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Lost in the Daśottarāṣṭra, Found in the Kṣudrakavastu

Jens-Uwe Hartmann

1. Introduction

The Kṣudrakavastu in the Vinaya of the Mulasarvāstivādins contains a whole cycle of stories connected with king Pradyota from Ujjayinī who, together with three other princes, is said to be born at the same time as the future Buddha. These stories are quite diverse, interesting, sometimes amusing, and at least one of them is very well-known, namely the romance of Udayana and Vāsavadattā. In some of them Bharata, a former farmer, plays a prominent role. Pradyota had appointed him as minister due to his cleverness, and it is a dialogue between this wise minister and the king which contains the passage that will be of interest here. The conversation is preceded by events that lead up to a heated exchange between Pradyota and his wife Śāntā in the course of which the king becomes so enraged — his wife has just smashed a pot on his head and thereby caused a certain amount of damage — that he orders Bharata to dispose of the unruly Śāntā. However, the minister, being farsighted enough to understand the temporariness of the king’s fury, does not comply with the order. Instead, he has the queen vanish from the scene by removing her to a secret place. Soon after, the king apparently feels remorse and starts to inquire about his wife. This results in a long dialogue between Pradyota and his minister in which the king asks questions with regard to the presumed death of his wife and the wise minister answers by adducing aphorisms from the inexhaustible treasure store of old Indian nīti sayings and subhāṣītas.
More than hundred years ago Anton Schiefner drew attention to the story when he published a German translation of the whole section of the *Kṣudrakavastu* in 1875, and he was also the first to notice the *nīti* character of the answers when he translated the dialogue from Tibetan into Latin in the same year. Many of the verses contain numerical items as, e.g., the verses in section 5 (three naked objects), 6 (three useless things), 7 (three things unused), 8 (three to be killed) according to Schiefner’s numbering. Towards the end of the dialogue the number of items is growing: six in the verses of sections 42–44, seven in 45, eight in 46–48, nine in 49, and ten in 50–52. Probably it was this principle of the growing figures that induced the author (s) of the dialogue to include sections 49–52 with answers that contain nine and ten items, but otherwise break the formal scheme. Hitherto, the king had asked a prose question, and Bharata had responded by quoting a verse. In 49, all of a sudden he answers with a lengthy prose passage that suits the context, but not the previous format of the dialogue. The answer deals with dispelling nine kinds of anger (*mnar sams, āghāta*), a topic fitting very well with the behaviour of the irascible king, but its prose, consisting of repeated phrases, has nothing to do with the succinct and pointed wording of a *subhāṣīta* verse. Rather, it reminds one of the characteristic diction of a Buddhist canonical text, and indeed this is the apparent source of the quotation.

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2. Schiefner 1875a. The most recent studies of the verses are Okada 1993 and Okada 1994; I wish to thank Michael Hahn, Marburg, for bringing them to my attention. The conversation between Pradyota and his minister with its relation to the topic of *nīti* has possibly served as a model for a talk between the same king and the Jaina follower Satyaka in a Mahāyāna sūtra, the *Bodhisattva-gocara-upāya-sūrya-vikrama-mireka-sūtra* or *Satyakaparivarta*, on the topic of *rājānīti*, cf. Zimmermann 2000, esp. 187 with an extract from the Tibetan translation, and Jenkins 2010.
3. Remarkably, in Yijing’s Chinese translation of the *Kṣudrakavastu*, the answer is condensed into two verses, see Taishō 1451, vol. 24, 323c11–14. This entails a considerable abbreviation that removes the repetitive character and is thus no longer reminiscent of canonical prose. Most likely this is an accommodation to Chinese taste in such a narrative and otherwise very homogeneous passage (significantly, the next three sections are also entirely in prose in the Tibetan translation, but contain verses in the Chinese).
Groups of dogmatic terms in numerical order are collected in, among others, such texts as the *Dasottarasūtra* and the *Saṅgītisūtra*, both belonging to the *Dirghāgama*, the “Collection of Long (Discourses of the Buddha)”.\(^1\) An inspection of the two sūtras quickly reveals that there is nothing about nine kinds of anger in the Sanskrit text of the *Saṅgītisūtra*. The *Dasottarasūtra*, however, must have contained such a group. This becomes evident from An Shigao's translation into Chinese\(^2\) and from a few fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts found in Central Asia. As the title indicates, the sūtra consists of decades of terminological groups. Altogether there are ten decades, and they are arranged in a growing order: the first decade contains ten groups consisting of a single term, the second decade ten groups of two terms, and so forth up to the tenth decade containing ten groups of ten terms each. Naturally, the nine kinds of anger belong to the ninth decade, and there they must have formed the sixth group, as indicated by the Chinese translation. However, the final section of the Sanskrit text with the decades nine and ten is so badly preserved that its first editor, Kusum Mittal, simply refrained from including them in her edition.\(^3\) When Dieter Schlingloff later supplemented the two decades,\(^4\) he also had to confine himself to presenting only a partial and rather tentative reconstruction of the nine kinds of anger and the way to dispel them. Two more fragments, one from the Hoernle Collection in London, the other from the Pelliot Collection in Paris, were identified in the nineties,\(^5\) and a few years ago another two rather small fragments from the German Turfan Collection;\(^6\) they brought more text, but no better understanding. It seemed that the passage would permanently resist reconstruction.

\(^{[1]}\) For an overview of the Sanskrit version see Hartmann 2004.


\(^{[3]}\) Mittal 1957.

\(^{[4]}\) Schlingloff 1962.


\(^{[6]}\) SHT 3579 and SHT 4333, cf. Wille 2008: 129 and 384f.
When I found the quotation in the story of king Pradyota, it raised new hopes. Against all expectations, the complete text of the passage lost in the manuscripts of the *Daśottarasūtra* had now become available. However, the Tibetan text is difficult to understand in some places, as will be seen below; it is not always easy to reconcile it with the text preserved in the Sanskrit fragments, and in one point it clearly deviates. A full reconstruction became possible only when another sizeable Sanskrit fragment contributed so much text that the remaining gaps could be closed and the structure of the passage fully understood. This time it was not a fragment from Central Asia, but a folio from the *Dīrghāgama* manuscript possibly found in the Gilgit area that brought the solution. On one side, it preserves phrases mainly from the fifth group of the ninth decade, but it turned out that part of the wording must be identical in groups five and six. Group five describes nine kinds of anger as the nine factors that lead to (spiritual) decrease (*nava dharma hānabhāgiyāḥ*), while group six takes up exactly these nine kinds and presents their dispelling as the nine factors that lead to progress (*nava dharma vīseṣabhāgiyāḥ*).

2. Reconstruction of the Sanskrit text

At present, five different versions of the passage are available: first, a Pali version in the *Saṅgīti*- and in the *Daśuttarasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*; second, a version of the *Daśottarasūtra* in a *Dīrghāgama* of unknown school affiliation preserved only in a Chinese translation; third, An Shigao’s Chinese translation of the *Daśottarasūtra*; fourth, the passage in the *Kṣudrakavastu* preserved only

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[2] Taishō 1, vol. 1, 56b14–19. Nowadays it is generally ascribed to the school of the Dharmaguptakas. One of the first to study its language was Professor Ji (cf. Dschi 1944: 142–143) during the time he spent in Göttingen in the same academic environment that much later also initiated my own research on the various versions of the *Dīrghāgama*. This is one of the reasons why I felt very close to him when in 1997 I had the honour and the pleasure to meet him in person in his nice house on the campus of Beida.

in Chinese and Tibetan translations; and fifth, the Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia and Gilgit. There are now altogether seven Sanskrit fragments available:

1. *Dirghāgama ms.*, fragment G3. 5 (Private Collection in Virginia): unpublished, see section 4 below for lines a4 – 8;
2. Or. 15009/542 (Hoernle 149. add. 2): unpublished, see section 4 below for lines r1 – 4;
3. Pelliot Sanskrit Numéro bleu 334: unpublished, see section 4 below for lines r1 – 2;
4. SHT 652 (X 420), fragments g₁ and g₂: published in Schlingloff 1962: 11;

Theoretically, An Shigao’s translation, the *Kṣudrakavastu* and the Sanskrit fragments should represent the same version, namely that of the (Mūla-) Sarvāstivādins, but contrary to this expectation they all deviate from each other, and this makes it difficult to reconstruct and understand the Sanskrit with full confidence. Clearest is the version preserved in the Pāli canon and in the Chinese *Dirghāgama*. In short sentences it differentiates three situations, each in the three times past, present and future: somebody harmed me (harms me, will harm me), somebody harmed my friend (harms my friend, will harm my friend), and somebody benefitted my enemy (benefits my enemy, will benefit my enemy). The other versions basically follow the same distinction between myself,
my friend and my enemy, but elaborate on it. In the Tibetan version of the Kṣudrakavastu it is harm to me, then harm to someone who also harms me, and finally benefit to somebody who harms me. Since the second point, namely harm to someone who harms me, is not normally a cause of anger, very likely this is a mistake for the order preserved in all the other versions.

Sanskrit text of Daśottarāsūtra IX. 6 reconstructed from the seven fragments described above: [1]

IX. 6 (1 – 3) (1a7) nava dharmā viśeṣabhaṅgīyāḥ <।> ayaṁ me anarthakāmāḥ (ahitakāmāḥ asukhakāḥ) (7ra) m(aḥ) aspa(r) ś(akā) m(aḥ) a(yo) (1a8) gakṣemakāmāḥ anartham eṣo 'kārṣīt karoti kariṣyati vā <।> punaḥ tasyaivaṁ bhavati tat (5r1) kuta etal labhyam parataḥ evam me bhavatv evam mā (bh) (7rb) ūd iti sa tasyāntike (utpannam āghātam pratīvinodayati ।)

IX. 6(4 ~6) (yo vā punar me arthakā) (4ra) ma <h> h(i) ta(5r2) kāma <h> sukhaṅkāma <h> sparśakāma <h> yogakṣemakā (mah tasyaiṣo 'narthakāmāḥ ahitakāmāḥ as) (2r1) ukhakāmāḥ asparśakāmāḥ ayogakṣemakāmāḥ (5r3) anartham asyaiṣo 'kār(4rb)ṣīt karoti kariṣya(ti vā | punas tasyaivaṁ bhavati tat kuta etal labhyam parataḥ evam me bhavatv evam mā bhūd iti sa ta) (2r2) syāntike u(5r4) tpa(4rc) nman āghātam pratīvinodayati ।

IX. 6(7–9) yo vā pu(nar me anarthakāmāḥ ahitakāmāḥ asukhakāmāḥ asparśakāmāḥ ayogakṣemakāmāḥ tasyaiṣo) (3r1) 'ṛth(a)kāmo (hitakā) (2r3) mā (5r5) sukhaṅkāmāḥ sparśakāmo yogakṣe (makāmāḥ artham asyaiṣo 'kārṣīt karoti

[1] Parentheses or round brackets ( ) signify restoration in a gap, square brackets [ ] damaged aksaras or uncertain readings, pointed brackets < > an addition without gap, three oblique dashes / / / mark the point where the fragment breaks off; a cross + denotes a destroyed aksara, two dots .. denote an illegible aksara, one dot denotes an illegible part of an aksara, the asterisk * denotes the virāma; O stands for the punch hole. Reconstructed text is additionally marked by italics. In the reconstruction the figures in round brackets refer to number and line of the seven Sanskrit fragments.
karisyati va | punas tasyaivam bhavati tat kuta eta) (3r2) 1 labhyam pa(ratah evam me bhavatu evam) (2r4; 5v1) ma bhud iti sa tasyantike utpannam agha (tam prativinodayati 1)

**IX.6 (1 - 3)** Nine factors that lead to progress: [One thinks] “This one wishes harm, wishes disadvantage, wishes unhappiness, wishes unpleasant feeling, wishes spiritual failure upon me. He has done harm, [1] he is doing it or he is going to do it.” Again one thinks: “How is this acceptable on account of somebody else (to think:) ‘He should be like this to me, he should not be like that!’” [2] Thus he dispels the anger which has arisen towards that person.

**IX.6 (4 - 6)** Or again, [one thinks] “This one wishes harm, wishes disadvantage, wishes unhappiness, wishes unpleasant feeling, wishes spiritual failure upon someone who wishes me well, [3] wishes advantage, wishes

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[1] Tibetan adds bdag la, “to me”, or lost in the Sanskrit?

[2] For an understanding of this somewhat enigmatic sentence it is helpful to look at a passage in the *Sanghabhedavastu* (Gnoli 1977/78: 1 138, 14ff.) and in the *Catuṣparisatśūtra* (Waldschmidt 1952 - 1962: 164 with various parallels) on the egolessness of rūpa and viṣṇāna: ... na ca labhyate rūpasvayamaṃ (resp. viṣṇānasva) me rūpaṃ (resp. viṣṇānam) bhavatu, evam mā bhūd iti. Usually tat kuta etal labhyam forms a separate sentence, but here parataḥ appears to belong to it, since in both manuscripts where the word is fully preserved (1a8 and 5rl) there is no sandhi with the following evam. It is difficult to reconcile the Sanskrit with the Tibetan gzan las bdag gi ’di ltar gyur na mi run bas bdag gi ’di kho na ltar ’gyur bar bya’o žes bya ba ’di ’grub par ga la ’gyur štjam nas, “he thinks: ‘Since it would be wrong if it happened like this to me from another (person), it must happen to me only like this. How is this (thought) acceptable?’” There are several occurrences of the phrase tat kuta etal labhyam, one of them in the Śrāvakabhūmi, and interesting enough there, too, follows a sentence with two imperatives, one of them negated, and the whole passage is connected with dghdtacitta, cf. Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group 1998: 128 (similarly 190): yathā svena ṛbhyena sūcītaḥ syāṃ sumanāḥ, evam parasyāpi ṛbhena sūcītaḥ syāṃ sumanāḥ / evamcīttaś ca punaḥ kulāny upaṃkrameyāṃ, tat kuta etal labhyam pravrajitaṇa parakulasad dada tu pare mā na dada tu / saktya, māsaktya, prabūtām mā stūkam, prasītām mā lāham, tvarītaṁ mā dhandham / evam carītasya (read evamcarītasya’) me kulāny upaṃkramet anatil pare na dadaus tenāham na teṣām antika ṛghatācittasya prasthikuccittasya vyavādyeyam (for ms. readings, cf. ibidem, note 12). In the Tibetan translation the sentence de la bu la la rātbsd, the equivalent of tat kuta etal labhyam, concludes the whole phrase from dada tu to dhandaṃ, cf. D 32v7 and P 39r7.

[3] According to the Tibetan, in all nine cases harm is wished upon the first person, and it is only the second person who is treated badly in cases 4 to 6 and treated well in cases 7 to 9. Line r2 of fragment 5, however, suggests that in cases 4 to 6 the first person is treated well since according to the number of missing aksaras this line can only refer to the first person. This suggestion finds strong support in line r4 of fragment 1 which, although containing text of the preceding group of nine items, follows the same scheme.
happiness, wishes pleasant feeling, wishes spiritual success. He has done him harm, he is doing it or he is going to do it.” Again one thinks: “How is this acceptable on account of somebody else (to think:) ‘He should be like this to me, he should not be like that!’” and thus he dispels the anger which has arisen towards that person.

IX. 6 (7 – 9) Or again, [one thinks] “This one wishes well, wishes advantage, wishes happiness, wishes pleasant feeling, wishes spiritual success upon someone who wishes harm, wishes disadvantage, wishes unhappiness, wishes unpleasant feeling, wishes spiritual failure upon me. He has done him good, he is doing it or he is going to do it.” Again one thinks: “How is this acceptable on account of somebody else (to think:) ‘He should be like this to me, he should not be like that!’” and thus he dispels the anger which has arisen towards that person.

3. The Tibetan parallel in the Kṣudrakavastu

Here the explanation of the nine kinds is preceded by the following introduction: “(The minister) said: ‘Your majesty, haven’t you heard of taming the nine (kinds of) anger?’ ‘What are the nine, Bharata?’ Your majesty, one thinks: ‘This one wishes me harm, wishes disadvantage . . .’”

\[\text{des smras pa} \text{ lha} \text{ l kun nas mnar sms dgu 'dul ba 'zes bgyi ba khyod kyis} \text{ ma gsan (P bsan) tam l gnos pa dgu ga} \text{ yi l} \]

\[\text{IX. 1 - 3 lha 'di ni bdag la gnod par 'dod pa phan pa ma yin par 'dod pa bde ba ma yin par 'dod pa reg par ma yin par 'dod pa l grub pa da} \text{ n bde ba ma yin par 'dod pa ste l 'dis bdag la gnod ('dod D) pa byas so byed do byed par 'gyur ro l (deest D) s} \text{ nams mo l yan de 'di s} \text{ fams du sms te l gzan las bdag gi 'di ltar gyur na mi run bas (ba P) bdag gi 'di [D 23r] kho na ltar 'gyur bar bya'o 'zes bya ba 'di 'grub par ga la 'gyur [P 23v] s} \text{ nams nas l de (der P) de la kun nas mnar sms skyes pa sel bar byed do l}\]

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IX. 4 - 6 'di ni gañ żig bdag la gnod par 'dod pa phan pa ma yin par 'dod pa l bde ba ma yin par 'dod pa l reg (rig D) pa ma yin par 'dod pa l grub pa dañ bde ba ma yin par 'dod pa l de la gnod par 'dod pa l phan pa ma yin par 'dod pa l bde ba ma yin par 'dod pa l reg pa ma yin par 'dod pa l grub pa dañ bde ba ma yin par 'dod pa ste l 'dis de la gnod pa byas so byed do byed par 'gyur ro l (deest D) sīnam mo l yañ de 'di sīnam du sems te l (deest P) gzan las bdag gi 'di ltar gyur ('gyur P) na mi ruñ bas bdag gis 'di kho na ltar 'gyur bar bya'o žes bya ba 'di 'grub par ga la 'gyur sīnam nas l de de la kun nas mnar sens skyes pa sel bar byed do l

IX. 7 - 9 'di ni gañ żig bdag la gnod par 'dod pa l phan pa ma yin par 'dod pa l bde ba ma yin par 'dod pa l reg pa ma yin par 'dod pa l grub pa dañ bde ba ma yin par 'dod pa l de la don du 'dod pa l phan par 'dod pa l bde bar 'dod pa l reg par 'dod pa l grub pa dañ bde bar 'dod pa ste l 'dis de la phan pa byas (byes P) so byed do byed par 'gyur ro sīnam mo l yañ de 'di sīnam du sems te l gzan las bdag gis 'di ltar gyur ('gyur P) na mi ruñ bas bdag gis 'di kho na ltar 'gyur bar bya'o žes bya ba 'di 'grub par ga la 'gyur sīnam nas l de de la kun nas mnar sens skyes pa sel bar byed do l

4. Unpublished Sanskrit fragments

1. Dirghāgama ms., fragment G3.5 (Private Collection in Virginia)\(^1\)

\[a4 \] / / / + + y[ogak]š. [m]akāmah anartham eso O / / / ... / / / k. āghātam utpādayati l [y]. . . . [u] .. [m] . . . [th]. [k]. [m]. h[i] takā[m]. ///

\[a5 \] / / / .. gakṣemakāmah tasyaiṣo narthakāma O / / / ... / / / [a] sparśakāmah ayogakṣemakāmah anartham asyaiṣo kārṣit karoti karisya .. ///

\[a6 \] / / / + + āghātam utpādayati yo vā puna O r me anarthakāmah a . . . . . . h asukhakāmah asparśakāmah ayogakṣemakāmah tasyaiṣo rthakāmo hi . . . ///

\(^1\) It is not clear whether this is the recto or the verso side, since several folios are still sticking together. The first transalation was made by Klaus Wille, Göttingen, who kindly put it at my disposal.
Appendix

With the help of the Dirghāgama ms. it is possible to reconstruct also Daśottarasūtra IX. 5 on the basis of IX. 6:

IX. 5 (1 - 3) (nava dharmā hānabhāgīyāḥ | ayām me anarthakāmaḥ ahitakāmaḥ asukhakāmaḥ asparsakāmaḥ a) (1a4) yogakṣ(e) makāmah anartham eso ('kārsīt karoti kāriṣyati vā | punah sa tasyāntī) k(e) āghātam utpādayati |

IX. 5(4 - 6) y(o vā p) u(nar) m(e ar) th(a) k(ā) m(ah) hitakām(ah)

[1] The first aksaras in the beginning of the line are partly covered by a white material, and the correct text is written on that material; this is a very unusual way of correcting the text. The aksara rṣa is added below the line.

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sukhakāmāḥ sparsakāmāḥ yo) (1a5) gakṣemakāmāḥ tasyaiṣo 'narthakāma (ḥ ahitakāmāḥ asukhakāmāḥ) asparśakāmāḥ ayogakṣemakāmāḥ anartham asyaiṣo 'kārsit karoti kariśya(ti vā | punah sa tasyāntike) (1a6) āghatam utpādayati

IX. 5(7–9) yo vā punar me anarthakāmāḥ a(h) i(takāma) ḫ asukhakāmāḥ asparśakāmāḥ ayogakṣemakāmāḥ tasyaiṣo 'ṛthakāmo hi (takāmāḥ sukha kāmāḥ spars kāmāḥ yo) (1a7) ogak(ś) emakāmāḥ artham asyaiṣo 'kārsit karoti kariṣyati vā

<1> punah sa tasyāntik(e āgh) ā(ta)m utpādayati

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