Animals: A History

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CHAPTER

Three Illuminating Community: Animals in Classical Indian Thought a

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Abstract

This chapter presents a discussion of the rich tradition of reflection on animals in ancient Indian philosophy, which deals with but is not restricted to the topic of reincarnation. At the center of the piece is the continuity that Indians saw between human and nonhuman animals and the consequences of this outlook for the widespread idea of nonviolence. Consideration is also given to the philosophical interest of fables centrally featuring animals, for example the *Pañcatantra*. In general it is suggested that ancient Indian authors did not, unlike European counterparts, focus on the question of what makes humans unique in contrast to all other animals, but rather on the ethical and metaphysical interconnections between humans and various kinds of animals.

Keywords: India, Buddhism, Hinduism, nonviolence, vegetarianism

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Animals are everywhere throughout classical Indian literature. They are found in law books and ethical codes; they populate the major epics; they figure as stock examples in philosophy—the rope mistaken for a snake (or, more dangerously, the other way around), and the dewlap as the characteristic mark of the cow; and of course they are familiar as the main characters of the rich Indian fable literature, about which I will have more to say. What we do not have, however, is anything tying all of this animal talk into a single discourse.

One significant reason for this is that the Indians, unlike their European counterparts, did not make the barbaric mistake. The Indians do not typically get overly exercised about locating, repeating, and emphasizing "the fundamental" difference between humans and other animals, lumping all nonhuman animals together as if they were much the same compared to how different they are from human beings. And when occasionally the matter of human distinctiveness does arise, the 💪 Sanskrit (and Pāli) texts do

not show anything like the almost obsessive concern the European tradition has had in particular with whether animals are *rational*.²

In Greece we find Hesiod, standing at the front of the European tradition's thinking about animals, claiming, "This law for man was established by the son of Chronos: that fish and beasts and flying birds eat one another, since right (dikē) is not in them; but to mankind he gave right which is by far the best" (Works and Days 10.277–80³). For Aristotle, only humans can be properly happy (eudaimon), since that blessed state requires something of a rational appreciation of the good or the fine for its own sake as the reason for one's actions. When he turns to psychology, if Aristotle thinks humans are special it will be in virtue of a certain special form of intelligence, nous; and the Stoics banish animals beyond the circle of justice because they cannot put together a grammatically correct sentence.⁴

In particular, what the European tradition is anxious about is what makes "them" different from "us," in virtue of which we are allowed to do whatever we like with them. They don't have justice; they can't enter into an agreement; they are machines. This should not just salve our guilty consciences but illuminate what is so special about us. We cannot do to humans what we can do to other animals because humans are not machines; we have a moral sense; we can enter into meaningful agreements with each other; we have opposable thumbs. The "barbaric mistake" underwriting this instrumentalization of animal-talk for the sake of discovering the "uniquely, truly human" is that there is *nothing* that all nonhuman animals have in common—except that they are not human. They are not a genuine kind. So there is an important sense in which, in this tradition, we are not thinking about *animals* at all, and it is perhaps no wonder that trying to discover the human through examination of the nonhuman should end (and go on) in irresolution and frustration.

Now the Indians were perfectly capable of having a "humans are distinctive"—type thought, and when they do, it is not an altogether unfamiliar thought. Here is a Hesiod moment from the *Hitopadeśa*, written sometime between the eighth and twelfth centuries of the Common Era but drawing on much earlier didactic tales and fables, particularly from the third century BCE *Pañcatantra*⁵: "Food, sleep, fear, and sex are common to humans and beasts. ... Dharma is the distinctive quality without which human beings are the same as brutes." *Dharma*, like Hesiod's *dikē*, eludes satisfactory translation in a single English word; both are to be located in the area of what we in English would today call "the moral," specifically associated with what is fitting, right, appropriate, just, and to be done. Like Hesiod for the Greeks, the *Pañcatantra* and texts like it were widely taken as sources for practical advice about how to live and who to be, about what outlook to adopt in life. In fact the *Hitopadeśa*, like the *Pañcatantra* it draws on, is explicitly didactic, classified as *nītiśastra*—that is, advice for how to get on with others, and get on in life, so as to survive and flourish as much as possible. These two collections, like the even earlier Buddhist *Jātaka*⁷ tales they are sometimes based on, have almost entirely nonhuman animal characters.

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Now the thought picked out in *Works and Days* and in the *Hitopadeśa* is strikingly similar, and probably touches on something that many feel "intuitively" correct: for all our similarities, whatever they may be, with other animals, there is after all something that distinguishes human beings from other animals; if we try to pinpoint what it is, it is to be found somewhere in the region of our own appreciation of *moral* right and wrong, a sense of justice and fairness, that we do not expect other animals to have or to hold themselves to. It is a sense of right and wrong that cannot be traced to biological flourishing and success, and can even come into conflict with it.⁸

So consider the Hesiod quote again: animals eat one another; humans do not. From a survival point of view, such abstemiousness seems inexplicable and squandrous. Break an egg in a henhouse, and the hens will sensibly help themselves to the nutrient-rich egg. We would be horrified if humans did the equivalent. This sense of restraint—of there being certain things we just don't do, even if they might give us \$\inp \alpha\$ a material advantage—is what makes us human, and different from all other animals.

The Indian texts, as the <code>Hitopadeśa</code>'s observation makes clear, were perfectly capable of recognizing this sort of difference. For the Buddhists, at least, animals were notorious committers of incest and cannibalism in particular, ⁹ and this view was shared widely beyond Buddhist popular thought. It is <code>humans</code> who may not eat each other or sleep with their mothers or brothers. The Jains, Hindus, and Buddhists all recognize some way in which <code>dharma</code>, understood as virtue, is not applicable to animals—but, as we will see, this is not a hard and fast rule, and all three of these Indian traditions at certain points back away from or even eschew altogether the claim that morality is the exclusive prerogative of the human. ¹⁰ The tradition did not speak with one voice on the issue and, more important, it did not make heavy weather of the claim one way or another. The <code>Hitopadeśa</code> quote stands out to those coming to the question of animals with an agenda set by the European tradition (or coming from Hesiod directly). But it is far from the dominant or even a central <code>motif</code> in classical Indian thought about animals. That <code>dharma</code> is for humans is a defeasible generalization, and not a hard and fast rule, for the observation was not made in the service of a theory of human nature in the first place.

However broadly acknowledged, here is what the acknowledgment of virtue and morality as special to the human did not do: it did *not* license us to suppose that whatever it was that made humans the same as each other and different from other animals entitled us to exclude animals from our moral world and our moral consideration. If anything, having *dharma* does the opposite: it imposes a new set of restrictions on our behavior, not just vis-à-vis each other but overall, vis-à-vis other animals and the environment generally.

Rebirth as Grounds for Conceptions of Nonhuman Animals

A cosmology of rebirth looks to be part of the pan-Indic cultural background nearly as far back as we can go. While there were categories of living beings (gods, humans, ghosts, animals, hell-beings is one popular Buddhist division), ¹¹ these categories were always seen as bridgeable through rebirth. ¹² What happens now to be a human life could become any kind of nonhuman life next time around. If we are familiar with the minority Pythagorean tradition in ancient Greek and Roman thought, then we might suppose there is a direct line from a belief in rebirth to a thoroughgoing nondistinction between human and nonhuman animal. Xenophanes recounts a story told of Pythagoras taking pity on a puppy being beaten in the street; he asks that the beating stop because he recognizes in the dog's cry the voice of a deceased friend. ¹³ If the beast I am beating, exploiting, about to step on, or about to eat might be my deceased grandfather, then there is as much absolute prohibition against eating or beating it as there is against eating or beating my grandfather.

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cannot say whether we would not be doing Grandpa a favor to step on him and thus relieve him of his scorpion existence.¹⁴

What does the work in the Indic traditions is not primarily rebirth but nonviolence ($ahims\bar{a}$). While the Jains can perhaps be credited with initiating emphasis on $ahims\bar{a}$, ¹⁵ and with taking it most seriously, Buddhists and Hindus agreed (in their different ways) that nonviolence was a paramount virtue. ¹⁶ It is because of a prior commitment to nonviolence that the continuity between human and nonhuman expressed in a rebirth cosmology will not in fact tell in favor of generalized disregard. Against the thought Xenophanes presents regarding Pythagoras, the value of ahimsā in classical Indian thought was not usually argued on the grounds that some animal lives might once have been human lives, for in that way the principle could protect nonhuman animals only once it had been established to apply to humans—and it would make for heightened interest in techniques for determining which animals had previously been human (inedible) and which had not (edible). Such an interest is wholly lacking in the various classifications of animals according to their edibility. 17 Rather the principle comes first—"No breathing, existing, living sentient creatures should be slain, nor treated with violence, nor abused, nor tormented, nor driven away. This is the pure, unchangeable, eternal law which the clever ones, who understand the world, have proclaimed" —and applied to human and nonhuman animals alike. Because the specialness of humans is neither presumed nor invoked as the basis for *ahimsā*, it is evident without further comment that nonviolence applies wherever violence is possible, and violence is possible wherever harm is possible. Harm (as opposed to mere damage) is possible wherever there is sentient life, so that the pressing need is to determine the extent of sentience.¹⁹ Here indeed is where we find vigorous dispute and discussion within the classical Indian tradition.²⁰

P. 69 This did not ensure peaceable coexistence between animal kinds, not even between the human and nonhuman. In spite of the widely shared agreement that nonviolence is better, and alongside a cosmology of transient identities crossing permeable boundaries, ancient India was an agrarian society, with plenty of use for domesticated animals; it was a martial society, with plenty of use for horses²¹ and elephants—and occasion enough to kill both human and nonhuman animals; it was a hierarchical society, wherein a certain class of people amused itself in the hunt; and it was for many centuries a place of animal sacrifice. In the face of stricter Jain and Buddhist interpretations of nonviolence, those who followed the ritual practices of the Vedas gradually preferred dough stand-ins for the ritual animal sacrifices, but they had already found ways to reconcile animal slaughter with the nonviolence principle: according to the ancient *Laws of Manu* (5.39), ²² "killing in sacrifice is not killing," and "violence (*hiṃsā*) ordained by the Veda is really *ahiṃsā*." Elsewhere the *Laws of Manu* put ritual animal sacrifice and complete abstention from meat-eating on a comparable moral footing: "A man who abstains from meat and a man who offers the horse sacrifice every year for a hundred years—the reward for their meritorious acts is the same" (V.53). ²⁴

Besides a certain ambivalence regarding $ahims\bar{a}$, we can see here that how humans treat nonhuman animals is not a categorically different matter from how humans interact with each other. Just as nonviolence does not necessarily preclude just war, so too it does not necessarily preclude human employment of nonhuman animals in agriculture, nor their sacrifice in ritual. The question of how humans may treat nonhuman animals, just as the question of how they might engage with other humans, was treated as a question of what is dharma and adharma—where dharma may prescribe specific behaviors with respect to specific species of animal but refrains from instituting categorical distinctions between human and nonhuman as such. In the particular requirements or permissions of dharma, each species may be treated in its own right, but there is no categorical difference between humans \Box and "the rest." Basic principles by which humans are bound, such as $ahims\bar{a}$, are valid across the board, even if the nature of the correct application may be tied specifically to context: killing a horse is wrong, just as killing a person is wrong, but a soldier killing in war may be dharma, just as slaughtering a horse in a Vedic ritual may be dharma.

Thus when the Buddha objected to practices of animal sacrifice in Brahmanical society, this was as much on account of its inefficaciousness as on account of cruelty to animals—indeed part of its cruelty might be said

to be due to its inefficaciousness, just as practicing austerities is self-cruelty because release from suffering is not thereby attained. ²⁶ In spite of commitments to universal care ($karun\bar{a}$) and loving-kindness ($maitr\bar{i}$), the earliest Buddhists were not vegetarians. ²⁷ they considered not killing the animal oneself or having it killed for one sufficient to satisfy the requirement of nonviolence. ²⁸ Eating leftover, donated meat was not, in their view, the equivalent of eating one's kin or another human. The Jains, more thoroughgoing in their interpretation of nonviolence, criticized the comparatively lax Buddhists accordingly. ²⁹ But this was a variation in the interpretation of the demands of $ahims\bar{a}$ and not of the nature or implications of rebirth. ³⁰

This universal scope or the lack of categorical distinction between the human and nonhuman is not derived from a rebirth cosmology by first assuming the specialness of humans. It is based on the vulnerability to harm that is shared across species, regardless of their various distinct qualities and capacities—and regardless of what they might have been before or might be after their deaths. There is simply no straightforward line from rebirth cosmology to conceptions of or attitudes toward animals. This does not mean, however, that there are no lines to be drawn at all, or that Olivelle is wrong to call rebirth "the most significant religio-cultural belief that is connected to animal anthropomorphism" it is certainly relevant to attitudes toward, and thinking about, animals.

Rebirth Articulating the Human by Comparison, Not Contrast

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Instead of reasoning from "rebirth" to any specific attitudes toward animals, we should consider the picture the rebirth cosmology presents as a whole. A division of possible realms for rebirth—human, animal, god, etc.—represents a way of conceiving the human condition. Humans live and move within a world populated by other animals. These other animals are not just the backdrop against which the truly important action of human life takes place. They are, on the contrary, equally pursuing their lives. That is, the interchangeability aspect of rebirth makes it natural to conceive nonhuman animals as having lives, in the relevant sense: having projects, plans, wishes, desires, relationships, and so on. These relationships are with other animals of their kind or not, and may sometimes be relationships with human animals. Among the many nonabsolute taxonomies of animals in Sanskrit literature, one significant (though not exhaustive) distinction is between village animals, wild animals, and farm animals that do not quite count as either. From this relation to human habitation follows a host of specific rules about how humans may or may not, must or must not interact with, treat, or consume the various animals so classified. ³³ Conceiving the cosmos as one in which lives extend over multiple and various incarnations means conceiving the human world as fundamentally a shared world, and shared not just with other humans but also with nonhuman animals. These creatures are on the same journey as we are, are liable to the same conditions and pressures as we are. To think about them is to think about us, not by contrast but by comparison.

While it is largely agreed that an animal form of life is a less desirable one than a human form, this is mostly thought to be due to differences in degree rather than in kind. Nonhuman animals tend to be liable to greater pain and suffering than humans, with less opportunity for mitigating or eliminating that suffering. (Gods, by contrast, are 4 comparatively less liable to pain than human beings.) Thus Jains, Buddhists, and Hindus all take a dim view of animal incarnation, and it is not infrequently presented as a punishment or an evil consequence for someone who has behaved badly in a human incarnation. Most animal lives are considered to be full of discomforts that affect human lives rather less; the domesticated ones labor as beasts of burden, for instance, and the wild ones live in constant fear of not having enough to eat or of being eaten themselves. Perhaps more important, animal lives are thought of as miserable because animals are considered to have no options. This is related to the question of whether animals have *dharma*. On the whole, nonhuman animals are thought to lack the capacity to, for instance, refrain from violence or revise their conception of the good so that they do not live in constant fear. Lacking a capacity for revising one's desires and restraining one's impulsive behavior, and perhaps lacking a sense of right not driven by natural

necessity, is a disadvantage that makes life on the whole more miserable and less desirable than a human life—even than an impoverished and difficult human life.³⁷

In fact, however, the view of animal moral capacities was much more complex and ambiguous in the various Indian traditions. In a way we should expect this—within a cosmology of reincarnation, coupled with a moralized doctrine of *karma* (as it was in classical India), if animals (and other beings) cannot behave morally, it looks as if they could never be reborn in a better estate; this would have obvious awkward implications about the direction the world is heading. More important, the exclusion of animals from the possibility of engaging in ethical behavior would be such a massive constraint on the interchangeability aspect of the system as to render it virtually meaningless. If damnation were permanent, or if it were just the effects of *karma* without the possibility of generating fresh action, we would no longer be conceiving of nonhuman beings as participants in our shared world.

So while the official line in Hinduism is that "only human beings, in the ordinary course of things, have access to $mok_{\S}a$ or mukti (spiritual $\ \ \$ liberation)" —and indeed this is sometimes, as with Śaṇkara, restricted still further to only well-born male humans—the tradition nevertheless abounds in tales of extraordinary animals that were able to rise above their expected station and behave in morally exemplary ways, and some that were able even to attain liberation. ³⁹

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For the Buddhists likewise animals "are not considered to be capable of growth in the *dhamma* and the *vinaya* [monastic discipline]," but this excludes them from activities that certain classes of human beings are excluded from in the same clause. So beings vary in their moral-spiritual capacities, but not according to their status as human or otherwise. And Buddhist texts are nevertheless explicit and consistent in treating animals as, in a sense, ethical beings: nonhuman animals can be reborn in a better station in the same way that any living being might be reborn in a better station, namely, as the natural consequence of living an ethical life, where that is primarily understood as acting out of care and concern for others. Still more, animals might live *exemplary* lives. "That animals as well as humans are considered capable of truly ethical behavior is underlined by a striking passage from the *Vinaya Pitaka*," writes McDermott:

Here a partridge, a monkey, and a bull elephant are pictured as having undertaken the five moral precepts, and living together, "courteous, deferential, and polite to one another." Their life-style is referred to as "Partridge Brahma-faring," and set up as a model of morality upon which even the Buddhist *bhikkhus* should pattern their lives. 42

Nonhuman animals are considered sufficiently like the human sort in kind, and in situation, that they may act as role models for how humans ought to live. ⁴³ At their worst, animals are beings of the same sort, just less wise, more violent, and unhappier than humans, so that they are appropriate beings toward whom *śīla* (right and restrained conduct, speech, and livelihood) is to be expected. ⁴⁴

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While animals may be on the same journey as humans, and while this set Buddhists against the sacrificial practices of their Brahmanical contemporaries, we noted earlier that this was not originally seen by Buddhists as a reason to refrain from eating them. Instead, and reflecting the Buddhist emphasis on intent and disposition, one may not kill living beings for the purpose of eating them (or for any other purpose) nor have them killed or even knowingly allow them to be killed for one's sake. "Meat should not be eaten when it is seen, heard or suspected to have been killed for one," the Buddha is recorded as saying (MN 55); if one does not see or hear or suspect that an animal has been killed for one, then if meat is given, one may eat it. This disregard for actual suffering or harm caused, regardless of intentions, was severely criticized (mocked, even) by the more austere Jains. ⁴⁵ It had, however, a distinct practical advantage among a community committed to living exclusively on alms within a meat-eating society. 46 Moreover such pragmatic accommodation looks less ridiculous when we recognize that the Buddhists are not attempting to set one principle of right (intention) over another (outcomes); the Buddhist project—perhaps the Indian project of moral thinking tout court—was not a quest for a decision principle or a source of normativity. This is no doubt related to the relative lack of presumption about the categorical specialness of human beings. 47 At any rate, for the Indian Buddhists, moral thinking is in the service of our quest for moral improvement and ultimately for liberation, and for that, the focus is rather on who and how to be. The Buddhist interpretation of *ahimsā* is that we should live and be in such a way that we intend no ill or harm to any living being, directly or indirectly.

In fact this Buddhist emphasis on the cardinal dispositions of loving-kindness, equanimity, care, ⁴⁸ and sympathetic joy led very naturally to an ethic that disregards differences in animal kinds when considering how to engage with others. Of course how one *expresses* loving-kindness, say, to a human being may differ from the expression of \$\Gamma\$ loving-kindness toward a vulture, but in every case loving-kindness is what is called for—and similarly for the other virtuous dispositions (*brahmavihāras*). ⁴⁹ It should be no surprise, then, that Buddhism did ultimately come to advocate vegetarianism, and not just as a monastic discipline but as a moral precept for all (albeit a precept liable to violation). The Mahāyāna movement, which, among other things, drew the ambitions of monastic life into the daily lives of nonmonastics, seems to have initiated the commitment to refraining from eating animals even if they were not killed for one's own sake.

The eighth chapter of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* is an instructive text in this regard, ⁵⁰ although this chapter is possibly later than the rest of the (probably) third-century CE text. The chapter consists of a series of reasons why one should not eat meat. The appeal throughout is to care and have concern for living beings: anyone who cares for the welfare of other beings would not eat animals because. ... One of the most charming reasons is that meat-eating makes you stink. This is not a problem because other human beings might be offended by your body odor; it is a problem because animals with much more discerning senses of smell will immediately detect your scent as "meat-eater," and therefore as a possible danger to themselves. "If this is a meat-eater, it might eat me!" think all the small furry creatures in your surroundings. Even if you have no intention of eating rabbit, or that particular rabbit, for dinner tonight, it is cruel and thoughtless to walk around striking terror into the heart of every living being around you. Restraining one's appetites is a courtesy to others.

A second striking argument is a slippery slope argument. If you start by eating animals of any sort, the thought goes, you will eventually turn to eating forbidden or filthy animals, and may well even find yourself eating human flesh. ⁵¹ This is backed up by, on the one hand, a story of a notorious king who apparently did just that and, on the other hand, by a claim about the psychology of meat-eating. By eating meat one develops a taste for it and simultaneously desensitizes oneself to what one is doing in eating meat (to the fact that it is a dead animal, a 4 stinking corpse, you are eating). This instigates a kind of craving for new, fresh, intense meaty flavors, unchecked by a natural repugnance, which has been blunted; this in turn leads

to further and more various meat consumption, and so on. ⁵² The point of interest here is the emphasis on mental training. Eating meat cultivates and perpetuates a psychological disposition and outlook, and this is what is particularly pernicious about it.

Finally there is the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*'s argument from rebirth. The text argues that since all beings have been reborn innumerable times, there is no way to know that any given animal is not a close relation to you at some point in the process. This is the argument for vegetarianism that one expects within the context of rebirth cosmologies; it trades on the strong intuition that eating your kin is obviously appalling, and of course on a literal notion of rebirth. But the text then does something more interesting: it juxtaposes this with the oft-repeated observation that the Buddha, and anyone striving for the enlightenment he reached, regards all living beings as his only child. Fare the claim is precisely *not* trading on a literal notion of rebirth. The Buddha does not think all beings were, in some incarnation, his only child. Rather, knowing this not to be literally the case, he nevertheless regards them with the intense affection and concern that parents typically have for their only child. This is the recommendation of a stance to adopt toward all creatures (and not a claim about essences, either similar or different). We do not see ourselves as radically distinct, but as radically—intensely, closely—related. Starting with an appeal to literal rebirth, in a culture where that is a going item, gets one to begin to see what adopting this outlook means. One of the difficulties of non-rebirth cultures, then, is how to get a foothold in radical relatedness.⁵⁴

The Jains were the most systematic in extending the nonviolence principle to every living thing and had the widest understanding of what was alive. This difference was indeed based on a distinctive cosmological picture, but not on any variation of a theory of rebirth.

The Jains opted for a single, stable, and exhaustive taxonomy of living beings, organizing them according to the number of sense faculties they have. Plants have one sense faculty (touch); mammals, birds, and fish have all five (touch, taste, hearing, sight, smell); and various insects and smaller creatures have various subsets of these.

This taxonomy, however, does not establish a normative ranking; creatures with more sense faculties are not thereby more worthy.

These characterizations are purely descriptive. Anything with any sense faculty is capable of suffering or flourishing in some respect, and the classification of living beings according to their sense faculties provides valuable information about how they can be helped or harmed—and so what may and may not be done with or to them. This classification of living beings enables Jainism to establish "a truly unprecedented philosophical foundation for compassionate behavior toward animals."

Arguing against their non-Jain contemporaries that more care must be taken to avoid harming all sorts of living beings, the Jains generally presented arguments from virtue and character rather than from the basis of the natures of living beings. ⁵⁸ Violent is as much a bad thing to *be* as violence is bad to *do*. That is, the fact that it harms others is not the foremost consideration against violence—after all, harming others is the point of violence, so pointing out that my violence harms others has not yet given me a reason to desist. A hostile mentality itself is not an edifying one. Violence is counterproductive; over the long run it does not help to achieve one's aims; it is frowned upon or sanctioned by gods or society; having hurtful intentions, and then especially acting on them, does violence to *myself*. The Jains share with the Buddhists an emphasis on character, on what sort of person I become through either careful or aggressive behavior toward others, both human and nonhuman.

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In sum, a rebirth cosmology does not of itself determine that we owe animals the same treatment we owe other humans, and it does not entail that we cannot distinguish between the moral relevance of killing a

person and the moral relevance of killing a rat. Taken as a logical proposition, almost nothing follows from a commitment to rebirth. Taken, however, as a description of the human condition, the cosmology of rebirth offers a depiction of that situation in which there is nothing distinctively human about it. Humans do not act out the lead roles on a stage set by a relatively undifferentiated nonhuman environment. Animals, and indeed all living beings, are part of our shared world; anyone might occupy interchangeably any position within this shared world. Where all animals (or living things) are interchangeable, identity is fluid, not essential. That is a fact about the human condition, and the fact is, it is not a distinctively *human* condition at all. All animals are on the same journey or in the same predicament; their suffering takes different forms, and the resources they can bring to difficulties differs. This is what is precious in a human incarnation: our resources, should we choose to use them, are so much more varied and effective. But these additional resources bring with them additional responsibilities: it is much easier for human beings to restrain their desires and not act out of fear than it is for a tiger, and so it is more incumbent upon us to do so. Doing so, at the same time, gives us easier access to the fruits of virtue. But these differences are generally thought of as a matter of degree, and there is no great pressure to hunt down some essential difference that marks out humankind.

Fables

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The metaphysics or cosmology did not work alone in creating the sense of a shared world and shared condition between humans and other animals. Indeed if the foregoing is correct, even the apparently the metaphysical and cosmological works in a more literary fashion—suggesting and articulating an outlook and way of relating—than by providing grounds for inescapable conclusions. We should not consider principles like <code>karma</code>, <code>ahimsā</code>, and <code>karuṇā</code>, then, independently of the explicitly literary works that encoded these principles and provided opportunity for their concrete engagement and exercise.

From the perspective of ancient Indian literature, it is a striking fact that there are no talking monkeys in the *Iliad*. There are no snake kings or eagle heroes, no helpful mice or shifty jackals. ⁶⁰ If animals exist in the ancient Greek literary world, they are the backdrop against which the real action of human life takes place, or props in an act of human madness; significantly, they do not take on speaking roles. ⁶¹ In ancient India, by contrast, although in an oral tradition it is impossible to be certain, it looks as if the practice of sharing tales involving talking animals is perhaps as old as the cosmology of rebirth. Stephanie Jamison has argued, for instance, that although there are no animal fables proper in the Rq Veda, we see in certain passages evidence that such stories were told and expected to be familiar to the audience of the Rq Veda. 62 Talking animals are not only very old, but were also extremely widespread. The sheer quantity and pervasiveness of animal fables is difficult to overestimate. The earliest surviving collection we have may be the voluminous Jātaka tales, stories of the previous lives of the Buddha, likely composed around the fourth century BCE. Some of these previous lives are as a human or a god, but very many are nonhuman animal incarnations. For these tales Buddhists likely drew in part on an existing body of stories already familiar to their audience and reworked them to serve the purpose of describing the Buddha's long journey to enlightenment as a series of studies in particular virtues. When Buddhism was at its height in India—let us say, from around the period of the Buddhist convert emperor Aśoka (third century BCE), who unified much of India, and for the next seven or eight centuries—these stories would have been very widely known. Avadāna tales collected and circulated during this time, sometimes featuring virtuous 4 animals, 63 and the so-called "commentary" on the *Dhammapadā* of the 5th Century C.E. consisted of morality tales, some involving animals.⁶⁴ Some stories were taken up and reworked into non-Buddhist animal fables and included in the (third-century BCE?) Pañcatantra, a massive collection of animal tales, organized as sage practical advice, particularly on how to be successful in one's dealings with others. ⁶⁵ Some of these are in turn taken up by the *Hitopadeśa* (eighth– twelfth century CE), a similar sort of text, which also incorporates animal fables from other unnamed

sources. There is also the eleventh-century CE *Kathāsaritsagara*, the *Ocean of Rivers of Stories*, the largest compilation of Sanskrit tales and fables, several of which involve animals as primary characters (some of these taken from the *Pañcatantra*). With so many talking animals about, it would have been most incongruous to argue that the *essential* difference between them and us—the difference that casts them outside considerations of right and wrong—is their irrationality.

This is even more so since the talking the animals are depicted as engaging in is invariably of a practical sort (asking, What ought I to do? What is the good thing to do, or the right choice?) and often collaborative (What should we do?). These fables involving talking animals have an avowedly didactic role and seem always to have been recognized as such. In keeping with this didactic function, narratives of talking animals engaged in practical reasoning were popular and practical—a part of the everyday fabric of life and upbringing in the broadest sense, not reserved for the rarified domain of the literary elite.

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Now there is a curious feature of this anthropomorphizing objection. The very notion of anthropomorphizing presumes we have a distinct and stable notion of the human—of human character and social life—which we then foist upon our nonhuman animals and that we have a definite sense of "the other" animals as necessarily quite distinct from humans in just these respects, so that granting them these "human" characteristics can only be foisting on them something that does not properly belong there. But if our starting point is not the assumption of radical difference, then it is more difficult to articulate the objection as an objection. It is true that in these fables, familiar characteristics or traits are isolated and identified particularly with certain animals. The jackal is "the epitome of greed and cunning"; the crow is "smart and curious"; the ass is interested only in food and sex. ⁶⁷ But what we have here is not so much anthropomorphism as caricature: the distilled forms of virtues and vices are presented and deployed to didactic effect. These caricatures are used not just as particular anecdotes to distill and advertise the folly of pride, say. They are also used cumulatively to argue over many instances for general points: that creatures behave according to their nature, for instance, or that fate does (or does not) determine one's actions. So the story of the carnivorous lion is not taking the lion to stand for a person of a particular kind; it is taking a stand in an argument about the scope of choice, for anyone. Nature made the lion carnivorous, says the story, and it is futile to ask him to be nice and vegetarian. Similarly the lesson states that human individuals or even classes have their natures, and one cannot expect them to suddenly change these or act out of character.68

actually like. Of course the particular natures ascribed to each kind of animal are, to a certain extent, something the storytellers project onto each animal. And yet the storytellers and their hearers were also acute observers of nature, so that the characters they gave their various animals are recognizable from observation of actual animals, their characteristic reactions and behaviors. The storytellers did not *project* the eternal enmity of the snake and the mongoose onto those poor creatures; they discovered it there, in the observed behavior of the animals, and used it for their storytelling. Nor did narrators *project* subjective mental states such as fear, care, cooperation, aggression, cunning onto empty ciphers; they had experience of animals as subjects and could rely on their audience having the same.

This is why, curiously, we can see that the lessons in a fable may also go the other way; rather than observations about human interactions being projected onto animals so that they can mirror it back to us, we see observations from the animal world turned to lessons for the human world. One example is the proverb repeated in the *Pañcatantra* that "there can be no friendship between grass-eaters and meat-eaters, between a food and its eater" (e.g., *Pañcatantra* II, 9). Here it is animals informing the human world rather than presumptions about humans coloring in otherwise uncharacterized animals. The instruction, utilizated of course with colorful stories, is to look about you in the natural world; see how there is no friendship between the grass-eating animals and the meat-eating animals? There can be no friendship between food and its eater, between two parties, the one of which survives at the cost of the other. So think: when someone offers friendship, is he in a position to offer it? Can he be trusted? If his interests are fundamentally at odds with yours, then do not expect friendship—even if he promises it, and even if he genuinely intends to extend it. If a person cannot survive without consuming you, you will find that, at some point, you have become his supper. Such an implicit line of reasoning relies on an appreciation of the continuity between the human condition and the nonhuman, on a view of whatever lives as essentially in the same situation and liable to the same concerns and constraints.

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Sometimes the lessons are not to be carried over from animals to humans in any obvious way at all. The animals remain animals. Take this example from the *Jātaka* tales. The Buddha, in a life prior to his awakening (when he was just a *bodhisattva*), is living as the king rat among a community of rats. A jackal pretends to be very holy, practicing austerities, and persuades the king to allow him to act as sentry when the rats leave their nest to search for food. After several rats have gone missing, it is discovered that the jackal has been using his post as sentry to pick off the last rat through the door when they return each evening. So far, so familiar. The *Bodhisattva* (who will become the Buddha), currently the rat king, then lunges on the wicked jackal and slits open its jugular so that the jackal dies. It is very unclear what lesson is meant to transfer from this heroic mouse escapade to the human world, particularly in terms of teaching Buddhist values of compassion and nonviolence. The story seems simply to recognize that it is in the nature of a *rat* to react murderously to threats and treachery. Taking on board that there is something characteristic of rats in the episode, we can then consider this as a (ratty) expression of the virtue of individuals in community looking out for and defending each other and acting on each other's behalf.

What is going on in such stories, and generally in these animal fables, is not so much anthropomorphism instead of taking the animals as subjects (an unhelpful dichotomy) as a lack of recognition of a significant gulf between animals and humans. This is a fitting literature for a cosmology of interchangeability, but it also reinforces, explores, and deepens the sense of commonality, of animals as our fellows—some of them rascals, some of them friends, all of them trying in a way compatible with their natures and naturally given resources to find a way to live a satisfying life in a world populated with many and various other creatures trying to do the same.

Conclusion

In Indian classical literature, philosophical, legal, and literary, there is a great deal to be said about specific kinds of animals and forms of interaction appropriate to different specific animals, including the human. But there is not so much evidence of that presumption of a fundamental difference between human and nonhuman forms of life that allows us in English, for instance, to use the word "animal" simply to mean "nonhuman animal."

This means that the concept of the animal is not best suited to explore the nature of the human by *contrast*. Instead we more often find a background presumption of a common condition: whatever lives seeks to sustain its life, wants pleasure and not pain, wants its desires and aims satisfied rather than thwarted. Differences in animals, including the human animals, are then just so many differences in opportunities for pleasure and avoiding pain, abilities to conceive of desires and satisfy them, and forms of vulnerability in having these ambitions frustrated. The many tales of talking animals both express and sustain this basic orientation toward commonality, and they enable us to illuminate the human social world not because the animals are anthropomorphized but because reality is not anthropocentric in the first place.

p. 85 Instead of seeing the doctrine of rebirth as a reason or ground for assimilating animals to humans, we should see it as expressive of an understanding of fluid and temporary identities, each of which is a variation on a single common condition. A cosmology of rebirth works together with its popular literature to create a sensibility of awareness to the aliveness of things. Both the cosmology and the sensibility, however, require independent appreciation of the badness of violence, the value of *ahiṃsā*, before we can begin to put these together into prescriptions for attitudes or behaviors toward nonhuman animals. Animals are, at bottom, less fortunate versions of ourselves, and if there is anything distinctive of the human role in this relationship, it is that we can perhaps appreciate this fact and possibly even extend sympathy on its basis.⁷³

Notes

- 1. In Plato's *Politicus*, 262b–263a (see Cooper, *Plato: Complete Works*), we are warned against the false essentialism of presuming that wherever there is one word, there is one thing; "barbarian," for instance, collects together persons with nothing in common except their not being Greek.
- 2. This is not to say the notion was entirely alien. Chakrabarti, "Rationality in Indian Philosophy," observes that the *Durga Saptasati*'s declaration that animals are capable of knowledge must have been speaking to a presumption that they were *not*.
- 3. For an edition of this work see Most.
- 4. Sorabji, *Animal Minds*, 14–21.
- 5. For a translation of this work see Olivelle. Not all the sources cited in this chapter are easily accessible in English translation. Where such translations are available, references have been given.
- 6. Dating anything in classical Indian literature is a minefield. So I would not go to the wall for a third-century BCE dating of the *Pañcatantra*. The *Hitopadeśa* quote is from the introduction, at verse 25: "With beasts we share a similar nature / in fear and hunger, sex and rest. / Virtue is man's special feature: / without it, he's a beast at best" (for an edition of this work see Haksar, from which this translation is taken).
- 7. For a translation of this work see Cowell.
- 8. This intuition is not universally shared—Mark Rowlands's recent monograph, *Can Animals Be Moral?*, contests it—and I do not claim here that this intuition is correct.
- 9. "From the moral perspective, animals are constitutionally disposed to acts of violence and sexual misconduct. They are inclined to disregard the taboos that bind human society together and this propensity, on occasion, may result in the crimes of cannibalism or incest. Goats, sheep, chickens, pigs, dogs and jackals are particularly blameworthy in the latter respect" (Harris, "Buddhism and Ecology," 121). See, e.g., *Dīgha Nikāya* iii.72: "Among those of a ten-year life-span no account will be taken of mother or aunt, of mother's sister-in-law, of teacher's wife or of one's father's wives and so on—all

- will be promiscuous in the world like goats and sheep, fowl and pigs, dogs and jackals." (For a translation of this work, see Walsh, *The Long Discourses of the Buddha*.)
- 10. Due to the wide scope and flexibility of the word *dharma*, it may also be possible to say instead that in Hindu thought each sort of animal has its own *dharma*—what is given it to do, given its nature and overall place in the scheme of things. I thank Elisa Freschi for the suggestion. At issue here, however, is the restricted sense of *dharma* at work in the *Hitopadeśa* text quoted.
- 11. See Majjhima Nikāya (hereafter MN) 12, "The Greater Discourse on the Lion's Roar" (Mahāsīhanāda Sutta), §35 (PTS. i.73). MN 97, "To Dhānañjāni" (Dhānañjāni Sutta), §30, offers another example within a Buddhist text, more finely differentiated in the divine worlds; the context is a conversation with a non-Buddhist, so the recognized distinctions as well as their rank more likely reflect the non-Buddhist common view, some or all of which a Buddhist might reject. (For a translation of Majjhima Nikāya, see Ñānamoli and Bodhi, The Middle-Length Discourses of the Buddha.)
- 12. Olivelle writes, "There is, then, no unbridgeable gulf between gods, humans and animals within the Indian imagination" ("Talking Animals," 17).
- 13. Xenophanes, fr. 7 (Diogenes Laertius VIII, 36) in Kirk et al., The Presocratic Philosophers, 219.
- 14. This implication of rebirth was not overlooked: consider the *ṛṣi* of *Mahābhārata* XIII.117, persuading a worm to get itself run over by a chariot so it can be reborn as a Brahmin. Rāmānuja defends Vedic animal sacrifices on the same grounds: one is doing the animal a favor, releasing it from a lower and sending it to a higher rebirth (*Brahma-Sūtra* III.1.25); cf. Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* III.1.25 for his defense of animal sacrifice. (For the *Brahma-Sūtra* and *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* see Bapat, *A critical edition of the Brahmasūtras*.)
- 15. Chapple, Nonviolence to Animals; Dundas, The Jains, 160-61.
- 16. In the Mahābhārata XIII.116, "ahiṃsā is the highest dharma ... the best austerity (tapas) ... the greatest gift. Ahiṃsā is the highest self control ... the highest sacrifice ... the highest power ... the highest friend ... the highest truth ... the highest teaching," reiterated at XIII.125, "ahiṃsā is the dharma. It is the highest purification. It is also the highest truth from which all dharma proceeds."
- 17. Olivelle, "Food for Thought."
- 18. The Jaina Ācārānga Sūtra I.4.1 (quoted in Dundas, *The Jains*, 41–42).
- 19. Perrett, "Moral Vegetarianism," writes, "Sentience, rather than species membership, is widely acknowledged in India as a basis for direct moral concern" (96); for the reasons given, however, I would hesitate to characterize this as moral extensionism.
- 20. The Jains thought sentience went all the way down: "The soul is never bereft of sentience, however feeble and indistinct this may be in underdeveloped organisms." This is from Umāsvāti's second-century BCE *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, quoted in Vallely, "Being Sentiently with Others," 43. "According to Jainism, rocks, mountains, drops of water, lakes, and trees all have life force or *jīva*," Chapple writes (*Nonviolence to Animals*, 11)—and this was considered grounds for extraordinary restrictions on what one could do or eat. Buddhists, not inclined to such austerity, were faced with what L. Schmithausen discusses as "the problem of the sentience of plants in earliest Buddhism." The problem of what to eat was resolved by declaring plants insentient, and therefore not alive. E. B. Findly examines this debate in *Plant Lives*, for discussion of which see E. Freschi's review in *Philosophy East and West*. Freschi gathers and discusses a wide range of Indian philosophical texts concerned with plant sentience in "Systematising an Absent Category."
- 21. Doniger, "A Symbol in Search of an Object."
- 22. For a translation see Olivelle, *The Law Code of Manu*.
- 23. Translation from Olivelle. See also *Mahābhārata* XIII.115–16. The *Laws of Manu* are traditionally given unfathomably ancient provenance; its current form might have been fixed anywhere from 300 BCE to AD 300 L. Nelson describes the substitution and retention with justification in "Cows, Elephants, Dogs," 184.
- 24. Olivelle, *The Law Code of Manu*; discussed also by Chapple, *Nonviolence to Animals*, 16. C. G. Framarin, *Hinduism and Environmental Ethics*, argues that overall the *Laws of Manu* grant nonhuman animals direct moral standing; animal sacrifice was an exception and stood in need of special justification. This does not necessarily preclude animal sacrifice but surely complicates our understanding of it.
- 25. Kumārila explicitly makes this comparison in his justification for ritual sacrifice at Ślokavarttika II.248-58.
- 26. See, for instance, MN 57.
- 27. At the level of the ideal, however, the evidence is mixed: For instance, a story preserved in the *Dhammapada Commentary* depicts the Buddha refusing an offering of honey until the insect eggs hidden within it are removed. See the translation in Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, 180.
- 28. Early Buddhist attitudes toward eating meat are discussed with great scholarly mastery and subtlety by Schmithausen and Maithrimurthi, "Attitudes towards Animals," and Seyfort-Ruegg, "Ahiṃsā and Vegetarianism."
- 29. "You are irreligious, unworthy men, devoted to foolish pleasures, who say that partaking heartily of this meat you are not soiled by sin" (*Sūtrakṛtāṅga* II.6.38, in Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*).

- 30. There is perhaps a different cosmological view animating the Jaina position and explaining its difference from non-Jaina Indian views, but it was not a revision of rebirth. This will be discussed below.
- 31. Framarin arrives at the same conclusion via a different route (*Hinduism and Environmental Ethics*, ch. 3). Schmidt-Raghavan, "Animal Liberation and *Ahiṃsā*," and Jaini, "Animals and Agents," may be taken as representative of the not-uncommon opposite presumption.
- 32. Olivelle, "Talking Animals," 18.
- 33. In "Food for Thought," Olivelle offers a detailed survey of the various taxonomies of animals, together with their associated implications.
- 34. Nelson, "Cows, Elephants, Dogs," 185, has examples from the *Laws of Manu* showing "rebirth as an animal is a frightening punishment" (*Laws of Manu* 12.59, 69); see also the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (5.10.7–8). In the *Middle-Length Discourses of the Buddha*, "there are two destinations for one with wrong view, I say: hell or the animal realm" (*MN* 57: *The Dog-Duty Ascetic* [*Kukkuravatika Sutta*] i.389); this offers a particularly relevant case, since the wrong view that will land these ascetics in an unpleasant rebirth is their pointless mimicry of animals as a form of practicing austerities. Regarding the Jaina view see Chapple, "Inherent Value," 242.
- 35. On the Buddhist side, according to *The Greater Discourse on the Lion's Roar (Mahāsīhanāda Sutta)*, one in the animal realm "is experiencing extremely painful, racking, piercing feelings," and its fate is compared to falling into a cesspit of filth (*MN* 12, § 38). According to the *Mahābhārata* XII.180, nonhuman animals experience much more physical discomfort than humans, some of it caused by humans whose hands and articulacy enable them to subjugate other animals. In his section titled "How Humans Are Special" from his "Rationality in Indian Philosophy," Chakrabarti identifies three things that make animal lives inferior to human ones in the Hindu tradition: self is less manifest in animals; animals cannot anticipate future results from current actions; and animals cannot do metaphysics. N. Dalal and C. Taylor note that "rebirth minimizes human and nonhuman animal dichotomies and hierarchies. ... However; rebirth and *karma* ironically provide hierarchy, for nonhuman animal births are generally considered lower ones resulting from negative *karma*. Nonhuman animals are perceived to live in great suffering, and are unlikely or unable to gain liberation due to a lack of wisdom, are unaware of morality, do not have an aptitude for ritual, and may not be able to produce positive *karma*. The Indian traditions tend not to explore this ambivalent tension" (*Asian Perspectives on Animal Ethics*, 5).
- 36. While humans know of heaven and hell, animals know only hunger and thirst, says the *Aitareya Aranyaka* II.3.2, and so cannot plan for tomorrow nor strive for immortality. Śabara explains that animals desire only what is immediately present before them and so cannot perform the rituals properly, for the sake of *dharma*, or make connections between action and result (*Mīmāṁsā-Bhāsya* VI.1.5).
- 37. According to the *Yogavasistha Ramayana* II: 14, humans are capable of spiritual inquiry into the nature of self and the causes of *saṃsāra* necessary to end all sorrow. See Venkatesananda, *Vasistha's Yoga*, 42.
- 38. Nelson, "Cows, Elephants, Dogs," 184–85.
- 39. The *Mahābhārata* introduces the bird Jaritari, trapped in the gleeful burning of the Khandava Forest, who must decide whether to die with her young, whom she cannot carry to safety, or to abandon them for the sake of preserving the future of the species; she even gives her siblings teachings on the virtue of equanimity (*Mahābhārata* I, Khandava-daha Parva). A forest fire also elicits exceptionally virtuous animal behavior in a famous Jaina tale: as the animals crowd together in a place of safety, an elephant lifts his leg to scratch an itch, and a rabbit darts into the remaining space. In order not to crush the rabbit, the elephant stands with his leg lifted for three days, until the raging fire passes. When the animals disperse, the elephant can finally lower his foot, but dies of exhaustion. This is recounted in Jaini, "Ahimsa and 'Just War," 49.

 Nelson, "Cows, Elephants, Dogs," 187–88, offers three examples of animals attaining liberation in the Hindu tradition. Two of these are from lives of saints, one living in the sixteenth century, the other in the twentieth; the third story is from classical literature (the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 8.2–4). Note that none is from the *Hitopadeśa* or *Pañcatantra*, where one might object (wrongly, in my view) that the anthropomorphizing is so strong that we cannot take what happens there to indicate anything about what was thought about actual nonhuman animals.
- 40. McDermott, "Animals and Humans," 270.
- 41. See for instance the sorry, but ultimately promising, tale of the elephant Pārileyyaka who attends the Buddha faithfully during the latter's forest retreat. When the Buddha quits the forest, he sends the elephant back to the forest with the parting words, "Pārileyyaka, I am going now, never to return. You cannot hope in this existence to enter into states of trance, or to attain spiritual insight, or the path or the fruits. Halt!" (Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, 182). But when Pārileyyaka then dies of a broken heart full of faith in the Buddha, he is reborn in a divine realm. As an elephant, Pārileyyaka cannot attain final insight; but he can exemplify a central virtue enjoined upon all the Buddha's followers, namely *faith*. (This virtue is especially emphasized in the collection of Buddhist tales known as the *Divyāvadāna*, translated in Rotman, *Divine Stories*.)
- 42. McDermott, "Animals and Humans," 269–70. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* is the collection of texts on monastic discipline (for a translation, see Horner, *The Book of Discipline*). They do not give universal prescriptions nor even universal principles, for

- their primary aim is to describe how Buddhist monastics should live together such that they might all best support each other in reaching *nirvāṇa*. As Seyfort-Ruegg points out, this makes the purpose of the *vinaya* texts "neither philosophical nor even ethical" ("Ahiṃsā and Vegetarianism," 239). They remain nevertheless an excellent source of detailed cases and prescriptions, often with reasons.
- 43. There will of course be much more of this sort of thing when we turn to fable literature, and specifically in this context to the *Jātaka* tales.
- 44. McDermott, "Animals and Humans," 270-71.
- 45. The Jaina Sutras, Sūtrakṛtāṅga II.6.26–28, imagine a person mistaking a baby for a gourd, splitting and eating it, but blameless in Buddhist eyes, while the person who makes the opposite mistake and ends up eating a gourd ends up in hell. The criticism is more trenchant than absurd in light of Buddhist texts from the Vinaya Piṭaka such as Pācittiya 61.1.1–3, which declares, "If [one] thinks that it is not a living thing when it is a living thing, there is no offence. If he thinks that it is a living thing when it is not a living thing, there is an offence of wrong-doing"—and this not just in reference to a crow killer but also regarding the man who accidentally sits down on a baby, suffocating it in front of its mother. See Horner, The Book of the Discipline, 890–91.
- 46. And perhaps also ethical advantages: P. Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics*, 160, observes that in the Theravada tradition meat-eating is permissible as (1) not depriving laypeople of the merit of giving alms-food, (2) preventing monastics from getting picky about the food they receive from laypersons, and (3) preventing negative attachment to meat (that is, aversion, or attachment to the negative evaluation of meat). "If they were given fleshfood, and it was 'pure' ... to refuse it would deprive the donor of the karmic fruitfulness engendered by giving alms-food. Moreover, it would encourage the monks to pick and choose what food they would eat. Food should be looked on only as a source of sustenance, without preferences"; and "vegetarians can in time become disgusted with meat, which can be seen as a form of negative attachment." By contrast J. Stewart, "The Question of Vegetarianism," argues that the Buddha's nonvegetarian stance was purely strategic, and indeed, as Sherice Ngaserin reminds me, vegetarianism was in fact one of the five austerities Devadatta sought to require in order to sow dissent within the *saṅgha*. The Buddha maintained that it should remain optional.
- 47. And it is certainly related to the apparent lack of moral *theory* among classical Indian philosophical texts, on which see Matilal, *Ethics and Epics*, 19 and Dreyfus, "Meditation as an Ethical Activity."
- 48. *Karunā* is more usually translated as "compassion"—and then immediately qualified as not being just a feeling (compassion) but a disposition to engage helpfully. Given the common root of *karma* and *karunā* (*k*ṛ), I select "care" as a closer equivalent, containing both emotional and active elements.
- 49. "Proper human/animal relationships are to be governed by the same universal, positive virtues or divine attitudes—the brahma vihāras—that govern human inter-relationships, namely: loving kindness (metta), compassion (karunā), sympathetic joy (muditā), and equanimity (upekkhā)," writes McDermott ("Animals and Humans," 277). "The texts make it explicit that these are intended to apply to all living beings."
- 50. For an edition, see Red Pine, *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*.
- 51. Put in this acute form, the argument may appear utterly implausible; if it does so, however, it is worth reflecting on the presumptions that make it appear so—for instance, that there is a chasm to be leaped here, and not a slope at all.
- 52. Compare *Mahābhārata* XIII.114, which describes how meat (the tastiest food there is; XIII.116) "gradually attracts the mind and enslaves it" until "stupefied by its taste"; one becomes incapable of appreciating higher pleasures.
- 53. Compare again *Mahābhārata* XIII.114, where the meat of animals is like the flesh of one's own son.
- 54. We might think of Diamond's "Eating Meat and Eating People" as one attempt to do just that—but also to make it clear that some such shift is what is at issue rather than an appeal to principles and rights.
- 55. Note that these are only the highest third of three orders of living being (Chapple, Nonviolence to Animals, 11).
- 56. Vallely, "Being Sentiently with Others," 38–39, disagrees. "There *is* an 'ontological' distinction between human and nonhuman animal in Jainism," she writes, but "hierarchical does not encode an exploitative relationship. The animal in Jainism, though ontologically distinct, is on the same essential trajectory as the human, and its claims to life are no less valid than those of any other sentient being." She goes on to say that Jainism's "attention to the nonhuman is not ideological (or, therefore, ethical), but relational, insofar as it inheres in the far more fundamental experience of being sentiently with others"; so whatever our differences in usages of "ontological" and "ethical," we seem to agree on the fundamental points.
- 57. Chapple, "Inherent Value," 242.
- 58. See for instance the very early Ācārāṅga Sūtra, which not only observes that all creatures dislike suffering, just like you (the hearer) do, but even further identifies the harm you do to others as harm done to yourself.
- 59. Chapple, "Inherent Value," 242. I discuss whether choice is or should be the gold standard of moral responsibility in Carpenter, "The Sammitīyas," and "Ethics without Justice,"
- 60. There were, of course, Aesop's fables, which, if they did not actually come from India, are very likely at least to be evidence

- of rapid cross-cultural dissemination of tales across Mesopotamia and its trading partners. Aesop, however, neither had the stature nor the place of Homer and Hesiod in ancient Greek didactic culture; nor did Aesop's fables therefore have the centrality that the *Jātaka* and *Pañcatantra* tales had in ancient India. Moreover the great Indian epics, not just fable literature (unlike the Greek epics), feature talking animals. For recent work complicating and challenging this broad characterization, see Korhonen and Ruonakoski, *Human and Animal in Ancient Greece*.
- 61. Just how significant the absence of animal speech is may be measured by the important role speaking—in particular, reasoning with others about good and bad—had in ancient Greece. See Heath, *The Talking Greeks*. In India, by contrast, as Olivelle notes, animals *talk*: "It is easy to make the transition from human to animal. ... If humans can become animals, then animals may assume human roles and even human speech" ("Talking Animals," 18).
- 62. Jamison, "The Function of Animals."
- 63. For instance in the Śukapotaka-avadāna, two faithful parrot chicks receive dharma teachings, take refuge, and are predicted to have good rebirths (Rotman, *Divine Stories*, Story 16).
- 64. Some of these Buddhist tales are beautifully retold in the fourteenth century by Ārya Śūra in the *Jātakamālā*, several involving virtuous animals (e.g. stories 6, 15–16, and 22, 24–27 in Khoroche, *Once the Buddha Was a Monkey*).
- 65. Since the dating of evolving texts in an oral tradition is notoriously difficult, and the situation probably fluid for many years, it is entirely possible that Buddhists drew on stories that were to become, perhaps only shortly thereafter, part of the *Pañcatantra*, and also that the Buddhist stories in turn were taken up by the non-Buddhist compilers of the *Pañcatantra*
- 66. Vargas, "Snake-Kings, Boars' Heads," 218.
- 67. These descriptions are taken from Olivelle's introduction to the characters of the Pañcatantra.
- 68. Such "animal stories," Olivelle writes, "may be more effective tools of social control and instruction than learned discourses and śāstric writings" ("Talking Animals," 19). The stories, however, do not speak with one voice on these matters of, for instance, the scope of choice; they could perhaps rather be taken as a medium in which to discuss matters that were under debate rather than as tools for enforcing and policing unequivocal boundaries.
- 69. Olivelle, "Talking Animals," 20.
- 70. Deleanu, "Buddhist 'Ethology."
- 71. The proverb is discussed by Olivelle, "Talking Animals," 22 et passim.
- 72. Jātaka Tales, book 1, no. 128, Biļāra-Jātaka, in Cowell, The Jataka (1895), 281–82.
- 73. I am particularly indebted to the scholarship of others who have come before me in each of the several specialized discourses within Indian thought. Many thanks are due to Matthew Dasti, Chris Framarin, Elisa Freschi, Patrick O'Donnell, Shyam Ranganathan for timely pointers and suggestions in this discussion. I also thank the contributors to this volume for their convivial discussion and helpful feedback on an earlier draft, as well as the editors for the same and for their patience. My thanks also go to Sherice Ngaserin for superb research assistance.