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Ttāgutta

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Ttāgutṭa

By H. W. BAILEY

FOR the meaning of *ttāgutṭa*, listed in *BSOS.*, VIII, 138, further evidence has now been found to replace the conjectural meaning there assigned. It is necessary for this purpose to quote, however reluctantly, from still unpublished texts, but it is time to make the correction. It will be seen that not all the quoted passages can yet be translated in full. The following three forms of the word have been noted :—

1. *ttāgutṭa*, *tāgutṭa*.

(1) Kha i, 176 a, B 2 <broken away> *ttāgutṭam hvādi si khve mṛa thauna tti ḥdi maheḍā m<i?>jsa'* . . . “the Ttāgutṭans said (to me?) that since here these silks¹ are, the woman Maheḍā (?) . . .”

(2) Or 11252 (12) A5 *tāgutṭa hvāṣṭa ttiṣapāṇi va pa'jsā ysurri yu<de . . .>* “the Tāgutṭan lord² Ttiṣapāṇi was very angry.”

(3) Or 11252 (3) 5 *ttū āysam drraśvrau khvaru ttāgutṭa ni ji ba.ṃdai³ suḥadi svarrnadi āskvī<ra>* . . .

(4) Staël-Holstein roll 9 (and 42) *u ttāgutṭa ka'rā ṣau ṣarnnadattā* “and Ṣarnnadatta, the Ttāgutṭan ka'rā-ṣau.”

This is, perhaps, a Chinese title (**kat-śiḍu* ?). Ibid. 37 *hamṣā samnararu ka' ṣau ṣamdū jsā* (*samnararu* is written below the line) “together with Ṣamdū, the ka'-ṣau of Samnararu”, the *-r* is absent. Khotanese *kara* “surrounding part”, without the subscript hook, is different. The frequent *ṣṣau*, *ṣau* is also probably a Chinese word, perhaps 守 K 4 896 *ṣou* < *śiḍu* “prefect”.⁵ The Khot. spelling corresponds regularly: for *-au*, note *ṣau* for 收 K 400 *ṣou* < *śiḍu* (*ZDMG.*, 91 (1937), 38), and for *ṣ* beside *ś*, cf. Or 11344 (2) 21 *thai-ṣī*, P 5538 b 36 *ttaiṣī* (43 plur. *ttaiṣya* rendering Skt. *bhikṣu*, edited *BSOS.*, IX, 533)

¹ In a three-line bilingual Khotanese-Chinese, of which Professor Haloun kindly read for me the difficult cursive Chinese, Domoko C 1, *thauna* corresponds to Chinese 周 (for 綢) “embroidered silk cloth”. Also *thauna*=Skt. *paṭṭa*.

² *hvāṣṭa* renders P 3513. 53 r 4 *jyeṣṭhaku*; Konow, *Suvarṇabhāsa* 63 a 6 *hvaṃ-dānu hvāṣṭu* = Skt. *manuṣeṣvara*, ibid. 35 a 4 *hvāṣṭye rriṇe* = Skt. *agramahiṣī*.

³ The second akṣara is broken. *Suḥadi*, *Svarrnadi* and *Āskvīra* are personal names.

⁴ K refers to B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*.

⁵ For the sounds 首 K 898 *ṣou* < *śiḍu* “head, a chief”, would suit equally well.

beside P 2786.77 *thai-sī* for Chinese 大師 K 952, 893 *t'ai-sī* < *tāi-sī*; and Ch 00269, 111 *gūttasṣṇā* beside P 2741.75 *gauthūṣṇā* for 牛頭山 K 673, 1015, 849 *niu-fou-san* < *ngjəu-d'əu-san* with both *šana* and *šana* for Chinese *šan*. The meaning is partly defined by a comparison of S 2471.220 *hūyī ṣau kīma tcūna* with 221 *hūyi ttuttevā kīma tcūnā*. Here *ttuttevā* corresponds to *ṣau*; it is, as Professor Haloun has pointed out to me, 都頭 K 1187, 1015 *tu-fou* < *tuo-d'əu* "captain" (in Giles no. 12,050 "chief of police"). In the Hoernle document 7.1 the *ṣau* occurs beside the king's name (see Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, 7 (1929), 66 ff.) *hvaṃnā rrāṃdā vāsa' vāhaṃ dādye ṣṣau vādyadattā gārya-vādā pīdakā* "the third regnal year (scil. *kṣuṇa*) of the king Vāsa' Vāhaṃ in the year of (scil. *salya*) the prefect Vādyadatta, a document of buying and selling": Ibid. 3 *hvaṃnā rrāṃdā vāsa' vāhaṃ ṣṣau ṣaṇvīrā salya* 'in the regnal year of the king Vāsa' Vāhaṃ in the year of the prefect Ṣaṇvīrā'. The word *ṣṣau* has hitherto been noticed in documents concerned with Ṣacū. It may be added that the word shows no inflection in Khotanese. The Iranian etymology, which has previously been adopted (see Konow, *Saka Studies*, s.v.) with far-reaching theories, can hardly be sustained. As to the phrase *ka'rā-ṣau*, does it mean "vice-prefect", or "sub-prefect"?

2. *ttāguttaa-*, adjectival derivative with the same suffix attested also in *hvatanaa-*, *hvaṃnaa-* "Khotanese", *ciṃṃaa-* (P 2786.249 *ṣa jsā aīna aspaura caigaru bauttai* "he understands Chinese perfectly"), *ttāṣī'kaa-* "Arabian", *kaspāraa-* "Kashmirian", *jambvīyaa-* "of Jambudvīpa".

(5) Mazar Tagh 0483 *garā vī besai ttāgutte dyerāṣī' haurāñā* "to the Ttāguttan Dyerāṣī" (probably Tibetan *bder-zi*) dwelling at the Hill, to be given". This text was quoted in *JRAS.*, 1930, 70, but the reading of the original which is quite clear needs correction. For *gara* "Hill" as a name of Mazar Tagh, see Konow, *A Śaka name of Mazār Tagh*.¹ The same usage occurs also in Mazar Tagh c. 1. 0074 . . . *mye haḍai gara varā jsārā* (rest of the line blank) "the . . . th day at the Hill there corn".

(6) Ch ii 002, the Siddhasāra of Ravigupta, of which a facsimile is given in *Codices Khotanenses* (1938), is said to be translated from the *ttāguttaa-* language. The introductory verses, to which nothing corre-

¹ In *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to Professor F. W. Thomas* (1939), 146-7.

sponds in the Tibetan version or the Sanskrit original, read (i bis r 2 f) :—

ttiña beḍa tcaisyām ye paḍa ttānā nāma ~
tu śāstrā byauḍi khāḍi ttāgūttan phari jsa :
samī še pīḍai khve ṣi' hamye uspurā ~
byūttā vaskai ra ni ya bṛāma hota VI
ṣi' tu śāstrā jśānakyi ṣtām rrvī vī haiṣte ~
miṣḍi gyastī mu'ṣḍi' uḍiśā hamaiyi ttu ~
ttāgūtto ṣtāna uspurā ṣe' paṣi byūte
cu ustimāṃjśyām satvām kiṇā cu āchinuḍa VII

“ At that time there was a minister¹ named Paḍa-ttana. He acquired this śāstra, defective, in Ttāguttan as to language, but he wrote the second part (?) so that it was complete. He had not understanding nor ability to translate it. He sent this śāstra respectfully to the Court. The gracious god (= His Majesty) out of compassion, of himself ordered it, as being in Ttāguttan, to be translated completely, which should be on behalf of future men who were ill.”

(7) Hoernle 143 a 11² *ttāguttai drrai thavna hatcastāṃdā* “ the Ttāguttans broke up (?) for him three pieces of silk.”

2a. Ambiguous forms of either *ttāgutta* or *ttāguttaa*—

(8) Hoernle 143 a 10 *u ṣi' tti hā āśi'rī vinīyabhatā ttāguttām hīrā jsā hauḍā* “ and he then the ācārya Vinayabhata gave the things to the Ttāguttans ”.

(9) Ibid. 7 *tye miṣe va vā ttāguttayau jsa jaṃpha prracā panata* “ for the woman however there arose causes of dispute with the Ttāguttans ”.

(10) Or 11252 (12) B 5 *ā vā ttāguttā parau parī hauḍi* ‘ or he orders to give to the Ttāguttans (-ā = -ām) ’.

(11) Or 11252 (2) 2 *paṇe hvamḍye ttāguttām hauḍi ṣeṃgām aiṣta jśārā paṣṭā XI kūsa IX ṣaṃga* “ for every man, of the Ttāguttans, seven ṣiṃgas to them (-ām = -ūṃ ?) he ordered aiṣta corn 11 kūsa and 9 ṣaṃga ”.³

¹ *tcaisyām* P 5538 a 9 *miṣṭā tcaisyām*, P 2786.221 *tcaisyau*, may, according to a suggestion of Professor Moule, represent Chinese 宰相 K 1023, 786 *tsai-siang* < *tsai-siang* “ prime minister (Giles no. 11,490) ”. The name *paḍa-ttana* is probably Tibetan *dpal-briān* “ having secure fortune ”.

² Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Chinese Turkestan*, plate xvii.

³ Rendering uncertain, *aiṣta*, also written *ēṣta*, *ai'ṣte*, *aiṣca*, in the Siddhasāra, renders Skt. *punarnavā* (pw. Boerhavia procumbens). *kūsa* is frequent as a mureeas

(12) Mazar Tagh b ii 0065.2 (facsimile, Stein, *Serindia*, plate CLI) *tāguttayau hvāstiyau pāci ci ṣṭām ttū hvam kṣūri kav'di* “thereafter by the Ttāguttan lords who protect this Khotanese land”.¹

(13) Ch ii 003. 50 r 2 *bhalāttāka bhṛāgarajā ttāgūttām būsāniṃ* = Skt. 49 v 3 *ballāta<ka> bhṛgarajās ta māsi* “marking-nut, and eclipta prostrata, nard (*māmsī*)”.

(14) Ch ii 003, 52 v 4 *papala yausa ttāgūttām būsāniṃ* = Skt. 52 v 2 *pīpalī kastūra māsi* “pepper, musk, nard”.

(15) Ch ii 003, 49 r 4 *ttāgūttām būsāni tvaca ttātīspatta* = Skt. 49 r 1 *māsi tvaga patrā* “nard, cassia bark, flacourtia cataphracta”.

Here nard, Skt. *māmsī* (nardostachys jatamansi), is rendered by “perfume of the Ttāguttans”. But we find in this same bilingual text Ch ii 003 (facsimile in Codices Khotanenses) also the following:—

106 r 4 *svarṇagūttaryāṃga būsāniṃ* = Skt. *māsi*,

46 r i *svarṇagūttaryāṃga būsāniṃ*, 15 v 4 *svarṇagūttaryāṃga būsānai*, 110 v 5 *svarṇagūttariṃ būsāniṃ*, 17 v 1 *svarṇagūttaryāṃga būsānai* rendering Skt. *nalada* ‘nard’.²

The same substance then was named both “perfume of the Ttāguttans” and “perfume of the Svarṇagotrans” by the Khotanese. A Svarṇagotra “Gold Family” is known both in Western Tibet, of which Professor F. W. Thomas has recently treated,³ and also in the Ṣacū (Tun-huang) region. In Khotanese texts Ṣacū is frequently called *ysarrnai bādā* (P 2790 *passim*) “the golden land”, and P 2741.2 *mistye ysarrnāṃje jānave* “the great golden country (*janapada*)”, in

of grains. *ṣaṃga* = 8 *śiṃga* (*śiṃga* = Chinese 升 K 873 *šing* < *šiang* “litre”). Ch ii 003. 21 v 4 *śau ṣaṃga* “one ṣaṃga” renders Skt. *prasthaṃ ca caturguṇa* “4 prasthas”, Ch ii 003, 33 v 2 *haṣṭa śiṃga* “eight śiṃga” = Skt. *caturguṇa* “4 (prasthas)”, see also *BSOS.*, VIII, 920.

¹ Konow has edited these verses in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*, cited above. Note that in line 1 *gyastā* is to be read: the *gya* as often is written with an ornamental flourish. It can be seen for example in the Staël-Holstein roll 32, 40. In line 5 *haspiyari* is 2 plur. imperative. For *kāṣ-* “to protect”, cf. the derivative noun of agent *kā'ka*: Ch c. 001.954 *jsīni kā'ka vījya* = Tib. *che skyoñ-bahi rig-snags* “life-preserving spell”; P 2929.5 *hvana kṣīrā hīyi kṣka nivāysya āysdārā dēvattā parvālā* “Of the Khotan land the protectors, local spirits (*naivāsika*, see *BSOS.*, viii, 902, note 2), guardian (*āysdagaraa-*) deities, wardens (*paripālaka*)”.

² The name is written with *ṛṇ* and *rn*. For the adjectival suffix *-āṃga* < *ānaka*, cf. also Ch ii 002, 100 v 1 *hīndvāṃgṛ*, Ch 1.0021a, b 19 *hīdvāṃga* “Indian”. The Skt. *nalada* appears as a Khotanese loan-word Kha 0013 d, 1.2 *naladā bhāgā IV* || *kuṣṭhi bhāgā IV* || “nard four parts, costus (*kuṣṭha*) four parts” in a medical prescription; also Ch ii 003, 1 r 5 *nalāḍha*. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 455 f., discusses the provenance of nard: it was known in Sogdiana and India.

³ *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, vol. i (1935), 151 ff., where earlier references are to be found.

contexts where Khotan itself is called *ranījai janavai* (see *BSOS.*, IX, 541) “the land of jade”, as Or 8212 (186) A 34 *ranījai janavai u ysarnai bāda* “Khotan and Ṣacū”. In Ch 1.0021 a, a 22 *ysarnai rrvī gūttairi* “the golden royal family” also refers to the Ṣacū region.

3. *tāguttāna-* in a fragment : (16) Mazar Tagh c. 0014.1 . . . *dāṃdi ca va ttāguttāṇa kī<ṃtha>* . . . “ . . . they . . . ed. Who in the city of the Ttāguttans . . .” This suffix *-āna* is added alike to Khotanese words, as *balysāna-* “of the Buddha”, *rrumḍāna-* “royal”, *hiṃdvāna-* (E 13. 36) “Indian”, and to foreign words, as *nāvāna-* and *yakṣāna* in P 3513, 48 r 2 :—

<i>jastūṇe phari u nāvānye tī</i> ~	<i>devarutebhi ca nāgarutebhir</i>
<i>yakṣānye kumbhāṇḍam hvīye pācā</i>	<i>yakṣa-kumbhāṇḍa-manuṣya-</i>
<i>cu ri jsāna phara ī ysamaśamḍya</i>	<i>rutebhīḥ</i>
<i>biśā</i>	<i>yāni ca sarvarutāni jagasya</i>
<i>uysdīśīmi ba'ysām dā pharyau jsa</i>	<i>sarvaruteṣv ahu deśayi dharmam.</i> ¹
<i>aysā</i>	

P 2787.55 *nāvānyām raudyām bastā* “bound by the nāga kings”; *Suvarṇabhāsa* (ed. Konow) 34 b 5 *andīvārāna-* “belonging to the antahpura”; Or 11252 (39) 6 *khaukūlāna ṣanīraki* “Ṣanīraka of Khaukūlā” beside Or 11252 (34) A 2 *khaukūlā sudatti* “Sudatta of Khaukūlā”, Or 11252 (2) 20 *khaukūlāna sudattā*; Ch 00269.62 *tta vā ṣacū-pavānye* ² *hamtsā hīñā jsa pahaisā ṣacū vāṣṭā hāysa tsvāṃdā* “then with the army of the inhabitants of Ṣacū the fugitives went away to Ṣacū”. The same suffix *-āna-* is represented in Tibetan transcription of Khotanese words by *-o-na*, *-o-no*; *'er-mo-no* “of Erma” (Staël-Holstein roll 23 *ermvā bisā kamtha* “the town among the Ermas”, Domoko F 1 *erma tsūkām* gen. pl. “travellers to Erma”), *'o-ka-no* (? for *'o-ko-na*) “of 'Osku”, *khye-šo-na* “of Kashghar”.³ The contexts explain the reasons for these names of religious foundations.

One other point must be noted. Dr. W. Henning some time ago showed me in a Sogdian text containing a list of names of countries⁴

¹ The *Bhadracaryā-deśanā* in the *Gaṇḍa-vyūha*, ed. Suzuki and Idzumi, 1934-6, vol. iv, 544, verse 18.

² *Ṣacū-pavāna-* is adjective to *ṣacū-pata*, plur. to **ṣacū-pa* (cf. Or 8212 (162) *153 *kamacū-pa* “inhabitant of Kam-tṣou”), where *-pa* is probably Tibetan *-pa*, as in *lha-sa-pa* “inhabitant of Lhasa”. Between a final *-a* and the Khotan. plural *-a* a *t* or *v* is inserted *pava*, *pata*. This *-pata* should probably also be found in Ch 00269, 78 *dūmva u caḥā:spata u sūlya*, *BSOS.*, VIII, 883 (and correct *BSOS.*, VIII, 918).

³ See F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, vol. i, 132, 133; also *JRAS.*, 1939, 89.

⁴ An edition is now in the press in Dr. Henning's book *Sogdica*, of which I am in his absence reading the proofs.

the name *t'γwt* or *tnγwt* (*alif* and *n* are not distinct): it could be read *tāγwt* or *tanywt*.

Is it possible to identify the Khotanese *tāgutta*? One conjecture can be excluded. Sufficient is now known of how the Khotanese expressed the two vowel sounds *a* and *o* of foreign words. For the Tibetan the following examples establish that they were consistent in distinguishing *a* and *o*, *u*: P 2741.53 *thapsä* = Tib. *thabs* "opportunity", Ch ii 002, 18 r 3 *ysba hīvī nauhä* = Tib. *spaḥi to-rto*, Skt. *vetrāgra* "tip of cane", Ch xlvi 0015, 20 a 4 (= *Aparimātāyuhṣūtra* § 41) *krrašīsä*, Or 8212 (186) B 15 *krrašīsa* = Tib. *bkra-śis* (nom. prop.), Ch ii 002, i bis r 2 *paḍa tṭānā* = Tib. *dpal-brtan* (nom. prop.), Staël-Holstein roll 40 *khrrī-rtṭānā* = *khri-brtan*, ibid. 9 *rrgyadā sūmā* = Tib. *rgyal-sum*, Ch ii 002, 20 v 5 *churba* = Tib. *phyur-ba*, P 2025.3 *dārjī paḍa* = *rdo-rje dpal* (nom. prop.). Hence Khotan. *a* = Tib. *a*. For *o*, *u* note P 2025. 3 *dārjī* = Tib. *rdo-rje*, Ch ii 004, 2 r 4 *yāma* = Tib. *yum* "mother", beside *rrgyadā sūmā* = Tib. *rgyal-sum*. Inversely both sounds are found in Khotanese *vāham* for which the Tibetans used *bohan*.¹ Hence Khotan *ā* = Tib. *o*.² It is clear therefore that for *tāgutta* a comparison with Tibetan *Stagu*, *Tagu*, a market-town (*khrom*) in the Nob region (*JRAS.*, 1928, 589) as given in Konow, *Saka Studies*, s.v., is against the evident orthographic system and must be rejected. Add also the presence of *-tta* in the Khotanese word.

Khotan. *tāgutta* can therefore represent a foreign **toγut* or **toγut* but not **tagut*. If Sogdian *t'γwt* is to be compared it must be shown to have *alif* to express *o*: this is perhaps better than to read *tanywt* and identify it with Khotan. *ttaṃgāta-* (loc. plur. *ttaṃgātṵvā*, *JRAS.*, 1939, 89), Orqon Turkish *tanūt*.

Now a Khotanese *tāha'tta*, *tāha'tta* occurs in P 5538 b 67, 59³ to render Skt. *bhoṭa* "Tibet". This can be understood to represent a foreign **toγat* (or **toχat*).⁴ Compare now **toγut* with **toγat* and there is a likelihood that these are two forms of one name. Beside it stand

¹ In the royal name *Vāsa' vāham*, see Konow, *JRAS.*, 1914, 342 f.

² The same can be established for Khotanese transcriptions of Turkish, of which many examples can be seen in *JRAS.*, 1939, 85 ff. For Tibetan only two sounds were needed for *a* and *o*, since long *ā* was not distinct in Tibetan words from *a*.

³ Edited *BSOS.*, IX, 521 ff.

⁴ The interpretation of *tāha'tta* by **tofat* offered *BSOS.*, IX, 542, due to an attempt to find a labial in the word, now seems to me doubtful. We know *h < f* in Old Iranian words (*saha-* "hoof" = Av. *safa-*) and to represent initial Middle Chinese *piw-*, *b'iv-* (Mod. Chin. *f-*) we find *hv-*, *ZDMG.*, 91 (1937), 34-5, but *-h-* is not assured for foreign medial *-f-*. For *h = γ* there is full evidence, see *ZDMG.*, 92 (1938), 590, and the words quoted *JRAS.*, 1939, 85 ff.

with labial the well-known Turkish *twypwt* (*töböt) Sogd. *twp'wt*, Mid. Pers. *twpyt*, Arab.-Pers. *tubbat*, Syriac *twpty-* (adj. "Tibetan") and Tibetan *bod*, Skt. *bhoṭa*. It is even possible that **toyut* may have arisen from **towut* < **tobot*.

Then *ttāgutta* would mean "Tibetan". Two slight pieces of confirmation of this may be found. The name of *Dyerāśī'*, who is called *ttāgutta*, may be Tibetan *bder-zi*. Secondly, the Khotanese Siddhasāra agrees very closely with the Tibetan version in the Tanjur. In two places we have Tibetan words, where the same words occur in the Tibetan text: Ch ii 002, 18 r 3 *u ysba hīvī nauhā* = Tib. 146 r 5 *spahi to-rto dañ* = Skt. 8 r 3 *vetrāgra* "point of the cane", and 20 v 5 *phrrūmā churba vī bure tte garkha-gvācha* = Tib. *phyur-ba-la sogs-pa ni lei-ba yin-te* = Skt. *kilātādyā guravaḥ* "the kilāṭa and the rest are heavy to digest". Have these two words been taken direct from the text the translator was using? It will have been noted above that in the introduction to the Siddhasāra it is said to be translated from the *ttāguttaa*-language, that is, probably, Tibetan.

ADDENDA

1. A further passage is MT a iv 00168.2, . . . *hetsai tāgute āsalā*.
 2. Ch 00269.78 *cahā:spata* is probably Tibetan *jags-pa* = *jag-pa* "robber" (the form with *s* is given by A. David-Neel, *The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling*, p. 192). For the Khotanese *c* = Tib. *j*, cf. *cahā:* = Tib. *jag* for Chinese 著 K 1187 *tšo* < *d'jak* (*ZDMG.*, 91.33). We have here two more examples of Khot. *a* = Tib. *a*. Note also *tharka* = Skt. *ākṣoḍa* (Ch ii 003.88 r 1), the Tibetan *star-ka*, *star-ga*, *star-kha*, *dar-sga* "walnut".

3. That the Khotanese Siddhasāra is indeed translated from the Tibetan is indicated by the following points.

(a) 139 v 3 *gugula bu' śīya cha* = Tib. *gu-gul dkar-po* with the Tib. order of words = Skt. *puram*.

(b) *ysīca ūtce* = Tib. *chu ser* "yellow water" = Skt. *kleda*.

(c) 9 r 5 *namve jsa ṛhve* = Tib. *lan-čhva dañ smyig mdeḥu dañ* where *jsa* is given for *dañ* "with, and" instead of *u*.

(d) 145 r 2 *nimve māñamḍai ttā baka laka* "like salt so little" = Tib. 210. v 1 *cha čam žig* "only a part" = Skt. 80 v 5 *tasya leṣo*. The translator has read Tib. *ča* "salt" for *cha* "part".