4

# (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta

The (Middle-length) Discourse to Jīvaka | M 55 Theme: On the demerit of killing and meat-eating Translated & annotated by Piya Tan ©2008, 2013

## 1 The (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta

#### 1.0 JĪVAKA SUTTAS

There are at least 4 suttas in the Nikayas containing the name Jīvaka, that is, as follows:

- (1) (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta (M 55). Jīvaka visits the Buddha at his mango grove, and asks if it is true that animals are killed specially as meal offerings to the Buddha. The Buddha replies that he forbids the eating of meat only when we "see, hear or suspect" that the animal has been specially killed for us. (M 55/1:368-371), SD 43.4.
- (2) **(Upāsaka) Jīvaka Sutta** (A 8.26). Jīvaka asks the Buddha about a lay follower (*upāsaka*), and he explains that he is one who has taken the 3 refuges and the 5 precepts, and on this account works for his own welfare and that of others. This Sutta has essentially the same teachings as those of the (Upāsaka) Mahānāma Sutta (A 8.25). (A 8.26/4:222), SD 87.8. [3.1]
- (3) Jīvak'amba'vana (Samādhi) Sutta (S 35.160/4:143 f), on mental concentration. SD 93.4. [3.2]
- (4) Jīvak'amba'vana (Paţisallāna) Sutta (S 35.161/4:144), on mental solitude. SD 93.5. [3.2]

The first two Suttas are records of the Buddha's teachings given to Jīvaka himself. The last two, however, are given in Jīvaka's mango grove, but there is no mention of his presence. However, it is possible that he is present along with the assembled monks and others.

As the sutta titles are identical for each pair, they have been prefixed with a disambiguator or identifier given (within parentheses) to make each title unique for easy reference. In the case of (1), the prefix "Majjhima" refers to the Majjhima Nikāya where the Sutta is located. In the case of (2), the prefix tells us about the Sutta's topic. In (3) the disambiguator is embedded, as also in (4), and in both these Suttas, it refers to their respective topics.

#### 1.1 SUTTA VERSIONS

#### 1.1.1 Chinese version

The (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta, "the (Middle-length) Discourse to Jīvaka," records a meeting between the Buddha and the doctor Jīvaka during which the Buddha clarifies the conditions when meat is allowable as almsfood for monks. This discourse does not have a parallel in the Chinese Āgamas. This omission has been taken by some scholars as being related to its content, that is to say, it reflects an attitude against meat-eating, presumably prevalent among Sarvâstivādins, so that the Sutta is omitted from the Madhyama Āgama as we have it in Chinese. However, the Sarvâstivāda Vinaya contains the same

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A sutta may be remembered either by its name or by its reference number (which follows the name within parentheses) here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> THICH Minh Chau, eg, suggests that "the dropping from all the Chinese Āgamas of the Pali sutta no 55, Jīvaka Sutta, in which the Buddha was reported to allow the monks to take 3 kinds of meat, confirms the Sarvâstivādin's attitude against meat-eating" (1964:31). An extract from the present discussion appeared earlier in Analayo 2008a: 6 f. On meat-eating, see (5).

regulation on consumption of meat as found in the (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta.<sup>3</sup> As such, we have to look for some other explanation for the omission. [1.1.2]

Although the Dīrgha Āgama (apparently belonging to the Dharma, guptaka school) preserved in Chinese does not have any parallel to the (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta, such a version could well have existed in another Dharma, guptaka Āgama collection, but somehow omitted by the translators of the Chinese Agamas. This absence of a whole sutta from the Chinese canon, as we shall see [1.1.2], is due to the historical circumstances of how the Buddhist texts came into China, and how they were selected for translation, and so forming the Chinese canon.

#### 1.1.2 Sanskrit version

Although the (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta has no parallel in the Chinese Āgama, it has one in Sanskrit fragments of a recently discovered Mula, sarvâstivāda Dīrgha Āgama. 5 Hence, warns Analayo, "the absence of a parallel to the Jīvaka Sutta among the discourses found in the Chinese Āgamas is not due to ideological issues, but is rather an outcome of the circumstance that the four Agamas extant in Chinese translation belong to different schools." (2011:319)

The case of the (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta, Analayo adds, serves as a warning against drawing conclusions based on the absence of a whole discourse from the Agamas. Conclusions can certainly be drawn in the case of the absence of a particular statement or passage from otherwise similar discourses. But in the case of the absence of a whole discourse from the Chinese Agamas, the possibility that this absence "could be due to the circumstance that the four Agamas translated into Chinese stem from different schools or reciter traditions, with a differing distribution of the discourses over their respective collections, needs to be taken into consideration." (2011:319)

#### 1.2 SUTTA SUMMARY AND HIGHLIGHTS

1.2.1 The (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta and its Sanskrit fragment parallel open with Jīvaka visiting the Buddha at his mango grove [§§1-2]. The two versions agree that Jīvaka brings up the question of meat being specially killed as food-offering for the Buddha or his monks<sup>6</sup> [§3]. The discussion then shifts to the proper conduct of the monks. However, in the Dīrgha Agama (Skt fragment 433r), the issue throughout is that of the monks' conduct. Furthermore, in the Sanskrit fragment, Jīvaka reports that the subject of meat-eating by the Buddha's monks has arisen in the royal court.<sup>7</sup>

Both versions say that the Buddha denies the rumour [§4] and clarifies that it is improper for his monastics to take meat when they have seen, heard, or suspected (by way of reasoning infer) that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> T1435 @ T23.190b9 + T23.264c27 are the counterparts of M 55,5/1:369,4. See also T23.91b21, which incl meat and fish in a list of allowable food, thus clearly not taking a vegetarian stance. T23.190b14 agrees with V 1:238,8 on taking meat that is "pure in 3 points," 三種淨 sān zhǒng jìng (tikoti,parisuddha). **Schmithausen** suggests that we view such purity "in the sense of the Jaina idea of purity...where 'pure' (suddha) contrasts with uddesiya ('prepared particularly for the ascetic'), etc, and clearly means 'free from any contamination with himsa, ie killing or injuring" (2005b:189 n24). See SD 4.24 (3.4.1). See Analayo 2011:318 n43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Analayo 2011:318 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hartmann 2004b:127 indicates that this fragment ranges from folio 433r2 to 435r5 of the newly discovered Dīrgha Āgama fragment (Analayo 2011:318 n44). For a ref to this parallel version in an uddāna of this collection, see Hartmann 2002a:138. Another fragment parallel to M 55 is SHT 6:1525V1-R1 (p174, identified in SHT 9 p421; cf also SHT 8 p207).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> At M 55,3/1:368,22, Jīvaka reports the rumour that the Buddha himself partakes of meat killed for his sake, and the discussion then shifts to the proper conduct of monks in terms of meat-eating. In DĀ (Skt) frag 433r, the issue throughout is that of the monks' conduct. On meat-eating, see (6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Such a rumour is also recorded at V 1:237,24 = A 8.12/4:187,16 and J 246/2:262,9.

animal has been killed for their sake<sup>8</sup> [§5]. In the (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta, the Buddha continues by describing how a monk, who has developed lovingkindness and detachment, accepts food from a layman, with Jīvaka agreeing that such an offering is blameless [§6].

- **1.2.2** The Sanskrit fragment, however, continues by exploring instances where meat is offered in an improper way, after which it has an abbreviated reference to the arising of the Tathagata and his teaching of the gradual path up to the cultivation of lovingkindness. Here, too, Jīvaka comes to the conclusion that such almsfood is *unallowable* for a monk.
- **1.2.3** After describing how a monk accepts almsfood <u>blamelessly</u>, the (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta continues with a dialogue between Jīvaka and the Buddha on <u>lovingkindness</u>. Jīvaka declares that he has heard that the Buddha, like Brahma, "abides in lovingkindness" [§7]. The Buddha declares that he has destroyed any defilement that would oppose lovingkindness [§8]. This exchange, however, is not found in the Sanskrit fragment.
- **1.2.4** The (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta repeats its exposition on the blameless monk and the Buddha's own accomplishment in terms of each of <u>the remaining three divine abodes</u>, that is, of compassion [§8], gladness [§9], and equanimity [§10]. The Sanskrit fragment does not have any such treatment, lacking also the mention of lovingkindness [1.2.3].
- **1.2.5** The (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta then lists the 5 occasions for demerit for someone who kills a living being for preparing almsfood for the Buddha or his disciples [§12]. Jīvaka approves of the teachings and goes for refuge [§13]. The Sanskrit fragment, however, says that Jīvaka invites the Buddha for a meal on the following day, and then describes that meal offering.<sup>10</sup>

## 2 Jīvaka and ancient Indian medicine

#### 2.1 JīVAKA'S LIFE AND EDUCATION

#### 2.1.1 Early life

Jīvaka Komāra,bhacca is the abandoned child of Sāla,vatī, a courtesan of Rāja,gaha.<sup>11</sup> The Aṅguttara Commentary adds that prince Abhaya is his father (AA 1:398 f). Upon his birth, it is said, Sāla,vatī, hoping for a daughter (as a future apprentice),<sup>12</sup> has a son. She has him placed in a worn-out winnowing-basket<sup>13</sup> and discarded on a dust-heap, where he is found and rescued by prince Abhaya.

When Abhaya asks about the infant, the people reply that "He's alive" (*jīvati*), and so the child is called Jīvaka, "the one who lives." Because he is raised by the prince (*kumārena posāpito*), he is called Komāra,bhacca, "raised (or supported) by the prince."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> DĀ (Skt) frag 433v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The standard form of this reference begins with *iha ṣāstā loka utpadyate*, followed by an indication that the section on morality (*śīla,skandha*) should be supplemented; for a discussion of this type of ref, see Melzer 2006:12-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> DĀ (Skt) frag 435r. See Analayo 2011:318 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> V 1:268 f; AA 1:399. Cf SnA 1:244.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Sāla,vatī does have a daughter, **Sirimā,** also a courtesan of Rājagaha. She is Jīvaka's younger sister (SnA 1:244; DhA 3:106).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Kattara, suppa, which Comy glosses as "old winnowing-basket" (jiṇṇa, suppa, VA 1114).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> V 1:269; AA 1:399. Cf Kumāra Kassapa, who is also adopted by king Pasenadi: SD 28.13 (2).

A brief synopsis of Jīvaka's story is also found in the Dīgha Commentary, where he is called Kumāra, bhaṇḍa, "the prince's property" (DA 133). The Sanskrit work, Divyâvadāna, calls him Kumāra,bhūta, "the one who has become prince" (Divy 506-518).

Hermann Oldenberg, in his Vinaya translation, The Vinaya Texts (1882), notes,

The true meaning of the name, however, appears to have been different, for in Sanskrit *kumāra-bhṛtyā* and *kaumārabhṛtya* are technical terms for the part of medical science which comprises the treatment of infants (see Wise, "Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine," p3.) We believe, therefore, that this surname *Komārabhacca* really means, "Master of the *kaumārabhṛ-tya* science." (V:RO 2:174 n)

Monier Williams's Sanskrit-English Dictionary (SED) indeed defines *kumārabhrţyā* as "care of a young child or of a pregnant or lying-in woman, midwifery, Ragh iii 12" (p292b). SED quotes the Raghuvamsa (probably as its earliest citation), an epic poem (*mahā,kavya*) by Kālidāsa (5<sup>th</sup> century).

This is all very interesting, but the work is over 700 years after the Buddha and Jīvaka. In fact, it is more likely that since Jīvaka was a famous doctor who was good in midwifery, women's post-natal care and pediatrics, that his name became eponymous for his skills.

#### 2.1.2 Medical training

Not long after Jīvaka came of age,<sup>15</sup> says the Vinaya, or when he was 16,<sup>16</sup> according to the Aṅguttara Commentary, he asks about his parentage. Prince Abhaya pleads ignorance about his mother, but declares, "I'm your father, for I've raised you." Considering his position, he thinks that even as a member of a royal family, it would be not be easy for him to support himself if he has no skills.

Hearing of a world-famous doctor (disā,pāmokkha vejja) in Takka,silā, 18 he decides to take up a doctor's "craft" (sippa), that is, doctoring. Without taking leave or permission (anāpucchā, "without asking"), he left for Takka,silā, approached the doctor, and is accepted as a student. After seven years, he wondered if he has completed his training.

When he approaches his teacher, he tells him to take a trowel (*khanitti*), look around Takka,silā for a yojana,<sup>19</sup> and bring to him whatever he sees as non-medicinal. He does as instructed. In due course, he returns to this teacher and tells him that he sees nothing there that is not medicinal. The teacher then declares that he has learned enough for a living. He sends him off with a bit of provision. (V 1:269 f)

#### 2.2 JīVAKA'S TREATMENTS

#### 2.2.1 Head ailment (Sāketa)

**2.2.1.1** Jīvaka's first recorded patient was <u>a Sāketa seth's wife</u>, whom he cures of 7-year-old head ailment (*sīs'ābādha*). He gives her **a nasal therapy** (*natthu*,*kamma*).<sup>20</sup> A ghee decocted with a number of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Na cirass'eva viññutaṁ pāpuṇi, V 1:269,28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Soļasa,vass'uddesika,kāle, AA 1:399,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Api câhaṁ te pitā, mayā'pi posāpito'ti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Takka,silā (Skt Takṣa,śilā), ie modern Taxila, a city and home to an archaeological site located about 32 km (20 mi) NW of Islamabad and Rawalpindi in Pakistan. The ruins include those of the Graeco-Bactrian Buddhist "great state" (mahā,janapada) of Gāndhāra, located on the northern trunk road (uttara,patha), today in northern Afghanistan and eastern Pakistan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> <u>A league</u> (yojana) is about 11.2 km (7 mi): see **Dhātu Vibhaṅga S** (M 140) @ SD 4.17 (1.3.2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Nasal operation is allowed for monks (V 1:204); Cf V 3:83 & V:H 1:143 n2. It is however prohibited for a monastic to do this as a livelihood, ie one of the precepts in the "moralities" ( $s\bar{\imath}la$ ) pericope: see eg D 1,27/1:12.

other medical ingredients is poured into her nose as she lies supine on a bed. The liquid is not swallowed but spat out. From her and her family members, he receives 16,000 kahapanas,<sup>21</sup> a manservant, a maid-servant and a coach with horses. (V 1:270-272)

**2.2.1.2** In classical Āyurvedic medicine, there are at least 5 types of **diseases of the head**, caused, according to Caraka, by wind, bile, phlegm, a combination of them, and worms.<sup>22</sup> According to Caraka, the main treatment for these diseases is <u>nasal therapy</u> (*nastaḥ,karman*),<sup>23</sup> which, according to Suśruta, are of two kinds: head-purgation (*śiro,virecana*) and lubrication (*snehana*), the application of medicines or oil cooked with medicine and administered through the nostrils.<sup>24</sup> The Āyurvedic treatments described closely reflect those in the Pali accounts. (Zysk 1982:70-72)

#### 2.2.2 Trepanning (Rāja,gaha)

- **2.2.2.1** Jīvaka performs a trepanation for a Rāja,gaha seth who has a head ailment. He **surgically operates** on the seth's skull and removes two worms ( $p\bar{a}naka$ ), one small, one large [2.1.1]. Then he sutures back the skin of the skull. (V 1:273 f)
- **2.2.2.2** As we have noted, in Āyurvedic medicine, amongst the causes of head ailments are worms (Skt *kṛmi*).<sup>25</sup> Suśruta also prescribes purgations of the head for such ailments.<sup>26</sup> Āyurveda, however, does not practise trepanning. (Zysk 1982:72 f)

#### 2.2.3 Rectal fistula (Rāja,gaha)

- **2.2.3.1** When Jīvaka returns to Rājagaha, Abhaya puts him up in his own residence. In Rāja,gaha, he cures <u>Bimbi,sāra</u> of a troublesome **rectal fistula** (*bhagandal'abadha*), and the king rewards him with all the ornaments of Bimbisāra's 500 wives. He is appointed <u>royal physician</u> to the king, the palace women and personal doctor to the monastic community with the Buddha at its head. (V 1:272 f)
- **2.2.3.2** Here, Jīvaka's treatment involves the application of a medicated salve to the suppurating fistula by means of a finger-nail. In Āyurvedic medicine, Suśruta lists  $\underline{5}$  types of rectal fistula, that is, those caused by wind, bile, phlegm, a combination of these or external factors. The fistula may be located on the perineum, the rectum or bladder. He differentiates between a rectal fistula (*bhagandara*) and a rectal pustule or boil ( $p\bar{l}daka$ ), that is, the former has an opening, while the latter does not.<sup>27</sup>

Caraka prescribes that a fistula should be initially treated by purgation, probing or lancing. When the tract is cleansed with what Suśruta called an  $e ildes a nar{n}$ , an application of caustic ointment for cauterizing the fistula. An  $e ildes a nar{n}$ , according to medical commentaries is a  $sar{a}lar{a}ka$ . In Pali, a  $sar{a}lar{a}ka$  is a bamboo splin-

 $<sup>^{21}</sup>$  Kahāpana (Skt kārśāpana), a small coin (of various metals, usu copper or silver): see **Money and monastics,** SD 4.19-23 (1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Suśruta Samhitā Sūtrasthāna 17.6, 19.4. On these <u>causes of diseases</u>, cf **Sīvaka S** (S 36.21,4-11), SD 5.6, where 8 causes are given.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Siddha,sthāna 9.88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Cikitsā, sthāna 40.21; cf Caraka Siddha, sthāna 9.89-92, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> See esp Caraka Sūtra,sthāna 17.27-29, Cikitsā,sthāna 26,18, Suśruta Saṁhita Uttara,tantra 25.10 f, Aṣṭaṅga,-hṛdaya Saṁhita Uttara,tantra 23.12-15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Uttara,tantra 25.26-30; cf Astanga,hrdaya Samhita Uttara,tantra 24.15-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Nidāna,sthāna 4.3. See Zysk 1982:81 n31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Caraka Sūtra,sthāna 12.97 and Suśruta Samhita Uttara,tantra 8.4; cf Aṣṭaṅga,hṛdaya Samhita Uttara,tantra 28.25 f, where Vāgbhaṭa merely prescribes the use of a surgical instrument (*śastra*).

ter. Vāgbhaṭa refers to three kinds of  $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}ka$ , whose ends resemble the nails of the small, ring and middle fingers. <sup>30</sup> (Zysk 1982:73 f)

#### 2.2.4 Hernia operation (Benares)

**2.2.4.1** The son of a Benares seth, while turning at somersaults,<sup>31</sup> twists his bowels, so that he is unable to properly digest his food or relieve himself regularly. Jīvaka operates on his stomach, straightens out the twisted intestines (anta,gaṇṭha'ābādha), and sutures it back. He becomes thin and jaundiced, with his veins showing all over his body.

Jīvaka then <u>cuts open his belly</u>, straightens out the intestines, and then sews his belly up and applies some ointment on it. When the man recovers, Jīvaka receives 16,000 kahapanas as fees. (V 1:275 f)

The treatment here apparently is **a laparotomy**, where Jīvaka cuts open the abdomen and either corrects the hernia or removes it, and sews the intestines back together. The abdomen wall is closed with a suture, and a salve applied.

**2.2.4.2** There seems to be no Sanskrit counter part of the Pali term, *anta*, *ganṭha*. Suśruta, however, describes how rupture in the abdominal wall, through which an unbroken small intestine protrudes. The intestine is washed with milk, lubricated with ghee, and gently pushed back into its proper position. If the rupture is too large or too small, an incision may be made to facilitate correcting the intestine. The suture is then applied with an ointment made from various vegetable products to promote healing.<sup>32</sup> (Zysk 1982: 74 f)

#### 2.2.5 Morbid pallor (Canda Pajjota)

**2.2.5.1** When <u>Caṇḍa Pajjota</u>, king of Avantī,<sup>33</sup> is long stricken with **morbid pallor** (*paṇḍura,roga*),<sup>34</sup> he seeks Bimbisāra's permission to have Jīvaka to treat him. Pajjota is known for his fierce temper, and killing anyone he dislikes. After examining Pajjota, Jīvaka prescribes ghee, which the king hates. Either he strongly dislikes it or he is allergic to it. It is, however, the only remedy. Jīvaka resorts to a few expedients.

He secretly prepares the ghee in such as way that it has the colour, smell and taste of an astringent decoction,<sup>35</sup> and has the king take it. With the king's permission, he immediately rides away on a fast elephant on some other business. Meantime, the king begins to feel the nauseating effects of the ghee.

Pajjota, in a rage, orders Jīvaka's arrest and sends his fastest slave, Kāka, after him. Kāka meets Jīvaka breakfasting in Kosambī and is persuaded by Jīvaka to eat half a myrobalan, which purges him violently. Jīvaka then explains to Kāka that he wishes to delay his return to give the king time to recover.

The king, having recovered, is in good spirits and sends Jīvaka a gift of a pair of <u>Siveyyaka cloth</u>,<sup>36</sup> the best of cloths, which Jīvaka in turn offers to the Buddha<sup>37</sup> [4.2].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> See Mukhophādhyaya 1913 1:155-174.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Aşţaṅga,hṛdaya Saṁhita Uttara,tantra 25.38; cf Mukhopādhyāya 1913 1:159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Mokkhacikāya kīlantassa; see Sāmañña,phala S (D 2,49), SD 8.10; V:H 1:316 nn 1, 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Suśruta Cikitsā, sthāna 2.56-66. Caraka makes no mention of this.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Avantī is in modern western Malwa. His family name is Pajjota, while the epithet *caṇḍa*, "fierce" describe his predisposition. The capital of Avantī is Ujjenī. See DhA 1:192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Cf V 1:206, where a monk had jaundice, but is allowed a different kind of cure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Kasāva,vaṇṇaṁ kasāva,gandhaṁ kasāva,rasaṁ. Vinaya allows 4 kinds of astringent decoctions (kasāva) to be used as medicine in flavouring food (V 1:205). Kasāva is also allowed to be applied as an agent for making the colouring stick to walls (V 2:151).

**2.2.5.2** In Āyurvedic medicine,  $p\bar{a}ndu,roga$  (Skt, literally, "yellow sickness") is a generic name for ailments that turn the skin pale (anaemic). <sup>38</sup> There are at least 4 types, <sup>39</sup> of which jaundice ( $k\bar{a}mal\bar{a}$ ) is said to be one. Suśruta says that the principal cure for  $p\bar{a}ndu,roga$  is ghee, <sup>40</sup> and both he and Caraka prescribe many remedies containing ghee, none of which however appears to be of an astringent variety. <sup>41</sup> (Zysk 1982:75 f)

### 2.2.6 Jīvaka and the Buddha

**2.2.6.1** Jīvaka is deeply devoted to the Buddha. Once when the Buddha suffers from **an imbalance of bodily humours** (*dosâbhisanna*),<sup>42</sup> Jīvaka prescribes that first the Buddha needs <u>a lubrication</u> "softening" of the body, having some oil being rubbed into it. Then, he is given <u>a weak purgative</u>, Jīvaka then gives the Buddha three handfuls of lotuses mixed with various medicines to smell.

On departing, Jīvaka, when the purgative is already acting, he realizes that he has forgotten to tell the Buddha to bathe in warm water to complete the cure. The Buddha, however, reads his thoughts and bathes as required. (V 1:278-280)

**2.2.6.2** The concept of **dosa** (Skt dosa) or "bodily humours" is well known in Āyurvedic medicine, which treats their disorder or imbalance with <u>a purgative</u>. Suśruta, in his chapter on "the treatment of supervenient diseases cured by emetics and purgatives,"<sup>43</sup> states that these are the principal remedies for cleansing the bodily humours (dosa).

He says that before a purgative is administered, the patient's body should first be lubricated (*snig-dha*) and sweated (*svinna*).<sup>44</sup> In the case of kings or those who have never been purged, he advises the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Siveyyaka dussa,yuga. Comy gives 2 explanations: (1) In Uttara,kuru, it is the shroud of a corpse left in the charnel-ground (sīvatthika). The corpse is then taken away by a kind of birth into the Himalayas, where it eats the flesh and discards the cloth. The forester finds the cloth and gives it to the king. (2) Siveyyaka refers to the kind of thread used for the cloth of the good women of Sivī kingdom (VA 1117). Although the commentator says that it is the first kind of cloth, it is more likely that the king would be presented with the second kind: see V:RO 2:190. Dussa,yugan ("the twin cloth") refers to the dhoti or sarong (worn around the waist) and the upper robe often worn by laymen. Cf pāveyyaka ("from Pāvā") or paṭheyyaka (V 1:253; V:H 4:31 n2) & bārāṇaseyyaka ("from Benares) (V 1:275; V:H 4:389 n1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> V 1:276-278; DA 1:133; AA 1:399.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> See esp Suśruta Uttara,tantra 44.3 f; cf Aşṭaṅga,hṛdaya Saṁhita Nidṣns,sthāna 13.1-4 and Mādhava,nidāna 8.2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> See G J Meulenbeld (tr), *The Mādhavanidāna*, Leiden, 1974:296-313 and R F G Müller, "Wörterheft zu einegin Ausdrüken indischer Medizin," *M10* vol 7 1961:112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Uttara,tantra 44.14; cf Astanga,hrdaya Samhita Cikitsā,sthāna 16.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Caraka Cikitsā,sthāna 16.47-55, 134 f; Suśruta Uttara,tantra 44.15-20; cf Aṣṭaṅga,hṛdaya Saṁhita Cikitsā,sthāna 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Kāyo dosâbhisanno: the term **abhisanna** (fr abhisandati, "it ovewhelms, overflows") refers to an excess of the humours (as such are "bad humours"); hence, the tr "imbalance" is used here. Vinaya mentions that in the case of a certain monk whose body is afflicted with humour imbalance (abhisanna, kāya) is allowed with various purgatives (V 1:206,27; also at V 2:119; DA 1:133; MA 3:45). Dosa here has the sense of being ill (Miln 43). In Milinda, pañha, Nāgasena asks, "Does a physician, sire, give oily [softening] medicines for a case where the body's humours are disturbed, imbalanced?" (tikicchako abhisanne kāye kupite dose sinehaniyāni bhesajjāni deti, Miln 172). Traditional Indian medicine speaks of 3 humours (tridoṣa), ie wind (vāyu), bile (pitta), and phlegm (śleṣman): they are listed amongst the 8 causes of ill health given in **Sīvaka S** (S 36.21) & SD 5.6 (1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Suśruta Cikitsā,sthāna 33: *vamana,virecana,sādhyôpadrava,cikitsatṁ*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Suśruta Cikitsā,sthāna 33.4.

use of mild purgatives, which he describes as being pleasant, with noticeable or immediate results (*dṛṣṭa,phala*), savoury, small in quantity, but great in potency and with little risk of creating disorders.<sup>45</sup>

After the application of the emetic or purgative, the patient should be washed with tepid water; <sup>46</sup> and when he feels weak or thirsty, he should be given in small doses a diet of light or lukewarm drink mixed with rice gruel ( $pey\bar{a}$ ). <sup>47</sup> Lotuses, as used by Jīvaka, however, are not mentioned in Āyurvedic medicine. (Zysk 1982:76-78)

#### 2.2.7 The Buddha's blood

**2.2.7.1** The Dhammapada Commentary gives a similar account of Jīvaka's attending to the Buddha, this time in connection with <u>the Buddha's foot</u> being cut by a splinter from the rock hurled down by Devadatta. The rock splinter caused the foot to bleed badly so that it needs medical attention. The Buddha has to be carried from Madda, kucchi to Jīvaka's mango grove.

There Jīvaka applies an astringent to the Buddha's wound, and having bandaged it, leaves for the city, planning to return in time to remove it. But by the time he does return, the city gates are closed and he is unable to enter. He is deeply worried that if the bandage remains on all night, the Buddha would suffer intense pain. The Buddha reads his thoughts and instructs Ānanda to remove the bandage.<sup>48</sup>

**2.2.7.2** When medically treating the Buddha, Jīvaka occasionally has to cause him to <u>bleed</u>. Shedding the Buddha's blood is, as we know, one of the 5 deeds that bring immediate result, that is, an "immediate karma" (*ānantariya kamma*),<sup>49</sup> necessarily bringing about rebirth in hell upon dying. In **the Bahu,dhātuka Sutta** (M 115), for example, it is stated that

...it is impossible, there is no chance, that an individual attained to right view, would draw the Tathagata's blood—this is not possible.

...it is possible, there is the chance, that an ordinary worldling, would draw the Tathagata's blood—this is possible.

(M 115,13/3:64 = SD 29.1a; see also **Aṭṭhāna Vagga**, A 1.274/1:27 = Vbh 809/336)

A worldling such as Devadatta, however, tries to kill the Buddha; in other words, he has a "hating mind" (paduṭṭha,citta). In his attempts to take over control of the sangha, he tries to kill the Buddha a number of time, but fails each time. Once, when he pushes down a large boulder from an escarpment above the Buddha, it hits another solid rock but only a splinter cuts the Buddha's toe. However, it causes profuse bleeding in the Buddha. Hence, this is an immediate karma.

Jīvaka's medical operations on the Buddha where he (the Buddha) bleeds is not bad karma in any way because he has no unwholesome intention whatsover, especially when he is already a streamwinner [5.2]. Indeed, where Jīvaka does cause the Buddha to bleed, it is part of his healing the Buddha back to good health. As such, it is very wholesome karma.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Suśruta Cikitsā, sthāna 33.5,19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Suśruta Cikitsā,sthāna 33.44 f; cf Caraka Sūtra,sthāna 15.17-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Suśruta Cikitsā, sthāna 33.33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> DhA 7.1/2:164 f; see also J 5:333.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> These 5 deeds are (1) patricide, (2) matricide, (3) killing an arhat; (4) shedding the Buddha's blood, and (5) causing a schism in the sangha (A 6.94; Sn 233, as one of the 6 things, cha câbhiṭṭhānāni abhabbo katuṁ, that a streamwinner is incapable of).

#### 2.3 Jīvaka's other contributions

#### 2.3.1 Exercises and sauna for the monastics

The Vinaya records an occasion when the monks had a series of offerings of sumptuous foods.<sup>50</sup> As a result of such rich food, the monks become very ill, the bodily humours imbalanced (have indigestion, etc).<sup>51</sup> Jīvaka, noticing this, approaches the Buddha and advises that the monks need exercise by mindful walking to and fro, and also use a sauna (fire-room).

After giving a suitable discourse to Jīvaka (by way of showing appreciation of Jīvaka's concern), the Buddha then announces to the monastic assembly, "Bhikshus, I allow an ambulatory and a sauna" (anujānāmi bhikkhave caṅkamañ ca jantā,qharañ câti, V 2:119).

#### 2.3.2 The 5 diseases.

Jīvaka's medical successes make him famous, and with his numerous duties to Bimbisāra and the royal household, keep him very busy. Yet, he never neglects his duties to the Buddha and the sangha. Now at that time, **five diseases**—leprosy, boils, eczema, consumption and epilepsy<sup>52</sup>—are prevalent in the country.

On account of <u>Jīvaka's privileged treatment for the sangha members</u>, many people, afflicted with diseases and unable to pay for the treatment by him, join the sangha so that they can receive the treatment.

Burdened by numerous requests from the freeloading "monks," and unable to cope with them, Jīva-ka asks the Buddha to lay down a rule that men afflicted with certain of those 5 diseases should not be allowed to go forth. The Buddha consents and introduces the rule, the transgressing of which entails the offence of wrong-doing (dukkaṭa) (Mv 1.39 @ V 1:71-73).

#### 2.4 THE ROOTS OF TRADITIONAL INDIAN MEDICINE.

Jīvaka is a celebrated physician of the Buddha's time and is, as such, the father of Buddhist medicine, 53 which is the very historical root of traditional Indian medicine. **Kenneth Zysk,** a Danish Indologist specializing in ancient Indian medicine, has shown, in his works, such as *Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India* (1998), how Buddhism played a key role in the evolution of empirical medicine in India (1998:4, 11-70).

The ancient Vedas (the oldest sections of which go back to 1500 BCE) make the earliest mention of diseases and healing, but they are only sporadic "healing in the Vedic hymns and incantations, focusing on demons of disease and their removal by means of exorcism" (2011: 1). The first systematic, empirical and effective <u>Indian medical tradition</u> arose in the ancient Buddhist monastic community.<sup>54</sup>

In due course, the Buddhist system was summarily *brahminized* into a lineage of heavenly and mythical Vedic transmitters. This brahminized lineage was made to go back to the High God Brahmā, who passes the esoteric medical lore to Prajāpatī, the Lord of Beings, who in turn passes it on to Indra, the leader of the gods, who then passes it on to the divine Dhanvantari, who appears in the form of Divo-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Here at Vesālī (V 2:119, 4:75); at Rājagaha (V 1:57); at Kusinārā (V 1:248).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Abhisanna,kāyā honti bahv-ābādhā, as at V 1:206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Kuṭṭhaṁ gaṇḍo kilāso soso apamāro respectively: V 1:70-73, 93, 2:271, 4:8; VA 995 f; see also Nm 1:17, 47, 2:304; Nc 166. Mentioned along with many other diseases in **Giri-m-ānanda S** (A 10.60,7/5:110), SD 19.16. As any of these diseases could afflict us at any time, we should make every urgent effort in practising the Dharma, esp if we are renunciants.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> On <u>Buddhist medicine</u>, see esp **Lakkhaṇa S** (D 30), SD 36.9 (5.1); also **Sīvaka S** (S 36.21) & SD 5.6 (1); **Giri-m-ānanda S** (A 10.60) & SD 19.16 (2); also **Dhānañjāni S** (M 97) @ SD 4.9 (2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Dominik Wujastyk concurs: see his *The Roots of Āyurveda: Selections from Sanskrit Mediaeval Writings,* New Delhi: Penguin, 1998:2. See also Powers 2009:81.

dāsa, king of Kāśī (Benares), from whom Suśruta learns and transmits it to mankind in his Suśruta Samhita.

Indra, on his part, it is said, reveals the lore to the sage Bhāradvāja, who passes it on to other sages, including Ātreya Punarvasu, who trains six disciples, including Agniveśa and Bhela. Agniveśa composes a medical treatise which is reworked by his student Caraka, and later revised by Dṛdhabala into **the Caraka Saṁhita**. Bhela, too, records his master's teachings in **the Bhela Saṁhita**, which has come down to us only in corrupted fragments. All this is as far as the fascinating brahminical spin goes. <sup>55</sup> The significant fact remains that <u>Indian medicine</u> was well rooted in early Buddhist monasticism. <sup>56</sup>

## 3 Teachings related to Jīvaka

#### 3.1 QUALITIES OF A LAY PRACTITIONER.

In **the (Upāsaka) Jīvaka Sutta** (A 8.26), the Buddha instructs Jīvaka on the qualities of a lay practitioner in the same words as his instructions to Mahānāma, as recorded in **the (Upāsaka) Mahānāma Sutta** (A 8.25).<sup>57</sup> Essentially, a true lay follower is one who goes for refuge to the 3 jewels. He is morally virtuous by way of keeping to the 5 precepts.

He not only has faith, moral virtue, generosity, seeing virtuous monks, he listens to the Dharma, remembers it, and investigates it—but also inspires others to do the same. In other words, he is committed to the propagation of the Dharma, and striving to be a streamwinner.<sup>58</sup>

#### 3.2 TEACHINGS ON MEDITATION

There are two consecutive discourses given by the Buddha at Jīvaka's mango grove called **the Jīvak'-amba,vana Suttas**: the first is on mental concentration (samādhi), that is, **the Jīvak'amba,vana (Samādhi) Sutta** (S 35.160), and the second on solitude (paṭisallāna), **the Jīvak'amba,vana (Paṭisallāna) Sutta** (S 35.161). Although these two suttas are addressed to the monks, it is likely that Jīvaka, too, is present, listening to them.

The Jivak'amba, vana Samādhi Sutta (S 35.160) records the Buddha as admonishing us to practise <u>samadhi</u>, that is, mental concentration, so that all our experiences (through the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind) appear to us as they really are, and whatever feelings arise from them, whether pleasant, unpleasant or neutral, we see as they really are, that is, as being impermanent.<sup>59</sup>

In the Jivak'amba,vana (Paṭisallāna) Sutta (S 35.161), the Buddha exhorts us to practise <u>solitude</u> (paṭisallāna) for the very same purpose, that is, to know the sense-experiences and their respective feelings as they really are. <sup>60</sup> It is likely that Jīvaka is also present in the congregation listening to this teaching.

#### 3.3 Cūļa Panthaka

An interesting story is told in the Commentaries<sup>61</sup> of a meal offered by Jīvaka to the Buddha and the monks. When the meal is about to be served, the Buddha, knowing that Cūļa Panthaka has attained arhathood and is not present for the meal, refuses the offering until "all" the monks there have assembled for the meal. Jīvaka then sends a man to look for the missing monk.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> See Zysk 1998:4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> See SD 36.9 (6.3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> A 8.25/4:220-222 = SD 6.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> A 8.26/4:222 = SD 87.8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> S 35.160/4:143 f = SD 93.4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> S 35.161/4:144 = SD 93.5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> AA 1:215 f; ThaA 2:237 f; J 1:114-120; ApA 317-319.

Cūļa Panthaka, aware of this, psychically projected holographic images of himself to fill the whole of the mango grove, doing all kinds of monastic chores, and all answering to the same name! When the astounded man reports back, the Buddha instructs him to take the hand of the first man who says that he is Cūļa Panthaka. As soon as this is done, all the other figures vanish, and Cūļa Panthaka himself goes to the meal-offering.

At the conclusion of the meal, the Buddha asks Cūļa Panthaka to give thanks. "Like a young lion roaring defiance," the elder ranges through the whole gamut of the Buddha's teaching in his sermon. After that, his fame spread, and the Buddha then relates how even in previous births, too, Cūļa Panthaka benefitted from advice received, and relates **the Cullaka Seṭṭhī Jātaka** (J 4).<sup>63</sup>

#### 3.4 AJĀTA,SATTU

After king Bimbi,sāra's death,<sup>64</sup> his son, Ajāta,sattu (who has earlier usurped the throne), appointed Jīvaka as the chief minister (*mahâmatta*). **The Sāmañña,phala Sutta** (D 2) details how Jīvaka gently and wisely guides Ajāta,sattu to reconcile with the Buddha. On a beautiful full moon night, a guilt-ridden Ajāta,sattu is inclined to visit some wise teacher. He is not impressed with any of the 6 leading teachers of the time, and when he asks for Jīvaka's suggestion, he recommends that the king visit the Buddha. The king immediately agrees and sets out at once to meet the Buddha.

As Ajāta,sattu approaches the assembly of monks, he is deeply troubled by the pervasive peaceful silence, and suspects that it is an ambush. Jīvaka reassures him. Ajāta,sattu is unable to recognize the Buddha until Jīvaka points him out to him. Once he has greeted the Buddha, the king asks about the immediate and visible benefits of the spiritual life under the Buddha. The Buddha gives a progressive answer beginning with the most mundane benefits and ending with self-awakening itself.

Impressed, the king goes to the Buddha for refuge. After the king has left, the Buddha remarks to the monks that if the king had not killed his own father, he would have attained the Dharma eye (become a streamwinner) right then.<sup>65</sup>

## 4 Jīvaka's spirituality

#### **4.1 SPIRITUAL ATTAINMENT**

The commentary on the (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta (M 55) recounts Jīvaka's attaining of <a href="streamwinning">streamwinning</a>. Once, when the Buddha is afflicted with an imbalance of bodily humours, Jīvaka heals him [2.2.6.1]. Having done so, he presented the Buddha with the exquisite Siveyyaka cloth presented to him earlier on by king Pajjota [2.2.5.1]. At the end of the thanksgiving for the offering by the Buddha, Jīvaka attains streamwinning.

Jīvaka is then inspired to see the Buddha twice a day to attend to him. Considering that the bamboo grove (*velu,vama*) is rather far away, he builds a monastery, with all its facilities, in his own mango grove outside Rāja,gaha, and donated it to the Buddha.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> For the full story of Cūļa Panthaka, see **Cūļa Panthaka Thera Vatthu**, SD 92.3.

 $<sup>^{63}</sup>$  On the Cūļa Panthaka story, see Tha 557-566; AA 1:209-220; J 4/1:114-120; DhA 2.3/1:239-255 = SD 92.3; ThaA 2:236-241 (on Tha 557-566); Vism 12.61-67/388 f; Divy 35.483-515. See also DhA:B 1:299 n1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ajāta, sattu actually caused the death of his own father: see SD 8.10 (4.1).

 $<sup>^{65}</sup>$  D 2 = SD 8.10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> DA 1:133; MA 3:45.

#### **4.2 SPIRITUAL PROMINENCE**

#### 4.2.1 Foremost disciple

The Anguttara records that Jīvaka is declared by the Buddha to be the foremost of the lay disciples who have faith in persons (puggala-p,pasannānam aggo).<sup>67</sup> Understandably, this means that his faith is in the Buddha himself, and not through a personal understanding of the Dharma.

Such a position is not a social or even a religious status, but a recognition of a true state of affairs. All such disciples, ordained or lay, have attained at least streamwinning, if not higher stages of sainthood. In other words, they are all "foremost disciples" (agga,sāvaka). **The Etad-agga Vagga** (the chapter on the foremost), in the opening book (Ekaka Nipāta, "the collection of ones") of the Aṅguttara, gives seven such consecutive lists, as follows:

(1) A 1.188-197	10 foremost monks	beginning with Añña Koṇḍañña
(2) A 1.198-208	11 foremost monks	beginning with Cūļa Panthaka
(3) A 1.209-218	10 foremost monks	beginning with Rāhula
(4) A 1.219-234	16 foremost monks	beginning with Ānanda
(5) A 1.235-247	13 foremost nuns	beginning with Mahā Pajāpatī
(6) A 1.248-257	11 foremost laymen	beginning with Tapussa and Bhallika (2 persons)
(7) A 1.258-267	10 foremost laywomen	beginning with Sujāta Senānī,dhītā (A 1:23-26)

Altogether there are 81 foremost disciples.<sup>68</sup> There is also a separate commentarial list of the 80 "great elders" (*asīti mahā,sāvaka*), which is found in the Therī,gātha Commentary.<sup>69</sup> Only 47 great elders are listed amongst the foremost monk disciples, which means that the remaining 33 great elders are arhats, each inspiring in their own way.<sup>70</sup>

#### 4.2.2 The 6 special qualities

The (Amat-d-dasa) Jīvaka Sutta (A 6.128) notes that Jīvaka is amongst those lay disciples with 6 special qualities, that is, (1) unshakable wise faith (avecca-p,pasāda) in the Buddha, (2) in the Dharma and (3) in the Sangha; (4) noble virtuous conduct; (5) noble knowledge; and (6) noble liberation. Like these noble lay disciples, Jīvaka is said to have "reached certainty about the Tathagata and become a seer of the deathfree, one who lives having realized the deathfree."<sup>71</sup>

Such passages have sometimes been misconstrued as referring to those lay disciples, such as Jīvaka, with such qualities are <u>lay arhats</u>. However, we see in this list, such disciples as Anātha,piṇḍika, Pūraṇa or Purāṇa, and Isi,datta, who are reborn in Tusita (M 143,16; A 6.44); also Ugga of Vesālī, said to be reborn amongst the "mind-made devas" (A 5.44) and Hatthaka, said to be reborn in Aviha of the Pure Abodes (A 3.127). In other words, this is a stock description of *all* saints.<sup>72</sup> Jīvaka however, at this stage, is only a lay disciple, and a streamwinner [5.4].

<sup>68</sup> There are only 80 categories of foremost positions. The odd extra one is from the foremost of laymen who are the first to go for refuge (*etad aggam...mama sāvakānam upāsakānam paṭhamam saraṇam gacchantānam*), ie, Tapussa and Bhallika (A 1.248/1:25).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> A 1.256/1:26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> ThaA 3:205. See SD 15.10a (7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> On Etadagga Vagga, see Ency Bsm (Sri Lanka) 5:137-141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> A 6.128/3:451: tathāgate niṭṭhaṅ,gato amata-d,daso amataṁ sacchikatvā iriyatîti. See also DhA 2.3/1:244, 247; J 4/1:116 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> See **Laymen arhats,** SD 8.6 (15). For <u>def of the 4 kinds of saints</u> (*ariya*), see **Alagaddûpama S** (M 22,42-47), SD 3.13 ≈ **Ānâpāna,sati S** (M 118,9-12), SD 7.13.

## 5 Refuge-going

#### **5.1** THE **3** REFUGES

Historically, we can see those who go for refuge as being inspired by <u>faith</u> in the Dharma, so that we <u>approach</u> it to deepen our happiness and insight.<sup>73</sup> It should be noted that in all such refuge-going, we all go to the Buddha as the first refuge.<sup>74</sup> This is a sort of reminder and gesture of gratitude and respect to our very first teacher who strives for awakening and declares it for our benefit. From the Buddha comes the Dharma into the world for our benefit. From the Buddha and the Dharma comes the noble sangha, the third refuge jewel.

It is also positively meaningful to speak of <u>the Dharma</u> as our one true refuge, as Ānanda does in **the Gopaka Moggallāna Sutta** (M 108).<sup>75</sup> The Dharma is our direct connection with the Buddha, as it were, just as the Buddha himself declares his respect for the Dharma very soon after his own awakening. It is the Dharma that the noble sangha exemplifies; hence, it is the third refuge. These three are most precious to our spiritual growth; hence, they are called <u>the 3 jewels</u>.<sup>76</sup>

#### **5.2 JīVAKA'S REFUGE-GOING**

It might seem puzzling to some that Jīvaka, at the close of the Sutta [§13.3], declares himself a lay follower as if for the first time when he has already attained streamwinning. Perhaps, notes Bhikkhu Bodhi, this formula is used as a means of reaffirming our commitment to the 3 jewels and is not restricted to an initial profession of going for refuge (*saraṇa,gamana*). Indeed, we would naturally burst into joy when touched by the Dharma, singing our refuge in the 3 jewels. We can do this as often as the Dharma touches us.

Such stock passages for refuge-going are joyful exclamations or exultations which may be said to be a declaration of faith in the 3 jewels, a sort of stock udana ( $ud\bar{a}na$ ) or utterance of uplift. There are two broad categories of "refuge-going" udanas, that is, those uttered by an inspired person or congregation and by committed practitioners.<sup>78</sup>

#### **5.3** THE RITUAL REFUGE-GOING

This is the simplest level of refuge-going, by an individual or a congregation listening to the Dharma. The brahmin houselords of Velu,dvāra, as recorded in **the Velu,dvāreyya Sutta** (\$ 55.7), for example, exult with these words, joyfully approving of the Buddha's word:

We go to master Gotama for refuge, to the Dharma, and to the community of monks. May master Gotama remember us as lay followers who have gone for refuge, from this day forth, for life. <sup>79</sup> (\$ 55.7,18/5:356), SD 1.5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> For the symbolism of "approach" (*upasaṅkamana*) in <u>a 12-step learning process</u>, see **Kīṭā,giri S** (M 70,23-24/1:480), SD 11.1 = **Caṅkī S** (M 95,20/2:173) & SD 21.15 (6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Madhurā S (M 84) and Ghoṭa,mukha S (M 94)—both recording events after the Buddha's parinirvana, their protagonists, the arhat elders Mahā Kaccāna and Udena respectively declare that the Buddha is their refuge, not themselves: (M 84,10-11/2:89 f), SD 69.8 & M 94,31-33/2:162 f), SD 4.22. See also **The one true refuge**, SD 3.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> M 108,7-9 = SD 33.5. **Mahā,parinibbāna S** (D 16) records the Buddha as declaring that "the Dharma and the Vinaya will, at my passing, be your teacher" (D 16.6.1/2:154). See SD 33.5 (2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> See KhpA:Ñ 4-16 (tr of KhpA 13-22) & 185-193 (tr of KhpA 170-179).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> See M:ÑB 1257 n577.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> The 3 jewels and refuge-going are given in the Khuddaka Pāṭha (Khp 1; Khp:Ñ 1) and a full commentary follows (KhpA 11-22; KhpA:Ñ 1-16).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Ete mayam bhavantam gotamam saraṇam gacchāma, dhammañ ca bhikkhu,saṅghañ ca. Upāsake no bhavam gotamo dhāretu ajja-t-agge pāṇupete [Ke pāṇupetam] saraṇan gate'ti.

Note that this is <u>a group refuge-going</u>, and so the syntax is plural. We also have <u>an individual refuge-going</u>, as in the case of the brahmin Jāṇussoṇi, who exults in refuge-going at least 12 times.<sup>80</sup> In both these cases, they—the brahmin houselords of Velu,dvāra and the brahmin Jāṇussoṇi—address the Buddha by name, as "master Gotama" (*bhavantaṁ gotamaṁ*).

The name symbolism here is a subtle yet significant one. Our names link us to the world. If we know someone's name and use it, it means we are somehow connected with that person. The refuge-goers here connect with the Buddha by addressing him by his clan name. But this is still a worldly or social connection. After the Buddha leaves and moves on, they are likely to go about their own business, deeply respecting the Buddha, but not yet committed to full Buddhist discipleship. Hence, this is called **the** "provisional or ritual refuge-going."

#### **5.4** THE TRUE REFUGE-GOING

In the second kind of refuge-going, we have the example of Jīvaka Komāra, bhacca himself, where, at the end of the Buddha's discourse, he exults:

I go to the Blessed One for refuge, to the Dharma, and to the community of monks.

May the Blessed One remember me as a layman who has gone to him for refuge from this day forth for life. 81 [§13.3]

Note that the **true refuge-going** is an individual endeavour, and Jīvaka, out of deep respect and devotion, does not address the Buddha by name, but in the third person, as "the Blessed One." Such a mode of address does not reflect status, but a reflection of a significant level of understanding and accepting the characteristic of non-self.

#### **5.5 THE COMMITTED REFUGE-GOING**

It is not the *person* that we take refuge in, but in *the teacher*, the vehicle for the teaching, that we take refuge in. In the highest sense, we all (ordained or lay) go for only *one* refuge: the Dharma. Even the Buddha himself, as clearly evident from **the Gārava Sutta** (S 6.2), takes refuge in the Dharma. For without the Dharma, there is neither Buddha nor sangha.

In fact, at the time of Jīvaka's refuge-going, he is already <u>a streamwinner</u>. This is reflected in the syntax of his refuge-going formula. He does not address the Buddha by name. However, he still goes for refuge to the "order of monks" (*bhikkhu,saṅgha*), as in the ritual refuge-going [5.3]. This is because he is still a layperson, and also a lay saint. Hence, his is **a "committed or true refuge-going,"** since he is committed or dedicated in practising the Dharma in accordance with the Dharma (*dhammānudhamma paṭi-pajjati*). <sup>84</sup> He is one of those who is *true* to the Dharma.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> The suttas that record Jāṇussoṇi's refuge-going are: **Bhaya Bherava S** (M 4,35), SD 44.3; **Cūļa Hatthi,padô-pama S** (M 27,27), SD 40a.5; **(Sabba) Jāṇussoṇi S** (S 12.47), SD 68.6; **(Kamma) Jāṇussoṇi S** (A 2.2.7/2:57,15). SD 87.9; **(Jāṇussoṇi) Nibbāna S** (A 3.55), SD 50.6; **(Te,vijja) Jāṇussoni S** (A 3.59), SD 80.16; **(Jāṇussoṇi) Abhaya S** (A 4.184), SD 14.8; **Khattiya S** (A 6.52), SD 100.3; **Methuna S** (A 7.47), SD 21.9; **Paccorohaṇī S 1** (A 10.119 = 10.167), SD 68.10; **(Saddha) Jāṇussoṇi S** (A 10.177,37), SD 2.6a. Cf **(Brahma,vihāra) Subha S** (M 99,31), SD 38.6 where he publicly exults in the Buddha. See M 4,35.2 & SD 44.3 (2.3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Esâhaṁ bhante bhagavantaṁ [Ce bhavantaṁ gotamaṁ] saraṇaṁ gacchāmi, dhammañ ca bhikkhu,saṅghañ ca. Upāsakaṁ maṁ bhagavā [Ce bhavaṁ gotamaṁ] dhāretu ajja-t-agge pāṇupetaṁ saraṇaṁ gatan'ti. Interestingly here, only Ce addresses the Buddha by name, but not Be, Ee and Se, which is the preferred reading.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> S 6.2/1:138-140 = **Uruvelā S 1** (A 4.21/2:20 f), SD 12.3 (with additional para).

<sup>83</sup> See **The one true refuge**, SD 3.1 esp (3): The one refuge.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Jana,vasabha S (D 18.23/2:214 f), SD 62.3; (Paribbājaka) Māgandiya S (M 75.25/1:512), SD 31.5; Appamattaka Vg (A 1.342/1:36,11 paṭipajjanti (pl)) = SD 57.8, Saddhamma Sammosa S 1 (A 5.154/3:176), SD 77.3, Devata S (A 9.19/4:391 f), SD 57.14; Nāvā S (Sn 317b), Pārāyana Vg (Sn 5.18/p218).

#### **5.6 THE TOTAL REFUGE-GOING**

**5.6.1** The best known of the refuge-going formula amongst Buddhists today surely is the following:

Buddhaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmiTo the Buddha for refuge I go.Dhammaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmiTo the Dharma for refuge I go.Saṅghaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmiTo the Saṅgha for refuge I go.

Dutiyam pi buddham saraṇam gacchāmi Dutiyam pi dhammam saraṇam gacchāmi Dutiyam pi saṅgham saraṇam gacchāmi

Tatiyam pi buddham saraṇam gacchāmi Tatiyam pi dhammam saraṇam gacchāmi Tatiyam pi saṅgham saraṇam gacchāmi For the second time, to the Buddha for refuge I go. For the second time, to the Dharma for refuge I go. For the second time, to the Sangha for refuge I go.

For the third time, to the Buddha for refuge I go. For the third time, to the Dharma for refuge I go. For the third time, to the Sangha for refuge I go.

(Mv 1.12.4 @ V 1:22)

**5.6.2** As the reference shows, it is from that section of **the Mahā,vagga** of the Vinaya which deals with the "going forth and ordination by way of going to the 3 refuges" (*ti,saraṇa,gamana pabbajja upasam-pada*), which is the first of institutionalized ordination methods, that is, the one done by the monks themselves as a legal person.

It is probable that the ordination by refuge-going (*ti,saraṇa,gaman'upasampadā*) was introduced before Rāhula was admitted as a novice. However, the young Rāhula is the first person to be admitted by the refuge-going *and* the taking of the 10 precepts, thus making him <u>the first novice</u> (*sāmaṇera*). This is called "<u>the novice's going-forth by going for the 3 refuges</u>" (*ti,saraṇa,gamana sāmaṇera,pabbajjā*).<sup>85</sup>

After having shaven off the candidate's hair and beard,<sup>86</sup> and donning the monastic robes, he bows to the preceptor, and then on his haunches (or squatting), with joined palms, recites the above refuge formula.<sup>87</sup> This method is used in the early years of Buddhism as the number of candidates for renunciation grows. The Buddha, in other words, allows the monks in their own localities, to themselves ordain the candidates.<sup>88</sup>

**5.6.3** In all the sutta accounts, the Buddha himself only admits those who have attained at least streamwinning. He uses no ritual, except for the words "Come O monk!" (*ehi bhikkhu*)<sup>89</sup> or its plural form,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Mv 54 @ V 1:82 f. See also SD 45.16 (2.2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Rāhula is, however, only 7 years old then.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Anujānāmi bhikkhave tumhe'va dāni tāsu tāsu disāsu tesu tesu janapadesu pabbājetha upasampādetha. Evañ ca pana, bhikkhave, pabbājetabbo upasampādetabbo. Paṭhamaṁ kesa,massuṁ ohārāpetvā [vl ohāretvā], kāsāyā-ni vatthāni acchādāpetvā, ekaṁsaṁ uttarā,saṅgaṁ kārāpetvā, bhikkhūnaṁ pāde vandāpetvā, ukkuṭikaṁ nisīdāpetvā, añjaliṁ paggaṇhāpetvā, evaṁ vadehîti vattabbo: buddhaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi, dhammaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi, saṅghaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi; dutiyam pi buddhaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi, dutiyam pi dhammaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi, dutiyam pi saṅghaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi; tatiyam pi buddhaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi, tatiyam pi dhammaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi, tatiyam pi saṅghaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmîti. Anujānāmi bhikkhave imehi tīhi saraṇa,gamanehi pabbajjaṁ upasampadan'ti. (Mv 1.12.3-4 @ V 1:22). With the admission of the 7-year-old Rāhula, this formula and the 10 precepts are used for admitting novices (sāmaṇera) (Mv 1.54.3-4 @ V 1:82). The contemporary method used by the Theravada monastics is to have the candidates kneeling (instead of sitting on their haunches) and repeating the formula, line by line after the preceptor. See SD 30.8 (2.2.6.2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Mv 1.12.1 @ V 1:21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> The oldest form of admission in **the** *ehi,bhikkhu pabbajjā*, and the first *ehi,bhikkhu* is Koṇḍañña (of the group of five monks), followed by the other 4 monks (V 1:12 + 17 f); then Yasa and his 4 companions (V 1:17-19), followed by his 50 friends (V 1:19 f); then the 30 young men (V 1:23); and then the erstwhile fire-worshippers Uruvelā

"Come O monks!" (*etha bhikkhavo*). 90 The feminine version is *ehi bhikkhuṇī* ("Come, O nun!"), or more often the name is used. 91 In other words, the institutionalized ordination, done by the sangha members, is to admit unawakened candidates as renunciants. 92

**5.6.4** After the admission by refuge-going has been introduced, other methods follow, the most developed of which is "the act with the motion as the fourth" (ñatti,catuttha kamma) or fourfold act ending with a motion (like a modern act of parliament). This is done by a full chapter of full-fledged monks in conclave. <sup>93</sup> All these admission methods include one universal formula, that is, the above refuge-going formula.

We can call this "the total refuge-going" for a number of reasons, the first of which is found in this well known pericope, from such discourses as the Sāmañña,phala Sutta (D 2), describing a morally virtuous and motivated renunciant:

When he has thus gone forth, he lives restrained by the rules of the monastic code [Pāṭimok-kha], possessed of proper conduct and resort.

Having taken up the rules of training, he trains himself in them, seeing danger in the slightest faults.

He comes to be accomplished in wholesome bodily and verbal deeds, his livelihood is purified, and he is possessed of moral virtue.

He guards the sense-doors, is accomplished in mindfulness and full awareness, and is content. (D 2,42), SD 8.10

**5.6.5** This pericope continues at great length as what is famously known as the 3 trainings—that is, in moral virtue, mental concentration and wisdom<sup>94</sup>— leading up to some level of awakening. This lengthy pericope is found in summary in **the Cha-!-ābhijāti S** (A 6.57), thus:

While living as a renunciant, having abandoned the 5 hindrances, the mental impurities that weaken wisdom, his mind well established in the 4 focuses of mindfulness, having cultivated the 7 awakening-factors according to reality, he is reborn in nirvana ... (A 6.57,10/3:387), SD 23.5

In short, this is a description of <u>a true renunciant</u>, not a career monastics and renegade priests who glamorously air themselves in our cities and institutions today.

#### **5.7** LEVELS OF REFUGE-GOING

**5.7.0** We have spoken of 3 main levels or kinds of refuge-going, that is,

(1) the ritual refuge-going	by those who are inspired by the Dharma,
(2) the true refuge-going	by those who are inspired to practise the Dharma, and
(3) the total refuge-going	by those who renounce the world to fully practise the Dharma.

Kassapa, his brothers Nadī and Gayā, and their 1000 followers (V 1:33 f); Aṅguli,māla (M 2:100,11\* = Tha 870; MA 3:334,7; ThaA 3:59,3). See *Pabbajjā*, a very short history, SD 45.16 esp (1.2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> V 1:12,27 = 24,4 = 33,10 = 43,4; DhA 1:95,15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Ehi bhikkhuṇī, V 4:214; Thī 109; ThīA 297,27 f; Ap 563,23. Ehi bhadde'ti, Thī 109 (Thī:N 84 nn 107-11, 107); Ap 563,23; ThīA 105,24\* = 197,32\*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> For details on *ehi,bhikkhu pabbajjā*, see SD 45.7a (4.1).

<sup>93</sup> A 2.300/1:99; V 1:317, 2:89, 91 f, 4:152. See SD 45.16 (3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> On the 3 trainings, see *Sīla samādhi paññā*, SD 21.6 & SD 1.11 (5). On sainthood & the trainings, see **(Sekha) Uddesa S** (A 3.85), SD 3.3(2).

- **5.7.1** In the first refuge-going—the ritual refuge-going—most of the refuge-goers are unlikely to be committed followers of the Buddha, but those on account of being exposed to the Dharma, find a connection with it, even though they are still somehow anchored in their old and worldly ways. It is as if they want the better of both worlds, as far as this is possible.
- **5.7.2** If such listeners are more open-hearted and wiser, they would be moved to give up their unhelpful old ways for the liberating air of the Dharma. They would normally attain at least <u>streamwinning</u>, as in the case of Jīvaka. This is known as **the true refuge-going** because it brings us much closer to *true* reality and liberation. They are those who have found "a footing, a foothold, and solace in this teaching and discipline, crossed over doubt, gone beyond uncertainty, won full confidence, who, independent of others, dwell in the Teacher's teaching."<sup>95</sup>
- **5.7.3 The total refuge-going,** as the name suggests, entails <u>total commitment</u> to the Dharma, without any more religious shopping around or divided loyalties. This is like driving a vehicle: we simply must have both our hands on the wheel and our eyes on the road, so that our journey is fast, safe and sure to reach our destination. This is the refuge-going of the arhat, one who is fully self-awakened, like the Buddha. <sup>96</sup>
- **5.7.4** Furthermore, it is vital to note that not all who outwardly join the Buddhist order undergo the total refuge-going. (In other words, despite all the elaborate or solemn rituals, it is still a *ritual* refuge-going, at best.) The qualifier "total" here means that the renunciant is *fully committed* to the 3 trainings [5.5], fully motivated to change themselves, not change the Dharma. They are not career monastics who exploit the charisma and convenience of the robe to collect titles, ease and wages.

The Buddha colourfully describes <u>false monastics</u>, <sup>97</sup> in **the Samaṇa Gadrabha Sutta** (A 3.81), as suffering from a sad, almost ludicrous, misperception of spirituality: they are like donkeys who think they are cows:

**2** Suppose, bhikshus, <u>an ass follows closely behind a herd of cows</u>, thinking, "I'm one, too! I'm one, too!"

But his colour is not like that of the cows, nor is his sound like that of the cows, nor are his hoofs like those of the cows.

He merely follows closely behind a herd of cows, thinking, "I'm one, too! I'm one, too!"

2.2 Even so, bhikshus, here, <u>a certain monk follows closely behind a community of monks</u>, thinking, "I'm a monk, too! I'm a monk, too!"

But he has no keen desire to undertake the training in higher moral virtue, like some other monks.

But he has no keen desire to undertake the training in higher mind, like some other monks.

But he has no keen desire to undertake the training in higher wisdom, like some other monks.

He merely follows closely behind a community of monks, thinking, "I'm a monk, too! I'm a monk, too!"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> This is actually a description of a streamwinner: (A 6.16,2.6/3:297), SD 5.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> A helpful guide is Bodhi's *Going for Refuge & Taking the Precept,* Kandy: Buddhist Publication Soc, 1991: http://bodhimonastery.org/religious-subjects/ven-bhikkhu-bodhi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Called "<u>yellow-necks</u>" or saffron-necks" (*kāsāva,kaṇṭhā*) in the suttas because the yellow markings on their neck left by the robes they wear only occasionally: see **Dakkhiṇa Vibhaṅga S** (M 142,8/3:255,6-7), SD 1.9. See also It 43, 90 (ItA 177); Dh 307a (Dh:P 113, Dh:P 113 *kāṣāya,kaṁthā*; Uv 11.9 *kāṣāya,kaṇthā*; DhA 3:478) qu at V 3:90,-35\* (VA 486,22); AA 1:90,13+24, wr *kāsāva,khaṇḍaṁ*; SnA 162,2, 164,23; Sadda,nīti 78,4, 78,1 *kaṇṭha,samaṇa*.

- 2.3 Therefore, bhikshus, train yourselves thus:
  - (1) May there be keen desire in us to undertake the training in higher moral virtue.
  - (2) May there be keen desire in us to undertake the training in higher mind.
  - (3) May there be keen desire in us to undertake the training in higher wisdom.

Thus, bhikshus, you should train yourselves.

(A 3.81,2), SD 24.10b

## 6 Allowance for meat-eating

#### **6.1 AVAILABLE MEAT**

The (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta (M 55) is about <u>meat-eating</u>, and when it is allowable for monastics to be offered meat meals. Firstly, it should be noted that the Buddha does not require the monastics to observe a vegetarian diet, but permits them to consume meat when they are certain that the animal has not been specially killed for their meal-offering.

Such meat is said to be "utterly pure in 3 ways" (*ti.koti,parisuddha*) because it is <u>not seen, heard, or suspected to have come from an animal killed specially for the monastic<sup>98</sup> [§5]. More generally, this is known as "available meat" (*pavatta,maṁsa*), a term famously found in **the (Licchavī) Sīha Sutta** (A 8.12), leading to the conversion of the erstwhile Jain general Sīha.<sup>99</sup></u>

The first of the layman's <u>5 precepts</u><sup>100</sup> is that of abstaining from destroying life, which would prohibit us from killing for our meals. This precept, however, does not proscribe us from buying "available" meat, that is, meat prepared from animals already dead.<sup>101</sup>

#### **6.2 EXPRESSING THE POINTS OF PURITY**

The 3 conditions for the utter purity of food consumption are, in fact, the bases of right action itself. A fuller version of this important teaching is that of <a href="the-4">the-4</a> expressions (vohāra), in connection with what is <a href="seen">seen</a>, heard, sensed or cognized (diṭṭha suta muta viññāta). The "sensed" (muta) here encompasses smelling, tasting, and touching. Hence, the term "suspected" (parisaṅkāya) technically covers the senses conveyed by the words "sensed" and "cognized," that is, all the four sensings, other than "seen" and "heard." Of course, when applied to the purity of food offerings, parisaṅkāya would mostly refer to "suspecting," especially, thinking and deducing.

In fact, they are carefully explained in **the Vinaya** in connection to the very first of the Pācittiya rules (Pāc 1).<sup>102</sup> There are also six suttas dealing with the same topic of human expression (*vohāra*) all called Vohāra Sutta: four in the Catukka Nipāta and two in the Aṭṭhaka Nipāta of the Aṅguttara Nikāya, that is, **the (Catukka) Vohāra Sutta 1-4** (A 4.250-253)<sup>103</sup> and **the (Aṭṭhaka) Vohāra Suttas 1+2** (A 8.67 + 68).<sup>104</sup> When the fourfold expressions are truthfully communicated, they are said to be "noble expressions" (*ariya,vohāra*); otherwise, that is, when falsely expressed, they are called "ignoble expressions" (*anariya,vohāra*).<sup>105</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> On the propriety of these 3 kinds of declaration, see Pāc 1 @ V 4:2 and the Suttas in foll section (5.2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> (A 8.12/4:187), SD 71.5; see also V 1:217, 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> On the 5 precepts, see *Sīlānussati*, SD 15.11 (2.2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Further see Mv 6 @ V 1:237 f and I B Horner 1967: 20-26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Pāc 1 @ V 4:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> A 4.250-253/2:246.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> A 8.67+68/4:307.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> See **Diṭṭha muta suta viññāta**, SD 53.5.

# (Majjhima) Jīvaka Sutta The (Middle-length) Discourse to Jīvaka

M 55

1 Thus have I heard.

At one time, the Blessed One was staying in the mango grove of Jīvaka Komāra, bhacca outside Rāja,-gaha.

## Unjustified accusation against the Buddha

- **2** Then Jīvaka Komāra,bhacca approached the Blessed One, saluted him, and then sat down at one side.
  - 2.2 Sitting thus at one side, Jīvaka Komāra, bhacca said this to the Blessed One:
  - 3 "Bhante, I've heard it said thus:

'They kill living beings for the recluse Gotama. The recluse Gotama knowingly takes meat that has been specially prepared for him.' 106

3.2 Bhante, those who speak thus:

'They kill living beings for the recluse Gotama. The recluse Gotama knowingly takes meat that has been specially prepared for him,'

do they, bhante, speak what has been spoken by the Blessed One, and not misrepresent him with what is untrue? And would they explain the matter in accordance with the Dharma so that there arises no reasonable ground for disputation or censure?"<sup>107</sup>

**4** "Jīvaka, those who speak thus:

'They kill living beings for the recluse Gotama. The recluse Gotama knowingly takes meat that has been specially prepared for him,'

4.2 they, Jīvaka, do *not* speak what has been spoken by me, they misrepresent me with what is false, what is untrue. [369]

## When meat-eating is permitted

5 There are three occasions, Jīvaka, when meat should <u>not</u> be taken, I say, that is, **when it is seen,** heard, or suspected (that it has been specially prepared for oneself).<sup>108</sup>

These, Jīvaka, are the three occasions when meat should not be taken, I say.

 $<sup>^{106}</sup>$  Samaṇaṁ gotamaṁ uddissa pāṇaṁ ārabhanti [Ce Be Ee Se so; Ke ārambhanti], taṁ samaṇo gotamo jānaṁ uddissa,kataṁ [Be Se so; Ce Ee -kaṭaṁ] maṁsaṁ paribhuñjati paṭicca,kamman'ti. "Slaughtered," ārabhanti, from ārabhati (Skt ālabhate), "to kill, destroy," from  $\bar{a} + \sqrt{\text{LABH}}$ , "to take," ie, to seize a sacrificial animal in order to kill it; cf nirārambha, "without killing (any living being)," S 1:76; A 2:42 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> This whole para from "do they...": *kacci te bhante bhagavato vutta,vādino, na ca bhagavantaṁ abhūtena ab-bhācikkhanti, dhammassa cânudhammaṁ vyākaronti, na ca koci saha,dhammiko vādânuvādo gārayhaṁ ṭhānaṁ āgacchatîti.* This is stock: D 1:161; M 1:368 f; M 2:127; S 3:6, 4:330, 340x2; A 1:161, 2:190, 4:182. Cf D 3:115×2; M 2:222, 233, 2:243, 3:77, 78, 3:139, 140; S 2:33×2, 34, 36×2, 38×2, 39, 41×2, 3:33, 41×2, 4:51, 54, 4:326×2, 381, 382, 5:7×2; A 3:4×2. *Saha,dhammika* has at least <u>4 important senses</u>: (1) a follower of the same Dharma (doctrine) (M 1:64); (2) (adj) just, justified, legitimate, reasonable (S 4:299 f); (3) in accordance with the Dharma (M 1:482; Dhs 1327); (4) regarding the Dharma (V 1:134; D 1:94, 161; M 1:368). The context above points to sense (2). On *saha,dhammika*, see BHSD: sahadhārmika & S:B 747 n72.

<sup>108</sup> Tīhi kho aham jīvaka ṭhānehi mamsam aparibhogan'ti vadāmi diṭṭham sutam parisankitam.

5.2 There are three occasions, Jīvaka, when meat <u>may</u> be taken, I say, that is, when it is not seen, not heard, not suspected (that it has not been specially prepared for oneself).<sup>109</sup>

These, Jīvaka, are the three occasions when meat may be taken, I say.

## The proper approach to food

- (1) THE CULTIVATION OF LOVINGKINDNESS<sup>110</sup>
  - **6** "Here, Jīvaka, a monk dwells depending on a certain village or market-town.
  - 6.2 With a heart of **lovingkindness**, <sup>111</sup> he<sup>112</sup> dwells suffusing one quarter;
    - so, too, the second; so, too, the third; so, too, the fourth;

thus above, below, across, everywhere, and to everyone as well as to himself,

he dwells suffusing all the world with lovingkindness

that is vast, grown great [exalted], 113 immeasurable, without hate, without ill-will. 114

- 6.3 A houselord or a houselord's son approaches him and invites him for the next day's meal. If, Jīvaka, the monk wishes, he consents to it.
- 6.4 When the night is over, in the morning, having dressed himself, taking robe and bowl, he goes up to the house of the houselord or houselord's son, and sits down on the prepared seat.
- 6.5 That houselord's son serves him with sumptuous almsfood, but it does not occur to him, thus:

'Now it's good if the houselord or the houselord's son were to serve me with exquisite almsfood. Now, what if the houselord or houselord's son were to continue to serve me with such exquisite almsfood'

He does not think thus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Tīhi kho ahaṁ jīvaka ṭhānehi maṁsaṁ paribhogan'ti vadāmi adiṭṭhaṁ asutaṁ aparisaṅkitaṁ.

<sup>110</sup> This whole section on the 4 divine abodes is stock: Cakka,vatti Sīha.nāda S (D 26,31/3:78), SD 36.10, says that it is "the wealth for a monk (bhikkhuno bhogasmim)." Saṅgīti S (D 33,1.11(6)/3:223, calls it "the immeasurables" (appamañña). Mahā Vedalla S (M 43,31/1:297), SD 35.1, (Ceto,vimutti) Anuruddha S (M 127,4-7/3:146 f), SD 54.10 & Go,datta S (S 41.7,5/4:296), SD 60.4, call it "the immeasurable freedom of mind" (appamāṇā ceto,vimutti). According to Aṭṭhaka,nāgara S (M 52,8-11/1:351 f) = Dasama Gaha,pati S (A 11.17/5:344), SD 41.2, if one stabilizes these states, reflecting on its impermanence, etc, one attains arhathood; if not, one attains non-return. (Majjhima) Jīvaka S (M 55,6/1:369), SD 43.4, presents the Buddha as Brahmā. Dhānañjāni S (M 97,32-33/2:195), SD 4.9, and (Brahma,vihāra) Subha S (M 99,24-27/2:207 f), SD 38.6, call it the path to companionship with Brahmā (communion with God). (Saṅgha) Uposatha S (A 4.190,4/2:184), SD 15.10b, concerns one "attained to Godliness," brahma-p,patta. Pm 5.20/2:39 calls it "freedom that is focussed on only the beautiful," subhan t'eva adhimutto hotî ti vimokkho); Vbh 13/272-276 (sutta,niddesa), 276-282 (abhidhamma,niddesa), 282-284 (comy). For a table of refs, see SD 38.5 (2.1.3.2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> For similes, see **Te,vijja S** (D 13,76-79/1:251), SD 1.8; see also: **D 2**:185, 250, **3**:49, 78, 223; **M 1**:38, 283, 297, 335×2, 351, 369, **2**:76, 77, 78, 81, 195, 207, **3**:146; **S 4**:296, 322, 351, 352×2, **5**:115, 116, 117, 118; **A 1**:183, 192, **2**:172, 175, 184, **3**:225, **4**:390, **5**:299, 343, 344.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> "He" (*so*) refers to the aforementioned "monk" (*bhikkhu*), who refers to any meditator. Even a lay person, properly meditating, attains the state of monkhood (*bhikklhu*,*bhāva*): **Satipaṭṭhāna S** (M 10,3A) +n, SD 13.3; SD 13.1 (3.1.1.5); SD 16.7 (1.1.1.2). For similes, see **Te,vijja S** (D 13,76-79/1:251), SD 1.8; see also: **D 2**:185, 250, **3**:49, 78, 223; **M 1**:38, 283, 297, 335×2, 351, 369, **2**:76, 77, 78, 81, 195, 207, **3**:146; **S 4**:296, 322, 351, 352×2, **5**:115, 116, 117, 118; **A 1**:183, 192, **2**:172, 175, 184, **3**:225, **4**:390, **5**:299, 343, 344.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> The mind "grown great" (maha-g, $gat\bar{a}$ ) or exalted perception refers to the mind in dhyana, ie in the form sphere ( $r\bar{u}p\hat{a}vacara$ ). See **Catuttha Jhāna Pañha S** (S 40.4), SD 24.14 (4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> The recurrence of these last two phrases—"without hate, without ill will"—attests to the fact that <u>lovingkindness</u> is the basis for all the other three abodes, ie, they are actually a refinement of lovingkindness applied on deeper and broader levels.

- 6.6 He takes the almsfood <u>without being tied to it</u>, without being infatuated with it, without being addicted to it, but <u>seeing its dangers</u>, understanding escape (from food).<sup>115</sup>
- 6.7 What do you think, Jīvaka? Would that monk at that time think of his own affliction, or think of the affliction of others, or think of the affliction of both?"<sup>116</sup>
  - "No, indeed, bhante."
  - 6.8 Doesn't that monk, Jīvaka, at that time take that food without blame?"

#### THE BUDDHA AS BRAHMA

- 7 "Yes, bhante. I have heard thus, bhante, that Brahmā abides in lovingkindness. 117
- 7.2 The Blessed One, bhante, is that witness. For, the Blessed One, bhante, abides in lovingkindness, too."
- 7.3 "Jīvaka, any lust [370], any hate, any delusion from which <u>ill will</u> would arise, <sup>118</sup> that lust, that hate, that delusion, the Tathagata has abandoned:

it is cut off at the root, made like a palm-tree stump, done away with so that it is not subject to further growth. 119

- 7.4 Now, Jīvaka, if that is said in this connection, I allow it."120
- 7.5 "That, indeed, bhante, is exactly what I said in this connection."
- (2) THE CULTIVATION OF COMPASSION
  - 8 "Here, Jīvaka, a monk dwells depending on a certain village or market-town.
  - 8.2 With a heart of **compassion**, he dwells suffusing one quarter;
    - so, too, the second; so, too, the third; so, too, the fourth;
      - thus above, below, across, everywhere, and to everyone as well as to himself,
        - he dwells suffusing all the world with compassion
          - that is vast, grown great [exalted], immeasurable, without hate, without ill-will.
- 8.3 A houselord or a houselord's son approaches him and invites him for the next day's meal. If, Jīvaka, the monk wishes, he consents to it.
- 8.4 When the night is over, in the morning, having dressed himself, taking robe and bowl, he goes up to the house of the houselord or houselord's son, and sits down on the prepared seat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> So taṁ piṇḍapātaṁ agathito [Ce Ee so; Ke Se agadhito] amucchito anajjhopanno [Ce Ee so; Ke Se anajjhāpanno]. ādīnava,dassāvī nissaraṇa,pañño paribhuñjati. The Khmer and Siamese reading anajjhāpanno ("without falling into any offence") suggests that he takes the meal without breaking any Vinaya rules. The phrase agathito...paribhuñjati s stock: D 3:224,27; M 1:162,8, 369,28; S 2:194,7, 270,6; A 2:27,23. On the 4 kinds of food (āhāra)—material food, contact, mental volition and consciousness—see (Nīvaraṇa Bojjhaṅga) Āhāra S (S 46.51), SD 7.15,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> See **Dvedha,vitakka S** (M 19,3-5/1:115); **Brahmāyu S** (M 91,20/2:139); Vism 7.76 (in explanation on *sandiṭṭhi-ka*, under recollection on the Dharma, *dhammânussati*). For a special study, see **Kandaraka S** (M 51), which adds a fourth kind of person ("those who torment neither themselves nor others") (M 51) & SD 32.9 (1) for other refs. On these as constituting the threefold purity (*ti,koṭi parisuddhi*), see **Amba,laṭṭhika Rāhul'ovāda S** (M 61,9-17/1:415-419), SD 3.10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Brahmā mettā, vihārîti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Here [§7.3], and in the passages on compassion [§8.11] and on gladness [§9.11], only "ill will"  $(vy\bar{a}p\bar{a}da)$  is mentioned. In the passage on equanimity [§11.2], cruelty  $(vihes\bar{a})$ , discontent (arati), and aversion (pațigha) are mentioned. See §11.2 nn.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Ucchinna,mūlo tālā,vatthu,kato anabhāvaṁ,kato [Be so; Ce Ee anabhāvakato; Ke anabhāva,gato; Se anabhāvaṁ,gato], āyatiṁ anuppāda,dhammo. This is called "the Tathagata's abode" (tathāgata.vihārā): see Kaṅkheyya S (S 54.12/5:327 f), SD 74.5. This important passage shows that the Buddha does not merely abide in lovingkindness by suppressing his ill will with dhyana based on lovingkindness, as the deity Brahma does, but the Buddha fully abandoned the roots of ill will through attaining arhathood.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Sace kho te jīvaka idam sandhāya bhāsitam "anujānāmi te etan"ti.

8.5 That houselord's son serves him with sumptuous almsfood, but it does not occur to him, thus:

'Now it's good if the houselord or the houselord's son were to serve me with exquisite almsfood. Now, what if the houselord or houselord's son were to continue to serve me with such exquisite almsfood'

He does not think thus.

- 8.6 He takes the almsfood without being tied to it, without being infatuated with it, without being addicted to it, but seeing its dangers, understanding escape (from food).
- 8.7 What do you think, Jīvaka? Would that monk at that time think of his own affliction, or think of the affliction of others, or think of the affliction of both?"

"No, indeed, bhante."

8.8 Doesn't that monk, Jīvaka, at that time take that food without blame?"

#### THE BUDDHA AS BRAHMA

- 8.9 "Yes, bhante. I have heard thus, bhante, that Brahmā abides in compassion. 121
- 8.10 The Blessed One, bhante, is that witness. For, the Blessed One, bhante, abides in compassion, too."
- 8.11 "Jīvaka, any lust, any hate, any delusion from which <u>ill will</u> would arise, <sup>122</sup> that lust, that hate, that delusion, the Tathagata has abandoned:

it is cut off at the root, made like a palm-tree stump, done away with so that it is not subject to further growth.

- 8.12 Now, Jīvaka, if that is said in this connection, I allow it."
- 8.13 "That, indeed, bhante, is exactly what I said in this connection."

#### (3) THE CULTIVATION OF GLADNESS

- **9** "Here, Jīvaka, a monk dwells depending on a certain village or market-town.
- 9.2 With a heart of **gladness**, he dwells suffusing one quarter;

so, too, the second; so, too, the third; so, too, the fourth;

thus above, below, across, everywhere, and to everyone as well as to himself,

he dwells suffusing all the world with gladness

that is vast, grown great [exalted], immeasurable, without hate, without ill-will.

- 9.3 A houselord or a houselord's son approaches him and invites him for the next day's meal. If, Jīvaka, the monk wishes, he consents to it.
- 9.4 When the night is over, in the morning, having dressed himself, taking robe and bowl, he goes up to the house of the houselord or houselord's son, and sits down on the prepared seat.
- 9.5 That houselord's son serves him with sumptuous almsfood, but it does not occur to him, thus:

'Now it's good if the houselord or the houselord's son were to serve me with exquisite almsfood. Now, what if the houselord or houselord's son were to continue to serve me with such exquisite almsfood'

He does not think thus.

9.6 He takes the almsfood without being tied to it, without being infatuated with it, without being addicted to it, but seeing its dangers, understanding escape (from food).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Note that this quality of the Buddha is the same for all the 4 divine abodes [§§7.1, 8.9, 9.9, 10.9].

Here [§8.11], and in the passages on lovingkindness [§7.3] and on gladness [§9.11], only "ill will" ( $vy\bar{a}p\bar{a}da$ ) is mentioned. In the passage on equanimity [§11.2], cruelty ( $vihes\bar{a}$ ), discontent (arati), and aversion (pațigha) are mentioned. See §11.2 nn.

9.7 What do you think, Jīvaka? Would that monk at that time think of his own affliction, or think of the affliction of others, or think of the affliction of both?"

"No. indeed. bhante."

9.8 Doesn't that monk, Jīvaka, at that time take that food without blame?"

#### THE BUDDHA AS BRAHMA

- 9.9 "Yes, bhante. I have heard thus, bhante, that Brahmā abides in gladness. 123
- 9.10 The Blessed One, bhante, is that witness. For, the Blessed One, bhante, *abides in gladness, too.*"
- 9.11 "Jīvaka, any lust, any hate, any delusion from which <u>ill will</u> would arise, <sup>124</sup> that lust, that hate, that delusion, the Tathagata has abandoned:

it is cut off at the root, made like a palm-tree stump, done away with so that it is not subject to further growth.

- 9.12 Now, Jīvaka, if that is said in this connection, I allow it."
- 9.13 "That, indeed, bhante, is exactly what I said in this connection."

#### (4) THE CULTIVATION OF EQUANIMITY

- **10** "Here, Jīvaka, a monk dwells depending on a certain village or market-town.
- 10.2 With a heart of **equanimity**, he dwells suffusing one quarter;

so, too, the second; so, too, the third; so, too, the fourth;

thus above, below, across, everywhere, and to everyone as well as to himself,

he dwells suffusing all the world with equanimity

that is vast, grown great [exalted], immeasurable, without hate, without ill-will.

- 10.3 A houselord or a houselord's son approaches him and invites him for the next day's meal. If, Jīvaka, the monk wishes, he consents to it.
- 10.4 When the night is over, in the morning, having dressed himself, taking robe and bowl, he goes up to the house of the houselord or houselord's son, and sits down on the prepared seat.
- 10.5 That houselord or houselord's son serves him with sumptuous almsfood, but it does not occur to him, thus:

'Now it's good if the houselord or the houselord's son were to serve me with exquisite almsfood. Now, what if the houselord or houselord's son were to continue to serve me with such exquisite almsfood'

He does not think thus.

- 10.6 He takes the almsfood without being tied to it, without being infatuated with it, without being addicted to it, but seeing its dangers, understanding escape (from food).
- 10.7 What do you think, Jīvaka? Would that monk at that time think of his own affliction, or think of the affliction of others, or think of the affliction of both?"

"No, indeed, bhante."

10.8 Doesn't that monk, Jīvaka, at that time take that food without blame?"

#### THE BUDDHA AS BRAHMA

11 "Yes, bhante. I have heard thus, bhante, that Brahmā abides in equanimity. 125

<sup>123</sup> Note that this quality of the Buddha is the same for all the 4 divine abodes [§§7.1, 8.9, 9.9, 10.9].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Here [§9.11], and in the passages on lovingkindness [§7.3] and on compassion [§8.11], only "ill will"  $(vy\bar{a}p\bar{a}da)$  is mentioned. In the passage on equanimity [§11.2], cruelty  $(vihes\bar{a})$ , discontent (arati), and aversion (pațigha) are mentioned. See §11.2 nn.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Note that this quality of the Buddha is the same for all the 4 divine abodes [§§7.1, 8.9, 9.9, 10.9].

- 11.2 The Blessed One, bhante, is that witness. For, the Blessed One, bhante, abides in equanimity, too."
- 11.3 "Jīvaka, any lust, any hate, any delusion **from which <u>cruelty</u>, or <u>discontent</u>, or <u>aversion</u> would arise, 126 that lust, that hate, that delusion, the Tathagata has abandoned: 127**

it is cut off at the root, made like a palm-tree stump, done away with so that it is not subject to further growth.

- 11.4 Now, Jīvaka, if that is said in this connection, I allow it." [371]
- 11.5 "That, indeed, bhante, is exactly what I said in this connection."

## The 5 wrong ways of obtaining food

- **12** Now, Jīvaka, if anyone prepares a living being specially for the Tathagata or a Tathagata's disciple, he makes much demerit in 5 ways:<sup>128</sup>
  - (1) When he<sup>129</sup> says thus: 'Go fetch that living being!'<sup>130</sup>—in this first way, he makes great demerit.
  - (2) When that living being suffers physical pain and mental suffering as he is led along with a neckhalter<sup>131</sup>—in this second way, he makes great demerit.
  - (3) When he says thus: 'Go and slaughter this living being!'—in this third way, he makes great demerit.
  - (4) When that living being suffers physical pain and mental suffering as he is being slaughtered—in this fourth way, he makes great demerit.
  - (5) When he obtains what is unallowable for the Tathagata or a Tathagata's disciple<sup>132</sup>—in this fifth way, he makes great demerit. 133

## <u>Jīvaka's lion-roar</u>

13 When this was said, Jīvaka Komāra, bhacca said this to the Blessed One:

"It is wonderful, bhante! It is marvellous, bhante!

13.2 Indeed, bhante, the monks take only food that is allowable.

Indeed, without blame, bhante, the monks take food.

13.3 Excellent, bhante! Excellent, bhante!

Just as if one were to place upright what had been overturned,

or were to reveal what was hidden,

or were to show the way to one who was lost,

or were to hold up a lamp in the dark so that those with eyes could see forms,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Cruelty (*vihesā*) [Ce has "ill will," *vyāpāda*], discontent (*aratī*), and aversion (*paṭigha*) are the opposites of compassion, gladness and equanimity respectively. In the cognate passages on lovingkindness [§7.3], on compassion [§8.11] and on gladness [§9.11], only "ill will" (*vyāpāda*) is mentioned: on <a href="https://doi.org/10.45">https://doi.org/10.45</a> as the easiest of the 3 roots to overcome, see (**Akusala Mūla**) **Añña Titthiyā S** (A 3.68), SD 16.4. Only here, on <a href="https://equanimity">equanimity</a> [§11.2], **cruelty, discontent, and aversion** are mentioned. See foll n.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> The 3 mental states (cruelty, discontent and aversion) can only be suppressed by the 4<sup>th</sup> dhyana. While cruelty and discontent are uprooted by the streamwinner (hence all the higher saints), a finer form of aversion, "restlessness" (*uddhacca*, or more specifically, "<u>mental restlessness</u>," *dhamm'uddhacca*), may still be present in them, except the arhat, who has fully uprooted it. On *dhamm'uddhacca*, see SD 32.7 (2.1.4, 2.2.3) & SD 41.5 (5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Yo kho jīvaka tathāgatam vā tathāgata,sāvakam vā uddissa pāṇam ārabhati, so pañcahi ṭhānehi bahum apuññam pasavati.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Here Be has so gaha, pati, "that houselord" throughout.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Gacchatha amukaṁ nāma pāṇaṁ ānethâti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Yam pi so pāṇo gala-p,paveṭhakena [bahūsu] ānīyamāno dukkhaṁ domanassaṁ paṭisaṁvedeti

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> So tathāgataṁ vā tathāgata,sāvakaṁ vā akappiyena āsādeti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> On meat-eating, see (5).

in the same way, in numerous ways, the Dharma has been made clear by the Blessed One.

I go to the Blessed One for refuge, to the Dharma, and to the community of monks.

May the Blessed One remember me as a layman who has gone to him for refuge from this day forth for life."  $^{134}$ 

— evam —

## **Bibliography**

	<b>3</b> 1 7	
Analayo Bhikkhu		
2008a	"The Chinese Madhyama-āgama and the Pāli Majjhima-nikāya, In the footsteps of Thich Minh Chau," <i>Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies</i> 9 2008:1-21.	
2011	A Comparative Study of the Majjhima-nikāya [2006]. 2 vols. [v1 Intro, suttas 1-90; v2 suttas 91-152; concl, abbrev, refs, app.] Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corp, 2011: 318-320.	
Endo J[iro] & Nakamura T[sutomu]		
1995	"Comparative studies of the tridosha in Ayurveda and the theory of the four deranged elements in Buddhist medicine." <i>Kagakushi Kenkyu</i> [Journal of the History of Science, Japan] 34 (193):1-9.	
Hartmann, Jens-Uwe		
2002a	"Further Remarks on the New Manuscript of the Dirghagama," Journal of the International	
	College for Advanced Buddhist Studies 5 2002:133-150.	
2002b	"More Fragments of the Cangisutra," in Buddhist Manuscripts (Manuscripts in the Schøyen	
	Collection), (ed) J Braarvig, Oslo: Hermes, vol 2 2002:1-16.	
1979	"Meat-eating and the Rule of Tikoṭiparisuddha." Studies in Pali and Buddhism: a memorial volume	
	in honour of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap, Delhi, 1979:ch 25.	
Horner, I B		
1967	Early Buddhism and the Taking of Life. [Orig in B C Law Volume, pt 1, Calcutta, 1943.] Repr with	
	minor alterations. Wheel 104. Kandy: Buddhist Publication Soc, 1967. <u>Download PDF</u> .	
Magner, Lois N		
2005	"The medical traditions of India and China." In <i>A History of Medicine</i> 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. Boca Raton, FL: Taylor & Francis, 2005:53-87. With biblio.	
Melzer, Gudrun		
2006	Ein Abschnitt aus dem Dīrghāgama. PhD thesis. München: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 2006.	
Mitra, J		
1985	A Critical Appraisal of Ayurvedic Materials in Buddhist Literature (with special reference to	
	Tripiṭaka). VaranasiL Jyotirlok Prakashan, 1985.	
Mukhophādhyay	va, Asutosh	
1913	Surgical Instruments of the Hindus, 2 vols, 1913. Full text.	
Reddy, D V		
1958	"Jeevaka, a physician of the VI century BC." Indian Journal of History of Medicine 3 1958: 37-49.	
Sanskrithandsch	riften aus den Turfanfunden (SHT)	
1965 etc	Vol 1, (ed) W Clawiter, L Holzmann, E Waldschmidt, 1965. Vol 2 idem 1968. Vol 3 idem 1971. Vol	
	4 (ed) L Sander, E Waldschmidt, 1980. Vol 5 idem 1985. Vol 6 (ed) H Bechert, K Wille, 1989. Vol 7	
	idem 1995. Vol 8 idem 2000. Vol 9 idem 2004. Vol 10 (ed) K Wille 2008. Wiesbaden/Stuttgart:	
	Franz Steiner. See esp SHT 6:1525V1-R1.	
Schmithausen, Lambert		
2005b	"Meat-eating and Nature, Buddhist Perspectives," Supplement to the Bulletin of the Research	
	Institute of Bukkyo University, 2005:183-201.	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> On <u>Jīvaka's refuge-going</u>, see above (4.2.3.3).

SHT = Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden (qv)

THICH Minh Chau

1964 The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pali Majjhima Nikāya. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964.

Trainor, Kevin

"In the eye of the beholder: Non-attachment and the body in Subhā's verse (Therīgāthā 71)."

Journal of the American Academy of Religion 61,1 Spring 1993:58-79.

http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-MISC/misc025356.htm.

Zysk. Kenneth G

1982 "Studies in traditional Indian medicine in the Pali canon: Jīvaka and Āyurveda." Journal of the

International Association of Buddhist Studies 5,1 1982:70. [On Jīvaka's treatments as recorded in

the Vinaya.]

130504 130820 131115 131216 141224 160712 171013 210905 211113 231225