

damages the

ly harmful
es of *Nūqing*

984.

45. Apotropaic Substances as Medicine in Buddhist Healing Methods

Nāgārjuna's Treatise on the Five Sciences

DOMINIC STEAVU

In East Asian Buddhism, the choice of physical materials or substances employed in rituals and practices is of paramount importance. For example, exorcistic or therapeutic seals should be carved in varieties of woods that have recognized demonifugic properties. These typically include sandalwood, aloeswood, jujube wood, and peach tree wood (see, e.g., chapter 29). Therapeutic rites that involve the ingestion of medicines are another instance in which the selection of substances plays a crucial role. Active ingredients are rarely appreciated for their healing qualities alone; in many cases, medicines are consumed for their apotropaic (i.e., exorcistic or protective, or both) virtues, doubling as demon-dispelling materials. Because of this dual function as therapeutic and apotropaic substances, medicines are sometimes used in the manufacture of ink for producing talismans. Reciprocally, apotropaic substances can also be processed and ingested as medicine.

The following excerpts from *Nāgārjuna's Treatise on the Five Sciences*¹ focus on a class of medicines often called "great medicines,"² that blur the line between drug and amulet, between the pharmacological and the spiritual. Recipes include recurring active ingredients such as bezoar, realgar, orpiment, and especially, cinnabar, which are simultaneously therapeutic and apotropaic.³ This dual notion of medicine is rooted in the understanding of illness as resulting from demonic or supernatural causes, a conviction that predates the development of Buddhist medicine in China and was central to the Daoist traditions of the second to fourth centuries. It is no coincidence that realgar, orpiment, and cinnabar were important ingredients in the Great Clarity (*Taiqing*) tradition of "external alchemy,"⁴

primarily in the concoction of longevity-granting elixirs that were also known as “great medicines.”⁵ In Daoist alchemy, both elixirs and their chief ingredients had additional functions beyond their effects on health and longevity. These included providing protection against malevolent spirits and enabling communication with spirits.

In addition to discussing the use of medicines and talismans, the passages translated below also present a rare method that consists of ingesting incense, in part for therapeutic ends.⁶ Incense (as well as its individual aromatic components) was valued in Daoism and other Chinese traditions beyond its capacity to serve as an offering or to generate a fragrant smell. **Most generally, burning incense was considered an effective way of ritually purifying a space or inviting spirits, thereby facilitating communication with the supernatural. The cleansing properties of smoke were also understood to be exorcistic, driving away disease-causing demons and healing illness.** In its combination of apotropaic and therapeutic applications, incense is another category of materials that could function as “great medicine.”

Nāgārjuna's Treatise on the Five Sciences is representative of an eclectic tradition of Chinese Esoteric Buddhism. The Five Sciences⁷ were five categories of knowledge or learning in classical India, typically given as grammar and composition, the arts and mathematics, medicine, logic, and philosophy. However, a second set of Five Sciences is more typical of Chinese Esoteric sources. It replaces logic with spells, and philosophy with talismans and seals.⁸ Despite referring to five sciences in its title, the present text only addresses three of them explicitly, namely, medicine, spells, and talismans and seals.

The core of the text likely dates from the second half of the sixth century,⁹ an early formative period for Chinese Esoteric Buddhism in which sectarian boundaries were porous and templates for healing and practice were enlisted from a multiplicity of traditions, Daoism chief among them. The attribution of the text to Nāgārjuna should not be taken at face value. In Esoteric Buddhism, Nāgārjuna is typically associated with techniques pertaining to divination and spells, as well as with medicines for making oneself invisible.¹⁰ Sometimes, the bodhisattva is also associated with the fabrication and ingestion of longevity-granting elixirs, as in Daoist alchemy.¹¹ Additionally, *Nāgārjuna's Treatise on the Five Sciences* was purportedly coauthored by another bodhisattva, Horse-neighbor (Maming Pusa). This figure appears to be a conflation of the second-century Indian poet, scholar, and monk Aśvaghoṣa (Maming Pusa) and his contemporary, a reputed alchemist, mythical founder of the Great Clarity alchemical lineage, and celebrated Daoist immortal by the name of Master Horse-neighbor (Maming Sheng).¹² Together, the Nāgārjuna/Master Horse-neighbor pair enjoyed a reputation as authorities on medicinal and alchemical recipes.¹³ Their prestige must have been of consequence, as the duo is found not only in Chinese Buddhist contexts, but also in the Daoist tradition of Inner Alchemy.¹⁴ In all instances, the bodhisattvas Nāgārjuna and Horse-neighbor are closely connected to alchemical methods involving the fabrication of medicines that are both therapeutic and apotropaic.

Incense, bezoar, realgar, orpiment, cinnabar, and the other “great medicines” found in the passages translated below are grounded in the everyday material culture of Chinese Buddhist practice. However, their use in *Nāgārjuna's Treatise on the Five Sciences*, as

elsewhere in Buddhist writings, frequently occurs in conjunction with seals, talismans, and other elements absorbed from Daoism and local cults. That the medico-apotropaic uses of these substances were assimilated from indigenous Chinese traditions and integrated into texts attributed to one of the most celebrated Indian Buddhists is a detail that speaks loudly to Buddhism's capacity as an adaptive and accommodating religion.

FURTHER READING

- Davis, Edward L. 2001. *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Mollier, Christine. 2008. *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Pregadio, Fabrizio. 2006. *Great Clarity: Daoism and Alchemy in Early Medieval China*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Strickmann, Michel. 2002. *Chinese Magical Medicine*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Young, Stuart H. 2015. *Conceiving the Indian Buddhist Patriarchs in China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

EXCERPTS FROM NĀGĀRJUNA'S TREATISE ON THE FIVE SCIENCES¹⁵

[A Talisman for Equally Benefiting All Sentient Beings]¹⁶

At the time [of Aśoka],¹⁷ there was a south Indian monk. He was previously an adept of heterodox ways, but he grew to esteem the Dharma, and so he became a monk.¹⁸ He addressed the king [Aśoka] saying, "In the past, I sought [talismans] methods among the heterodox practices to benefit the people. Today, I have left home and entered into the Dharma of the Buddha. He also has a [talismans] method to benefit sentient beings. First, his talisman can procure riches. These are obtained in accordance with the place where one is located. Second, I admire that his talisman cures the ailments of all sentient beings. They are immediately removed in accordance with their cure. Third, his true Dharma [talismans] is able to cause rain in agreement with the seasons so that the *nāga* kings¹⁹ are pleased."

Upon hearing this, the king declared: "I command that this method be used to equally benefit all sentient beings!"

On the seventh day of the seventh month, one should take seven stalks of mountain-cloud bamboo that are seven *chi* in length and place the drawn talisman inside them. The talisman should say: "May Indra instruct me on how to benefit sentient beings! May all dragons and demons follow my command!" One should also take a willow branch and carve it into a human effigy. Construct an altar out of

willow and place it on top. After circumambulating the altar, recite the spell saying: "I take refuge in Indra. May the wind spirits come to the aid of sentient beings. May the fire spirits come to cast light. May the rain spirits come to ripen crops. May the treasure spirits come to distribute riches. May the earth spirits come to comfort sentient beings. For whomever and for whatever concern, I command it. This year all shall be suitable. Quickly! Quickly! As if commanded by law."²⁰ [. . .]

Even if regular people²¹ obtain [this talisman], they can produce the medicine of great immortals. On the fifth day of the fifth month, collect ox bezoar in the amount of a sparrow's egg, four *liang* of ginger, eight *liang* of hemp, one *liang* of yellow runner reed, five *liang* of rhubarb, and two *liang* of licorice root. On the seventh day of the seventh month, have a young lad pound them. Make them into pills with honey and eat them. If a person is aching all over and is afflicted by recurrent vomiting, a water disease, intestinal aches, swelling of the four limbs or of the abdomen, sudden dizzy spells, diarrhea, tightness in the chest, or serious breathing difficulty, take the above medicinal pills. The pills should be like small beans. Take two and ingest them. In an instant, the medicine will make visible scuttling disease demons. Again, if you vomit or perspire, if you experience a prolonged dulling of your sense of taste, if your blood circulation is obstructed, if you have a diminished appetite, if after giving birth you have sores that do not heal below the waist, or if you are unable to urinate or defecate—all will be healed.

[The Star Lodge Seals, Seal Two of Five]²²

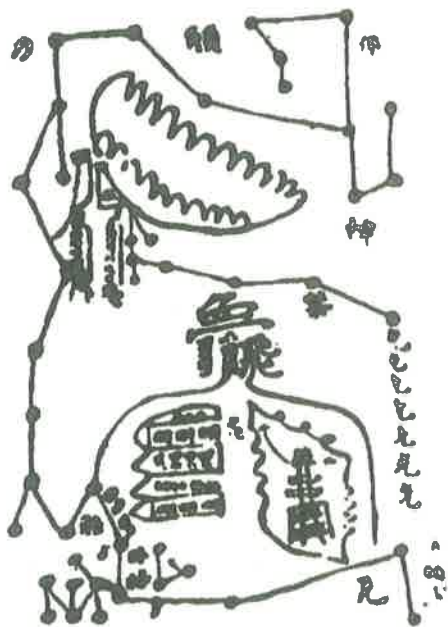


FIGURE 45.1 UNTITLED [STAR LODGE SEAL]

The spell reads: NAMO ATUOPOLIYE. NAMO SUOJIAJI DUOPOLIYE. NAMO XUTUOHE SHATUOLIYE SUOPOHE.

If you wish to perform the method for this seal, purify a room and smear aromatics on the ground. Burn various kinds of incense and pay obeisance to the Three Jewels. Take a piece of red jujube wood five *cun* in length and three *cun* wide. Use it to carve this star-lodge seal. Slather it with cinnabar. Intone the spell and charm it nine hundred times. No desired destination will be unsuitable [to travel to]. If you wish to bestow this seal's benefits on all sentient beings and eliminate their illnesses and hardships, you may use it to do so. Lead the afflicted into a room. Bathe their bodies with aromatic water. Impress the seal on the spot where the ailment is. No illness will remain unhealed.

Spell for the Method of Not Eating²³

BOZHA NAYEZHA, BOZHA NAYEZHA NUONI, BODIZHA BOYEDIZHA SHAHE

Take two *sheng* of limonite, two *liang* of red holloysite [lit. "red stone fat"], one *liang* of kaolinitum [lit. "white stone fat"], and one *liang* of cinnabar. Then, in a pure chamber, take the limonite and some ivy grass and make them into a powder. Remove impurities. Then, take the red holloysite and make it into a powder. It is preferred to make it finer than the ivy grass powder. After each ingredient has been ground, mix them together. Intone this spell and charm the medicine twenty times. Consume three square-*cun* spoonfuls per day. Completely ingest the content of each spoonful. You will immediately obtain freedom from starvation for ten years. Your vitality will rush forth and flourish beyond what words can express. When you prepare [this medicine], do not consume meat or alcohol. The Five Pungent Roots and *yuntai*²⁴ should not be eaten.

The Vajra Heart Seal²⁵

If one is deaf, blind, mute, or has virulent abscesses and scabs on one's body, stamp the [Vajra Heart] seal on some realgar. The amount is not important. Stamp it fourteen times. Then daub it on the abscesses and scabs. One day will not have passed before they promptly heal. As for the [deaf], blind, and mute, stamp the seal on orpiment powder fourteen times. Mix it with one *sheng* of water. Do not consume alcohol, meat, or any of the Five Pungent Roots for seven days. Wash your eyes with the water. Do so thrice daily until the water is used up. [Deafness], blindness, and muteness will be healed. [. . .]



FIGURE 45.2 VAJRA HEART SEAL

[Summoning Bodhisattvas and Spirits]²⁶

Do not transmit these [instructions] to curious people, nor should you circulate them in the world. Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva and Horse-neigh Bodhisattva composed the *Treatise on the Five Sciences*. It was [originally] produced in more than ten thousand chapters. Regular people who practice this method must fetch a local variety of high-grade [incense].²⁷ The pure chamber should be a square room and there should be no damage to the structure. Daub the inside and outside [of the pure chamber] with an aromatic decoction and decorate it with green-colored paint. Purify and order the ritual area. Suspend a ceremonial canopy and multicolored spirit banners. Smear white soil on the ground, and adorn the walls with colorful designs. During the entire day, after having cleansed them in a fragrant bath of *shi*-barley, one should wear treasure flowers [around one's neck]. The pacified room of the ritual area must have incense continually burning in its four corners. Then, install the effigies of Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva and Horse-neigh Bodhisattva, of the Vajra-Beings of Secret Marks,²⁸ and of the Divine Kings of the Eight Classes of Beings.

Take the five-colored canopies, banners, divine hanging things and images, or any adornments that you think of and affix them before [the effigies of] the bodhisattvas. Burn incense in seven incense burners. Place two of them in front of the bodhisattvas, two in front of the Vajra-Beings, two in front of the Divine Kings of the Eight Classes of Beings, and one in front the officiant [i.e., yourself]. Set up a wooden board as an altar and put the implements for making offerings on top of it. At the three times [i.e., morning, noon, and evening], pay obeisance, make offerings, and burn incense. If you wish to cure the suffering of others, burn incense and inform Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva and Horse-neigh Bodhisattva by declaring: "I, disciple so-and-so, in the present year, in this manner will lead out the conditions of suffering." The declaration ends here. By means of this spell [of the Vajra Fist seal], charm the ailing person. If it is an eminent person, charm them twenty one

times. With a five-colored thread, tie twenty-one knots on this eminent person's lower limbs, twenty knots on their [upper] limbs, and seven knots around the neck. Then, impress the Vajra Fist seal, fourteen times on the person. Afterward, use the Vajra seal to impress the center of the painful area [on their body]. When impressing the seal, follow the instructions [above] concerning the strength and number of impressions. Prepare and uphold ritual purifications for seven days and venerate [the bodhisattvas]. Remove your upper garments and your shoes.

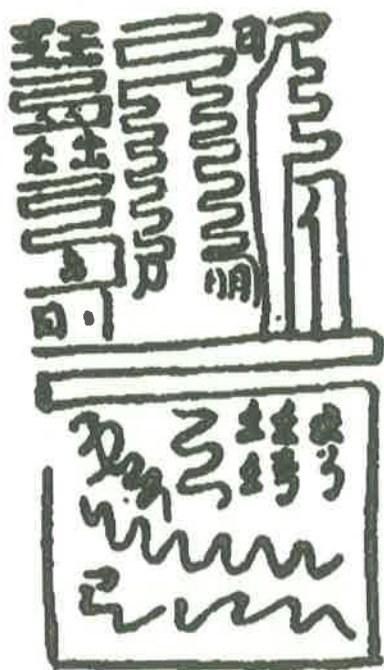


FIGURE 45.3 VAJRA FIST SEAL

Do not sleep in that location. Do not emit wind. Do not speak loudly or call out loudly. With a sincere heart, shut your eyes and take refuge in your worship [of the bodhisattvas]. Do not mock or scold [anyone]. Stick out your tongue to defy your fears, [but ensure] that purity is used; otherwise, you may increase the ailing one's misfortune. [...] With a sincere heart, continuously worship, venerate, contemplate, and intone the spells of Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva. One's mind should always be pondering him. The bodhisattva will descend of his own accord. His hue is so brilliantly radiant that he illuminates the world. People will achieve that which they wish for. If one delights in immortality, then immortality will be obtained. If one delights in the Dao, then the Dao will be obtained.²⁹ If one delights in wisdom, then wisdom will be obtained. If one delights in fame, then fame will be obtained. If one delights in wealth, then wealth will be obtained. If one delights in nobility, then nobility will be obtained. Things will be as one wishes them to be.

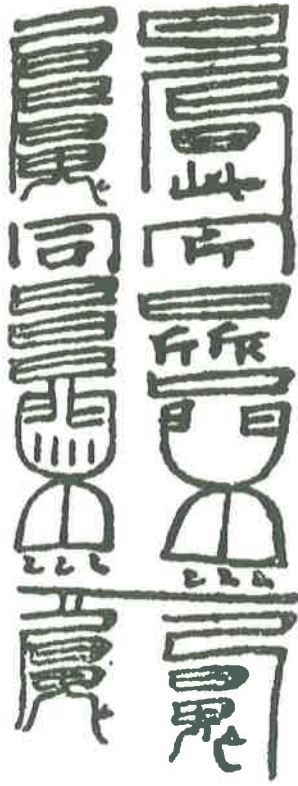


FIGURE 45.4 UNTITLED [INDRA'S DIVINE TALISMAN]

If you undertake the practice for a month, riches will accumulate of themselves. All the marvelous spirits coming to aid you will revolve around the room, behind and before you. Contemplate them with a sincere mind. You will have sufficient clothing and food to avoid death and hardship. If you wish to cure illness, prepare [the ritual space] and complete the ritual purifications for seven days, and the bodhisattva will come forth from the incense. Take refuge in him with a sincere mind. Make your request with propriety to the bodhisattva Nāgārjuna and the illness will be cured of itself. [. . .] You will require one incense burner, a seat, a fully fragrant and bejeweled canopy, a gold-threaded pouch containing a vermillion pestle, two ounces of cinnabar, and one hundred sheets of unblemished paper. Upon making your opening declaration to Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva and Horse-Neigh Bodhisattva, promptly write out Indra's divine talisman [see figure 45.4] and submit it. Additionally, write the talisman of the King of the Six Spirits [see figure 45.5] onto the ailing area [of the patient's body]. Charm this spot with a willow branch and purified water. Complete [the charming] with the *asura* binding spell by tying knots with a five-colored thread on the ailing body part and by impressing the spot with the Vajra Heart seal [see figure 45.2]. Burn incense, pay obeisance, and pray in request [for the illness to be cured].

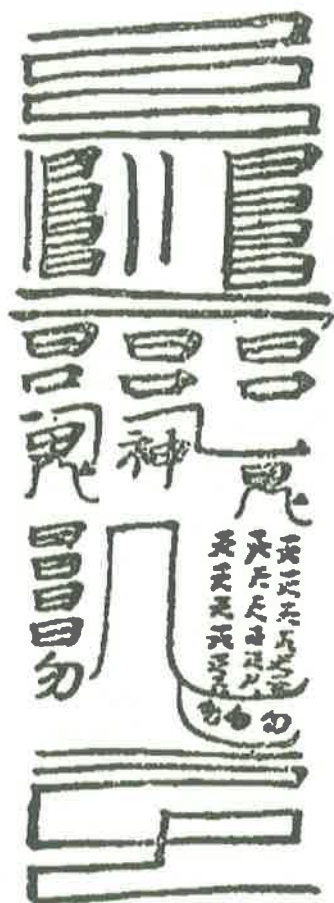


FIGURE 45.5 UNTITLED [TALISMAN OF THE KING OF THE SIX SPIRITS]

Having done so, the responding spirit will come along that night in the evening's dreams and completely cure the illness. If in the space of seven days you desist from maintaining the ritual purifications, if you desist from [observing the proscriptions on] consuming alcohol, meat, the Five Pungent Roots, *yuntai*, and otherwise scold or mock, lie, engage in unhealthy or lewd behavior, plunder and rob, or kill—if you contravene these rules, then the illness will not be healed and will persist beyond seven days. [If you respect the stipulations], ailments are healed just as you wish them to be. Do not doubt the great efficacy of this method. [. . .]

Method for Ingesting Medicinal Incense³⁰

The treatise says: "It is common when practicing the incantation of spells for the sharp ear of the adept to be able to discern even the delicate sounds of a water-clock. The ingestion of incense medicine is [also] considered part of [the practice of] spells."

S DIVINE

ce of them-
d the room,
u will have
to cure ill-
s for seven
uge in him
odhisattva
ire one in-
aded pouch
dred sheets
rjuna Bod-
ivine talis-
the King of
dy]. Charm
ming] with
the ailing
gure 45.2].
cured].

The spell reads: PUTUONOU PODULUO WUMOZHONGTUOLI LENAENA
DANHANLI APOAPOMINGSILI SHAPOHE.

"[List of aromatics to be used in this method:] One *jin* of *baizhen*,³¹ one *jin* of aloeswood, one *jin* of frankincense, one *jin* of hovenia,³² one *jin* of cloves, one *jin* of patchouli,³³ one *jin* of sweet basil,³⁴ one *jin* of spikenard, one *jin* of *qiongqiong*,³⁵ one *jin* of purple nutsedge, one *jin* of potpourri (in accordance with the season, picked from a shaded and dry area), one *jin* of *chebulic myrobalan*.

The treatise says: "In a pure chamber, place [the ingredients] in a mortar, and grind them down individually before mixing them with some *shi*-barley and honey. Do not expose the contents of the vessel to wind or sunlight. Beforehand, you should abstain from alcohol, meat, the Five Pungent Roots, as well as savory [foods] and *yuntai*. Perform ritual purifications and undertake ablutions by means of a fragrant bath. Don bright and clean robes. Rinse your mouth with water seven times. Sit up straight and intone the spell. Charm the incense seven times. Combining it with fragrant well water, ingest one cubic *cun* of the incense mixture thrice daily for a week. Charm each dose seven times, [before you] ingest it. Do not emerge from the ritual area for [the first] three weeks; fast and ingest [the mixture] for three weeks. After a full hundred days, communication [with the spirits] will be unhindered. Various spirits will wait upon you. Your eyes will see all buddhas, and wherever you walk, it will become exceptionally fragrant. After two additional weeks, your fragrance can be smelled at ten paces. After four additional weeks, your fragrance can be smelled at one hundred paces. After seven weeks, anyone that can see you will be able to smell your fragrance. All beings will respect and love you. Demons and spirits will strive to assist you. Perform this with an unbridled mind in a quiet place and burn incense. All the various spirits will come to you. After a full thousand days of ingesting the incense mixture, you will come to [discriminate] things through their fragrance. You will uncannily perceive the odors of the twelve kinds of meat, even those of fish and turtles [which are harder to discern]. You will uncannily perceive their smells with true accuracy, to the extent that you will be able to fully determine any smell in the world.

"Take the soil from a tomb. Exhale three breaths on it and then fumigate it [with the aromatics mixture]. The [resulting] soil aromatic is most beneficial. There are places and sites where people have killed themselves. If you attenuate [their impurity] with water [mixed with the soil aromatic], those grounds will all be fragrant. As for those people who have died in the last seven days, if you attenuate [the impurity of] their corpses with [the mixture of aromatic soil and] water until they break apart, they will yield a fragrant smell that is extremely beneficial.

"Generally, the incense should be taken with potable well water when ingesting it. [Beforehand,] the incense should be mixed with honey into balls the size of a pellet. The mouth should be rinsed clean and charmed one hundred times. Put the pill inside the well water. This [resulting] liquid, which is fully perfumed and delectably potable, can make people become fragrant [when consumed]. If there are malevolent people bewitched by malignant wraiths, make this incense into pellets. Charm the pellets one hundred times. It will result in pacification. If sick people [keep the

pellets] in front of their throats, their demonic pathogens will scatter. If there are empty buildings or abandoned dwellings with malicious demons causing harm to people, then mix this incense with honey and make it into pellets. Burn it in a fire. All evil in the dwellings will completely disappear."

The treatise says: "For all those who ingest incense, this spell is rooted in demonic and divine origins. Practitioners must exercise caution when encountering a corpse, but also when coming upon parturition, nursing, the parturition or nursing of the six domestic animals, and the luster of blood. They must avoid women and small children, as well as the crow of roosters and the barks of dogs. Invariably, their bodies must be washed and their mouths cleansed. When they encounter impurities, they must cast the spell to dissolve the contaminants. Water should be charmed thrice and used to wash the face and eyes. Afterward, one may enter the [pure chamber]. For those who do not do things in this way, not only will the method be unsuccessful, but they will also meet with calamity, and sores will erupt on their bodies and faces. If practitioners [attempt this method] in a normal room, they will be unable to intone the spell. They should go to a pure chamber. They should not inform others of this method or transmit it to them; [if they do,] harm will befall them. This method is not to be circulated in the world."

NOTES

1. The author wishes to express his thanks to the volume's editor, C. Pierce Salguero, and to the anonymous reviewers for their invaluable comments. He is also grateful to the Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai (Canada), whose generosity funded this research. Ch. *Longshu wuming lun*.
2. Ch. *dayao*.
3. Realgar (*xionghuang*), orpiment (*cihuang*), and cinnabar (*zhusha*) appear in a number of canonical scriptures within a medico-apotropaic context; see for instance, T nos. 1265, 1238, and 1227. These are important ingredients in Daoist traditions of External Alchemy (Waidan), on which, see n. 4 below.
4. External Alchemy (Waidan) consists of refining minerals and metals in a crucible with the aim of obtaining an elixir (*dan*). When ingested as a medicine over a period of time, the elixir is believed to grant longevity or even immortality. The Great Clarity (Taiqing) tradition of external alchemy flourished, roughly speaking, from the third to the seventh or eighth centuries. The decline of external alchemy corresponds to the rise of Internal Alchemy (Neidan), which, as its name indicates, internalizes alchemical processes. Thus, in Internal Alchemy, elixir ingredients are understood as elemental components of the cosmos that can also be found within the human body, where they are refined and transformed by means of elaborate visualization practices.
5. In external alchemy, it is common to transmute the elixir (*dan*) into gold, a detail that is not lost in Buddhist texts that employ the same constituent ingredients; see, e.g., T no. 1420, 21: 960c11-13: "Take one ounce of realgar, and intone the spell [provided above] over it seven times. Feed it to a dog, who will then produce feces that are as red as fire. Take them and daub them onto a cookie. Intone the [same] spell over the cookie three times. Its color

will then be like that of gold." In contrast to realgar, orpiment, and cinnabar, bezoar is more commonly associated with Buddhist and Indic medicine than with Daoist alchemy. However, snake bezoar (*shehuang*) figures as an elixir ingredient in one of the alchemical chapters from the fourth-century Daoist text *The Master Who Embraces Simplicity: The Inner Chapters* (*Baopuzi neipian*). Ox bezoar appears in late Great Clarity sources from the seventh century (see chapter 33).

6. See also T no. 1042, which likewise attributes spiritual and salvific powers to incense.
7. Skt. *pañcavidyā*; Ch. *wuming*.
8. Ch. *zhoushu* and *fuyin*, respectively.
9. See Osabe 1982: 234–37; Young 2015: 170–71.
10. See the canonical biography of Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva in T no. 2047b. Even before his conversion to Buddhism, Nāgārjuna, who was born into a south Indian Brahmin family, was particularly gifted in the arts of astronomy, divination, and prophecy. The biography also ties him to alchemical endeavors and elixirs. He seeks out a medicine that confers invisibility (so that he may disgrace the king's harem). Once he obtains it, Nāgārjuna is able to accurately deduce its exact chemical composition through the faculty of smell alone. Already in the Northern Wei (386–534), which is when the biography was translated, there was an explicit connection between the figure of Nāgārjuna and drugs. An annotation contributes that he lived to over two hundred years of age by ingesting a "medicine of immortality" (*xianyao*). In the fashion of a Daoist immortal practicing "corpse liberation" (*shijie*), Nāgārjuna is said to have "sloughed off [his corporeal form like] a cicada and departed from the world." See Young 2015: 81–91.
11. Chen 1977: 1422–25; Robson 2011.
12. For Aśvaghōṣa's standard canonical biography, see T no. 2046. In it, we learn that he was nicknamed "Horse-neigh" because when preaching the Buddhist Dharma, his words were intelligible to animals. A famished herd of horses forfeited their meal and "with tears flowing from their eyes, they listened to the Dharma without the slightest thought of eating" (T no. 2046, 50: 1). For Master Horse-neigh's biography, see his entry in the *Biographies of Divine Immortals* (*Shenxian zhuan*), reconstructed and translated in Campamy 2002: 325–26; for an exhaustive account of the sources of this biography, see Campamy 2002: 506–7. Master Horse-neigh is a key figure in the Great Clarity tradition of Daoist external alchemy. For a synoptic discussion of Aśvaghōṣa's multiple personalities in China, see Young 2015: 195–97; for relevant primary secondary sources, see especially *ibid.*, 196n19 and 22. Young unfortunately does not mention Aśvaghōṣa's relationship to the Daoist Master Horse-neigh. I would tender that in the medieval Chinese religious imagination, both figures are related, and that in *Nāgārjuna's Treatise on the Five Sciences*, due to the strong alchemical connection, it is very likely that they are, in fact, conflated.
13. They appear, for example, in T no. 1289, another esoteric text that contains recipes for therapeutic medicines and other drugs. For a convenient overview of this source, see Young 2015: 179–82; see also *ibid.* 283–302, where he juxtaposes the text with *Nāgārjuna's Treatise on the Five Sciences* and elaborates on the close relation between Nāgārjuna and Aśvaghōṣa.
14. See, for example, DZ no. 571, 10: 674b; DZ no. 1067, chapter 15; and the preface to DZ no. 233.
15. T no. 1420.
16. T no. 1420, 21: 956b–957b.

17. See the glossary entry for King Aśoka.
18. Later on in the passage, it is stated that a “great sage” or “great immortal” (Ch. *daxian*)—referring to the monk—instructed King Aśoka on the ritual particularities of using various sets of talismans, presumably the same ones that are reproduced in the text. A few lines below (21: 957c4), adepts are entreated to contemplate the Great Sage Vasu (Posou Da Xian) during a related talisman rite; and elsewhere (21: 957c24), to pay obeisance to the Great Immortal Qitu (Qitu Da Xianren), whom I have been unable to identify. These two “great immortals” appear to be distinct from the one who is instructing King Aśoka.
19. These are tutelary deities of seas, lakes, rivers, or other waterways, and are thus associated with rain and rainmaking.
20. This formula is typically appended at the end of talisman incantations or exorcistic supplications in indigenous Chinese traditions such as Daoism or local religious cults. It stems from the structural equivalence between the supernatural bureaucracy and imperial administrations of early empire.
21. The term *fanren* refers to commoners or laypeople as opposed to monks, professional ritual masters, or members of the ruling elite. Although some of the methods in this text are explicitly addressed to monarchs (at least nominally), it is noteworthy that many of them were also intended for use by a broader social demographic; see Davis 2001: 135.
22. T no. 1421, 21: 964a.
23. T no. 1421, 21: 962b–c.
24. *Yuntai* can refer to a variety of plants in the genus *brassica*. *Brassica* plants include those that produce cabbage, cauliflower, broccoli, brussels sprouts, and turnip rape (canola), but in this case, *yuntai* probably describes a type of mustard plant and its seeds. T no. 2061, 50: 890b26–27 explains how one of the forbidden Five Pungent Roots (*wuxin*) that grew outside of China and was presumably not imported, namely, *hingqu* (*asafetida*; Ch. *xingqu*, alt. *awei*; “devil’s dung” or “giant fennel”), was sometimes replaced on the list of taboo edibles with the more familiar native alternatives *yuntai* or coriander (*husui*). This connection to the Five Pungent Roots, together with the fact that *yuntai*, as a type of mustard, would indeed be pungent, explains its proscription in *Nāgārjuna’s Treatise on the Five Sciences*.
25. T no. 1421, 21: 966a, 962c.
26. T no. 1421, 21: 967b–968a.
27. The text appears to have a scribal error or misprint here.
28. These are the *deva*-guardians of Mahāvairocana’s secrets.
29. In this instance, the term “Dao” or “the Way” indicates a generic higher state of attainment or insight. Its connotations are not exclusively Daoist. It can also more generally refer to a teaching or spiritual path. In the opening paragraph of *Nāgārjuna’s Treatise on the Five Sciences*, for example, it is used in a pejorative compound, *waidao*, or “heterodox ways.”
30. T no. 1421, 21: 968b–968c.
31. This is unidentified.
32. This is possibly *costus*.
33. This is possibly *cassia*.
34. This is possibly *loosestrife*.
35. This is unidentified, but is possibly a fragrant grass or variety of millet.

Buddhism and Medicine



AN ANTHOLOGY OF PREMODERN SOURCES

C. Pierce Salguero



COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
NEW YORK

From
has b
medicin
a singul
generati
influenc
premode
bines de
translati
texts wit
tions by
ars in Bu
medicine

These so
cal topic
ment of
to nursin
magical
other hea
lated here
popular
spells te
codes, rec
cal treatis
cians, and
these sel
tions pro
view of B
Asia. The
tral place
tice and in
ern world.

Columbia University Press

Publishers Since 1893

New York Chichester, West Sussex

cup.columbia.edu

Copyright © 2017 Columbia University Press

All rights reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Salguero, C. Pierce, editor.

Title: Buddhism and medicine : an anthology of premodern sources / [edited by] C. Pierce Salguero.

Description: New York : Columbia University Press, 2017. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016030050 (print) | LCCN 2017013992 (ebook) |

ISBN 9780231544269 (electronic) | ISBN 9780231179942 (cloth : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Healing—Religious aspects—Buddhism. | Suffering—Religious aspects—Buddhism.

Classification: LCC BQ4570.H43 (ebook) | LCC BQ4570.H43 B83 2017 (print) |

DDC 294.3/3661—dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2016030050>



Columbia University Press books are printed on permanent and durable acid-free paper.

Printed in the United States of America

Cover image: Mural painting of Bhaiṣajyaguru, Shanxi province, China, 1476–1496.
Courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology,
object no. C688.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments xvii

Abbreviations xix

Introduction xxi

DOCTRINAL CONSIDERATIONS

1

1. Illness, Cure, and Care:
Selections from the Pāli Canon

Dhivan Thomas Jones

3

2. The Healing Potential of the Awakening Factors in
Early Buddhist Discourse

Anālayo

12

3. Curing/Curating Illness:
Selections from the Chapter on the "Sufferings of Illness"
from *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*

Alexander O. Hsu

20

4. Understanding the Doṣa:
A Summary of the Art of Medicine from the *Sūtra of Golden Light*

C. Pierce Salguero

30

5. Fetal Suffering in the *Descent Into the Womb Sūtra*

Amy Paris Langenberg

41

6. Health and Sickness of Body and Mind:

Selections from the *Yogācāra-bhūmi*

Dan Lusthaus

49

7. Overcoming Illness with Insight:

Kokan Shiren's *Treatise on the Nature of Illness and Its Manifestations*

Edward R. Drott

61

8. Karma in the Bathhouse:

The Sūtra on Bathing the Sangha in the Bathhouse

C. Pierce Salguero

84

9. Liberating the Whole World:

Sudhana's Meeting with Samantanetra from the *Sūtra
of the Entry Into the Realm of Reality*

William J. Giddings

92

HEALING AND MONASTIC DISCIPLINE

103

10. Medical Practice as Wrong Livelihood:

Selections from the Pāli Discourses, *Vinaya*, and Commentaries

David Fiordalis

105

From
has b
medicin
a singul
generati
influenc
premode
bines d
translati
texts wit
tions by
ars in Bu
medicine

These so
cal topic
ment of
to nursin
magical
other hea
lated her
popular
spells to
codes, re
cal treat
cians, an
these se
tions pr
view of I
Asia. Th
tral place
tice and
ern worl

11. Nuns, Laywomen, and Healing:
Three Rules from a Sanskrit Nuns' Disciplinary Code
Amy Paris Langenberg
113

12. Stories of Healing from the *Section on Medicines* in the Pāli Vinaya
David Fiordalis
118

13. Rules on Medicines from the *Five-Part Vinaya* of the Mahīśāsaka School
C. Pierce Salguero
125

14. Food and Medicine in the Chinese Vinayas:
Daoxuan's *Emended Commentary on Monastic Practices*
from the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya
J. E. E. Pettit
130

15. Toilet Care in Buddhist Monasteries:
Health, Decency, and Ritual
Ann Heirman and Mathieu Torck
137

16. Health Care in Indian Monasteries:
Selections from Yijing's *Record of the Inner Law*
Sent Home from the Southern Seas
Christoph Kleine
145

BUDDHIST HEALERS
161

17. Two Sūtras on Healing and Healers from the Chinese Canon
Marcus Bingenheimer
163

18. The Buddha Heals:
Past and Present Lives
Phyllis Granoff
170

19. The Buddha's Past Life as a Snakebite Doctor:
The Visa-vanta Jātaka
Michael Slouber
 180
20. The Training and Treatments of an Indian Doctor in a Buddhist Text:
A Sanskrit Biography of Jīvaka
Gregory Schopen
 184
21. A Selection of Buddhist Healing Narratives from East Asia
C. Pierce Salguero
 205
22. The Buddha and the Bath Water:
 How the Bodhisattva Gyōki Founded Koya Temple
D. Max Moerman
 219
23. Esoteric Ritual Remedies:
Kūkai's Cures for Emperor Kōnin
Pamela D. Winfield
 222
24. "The Grief of Kings Is the Suffering of Their Subjects":
A Cambodian King's Twelfth-Century Network of Hospitals
Peter D. Sharrock and Claude Jacques
 226
- HEALING RITES
 233
25. Help for the Sick, the Dying, and the Misbegotten:
A Sanskrit Version of the Sūtra of Bhaiṣajyaguru
Gregory Schopen
 235
26. *The Sūtra on the Dhāraṇī of the Vast, Complete,
 and Unobstructed Great Compassion of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara
 with a Thousand Hands and a Thousand Eyes*
William J. Giddings
 252

27. Tantric Medicine in a Buddhist Proto-Tantra
Michael Slouber
 286
28. Healing *Dhāraṇīs*:
 A Collection of Medieval Spells from the *Taishō Tripiṭaka*
C. Pierce Salguero
 292
29. Seals of the Bodhisattva:
 A Buddhist Talismanic Seal Manual from Dunhuang
Paul Copp
 304
30. "The Ritual Altar of Kuṇḍalī Vajra for Treating Illnesses"
 from the *Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtras*
Joshua Capitanio
 314
31. Curing with Karma and Confession:
 Two Short Liturgies from Dunhuang
Stephen F. Teiser
 322
32. Childbirth in Early Medieval Japan:
 Ritual Economies and Medical Emergencies in *Procedures During
 the Day of the Royal Consort's Labor*
Anna Andreeva
 336
33. The Ox-Bezoar Empowerment for Fertility and Safe Childbirth:
 Selected Readings from the Shingon Ritual Collections
Benedetta Lomi
 351
34. *The Verses on the Victor's Armor*:
 A Pāli Text Used for Protection and Healing in Thailand
Justin Thomas McDaniel
 358
35. Selections from a Mongolian Manual of Buddhist Medicine
Vesna A. Wallace
 363

MEDITATION AS CURE AND ILLNESS

371

36. Healing Sicknesses Caused by Meditation:
"The Enveloping Butter Contemplation" from the *Secret Essential
Methods for Curing Meditation Sickness*

Eric M. Greene

373

37. Healing with Meditation:
"Treating Illness" from Zhiyi's *Shorter Treatise on Śamatha and Vipāśyanā*

C. Pierce Salguero

382

38. Getting Sick Over Nothing:
Hyesim and Hakuin on the Maladies of Meditation

Juhn Ahn

390

39. Buddhist Method as Medicine:
The *Chan Materia Medica* and Its Ming Dynasty Elaboration

Robban Toleno

398

40. Tantric Meditations to Increase the Forces of Life:
Making Manifest the Three Deities of Longevity

Matthew T. Kapstein

405

41. Rangjung Dorjé's *Key to the Essential Points of Wind and Mind*

Douglas Duckworth

413

42. Treating Disorders of the Subtle Winds in Tibetan Buddhism

Todd P. Marek and Charles Jamyang Oliphant of Rossie

418

43. How to Deal with Wind Illnesses:
Two Short Meditation Texts from Buddhist Southeast Asia

Andrew Skilton and Phibul Choompolsaisal

425

HYBRIDITY IN BUDDHIST HEALING

431

44. Correlative Cosmology, Moral Rectitude,
and Buddhist Notions of Health:
Selections from the *Sūtra of Trapuṣa and Bhallika*

Ori Tavor

433

45. Apotropaic Substances as Medicine in Buddhist Healing Methods:
Nāgārjuna's Treatise on the Five Sciences

Dominic Steavu

441

46. Dung, Hair, and Mungbeans:
Household Remedies in the Longmen Recipes

Michael Stanley-Baker and Dolly Yang

454

47. "The Mysterious Names on the Hands and Fingers":
Healing Hand Mnemonics in Medieval Chinese Buddhism

Marta E. Hanson

478

48. Selections on Illness Divination from *Bodhidharma's Treasure of the Palm*
Stéphanie Homola

486

49. Buddhist Health, Diet, and Sex Advice from Ancient Korea

Don Baker and Hyunsook Lee

494

50. Vessel Examination in the *Medicine of the Moon King*

William A. McGrath

501

51. Moxibustion for Demons: *Oral Transmission on Corpse-Vector Disease*

Andrew Macomber

514

BUDDHISM AND THE MEDICAL TRADITIONS

531

52. "Indian Massage" from Sun Simiao's
Prescriptions Worth a Thousand in Gold

Michael Stanley-Baker

533

53. Sun Simiao on Medical Ethics:
"The Perfect Integrity of the Great Physician"
from *Prescriptions Worth a Thousand in Gold*

Nathan Sivin

538

54. Using the Golden Needle:
Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva's Ophthalmological Treatise and Other Sources
in the *Essentials of Medical Treatment*

Katja Triplett

543

55. Buddhism in Chosŏn Dynasty Medical Compilations

Taehyung Lee and Kang Yeonseok

549

56. Determining Karmic Illness:
Kajiwara Shōzen's Treatment of Rai/Leprosy in *Book of the Simple Physician*

Andrew Edmund Goble

553

57. Selections from *Miraculous Drugs of the South*,
by the Vietnamese Buddhist Monk-Physician Tuệ Tĩnh

C. Michele Thompson

561

58. The Đờng Nhân Pagoda and the Publication
of Mister Lazy's Medical Encyclopedia

Leslie E. de Vries

569

59. An *Abhidhamma* Perspective:
Causes of Illness in a Burmese Buddhist Medical System

Pyi Phyo Kyaw

575

60. Jewels in Medicines:
On the Processing and Efficacy of Precious Pills
According to the *Four Treatises*
Barbara Gerke and Florian Ploberger
583

61. The Final Doubt and the Entrustment of Tibetan Medical Knowledge
Barbara Gerke and Florian Ploberger
593

62. Did the Buddha Really Author the Classic Tibetan Medical Text?
A Critical Examination from *The Lamp to Dispel Darkness*
Janet Gyatso
602

Appendix: Geographical Table of Contents 609

Glossary 615

References 629

List of Contributors 667

Index 675