

Zeitschrift: Asiatische Studien : Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft = Études asiatiques : revue de la Société Suisse-Asie

Herausgeber: Schweizerische Asiengesellschaft

Band: 46 (1992)

Heft: 1: Études bouddhiques offertes à Jacques May

Artikel: A Chinese Ksudrakapitaka (T. IV.203)

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-146970>

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A CHINESE KṢUDRAKAPĪTAKA (T. IV. 203).

C. Willemen, Ghent

The Tsa-pao-tsang Ching 雜寶藏經, The Scriptural Text: Storehouse of Sundry Valuables (T. IV. 203), is a text of 121 avadānas, parables 緣, attributed to T'an-yao 曇曜 and Chi-chia-yeh 古迦夜¹. Liu Hsiao-piao 劉孝標 was pi-shou 筆受, meaning he helped polish the text.

In his Li-tai San-pao Chi 歷代三寶記 (597 A.D.), Fei Ch'ang-fang 費長房 informs us that Yen-hsing 延興 2, i.e. 472 A.D., is the date of the translation². The text was written in Northern China during the Northern Wei, also called T'o-pa Wei 拓跋魏 (486-534 A.D.).

In the Taishō-edition the 121 stories are given in 10 volumes, chüan 卷. The so-called 3 editions³, which so often give readings that would correspond far better to a possible original Indian version, have the same number of stories in 8 volumes. If we regard stories 8 and 9 as two versions of the same story, i.e. the story of Padmā⁴, there would be exactly 120 stories. There are about 10 manuscripts from Tun-huang containing our text⁵. The manuscript in Ōtani University in Kyōto contains parables 117-121, but they are not numbered. There are virtually no modern studies of the text. S. Julien, *Les Avadānas*, Paris, 1859 I., pp. 68-70 and S. Lévi in *Mélanges Kern*, Leiden, 1903, pp. 279-281, have examined the text. E. Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka Chinois*, Paris III, 1911, pp. 1-145, translated most of the text into French. K. Oka 岡 is the author of a Japanese translation in *Kokuyaku Issai Kyō 國譯一切經*, Hon'en Bu 本緣部 1, Tōkyō, 1974, revised by T. Sugimoto 杉本. M. Hahn and H. Schmidt-Glinzer wrote a study about: *Die Legende von Dardara und Upadardara in der Fassung des Tsa-pao-tsang-ching*, *Monumenta Serica* XXXIV, 1979-1980 (1982), pp. 219-262.

- 1 The complete English translation will appear in Tōkyō, edited by the Bukkyō Dentō Kyōkai 佛教傳統協會 Buddhist Promoting Foundation. For this text and related literature: See R. Hikata 干瀉, *Honshōkyō-rui no shisōshi-teki kenkyū 本生經類の思想的研究*, 2 vols. Tōkyō 1978.
- 2 LTSPC, T. XLIX 2034, p. 85b.
- 3 I.e. Southern Sung Hu-chou 湖洲 ed. (started ca. 1130 A.D.); P'u-ning 普寧 ed. of Yüan (1278-1294 A.D.); Southern Ming ed. (started ca. 1400 A.D.).
- 4 Parable 8: The Lady Padmāvati; Parable 9: The Lady Mrgāṅkavatī (?). T. IV. pp. 451c-452b and 452b-453b.
- 5 Tun-huang I-shu Tsung-mu So-yin 敦煌遺書總目索引, Beijing, 1962, p. 482.

The main translator: Kikkāya.

As I shall show later, T'an-yao took the initiative to write this work and also for the arrangement of the materials.

Kikkāya did the actual translating, helped by the Chinese Liu Hsiao-piao. The colophon tells us that the text was translated into Chinese by the śramaṇa Chi-chia-yeh, who came from the Western Region, i.e. the region West of Tun-huang. Gandhāra and Kaśmīr are included in this designation. The Chinese translation of his name is Ho-shih 何事⁶. As to his likely Indian name⁷, phonetically, Chi-chia-yeh must have sounded like Kjēt-ka-ja⁸ in the so-called ancient Chinese, i.e. the language of the Ts'ieh -yün 切韻, ca 600 A.D. in Ch'ang-an. Ho might mean Kim⁹, and shih °kārya. Kim⁹ can change to Kikk⁹, and further to Kek⁹. The Chinese phonetic rendering is closer to Kikk⁹. Kārya becomes kajja or kāja, which becomes kāa (as in Jaina Prākṛit) and then kāya. This last form is not recorded, but would be normal in Apabhraṃśa, although the 5th. century would be very early for such a change. So, the Chinese transcribes Kikkāya, meaning Kimkārya in Sanskrit. A possible alternative, Kiṅkārya, has been ruled out since this would give us Kiṅkāya. A double consonant (e.g. mm, ll, bbh, etc...) stays in Middle Indic. A consonant preceded by a nasal of its own kind also remains (e.g. ṅk, ṅṭ, mbh, etc...). The step from Kiṅkāya to Kikkāya, required by the Chinese, would be hard to explain.

In the Taishō ed., we find five texts attributed to Kikāya, three of them composed in cooperation with T'an-yao, i.e. T. IV. 203; T. XXXII. 1632 Fang-pien-hsin Lun 方便心論 1 Vol.⁹; T.L. 2058 Fu-ya-tsang Yin-yuan

6 LTSPC, T. XLIX, p. 85b.

7 M. Saigusa 三枝, Indo Bukkyō Jinmei Jiten インド仏教人名辞典, Kyōto, 1987, p. 69 s.v. Kikkaya, proposes Kiṅkara.

Hōbōgin, fascicule annexe, Paris-Tōkyō, 1978, p. 264 s.v. Kikkaya, proposes Kimkārya.

8 B. Karlgren, Grammata Serica Recensa, Stockholm, 1957, N° 393a, 15, and 800j.

9 Upāyahdaya ?, once attributed to Nāgārjuna. A brief and early text on logic, hetuvidyā. See N. Iida 飯田 in Kokuyaku Issai Kyō, Ronjū-bu 論集部 I, Tōkyō, 1977. See also Sh. Mochizuki 望月, Bukkyō Daijiten 佛教大辭典 V., Tōkyō, 1966, p. 4640 s.v. Hōbenshinron.

Chuan 付法藏因緣傳 6 Vols.¹⁰. Two texts are attributed to Kikkāya only, i.e. T.X. 308 Ta-fang-kuang P'u-sa Shih-ti Ching 大方廣菩薩十地經 1 Vol., and T. XIV. 434 Ch'en-yang Chu-fo Kung-te Ching 稱揚諸佛功德經 3 Vols.¹¹.

T'an-yao.

I believe that T'an-yao, who is mentioned as co-translator, took the initiative to translate the work and arranged the Indian material on which this text is based. The life of T'an-yao¹² and the times in which he lived make this clear. We are not certain about his exact dates, but we know that he was maybe the most influential Buddhist during the Northern Wei (386-534 A.D.). He spent his early years in Liang-chou 涼州, then called Ku-tsang 姑藏, during the Northern Liang 涼 (397-439 A.D.). This dynasty ruled over Tun-huang where the cave-temples were being built. Ku-tsang was a center for Buddhist activities and many well-known scholars lived there¹³, e.g. Buddhavarman fled from there when Wei took the capital in 439 A.D.; Dharmakṣema enjoyed the favor of the ruler; Chu Fo-nien 竺佛念, who was proficient in Chinese¹⁴, came from Ku-tsang; Kumārajīva stayed there for a while. Having conquered the Northern Liang, emperor Wu 武 moved about 3000 monks to his capital P'ing-ch'eng 平城, near present-day Ta-t'ung 大同 in Shan-hsi. The monks, who had resisted Wei, were moved by force. Emperor Wu then persecuted Buddhism and in 446 ordered all monks killed. His anti-Buddhist feelings were kindled by the Confucianist Chinese Ts'ui Hao 崔浩 (381-450 A.D.)

- 10 E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Louvain, 1967, p. 774, says that this work appears to be an apocryphal work compiled in China in the 6th. century, based on Indian documents. The work contains the history of 24 patriarchs from Mahākāśyapa to the bhikṣu Simha. E. Lamotte refers to an English translation by J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, London, 1893, pp. 60-86. H. Maspéro, *Sur l'authenticité du Fou fa-tsang yin-yuan tchouan*, Mélanges S. Lévi, Paris, 1911, pp. 129-149, shows the apocryphal nature of the text.
- 11 Kusumasamcayasūtra ?. T. Tajima 田島 in *Kokuyaku Issai Kyō*, Kyōjū-bu 經集部 12, Tōkyō, 1980, p. 235.
- 12 Hsü Kao-seng Chuan 續高僧傳 T.L. 2060, pp. 427-c-428c. See also Sh. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten IV.*, p. 3972 s.v. Don'yō; K. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, Princeton, 1973, p. 153 sq.
- 13 See Kao-seng Chuan 高僧傳, T.L. 2059, p. 330 sq.; R. Shih, *Biographies des moines éminents*, Louvain, 1968, p. 60 sq.
- 14 He translated Ch'u-yao Ching 出曜 (Udāna) 經, T. IV. 212.

and by the Taoist Chinese K'ou Ch'ien-chih 寇謙之 (†. 488 A.D.). T'an-yao probably was among those taken to the Wei capital but he managed to be protected by important people and he survived. Emperor Wen-ch'eng 文成 (452-465 A.D.) granted freedom to Buddhism and put the religion under direct supervision of the state. About 460 A.D. T'an-yao became chief monk, sha-men-t'ung 沙門統, as a successor to Shih-hsien 師賢, a monk from Kaśmīr. T'an-yao held this post for about 30 years, after which the capital was moved to Lo-yang in 494 A.D. A few years after he had become chief monk, T'an-yao assembled monks and Western śramaṇas around him to start his great plans, which were realized under Emperor Hsiao-wen 孝文 (471-499 A.D.). T'an-yao started the construction of the Yun-kang 雲崗 cave temples near Ta-t'ung. He also started translation work at about the same time. Kikkāya was one of his most valuable experts in this field. Our text is dated Yen-hsing 2, i.e. 472 A.D. suggesting that the Yun-kang project took shape at the same time as the translation of our text. T'an-yao established so-called Saṃgha-households, Seng-chi'u hu 僧祇戶 and Buddha-households, Fo-t'u hu 佛圖戶, to strengthen the economic foundation of the saṃgha, a household being the unit for taxation. He used slaves and criminals as agricultural laborers for the Buddha-households. They labored for the monks¹⁵.

T'an-yao made Buddhism popular in P'ing-ch'eng, just as it had been in Ku-tsang. He saw to it that Buddhism contributed to the economic well-being of both the state and the saṃgha. The Buddhists did not have a reason any more to be antagonistic to the dynasty. T'an-yao was indeed one of the most skilled politicians of his time. He had solved the relation between the Buddhist community and the Emperor, who was considered to be the Tathāgata.

Plan of the Tsa-pao-tsang Ching.

I am convinced that T'an-yao's arrangement of the Indian material for the Chinese text and the planning of the Yün-kang caves are related. The earliest caves contain five figures of the Buddha, the Tathāgata. They are

15 K. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 154-158; G.E. Sargent, *T'an-yao and his Times*, in *Monumenta Serica* 16 (1957) pp. 363-396, based on the original work of Z. Tsukamoto 塚本, *Shina Bukkyōshi Kenkyū*, Hokugi-hen 支那佛教 史研究北魏篇, Tōkyō, 1942.

also meant to be five previous Emperors¹⁶. In the same spirit, the first parable is about Daśaratha, supposedly an ancestor of Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata. Moreover, filial piety, hsiao 孝, is the subject of this story and Hsiao was part of the Emperor's name. Vols. 1 and 2 of the text are all about filial piety¹⁷. Even though filial piety is present in Indian Buddhism, T'an-yao chose this opening subject also to defend Buddhism in its Chinese, Confucian environment. The story of Daśaratha, the first one of the text, also extolls the Confucian virtues of loyalty (chung 忠) and righteousness (i 義), etc... This can be explained by the fact that the persecution instigated by the Confucianist Ts'ui Hao was still very recent. Vol. 3 deals with slander, probably for the same reason. Vols. 4-5-6-7 (4-5-6 in the 3 eds.) deal with liberality, dāna, which is especially welcome when Yün-kang is being built. This may explain why so large a part of the text is about dāna. Vols. 8-9 deal with converting and with spreading the doctrine, which T'an-yao did very well as a skilful politician. The construction of cave-temples and the spread of stories, told in a comprehensible language, considerably contributed to the conversion of the Wei subjects. The last volume, vol. 10 (end of 8 ind 3 eds.) adds some stories about strife and deceit, which should be avoided once and for all. So, the text ends with a kind of warning. In Yün-kang caves 9 and 10 one finds painted illustrations of the texts translated by Kikkāya and also of our text: e.g. story 94 is illustrated there, about Candana Kaṇiṣka, (Kaṇiṣtha in Chinese), king of the Kuṣāṇas, and his three wise friends, Aśvaghōṣa, Māṭhara and Caraka. So, the whole arrangement of our text seems to be T'an-yao's work, and to coincide with the construction of Yün-kang.

The original Indian materials.

It is certain that T'an-yao used Indian materials, but which ones? It strikes me that many stories are situated in Gandhāra and Kaśmīr. Kaṇiṣka (ca.

- 16 I.e. caves 16-20, the so-called T'an-yao caves. See Yün-kang Shih-k'u 云岡石窟 comp. by the committee of archaeological workers of Shan-hsi Prov., Peking, 1977, introduction; K. Ch'en, Buddhism in China, p. 147 and p. 167. The five emperors are: 16 Wen-ch'eng 文成; 17 Ching-mu 景穆; 18 T'ai-wu 太武; 19 Ming-yüan 明元; 20 Tao-wu 道武.
- 17 The plan of the text is also explained by K. Oka in Kokuyaku Issai Kyō, Hon'en Bu 1, pp. 123/4; G. Ono 小野, Bussho Kaisetsu Daijiten 佛書解説大辭典, Tōkyō, 1968, VII., p. 69 s.v. Zōhōzōkyō.

128-151 A.D.)¹⁸ and Puruṣapura occur in stories 93 and 94. Nāgasena and Menandros (ca. 163-150 B.C.)¹⁹ speak in story 111. This version of the well-known encounter was known by Vasubandhu of the Kośa²⁰ The arhat Jayanta (?) from Kaśmīr occurs in stories 91, 92 and 93²¹. Story 25 about the gelded bulls is situated in Gandhāra, at the time of Kanīṣka, as the Mahāvibhāṣā informs us²². Āṭavaka in story 97 is well-known from Gandhāran images. By the way, there is a very good Chinese reason for the inclusion of this story: King Bimbisāra of Magadha pardoned 500 bandits who had to work for the Buddhist community. T'an-yao organized the Buddha-households using criminals for that purpose. So, his plan is justified by Buddhist history.

Kanīṣka's physician, Caraka, is mentioned in story 94. We know his name is linked with a medical text, Carakasamhitā, well-known in Central-Asia at the time. The use of mantras and of magic is well represented in the medical practices of that time. One may remember the Bower Ms. (4th. cy., near Kučā), which contains the Mahāmāyūrividyaṛājñī against snake-bites²³. Our text, story 75, cures eye-diseases with a Sanskrit spell. Many more stories are situated in Gandhāra or Gandhavatī, such as story 45, where a Gandhāran king repairs an old stūpa, and story 42, where Khāṇu, a painter from Gandhāra, arranges for food.

Pāñcika and Hārītī, both in story 106, are often represented on the bas-reliefs of Gandhāra. Also Kaśmīr is often the place of origin of a story. E.g. story 19 about Revata. The Indian material seems to come from Gandhāra and Kaśmīr, which may be the place of origin of Kikkāya. Some of the Indian material most probably had been translated already, at least in a Central-Asian language. This would explain why Fei Ch'ang-fang says that T'an-yao had a new (重) translation made²⁴. In fact, some well-known stories were also included, often at the start of a new volume in the Taishō ed.: e.g. story 73 Śakrapraśnasūtra²⁵ opens vol. 6; story 10 about

18 E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, p. 648. The Chinese seems to correspond to Kanīṣka, i.e. Kanīṣka.

19 E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, p. 414.

20 La Vallée Poussin, L. de, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Tome V., Bruxelles, 1971, p. 263.

21 祇夜多 Ch'i-yeh-to. In T.L. 2058, attributed to Kikkāya and T'an-yao, p. 3206, the name is 闍夜多 she-yeh-to.

22 T. XXVII. 1545, p. 593a.

23 K. Saha, *Buddhism in Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1970, p. 102.

24 LTSPC, T. XLIX. 2034, p. 85b.

25 Ed. E. Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Sūtras aus dem Zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon I., Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte IV.*, Leipzig, 1932, pp. 58-113.

Ṣaḍḍanta opens vol. 2. The language of the Chinese translation is close to vernacular, conform the proselytic and the moralistic purpose of the text, but the sentence structure often shows that the Chinese is indeed a translation from an Indian original.

Doctrinal Affiliation.

The text belongs to the śrāvakayāna, the hīnayāna²⁶. The cave temples of Yün-kang are hīnayāna too, just as the subsequent complex of Long-men 龍門 near Lo-yang is mahāyāna. Quite an amount of material mentions the Kuṣāṇas. We know that the sarvāstivādins were strong in that area at the time. Their vinaya was very popular in Central-Asia and also in Northern China, as Fa-hsien 法顯 informs us²⁷. I must add immediately that the dharmaguptaka vinaya²⁸ was equally popular in Central-Asia²⁹. Their prātimokṣa, a list of offences with an indication of the corresponding punishment, existed in China as early as the third century³⁰. The dharmaguptaka vinaya disappeared in India in the sixth century, but in Central-Asia and especially in China it remained popular, as the existence of a so-called Vinaya-school, founded by Tao-hsüan 道宣 (596-667 A.D.), proves. However, I would guess that, because of the supposed place and time of the Indian material and because of some references in the stories, sarvāstivāda seems more likely. The language of the Indian originals seems to have been Sanskrit, as is clear from phonetic renderings and from the few mantras (e.g. in story 75). However, from the Gupta-period onwards (4th. century A.D.), Sanskrit would be the expected language of an Indian original³¹. Sanskrit has always been the language of the sarvāstivādins. This school claims to go back to Rāhula, Buddha's son, and his story is

- 26 Fa-ching 法經 in his Chung-ching Mu-lu 衆經目錄 (594 A.D.) T. LV. n° 2146, p. 128a; Sh. Mochizuki, Bukkyō Daijiten II., p. 1448 s.v. Zappōzōkyō; Chih-hsü 智旭 in his Yüeh-tsang Chih-tsin 閱藏知津, T.C. n° 74, p. 1199c.
- 27 Fa-hsien recorded his voyage after his return in China, ca. 416 A.D. See T. LI. n° 2085; S. Beal, Travels of Fa-huan and Sung-yun, London, 1964, p. 145. See also K. Saha, Buddhism in Central Asia, p. 67. The sarvāstivāda vinaya Daśādhyāya (?) was translated into Chinese in 404 A.D. in Ch'ang-an by Puṇyatrāta, Dharmaruci and Kumārajīva. T. XXIII. n° 1435, Shih-sung Lü 十誦律.
- 28 Szu-fen Lü 四分律, T. XXII. n° 1428, translated in 408-413 A.D. by Buddhayaśas and Chu Fo-nien in Ch'ang-an.
- 29 K. Saha, Buddhism in Central Asia, p. 67 and 133.
- 30 E. Lamotte, Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, p. 605.
- 31 E. Lamotte, Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, p. 645.

given as n° 117. Śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas are quite familiar in the text. Whenever doctrinal points are raised, I could always find them and their context in e.g. the *Abhidharmahrdaya*³², as in story 114, where the *bhāvanāmārga*, the path of development, and the four *śrāmaṇyaphalas*, fruitions of śramaṇaship, are mentioned. Our story and the explanation in *Abhidharmahrdaya*, stanza 107, completely agree. More than once one can find a stanza which comes from the *Udānavarga*, the *sarvāstivāda Dharmapada*³³: e.g. in story 37 (*Uv. XIII Satkāravarga*, stanza 1) and in story 49 (*Uv. I Anityavarga*, stanza 1). In both instances the opening stanza of the chapter is given.

Finally, T'an-yao is known to have been a practitioner of Ch'an³⁴. This means that he engaged in practices which are well-known to us through the *hīnayāna* yoga-texts, as we find them in T.XV. These texts originate from North-Western India and Central-Asia. Their doctrinal basis can be found in *sarvāstivāda* literature, notably in their *abhidharma*. I think it is fair, however, to say that, looking at his record, T'an-yao was far more skilled as a politician than as a scholar.

A Sanskrit Title for the Text.

Because I am convinced that the work was arranged and written near Ta-t'ung, there probably is no Sanskrit title. Nevertheless, the Chinese title means *Kṣudraka (tsa)-piṭaka (pao-tsang)*, and not *Samyuktaratnapīṭaka-sūtra*, as proposed by B. Nanjō and those who even today rely on his *sanskritisations*³⁵. Why this title ? Of course, sundry valuables are collected in this text. However, it is well known that there is a *Kṣudrapīṭaka* in the canon, but its contents and its place are open to debate³⁶. Sometimes the minor texts constitute the fifth collection of the *Sūtrapīṭaka*, called *Kṣudrapīṭaka* or *Kṣudrakāgama*. The *Dharmaguptakas* had

32 T. XXVIII n° 1550 A-p-'i-t'an Hsin Lun 阿毘曇心論 . Chinese translation by Saṃghadeva and Hui-yüan 慧遠 on Mt. Lu in 391 A.D. This text belongs to the western *sarvāstivādins*, and precedes the *Kośa*. See Ch. Willemen, *The Essence of Metaphysics*, Brussels, 1975, p. XIX.

33 Sanskrit edited by F. Bernhard, *Udānavarga*. *Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden X.*, Göttingen, 1965. See also Ch. Willemen, *The Chinese Udānavarga*, Brussels, 1978 (= *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques XIX*).

34 Sh. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten IV.*, p. 3972 s.v. Don'yō.

35 See K. Oka in *Kokuyaku Issai Kyō*, Hon'en Bu 1, p. 1.

36 E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, p. 175.

their minor texts in the Sūtrapīṭaka, constituting its fifth part³⁷. The Sarvāstivādins have a fourth pīṭaka, called Kṣudrakapīṭaka. Its contents may have been the twelve constituent parts of the teaching, dvādaśāṅga-buddhāvacaṇa.

Anyway, avadāna, jāṭaka, nidāna and gāthā, all belonging among the twelve constituent parts, are elements which are well represented in our text. The most probable name of our text is Kṣudrakapīṭaka because its nature is the same as the texts belonging in the Kṣudrakapīṭaka. It is, of course, not the whole Kṣudrakapīṭaka. The contents and the nature of the text agree with the texts in a Kṣudrakapīṭaka, either Dharmaguptaka or, as I would guess, Sarvāstivāda. The texts of a Kṣudrakapīṭaka were not fixed and there is no complete Chinese translation of a Kṣudrakapīṭaka. Consequently, it is likely that because of its nature, our text was called Kṣudrakapīṭaka.³⁸

37 E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, p. 166; K. Saha, *Buddhism in Central Asia*, p. 57.

The contents of this fifth part may be a collection of special texts which are not in the āgamas, or the twelfefold word of the Buddha.

38 E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, pp. 166-167. See also: Ch. Willemen, *The Chinese Udānavarga*, pp. XXIII-XXIV; K. Mizuno 水野, *Bukkyō yōgo no kisoku chishiki 仏教要語の基礎知識* Tōkyō, 1972, p. 81.