

*Conditioned Co-production and Supreme Enlightenment*

Etienne Lamotte

Somaratana Balasooriya, Andre Bareau, Richard Gombrich, Siri Gunasingha, Udaya Mallawarachchi,  
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The four Noble Truths (*āryasatya*) and the doctrine of Conditioned Co-production (*pratītyasamutpāda*) are the keystones of the teaching of the Buddhas. Although closely linked, the two doctrines do not have the same history. To the unanimous agreement of the texts, the Noble Truths were 'seen' by Śākyamuni in Urubilvā, on the banks of the river Nairāñjanā, under the Bodhi tree, about the year 531 B.C., during the full moon of the month of Viśākha (April-May), in the course of the famous Night of Enlightenment. A few weeks later, the Buddha went to Kāśī country, to Vārāṇasī, in the Gazelle Park, the Ṛṣipātana: there it was that, addressing the five mendicants who were to become his disciples, he expounded the Noble Truths for the first time.

With regard to the doctrine of Conditioned Co-production, there is no lack of sources but they disagree as to the exact moment that it was discovered. The details are not without interest for they set an important doctrinal problem, the solution to which enables us the better to grasp the true significance of Supreme and Perfect Enlightenment (*anuttarā sam-yaksambodhi*).

The present article will deal with the following points:

1. The connections between the Pratītyasamutpāda and the Āryasatyas.
2. The discovery of the Pratītyasamutpāda during or after Saṃbodhi.
3. The discovery of the Pratītyasamutpāda before Saṃbodhi.
4. Saṃbodhi and its conquests.

## *Connections between the Pratītyasamutpāda and the Āryasatyas*

Their close relationship is a result of the definitions given to them in the canonical texts:

Definition of the Āryasatyas in *Vinaya*, I, p. 10, 26-38; *Samyutta*, V, pp. 421, 19 — 422, 2; *Catuspariṣatsūtra*, p. 448, 1-15. This, O monks, is the noble truth of suffering (*duḥkha*):<sup>1</sup> birth is suffering, old-age is suffering, disease is suffering, death is suffering, union with whatever one dislikes is suffering, separation from whatever one likes is suffering, not to obtain one's desire is suffering: in brief the five aggregates of grasping (*upādānaskandha*) are suffering.

This, O monks, is the noble truth of the origin of suffering: it is the thirst (*trṣṇā*) which engenders a new existence, accompanied by sensuality and covetousness, which finds satisfaction here and there, namely the thirst [for the objects] of desire, the thirst for existence, the thirst for non-existence.

This, O monks, is the noble truth of the extinction of suffering: it is the complete extinction of that thirst through the complete renunciation of desire, by rejecting it, by eliminating it, by freeing oneself from it, leaving it no place.

This, O monks, is the noble truth of the path leading to the extinction of suffering: it is the noble eightfold path, from right view to right concentration.

Definition of the twelve-linked (*dvādaśāṅga*) Pratītyasamutpāda, sometimes functioning in direct (*anulomaṃ*) order, sometimes in inverse (*pratilomaṃ*) order, and respectively provoking the arising (*utpāda*) and extinction (*nirodha*) of suffering. This is according to *Majjhima*, III, pp. 63, 26 – 64, 12; *Catuspariṣatsūtra*, p. 439, 11-23. This being, that is; through the arising of this, that arises, namely: 1-2. Conditioned by ignorance (*avidyā*) are karmic formations (*saṃskāra*); 3. conditioned by karmic formations is consciousness (*viññāna*); 4. conditioned by consciousness is name-and-form (*nāmarūpa*) [or the five psycho-physical aggregates (*skandha*) of existence]; 5. conditioned by name-and-form are the six [internal] bases of consciousness (*ṣaḍāyatana*), the [five physical organs and the mental organ]; 6. conditioned by the six bases is contact (*sparśa*) [sensory and mental]; 7. conditioned by contact is feeling (*vedanā*); 8. conditioned by feeling is thirst (*tṛṣṇā*) or desire; 9. conditioned by thirst is grasping (*upādāna*) [both affective and effective]; 10. conditioned by grasping is [action creating] existence (*bhava*); 11. conditioned by existence is birth (*jāti*); 12. conditioned by birth is old-age-and-death (*jarāmaraṇa*) and also sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and despair. Such is the origin (*samudaya*) of the whole mass of suffering (*duḥkhaskandha*).

This not being, that is not; through the extinction of this, that is extinguished: 1. through the extinction of ignorance by the total annihilation of desire there results the extinction of karmic formations and so on for the other links of the Pratītyasamutpāda. Such is the extinction (*nirodha*) of the whole mass of suffering.

The Noble Truths and the Conditioned Co-production are practically interchangeable.

For the former, suffering is in short the five *upādānaskandhas*; and for the latter, the series of *skandhas* which develop in the course of existences is the Pratītyasamutpāda (*Kośa*, III, p. 60).

*Avidyā*, which appears at the top of the Conditioned Co-production and which I have rendered by 'ignorance', is less an absence of knowledge than a false knowledge, just as in Sanskrit the word *amitra* does not just mean a 'non-friend' but an 'enemy' (*Kośa*, III, pp. 88-89). *Avidyā* is a tissue of perversions (*viparyāsa*) consisting of the non-knowledge (*ajñāna*) of the four Noble Truths (*Samyutta*, II, p. 4; IV, p. 256; *Majjhima*, I, p. 54). Its arising is the departure point of the origin of suffering (*duḥkhasamudaya*) dealt with in the second Noble Truth; its extinction provokes, step by step, the extinction of suffering (*duḥkhanirodha*) which forms the object of the third Noble Truth.

This is why, in dealing with the four Āryasatyas, the *Ānguttara* (I, pp. 176-177) reproduces, for the first and the fourth, the wording of the Sermon of Vārāṇasī, but defines the second by stating the Pratītyasamutpāda in direct order, and the third by the Pratītyasamutpāda in inverse order.<sup>2</sup>

Under such conditions, it is difficult to see how one could acquire knowledge of the four Noble Truths without discovering through so doing the law of Conditioned Co-production and vice-versa.

However, if the two doctrines inter-relate, they do not seem to have been discovered simultaneously. It was during the Night of Enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā that Śākyamuni attained the knowledge (*jñāna*) and vision (*darśana*) of the Noble Truths. With regard to the detection of the Con-

ditioned Co-production, date and place are less certain and, plentiful though it may be, the information which we can assemble on this subject is more and more contradictory. Already on several occasions Professor E. Waldschmidt, in richly documented articles, has drawn attention to this problem of chronology.<sup>3</sup>

### *Discovery of the Pratītyasamutpāda during or after Saṃbodhi*

Some sources which are not included among the oldest propose the following dates:

1. The evening that preceded the Night of Enlightenment.

*Hsiu hsing pên ch'i ching*, T 184, ch. 2, p. 470 b 27 – 470 c 10. After his meeting with the grass-cutter Svastika (Sotthiya), the *Bodhisattva* sat in concentration, achieved the four *dhyānas*, penetrated the thirty-seven *bodhipakṣyas*, then examined the twelve *nidānas* in direct and inverse order. Followed immediately by Māra's attack.

2. During the middle watch (*madhyame yāme*) of the Night.

*Fangkuang ta chuang yen ching*, T 187, ch. 9, p. 595 b 6 – 595 c 24. Having conquered the *pūrvanivāsānumṣṭijñāna* constituting the fourth Abhijñā or first Vidyā, the *Bodhisattva* examined the Pratītyasamutpāda in direct and inverse order.

3. The last watch (*paścime yāme*) of the Night.

*Mahāvastu*, II, p. 285, 7-18. The *Bodhisattva* achieved supreme and perfect enlightenment, namely (*sayyathīdam*) the four Noble Truths, the knowledge of the complete destruction of the impurities (*āsrava*), the Pratītyasamutpāda in direct and inverse order, and the fourfold *dharmodāna*.

*Lalitavistara*, pp. 346, 1 – 348, 15. Here the examination of the Pratītyasamutpāda preceded the vision of the Noble Truths.

*Kuo ch'ü hsien tsai yin kuo ching*, T 189, ch. 3, p. 642 a 20 – 642 b 10. Immediately after the discovery of the Pratītyasamutpāda, the *Bodhisattva* destroyed ignorance (*avidyā*), obtained the brilliance of wisdom (*prajñāloka*) and realized the knowledge of all aspects (*sarvākārajñāna*).

*Fo pên hsing chi ching*, T 190, ch. 30, pp. 794 c 12 – 795 b 19. When the *Bodhisattva* had acquired the knowledge and vision of the Pratītyasamutpāda, his mind was freed from impurities and he obtained Deliverance (*vimukti*). Seven days later, as will be said further on, the *Bodhisattva* having become *Buddha*, devoted yet another night to meditating on the Pratītyasamutpāda.

*Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghōṣa (ed. and tr. Johnson), XIV, v. 49-86. The *Bodhisattva* spent the third watch in discovering the Pratītyasamutpāda in direct and inverse order; then, at the beginning of the fourth, reached the stage of omniscience.

*Nidānakathā*, p. 75, 26, summarizes it all in four words: *Paçchimayāme pañccasamuppāde ñāṇam otāresi*.

4. The seventh night after the Night of Enlightenment.

*Udāna*, pp. 1-2. At that time the *Blessed One* was staying in Uruvelā, on the banks of the river Nerañjarā, at the foot of the Bodhi tree; he had just been enlightened (*paṭhamābhī-sambuddha*). For seven days he remained seated, his legs crossed, in the same posture, experiencing the joy of Deliverance (*vimukti*). After which, the *Blessed One*, at the end of these seven days, withdrew from that concentration and reflected attentively for a whole night on the Conditioned Co-production, in direct order during the first watch, in inverse order during the second, and in both direct and inverse order during the third.

*Vinaya*, I, pp. 1-2. Same text as the above with the difference that in each of the three watches of the night the *Buddha* examined the Pratītyasamutpāda in entirety, both in direct and inverse order (*anulomapaṭilomaṃ*).

*Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas*, T 1421, ch. 15, p. 102 c 14-29. The *Bodhisattva* approached the Bodhi tree and, not far from this tree, saw a grass-cutter named Svastika from whom he begged a little grass. He went to the foot of the tree, spread out the grass there and sat

down cross-legged, holding his body straight and fixing his attention in front of him. He immediately dismissed the five *nīvaraṇas*, eliminated the *pāpākuśaladharmas* and finally reached the fourth *dhyāna* where he remained. He penetrated the thirty-seven *bodhipakṣyas* and, with that purified thought, the three Vidyās became clear to him, namely the *pūrvanivāsavidyā*, the *paracittavidyā* and the *āsravakṣayavidyā*, as it is said in the *Ying pên ch'i ching*<sup>4</sup> (*Pūrvanimittanidāna*, T 185, ch. 2, p. 478 a 3-9).

Probably after a lacuna, the same *Vinaya* continues: Then, he got up and went to the village of Urubilvā. He had just been enlightened (*prathamābhisambuddha*). He sat at the foot of the tree and during the first watch he contemplated the twelve *nidānas* in inverse and direct order.

*Fo pên hsing chi ching*, T 190, ch. 31, p. 799 b 22 – 799 c 17. As we saw above, it was during the third watch of the Night of Enlightenment that Śākyamuni, still a Bodhisattva, discovered the Pratītyasamutpāda. In the present passage it is as a *Buddha* that he examines it again: Then the Blessed One, who had just been enlightened (*prathamābhisambuddha*) under the Bodhi tree, remained at the foot of the tree for seven days and nights, sitting cross-legged and unmoving, tasting the happiness of Deliverance (*vimuktisukhapratīsaṃvedin*). The seven days having passed, the Blessed One, attentive and reflective, withdrew from concentration (*samādhi*) and, seated on the lion-throne (*siṃhāsana*), passed the first watch of the night in meditating on the Pratītyasamutpāda in direct order, the middle watch on the Pratītyasamutpāda in inverse order, and the last watch in both orders together.

5. After the Buddha's visit to the nāga-king Mucalinda.

*Catuspariṣatsūtra*, pp. 100-104, or pp. 439, 7 – 440, 20. The *Blessed One*, having resided according to his convenience in the dwelling of the nāga-king Mucalinda, went to the spot of enlightenment (*bodhimāṇḍa*). He himself spread a handful of grass there and sat cross-legged, holding his body straight and fixing his attention in front of him. He devoted seven days in a single sitting to considering the twelve-linked Pratītyasamutpāda in direct and inverse order.

*Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins*, T 1450, ch. 5, p. 126 a 15-23. Then the *Blessed One* returned from the bank of the pool to the Bodhi tree. On a handful of grass, holding his body straight and legs crossed, he sat according to the rules and considered the sequence of the *dvādaśāṅga pratītyasamutpāda* in direct and inverse order.

*Chung hsü mo ho ti ching*, T 191, ch. 7, p. 952 b 21 – 952 c 3. Same text as above with the specification that the Buddha's meditation lasted for seven days.

*T'ai tzu jui ying pên ch'i ching*, T 185, ch. 2, p. 479 c 17-19. After the conversion of the nāga Mucalinda, the *Buddha* recalled his former vow to save beings; he reflected on the origin of Saṃsāra, arising from the *dvādaśāṅga pratītyasamutpāda*. A little later, he pointed out to the god Brahmā who had invited him to expound the Law how rare were those who could understand this Conditioned Co-production and he formulated the latter in unusual terms (cf. p. 480 b 14-23).

An examination of the sources which have just preceded shows that, unlike the four Noble Truths, the Conditioned Co-production is not exclusively accountable to the last watch of the Abhisambodhana, but that its discovery occurred somewhere about this great event. If, on the doctrinal level, the two doctrines inter-relate, they nevertheless have different histories. But there is more. As attested by this text Śākyamuni had some knowledge of the Pratītyasamutpāda well before his enlightenment and, most probably, in his previous existences.

#### *Discovery of the Pratītyasamutpāda before Sambodhi*

According to the Indian viewpoint which is also that of the Buddhas, beings undergo rebirth for all eternity: 'Incalculable is the beginning of this

faring on (*anamataggāyaṃ saṃsāro*) — or, in the terms of the corresponding Sanskrit expression, is endless and beginningless (*anavarāgra*) — Impossible to discover any beginning (*pubbakoti*) from which beings, bound to ignorance, fettered by ignorance, wander aimlessly from life to life' (*Samyutta*, II, pp. 178-190; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 197, 15-18; *Prasannapadā*, p. 218, 3-5).

Śākyamuni was no exception to the rule. In the course of his previous lives, under the most varied of forms and conditions, he had the opportunity to hear, if only in the form of a single stanza, then to examine in his own heart several doctrines which he was to make his own after his accession to Saṃbodhi.

Once he had become a Buddha he pointed out a certain number of them by introducing them into stereotyped statements: *Pubbeva me bhikkhave sambodhā anabhisambuddhassa bodhisattass 'eva sato etad ahoṣi* — 'Before my perfect enlightenment, O monks, when I was still an imperfectly enlightened bodhisattva, I had the following thought. . .'; see for example *Majjhima*, I, pp. 17, 114, 163; *Samyutta*, II, pp. 10, 104; III, p. 27; IV, pp. 6, 97, 233; V, p. 263; *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 258; III, p. 240.

Some people like to believe that by expressing himself in this way Śākyamuni was referring to the first part of his last life, while he was still only a bodhisattva: this is to forget that in his previous existences he was the king Surūpa who gave as feed to a Yakṣa his son, wife and own body so as to hear the stanza *priyebhyo jāyate śokaḥ* (*Avadānaśataka*, I, pp. 187-192), the king Dharmagaveṣin who threw himself into a blazing fire so as to be told the stanza *dharmam caret sucaritam* (*ibid.*, I, pp. 213-222), the young brahman who flung himself from the top of a tree so as to learn from the lips of an ogre the second half of the stanza *anityā bata saṃskārāḥ* summarizing the Buddhist tenet (*Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, T 374, ch. 14, pp. 449-451; T 375, ch. 13, pp. 691-693). The vast Buddhist literature of the *Jātakas* and *Avadānas* is inexhaustible concerning the superhuman sacrifices agreed to by the future Buddha in the course of his previous lives so as to obtain just a tiny part of the Law which later he was destined to discover and expound.

Moreover Guṇabhadra, who translated the *Samyuktāgama* into Chinese, was in no doubt about it for he renders the Sanskrit expression *pūrvaṃ me 'nuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim anabhisambuddhasya* by a clearer turn of phrase: 'I recall a previous existence (*su-ming*) when still not being perfectly enlightened, etc . . .' (T 99, ch. 12, p. 80 b 25-26).

It was indeed in the course of a previous existence that the bodhisattva Śākyamuni discovered the old path already followed by the Buddhas who had preceded him in time (*purāṇaṃ maggaṃ pubbakehi sammāsambuddehi anuyātam*) and formulated the doctrine of the direct and inverse Pratītyasamutpāda by borrowing so as to define it, formulae identical to those he was to use later after his Saṃbodhi. A decisive text in this respect is the famous *Nagaropamasūtra*, 'Sūtra of the comparison of the town', of undoubted

antiquity and authenticity if we take into account the perfect agreement between the Southern tradition (*Samyuttanikāya*, II, pp. 104-107) and that of the North (*Samyuktāgama*, T 99, ch. 12, pp. 80 b 24 – 81 a 8; *Nidānasam-yukta*, ed. Ch. Tripāthī, pp. 94-106).

But, some might say, if Śākyamuni had already heard and formulated the law of Conditioned Co-production well before his Saṃbodhi, he was enlightened in advance. What new could the famous Night at Bodh-Gayā have brought him?

The objection is not valid and the answer is simple: Saṃbodhi had conferred on his previous knowledges a clarity and above all a new efficacy which assured him of Supreme Deliverance (*anuttarā vimukti*) and carried his qualities and attributes to the highest summit of accomplishment (*sampad*).

However, the subject is complex and, to see it clearly, we must allow ourselves to be guided blindly by the canonical sources which have dealt with it. There is no lack of these.

### *Saṃbodhi and its conquests*

The canonical texts which deal ex-professo with the Enlightenment can be classified into two groups: the writings on the Abhisambodhana itself, and the explanations supplied by the Sermon at Vārāṇasī on the discovery of the Noble Truths with their threefold turning and twelve aspects. In these passages, the Buddha expresses himself in the first person ('Ich Bericht') and, in the case of the oldest sources, makes no mention of the Pratītyasamutpāda.

1. Among the accounts devoted to the Abhisambodhana, which occurred in the third watch of the Night at Bodh-Gayā, the following texts can be noted: *Majjhima*, I, p. 23, 11-25; p. 117; p. 249, 4-18; *Vinaya*, III, p. 5, 20-35; *Anguttara*, II, p. 211, 10-22; IV, pp. 178, 25-179, 8; *Madhyama*, T 26, ch. 40, p. 680 a 26-680 b 4; *Ekottara*, T 125, ch. 23, p. 666 c 14-19.

My mind being thus concentrated, purified, cleansed, spotless, purged of the minor defilements, supple, tractable, stable, come to immovability, I directed it towards the knowledge of the destruction of the impurities (*āsavānaṃ khayañña*).

I realised in accordance with reality: 'This is suffering (*dukkha*); this is the origin (*samudaya*) of suffering; this is the extinction (*nirodha*) of suffering; this is the path leading to the extinction of suffering (*dukkha-nirodhagāmini paṭipadā*)'.

I realised in accordance with reality: 'These are the impurities (*āsava*); this is the origin of the impurities; this is the destruction of the impurities; this is the path leading to the destruction of the impurities.'

While I was so knowing (*jānato*), while I was so seeing (*passāto*), my mind was delivered from the impurity of desire (*kāmāsava*), from the impurity of existence (*bhavāsava*) and from the impurity of ignorance (*avijjāsavā*).

Being delivered, I had the knowledge (*ñāna*) that I was delivered.

I realised: 'Birth is exhausted, the religious life has been practised; what had to be done has been done; now there will be for me no other existence than the present one.'<sup>5</sup>

*Mahāvastu*, II, p. 285, 2-3, 18-21: Through a wisdom associated with a single moment of thought, I acquired supreme and perfect enlightenment (*ekacittakṣaṇasamāyuktayā prajñayā anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisambuddhe*). . . All formations [arising from causes] are impermanent (*sarvasaṃskārā anityāḥ*), all formations are painful (*sarvasaṃskārā duḥkhā*), all things are Not-self (*sarvadharmā anātmāṇaḥ*); this is what is calm, excellent, in accordance with experience, devoid of error, namely the rejection of all the substrata of existence (*sarvopadhīpratiniḥsarga*), the appeasing of all formations (*sarvasaṃskāraśamatha*), the dissolution of things (*dharmopaccheda*), the destruction of thirst (*trṣṇāksāya*), the suppression of desire (*virāga*), cessation (*nirodha*), Nirvāṇa. *Lalitavistara*, p. 350, 13-14: When the Buddha had reached supreme and perfect enlightenment through a wisdom associated with a single moment of thought (*ekacittakṣaṇasamāyuktayā prajñayā*), the three knowledges (*traividyā*) were acquired.

2. In his Sermon at Vārāṇasī, after or before the definition of the four Noble Truths, the Buddha explained how and in what order he had penetrated their three turnings (*parivarta*) and twelve aspects (*ākāra*). Here again, he was manifestly referring to the Night of Enlightenment: Pāli *Vinaya*, I, p. 11, 1-32; *Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas*, T 1421, ch. 15, p. 104 c 7-17; *Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas*, T 1428, ch. 32, p. 788 a 27-788 b 23; *Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins*, T 1450, ch. 6, pp. 127 c 7-128 a 8; *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, pp. 142-152 (or revised text, pp. 445, 19-446, 30); *Mahāvastu*, III, pp. 332, 13 - 333, 17; *Lalitavistara*, pp. 417, 15 - 418, 21.

Among these sources there are certain divergencies in detail which Professor Waldschmidt has pointed out in his edition of the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, pp. 140-152, in the notes. I will refer here to the text of this sūtra.

The Buddha explained to the group of five disciples how he penetrated, in Bodh-Gayā, the four Noble Truths (*āryasatyā*) consisting of three turnings (*parivarta*) and twelve aspects (*ākāra*) at the rate of four aspects for each of the three turnings.

First turning — 1. This is suffering (*idaṃ duḥkham*); 2. this is the origin of suffering (*ayaṃ duḥkhasamudayaḥ*); 3. this is the extinction of suffering (*ayaṃ duḥkhanirodhaḥ*); 4. this is the path leading to the extinction of suffering (*iyam duḥkhanirodhagāmiṇī pratīpat*).

Second turning — 5. Suffering should be perfectly known (*parijñātavya*); 6. its origin should be destroyed (*prahātavya*); 7. its destruction should be realized (*sākṣātkartavya*); 8. the path leading to its destruction should be practised (*bhāvayitavya*).

Third turning — 9. Suffering is perfectly known (*parijñāta*); 10. its origin is destroyed (*prahīna*); 11. its destruction is realized (*sākṣātkṛta*); 12. the path leading to its destruction has been practised (*bhāvita*).

To each of these twelve aspects is applied, like the refrain of a song, the following formula: *Iti me bhikṣavaḥ pūrvam ananuśruteṣu dharmeṣu yoniṣo manasikurvataś cakṣur udapādi jñānaṃ vidyā buddhir udapādi*, 'While I was reflecting correctly on these things not heard before, the eye arose, and also knowledge, learning, intelligence.'

The Buddha ended by saying: Ever since, O monks, regarding the four Noble Truths, there arose in me the eye with its three turnings and twelve aspects (*triparivartaṃ dvādaśākāraṃ cakṣuḥ*), and also knowledge, learning, intelligence, then I was liberated, freed, rid and delivered from this world (*lokāt*)<sup>6</sup> with its gods, its Māra and its Brahmas, with these people with their monks and brahmins; I installed myself firmly in the state of mind devoid of perversion (*viparyāsāpagatena cetasā bahulaṃ vyahārṣaṃ*) and since then, O monks, I realised I had attained supreme and perfect enlightenment.

*Mahāvastu*, III, p. 333, 16-17: Knowledge came to me (*jñānaṃ ca me udapāsi*), and I realised the unshakeable deliverance-of-mind and deliverance-through-wisdom (*akopyā ca me cetovimuktiḥ prajñāvimuktiḥ sākṣīkṛtā*).



*Lalitavistara*, p. 418, 17-20: I realised the unshakeable deliverance-of-mind and deliverance-through-wisdom (*akopyā ca me cetovimuktiḥ prajñāvimuktiś ca sāksātkeṛtā*). . . ; knowledge and vision came to me (*jñānadarśanaṃ me udapādi*).

These sources are focused on the 'deliverance' (*vimukti*) aspect of Saṃbodhi and are silent on the preparatory path which leads to it, as well as on the perfecting of the Buddha attributes which are its result. This fact leads us to deal briefly with the following points:

1. The preparatory path to Saṃbodhi.
2. Saṃbodhi as Deliverance.
3. The completion of the Buddha attributes.

### 1. *The preparatory path to Saṃbodhi*

Saṃbodhi is the culminating point of a long intellectual search. We have seen in the preceding pages that during the course of his previous existences the future Buddha had already formulated the doctrine of the Pratityasamutpāda. Before being reborn here and while still in the Tuṣita heaven, he possessed, according to the *Lalitavistara*, p. 9, 3-5, the pointed canine teeth and nails of the four Noble Truths (*caturāryasatyasutikṣṇanakhadaṃṣṭra*) and a body gradually perfected by the discovery of the twelve-linked Conditioned Co-production (*dvādaśāṅgapratityasamutpādānubodhānupūrvvasamudgatakāya*).

Having descended from the Tuṣita heaven, the Bodhisattva took on birth in Kapilavastu in the family of the king Śuddhodana so as to live his final existence there. His first meditation in the 'labourers' village', his four excursions to Kapilavastu, his six years of austerities were a direct preparation for his enlightenment. He was perfectly endowed with merit (*punya*) and knowledge (*jñāna*) when, at the age of thirty-five, he sat at the foot of the Bodhi tree. Having entered the fourth Dhyāna, he 'directed his thought' (*cittam abhinirṇāmayati*) towards the Abhijñāns and 'reflected correctly on the truths not yet heard in his time'. He knew in fact, as he was to declare later (*Samyutta*, I, p. 105), that correct reflection (*yoniśo manasikāra*), combined with correct effort (*yoniśo samyakpradhāna*), is the indispensable condition for the obtaining of supreme deliverance (*anuttarā vimukti*).

The Bodhisattva thus reached the end of a long intellectual search untiringly and systematically pursued from time immemorial.

We do indeed mean an intellectual search for Bodhi is not an intuition which, by definition, has no recourse to reasoning. It has nothing in common with an irrational gnosis consisting of the perception of a mysterious Absolute simultaneously transcendent to and immanent in beings and things, such as the Brahman-Ātman of the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta. Bodhi is the clear and lucid vision of the law of causes and effects presiding

over the formation and evolution of the triple world, the knowledge of the general characteristics<sup>7</sup> — impermanence, suffering and non-substantiality — of all things produced by causes with, in addition, the belief in an undefinable Nirvāṇa.

The discovery of these empirical realities is neither sudden nor fortuitous. It results from a long and patient quest pursued throughout the Bodhisattva's career which, for Śākyamuni, was spread over three incalculable periods (*asaṃkhyeyakalpa*) followed by a further ninety-one kalpas.<sup>8</sup> In fact, unlike the Chinese 'predisposed to grasp the truth by a direct and synthetic intuition' (translated from P. Demiéville), the Indian Buddhists made themselves for centuries the protagonists of a gradualist concept of deliverance.<sup>9</sup> By so doing, they translated the profound conviction of their founder who was always repeating: 'Just as the great ocean dips gradually, ebbs gradually, slopes gradually and not suddenly like a precipice, so in my doctrine and my discipline, the access to perfect knowledge (*aññāpaṭivedha*) is achieved by a gradual practice (*anupubbasiikkhā*), a gradual action (*anupubbakiriyā*), a gradual way (*anupubbapaṭipadā*) and not directly (*na āyatakena*).'<sup>10</sup> (*Vin.*, II, p. 238; *Aṅguttara*, IV, pp. 200-201; *Udāna*, p. 54; *Madhyama*, T 26, ch. 8, p. 476 b 22-26). Or again: 'I deny that at the first attempt (*ādiken 'eva*) one may gain access to perfect knowledge; on the contrary, it is through a gradual practice, a gradual action, a gradual way that one gains access to perfect knowledge' (*Majjhima*, I pp. 479-480; *Madhyama*, T 26, ch. 51, p. 752 a 27-29). If by 'Awakening' is meant a withdrawal from sleep, Bodhi is not an Awakening, contrary to a translation which is very widespread these days. In fact the Bodhisattva prepared for it by insatiable activity throughout the length of his career.

## 2. *Sam̐bodhi as Deliverance*

The Buddhist ideal is to escape from the painful world of Saṃsāra and attain deliverance (*vimukti*). All the early accounts devoted to the Night of Enlightenment are focused on this essential goal to the point of neglecting its secondary aspects.

When Śākyamuni sat under the Bodhi tree, he was close to this goal but had not yet reached it: he was an ordinary man, a worldling (*prthagjana*). By means of the current procedures of study, reflection and recollection, he had eliminated a considerable amount of ignorance and perverted views, but had not reached the pure vision of the Noble Truths; he had eradicated the passions (*kleśa*) which, in the past, had kept him tied to the world of desire (*kāmadhātu*), to the four spheres of subtle form (*rūpadhātu*) and the three lower levels of the formless world (*ārūpyadhātu*), but he had not broken the fetters (*saṃyojana*) which still chained him to the highest level of the formless world known by the name of the Summit of existence (*bhavāgra*).

In a single sitting, during the last watch of the night, he found the pure

vision of the truths, destroyed every passion and became Buddha. Every moment of that memorable watch deserves attention.

A. What is the pure vision of the truths? It is the wisdom devoid of impurities (*prajñā anāsravā*), the only one that is truly liberating, that interrupts the round of existence and puts a final stop to suffering.

There are three kinds of Prajñā (*Digha*, III, p. 219; *Vibhaṅga*, pp. 324-325): (i) Prajñā arising from the teaching (*śrutamayī*), founded on confidence in the authorized word of a master; (ii) Prajñā based on reflection (*cintāmayī*); (iii) Prajñā born of meditation (*bhāvanāmayī*), going straight to the thing, independent of words and cogitations.

However admirable they may be, these three wisdoms generally remain blemished by ignorance and delusion. There exists, however, a Prajñā arising from meditation (*bhāvanāmayī*) which constitutes the supreme right view (*samyagdr̥ṣṭi*). The Buddha defined it in the following terms (*Majjhima*, III, p. 72): 'I assert, O monks, that there are two right views. There is a right but impure (*sāsavā*) view, having only meritorious value (*puññabhāgiyā*) and only bearing fruit in this world (*upadhivepakkā*); there is a right view, noble (*ariyā*), pure (*anāsavā*), transcendental (*lokuttarā*) and linked to the Path (*maggāṅgā*). The latter view belongs to the noble mind (*ariyacitta*), the purified mind (*anāsavacitta*), conjoined to the noble Path (*ariyamaggassa samaṅgi*) and cultivating the noble Path (*ariyamaggaṃ bhāvayan*): this is wisdom (*paññā*), the faculty of wisdom (*paññīndriya*), the power of wisdom (*paññābala*), the limb of enlightenment consisting in clarifying things (*dhammavicayasam̐bojjhaṅga*)'.

Since they only culminate in partial liberation, the other Prajñās are left stranded; only Prajñā anāsravā brings about total and definitive Vimukti. As we saw above, the Buddha who won it at Bodh-Gayā also designated it by the following names: eye (*cakṣus*), knowledge (*jñāna*), learning (*vidyā*), intelligence (*buddhi*).

In fact, explains the *Kośavyākhyā*, pp. 580-581, the Prajñā anāsravā is called *cakṣus* because its object is perceived directly (*pratyakṣārthatvāt*) and so as to exclude any knowledge by induction (*ānumānikajñāna*), *jñāna* because it is devoid of doubt (*niḥsaṃśayatvāt*) and so as to exclude any subjective knowledge (*ādhimokṣikajñāna*), *vidyā* because its object is real (*bhūtārthatvāt*) and so as to exclude any capricious knowledge (*ābhimānikajñāna*), *buddhi* because etymologically *buddhi* means pure thought (*viśuddhā dhi*) and so as to exclude any impure knowledge (*sāsravajñāna*).

The Prajñā anāsravā is the antidote (*pratipakṣa*) to the impurities (*āsrava*): 'Whoever, through its light, knows and sees the four Noble Truths is assured of the destruction of the impurities (*āsravāṇaṃ kṣaya*)' (*Samyutta*, V, p. 434). The *āsravas* are the blind and tenacious outflows which vitiate the triple world, from the Summit of existence (*bhavāgra*) to the Avīci hell. The early sūtras (*Majjhima*, I, p. 6; *Samyutta*, IV, p. 256, etc.) distinguish three kinds of them: 1-2. the *kāma*- and *bhavāsravas*, fetters

binding beings respectively to the world of desire and to the other higher worlds; 3. the *avidyāsravas*, the ignorances which throw man into confusion regarding the Truths. As long as the least of these *āsravas* persists, painful *Samsāra* will pursue its course.

B. The Bodhisattva required centuries to prepare for Bodhi; conversely, it was, if not instantaneously, at least very quickly that he reached, that Night in Bodh-Gayā, the perfect and definite comprehension (*abhisamaya*) of the Noble Truths. He saw them, he reacted to them and knew that his effort was at an end. In scholastic terms, he trod at great speed a threefold path (*Kośa*, VI, p. 247): 1. a path of vision (*darśanamārga*): This is suffering, its origin, its extinction and the path of extinction. 2. a path of mental exercise (*bhāvanāmārga*): Suffering must be known, its origin destroyed, its destruction realized, the path of its destruction practised. 3. the path of him who has no more to practise (*aśaikṣamārga*): Suffering is known, its origin destroyed, its destruction realized, the path of its destruction practised.

In the path of vision, the holy one is occupied in knowing what he did not know; in the path of mental exercise, he is knowledgeable, but in order to destroy the passions which remain for him, he knows again and on several occasions the truths which he already knows; in the path of the Aśaikṣa, he becomes aware that he knows (*Kośa*, II, p. 117).

Was the pure comprehension of the Truths which became manifest during the Night of Enlightenment instantaneous, single (*eka*) or gradual? The question preoccupied the masters and the schools were divided.<sup>10</sup>

The Theravādins believe that it was instantaneous (*Kathāvatthu*, pp. 212-220) and, as we saw above, the *Mahāvastu* (II, p. 285, 2-3) and the *Lalitavistara* (p. 350, 13-14) assert directly that the Buddha attained supreme and perfect enlightenment 'through a wisdom associated to a single moment of thought.' What is more, as the Buddha declared, whoever sees suffering sees [virtually and by that very fact] its origin, its extinction and the path to its extinction (*Samyutta*, V, p. 437), and as soon as the vision of the caducity of things appeared, the basic fetters (*saṃyojana*) — false view of the personality, doubt, belief in the efficacy of rules and rituals — disappeared at last (*Kathāvatthu*, pp. 109, 220).

In contrast, the Sarvāstivādins together with other schools are of the opinion that the penetration of the Truths is and can only be gradual (*anupūrva*). In support of their thesis they quote three sūtras from the *Samyukta*, illustrated by the examples of the storied mansion (*kūṭāgāra*), the four-flighted stairway (*catuṣkadevara sopāna*) and the four-runged ladder (*catuṣpadikā niśreṇi*): cf. *Samyukta*, T 99, ch. 16, p. 113 a-b; *Samyutta*, V, p. 452; *Kośa*, VI, pp. 188-189; *Kośavyākhyā*, pp. 543-544. For them, Śākyamuni required thirty-four thought-moments to reach enlightenment and deliverance (*Vibhāṣā*, T 1545, ch. 153, p. 780 a 27; ch. 182, p. 913 c 21-22; *Kośa*, II, pp. 205-206; VI, p. 177), namely sixteen moments — from *duḥkhe dharmajñānakṣānti* to *mārge 'nvayajñāna* — to penetrate the four

Truths, then eighteen moments to destroy the nine categories of the passions which still tied him to the Bhavāgra, by applying to each of them a process of destruction (*prahāṇamārga*) and a process of liberation (*vimuktimārga*).<sup>11</sup>

However it may be, Śākyamuni's final effort was crowned with success in one watch of the night.

According to the *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 285, 18-19, the penetration of the Truths brought in its wake the knowledge of the three general characteristics (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*) of things: *Sarvasaṃskārā anityāḥ*, *sarvasaṃskārā duḥkhāḥ*, *sarvadharmā anātmānaḥ*, a formula which we can freely translate in the following way: 'All dharmas arising from causes are impermanent, all dharmas arising from causes are painful, all dharmas, whether or not they arise from causes, are impersonal.' Combined with the asseveration of Nirvāṇa which is the supreme Calming (*śānta*), these three characteristics comprise the essence of the Buddhist doctrine and are rightly called the seals (*mudrā*) or summaries (*uddeśa*) of the Law.

C. When Śākyamuni had, through the Prajñā anāsravā, penetrated the four Noble Truths, 'his mind was freed from the three Āsravas: impurity of desire, impurity of existence and impurity of ignorance', and he broke his last links with the triple world of suffering: in a word, he obtained Vimukti. The texts specify that this is a matter of a twofold deliverance: a *cetovimukti* because his mind was freed from the passions and perversions; a *prajñāvimukti* because that deliverance originated in pure Prajñā. Besides, this Vimukti is unshakeable (*akopyā*) for the holy one cannot slip from it.

D. It is essential that the holy one become aware of this Vimukti, to the point that, for the *Kośa*, VI, p. 282, Bodhi amounts to a twofold knowledge, a knowledge that the impurities are destroyed (*āsravakṣayañjāna*), a knowledge that they will not arise again (*anutpādajñāna*). By means of the former he knows in truth that the task is completed, by means of the latter that it is no longer to be completed. This is why the holy one, having reached the end, solemnly proclaims: *Kṣīṇā me jātiḥ*, etc. . . .

Bodhi was to leave intact the five psycho-physical aggregates (*skandha*) of existence (*rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, *saṃskāra*, *viññāna*) which the future Buddha assumed during his last rebirth, and these were to continue to be reproduced for forty-five years until his Parinirvāṇa. But, simultaneously with this, Bodhi develops a series of five pure aggregates called *dharmaskandhas*, *lokottaraskandhas*, *anāsravaskandhas*, and which develop outside of time: these are morality (*śīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), wisdom (*prajñā*), deliverance (*vimukti*), the knowledge and vision of deliverance (*vimukti-jñānadarśana*): see *Samyutta*, I, pp. 99-100; V, p. 162; *Ānguttara*, III, pp. 134, 271, etc. . . It is in these transcendental *skandhas* and in them alone that Buddhists take their refuge in the Buddha (*Vibhāṣā*, T 1545, ch. 34, pp. 176 c 29 - 177 c 24; *Kośa*, IV, pp. 76-80).

E. This conscious deliverance constitutes the very essence of Bodhi, and it is quite rightly that, in their accounts of the enlightenment, the ancient

sources concentrated their attention almost exclusively on it. There are, and that goes without saying, notable differences between the Bodhis of the holy ones (*arhats* or *āśaikṣas*) depending on whether a Śrāvaka, a Pratyekabuddha or a Buddha is concerned, but with regard to conscious Vimukti, all these Bodhis are the same. The Buddha confirmed this several times (*Aṅguttara*, III, p. 34; *Majjhima*, II, p. 129; *Saṃyutta*, V, p. 410): as long as one is freed from the *āsravas* and has attained holiness (*arhattva*), I assert that there is, between deliverance and deliverance, not the slightest difference (*ettha kho pan' esāhaṃ na kiñci nānākaraṇaṃ vadāmi yad idaṃ vimuttiyā vimuttiṃ*).

If the Buddha's supreme deliverance (*anuttarā vimukti*) seems so complicated to us, it is because he must have arrived though his own powers at the pure vision of the Truths. For the disciples who benefited from his teaching, success was much easier: from the first weeks of Śākyamuni's preaching, the Community counted no less than sixty Arhats among its members, not including the Buddha himself (*Catuṣpariṣad*, p. 212; *Vin. of the Mūlasarv.*, T 1450, ch. 6, p. 130 a 17).

The formulae describing their accession to holiness are contained in a few lines; the simplest and most frequent is as follows: 'While this expounding of the Law was being uttered, the mind of whomever was, through detachment [from existence], freed of impurities (*anūpādāyāsravebhyaś cittam vimuktam*)'.

Here the teaching of the Buddha plays the main role, but the inner dispositions of the disciples are not to be neglected for all that. Thus, during the Sermon at Vārāṇasī, Ājñātakaṇḍiya became an Arhat some time before his four companions, probably because his good roots (*kuśalamūla*) were riper than theirs.

### 3. *The completion of the Buddha attributes*

In reading the early narrations devoted to the Enlightenment, we cannot escape the impression that the first disciples placed more emphasis on Deliverance and neglected the attributes of their Teacher. By so doing, they were conforming to the instructions left by the latter. 'Just as the ocean has only one taste, the taste of salt, so my doctrine and my discipline have only one taste, that of Vimukti' (*Vinaya*, II, p. 239; *Aṅguttara*, IV, p. 203; *Udāna*, p. 56). Conversely, the Buddha did nothing to draw attention to his person: 'As long as the body of the Tathāgata subsists, so long will gods and men see him, but when his body is broken and his life departed, gods and men will no longer see him' (*Dīgha*, I, p. 46). 'Just as the flame reached by a breath of wind goes towards stilling (*atthaṃ paleti*) and disappears from sight, so the Sage, casting off name and body (*nāmakāya*) enters stilling and disappears from sight. . . . Him who has attained stilling, no measure can measure; to speak of him, there are no words; what the mind might con-

ceive vanishes; every path is precluded to language' (*Suttanipāta*, v. 1074-1076).

It might perhaps be over-daring to suggest that, in the history of Buddhist speculation, soteriology preceded buddhology. In any case, the Vimukti won by the Lord on the night of his enlightenment had its impact on the Buddha attributes.

When the Buddha, recently enlightened, set out for Vārāṇasī, he met the ājīvika Upaga (Upaka) on the way and announced to him: 'For me there is no master, none is like me; I am in the world the only Sambuddha; I have obtained perfect and supreme enlightenment. I have overcome everything; I know everything (*sarvavid*); I am not defiled by anything at all; I have abandoned everything and am liberated from fear; having taught myself, to whom could I point as teacher? Unequaled and unparalleled, by proclaiming myself, I have attained Bodhi. I am the Tathāgata, the instructor of gods and men, omniscient (*sarvajña*) and endowed with all the powers' (*Catuṣpariṣad*, pp. 128 and 443; compare, with E. Waldschmidt, *Vinaya*, I, p. 8; *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 326; *Lalitavistara*, p. 405). This is an utterance far beyond that *Kṣiṇā me jātiḥ*. . . proclaimed by all the Arhats.

Before his enlightenment Śākyamuni possessed some of the Buddha attributes such as, for example, the thirty-two Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas which Asita and others were easily able to establish. The *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 261, goes so far as to posit that the Bodhisattvas are in possession of all the qualities of body, speech and mind when they go to take their place under the Bodhi tree.

However it may be, just as Sambodhi assured the Bodhisattva of the pure vision of the Truths which he had only imperfectly known before, so that same Sambodhi also brought to their ultimate accomplishment (*sampad*) the attributes and qualities which he had already previously possessed. It is given to man to perform discoveries of a philosophical or scientific order, but the sublimation of the Truths to the point of rendering them liberative is the exclusive prerogative of Anuttarā Samyaksambodhi.

The Buddha attributes are so varied and numerous that only the Bhagavat Buddhas would be capable of extolling them and in order to do this, they would have to prolong their existence for several *asamkhyeyakalpas*.

Condensing the subject as much as possible, the *Kośabhāṣya*, ed. Pradhan, pp. 415, 19 – 416, 5, commented on by its *Vyākhyā*, pp. 649, 13 – 650, 21, arranges the accomplishments (*sampad*) of the Buddhas under three headings: (i) accomplishment of causes (*hetusampad*), (ii) accomplishment of the fruit (*phalasampad*), (iii) accomplishment of benefit (*upakārasampad*). It is sufficient here to refer the reader to this small treatise on buddhology, remarkable for the clarity of its statements and the quality of the sources from which it draws inspiration. In it can be noted in particular that, unlike the other Arhats, the Buddha extended his omniscience as far as the knowledge of things in all their particular aspects (*sarvākārajñatā*) and, not con-

tent with destroying the passions (*kleśa*), eliminated the least pervasion (*vāsana*) of them: ideas which were to be taken up and elaborated by the theoreticians of the Mahāyāna.

## NOTES

- 1 On the meaning of *dukkha*, which has no satisfactory equivalent in Western languages, see W. Rāhula, *What the Buddha taught*, 2nd revised edition, London, 1967, p. 17ff.
- 2 Passage already pointed out by H. Oldenberg (tr. A. Foucher), *Le Buddha, sa vie, sa doctrine, sa communauté*, Paris, 1934, p. 252.
- 3 'Vergleichende Analyse des Catuspariṣatsūtra', *Festschrift Schubring*, 1951, pp. 92-93; 'Die Erleuchtung des Buddha', *Festschrift Krause*, 1960, pp. 214-229. These articles were reprinted in *Schriften Waldschmidt, Von Ceylon bis Turfan*, Göttingen, 1967.
- 4 The complete title of the Chinese version is *T'ai tzu jui ying p'en ch'i ching*.
- 5 There are some divergencies between the Pāli formula (*Majjhima*, I, p. 23; *Āṅguttara*, II, p. 211; IV, p. 179; *Vinaya*, III, p. 5) and the Sanskrit formula (*Catuspariṣad*, p. 434; E. Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Sūtras*, p. 141; *Kośavyākhyā*, p. 642, 23-25).

*Tassa me evaṃ jānato evaṃ passato kāmāsavā pi cittaṃ vimuccittha, bhavāsavā pi cittaṃ vimuccittha, avijjāsavā pi cittaṃ vimuccittha, vimuttasmiṃ vimuttam iti nāpaṃ ahoṣi; khīṇā jāti, vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, kataṃ karaṇiyaṃ nāparaṃ itthattāyāti abbhāññāsim.*

*Tasyaivaṃ jānato evaṃ paśyataḥ kāmāśravāc cittaṃ vimucyate, bhavāśravāc avidyāśravāc cittaṃ vimucyate, vimuktasya vimukto 'smiti jñānadarśanaṃ bhavati; kṣīṇā me jātir uṣitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, kṛtaṃ karaṇiyaṃ nāparaṃ asmād bhavaṃ prajāñāmiti.*

If the Sanskrit *nāparaṃ asmād bhavam* is clear, the Pāli *nāparaṃ itthattāyā* is more difficult. W. Rāhula, *What the Buddha taught*, p. 39, translates: Nothing more is left to be done.— F. L. Woodward, *Gradual Sayings*, II, p. 225: There is no beyond to this state of things.— I. B. Horner, *Middle Length Sayings*, I, p. 29: There is no more of being such or such.— H. Oldenberg, *Reden des Buddha*, Munich, 1922, p. 30: Keine Rückkehr gibt es mehr zu dieser Welt.— M. Winternitz, *Der ältere Buddhismus*, Tübingen, 1929, p. 11: Nicht wieder kehre ich zu dieser Welt zurück.— Also see the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Copenhagen, II, p. 283, s.v. *itthatta*.

Buddhaghosa in his Commentary on the *Majjhima*, I, p. 128, 8-10, explains *itthattāyā* by *itthambhāvato, imasmā evaṃpakārā*, and adds the following gloss: *Idāni vattamānakkhandhasantānā aparāṃ khandhasantānaṃ mayhaṃ n'atthi*, 'Now there is not for me any series of aggregates following on the present series of aggregates'. So therefore *nāparaṃ itthattāyā* would be an exact synonym of *n'atthi 'dāni punabbhavo* which is frequently encountered in the texts (cf. *Pāli Tipiṭakaṃ Concordance*, III, p. 304).

- 6 The Pāli wording simply says that 'in the world' (*loke*, not *lokāt*) the future Buddha found enlightenment.
- 7 The knowledge of the general characteristic (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*) of things is common to all Arhats without distinction. However, the Buddhas also possess the *sarvākārajñatā* 'knowledge of things in all their aspects' thanks to which they discern the special characteristics (*sva-* or *bhinna-lakṣaṇa*) proper to each thing.
- 8 The details can be found in *Kośa*, III, pp. 188-190; IV, p. 225.
- 9 Subject of topical interest. Present state of the matter with a full bibliography in P. Demiéville, 'La pénétration du bouddhisme dans la tradition philosophique chinoise', *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, III, 1956, pp. 1-38; R. A. Stein, 'Illumination subite ou saisie simultanée', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CLXXIX, 1971, pp. 1-30.
- 10 In my humble opinion, the problem is of little interest. The main point is that the Bodhisattva approached Sambodhi gradually, by stages, during the course of many existences. Whether Sambodhi itself, the ultimate conclusion of his effort, lasted for one, twelve, sixteen or thirty-four thought-moments is only a question of detail.
- 11 For details, see L. de La Vallée Poussin, *La Morale bouddhique*, Paris, 1927, p. 106.