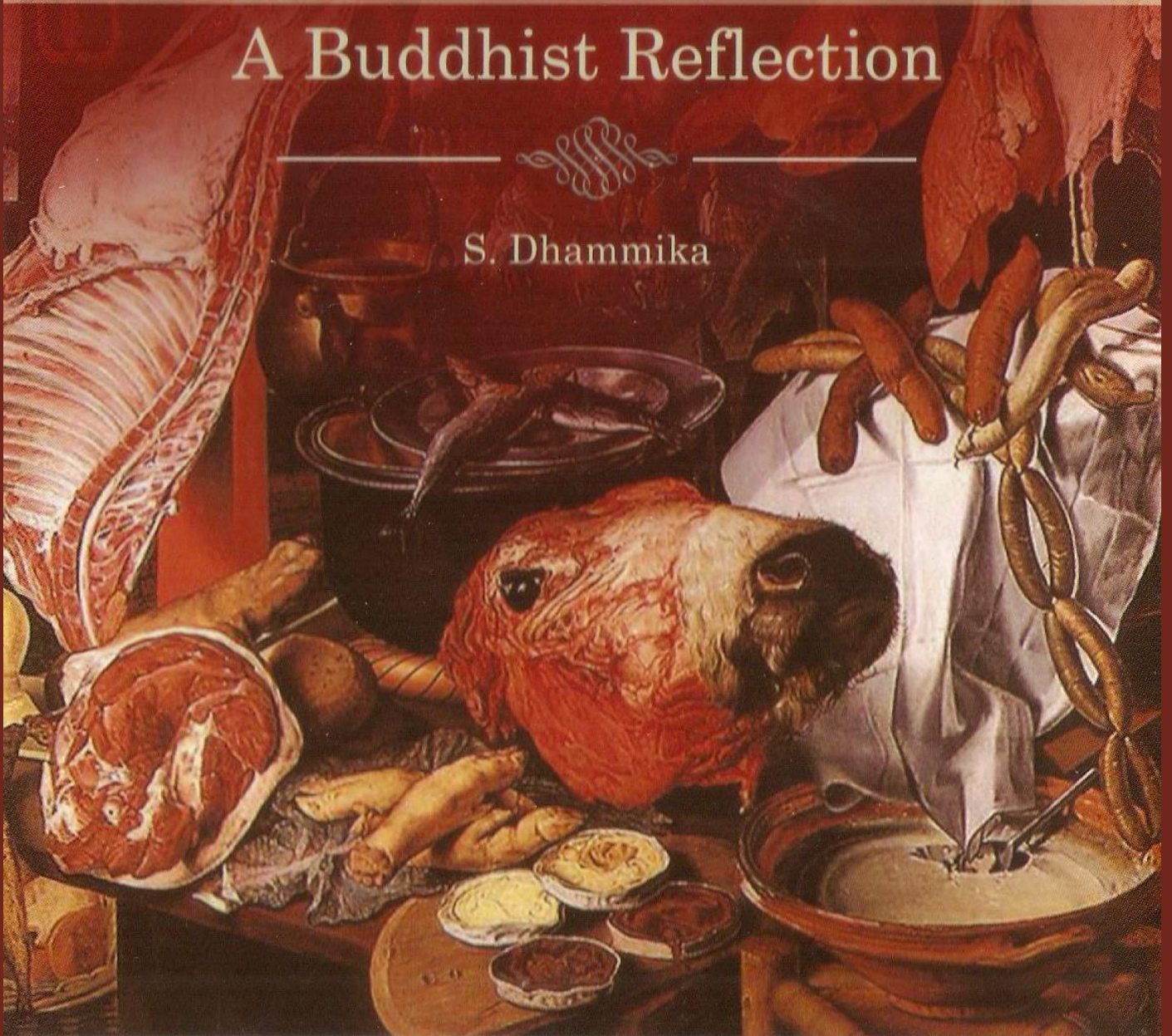


# TO EAT OR NOT TO EAT MEAT

A Buddhist Reflection

S. Dhammika



# TO EAT OR NOT TO EAT MEAT

## A Buddhist Reflection

S. Dhammika

Tasty or bland, much or little,  
one can eat anything made with love.  
Indeed, love is the highest taste.  
-- Jataka III,145

© Buddha Dhamma Mandala Society  
Singapore  
© 2010, 2011, 2016, Budblooms 2020 revised edition

## Table of Content



[Vegetarianism in Ancient India](#)

[Buddhist Arguments for Vegetarianism](#)

[Motivation and Meat](#)

[The Last Link in the Chain](#)

[Problematic Vegetarians](#)

[Meat in the Buddhist Tradition](#)

[How I became a Vegetarian](#)

[The Buddha's Last Supper](#)

[Abbreviations](#)

[For Further Reading](#)



## Vegetarianism in Ancient India



Vegetarianism is the practice of having a meat-free diet. There are different types of vegetarianism, e.g. lacto-vegetarians will eat dairy products but not eggs, and vegans will eat no products derived from animals. The first evidence for any type of vegetarianism comes from ancient Greece and India. The Greek philosopher Pythagoras (570-495 BCE) advocated vegetarianism and at around the same time in India, Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, was also advocating vegetarianism. Despite popular perceptions to the contrary, the Buddha (563-483 BCE), a younger contemporary of Mahavira, was not a vegetarian and did not explicitly insist on its practice in any of his teachings.

Many arguments are used to support vegetarianism – the health argument (a meat diet causes various diseases), the biological argument (humans are not naturally carnivorous), the economic argument (animal husbandry is an inefficient form of food production), and the humane argument (eating meat requires killing animals which is cruel). Some of these arguments are rather weak, others less so. But from the point of view of Buddhist ethics the most important of these arguments is the last one. Does the Pali Tipitaka, the earliest record of the Buddha's teachings, contain anything suggesting that Buddhists should be vegetarian?

There is no place in either the Sutta, the Vinaya or the Abhidhamma Pitakas where the Buddha says his disciples, monastic or lay, should avoid eating meat. Supporters of Buddhist vegetarianism like Philip Kapleau Roshi (To Cherish All Life, 1986) have claimed that the Buddha did teach vegetarianism but that all references to it were deleted from the sacred scriptures by meat-loving monks in later centuries. There is no evidence whatsoever of this having been done and this argument can be dismissed out of hand.

There are several places in the scriptures where the Buddha is described as eating meat which is hardly surprising given his observation that in his day and age the usual food (*bhojanam*) was rice and meat (D.III,71). Anguttara Nikaya III,49 mentions that the Buddha was once served *sukara mamsa* with jujube fruit. This term can be translated with certainty as *sukara* = pig or boar, *mamsa* = meat or flesh. In another place it distinctly says that a man sent his servant to the market to buy meat so it could be prepared and served to the Buddha (A.IV,187). Yet another text mentions in passing that a group of people “boiled porridge and rice, made soup and minced meat” (*mamsani kottenti*) while preparing a feast for the Buddha and his monks (Vin. I, 239). Once, some men slaughtered a cow, cooked it and then one of them gave “the best cuts of the cooked meat” (*mamse pakke varamamsani*) to a nun who subsequently offered it to the Buddha (Vin. III,208). These and other references to the Buddha eating meat are incidental and only mentioned as an aside.

One of the criticisms the Jains directed towards the Buddha was that he ate meat. “Many Jains went through the town, from one square to another, waving their arms and shouting, ‘General Siha has this very day slaughtered a large creature to feed it to the monk Gotama and he is going to eat it knowing that it was slaughtered specifically for him,’” (A. IV,187). In this incident the Jains were trying to discredit or embarrass the Buddha for eating meat, which suggests that there was some feeling at the time that monks at least should be vegetarian. Well-known teachers of the Buddha’s time such as Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Sankicca and Makkhali Gosala advocated vegetarianism. (M.I,238). The Buddha abstained from meat and fish during the time he was experimenting with self-mortification (M.I,77), although he later abandoned this and other austerities saying that they had little or no role to play in inner transformation or the development of wisdom.

But vegetarianism could have only been in its infancy because the Buddha became widely respected despite the Jain criticism of him on this issue. And he was not the only one. We read of a particular ascetic who was highly esteemed by the people of Vesali despite having taken a vow to consume only meat and alcohol (D.III,9).

One of several Jain objections to eating meat and the Brahmanical idea that it was unacceptable to eat certain types of meat, was that it makes one unclean, not just physically unclean but ritually or spiritually unclean too. Such ideas are very widespread even today and many religions teach that certain foods have an impurity apart from any actual dirt or bacteria

they may contain. Since its very beginning Buddhism has rejected the idea of ritual purity and impurity, maintaining that it is immoral thought, speech and actions that make one pure or impure. The Amagandha Sutta says; "Being rough, devoid of kindness, back-biting, careless of friends, heartless, arrogant, mean, sharing with no one, this is impure food, not the eating of meat. To be immoral, refuse to repay one's debts, betray others, cheat in business and create divisions amongst people, this is impure food, not the eating of meat. To kill living beings, steal, harm others, be immoral, cruel, hard and disrespectful, this is impure food, not the eating of meat." (Sn. 244-6).

There are several places in the Vinaya, the rules for Buddhist monks and nuns, where eating meat is mentioned or implied, for example where it says particular types of meat such as that of lions, snakes and hyenas, should not be consumed, implying that other types can be (Vin. I,218-8). It also recommends meat broth as a medicine (Vin.I,206). The section on medicine in the Vinaya says that monks are allowed to take the oil, fat and tallow of fish, crocodiles, pigs, bears and other animals for medicinal reasons (Vin.I,200). Monks were even allowed to eat raw meat and drink blood (Vin.I,202-3), which apparently was believed to cure possession by evil spirits.

However, it would seem that the first evidence of a move by Buddhist towards vegetarianism also comes from the Vinaya. Most scholars agree that much of the Vinaya dates from some time after the

Buddha so some of the things it says may not necessarily reflect what was believed or did. In the Vinaya, the monk Devadatta is said to have demanded that vegetarianism be made compulsory for monks and nuns. "For as long as life lasts, let them not eat fish or meat (*maccha mamsam*). Whoever does so would be stained by a fault" (Vin.II,197). The Buddha is depicted as refusing to make this a rule. Devadatta is always portrayed in Buddhist literature as a villain. This story suggests that within perhaps a century of the Buddha's passing some monks were advocating vegetarianism although the Sangha as a whole was against it being made compulsory. The Vinaya also mentions what were called *maghata*, certain days of the month when animals were not slaughtered and meat was not available in the markets (Vin.I,217). The Jataka likewise mentions *maghata divasa* and adds that they would be announced by the beat of a drum (Ja.III,428). Were these non-killing days a result of a general unease about killing animals, or due to the influence of Buddhism, or of Jainism? We don't know.

After this, the next evidence of a Buddhist move towards vegetarianism comes from the edicts of the great Buddhist emperor Asoka Maurya. In an edict issued in 257 BCE he said; "Formerly, in the kitchen of the king, hundreds of thousands of animals were killed every day to make curry. But with the writing of this Dhamma edict only three creatures, two peacocks and a deer, are killed and the deer not always. And in time, not even these three creatures will be killed." This edict seems to reflect well



the early Buddhist attitude to vegetarianism – it is a good thing, so we cut down our consumption of meat and in time we'll get around to phasing it out. Later, in 243 BCE, Asoka issued another edict banning the slaughter, branding and castrating of domestic animals on certain days of each month. In this same edict he also announced a ban on the hunting of certain wild animals and the setting up of forest reserves where no hunting was to be allowed. After this we get no evidence of Buddhist vegetarianism for several centuries.

A Jain work, the *Suyagada* (2nd century CE), has this interesting though polemical and spurious critique of the Buddhist idea that only intentional actions (*cetana*) create kamma and therefore unintentionally eating meat, even human flesh, would be acceptable. "If a savage puts a man on a spit and roasts him, mistaking him for something else, he would not be guilty of murder. In fact, the meat would be fit for the Buddha to feast on." (Suy.2,6,27). This critique implies that at this time Buddhists were eating meat.

It is commonly assumed that early Buddhism, i.e. Theravada, did not teach vegetarianism while Mahayana did. However, this is a perception that needs to be examined more closely. Of the hundreds of Mahayana sutras only a handful discuss vegetarianism, the main ones being the *Hastikaksya Sutra*, *Mahamegha Sutra*, *Angulimaliya Sutra*, *Nirvana Sutra*, the *Brahmajala Sutra* and the *Lankavatara Sutra*. It is not easy to date any of these *sutras* but all of them were probably composed after the 2nd century CE

with parts being added in later centuries. Of these sutras the one that most strongly advocates vegetarianism is the *Lankavatara Sutra*. It offers a series of arguments in favor of vegetarianism, some of them sound, others rather puerile, for example, that you will emit a bad odor if you eat meat. However, the vehemence with which these arguments are presented suggests that many Buddhists at that time were not vegetarian. It is only necessary to argue vigorously against something when there are those who disagree with or oppose it. It is also interesting to point out that while the *Nirvana Sutra* condemns meat eating it also says that one is justified in killing thieves in order to protect monastic property, a weird contradiction of the type still found in the thinking of some strong proponents of vegetarianism.

When the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (602–664) was in India he made careful and extensive notes on the beliefs and practices of Indian Buddhists but makes no mention of them being vegetarian. He noted that people ate meat and that the most important thing was not whether one was vegetarian or not but what kind of meat one ate. Those who ate beef or animals considered impure (dogs, monkeys, pigs, donkeys) were treated as outcasts. About a century after Xuanzang another Chinese monk, Yijing, stayed in India for several decades and wrote a detailed account of Indian Buddhist monastic rules and regulations. He too made no mention of vegetarianism.

The literature of Tantric or Vajrayana Buddhism, dating from after

the 7th century CE, often advocates a meat diet. Tantric practitioners even offered meat to the various deities they worshipped. Both Hindu and Buddhist Tantras even taught what was called the Five Ms (*Pañchamakara*) rituals that could include consuming alcohol, eating meat, fish, parched grain, and having sex. In later centuries apologists for Tantra insisted that such teachings had to be interpreted metaphorically but they were originally taken literally.

It is clear from all this that some Indian Buddhists were vegetarian while others, probably the majority, were not. During the 10th century Jains were still attacking Buddhists for eating meat. In his *Darsanasara*, written around this time, Devasena launched a scathing attack on Buddhist monks for considering anything placed in their begging bowls to be pure, even meat (*Prakrit Sahitya Ka Itihas* p.319). Two hundred years later another Jain writer, Hemacandra, denounced Buddhist monks as gluttons incapable of genuine austerity because they made no distinction between lawful and unlawful food. By 'unlawful food' he meant meat.

What about Indian society in general? The evidence shows that from its very beginning Jainism was strongly vegetarian and has been so ever since. There is no evidence that Brahmanism, the main religion during the Buddha's time, taught vegetarianism. Vedic sacrifices in which animals were slaughtered were still being practiced and are frequently mentioned in the Tipitaka (e.g. A.I,66; II,42; IV,41; etc.). It records one particular sacrifice conducted by a brahman named Uggatasarira during which "five

hundred bulls, five hundred steers and numerous heifers, goats and rams were brought to the sacrificial post for slaughter” (A.IV,41). The meat of sacrificed animals was eaten by the officiating priests afterward.

Early secular literature often refers to meat eating as a normal and common practice. The *Arthashastra* (3rd–2nd century BCE) for example, says that that the government should appoint a superintendent of slaughterhouses, probably to make sure they were efficiently run (II,26-7). It also stipulates that anyone killing a calf, bull or milch cow be fined 50 panas, not because this was considered cruel but because it was economically undesirable (II,26-11). In the section on town planning it recommends that the meat market and the liquor shops should be situated in the southeast side of the city (II.4.11) The *Manusmṛiti*, the most authoritative Hindu law book (2nd century BCE – 2nd century CE), mentions that meat is a suitable offering for the ancestors, that the sacred scriptures should not be recited immediately after eating meat, and that during times of hardship it is even acceptable to eat dog meat, usually thought of as exceptionally impure. One whole section of the *Manusmṛiti* (5,27-57) lays down the rules concerning the procuring, preparing and consuming of fish and flesh. The justification for meat-eating is summed up in these words; “The eater is not defiled by eating living beings suitable for eating, even if he eats them day after day. For the Creator himself made both the eater and the living beings to eat.” (5,30).

The Kama Sutra (3rd cent CE?) points out that alcohol and dog meat

increase a man's virility but then adds, somewhat halfheartedly, that a circumspect man would nonetheless take neither because they are impure. It also gives recipes for aphrodisiacs, many of them including animal flesh and organs. So once again we have an ambiguous attitude towards consuming meat.

Both the two great Hindu epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* often refer to eating meat as normal and uncontroversial, as indeed it was. In his detailed study of everyday life as depicted in the *Ramayana* Ananda Guruge writes; "The Aryans of ancient India were not altogether vegetarians. Their diet was a mixed one; they ate fish as was offered to Bharata and his party by Guha. Meat too was consumed quite widely. Not only did Rama say that animals are killed by men for their flesh but he also killed many animals – deer, wild boar, antelope, etc., - for food during his sojourn in the forest. Meat was eaten with relish and a verse which describes a meal of Rama and Sita states; 'He sat on a rock tempting Sita with meat (saying) this is pure, this is tasty and this is well cooked by fire.' In Bharadvaja's hermitage Bharata's army was supplied with venison, mutton, pork and flesh of the peacock and the snipe. Likewise, Kumbhakarna consumed large quantities of venison, beef and pork and drank blood. Although the Vanaras are generally depicted as vegetarians, the Brahmans were actually not. The concept that 'a purely vegetarian diet is an indication of spiritual progress and an advanced culture' is a later development in India. Even ascetic Brahmans were not strict vegetarians.

Although their usual fare consisted of vegetables, they did not abstain from meat-eating as a principle of either religious or social significance. In fact, Agastya is represented as eating rams and he says, 'I am able to eat comfortably even one whole ram at a Sraddha ceremony.' There seems to have been no ban on meat-eating by Brahmans even at the time of Bhavabhuti for his *Uttararamacarita* depicts Vasistha as eating a tawny calf. Further, Valin's statement specifically mentions the animals whose flesh could be eaten by Brahmans." (The Society of the Ramayana, 1960, p.147-8).

In the chapter on food the *Susruta Samhita* (1st–4th century CE), one of the two seminal texts on Ayurvedic medicine, recommends all kinds of fish, bird and animal flesh thereby showing that meat eating was acceptable during that period. The eminent scholar of Ayurveda Dominik Wujastyk, writes, "To someone acquainted with contemporary Hinduism, it may come as a surprise to see that the meat of many kinds of animals is recommended as normal food. In fact, the real surprise is not so much that meat is considered part of the diet, but that its use is presented so completely without apology or explanation. The text of *Caraka* and *Suśruta* take it utterly for granted, and apparently feel no need even to attempt a justification" (*The Roots of Ayurveda*, 2003, p.xx). This and a great deal of other evidence shows that like Buddhists, Hindus were primarily meat eaters, although there was always some in favor of vegetarianism. After the Gupta period Hindu text such as some of the Puranas and the literature of the Bhagavatas started teaching abstaining from meat. It was probably only



after the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries that vegetarianism started to become widespread in India. The reasons for this may have been developments in theology and philosophy, changing economic conditions, or the desire of Indians to distinguish themselves from Muslims invaders.

## Buddhist arguments for Vegetarianism



So the next question is this – could vegetarianism be implied from or be more consistent with the Buddha’s teachings in general?

The cardinal virtue of Buddhism is respect for life. This is embodied in the first Precept; not to harm living beings. I use the word ‘harm’ rather than ‘kill’ because on many occasions the Buddha mentioned that we should not just abstain from killing but also from cruelty and violence. For example, he said that someone is unrighteous (*adhamma*) in body if they “kill living beings, are murderous, bloody-handed, given to blows and violence and are without mercy.” (M.I,286). It is clear that killing is against the first Precept but so is pulling a cat’s tail, flogging a horse or punching someone in the face, although these actions would be less grave than killing. So this is the first point – **(1) Both killing and cruelty to living beings is against the first Precept.**

That true adherence to the Precept goes beyond the individual's direct physical involvement in harming or killing is clear from the Buddha's instructions that someone who takes the Dhamma seriously should "not kill, encourage (*samadapati*) others to kill, approve of (*samamunno hoti*) killing, or speak in praise of (*vannam bhasati*) killing" (A.V,306). Here, the Buddha was saying that one should take into account even the indirect and distant implications of one's actions and speech. So this is the second point – **(2) Urging others, encouraging them or approving of them killing or being cruel to living beings would be against the first Precept.**

As is often pointed out, the Precepts have two dimensions - firstly to stop doing wrong (*varitta*) and then to actually do good (*caritta*, M.III,46). In the case of the first Precept its *varitta* aspect would be avoiding harming and killing while its *caritta* aspect would be doing what one could to nurture, protect and promote life. This is expressed in the Buddha's full explanation of the Precept when he said; "Avoiding the taking of life, he dwells refraining from taking life. Putting aside the stick and the sword he lives with care, kindness and compassion for living beings." (D.I,4). Again and again throughout his teachings the Buddha asked us to empathize with others, to feel for others. "Put yourself in the place of others and neither kill nor cause killing." (Dhp. 129. "Think, 'As am I so are others. As are others so am I' and neither kill nor cause killing." (Sutta Nipata 705). This then is the third point – **(3) Feeling and acting with kindness and**

**compassion towards living beings is an integral part of the first Precept.**

The Buddha's teachings of respect for life can be clearly seen in several of his other teachings as well, Right Livelihood (*samma ajiva*) being but one example of this. The Buddha gave as examples of wrong means of livelihood the selling (and/or manufacturing?) of weapons, human beings, flesh (*mamsa vanijja*), alcohol and poisons (A.III, 208). Although he did not specifically mention it, it is easy to see that the reason why these livelihoods are unethical is because they involve at some level harming or killing living things. So this is the fourth point – **(4) Not harming or killing living beings and being kind to them, is an integral part of the whole Dhamma, not just the first Precept.**

Another of the Buddha's important teachings is that things do not come into existence randomly or through the will of a divine being but through a specific cause or web of causes. The most well-known example of this is where the Buddha describes the conditions that give rise to suffering (D.II,55). However, there are other examples of dependent arising – the sequence of causes that give rise to enlightenment (S.I,29-32) and to social conflict (Sn.862-77), etc.

Using this same principle, we can clarify issues related to meat eating. Farmers do not raise cows or chickens for fun; they do it because they can make a living by selling them to the abattoirs. Likewise, abattoirs don't slaughter animals for fun, they do it to make a profit. They sell their meat to the processors, who sell it to the local supermarkets or butchers

who in turn sell it to the consumers. Any reasonable person would agree that there is a clear trajectory, a discernible causal link, between the farmer or the abattoir and the consumer. It may be a distant link but it is there. Put in its simplest terms, people would not slaughter animals if other people did not purchase meat. So this is the fifth point – **(5) Eating meat is causally related to the harming or killing of living beings and thus is connected to some degree to breaking the first Precept.**

Now let us consider the implications of these five points. Avoiding the complexities of the modern food processing and production industries for the time being, let us look at the simple version of it as it would have existed at the time of the Buddha and how it may still exist in some developing countries and perhaps even in some rural areas in the West.

Let's say that during the Buddha's time some monks were invited to the house of a devout family for a meal and that they were served, amongst other things, meat. In accordance with the Buddha's instructions in the *Jivaka Sutta* (M.II,369) they ate the meat because they had not seen, heard or even suspected that their hosts had gone to someone and specifically asked them to slaughter an animal so that its meat could be prepared and served to the monks. While eating their meal these monks would have had no bloody intentions, no murderous anger, no perverse fascination in seeing a creature have its throat cut. It is likely that they gave no thought whatsoever to where the meat came from or what was involved in procuring it. From the narrowest, most literal, strictly direct interpretation

of it, the first Precept would not have been broken. But this narrow perspective raises, at least in my mind, quite a few troubling questions:

(A) Firstly, as we have seen above, all the evidence shows the Buddha wanted the Precept to be interpreted in a broad manner and to have all its implications taken into account.

(B) If the monks did not directly break their rules, maybe the lay people broke the first Precept in that they “encouraged others to kill, approved of killing or spoke in praise of killing” when they purchased the meat.

(C) Maybe the monks *should* have given some thought to the implications and consequences of their actions. Did not the Buddha say; “Before doing something, while doing it and after having done it one should reflect, ‘Will this action lead to my own or others’ detriment?’” (M.I,416).

(D) Although they may not have seen, heard or suspected that an animal was killed specifically for them, the monks must have been aware that it was killed for people who eat meat, and that in eating meat they would fall into this category.

(E) Even if their role in the death of a creature is only distant and indirect, genuine metta would urge one not to be involved in killing even to that extent. The Buddha said; “Just as a mother would protect her only child at the risk of her own life, like this one should develop an unbounded mind towards all beings and love to all the world. One should develop an

unbounded mind, above, below and across, without obstruction..." (Sn.149-50). He also said we should think like this; "I have love for footless creatures. I have love for the two-footed. I have love for the four-footed and I have love for many-footed creatures." (A.II,72). Saying "It wasn't killed specifically for me and while I ate it my mind was filled with love" does not sound like the deep, kindly and pervasive love the Buddha asked us to develop. It sounds more like a love restricted by rather narrow concerns.

(F) In a very important discourse in the Anguttara Nikaya the Buddha praised those who care about others as much as they care about themselves. "There are these four types of people found in the world. What four? He who is concerned with neither his own good nor the good of others, he who is concerned with the good of others but not his own, he who is concerned with his own good but not the good of others and he who is concerned with both his own good and the good of others. Of these four he who is concerned with his own good and the good of others is the chief, the best, the topmost, the highest, the supreme." (A.II,94). And a little further along the Buddha asked the question; "And how is one concerned with both his own good and the good of others?" In part of the answer to this question he said; "He does not kill or encourage others to kill" (A.II,99). We saw before that there is a casual link between killing animals and purchasing their meat. Quite simply, slaughter houses would not slaughter animals and butchers and supermarkets would not stock meat if people did not buy it. Therefore, when we purchase meat or even eat it



when it is served to us, we are encouraging killing, and thus not acting out of concern for others, as the Buddha asked us to do.

The conclusions of all this seems to me to be inescapable – that intelligent, mature Dhamma practice would require vegetarianism, or at least reducing one's meat consumption.

## **Motivation and Meat**



Being true to the Dhamma in general and the first Precept in particular, would seem to require being vegetarian. Not everyone sees it this way and most Theravadin and nearly all Vajrayanist Buddhists do not interpret it as being so. We will now examine the motives in practicing the Precepts and see how this could be relevant to the meat eating-vegetarian issue.

The Buddha gave three reasons why we should take ethical discipline seriously:

(1) The first is to avoid the negative effects of bad actions – usually called 'bad kamma' but more correctly 'bad *vipaka*'. This is mentioned by the Buddha many times and is the only one of the three that is ever

mentioned in traditional Theravada teaching, giving rise, with some justification, to the criticism that Theravada is self-centered.

(2) The second reason is because following the Precepts lays the foundation for positive qualities like restraint, awareness, mental clarity, the happiness of having a clear conscience (*anavajja sukha*, D.I,70), etc. and which in time lead to the ultimate good, Nirvana.

(3) And the third reason is love and concern for others. I do not harm or kill others because I respect their life. I don't steal from them because I respect their property. I don't sexually exploit or misuse them because I respect their dignity and their right to choose. I do not lie to them because I respect their right to be spoken to honestly and truthfully. And I do not intoxicate myself with alcohol because when I encounter others I want meaningful communication to take place between us. In short, fidelity to the Precepts is as much as anything an act of love, not just to the person I am directly relating to but to the wider community as well.

The Buddha highlighted this point when he said that right actions are a type of consideration or thoughtfulness (*saraniya*) to others that lead to "love, respect, kind regard, harmony and peace", (*piyakarana garukarana sangahaya avivadaya samaggiya... A.III,289*). Just so that there can be no uncertainty about what the Buddha said here, *piya* = love; *karana* = making, causing; *garu* = respect, esteem; *sangaha*, sympathy, togetherness, mutuality; *avivada* = non-dispute, harmony; *samagga* = peace, concord.

Those who feel that they can develop good qualities like patience,

determination, mindfulness, generosity, kindness and love while eating meat should have no concern about their diet. But, anyone who genuinely feels that they should develop an expansive love and kindness towards others - all others (and the Buddha said we should), would have to feel uneasy about being connected in any way to the animals being killed. The knowledge that they are part of a chain that leads to some very nasty things happening (and I do not want to regale you with the horrors of the abattoirs) must make them feel uneasy. It would have to motivate a thoughtful Buddhist to try to do at least something about this cruelty; and the least one could do is not be a link in the chain, by abstaining from eating meat.

## **The Last Link in the Chain**



Here is a quandary to consider. We saw before that a causal link can be discerned between eating meat and animals being killed. Nowadays there are many persons between these two points - the slaughter man, the meat packers, the distributors, etc. but in either its simplest or its most complex form the three key participants are (1) the slaughter man, the one who actually draws the knife across the animal's throat; (2) the middleman who sells the meat and (3) the customer, the person who buys and

consumes the meat. The existence of these three depends on each other.

Now it is obvious why the Buddha mentioned slaughter men, hunters, deer stalkers, fishermen, executioners, etc. as those who do not practice Dhamma (S.II,256). It is also clear enough why he described people who sell meat as failing to practice Right Livelihood (A.III,208). But curiously, nowhere does the Buddha complete what seems to be the logical sequence by mentioning the third and last link in the chain, the buyer/eater. Why is this? If killing an animal is wrong and if selling its meat is wrong, why isn't buying its meat wrong too?

Here is another quandary. The Buddha said that his lay disciples should avoid making their living by five trades; these being trade in weapons (*sattha*), in human beings (*satta*), in meat (*mamsa*), in alcohol (*majja*) and in poisons (*visa*, A.III.208). Although this seems clear enough, looking at it a little more carefully might reveal something relevant to the question of meat eating. Why are these trades wrong, unwholesome or kammically negative? Let's have a look at arms.

While the blacksmith is forging steel to make a sword he is unlikely to have any evil intentions, he is probably preoccupied with forging his steel and he certainly does not kill anyone. The arms dealer who sells the sword does not kill anyone either. He's just selling a commodity. So why did the Buddha consider arms manufacturing/trading to be a wrong means of livelihood? Obviously because weapons, like poisons make killing possible. Their main purpose, indeed their only purpose, is to kill. The

arms manufacture and dealer are two links in a chain that could lead to someone being killed, even though they themselves do not kill anyone. A, arms manufacturer - B, arms dealer - C, purchaser and killing. Now if we reverse this sequence and apply it to meat eating then surely the same conclusion would have to be drawn; C - eating meat - B, meat seller - A, slaughter man and killing. Why in both these cases has the Buddha left out one or two of the key links in these chains, i.e. the purchaser?

## **Problematic Vegetarians**



One of the reasons why I only recently became vegetarian (and even now not 100% so) was the hypocrisy and inconsistency, even the fanaticism, I observed amongst quite a few vegetarians. This and the resistance it caused prevented me from seeing intelligent, thoughtful vegetarianism's consistency with the Dhamma. Arthur Koestler once described something as being "as dull as dining with a vegetarian" and I know exactly what he meant. Listening to some vegetarians talk often gives one the impression that they are more concerned about mastication, digestive juices and bowel movements than they are about the lives of innocent animals.

In 1996 when I visited Hong Kong and Taiwan I stayed in many Chinese Mahayana monasteries. I was always welcomed with the greatest courtesy but inevitably the subject of diet would come up. As is fairly typical of vegetarians, many of my hosts were fixated on food and one of the few things they knew about Theravada was that Theravadins are not vegetarian. When I was asked, and sooner or later I always was, "Are you vegetarian?" I would truthfully reply; "No I am not. But while here (Hong Kong or Taiwan) I am adhering to your discipline." This answer was often followed by a long, usually polite but sometimes reproachful, lecture about how uncompassionate it is to eat meat.

While fingers were being wagged in my face I couldn't help noticing that nearly all my hosts were dressed in silk robes and I happen to know that approximately 50 silk worms have to be boiled alive to make one square inch of silk. I also noticed that all the banners, hangings, etc. in the monasteries' shrines were likewise of silk. One monk delivered his lecture to me while sitting on a throne, flanked by two of the biggest elephant tusks I have ever seen, each intricately and exquisitely carved with images of Kuan Yin and other bodhisattvas. Both these tusks were still creamy-white indicating that their original owner had only been slaughtered, probably illegally, a few years ago.

Another thing I noticed was the furniture in the temples. Running down the eastern side of Taiwan is a chain of very high mountains that are covered with thick forest made up of the most magnificent ancient trees. It



has become the fashion in Taiwan to have furniture made out of these trees. A table may consist of a huge cross-section of a trunk a foot or more thick and the five or six chairs around it can be made out of cross-sections of smaller trunks or large branches. The attraction of this type of furniture is the often gnarled outer surface of the trunk slabs and the age-rings within them. I hardly need mention that this furniture is extremely expensive but as Taiwanese temples tend to be very wealthy, they usually have at least one or two sets of this furniture.

One incredibly lavish monastery I visited had five such sets in the visitor's hall and one in the vestibule of each monk's room. Another must-have I noticed in many temples is huge, twisted, gnarled tree trunks, sometimes including the roots, with Bodhidharma, Kuan Yin or *lohans* carved into them. None of the enthusiastic vegetarian monks I met seemed particularly concerned about their role in decimating Taiwan's ancient forests by having these beautiful but completely unnecessary and destructive luxuries. It seemed that eating meat was unforgivable but stripping the forests of their trees and having silk worms boiled alive was okay.

But by far the worst thing I saw in Taiwan was the attitude towards pets. The Taiwanese are busy absorbing Western middle-class values and tastes but like all new-comers they still haven't got it quite right. Everyone seems to want a fluffy adorable puppy, kitten or bunny but they are not yet schooled in what to do with them once they get them. Three months later

or when the animal has grown up and is no longer cute, they lose interest in it. This is particularly true of dogs who are often confined in tiny cages. Some of these caged dogs are put at front gates of peoples' homes so they will bark when anyone comes. I recall looking down several streets and seeing one of these tiny cages at nearly every gate and hearing their occupants howling with boredom, barking incessantly and whimpering for attention.

As in Taiwanese homes, so too in Taiwanese monasteries. In one monastery I saw two adult Alsatians locked in a cage barely big enough for them to turn around and in the three weeks I was at this place they were never let out once. Worse still, the abbot of this temple, a rather formidable man, was well-known as an outspoken and crusading advocate of, you guessed it, strict vegetarianism - no milk, no eggs, no animal products at all. Both his Alsatians suffered from severe rickets. Being a vegan himself the abbot had refused to feed his pets meat or milk when they were puppies causing their legs to be all bowed and bent. Having said all this I should point out that generally I was impressed by the vigor of Buddhism in Taiwan and that the country has an active animal rights movement, often motivated by Buddhist principles. My problem was only with the way some Taiwanese Buddhist practiced vegetarianism.

I'd have to say that some other vegetarians I have encountered suffer from a similar lopsidedness - a near obsession with meat and its consumption and little or no interest in any other kind of cruelty to animals

or a carelessness towards the environment which animals need to live. For many people, just abstaining from meat is enough - and from a thoughtful Buddhist perspective it is not enough. You could be a scrupulous vegetarian and at the same time be unkind and uncaring towards other beings. Vegetarianism is good, but if it does not go hand in hand with a compassionate regard for all human and animal life it's just another food fad. So if you are going to be a vegetarian be an intelligent one.

## **Meat in the Buddhist Tradition**



Now I would like to examine different Buddhist attitudes to vegetarianism. The simplistic picture - Hinayanists (Theravadins) eat meat and Mahayanists don't - does not reflect reality. Although the Theravada interpretation of the Pali Tipitaka does not require vegetarianism, many Sri Lankans do not eat meat. Many will eat fish but not meat and many others will shun beef while eating other types of meat. The *Loveda Sangarava*, composed in the 15th century and widely popular in Sri Lanka ever since, strongly advocates vegetarianism. Verse 50 says; "Those who eat meat, without regard for right and wrong and relishing its taste, are acting unwisely. They will never escape the evil results of those deeds. So give up

this attachment to the taste of meat from today forever more.”

Vegetarianism is uncommon in Burma, Thailand, Laos and Cambodia.

Some Mahayana texts advocate vegetarianism, but all Chinese and Korean monks and nuns and many of the more devout lay people are usually strictly vegetarian. Many other Chinese and Korean lay people will be vegetarian at least on certain holy days. Vajrayana texts do not advocate abstaining from meat, indeed some specifically endorse and even encourage it. Vegetarianism is rare in Bhutan, Tibet, Mongolia and also in Japan.

There are three Theravadin justifications for eating meat. We have already discussed the “I didn’t see, hear or suspect that the animal was killed for me so I’m off the hook” argument. The next common justification for meat eating, that it does not create negative kamma, is indicative of Theravada’s tendency towards narrowness and self-absorption. In a survey I did of 16 Theravadin books and articles on vegetarianism or sections from Theravadin books discussing the subject, this was the only argument used - that the person who eats the meat does not create any bad kamma for himself or herself. In fact, I have yet to find any Theravadin discourse on the vegetarian/meat eating debate which includes some discussion the effect that eating meat has on other beings, i.e. the animals being killed. Some Theravadins are like the man who walks past someone whose life is in mortal danger without helping them. When asked why he didn’t help he says; “There is no penalty for not helping so why should I?” For some

people loving concern for others as described in the Metta Sutta and elsewhere, is too often left out of the equation. Perhaps too much of the focus is on the self.

The other common Theravadin justification for meat eating goes like this. “Monks get what they need by begging and should eat whatever they are given without picking and choosing.” Like a few other claims of Theravada, this explanation of the theory bears little resemblance to the reality. The reality is that monks nearly always get exactly what they want. When the average monk wants something he simply buys it himself or when one of his supporters asks him what he needs he replies; “I need A, B and C.” The stricter monks will resort to hints, a slightly changed expression or insinuations. Either way, lay people are more than happy to provide monks with all their needs and most of their wants as well, and if a monk wanted a vegetarian diet he would get it without any difficulty at all.

Another weakness in this argument is that it only relates to a tiny percentage of all Theravadins, i.e. monks. All too often Theravada discourse focuses on issues that are relevant to or are the concern of monks, leaving out the other 99% of people. What about lay people to whom neither this argument or the “I didn’t see, hear or suspect” argument would be relevant? They don’t go begging and they are free to make choices about what they eat! Why can’t they be encouraged to be vegetarian? And if they were vegetarian they would offer vegetarian food to monks.

Recently a slightly more sophisticated argument has been used to justify meat eating in Theravada. The argument goes like this. Whether or not you eat meat, animals will be killed - to clear forests for agricultural land, by spraying crops to protect them from insect pests, by damming rivers to generate electricity and by many other ways. Even when we drive our car insects are squashed against the windscreen and larger animals are killed as we drive past. (Dhammavuddha Thera, *The Buddha's View on Meat Eating*, 2008). All this is undoubtedly true. However, such an argument embodies a narrow, disengaged and one-dimensional perspective rather typical of some Theravadin thinking. It is equivalent to saying; "People are going to die of cancer anyway so why bother discouraging smoking?" "People are going to be killed in accidents no matter what you do so why bother enacting safety regulations?" "Even though we have serious penalties for murder people still kill each other so what's the point in criminalizing murder?"

Even though a humane society knows there will always be deaths from cancer, accidents, murder and other causes, it still considers it worthwhile to try to minimize such deaths. It cannot regulate or protect its citizens from every possible life-threatening situation but where it is feasible it does so and many lives are saved as a result. Being vegetarian will not stop animals being killed but it is one step I can take, a very simple step, a step that costs me nothing, which will diminish at least some of the great suffering in the world and my complicity in it.



Vajrayana - I will use the term Tibetan Buddhism from now on - is another matter. Most Tibetan Buddhists - living Buddhas, manifestations of Manjusri, *rimpoches* and *tulkus* included, don't just eat meat, they consume it with gusto. When I read works on Tibetan Buddhism I find the subject of compassion is nearly always mentioned somewhere; and so it should be. As if to emphasize compassion's central position in Tibetan Buddhism, it is usually referred to not just as compassion but as 'great compassion' (*maha karuna*). Numerous ancient and modern commentaries on the *Bodhicariyavatara* linger with tear-jerking emotion on Santideva's aspiration to willingly give his life for others. The practice of "exchanging self with others" (*paratma parivartana*) forms an important element within the practices of all schools of Tibetan Buddhism. I won't labor the point because I think you can see where this is going. Is there not a serious contradiction between the Tibetan Buddhist strong and persistent emphasis on compassion and the fact that they eat meat? I think there is. So Tibetan Buddhism may not be narrow and self-centered but it could be argued that it is hypocritical and inconsistent concerning meat eating.

Some years ago when I was staying at Bodh Gaya, the Dalai Lama was due in a few days to give some talks and the town was filling up with Tibetans. A friend and I decided to get out of town for the duration to avoid the crowds. As we drove to Gaya we found the road blocked by a herd of a hundred or so buffaloes and goats being driven forward by several cowherds. Our driver hooted the horn, inched the car through the

animals and when we got to one of the cowherds asked him where he was going with such a large number of animals. "To Bodh Gaya. They're for the lamas", he replied. One would think that the least they could do is abstain from meat while they are at such a sacred place receiving teachings that almost certainly included calls to have *maha karuna* for all beings. But no. The *rimpoches* must have their meat.

Related to all this is a rather shameful hypocrisy that prevailed and indeed continues to linger in nearly all Buddhist lands, whether they be Theravada, Mahayana or Tibetan Buddhist. Butchers, leather-workers, hunters, fishermen and fowlers in Buddhist countries provided the community with various animal products including meat but were marginalized for doing so. Coastal-living fishermen in Sri Lanka were shunned by the majority and no monks ministered to their spiritual needs because they killed fish. Consequently, these people were easily converted to Catholicism when the Portuguese arrived. Interestingly, soldiers, whose job was to kill humans, were never similarly ostracized. In Japan the burakumin were and still are treated as outcasts because they did slaughtering and other 'unclean' tasks. In Tibet a group of people called the *ragyapa* were likewise despised because they made their living as slaughter men and tanners. They were relegated to the outskirts of towns where they lived in the most miserable conditions. I will stand being corrected here but I think *ragyapa* were not even allowed into temples. Even coracle men were likewise despised because their crafts were made of leather. Heinrich

Harrer, the German explorer who spent many years in Tibet, has some interesting comments on how the monastic hierarchy made these peoples' lives difficult while benefiting from their services.

Pious Burmese would be reluctant slaughter a large animal (cow or buffalo) but they think that killing small ones like fish, ducks or chickens is okay or that it only creates a manageable amount of negative *vipaka*. They are happy to let the Muslims provide them with their beef and mutton and despise them for doing so. So it would seem that meat eating is an issue that all Buddhist schools and communities are yet to intelligently, consistently and compassionately come to terms with.

## **How I Became a Vegetarian**



It was a Saturday morning and I was in Phnom Penh walking through the central market looking for some fruit to buy. I unknowingly soon found myself in the meat section. Even a blind person would know they were there. The stench was overpowering. Chickens with wet feathers and blank expressions sat in tiny cages, probably oblivious to what was soon to happen to them. The goats certainly knew. You could see it in their eyes. But there was nothing they could do and they just stood there, heads

bowed, resigned to their fate. Meat hung on hooks, knives and cleavers lay on chopping blocks and everything was covered with blood and flies. For a non-human animal it would be a vision of hell. I walked on hoping to get to the fruit and vegetable section and a few minutes later found my way blocked by a large round basket that was placed right in the middle of the aisle. The basket was full of dead and plucked chickens and a man was crouching beside it doing something to the chickens with a hose while a young boy stood on the other side doing something with what looked like a gas cylinder. I stood there for a moment trying to take in the scene before me.

Then it dawned on me. The chickens were slightly putrid, in places their yellowish-white skin was going green or gray and the stench of decay wafted up into my nostrils. The man was sticking a needle attached to the hose into each chicken and as he did so the boy pumped the cylinder. In countries like Cambodia, when a butcher's or fish monger's wares have gone off, they sometimes pump them full of formalin to disguise the putrefaction so they can continue being sold. Of course this is illegal but in such countries the enforcement of health regulations is rather lax.

The association in my mind of food, the chicken, and the formalin, which as you probably know is used by undertakers to preserve human cadavers, revolted me so much that I turned away and actually vomited. A man behind one of the stalls saw this and most kindly offered me a glass of water so I could wash my mouth out. When I got back to the temple I was

still feeling a bit nauseous but not so much that I could not eat and when the lunch bell rang I made my way to the dining hall.

As I sat at the table with all the dishes of food on it I immediately noticed that the main dish was, you guessed it, chicken. As soon as I saw this my stomach began to churn again and I had to rush from the hall. I didn't vomit this time but my appetite had quite gone. Over the next few weeks my taste for meat, any meat, just went. It slowly returned but if the memory of the putrid formalin-dosed chickens was aroused I had to consciously suppress it or lose my appetite.

Three months later, on a quick trip to Australia, a Sri Lankan friend gave me some things to deliver to his brother back in Sri Lanka. One of these things was a book called *Animal Liberation* by Peter Singer. I had never heard of this book and its title aroused no interest in me. One hot afternoon as I lay on my bed feeling rather bored and with nothing to read, I picked Singer's book up thinking to just browse through it. As it happened, the parts I read interested me so much that I returned to the beginning and read the whole book in three sittings. I had been expecting it to take the usual vegetarian's approach - calling meat 'carrion' or 'rotten flesh,' quoting the opinions of famous odd-ball vegetarians, giving long descriptions of how meat ferments in the bowels and claiming that a vegetarians' poo smells better than a meat eaters' poo. Instead, Singer argues for the kind treatment of animals (including by not eating them) soberly, objectively, logically and convincingly. Peter Singer is a

professional philosopher and he writes like one. And incidentally, he has nothing to do with the extremist animal rights group Animal Liberation.

As I followed his arguments I found myself forced by the logic of them to agree with him. Over the next week or two I returned to parts of the book and reread them and finally decided that anyone who wants *metta* and *karuna* to be a more important part of their character would have to seriously consider being vegetarian. As a Buddhist I do wish to have *metta* and *karuna* dominant in my life and so I made the decision to abstain from eating meat.

Since that time I have cut my meat consumption by at least 95%. The force of long established habit, circumstance, or just the occasional desire for a juicy steak accounting for the other 5%. So my decision to become vegetarian was brought about by three things - a gradual awareness of the need for active and engaged (as opposed to passive) *metta* in the Buddhist life, an incident of visceral revulsion with meat, and then by the reasoning of a philosopher helping me see the implications in the Buddha's words that I had not seen before. I could not honestly say that I am grateful to that Cambodian man with his putrefying chickens, but I am most grateful to Peter Singer.

## The Buddha's Last Supper



The Digha Nikaya records that before the Buddha passed away he ate a meal given to him by a blacksmith named Cunda. This meal consisted of a preparation called *sukara maddava* which can be translated as 'pig's softness' (D.II,127). The ancient commentaries to the Buddhist scriptures, the *Sumangalavilasani* and the *Paramatthajotika*, give a variety of explanations of what this food was; tender fatty pork, bamboo shoots, a rice preparation, some type of elixir, etc. Obviously the identity of *sukara maddava* had been forgotten very early and later Buddhists had to resort to guesswork. The earliest Buddhists probably did not preserve information about *sukara maddava* because quite correctly they thought it unimportant and probably only mentioned it because it was an expensive or rare dish. There has been a great deal of speculation about what the Buddha's last meal was, in fact, more may have been written about it than any meal in history. Scholars such as Arthur Waley, E. J. Thomas and J. F. Fleet, Walpola Rahula, R. Gordon Wasson, Karl Neumann and most recently Thich Nhat Hanh, have all weighed in on the subject. Adding to all this are the opinions of numerous amateurs, usually ignorant of the Buddhist scriptures, ancient Indian social history and much else besides. Some have said *sukara maddava* was a pork dish, which is quite possible as the

Buddha was not a vegetarian. One of the more bizarre theories and one that has gained wide acceptance is that it was a type of truffle.

*Maddava* has been incorrectly translated as or interpreted as meaning 'delight' and this has led some to theorized that because pigs like truffles and the French use trained pigs to find truffles, the 'pig's delight' mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures might be a variety of truffle. This theory is based on a miss-translation as well as on the false premise that what is so of the French countryside must have been so in India in the 5th century BCE. In fact, truffles do not grow in India proper and the use of trained pigs to find them even in France only began in the 19th century. The Indian truffle, *Tuber indicum*, also known as the Chinese truffle, *Tuber sinense*, grows mainly in south-western China and parts of the Tibetan and Indian Himalayas and was only given the name *indicum* because it was first described by the British Indian botanists M. C. Cooke and G. E. Massee in 1892. It would have been unknown in the Ganges and Yamuna valley where the Buddha lived and there is no evidence that it was ever eaten in India or even harvested until the 1980s. The Indian/Chinese truffle lacks the pleasant fragrance of European varieties, has little of their distinctive taste and is used as a cheap substitute for them. Thus the theory that the Buddha's last meal was truffles is without any foundation. Equally unfounded theories, presumably derived from this first one, is that *sukara maddava* was a type of mushroom, that the Buddha died of eating poison mushrooms, from food poisoning or even that he was poisoned. Again, the



facts contradict such fanciful speculations.

While acknowledging that the matter is obscure and unlikely ever be settled, the general consensus amongst scholars is that *sukara maddava* may have been some kind of pork dish. Partisans of vegetarianism vehemently deny this and insist that it was truffles or mushrooms or at least not meat. Those who mistakenly think that vegetarianism was an integral part of early Buddhism jump to the conclusion that the Buddha was contradicting his own teachings by eating meat, and accuse the truffle/mushroom party of denying the obvious and trying to perpetuate a cover-up. Religious zealots intent on replacing Buddhism with their own faith prefer the 'Buddha was poisoned' scenario as it introduces a sinister aspect into the Buddha's life and mission. All we can say with certainty is that *sukara maddava* was some kind of culinary preparation, the ingredients of which have long ago been forgotten.

Now let's just look at the facts. In the months before the Buddha's passing he had suffered "a severe illness causing him sharp pains as if he were to die" and which he "endured mindfully, fully aware and without complaint" (D.II,99). This took place during the monsoon when even in India today water-borne diseases are very common. The Buddha was 80 years old, unusually long-lived for the time, and Ananda described him at this stage as having "slack and wrinkled limbs and being stooped." (S.V,217). He himself said that his body could "only be kept going by being patched up." (D.II,100). A week or two after this illness, after he had eaten

his last meal, he had a severe bout of “diarrhea with blood” (*lohita pakkhandika*), almost certainly a continuation of the sickness he had suffered from earlier, and later the next day he passed away (D.II,127). The mention of diarrhea with blood rules out food poisoning because it does not cause blood in the feces. Obviously, the Buddha died of the typical complications brought on by exhaustion, sickness and old age, not because of what he had eaten the day before. This sounder conclusion was still current when the *Milindapañha* was written (2nd century BCE – 1st century CE). It says; “It was not from the food that the Lord became sick. It was because of the natural weakness of his body and the completion of his lifespan that the sickness grew worse.” (Mil.175).

From the Buddhist perspective the only significance of the Buddha’s last meal is that it demonstrated once again his infinite capacity for compassion. When he realized that the end was near, he immediately thought that Cunda might be blamed for or blame himself for causing his death. To prevent this from happening he instructed Ananda to return to Cunda’s village and tell him that to serve an enlightened one his last meal was a most auspicious and blessed act. Thus, even being sick, exhausted and nearing death the Buddha’s only thought was for the welfare of others.

## Abbreviations



- A     Aṅguttara Nikāya, ed. R. Morris, E. Hardy, PTS London  
1885-1900.
- D     Dīgha Nikāya, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, J. E. Carpenter, PTS  
London 1890-1911.
- Dhp   Dhammapada, ed. O. Von Hinuber, K. R. Norman, PTS  
Oxford 1994.
- Ja     Jātaka with commentary, ed. V. Fausboll, PTS London  
1877-96.
- Mil    Milindapañho, ed. V. Trenckner, PTS London 1880
- S     Saṃyutta Nikāya, ed. L. Feer, PTS London 1884-98
- Sn     Sutta Nipāta, ed. D. Andersen, H. Smith, PTS London 1913
- Vin    Vinaya Piṭaka, ed. H. Oldenberg, PTS London 1879-83

## For Further Reading



Acharya, K. T. *Indian Food, A Historical Companion*, 1998.

Bodhipaksa. *Vegetarianism, Living a Buddhist Life Series*, 2004.

Hsing Yun, Master. *Buddhism and Vegetarianism*, no date.

Mettanando Bhikkhu. 'The Cause of the Buddha's Death,' *Journal of the Pali Text Society XXVI*, 2000.

Pachow, W. 'Sukara-maddava and the Buddha's Death,' *Annals of the Bandarka Oriental Research Institute, Silver Jubilee Volume*, 1942.

Prakash, Om. *Food and Drink in Ancient India*, 1961.

Rangdrol, Shabkar Natshok. *Food of Bodhisattvas, Buddhist Teachings on Abstaining from Meat*, 2004.

Sarao, K.T. S. 'Buddhist Attitude Towards Meat Eating,' *The Tibet Journal*, 2008.

Stewart, James J. 'The Question of Vegetarianism and Diet in Pali Buddhism,' *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, Vol. 17, 2010.

Thomas, E. J. 'Buddha's Last Meal,' *Indian Culture*, XV 1948.

Waley, Arthur. 'Did the Buddha Die from Eating Pork?' *Mélanges Chinois et bouddhiques*, 1. 1932.

Wasson, R. G. and Doniger O'Flaherty, Wendy. 'The Buddha's Last Meal,' *Botanical Museum Leaflets, Harvard University*, Vol. 29, No. 3, 1983.