

BEYOND LANGUAGE and REASON

**Mysticism in
Indian Buddhism**

ILKKA PYYSIÄINEN

Helsinki 1993
SUOMALAINEN TIEDEAKATEMIA

ANNALES ACADEMIÆ SCIENTIARUM FENNICÆ
DISSERTATIONES HUMANARUM LITTERARUM 66

ILKKA PYYSIÄINEN

BEYOND LANGUAGE AND REASON
Mysticism in Indian Buddhism

Helsinki 1993
SUOMALAINEN TIEDEAKATEMIA

Copyright © 1993 by
Ilkka Pyysiäinen

ISSN 0066-2011
ISBN 951-41-0709-8

Vammalan Kirjapaino Oy
Vammala 1993

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	8
PREFACE	11
1. LANGUAGE AND MYSTICISM	
1.1. Is Buddhism essentially mystical?	14
1.2. Methodological considerations	18
1.2.1. Experience, expression and meaning	18
1.2.2. Religion-phenomenological approach	23
1.3. Previous studies on mysticism	25
1.3.1. 'Mysticism' as a concept	25
1.3.2. Psychological interpretations of mystical experience.	26
1.3.3. Unity with the Absolute or with the world	31
1.3.4. Interpretations of mystical experiences	33
1.4. Locating mysticism	36
1.4.1. Being-in-the-world and language	36
1.4.2. The world, 'self' and emptiness	38
1.4.3. Mystical experience and mysticism	41
1.4.4. Mysticism defined	43
2. SOURCES	
2.1. The works used as sources	54
2.2. The formation of the <i>Tipiṭaka</i>	58
2.3. The split of the <i>Mahāsāṃghikas</i>	59
2.4. The beginnings of Mahāyāna	61
2.5. Presentation of the sources	65
3. BEING-IN-THE-WORLD AND MYSTICISM	
3.1. Hīnayāna Buddhism	74
3.1.1. The Background of Buddhism: Urbanization and Indi- vidualism	74
3.1.2. A Person's being-in-the-world	76
	5

3.1.3. The concept of self is misleading	84
3.1.4. The compounded and uncompounded realities	91
3.1.5. Nirvâṇa and mysticism	96
3.1.6. The Buddha's liberating experience	101
3.5. Mahâyâna Buddhism	104
3.5.1. The compounded <i>dharma</i> s are unreal	104
3.5.2. Only the uncompounded Absolute is real	107
3.5.3. The Absolute is beyond the distinction of com- pounded and uncompounded	110
3.5.4. The ineffability of reality	114
3.5.5. The three aspects of existence	120
4. THE BUDDHA AND THE ABSOLUTE	
4.1. The buddhas as preachers of Dharma	126
4.2. The Dharma-body as a representation of the Absolute	130
4.2.1. Hīnayâna Buddhism	130
4.2.2. Mahâyâna Buddhism	132
4.3. The Buddha's skill in means	137
4.4. The Buddha and the world	140
4.4.1. The Buddha's body as a symbol of the cosmos	140
4.4.2. The otherworldliness of the Buddha	142
5. CONCLUSION	
5.1. Mysticism	148
5.2. The Buddha and his nirvâṇa	148
5.3. Mystical experience in early Buddhism	149
5.4. The monistic ontology of the Mahâyâna	151
5.5. Language and discursive thinking as "skillful means"	152
5.6. Mystical experience and interpretation	154
5.7. Summing up the results	155
APPENDIX I: Mûlamadhyamakakârikâ 1:1-14	157
APPENDIX II: Lotus Sûtra pp. 350-351 (Kern)	159
APPENDIX III: Ratnagotravibhâga IX B § 3 (Takasaki)	160
APPENDIX IV: Saṃdhinirmocanasûtra I:2, I:5	161
BIBLIOGRAPHY	162
PRIMARY SOURCES	162
SECONDARY SOURCES	163
LITERATURE	164
Glossary and index of Sanskrit and Pâli words	179

Olen aina pelännyt, että eläin kätkee äänettömyy-
teensä jonkin hirvittävän salaisuuden, jota me ih-
miset turhaan etsimme.

(I've always been afraid that an animal hides in
its silence some terrible secret that we humans
seek in vain.)

– Pentti Saarikoski: Nuoruuden
päiväkirjat (toim. Pekka Tarkka).
Helsinki: Otava 1984.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to investigate the meaning of mysticism in Indian Buddhism. This task is accomplished through a religion-phenomenological analysis trying to relate the ideas expressed in Buddhist texts to certain human ways of experiencing one's being-in-the-world. Underlying this approach is a view of religious texts as "tracks" of various kinds of human experiences, mystical and otherwise.

Mystical experiences are here understood against the background of Heidegger's and Gadamer's idea of a linguistic basis of human reality. In mystical experience, this basis is transcended, and reality is experienced without the boundaries of language and discursive thinking.

The specific characteristics of mystical experience have been adopted from Paul Griffiths' division of mystical experience into three types: 1) an experience of pure consciousness, 2) an unmediated experience, and 3) a nondualistic experience. The presence of any of these characteristics allows us to regard an experience as mystical.

In the first case, a person is conscious, although his or her consciousness is not directed towards any content and does not have as its phenomenological attribute visual, olfactory or any other type of sensory experience. In the second case, we have a mental event that may have as its necessary condition a certain (culture-bound) conceptual scheme without it being necessary that the phenomenological attributes or content of the mental event in question reflect any element of that conceptual scheme. The third case refers to a mental event whose phenomenological attributes or content do not include any structural opposition between subject and object.

The sources of this study consist of Buddhist literature representing *Theravâda*, *Sarvâstivâda*, *Lokottaravâda*, early Mahâyâna, *Mâdhyamika*, and *Yogâcâra/Vijñânavâda*, as well as the *Tathâgatagarbha*-literature.

In the *Aññakavagga* of the *Suttanipâta*, passages were found that clearly point to a mystical experience that could count as a pure consciousness event, or at least an unmediated or a nondualistic experience. It is possible that this experience represents something essential to the Buddha's original *Seinsverständnis*, or at least to the *Seinsverständnis* of the

earliest community. It may only have been suppressed when the ideological development took the form of *abhidharma* in which a special "language of salvation" was elaborated at the cost of the claim that the ultimate goal is ineffable.

The tradition of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* seems to have somehow continued in the notion of 'cessation of mental representations and feeling (*saññāvedayitanirodha*)' which, in a few passages of the *Tipiṭaka*, is clearly identified with *nirvāṇa*. This is an experience that physically resembles cataleptic trance, hibernation of some mammals, or coma. Mentally it is an experience where ordinary functions of sense-perception, concept-formation and ratiocination have ceased. As such, it is a deconstruction of the world, subjectively constructed by organizing sensory data with the thinking mind (*citta*).

It is, nevertheless, difficult to take this cessation as an experience of pure consciousness as it is usually conceived of as an unconscious state, although some early Buddhist authors have held that it was not 'mindless' (*acittaka*) but that only mental *activity* had ceased in it. If the cessation, however, was an integral aspect of *nirvāṇa*, it would be much easier to understand its significance if it were a conscious mystical experience of any of the three kinds.

On the other hand, the early Buddhists felt it problematic to explain how one could re-emerge from this state, and for this reason postulated a special consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*) that survived the state of cessation. However, we cannot be certain whether *ālayavijñāna* is a purely theoretical concept, refers to an unconscious state, or to a conscious mystical experience. In any case, it is said to have an object and content, although they are 'indistinct,' 'extremely subtle' and not experienced.

In Mahāyāna texts we found a conception of reality that is neatly summarized in the words '*prapañca*' and '*vikalpa*'. The first one means both 'language' and 'world', and thus is testimony of an idea of a linguistic basis of reality. The driving force of *prapañca* is *vikalpa* ('imagination,' 'construction') that divides the world of silence into categories expressed in language.

The ultimate reality, however, is reached only through 'unconstructed awareness (*nirvikalpakajñāna*)' that is identical with its object (i.e. is unintentional) which is the 'ineffable reality (*anabhilāpyadharmatā*)' and 'not-selfness (*nairātmyadharmatā*)'. Its content is 'absence of characteristics (*animitta*)'. Thus, unconstructed awareness refers to an unmediated and non-dualistic mystical experience and may even count as a pure consciousness event.

Consequently, Buddhist thought has clearly been influenced by mystical experiences, and these experiences have in turn been given meaning through conceptual and mythological thinking. Here we encounter the dilemma of expressing and describing an ineffable experience. Even though the mystical experience would be genuinely ineffable as it occurs, it is

described *afterwards* in so many words because language is such a central element in human reality. Thus, religious or philosophical ideas provide the ideological content in contentless experiences.

It becomes clear that the Buddha figure has been the central element through which the mystical experiences have been given content and meaning. The ultimate reality is referred to, using such expressions as 'the Buddha's Dharma-body' and '*tathâgatagarbha*' ('womb' or 'germ of the *Tathâgata*'). However, these are only 'skillful means (*upâya*)' to point to the ultimate truth (*paramârtha*), and thus should not be confused with the truth itself. In the last analysis, everything is empty (*śûnya*).

PREFACE

And now, that the end is near ... The song immediately comes to mind when I realize that the time has come to finally write this preface to a study that has taken me several years. I have lived with this work for quite some time, I have laughed and cried, and I have done it my way. However, these pages have not been written in a hermitage, and thus I owe a great debt to many people who have been of help in one way or another. I am afraid it is not possible to recognize all of them here by name, but that does not mean I will not remember them in my heart.

I have studied religion under Professor Juha Pentikäinen, head of the Department of the Study of Religions at the University of Helsinki, since 1980 and I am very grateful to him for his encouragement and support during different phases. In the study of Buddhism, I was led by Dr. René Gothóni whom I want to thank for his support in getting myself established in the academic environment. I have also studied philosophy of religion under the guidance of Professor Simo Knuuttila (the University of Helsinki) whose interest in my work, encouragement and help I will recall with gratitude.

My unofficial supervisor in questions regarding Buddhism has for many years been Mr. Harry Halén, Lic.Phil. (the University of Helsinki). I wish to express my warmest thanks to him. I have also had the pleasure of discussing Indology and the history of Buddhist studies with Dr. Klaus Karttunen (the University of Helsinki) whom I wish to thank as well.

The topic of this dissertation is an outcome of a process during which my interest has gradually shifted from the biography of the Buddha to more philosophical questions. In this connection, I would like to mention with thankfulness the encouraging comments I received for my work on the Buddha's biography from Professors André Bareau (Collège de France) and Frank E. Reynolds (the University of Chicago).

As I began to realize what cosmic dimensions the symbolism of the Buddha's figure and story had, my interest was directed toward exploring the essentials of Buddhist ontology with regard to human ways of experiencing one's being-in-the-world. This was accompanied by a theoretical interest in finding the best possible way of approaching religion, an interest I have for some years shared with my friends and colleagues

Mr. Veikko Anttonen, Lic.Phil., Mr. Teuvo Laitila, Lic.Phil., Ms. Petra Pentikäinen, Lic.Phil., Ms. Terhi Utriainen, MA and Dr. Kari Vesala (all from the University of Helsinki). Numerous but lengthy conversations with these people have had a most profound effect on my way of thinking about religion. I want to express my warmest thanks for these discussions to each one of these individuals. I also do not want to underestimate the value of all those nights we have just had a good time together; and I am especially grateful to those who have turned out to be real friends when the going has been tough.

My gratitude also extends to all those friends and colleagues at the Department of the Study of Religions with whom it has been a pleasure to work: Ms. Eeva Anttila, Dr. Raimo Harjula, Dr. Eila Helander, Dr. Helena Helve, Mr. Harri Markkula, MA, Ms. Tuija Kastinen, Mr. Ismo Pellikka, Lic. Theol., Mr. Kari Saari, Lic.Phil. and Mr. Leo Väyrynen, M.Theol. Special thanks are due to Ms. Tuula Juurikka, MA, for discussions on the psychology of mysticism.

Of special importance has been the help I have received from the international community of scholars through correspondence. I would like to thank warmly Professor J.W. de Jong (the Australian National University) for his comments on the chapter on sources, and Professors Matthew Kapstein (Columbia University) and Robert K.C. Forman (the City University of New York) who have read the chapter Language and mysticism in its earlier form. Their penetrating criticism has been of utmost importance to me. Lastly, Professor Michael Pye (Lancaster University) has perused the whole manuscript and given valuable suggestions on how to improve my exposition. I want to express my sincere thanks to him. However, it is clear that I am personally responsible for all shortcomings that may still remain.

The preparation of this study has been made financially possible by the University of Helsinki through a long-term scholarship. I thank the University of Helsinki for this support.

As to the English language of the study, I wish to express my warmest thanks to Ms. Marolyn Downing, MA for revising my English.

So numerous are the people to whom I am indebted that I can here finally mention only my parents Tuulikki and Jussi Pyysiäinen, my brother, Dr. Markku Pyysiäinen together with his wife, the registered nurse Ms. Liisa Pyysiäinen, M. Theol., and their children Jaana and Jarkko Pyysiäinen, as well as my former wife, the journalist Pirjo Pyysiäinen, M. Theol. Last but not least: *Gracias a la vida!*

In my study, after dark

4th February 1993

Ilkka Pyysiäinen

1. LANGUAGE AND MYSTICISM

1.1. Is Buddhism Essentially Mystical?

"One should never forget that Buddhism is above all mysticism", wrote André Bareau in his study on the concept of the Absolute in Buddhist philosophy¹. He continued:

The Buddhist philosophy rests essentially on its mysticism. It is from mysticism that it has drawn its subject matter and it is mysticism it wants to express.²

Buddhism represents a unique case in the history of religions and in the history of philosophy in the sense that it is based on pure mysticism and its fundamental absolute is a purely mystical absolute.³

However, Bareau doesn't introduce the concept of mysticism until his conclusions, and does not put forward any comprehensive definition of mysticism. It is my intention in this study to investigate aspects of the question What is the place and meaning of mysticism to Buddhism⁴? This task is divided into three questions as follows: 1) In what sense could Buddhism be "above all" mysticism, or "rest essentially" on mysticism or be based on "pure" mysticism? 2) What is meant by mysticism? and 3) Is Buddhism mystical – and in what sense precisely?

In this first chapter of the study I attempt to answer the first two questions hypothetically, i.e. to answer in what sense Buddhism *could* be above all or essentially mysticism, and what mysticism is. Then follows an analysis of Buddhist texts purporting to show whether this can reasonably be said to be the case or not and in what sense. Thus, an answer to the third question will be provided.

However, 'Buddhism' is a vague and treacherous term, leading easily to an ontological way of thinking about Buddhism as an entity, or of the essence of Buddhism in an Aristotelian sense. Thus, there have been nu-

¹ Bareau 1951, 279. la Vallée Poussin 1937, 206: "Il nous semble aujourd'hui que le Bouddhisme est surtout une 'mystique du Nirvāṇa' ..."

² Bareau 1951, 281.

³ Bareau 1951, 299. Besides Bareau's work, the existence of the mystical element is recognized in Buddhism in e.g. Smart 1965, 81; Ling 1965, 163, 170; Yandell 1974, 173; Almond 1982, *passim*; Marcoulesco 1987, 240 and Dupré 1987, 249.

⁴ According to James Leuba (1925, 305), "(t)he influence of mystical trance upon philosophical systems would make one of the most curious chapters of the history of philosophy."

merous attempts in Western literature to solve the problem of whether Buddhism is a religion, a philosophy, a discipline of salvation, an ethics, a way of life, a system of psychology, etc.⁵

I myself do not see Buddhism as an entity, which is what it is through some distinctive feature which the scholar should detect. Defining Buddhism is a purely nominal affair having to do with the meaning of a word, not with the essence of a thing.⁶ Moreover, it is the scholar who makes "Buddhism"; Buddhism, as we understand it, has no independent existence apart from the community of scholars⁷.

Thus, the characterization of Buddhism as *essentially* mysticism should not be based – consciously or unconsciously – on the philosophical distinction between essence and accident, in the sense that mysticism would be the essence of Buddhism while all other features were merely accidental.⁸ In this connection, "essentially" can only mean that mysticism is somehow *central* to either the practices or doctrines of Buddhism. Moreover, 'mysticism' only provides a point of view from which to conceptualize certain Buddhist phenomena, and thus doesn't indicate an attempt to find the essence of Buddhism in an ontological sense.

I regard, on the basis of the idea of "sacred biographies" as developed by Frank Reynolds and Donald Capps⁹, as formally central those parts of the Buddhist message that explain the Buddha's religious experiences as well as the nature and meaning of his person to Buddhism. In founded religions, like Buddhism, the doctrinal development naturally starts with the founder's experiences that lead him (or her) to preach a new message. However, we should take into account that the majority of the founder's experience(s), like most experiences, are influenced by the existing tradition to which the founder wants to give new interpretation¹⁰.

Disciples then compile the founder's "sacred biography" in which they present an authoritative interpretation of the meaning that the founder and his experiences have for his followers. The sacred biography serves as a basis on which all new interpretations are built, and from which they claim to derive their authority. It conveys a certain "biographical image" that becomes the model for the experiences and interpretations of the followers.¹¹ Thus, Buddhism is not only *from* the Buddha, but also *about* the Buddha¹².

⁵ See Chatalian 1983, 167–171. Cf. Southwold 1978.

⁶ See Comstock 1984, 500, 506.

⁷ See Comstock 1984, 503–504.

⁸ See Comstock 1984, 505.

⁹ Reynolds & Capps 1976.

¹⁰ On this continuity and change in the Buddha's biography, see Pyysiäinen 1988, 59–68, 87–89.

¹¹ Reynolds & Capps 1976, 3–7. See Pyysiäinen 1988, 87–89 on the "ultimate imagery" of sacred biographies.

¹² To paraphrase Ninian Smart (1973, 149) who says that Christianity is more about Jesus than from Jesus.

The contents of the sacred biography are then elaborated by subsequent generations in a hermeneutical circle where new experiences contribute to the development of new doctrines, and new doctrines shape people's experiences. This process is also a process of mythologizing the founder and his experiences.¹³

However, all central doctrines are not directly Buddhological¹⁴, but deal with cosmology, man's position in the world and of man's ultimate goal, yet having their ultimate basis in Buddhology. Thus, we can say that Buddhism is essentially mystical if mysticism penetrates its doctrine and related practice, that are central in the above described sense.

Furthermore, the notion of "pure" mysticism could be so understood, for instance that mystical experiences are given only a minimum of interpretation and that the experiencing of mystical experiences remains the most important element at the expense of a doctrinal superstructure to be simply adopted and followed.

I have, in addition, confined myself to early Indian Buddhism, as it is of course impossible to cover whole Buddhism in a single study. In this way, it is also possible to focus on the historical roots of Buddhist doctrine. Furthermore, the selection of sources covers, with one exception, Indian Buddhism only up to the founders of the two important Mahâyâna schools, *Nâgârjuna* (*Mâdhyamika* school), *Vasubandhu* and *Asaṅga* (*Yogâcâra/Vijñânavaâda* school), together with the important summary of "Hînayâna", the *Abhidharmakośa*¹⁵.

"Traditionally", Luis Gómez writes, "the end of Indian Buddhism has been identified with the sack of the two great universities by the troops of the Turk *Muḥammad Ghûrî*: Nâlandâ in 1197 and Vikramaśîla 1203"¹⁶. However, after this Buddhism still lingered on for some time; and scholars still have not reached any final agreement concerning the reasons for its ultimate decline.¹⁷

It may have been precipitated by the Muslim invasion, although the primary factors were internal. The most important of these were the gradual

¹³ The pattern of this process is presented in diagram 1. on next page, constructed on the basis of Pentikäinen 1978, 40. Pentikäinen's chart is, in turn, based on Claude Shannon's (1963, 5) diagram of a general communication system.

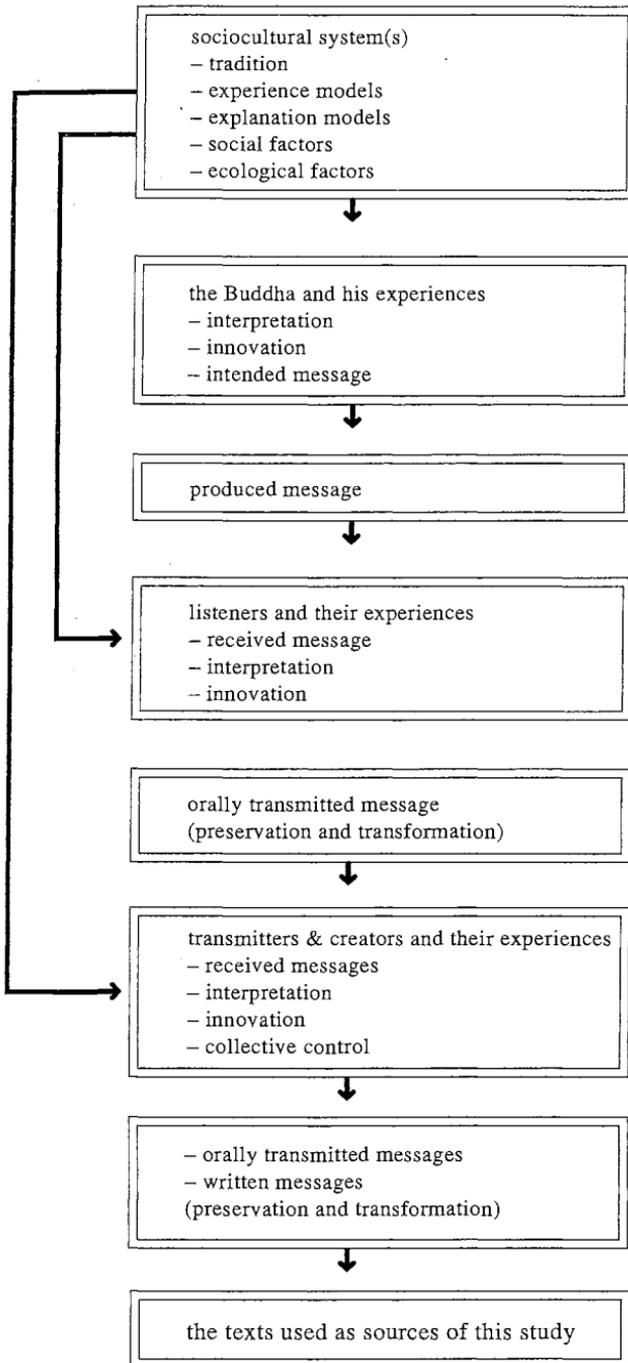
¹⁴ In 1956 J.W. de Jong (1979, 23) suggested that the "concepts which are to be found in the works of Western scholars concerning the figure of the Buddha" could be grouped under the heading of 'Buddhology' on the analogy of the term 'Christology'. This has been done before and after his proposal in, e.g., Bareau 1951, 219; Conze 1960, 9; Takasaki 1966, 30 n. 49; Reynolds & Hallisey 1987, 331, and Snellgrove 1987, 29 where the form 'buddhological' (but on p. 53 'buddhological') is used. However, the term is also used for concepts found in *Buddhist* sources.

¹⁵ See below pp. 54-61, 69-75.

¹⁶ Gómez 1987c, 379-380.

¹⁷ Gómez 1987c, 380.

Diagram 1. The development of the Buddhist tradition



assimilation of Buddhism into Hinduism, and the fact that Buddhism was dependent on monastic institutions that did not have broad popular support, but relied exclusively on royal patronage.¹⁸

Nowadays, Buddhism is found on the South Asian subcontinent only in Bengal and in the Himalayan regions, especially in Ladakh and Nepal, and as the dominant group in Bhutan and Sikkim. In addition to this, it is represented by Tibetan refugees and pilgrims and missionaries flocking to the sacred sites in India. However, these forms of Buddhism are not representative of what Indian Buddhism was in the past.¹⁹

1.2. Methodological Considerations

1.2.1. Experience, expression and meaning

Mysticism consists of certain kinds of experiences together with their expressions and interpretations. However, we can never study experiences directly – neither in history nor in the present –, but only through their expressions and interpretations²⁰. Thus, in studying ancient Buddhist *texts* embodying the tradition that originally was partly oral in nature, we do not find experiences, but only “publicly observable tracks” of experiences²¹. As tracks of human experiences, Buddhist texts have an existential root in historical human experience, and can be regarded as objectifications of the human mind trying to understand its own being-in-the-world²².

By ‘experience’ I refer to the totality of feelings, thoughts, intentional attitudes and other possible forms of conscious life through which persons realize their position in the world. I want especially to stress that I do not identify experience only with feeling, or take it to refer only to mystical or other kinds of “peak” experiences.²³

¹⁸ Gómez 1987c, 380.

¹⁹ Gómez 1987c, 351.

²⁰ Staal 1975, 31: “Experiences are always approached in terms of interpretations.” See also Wach 1946, 14 and 1958, 60; Streng 1967, 17–19; Holm 1987, 34; Pyysiäinen 1988, 91–94.

²¹ The quotation is from Batson & Ventis 1982, 18.

²² This kind of Heideggerian approach has previously been applied by e.g. Hans Jonas in his study of Gnosticism (see Jonas 1934–1954, esp. I 10–14, II 4–9). Cf. also Pentikäinen 1989, 12–13, and Räisänen 1987 and 1988, 468 on ‘experience’ as “a key to the interpretation of the Bible”.

²³ See also Wach 1951, 32 and 1958, 32; Batson & Ventis 1982, 4 on studying “religion as experienced by individuals”, and Rogers 1961, 23–24, 113–114, 205 on experience as a person’s total state of being, and pp. 64, 80, 145–147, 156–154 on the concept of experiencing.

The attempt to decipher the meaning of these tracks with regard to the experiences of people of bygone ages involves methodological and epistemological problems, the nature of which I wish to consider on the basis of three scholarly traditions: those of hermeneutics, Wittgensteinian philosophy and cultural anthropology. In all of these the relationship between a subjective experience and its public expression has been discussed.

(1) In so-called hermeneutical philosophy the problem of understanding the meaning of a text has been given different kinds of answers. According to Emilio Betti, who follows the tradition of Schleiermacher, Droysen and Dilthey, understanding is an act where the mind of the interpreter tries to understand the mind of the author of a text.²⁴

E.D. Hirsch, for his part, takes the meaning of a text to lie in its subject matter, not in the mental processes of its author. The subject matter, however, is precisely that which the author meant. Thus the meaning of a text is what the author at one time meant, and the interpreter has to decipher this meaning. Although the meaning of a text thus cannot change, its significance to people can. But meaning and significance are two different things.²⁵

A completely different viewpoint is represented by Hans-Georg Gadamer who, influenced by Martin Heidegger's idea of a hermeneutical circle, takes the interpretation of a text to be essentially a conversation between the interpreter and the text²⁶. Thus "(t)he horizon of understanding cannot be limited either by what the writer originally had in mind, or by the horizon of the person to whom the text was originally addressed²⁷."

Understanding a text always means that one understands his or her own being in a new way in a conversation with the text. The interpreter cannot reconstruct the original meaning intended by the author because all understanding takes place in certain historical conditions and these are never the same at a certain moment, *x*, as at a previous moment, *p*. The interpreter can only understand the text's meaning as it appears to *him* or *her*.²⁸ Thus understanding always entails application (*Anwendung*), i.e. the interpreter integrates the text's message as part of his or her own *Seinsverständnis*²⁹.

For this reason, Gadamer considers it impossible to approach texts as "living expressions of the subjectivity of their writers". A text should be understood only in what it says to the reader, not as an expression of life.³⁰

I think Gadamer is right in criticizing the ideal of reconstructing an original meaning. "Every interpretation has to adapt itself to the herme-

²⁴ Betti 1967, 42-43, 51-60, 298-300.

²⁵ Hirsch 1967, 1, 6-10, 247-255.

²⁶ Gadamer 1988, 349.

²⁷ Gadamer 1988, 356.

²⁸ Gadamer 1988, 265-267, 336-337.

²⁹ Gadamer 1988, 274-275, 305, 359, 364.

³⁰ Gadamer 1988, 354, 356.

neutical situation to which it belongs" because "(t)o interpret means precisely to use one's own preconceptions so that the meaning of the text can really be made to speak for us". "To try to eliminate one's own concepts in interpretation is not only impossible, but manifestly absurd."³¹

But it does not follow from this that the interpreter would be only a receiver of tradition, applying it to himself or herself, and would be unable to understand a text as an expression of life. We do not understand only what we are, but also what we could be but are not. This is a kind of *Seinsverständnis via negativa*. And, even though the past exists only as a construct of our (present) mind, it is nevertheless a different construct than our notion of the present in which we live, and we are able to proportion the meaning of a text to either one³².

These two alternatives have been described by Richard Rorty as "historical" and "rational" reconstructions. In the former we proportion a philosophical text to its own historical context and evaluate it as a contribution to the discussions of its time. In doing this we are not allowed to criticize the ideas of the text on the basis of the present state of affairs. In rational reconstructions we evaluate a text as – in a sense – a timeless product, the ideas of which can be taken as contributions to the present scholarly debates. We are also allowed to criticize them on the basis of everything we now know.³³

(2) The philosophical discussion of Ludwig Wittgenstein's so-called private language argument may also enlighten the relationship between an inner experience and its public expressions, although Wittgenstein's point of view has not received the undivided acceptance of philosophers.

The starting-point of this discussion is in the fact that, to many people an inner experience seems to be a man's most private property, and thus the only thing one can be definitely sure about because he has a sort of direct access to the depths of his own mind, where the experiences are thought to be dwelling. Accordingly, no public expressions of those experiences can express their meaning exhaustively. Only the one who experiences can know and identify his or her experience perfectly with a sort of mental private language.³⁴ Thus, it would be impossible to decipher exhaustively the private meaning a certain text has had to its author.

This view, however, leads to the following dilemma: if I insisted that I knew only from my own experience what the expression 'mystical unification' meant, I should admit that other people also know this from their own experience only. But how, then, could we ever generalize the expression 'mystical unification' and be sure that we are speaking about the same experience?

³¹ Gadamer 1988, 358.

³² This criticism is presented in Knuuttila 1986, 12–14.

³³ Rorty 1984, 49–50.

³⁴ See Geach 1957, 18–22; Työrinoja 1984, 134–138.

Wittgenstein illustrated this with his famous parable of a beetle in a box. Suppose that everyone has in a box something they call 'beetle'. "No one can look into anyone else's box, and everyone says he knows what a beetle is only by looking at *his* beetle." But now it could very well be that everyone had a different kind of being in his box and yet they all would call it 'beetle'. All that would matter would be the common word and its common use, and the being in the box would be totally unnecessary as regards the meaning of the word.³⁵

This shows the absurdity of the idea that expressions of private experiences receive their meaning from the depths of private experience. If we can be sure only about our own experiences by looking into the 'box' of our mind, we can never be sure what others experience because we cannot look into their 'box'. We would have in common only the public language that vaguely reflects various private languages that identify experiences perfectly, and fall prey to solipsism.³⁶

From this it would follow that it makes no difference what people experience when they use language to describe their experiences. It is meaningful to say that people experience *something* only when it is possible that they experience something which is the *same* and that they also *mean* something which is the *same* when they describe their experiences.³⁷

This means that expressions of experiences cannot have private meaning although they have private reference³⁸. For instance, my experience of unrest is logically mine and not yours, and I am aware of it without observing my behavior or listening to my own accounts of my unrest. But it does not follow that I have a private meaning for the word 'unrest'. The meaning is public, although everybody has his or her own example of unrest. If someone has never felt unrest, he or she is yet able to recognize the feeling when he or she has it for the first time because he or she has learned the use of the word 'unrest'. Now, he or she would only obtain his or her own example of the experience of unrest.³⁹

Thus, the study of Buddhist texts as expressions of experiences can only be meaningful if the relationship between experience and expression is taken as one of dynamic interaction: expressions are due to experiences and experiences receive meaning from expression. This means that people can be conscious of their own being-in-the-world, i.e. be human, only

³⁵ Wittgenstein 1968, section 293.

³⁶ Työrinoja 1984, 139–140.

³⁷ Työrinoja 1984, 142.

³⁸ Geach, 1957, 3–4. Geach uses here Gottlob Frege's (1966, 41–43) distinction between meaning (*Sinn*) and reference (*Bedeutung*) that runs parallel to Rudolf Carnap's (1947, 2, 18–27, 40–41) distinction between intension and extension (See Hintikka 1973).

³⁹ Työrinoja 1984, 145–146. See Kerr 1986, 85–88.

as members of a sociocultural system with a shared language⁴⁰ because it is this system that makes it possible to have certain kinds of experiences, i.e. experiences with some meaning. Without the sociocultural system we would fall back to the deadlock of private experience.

If we now call to mind Hirsch's distinction between meaning and significance, we may say that although we can never catch the subjective significance Buddhist texts have had to the early Buddhists, we, nevertheless, may understand their meaning in relation to both past and present.

(3) The issue of understanding another's intentions has been discussed on the cultural level in cultural anthropology as a problem of "understanding another culture". Curiously enough, some of the philosophers who deny the possibility of a private language still hold that every culture should be understood on its own terms only, as though it had a cultural private language.

Thus, those anthropologists whose interest primarily lie in expressions often are suspicious about panhuman experiences and regard cultures as unique systems that can only be understood on their own terms⁴¹; and those who hold on to the primacy of experiencing are prone to postulate cross-cultural experiences that receive different expressions in different cultural contexts⁴².

Both extremist positions, however, seem untenable. If we accept strict cultural relativism and each culture is considered unique to the extent that it can only be understood on its own terms, the postulating of cross-cultural experiences like the mystical ones becomes suspect and the study of foreign cultures impossible, as it of necessity presupposes understanding from the outside (cf. Gadamer). The scholar has no objective, 'transcendental' metalanguage available in which he or she could deal with other cultures without imposing measures or standards of his own culture on them.

On the other hand, we cannot generalize about our own ways of experiencing cross-culturally without taking into consideration the peculiar cultural characteristics of our sources because action receives its meaning in a concrete situation and practice. Thus, for example, spitting on somebody is an act of contempt in modern Europe but an act of blessing among the Azande⁴³. This means that I have to take into consideration both the specifically *Buddhist* nature of Buddhist mysticism, and the general *mystical* nature of Buddhist mysticism.

⁴⁰ Cf. also below p. 42.

⁴¹ E.g. structural functionalist like A.R. Radcliffe-Brown (see Voget 1975, 501-512).

⁴² E.g. the early evolutionist anthropologists as well as the Freudians.

⁴³ Evans-Pritchard 1967, 87.

1.2.2. Religion-phenomenological approach

My approach is not only historical but philosophical as well. The difference between these historically and philosophically oriented approaches may be expressed in the way Jacques Waardenburg has chosen to divide the hermeneutical study of religion into (1) "semantical" studies in which religions are seen as sign systems and approached as something "objective", and to (2) "phenomenological" studies in which the interest lies in religiousness, and religions are approached from the point of view of "subjective" religion.⁴⁴

In trying to interpret the subjective experiences of early Buddhists on a general and abstract level, this study falls into the second category⁴⁵. This kind of research is always to some extent "scholarly guess-work", and the meanings can be established only with "reasonable certainty"⁴⁶.

A phenomenological approach like this is valuable in that it represents a sort of crossbreeding of the points of view of Buddhists and of Western scholars⁴⁷. Since mysticism as a phenomenon is not restricted to Buddhism, the study of Buddhist texts as expressions of mystical experiences means that not only the insider's view counts. On the contrary, the scholar as an outsider is considered to be capable of tracing "the meanings, interconnections and structures of various phenomena in the community under study" not apparent to the insiders themselves⁴⁸.

The study process proceeds as a phenomenological analysis of selected Buddhist texts in order to reveal ideological structures and interconnections relevant to the aim I have set for this study. Thus are explicated the implicit presuppositions on which the explicit statements of my sources rest. My hypothesis is that there are certain common elements which need to be explicated in all of my sources, although I do not want to deny that there are also incommensurabilities, and even contradictions. My sources certainly do not form one coherent system, but may, nevertheless, contain various, to some extent coherent subsystems.

In addition to explicating an ontological structure on an ideological level, I am also trying to bring it into relation with experiences in two senses. Firstly, I wish to evaluate what the idea of mystical experience could contribute to our understanding of Buddhism; and, secondly, I am trying to put forward an interpretation of the socio-cultural background

⁴⁴ Waardenburg 1986, 241. Joachim Wach (1946, 1 n.3) defines phenomenology of religion simply as systematical study of religion in contradistinction to historical.

⁴⁵ On this kind of phenomenology of religion, see Waardenburg 1978, 10–12, 17–18, 92–93.

⁴⁶ Waardenburg 1978, 99.

⁴⁷ See Syrjänen 1984, 53–54.

⁴⁸ Syrjänen 1984, 54.

that influenced the birth of Buddhism by way of altering people's manner of experiencing their being-in-the-world in general.

To my mind, this kind of "structural point of view" is valuable when we investigate the birth of Buddhism, although an "institutional point of view" may be more appropriate in investigating later developments⁴⁹. However, as it is not my intention to study how Buddhism has influenced society, this means that the relationship of Buddhism to its socio-cultural background has been considered only in connection with the birth of Buddhism, and to some extent in connection with the rise of Mahâyâna.

Taking the sociocultural background into account is advisable since experiences are usually interpreted in terms of a culturebound tradition⁵⁰. In other words, to understand the ways of experiencing that have produced certain ideological expressions, one has to understand the sociocultural characteristics of the situation in which this has happened. This requirement is met with the help of secondary literature on Indian history, as well as of secondary sources.

As to my method, it has been said that it is "difficult to realize that there exists any special method of phenomenology of religion, in the way Heiler and other researchers postulate"⁵¹. On the other hand, one could call 'comparative method' "a conscious effort to form into relationships religious elements of the same type"⁵².

Usually – except in so-called regional phenomenology⁵³ – elements of the same type are compared globally. In this study, however, the elements studied belong to one and the same religious tradition. Thus, the comparison is made between elements of Buddhist tradition and the phenomenon of mysticism as here defined. In this way the study has a certain affinity with the aforementioned regional phenomenology, although its aim is not an exhaustive morphology or typology of Buddhist experiences, but only a better understanding of the relationship between the central teachings of Buddhism and particular ways of human experiencing.

⁴⁹ From the structural point of view is investigated how society influences religion; from the institutional point of view is investigated how religion influences society (Allardt 1974, 14–21).

⁵⁰ Jacques Waardenburg (1986, 222, 224) remarks that a scholar should look for connections between mystical experiences and social structure as we know that during certain historical periods there has been an apparent need for mysticism (as in western Europe that underwent a tremendous period of growth of mysticism during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries when science, politics, literature and art had reached their zenith and a new kind of individualism was born, culminating in the Reformation [see Underhill 1923, 541ff.]).

⁵¹ Hultkrantz 1970, 83–84.

⁵² Hultkrantz 1970, 84.

⁵³ See Hultkrantz 1973, 87–88.

1.3. Previous Studies on Mysticism

1.3.1. 'Mysticism' as a concept

In Buddhist texts, there is no such *concept* as 'mysticism'. This, however, does not necessarily exclude mysticism from Buddhism. On the contrary, we may put forward a hypothesis that if Buddhism is essentially mysticism, then the Buddhists have had no need to distinguish conceptually between mysticism and non-mysticism, and consequently no concept of mysticism has been formed⁵⁴. The Sanskrit word which comes closest to 'mysticism' in meaning, is '*samādhi*' (concentration), which refers to meditation and the related states of mind⁵⁵.

The word 'mysticism' is derived from the Greek '*myo*' meaning 'to close' (the eyes or lips)⁵⁶. Derived words like '*mystikos*' and '*mysterion*' were originally used in the mystery cults whose members were supposed to remain silent about the secret rites of initiation (and not of any doctrines). Only later, in the Neoplatonic theory, mystical silence came to mean wordless contemplation instead.⁵⁷

Sometime between the fourth and the fifth centuries the new, Christian meaning of 'mysticism' began to absorb the earlier connotations of silence and secrecy. For the early Christians, 'mystical' referred to the special meaning of the Scriptures they detected under the literal meaning.⁵⁸

In the 5th century, Pseudo-Dionysios, or Dionysios the Areopagite, took the mystical theory to consist of the spiritual awareness of the ineffable Absolute, beyond the "theology of divine names". This, however, was an awareness of the Christian *community*. It was only St. Augustine who finally stressed the purely subjective nature of mystical awareness.⁵⁹

This is what scholars now usually understand to be mysticism, viz. special kinds of subjective experiences with various interpretations in various religious traditions. By the same token, 'mysticism' has, despite its particular religious roots, become a scholarly concept widely used in historical, psychological and phenomenological studies of religion⁶⁰. Thus,

⁵⁴ And, in the history of Buddhism, we know of no instances of mystics being suspected of heresy, not to mention persecution, contrary to some other religions.

⁵⁵ See Rhys Davids & Stede 1972, 685; Conze 1975, 100–105, and below pp. 100–102.

⁵⁶ Cf. how *Asaṅga* describes (p. 131 below) a typical mystical experience with the expression *nimiñjītacakṣus* ('with eyes closed').

⁵⁷ Bouyer 1981, 43; Braarvig 1987; Dupré 1987, 245.

⁵⁸ Bouyer 1981, 45–47; Dupré 1987, 245–246.

⁵⁹ Bouyer 1981, 51; Dupré 1987, 246.

⁶⁰ e.g. James 1971, 366–413; Staal 1975; Sundén 1977, 40–73; Lanczkowski 1978, 89–91; Brown 1988, 87–94.

'mysticism' refers to a special phenomenon inside religion – as well as outside religion according to some.

Mysticism is sometimes more or less equated with religious experience in general⁶¹, but my conception of experience⁶² does not justify this. When experience is viewed as a category broader than mere feeling, religious experience should also be so understood. Thus, religious experience is the religiously⁶³ interpreted totality of feelings, thoughts, intentional attitudes and other possible forms of conscious life, through which a person realizes his or her position in the world. Mystical experiences are only one of these categories.

1.3.2 Psychological interpretations of mystical experience

From William James to altered states of consciousness

The pioneer of the psychology of religion, William James, ascribed four characteristics to mystical experience: 1) It was ineffable to the extent that no adequate verbal expression could be given to it; 2) it had a noetic quality, i.e. it yielded knowledge that, however, was not dependent on discursive thought; 3) it was transient and could not be sustained for long; and 4) "when the characteristic sort of consciousness once has set in, the mystic feels as if his own will were in abeyance."⁶⁴

During the 60's the psychological study of mysticism entered a new phase when, for example, the study of meditation was initiated as an investigation of the claims of some yogis to be able to induce physiological changes by meditation⁶⁵. A number of important articles were collected and published in 1969 by Charles T. Tart⁶⁶ who named his subject matter "altered states of consciousness".

⁶¹ e.g. Brown 1988, 87–94.

⁶² See above p. 18.

⁶³ What I've said about defining Buddhism (above pp. 14–15), also applies to religion in general, i.e. I share Comstock's (1984) preference for open definitions of religion. 'Religion' refers to a "polythetic" class, the members of which don't have to share *all* the attributes that characterize the class, unlike in "monothetic" classes where all members of the class are in possession of the same set of attributes (see Southwold 1978, 369, 376; Comstock 1984, 512).

⁶⁴ James 1971, 367–368. Philip Almond (1982, 128–138), basing his statements on Katz 1978, 48–49, criticizes James, saying that this list is partly too inclusive and partly too exclusive, and that there is no such unanimity about mystical utterance that would point towards the unanimity of mystical experience.

⁶⁵ Walsh 1979, 161. A useful guide to meditation research is Jarrell 1985.

⁶⁶ Tart 1969a.

"An altered state of consciousness for a given individual", he wrote, "is one in which he clearly feels a *qualitative* shift in his pattern of mental functioning, that is, he feels not just a *quantitative* shift (more or less alert, more or less visual imagery, sharper or duller, etc.), but also that some quality or qualities of his mental processes are *different*."⁶⁷

In one of the articles in Tart's book, Arthur Deikman presented a psychological model of the mystical experience based on the assumption that meditation and renunciation were the primary techniques by which it was produced. This process of production he conceptualized as "deautomatization".⁶⁸ He wrote:

A mystic experience is the production of an unusual state of consciousness. This state is brought about by a deautomatization of hierarchically ordered structures that ordinarily conserve attentional energy for maximum efficiency in achieving the basic goals of the individual: biological survival as an organism and psychological survival as a personality.⁶⁹

Although it was hard to find evidence of how mystics experienced the external world, as their orientation was inward and they spoke about God rather than nature, the experienced unity could be taken to mean a dedifferentiation that merged all boundaries until the self was no longer experienced as a separate object, and customary perceptual and cognitive distinctions were neither any longer applicable.⁷⁰

This experience was reached by meditation – or 'contemplation' – which meant to Deikman "a nonanalytic apprehension of an object or idea – nonanalytic because discursive thought is banished and the attempt is made to empty the mind of everything except the percept of the object in question."⁷¹ This resulted in "a *deautomatization* of the psychological structures that organize, limit, select, and interpret perceptual stimuli," to an "undoing of automatization, presumably by *reinvesting actions and percepts with attention*."⁷²

In contemplation, the percept receives attention while categorization and thought are prohibited. This "undoing of automatic perceptual and cognitive structures permits a gain in sensory intensity and richness at the expense of abstract categorization and differentiation." However, sometimes a new vision takes place, as if everything is seen for the first time.⁷³ Besides unity, mystical experience had four other principal features: intense

⁶⁷ Tart 1969b, 1.

⁶⁸ Deikman 1969, 24. See Ornstein 1978, 150–157.

⁶⁹ Deikman 1969, 42–43.

⁷⁰ Deikman 1969, 32.

⁷¹ Deikman 1969, 27.

⁷² Deikman 1969, 30–31.

⁷³ Deikman 1969, 31–34.

reality, unusual sensations, ineffability⁷⁴, and trans-sensate phenomena, i.e. perceptual experiences that do not include sensations of warmth, sweetness, visions etc. but go "beyond the customary sensory pathways, ideas, and memories."⁷⁵ These findings are based on empirical experiments with ordinary people practicing meditation for short periods.

This kind of approach to mystical experience is based in the findings of the psychology of perception and *gestalt* psychology, the latter one being a reaction against atomistic approaches in psychology. Its major emphasis has been the part-whole relationship, exemplified by perceptual phenomena: Our perceptions are not constituted of isolated elements, but of organized units or wholes. Thus, when looking at a building, we do not see only bricks, lumber and glass, but a house.⁷⁶ A completely different kind of approach to mysticism has been adopted by the leading figure of the Scandinavian psychology of religion, Hjalmar Sundén, who bases his theory on physiology, attempting to find a direct and atomistic relationship between perceptions and physiological reactions. This is somewhat surprising as he has previously also applied the psychology of perception⁷⁷.

Hjalmar Sundén and Pavlov's theory of conditioned responses

In 1966, Hjalmar Sundén wrote that Ivan Pavlov's experiments with dogs provided us with new opportunities to understand mystical experiences in *Zen*, appealing to Heinrich Dumoulin and Hugo Enomiya-Lassalle that they would seriously consider his ideas⁷⁸. The function of *kôans* is, according to Sundén, "quite clear" in light of Pavlov's idea of the three phases of brain function under stress⁷⁹.

Pavlov found out that prolonged stress produces in dogs three phases of increasingly abnormal behavior. In the "equivalent phase", the brain responds similarly to both strong and weak stimuli; in the "paradoxical phase", the brain responds more actively to weak stimuli than to strong;

⁷⁴ Deikman (1969, 23) even wrote that such "experience is called mystical *because* it is considered beyond the scope of language to convey (my italics)."

⁷⁵ Deikman 1969, 35, 42. Moreover, typical of all mystical experience was its gradual fading away (Deikman 1969, 25), as James also held.

⁷⁶ Shaw & Costanzo 1970, 117.

⁷⁷ Sundén 1959.

⁷⁸ Sundén 1966, 195. As far as I know, this has not happened. Later, Sundén has written that he realized in the sixties that what he had "learned about Zen must be seen in the light of Pavlov's three phases (1990, 117)". Besides *Zen*, Sundén has applied Pavlov's ideas to the writings of Saint John of the Cross (Sundén 1966, 196; 1977, 66–73; 1990).

⁷⁹ Sundén 1990, 117.

and in the "ultraparadoxical phase" conditioned responses and behavior patterns turn from positive to negative, and vice versa.⁸⁰

Sundén does not describe at any length Pavlov's experiments and theory, which he presents only on the basis of William Sargant's book "Battle for the Mind", discussing "brain washing"⁸¹. Sargant's purpose was "to show how beliefs, whether good or bad, false or true, can be forcibly implanted in the human *brain*". In practice, his approach was purely physiological and mechanistic, although he did not, in principle, deny the value of other kinds of approaches, such as a philosophical approach.⁸²

Sundén is of the opinion that Sargant has shown Pavlov's experiments to be relevant with regard to human behavior as well⁸³, and seems to think that on the basis of Pavlov's experiments we are able to bring the cognitive processes of a mystic into relationship with his brain function⁸⁴. It is, however, not very clear what exactly Sundén means by the three phases: Are they states of brain function⁸⁵ and in what sense, abstract patterns of behavior⁸⁶, or cognitive structures⁸⁷?

Nevertheless, Sundén thinks that mystical experiences are to some extent explicable through the functions of the nervous system⁸⁸, although they also contain a "cosmic secret" which remains out of the reach of nerve physiological explanations⁸⁹. This latter formulation seems to be related

⁸⁰ Sundén 1966, 193; 1967, 116; 1990, 116–117. See also Sundén 1977, 69. Cf. Sargant 1957, 1–20.

⁸¹ Sargant 1957.

⁸² Sargant 1957, xxiv, 232 (my italics). In saying that beliefs are in the brain, one confuses two phenomena of a logically distinct type. Beliefs are no more in the brain than walking is in the legs, although the brain is necessary for anyone to be able to believe.

⁸³ Sundén 1967, 116. Cf. Sargant 1957, 21–41.

⁸⁴ e.g. Sundén 1990, 117: "When, for instance, it is reported that the faint sound of snow falling against a paper-window could suddenly trigger a synthesis of what the master had pondered over for decades, this could be seen as a case where the brain responds more actively to weak stimuli than to strong."

⁸⁵ Sundén 1966, 194: "... dass das Gehirn in die ultraparadoxe Phase versetzt wird ..."

⁸⁶ Sundén 1990, 117: "... three distinguishable phases of increasingly abnormal behavior ..."

⁸⁷ Sundén 1966, 194: "Die Umschaltung von Positiv auf Negativ von Negativ auf Positiv gilt natürlich aber nicht nur für die Bedingungen der Etikette, sondern auch für sprachliche und intellektuelle Bedingungen." Also Sundén 1967, 118.

⁸⁸ Sundén 1966, 193: "Fragen wir, was für Wirkungen auf das Nervensystem des Menschen ein solcher Zustand mit sich bringt, dann tut sich eine interessante Perspektive über koân [*sic!*] Übung und die ganze Zenerfahrung auf." Sundén 1966, 195: "Diese Hypothese richtet auch unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf die Bedingungen, die vorher in seinem Nervensystem vorhanden sein müssen."

⁸⁹ Sundén 1966, 196: "Das Zen-Geheimnis ist nicht nur etwas, was mit dem Funktionieren unseres Nervensystems zu tun hat, sondern auch ein kosmisches Geheimnis." Also 1967, 120.

to Sundén's view of religion as man's relationship to the cosmos as a totality⁹⁰. In religious experience, the world of diversity is transformed into a Totality that is referred to as God by Christians, as Buddha by Buddhists, etc.⁹¹

Thus, Sundén rejects coarse reductionism⁹², and says that the idea of an ultraparadoxical phase cannot explain the nature of the conditions preceding enlightenment. The liberating enlightenment is attainable only because the Buddhist knows certain models of behavior and perception, as well as certain roles which are embodied in the Buddhist tradition. Were this not so, the person could fall prey to schizophrenia or to other destructive forms of behavior.⁹³

On the other hand, Sundén says that in *Zen* enlightenment *the brain* is shifted to the ultraparadoxical phase⁹⁴. *Kôan* exercise, based on paradoxical riddles, impossible for the practitioner to solve intellectually, induces an over-excitation of the brain, which then leads to the ultraparadoxical phase and, by the same token, to *satori*. The content of the *satori* is, according to Sundén, that one's "response to life as a whole is turned from negative to positive." The Buddhist, who previously regarded life as suffering (*dukkha*), now sees it as joyful.⁹⁵

Unfortunately Sundén has not tried to show in any detail how the practitioner of *Zen* proceeds from the equivalent phase via the paradoxical to the ultraparadoxical. Moreover, Pavlov's model cannot provide a comprehensive account of the results of *kôan* practice. Sundén himself acknowledges that *kôan* meditation does not only lead to the ultraparadoxical phase, but "also allows one to complete the subconscious processes, undisturbed by conscious activity, i.e. verbal stimulation"⁹⁶.

This Sundén's latter formulation is compatible with Deikman's idea of deautomatization⁹⁷, the "undoing of automatic perceptual and cognitive structures" that permit "a gain in sensory intensity and richness at the expense of abstract categorization and differentiation." The strong reactions to weak stimuli, that typify the paradoxical phase, are explained quite well by techniques of deautomatization.

⁹⁰ Sundén 1966, 196: "Religion ist die Relation des Menschen zum Kosmos als Totalität." Also 1967, 120.

⁹¹ Sundén 1966, 196.

⁹² Sundén 1967, 119: "Att rekna med hjärna och nervsystem, då det gäller människans religion, är ingalunda detsamma som billig reduktionism, men det möjliggör en terminologi, som tillåter oss att föra forskningen framåt."

⁹³ Sundén 1966, 195; 1967, 119.

⁹⁴ Sundén 1966, 194-195; 1990, 117. My italics.

⁹⁵ Sundén 1966, 195; 1967, 118; 1990, 117.

⁹⁶ Sundén 1967, 121: "Den tillåter även omedvetandeprocesser att fullbordas ostörda av medveten verksamhet, dvs. språklig stimulering."

⁹⁷ Sundén's account of deautomatization and automatization is found in Sundén 1977, 53-57.

Further, the way Sundén tries to reconcile Pavlov's findings and his own conception of religion seems to me rather artificial. He explains that when in mystical experience the diversity of reality is transformed into unity, this signifies the ultraparadoxical phase in the sense that the unity which was previously considered "incomprehensible", "foolish" and thus as something negative, becomes now something natural and positive⁹⁸.

This artificiality is not surprising, as Pavlov did not study human consciousness, thought or emotion. His theories (beside Thorndike's connectionism and Bechterev's objectivism) have laid the groundwork for American behaviorism, but he was above all a physiologist seeking neurological explanations for the digestive process. His three phase model is a non-intentional and mechanistic model of a process of stimulus and reaction.⁹⁹ As such, it may be a convenient tool for Sargant, who wants to explain the possibility of "brainwashing". But it is not so convenient a tool, when one wants to understand what happens when somebody is *actively and purposefully* involved in the practice of *kōan* meditation.

This is reflected in the fact that Sundén does not directly ask what is the *raison d'être* of meditation, although one gets the impression that Sundén thinks meditation helps to turn negative attitudes into positive ones. However, this is not so simple since the ultraparadoxical phase also entails the shift that positive attitudes change to negative. Pavlov's findings concerned behavior and brain physiology, and consequently Sundén's implicit tendency to generalize Pavlov's findings to cover cognitive structures and information processing as well, is more confusing than enlightening.

1.3.3. Unity with the Absolute or with the world?

The unity that characterizes mystical experience has been interpreted by scholars either as unity with the external world or with the Absolute. It is, however, not always clear whether 'world' and 'Absolute' are used as explanatory concepts or concepts in need of explanation. In other words, we should always make it clear whether an explanation of the unifying experience is made from the point of view of a "believer", or from that of a scholar.

Thus, William James wrote that the mystic achievement meant the "overcoming of all the usual barriers between the individual and the Absol-

⁹⁸ Sundén 1967, 118–119: "Därtill kommer att enhetsupplevelsen, som för de flesta människor ter sig ofattbar, ja rentav löjlig, som någonting obegripligt negativt alltså, då omslaget sker kommer att te sig som det naturliga sättet att uppleva, under det att uppfattningen av mångfald kommer att te sig om den onda dröm vi mötte framställd i Tetsugens predikan."

⁹⁹ Shaw & Costanzo 1970, 23–26.

ute". The mystic "becomes one with the Absolute" as well as aware of this oneness.¹⁰⁰ Here 'Absolute' must be taken to refer to that something which the believer regards as the absolute reality, and the precise nature of this unity is, by the same token, left unexplained. James only says that a mystic experiences something that he or she describes or explains as unity with the Absolute.

James H. Leuba was a bit more precise when he wrote that the term 'mystical' meant "any experience taken by the experiencer to be a contact (not through the senses, but 'immediate,' 'intuitive') or union of the self with a larger-than-self, be it called the World-Spirit, God, the Absolute, or otherwise."¹⁰¹ Leuba must have taken this contact to mean a particular way of experiencing the external world because the mystic was said to seek "intercourse with God *in the disappearance of diversity*, in the peace of utter surrender, in excruciating delights, in a sense of freedom and illumination", and because the mystic was judged to be mistaken in his or her interpretation of the mystical experience as "these experiences reveal not the Christian God, but the lawful workings of our psycho-physiological organisms"¹⁰².

Thus Leuba could acknowledge that the only difference between religious and non-religious "ecstasies" was in the subsequent interpretation and that the interpretative frame of reference had effects on the experience itself.¹⁰³ However, he made a distinction between real mysticism and "moderate" mysticism when he wrote that mystics suffered from "nervous disorders, and perhaps hysteria", but "the moderate mysticism, common in the rank and file of worshippers of almost every Christian sect, is entirely free from that disease."¹⁰⁴

According to Deikman, the "hallmark" of mystical experience was "(e)xperiencing one's self as one with the universe or with God ... regardless of ... cultural context"¹⁰⁵. This unity could be interpreted either as perception of one's own psychic structure or of the real structure of the world¹⁰⁶, and God and the unconscious shared "equal possibilities" as explanations of the mystical experience. Thus, one's interpretation would always reflect his or her own presuppositions and beliefs¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁰ James 1971, 404. From the logical point of view one might, however, remark that as long as I can identify myself as the one who is one with the Absolute, I am not entirely one with the Absolute.

¹⁰¹ Leuba 1925, 1.

¹⁰² Leuba 1925, 316 (my italics).

¹⁰³ Leuba 1925, 315. Cf. Brown 1988, 90: "... what some people identify as a 'religious' experience others describe as aesthetic, or simply as having had a 'good time'."

¹⁰⁴ Leuba 1925, 191.

¹⁰⁵ Deikman 1969, 38.

¹⁰⁶ Deikman 1969, 39.

¹⁰⁷ Deikman 1969, 43.

Nils G. Holm makes no differentiation between unity with the world and unity with the Absolute. Holm first describes typical mystical experiences to be "an awareness of unity with the divine or supernatural, a distant reality"¹⁰⁸. A little later he continues that mystical experience "often includes an insight into the 'true essence' of the world, *God's being*, as well as an ascent into totality, into God or whatever the specific religious tradition calls the highest or most central experience in existence."¹⁰⁹ So, from Holm's point of view, the experience of unity is explicable in terms of psychology, while the "believers" of various traditions themselves interpret it as unity either with the world or God etc.

Thus, psychologists seem to hold that all mystical experiences are similar in their psychophysiological structure (whatever that might be) and that only subsequent interpretations differentiate them.

1.3.4. Interpretations of mystical experiences

The universal sameness of mystical experience is accepted by e.g. Rudolf Otto, Ninian Smart, W.T. Stace and Louis Dupré. For Otto, there was only one form of interior mystical experience, despite the differences in its outward manifestations¹¹⁰, and mystical ontology was centered "on an intuition of a 'hidden' unity that underlies the 'evident' multiplicity of ordinary experience"¹¹¹. This unity, the Being (*Sein*), is the "source" of all beings.¹¹² Thus Otto could, for instance, identify Meister Eckhart's view of oneness with the Mahâyâna Buddhist enlightenment where *samsâra* is seen to be nirvâṇa and vice versa¹¹³.

To Smart, "a mystic of one religion and some mystic of another faith can have what is substantially a similar experience"¹¹⁴, and the differences in expressions or interpretations are due to the ramifying effect of various doctrinal schemes¹¹⁵. Dupré is even more explicit in writing that "only subsequent interpretations distinguish one mysticism from another"¹¹⁶.

Also according to W.T. Stace, the unitive mystical experience is everywhere the same, the differences being only in interpretation.¹¹⁷ There are, however, two basic types of mystical experience, the introvertive and the

¹⁰⁸ Holm 1987, 34.

¹⁰⁹ Holm 1987, 56 (my italics).

¹¹⁰ See Almond 1982, 92–122.

¹¹¹ Mitchell 1985, 67.

¹¹² Otto 1929, 22–37; Mitchell 1985, 67.

¹¹³ Otto 1929, 294. Mitchell 1985, 76: "I think it should now be clear that in both Christianity and Buddhism an important 'way' of cultivating a mystical vision of the Unity behind multiplicity is through a type of non-attachment referred to by Eckhart as 'poverty' and by Mahâyâna as 'Emptiness'."

¹¹⁴ Smart 1965, 78.

¹¹⁵ See Almond 1982, 48, 63.

¹¹⁶ Dupré 1987, 246.

¹¹⁷ Stace 1961, 18, 66.

extrovertive. Yet "extrovertive" mysticism is to Stace only an incomplete form of "introvertive" mysticism where space and time are finally transcended¹¹⁸. The extrovertive experiences were spontaneous experiences that look "outward through the senses, while the introvertive looks inward into the mind." However, both "culminate in the perception of an ultimate Unity ... with which the perceiver realizes his own union or even identity." In the extrovertive experience, the external world is transfigured so that "the One" shines through. In the introvertive experience, one closes the senses and dives inwards to his or her own self and finds "the One" there.¹¹⁹

The empty consciousness of the introvertive experience does not mean unconsciousness but "pure consciousness – 'pure' in the sense that it is not consciousness of any empirical content." Its only content is consciousness itself, that is to say, void, nothingness, the One, the Infinite, undifferentiated unity. This experience is the same in all cultures and all religions.¹²⁰

To those who regard human consciousness as essentially intentional (like Sartre), this pure consciousness would have been an impossibility, but Stace defends his case by appealing to states like deep hypnosis and somnambulism where the agent responds to stimuli without being conscious of them. Thus, he or she is not unconscious although there is good reason to believe that his or her consciousness has no empirical content.¹²¹

A distinction similar to Stace's introvertive-extrovertive is made by Walter Pahnke and William Richards¹²². They wrote:

Internal unity reportedly occurs in the following manner: Awareness of all normal sense impressions ... c[e]ases, and the empirical ego (i.e. the usual sense of individuality) seems to die or fade away while pure consciousness of what is being experienced paradoxically remains and seems to expand as a vast inner world encountered. ... Internal unity occurs when consciousness merges with this 'ground of being', beyond all empirical distinctions. Although awareness of one's empirical ego has ceased, one does not become unconscious.¹²³

The external unity meant that:

Awareness of one or more particular sense impressions grows in intensity until suddenly the object of perception and the empirical ego simultaneously seem to cease to exist as separate entities, while consciousness seems to transcend subject and object and become impregnated by a profound sense of unity, accompanied by the insight that ultimately 'all is One'.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Stace 1961, 131–132.

¹¹⁹ Stace 1961, 60–62.

¹²⁰ Stace 1961, 86, 110.

¹²¹ Stace 1961, 130.

¹²² Pahnke & Richards 1969, 401.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Pahnke & Richards 1969, 402.

This distinction is also made by Philip Almond. According to him, we firstly have "experiences in which the world of everyday experience is perceived as having an all-embracing unity or coherence or oneness about it." From this experience springs a belief that "what had previously seemed merely disparate, multiple, and unconnected is *really* a unified whole."¹²⁵

Secondly, "we have experiences which do not involve public phenomena at all, where the world is, so to speak, 'bracketed out', and which takes place 'within' the individual." Such experiences arise as a result of following particular contemplative or meditative paths.¹²⁶

Contrary to the above described views, R.C. Zaehner based his typology of mysticism on a distinction between unity with the world and unity with the Absolute, supplemented by a distinction between monism and theism. Thus, there were three different kinds of mystical experiences: the pan-en-henic, the isolation of the 'self', and the return of the 'self' to God¹²⁷.

"*Pan-en-henism*" ("all-is-one-ism") or "nature mysticism" refers to experiences where space and time are transcended and one experiences all creaturely existence as one, and one as all. This is clearly expressed, for instance, in the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* I.6 where it is said: "You are this all (*idam sarvam asi*)".¹²⁸

Whereas a nature mystic thus concentrates upon the phenomenal world, a religious mystic contemplates the ultimate reality to the exclusion of all else. The state of isolation of the uncreated soul from all that is other than itself belongs to *monistic* religious mysticism like *Vedānta* where only the Absolute really exists. In a monistic mystical experience one feels his or her soul is unified with the Absolute so that the phenomenal world is no longer experienced.¹²⁹

Another type of religious mysticism is *theistic*, in which man feels his or her soul to be united with God by love. God, however, is felt to be so incomparably greater than man that a total fusion with God and annihilation of the human soul can never take place. A theistic mystic takes God to be the one who takes the first step and makes a man's soul fit for union, which means direct apprehension of God but not merging with God. In Zaehner's opinion, a person's "humility" and "the holiness of his life" are criteria that "enable us to distinguish between the genuine state of union with God" and "natural mystical experience".¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Almond 1982, 7.

¹²⁶ Almond 1982, 7–8. Stace's and Almond's distinction between extrovertive and introvertive experience is accepted in Marcoulesco 1987, 240.

¹²⁷ Zaehner 1961, 168.

¹²⁸ Zaehner 1961, 28, 41, 50, 168.

¹²⁹ Zaehner 1961, 28–29, 33, 168.

¹³⁰ Zaehner 1961, 29, 31–32, 168, 172–175, 192–193.

However, Zaehner later seems to have regarded the monistic mystical experience as a development of the pan-en-henic experience¹³¹. On the other hand, the distinction between monism and theism is not one between experiences but one between interpretations¹³². And, as Stace noted, Christian mystics clearly describe their experiences to be experiences of unity, but nevertheless hastily add that there still is no question of the soul wholly passing away into God¹³³.

1.4. Locating Mysticism

1.4.1. Being-in-the-world and language

The logical starting point of this study is that man always experiences his or her being-in-the-world in one way or another, and that these experiences are usually structured and given meaning through the medium of language in the sense Heidegger and Gadamer have suggested. My aim, however, is to show that mystical experiences may count as an exception to the linguistic quality of man's being-in-the-world.

The common structure of experience is dualistic, there being both the one who experiences and that which is experienced. The one who experiences is conceived of as an 'I' and that which is experienced is some particular instance of one's being-in-the-world.

Thus man experiences himself or herself to be at one and the same time a part of the external world and separate from it. He or she is by essence conscious of himself or herself as a conscious being, but only through the fact that he or she is conscious of the world in which he or she is, and which is experienced as different from the experiencing subject. One can understand his or her being only as a being-in-the-world.¹³⁴ In other words, one cannot be conscious of his or her consciousness as such, but only of its contents¹³⁵.

¹³¹ Almond 1982, 34–36. This recalls Stace's view of the relationship between introvertive and extrovertive experiences, although Zaehner, quite contrary to Stace, regards the transcending of space and time as a characteristic of the lowest form of mysticism, the pan-en-henic nature mysticism (Zaehner 1961, 41).

¹³² Stace (1961, 35–36) notes that Zaehner ignores this latter distinction.

¹³³ Stace 1961, 114. Loy (1988, 295) turns Zaehner's argument around and suggests that the theistically interpreted experience might be an incomplete non-dual experience.

¹³⁴ Heidegger 1987, 19–34, 78–80, 138 (1941, 1–13, 53–54, 104). Sartre 1978, 13; 1943, e.g. 16–34, 115–121, 220–228, 275–368. Mead 1967, 163–166. See Pyysiäinen 1988, 91–92 and Karl Löwith's (1967, 41–69) discussion of the Cartesian inheritance of Husserl, Heidegger, Valéry and Sartre.

¹³⁵ See Woodhouse 1990, 267.

This understanding of one's being-in-the-world takes place "proximally and for the most part", through the medium of language as emphasized by Heidegger and Gadamer¹³⁶. To Heidegger, however, the logical starting point is silence¹³⁷. From silence man then emerges as man, the only being that speaks¹³⁸ and thus is able to discover the world as well as himself in a peculiarly human way¹³⁹. Language becomes "the house of being"¹⁴⁰. Discourse (*Rede*), as the foundation of language, is equiprimordial with the two other basic characteristics of being, "state-of-mind" and "understanding"¹⁴¹, and is constitutive of man's existence as man (*Dasein*) because in it the human reality is disclosed¹⁴².

To Gadamer, language occupies a central position in the process of understanding, as man is always under the influence of tradition existing in language. This tradition is not just something "left over" to be investigated as a remnant of the past, but something that has literally been "handed down" to us, and in whose elements we find our own being.¹⁴³

Thus, Gadamer can say that Humboldt's real contribution to hermeneutics lies in showing "that a view of language is a view of the world." The world always shows itself to us in language, so that it is not possible to set a particular view of the world, inherent in a language, against the world in itself. "(T)he world is not different from the views in which it presents itself."¹⁴⁴

Under these circumstances, it is not possible to consider language as only one of man's possessions in the world. On the contrary, the fact that man has a world at all depends on language. The world presents itself precisely in language, and "(w)hoever has language 'has' the world."¹⁴⁵ Man's being-in-the-world has fundamentally a linguistic quality, and "(w)hen a person lives in a language, he is filled with the sense of the unsurpassable appropriateness of the words that he uses for the objects to which he is referring." "(L)anguage is a central point where 'I' and world meet or, rather, manifest their original unity."¹⁴⁶

It may be granted that people mostly experience their being-in-the-world dualistically (experiencer-experienced) and that this experiencing

¹³⁶ Rothberg 1990, 173.

¹³⁷ Heidegger 1985, 27: "Die Sprache spricht als das Geläut der Stille. Die Stille stillt, indem sie Welt und Dinge in ihr Wesen austrägt." See Kotoh 1987, 204.

¹³⁸ Heidegger 1985, 9, 27; 1987, 208 (1941, 165).

¹³⁹ Heidegger 1987, 204, 208–209 (1941, 161, 165).

¹⁴⁰ Heidegger 1985, 156. On Western and East Asian languages as "houses of Being", see Parkes 1990.

¹⁴¹ Heidegger 1987, 203 (1941, 160).

¹⁴² Heidegger 1987, 204 (1941, 161).

¹⁴³ Gadamer 1988, 351, 420.

¹⁴⁴ Gadamer 1988, 401, 405–406.

¹⁴⁵ Gadamer 1988, 401, 408, 411.

¹⁴⁶ Gadamer 1988, 363, 401, 431.

has a linguistic basis. However, the question which remains is whether mysticism could be understood as an art of silence meant to restore man to a prelinguistic "pure experience" not mediated by conceptual categories¹⁴⁷.

1.4.2. The world, 'self' and emptiness

To describe mystical experience as ineffable or silent is to continue to approach mysticism from the point of view of language and auditory experience. There is, however, another way of approaching mysticism that is especially important with regard to Buddhism, namely through the concept of emptiness.

Emptiness in this sense is another kind of representation of the silent experience and is more related to visual experience. It is also essentially related to the ideas of inside and outside, inwardness and outwardness, particularly as they apply to the relationship between man and the world. I shall, in what follows, try to present two mutually exclusive ways of understanding the nature of the 'self' and of its relationship with the world in terms of the ideas of internality and externality.

As one can be conscious of himself or herself only by being conscious of the world, the 'I' seems to dissolve into the surrounding world. An individual and the world belong essentially together, like two sides of a coin, and thus are not, strictly speaking, subject and object¹⁴⁸. 'I' am not just 'I think' but 'I think something', and thus I can only understand my being as a being-in-the-world¹⁴⁹. As the self becomes in this way merged to the eternal flux of the world, there is no place left for a substantial self beneath the various states of being.¹⁵⁰

From a social-psychological point of view, the self then is a social product receiving its unity from a social group displaying certain attitudes towards a person; and self-consciousness is accordingly consciousness of the attitudes one arouses in others¹⁵¹. I am what I am not because of some metaphysical fact but because of the social practices in which I grew up and the language I learned¹⁵².

¹⁴⁷ See also Kotoh 1987, 206–207.

¹⁴⁸ Heidegger 1941, 60, 116. Sartre 1978, 13. Merleau-Ponty 1945, v: "Le monde n'est pas un objet ..., il est le milieu naturel et le champ de toutes mes pensées et de toutes mes perceptions explicites. La vérité n'"habite" pas seulement l'"homme intérieur", ou plutôt il n'y a pas d'homme intérieur, l'homme est au monde, c'est dans le monde qu'il se connaît."

¹⁴⁹ Heidegger 1987, 367 (1941, 321).

¹⁵⁰ See Trigg 1988, 280–281.

¹⁵¹ Mead 1967, 135, 140, 154–158, 163.

¹⁵² See Trigg 1988, 287. Sartre 1943, 292: "So the 'moment' Hegel called *being for others* is a necessary phase in the development of the consciousness of self. The way of interiority proceeds through the other."

The philosophical conclusion is that human existence is a series of discrete acts leading nowhere and having no preconceived plot whatsoever¹⁵³. There cannot be any overall meaning for my life because 'my life' is only a fiction abstracted from a series of overlapping experiences not united by any common principle¹⁵⁴. According to Sartre, for instance, the notion of a substantial and internal ego as an 'owner' of consciousness is illusory. Instead, the pre-reflective consciousness constitutes itself as a sort of ego only in its reflective acts. The so-called ego is only an ideal and indirect unity of the infinite series of reflected consciousnesses. Because consciousness is in this way *empty*, man's essence is nothingness and absolute freedom.¹⁵⁵

But the fact that man can be conscious of himself or herself only by being conscious of the external world causes bewilderment and suffering to some people¹⁵⁶. Sartre calls this quality of man's being-in-the-world "unhappy consciousness". He writes:

The human reality is suffering in its very being because it arises as a being that is constantly haunted by a totality that it is [= the external world] without being capable of being it. This is precisely because it cannot reach the in-itself [= external world] without losing itself as a for-itself [= the human reality].¹⁵⁷

Thus, one may ask: Who am I when all my beliefs and perceptions are peeled off; who am I as an I, as an inner me, independent of the external world?¹⁵⁸ Perhaps the most famous thinker to ask these questions was René Descartes who arrived at the result that his essence was a pure thinking mind.¹⁵⁹ Everything he thought could be doubted except the fact that he thought. Hence the logically unwarranted conclusion "I think, therefore I am"¹⁶⁰, which Descartes, in the words of Bishop Temple, made when "having no claims to meet, remained for a whole day 'shut up alone in a stove'"¹⁶¹.

¹⁵³ See MacIntyre 1982, 190–191, 199.

¹⁵⁴ See Trigg 1988, 285.

¹⁵⁵ Sartre 1978, 13, 30–37, 43–44, 77; 1943, 71, 82–85.

¹⁵⁶ David Loy (1986, 17) puts this as follows: "(T)he basic anxiety (*duḥkha*) of our lives can be expressed in terms of the contradiction between permanence and impermanence: on the other hand, we somehow *feel* that we are immortal and timeless, yet we are also all too aware of our inescapable temporality ..."

¹⁵⁷ Sartre 1943, 134 (additions in brackets by I.P.).

¹⁵⁸ See Trigg 1988, 281.

¹⁵⁹ See Kerr 1986, 3–4.

¹⁶⁰ Descartes 1963, 603: "Et remarquant que cette vérité: *je pense, donc je suis*, était si ferme et si assurée, que toutes les plus extravagantes suppositions des sceptiques n'étaient pas capables de l'ébranler, je jugeai que je pouvais la recevoir, sans scrupule, pour le premier principe de la philosophie que je cherchais." Cf. Loy 1988, 138.

¹⁶¹ Cited in Bowman 1974, 45.

But if Heidegger's and Sartre's views are accepted, it becomes clear that a prolonged search for an *inner* 'self' that would be independent of all *external* 'worldly' attributes cannot lead to anything other than an experience of a peculiar *emptiness*. Behind my social roles and physical appearance there seems to lurk a nothingness that may be experienced as threatening because it seems to imply that *I* do not exist.

In the Cartesian line of thought it is reasoned that as subject (I) cannot be absorbed into object (world), the uniqueness of each individual transcends all physical and social contexts and no amount of such 'worldly' attributes will suffice as an answer to the question 'who am I?' They are totally unsatisfactory to one who experiences himself as distinct from the transitory world into which he has 'fallen'. It is thought to be an altogether different issue to *be* me than to *recognize* me. The way you pick me out does not form an exhaustive description of me because my 'true self' is not accessible to public observation.¹⁶²

When the self is thus conceived of as a unique substance, it is usually regarded as a metaphysical entity, a soul that is not of this world and that requires a transcendent God as its macrocosmic counterpart¹⁶³. This was also Descartes' conclusion. According to him, his clear and distinct ideas and notions concerning the external world were, after all, as sure as his own existence because they came from God, and God could not be deliberately cheating man¹⁶⁴. In this way, God was to Descartes a way of escaping from the deadlock of solipsism¹⁶⁵. About seventy years later, Georg Berkeley wrote that to exist is the same as to be perceived, and hastened to add that the world existed objectively since it was constantly perceived by God¹⁶⁶. To Descartes, the existence of God was thus "the first and most eternal of all possible truths". God was the "source and founda-

¹⁶² Trigg 1988, 277, 282, 288. Loy's study on "nonduality" (1988) is based on the claim that several Asian philosophical systems hold "that the true nature of reality is nondual (p. 178)." This "'core doctrine' of non-duality (p. 9)" takes the dualistic experience (or interpretation) to be "both delusive and unsatisfactory (p. 18)."

¹⁶³ Trigg 1988, 285, 288. According to Sartre (1943, 707-708), man tries in vain to combine the external world or being-in-itself and the human reality or being-for-itself in the idea of God who on one hand is the basis of his own existence and the existence of the world as though he were a being-in-itself, and on the other he is conscious as though he were a being-for-itself.

Loy (1986, 17-18) remarks that when time is conceived of as a self-existent stream of moments, all objects tend to be regarded as atemporal entities in time - like things in a container - and that the first thing to be so understood is the self.

¹⁶⁴ Descartes 1963, 605-611 and 1967, 470-479, 490-491.

¹⁶⁵ And like nothingness was to Sartre (See Sartre 1978, 84; 1943, 287-288).

¹⁶⁶ Berkeley 1949a, 42 and 1949b, 212. Also, the Buddhist logician *Dharmakīrti* (530-600 AD or 600-660 AD) held that "(t)o exist (somewhere) ... is the same as being perceived (Bijlert 1987, 103. See Wood 1991, 138, 172, 185)." This

tion from which all other possible truths are derived", and thus even "eternal truths", i.e. truths the denial of which would involve logical contradiction, were created by God. There were no "eternal truths" before God made them, and He could, for instance, have made it untrue that all lines from the center of a circle to its circumference are equal, if He would have so wished.¹⁶⁷ Thus God was to Descartes that preconceptual and precultural principle that underlies the world in which we understand our being through language and discursive thinking¹⁶⁸.

On the other hand, the experience of emptiness may also be accepted as such, i.e. as an experience with no content that is only metaphorically referred to as a union with God or merging to *Brahman* etc. In such cases we would not be allowed to read an experiential intentionality off a grammatical one, as the mystic is conscious without being conscious *of* (anything). All intentional verbal descriptions of this experience are only figurative means to verbalize what is essentially ineffable and empty.¹⁶⁹

Thus, for instance, to Meister Eckhart, God or Godhead may be said to provide the theological content for an experience of emptiness. For him, an experience of empty consciousness (*gezücket*, 'rapture') is an experience interpreted as a nonintentional encounter with God in the "ground of the soul".¹⁷⁰

1.4.3. Mystical experience and mysticism

The reason why ineffable and empty mystical experiences are yet given various kinds of verbal descriptions is the fact that we have to live most of our lives in an everyday consciousness, and need to judge the meaning of mystical experiences for ourselves in terms of our everyday categories¹⁷¹. The mystical experience would remain quite meaningless unless it

is typical of Buddhism in general; the Sanskrit word '*upalabdhi*' may be translated either as 'exist' or as 'perceive' (Lindtner 1982, 271 n. 240). See also p. 80 n. 36.

¹⁶⁷ Alanen & Knuuttila 1988, 12–17.

¹⁶⁸ Mircea Eliade (1974a, 5, 34–35, 75–77, 85) has described man's historical existence from this point of view as a "fall", and primeval archetypes, like God, that precede the fall both logically and historically as constructing The Reality.

¹⁶⁹ See Bernhardt 1990, 222.

¹⁷⁰ Forman 1990c, 101–112; Bernhardt 1990, 222.

¹⁷¹ Stace (1961, 61) remarks that only in some rare cases – like those of the Buddha and John Ruysbroeck – has the mystical experience become permanent, "running concurrently with, and in some way fused and integrated with, the normal or common consciousness." Forman 1990b, 8 notes that it is only Stace's extrovertive mysticism that may denote the permanent state of a mystic.

were conceptualized, and thus incorporated into a person's total way of experiencing, i.e. to his or her life as a whole¹⁷².

Mystics and "theologians" of different religious traditions tend to interpret mystical experiences in accordance with their religious tradition, even though this would create some tension between the interpretation and the experience as actually felt. Thus, for instance, Martin Buber wrote that because of the Jewish sense of the gulf between humankind and God he had to reject the otherwise convincing claim that his mystical experience had been one of total union¹⁷³.

The need to have a *continuous* religious interpretation of one's being-in-the-world is very well expressed by Eila Helander in her study of Trinidadian Evangelicals when she writes that for them, life with God as a qualitatively different life "does not mean that experiences are isolated incidences but that they form rather a continuous state of varying intensities."¹⁷⁴ Thus, even for Eckhart, the *summum bonum* was not rapture *per se*, but a more permanent transformation of man known as a habitual union with God. The inwardness reached in mystical rapture had to be dragged outwards, as it were, to establish a constant relationship with God.¹⁷⁵

Similarly, Grace M. Jantzen stresses that the ultimate goal of mystics is not in some extraordinary peak experiences, but in a life which is in constant union with God. She cites St. John of the Cross, Bernard of Clairvaux and Julian of Norwich to prove that mystics in fact do describe their experiences verbally, and argues that William James' concept of experience is too narrow to do justice to mystics.¹⁷⁶

Jantzen considers the shift from the patristic emphasis on the objective content of the mystical experience to the modern emphasis on the subjective psychological states of consciousness as an unhappy development¹⁷⁷. According to her, this development has its roots in the thought of James who, despite his empiricism, was under the influence of Romanticism and idealism. Thus, his idea of ineffable mystical experiences would be influenced more by Friedrich Schleiermacher than by writings of mystics.¹⁷⁸

However, as I see it, we should not reject ineffable mystical experiences as something alien to religious life. Mystics do, after all, report the occurrence of these experiences. Mysticism is a particular mode of experiencing that exists in many religions side by side with other forms of religious life. It both contributes to the doctrinal development of a religion and is affected by it in the sense that, on the one hand doctrines re-

¹⁷² Batson & Ventis 1982, 87–89. Cf. also Wach 1958, 60.

¹⁷³ Quoted in Franklin 1990, 298.

¹⁷⁴ Helander 1986, 47, 189.

¹⁷⁵ Forman 1990c, 112–115.

¹⁷⁶ Jantzen 1989, 300–313.

¹⁷⁷ Jantzen 1989, 295, 300.

¹⁷⁸ Jantzen 1989, 295–299.

flect mystical experiences, and on the other doctrines shape the meanings mystics give to their experiences.

Thus, it is possible for a "believer" to hold certain mystical beliefs without himself or herself having dramatic mystical experiences. It is even likely that mystical systems have been partly developed by people who have not themselves had mystical peak experiences. However, becoming familiar with mystical doctrines may change one's way of experiencing his or her being-in-the-world, so that it may become quite similar to that of a person whose everyday experiencing has been changed through having had mystical experiences. In other words, one can in principle arrive, with discursive thinking, at the conclusion that discursive thinking cannot reach the ultimate truth.

To provide only one example, D.Z. Phillips most likely has not undergone an experience of empty consciousness, but nevertheless has put forward a view that expressions of religious language do not refer to reality at all, that religious images are not images of anything other than of themselves, and that the idea of God's ineffability thus is only a way to express the limits of language. He is also said to quote mystics often and to have admitted the relevance of finding examples from literature for the philosophy of religion.¹⁷⁹ Janet Soskice, for her part, explains the ineffability of the absolute reality philosophically by stating that "God-talk" *refers* genuinely to God although it *describes* Him only metaphorically¹⁸⁰.

1.4.4. Mysticism Defined

Mystical experiences in relation to other conscious states

Diagram 2. on the next page, adapted from Roland Fischer¹⁸¹, shows how mystical experiences are related to other kinds of experiences.

The circle of the diagram consists of two opposing continua (left and right), both starting from a normal state of consciousness. The external continuum of increasing ergotropic arousal includes creative, psychotic and ecstatic experiences, whereas the internal continuum of increasing trophotropic arousal encompasses such hypoaroused states as *zazen* meditation and *samādhi*.¹⁸²

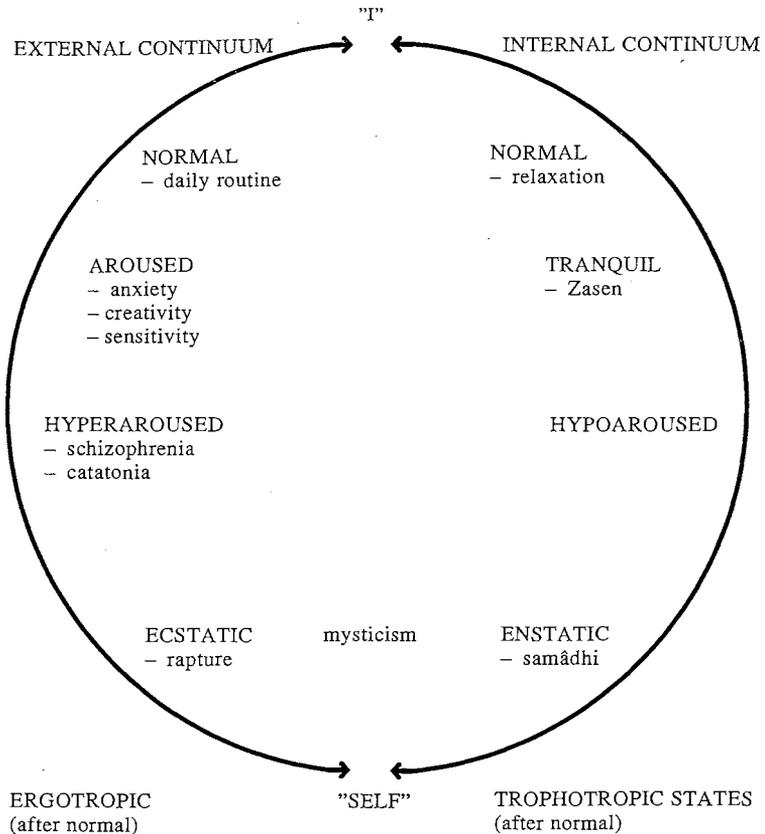
¹⁷⁹ Phillips 1976, 148–149; Salomäki 1990, 405–406, 408.

¹⁸⁰ Soskice 1985, 109, 137–148.

¹⁸¹ Fischer 1971, 898.

¹⁸² Fischer 1971, 897. Fischer speaks about "perception-hallucination" and "perception-meditation" continua. I have substituted "external" and "internal" for these, because either opening up to the world or concentrating on the restricted contents of one's own mind is here the point. This is also evident in Fischer's

Diagram 2. Conscious states



The two continua represent two mutually exclusive states of arousal, the external continuum representing the arousal of the sympathetic nervous system and the internal continuum that of the parasympathetic. They also have different physiological concomitants, and for instance moderate doses of hallucinogens such as LSD can get one moving along the external continuum, whereas minor tranquilizers and some muscle relaxants may initiate travel along the internal continuum.¹⁸³

The essential difference between the normal state of consciousness and the two exalted states is that the relationship between one's 'me' and the

use of the word 'ecstasy' (< Gr. *ekstasis*), which I have complemented with 'enstasis' as the opposite. Moreover, hallucination and meditation are not mutually exclusive phenomena. On *samâdhi*, see p. 25 above.

¹⁸³ Fischer 1971, 897-898.

external world is experienced in a radically different way. In the diagram, this is illustrated with the words 'I' and 'self', the opposition of which bears some resemblance to Georg Herbert Mead's distinction between 'me' as object (Fischer's 'I') and 'I' as subject (Fischer's 'self')¹⁸⁴.

To Fischer, 'self' is that which experiences and 'I' is that which is experienced in the physical space-time¹⁸⁵. In other words, during the 'I'-state of daily routine, one's 'self' is experienced as separate from the external world.¹⁸⁶ But when one progresses along either one of the continua, the separateness of subject and object gradually disappears, due to an increasing integration of cortical and subcortical activity. "This unity", Fischer writes, "is reflected in the experience of Oneness with everything, a Oneness with the universe that is oneself."¹⁸⁷

The reason why the two mutually exclusive routes both lead to an experience of unity, is that in both processes the external world is gradually forgotten, as input of outside information is reduced.¹⁸⁸ Thus, the 'selves' of ecstasy and *samâdhi* are, in fact, one and the same self¹⁸⁹.

Moreover, at the peak of ergotropic ecstasy a rebound to trophotropic enstasi (*samâdhi*) appears, revealing the close connection between the end points of the two diametrically opposite routes¹⁹⁰. Thus, I consider the external and internal continua to represent the introvertive and extrovertive mystical experiences¹⁹¹, respectively. Consequently, I cannot agree with Robert Forman, who reserves the word 'mysticism' only to the trophotropic states¹⁹².

According to Fischer, a mystic can attain ecstasy (and enstasi as well, I think) without having to undergo the intermediate phases, such as schizophrenia for example¹⁹³. However, I remain undecided at which point ex-

¹⁸⁴ Mead 1967, 136–210. To Mead, 'self' is 'I' and 'me' together. See also above p. 38.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. also Sartre's distinction between pre-reflective consciousness and "ego" (above p. 39).

¹⁸⁶ Fischer 1971, 900–902. Saying that the 'I' is experienced as separate from the world, makes the point more clear than saying (like Fischer) that the world is experienced as separate from oneself.

¹⁸⁷ Fischer 1971, 902.

¹⁸⁸ Fischer 1971, 897, 900–901. On part of the ergotropic states, this is proven, among other things, by the fact that in drawings of schizophrenics the horizon is unusually high, and may even disappear altogether (Fischer 1971, 899). From the logical point of view, we can say that losing one's self and losing the external world amount to the same, with regard to the relationship of these two.

¹⁸⁹ Fischer 1971, 900.

¹⁹⁰ Fischer 1971, 902. Fischer sees the rebound only as a physiological protective mechanism.

¹⁹¹ See above pp. 26–28.

¹⁹² Forman 1990b, 7.

¹⁹³ Fischer 1971, 897.

actly on the continua a person's experience can be said to turn to mystical. What is needed in this study, is some criteria on the basis of which an experience can be *definitely* said to be mystical.

The three characteristics of mystical experience

I have adopted the criteria for mystical experiences from Paul Griffiths, who divides mystical experiences in three types, according to whether the state of consciousness is (1) pure, (2) unmediated and/or (3) nondualistic¹⁹⁴.

In the first case, we have a mental event that has no phenomenological attributes¹⁹⁵ and no content¹⁹⁶. In the second case, we have a mental event that may have as its necessary condition a certain (culture-bound) conceptual scheme, without it being necessary that the phenomenological attributes or content of the mental event in question reflect any element of that conceptual scheme. In the third case, we have a mental event whose phenomenological attributes or content do not include any structural opposition between subject and object.¹⁹⁷

Of these experiences, pure consciousness is of logical necessity also unmediated and nondualistic. In the unmediated experience, consciousness may also be pure and the experience may also be nondualistic, but neither condition is a logically necessary concomitant. The nondualistic experience may also be unmediated and in it consciousness may also be pure, but, again, this is not necessarily so. As I see it, the presence of any one of these three characteristics of experience allows us to categorize the experience as mystical.

The pure consciousness event (PCE, as abbreviated by Forman) is a form of Stace's introvertive mysticism characterized as contentless consciousness¹⁹⁸. The four articles in Forman 1990a establish with reasonable certainty that these PCEs do occur¹⁹⁹. Forman describes the PCE along the same lines as Griffiths to be a contentless state of consciousness in which there occur no changes, and which is not constructed by the subject's beliefs, concepts and expectations. Thus it is also unmediated in Griffiths' sense: in it all previous expectations are confounded and transcended, as we can read in the following quotation from Bernadette Roberts:²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁴ Griffiths 1990.

¹⁹⁵ i.e. attributes that make it possible to classify a mental event as being e.g. a visual or an olfactory presentation etc. (Griffiths 1990, 72–73).

¹⁹⁶ i.e. that which separates a mental event from other members of its class (e.g. a vision of a tree from a vision of a car) (ibid.).

¹⁹⁷ Griffiths 1990, 75–77.

¹⁹⁸ Forman 1990b, 8. See above p. 34.

¹⁹⁹ Chapple 1990; Griffiths 1990; Forman 1990c; Matt 1990. See Forman 1990b, 21, 30.

²⁰⁰ Forman 1990b, 3, 20–25. Similarly in Rothberg 1990, 183.

I was left without a way to account for this experience. . . . Clearly, I had fallen outside my own, as well as the traditional, frame of reference ...²⁰¹

Forman has explained this with what he calls a forgetting model²⁰². It is based on experiments in visual perception where a visual image on the retina has been kept unchanged for a certain period. The effect with the closest parallel to mystical "forgetting" may be found in cases where a person is in a so-called *Ganzfeld*, a completely patternless visual field, such as walking or sitting in a blizzard. Experimentally a *Ganzfeld* may be produced, for example, by taping two halves of a Ping-Pong ball over the eyes. Under such circumstances the person in question first sees the whiteness as fog or cloud, but within several minutes things seem to go black. Within ten to twenty minutes, *Ganzfeld* subjects report a "blank-out" which has been described as a state of not seeing (and not a state of seeing nothing). Thus, unchanging visual stimulation makes the subject lose or forget the sense of vision altogether so that he or she does not even know whether his or her eyes are open or not.²⁰³

Now, Deikman's deautomatization techniques, as well as those of Ornstein and Naranjo referred to by Forman, may be seen to have a similar but a more comprehensive effect than the *Ganzfeld*²⁰⁴. Writes Forman:

A vacuous state of emptiness, a nonresponsiveness to the external world, is evoked in the central nervous system by the catalytic action of the continuous subroutine. Such an emptiness, it should be clear, is not like remembering something and applying it to form or reform visual (and other) information, rather it is more akin to a massive forgetting.²⁰⁵

Thus, a mystic uses meditation techniques to enable the mind to forget all thought and sensation in a PCE where not only visual construction, but all construction has ceased. According to reports of many mystics, the forgetting includes also the teachings of the particular religious tradition in question. Thus, there remains nothing that could phenomenologically separate one PCE from another, and, consequently, these kinds of mystical experiences are alike in all cultures.²⁰⁶ This is in accordance with Fischer's idea of reduction of input information from the external world.

²⁰¹ Quoted in Forman 1990b, 20. To provide only one more example of transcending one's familiar frame of reference, I cite St. John Ruysbroeck: "For all words and all that one can learn or understand according to the mode of the creatures, are foreign to the truth that I have seen and far below it (*De Ornatu Spiritualium Nuptiarum* as quoted in Underhill 1923, 398-399)."

²⁰² Also Sundén (1990, 124) describes mystical experience as "total oblivion".

²⁰³ Ornstein 1978, 142-143; Forman 1990b, 36.

²⁰⁴ See above pp. 27-28, and also Pahnke's and Richards' results on p. 34. Also Rothberg 1990, 184.

²⁰⁵ Forman 1990b, 37 (addition in brackets by I.P.).

²⁰⁶ Forman 1990b, 37-39; Rothberg 1990, 184-187.

The forgetting model also helps us to understand the alleged ineffability of mystical experiences. Because during the PCE all mental construction ceases, language is forgotten like all other phenomenological attributes and contents of consciousness, and thus a verbal description of the PCE adds to it something that was not part of the primary event. In this sense, all language is inappropriate in describing the mystical experience of a PCE. There is a total disjunction between the PCE and the verbal description that is made after the experience, and the PCE is thus ineffable in principle.²⁰⁷

However, mystics do, after all, describe PCEs verbally, and so do scholars of mysticism. The dilemma is inherent in the very word, 'ineffable', that seems logically contradictory as nothing is, strictly speaking, ineffable if it can be said at least that it is ineffable.

It seems that we can describe the PCE verbally only in such ways as to cut it out from the linguistically based human reality. Thus, the PCE itself can be described only negatively²⁰⁸ (or metaphorically), and other statements are made only of its immediate context or of those "seams" that both separate and connect it to ordinary human reality. So, for instance, the sentence "X had a PCE" describes only the context of the PCE by referring to the person "in" which the experience happened although the experience itself transcended all subject-object structures.²⁰⁹ The PCE itself is only like a hole or a crack in human reality; it is empty.

This involves the question: How is a person able to identify a PCE as his or hers because it is, in a way, nothing? In other words, how can a PCE and an ordinary state of consciousness be connected as states of mind of the same person, given that there seemingly can be no intersection of something-like-that and nothing-like-that? It may be helpful to suggest that a PCE does not change to an ordinary state of consciousness, but that these two only follow each other in the mental sequencing of a person.²¹⁰

The PCE is, then, like a hole in this series and belongs to it, or is connected to it as a hole belongs to a sock. A person remembers his or her

²⁰⁷ Forman 1990b, 41. Loy (1988, 47, 80–86. Cf. Heidegger 1987, 207 (1941, 163–164)) also remarks that as the linguistic constitution of our consciousness is in a sense learned, why would it be impossible to "unlearn" it? Bräkenhielm 1985, 33 makes the important distinction that a mystical experience can be ineffable either in principle or in practice.

²⁰⁸ Prigge & Kessler 1990, 279. See also Perovich 1990, 249. Cf. Stace's (1961, 303–305) view that mystical experience can be described verbally although those statements tend to be contradictory and paradoxical as the laws of logic have been transcended in the experience.

²⁰⁹ Prigge & Kessler 1990, 278–279.

²¹⁰ This logical problem has been discussed by Vladimir Jankélévitch (1977, 219–226, 265, 269, 362–363) with regard to life changing to death (see Utriainen, 1989, 2). In the background is the same kind of criticism of causality as in Hume 1955, 63.

state of consciousness previous to the PCE and the state of consciousness after the PCE, and is aware that between these two there was a disjunction that, however, was not unconsciousness²¹¹.

As to the nondualistic experience as presented by Griffiths, its ineffability is of a different nature. It is experienced as ineffable because in it no structural opposition between subject and object prevails, although the separation between subject, predicate and object is the basic structure of our language that thus reflects the ordinary way of experiencing²¹². Under these circumstances the nondualistic mystical experience can be described in so many words only in a language that bears no dualistic implications; and thus the mystic may use such expressions as "merging with", "being engulfed by" and other expressions referring to a unitive experience.²¹³ In this way, the nondualistic experience is as though ineffable in practice in the sense that it may be hard to find words to describe it.

The unmediated mystical experience, for its part, is ineffable in the sense that the mystic feels that the phenomenological attributes and content of the experience cannot be adequately described or expressed with the language he or she is familiar with. The consciousness, however, is not empty as is the case in the PCE, and the mystic may find a new way of expressing his or her experience verbally. Yet this experience also entails a feeling of the relativity of traditional language and ways of giving meaning to experience, and consequently, it is ineffable (or as though ineffable) in practice.

An answer to the "constructivist" criticism of the sameness of mystical experience

However, the possibility of PCEs occurring at all has been severely criticized by scholars termed "constructivists", with Steven Katz as the leading figure²¹⁴. According to Katz, mystical experiences are always causally²¹⁵ shaped by the concepts which the mystic brings to the experience, and there cannot thus be any pure unmediated experience or consciousness. Thus, various meditative techniques do not lead to unconditioning or deconditioning of consciousness, but only to a reconditioning. A mystic

²¹¹ This scheme perfectly corresponds to Forman's (1990b, 28) description of his experience of a PCE in meditation.

²¹² See Griffiths 1990, 77–78. There are, of course, also differing views on the nature of the relationship between language and reality, even in Western philosophy (e.g. Whitehead 1978, 35–36, 40–41, 140–141, 166–167).

²¹³ Bernhardt 1990, 223.

²¹⁴ e.g. Forman 1990a and Stoeber 1992, *passim*.

²¹⁵ Katz 1978, 40: "What I wish to show is only that there is a clear causal connection between the religious and social structure one brings to experience and the nature of one's actual religious experience."

does not attain pure consciousness but only a consciousness conditioned in a different way that may, for that matter, be an unusual and exciting state. Yet the experience is determined in advance by cultural tradition, and thus mystics of different traditions cannot have the same experience,²¹⁶

Yet the causal connection supposed by Katz is *not* clear as he has not shown how precisely a learned set of beliefs and concepts *causes* an experience and why, for instance, some are mystics and some are not. It is difficult to explain, using the constructivist thesis, how mystics can persevere in their own mode of life and way of thinking, even though they are often regarded as heretics in their own tradition. Katz explains religious innovation²¹⁷ by supposing that novel ways of experiencing have been determined by some other tradition-context, but then the meaning of the latter becomes so inclusive that it practically loses its meaning²¹⁸.

All Katz has done is to *assume* that language enters and partly shapes and constructs all experience, which then means for us that no PCEs can occur and that difference in mystical concepts always means a difference in mystical experiences as well. No further argumentation for this is given.²¹⁹ To point to the diversity of mystical descriptions is only an *illustration* of the constructivist thesis, not a proof²²⁰.

Thus, even though we would accept that experiences ordinarily receive their meaning from expression and thus are mediated²²¹, there remains the possibility of those rare pure consciousness events that are not experienced as meaningful (and not not-meaningful, for that matter) during the event because no concepts are being used. At least Katz has not presented any argument against this, nor has anyone else except the neo-Kantian type of epistemology that on *a priori* grounds allows no conscious escape from the forms of perception and categories of thought that mediate our experiencing of our being-in-the-world.²²²

Consequently, it is impossible in every case to read from difference in verbal description a difference in the experience as well. A difference

²¹⁶ Katz 1978, 26, 33, 57, 59 and 1983, 5. See Forman 1990b, 3–4, 9–10; Stoeber 1992, 107–108. Stoeber has presented an "experiential-constructivist" view, according to which: "Mystics from different traditions can experience the same reality (even inadvertently), though giving an account which differs according to their socio-religious tradition (Stoeber 1992, 114)."

²¹⁷ Stoeber (1992, 114) sees mystics as the central figures in religious development.

²¹⁸ Forman 1990b, 14–15, 17; Rothberg 1990, 174; Almond 1990, 213–216. In cultural anthropology, cultural determinism has long since been abandoned (see Keesing 1974, 74).

²¹⁹ Forman 1990b, 12, 16; Rothberg 1990, 166–167; Bernhardt 1990, 227, 230.

²²⁰ Evans 1989, 54.

²²¹ That ordinary experiences are mediated and intentional is accepted also in Bernhardt 1990, 229 and Woodhouse 1990, 255, 261.

²²² Bernhardt 1990, 232; Woodhouse 1990, 261. Criticism of Katz' neo-Kantianism is presented in Evans 1989, 59–60 and Rothberg 1990, 171–174, 183.

in verbal description made after the experience entails a difference in the meaning a mystic gives to his or her PCE, but it does not necessarily entail a difference in the experience (as a referent of the description)²²³.

Thus, the PCE could be the same in all cultures and traditions in spite of its various kinds of descriptions: a wakeful state of contentless consciousness that is like a hole in our ordinary experiencing. As such, it does not bring knowledge *during* the experience (and thus is, nevertheless, in accordance with Kantian epistemology), although it may bring knowledge as an effect after the experience (and thus shake the foundations of Kantian epistemology). What I have in mind is an effect that shows the relativity of the foundations of our discursive thinking and use of language. If the forms of perception and categories of thought are once transcended in a PCE, they are no longer felt as absolute and necessarily binding.²²⁴

As to the nondual experience, its structure is universally the same: in it no distinction between subject and object prevails. Otherwise its phenomenological attributes and content may vary from one tradition to another. Similarly, the unmediated experience has universally as its characteristic an experience of the relativity of language as the mystic transcends in it his or her familiar linguistic frame of reference (but not necessarily language in principle). Consequently, it may also have different phenomenological attributes and content in different traditions.

To sum up, I mean by 'mysticism' not only mystical experiences, but also their interpretations, as well as various mystical-like experiences of a lesser intensity, the precise nature of which is left undetermined in this study.

²²³ Forman (1990b, 18) rightly makes a point from Frege's finding that two terms with different meanings (e.g. 'North Star' and 'Pole Star') can have the same reference (here: planet Venus). See above p. 21 n.38.

²²⁴ Cf. Rothberg 1990, 179; Perovich 1990, 239–244.

2. SOURCES

2.1. The Works Used as Sources

The sources of this study comprise Buddhist literature from the earliest canonical texts up to a few 5th century AD works, with only one text being of a much later, but uncertain origin (the *Dhammakâyassa Atthavaṇṇanā*)¹. A chronology of the texts is seen in diagram 3. on the next page. All of them, except the *Dhammakâyassa Atthavaṇṇanā*, represent Indian Buddhism². The last mentioned is a *Theravādin* text, written in Sri Lanka.

The sources have been selected to represent the most influential of the Indian Buddhist schools: *Theravāda*, *Sarvāstivāda*, *Lokottaravāda* of the *Mahāsaṃghikas*, early Mahāyāna, *Mādhyamika* (or: *Madhyamaka*), *Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda* and the *Tathāgatagarbha*-literature. I have tried to use those texts in which each school's particular teachings, related to my research theme, best come forward.

In a nutshell, the teachings of the schools have developed as follows: The *Theravādins* presented the doctrines of not-self (*anattā*), of the world as consisting of compounded *dharma*s, and of nirvāṇa as an uncompounded reality or Absolute. These ideas were further developed by the *Sarvāstivādins*. The *Mahāsaṃghikas* may have been the predecessors of *Mahāyāna*, and their subschool, the *Lokottaravādins*, developed a view of the Buddha as a transcendent (*lokottara*) being.

The *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras* of the early Mahāyāna and the works of *Nāgārjuna*, the founder of the *Mādhyamika* school, denied the difference between compounded and uncompounded realities and considered everything empty (*śūnya*). The *Yogācāra* or *Vijñānavāda* school took an idealistic position in explaining that the world is "the thinking mind only" (*cittamātrataṃ*) or "idea only" (*viññaptimātrataṃ*). Finally, in some Mahāyāna works a special teaching of '*Tathāgatagarbha*' ('womb or germ of *Tathāgata*') is developed to show that the buddha-nature is inherent in every being.

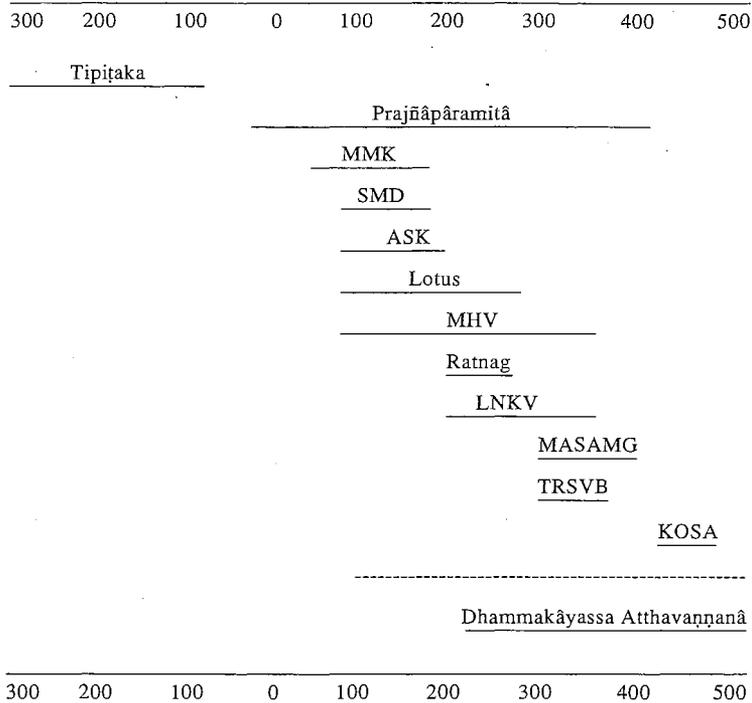
Such forms of popular Buddhism as speculation about the paradise of the Buddha *Amitābha* have been left outside the scope of this study³. The

¹ Coëdes 1956, 258.

² See above pp. 16–17.

³ See the basic texts, the smaller and larger *Sukhāvativyuha*.

Diagram 3. Sources



Key: Tipiṭaka (Theravāda representing "Hīnayāna"), Prajñāpāramitāsūtras (Mahāyāna), MMK = Mūlamadhyamakakārikā of Nāgārjuna (Mādhyamika representing Mahāyāna), SMD = Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra (Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda representing Mahāyāna), ASK = Aśokāvādāna (Sarvāstivāda representing "Hīnayāna"), Lotus = Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (Mahāyāna), MHV = Mahāvastu (Lokottaravāda representing Mahāsaṃghikas of "Hīnayāna"), Ratnagotra = Ratnagotravibhāga (Tathāgatagarbha theory of Mahāyāna), LNKV = Laṅkāvatārasūtra (Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda representing Mahāyāna), MASAMG = Mahāyānasamgraha of Asaṅga (Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda representing Mahāyāna), TRSVB = Trisvabhāvakārikā of Vasubandhu (Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda representing Mahāyāna), Kosa = Abhidharmakośa of Vasubandhu jr. (Vaibhāṣika representing "Hīnayāna"), Dhammakāyassa Atthavaṇṇanā (later Theravāda).

same holds for the relatively late conception of an *Ādibuddha* ('primordial Buddha')⁴, and the later developments in Buddhist logic⁵.

Of the early Buddhist schools, I have focused on *Theravāda*, using *Sarvāstivādin* sources for additional information on later development. The

⁴ See Getty 1962, 2–3.

⁵ See Stcherbatsky 1930–32; Ruegg 1981, 58–86; van Bijlert 1987.

Theravâda sources are: the *Dîgha-*, *Majjhima-*, *Saṃyutta-* and the *Aṅguttaranikâya*, together with the *Udâna* and the *Suttanipâta* of the *Khuddakanikâya*. Of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, I have used its first portion, the *Mahâvagga*. The *Abhidhammapiṭaka* is represented by its *Dhamasangaṇi* portion only.

A few words concerning the way I have determined this selection, may be required. First of all, one should note that there is no special corpus of mystical texts in the Buddhist Tradition. This may be due to the fact that mysticism is not a marginal or a heretical phenomenon in Buddhism, but in a way penetrates the whole of its doctrine⁶. Consequently, my task is to explicate the mystical elements from a great number of texts, dealing with various aspects of Buddhist doctrine and mythology.

This also means that the analysis does not focus on texts as such, but on ideas expressed in texts. I do not aim at a folkloristic or a philological analysis of a given textual corpus *in toto*, but instead only try to extract the mystical elements from the texts, through philosophical analysis. In a few cases I have cited the source *in extenso* and placed the quotation in an appendix, to show the type of material from which I have drawn my conclusions.

I have gone through the first four *Nikâyas* of the *Suttapiṭaka* with the aid of Russell Webb's *An analysis of the Pâli Canon*⁷, searching for relevant passages. In this, I have also benefited from the studies of André Bareaux, identifying from the early canonical texts the fragments of the Buddha's biography⁸.

I have used those passages that deal with the Buddha's experiences and their interpretations, and with the way man's experience of being-in-the-world is constituted. This latter theme is divided into questions concerning the nature of perception, consciousness and of 'self' on the one hand, and of the nature of the external world and the Absolute on the other.

Of the *Khuddakanikâya*, I have consulted only the description of the "uncompounded" (*asaṅkhata*) reality in the *Udâna*, and the *Suttanipâta* which contains some very ancient material⁹. Reference is made to the *Suttanipâta*'s fragments of the Buddha's biography, and to the passages in the *Aṭṭhakavagga* containing descriptions of mystical experiences¹⁰.

The *Mahâvagga* of the *Vinayapiṭaka* is used because it contains a description of the formation of the Buddhist *saṅgha*. This narrative includes

⁶ See above p. 15.

⁷ Webb 1975. I have also compiled an index in Finnish of the contents of the *Tipiṭaka*, published in Gothóni & Mahâpañña 1987, pp. 227–251 (see *ibid.* pp. 7–8).

⁸ Bareaux 1962, 1963, 1970–71, 1974a, 1974b, 1979. Cf. Lamotte 1958, 718–756. I have dealt with the Buddha's biography in Pyysiäinen 1988.

⁹ Geiger 1968, 20.

¹⁰ The passages on mysticism have been discussed by Luis Gómez and Tilmann Vetter 1988 (see Vetter 1988, 101–106).

such basic formulations of the Buddhist doctrine as the four noble truths and the fire sermon. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* of the *Abhidhammaṭṭakā* is used because it contains an important description of the "uncompounded", as shown by Bareau¹¹.

It would be superfluous to list here all the individual passages in the *Tiṭṭakā* which I have referred to in my analysis. The source-critical problems related to the *Tiṭṭakā* will be discussed in the next chapter.

Of the *Sarvāstivādin* sources, I have consulted *Vasubandhu*'s important summary of the "Hīnayāna", the *Abhidharmakośa*, which I have read through to find parallels to the *Theravāda* material. The *Aśokāvadāna*, a *Sarvāstivādin* work, has been used as it contains an important description of the cosmic symbolism of the Buddha's body. This is also explicitly dealt with in a much later *Theravādin* text, the *Dhammakāyassa Atthavaṇṇanā*, which has also been consulted. The *Mahāvastu* of the *Lokottaravādins* is used because it is an important "bridge work" between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna¹², and contains a conception of the transcendent nature of the Buddha.

As to the Mahāyāna, I have used the various *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras*, which I have analysed systematically in Conze's translation¹³. In addition, I have made use of the Heart Sūtra. These have been supplemented by the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, which is regarded as "the *magnum opus*"¹⁴ and "the basic text of the *Mādhyamika*"¹⁵. The enormous *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, whose authorship has been much debated, is only occasionally used as secondary literature¹⁶. Besides this, I have used one of the most popular works of the Mahāyāna, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* which contains, among other things, the classical presentation of the Buddha's skill in means (*upāyakaūśalya*).

The *Vijñānavādins* are here represented by the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*, a basic work of the school, and the *Mahāyānasamgraha* of *Asaṅga* together with the *Trisvabhāvakārikā* of *Vasubandhu*. *Vijñānavādin* tenets are also found in the *Laikāvatārasūtra* which is also used here. The *Tathāgata-garbha* doctrines are here studied as they appear in the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, lucidly summarizing the *Tathāgata-garbha* ideas. All these works have been systematically analysed.

In the following sections 2.2.–2.5., the most important editions and translations of the relevant texts will be briefly reviewed.

¹¹ Bareau 1951.

¹² Pye 1978, 60 and n. 1.

¹³ Conze 1984.

¹⁴ Lindtner 1982, 10: "(MMK) which I axiomatically, but in accordance with a unanimous and, for all we know, reliable Indian, Chinese and Tibetan tradition regard as his *magnum opus*." And on p. 24: "(It) may suitably be labelled the *chef d'oeuvre* among Nāgārjuna's dialectical tracts."

¹⁵ Murti 1980, 88 n. 5.

¹⁶ See MPPS, t. I, p. x; Conze 1960, 93–94; Ruegg 1981, 32–33; Lindtner 1982, 11.

2.2. The Formation of the *Tipiṭaka*

Source critical problems related to the *Tipiṭaka* are notorious. As noted by Uma Chakravarti, scholars have often lumped texts ranging from the fifth century BC to the fifth century AD into one category and treated the *Tipiṭaka* as a homogeneous whole¹⁷. Chakravarti's own attempt to use a more refined approach, however, suffers from the fact that she accepts without further discussion the traditional date of the Buddha's death as being around 480 BC¹⁸. Yet the scholarship of P.H.L. Eggermont and Heinz Bechert has shown that this date can no longer be accepted, as acknowledged by myself, Klaus Karttunen and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit as well¹⁹.

The traditional dating of the Buddha's death, so scrupulously argued by André Bareau²⁰, has been shown to be due to a Sinhalese attempt to harmonize the Buddha's death as simultaneous with the coming of *Vijaya*, the cultural hero of the Sinhalese people²¹. Thus, there is no evidence independent of the Sinhalese chronicles, for the so-called longer chronology of the Buddha, and Bareau's statement that all evidence for the shorter chronology is dependent on the *Aśokāvadāna* has been turned around²².

However, the shorter chronology of Sanskrit texts, placing the Buddha's death around 368 BC, cannot be accepted as such either²³. All we can safely conclude is that the Buddha's death must have taken place roughly around 350 BC²⁴, i.e. about a hundred years later than formerly believed. However, there still remains a gap of at least three hundred years between the death of the Buddha and the writing of the *Tipiṭaka* that took place in the 3rd decade BC. Final agreement about the contents of the Pāli canon, however, is said to have been reached as late as the fifth century AD.²⁵

We cannot even be sure about the exact date of the writing of the *Tipiṭaka*. Friedrich Weller has tried to prove that the testimony of the Sinhalese chronicles on this matter is a later interpolation²⁶. Moreover, ac-

¹⁷ Chakravarti 1987, 2.

¹⁸ Chakravarti 1987, 1.

¹⁹ Pyysiäinen 1988, 6–8; Karttunen 1989, 151–153; Klimkeit 1990, 23–24.

²⁰ Bareau 1953.

²¹ Bechert 1982, 34–36; 1986, 19–24, 50–51 and 1988, 24–26; Eggermont 1965–79, II 41–44, IV 77–120, V 69–70, VIII 55–57.

²² Bareau 1953, 40–43. Cf. Bechert 1986, 42.

²³ See Lamotte 1958, 14–15.

²⁴ Eggermont 1965–79, VIII 57; Bechert 1986, 39; Hirakawa 1990, 22–23, 91–93.

²⁵ See Winternitz 1972, 5–8; Geiger 1968, 1–2, 11; Bechert & von Simson 1979, 26, 69–71; Lancaster 1987, 504–505; Prebish 1987, 120.

²⁶ *Dīpavaṃsa*, XX 18ff.; *Mahāvāṃsa*, XXXIII 100–101. Weller 1928, 161–164.

cording to J.W. de Jong, "nobody has tried to refute Weller's opinion²⁷." So, even though parts of the *Tipiṭaka* may contain material from the Buddha's lifetime, it is almost impossible to say which ones.}

Linguistically the *Tipiṭaka* consists of various strata, and parts of it have obviously been translated from another language. As Pāli is a purely literary language, some scholars have held that there has been a sort of original oral canon (Lüders: *Urkanon*) in one "precanonical" (Lévi) language.²⁸ More recently, Gustav Roth has suggested that the Buddhist tradition was collected immediately after the Buddha's death in the first council of Rājagṛha in one of the *Prākṛt* dialects.²⁹

However, the first council is not considered to be historical by the majority of scholars³⁰, and J.W. de Jong wrote in 1956 that "there is no evidence whatsoever of the existence of an original canon." According to him, "It seems more reasonable to assume that only a small number of texts, above all verses and stereotyped dogmatic formulas, at an early stage attained a definite form, and that they were subsequently translated into Pāli and other middle-Indo-Aryan languages."³¹

I agree with Erich Frauwallner, in that the further development of the Buddhist tradition took place not in great "catholic councils" but in a series of smaller gatherings where the traditions have been collected. At the same time, new material was included and new schools were formed. Through this process the *Theravādins* then adopted the Pāli language as the language of their canon.³²

2.3. The Split of the *Mahāsaṃghikas*

A hundred years or more after the Buddha's death, Buddhism split into two branches, the *Sthaviravādins* and the *Mahāsaṃghikas*. A subschool of the latter, the *Lokottaravādins* that resided in Bāmiyān in western Afghanistan, has produced a sort of a biography of the Buddha in Hybrid Sanskrit, the *Mahāvastu*.

The reason for the rise of the new school of *Mahāsaṃghikas* is not altogether clear. According to the *Theravāda* tradition, the *Mahāsaṃghikas*

²⁷ de Jong 1989, 242.

²⁸ de Jong 1979, 17.

²⁹ Roth 1980, 78.

³⁰ E.g. Oldenberg 1903, 392–393; Winternitz 1972, 4–5; Thomas 1952, 165; Barreau 1955b, 27–29; Lamotte 1958, 141; Prebish 1987, 121.

³¹ de Jong 1979, 17. See McDermott 1984, 22–23.

³² Frauwallner 1952, 240. See Lamotte 1958, 154 and Eggermont 1965–1979, IV 114–115.

were ideological inheritors of the *Vajjiputtaka* monks whose laxity in ten points of the *Vinaya* was condemned in the council of Vaiśālī 100 or 110 years after the Buddha's death³³. This, however, cannot be the reason for the first split, since according to the *Vinaya* texts the council ended in agreement and the *Theravādin* and *Mahāsaṃghika Vinayas* do not differ at all in the ten points in question³⁴.

According to Bareau, the first schism took place, not in Vaiśālī but in Pāṭaliputra about 130 years after the Buddha's death³⁵. The reason for this is traced to the fact the future *Sthaviravādins* proposed a more rigorous monastic discipline by including new *śaikṣa/sekhiya*-regulations in the *Vinaya* and the future *Mahāsaṃghikas*, on the contrary showed laxity by maintaining that *Arhats* may have some imperfections. Thus Bareau accepts both of the motives different sources give to the first schism, i.e. the *Sthaviravādin* tendency to enlarge the *Vinaya* and the so-called five points of *Mahādeva* criticizing *Arhats*.³⁶

However, Janice Nattier and Charles Prebish, relying mainly on the *Śāriputrapariṣecchāsūtra*, see the reason for the first schism solely in the *Sthaviravādin* enlargement of the *Vinaya*³⁷, and take the five points of *Mahādeva* to be related to a later schism inside the *Mahāsaṃghikas*³⁸. This supposed later schism separated the followers of *Mahādeva* from those *Mahāsaṃghikas* who did not accept the five points criticizing the *Arhats*. The *Lokottaravādin* authors of the *Mahāvastu* were among the followers of *Mahādeva*, and thus either moderated the terms for the attainment of the highest goal, or proposed a new goal superseding *Arhatship*, and thus would have been the predecessors of the Mahāyānistic *bodhisattva*-ideal.³⁹

The notorious five points, whose contents vary slightly in different sources can, however, be harmonized as follows:⁴⁰

- 1) *Arhats* may have nocturnal emissions of semen
- 2) *Arhats* may be ignorant in worldly matters
- 3) *Arhats* may show doubt in everyday life
- 4) *Arhats* must in some cases rely on others
- 5) Entering the Buddhist path is accompanied by an exclamation (of the word '*duḥkha*')

³³ *Dīpavaṃsa*, IV 52–57, V 21–31.

³⁴ Hofinger 1946; Bareau 1955b, 76–78; Nattier & Prebish 1977, 237–246.

³⁵ According to P. H. L. Eggermont (1965–1979, IV 115–120) the council of Vaiśālī was not held in Vaiśālī at all but in the monastery of Kukkuṭārāma near Pāṭaliputra in 258 BC. To Bareau (1955b, 32), the date of the council is uncertain but the location in Vaiśālī is certain.

³⁶ Bareau 1955b, 88–109. Cf. Hirakawa 1990, 79–83.

³⁷ To Bareau (1955b, 94) this alone seems too trivial a reason for a schism. Nattier and Prebish (1977, 269), however, point out that the ten points Bareau admits having been discussed in the council of Vaiśālī are just as trivial.

³⁸ Nattier & Prebish 1977, 264–272. See Hirakawa 1990, 79–83.

³⁹ Nattier & Prebish 1977, 257–265.

⁴⁰ Nattier & Prebish 1977, 251–257.

As to the *bodhisattva*-ideal, the *Mahāvastu* speaks of four practices (*caryā*) of a bodhisattva: 1) the preparatory natural practice (*prakticaryā*), 2) the practice of the vow (*prañidhānacaryā*) which produces the idea of enlightenment, 3) the practice of conformity with the vow (*anulomacaryā*), and 4) the practice of not backsliding (*anivartanacaryā*)⁴¹.

The third of these practices is divided into ten stages (*bhūmi*) as follows: 1) the difficult to enter (*dūrāroha*), 2) the fastening (*baddhamānā*), 3) the flower-adorned (*puṣpamañḍitā*), 4) the beautiful (*rucirā*), 5) the vast-minded (*cittavistarā*), 6) the lovely (*rūpavatī*), 7) the difficult to conquer (*durjayā*), 8) the ascertainment of birth (*janmanirdeśa*), 9) the crown prince (*yauvarāja*), 10) the coronation (*abhīṣeka*).⁴²

The *bhūmis* of the *Mahāvastu*, however, only describe the history of perfect buddhas and thus do not present an ideal to ordinary human beings. They are not connected to the idea of six or ten perfections (*pāramitā*), do not form gradation, and with the exception of the last two, do not mark progress in the spiritual ascension of a bodhisattva. Moreover, the *bhūmis* have nothing in common with those of the Mahāyāna tradition.⁴³

2.4. The Beginnings of Mahāyāna

Whether the five points of *Mahādeva* and the *Lokottaravādin bhūmis* of a *bodhisattva* were the immediate incentives to the *bodhisattva*-ideal of Mahāyāna or not, they nevertheless reveal discontent towards the Hīnayānistic religious goal of *Arhatship*. Thus, *Mahādeva*'s points are at least a similar expression of a tension between an institutional elite of monks and the mass of laymen, if not yet expressive Mahāyāna⁴⁴.

Although the Buddha's followers had been from the beginning in contact with laymen who gave them food and received teaching in return, this relationship was weakened when king *Aśoka* provided the monks with official support and thus guaranteed their relative independence. Organized monastic settlements started to flourish and the role of laymen became more or less irrelevant to the elite strata of monks.⁴⁵

This institutional development was accompanied by an ideological one in which growing importance was given to scholastic elaboration of the

⁴¹ MHV, I 39–52.

⁴² MHV, I 60–124.

⁴³ Lamotte 1958, 695–696; Winternitz 1972, 246 and its n.1; Hirakawa 1990, 307–309.

⁴⁴ See also Nakamura 1987, 266. Cf. Hirakawa 1990, 253–254, 260, 262.

⁴⁵ Conze 1975, 85–88. See also Gombrich 1988, 127–134.

conceptual scheme of the Sūtras. The cold intellectualism of this *Abhidharma* is personified by the monk *Śāriputra* whom the Buddhist tradition considers a great master in "reviewing *dharmas*", i.e. in analyzing entities to their ultimate constituents which, according to the *Sarvāstivādins*, were real, although the entities were unreal and mere "designations" (*prajñapti*).⁴⁶

By reviewing the lists of *dharmas* in this way the abhidharmists tried to penetrate into the essence of the process of becoming (*bhava*), in order to turn it around and reach the uncompounded *nirvāṇa*⁴⁷. *Abhidharma* was in a sense an attempt to create a technical language of salvation that would make possible a discourse on things otherwise ineffable. Its central concept was to be '*prajñapti*', 'conventional designation', that immediately shows the nature and function of language.⁴⁸

Under these circumstances, the criticism of *Arhats* and the subsequent emergence of the *bodhisattva*-ideal may be regarded as expressions of a protest movement of the type that are bound to arise in religions when personal "virtuosity" has been replaced by "official grace" granted by the institutionalized community. The protest is directed against the view that the personal qualities of individuals are of no importance, since membership in the community is the most crucial factor in attaining the highest goal.⁴⁹

The Mahāyāna protest against the community of monks possibly originated among laymen and monks that did not belong to any *Nikāyas*, and who were in the habit of meeting each other around *stūpas*⁵⁰. The monkish goal of *Arhatship* was condemned as selfish since it implied that one was willing to secure something for himself only, which was judged contradictory – as no such self was believed to exist. Consequently *Arhatship* as a goal was replaced by buddhahood which was thought to lie open to everyone. Those who thus perceived the ego-illusion of *Arhats* called themselves *bodhisattvas*, beings destined to reach enlightenment together with the whole world.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Conze 1960, 13–14; de Jong 1972a, 1; *Aṅguttara*, I 23. See *Kosa*, t. I p. 3 and its n.4.

⁴⁷ Streng 1967, 43–44.

⁴⁸ Gómez 1987b, 447.

⁴⁹ See Weber 1966, 162–195. Joseph Kitagawa (1987, 304) distinguishes three phases in the development of founded religious communities like the Buddhist *saṅgha*: 1) the significance of the founder, 2) the process of formation when a circle of disciples becomes the nucleus of the brotherhood, and 3) the phase when the brotherhood grows into an egalitarian or hierarchical community. In the third phase the community has to meet the surrounding culture, and more than often falls prey to routinization, clericalization and inertia, giving rise to protest movements of various kinds.

⁵⁰ Hirakawa 1990, 246, 271, 273.

⁵¹ See Nakamura 1987, 266–267.

Ascension towards buddhahood proceeded through ten *bhūmis* and six or ten perfections. The ten *bhūmis* were: 1) Great Joy (*pramuditā*), 2) Immaculate (*vimāla*), 3) Illumination (*prabhākari*), 4) Intense Wisdom (*arciṣmatī*), 5) Invincible Strength (*sudurjayā*), 6) Direct Presence (of Wisdom [*abhimukī*]), 7) Far-reaching (*dūraṅgamā*), 8) Immovable Steadfastness (*acalā*), 9) Meritorious Wisdom (*sādhumatī*), 10) Cloud of the Dharma (*dharmameghā*).⁵²

The six or ten perfections were: Charity or giving, morality, patience, vigour, meditative concentration (*samādhi*), wisdom (*prajñā*), and sometimes also skill in means (*upāyakaśālyā*), vow, power and cognition⁵³.

In the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the idea of *bodhisattvahood* is personified by the intellectual and moral excellency of *Vimalakīrti* who wore the layman's robe but led the life of a mendicant (*śramaṇa*), who lived in a house but had renounced (*asaṃsṛṣṭa*) the triple world, and who had a son, a spouse and a harem although he lived in chastity (*brahmacarya*)⁵⁴. Because of the profoundness of *Vimalakīrti*'s wisdom, no monk ventured to interrogate the reason for his pretended ('*upāyakaśālyena*') illness and the Buddha had to appoint this task to *bodhisattva Mañjuśrī*⁵⁵.

Just as they rejected the distinction between monks and laymen, the *bodhisattvas* rejected its parallel, the distinction between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, or compounded and un-compounded realities. As part and parcel of the *Arhat*-ideal, this ontological dualism was considered to be an expression of the ego-illusion similar to that of *Arhatship*: if there were two spheres there should also be somebody who moves from one to the other. Just as belief in a metaphysical self has been a key to a tripartite ontology of me-world-God, so the Mahāyāna revitalization of the denial of self was now a key to a monistic ontology where the barriers of me, world and the absolute broke down with new force.

Where the earliest Mahāyāna Sūtras were composed is a matter of dispute. According to Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, among others, their cradle lies in the Andhra country, between the rivers Godāvarī and Kistnā (Kṛṣṇā) in Southeastern India. Sāṅkṛtyāyana argues that as there is a close resemblance between some doctrines of Mahāyāna and the doctrines of *Andhaka* and *Vetullavāda* schools criticized in the *Kathāvatthu*, the latter must be the immediate predecessors of Mahāyāna. The *Andhakas*, in turn, are regarded by Sāṅkṛtyāyana as an offshoot of the *Mahāsaṅghika* school that dominated the area of Amarāvati and Dhyānakaṭaka in Andhra.⁵⁶

⁵² See Chang 1971, 29–47; Hirakawa 1990, 309.

⁵³ Conze 1984, 668–669 (Ad in Gilgit ms.); Winternitz 1972, 313 and its n.4; Hirakawa 1987, 517–518.

⁵⁴ VKN, p. 127.

⁵⁵ VKN, pp. 131–221.

⁵⁶ Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1934, 195–208. Other references in, Lamotte 1954, 386 n. 49. The *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras* themselves are almost unanimous about the south-

This theory has been accepted with only slight reservations by Edward Conze who also considers four additional arguments in favor of the southern origins of the *Prajñâpâramitâ*⁵⁷. 1) According to some Tibetan sources, two subschools of the *Mahâsaṃghikas* (*Pûrvaśailas* and *Aparaśailas*), residing near Dhyānakaṭaka had a prototype of *Prajñâpâramitâ* in *Prākṛt*; 2) the *Pûrvaśailas* spoke of *Dharmadhātu* in the same sense as later Mahâyāna; 3) the Buddhology of the *Pûrvaśailas* prepared that of the Mahâyāna; 4) the great systematizer of the *Prajñâpâramitâ*, *Nâgârjuna*, came from Andhra.

To Lamotte, however, these arguments "ne font pas impression"⁵⁸. "Mahâsaṃghika and Mahâyāna doctrines bear a resemblance to each other, that much is evident, but Andhra was not the only place where *Mahâsaṃghikas* flourished. They were found in Mathurâ, Bamiyân and Kaśmir as well."⁵⁹

As to the Buddhology of the *Pûrvaśailas*, it may be noted that similar ideas were put forward by the *Mahâsaṃghika-Lokottaravâdins*⁶⁰ in their *Mahāvastu*, representing a sort of "docetic" Buddhology. Furthermore, the published inscriptions from Nâgârjunikoṇḍa bear no witness to Mahâyānist propaganda in Andhra in the third century AD. All schools mentioned represent Hīnayāna. Because of these arguments, Lamotte concludes by stating that the Mahâyāna sprang up in the Kushan period in different parts of India, especially in the northwestern region and Khotan.⁶¹

According to Hirakawa, the dated Chinese translations of early Mahâyāna prove that Mahâyāna existed in Northern India at the end of the first century CE, some Sûtras being even from the first century BC. On the other hand, there is evidence of Mahâyāna existing in the South quite early as well.⁶² I consider it reasonable for the time being to take sides with Hirakawa and accept this vague formulation as a working hypothesis.

ern origins (e.g., Conze 1984, 327–328 (P); see MPPS, t. I pp. 24–26). The way of the *Prajñâpâramitâ* from south to east and then north is accepted by Moritz Winternitz (1972, 314).

⁵⁷ Conze 1960, 9–12. Like Conze, Akira Hirakawa (1987, 518) thinks that most of the Sûtras were written in the South, although some texts may be of a northern origin.

⁵⁸ Lamotte 1954, 387.

⁵⁹ Lamotte 1954, 387–388.

⁶⁰ From 'loka' (world) and 'uttara' (beyond).

⁶¹ Lamotte 1954, 388–389. Ronald Emmerick, dealing with the Kushanan influence on Buddhism, says that Mahâyāna may have arisen in cosmopolitan places like Gandhâra (in the North–West of India) (Emmerick 1987, 400–401).

⁶² Hirakawa 1990, 243, 247–252–254.

2.5. Presentation of the Sources

For the *Theravâdin* tradition I have used the *Tipiṭaka*, the formation of which has been discussed above. I have used the editions and translations of the *Pali Text Society*, providing references consistently to the Pâli text. Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated (reference being consistently given to the Pâli text). As the edition of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* has not been at my disposal, I have used André Bareau's French translation.

The Pâli text of the *Dhammakâyassa Atthavaṇṇanâ* with its summary in French and English has been published by George Coedès. This short text is a summary of the Buddhist doctrine based largely on the *Visud-dhimagga* and *Abhidhammathasaṅgaha*, and it consists of thirty paragraphs, each of which identify an element of the doctrine with the Buddha's body and clothing⁶³.

Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* is a *Sarvâstivâdin/Vaibhâṣika* work written in Kâśmîr. According to the legend, *Vasubandhu* was *Asaṅga's* brother who was converted to Mahâyâna at the age of 80. The Buddhist tradition has given *Vasubandhu* three different dates that are all counted in years after the Buddhas's nirvâṇa. In his biography of *Vasubandhu* and in some other works, *Paramârtha* says that *Vasubandhu* lived 1100 years after the nirvâṇa. *Xuanzang* estimates 1000 years, and 900 is given by *K'uei-chi* in *Paramârtha's* commentary to *Maitreyanâtha's* *Madhyânta-vibhâga*.⁶⁴

As Frauwallner recognizes, the date of the nirvâṇa varies in Buddhist sources, and we have to take into account the date of the nirvâṇa which is used by each author. When this is done, we are in a position to say that, according to *Paramârtha* and *Xuanzang*, *Vasubandhu* lived in the 5th century, and according to *K'uei-chi* in the 4th.⁶⁵ Frauwallner solves this problem by supposing that there were, in fact, two *Vasubandhus*. This is in his opinion "a certain fact".⁶⁶

There is not a single word about *Asaṅga* in the second part of *Paramârtha's* biography of *Vasubandhu*, so Frauwallner takes only the first and third parts to refer to *Vasubandhu* the elder, brother of *Asaṅga*. The second part tells us about *Vasubandhu* junior, author of the *Abhidharmakośa*. Only *Paramârtha* or his pupils have confused the two men, tak-

⁶³ Coedès 1956, 254–259.

⁶⁴ Frauwallner 1951, 3–5.

⁶⁵ Frauwallner 1951, 7–10.

⁶⁶ Frauwallner 1951, 10–12. The supposition has received some criticism but seems to have been accepted by May (1971, 279, 294). Lamotte (in MASA-MG, II pp. vii–viii) mentions it as one possibility. Hirakawa (1990, 137), on the other hand, explicitly denies the existence of two *Vasubandhus* and dates the one and only *Vasubandhu* to the years 400–480.

ing them to be one.⁶⁷ *Vasubandhu* the elder would have lived c. 320–380, and the younger one from c. 400–480⁶⁸. The older *Vasubandhu* was the brother of *Asaṅga* and son of *brāhmaṇa Kausika*. He lived in Puruṣapura and was originally a *Sarvāstivādin*⁶⁹.

Frauwallner has several arguments in favor of his thesis. First he notes that *Yasomitra* mentions in his commentary to the *Kośa* that a certain opinion in the *Kośa* was supported by an older *Vasubandhu* (*vr̥ddhacārya-Vasubandhuḥ* and *sthavīro Vasubandhuḥ*), who lived before the author of the *Kośa*. In addition, *Yasomitra* explains that the "teachers of yore" (*pūrvācāryāḥ*) mentioned in the *Kośa* mean *Asaṅga*, etc. So *Asaṅga* would be very old when compared to the author of the *Kośa*, i.e. to *Vasubandhu* junior; thus it follows that *Asaṅga* cannot be his brother.⁷⁰ This is also proven by the fact that *Kumārajīva* (c. 344–413) says in a postscript to his translation of the Lotus Sūtra that *Sāryasoma* had given him a book of *Vasubandhu* that was already famous at that time, i.e. in about the year 360⁷¹.

Thus, the *Kośa* would be from the 5th century. It consists of verses presenting the *Vaibhāṣika* point of view and a commentary where *Vasubandhu* discusses other points of view and rejects them. There are several translations of the *Kośa* in Tibetan, Chinese and Uigur. A Sanskrit manuscript dating from the 12th or the 13th century was found in 1935 by Sāṅkṛtyāyana and published in 1967 by P. Pradhan. Louis de la Vallée Poussin's French translation, which I have used here was composed from Chinese and Tibetan sources supplemented by the Sanskrit text of part of the *kārikā* as well as *Yaśomitra's* *Sputārtha Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*. It was completed in 1931, and soon turned out to correspond almost word by word to the Sanskrit text.⁷²

The *Mahāvastu* of the *Lokottaravādins*, written in Hybrid Sanskrit, is formally a part of the *Vinayaṭīkā* but it consists mostly of *Jātakas* in prose and verse. The core of the text must derive from the first century AD, although the text has been enlarged up to the fourth century. It may also contain some Mahāyānistic interpolations.⁷³ The Sanskrit text was edited by Émile Senart in three volumes in 1882–1897. My references are to the English translation by J.J. Jones.⁷⁴

The *Aśokāvadāna* that seems to have been compiled in Mathurā during the first century AD is a *Sarvāstivādin* work in Sanskrit, and appears fragmentarily in the *Dīvyāvadāna*. It has also existed as a separate work

⁶⁷ Frauwallner 1951, 13–14, 17–18, 51.

⁶⁸ Frauwallner 1951, 32, 46, 54–56.

⁶⁹ Frauwallner 1951, 32.

⁷⁰ Frauwallner 1951, 13, 21–22.

⁷¹ Frauwallner 1951, 34–35.

⁷² Lamotte in his preface to the new edition of la Vallée Poussin's translation of the *Kośa*.

⁷³ Winternitz 1972, 239–247; Bareau 1955a, 38, 75–77.

⁷⁴ See under MHV in bibliography.

which is proven by its two Chinese translations. The earlier of these translations was rendered into French by Jean Przyluski in 1923.⁷⁵ I have here referred to the English translation included in John Strong's book, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, and to Przyluski's French translation of the Chinese version (*A-yu-wang-tchouan*)⁷⁶.

Strong has used Sujitkumar Mukhopādhyāya's 1963 published edition of the Sanskrit text because it is based on a larger number of manuscripts than Cowell's and Neil's edition of the *Divyāvadāna*, or Vaidya's re-edition of the latter. Mukhopādhyāya has also taken into account the Chinese text.⁷⁷ There are, nevertheless, shortcomings in Mukhopādhyāya's edition as de Jong has pointed out. Besides this, Strong's translation is plagued by mistakes, many of which are noted and corrected by de Jong.⁷⁸

As to the Mahāyāna sources, the oldest of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras* is the "Perfection of Wisdom in 8 000 lines" (*Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*), some parts of which date from the first century BC. The completion of this Sūtra, however, took over two centuries. Between 100 and 300 AD it was then expanded to a "Large Sutra of the Perfection of Wisdom" (*Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*), today represented by versions in 18 000, 25 000, and 100 000 lines (*ślokas*). The only difference between these last three versions is the amount of certain repetitions. If, for instance, we have a statement: "form is emptiness and emptiness is form", the longest version first lists about 199 items that are emptiness, and after that declares form to be emptiness as well. The shorter versions omit certain items and go more immediately to the point.⁷⁹

As the huge bulk of these large Sūtras turned out in due course to be difficult to master, shorter Sūtras and versified summaries were provided between the years 300 and 500. Thus were born the "Heart Sutra" (*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayāsūtra*), the "Diamond Sutra" (*Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*) and related texts as well as the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*. All these three texts mentioned date before the year 400 AD.⁸⁰

I have referred to Edward Conze's English translation which mainly follows the version in 25 000 lines (*abhisamayās* I–IV) adjusted to conform to the divisions of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*⁸¹. In some passages, however, Conze has used the version in 100 000 lines⁸², or adopted readings of the version in 18 000 lines⁸³ and of various Chinese translations.

⁷⁵ Strong 1983, 16, 27–31; Lamotte 1958, 364.

⁷⁶ See under ASK in bibliography.

⁷⁷ Strong 1983, 169.

⁷⁸ de Jong 1986.

⁷⁹ Conze 1960, 9, 17–18; Winternitz 1972, 316.

⁸⁰ Conze 1960, 18–20.

⁸¹ Manuscripts used are presented in Conze 1960, 42 (Conze 1984, ix). I have consistently indicated, in parentheses, to which version the reference is.

⁸² P. Gosha's edition 1902–1923 and Ms. Cambridge Add. 1630.

⁸³ On editions, see Conze 1960, 45–46.

Some passages are based on Gilgit and Central Asian manuscripts of the Sūtras in 18 000 and 25 000 lines.⁸⁴ Besides this, I have used Conze's edition and translation of the Heart Sūtra⁸⁵.

The founder of the *Mādhyamika* school, *Nāgārjuna*, who was active in the first centuries AD, was the first to collect the Mahāyāna Sūtras and systematize their teachings. According to *Bu-ston*, *Nāgārjuna* was a *brāhmaṇa* who came to Nālandā from Andhra in southern India. His immediate disciple was *Āryadeva*.⁸⁶ Translations used here are from the English translation of the *Mūlamadhayamakakārikā* included in Frederick Streng's study, entitled *Emptiness*⁸⁷.

The teachings of the *Yogācāra* or *Vijñānavāda* school are based, above all, on two Sūtras, viz. the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* and the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*⁸⁸. The *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*, testifying to a transition from *Prajñāpāramitā* to *Vijñānavāda*, is the oldest and one of the most important texts of this school⁸⁹. According to Lamotte, it is constituted of passages formed during the second century, and was molded into its present form at the beginning of the third⁹⁰.

I have used the Tibetan edition and Lamotte's French translation from the Tibetan (xylographe no. 410 of Bibliothèque National). Besides this, there are two complete and three partial Chinese translations of this Sūtra. The original Sanskrit is lost, except for some citations.⁹¹

According to the legend, the *Vijñānavāda* school was founded by *Maitreyanātha*, *Asaṅga* and *Vasubandhu*, a brother of the latter. The Tibetan tradition ascribes to *Asaṅga* the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* and the *Mahāyānasāṅgraha*. The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, the *Madhyāntavibhāga*, the *Dharmadharmatāvihāga*, the *Uttaratantra*, the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, and the *Yogācārarabhūmiśāstra* are ascribed to *Asaṅga* as inspired by *bodhi-sattva Maitreya*.⁹²

The legend has it that *Maitreya* would in fact mean *Maitreyanātha*, 'the one who is protected by *Maitreya*', and he would be a historical person. This is accepted by Erich Frauwallner, but rejected by David Ruegg

⁸⁴ Conze 1984, ix.

⁸⁵ See under *Hridayā* in bibliography.

⁸⁶ Murti 1980, 87–88; Ruegg 1981, 4–8, 50–54, 101; Lindtner 1982, 260–261. During the 6th century the *Mādhyamikas* split into *Prāsaṅgikas* and *Svātantrikas* represented by *Buddhapālita* and *Bhāvaviveka*, respectively. In the 7th century *Dharmakīrti* and *Śāntideva* reaffirmed the *Prāsaṅgika* position. (Murti 1980, 87; Ruegg 1981, 58–86.)

⁸⁷ Streng 1967, 183–220. The Sanskrit text was published by Louis de la Vallée Poussin (see under MMK in bibliography; on this work, see Lindtner 1982, 24–29).

⁸⁸ May 1971, 275, 277.

⁸⁹ May 1971, 275–276.

⁹⁰ Lamotte in SMD, p. 25. See May 1971, 276.

⁹¹ Lamotte in SMD, p. 8; May 1971, 275.

⁹² May 1971, 289–290.

who does not consider the *Maitreya* of the five works to be a historical person. Accordingly, these works would be compiled by *Asaṅga* on the basis of existing material.⁹³

Jacques May accepts Frauwallner's chronology, and thus *Maitreya* is dated c. 300 AD and *Asaṅga* c. 315-390. We know that *Asaṅga* was a *brāhmaṇa* from Puruṣapura (Peshawar) and converted first to *Sarvāstivāda* Buddhism and then to Mahāyāna.⁹⁴

I have here used *Asaṅga's Mahāyānasamgraha*, "la charte du bouddhisme idéaliste", in Lamotte's French translation. The original Sanskrit text of this work is lost, and Lamotte's translation is based on the Tibetan and Chinese translations. Lamotte has consulted three sources: the *Mahāyānasamgraha* of *Asaṅga*, the *Mahāyānasamgrahabhāṣya* of *Vasubandhu* and the *Mahāyānasamgrahopanibandhana* of *Aśvabhāva*.⁹⁵

In addition I have used *Vasubandhu* junior's *Trisvabhāvakārikā* that has been published in romanized Sanskrit and in English translation by Fernando Tola and Carmen Dragonetti⁹⁶. The original Sanskrit text was found in Nepal by Sylvain Lévi in 1928 and published by Susumu Yamaguchi in 1931, along with a Tibetan translation. In 1932-1933 de la Vallée Poussin again published the Sanskrit text with two Tibetan translations, in addition to his own French translation. In 1939 Mukhopādhyāya, unaware of the earlier editions, published a Sanskrit version based on a Manuscript found by Guiseppe Tucci. It also included Tibetan and English translations and a selection of parallel texts.⁹⁷

The differences between Lévi's and Tucci's manuscripts seem to be minor ones, but Tola and Dragonetti are of the opinion that they are, nevertheless, two separate manuscripts. The two Tibetan translations, however, are made of one and the same Sanskrit original. Tola and Dragonetti have used Yamaguchi's revised edition of Lévi's manuscript published in 1972-1973, except in some passages where they have followed another reading indicated in the notes.⁹⁸

As to the Lotus Sūtra or *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, its early versions were completed in northern India around 250 AD, as the first Chinese translation is from the year 286. The core of the text, however, must derive from the first century AD because *Nāgārjuna* quotes it.⁹⁹ I have mainly used Kern's 1884 English translation that is based on palmleaf manuscripts from Dr. Wright's collection at the University of Cambridge¹⁰⁰. As it is rather

⁹³ See May 1971, 290-293; Ruegg 1969, 39-45, 50-55.

⁹⁴ May 1971, 279, 294 n. 79; Lamotte in MASAMG, II p. v.

⁹⁵ The manuscripts used are listed in MASAMG, I pp. v-vi.

⁹⁶ Tola & Dragonetti 1983, 248-257.

⁹⁷ Tola & Dragonetti 1983, 225.

⁹⁸ Tola & Dragonetti 1983, 225-227, 231.

⁹⁹ Winternitz 1972, 304; Hirakawa 1987, 520.

¹⁰⁰ Kern in Lotus, p. xxxviii.

outdated¹⁰¹, I have also used Conze's partial translation included in his *Buddhist Scriptures*¹⁰², providing references to both.

One of the central ideas in the Lotus is that the Hīnayānists (*śrāvaka*s), the Mahāyānists (*bodhisattva*s) and *pratyekabuddha*s (those enlightened by and for themselves only) are all in possession of an inherent būdha-nature¹⁰³. This idea was then elaborated in some Sūtras¹⁰⁴ using the concept of 'Tathāgatagarbha', 'the womb or germ of Tathāgata'¹⁰⁵.

The first systematic presentation of the *Tathāgatagarbha* doctrines is the *Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra*, originally written in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit manuscripts, however, were found as recently as 1934 by Sāṅkṛtyāyana and edited by E.H. Johnston in 1950. Earlier this text was introduced to the West by Eugène Obermiller, who translated the Tibetan version into English in 1931. In the Tibetan version, the text is called an *Uttaratantra*. In Chinese it is referred to as a *śāstra*, and in a Sanskrit fragment in *Saka* script, it is called a *Vibhāga* ('analysis').¹⁰⁶ I have here referred to Jikido Takasaki's English translation based on Johnston's critical edition with some words and passages corrected on the basis of the Tibetan and Chinese versions¹⁰⁷.

Indo-Tibetan tradition attributes the verses of the *Ratnagotra* to *Maitreya* and the prose to *Asaṅga*, whereas the Sino-Japanese tradition ascribes the whole text to *Sāramati*. After first following the Indo-Tibetan tradition, western scholars have now (under the influence of Japanese scholarship) begun to regard *Sāramati* as the probable author of the text. He appears to have lived in the 3rd century AD, and was probably born in central India. *Sāramati* has also influenced the *Vijñānavādin* idealism.¹⁰⁸

The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* is a much better known *Vijñānavādin* text than the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*. It appears to have been compiled during the third and fourth centuries and must have been completed before 443 when the first of the three Chinese translations was made. However, the chapters I, IX and X are missing there, but are included in later translations from the years 513 and 700–714. In addition to this, there exists one Tibetan translation.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰¹ As recognized by Edward Conze (1979, I 138) who has retranslated parts of this text in his *Buddhist Texts through the Ages* (1954) and *Buddhist Scriptures* (1959).

¹⁰² Lotus, Conze, pp. 197–211.

¹⁰³ e.g. Lotus pp. 42–53.

¹⁰⁴ I.e. *Tathāgatagarbha*, *Mahāyānābhīdharmā*, *Anūnatvāpūrnatvanirdeśa*, *Aryaśrīmālasūtra* and *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*.

¹⁰⁵ See Rugg 1969, 31–35; Hirakawa 1987, 521–522.

¹⁰⁶ Takasaki 1966, 5; May 1971, 281–282 and n. 38.

¹⁰⁷ Takasaki 1966, 6.

¹⁰⁸ May 1971, 281–284; Lamotte in VKN, p. 92 n. 2.

¹⁰⁹ Winternitz 1972, 332–337; D.T. Suzuki in LNKV, p. xlii; May 1971, 277; Hamlin 1983, 311 n. 1.

I have here referred to Suzuki's English translation based on the Nanjio edition in Sanskrit published in 1923 and on two Chinese and Tibetan translations, supplemented by the Sanskrit-Chinese-English glossary in Suzuki's *Studies in the Lañkavatârasûtra*¹¹⁰. Suzuki says that he has not managed to interpret all passages satisfactorily and that he has in several cases used his own judgement. Moreover, the Nanjio edition is also said to require corrections.¹¹¹

All this makes the translation rather unreliable, and one has to be particularly careful in each and every judgement concerning the text. On the other hand, this study proceeds comparatively and philosophically, and thus philological arguments vulnerable to the slightest incorrect reading of the original are used only occasionally.

¹¹⁰ Suzuki 1930, 375–458.

¹¹¹ Suzuki in LNKV, pp. xlviii–xlix. See also Hamlin 1983, 311. On the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the LNKV, see Suzuki 1930, 4–17.

3. BEING-IN-THE-WORLD AND MYSTICISM

3.1. Hīnayāna Buddhism

3.1.1. The Background of Buddhism: Urbanization and individualism

As a founded religion, Buddhism had its start when the man we know as Gautama Buddha left his home for homelessness, and after a strenuous quest found the peace of mind referred to as his nirvāṇa or enlightenment (*bodhi*).

In leaving his home and entering the homeless state of a wanderer (*śramaṇa*), the Buddha, however, did not present an innovative solution to existential problems but followed an existing tradition. From the Upaniṣadic period onwards, many people had withdrawn from the village to the forest and formed schools of wandering almsmen (*parivrājaka*, *bhikṣu*) and ascetics (*tāpasa*). They sought individual liberation from the ubiquitous suffering (*duḥkha*) that characterized every destiny one could think of in the 'worldly' reality known as the round of rebirths (*saṃsāra*).¹

'Worldly' refers here to the ontical 'worldhood' of man's being, i.e. to the fact that man experiences his or her being as a being-in-the-world. In practice, however, this 'worldhood' does not appear to a person as something abstract because being always appears to us in and through something concrete that is. Thus, a person's being-in-the-world manifests itself as a being in a certain society, a certain culture and a certain ecological environment.

We may to some extent agree with Alan Watts that the liberation sought by the *śramaṇas* meant liberation from the belief in the stability and authority of social institutions², because it is through these institutions that *saṃsāra* appears to us. Thus, the one who yearned for liberation from *saṃsāra* is told precisely to have "gone forth from home into homelessness". Since a house – as well as the human body – is a common symbol of the world or cosmos³ the life of a householder serves here as a condensed image of the life in *saṃsāra* in general⁴.

Being-in-the-world meant to the Buddhists being in *saṃsāra*, which again meant being inside the boundaries of the sociocultural system. As the monks or *bhikṣus* withdrew from society, the Buddhist opposition lay-

¹ See, e.g., Gonda 1978, 283–289; Chakravarti 1987, 36–39; *Dīgha*, I 165–167.

² Watts 1975, 9, 47–48.

³ See Eliade 1965, 145–151. Cf. also Douglas 1970 where it is examined how symbolism of the human body governs our attitudes towards mind and matter (p. xiii). In *Majj*, I 190 a dwelling and a body are compared as follows: "(j)ust as a space (*ākāsa*) that is enclosed by stakes and creepers and grass and clay is known as a dwelling, so a space that is enclosed by bones and sinews and flesh and skin is known as a body (*rūpa*)."

⁴ Collins 1982, 168.

man/monk can thus be said to some extent to parallel the opposition worldly/transcendent (*lokiya/lokottara*)⁵.

Keeping in mind that on the experiential level, 'world' (*loka*) here refers to a subjectively constructed world⁶, the escape from *samsāra* can be interpreted as an escape *from* the dualistic way of experiencing oneself as a solitary I in an objective world. Or, the other way round, it is an escape *to* a nondualistic understanding of one's being-in-the-world with no boundaries between 'me' and 'world'.

Thus it is characteristic to the ways of liberation of both Buddhists and other *śramaṇas* that great emphasis was put on the fate of one's inner essence or the self. In *Vedānta* this essence was called '*ātman*', a word that in the *Ṛgveda* had referred to the breath of life that separated a dead corpse from a living body. In being often used as a reflexive pronoun, too, the *ātman* of the *Vedānta* presents one's self as a sort of wandering soul whose ultimate destiny was to become merged in *Brahman*.⁷

The sociocultural background of this development towards asking such questions as: Who am I and what is my place in the world? is characterized by urbanization with its concomitants. The villages of the Ganges valley had begun to develop into fortified cities in the sixth century BC, but the peak of urbanization was reached in the fourth century, the century of the Buddha⁸. This development seems to have been made possible by the economic surplus reached through wet paddy cultivation, as suggested by R. S. Sharma, although D. D. Kosambi's view of the importance of the use of iron plough shares cannot be dismissed either⁹.

Urbanism with its concomitant division of labour, trade and monetary economy, have all been seen as contributing to the rise of individualism¹⁰. According to Trevor Ling, the roots of Buddhism are in the negative aspects of this individualism: a loss of the sense of safety previously provided by the conformistic community, a painful concern about the meaning of life, growing aloneness and spiritual malaise.¹¹

⁵ Collins 1988, 105.

⁶ See below pp. 78–82. The word '*loka*' may even signify people as well as the world (May 1971, 268).

⁷ See Mahony 1987, 439–440; Collins 1982, 50.

⁸ Erdosy 1985, 96, 98.

⁹ See Gombrich 1988, 51–52; Chakravarti 1987, 18–19. Note that Buddhist texts know a myth where the emergence of organized society is explained by the beginning of wet paddy cultivation and private ownership (*Dīgha*, III 84–93. MHV, I 285–301; *Kosa*, ch. III 98; Rockhill 1884, 1–13. See Chakravarti 1987, 23–24).

¹⁰ Division of labour in Durkheim 1893, 385–395; monetary economy in Simmel 1923, 552–553 (his *Philosophie des Geldes* has not been at my disposal); and urbanism as such in Wirth 1938, 10–13.

¹¹ Ling 1974, 37–52, 59–62. See Pysiäinen 1988, 62–63. Cf. also, Collins 1988, 101–105, 121. Ling has borrowed the expressions 'growing aloneness' and 'malaise' from Erich Fromm (1942, 23).

With the Buddha's death placed roughly about 350 BC, the rise of Buddhism clearly took place in a period when urbanization had reached its peak in the Gangetic valley. Buddhism was "the product of the time of urban development, of urban kingship and the city nobles¹²." Its rise was contemporaneous with the introduction of monetary economy¹³, division of labour¹⁴, and the related way of experiencing one's being-in-the-world as painful (*duḥkha*).

3.1.2. A Person's Being-in-the-World

Buddhist schematic analyses of being-in-the-world

In "Hīnayāna" sources, an individual and the world of *saṃsāra* belong essentially together as long as one has not attained nirvāṇa, a person's grasping (S. & P. *upādāna*) to this world being the precise reason for his or her existence in *saṃsāra*. This being-in-the-world is analyzed in my sources into its basic units, using such formulations as the four noble truths, the net of mutual dependencies (S. *pratītyasamutpāda*, P. *paṭiccasamuppāda*¹⁵), the five elements of existence (S. *skandha* P. *khandha*), and the constituents of the process of perception. All these lists, presented in diagram 4. on the next page¹⁶, have some items in common

The four noble truths are as follows:

This, o monks, is the noble truth of suffering (*dukkha*): birth is suffering, getting old is suffering, illness is suffering, death is suffering, living with unpleasant things is suffering, being separated from beloved things is suffering, and not getting what one wants is suffering. In short: the five modes of grasping¹⁷ are suffering.

This, o monks, is the noble truth of the origin of suffering: The cause of suffering is the thirst (*taṇhā*) that leads to rebirths, the companion of passion that rejoices from this and that, namely the thirst for sense pleasures, the thirst for life and the thirst for destruction¹⁸.

¹² As earlier described by Max Weber (1958, 204; see also 205–206, 215–216, 225–229). See also Basham 1971, 143–144; Chakravarti 1987, 19–23; Gombrich 1988, 50; Karttunen 1989, 30–31, 145, 154, 229 n.263.

¹³ See Chakravarti 1987, 20; Gombrich 1988, 51, 53. The introduction of coinage in India most probably took place during the fifth or fourth century BC (Karttunen 1989, 30–31).

¹⁴ A hypothetical reconstruction of the traditional Buddhist list of 18 guilds of artisans is given in Rhys Davids 1981. 90–96. See Chakravarti 1987, 22–23.

¹⁵ From 'pacceṭi', 'to be grounded on something', 'to be something because of something', and 'samuppāda', 'origin', 'arising', 'genesis', 'coming to be'.

¹⁶ The diagram is abstracted from a wealth of material impossible to quote here *verbatim*. The sources are presented in the following passages.

¹⁷ *Pañc'upādānakhandhā*, i.e. the five elements of existence.

¹⁸ The division of craving into three appears only in the Pāli version (Vetter 1988, 14 n.4).

Diagram 4. Buddhist analyses of being-in-the-world

The four noble truths

Everything is suffering
The reason for this is thirst
suffering ceases when thirst ceases
The way to this is the noble eight-fold path

The net of mutual dependencies

Because of ignorance (*avijjā*), mental formations (*saṅkhârā*)
Because of mental formations, cognition (*viññāṇa*)
Because of cognition, psycho-physicality (*nāmarûpa*)
Because of psycho-physicality, six spheres of sense (*saḷāyatana*)
Because of six spheres of sense, contact (*phassa*)
Because of contact, feeling (*vedanā*)
Because of feeling, thirst (*taṇhā*)
Because of thirst, grasping (*upādāna*)
Because of grasping, becoming (*bhava*)
Because of becoming, birth (*jāti*)
Because of birth, aging, death, sorrow, lamentation, suffering, grief and depression

The elements of existence

material form (*rûpa*)
feeling (*vedanā*)
mental representations (*saññā*)
mental formations (*saṅkhârā*)
cognition (*viññāṇa*)

The spheres of sense

eye – objects – visual cognition – contact – feeling
ear – sounds – auditory cognition – contact – feeling
nose – smells – olfactory cognition – contact – feeling
tongue – tastes – taste cognition – contact – feeling
body/skin – touches – bodily cognition – contact – feeling
conscious mind – mental representations – mental cognition – contact – feeling

This, o monks, is the noble truth of the cessation of suffering: the cessation of suffering is the perfect cessation of the said thirst, its rejection, its renunciation, the cessation of thirst.

This, o monks, is the noble truth of the way leading to the cessation of suffering: the way leading to the cessation of suffering is the noble eight-fold way, namely: right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right meditation.¹⁹

The net of mutual dependencies²⁰ contains the same idea as the four noble truths: thirst causes suffering. It only goes one step further and ex-

¹⁹ *Vin*, I 10. Tr. by I.B. Horner.

²⁰ e.g. *Vin*, I 1: "avijjāpaccayā saṅkhârā, saṅkhârapaccayā viññāṇam, viññāṇapaccayā nāmarûpam, nāmarûpapaccayā saḷāyatanaṃ, saḷāyatana-

plains the reason for thirst to be in ignorance (of the four truths and of the nonexistence of 'self')²¹ which causes one to grasp to the creations of his or her own mind, accompanied with feelings.

The net has often been understood as a causal chain, in which causes and effects follow each other, the first two components representing the past, the components 3–10 the present, and the rest the future. However, Rune Johansson has shown this to be a rather artificial interpretation, as we have different kinds of versions of this net, many of its components can be simultaneous, and its links do not imply a strict causality.²² The net is on the one hand a description of human being-in-the-world and *Seinsverständnis*, and on the other an instrument to change one's *Seinsverständnis* by analyzing it into its components²³.

The four noble truths and the net of mutual dependencies reveal that the ubiquitous suffering is due to the interaction between an individual and the external world in the sense that an individual in a way creates his or her own world and then clings to it. This is also evident in the fact that the five elements of existence are called 'five modes of grasping' (*pañc' upādānakhandhā*).

The relationship between these five elements is as follows: the material shapes (*rūpa*) cause either a pleasant, an unpleasant or a neutral feeling (*vedanā*) in the cognizant individual; to this feeling are attached mental representations (*saññā*, S. *sañjñā*) connected to the sense data, and these are in turn accompanied by various kinds of mental formations (*sañkhārā*, S. *saṃskārā*)²⁴. All this is made possible by cognition (*viññāṇa*, S. *vijñāna*)²⁵ of external and mental phenomena.²⁶ When this process involves

paccayā phasso, pahassapaccayā vedanā, vedanāpaccayā taṇhā, taṇhāpaccayā upādānaṃ, upādānapaccayā bhavo, bhavapaccayā jāti, jātipaccayā jarāmaranaṃ sokaparivedadukkhadomanassupāyāsā sambhavanī. Evam etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa samudayo hoti."

²¹ See Frauwallner 1953, 184–216.

²² See Govinda 1975, 245–246; Collins 1982, 203. Johansson 1969, 77–79. Cf. also Goodman 1974, 100–101.

²³ Cf. Johansson 1969, 65–84 and 1985, 162; Goodman 1974, 93–95.

²⁴ There are four kinds of *sañkhāras* (*Saṃyutta*, IV 293): those of body (in-breathing and outbreathing), of speech (directed and sustained thought [*vitakkavicāra*]), and of mind (mental representations and feeling). See also Rhys Davids & Stede 1972, 664–665, s.v. 'sañkhāra'; Johansson 1985, 41–46, Collins 1982, 202.

²⁵ From 'jñā' ('to know') with the prefix 'vi'. 'Vijñāna' refers to discriminating knowledge and is usually translated as 'consciousness'. I have chosen the translation 'cognition' to avoid the connotation of a single organ which would be misleading as 'vijñāna' signifies only the six kinds of cognition or consciousness related to the six senses. The sum total of the six *vijñānas* is the thinking mind (*citta*, see below p.82 n.32). This also makes it possible to translate 'manovijñāna' as 'mental cognition' in the same manner as, for instance, 'cakṣurvijñāna' is translated as 'visual cognition' (See also May 1971, 303 n. 98; Vetter 1988, 36 n.4).

²⁶ *Samyutta*, III 59–61. See Lamotte 1958, 30; Vetter 1988, 36, n.4.

grasping (*upādāna*) or thirst (*taṇhā*), suffering is produced because all pleasant things are transitory and unpleasant ones are recurring (although *vice versa* as well).

Of the sensory process, we have various descriptions, the simplest one being that in which a distinction is made between six internal (*ajjhattika*) and external (*bāhira*) spheres of sense: the eye and seen forms, the ear and heard sounds, the nose and smelled smells, the tongue and tasted tastes, the body and felt touches, the conscious mind (*manas*) and cognized ideas (*dhammā*)²⁷. When to these are added the respective cognitions, we get the traditional list of 18 elements (*dhātu*): the eye (*cakkhudhātu*), the seen forms (*rūpadhātu*), the visual cognition (*cakkhuvīññāṇadhātu*), the ear, etc.²⁸

In some instances, the list continues with sensory contacts (*phassa*, S. *sparśa*), the related feeling (*vedanā*), the formed mental representations (*saññā*) and the related mental formations (*saṅkhārā*), thirst (*taṇhā*), the six elements²⁹ and the five elements of existence. According to *Saṃyutta* III 228–231 these are inevitably followed by suffering, illness, decay and death.³⁰

Senses, the thinking mind and grasping

According to *Saṃyutta* II 72–73, the origin of the world of suffering is in the contact between the senses and material forms and the following sensory process³¹, and *Saṃyutta* I 39 describes the world as produced by the thinking mind (*citta*)³²:

²⁷ e.g. *Dīgha*, II 302–303 where it is said that a monk considers ideas (*dhammā*) from the point of view of the six internal and external spheres of sense, is aware of the bond (*samyojana*) arising on account of them, and puts these fetters aside.

²⁸ *Majj*, III 63.

²⁹ Earth, water, heat, air, space, and cognition.

³⁰ e.g. *Saṃyutta*, III 228–231 explaining the origins and cessation of suffering and death, and *Saṃyutta*, III 232–235 explaining how the exciting desire (*chandarāga*), residing in these, is a corruption of the thinking mind (*citta*). *Majj*, III 215–222 lists only the internal and external spheres of sense, and the related cognitions and contacts.

³¹ *Saṃyutta*, II 72–73: "Because of sight and visible objects, visual cognition arises. Contact is the clash of these three, and feeling is conditioned by the contact. Thirst is then conditioned by the feeling. This, o monks, is the arising of suffering. And because of hearing and audible objects etc."

³² '*Citta*' is usually translated as 'mind' but strictly speaking it refers to thoughts (from the root *cit-*, 'to think'). It is not an entity that thinks but only refers to acts of knowledge; it is the series of cognitions (*viññānas*) (Tola & Dragonetti 1983, 233). To make a distinction between it and '*manas*' ('mind'), I have rendered '*citta*' as 'thinking mind' and '*manas*' as conscious mind.

Its thoughts (*citta*) are that whereby the world is led,
 And by its thoughts it ever plagues itself,
 And thought it is above all other things
 That bringeth everything beneath its sway.³³

This could be understood to mean that man forms the idea of world, i.e. realizes his or her (painful) being-in-the-world, as he intellectually interprets his sensory experience³⁴. The interest of the early Buddhists has clearly centered on the *world as experienced by men*, although this does not necessarily mean that they would have denied the existence of an objective world³⁵. They only felt no need to discuss the world apart from someone who experiences it.³⁶ Their world is not an objective or natural world, but the world in which man experiences his or her own being. This world is a world of suffering in which an individual forms an idea of a 'self' in relation to various 'worldly' predicates which will always turn out to be unsatisfactory (*duḥkha*).

As we have seen, the reason for this unsatisfactoriness is in man's thirst and grasping. Thus, the sense organs or their objects are not "fettors" as such, but the exciting desire (*chandarāga*) that arises on their account is a fetter³⁷. The exciting desire that inheres in the sensory process, is, for its part, a corruption of the thinking mind³⁸:

³³ *Samyutta*, I 39. Tr. by Carolina Rhys Davids & Sūriyagoda Sumangala Thera. According to *Kosa*, t. V p. 142, matter (*rūpa*) is born of the thinking mind (*citta*) because it is based on "impregnations" (*vāsana*) residing in the thinking mind.

³⁴ In *Kosa*, t. I p. 110, it is said that the support (*āśraya*) of the thinking mind is the six sense organs. *Samyutta*, III 232–235 explains the exciting desire, residing in the sensory process, to be a corruption of the thinking mind. Thus, the thinking mind is the organizer of the sensory input and conscious life, and on it is based the experience of personal continuity (see Johansson 1969, 30–33, 83, 131 and 1985, 158–161).

³⁵ See May 1971, 268. Rune Johansson (1985, 27–29, 33, 36, 51, 79–80, 83, 85) takes the view that conscious and material processes were to the early Buddhists two aspects of the same reality.

³⁶ According to Christian Lindtner (1982, 271 and its n. 240), we cannot (from the Buddhist outlook) really distinguish between subjective and objective. This is evident, e.g. in such words as 'artha' ('object' and 'meaning'), 'prapañca' ('universe' and 'language') and 'upalabdhi' ('exist' and 'perceive').

³⁷ *Samyutta*, IV 283, "... the eye is not a fetter to objects, and objects not a fetter to the eye. It is the exciting desire (*chandarāga*), arising because of these two, that is the fetter." Also, *Dīgha*, II 302–303.

³⁸ *Samyutta*, III 232–235: "Monks, the exciting desire (*chandarāga*) that is in the eye is a corruption of the thinking mind. The exciting desire that is in the ear etc." *Ang*, I 10: "This mind, monks, is luminous, but it is defiled by taints that come from without; that mind, monks, is luminous, but it is cleansed of taints that come from without (tr. by F.L. Woodward)." See Johansson 1969, 30; 1985, 159–160. See Johansson 1969, 42–44; May 1971, 268–270.

For a long, long time this thinking mind has been soiled (*saṅkiliṭṭhaṃ*) by desire, hatred and delusion. By impurities of the thinking mind (*cittasaṅkilesā*), o monks, beings are soiled. By purity of the thinking mind, beings are purified.³⁹

Consequently, thirst and grasping are not necessary concomitants of the sensory process, but are due to man's reasoning. This is also obvious in the fact that the reason for thirst is said to be ignorance.

This presupposes a distinction between mere sensations and conscious and conceptualized experience, which the early Buddhists seem to have made⁴⁰. In *Saṃyutta* IV 209 and 231, a differentiation between bodily (*kāyika*) and mental (*cetasika*) feelings is made⁴¹, and in the *Kośa* this is expressed even more clearly as follows:

As a general rule, the mental sensation – pleasant or unpleasant – proceeds from a concept (*vikalpa*), a concept of 'dear', 'disgusting', etc. As to the bodily sensation, ... it is produced by an external object, independently from a psychological state.⁴²

On the other hand, it is not only some feelings that produce suffering but *all feeling* (following cognition and contact, as we have seen). Says the first book of the *Vedanāsaṃyutta*:

Collected, 'ware, the mindful follower
Of the Awakened One well understands
Feelings, and how they come to be, and where
They cease, and what the way to feelings' end.
That brother who hath ended them, therefor
No longer hungereth. He is set free.⁴³

And:

Pleasure or pain or feeling that is neither,
The inner and the outer, all that's felt –
He knows to be Ill.⁴⁴

The last quotation contains the traditional division of feeling into three, there being pleasant, painful and neutral feelings⁴⁵. The respective right attitudes are as follows:

³⁹ *Saṃyutta*, III 151.

⁴⁰ Both being called 'feelings' (*vedanā*).

⁴¹ *Saṃyutta*, IV 209: "A monk ... feels one feeling, the bodily one, but not the mental one." Also IV 231.

⁴² *Kośa*, t. I p. 115.

⁴³ *Saṃyutta*, IV 204. Tr. by F.L. Woodward

⁴⁴ *Saṃyutta*, IV 205. Tr. by F.L. Woodward

⁴⁵ *Majj*, I 396: "The Beatific One has, o householder, spoken of three feelings: pleasant, painful and neither pleasant nor painful feeling. These, o householder, are the three feelings spoken of by the Beatific One." *Saṃyutta*, IV 204: "There are these three feelings, o monks. What Three? Pleasant feeling, painful feeling, and feeling that is neither pleasant nor painful."

The lurking tendency to lust for pleasant feeling, brethren, must be abandoned. The lurking tendency to repugnance for painful feeling must be abandoned. The lurking tendency to ignorance of feeling that is neither pleasant nor painful must be abandoned.⁴⁶

As pleasant feelings lead to suffering, painful feelings are a nuisance, and neutral feelings are transitory, "(w)hatsoever is felt, that is joined with suffering"⁴⁷. From the psychological point of view, we could say that if one deliberately denies his or her unpleasant feelings, he or she necessarily cuts out positive feelings as well, because the ability to feel is a dialectical unity. Pain and pleasure belong in this sense together, and you cannot have one without the other. This has been emphasized, e.g., by Arthur Janov⁴⁸, the creator of primal therapy⁴⁹.

Because feelings arise from the sensory "contacts", one should turn away from the senses, their objects, the corresponding cognitions and contacts, in order to free himself or herself from feelings that always involve suffering:

Dependent on the eye and object arises visual cognition. The union of these three is contact. Dependent on contact is feeling. So seeing, the well-taught Ariyan disciple is repelled by the eye, by objects, by visual cognition, by visual contact, and by feeling. Being repelled by them, he lusts not for them. Not lusting he is set free.⁵⁰

Like the the sensory process leads to suffering, grief and death, so its reversal leads to the disappearance of suffering, grief and death⁵¹. Because feeling comes from the contact between a sense organ and the respective object, the cessation of feeling comes from the cessation of contacts⁵². However, feeling does not come automatically from contact, but from the related thirst⁵³. For this reason, the cessation of contact and feeling comes ultimately from the abandoning of the exciting desire⁵⁴.

⁴⁶ *Samyutta*, IV 205. Tr. by F.L. Woodward. The painful feelings, however, should not be sought after, only tolerated.

⁴⁷ *Samyutta*, IV 207, 216. *Samyutta*, IV 233: "The misery of feeling is the impermanence, the pain, the unsubstantial nature of feeling."

⁴⁸ Janov 1970, 274.

⁴⁹ Although Janov has been both harshly criticized and simply ignored in academic circles (Torrey 1976; Videgård 1984, 3), primal therapy has strong affinities with the so-called object relations theory in psychiatry and to the trauma theory of early Freud (Videgård 1984, 4, 16). Despite its shortcomings, primal therapy has an important technique of centering on feelings to offer (Videgård 1984, 280, 287–288, 293).

⁵⁰ *Samyutta*, IV 32–33.

⁵¹ *Samyutta*, III 228–231; *Dīgha*, II 72–73.

⁵² *Samyutta*, IV 220: "By the arising of contact comes the arising of feelings. By the ceasing of contact comes the ceasing of feelings."

⁵³ *Samyutta*, IV 233: "From the arising of contact comes the arising of feelings. Thirst is the way leading to the arising of feelings."

⁵⁴ *Samyutta*, IV 233: "The abolishing of the exciting desire, the abandoning of the exciting desire, – that is the escape from feelings."

Perhaps the most drastic expression of this is the so-called fire sermon. In it the Buddha taught that the sense organs, their objects, the related cognitions and contacts as well as feelings were burning by the fire of craving, hatred and ignorance, because of birth, aging, death, sorrow, bewailing, suffering and mourning. For this reason one was to turn away from the senses and their objects⁵⁵.

The ideas that suffering comes from one's clinging to the transitory world through the medium of senses, and that this is precisely what the life of a "householder" is about, are in the *Suttapiṭaka* the immediate background of the Buddha's dissatisfaction with the everyday way of experiencing one's being-in-the-world. His leaving home for homelessness is given three reasons:

1) He suddenly realized the deceptive (*ādīnava*) nature of sense pleasures and wanted to find another kind of joy⁵⁶.

2) He realized that he was subject to aging, illness and death⁵⁷, and that birth, aging, illness, death, sorrow and suffering⁵⁸ were deceptive, unlike *nirvāṇa* which meant "excellent freedom from bondage"⁵⁹.

3) He experienced the life of a householder as distressing, unlike the life of a homeless wanderer living outdoors⁶⁰.

We may summarize this into four binary oppositions as follows:

life of a householder and desires / ascetic life
 existence in *saṃsāra* / liberation from the existence in *saṃsāra*
 sense pleasures / "the other joy"
 birth, aging, illness, death, sorrow, suffering / "excellent freedom from bondage" in *nibbāna*

The first two oppositions are *Brāhmanic*-Buddhist expressions of the nature of man's being-in-the-world and of the hope of overcoming its everyday character. The latter two oppositions describe more closely these two alternatives, expressing how pleasures of the five senses are connected to household life to the extent that leaving home means precisely leaving sensual pleasures⁶¹.

⁵⁵ *Vin*, I 34–35.

⁵⁶ *Majj*, I 504–505.

⁵⁷ *Ang*, I 145–146.

⁵⁸ According to Bareau (1963, 97–88) '*saṅkilesa*' means here 'suffering' and not 'impurity' as in later Buddhism.

⁵⁹ *Majj*, I 162–163.

⁶⁰ *Majj*, I 240. *Suttanipāta*, III.1.2. adds that the homes of householders were "nests of desires".

⁶¹ Collins 1982, 169.

3.1.3. The Concept of Self is Misleading

The idea of not-self (anâtman)

As is well known, Buddhism fights the suffering related to craving and its frustration not by postulating an immutable self destined for eternal happiness in the hereafter, but by denying even a 'wordly' self as an entity (Skr. *anâtman*, Pâli *anattâ*). What this denial precisely means is not so clear. Steven Collins takes the Pâli 'attâ' as simply a reflexive pronoun and accepts K. R. Norman's view that '*anattâ*' thus should not be translated as 'no-soul'. Instead, it means to the religious virtuosis that man has no eternal self – whatever it might be. And to the ordinary people, it is only a symbol of an opposition to Brahmanism.⁶²

David Snellgrove, however, is of the opinion that the early Buddhists did not know the Upaniṣadic conception of *âtman* at all, and that *âtman* thus was to them only an animistic principle that was found in trees and rocks as well as in human beings. It was this kind of *âtman* that the Buddha denied in his first sermon, not an intelligent self longing for unification with *Brahman*.⁶³ On the other hand, Vetter takes Upaniṣadic influence for granted and regards *anâtman* as a "'logical' reaction to the theory of a 'person'"⁶⁴.

I myself should like to argue from a religion-phenomenological point of view that *âtman* as self, and *âtman* as soul are not two alternatives from which we should choose. In Finno-Ugric languages, for instance, two kinds of souls were known: In Finnish, '*henki*' ('breath', 'spirit') was identified with breathing and was believed to be the vital principle that separated a cold dead corpse from a warm living body; and the reflexive pronoun '*itse*' ('self') referred to a conscious self that was a kind of soul.⁶⁵ *Âtman* was believed to withdraw deep into the body during sleep so that no sensory data could reach consciousness; in the same manner a passed-out drunk was said to be *itsetön*, i.e. 'selfless'⁶⁶.

As the Indian notions seem to bear a phenomenological structure similar to the Finno-Ugric ones, we may be entitled to see *âtman* as a sort of "self-soul". As such, it would be at the same time a psychological self and an ontological soul-principle. The classical passage where the Buddha denies the existence of this kind of a soul in the *khandhas* runs as follows:

⁶² Collins 1982, 12, 71–77, 94–103.

⁶³ Snellgrove 1987, 20–22. Cf. Ruegg 1989, 20 and its n.5.

⁶⁴ Vetter 1988, 39–43.

⁶⁵ Pentikäinen 1985, 133–135.

⁶⁶ Pentikäinen 1985, 134. I want to stress that this comparison is purely phenomenological and does not presuppose any genetic connection.

Body, monks, is not self. Now were this body self (*attā*), monks, this body would not tend to sickness, and one might get the chance of saying in regard to body, 'Let body become thus for me, let body not become thus for me'. But inasmuch, monks, as body is not self, therefore body tends to sickness, and one does not get the chance of saying in regard to body, 'Let body become thus for me, let body not become thus for me'.

Similarly the Buddha denied that feelings, mental representations (*saññā*), mental formations (*saṅkhārā*) or cognition could be one's self.⁶⁷ But does this mean that the five *khandhas* could not be the self because they "tended to sickness", or because they did not obey one's commands?

As it is a bit awkward to say that mental representations or mental formations "tend to sickness", it would be better to take sickness here as only an example of the fact that our being-in-the-world is not always as we would like it to be. Thus, in a way, both explanations lead to the same conclusion: there is no self in the *khandhas* because they do not obey all our commands. Illness is only one manifestation of the transitoriness of 'worldly' being that is always "being unto death", and as such something different from what we would like it to be.

That this transitoriness is the real point here becomes clear as the Buddha proceeds to explain that the five elements (*khandhas*) could not be *attā* because they obviously were transitory (*aniccam*), and all that is transitory is of necessity painful (*dukkham*).⁶⁸ Likewise, when asked whether there could be a case where one suffered because nothing permanent was found within oneself, the Buddha replied that indeed there was.⁶⁹

Namely, when one thinks: "The universe is the self, I shall be that after death, permanent, abiding, everlasting, unchanging, and I shall exist as such for eternity," one becomes distressed on hearing the Buddhist message. Then one thinks: "I will be annihilated, I will be destroyed, I will be no more," and one is bewildered and tormented by anxiety.⁷⁰

This passage reveals clearly a tendency to identify one's real self with the Absolute, or *Brahman*. Contingent and transitory 'worldly' attributes will not do; and one wants to find within oneself something eternal and necessarily existing. But according to the text, the Buddha considered such an idea "wholly and completely foolish"⁷¹.

Although in the previously cited passage the Buddha denied that the self could be (in) any of the *khandhas*, it, of course, does not *logically* follow that there then is no self at all. The existence of the self is nowhere in the *Vinaya*- and *Suttapiṭakas* directly denied, as Joaquín Pérez-Remón

⁶⁷ *Vin*, I 13–14. The translation is I. B. Horner's.

⁶⁸ *Vin*, I 14.

⁶⁹ *Majj*, I 136–137.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*.

⁷¹ *Majj*, I 138.

and Vetter remark⁷². Its non-existence, however, seems to be presupposed in passages like the following one:

Monk *Khemaka* was asked whether he saw any self in the five *khandhas*, and he answered that he did not. "Then you must be enlightened," the monks reasoned, but *Khemaka* firmly denied this. He had a clear feeling "I am" with regard to the *khandhas* even though he did not clearly see this "I am". It was neither body, feeling, mental representations, mental formations, cognition nor anything outside them. Yet he had this feeling "I am".⁷³ Thus 'I am' is a vague experience for which no objective basis can be found. Moreover, the cessation of this experience is taken to lead to enlightenment.

But on the other hand, when *Vacchagotta* asked whether there was a self or whether there was no self, the Buddha remained silent. Then he explained to *Ānanda* that if he had said that there was a self, he would have subscribed to the eternalist view; and if he had said that there was no self, he would have taken the annihilationist view. And, says the Buddha, such theoretical explanations would only "have been a greater confusion to the already confused *Vacchagotta*".⁷⁴

Beyond self and not-self

But why did the Buddha not say that there is no self, and that this does not mean annihilation because there is from the outset nothing to be annihilated? It is, as Vetter remarks, "a remarkable feature in view of the history of ideas in India"⁷⁵ that the Buddha left the question 'is there a self?' thus unanswered.

As a matter of fact, the Buddhist tradition knows ten (in Pāli *Nikāyas* and in the Chinese *Madhyamāgama*) or 14 (in e.g. the *Kośa*, most Chinese *āgamas* and the MPPS) questions never answered by the Buddha⁷⁶. However, they do not include the question 'is there a self?', although they imply a position regarding this question as well. I quote here from the MPPS, which may be said to bring to the fore the point inherent in the Pāli tradition⁷⁷:

⁷² Pérez-Remón 1980, 193; Vetter 1988, 41. According to Pérez-Remón (1980, 38, 85, 156–160, 164, 195, 222–227), the idea of *anattā*, in showing what is not *attā*, reveals the true self as an existing thing. Vetter (1988, 39 n.8, 41 n.10) does not share this conclusion.

⁷³ *Samyutta*, III 126ff. After this conversation *Khemaka*, however, was enlightened.

⁷⁴ *Samyutta*, IV 400–401. See also *Kosa*, t. V p. 265.

⁷⁵ Vetter 1988, 41.

⁷⁶ The sources are gathered in Lamotte's n.1 on p. 154 of his translation of the MPPS. See also Collins 1982, 131–132.

⁷⁷ Collins 1982, 283 n.1.

Are the world and the self eternal?
 Are they not eternal?
 Are they both eternal and not eternal?
 Are they neither eternal nor not eternal?
 Do the world and the self have an end?
 Do they not have an end?
 Do they both have and have not an end?
 Do they neither have nor not have an end?
 Does a *Tathâgata*⁷⁸ exist after death?
 Does he not exist after death?
 Does he both exist and not exist after death?
 Does he neither exist nor not exist after death?
 Is the soul (*jîva*) the same than the body (*charîra*)?
 Is the soul different from the body?⁷⁹

According to the MPPS, the Buddha did not answer these questions because they were futile⁸⁰. In *Saṃyutta* IV 394, the Buddha says that the views in the unanswered questions are expressions of regarding the self and the *khandhas* in one of the four ways, which implies that he did not want to share any of these possibilities. Collins takes this to mean that the Buddha could not answer these questions because they were "linguistically ill-formed", like the question: 'Is the present king of France bald?' Any answer given to these questions "would necessarily confirm the misleading presupposition that such terms do refer to some real and permanent individual".⁸¹

It is easy to see that in the case of the king of France, a simple 'yes' or 'no' as an answer would indeed "confirm" that the king exists, i.e. the answer has meaning only with regard to such a possible world where the extension of 'present king of France' is not empty⁸². Thus, the question is not syntactically ill-formed as such, only its relevance is dependent on certain semantic conditions (whether the king exists or not). However, these can be specified in language by saying, for example, that the question is meaningless because there is no present king of France.

⁷⁸ This epithet of the Buddha originally referred to somebody who would no longer be reborn, who was "thus-gone" (*[tathâ-gata]* Vetter 1988, 8 n.2). On the other hand, it could also mean 'he who here has come' (*tathâ-agata*), referring to the Buddha as he appeared to the five ascetics after his enlightenment. I take it here to refer to any of the *Tathâgatas* (Lamotte translates "le saint affranchi du désir").

⁷⁹ MPPS, t. I p. 155. The Pâli texts provide four alternatives only in the *Tathâgata*-question, with the other three questions having only the first two alternatives (is, is not). All versions do not contain 'self' besides 'world'. On this "fourcornered" (*catuṣkoti*) approach, see Raju 1954 and Vetter 1988, 54–57.

⁸⁰ MPPS, t. I p. 155: "Ces questions sont vaines et c'est pourquoi le Buddha n'y a pas répondu."

⁸¹ Collins 1982, 133. He borrows the king-example from Ninian Smart.

⁸² See above n.38 on p. 21.

Now Collins thinks that like asking whether the present king of France is bald presupposes that the king exists, so asking whether the self is eternal or not presupposes that the self exists. Thus the Buddha would have refused to answer such questions at all because he was of the opinion that the self did not exist. But why did he (or whoever is responsible for the relevant passages) not say that the question was meaningless because no self existed? Why did he respond to *Vacchagotta's* questions by stating that to say "the self exists" means eternalism and to say "the self exists not" means annihilationism? And why would the statement 'the self exists not' lead to annihilationism?

One gets the impression that the Buddha (or whoever is responsible for this passage) somehow considered the question 'does the self exist' ill-formed, too. If it were ill-formed in the same way as the question about the king, it would amount to the following formulation: It would be meaningful to ask whether the self exists or not, only if the self existed (which it does not). This is because in the king's case the relevance of the attribute (baldness) was dependent on the subject's (king) existence, and in the *anattā*-case the subject's (self) existence *is* the attribute whose relevance is dependent on the subject's existence⁸³.

From this example we get the general premise that non-existence can be predicated only on something that has previously existed. In other words, nothing could be said to be non-existent *in principle*⁸⁴. Thus it would be meaningful to say "the self does not exist" only if it had previously existed. Although this principle would very well explain why the statement 'the self does not exist' would imply annihilationism, I find it unconvincing without further proof. From this it would follow that everything one could name and make up should of necessity have existed at least at some point in time. Moreover, to the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras* this definitely does not apply (but of course their ontology is different in any case).

It seems more likely that the Buddha (or the early Buddhists) considered the question 'Is there a self' not so much ill-formed but vain and futile (like the MPPS says) and, especially, harmful to one's progression in his or her way towards enlightenment. The Buddha could have given (or have been made to give in the text) an answer to *Vacchagotta*, but he consciously wanted to direct *Vacchagotta's* attention away from such philosophical disputes and discursive reasoning. He acted like a father who meets his little son's repeated requests for candy with silence in the hope that the boy would forget the whole thing when given no answer.

⁸³ I can find no objection to taking existence as an attribute although Kant and his followers have rejected the ontological proof of God's existence by saying that existence is not an attribute.

⁸⁴ As in Europe before nominalistic philosophy, nothing could be said to be possible in principle, but only in the sense that it had existed sometimes, or happened or will sometime exist or happen.

This conclusion can be drawn from the parable of a man wounded by an arrow⁸⁵ who only wants to get healed and is not interested in speculation on who shot the arrow, with what kind of a bow etc. Such speculation is possible and it can be linguistically quite well-formed, but it is not relevant for the wounded man in his difficult situation and would only hinder his healing by taking time from more urgent measures. Collins also admits that such speculation is rejected as harmful but he seems to think that the harmfulness depends on the speculation taking place on mistaken premises⁸⁶. In my opinion, this is not essential.

What is essential is that the Buddha (and/or the early Buddhists) wanted to shift the emphasis from philosophical speculation for its own sake to man's experiencing, and to speculation that could be directly applied to pragmatic purposes⁸⁷. In such circumstances, words like 'I' or 'self' are means of referring to oneself as a whole, not ways of referring to some most intimate quality of oneself⁸⁸. Such words are necessary in language, but it is in vain that people construct metaphysical theories upon them. In later Buddhism, where the existence of the self is explicitly denied⁸⁹, a distinction between conventional and ultimate truth has been drawn to explain why we have to use words like 'self' and 'person' even though no self exists⁹⁰.

Thus the Buddha's answer to the mystical quest for the true inner self seems not so much to be a blunt negation but an attitude of indifference. This is well documented in the *Suttanipāta's Aṭṭhakavagga*, which contains an old tradition that, according to Vetter, existed "before or alongside the first Buddhist teaching and community." A little later this tradition was integrated into Buddhism and combined with the teachings of the Buddha.⁹¹

According to this tradition, one should avoid the three modes of self-conceit through which one takes himself or herself as either equal, super-

⁸⁵ *Majj*, I 429ff.

⁸⁶ Collins 1982, 137: "What is rejected is harmful speculation based on mistaken premises."

⁸⁷ See also Staal 1989, 414–415.

⁸⁸ See *Kosa*, t. V p. 262: "Si le Puḍgala n'est qu'un mot servant à désigner les cinq éléments, pourquoi Bhagavat n'a-t-il pas déclaré que le principe vital (*jīva*) est le corps?"

⁸⁹ e.g. *Kosa*, t. II p. 56: "L'*ātman* n'existe pas." T. V p. 230: "Il n'y a pas de délivrance en dehors de (bouddhisme), car les autres doctrines sont corrompues par une fausse conception du 'moi'." T. V p. 231: "Parce qu'aucune preuve n'établit l'existence d'un moi indépendant des éléments ..." T. V p. 232: "En ce qui concerne un moi indépendant des éléments, ni évidence, ni induction. – Nous savons donc qu'un moi réel n'existe pas." This doctrine is the "only way to the city of nirvāṇa" (t. V p. 301).

⁹⁰ See below p. 107.

⁹¹ Vetter 1988, 101.

ior or inferior to other people⁹², and "abstain from disputes, for the only aim (of them) is praise and profit⁹³." And,

If any have taken up a view (*diṭṭhi*) and dispute, and say, "Only this is true," then say to them, "There will be no opponent for you here when a dispute has arisen."⁹⁴

Congruent to this:

"Māgandiya," said the Blessed One, "nothing has been grasped by (me) from among the (doctrines), after consideration, (saying) 'I profess this'. But looking among the (doctrines), not grasping, while searching I saw inner peace."⁹⁵

That the liberation taught by the Buddha is beyond all dualistic thinking is especially clearly expressed in the following passage:

"One says that purity is not by view, by learning, by knowledge, or even by virtuous conduct and vows, Māgandiya," said the Blessed One. "Not by absence of view, of learning, of knowledge, of virtuous conduct, or vows, not by that either. And discarding these, without grasping, calmed, nor dependent, one would not long for existence."⁹⁶

In this way the part of the self in the mystical experience has been given only a minimum of interpretation, and the experience of emptiness following the prolonged quest for an unempirical self is accepted without ideas of unification where the self would be altered to a mode of the Infinite. The earliest tradition seems to have remained totally indifferent towards interpreting the nature of the self, or, in other words, it has been beyond self and not-self⁹⁷.

Later, when the existence of a self is more clearly denied, experiencing a break of the barrier between an individual and the world has been understood to mean that the illusion of a self has ceased and the self is realized to be a natural part of the external world⁹⁸. Thus, one steps out of ordinary I-consciousness so that his or her experiencing is no longer organized by an I but seems to be organized from the outside or by itself.

⁹² *Suttanipāta*, 4:842, 918, 954.

⁹³ *Suttanipāta*, 4:828 (*Pasārasutta* which on the whole underlines this same conviction). *Ibid.*, 4:844: "(A) sage would not engage in disputatious speech with the people."

⁹⁴ *Suttanipāta*, 4:832 (*Pasārasutta*). This and the following two translations by K.R. Norman.

⁹⁵ *Suttanipāta*, 4:837 (*Māgandiaysutta*).

⁹⁶ *Suttanipāta*, 4:839 (*Māgandiaysutta*).

⁹⁷ See also Staal 1989, 414–415.

⁹⁸ This seems to be reflected even in the unanswered questions where self and world are grouped together in the first two sets. Note also that the denial of self is logically equivalent to the identification of the self with the external world (Pyysiäinen 1986, 91; Loy 1986, 15). *Kosa*, t. V p. 230: "Par la force de la croyance à ce moi naissent les passions; la révolution de la triple exist-

3.1.4. The Compounded and Uncompounded Realities

Theravāda

According to early Buddhist cosmology, the phenomenal reality is compounded (*saṅkhata*) of elements called *dharmas*⁹⁹. They form the real basis of both the external and internal realities of men. The phenomenal superstructure we have constructed from our ordinary sense data is erroneously superimposed upon the reality of *dharmas*.¹⁰⁰

According to the *Theravādins*, there are 81 compounded *dharmas* that have the characteristics of arising, changing and passing away¹⁰¹. They are classified into three categories: 1) 28 material forms (*rūpa*) like the four elements and six senses, 2) 52 ethically good, bad or neutral psychological factors related to the thinking mind (*citta*) and cognition (*viññāṇa*), and 3) the pure thinking mind as such. All these *dharmas* are real entities with an essence of their own (Skr. *svabhāva*), despite being transitory (*anicca*). In a way they are at the same time causes and effects in the continual becoming of the world of *saṃsāra*.¹⁰²

Behind the compounded reality, however, there is an uncompounded reality:

”There is, o monks, a supranormal (*abhūtam*)¹⁰³, an unborn, a not made and an uncompounded (*asaṅkhata*), because, o monks, if there were not this supranormal, unborn, not made and uncompounded one would not

ence, ou cercle des trois sphères, se poursuit; la délivrance est impossible.” The cause of this notion of ‘I’ is said (*Kosa*, t. V p. 292) to be the defiled thinking mind in which the idea of ‘I’ is superimposed upon the series of thoughts.

⁹⁹ Literally the word ‘*dharma*’ means ‘bearer’ or ‘supporter’ and, from the *Rgveda* onwards, also ‘Law’ or ‘Eternal Order’ (Mayrhofer 1963, II 95; see Carter 1978, 112), and in Buddhism specifically the Law revealed by the Buddha. In Buddhism, these two meanings are so related that the ‘bearers’ or ‘elements of reality’ are regarded as conditioned by the Law (Glaserapp 1938, 385).

¹⁰⁰ See Snellgrove 1987, 22–23. The *Suttapiṭaka* presupposes a *dharma* theory similar to that of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* although it is not explicitly worked out in the *Sūtras*. Only in the *abhidharma* the *dharmas* of the *Suttas* are classified to a restricted number of irreducible constituents of reality. (Glaserapp 1938, 408–409.)

¹⁰¹ *Ang*, I 152. Cf. *Kosa*, t. I pp. 150, 222.

¹⁰² See Lamotte 1958, 658–662, 665; Glaserapp 1938, 408. The *Sarvāstivādins*, however, counted only 72 compounded *dharmas* in same three categories with slightly different contents (Lamotte 1958, 662–663. See also Rosenberg 1924, 120–140). The *Lokottaravādins* of the *Mahāsaṃghikas*, on their part, denied the reality of worldly (*laukika*) *dharmas* and regarded only transcendent (*lokottara*) *dharmas* as real (Bareau 1955a, 76).

¹⁰³ See Rhys Davids & Stede 1972, 60; cf. Bareau 1951, 18 and 21 n. 25.

know an exit (*nissaraṇa*) from what is born, produced (*bhūta*), made and compounded."¹⁰⁴

The word 'uncompounded' (*'asaṅkhata'*, 'not made by putting together') has originally been coined as a negative description of *nirvāṇa* in the same way as *'ajāta'* ('not born'), and thus the opposition of uncompounded and compounded realities parallels exactly the opposition of *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*.¹⁰⁵ In *Hīnayāna Sūtras*, *nirvāṇa* is the one and only uncompounded reality not conditioned by anything else, and not seen to arise, change, or pass away. The fact that the *Sūtras* often speak about the *asaṃskṛta dharmas* in the plural must be taken as only a stylistic feature, since no other uncompounded *dharma* than *nirvāṇa* is ever mentioned in them.¹⁰⁶

In the last two sections of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, this uncompounded is described as transcendent (*lokottara*) to the world of *saṃsāra*, of which it is an exit (*u(t)tiṇṇa*). This means that it is not included in the three levels (*vacaras, lokas* or *dhātus*) of the universe: the world of sensory pleasures (*kāmaloka*), of ideal forms (*rūpaloka*) and of no forms (*arūpaloka*). Hence it also transcends the normal sensory categories relevant in the *kāmaloka* as well as of the states of meditation (*jhānas*) corresponding to the last two *lokas*. It is, by the same token, independent of the effects of *karma* governing one's destiny in the rounds of rebirths on the three levels of the universe.¹⁰⁷

The idea of turning away from the threefold world of *saṃsāra* is evident in the use of the words *'nissaraṇa'*¹⁰⁸ and *'uttiṇṇa'* which I have translated as 'exit'. *'Nissaraṇa'* (Pāli & BSkr., Skr. *niḥsaraṇa*) signifies 'going out', 'departure' and 'giving up' but also 'being freed' and especially an 'escape from *saṃsāra'*¹⁰⁹. *'Uttiṇṇa'* is a past participle of the verb *'uttarati'*, 'to come out', 'to go over', 'to go beyond' and refers to an 'outlet', 'passage' or an 'exit'¹¹⁰.

A detailed description of the Uncompounded is found in the *Asaṅkhatasamyutta* of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* as well as in its abridged Chinese parallel¹¹¹. In the Pāli text, the Buddha announces that he will teach the monks the Uncompounded and the way to the Uncompounded, and proceeds by explaining that the Uncompounded is the destruction of passion (*rāga*), hatred (*dosa*), and confusion (*moha*), and that the way to the

¹⁰⁴ *Udāna*, pp. 80–81.

¹⁰⁵ Bareau 1951, 5, 18–19, 218, 250. The Chinese even translated 'nirvāṇa' and 'asaṃskṛta' with the same word 'wou-wei', 'not made' (ibid. p. 5).

¹⁰⁶ Bareau 1951, 15, 31–34, 248, 250; Lamotte 1958, 675; *Ang*, I 152.

¹⁰⁷ *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, chs. 663, 665, 676, 695–700, 713–718, 730–735, 741–747, 755–765, 779–790, 802–809, 835. See also *Udāna*, pp. 9 and 80 and Bareau 1951, 25–28. On the three *lokas* see Lamotte 1958, 34–35, 681–682.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *Kosa*, t. I p. 12: "Niḥsāra signifie 'sortie (sāra = niḥsaraṇa) nécessaire (avaśyam)', le Nirvāṇa (*nirupadhisesanirvāṇa*) de tout conditionné."

¹⁰⁹ Rhys Davids & Stede 1972, 374.

¹¹⁰ Rhys Davids & Stede 1972, 131–132 s.v. *uttarati* & *uttiṇṇa*.

Uncompounded is "mindfulness related to the body". Having told this, the Buddha says he has done what should be done by a teacher seeking the best of his disciples.¹¹²

The way to the Uncompounded is then described in more detail as consisting of various kinds of meditations and spiritual efforts, ending up with the statement that the way to the Uncompounded is the noble eightfold path¹¹³. After that, the Uncompounded as the goal¹¹⁴ of the path is described with 31 expressions as follows¹¹⁵:

It is the end (*antañca*), without the outflows (*anāsavañca*), the truth (*saccañca*), that which is beyond (*pārañca*), the subtle one (*nipunañca*), the hard to see (*suddasañca*), the unfading one (*ajajaramā*), the stable one (*dhuvañ*), the undecaying one (*apalokitañ*), the invisible one (*antidassanañ*), the taintless one (*nippapañ*), the peace (*santañ*), the deathless (*amatañ*), the excellent one (*pañtañ*), the blissful one (*si-vañ*), the sanctuary¹¹⁶ (*khemañ*), the destruction of thirst (*taṇhakkhaya*), the wonderful one (*acchariya*), the supranormal one (*abhūtañ*), the one free from calamities (*anītika*), the state of freedom from calamities (*anitikadhamma*), *nibbāna*, the freedom from suffering (*avyāpajjha*)¹¹⁷, the dispassion (*virāgo*), the purity (*suddhi*), the release (*mutti*), the non-attachment (*anālayo*), the refuge (*dīpa*), the ultimate shelter (*leṇa*), the final protection (*tāṇañ*), the secure (*saraṇañ*).¹¹⁸

Thus, liberation from the phenomenal world has been described as a spatial shift from one sphere to another. This seems to reflect the common epistemology of the time, haunted by the notion that to know something is to become part of the known. This idea was important in the *Upaniṣads*¹¹⁹; and the whole *Vedāntic* doctrine of the identity of *ātman* and *Brahman* is based on it in the sense that when one realizes that *ātman* is *Brahman*, one is believed to become at the very moment absorbed into *Brahman*. Underlying these notions is a theory of meaning based on an isomorphy between language and reality.¹²⁰

¹¹¹ See Bareau 1951, 17–18.

¹¹² *Samyutta*, IV 359. *Ang*, II 34 takes freedom from passion (*virāga*) to be the best of all things, compounded or uncompounded; i.e. the Uncompounded is freedom from passion.

¹¹³ *Samyutta*, IV 360–368. The eightfold path itself belongs to the compounded reality (*Ang*, II 34).

¹¹⁴ See *Samyutta*, IV 373.

¹¹⁵ *Samyutta*, IV 368–372.

¹¹⁶ In the original sense of 'a place where one is safe'; cf. Rhys Davids & Stede 1972, 238–239 s.v. 'khema' & 'khetta'.

¹¹⁷ See Rhys Davids & Stede 1972, 86 s.v. 'avyāpajjha'.

¹¹⁸ See also Bareau 1951, 249–250, 276–277.

¹¹⁹ e.g. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* VI:I:1: "Verily, he who knows the oldest and the greatest becomes the oldest and the greatest of his own people."

¹²⁰ Takasaki 1966, 27–28; Streng 1967, 36, 38; Smart 1973, 115. In Vedic texts, speech (*vāc*, a feminine word) is the first principle and a creative force comparable to *Brahman* itself, and, like the primeval man in the *Puruṣasūkta* of

However, to use Frederick Streng's categorization of religious apprehension into three classes, the Hīnayānistic apprehension of the uncompounded nirvāṇa should be said to be "intuitive" in contradistinction to "mythical" and "dialectical"¹²¹. The Hīnayānists do not take any verbal expressions to refer to nirvāṇa in such a way that nirvāṇa would be embodied in the expressions themselves, as is the case in the mythical structure of religious apprehension¹²². On the contrary, in the intuitive structure verbal expressions are only analogies that hint at – or reflect – the Absolute. For this reason, conceptualization is only preparatory to intuitive grasping of the Absolute.¹²³

Thus, the *Theravādin* idea of the eternal Absolute behind the phenomenal world can be taken to be a metaphorical attempt to describe verbally the mystical experience of unification with the external world. However, the metaphoric quality is not stressed and thus it is not, for instance, said that nirvāṇa is *as though* it is the ultimate shelter, or *as though* it is hard to see. This is because such parlance would weaken the full meaning of the descriptions of nirvāṇa. Nirvāṇa is for a Buddhist something real, not something as though real.

Yet the eternal dilemma of all religious speech is that at the same that the reality of the ultimate value must be stressed, its descriptions must remain so vague that they do not trivialize the ultimate value, i.e. make the supraworldly (here: *lokottara*) worldly (here: *lokiya*), nor the sacred profane. Thus, almost all of the descriptions of nirvāṇa point *away* from the phenomenal world, while it is not too clear what they point *to*. Nirvāṇa seems to be a complete negation of the phenomenal world of which we are conscious through language and discursive thinking. But how is it reached?

Further pre-Mahāyāna developments in the relationship between compounded and uncompounded realities

That the distinction between compounded and uncompounded realities is problematic and basically a metaphor describing human experiences, not

the *R̥gveda*, it is thought to be fourfold so that only one quarter is known to men, the other three quarters being "hidden and immovable" (Padoux 1963, 15–34).

¹²¹ Streng 1967, 105.

¹²² Streng 1967, 107–108.

¹²³ Streng 1967, 122. Streng, however, does not ascribe the intuitive structure to *Theravāda*, but to Hinduism. Cf. Ruegg 1989, 48: "Now it is, as we have seen, axiomatic with all the schools that the ultimate comprehension of absolute reality must be direct and immediate, and that it is attained finally through non-conceptual gnosis (*jñāna = ye śes*) ..."

ontic matters¹²⁴, is further confirmed by the fact that some schools came to regard things like space (*ākāśa*) and the *dhyānas* of the world of no forms uncompounded as well. According to Bareau, this may be due to the fact that all these ideas contain the notion of emptiness.¹²⁵

Thus, the *Sarvāstivādins* accepted in their *Abhidharma* three uncompounded: 1) Nirvāṇa due to the understanding of the four truths and consisting of a detachment from impure *dharmas* (*pratisaṁkhyānirodha*), 2) Nirvāṇa not due to this understanding and not consisting of this detachment but of a prevention of arising of any *dharmas* in the future (*apratisaṁkhyānirodha*), and 3) space (*ākāśa*).¹²⁶

The *Mahāsaṁghikas* and related sects believed in nine different uncompounded, but the three Chinese and one Tibetan versions of *Vasumitra's Samayabhedoparacanacakra* agree only on the first seven which are: the two nirvāṇas, space, and the four states of meditation in the world with no forms. The eighth thesis concerns (with slight variations in different versions) the uncompoundedness of the net of mutual dependencies (*pratītyasamutpāda*), and the ninth takes the eightfold path to be uncompounded.¹²⁷

The idea of several uncompounded *dharmas* might also be interpreted as an attempt to deal with the problem of the relationship between the uncompounded and compounded realities. Namely, if these two were complete negations of each other, it would be impossible for anything compounded to change to uncompounded, to move from one sphere to the other because there can be no intersection between something-like-that and nothing-like-that, i.e. there is nothing that could connect the two states of being. These two states of being could only *follow* each other, but it would be impossible to say that one had *changed* to the other.¹²⁸

To add new items to the class of uncompounded phenomena would, of course, not solve the problem from the logical point of view. On the experiential level, however, it may serve as a means to narrow the gap between the world and the Absolute, and help one to correlate mystical experiences to everyday life.

¹²⁴ See also Wood 1991, 3–6.

¹²⁵ Bareau 1951, 277–278, 281, 299.

¹²⁶ See Bareau 1951, 47; Lamotte 1958, 675.

¹²⁷ See Bareau 1951, 113; Lamotte 1958, 675.

¹²⁸ See above n. 208 on p. 45. See also pp. 115 for *Nāgārjuna's* view on this point, and *Kosa*, t. I p. 287 where it is emphasized that the *asaṁskṛtas* have neither causes nor effects.

3.1.5. Nirvāṇa and Mysticism

Meditation as a deconstruction of the sensory process

According to Louis de la Vallée Poussin, the Buddhist sources describe two ways to nirvāṇa that he named "rationalisme" and "mystique"¹²⁹. To him, these were opposite views, the first one being based on discernment of *dharma*s and seeing "as it really is" (*yathābhūtaṃ*), the other one on meditative concentration (*samādhi*) and gradual suppression of all ideas.¹³⁰ Thus, the rationalists aimed at an *intellectual understanding* of how phenomenal reality is subjectively constructed and how this construction could be deconstructed, and the mystics strove towards *experiencing* this reversal and cessation *in meditation*.

Whereas the rationalistic theory described nirvāṇa as intellectual understanding, the mystical way led a person to the "cessation of mental representations and feeling" (*saññāvedayitanirodha*), a yogic state of meditation that had been given a Buddhist characterization as "touching the immortal with one's body", i.e. experiencing nirvāṇa in this life (*diṭṭhādhammanibbāna*). It was not conceived of as an existing thing, but as pure negation, as non-occurrence of the thinking mind and mental factors (*cittacetāsikānaṃ dhammānaṃ appavatti*) as the *Visuddhimagga* has it. According to la Vallée Poussin, nirvāṇa always presupposed both sides of the matter, both *samādhi* and wisdom (*prajñā*).¹³¹ In some passages the cessation is, as a matter of fact, identified with nirvāṇa¹³²:

"And moreover, my friend: A monk, passing altogether beyond the realm of neither mental representations nor no mental representations (*nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*), enters the cessation of mental representations and feeling (*saññāvedayitanirodha*) and abides in it, seeing through wisdom (*paññā*) that the *āsavas*¹³³ are utterly destroyed. So far indeed,

¹²⁹ la Vallée Poussin 1937, 189.

¹³⁰ la Vallée Poussin 1937, 189–191. See also Schmithausen 1981, 214. Cf. Vetter 1988, 71.

¹³¹ la Vallée Poussin 1937, 191–192, 211–212, 215–216; Schmithausen 1981, 214–218. Cf. Griffiths 1986, 16: "Buddhist intellectuals have frequently attempted to assimilate the soteriological goal of the attainment of cessation ... to that of Nirvāṇa conceived as a dispassionate intellectual comprehension of the way things are ..." Cf. *Kosa* IV 276: "Celui qui est entré dans la *nirodhasamāpatti* ..., c'est-à-dire le *nirodhasamāpatti*, est nommé 'doublement délivré' parce que par la force de la *prajñā* et du recueillement (*samādhi*), il est délivré du *kleśavarāṇa* et du *vimokṣavarāṇa* ..."

¹³² See King 1980, 101–104; Schmithausen 1981, 216–217; Griffiths 1986, 16–19, 28.

¹³³ The destruction of the three or four *āsavas* (sensuality, becoming [*bhava*], ignorance, views [*diṭṭhi*]) is a traditional sign of nirvāṇa (see Johansson 1985, 177).

my friend, and without further qualifications, did the Beatific One declare nirvâṇa in this life."¹³⁴

"Here we, o lord, for as long as we like, by passing quite beyond the realm of neither mental representations nor no mental representations, entering on the cessation of mental representations and feeling, abide in it; and having seen through wisdom, our *âsavas* to be utterly destroyed. By passing quite beyond that abiding, o lord, by allaying that abiding, another superhuman state, an excellent Ariyan knowledge and vision (*nâṇadassana*), an abiding in comfort, is reached. But we, o lord, do not behold another abiding in comfort that is higher or more excellent than this abiding in comfort."

"It is good, Anuruddhas, it is good. There is no other abiding in comfort that is higher or more excellent than this abiding in comfort."¹³⁵

The cessation is at the peak of progressive states of meditation (*dhyânas*), through which one gradually deconstructs the sensory process so that with each step in progressively deepening meditation, one characteristic of 'worldly' being-in-the-world is dropped off.

"Now, my friend, I have seen that the ceasing of the mental formations is gradual. When one has attained the first *dhyâna*, speech has ceased. When one has attained the second *dhyâna*, initial and sustained thought (*vitakkavicâra*) has ceased. When one has attained the third *dhyâna*, zest has ceased. When one has attained the fourth *dhyâna*, inbreathing and outbreathing have ceased.

When one has attained the realm of infinity of space (*âkâsânañcâyatanâ*), mental representation of objects have ceased. When one has attained the realm of infinity of cognition (*viññâṇañcâyatanâ*), mental representation of the realm of infinity of space has ceased. When one has attained the realm of nothingness (*âkiñcaññâyatanâ*), mental representation of the realm of infinity of cognition has ceased. When one has attained the realm of neither mental representations nor no mental representations (*nevasaññânâsaññâyatanâ*), mental representation of the realm of nothingness has ceased. Both mental representations and feeling have ceased when one has attained the cessation of mental representations and feeling (*saññâvedayitanirodha* or *nirodhasamâpatti*)."¹³⁶

¹³⁴ *Ang*, IV 454. *Kosa*, t. V p. 185: "Parce que le Nirvâṇa ou *nirodha*, étant libre de dix *nimittas*, est nommé *animitta*. Le recueillement (*samâdhi*) qui a le Nirvâṇa pour objet est donc l'*animitta*."

¹³⁵ *Majj*, I 209.

¹³⁶ *Sanyutta*, IV 217. The word '*nirodhasamâpatti*' is postcanonical and does not appear in the *Tiṭṭakâ* (Schmithausen 1981, 249). See also See Johanson 1969, 101; *Kosa*, t. V p. 143, 207–209. According to Vetter (1988, 63–67), the formless meditations in the various infinite realms are of non-Buddhist origins and have been added to the four *dhyânas* when the Buddhists no longer had access to the original *dhyâna* meditation practised by the Buddha. The *saññâvedayitanirodha*, that at one time meant the same as the state of neither mental representations nor no mental representations, would have been added still later upon the four formless meditations, although it had been known earlier, too.

In the *Bahuvédaniyasutta*, the Buddha denies that in sensual pleasures lies "the highest happiness and joy that creatures experience", because there is "another happiness more excellent and exquisite than that happiness"¹³⁷. This is then described as a happiness related to meditation:

"Here, Ānanda, a monk, aloof from sensual pleasures, aloof from unskilled states of mind, enters and abides in the first *dhyāna*, accompanied by initial and sustained thought, is born of aloofness and is zestful and joyful. This, Ānanda, is the other happiness that is more excellent and exquisite than that happiness.

... Here, Ānanda, a monk by allaying initial and discursive thought, his mind inwardly tranquillized and fixed on one point, enters and abides in the second *dhyāna* which is devoid of initial and sustained thought, is born of concentration, and is zestful and joyful. This, Ānanda, ...

... Here, Ānanda, a monk by the fading away of zest, abides with equanimity, attentive and clearly conscious, and he experiences in his body that happiness of which the Ariyans say: "Joyful lives he who has equanimity and is mindful." And entering on the third *dhyāna* he abides in it. This ...

... Here, Ānanda, a monk, by getting rid of happiness and suffering, by the going down of his former pleasures and sorrows, enters and abides in the fourth *dhyāna* which has neither suffering nor happiness, and which is entirely purified by equanimity and mindfulness. This ...

... Here, Ānanda, a monk, by wholly transcending mental representations of material form (*rūpasaññā*), by the going down of mental representations of sensory reaction (*patighasaññā*) by not holding mental representations of diversity (*nānattasaññā*), thinking: "Space is unending", enters and abides in the realm of infinity of space. This ...

... Here, Ānanda, a monk, by wholly transcending the realm of infinity of space and thinking: "Cognition is unending", enter and abides in the realm of infinity of cognition. This ...

... Here, Ānanda, a monk, by wholly transcending the realm of infinity of cognition, and thinking: "There is nothing", enters and abides in the realm of nothingness. This ...

... Here, Ānanda, a monk, by wholly transcending the realm of nothingness, enters and abides in the realm of neither mental representations nor no mental representations. This ...

... Here, Ānanda, a monk, by wholly transcending the realm of neither mental representations nor no mental representations, enters and abides in the cessation of mental representations and feeling. This ..."¹³⁸

The mystical experience of cessation

According to *Majjhimanikāya* I 296, in the cessation of mental representations and feeling there is no cognition (*viññāṇa*), physical function, speech or mental function (*cittasaṅkhârā*), and the sense organs are "puri-

¹³⁷ *Majj.* I 398.

¹³⁸ *Majj.* I 398–400.

fied". If to this were added the disappearance of vitality (*āyu*) and heat (*usmā*) and the destruction of sense organs, the agent could be considered dead.¹³⁹

Thus, the cessation is like cataleptic trance, hibernation of some mammals, or coma. The subject's heart rate has dropped almost to zero, respiration has ceased or is at a very low level, and body temperature is low as well. Mentally, the ordinary functions of sense-perception, concept-formation and ratiocination have ceased.¹⁴⁰

Consequently, it seems that the cessation would not be a conscious state and thus not a pure consciousness event (PCE). According to the "orthodox" view, it is a "mindless" (*acittaka*), state. However, some Buddhist authors have held that it only involves the cessation of mental *activity*, because otherwise it would be difficult to explain how one could re-emerge from the cessation, i.e. how the ceased cognition (*viññāna*) could reappear.¹⁴¹

In Mahāyāna¹⁴², this dilemma was met with the concept of '*ālayaviññāna*', about whose literal meaning there is no unanimous tradition¹⁴³. Its first occurrence in the meaning of a specific *viññāna* seems to be in the *Yogācārabhūmi* where, however, no explicit explanation concerning the meaning of the term is found¹⁴⁴. The word appears in a passage where it is said that when a person is in cessation (*nirodhasamāpatti*), his consciousness (*viññāna*) does not leave the body because "*ālayaviññāna* has not ceased (to be present) in the material sense-faculties".¹⁴⁵

It is, however, difficult to decide whether the *ālayaviññāna* is a purely theoretical concept or whether it refers to a distinct experience. In the latter case it is still unclear whether it refers to a PCE or to an unconscious state. Usually it is not considered objectless (*nirālambana*) or contentless (*nirākāra*), although its objects and content are indistinct

¹³⁹ *Majj*, I 296. See also *Dīgha*, II 156; King 1980, 107; Griffiths 1986, 6; 1990, 79–80.

¹⁴⁰ Griffiths 1990, 80. Also Griffiths 1986, 9–11; Conze 1972, 101.

¹⁴¹ Griffiths 1990, 78–79, 82–83.

¹⁴² However, Schmithausen (1987, 33) remarks that in the passages of the *Yogācārabhūmi* where *ālayaviññāna* is spoken of, there are no specifically Mahāyānist elements.

¹⁴³ Perhaps the commonest rendering is 'store-consciousness' (French: 'connaissance réceptacle'). '*Ālaya*' usually refers to clinging or to that to which one clings. Schmithausen (1987, 22) has put forward the following definition: "the (... perhaps better: *a*) (form of) mind (that is characterized by) s t i c k i n g (in the material sense-faculties)."

¹⁴⁴ That is first given in SMD V:3, where *ālayaviññāna* is called such because it "joins and unites itself with this body". Besides this, it is also called 'appropriating consciousness' (*āddānaviññāna*) because it is by this consciousness that the body is appropriated. (See Schmithausen 1987, 11–12, 15.)

¹⁴⁵ Schmithausen 1987, 15, 18. In the *Kosa* (t. I pp. 20–21), "non-information" (*aviññāpti*) serves a similar function.

(*aparichinna*), extremely subtle (*atisūkṣma*) and not experienced (*asañvīdita*). This extraordinary quality of the objects and content makes it possible that *ālayavijñāna* counts as a PCE – although this is by no means clear.¹⁴⁶

On the other hand, if the cessation is an integral element of *nirvāṇa* as la Vallée Poussin asserted, and especially as it is sometimes even identified with *nirvāṇa*, it is difficult to see how it could be an unconscious state¹⁴⁷. A PCE, or at least a nondualistic experience or an unmediated experience would provide a much more plausible explanation¹⁴⁸.

In the *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Suttanipāta* we have descriptions of cessation of mental representations (*saññā*) that, according to Gómez and Vetter, cannot be identified with the cessation of mental representations and feeling (*saññāvedayitanirodha*). This experience seems clearly to be a conscious experience since in its descriptions not only all dogmas and mental representations are denied, but this denial is also denied in order to "avoid the impression that the mental state one aims for is similar to the state of a stone or plant".¹⁴⁹ The relevant passages run as follows:

There are no ties for one who is devoid of mental representations (*saññā*). There are no illusions for one who is released through wisdom (*paññāvimutti*). But those who have grasped mental representation and view wander in the world (*loka*), causing offence.¹⁵⁰

He has no (ordinary) mental representation of mental representations, he has no deranged mental representation of mental representations, he is *not without mental representation*, he has no mental representation of what has disappeared. For one who has attained to such a state form disappears, for that which is named 'diversification' has its origin in mental representation.¹⁵¹

This describes an experience that on one hand is free from mental activity (mental representations, "views" or theories), but on the other is somehow connected to wisdom. Whether wisdom leads to this experience, is its result, or occurs during the experience, is not made clear in our sources¹⁵².

In the latter quotation, however, it is stressed that even though a person has no ordinary or deranged mental representation (of mental repre-

¹⁴⁶ Griffiths 1990, 83–85. Cf. below pp. 118–119 (unconstructive wisdom and its object and content!).

¹⁴⁷ Also Griffiths (1990, 85) takes up the question of the soteriological value of an unconscious state.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Griffiths 1990, 91.

¹⁴⁹ Vetter 1988, 103, 105.

¹⁵⁰ *Suttanipāta* 4:847 (*Māgandīyasutta*). Transl. by K.R. Norman, with 'mental representations' substituted for 'perceptions' as a translation for '*saññā*'.

¹⁵¹ *Suttanipāta* 4:874 (*Māgandīyasutta* [my italics]). Transl. by K.R. Norman, with 'mental representations' substituted for 'perceptions'.

¹⁵² See Schmithausen 1981, 218.

sentations), he is yet not without mental representations. What mental representations the subject has then, seem to have been ineffable to the author(s). It is only said that he or she does not perceive diverse forms because they have disappeared with the disappearance of perception.

This sounds very much like the PCE thesis: the subject's consciousness is empty (no mental representations) although he or she is not unconscious (not without mental representations); the early Buddhists have only had difficulty in expressing this in words. On the other hand, if consciousness is not empty in this experience, it may still be unmediated in the sense that its content does not reflect the subject's previous conceptual scheme (as mental representations are ineffable), and at least the experience obviously is a nondualistic experience (no "diversification").

Thus, in early Buddhism there has been a supreme goal whose essential element was a mystical experience, the precise nature of which must remain somewhat unclear. Nevertheless, it is closely related to *saññāvedayitanirodha* and to what came to be known as *nirvāṇa*.

As *nirvāṇa* is thought to be a permanent state¹⁵³, it is reasonable to take it in its "rationalistic" aspect as an "enlightened" view of the world, i.e. a view altered by an ineffable mystical experience where the limits of language and discursive thinking are transcended. The verbal descriptions of this view form an interpretation of the experience, ascribing a meaning to it. In this way, there is feedback between the mystical and intellectual aspects of *nirvāṇa*, and the mystical experience can contribute to a change in a person's intellectual way of understanding his or her being-in-the-world.

3.1.6. The Buddha's Liberating Experience

Despite the central position of the Buddha's liberating experience in Buddhism, the earliest of his followers have not been willing or able to interpret it in detail. The texts do not give any detailed description of what the Buddha's revolutionizing experience was like. The word '*nirvāṇa*' appears in the earliest fragments of the sacred biography only in the *Ariya-pariyesanāsutta*, and, as Vetter says, it is "more a figure of speech" than a (technical) concept¹⁵⁴. '*Bodhi*', for its part, appears only in the *Mahāsaccakasutta* when the Buddha ponders whether there could be "another way to enlightenment (*bodhi*)". Later, in the *Vinayapīṭaka*, we read that Gautama had recently become a fully enlightened one (*paṭhamabhisambuddho*)¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵³ Only the *Sammatīyas* and *Vatsīputrīyas* thought it possible for a monk to loose his *nirvāṇa* (Bareau 1987, 449).

¹⁵⁴ Vetter 1988, 15.

¹⁵⁵ *Vin*, I 1.

In the *Ariyapariyesanāsutta*, we are simply told that after years of vain attempts, while meditating in the surroundings of Uruvelā, the Buddha immediately attained "the excellent freedom from bondage, nibbāna", that was not subject to birth, aging, illness, sorrow and suffering. At that very moment he knew: "My liberation (*vimutti*) is steadfast. This is the last birth and there will be no more (re)births."¹⁵⁶

According to the *Suttas Mahāsaccaka*, *Bhayabherava* and *Dvedhāvī-takka*, the liberation was preceded by four states of meditation (*jhāna*) and three mental abilities (*ñāṇa*). The Buddha describes his experience after the third ability: "When I was liberated to freedom I knew: birth is destroyed, *Brahma*-life lived and the task accomplished. There will be no new life."¹⁵⁷ Thus, the *Ariyapariyesanāsutta* is completely silent about how the Buddha reached his nirvāṇa, and the *Mahāsaccakasutta* contains a description of the liberation following the four *dhyānas* which the Buddha had already practised for years in vain¹⁵⁸.

Vetter explains this by taking his clue from *Majjhima* I 246, where the Buddha thinks he has found the way to enlightenment when he suddenly remembers a childhood experience. This experience is in the *sutta* interpreted as the first *dhyāna* consisting of contemplation and reflection combined with joy and happiness. But according to Vetter, this was not the same experience as the one that later came to be regarded as first of the four *dhyānas*¹⁵⁹, but a desireless momentary experience of happiness that disappears as soon as one tries to perpetuate it by trying to possess the object observed. It was precisely this type of experience that the Buddha meant by his 'middle way'¹⁶⁰. However, whether this is really so, is hard to establish with any certainty. According to the *Mahāsaccakasutta*, the contents of the enlightenment consist of three mental abilities (*ñāṇa*) which, nevertheless, are nothing more than traditional paranormal faculties (*abhiññā*) numbering six in Indian sources¹⁶¹. The sixth of these, the knowledge of the outflows (*āsava*) of sensuality (*kāmāsava*), becoming (*bhavāsava*) and ignorance (*avijjāsava*) and their destruction, however, is

¹⁵⁶ *Majj*, I 167.

¹⁵⁷ *Majj*, I 17–23, 114–117, 247–249. The *Padhānasutta* (*Suttanipāta*, III:2) describes the Buddha's experience poetically as only a defeat over *Māra* the evil one. *Māra* is a purely Buddhist mythological being who is the lord of death, sense pleasures and suffering; and the ability to recognize and expell him is considered a part of enlightenment (see Ling 1962, 44–65). Besides this *Theravādin sutta*, the Buddha's enlightenment is described as a win over *Māra* in the MHV (II 224–227, 354–372), the BHC (XIII:1–72), the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins* (Rockhill 1884, 30–32), and the *Nidānakathā* of the *Theravādins* (*Jātaka* I 71–76). In the LV (p. 314) *Māra* assaults the Buddha immediately after his enlightenment.

¹⁵⁸ *Majj*, I 163–166, 247–249, II 212.

¹⁵⁹ On these, see Vetter 1988, xxvi n.9, 5.

¹⁶⁰ Vetter 1988, xxix, 3–4, 10, 63.

¹⁶¹ See Jayatilleke 1963, 437–438; *Ang*, I 254–256.

known only in Buddhist sources and thus may be considered the real essence of the enlightenment *as described here*¹⁶². This *âsava*-division seems to have been modelled after the formula of the four noble truths¹⁶³.

Although the Buddha's experience is the corner-stone of Buddhism, it is not thought in *Theravâda* that anyone except the 25 buddhas could attain this experience. Yet it is not very clear what exactly is the difference between the enlightenment of the Buddha and that of the enlightened disciples (*Arhats*), apart from the fact that the Buddha is believed to have gained his enlightenment all by himself, whereas the *Arhats* are only learners (*śrāvaka*) conducted to the liberation by the Buddha.¹⁶⁴

Thus, we cannot reconstruct the nature of the Buddha's liberating experience with any historical certainty. It seems, however, that the compilers of the sacred biography have emphasized its rationalistic aspect more and focused their attention on the knowledge gained by the Buddha. Yet the experience is also related to have been preceded by the four *dhyânas*. Before his death, the Buddha is described to have gone through the formless *dhyânas* as well¹⁶⁵, and in an other context he is said to have declared the cessation of mental representations and feeling as "nirvâṇa in this life". Consequently, the mystical aspect must have also been present in some form.

¹⁶² Démieville 1927, 283, 290–291; Bareau 1963, 79–80, 84 (emphasized addition by I.P.).

¹⁶³ Schmithausen 1981, 205.

¹⁶⁴ As to the stories about the Buddha's disciples arriving at enlightenment very easily by only listening to the Buddha's instruction, they may be seen as nostalgic descriptions of what the human existence was like in the great beginning when the founder walked amongst us (Cf. Bond 1984, 228. See Pyysiäinen 1988, 75–76). Even today many *Theravâda* Buddhists consider nirvâṇa possible only when the Buddha was in the world or when he will come again (Bunnag 1973, 19–20; Bond 1988, 56–58, 113. See also Gothóni 1982, 189).

¹⁶⁵ *Dîgha*, II 156.

3.5. Mahâyâna Buddhism

3.5.1. The compounded *dharma*s are unreal

In criticizing the Hīnayāna ideas of plurality of *dharma*s and the dualism between the compounded (*samskṛta*) phenomenal reality and the uncompounded (*asamskṛta*) nirvāṇa, the Sūtras of Perfection of Wisdom (*Prajñāpāramitāsūtras*) tackle the issue from the point of view of language and reality. The idea is to show that if being-in-the-world is understood rigidly through language and discursive thinking, an illusion about an objective reality corresponding to language is guaranteed to arise. This starting point has been very well expressed by Lindtner:

"All conscious beings find themselves living in an extended world of plurality (*prapañca*). Only the Buddha is beyond *prapañca*. ... For this reason *prapañca* also means *our* expansion of the world, or, as one might say, the world presented to us in and by language. The very *modus operandi* of *prapañca* is *vikalpa*, usually to be translated as 'discursive or conceptual thinking' but occasionally also 'objectively' as 'distinctions, differences' and the like. *Vikalpas* differentiate the world of *prapañca* into something which is said to exist (*astīti*) and something which is said not to exist (*nāstīti*) and hypostatise these respectively as being (*bhāva*) and non-being (*abhāva*)."¹

Thus, when the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* in 25 000 lines denies the existence of 'self'², it should be understood so that 'self' is just a word with no corresponding object in reality:

(O)ne speaks of a 'self', and yet no self is got at.

'Perfect wisdom' and 'Bodhisattva', mere words are these. And the reality which corresponds to the word 'Bodhisattva' cannot be apprehended, either inwardly [or subjectively, *ādhyātmikam*], or outwardly [or objectively, *bāhyam*], or between the two. Just as one speaks of a 'being' although no being can be apprehended in actual reality; and that word 'being' is a mere concept, a conceptual dharma and has the status of a concept.³

¹ Lindtner 1982, 270–271. Lindtner's (p. 271) translation of '*prapañca*' as either 'world' or 'language' is clearly compatible with Gadamer's view that "(w)hoever has language 'has' the world" (above p. 37 and its n.145). Loy (1988, 54) explains *prapañca* as "the differentiation of nondual world of nirvikalpa experience into the discrete-objects-of-the-phenomenal world, which occurs due to savikalpa thought-construction."

² The self "is not really there (*anabhinirvṛta*)", and it does "not exist absolutely" (Conze 1984, 189, 191 [P]).

³ Conze 1984, 90 (P). Additions in brackets by I.P. According to the MASA-MG (VIII:18b), all dharmas are originally without concepts (*nirvikalpa*).

There is the teaching of 'individual self' (*âtma*), and the teaching of 'non-individual self' (*anâtma*); But neither 'individual self' nor 'non-individual self' whatever has been taught by the Buddhas.⁴

This is the central teaching of the Sûtras of Perfection of Wisdom, that the meaningfulness of language is not dependent on finding objective reference to 'words'. Language is not a picture of reality. It does not reveal reality but veils it.⁵ The quoted Sûtra precisely says that the artificial "conceptual phenomena" (*dharmā-prajñapti*⁶) of "conventional terms" and "adventitious designations" are a sort of disguise⁷ in which the reality is veiled so that it "cannot be apprehended inwardly, outwardly, or between the two".⁸ Thus, all references or extensions of verbal expressions are judged as illusory and deprived of an essence (*svabhâva*)⁹.

According to *Nâgârjuna*, this non-existence of essences (*svabhâva*) is due to the fact that everything can be explained as caused by something else, in accordance with the theory of the net of mutual dependencies (*pratītyasamutpâda*). But then, of course, this something else must also be without an essence.¹⁰ Thus, the view that everything has a cause outside itself is equivalent to the view that there is no causation¹¹, and *Nâgârjuna* takes the idea of causation to be "empty" as well¹².

While the Hīnayānist had maintained that "(f)or the occurrence of any given event y, there exists a necessary and sufficient condition x"¹³, *Nâgârjuna* remarks that an existing thing does not need a cause as it exists already, and a non-existing thing naturally cannot have a cause either¹⁴. For causation to be possible, causes and effects would have to exist simultaneously in a peculiar transitional phase between existence and non-existence which, of course, always escapes us.¹⁵ Consequently, *Nâgârjuna* rea-

⁴ MMK, 18:6.

⁵ Cf. Quine 1969, 48–68; Streng 1967, 140–144.

⁶ See Conze 1967, 210.

⁷ P (Conze 1984, 57 [P]) uses the word '*pratidharma*', 'counter-phenomenon', 'phenomenon in disguise'.

⁸ Conze 1984, 57, 90–91 (P).

⁹ "Illusions and mere words do not stand at any point or spot; they are not, do not come into being, are false to behold. For of what the own-being is seen to be an illusion, of that there is no production or stopping, no defilement or purification." (Conze 1984, 57 [P].) See n. 38 on p. 10.

¹⁰ MMK, 22:9: "So when there is dependence, self-existence (*svabhâva*) does not exist; And if there is no self-existence whatever, how is an other-existence (*parabhâva*) possible?" See Streng 1967, 44.

¹¹ Loy 1986, 15.

¹² MMK, 22:10: "Thus 'dependence' and 'that which is dependent' are completely empty (*śūnya*)."¹³ See Streng 1967, 147.

¹³ As formulated by Griffiths (1986, 31) on the basis of *Majj*, I 262–264 and *Samyutta*, II 28–32.

¹⁴ MMK, 1:6: "Of what non-real thing is there a conditioning cause? And if it is [already] real, what use is a cause?"

¹⁵ See MMK, 1:1–14 (=appendix 1). Cf. p. 48 n.210.

sons that the truth is constituted by things unoriginated and not terminated¹⁶.

Thus the Hīnayānistic dualism of an individual as a constructor and the world as a construction is attacked from two sides, both the self and the elements of existence (*skandhas*) being judged as unreal, or, better, this *distinction* being denied¹⁷. The *Sūtra* in 25 000 lines says that what "holds good of the skandhas, that is also true of the 18 elements" which are non-existent conceptual phenomena, too¹⁸.

The central conceptual tool in the ontological relativism of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and in the related criticism of a dualistic understanding of being-in-the-world is the notion of emptiness (*śūnyatā*). This word is derived from the Sanskrit root *śva-*, 'to swell'. Thus *śūnya* ('empty') literally means 'relating to the swollen'. The idea is that something which looks swollen outside is hollow inside.¹⁹

However, 'emptiness' is not a word describing reality accurately while all other words fail to do so. It is a pure negation that only "prepares the ground for the true insight to be gained through concentration"²⁰. It is a refutation of all theories; and those who maintain 'emptiness' as a theory are "incurable" (*asādhya*), as *Nāgārjuna* says²¹.

Consequently, the previously mentioned 18 elements are said to be empty (*śūnya*)²², and likewise *dharmas* are regarded as being without essence and thus non-existent and mere emptiness, without any material form:

(N)o dharma connects with any other dharma, nor does it disconnect; it is not joined nor disjoined – on account of the emptiness of their essential original nature.²³

For such is the true nature of dharmas that in fact they are illusory²⁴.

¹⁶ MMK, 18:7: "Those things which are unoriginated and not terminated, like *nirvāṇa*, constitute the Truth (*dharmatā*)."

¹⁷ "The absolute purity results from the unreality of both self and the skandhas (Conze 1984, 297 [P])." See also Loy 1988, 11. MMK, 18:4: "When 'I' and 'mine' have stopped, then also there is not an outside nor an inner self."

¹⁸ Conze 1984, 90 (P).

¹⁹ See Conze 1975, 130–131; Chang 1971, 60; Loy 1988, 50.

²⁰ de Jong 1972b, 14. However, *Vasubandhu* seems to have distinguished two meanings of *śūnyatā*: the absence of *puṅgava* ('personality') and *dharmas*, and the real existence of this absence (Ruegg 1969, 342). This latter idea is reminiscent of Sartre's way of regarding *le néant* as having an existence (see below p. 127).

²¹ MMK, 13:8. See also Loy 1988, 20.

²² Conze 1984, 144–148 (P + Ad + Da).

²³ Conze 1984, 61 (P).

²⁴ Conze 1984, 138 (P). The *Lañkāvatārasūtra* (p. 18) explains this illusion as follows: "(F)rom one's clinging (to appearances) that the manifestations of his own Mind are regarded as reality (*dharmatā*)."
LNKV, p. 65: "Because of one's attachment to false imagination, Mahāmāti, we have to talk of emptiness, no-birth, non-duality, and absence of self-nature."

According to *Nāgārjuna*:

Since there is no *dharma* whatever originating independently, no *dharma* whatever exists which is not empty²⁵.

(A)ll dharmas are marked with emptiness; they are not produced or stopped ...²⁶

The *dharmas* are

like a dream, a mock show, a mirage, an echo, a reflected image, a city of *Gandharvas*, an illusory magical creation.²⁷

The Lotus Sūtra, for its part, declares that one who has reached nirvāṇa

looks upon this triple world in every direction as void, resembling the produce of magic, similar to a dream, a mirage, an echo.²⁸

3.5.2. Only the uncompounded Absolute is real

As the phenomenal world of compounded *dharmas* is unreal, all that remains real is the absolute uncompounded reality²⁹. In scholarly *Mādhyamika* treatises, like the MMK, this is expressed through the idea of two truth-levels, that of worldly surface-convention (*lokasaṃvṛti*) and that which is true ultimately (*satyaṃ paramārthataḥ*). Only the latter is the truth that corresponds to reality (*tattva*). The conventional truth (*saṃvṛti satya*), for its part, is not really truth but ignorance (*avidyā*).³⁰

However, expressions with conventional truth may act as "skillful means" (*upāya*) and point to *paramārtha*³¹. The Laṅkāvatārasūtra illustrates this by saying that a finger-tip pointing to the moon is not that which is

²⁵ MMK, 24:19.

²⁶ *Hīdayā*, p. 85.

²⁷ Conze 1984, 305 (P). According to *Nāgārjuna* (MMK 7:34): "As a magic trick, a dream or a fairy castle. Just so should we consider origination, duration, and cessation." LNKV (p. 20) declares that the world "is like an image magically created."

²⁸ Lotus, p. 136.

²⁹ According to the SMD (i,2; ii,2), the word 'compounded' (*saṃskṛta*) does not correspond to anything absolute, and thus nothing compounded exists in the last analysis. However, only the noble ones (*ārya*) know the Absolute (*paramārtha*) by intuition (*pratyātmavedaṅgā*). According to the Lotus (pp. 128–129), nirvāṇa is one and the same for all, as it is "a consequence of understanding that all (*dharmas*) are equal."

³⁰ Murti 1980, 243–245; Ruegg 1981, 34, 42. The distinction is also known in the *Prajñāpāramitā* (e.g. Conze 1984, 529 [Ad in Gilgit ms.]; see Murti 1980, 244) and the Lotus Sūtra (pp. 112–113).

³¹ Ruegg 1981, 42 calls this a "transactional" (*vyavahāra*) usage. Gómez 1987b, 447 speaks about "a doctrinal bridge that will reach out beyond the sphere of mystical silence." On "skillful means", see below pp. 114–115.

pointed at, although the ignorant grasp only the fingertip and not the moon³².

Says *Nāgārjuna*:

The teaching by the Buddhas of the *dharma* has recourse to two truths: The world-ensconced truth and the truth which is the highest sense.

Those who do not know the distinction between these two truths are incapable of grasping the ultimate meaning (*tattva*) of the teaching of the Buddha.³³

The Absolute is called by various names and epithets, such as 'the Realm of Dharma (*dharmatā*)'³⁴, 'Dharma-element (*dhārmadhātu*)', 'Suchness (*tathatā*)' and 'reality limit (*bhūtakoti*)'³⁵. This Dharma-element as the real essence of all *dharma*s is then said to stay fixed, whether buddhas appear in the world or not³⁶; and enlightenment means penetration into this absolute reality³⁷.

In the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, the ultimate truth is identified with the reality of all living beings (*sattvadhātu*) which, again, is identified with the embryo of the *Tathāgata* (*tathāgatagarbha*). This, then, is said to be the same as the Dharma-body (*dharmakāya*).³⁸

The word '*garbha*' has, besides 'embryo' and 'essence', the meanings 'hollow', 'cavity', 'interior' and 'swelling of the pregnant womb'³⁹. '*Tathāgatagarbha*' has been given three interpretations in the *Ratnagotra*⁴⁰,

³² LNKV, pp. 169, 193.

³³ MMK, 24:8–9. The first two *śloka*s are in Streng's translation, and the last two are a combination of Streng's and Murti's (1980, 243–244) translations with 'ultimate meaning' substituted for Streng's 'profound "point"' and Murti's 'deep significance'.

³⁴ It is said that a *bodhisattva* "does not review anything as separate from the Realm of Dharma, or distinguish any *dharma* from the Realm of Dharma (Conze 1984, 65 [P])."

³⁵ Conze 1984, 528 (Ad in Gilgit ms.): "Moreover, Subhuti, all dharmas have Suchness for own-being, the Reality limit, the Dharma-element." The world "has as its highest (development) the Dharma-element, and the space-element as its terminus (Conze 1984, 133 [P])." Cf. *Kosa*, t.I pp. 30, 58, 71.

³⁶ Conze 1984, 310 (P): "Whether Tathagatas are produced (in the world) or are not produced, fixed is this Dharmahood of dharmas, the Dharma-element, the fixedness of Dharma, the fixed sequence of *dharma*(s)."

³⁷ "Enlightenment, that is a synonym of emptiness, of Suchness, of Reality limit, of the Dharma-element. Moreover enlightenment is Suchness, nonfalsehood, unaltered Suchness, unaltered existence, therefore is it called 'enlightenment'." (Conze 1984, 531 [Ad in Gilgit ms.].)

³⁸ *Ratnagotra*, p. 143: "O Sāriputra, the ultimate Truth is a synonym of the mass of living beings (*sattva-dhātu*). The mass of living beings is, o Sāriputra, nothing but a synonym of the Matrix of the Tathāgata (*tathāgatagarbha*). The Matrix of the Tathāgata is, o Sāriputra, nothing but a synonym of the Absolute Body (*dharmakāya*)."

³⁹ And thus bears a certain parallelism to the word '*śūnya(tā)*'. See Ruegg 1969, 501.

⁴⁰ See Takasaki 1966, 22.

taking the compound to be grammatically either a *tatpuruṣa*, a *kar-madhâraya* or a *bahuvrîhi*, respectively.

Thus, no one among the living beings (*sattvadhātu*) stands outside the *Tathâgata*'s Dharma-body because 1) all living beings are the interior of the *Tathâgata*, i.e. are within the *Tathâgata*⁴¹. 2) Secondly, it is explained that as reality is an undifferentiated whole, the *Tathâgata* is identical with the inner essence (*garbha*) of living beings, and *Tathâgatagarbha* thus is a the name for the hidden Suchness (*tathâtâ*) of living beings⁴². 3) Thirdly, it is said that the inner essence of living beings is the essence or embryo of the *Tathâgata* meaning that the cause of Tathâgatahood lies in every being⁴³.

It is argued that as ordinary people, *Arhats* and buddhas altogether form the reality as an indivisible whole, the embryo of The Victorious One exists in all living beings⁴⁴. The Dharma-body, to which the reality of *Tathâgatagarbha* was also identified, is said to be the supreme or highest Unity and synonymous with the sphere of nirvâṇa (*nirvâṇadhātu*), enlightenment (*anuttarâ samîkṣasambodhi*) and Dharma-element (*dharmadhātu*)⁴⁵.

This *Tathâgatagarbha* is told to exist in all living beings, including "absolutely defiled" ordinary people and animals, in three meanings:⁴⁶

1) The Absolute Body (*dharmakâya*) of the *Tathâgata* penetrates all living beings; 2) the *Tathâgata* being the Reality (*tathâtâ* [*sic!*]), is the undifferentiated whole; and 3) there exists the Germ of the *Tathâgata* (*tathâgatagotra*) (in every living being).

The embryo of the *Tathâgata* is believed to be in living beings like a germ within a seed; and the defilements that hide this embryo are like the bark-covering of a seed⁴⁷. Or:

Like a pregnant woman are the impure living beings,
And the immaculate Essence in them is like that embryo,
Owing to the existence of which, they become possessed of
protection.⁴⁸

⁴¹ "*Tathâgatasya ime garbhâḥ sarvasattvâḥ.*" *Ratnagotra*, p. 286 and Takasaki's n.140.

⁴² "*Tathâgatas tathâtâ eṣâṃ garbhaḥ sarvasattvânâṃ.*" *Ratnagotra*, p. 287 and Takasaki's n.151.

⁴³ "*Tathâgatadhâtur eṣâṃ garbhaḥ sarvasattvânâm.*" *Ratnagotra*, p. 290, and Takasaki's n.170 where this is considered the original meaning of the expression. Ruegg (1969, 507), however, takes '*Tathâgatagarbha*' to be a *tatpuruṣa* and thus to mean 'the womb of the *Tathâgata* (or *Tathâgatas*)' (*tathâgatânâm - garbhaḥ*). See also Ruegg 1989, 5, 19.

⁴⁴ *Ratnagotra*, p. 229: "The Ordinary people, the Saints, the Buddhas, - / They are indivisible from Reality, / Therefore, the Matrix of the Buddha [*Jinagarbha*] exists among [all] living beings; - / ..."

⁴⁵ *Ratnagotra*, pp. 144, 161, 210, 218. See also 261.

⁴⁶ *Ratnagotra*, pp. 175, 189, 198 (the citation), 229, 281, 294-295.

⁴⁷ *Ratnagotra*, p. 273: "The Defilements are like the bark-covering [of a seed], and the Essence of the *Tathâgata* is akin to the germ within a seed."

⁴⁸ *Ratnagotra*, p. 275.

Tathâgatagarbha is also compared to gold as follows:

Just as gold, though it is invisible among stones and sands,
Comes to be seen by the process of purification,
Similarly, in this world of living beings
The Tathâgata (becomes visible by purification).⁴⁹

The *Ratnagotra* also cites the *Mahâparinirvâṅgasûtra* which says:

O monks, with those elements which ye maintain to be in every case evanescent, suffering, impersonal, and impure, and on which ye practice the meditation (on that notion) repeatedly and increasingly, there exists (an essence which represents) the Eternity, the Bliss, the Purity, and the Highest Unity.⁵⁰

Likewise, the *Aryaśrîmâlâsûtra*, quoted in the *Ratnagotra*, says:

Only the Absolute Body of the Tathâgata is the Supreme Eternity, the Supreme Bliss, the Supreme Unity and the Supreme Purity.⁵¹

3.5.3. The Absolute is beyond the distinction of compounded and un-compounded

But if there is no phenomenal reality of compounded *dharma*s, we do not have to form the idea or concept of an absolute un-compounded *dharma* either. In other words, the reality is not un-compounded in contradistinction to compounded, but rather something transcending this duality.

Thus a *bodhisattva* should understand that the un-compounded cannot be made known through the exclusion of the compounded, or the other way round⁵². Consequently, "that entity which is the sign of something conditioned is neither other than the inexpressible realm, nor not other⁵³." Or, according to the *Saṁdhinirmocanasûtra*:

⁴⁹ *Ratnagotra*, p. 152. On pp. 268–269 the *Tathâgatagarbha* covered with limitless defilements is given nine different illustrations.

⁵⁰ *Ratnagotra*, p. 299.

⁵¹ *Ratnagotra*, p. 218. In the LNKV, the *Tathâgatagarbha* is neither a "womb" nor an embryo, but is identified with the sub-consciousness (*âlavyavijñâna*, like in the *Mahâyânasradhotpâda* [Takasaki 1966, 53; Ruegg 1969, 507]).

⁵² Conze 1984, 94 (P): "The Unconditioned cannot be made known through the exclusion of the conditioned, nor the conditioned through the exclusion of the Unconditioned." MMK, 7:35: "Because the existence of production, duration, and cessation is not proved, there is no composite product (*saṁskṛta*); And if a composite product is not proved, how can a non-composite product (*asaṁskṛta*) be proved?"

⁵³ Conze 1984, 647 (Ad in Gilgit ms.).

⁵⁴ SMD, I:1.

... the mentioned things are of two sorts: the compounded and the un-compounded. However, the compounded is neither compounded nor un-compounded; and the un-compounded is neither un-compounded nor compounded.⁵⁴

This is because the words 'compounded' and 'uncompounded' are only metaphors invented by the Buddha, and, when taken literally, are expressions of the "vulgar experience" only. The common people (*prthagjana*) lack the noble transcendent wisdom (*âryalokottaraprajñâ*) with which the ineffable reality (*anabhilâpyadharmatâ*) can be known.⁵⁵

As the truth is constituted by things that have no origin and are not terminated, "(N)irvâṇa is neither an existent thing nor a non-existent thing," and is not originated or terminated.⁵⁶ In LNKV, this kind of reasoning is explained as due to the fact that 'non-existence' is a relational concept receiving its meaning from its opposite, i.e. 'existence'⁵⁷. Thus hare's horns are non-existent in reference to, for instance, bull's horns⁵⁸. But as Mahâyâna ontology takes all extensions of verbal expressions to be non-existent⁵⁹, 'non-existence' loses its relational counterpart and becomes meaningless⁶⁰. Thus, neither being nor non-being can be predicated on anything⁶¹.

At this point, the only logical conclusion is that in reality there is no difference between *samsâra* and *nirvâṇa*⁶². So:

"Worldly convention is not one thing and ultimate truth another. What is the Suchness (*tathatâ*) of worldly convention, that is the Suchness of ultimate reality."⁶³

⁵⁵ SMD, I:2; I:5.

⁵⁶ MMK, 25:10 and above p. 115 n. 15.

⁵⁷ LNKV, p. 49: "Long and short, etc., exist mutually bound up; when existence is asserted, there is non-existence, and where non-existence is asserted, there is existence."

⁵⁸ LNKV, p. 48: "The non-existence of hare's horns is asserted in reference to their existence (on the bull ...) ..."

⁵⁹ LNKV, p. 48: "(B)ut really a horn itself has no existence from the beginning ..."

⁶⁰ LNKV, p. 48: "The non-existence of what, is to be affirmed in reference to what? As to the other things, too, this reasoning from reference does not hold true."

⁶¹ LNKV, p. 47, 55, 64: "(F)or all things are devoid of the alternatives of being and non-being and are to be known, Mahâmati, as the horns of a hare, a horse, or a camel ..." P. 133: "Of neither existence nor non-existence do I speak, but of Mind-only which has nothing to do with existence and non-existence ..."

⁶² "(T)he Bodhisattva ... neither discriminates Samsara as Samsara, nor Nirvana as Nirvana. When he thus does not discriminate, they, i.e. Samsara and Nirvana, become exactly the same." (Conze 1984, 650 [Ad in Gilgit ms.])
 "(I)t is said from the highest view-point that the Phenomenal Life itself is Nirvâṇa, because (the Bodhisattvas) realize the unstable Nirvâṇa (*apratisthânanirvâṇa*), being indiscriminative of both (the Phenomenal Life and Nirvâṇa) (*Ratnagotra*, p. 219–220)." See also LNKV, p. 38.

⁶³ Conze 1984, 529 (Ad in Gilgit ms.).

This is because

(I)f the inexpressible realm were other than the entity which is the sign of something conditioned, then even just now that sign could not be apprehended through which there would be penetration into this inexpressible realm.⁶⁴

Why this is so is expressed by *Nâgârjuna* as follows:

If 'that which is bound' were released, 'being bound' and 'release' would exist simultaneously⁶⁵;

which is impossible⁶⁶, and "a living being neither is bound nor released"⁶⁷ which is logically the same as a living being being both bound and released.

According to the SMD, the enlightenment, teaching activity and *parinirvâṇa* of the buddhas are characterized by nonduality to the extent that in them there is neither enlightenment nor non-enlightenment, neither *parinirvâṇa* nor the absence of *parinirvâṇa*.⁶⁸ *Asaṅga* says likewise that the buddhas are "at once absolutely in nirvâṇa (*atyantanirvṛta*) and absolutely not in nirvâṇa"⁶⁹.

The identity between *saṃsâra* and nirvâṇa is also expressed with reference to the key concept of 'emptiness':

Form is not one thing, and emptiness another; emptiness is not one thing, and form another. The very form is emptiness, the very emptiness is form.⁷⁰

And that emptiness that is neither produced nor stopped, is neither defiled nor purified, does not decrease or increase; and that which neither produced nor stopped, neither defiled nor purified, neither decreased nor increased, that is not past, future, or present.⁷¹

The very form is emptiness and the very emptiness is form.⁷²

(F)orm is emptiness and the very emptiness is form; emptiness does not differ from form, form does not differ from emptiness; whatever is form, that is emptiness, whatever is emptiness, that is form ...⁷³

⁶⁴ Conze 1984, 647 (Ad in Gilgit ms.).

⁶⁵ MMK, 16:8.

⁶⁶ Above p. 105 and its notes 14 and 15.

⁶⁷ MMK, 16:5.

⁶⁸ SMD, 10:10: "Chez eux (=Les *Tathâgata*) il n'y a ni illumination, ni non-illumination; ni motion, ni non-motion de la roue de la Loi; ni grand Parinirvâṇa, ni absence de grand Parinirvâṇa."

⁶⁹ MASAMG, X:34.

⁷⁰ Conze 1984, 61 (P).

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Conze 1984, 100 (P). See Lamotte's introduction to VKN (p. 47).

⁷³ *Hṛdayâ*, p. 81.

However, it was not only said that the uncompounded reality or enlightenment is not other than the compounded reality or *saṃsāra*. It was also said that it is not not-other because:

(i)f the inexpressible realm were not other than the entity which is the sign of something condition(ed) ..., then even just now all the foolish common people would enter Parinirvana and would fully know the supreme enlightenment.⁷⁴

Thus the supposed fact that *saṃsāra* is *nirvāṇa* can be taken to mean, not only that everybody is in *nirvāṇa*, but also that no one is in *nirvāṇa*. Thus *Nāgārjuna*, who had implied that there is a logical impossibility involved in the idea of something bound being released, wrote:

The final cessation (*nirvāṇa*) of the conditioned elements certainly is not possible at all.

Nor is the final cessation of even a living being possible at all.⁷⁵

Consequently, enlightenment also is a "mere word and sign", non-existent, "like a dream, like an illusion" and empty of any own character (*svlakṣaṇa*)⁷⁶. Likewise, the absolute reality of uncompounded *dharma*s is illusory, too⁷⁷. For this reason:

Enlightenment is attained neither through a path nor through a nonpath.⁷⁸

Only, this does not mean that enlightenment is something that cannot be attained in contradistinction to something that can be attained, because:

Just enlightenment is the path, just the path is enlightenment.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Conze 1984, 647 (Ad in Gilgit ms.).

⁷⁵ MMK, 16:4. *Ratnagotra*, p. 221: "The Saint approaches neither this world nor Nirvāṇa." LNKV, p. 77: "Nirvāṇa is like a dream; nothing is seen to be in transmigration, nor does anything ever enter into Nirvāṇa."

⁷⁶ Conze 1984, 631, 531 (Ad in Gilgit ms.), 211 (P), 643 (Ad in Gilgit ms.). "Unproduced is enlightenment, unproduced is a being, and so there is no trace of enlightenment, or of a being (anywhere). That is why nothing real is meant by the word 'enlightenment-being'." (Conze 1984, 118 [P].)

⁷⁷ "For the Dharmaelement (*Dharmadhātu*) is empty of the Dharmaelement. ... Because the own-being (*svabhāva*) of the Dharmaelement is empty of the own-being of the Dharmaelement." (Conze 1984, 180 [P].)

⁷⁸ Conze 1984, 617 (Ad in Gilgit ms.). According to the *Ratnagotra* (p. 307), the one whose mind has arisen towards enlightenment will never attain true knowledge if he thinks he is superior to those whose minds have not arisen towards enlightenment.

⁷⁹ Ibid. Likewise *parinirvāṇa* is said not to take place through the four noble truths or through cognition of the four noble truths; it "is the sameness of the four holy Truths." "It is where there is no ill nor cognition of ill, no origination nor cognition of origination, no stopping nor cognition of stopping, no path nor cognition of the path - the Suchness of those holy truths, their nonfalseness, their Dharmahood, (i.e.) the Dharma-element, fixed sequence of Dharma, stability of Dharma." (Conze 1984, 630 [Ad in Gilgit ms.].)

3.5.4. The ineffability of reality

Although it is hard to verbalize what is at stake here we may say that the authors of these texts are trying to point out that those who know only unenlightenment, as well as those who know only enlightenment have not really understood the Dharma. The latter alternative, however, should perhaps be modified to mean that those who regard enlightenment as something different from unenlightenment have not really understood. Only those who have known both unenlightenment and enlightenment, and have transcended this dichotomy are those who have understood.

Thus, one must first be able to make this distinction and then, and only then, abandon it⁸⁰. One must see that enlightenment is not either-or but both-and or neither-nor. This is as far as we can get with mere discursive thinking and logical reasoning: to an endless dialectics of affirmation and negation⁸¹. In other words, the ultimate point of our sources seems to be ineffable. They are trying to express verbally an ineffable experience.

As our everyday experience, however, is essentially structured by language and as it is through language that we usually communicate with each other⁸², experiences must, after all, be expressed verbally⁸³. At this point our sources use negations without bestowing contrary attributes, provide contradictory attributes, and make use of metaphorical expressions⁸⁴ to somehow communicate what is in principle ineffable. One must only remember that what is said should not be taken literally⁸⁵.

This "ability to maintain a correct view of the status and role of religious language"⁸⁶ is called in the *Prajñāpāramitā* "skill in means" (*upāyakaūśalya*)⁸⁷. All such words as 'nirvāṇa', 'Dharma-element' and 'Such-

⁸⁰ Cf. Ruegg 1981, 42: "(I)n order to penetrate the profundity of the teaching, therefore, one must understand the distinction between the two *satyas* ..." Gómez 1987b, 446 rightly remarks that silence presupposes speech.

⁸¹ Cf. Ruegg 1981, 25: "A thesis (*pakṣa*) implies a counter-thesis (*pratipakṣa*), but neither obtains in fact ... this world is thus in truth (*paramārthataḥ*) beyond truth and falseness (*satyānṛtātā*), and neither existence nor non-existence really applies."

⁸² Nonverbal communication being usually regarded as only complementary, although in some occasions it naturally may be the major form of communication.

⁸³ Gómez (1987b, 447) remarks that it is impossible to remain in pure silence and still claim to practice a religion in a religious community. This, however, leaves open why the silent mystics then wanted also to "practice a religion".

⁸⁴ Listed as "three methods" in de Jong 1972a, 4.

⁸⁵ Cf. above p. 94.

⁸⁶ Pye 1978, 110.

⁸⁷ See Conze 1984, 113, 366 (P). According to Ad in Gilgit ms. (Conze 1984, 631), a *bodhisattva* comprehends ill or suffering (*duḥkha*) "but does not produce a thought which has ill for its objective support".

ness' are only a "skillful means" (*upāya*) to express and communicate an experience that is in principle ineffable.⁸⁸

The Sanskrit word '*upāya*' means simply 'means', 'device', 'expedient', 'stratagem', but in Buddhist usage it has the connotation of skillfulness and for this reason it may be translated, as Pye has suggested, as 'skillful means'. Besides this, a common compound formation is '*upāyakauśalya*', 'skill in means'. There are a few occurrences of '*upāya*' in the Pāli Canon but as a technical term it appears first in the *Prājñāpāramitā* literature, in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and in the Lotus Sūtra.⁸⁹

The concept of '*upāya*' neatly summarizes the basic ideas of "Buddhist hermeneutics"⁹⁰: 1) Take refuge in the Dharma, not in any person, 2) take refuge in meaning (*artha*), not in letter (*vyañjana*), 3) take refuge in wisdom (*jñāna*), not in cognition (*viññāna*), 4) take refuge in texts with explicit meaning (*nītārtha*), not in those of implicit meaning (*neyārtha*)⁹¹. Mere faith and recitation of texts leaves one sad and unhappy for a long time⁹².

Thus it is asked in the SMD: What is the object designated by the words 'compounded' and 'uncompounded' if the words are only metaphorical? An answer is given that the object here is the ineffable reality by which the noble ones are perfectly enlightened. Only in order to enlighten others to the ineffable reality (*anabhilāpyadharmatā*) they have (skillfully) coined the word 'compounded'.⁹³

According to the *Ratnagoṭra*:

Being unutterable, containing the Highest Truth
Inaccessible to investigation and incomparable,
Being the Supreme, and relating neither
To the Phenomenal World nor to Nirvāṇa
The sphere of Buddha is inconceivable even for the Saints⁹⁴.

The *Pitāputrasamāgama*, as quoted in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, says that

The paramārtha is in fact the unutterable, the unthinkable, unteachable etc.⁹⁵

⁸⁸ And thus the Absolute is neither behind the 'wordly' phenomena nor the totality of those phenomena, as, however, was explained by Th. Stcherbatsky and Stanislas Schayer (see Streng 1967, 76–78; de Jong 1972b, 7–8).

⁸⁹ Pye 1978, 8–14.

⁹⁰ This expression was coined by Robert Thurman (1978). See also Gregory 1983; Maraldo 1986; Lopez 1987 and 1988; Pyysiäinen 1989 and 1991.

⁹¹ MPPS, t. I pp. 536–538. See Lamotte 1988; Ray 1985, 160–169.

⁹² *Majj*, I 133.

⁹³ SMD I:2 (=appendix 4).

⁹⁴ *Ratnagoṭra*, p. 334. Moreover, on p. 143, the *Tathāgata* is said to be invisible, the Dharma unutterable and the *saṅgha* uncompounded (*asaṃskṛta*).

⁹⁵ Quoted in Murti 1980, 244 and n.4: "yaḥ punaḥ paramārthaḥ so'nabhilāpyaḥ anājñeyaḥ aparijñeyaḥ, avijñeyaḥ, adesitaḥ, aprakāśitaḥ etc." That the Absolute (*paramārtha*) is ineffable and without duality is also stressed in SMD I:1.

The SMD lists five characteristics of this Absolute as follows: it is known by intuition (*pratyâtmavedaṅṅā*) and transcends speculation (*tar-kagocara*), it is not the object of notions, it is ineffable, it escapes the vulgar experience, and it is beyond all controversies.⁹⁶

The *Ratnagotra* also cites the *Anûnatvâpûrnatvanirdeśaparivarta* in which it is said:

Therefore, O Śāriputra, the (ordinary) living beings and the Absolute Body are not different from each other. The living beings are nothing but the Absolute Body, and the Absolute Body is nothing but the living beings. These two are non-dual by meaning, and different merely by letters.⁹⁷

That the dualistic thinking is intimately related to language may also be the point in the passage of LNKV, describing how in certain Buddhahlands (*buddhakṣetra*) no words are used in communication. Instead, only gestures, steady looks, frowning, movement of the eyes and such expressions are used.⁹⁸

Thus, it seems that the most natural explanation of all these paradoxes, negations of negations and metaphors is that they are meant to convey a vision of the world essentially influenced by mystical experience. This kind of explanation has previously been used with regard to *Yogâcâra/Vijñânavâda* idealism⁹⁹ and the notion of *âlayavijñâna* that has been explained not only philosophically or exegetically but with reference to yogic experiences as well¹⁰⁰.

My point, however, is that the mystics have not experienced the world and language as unreal in contradistinction to something real, but as transcending this dichotomy. We are allowed and we even must live in the world and use language, but only in such a way that no objective points

⁹⁶ SMD, II:2: "Chez les Saint, l'Absolu est connu par intuition; chez les Profanes, la spéculation philosophique est affaire de tradition. Tu sauras donc par cet argument que l'Absolu transcende toute spéculation.

L'Absolu n'est pas objet de notions; la spéculation est atteinte par les notions. Tu sauras donc ...

L'Absolu est ineffable; la spéculation est du domaine de la parole. Tu sauras donc ...

L'Absolu échappé à l'expérience vulgaire; la spéculation est l'objet de l'expérience vulgaire. Tu sauras donc ...

L'Absolu échappé à toute controverse; la spéculation est objet de controverse. Tu sauras donc ..."

⁹⁷ *Ratnagotra*, p. 234.

⁹⁸ LNKV, p. 91.

⁹⁹ May 1971, 309: "Plus profondément, l'idée de l'irréalité du monde extérieur est dirée de l'expérience de la méditation ..." Griffiths 1986, 82: "(It (= *Yogâcâra/Vijñânavâda* idealism) appears to have arisen out of an attempt to make ontological generalizations from experiences produced by meditative practices."

¹⁰⁰ See Schmithausen 1987, 3.

of view are postulated. This means, for instance, that such metaphorical expressions as "form is emptiness" should be capable of being turned around to the form "emptiness is form", as in the Heart Sūtra¹⁰¹, because neither of the members has priority over the other. Seen in this way, the mystical experience has more far-reaching consequences in Buddhist doctrine than previously supposed.

In LNKV this experience is described as follows:

(B)y that realisation itself is meant that it is the realm of inner attainment; its characteristic features are that it has nothing to do with words, discriminations, and letters; that it leads one up to the realm of non-outflows (**anāsrava*); that it is the state of an inner experience; that it is entirely devoid of philosophical speculations and (the doings of) evil beings; and that, destroying philosophical speculations and (the doings of) evil beings it shines out in its own inner light of attainment.¹⁰²

David Ruegg has expressed this mystical element of Mahāyāna as follows:

(O)nly silence – a philosophically motivated refraining from the conceptualization and verbalization that belong to the discursive level of relativity and transactional usage – is considered to correspond in the last analysis to *paramārtha*, which is as such inconceivable and inexpressible in terms of discursivity.¹⁰³

The discursive thinking that differentiates the world of silence is referred to with the word '*vikalpa*' as we read from Lindtner's quotation¹⁰⁴. '*Vikalpa*' is derived from the verbal root *klrp-* the semantic range of which runs from the functions of ordering, arranging, and adapting to those of ornamenting and embellishing. The nominal form '*vikalpa*' with the prefix *vi-* has a distributive sense, meaning 'to create or contrive options', 'to set up antitheses', 'to ornament by opposing' etc.¹⁰⁵

In Buddhist usage the word has preserved many of these connotations although it has to do more precisely with the constructive, conceptual and classificatory activities of the mind that create a world that does not exist as it appears to exist. Thus 'imagination' and 'construction'/'constructive' are good translations in these contexts.¹⁰⁶

As the constructive mind cannot reach the ultimate reality, one should strive for an unconstructed awareness referred to by *Asaṅga*, who uses the

¹⁰¹ See e.g. above p. 112 and its n.73.

¹⁰² LNKV, p. 128 (asterisked addition in brackets by I.P.).

¹⁰³ Ruegg 1981, 34. Likewise, Ruegg 1969, 297, 305, and 1989, 44, 48 emphasize that the Absolute (*paramārtha*) is ineffable (*avācya*, *anabhilāpya*), beyond ratiocinative thinking (*atarkya*), inconceivable (*acintya*) and unknowable (*ajñeya*) and can only be grasped with intuition (*pratyātmanā adhigantavyam*) or with "non-conceptual gnosis (*jñāna*)".

¹⁰⁴ Above p. 104.

¹⁰⁵ Griffiths 1990, 85–86.

¹⁰⁶ Griffiths 1990, 86.

name *nirvikalpakajñāna* ('unconstructive wisdom')¹⁰⁷. This "highest form of Perfection of Wisdom"¹⁰⁸ is a kind of preverbal and preconceptual awareness that is thought to provide unmediated contact with reality¹⁰⁹.

The unconstructed awareness (*nirvikalpakajñāna*) clearly refers to an unintentional consciousness as it is said to be identical with its object, i.e. it is not directed towards something else, nor does it intend something different from itself¹¹⁰. Its object is said to be the ineffable reality (*anabhilāpyadharmatā*), the true not-selfness (*nairātmyadharmatā*)¹¹¹; and its content (*ākāra*) the absence of characteristics or defining marks (*animitta*)¹¹².

It does not mean the destruction of reality (*bhûtārthacitrīkāra*), nor does it refer to a state of non-reflexion (*anmanasikāra*), not to mention the cessation of mental representations and feeling¹¹³. Yet it excludes and surpasses the stage born of thinking and investigation (*śavitarikasavicārabhūmi*)¹¹⁴, and is neither not-wisdom (*ajñāna*) nor wisdom (*jñāna*)¹¹⁵. Likewise, its support (*āśraya*) is neither the thinking mind (*citta*) nor not the thinking mind (*acitta*), because it thinks not although it is issued from thought (*cittānvaya*)¹¹⁶, and its cause is the impregnation of audition born of discourse (*sābhilāpasrutavāsanā*)¹¹⁷.

Besides this distinction between the unconstructed awareness and its preceding conditions and causes, there is also a distinction made between a fundamental unconstructed awareness (*mūlanirvikalpakajñāna*), and an unconstructed awareness that follows it (*tatpṛṣṭhalabdha*). The fundamental

¹⁰⁷ See Griffiths 1990, 87–90.

¹⁰⁸ MASAMG, VIII:1.

¹⁰⁹ Griffiths 1990, 90.

¹¹⁰ "N'étant pas différent (*viśiṣṭa*) de son objet (*jñeya*), ce savoir est intuition (*nirvikalpatā*) (MASAMG, VIII:18a)." Cf. MASAMG, VIII:20f: "Quand le savoir intuitif fonctionne (*carati*), plus aucun objet n'apparaît. On saura donc qu'il n'y a pas d'objet et, celui-ci faisant défaut, pas d'idée (*vijñapti*)."

¹¹¹ MASAMG, VIII:5: "Chez les Bodhisattva, l'objet (*ālambana*) du savoir intuitif est l'indicible nature des choses (*anabhilāpyadharmatā*), la vraie nature non-substantielle (*nairātmyadharmatā*)."

¹¹² MASAMG, VIII:6: "Chez les Bodhisattva, l'aspect (*ākāra*) du savoir intuitif est l'absence de marques (*animitta*) inhérente à son objet de connaissance (*jñeyālambana*). See Griffiths 1990, 87–90.

¹¹³ MASAMG, VIII:2. Right reflexion (*yonisomanasikāra*) is even said to be the cause of the unconstructed awareness (MASAMG, VIII:4).

¹¹⁴ MASAMG, VIII:2.

¹¹⁵ MASAMG, VIII:18a: "[Ne portant] ni ici, ni ailleurs, il n'est ni non-savoir (*ajñāna*) ni savoir (*jñāna*) [d'après H: sans être un savoir, c'est un savoir]."

¹¹⁶ MASAMG, VIII:3: "Chez les Bodhisattva, le support (*āśraya*) du savoir intuitif n'est ni pensée (*citta*) ni non-pensée (*acitta*), parce qu'il ne pense pas et qu'il est issu d'une pensée (*cittānvaya*)."

¹¹⁷ MASAMG, VIII:4: "Chez les Bodhisattva, la cause (*gzi*) du savoir intuitif est l'impregnation d'audition provenant du discours (*sābhilāpasrutavāsanā*) et la réflexion correcte (*yonisomanasikāra*)."

unconstructed awareness is said to be threefold: it is 1) intuition (*nirvikalpa*) of satiety (*saṃtuṣṭi*), of non-error (*aviparyāsa*) and of non-language (*niṣprapañca*)¹¹⁸. The unconstructed awareness that comes afterwards is fivefold: it is investigation (*vicāra*) of penetration (*prativedha*), of recollection (*anusmaraṇa*), of prediction, of synthesizing (*saṃsarga*) and of success (*samṛddhi*)¹¹⁹.

Thus the unconstructed awareness is clearly an unmediated and non-dualistic mystical experience: in it the preceding conditions and causes are transcended and one is believed to become directly aware of the reality, without the mediation of language and discursive thinking.

According to Griffiths, the unconstructed awareness cannot count as a pure consciousness event (PCE) as it is said to have an object and content and it has phenomenological attributes¹²⁰. However, as we saw, its object is not an intentional object and its content is a rather peculiar one, the absence of characteristics. And, *Asaṅga*, indeed, does describe the unconstructed awareness in a manner reminiscent of Forman's forgetting model:

The (fundamental) unconstructed awareness is like a man with eyes closed (*nimiñjitacakṣus*); the awareness that comes after this (*tatprṣṭhalabdha*) is like the same man with the eyes open (*unmiñjitacakṣus*).¹²¹

And:

It is known that the (fundamental) unconstructed awareness is like space (*ākāśa*); the awareness that is posterior to it (*tatprṣṭhalabdha*) is like forms (*rūpa*) that manifest themselves in this space.¹²²

Thus it seems that the unconstructed awareness, nevertheless, is an experience of empty or contentless consciousness. The ineffable reality (*anābhilāpyadharmatā*) is its object and the absence of characteristics its content, just as this is so for God in Eckhart's experience of *gezücket*: they afterwards provide the necessary ideological content for the PCE which is contentless when it occurs¹²³. Moreover, the ineffable nature of things and the absence of characteristics are expressions that convey more obviously than 'God' the idea of an empty consciousness. If the only content of consciousness is absence of characteristics, we are entitled to say that there is no content (except in the sense of the presence of the absence).

¹¹⁸ MASAMG, VIII:19.2: "Le savoir intuitif [fondamental] (*mūlanirvikalpakajñāna*), lui aussi, est de trois sortes, selon qu'il est intuition (*nirvikalpa*) de satiété (*saṃtuṣṭi*), de non-méprise (*aviparyāsa*) ou de non-discoursion (*niṣprapañca*)." See above p. 104.

¹¹⁹ MASAMG, VIII:19.3.

¹²⁰ Griffiths 1990, 87.

¹²¹ MASAMG, VIII:16a.

¹²² MASAMG, VIII:16b. MASAMG, VIII:2 says that the unconstructed awareness is not material.

¹²³ See Forman 1990c, 107–112 and above p. 41.

However, I do not consider it proven that the unconstructed awareness is a PCE, but only take it as a serious possibility. In any case, the fundamental unconstructed awareness is something like a hole in the series of conscious states beginning with the impregnation of audition born of discourse (*sābhilāpaśrutavāsanā*) and ending with the posterior unconstructed awareness. As such it is a mystical experience that has induced changes in the way the Buddhists have experienced their being-in-the-world and interpreted it conceptually. An essential element of this *Seinsverständnis* is the conviction that the true reality is ineffable and escapes discursive thinking.

3.5.5. The three aspects of existence

In texts of the *Vijñānavādins* the ideas of relative and absolute truth as well as those of dependent origination are interpreted to form a consistent theory of the "three essences" or "three aspects"¹²⁴ (*trisvabhāva*) of existence, namely the dependent (*paratantra*), the imaginary (*[pari] kalpita*) and the absolute (*pariniṣpanna*) aspect¹²⁵. These three aspects describe what it is that appears to us in perception (the dependent aspect), the way it appears (the imaginary aspect) as well as the absolute reality on which perceptual phenomena are superimposed (the absolute aspect).¹²⁶

That which appears to us is a cluster of false imaginations (*asatkalpa*)¹²⁷, i.e. representations, ideas and cognitions that arise, dependent on "seeds" (*bīja*) planted in the mind by previous acts¹²⁸. The way the de-

¹²⁴ As Griffiths (1986, 84) translates.

¹²⁵ SMD, VI:3; MASAMG, II:1; TRSVB, 1. Literally 'pariniṣpanna' has the meanings of 'developed', 'perfect', 'real', 'existent'. 'Absolute' is a common translation and used by, e.g., Tola & Dragonetti 1983, 234. Griffiths (1986, 88) uses 'perfected'. In his commentary on chapters I–IV of SMD, *Asāṅga* explains that by taking 'compounded' as a metaphor the imaginary aspect (*parikalpitasvabhāva*) is established. By stating that a verbal expression, nevertheless, always has an object the dependent aspect (*paratantrasvabhāva*) is established. And the expression 'ineffable reality by which the noble ones are perfectly enlightened' establishes the absolute aspect (*pariniṣpannasvabhāva*) (SMD, p. 182 [trad.] and 53 [Tibetan]).

¹²⁶ In the SMD, it is said that people superimpose the imagined aspect on the dependent and absolute aspects (SMD, VII:10). The absolute aspect is like the reality seen with healthy eyes, the dependent aspect like the images conveyed by eyes with a disease, and the imagined aspect is like the disease in the eyes (SMD, VI:7).

¹²⁷ Also called 'abhūtakalpa' in *kārika* 8, 'vikalpa' in *kārika* 30 and 'abhūtaparikalpa' in the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* (see Tola & Dragonetti 1983, 232 and its n.11).

¹²⁸ TRSVB, 2, 4. The SMD (VI:5; VII:25) takes the dependent aspect to mean the production of *dharma*s by reason of causes. MASAMG, II:1–2; II:15:1: "Because it is issued (*utpanna*) from its own impregnation-seeds (*vāsanābīja*)

pendent aspect appears is the way of imagination¹²⁹, i.e. the false imaginations have no basis¹³⁰ outside the human mind, and are "mere representations" (*vijñaptimâtratâ*)¹³¹, or names and conventions that permit things to be mentioned in language¹³². The absolute (*pariniṣpanna*) aspect, for its part, is "(t)he eternal non-existence" of all appearances¹³³.

Thus is established the doctrine from which the *Vijñānavādins* have derived their name, i.e. the doctrine that reality is "cognition only". The first trace of this kind of an ontology is found in the *Dasabhūmikasūtra*, dating from the first century AD, where it is stated that "the triple world is the thinking mind (*citta*) only"¹³⁴. This is then repeated in works like the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, the *Avatamsakasūtra* and the **Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda*. In the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* and in the works of *Vasubandhu* and *Asaṅga*, the word 'representation' ('*vijñapti*') is substituted for '*citta*'.¹³⁵

According to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, the external world has no existence of its own; it is only a concept (*prajñapti*), or only the thinking mind (*cittamātrataṃ*), and all beings are like a vision or reflection since there is nothing outside the mind¹³⁶. The perceived world is "no more than Mind

it is dependent on conditions. Because after its birth it is incapable of subsisting by itself for a moment it is called dependent." MASAMG, II:17: "In what sense is the dependent nature 'dependent'? – In the sense that it's birth is dependent on something else, viz. the impregnation-seeds." On the impregnation-seeds, see Suzuki 1930, 438; Conze 1967, 348; Tola & Dragonetti 1983, 232; Griffiths 1986, 85.

¹²⁹ TRSVB, 2: "(A)s it appears is the imaginary (aspect) ... because its existence is only a mental creation."

¹³⁰ TRSVB, 5: "And what is the unreal mental creation? The thinking mind (*citta*), because as it is imagined and as it imagines its object, so it is not at all."

¹³¹ According to *Asaṅga* (MASAMG, II:3; II:15:1).

¹³² SMD, VI:4: "Ce sont des noms et des conventions attribuant aux choses une nature propre et des spécifications permettant de les mentionner dans le langage courant." See SMD VII:25.

¹³³ TRSVB, 3: "The eternal non-existence as it appears of what appears must be known as the absolute aspect, because of its inalterability." Tola & Dragonetti 1983, 234 interprets this as "the eternal not being so as it appears of that what appears." In the SMD (VI:6; VII:25), the absolute aspect is said to be the Suchness of *dharma*s; in the MASAMG (II:4), it is the complete absence of all objective character (*arthalakṣaṇa*) in the dependent aspect. See Wood 1991, 10.

¹³⁴ "*Citta-mātrataṃ idaṃ yad idaṃ traidhātukaṃ*" (quoted in May 1971, 274).

¹³⁵ See Suzuki's introduction to LNKV, p. xl. '*Vijñapti*' has been translated as 'representation' (ibid), 'information' (Conze 1967, 353) and 'idea' (Lamotte e.g. in his translation of the MASAMG, p. 92). It is of the same root than '*vijñāna*' (see May 1971, 306) and, according to Griffiths (1986, 80), refers to "all mental events with intentional objects", i.e. mental events where something is represented to the experiencer.

¹³⁶ LNKV, p. 133: "Multiplicity of objects evolves from the conjunction of habit-energy and discrimination; it is born of Mind, but is regarded by people as existing outwardly: this I call Mind-only.

(*citta*) itself¹³⁷ of which it is a manifestation¹³⁸. In the *Sagâthakam* portion, this is summarized as follows:

The world of form, of no-form, and of desire, and Nirvâṇa are in this body; all is told to belong to the realm of Mind.¹³⁹

It comes only from one's clinging to appearances that the manifestations of one's own mind are regarded as reality (*dharmatâ*)¹⁴⁰. When this clinging is withheld, "(intellectual) penetration"¹⁴¹ into true reality is produced and three processes corresponding to the three aspects take place: knowledge (*parijñâ*), elimination (*prahâṇa*) and fulfillment (*prâpti*)¹⁴².

Knowledge means here the non-perception of duality, elimination refers to the fact that appearances no longer manifest themselves, and fulfillment means that intuitive knowledge (*sâkṣâtkriyâ*) about the absolute reality of the nonexistence of duality is obtained¹⁴³. Thus, we are again faced with the conviction that discursive thinking leads to false views and only mystical intuition guarantees a real understanding.

In the SMD, this is argued for by first judging the images perceived in meditation as "nothing but representations" (*viññaptimâtratâ*) and not different from the thinking mind itself. Then it is reasoned that as the true vision is reached in meditation, it follows that the supposed objective support of cognition (*viññânâlbana*), i.e. all material things, are in fact nothing but ideas.¹⁴⁴

It is to this passage that *Asaṅga* refers, besides the *Dasabhûmika*, when he notices that even though ordinary people admit their dream-images to

"The external world is not, and multiplicity of objects is what is seen of Mind; body, property, and abode – these I call Mind-only."

P. 145: "The triple world is no more than a concept (*prajñapti*), there is no reality in its self-nature ..." See also p. 38.

¹³⁷ LNKV, pp. 34, 40.

¹³⁸ LNKV, pp. 3, 36.

¹³⁹ LNKV, p. 245.

¹⁴⁰ LNKV, p. 18: "It comes from one's clinging (to appearances) that the manifestations of his own Mind are regarded as reality (*dharmatâ*)."

¹⁴¹ Tola & Dragonetti (TRSVB, 31) accept this Edgertons translation for 'prativedha'.

¹⁴² TRSVB, 31: "When the (intellectual) penetration of the (true) reality of objects is produced, it is considered that (three) processes, corresponding to each nature, (take place), simultaneously, in their order: knowledge, elimination and obtention [or: fulfillment]."

¹⁴³ TRSVB, 32–33: "And it is admitted that knowledge is non-perception; elimination is non-manifestation and obtention [or: fulfillment] is perception beyond causes, intuition.

"Through non-perception of duality, the form of duality disappears; with its disappearance the absolute inexistence of duality is obtained." See also Tola & Dragonetti 1983, 245. Cf. LNKV, p. 60.

¹⁴⁴ SMD, VIII:7–9.

be mere representations, they do not admit this with reference to their wakeful perceptions. Yet they could, in principle, know this on the basis of the Scriptures or by reasoning. So, to understand the *vijñaptimâtratâ*, says *Asaṅga*, one has to be really "awakened" (*prabuddha*)¹⁴⁵.

However, the *Vijñānavādins* did not purport merely to expound the ir-reality of being, but to transcend the dichotomy of being and non-being, of duality and non-duality¹⁴⁶. Thus the imaginary aspect is said to be characterized by being and non-being because "it is grasped with existence" although it ultimately is mere non-existence; the dependent aspect is likewise characterized by being and non-being because it exists due to the existence of an illusion but does not exist in the way it appears to exist; and the absolute aspect has the characteristics of being and non-being because it exists as the existence of non-duality, while this non-duality yet is only the inexistence of duality.¹⁴⁷

The last formulation, however, can be defined further so that it also embodies being and non-being in the sense that it is "the existence of the nonexistence of duality"¹⁴⁸. In other words, the absolute aspect is not merely a negation, i.e. the inexistence of duality, but something existing, i.e. the existence of the non-existence of duality. This may sound odd but, nevertheless, it is precisely the same point Sartre makes with his example of the existence of Pierre's non-existence in the café¹⁴⁹.

In the same manner, the imagined aspect is said to have as its essence both duality and non-duality because the imagined object entails imagined duality, but in reality is nondual. The essence of the dependent aspect is duality and non-duality because it appears with duality which, however, is illusion. The absolute aspect is also considered dual and non-dual because its essence (*svabhāva*) is defined with reference to duality and this essence is by nature the non-existence of this duality, i.e. non-duality.¹⁵⁰

Asaṅga, for his part, says that the dependent aspect is on the one hand the imagined one and on the other the absolute one, and that this is the

¹⁴⁵ MASAMG, II:6-7.

¹⁴⁶ TRSVB, 10: "The profoundness of the (three) aspects is admitted because they are being and non-being, because they are duality and unity, and because of the identity of essence of the purity and the impurity."

¹⁴⁷ TRSVB, 11-13.

¹⁴⁸ TRSVB, 25: "The absolute (nature), (which is found) there, and (which is) the existence of the inexistence of duality, is penetrated; and so therefore it is said that only it (the absolute nature), in that moment, 'is and is not'."

¹⁴⁹ Sartre 1943, 44-47. Wood (1991, 18-22) rejects this idea as meaningless.

¹⁵⁰ TRSVB, 14-16. According to MASAMG II.11., our ideas are characterized by duality in the sense that there is the image that is seen (*sanimitta*) and the act of seeing or vision (*sadarśana*), but also by unity because ultimately they do not have different objects.

reason why the Buddha had identified *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*¹⁵¹. In its absolute aspect, the dependent aspect is eternal, in its imagined aspect it is transitory; and with regard to these two taken together it is neither eternal nor transitory¹⁵². Likewise, the three aspects are ultimately neither different from each other nor identical¹⁵³. Thus the absolute aspect, in the last resort, transcends even the principle of representation only (*viññaptimâtratâ*)¹⁵⁴, and true ontology turns out to be ineffable and within the reach of mystical experience only.

¹⁵¹ MASAMG, II:28: "En quelle intention ... Bhagavat a-t-il dit, dans la Brahmāparipṛcchā ..., que le Tathāgata ne voit pas le Saṃsāra et ne voit pas le Nirvāṇa? – Puisque la nature dépendante (*paratantrasvabhāva*) est imaginaire (*parikalpita*) d'une part et absolue (*pariniṣpanna*) d'autre part (cf. §17), Bhagavat, en s'exprimant de la sorte, avait en vue l'identité (*nirviśeṣa*) du Saṃsāra et du Nirvāṇa."

¹⁵² MASAMG, II:30: "La nature dépendante (*paratantrasvabhāva*), par sa partie absolue (*pariniṣpannabhāga*), est éternelle; par sa partie imaginaire (*parikalpitabhāga*), elle est transitoire; par ses deux parties ensemble, elle n'est ni éternelle ni transitoire."

¹⁵³ MASAMG, II:17.

¹⁵⁴ MASAMG, III:9: "(O)n doit encore supprimer, par la notion de nature absolue (*pariniṣpannasvabhāvabuddhi*), la notion du Rien qu'idée (*viññaptimâtratâbuddhi*) ..." "(C)omment entre-t-il (=the *bodhisattva*) dans la nature absolue (*pariniṣpannasvabhāva*)? – Il y entre en rejetant (*nirākaraṇa*) encore la notion de Rien qu'idée (*viññaptimâtrasamjñā*)."

4. THE BUDDHA AND THE ABSOLUTE

4.1. The Buddhas as Preachers of Dharma

In the introductory chapter I remarked that the idea of soul as a metaphysical entity often entails an idea of a transcendent God as its macrocosmic counterpart¹. Thus it is not surprising that Buddhism denies not only the existence of this kind of a soul but also of an eternal God who could save the soul. However, as Buddhism is essentially based on the effect produced by the Buddha's person and his message as it was interpreted and remembered², it is important to explore whether in this respect the Buddha serves any function similar to God.

The uniqueness of all buddhas derives from the fact that they are believed to have found the way to nirvāṇa by themselves³, and to have led others to it⁴. As they are different in this way from all other beings, they are beings *sui generis*, as J.W. de Jong has expressed it⁵. Thus:

There is only one person whose birth into the world is for the welfare of many folk, for the happiness of manyfolk, who is born out of compassion for the world, for the profit, welfare and happiness of *devas* and mankind. Who is that one person? He is a *Tathāgata* who is *Arahant*, a fully Enlightened One.⁶

A *Tathāgata* is "unique, without a peer, without counterpart, incomparable, unequalled, matchless, unrivalled, best of bipeds (*dipadānam*)."⁷ Likewise, when asked, the Buddha announced that he was neither man nor god (*deva*) but a buddha⁸; and when Cunda the goldsmith offered him his last meal the Buddha explained that it could not be digested by gods or men, only by a *Tathāgata*⁹.

¹ Above p. 40. See also Löwith 1967.

² See above pp. 19–20.

³ Here a buddha differs from enlightened disciples or "learners" (Skr. *śrāvaka*) whom he leads to nirvāṇa.

⁴ Here a buddha differs from *pratyekabuddhas* ('solitary enlightened ones') who realize the truth by themselves but do not preach it (see Kloppenborg 1974).

⁵ de Jong 1979, 27. See also Smart 1972, 25.

⁶ *Ang*, I 22. Transl. by F.L. Woodward.

⁷ *Ibid*.

⁸ *Ang*, II 38–39.

⁹ *Dīgha*, II 126–128.

As unique beings in this way, buddhas represent the uncompounded reality in the compounded reality. This is reflected in the *Aśokāvadāna* where it is told that when the Buddha set foot on the threshold of the city gate of Rājagṛha, the blind recovered their sight, the deaf became able to hear and the lame walked¹⁰. In other words, something ultimately good is supposed to have shone from the Buddha's figure with such force that the compounded reality of suffering underwent a transformation in his presence.

The same idea may be present in the story in which the Buddha meets king Aśoka as a child on his almsround in a previous life. The child throws a handful of dirt in the Buddha's begging bowl pretending to give him "some ground meal", and thinks he will be reborn as a king because of this meritorious act.¹¹ The Buddha understood the boy's good intention and displayed such a smile that rays of various colors issued forth from his mouth. After roaming around the world they vanished to the Buddha's left palm, and the Buddha said that one hundred years after his death the boy would become a king named Aśoka in the city of Pāṭaliputra¹².

Only a buddha could understand that the child's spontaneous act was an expression of an original purity of mind not polluted by the cultural classifications of adults. Thus, in this unusual situation marked by the presence of the Buddha, dirt and disorder were neither dirt and disorder nor not dirt and disorder.

In Hīnayāna, this uniqueness is tied to individual buddhas who periodically appear in the world¹³, and it is believed that there can be only one perfect buddha at a time, as is the case with the *cakravartin rāja* as well¹⁴. The uniqueness of a buddha does not, however, totally exclude his share of our common humanity as he is a human being who has become a buddha. He is "the best of bipeds", i.e. best of men in that he has transcended his ordinary human condition. For this reason he is also called a "great man" (*mahāpuruṣa*), a title reserved for buddhas and mythical universal monarchs (*cakravartin rāja*) that rule the whole world, the both

¹⁰ ASK, p. 198: "Now whenever Blessed Buddhas set their feet down on the threshold stone of a city gate with a resolute mind, it is usual for various marvels to occur. The blind recover their sight, the deaf become able to hear, the lame can walk again." (ASK, Przyłuski, 226.) In the MHV (I 257) the blind saw, the deaf heard, the insane recovered their reason, the sick were healed and women with child were safely delivered when the Buddha entered Benares. The BHC (I:25) tells how wild beasts did not harm anyone and how all sicknesses were healed at the moment of the Buddha's birth.

¹¹ ASK, pp. 198–200; cf. ASK, Przyłuski, 226–227.

¹² ASK, pp. 202–203; cf. ASK, Przyłuski, 227–228. See below p. 155.

¹³ The *Mahāpadānasutta* (*Dīgha*, II 2–11) identifies six buddhas in addition to Gautama, the *Buddhavaṃsa* 24.

¹⁴ *Dīgha*, II 225; *Ang*, I 27–28; *Kosa*, t. II p. 198: "Deux Cakravartins, de même que deux Bouddhas, n'apparaissent pas à la foi."

of which are recognized by the 32 major and 80 minor marks of the body¹⁵.

A buddha is simultaneously man and buddha, but *not a god (deva)* since only men can attain buddhahood. Thus, words like 'God' and 'divinization' are misleading in buddhological connection unless their Christian connotations are clearly dismissed.¹⁶ If we thus put aside the explicit religious meanings of God, Christ and the Buddha, we can make a religion-phenomenological comparison on a structural level.

As the realities of God and men are in Christianity totally incommensurate after the Fall, a special being that bridges this gap is needed. He is, of course, Christ who is at once God and man.¹⁷ Likewise, buddhas (and *pratyekabuddhas*) seem to be the only beings who, from the Buddhist's point of view, can establish a connection between the compounded and un compounded realities¹⁸. Thus, Peter Masefield is right in maintaining that in *Theravāda* sources the message about nirvāṇa, i.e. the Dharma, is in a sense revealed by the Buddha¹⁹, although it is not preached by him alone but by the disciples as well²⁰. Their preaching activity, however, is dependent on the fact that the Dharma has first been made known in the world by a buddha.

The Dharma is not just a collection of the Buddha's teachings, but an independently existing reality, the original Absolute of Buddhism embodying nirvāṇa²¹; and it is on an intimate contact with this Dharma that the teachings of the buddhas are based. The Dharma thus bears a certain resemblance to the eternal speech (*vāc*) not produced by human agency (*apauruṣeya*) upon which the *Vedas* were believed to be based.²² In congruence with this, the first converts made by the Buddha are explained to have not merely "seen the Dhamma, attained the Dhamma, known the Dhamma" but even "plunged into the Dhamma" (*pariyogāḥhadhammo*)²³.

¹⁵ See, *Dīgha*, II 16–19, 169–199; III 58–79, 142–145; *Suttanipāta* 3.7.554; *Ratnagotrā*, pp. 344–349; Conze 1984, 583–587 (Ad in Gilgit ms.), 657–664 (P); LNKV, p. 12, 68.

¹⁶ Cf. Snellgrove 1987, 29–34 and also Smart 1972, 22, 25; 1981, 445–446.

¹⁷ René Guénon (1987, 75, 83), partly following Lars Thunberg, discusses the mediating role of Christ in light of Edmund Leach's theory of binary codes mediated by a third category (see Morris 1987, 220–224). As a founder of religion, Jesus (like the Buddha) represents one type of religious authority (on these, see Lanczkowski 1978, 84–105), or one type of "technicians of the sacred" (as Eliade 1974b, 33 calls them).

¹⁸ Cf. also Snellgrove 1987, 23.

¹⁹ Masefield 1986, 45–54, 59–69, 80, 103–104, 141–144.

²⁰ See e.g. *Vin*, I 20–21. See Ray 1985, 151; Gómez 1987a, 529.

²¹ Rosenberg 1924, 82; Takasaki 1966, 26.

²² Kloppenborg 1974, 6–7; Masefield 1986, 45–54; Gombrich 1988, 33–34, 42, 71. Cf. *Ṛgveda*, I,164: 45–46. See above p. 93 and n.120.

²³ *Vin*, I 12.

The identification of the Dharma and nirvāṇa as well as the belief in their real existence are ideas presupposed by early Indian epistemology, that was haunted by the notion that to know something is to become part of the known²⁴. Consequently, even in non-Mahāyāna sources the Buddha was also thought to somehow participate in the Dharma and nirvāṇa known by him, an idea later developed in more detail in Mahāyāna²⁵.

The evolution of these conceptions concerning the Buddha and the Dharma is a good example of how Buddhism as a founded religion has solved the problem of the relationship between its history and mythology. Although it is admitted that the Dharma came to be known among men of our aeon because of the preaching of Buddha Śākyamuni, it does not mean that he had invented it himself. On the contrary, the Dharma is believed to have existed from eternity, but having only been forgotten and subsequently revealed anew by Śākyamuni²⁶.

Given the Indian cyclical conception of time and the importance of continuity in every religion, it then became necessary to consider Śākyamuni only one of many buddhas who all had preached Dharma in various aeons and always with the result that it had, after a time, disappeared again. Thus were born the various ideas and predictions concerning the disappearance of the good Law²⁷. Thus:

"There is, o Kassapa, no disappearance of the true Dhamma until a counterfeit (*paṭirūpaka*) Dhamma will appear. But when, o Kassapa, a counterfeit Dhamma will appear, then the true Dhamma will disappear."²⁸

"If, o Ānanda, women had not been allowed to go forth from home to homelessness according to the Dhamma and Vinaya declared by Tathāgata, then the good life (*brahmacariya*) would have lasted for long, for a thousand years would the true Dhamma have lasted. But now, o Ānanda, ... the true Dhamma will last only for five hundred years."²⁹

²⁴ See above p. 100.

²⁵ See also Takasaki 1966, 27; Streng 1967, 36, 38.

²⁶ *Samyutta*, II 25: "Whether, o monks, *tathāgatas* will appear or not appear this nature of things (*dhātu*), this conditioning by Dhamma (*dhammatṭhitatā*), this orderliness based on Dhamma (*dhammaniyāmatā*), this dependent nature of things (*idappaccayatā*) just stands." MHV, I 132: "When they have obtained time and opportunity of place and time, and maturity of karma, the Leaders preach the true dharma each time it is born anew."

²⁷ Lamotte 1958, 210–222. Reynolds (1985) has made a distinction between this "Dharma-cosmogony", the "rupa-cosmogony" of the *Aggaññasuttanta*, and the cosmogonical theory inherent in the idea of the net of mutual dependencies. See also Pyysiäinen 1988, 80–82.

²⁸ *Samyutta*, II 224. Tr. by Mrs Rhys Davids assisted by F.L. Woodward.

²⁹ *Ang*, IV 278. Tr. by E.M. Hare.

4.2. The Dharma-body as a Representation of the Absolute

4.2.1. Hīnayāna Buddhism

The Buddha's intimate relationship with the Dharma is expressed in the notion of the Buddha having a Dharma-body (*dharmakāya*). In the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, monk *Kassapa* is said to be entitled to regard himself as the Buddha's own son and to be born of his mouth and of the Dhamma because the Buddha has a Dhamma-body (*dhammakāya*) and a Dhamma-nature (*dhammabhūto*)³⁰.

In another passage, we read about a certain monk having for a long time been willing to see the Buddha face to face. The Buddha, however, tells him that there is nothing to see in his vile body since he who sees the Dhamma sees the Buddha and he who sees the Buddha sees the Dhamma.³¹ In the *Majjhimanikāya*, the Buddha is in a similar manner called a Dhamma-lord (*dharmassāmī*) who has a Dhamma-nature (*dhammabhūto*)³².

John Strong takes this '*dhammakāya*' to be a metaphorical expression signifying only "the body of the Buddha's doctrine, the collection of his Teachings", thus making a clear distinction between it and the transcendent Dharma-body of Mahāyāna texts³³. If this is the case, then monk *Kassapa* would be born of the Buddha's mouth as he has become the Buddha's disciple after having heard the body of teachings (the Dhamma) from the Buddha. Because the Buddha in this way teaches the Dhamma, he has a "Dhamma-nature", i.e. the nature of knowing the Dhamma, and consequently, he who sees the Dhamma sees the Buddha because the Dhamma is more important than the teacher's person.

The only statement that does not fit so well into this scheme would be "he who sees me sees the Dhamma". Unless this is only a stylistic feature based on the claim for symmetry, the Buddha's body or person would be interchangeable with the Dhamma. Given the importance of the Buddha's role as a bridge between the realities of *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, it is in fact more likely that the Buddha's body and the body of his teachings

³⁰ *Samyutta*, II 221.

³¹ *Samyutta*, III 120. Cf. BHC, XXIV.20: "Whether I remain or whether I pass to peace, there is only the one thing, namely that the Tathāgatas are the Body of the Law (*dharmakāya*); of what use is this mortal body to you?"

³² *Majj*, III 195. In the commentarial literature '*dhammabhūta*' is taken to mean 'one who has become dhamma', 'one who has dhamma as his nature' (Carter 1978, 93).

³³ Strong 1983, 105.

were nevertheless somehow identified even in Hīnayāna, and thus *dhammakāya* would also refer to the Buddha himself³⁴.

This equivalence of the Buddha's body and his teachings is explicitly established in a much later *Theravāda* text called *Dhammakāyassa Atthavaṇṇanā*. By identifying stages of the Buddhist path with parts of the Buddha's body this text clearly shows that '*dhammakāya*' refers both to the Buddha's teachings and his body³⁵. The disposition is as follows:³⁶

- The mental ability of omniscience = head
- nibbāna = hair
- the fourth *jhāna* = forehead
- the mental ability to attain the thunderbolt (*vajirasamāpattiñāṇa*) = the hair between the eyebrows (*unnā*)
- the visual fixation on the blue meditation object (*nīlakasiṇa*) = the eyebrows
- the most excellent divine eye, eye of knowledge, all-seeing eye, Buddha-eye, Dhamma-eye (*dībbacakkhu-paññācakkhu-samantacakkhu-buddhacakkhu-dhammacakkhu*) = the eyes
- the divine ear = the ears
- the mental ability of a converted Buddhist (*gotrabhū*)³⁷ = the nose
- the knowledge of the fruits of the path and liberation (*vimutti*) = the cheeks
- the knowledge of the thirty-seven wings of enlightenment = the teeth
- mundane and supramundane mental abilities (*lokiyalokuttarañāṇa*) = the lips
- the knowledge of the four paths = the canine teeth
- the knowledge of the four truths = the tongue³⁸
- the irresistible knowledge = the jaw

³⁴ Reynolds (1977, 375–379) seems to be aware of this twofold meaning of '*dhammakāya*'. Cf. Snellgrove 1987, 115 where the *dharmakāya* is said to represent "from one point of view the sum total of the Buddha-Doctrine, and from another the absolute supramundane state into which a Buddha passed on entering final nirvāṇa." *Dharmakāya* is that absolute Buddha-nature which is the alfa and omega of the Dharma (ibid. pp. 36–37).

³⁵ Cf. also Reynolds 1977, 385–387. Of course this does not *prove* that this is also the case in the *Tiṭṭaka*.

³⁶ Coedès 1956, 255–256, 260–261.

³⁷ See Rhys Davids & Stede 1972, 255 s.v. *gotrabhū*.

³⁸ In the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the Buddha's tongue, with which he is said to cover the world, is a symbol of his absolute veracity (Conze 1984, 39 [P]).

the mental ability to obtain unequalled
 liberation (*anuttaravimokkha*) = the neck

 the knowledge of the three properties
 of things = the throat

 the knowledge of the four subjects of
 self-confidence = the arms

 the mental ability of tenfold mindfulness
 (*dasânussatiñâṇa*) = the fingers

 the seven limbs of enlightenment = the chest

 the knowledge of intentions and
 dispositions = the pectorals

 the capacity of the ten powers = the stomach

 the knowledge of the net of mutual
 dependencies = the navel

 the five powers of the five faculties = the buttocks

 the four perfect efforts = the thighs

 the ten paths of meritorious action = the legs

 the four bases of supernatural power = the feet

 psychic mastery of moral practices = the *saṅghâtî*-robe

 remorse³⁹ = the robe (*cīvara*)

 knowledge of the eightfold path = the inner garment (*antaravāsaka*)

 the four applications of mindfulness = the belt

4.2.2. Mahâyâna Buddhism

In the *Prajñâpâramitâ*, the Buddha's relationship to the absolute reality of the Dharma has been described paradoxically. On the one hand, he is called 'Buddha' "as the truly real fact" because he has penetrated the real meaning of *dharmas* and has known the Dharma as it really is⁴⁰, on the other hand buddhas are unthinkable and immeasurable like space and can

³⁹ Rhys Davids & Stede (1972, 732) translate '*hirottappa*' as "shame & fear of sin". When '*ottappa*' is derived from Skr. '*uttapya*', its meaning is 'to be regretted, tormented by remorse' (ibid., p. 166 s.v. *ottappa*). As '*Hiri*' refers to a sense of shame, '*hirottappa*' could be translated as 'remorse' although some may find in it the same Christian bias as in 'sin'.

⁴⁰ Conze 1984, 530 (Ad in Gilgit ms.): "He is called 'Buddha' as the truly real fact (*bhûto 'rtho*). Moreover, he has fully known the truly real Dharma, ... he has penetrated to the real meaning, he has fully known all dharmas as they really are – therefore he is called a 'Buddha'."

only be apprehended through the fact that they have no fixed residence (*niradhiṣṭhāna*)⁴¹.

So far as it can be verbalized, the Buddha's real essence is the Dharma-body (*dharmakāya*)⁴² whose role, however, is not very central in the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Instead, the Buddha's intimate relationship with the Perfection of wisdom itself is emphasized⁴³. The Perfection of Wisdom is that principle of which the buddhas are born⁴⁴, and it is said that those who want to see the Dharma-body and the physical bodies of buddhas should listen to the Perfection of Wisdom⁴⁵.

The body in which the Buddha appears to various kinds of beings is called *āsecanaka-ātmabhāva*, i.e. a body so beautiful that one can never be satiated by looking at it, or *prākṛtya-ātmabhāva*, i.e. an original or a real body⁴⁶. This body is adorned with the 32 major and 80 minor marks of a great man⁴⁷.

Despite the fact that these marks are said to belong to the Buddha's real or original body it is said that the Buddha should not be attended to through the 32 marks, as those marks – like all *dharmas* – have no real essence⁴⁸. Thus the colorful descriptions of the Buddha's body are just another metaphorical way of praising the ineffable absolute reality. The manifestation of this reality before human eyes in the person of the Buddha is only due to the Buddha's skill in means (*upāyakaūśalya*)⁴⁹. Ultimately it is neither real nor unreal⁵⁰.

⁴¹ Conze 1984, 216 (P). According to *Nāgārjuna* (MMK, 22:15), the Buddha is "unchanging and beyond all detailed description".

⁴² "His contemplation of the Buddha-body as it really is, is the contemplation of the Dharma-body as it really is (Conze 1984, 176 [P])."

⁴³ "Those who honour this perfection of wisdom, they thereby worship Me, as well as the Buddhas and Lords of the past, future and present (Conze 1984, 484 [Ad in Gilgit ms.])." See also *Ratnagotra*, p. 207 and Takasaki's note 63 on it.

⁴⁴ The Gilgit and Central Asian manuscripts of P call the Perfection of Wisdom the genetrix (*jananī*, see Conze 1967, 181) of the Tathāgatas (Conze 1984, 345). It is also said that the Perfection of Wisdom supersedes the relics in worth because the relics have gone forth from it (Conze 1984, 249 [P]).

⁴⁵ Conze 1984, 254 (P). Thus *Prajñāpāramitā* and the Buddha are interchangeable in the sense that as the Buddha embodies the Dharma so does the Dharma, in the form of *Prajñāpāramitā*, embody the Buddha (See Gómez 1987b, 448). Neither of the members of the metaphor has priority.

⁴⁶ Conze 1984, 41 (P). The Gilgit manuscripts use the word '*prākṛtya-ātmabhāva*' instead of '*āsecanaka-ātmabhāva*'. See Conze 1984, 1 (introduction) and Conze 1967, 291.

⁴⁷ The marks are listed in Ad in Gilgit ms. (Conze 1984, 583–587) and listed and explained in P (Conze 1984, 657–664).

⁴⁸ Conze 1984, 551–552 (Ad in Gilgit ms.).

⁴⁹ Conze 1984, 622 (Ad): "The Tathagata, however, has the skill in means which enables him to be reborn there."

⁵⁰ MMK, 22:16: "The self-existence (*svabhāva*, added by I.P.) of the 'fully completed' (being) is the self-existence of the world. The 'fully completed (being) is without self-existence (and) the world is without self-existence."

In the *Ratnagotra*, the Buddha's Dharma-body, as we saw in the previous chapter, was identified with absolute reality so that the whole phenomenal reality could be reduced to it. Thus, "the *Tathâgata* is the highest Absolute Essence" and "reaches up to the limit of the space", and his life lasts as long as the utmost limit of the world.⁵¹ In this sense, the "multitudes of living beings" are said to be included in the Buddha's wisdom (*buddhajñâna*), and the Buddha's body is said to "penetrate everywhere"⁵².

As the Dharma-body thus is ultimately the only reality,

(f)rom the ultimate standpoint (*paramârthikaî*),
 Buddhahood is the sole Refuge of the world,
 Because the Sage has the body of the Doctrine,
 And because in that the Community sets the ultimate goal.⁵³

Or:

From the Buddha comes the Doctrine,
 Owing to the Doctrine there is the Holy Community,
 In the Community exists the Matrix, which is
 The element of Wisdom, aiming at its acquisition;
 Its acquisition of the Wisdom is the Supreme Enlightenment,
 Which is endowed with the Qualities, 10 Powers and others,
 And accompanied by altruistic Acts for all living beings.⁵⁴

As there is in reality only one Buddha and one Buddha-vehicle (*yâna*) the Buddha does not discriminate between beings in his teaching. In chapter V of the Lotus, this pervading quality of the Buddha's Dharma is described with a simile comparing Dharma to a rain-cloud ('*dharmameghâ*') that pours rain on all beings alike⁵⁵. Or:

As the rays of the sun and moon descend alike on all men, good and bad, without deficiency (in one case) or surplus (in the other);
 So the wisdom of the Tathâgata shines like the sun and moon, leading all beings without partiality.⁵⁶

⁵¹ *Ratnagotra*, p. 213. SMD, intr:2: "Il est sorti (de la transmigration) pour entrer dans l'égalité des trois temps (ou dans l'éternité)." MASAMG, II:33:I,9 "tryadhvasamatâniryâtaḥ: il pénètre l'égalité des trois temps".

⁵² *Ratnagotra*, p. 197. On p. 304, precisely the Dharma-body is said to be that which pervades everything and is infinite like space (see also p. 322). SMD, intr:2 declares that the Buddha has the universe as his limit and that he "terminates where the space terminates." MASAMG, II:33:I,10: "sarvalokadhâtuprasâṭakâyaḥ: ses corps s'étendent par tous les univers." II:33:II, 20e, 20-21: the Buddha reaches the Dharma-element, exhausts the space and has attained the ultimate limit (*aparântakotiñiṣṭhaḥ*).

⁵³ *Ratnagotra*, p. 184.

⁵⁴ *Ratnagotra*, pp. 153-154.

⁵⁵ Lotus, pp. 118-127. See Pye 1978, 43-47.

⁵⁶ Lotus, p. 136. MASAMG, X:28:7: "Il pénètre tout le monde par l'éclat de sa loi (*dharmaprabhâ*), comme le soleil."

Thus there is no nirvâṇa apart from buddhahood, or:

Buddhahood and Nirvâṇa
Are one and the same in the highest viewpoint.⁵⁷

And, "(N)o one can realize nirvâṇa apart from Buddhahood"; or:

(W)ithout the acquisition of Buddhahood,
There is no attainment of Nirvâṇa,
Just as it is impossible to see the sun,
Avoiding its light and rays.⁵⁸

The buddhahood, however, is said to manifest itself in three forms: as the body of own essence (*svâbhâvīkākāya*), the body of enjoyment (*sâmbhogakāya*) and the apparitional body (*nirmâṇakāya*)⁵⁹.

The body of own essence is the uncompounded, indivisible and inconceivable Dharma-body, and the latter two are bodies with visible form (*rûpakāya*) and appear on the basis of the Dharma-body like visible forms appear in space⁶⁰. The body of enjoyment is said to be the natural outflow (*niṣyanda*) of the body of own essence and to manifest the Dharma for the sake of living beings. The apparitional (*nairmâṇika*) bodies, for their part, refer to those bodies in which the Dharma-body appears as various historical buddhas⁶¹. Thus "the Lord never shows its real nature"⁶², though it appears in various forms, according to the conditions of the living beings" without, however, really being separated from his Dharma-body.⁶³

⁵⁷ *Ratnagotra*, pp. 258, 261.

⁵⁸ *Ratnagotra*, pp. 263, 266.

⁵⁹ *Ratnagotra*, pp. 289–290, 324; MASAMG, X:1. Cf. LNKV, pp.51–52. The *Sarvâstivâdins* attributed to the Buddha the following three bodies (See Lamotte 1958, 689–690): 1) The Buddha's physical body was called the body of retribution (*vipâkakāya*), the physical body (*rûpakāya*) or the body of birth (*janmakāya*); 2) the Buddha could produce in various circumstances fictive bodies of magical creation called *nirmâṇakāya*; 3) The *dharmakāya* was given a new interpretation as a collection of compounded (*saṃskṛta*) dharmas that were free from the outflows (*âsrava*) numbering five as follows: morality (*śīla*), meditative concentration (*samâdhi*), wisdom (*prajñâ*), liberation (*vimukti*), and knowledge and vision of the liberation (*vimuktijñânadarsana*).

⁶⁰ In the *Prajñâpâramitâ*, the Buddha is said to emit from his tongue rays from which arise lotuses with "buddha-frames" (*buddhavigraha*) on them (Conze 1984, 39 [P]). These buddha-frames are magical creations that the Buddha conjures up to demonstrate Dharma; and after seeing a "buddha-frame" a *bodhisattva* starts longing for a body of a buddha and will never again lack attention to the Buddha (Conze 1984, 167 [P]).

⁶¹ The SMD (X:3) defines the apparitional body as simultaneous with the birth of the universe.

⁶² Cf. MASAMG, X:28:10: "Bien qu'ils apparaissent partout, ils ne sont pas perçus par les six sens."

⁶³ *Ratnagotra*, pp. 326–331; MASAMG, X:1, X:6. MASAMG, X:37 explains that although the body of enjoyment and the apparitional body (here:

In the SMD, the Dharma-body is defined through negations as transcending the 'worldly' existence in every respect:

The Dharma-body of *Tathâgatas* is the revolution of the bodily basis (*âśraya*), the exit (of transmigration) resulting from the good practice of the stages (*bhûmi*) and the perfections (*pâramitâ*). For these two reasons, this Dharma-body is inconceivable (*acintya*): it escapes discourse (*nihprapañca*) and is not dependent on effort (*anabhisaṃskâra*).⁶⁴

In the MASAMG, the revolution of the bodily basis (*âśrayaparâvṛtti*) is divided into five according to the five factors of existence (*skandhas*), over which it brings sovereignty (*vibhutva*) through *rûpaskandhaparâvṛtti*, *vedanâskandhapravṛtti* etc.⁶⁵

As the Dharma-body thus is attainable to anyone in principle, its status as the Buddha's own essence (*svabhâvikakâya*) must be explained. Thus, it is said that as numerous persons (*apramâṇakâya*) reach enlightenment the Dharma-bodies are different, but as the supports, intentions and acts of Dharma-bodies are identical, the Dharma-bodies are identical.⁶⁶ Similarly, "the buddhas are one but innumerable"⁶⁷.

According to the MASAMG, the Dharma-body has five characteristics: 1) the revolution of bodily basis when all obstacles are overcome, 2) own essence based on white *dharmas*, 3) non-duality (*advaya*) of being and non-being, of compoundedness and non-compoundedness and of plurality and unity, 4) eternity (*nityalakṣaṇa*) and 5) inconceivability (*acintya*).⁶⁸

In like manner, the *Ratnagotra* declares the Dharma-body to be neither real nor unreal, as it appears "as only a vision in this world"⁶⁹. Thus

nīṣyândakâya) are transitory, the *Tathâgata*'s body (*tathâgatakâya*) is eternal because these two bodies lean on the Dharma-body, and the joy and apparitions never cease.

⁶⁴ SMD, X:1. In MASAMG, VII:11 the Dharma-body is said to be eternal (*nitya*). In the *śrâvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas* this achievement is called '*vimuktikâya*' (Liberation-body) (SMD X:2. See also MASAMG, I:48).

⁶⁵ MASAMG, X:5.

⁶⁶ MASAMG, X:8: "Puisque leurs [= de les Dharmakâya des Buddha Bhagavant] supports (*âśraya*), leurs intentions (*abhiprâya*) et leurs activités (*karmān*) sont identiques, il faut dire que les Dharmakâya sont identiques. Mais puisque, d'innombrables personnalités (*apramâṇakâya*) arrivent à l'illumination (*abhisambudhyante*), il faut dire que les Dharmakâya sont différentes." The same holds for the two other bodies that are dependent on the Dharma-body.

⁶⁷ MASAMG, X:28.2: "Les Buddha sont un (*abhinna*), mais innombrables (*aprameya*)."

⁶⁸ MASAMG, X:3.

⁶⁹ *Ratnagotra*, p. 359: "Just as, on the pure surface of the Vaidûrya stone,/ There appears the reflection of the body of the highest god;/ Similarly, on the pure surface of the mind in the world,/ There appears the reflection of the body of the Highest Sage./ ... So one should not see it as either real or unreal." Also, it neither appears nor disappears (p. 377).

it represents the same non-dualism of dualism and non-dualism we found in the previous chapter.

Moreover, it is said that the buddhas have superseded the *skandhas* (*skandhâtikrânta*) but, nevertheless, reside in the *skandhas* (*skandhavihârin*); and the latter ones are neither different nor identical to the former ones.⁷⁰ And:

The perfectly Enlightened One (*abhisambuddha*) does not exist, but all the buddhas are not non-existent. In each moment, there are innumerable buddhas constituted by existence (*bhâva*) and non-existence (*abhâva*).⁷¹

Thus, the figure of the Buddha has been transformed into a symbolic representation *par excellence* of the mystical experience he attained, as well as of its consequences.

4.3. The Buddha's Skill in Means

In the Lotus, the relationship between the Buddha of the Dharma-body and his various historical manifestations are explained with the idea of skillful means (*upâya*)⁷² in the sense that Gautama's supposed enlightenment and *parinirvâna* are regarded as only a skillful means to teach people. In reality, he had already reached enlightenment and *parinirvâna* a long time ago.⁷³ The ultimate unity behind all seemingly separate buddhas is expressed in two places in the sûtra⁷⁴.

First, in the seventh chapter, it is reported that "Of yore, monks, in the past, incalculable, more than incalculable, inconceivable, immense, measureless aeons since, nay, at a period, an epoch far beyond, there appeared in the world" a certain buddha whom Gautama Buddha remembers despite the immeasurable span of time that seems to separate them⁷⁵. That this can be taken to presuppose the ultimate identity between the seemingly separate buddhas becomes clear in the 15th chapter dealing with the immeasurable duration of the Buddha's life⁷⁶.

⁷⁰ MASAMG, X:28:5: "Les Buddha ont dépassé les agrégats (*skandhâtikrânta*), mais résident dans les agrégats (*skandhavihârin*). Ces [derniers] ne sont ni identiques aux premiers ni différents d'eux (*naivânyâ nânanyâṭ*)."

⁷¹ MASAMG, X:28:3.

⁷² See above pp. 114–115.

⁷³ See Masson-Oursel 1923, 594; Pye 1978, 53–56.

⁷⁴ See Snellgrove 1987, 52–54; Smart 1973, 119–120; Kloppenborg 1974, 8.

⁷⁵ Lotus, pp. 153–154.

⁷⁶ In MASAMG, II:33 one of the qualities of a buddha is said to be that he has obtained equality with all the buddhas (*sarvabuddhasamatâprâptaḥ*).

In this chapter, the Buddha declares that he has reached enlightenment "many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of aeons ago", and thus is unlimited in the duration of his life. This means that the Buddha is everlasting and does not become extinct even though he himself occasionally announces his own extinction in *parinirvāṇa*.⁷⁷ According to the *Ratnagotra*:

The word 'immutable' (*asaṃskṛta*) should be understood as being opposite to being conditioned or caused (*saṃskṛta*). Here 'being conditioned' (*saṃskṛta*) means the thing, of which origination, lasting, as well as destruction are inconceivable. Because of the absence of these characteristics, the Buddhahood should be seen as having neither beginning, middle nor end, and being represented as the immutable (*asaṃskṛta*) Absolute Body.⁷⁸

The Buddha's skill in means (*upāyakaūśalya*) is illustrated in the Lotus with a parable about an intelligent physician whose sons drank some poisonous liquid and fell sick while the father was abroad. When the father returned, the sons greeted him and beseeched him to heal them from their pains. The father then prepared a remedy which was immediately taken by those sons who had right notions despite their pains; but those sons who had perverted notions would not take the medicine although they also wanted to be cured.⁷⁹

Then the father decided to use a skillful means and announced to his sons that he had grown old, decrepit, advanced in years and that the term of his life was at hand⁸⁰. He went to another part of the country and sent a message to his sons, declaring that he had died. Due to the grief caused by the message, the perverted notions of the sons began to turn to right ones and the boys took the remedy prepared by their father and were healed. After having heard this, the father returned, and according to the Buddha and his listeners - was not to be rebuked of falsehood since his intent had been good and right, i.e. he had only used a skillful means.⁸¹

In a similar manner, the Buddha displays skillful means in order to educate beings, without there being any falsehood on his part. Accordingly, he is called the selfborn father of the world (*lokapīta svayambhu*), the healer, the protector of beings⁸². Even though the Buddha thus is one, his "children" are of various dispositions, and for this reason the idea of three different vehicles (*yāna*) - of *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas* and *bo-*

⁷⁷ Lotus, pp. 299-303.

⁷⁸ *Ratnagotra*, pp. 156-157. On p. 260, the *Jñānālokālaṅkārasūtra* is cited: "Being in Nirvāṇa from the very outset, the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Perfectly enlightened One is of neither origination nor destruction." The essence of the Buddha is not created or born, and does not die or undergo suffering because it is eternal (p. 256).

⁷⁹ Lotus, pp. 304-305.

⁸⁰ Cf. *Dīgha*, II 100 where the Buddha announces that his end is near.

⁸¹ Lotus, pp. 305-306.

⁸² Lotus, pp. 306, 309-310.

dhisattvas – has been skilfully used by the Buddha although in reality there is only one Buddha-vehicle and one nirvāṇa for everyone⁸³.

The Buddha appears on earth in the period of decay of that world and skillfully uses the idea of three vehicles to make people leave the triple world (*traiḍhātuka*) in which they are so attached to the pleasures of the senses that they do not realize the dangers of old age, suffering and death. In reality, however, the Buddha uses only one Buddha-vehicle and causes all beings to reach complete nirvāṇa.⁸⁴

This is again illustrated with a parable of a father and his sons. The father had an old house with only one door, and one day that house caught fire when the father was outside and the little boys inside. The father thought that although he himself would be able to come out of the house safely and quickly, the little boys didn't have the understanding to run until it would be too late. He could now try to gather his sons in his strong arms to take them out, but there would be the possibility that the boys might start running here and there in amusement and he would not be able to catch them in time. Likewise it would be in vain to try to talk to them and to urge them to run out because the boys were too small and ignorant.⁸⁵

The father therefore decided to use a skillful means and shouted to his sons that all their favorite toys, such as bullock-carts, goat-carts and deer-carts, were waiting outside in the yard to be played with. This got the boys to run out safely, but as soon as they were delivered they started to ask for the promised toys. The father, however, did not have three kinds of carts for them but only ox-carts, built of the most precious substances. Yet he was not guilty of falsehood because he had saved the lives of his sons, and in addition had given them a very precious gift.⁸⁶

⁸³ Lotus, pp. 42–48, 53, 128–129, 141, 181, 189.

⁸⁴ Lotus, pp. 42–43, 53, 76–81; Lotus, Conze pp. 207–210. The idea of periodical evolution and decay of the world is presented in *Dīgha*, III 84–97, *Kosa*, t. II pp. 203–209, and the MHV, I 285–301 but without any mention of buddhas (see Reynolds 1985).

⁸⁵ Lotus pp. 72–73; Lotus, Conze pp. 203–205.

⁸⁶ Lotus pp. 74–76; Lotus, Conze pp. 205–206. Kern has 'bullock-carts' for Conze's 'ox-carts'.

4.4. The Buddha and the World

4.4.1. The Buddha's body as a symbol of the cosmos

In the *Aśokāvadāna*, a *Sarvāstivādin* work, the Buddha's body appears as a symbol or a scale model of the cosmos⁸⁷, in a way reminiscent of the *Puruṣasūkta* of the *Ṛgveda* where the primeval man covered the whole world until the various classes of society were formed out of the parts of his body⁸⁸. Thus, we hear that the Buddha can predict a person's future destiny by issuing rays from his mouth. After roaming throughout the whole cosmos, the rays reenter the Buddha's body either from behind or from the front, depending on whether he wants to reveal a past action or predict a future action, respectively. The places where the rays reenter the Buddha's body correspond to various destinies the Buddha wants to predict to the person in question, according to the following scheme:⁸⁹

soles of feet = in hell

heels = as an animal

big toes = as a hungry ghost (*preta*)

knees = as a human being

left palm = as a *balacakravartin* king⁹⁰

right palm = as a *cakravartin* king⁹¹

navel = as a god (*deva*)

mouth = as an enlightened disciple

hair between the eyebrows (*ūrṇā*) = as a *pratyekabuddha*⁹²

the protuberance on the head (*uṣṇīṣa*)⁹³ = as a buddha

⁸⁷ "Trisāhasramahāsāhasra lokadhātu" (litt. 'the world element of three thousand and great thousand (worlds)'), the largest unit of Buddhist cosmology. The *trisāhasramahāsāhasra lokadhātus*, however, are believed to be as many as the sands of the Ganges. See VKN, appendice 1, p. 395.

⁸⁸ *Ṛgveda*, X,90:1–16.

⁸⁹ ASK, pp. 201–202. Also in *Prajñāpāramitā*, the Buddha illuminates the cosmos with his smile (Conze 1984, 41 [P]) and predicts the future of beings with rays issued forth from this smile (Conze 1984, 422 [P]). See also LNKV, p. 13.

⁹⁰ *Asoka* was a *balacakravartin rāja* ('armed ruler of the world') par excellence as he made true the age old myth of a righteous ruler of the world, albeit with the exception that he had to use force (see Strong 1983, 44–54).

⁹¹ Cf. the previous note.

⁹² See above p. 126 n.4.

⁹³ According to Alfred Foucher (1949, 116–117), the iconographic habit of presenting the Buddha with a protuberance on the top of the head originated when

According to this scheme, both in the cosmos and in the body, that which is good is above and that which is bad is below. Without pushing the argument too far, one may note that the feet associated with the bad destinies are the limbs that tie man to earth, and the head as a center of intelligence and spirituality is associated with the otherworldly state of a buddha or a *pratyekabuddha*.

The *Dhammakāyassa Atthavaṇṇanā* equated nibbāna in the same way with the Buddha's hair, a very common symbol of freedom and imprisonment⁹⁴. Wild long "dread-locks" have symbolized the freedom of African warriors and the Rastafarians as well as the Indian "matted hair ascetics" (*jaṭila*). Likewise, the Buddha is always pictured with his hair, although the texts explicitly state that he cut off his hair as his followers that *submitted* themselves to the Buddha's Dhamma and *vinaya* have done.

In the Lotus, it is said that a *bodhisattva* who "keeps, reads, promulgates, teaches, writes" this discourse on Dharma (i.e. the Lotus Sūtra) will have a pure body with a hue as clear as the lapis lazuli⁹⁵. And:

On that perfect body he will see the whole triple universe; the beings who in the triple world disappear and appear, who are low or lofty, of good or of bad colour, in fortunate or in unfortunate condition, as well as the beings dwelling within the circular plane of the horizon and of the great horizon, on the chief mountains Meru and Sumeru, and the beings dwelling below in the (Avīci) and upwards to the (reality limit); all of them he will see on his own body.⁹⁶

Being self-born (*svayambhu*), the *bodhisattva* who keeps etc. this discourse on Dharma will see the whole world in his own body like an image is seen in a mirror, including the buddhas.⁹⁷ In this way, the limits of one's body are extended as coextensive with the limits of the world and the subject-object structure of one's being-in-the-world is dissolved. The cosmic dimension of the Buddha's body is thus something that is believed to be attainable by anyone.

the sculptors were willing to present the Buddha with his hair on the condition that each lock was made to curl to the right as implied in the list of the marks of a great man (see *Dīgha*, III, 142–145).

⁹⁴ This may be due to the fact that as it grows out of the body hair is a marginal element between internal and external realities (see Douglas 1984, 121). One could also apply here D.W. Winnicott's (1953, esp. 89–91) idea of transitional phenomena in the "intermediate area of experience" between "inner psychic reality" and "external world".

⁹⁵ Lotus, p. 349: "... the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who keeps, reads, promulgates, teaches, writes this Dharmaparyāya shall have the eight hundred good qualities of the body. It will be pure, and show a hue clear as the lapis lazuli; it will be pleasant to see for the creatures."

⁹⁶ Lotus pp. 349–350.

⁹⁷ Lotus, p. 350–351 (=appendix 2).

4.4.2. The otherworldliness of the Buddha

The *Mahāvastu* of the *Mahāsaṃghika-Lokottaravādins* brings to the fore the fact that as a symbol of the cosmos the Buddha was not simply identified with the defiled reality of *samsāra*. On the contrary, whereas to the *Sarvāstivādins* the Buddha-*dharma*s were compounded, but pure (*śuddha*) and free from the outflows (*āsrava*)⁹⁸, the *Lokottaravādins* took the buddhas to be completely transcendent. This is easy to understand when we remember that, according to the *Mahāsaṃghikas*, only transcendent *dharma*s were real. From this ontological solution it naturally follows that buddhas are transcendent because otherwise they would be unreal, which is an impossibility.

In the MHV, the following dreams of the Buddha are said to have come true after his enlightenment: 1) That the earth was his bed, mount Sumeru, the *axis mundi*, his pillow, his left arm rested in the eastern ocean, the right one in the western ocean, and the soles of his feet in the southern ocean. 2) That *kṣīrikā*-grass⁹⁹ sprouted from his navel and reached the heavens. 3) That reddish creatures with black heads covered him from soles to knees. 4) That four vultures of different colors came flying through the air from the four quarters and turned all white after kissing the soles of his feet. 5) That he walked on a mountain of dung without being soiled by it.¹⁰⁰

The first two dreams together with the fourth are clearly equivalent to the *Aśokāvādāna*'s body symbolism, but the third one seems to be fairly mysterious. The text itself interprets it to mean that people who have done service to a buddha will be reborn in heaven¹⁰¹ but this seems quite arbitrary. Possibly it is only a reproduction of a yogic hallucination which is irrelevant in this study. The fifth dream, for its part, is directly connected to the MHV's tendency to emphasize the purity of the buddhas living in the impure world.

The same idea also appears in the *Ratnagotra*¹⁰² where we find a parable about a householder's only son who fell into a pit of night-soil and whose father hurried to enter the pit without any feeling of disgust and saved his only son. Then it is explained that the pit of nightsoil stood for "the phenomenal life", 'only son' for "the living beings" and 'householder' for "the *Bodhisattva* who ... has attained the direct perception of the immutable Absolute". The point is explained to be that a *bodhisattva* who remains in the world for the sake of others is nevertheless not polluted by the world.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ See Lamotte 1958, 689–690.

⁹⁹ Edgerton (1953, 200) takes this to probably mean a kind of a date-tree.

¹⁰⁰ MHV, II 131–132.

¹⁰¹ MHV, II 133.

¹⁰² As a quotation from the *Sāgaramatipariṣcchā*.

¹⁰³ *Ratnagotra*, pp. 246–247 (=appendix 3). Cf. p. 220: "Here, in this world,

Thus, one of the fourteen ways a *bodhisattva* of the third stage can "lapse and fail" is that he teaches buddhas to be of this world (*lokasamatāye deśenti*)¹⁰⁴. Yet "there is nothing in the Buddhas that can be measured by the standard of the world, but everything appertaining to the great seers is transcendent (*lokottara*)"¹⁰⁵. This idea has consistently guided the presentation of the Buddhas' life in the *Mahāvastu*, starting from the description of his immaculate conception and birth¹⁰⁶.

According to this text, the birth of a buddha is due to cosmic laws as the *bodhisattva* is born virginally on the strength of his own *karmic* merit¹⁰⁷. Thus, he can also be said to remain uncontaminated by any 'worldly' qualities from the beginning. He is a transcendent light of the world (*lokāloka*) and comes down from heaven to earth in order to enlighten men who have become blind¹⁰⁸. In accordance with this, he is born in a "mind-made" body (*manomayakāya*) from the right side of his mother, yet without piercing that side¹⁰⁹. This other-worldliness of a buddha even goes so far that he is reported to have deliberately chosen a mother that had 10 months and seven days of life left because she should not make love after the birth of a buddha¹¹⁰.

the Bodhisattva is not entirely involved among all living beings because he has completely rejected all tendencies of desires by means of the Transcendental Intellect. (At the same time, he is not remote from them since he never abandons them – owing to his Great Compassion." MASAMG VII:11 says that the Buddha, although residing in the world, is not soiled by worldly *dharma*s (*lokadharmas*).

¹⁰⁴ MHV, I 75–76.

¹⁰⁵ MHV, I 125.

¹⁰⁶ But this is not the invention of the *Lokottaravādins*, as birth without the intercourse of the parents is clearly implied in *Majj*, III 120–121 and *Dīgha*, II 13, already.

¹⁰⁷ MHV, I 113: "'Now, at this moment, is it time for me to depart hence. For men are sunk in gross darkness, are blinded, and of dimmed vision. Attaining me, they will be delivered'." MHV, I 114–115: "'... Bodhisattvas are not born of the intercourse of a father and a mother, but by their own merit independently of parents'." MHV, I 134: "Although the Sugata's corporeal existence is not due to the sexual union of parents, yet the Buddhas can point to their fathers and mothers. This is mere conformity with the world."

¹⁰⁸ MHV, I 77–78: "But though he had found the eternal blissful abode that is honoured of *Asuras* (= evil giants) and *Suras* (=gods), he renounced it for the sake of enlightening men. He came down to the surface of earth, was born in the family of Ikṣvāku, and stood in glory, immovable and firm.

"Desiring to enter the womb of Queen Māyā in the form of a noble lotuswhite elephant, he, the light of the world, left the realm of *Tuṣita*(-gods), and came down to earth to raise up the people whom he saw were wanton and blind and who had succumbed to doubt and unrighteousness."

¹⁰⁹ MHV, I 117–118, 174, II 18.

¹¹⁰ MHV, II 3–4. The death of the mother as a rule when a *bodhisattva* is born is known already in *Majj*, III 122 and *Dīgha*, II 14 but no reason is given for this rule.

Now, contrary to the *Theravâda* texts, the Buddha is no longer a man who became a buddha, but a buddha who became man. Consequently, he must have been in an ultimate sense perfect in every way, even before his enlightenment¹¹¹. Thus, when *Theravâda* texts present Gautama as indulging in sensual pleasures before his enlightenment, the *Mahāvastu* raises the question of how the Buddha's son, *Râhula*, was born if *bodhisattvas* do not indulge in pleasures of the senses. The author, however, begs the question by simply saying that "Râhula, passing away from Tuṣita, came down into the womb of his mother"¹¹². A little later, *Râhula*'s birth is explained as "mere conformity with the world" on the part of the Buddha¹¹³.

The Buddha's transcendent quality is then described in an *en bloc* inserted passage, beginning with his conduct, "root of virtue", walking, standing, sitting and lying down, all of which are said to be transcendent (*lokottara*). The same holds true of his body, wearing of the robe, eating and teaching.¹¹⁴

However, while being transcendent the buddhas appear at the same time to be ordinary mortals, since they accommodate themselves to the world¹¹⁵. They practice the four postures of the body even though they feel no fatigue, they bathe, clean their teeth and wash their feet even though no dirt is ever found on them. This washing is "mere conformity with the world."¹¹⁶

The buddhas put on robes as a "mere conformity with the world" since no cold wind could harm them. For the same reason they sit in the shade even though the sun would not torment them, take medicine though they are never ill and eat food though never hungry. They also take on the semblance of being old, even though in reality they have overcome old age. All in all, the buddhas remain in the world for a certain span of time though they could immediately leave it if wished.¹¹⁷

What is striking in the MHV is that the Buddha's transcendence is described, among other things, by his being born in a "mind-made" body.

¹¹¹ MHV, I 132: "Although they have reached perfection by the merits won in the course of countless kalpas, they make it appear as though they were at the beginning."

¹¹² MHV, I 121.

¹¹³ MHV, I 134: "From Dīpaṅkara onwards, the Tathâgata is always free from passion. Yet (the Buddha) has a son, Râhula, to show. This is mere conformity with the world."

¹¹⁴ MHV, I 132.

¹¹⁵ MHV, I 132: "The Buddhas conform to the world's conditions, but in such a way that they also conform to the traits of transcendentalism."

¹¹⁶ MHV, I 132-133.

¹¹⁷ MHV, I 133. There are in the *Mahāvastu* also some directly paradoxical expressions of the Buddha's transcendence, as for instance in the statements that the Buddha walks without touching the ground and thus without killing creeping insects, and that, nevertheless, the wheel impresses of the soles of his feet are left on the ground (MHV, I 225, 257).

As a body suited for dwelling in the immaterial levels of the *rūpa-* and *arūpalokas* it is, in fact, 'worldly' and thus completely different from the Dharma-body¹¹⁸. Yet the Buddha of the MHV cannot be simply identified with the apparitional "mind-made" buddhas of magical creation (*nirmāṇakāya*) so explicitly distinguished from the Dharma-body in Mahāyāna texts, because even in the MHV the Buddha is said to have conjured up (*nirmita*) these magical creations, which means that they are distinct from his real essence¹¹⁹.

This lack of conceptual precision may be said to derive from the fact that the text appears to develop an innovative expression of religious experience ideologically between early Buddhism and Mahāyāna¹²⁰. The theme of the buddhas being *lokottara* is central to the extent that the relationship of the transcendent buddha to the world is bypassed with the mere formula: "this is mere conformity with the world". The *Sarvāstivādin* theory of the three bodies is not explicitly made use of. The MHV expresses in a mythological form the idea that the Buddha represents the uncompounded reality in the compounded reality. Thus the Buddha's body serves as a symbol that bridges the two spheres of reality, creating a unity that the mystics in their own way seek to attain.

¹¹⁸ See Reynolds 1977, 383–384.

¹¹⁹ MHV, I 140–142, 220.

¹²⁰ Michael Pye (1978, 60 and n. 1) characterizes *Mahāvastu* as a "bridge work" and takes it to contain "much mythological enthusiasm but little intellectual penetration."

5. CONCLUSION

5.1. Mysticism

The aim of this study was to provide answers to the following questions:

1) In what sense could Buddhism be above all mysticism, or rest essentially on mysticism, or be based on pure mysticism? 2) What in this case is meant by mysticism? 3) Is Buddhism essentially based on pure mysticism?

The first question was answered in chapter 1., by saying that Buddhism could be said to be essentially mystical, if mysticism penetrated its central doctrines and the related practice (p.16). By 'central' was meant, on formal grounds, the doctrines related to the Buddha's sacred biography and to man's position in the world as well as to his ultimate goal.

The notion of "pure" mysticism, for its part, can be understood to mean that mystical experiences are given only a minimum of interpretation and that the experiencing of mystical experiences remains the most important thing at the cost of a doctrinal superstructure that should be simply adopted and followed.

Mysticism itself was defined as a form of religious life characterized by mystical experiences together with their interpretations and various mystical-like experiences of a lesser intensity. The operational criteria for mystical experiences were provided by Paul Griffiths, who divides mystical experiences into three types: 1) An experience of pure consciousness, 2) an unmediated experience, and 3) a nondualistic experience (p. 46). The presence of any one of these three characteristics allows us to categorize the experience as mystical.

5.2. The Buddha and His Nirvâṇa

As to the Buddha's revolutionizing experience, we have to be satisfied with the fact that it is impossible to say anything historically certain about it. Yet the early Buddhists have formed a biographical image of the Buddha as the one who reached a mystical experience superior to the attainments of other wanderers (*śramaṇas*) in the sense that only the Buddha's experience guaranteed a perfect liberation from suffering.

Thus, the Buddha is believed to have provided his contemporaries with a new answer to an old problem: how to overcome the experience that one's being-in-the-world is for the most part characterized by suffering. The appearance of this question in Indian religion during the period of the *Upaniṣads* is tied to a radical change in the *Seinsverständnis* of people. Prior to this, no ideas of a unique and solitary individual or an abstract and truly transcendent god existed (see p. 40), and consequently religion had been centered on guaranteeing the welfare of the *community* and a good life in the 'worldly' reality.

However, during the *Upaniṣadic* period the real essence of an individual came to be regarded as a transcendent soul (*âtman*) that was not of this world, and whose ultimate goal was a (re)unification with *Brahman*. The socio-cultural background for this juxtaposition of an individual and the external world that is then solved with an idea of a transcendent entity as the ultimate basis of both, was characterized by urbanization together with its concomitants: division of labour and a kind of individualism. Individualism, in turn, made possible the question of the meaning of the life of an individual and the anxiety related to it. Thus sociocultural factors induced a change in *Seinsverständnis* that then received expression in new religious ideas. (Chapter 3.1.1.)

However, although our sources stress that only the Buddha had found a satisfactory way to overcome suffering through his mystical experience, they do not give any detailed description of this revolutionizing experience. It is referred to as *nirvâṇa* in just one text, and 'nirvâṇa' appears in this connection only as a figure of speech, not as such a technical concept, which it later became (Vetter). Likewise, '*bodhi*' ('enlightenment') appears in one text only. (P. 101.)

In the *Mahâsaccakasutta*, the Buddha's experience is said to have consisted of three mental abilities acquired after four states of meditation (*dhyânas*). The third ability, the knowledge concerning the outflows (*âsavas*) of sensuality, becoming and ignorance and their destruction, is here the essence of the experience. It is modeled after the example of the four noble truths. (P. 103.)

5.3. Mystical Experience in Early Buddhism

It is striking that in the descriptions of the Buddha's experience there is a clear emphasis on the intellectual aspect as the experience is considered to have brought knowledge. However, in the *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Suttanipâta* we found passages that clearly point to a mystical experience that

is also thought to have consequences for the way a person understands his or her being-in-the-world (pp. 100–101).

This experience could count as a mystical pure consciousness event in the sense that in it a person is not unconscious although his or her consciousness is contentless or empty. If it were not completely empty, the experience, nevertheless, could very well be an unmediated mystical experience in the sense that the conceptual scheme that led a person to this experience is not part of the experience itself, which thus is ineffable. At least it is a nondualistic experience because it is explicitly said to transcend "diversification". Thus, these passages describe a mystical experience of complete unity in which suffering has ceased as the barriers between 'self' and the external world have broken down.

It seems to me that this experience could well represent something essential to the Buddha's original *Seinsverständnis*, or at least to the *Seinsverständnis* of the earliest community. It may have been suppressed when the ideological development took the form of *abhidharma*, in which a special "language of salvation" was elaborated at the cost of the claim that the ultimate goal is ineffable.

The tradition of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* seems to have continued in the notion of "cessation of mental representations and feeling" (*saññāvedayitanirodha*) (pp. 100–101), a yogic state of meditation that was given a Buddhist interpretation as "touching the immortal with one's body" (p. 96). In a few passages of the *Tiṭṭhaka*, it is clearly identified with nirvāṇa, and consequently Louis de la Vallée Poussin has called it the mystical aspect of nirvāṇa, the intellectual one being based on discernment of *dhammas* that typifies the *abhidharma*. (Pp. 96–97.)

This cessation is believed to take place at the peak of progressive states of meditation (*dhyānas*). It is an experience that physically resembles a cataleptic trance, hibernation of some mammals, or coma. Mentally it is an experience where ordinary functions of sense-perception, concept-formation and ratiocination have ceased. (p. 99.)

It is, nevertheless, difficult to take this cessation as an experience of pure consciousness as it is usually conceived of as an unconscious state, although some early Buddhist authors have held that it was not "mindless" (*acittaka*) but that only mental *activity* had ceased in it. Moreover, as the Buddhists felt it problematic to explain how one could re-emerge from this state, they postulated a special consciousness that survived the state of cessation (*ālayavijñāna*). (Pp. 99–100.)

However, we cannot be certain whether *ālayavijñāna* is a purely theoretical concept, refers to an unconscious state, or to a conscious mystical experience. In any case, it is said to have an object and content (unlike a pure consciousness event), although they are "indistinct", "extremely subtle" and not experienced. As to the cessation (*saññāvedayitanirodha*) itself, if it were an integral aspect of nirvāṇa it would be much easier to understand its significance if it were a conscious mystical experience of

any of the three kinds. (Pp. 99–100.)

Although the experience the early Buddhists sought was an experience where the barriers of 'self' and the external world broke down in a feeling of ineffable unity, it came to be verbalized using strictly dualistic language presenting the reality as consisting of two spheres: the compounded (*saṃskṛta*) and the uncompounded (*asaṃskṛta*), representing *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, respectively. However, this dichotomy between 'worldly' and otherworldly spheres is not accompanied by a notion of an individual soul – as the Buddhist texts either deny the existence of this kind of an entity or refuse to take any stand on this question because such speculation is considered harmful to one's liberation. This latter alternative is the opinion of the earliest tradition. (Pp. 91–94, 84–90.)

Thus, the peculiar emptiness that belongs to the mystical experience of ineffable unity where the feeling of 'I' fades away has been accepted as such, without any conceptualization presenting the 'I' as a transcendent entity (be)longing to the transcendent sphere (cf. p. 40–41). In this sense, Buddhism has retained an element of *pure* mysticism.

5.4. The Monistic Ontology of the Mahāyāna

However, when we move on to Mahāyāna, the dualistic ontology as an analytic or ideological content of contentless or otherwise mystical experiences is abandoned. The mystical aspect of *nirvāṇa* is revitalized as the language of Mahāyāna texts takes clearly the form of criticism of language and discursive thinking. In other words, the Mahāyānist authors repeatedly use language and discursive thinking to show the limits of these two. In the background, on the one hand there seems to be a strengthened emphasis on meditation, and on the other new development in speculative thinking. (Pp. 104–124.)

The social background of this was characterized by discontent towards the institutionalized form of Buddhism and its disinclination towards "personal virtuosity" and by a more active role for laymen. Under these circumstances, Mahāyāna rose as a kind of protest movement emphasizing that the ultimate goal lies open to everyone, including laymen and monks who did not belong to any *nikāyas*. The Mahāyānist called themselves *bodhisattvas*, i.e. beings destined to become buddhas, a word that in Hīnayāna had referred only to the 25 buddhas before their enlightenment. (Pp. 61–64.)

The egalitarianism of early Mahāyāna was accompanied by a monistic metaphysics essentially based upon the idea that the ultimate reality

behind all appearances and illusions was a kind of buddha-nature. Thus, in reality nobody was unenlightened, and the ultimate goal of everyone was only to realize his or her inherent buddha-nature. In this way the abandonment of the strict distinction between laymen and monks went hand in hand with the abandonment of the idea of two spheres of reality, the compounded *saṃsāra* and the uncompounded *nirvāṇa*. (Pp. 104–124, 130–145.)

The reason for the judgement that the phenomenal world is unreal is, of course, that it is subjectively constructed and thus cannot be objectively real. As subjective construction (the *vikalpas*) ceases in mystical experiences which are reached through meditation, it is believed that in these states the true reality is seen and understood. However, as these experiences can only be adequately communicated verbally, the early Buddhists have of necessity given them a certain content through the use of certain concepts superimposed upon the experience after the actual experience. (Pp. 41, 91–94, 117–124.)

Naturally enough, at this point help was sought, in concepts related to the Buddha, the central figure of the tradition. Thus, the ultimate reality is referred to using such expressions as '*tathāgatagarbha*' (womb or germ of the *Tathāgata*), '*dharmadhātu*' (dharma-element) and '*dharmakāya*' (Dharma-body), revealing a tendency to mythologize the mystical experience in terms of the biographical image of the Buddha (*Tathāgata*). (Pp. 108–110.)

5.5. Language and Discursive Thinking as "Skillful Means"

In chapter 4. we saw that the Buddha has been conceived as embodying his message, the Dharma, in quite a concrete manner, to the extent that explicit analogies between his physical body and the Dharma have been elaborated. Likewise, there has been a tendency to see an equivalence between the Buddha's body and the cosmos, so that the compounded and uncompounded realities are thus bridged and a unity is created.

It is obvious that the Buddhological conceptions contain much mythological elaboration of the meaning of the Buddha and have nothing to do directly with mystical experiences. But when we move on to the deeper level of Buddhist ontology, we encounter the influence of the mystical way of experiencing, even in the way the Buddha's position has been understood.

Thus, even though the Buddha is said to be the "truly real fact" (p. 132), it is also said that even he and his enlightenment are mere illusion

and mere words and signs (pp. 113). This double-nature of words like 'buddha', 'bodhi', 'dharma-dhātu', etc., is explained with the concept of 'skillful means' (*upāya*): although terms like 'buddha' do not ultimately describe anything directly they, nevertheless, are a skillful means of speaking indirectly about the vision reached in mystical experiences. Thus, 'upāyas' are like metaphors in that they convey a surplus of meaning that does not lend itself to literal description. (Pp. 114–115.)

However, in Buddhism neither of the two terms of a metaphor have priority over the other as these metaphors are usually capable of being turned around. This is most obvious in the case of 'emptiness' (*śūnyatā*), an expression through which the ultimate truth of mystical experiences is expressed in the *Prajñāpāramitā*. It is a pure negation with which all discursive thinking and concept formation are given their right status as embodying only a relative truth (*samvṛti satya*). Thus, "form is emptiness". But as 'emptiness' also is a word, "emptiness is form" as well. (Pp. 85, 94, 106, 112–113.)

The same holds also for the *Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda* tradition, in which the phenomenal world is judged as "the thinking mind only" (*cittamātrataṁ*), or "representation only" (*vijñaptimātrataṁ*). However, after a careful analysis, it is concluded that the principle of *vijñaptimātrataṁ* should also be transcended so that being and non-being no longer are opposite categories. Thus, our sources do not purport to present anything absolute in contradistinction to something relative, but to overcome or transcend this dichotomy which is only apparent on the level of discursive thinking. (Pp. 121–124.)

This same dialectic has also been used with regard to the distinction between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. Namely, if the Mahāyānists (*bodhisattvas*) distinguish Hīnayānists (*śrāvakas*) from themselves as those who wrongly believe in distinctions (especially between compounded and un-compounded), they themselves fall prey to making absolute distinctions. Thus, the distinction between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna is explained to be only a skillful means used by the Buddha to meet the needs of people with different mental capacities (a relative distinction). In reality, however, there is only one vehicle (*ekayāna*). (Pp. 137–139.)

In *Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda*, this conviction of the relativity of language (*prapañca*) and discursive thinking (*vikalpa*) in contradistinction to mystical vision culminated in the idea of "unconstructed awareness" (*nirvikalpakajñāna*). This may count as a mystical pure consciousness event, and at least as an unmediated and nondualistic mystical experience. As such, it has been of highest importance as a means towards supreme enlightenment. (Pp. 118–120.)

5.6. Mystical Experience and Interpretation

However, I do not intend to claim that there is in Buddhist tradition a way to overcome the human condition of being-in-the-world and to find a direct contact with the ultimate reality not affected by specifically human categories. To say that to transcend language and discursive thinking is to find the ultimate reality, is only a human interpretation. And if we only consider the mystical experience as such, uninterpreted, – “*die Stille stillt*” (p. 37 n. 137).

Thus, even a pure consciousness event – if interpreted – is a human mode of being-in-the-world in which one is not in a “state of a stone or plant” (p. 100) or of an animal or god for that matter. And, as uninterpreted, it is nothing and not even that. To transcend one’s *everyday* human condition is specifically human because, of logical necessity, only humans are capable of it. This, in fact, is also the Buddhist conviction. Mystical experiences are thus human ways of experiencing one’s being-in-the-world, although in an unusual way. If interpreted as totally transcending human reality, they become parts of a mythology of salvation that pictures man as fallen from his or her primal happiness that can be regained through a specific path.

Here we also met the dilemma of describing and interpreting mystical experiences: we have to understand and interpret unconstructed experiences with constructive knowledge and constructive language because “thrownness into the world” means “proximally and for the most part” being thrown into a communicative world, and *Seinsverständnis* based on these abilities. (Pp. 36–38, 41–43, 94.)

This tension between mystical vision and everyday *Seinsverständnis* can also be seen in the background of the idea of the Buddha’s three bodies. The absolute Dharma-body (*dharmakāya*) or the body of own essence (*svābhāvikakāya*) represents the ultimate reality, whereas the body of enjoyment (*sambhogakāya*) and the apparitional body (*nirmāṇakāya*) are bodies with visible form (*rūpa*) and belong to the level of relative truth. Nevertheless, they are all bodies of the Buddha and express the all-pervasive quality of his wisdom. The true nature of the Buddha is the Dharma-body, the latter two being only like masks that he assumes in order to establish a contact with people in the ‘world’. (Pp. 132–137.)

5.7. Summing up the Results

The Buddhist tradition as examined here has from the beginning contained a current of mystical experiencing that has influenced Buddhist ideology and mythology that, in turn, has affected experiencing by giving it meaning. Although we cannot know what the Buddha actually experienced, the earliest accounts we have ascribe to him a message based on a mystical experience of neither perception nor no perception that has later survived in Buddhist tradition as a state of cessation of mental representations and feeling. In the *Yogâcârabhûmi*, a special consciousness, the *âlayavijñâna*, was for the first time postulated in order to explain the continuity of consciousness before and after the cessation.

The cessation seems to have been at some point an integral aspect of nirvâna although the (inauthentic) descriptions of the Buddha's nirvâna exclusively stress its intellectual aspect which came to be the dominant one. In the early Mahâyâna, the influence of mystical experience is seen in the role of Perfection of wisdom (*Prajñâpâramitâ*) as non-discursive wisdom that transcends language and ordinary categories of thought. In the *Yogâcâra/Vijñâvâda* tradition, mystical experience takes the form of "unconstructed wisdom" that may be said best to bring to the fore the idea of going beyond language and reason.

It was, however, difficult to decide the precise nature of these various forms of mystical experience. Thus, it is also obvious that 'nirvâna' is a mythological concept, expressing the ultimate goal of Buddhism as a matter of principle, with no unequivocal reference to human experience. Griffiths' operational criteria for mystical experience turned out to be a good instrument in the sense that in all cases the experiences could be definitely said to bear at least one of these characteristics.

Thus, we can say that the Buddhism of the texts here analyzed is essentially mysticism in the sense that its central doctrines and practice are penetrated by mysticism. We may also say that here we are dealing with "pure mysticism", as the sources are unwilling to present any absolute interpretations that would objectively embody an absolute meaning that could be grasped on faith alone. All conceptual interpretations are only a skillful means to point to the experience or mystical knowledge that ultimately can be grasped through subjective intuition only. In other words, experiencing takes precedence over conceptualization, and thus faith (*śraddhâ*) is in principle only a preliminary means towards "seeing as it really is" (*yathâbhûtam*).

Although in this study we have analyzed only a certain selection of texts deriving from a limited span of time, we are entitled to say that Buddhism is above all, or essentially, mysticism because those texts picture the founder of Buddhism as having taught that true liberation from suffering

ring could only be reached through mystical experiences and a *Seinsverständnis* affected by them. Consequently, the development of Buddhist doctrine and mythology has been an elaboration and revitalization of the Buddha's revolutionizing experience and its interpretations.

By this I do not mean that in Buddhism (or in any religion) only that which is historically original is genuine. I only mean that the historical foundations of Buddhism include a strong emphasis on the importance of mystical experiences and the related *Seinsverständnis*, and that this element has to a great extent guided the subsequent development of Buddhist teachings during the period from which our sources derive.

We should bear in mind, however, that other trends than mysticism have obviously existed from the earliest days of Buddhism. This is due to the fact that the movement we now know under the name of Buddhism soon attracted people with various interests and inclinations. Thus, trends that appeal more to the constructive activity of the human mind began to develop side by side with the mystical current. Consequently, for instance the innumerable statues of the Buddha and their cult, can be seen as analogous with the non-mystical features of Buddhology that represent attempts to grasp the Buddha's meaning on the level of discursive thinking and language. However, the distinction between mystical and non-mystical forms of Buddhism does not run parallel to the distinction between laymen and monks.

It is beyond the scope of this study to estimate the place of mysticism in present day Buddhism. Moreover, no attempt is being made to press Buddhism as a whole into the procrustean bed of mysticism, but only to point out that the historical roots of Buddhism lie essentially in mystical experiences. The position taken here is that André Bareau can be said to have touched on a most important issue in writing that Buddhism is essentially based on pure mysticism. It is my sincerest hope that this discussion has succeeded in demonstrating in what sense his thesis is justified.

APPENDIX I

MMK 1:1–14 [Streng 1967, 183–184]

1. Never are any existing things found to originate
From themselves, from something else, from both, or from no cause.
2. There are four conditioning causes:
A cause (*hetu*), objects of sensations, "immediately preceding condition," and of course the predominant influence – there is no fifth.
3. Certainly there is no self-existence (*svabhāva*) of existing things in conditioning causes, etc.;
And if no self-existence exists, neither does "other-existence" (*parabhāva*).
4. The efficient cause (*kriyā*) does not exist possessing a conditioning cause,
Nor does the efficient cause exist without possessing a conditioning cause.
Conditioning causes are not without efficient causes,
Nor are there [conditioning causes] which possess efficient causes.
5. Certainly those things are called "conditioning causes" whereby something originates after having come upon them;
As long as something has not originated, why are they not so long "non-conditioning-causes"?
6. There can be a conditioning cause neither of a non-real thing nor of a real thing.
Of what non-real thing is there a conditioning cause? And if it is [already] real, what use is a cause?
7. If an element (*dharma*) occurs which is neither real no non-real nor both real-and-non-real,
How can there be a cause which is effective in this situation?
8. Just that which is without an object of sensation is accepted as a real element;
Then if there is an element having no object of sensation, how is it possible to have an object of sensation?
9. When no elements have originated, [their] disappearance is not possible.
Therefore it is not proper to speak of an "immediately preceding condition"; for if something has already ceased, what cause is there for it?

10. Since existing things which have no self-existence are not real,
It is not possible at all that: "This thing 'becomes' upon the existence of that other one."
11. The product does not reside in the conditioning causes, individually or collectively,
So how can that which does not reside in the conditioning causes result from conditioning causes?
12. The "non-real" would result from those conditioning causes.
Why then would a product not proceed also from non-causes?
13. On the one hand, the product [consists in its] conditioning causes; on the other hand, the causes do not consist of themselves.
How can a product [resulting] from [conditioning causes] not consisting of themselves be consisting of those causes?
14. Therefore, that product does not consist in those causes; [yet] it is agreed that a product does not consist of non-causes.
How [can there be] a conditioning cause or non-cause when a product is not produced?

APPENDIX II

Lotus Sûtra pp. 350–351 [Kern]

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

61. His body becomes thoroughly pure, clear as if consisting of lapis lazuli; he who keeps this sublime Sûtra is always a pleasant sight for (all) creatures.
62. As on the surface of a mirror an image is seen, so on his body this world. Being selfborn, he sees no other beings. Such is the perfectness of his body.
63. Indeed, all beings who are in this world, men, gods, demons, goblins, the inhabitants of hell, the spirits, and the brute creation are seen reflected on that body.
64. The aerial cars of the gods up to the extremity of existence, the rocks, the ridge of the horizon, the Himâlaya, Sumeru, and great Meru, all are seen on that body.
65. He also sees the Buddhas on his body, along with the disciples and other sons of Buddha; likewise the Bodhisattvas who lead a solitary life, and those who preach the law to congregations.
66. Such is the perfectness of his body, though he has not yet obtained a divine body; the natural property of his body is such.

APPENDIX III

Ratnagoṭravibhāga IX B § 3 [Takasaki 1966, 246-247]

§ 3. Bodhisattva's Compassion. The parable of a Householder.

"For example, O Sāgamarati, suppose there were an only son of some distinguished person or householder. Suppose he were beloved, handsome, affectionate, quite agreeable in his appearance. Now suppose this boy, being a child, would fall into a pit of night-soil while playing. Thereupon the mother and relatives of this boy would see him fall into the impure pit. Upon seeing this they would deeply sigh, lament and would cry out. They could not, however, take the boy out by entering into the pit. After that the boy's father would come to that place, and would see his only son fallen in the pit of night-soil. Upon seeing that sight, he being affected by the intention to pull out his only son, would hurry to enter the pit with full speed without any feeling of disgust, and would take out his only son. O Sāgamarati, this example was made in order to make known a special meaning. Which relation should be known [between illustrations and illustrated meaning]? O Sāgamarati, 'a pit of night-soil' is a name for the Phenomenal Life. 'An only son' is a name for the living beings, because Bodhisattvas have a notion of the only son towards all living beings. 'Mother and relatives' is a name for those people who belong to the Vehicles of śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha, since they, having seen the living beings fallen into the world of transmigration, are distressed and lament, but have no capacity to rescue [the living beings]. 'The distinguished person or the householder' is a name for the Bodhisattva who is pure, unpolluted, of unpolluted mind, has attained the direct perception of the immutable Absolute (*asaṃskṛta dharma*), but still, in order to bring living beings to the maturity, connects himself to the Phenomenal World by his own will. O Sāgamarati, such is the Great Compassion of the Bodhisattva that, being perfectly free from all bondages, he again assumes the origination into Existence. Being possessed of the skill of means and the Transcendental Intellect, he is never affected by impurities; and, in order to extirpate all the bondage of Defilements from the living beings, he preaches the Doctrine."

APPENDIX IV

Samdhinirmocanasûtra I:2, I:5 [Lamotte]

2. Pourquoi le conditionné n'est-il ni conditionné, ni inconditionné? Pourquoi l'inconditionné n'est-il ni inconditionné, ni conditionné?

R. Le mot "conditionné" est un terme métaphorique inventé par le Maître. Ce terme métaphorique est imaginaire; c'est une expression de l'expérience vulgaire. Cette expression – expression de l'expérience vulgaire où les imaginations foisonnent – ne répond à rien d'absolu. Donc il n'y a pas de conditionné. Le mot "inconditionné", lui aussi, fait partie de l'expérience vulgaire. Et s'il s'agissait de quelque expression autre que "conditionné" et "inconditionné", il en irait exactement de même. – Mais, dira-t-on, une expression ne va pas sans un objet désigné. Quel est donc ici l'objet? – C'est la [réalité] ineffable sur laquelle les Saints, par le saint savoir et la sainte vue, sont parfaitement éclairés; mais pour éclairer les autres sur l'ineffable Nature des choses, ils ont forgé l'appellation "conditionné".

5. De même, il y a des êtres puérils, des profanes qui n'ont pas obtenu la sainte sagesse supramondaine et ne reconnaissent pas l'ineffable Nature des choses. En présence des conditionnés et inconditionnés, ils pensent que les conditionnés et inconditionnés qui leur apparaissent existent réellement. Se basant sur ce qu'ils voient et entendent, ils croient fermement à tout cela, et s'expriment vulgairement en disant: "Ceci est réel; le reste est faux". Plus tard, ils devront corriger leurs affirmations.

Mais il y a des êtres avertis, des "Voyants de la Vérité", qui ont obtenu la sainte sagesse supramondaine et reconnaissent l'ineffable Nature des choses. En présence des conditionnés et inconditionnés, ils pensent que les conditionnés et inconditionnés qui leur apparaissent n'existent pas, que ce sont là des notions fabriquées intellectuellement, des produits idéaux, des sortes de magie, des troubles mentaux, auxquels on applique le nom et les termes de "conditionné" et "inconditionné". Sans se baser sur ce qu'ils voient et entendent, ils ne croient pas sérieusement à tout cela; ils évitent de s'exprimer vulgairement en disant: "Ceci est réel, le reste est faux". Toutefois, pour désigner aux autres ces objets, ils recourent à l'expérience vulgaire. Plus tard, ils ne devront pas corriger leur manière de voir. Ainsi donc, les Saints, parfaitement éclairés sur cette réalité ineffable par le saint savoir et la sainte vue, ont forgé les appellations "conditionné" et "inconditionné", pour éclairer les autres sur l'ineffable Nature des choses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Ad Aṣṭadasasâhasrikâprajñâpâramitâ* = Conze 1984.
- Anguttara – Aṅguttaranikâya* I–V. The Pali Text Society editions and translations. ASK *Aśokâvadâna*. Tr. by John Strong (Strong 1983 [see literature], pp. 173–294). ASK, *Przyluski A-yu-wang-tchouan (Aśokâvadâna)*. Tr. par Jean Przyluski. – J. Przyluski: La légende de l'empereur Açoka, pp. 225–427. Paris: Paul Geuthner 1923.
- Buddhavaṃsa – Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyâpiṭaka*. New ed. by N.A. Jayawickrama. London: The Pali Text Society & Routledge and Kegan Paul 1974.
- Coedès 1956* G(eorge) Coedès: *Dhammakâya*. – Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. 20, pp. 248–286.
- Conze 1984* (1975) – Edward Conze (tr. & ed.): The large Sûtra on Perfect wisdom. Berkeley & Los Angeles & London: University of California Press.
- Da – Dasasâhasrikâprajñâpâramitâ* = Conze 1984.
- Dhammasaṅgaṇī* – Edition siamoise tr. par André Bareau. Thèse complémentaire. Paris: Centre de Documentation Universitaire, 1951.
- Dîgha – Dîghanikâya* I–III. The Pali Text Society editions and translations.
- Hīdayâ – Prajñâpâramitâhīdayâsûtra*. Ed. & tr. by E. Conze. – Buddhist wisdom books, pp. 77–107. London: George Allen & Unwin 1958.
- Kosa – Abhidharmakośa*. L'abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu. Traduction et annotations par Louis de la Vallée Poussin. Nouvelle édition par Etienne Lamotte. Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, vol. XVI, 6 tomes. Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1980 (1923–1931).
- LNKV – The Laṅkavatasûtra*. Tr. by Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki. London: George Routledge and Sons 1932.
- Lotus – Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* or the Lotus of the True Law. Tr. by Hendrik Kern. The Sacred Books of the East, vol. XXI. Delhi & Varanasi & Patna 1968 (1884).
- Lotus, Conze* – Partial translation of the 3rd chapter in, Buddhist Scriptures (selected and tr. by Edward Conze), pp. 197–211. Harmondsworth: Penguin 1979 (1959).
- Majj – Majjhimanikâya* I–III. The Pali Text Society editions and translations.
- MASAMG – Mahâyânasamgraha*. La somme du grand véhicule d'Asaṅga, par Étienne Lamotte (ed. & tr.). Tome I: versions Tibétaine et Chinoise, tome II: traduction et commentaire. Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, vol. 8. Louvain-la-Neuve 1973.
- MHV – Mahāvastu* I–III. Publié par É(mile) Senart. Paris: Société Asiatique 1882–1897.
- MHV – Mahāvastu* I–II. Tr. by J.J. Jones. Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vols. XVI & XVIII. London: The Pali Text Society & Luzac & Company 1949–1952.
- MMK – Mûlamadhyamakakârikâs (Mâdhyamikasûtras)* de Nâgârjuna avec la *Prasannapadâ* de Candrakîrti. Publié par Louis de la Vallée Poussin. Bibliotheca Buddhica IV. St.–Petersbourg 1903.
- MMK – Mûlamadhyamakakârikâ* of Nâgârjuna. Tr. by Frederick J. Streng (Streng 1967 [see literature], pp. 183–220).

- P* – *Pañcaviṃsatisâhasrikâprajñâpâramitâsûtra* = Conze 1984.
- Ratnagotra* – *Ratnagotravibhâgauttarantra*. Tr. by Jikido Takasaki (Takasaki 1966 [see literature], pp. 141–390).
- Samyutta* – *Samyuttanikâya* I–IV. The Pali Text Society editions and translations.
- SMD* – *Samâdhinirmocanasûtra*. L'explication des mystères. Texte tibétain édité et traduit par Étienne Lamotte. Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, Bibliothèque de l'Université & Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve. 1935.
- Suttanipâta*. New edition by D. Andersen & H. Smith. London: The Pali Text Society & Routledge and Kegan Paul 1984 (1913).
- The group of discourses (Suttanipâta)* I. Tr. by K.R. Norman. London: The Pali Text Society & Routledge and Kegan Paul 1984.
- Suttanipâta*. Buddha's teachings being the *Sutta-Nipâta* or Discourse-Collection. Ed. & tr. by Lord Chalmers. Harvard Oriental Series 37. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press 1932.
- TRSVB* – *Trisvabhâvakârikâ of Vasubandhu*. Ed. & Tr. by Fernando Tola & Carmen Dragonetti (Tola & Dragonetti 1983 [see literature], pp. 248–257).
- Udâna* – Ed. by P. Steinthal. London: The Pali Text Society & Routledge and Kegan Paul 1982 (1885).
- Vin* – *Vinayapitakam* I–II. Ed. by Herman Oldenberg. London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate 1879–1880.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Bṛhadâraṇyaka Upaniṣad* – The principal Upaniṣads. Ed. with an introduction, text, translation and notes by S. Radhakrishnan, pp. 147–333. New York: Harper and Brothers 1953.
- BHC* – *Buddhacarita*, or acts of the Buddha, cantos I–XIV. Ed. & tr. by E.H. Johnston. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation 1972 (1936). Cantos XV–XXVIII tr. E.H. Johnston in, *Acta Orientalia* XV (1937), pp. 26–62, 85–111, 231–292.
- Dîpavaṃsa* – The Chronicle of the island of Ceylon or the *Dîpavaṃsa*. Ed. with an introduction by B. C. Law. The Ceylon historical Journal Vol. VII, Nos. 1–4. Maharagama, Ceylon 1959.
- Jâtaka* – The *Jâtaka* together with its commentary, vol. I (*Nidânakathâ*). Ed. by V. Fausbøll. London: The Pali Text Society 1962, (1877).
- LV* – *Lalitavistara*. Le Lalitavistara, développement des jeux contenant l'histoire du Bouddha Çakya-Mouni depuis sa naissance jusqu'à sa prédication. Ed. & tr. par P.É. Foucaux. Annales du Musée Guimet, tome sixième (1884) & tome dix-neuvième (1892). Paris: Ernst Leroux. (References to the transl. vol.)
- Mahâvaṃsa* – The *Mahâvaṃsa* or the Great chronicle of Ceylon. Tr. by Wilhelm Geiger. Colombo: The Ceylon Government Information Department 1950 (1912).
- MPPS* – *Mahâprajñâpâramitâśâstra*. Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de *Nâgârjuna*, tomes I–IV. Tr. par Étienne Lamotte. Université de Louvain, Institut orientaliste, Bibliothèque du Muséon, vol. 18 (tomes I–II; 1944–1949) & Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain 2 (tome III; 1970) & 12 (tome IV; 1976).
- Ṛgveda* – Die *Ṛgveda* aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsch übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen von K. F. Geldner, vols. I–IV. Harvard Oriental Series 33–36. Cambridge, Mass. etc: Harvard University Press, 1951–1957.

- Rockhill 1884* – The life of the Buddha and the early history of his order derived from Tibetan works in the bKah-hGyur and bStan-hGyur followed by notices on the early history of Tibet and Khoten. Tr. by W.W. Rockhill. London: trubner & Co. 1884.
- Sukhāvatiṣṭyūha* – The smaller and larger *Sukhāvatiṣṭyūha*. Tr. by F. Max Müller. Sacred Books of the East, vol. XLIX, part II. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1894.
- VKN* – *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. L'enseignement de *Vimalakīrti*. Tr. et annoté par Étienne Lamotte. Université de Louvain, Institut orientaliste. Bibliothèque du Muséon 51. Louvain 1962.

LITERATURE

- Alanen, Lilli & Knuuttila, Simo 1988*
The foundations of modality and conceivability in Descartes and his predecessors. – Modern modalities (ed. by S. Knuuttila), pp. 1–69. Synthese Historical Library vol. 33. Dordrecht & Boston & London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Allardt, Erik 1974*
Uskontososiologia (Sociology of religion). – Uskonto ja yhteisö (ed. by J. Pentikäinen), pp. 11–24. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.
- Almond, Philip (C.) 1982*
Mystical experience and religious doctrine. Religion and Reason 26. Berlin & New York & Amsterdam: Mouton.
- Almond, Philip C. 1990*
Mysticism and its contexts. – Forman 1990a, pp. 211–219.
- Bareau, André 1951*
L'absolu en philosophie bouddhique. Thèse principale. Paris: Centre de Documentation Universitaire.
- Bareau, André 1953*
La date du nirvāṇa. – Journal asiatique CCXLI, pp. 27–62.
- Bareau, André 1955a*
Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule. PEFEO, tome XXXVIII. Saïgon.
- Bareau, André 1955b*
Les premiers conciles bouddhiques. Annales du musée Guimet, bibliothèque d'études, tome soixantième. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Bareau, André 1962*
La légende de la jeunesse du Buddha dans les Vinayapiṭaka anciens. – Oriens Extremus 9, Heft 1, pp. 6–33.
- Bareau, André 1963*
Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapīṭaka et les Vinayapīṭaka anciens I. Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-orient, vol. LIII.
- Bareau, André 1970–71*
Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha II. Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-orient, vol. LXXVII, 2 tomes.
- Bareau, André 1974a*
La jeunesse du Buddha dans les Sūtrapīṭaka et les Vinayapīṭaka anciens. Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-orient, vol. LXI, pp. 199–274.
- Bareau, André 1974b*
Le parinirvāṇa du Buddha et la naissance de la religion bouddhique. – Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-orient, vol. LIX, pp. 275–299.

- Bareau, André 1979*
La composition et les étapes de la formation progressive du Mahâparinirvânasûtra ancien. – Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-orient, vol. LXVI, pp. 45–103.
- Bareau, André 1987*
Hinayana Buddhism. – The Encyclopedia of Religion, vol. II, pp. 444–457 (s.v. Buddhism, Schools of). London & New York: Mcmillan.
- Basham, A.L. 1971 (1954)*
The wonder that was India. Fontana, Collins.
- Batson, C. Daniel & Ventis, W. Larry 1982*
The religious experience. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bechert, Heinz 1982*
The date of the Buddha reconsidered. – Indologica Taurinensia vol. X, pp. 29–36.
- Bechert, Heinz 1986*
Die Lebenszeit des Buddha – das älteste feststehende Datum der indischen Geschichte? Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Jahrgang 1986, Nr. 4. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Bechert, Heinz 1988*
Die Datierung des Buddha als Problem der Weltgeschichte. – Saeculum vol. 39, pp. 24–34.
- Bechert, Heinz & von Simson, Georg 1979*
Einführung in die Indologie. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Berkeley, Georg 1949a (1710)*
A treatise concerning the principles of human knowledge. – The works of George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne (ed. by A. Luce & T. Jessop), vol. II, pp. 19–113. London etc: Thomas Nelson and Sons.
- Berkeley, Georg 1949b (1713)*
Three dialogues between Hylas and Philonus. – The works II, pp. 163–263.
- Bernhardt, Stephen 1990*
Are pure consciousness events unmediated? – Forman 1990a, pp. 220–236.
- Betti, Emilio 1967 (1955)*
Allgemeine Auslegungslehre als Methodik der Geisteswissenschaften. Übertragung. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- van Bijlert, Vittorio Albert 1987*
The Buddha as a means of valid cognition. Diss. s.a & s.l.
- Bond, George D. 1984*
The development and elaboration of the *Arahant* ideal in the Theravâda Buddhist tradition. – Journal of the American Academy of Religion, vol. LII, pp. 227–242.
- Bond, George D. 1988*
The Buddhist revival in Sri Lanka.. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Bouyer, Louis 1981 (1980)*
Mysticism. An essay on the history of the word. – Understanding mysticism (ed. by R. Woods), pp. 42–55. London: The Athlone Press.
- Bowman, Carroll R. 1974*
William Ernest Hocking on our knowledge of God and other minds. – Religious Studies, vol. 10, pp. 45–66.
- Braarvig, Jens 1987*
Mystikk og mysterier. Tidlige betydningnyanser. – Chaos No. 7 1987, pp. 21–43.

- Bråkenhielm, Carl Reinhold 1985*
Problems of religious experience. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Doctrinae Christianae Upsaliensia, 25. Uppsala.
- Brown, Laurence 1988*
The psychology of religion. London: SPCK.
- Bunnag, Jane 1973*
Buddhist monk, Buddhist layman. A study of urban monastic organization in central Thailand. Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 6. Cambridge.
- Carnap, Rudolf 1947*
Meaning and necessity. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Carter, John Ross 1978*
Dhamma. Western academic and Sinhalese Buddhist interpretations. A study of a religious concept. Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press.
- Chakravarti, Uma 1987*
The social dimensions of early Buddhism. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Chang, Garma C. C. 1971*
The Buddhist teaching of totality. The philosophy of Hwa Yen Buddhism. University Park & London: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Chapple, Christopher 1990*
The unseen seer and the field: Consciousness in Sāṅkhya and Yoga. – Forman 1990a, pp. 53–70.
- Chatalian, George 1983*
Early Indian Buddhism and the nature of philosophy: A philosophical investigation. – Journal of Indian Philosophy, vol. 11, pp. 167–222.
- Collins, Steven 1982*
Selfless persons. Imagery and thought in Theravāda Buddhism. Cambridge etc: Cambridge University Press.
- Collins, Steven 1988*
Monasticism, utopias and comparative social theory. – Religion, vol. XVIII, pp. 101–135.
- Comstock, W. Richard 1984*
Toward open definitions of religion. – Journal of the American Academy of Religion, vol. LII, pp. 499–517.
- Conze, Edward 1975 (1951)*
Buddhism: its essence and development. New York etc: Harper Torchbooks.
- Conze, Edward 1972 (1956)*
Buddhist meditation. London: Unwin Books.
- Conze, Edward 1960*
The Prajñāpāramitā literature. Indo–Iranian monographs VI. 'S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co.
- Conze, Edward 1967*
Materials for a dictionary of the Prajñāpāramitā literature. Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation.
- Conze, Edward 1979*
The memories of a modern Gnostic I–II. Privately printed by Frederick Law & Co. Sherborne: The Samizdat Publishing Company.
- Deikman, Arthur J. 1969 (1966)*
Deautomatization and the mystic experience. – Tart 1969a, pp. 23–43.
- Démieville, P(aul) 1927*
Sur la mémoire des existences antérieures. – Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-orient, tome XXVII, pp. 283–298.

- Descartes, René 1963 (1637)*
Discours de la méthode. – Oeuvres philosophiques de Descartes (éd. par F. Alquié), tome I, pp. 567–650. Paris: Editions Garnier Freres.
- Descartes, René 1967 (1641)*
Méditations touchant la première philosophie. – Oeuvres, tome II, pp. 404–505.
- Douglas, Mary 1984 (1966)*
Purity and danger. London etc: Ark Paperbacks.
- Douglas, Mary 1970*
Natural symbols. London: Barrie & Rockliff: The Cresset Press.
- Dupré, Louis 1987*
Mysticism. – The encyclopedia of religion, vol. 10, pp. 245–261. New York & London: Macmillan.
- Durkheim, Émile 1893*
De la division du travail social. Paris: Félix Alcan.
- Edgerton, Franklin 1953*
Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit dictionary. New Haven: Yale University Park & London: Geoffrey Cumberlege & Oxford University Press.
- Eggermont, P.H.L. 1965–79*
New notes on Aśoka and his successors. – Persica II (1965–66) pp. 27–70, IV (1969) pp. 77–120, V (1970–71) pp. 69–102, VIII (1979) pp. 55–99.
- Eliade, Mircea 1974a (1949)*
The myth of the eternal return or, cosmos and history. Tr. by W. R. Trask. Bollingen Series XLVI. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Eliade, Mircea 1974b (1951)*
Shamanism. Bollingen Series LXXVI. Princeton: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Eliade, Mircea 1965 (1957)*
Le sacré et le profane. Paris: Gallimard.
- Emmerick, Ronald Eric 1987*
Buddhism in Central Asia. – The encyclopedia of religion, vol. II, pp. 400–404 (s.v. Buddhism). London & New York: Macmillan.
- Erdosy, George 1985*
The origin of cities in the Ganges valley. – Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, vol. XXVIII/part 1, pp. 81–109.
- Evans, Donald 1989*
Can philosophers limit what mystics can do? A critique of Steven Katz. – Religious Studies, vol. 25, pp. 53–60.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (ed.) 1967*
The Zande trickster. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- Fischer, Roland 1971*
A cartography of the ecstatic and meditative states. – Science, vol. 174, no. 4012, pp. 897–904.
- Forman, Robert K.C. (ed.) 1990a*
The problem of pure consciousness. Mysticism and philosophy. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Forman, Robert K. C. 1990b*
Introduction: Mysticism, constructivism, and forgetting. – Forman 1990a, pp. 3–49.
- Forman, Robert K.C. 1990c*
Eckhart, *gezückten*, and the ground of the soul. – Forman 1990a, pp. 98–120.

- Foucher, Alfred* 1949
La vie du Bouddha. Paris: Payot.
- Franklin, R.L.* 1990
Experience and interpretation in mysticism. – Forman 1990a, pp. 288–304.
- Frauwallner, Erich* 1951
On the date of the Buddhist master of the Law Vasubandhu. Serie Orientale Roma, vol. III. Roma.
- Frauwallner, Erich* 1952
Die buddhistischen Konzile. – Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. 102, pp. 240–261.
- Frauwallner, Erich* 1953
Geschichte der indischen Philosophie I. Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag.
- Frege, Gottlob* 1966 (1892)
Über Sinn und Bedeutung. – Funktion, Begriff, Bedeutung (hrsg. von G. Patzig). 2 Aufl. Göttingen:
- Fromm, Erich* 1942
The fear of freedom. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.
- Gadamer, Hans-Georg* 1988 (1960)
Truth and Method. London: Sheed and Ward.
- Geach, Peter s.a.* (1957)
Mental acts. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Geiger, Wilhelm* 1968 (1943)
Pāli literature and language. Tr. by B. Ghosh. Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation.
- Getty, Alice* 1962 (1914)
The gods of Northern Buddhism. Rutland & Vermont & Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company.
- von Glasenapp, Helmuth* 1938
Zur Geschichte der buddhistischen Dharma-Theorie. – Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 92 Bd, pp. 383–420.
- Gombrich, Richard* 1988
Theravāda Buddhism. A social history from ancient Benares to modern Colombo. London & New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Gómez, Luis* 1987a
Exegesis and hermeneutics. – The encyclopedia of religion, vol. II, pp. 529–540 (s.v. Buddhist literature). London & New York: Macmillan.
- Gómez, Luis* 1987b
Buddhist views of language. – The encyclopedia of religion, vol. VIII, pp. 446–451 (s.v. Language). London & New York: Macmillan.
- Gómez, Luis* 1987c
Buddhism in India. – The encyclopedia of religion, vol. II, pp. 351–385 (s.v. Buddhism). London & New York: Macmillan.
- Gonda, Jan* 1978 (1960)
Die Religionen Indiens I. Die Religionen der Menschheit 11. Stuttgart etc: Verlag W. Kohlhammer.
- Goodman, Steven* 1974
Situational patterning: Pratīyasamutpāda. – Crystal Mirror, vol. III, pp. 93–101. Emeryville.
- Gothóni, René* 1982
Modes of life of Theravāda monks. A case study of Buddhist monasticism in Sri Lanka. Studia Orientalia 52. Helsinki.
- Gothóni, René* 1987
Monastic life on mount Athos: A reflection of cosmic order. – Mythology

- and cosmic order (ed. by R. Gothóni & J. Pentikäinen), pp. 73–85. *Studia Fennica* 32. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Gothóni, René & Mahāpañña (trs. & eds.) 1987*
Buddhalaista viisautta (Buddhist wisdom). Helsinki: Gaudeamus.
- Govinda, lama anagârîka 1975*
Foundations of Tibetan mysticism. London: Rider.
- Gregory, Peter 1983*
Chinese Buddhist hermeneutics: The case of Hua-yen. – *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. LI, pp. 231–249.
- Griffiths, Paul (J.) 1986*
On being mindless: Buddhist meditation and the mind-body problem. La Salle, Ill: Open Court.
- Griffiths, Paul J. 1990*
Pure consciousness and Indian Buddhism. – *Forman* 1990a, pp. 71–97.
- Hamlin, Edward 1983*
Discourse in the Lañkāvatārasūtra. – *Journal of Indian Philosophy* vol. 11, pp. 267–313.
- Heidegger, Martin 1941 (1927)*
Sein und Zeit. Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Heidegger, Martin 1987 (1927)*
Being and Time. Tr. by John Macquarrie & Edward Robinson. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Heidegger, Martin 1985 (1959)*
Unterwegs zur Sprache. Gesamtausgabe, Bd 12. Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klosterman.
- Helader, Eila 1986*
To change and to preserve. A study of the religiosity of evangelical university students and graduates in Trinidad. *Annals of the Finnish society for missiology and ecumenics*, 50. Helsinki.
- Hintikka, Jaakko 1973*
Carnap's semantics in retrospect. – *Synthese*, vol. XXV, pp. 372–397.
- Hirakawa, Akira 1987*
Survey of texts. – *The encyclopedia of religion*, vol. II, pp. 509–529 (s.v. Buddhist literature). London & New York: Macmillan.
- Hirakawa, Akira 1990*
A history of Indian Buddhism. Tr. and ed. by Paul Groner. *Asian Studies at Hawaii*, no. 36. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Hirsch, E.D. Jr. 1967*
Validity in interpretation. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- Hofinger, M(arcel) 1946*
Etude sur le concile de Vaisâlf. *Bibliothèque du Muséon* 20. Louvain: Université de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste.
- Holm, Nils G. 1987*
Scandinavian psychology of religion. *Religionsvetenskapliga skrifter* nr 15. Åbo: Åbo Akademi.
- Hultkrantz, Åke 1970*
Phenomenology of religion: aims and methods. – *Temenos*, vol. VI, pp. 68–88.
- Hultkrantz, Åke 1973*
Metodvägar inom den jämförande religionsforskningen. Stockholm: Esselte Studium ab.
- Hume, David 1955 (1748)*
An enquiry concerning human understanding. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- James, William* 1971 (1901–1902)
The varieties of religious experience. London & Glasgow: Collins, The Fontana Library.
- Jankélévitch, Vladimir* 1977
La mort. France: Flammarion.
- Janov Arthur* 1970
The primal scream. Primal therapy: The cure for neurosis. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.
- Jantzen, Grace M.* 1989
Mysticism and experience. – Religious Studies vol. 25, pp. 295–315.
- Jarrell, Howard R.* 1985
International meditation bibliography 1950–1982. ATLA Bibliography Series No. 12. Metuchen, N.J. & London: The American Theological Library Association & The Scarecrow Press.
- Jayatilke, K. N.* 1963
Early Buddhist theory of knowledge. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Johansson, Rune E. A.* 1969
The psychology of Nirvāṇa. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Johansson, Rune E. A.* 1985 (1979)
The dynamic psychology of early Buddhism. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Monograph Series No 37. London & Malmö.
- Jonas, Hans* 1934–1954
Gnosis und spätantiker Geist I–II. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Neue Folge 33 und 45. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1934, 1954.
- de Jong, J(an) W(illem)* 1972a (1948)
The problem of the absolute in the Mādhyamika school. – Journal of Indian Philosophy, vol. 2, pp. 1–6.
- de Jong, J(an) W(illem)* 1979 (1956)
The study of Buddhism. Problems and perspectives. – de Jong: Buddhist Studies (ed. by G. Schopen), pp. 15–28. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press.
- de Jong, J(an) W(illem)* 1972b
Emptiness. – Journal of Indian Philosophy, vol. 2, pp. 7–15.
- de Jong, J(an) W(illem)* 1986
John Strong, The legend of king Aśoka (a review). – Indo-Iranian Journal, vol. 29, pp. 70–73.
- de Jong, J(an) W(illem)* 1989
Richard Gombrich, Theravāda Buddhism (a review). – Indo-Iranian Journal, vol. 32, pp. 239–242.
- Karttunen, Klaus* 1989
India in early Greek literature. Studia Orientalia 65. Helsinki.
- Katz, Steven* 1978
Language, epistemology and mysticism. – Mysticism and philosophical analysis (ed. by S. Katz), pp. 22–74. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Katz, Steven* 1983
The 'conservative' character of mysticism. – Mysticism and religious traditions (ed. by S. Katz), pp. 3–60. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Keesing, Robert M.* 1974
Theories of culture. – Annual Review of Anthropology, vol. 3, pp. 73–97.
- Kerr, Fergus* 1986
Theology after Wittgenstein. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- King, Winston L.* 1980
Theravāda meditation: The Buddhist transformation of Yoga. University

- Park & London: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Kitagawa, Joseph M. 1987*
Religious communities: Religion, community, and society. – The encyclopedia of religion, vol. XII, pp. 302–308. London & New York: Macmillan.
- Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim 1990*
Der Buddha. Stuttgart & Berlin & Köln: Verlag W. Kohlhammer.
- Kloppenborg, Ria 1974*
The paccekabuddha. A Buddhist ascetic. A study of the concept of the paccekabuddha in Pāli canonical and commentarial literature. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Knuutila, Simo 1986*
Merkityksen historiallisesta ja rationaalisesta rekonstruktioista (On the historical and rational reconstruction of meaning). – Poliittinen historia ja yhteiskuntatieteet (toim. J. Mylly), pp. 9–19. Turun yliopisto (The University of Turku), poliittinen historia, julkaisuja C:23.
- Kotoh, Tetsuaki 1987*
Language and silence: self-inquiry in Heidegger and Zen. – Heidegger and Asian thought (ed. by G. Parkes), pp. 201–211. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Lamotte, Étienne 1954*
Sur la formation du Mahāyāna. – Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller (hrsg. von J. Schubert & U. Schneider). Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Lamotte, Étienne 1958*
Histoire du bouddhisme indien. Bibliothèque du Muséon 43. Louvain: Université de Louvain Institut Orientaliste.
- Lamotte, Étienne 1988*
The assesment of textual interpretation in Buddhism. – Lopez 1988, pp. 11–27.
- Lancaster, Lewis 1987*
Canonization. – The encyclopedia of religion vol. II, pp. 504–509 (s.v. Buddhist literature). London & New York: Macmillan.
- Lanczkowski, Günter 1978*
Einführung in die Religionsphänomenologie. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Leuba, James H. 1925*
The psychology of religious mysticism. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.
- Lindtner, Chr(istian) 1982*
Nagarjuniana. Studies in the writings and philosophy of Nāgārjuna. Indiske Studier vol. 4. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
- Ling, T(revor) O. 1962*
Buddhism and the mythology of evil. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Ling, Trevor (O.) 1965*
Buddhist mysticism. – Religious Studies, vol. I (1965), pp. 163–175.
- Ling, Trevor O. 1974 (1973)*
The Buddha. Buddhist civilization in India and Ceylon. London: Temple and Smith.
- Lopez Jr, Donald S. 1987*
Buddhist hermeneutics: A conference report. – Philosophy East and West, vol. 37, No 1, pp. 71–83.
- Lopez Jr, Donald S. 1988 (ed.)*
Buddhist hermeneutics. Studies in East Asian Buddhism 6. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

- Löwith, Karl 1967*
Gott, Mensch und Welt in der Metaphysik von Descartes bis zu Nietzsche.
Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Loy, David 1986*
The Mahāyāna deconstruction of time. – Philosophy East and West, vol. 36, pp. 13–23.
- Loy, David 1988*
Nonduality. A study in comparative philosophy. New Haven & London:
Yale University Press.
- McDermott, James P. 1984*
Scripture as the word of the Buddha. – Numen XXXI, pp. 22–39.
- MacIntyre, Alasdair 1982 (1981)*
After Virtue. A study in moral theory. London: Duckworth.
- Mahony, William K. 1987*
Soul: Indian concepts. – The encyclopedia of religion, vol. XIII, pp. 438–
443. London & New York: Macmillan.
- Maraldo, John 1986*
Hermeneutics and historicity in the study of Buddhism. – The Eastern Bud-
dhist, vol. XIX, pp. 17–43.
- Marcoulesco, Ileana 1987*
Mystical union. – The encyclopedia of religion, vol. X, pp. 239–245.
- Masefield, Peter 1986*
Divine revelation in Pāli Buddhism. Colombo & London: The Sri Lanka
Institute of Traditional Studies & George Allen and Unwin.
- Masson-Oursel, M. P. 1913*
Les trois corps du Buddha. – Journal Asiatique, Mai-Juin 1913.
- Matt, Daniel C. 1990*
Ayin: The concept of nothingness in Jewish mysticism. – Forman 1990a,
pp. 121–159.
- May, Jacques 1971*
La philosophie bouddhique idéaliste. – Asiatische Studien / Etudes Asia-
tiques, vol. XXV, pp. 265–323.
- Mayrhofer, M. 1963*
Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, II. Heidelberg:
Carl Winter – Universitätsverlag.
- Mead, Georg H(erbert) 1967 (1934)*
Mind, self, and society. Ed. with an introduction by C. W. Morris. Chica-
go & London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice 1945*
Phénoménologie de la perception. (Paris:) Gallimard.
- Mitchell, Donald W. 1985*
Rudolf Otto and the mystical vision in Buddhism and Christianity. – The
cross and the lotus (ed. by G. W. Houston). Delhi etc: Motilal Banarsi-
dass.
- Morris, Brian 1987*
Anthropological studies of religion. Cambridge etc: Cambridge Universi-
ty Press.
- Murti, T.R.V 1980 (1955)*
The central philosophy of Buddhism. A study of the Mādhyamika system.
London & Boston & Sydney: Mandal Books, Unwin Papebacks.
- Nakamura, Hajime 1987*
Bodhisattva path. – The encyclopedia of religion, vol. II, pp. 265–269. Lon-
don & New York: Macmillan.

- Nattier, Janice & Prebish Charles* 1977
Mahāsārngghika origins: The beginnings of Buddhist sectarianism. – History of Religions, vol. 16, pp. 237–272.
- Oldenberg, Herman* 1903 (1881)
Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde. Stuttgart & Berlin: J.G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger.
- Ornstein, Robert E.* 1978 (1972)
The psychology of consciousness. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Otto, Rudolf* 1929
West-östliche Mystik. Gotha: Leopold Klotz Verlag.
- Padoux, André* 1963
Recherches sur la symbolique et l'énergie de la parole dans certaines textes tantriques. Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, fasc. 21. Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard.
- Pahnke, Walter N. & Richards, William A.* 1969 (1966)
Implications of LSD and experimental mysticism. – Tart (ed.) 1969a, pp. 399–428.
- Parkes, Graham* 1990 (1987)
Afterwords-Language. – Heidegger and Asian thought (ed. by G. Parkes), pp. 213–216. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Pentikäinen, Juha* 1978
Oral repertoire and world view. FF Communications 219. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
- Pentikäinen, Juha* 1985
The human life cycle and annual rhythm of nature in Finnish folklore. – Temenos, vol. 21 (1985), pp. 127–143.
- Pentikäinen, Juha* 1989 (1987)
Kalevala mythology. Tr. and ed. by R. Poom. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Pérez-Remón, Joaquín* 1980
Self and non-self in early Buddhism. The Hague etc: Mouton.
- Perovich Jr., Anthony N.* 1990
Does the philosophy of mysticism rest on a mistake? – Forman 1990a, 237–253.
- Phillips, D.Z.* 1976
Religion without explanation. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Prebish, Charles* 1987
Buddhist councils. – The encyclopedia of religion, vol. IV, pp. 119–124 (s.v. councils). London & New York: Macmillan.
- Prigge, Norman & Kessler, Gary E.* 1990
Is mystical experience everywhere the same? – Forman 1990a, pp. 269–287.
- Pye, Michael* 1978
Skilful means. A concept in Mahāyāna Buddhism. London: Duckworth.
- Pyysiäinen, Ilkka* 1986
Kärsimys buddhalaisuudessa. (Suffering in Buddhism.) – Teologinen aikakauskirja 2/1986, pp. 88–91.
- Pyysiäinen, Ilkka* 1988
Perimmäiset kuvat. Buddhan elämäkerran merkitys theravadan kaanonissa. (The ultimate images. The meaning of the Buddha's biography in the Theravada canon.) With a summary in English. Missiologian ja ekuumeniikan seuran julkaisuja 53. Helsinki.

- Pyysiäinen, Ilkka 1989*
Kummajainen kaukaa eli buddhalainen hermeneutiikka (A curiosity from afar, or Buddhist hermeneutics). – Teologinen aikakauskirja 4/1989, pp. 329–332.
- Pyysiäinen, Ilkka 1991*
Palo ja pelastus. Narratiivista hermeneutiikkaa budhalaisittain (Fire and salvation. Narrative hermeneutics à la Buddhism). – Teologinen aikakauskirja 1/1991.
- Quine, W(illard) V(an Orman) 1969 (1968)*
Ontological relativity. – W. V. Quine: Ontological relativity and other essays, pp. 26–68. New York & London: Columbia University Press.
- Raju, T.P. 1954*
The principle of four-cornered negation in Indian philosophy. – The Review of Metaphysics, vol. VII, pp. 694–713.
- Ray, Reginald 1985*
Buddhism: Sacred text written and realized. – The holy book in comparative perspective (eds. F. Denny & R. Taylor), pp. 148–180. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Reynolds, Frank E. 1977*
The several bodies of Buddha: Reflections on a neglected aspect of Theravada tradition. – History of Religions, vol. 16, pp. 374–389.
- Reynolds, Frank E. 1985*
Multiple cosmogonies and ethics: The case of Theravāda Buddhism. – Cosmogony and ethical order (eds. R. W. Lovin & F. E. Reynolds), pp. 203–224. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Reynolds, Frank E. & Capps, Donald 1976*
Introduction. – The biographical process (ed. by F.E. Reynolds & D. Capps), pp. 1–33. The Hague & Paris: Mouton.
- Reynolds, Frank E. & Hallisey, Charles 1987*
Buddha. – The encyclopedia of religion, vol. II. London & New York: Mcmillan.
- Rhys Davids, T(homas) W(illiam) 1981 (1903)*
Buddhist India. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Rhys Davids, T. W. & Stede, William 1972 (1921–1925)*
The Pāli-English Dictionary. London: PTS & Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Rogers, Carl 1961*
On becoming a person. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Rorty, Richard 1984*
The historiography of philosophy: four genres. – Philosophy in history (ed. by R. Rorty & J.B. Schneewind & Q. Skinner), pp. 49–75. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosenberg, Otto 1924 (1919)*
Die Probleme der buddhistischen Philosophie. Aus dem Russischen übersetzt von Frau E. Rosenberg. Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus 7–8. Heidelberg.
- Roth, Gustav 1980*
Particular features of the language of the Arya-Mahā-Sāṃghika-Lokottaravādins and their importance for early Buddhist tradition. – Die Sprache der ältesten Buddhistischen Überlieferung (hrsg. von Heinz Bechert), pp. 78–135. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, Folge 3, No 117. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Rothberg, Donald 1990*
Contemporary epistemology and the study of mysticism. – Forman 1990a,

- pp. 163–210.
- Ruegg, David Seyfort 1969*
La théorie du Tathâgatagarbha et du gotra. Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-orient, tome LXX.
- Ruegg, David Seyfort 1981*
The literature of the Madhyamaka school of philosophy in India. A history of Indian literature, vol. VII, fasc. 1. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Ruegg, David Seyfort 1989*
Buddha-nature, mind and the problem of gradualism in a comparative perspective. University of London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Räsänen, Heikki 1987*
Kokemus raamatuntulkinnan avainkäsitteenä (Experience as a key concept in the interpretation of the Bible). – Teologinen aikakauskirja 5/1987, pp. 377–390.
- Räsänen, Heikki 1988*
Jäähyväiset ”Uuden testamentin teologialle” (Farewell to the ”New Testament theology”). – Teologinen aikakauskirja 6/1988, pp. 465–474.
- Salomäki, Jukka 1990*
Jumalan todellisuuden luonne D.Z. Phillipsin uskonnollista kieltä koskevissa tutkimuksissa (The nature of God's reality in D.Z. Phillips' investigations to religious language). – Teologinen aikakauskirja 5/1990, pp. 403–408.
- Sāṅkṛtyāyana, Rāhula 1934 (1933)*
Recherches bouddhiques. – Journal Asiatique, Oct.-Dec. 1934 (tome 225), pp. 195–230.
- Sargant, William 1957*
Battle for the mind. A physiology of conversion and brain-washing. Melbourne & London & Toronto: Heinemann.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul 1978 (1936)*
La transcendance de l'ego. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul 1943*
L'être et le néant. Paris: Gallimard. 14e édition.
- Schmithausen, L(ambert) 1981*
On some aspects of descriptions or theories of 'liberating insight' and 'enlightenment' in early Buddhism. – Studien zum Jainismus und Buddhismus (hrsg. von K. Bruhn & A. Wezler), pp. 199–250. Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 23. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag 1981.
- Schmithausen, Lambert 1987*
Ālayavijñāna. On the origin and the early development of a central concept of Yogācāra philosophy. Part I: text, part II: notes, bibliography and indices. Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series, IVa, IVb. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.
- Shannon, Claude E. 1963 (1949)*
The mathematical theory of communication. – C. E. Shannon & W. Weaver: The mathematical theory of communication, pp. 3–91. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press.
- Shaw, Marvin E. & Costanzo, Philip R. 1970*
Theories of social psychology. New York etc: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Simmel, Georg 1923 (1908)*
Soziologie. München und Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humboldt.
- Smart, Ninian 1965*
Interpretation and mystical experience. – Religious Studies, vol. I, pp. 75–87.

- Smart, Ninian 1972*
The concept of worship. London & Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press.
- Smart, Ninian 1973*
The science of religion & sociology of knowledge. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Smart, Ninian 1981*
Problems of the application of Western terminology to Theravāda Buddhism, with special reference to the relationship between the Buddha and the gods. – Buddhist and Western philosophy (ed. by N. Katz), pp. 444–449. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.
- Snellgrove, David L. 1987*
Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. London: Serindia Publications.
- Soskice, Janet Martin 1985*
Metaphor and religious language. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Southwold, Martin 1978*
Buddhism and the definition of religion. – Man, vol. XIII, pp. 362–379.
- Staal, Frits 1975*
Exploring mysticism. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Staal, Frits 1989*
Rules without meaning. Ritual, mantras and the human sciences. Toronto Studies in Religion 4. New York etc: Peter Lang.
- Stace, W. T. 1961*
Mysticism and philosophy. London: Macmillan.
- Stcherbatsky, Th(eodor) 1930–32*
Buddhist logic I–II. Bibliotheca Buddhica XXVI. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akadmii Nauk CCCP.
- Stoeber, Michael 1992*
Constructivist epistemologies of mysticism: A critique and a revision. – Religious Studies, vol. 28, pp. 107–116.
- Streng, Frederick J. 1967*
Emptiness. A study in religious meaning. Nashville & New York: Abingdon Press.
- Strong, John 1983*
The legend of king Aśoka. A study and translation of the Aśokāvadāna. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Sundén Hjalmar 1959*
Religionen och rollerna. Ett psykologiskt studium av fromheten. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag.
- Sundén Hjalmar 1966*
Koänübung und Nervensystem. – Kairos, VIII, Heft 3–4, pp. 193–196. Salzburg 1966.
- Sundén Hjalmar 1967*
Zen. Historik, analys och betydelse. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand.
- Sundén, Hjalmar 1977*
Religionspsykologi. Stockholm: Proprius Förlag.
- Sundén Hjalmar 1990*
Saint John of the Cross in the light of Satori. – Temenos, vol. 26, pp. 115–128. Helsinki 1990.
- Suzuki, Daisetz Teitaro 1930*
Studies in the Laṅkāvatārasūtra. London: George Routledge & Sons.
- Syrjänen, Seppo 1984*
In search of meaning and identity. Conversion to Christianity in Pakistani Muslim culture. Annals of the Finnish Society for Missiology and Ecumen-

- ics 45. Helsinki.
- Takasaki, Jikido 1966*
A study on the Ratnagotravibhāga (Uttaratantra), being a treatise on the Tathāgatagarbha theory of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Serie Orientale Roma XXXIII. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- Tart, Charles T. (ed.) 1969a*
Altered states of consciousness. A book of readings. New York etc: John Wiley & Sons.
- Tart, Charles T. 1969b*
Introduction to section 1. – Tart 1969a, pp. 1–8.
- Thomas, Edward J. 1952 (1927)*
The life of Buddha as legend and history. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Thurman, Robert 1978*
Buddhist hermeneutics. – Journal of the American Academy of Religion, vol. XLVI, pp. 19–39.
- Tola, Fernando & Dragonetti, Carmen 1983*
The Trisvabhāvakārikā of Vasubandhu. – Journal of Indian Philosophy, vol. 11, pp. 225–266.
- Torrey, E. Fuller 1976*
The primal therapy trip. Medicine or religion? – Psychology Today, December 1976, pp. 62–68.
- Trigg, Roger 1988*
The metaphysical self. – Religious Studies, vol. 24, pp. 277–289.
- Työriñoja, Reijo 1984*
Uskon kielioppi. Uskonnollisten väitteiden ja käsitteiden luonne Ludwig Wittgensteinin myöhäisfilosofian valossa. (The grammar of faith. The nature of religious statements and concepts in the light of Ludwig Wittgenstein's later philosophy.) With a summary in English. Suomalaisen teologisen kirjallisuusseuran julkaisuja 141. Helsinki.
- Underhill, Evelyn 1923 (1911)*
Mysticism. A study in the nature and development of man's spiritual consciousness. London: Methuen & Co.
- Utraiainen, Terhi 1989*
Nimettömän nimet. Vienankarjalaisen kuolemanrituaalin tarkastelua merkityksenannon prosessina. (The names of the nameless – The Karelian death ritual as a process of meaning.) Painamaton uskontotieteen pro gradu -tutkielma. Helsingin yliopiston uskontotieteen laitoksen kirjasto (Unpublished MA thesis. Housed at the library of the Department of Study of Religions at the University of Helsinki).
- la Vallée Poussin, Louis 1937*
Musīla et Nārada. Le chemin du nirvāṇa. – Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, V (1937), pp. 189–222.
- Vetter, Tilmann 1988*
The ideas and meditative practices of early Buddhism. Leiden etc: E.J. Brill.
- Videgård, Tomas 1984*
The success and failure of primal therapy. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Voget, Fred V. 1975*
A history of ethnology. New York etc: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Waardenburg, Jacques 1978*
Reflections on the study of religion. Religion and Reason 15. The Hague & Paris & New York: Mouton.

- Waardenburg, Jacques 1986*
Religionen und Religion. Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter. Sammlung Göschen 2228.
- Wach, Joachim 1946 (1944)*
Sociology of religion. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Wach, Joachim 1951*
Types of religious experience. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Wach Joachim 1958*
The comparative study of religions. Ed. with an introduction by J. M. Kitagawa. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Walsh, Roger N. 1979*
Meditation research: An introduction and review. – The Journal of Transpersonal Psychology, vol. 11, pp. 161–174.
- Watts, Alan W. 1975*
Psychotherapy East & West. New York: Vintage Books.
- Webb, Russell (ed.) 1975*
An analysis of the Pali Canon. With a bibliography. Kandy, Sri Lanka.
- Weber, Max 1958 (1920–1921)*
The religion of India. Tr. and ed. by H. H. Gerth & B. Martindale. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.
- Weber, Max 1966 (1922)*
The sociology of religion. Tr. by E. Fischhoff. London: Methuen & Co.
- Weller, Friedrich 1928*
Die Überlieferung des älteren buddhistischen Schrifttums. – Asia Major, vol. V, pp. 149–182.
- Whitehead, Alfred N. 1978 (1929)*
Process and reality. Corrected edition by D.R. Griffin & D.W. Sherburne. New York & London: The Free Press & Collier Macmillan.
- Winnicott, D. W. 1953*
Transitional objects and transitional phenomena. – The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, vol. XXXIV, part 2, pp. 89–97.
- Winternitz, Moritz 1972 (1933)*
A history of Indian literature vol. II. Tr. by S. Ketkar and H. Kohn and revised by the author. New York: Russell & Russell.
- Wirth, Louis 1938*
Urbanism as a way of life. – The American Journal of Sociology, vol. XLIV, pp. 1–24.
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig 1968 (1953)*
Philosophical investigations. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Wood, Thomas A 1991*
Mind only. A philosophical and doctrinal analysis of the Vijñānavāda. Monographs of the Society for Asian and Comparative Philosophy, no. 9. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Woodhouse, Mark B. 1990*
On the possibility of pure consciousness. – Forman 1990, pp. 254–268.
- Yandell, Keith E. 1974*
Religious experience and rational appraisal. – Religious Studies, vol. 10, pp. 173–187.
- Zaehner, R.C. 1961 (1957)*
Mysticism, sacred and profane. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Glossary and Index of Sanskrit and Pāli Words

The following index lists the Pāli and Sanskrit words appearing in this study. Proper names are omitted with the exception of the names of Buddhist schools. Sanskrit and Pāli forms are used according to whether the source is in Sanskrit or Pāli. Both forms are given only when they both appear in this study. In case a word is the same in Sanskrit and Pāli, this is indicated (with "S. & P.") only when the word appears in this study from both Sanskrit and Pāli sources.

- Abhāva** (S.) ('non-existence,' 'non-being'), 104, 137
- Abhimukī** (S.) ('Direct Presence of Wisdom'), 63
- Abhiñña** (P.) ('paranormal faculty'), 102
- Abhiprāya** (S.) ('intention'), 136 n.66
- Abhisambuddha** (P.) ('Perfectly Enlightened One'), 136 n.66, 137
- Abhiṣeka** (S.) ('coronation'), 61
- Abhūtaṃ** (P.) ('supranormal' [nirvāna as]), 93
- Abhūta(pari)kalpa** (S.) ('false imagination'), 120 n.127
- Acalā** (S.) ('Immovable Steadfastness'), 63
- Acchariya** (P.) ('the wonderful one'), 93
- Acintya** (S.) ('inconceivable'), 117 n.103, 136
- Acittaka** (S.) ('mindless'), 99, 150
- Adānavijñāna** (S.) ('appropriating consciousness'), 99 n.144 (see also *ālayavijñāna*)
- Adhyātmikaṃ** (S.) ('inwardly,' 'subjectively'), 104
- Ādibuddha** (S.) (the primordial Buddha), 55
- Ādīnava** (P.) ('deceptive'), 83
- Advaya** (S.) ('non-duality'), 136
- Āgama(s)** (S.) (the Sanskrit versions of the Pāli *nikāyas*), 86
- Ajajjaraṃ** (P.) ('the unfading one'), 93
- Ajāta** (P.) ('not born,' 'unborn'), 92
- Ajjhattika** (P.) ('internal [spheres of sense]'), 79
- Ajñāna** (S.) ('not-wisdom'), 118, 118 n.115
- Ajñeya** (S.) ('unknowable'), 117 n.103
- Ākāra** (S.) ('content'), 118, 118 n.112
- Ākāśa** (S.) / **ākāśa** (P.) ('space'), 74 n.3, 95, 119
- Akāśānañcāyatana** (P.) ('the experience of empty space only'), 101
- Ākiñcaññāyatana** (P.) ('the experience of nothingness'), 101
- Ālambana** (P.) ('object'), 118 n.111
- Ālayavijñāna** (S.) (the so-called 'store-consciousness'), 99–100, 99 ns.142–144, 110 n.51, 116, 150, 155
- Amataṃ** (P.) ('immortality,' 'the deathless' [nirvāna as]), 93
- Amitābha** (S.) (the Buddha of 'Boundless Light'), 54
- Anabhilāpya(dharmatā)** (S.) ('the ineffable reality'), 111, 115, 115 n.95, 117 n.103, 118, 118 n.111, 119
- Anabhinirvṛtta** (S.) ('not really there' [= the inexistence of Self]), 104 n.2
- Anabhisamkāra** (S.) ('not dependent of effort'), 136
- Anālayo** (P.) ('the non-attachment'), 93
- Anāsrava** (S.) / **anāsavañca** (P.) ('without the outflows'), 93, 117
- Anātman** (S.) / **anattā** (P.) ('not-self'), 54, 84, 86 n.72, 88, 105
- Andhaka** (S.) (a Hīnayāna school), 63
- Aniccāṃ** (P.) ('transitory'), 85, 91
- Anidassanaṃ** (P.) ('the invisible one'), 93
- Animitta** (S.) ('absence of characteristics'), 97 n.134, 118, 118 n.112
- Anītika** (P.) ('the one free from calamities'), 93
- Anītikadhamma** (P.) ('the state of freedom from calamities'), 93
- Anivartanacaryā** (S.) ('the practice of not backsliding'), 61

- Anmanasikāra** (S.) ('non-reflexion'), 118
- Antañca** (P.) ('the end'), 93
- Antaravāsaka** (P.) ('inner garment'), 132
- Anulomacaryā** (S.) ('the practice of conformity with the vow'), 61
- Anusmaraṇa** (S.) ('recollection'), 109
- Anuttarā saṃyaksambodhi** (S.) (the supreme enlightenment), 109
- Anuttaravimokkha** (S.) ('unequaled liberation'), 132
- Apalokitam** (P.) ('the undecaying one'), 93
- Aparāntakoṇiṣṭhaḥ** (S.) ('has attained the ultimate limit'), 134 n.52
- Aparśaila** (S.) (a Hīnayāna school), 64
- Aparichinna** (S.) ('indistinct'), 100
- Apauruṣeya** (S.) ('not produced by human agency'), 128
- Apramāṇakāya** (S.) ('numerous persons'), 136, 136 n.66
- Apratīsamkhyānirodha** (S.) (nirvāṇa consisting of a prevention of arising of dharmas in the future), 95
- Apratiṣṭhanirvāṇa** (S.) ('the unstable nirvāṇa'), 111 n.62
- Arciṣmatī** (S.) ('Intense Wisdom'), 63
- Arhat** (S.) / **Arahant** (P.) (an enlightened disciple), 60–63, 103, 109, 126
- Artha** (S.) ('object', 'meaning'), 81 n.36, 115
- Arthalakṣaṇa** (S.) ('objective character'), 121 n.133
- Arūpaloka** (P.) ('the world of no forms'), 92, 145
- Ārya** (S.) ('a noble one'), 107 n.29
- Āryalokottaraprajñā** (S.) ('the noble transcendent wisdom'), 111
- Asādhya** (S.) ('incurable'), 106
- Asaṃskṛta** (S.) / **asaṃkhata** (P.) ('un-compounded'), 56, 91, 92 n.105, 95 n.128, 104, 110 n. 52, 115 n.94, 138, 151, 161
- Asaṃsṛta** (S.) ('renounced'), 63
- Asaṃvidita** (S.) ('not experienced'), 100
- Asatkālpa** (S.) ('false imagination'), 120
- Asecanaka-ātmabhāva** (S.) (an apparitional body of the Buddha), 133, 133 n.46
- Āsrava** (S.) / **āsava** (P.) ('outflow'), 96, 96 n.133, 102, 135 n.59, 142, 149
- Āśraya** (S.) ('support,' 'bodily basis'), 81 n.34, 118, 118 n.116, 136, 136 n.66
- Aśrayaparāvṛtti** (S.) ('revolution of the bodily basis'), 136
- Astīti** (S.) ('something said to exist'), 104
- Asura** (S.) (an evil giant), 143 n.108
- Ātarkya** (S.) (beyond ratiocinative thinking), 117 n.103
- Atisūkṣma** (S.) ('extremely subtle'), 100
- Ātman** (S.) / **attā** (P.), 75, 84–85, 89 n.89, 93, 105, 149
- Ātyantanirvṛta** (S.) ('absolutely in nirvāṇa'), 112
- Avācya** (S.) ('ineffable'), 117 n.103
- Avaśyaṃ** (S.) ('necessary'), 92 n.108
- Avidyā** (S.) / **avijjā** (P.) ('ignorance'), 77, 107
- Avijjāsava** (P.) ('the outflow of ignorance'), 102
- Avijñapti** (S.) ('non-information'), 99 n.145
- Aviparyāsa** (S.) ('non-error'), 119, 119 n.118
- Avyapajjho** (P.) ('the freedom from suffering'), 93
- Āyu** (P.) ('vitality'), 99
- Baddhamānā** (S.) ('the fastening'), 61
- Bāhira** (S.) ('external'), 79
- Bahuvrīhi** (S.) (a grammatical term in Sanskrit referring to a specific type of compound), 109
- Bāhyaṃ** (S.) ('outwardly,' 'objectively'), 104
- Balacakravartin** (S.) ('armed ruler of the world'), 141, 141 n.90
- Bhava** / **bhāva** (S. & P.) ('becoming,' 'being,' 'existence'), 62, 77, 96 n.133, 104, 137,
- Bhavāsava** (P.) ('the outflow of becoming'), 102
- Bhikṣu** (S.) (a wandering almsman or monk), 74
- Bhūmi** (S.) ('a stage'), 61, 63, 136
- Bhūta** (P.) ('produced'), 92
- Bhūtakoṭi** (S.) ('reality limit'), 108
- Bhūtārthacitrikāra** (S.) ('destruction of reality'), 118
- Bīja** (S.) ('seed'), 120
- Bodhi** (P.) ('enlightenment'), 74, 101, 149, 153
- Bodhisattva** (S.) ('enlightenment being'), 60–63, 71, 108 n.34, 110, 111 n.62, 114 n.87, 124 n.154, 135 n.60, 138–139, 141, 141 n.95, 142, 142 ns.103 and 107, 143, 143 n.110, 151, 153, 159

- Brahmacariya** (S.) ('chastity,' 'Brahma-life,' 'the good life'), 63, 129
- Brahman** (S.) (the Absolute, the highest God in Hinduism), 41, 75, 84–85, 95, 95 n.120, 149
- Buddhajñāna** (S.) ('Buddha's wisdom'), 134
- Buddhakṣetra** (S.) ('Buddha-field'), 116
- Buddhavigraha** (S.) ('Buddha-frame'), 135 n.60
- Cakkhudhātu** (P.) ('the eye'), 79
- Cakkhuvīññāṇadhātu** (P.) ('the visual cognition'), 79
- Cakravartin rāja** (S.) ('world-ruler'), 127, 140
- Caṣṣurvijñāna** (S.) ('visual cognition'), 78 n.25
- Caryā** (S.) (four practices of a *bodhisatva*), 61
- Catuṣkoti** (S.) ('fourcornered [approach]'), 87 n.79
- Cetasika** (P.) ('mental'), 81
- Chandarāga** (P.) ('exciting desire'), 79 n.30, 80, 80 ns.37–38
- Charira** (S.) ('body'), 87
- Citta** (S. & P.) ('the thinking mind'), 78 n.25, 79, 79 n.32, 80, 91, 118, 118 n.116, 121, 121 ns.130 and 134, 122
- Cittacetāsikānaṃ dhammānaṃ appavatti** (P.) ('non-occurrence of the thinking mind and mental factors'), 96
- Cittamātrataṃ** (S.) ('the thinking mind only'), 54, 121, 121 n.134, 153
- Cittānvaya** (S.) ('issued from thought'), 118, 118 n.116
- Cittasaṃkīlesa** (P.) ('impurities of the thinking mind'), 81
- Cittasaṃkhārā** (P.) ('mental function'), 88
- Cittavistarā** (S.) ('the vastminded'), 61
- Cīvara** (P.) ('robe'), 132
- Dasānussatiñāṇa** (P.) ('the mental ability of tenfold mindfulness'), 132
- Deva** (S. & P.) ('god'), 126, 128, 140
- Dhammabhūta** (P.) ('Dhamma-nature'), 130, 130 n.32
- Dhammaniyāmatā** (P.) ('orderliness based on Dhamma'), 129 n.26
- Dhammassāmī** (P.) ('Dhamma-lord'), 130
- Dhammaṭṭhitatā** (P.) ('conditioning by Dhamma'), 129 n.26
- Dharma/Dhamma-body (dharmakāya)** (S./P.), 108, 108 n.38, 115, n.95, 128–137, 129 n.26, 130 n.31, 131, 131 n.34, 133 ns.42 and 45, 135–136 ns.59 and 63, 136 n.66, 141, 145, 152, 154
- Dharmadhātu** (S.) ('Dharma-element'), 64, 108, ns.36–37, 109, 113 n.77, 114, 157
- Dharmameghā** (S.) ('Cloud of the Dharma'), 63, 134
- Dharma(s)** (S.) / **dhamma(s)** (P.) (1) 'element[s] of reality', 2) 'thought[s]', 62, 79, 79 n.27, 91, 91 ns.99–100, 91 n.102, 92, 95, 104–105, 106, 106, n.20, 107, 107 n.29, 108 n.34, 108, 108 ns.35–36, 110, 113, 113 n.79, 120 n.128, 121 n.133, 132, 133, 135 n.59, 136, 142–143 n.103, 150, 157, 160
- Dharmaprabhā** (S.) ('the light of the Dharma'), 134 n.56
- Dharmaprajñapti** (S.) ('conceptual phenomenon'), 105
- Dharmatā** (S.) ('Truth,' 'reality,' 'the Realm of Dharma'), 106 n.16, 106 n.24, 108, 122, 122 n.140
- Dhātu** (S. & P.) ('element'), 79, 92, 129 n.26
- Dhuvanī** (P.) ('the stable one'), 93
- Dhyāna** (S.) / **jhāna** (P.) ('state of meditation'), 92, 95, 97–98, 97 n.136, 102–103, 131, 149–150
- Dibbacakkhu-paññācakkhu-samantacakkhu-buddhacakkhu-dhammacakkhu** (P.) ('the most excellent divine eye, eye of knowledge, all-seeing eye, Buddha-eye, Dhamma-eye'), 131
- Dīpa** (P.) ('the refuge'), 93
- Dīpadānaṃ** (P.) ('biped'), 126
- Ditthādhammanibbāna** (P.) ('nirvāṇa in this life'), 96
- Diṭṭhi** (P.) ('view', 'theory'), 90, 96 n.133
- Dosa** (P.) ('hatred'), 92
- Duḥkha** (S.) / **dukkha** (P.), 30, 39 n.156, 60, 74, 76, 80, 85, 114 n.87
- Dūrangamā** (S.) ('Far-reaching'), 63
- Dūrāroha** (S.) ('the difficult to enter'), 61
- Durjayā** (S.) ('the difficult to conquer'), 61
- Ekayāna** (S.) ('one vehicle'), 153
- Gandharva** (S.) ('a heavenly musician'), 107
- Garbha** (S.) ('embryo', 'essence', 'hollow', 'cavity' etc.), 108–109
- Gotrabhū** (P.) (converted Buddhist),

131, 131 n.37
Hetu (S.) ('cause'), 157
Hirottappa (P.) ('remorse'), 132 n.39
Idappacayatā (P.) ('the dependent nature of things'), 129 n.26
Jananī (S.) (genetrix), 133 n.44
Janmakāya (S.) ('the body of birth'), 135 n.59
Janmanirdeśa (S.) ('the ascertainment of birth'), 61
Jāti (P.) ('birth'), 77
Jaṭila (S.) ('one who has his hair matted', an ascetic), 141
Jinagarbha (S.) ('the womb of The Victorious One'), 109 n.44
Jīva (S.) ('soul'), 87, 89 n.88
Jñāna (S.) / **nāṇa** (P.) ('knowledgē'), 94 n.123, 102, 115, 117 n.103, 118, 118 n.115
Jñeya (S.) ('object'), 118 n.110
Jñeyālabhāna ('object of cognition'), 118 n.112
Kāmaloka (P.) ('the world of sense pleasures'), 92
Kāmāsava (P.) ('the outflow of sensuality'), 102
Karma (S.) ('doing,' 'deed,' 'work'), 92, 129 n.26, 136 n.66, 143
Karmadhāraya (S.) (a grammatical term in Sanskrit referring to a specific kind of compound), 109
Kāyika (P.) ('bodily'), 81
Khemani (P.) ('the sanctuary'), 93, 93 n.116
Koṭi (S.) (*of number*: the end of the scale, i.e. extremely high, as numeral representing ca one hundred thousand), 138
Kriyā (S.) ('efficient cause'), 157
Leṇa (P.) ('the ultimate shelter'), 93
Loka (S. & P.) ('world'), 64 n.60, 75, 75 n.6, 92, 92 n.107, 100
Lokāloka (S.) ('light of the world'), 143
Lokadharmā (S.) ('worldly *dharma*'), 142–143 n.103
Lokapita svayambhū (S.) ('selfborn father of the world'), 138
Lokasaṁvṛti (S.) ('worldly surface-convention'), 107
Lokiya (P.) ('worldly'), 75, 94
Lokiyalokuttarañāṇa (P.) ('mundane and supramundane mental abilities'), 131
Lokottara (S. & P.) ('transcendent'), 54, 75, 92, 94, 143–145

Lokottaravāda (S.) (a Hīnayāna school), 54–55, 57, 59–61, 64, 66, 142, 143 n.106
Mādhyamika (S.) (a Mahāyāna school), 16, 54–55, 57, 68
Mahāpuruṣa (S.) ('great man'), 127
Mahāsaṁghika (S.) (a Hīnayāna school), 54–55, 59–60, 63–64, 95, 142
Mano / manas (S. & P.) ('conscious mind'), 79, 79 n.32
Manomayakāya (S.) ('mind-made body'), 143
Manovijñāna (S.) / **manovijñāna** (P.) ('mental cognition'), 78 n.25
Māra (S. & P.) ('The Evil One'), 102 n.157
Moha (P.) ('confusion'), 92
Mūlanirvikalpakajñāna (S.) ('fundamental unconstructed awareness'), 118, 119 n.118
Mutti (P.) ('the release'), 93
Nairātmyadharmatā (S.) ('the true not-selfness'), 118, 118 n.111
Nairmāṇika (S.) ('apparitional'), 135
Nāmarūpa (P.) ('psycho-physicality'), 77
Nāṇadassana (P.) ('knowledge and vision'), 197
Nānattasaññā (P.) ('mental representations of diversity'), 98
Nastīti (S.) ('not to exist'), 104
Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana (P.) ('experience with neither mental representations nor no mental representations'), 96–97
Neyārtha (S.) ('implicit meaning'), 115
Niṣsaraṇa (S.) / **nissaraṇa** (P.) ('exit'), 96, 96 n.108
Nikāya (S. & P.) (1) 'order', 2) a part of the *Tipiṭaka*), 62, 151
Nilakasiṇa (P.) ('blue meditation object'), 131
Nimiñjitacakṣus (S.) ('with the eyes closed'), 25 n.56, 119
Nippapaṇ (P.) ('the taintless one'), 93
Nipunaṇa (P.) ('the subtle one'), 93
Niradiṣṭhāna (S.) ('with no fixed residence'), 133
Nirākāra(na) (S.) ('contentless,' 'rejecting'), 99, 124 n.154
Nirālabhāna (S.) ('objectless'), 99
Nirmāṇakāya (S.) ('[the Buddha's] apparitional body'), 135, 135 n.59, 154
Nirmita (S.) ('conjured up'), 145
Nirodha(samāpatti) (P.) ('cessation'),

- 96–97 ns.131, 134 and 136, 99
- Nirupādhisenanirvāṇa** (S.) ('nirvāṇa without remainder'), 92 n.108
- Nirvāṇa & parinirvāṇa** (S.) / (**pari**)**nibbāna** (P.), 14 n.1, 33, 54, 65, 76; 83, 89 n.89, 92–93, 92 n.105, 92 n.108, 94–95, 96–97 ns.131 and 133–134, 97, 100, 101 n.153, 102, 103 n.164, 104, 106 n.16, 107 n.29, 109, 111–112, 111–112 ns.62 and 68, 113, 113 ns.75 and 79, 114–115, 124, 124 n.151, 126, 126 n.3, 128–1130, 131 n.34, 135, 137–139, 138 n.78, 149–150, 152, 155
- Nirvikalpa(tā)** (S.) ('intuition'), 104 n.3, 118 n.110, 119, 119 n.118
- Nirvikalpakajñāna** (S.) ('unconstructive wisdom'), 118, 153
- Nirviśeṣa** (S.) ('identity'), 124 n.151
- Niṣprapañca / niḥprapañca** (S.) ('non-language'), 119, 119 n.118, 136
- Niṣyanda(kāya)** (S.) ('outflow,' 'apparitional body'), 135, 135 n.63
- Nitārtha** (S.) ('explicit meaning'), 115
- Nitya(lakṣaṇa)** (S.) ('eternal,' 'eternity'), 136, 136 n.64
- Pakṣa** (S.) ('thesis'), 114 n.81
- Paññāvimutti** (P.) ('released through wisdom'), 100
- Pañcupādānakhandhā** (P.) ('five modes of grasping'), 76 n.17, 78
- Parabhāva** (S.) ('other-existence'), 105 n.10, 157
- Paramārtha / satyaṃ paramārthataḥ** (S.) ('Absolute,' 'ultimate/absolute truth'), 107, 107 n.30, 114 n.81, 115 n.95, 117, 117 n.103, 134
- Pāramitā** (S.) ('perfections'), 136
- Parañca** (P.) ('that which is beyond'), 93
- Paratantra(svābhāva)** (S.) ('dependent [aspect]'), 120, 120 n.125, 124 ns.151–152
- Parijñā** (S.) ('knowledge'), 122
- Parikalpita(svābhāva/bhāga)** (S.) ('imaginary [aspect]'), 120, 120 n.125, 124 n.151–152
- Pariniṣpanna(svābhāva/bhāga)** (S.) ('absolute aspect'), 120, 120 n.125, 120, 124 n.151–152 and 154
- Parivrajaka** (S.) (wandering almsman), 74
- Pariyogāḷhadhammo** (P.) ('plunged into the Dhamma'), 128
- Patighasaññā** (P.) ('mental representations of sensory reaction'), 98
- Paṭirūpaka** (P.) ('counterfeit'), 129
- Phassa** (P.) / **sparśa** (S.) ('contact'), 77, 79
- Prabhākari** (S.) ('illumination'), 63
- Prabuddha** (S.) ('awakened'), 123
- Prahāṇa** (S.) ('elimination'), 122
- Prajñā** (S.) / **Paññā** (P.) ('wisdom'), 63, 96, 96 n.131, 135 n.59
- Prajñāpāramitā** (S.) ('Perfection of Wisdom'), 54–55, 57, 64, 67–68, 82, 104, 107 n.30, 114, 131 n.38, 131, 131 n.45, 135 n.60, 140 n.89, 155
- Prajñapti** (S.) ('designation,' 'concept'), 62, 121, 121–122 n.136
- Prākṛt** (name of a group of dialects), 59, 64
- Prakṛticaryā** (S.) ('the preparatory natural practice'), 61
- Prākṛtya-ātmabhāva** (S.) (the original or real body [of the Buddha]), 133, 133 n.46
- Pramuditā** (S.) ('Great Joy'), 63
- Prañidhānacaryā** (S.) ('the practice of the vow'), 61
- Prapañca** (S.) ('universe,' 'language'), 80 n.36, 104, 104 n.1, 153
- Prāpti** (S.) ('fulfillment'), 122
- Prāsaṅgika** (S.) (a subschool of the *Mādhyamika*), 68 n.86
- Pratidharma** (S.) ('counter-phenomenon,' 'a phenomenon in disguise'), 105 n.7
- Pratipakṣa** (S.) ('counterthesis'), 114 n.81
- Pratisamkhyānirodha** (S.) (a type of nirvāṇa), 95
- Pratītyasamutpāda** (S.) / **paṭiccasamuppāda** (P.) ('the net of mutual dependencies'), 76, 95, 105
- Prativedha** (S.) ('[intellectual] penetration'), 119, 122 n.141
- Pratyātmaṃ adhgantavyaṃ** (S.) ('capable of being grasped with intuition only'), 117 n.103
- Pratyātmavedaṇīya** (S.) ('intuition'), 107 n.29, 116
- Pratyekabuddha** (S.) ('solitary enlightened one', one enlightened by and for himself only), 70, 126 n.4, 128, 136 n.64, 138, 140, 160
- Preta** (S.) (a hungry ghost), 140
- Pṛthagjana** (S.) ('the common people'), 111
- Pudgala** (S.) ('personality'), 106 n.20
- Pūrvaśaila** (S.) (a subschool of the

- Mahāsaṃghika*, 64
- Puṣpamaṇḍitā** (S.) ('the flower-adorned'), 61
- Rāga** (P.) ('passion'), 92
- Rucirā** (S.) ('the beautiful'), 61
- Rūpa**(dhātu) (S. & P.) ('matter,' 'material form,' 'body'), 74 n.3, 77, 79, 80 n.33, 91, 119,
- Rūpakāya** (S.) ('body with visible form'), 135, 135 n.59
- Rūpaloka** (P.) ('the world with forms'), 92, 145
- Rūpasaññā** (P.) ('mental representations of material form'), 98
- Rūpaskandhaprāvṛtti** (S.) ('revolution of the material factor of existence'), 136
- Rūpavatī** (S.) ('the lovely'), 61
- Sābhilāpaśrutavāsanā** (S.) ('impregnation of audition born of discourse'), 118, 118 n.117, 120
- Saccaṇca** (P.) ('the truth'), 93
- Sadarśana** (S.) ('vision,' 'the act of seeing'), 123 n.150
- Sādhumatī** (S.) ('Meritorious Wisdom'), 63
- Sākṣātkriyā** (S.) ('intuitive knowledge'), 122
- Salāyatana**, (P.) ('six spheres of sense'), 77
- Samādhi** (S. & P.) ('meditative concentration'), 25, 43–44 n.182, 44–45, 63, 96, 96 n.131, 135 n.59
- Sāmbhogakāya** (S.) ('[the Buddha's] body of enjoyment'), 135, 154
- Samjñā** (S.) / **Saññā** (P.) ('mental representations'), 77–79, 85, 100, 100 n.150
- Samjñāvedayitanirodha** (S.) / **Saññāvedayitanirodha** (P.) ('cessation of mental representations and feeling'), 96–97, 97 n.136, 100–101, 150
- Samkiliṭṭhaṃ** (P.) ('soiled'), 81
- Sammatīya** (S.) (a "Hīnayāna" school), 101 n.153
- Samṛddhi** (S.) ('succes'), 119
- Saṃsāra** (S. & P.) ('the round of rebirths'), 33, 74–76, 83, 92, 96, 111–112, 111 n.62, 124, 124 n.151, 130, 142, 152
- Saṃsarga** (S.) ('synthesizing'), 119
- Saṃskāra**(s) (S.) / **saṅkhāra**(s) (P.) ('mental formations'), 77–79, 78 n.24, 85
- Samskṛta** (S.) / **saṅkhata** (P.) ('com-
- pounded'), 91, 104, 107 n.29, 100 n.52, 135 n.59, 138, 151
- Samtuṣṭi** (S.) ('satiety'), 119, 119 n.118
- Samvṛti satya** (S.) ('conventional truth'), 107, 153
- Samyojana** (P.) ('bond'), 79 n.27
- Saṅgha** (S. & P.) ('order [of monks and nuns]'), 56, 62 n.49, 115 n.94
- Saṅghāti** (P.) (a monk's robe), 132
- Sanimitta** (S.) ('seen image'), 123 n.150
- Saṅkileśa** (P.) ('impurity,' 'suffering'), 83 n.58
- Santaṃ** (P.) ('the peace'), 93
- Saraṇaṃ** (P.) ('refuge'), 93
- Sarvabuddhasamatāprāptaḥ** (S.) ('equality with all the buddhas'), 137 n.76
- Sarvalokadhātuprasaktāyaḥ** (S.) ('his body extends to the whole universe'), 134 n.52
- Sarvāstivāda** (S.) (a Hīnayāna school), 54, 57, 62, 65–66, 69, 95, 135 n.59, 140, 142, 145
- Śāstra** (S.) ('treatise'), 70
- Sattvadhātu** (S.) ('the living beings'), 108, 108 n.38
- Satya** (S.) ('truth'), 114 n.80
- Satyanṛtātita** (S.) ('beyond truth and falseness'), 114 n.81
- Savitarakasavicārabhūmi** (S.) ('the stage born of thinking and investigation'), 118
- Śīla** (S.) ('moral goodness,' 'morality'), 135 n.59
- Sivaṃ** (P.) ('the blissful one'), 93
- Skandha**(s) (S.) / **khandha**(s) (P.) ('factor[s] of existence,' "the five modes of grasping"), 76, 85, 106, 137
- Skandhātīkrānta** (S.) ('having superseded the factors of existence'), 137, 137 n.70
- Skandhavihārin** (S.) ('residing' in the factors of existence'), 137, 137 n.70
- Śraddhā** (S.) ('faith'), 155
- Śramaṇa** (S.) ('wanderer,' 'mendicant'), 63, 74–75, 148
- Śrāvaka** (S.) ('learner' [refers to "Hīnayānists"]), 103, 126 n.3, 136 n.64, 138, 153, 160
- Sthaviravāda** (S.) (those Hīnayānists that did not follow the *Mahāsaṃghikas*), 59–60
- Stūpa** (S.) (reliquary), 62
- Śuddha** (S.) ('pure'), 142
- Suddhi** (P.) ('the purity'), 93

- Suddasañca** (P.) ('the hard to see'), 93
- Sudurjayā** (S.) ('Invincible Strength'), 63
- Śūnya(tā)** (S.) ('empty,' 'emptiness'), 54, 105 n.12, 106, 106 n.20, 108 n.39, 153
- Sura** (S.) ('god'), 143 n.108
- Svabhāva** (S.) ('essence,' 'self-existence,' 'own being'), 91, 105, 105 n.10, 113 n.77, 123, 133 n.50, 157
- Svābhāvīkākāya** (S.) ('[the Buddha's] body of own essence'), 136, 154
- Svalakṣaṇa** (S.) ('own character'), 113
- Svātantrika** (S.) (a subschool of the *Mādhyamika*'), 68 n.86
- Svayambhu** (S.) ('self-born'), 138
- Tāṇam** (P.) ('the final protection'), 93
- Taṇhā** (P.) ('thirst'), 76–77
- Taṇhakkhaya** (P.) ('the destruction of thirst'), 93
- Tāpasa** (S.) ('ascetic'), 74
- Tarkagocara** (S.) ('speculation'), 116
- Tathāgata** (S. & P.) ('thus-gone'), 87, 87 n.78, 108, 108 n.36, 109, 109 n.47, 110, 112 n.68, 115 n.94, 124 n.151, 126, 129, 129 n.26, 130 n.31, 133, 133 ns.44 and n.49, 134, 135–136 n.63, 144 n.113, 152
- Tathāgatagarbha** (S.) ('womb of *Tathāgata*,' 'seed of *Tathāgata*'), 54–55, 57, 70, 108, 108 n.38, 109 ns.41–44, 110, 110 ns.49 and 51, 152
- Tathāgatogotra** (S.) ('germ of the *Tathāgata*'), 109
- Tathāgatakāya** (S.) ('*Tathāgata*'s body'), 135–136 n.63
- Tathatā** (S.) ('Suchness,' 'Thusness'), 108–109, 111
- Tatpṛṣṭhalabdha** (S.) ('[awareness] that comes after [the fundamental unconstructed awareness]'), 118–119
- Tatpuruṣa** (S.) (a grammatical term in Sanskrit referring to a specific type of compound), 109, 109 n.43
- Tattva** (S.) ('meaning,' 'reality'), 108
- Theravāda** (P.) (a "Hīnayāna" school), 54–57, 59–58, 65, 91, 94, 95 n.123, 102 n.157, 103, 103 n.164, 128, 131, 144
- Traidhātuka** (S.) ('triple world'), 121 n.134, 139
- Trisāhasramahāśaḥsra lokadhātu** (S.) ('the world element of three thousand and great thousand'), 140 n.87
- Trisvabhāva** (S.) ('three essences,' 'three aspects'), 120
- Tryadhvasamatāniriyātaḥ** (S.) ('penetrates the equality of the three times'), 134 n.51
- Unmīñjītacakṣus** (S.) ('with the eyes open'), 119
- Upādāna** (P. & S.) ('grasping'), 76–77, 79
- Upalabdhi** (S.) ('exist,' 'perceive'), 41 n.166, 81 n.36
- Upāya** (S.) ('skillful means'), 107, 115, 137, 153
- Upāyakaūśalya** (S.) ('skill in means'), 57, 62, 114, 132, 138
- Ūrṇā** (S.) / **Unnā** (P.) ('hair between the eyebrows [of a Great Man]'), 131, 140
- Usmā** (P.) ('heat'), 99
- Uṣṇiṣa** (S.) ('turban,' a protuberance on the head of a Great Man), 140
- Utpanna** (S.) ('issued'), 120 n.128
- Uttara(tī)** (S. & P.), ('[to go] beyond'), 64 n.60, 92 n.110
- Uttaratantra** (S.) ('higher book,' 'higher system'), 70
- Uttinna** (P.) ('exit,' 'outlet,' 'passage'), 92, 92 n.110
- Vāc** (S.) ('speech'), 93–94 n.120, 128
- Vacara** (P.) ('level [of the world]'), 92
- Vaibhāṣika** (S.) (a Hīnayāna school), 55, 65, 66
- Vajirasamāpattiñāna** (P.) ('the mental ability to attain the thunderbolt'), 131
- Vajjiputtaka** (P.) (a group of monks who showed laxity in *Vinaya*), 60
- Vāsanā** (S.) ('impregnations [in the thinking mind]'), 80 n.33
- Vāsanābija** (S.) ('impregnation-seeds'), 120–121 n.128
- Vatsīputriya** (S.) (a Hīnayāna school), 101 n.153
- Vedanā** (S. & P.) ('feeling'), 79–81, 81 n.40
- Vedanāskandhaparāvṛtti** (S.) ('revolution of the feeling-factor of existence'), 136
- Vedānta** (S.) ('end of the *Vedas*' a school in Hinduism), 35, 75, 95
- Vetullavāda** (S.) (a Hīnayāna school), 63
- Vibhāga** (S.) ('analysis'), 70
- Vibhutva** (S.) ('sovereignty'), 136
- Vicāra** (S.) ('investigation'), 119
- Vijñāna** (S.) / **viññāna** (P.) ('cognition,' 'consciousness'), 77–78, 78 n.25, 79 n.32, 91, 98–99, 115, 121 n.135

- Vijñānāmbana** (S.) ('objective support of cognition'), 122
- Vijñānavāda** (S.) (a Mahāyāna school), 16, 54–55, 57, 68, 70, 116, 116 n.98, 120, 123, 155
- Vijñapti** (S.) ('idea,' 'representation'), 118 n.110, 121, 125 n.135
- Vijñaptimātratam** (S.) ('mere representation,' 'representation only'), 54, 121, 122–124, 124 n.154, 153
- Vikalpa** (S.) ('concept,' 'imagination,' 'construction/constructive'), 81, 104, 117, 120 n.127, 152–153
- Vimāla** (S.) ('Immaculate'), 64
- Vimukti** (S.) / **vimutti** (P.) ('liberation'), 102, 131, 135 n.59
- Vimuktijñānadarśana** (P.) ('knowledge and vision of the liberation'), 135 n.59
- Vimuktikāya** (S.) ('liberation-body'), 136 n.64
- Viññānancāyatana** (P.) ('experience of empty cognition'), 97
- Vipākakāya** (S.) ('the [Buddha's] body of retribution'), 135 n.59
- Virāga** (S.) ('freedom from passion,' 'the dispassion'), 95 n.112, 93
- Viśiṣṭa** (S.) ('different'), 118 n.110
- Vyañjana** (S.) ('letter'), 115
- Vitakkavicāra** (P.) ('directed and sustained thought'), 78 n.24, 97
- Vyavahāra** (S.) ('transactional'), 107 n.31
- Yāna** (S.) ('vehicle'), 134, 138
- Yathābhūtam** (P.) ('as it really is'), 96, 147
- Yauvarājya** (S.) ('the crown prince'), 61
- Yogācāra** (S.) (same as *Vijñānavāda*), 16, 54–55, 116, 116 n.99, 153–155,
- Yonisomanasikāra** (S.) ('right reflexion'), 118 n.113, 118 n.117

ACADEMIA SCIENTIARUM FENNICA

Mariankatu 5
00170 Helsinki 17
Finland

DISSERTATIONES HUMANARUM LITTERARUM

1. (1973) NIINILUOTO, ILKKA. Conceptual Enrichment, Theories and Inductive Systematization. 12 pp.
2. (1973) MOILANEN, MARKKU. Zum lokalen Gebrauch der Demonstrativadverbien *da* und *dort*. 145 pp.
3. (1975) ASSMANN, DIETRICH. Thomas Manns Roman "Doktor Faustus" und seine Beziehungen zur Faust-Tradition. 225 pp.
4. (1975) LAITINEN, TUOMO. Aspects of Henry James's Style. 150 pp.
5. (1975) HELEN, TAPIO. Organization of Roman Brick Production in the First and Second Centuries A.D. 154 pp.
6. (1976) ALAHUHTA, EILA. On the Defects of Perception, Reasoning and Spatial Orientation Ability in Linguistically Handicapped Children. 152 pp.
7. (1976) KOSKELA, ERKKI. A Study of Bank Behaviour and Credit Rationing. 216 + 22 pp.
8. (1976) ELOVAARA, RAILI. The Problem of Identity in Samuel Beckett's Prose. 301 pp.
9. (1976) ROSAS, ALLAN. The Legal Status of Prisoners of War. 523 pp.
10. (1977) SETÄLÄ, PÄIVI. Private Domini in Roman Brick Stamps of the Empire. 316 pp.
11. (1977) JÄRVINEN, LIISA. Personality Characteristics of Violent Offenders and Suicidal Individuals. 196 pp + 12 app.
12. (1977) VÄRILÄ, ARMI. The Swedish Background of William James's Philosophy. 148 pp.
13. (1977) VIKARI, MATTI. Die Krise der "historischen" Geschichtsschreibung und die Geschichtsmethodologie Karl Lamprechts. 483 pp.
14. (1978) JOKINEN, ULLA. Les relatifs en moyen français. Formes et fonctions. 428 pp.
15. (1978) JÄNTTI, AHTI. Zum Reflexiv und Passiv im heutigen Deutsch. Eine Syntaktische Untersuchung mit semantischen Ansätzen. 305 pp.
16. (1978) JOUTSAMO, KARI. The Role of Preliminary Rulings in the European Communities. 337 pp.
17. (1978) LOUNELA, JAAKKO. Die Logik im XVII. Jahrhundert in Finnland. 187 pp.
18. (1979) KETTUNEN, MARKKU. Der Abfassungszweck des Römerbriefes. 212 pp.
19. (1979) SOLLAMO, RAIJA. Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint. 385 pp.
20. (1979) HÄRMÄ, JUHANI. Recherches sur les constructions imbriguées et interrogatives en français. 303 pp.
21. (1979) HONKAPOHJA, SEPO. Studies in the General Equilibrium Theory of Money and Transaction Costs. 22 pp.
22. (1979) SALMINEN, RENJA. Marguerite de Navarre. Le miroir de l'âme pécheresse. 344 pp.
24. (1980) KALLIOPUSKA, MIRJA. Children's Helping Behaviour. 333 pp.
25. (1981) KOLARI, VELI. Jan Svatopluk Presl die tschechische botanische Nomenklatur. Eine lexikalisch-nomenklatorische Studie. 422 pp.
26. (1981) SUOMELA-HÄRMÄ, ELINA. Les structures narratives dans *Roman de Renart*. 265 pp.
27. (1981) HELKAMA, KLAUS. Toward a Cognitive-developmental Theory of Attribution of Responsibility. 212 pp.
28. (1981) HAKAPÄÄ, KARI. Marine Pollution in International Law. Material Obligations and Jurisdiction. 341 pp.
29. (1981) TALLGREN, VAPPU. Hitler und die Helden. Heroismus und Weltanschauung. 278 pp.
30. (1982) SUSILUOTO, ILMARI. The Origins and Development of Systems Thinking in the Soviet Union. Political and Philosophical Controversies from Bogdanov and Bukharin to Present-day Re-evaluations. 211 pp.
31. (1982) AEJMELAEUS, ANNELI. Parataxis in the Septuagint. A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch. 198 pp.

32. (1982) LUUKKAINEN, MATTI. Untersuchungen zur morphematischen Transferenz im Frühdeutschen dargestellt an den Tegernseer Vergilglossen. Ein Beitrag zur Transferenzlexikologie. 539 pp.
33. (1982) HAAPASALO, SEIJA. Relationships between Perceptual Mechanisms for Color and Pattern in Human Vision. 114 pp.
34. (1982) PILLI, ARJA. The Finnish-Language Press in Canada. 330 pp.
35. (1983) LAUHA, RISTO. Psycho-physischer Sprachgebrauch im Alten Testament. 273 pp.
36. (1983) KIERIMO, KYÖSTI. Observations de latinitate Porthaniana (Beobachtungen zur Latinität Porthans.) 194 pp.
37. (1983) KEKÄLÄINEN, KIRSTI. Aspects of Style and Language in Child's Collection of English and Scottish Popular Ballads. 285 pp.
38. (1983) LEHMUS, URSULA. Attribut oder Satzglied. Untersuchungen zum postnominalen Präpositionalausdruck unter einem syntaktischen, semantischen und kommunikativ-pragmatischen Aspekt. 244 pp.
39. (1984) PELLONPÄÄ, MATTI. Expulsion in International Law. A Study in International Aliens Law and Human Rights with Special Reference to Finland. 508 pp.
40. (1985) KIILUNEN, JARMO. Die Vollmacht im Widerstreit. Untersuchungen zum Werdegang von Mk. 2.-3.6. 298 pp.
41. (1985) SAMS, MIKKO. Electrical and Magnetic Responses of the Human Brain to Auditory Pitch-Changes. Reflections of Automatic and Controlled Information Processing. 80 pp.
42. (1985) SAARILUOMA, LIISA. Die Erzählstruktur der frühen deutschen Bildungsromans: Wielands "Geschichte des Agathon", Goethes "Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre". 461 pp.
43. (1987) TUOMALA, MATTI. Studies in the Theory of Optimal Income Taxation. 29 pp.
44. (1987) SYREENI, KARI. The Making of the Sermon on the Mount. A Procedural Analysis on Matthew's Redactional Activity. Part I: Methodology & Compositional Analysis. 245 pp.
45. (1987) KORPELA, JUUKA. Das Medizinalpersonal im antiken Rom. Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung. 235 pp.
46. (1987) ALHO, KIMMO. Mechanisms of Selective Listening Reflected by Eventrelated Brain Potentials in Humans. 86 pp.
47. (1987) URO, RISTO. Sheep among Wolves. A Study on the Mission Instruction on Q. 271 pp.
48. (1988) KOTILA, MARKKU. Umstrittener Zeuge. Studien zur Stellung des Gesetzes in der johanneischen Theologiegeschichte. 239 pp.
49. (1988) HÄLVÄ-NYBERG, ULLA. Die Kontraktionen auf den lateinischen Inschriften Roms und Afrikas, bis zum 8. Jh. n. Chr. 270 pp.
50. (1989) SIITONEN, ARTTO. Problems of Aporetics. 196 pp.
51. (1989) PUOLIMATKA, TAPIO. Moral Realism and Justification. 209 pp.
52. (1989) KIVIHARJU, JUUKA. Los documentos latino-romances del Monasterio de Veruela 1157-1301: edición estudio morfosintáctico y vocabulario. 211 pp.
53. (1990) PEEPRE-BORDESSA, MARI. Hugh MacLennan's National Trilogy. Mapping a Canadian Identity (1940-1950). 233 pp.
54. (1990) LINDGREN, JUHANI. Unity of All Christians in Love and Mission. The Ecumenical Method of Kenneth Scott Latourette. 401 pp.
55. (1990) MÄKI, USKALI. Studies in Realism and Explanation in Economics. 66 pp.
56. (1990) SARIOOLA, HEIKKI. Markus und das Gesetz. Eine redaktion-skritische Untersuchung. 277 pp.
57. (1991) SALO, KALERVO. Luke's Treatment of the Law. A Redaction-Critical Investigation. 337 pp.
58. (1991) RANTANEN, TERHI. Foreign News in Imperial Russia. The Relationship between International and Russian News Agencies, 1856-1914. 183 pp.
59. (1991) VAURAS, MARJA. Text Learning Strategies in School-Aged Students. 221 pp.
60. (1991) KREBS, GERARD. Die Natur im Werk Robert Walsers. Eine Untersuchung mit Vergleichen zur Literatur und Kunst der Jahrhundertwende und der Romantik. 230 pp.
61. (1991) SALMI, ANJA. Andromeda and Pegasus: Treatment of the Themes of Entrapment and Escape in Edith Wharton's Novels. 141 pp.
62. (1992) UIMONEN, SAKARI. Pollution Control in the Firm and the Industry: A theoretical Study. 194 pp.
63. (1992) NORRI, JUHANI. Names of Sicknesses in English, 1400-1550: An Exploration of the Lexical Field. 448 pp.

