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It is well known that the Sütrapitakas of the various Buddhist schools, as far as they are preserved at all, do not always agree very closely with each other, although they share a common literary heritage. The only Sütrapitaka preserved in its entirety belongs to the Pāli Tipiṭaka, the canon of the Theravāda school, and it therefore serves as the point of reference for comparative purposes. For many of the texts in the other surviving sütra collections a counterpart is found in the Pāli Suttapiṭaka, which is similar enough to be easily recognized as such. Apart from such overall similarities and apart from the language in which each of the collections is either composed or preserved, many differences can be observed which concern not only the wording, but also the setting, the persons involved, the dogmatical contents, the structure, etc. of the sütras. Thus, a sütra usually contains enough individual characteristics to set it apart from all the other related versions.

Beyond differences within the texts, each collection also shows individual features which distinguish it from the other collections. Although the principle of the Āgama/Nikāya division appears to have prevailed in all collections against other, earlier forms of
structuring\textsuperscript{1}, the contents of the respective Ägamas/Nikäyas by no means agree. Differences are found not only in their structure, i.e. in the division into subsections, in the number of sūtras and in their sequence, but also in assigning a sūtra to a specific Ägama or Nikāya. While a certain sūtra belongs to the "Collection of Long (Discourses)" of one school, it may be assigned to the "Collection (of Discourses) of Middle (Length)" by another, and vice versa. For instance, the version of the *Bodharājakumārasūtra preserved in the Sanskrit fragments published by Grigorij M. Bongard-Levin\textsuperscript{2} most likely belongs to a manuscript of the Dīrghāgama of the Central Asian Sarvāstivādins; its Pāli counterpart, however, the Bodhirājakumārasutta, is found in the Majjhimanikāya (no. 85)\textsuperscript{3} and immediately precedes the Aṅgulimālasūtra (no. 86). The Mahānīdānasūtra, on the other hand, is included in the long collection by the Theravādins (no. 15) and by the Dharmaguptakas (no. 13), but in the Madhyamāgama by the Sarvāstivādins\textsuperscript{4}. Other sūtras, as for example the famous Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, are unanimously assigned by all schools to one and the same collection, in this case the Dīrghāgama/Dīghanikāya\textsuperscript{5}.

In the case of the Aṅgulimālasūtra to be discussed here, the redactors of the various canonical collections were more divided: its Theravāda version is found in the Majjhimanikāya, and the (Mūla-)


\textsuperscript{3} It is also absent from the Dīrghāgama preserved in Chinese translation which probably belongs to the school of the Dharmaguptakas, and may also have been included in the lost Madhyamāgama of this school.

\textsuperscript{4} No. 97 of the Chinese Madhyamāgama which represents a version of the Sarvāstivādins.

\textsuperscript{5} No. 16 in the Dīghanikāya and no. 2 in the Chinese Dīrghāgama; for the Sanskrit text from Central Asia cf. MPS and G. M. BONGARD-LEVIN and M. I. VOROB’EVA-DESIATOFSKAYA, Pamjatniki indijskoj pis’mennosti iz central’noj azi. Izdanie tekstov, issledovanie, perevod i kommentarij, vypusk 2, Moskva, 1990 (Bibliotheca Buddhica, 34), p. 208 ff.
Sanskrit Fragments from the Āgamas (1): the Āṇgulimālasūtra

Sarvāstivāda version has been incorporated into the *Saṃyuktāgama*. Another version is included in the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarikāgama*, which probably belongs to the Mahāsāṃghikas, although the question of its school affiliation is not yet finally settled. Aside from these three, there exist three separate translations in the Chinese canon, which show various stages of development. Two of them, T 118 and T 119, are similar to the *Ekottarikāgama* version, and in the third, T 120, the original story has served as the nucleus for a full-fledged Mahāyāna sūtra of the Tathāgatagarbha corpus, which has also been translated into Tibetan.

Obviously, the tale of the notorious brigand Āṇgulimāla was exciting enough to serve as an example for illustrating the Buddha’s impressive power of converting even the most untameable. Throughout Buddhist literature, the story is retold, quoted or alluded to. Āṇgulimāla is mentioned as the embodiment of a person either full of hatred or of stupidity, or his taming exemplifies a conversion...
by supernatural powers. In one of his famous buddhastotras, the Buddhist poet Mātrceta marvels at the inner change of Āngulimāla with the following rhetorical question:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{indriyopāsača mānastabdhe ca sammatiḥ} \\
\text{ksamitvām cāngulimāle kaṃ na vismayām ānayet} \\
\end{align*}
\]

"Tranquillity of the senses in a Nanda, humility in a Mānastabdha, mercy in an Āngulimāla – whom would not these amaze?"\(^{10}\)

The same persons are named, together with Urubilvākāśyapa, in the Avadānaśatāka as examples of those whom the Buddha has saved from the ocean of rāga (Nanda), dveṣa (Āngulimāla), māna (Mānastabdha) and moha (Urubilvākāśyapa)\(^{11}\). Together with Nanda, Ājātaśatru and Udayana, Āngulimāla is adduced by Nāgārjuna in verse 14 of his Sūhṛllekha as an example of those who reformed their behaviour:

"One who has formerly been heedless, but later becomes heedful – like Nanda, Āngulimāla, Ājātaśatru and Udayana – will also be resplendent like the moon free from clouds."\(^{12}\)


\(^{12}\) gan 'zig snon chad bag med gyur pa lags || phyi nas bag dañ i ldan par gyur de yan || zla bo sprin bral lta hur nun māzes te || dga’ bo sor phren mthon ldan bde byed bzin || (text and translation in L. JAMSPAL, N. S. CHOPHEL, P. DELLA SANTTINA, Nāgārjuna’s Letter to King Gautamiputra, Delhi, 1978, pp. 9 and 75). It is interesting to note that Nāgārjuna’s verse is clearly modelled on a verse from the Āngulimālasūtra: cf. yas tu pūrvarvam pramādye ha paścād vai na pramādabe || sa imam bhāṣate lokam abhramuktai ca candramāḥ || (Sanskrit text in Udānavarga, ed. Franz BERNHARD, Göttingen, 1965, verse 16.5; for the Pāli see MN II 104, 21-22, for the Sambhotikāgama T 99, 281 b 11-12, and T 100, 379 a 15-16, and for the Ekottarikāgama T 125, 721b17-18). In his commentary on the Sūhṛllekha, Mahāmati explains that Āngulimāla serves as an example of foolishness (de nī hlin po 'zig ste. TT 5690, vol. 129, 156.1.4-5 = gtam yig ne. 334b 4-5).
In chapter 21 of his Buddhacarita, entitled Las kyi rgyun (translated by E. H. JOHNSTON as "Progress (srotas) of the Mission"), Aśvaghōsa refers specifically to the Buddha's rddhi as the means of conversion:

"Among the Suhmas the Holy One by the might of His magic power converted Aṅgulimāla, a Brahman who was cruel like Saudāsa."\(^\text{13}\)

Some, if not most, of the authors seem to allude not so much to Aṅgulimāla the brigand, but rather to Aṅgulimāla the collector of fingers from one thousand people, who is acting on a vicious instruction of his teacher\(^\text{14}\). This latter episode is still absent from the Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda versions of the sūtra; obviously, it was


While the verse portions are basically the same, the Theravāda version is much longer than the Sarvāstivāda one which lacks the episodes of how King Prasenajit, on his way to track down the wanted criminal, visits the Buddha and unexpectedly meets him newly ordained, or how Aṅgulimāla helps a woman having a difficult labour by a word of truth (satyavacana)\textsuperscript{16}, or how various unpleasant incidents happen to him on his alms rounds\textsuperscript{17}.

Of all the versions of the sūtra, only the Theravāda one is entirely preserved in its Indian original. When working on the Sanskrit manuscripts of the so-called German Turfan collection in the first decades of this century, Else and Heinrich Lüders succeeded in identifying one small fragment as belonging to a related version of the text. In 1965 it was edited by Ernst Waldschmidt as no. 160c in the first catalogue volume of the German collection, and in the accompanying notes Waldschmidt referred to the Pāli text and to the Chinese translation of the Samyuktāgama\textsuperscript{18}. Although he did not express any opinion on the school affiliation of the Sanskrit


\textsuperscript{16} This episode has caused the inclusion of the sutta among the Paritta texts; cf. RICHARD GOMBRICH, Precept and Practice: Traditional Buddhism in the Rural Highlands of Ceylon, Oxford, 1971, p. 224, and PETER SKILLING, "The Rakṣa Literature of the Śrāvakayāna", in Journal of the Pāli Text Society 16 (1992), pp. 121, 174 and 178.

\textsuperscript{17} For the relation between these incidents and Aṅgulimāla’s past karma see FUMIO ENOMOTO, "On the Annihilation of karman in Early Buddhism", in Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan 34 (1989), pp. 53-55, and TILMANN VETTER, The Ideas and Meditative Practices of Early Buddhism, Leiden, 1988, p. 89 ff.

\textsuperscript{18} SIT I, pp. 90-91. – There is another small fragment, SIT VI 1561, which on one side appears to contain an encounter between the Buddha and Aṅgulimāla, but the few aksaras which have been preserved do not permit one to relate it to any of the existing versions.
fragment, it is clear from his notes that it corresponds much better to the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda version of the Saṃyuktāgama than to the Majjhimanikāya of the Pāli. Consequently, Fumio Enomoto included this fragment in his study of the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama 19.

During a survey of the Sanskrit manuscripts from Northern Turkestan in the Hoernle collection in London, two more fragments of the same text could be identified 20, which will be introduced in the following. They form part of a single leaf, starting at the right side of the punch hole, and can be joined without a gap. The leaf contains six lines and the text is written in the standard form of the later Northern Turkestan Brāhmi. In the first line of the recto side the last sentence of the preceding sūtra is preserved, and in the second line the Aṅgulimālasūtra begins. The end of the preceding text entails a certain problem, since according to the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama this sūtra closes with the standard formula that the monks rejoiced in the words of the Blessed One. The corresponding Sanskrit phrase would be something like te bhikṣavo bhagavato bhāsitam abhyānanandāna, cf. SWTF s.v. abhinand. However, the present fragment starts with //sya bhāsitam, which could hardly refer to the Buddha as the speaker of the foregoing. Since the genitive ending alone offers little basis for further speculation, at present it must suffice to draw attention to the problem.


20 JENS-UWE HARTMANN and KLAUS WILLE, "Die nordturkistanischen Sanskrit-Handschriften der Sammlung Hoernle (Funde buddhistischer Sanskrit-Handschriften. II)". in Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen u. Neueditionen, 2, Göttingen, 1992 (SWTF, Beih. 4), p. 38 (ad Photo 172; right part of the fragment) and 41 (ad Photo 179; left part); both fragments carry no number and are therefore referred to by means of a microfilm of the collection produced in 1950. The originals could be compared during a visit to the India Office Library in April 1990. They are not placed under glass, but kept loose in envelopes, and on the microfilm, the lower edge is folded back in two places which conceals a few aksaras in lines r 6 and v 1.
Jens-Uwe Hartmann

Recto

1  /// + [sya] bhāṣita[m abh]ina .[yā]numodya utthāyāsa[n]. [r]. ///
2  /// .. deṣu caryāṁ caram yena dhavajākāvānaśa nda tām mārgam [r]. ///
3  /// O utpātājīvā manuṣyā bhagavaṃtām mārgm pra .. ///
4  /// O tra corha pra[y]astraḥ* mā te sa viheṭhayi + ///
5  /// + + [tar] api gopaḷakaḥ pāṣuṣālakaḥ pūravava + ///
6  /// + + ca punar asiṁ ca + [kh]e .. kam ..++. ///+

Verso

1  /// + tām drṣṭvā ca punar asyetaḥ abhavat* + + + + + ///
2  /// + śaknuyāṁ pṛakṛtayā gatyā gacchaṃtam anvāgaṃtum + + ///
3  /// O rvajanena dhāvaḥ bhagavaṃtāṃ na śaknoti pra[k]r + ///
4  /// O vaṃtam idam avocat* tiṣṭha tiṣṭha śramaṇa + ///
5  /// .gulimālaś cors tasyāṁ velāyāṁ gāthāṃ babhāše · || [g]. ///
6  /// rtha[m] sthitas [tvam k]. .. m a[sthi]to ham* bhagavāṁ āha [ | ] + ///

Recto

1: restore to abhina(nd)yānumodya utthāyāsan(āt p)r(akṛntah) or (p)r(akṛntaḥ), one of the possible formulas at the end of a sūtra or of a passage within a sūtra. For the different ending in the Chinese SĀ (the monks rejoicing in the word of the Buddha: T 99, 280 c 16), cf. above.

2: restore to (magadhēṣu or māgdhakesu janapa) deṣu caryāṁ caran yena dhavajākāvanāsaṇḍa<in> tām mārgam (p)r(atipannah), cf. T 99, 280c 19 and T 100, 378b 17. The restoration of the location is based on T 100 (mojietuo); T 99 has yangguoduolo. For the Sanskrit forms of the name see, e.g., SHT VI 1415 v2 bhagavāṁ [magaj]dheṣu viharati and 1381 folio 175 r3, vl māgdhaka gopaḷakaḥ. According to the Pāli the Buddha stays in Sāvatthī.

---

21 Round brackets ( ) signify restoration in a gap, square brackets [ ] damaged aksaras, pointed brackets < > the omission of (part of) an aksara; a cross + denotes a destroyed aksara, two dots .. denote an illegible aksara, one dot an illegible part of an aksara; O stands for the punch hole, /// for the breaking off of the fragment, and * denotes the virāma.
For dhavajākāvānasaṇḍa compare the similar jalākāvānasaṇḍa in MPS 26.3. In T 99 the name is transcribed (tuoposhelijia), but in T 100 translated (taohe shulin, "Peach River Coppice").

3: restore probably to (adrāksuh) . . . pra(tipannam) "People making their living in out-of-the-way places saw the Lord wandering along the way", cf. T 99, 280c 20-21 and MN II 98, 7-9 Addasāsum kho gopālakah pasupālakah kassakah padhāvino Bhagavantaḥ yena coro Aṅgulimālo ten’ adhānamaggam paṭipannaṃ.

4: restore to (ya)tra, "where the brigand dwelled"? The exact reference of this sentence remains unclear, but apparently it belongs to the words of the cowherds etc. At the end of the line, restore to vihethayi(syati), "May he not harm you!" There is no verbal correspondence in either the Chinese SĀ (cf. T 99, 280c 22) or in the Pāli text.

5: read and restore to (pu)nahr? Or should one, on the contrary, read t[r]i? Cf. T 99, 280c 23 and MN II 98,23-24 Tatiyam pi kho gopālakah pasupālakah kassakah padhāvino Bhagavantaḥ etad avocum. Moreover, pasupālahī is to be corrected to ṃpālahī. Restore to pūrvava(d yāvat); apparently the formula which precedes utpathājivā manusyāḥ in r3 is repeated, cf. T 99, 280c 19-20.

6: asi shows that Aṅgulimāla has been introduced, cf. T 99, 280c 24 and MN II 99,5-6 Atha kho coro Aṅgulimālo asicammanāṃ gahetvā dhanukalāpam sannayhitvā. The line is probably to be restored to (adrāksid angulimālas coro bhagavantaṃ mārgam pratipannam dṛṣṭvā) ca punar asiī ca khe(ta)kam and a form of grah, "the brigand Aṅgulimāla saw the Lord wandering along the way and, having seen [him], took sword and shield"; cf. also T 99 ("with his hand he seized sword and shield").

Verso

1: the Buddha notices that Aṅgulimāla is following him. At the beginning, the line is probably to be restored to (adrāksid bhagavān angulimālam coram anvāgacchāntam or (... dhāvaṃ)taṃ (for the latter, cf. v3), "The Lord saw the brigand
Aṅgulimāla coming after him and, having seen [him], he considered. The beginning of his reflections on making use of his supernatural faculties is preserved in SHT I 160 c r1; there one has to restore to (yan)\[v a\[h\[m t\[d\[r\[ū\[p\[ān ṛddhyabhūṭabhisāṁśkārān abhisāṃśkuryāṁ yathā ...) "I should now accomplish such a performance of supernatural power that ...", cf. SWTF s.v. ṛddhy-abhisāṃśkāra. The Chinese version is shorter (cf. T 99, 280 c 25), and the Pāli text shows no verbal correspondence (MN II 99, 7-8).

2: apparently Aṅgulimāla talks to himself: "I should be able to follow the [ascetic] who is walking at a normal pace". In the Pāli, a sentence with partially similar wording appears in a later place athā ca paṇāḥañī imanaṃ samanāṃ paṇāṭiyā gacchantān sabbatthāmena gacchanto na sakkomi sampāṇuññun iti, MN II 99,15-16. The reading in SHT I 160 c r2 has to be corrected to (ga)chantam, cf. the facsimile in SHT II, plate 31.

3: //rvajanena obviously corresponds to MN II 99,9 sabbatthāmena, but remains unintelligible in this form. Read (sa)rvajavena, "with all speed", cf. kuai in T 99, 280 c 26? For the whole line cf. MN II 99,8-10 (as quoted for v2, but now in the 3rd person). The line overlaps with SHT I 160 c r3.

4: restore to (athā)ṅgulimālaḥ coro bhaga)vaṇṭam ..., "Then the brigand Aṅgulimāla said to the Lord: 'Stay! Stay, ascetic!'", see T 99, 280c26 and MN II 99,16-17 Thito Bhagavantam etad avoca: Tiṭṭha, samanā; tiṭṭha, samanāti", see also SHT I 160 c r4. Cf., moreover, the corresponding version of the story in the Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish, TT no. 1008, vol. 40, 106.2.3-4 = mdo lu, 260r3-4 sans rgyas kyis de ltar 'ois pa gzigs nas | žabs kyis dal gyis gséggs kyañ sor phreñ can n thu stobs g thugs te | bgruyugs kyañ ma slebs nas | rgyañ ma nas dge sloi khyod cuñ zad cig sdod cig ces bos so || bcom ldan 'das kyi kyañ rgyañ ma nas | iñi ni rtag tu sdod na | khyod ūnd mi sdod do žes bka' sidsal pa dain etc.

Gacchaṃ vadesi suggests the restoration to a form of gam at the end of the line.

6: restore to k(atha)m, cf. MN II 99, 27-28 Pucchāmi taṃ, sanaṇa, etam atthaṃ: Kathaṃ thito tvam, aham atṭhito 'mhi? It would be tempting to use SHT 1 160 c r6 ///[ṣ]e tvam śramaṇātītam a/// for a restoration (tvam śramaṇātītam a)rthaṃ, but this is impossible for metrical reasons. The metre is probably Indravajra, which would become defective by such a restoration. Is it possible that another katham has been omitted and that one should therefore restore to (− − ∪ − tvam śramaṇātītam a)rthaṃ <katham> sthitas tvam k(atha)m asthito 'ham, "Tell me, ascetic, about this matter: How is it that you are standing still, how is it that I am not standing still"?

Finally, the first aksara in SHT 160 cr6 is rather to be read as ///[mr]e, and such a reading suggests bṛhi me or the like as a possible restoration. This is indirectly confirmed by T 99, 281 a2, where a verb is used meaning "to speak" and not "to ask" (as in the Pāli).

Abbreviations
SWTF = Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, begonnen von ERNST WALDSCHMIDT, hrsg.

T = Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō or Taishō Issaikyō, 100 vols., Tokyo, 1924 ff.