that there were two Haribhadras, with the eighthcentury Haribhadra, whom he calls Yākinī-putra, imitating the style of an earlier master.² Most scholars agree with the assessment that Haribhadra lived during the eighth century rather than the sixth, and, although it cannot be denied that various people wrote under the name "Haribhadra," the consensus appears to favor a single Jaina Śvetāmbara author being responsible for at least most of the works attributed to him.³ Due to its discussion of Tantra, it seems that the Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya was written in the eighth century and, if one maintains the theory of two Haribhadras, would have been composed by Haribhadra Yākinīputra, whose name in fact appears on the colophon. A third Haribhadra lived in the twelfth century and wrote a commentary on Umāsvāti's Prasamaratibrakarana.4

Hemacandra's Yogaśāstra (twelfth century) seems informed by Haribhadra's Yoga texts, and Yaśovijaya (seventeenth century) summarized and expressed renewed interest in Haribhadra's works, particularly on Yoga. His writings continue to be well known in the Śvetāmbara Jaina community.

Several traditional authors recorded legendary tales about the life, adventures, misadventures, and work of this prodigious scholar. Phyllis Granoff has summarized the primary stories about or related to Haribhadra, drawing from a variety of works that begin to appear in the twelfth century, including Bhadreśvara's Kahāvali, Sarvarājamuni's commentary on Jinadatta's Gaṇadharār-dhaśataka, Prabhācandra's Kathākośa (1077 C.E.), a collection of stories known as the Purātanaprabandhasaçgraha, the Prabhāvakacarita, also attributed to a scholar known as Prabhācandra, but at a later date (1277 C.E.), and Rājaśekarasūri's Prabandhakośa (1349 C.E.) In these stories, two primary themes remain constant: Haribhadra's conversion to Jainism and his conflict with the Buddhists.

The first set of stories provides a biographical narrative. In his early years, Haribhadra, a member of the Brahmin caste, achieved a great degree of learning. He became quite arrogant about his academic accomplishments and tied a golden plate around his belly to prevent it from bursting from the weight of all his knowledge. In another version, he also carries a "twig from the jambu tree to show to all that there was no one his equal in all of Jambudvīpa, that is, in all the civilized world. He also carried a spade, a net, and a ladder in his desire to seek out creatures living in the earth, in water, and in the ether in order to defeat them with his great learning."⁵

Thinking he had learned all that could be known, he proclaimed that if anyone could tell him something new, he would devote his life to the pursuit of it. It so happened that he overheard a Jaina nun, Yākinī, reciting a verse he could not understand. Having been humiliated, he turned first to her and then to her teacher, Jinadatta, for instruction in the Jaina faith, which he then embraced. After a period of study, he was granted the title "Sūri," or teacher, and he began to promulgate Jainism. In several of his treatises, the colophon or final verse describes him as Yākinī-putra, or Yākinī's son, indicating the influence of this Jaina nun on his life and thought.

The second set of stories includes a dramatic and grisly tale of espionage, murder, and revenge. The Prabhāvakacarita of Prabhācandra (1277 c.E.) and the *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekharasūri (1349 C.E.) narrate the tragic story of two brothers, Hamsa and Paramahamsa, who are both nephews and students of Haribhadra.⁶ They go to Mahābodhi to learn about the teachings of the Buddha. The brothers are exposed as spies after uttering an invocation to the Jina when awakened by suspicious Buddhists in the middle of the night. They use umbrellas to float down out of the monastery. Buddhist soldiers catch and kill Hamsa. Paramahamsa takes refuge with King Sūrapāla,7 who proposes a debate between Paramahamsa and the Buddhists. The goddess, Tārā, secretly assists the Buddhists. The Jaina goddess, Ambā, advises Paramahamsa about how to trick Tārā by asking her to repeat what she had said the prior day, an impossibility for the gods, who are unable to keep track of time. Though Paramahamsa has won, because the Buddhists cheated, they still clearly intend to kill him. He hides as a laborer who washes clothes and then escapes to rejoin his uncle. As he tells the story to Haribhadra,

Paramahaṃsa dies from the grief that he suffers due to the death of his brother. Haribhadra is outraged. King Sūrapāla arranges a debate between Haribhadra and the Buddhists. One by one, the Buddhists are defeated and sent to their deaths in boiling oil as arranged by the king. Out of great remorse for the killing of so many monks, Haribhadra then composes his many religious treatises; according to Rajaśekhara Sūri, each of the 1,440 texts that Haribhadra wrote served as expiation for the 1,440 Buddhists who died.

The writings of Haribhadra reflect the conversion story and the story of his nephews in two possible ways. The story of his conversion from Brahmanism to Jainism makes sense in terms of his deep knowledge of Hinduism and the vehemence with which he discusses certain aspects of his former faith. He repeatedly criticizes in particular Vedic sacrifice and Tantric styles of worship. He also ridicules the worship of Krishna, declaring that because of his duplicity in the Mahābhārata war, Krishna resides in Hell. In his philosophical writings, he provides a standard Jaina critique of Upaniṣadic monism, which will be examined in a later chapter. This attitude of disdain toward Hinduism would make sense in light of the zeal often shown by a convert to a new faith, and it also reflects his intimate familiarity with the philosophy and stories of both the Brahmanical sacrificial tradition and the Kṣatriya epic tradition of Hinduism.

Although the story of the death of his two nephews is shrouded in several layers of historical ambiguity (see notes six and seven), it does provide some psychological texture to explain Haribhadra's motivation for writing so many texts and for being particularly solicitous of the Buddhists. By Haribhadra's time, Buddhism had lost its grip on the public and royal life of India. Many of the Buddha's ideas had been absorbed into the religious language of Hinduism, and in some accounts, Buddha was regarded as no more than an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Although many ideas of Jainism, particularly the emphasis on the five vows (nonviolence, truthfulness, not stealing, sexual restraint, and nonpossession), and the philosophy of karma had been similarly absorbed, primarily into the Yoga schools, Jainism remained distinct from Hinduism and survived, whereas Buddhism disappeared.⁸ Although Haribhadra criticizes some of the aspects of

Buddhist philosophy (most notably the concept of momentariness, which will be discussed in a later chapter), he, in several texts, applauds the Buddhists, especially for their ideal of the Bodhisattva, the accomplished Buddhist who postpones his or her own enlightenment in order to help others.

THE WRITINGS OF HARIBHADRA

Even if Haribhadra did not write 1,440 treatises, he was prolific. H. R. Kapadia attributed eighty-seven works to Haribhadra,⁹ including several very short pieces. More conservatively, Muni Jinavijaya lists twenty-six Haribhadra texts. Sukh Lal Sanghavi affirms Haribhadra's authorship of forty-seven texts and lists an additional twenty-six titles improbably attributed to Haribhadra.¹⁰ He wrote in Prakrit, the language generally used by Jaina scholars, and he was one of the early Jainas to write in Sanskrit, the language generally associated with Brahmins and Mahāyāna Buddhists.

Haribhadra's two major Prakrit texts are the Samarāiccakahā, which is a collection of moral fables in novel form, and the Dhūrtākhyāna, which provides a satirical critique of Hindu mythology. The story of Yaśodhara first appears in Haribhadra's Samarāiccakahā and was retold in Hariṣeṇa's Bṛhatkathākośa, a Sanskrit text written in 931, and later in Somadeva's Yaśastilaka, written in 959. The tale merits discussion, because it quintessentially conveys key aspects of Jaina doctrine: the sufferings of life from one birth to the next and the consequent search for liberation.

In this story, King Yaśodhara discovers his beloved principal wife committing adultery. The wife then poisons Yaśodhara and his mother, Candramatī, while they sacrifice a rooster made of flour to the local goddess. He is reborn as a peacock, and his mother is reborn as a dog. Both end up back in the court as pets of Yaśodhara's son, Yaśomati, who is now king. One day the peacock remembers his former life as king and again sees his former wife making love to the same man. The peacock tries to kill them both, but they wound him and get away. The dog (his former mother) sees the hurting peacock (her former son) and kills it. King Yaśomati, annoyed that his dice game has been disturbed, hits the dog (his former grandmother) and kills it.

Yasodhara is then born as a mongoose to a blind female and a lame male, who are unable to care for him. He survives by eating snakes. His mother, reborn as a cobra, engages him in battle. A hyena interrupts their fight and kills them both. Yasodhara is reborn as a fish; his mother is reborn as a crocodile, which is later reborn as a she-goat. The fish lives a while longer and then is caught and fed to his former wife, Queen Amrtamatī, as a result of his former action or karma. He next takes birth as a goat and impregnates his former mother. At the moment of his climax, he is gored by another goat and killed, but he enters her womb as his own son. His former son, King Yasomati, hunts and kills the goat that had once been his grandmother, but he releases and spares the baby goat (his father) from her womb. One day, Yasomati plans a big sacrifice to the goddess, Kātyāyanī, involving the killing of twenty buffaloes. His mother (Yasodhara's former wife) does not want to eat buffalo meat that day and asks for goat instead. The cook slices some of the backside of the goat, who was once Yasodhara. His former mother had been reborn as a buffalo; both were roasted by the cooks of the court.

The last phase of their tale finds both reborn as chickens in a tribal village. Their untouchable keeper, Candakarmā, begins to learn about Yoga and meditation. A yogi teaches him about the foundations of Jainism and, during the course of their discussions, tells Candakarmā about the past lives of the two chickens and how their adherence to princely dharma caused them repeated suffering. The chickens, having learned of their past tribulations, decide to accept the precepts of Jainism. In their joy, they utter a crowing sound. At that moment, Yasodhara's son, Yasomati, boasts to his wife that he could kill both chickens with a single arrow. Upon their death, Yasodhara and his mother enter the womb of Yasomati's wife and are eventually reborn as twins. Yasomati continues his cruel ways of hunting until one day he encounters a Jaina sage, whom he urges his hounds to kill. They refuse, and the king has a change of heart. He spares the sage, who in turn tells him the amazing tale of the twin children (Yasomati's father and grandmother) and how their misadventures were prompted by the sacrifice of a rooster made of flour. The king embraces the Jaina faith. The twins grow up to be great renouncers. They later convince an entire kingdom to give up animal sacrifice and eventually, having taken their final monastic vows, they fast to death and attain a heavenly state, further inspiring their kingdom to widely embrace Jaina practices. The moral of the story, included in the final verses, states: "He who carelessly effects the killing of one living being will wander aimlessly on the earth through many a rebirth." ¹¹

Haribhadra's more philosophical texts were written in Sanskrit. In the *Anekāntajayapatākā* and the *Śāstravārtāsamuccaya*, Haribhadra demonstrates his wide grasp of numerous sects of both Hinduism and Buddhism. These texts indicate his interest in developing "doxographies" or catalogues that summarize the philosophical positions of others. Phyllis Granoff observes:

Even at his most disputatious, in a text like the *Śāstra-vārtāsamuccaya*, which is written with the sole intent of refuting rival doctrines, Haribhadra makes clear at the very onset of the text that his motives are not to stir up hatred and dissent, but to enlighten his readers and bring them the benefits of ultimate spiritual peace. Haribhadra's respect for the Buddha is unmistakable when he calls him *mahāmuni*, "the great sage" and one is left with the general impression that Haribhadra's respect for his Buddhist opponents is unchanged by his philosophical differences with them on specific points.¹²

Unlike Buddhist and Vedanta summaries, which sometimes tend to exaggerate or misrepresent the positions of rival schools, Haribhadra has proven to be a highly reliable source for learning about the authentic teachings that were promulgated in post-Gupta India. For instance, his *Saḍdarśanasamuccaya*, a brief text of eighty-seven verses, is used even today in India and in the United States as a textbook for summarizing the major strands of Indian thought.¹³ His *Aṣṭakaprakaraṇa* lists eight qualities that can be universally applied to the faithful of any tradition: nonviolence, truth, honesty, chastity, detachment, reverence for a teacher, the act of fasting, and knowledge. Paul Dundas has noted that:

The remarkable scholar Sukhalal Sanghvi, who overcame the handicap of blindness, contracted very early in life to become one of the most incisive of recent interpreters of Jain philosophy, described Haribhadra in a tribute as a *samadarshi*, "viewing everything on the same level," and his eminence derives not just from the breadth of his intellectual command but from his willingness to articulate more clearly than any of his predecessors the full implications of Jainism's main claim to fame among Indian philosophical systems, the many-pointed doctrine.¹⁴

Through his extensive writings, Haribhadra demonstrates his commitment to understand and respect the views of others while maintaining his commitment to the core Jaina beliefs in nonviolence and the need to purify oneself of the influences of karma.

RESPECTING THE VIEWS OF OTHERS IN THE YOGADRSTISAMUCCAYA

Haribhadra's concern for respecting the views of all people of good faith can be seen throughout the Yogadrstisamuccaya (YDS), the shorter of Haribhadra's two Sanskrit texts on Yoga. First of all, he always refers to good action in the most general terms, recommending that people follow the holy books (*śāstras*) but without specifying which books ought to be followed. He emphasizes that although one may attain omniscience (sarvajña), each person will remain different and distinct (YDS 103). The content of experience is not shared; rather, the contentlessness of purity, which cannot be quantified in any way, is the only common element within the experience of liberation or omniscience. He uses the metaphor of a king's servants: "Just as a king has many dependents, divided according to whether they are near or far, etc., nonetheless, all of them are his servants" (YDS 107). He states that even though they may have different names, the core, purified essence of the liberated ones remains constant (YDS 108). Although acknowledging differences among those who have achieved liberation, nonetheless he regards all of them to be grounded in a common truth.

In a later section of the text (YDS 129-52), Haribhadra emphasizes that truth, though expressed differently, is not essen-

tially different. Making references to Śaivites, Vedāntins, Yogins, and Buddhists, he states:

"Eternal Siva; Highest Brahman; Accomplished Soul, Suchness": With these words one refers to it, though the meaning is one in all the various forms. (*YDS* 130)

He goes on to state that this highest truth, by whatever name, frees one from rebirth (YDS 131). Demonstrating his commitment to a plurality of perspectives, Haribhadra comments that a variety of teachings is needed, because people need to hear things in their own way. Different seeds yield different plants; one cannot expect all things to be the same. He goes on to observe that:

Perhaps the teaching is one but there are various people who hear it. On account of the inconceivable merit it bestows, it shines forth in various ways. (YDS 136)

This sentiment seems to be offered in atonement for the past arrogance that so characterized the Haribhadra of legend.

Haribhadra makes a plea for tolerance, writing that "various perspectives on conduct" can arise (YDS 138), but that these should not be criticized, as one cannot be apprised of all the circumstances (YDS 140). He advocates a stance of reconciliation and insists that it would be horribly improper to refute or revile well-intentioned people:

Hence it is not proper to object to words of reconciliation. Refuting or reviling noble people, it seems, would be worse than cutting one's own tongue. (YDS 141)

He says that even if one disagrees with another person's ideas, one should always strive to be helpful to others. He criticizes the notion that logic alone can set one free, noting that:

With effort, even a position inferred through the proper establishment of premises may certainly be approached in another way, being assailed by opponents. (*YDS* 145)

If the meaning of those things beyond the senses could be known through a statement of reason, then by now it would have been ascertained by the scholars. (*YDS* 146)

In other words, thoughts alone cannot set one free; in contrast, the arrogance associated with logic and scholarship can be a great impediment to one's liberation. He says that liberation requires a loosening of attachment to all things (*dharmas*), including argumentation and logic.

Haribhadra concludes this section with an appeal to be kind and generous to all people. He writes that:

Even the slightest of pain to others is to be avoided with great effort. Along with this one should strive to be helpful at all times. (YDS 150)

This verse echoes a recurrent theme found in Jaina texts. He then takes on a theme akin to the Bodhisattva ideal of Mahāyāna Buddhism:

Even in regard to those with excessive sin who have been cast down by their own actions, one should have compassion for those beings, according to the logic of this highest *dharma*. (YDS 152)

According to the example set by Haribhadra, the task of the philosopher and of the Jaina is to extend compassion toward other living beings.

Haribhadra epitomized the Jaina commitment to noninterference with the life of others, as put forth by the doctrine of nonviolence. He was a convert to Jainism and most likely had a great deal of zeal, to the extent that he wrote scathing satires on the Hindu myths he knew so well, and perhaps he sent his own nephews to spy on the Buddhists.¹⁵ If we follow the Haribhadra stories told centuries after his death, he seems to have learned from his youthful arrogance and possible violence and developed a philosophical approach that includes being somewhat open to the views of others. John Cort has suggested that the Jainas are not tolerant in the same way as the modern liberal secularists. and certainly Haribhadra unequivocally does not hedge his commitment to the core teachings of Jainism, even while competently presenting the views of others. 16 However, as Granoff and Dundas have noted, he exhibits a depth of friendliness to non-Jaina views. Granoff notes that: "Haribhadra exhibits a remarkable broadmindedness in terms of doctrine; in many cases he states clearly that one should not reject a religious teaching if it is true, even if it is found in an opponent's writings; one should instead act with an open mind and be prepared to accept any religious tenet that is in conformity with logic and is correct."17 Haribhadra's statements in the Yogadrstisamuccaya underscore his mission to understand the views of others in an attempt to clarify his own thinking and practice.

THE CONTEXT FOR HARIBHADRA'S STUDIES OF YOGA

Haribhadra's writings on the Yoga tradition provide an eighth-century analysis of Yoga from the Jaina perspective. They provide significant information on the practice of Yoga in post-Gupta India. They also shed light on philosophical aspects of the Jaina tradition and demonstrate the vitality of Jaina intellectual life during this period. The term *Yoga* is used widely in the religious traditions of India. Although generally associated with either the classical Yoga system of Patañjali (ca. 200 c.e.) or with the later Hatha Yoga tradition, Yoga also is used as a generic description for religious practice in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, as well as in texts of both Buddhism and Jainism.

As Mircea Eliade and other historians of religion have noted, Yoga has roots deep in the protohistory of the Indian subcontinent. Indus Valley amulets from four or five millennia ago depict what appear to be early yogins. The *Rg Veda* refers to practitioners of exotic ascetic techniques, and by the time of the Upanişads,

different forms of Yoga are mentioned in very explicit terms. By the time Patañjali composed his 195 aphorisms on Yoga, entitled the *Yoga Sūtras*, in the early centuries of the Common Era, a common definition for Yoga had been accepted: *citta vṛtti nirodha*, or stilling the fluctuations of the mind. Key to this definition is the term *nirodha*, a Buddhistic term alluding to the great restraint required to conquer the wandering mind.

By the time of Haribhadra, Yoga had gained prominence both as one of the six discrete schools of philosophical Brahmanism and as a practice followed by devotees of diverse religious paths. The *Bhagavad Gītā* reflects the diversity of Yoga, proclaiming several of its forms supreme: Karma Yoga, through which one is detached from the fruits of one's action; Jñāna Yoga, the insight meditation practiced by the learned; and Bhakti Yoga, devotion to one's chosen deity, which in the *Bhagavad Gītā* entails worship of Krishna. In addition to these sanctioned or recognized forms of Yoga, several Tantric schools were popular in the eighth century, including the Kaula school and various Śaivite cults.

Most scholarship on Yoga has focused on its Hindu manifestations, as summarized by Mircea Eliade, in his *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom*, and updated with research by Georg Feuerstein and many other scholars. Lengthy bibliographies have been published on Hindu Yoga. Also, scholarship on Buddhist forms of Yoga has been extensive and includes works by early Buddhologists such as Emile Senart and Louis de la Vallee Poussin and recent scholars, particularly of the Tibetan tradition, such as Jeffrey Hopkins and others.

While Jainism, which dates from perhaps as early as the eighth century B.C.E., makes a significant contribution to the Indian intellectual tradition, it has received far less attention from modern scholars than Hinduism and Jainism. Jaina philosophy and practice have had a profound influence on Indian history. The tradition is thoroughly atheistic in that it refutes any notion of a creator God or an external controlling force. It advances a theory of multiple life forms (*jīva*) that are trapped within thick coatings of karma. Liberation (*kevala*) is to be achieved by ridding oneself of karma through one's own effort. The earliest surviving Jaina text, the *Ācārānga Sūtra* (ca. 350 B.C.E.), describes the rigors of asceticism designed to reduce one's karma, which in

Jainism is described in terms of a physically real, colorful, sticky substance. The *Tattvārtha Sūtra* of Umāsvāti (ca. 400 C.E., as suggested by Yajneshwar Shastri)¹⁸ provides a detailed description of stages of spiritual advancement (*guṇasthāna*) grounded in the observance of nonviolence (*ahiṃsā*).

The Jainas work at the dissolution of karma through a highly detailed sequence of spiritual and ethical disciplines and observances, the most familiar of which is the avoidance of violence through a strict vegetarian diet and the adoption of particular lifestyles and occupations that promote harmlessness. Ultimately, the Jaina path leads to a state of perfect solitude (*kevala*), in which each soul dwells, unfettered by any tinge of karma. These doctrines distinguish Jainism from Hinduism's emphasis on deity worship and monism, as well as from Buddhism's insistence on impermanence and emptiness.

Umāsvāti developed extensive descriptions of the Jaina cosmology, metaphysics, and systems of meditation that entail the extirpation of karma. The Buddhist Abhidharma schools offered similar assessments of the world and the human condition. All three systems, Jaina, Buddhist, and Brahmanical, borrowed key ideas from the Sāṃkhya system. Haribhadra, aware of these earlier traditions and eager to bring them into discussion with the Jaina traditions of Yoga, developed four or five texts that pertain to the topic of Yoga.

Yoga traditions held a particular fascination for Haribhadra. In Yoga he saw a tradition that emphasized practice rather than theory. By exploring various Yoga schools and by reexamining his own Jaina faith within the categories of Yoga, he was able to develop a language of universality that respected his own commitment to the highest goal of Jainism (*ayoga kevala*) while at the same time allowed him to affirm similar goals in other traditions.

Haribhadra (or the two Haribhadras) wrote two Yoga texts in Sanskrit, the *Yogabindu* and the *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya*, and two Yoga texts in Prakrit, the *Yogaśataka* and the *Yogaviṃśikā*. These books have been translated into English by K. K. Dixit and published through the L. D. Series at the L. D. Institute of Indology in Ahmedabad. Some scholars also mention the *Sodaśakaprakaraṇa* as a Yoga text, though it appears to deal primarily with sixteen aspects of Jaina worship. ²¹

This book will focus on the Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya, with an investigation of its relationship to Patañjali's Yoga Sūtra, its discussion of Buddhist and Vedāntin styles of Yoga, its critique of Tantra, and its unique way of emphasizing core ideas of the Jaina tradition.