

competence and interest. Beyond simplification in a domain-neutral task-demands sense, investigators have simplified their research in the sense of accommodating more precisely to infants' and children's core understandings.

Young children are often incompetent and ignorant as well. Current theoretical questions of great import thus concern how to characterize early partial knowledge and the extent to which early childhood limitations reveal serious constraints on the nature of the early knowledge that young children possess.

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EASTERN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION. See Regional Psychological Associations.

EASTERN RELIGIONS AND PHILOSOPHIES. With the publication of William James's Gifford lectures in 1902, a dialogue between Asian religion and philosophy and psychology was initiated within the Western world. In the 1870s, the Theosophical Society was founded in New York, and its initial focus on Hinduism soon took in Buddhism. This discourse was encouraged through the integrative commentaries on Buddhism psychology, Sanskrit translations of Hindu texts, and during the 1930s through the popular discussions of Zen Buddhism by Suzuki. Asian religion and philosophy consider many of the key issues in psychology, including the relationship between body and mind, the nature of perception, consciousness, personality, and the mean-

ing of suffering and illness. In considering the psychological contributions inherent within Asian cultures, it is important to understand that Asian religions do not have a notion of formal religion in the Christian, Jewish, or Islamic sense. In Hinduism and Buddhism, soteriology, or a doctrine of salvation, includes insight through practices such as meditation and personal devotion, as well as, a sense of duty.

In Hinduism, the Veda, the liturgical hymns to the deities, starts with the four Samhitās (“collections”), including the Rgveda Samhita (Veda of Chants), and concluded with the Atharvaveda Samhita. The Atharvaveda is psychologically crucial as the manual of charms to undo evil, counteract illness, and harm enemies. Vedic religion was elaborated into the ritual and sacrificial religion of the Brāhmanas, based on the power inherent in mantra. In the Upanisads Vedic, polytheism was demythologized, and all action was seen to lead to a cycle of reincarnations (*samsāra*).

Buddhism may be classified into three great “vehicles” (*yāna*). The Hinayāna, or “Lesser Vehicle,” emphasized the gradual process of individual salvation (*arāhat*), and included the Theravada and Sarvāstivada schools. The Mahāyāna, or “Great Vehicle,” added new elements. Multiple Buddhas may be worshipped, including Avalokitesvara, “Lord Who Looks Down,” a savior for suffering human beings. There is no clear code of discipline, but the emphasis is on the saving of other human beings. Right conduct became a matter of the spontaneous expression of a person’s awareness. In this sense, the Indian Mahāyāna toned down the Theravada emphasis on renunciation, to emphasize the ethical value on everyday life. The Chinese Mahāyāna, too, emphasized the moral obligations of loyalty to family and state. The Vajrayāna (Diamond Vehicle), or Mantrayāna (Sacred Sounds Vehicle), Esoteric Buddhism, or Tantric Buddhism, began in India. Tibetan Buddhism was introduced from India in the late Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna forms. Salvation could be accomplished quickly, even in the present life, using texts called *tantras*, and written in obscure language. The four divisions include the Yoga Tantra and Anuttarayoga Tantra, in which the person is assigned to one of several Buddha families according to the predominant consciousness (lust, hatred, delusion, or avarice) of the individual’s personality.

One of the Buddha’s contemporaries founded Jainism, which spread to northern and central India. Living substance (*jiva*) permeates animals; and inanimate substance (*ajiva*) includes space, time, and matter. Karma flows into and clogs the *jiva*, causing the bondage of life. Disciplined conduct can stop this inflow and lead to liberation.

Confucianism is a social ethic that exists among Chinese and East Asian societies. There is considerable overlap with Taoism. Orthodox Confucianism focused

on the creation of a system that fashioned society and empire; whereas Taoism represented more personal and metaphysical preoccupations. According to ancient Chinese cosmology, the world was governed by the circulation of the sun and the celestial vault. Tao means the “way” or the “rule of conduct.” Yin is cold, passive, feminine; yang warm, active, masculine. The five elements or “five phases” (water, fire, wood, metal, and earth) represented the main cosmic forces. All phenomena, including the human body and behavior, can be classified under one or another of the five phases. The body is a microcosm, the head round like Heaven, the feet square like the Earth, the 360 joints represented the days of the Chinese year, the eyes the sun and moon, the five viscera (lungs, heart, spleen, liver, and kidneys) the Five Elements and the Five Sacred Mountains. Each person hides within a primordial breath, needed to maintain life.

Zen Buddhism in Japan is derived from the Chinese Ch’an Buddhist School, and was introduced into Japan during the 1100s. The two main influences were the Rinzai and Dogen Kigen schools.

Shinto, introduced in Japan around the sixth century, means “the way of *kami*” (the polytheistic principle of life, mystical, or divine power), as opposed to Buddhism, or Butsuo, “the way of the Buddha.” Later, Shinto *kami* were viewed as protectors of Buddhism and were thought to be incarnations of Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

The Southeast Asian Cross-roads

Southeast Asia has been a crossroads for all the Asian religions. Mainland Southeast Asia was a mixture of Austro-Asiatic, Austronesian, and Tibeto-Burman language families. The tribes of protohistoric Southeast Asia developed “cadastral” cults—the local religions—based on common experience. What people knew best was that the world was inhabited by spirits, and so were they, which was what made them alive. If one of these vital spirits left the body for too long, the person would become ill and die.

Mainland Southeast Asia, especially Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and southern Vietnam, was Indianized. Theravada and Mahayana Buddhism and Brahmanism never dislodged the beliefs in spirits. In northern Vietnam, the “triple religion” of Mahāyāna Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism was grafted onto proto-Indochinese ancestor cult. Central to the family cult was ancestor worship. In southern Vietnam, the Cham accepted Islam. In insular Southeast Asia, the Sarvāstivadin and Mulasarvāstivadin sects of Theravada Buddhism arrived in Indonesia. This area has been characterized during the twentieth century by Hindu-Buddhist religious movements in colonial Java and Bali, by Christian movements in the Philippines, and by Muslim movements throughout the region.

Dharma

There is no Asian equivalent of the Western term *religion*. The closest one gets is the Hindu term *dharma*, from the Sanskrit *dhr* (“support, uphold”). Dharma means the personal actions that engender or maintain divine law, and which keep the universe from falling into disarray. By the time the *Brāhmanas* were composed around 800 BCE, the priests’ rituals were thought to shape the well-being of people, and dharma became linked to karman. Thus, dharma came to mean how a person fits in with the natural and social world.

Body and Mind

Western psychologists sometimes have difficulty coming to grips with Hindu views of body and mind. Sāmkhya and the Upanisads distinguish matter (“*prakṛti*”), which is the objective world including the impermanent human body and mind, and spirit (“*puruṣa*”), which is the world without limitations of time or space, and which survives the death of the gross body. This subtle body has the psychological states described by Western philosophy, the sense organs (“*indriyas*”) around which everyday consciousness exists, the inner sense (“*manas*”), the ego (“*aḥamkāra*”), and awareness, representations and ideas (“*buddhi*”) (Bhat-tacharyya, 1987).

As for Buddhism, the empirical self consists of five categories, or *skandhas*, analyzed into components, or *dharmas*. First, bodily processes (*rupa*) are constituted by the *dharmas* of ear, eye, nose, tongue, and skin, and the corresponding *dharmas* of color, sound, odor, flavor, and resistance. Second is the group comprising the processes involved in feeling (“*vedana*”). Third are the processes constituting perception. Fourth, conscious and unconscious impulses to action (“*sankharas*”) reveal the *dharmas* constituting perception and feeling. These comprise mental activity present in consciousness (such as feeling, perception, will, immediate sensation, desire, understanding, memory, attention, concentration); constituents of virtue (for example, equanimity, nongreed, compassion, and mindfulness); and constituents of vice (doubt, anger, hypocrisy, envy, hatred, and pride). Nowhere is there a self to be found.

In ancient Buddhist metaphysics, the anatomical structures of the body are similar to those used by Cambodian traditional healers today (Eisenbruch, 1992). According to Theravadin Buddhist notions, the body consists of 33 elements, 21 earth elements derived from the father, and 12 water elements from the mother. Earth comes from the father and connotes the solid tissues, such as hair on the outside of the body. Water, the other main element, comes from the mother, and makes up tissues such as the gall bladder.

Self and Soul

Western thought has been influenced by Plato’s theory of reality of Forms—that there was a soul, not dissolved like the material body, and which ruled and gave life to it. According to Hindu tradition, rebirth has no effect on the eternal self (“*ātman*”) for, after death, the individual self (“*jiva*”) is the transmigrating entity. Depending on karma from the previous life, the *jiva* on leaving the body may go the way of the gods, to the heavens, with final liberation. It may go the way of the ancestors, to the moon, with return to earth in the form of rain that attaches to a plant, converted into semen when eaten by an animal, and thus bringing new life to the individual self; or it may be reborn on earth or in hell as an insect, small animal, or plant. Self and consciousness itself is transmigrated. The Buddhist theory of rebirth is clear that there is no enduring entity that moves from one existence to another. At the same time, there is no self (“*anātman*”). So how can there be cycles of rebirth if there is no self? According to Theravada, there is a chain of discrete events (for example, the transformation of fresh milk into curds).

Having dealt with transmigration, now for the question what is self. A first impression of Theravadin Buddhist doctrine of *anatta* is that there is literally no self. The Abhidhamma teaching showed self to be a transient stream of bits of sensation, consciousness, feeling, activity, impulses, and bodily processes. The fundamental elements, or *dhammas*, are elemental forces, not substances. The Law of Dependent Origination mandates that there is non self (Koller, 1985). With the evolution of Buddhist schools, the Abhidhamma doctrine of non self changed too. The Mahayana Buddhists noted a connection between the empirical person—in which self was unreal—and an enlightened one, who has achieved *tathata*, which translates more or less as “suchness” or “such as it is.” In defining self, little room is left to maneuver when one has to obey the Law of Dependent Origination. In contrast to Indian self through renunciation from society, the Confucian concept of self-development is communal. The self is a developing part of a continuing family lineage, and “reāalized neither in the transcendental *ātman* of Hindu thought with no earthly ties, nor in an individual ego” (DeVos, Marsella, & Hsu, 1985). Hsu (1985) describes the Chinese distinction between *ta wo* or “greater self,” which encompassed the concerns for wider society, from *hsiao wo* or “smaller self,” which focuses on concerns about the person and the family. He contrasts the kinship-centered Chinese kinship definition of self, in which all Chinese sons are tied to their first human group, with the Japanese case, in which noninheriting sons must find their human network elsewhere. The Chinese are tied psychologically to their kinship base, while Japanese noninheriting sons cut off their rela-

tionship with their origin, including the obligations to the ancestors.

The Nature of Perception and Consciousness

Nyaya philosophy centers on how people know an object. In ordinary perception, contact is established between the senses and their objects. In extra-ordinary perception, people see things in the past or future, or hidden things, in the course of disciplined meditation. The objects of valid knowledge depend on the relation between a knowing subject and the objects themselves, which include the self, the body, the senses, mental imperfections, suffering, and freedom from suffering (Koller, 1985). To understand the Buddhist approach to perception, one must see how it fits into the wheel of suffering (“*dhukka*”). Old age and death depend on birth, and clinging to life depends on desire; desires upon perception; perception upon sense perceptions, which would not be possible without the six sense organs. The sense organs depend on the mind and body (“*nama-rupa*”), which depend on consciousness; consciousness depends upon the impulses for action. All of these phases can belong to the self only upon the presence of ignorance, which in turn depends on the preceding factors in the cycle. Perception sits in the wheel of suffering. In Hindu belief, there are four states of consciousness. *Jāgrat*, the first, is the normal waking consciousness. *Svapna* is the experience of reality as the product of the person’s projections rather than as random. *Susupti* is the divine wisdom of the liberated person. *Turiya* is ineffable (Needleman et al., 1987). Buddhist consciousness has three components. *Citta* is the receptive intellectual thinking (“*cit*”), from the Pali word *citta*, which is defined as both heart and mind. *Mano* is purposive minding and represents the intellectual functioning of the consciousness. *Viññana* is the sensory and perceptive aspects of consciousness. It was used in early Buddhism to mean the part of a person that survived after the death of the body and is more or less equivalent to the Western concept of the soul.

Popular Religion

Popular religion is the key to understanding the psychology of formal religion. Popular Hinduism includes “pure divinities,” which are *avatāras* of Visnu and Siva—and “impure divinities” such as lineage, caste, and village deities. Cultic ritual aims to improve the worshiper’s life by avoiding illness and maintaining the family and include sacrifice (“*yajña*”); ancestral ceremonies (“*srāddha*”); life cycle rituals (“*samskāra*”); meditational or ascetic practices (“*tapas*”); worship of deities (“*pujā*”); pilgrimage (“*yātra*”); personal vows (“*vrata*”); healing and exorcism (“*cikitsā*”) (Courtright, 1987). The role of religious healing rituals is most important.

From its beginnings, Buddhism has included rituals that are intended to protect against danger and to exorcise evil. Protective, exorcistic rituals are closely associated with texts called *parittas*. The Tibetan lamas practice Tantric meditation, to the extent of controlling physiological breathing, that is, temporarily interrupting the cycle of life and rebirth. These masters can also perform other magical healing and protective rituals. In Japanese Buddhism, people participate in mass cult Buddhist practices involving folk beliefs. The Buddha’s birth, enlightenment, and death are celebrated in Therāvadin countries on one day, in Mahayana countries on different days.

In Southeast Asia, people often disregard the Buddhist teaching, maintaining that attachment to rituals as a quick fix for the relief of suffering stands in the path of salvation. In real life, people seek relief now. It is striking that the *arahat*, the term denoting one of the most archaic icons of Theravadin Buddhism, also signifies someone with magical powers capable of protecting against illness (Tambiah, 1984). Officially, the Taoist doctrine minimized the role of spirits but, in reality, mass movements of Taoism, such as the Way of the Heavenly Masters, developed and continue to the present. Communal Taoism died out during the Sung dynasty and was replaced by ritual secrecy and esoterism (Lagerwey, 1987). Popular religion, as fusion of the three doctrines, is known as “worshipping the deities” (“*pai-shen*”). It is loosely structured, focusing on cults of local deities, to promote health and long life; expel evil spirits; and release from suffering. Some anthropomorphic deities (“*shen*”) cure illness (Cohen, 1987).

The worship of ancestors and ancestral spirits is a fulcrum of Asian popular religions. Failure to propitiate leads to suffering and illness. Hindus and Buddhists observe annual rituals with offerings to the ancestors. The Chinese have formal rituals in a lineage cult and a domestic rituals at home. The yin portion of the soul, if not propitiated, can become a demonic apparition (“*kuei*”) and cause illness; the yang portion of the soul, associated with the benevolent spirits of the ancestors (“*shen*”) will protect the descendants and their families (Ahern, 1973). Cambodians believe that violation of the code of conduct of the family or of the Buddhist teachings can provoke an ancestral spirit to withdraw its protection and sometimes induce “ancestral spirit madness” or even physical illnesses such as tuberculosis (Eisenbruch, 1992).

Demons are the next ingredient of popular religion. The Vedas described demons in two groups. In one, the deities, such as *apsaras* live in the sky, and are usually benevolent. In the other, such as *asuras*, they are subterranean, and malevolent. The *pretas* are spirits of the ancestors; *bhutas* are evil spirits associated with the dead; *rāksasas*, *pisācas*, and *yātudhānas* are associated with ghoulish appearance. The Hindu demons were

adopted by Buddhism. The Buddha's doctrine led the person to a mental state where they were no longer prone to the perceptions and threats of the evil spirits. Finally, there is magic. The Veda, especially the Atharvaveda, is replete with magic ("māyā") used to neutralize evil forces ("santi"), and the *āngirasah*, employed to attack individuals. In the period after the Veda, magic in Hindu tradition is derived mainly from Siva. *Māyā* gives a person the power to deceive the enemy. The Hindu Yoga Sutras and the Buddhist Tantra provide extensive classification of magical powers. Chinese popular religion includes magic to do with shamanism ("wu-shu"), and with spirits.

Conclusion

For the psychologist, Asian religions are intriguing for they show the importance of soteriology, a doctrine of salvation. People need to be saved morally, which implies that there is some psychological need as well. Indian systems explain the problem as stemming from ignorance (*avidyā*). Whereas in Western religions, salvation occurs in this life, in Hindu and Buddhist tradition it can occur in the next.

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Maurice Eisenbruch

EATING DISORDERS. The classical disorders of eating are anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa, the first characterized by starvation and low weight, the second by binge eating followed by purging. More recently the syndrome of binge eating disorder has been described, in which individuals binge eat but do not compensate for the extra calories by purging. Less common eating disorders include ruminative disorder and pica, the former in which food is regurgitated and chewed again, and the latter in which nonnutritive substances such as clay, are eaten. While cases of apparent disordered eating have been described for centuries, the earliest accounts focused on dramatic cases of self-starvation or voracious eating. These cases were viewed as medical oddities, or sometimes as miraculous when individuals were observed to eat nothing for extended periods of time and survive. It is likely that some of these early cases were associated with brain injury, brain tumor, or a severe endocrine disorder.