Religious Dissonance and Reconciliation: The Haribhadra Story

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During this somewhat unsettled period following the destruction of the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 and the real possibility of a catastrophic show down between United States and Iraq, it is interesting and perhaps instructive to review how Jains have grappled with their alterity, their difference, their otherness. From the non-Jain accounts found in the early Buddhist records, the Jains appear to be stand-apart people, distinguished by their eating habits, their lay occupations, and the austere life-style observed by members of their mendicant orders. Yet, rather than being reviled and suppressed, Jains for the most part have managed to survive with respect to their non-Jain colleagues except for occasional calamitous outburst of hatred against them for their difference.[1] In this essay, I will examine how throughout their history the Jains have defined themselves as distinct from competing religious groups, hence avoiding the pitfall of being absorbed into the mainstream, which happened

[1] One instance of suppression would come during the eleventh century in Tamil Nadu where Tirujnanasambandhar, a Hindu king, reportedly slaughtered many Jains, as depicted at the Minakshi Temple in Madurai. See Bhaskar Anand Salatore, *Mediaeval Jainism: With Special Reference to the Vijayanagara Empire* (Bombay: Karnatak Publishing House, 1938), pp. 278-279. Another instance is the death of Todar Mal (1719-1766), who, as noted by Paul Dundas, "seems to have been executed as a sectarian leader in the aftermath of what would today be described as a 'communal disturbance'" [for being a] "denouncer of both Hinduism and Islam as false religions." See Paul Dundas, "Jain Perceptions of Islam in the Early Modern Period," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. 42, 1999, pp. 35-46, p. 42.

with the Buddhists.[2] Then I will turn to a troublesome story about Haribhadra that attributes to him horrendous acts of violence. I will examine select writings from the Haribhadra corpus that address the issue of religious plurality in a conciliatory fashion. I will also offer some observations regarding the workability of a theory of nonviolence (ahiṃsā) as suggested by Haribhadra and pacifism in light of the contemporary situation.

Jainism, since at least the fifth century B.C.E., has existed within a pluralistic context. Many of the early converts to Buddhism hailed from the Jain faith, as can be seen in the collection of poems about women, the *Therigāthā*, which developed shortly after the Buddha's passing.[3] These poems indicate that the majority of Jains were prosperous merchants, and their mendicants followed highly rigorous discipline that continues to characterize the Jain community even today. From their original homeland in northeast India, Jains spread through all parts of India, particularly in the south (Karnātaka and Madhyapradesh) and the west (Gujarāt and Rājasthān). With the exception of the near-mythical account of the Hindu blood-letting of Jains in medieval Tamil Nadu, Jains seem mostly to have avoided persecution without overly compromising their core religious practices and identity.

One source for understanding the survivability of the Jains can be found in their philosophical approach to pluralism. On the one hand, Jainism contains perhaps the world's most plural and individualistic theology. Numerous souls, present from beginning less time, countlessly reincarnate, taking on new forms depending upon the action or *karma* in their prior births. No god created these souls. No god or person controls these souls. Each

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[2] See Padmanabh S. Jaini, "The Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism in India: A Study in Contrast" in *Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2000).

[3] Susan Murcott, *The First Buddhist Women: Translations and Commentaries on the Therigatha* (Berkeley, California: Parallax Press, 1991).

individual forges his or her own course and determines one's degree of happiness or sorrow in this life and the lives to come. Jainism is both individualistic and voluntaristic. Ultimately, one can only be concerned with one's own *karma*. Some of the most individualistic Jains state that to interfere with the *karma* of another would be fruitless and inappropriate, and would most likely bring harm to oneself. This philosophy, in addition to emphasizing personal responsibility, also acknowledges that there are many paths pursued by different people, according to their karma. Eventually, given the right karmic circumstances, a person might eventually be born as a Jain. Consequently, Jainism tended not to seek converts, though it did actively promulgate its teaching regarding nonviolence (ahiṃsā).

Jains did not espouse relativism. Throughout its long history, Jain identity has been maintained by clearly delineating Jain beliefs as distinct from the views and practices of others. In this regard, Jains have been consistently clear about what distinguishes them from people of other faiths, not just in regard to vegetarianism and occupation, but in terms of theological confession. The *Ājīvaka* faith, which has since disappeared, has been closely associated with Jainism as recorded in the early literature. It promulgated a form of fatalism that the Jains disdained because it de-emphasized the need to practice nonviolence and countered the Jain insistence on personal responsibility. From an early period the Jains criticized the Brahmins, both for their practice of bloody sacrifice and for their belief in a single (*eka*), underlying, immutable (*anitya*) soul. The Jains criticized the Buddhists for their non-belief in the soul (*anatman*). These arguments can all be found in the early literature of the Jains, particularly the writings of Siddhasena Divākara (fifth century), Akalaṅka (eighth century), and Vidyānanda (ninth century).[4]

[4] See Padmanabh Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1979), pp. 83-85 and 91-93.

In the medieval and modern period, three new traditions came under close scrutiny. The great scholar Haribhadrasūri (700-770 C.E.) developed an elaborate critique of *Tantra* in his *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya*, claiming that it leads people into delusion and causes harm to them. Various Jain theologians presented critiques of Islam, including Devavimala Gaṇin within the *Hīrasaubhāgya*, his hagiography of Hīravijaya Sūri (1527-1595) and the *Mokṣamārgaprakāśaka* of Todar Mal (1719-1766). Both discount the notion of a creator God and condemn the killing of animals allowed within the Islamic tradition.[5] Similarly, the early contact of the Jains with the Christians was unfriendly with Vijayadeva Sūri (1577-1656) suggesting that the Portuguese Catholic "never approves of another religion except his own."[6] Like their objections to Hindu and Muslim theologies, Jains would disagree with Christian notions of God and their derision of dietary restrictions.

Religious Intolerance: Stories Attributed to Haribhadra

Unlike the western world where dissenters from the theological mainstream did not fare so well and heretics were often harassed and even killed,[7] the commitment to ahiṃsā allowed the Jains to remain in relative harmony with others who did not share their theology. Their philosophy of "live and let live" made the Jains unique even within the context of the Indian subcontinent which too had been often plagued by religious

[5] See Paul Dundas, "Jain Perceptions of Islam in the Early Modern Period," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. 42, pp. 35-46. 1999.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[7] In mediaeval Europe, Inquisitions were established to search for heretics and punish them. Seven kinds of punishments were used for this purpose. For detailed treatment of the Cathars and the Waldensians – both of whom rejected the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, see Albert C. Shannon, *The Medieval Inquisition*, second edition (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1991), pp. 67, 133. Even Protestants in America were not free from persecution within their own ranks. Quakers who had fled to colonial Massachusetts to escape religious persecution in England were killed by hanging in Boston Commons because of their unorthodox beliefs.

intolerance.[8] However, stories in which terrible violence is attributed to a Jain scholar, Haribhadra--noted otherwise for his tolerance and commitment to nonviolence--presents an odd and intriguing case. I will analyze these stories in the rest of this paper.

Haribhadra lived in India during the time of great philosophical diversity. The period following the Guptas and prior to the rule of Delhi Sultanate was characterized by the proliferation of *Purāṇas*, the flowering of *Śaiva* and Vaiṣṇava philosophy, the *Bhakti* movement in the south, the dawn of *Tantra* including emphasis on goddess worship, and the ongoing observance of the Vedic sacrificial system.[9] Buddhism and Yoga, both of which had a strong presence in India at the time, offered the most direct competition to Jainism since all three systems shared an emphasis on self-effort in the quest toward spiritual uplift and liberation. Haribhadra, according to an account, was the son of Śankarabhaṭṭa and his wife Gangā, born into the Brahmin caste. He lived either in Brahmapurī or in Citrakūṭa, which is identified with Chittor, the capital of Mewar in

[8] For example, Aurangzeb, unlike his more liberal predecessor Akbar, sought to accomplish mass conversions to Islam during his reign. He first made peaceful overtures, then offered money. If people would not convert, he would punish them and sow dissent to divide the non-Muslims. Eventually, he resorted to forcible conversions. His treatment of the Sikhs, in particular, and the subsequent gross killings of three Sikh followers and the beheading of their Guru, Tegh Bahadur are examples of grave religious intolerance. For a detailed discussion of this see No author, *Sikh Religion* (Detroit, Michigan: Sikh Missionary Center, 1990), pp. 174, 178.

[9] Traditionally, the Jains have placed his dates from 459 to 529 C.E., which fits within the post-Gupta, pre-Islamic time frame. However, in 1919 Muni Jinavijayajī, 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 in fact there were two Haribhadras, with the eighth century Haribhadra, whom he calls Yākinī-putra, imitating the style of an earlier master. See R. Williams, "Haribhadra," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. XXVIII (1965), pp. 101-111.

Rajasthan.[10] He eventually became a Jaina monk of the Vidyādhara Gaccha headed by Jinabhaṭa, and wandered throughout Western India as a member of the Śvetāmbara order. Several traditional authors recorded legendary tales about the life, adventures, misadventures, and work of this prodigious scholar. Phyllis Granoff has summarized many such primary stories about Haribhadra.[11] In these stories, two primary themes remain constant: his conversion to Jainism and his conflict with the Buddhists.

The first set of stories reveal a man possessed of both brilliance and arrogance. In his early years, Haribhadra, a member of the Brahmin caste, achieved a great degree of learning. He became quite boastful 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."[12]

Thinking he had learned all that could be known, he proclaimed that if anyone could tell him something new, he would devote his life in its pursuit. It so happened that he

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[10] R. S. Shukla, *India as Known to Haribhadra Suri* (Meerut: Kusumanjali Prakashan, 1989), p. 1.

[11] She draws from a variety of works that begin to appear in the twelfth century, including Bhadreśvara's *Kahāvali*; Sarvarājamuni's commentary on Jinadatta's *Gaṇadharārdhaṣataka*, Prabhācandra's *Kathākośa* (1077C.E.),a collection of stories known as the *Purātanaprabandhasaṃgraha*, the *Prabhāvakacarita*, also attributed to a scholar named Prabhācandra, but at a later date (1277 C.E.), and Rājaśekarasūri's *Prabandhakośa* (1349 C.E.). See Phyllis Granoff, "Jain Lives of Haribhadra: An Inquiry into the Sources and Logic of the Legends," *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 1989, pp. 111-112.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

overheard a Jain nun called 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 Jain faith, which he then embraced. After a period of study, he was granted the title Sūri or teacher and began to promulgate Jainism. In several of his treatises, the colophon or final verse describes himself as Yākinī-putra, or Yākinī's son, indicating the influence of this Jain nun on his life and thought.

The second set of stories include 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.), building on earlier accounts, narrate the tragic story of two brothers, Haṃsa and Paramahaṃsa—who were both nephews and students of Haribhadra.[13] 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 escape from the monastery. Buddhist soldiers catch and kill Haṃsa. Paramahaṃsa takes refuge with King Sūrapāla,[14] who proposes a debate between

[13] These nephews seem to be styled after two Jaina brothers, Akalaṅka and Niśkalaṅka, whose story is told in the *Kathākośa* (1077 C.E.) two centuries before a variant story about Haribhadra occurs in the *Prabhāvakacarita*. In the *Kathākośa*, the two brothers are put to a Buddhist loyalty test, fail, and beat a hasty escape. Niśkalaṅka is captured and put to death. Akalaṅka is sheltered by a Jaina queen and bests the Buddhist goddess Tārā in debate (Granoff, 114). The Haribhadra story, which occurs in several accounts, changes the names of the brothers to Haṃsa and Paramahaṃsa. In the *Purātanaprabandha-saṃgraha*, Haribhadra does not encourage the two students to enter the monastery. In this account, Haṃsa dies fighting Buddhist soldiers and Paramahaṃsa is killed after losing the debate. A bird takes Parama haṃsa 's bloodied path-clearing broom to Haribhadra, who, in a rage, "makes a cauldron of boiling oil and magically causes the Buddhists to fly through the sky and land in his boiling pot, where they [700 Buddhists] are scalded to death" (Granoff, 117). The mayhem stops when one of Haribhadra's students, sent by the teacher Jinabhadra, interrupts this process. Out of continuing despair (which would not be acceptable within the Jaina faith), he then fasts to death. For a complete investigation of these stories, see the excellent and intriguing article by Phyllis Granoff cited above.

[14] No records can be found that confirm the existence of this king.

Paramahaṃsa and the Buddhists. The goddess Tārā secretly assists the Buddhists. The Jain goddess Ambā advises Paramahaṃsa about how to trick Tārā by asking her to repeat what she said the prior day, an impossibility for the gods who are unable to keep track of time. Paramahaṃsa won the debate. However, the Buddhists still 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 1440 texts that Haribhadra wrote served as expiation for the 1440 Buddhists who died. However, according to the Purātanaprabandhasangraha, this violent outburst occurred after he had written all but his final text.

Intolerance or Respect for the Views of Others?

The stories of violence alluded above are completely at variance with the tremendous body of literature created by Haribhadra himself. Having worked closely with his *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya* and *Yogabindu*, I find it very odd that these tales of violence came to be associated with Haribhadra. Both texts extol the virtues of good people in all faiths, and are particularly solicitous toward the Buddhists. Phyllis Granoff observes:

> Even at his most disputatious, in a text like the Śā*stravārtāsamuccaya*, 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.[15]

His *Saḍdarśanasamuccaya*, a brief text of 87 verses, is used even today in India and the United States as a textbook for summarizing the major strands of Indian thought.[16] 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 observes:

> 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.[17]

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

Haribhadra's concern for respecting the views of all people of good faith can be seen throughout the *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya*(YDS). First of all, he always refers to good action in the most general terms, recommending that people

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[15] Granoff, "Lives of Haribhadra," *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[16] For a recent translation of Haribhadra's *Saddarsanasamuccaya* by Olle Qvarnstrom in "Haribhadra and the Beginning of Doxography in India" in N.K. Wagle and Olle Qvarnstrom, editors, *Approaches to Jaina Studies: Philosophy, Logic, Rituals and Symbols* (Toronto: University of Toronto Centre for South Asian Studies, 1999), pp. 169-210.

[17] Paul Dundas, *The Jains* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 197.

follow the holy books (*śāstras*) but without specifying which books ought to be followed. He emphasizes that although one may become omniscient (*sarvajña*), each person will remain different and distinct (*YDS* 103).[18] The content of experience is not shared; rather, the content less or 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 a difference between those who have achieved liberation, nonetheless he regards all of them to be grounded in a common truth. Haribhadra further emphasizes that truth, though expressed differently, is not essentially different. Making references to Śaivites, Vedāntins, Yogins, and Buddhists, he states:

> Eternal Śiva; 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 are 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:

> 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).

[18] These summaries and translations are from a co-translation by myself and John Casey that will appear in *Reconciling Yogas: Haribhadra's Collection of Views on Yoga* by Christopher Key Chapple (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003).

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 improper to refute or revile well-intentioned people:

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

He advocated that even if one disagrees with another person's ideas, one should always strive to be helpful to the other. He criticizes the notion that logic alone can set one free as can be seen from the following passage:

> 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).
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> 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. For instance, he writes:

> 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).

The task of the philosopher of nonviolence and of the Jaina is to extend compassion toward other living beings.

Reconsidering the Stories of Violence

In the light of the above passages from YDS, the stories about Haribhadra's violent acts against Buddhists seem implausible in several regards. First, stories surfaced five hundred years following his death. Second, by the time these particular Haribhadra stories reached currency, Buddhism was on the wane, if not already largely demolished by the sacking of Buddhist monasteries and libraries by Islamic invaders. Third, the violent actions attributed to Haribhadra seem quite inconsistent with the professed Jain nonviolent values he adopted and professed. His critiques of Hindu sacrificial violence are well known, found in several of his texts, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit. But the Buddhist tradition shares this disdain for violence in the name of religion and Buddhists make unlikely candidates for Haribhadra's challenge and assault.[19]

Hence, if we look at the stories in terms of their historical sitz-im-leben, another story might be told. The religious challenge in northern India in the 13th century came not from the Buddhists but from the Muslims. The Jains faced the difficult prospect of becoming an oppressed minority and needed to develop new strategies for being the "other" in a new context. In the Hindu-dominated world, their food observances gave them

[19] Phyllis Granoff suggests that the reason that Haribhadra so wanted to distinguish Jainism from Buddhism lay in the fact that as Jainas sought patronage from Hindu kings, it might have been beneficial to clearly separate their own tradition from that of Buddhism, which had waned and become unpopular by the eleventh centuries. See the article by Granoff cited above, p. 123.

prestige, their marriage patterns formed no threat to and, in fact, largely reflected Hindu family practices, and their success in business as colleagues with other Vaisya merchants allowed the Jains to co-exist in relative peace with their neighbors. However, the emergence of Islamic theology required new, more creative responses to ensure survival and self-protection. By telling stories of Haribhadra, the exemplar of conversion and the author of several texts that argue the supremacy of Jaina doctrine, a new strategy emerges. Inverting the violence committed by others and attributing it to one's own community might have been a method for strengthening one's own self image, girding for continued confrontation. It would also have brought renewed attention to Haribhadra's work on pluralism, and provided a philosophical ground for remembering Haribhadra's techniques for establishing the value and practice of openness and tolerance which had helped their survival through the centuries.

By examining the actual writings of Haribhadra, no evidence can be found that he harbored or manifested violent tendencies. Because of the late date of the nephew stories and because they seem to be patterned on earlier stories told in the *Kathākośa*, a text unrelated to Haribhadra, I would like to suggest that these tales in fact were a veiled reference to contemporary situation, reflecting Jain difficulties in the presence of Islam. What lessons can be learned from this suggestion by the 13th and 14th century story tellers that people under duress can learn from the life of Haribhadra. What do these stories of Haribhadra convey to us? What can be learned about surviving in a climate of religious hostility from the wisdom of Haribhadra?

Human cruelty to other human beings knows no bounds. Even well intentioned, upright people (in the stories told by Prabhacandra and Rajaśekarasūri, even Haribhadra himself) can be prompted into violent acts of hatred and revenge. A fascinating recent work by John Conroy, *Unspeakable Acts: Ordinary People*, tells how Irish, Israelis, and Kosovans were

coerced out of their human heartedness to become torturers.[20] Thich Nhat Hanh, in his poem "Call Me By My True Names" reminds his readers and listeners that one can be a victim, such as the defenseless boat girl raped by a pirate that he describes. But one can also become a perpetrator. Thich Nhat Hanh writes "I am [also] the pirate, my heart not yet capable of seeing and loving."[21]

Haribhadra of lore and Haribhadra the author left two legacies. Though clearly without historical basis, the Haribhadra stories have indicated that he staged espionage, sent his innocent nephews into the camp of the "other," and in his rage when they were discovered and punished, put to death hundreds of Buddhists. Haribhadra the philosopher and theologian promulgated a style of thinking that fosters a quest for self understanding and respect for the views of others. His gentle message, as we have seen, urges one not to be aggressive in one's views but to teach by example, always striving for greater purity and truth. The first Haribhadra seeks and obtains revenge. The second Haribhadra attempts to work for reconciliation, or at least peaceful co-existence. Martha Minow, in a comprehensive survey of contemporary attempts at conflict resolution, outlines the approaches to overcome the pain of wrongs committed:

> Responses to collective violence lurch among rhetorics of history (truth), theology (forgiveness), justice (punishment, compensation, and deterrence), therapy (healing), art (commemoration and disturbance), and education (learning lessons). None is adequate. Yet, invoking these rhetorics, through collective steps such as prosecutions, truth commissions, memorials, and education, people wager that social responses can alter the emotional experiences of *individuals* and societies living after mass violence. Perhaps

[20] John Conroy, *Unspeakable Acts, Ordinary People: The Dynamics of Torture* (New York: Alfred Knopf. 2000).

[21] Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B. King (eds.), *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), p. 339.

> rather than seeking revenge, people can come to desire to rebuild.[22]

For Haribhadra the philosopher, his desire to be of a friendly mind to people of all faiths most likely stemmed from a process of self-reflection prompted by his atoning for his youthful hubris. His approaches to philosophical pluralism mirror, at least, two of the ideas put forth by Martha Minow: he attempts to truthfully present rival views and he works to educate. One might also find therapeutic aspects of his way of thinking and find art and beauty in his elegant use of language. The violent Haribhadra of lore does not fulfill any of these qualities; even his attempt at justice falls short of adequate or ethical.

The Jain tradition does allow its lay adherents to protect themselves and perhaps use violence as a last resort. However, the best of self-protection entails advance thinking, alertness, and an unwillingness to place oneself in a potentially harmful situation. Furthermore, *karma* theory prompts any person committed to nonviolence to first engage in an honest process of self-reflection. What cause underlies any occasion for violence? Does the faulty lie within oneself? What further disturbances will be caused by a violent response? By understanding the complex net of karmic repercussions, the thoughtful Jain will, rather than acting from a place of anger, will attempt to apply an analysis that takes into account some form of introspection, forgiveness, and reconciliation. A cultural expression of this can be found in the ritual of asking forgiveness for even unintended wrong that characterizes Jain ritual life.

In the context of increasing occurrence of violence in our world, the Haribhadra story of violence and the Haribhadra philosophy of tolerance offer two distinct types of solutions. One could respond in kind, as in the U.S. bombing in Afghanistan and in the alleged description of Haribhadra luring Buddhists to their

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[22] Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), p. 147.

death. Conversely, one could examine the root sources of discontent, examine if one finds oneself totally free of guilt, and explore one of the many avenues suggested recently by Martha Minow, and earlier by Haribhadra, the medieval philosopher through his writings.

How can one guard against the infinite varieties of human cruelty and violence including assent to "retributive justice"? What practice can serve as an antidote for a human being's descent into inhumanness? I would like to suggest that remembrance and mindfulness of one's own humanity and the humanity of the other even in times of difficulty must be maintained. In his grief and rage, Haribhadra is, in the telling of his story, said to have tortured 700 or even 1440 Buddhists to the point of death. The scale of Haribhadra's mythic revenge reminds us that even with the best of intentions human beings are capable of violence because of firmly held religious convictions. Vigilance is needed to keep to the precept put forth by Haribhadra, the philosopher and author, that "one must maintain compassion even toward those with excessive sin." Only by adhering to this most difficult measure of forgiveness can one break the cycle of violence.*

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